

MAI POINA



Experience History As It Unfolded 122 Years Ago

VISITOR'S GUIDE
2015



HAWAII PONO'I COALITION

September 2014

The **Hawaii Pono'i Coalition** (the Coalition) was founded in 2007 to educate those who live in and visit Hawai'i about its true history and the Native Hawaiian people. The Coalition takes its name from the title of the Hawai'i National Anthem written by King Kalākaua in 1874.

Participation in the Coalition is open to any group or individual that supports Native Hawaiian rights. Founding members include many of the organizations that are named below.

Since its founding, the Coalition has presented several events and activities to educate residents and visitors about Hawaii's true history, its people and native culture. The Coalition's signature events are the annual 'Onipa'a celebration honoring Queen Lili'uokalani as a leader of peace and justice, and the drama trilogy: *Mai Poina: The Overthrow, The Annexation Debate and Trial of A Queen*.

Mai Poina: The Overthrow was developed as a walking tour by Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl -- a shorter, more concise version of a living history pageant entitled *January 1893* that depicted the events that led to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The original production was performed in 1993 during the three days prior to the 100th anniversary of the overthrow, and featured over 50 actors performing throughout downtown Honolulu.

The walking tour emphasizes little known perspectives of Native Hawaiians and others, such as Japanese, Chinese and European immigrants, who were negatively impacted by the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy and other subsequent unlawful actions. Included with each of the nearly two dozen performances are scholar discussions and an extensive Viewer's Guide that contribute to and encourage open dialogue.

We hope you are informed by this presentation of *Mai Poina: The Overthrow*, and inspired to learn more about Hawai'i's true history. Please refer to the Hawaiian history timeline and various essays, archival documents and Bibliography in this Viewer's Guide. Please also visit our website at www.hawaiiponoi.info to learn more about other Coalition events.

It is the goal of the Coalition to offer its events to the public free of charge, so donations to continue this educational work are gratefully appreciated, and may be made by visiting the Coalition's website.

Mahalo nui loa,

Hawai'i Pono'i Coalition

Alu Like, Inc. • Native Hawaiian Chamber of Commerce • Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs
Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation • Friends of 'Iolani Palace • Office of Hawaiian Affairs
Kamehameha Schools • PA'I Foundation • King William Charles Lunalilo Trust
Queen Emma Foundation • 'Ilio'ulaokalani • Queen Lili'uokalani Trust and Learning Center
Native Hawaiian Bar Association • UH Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies

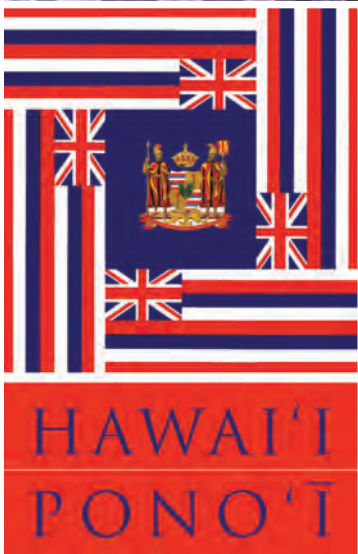


Downtown Honolulu 1893

In the 1893 diagram below, you can see how far the U.S. Consulate and the U.S. Legation are from Arion Hall where the U.S. troops were quartered to “protect American life and property.” Also shown is the Police Station where the Hawaiian troops and ministers were located close to Nuʻuanu Avenue and where most of the American property was located. This positioning suggests the Hawaiian troops were more favorably located to protect American lives and property than were the U.S. troops.



Reprinted with permission from *For Whom are the Stars? Revolution and Counterrevolution in Hawai'i, 1893-1895* by Albertine Loomis, © 1976 University of Hawai'i Press. Map prepared by Dave Comstock.



KEY POINTS IN
HAWAIIAN HISTORY

www.hawaiiponoi.info

KEY POINTS IN HAWAIIAN HISTORY

0-1778
FIRST PEOPLES



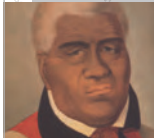
Polynesians settle Hawai'i (0-500 AD). A vibrant, sustainable Hawaiian society evolves from its ancestral roots. Hawaiian fishponds, agricultural systems, complex governing mechanisms, featherwork, hula, and a host of other Hawaiian innovations emerge.

1778
EUROPEAN CONTACT



British naval Captain James Cook encounters Hawai'i. The Native Hawaiian population is estimated at the time to be between 400,000 and 800,000. European and U.S. ships arrive following Cook's "discovery." Hawaiians are exposed to foreign diseases and succumb to these by the tens of thousands through the next century.

1810
HAWAI'I UNITED



Kamehameha I politically unifies Hawai'i, establishing the Hawaiian Kingdom.

1820
MISSIONARIES ARRIVE



American Protestant missionaries arrive. Western education and commerce assume growing importance.

1840
FIRST CONSTITUTION



Kamehameha III, the Council of Chiefs, and key Western advisors collaborate on the first constitution, codifying in written form citizens' rights and establishing a process by which Hawaiian Kingdom laws are adopted.

1843
INDEPENDENCE
RECOGNIZED



France and Britain issue a joint declaration formally recognizing the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent sovereign nation.

1848
THE MÄHELE



The Māhele begins to transform the Hawaiian land tenure system to a Western one based on private property ownership. Private land ownership paves the way for lucrative sugar plantations operated by businessmen of American and European descent.

1850
TREATY OF
FRIENDSHIP



The U.S. and the Hawaiian Kingdom enter into the Hawaiian-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation of 1849, committing the nations to peaceful political and economic interaction.

1859
QUEEN'S HOSPITAL



Queen Emma Kaleleonālanī and Alexander Liholiho, King Kamehameha IV, established the Queen's Hospital to bring "western-style" medicine to help combat diseases that were decimating the Hawaiian population.

1873
ELECTED KING,
ALI'I TRUST ESTABLISHED



Hawai'i's first elected king, William Lunalilo, reigns for one year before his untimely death. He establishes the first of the Ali'i Trusts. His trust is dedicated to caring for Hawaiian elderly.

1875
RECIPROCITY TREATY



The U.S. and the Kingdom of Hawai'i ratify a reciprocity treaty, allowing for duty-free entry of Hawai'i sugar to the U.S. As a result, the sugar industry enjoys phenomenal profits and expands at an exponential rate. Hawai'i begins to change dramatically as land and water resources are increasingly devoted to sugar production.

1884
ALI'I TRUST ESTABLISHED



Bernice Pauahi Bishop, great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I, dies on Oct. 16, 1884. In her Last Will and Testament, Pauahi establishes the second Ali'i Trust, leaving her estate to erect and maintain The Kamehameha Schools for the education of Hawaiian children. The School for Boys opens its doors in 1887. The School for Girls opens in 1894.

1887
BAYONET
CONSTITUTION



Sugar interests emboldened by their own paramilitary force intimidate the King into signing a constitution of their own design. Though the Bayonet Constitution is never lawfully ratified, the sugar interests in the Hawaiian government apply this constitution to limit Native Hawaiian voting rights and the powers of the king. This facilitates the passage of a new treaty with the U.S. that offers the U.S. exclusive use of Pearl Harbor in exchange for continued duty-free entry of sugar from Hawai'i to the U.S.

1890
U.S. LEGISLATION



New U.S. legislation ends the competitive advantages that earlier treaties afforded the Hawai'i sugar industry, dealing the sugar businessmen in Hawai'i a devastating blow. They start planning for the annexation of Hawai'i to the U.S. as a permanent solution to ensure their continued profits.

1893
ILLEGAL OVERTHROW



Responding to requests from her people, Queen Lili'uokalani prepares a new constitution to restore voting rights to Native Hawaiians and naturalized citizens and to reinstate the former authorities of the ruling monarch.



Sugar business interests initiate their plan, orchestrated with U.S. Minister John Stevens, to have Hawai'i annexed to the U.S. In violation of established Hawaiian-American treaties, Stevens orders that U.S. marines land and station themselves adjacent to the main Hawaiian government building. With this shield, the annexationists proclaim that the Hawaiian Kingdom is ended and that a Provisional Government is established until annexation with the U.S. occurs. Stevens declares the Provisional Government as the legitimate government.



To avoid armed conflict with the U.S. marines under Stevens' authority, Lili'uokalani, under protest, conditionally yields her sovereign authority to the U.S. until the U.S. completes an investigation of its agents' involvement and undoes the actions of those agents.



President Cleveland withdraws the annexation treaty from Congress. U.S. Special Commissioner James Blount is sent to Hawai'i to investigate and finds that U.S. representatives were responsible for the overthrow. President Cleveland refers to the United States' involvement as "an act of war" and requests Congress to support the reinstatement of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

1894
REPUBLIC OF HAWAII



Members of the Provisional Government realize annexation will not occur under President Cleveland. They rename themselves the "Republic of Hawai'i" and wait for the political tide to turn.

1896
BANNING OF
HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE



The Republic of Hawai'i legislates that English be the medium of instruction in public and private schools, severely restricting the continuity of Hawaiian as the most common mode of communication.

1897
ANNEXATION TREATY



Proponents of annexation forward a new annexation treaty to President McKinley. Representatives from Hawaiian patriotic leagues travel to Washington D.C. and present two related anti-annexation petitions with a total of 38,000 signatures. The annexation treaty fails.

1898
ANNEXATION



The Spanish American War begins. Hawai'i is seen as an essential acquisition for U.S. military purposes. Annexationists attempt to have Hawai'i annexed via a joint resolution, a form of legislation that affects only internal U.S. matters. The joint resolution passes with a simple majority vote instead of the two-thirds required to pass a treaty. The U.S. proceeds with an annexation ceremony on August 12. On August 13, the U.S. military occupies Hawai'i to prepare for its engagement in the Philippines. The Republic of Hawai'i cedes to the U.S. 1.8 million acres of Hawaiian Kingdom government lands and crown lands (lands of the ruling monarch).

1909
ALI'I TRUST
ESTABLISHED



Queen Lili'uokalani establishes a third Ali'i Trust, dedicated to the welfare of orphaned children. In 1911, the trust is amended to direct that her estate be used "for the benefit of orphan and destitute children in the Hawaiian islands, the preference to be given to Hawaiian children of pure or part aboriginal blood."

1921
HAWAIIAN HOMES
COMMISSION ACT



Affirming a special relationship between the U.S. and Native Hawaiians, in July 1921 the U.S. enacts the "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920." The Act reserves for Native Hawaiian homesteading over 203,500 acres of the ceded Hawaiian Kingdom crown and government lands that were deemed unusable for growing sugar.

1959
STATEHOOD



Hawai'i becomes a state. Reaffirming the U.S. trust obligation to Native Hawaiians, the U.S. cedes to the State of Hawai'i 1.4 million acres of Hawaiian Kingdom crown and government lands, requiring that they be used for five purposes, including "the betterment of the conditions of native Hawaiians."

1978
STATE CON CON



Hawaiian leaders organize in the Hawai'i State Constitutional Convention to have the State honor its obligation to use some of its ceded lands revenues to improve the condition of Native Hawaiians, ultimately leading to the creation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. In other provisions, Hawaiian language is adopted as one of the official languages of Hawai'i, and the State reaffirms traditional and customary rights and practices and adopts the study of Hawaiian culture, history and language as part of the public education curriculum.

1993
THE APOLOGY BILL



The U.S. enacts Public Law 103-150 apologizing for the U.S. role in the overthrow and the "suppression of the inherent sovereignty of the Native Hawaiian people."

I keia ao e holo nei...



PERSPECTIVES FROM THE LĀHUI: 2012

Five Hawaiian scholars comment on the
continuing significance of the events of 1893.

Mele Lāhui: Songs of Sovereignty, History, and Practice

by Leilani Basham,
Ph.D.

HE LEI NO KA POE ALOHA AINA

*Kaulana na pua a Hawaii
Kupaa mahope o ka Aina
Hiki mai ka Elele a ka lokoino
Palapala anunu me ka pakaha
Pane mai o Hawaii Nui a Keawe
Kokua na Hono a Piilani
Kakoo mai Kauai o Mano
Pau pu me ke one o Kakuhihewa
Aole e kau kuu pulima
Maluna o ka pepa a ka Enemi
Hoohui Aina kuai hewa
I ka pono Kiwila a o ke kanaka
Aole makou e minamina
I ka puu kala a ke Aupuni
Ua ola makou i ka pohaku
I ka ai kamahao a ka Aina
Mahope makou o ka Moi
A kau hou ia i ke Kalaunu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
No ka poe i aloha i ka Aina.*

MISS KEKOAHIWAIKALANI,
Puahaulani Hale, Honolulu,
Feb. 10, 1893.
(from *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*,
May 15, 1893)

This is one of over 300 mele lāhui published in Hawaiian language newspapers and books beginning on January 20, 1893, a mere three days after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and continuing through the illegal annexation of Hawai'i by the U.S. in 1898. Mele lāhui are mele (songs, chants, and poetry) written in honor of the lāhui (the Hawaiian people and the Hawaiian nation). Like the example above, many of these mele lāhui were published multiple times and in multiple locations, bringing the total number of publications to nearly 450 during this five year period.

These mele lāhui serve as a repository of knowledge and an archive of information—ranging from the historical to the political, and also including the cultural and philosophical. They recount specific details of the events. They honor the heroes of these events while they criticize and disparage the enemies. They assert our rights to sovereignty and they protest American colonialism. They speak of our aloha for our land and our desire that it achieve a state of pono (justice, righteousness, balance, harmony).

The above mele, here entitled “He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina,” but commonly known by its first line, “Kaulana Nā Pua,” is a prime example of the characteristics described above. It first appeared in print on February 24, 1893 (*Ka Leo o ka Lahui*) and was published a total of nine times in the years following, appearing in newspapers and as the first mele in the *Buke Mele Lahui* of 1895. It is signed by Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani, whose full name was Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast, in honor of the events surrounding the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. This mele, one of several composed by her, records and recounts the refusal of the members of the Royal Hawaiian Band to sign the oath of allegiance required by the Provisional Government. Prendergast refers to this document, describing it as a “palapala anunu me ka pakaha,” a “document of greed and extortion,” which they refused to sign (“Aole e kau kuu pulima / Maluna o ka pepa a ka Enemi”).

In the first few lines of the mele, the band members are honored, as are all of the “pua a Hawaii” (“flowers, children, descendants of Hawai'i”) who “kupaa mahope o ka aina” (“stand firm in support of the land”). Those who overthrew our government are referred to as the enemy (“enemi”) and also as “evil-hearted messengers” (“ka elele a ka lokoino”). Hawaiian cultural values abound, such as

the importance of 'āina, and its connection to our history and our genealogy. The four islands of Hawai'i, Maui, Kaua'i, and O'ahu are described as lending their voice and giving their complete assistance and support, with a reference to a respected and loved ali'i of each island. This is also a political assertion of the domain of the Hawaiian Kingdom as extending from Hawai'i to Kaua'i, with the full support of ali'i of the past along with the people of the present. Prendergast also asserts the unimportance of the economic benefits seen in annexation to the U.S. ("Aole makou e minamina / I ka puu kala a ke Aupuni"), asserting instead our reliance on the "pohaku," or "stones," the foundation of our 'āina, which are described as "ka ai kamahao a ka Aina" or "the amazing food of the land."

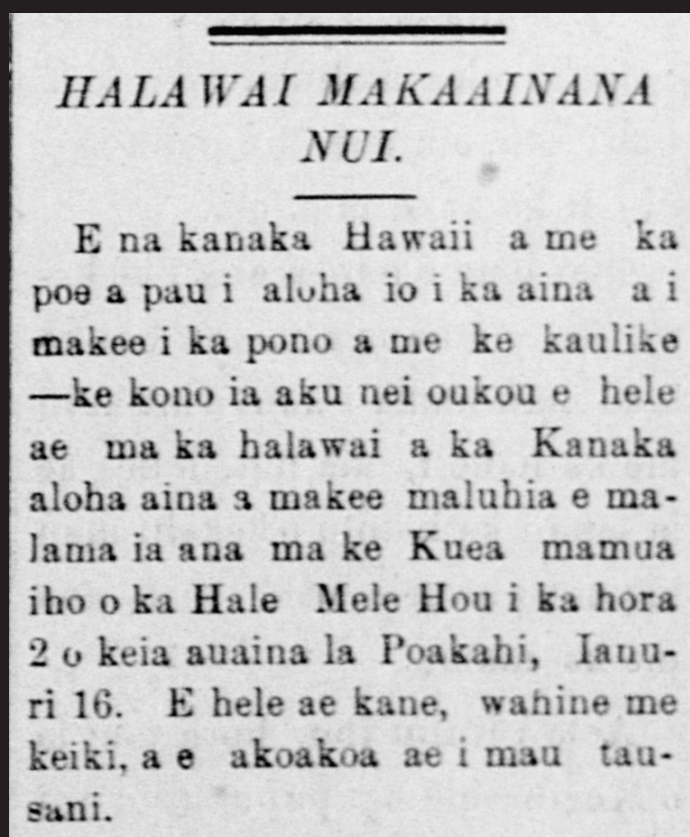
On the political level, Kekoaohiwaikalani describes the annexation as the wrongful trading of the civil rights of the people ("Hoohui aina kuai hewa / I ka pono kiwila a o ke kanaka"). Towards the closing of the mele, Kekoaohiwaikalani asserts her support of Hawai'i's sovereignty, as evidenced by the pledge of support for Queen Lili'uokalani

until she returns to her seat of government ("Mahope makou o ka Moi / A kau hou ia i ke Kalaunu"). While this idea is important, Kekoaohiwaikalani does not dedicate her song to it. Rather, her mele ends with the line, "No ka poe i aloha i ka Aina," in honor of "the people who love the land," thereby demonstrating the paramount importance of our 'āina and our aloha for it.

Leilani Basham is Assistant Professor in the Hawaiian-Pacific Studies Program at the University of Hawai'i-West O'ahu. She holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and also holds degrees and certificates in History, Hawaiian Language, and Hawaiian Studies. The kumu hula of Hālau Kupukupu Ke Aloha, she is 'ūniki from Hālau Mōhala 'Ilima.

Illustration below: This article from the Hawaii Holomua calls for a meeting of the Royalist subjects on Jan. 16, 1893.

Translation: Puakea Nogelmeier.



Huge Citizens' Assembly

Hawaiians and all those who truly love the land and treasure goodness and justice - you are all invited to attend the meeting of peace-loving patriots, which will be held in the Square directly in front of the New Opera House at 2:00 p.m. this Monday, January 16. Men, women, and children should all go, and gather by the thousands.

Nothing to Gain

Davianna Pōmaika'i
McGregor

Various immigrant peoples came to Hawai'i to earn a living on the sugar plantation, and their integration into Hawai'i's society was mediated through the plantation experience. While many immigrants eventually returned home or moved to America, an equal number found that they lacked the resources or the desire to move back or to move on. They also grew attached to the land that they had labored upon and the society that they had helped make prosperous. They decided to settle in Hawai'i, raise families, and build a future.

Many first generation plantation workers learned Hawaiian and adopted Hawaiian lifestyles when they left the plantation. There was a high rate of intermarriage between Chinese men

and Hawaiian women, such that the 1910 census enumerated "Asiatic-Hawaiian" as a distinct category of 3,734 persons. As their families expanded, the need for housing, food, clothing, fuel, health care and recreation also expanded. When these needs were not met, the workers organized and even went on strike.

The planter elite reacted to labor militancy. As early as 1886, when the Chinese were the largest group on the plantations and the most militant, the legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom complied with the anti-Chinese prejudices of the planters by excluding new Chinese from Hawai'i. In 1887, the Bayonet Constitution, which the planters imposed upon King Kalākaua, excluded all Asians from voting. In response, Chinese mer

Hawai'i State Archives

Photo: Japanese sugar plantation workers.



chants funded the Wilcox Rebellion of 1889 with the aim of abrogating the 1887 Constitution and promulgating a constitution to restore their voting rights. Chinese newspaper publisher Ho Fan was convicted of treason by the Reform Government of the haole planter-missionary elite, fined thousands of dollars, and sentenced to prison.

Despite clear evidence that many Chinese wanted to stay in the islands as full citizens, those in power denied this aspiration even existed. Lorrin A. Thurston, as president of the Board of Immigration, wrote this in his 1890 report: A “Chinaman is unprogressive . . . He does not want to and will not adapt himself to the country where he goes, but is, and feels himself to be and acts as an alien, temporarily banished from his beloved China, to which he sends all his earnings and whither he follows as soon as he has acquired property enough to make him independent.”

It is well-known that the vast majority of Kānaka ‘Ōiwi, the Native Hawaiian people, ourselves, felt we had nothing to gain from incorporation into the United States, and resisted annexation—mind, body, soul. We never directly relinquished claims to sovereignty as a people or over our national lands to the United States, either through the monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum. Indeed, 21,000 Kānaka ‘Ōiwi signed petitions of the Hui Aloha ‘Āina protesting the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, and another 17,000 signed petitions of the Hui Kalai‘āina calling for the restoration of the monarchy.

Similarly, those of Asian ancestry had nothing to gain from the incorporation of Hawai‘i into the United States. By 1900, when Hawai‘i became a Territory of the United States, there were 154,000 people living in Hawai‘i, and Kānaka ‘Ōiwi were the minority, making up only 24% of the population (Caucasians were 7% and Portuguese 10%). Immigrant Japanese and Chinese and their descendants, combined, were the majority, making up 56% of the population. Yet 92% of the Japanese and 84% of the Chinese were born in their homeland, and excluded from becoming naturalized citizens of the United States—until 1943 for first generation Chinese, and until 1952 for first generation Japanese.

Excluded from citizenship, these first generation Asians had nothing to gain from the incorporation of Hawai‘i into the U.S., yet as a majority in Hawai‘i, they had prospects of attaining a better life for their children and grandchildren.

But, this did not mean that Hawaiians and Asian immigrants found common cause. Although the sovereignty of Kānaka ‘Ōiwi had been suppressed, they were granted full civil rights as American citizens, and therefore comprised the majority of eligible voters. Gradually, a political alliance of convenience between the haole elite and Kānaka ‘Ōiwi evolved, as each group sought to advance their very different interests in the face of a steady expansion of the presence of Asian immigrants and their descendants.

This too is a legacy of the Overthrow.

Davianna Pōmaika‘i McGregor is a Professor and founding member of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. A historian of Hawai‘i and the Pacific, she helps steward Kanaloa Kaho‘olawe as a member of the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ōhana. She is the author of Nā Kua‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture, which focuses on Hawaiian cultural customs, beliefs, and practices in cultural kīpuka.

BUT FOR THE OVERTHROW— IMAGINING AN ALTERNATE FUTURE

Melody Kapilialoha
MacKenzie

In 1893, Kānaka Maoli were citizens of a self-governing nation whose status as an independent sovereign was acknowledged by other nations, including the United States. The entire process of annexation, from the 1887 Bayonet Constitution to the 1898 Joint Resolution of Annexation, denied Native Hawaiians and other citizens of Hawai‘i what is surely a nation’s most basic right: the right to exist. Native Hawaiians lost the internal and external rights and control that are hallmarks of a sovereign. And all of Hawai‘i citizens, but particularly Kānaka Maoli, lost a future—one now difficult for us to imagine.

Hawai‘i State Archives

How would Hawai‘i have developed as a nation and as a society if the overthrow had failed, and the Republic had not ceded Hawai‘i’s sovereignty and national lands to the United States?

Let me suggest a few possibilities.

Hawaiian Lands

The approximately 1.8 million acres of Crown and Government lands that the Republic ceded in 1898 would have remained lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In its 1894 Constitution, the Republic expropriated the Crown Lands, the lands of the Mō‘ī, without compensation. The



following year, the 1895 Land Act allowed the alienation of Crown Lands, and formally merged the Crown and Government Lands into one category—"public lands." This Act also established a homesteading program on the public lands, with the primary purpose of attracting American and European settlers.

How might the Hawaiian Kingdom have used the Government and Crown lands to benefit Hawai'i's people? The 1848 Māhele and subsequent laws instituting fee simple ownership resulted in very little land going to the maka'āinana, or native people, who received only about 28,600 acres by perfecting claims to their small parcels. But they also could buy Government Land for a modest amount, and this may have been easier and more beneficial. Recent scholarship indicates that in the decade after the Māhele, Hawaiians purchased more than 100,000 acres.

But for the overthrow, with both the Government and Crown Lands as a resource, the Hawaiian Kingdom could have continued the distribution of lands to the maka'āinana contemplated in the original Māhele process. Instead, the United States, and large ranching and sugar interests, became the beneficiaries of these lands.

Imagine a society in which Hawaiians own land.

U.S. Military

If Hawai'i had not been annexed, some 200,000 acres, over half of it Government and Crown Lands, would not now be devoted to U.S. military uses. The island of Kaho'olawe, a bombing target for almost a half century, would not still be in need of a massive cleanup. More than 4,500 acres of Mākua Valley now used for live fire training and combined arms maneuver training, and over 100,000 acres of Pōhakuloa on Hawai'i Island, would have been put to more productive uses. The damage to our land and water from a century of U.S. military use would not be the legacy left for our children to bear.

Annexation made the dominating presence of the U.S. military possible. Although it had gained exclusive rights to Pearl Harbor in

1884, the first permanent U.S. military garrison was only established in 1898.

Imagine our islands without this overwhelming military presence.

Language

In 1896, the Republic enacted a law requiring English as the sole medium of instruction in schools. Though English had gradually become the language of government, Hawaiian was still the national language. After annexation, a concerted effort sought to eliminate Hawaiian language from public life—schools, government, media—all under the guise of uplifting the Hawaiian people by assimilating them into American society.

In 1983, only 2,000 native speakers remained—many of them over age seventy, with less than fifty children speakers. Nearly all came from the lone Hawaiian-speaking island of Ni'ihau. Hawaiian was in danger of becoming extinct, until efforts in the 1970s and 80s led to its rebirth. But for the overthrow and annexation, though English would perhaps have played a major role in Hawaiian life, Hawaiian would have continued as the national language.

Imagine a truly bilingual people, speaking, reading and writing in both their mother tongue, 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, and English.

These are but three examples. Can we also imagine a school system with Hawaiian values at its core, a criminal justice system that seeks restitution and reintegration rather than retribution, an economy not based solely on tourism and the military, and productive relations with Pacific Island nations and other sovereigns throughout the world?

Let us boldly imagine and create a different future. Mai Poina. Do not forget.

Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie is an Associate Professor and Director of Ka Hulu Ao Center for Excellence in Native Hawaiian Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. A former staff member of the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation, she is chief editor of the Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook.

Mai Poina: The Hawaiian Nation

Jonathan Kay
Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio

In a rather remarkable decision last year by the Supreme Court of the United States, America's 1993 apology resolution to the Kānaka Maoli was revealed to be nothing more than a curt nod acknowledging the messy legal relationship between the people of the United States and the people of Hawai'i. Hardly a scintillating example of American jurisprudence, the US court batted the decision on ceded lands back to the Hawai'i Supreme Court with really only one instruction: Do not rely on Resolution 103-50.

We may thus add the 1993 Apology Resolution to the list of federal laws—the Newlands

Resolution, the Hawaiian Homes Act, and the proposed bill to “reorganize” the Hawaiian government—that have obscured and distorted the identity of the Hawaiian for more than a century.

So that we do not forget who we truly are:

The existence of the Hawaiian Kingdom, its recognition by other nation states including the US in 1843, and its creation of nascent land title and a process for ownership and sale distinguishes Hawaiian history rather sharply from the history of European colonialism and the history of United States treaty relations with Native Americans. The Hawaiian Kingdom was no less a

Photot: Michael Young.



nation-state for having been governed by Native monarchs and legislatures. In fact, the extent to which the Hawaiian government shared power and participation freely, boasting a liberal franchise and a multi-ethnic legislature from 1851 until the overthrow, helps explain why even people who are not Native Hawaiians themselves view the loss of the Hawaiian government with great regret today.

Plainly stated, the annexation of Hawai'i historically was a blatant violation of international law. The Congress of the United States annexed a nation state with full knowledge that the vast majority of its citizens opposed that annexation. Armed forces of the United States entered the sovereign territory of the Hawaiian Kingdom over the Monarchy's objections, and without the justification of war or unrest. Congress cannot take refuge in the fact that the Republic, the puppet government imposed by those who perpetrated the overthrow, ceded the sovereignty of Hawai'i. Even President Grover Cleveland had already conceded the role of the United States in creating the Republic, calling those actions an "act of war" committed against a country with which the United States had the friendliest of relationships, numerous treaties, and a long-term lease for its naval coaling station at Pearl River estuary.

When acquiring Native lands in North America, the U.S. Legislative, Executive and Judicial branches made the argument that Native Americans had no title over their lands, thereby opening the way for their lawful dispossession. But beginning with the Organic Acts of 1845, the Kingdom of Hawai'i had established an intricate legal mechanism for the creation of land ownership. This produced the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, and by 1850, there was legislation guiding the claiming of title by all the citizens. Numerous court cases over the remaining life of the Kingdom clarified the legal nature of that title. A stable Kingdom government buttressed this established system of private land

ownership. This free and open government extended the voting franchise liberally, without restrictions based on ethnicity or nation of birth, and fostered a highly literate Native population and an informed and vigorous legislature.

But the offer of legal land titles was what made economic and political development possible, and the core ethic of Hawaiian Kingdom land tenure was that the common Native subject, the *hoā'āina*, had vested land rights every bit as sturdy as those of the king or the nobles. This principle was so powerful that every single deed issued by the Kingdom from 1847 until the overthrow bore the caveat "subject to the rights of Native tenants." This principle was deemed so central to the creation of land title that the Hawai'i Supreme Court has emphasized and protected inherent Native rights in decision after decision having to do with public and private lands.

Whether the State of Hawai'i will be able to manage its relationship with legitimate Native claims remains to be seen, but this historian would like to point out that very passionate Native cultural and political movements have been a substantial and growing part of the society for more than thirty five years—without violence, and indeed, without a single interruption of the notoriously skittish tourist industry. And while Americans' understanding of Hawaiians is becoming more and more confounded by their laws, Hawaiians' knowledge and understanding are becoming ever clearer.

We are the Hawaiian nation and Hawai'i is our country.

Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio is Professor of Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and a practicing musician and composer. He has been an advocate for the restoration of Hawai'i's political independence, and writes about the sovereignty movement in Hawai'i.

Notes on Lāhui and Identity 2012

Yuklin Aluli

I begin this recent history / mo'olelo of Hawaiian identity by quoting the historian Jonathan Osorio:

The most important political question of 1845 or of any year for the kingdom was "to whom does the Nation belong?" . . . [F]or Hawaiians, two words were necessary to convey the meaning of nationhood: aupuni, the government established by Kamehameha, and lāhui, which means gathering, community, tribe, and people. But what lāhui most often refers to is the Hawaiian race. (41)

The Bayonet Constitution of 1887 disenfranchised two-thirds of formerly eligible lāhui, while extending the vote for members of the House of Nobles to non-citizen foreign residents who could read Hawaiian, English, or other European language. With the overthrow of Lili'uokalani on January 17, 1893, only those willing to pledge allegiance to the Provisional Government could become voting citizens. Although the vote was restored with Annexation in 1898, the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act in 1921 fractured the lāhui between those of sufficient blood quantum (50% or more) and those without. Paradoxically, blood quantum provisions emanate from application of so called "grandfather's laws" used to exclude African Americans from the franchise (Kauanui, 129). Plaintiffs in a recent lawsuit, *Arakaki v Lingle*, filed in the US District Court for Hawai'i in 2002, sought to dismantle the ninety-year-old statute on the basis of the Equal Protection provisions of the U.S. Constitution. Interestingly, these Plaintiffs opposed the intervention of a group representing native Hawaiians who had not yet been awarded leases, contending that until "qualified" by the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, these native Hawaiians had no standing. The

argument advanced served to reduce the lāhui to a manageable 21,000 "qualified native Hawaiians" who could be given a parcel of land and sent away. That a member of the Plaintiffs' group was a descendant of Lorrin A. Thurston only amplified the weight of these proceedings and their historicity.

The admission of Hawai'i into statehood in 1959 further fractured the lāhui by adopting the HHCA blood quantum definition of native Hawaiian for beneficiaries of the trust imposed on all territorial lands ceded to the State of Hawai'i (Hawai'i Statehood Act § 5(f).) This trust and the fate of ceded lands/ceded lands revenues have been the subjects of two recent opinions: in the Hawai'i Supreme Court [*OHA v. HCDCH*, 121 Hawai'i 324 (Hawai'i 2009)] and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit [*Day v. Apoliona*, ___ F.3d ___, No. 08-16704 (9th Cir. 2010)].

In both instances, the State of Hawai'i has taken positions that exploit this fracture in identity of the lāhui. The *OHA v. HCDCH* [121 Hawai'i 324 (Hawai'i 2009)] case found Jon Osorio the last remaining plaintiff with standing to sue. His standing was contested by the State on the basis that he was not a native Hawaiian, having "not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to 1778." The State went so far as to coin yet another term, "non native Hawaiian," to describe Plaintiff Osorio. The Hawai'i Court found in favor of Osorio, holding that he, as a descendant of those peoples inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, and claiming cultural and religious attachments to the 'āina, had standing to enforce the State's compliance with public lands trust provisions.



Hawai'i State Archives

Photo: The wahine of Hui Aloha 'Āina gathered signatures in opposition to the Treaty of Annexation. In the second row, second from the right, is Emma Nāwahī, the author's great, great aunt.

In the Day case, the Federal appeals court concluded that the Office of Hawaiian Affairs did not abuse its discretion in expending ceded lands revenues, ostensibly earmarked for betterment of the conditions of native Hawaiians as defined under the HHCA, in furtherance of programs benefitting all Native Hawaiians. Again, the State attacked the standing of the native Hawaiian Plaintiffs, on the grounds that no beneficiary of the § 5(f) trust could claim an injury as long as the State spends more money on education than the DOE receives from § 5(f) trust revenues. Sadly, the native Hawaiian Plaintiffs pitted themselves against other members of the lāhui

in the definitional wars triggered by conflicting statutes and previous litigation.

The cynicism of the State of Hawai'i in both lawsuits resembles that of the proponents of the 1887 Bayonet Constitution, the Provisional Government, and the 1921 Senate Committee on the Territories when it proposed the 50% blood quantum. The dissection of the lāhui into bits and pieces—non native Hawaiian, native Hawaiian, Native Hawaiian, qualified native Hawaiian, descendants of those people inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands in 1778—has been a legacy of the years since the overthrow of our nation. It is not our inheritance. We are still here. Hawai'i pono'ī.

Yuklin Aluli is an Attorney at Law, and a past President, Secretary, Director, Founding Member, and currently Treasurer of the Native Hawaiian Bar Association.

Commemorating the Voices of our Kūpuna

by
Manu Kaʻiama



Hawaiʻi State Archives

ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) was an oral language up until 1822, when American missionaries standardized a Hawaiian alphabet. For over a thousand years before this time, the spoken word was the memory of historical events, great aliʻi (chiefs), genealogical lines and all other important facets to Kānaka Maoli (Hawaiians). As a result, storytelling became an integral component of everyday life.

“Mele” (song) was one medium utilized to transfer information from one generation to the next. Mele encompasses many forms of lyrical presentation for us Kānaka Maoli. “Mele hula” are songs that are to be danced to. “Mele oli” are songs that are chanted, not danced.

Common Kanaka Maoli chants encompass the entire prayer world. But in its broadest sense, chanting is a definite style of lyrical composition used to communicate an endless array of news, knowledge, and human expression, among other things. Unlike mele hula, mele oli are rarely accompanied by

any musical instrument. Kānaka Maoli of olden times chanted daily. It was a common occurrence and a natural thing to do. However, there were those who were trained in this skill and chosen at an early age to be responsible for perfecting this artistry. These chanters grew to become well known for their keen ability, sharp memory and commanding presentations. They were chosen to conduct appropriate protocol during ceremonial times and widely recognized as masters of oli.

The ability to adequately compose an oli is a greatly respected skill, especially nowadays, since so many of our customary practices have been lost. These poetic expressions incorporate a dynamic use of allegory, utilizing the unlimited choices available in our Kanaka Maoli world view. The inclusion of phonetically pleasing phrases coupled with dynamic imagery can evoke an emotional reaction from even the coldest soul. Similar to naming a child, as tradition would have it, every word utilized in a chant must be carefully analyzed for possible detrimental side-effects due to their kaona (other meanings), before any public presentation was to occur.

Chants that are noa (free) by virtue of their composer allowing them to be printed or recited by others are well appreciated in the chanting arena. This does not mean the chanter takes this opportunity lightly, absolutely not. The chanter must pray seriously to ensure that this is a pono (right) thing to do. They must fall in love with the oli they choose, and more importantly, it must fall in love with them. At this point, the chanter is open to all hō'ailona (signs) that may appear for guidance and permission to perform a so-called "noa" mele.

The type of chant being performed usually dictates the style of presentation. A mele ko'ihonua (genealogical chant) is usually performed in a kepaKepa or conversational style. The ho'āe'ae style, where the tempo tends to be slower and phrases shorter, is commonly used for love chants. Ho'ouwēuwē is used for dirges, and these chants incorporate wailing and gliding qualities. Again, daily practice perfects these and other styles and contributes to the development of profound skills and a successful delivery. Oli honor the communion between kānaka and the physical and spiritual world around us.

The late 19th century was a tumultuous time for Kānaka Maoli. The popular displeasure with the latest constitution, followed by a citizen's revolt, the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani and a failed counter-revolution, all occurred in a period of less than ten years. Needless to say, there was much to talk about. The supply of mele composed at the turn of the century and further documented in various newspapers, articles, books and even family records are in great numbers. Many of these oli speak of adoration for the Queen, the loss of sovereignty, and the hope of justice from God and America. Written at a time when kaona was still commonly incorporated in oli texts, a learned person would listen for references to Lili'uokalani by use of her other names like Loloku, Walania, or perhaps Kamaka'eha. Also, images that incorporated yellow, the color of her royal reign, were abundant. References to a burning torch may be found, the hallmark of the Kalākaua family. You may also find hints of her motto: E onipa'a i ka imi na'auao (Be steadfast in the seeking of knowledge) embedded in lines that use "pa'a" references repetitively, for example. When planning to reenact moments in Hawai'i history at the time of the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani, the organizing committee of Mai

Poina thought it would be complementary to add a chant component to the presentations. Though the mini plays will be conducted four per day over a period of three days, the chanting performances will be limited to the opening of the first reenactment, and after the last reenactment for the last two days. This was a purposeful decision. Even though these are performances, the role of chanter is to live the chant. In essence, become one with the oli. The chants are sacred expressions and need to be cared for. The limitation, or kapu, placed upon their recitation, elevates them to a realm they belong in. They were all gathered from various sources but represent the same time period themes.

The following is part of a chant found in Nupepa Kuokoa, Honolulu, T.H. Poalima, November 30, 1917. The author is only designated by a P. and it is an admiration oli written in honor of Queen Lili'uokalani. It is entitled "He Kanaenae Aloha No Liliu" which is also a common title for various chants written in her honor.

HE KANAENAE ALOHA NO LILIU

E ala e ka Lani ae moe nei,
 Ua ao ua puka o Ilokuloa;
 Ua makaukau ua meani,
 I kuke noeau ia e Nape;
 O ko puni no au i ike,
 O ka i'a lawalu me ka opae;
 Ai aua ka wahine a maona,
 Ikaika ka helena o ke ala loa,
 Aloha ko home Wakiuekono,
 I puia i ke ala me ke onaona;
 Onaona ke ala o ka miulana,
 Na kahiko ia a o ko kino;
 Eia na lede makaonaona,
 Na ki hoi o ko aupuni.
 O kou moto ia o ka onipaa,
 Onipaa ke aloha no Hawaii;
 Hea aku no au o mai oe,
 Onipaa ke aloha kou moto ia.

E ala e Liliu e moe loa nei,
 E ike i ou kini makaaninana;
 Ua puka e ka la aia ilua,
 Ke kani kuilua nei na pele.
 Nana i hoike aku i ka lono,
 O Liliuokalani ua hele loa.
 Aia paha oe i Waikiki,
 O ka heheenua i Pualeilani;
 Ua nani no oe ua hanohano,
 Ua ike ko luna me ko lalo;
 Na ka mahina a i hoike mua,
 Ka hiona pilikia e hiki mai ana.
 Ke alalaua ko ka moana,
 O ka i'a ulaula a ka loko'ino;
 Me oe ke aloha e Liliuani,
 Ke 'Ii Aimoku i aloha ia.
 E o e Liliu i kou inoa,
 Onipaa ke aloha kou moto ia.
 Hakuia e

P.

Reproduced
 directly from
 Nupepa Kuokoa
 Nov. 30, 1917: 2
 with diacritical
 marks missing.

Loosely translated by Dr. K. Kapā'anaokalāokeola Oliveira, this part of the chant discusses "the diffused sweet smelling fragrance of the miulana tree, the adornments of your body, here are the tender-faced women, the keys of your government, your motto to be steadfast, steadfast in love for Hawai'i. I call out to you, you reply to me, your motto to be steadfast with love."

A tender message, yet a call to remain steadfast. Chanting is poetic and spiritual. It encapsulates

the physical with the metaphysical, simply through delivery. The composer also made use of a distinct style where ending vowel sounds and sometimes even words would begin the next phrase, so as to aid in remembering lines. If lucky, hidden meanings will present themselves to the audience. However, usually only after years of study of this type of poetry, coupled with additional knowledge about little details that are pertinent to the topic at hand, are these messages then revealed.



Photo: Michael Young.

"The Haku Mele (Hawaiian chanter) is the single most important cultural figure and purveyor of Hawaiian lyric, prose, poetry, and prayer."

– Kumu John Keolamaka'āinakalāhuiokalani Lake



Queen Lili'uokalani at Washington Place

PERSPECTIVES FROM THE LĀHUI: 1893

Selections from the Hawaiian language newspaper *Hawaii Holomua*.
Selected and translated by Ho'olaupa'i.
Mahalo nui loa to Kau'i Sai-Dudoit and Puakea Nogelmeier.

HAWAII HOLOMUA HONOLULU, JAN. 18, 1893

KA HOOKUU ANA O KA AHAOLELO.

I ka hōsa 12 ponoī o ke awakea Poaono i hala, ua haalele aku la ko kakou Aliiāimoku i ka Hale Alii i ukali ia e na Kahili Alii a me na Ukali pilikino o ke Alo Alii. I ka hiki ana i Aliiolani Hale, ua haawi ia mai la na hoohiwahiwa e ka Puali Puihi Ohe, na Koa Kumau, ka Hui Kalaiaina a me ka lehulehu.

Ua komo aku la ke Alii, a he manawa pokole, ua hoea aku la iloko o ke Keena Ahaolelo me ka ukali ia e na Lunakanawii o ka Aha Kiekie a me Kaapuni, ka Aha Kuhina a me na Ukali Ponoī o ke Alo Alii. I ka hoea ana o ke Aliiāimoku iluna o ke kahua kiekiena, ua ku na Keiki Alii Kawanakoa a me Kalanianaʻole ma ka aoao akau, a o ke Kiaaina A. S. Cleghorn ma ka aoao hema.

I ka pau ana o ka pule a Rev. H. H. Paleka, ua hoomaka mai la ke Alii e haawi mai i Kana haiolelo me ka moakaka a me ka lohe pono ia, a eia iho

HAIOLELU A KA MOIWA- HINE

—: NO KA :—

HOOKUU ANA I KA AHAOLE- LO KAUKANAWAI O

1892.

E NA 'LII A ME KA POEIKOHOIA :

Oiai, ua oi aku mamua o na malama ehiku i hala ae nei mai ka manawa mai A'u i wehe ai i keia Ahaolelo, a iwaena o ia manawa he lehulehu na loli ana o na Aha Kuhina. A iloko o keia Kuu loihī i ike ole ia mamua ae nei henui no ka hana i hanaia, a ke haawi aku nei Au i Ko'u mahalo ia oukou no ka pau ana o ka oukou mau hana koikoi i hana iho nei.

O na Kanawai i kauia iho nei a i hookomoia iloko o na Buke Kanawai, ke hilinei nei Au, e kokua nui ana ia i ka hooholomua ana i ka pomaikai o ke Aupuni, a he mea hoi No'u e hauoli ai ke kapaeia ana ae o na hana e hoao ana e hoololi i ke dala o ke Aupuni, a e hooku'ia ana hoi i na hana maa mau ma ka oihana kalepa.

Na Ko'u mau Kuhina e hooko pololei aku i ko oukou mau make-make i hoike maopopoia iloko o na Kanawai lehulehu i li'o iho nei i Kanawai.

O na hoolilo dala a oukou i hana iho nei, ua manaolana Au a me Ko'u mau mea nana e a'o malalo o ke Kanawai, e lawa pono ana na loaa Aupuni i hiki pono ai ke hooko pono ia ko oukou mau makemake e like me ia i hoike maopopoia.

He hana Na'u e hooikaika nui ai ka hooi ana aku i na launa kuikahi ana me ko kakou hoaloha nui pili kokoke loa, oia hoi o Amerika Hui-puia, i hiki ai ke hoihoi hou ia mai ko kakou mau pomaikai ma na hana mahiai e like me ko ka manawa i hala.

A pela no hoi, he mea e oluolu ai Ko'u manao i ka ike ana iho i ka hoohoihoi manawalea i haawia aku i kekahi o ko kakou mau oihana hana lima hoopulapula hou, a ke manaolana nei Au, e hoike mai ana na hopena o ia mau mea i ka noeau o ka hana a oukou i hana ai.

E NA 'LII A ME KA POEIKOHOIA :

Ke nonoi aku nei Au i ka Mea Manaloa e hoomau mai i ka ninini ana maluna o oukou a me ko kakou Aina i na hoomaikai ana a me ka lako e like me mamua aku nei.

Ke kukala aku nei Au, ua hookuuia keia Ahaolelo.

A pau, ua huli hoi aku la ke Alii, a o ka pau ana ia o ka Ahaolelo o ke Kau o 1892-3. Malaila ae na Luna o na Aupuni E, a me na maka hanohano o ka aina. O na Hoa haole o ka Hale aole lakou i hiki ae, ua nuha a loaa i na mai he lolokaa.

Hawaii Holomua. Jan. 18, 1893,
pg. 2, col. 2 & 3. An article entitled,

KA HOOKUU ANA O KA AHAOLELO.

The Proroguing of the Legislature.

At exactly 12 noon last Saturday, our Sovereign left the palace escorted by the Royal Kahili and the personal attendants of the Court. On arriving at Aliiolani Hale, honors were given by the bugle corps, the Royal Guards, the Political Association and the public.

Her Highness entered, and in a short time reached the Legislative Chamber, attended by the Judges of the Supreme and Circuit Courts, the Cabinet of Ministers, and the personal attendants of the Court. When the Sovereign reached the dais the Princes Kawanakoa and Kalani-anaole stood to the right, while Governor A.S. Cleghorn stood to the left.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH FOR THE CLOSURE OF THE 1892 LEGISLATURE.

Nobles and Elected Representatives:

It has been more than seven months that has passed since I opened this legislature and in that time there have been many changes in the Ministerial Cabinets. And in this session, longer than any previously seen, many actions have been carried out, and I offer my thanks to all of you for the completion of the important works you have done.

The laws that have been established and entered into the law books, I trust, will greatly assist progress in benefits for the Kingdom, and it is something that I find great joy in, that the efforts to change the currency of the Nation, which would hamper the customary processes of trade, have been discarded.

My Ministers shall directly execute all of your wishes which have been clearly expressed through the many statutes that have now become law.

As to the expenditures which you have drafted, I and my legal advisors are hopeful that the National assets will be sufficient to enable the due execution of your wishes, as clearly shown.

An action that I strive for is to extend the treaty relations with our greatest and nearest ally, the United States, so that our agricultural benefits may be restored to what they were in the past.

And in that same way it pleases Me greatly to see the generous encouragements that have been given to some of our emerging labor industries, and I am hopeful, that the outcome of those will reveal the wisdom of the actions that you have taken.

Nobles and
Representatives:

I ask the Almighty to continue to pour down blessings and riches

upon all of you and our Nation, as in the past.

I hereby proclaim this Legislature to be prorogued.

Once finished, Her Highness left, and that was the closure of the 1892-93 Legislative session. In attendance there were the leaders of foreign lands and notables of the nation. The haole Members of the House did not attend for they were sulky and afflicted with dizziness.



Hawai'i State Archives

At the close of the prayer by Rev. H.H. Paleka, Her Highness commenced to clearly deliver her speech which was carefully attended to by all, and here it is below:

ALOHA

Liliuokalanionamoku.

LAWE IA KA MANA AUPUNI!

Ke Kuahaua Kue a ka Moiwahine!

"Kuu aina hanau—e,
Nou au e mele nei."

O ka Poalua, la 17 o Ianuari. M. H. 1893. me he la e kaulana ana me ka mau loa iloko o ko kakou aina hanau nei, no ka mea, o ka la ia i kukala ia mai ai he kulana Aupuni hou malalo o kekahi poe haole he unikumamakolu ko lakou nui, ma ke ano he aupuni kuikawa no ka Manawa.

KU KIAI IA.

I ka po Poakahi, oia ka hoomaka ia ana e ku kiai ia, kekahi mau wahi lehulehu o ke kulanakauhale nei e na koa o ka manuwa Amerika Bosetona me ko lakou pono kua, a i ke kakahiaka Poalua ae ua ikela aku la lakou e kaahale ana, a ua hoomaka hoi na hoi o ka pualikoa Raifela e hui pu a e poi i kekahi mau wahi me ka lakou mau mea kua, a ua eehia ka nainaina o ke kulanakauhale.

NA LONO HOOKAHULI.

I ke kakahiaka nui, ua laulaha ae la na lono lauahea ma na pipa alanui o ke kulanakauhale nei e kalahea ana, eia ke upu ia nei e hookahuli i ka nohoalii a e kukulu ae i aupuni hou. Ua lele aku la keia lono ma na welelau makani a hoea i na kuaina, a mamuli o ia kumu, ua huliamaahi mai la na makaainana o ke Aliiainmoku a piha pu na alanui, a o ka oi loa aku ma na poi mawaho a maioko o ka po Alii, a mawaho ponoi iho o Kalakaua Hale he mau tausani na kanaka e ku ana a e kali ana me ka makaukau no na kauoha, ina he mau kauoha kekahi.

NA KUKAI OLELO.

Iloko o keia manawa, eia ka lehulehu iloko o ke kulana pihoihoi, e poka ana ma na pipa alanui, a e kuku ana ma kela a me keia wahi iloko o na puulu, e kukakuka ana a e panai olelo ana. Ua mau keia kulana me ka malama pono ia o ka maluhia, koe wale no ka ike ia aku o na koa me na pu.

NO KA HALE AUPUNI.

I ka hora 4 naha, ua hoomaka ae la na haole e maki me na pono kua mai Manamana ae a ka Hale Aupuni, a malaila ko lakou Komite i kapaia ke "Komite no ka Maluhia o ka Lehulehu," a ua ninau ia aku na Kuhina o ke Aliiainmoku, aole nae lakou malaila. Nolaila, ua kauohaia aku la ke Kauaulelo Nui o ke Keena Kalaiaina e haawi pio mai i ka Hale Aupuni, a ua haawi ia mai la.

KE KUAHAUA AUPUNI HOU.

Mahope koke iho o keia, ua kuahau ia mai la ke Aupuni Kuikawa no ka Manawa, a penei na kahua nui:

"1. Ma keia ua hoopau wale ia ke Kulana Aupuni Mo'i o Hawaii.

"2. Ma keia ke kukulu ia nei he Aupuni Kuikawa no ka Manawa no ka noho mana a me ka hooponopono i na hana o ka lehulehu a me ka malama i ka maluhia o ka lehulehu, e mau aku a hiki i ka manawa e kukakuka a hoohele ia ai na kahua hoohele pu aku me Amerika Huipua.

"3. O keia Aupuni Kuikawa no ka Manawa e hoohele ia lakou ma he ano Aha Mana Hooko o Eha Lala, a ma keia ke kukala ia aku nei lakou o

S. B. DOLE,
J. A. KING,
P. C. JONES,
W. O. SMITH.

Mahope iho o keia ua hoonu ia aku la e kii i na Kuhina i pau ma ka Halewai. A ua hiki ae lakou ma ka Hale Aupuni, a ua kauoha ia aku lakou e haawi pio mai i ka Hale Oihana Makai. Ua noi ia aku i manawa, ua komo aku la na Kuhina e hui a kuka pu me ke Aliiainmoku, a o ka hopena, oia ka hoohele ia ana o ke

KUKALA KUE A KE ALIIAINMOKU.

UA HOOLE IA.

Ua lohe mai makou aole ae o ka mana Aupuni hou i na Komisina o ke Alii e holo pu me ko lakou mau Komisina i ka la apopo no Kapalakiko, maluna o Kaladine, no ka hoike aku i ke kulana o ke Aupuni i ke Aupuni o Amerika Huipua, ma Wasinetona.

NA KOA O KA MOKUKAUA AMERIKA.

Eia i uka nei na koa o ka mokukaua kahi i kaahale ai i ke kulana kauhale nei, me na pu a me na kaei poka. I ka Poakahi nei ka lele ana mai. E hookuu malie aku ia lakou e hooluolu ia lakou iho maluna o ka ili o ka lepo lokomaikai o Hawaii a hiki i ko lakou manawa e ike ai—eia o Hawaii ma ka aoao o ka maluhia.

KA HALAWAI A NA MAKAAINANA ALOHA ALII.

Aole loa makou i ike i kekahi halawai ake nui a maluhia e like me kela i malamaia i ka Poakahi nei ma ke Kuea mamua iho o ka Hale Alii Iolani, ma alanui Mo'i. Ma ka makou hoomaopopo ana, ua akoaka ae he elua tausani a oi o na makaainana, a e like me ka makou i kono aku ai, ua pau pu ae kane, na wahine a me na keiki, a o ke ohohia nui ke kau ana maluna o ko lakou mau helehelena. a o ka oi loa o ka makou mea i hoomaopopo ai, oia no ka maluhia a me ka lokahi kuoo o kela me keia mea pakahi. He mea nui no hoi ka ike pu ana aku i ka hui pu a hookahi na kokua ana i na mea i hana ia e kekahi poe haole he mau haneri ko lakou heluna—he mea kamahao keia.

Ua weheia ka hioleto e ka Hon. A. Rosa, me ka heluhelu pu mai he olelo hoohele e hoike ana i ka apono ana o ka lehulehu i na hana a ke Aliiainmoku me ka hoopaa aku ia lakou e kokua iaia ma na ano a pau e malamaia ka maluhia o ka Noho Alii, ka aina a me ke kuokoa o ke Aupuni.

Mahope iho ua ku mai na Hon. J. E. Bush, W. White, J. Nawahi, G. P. Kamaoha a me R. W. Wili-koki. Ua hoakake naauao mai la-

kou pakahi, a o ke kahua nui nae o ka lakou mau olelo, oia no ke ao mai, ke kauleo mai, ke kaohi mai a o ka pule mai i na makaainana e malama loa i ka maluhia, aole e hana a aole e olelo i kekahi mea e ulu mai ai kekahi kuia a haunaele. Ua haawi ia na leo huro lehulehu o ka apono, a ua hoi kela a me keia me ka maluhia, a ua moe mai-kai i ka po.

E MALAMA I KA MALUHIA.

E na hoamakaainana o ke Aliiainmoku, ke kauleo ikaika aku nei makou ia kakou a pau—"e nihi ka hele ana i ka uka o Puna." Mai hana wale aku, mai hoio wale aku, a mai hookui wale aku; aka, e like me ko kakou ano mau—e noho me he mau Manu Nunu la, a e malama loa i ko kakou kulana—oia hoi—no ka puuwaia laahia kakou o ke aloha a me ka lokomaikai. E pule aku i na Lani e haawi mai i na kokua ia kakou i nui ai ko kakou ahonui a alo ae i na popilikia i upu ia.

MALUHIA.

Eia ke koloka o ka maluhia, ke uhi nei maluna o na makaainana o ka Lani Liliuonamoku, e like no me ko lakou ano mau, he akahai a he hiipoi i ka maluhia—me ka hiipoi makee i ko lakou aina a me kona kuokoa.



Hawaii's State Archives

The text of the Queen's speech temporarily ceding authority to the United States was printed in *Hawaii Holomua* on Jan. 18, 1893. The English version is presented by one of the Hawaiian interpreters in Mai Poina. We include the Hawaiian version here.

KUKALA KUE A KE ALIIAIMOKU.

"O WAU, LILIUOKALANI, ma ka lokomaikai o ke Akua, malalo o ke Kumukanawai o ke Aupuni Hawaii, MEIWAHINE. ma keia ke hoike paa nei i Ko'u kue i kekahi hana a mau hana paha a pau i lawelawe ia e kue ana la'u iho a me ke Aupuni Kumukanawai o ke Aupuni Hawaii e kekahi poe e koi ana ua kukulu lakou he Aupuni Kuikawa no ka manawa no keia Aupuni.

"Ke ae wale nei no Au mamuli o ka mana oi ikaika o Amerika Huipuia, nona hoi ke Kuhina Elele Nui, ka Meamahaloia John L. Stevens, ua kauoha aku i na koa o Amerika Huipuia e hoopae ia mai

ma Honolulu, a ua kukala ae e koku no ona i ua Aupuni Kuikawa 'la no ka Manawa i oleloia.

"Nolaila, i mea e kaupale aku ai i na hookuia ana o na puali i hoolawa ia me na lako kaula, a malia paha o hoopoino ia ke ola; nolaila, malalo o keia Kuahaua Kue a i kauhola ia hoi e ua mana ikaika 'la, ke ae wale nei no Au e panee aku i Ko'u Mana a hiki i ka manawa a ke Aupuni o Amerika Huipuia, mamuli o na mea oiaio e waiho ia aku ai imua ona, e hoololi ai i na hana a kona Luna Aupuni a e hoonoho hou la'u maluna o ka mana A'u e koi nei ma ke ano Aliiaimoku o ka Paesina Hawaii."



ALAS, Liliuokalanionamoku,
GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY SEIZED!
THE QUEEN'S PROTEST!

"My beloved homeland,
For you I sing."

Tuesday, the 17th of January, 1893, may forever be famous here in our homeland, for that is the day, that a new government was proclaimed under a group of foreigners, thirteen in number, as an Interim Provisional Government.

UNDER GUARD.

Monday evening was the start of many places in the city being put under guard by the armed soldiers of the American man-o'-war, Boston, and on Tuesday morning they were seen marching and the members of the Rifle corps began to join them and to encircle certain places with their arms, and the appearance of the city was terrifying.

THE NEWS OF OVERTHROW.

In the early morning, rumors spread on the street corners of the city announcing that an overthrow of the throne was being instigated, to establish a new government. This news flew on the winds and reached the countryside, and for that reason subjects of the sovereign assembled and the streets were filled, especially in the circles outside and within the Royal grounds, and directly outside of the Kalakaua Building there were thousands standing in readiness for orders if there were to be orders.

THE DISCUSSIONS.

During this time the public was agitated, circling on the street corners and standing everywhere in groups, talking and discussing. This went on in a peaceful fashion except for the sight of the soldiers with their guns.

CONCERNING THE GOVT BUILDING.

At perhaps 4 o'clock, foreigners began to march with arms from Manamana to the government building, where their Committee was, called the "Committee of Public Safety," and the Ministers of the Sovereign were sought but were not there. Therefore, the main secretary of the Office of the Interior was ordered to surrender the government building and that was granted.

PROCLAMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT.

Directly after this, the Interim Provisional Government was proclaimed, the foundations being as follows:

"1. By this, the Hawaiian Monarchy is ended.

"2. By this, an Interim Provisional Government is hereby established to wield authority and manage the actions of the public and maintain the general peace to continue on until such time as the grounds for incorporation with the United States of America are discussed and decided.

"3. This Interim Provisional Government shall be appointed as an administrative authority of four members and by this they are proclaimed to be

S.B. DOLE,
J.A. KING,
P.C. JONES,
W.O. SMITH.

Following this people were sent to fetch the ex-Ministers at the Halewai, the jail. They arrived at the Government House and were commanded to surrender the Police Station. Time was requested, the ministers entered to meet and discuss with the Queen, and the outcome was the issuance of the
THE QUEEN'S PROTEST.

[see inset on previous page.]

DENIED.

We have heard that the new Government Authority will not allow the Queen's Commissioners to sail with their own Commissioners tomorrow for San Francisco on the Claudine, to report the status of the Nation to the Government of the United States of America in Washington.

THE SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN WARSHIP.

The soldiers of the warship are here ashore where they are moving about the city with guns and ammunition belts. The landing was last Monday. Leave them alone and make them comfortable upon the generous soil of Hawaii until such time as they see - Hawaii is on the side of peace.

[signed] QUEEN LILIUOKALANI,

MEETING OF THE ROYALIST SUBJECTS.

We have never seen a public meeting as large and peaceful as that which was held last Monday at the Square in front of Iolani Palace on King Street. By our

reckoning, two thousand or more subjects assembled, as we had invited, all men, women and children, and excitement was upon all of their features, and what we saw most clearly was the peacefulness and sincere unity of each one. It is really important for all to see the unity and the collective efforts to fix those things carried out by certain foreigners, numbering a few hundred--this is amazing.

The speaking was opened by A. Rosa, with a reading of a declaration presenting the public's approval of the Queen's actions and committing themselves to assist Her in every way to maintain the peace of the Throne, the land, and the independence of the Kingdom.

Afterwards, the Hon. J.E. Bush, Hon. W. White, Hon. J. Nawahi, Hon. G.P. Kamauoha and Hon. R.W. Wilcox stood. They each intelligently expressed their thoughts, but the basis of their speeches was advising, urging, restraining and beseeching the subjects to carefully maintain the peace, not to act nor say anything that would generate an incident or disturbance. Many cheers of approval were given and everyone returned peacefully and slept well through the night.

KEEP THE PEACE.

Fellow subjects of the Queen, we strongly urge all of us to- "tread cautiously in the uplands of Puna." Do not carelessly act, do no harm, do not strike out, but, as is our customary nature--remain like Doves, and completely maintain our station--that being--that we come from the sacred heart of love and grace. Pray to the Heavens to help us have great patience and avoid the crises that have been instigated.

PEACE.

The cloak of peace covers the subjects of Her Highness Liliuonamoku, as is their custom, to be gentle and embrace peacefulness--along with embracing love for their land and its independence.

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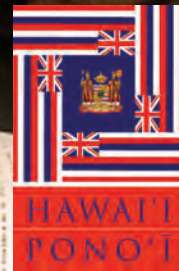
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On January 16, 1895, almost two years to the day after the Overthrow, Queen Lili'uokalani was arrested after a failed attempt by Hawaiian royalists to restore her to her throne. She was convicted and imprisoned for eight months in the upstairs bedroom of 'Iolani Palace.

In *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, Lili'uokalani wrote of her imprisonment: "I used to find great comfort in the bits of newspaper that were wrapped around my bouquets which were brought to me from my own garden at Uluhaimalama. Flowers from home I unwrapped myself, so as to be sure to save these bits of news which I sought opportunity at intervals to read."

Mahalo Nui Loa



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Photography by Michael Young.

Photographed in the Queen's imprisonment room courtesy of the Friends of 'Iolani Palace.

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