

MAI PA'A I KA LEO:
HISTORICAL VOICE IN HAWAIIAN PRIMARY MATERIALS,
LOOKING FORWARD AND LISTENING BACK

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

ANTHROPOLOGY

DECEMBER 2003

By
Marvin Puakea Nogelmeier

Dissertation Committee:

Ben Finney, Chairperson
Bion Griffin
Geoff White
Pauline King
Emily Hawkins

We certify that we have read this dissertation and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology.

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

Chairperson

DEDICATION

This is dedicated to Kamuela Kumukahi and all of the elders who have considered knowledge and knowing to be a legacy, and who have patiently worked to perpetuate, transmit, and foster that legacy through teaching, writing or example.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation was only possible through the help of many active hands and generous hearts, including those of Saho Fukushima, Nahua Patrinos, Kau'i Goodhue, Ipolani Vaughan, Keali'i Reichel, Punahele Krauss, Isabella Abbott, Kamuela, Ululani and Ku'uipo Kumukahi, Lolena Nicholas, Nakila and Marti Steele, Patience Nāmaka Bacon, Edith McKinzie, Noenoe Barney-Campbell, Bill Char, Lalepa Koga, Dorothy Barrère, Ka'ano'ilani and June Fuller, Kamaoli Kuwada, Evelyn Farias, nā Papa 'Ōlelo o Wai'anae me Haka'olu, and the remarkable staffs of the Bishop Museum Library and Archives, Hawaiian Historical Society, Hawai'i Mission Childrens' Society Library, Hawai'i State Archives, and the University of Hawai'i Hamilton Library Hawaiian and Pacific Collection. Powerful influences now gone, but still inspiring and guiding include Theodore Kelsey, June Gutmanis, Sarah Nākoa, Mililani Allen, Maiki Aiu Lake, Mary Kawena Pukui, the many elders who shared and encouraged, and the Hawaiian scholars of the past. They are gratefully reflected in the best of this work, but all errors and omissions are my own.

No 'oukou pākahi ko'u mahalo palena 'ole, mau a mau.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores a unique body of historical writings published in the native-language newspapers of the Hawaiian kingdom during the 19th century and examines the incorporation of these materials into contemporary knowledge. Scholars of the 20th century have translated a fraction of the historical material, reorganized its contents and published those portions as reference texts on Hawaiian history, culture and ethnography. These English presentations, along with other translated texts have become an English-language canon of Hawaiian reference material that is widely used today.

The canon of translated texts is problematic in that it alters the works of the original authors, recasting important auto-representational writings by Hawaiians of the 19th century into a modern Western framework. General reliance upon these translated texts has fostered a level of authority for the canon texts similar to that of primary source material. Such authority and reliance have in many ways eclipsed the Hawaiian authors' original works and have obscured the larger corpus of published writings from the period.

General acceptance of the sufficiency of the translated works, a dearth of access tools and few fluent readers of Hawaiian has resulted in much of the archive of historical material remaining unutilized and largely inaccessible to date. However, the impetus of Hawaiian language renewal efforts and more recent Hawaiian scholarship has brought new attention to this body of writings, and such awareness is generating new efforts to rearticulate this neglected resource into the production of knowledge, now and in the future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
List of Tables	ix
Preface	x
Chapter I: A Discourse of Sufficiency	1
The Power of Discursive Practice	5
Discourse in Hawai'i and the Pacific	8
Power and Voice	21
Power and Silence	27
The Fruits of Compliance	30
Discourse Shapes a Canon in Hawai'i	37
Chapter II: Shaping Power: The Creation of the Hawaiian Canon	46
A Vacuum of Hawaiian Resources	47
Davida Malo	49
A Changing Audience	51
Abraham Fornander	54
Martha Beckwith	57
Kepelino	59
John Papa 'Ī'i	60
Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau	61
Articulation of Texts	62
Cultural Authority	68
Normalization of the Canon	72
Institutional Validation	73
Chapter III: Beyond the Canon	84
The Historical Hawaiian Language Repository	85
Books	87
Manuscripts	89
Newspapers	93
Hawaiian Production of Written Discourse	96
Literacy	97
Print in Hawaii	102
Newspapers as Locus of Discourse	106
A Shifting Paradigm of Representation	107

Public Press	110
1861—The Independent Hawaiian Press	119
Orality and Newspapers	124
Growth of Participation	128
Content and Form as Reflection of Orality	130
Orality and Epistemology	137
Dialogue in the Press	139
Ancient Religion	143
Perpetuation	146
Chapter IV: Misrepresentational Texts	150
Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau	151
Shaping the Hawaiian Text: Criticism and Debate	153
Inter-Textual Writing	165
Editorial Constraints	169
Shaping the English Text: Extraction and Decontextualization	173
Translation	175
Reordering	185
Editing	193
Elision	196
John Papa ‘Ī‘ī	204
The Hawaiian Text	206
Criticism	206
Editing	207
The English Text	208
Extraction	209
Translation	209
Editing	214
Reordering Text	216
Elision	217
Editorial Additions	218
Intertextuality: Kamakau and ‘Ī‘ī	221
Summary	225
Chapter V: Contemporary Scholarship	227
Problems for Scholarship	228
Narrative in Context	237
A Call for Native Voice	238
Modern Expansion	239

Limits on Articulation	242
New Horizons	245
Tools of the Trade	248
A Hawaiian Language Newspaper Index	249
A Hawaiian Language Journal	250
Hawaiian Newspaper Text File Database	251
Text Resources	253
Daunting Efforts	256
Appendix of S. M. Kamakau Related Articles	261
References	304

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Comparative Newspaper Sizes	95

PREFACE

*Mai pa‘a i ka leo . . . he ‘ole ka hea mai ē.*¹

Not all stories are created equal, at least in the way that we embrace them, perpetuate them or make them part of what we know and believe. From a millennium of Hawaiian oral tradition and two centuries of written accounts we have distilled the foundations of our knowledge about Hawai‘i, past and present. Not all of the stories have been included in what we see and know today, but how do we recognize and evaluate what has been left behind?

During much of the last century, researchers and scholars have drawn from historical primary resources, but in doing so, have overlooked, disregarded or misconstrued important materials. Selected translations of Hawaiian writings have come to be used as primary sources, eclipsing the originals from which they were drawn and obscuring other available references. This dissertation focuses on the perpetuation and use of Hawaiian knowledge in an English-speaking world and the need to recognize and incorporate available Hawaiian resources into our foundations of knowledge. The extent of those resources, their creation

¹ “Do not hold back the voice, . . . to deny the welcoming call,” is an interpretation of the closing line of a *mele komo*, a chant for requesting entrance, drawn from the legend of Pele and Hi‘iaka and used today by students asking to enter the *hālau hula*.

and the eventual displacement from mainstream knowledge are parts of a story that should be well-known today.

Once missionary teachers and Hawaiians had rendered the native language into written form, Hawaiians enthusiastically took up literacy as a national endeavor. In two generations, most of the Hawaiian population was literate in their own language, surpassing America, England and most of the world for the percentage of people able to read and write. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, literacy among Hawaiians was the norm.

After decades of missionary influence and control over Hawaiian publishing, an independent Hawaiian press developed in the 1860s and thrived into the early 20th century. In five decades and in nearly 100 different newspapers, Hawaiian speakers filled more than 100,000 pages with their writings. During this time while literacy was at its highest, Hawaiians embraced the Hawaiian language newspapers as the main venue for news and national dialogue, and also as a public repository for history, cultural description, literature, and lore. With the social turbulence at the end of the 19th century, national independence vanished, English language usurped Hawaiian, and writings in Hawaiian all but disappeared.

Publications from this period were the products of a time when master historians, expert genealogists, skilled storytellers and cultural specialists still flourished and a large body of their knowledge was recorded in writing. The newspapers of the time document an important repository of historical and cultural writings, along with public dialogue on the content that was presented. Even though scholars have drawn and translated whole books of history and legend from the Hawaiian newspapers and culled items of interest to enrich archival collections, such efforts are still only piecemeal.

There are, however, few today who are fluent in Hawaiian, although the number of fluent speakers is rising. Most of the population is dependent on English, and with no methodical surveys of available materials or helpful tools like indexes, concordances or translations, those readers rely on the translations rather than the original writings and the larger body of which they were a part. Renewed interest in the last few decades has brought new attention to the original materials, but there is a great lag between recognition and incorporation. As a result, little of the available material has been brought into academic research or public awareness and the content of the Hawaiian newspapers and other Hawaiian sources remains a largely unmapped territory.

My interest in Hawaiian scholarship developed over a span of three decades. As an eighteen year-old, I came from Minnesota to Waiʻanae in the early seventies just as excitement about things Hawaiian was dramatically spreading in what we now call the Hawaiian Renaissance. Students of Hawaiian culture were everywhere—in university classes, in music and dance groups, in canoes, forests and taro fields. My path took me to study hula in the *hālau*, practice the art of chanting, learn Hawaiian language, and work with knowledgeable *kūpuna*, or respected elders.² Learning came with *kuleana* [privilege and responsibility]; the privilege to learn and the responsibility to properly use and perpetuate.

This part of my education was based on knowledge handed down through lineages of teachers, carried out in settings that shared a focus on the transmission of knowledge and the mastery of skills. Each physical routine of the hula came with vignettes about a hero, a place, or an event. Each *oli*, or chant, was the synopsis of dramatic stories encapsulated in poetry. Language was as much about why and when one says something as to how the grammar worked.

² I trained in hula under Mililani Allen, learned Hawaiian chant from Edith Kanakaʻole and Edith McKinzie, and my mentors in language and culture included Theodore Kelsey, Sarah Nākoa, and Kamuela Kumukahi.

Knowledge taught through hula, chant and language was regularly connected to the present, regardless of the antiquity of the subject:³

... and that's why you don't pick lehua when entering the forest.
... and the hole is still there, showing the power of his thrust.
... many of her descendants are still prominent today.

I entered the university system and earned degrees in anthropology, Hawaiian language and Pacific Islands Studies. The university was sensitive to the importance of "native voice," but the approach relied on written knowledge over the learned. Classes that touched on Hawaiian culture included Hawaiian authors, but only a few were available in translation, so they were used a lot, sometimes exclusively.

I learned of David Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities* as "the bible," and attended whole classes devoted to his only translated work. Other classes focused on the books of Kamakau or Fornander, with the translations of Kepelino and 'Ī'ī filling gaps. University was an immersion into the carefully organized dates and details of a Hawaiian canon and its by-products. The Hawaiian culture and history this canon presents is more consistent than what I learned elsewhere, being well-pieced together, single layer, seldom contradictory, and chronologically

³ The quoted excerpts are from Edith Kanaka'ole, Patience Nāmaka Bacon and Theodore Kelsey, respectively, although they are parts of an oral tradition recited and repeated from many sources.

documented. The data that fulfilled my degrees came through books instead of stories, and sequential dates instead of vignettes. Sometimes differing with or dismissing what I learned in other settings, it was powerful.

The power of both realms guided my career in education, as a teacher and a student, bridging academic scholarship and community knowledge. I often turned to the newspaper sources, which provided materials for my courses, research projects or publications, and topics of discussion with the native-speaking elders. The newspapers also provide affirmations, and I have often experienced the kind of feeling which Kawena Pukui expressed at her finding a published account of a remarkable event at Lunalilo's funeral that confirmed stories she had heard from her elders:

I have heard the story from . . . eye-witnesses and it was a pleasure to see it there in the newspapers. [Pukui 1937:6]

Each endeavor that involved me in the Hawaiian language newspapers further confirmed these sources as an historical written legacy of Hawaiian self-expression: Hawaiians writing their own stories, in their own language, for themselves, their peers, and their descendants. Cultural practice and intergenerational exchange have perpetuated parts of that legacy, and extraction

for translation or reprinting has preserved some, but the avenues of perpetuation increasingly rely on written resources that are limited and unreliable.

The demise of Hawaiian language during the 20th century allowed many Hawaiian resources to lay dormant for a century, and encouraged the frequent use of available translations instead of primary sources. While renewed interest in Hawaiian language and history may restore those original resources into our fields of knowledge, that will only happen when materials that have been considered sufficient for decades are recognized as limited, misleading, and excluding other available material.

My approach to the problem is to show the extent of current reliance on a canon of translated texts, compare those texts to the body of writings that generated them, and then indicate problems in dependence on such a canon. My work is a product of the changing nature of Hawaiian scholarship, which now calls for a more extensive and methodical incorporation of the historical Hawaiian knowledge available to us. The fact that the materials are in Hawaiian presents challenges, but there are exciting new efforts under way to meet those challenges. Historian Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau encouraged his own contemporaries to strive for knowledge about the past with these words, still applicable today:

Ua noa i na kanaka apau loa ka moolelo, hookahi mea nana i keakea, o ka naaupo o kanaka. [Kamakau 1868c]

[History is freely accessible to all; the only obstruction is ignorance.]

CHAPTER I

A DISCOURSE OF SUFFICIENCY

In this dissertation, I assert that a *discourse of sufficiency* exists in relation to knowledge about Hawai'i, meaning that modern scholarship has long accepted a fraction of the available sources as being sufficient to represent the whole. Over a century of documentation by Hawaiian writers has been dismissed through the existence of this discourse and the few primary sources that have been incorporated into modern scholarship are problematic. Such a setting limits and obstructs all related fields of study.

I approach this hypothesis through three main steps: 1) consideration of how discursive practices have developed a modern canon representing Hawaiian writers of the past and framing knowledge of the present; 2) investigation of the actual extent and form of the native language repository of writings, and; 3) examination of texts included in the modern canon highlighting the problematic nature of reliance on such extracted works. I close with discussion about the compromising nature of a discourse of sufficiency and how such a setting is in process of being dismantled, its boundaries extended beyond the narrow limits that exist today.

I use the term *discourse of sufficiency* to describe the long-standing recognition and acceptance of a small core of Hawaiian¹ writings from the 19th century as being sufficient to embody nearly a hundred years of extensive Hawaiian auto-representation.² Hawai'i stands out among all Pacific island groups for the massive extent of literature written in the native language, a pastiche of historical native production exceeding 1,000,000 pages of printed text.³ The very existence of such a broad range of Hawaiian published works left untapped during the last century of research, analysis, publication, and practice is evidence of a discourse of sufficiency, the force of which has obscured the majority of Hawaiian writings and eschewed critique of modern texts which disregard them.

¹ The word *Hawaiian* is used here in reference to native Hawaiians writing in the Hawaiian language for a mostly native audience. The body of Hawaiian language material discussed in this dissertation includes instances of material written by non-Hawaiians or by anonymous writers who could have been Hawaiians, non-Hawaiian residents or even foreigners. As those writings are in Hawaiian and make up part of the dialogue within the mostly native Hawaiian audience, the inclusion of non-native writers is acknowledged, but no active distinction is made here.

² This dissertation focuses on the public written record, acknowledging that history, culture, or representation cannot be distilled within the written record to the exclusion of other forms of knowing and of transmitting knowledge. This discussion does not privilege the public record over the private and inherited histories that inform personal and collective identities or claim to illuminate knowledge that is more "real" than what is already in use, but rather to show how one important assembly of knowledge within the larger sphere has been handled historically and is addressed today.

³ The most comparable archive would be New Zealand Māori writings, equalling approximately 30,000 pages of text, 17,000 pages of which are contained in the Māori Newspaper section of the *New Zealand Digital Library*: <http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library>. See Chapter III for more details about the extent of the Hawaiian language archival sources.

This dissertation addresses the Hawaiian auto-representational works of the first century of Hawaiian literacy, which effectively began in 1820.⁴ It investigates the writings of the period, with a focus on the 1860s and especially on the Hawaiian language newspapers of that decade. This analysis compares the actual range of native Hawaiian writings with the subset of those writings utilized today in studying the history and culture of Hawai'i, as well as the broader fields that include Polynesian and Pacific societies.

This subset, which becomes the Hawaiian canon of references for nearly all Hawaiian-related publications for decades, is drawn and translated from works by four Hawaiian authors, D. Malo, K. Z. Keauokalani,⁵ S. M. Kamakau and J. P. 'Ī'i. The sum of these works make up only a fraction of one percent of the available primary material, and yet for decades these few extracted and translated texts from a handful of authors have been accepted as representative of Hawaiian cultural and historical knowledge. Such a setting disregards nearly

⁴ Although contact and interaction by Hawaiians with literacy and writing occurred prior to the arrival of the American missionaries in 1820, it was the formal reduction of the language to a written form upon their arrival that made literacy generally accessible to Hawaiians. The first printed material became available in 1822. See Schütz 1994:33–152 for coverage on the development of Hawaiian orthography.

⁵ Kahoali'ikūmai'eiwakamoku Keauokalani was named Zepherin by his Catholic teachers, Hawaiianized as Kepelino, the name used in the publication of his manuscript writings (1932/1972). Because it is the name by which he is best recognized today, Kepelino will be used in this dissertation.

a century of writings encompassing the bulk of Hawaiian public discourse of the 19th and early 20th centuries, a body of writings generated by and disseminated among the Hawaiian population of the period.

These four writers that make up the modern canon only minimally represent the larger sphere of Hawaiian-language discourse of the period. However, even such minimal representation is further problematized by a comparison of the original works and the published translations of those writers, which reveals re-ordered and diminished content as well as loss of context in each extracted text. The small number of extracted texts and the problematic qualities of the English forms of those texts further stress the importance of primary sources and the need for exploring the fuller extent of the original Hawaiian language record.

Renewed consideration of the actual scope of historical Hawaiian-language resources starkly illuminates gaps in most modern scholarship and brings to light analytical possibilities that can only be feasible by stepping beyond the resources used today. While this narrative gives focus to published Hawaiian writings of the 1860s, it provides implications for other historical periods in Hawai'i and for other bodies of resource material. It also pertains to other cultural spheres where similar settings exist.

The Power of Discursive Practice

Discourses are formations of a number of practices, procedures, statements, reflections, and institutions that gain ascendancy, credibility, and validity over a particular period of time and become socially and institutionally sanctioned ways of knowing. [O'Carroll 1994:290]

Discourse as the fabric of knowledge is the product of a given time and place, and this study addresses discourse of 19th and 20th century Hawai'i. In his text *Orientalism*, Edward Said (1979) documents an array of the social and government forces involved in creating and maintaining the discourses of knowledge in the West regarding the people of the "Orient." These multiple discourses, which Said shows to be interconnected and mutually empowering, have for centuries defined and authorized, for the powerful nations of Europe and America, knowledge about the people of the Middle East and Asia—their histories, cultures, languages, politics, and their characters. Thus, the discourse generated is able to essentialize the subject, define the field in which the subject exists and completely frame the understanding about that subject. Said describes his own work in a way that connects directly with text and power, the areas I address here:

The focus of interest in *Orientalism* for me has been the partnership between a discursive and archival textuality and worldly power, one as an index and refraction of the other. [Said 1991:22]

Drawing from Michel Foucault and his treatises on power and knowledge, Said points to the economic and military forces of the West that have enabled such an elaborate network of knowledge to be created, institutionalized, interlaced, embellished, and maintained for centuries. Said also explores how the different power relations in Europe and the U. S. result in different networks of knowledge, different *orientalisms*, and how those systems of knowledge foster the different national institutions and facilitate their powers. Power, then, is both the agent of knowledge and its beneficiary, as Foucault asserts:

. . . there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. [Foucault 1977:27]

Europe and the United States were the focus for Foucault in his writings analyzing the institutional links between power and knowledge. In *Orientalism*, Said (1979) expanded that investigation to the Middle East and Asia to address the powers of Europe and the U.S. there. In *Culture and Imperialism* (Said 1993), he expanded the purview to describe a more global operation of those same processes. That text details the silencing effects of Western discursive practice upon the peoples and cultures wherever such power is imposed:

Without significant exception the universalizing discourses of modern Europe and the United States assume the silence, willing or otherwise, of the non-European world. There is incorporation; there is inclusion;

there is direct rule; there is coercion. But there is only infrequently an acknowledgement that the colonized people should be heard from, their ideas known. [Said 1993:50]

Said connects the power of Western universalizing discourse to the silencing and shaping of contemporary voices. Historical voices, however, are affected in the same way, especially in the manner in which they are included or dismissed from contemporary fields of knowledge. His point about contemporary silencing accentuates the need to delve into the historical creation and framing of knowledge in those areas where the power of the West has been dominant, in some cases for centuries. Knowledge, the *facts* that support knowledge, and the institutions that generate, maintain, and foster that knowledge today have certainly been shaped, at least in part, by the agency of colonial powers that touched every part of the globe during centuries of Western expansion. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said notes how control of knowledge is a foundation for the related realms of cultural and imperialist dominance:

The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them. [Said 1993:xiii]

Discourse in Hawai'i and the Pacific

Hawai'i, and each island group throughout the Pacific Ocean, interacted with the agents of Western expansion. After just over a century of continuous intercourse, Western eyes saw the area to be the domain of the West, as in this exuberant 1884 report by Paul Deschanel:

The white race is conquering and civilising all the earth. It has peopled the New World, it has penetrated Asia and Africa. Oceania, as her elders, is not but a vast European domain in the hands of five nations. [Aldrich 1990:243]

The history of foreign nations exercising control over the peoples of the Pacific is one of military might, technological advantage, economic power, and cultural assertion. While each cultural and political sphere in Oceania experienced a unique history of contact and interaction with Western influences, each of those spheres succumbed to the eventual domination by Western power, Hawai'i being no exception. Unlike most other Pacific societies, Hawai'i was never a colony of a foreign power, being internationally recognized as an independent and sovereign nation until falling to U. S. domination by the close of the 19th century. Current studies dealing with colonialism and decolonization are, however, very pertinent to Hawai'i, whereas the inequities of power

inherent in colonialism have many parallels in regard to Western influence and occupation in Hawai'i, past and present.

Western influences have been continuous in Hawai'i from the time of initial sustained contact with the Islanders in 1778 until today. There have been dramatic and sometimes disastrous impacts, both immediate and eventual. Many of those impacts are readily recognizable, such as depopulation along with social, cultural and governmental upheaval. Other effects have been less apparent, but no less important. Elizabeth Buck (1993), in *Paradise Remade*, points to the long-term connections between language and change, and how interaction and adoption of Western languages and literacy altered thinking processes and shifted the loci of power over the production of knowledge:

Along with the radical shift from orality to literacy came the displacement of Hawaiian by English as the dominant language of discourse. The first altered basic cognitive processes and the second shaped social consciousness. The repositioning of Hawaiians and their culture by Western discourses about Hawai'i further reconstituted social relationships and shifted sites of power. Any one of these linguistic events would have had far-reaching consequences for Hawaiians and their position vis-a-vis Western society; coming together as they did, the effects were compounded. [Buck 1993:121]

Change and repositioning continued in the kingdom of Hawai'i throughout the 19th century, ending with ultimate control of the Islands by the U.S., which did not occur until the turn of the 20th century. After that point, certain forces

holding sway over the networks of knowledge become readily apparent while others remain more subtle. Legislative action, military presence, government policies, judicial decisions and education systems clearly shape the formal discourse, while changing cultural and social practices continue to be less overt.

Skutnabb-Kangas Tove, addressing global language shifts, speaks to the power held in the reins of government, in control and influence over education and economy:

Those who have a monopoly of preferred access to official discourses can also make their own ideas into Foucauldian 'regimes of truth' which regulate the kinds of ideas which can be legitimately presented and debated (Bourdieu's 'doxa'). It is also within these broad regimes of truth that the criteria of validation and invalidation of non-material resources are accomplished. What falls outside the discourses permitted by prevalent regimes of truth is not only *labelled* deficient—it simply *is* invisible and invalid. This makes it easier to manufacture the hegemonic consent. [Tove 2000:413]

Both Foucault and Said discussed hegemony as a foundation of discursive power. Knaft clarifies the difference between the openly coercive force of political society, seen in laws, rulings and funding priorities, and the less apparent but more penetrating *hegemony* of those forces brought to bear through the cultural practices of civil society:

...that is, the cultural dispositions and social institutions that predispose consent to (if not compliance with) politically repressive regimes. [Knaft 1996:187]

New and openly coercive forces took control of Hawai'i at the close of the 19th century, including hostile seizure of the constitutional monarchy, reformation of the government, annexation and military occupation of the islands. The imposition of martial law, control of all government functions and restraint of any popular resistance were clear and well documented.⁶ Secondary support for compliance with policies of the new regime was guaranteed by the removal from their positions of any persons who did not sign an oath of allegiance to the usurping government.⁷ Such willing or forced allegiance to the direct agencies of power fostered the development of implied cultural consent, or at least compliance, as acceptance of imposed practices eventually became normalized.

The move from Hawaiian to English as the language of the island population was one aspect of that more general network of implied consents and compliances. This language shift frames and enables discursive power in Hawai'i throughout the 20th century. An overview of that historical language

⁶ For more coverage on this topic, see Coffman 1998, Liliuokalani 1964, and Spencer 1895.

⁷ See Burns, Eugene 1939, an interview of Oliver Kawaihaole Stilman, referring to oaths of allegiance, and also Hawaiian Gazette 1900: "In 1893 the white people controlled the Government. What did they do? They fired every Hawaiian from office who did not hold the same political opinions as they did themselves."

shift shows that the process of change from Hawaiian to English parallels social changes in the development of the current discourse.

The indigenous language of Hawai'i developed over the course of nearly two millennia of Polynesian settlement and societal existence, developing as a unique branch of the Polynesian language family.⁸ Although earlier contact with non-Polynesian languages undoubtedly occurred prior to Captain Cook's arrival in the islands in 1778, that event marked the beginning of documented, prolonged interaction with foreign cultures.⁹ From 1778 on, foreign languages, especially English, held an expanding position in the lives of foreigners and natives alike in Hawai'i.

The English language steadily gained importance in economic and political spheres during the century following Cook's arrival. The Chiefs' Children's School, begun in 1839, used English as the language of instruction to prepare the young chiefs for their future responsibilities (Shütz 1994:342). At the same time, in the late 1830s and early 40s, English periodicals couldn't yet survive because

⁸ For more coverage on the development of the Hawaiian language, see Shütz 1994.

⁹ There is evidence of foreign contact with Hawai'i prior to the arrival of Capt. Cook and the subsequent, ongoing interactions with foreigners. For Hawaiian discussion about that topic see Dibble 1838:4-6, and Kamakau 1866b (12/22 and 12/29), Kamakau 1867 (1/5, 1/12, and 1/19). There is, however, insufficient oral and written evidence to clarify the extent to which these preceding contacts were prolonged, or to illuminate the social or linguistic changes that may have resulted from them.

of a “paucity of foreign residents,” but by 1844 the government saw it necessary to subsidize an English newspaper, *The Polynesian*, to communicate with the growing foreign population. English newspapers thrived from that time to the present.

English became a second official language of the Hawaiian kingdom, and by 1859, was granted a degree of primacy in legal interpretation of the law.¹⁰ English was the first language of a growing foreign resident population that included, but was not limited to, missionaries and traders. The Calvinist mission press was the first press in the islands, beginning in 1822 and printing mostly in Hawaiian. Hawaiian newspapers were initiated in 1834, flourishing for the rest of the century. English language newspapers began in 1836, with locally printed books in English appearing by 1838,¹¹ showing a growing English-language presence in the islands.

For the next 60 years, language necessities of regional and foreign trade, government processes and international relations were constantly shifting, and

¹⁰ Hawaiian Civil Code Section 1493, May 17, 1859 (amended and broadened, 1864) “If at any time a radical and irreconcilable difference shall be found to exist between the English and Hawaiian versions of any part of this Code, the English version shall be held binding.”

¹¹ *The Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce* ran from 1836-1839, and was followed by a growing number of other periodicals. *The Hawaiian Spectator*, a quarterly journal appearing in 1838 and 1839, was published in book form, and was the first of its kind in the islands.

the social and political roles of Hawaiian and English were the subject of heated dialogue throughout the years of the constitutional monarchy. In the Hawaiian press, natives and foreign-born residents argued about the value of each language, some advocating teaching all schools in English to achieve national progress and others supporting the perpetuation of the native language.¹²

In 1893, a cabal of mostly American businessmen seized the Hawaiian government establishing first a Provisional Government then the Republic of Hawai'i. The intent was to annex the islands to the United States, a move that was carried out in 1898.¹³ In 1896, during the Republic era, all remaining Hawaiian language schools were closed and English was made the language of instruction in all public schools (Lucas 2000:8). When the United States took formal control of the islands as a territory in 1898, full primacy was granted to English, the language of the governing power, even though a large part of the

¹² Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian opinion regarding the role of Hawaiian and English languages was published regularly in the newspapers throughout the latter half of the 19th century. Such public commentary was especially frequent following actions by the government, for example, after the adoption of English for instruction at Lahainaluna in 1877 (Kuokoa me Ke Au Okoa 1877), and such public input also impacted the actions of government, as in the non-adoption of recommendations by the 1882 Committee for Public Instruction to begin English as the language at all government schools. (Report of the Committee on Public Education. n.d. 1882, pg. 4-5)

¹³ The historical legality and validity of both the "overthrow" and the annexation of Hawai'i are hotly contested today. For more information, examples, and position statements, see <http://www.alohaquest.com/> or <http://www.HawaiianKingdom.org/index.shtml>.

native population had limited fluency in English at the time.¹⁴ The Organic Act of 1900 dictated that all legislative proceedings would be held in English, and that while voters could be fluent in English *or* Hawaiian, jurors in the courts must be able to speak English.¹⁵

Following annexation, changing forces, like military occupation along with governmental and economic control, had a range of impacts on Hawaiian society, but this policy formalizing the use of English as the language of instruction pertains directly to the language shift facilitating the development of the discourse of sufficiency discussed here.¹⁶ This interplay between government policy and language most clearly exemplifies Foucault's descriptions of discursive practice as an aspect of power, which transforms and reconstructs society and his examples of how such process both follows and enables the transformations that occur (Wilkin 1999).

¹⁴ Michelson 1897 quotes many native sources who address their limited ability in English.

¹⁵ Organic Act: An Act to Provide a Government for the Territory of Hawaii (Act of April 30, 1900, C 339, 31 Stat 141) Article 2, Sec. 44. Enacting clause - English language. "... All legislative proceedings shall be conducted in the English language."; Article 4, Sec. 83, "no person ...who cannot understandingly speak, read, and write the English language shall be a qualified juror or grand juror in the Territory of Hawaii."; and, Article 2, Sec. 60." Be able to speak, read and write the English or Hawaiian language."

¹⁶ For an overview of legal sanctions relating to Hawaiian language, see Lucas 2000.

During the first decade and a half after the 1893 seizure of the constitutional monarchy government, there was actually a surge in Hawaiian language publications, followed, however, by a dwindling Hawaiian language press and a few rare book publications in Hawaiian. Thus, by the second decade of the 20th century English became the language of nearly all published materials.¹⁷

Editorials in the remaining Hawaiian papers lamented that possibilities for regenerating the language through government schools had been denied by the legislature, even in the first decade of the Territorial legislature where a Hawaiian majority was at the helm (Ka Puuhonua o na Hawaii 1917).

In the 1920s, English language became a mark of patriotism to the United States, and there was a clamor to close the Japanese language schools, the most numerous foreign-language institutions functioning in Hawai'i at the time. Pressure to close the Japanese schools came from many sectors, including the

¹⁷ An adaptation to this trend was the Bishop Museum's early attempts at bi-lingual publications of translated works of Fornander 1916–1920 and Kepelino 1932, but the effort was short-lived (See Beckwith 1939), and mono-lingual English publications prevailed for the rest of the 20th century. The creation of Hawaiian-language immersion schools in 1985 initiated a new movement toward mono-lingual Hawaiian language publications, which has continued since that time. Many of these recent publications are translations from English texts or contemporary writings in Hawaiian, but a number of resources from the 19th century have been incorporated into these immersion school texts as well.

Hawaiian language community that had lost its own schools.¹⁸ The demand for all in Hawai'i to assimilate into a monolingual society was widespread.

English flourished as the language of the government and education in the islands, and in the community, Hawaiian-speaking parents were encouraged to have their children learn English as their only language. Students who used Hawaiian on the school grounds were scolded or punished for the offense. In the course of a few generations, mono-lingualism in English became normalized in the islands.¹⁹ As the 20th century opened, the number of English publications soared while the Hawaiian publications diminished and disappeared. Because of the continued, nearly complete pervasiveness of English during most of the 20th century, Hawaiian language materials generally stopped being produced. Fluent speakers of the language who could directly utilize existing materials diminished greatly in number, and within a few generations, access to Hawaiian historical materials had, for all but a few, become limited to those materials made available in the English language.²⁰

¹⁸ See Chapin 1996:140–147, and editorials, such as Ka Nupepa Kuokoa 1919.

¹⁹ With the exception, of course, of immigrant communities, where language dynamics were, and are, somewhat unique to each group. See Wilson, C. 2002.

²⁰ The first report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawai'i (1925:14) made reference to important historical writings which were "buried in the files of the native newspapers", indicating the difficulty of access to such materials.

English spread even while there still existed a large adult Hawaiian speaking population, quickly changing the next generation's grasp of the language.²¹

Although statistics are unclear for the period, Hawaiian language speakers of the time recognized the impact of the change on their own community. By the first decades of the 20th century, Hawaiian papers carried a number of articles lamenting the loss of the language among the younger generations. The following is an example:

I keia la, ke hepa mai nei ka oleloia ana o ka kakou olelo makuahine. Aole keiki o 15 makahiki e hiki ke kamilio pololei i ka olelo makuahine o keia aina. A no keaha ke kumu i hiki ole ai? No ka mea, aole a'o ia i ka olelo pololei. A i ka hala ana o na la pokole wale no o ka pau no ia, a mai uwe aku kakou no ka mea, na kakou no i nanamaka. [Puuhonua a na Hawaii 1917]²²

[Today, the manner in which our native tongue is being spoken is sloppy. There are no children of fifteen who are able to converse correctly in the native language of this land. And for what reason are they unable? Because they have not been taught correct speech. And in the passage of a few short days it will be gone and we should not weep, because it was all of us who just watched it happen.]

²¹ See coverage in Michelson 1897. Reinecke 1969 gives statistics of speakers in the opening decades of the twentieth century, but those are revisited and contested by Bickerton and Wilson 1987.

²² See also Nai Aupuni 1905 and 1906 and Hawaii Holomua 1912. Many other examples exist from the period, although the published controversy about language choice and language fluency is first generated decades earlier.

The shift of English primacy worked through most avenues dealing with the production and dissemination of knowledge, especially writing. English presided in the production of texts, the documentation of government, business and community activity, the stocking of libraries, and the collection and maintenance of archive materials. In a 1930s critique on the dates used in published histories, Bishop Museum scholar John Stokes mentioned the already-current ovine, or sheep-like, manner in which people were relying on English sources:

Being in English, Fornander's writings were generally followed, blindly and ovinely it is true, and have been widely quoted as highly authoritative. [Stokes 1932:23]

By these first decades of the 20th century the authority granted to English sources was creating the foundation leading to the discourse of sufficiency within the discourse at large. Historical shifts in Hawai'i, from independent nation to American territory and state, from Hawaiian-speaking subjects of a kingdom to a modern-day English speaking American populace, have paralleled and nurtured the reliance on a small English language Hawaiian canon of reference material to the exclusion of broader Hawaiian source material. The current setting, with American dominion and the promotion of monolingual English, has made selected translations desirable, necessary, and acceptable as

research tools. At the same time, the rarity today of people fluent in Hawaiian, coupled with the dearth of indexes, concordances, summaries and similar finding aids, has left most of the original Hawaiian language materials beyond the recognition and reach of most.

The primacy of English language over Hawaiian was not the sole cause for the current obscurity of Hawaiian materials. Primacy and obscurity are each aspects of an ongoing process of contest, one that is neither complete nor static. Lisa Lowe (1991:25), who was critical of Said and Foucault for the monolithic nature of the discourses their writings describe, points out that throughout the intercourses of power, there are “tensions and contradictions within any discursive terrain.” As long as contesting powers exist there is no absolute victor, no obliteration of discourse within the entire sphere, only change in the balance. While Hawaiian language diminished to near invisibility for decades, it did not cease to exist or disappear from the intellectual landscape. Archival Hawaiian materials continue to be considered, albeit intermittently, as alternative sources, and the tension brought about by recognition that such sources have been dismissed will continue to work toward recovery and reincorporation.

Power and Voice

There are, however, so many facets entailed in the generating of knowledge that such a radical change in the balance of the language powers multiplied the effects of those changes throughout the network of contemporary knowledge. With the official empowerment of English in Hawai'i, especially as the foundation of education, available English sources which align with the locus of power have continually been incorporated as part of the developing discourse. These resources, including writings, policies, curricula, and so on, then become mutually strengthening within the fabric of knowledge being produced and disseminated. They reinforce one another within the same pool of knowledge.

In a similar setting in reference to Tahiti, Robert Nicole (2001) describes how the accepted knowledge is solidified by these entwining validations of one source upon another, and how each validating source would be emphasized by an empowering change in the discursive terrain. In describing a pro-francophone discourse in French Polynesia similar to the pro-anglophone setting in Hawai'i today, Nicole echoes both Said and Foucault in describing the relationship between language and power. He notes that texts are connected in ways that

give mutual validation to one another and to the larger guiding discourse in place:

Texts produced about Tahiti, whether these were written by poets, novelists, navigators, botanists, philosophers, or colonial administrators, signaled their allegiance to this discourse by constantly repeating each other, and often plagiarizing each other. This pattern of overlaying and repetition merged into powerful discursive formations that assumed extraordinary intertextual strength. [Nicole 2001:7]

The repositioning of power over knowledge is enhanced by expanding intertextual support, bringing changes to the selection and validation of those voices that are recognized as authentic. Gregory Denning notes how this sanctioning power is enacted on individual historical voices or witnesses, empowering certain sources over others and granting authority through the position of the speaker and the form of the testimony:

The authenticity of a witness is magnified by the witness's official status and the testimony's encoded form. [Denning 1995:21]

This empowering force works retroactively on historical voices as power shifts over time. Status authorized in later years by the agency of English language and granted to documents already encoded in English forms gave new and ready power to a set of voices of explorers, missionaries, visitors, traders, and other historical observers, while excluding Hawaiian voices that now remain inaccessible or unrecognizable to modern English documentors. The power

Dening mentions above as giving validation to individuals is then magnified through the intertextual empowerment provided in unison with other authorized sources. Historical English voices gained new power in Hawai'i and New Zealand, as French voices did in French Polynesia. In each setting, the native voice was quieted.

The English and French presentation of Polynesian cultural history has lent similar emphasis to the historical voices of outside observers over those of native participants. Like the missionaries and visitors mentioned above, this has been the case for the last century, with readily accessible English or French language sources being given credence over those available in Hawaiian, Samoan, Māori or the multiple native languages of French Polynesia. Even in native language writings, those created by non-natives have often been selected for ready reference. Writings by outsiders who learned the language are accessible to a broad audience, usually clearly expressed, being uncluttered with obscure or seemingly opaque idiom and cultural reference that makes writings by native speakers difficult. As such, non-native speakers of the language writing in Hawaiian can easily be considered more objective or more academic than those of Hawaiian participants and practitioners because of the form in which those

writings are presented and the manner in which topics are handled, reflecting Denning's discussion about coding.

Hawaiian remained a vital language of public and political discourse, with many foreigners learning and writing in the native language. Abraham Fornander is a good example. An antiquarian, author, and researcher during the late 19th century in Hawai'i, Fornander (1878–1885) presented detailed representation of Polynesian cultural history in his three-volume text "An Account of the Polynesian Race." The narrative is mostly in English, but his accounts relied heavily on Hawaiian published sources and oral traditions, reworked and presented by Fornander. Because of its form as a scholarly analysis of the subject presented in a Western academic frame, the text was, and is, given great credence. His later compilation of cultural material "Hawaiian Folklore," (Fornander 1916–1920) mostly in Hawaiian and relying on a number of native sources, has also been accepted as an authoritative text.

In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith points out that Percy Smith and Elsdon Best in New Zealand helped create orthodoxies that, while contested and eventually devalued in some circles, still are given great credence and used as legitimate references by scholars and the general public. (Smith 1999:87) Fornander, like Smith and Best, helped to shape similar orthodoxies

through his writings. Part of the credibility and legitimacy granted to such texts has to do with the formal scholarly style in which the collected material was presented, or “the testimony’s encoded form,” as per Denning (1995:21).

Mission accounts, which modern scholars are re-evaluating with regard to their inherent biases and for their unstated goals of generating financial and spiritual support from their home bases, frequently still hold primacy as authoritative resources over existing native documentation. Shipboard observers or visitor travelogues have regularly been considered primary source materials. English newspapers, travel accounts and archival records from the 19th century have been relied upon as central sources of historical and cultural description. While these historical sources have their own inherent value, reliance upon such sources to the exclusion of resources created by native writers crystallizes the non-native power over discursive practice.

The power of discourse not only establishes which voices will be heard, but also in what form they will speak in order to be recorded and recognized. Jeffrey Tobin 1997:75 addresses another way in which the power of discourse affects the individual, with Hawaiians being coerced to speak, as Foucault says, “within the true” or establishing voice only when the writing or utterance is aligned with controlling powers. Tobin gives the example of Hawaiians admitting to sins that

may well not have been committed in an effort to please missionaries who gladly recorded such data in order to validate their own efforts and to raise support for the missions. In this way, those voices that are not usually granted some official position are then heard, utilized, and incorporated into the fabric of validation but only when their content or their form is tailored to that which is more widely acceptable.

In the context of New Zealand Māori, Linda Tuhiwai Smith speaks to this same link between larger forces and the product of the individual. She reviews the historical processes whereby the gathering of information, institutionally empowered, changed personal views into facts. These “facts,” accreting authority over time, have come to frame a discourse which today guides the manner of social interactions with and among Māori as well as the spheres in which those interactions occur (Smith 1991:78–94). Views that were recorded and which have come to be seen as official, as objective, as learned, or validated by some other qualification of “in the true” have been granted official position in illuminating the accuracy of historical settings and in informing modern settings.

Power and Silence

The opposite case comes into play when sanctioned voices are not recognized or identified in the available record. When no “authentic” documentation validates historical understanding of cultural practice presented as tradition, the validity and authenticity of such tradition becomes questionable. If documentation is not readily available from recognized sources, especially those included in the small Hawaiian canon, it is easy to dismiss such tradition as being invented and not to be historically grounded.

In his introduction to the text *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds. 1983), historian Eric Hobsbawm describes examples of European practices that involve invention of cultural and historical depth as validating tools of authenticity:

‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, . . . which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. [Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:1]

Anthropologists, including Jocelyn Linnekin (1983) and Roger Keesing (1989), have brought this study into a Pacific setting in their writings in order to question so-called “traditions” that appear to be modern political inventions. For

instance, ceremonial activities on Kaho‘olawe have been termed by Linnekin as modern inventions because of a lack of validated historical documentation about the origin of such practices (Linnekin 1983). Keesing referred in a more general Pacific sense to “emerging ideologies of the past” as problematic and contradictory:

The ancestral ways of life being evoked rhetorically may bear little relation to those documented historically, recorded ethnographically, and reconstructed archaeologically. . . [Keesing 1989:19]

Lack of formal, accepted documentation can invoke questions of validity or continuity. However, the historical documentation, the ethnographic method and the archaeological reconstructions Keesing speaks of are highly contested areas of discursive power, relying on select validating sources and methods. These validating methods reinforce existing power structures while dismissing the existence of alternative validations, including native narratives, as discussed later in this dissertation. Haunani Trask dismisses the power wielded by such Western academic validating forces in a critique of Keesing’s article:

. . . Keesing, with many Western academics, shares a common assumption: Natives don’t know very much, even about their own lifeways, thus there is no need to read them. (The only “real” sources are *haole* sources, hegemony recognizing and reinforcing hegemony.) [Trask 1991:160]

The antiquity or emergence of traditions is a nebulous and contested arena,²³ and yet claims of continuity or invention are common topics in modern scholarship and public discussion. A running dialogue on the topic in relation to Hawai'i begins with Handler and Linnekin 1984, which is then expanded upon in Keesing 1989, subsequently rejected by Trask 1991, then reiterated by Linnekin 1991, and eventually responded to by Keesing 1991 and others.²⁴

Pertinent to this discussion, aside from Trask's reference to the oral tradition through genealogies (Trask 1991:160), each writer in the series of articles listed above called upon modern sources to investigate the existence, invention, or continuation of old practices. Contemporary scholars and the dominant discourse, which includes the available canon of Hawaiian resources, are the validating sources used to illuminate, contextualize, support or negate claims of antiquity or charges of invention.

If Malo, Kepelino, Kamakau or 'Ī'i did not address a certain practice, or if an early explorer, visitor or resident foreigner did not describe it, then it can be assumed that sufficient research has been done and the practice in question is

²³ See Handler and Linnekin, 1984:288, and Linnekin, 1991:173.

²⁴ Hanlon and White 2000:12-14 give a good overview of this argument, referencing many of the pertinent issues and publications.

not granted historical validity. This setting highlights the need to expand the written canon to include the much broader range of Hawaiian materials that could pertain to modern traditions. It also illuminates a bias toward writing over all other means of transmitting knowledge, an historical trope that Houston Wood discussed in his 1999 study about representation in Hawai'i,

Euroamericans in the islands have generally always associated "real" knowledge with writing, . . . [Wood 1999:54]

The Fruits of Compliance

As Said (1983) points out, the validating forces for the sources of knowledge are diverse: the government, the academy, the market, the village, the family, and so on. Coercive powers of policy and enforcement combine with more subtle social forces in changing society, empowering hegemony within that society. Coercive policies of English-only in island schools were backed by threats of funding loss and enforced among students through physical punishment or ostracism for non-compliance (Nākoa 1979:19). Many of the teachers placed in the role of enforcement were native speakers of Hawaiian who by their modeling of English and their compliance with the rulings created a powerful force for acceptance among their students and their families.

Hawaiian families, churches, and other social institutions that complied with the pressure to stop using Hawaiian with their children or in public lent eventual consent and support, however unwilling, to the acceptance of a broader discourse empowering English in the territory and state. Efforts in the 1920s to close the Japanese language schools in deference to English primacy included active discussion within the Hawaiian community that indicate a growing compliance with the new mores, or at least pressure to do so. The following editorial, exhorting the Japanese to follow the Hawaiian example of compliance, is from the *Kuokoa*, the longest running Hawaiian newspaper and one which often took a particularly pro-American stance:

No kekahi mau kumu lehulehu e ikeia aku nei iloko o keia mau la, ke manao nei makou, he mea pono e hoopau loa ia ke a'oiia ana o ka olelo Kepani maloko o na kula i kukuluia ae e na Kepani apuni keia Teritore, no ka mea ua kue loa ia i ke ano Amerika, elike me ia i makemakeia mai ai na makaainana apau e noho nei maanei, e ke aupuni federala.

He ano kohu ole loa, i ka nana aku, i ka manawa a ke kanawai o Amerika Huipuia, i haawiiia mai ai ke kuleana makaainana, i na Kepani apau i hanauia ma Hawaii nei, e a'oiia aku lakou i ka lakou olelo makuahine, aole hoi i ka olelo Beritania, ka olelo i kohu ai ka makaainana Amerika maluna o lakou; a no ka mea no hoi, o ka olelo Beritania, ka olelo alakai apuni o Amerika, ame na wahi apau i kaa aku malalo o kona malu.

Ua makee kakou i ka kakou olelo makuahine, eia nae aole he mau kula e a'o nei i na keiki a kakou i ka olelo Hawaii, no ke kumu, o ka

olelo Beretania ka olelo alakai e nee nei i keia manawa. [Nupepa Kuokoa 1919]²⁵

[For many reasons seen these days, we feel that it is right for the teaching of Japanese language to be stopped in the schools built by the Japanese throughout this Territory, because it opposes the American style that is desired by the federal government of all citizens living here.

It is completely inappropriate to see, at the time when United States law has granted citizen privileges to all the Japanese born here in Hawai'i, that they be taught their mother tongue and not English, the language befitting the American citizenship bestowed on them, and especially whereas English is the leading language throughout America and all places under its domain.

We all cherished our own mother tongue, however, there are no schools now teaching our children Hawaiian language, for the reason that English is the leading language progressing at this time.]

The process of coercion, eventual compliance and at least partial emulation was not contested, as evidenced by editorials and letters in the few remaining Hawaiian newspapers of the time. This editorial, printed just six years earlier, is far less accepting of the appropriateness of English primacy:

Ka, ea, he nui na manawa e hiki ai e loa ia kakou he manawa e a'o ai i ka kakou mau keiki i ka olelo a kona makuahine, o ka pilikia, ua lilo no na ka poe makemake e make ka lahui Hawaii ame ka lakou olelo, ke alakai ana. [Puuhonua a na Hawaii 1917]

[Hah! There are many times that we could gain the opportunity to teach our children their mother tongue, but the problem is that the leadership has gone to those wanting the Hawaiian people and their language to die.]

²⁵ Solomon Hanohano was the editor of *Kuokoa* at the time, but the editorial is unsigned so authorship is uncertain.

Neither, though, was coercion and compliance ineffective, as shown by the number of personal stories of elders who relate that Hawaiian was kept as a private language among their elders, who then encouraged their children's exclusive use of English in school and at home. Thus, the government and educational system interlocked with other social institutions leading to changes in practice and an eventual, if uneven, hegemony.²⁶ Coercion alone could not fully undermine a people's language, but loss of national independence, personal freedom and economic power embodied what Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1989) refers to as a *cultural bomb*:

The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environments, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of nonachievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. [Thiong'o 1989:3]

With the distancing of cultural participants, the academy, in a blend of coercive and indirect power, takes on a larger role in framing the public's perspective as well as its own in many ways. It does so through financial or academic support for research and documentation, through the selected

²⁶ The perpetuation of Hawaiian among Ni'ihau families, in a few isolated Hawaiian communities, and in some families worked against hegemony, but remained almost liminal to

production, printing, and utilization of texts, by way of review systems, awards, and marketing, and by incorporation of certain forms of knowledge into curriculum. The facets of production resulting in texts and graduates from the educational institutions become an important foundation for the knowledge that is available to the general public, the government, and other public and private institutions. The model the academy provides is mirrored and echoed throughout the broader public sphere.

Robert Nicole (2001) of the University of the South Pacific makes note of a 1990 bibliography of Tahitian literature that won the first-place award for French and francophone scholarship in the Pacific region, while listing only a few works in Tahitian, or Mā'ohi on the last page. Nicole points out that the selection of this text for academic excellence and the support that it exemplifies belies the relative importance of the two spheres of literature, French and Mā'ohi, within that discourse (Nicole 2001:1–3). Similar institutional validation of selected resources established a Hawaiian canon.

In Hawai'i, Ross Cordy's recent text "Exalted Sits The Chief," (Cordy 2000) was cited for "Excellence in General Hawaiian Culture" from the Hawai'i Book

the general population until the resurgence of interest in Hawaiian language in the last decades of the 20th century.

Publishers Association in 2001 (Coleman 2002). His text, a history of the Islands focussing on Hawai'i island, openly contradicts and dismisses numerous and extensive Hawaiian language accounts from the 19th century regarding voyaging traditions of ancient Hawaiians, a topic that was reconsidered in the work of Kēhau Cachola-Abad 1993 and covered again in her work of 2000.

Cordy's book summarizes analyses of many archaeological studies. In weaving those data into an historical narrative and analysis he relies on dozens of early observer accounts while referring directly to only one source from the Hawaiian language newspaper repository. The other Hawaiian sources he includes are translations included in the canon described here and government records drawn from the formal division of land, the Māhele, in 1848. The award for "excellence in Hawaiian culture" for a text which acknowledges and dismisses most of the Hawaiian language resources further elevates those minimal Hawaiian references which are relied upon, while marginalizing or obscuring the bulk of other available Hawaiian sources as irrelevant.

Dismissal of the conflicting Hawaiian traditions being acknowledged as cultural excellence embodies the nature of empirical presentation that Houston Wood addresses in his text *Displacing Natives*, (Wood 1999) where he criticizes the nebulous and nefarious power of cross-cultural discourse in and about

Hawai'i. Wood describes different styles of rhetorical presentation that prevail in every level of discourse, with *monorhetoric* representing the foundation of Euroamerican epistemology that is linear, empirical, and intolerant of varying explanations. This he compares to *polyrhetoric*, a way of knowing that is inherently accepting of multi-linear, multi-dimensional understandings, and which he presents as being more resonant with Polynesian cultural sense.

Polyrhetoric, then,

. . . produces compelling versions, but within a context where additional, equally compelling and contradictory versions are expected, even welcomed. [Wood 1999:149]

Wood makes a case for a modern setting and interpretation of polyrhetoric as practice, creating an intentional anathema to Euroamerican empiricism and linear thought. There is, though, a strong semblance of Wood's description of contemporary polyrhetoric, a poly-vocalism, in the historical pastiche of Hawaiian writings of the 19th and early 20th centuries which should be considered in light of the arguments in *Displacing Natives*. Such polyrhetoric is both a resource and a product, one that Epeli Hau'ofa celebrates as a Pacific tradition of realigning history and narrative to an end:

One of the more positive aspects of our existence in Oceania is that truth is flexible and negotiable, despite attempts by some of us to impose political, religious, and other forms of absolutism. [Hau'ofa 2000:454]

However, the conflict that a myriad of historical voices presents for a discourse informed by linear epistemology and absolutism seems to have consistently overwhelmed attempts to create or maintain space for such multiple and disparate voices. In contemporary discourse, many Hawaiian voices remain obscured.

Discourse Shapes a Canon in Hawai'i

The grand matrix of powers that for centuries framed and reified the whole global area of Said's *Orient* are, on perhaps a smaller scale, these same powers that have interlaced with knowledge production in the Pacific and Hawai'i. While the overlapping discourses created by centuries of changing powers in Hawai'i have extensive ramifications in the past and present, the focus of this dissertation is the effect of those powers on the production and incorporation of texts, historically and today. Particular historical forces shaping the production of the Hawaiian written repository are addressed in the next chapter, but the forces involved in the selection of those writings for use today are considered here. Michael Shapiro reiterates Foucault in posing a basic question about selection and validation of historical references:

. . . he looks at what the statements *are* and why *they* rather than some other statements, conveying power for other kinds of subjects, are there. [Shapiro 1984:220]

The question then remains as to why so many resources of English origin are in place, while a mass of historical Hawaiian material is not only unapparent, but also remains inaccessible through research tools or translation?

English language primacy is a powerful force framing knowledge in Hawai'i, but another force has been the general dismissal of the Hawaiian language material by researchers and the general public, something that goes beyond simple prevalence of English. The overall body of existing materials written in Hawaiian failed to gain sufficient recognition to be seen as an important or valid source of information, enough so as to generate some concerted efforts toward access, analysis, and incorporation.²⁷

From the emergence of English primacy at the close of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century, English and foreign language sources have been assembled or generated anew in order to supply the growing need and power of the English-speaking population. Woven by intertextual support into an interlocking fabric of ever-increasing strength, the development of English

²⁷ Dr. Isabella Abbott raises the possibility that the Hawaiian written record is viewed as an extension of oral tradition and thus easily dismissed.

language knowledge about Hawai'i expanded dramatically, along with the tools of access to that knowledge, while almost continually excluding the available Hawaiian writings of the previous century. Such Hawaiian language writings, and especially those considered in this dissertation, were recognized early by some, but with minimal impact on the usage of those materials. In her website on the *Nupepa Kuokoa*, Joan Hori includes Thomas Thrum's assertion of the cultural value of writings in the native papers, which began in 1861 with *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Kuokoa*:

Persons interested in the study of the usages, customs and beliefs of Hawaiians will find much instructive material thereon from their own writings in the native papers prior to 1870, notably in the scarce volumes of the *Kuokoa*. [Hori N.d.]

Thrum extracted data and narrative from those sources to include in his own annual publications, often with no reference as to original author, publication source, or context. Nearly a century after Thrum's observations about the value of the newspaper resources of the 1860s, Helen Chapin again noted the importance of the newspaper writings of the same period, referring to them as the Hawaiian nationalist press. Describing these early independent newspapers, she writes:

The origin of a Hawaiian nationalist press—for such it was from its first day—is a striking illustration of literacy joined to a newspaper technology conferring empowerment. [Chapin 1996:59]

Between Thrum's observation and Chapin's affirmation, others have noted the value of this repository, and it continues to gain attention.²⁸ But still today little of the Hawaiian material has been retrieved and more importantly, in a century, no framework has been established to identify and organize access to that body of material. No research tools, such as indexes, summaries or translations have been created to facilitate access to the whole corpus of writings for the researcher, and no network has been put in place to store the data that has been uncovered by those who delve into the primary sources.²⁹

In the nearly one hundred years between Thrum and Chapin's observations, the works of two Hawaiian columnists from that 1860s period were extracted, translated, and edited for English publication: S. M. Kamakau and J. Papa 'Ī'ī. Both their peers and those of later generations recognized the works of these two writers as important, and extracts of their works have been made part of the

²⁸ The Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawai'i 1925 acknowledged the value of materials "buried in the files of the Hawaiian newspapers." The commission initiated the extraction of Kamakau's writings from those files, but no further projects were carried out. For current resources, see also Hori N.d.

²⁹ Materials identified and copied from the Hawaiian newspapers under the direction of Larry Kimura are housed at Hamilton Library Special Collections, and listed at: <http://www2.hawaii.edu/~speccoll/hawaiilaiana.html>

present-day canon. But little effort has been dedicated to the incorporation of the remainder of that notable material into contemporary reference tools.

Knowledge is fractured and multi threaded, even hegemonic knowledge that overwrites and dismisses the unchosen, leaving alternative knowledges to persist even where they are not widely incorporated. Multiple threads weave the fabrics of academic, personal and collective knowledge in Hawai'i today. Whole complexes of knowledge have undoubtedly been sundered in over two hundred years of change since the advent of Capt. Cook, and some survive tenuously, but the span is only a handful of lifetimes, and more has been maintained or developed than is recognized in the broader discourse.

There are oral and written lines of knowledge that have extended over time via families, through communities, social or cultural groups and intellectual lineages of mentors and their proteges. In addition to writing and newer technologies, knowledge is transmitted through stories, poetry, dances, music, artifacts, practices and the anecdotes that indicate or illuminate each form.

Many of these forms of discourse are socially bounded, only accessible to members of a family, a hālau, students, proteges, or particular communities. All are histories that are incorporated into individual and collective understandings of the past, and as such work to validate or conflict with the more general

discourse that may not incorporate such knowledge. Geoff White mentions the important role these personal histories assume in a geographically bounded setting like Hawai'i:

Histories told and remembered by those who inherit them are discourses of identity: just as identity is inevitably a discourse of history... Particularly in small island communities where individual and collective identities are so tightly bound, historical discourse locates both self and community within a nexus of relations between past and present, self and other. [White 1991:3-4]

The power of the printed text described by Ong and others can overpower the personal or regional histories that White addresses above, creating tension between the received and the general knowledge. Different forms can also be sought out and used to compliment each other, as Ben Finney 1992:12-16 describes in "The Sin of Avarua" where written accounts and lineage histories were combined to clarify, validate and reconstruct an historic event at Taputapuātea.

Printed histories, especially when drawn repeatedly from a limited range of sources, repeatedly echo and reflexively empower the dominant mono-rhetoric. Manulani Meyer's work on Hawaiian epistemology addresses the personal disarticulation that comes about when one's inherited knowledge conflicts with the repetitive presence of the officially learned:

It is a strange world indeed, to wake up and realize that everything I have learned in school, everything I've read in books, every vocabulary test and jumping jack, every seating arrangement and response expectation—absolutely everything—has not been shaped by a Hawaiian mind. [Meyer 2001:1]

English materials can be expected to reflect an English mental framework, but when Hawaiian materials are made to reinforce such a framework there is an erasure of alternate arrangements of knowledge, especially when the reshaping occurs without mention. The selective reorganization of S. M. Kamakau's texts in translation, discussed in chapter four of this dissertation, is one example of epistemological overlay, where Hawaiian writings have clearly been reshaped to fit and reinforce Western paradigms. The extraction of portions of 'Ō'Ō's writings, covered in the same chapter, exhibits a similar overwriting, one which does not only reorganize, but evaluates and dismisses whole portions of the original material.

Another example of an epistemological shift from Hawaiian to Western framework of thought is the alphabetical arrangement of text adopted by Hawaiians with, or before, the advent of literacy. One published example is the 1865 Hawaiian dictionary by Andrews, which was edited and enlarged in 1922 as the Andrews/Parker Hawaiian dictionary. The 1865 text, published in the Hawaiian Kingdom for a largely Hawaiian-speaking audience, was alphabetized

in the Hawaiian alphabetical order in use at the time: A, E, I, O, U, H, K, L, M, N, P, W. Possibly drawn from Hawaiian word arrangement in the oral tradition, but definitely incorporated in Hawaiian literacy, this alphabetical order was utilized by 19th century Hawaiians and is seen in their personal writings.³⁰ When the dictionary was republished and expanded in the Territory of Hawai'i, it was reorganized in the American alphabetical order—A, E, H, K, L, M, N, O, P, U, W (Andrews and Parker 1922). English speakers find the Andrews text baffling.³¹

It is difficult to find pertinent materials in largely uncharted archival collections, and also challenging to understand Hawaiian, especially archaic and culturally dense language. These difficulties have helped make the handful of ready translated sources into invaluable reference material for modern scholars. The development of those ready resources is explored in the next chapter.

³⁰ Such alphabetical arrangement is seen in published examples, but it was apparently the norm in private use as well, as seen in the journal of Rev. Hapuku, in entries for November 1860, pg. 237. Manuscript copy in the archives of Société de Études Océaniens, Papeete Tahiti.

³¹ The recent republication of Andrews' original form of the dictionary (Andrews 1865) has generated a new wave of anecdotes about people using the text and finding words to be out of order or missing, when they actually are included, but appear in a Hawaiian ordering.

CHAPTER II

SHAPING POWER: CREATION OF THE HAWAIIAN CANON

Discursive powers and practices helped shape current knowledge about Hawai'i and has generated a recognized canon of Hawaiian historical and cultural texts. The canon referred to here is made up of the translated works of four Hawaiian authors from the 19th century: Davida Malo (1903), *Hawaiian Antiquities*; Kepelino (1932), *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*; John Papa 'Ī'i (1959), *Fragments of Hawaiian History*; and Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991), *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, *Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old*, *The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko*, and *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Na Mo'olelo o ka Po'e Kahiko*. The publications of translated writings by these four men have been touchstone resources for years in most fields of study related to Hawai'i, meaning that in order to exhibit adequate research, a writer, researcher, or presenter is expected to have consulted one or more of these texts. In most scholarship or research, canon reference represents sufficiency of investigation into Hawaiian sources.

Within the setting of English primacy, certain contextual factors helped to generate and foster the cumulative power of the Hawaiian canon. These factors include the relative vacuum of Hawaiian resources into which the English texts

emerged, the imprimatur of the presenting institution, an absence of contradiction or disagreement between the texts, and the apparent authority of the individual authors and texts themselves. Each of these four factors became and remained applicable as translations were published and the canon developed over a period of 80 years. These factors worked to highlight the authority of the individual and collective English publications. At the same time, the growing presence and intertextual strength of the canon diminished the impetus to search beyond the published English translations to seek out the original texts or to isolate other original sources.³²

A Vacuum of Hawaiian Resources

At the opening of the 20th century, English language texts from Hawaiian writers were almost non-existent. Throughout the 19th century and up through the first years of the 20th century, few secular texts were created by Hawaiian writers outside of the newspaper venue, and only a handful had ever been translated and published in English, and yet the population in the new Territory

³² It is important to acknowledge the extensive efforts of the Bishop Museum and their staff throughout the 20th century in developing materials for an English-speaking public and to

and eventual State of Hawai'i were increasingly English speakers, and English language texts were in demand.

Reverend Sheldon Dibble's *Ka Mooololo Hawaii* (Dibble 1838), an edited collection of cultural and historical writings by Hawaiian scholars from Lahainaluna College, appeared in English translation twice, first in 1839 and again in 1843.³³ Samuel Kamakau's weekly column of historical writings for the newspaper *Kuokoa* of 1866 (Kamakau 1866b) began to appear in translation in the *Hawaiian Gazette* in 1868, but copyright issues were quickly raised, and the English publication was curtailed.³⁴ Fornander's *An Account of the Polynesian Race* (Fornander 1878-85) drew on numerous Hawaiian sources, and included Hawaiian chants with translation, but the three volumes were essentially contained in English texts.

recognize that the context in which those materials emerged has continued to change over time. This discussion is not intended to in any way diminish the value of those past efforts.

³³ Credited to Hawaiian scholars but edited by their instructor, Sheldon Dibble, *Ka Mooololo Hawaii* was translated first by Rev. Reuben Tinker for the journal *The Hawaiian Spectator*, (Tinker 1839) and later continued in *The Polynesian*, (Tinker 1840). The text was translated again by Rev. Dibble for publication as a book, *The History of the Sandwich Islands* (Dibble 1843).

³⁴ The translations, heavily edited, appeared in five consecutive columns of the *Hawaiian Gazette* 1868a. An editorial raising the copyright issue appeared in *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1868, the *Hawaiian Gazette* denied the (Hawaiian Gazette 1868b), and a third editorial on the same topic appeared in *Ke Au Okoa* (A. L. 1868), after which publication of the English was terminated. According to an editorial in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1868 Kamakau began his historical series in the Hawaiian newspapers at the insistence of Judge Lorrin Andrews, who intended to translate the material into English and publish it in book form, a project that was never completed.

A few chant texts, notably the *Kumu Lipo*, an epic Hawaiian chant of creation, were translated into German and eventually English, and some periodicals, mostly *Thrum's Annual*, included translated chants and cultural or historical extracts from a variety of Hawaiian sources. A book of legends by King Kalākaua (1888) was written in English and included edited and retold forms of stories, some of which had appeared in the Hawaiian press, but they were summaries rather than translations of the originals. No other substantial cultural or historical texts generated by Hawaiian writers had been brought to an English audience, although numerous English texts had been published, some of which, like Fornander, Thrum, and Kalākaua, drew data or excerpts from Hawaiian language sources.³⁵

Davida Malo

The publication of Davida Malo's *Ka Mooololo Hawaii* in English translation as *Hawaiian Antiquities* appears to be the first complete published translation of a scholarly text known to be the original work of a single Hawaiian writer.³⁶ As

³⁵ See Forbes 1999–2002 for extensive bibliographies of Hawaiian material.

³⁶ *Ka Mooololo Hawaii* was translated and extensively annotated by Nathaniel B. Emerson; the work was then further edited by W.D. Alexander for English publication. Purchase of the manuscript and translation by the Bishop Museum made the original text available to researchers

such, it was a breakthrough in Hawaiian resources for English-language readers (Malo 1903). Publication of Malo's work by the Bishop Museum, the primary institution for the study and documentation of Hawaiian history and culture, granted authority and scholarly gravity to the work, while illuminating the museum's collections.³⁷ This same museum imprimatur granted scholarly authority to each of the texts in the Hawaiian canon discussed in this dissertation.

Davida Malo was acknowledged as one of the rare Hawaiian writers who could describe from first-hand experience the customs and practices of pre-Christian Hawai'i (Malo 1971:viii-xv). While observer accounts of early Hawai'i were widely available from explorers, missionaries, traders or visitors, Malo offered the perspective of a Hawaiian participant, which was a new and valuable resource for those readers and researchers who did not speak Hawaiian. Unfortunately, the Hawaiian text was not included in the publication, and

at the museum and eventually through microfilm copies elsewhere. In the 1971 reprinting, Dr. Alexander Spoehr points out that in the 1903 and 1951 English publications it was difficult to tell where the work of Malo left off and that of Emerson began, and he directed readers to the microfilm or the holograph for clarification. (Spoehr, 1971:xxi). A recent republication of Malo in translation by M. Chun (Malo 1987) is problematic and has not replaced the referential use of Emerson's earlier text.

³⁷ The dual intention of such publication on the museum's part is discussed in Emerson 1898.

Malo's manuscript was available only to recognized scholars at the Bishop Museum, excluding most of the Hawaiian population.

A Changing Audience

The audience for which *Hawaiian Antiquities* was published was far different than those few who had access to his manuscript *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii*. By 1903 the use of English language was universal in local academic institutions and growing among the population in the Islands, while use of Hawaiian language was diminishing. Production of Hawaiian language materials was declining along with the Hawaiian speaking population. A small surge of Hawaiian language publications appeared in the first decade after annexation,³⁸ but the Hawaiian language presence declined rapidly.

In 1910, there were 54 locally generated periodicals were in print, mostly newspapers and newsletters, but also including magazines and journals. Of these, nine were Hawaiian-language newspapers, three were bilingual in English and Hawaiian, and 16 exclusively in English. The other 26 periodicals served

³⁸ The number of books and short-run periodicals appearing in the first few years of the 20th century are all trade publications, rather than academic productions, dealing mostly with biography, legendary material and some cultural practice description. They present an interesting historical aspect with social and political implications about the Hawaiian speaking

immigrant communities of Japanese, Portuguese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino, some being bi-lingual with English and one being tri-lingual in Japanese, English and Filipino. A decade later, Hawaiian papers numbered six out of 56, with three others being bi-lingual, English and Hawaiian. By 1930, two Hawaiian and two bi-lingual papers were in print along with 54 other periodicals. In 1940, 68 periodicals were in press, with two Hawaiian-language weeklies and one Hawaiian and English; English periodicals numbered 27. Of the 38 remaining periodicals, many of which were bi-lingual with English, 15 were Japanese, six were Chinese, three were Korean, and 13 were Filipino. English periodicals from abroad would have added substantially to the growing imbalance.

While Hawaiian language periodicals diminished, Hawaiian language books all but disappeared after the first decade of the 20th century. Following the 1898 annexation and through 1910, only a handful of Hawaiian language books were produced. Biographies of Joseph Nāwahī (Sheldon 1908) and Kaluaiko‘olau (Sheldon 1906) were the largest secular texts of that decade. None of the Hawaiian language texts were produced by the educational institutions of the time, each being private or commercial publications. In contrast, books in English

population of the period. No bibliography has been completed for the decade, but these rare texts, obscure today, deserve further study as indicated here.

on every topic about Hawai'i became a booming industry, produced locally and nationally in the U.S., from commercial and academic presses. The publication of Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities* presented a unique resource in this setting.

English-speakers were interested in the new Territory and eager for information about Hawai'i, its history and people. Published books on every aspect of territorial life appeared, some preceding and anticipating formal territorial status.³⁹ English newspapers and magazines included numerous articles about Hawaiian traditions, legends, noted places, or historical figures and events, offering nostalgia for long-term residents or those born in the Islands, while educating the growing influx of those immigrating to the new U.S. territory. *Thrum's Annual*, an almanac of business, weather, agriculture, and population data, included many such articles, available today through its indexes. Most were generated and submitted in English, but others were drawn from earlier sources, especially the Hawaiian language newspapers of the previous century. Similar sources filled the pages of other English periodicals of the early Territory period, such as *Paradise of the Pacific*, a popular glossy monthly magazine focused on Island lifestyles in the changing territory.

³⁹ See Musick 1898.

Articles written in English and published in *Thrum's Annual* and *Paradise of the Pacific* routinely acknowledged the author and source, as was the case with some of the material extracted from the Hawaiian papers. Many such translated articles, however, including pieces drawn from newspaper columns of the 1860s by Samuel Kamakau or John Papa 'Ī'i, were unidentified or referenced only by original publication date.⁴⁰ Other unacknowledged sources were summarized or rewritten in English rather than being translated. Such anonymity had the effect of mystifying the original sources, and of diminishing the authority and recognition of the original authors. The regular inclusion of historical and cultural tidbits about the earlier eras of Hawai'i did, however, feed a growing interest among the English-speaking audience.

Abraham Fornander

In 1916, Thomas Thrum completed a task begun years earlier by W.D. Alexander of editing for publication Abraham Fornander's extensive collection of "Hawaiian mythology, traditions, meles and genealogies" (Fornander 1916–1920). Judge Abraham Fornander, the author of *The Polynesian Race* (Fornander

⁴⁰ For an example where both the author and date of publication go unacknowledged, see Thrum's publication of the legend of Punaakoae, (Thrum 1912:117-125), which is drawn in

1878–1885) who had passed away in 1887, assembled his collection of “antiquarian and traditional lore” throughout his residency in the islands and especially during the last thirty years of his life.⁴¹ The materials included his own research and that of others, as well as articles culled from Hawaiian newspapers and special accounts written for him by Hawaiian scholars who were paid for their efforts. Three large volumes, appearing in eight separate publications, were published as a series of Bishop Museum Memoirs, beginning in 1916 and ending in 1920 (Fornander 1916–1920).

The *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore*, published for the most part in Hawaiian and English, established the most extensive body of Hawaiian legends, historical accounts, traditional practices, and chants published to date. The assembly is large, and drawn from varied sources, many of them noted authorities of their time. These Hawaiian authorities, including Kelou Kamakau, John Papa ‘Ī‘ī, S. P. Hale‘ole, Kepelino, and S. M. Kamakau, are often only indirectly acknowledged, and most of the larger sections of the collection are anonymous.

entirety from ‘Ī‘ī, Sept. 4 and 11, 1869, *Kuokoa*. For an example of citing date but not author, see (Thrum 1919:84-89), which is drawn from the writings of Kamakau, Dec. 29, 1866 and Jan. 5, 1867.

⁴¹ Abraham Fornander came to Hawai‘i in 1838, but did not permanently settle in the islands until 1842. He died in 1887.

In spite of the variety of sources, however, there is a certain homogeneity to the language style of Hawaiian used throughout most of the collection; much of the Hawaiian narrative material seems to have been re-written in what appears to be Fornander's personal style or idiolect. Alexander, Thrum, or both then further edited this material for consistency. Because of the multiple sources, anonymity of ethnographic material and rewriting of text, the *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Folklore* is not included in the canon of Hawaiian authors being considered in this dissertation.

The publication of Fornander's material did fuel a steadily growing interest in Hawaiian culture and lore at the time of its publication and was embraced as a new and important Hawaiian source, yet the Fornander collection has not been as used as a scholarly reference in the same way as the works of the four authors in the canon addressed here. His folklore works have been incorporated as support materials to the texts in the canon, as have his writings from *An Account of the Polynesian Race*.

Martha Beckwith

During the opening decades of the 20th century, Martha Beckwith, a scholar working with the Smithsonian Institution and Vassar College, added to the small and growing body of Hawaiian literature in English with her legend texts. In 1919, 1923, 1928, and again in 1936, she published translations of Hawaiian legends and wise sayings, some from early sources and others which were collected from living 20th century story tellers in the Islands.⁴² As creative fiction⁴³ or the collected and edited stories of 20th century informants, Beckwith's publications did not become part of the modern canon.

Nonetheless, Beckwith's body of work with Hawaiian materials and her long collaboration with native Hawaiian scholar Mary Kawena Pukui helped to shape the Hawaiian canon as it is known today and addressed in this dissertation. Her

⁴² Beckwith, Martha Warren, *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*, introduction and translation by M. Beckwith, published in *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1911-1912*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919. ppg. 285-666, original text by S.N. Haleole, Honolulu 1863.; and Beckwith, ed. *Hawaiian Stories and Wise Sayings*, Vassar College, 1923, republished 1926; *Folk-Tales from Hawaii*, 1928, and *The Legend of Kawelo and Other Hawaiian Folk Tales* (1936). The short stories from Pukui in these texts were edited for republication in *Folktales of Hawai'i: He Mau Ka'ao Hawai'i*, Bishop Museum Press, 1995.

⁴³ Hale'ole's *Laieikawai* a traditional legendary account, was assembled in writing for the newspapers and then published in book form, acknowledged as the first published book of indigenous Hawaiian literature.

clear presentation of materials under the separate rubrics of legend and mythology, history, and culture show evidence of a different epistemological framework than that in which the original materials were sometimes found, a point discussed in chapter four with reference to the processes affecting extracted texts.

Like Fornander's volumes of folklore described above, Beckwith's books were published bi-lingually with Hawaiian and English text on facing pages, a rare contrast to the many monolingual English texts about Hawaiian cultural and historical material. Ms. Beckwith was hoping to foster bi-lingual presentation as a norm in translated Hawaiian texts, as indicated in her 1932 publication of a manuscript by Kepelino and in her correspondence regarding future publications planned with the Bishop Museum (Beckwith 1932, 1949a, 1949b). A bi-lingual format was academically valuable, but it was one that the museum and other publishers apparently did not embrace. For over fifty years after *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii* appeared, publications of translated works were presented only in English. Bi-lingual presentations did not reach publication again until the resurgence of interest in Hawaiian created a new demand within the last two or three decades.

Kepelino

In 1932, Martha Beckwith published her translation of an undated manuscript by Kepelino, who was noted in the book for “telling of Hawaiian tradition as it was preserved in the monarchy” (Beckwith 1932:6). Beckwith acknowledged in her introduction that great changes had occurred prior to and during Kepelino’s lifetime, which ended in 1878 after one hundred years of Western influence, but she introduced her translation with this expansive evaluation of Kepelino’s work:

it is evident that the description here given of old Hawaiian worship and of Hawaiian religious conceptions is certainly uninfluenced by Christian thought. [Beckwith 1932:7]

With the publication of *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawaii*, Kepelino, as Malo before him, was given great credence as a first-hand source, especially for providing insight into the continuity of Hawaiian traditions from early contact Hawai’i through the monarchy era. Kepelino’s manuscript, like the Fornander collection and Beckwith’s legends text, had the added quality of a typescript of the original Hawaiian text on facing pages with its translation, the last bilingual text of its kind produced for nearly fifty years.

John Papa ‘Ī‘ī

After Kepelino, a quarter of a century passed before another comprehensive work by a Hawaiian author was available to English language readers. In 1959, as the Territory of Hawai‘i was becoming a State, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* by John Papa ‘Ī‘ī presented detailed accounts of his youth in the royal court, the activities of the chiefs, and the traditional practices he witnessed or learned. He had published his writings in the newspaper *Kuokoa* from 1868 until his death in 1870, and like Malo before him, ‘Ī‘ī was appreciated and acknowledged for his insight into the pre-Christian era. His reminiscences included his personal experiences of life in the court of Kamehameha I and carried the credibility of one who had been in the innermost government circles of five kings until his retirement from public service in 1864. Published reviews at the time of the English publication lauded the insight ‘Ī‘ī brought to the field and linked his work as part of the growing, recognized canon:

Except for the account of the early part of the regime of Kamehameha I which doubtlessly he heard from first-hand sources, his descriptions are based on the actual experiences of a participant or an eyewitness. The accounts are those of normal performances, often very personal and full of detail, rather than the somewhat idealized, objective formulas of Malo, Kepelino and Fornander. [Scobie 1961:253–254]

‘Ī‘Ī’s writings were said to offer, for the first time in translation, historical data about the chiefs: “as seen through Hawaiian eyes” (Scobie 1961:254).

Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau

In the 1930s, while Kepelino’s manuscript was being prepared for print and long before ‘Ī‘Ī’s work had been extracted for translation, work had already begun on the collection and translation of years of weekly columns by Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, the fourth and most published author in the modern canon. Kamakau was a prolific writer, and because of the extent of his writings, and his “florid literary style,” the effort to coordinate and complete a collaborative translation project took several years (Kent 1961:ix).⁴⁴

Kawena Pukui and Martha Beckwith completed the laborious editing of various translators’ works by 1934, but the manuscript languished for decades, and the first section of the work, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, was not published until 1961. It took another 30 years to complete the publication of his selected writings from the 1860s as three more separate texts: *Ka Po’e Kahiko: The People of Old* (1964); *The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Po’e Kahiko* (1976), and;

⁴⁴ See Chapter IV for more details on the processes of publication relating to this text.

Tales and Traditions of the People of Old (1991). The division of content that resulted in these four texts bore little or no connection to the sequence in which the original serial columns were presented from 1865 to 1871.

The first text, *Ruling Chiefs*, brought together the historical writings of Kamakau from his serial columns of 1865–71, writings which had long been referred to by such writers as Thrum, Fornander and Alexander. *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* was presented as the long-awaited work by the last member to be published of “a trio of outstanding Hawaiian historians,” the other two being John Papa ‘Ī‘ī and Davida Malo. The implication of the completed triad of recognized Hawaiian historians added to the authority of the works by these three men, while mystifying or dismissing the rest of the Hawaiian writers. The new data that Kamakau’s historical material added to the field was said to show how “a scholar of Hawaiian ancestry interpreted the history of his people and something as to how he felt about it” (Spoehr 1961).

Articulation of Texts

Three years later, in 1964, another selection from Kamakau’s newspaper accounts was published as *Ka Po’e Kahiko: The People of Old* (Kamakau 1964). The introduction to this second text describes how the cultural material culled from

Samuel Kamakau's historical accounts⁴⁵ articulated with the earlier publications of Malo and 'Ūi to generate a clearer picture of the Hawaiian world of old. D.

Barrère wrote:

Davida Malo, in the classic work *Hawaiian Antiquities*, gave a broad outline of the ancient culture; John Ii's personal experiences, recounted in *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, revealed the functioning of that culture. *Ka Po'e Kahiko* now adds those details which give new depth and meaning to these two works. The three are a composite picture of Hawaiian beliefs and customs as they were in the ancient days and in the transitional period of acculturation to introduced thoughts and concepts. [Barrère 1964:viii]

The author of the introduction quoted above, Dorothy Barrère, is a scholar and author noted for her extensive research in Hawaiian language resources of the 19th century. As her own works reflect, she did not consider these three translated texts, making up "a composite picture," to be the only picture necessary, and one that would be sufficient for all cultural research pertaining to Hawai'i; the objective, rather, was to provide an introductory overview or a point of entry for those embarking on a study in the field.⁴⁶ The discourse of

⁴⁵ The "historical" material, like the "cultural" material from Kamakau's serial columns, was originally published in a continuous series from 10/20/1866 to 2/2/1871 as weekly installments, beginning in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and then continuing in *Ke Au Okoa*. The material was extracted, translated and edited for publication as the historical reference text *Ruling Chiefs*. (Kamakau 1961) Changes in the text during the process of extraction and editing are detailed in Chapter III of this dissertation.

⁴⁶ Dorothy B. Barrère, personal communication, 2001.

sufficiency shows that her comments came to be interpreted literally for decades to follow. For most researchers it seems the texts in hand embodied a sufficiently “composite picture,” one, like Houston Wood’s “mono-rhetoric” which contained all the necessary truths.

The limited number of original Hawaiian materials available in English, coupled with the clear assurance that those available were an articulated, complete set, or a “composite picture,” helped to establish the sufficiency of those texts discussed in this dissertation. Reviews of *Ka Po’e Kahiko* expounded on how Kamakau’s writings worked in contrast and collaboration with the previous publications of Malo and ‘Īī :

Rather than producing an over-all pattern of ancient Hawaiian society like that delineated by David Malo in *Hawaiian Antiquities*, or an eye-witness account of its functioning of the type recorded by John Papa Ii in *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, Kamakau is concerned mainly with the fundamental principles which validated the practices of “the people of old.” It is therefore complementary to the other two works, and enriches them with further details. [Scobie 1966:248]

Emphasis was given on how this new text, in unison with the two earlier publications, helped clarify the available picture, again addressing a single, more detailed, composite picture:

The real value of Kamakau, however, lies in the critical way he examines a wide range of magico-religious beliefs, frequently amplifying their description, and giving accounts of their practices. In

this manner he confirms and extends much that has been recorded by other Hawaiian writers, as well as filling in gaps, and reduces many obscurities. This is good material which can be adapted readily by students interested in establishing a more complete picture of “the people of old.” [Scobie 1966:249]

The authority granted to these English publications and the growing obscurity of those Hawaiian texts that remained untapped and outside of the developing canon made the handful of available English texts appear more than adequate for the needs of scholarship and general understanding. The review quoted above also mentioned the growing number of persons interested in Polynesian material, the difficulty of utilizing the original sources, and the value of their assembly and publication in English:

Many contemporary observations of old Hawaii are hidden in articles in early newspapers and periodicals. They are widely scattered, and frequently in the Hawaiian language. In gathering them together and presenting them in a readily available form, the Bishop Museum is rendering a valuable service to an ever-increasing range of students of Polynesia. [Scobie 1966:248]

Ka Po'e Kahiko was followed about a decade later with another translated portion of Kamakau's columns, *The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko* (Kamakau 1976). This text also focused on culture rather than history, but it was Hawaiian material culture that framed the selected writings, rather than social systems. The editor, Dorothy Barrère, identifies links between these

selections of Kamakau's work and those of other writers of Kamakau's time, like Malo, Dibble and Pogue, but she points out how in every instance Kamakau added a great amount of new data to the existing descriptions and functions of Hawaiian material culture, showing this text to be superior to other writers and encompassing them. The composite picture is thus enhanced, but its focus is not altered or contradicted, an insight echoed in a review of the book by Donna Dickerson:

An in-depth ethnohistorical/ethnographic description of pre-European Hawaii, originally written in the nineteenth century as the last remnants of native culture began to vanish. Kamakau provides much valuable data on Polynesian subsistence and agricultural patterns, also technology, language, myth, ritual, calendrics, dwellings and attire. [Dickerson 1977:187]

Finally, in 1991, the remaining sections of Kamakau's serial columns were assembled and published as *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old* (Kamakau 1991). Translated and edited nearly sixty years earlier, these selections were again edited for publication by Dorothy Barrère, who acknowledged the diversity of the subject matter as an assembly of earlier omissions. Legends and historical sections of this text had been incorporated piecemeal into English texts for over a century as primary sources for authors such as Fornander, Thrum and Westervelt (Barrère 1991:ix).

The presentation of each of the books that became the Hawaiian canon stressed the unique authority of the writer to present his views of Hawaiian history and culture and emphasized the quality of the translation bringing it into English. Selection and editing of each subsequent text maximized the intertextual support of each for its predecessors, and minimized the potential contradictions or conflicts that could have arisen. Publication of each text by the Bishop Museum provided another implicit acknowledgement of the academic quality of the resources.

This is not to say that such presentation was unwarranted. The works of these four authors were carefully selected, translated and edited according to the standards, systems, and scholars in place under the umbrella of the Bishop Museum over the span of nearly a century. The selection of these authors as important resources is unquestioned; it is the isolation of these authors to the exclusion of all other Hawaiian writers that is problematic.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The focus of this study is the written record from the 19th and early 20th century, an archive of native auto-representation that is clearly male-dominated. The miniscule representation of women in the written discourse of the period raises a number of valuable issues that should guide further research into the field.

Cultural Authority

The original authors whose works make up the canon were considered to be remarkable resources by their own contemporaries during their lifetimes. Each of them was acknowledged and honored for their knowledge, and sought out and relied upon as experts by their peers, their governments and their churches. In each case, with Malo, Kepelino, 'Ōi and Kamakau, the writings that were extracted to become English books were from writings composed at the behest of their contemporaries who insisted that they document the body of knowledge for which they were respected.

Davida Malo, enrolled in the first class of adult students at Lahainaluna, was a noted scholar and genealogist well recognized by his contemporaries. He quickly came to the attention of the mission teachers for his intelligence, his knowledge, and the respect he gained from the chiefs, as expressed in this note from missionary William Richards, a noted translator and teacher of the chiefs:

[Davida Malo] is among the most intelligent of the people and a most valuable assistant in translating his knowledge of his own language, is thorough, is able to give authorities for his use of words by reference to ancient mele [songs] and kanikaus [grief chants], is a valuable member of the church, is often consulted by the chiefs on important business and is esteemed by them as a good counselor. [Richards 1828a]

Kepelino was considered to be a cultural expert during his life, the son of Namiki, whose interviews made up much of Jules Remy's *Contributions of a Venerable Savage* (1868). An important cultural resource for his Catholic teachers, a few of his cultural writings were published in Hoiliili Hawaii in 1858.⁴⁸ The manuscript that became *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii* was said to be drafted at the request of Bishop Maigret and possibly written down by him following dictation from Kepelino. Basil Kirtley, a University of Hawai'i English professor and Ester Mo'okini, a researcher and translator, expressed this about Kepelino:

[He] belongs with S. M. Kamakau, David Malo, and John Papa Ii in the front rank of native-born preservers and interpreters of the islands' ancient culture. Since his chiefly family (Kahoaliikumaiei-waka-moku: to-be-chief-of-the-nine-districts), traced descent from the legendary priest Pa'ao, and was closely related to Ka-mehameha I, surviving remnants of the old hieratical knowledge inevitably became part of his legacy. [Kirtley and Mookini, 1977:39]

John Papa 'Ī'i held the esteem of his chiefs and his peers throughout his life and was often held up as an example of integrity, ability, and knowledge. After meeting with the delegation of Hawaiian missionaries working in the Marquesan islands, Reverend Kekela, a leader of the Marquesan mission effort, wrote of the man in glowing terms:

⁴⁸ Translation of a portion of this text is in Kirtley, B. and E. Mookini, *Kepelino's "Hawaiian Collection": His "Hooiliili Hawaii" Pepa I, 1858*. *Hawaiian Journal of History* 11:39–68, 1977.

Nani kuu pomaikai nui i ka halawai ana me Ioane Ii, a i kuu lohe ana i kana mau olelo ao, a olelo paipai, a mau Haiao, nui ko'u hilahila, no ka mea, ua oi kona makaukau i ko'u, a ua hemahema loa au. [Kekela 1865]

[I am greatly blessed in having met John 'Ī'ī, and upon my hearing his advice, his encouragements and sermons, I am greatly humbled, because his ability is beyond mine, and in comparison I am quite lacking.]

Samuel Kamakau, a younger contemporary of Malo's at Lahainaluna and a founding member with him of the Hawaiian Historical Association in 1848, was regarded as a leading cultural scholar of his time, meticulous with his large repository of knowledge. John Papa 'Ī'ī, who shared Kamakau's active dedication to history and culture and wrote columns for the same paper spoke of him in clear admiration:

He kupanaha keia kanaka wahi ia John Ii. Me he la ua ike maka, paanaau na mea apau, na wahi a'u i hele ai me na 'lii Kauikeaouli—Kaahumanu, mehe la oiala kekahi, he uuku loa na mea hemahema. [Helekunihi 1893]

[This man is amazing according to John 'Ī'ī. It's as though he personally witnessed and memorized everything, the places I went with the chiefs, Kauikeaouli—Ka'ahumanu; it's as though he too was there. The inaccuracies are miniscule.]

The translations that have come to make up the modern Hawaiian canon have been important sources of Hawaiian historical and cultural information, and the four native authors from whom they are drawn were acknowledged

authorities of their time. Each of the canon texts was published under the umbrella of Bishop Museum scholarship⁴⁹ and they were each warmly received as new and valuable resources by a growing audience of scholars and the general public. The texts appeared in a sequence wherein each presented new aspects of Hawaiian culture with little overlap or contradiction in the content of the seven English texts.

The Hawaiian canon is recognized as an articulated entity; the four authors and their texts are often referred to collectively as a discrete group:

Kepelino. . . belongs with S. M. Kamakau, David Malo, and John Papa Ii in the front rank of native-born preservers and interpreters of the islands' ancient culture. [Kirtley and Mookini 1977:39]

The manner in which their works were woven into the fabric of contemporary knowledge includes both the presentation and acceptance of the texts described above and the subsequent intertextual validation that affirmed and normalized the importance of those texts.

⁴⁹ Kamakau's first text, *Ruling Chiefs*, was printed by the Kamehameha Schools Press, but was generated by the Bishop Museum.

Normalization of the Canon

As it emerged, the Hawaiian canon developed authority through the factors described above: the scarcity of comparable resources; the imprimatur of the presenting institution; the articulation of the text; the historical authority granted to the individual authors and their works. Normalization of that canon was progressive, especially over the last four decades, accreting authority through the general reliance placed upon the canon texts by scholars and educators, and by the integration of work by those scholars into the network of knowledge that is contemporary discourse. The growing importance of the canon within that network of knowledge has had an inverse relationship to the remainder of Hawaiian writings. As the canon's authority has grown, the adequacy of that set of resources has worked to obscure the remainder of the corpus of writings from which it was extracted.

For decades, scholarly works in fields relating to Hawaiian history and culture have been accepted as rigorous and lauded as such with no recognition of a large body of pertinent texts that remains untapped. Many of these recent works entail reconstruction or analysis of historical Hawaiian perspectives on events and cultural systems, works that may well have been enriched by the

range of resources found in the only locus of public discourse among Hawaiians: the newspaper venues of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The potential application of that early Hawaiian discourse is still largely uncharted, but the acceptance of research that excludes all but the canon as the foundation of Hawaiian reference has the effect of increasing the authority of the canon while at the same time obscuring the existence of other resources.

Peer reviews of texts, secondary reference use within other scholarly works, incorporation into curriculum at all levels, and the attained status of these texts as authorities for general reference all foster the authority of the translated canon sources upon which the modern texts rely. Without any reference ever being made to the existence of the unutilized texts, especially Hawaiian newspapers, no efforts are encouraged to create the tools that would facilitate access to them, such as indexes, concordances, summaries or translations.

Institutional Validation

For decades academic reviewers have praised the “exhaustive” research and “Hawaiian” perspective of new texts in the field which used only part or all of the translated Hawaiian canon as their central Hawaiian referents. The reviewers comments, especially the general agreement among them, provide a guiding

force for their audiences of scholars, teachers, librarians, libraries, retailers, purveyors and general readers, indicating, perhaps unintentionally, that use of the canon is completely adequate for excellence. No further research is called for or acknowledged as being necessary or even possible. Some examples below illustrate how the peer reviews, as only one aspect of validating power, have fostered the continuing generation of authority for these particular texts.

Gavan Daws, awarded the first Ph.D. in Pacific History granted by the University of Hawai'i and author of two Hawaiian histories, *Shoal of Time* (Daws 1968a), and *The Hawaiians* (Daws and Sheehan 1970), generally dismissed the existence of native auto-representational writings, or native writings by and about themselves. While he acknowledged the historical presence of a native language press and the ability of Hawaiians to read the newspapers, he implies that either the Hawaiian newspaper writings were not composed by Hawaiians or that writings by Hawaiians did not include cultural insights and perspectives about their world. In 1968, just as *Shoal of Time* was going to press, he stated in an article:

Again, sources on the life of the native community are all but intractable. The Hawaiians were not in the habit of explaining themselves or even exposing themselves in written form (this despite widespread literacy and the existence of a native-language press). In general they did not initiate social action but were acted upon. I claim

no special gift of empathy; wishing to understand the Hawaiians I found I could not, and I ended by merely trying to make sense out of what their white contemporaries said about them. [Daws 1968b:418]

This perspective is reflected in Daws' texts. In *Shoal of Time*, although he did make use of the translated works of Malo, Kamakau, and 'Ī'ī, his work relied heavily on a mix of observer accounts and archival records. Reviewers did not recognize any oversight or find any lack of Hawaiian materials, because Hawaiian sources were represented via the canon. *Shoal of Time* was enthusiastically accepted, as "the most complete, full-scale one-volume history ever written' of the Hawaiian Islands" (Brown 1969:156). Other reviewers expanded the praise for his extensive research: ". . .based solidly on primary sources. . . it could scarcely be bettered" (Hilliard 1970:232). Despite his personal dismissal of Hawaiian writings, Daws was considered quite supportive of Hawaiians: "the tendency is to lean over backwards to be fair to the Hawaiians" (Hunter 1969:242). Overall, the peer reviews echoed an unstated sentiment that reliance on the canon materials as the Hawaiian foundation was sufficient for the text to be "a thorough account of Hawaiian experience" (Booklist and Subscription Books Bulletin 1969:570). Acknowledging the canon as the basis of that experience increases the credence of the canon texts while negating the

existence of other points of entry to that experience, such as the extensive newspaper repository.

A similar case can be made in regard to Valerio Valeri's book *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawai'i* (Valeri 1985). The book has become a reference text, often quoted or used as a model by later scholars.⁵⁰ In contrast to many scholars of his time, Valeri made an effort to learn Hawaiian and carefully evaluated translated primary texts. He includes in his narrative, notes, and bibliography the Hawaiian language sources he utilized.

Valeri did go back to the original newspaper and manuscript texts to check translations against original Hawaiian sources, and in referring to those sources he included his own recommendations for wordings, interpretations, and use of existing translations. All the source materials he utilized were those indicated in published translations or in the translations in the Bishop Museum archives. He does not appear to have incorporated any as-yet-unpublished portions of those original texts.⁵¹ Beyond the material previously culled and translated, he added

⁵⁰ These include Denning, Sahlins, and Kame'eleihiwa, each of whom acknowledge his book as a leading example of primary scholarship in Hawaiian culture and history.

⁵¹ In 1985 the full translations of the original texts by S. Kamakau and J. 'I'i were on file at the Bishop Museum archives, but the last portion of Kamakau's work had not yet come to press, and a large portion of the writings by 'I'i were left unpublished in *Fragments of Hawaiian History*.

no new Hawaiian materials, relying heavily on the writings included within the canon described here and adding his revised interpretations. His evaluation of Hawaiian sources is limited to those few original sources that existing translations were drawn from, but there is no indication that he surveyed the newspaper material directly in its own broader context.⁵² He did not evaluate additional materials, nor did he acknowledge that other Hawaiian resources might be available.

Valeri's work was considered by reviewers to be exhaustive, and he was commended by anthropologist Jocelyn Linnekin for "bringing together in a single work all the available evidence pertaining to the Hawaiian sacrificial religion" for addressing "most of the important Hawaiian texts on ritual" and for "relying primarily on original Hawaiian texts describing the rituals" (Linnekin 1986:218).

While he did compare the Hawaiian texts and existing translations, many reviews of *Kingship and Sacrifice* indicate that Valeri went far further in searching the Hawaiian sources than he actually did, and that he exhausted all sources:

⁵² Valeri's selection of sources is sometimes questionable. For example, in describing the male/female polarity of *kapu*, Valeri (1985:122) relied on Pogue's (1858:24) rewrite of *Mooololo Hawaii* over the original (Dibble 1838:78) because Pogue asserted that women ate only after men were finished, while the earlier text made no such claim, and actually implied the opposite.

Valeri has been indefatigable in searching out obscure historical sources, evaluating them, and reviewing the translations of those that were originally in the Hawaiian language. . . . The sheer amount of ethnographic data that has been mined, evaluated, and compiled here for the first time is worthy of great praise, for this is a resource book on Hawaiian religion. [Davenport 1987:177–178]

. . . comprehensively-researched work. . . demonstrating the untapped richness of the documentary sources. . . . recollections of literate Hawaiians. [Barker 1987:158]

Draws on the full range of Hawaiian and European sources. [Kirkpatrick 1986:900]

Actually, Valeri did not “search out the obscure” or draw on the “full range,” but only investigated those Hawaiian materials that were translated in the canon and a handful of other previously identified and translated texts. Because of his detailed handling of the existing materials, the level of praise thus granted to his work gives great credence to that limited set of materials already available in one form or another, a history of which he included in his book. Such praise further masks the body of Hawaiian texts left amorphous and undisturbed in the newspaper archives.

By the 1980s, a model seems to have emerged which evaluated the level of new research by measuring how exhaustively the available canon texts were incorporated or how extensively archival records had been utilized, effectively disavowing the existence of one hundred years of newspaper discourse.

Subsequent texts by Marshall Sahlins, Gannanath Obeyesekere, David Stannard, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa and others were each reviewed by this measure, whether or not it was clearly acknowledged. Their texts received awards for excellence, and were repeatedly recognized as having excavated all of the existing repositories of information.

Marshall Sahlins, in *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawai'i, Volume 1* (1992), acknowledges the "small canon of published translations . . .," that has developed, which he extends to include the writings of Fornander and Dibble's *Ka Mooulolelo Hawaii*, as well as the archived translations found in the Thrum and Hawai'i Ethnographical Notes (H.E.N.) collections of the Bishop Museum. He recognized the large body of newspapers as an important source of data, but he did not investigate them. Instead, he utilized extensive archival records of the Hawaiian kingdom era to support his thesis, especially translated genealogical materials, while making no survey of the large Hawaiian newspaper discourse. The reviews generally accepted the archival records as representative of how Hawaiians viewed their world: "Analysis of the ways indigenous culture organized and interpreted changes imposed by colonialism" (Barieant-Schiller 1993:1669).

Reviews of Sahlins' *Islands of History*, (Sahlins 1985) while making no reference to the Hawaiian repository that could have been utilized, praised the extensive incorporation of historical materials, implying coverage far beyond archival records and the canon: ". . . excellent use of the accounts of this period, both those kept by crew members, of later Hawaiian accounts of Cook's visit, and of the accounts of Hawaiian mythology and history" (Joesting 1986). *How Natives Think* (Sahlins 1995), containing no new consideration of the newspaper writings as the locus of Hawaiian dialogue and expression, was commended for having addressed all of the available sources: ". . . a demonstration of a virtual mastery of the texts themselves" (Friedman 1997), and ". . . a painstaking reconstruction of the events of Cook's visit and Hawaiian memories of him following his death" (Barker 1996).

Obeyesekere's critique of Sahlins, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook* (Obeyesekere 1992), won the Louis Gottschalk award in 1992 for excellence in eighteenth-century studies without touching any of the range of Hawaiian writings described here. He was praised by reviewers for poring over original materials and for incorporating all that was accessible: ". . . Obeyesekere resolutely adheres to the facts he has culled from the original manuscripts, freed of later distortions and omissions" (Hilt 1993:289). Other reviews made it clear that the full range of

materials had been considered “. . . careful study and comparison of all available seamen’s logs and journals and accounts by Hawaiians" (Hanson 1993:762).

David Stannard in *Before the Horror* (1989) generally dismissed or deconstructed Hawaiian sources, and so he utilized almost none of the available interpretations offered by Hawaiian writers of the 19th century. As discussed in chapter four, he relied grudgingly on Kamakau, who he called, “the one source invariably used by those who bother to cite anyone when claiming that infanticide was rampant" (Stannard 1989:138).⁵³

The responses and reviews of his text *Before the Horror* are positive on the breadth of his scholarship, even without those Hawaiian sources: “. . . impressive display of scholarship" (Wells 1990), and “. . . extensively researched, . . . a far-ranging comprehensive and heavily documented review of all the evidence" (Schmitt 1989:114).

Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, in her text *Native Lands and Foreign Desires: Pehea lā e Pono ai?* (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992) uses perhaps the broadest range of Hawaiian language resources of any recently published scholar. The material incorporated into her work is almost exclusively archival land records and letters, touching the

⁵³ *Hoomana Kahiko* (Nupepa Kuokoa 10/21/1865) addresses the topic, but was never cited by Stannard or others.

newspaper archive for only two notes, one of which, by Kamakau, is included in his translated works. Because of her insight into the language, genealogy and culture of the 19th century Hawaiians, her lack of reference to the published writings they produced and the Hawaiian thought represented therein was not considered as an oversight in the reviews. Her text was reviewed as: “. . . an act of prodigious scholarship" (Morris 1992), and “a brilliantly exciting and thoroughly researched history” (Osorio 1994).

The reviews quoted above framed the way that recent scholars have been accepted by a more general audience, academic and public, exhibiting how the canon is validated as an adequate foundation for research and analysis. The use that those scholars made of the canon texts and the lack of incorporation of other materials beyond the limits of that canon help to secure the authority of the canon and to further distance and mask the Hawaiian texts that lie beyond it.

Texts by modern experts who don't step outside of the canon help frame a usage of the canon for its own referential validity as a new primary source. The reference qualities of those modern texts affect subsequent writings by others who rely on the granted authority of these contemporary experts. Texts like those noted above have become modern foundational references for other experts who

rely on their insight and selected materials. Anthropologist and historian

Gregory Denning is clearer than most in acknowledging his use of their texts:

I have not the knowledge to decode all these gestures and symbols. I am a borrower on these points from Valerio Valeri and Marshall Sahlins.
[Denning 1995:25]

Authors today who rely on the work of noted experts like those above also rely on the sources they incorporated. Thus, some or all of the texts of Malo, Kepelino, 'Ō'Ō and Kamakau are invariably found in the notes and bibliographies of most contemporary works in every field related to Hawaiian culture.

Published bibliographies like *The Hawaiians* (Kittelson 1985) include no untranslated texts, further empowering these canon texts. Curriculum guides on Hawaiian culture and history make extensive use of the canon texts as the only sources by Hawaiian authors drawn from the Hawaiian language: *Resource Units in Hawaiian Culture* (Mitchell 1982), widely used in island schools at every level, includes one or more of the canon authors in nearly every chapter of the book.

A limited canon of texts has been generated and fostered as the representation for Hawaiians of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Incorporation of the available resources has been largely limited to the published translations of four writers from the period, only two of whom were ever published for their peers as part of the vibrant discourse of the time. In order to fully appreciate the

girdling effect that promotion of a narrow canon has upon contemporary knowledge about Hawai'i, it is appropriate to survey the actual extent of material available from the period and to look at how the canon texts fit into that larger, currently indistinct, picture.

CHAPTER III BEYOND THE CANNON

The presence of a discourse of sufficiency becomes most tangible in a comparison of material used for modern reference against the fuller scope of extant Hawaiian writings. This comparison provides a context of historical practices enabled by the new technologies of print and literacy. These practices initially limited and eventually fostered Hawaiian participation in the creation of the corpus of writings, thus shaping the published discourse through the period.

I focus on the Hawaiian language newspapers that were established as an organ of Hawaiian mission culture, but which later became the locus of Hawaiian written dialogue on a national level. The change in control and participation in the production of the newspapers altered both the content and the form of the newspaper repository. While I provide a survey of the actual extent of the Hawaiian newspaper corpus, I emphasize how different aspects of the repository, more than simply its size, present critical resources for scholars, researchers, and practitioners today.

The Historical Hawaiian Language Repository

The actual range of Hawaiian written works created in the 19th and early 20th centuries is impressive, constituting “one of the largest indigenous archives in the world” (Silva, K. 2002).⁵⁴ Surveys of national repositories in the United States indicate that the archive of Hawaiian writings is greater than the sum of written material produced by all Native American societies during the 19th and early 20th centuries.⁵⁵ The archival repository in Hawai‘i includes hundreds of books, vast manuscript resources and over one hundred twenty-five thousand pages of newspaper material. A discourse of sufficiency masks both the magnitude of the repository and the importance of the resources therein.

In the history of Pacific Island societies where the technologies of literacy were introduced, Hawai‘i stands apart for its rapid adoption of literacy and zeal for written production. Although the vagaries of archival methods make it difficult to accurately measure, it appears that the Hawaiian published writings

⁵⁴ Silva’s use of “indigenous” here is apparently in reference to minority languages of the world.

⁵⁵ Stauffer, Robert, personal communication, Oct. 9, 2001, following his research in Native American archive collections for the Hawai‘i Newspaper Project, a pilot form of *Ho’olaupa’i: Hawaiian Newspaper Resources Project* detailed in Chapter V. See also Kamehameha Schools Press 2002.

exceed the sum of what all other Polynesian societies generated during the 19th and early 20th centuries, largely due to the extensive newspaper production.

Māori newspapers in New Zealand generated some thirty-thousand pages of newspapers during the same period, almost all in small format like the early mission papers of Hawai'i.⁵⁶ In the islands of French Polynesia, Catholic and Protestant newsletters were the main publications throughout the 19th century, and a vigorous native-language press did not develop until the 20th century.⁵⁷ In Sāmoa, the London Mission Society press began at Leulumoega, Upolu, in 1845, but a government press did not begin until 1905.⁵⁸

In each society, regional historical dynamics shaped the differences in both the production of original materials and the creation or maintenance of the archival repositories, but the massive production of published writings among

⁵⁶ Most Māori newspapers were 12"x 9" up to about 18" in height by 1898. For coverage of the historical development of Māori publication, see Curnow 2002:17–41 or visit <http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library>

⁵⁷ *Te Vea no Tahiti*, a government publication, ran from 1850-59, while a mostly French government paper *Messenger de Tahiti*, appeared between 1852-83. The main native-language presses in Tahiti during the latter half of the 19th century were the Catholic *Messenger de Tahiti*, 1852-83, and the contemporary pro-Protestant *Océanie Française*. (Newbury 1980:209)

⁵⁸ Masterman mentions the beginning of *Savali* as the first government press in Sāmoa (Masterman 1980:Appendix 1:17)

Hawaiians in comparison to other indigenous groups calls attention to the unique importance of that resource.⁵⁹

Books

Books in Hawaiian became a literary source as soon as the mission press was functional in 1822, four years before the development of a consistent alphabet and orthography that would shape the language for the rest of the century.⁶⁰

Hawaiian Language Imprints, 1822-1899 (Judd, Bell and Murdoch, 1978) identifies 654 books, from pamphlets to tomes, produced in Hawai'i and abroad in the Hawaiian language between the opening of the presses and the end of the 19th century.⁶¹ Hawaiian-language books continued to be published in the first decade after the turn of the century, with approximately 40 listed in current

⁵⁹ Foucault's work informs my use of "historical dynamics" in power and knowledge production, White and Tengan 2001 note the shift of representational practices in a Hawai'i setting and Stillman (2001) refers to the current investigations of archival practices and knowledge.

⁶⁰ While the basic writing conventions were agreed upon in 1826 by Protestant mission representatives who largely controlled the presses for decades, these conventions changed over time in the hands of different publishers. One notable example is the Catholic press material, which adopted the letters, *t*, *v*, and *b* to represent the *k*, *w*, and *p* found in Protestant and government publications.

⁶¹ Books in this listing include any multi-page publication with the exception of government documents, serial (such as newspapers), sheet music, event programs and such. David Forbes landmark text *Hawaiian National Bibliography 1780-1900*, Vol. 3 1851-1880; U.H. Press, 2001, includes foreign publications about Hawaiian language, local serials and pamphlets and

holdings, but the *Hawaiian Language Imprint* listing contains the majority of the existing Hawaiian-language archive of publications.

Although native speakers were critical resources for the missionaries who created most of the books in the 19th century, Hawaiian direction in the production of books, especially secular books, was minimal, involving less than four percent of the books published in their language. Of 654 Hawaiian-language books printed over a span of 80 years, only 23 secular texts are credited, in whole or in part, to Hawaiians. The first was *Ka Mooololo Hawaii*, a history published in 1838 and edited by Reverend Sheldon Dibble but acknowledged as the work of Hawaiian scholars at Lahainaluna, including D. Malo and S. M. Kamakau. (Dibble 1838)⁶² Nineteen years passed before a second secular book came out by a Hawaiian author, an extensive example text for Hawaiians on drafting a full range of legal documents (Kauwahi 1857). A score of original works or translations over the next 40 years covered a variety of topics: cultural practice; history; legend; song collections; biographies; and natural science.⁶³

government documents that are not noted in Bell, but doesn't identify new books in the language.

⁶² Bishop Museum scholar John Stokes (1931) wrote a detailed critique about the manner in which Dibble organized the research and writing that resulted in *Ka Mooololo Hawaii*, and how the text framed subsequent writings about Hawaiian history, especially those in Hawaiian.

⁶³ For a full listing, see Judd, Bell and Murdoch 1978

There are links between published books and other writings, such as the newspapers and manuscript materials. Dibble's *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii* appeared in sections in the newspaper before publication as a book and then was reprinted in the newspapers once the book became rare. His text also became a model for later serial newspaper histories by Reverend Pogue, S. M. Kamakau and others (Barrère 1976:v). Hawaiian legends, like Hale'ole's account of *Laieikawai*, appeared in serial form in two newspapers before publication as a book, foreign legends in translation were serialized in the papers preceding book publication, and several published song books were collections culled from newspapers of the time.⁶⁴ While some of the connections between published and unpublished materials are apparent, additional ties continue to unfold with study of the literature as an historical corpus.

Manuscripts

Hawaiian writings were not always created for publication, and the collections of their unpublished writings are another rich resource for study. In

⁶⁴ For an example of announcements for books drawn from newspapers, see *Kuokoa* 5/19/66, and Testa, (1895) *Buke Mele Lahui*, where the introduction explains the source of the published song collection.

addition to original manuscripts, archival and family collections contain numerous published texts, such as books, newspapers and event programs, that have been annotated, corrected, or extended in holograph form as valuable manuscript additions never made public.

Manuscripts available today in archival collections and in modern publications were mostly unseen by the author's contemporaries, but some were copied and disseminated on a limited basis during their authors' lifetimes. David Malo's manuscript of *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii* was distributed in the form of handwritten copies among at least a small group of his contemporaries.⁶⁵ S. M. Kamakau was said to have referred to manuscript accounts by Malo and others while he composed his history of Kamehameha in the 1860s.⁶⁶ Author and translator Moses Manu, also known as Kekahuna'ai'ole, was credited with having written more than thirty manuscript books that were apparently available in some circles (Mahoe, n.d.:48).⁶⁷ Hawaiian historian J. M. Poepoe

⁶⁵Five extant copies of Malo's manuscript are on file at the Bishop Museum, one of which may be the original. The number of handwritten copies that were privately held or in circulation is not known.

⁶⁶K.U. 1878, says Kamakau relied on a manuscript book, but that Kamakau had stolen it.

⁶⁷Moses Manu, a prodigious writer who published many epic legends in the Hawaiian newspapers, both Hawaiian and translations from English. Born in 1837, little is known of his life aside from his profile as a newspaper writer and translator. Mahoe's manuscript is the only source identifying him by the name of Kekahuna'ai'ole, who was the secretary of the Genealogy Committee established by King Kalākaua.

acknowledged using the unpublished writings of historian S. L. Peleiōhōlani while producing his own serialized historical account after the turn of the century.

Ma ka S. L. Peleioholani buke kakaulima e waiho nei imua o ka mea kakau. . . [Poepoe 1906]

[In S. L. Peleioholani's handwritten manuscript, situated here in front of the author. . .]

An 1878 article in *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* (8/31/1878) lists experts in the fields of genealogy, oratory, astronomy, architecture and “na ike kahiko a pau” (all the ancient knowledges), whose manuscript texts, in limited circulation, were the main sources of such fields of knowledge and for texts by others. Additional manuscripts on history and culture are acknowledged to be extant, including unpublished writings by 19th century authors such as S. P. Kalama, D. Malo, and S. M. Kamakau. It is uncertain whether these private writings were copied or to what extent they were circulated, so their place in the discourse of the time is uncharted.

Manuscripts do not allow for the peer review and reaction that is documented with published writings, especially newspapers. As such, manuscript material occupies a different position within the critical public dialogue of the writer's time. Although the writings may be seen as products of

the discourse that framed the writer's position, and perhaps connected to his or her public expression elsewhere, these manuscripts don't become a public aspect of the history of thinking in the same way that circulated writings do. Because this dissertation focuses on Hawaiian writings as part of a collective and public field of knowledge, manuscript material is largely outside of that sphere.

The private nature of most manuscripts makes it significant that archival manuscript collections have been the source of two of the modern canon texts: the translations of David Malo's *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* and Kepelino's *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*. As manuscript sources, these two texts are not part of the corpus of publicly shared knowledge and as such are not considered in the same detail as are those canon sources from 'Ōi and Kamakau which are drawn from the newspapers, the locus of Hawaiian public discourse in the past.

Manuscript material is of great value, especially as a source for comparison to other published or unpublished resources. Martha Beckwith, in the introduction to *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*, notes the importance of such comparison in her supplements to the translation of Kepelino's work (Beckwith 1932:3). Public and private archival sources contain a large body of unpublished manuscripts and texts that were created during the 19th century, much of which is still unincorporated into modern research.

Newspapers

Hawaiian language newspapers make up the largest known repository of Hawaiian writings, a body of material that continues to be incorporated into modern knowledge in a partial and fragmentary manner. Their content is particularly pertinent to the social sciences, especially the later papers, which were “a literary form that focused on Hawaiian history and traditions.” (Charlot N.d.:Chapter V:135ff)

Published in Hawai‘i from 1834 until 1948, Hawaiian-language newspapers produced about 125,000 pages, most of which was published after 1861, when a new large-format newspapers became the industry standard. Of the seventeen Hawaiian-language newspapers published between 1834 and 1861, most were quite small, with the earliest being about letter-size and some later papers being even smaller. Size was eventually increased, with *Ka Hae Hawaii* in 1856 beginning at 12" high and almost 10" wide, and expanding after its first year in circulation to 15" high and 11" wide, the largest Hawaiian language newspaper up to that time.

In 1861, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Kuokoa* each began circulation in a large format equal to the largest English paper of the time, the *Pacific Commercial*

Advertiser. This set a new norm for Hawaiian-language papers that would continue for the duration of the Hawaiian press into the 20th century. At 23.75" high and 17.5" wide, these papers were about the size of the *Honolulu Advertiser* today. From 1861 on, most Hawaiian newspapers maintained this large format, usually in four-page weekly issues. Occasional special editions were produced, and some papers expanded to six, eight, or even twelve pages per issue at the end of the 19th century, with some, like *Ka Manawa*, *Kuokoa*, and others producing daily publication for a time.

A remarkable aspect of these large-format newspapers is that they were far more densely printed than newspapers today. Editors consistently set as much type as possible on a page, allowing little or no space between columns and minimal side and bottom margins. Thin vertical lines separated columns instead of open space, allowing maximum width of the usually six-column format. Images were included sparingly, and were considered by some to be a waste, "poho wale" (Kuapuu 1861). Three or even four times more text than is seen in a current *Honolulu Advertiser* was pressed into the same size sheet of newsprint in the Hawaiian papers, giving the equivalent of 10 or more letter-size pages of typescript per newspaper sheet. Thus, even allowing for smaller initial papers, the total production of 125,000 Hawaiian-language newspaper pages exceeds one

million letter-sized pages of typescript text. The following chart gives examples of newspaper text content:

Newspaper	Size (Height x Width)*	Standard Page Equivalent
Ka Lama Hawaii	10.75 x 8	2
Ka Elele	9.25 x 5.75	1.25
Ka Hae Hawaii 1856–3/1857	12 x 10	2.25
Ka Hae Hawaii 3/1857–close	15 x 11	3.5
Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika	23.75 x 17.5	14
Ka Nupepa Kuokoa	23.5 x 17.5	12
The Polynesian	16 x 10.75	?
Honolulu Advertiser (present)	22.75 x 13.5	4

Table 1. Comparative Newspaper Sizes.

Hawaiian writers took an active role as writers, editors, and publishers in the press by 1861, producing approximately 120,000 of the newspaper pages through 70 different papers over the next eight decades — the bulk of the Hawaiian language newspaper archive.⁶⁸ In the tenuous initial decade of the “native press” beginning in the 1860s, nearly 6,000 pages of Hawaiian language newspapers were printed, the equivalent to 60,000 or more typescript pages of writings.⁶⁹ Even though the most-cited Hawaiian resources today are translations of writings drawn from this important decade, the sum of those translated works

⁶⁸ Chapin 2000 offers a listing and general description, when available, of all newspapers printed in Hawai‘i. From this list the number of Hawaiian language papers has been extracted and tallied. Number of pages per issue, issues per year, and opening or closing dates are not always included, and while some newspapers ran eight or more pages per issue, the average four-page newspaper is used here to estimate the actual number of Hawaiian-language pages created.

⁶⁹ These figures would include newspapers up to 1870, encompassing most, but not quite all, of the writings by S. M. Kamakau and J. ‘Ī‘ī, each of whom continued writing into the opening years of the next decade.

represents less than 2% of the body of material created in this first decade of the native press and less than 1 / 10 of 1% of the whole corpus.⁷⁰

The Hawaiian newspapers make up the largest cache of Hawaiian writings in existence, and this huge collection was written by and circulated among a fully literate population. As such, the newspaper corpus documents a unique record of Hawaiian presentation and interaction for and among themselves. Although the published record can only partially reflect the society of the time, this repository has the unique quality of being a window on public knowledge and opinion of the period. The size of this window, coupled with most of it being unorganized and untranslated, presents a daunting challenge, as well as an unparalleled resource.

HAWAIIAN PRODUCTION OF WRITTEN DISCOURSE

The Hawaiian-language archive of 19th and early 20th century writings must be considered in light of historical changes in the kinds of representation that frame the repository. White and Tengan (2001:385) and E. Buck (1993) discuss the re-centering of representation that accompanied the forces of literacy and

⁷⁰ The English publications of works by Kamakau and 'Ī'i, which were drawn from the Hawaiian newspapers *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and *Ke Au Okoa*, equal 1055 pages, including added notes.

education, and the historical sequence of written production by Hawaiian writers embodies the shifting processes that emerged over time. Chapin 84:49 describes a similar point, that “A revolutionary technology acts abrasively and destructively on older forms of culture.” She notes a number of forces at work during the first three decades of literacy that shifted representation to include a broader range of the Hawaiian population.

The development of literacy, the technologies of writing and printing, the practices that controlled access to the press, and the motivation of Hawaiians to participate in newspaper interaction all affected representation. These aspects inform an understanding of Hawaiian writings included in the archival repository.

Literacy

The development of literacy in Hawai‘i generally paralleled the technology and production of print.⁷¹ From their arrival in 1820, Calvinist missionaries worked with Hawaiians to develop a printed form of Hawaiian, opening the door to literacy for Hawaiians in their own language. Students found reading

⁷¹ The impact of such a technological change can submerge or decenter representational practices. See White and Tengan (2001), Buck (1993), and Ong (1982).

and writing easy to acquire due to an orthography that gave clear correspondence between sound and form (Schütz 1994:173).

During their first years in the islands, the missionaries began schools throughout the islands under the sponsorship of leading chiefs. Their success was rapid, and by 1824, most of the ruling chiefs were not only sponsoring schools, but were urging their people to attend and to master the *pī'āpā*, or alphabet, for reading and writing (Kamakau 2001:22).⁷²

Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, had exhorted his people in 1825, saying “*O ko'u aupuni, he aupuni palapala ko'u*” (Kamakau 1868a, April 18, 1868). (My kingdom is a kingdom of literacy.) The ruling chiefs of the time followed their king's lead whose personal involvement in fostering education and his own attendance at class was their model. The ranking women took an active role in the movement to literacy:

‘O Ka’ahumanu, ‘o Kekuaipi’ia Nāmāhana, ‘o Kīna’u, ‘o Kalanipauahi, ‘o Kekāuluohi, ‘o nā kaikamāhine a pau a Ka’ahumanu a me nā ali’i a pau, ua kīkiko’ele ‘ia a pau loa i ke a’o palapala; ua hele nui nā ali’i ‘elemakule a me ka po’e ‘auwae pōlea e nome mai ka waha i ka pa’ana’au i ka ui, ka lile a me ke akua ma ka mauna ‘o Sinai. He hana kupanaha kā kēia mau hana i kōkua ‘ia mai e ke akua. [Kamakau 2001:25]⁷³

⁷² From Nupepa Kuokoa, April 18, 1868.

⁷³ Reprinted in Kamakau (2001) from *Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 25, 1868. Hawaiian language appearing in this dissertation is presented in the orthography of the source from which it is

[Ka'ahumanu, Kekuaipi'ia Nāmāhana, Kīna'u, Kalanipauahi, Kekāuluohi and all of Ka'ahumanu's young women and those of all the chiefs, they all perfected their literacy; the elderly chiefs went in great numbers and the toothless ones, whose mouths ruminated while memorizing the articles of faith, the group recitations, and [the story of] the Lord on Mount Sinai. These were truly amazing efforts assisted by the Lord.]

Kamakau points out that on seeing the quick mastery of literacy by those in their own courts, the high chiefs, led by Ka'ahumanu, sent native teachers out to all the lands they governed, quickly spreading literacy from Hawai'i to Kaua'i. The effort was already well under way by the mid-1820s when mission schools were opened in the rural districts, and much of the adult population had already mastered basic literacy:

'A'ole lakou i a'o aku i ka po'e o'o, ua 'ike kahiko nō lākou i ke a'o 'ia e nā kumu kula o ka wā kahiko, 'o ia ho'i nā kumu a'o pī'āpā. [Kamakau 1996:249–50]

[They didn't teach the adults, who had long known how, having been taught by the teachers of long ago, the early native teachers.]

drawn. Historical newspaper texts are unmarked, but more recent publications often include the *'okina* (glottal stop-') and *kahakō* (macron) used in modern orthography to assist in pronunciation. Some of the newspaper writings of S. M. Kamakau presented here are drawn from the 1996 and 2001 republications of his works, making use of the indices that these reprintings provide as access points for modern researchers.

In taking an active role in the spread of literacy, the King and chiefs were executing their traditional role as the central authority over knowledge, a move that would eventually shift that authority beyond their control.⁷⁴

In 1828, Laura Fish Judd, wife of the mission doctor Gerritt P. Judd, wrote about Hawaiians being such enthusiastic learners of reading and writing that many of them were equally adept at reading text that was held upright, sideways, or inverted (Judd 1880:17).⁷⁵ This skill was necessitated by the relative lack of printed material for the number of readers and the need for several persons to share a single text. At about the same time, William Richards commented that the limited resources for literacy motivated “industrious” Hawaiians to simply memorize entire books (Richards 1828b). Just three years after these observations, Lahainaluna College was established on Maui as a

⁷⁴ See Wist 1940:1-5 on traditional chiefly roles in knowledge production. Also see Elizabeth Buck 1993:128 on the decentering of chiefly power over knowledge that resulted from literacy: “Although Hawaiians continued to pass on their traditional knowledge and cultural practices within the confines of the family and local communities (particularly in areas removed from Honolulu), “the regime of truth” that had resided with the *aliʻi* in their compounds and the priests in the *heiau* was subverted by the education offered by the missionaries and encouraged by such *aliʻi* leaders as Kaʻahumanu. The long-held assumption that *aliʻi* and priests were discursively qualified to exercise power over knowledge—to say “what counts as true”—dissolved in the new cultural order of Hawaiʻi.”

⁷⁵For vignettes on Hawaiian enthusiasm for reading and writing, see also Day and Loomis 1997:16.

center of higher learning, and the chiefs made use of the new college when it opened in 1831 to further train their own teachers. (Kamakau 2001:25)⁷⁶

Nationwide zeal for the *palapala*, or written language, produced rapid results. Kamakau, in his serial history of the nation, reflects that by the mid-1820s one could already ask “*Aia la mahea ka poe ike ole i ka heluhelu* (Kamakau 1868a, Jan. 18)?” (Where would one find folks who do not know how to read?) For a decade or more, the focus was on adult students, with general education for children beginning in 1832 (Day, Loomis 1997:22). By 1834, missionaries reported 20,000, or nearly one-fifth of the population, actively attending schools at a ratio of 3 adults to each child (Shütz 1994:174).

In 1839, just over a decade after her initial comments, Mrs. Judd compared Hawaiian literacy to other societies and estimated the percentage of literacy among Hawaiians to be “greater than in any other country in the world, except Scotland and New England” (Judd 1880:62). The bible was fully translated into Hawaiian by that same year, standardizing the language throughout the kingdom in the same way the King James’ version had affected English usage elsewhere (Wist 40:21-2). Twenty years later, in 1859, just prior to the opening of

⁷⁶ From Nupepa Kuokoa, May 2, 1868.

the native press, *The New York Tribune* reported that the literacy of the Hawaiian population had even surpassed that of New England (Day and Loomis 1997:31).

Perhaps more important than global comparison was the national mindset; Hawaiians considered themselves to be a literate people. Kamakau, above, speaks of the rarity of non-readers by 1825. Sam Damon, publisher of *The Friend*, comments in 1856 that all natives could write (The Friend 1856). The assumption of full literacy was general among Hawaiians and their foreign contemporaries. Thus, as Hawaiian writers took an active role in writing and publishing text for national distribution, they were aware that they were writing for, and reading along with, a fully literate populace. As the press became the locus of national dialogue, such a mindset would have many effects, including the care invested in writing and the importance placed on what was read.

Print in Hawaii

Hawaiians had been introduced to reading and writing prior to the arrival of the Calvinist mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) in 1820, but the coming of the first company of missionaries marked the beginning of formal education and the printing of

Hawaiian texts in Hawai'i. The first press in the islands was set up by the Sandwich Islands Mission in Honolulu and began printing in 1822. From its beginning in Hawai'i, printing technology, unlike literacy, was the domain of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission and its local agency, the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Directly through the mission presses and eventually through schools and government liaisons, the mission community maintained general control of most Hawaiian-language printed matter for the next quarter of a century.

By 1830, the Sandwich Islands Mission had printed nearly 400,000 copies of 28 different tracts, pamphlets and books (Day and Loomis 1997:22). In 1832 *Ka Lama Hawaii* was the first newspaper west of the Rockies, establishing a newspaper industry which produced a sequence of mission newspapers. Production of printed material soared, and by 1858, the mission print shops had generated over one hundred million pages of bible translations, hymnals, inspirational stories, textbooks, legal documents, tracts, and newspapers in the Hawaiian language.⁷⁷ American presses added to this number, supporting the

⁷⁷ The recorded figure of production is 113,017,173 pages, but does not include texts printed in New England and shipped to Hawai'i to support the Mission's endeavors. The Honolulu offices of the mission press closed in 1858 and the Lahainaluna press was dismantled a year later, leading to contracted printing thereafter. (Day and Loomis 1997:26)

mission with tracts and books to supplement local production.⁷⁸ Local commercial and government printers eventually increased this amount even further, adding newspapers and books to stimulate and supply a Hawaiian market.⁷⁹

While most early printed material in Hawai'i was generated from the mission presses, other groups also produced books, tracts, newspapers and journals. In 1836, two years after *Ka Lama Hawaii* began, *The Sandwich Islands Gazette and Journal of Commerce* marked the start of an English-language commercial press. This first newspaper was started to oppose the mission monopoly and in an effort to expand a local printing industry (Chapin 1996:19). Following this first English paper, the *Sandwich Islands Mirror and Commercial Gazette* began in 1839, after which came the *Polynesian* in 1840, and the *Friend* in 1842, the forerunners of what became a continuous line of English newspapers (Chapin 2000:127). English journals like the *Hawaiian Spectator* (1838-1839) appeared sporadically as well.

After twenty years of Calvinist dominance in Hawaiian religious and secular education, Catholics gained a stable foothold following the forced acceptance of

⁷⁸ Elisha Loomis returned to New England in 1827 to oversee printing for the Hawaiian mission, and is credited with 15,000 copies of each of the gospels of Matthew, Mark and John. (Day and Loomis 1997:14) Rev. E. W. Clark later took over the N.Y. production of Hawaiian texts.

⁷⁹ See *Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861.

a Catholic presence in 1837. Catholic production of Hawaiian-language material actually began in 1831 while the first priests were in temporary exile from Hawai'i, but Catholic presses began local publication of Hawaiian-language tracts in 1841 and newspapers in 1852 (Day and Loomis 97:30). The English and Catholic sources were weekly, monthly or quarterly and of various duration, but each added to the mass of print being made available.

By the mid-1850s, presses were generating millions of copies of books, tracts, and newspapers for a native population of just over 65,000,⁸⁰ but Hawaiian writers composed little of that body of published material. Fully half of the Hawaiian language books that were produced during the 19th century were published by this time, but less than five percent of the eventual newspaper production had come into print by the end of the 1850s. Native writers had minimal representation in books and newspapers prior to the beginning of a secular and independent Hawaiian-language press, because until that time, publishing in Hawai'i came through the aegis of the mission. The experience, training, interest, and confidence that developed on the part of Hawaiians in

⁸⁰ Schmitt, Robt. C. (1977: 25, 35) The census recorded a population of 65,647 for 1860, a steady decline from roughly 142,000 in 1825.

regard to the printed word during these first decades laid the foundation for a flood of native writing that was to come, especially in the newspapers.

Newspapers as Locus of Discourse

The rapid achievement of literacy by the Hawaiian population was remarkable, but for nearly thirty years, the level of literacy far exceeded their published writings. The mechanical skills of typesetting, plate engraving, and printing were taught directly to mission apprentices (Day and Loomis 1997:20) and different aspects of printing made up standard courses of study at mission schools, especially Lahainaluna. These produced a trained labor force for the printing industry, but for decades, foreign missionaries and businesses controlled much of the content and form of publication.

Hawaiians provided translation, content and labor for the printing of books and newspapers, but for decades received texts rather than generated them. Missionary teachers copiously produced books, tracts, newspapers and most printed material in order to propagate the Calvinist, and eventually Catholic, faith and to educate the Hawaiian people in the ways of Europe and America.

By mid-century Hawaiians took a more active role, mostly in newspapers. For the remainder of the century Hawaiians would be only minimally represented in

published books, while newspapers went on to become the locus of Hawaiian participation in the written record. The opening of the independent Hawaiian newspapers in 1861 initiated what was to become a continuous presence of Hawaiian publishers, editors and writers for the following half century.

A Shifting Paradigm of Representation

Newspapers, beginning in 1834 and published in Hawaiian, opened a new venue for spreading information, and the first mission paper, *Ka Lama Hawaii*, serving the needs of students at the newly established Lahainaluna College stated clearly that dissemination was its primary goal:

He mea ia e hoolaha i ka ike i kela mea keia mea e pono ai na haumana o ke Kulanui, he mea hoi ia e ao aku i ka maikai o ka naauao mamua o ka naaupo, a me ka aoao maikai o kanaka ma na aina naauao, a he mea ia e hoike i ka pono o ka ke Akua olelo, i maluhia keia pae aina, a i pomaikai hoi keia aupuni. [Ka Lama Hawaii 1834a]

[It is a means to disseminate information about everything the students of the College need, it is also to teach the goodness of knowledge over ignorance, and the good aspects of people in enlightened lands, and it is a means to display the righteousness of God's word, so that this archipelago may be peaceful and the nation be blessed.]

Lorrin Andrews reported that *Ka Lama Hawaii*, the first mission newspaper, was “. . . a channel through which the scholars might communicate their own

opinions freely on any subject they chose. . . " (Andrews 1835), but such communication was carefully guided by mission mores and editorial selection for more than twenty years.⁸¹ Though the earliest mission papers allowed readers to submit their writings, there was a narrow range of content deemed appropriate for publications that were controlled and censored by the mission leaders, and reader participation was further limited by the small space available in the letter-sized publications, which did not expand for two decades.

More general and secular coverage of local and foreign news began appearing in the initial English newspapers from 1836 on, as the publishing industry developed. The Organic Acts of 1846-8 set up a government arm of publishing and government involvement with the newspapers grew, beginning with the *Polynesian* and extending to Hawaiian-language papers with *Ka Elele*. From that point on, Hawaiian newspapers followed suit on expansion of content by including a limited number of secular articles, but the selection of appropriate news was still guided for decades by missionary objectives of proselytizing and educating.

⁸¹ Schütz 1994:172 discusses how the ABCFM demanded the power of censorship over all published writings.

During those first two decades of the newspapers' existence, editors of Hawaiian and English papers requested native writers to share cultural information and historical accounts through the mission, government and business newspapers, but response was limited, mostly appearing in the mission press. Genealogical and historical information was printed occasionally, and *kanikau*, or dirge poems, were published if they were for someone of importance and in good taste.

In the mission papers like *Ka Lama*, *Ke Kumu*, *Ka Nonanona* and even in the early years of the government press *Ka Hae Hawaii*, requests for cultural or historical information were often couched in statements about how sharing such information would allow readers to appreciate the progress of the Hawaiians from “*na’ aupō*,” or ignorance, to “*mālamalama*,”— enlightenment of civilization and religious awareness.⁸² This early request in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* for stories about the ancient chiefs exemplifies the deprecating manner in which material was usually solicited:

⁸² The clear reifying of cultural practice during this period, and the consistent identification of the old pagan way as *hewa* (wrong, evil) and the new Christian way as *pono* (right, righteous), is a rich area of study that would inform research into Hawaiian representation practices from that time to the present.

... ike pono kakou i na mea e pono ai a me na mea e hewa ai, i na mea e pomaikai ai a me na mea e poino ai ma Hawaii nei. I maopopo hoi, ua oi aku ko kakou pono mamua o ka lakou. [Bingham 1835]⁸³

[... so that we accurately know the right and wrong things, things by which people here in Hawai'i are benefited or harmed. This would make it clear that our virtue is superior to theirs.]

Even dedicated converts to Christianity must have chafed at the thought of submitting materials intended to ridicule their own ancestors and histories, a discursive force which, like technical power over the presses, limited Hawaiian presentation. The surge of cultural material following the initial secularization and later independence of the Hawaiian press makes such a case seem very likely.

Public Press

The opening, in 1856, of a more secular weekly Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, (The Hawaiian Flag), was seminal in developing the newspapers as a central venue for written expression and interchange among Hawaiians. This paper opened the prevalent technology to a new level of access for the broader Hawaiian audience. Still limited by size and constricted as the organ of the

⁸³ This request from Hiram Bingham was directed to Kepooloku, a noted genealogist of the time, but is similar to many other examples of the period.

missionary-influenced Department of Public Instruction, *Ka Hae Hawaii* encouraged more interaction by readers than ever before. The Hae covered a broader range of content than its predecessors did, including detailed cultural and historical accounts. Such articles were fitted in among the mission reports, educational articles and wholesome news that Richard Armstrong described as the basis of the paper.⁸⁴ The inclusion of more secular content provided by the paper generated a new level of responsiveness from readers and letters from those readers then further added to the breadth of content and connection to the readership.

The tenor and purpose of the majority of articles in *Ka Hae Hawaii* remained basically Calvinist, and those that didn't directly convey an educational, governmental or spiritual message were often preceded or followed by an editorial framing, such as "*E heluhelu oukou a noonoo i na mea lapuwale o ka poe kahiko*" (Hae Hawaii 1858–1859). (You should all read and consider the frivolous things of the ancients). The year-long serial publication of Pogue's rewrite of *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* (Hawaiian History), supported by the newspaper and planned for subsequent book publication, was presented with this editorial statement:

⁸⁴ Richard Armstrong (*Limaikaika*), the editor of *Ka Hae Hawaii*, arrived in Hawai'i in 1832 with the fifth company of missionaries of the ABCFM but resigned from the mission in 1848 to take the

He mea ia e lealea ai ka poe naauao; he mea hoi ia e maopopo ai ka pilikia o ka noho ana, iloko o ka naaupo, a me ka pomaikai o keia koho ana, iloko o ka malamalama. [Hae Hawaii 1858]

[It is something that will delight educated people; it is certainly a means by which the difficulty of life in a setting of ignorance becomes clear, as does the blessing of this choice, of being in enlightenment.]

Though basically Calvinist, *Ka Hae* allowed for and cultivated reader interaction. Every issue of *Ka Hae* contained letters from readers on an unprecedented variety of topics. Usually quite short, two to four paragraphs, these addressed local affairs and oddities, reports of accidents, deaths, illness outbreaks, and commentary on recent events or government actions. Letters from readers and those generated by neighborhood agents of the paper were still quite limited in scope and size, but the presence of such individual input encouraged readers to respond. Such encouragement appeared at a time when literacy had become practically universal among Hawaiians, and while no other avenue for general public expression had yet been established.

Through *Ka Hae Hawaii* the Ministry of Public Instruction actively cultivated appreciation among Hawaiians as an audience for general-interest newspapers. *Ka Hae Hawaii* announced its goals as educating the Hawaiian population, informing them of government business and laws, developing their awareness of local and global events, and, importantly, increasing the interest among them for

newspapers (Ka Hae Hawaii 1861). This effort apparently addressed a growing demand on the part of Hawaiians, which Damon, editor of the *Friend*, mentioned in regards to the opening of *Ka Hae*:

For years the natives have been left to glean all foreign and domestic news from the pages of a small paper issued from the press of the American Mission . . . The Hawaiians are famishing for useful information upon various secular subjects, education, agriculture and mechanical trades. [Friend 1856]

The effort was successful during its six years of publication, and in 1861 *Ka Hae Hawaii* stopped publication, stating in its final issue that its goals had been met and that the Hawaiians had become *poe puni nupepa* – “a people who craved newspapers” (Ka Hae Hawaii 1861). Not only had Hawaiians become an avid reading audience, but they were poised to shift and re-center the production of public discourse.

The Hawaiian newspapers were kept affordable, beginning at low cost and staying that way for decades through mission or government funding. The early, small-format mission papers were supported by the Calvinist mission at minimal or no cost to readers, as were the few papers published by the Catholics. The *Nonanona* (1841) cost twelve and a half cents per year, and *Ka Elele* (1848) set its rates by social status: twenty-five cents a year for commoners; one dollar for

chiefs and foreigners; fifty cents for others of importance.⁸⁵ The government-funded *Ka Hae Hawaii* began as a weekly in 1856 for one dollar annually, rising to \$1.50 when its size increased after a year. *Ka Hae Hawaii* was still far smaller and cheaper than the contemporary English papers *Polynesian* and *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, which cost eight dollars and six dollars per year, respectively.⁸⁶

As subsidized newspapers like *Ka Hae Hawaii* generated a readership, they also perpetuated a readership accustomed to an affordable press when compared with English papers of the time.⁸⁷ An announcement by H. M. Whitney in 1857 that he intended to produce a large, independent weekly Hawaiian newspaper of good quality at four dollars per year was cancelled for lack of subscribers; a lesson not lost on publishers of the time. His idea of an independent paper came about later in a small monthly format at twenty-five cents a year.⁸⁸ When the first two independent Hawaiian papers, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Kuokoa*, emerged in

⁸⁵ *Ka Elele* was officially a government newspaper, but was considered an organ of the mission.

⁸⁶ The *Polynesian* began publication again in 1844, after a 2-year hiatus. The subscription price was reduced to “6, and later that year the paper began to receive government subsidy to print the laws and announcements.

⁸⁷ For comment on how a regular subscription of \$2, would maintain independent press, see, *Hae Hawaii* 1861.

⁸⁸ Whitney announces his intentions in *Hoku Loa O Hawaii* (Whitney 1856) (contained in the *Advertiser*) and the need for 200 subscribers, but the paper never appeared in the proposed format. The eventual monthly *Hoku Loa* (1859-64) was edited by Parker.

1861, they kept their subscription cost at a low two dollars per year, following what the market seemed willing to bear.

While the cost of papers remained relatively constant, the speed of communication improved and became an attractive quality of newspapers. While a few months for the spread of global news may seem unimaginable today, it reflected a new level of advancement in the early 19th century; *Ka Hae Hawaii* boasted about the worldwide speed and power of the press:

Ma Ladana paha, ma Nu Ioka paha, ua hanaia kekahi mea ino loa, a hala na malama me ka hapa, ua kukala ia ka inoa o ka lawehala ma na aina pau o ka honua nei. [Ka Hae Hawaii 1857]

[In London, or perhaps New York, some evil deed is carried out and within the passing of a month and a half, the name of the perpetrator is announced in every country in the world.]

While news from abroad still took a month or months to travel, local news began to appear regularly in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, and readers could share local news and ideas from all islands on a weekly basis, a speed and regularity that seemed almost conversational in comparison. 21st century communication via the internet today, which was a foundation for L. Cruz' recent dissertation, (Cruz 2003) would be analogous to the Hawaiian newspapers of the 1860s in the way the new technology was embraced by the public for its accessibility and the emerging possibilities of engaging one's audience. Ready access to local news, along with

the ability of readers to respond to published writers, opened a new space for interaction, one that Hawaiians adopted and developed into a regular center of communication and expression. This new venue provided a public setting resonant with an oral tradition, allowing for public validation, negation, or correction of those presenting themselves. “*Ina ua loa ka wahahee, ua kinai ia e ka oiaio e kuhikuhi ana i ke ano o ka wahahee* (Hae Hawaii 1857),” [if falsehood is found, it is erased by truth revealing the nature of the falsehood].

Expanding content, affordable cost, and reliability in the only secular Hawaiian newspaper of the time encouraged readership, as did the direct efforts of the government to cultivate interest in the newspapers as mentioned above.⁸⁹ Subscribers to *Ka Hae Hawaii* doubled during its six-year run, from about 1,500 paid subscribers in 1856 to 3,000 in 1861, equal to local English-language newspapers of the day, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and *The Friend*. The actual number printed probably far exceeded subscriber numbers: the *Friend* and many of the mission newspapers were distributed for free to some sectors, and other newspapers printed extra copies to be sold individually or given away. *Ka*

⁸⁹ *Ka Hae Hawaii* frequently contained articles directly espousing the virtues of newspapers as a source of progress for the Hawaiians. Examples abound, see Hae Hawaii 1861.

Hae Hawaii would have followed the established practices in order to generate new readers.

Independent Hawaiian newspapers appear to have garnered a similar-sized subscription base, with 2,700 subscribers to *Hoku o ka Pakipika* and 3,000 for *Kuokoa* in 1862, the first full year of production. This level of subscriber support is from a Hawaiian population of approximately 65,000 at the time.⁹⁰

Jenifer Curnow (2002:18) points out in regard to Māori papers that publication numbers can not accurately reflect readership, as the vernacular papers were shared among family and community, expanding the readership geometrically. The same was true for the Hawaiian-language papers, judging from anecdotal accounts. Hawaiian-speaking elders born in the early 20th century recount how the whole newspaper was read aloud to family members and then passed along from house to house.⁹¹ *Ka Hae Hawaii* and its successors reached far more readers than the numbers would indicate, and the expanded size,

⁹⁰ Schmitt 1977:25, 35. The population thus served had diminished from roughly 142,000 in 1825 to 65,647 by 1860.

⁹¹ Kamuela Kumukahi, personal communication, 1995. Many Hawaiian native-speaking elders of the late 20th century, as children, were expected to read aloud for older family members from the bible and from the Hawaiian newspapers.

beginning with *Ka Hae Hawaii*, also allowed more room for articles and letters from those readers.

Ka Hae Hawaii published until November 6, 1861, and an editorial in the closing issue explained that the strategy of government subsidy and support had been successful enough that *Ka Hae Hawaii* would no longer be published. The closure of *Ka Hae Hawaii* was a direct result of the establishment of the two independent papers, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Kuokoa*, and was an effort to support those private endeavors. The strategy that nurtured the newspaper venue had generated a discerning audience, and dissatisfaction with the form and content of *Hae Hawaii* helped shape the new Hawaiian press:

Hoohalahala pinepine mai kekahi poe i ka Hae Hawaii, no ka uuku o kona kino, aole lawa na mea hou a me na manao maikai maloko ona; aole paia na mele, a me na kanikau e like me ka makemake o ka poe nana i kakau. [Ka Hae Hawaii, 11/6/1861]

[People have frequently criticized the *Hae Hawaii* for its small size, without sufficient news or good opinion in it; chants and dirges are not printed as per the wishes of those who composed them.]

The new, larger format of the independent papers made every attempt to overcome the criticism leveled at *Ka Hae Hawaii*, an intentional reshaping of the paradigm of knowledge production for the Hawaiian speaking population. The form of the independent papers was enlarged, with expanded news,

receptiveness to letters and opinion pieces and frequent inclusion of chants and dirges.⁹² The stated receptiveness to writers and topics generated unsolicited articles and letters of response, which had not been encouraged or even possible in earlier papers.

1861—The Independent Hawaiian Press

Numerous transformations in Hawaiian culture and history have been identified and extensively studied, for example: the advent of Captain Cook in 1778 and subsequent continuous interaction with foreign cultures; the change of the religious and cultural system of *kāpu* in 1819; the introduction of Christianity following 1820 and the myriad changes it incurred; and the change in land ownership and a totalizing market economy following the Māhele of 1848. The 1861 emergence of an independent native press ranks with these transformations. A new range of Hawaiian “voices,” emerges on topics and in dialogues that did not appear previous to that time. Some of those voices are “audible” today, having been drawn forward in translation or reprinted, while most remain muted, or unheard.

⁹² *Kanikau*, or dirge chants, were published for a fee, by line.

In charting the Hawaiian repository of writings, the independent press, beginning in 1861, provides an important transition point. The native press was a major shift in the power over knowledge, opening a surge of Hawaiian participation in written production. This change recalls the breaks in continuity and the inconsistencies in historical sequence that Foucault identifies as points of entry for investigation, posing new challenges to historical inquiry in identifying those discontinuities, ruptures and transformations (Foucault 1972:5). As such, the details of this transition deserve careful investigation.

The material contained in the sudden expansion of Hawaiian writings in the 1860s has been noted, extracted and investigated from many perspectives, but after a century of research, such efforts are still preliminary. No study to date has addressed the importance of changing strictures on content and form throughout the period in question, or the activation, by the independent press, of national dialogue and the development of public discourse in a newly-literate society. Documentation and analysis of the whole spectrum will inform topics like the relations between orality and literacy, the demographic and representational practices the newspapers enabled, and the resulting forms of subjectivity.

Helen Chapin addressed the emergence of the native press as the outcome of “literacy joined to a newspaper technology conferring empowerment” (Chapin

1996:59). Among the diversity of viewpoints contained in different native newspapers, she recognized five general themes that set the Hawaiian papers apart from establishment papers after 1861:

. . . one, a conviction that Hawaiians knew what was best for themselves; two, an awareness that the decline of the native population was a serious matter; three, an insistence that Hawai'i remain an independent nation; four, a deep respect for the monarchy; and five, a great love for their land. [Chapin 1996:61]

Chapin credits *Ke Au Okoa* in 1865 with setting many of the patterns that would guide the content and arrangement of subsequent Hawaiian papers, but further study of the earliest independent Hawaiian papers, *Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Kuokoa*, documents that such patterns were being established from the genesis of the native press. Editorial positions and reader responses to content and form were common in the dialogues discussed below. The extent of those interactions are noted in this editorial note, which gave excerpts from numerous letters and reasons why they could not all be printed, while emphasizing the collective nature of the newspaper:

He nui no na leta e hiki mai nei no ko kakou pepa, e hiki ana paha i ka haneri a oi ae, i kela pule, keia pule. A ina e paia ua mau palapala la a pau, mahea la auanei kahi kowa kaawale e komo ai o na mea maikai e ae? Ua maopopo no ia makou me ka olioli nui, ke kumu o ka hiki nui ana mai o na leta, mai na welau mai a pau o keia mau Moku-puni, oia no ke kaulana nui o ko kakou nupepa nei. [Kuokoa 1862]

[Many letters arrive for our paper, a hundred or more each week. If they were all printed, where would we find room for other good things? We here know, happily, that the reason for the flood of letters from all corners of these islands is due to the great renown of this paper belonging to us all.]

Limited space continued to restrict what could be printed, and even with the larger size and expanded boundaries of content in the independent press, widespread mission mores still affected editorial decisions. In 1865, when W. P. Alexander submitted essays on ancient religion done by his students to the *Kuokoa*, he advised the editor, L. H. Gulick, to censor them as necessary. Gulick printed the essays, but the level of editing is unknown. Alexander's caution signifies some of the pressures that were still very extant on publication.

. . .it will be necessary for you to expurgate occasionally, the essays I send to you. Indeed, Hawaiian antiquity cannot be recorded intelligently without much we should hesitate to print.—I leave that to you—W. P. A. [Kirtley and Mookini 1977:69]

In her recent Ph.D. dissertation, Noenoe Silva analyzes the opening of the independent native press in 1861 as an embodiment of a resistance movement (Silva 1999). She offers a detailed presentation of published interchanges involved in the opening of the newspapers *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Kuokoa*. These interchanges illustrate the attempts to control *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* as the first independent Hawaiian newspaper and the opposition the paper faced from

religious and economic sectors. Other Hawaiian papers experienced such opposition, as shown in later defensive editorials and commentaries.⁹³

The dynamics of the first years of the native press are complex, and although resistance and opposition are strong factors guiding the emergence and growth of the independent Hawaiian press, a diverse variety of responses make up the discourse documented in the publications of the period. The articles in the papers of the day pinpoint a number of the challenges that Hawaiians faced at the time and exhibit a variety of responses to those challenges.

In presenting the writings of this period to my own students, I use the term "movement of insistence" to describe the vitality and confidence of the newly expanded Hawaiian presence in the newspapers after the start of the native press. Letters, editorials and sequential dialogues of the period addressed topics of an ever-increasing range, from economic policies to ancient religious practices. Throughout the period, articles abound containing issues of self-determination, documentation of the past, future planning, re-evaluation of traditional practices and the importance and value of Hawaiian consideration and decision about those issues. The sudden appearance of myriad voices seems not to reflect a

⁹³ See for example, Kuaana 1866, Nupepa Kuokoa 1867, and Nuhou Hawaii 1873.

renaissance or renewal of interest, but rather a compulsion to participate in the processes affecting the lives of the readers and writers. Describing the variety of writings as evidence of a movement of insistence retains an analytical flexibility, while incorporating other themes like those recognized by Chapin, Silva and others.

Orality and Newspapers

Institutional encouragement, affordability, and accessibility supported Hawaiian interest in newspapers, but there were also Hawaiian cultural elements that articulated more with newspapers than with books and encouraged Hawaiian interaction. In *Orality vs Literacy*, Walter Ong (1982) describes processes at work in societies moving from orality into literacy as Hawaiians had just done in the first half of the 19th century. He states that characteristics of an oral society remain extant for generations following the adoption of literacy and print, shaping the worldview of those generations and the manner in which that view is expressed in their writings:

Many of the contrasts often made between 'western' and other views seem reducible to contrasts between deeply interiorized literacy and more or less residually oral states of consciousness. [Ong, 1982:27]

Ong describes features of newly literate societies, like the collective nature of knowledge (within privileged circles) and the sense of shared sources for creative works, cultural aspects that would integrate more easily with the venue of newspapers than with books. Coming from an oral society, Hawaiians were accustomed to a system where shared knowledge and memory could be validated or refuted through presentation and peer dialogue. Collective memory and public presentation allowed for the comparison of chants, genealogies, histories and legends for completeness and accuracy.⁹⁴ The loss of chiefly authority over knowledge that accompanied literacy further empowered a general public to participate in the process of validation that the newspapers provided.

The dynamic of collective validation became a force only after interaction had become normalized in the later independent press. There is little evidence of it in the first decades of newspapers during the earliest literate period of Hawai'i. Once culturally pertinent dialogue became possible and present in the newspapers, the oral nature of the society became engaged.

⁹⁴ The Hale Nauā of Maui and Hawai'i was a priestly society in pre-contact times that checked the genealogical narratives of chiefs; Sam Elbert offers a discussion on the validating aspect of detail, such as names, in Hawaiian narratives. (Pukui, Elbert and Mookini 1966:271-274)

Issues regarding personal ownership of knowledge didn't arise until late in the century, but validation of collectively owned information and of the authority to present such information appeared in early papers and were to become common topics of letter interchanges as time passed.⁹⁵ Discussion arose in those early papers about the propriety of publicly disseminating certain kinds of information. Later criticisms centered on an individual's credibility and accuracy in presenting shared knowledge of history, legend or practice. Legends, historical notes or genealogy material presented in the paper could be critiqued by peer readers who could correct published work, silence the writer outright or stimulate a defense of their presentation.⁹⁶ In spite of radical social changes during three-quarters of a century of continued intercourse with foreigners, oral traditions of Hawaiian society were still strong by the time the independent native press began in the 1860s, and the content of the press offers proof of their continuation. Ong (1982) speaks to the conflict between writing and the oral tradition, whereas writing creates "discourse which cannot be directly

⁹⁵ Issues of knowledge ownership were not apparent within Hawaiian newspaper discourse, although the matter of copyright did arise in 1869 when S. M. Kamakau's writings began to be published in English in the *Polynesian*. the article, resulting in Kamakau securing a copyright for his serial column.

⁹⁶ See for example, *Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1862 (on no single authoritative version of *ka'ao*) as well as Unauna, A. 1842 and Kamakau 1843 (on authority to publish chiefly genealogy).

questioned or contested as oral speech can be because written discourse has been detached from its author." He goes on to point out how "A text stating what the whole world knows is false will state falsehood forever, so long as the text exists" (Ong 1982:79). The Hawaiian oral systems that were still in place were activated by these powers of the published word. While Ong's point about distance between author and audience was especially true of books, it was less rigidly so in the case of newspapers, especially the Hawaiian newspapers, allowing for a near-oral form of interaction.

The gap between author and audience was spannable only through response and dialogue. Correcting or refuting other writers allowed the finality of printed text to be diminished, especially as newspapers were frequently bound and kept for reference.⁹⁷ This gave the newspapers a continuing context of dialogue for readers of the time. Taken in isolation, pieces of that dialogue can appear factual, final and uncontested. In using these writings today, Ong's observations about the finality of print must be considered along with the oral practices and interactions that shaped the written repositories of the newspapers. The

⁹⁷ Newspaper publishers regularly printed offers to bind subscribers' full year of newspapers, as well as offering for sale bound copies of the previous year's papers. For examples, see Nonanona 1845, Kanepuu 1856, and Elele Hawaii 1848.

intertextuality of the newspapers, the cross-reference between articles and even papers informs our understanding of the resource. Careful consideration of the full assembly of all writings by individual authors or about particular topics grants new recognition of voices of the period. The extraction of any portion of that material from its context of dialogue and peer response or from the full range of a writer's works entails crystallizes the finality of the printed word.

Growth of Participation

The change in scale of the number of Hawaiian voices represented in writing is apparent when comparing the transitional paper *Ka Hae Hawaii* with the subsequent independent press that it helped to generate. Running for over five years from 1856-61, mostly in a mid-size format, *Ka Hae Hawaii* published just over 1,000 pages. This would equal about six times that number of letter-size pages of text.⁹⁸ Letters or articles by Hawaiian writers outside of the scope of government or mission business makes up less than 10% of the whole, about 100 pages of newspaper, equivalent to as much as six hundred (letter-size) pages of

⁹⁸ Approximately three hundred 4-page issues, at about six letter-size pages of text per page. Each full page of *Ka Hae* contains over 13,000 characters, while an 8.5 x 11" sheet of double-spaced 12 point type is about 2,000 characters per page.

relatively independent discourse in this budding venue, within, of course, the continuing frame of direct mission and government power.

From 1861 to 1870 , the three Hawaiian newspapers *Hoku o ka Pakipika*, *Kuokoa*, and *Ke Au Okoa*⁹⁹ produced six thousand broadsheet pages of text. The large broadsheet format makes this sum equivalent to well over 60,000 letter-size pages of material, most of which was produced by Hawaiian writers.¹⁰⁰ The thousands of writings from the decade of the 1860s represented a new scale of Hawaiian writers and a newly independent setting.

By the 1860s, Hawaiian staff of the papers produced most of the editorial and serial content of the *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Two facets of special interest about this transition from mission to Hawaiian control are: (1) the number of articles or letters directly addressing Hawaiian culture, and (2) the number of letters submitted and published from the reading audience.¹⁰¹ A

⁹⁹ *Ke Au Okoa* was a government-sponsored paper, but followed closely the norms that had been set by the two previous independent papers, *Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Kuokoa* and eventually merging with *Kuokoa* in 1873.

¹⁰⁰ *Aha Elele*, not considered here, was another Hawaiian-language paper, published by the government during the 1864 constitutional convention. Religious papers of the decade include *Hooiiliili Havaii*, *Hoku Loa*, *Na Helu Kalavina*, *Ka Hae Kiritiano*, *Ke Alaula*, *Ka Hae Katolika*, all of which would have been affected by the presence of the independent press, but which are not being considered in this discussion. See Chapin 2000.

¹⁰¹ "Cultural" is a subjective description; for the purpose of this survey, only those articles whose topic directly addressed a cultural practice or Hawaiian historical event, whether generated by the paper or in a submitted letter, have been considered for this count. Regarding letters, those signed by the editor, publisher or submitted as signed reports from a government or mission

comparison of establishment (mission/ government) and independent papers illuminates the extent of the transition.¹⁰² The appearance of articles directly addressing cultural topics soared from an average of less than one per issue in mission/ government papers to 9 or more as the norm for *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, five per issue in the opening years of *Kuokoa* and 2-3 per issue in *Ke Au Okoa*. Likewise, an average of four signed letters in government and mission papers rose to twenty as the average in each issue of *Ka Hoku*, and ten or more per issue in *Kuokoa*. The government paper, *Ke Au Okoa*, maintained an average of 4-5 per issue, similar to the earlier papers, although those letters were greatly expanded in length and range of topics.

Content and Form as Reflection of Orality

Many of the forms and processes of communication documented in the Hawaiian oral tradition by early observers were continued for generations after

office were not included in the tally. *Ka Elele* (1848-9), *Ka Hae Hawaii* (1856-61) and *Ka Hoku Loa* (1859-64) were reviewed as mission or early government papers, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (1861-3), *Ke Kuokoa* (1861-70) and *Ke Au Okoa* (1865-70), as independent and post-native press examples.

¹⁰² One issue per year in each of the newspapers was surveyed for this overview.

literacy became widespread. Evidence of this retention is incorporated into the letters and articles for the newspapers, especially in the latter half of the 19th century.

Letters and articles generated from the readership represent a broader spectrum of the population than those materials produced by the newspaper's own writers and editors. Often edited into some level of consistency adopted by individual papers, such materials from the reading audience often contain content or form that extends beyond the boundaries of the paper's own guidelines. These materials provide a special insight into the discourse of the period by giving glimpses of the population beyond the newspaper offices.

Poetic forms of address, which showed skill and preparation on the part of the speaker while bestowing respect on the person addressed, mostly appear in these reader-generated pieces. Formal terms of address were sometimes included, usually in truncated form, during the first decades of the press, but became far more common in newspapers after 1861. During the opening decades of the press these formalities are deleted, edited, or self-edited into a form of Hawaiian language more commonly produced by the mission institutions: simple, direct, and functional.

The signed letters from readers in the mission papers often launch directly into the content, with no greeting at all, and with no closure other than a name. Some letters open with a simple “*Aloha oe*” (Greetings), or “*Aloha oe e Ka Elele*” (greetings to the newspaper *Ka Elele*), and close with a name or with “*na’u, na X*” (by me, by X). Even an early, cultural dialogue in *Ka Nonanona* between S. M. Kamakau and A Unauna on the propriety of printing traditionally privileged knowledge was framed in this terse form of opening address and closure (Nonanona:10/25/1842, 11/8/1842, 2/14/43). Occasional letters offer fuller, not necessarily more poetical, forms of address: “*Aloha oe e ka mea hoopuka’ku i ka Elele, a me ke Kuhina Aopalapala, oia hoi ke Kuhina Kalaiaina, me olua ka malu me makou ka pomaikai, a me ka lanakila*” (Ka Elele:6/8/1848). (Greetings to the publisher of the *Elele*, and to the Minister of Education, namely the Minister of the Interior, with you two being the control, and with all of us being the benefit and the success.)

Such eloquence was rarely included at all in earlier newspapers until the *Hae Hawaii* enlarged its format, and even then it was not common. It is uncertain whether the minimalist and functional style of language used in early papers was the work of editors due to the restraint of space or if such language was generated by the writers with an understanding that the mission papers and the

language therein belonged to a separate, simplified cultural sphere. The more complex language forms that appeared along with increased participation by readers and broader fields of content, is more equivalent to formal language of other sources of the time than the terse, clear language of mission writers.

As literacy was introduced, Hawaiians did not have a standard form for letters or written narratives. Such forms were taught along with literacy in formal schooling and appear in most of the writings of the mission and government papers. The writings submitted to the 1860s newspapers show a new and extended mixture of traditional oratory and modern Western written forms rather than a replacement of the older traditional forms by newer styles of presentation. The following greeting and closure offer small, common examples, given here only in translation:

O Hae Hawaii—Fond regards to you. Perhaps you could carry this gift of the sulphury Pu'ulena wind of my land to the four corners of this island chain, so that my enlightened companions may know. . . [Kealakai 1861]

This little fragment of thought, of little merit but perhaps not worthless, has gone on long enough, and this child of the dazzling hot sun of Kaimukī returns, for the gentle breeze of my land, the trade wind, beckons. With appreciation, . . . [Kalanikuihonoikamoku 1865]

Decorative and deeply cultural language of Hawaiian oratory becomes more apparent as the secular press develops and formal greetings and closures become

common after 1861 in letters to the native press, even though space was still problematic. When mixed with Western styles of expression, the formal, even archaic, oratorical language is sometimes recognizable and understandable even after more than a century of cultural change, but entire sections are often obscure or even opaque to readers today.

The formal language of oratory relies for its meaning upon a foundation of cultural knowledge, and “*the cultural institutions in which utterance was deeply embedded*” (Ong 1995:10). Familiarity with the cultural institutions that illuminated meaning would have been more universal in the reading audience of the period, and the frequent presence of complex oratorical forms in the post-1861 newspapers speaks to the continuity of such cultural knowledge, contradicting some of the historical resources that focus on the change and loss of such cultural fluency.

In the following example from 1865, a writer’s closure lists ocean (kai) characteristics coupled with word-play on relationship terms like *kai-kua’ana*, *kai-kaina* (elder sibling, younger sibling) to acknowledge how fellow readers of *Ke Au Okoa* must comprehend for themselves the enveloping sea of news from the East, be it good, troubling, familiar or strange. While the following translation attempts to show the general implications of the text, the full meaning of these

references would have been grasped only by persons of the time who shared a deep insight into traditional metaphor and analogy, perhaps not even the whole readership of the period:

Nolaila, e o'u makamaka o *KE AU OKOA* na hoa loliii o na po loloa, hoa hookele o ka la makani, kahi a ka ihu e honi aku ai i na mea aala o ka welau makani i lawe loa ia mai ka Hikina loa mai, a loa ka mea a loko e olelo iho ai, he kai nui, he kaikoo, he kai piha, he kai emi, he kai make, he kai lana malie, he kai ku, he kai oni, he kai okilo hee, he kai malolo, he kaikoeke, he kaikuaana, he kaikuahine, a he kaikuano, he kai paeaea, a pela aku. Ke hooki nei au i ke kakau ana ke wehe mai nei ka welau makani o Lahaina nei he maaa, ke holo mai nei ka oluolu a loa au malalo o ke kumukukui o Puehuehu nei. [Nailiili 1865]

[Therefore, my friends of Ke Au Okoa, pleasurable companions of the long nights and fellow navigators of the windy days, where one could catch the scent brought from afar in the East on the fringes of the breeze that would make the heart respond, saying to itself, it is a grand sea, a raging sea, a high tide, an ebb tide, a neap tide, a calm sea, a stormy sea, a rocking sea, a glassy sea, flying-fish sea, an in-law, an older brother, a sister, a sea of solitude, a smooth sea, etc., I close off writing at this point as the zephyrs of Lahaina, the breeze called the Maaa, emerges, and comfort hastens to me here, so I'll be found in the shade of the candlenut trees here in Puehuehu.]

Such extensive poetic language continually presented a problem for the limited space of the newspaper, and many letters and chants were left unpublished for lack of space. While the editor selected general letters for publication, a charge of \$1 per page was set for the publication of *kanikau*, or poetic dirges.

He mau hanele ka nui o na Kanikau e waiho nei ma ko makou papakakau, a ua hiki ole ia makou ke pai ia mau mea a pau, no ka nele i kahi kaawale ole, ina paha he paumi ae ka nui o ka makou pepa.
[Kuokoa 4/19/1867]

[There are hundreds of dirge poems left on our desk, and we are unable to print them all due to lack of available space, even if our paper were ten times its size.]

Editors issued occasional pleas to their readers to curtail both the length and poetic language of letters. One editorial in *Ka Hae Hawaii* gave multiple examples of the poetic openings of letters, saying that such decorative speech was cumbersome for the paper, and that many such letters were simply not printed (Hae Hawaii 1860b). Others, of course, were not printed due to inappropriate content. A letter in *Ke Au Okoa* gave examples of openings and closings that were too poetic to be useful, asking readers to “*e kakau iho i na hua e hoomaopopo ai na manao io, a pau ia, e hooki ae*” (Ke Au Okoa 4-22-1869), (write words that clarify the actual content, and when that is done, stop). The editor of *Kuokoa* complained in general that letters were too numerous to all be printed and that many were written “*me he mea la, ua kipa kino mai ma ko makou keena kakau, e kamailio ai*” (Kuokoa 4-19-1867), (as though they had dropped into the office to chat). While language that is both personal and deeply cultural must have been a continuous burden for early editors, the continuous appearance of such poetic forms shows

that many or most letters still incorporated such language as a norm. It exemplifies the writers' appreciation for their own language and reflects the thinking processes of the native population.

In working with the Māori newspapers of the 19th century, Jane McCrae (2002:44-46) identified a similar use of traditional oral arts in combination with Western, or Pākehā forms of presentation. She comments on how the older oral arts are juxtaposed with, rather than replaced by, Western written forms, which is also apparent in the Hawaiian examples. McCrae stresses that the traditional systems of the oral culture which fostered participation by native writers were still in place, as evidenced by the oratorical styles, and that it is the continuation of the cultural traditions which affected the form of Māori interaction with the written venues.

Orality and Epistemology

The presence of intact oratorical mechanisms and bases of reference in later 19th-century writings indicates that residual cultural aspects, often described by

observers as elements of the past, were still extant in the late 19th century.¹⁰³ This insight would pertain to issues raised in Manu Meyer's Ph.D. dissertation on Hawaiian epistemology (Meyer:2000) where she posits that an imposed epistemology has overlain or fractured an earlier Hawaiian cultural framework of knowledge. That earlier epistemology would be difficult to isolate and identify, but analysis of 19th century historical frames of reference like these in the newspapers provide for comparison material with contemporary knowledge and practice.

One facet of an oral society with many examples in the Hawaiian press, is *kuleana*, or privilege and responsibility, in regards to speaking at appropriate times and settings. While once defined by social position and genealogical standing, the prerogative was altered by the constitutional foundations adopted by the monarchy that granted equal status to subjects, protected the rights of free speech, and thus diminished in some ways the importance of genealogical and social rank. But the importance of publicly validating or correcting collective knowledge did not undergo complete change and such prerogative helped to

¹⁰³ It is noted in the next chapter (pp. 193-195) that even in the translated works of Hawaiian authors from the period, cultural practice they described as ongoing was presented in translation as a thing of the past.

foster lively extended dialogue once the access to such interaction and documentation was readily available through the press.

Dialogue in the Press

Dialogue between individuals in the newspapers and between individuals and the newspapers themselves can be traced in a nascent form to some of the later mission papers of the 1840s. Initially dealing with the topics deemed appropriate in those papers, such as genealogy or history, the fields of dialogue expanded over the years to a much broader range, still bounded by what could be considered appropriate for public discussion.¹⁰⁴

Some of the longest-running topics, appearing in sequences of editorial or individual expression and eventually opening into extended dialogues, began with mission editorials censuring particular Hawaiian practices, such as idolatry, native medicine, or the hula. As personal expressions began to expand in the paper, these usually supported the establishment position, expounding on the topic or describing local instances of transgression. As the number of letters

¹⁰⁴ Some examples of inappropriate material are clarified: “i ko makou manao ana, aole he mea kupono, ka hoolahaia o na hihia ohana imua o ka lehulehu” [in our opinion, it is inappropriate to spread family problems in public] (Nupepa Kuokoa 4/19/67) and other whole fields were excluded without comment. See Nogelmeier 2001:2.

increased, differences in opinion about dealing with such issues became apparent, generating reader responses to individual writers and initiating ongoing dialogue within the newspaper. Writers openly argued with previously published letters, and challenged the reading public to offer their opinions, like the following letter in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, where the writer had presented his opposition to an earlier published opinion about the government's role in handling prostitution and adultery, then solicited the public's ideas:

Auheā oukou, e ka poe paio, no ke aha la ka mumule o ka waha?
Ekemu mai, i lohe nui ke kīni o kakou i na mea e pili ana i na 'ao'ao elua
o keia wahi mana'o. [M. 1860]

[Where are all of you, o argumentative ones, and why the silence? Speak up, so that the multitude of us can hear the things pertaining to the two sides of this particular issue.]

Another issue that garnered strong public interaction was that of native medical practitioners. Sporadic letters and editorials appeared in Hawaiian papers for at least a decade prior to the 1858 publication in *Ka Hae Hawaii* of a seven-part serial column on the ancient practice of native medicine (Kalama 1858–1859). The series fueled a subsequent dialogue on the topic of native medicine in *Ka Hae Hawaii* and its successors, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, *Kuokoa*, and *Ke Au Okoa* throughout the next decade. In addition to the description of native

medical practices in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, scores of letters and other serial articles were generated on a regular basis in every Hawaiian-language paper of the period.

Scholars today are beginning to recognize the importance of such extended published dialogue. Leimomi Akana-Gooch recently presented a year-long section of these letters in annotated translation (Akana-Gooch:2002) showing a widespread disapproval of the practice of native medicine, but consideration of the decades-long sequence of letters indicates that opinion was mixed, and that other issues were involved as well. Reports of deaths from treatment by Western doctors generated none of the criticism aimed at traditional healers, and Hawaiian writers noted such dichotomy.¹⁰⁵ Other writers point out that foreign doctors may succeed at treating certain illnesses, but that Hawaiian healers would better serve particularly Hawaiian ailments.¹⁰⁶

The persistent criticisms regarding individual practitioners, interspersed among the more general censure of the practice from the Christian community, indicate that the newspapers became a tool connected to a widespread belief in the value of native medicine in light of population decline, loss of traditional knowledge and acceptance of the limits of Western medicine. Letters denouncing

¹⁰⁵ Compare Kamakau 1855 and Waimanalo 1863.

¹⁰⁶ A letter by J. Nakookoo (Kuokoa 6/11/1870) gives a good example of this argument, but many exist.

individuals as *Kahuna ho'opunipuni*, or false practitioners allowed Hawaiians to publicly identify charlatans in the field, so that skilled practitioners would not be wrongly maligned by the general censure. Supporters and satisfied patients could defend a *kahuna lā'au lapa'au*, (medicinal expert) who was wrongly accused of fraud. Those accused who had no record of success or satisfied clients to defend them had their credibility diminished in the press.¹⁰⁷

While we do not know the age, gender or social rank of those authoring the published letters, their dialogue reflects one that was national at the time, both in the newspapers and beyond. The papers provided a space where native voices were heard and public opinion noted. For instance, in regards to native practitioners, in 1859, Lot Kapuāiwa issued licenses to *kahuna lā'au lapa'au* prior to his becoming Kamehameha V. Then, amid continued opposition by foreign and mission sectors of the population, he established the official licensing of traditional medical practitioners through a Hawaiian Board of Health in 1868 (Akana 2002:35).¹⁰⁸ The dialogue on native medicine provides evidence for the role of newspaper discourse in shaping government action and the converse impact of action upon public discussion.

¹⁰⁷ Waimanalo (1863) is a good example of such defense.

¹⁰⁸ For more information, see Bushnell 1993:110.

Ancient Religion

A similar protracted public interchange appeared for decades in the newspapers on the subject of ancient religion, *hoomana kahiko*, and the practices that were related to religious ritual, including the hula and native medicine. Beginning with editorial and pedagogy pieces in the mission press about the evil nature of pagan practice, the topic continued to appear in the secular press, still with disdain or despair of the writer. In this example, from an article about *hoomana kii*, idol worship, the writer denounces the practice, but goes on to include a great level of detail, including deity names and ritual sequence:

Lapuwale maoli keia hana. Kainoa ua pau ka pouli, a ua hiki mai la ka malamalama i Hawaii nei. Aole ka! eia no ka ke mau nei no ia hana lapuwale. Ahea la e pau ai ia hana o ko Hawaii nei. I ko'u manao, aole no e pau ana a hiki wale aku i ka pau ana o ka honua. [Ka Hae Hawaii, 1860a]

[This activity is truly worthless. One would have thought the darkness was over, and that enlightenment had come here to Hawaii. Not at all! Here such wretched s continue on. When will this be ended here in Hawai'i? In my opinion, it will never end until the end of the world.]

Ancient religious practice became a frequent topic in the native press after 1861. Articles often noted where some particular religious act or ritual had been witnessed, with most writers expressing disapproval of perpetuating the ancient beliefs. Chants and prayers connected in any way to ritual use were often

censored out of the newspapers, criticized, or included with disclaimers, lest they be mistakenly thought of as “*i mea e ao ai i ko makou poe opiopio mahope o ia hana uko ole a na kupuna o kakou*,”¹⁰⁹ (a means to teach our young people to follow old, useless ways of our ancestors).

In 1865, *Kuokoa* ran a 33-part extended series on ancient religion called *Hoomana Kahiko*,¹¹⁰ presented with the stated goal of showing the fallacy of such practices and to bring an end to those practices still being observed. The article that seemingly generated the *Hoomana Kahiko* series made note of those who were still involved in old religious ritual and urged the *Kuokoa* to quickly provide information “*i ike mai ai keia poe e noho ana i ka pouli*” (Hukilani 1864) (so that these people living in darkness may see).

The series, by multiple authors, began less than two months later and ran for much of the year 1865, generating a number of reaction letters during its run. The *Kuokoa*’s co-editor at the time, missionary L. H. Gulick, showed concern about the extent of “idolatry” dialogue fostered by his paper, for in the following year the paper was reticent about printing an article which contained a prayer to the ‘*aumākua*, or guardian spirits. Preceding the article was this editor’s note:

¹⁰⁹ Included in a disclaimer by the editor in *Kalaaukumuole* 1866.

Aole makou i manao e hoopuka i keia pule i na Aumakua, i mea e ao ai i ko makou poe opiopio mahope o ia hana uko ole a na kupuna o kakou, oiai ua ike kakou a pau i ka noho ana o keia wa, aole i like me ka wa mamua. Ke hoikeike nei makou i keia me ka hookamani ole, i mea e ike pu iho ai kakou a pau i ka lapuwale maoli o na pule a ko kakou mau makua— Luna Hooponopono.

[We did not consider publishing this prayer to the family deities so that our young people will learn those useless endeavors of our ancestors, whereas we all recognize that life today is not like previous eras. We present this without pretense, that we all may see the true worthlessness of the prayers of our forefathers — Editor.]

The long-running dialogue in the Hawaiian papers on ancient native religion is invaluable for the insight it gives us today about the diversity of opinions expressed from within the Hawaiian and resident foreigner population over the span of decades. The variety of coverage on this topic is also important for the inclusion of details and descriptions of religious practices, terms for actions and materials, names of deities and their realms, and areas and times where historical practitioners were observed.

Perpetuation

One of the most far-reaching exchanges in the 19th century papers concerned the broad field of documentation and perpetuation of traditional knowledge.

¹¹⁰ *Hoomana Kahiko*, a 33-part series by various authors in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, beginning 1/5/1865

This branching, multi-faceted dialogue overlapped and often connected into other fields, like medical practice and religion mentioned above. The century-long concern over the loss of Hawaiian knowledge generated a massive amount of written cultural material: genealogies; histories; legends; chants; riddles; extensive categorical listings regarding stars, plants, fish, sites, winds, rains, clouds, deities, and innumerable other fields of cultural practice.

Like most of the discursive production of the period, the early papers maintained narrow fields of interest, but the issue of documentation began there and expanded as the discursive space grew. Whether the information was censured or celebrated, there was a general acknowledgement that heritage information should be documented while knowledgeable ones were still living and before the rapid pace of change and depopulation swept such knowledge away. Kekūanāʻo, Hawaiian statesman and father of Kamehameha IV and V, addressed the chiefs in urging that traditional knowledge be documented lest it be swept away:

... o ka olelo kahiko o keia mau aina aole i pai ia. Auhea oukou e na lii malama aupuni, e ae ana i ka naauao, e ae mai oukou, e pai ae na moo kuauhau kupuna ma ka olelo honua, no ka mea o ka olelo kahiko no ia o keia mau aina, malia paha o pau oukou i ka hala e aku, nalo wale loa ka olelo kumu o Hawaii nei mai ka mole mai. A i ole e pai ia la ea! he

hoailona ia no ka na lii malama i ka mea kahiko. . . [Ka Lama Hawaii 1834b]

[... the ancient language of these lands is not printed. Hearken oh governing chiefs, agreeing to wisdom, give your consent that the ancestral genealogies be printed in the foundational language, because that is the ancient language of these lands. You may all pass away, and the source language of this land, Hawai'i, will disappear completely from its very taproot. To avoid that, let it be printed! as a sign of the chiefs' concern for the things of old.]

A genealogist and historian, Kepookulou published genealogies in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (8/19/1835) which Hiram Bingham then framed with the statement “i maopopo hoi i na kanaka a me na keiki a pau ma Hawaii nei ma ia hope aku” (so the people and children of Hawai'i today and in the future may understand). S. M. Kamakau closed his 1842 writings on history and genealogy with, “*i mea e maopopo ai i keia hanauna; a ia hanauna aku ia hanauna aku*” (Kamakau 1842a) (so as to be clear to those of this generation and all successive generations). J. H. Kanepuu, in addressing the need to publish legends and mele (chants) in full, ended his editorial with, “*E makemake ana ka hanauna Hawaii o na la A. D. 1870, a me A. D. 1880, a me A. D. 1890, a me A. D. 1990*” (Kanepuu 1862) (Hawaiian generations will be wanting this in the 1870s, 1880s, 1890s, and the 1990s).

The number, range, and completeness of legends, historical accounts, chants and such that appeared in the Hawaiian-language newspapers expanded greatly

after the independent newspapers opened. Legends and stories, which began to appear in abbreviated form early on, grew into irregular serial features in *Ka Hae Hawaii* and then became a regular feature in almost all subsequent Hawaiian papers. The same expansion occurred with the additions, corrections, and supporting or censuring opinions that, a century and a half later, helps us understand such heritage knowledge and its place in the society of the time.

The extended dialogue that generated and framed this body of cultural knowledge occurred in newspapers from 1834 on, and often included intertextual referents connecting multiple newspapers to a single discussion. For instance, the presentation of legends and histories were quickly cut short when critiqued for incorrectness, appended when additional information was known, or retold again in full when variations of the accounts were available.¹¹¹ Writers would frequently refer to previous issues of a paper, or to an issue or issues of other contemporary newspapers in order to link multiple references into a single narrative response. It was common, in fact, for serial stories or single articles appearing in one newspaper to be the subject of commentary or addendum in

¹¹¹ See Koko 1865, where he cuts his account of Lonoikamakahiki after criticism from Hale'ole 1865. Koko is further criticized for not finishing the story (Na keiki o Kukuimalu 1865). The epic account of Pele and Hiiaka appears in over ten full variant accounts in different newspapers between 1862 (*Hoku o ka Pakipika*) and 1906 (*Ka Nai Aupuni*).

another. Occasionally, serial legend or narrative accounts that began publication in one newspaper moved to a second paper, sometimes with no pause, recap, or explanation and the interchange of any reaction articles would then respond to the changed locus of dialogue.¹¹² Such intertextuality provides yet another challenge to any attempts at fully understanding or utilizing the written resources while the whole of the repository remains relatively uncharted.

The only portions of the canon texts that were published for a Hawaiian audience of the authors' peers appeared the 1860s, when extensive Hawaiian auto-representation began to appear in print. The complexity of the cultural content in the writings of the time, the cultural form that frames them, the dialogue nature of the discourse and the intertextual alignments of their presentation shows the problematic nature of isolating any portion of that fabric without understanding of the threads that run through it.

¹¹² Examples would include Haleole's *Laieikawai*, which began in *Hoku o ka Pakipika* and moved to *Kuokoa*, and Kamakau's *Moolelo o na Kamehameha*, which moved from *Kuokoa* to *Ke Au Okoa*.

Chapter IV

MISREPRESENTATIONAL TEXTS

The actual corpus of Hawaiian-language writings is both massive and complex, and efforts at incorporating that material or analyzing its content are still preliminary. This chapter addresses certain “representational” canon texts translated from the newspaper corpus to show that they are neither representative, nor do they replace the extensive, polyvocal, and largely unutilized body of historical Hawaiian auto-representation that exists. Dependence on these works throughout the broadest range of modern scholarship is apparent today, appearing and reappearing in scholarly and popular literature through direct or secondary reference to this canon. Such reliance grants representational status to these texts and, in effect replaces a broader scope of Hawaiian writers.

Reliance on the canon texts is problematic, not only for what they leave behind in the way of context and other writings but for what they bring to current fields of study. These few texts inadequately represent the larger body of works from which they are extracted, and they also inadequately represent even their own authors and original content, being recast, through translation, editing and reorganization, into new, Western-styled reference texts. As translations,

these texts acquire their own integrity as resources, but the focus of this study is the relation of those texts to their original sources and the further link to the larger body of Hawaiian auto-representation of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Of the authors of the canons mentioned above, Malo, Kepelino, 'Ī'ī and Kamakau, only the last two were published during their authors' lifetimes. Their works are reviewed here.¹¹³ However, there are many differences between the original newspaper writings of Kamakau and 'Ī'ī and the form in which those writings were published in English book form. Those differences and the processes generating them are examined here.

Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau

Samuel Kamakau's works, available today in English as four separate texts (Kamakau 1961, 1964, 1976, 1991), were composed as serial columns that appeared weekly in two consecutive newspapers, starting in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and later moving to *Ke Au Okoa*. The series appeared in three sections during a

¹¹³ While many articles by Malo and Kepelino appeared during their lifetimes, those writings are not part of the translated works available today, and are not included among the canons addressed in this dissertation. Their translated works were drawn from manuscript materials that were not part of the public discourse of their eras. Some of David Malo's manuscript that was later translated as *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* (1906), was published in *Ke Au Okoa* two decades after his death, but that posthumous publication would not parallel the writings of Kamakau and 'Ī'ī who published during their lifetimes for their contemporaries.

span of five and a half years, from June 16, 1865 to February 2, 1871. The first series was titled *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, or Hawaiian History, and ran for 16 weeks.¹¹⁴ A year later began the series that ran weekly for the next four and a half years. Originally titled *Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha*, or The Story of Kamehameha, the title of this series changed as time passed and as content of the column progressed, becoming *Ka Moolelo o Na Kamehameha*, or The Story of the Kamehamehas, and eventually returning to the 1865 title, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, Hawaiian History, as the third phase of this continuous sequence began.

Although S. M. Kamakau had been writing for the newspapers since 1838, journalism was not his career, but apparently became his passion. Employed in many fields, as a teacher, a judge, a civil servant and a legislator, Kamakau probably gained little or no income from his writing until the 1860s, when he became a paid serial columnist for the newspapers *Kuokoa* and then *Ke Au Okoa*.¹¹⁵ He asserted, though, that he had a responsibility to write and document

¹¹⁴ June 16, 1865 to Oct. 7, 1865. The first installment was actually titled *No ke Kaapuni Makaikai i na wahi Kaulana a me na Kupua, a me na 'Lii Kahiko mai Hawaii a Niihau* (Concerning touring the famous places and the supernaturals and ancient chiefs from Hawaii to Ni'ihau) which was maintained as a subtitle for the rest of the 16-issue series.

¹¹⁵ Kamakau was paid one dollar per column when his serial column appeared in 1865 in the *Kuokoa* (Kamakau 1865d), but the income was unreliable. He mentions insufficient payment in a letter to W. Chamberlain in 1868, and informs him that he will start to write instead for *Ke Au Okoa* (Kamakau 1868b).

the history that was known in full to so few, and which he felt was remaining at the time in his hands alone:

Ua noonoo nui ko'u poo i ke ao a me ka po, a ua makaukau no au e hoopiha. No ka mea, owau wale no ka mea i koe mai o ka poe i ike i ka moolelo kahiko o Hawaii nei. [Kamakau 1868db]

[My mind has pondered day and night, and I am indeed prepared to bring it to completion. For I alone remain of those who knew the ancient history of this land, Hawai'i.]

He published regularly for 33 years, from 1838–1871, and produced nearly 400 articles, most of which dealt with cultural description, history, legend and social critique.¹¹⁶ His work stands out among all 19th century writers in Hawai'i for the extent of his writing and for the position he held as a respected voice among his peers, albeit not one free of criticism. The events and forces in the course of his career shaped his literary position and the content of his writings.

Shaping the Hawaiian text: Criticism and Debate

Critiques informed the content of Hawaiian writings. The dialogue quality of the newspaper interaction, especially by the 1860's, presupposed a responsive readership that was knowledgeable about oral tradition and to printed resources.

¹¹⁶ See appendix of Kamakau's published works.

It was a readership that was sensitive to authority issues in regard to what was appropriate for publication and who was qualified to present it. Criticism came quickly upon those who were deemed unqualified to present their writings.

Those who couldn't overcome their critics curtailed their writing.

Kamakau, more independent and adamant about his qualifications and authority than many other writers of his time, tackled his critics zealously and derisively. As one of the new group of scholars educated at Lahainaluna College¹¹⁷ he jostled in the newspapers for position as a spokesperson for his people and considered himself a repository of historical and cultural knowledge. While early and continued interchanges never stopped him from writing, they undoubtedly made him more cautious about accuracy and may have kept him from dealing with subjects in which he had less mastery than those he did choose to expound upon.

In response to some of his earliest writings, Kamakau received angry critiques about the correctness of his historical and genealogical information.

Issues were also raised about his right to share what was deemed to be

¹¹⁷ Kamakau entered Lahainaluna in 1832, began teaching there in 1836 and stayed on staff until 1846.

privileged information with a general readership. A. Unauna, a noted genealogist for Kamehameha II and III, was one of his early, strident critics.

In an opening to an extended genealogy, which he published in 1842 as his first detailed cultural piece, Kamakau wrote:

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. [Kamakau 1842a]

[The genealogy of the ancient ancestors of this land, Hawai'i, coming down to Wākea. From Wākea it continues to our present time, so as to be clear to this generation, and the next generation and following generations.]

A. Unauna quickly submitted this critique under the heading “No Ke Kuauhau” [Concerning Genealogy]:

I ka wa kahiko he olelo kapu loa keia, aohe e haawi ia aku i ke kanaka e, i kana keiki no e haawi ai.

Aole e loa keia olelo i ka makaainana; aole i na kanaka kuaaina; aia o na lii ka mea e loa ai. E ninau aku i kanaka o ke kuaaina, aohe e loa; ina ua loa i ke kanaka he kanaka alii no ia; no ka ike i ke kuauhau nae ia. Na kanaka i hanau alii, no ke lii; aole na kanaka kuaaina e noho ana me ke lii nui; o ke aikane a me keiki hookama ko ke kuaaina mau kanaka noho me ke lii nui. He ninau ia nae ko laua; o ka ike i ke kuauhau ka mea e hemo ai ka pilikia o na mea e hakaka ana, i ka i ana mai a ka mea i ike ‘o kou kaikuaana no keia, na mea oe, na mea keia,’ a ike laua, pau ae la ka pilikia. . . .

Auhea oe e Kamakau kuauhau nui o Lahainaluna, ke ninau aku nei au ia oe ma kau palapala kuauhau i hookaulana mai ai oe i kou makaukau i ke kuauhau. . .” [A. Unauna 1842]

[In ancient times this was a very sacred subject, never to be given to another, to one's own children would it be granted.

This subject is not acquired by the common people, nor by the country people; only through the chiefs was it gained. Inquire of the people of the countryside, nothing will be found; if it (such knowledge) came to a person, that was a chiefly person, but the rank is through knowledge of genealogy. Those born of rank belonged to the chiefly ranks, that is not so with the country-folk who reside with the high chiefs; the *aikāne*¹¹⁸ and the *keiki ho'okama*¹¹⁹ are the kinds of country people who reside with the high chiefs. Their positions, however, are subject to question; knowledge of genealogy is what removes problems of those who are in dispute, when a knowledgeable one states 'this is your older sibling, you are the child of so-and-so, and that one is the child of so-and-so,' and when they acknowledge each other, the problem is over

Take heed, o Kamakau, great genealogist of Lahainaluna, I am asking you about your printed genealogy by which you've made famous your genealogical skill . . .]

Unauna then went on to question specifics within the original genealogical account.

In the same issue of the *Nonanona* where Unauna's letter appeared, a letter from Kamakau addressed typesetting errors in the genealogy he had submitted, giving the editor, Armstrong, a specific list of errors that should be corrected

¹¹⁸ An intimate, same-gender companion; not necessarily a sexual relationship, but more than common friendship or alliance.

¹¹⁹ An adoptive relationship, often after childhood, where the adopting party does not have primary care in the upbringing. A familial relationship established through mutual agreement rather than blood relation or child-rearing.

(Kamakau 1842b). In his next article, appearing in a following issue of the *Nonanona*, Kamakau responded condescendingly to Unauna about his critique of Kamakau's authority and depth of knowledge. His reference to books written by the ancient deity Wākea and use of U. instead of Unauna's full name are examples of pointed sarcasm and insult aimed at Unauna. The first makes fun of Unauna's claim to traditional knowledge and the shortening of his name to U, or 'Ū, refers to him by that one-letter word, meaning "moan or groan":

Auheā oe e Unauna, ka haumana kuauhau a Auwae ka mea i ike, a maopopo loa maloko o ko mau buke kahiko loa a Wakea i kakau ai. E Unauna e, e noho mua ilalo, e noonoo, e pelu iki mai, e heluhelu iki iho, e noonoo iki ae a maopopo loa; alaila e kakau iho me ke akamai. Mai kuhihewa i ka laau pakuikui a ka poe lawaia, a hei i ka pa, aole i ka mole o ke kamanialii. . . .

Auheā oe e U. ka mea i ike a i ao ia ma ke kuauhau, a ua like ka ike me na hoku o ka lani i uhi ia e na ao ua i ka po. Aole au i ao ia ma keia mea; o ka pu a me ka puda, ka mea e lele ai ka poka. O ka naauao a me ka noonoo, oia ka mea e lele ai ka manao, a nana no i paipai i ka lima e hana a e kakau. [Kamakau 1843]

[Take heed, o Unauna, genealogy student of Auwae, the knowledgeable one, as is clear in your ancient books which Wākea¹²⁰ wrote.

Unauna, sit down first, to think, bend a bit, read a bit, think a bit more until it becomes clear, then write intelligently.

¹²⁰ Wākea is one of the original progenitors in Hawaiian genealogies, a sky father who mated with Papa, the earth mother to eventually give birth to the sacred lines of chiefs. Mention of Wākea as an author is a sarcastic pretense about Unauna's claim to knowledge of old.

Don't misconstrue the thrashing stick of the fishermen and snag the mouth of the net, or tangle in the deep pocket of that net of chiefly pretense...¹²¹

You should pay attention, U.,¹²² who knows and who was trained in genealogy, with knowledge like the stars of the heavens, covered by rain clouds at night. I wasn't taught in this manner; guns and powder is what makes bullets fly. Intelligence and thought is what makes ideas fly, and that's what encourages the hand to act and to write.]

Kamakau goes on to introduce his opinion that serious thinking and personal intelligence supercede the limits of oral tradition, the learning directly from another and accepting that single source. He uses Kauakahikahāola and his peers, famed genealogists and orators of the past, to validate his authority.

E Unauna: Ua kakau au i keia kuauhau ma ko'u noonoo ana a ma ko'u akamai iho, aole ma ko hai manao, aole ma ke ao ana i ke kuauhau; me ke akamai wale no ka hana ana.

Aka i kuu manao, ina e ala hou mai o Kauakahiakaola ma, ka poe kuauhau mai ka po mai e olioli lakou i keia, no ka mea, ua pau ia lakou i ka nalowale; olioli lakou ke ike hou. . . .

Auheā oe e Unauna ka haumana kuauhau a Auwae. Ua maopopo loa ia makou i na haumana o ke Kulanui kou ike a me kou akamai: ike ae nei makou ia oe, pakela loa aku ka poe ma Honolulu, a ma Amerika a me Beritania, a ma na aina naauao a pau loa ia oe. [Kamakau 1843]

[Unauna: I wrote this genealogy through my own thought processes and my own wisdom, not through someone else's opinions, not by learning genealogy; by wisdom alone was the deed done.

¹²¹ A reference back to Unauna's own letter, about knowledge being used by non-chiefs to imply their status.

¹²² The shortening of Unauna's name is an insulting gesture. 'Ū, by itself, means "moan" or "groan."

But in my opinion, if Kauakahiakaola¹²³ and his peers were to arise, those genealogists of antiquity, they would rejoice at this, because they have all now gone; they would rejoice to see it again . . .

Listen, Unauna, genealogy student of Auwae. We, the students of the College¹²⁴ understand clearly your knowledge and wisdom: we know you, and that the people of Honolulu, and in America and Britain and in all the enlightened lands are far superior to you.]

After proclaiming that educated folk are all superior to one like Unauna who was mentored in the traditional fashion, Kamakau clarifies his stance that a new scholarly approach to genealogy is preferable to the “ignorant method” of old practiced by Unauna.

E U. e, Aole o’u makemake e hana pololei loa e haalele i kekahi mau keiki, a ma na keiki wale no i ku i ke aupuni wale no e kakau ai. Ua ike oe i ke kuauhau a Kepookulou, ma ke kumu Hawaii. Maopopo anei? Pau anei ka pohihi malaila? Ina paha heluhelu kekahi kanaka a paa naau loa ia kuauhau, a ninau mai kekahi mea e ia ia, ‘Ehia keiki a Umi?’ Olelo aku oia ‘hookahi, o Keliioakaloa, a o Kukailani kana keiki aku, a o Makaualii kana keiki aku a o Iwikauikaua kana keiki aku, a o Keakealani kana kaikamahine, a o Keawe kana keiki aku,’ alaila ninau hou oia, ‘Pakahi wale no anei lakou i na keiki?’ Alaila heaha kana olelo ilaila? He hoka.

O ke kuauhau ma ka mooolelo Hawaii, ua maopopoia ia makou, ua pau kekahi hemahema, a nolaila makemake makou e lohe i kekahi mea hou e maopopo ai e pakui hou aku a manamana loa.

O na kuauhau a ka poe i kapaia he poe akamai, ua hana pololei lakou, aole hoomanamana, ua hookoa ia na manamana; ua kapaia he kuauhau okoa kela mana keia mana; aka he hana naaupouia i ka manawa

¹²³ Probably Kauakahiakahāola, the orator and genealogist of Kalani’ōpu’u, King of Hawai’i Island in the late 18th century.

¹²⁴ Lahainaluna.

kahiko. O ka mea hou ka i oi aku mamua o na mea kahiko. [Kamakau 1843]

[U., I have no desire to work in direct genealogical line and leave behind some children, writing only about the children who assumed the government. You saw Kepo'okūlou's genealogy, in *Ke Kumu Hawaii*. Was it clear? Was the confusion taken care of there? If someone should read and memorize that genealogy, and another asked 'How many children did 'Umi have?' That person would respond, "one, Keliioakaloa, and Kukailani was his child, then Makaualii was his, and Iwikauikaua was his child and Keakealani was Iwikauikaua's daughter, with Keawe being her child," and that one would ask again, "They each had only one child?" And then what's that one's response? Bafflement.

Genealogy in Hawaiian history is understood by my group and me; some flaws have been taken care of, and so we want to hear new things to grasp, to add on and to branch out extensively.

The genealogies by people called wise, they followed in direct descent, not identifying branches of the family line, the branches were separated out; each branch was called a separate genealogy; but that was an ignorant practice in ancient times. The modern style is what is superior over the ancient ways.]

Kamakau then derides Unauna's authority to assert genealogical connections and challenges him to draft his kind of genealogy without relying on Kamakau's own works. He includes a challenge to write the personal histories of the chiefs as well as the lists of their names:

Auheā oe e, U. O na mea au i ike ai, ua hookomo wale ia me ke kuleana ole e pili ai, e kakau iho oe i na inoa o ua mau mea la au i ike a na'u, na ka mea i ike ole e hooponopono aku, me ka hawawa; a nana na kanaka mai keia pae aina aku, a hiki i na aupuni naauao. . . .

Eia kekahi. E hana mai oe i kuauhau pololei loa, aole e komo iki kekahi inoa o ka'u kuauhau iloko, aole hoi ma na mana a'u i hoakaka ai; i mookuauhau e wale no; E hoomaopopo mai no hoi i ko lakou noho

ana? Alaila, lilo oe i mea akamai loa; ua like oe me Petolemo ke kanaka naauao no Aigupita. [Kamakau 1843]

[You should listen, U. The things you know, you include with no authority to adjoin them, you write the names of those you know and I, who didn't know, will correct them, haphazardly; and all the people, here and abroad in the enlightened lands, will observe

This too. You should draft a direct-line genealogy, not including any name from my genealogical works therein, nor any of the branches I identified; make it a separate genealogy. You should also clarify their ways of life. Then you would become wise; you'll be the peer of Ptolemy, the sage of Egypt.]

In closing, Kamakau warns Unauna about playing with things more powerful than he. He also points out how Unauna can “heal the wounds” of his ailing work, and threatens humiliation if he doesn't mend his ways:

Auheā oe e Unauna he mea nui keia, he mea nou e naauao ai; a e lilo ai oe he mea noonoo nui loa. Aka he palupalu ke kai a me ka wai, aka, ea, he nui na kanaka i palemo aku ia lua; a o ke gini i kona aleale maikai ana ma ke kiahā, i kou nana ana, i kou hoao ana ia mea, e nahu mai no ia me he nahesa la, a e pa mai me he moonihoawa la.

O kau mau mea hoi i hai mai nei he mau mea kuhikuhi ia i ko makou nana ana, aka, ea, akahi no nae a paa kona hakahaka, i kou hoakaka ana mai ma ka nupepa hoolaha ike.

Eia no ka mea e paa ai kona mau hakahaka, o ko imi mai i na nināu i hoakaka ia'ku nei mamua, oia ka laau lapaa, o ka nini ikaika hoi ia e ola'i kona mau palapu eha. Mai kuemi, mai unu iho, mai kekee, mai kulou ilalo, e ala ka maka iluna.

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.” [Kamakau 1843]

[Listen, Unauna, this is important, something to make you wise; and something that will make you philosophical. It's true, sea water and fresh water are soft, but, hey, many have drowned in those deeps; gin

fills a glass well, when you look, but when you taste that stuff, it'll bite like a snake and sting like a scorpion.

What you've stated, those are suppositions, in our observations, but, then, only now its gaps can be filled, by your clarifying it in an educational newspaper.

Here's what would fill its gaps, your researching the questions explained above first, that is the remedy, a powerful balm that will cure its aching sores. Don't back away, don't pull in, don't twist around, don't bow down, let your eyes look up.

But if you don't get it, aha! We, the students of the College, will laugh at you and tease, saying "Go and sin no more."]

Criticism didn't disappear because of Kamakau's adamance, but went on throughout his career, becoming a regular feature of the newspaper venue. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the critical dialogue in which Kamakau took part honed both his own contextual knowledge and that of the populace. He responded on a regular basis and there is a large body of letters that embody his manner of dealing with critics. His tone was often cynical and sarcastic, or even vicious, asserting the quality of his knowledge, the superiority of his training, and his own authority to present a given topic while demeaning the critics right to do the same.

Two decades after his tangles with Unauna, he sparred on a regular basis with the son of Unauna, John Koi'i.¹²⁵ In *Ke Au Okoa*, Koi'i critiqued Kamakau's

¹²⁵ John Koi'i signed his letters with several variations on his name: J. K. Unauna, J. Koi, John Koi and John Koi Unauna.

initial historical writings in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (Kamakau 1865a)¹²⁶ that included genealogy of the chiefs. Koi'i writes:

Ua hemahema io no anei o Davida Malo, i ka mookuauhau ana i hoopuka ai ma ka buke a Pogue? Aole anei o kau ka hemahema loa? Ua ao maoli ia anei oe i ke kuauhau? Aole paha ea? No ka buke no hoi paha a Kaunuohua, ka wahine a Kalauwalu laua o W.L. Moehonua, kau wahi kuauhau ea? [Unauna, J. 1865]

[Was David Malo truly incompetent in the genealogy he published in Pogue's book? Isn't yours the truly defective work? Were you really taught genealogy? It's not so, is it? Your bit of genealogy probably comes from the book of Kaunuohua, wife of Kalauwalu and from W. L. Moehonua,¹²⁷ doesn't it?]

Kamakau responded in *Ke Au Okoa*,¹²⁸ listing problems with Malo's text, acknowledging having seen Kaunuohua's book only to add corrections, and repeatedly condemning J. Koi'i Unauna for his inability to understand cultural knowledge that is like a "fish of the deep":

Ke olelo aku nei au ia oe, he i-a keia no ka moana uliuli, he aho lau, ku i keia ko-a, aole e hiki ia oe, he ihu pohue. I luu iho oe, ku ko maka i ka iliohalawena, i elieli iho oe, hawahawa ko lima, i na'ana'u iho oe, umiaumia ko lua i nalo, puu ka auwae, no ke aha? No ka 'ike ole. [Kamakau 1865e]

¹²⁶ This series was included in the English text *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old* (Kamakau 1991).

¹²⁷ Three noted genealogists of the period.

¹²⁸ Koi'i's critique in *Kuokoa* and Kamakau's response being in *Ke Au Okoa* is a common occurrence of the intertextuality of the time.

[I say to you, this [kind of knowledge] is a fish of the deep ocean, needing a long line; it comes together in this fishing spot, but you are incapable, as a surface diver [lit. a gourd-nose, only able to bob about]. If you do dive, your face gets stuck in worthless dog-fur seaweed; if you paddle-stroke downwards, your hands get smeared with excrement; when you try to exhale, your diaphragm squeezes to collapse out of sight, with the chin left jutting out, and why is this? Because of ignorance.]

Especially in the early years of his career, Kamakau established himself as a rather brazen new scholar, combining traditional knowledge with a more scholarly method. However, his position changed over time. In later works he lauded the sources of the lore he collected, and went on to publish genealogies in the direct linear style that he earlier denounced when addressing Unauna and his other critics. The English publications of Kamakau's writings include those genealogies in the model he once refuted in his letters to Unauna.

While his critics were numerous through the years, Kamakau held his position as a cultural and historical scholar through his tenacity and through his displays of expertise. His writings were widely accepted as authoritative, a position supported, in part, by his ability to address his critics directly and decisively. His authority was further exemplified by his being retained as a paid columnist,¹²⁹ and by the tacit approval of the many knowledgeable people of his

¹²⁹ See Kamakau 1865d.

time who could have derided his work and didn't. E. Helekunihi recalled a quote from John Papa 'Ī'ī, who responded to a question about Kamakau's accuracy:

He kupanaha keia kanaka. Me he la ua ike maka, paa naau na mea a pau, na wahi a'u i hele ai me na alii, Kauikeaouli – Kaahumanu; me he la o ia ala kekahi. He uuku loa na mea hemahema, . . . [Helekunihi 1893]

[This man is amazing. It's as though he personally saw and memorized everything, the places I went with the chiefs, Kauikeaouli – Ka'ahumanu; it's as though he were there as well. The errors are very minimal. . .]

Inter-Textual Writing

The negotiation of knowledge through criticism and approval shaped the content of Kamakau's writings, but his work also evokes Greg Denning's comments about his own writing, which he said reflected, "an endless litany of those whose spoken mind cannot be unspoken and to whose sentences I respond even if I have not read them" (Denning 1989:139). Kamakau, too, built upon and added to the writers of his time and to earlier writings, and although he rarely acknowledged his sources, some guiding forces are obvious.

In 1838, American missionary Sheldon Dibble published *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii*, the first historical account of Hawai'i, which appeared first in Hawaiian. Adult students of the new Lahainaluna College generated the history, having been

trained by Reverend Dibble in a colloquium setting to gather and write up historical and cultural information through interviews with knowledgeable elders. This landmark text was soon translated into English, and twenty years later, redrafted in Hawaiian by Pogue.

Kamakau, one of the student researchers and writers, used the format and expanded the material from these books into later writings, adding to them, but not usually relying on direct incorporation. In a similar way *Hoomana Kahiko*,¹³⁰ a multi-author series on religious practices, appeared in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* just prior to the opening of Kamakau's *Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha*, and Kamakau was able to rely on his readers' familiarity with those descriptions in his own subsequent account. His coverage of the topics in the *Hoomana Kahiko* was then minimized, and for the most part, corrective and additive rather than primary. He assumed the readers already had access to the pertinent information, as mentioned above regarding the cross-referential nature of the Hawaiian newspapers. There are many examples of earlier or contemporary writings that

¹³⁰ *Hoomana Kahiko* was the title of a serial column by various authors on topics of ancient religious practice. The series appeared in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* from January 5 to December 30, 1865, with a few weekly lapses and a summer hiatus. A number of related articles, with comments and additions on *Hoomana Kahiko*, appeared during and following the publication of the formal series.

Kamakau added to or assumed to be referential texts for his audience, including a published indirect dialogue between Kamakau and 'Ī'i.

Kamakau's works of the late 1860s, so important as resources today, were not only influenced by the writings of others, but also by his own earlier writings in the course of his long career. Writing around or adding to the works of others included many topics already covered in his own earlier articles. One example is an instance in 1869 where he quoted his own published letter of 1845 to Kamehameha III.¹³¹ Not satisfied with direct repetition of his earlier note to the king, he enlarged his original comments in his rewriting, adding historical details in the process. Dorothy Barrère mentions how Kamakau opened his *Moolelo Hawaii* series as an amplification of David Malo's *Moolelo Hawaii*, (Barrère 1976:v) and in regard to re-using his own earlier material, she notes that Kamakau "repeated and embellished—and occasionally changed—some of his accounts" (Barrère 1991:x).

Kamakau also wrote articles apart from his serial columns to inform the contemporary reader about his longer works. Such articles, sometimes included in his editorial writings, help to frame how Kamakau saw his own material and

¹³¹ (Kamakau 1845) Reprinted in *Ka Moolelo o Na Kamehameha* (Kamakau 1869d, July 1)

how his readers should understand his limitations, his strengths, and his goals in writing Hawaiian *mo'olelo*. Just after his initial serial column in 1865, and prior to initiating the *Moolelo o Kamehameha*, Kamakau presented an extensive view of his relation to other historians and genealogists, and revealed that while most of his written records were destroyed in a fire a decade earlier, he could rely on his memory for most of the detail (Kamakau 1865c). In the same article he invited those who could add to his work to contact him via the editor of the *Kuokoa*, L. H. Gulick. None of the editorial commentary that Kamakau provided for his contemporaries has been included in the modern translations of his works.

Such a long view of all of Kamakau's writings would be what Foucault refers to as an *œuvre*, (Foucault 1972:23–25) the sum of a single writer's production, as something that goes beyond genre, incorporates the writer's personal history, and informs the understanding of any individual writing that the author generates. A clear compilation of the nearly 400 articles by Kamakau would shed a bright light upon analysis of his individual works. Two bibliographies of his writings have been attempted, (Thrum 1917, Chun 1993) each one partial, a product of the minimal research tools available when such compilations were undertaken. A more extensive bibliography of Kamakau's writings is appended to this dissertation, which is still certain to be incomplete.

The forces mentioned above affected Kamakau's writings as forms of self-editing, conscious and unconscious, that changed what S. M. Kamakau actually put on paper. From the point when he finished writing, however, other processes, like editing, extraction and translation come to bear, each affecting the extent and the character of the material available to us today.

Editorial Constraints

Little documentation is available about the editing that was imposed on Hawaiian writers of Kamakau's era by the newspapers that became the main venue for publication. There is, however, a rare body of original holograph material by Kamakau at the Hawaiian Historical Society (Kamakau 1868d). This material, 142 pages written for the serial column *Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha*, appears to have been handwritten by Kamakau and then lightly edited prior to submitting it to the editor of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.¹³² Kamakau's changes mostly include choice of articles and spelling of proper names.

¹³² The corrections on the articles appear to be in the same hand as the original holograph. The articles are addressed to L. Gulick, with the exception of one sent to L. Chamberlain.

Comparison of the submitted handwritten text and the published material appearing in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* shows consistent editorial changes in addition to those which were marked on the holograph manuscript. The latter changes may have been done to galley copies prior to printing the paper.¹³³ The sections compared showed that the final changes imposed no alteration of content, but embellishments of style and minor clarification of subjects regularly occur. Short examples below show the level of unmarked editorial changes made after the corrected manuscript was submitted; a strike-through represents material deleted from the manuscript form and brackets show additions, markings which are then mirrored in the English translation that follows:

‘O na olelo huna, me na olelo ohumu no ka pono a me ka hewa, no ke ola a me ka make, o kela ano me keia ano, o ko ka lani me ko ka honua; ua ike e [no] o Kaiana, aole mea huna e nalo iaia. Aole oe e pilikia i na’lii, [no ka mea], ua ike no o Kaiana i ka lakou mau olelo huna.’ ~~Aka, ua kaaninipo loa o Kaahumanu~~ [O keia mau olelo a Kamehameha, aohe hoolohe ia aku e Kaahumanu, no ka mea, ua lilo loa oia i ka uwe haalipo] i ke aloha i kona kaikunane. Ua hoole mai no hoi o Kamehameha, ‘Aole keia e pilikia au e hookaumaha nei.’ [Kamakau 1868a, Sep. 12]

[‘Secret talk and criticisms about right or wrong, life or death, of this or that kind, heavenly and earthly, Ka’iana already [indeed] knows them; nothing secret escapes him. You won’t have trouble from the chiefs [because] Ka’iana does know their secret talk. ~~But Ka’ahumanu was~~

¹³³ James Rumford, specialist in the history of printing processes in Hawai’i - personal communication.

~~completely overwhelmed~~ [These statements by Kamehameha were not heard at all by Ka'ahumanu, because she was absorbed in tearful lament] for love of her brother. Kamehameha opposed it, saying 'This which you grieve over will not become a problem.']

Another example of editorial clarification, again with impact on style but not content:

Ua nui ka poe i lawe pio ia mai a he nui [no hoi] ka poe i holo i ka nahelehele; a he nui na'lii [kane a me na'lii wahine i] pio. [Oia no] o Kapooloku ma. [Kamakau 1868a, Sep. 19]

[Many people were taken captive and many [indeed] were those who fled to the forest; and many were the [male] chiefs [and female chiefs who were] taken captive. [Namely] Kapo'oloku and his companions.]

In addition to standard editorial changes, some material was deleted as unsuitable or unwieldy. One entire chapter of Kamakau's serial column was deleted by what appears to be the editor's order. The chapter dealt with Catholicism, and how Hawaiians interpreted the new religion in relation to the older native practices. The chapter was never included in the newspaper series or in the English translation. A mele nearly 300 lines long, submitted with the Kamakau holograph writings but not appearing in the series, may have been dismissed as too long for the flow of the series.¹³⁴ Printing parts or short excerpts

¹³⁴ Although the holograph has the word "Printed" written on the front, a three-line excerpt of that mele text is all that appeared in the entire run of Kamakau's serial column.

of longer mele was not unknown,¹³⁵ the deletion of whole content areas is almost completely undocumented. These archived holographs represent only a small portion of the 5-year series appearing in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and *Ke Au Okoa*, and while the material is too scant for extrapolation, the deletion of apparently unsuitable topics and the excerpting of long chants implies that there was active editorial constraint on Kamakau's series, and on the totality of his writings.

Kamakau's published writings were self-edited and further constrained to some extent by his publishers. The printed work reflects the contribution he was able to include in the published dialogue of his time, a piece in the larger scope of a discourse produced by Hawaiians of the time who created a space for that discourse in the Hawaiian language newspapers. Contemporary understanding of Kamakau's contribution to that discourse has, however, been affected by a number of more recent changes to his body of work. These latter changes are more easily documented than those of his own time and include the process of extraction of his works, the subsequent translation, the reordering and editing of his writings for English publication.

¹³⁵ For example, see Kanepuu 1862, on the editing out of material from stories and mele.

Shaping the English Text: Extraction and Decontextualization

Recognition of Kamakau as an important author and historian resulted in a project initiated in 1923 by the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawai'i. Seventy-eight "chapters" drawn from the newspaper *Kuokoa* and translated by John H. Wise, were reported by 1924 to have been of "considerable use" to the Commission and "others interested in Hawaiian history" (Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii 1924:14).¹³⁶ It's not clear who had access to the unpublished translation, but the translation and preparation for printing was continued in collaboration with the Bishop Museum:

In 1931 Bishop Museum sponsored the systematic translation of all of Samuel Kamakau's articles on Hawaiian history and culture that had appeared in the weekly newspapers *Kuokoa* and *Ke Au Okoa* from October 20, 1866, to February 2, 1871. [Barrère 1964:vii]

The full impact that the process of extraction had upon the clarity of Kamakau's writing cannot be detailed without much more study of the

¹³⁶ It was apparently one of the earliest projects of the Historical Commission, to have the material copied and translated for use by the Commission and "others who may wish to consult it." Kamakau's writings at the time were noted as being "buried in the files of the native newspapers, the *Kuokoa* and the *Au Okoa*." John Wise was a Hawaiian senator and considered an authority on Hawaiian language and culture. The report does not clarify whether he translated the extracted chapters or coordinated the effort, but he was in charge of the this initial translation project. Historian R. S. Kuykendall was the Executive Secretary of this Commission, and certainly one of those who made use of the initial translations.

synchronous articles, editorials, critiques and such, but the general importance of such an impact is readily acknowledged. The introduction to one of the English translations of Kamakau's work comments on how his writings, in general, were more comprehensible to those of his own era:

Kamakau wrote at a time when his people still retained much knowledge of the changing culture, and many of his allusions and half-explanations, easily comprehensible to them, appear tantalizingly indefinite and incomplete today. [Barrère 1964:vii]

He wrote to a populace that was more culturally informed than the current reading population and more able to grasp the content he covered. While that is apparently true, the matrix of printed material among which Kamakau's writings appeared helped to provide ongoing clarification and reference for the benefit of the reading audience of his time. Extraction of his writings from that cross-referential matrix is part of what makes his writing so "tantalizingly indefinite" today.

Extraction of Kamakau's writings, even as a whole body, diminished their clarity. Subsequent translation, reordering and editing, processes which certainly add new insights, also acted, step by step, to distance the original material from the reach of the modern reader. Each process inherently imposed changes on the original writer, as is apparent with Kamakau's writings. At the same time, these

processes create a new and different resource, in English, that has its own value but does not represent or replace the original.

Translation

Translation has always been one of the most powerful ways to regulate knowing because it is a tool in the hands of someone with superior knowledge, i.e., the translator who knows both languages. Whoever needs the translation knows only one language and is therefore at the mercy of the translator. The power relationship between the two is one of dependency on the part of the monolingual reader. [Morris, 2003]

The process of identifying material for translation and the delineation and extraction of that material from the original matrix is the initial act of translation. The process of extracting Kamakau's writings from the newspapers was initiated in the 1920s by the Historical Commission, then completed in collaboration with the Bishop Museum. Isolated from the newspaper columns, Kamakau's three-part cultural/historical series totaled roughly 1,500 pages of typescript.¹³⁷ The short series, *No ke Kaapuni Makaikai* resulted in a 70 page typescript; the *Moolelo No Kamehameha* sequence entailed more than 900 typed pages, and the

¹³⁷ The three series include: *No ke Kaapuni Makaikai i na wahi Kaulana a me na Kupua, a me na'Lii Kahiko mai Hawaii a Niihau*, *Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha*, and *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*. Reference here is to typescripts of the columns prepared for production of *Ke Kumu Aupuni* (1996), *Ke Aupuni Mō'i* (2002) and future, untitled republications of Kamakau's texts.

continuation of the series under the title *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* then added another 500 pages of typescript to that sum. John Wise began this body of text and the remainder was divided among numerous translators, including Mary Kawena Pukui, Thomas G. Thrum, Mrs. Lahilahi Webb, Mrs. Emma Davidson Taylor, and others (Kent 1961:ix).

Not all persons who were approached to assist in this effort were equally qualified to do the task of translation and interpretation. Asked to translate five issues of Kamakau's columns, Mary Low of Hulihe'e, Kona, was hesitant and agreed to attempt only a couple. She wrote back to say she couldn't do it, even with the help of elderly Hawaiian friends – "It is too bad the work was not started earlier when those knowing the ancient Hawn. language were living" (Low 1931a and 1931b). Others of uncertain ability apparently didn't decline. Father Reginald Yzendoorn, a Catholic historian, completed the 5 issues he'd been sent, but with gaps in the translation of passages that he acknowledged were beyond his understanding. The questions he raised show a general unfamiliarity with the subject of sacred symbols, but he noted ". . . I hoped that I would find some old Hawaiian able to explain the meaning of certain terms." He didn't find such a resource, but persisted, apologizing for submitting a less-than-complete translation: "I am sorry not to be able to give better satisfaction. It

salves my pride that educated Hawaiians do not know any better” (Yzendoorn 1931).

Because the translation efforts resulted in various styles, Mary Kawena Pukui reviewed and reworked the different sections into a more uniform narrative form, an apparently difficult process. Dr. Martha Warren Beckwith commented on the collected translations in a letter to Caroline Curtis, saying:

Some of the translations were helpful, like Mary’s [Kawena Pukui], Mrs. Taylor’s, and Thrum’s, but only in spots, and much was incoherent. Ask Mary! She was particularly scornful. [Beckwith 1949a]

The resulting manuscript was worded and annotated by Dr. Beckwith with Kawena Pukui’s help.¹³⁸ The stated goal of translation as a research tool according to Beckwith was “not for popular consumption, but in order to put into the hands of ethnologists who do not read Hawaiian or who have not access to the original text, a version as nearly literal as possible of Kamakau’s text” (Beckwith 1939). The task was mostly completed by 1936, some 25 years prior to

¹³⁸ “As in the case of the history series, the culture series was translated piecemeal by a group of Hawaiian scholars and the translations were gone over by Mary Kawena Pukui, the main contributor, and Martha Warren Beckwith, Professor of Folklore, Vassar College. Their work was completed in 1934 and is a completely literal translation, worded and annotated by Miss Beckwith.” (Barrère 1964:vii)

its eventual publication, although Caroline Curtis' letters to Dr. Beckwith in 1949 imply a drawn out closure to the process, which finally came to press in 1961.¹³⁹

The divergence from the stated goal of a literal translation to the greatly altered eventual publication described below reflects more on the processes involved than on the work of the principal translator, Mary Kawena Pukui. Pukui was certainly the most highly lauded translator and interpreter of Hawaiian material of the 20th century, with a career that spanned decades and resulted in many publications and resources. While other processes were involved in the discrepancies that appear between original text and published translation, translation issues played a significant role as well.

Translation is by its nature a subjective and highly contested process.

Lawrence Venuti addresses the problems in this overview:

Translation never communicates in an untroubled fashion because the translator negotiates the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text by reducing them and supplying another set of differences, basically domestic, drawn from the receiving language and culture to enable the foreign to be received there. The foreign text, then, is not so much communicated as inscribed with domestic intelligibilities and interests. [Venuti 2000c:468]

¹³⁹ See Bishop Museum 1936 and Beckwith 1949a.

Tejaswini Niranjana, in *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism and the Colonial Conquest*, problematizes translation "as a significant technology of colonial domination." She urges translators to avoid presenting their translations as a crystallization of knowledge, or as "direct, unmediated access to a transparent reality" and counsels them,

to inscribe heterogeneity, to warn against myths of purity, to show origins as always already fissured. Translation, from being a 'containing' force, is transformed into a disruptive, disseminating one. [Niranjana 1992:20]

Larry Kimura, noted Hawaiian language scholar, addresses the problem of translation in light of English and Hawaiian:

In discussing the role of Hawaiian in Hawaiian culture, it is also well to remember that American English is a vehicle of its own culture and that English words carry their own connotation and history. Whenever Hawaiian is translated into English, the English words used add cultural connotations to the idea conveyed, while eliminating intended connotations and meanings of the original Hawaiian. [Kimura 1983:182]

This subjectivity of translation has been acknowledged many ways, and critiqued from numerous perspectives, including feminist, marxist, post-modernist, etc.¹⁴⁰ There is, however, a general agreement within translation theory that two broad types of translation can be identified: "direct" or "literal,"

¹⁴⁰ For a good overview of translation studies in this century, see Venuti 2000.

as opposed to “oblique,” (Vinay and Darbelnet 2000:84) also referred to as “formal” in contrast to “dynamic” (Nida 2000:129). Direct, literal or formal translation aims at careful handling of the words and phrasing used in the original texts with attention to transmitting details therein, while oblique, interpretive or dynamic translations try to bring the essence of the text into the target language, either through transmission of concepts or through attempts to mirror the impact in the target language. Between the poles of these contrasting styles, many interim forms and styles are recognized, influenced more or less by one or the other major types. Any style of translation reconstitutes and reframes text, a process that is inherently contestable.

It is important to recognize the inevitability of difference between translations, for all too often translators are accused of betraying the original, of diminishing it or distorting it, as though some perfect single reading might exist and result in a perfect idealized translation. [Bassnett 1997:2]

The particular choices made during the processes of translation for Kamakau’s works are not analyzed at length or contested in this dissertation, but translation problems do exist, so a few examples are included here.

Mistranslations are additional elements of the processes affecting these works that again undermine the reliability of the English text as a critical resource, a sufficiently representative text.

Because the original manuscript of Kamakau's extracted writings was so massive and was handled by a number of differently qualified translators, it would have been nearly impossible for Kawena Pukui to align the translation styles into a consistent form and at the same time check the accuracy of each turn of phrase in the text. Misunderstandings, typographical errors or oversights slipped in through the process, the following is one example. A section of Hawaiian text that got tangled in translation read like this in the original:

Ma hope iho, ua lohe ia ka mea nana i lawe ke keiki, o ia hoi o Naeole.
No laila, ua hā'awi 'ia 'o Nae'ole ke kahu hānai o ke keiki. Ua ho'onoho
aku 'o Kalani'ōpu'u i kona kaikaina, iā Kekūnuialeimoku, i makua
hānai no ke keiki. [Kamakau 1866b, Oct 20]

A formal, or literal translation of this text would read:

Afterwards, it was heard that the one who took the child was Nae'ole.
Therefore, it was granted that Nae'ole be the guardian of the child.
Kalani'ōpu'u appointed his younger brother, Kekūnuialeimoku, as a
foster father for the child.

The published English translation, however, omitted the name of
Kalani'ōpu'u and referred to Kalani'ōpu'u's younger brother as Nae'ole's sister.

The text in *Ruling Chiefs* reads:

After it was learned that Nae'-ole was the person who had taken the
child, he was made the child's guardian, and his younger sister, Ke-ku-
nui-a-lei-moku, was appointed his [the child's] foster mother. [Kamakau
1961:68–69]

The published English text overlooked the reference to Kalani'ōpu'u, changed the gender of his younger brother, Kekūnuialeimoku, and put him in the Nae'ole lineage, rather than Kalani'ōpu'u's own. This oversight deleted Kalani'ōpu'u's role in the appointments, but more importantly it wrongly attributed a chiefly male of Kalani'ōpu'u's ruling line and foster father of Kamehameha as being a foster mother from Nae'ole's less noble lineage, an historical reference that has been perpetuated in subsequent publications (Ahlo, Walker and Johnson 2000:15).

A mistranslation of text about the first Catholic baptism in Hawai'i has produced misinterpretation regarding the intentions and roles of the chiefs at a highly analyzed point in Hawaiian history, the overthrow of the *kāpu* system. In an article by Roland Perkins comparing historical accounts, he relies on the English texts to show how Hawaiian historical accounts developed over time, from *Moolelo Hawaii* (Dibble 1838) onward. He gives emphasis to the reference in *Ruling Chiefs* about the intentions of Kalanimoku to "rule as Pope over the islands," as though the addition of this detail is sinister (Perkins 1980:72). The stated intentions of Kalanimoku are actually completely absent from the Hawaiian text and only appear as a mistranslation in English. The Hawaiian text

given in Kamakau's column echoes and adds to what had been included in

Mooololo Hawaii, reads:

I ka noho ana a na 'lii a me na 'lii wahine a me na aialo o na 'lii; ia manawa ku mai la kekahi moku i Kawaihae, e holo ana i Nu Holani no Farani mai, a he kahuna Katorika Roma maluna oia moku a ua bapetizo ia o Kalanimoku e ua kahuna *Pope la maluna o ka moku*. O John Young Olohana ke kumu o ia Bapetizo ana, no ka mea, ua ninau o Kalanimoku ia John Young Olohana i ke ano o ka hana a kela Kahuna i hana mai ia Kalanimoku. Ua olelo mai o John Young Olohana oia ka poe kahuna o ko lakou mau aupuni, a o ke Akua oiaio ma ka lani. [Kamakau 1867, Nov. 2, emphasis added]

A full, literal translation would be:

During the residence of the chiefs, the chiefesses and the members of the royal court; at that time a certain ship landed at Kawaihae, sailing from France to Australia, and there was a Roman Catholic priest on board the ship and Kalanimoku was baptized by said *Catholic* priest *on the ship*. John Young Olohana was the reason for the baptism, because Kalanimoku had asked John Young Olohana the nature of the duties of that priest who attended Kalanimoku. John Young Olohana replied that those were the priests of their lands and of the true God in heaven. [emphasis added]

This excerpt was published in Ruling Chiefs as:

At this time there arrived at Kawaihae a ship from France on board of which was a Roman Catholic priest. When Ka-lani-moku learned from John Young that this man held office from his government as a priest of the true God in heaven he had himself baptized by the priest *as pope over the islands*. [Kamakau 1961:225, emphasis added]

This translation misinterprets the word Pope, used in the Hawaiian text to mean Catholic, or papist, as a noun, from which is extrapolated Kalanimoku's

intentions to act as Pope over the islands, Moku meaning island *or* ship, is affected by this understanding, changing the interpretation from *papist on board*, to *Pope over the islands*. No mention is contained in the Hawaiian text about Kalanimoku's aspirations to be a pope, but the publication of that mistranslation in the English text has already crept into other historical analyses of the time.

One more example where the English translation is misleading is drawn from the closure to a section describing wanton behavior of ancient times and comparing it to the changing era following the arrival of Capt. Cook:

Ke mau nei no hoi ka moe lehulehu, e like me ka wā kahiko. [Kamakau 1996:227]¹⁴¹

The text would literally read like this:

Licentiousness is still ongoing, just as in ancient times.

This summation was translated and published in *Ruling Chiefs* to read:

Today, licentiousness is more common than formerly. [Kamakau 1961:235]

But the original line actually contains no sense of comparison or expanded licentiousness; it only refers to the continuation of such behavior. The difference

¹⁴¹ From Nupepa Kuokoa Nov. 30, 1867

is minor, but incorrectly documents Hawaiians', or at least Kamakau's, perceptions about historical and cultural change.

As could be expected, small errors in the typescripting and translating process occurred, like an instance where *puaa* (pig) was misread as *puna* (spoon), resulting in an English reference to a stolen spoon when the original text told of a stolen pig (Kamakau 1961:282). With an original text already aged and fragile, and thousands of lines to transpose and translate, such small changes seem insignificant, but every such error undermines the overall reliability of the extracted text.

Translation particulars like these are a separate project, but they highlight the problematic nature of reliance on the English text as representational access to the author and the larger body of original Hawaiian writings. In addition to the subjective nature of translation, it also becomes one of the processes that allow additional human error to further distance a reader from primary sources.

Reordering

We are living in a strange kind of dark ages where we have immense capability to bring together information but when we gather this data, we pigeonhole it in the old familiar framework of interpretation, sometimes even torturing the data to make it fit. [Deloria 1995:231]

Reordering of text has far-reaching implications for a transformation of the original material that Kamakau presented to his peers. The most massive reordering of content occurred at the initial development of the English manuscript, dividing Kamakau's collected columns into two halves. A distinction made between "history" and "culture," took place in the process of initial translation:

Two manuscripts resulted; one, containing his historical material, was published in 1961 by The Kamehameha Schools, under the title *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*. . . The other manuscript contains Kamakau's account of the material and social culture of the Hawaiians before and during the early period of acculturation to Western ways, . . . [Barrère 1964:vii]

The distinction is decidedly Western in concept. While the English language has clearly different meanings for terms like history, legend, and culture, Hawaiian language does not share the same semantic boundaries. The Hawaiian word *mo'olelo*, used throughout the titles and narrative of Kamakau's series, is a single concept in Hawaiian conveying multiple meanings, encompassing what in English would be considered as history, ethnography, myth, legend, account, description, tradition, etc.:

mo'olelo. n. Story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yarn, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article; minutes, as of a meeting. (From *mo'o 'olelo*, succession of talk; all stories were oral, not written.) *Puke mo'olelo aupuni*, public records. [Pukui and Elbert 1986:254]

Or in an orthography and definition of Kamakau's era:

Moo-o-le-lo, s. *Moo* and *olelo*, discourse. A continuous or connected narrative of events; a history. *Luk.* 1:1. A tradition. *Mat.* 15:2. In modern times, the minutes of a deliberative body; a taxation list. [Andrews 1865:395]

Kamakau composed his series as a continuum under the rubric of *mo'olelo*, titled it as such, and referred to his project as a *mo'olelo* (Kamakau 1867, Feb. 16).

Early on in the *Moolelo o Kamehameha I* series, a writer using the name Luna Auhau (tax officer) critiqued the wording of the title in a letter to the *Kuokoa*, saying it was too narrow to address the breadth of the subject matter, but his recommendation for a broader title that would encompass all the various topics Kamakau was covering still relied on the Hawaiian understanding of the word *mo'olelo*. Luna Auhau's recommendation was:

Ka Moolelo o ke au ia Kamehameha I. O ke kumu o kuu manao ana pela, aole pili keia mau mea e hoopuka ia nei i ka mo'olelo o Kamehameha I wale no; i na mea e pili ana i na alii e ae kekahi, ia Kalaniopuu, a i na mea e ae he nui wale. No laila kuu kanalua i kela poo. [Luna Auhau 1867]

[The Story of the era of Kamehameha I. The reason for my thinking that way is that these things being published do not pertain to Kamehameha I alone; they regard things pertinent to the other chiefs, to Kalani'ōpu'u and to many other persons or topics. From there comes my concern about that title.]

Kamakau wrote *mo'olelo*. He often included references or even whole sections from other story forms, like *ka'ao*,¹⁴² *mo'olelo ka'ao*,¹⁴³ and *mele*¹⁴⁴ of all kinds, but he used those references and information to illuminate what he termed a *mo'olelo*. *Ha'i mo'olelo*, the recounting of histories and stories, both oral and written, often includes explanatory asides about the characters, the practices, or the settings that are involved in a generally chronological story sequence. Kamakau saw himself as a *ha'i mo'olelo*, one who tells the stories, or even more so as a *kākau mo'olelo*, a writer of *mo'olelo*, a formal, self-proclaimed title that he used often.¹⁴⁵ Thomas Thrum (Fornander 1916:1), publisher and translator of Hawaiian culture and history, refers to Kamakau as *the historian*, and in the same sentence lists Kepelino and Hale'ole without any descriptors, obviously setting Kamakau apart from his contemporaries in the field.¹⁴⁶

Kawena Pukui worked with Martha Beckwith to articulate the various translators' works, but Beckwith seems to have taken responsibility for deciding which content was "historical" and which qualified as "cultural." She is also

¹⁴² traditional legends or well-known tales, historical or mythical

¹⁴³ story sequences which include fabulous or legendary accounts

¹⁴⁴ poetic compositions, of which there are many varieties, including genealogical, personal, geographical, etc.

¹⁴⁵ See, for instance, Kamakau 1869d, July 1.

¹⁴⁶ Hale'ole was a noted historian, newspaper writer and the author of *Ke Kaao o Laieikawai* (1863), which was said to be the first published book of Hawaiian literature.

credited with the wording and annotating of those two manuscripts (Barrère 1964:vii). Those parts of Kamakau's *mo'olelo* that were considered to be history were published in *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Kamakau:1961). The portions viewed as being something other than history were relegated to the second manuscript, which would later be subdivided into three subsequent publications.¹⁴⁷ Thus sections of his original text were unavailable in English for a span of thirty years, a reordering that was mostly unacknowledged and the extent of which was de-emphasized.

No mention is made in the 1961 English text of *Ruling Chiefs* of such a division, or that the book contained only a portion of Kamakau's original Hawaiian text. The ease with which modern readers and scholars could assume *Ruling Chiefs* to accurately represent Hawai'i's foremost native historian certainly helped to foster the unquestioning acceptance of the English text as a canon. After thirty years in print without acknowledgement of it being a portion of the

¹⁴⁷ Kamakau, S. M., *Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old* (1964); *The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko* (1976); and part of *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Nā Mo'olelo a ka Po'e Kahiko* (1991). Most of the material that resulted in the 1964 and 1976 publications was prepared in 1939 as a single text, submitted in draft form as *History of Hawaii, Part 2: Traditional beliefs and customs*. This text, arranged in chapters that correspond to the 1964 and 1976 publications, was credited as being translated and edited by Martha W. Beckwith and Mary Kawena Pukui, but didn't get published in this form. (Bishop Museum, MS SC S. M. Kamakau, Box 8-1)

original, the new preface in the 1992 reprint edition of *Ruling Chiefs* indirectly addressed the larger scope of Kamakau's original writings, thusly:

This book, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, is only one of four edited volumes of Kamakau's extensive writings translated into English. The excerpts presented in *Ruling Chiefs* focus on the political history of our people. [Kame'eleihiwa 1992:iii]

Following the publication of a second portion of Kamakau's writings as *Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old* (Kamakau 1964), Katherine Luomala made a reference about the reordering of Kamakau's writings in a review of the second published portion. The reorganization, imposing order and "continuity" to a text that seemed to jump about in a Western sense, is addressed in a way that diminishes the importance of the change by pointing out that original source dates are included:

The editor has rearranged Kamakau's order, but has given the newspaper sources for those who wish to consult the original. Kamakau jumped about at times from subject to subject and the new arrangement gives continuity. [Luomala 1966:502]

One powerful example of the difference between the original sequencing of Kamakau's Hawaiian *mo'olelo* and the reordered English *history* has far-reaching implications for cultural analysis today. In the course of his chronology, Kamakau described Kalani'ōpu'u and the battles he led on Maui during the time of Captain Cook's arrival at Waimea, Kaua'i. Prior to introducing Captain Cook,

Kamakau spent four full weekly columns explaining the Hawaiian mind-set of the time about foreigners and the existence of foreign lands (Kamakau 1866b, 12/22, 12/29; Kamakau 1867, 1/5, 1/12, 1/19). His sequencing of the narrative therefore situates Cook's arrival as part of a continuum of Hawaiians' understanding about historical contact with the world beyond the horizon – not as an unprecedented, isolated event.

Kamakau opened this part of his narrative by introducing the widespread traditional knowledge about names and places in *Kahiki*, a general term for any land outside of the Hawaiian archipelago. From there came the gods, eventually making their way to Hawai'i, becoming progenitors of islands, supernaturals, and men. From Hawai'i they sometimes traveled again to other lands, but always returned to the Hawaiian Islands.

Kamakau then introduced ancestral figures such as 'Ulu, Hema, Kaha'i and others, whose legendary sailing exploits included places in the Pacific, Asia, and even Europe (Kamakau 1866b, 1867). He detailed the stories of dozens of chiefs, navigators and priests, some originating in Hawai'i, others coming from afar, and still others who share origins both in Hawai'i and abroad. These heroes are credited for their travels back and forth between Hawai'i and lands beyond; their stories recall their feats, the wonders they witnessed, and the lands they knew.

These seafarers sometimes returned with living proof of their adventures, such as rescued parents, amazing beings like *kupali'i*, little people, or *pilikua*, giants, as well as new plants, implements and cultural practices (Kamakau 1866b, 12/22).

He then dedicates a partial chapter to the *haole*, or foreigners, who apparently made accidental landings on these shores. From the arrival of a boat *Uluwana* in the time of 'Auanini to the arrival of Captain Cook, over a score of outsiders, fair of skin and shiny of eye, are recounted as having come ashore on different islands. Many of them stayed and married into Hawaiian families, where their lines are still acknowledged, according to Kamakau (Kamakau 1867, 1/19). Only after presenting this context did Kamakau enter into an account of Cook's arrival at Waimea Kaua'i.

These contextual sections were all omitted from the "historical" text *Ruling Chiefs*. They were relegated to the "cultural" portions of the reordered manuscript text, and not published until thirty years later, in the book of remainder sections, *Tales and Traditions* (Kamakau 1991:90–122). During this thirty-year gap, the anthropological analyses of major figures in the field, such as Valerio Valeri (85), Gananath Obeyesekere (92), and Marshal Sahlins (95), were completed and published. The exclusion of this particular material in Kamakau's original sequence leaves an important gap in their considerations. Each of these

scholars posed theories about the individual and collective perspectives of Hawaiians during the period of transition that Kamakau addressed, but none investigated his original writings (or the others of his time) as a resource. Each relied heavily on the reordered English translation of Kamakau as one of the few Hawaiian sources they consulted.¹⁴⁸ The extensive bibliographies of their publications include a broad array of observer accounts and theoretical works, but include no material from the archive considered here, aside from very rare consideration of material already brought to their attention either in *Ruling Chiefs*, or in the H.E.N., Hawai'i Ethnographical Notes, of the Bishop Museum.¹⁴⁹

Editing

Dorothy Barrère, in *The Works of the People of Old*, acknowledges an editorial decision that again impacts any analysis informed by the English translation. Kamakau presented different senses of time to distinguish contemporary practice

¹⁴⁸ Valeri (85) consulted one of the five pertinent articles, (*Kuokoa*, 12/29/1866), already in translation in the Hawai'i Ethnographic Notes archive at Bishop Museum. Obeyesekere (92) only used *Ruling Chiefs* and *Ka Po'e Kahiko*, while Sahlins (95) used references from *Tales and Traditions*.
¹⁴⁹ The H.E.N. are the collected notes of Mary Kawena Pukui, (1895-1986) who spent much of her career culling material of cultural or historical interest from the Hawaiian language newspapers and translating or summarizing them on behalf of the anthropologists at the Bishop Museum. Her collection, a disparate assembly of generally cultural topics with translations by herself and others, is a valuable point of entry into the Hawaiian language resources she studied.

from discontinued practices of the distant past. These distinctions were often edited into past tense only for smooth reading in modern times:

Some aspects of the older Hawaiian culture were already abandoned or were fast disappearing by Kamakau's day, and some were still very much alive. Kamakau often differentiated in his text by the use of past and present tenses: we have for the sake of conformity used the past tense almost exclusively. [Barrère 1976:v-vi]

While the following example is drawn from *The Works of the People of Old* (Kamakau 1976), such change was followed regularly in the production of all four English publications derived from Kamakau's writings. This excerpt comes from the description of a ritual for deifying an ancestor spirit:

I ka wā e pau ai ka umu pua'a, me ka umu 'ilio maoli, a 'o ka 'awa nō ka mea nui he 'awa ho'ohāinu no ua po'e kino lau 'e'epa nei, ke mākaukau nei ka umu e hua'i, aia ke momoe maila nā kino ho'oweliweli o ua po'e nei i loko o ka wai, mai ka po'e nui a ka po'e li'ili'i, aia ka 'awa ke ho'ohāinu 'ia lā, aia ka 'ilio ke hānai 'ia lā, aia nā mea a pau ke hānai 'ia lā, ke pule nei ke kahu mo'o, a ke lawe aku nei i kāna 'ope ukana, a hā'awi aku nei ma ke alo o ka 'aumakua i mana'o 'ia e kākū'ai, a 'o ka lilo akula nō ia, 'a'ole paha e hala nā lā 'elua a 'ekolu paha, a laila, 'o ka ho'i maila nō ia i luna o kekahi makamaka e noho ai, a e ke'ehi pa'a ai paha, . . ." [Kamakau 1870, 5/5]

A literal handling of the text clearly reflects the very immediate present tense that Kamakau used :

At the time the earth oven for pig and the oven for native dog are finished, 'awa is the most important thing, 'awa to offer as a drink for those aforementioned supernaturals; the oven is becoming ready for opening and the terrifying forms of those beings are lying in the water,

from the large beings to the small; 'awa is being offered to drink, the dog is being offered up to eat, all the things [foods] are being offered to eat, the lineage priest is praying and taking his bundle, offering it into the presence of the ancestral spirit considered for this deification, and then it will be borne away; not more than two or perhaps three days might elapse, then [the spirit] will return to temporarily possess a friend, or to reside fixed there, . . .

The published English text in *Ka Po'e Kahiko* presents the ritual in the timelessness of the distant past, translated as:

By the time the pigs and dogs were cooked and the imus ready to be opened, there lay these fearsome beings in the water. All of them, large and small, were given 'awa to drink and fed dog and other foods while the *kahu mo'o* prayed. Then he took the bundle and placed it in front of the 'aumakua to whom it had been decided to offer it, and it was borne away. Not more than two or three days would pass before the spirit would return and "sit on" (*noho*) or utterly possess (*ke'ehi pa'a*) one of the relatives . . . [Kamakau 1964:86]

It is worth noting that many other articles written around the same time on this topic of ancient worship or religious practice make it a point to describe the particulars in the present tense as activities that were very much ongoing, despite the critical stances of the authors.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ For examples, see *Ka Hoku Loa* 1859a, *Ka Hoku Loa* 1859b, *Ka Hae Hawaii* 1860a, and *Ke Au Okoa* 1865b.

Elision

Another editing step distancing the English text from the original is the condensing of seemingly repetitive coverage for inclusion in the English text. While considered to be sound editing practice, minor distinctions are lost in the process. Those relying on the English text seldom consult the Hawaiian text as the actual resource, giving the English translation the status of a primary source. The Hawaiian text, if sought at all, is then utilized only as a validating text for the English presentation.

An example from David Stannard's work in *Before the Horror*, shows the pitfall of such overtly referential use of the Hawaiian to check the "facts" available in the English translation. Stannard deconstructed the references to infanticide presented in *Ruling Chiefs*, using the Hawaiian text to show the English translation had been "willfully misrendered" (Stannard 1989:138). Stannard, however, searched the Hawaiian text only to check what he found in the English, missing more extensive references that had been elided in the English publication. Such use of the translated materials I have referred to as "keyhole scholarship" for the narrow, and potentially misleading, vision it

provides. Such use of the canon texts, based on the assumption of parallel meaning, is common.

Kamakau addressed infanticide at two separate points in the same column and the similarity of content led to the elision of the two paragraphs into shorter, yet still split, reference in *Ruling Chiefs*, glossing the original statements. It's worthwhile to present Kamakau's original two paragraphs here with the pertinent text italicized for clarity:

9. O ke umi keiki kekahi hana kaumaha loa a keia lahui, a ua hana nui ia i ka wa kahiko pegana, a ua hana nuiia *i keia wa Kristiano*. Ua kinai mau na wahine me ke umi ana i ka lakou mau keiki ma kahi malu; a imua o ke kokua ana o ke kane a me na makua, *a o ke kahuna o-o a me kekahi poe e ae*. O ka hoomake ana i na keiki; he nui wale ke ano o ka imi ana a na wahine e hoomake i na keiki iloko o ka opu, ma ka inu ana i ka apu e hoomake i ke keiki iloko o ka opu, o ka o-o a hooheho iwaho, o ka pepehi me ka uhai ana i ke keiki iloko o ka opu, o ke kiola iloko o ka wai a me ke kanu maoli iloko o ka lepo ma ka hanau maikai ana mai o ke keiki. O ka luahine, o ka ilihune, o ka lealea o ke kino, o ka moekolohe, o ka lili, o ke kauwa, o ka hookae, o ka hilahila, o ke kanawai. Oia na kumu ino loa o keia hewa imua o ko ke Akua mau maka. Ua ike pinepine ia i keia manawa, ua lehulehu a paapu na wahine a me na kaikamahine opiopio i pau i ka make no ka o-o ana i ka lakou mau keiki. [Kamakau 1867, 11/30]

[9. Infanticide was a very sorrowful act by this race, and it was done often in pagan ancient times, and *is still often done in this Christian era*. The women regularly killed and did away with their children in secret; and in the presence of help from their husband's and parents, *as well as the abortion specialist and others*. The killing of children; there are many ways women seek to terminate a child in the womb, by drinking potions to kill the child in the womb, to pierce and take the child out, to beat and

pummel the child in the womb, tossing it into the water or actually burying it in the earth after healthy birth of the child. Age, poverty, physical pleasures, adultery, jealousy, slave status, disdain, shame, the laws. Those are the despicable reasons for this offense in the eyes of God. It has been often seen at this time, numerous and teeming are the women and young girls who have died from aborting their children.]

2. O ke umi keiki kekahi hewa *ma ka wa kahiko*—He mea kupanaha keia hewa nui a me ka hana ino, a he nui na kumu o keia hewa nui o ke umi keiki. O ka moekolohe no ke kumu, a o ka hoohalahala kekahi, o ka hookeekee, ka lili, a o ka hoohalahala, o ke kauwa, o ka ilihune a me ka uluhua i ka nui o na keiki, a o ka makemake i ka hele kauhale. O ke umi keiki, *ua kokua pu me ke kane a me na makua a me na makamaka i kekahi manawa*. O ka inu ana i apu laau pa e hanau ole ai ka wahine, he mea nui no ia. O ka imi ana i kumu e make ai ke keiki iloko o ka opu, a he lehulehu wale na kumu e pepehi ai i ke keiki iloko o ka opu. He inu apu laau kekahi, a ua hee wale ke keiki iloko o ka opu. O ka o-o ana kekahi mea e pepehi ai i ke keiki, a ua nui ka poe i make pu me na makuahine no ia hana lokoino. O ka omilo, o ka uhai maoli no i ke keiki iloko o ka opu o ka makuahine, a o ke kiola i ka pali, iloko o ka wai, o ke kai, a o ke kanu maoli iloko o ka lepo i na keiki i hanau maikai mai. He hana nui keia i ka wa kahiko, a he oi loa aku keia manawa o ka o-o i na keiki. Ua oleloia no ka makau i ke Kanawai. [Kamakau 1867, 11/30]

[2. Infanticide was another sin *in ancient times* —This great sin and evil is shocking, and this terrible sin of infanticide has many causes. The cause is adultery, and faultfinding is another, shunning, jealousy, and defamation, slave status, poverty and frustration at the number of children, along with a desire to wander freely. Infanticide was assisted by husbands, parents and friends sometimes. Drinking of potions was frequent for the woman to avoid pregnancy and be unable to give birth. Seeking a reason for the child to die in the womb led to many reasons for killing the fetus. Drinking of potions was one way, and the child became a miscarriage. Piercing was another way to kill the child and many died, along with the mothers, for that evil act. To cause abortion, actually destroying the child in the mother's womb, tossing it over the cliff, into the water, into the sea, and actual burial in the earth of those

children born healthy. This was a prevalent practice in ancient times, and at this time abortion of children by piercing is far more prevalent. It is said that this is due to fear of the Law.]

The eliding of the two references resulted in the following translation in

Ruling Chiefs:

Infanticide was another evil practiced in pagan days *and still made use of today*. Women dispose of their children in secret places with the help of their husbands, parents, and *of the kahuna 'o'o*, and others besides. Women in old days killed the child within the womb by drinking medicine to poison the child, by using a sharp-pointed instrument, by beating on the abdomen, or they would throw a newborn infant into the water or bury it in the earth. Their reasons for killing the child were age, poverty, pleasure-seeking, illicit relations, jealousy, slavery, dislike of children, and shame. [Kamakau 1961:234]

On the next page, another portion of the original reference is tagged onto a listing of reasons for population decline,

Infanticide was another cause of this decrease...but because of the laws this became more common in late days... [Kamakau 1961:235]

Stannard, no fan of Kamakau, entwines his criticism of both *Ruling Chiefs* and its source articles as “ a missionary-edited and translated newspaper article written in 1867 by a Christianized and evangelical Hawaiian chronicler, Samuel M. Kamakau,” going on to say the original is “tainted and secondary source material” (Stannard 1989:138). In his charge that the translation is “willfully misrendered” he insisted the English translation intentionally imposed an

insidious discourse of rampant infanticide among Hawaiians. This imposed discourse was inserted in the English, Stannard explained, by the improper use of the present tense in translating Kamakau's description, and by the addition of the term *kahuna 'ō'ō*, or abortionist, where the original never used it as per his research in the Hawaiian text.

Recognizing most of the English text in one of the two Hawaiian paragraphs shown above, Stannard completely overlooked the remainder of the column, as well as the rest of Kamakau's writings. He missed one of the two paragraphs in Hawaiian that were elided in the English into a lesser, split mention and so he located only the fifteenth paragraph of *Kuokoa* Nov. 30, 1867, and missed a preceding paragraph, number 7, in the same issue. This earlier paragraph contained both the use of present tense and the mention of *kahuna 'ō'ō*, abortionist, details he charged were imposed into the English. Because he assumed that the English text contained all of the Hawaiian text in its original sequence, he didn't look for any additional citations outside of what was presented in English, and based his critique only on the portion he located and checked. The keyhole scholarship that Stannard applied to the task verified his distrust of Kamakau as a source and his dismissal of the translation as reference.

Stannard followed the same process of checking only the Hawaiian text most clearly indicated by the elided English gloss in his 1991 article, *Recounting the fables of savagery: Native infanticide and the functions of political myth* (Stannard 1991). In this case, Stannard assumed the word “pagan days” was imposed into the English translation. The elision and glossing of the Hawaiian text led him to miss the mention of “ka wa pegana” in the opening lines of the first paragraph quoted above. This misled critique by Stannard was later incorporated into Jeffrey Tobin’s article, *Savages, the Poor and the Discourse of Hawaiian Infanticide* (Tobin 1997:81), and undoubtedly has appeared in subsequent articles to become a new myth of contemporary scholarship. In this way, use of Kamakau’s portion of the Hawaiian canon leaves a legacy of misdirection and misrepresentation.

Another example of elision of original content resulting in loss of data is this note on the uprising against the overthrow of the *kapu* restrictions that occurred following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819:

. . . a ulu mai la ka haunaele ma Hamakua, a kipi iho la kekahi kanaka kuaaina o Kainapau ka inoa, a hooulu mai la i ke kaua makaainana, a ke kanaka kuaaina o Kainapau no Hamakua, a ua hoomahui no mahope ona.

A lohe na ‘lii ma Kona i ke kaua kipi ma Hamakua; Hoouna ia ‘ku la kekahi kaukualii mai o Liholiho aku, o Kainapaua Lonoakai e hoomakakui i ua kaua makaainana la ma Hamakua.

I ko lakou hoomakakui ana, a ua halawai kino lakou me ke kaua makaainana ma Mahiki, a ua pepehi ia o Kainapau wahi alii e Kainapau

kuaaina a make loa, a ua make pu elua kanaka o ke alii, i make i ua kaua
makaainana la. [Kamakau 1867, Nov. 2]

A literal translation would be:

. . . then trouble arose at Hāmākua, and a certain country man named
Kainapau rebelled and generated a commoners' war, led by the country
person, Kainapau of Hāmākua, and he aligned himself with him
[Kekuaokalani].

And the chiefs in Kona heard of the rebellion in Hāmākua; A
certain lesser chief, Kainapau, son of Lonoakai was sent from the court
of Liholiho to spy on that commoners' battle at Hāmākua.

When they did their reconnaissance, they came upon the
commoners' battle at Mahiki and the chiefly Kainapau was beaten and
slain by the countryside Kainapau, and two men of the chief were also
killed, slain in that commoners' battle.

This section appears in the *Ruling Chiefs* text as:

. . . disorders arose; in Hamakua one man took up arms against the
government. A lesser chief named Lono-akahi was sent by Liholiho to
see what was going on, and in a scrimmage he and two of his men were
killed by the country men of Mahiki. [Kamakau 1961:226]

While this loss of detail has not stirred controversy like the earlier example,
the deletion of several important details results, some of which would be of
interest to anthropologists. For instance, the Hāmākua battle was incited among
commoners opposing high chiefs. The opposition was against Liholiho, son and
heir of Kamehameha I, and aligned with Kekuaokalani, his cousin and contender
for power, and not against the government as an entity. The shared names of the
principals involved (Kainapau) are lost in the English; the leader of the

commoners' revolt and the court emissary who was killed shared the same name, a point made very clear in Kamakau's report to avoid confusion in other settings, but not included in the English translation. Also, Lonoakai, the family name of the chiefly participant, is wrongly recorded as Lonoakahi.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Other historians have made note of this event, such as Ralston (1984), with *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i* as the source of data. Perkins 1980:70 shows a very similar text in Jules Remy's *Ka Moolelo Hawaii/Histoire de l'Archipel Hawaiien (Iles Sandwich)*, published in French and Hawaiian in 1862. Remy's account includes the name Kainapaunoakai, and Perkins discusses the irony of the shared names of the combatents.

John Papa ‘Ī‘ī

Born in 1800, John Papa ‘Ī‘ī was trained in the ways of Hawaiian court life and raised in the court of Kamehameha I as a playmate of Liholiho, who became Kamehameha II. An obituary following ‘Ī‘ī’s death in 1870 spoke to the depth of cultural training that had been instilled in this very modern political figure of his time:

Ua piha kona waihona hoomanao i ka paanaau i na mele olioli o na wa kahiko a me na mele a na alii i haku ai, a ua lawe pu akula o ia me ia mau buke mele. Ke hoomanao nei makou i ka make ana o Kamehameha IV, ua olioli mele ia e ia kekahi po holookoa mai ke ahiahi a wehewehe kai ao. [Nupepa Kuokoa 1870]

[His repository of remembrances was filled with memorized chants of ancient times and with chants that the chiefs had composed, and he has taken with him those tomes of ancient poetry. We recall at the death of Kamehameha IV that an entire night was spent by him reciting chanted refrains from evening all the way through to daybreak.]

He went on to spend most of his life in government under the subsequent ruling chiefs until his retirement from government service in 1864. A founding member of the Privy Council and the house of nobles, he held a number of government offices in the course of his career, often simultaneously. His writings expressed the events he witnessed, the hearsay to which he was privileged and the oral traditions that were shared among those in court. He never claimed to be

either a historian or a journalist, and came upon his writing career almost by accident, encouraged by many peers after having submitted a few initial articles based on his personal remembrances.

The Hawaiian Text

During his many positions with the Hawaiian government, 'Ī'ī was called on to publish announcements, position papers and official responses on behalf of his offices, but he didn't begin to write serial columns until after his retirement in 1864 at age 64. His first set of seven columns was inspired by the death of his royal ward, Victoria Kamāmalu Ka'ahumanu on May 29, 1866. In the very next issue of the Kuokoa, he began a series of recollections about her life and the royal circle into which she had been born. The series ended abruptly on August 18th in the midst of an account of his journey by ship to Hawai'i island.

Over two years later, Kekūanāo'a, 'Ī'ī's long-time friend and fellow statesman, passed away and again 'Ī'ī took to writing for the newspaper. Three initial articles were dedicated to the life of Kekūanāo'a, and then the column became serialized. Topics branched out to include vignettes of court life, biographical accounts of many of the chiefs, historical events that had happened during his long career, stories of ancient chiefs, legends of old and descriptions

of cultural practices, such as surfing, canoeing and the hula. He wrote bi-weekly and then weekly for the next two years, producing 66 additional columns before the sequence ended following his death on May 2, 1870.¹⁵²

In contrast to Kamakau, John Papa ‘Ī‘ī wrote about Hawaiian history and culture from a first-person perspective. Whereas Kamakau provided narrative and overview, aiming at presenting ethnography and formal history, ‘Ī‘ī reminisced and shared stories.

Criticism

Unlike Kamakau and many other writers of the decade, John Papa ‘Ī‘ī did not generate direct criticism from his contemporaries. Possibly his status as an elder statesman and his first-hand experiences in the courts of the Kamehamehas lent credence to his stories. His humility may have also played a part in the lack of criticism, as ‘Ī‘ī did not claim to be a historian of the nation, as Kamakau did, but only to be sharing his own memories and personal understandings of the history he saw and heard about. The intricate detail of his accounts, the listing of the

¹⁵² His last column appeared on May 28, 1870.

persons involved, their actions and their actual words lent great credibility to his authority in recounting the past.

Nonetheless, frequent critical interchanges among other writers of the time undoubtedly made 'Ī'i cautious in his own work. He printed corrections and subtle criticism about others, including corrections to aspects of the history that Kamakau was presenting during the same period. He did not directly engage with Kamakau as other critics like Unauna, Koi'i and Kapihe, but addressed the readers instead, opening his corrective writings with introductions like "You may have seen in *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*" (the name of Kamakau's column), and then going on to correct or elaborate the point that had been addressed there. Such a style averted the angry response Kamakau was noted for. Kamakau never did critique 'Ī'i. However, the intricate interchange between the two obviously helped shape the content of their writing.

Editing

No data is available on the editing processes that affected 'Ī'i's columns, either his own self-editing or that imposed by the newspaper. Little pre-publication material found its way into archival collections, and the Kamakau holographs mentioned earlier appear to be a serendipitous find. It can be

assumed that minor editing of phrasing and word choice was a regular process, like that shown in Kamakau's case, but nothing beyond that is known.

The English Text

The publication in 1959 of John Papa 'Ūi's *Fragments of Hawaiian History* ('Ūi 1959) made his name familiar to a modern audience and introduced researchers and the general public to the value of his personal insights into Hawaiian history and culture. *Fragments* is an invaluable introduction to his work, but the processes of bringing the writings of 'Ūi to publication were much the same as those applied to the works of Kamakau. The resulting English texts similarly distance the reader from the Hawaiian language originals.

Fragments of Hawaiian History contains only a portion of 'Ūi's original writings, in altered order and edited form. Examples of the changes imposed on the writings of 'Ūi for the English publication highlight the need for consulting the original material. Consideration of the scope of alterations included in the English text is not intended to diminish the value of *Fragments*, but to show that reliance on this and other English texts in lieu of the Hawaiian originals perpetuates a discourse of sufficiency.

Extraction

The material by 'Ī'ī that was identified and extracted from the Hawaiian language newspapers appears to be the sum of his cultural writings. He was not as prolific as Kamakau, who wrote sporadically for years and kept up a lively written interaction in the newspapers outside of his serial columns. In this way the extraction of the 'Ī'ī material more completely contains his corpus of writings than those drawn from Kamakau's original material. The separation of his writings from the contemporary material that informed them and made up the reference base for his writings still poses a loss to those trying to interpret his material in isolation, but on a lesser scale than what applies to Kamakau's work.

Translation

In the introduction to the 1959 printing of *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, Kenneth Emory credits Mary Kawena Pukui with translating the entire set of 'Ī'ī's articles, a very different setting from the translation team who collaborated over the writings of Kamakau. The work of a single translator lent consistency to the translation process that is apparent in the edited translations in *Fragments*.

Although some minor points of contention can be addressed, and are presented below, the scale of inconsistencies in the 'Ī'ī translation is miniscule when compared to the somewhat uneven product of the group effort applied to Kamakau's works. Perceived inconsistencies between 'Ī'ī's columns and the translations appearing in *Fragments* may be Pukui's own interpretation or a result of the editing applied to her translated text. Unfortunately Pukui's original, full translation of the articles seems to have been discarded when the final editing of text for English publication was finished, and no record of her original translation remains with which to check these points.

Overall, the translation of the 'Ī'ī material appears to have been literal, or formal, in it's attempt to fully present the content of the Hawaiian text to an English audience. There are some places where the content seems to have been altered or truncated in the process of translation or possibly in later editing, as the following examples show. The differences, italicized here for emphasis, show a loss of certain detail or a change of meaning in the process.

1. 'Ī'ī's explanation about why he would choose to give his service to Liholiho, rather than to Liholiho's father, Kamehameha Pai'ea:

O ka hoolohe no hoi paha ka pono o ke alii waiwai ole, i waiwai ai no hoi, a laila, waiwai pu no hoi me ke kanaka. ['Ī'ī 1869, 11/31]

[It seems necessary for a *chief who is not wealthy to listen and pay heed*, so that he may become wealthy, and then his servant will be wealthy as well.]

Published in *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, the statement loses complexity:

The *chief without wealth should be obeyed*, and when he becomes wealthy, the servant becomes wealthy too. [Īʻī 1959:55]

2. On loss of detail:

Ua hiki mai kekahi mea mai Waialua mai a wahi e ae paha, he hoa make pu me iala i ka lua hookahi, no ka mea, he mea mau ia i kekahi poe makee alii mai o loa mai, aka no ka maluhia, ua kuu ia oia mai ka make mai me iala. [Īʻī 1869, 11/20]

A careful, literal following of the text gives this insight to the event:

Someone arrived from Waialua or elsewhere, a companion to die in her company and share the same grave, because, from ancient times, it was a regular practice with some who loved their chiefs, *however, to keep the social peace, that person was released from dying along with her . . .*

Which was published in *Fragments* with a slightly different outcome, as:

. . . someone came from Waialua or thereabouts to die with her and share the same grave, which was another ancient custom with some who loved their chiefs *and sought peace of mind*. [Īʻī 1959:100]

3. Another example of difference between Hawaiian and published

English text, regarding the characteristics of Kamehameha I:

A pehea la ia i hana ai i keia mau ano maikai? Aia paha ma ka maikai o kona poo a me kana liʻa ana, no ka mea he kanaka akamai loa i ke kaua a he haipule no hoi a *ua hoolilo ia kana haipule naauao ana i mea e hiki mai ai ke malamalama oiaio maoli i o kakou nei*. [Īʻī 1870, 1/22]

A literal following of the Hawaiian text would give this translation:

And how is it that he acted in such appropriate ways? It might be a result of the excellence of his mind and his wishes, because he was a very intelligent man in warfare and very religious, and *his wise manner of worship was utilized as a means for the true enlightenment to come here to us.*

The section, however, was published with a puzzling change in *Fragments*, to read as follows:

Whence came his wisdom and this desire to do good deeds? Perhaps from his skill in warfare and his religious nature. *His unenlightened worship led to the coming of the light of truth.* [‘Ī‘ī 1959:106]

The combination of a typographical error in *Fragments* with a possible misunderstanding of the traditional land division system of *moku*, *kalana*, *ahupua‘a* and ‘*ili*¹⁵³ resulted in a set of references that confuse the function and stability of that ancient system of divisions. In the translation of a rarely documented section on how Kamehameha I distributed the conquered O‘ahu lands among his chiefs, Moanalua is referred to first as a *kalana* and then as an *ahupua‘a*, two different scales of divisions (‘Ī‘ī 1959:71). The first reference, naming Moanalua as a *kalana* or second-level district, is actually a typographical error appearing as Waialua in the

¹⁵³ These four terms identify divisions of scale: 1st-*moku*, or island; 2nd-*kalana*, or major subdivision of an island (sometimes called *moku o loko*); 3rd-*ahupua‘a*, interior division of a *kalana*, running mountain to sea; and 4th-‘*ili*, or section within an *ahupua‘a*.

Hawaiian text (‘Ī‘ī 1869, 12/8)¹⁵⁴ The distinctions of Moanalua as an *ahupua‘a* and Waialua as a *kalana* coincide with other references.

Confusion also arises from translation of the term *ahupua‘a*, defined in Pukui/Elbert (1986:9) as a land division, extending from mountain to sea. Several times in this short description of Kamehameha's land distribution, *ahupua‘a* is used in the Hawaiian text with an extended contextual meaning of “*ahupua‘a*-based lands,” rather than a full, individual land division. Such use provides contrast with the smaller ‘*ili*-lands each chief received within Waikīkī *ahupua‘a*.

In this narrative, ‘Ī‘ī makes reference to two different portions in the *ahupua‘a* of Hālawā as “*ke ahupua‘a*” and later refers to two separate *ahupua‘a* of Lā‘iewai and Lā‘iemalo‘o again as being “*ke ahupua‘a*” (‘Ī‘ī 1959:70). In each case, the translation follows the dictionary meaning of a single, entire land unit, but such a translation would indicate a fluidity in the borders and functions of a land division system that seemingly remained intact for centuries, up until the Māhele of 1848. The context in Hawaiian relies on familiarity of the land division terms, but the English

¹⁵⁴ Waialua is a *kalana*, as documented in many other sources; Moanalua is an *ahupua‘a*.

translation of this contextualized use of the word *ahupua'a* implies that the word still means a single bounded district, whether a partial or multiple districts are involved. The context and cultural assumptions of the original narrative clarify this seemingly contradictory reference.

Editing

It appears that the entire set of seventy-three columns published by 'Ī'ī were originally extracted for translation by Kawena Pukui, but the editing of that translated text resulted in only 65% of those writings being included in the English publication.¹⁵⁵ Seven columns were deleted entirely, and the remaining 66 columns were used in part or in whole. Dorothy Barrère, who was selected to edit the translated manuscript, said she was asked by the Bishop Museum director to leave out legendary material and to select those topics that might be of interest to anthropologists and to the descendents of John Papa 'Ī'ī.¹⁵⁶ The final selections were made by Barrère.

¹⁵⁵ This figure is based on character counts and word counts of a typescript of the original columns, with comparison of those sections that were included in *Fragments* and those parts that were left out.

¹⁵⁶ Barrère, personal communication.

The seven columns deleted in entirety covered a range of topics: one introduced the death of Kekūanāo'a; four consecutive columns gave a sequential account of ancient chiefs; one column dealt with Ka'ahumanu; and the last deleted column dealt with canoe handling.¹⁵⁷ Only 27 of 55 mele in the original columns were included in the English text, some of which were dropped as parts of the deleted blocks of text, others being deleted from within incorporated text.

In the text that was selected for *Fragments*, 'Ī'ī's own ordering is diminished by the absorption of his subtitles. 'Ī'ī included frequent subtitles within his text to make sense of his sometimes disconnected narrative, but in *Fragments* those subtitles are incorporated into the English narrative or deleted completely rather than being kept as separate guiding indicators. This process subsumes the organization that the author had included in his writings.

'Ī'ī's prose was often highly descriptive, and the editing that took place makes his descriptions more truncated and terse. One example is the description of Kekūhaupi'o's arrival at Hilo ('Ī'ī 1869, 2/6), which is shortened in *Fragments* ('Ī'ī 1959:9–10), resulting in a loss of detail about Kekūhaupi'o and his nature.

¹⁵⁷ These seven columns appeared on the following dates, in *Kuokoa*: 11/28/68, 4/25/69, 5/8/69, 5/15/69, 5/22/69, 5/29/69, 6/26/69, and 4/16/70.

Reordering Text

Deletion of text disconnects the English publication from its original form, but so does the reordering of text. In *Fragments*, 'Ī'ī's writing is reordered on a massive scale, with sections from different places in his original sequence recombined into a narrative flow. Less than half of the 147 pages of text included in *Fragments* contain material in the original sequence that 'Ī'ī wrote it in. Even where material from single or consecutive columns is relatively intact the translated narrative is often reordered within the page or even paragraph. The reordering is thus even more extensive than it appears.

This reordering was undoubtedly necessitated, at least in part, by the sometimes-conversational nature of 'Ī'ī's original text, and the wish to impose sequential order on the content. Obviously the combining of similar references and a consistent translation created a smoother flow for an audience of a century later, one unfamiliar with 'Ī'ī's style and his many references to people and places. Such new order and flow, however, present a writing style that reflects very little of what would have been recognized by 'Ī'ī's contemporaries.

The non-linear processes of narrative common to the oral tradition is exemplified in the writings of 'Ī'ī, who in many ways was representative of an

earlier age. However, the familiar nature of that non-linear form was already changing at the time of his writing. There are examples from the 1860s of legends and stories being critiqued for their wandering, seemingly disconnected sequence of narrative, and the following response to such commentary reflects the mindset of one well-published storyteller:

Mahea ka moolelo o Hawaii nei i aukahi a hiki i kona palena? . . .Mahea hoi o ua moolelo la kahi i lauwiki, a i akaaka ole ai hoi ka heluhelu ana?
[Kaulainamoku 1865]

[Where would one find a Hawaiian story that flows in a single current to its conclusion? . . .Where would one find such a story, the reading of which would not be convoluted and unclear?]

Elision

There are some indications of editing where similar, but particular, references have been contracted into a more general translation, although such contraction of text is often obscured by the reordering or the deletion of small sections of the original manuscript. One example of elision leading to loss of detail is as follows:

“. . .aka, aole nae kakou i kamailio no kekahi mau hana ana, oia ka oihana lawaia, kalai waa, iako, ama, hoe a oia wale a oia wale.” [‘Īi 1869, 12/18]

Which would read, in a direct translation, like this :

. . . We haven't, however, discussed other endeavors, those being fishing, canoe carving, [the making of] outrigger booms, outrigger floats, paddles, and so on and so forth.

This was condensed into the following in *Fragments*, glossing the reference to booms and floats:

. . . but some not mentioned previously were fishing, canoe-making, paddle-making and the like. [Ī 1959:69]

Editorial Additions

Beyond changes that diminished Ī's original text through deletion or contraction, additions to his work were inserted into the English text in the course of editing. Some of these additions are bracketed, and are clear to readers as editorial additions. Some additions are not marked, and would be mistaken by readers to be part of Ī's original text. There are many examples of these unmarked additions, three of which are given below. (The inserted text not appearing in the original is marked in bold.)

1. This entire line, explaining a preceding *mele*, was added in without any acknowledgement:

Figuratively, this means, "Let that which is unknown become known. [Ī 1959:38]

2. The purpose and destination of the sandalwood cargo in the ship *Keōua*

Lelepali, data mentioned in separate, deleted sections of 'Ī'ī's narrative, was added here:

After the king had been in Kailua for two years, the person who had taken the *Keoua Lelepali* laden with sandalwood **to China to be sold** returned. ['Ī'ī 1959:128]

3. The interpretation of the act of removing one's cloak is included without notice, marked by dashes rather than brackets:

"... he must immediately remove his tapa cloak or cape, bundle it, and cover it with grass—a **sign of humility**—before he entered ('Ī'ī 1959:58).¹⁵⁸

Interestingly, this added material between dashes was bracketed in the final edit version on file in the Bishop Museum, but not bracketed in the published book, apparently changed to dashes during editing of the galleys.

Another area of editorial additions was the insertion of dates within the narrative where 'Ī'ī had not included them. Dates were almost always added in without acknowledgement in the English text, although the introduction acknowledges the research Dorothy Barrère had done on 'Ī'ī's writings to "... supply dates which he did not include or in which he was in error" (Emory

¹⁵⁸ In *Kuokoa* 8/7/69, the text read "... a laila e wehe koke oia i kona kapa a kihei paha, e popo oia ia mea a uhi ae kahi mauu maluna iho oia mea a pela ia e komo ai i loko." (. . . then he quickly removed his covering or cloak bundled it and spread some grass over it and thus he entered.)

1959:x). There are many examples: pg. 157, where December 2, 1829 is added to clarify the time of Boki's departure to the New Hebrides ('Ī'i 1869, 1/2); pg. 158, where the date (5th) is added into 'Ī'i's more general reference of June, 1832 ('Ī'i 1869, 4/10); and page 124, where the year of Ka'ōleio kū's death is corrected to be 1818 ('Ī'i 1870, 3/12).¹⁵⁹ It is sufficient to say that adding dates was a regular practice throughout the book, and one of the stated goals of the project editor, making the text far easier to follow for English readers.

In contrast to many of his contemporary writers, 'Ī'i was more prone to establish time frames in his narrative by reference to events rather than dates, exemplifying the oral tradition in which he was raised. In the whole course of his original narrative, he only refers to specific years 17 times, with only a few of those references including data about individual months or dates. The frequent inclusion of dates on the part of the editor was certainly critical for a modern English readership unfamiliar with oral tradition and the historical overview available to 'Ī'i's contemporaries. Such lack of familiarity is compounded by the missing or reordered material, leaving many potential contextual references unconnected.

¹⁵⁹ 'Ī'i wrote that 1816 or 1817 was the general timing of this event.

Intertextuality: Kamakau and 'Ī'ī

Samuel Kamakau and John Papa 'Ī'ī were writing simultaneously in the late 1860s and included many references to each other's work in their respective columns. Their styles of referencing each other were quite different, but the interaction continued sporadically through the short writing career of John Papa 'Ī'ī.¹⁶⁰ They were both published in the same newspaper, *Kuokoa*, until January of 1869 when Kamakau's serial was taken up by *Ke Au Okoa*. These were the two main Hawaiian language newspapers of the time, so the interaction would have been apparent to a reading public.¹⁶¹

Kamakau's serial column often included correction or re-presentation of material printed earlier by John Papa 'Ī'ī in his columns in *Kuokoa*. He never directly referred to 'Ī'ī or acknowledged his writings, but simply incorporated the material into his own columns, offering corrections, expanding the content or

¹⁶⁰ 'Ī'ī's first identified comment on Kamakau is on 1/30/1869, *Kuokoa*, in his fourth historical column following the biography of Kekūanā'ō'a. Other direct references in *Kuokoa* are: two times on 3/6/69; 3/27/69; a second reference beginning on 3/27/69, and continued on 4/3/69; two subsequent separate references again on 4/3/69; and his last reference to *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* is in a column of 1/22/1870.

¹⁶¹ Newspapers were regularly bound in annual volumes for readers who wished to save them as permanent reference. Binding was a regular service offered by the newspaper printers, and readers could either save their own newspapers and bind them or purchase available bound copies remaining at the end of the year. This book-like maintenance of the Hawaiian newspapers fostered the repository quality of the newspaper content and allowed for easy cross-reference.

recasting the material in a broader frame. Such a lack of acknowledgement could be seen as uncharacteristic courtesy on Kamakau's part in not correcting someone of 'Ī'i's status, or it could be interpreted as simple arrogance; either way, examples of his use of 'Ī'i's published topics are obvious.

In 1869 'Ī'i gave his first-hand observations of a *Kauila Nui* ritual ('Ī'i 1869, 8/14), identifying the persons involved and including the pertinent chant texts. Later the same year 'Ī'i offered a more general description of the *Haku 'Ōhi'a* ritual, with some example lines of appropriate chants ('Ī'i 1869, 8/28). A few months afterwards, in early 1870, Kamakau presented the same topics in reverse order. His description of the *Haku 'Ōhi'a* ritual is far more detailed and offers more lines of chant than 'Ī'i had included (Kamakau 1870, 2/24). Two weeks later, Kamakau gave his coverage of the *Kauila Nui* ritual, not as a description of a single event, but with a more detailed ethnographic documentation of the ritual process (Kamakau 1870, 3/3). He included the three complete chants found in 'Ī'i's earlier column, in the same order and similar form, but with variations in wording and number of lines. Similar follow-up by Kamakau relating to

coverage by 'Ī'i about the legendary hero Puna'aikoa'e¹⁶² and the names and order of the Hawaiian months¹⁶³ indicate that far more interaction exists.

While Kamakau didn't acknowledge 'Ī'i or his writings, John Papa 'Ī'i often referred directly to what readers had seen in *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, (Kamakau's column), or to the newspaper *Kuokoa* and "*ka mea nona ia mo'olelo*" (the author of that account). Most of his references to Kamakau's articles focus on correcting historical aspects or giving additional details about persons involved in the historical incidents or the sequence of those events.

Some of 'Ī'i's corrections of Kamakau are introduced by very pointed references, giving the date and paragraph of what Kamakau wrote before addressing the subject at hand:

Ua ike kakou i na hana a Kaahumanu i hai ia ma ke Kuokoa o ka la 26 o Dek. i hiamoe akula, ma ka moolelo Hawaii, a no ka mea ua hahai ia ma laila ka nui o na pauku mai 1-6. ['Ī'i 1869, 4/3]

[We have seen the actions of Kaahumanu recounted in the Kuokoa on the 26th of Dec. past, in Ka Moolelo Hawaii, because that was recounted there, most of paragraphs 1-6.]

Others references by 'Ī'i are introduced in a much more oblique manner, like this aside calling attention to a story about Ka'ahumanu covered in detail by

¹⁶² 'Ī'i 1869, 9/04-11; Kamakau 1870, 1/6.

¹⁶³ 'Ī'i 1869, 9/25; Kamakau 1870, 2/10.

Kamakau over two years earlier, which was brought up again by 'Ī'ī with : “ua hai mua ia he moolelo. . .” (an account has been told previously. . .)¹⁶⁴

'Ī'ī sometimes stepped beyond direct intertextual references in his narrative, to include some commentary about Kamakau himself. In an example in 1869, he denounced Kamakau's views on Catholicism, stepping outside of correcting the other's writings and into a personal critique. The criticism was initiated by something Kamakau had mentioned in his column in January of that year in *Kuokoa*.¹⁶⁵ 'Ī'ī's expression of personal opinion was rare in the usual written interchanges, and it initiated no response.

The extent of Kamakau's re-presentation of 'Ī'ī writings, while obvious, is not fully documented. Eight clear references by 'Ī'ī to Kamakau's writings have been identified in his original text, but material from only three of those references was included in the English publication. The inclusion of the subject matter did not always indicate the actual cross-reference by 'Ī'ī to Kamakau's work, although sometimes the interaction is made clear in the English text.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ 'Ī'ī 1870, 1/22, referring to articles, Kamakau 1867, 6/15, 7/20 and 8/17.

¹⁶⁵ 'Ī'ī 1869, 4/3 in reference to Kamakau 1869, 1/2.

¹⁶⁶ 'Ī'ī 1959:105, adds a note to clarify the reference being to Kamakau, and identifying which of Kamakau's columns was being referred to.

The interchange between these two significant authors may well have been followed closely by readers of their era. Unfortunately, the existence of such a dialogue is totally obscured in the resulting English texts. Only a portion of 'Ī'ī's comments are incorporated in the published portion of his work, and the reordering makes those few references even less noticeable. Kamakau's expounding upon 'Ī'ī's writings is divided up among four English texts, and although nearly all of the material is eventually included in translation, the interaction is lost through reordering, editing and separate publication.

Summary

Kamakau and 'Ī'ī are the only two Hawaiian writers widely published during their lifetimes whose major works have been translated and published as historical and cultural resources for modern English readers. The publication of their writings for their peers and contemporaries gives special significance to those writings, a quality that is implied to be inherent in the English translations of their works.¹⁶⁷ These translations, along with translations of unpublished

¹⁶⁷ . . . "a translation participates in the 'afterlife' (U'berleben) of the foreign text, enacting an interpretation that is informed by a history of reception ("the age of its fame"). This interpretation does more than transmit message; it recreated the values that accrued to the foreign text over time. . . ." (Venuti 2000a:11)

manuscripts by D. Malo and Kepelino have become foundational references for all fields of study involving Hawaiian culture and history. Reliance on the translated works of these four authors has eclipsed the use of their original writings, obscured the intertextual network from which they were extracted and disavowed the broader sphere of writings by other authors of the period, thereby producing the *discourse of sufficiency*.

Consideration of the English texts drawn from the works of Kamakau and ʻŪi shows the kinds of disparities that exist between the originals and the English publications. The nature and scope of those disparities emphasize that reliance on these and similar texts as representative of a broader Hawaiian perspective is untenable. It would be analogous to accepting a portion of the works of M. Foucault, reordered beyond recognition and perhaps translated by committee, as being representative of all of French philosophy.

This setting demands that the *discourse of sufficiency* be dismantled, or left behind, as scholarship and study moves to engage a broader and more original level of primary reference in regard to Hawaiian history and culture. The actual range of Hawaiian auto-representation in the archival record can better inform modern understanding of perspectives of the past and their perpetuation that has continued into the present.

CHAPTER V

CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARSHIP

Few people today can read a Hawaiian language newspaper unaided, and few of those who are able do so. The number would depend on the newspaper and the reader's fluency. Early Hawaiian newspapers used relatively simple language, but after the native press emerged much of the writing included cultural references and historical contexts that are often nearly unrecognizable today. Attempting to tap these newspapers one must rely on the fortuitous findings of fluent readers already working with the materials or seek out readers and translators to facilitate guided research.

A fraction of the available writings have been published in English or translated in archive files, but most remain untouched or randomly consulted. Renewed interest has generated more research, but no systems are in place to make access easier or to absorb the disconnected bits that are extracted by independent researchers. The archival collections and sporadic discoveries shine a light through the holes in modern scholarship, showing the need to use this untapped material, but there is a lag in generating systems where randomly collected data can be assembled and eventually incorporated into modern analysis and public knowledge.

The disuse and resulting disarticulation of Hawaiian writings is problematic for modern research and practice, and while rearticulation is difficult, it is a challenge that must be overcome. Fortunately, there are some current projects which will expand access to primary Hawaiian sources and recognition of the importance of early writings will continue to foster efforts to make these materials available.

Problems for Scholarship

Rare in any academic field are researchers or scholars who recognize and acknowledge that they have chosen not to consider or even investigate whole fields of material that are pertinent or even central to their work. It is more common to decry the lack of available material or to highlight on the more accessible resources. Gavan Daws [68:418] is quoted in chapter two as saying that there is a dearth of materials written by Hawaiians and especially about themselves, i.e. auto-representation:

The Hawaiians were not in the habit of explaining themselves or even exposing themselves in written form (this despite widespread literacy and the existence of a native-language press). [Daws 1968b:418]

His statement is incorrect, as embodied by the mass of Hawaiian language newspapers and manuscript materials. Such an error is less of a benign mistake than somewhat of a modern myth that naturalizes the dismissal of these materials. Elizabeth Buck notes the power of such myths:

The ideological work of any dominant myth is to make itself look neutral and innocent and, in the process, to naturalize human relationships of power and domination. [Buck 1993:4]

Daws' statement exemplifies the acceptance of the myth in fields of study dealing with Hawaiian anthropology and history. Modern scholars have either been unaware of the large extant body of Hawaiian written discourse, willing to dismiss it, or overwhelmed by it. Daws acknowledges a native press, but apparently does not recognize the extent of that resource and especially the role of the later newspapers as a locus of public Hawaiian communication.

Daws and most of his peers and successors have repeatedly produced analyses reliant on non-native sources when applicable native sources certainly exist. Where Hawaiian sources are included in these works, they center on the canon of Hawaiian references described in this dissertation with little or no connection to the original Hawaiian sources of the translated canon. Some draw from static archival records or private manuscript sources rather than the

interactive public narratives, while making no acknowledgement or use of the larger body of existing Hawaiian material.

As noted in chapter two, modern scholars have been lauded for their works presenting and analyzing historical Hawaiian perspectives while considering the historical narratives minimally or not at all. Greg Denning, reflecting on his entry to the field, echoed Daws' lament, asserting:

And, since the history of Polynesian cultures could only be written out of sources that were European, one would always have to know who the Europeans were before knowing the Polynesians. [Denning 1991:372]

While knowing the Europeans certainly fosters better access and understanding to the narratives they provide, reliance on such a perspective is limiting and dismisses the oral or written histories of the Polynesians themselves. Hawaiian writers expressed the importance of providing Hawaiian perspectives by the act of producing their own narratives, but they also commented directly on the impropriety of relying on foreign observations, as the following quote by Kamakau expresses:

He makemake ko'u e pololei ka moolelo o ko'u one hanau, aole na ka malihini e ao ia'u i ka moolelo o ko'u lahui, na'u e ao aku i ka moolelo i ka malihini. [Kamakau 1865b]

[I want the history of my homeland to be correct. The foreigner shall not teach me the history of my people, I shall teach the foreigner.]

Publisher Thomas Spencer offered a similar commentary on the inadequacy of English-language histories of Hawai'i in his announcement for an upcoming cultural text in 1895:

O na Buke Moolelo Hawaii namu haole i hoopuka mua ia e pili ana ia kakou, he hapa uuku wale no ia mau hoakaka, a he ono ole kona waiu ke moni aku. Maloko o keia Buke Lapaau mua loa e ike ai ke kanaka Hawaii i kona moolelo pono, a me na hana kaulana i kukulu mua ia e ko kakou mau kupuna. [Spencer 1895]

[As to the English-language Hawaiian history books that have been published about us, those clarifications have been minimal and partial, and their nectar is insipid to the taste. In this first medicinal book the Hawaiian will see his own story and the famous endeavors established in the past by our ancestors.]

Dening, whose careful inspection of historical “cargo” and insightful analysis of narratives embedded in an array of sources, eschews interpretation of Hawaiian sources outside of the canon described here, referring to himself as a “borrower” in those realms from the work of others, especially Valeri and Sahlins (Dening 1995:25), and yet obviously appreciates history’s affect on the present:

. . . in whatever culture or social circumstance, the past constitutes the present in being known. [Dening 1991:356]

As such, general exclusion or tertiary inclusion of Hawaiian discourse from the past limits the potential for resulting analytical insights in any field relating

to Hawai'i. Aletta Biersack calls attention to the importance of historical narratives like the ones addressed here and the cultural frame in which each exists:

The anthropologist learns of events in part through the narrations of others, and narratives are as culturally particular as anything else... In the interpretive mode, renarration requires coming to terms with the events *as narrated*; and understanding and explanation become alike windows on historical consciousness. [Biersack 1991:20]

The broad scope of historical Hawaiian narratives are each as culturally particular as any historical accounts by non-Hawaiian observers, be they explorers, traders, foreign residents, missionaries or tourists. As such, these Hawaiian auto-representations are the only resources anthropologists today can utilize in attempting to incorporate an historical Hawaiian perspective. While historical narratives exist in many forms—oral and written, sung and danced, fashioned and planted—the published writing described in this dissertation present the most concentrated source of Hawaiian auto-representation and potentially the most accessible.

In *The Limits of Multiculturalism*, Michaelson (1999) presents an extensive critique of American anthropology based on the misuse and general dismissal of 19th century Amerindian writings that have been available to researchers for 150 years but still remain unincorporated into modern scholarship. There are many

parallels in the setting Michaelson describes about Amerindian writings and that of Hawaiian writings of the same period:

A surprisingly large and distinctive body of nineteenth-century Amerindian writing on anthropological matters, running parallel to the development of “white” anthropology, is not yet within our sights; [Michaelson 1999:xiii]

Michaelson elaborates on how those texts, when they are in some way incorporated at all, are subsumed and reshaped to fit an already-framed anthropological project:

Their texts, then, disappear under the shellac of anthropology, and it is impossible to determine, in the first place, whether anything of these texts poses an alternative to white anthropology because the reading of these texts has been, in a very real sense, predetermined and preconditioned by the overarching anthropological framework. [Michaelson 1999:xiv]

Hawaiian sources, like Amerindian, have been reshaped into new forms, blinding scholars to the actual content. The outcome of such misuse or disuse is a decontextualized misreading of the original works, if they are read at all:

. . . scholars’ lack of information concerning Amerindian self-definition in the nineteenth century results in reading texts only for the ways in which they shore up definitions of whiteness. Amerindians as such play no part in the tale . . . [Michaelson 1999:xvi]

White and Tengan (2001) summarize how anthropology in Hawai’i has been guided by outside forces since its inception, meaning American and non-native

agency over theories, research paradigms, personnel, methodologies and benefits, a setting that is only recently changing.¹⁶⁸ Also changing is a division of the intellectual territory of Hawaiian anthropology describes by White and Tengan (2001) that began in the 1930s between the Bishop Museum, which agreed to pursue native culture, and the University of Hawai'i, whose focus would be modern native adaptation.

Anthropology's project of temporal, social or geographical "othering," critiqued by many, (Linnekin 1983, Michaelson 1999, White and Tengan 2001) informs and guides the study of modern adaptive strategies and of traditions, old and new. In *Specters of Inauthenticity*, Jolly (2000) shows in a comparative Pacific context how such a distancing relies upon a general assumption of historical breakdown and loss of *the* traditional, pre-contact culture. This kind of separation facilitates a polarized view that contrasts those who lived the culture and those simply espousing it.

In Hawai'i, this same kind of distancing is clearly expedited by the silencing of a century of Hawaiian commentary that threaded through the continuum of

¹⁶⁸ Kawena Pukui 1937 spoke to the Anthropological Association of Hawai'i explaining the newspaper writings as anthropology by Hawaiians, and the founding of the 'Ahahui 'Imi i ka Mea Kahiko as "A Hawaiian Anthropological Society."

adaptation and change of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Dismissing Hawaiian self-expression from that period of change helps maintain a clear opposition between Hawaiians of old who were culturally intact and modern-day, acculturated Hawaiians. Recognition of continuity, renewal or invention is clarified by the voices of those that initiated, experienced or resisted the processes of change. The ease with which those voices have been muted adds an historical depth to Trask's charge of condescension by Western academics toward modern native writers:

Natives don't know very much, even about their own lifeways, thus there is no need to read them. [Trask 1991:160]

Daws wrote, incorrectly, of a paucity of Hawaiian auto-representation, when actually over a million pages of material is available in the public writings alone. The assumption of minimal and inaccessible sources led him to go on without them to write a history about the same period during which that corpus of writings was being generated:

. . . wishing to understand the Hawaiians I found I could not, and I ended by merely trying to make sense out of what their white contemporaries said about them. [Daws 1968:418]

Such a foundation acknowledges the acute bias inherent in any such frame of research. Without consideration and inclusion of the cultural perspectives that

would be particular to the Hawaiian narratives, the resulting historical consciousness is necessarily limited.

Hawaiian newspapers embodied the historical consciousness becoming the locus of public interaction for the Hawaiian-speaking audience. While other venues existed for debate, discussion, expression, presentation, documentation and perpetuation, the newspapers became the only avenue where such interactions could occur publicly and on a national scale. They also became the only collective repository where such interaction is so well documented, if not necessarily archived and developed as a resource.

As White and Tengan (2001:385-6) and Elizabeth Buck (1994:121) point out, social change dislocates indigenous practices of representation, and they pose the need to further investigate that disruption in Hawai'i. Such a shift occurred with the introduction of literacy in the 19th century, and a second shift in that new economy of representation occurred once an independent native press was established.

Narrative in Context

George Stocking, in his book *Race, Culture, and Evolution*, quotes Joseph Levonson about the importance of balanced historicism and the role of historical context in understanding the past for its own sake:

A thought includes what its thinker eliminates; an idea has its particular quality from the fact that other ideas, expressed in other quarters, are demonstrably alternatives. [Stocking 1991:5]

Stocking elaborates on Levonson's point, highlighting the need in historical analysis to capture the broader essence of historical dialogue within which ideas emerged, alternatives were dismissed, and ideas were generated. He points out that “ intellectual history is the history of men *thinking*, rather than the history of *thought*.” Research into the writings of Hawaiians of the past becomes, among other projects, a work of intellectual history; Stocking’s point is particularly applicable to such efforts, and the site of the historical Hawaiian dialogues becomes the nexus of that work.

The Hawaiian newspapers then, and especially the post-1861 newspapers, must be recognized as the locus of Hawaiian public discourse and the main source of Hawaiian auto-representation for the period. Such recognition identifies that body of material as a critical resource rather than an interesting

historical anomaly. Acknowledging that corpus as a critical and central source of historical Hawaiian “voice” highlights the necessity of those materials for projects dealing with Hawai’i, past and present, and derails the naturalized practice of dismissal.

A Call for Native Voice

“The question is this: from what base do we look at the world?”
[Thiong’o 1989:94]

There is a growing call for the inclusion of native voices in all branches of history and ethnographic study, a call which has been repeated in Polynesia and Hawai’i in particular.¹⁶⁹ The initiative is partly the process of decolonizing history that is occurring globally, but a part of that initiative in Hawai’i results from more than thirty years of language renewal efforts that have brought Hawaiian language from a state of near-demise into one of new deployment.

With thousands of students of the language in classes and immersion schools, as well as in teaching and research, there is an intense interest in historical Hawaiian resources of all kinds for use in curriculum and reference material. As

¹⁶⁹ See Michaelson (1999), and Wood (1999:3), who notes recent papers by 10 contemporary native Hawaiian scholars, each of whom insists on narratives that give primacy to the native Hawaiian voice. See also White and Tengan (2001:395-403), Buck, (1999:x).

the community of speakers becomes familiar with those legacy resources, interest continues to grow, but there is also a sense of responsibility for the perpetuation of the knowledge contained in them. As a result of the language renewal movement, languishing historical resources have been recognized, but even limited recognition generates a demand for those resources to be incorporated in modern public knowledge.

Because of the institutionalized obscurity of the historical Hawaiian writings, even modern native writers can remain largely unaware of the historic voices being left out. But contemporary scholarship is changing in response to these demands; scholarly works today are contesting the power that such an imposed discourse has historically held over Hawaiian epistemology and the identity, geography, history and social systems that flow from such power over the framing of knowledge.¹⁷⁰

Modern Expansion

Some recent scholarship makes dedicated efforts to expand the bounds of sufficiency that have been in place for decades, and it does so by investigating

¹⁷⁰ In addition to the Hawaiian writers listed above, also consider Manu Meyer (1998, 2001) .

the underutilized resources. Valeri, Sahlins, and others have been praised for their incorporation of native sources, even where their use has been limited. But the use of a broader range of materials does get recognized. Elizabeth Buck, in *Paradise Remade*, acknowledges her own shortcomings in this sphere while expressing optimism about other recent work:

. . . scholars able to read nineteenth-century materials written in Hawaiian (such as those by Lilikāli [sic] Kame'eleihiwa, Jocelyn Linnekin, and John Charlot) are beginning to redress the bias of histories that have relied on Western narratives or description or on published translation of Hawaiian accounts (including my own). [Buck 1993:15–16]

In the decade since Buck's reference, dissertations at the University of Hawai'i by John Osorio, Kanalu Young and Noenoe Silva, and a M.A. thesis by Hiapo Perriera all show academic support for Hawaiian scholarship that incorporates more of the critical Hawaiian language resources.¹⁷¹ Silva (1999:205) lauds the change:

The resurgence of the Hawaiian language through a popular movement consisting of both taro roots and academics is creating scholars like myself who are now able to read the archive and effectively challenge the misrepresentations and omissions of the Kanaka Maoli in historiography.

¹⁷¹ The dissertations mentioned all incorporated materials from the Hawaiian language newspapers, while Perriera's thesis, written entirely in Hawaiian, is an analysis of a Hawaiian language epic text, *Kawelo*.

Publications, bi-lingual or in Hawaiian, of historical texts by institutions outside of the university, show the extension of such support. Works that rearticulate historical resources will continue to emerge as scholarship expands and as faculty members at the educational institutions become more familiar with the resources available. As a recognizable body of such research and writing becomes established, it will set new standards for a broad range of fields dealing with Hawaiian-related topics.

While emerging scholarship is expanding the boundaries of a discourse of sufficiency, there are still pitfalls and limits regarding the levels to which the Hawaiian resources are being, or can be, incorporated. Some of the work, by necessity and happenstance, touches upon keyhole scholarship described in the last chapter, in that the most convenient ports of entry are still in the available translations of works. These include the published canon, other published bilingual texts, or the translations by Mary Kawena Pukui and others found in the HEN notes of the Bishop Museum Archives. Until research tools make the extant resources more accessible, the ability of researchers to locate pertinent Hawaiian narratives and consider those narratives in context remains a challenge that few are able to take up.

Minimal use of the native documentation has artificially ameliorated the difficulty that should be inherent in the field by narrowing the sources considered. Renewing the presence of the diverse native voices that partially textured the past increases the difficulty of the project. It also becomes a goal, one of incorporating a larger body of received documents, or cargo, from which those today can sift and consider the most usable portions. The cargo – the original documentation, is the critical resource, which, when joined with the fact of its preservation and possibility of its eventual interpretation by those who find it, can reshape our modern understanding of the past.

Limits on Articulation

. . . sources on the life of the native community are all but intractable.
[Daws 1968b:418]

When Gavan Daws addressed the difficulty of gaining sources about the native community, he could have meant finding the sources or understanding them once they were located. Both the search and the interpretation have been, and continue to be, problematic. In over a century of collecting and archiving of Hawaiian language materials, the tools of access are still rudimentary at best.

Discourse written in Hawaiian of a century or more past is sometimes difficult, even for fluent speakers of Hawaiian today, and yet usually intelligible. But the existence of such a corpus, even in a “foreign” language, provides an unparalleled resource for our understandings today—cargo for the present. Less than one percent of Hawai‘i’s people today are able to read Hawaiian, and only a portion of those are fluent enough to read the old newspapers and manuscripts, much less translate them, so the process is a challenge. The cargo will not be easy to unpack. Locating it, however, is perhaps a greater challenge than understanding it.

Language has been more of an institutional barrier to the development of research tools for finding Hawaiian resources than it has been for understanding those resources. With English as the foundation language for every major institution dealing with Hawaiian historical materials, archivists and librarians have been trained and hired for their skills in handling the largely English-language collections. Facility in Hawaiian has not been required, and only recently has familiarity with the language become a desirable qualification.¹⁷²

¹⁷² Kala‘ela‘e Hori, personal communication, 2003. Hawai‘i State Archives, Bishop Museum, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, University of Hawai‘i and the Hawai‘i State Public Library systems each have one or more staff with some fluency or expertise in Hawaiian, but the skill has not been a requirement.

Local librarians have learned Hawaiian to facilitate their work, but this has been personal motivation rather than institutional drive and the number of fluent staff remains tiny. Collection specialists most often generate the research tools for access to the collections, but limited demand, lack of staff with language skills, funding priorities, and insufficient institutional incentive have generated minimal and disparate tools of access. Amy Stillman (2001:201) notes that such a setting is widespread:

Nor can the Hawaiian case make any particular claim to uniqueness. All over the world, the establishment of museums, libraries, historical societies, and archives marks the institutionalization of knowledge in the form of materials on deposit. While postcolonial critiques are exposing museum practices of collection, preservation, and exhibition as instruments of colonial subjugation by their influence over subsequent construction of knowledge, a comparable critique of library and archival collections and their practices of access is only beginning to reveal equally disturbing insights. The terrain promises to be contentious.¹⁷³

Many practices of the last century may be critiqued (and praised) for the existing, and currently expanding, level of access. The presence of archival repositories of Hawaiian materials speaks to historical processes that placed value on the maintenance of those resources, if not their cultivation. Some

¹⁷³ While postcolonial critiques may provide valuable insights into historical agency in Hawai'i, the term "colonial" is contested by some Hawaiian scholars, whereas "occupation" described the actual political history and setting. Important parallels exist, but the differences merit specific investigation. Keanu Sai, personal communication. For more information on some of the pertinent issues, see www.alohaquest.com

recently initiated projects that expand access to the existing resources are described below, but until recently there have been only a handful of basic tools to provide reference and access to the body of untranslated works.

There are several Hawaiian-language newspaper listings, each more detailed and comprehensive than its predecessor.¹⁷⁴ Scholars have assembled a few bibliographies of Hawaiian materials, notably one of Hawaiian-language texts (Judd, Bell 1978) and the more recent four-volume bibliography by David Forbes (1999-2002). There are various translations or partial indexes of selected newspaper runs, some of which are available online.¹⁷⁵ In contrast, extensive and detailed indexes of English-language publications of all kinds spanning the last century and a half have long been available and are now in print and online.¹⁷⁶

New Horizons

Ua maopopo, ua hikiikii ia ke poo a me ka pulima o ka poe kakau manao, e ke kuokoa ole, a manao akea ole; a i ka nana aku i na nupepa e hoolaha ia nei, ua hikii ia lakou e ka hoohaiki ia o ka pono akea e noho malalo o ka aoao hookahi. O ke kahua oiaio o keia nupepa, o ka hiline

¹⁷⁴ See Takakura 1967, Mookini 1974, Chapin 1984 and 1996.

¹⁷⁵ See Hori n.d., and Johnson 1976.

¹⁷⁶ See Index to Periodicals of Hawaii, 1975, Index to the Honolulu Advertiser and Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1968, The Hawaii Island Newspaper Index, 2000, etc. Interestingly, the *Star-Bulletin* and the *Advertiser* for the period of 1900-1932 have not been indexed, an important period of change after annexation.

ole ma kela ano keia ano hoomana, aka, he ku i ka wa. E lawe mai ana, me ka unuhi mai i na manao naauao mai ka olelo haole mai; oiai, i keia manawa, ua lilo i lua kula i hunaia mai ka maka ae o ka Lahui. Oia *lua gula* a *pahuhao* hoi, o ka nupepa ‘Ka Manawa,’ ke *ki* nana e wehe ka *laka* e hoopaa ana ia pahu, a e komo kela a me keia e wae e like me kona makemake. [Kalākaua 1870]

[It is clear that the heads and hands of writers have been tied by a lack of freedom and a dearth of expansive thought, and observing the papers distributed today, they are hampered by the constriction of the public good, made to dwell under the aegis of just one side. The true basis of this newspaper is to be uninfluenced by any particular kind of religion but to be free and independent. It will bring and translate enlightened ideas¹⁷⁷ from the English language, whereas, at this time it has become a gold mine hidden away from the eyes of the Nation. As for that *gold mine* and *vault*, the newspaper ‘Ka Manawa’ is the key to open the lock securing that vault, that each and every person may enter and choose as per their wishes.]

David Kalākaua opened his first editorial in the new monthly newspaper *Ka Manawa*, using the metaphor of a gold mine and a vault to describe the value of English-language resources that his new newspaper would bring to the Hawaiian-speaking population of 1870, hoping to expand the narrow views being published at the time. 130 years later, a mirror image of this metaphor reflects a situation that is reversed today. While English thought is now nearly universal in Hawai‘i, Hawaiian writings in this case become the *gold mine*, the

¹⁷⁷ *mana’o* can also carry the meaning of thought, insight, opinion, belief, suggestion, etc. see Pukui and Elbert 1986:236 for additional interpretations.

vault that must be made accessible in order to expand the boundaries for writers and thinkers dealing with Hawai'i, past and present. The depth of that mine and extent of that vault is impressive, being, as it is, the product of a small and newly literate kingdom. The access to this mine of material, narrow and forbidding for nearly a century, is in the process of being widened and paved, even landscaped, by a number of efforts.

New projects have been initiated or completed in the last few years which will provide more ready access to the kind of materials addressed here, and hopefully will lead to a growing re-articulation of the existing Hawaiian writings with the other historical materials pertaining to Hawai'i. Three ambitious projects intended to provide powerful tools for location of Hawaiian materials all deal, at least in part, with the Hawaiian language newspaper repository, but address the corpus from different approaches. Other projects are far more specific to particular aspects of the historical repository.

Tools of the Trade

Vignette: Talking to a group of fellow scholars, noted Hawaiian researcher and genealogist Edith McKinzie expresses delight at finding a short article in the Hawaiian newspaper addressing specifics of Hawaiian poetic composition. Her “find” had recently been referred to and translated in another researcher’s unpublished report, but the cited date of publication was incorrect, as she found when she sought the original Hawaiian text. She eventually found the article by accident in the process of other, unrelated, research.

If Mrs. McKinzie incorporates that particular resource into one of her own publications, it will be documented after a fashion into the English cross-listings.

If her find does not get entered into one of her own published sources, it will blend back into obscurity, for there is no network in place into which such loose pieces of data may be secured. Such “finds” occur frequently for those who wend their way to the Hawaiian newspapers. The finds are serendipitous, usually undocumented, and frequently the same “gems” resurface time and time again, with no formal research tools to identify them for others or into which they can be incorporated as a growing resource. Her personal experience led her to initiate a massive manual indexing project for the Hawaiian language newspapers, described below.

The Hawaiian Language Newspaper Index

A project to manually index and summarize in English all entries in the Hawaiian language newspapers was initiated in 1992 and, proceeding in chronological sequence, began with *Ka Lama Hawaii* of 1834.¹⁷⁸ Housed under the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program and funded from multiple sources, this indexing project consists of a group of about 10 who meet once a week to work under the direction of Edith McKinzie. During the last 10 years of production, the group has completed detailed indexes or translated summaries for ten newspapers, which includes several of the Calvinist mission papers and the first government newspapers, *Ka Elele* and *Ka Hae Hawaii*.

Over 2,000 pages of newspaper have been fully indexed or have been summarized in translation in final preparation for indexing, but that is less than two percent of the whole. Mrs. McKinzie estimates that the project will take 20 or more years to complete at the current pace.¹⁷⁹ The product of this work will create a detailed English-language index for locating content in the original

¹⁷⁸ The project has moved away from direct chronological sequence as the translators grew weary of the continual negative references to Hawaiians. The remaining mission papers will be finished intermittently. Personal communication from E. McKinzie 2003.

¹⁷⁹ Edith McKinzie, personal communication, 2003.

newspaper texts. Ideally the project will expand incorporation of historical Hawaiian materials into future production of knowledge.

A Hawaiian Language Journal

Ka Ho'oilina: The Legacy, is a new academic journal established by Alu Like Inc. to reprint Hawaiian materials for access on multiple levels. Funded by the Administration for Native Americans and the Kamehameha Schools, the inaugural issue appeared in March 2002. While a second issue has not yet reached publication by mid-2003, the journal is planned for semi-annual production.

Each journal issue draws material from six “legacy” sources: Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes (H.E.N.) files of the Bishop Museum Archives; government documents; newspapers, beginning in 1834; newspapers from historically critical times, beginning with 1892; humanities pieces; student materials, especially early textbooks. Each text or excerpt is presented in three forms: original source orthography; modern orthography, marked with macron and glottal stop; and English translation. Bi-lingual annotation of the text is added as a fourth column on each dual-page.

The multiple forms of each text are intended to reach different audiences, particularly native speakers, second-language students, and English readers. The three-format layout, while providing access to the broadest range of potential users, limits the content of each issue to about forty pages of original Hawaiian text. This re-presentation of the historical materials will be a generations-long, methodical process, drawing upon the combined corpora of newspaper repositories, institutional records, manuscript sources and historical book texts.

Hawaiian Newspaper Text File Database

A third project, *Ho'olaupa'i: Hawaiian Newspaper Resources*, is generating searchable text files from the Hawaiian newspapers, planning to make the entire corpus available on the internet via a single computer database. *Ho'olaupa'i* means "to generate abundance, to reproduce" and the goal of the project is to reproduce historically abundant sources in a new, more accessible form. Using a newly expanded optical character recognition (OCR) technology, microfilm newspaper images are digitized, and the digital images are then rendered by computer into searchable text files. The technical challenges posed by variable-quality microfilms of aged documents that were often rather badly printed

require that human operators manually check and correct the computer's reading errors.

Initiated as a pilot project in 2001 under Alu Like Inc. and based on a process used with Māori newspapers, the project was moved to the Bishop Museum in 2002 and set up as project of the museum archives. A staff of twelve mostly half-time operators has rendered 1000 pages of newspapers into text files during the first six months of operation. Initiated with the newspapers of the independent press, the project began with *Kuokoa* and has now begun rendering *Hoku o ka Pakipika*. The newspapers after 1861 are in the larger format discussed earlier, so the 1000 rendered newspaper pages has generated some 10,000 letter-size pages of searchable text files to date. A secondary project of Ho'olaupa'i is the manual rendering of archival letters and documents, which can then be searched by word, phrase or date like the newspaper files. At this point, four hundred letters have been transferred to searchable text files.

The Ho'olaupa'i project produces text files in Hawaiian and these are not translated via this project. While this does not provide a full and immediately accessible product for English-language researchers, the resulting database will indicate the existence of all pertinent texts, their exact locations, and their full content in digital image and rendered text form. The ability to mechanically

search, by word or phrase, the entire corpus of newspaper texts will completely transform the process of utilizing this resource. Methodical, page by page surveys that could take years to complete (and would normally be dismissed) will be possible in minutes, and the potential impact on Hawaiian scholarship is open-ended. The value of this research tool is worth the estimated ten to twenty years that the rendering will take to complete.¹⁸⁰

Text Resources

The expansive projects described above have been recently generated in direct response to a growing demand for access to historical Hawaiian language materials. A number of other projects, smaller and more specific, but no less significant, have been initiated or carried out recently and these create additional access tools for the incorporation of the underutilized primary sources described here.

Chant indexes created by the Bishop Museum work in tandem with the reprinting of historical chant texts in original or bilingual form (Hawaiian

¹⁸⁰ The actual time frame for completion is dependent on funding and expansion. At the present scale, 20 years is a more reasonable estimate of time, but the work could be done in as little as five years if proposed expansion occurs.

Historical Society 2001, Nogelmeier 2001, Testa 2003) and song texts (Holstein 2003, Wilcox N.d.) to reintroduce these texts for use as alternative historical documents (Stillman 2002). Scholars have addressed how these poetic texts provide historical windows as cultural narratives, preceding Western contact and continuing through eras of change. The importance of Hawaiian poetry as a continuum of historical narrative is reiterated by E. Buck, who states that such texts reflect:

... a continuous productivity where culture, creativity, and social forces interact, creating and re-creating meaning. Long before Cook arrived, Hawaiian chant and *hula* had been changing as the economic, political, and ideological structures of the islands changed; it is still developing as each new wave of outside cultural and social influence reaches the islands and as relationships of power are reformed. [E. Buck 1993:17]

Reprinting of historical Hawaiian texts, in Hawaiian or bi-lingually in English, reintroduces often-rare materials to a new audience. Efforts to supply the growing interest by speakers and researchers have produced at least a dozen major texts in the last decade. Some, like McGuire's *He Moolelo Pokole* (1995), are simple reprint copies of old texts to make rare editions more familiar and available. Current projects at the Hawaiian Historical Society (Ke Kupu Hou) and the Bishop Museum (Classical Reprints in Hawaiian Language) have completed seven reprints to date, two through the Hawaiian Historical Society

and five through the Bishop Museum. Each institution aims to reproduce ten texts in this manner from their respective collections in the next few years.

More labor-intensive publication or republication of Hawaiian language texts in modern orthography has generated a number of texts, like histories by Kamakau (1996, 2001), Sheldon (1996), and Desha (1996). Newly translated texts, like the historical narrative *Kekūhaupī'o* (Desha/Frazier, 2000), the legend of *Keaomelemele* (Manu/Pukui, 2001), and the science text *Anatomia, 1838* (Judd/Mookini, 2002), have been published bi-lingually, showing the increased interest in access to the text in both English the original Hawaiian language. A number of similar projects planned or in production show a dynamic increase in resource development in the last few years.

Only some of these recent additions to the researcher's and practitioner's tool kit are in English, so the dissemination of primary information is still removed to some degree from the non-Hawaiian-speaking public. The development of new tools and resources in Hawaiian, however, articulates with the growing population of second-language speakers and immersion-trained students generated over the last two decades, and reflects a renewed positioning of native

speakers of Hawaiian in a changing discourse about the language. The institutional growth that has fostered that population of speakers is diverse and includes the Hawaiian Studies departments at the University of Hawai'i and Brigham Young University-Hawai'i campus, the indigenous Hawaiian college, Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo, private, charter and public immersion programs, and secondary curriculum at many public and private schools. Those fluent in the language will be the first line of rearticulation for the body of materials that are actively being made available to a broad audience for the first time in nearly a century.

Daunting Efforts

Multiple discourses thread through the fabrics of knowledge in Hawai'i today, but it is the written, and especially published, resources that are most accessible to researcher and practitioner alike, and therefore most privileged and legitimized within the changing limits of discursive power. White (1991:5), quoted in chapter one, states that the more bounded forms of knowledge help frame personal identity and historical understanding, and they do, but in a synthesis with, or in antagonism to, the powerful written discourse of the past

and the written, visual and electronic production of the present that is legitimized, fostered, and replicated by contemporary discourse.

Auto-representation, especially through historical written texts, constitutes a past, which can produce the present and shape the future, but only to the extent that those texts are incorporated in the processes of knowledge production. The texts themselves are only raw materials, which must be recognized, studied, analyzed, and critiqued to generate understandings of the representation therein and of the potential links between past, present and future. Foucault writes:

The document is not the fortunate tool of a history that is primarily and fundamentally *memory*; history is one way in which a society recognizes and develops a mass of documentation with which it is inextricably linked. [Foucault 1972:7]

Calling attention to the existence of documents neither makes history nor illuminates it, but history entails the processing of those documents, their incorporation into our understanding, and their articulation with the other ways in which we create knowledge of the past today. Archives and document repositories reflect a level of recognition about historical materials and their importance to us, but do not alone facilitate history, cultural memory, perpetuation or practice. Rather, it is the forces and efforts put in place to select the “mass” and the documentation processes that guide how we make use of that

mass that weaves the fabric of links that we recognize as history in the present.

The discourse of sufficiency describes a setting where the documents that Foucault would re-link and re-articulate have been left in their storage boxes and microfilm reels; the cargo which Denning would have successive generations re-invent has been left in crates on the beach.

There is great potential for criticism of the historical discursive practices that have resulted in the setting that is apparent today. Scholars from many fields have engaged in that process, some of which are referred to here. The focus of this study, however, is more to recognize critical resources that have become distant over time, and the need to continue changing the way in which those resources are incorporated into modern discourse. Greg Denning speaks to the issue succinctly:

A moralism that stresses that the only thing we can change is the present is less self-indulgent than one that lambastes the past for not having changed itself. [Denning 1991:377]

The impetus to expand the articulation of Hawaiian writings into contemporary discourse does not arise from the assumption that some great truth that has been neglected or obscured will be restored to its proper place upon reclamation of the documents containing it. While every attempt should be

made to understand the context from which historical materials are drawn, such efforts can only ever be incomplete, as E. Buck notes:

The accepted notion that the past can be retrieved and accurately recounted fails to recognize that the data of history, even the privileged “primary” sources, were inscribed by ideologies that informed the perceptions of eyewitness observers and social commentators. All accounts, even first-person accounts, are representations of reality, not reality itself, and therefore are always selective along socially constituted lines of what is worthy or not worthy of note. [E. Buck 1993:11]

The texts that make up this repository are inherently diverse, but they provide a variety of native voices, whereas much of the historical documentation used in crafting Hawaiian history to date has generally excluded this portion of the available material. Dening adds a cultural context to Buck’s point:

Texting the Past—and by that making History—is always one-sided and selective. Having a Von Rankean ambition or even an ethnographic one to describe ‘what actually happened’ becomes difficult when the same event is possessed in culturally different ways. [Dening 1995:23–24]

Dismantling a discourse of sufficiency offers an opportunity to identify and peruse the events of history in a broader frame of culturally different ways.

There is a need to go beyond the discourse and reclaim the avenues of insight that have been closed off by the validating powers that created the existing discourse. Foucault (1972:6-7) describes the processes entailed in stepping beyond extant discourse, pointing out the importance of leaving behind the

received categories and field boundaries that customarily identify research, and to view the era and its product with an expanded vision. This dissertation is a call for an aggressive, Foucauldian approach to scholarship dealing with Hawai'i and Oceania. In this way, new interrelations and boundaries will appear, generated from within the material itself, rather than imposed by an existing epistemology.

APPENDIX
S. M. KAMAKAU RELATED ARTICLES

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
2-28-1838	KKH	Halawai No Na Kumuaao			This is perhaps Kamakau's first published article. Calls for annual teacher meetings. Kamakau from Waialua, Oahu is listed in KKH 2-15-1837 as
6-20-1838	KKH	No ka hele ana i ka makaikai mai Lahainaluna aku			Talks of school trip.
10-25-1842	KN	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	Chun		Genealogy "for the people of now and of the future, so that they will know." See Kamakau's later article in KN 11-8-1842 on misprints in this article.
11-8-1842	KN	No ke kuauhau		typescript and translation in KA, 24-25	A. Unauna critique of Kamakau's genealogy in KN 11-8-1842, "Mai hana i ke kuauhau
11-8-1842	KN	Untitled	Chun	typescript and translation in KA, 27	On error in his genealogy in KN 11-8-1842.
2-14-1843	KN	Untitled	Chun		Response to Unauna's article in KN 11-8-1842; critique of Unauna and his teacher, Auwae.
3-7-1843	KN	No ka hoku welowelo	Chun	typescript and translation in Johnson	On astronomy.
2-6-1844	KN	Untitled			Leleiohoku on taxes, responded to later by Kamakau in KN 4-2-
3-5-1844	KN	Untitled	Chun		Asking for clarification on meanings of words.
4-2-1844	KN	Ke kuhihewa o Leleiohoku	Chun		Critique of Leleiohoku's article in KN 2-6-1844. Calls for clarification on taxes of
5-14-1844	KN	Untitled	Chun		On children made to work as punishment for breaking law.
8-12-1845	KE	Untitled			Letter to Kamehameha III concerning haole in
8-12-1845	KE	Untitled			Letter to Kamehameha III concerning the country people.
8-12-1845	KE	Untitled			Kamehameha III response to Kamakau pertaining to haole in government.
9-23-1845	KE	Untitled			Hoinainau response to Kamakau's letter to Kamehameha III in KE 8-12-
10-7-1845	KE	Untitled			Haumana Hoikehonua response to Kamakau's letter to Kamehameha III in KE 8-12-

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
9-23-1845	KE	No ka waiwai a me nupepa			On printing of government policy in English, and resulting lack of understanding by the common people.
10-21-1845	KE	No ke aloha			Regarding proper etiquette when greeting royalty.
11-4-1845	KE	He mau olelo kahiko i ka manawa i holo mai ai o Lono (Kapena	Chun		On arrival of Capt. Cook. Later incorporated into Kamakau's written history.
2-10-1846	KE	He mau mea kahiko loa no Hawaii nei	Chun	typescript and translation, "Some very ancient things of Hawaii," in BMA—HEN:	On formation of Islands, division of lands, first humans, and arrival of Cook.
2-4-1847	KE	He mele no ke akua, no lehova	Chun		Religious mele.
10-24-1848	KE	Untitled			Signed "L. M. Kamakau," but presumably by S. M. Kamakau. On government policy, like taxation on cats and dogs.
3-12-1849	KE	Untitled			On taxing of cats.
6-1854		Report on the Committee on the Olona		translated from Hawaiian, available in BML	Report on olona, appearing in Transactions of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society at its Fourth Annual Meeting in June 1854, pp. 142-144. Authored by S. M. Kamakau, J. Kekaulahao and J. W. F. Maikai.
5-17-1855	KE	He moolelo no ka Moi Kamehameha III			History of Kamehameha III.
9-15-1855	KE	No ka mea ana a me ka moolelo o A. Paki			On death and story of Abner Paki.
9-15-1855	KE	He kanikau no A. Paki			Dirge for Abner Paki.
2-21-1855	KE	Mookuauhau no Kamehameha III			Genealogy of Kamehameha III. Continuation could not be
5-10-1856	TP	Address to the Polynesian		original in English	Calling for removal of the Editor of the Polynesian.
6-10-1857	KHH	Untitled			On fencing of lands at Waihee and Waiehu, Maui.
1860	HH	He mele no ke aloha	Chun		Mele for unnamed Kauai soldier.
1860	HH	He mele koihonua	Chun		Genealogy chant.
1860	HH	He mele koihonua	Chun		Genealogy chant.
1860	HH	He vahi mele	Chun		Mele for "kai;" word play; kinds of seas as well as particular
1860	HH	Untitled	Chun		On Catholic Church finances.
3-21-1860	KHH	He mele i Kilauea			Mele by Kaleipaoa, aikane of Lohiau, submitted by Kamakau. (Printed previously in <i>Nu Hou</i>
3-28-1860	KHH	Ka lua o Kaleipaoa mau mele	Chun		Second mele by Kaleipaoa. (Printed previously in <i>Nu Hou</i> 6-24-1854.) Copy in BMA HI.M.45, p.80: "He Mele na Kaleipaoa Kilauea." See note

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
4-11-1860	KHH	He mele	Chun		Mele for chiefs and their kaai. First of three. BMA HI.M.45, p. 49: "He Mele Kumuhonua." See note with 5-4-1865.
4-18-1860	KHH	He mele			Second mele of three starting on 4-11-1860. BMA HI.M.45, p. 50: "He Mele Kumuhonua." See note with 5-4-1865.
5-2-1860	KHH	He mele			Third mele of three starting on 4-11-1860. BMA HI.M.45, p. 54: "He Mele." See note with 5-
6-1860	OTHK	Aloha oe me ka maikai	Chun	partial typescript and translation: "Greetings to You with Blessings," in Chun 1988, pp. 29-	Halavai 11. First of two parts of support for Catholic Church.
6-1860	OTHK	Aloha oe me ka maikai			Halavai 12. Second of two parts beginning with Halavai 11.
6-1860	OTHK	He mele no ke aloha			Seems to be same as HH 1860
6-1860	OTHK	He mele koihonua			Seems to be generally same as HH 1860, but incomplete.
10-1860	HL	O ke kapekepeke iwaena o na manao elua			P. Kanemahuka says that Kamakau became Catholic just to irritate Alexander and the other <i>hoa hanau</i> .
2-1862	OKHK	He mele no ka Hae-Kiritiano			Mele honoring the newspaper.
5-1862	OKHK	Untitled			Urging people to turn to Catholicism.
7-1862	OKHK	No ke aloha ia kakou e na lahuihavaii			Proselytizing.
1-21-1864	PCA	Andrews' Hawaiian Dictionary		Announcement of forthcoming Andrews dictionary, printed by PCA in 1865. For indepth discussion on development of the Hawaiian dictionary, see Marguerite K. Ashford in <i>Bishop Museum Occasional Papers</i> 27, Feb 1987, pp. 1-24.	"Judge Andrews has carefully revised the work [the dictionary] with aid of S. M. Kamakau, who is probably the best Hawaiian scholar living, and with his help has added over one thousand words." In Preface, "Vocabulary of S. M. Kamakau" acknowledged as a source. Unpublished Hawaiian dictionary is located in BMA, Case 5 La31 is thought to be Kamakau's vocabulary book.
6-25-1864	KNK	He ku auhau no na 'lii kahiko			S. W. B. Kaulainamoku gives genealogy from Haloa and Hinamanouluae.
7-30-1864	KNK	Moolelo kuauhau o ka hanauna o na 'lii mai ka po mai			P. S. Pakele critiques Kaulainamoku of KNK 6-25-1864. He does his own

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
4-20-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I			S. N. Haleole announces that he and two other people will put out a history of Kamehameha I. (Note that Kamakau starts his Moolelo o Kamehameha I on 10-
5-4-1865	KAO	Ka hoonohonoho ana i ka mookuauhau o Kamahemaha, Helu 1	Chun		S. N. Haleole seeks clarity between Kamakau and Unauna. The follow up article could not be found. See other articles by Haleole in KNK of 4-10-1865, 6-1-1865 and 6-15-1865 (latter two translated in BMA). Kamehameha's genealogy, said to be from the genealogy book of Kamakau, which apparently did not survive the fire at his house in 1865; Hl.M.45 at BMA according to Thrum is not ~~Kamakau's genealogy book, but~~
5-22-1865	KAO	Ka mookuauhau, a he papa hoomanao hoi			Historical dates compiled by Rev. A. Forbes, published in the Andrews Dictionary. Supplemented with more dates by Wm. H. Pease. Continued on
5-29-1865	KAO	Ka mookuauhau, a he papa hoomanao hoi			Second part of historical dates compiled by Forbes. First part on 5-22.
5-29-1865	KAO	Hookae i ke kuauhau alii			Kauinui of Hamakualoa, Maui, critiques genealogy in Haleole of KNK 5-4-1865
6-1-1865	KNK	Na manao o S. N. Haleole			Haleole responds to Kauinui of KAO 5-29-1865. Part one of series of articles.
6-12-1865	KAO	Hookae i ke kuauhau alii			Mateo Makauole reponse to Kauinui of KAO 5-29-1865. Admonishment, advising Kauinui to write what he does know of genealogy instead of faulting others.
6-15-1865	KNK	Na manao o S. N. Haleole			Continuation of Haleole of KNK 6-1-1865. Also says that in the following week, he will start a history starting with Oahu, and then on to Molokai and the other islands. There seems to

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
6-15-1865	KNK	No ke kaapuni makaikai i na wahi kaulana a me na kupua, a me na 'lii kahiko mai Hawaii a Niihau; Helu 1	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 2-5 (The Story of Paao). Nearly complete translation of chapters 1-15, "Ancient Hawaiian History," which ran from 6-13-1865 to 10-7-1865 in KNK, is in BMA—HEN: Thrum 246.	This 16 part series runs from 6-15 to 10-7-1865. 100 page manuscript of the Hawaiian text of chapters 1-15, "No ke kaapuni maikai i na wahi kaulana, a me na 'lii kahiko mai Hawaii a Niihau" (A successful journey to famous places and chiefs from Hawaii to Niihau), dated 8-5-1964, and funded by the UH Committee for the Preservation and Study of Hawaiian Language, Art and Culture, is located in
6-22-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 2 (No ke kaapuni makaikai i na wahi kaulana a me na kupua, a me na 'lii kahiko mai Hawaii a Niihau	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 6-9 (Oahu; story of Kuhooneenuu; concerning Kahuoi). Nearly complete translation of chapters 1-15, "Ancient Hawaiian History," which ran from 6-13-1865 to 10-7-1865 in	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
6-26-1865	KAO	Untitled			Comments on and inserts corrections into chronology of events collected by Rev. A. Forbes, and published in KAO of 5-22 and 5-29-1865.
6-29-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 3	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 9-13 (concerning Kahuoi; concerning Kahaai; of Kamehaikana becoming a goddess).	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
7-6-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 4	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 14-18 (obtaining of kapa; kaiana; famous places of Nuuanu; Pu o	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
7-6-1865	KNK	He papa kuhikuhi			Z. Poli's chronology of events, running until 9-16-1865.
7-13-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 5	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 18-22 (Pu o Poiake; story of Kihapu;	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
7-13-1865	KNK	Ke akamai o kekahi poe kanaka i ke			Dealing with astronomy and navigation.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
7-22-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 6	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 23–30 (story of Kapoi; Huanuikalalailai; Puowaina; story of Kaupe; Kawaaokekupua;	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
7-22-1865	KNK	Untitled			Rev. Mr. Holo commenting on religion.
7-29-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 7	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 30–35 (Waolani; story of creation).	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
7-29-1865	KNK	Ka la hoihoi ea	Chun	Typescript and translation, “Restoration Day” in BMA—HEN: Thrum 249	Telling of taking of islands by Paulet, commander of the <i>Carysfort</i> , in February 1843 and the eventual return of the islands on July 31, 1843.
7-31-1865	KAO	He ninau			W. P. K. disagreement with Holo of KNK 7-22-1865.
8-5-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 8	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 35–40 (divisions of the ancient chiefs; Kukaniloko; lao; ranks	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
8-5-1865	KNK	No ke ao hoku	Chun		First of series that continues on 8-12-1865. Deals with traditional navigation.
8-5-1865	KNK	No ke kula holomoku a me ka wehewehe i ke ano	Chun		On modern navigation schools.
8-12-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 9	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Hana a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 129–132 (heiau; heiau of human sacrifice; heiau of the people). <i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp.	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
8-12-1865	KNK	No ke ao hoku	Chun		Second part of series that began on 8-5-1865. Indicates that it is to be continued, but no continuation found. On
8-19-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 10	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 42–48 (chiefly signs; Waikiki; Kalamakua; Keleanuinoano-	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
8-19-1865	KNK	Untitled			Response to W. P. K. of KAO [7-31-1865]. Preceded by commentary by editor. On
8-26-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 11	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 48–54 (Keleanuinoanoapiapi; Laielohelohe; Lo Kaholialale; Mailikukahi).	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
9-2-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 12	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 54–61 (Mailikukahi; Kalanimanuia).	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
9-4-1865	KAO	He hana naauao me ke akamai, ka ninau me ka hooponopono iho i na wahi			Reply to Z. Poli's chronology of events of KNK 7-6 to 9-16-1865.
9-9-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 13	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 61–67 (Kaihipapuanuia).	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
9-9-1865	KNK	Ahahui imi i na mea kahiki o Hawaii nei	Chun	Typescript and holograph translation, "Hawaiian Historical Society" in BMA—HEN:	Discussion of the first Hawaiian Historical Society formed in 1841.
9-11-1865	KAO	Untitled			Response to Kaulainamoku's genealogy of KNK 6-25-1864.
9-11-1865	KAO	Untitled			WPK response to Kamakau's critique of Z. Poli in KAO 9-4-
9-16-1865	KNK	Makuahine keiki nui	Chun		
9-16-1865	KNK	Untitled		Typescript and translation in BMA—HEN: Thrum 254	J. Palapalapoi questions S. H. P. Kalawaiaopuna on various historical points.
9-23-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 13 [14]	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 67–72 (Kaihipapuanuia; Kakuhihewa; Maui genealogies).	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
9-23-1865	KNK	No ka pepehi ana o ke alii i ke keiki a ke kahuna	Chun	Typescript and translation, "On the killing of a priest's child by the king," in BMA—HEN: Thrum 255	
9-25-1865	KAO	Untitled			Z. Poli's two-part response (continuing on 10-2) to Kamakau's critique in KAO 9-4-
9-25-1865	KAO	Olelo pane ia S. M. Kamakau			S. W. B. Kaulainamoku's response to Kamakau critique of KAO 9-11-1865.
9-30-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 14 [15]	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 72–79 (Maui genealogies; Nanaulu genealogy).	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
10-7-1865	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii nei; Helu 15 [16]	Chun, Thrum	<i>Na Moolelo a ka Poe Kahiko</i> , pp. 79–81 (Nanaulu genealogy).	See notes with 6-15-1865 entry.
10-7-1865	KNK	Na mea kaulana o ka wa kahiko i hala aku	Chun		
10-7-1865	KNK	Mea hanohano i na moi ka hookupu o na makaainana	Chun	Typescript and translation, "Honoring the kings, the tribute of the people," in Chun 1988, pp. 39–43.	On tribute paid to chiefs.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
10-9-1865	KAO	Kanalua i ka moolelo Hawaii			J. K. Unauna, opio critique of Kamakau's moolelo.
10-14-1865	KNK	Lononuiakea, Lonoikaoualii, a me Lonoikamakahiki	Chun	Typescript and translation, "Story of the three Lonos," in BMA—HEN: Thrum 257.	Response to legends recently told in the newspapers of the time. Gives genealogy of the three Lono figures.
10-16-1865	KAO	Hooheihēi ka nukahalale			Critique of Poli's chronology of KAO (9-25 and) 10-2-1865.
10-23-1865	KAO	Ka hakuī me ka hauoli			Says he will not respond to childish questions.
10-23-1865	KAO	He kahiko oe no Peleioholani			On man still living, born in time of Peleioholani...
10-28-1865	KNK	Kumumanao; he mea maikai loa ka imi ana i na mea i haule a nalowale o na mea kahiko o Hawaii nei	Chun	Typescript and translation, "Thought source," in BMA—HEN: Thrum 254 and 258.	Reply to Palapalapoī of KNK 9-16-1865. It is here that we learn that all of Kamakau's papers were lost in a fire at his house in Waihee, Maui around
11-6-1865	KAO	No ka hoakea ana a me ka hoomolaelae ana, e pau ai ka pohihihi o ka			Response to J. K. Unauna's critique in KAO 10-9-1865. Says Malo's moolelo appearing in Pogue is not reliable.
11-18-1865	KNK	He puu kaulana o Kauwīki ma Maui Hikina	Chun	Typescript of English translation, "The famous hill of Kauwīki at East Maui" in BMA—HEN: Thrum 45. Typescript and translation, "Kauwīki is a famous hill in East	Description of Kauiki and its history.
12-4-1865	KAO	Untitled			Response to Unauna article. Also mentions helu 27 of Hoomana kahiko (J. Waiamau of 11-11-1865).
12-4-1865	KAO	Makee i ke kupa alii			J. K. Unauna response to Kamakau of KAO 10-23 and 11-
12-9-1865	KNK	He moolelo no Waipio i Hawaii a me kekahi mau alii i noho aupuni	Chun	Typescript of English translation, "Legends of Waipio in Hawaii" in BMA—HEN: Thrum 691–96. Typescript and translation, "History of Waipio, Hawaii," in BMA—HEN: Thrum 264. Typescript and translation, "Story of Waipio at Hawaii," in Chun 1988 pp. 56–64	Description of Waipio Valley and its history.
12-11-1865	KAO	Makee i ke kupa alii			J. K. Unauna response to Kamakau article of KE 5-17-
12-25-1865	KAO	Untitled			First of two articles (part two on 1-1-1866), responding to J. K. Unauna of KAO 12-4-1865.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
1-1-1866	KAO	Untitled			Second part of two articles starting on 12-25-1865.
1-29-1866	KAO	Ka lama-ku e pau ai ka hualu o S. M. Kamakau			J. K. Unauna two part (following in KAO 2-5) response to Kamakau of KAO 12-4-1865.
2-5-1866	KAO	Ka lama-ku e pau ai ka hualu o S. M. Kamakau			J. K. Unauna two part (previous in KAO 1-29) response to Kamakau of KAO 12-4-1865.
3-31-1866	PCA	Untitled			Short description on the ailing Kamakau. "In ancient traditional knowledge, of the Hawaiians, the late David Malo alone
4-3-1866	KAO	He aloha! He aloha!! He aloha!!!			Response to Unauna. First part of two (followed by KAO 4-10).
4-10-1866	KAO	Untitled			Second part of two, responding to Unauna. Previous article in KAO 4-3.
5-28-1866	KAO	Ua ola au, ua makai kuu noho			J. K. Unauna three part response to Kamakau (KAO 4-3 and 4-10-1866). Followed by KAO 6-18 and 6-25.
6-2-1866	KNK	No ka minamina i ka moolelo Hawaii no ka nalowale	Chun	Typescript of English translation, "Because of the regret of the loss of Hawaiian Folklore" in BMA—HEN: Newsp 6-2-1866.	Lists people still alive at the time that know history. Seems that there is no ending to this article.
6-18-1866	KAO	Ua ola au, ua makai kuu noho			J. K. Unauna response to Kamakau, part two of three. Previous on 5-28, and following
6-25-1866	KAO	Ua ola au, ua makai kuu noho			J. K. Unauna response to Kamakau, part three of three. Previous on 5-28 and 6-18.
7-23-1866	KAO	O J. Koi, kau i Kapua	Chun	Partial typescript and translation, "O J. Koi, kau i ka pua," in McKinzie, Vol. 2, pp. 52-6.	Three part response to Unauna (KAO 5-28, 6-18 and 6-25-1866). Followed by 7-30 and 8-6.
7-30-1866	KAO	O J. Koi, kau i Kapua	Chun		Second of three part response to Unauna. Preceded by 7-23 and followed by 8-6.
8-6-1866	KAO	O J. Koi, kau i Kapua	Chun		Third of three part response to Unauna. Preceded by 7-23 and 7-30.
8-11-1866	KNK	La hoihoi ea	Chun		Discusses taking of islands by Paulet, commander of the <i>Carysfort</i> in February 1843 and the return on July 31, 1843.
8-13-1866	KAO	Untitled			J. Kauimanoa chastising Kamakau and Unauna. They should not publicize
8-20-1866	KAO	Untitled			J. Kauimanoa response to Kamakau of KAO 7-30-1866.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
8-25-1866	KNK	Untitled	Chun, Thrum		
10-20-1866	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; [Helu 1]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 66-69 (Chp VI: Hawaii under Alapainui).	Thrum's title: "Relates the time and birth of Kamehameha; of reign of Kekaulike"
10-27-1866	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; [Helu 2]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 69-72 (Chp VI: Hawaii under Alapainui).	Thrum's title: "Movements of Alapai and Peleioholani"
11-3-1866	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; [Helu 3]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 72-74 (Chp VI: Hawaii under Alapainui).	Thrum's title: "Alapai and Peleioholani meet; Alapai returns to Hawaii"
11-10-1866	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 4	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 74-78 (Chp VI: Hawaii under Alapainui).	Thrum's title: "Relates to Alapai's movements on Hawaii"
12-1-1866	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 5	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 78-82 (Chp VII: Hawaii under Kalaniopuu's	Thrum's title: "Relates to the time of Kalaniopuu of Hawaii"
12-1-1866	KNK	Untitled	Chun		
12-8-1866	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 5 [6]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 82-85 (Chp VII: Hawaii under Kalaniopuu's	Thrum's title: "Contests of Kahekili, Keeaumoku, and Kalaniopuu"
12-15-1866	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 6 [7]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 85-89 (Chp VII: Hawaii under Kalaniopuu's time). Partial typescript of English translation, "Notes on tattooing" in BMA—HEN: vol. 1, pp.	Thrum's title: "Movements of Kalaniopuu and Kahekili"
12-22-1866	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 7 [8]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 89-91 (Chp VII: Hawaii under Kalaniopuu's time). <i>Na moolelo a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 90-97 (The lands of Kahiki; Some travelers to	Thrum's title: "Kalaniopuu cont'd; Advent of foreigners"
12-29-1866	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 8 [9]	Thrum	<i>Na moolelo a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 97-100 (The story of Paao).	Thrum's title: "Traditional accounts of Paao and other voyagers"
1-5-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 9 [10]	Thrum	<i>Na moolelo a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 100-106 (The story of Paao; Ancient chiefs of Hawaii nei; More travelers).	Thrum's title: "Introduction of priest and rulers from Kahiki; First heiaus constructed—Wahaula and Mookini." Beginning in 1867, Kamakau appears as an official part of the newspaper staff; he is listed as "Poe haku manao no
1-5-1867	KNK	He wahi manao paipai	Chun		Encourages readership of his history. Asks for contributions by experts.
1-12-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 10 [11]	Thrum	<i>Na moolelo a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 106-112 (More travelers; The coming of the gods).	Thrum's title: "Advent of Laamaikahiki and others; Advent of the gods (images)."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
1-19-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 11 [12]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 92-94 (Chp VIII: Captain Cook's visit to Hawaii). <i>Na moolelo a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 113-118 (Na haole: Kualii;	Thrum's title: "Traditional accounts of prior visitors and arrival of Captain Cook at Kauai."
1-19-1867	KNK	Nu hou o na mea kahiko	Chun	Typescript and translation, "New light on things ancient" in BMA—HEN; Thrum 57.	Comparison of Hawaiian and Maori words and place names.
1-21-1867	KAO	Untitled			Mathew, on the dwindling number of the Hawaiian race.
1-26-1867	KNK	Untitled		Typescript of English translation, "Lament for loss of records" in BMA—HEN; Nwsp KNK 1-26-1867.	View of himself and his role in the clarification of Hawaiian antiquities. Tells of the condensing of his history by the editors.
1-26-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 12 [13]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 94-98 (Chp VIII: Captain Cook's visit to Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Relates to Captain Cook's visit at Kauai and at Maui."
2-2-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 13 [14]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 98-102 (Chp VIII: Captain Cook's visit to Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Cook's arrival at Hawaii."
2-2-1867	KNK	Untitled	Chun		Comparison of Hawaiian and Tahitian place names...
2-9-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 14 [15]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 102-103 (Chp VIII: Captain Cook's visit to Hawaii); pp. 105-107 (Events of Kalaniopuu's time).	Thrum's title: "Death of Captain Cook and departure of ships; Kalaniopu reign."
2-16-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 15 [16]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 103-105 (Chp VIII: Captain Cook's visit to Hawaii); pp. 107-111 (Events of Kalaniopuu's time).	Thrum's title: "Kalaniopuu and summary of his principal deeds; Kamehameha sacrificed Imakakoloa at heiau, Pakini."
2-16-1867	KNK	No ke Kuokoa			Luna Auhau comments that the name of Kamakaus history should be more inclusive. It is not only the history of
2-23-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 16 [17]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 92-94 (Chp VIII: Captain Cook's visit to Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Celebrities i time of Kalaniopuu; Kahekili of Maui."
3-2-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 17 [18]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 117-121 (Chp X: Kamehameha wins half Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Conflict between Kiwalao and Kamehameha in Kona."
3-9-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 18 [19]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 121-126 (Chp X: Kamehameha wins half Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Kamehameha moi of Hawaii; The times of Kamehameha; His relatives."
3-9-1867	KNK	No William Hoapili Kaauwai ma	Chun		On lineage of William Hoapili Kaauwai of New Zealand

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
3-16-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 19 [20]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 126-131 (Chp X: Kamehameha wins half Hawaii; Chp XI: Kahahana loses Oahu).	Thrum's title: "History of Kahahana of Oahu."
3-16-1867	KNK	Untitled	Chun		On his publication of genealogies for all to see...
3-18-1867	KAO	S. M. Kamakau			J. Kaimiloa response to Helu 16 (KNK 2-23-1867). Disagrees with Kamakau's assesment of
3-23-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 20 [21]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 131-135 (Chp XI: Kahahana Loses Oahu). Typescript of partial English translation, "Notes on tattoing" in BMA—HEN: vol. 1, pp.	Thrum's title: "History of Kahahana continued."
3-30-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 21 [22]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 135-138 (Chp XI: Kahahana loses Oahu).	Thrum's title: "Conflict between Kahahana and Kahekili; Oahu conquered 1772-1773."
4-6-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 22 [23]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 138-143 (Chp XI: Kahahana loses Oahu; Chp XII: Kamehameha wins all Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Transactions on Oahu; Rebellion on Maui."
4-6-1867	KNK	Ia loane Kaimiloa	Chun		Response to Kaimiloa of KAO 3-18-1867. Uses Malo, Dibble, and Pogue as support.
4-13-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 23 [24]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 147-151 (Chp XII: Kamehameha wins all Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Maui incidents; Foreteller of Kamehameha as sole moi; Battle of Keoua."
4-20-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 24 [25]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 143-147, 151 (Chp XII: Kamehameha wins all Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Kamehameha pursues Keoua; Foreigners after Cook; the Eleanor-Olowalu tragedy."
4-27-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 24 [26]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 151-153 (Chp XII: Kamehameha wins all Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "John Young and Isaac Davis; Sloop captured; Kamehameha wars against Maui."
5-4-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 25 [27]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 153-157 (Chp XII: Kamehameha wins all Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Heiau at Kawaihae built; Plans to overcome Keoua."
5-11-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 26 [28]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 157-162 (Chp XII: Kamehameha wins all Hawaii; Chp XIII: Last days of Kahekili).	Thrum's title: "Death of Keoua; Kamehameha wars against kings of Maui and Kauai."
5-18-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 27 [29]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 162-164 (Chp XIII: Last days of Kahekili).	Thrum's title: "Arrival of Vancouver, 1792."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
5-25-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 28 [30]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 165-168 (Chp XIII: Last days of Kahekili).	Thrum's title: "Vancouver continued; Kaeokulani succeeds Kahekili of Maui, 1793."
6-1-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 29 [31]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 168-171 (Chp XIV: Kamehameha's conquest of Maui and Oahu).	Thrum's title: "Kaeokulani starts for Kauai; Returns and battles at Ewa; Murder of Captain Brown; <i>Jackall</i> and <i>Prince Leeboo</i> sail for Hawaii."
6-8-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 30 [32]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 171-173 (Chp XIV: Kamehameha's conquest of Maui and Oahu).	Thrum's title: "War between Kamehameha and Kalanikupule, 1795, and Namakeha, 1796."
6-15-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 31 [33]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 173-179 (Chp XIV: Kamehameha's conquest of Maui and Oahu; Chp XV: <i>Reminiscences of</i>	Thrum's title: "Namakeha's rebellion; Times of Kamehameha, 1797-1811; Battle of Nuuanu—Oahu conquered; Kamehameha returns to Hawaii; Various
7-6-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 32 [34]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 179-182 (Chp XV: <i>Reminiscences of</i> Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Kamehameha erecting heiaus; Various idols and their powers; Kamehameha a devout worshiper; A considerate king; Marks the place of sedition plotters."
7-13-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 33 [35]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 182-185 (Chp XV: <i>Reminiscences of</i> Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Kamehameha adjusting affairs on Hawaii; John Young governor; Lava flows to Kiholo."
7-20-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 34 [36]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 185-189 (Chp XV: <i>Reminiscences of</i> Kamehameha; Chp XVI: The peaceful transfer of Kauai to Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Kamehameha sends for the prophet of Pele to stay the flow; Peleleu fleet begun; Liholiho at age of five empowered to consecrate heiaus; Peleleu fleet sails to Lahaina and Oahu; Royal family a year on Oahu when the okuu scourge decimates his army
7-27-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 35 [37]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 189-192 (Chp XVI: The peaceful transfer of Kauai to Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Death of Keeaumoku; Kamehameha resides on Oahu; Revenues of Hawaii and Maui sent him; Ancient criminal laws."
7-27-1867	KNK	Untitled		Typescript of text and translation, "Relative to Kamehameha" in BMA—HEN; Thrum 61	Deals with different aspects of life of Kamehameha, and calls into question Pogue's historical facts surrounding place of Kamehameha's birth.
7-27-1867	KNK	Na S. M. Kamakau, Esq.	Chun		He talks of going to the newspapers to do the history of Kamehameha, but they show no interest...

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
8-3-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 35 [38]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 192-194 (Chp XVI: The peaceful transfer of Kauai to Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Kamehameha encourages industry; Introduction of rum, 1791; Kanihonui put to death; Kamehameha gives up plan to
8-3-1867	KNK	Untitled	Chun		Reply to Mose Nahora of California, dated 5-20-1867
8-3-1867	KNK	He mea kulanaha ka aikanaka ana o ka			
8-10-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 36 [39]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 194-197 (Chp XVI: The peaceful transfer of Kauai to Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Kamehameha invites Kaumualii to Oahu; Kaumualii cedes Kauai to Kamehameha."
8-10-1867	KNK	Untitled	Chun		Dialogue between Kahuake of Oahu and Pukeke of Hawaii.
8-17-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 37 [40]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 197-201 (Chp XVI: The peaceful transfer of Kauai to Kamehameha; Chp XVII: Death of	Thrum's title: "Return of Kamehameha to Hawaii; Ancient religion and kinds of heiaus."
8-24-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 38 [41]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 201-205 (Chp XVII: Death of Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Idolatry; Sandalwood; Kamehameha's cultivation."
8-31-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 39 [42]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 205-208 (Chp XVII: Death of Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Attempt well digging at kalae; Russians arrive; Death of Kaoleioku; Erection of fort at Honolulu."
8-31-1867	KNK	He iwi haiao Hawaii	Chun		Asks for historical information, for the good of the nation.
9-7-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 40 [43]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 208-209 (Chp XVII: Death of Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Heirs of Kamehameha; his admonitions."
9-14-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 41 [44]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 209-212 (Chp XVII: Death of Kamehameha).	Thrum's title: "Death of Kamehameha at Kailua, Hawaii, 1819."
9-21-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 42 [45]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 212-214 (Chp XVII: Death of Kamehameha). pp. 219-220 (Chp XVIII: Abolition of the Tabus	Thrum's title: "Succeeded by Liholiho as Kamehameha II."
9-28-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 43 [46]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 214-216 (Chp XVII: Death of Kamehameha). pp. 220-222 (Chp XVIII: Abolition of the Tabus	Thrum's title: "Liholiho and chiefs of his time; Obsequies of Kamehameha I."
10-5-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 44 [47]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 216-218 (Chp XVII: Death of Kamehameha). pp. 222-223 (Chp XVIII: Abolition of the Tabus	Thrum's title: "Reign of Liholiho; Overthrow of the kapus."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
10-5-1867	KNK	No ka papa alii Hawaii	Chun	Typescript of translation, "The hereditary chiefs of Hawaii" in BMA—HEN:	On chiefly lines.
10-12-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o Kamehameha I; Helu 45 [48]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 223-224 (Chp XVIII: Abolition of the Tabus	Thrum's title: "Reign of Liholiho; Overthrow of the kapus, cont'd."
10-26-1867	KNK	Untitled			Lahui Hawaii response to article by Kamakau on chiefly lines of KNK 10-5-1867.
11-2-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 46 [49]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 225-227 (Chp XVIII: Abolition of the Tabus under Liholiho).	Overall title of series changes with this number. Thrum's title: "Proceedings following overthrow of the kapus."
11-2-1867	KNK	He wahine i hanu i na keiki 7	Chun		Concerning multiple birth of children to woman in Waihee,
11-2-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na alii			J. H. K. Punimooelo response to Kamakau's article on chiefly lines of KNK 10-5-1867.
11-9-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 47 [50]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 227-229 (Chp XVIII: Abolition of the Tabus	Thrum's title: "Battle of Kuamoo; Conditions prior to advent of missionaries."
11-9-1867	KNK	Untitled	Chun		Response to Lahui Hawaii of KNK 10-26-1867, and to Punimooelo of KNK 11-9-1867.
11-16-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 47 [51]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 229-231 (Chp XIX: Hawaii before foreign innovations).	Thrum's title: "Conditions, etc., cont'd; Genealogy of chiefs."
11-23-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 48 [52]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 231-233 (Chp XIX: Hawaii before foreign innovations).	Thrum's title: "Conditions, etc., cont'd—under the kapu system."
11-23-1867	KNK	He waiwai nui makamae	Chun		Response to letter from Levi Kalani of California, which follows the article.
11-30-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 49 [53]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 233-236 (Chp XIX: Hawaii before foreign innovations).	Thrum's title: "Treatment of prisoners of war; Decrease of population—causes of."
11-30-1867	KNK	Sila! Sila!! Sila!!!	Chun		On land issues.
12-7-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 50 [54]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 236-237 (Chp XIX: Hawaii before foreign innovations).	Thrum's title: "Population on arrival of foreigners and missionaries."
12-14-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 51 [55]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 237-239 (Chp XIX: Hawaii before foreign innovations).	Thrum's title: "Conditions and employment of the people under Kamehameha."
12-21-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 52 [56]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 239-242 (Chp XIX: Hawaii before foreign innovations).	Thrum's title: "Conditions and employment of the people under Kamehameha."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
12-28-1867	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 53 [57]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 242-244 (Chp XIX: Hawaii before foreign innovations).	Thrum's title: "Sundry professions; Hale Nauwa."
1-4-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 54 [58]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 244-246 (Chp XIX: Hawaii before foreign innovations).	Thrum's title: "Remarks on changing conditions."
1-11-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 55 [59]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 246-248 (Chp XX: Rule and Death of Liholiho).	Thrum's title: "Liholiho consents to residence of missionaries; John Reves."
1-18-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 56 [60]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 248-249 (Chp XX: Rule and Death of Liholiho).	Thrum's title: "The people accept Christianity; Schools established; Printing."
1-25-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 57 [61]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 249-251 (Chp XX: Rule and Death of Liholiho).	Thrum's title: "Proceedings under Kamehameha II."
2-1-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 58 [62]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 251-253 (Chp XX: Rule and Death of Liholiho).	Thrum's title: "The king's dissipations; He tours Oahu and visits Kauai."
2-8-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 59 [63]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 253-255 (Chp XX: Rule and Death of Liholiho).	Thrum's title: "Kaahumanu returns from Kauai with Kaumualii; Keeaumoku's death."
2-15-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; 60 [64]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 255-257 (Chp XX: Rule and Death of Liholiho).	Thrum's title: "Liholiho and party sail for England; Death of the king and queen."
2-15-1868	KNK	He mau mea i hoohalahala ia no na mea iloko o na kaao Hawaii	Chun		Criticism of the content of Hawaiian legends being printed in the newspapers.
2-22-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 61 [65]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 257-259 (Chp XX: Rule and Death of Liholiho).	Thrum's title: "Return of royal remains; Regency of Kauikeaouli; His genealogy."
2-29-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 62 [66]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 259 (Chp XXI: The childhood of Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III).	Thrum's title: "Genealogy of chiefs, etc., cont'd; Plan to exchange Keopuolani in childhood failed."
2-29-1868	KNK	He mau wahi ninau ia S. M. Kamakau			S. B. Hoa'loha asks for clarification from Kamakau of his history, "i mea hoi e kekee ole ai imua o ka poe o ka hanauna hou e ku mai ana."
3-7-1868	KNK	He mau kuluhio ia S. B. Hoaaloha			Response to critique by S. B. Hoaaloha of KNK 2-29-1868.
3-14-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 63 [67]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 259-261 (Chp XXI: The childhood of Kauikeaouli,	Thrum's title: "History of Keopuolani; Her husband and children."
3-21-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 64 [68]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 261-266 (Chp XXI: The childhood of Kauikeaouli,	Thrum's title: "History of Keopuolani cont'd; Her death."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
3-21-1868	KNK	Untitled	Chun		Says that Lorrin Andrews told him that the history of Hawaii should be translated into English... He asked KNK for a column to fill with mele kahiko.
3-28-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 65 [69]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 263-264 (Chp XXI: The childhood of Kauikeaouli,	Thrum's title: "Keopuolani; Birth and early years of Kauikeaouli."
3-28-1868	KNK	He mele no Kaumualii			Begins a series of chants collected by Kamakau which ran weekly until 11-7-1868. This is first of two part mele for Kaumualii by Kumuhelei.
4-4-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 66 [70]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 264-266 (Chp XXI: The childhood of Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III). Partial translation in notes on "tatooing" in	Thrum's title: "His youth; Death of Kaumualii; Kauai rebellion."
4-4-1868	KNK	He mele no Kaumualii			Second of two part mele for Kaumualii submitted by Kamakau. First part in KNK 3-
4-11-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 67 [71]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 263-264 (Chp XXI: The childhood of Kauikeaouli,	Thrum's title: "Eclipse noted; Progress of Kauai war."
4-11-1868	KNK	He mele no Kualii			First of seven part mele by Kumahukia and Kaiwiokaekaha for Kualii...
4-18-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 68 [72]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 263-264 (Chp XXI: The childhood of Kauikeaouli,	Thrum's title: "Rebellion ends; Arrival of the <i>Blonde</i> with bodies of the king and queen."
4-18-1868	KNK	He mele no Kualii			Second of seven part mele starting on 4-11.
4-25-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 69 [73]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 270-271 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Kauikeaouli becomes Kamehameha III; Schools established."
4-25-1868	KNK	He mele no Kualii			Third of seven part mele starting on 4-11.
5-2-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 70 [74]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 271-273 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Rulers accept Christianity; Course of government under
5-2-1868	KNK	He mele no Kualii			Fourth of seven part mele starting on 4-11.
5-9-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 71 [75]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 273-275 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Boki as Kuhina nui; Serious epidemic and death of many chiefs."
5-9-1868	KNK	He mele no Kualii	Chun		Fifth of seven part mele starting on 4-11.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
5-16-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 72 [76]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 275-280 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Revolt of Boki; He runs into debt and opens grog shops."
5-16-1868	KNK	He mele no Kualii	Chun		Sixth of seven part mele starting on 4-11.
5-23-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 72 [77]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 275-280 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Kamehameha III directs sandalwood gathering at Waialua; Kinau and Kekuanaoa married; New royal house."
5-23-1868	KNK	He mele no Kualii	Chun		Seventh of seven part mele starting on 4-11.
5-30-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 73 [78]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 280-281 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Attack on Mr. Richards by Captain Black at Lahaina."
5-30-1868	KNK	He mele kanikau no Walia Kahahana			First of three part dirge by Kulawela for the chief, Walia Kahahana. See note with 3-28-
6-6-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 74 [79]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 281-283 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Kaahumanu, David Malo and chiefs defend Richards."
6-6-1868	KNK	He mele kanikau no Walia Kahahana			Second of three part dirge by Kulawela for the chief, Walia Kahahana.
6-13-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 75 [80]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 283-286 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "The king visits Hawaii; Government and Boki debt troubles; Kaahumanu visits Hawaii, 1828."
6-13-1868	KNK	He mele kanikau no Walia Kahahana			Third of three part dirge by Kulawela for the chief, Walia Kahahana.
6-20-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 76 [81]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 286-288 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Kaahumanu annuls French's Kewalo land transaction; Boki's advice to Kamehameha III respecting Nahienaena; He threatens Kaahumanu with the aid of
6-20-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Ahukai Kauukualii			First of two part genealogy chant by Kahekiliwahine and Kailinaoa for Ahukai Kuukualii. See note with 3-28-1868
6-27-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 77 [82]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 288-291 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Boki gathers his forces at Waikiki; Kekuanaoa alone dissuades Boki in his
6-27-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Ahukai Kauukualii			Second of two part genealogy chant by Kahekiliwahine and Kailinaoa for Ahukai Kuukualii.
7-4-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 78 [83]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 291-293 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Street work in Honolulu begun; Arrival of Vincennes; Chiefs concentrated; Regal procession to service at Kawaiahao."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
7-4-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kalua i Konahale Kuakini			First of six part genealogy chant by Kukupuohi and other chiefs for Kaluaikonahale Kuakini. See note with 3-28-
7-11-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 79 [84]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 293–294 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Boki plans for his sandalwood expedition."
7-11-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kalua i Konahale Kuakini			Second of six part genealogy chant by Kukupuohi and other chiefs for Kaluaikonahale
7-16-1868	KAO				R. Kapihe to Kamakau.
7-18-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 80 [85]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 294–296 (The career of Boki).	Thrum's title: "Attempts to dissuade him fruitless."
7-18-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kalua i Konahale Kuakini			Third of six part genealogy chant by Kukupuohi and other chiefs for Kaluaikonahale
7-23-1868	KAO	He papa hulikoa; he alukakea			Response to Kapihe of KAO 7-16-1868, concerning birth of Kaoleioku.
7-25-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 81 [86]		<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 297–298 (Kuini Liliha, 1830–1831).	Thrum's title: "Liliha appointed to Boki's position; Paki-Kaahumanu dispute."
7-25-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kalua i Konahale Kuakini			Fourth of six part genealogy chant by Kukupuohi and other chiefs for Kaluaikonahale
8-1-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 82 [87]		<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 298–300 (Kuini Liliha 1830–1831).	Thrum's title: "Liliha revolts at Kaahumanu's acts and laws."
8-1-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kalua i Konahale Kuakini			Fifth of six part genealogy chant by Kukupuohi and other chiefs for Kaluaikonahale
8-8-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 83 [88]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 301–302 (Kuini Liliha 1830–1831).	Thrum's title: "Liliha after much persuasion submits to rightful authority."
8-8-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kalua i Konahale Kuakini			Sixth of six part genealogy chant by Kukupuohi and other chiefs for Kaluaikonahale
8-8-1868	KNK	O ke ano o kekahi mau mea o ka lahui Hawaii	Chun	Partial translation in notes on, "Tattooing" in BMA—HEN: vol. 1, pp. 1289–91. Translation, "Some of the practices of the Hawaiians" in BMA—HEN: vol. 1, pp.	On the nature of Hawaiians in ancient times as well as in his own time.
8-8-1868	KNK	Palapala mai ka Haku Moolelo o Hawaii nei	Chun		Talks of his history, and how it is difficult to do without help.
8-15-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 84 [89]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 302–304 (Kuini Liliha 1830–1831).	Thrum's title: "Chief Ulumaheiehi arrives; Liliha dispossessed of all power."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
8-15-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kekauluohi			First of seven part genealogy chant by Keaweahelu Kalanimamahu and other chiefs for Kekauluohi. See note with 3-
8-22-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 85 [90]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 304–306 (Kuini Liliha 1830–1831).	Thrum's title: "Sundry changes; Kaahumanu visits Maui, urging attention to instruction."
8-22-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kekauluohi			Second of seven part genealogy chant by Keaweahelu Kalanimamahu and other chiefs for Kekauluohi.
8-26-1868	HG	Hawaiian history by Hawaiians			Mentions Lorrin Andrews translating mele assisted by Kamakau. Talks about the commencement of the translation of Kamakau's <u>history of Kamehameha taken</u>
8-26-1868	HG	History of the Kamehamehas; Translated from the Hawaiian of S. M. Kamakau			First of five installments of "unauthorized" English translation of Kamakau's history.
8-29-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 86 [91]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 306–308 (Hawaii under Kaahumanu).	Thrum's title: "Return of Kaahumanu; Her death at Manoa, aged 64."
8-29-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kekauluohi			Third of seven part genealogy chant by Keaweahelu Kalanimamahu and other chiefs for Kekauluohi.
9-2-1868	HG	History of the Kamehamehas; Chp II			Second of five installments of "unauthorized" English translation of Kamakau's
9-2-1868	HG	History of Kamehameha			A Hawaiian writes, criticizing Kamakau's facts. "This is evident by the controversy lately entered into by the native newspapers." He is not in the class of the "kuauhaus, such as Kepookulou, David Malo, Auwae, Kaoo, Unauna.
9-5-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 87 [92]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 308–310 (Hawaii under Kaahumanu).	Thrum's title: "Life of Kaahumanu; Her high rank."
9-5-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kekauluohi			Fourth of seven part genealogy chant by Keaweahelu Kalanimamahu and other chiefs for Kekauluohi.
9-9-1868	HG	History of the Kamehamehas; Chp III			Third of five installments of "unauthorized" English translation of Kamakau's
9-12-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 88 [93]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 311–312 (Hawaii under Kaahumanu).	

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
9-12-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kekauluohi			Fifth of seven part genealogy chant by Keaweahelu Kalanimamahu and other chiefs
9-12-1868	KNK	Palapala mai a S. M. Kamakau mai		Translation, "Reply from S. M. Kamakau" in BMA—HEN: vol. 1, pp. 3067–69.	Reply to a critique from "A Hawaiian," whom he presumes to be R. Kapihe of HG 9-2-1868.
9-16-1868	HG	History of the Kamehamehas; Chp IV			Fourth of five installments of "unauthorized" English translation of Kamakau's
9-19-1868	PCA	Letter from Mr. Kamakau			Reply to a critique from "A Hawaiian," whom he presumes to be R. Kapihe of HG 9-2-1868. Similar to his response in KNK 9-12.
9-19-1868	PCA				States that Kamakau wrote his history with the intent that it would be translated by Andrews, and that the HG was translating it without
9-19-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 89 [94]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 312–314 (Hawaii under Kaahumanu).	Thrum's title: "Life of Kaahumanu cnt'd."
9-19-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kekauluohi			Sixth of seven part genealogy chant by Keaweahelu Kalanimamahu and other chiefs
9-23-1868	HG	History of the Kamehamehas; Chp IV [V]			Last of five installments of "unauthorized" English translation of Kamakau's
9-23-1868	HG	Copyright			Translator of History of the Kamehameha responds to plagiarism claims in PCA 9-19, saying that he did in fact ask Kamakau for permission, and that he gave it whole-heartedly.
9-26-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 90 [95]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 314–318 (Hawaii under Kaahumanu).	Thrum's title: "Life of Kaahumanu cnt'd."
9-26-1868	KNK	He mele koihonua no Kekauluohi			Last of seven part genealogy chant by Keaweahelu Kalanimamahu and other chiefs
10-1-1868	KAO				R. Kapihe to Kamakau.
10-3-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 91 [95]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 318–319 (Hawaii under Kaahumanu).	Thrum's title: "Life of Kaahumanu cnt'd; Views of Kauikeaouli."
10-3-1868	KNK	He mau mele koihonua a me na mele no kauilanuimakehaikalani			First of six part genealogy chant by S. M. Kamakau for Kauilanuimakehaikalani Kamaialii. See note with 3-28-
10-8-1868	KAO	Ka moolelo a S. M. Kamakau			A. L. response to article in PCA 9-19-1868. Says that translation of Kamakau in HG is

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
10-8-1868	KAO	Pane ia Hapaimemeue, S. M. Kamakau			Kapihe critique of Kamakau's article of KNK 9-12. He asks where the history done by the Historical Society is.
10-8-1868	KAO	He pili no			Kapihe response to Kamakau of HG 9-2. He corrects Kamakau's genealogy.
10-10-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 92 [97]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 320-321 (Hawaii under Kaahumanu).	Thrum's title: "Views of Nahienaena and Kalanimoku."
10-10-1868	KNK	He mau mele koihonua a me na mele no kauilanuimakehaikala			Second of six part genealogy chant by S. M. Kamakau for Kauilanuimakehaikalani Kamaialii.
10-17-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 93 [98]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 321-323 (Hawaii under Kaahumanu).	Thrum's title: "Views of Kaahumanu."
10-17-1868	KNK	He mau mele koihonua a me na mele no kauilanuimakehaikala			Third of six part genealogy chant by S. M. Kamakau for Kauilanuimakehaikalani Kamaialii.
10-17-1868	KNK	Na olelo pane a S. M. Kamakau	Chun, Thrum		First of three part attack of his critics, namely Kapihe.
10-24-1868	KNK	Ka moolelo o na Kamehameha; Helu 94 [99]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 324-326 (Roman Catholicism in Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Arrival of Roman Catholics."
10-24-1868	KNK	Na olelo pane a S. M. Kamakau	Chun, Thrum		Second of three part attack of his critics, namely Kapihe.
10-24-1868	KNK	He mau mele koihonua a me na mele no kauilanuimakehaikala			Fourth of six part genealogy chant by S. M. Kamakau for Kauilanuimakehaikalani Kamaialii.
10-31-1868	KNK	Na olelo pane a S. M. Kamakau	Chun, Thrum		Third of three part attack of his critics, namely Kapihe.
10-31-1868	KNK	He mau mele koihonua a me na mele no kauilanuimakehaikala			Fifth of six part genealogy chant by S. M. Kamakau for Kauilanuimakehaikalani Kamaialii.
11-7-1868	KNK	He mau mele koihonua a me na mele no kauilanuimakehaikala			Last of six part genealogy chant by S. M. Kamakau for Kauilanuimakehaikalani Kamaialii.
11-12-1868	KAO	No na hanene, me na haualoao	Chun		First of two part on uprising at South Kona and characters responsible.
12-10-1868	KAO	He olelo pane ia S. M. Kamakau			Konakaiopua's response to Kamakau of KAO 11-12. Part one of three.
12-17-1868	KAO	He olelo pane ia S. M. Kamakau			Konakaiopua's response to Kamakau of KAO 11-12. Part two of three.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
12-19-1868	KNK	Ka mooleo o na Kamehameha; Helu 95 [100]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 326-328 (Roman Catholicism in Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Arrival of Roman Catholics, cont'd."
12-24-1868	KAO	He olelo pane ia S. M. Kamakau			Konakaiopua's response to Kamakau of KAO 11-12. Part three of three.
12-26-1868	KNK	Ka mooleo o na Kamehameha; Helu 96 [101]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 328-329 (Roman Catholicism in Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Arrival of Roman Catholics, cont'd."
12-31-1868	KAO	No na hanene, me na haualoao	Chun		Second of two part on uprising at South Kona and characters responsible.
1-2-1869	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii; Helu 97 [102]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 329-332 (Roman Catholicism in Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Views of John Reves; Arrival of French frigate <i>l'Artemese</i> ."
1-7-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii			Announcing its continuation of Moolelo Hawaii which was printed in KNK.
1-7-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo o Hawaii; Helu 94 [103]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 334-339 (Premiership of Kinau).	Kamakau's history series moves to KAO with numbering discrepancies. One installment remains in KNK. Thrum's title: "The king under evil influences of Kaomi; Kinau becomes Premier: Removal of Kaomi."
1-7-1869	KAO	Ua kaawale ke kanawai mare	Chun		
1-9-1869	KNK	Ka moolelo o Hawaii; Helu 98 [104]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , p. 332 (Roman Catholicism in Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Laplace secures \$20,000 indemnity; Actions of the Protestant Mission."
1-14-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 99 [105]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 339-342 (Premiership of Kinau).	Thrum's title: "Kaomi removal cont'd; Death of Nahienaena; Body taken to Lahaina; The king on Maui."
1-21-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 100 [106]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 342-346 (Premiership of Kinau).	Thrum's title: "Appointment of Richards as king's tutor; Kinau's death and history."
1-28-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 101 [107]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 346-352 (Premiership of Kinau; Troubles under the premiership of Miriam Kekauluohi).	Thrum's title: "Kinau and Kekuanaoa troubles of 1839."
2-4-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 102 [108]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 352-356 (Troubles under the premiership of Miriam Kekauluohi, 1839-1845).	Thrum's title: "Hoapili's death and history; His conversion to Christianity; Succession of Kekauluohi I to Kinau as Kuhinanui."
2-11-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 103 [109]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 356-359 (Troubles under the premiership of Miriam Kekauluohi, 1839-1845).	Thrum's title: "Kekauluohi, Kuhinanui; Catholic priests and the <i>l'Artemise</i> ; Forcible cession of islands to Great Britain, and restoration by Thomas."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
2-11-1869	KAO	He olelo hou keia a S. M. Kamakau			Kapihe critique of Kamakau.
2-18-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 104 [110]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 342-346 (Premiership of Kinau).	Thrum's title: "Proceedings with Paulet."
2-18-1869	KAO	He olelo hou keia a S. M. Kamakau			Kapihe critique continuation of KAO 2-11.
2-25-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 105	Thrum		MISSING ISSUE. Also acknowledged as missing by
3-4-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 106	Thrum		MISSING ISSUE. Also acknowledged as missing by
3-11-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 107	Thrum		MISSING ISSUE. Also acknowledged as missing by
3-18-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 108 [111]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 332-333 (Roman Catholics in Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "Proceedings with Mallet of French sloop, <i>Embuscade</i> , concerning
3-25-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 109	Thrum		MISSING ISSUE. Also acknowledged as missing by
4-1-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 110 [112]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 366-368 (A constitutional monarchy, 1839-	Thrum's title: "Departure of the embassy to America and Europe."
4-8-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 110 [113]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 368-369 (A constitutional monarchy, 1839-	Thrum's title: "Negotiations of the ambassadors."
4-15-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 111	Thrum		MISSING ISSUE. Also acknowledged as missing by
4-22-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 112 [114]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 369-370 (A constitutional monarchy, 1839-	Thrum's title: "Hawaiian constitution; Ancient laws and customs; Forming the new laws under constitutional
4-29-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 113 [115]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 370-371 (A constitutional monarchy, 1839-	Thrum's title: "Relates to formation of constitutional government of Kamehameha III, 1840."
5-6-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 114 [116]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 371-373 (A constitutional monarchy, 1839-	Thrum's title: "Ancient and modern laws, and methods thereunder compared."
5-13-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 115 [117]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 373-376 (A constitutional monarchy, 1839-	Thrum's title: "Ancient and modern laws, knowledge and customs compared."
5-20-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 116 [118]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 376-378 (A constitutional monarchy, 1839-1845). p. 396 (Legislative Problems.	Thrum's title: "Changes under constitutional government; Foundation of Legislatures at Lahaina, 1840."
5-27-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 117 [119]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 396-398 ((Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "Work of the legislature of 1842."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
6-3-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 118 [120]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 379-383 (Passing of the chiefs). Translation, "The story of Kapiolani" in BMA—HEN: Thrum, 171c.	Thrum's title: "Kekauluohi kuhinanui; History of Kapiolani and her works."
6-10-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 118 [121]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 383-386 (Passing of the chiefs). Translation, "The story of Kapiolani" in BMA—HEN: Thrum, 171c.	Thrum's title: "Exemplary works of Kapiolani; Her death; Death of Hoapiliwahine; Her history."
6-17-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 119 [122]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 386-389 (Passing of the chiefs).	Thrum's title: "Biographical sketch of Hoapiliwahine; Death and sketch of Kalua Kuakini."
6-24-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 120 [123]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 389-394 (Passing of the chiefs).	Thrum's title: "Kuakini's chante to Chrisitanity; Death and sketch of Kekauluohi."
7-1-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 121 [124]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 394-395 (Passing of the chiefs); pp. 398-400 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "Kamakau's letter to the king continued; Government situation following her death; Kamakau letter to the king."
7-8-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 122 [125]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 400-403 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "The government of Kamehameha III; Ministerial reports; W. Richards as minister of public instruction."
7-15-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 122 [126]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 403-406 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "Appointment of Richards as king's tutor; Kinau's death and history."
7-22-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 123 [127]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 406-407 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "Progress of education; Sundry schools established; Sketch of W. Richards, first minister of public
7-29-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 123 [128]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 407-409 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852); this appears to be only a partial translation of these events which includes the following tow installments as well, but which were not acknowledged in	Thrum's title: "Legislature of 1847; Report of John Ricord, attorney-general."
7-29-1869	KAO	Ka aha kiekie			Kamakau sworn in at court to explain practice of hanai of old times.
8-5-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 124 [129]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 407-409 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "Legislature of 1847; Report of Keoni Ana, minister of the interior."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
8-12-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 125 [130]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 407-409 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "Keoni Ana's report continued; Comparative considerations of ancient knowledge and ability."
8-19-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 126 [131]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 409-411 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "Considerations, continued; Laws established; The cabinet; Government acts, 1848-1850."
8-26-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 127 [132]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 411-412 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "Catholic troubles considered; Hawaii losing her good qualities; Progress of the government."
9-2-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 128 [133]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 412-414 (Legislative Problems, 1845-1852).	Thrum's title: "Progress of the government, continued; Agricultural effort establishing; Legislative proceedings."
9-9-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 129 [134]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 414-417 (Legislative problems, 1845-1852; Death of Kamehameha III). <i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 105-106 (The medical profession, class 2: kahuna paoao and kahuna ea).	Thrum's title: "The new constitution of 1852; Introduction of the smallpox, 1853; Scarcity of doctors; Hawaiians' treatment successful."
9-16-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 130 [135]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 417-420 (Death of Kamehameha III).	Thrum's title: "Important events of 1854; Closing days of Kamehameha III."
9-23-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 131 [136]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 420-424 (Death of Kamehameha III).	Thrum's title: "Some contrasts considered; The king at Koolau; Returns to Honolulu: His illness and death; Progress of Hawaii under his reign."
9-30-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 131 [137]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 424-427 (Death of Kamehameha III).	Thrum's title: "Progress of Hawaii under Kamehameha III, continued."
10-7-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 132 [138]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 427-428 (Death of Kamehameha III).	Thrum's title: "Benefits under constitutional government; Seven granted under"
10-14-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 133 [139]	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 428-430 (Death of Kamehameha III).	Thrum's title: "Benefits under ancient mois, and how Kamehameha III came to the throne." This is the last of Kamakau's series concerning the chiefs.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
10-14-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 1	Thrum	<i>Na moolelo o ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 124-129 (The origin of Hawaii nei; Origin of the Hawaiian people). Typescript and holograph translation, "On the formation of the Hawaiian Islands" in	This new series follows the ending of the other, with a brief explanation separating the two. Thrum's title: "Origin of the islands and their people." There is a collection of the original articles of this series in BMA Case 4, L16.
10-21-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 2	Thrum	<i>Na moolelo a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 129-140 (The origin of Hawaiian people; The first man mentioned in Hawaii; Of the generations after Wakea; The Ulu genealogy; Kapawa; Heleipawa; Aikanaka; Ulu-Hema Genealogy). Typescript and holograph translation, "On the formation of the Hawaiian Islands" in BMA Case 4, L16.	Thrum's title: "Original name of different islands; First man created by Kane, Ku and Lono tradition."
10-28-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 3	Thrum	<i>Na moolelo a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 140-154 (Hema; Kahainuiahema; Wahieloa; Laka; Luanuu; Huaapohukaina; Pauahua; Huaapau; Paumakua; The Hema line; The original chiefs; Signs of chieftainship).	Thrum's title: "Hema; Kahai; Wahieloa; Laka; Luanuu; Hua (2) Paumakua; Hanalaanui and iki; Circumcision and Aha ili introduced."
11-4-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 4	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 3-6 (The cardinal points; The horizons; Space). <i>Na moolelo a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 154-159 (Signs of chieftainship).	Thrum's title: "Signs by the elements on birth of royalty; Instances named; Their establishment and kind."
11-11-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 5	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 6-13 (Land divisions; The mountains; Mountain zones; Hills and cliffs; Roadways; The waters; The seas; The waves; The tides). Partial translation, "The short digging tool" in	Thrum's title: "Divisions of the lands; shore portions; cultivable sections."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
11-18-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 6	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 23-32 (Mahiai ana: Cultivation of sweet potatoes, cultivation of taro).	Thrum's title: "Potato culture descibed; Prayers to the gods; Kanepuaa; Other cultures."
11-25-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 7	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 32-40 (Mahiai ana: Cultivation of taro; pond field: Loi, Prayers and rituals; Cultivation of bananas; Cultivation of sugar cane: Cultivation of	Thrum's title: "Wet taro culture; preparation of the loi; Bananas; Sugar cane and wauke."
12-2-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 8	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 40-45 (Mahiai ana: Cultivation of wauke; Cutlivation of Awa; Cultivation of olona). pp. 47-48 (Mahiai ana: Cultivation	Thrum's title: "Cultivating awa and olona; Fish pond construction; Noted ponds."
12-9-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 9	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 46-50 (The cultivation of bitter gourds; Cultivation of fish). pp. 117-122 (Making of Fishnets; Canoe making).	Thrum's title: "Fish pond construction, continued; Canoe building."
12-16-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 10	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 59-66 (Methods of fishing: Bag nets; Bag net fishing with melomelo	Thrum's title: "Fishing with nets and seines; Ancient kaka uhu fishing."
12-23-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 11	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 66-72 (Methods of fishing: Kaka uhu fishing; Upena Kaka uhu; Fishing with lures; Okilo hee; O hee;	Thrum's title: "Catching squid of various kinds; Hiaku."
12-30-1869	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 12	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 72-79 (Methods of fishing: Aku fishing; Aku lure;	Thrum's title: "Various kinds of fishing and implements."
1-6-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 13	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 79-86 (Methods of fishing: Baits and traps; Hinai hinalea; Hinai puhi; Hinai palani; Hinai kala;	Thrum's title: "Basket fishing; Seizing with the hand."
1-13-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 14	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 79-86 (Methods of fishing...). pp. 95-99 (House building: The	Thrum's title: "Catching eels and sharks; House building; Affixing the ahos."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
1-20-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 15	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 99-108 (House building...).	Thrum's title: "Thatching; The openings; Trimming the doorway and its ceremony."
1-27-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 16	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 108-116 (House building; Making tapa...). pp. 122-123 (The skills of yesterday)	Thrum's title: "Plaited Hawaiian cloth originally; Kapa making from wauke bark."
2-3-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 17	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 25-27 (Marriage; Rearing of children). <i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 116-117 (Tapa making; Aumakua of the tapa maker: How	Thrum's title: "Kapa making, continued; Net and twine making; Procuring fire; Care of children."
2-10-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 18	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 27 (Rearing of children). <i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 13-18 (The reckoning of time; The seasons; The months; The days; The kapu	Thrum's title: "Birth and consecration of children; Divisions of the year; Names of the months."
2-17-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 19	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 19-21 (The makahiki festival). <i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 17-18 (The days). pp. 132-	Thrum's title: "Annual festivals; Of heiaus; Koas, ipu olono; Pookanaka; Their construction."
2-24-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 20	Thrum	<i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 135-141 (Heiaus; Haku ohia rites; Aha kai rituals).	Thrum's title: "Heiaus, continued; The hakuohia; His functions in heiau building; Ceremonies."
3-3-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 21	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 32-33 (Pohaku o Kane). <i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 141-144 (Aha kai rituals; Hono ritual;	Thrum's title: "Heiau ceremonies, continued; Closing day of sacrifice; Pohakuokane; Places of refuge."
3-10-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 22	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 11 (Kanawai; Laws and edicts). pp. 17-19 (Puuhonua). <i>Na hana a ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 145 (Heiaus of Hawaii).	Thrum's title: "List of heiaus; Places of refuge; Laws relating thereto."
3-17-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 23	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 11-15 (Kanawai; Laws and edicts; Some kanawai of gods and chiefs).	Thrum's title: "Human sacrifices; Ancient laws; Kapus; Penalties, etc.; The niaupio kalowalo of Kualii; A beneficent law; Kualii's death at Kailua.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
3-24-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 24	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 15-17 (Kanawai; Laws and edicts; Some kanawai of gods and chiefs). pp. 63-66 (Hosts of heaven and earth; Volcanic	Thrum's title: "The Mamalahoa law; The gods and worshipping the host of heaven."
3-31-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 25	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 60-70 (Volcanic manifestations-Pele; Thunder and lightning forms). Partial typescript of translation in notes on, "Tattooing" in	Thrum's title: "Deities of Pele and traditions thereof; Of thunder and lightning; Kanehekili."
4-7-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 26	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 70-74 (Thunder and lightning forms; Shark forms).	Thrum's title: "Kanehekili traditions; Spirits of deceased persons to assume electrical powers; Traditions thereof; Humans changing to shark
4-14-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 27	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 74-77 (Shark forms).	Thrum's title: "Sundry shark traditions; Worshipping sharks."
4-21-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 28	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 77-81. Not acknowledged in the footnotes of this	Thrum's title: "Shark worship, continued; Their deification; Traditions thereof."
4-28-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 29	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 81-86 (Shark forms; Moo forms). Incorrectly acknowledged in this	Thrum's title: "Relating to lizard deities and worship and assuming lizard form."
5-5-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 30	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 86-89 (Moo forms).	Thrum's title: "Ceremonies and traditions of lizard superstitions, etc."
5-12-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 31	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , p. 89-90 (Kapus of consecration). pp. 128-130 (Sorcery gods of Molokai; Coming of the	Thrum's title: "Divisions of minor kapus; Of Kalaipahoa and Kapo."
5-19-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 32	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 130-132 (Sorcery gods of Molokai; Coming of the Kalaipahoa gods).	Thrum's title: "Kalaipahoa continued; Molokai's fame for evil doing and sorcery."
7-14-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 33	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 132-135 (Pua ma; Akua kumuhaka). pp. 137-138 (Kamehameha's care of the Kalaipahoa and Pua gods).	Thrum's title: "Molokai matters, continued; Kamehameha's care of Kalaipahoa and Pua gods."
7-21-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 34	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 119-120 (Anaana magic). pp. 135-138 (Kamehameha's care of the Kalaipahoa and Pua gods).	Thrum's title: "Kamehameha worships Kalaipahoa and crowns it; Praying to death."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
8-4-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 35	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 120-124 (Anaana magic; Divisions of anaana). P. 133 (Pua ma).	Thrum's title: "Ceremonies of the pule anaana; Divisions therein; Sundry kahuna."
8-11-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 36	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 98-99 (The medical profession, class 1: Kahuna hoohapai keiki and hoohanau keiki). pp. 124-128 (The	Thrum's title: "Sundry prayers; Medical kahunas."
8-18-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 37	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 99-104 (The medical profession, class 1: Kahuna hoohapai keiki and hoohanau keiki; Class 2: Kahuna paaoao and kahuna ea).	Thrum's title: "Medical kahunas, continued."
8-25-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 38	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 101-105 (The medical profession, class 2: Kahuna paaoao and kahuna ea).	Thrum's title: "List of remedies for ailments; Instances in aid of off-spring; Haha kahunas."
9-1-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 39	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 107-109 (The medical profession, class 4: Kahuna haha).	Thrum's title: "Lonopuha and other kahuna schools."
9-15-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 40	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 95-97 (Kahuna aumakua) pp. 102-103, 105 (The medical profession, Class 2: Kahuna Paaoao and Kahuna ea); p. 109 (Class 4: Kahuna haha); pp. 138-140 (Remedies for illness sent by Pua ma: Remedies of the	Thrum's title: "Various medical schools and remedies."
9-22-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 41	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 28-29 (Aumakua ancestral dieties) p. 97 (Kahuna aumakua); pp. 109-114 (Class 4: Kahuna haha). Translation, in "Of ancestral spirits—their true source" in BMA—HEN: Thrum 132-199; continued on 9-29-1870: 171h	Thrum's title: "Sundry remedies; Ancient medicines; Aumakuas and kumupaa."

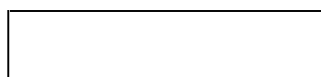
DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
9-29-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 42	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 28-29 (Aumakua ancestral dieties) pp. 33-34 (Customs at death); pp. 36-38 (Kuni rituals); pp. 97-98 (Kahuna aumakua). Partial translation, in "Tattooing" in BMA—HEN: vol. 1 1289-91. Typescript of translation, 9-29-1870; 171b. "Of ancestral spirits—their true source" in BMA—HEN:	Thrum's title: "Aumakuas, etc., continued; Approaching death; Sorcery and provisioning the dead; Treatment thereof."
10-6-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 43	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 34-35 (Customs at death); pp. 38-44 (Disposal of corpses; Death); pp. 47-50 (The three spirit realms). Typescript of Hawaiian and translation, "Customs at death" in BMA—HEN:	Thrum's title: "Treatment of the dead, continued; The nupa or deep pit; Dr. John Pelham of Waimea, Hawaii; The spirit after death; Superstitions."
10-13-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 44	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 50-55 (The three spirit realms). Typescript of Hawaiian and translation, "Beliefs and customs at death" in	Thrum's title: "The realm of Milu; Myths of Mokulehua; Maluae and Kawelu; Spirits resting on the living; Instances narrated."
10-20-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 45	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 29-32 (The aumakua: ancestral dieties; Hoaumakua: the acquiring and contacting aumakua); pp. 55-59 (Noho ana: Medium possession; Visions and dreams). Typescript of Hawaiian and translation, "Ancestral spirits, dreams, sacrificing to	Thrum's title: "Trance, visions, and dreams; Ancestral spirits (aumakuas); The depression thereunder."
10-27-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 46	Thrum	<i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 3-6 (Ka poe kahiko: degrees of chiefs); pp. 59-60 (Akua aumakua: the aumakua gods). Typescript of Hawaiian and translation, "Ancestral spirits" in BMA—HEN: Thrum	Thrum's title: "Of ancient chiefs; Their several ranks."

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
11-3-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 47	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 1-2 (Story of Umi); <i>Ka poe kahiko</i> , pp. 7-10 (Kahuna orders; Classes of people; Kapus of the chiefs).	Thrum's title: "Boards of priests, prophets; Grades of the people; Kapus of aliis and the gods; History of certain kings, notably Liloa; His heiau construction in various places."
11-10-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 48	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 3-7 (Story of Umi).	Thrum's title: "Liloa meets Akahiakuleana who becomes mother of Umi; Her history; Umi visits Waipio and makes himself known to Liloa...."
11-17-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 49	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 8-12 (Story of Umi).	Thrum's title: "Hakau shows disapproval; History of
11-24-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 50	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 12-17 (Story of Umi).	Thrum's title: "History of Umi, continued; Battles with and defeats Hakau; He wars against Hilo chiefs and conquers that
12-1-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 51	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 17-23 (Story of Umi; Story of Kihaapiilani).	Thrum's title: "He overcomes Huaa and annexes Puna; Imaikalani the blind king of Kau; Ehunuikaimalana, king of Kona; Kihaapiilani joins forces with Umi and wages war on Maui."
12-8-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 52	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 23-27 (Story of Kihaapiilani).	Thrum's title: "Kihaapiilani in Makawao incognito; Scarcity of food; He settles at Hana; Surf-riding contest; Wins the affiaced of Lonaapiilani; Her father disowns her; Division of land sought; Is promised subject to fealty to Lono; Kihaapiilani seeks aid on Hawaii and falls in with Piikea of Umi's
12-15-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 53	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 27-33 (Story of Kihaapiilani).	Thrum's title: "Kihaapiilani visits Piikea; Declines Umi's offer to settle on Hawaii; Fights for his rights on Maui against Lonoapiilani; Holoae defender of Kauiki escapes; His reported death of some doubt; Death and secret burial of Lonoapiilani; Kihaapiilani divides land; Umi returns to Hawaii; Stones hewn for his tomb; Dies at Kailua; Koi set out to conceal his body; Kills a man resembling
12-15-1870	KAO	Pane ia S. M.			Critique of Kamakau.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
12-22-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 54	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 33-38 (Story of Kihaapiilani; Story of Keawenuiaumi).	Thrum's title: "Koi secretes the bones of Umi; Chief of Hawaii after Umi's time; War between Hilo and Kona; Death of Kealiiohaloa; History of Pakaa, famous canoeist; Through intrigue Keawenuiaumi disrates him, so he secretly departs and dwells on Molokai; <u>Keawenuiaumi searches for</u>
12-29-1870	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 55	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 38-43 (Story of Keawenuiaumi).	Thrum's title: "Canoes built to search for him; Diviners sought to locate him; Keawenuiaumi sets out in search; Visits Maui and Molokai; Kuapakaa is <u>introduced: One having</u>
1-5-1871	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 56	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 43-45 (Story of Keawenuiaumi).	Thrum's title: "Canoe fleet of Keawenuiaumi meets disaster; Pakaa and son follow their chief to Molokai; Takes charge of all food, clothing, etc., Food given out; Ku directs lunas to secure supply; After three months they set out for a long voyage and are lost; The chief returns and sees Pakaa; Death of <u>Keawenuiaumi and division of</u>
1-12-1871	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 57	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 45-48 (Story of Keawenuiaumi; Story of Lonoikamakahiki).	Thrum's title: "Chiefs of Kona; Kanaloakuaana, Lonoikamakahiki; Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani; Tradition of Lonoikamakahiki's tour; Domestic troubles; In his <u>demented state, he is cared for</u>
1-19-1871	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 58	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 48-54 (Story of Lonoikamakahiki).	Thrum's title: "Returning to Hawaii Kapaihihilina is made chamberlain; He chants the king's experiences; Lonoikamakahiki starts on regal tour of the islands; Is <u>entertained on Maui: His insionia</u>
1-26-1871	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 59	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 54-59 (Story of Lonoikamakahiki). Partial translation in notes on "Tattooing" in BMA—HEN: vol. 1, pp. 1289-91.	Thrum's title: "Lonoikamakahiki visits Molokai; Becoming jealous he strikes Kaikilani, his wife, and sails for Oahu; Meets a princess of Kauai and learns the latest name chant which in a contest he repeats; Visits Kauai, etc., then returns to Kona and enjoys friendship treaty made with all the aliis; Treaty broken <u>by Kamalalawalu of Maui, who</u>

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
2-2-1871	KAO	Ka moolelo Hawaii; Helu 60	Thrum	<i>Ruling Chiefs</i> , pp. 59-65 (Story of Lonoikamakahiki; Keawe's Reign).	Thrum's title: "Engagement between Puapuakea and Makahukilani; The latter killed in battle between Hawaii and Maui forces; Kamalalawalu is killed and Kauhiakama reigns in his stead; Kings of Hawaii after Lonoikamakahiki's death; Internal wars on Hawaii; Keawe comes to the throne."
3-1-1873	KNK	Ke kulana o ke aupuni Hawaii i ke au ia Kamehameha I	Chun	Translation, "The kingdom of Hawaii in the reign of Kamehameha I" in BMA—HEN: vol. 1, pp. 2683-86. Typescript and translation, "The politics of the Hawaiian government during the time of Kamehameha I"	Discusses role of Kaahumanu in the building of the kingdom of Hawaii.
4-5-1873	KNK	Ka hooululauai kanaka a me ka hoopiha hou ana i ka	Chun		First of two ending on 4-12.
4-12-1873	KNK	Ka hooululauai kanaka a me ka hoopiha hou ana i ka	Chun		Second of two, starting on 4-5.
8-20-1873	HP	Huikau, pohihihi ke kuikahi panai like me ka uku kaulele o			Decrying possible sale of lands of Puuloa.
11-25-1873	KNH	Na papa alii kieke			On ranks and genealogy.
12-23-1873	KNH	Ka papa alii o Hawaii i hoonoho pono ia			Unauna (probably) critique of Kamakau's genealogy of KNH 11-25-1873. Bolstering Kalakaua's position. First part
12-30-1873	KNH	Ka papa alii o Hawaii i hoonoho pono ia			Unauna (probably) critique of Kamakau's genealogy of KNH 11-25-1873. Second part of
1-6-1873	KNH	Ka papa alii o Hawaii i hoonoho pono ia			Unauna (probably) critique of Kamakau's genealogy of KNH 11-25-1873. Third part of four? Continuation not found.
1-31-1874	NKAO	Ka mookuauhau alii o ka moiwahine Kaleleonalani	Chun	Translation, "Royal genealogy of Queen Kaleleonalani, showing her relationship to Kamehameha I" in BMA—HEN: vol. 1, pp. 2993-95.	Genealogy of Queen Emma.
2-3-1874	KNH	Untitled			Unauna denies Kamakau's Emma genealogy in KAO 1-31.
2-7-1874	KNK	Hopuhopualulu maoli			Political article.
2-10-1874		Untitled			Unauna's denial of Kamakau of KNH 2-3 is reprinted in full.

DATE	NEWS-PAPER	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NOTED BY	ENGLISH ACCESS	OTHER NOTES
9-17-1875	TI	Mele; composed in honor of Kualii		Mele in English and Hawaiian; Explanatory notes in English; Another copy of this mele in <i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i> , Volume 2, pp. 160-78; Also Vol. 5, p. 70 of the 1896 Journal contains another	First of seven parts of a 600 line chant for Kualii. According to article in <i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i> , Curtis J. Lyons undertook the task of translating this piece with the assistance of Kamakau.
9-24-1875	TI	A song for Kualii			Second of seven parts of a 600 line chant for Kualii.
10-1-1875	TI	A song for Kualii			Third of seven parts of a 600 line chant for Kualii.
10-8-1875	TI	A song for Kualii			Fourth of seven parts of a 600 line chant for Kualii.
10-15-1875	TI	A song for Kualii			Fifth of seven parts of a 600 line chant for Kualii.
10-22-1875	TI	A song for Kualii			Sixth of seven parts of a 600 line chant for Kualii.
10-29-1875	TI	A song for Kualii			Last of seven parts of a 600 line chant for Kualii.
10-30-1875	NKAO	He manawa haowale anei keia?			Responds to letter form Kamehameha also appearing in this issue.
12-25-1880	KAO	Ka moolelo o Kaahumanu			First of three parts on Kaahumanu. Released long after
1-1-1881	KAO	Ka moolelo o Kaahumanu			Second of three parts on Kaahumanu. Released long after his death.
1-15-1881	KAO	Ka moolelo o Kaahumanu			Last of three parts on Kaahumanu. Released long after



Articles authored by S. M. Kamakau.



Articles not authored by Kamakau, but generated by or pertaining to his writings.

Newspaper Sources

HH–Hoiliili Hawaii
HP–Hawaii Pono
HL–Hoku Loa
KAO–Ke Au Okoa
KE–Ka Elele
KHH–Ka Hae Hawaii
KKH–Ke Kumu Hawaii
KN–Ka Nonanona
KNH–Ka Nuhou Hawaii
KNK–Ka Nupepa Kuokoa
NKAO–Ka Nupepa Kuokoa me Ke Au Okoa i Huipuia
OKHA–O Ta Hae Kiritiano
PCA–Pacific Commercial Advertiser
TI–The Islander
TP–The Polynesian

Abbreviations Used in Appendix

BMA–Bishop Museum Archives
Chun–Na Kukui Pio ‘Ole: The Inextinguishable Torches, by Malcolm Naea Chun,
published by First People’s Productions, 1993
Chun 1988–*I ka Wa o Kamehameha: In the Time of Kamehameha*, edited and
translated by Malcolm N. Chun. 1988
HEN–Hawaiian Ethnographical Notes (Bishop Museum)
HHS–Hawaiian Historical Society
KA–*Kukini ‘Aha’ilono: Carry on the News*, edited by Rubellite Kinney Johnson,
published by Topgallant Publishing Co. 1976
McKinzie–*Hawaiian Genealogies, Vol. 1 and 2*, by Edith McKinzie, published by
Brigham Young University, Hawaii Campus, 1983 and 1986
Thrum–“Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of S. M. Kamakau, Hawaiian
Historian,” by Thos. G. Thrum; *Hawaiian Historical Review Annual Report*,
1917, pp. 40–61

REFERENCES

Ahlo, Charles with Jerry Walker and Rubellite Kawena Johnson
2000 Kamehameha's Children Today. No publisher.

Akana, Collette Leimomi

2002 Kahuna Ho'opunipuni Letters of 1863. *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 36:1–39.

Aldrich, Robert

1990 *The French Presence in the South Pacific: 1842–1940*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Quoting Paul Deschanel, *La Politique Française En Océanie: A Propos du Canal de Panama*. (Paris: Berger-Levrault Et Cie, 1884), 1.

Andrews, Lorrin

1835 ABCFM Report. Quoted in Albert J. Shütz, *The Voices of Eden* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 171.

2003 (1865) *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*. Honolulu: Island Heritage Publishing.

Andrews, Lorrin and Henry H. Parker

1922 *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*. Honolulu: The Board of Commissioners of Public Archives of the Territory of Hawaii.

Ashford, Marguerite K.

1987 The Evolution of the Hawaiian Dictionary and Notes on the Early Compilers, with Particular Attention to Manuscript Resources of the Bishop Museum Library. In *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers* 27. 1–24. Honolulu:

Au Okoa

1865a He olelo ao i ka poe e kakau mai ana e pai ia ma ka Nupepa. *Ke Au Okoa*, Apr. 24.

1865b I kuu mau makamaka e kakau mai ana i ka hopunipuni o na kahuna
Hawaii. Ke Au Okoa, Aug. 7.

Barrère, Dorothy B.

1964 Foreword. *In Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old*, by Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau. Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. Dorothy B. Barrère, ed. Pp. vii–viii. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

1987 [1976] Preface. *In The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko*, by Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau. Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. Dorothy B. Barrère, ed. Pp. v–vi. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

1991 Preface. *In Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Na Mo'olelo a ka Po'e Kahiko*, by Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau. Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. Dorothy B. Barrère, ed. Pp. ix–x. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Barieant-Schiller, R.

1993 *Review of Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawai'i*, Volume 1. *In Choice: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 30(10):1169.

Barker, John

1987 *Review of Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Aciént Hawai'i*. *In Pacific Affairs* 60(1):157–159.

1996 *Review of How Natives Think: About Captain Cook, for Example*. *In Pacific Affairs* 69(2):297–299.

Bassnett, Susan

1997 *Intricate Pathways: Observations on Translation and Literature*. *In Essays and Studies 1997*. Susan Bassnett, ed. Pp. 1–13. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Beckwith, Martha Warren

1978 [1932] Introduction. *In Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*, by Zephryn Kepelino Kahoali'ikūmai'eiwakamoku Keauokalani. Martha Warren Beckwith, trans. Pp. 3–7. Milwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co.

1939 Proposed Introduction to History of Hawaii, Part 2: Traditional Beliefs and Customs (ultimately divided into the three texts) MS SC Kamakau, Box 8.1. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

1949a Letter to Caroline Curtis of July 18. MS SC Kamakau, Box 11.3. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

1949b Letter to Caroline Curtis of Aug. 14. MS SC Kamakau, Box 11.3. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

Bickerton, Derek and William H. Wilson

1987 Pidgin Hawaiian. *In* Pidgin and Creole Languages: Essays in Memory of John E. Reinecke. Glenn G. Gilbert, ed. Pp. 61–76. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Biersack, Aletta

1991 Introduction: History and Theory in Anthropology. *In* *Clio in Oceania: Toward a Historical Anthropology*. Aletta Biersack, ed. Pp. 1–35. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Bingham, Hiram (Binamu)

1835 Ke Kuauhau no na Alii o Hawaii. Ke Kumu Hawaii, Aug. 19.

Bishop Museum

1936 Letter to A. F. Judd on May 1. Institutional Records, BPBM Letters in Book II, 1897–1898. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

Booklist and Subscription Books Bulletin

1969 *Review of A Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*. *In* The Booklist and Subscription Books Bulletin 65(11): 569–570.

Brown, Giles T.

1969 *Review of A Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*. In *The Journal of American History* LVI(1):156-157.

Buck, Elizabeth.

1993 *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Burns, Eugene

1939 He Recalls Princess Ruth. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 20: Saturday Magazine, 1, 3.

Bushnell, O. A.

1993 *The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Cachola-Abad, Kēhau

1993 Evaluating the Orthodox Dual Settlement Model for the Hawaiian Islands: An Analysis of Artifact Distribution and Hawaiian Oral Traditions. In *The Evolution and Organization of Prehistoric Society in Polynesia*. M. Graves and Roger Green, eds. Pp. 13-32. Auckland: New Zealand Archaeological Association.

2000 *The Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity: An Analysis of Hawaiian Oral Traditions*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawai'i.

Chapin, Helen Gracimos

1984 Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From *He Liona* to the Pacific Cable. *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 18:47-86.

1996 *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

2000 *Guide to Newspapers of Hawai'i: 1834-2000*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society.

Charlot, John P.

1983 Chanting the Universe. Honolulu: Emphasis International.

N.d. Classical Hawaiian Education: Generations of Hawaiian Culture.
Unpublished MS.

Chun, Malcolm Nāea.

1993 Nā Kukui Pio 'Ole: The Inextinguishable Torches. Honolulu: First People's Productions.

Clark, Rev. E. W.

2001 He Buke Wehewehe Hua'ōlelo Baibala me Nā Palapala 'Āina me nā Ki'i. 1872. Reprint with foreword by M. Puakea Nogelmeier. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Coffman, Tom.

1998 Nation Within: the Story of America's Annexation of the Nation of Hawai'i. Kāne'ohe, Hawai'i: EPICenter.

Coleman, Mark

2002 Unearthing Hawaii's History. Honolulu Star Bulletin, Oct. 6: D1, D6.

Cordy, Ross H.

2000 Exalted Sits the Chief: the Ancient History of Hawai'i Island. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing.

Cruz, Lynette

2003 Sovereignty, Process and the "Sacred Community." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawai'i.

Curnow, Jenifer

2002 A Brief History of Maori-Language Newspapers. *In Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language & Politics in the Maori-Language Newspapers.* Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae, eds. Pp. 17-41. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Davenport, William

1987 *Review of Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawai'i.*
In American Anthropologist 89(1):177–178.

Daws, Gavan

1968a *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands.* New York:
Macmillan.

1968b *Writing Local History in Hawaii—a Personal Note.* *Hawaii Historical*
Review 2(10):417–418.

Daws, Gavan, and Ed Sheehan

1970 *The Hawaiians.* Norfolk Island, Australia: Island Heritage Ltd.

Day, A. Grove and Albertine Loomis

1997 *Ka Pa'i Palapala: Early Printing in Hawai'i.* Honolulu: Mission Houses
Museum.

Deloria, Vine

1995 *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific*
Fact. New York: Scribner.

Dening, Greg

1989 *History “in” the Pacific.* *The Contemporary Pacific* 1(1&2):134–139.

1991 *A Poetic for Histories: Transformations that Present the Past.* *In Clio in*
Oceania: Toward a Historical Anthropology. Aletta Biersack, ed. Pp. 347–
380. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

1995 *The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology.* Honolulu:
University of Hawaii Press.

Desha, Stephen Langhern

1996 *He Mo'olelo Ka'ao no Kekūhaupi'o: Ke Koa Kaulana o ke Au o Ka-*
mehameha ka Nui. Vols. 1 and 2. William H. Wilson and Larry Kimura,
eds. Hilo: Hale Kuamo'o.

2000 Kamehameha and His Warrior Kekūhaupi'o. Frances N. Frazier, trans.
Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press.

Dibble, Sheldon

1836–1837 Mooololo Hawaii. Ke Kumu Hawaii. July 1 (1836)–Mar. 29 (1837).

1838 Ka Mooololo Hawaii. Lahainaluna: Mea Pai Palapala no ke Kulanui.

1843 The History of the Sandwich Islands. Lahainaluna: Press of the Mission
Seminary.

Dickerson, Donna G.

1977 *Review of The Works of the People of Old: Ka Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko*. In
American Anthropologist 79(1):187.

Elele Hawaii

1848 Palapala Kuai. Ka Elele Hawaii, July 3.

Emerson, Nathaniel B.

1898 Letter to C. R. Bishop on Mar. 30. Institutional Records, BPBM Letters in
Book II, 1897–1898. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop
Museum, Honolulu, HI.

Emory, Kenneth P.

1995 [1959] Foreword. *In Fragments of Hawaiian History, by John Papa Ii*.
Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. Dorothy B. Barrère, ed. Pp. ix–x. Honolulu:
Bishop Museum Press.

Finney, Ben

1999 The Sin at Awarua. *The Contemporary Pacific* 11(1):1–33.

Forbes, David W.

1999–2002 Hawaiian National Bibliography, 1780–1900, Vols. 1–4. Honolulu:
University of Hawaii Press.

Fornander, Abraham.

1980 [1878–1885] *An Account of the Polynesian Race*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle.

1916–1920 *The Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*. Thos. G. Thrum, ed. *Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, Vols. 4–6. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Foucault, Michel

1971 *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Pantheon Books.

1972 *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Alan M. Sheridan Smith, trans. New York: Pantheon Books.

1977 *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prisons*. Alan M. Sheridan Smith, trans. New York: Pantheon Books.

Friedman, Jonathan

1997 *Review of How Natives Think: About Captain Cook, for Example*. In *American Ethnologist* 24(1):261–262.

Friend

1856 *The Hawaiian Flag*. *The Friend*, April 1.

Gegeo, David Welchman

2001 *Cultural Rupture and Indigeneity: The Challenge of (Re)visioning “Place” in the Pacific*. *The Contemporary Pacific* 13(2):491–507.

Hae Hawaii

1857 *Na Nupepa ma na Aina E. Ka Hae Hawaii*, Dec. 16.

1858 *Moolelo Hawaii*, April 7.

1858–1859 *Ka Oihana Lapaau Kahiko. Ka Hae Hawaii*, Nov. 24, 1858–Jan. 5, 1859.

- 1860a Hoomanakii. Ka Hae Hawaii, April 25.
- 1860b "Palapala pinepine mai ka poe lawe Hae..." Ka Hae Hawaii, July 25.
- 1861 "I ka malama o Maraki 1856..." Ka Hae Hawaii, Nov 6.
- Hale'ole, S. N.
- 1863 Ke Kaao o Laieikawai. Honolulu: H. M. Whitney, pub.
- 1865 Ua Kina ka Moolelo o Lonoikamakahiki. Ke Au Okoa, Sept. 29.
- 1997 Laieikawai. 1919. Martha Warren Beckwith, trans. Reprint. Honolulu: First People's Productions.
- Handler, Richard and Jocelyn Linnekin
- 1984 Tradition, Genuine or Spurious. *Journal of American Folklore* 97(385):273-290.
- Hanlon, David and Geoffrey M. White (eds.)
- 2000 Voyaging Through The Contemporary Pacific. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Hanson, E. Allen
- 1993 Review of The Apotheosis of Captain Cook. In *American Anthropologist* 95(3):762-763.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli
- 2000 Epilogue—Pasts to Remember. In *Rememberances of Pacific Pasts*. Robert Borofsky, ed. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hapuku, Rev. J.
- N.d. Unpublished Journal. Société de Études Océaniens Archives, Papeete, Tahiti
- Hawaii Holomua
- 1912 Ka Olelo Makuahine a ka Lahui Hawaii. Hawaii Holomua, April 12.

Hawaiian Gazette

1868a History of the Kamehamehas. The Hawaiian Gazette, Aug. 26–Sept. 23.

1868b Copyright. The Hawaiian Gazette, Sept. 23.

1900 Mass Meeting of the Native Independents: Saturday's Speeches at the Drill Shed. Wise Speaks in English. Kalauokalani, "Bob" Wilcox and Kaulia Address the Crowd in Hawaiian. The Hawaiian Gazette, June 12.

Hawaii Legislature, Committee on Public Education

1982 Report of the Committee on Public Education. Honolulu.

Hawaii Library Association

1968 Index to the Honolulu Advertiser and Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1929–1967. Honolulu: State of Hawaii Department of Education.

1975 Index to Periodicals of Hawaii, vol. 1 and 2. Honolulu: State of Hawaii Department of Education.

Helekunihi, E.

1893 Letter to Kahu O. Emerson on Feb. 25. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

Hilliard, David

1970 *Review of* Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands. *In* The Journal of Pacific History 5:232–233.

Hilt, Douglas

1993 *Review of* The Apotheosis of Captain Cook. *In* Biography 16(3):285–289.

Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii

1925 Report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii for Two Years: Ending December 31, 1924. Honolulu: Star-Bulletin Publishing Company.

Hobsbawm, Eric

1999 [1983] Introduction: Inventing Tradition. *In* The Invention of Tradition. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. Pp. 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoku Loa

1859a No ka Lapaau ana o na Kahuna Hawaii. Hoku Loa, July 2.

1859b No ke Ano Hoomana Kii. Hoku Loa, Dec.

Hoku o ka Pakipika

1862 No na kaa o a me na moolelo. Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, Jan. 16.

Hoku o ke Kai

1883 E Nalowale ana paha ka Olelo Hawaii? Ka Hoku o ke Kai, June.

Hori, Joan

N.d. Background and Historical Significance of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. Electronic document, http://128.171.57.100/nupepa_kuokoa/kuokoa_html/kuokoa.html.

Hukilani, S. K.

1864 Na Akua o ko Onei Poe i ka Wa Kahiko. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Nov. 19.

Hunter, Charles H.

1969 *Review of* Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands. *In* Pacific Historical Review 38(2):241–242.

‘I‘i, John Papa

1866 Ke Ola a me ka Make ana iho nei o Victoria K. Kaahumanu. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 2–Aug. 18.

1868 Ka Make ana o Mataio Kekuanaoa. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Nov. 28–Dec. 19.

1869 Ka Hunahuna Moolelo Hawaii. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Jan. 2–Dec. 25.

- 1870 Ka Hunahuna Mooleo Hawaii. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Jan. 1–May 28.
- 1995 [1959] Fragments of Hawaiian History. Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. Dorothy B. Barrère, ed. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Joesting, Edward
1986 *Review of Islands of History*. In *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 20:220–222.
- Johnson, Rubellite Kinney
1976 Kukini ‘Aha’ilono. Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing.
- Jolly, Margaret
2000 Specters of Inauthenticity. In *Voyaging Through the Contemporary Pacific*. David Hanlon and Geoffrey M. White, eds. Pp. 274–297. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Jones, Stella M.
1931a Letter to Mary Low of April 14. MS SC Kamakau, Box 11.3. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

1931b Letter to Ralph S. Kuykendall of June 25. MS SC Kamakau, Box 11.3 Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.
- Judd, Bernice, Janet E. Bell, and Clare G. Murdoch
1978 *Hawaiian Language Imprints, 1822–1899*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Judd, Laura Fish
1928 [1880] Honolulu, Sketches of the Life: Social, Political and Religious in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828–1861. Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin.
- Kalaaukumuole, S. Z. E.
1866 Hoomana i ka Ia. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Jan. 24.

Kalākaua, David

1870 He Manao Akea. Ka Manawa, Nov. 7.

1888 The Legends and Myths of Hawaii. New York: C. L. Webster and Co.

Kalama, S. P.

1858–59 Ka Oihana Lapaau Kahiko. Ka Hae Hawaii, Nov. 24, 1858–Jan. 5, 1859.

Kalanikuihonoikamoku, B. V. “He ma’u keia wahi mamala manao...” Ke Au Okoa, Aug. 7.

Kamakau, Samuel Manaiakalani (S. M. K.)

1842a 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. Ka Nonanona, Oct. 25.

1842b “Lahaina, Okatoba 31, 1842...” Ka Nonanona, Nov. 8.

1843 “Lahainaluna, Dek. 2, 1842...” Ka Nonanona, Feb. 14.

1845 “Lahainaluna, Iulai 22, 1845...” Ka Elele, Aug. 12.

1855 No Ka Make Ana A Me Ka Moolelo O A. Paki. Ka Elele, Sept. 15.

1865a No ke Kaapuni Makaikai i na wahi Kaulana a me na Kupua, a me na ‘Lii Kahiko mai Hawaii a Niihau (Ka Moolelo o Hawaii). Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 16–Oct. 7.

1865b Hooheihei ka Nukahalale, ka Nukahalale, onou ka leo o ka pahu o Opuku, Haalokuloku ka ua mai ka lani, ka eeke-eeke-eeke, e kii eeke-ka ka pakapakkapuku o ka ua lohi maka. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Oct. 16.

1865c Kumumanao. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Oct. 28.

- 1865d Letter to L. H. Gulick and Pareka of Oct. 18. H.E.A. Archives, Kamakau, Samuel Manaiakalani. Mission Houses Museum Library, Honolulu, HI.
- 1865e No ka hoakea ana a me ka hoomolaehae ana, e pau ai ka pohohihi o ka Moolelo Hawaii. Ke Au Okoa, Nov. 6.
- 1866a "Kolikowailehua, Manua." Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Aug. 25.
- 1866b Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I/Ka Moolelo o na Kamehameha (Helu 1–8 [9]). Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Oct. 20–Dec. 29.
- 1867 Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I/Ka Moolelo o na Kamehameha (Helu 9 [10]–53 [57]). Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Jan. 5–Dec. 28.
- 1868a Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha/Ka Moolelo o na Kamehameha (Helu 54 [58]–96 [101]). Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Jan. 4–Dec. 26.
- 1868b Letter to W. Chamberlain of Mar. 5. H.E.A. Archives, Kamakau, Samuel Manaiakalani. Mission Houses Museum Library, Honolulu, HI.
- 1868c Palapala Maia S. M. Kamakau Mai. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Sept. 12.
- 1868d Kamakau Archived material: MS 996.9 K127. Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, HI.
- 1869a Ka Moolelo Hawaii (Helu 97 [102]). Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Jan. 2.
- 1869b Ka Moolelo Hawaii (Helu 94 [103]). Ke Au Okoa, Jan 7.
- 1869c Ka Moolelo Hawaii (Helu 98 [104]). Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Jan. 9.
- 1869d Ka Moolelo Hawaii (Helu 99 [105]–133 [139]). Ke Au Okoa, Jan. 14–Oct. 14
- 1869e Ka Moolelo Hawaii (Helu 1–11 [12]). Ke Au Okoa, Oct. 14–Dec. 30.

1870 Ka Moolelo Hawaii (Helu 12 [13]–55). Ke Au Okoa, Jan. 13–Dec. 29.

1871 Ka Moolelo Hawaii (Helu 56–60). Ke Au Okoa, Jan. 5–Feb. 2.

1873 Ke kulana o ke Aupuni Hawaii i ke Au ia Kamehameha I. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Mar. 1.

1992 [1961] Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Revised Edition). Mary Kawena Pukui, Thomas G. Thrum, Lahilahi Webb, Emma Davidson Taylor, and John Wise, trans. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press.

1964 Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old. Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. Dorothy B. Barrère, ed. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

1987 [1976] The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko. Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. Dorothy B. Barrère, ed. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

1991 Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Na Mo'olelo a ka Po'e Kahiko. Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. Dorothy B. Barrère, ed. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

1996 Ke Kumu Aupuni. Puakea Nogelmeier, ed. Honolulu: Ke Kumu Lama.

2001 Ke Aupuni Mō'i. Puakea Nogelmeier, ed. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press.

Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikalā K.

1992 Introduction. *In* Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Revised Edition), by Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau. Mary Kawena Pukui et al., trans. Pp. iii–v. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press.

Kamehameha Schools Press

2002 Ka Ho'oilina: The Legacy 1(1).

Kanepuu, J. H.

1856 E Malama i ka nupepa. Ka Hae Hawaii, Sept. 22.

1862 Ka poe kakau moolelo, a kaao paha. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, Oct. 25.

Kāretu, Tīmoti

2002 Maori Print Culture: The Newspapers. *In Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language & Politics in the Maori-Language Newspapers*. Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae, eds. Pp. 1–16. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Kaulainamoku, S. M. B.

1865 Olelo pane ia A. Lauwili, me A. P. Kuawili, me J. K. Kumukula. *Ke Au Okoa*, Nov. 27.

Kauwahi, J. W. H.

1857 He kuhikuhi o ke kanaka Hawaii, oia ka mea e ao mai ai i ke kanaka i ka ike i ke kakau ana i na palapala ae like, palapala hoopaa, palapala kuai a moraki no ka waiwai lewa, palapala hoolilo a moraki no ka waiwai paa, palapala hoolilo waiwai loaa, palapala hui waiwai, palapala hoolilo hope, palapala hookuu, a haalele kuleana, palapala haalele waiwai o ka wahine iloko o ka waiwai o kana kane, palapala kauoha a ka mea make, palapala hoopii, na kanawai e pili ana i kekahi mau pono nui o ke kanaka Hawaii, a me ke ano o ke kakau ana i ka puke kakau waiwai, a pela aku. Honolulu: H.M. Whitney.

Kealakai, W. E. “E ka Hae Hawaii e...” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, Mar. 27.

Keesing, Roger M.

1989 Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific. *In The Contemporary Pacific* 1(1 & 2):19–42.

1991 Reply to Trask. *In The Contemporary Pacific* 3(1):168–171.

Keiki o Kukuimalu

1865 Ia B. L. Koko. *Ke Au Okoa*, Nov. 13.

Kekela, James

1865 Letter to Dr. Gulick. The Marquesas Collection, Folder #25. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Archives, Mission Houses Museum, Honolulu, HI.

Kent, Harold

1961 Acknowledgment. *In* Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, by Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau. Mary Kawena Pukui et al., trans. P. ix. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press.

Kepelino, Zepherin (Kahoali'ikūmai'eiwakamoku Keauokalani)

1978 [1932] Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii. Martha Warren Beckwith, trans. Milwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co.

1858 Hoiliili Hawaii.

Kepookulou (Kaawaloa)

1835 No na Alii o ka Moku o Hawaii. Ke Kumu Hawaii, Aug. 19.

Kimura, Larry

1983 Native Hawaiian Culture. *In* Report on the Culture, Needs and Concerns of Native Hawaiians, vol. 1. Native Hawaiian Study Commission. Pp. 173–224. Washington D. C.

Kirkpatrick, J.

1986 *Review of* Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Aciient Hawai'i. *In* Choice 23(6): 900.

Kirtley, Basil F. and Esther Mookini

1977 Kepelino's "Hawaiian Collection": His "Hooiliili Hawaii" Pepa I, 1858. Hawaiian Journal of History 11:39–68.

Kittleson, David I.

1985 The Hawaiians: An Annotated Bibliography.

Knauft, Bruce M.

1996 *Genealogies for the Present in Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Routledge Press.

Koko, B. L.

1865 He Moolelo no Lonoikamakahiki. *Ke Au Okoa*, Sept 4–Oct. 23.

Kuaana

1866 Pau makemake i ka Nupepa “Au Okoa.” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 26.

Kuapuu

1861 No ka Hoku Pakipika. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, Oct. 3.

L., A.

1868 Ka Moolelo a S. M. Kamakau. *Ke Au Okoa*, Oct. 8.

Lama Hawaii

1834a O KA LAMA HAWAII. *Ka Lama Hawaii*, Feb. 14.

1834b No ka hiki ana mai o ka malamalama i Hawaii nei. *Ka Lama Hawaii*, May 9, 1834.

Leo o ka Lahui

1996 A Legendary Tradition of Kamapua‘a, the Hawaiian Pig-God. Lilikalā K. Kame‘eleihiwa, trans. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Liliuokalani

1988 [1964] *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company.

Linnekin, Jocelyn

1983 Defining Tradition: Variations on the Hawaiian Identity. *In American Ethnologist* 10:241–252.

1986 *Review of Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawai‘i*. *In The Hawaiian Journal of History* 20:217–220.

1991 Text Bites and the R-Word: The Politics of Representing Scholarship. *In* The Contemporary Pacific 3(1):172–177.

Low, Mary E.

1931a Letter to [Stella] Maud Jones of May 14. MS SC Kamakau, Box 11.3. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

1931b Letter to [Stella] Maud Jones of May 26. MS SC Kamakau, Box 11.3. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

Lucas, Paul F. Nahoa

2000 E Ola Mākou I Ka 'Ōlelo Makuahine: Hawaiian Language Policy and the Courts. *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 34:1–28.

Luna Auhau

1867 No ke Kuokoa. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Feb. 16.

Luomala, Katherine

1966 *Review of Ka Poe'e Kahiko: The People of Old*. *In* *Journal of American Folklore* 7(313):501–502.

M.

1860 No Title. *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 3.

Mahoe, J. K. N.

N.d. Mookuauhau o J.K.N. Mahoe mai a Paa mai, ke kupuna mua i Hawaii a me Kekumuhonua (w) pae ma Kumukahi Hawaii. Unpublished MS, private collection.

Malo, David

1971 [1903/1951] *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii)*. Nathaniel B. Emerson, trans. Eloise Christian, ed. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

1987 *Ka Mo'olelo Hawaii*. Malcolm Naea Chun, trans. Honolulu: The Folk Press.

Manu, Moses

2002 *Keaomelemele: He Moolelo Kaao no Keaomelemele*. Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. M. Puakea Nogelmeier, ed. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Masterman, Sylvia

1980 *An Outline of Samoan History*. Apia, Western Samoa: Commercial Printers Limited.

McGuire, James W. L.

1995 *He Moolelo Pokole o ka Huakai Hele a ka Moiwahine Kapiolani i Enelani i ka Makahiki 1887 i ka Iubile o ka Moiwahine Vitoria o Beretania Nui*. 1938. Reprint with foreword by M. Puakea Nogelmeier. Honolulu: Ke Kumu Lama.

McRae, Jane

2002 'E manu, tena koe!' 'O bird, greetings to you': The Oral Tradition in Newspaper Writing. *In Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language & Politics in the Maori-Language Newspapers*. Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae, eds. Pp. 42–59. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Meyer, Manulani Aluli

1998 *Native Hawaiian Epistemology: Contemporary Narratives*. Thesis (D.Ed), Harvard University.

2001 *Our Own Liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian Epistemology*. *The Contemporary Pacific* 13(1):124–148.

Michaelsen, Scott

1999 *The Limits of Multiculturalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Michelson, Miriam

1897 *Strangling Hands Upon a Nation's Throat*. *The San Francisco Call*, Sep. 30.

Mitchell, Donald D. Kilolani

1982 Resource Units in Hawaiian Culture. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press.

Mookini, Esther K.

1974 The Hawaiian Newspapers. Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Company, Ltd.

Morris, Robert

1992 Review of Native Lands and Foreign Desires: Pehea lā e Pono Ai? In Journal of Homosexuality 29(1):124–135.

2003 Controlling Hawaiian Texts On (Same-) Sexuality Through Deliberate Mistranslation. Unpublished MS.

Musick, John R.

1898 Hawaii, Our New Possessions. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Nai Aupuni

1905 Ka Ipu Alabata. Ka Nai Aupuni, Dec. 22.

1906 Mai Haalele i Kau Olelo Makuahine. Ka Nai Aupuni, Jan. 4.

Nailiili, Sebenā W.

1865 Makemake e loaā ona Palapala kahuna lapaau Hawaii. Ke Au Okoa, Oct. 9.

Nakanaela, Thomas K.

1999 Ka Buke Mo'olelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki. 1890. Reprint with foreword by Duane Wenzel. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Nākoa, Sarah Keli'ilolena

1993 [1979] Lei Momi o 'Ewa. M. Puakea Nogelmeier, ed. Honolulu: Ke Kumu Lama.

New Zealand Digital Library

<http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library>.

Newbury, Colin

1980 Tahiti Nui: Change and Survival in French Polynesia, 1767–1945.
Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Nicole, Robert

2001 The Word, the Pen, and the Pistol: Literature and Power in Tahiti. New
York: State University of New York Press.

Nida, Eugene

2000 Principles of Correspondence. *In* The Translation Studies Reader.
Lawrence Venuti, ed. 126–140. London: Routledge.

Nogelmeier, M. Puakea

2001 He Lei no ‘Emalani: Chants for Queen Emma Kaleleonālanī. Mary
Kawena Pukui, Theodore Kelsey and M. Puakea Nogelmeier, trans. M.
Puakea Nogelmeier, ed. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Nonanona

1845 Ka make o ka Nonanona. Ka Nonanona, Mar. 18.

Nowaki, Junko

2001 The Hawaii Island Newspaper Index. Hilo: Mookini Library.

Nuhou Hawaii

1873 Ua Ai Ke “Kuokoa” I Kona Luai. Ka Nuhou Hawaii, Nov. 25.

Nupepa Kuokoa

1862 “O kapaia mai auanei makou he poe hookano...” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,
Sep. 6.

1867 O ua Hale pai nei. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Aug. 24.

1870 Ka Make ana o ka Mea Hanohano Ioane Ii. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, May 7.

1919 E Hoopauia ke Kula Olelo Kepani! Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Nov. 14.

Nupepa Kuokoa me Ke Au Okoa i Huipuia

1877 No ke Kula o Lahainaluna. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa me Ke Au Okoa i Huipuia, April 28.

O'Carroll, John

1994 Approaches to the Text. Unpublished course reader. Suva: 290. Quoted in Robert Nicole, *The Word, the Pen, and the Pistol* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 2.

Obeyesekere, Gananath

1992 The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ong, Walter J.

1991 [1982] Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World. London: Routledge.

1995 Hermeneutic Forever: Voice, Text, Digitization, and the 'I'. *Oral Tradition* 10:1–10.

Osorio, Johnathan K. Kamakawiwo'ole

1994 *Review of Native Lands and Foreign Desires: Pehea lā e Pono Ai? In The Contemporary Pacific* 6(1):233–236.

1996 Determining Self: Identity, Nationhood and Constitutional Government in Hawai'i 1842–1887. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Hawai'i.

2001 *Review of Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law. In The Contemporary Pacific* 13(2):574–577.

Pacific Commercial Advertiser.

1859 Close of Vol. III. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 10.

1868 History of Kamehameha. *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 19.

Perkins, Roland F.

1980 Kou Haole; The Image of Chief and Foreigner in the Lahainaluna Mo'olelo Hawai'i. *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 14:58–79.

Perreira, Hiapo

2002 Ke Kālailai Mo'omeheu 'ana i ka Mo'omeheu 'ana i ka Mo'olelo Hiwahiwa o Kawelo, ka Hiapa'i'ole a ka Ikaika, ka Mea Nāna i Ho'oha'aha'a ke 'O'ole'a o Kauahoa, "Ka U'i o Hanalei." MA thesis, Department of Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Hilo.

Plews, John H. R.

1969 *Review of An Account of the Polynesian Race. In The Hawaiian Journal of History* 3:157–158.

Pogue, J. F.

1858 Ka Moolelo Hawaii. Honolulu: Hale Paipalapala Aupuni.

Poli, Z. et al.

1865 Ka Hoomana Kahiko. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Jan. 5–Dec. 30.

1868 "I ka Makamaka Hawaii," a i ole ia, "I ka Enemi paha o ka Oiaio." Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, April 11.

Poepoe, J. M.

1906 Ka Moolelo O Kamehameha I: Ka Na-i Aupuni o Hawaii. Ka Na'i Aupuni, Jan. 30.

Pukui, Mary Kawena

1937 Old Hawaiian Newspapers. Paper presented before the Anthropological Society, December 1.

Pukui, Mary Kawena and Samuel H. Elbert

1986 Hawaiian Dictionary, Revised and Enlarged Edition. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Pukui, Mary Kawena, Samuel H. Elbert and Esther T. Mookini

- 1981 [1966] Place Names of Hawaii. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Puuhonua a na Hawaii
1917 Olelo Hawaii.. Ka Puuhonua a na Hawaii, April 23.
- Ralston, Caroline
1984 Hawaii 1778–1854: Some Aspects of Maka‘ainana Response to Rapid Cultural Change. *The Journal of Pacific History* 11(1-2):21–40.
- Reinecke, John E.
1969 Language and Dialect in Hawaii: A Sociolinguistic History to 1935. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Remy, Jules
1862 Ka Mooololo Hawaii, Histoire de l’Archipel Havaiien. Paris: J. Claye.
- Richards, William
1828a Letter to unkown addressee of April 14. ABCFM Papers. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

1828b Letter to Jeremiah Evarts of Oct. 7. ABCFM Papers. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Rodgers, Charles T.
1898 Education in the Hawaiian Islands: A brief statement of the Present Condition of the Public and Private Schools of the Republic. Honolulu: Department of Public Instruction.
- Sahlins, Marshall
1985 Islands of History. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1995 How “Natives” Think: About Captain Cook, for Example. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Said, Edward W.
1979 [1978] Orientalism. New York: Vintage Books.

1993 *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Schmitt, Robert C.

1977 *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

1989 Comment. *In Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact*, by David E. Stannard. Pp. 114–121. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Scobie, R. A.

1961 *Review of Fragments of Hawaiian History*. *In The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 70(2):253–254.

1966 *Review of Ka Po'e Kahiko*. *In The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75(2):248–249.

Shapiro, Michael

1984 *Language and Politics*. New York: New York University Press.

Sheldon, John G. M. (Kahikina)

1906 *Kaluaikoolau, ke Kaeaea o na Pali Koolau a me na Kaei O Ahi o Kamaile*. Honolulu: Keena Puuku o ka Teritore o Hawaii.

1908 *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Joseph K. Nawahi*. Honolulu: Honolulu Bulletin Publishing Co., Ltd.

1987 *The True Story of Kaluaiko'olau the Leper*. Frances N. Frazier, trans. *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 21:1–41.

1996 *Ka Puke Mo'olelo o Hon. Iosepa K. Nāwahī*. Lōkahi Antonio and R. Keao NeSmith, trans. Hilo: Hale Kuamo'o.

2001 *The True Story of Kaluaikoolau as Told by His Wife, Piilani*. Frances N. Frazier, trans. Lihu'e: The Kauai Historical Society.

Shütz, Albert J.

1994 *The Voices of Eden: A History of Hawaiian Language Studies*.
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Silva, Kalena.

2002 Introduction. *In* Ka Ho'oilina: Puke Pai 'Ōlelo Hawai'i/The Journal of
Hawaiian Language Sources 1(1):Back Cover.

Silva, Noenoe K.

1999 *Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Nei Mākou: Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Colonization*.
Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Hawai'i.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai

1999 *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*.
London: Zed Books Ltd.

Spencer, Thomas P.

1895 *Buke Lapaau Hawai. Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, Dec. 2.

2000 *Kaua Kuloko. 1895. Reprint with foreword by M. Puakea Nogelmeier*.
Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Spoehr, Alexander

1961 Introduction. *In* *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, by Samuel Manaiakalani
Kamakau. Mary Kawena Pukui et al., trans. P. ii. Honolulu: Kameha-
meha Schools Press.

Stannard, David E.

1989 *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western
Contact*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

1991 *Recounting the Fables of Savagery: Native Infanticide and the
Functions of Political Myth*. *In* *Journal of American Studies* 25:381–418.

Stillman, Amy

- 2001 Re=membering the History of Hawaiian Hula. *In* Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific. Jeannette Marie Mageo, ed. 187–204. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Stokes, John F. G.

- 1931 Origin of the Condemnation of Captain Cook in Hawaii. Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1930, 68–104.

- 1932 New Bases For Hawaiian Chronology. Forty-first Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1932, 23–65.

Takakura, Kikue (Ester K. Mookini)

- 1967 A Brief Survey of the Hawaiian Language Newspapers. Unpublished MS. University of Hawai'i, Hamilton Library.

Thiong'o, Ngũgĩ wa

- 1989 Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature. London: J. Currey.

Thrum, Thomas G.

- 1903 Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1904. Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum.

- 1912 Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1913. Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum.

- 1919 Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1920. Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum.

- 1917 Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of S. M. Kamakau, Hawaiian Historian. Hawaiian Historical Society Annual Report for 1917. Pp. 40–61.

Tinker, Reuben

- 1839 Hawaiian History. Hawaiian Spectator, Jan. 1–Oct. 1.

- 1840 Hawaiian History. The Polynesian, July 28–Aug. 22.

Tobin, Jeffrey

1994 Cultural Construction and Native Nationalism: Report from the Hawaiian Front. *Boundary 2* 21:(1):111–133.

1997 Savages, the Poor and the Discourse of Hawaiian Infanticide. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106:(4 [1]):65–92.

Tove, Skutnabb-Kangas

1993 Linguistic Genocide in Education—or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights? Mahwah, New Jersey: Earlbaum Associates.

Trask, Haunani-Kay

1991 Natives and Anthropologists: The Colonial Struggle. *In The Contemporary Pacific* 3(1):159–167.

U., K.

1878 He Mau Leho Hou. *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, Aug. 31.

Unauna, A.

1842 No Ke Kuauhau. *Ka Nonanona*, Nov. 8.

Unauna, John Koi.

1865 Kanalua i ka Moololo Hawaii. *Ke Au Okoa*, Oct. 9.

United States, Bureau of the Census

1975 Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part 2. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Valeri, Valerio

1985 Kingship and Scifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawai'i. Paula Wissing, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Venuti, Lawrence

2000a 1900s–1930s. *In The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti, ed. 9–14. London: Routledge.

- 2000b 1900s. *In The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti, ed. 331–342. London: Routledge.
- 2000c Translation, Community, Utopia. *In The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti, ed. 468–488. London: Routledge.
- Vinay, Jean-Paul and Jean Darbelnet
2000 A Methodology for Translation. Juan C. Sager and M. -J. Hamel, trans. *In The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti, ed. Pp. 84–93. London: Routledge.
- Waimanalo
1863 I ka Lehulehu. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Oct. 10.
- Wells, Robert
1990 Review of Before the Horror. In *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 21(1):159–160.
- White, Geoffrey M. and Ty Kāwika Tengan
2001 Disappearing Worlds: Anthropology and Cultural Studies in Hawai‘i and the Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific* 13(2):381–416.
- Whitney, Henry M. (Wini, Heneri M.)
1856 Na ka poe heluhelu i ka Hoku Loa. Ka Hoku Loa, Sep. 18.
- Wilkin, Peter.
1999 Chomsky and Foucault on Human Nature and Politics: an Essential Difference? *Social Theory and Practice* 25(2):177–
- Wilson, Christie
2002 Census says 27% in Hawai‘i speak English as 2nd language. *The Honolulu Advertiser*, Sept. 30: B1, B2.
- Wilson, William H.
1998 I ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i ke Ola, ‘Life is found in the Hawaiian Language.’ *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 132:123-137.

Wist, B. O.

1940 A Century of Public Education in Hawaii: 1840–1940. Honolulu: Hawaii Educational Review.

Wood, Houston

1999 Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Young, George Terry Kanalu

1995 Mo'olelo Kaukau Ali'i: The Dynamics of Chiefly Service and Identity in 'Ōiwi Society. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Hawai'i.

Yzendoorn, Reginald

1931 Letter to Stella M. Jones of Sept. 9. MS SC Kamakau, Box 11.3. Bishop Museum Archives, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.