

MAI POINA



Experience History As It Unfolded 133 Years Ago

VIEWER'S GUIDE



Hawai'i Pono'i Coalition

September 2026

The Hawai'i 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 Hawai'i'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. At the end of each tour, a Hawaiian scholar offers insights, answers questions, and leads viewer discussions.

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.hawaiipono.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

Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs • Friends of 'Iolani Palace

Center for Biographical Research, UH Mānoa

Hawai'i Pono'i Foundation • Hawai'i Youth Opera Chorus

Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

John A. Burns School of Medicine-Department of Native Hawaiian Health, UH Mānoa

Office of Hawaiian Affairs • 'Ōiwi TV • Papa Ola Lōkahi



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

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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 HAWAI'I		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



deemed unusable for growing sugar.

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



the conditions of native Hawaiians."

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.

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

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 Kekoahiwaikalani, whose full name was Ellen Kekoahiwaikalani 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

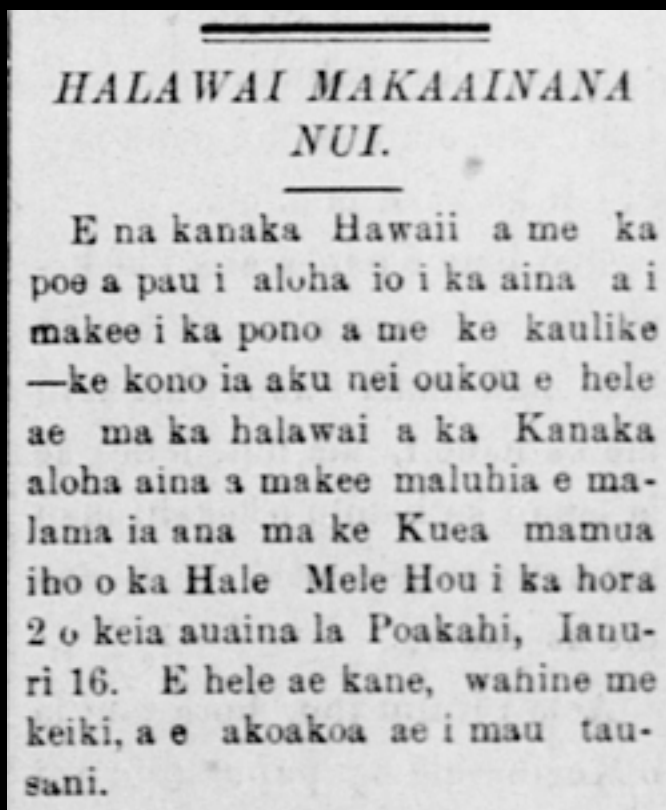
("enemi") and also as "evil-hearted messengers" ("ka elele a ka lokoino"). Hawaiian cultural values abound, such as the importance of 'āina, and its connection to our history and our genealogy. The four islands of Hawai'i, Maui, Kaua'i, and O'ahu are described as lending their voice and giving their 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, Kekoaoihiwaikalani 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, Kekoao-

hiwaikalani 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, Kekoaoihiwaikalani 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.

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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 plantations, 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 plant-

Photo: Japanese sugar plantation workers.



ers 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 merchants 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-genera-

tion 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.

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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 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 citizens of Hawai‘i, but particularly Kānaka Maoli, lost a future—one now difficult for us to imagine.

How would Hawai‘i have developed as a nation and 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 so-called “Republic of Hawai‘i” ceded to the United States 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.

Hawai‘i State Archives



How might the Hawaiian Kingdom have used the Government and Crown lands to benefit Hawai'i's people? Although Kamehameha III, through the 1848 Māhele and subsequent laws, adopted a hybrid-type of fee simple ownership to protect the interests of the people, what resulted was 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 purchase Government Land for a modest amount, and this may have been easier and more beneficial. Recent scholarship indicates that in the decades after the Māhele, maka'āinana received more than 167,000 acres through this provision and other laws.

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 Kānaka Maoli have substantial 'āina to care for and steward.

U.S. Military

Had Hawai'i not been annexed, roughly 200,000 acres—more than half of them Government and Crown Lands—would not now be devoted to U.S. military uses. Kaho'olawe, used as a bombing target for nearly half a century, would not still require extensive cleanup. The more than 4,500 acres of Mākua Valley, once used for live-fire and combined-arms training, along with over 100,000 acres at Pōhakuloa on Hawai'i Island, could have served more productive purposes. Nor would a century of U.S. military use have left such lasting damage to our land and water for future generations to bear.

Annexation made the dominating presence of the U.S. military possible. Although the U.S. 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, 'Ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian) was still the national language. After annexation, a concerted effort sought to eliminate 'Ōlelo Hawai'i from public life—schools, government, media—all under the guise of uplifting Kānaka Maoli by assimilating them into American society.

By 1983, only 2,000 native speakers remained—many of them over age seventy, with less than fifty children speaking 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. Nearly all came from the lone Hawaiian-speaking island of Ni'ihau. 'Ōlelo Hawai'i 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 may have played a major role in Hawaiian life, 'Ōlelo Hawai'i 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 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.

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Mai Poina: The Hawaiian Nation

Jonathan Kay
Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio

In this summer of 2026, we are nineteen years since the founding of the Hawai'i Pono'i Coalition and the beginning of Mai Poina events commemorating the American-engineered coup to take control of the Hawaiian monarchy. And in this summer we also find ourselves in the midst of a greater array of challenges than in 2007, when a 2003 lawsuit brought against the Kamehameha Schools admission policies to prefer Native Hawaiian children was joined by similar lawsuits challenging the legality of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands.

We are currently facing not just another lawsuit aimed at Kamehameha, inspired by the same

desire to continue the impoverishment of Native Hawaiians, but new challenges in the form of federal terminations of funding for Native Hawaiians in health, education, and welfare programs. These programs were designed to be part of the reconciliation promised by the so-called Apology Resolution in 1993 that expressed regret for the US complicity in the taking of our country, and acknowledged that the Hawaiian people had never relinquished our claim to our inherent sovereignty or to our lands.

Finally, over the next four to six years we will see the ending of multiple sixty-five year US Military leases (for one dollar) of State and Native

Photo: Michael Young.



Hawaiian trust lands. The closing of these leases could spark a revival of community access and aloha 'āina practices. Or it could essentially lead to a permanent transfer of the lands to the military for cold hard cash.

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, distinguish 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 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 multiethnic 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 US occupation and takeover of Hawai'i was a blatant violation of international law. 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. The Congress of the United States appropriated a nation state with full knowledge that the vast majority of its citizens opposed annexation. 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 admitted 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 to 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.

The offer of legal land titles was what made economic and political development possible, but the core ethic of Hawaiian Kingdom land tenure was that the common Native subject, the *ho'a'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 to this day 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 as it deals with a rogue US government 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 fifty years—without violence, and indeed, without a single interruption of the notoriously skittish tourist industry. And while Americans' understanding of Hawaiians has become more and more confused due to their recent legal decisions and reemergent racism, Hawaiians' knowledge and understanding of who we are has become ever clearer.

We are the Hawaiian nation and Hawai'i is our country. In the immortal words of Dr. Haunani-Kay Trask, "We are not Americans. We will never be Americans. We will die as Hawaiians."

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

Yuklin Aluli

Yuklin Kalanihukiheionāmoku Aluli was a trail-blazing attorney who specialized in land matters, probate, and estate law, and advocating for Native Hawaiian rights. A founding member of the Native Hawaiian Bar Association, she was also active in the Prince Kūhiō Hawaiian Civic Club and a central figure in the Hawai‘i Pono‘ī Coalition. An intrepid traveler, avid reader, and accomplished athlete, Yuklin leaves behind a legacy of resilience. We reprint this essay from the original Viewer’s Guide in honor of her life’s work.

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 Lorin 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.

In the *Day* case, the Federal appeals court concluded that the Office of Hawaiian Affairs did not



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 Nāwahi, the author's great, great aunt.

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'i.

Commemorating the Voices of our Kūpuna

by Manu Kaʻiama



ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiʻi's National 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 (Hawaiʻi's native peoples) lives. 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. Today, with the resurgence of the practice of oli, we find that many people have continued this tradition. We know that a few families have continued to practice without ever stopping, even after the American's forced assimilation and outlawing of the Hawaiʻi's National language. To these ʻohana, we are grateful.

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 dynam-

ic 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 kākaka and the physical and spiritual world around us.

The late 19th century was a tumultuous time for Kākaka 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

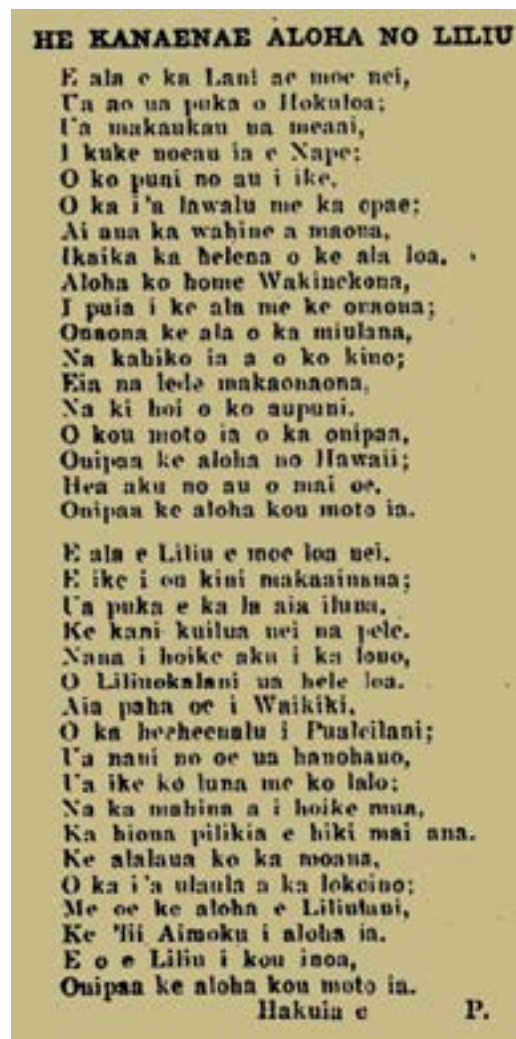
the seeking of knowledge) embedded in lines that use "pa'a" references repetitively, for example

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.

Loosely translated by Dr. K.

Kapā'anaokālāokeola 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



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

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. More importantly is for us all to remember that perhaps not all messages will ever be revealed. The

Mahalo nui to all the kumu who entrusted me,

personally, with oli. Kumu John Keola Lake, Kumu Vicky Holt-Takamine, and Kumu Pua Kanaka'ole Kanahele.

Manu Ka'īama is an instructor at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She teaches at both the School of Accountancy and at Kamakakūokalani. She is a staunch believer in Hawai'i's independence and supports our Kingdom's efforts of de-occupation. She has been mentored by Aunty Bella Richards, Kumu John Keola Lake and Kumu Pua Kanaka'ole Kanahele in hula, oli, and politics.



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'āinaka'lāhuiokalani 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. 16, 1893

KA HOOKUU ANA O KA
AHAOLELO.

I ka hōa 12 pono i o ke awakena
Pōaono i hāla, 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 Aliiōlani
Hale, ua haawi ia mai la na hoo-
hiwahiwa e ka Puali Pūhi 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 Pono i o ke Alo Alii. I ka hoea ana o ke Alii a imoku iluna o ke kahua kiekiena, ua ku na Keiki Alii Kawanakoa a me Kalaniana'ole 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 haolelo 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.

ΕΝΑ 'ΛΙΓΑ ΜΕ ΚΑ ΡΟΞΙΚΟΝΟΙΑ :

Oiai, ua oi aku mamua o na ma-
lama ebiku 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 Kenawai i kaula iho nei a i hookomoia iloko o na Buke Kanawai, ke hilinei nei Au, e kokunui 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 hoku'ia ana hoi i na hana maa mau ma ka oihana kalepa.

Na Ko'u mau Kuhina e hoo ko
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
ihō nei, ua manaolana Au a me
Ko'u mau mea nana e a'o malalo o
ke Kanawai, e lawa pono ana na
loa Aupuni i hiki pono ai ke hoo-
ko pono ia ko oukou mau makema-
ke e like me ia i hoike maopopoia.

He hana Na'u e hooikaika nui ai ka hooli ana aku i na launa kuikahi ana me ko kakou hoaloha nui pili koko ke loa, oia hoi o Amerika Hui-pua, 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 boohoihoi manawalea; haawiia aku i kekahi o ko kakou mau oiba-na hana lima hoopulapula hou, a ke manaolana nei Au, e hoike mai ana na hopena o ia mau mea; ka noeau o ka hana a oukou i hana ai.

E NA 'LI A ME KA POEIKOHOLA :

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

Ke kukala aku nei Au, ua hoo-
kuuia keta 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 loaia i na imai be 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 Kawananakoa and Kalaniana'ole stood to the right, while Governor A.S. Cleghorn stood to the left.

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:

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

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, ia 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 unikumanakolu ko lakou nui, ma ke apo he aupuni kuikawa no ka Manawa.

KU KIAI IA.

I ka po Poakahi, oia ka hoomaka ia ana e ku kua ia kekahi mau wahi lehualehu o ke kulana kahale nei e na koa o ka manawa Amerika. Basetana me ko lakou pono kua, a i ke kakahiaka Poalua e ua ikeia aku la lakou e kahele ana, a ua hoomaka hoi na hoi o ka puulika Raifela e hui pu a e poai i kekahi mau wahi me ka lakou mau mea kua, a ua eheia ka nanaia o ke kulana kahale.

NA LONO HOOKAHU.

I ke kakahiaka nui, ua laulaha ae la na lono laulaha ma na pipa alanui o ke kulana kahale nei e kalaha 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 hoi i na kuaia, a mamuli o ia kumu, ua huiamahi mai la nanaia o ke Aliiainmoku a paha pu na alanui, a o ka oi loa aku ma na poai mawaho a maloko o ka pu Alii, a mawaho pono iho o Kalakaua Hale he mau tausani na kanaka e ku ana a e kali ana me ka makaukau no na kanoha, ima he mau kanoha kekahi.

NA KUKAI OLELO.

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

NO KA HALE AUPUNI.

I ka hola 4 paha, 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 kapala ke "Komite no ka Maluhia o ka Lehualehu," a ua ninau ia aku na Kuhina o ke Aliiainmoku, aole nae lakou malaila. Nolaia, ua kanohia aku la ke Kakanole Nui o ke Keena Kulaisina e haawi pio mai i ka Hale Aupuni, a ua haawi ia mai la.

KE KUAHAU AUPUNI HOU.

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

"1. Ma keia ua hoopau wale ia ke Kulana Aupuni Moio Hawaii.

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

"3. O keia Aupuni Kuikawa no ka Manawa e hoohoio 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 hooia ia aku la e kii i na Kuhina i pau ma ka Halewai. A ua hiki ae lakou ma ka Hale Aupuni, a ua kanoha 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 hooena, oia ka hooenaka 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 Komisia o ke Alii e holo pu me ko lakou mau Komisia i ka la apopo no Kapalakiko, maluna o Kalanidene, no ka hoike aku i ke kulana o ke Aupuni i ke Aupuni o Amerika Huipua, ma Wasinetona.

NA KOA O KA MOKUKAU A AMERIKA.

Eia i uka nei na koa o ka mokukaua kahii i kahele ai i ke kulana kahale nei, me na pu a me na kaei poka. I ka Poakahi nei ka lele ana mai. E hookuu malie aku ia lakou e hookulu ia lakou iho maluna o ka ili o ka lepo loko maikai o Hawaii a hiki i ko lakou manawa e ike ai—ia o Hawaii ma ka aoso 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 Keena manawa iho o ka Hale Alii Iolani, ma alanui Moio. Ma ka makou hoomopopo ana, ua akoaka ae be elua tausani a oi o na makaaianana, a e like me ka makou i komo aku ai, ua pau pu ae kame, na wahine a me na keiki, a o ke ohoia nui ke kau ana maluna o ko lakou mau hehehehe. a o ka oi loa o ka makou mea i hoomopopo ai, oia no ka maluhia a me ka lokahi kuoo o kela me kela 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 haeri ko lakou heluna—he mea kamahao keia.

Ua weheia ka hoiolo o ka Hon. A. Rosa, me ka heluhelu pu mai he olelo hookolo e hoike ana i ka apone ana o ka lehualehu i na hana a ke Aliiainmoku me ka hoopau aku ia lakou e kokua iaia ma na ano a pau e malamaia ka maluhia o ka Noho Alii, ka aina a me ke kuooka o ke Aupuni.

Mahope iho ua ku mai na Hon. J. E. Bush, W. White, J. Nawahi, G. P. Kamaoha a me R. W. Wilikoki. Ua hookake naamao mai la-

kou pakahi, a o ke kahua nui nae o ka lakou man olelo, oia no ke aomai, ke kaula mai, ke kaohi mai a o ka pule mai i na makaaianana e malama loa i ka maluhia, aole e hana a aole e olelo i kekahi mea e ulu mai ai kekahi kua a haunaele. Ua haawi ia na leo huro lehualehu o ka apono, a ua hoi kela a me kela me ka maluhia, a ua moe mai kela i ka po.

E MALAMA I KA MALUHIA.

E na hoomakaaianana o ke Aliiainmoku, ke kaula ikaika aku nei makou ia kakou a pau—"e nui 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—eia hoi—no ka puuwal 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 makaaianana o ka Lani Liliuokalanionamoku, e like me me ko lakou ano mau, he akahai a he hiipoi i ka maluhia—me ka hiipoi makee i ko lakou aina a me kona kuooka.



Hawai'i 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 ALIIA MOKU.

"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 la-welawe 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 Hui-puia nona hoi ke Kuhina Elele Nui, ka Meamahaloia John L. Stevens, ua kauoha aku i na koa o Amerika Huipua e hoopae ia mai

ma Honolulu, a ua kukala ae e ko-kua no ou 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 hoo-lawa 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 Huipua, mamuli o na mea oiaio e waiho ia aku ai imua ona, e hoololi ai i na hana a kona Luna Aupuni a e hoo-noho hou la'u maluna o ka mana A'u e koi nei ma ke ano Aliiaino-ku 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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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



Photography by Michael Young.

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

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