

**A SYNOPSIS OF TRADITIONAL HAWAIIAN CULTURE, THE
EVENTS LEADING TO THE 1887 BAYONET CONSTITUTION AND
THE OVERTHROW OF THE HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT
(0 AD - 1898)**

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The Native Hawaiian people have lived in the Hawaiian archipelago for the past 2,000 years.¹ Hawaiians believed they descended directly from the mating of the earth-mother, Papahānaumoku, with her brother Wākea, the sky father.²

From earth-mother and sky-father were born the islands of Hawai'i, the first Taro plant, and Hāloa, the first Ali'i Nui, or divine Chief. Ali'i Nui were considered to be Akua, or Gods that walked upon the earth. All Hawaiians descend from the Ali'i Nui; commoners being the descendants of the junior lineages. From the beginning human time in the Hawaiian islands until the present, there have been at least 100 generations. We are the Native people of Hawai'i and we are born from the land.

In accordance with all Polynesian custom, the Hawaiian people, as the younger siblings of the Akua, the Taro, and the Ali'i Nui, owed a duty of love, respect, and obedience to our mythological elders. In return, the elders lovingly provided for the needs of the people - with food, shelter, direction of society, and with religious sanction, ensuring the good life. The ideal of Pono, or perfect harmony in the universe, was maintained so long as the chiefs maintained their devotion to the Akua and the people were obedient to their elders, the Ali'i Nui.

It is as the old people have said:

"The Kingdom of Hawai'i nei is a kingdom that loves its Ali'i, that loves the voices with which the Ali'i speak, that loves their words, that loves the discussion between us, that fulfills the command that simply falls from the lips. Our aloha [affection] is not for sale, not for rent, not merely for personal gain, but, is the true Native aloha. This aloha clings to the Mō'i [King or Queen] and the beloved Ali'i who are kind to the commoners and to the entire race."³

The 40,000 Hawaiian Gods regulated the correct phases of the moon for fishing and farming, for the building of temples and for the celebration of life. The people and the land prospered as a sophisticated civilization developed, including the largest network of wet land taro fields and hundred acre fishponds, ever found anywhere in the world. Living in harmony with the land developed into an exquisite

art form and generosity in all things, especially in the sharing of food, was considered the highest mark of civilized behavior.

Nowhere else in Polynesia did such agricultural complexes exist. Efficient cultivation of the land allowed the feeding of a large population with a minimum of effort. Working on the average about four hours a day,⁴ Hawaiians made the largest temples, finest bark cloth, the most elegant feather cloaks, the most delicate shell necklaces, and the most streamlined canoes in all of the Pacific. Their dance and poetry were considered by some the most refined and eloquent in all of Polynesia.

Traditional Polity

Before the coming of the Haole, or foreigners, the idea of Ea, or sovereignty, of having political control over land, was well established and supported by the traditional religion called 'Aikapu. In traditional times, the Hawaiian polity was religious and Hawaiian religion, at the Ali'i Nui level, was political. Therefore, Ali'i Nui were very religious, for without approval from the Akua, it was believed they had not long to rule.

Ea was considered a gift from the Akua, in particular from Kū, a male Akua of war and of politics.⁵ During the lengthy and strict 'Aha ritual, Kū was enticed from his favorite residence in the mountains, to the temple by the sea where he would live with the Ali'i Nui. There at the heiau a most sacred ceremony was held for the Waiea, the "water of life", also known as the "essence of sovereignty". By this ceremony, Kū would give his mana, or spiritual power, to the Mō'i, allowing him or her to rule the land.

Only the Mō'i and the Kahuna Nui, or high priest, would enter into the Waiea house constructed on the temple wherein they would pray to Kū, Lono, Kāne and Kanaloa, to ask them to dwell within the house. These Akua represented political control, fertility of the land, humanity and fresh water, and the ocean resources.

From the mana of the Akua would come Ea for the Ali'i, and the people. Ea, life and sovereignty, or the mana to control the heavens and earth, would give life to the Hawaiian people, and they would be preserved by their 40,000 Akua. After the ceremony the people rejoiced because "all believed that the government would enjoy great peace and prosperity during the coming years".⁶

As the ancestors described it, the Nation was like a body; the Mō'i was the real head of the government, and the Ali'i Nui were the shoulders and the chest. The Kahuna Nui was the right arm, the Kālimoku, or the principal land administrator, was the left arm. The soldiers were the right leg and the farmers and fishermen were

the left leg. Each had their principal duty and when all worked together the Nation was Pono.

Nation building, including the idea that all of the main 8 islands of the Hawaiian archipelago should come under one Mō'i, is also an ancient concept.⁷ By c. AD 900, each of the four main islands of Kaua'i, O'ahu, Māui and Hawai'i, began to unite under one Mō'i.⁸ As early as c. AD 1375, a Hawai'i island Mō'i named Kalaunuiohua attempted to unite all the island under his rule. Favored by the Akua, he was almost successful until he reached the northern island of Kaua'i, where he was finally defeated.⁹

However, after Kalaunuiohua various Mō'i had through marriage alliances and warfare begun to unite certain groups of islands within the archipelago. By c. 1475, Kākae, the Mō'i of Māui also ruled the nearby islands of Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe.¹⁰ Around 1650, Kualii, the Mō'i of O'ahu also ruled Kaua'i and Ni'ihau.¹¹ By 1790, Kahekili, a great warrior Mō'i of Māui, ruled all the islands from Māui to Ni'ihau, and only Hawai'i island remained apart.¹²

In 1791 Kamehameha I, reputed son of Kahekili, defeated all contenders for the throne and became Mō'i of Hawai'i island. When Kahekili died in 1792, Kamehameha began a series of wars with various island subchiefs, and by 1795 controlled all islands except for Kaua'i and Ni'ihau. Those latter islands came under Kamehameha's rule through a series of negotiations by 1805.¹³

Effects of Contact with the West

Since the time of Kamehameha I until the time of Lili'uokalani (1891-1893), our Mō'i have tried to be pono, in caring for the land and for the life of the people. They were faced, however, with many new problems brought by the Haole for which there were no ancestral solutions. The greatest of these problems were the foreign diseases and the great death that they brought to our people. Waves of foreigners and waves of foreign epidemics arrived upon our shores.

The Bubonic plague came in 1804, followed by:

Influenza in 1826

Whooping Cough in 1832

Mumps in 1839

Leprosy in 1840

Measles, Whooping Cough & Influenza in 1848

Smallpox in 1853

Whooping cough in 1888

Diphtheria in 1890

Cholera in 1895

Bubonic plague (again) in 1899.

In 1778, when the first Haole, Captain James Cook, arrived in Hawai'i, some scholars estimate that there were 1 million Hawaiians living in Hawai'i.¹⁴ By the time of the first missionary census in 1823, only 134,000 Hawaiians remained, reflecting a population decline of 80% in the first 45 years of contact with the Haole. By 1893, when the Americans overthrew our government, only 40,000 Hawaiians remained.¹⁵ If we had a million Hawaiians in 1893, we would still have our country. Haole diseases are an ally of Haole imperialism.

Population collapse led Hawaiians to question the power of their own Gods, and seriously undermined their belief in the state religion. In traditional times, the society was pono, or in harmony, when the Ali'i Nui, konohiki, and commoner worshipped the Akua and cared for the land. The sign of the divine pleasure was a prosperous people and fertile land. Conversely, there could be no pono, or harmony, with such great death. As a result of the changes brought by western contact, Hawaiians began to search for a new convention for pono, one that would control the new world in which they found themselves.

Almost as dangerous as the new diseases were foreign merchants who came to Hawai'i seeking riches and founding the lucrative sandalwood trade, which in time was replaced by the whaling industry. Hawai'i was considered the perfect port of call to replenish ships sailing between California and China, and American merchants came to predominate in the islands. Moreover there were no troubling taxes to be paid to a Native government; great American fortunes were established from this trade.

Enticing Hawaiian Ali'i Nui with tales of European royalty, American merchants sold Hawaiians such luxuries as velvet clothes, silver tableware, and crystal goblets, as well as guns and western ships, at greatly inflated prices, thereby introducing that bane of western society - consumer appetite and great indebtedness. Also confusing was the western custom of accumulating interest, which enlarged the original debt even after Ali'i had learned to restrain their purchase of foreign goods. As Hawaiian forests were stripped bare of the sandalwood required to repay the debt, American merchants began to demand Hawaiian land in its stead.

As early as 1820, John C. Jones was appointed a US. Consul by the American government to oversee commercial interests in the islands. When Hawaiian Ali'i found debt repayment difficult, Jones sent for a U.S. warship to enforce American demands. In 1826, two American warships came to Honolulu; the *Dolphin*

commanded by Lieutenant Percival, and the *Peacock*, under Captain Thomas ap Catesby-Jones.¹⁶

Percival insisted, under threat of war, that all the Ali'i debt be guaranteed by the Hawaiian government; hence the beginning of the first Hawaiian national debt. Catesby-Jones demanded a treaty ensuring that American citizens, ships and property would be "inviolably protected against all enemies of the United States" while residing in Hawai'i, and that Americans should enjoy most favored nation status. Hawaiian Ali'i agreed as they were perplexed as to how to extricate themselves from their debt situation, short of resorting to war with America. The dwindling population made military resistance difficult, even if Hawaiians could acquire enough guns to achieve some sort of military parity.

Shortly before Consul Jones was appointed, Calvinist missionaries from American New England arrived in Hawai'i in 1820. Where Captain Cook had seen "a handsome people and a beautiful Land," the Calvinist leader Hiram Bingham and his cohorts saw savages and pagan gloom. When Bingham first saw Hawaiians, he said:

...the appearance of destitution, degradation, and barbarism, among the chattering, and almost naked savages, whose heads and feet, and much of their sunburnt swarthy skins, were bare, was appalling. Some of our number, with gushing tears, turned away from the spectacle. Others with firmer nerve continued their gaze, but were ready to exclaim, "Can these be human beings! How dark and comfortless their state of mind and heart! How imminent the danger to the immortal soul, shrouded in this deep pagan gloom! Can such beings be civilized? Can they be Christianized?"¹⁷

Charles Stewart, another American missionary, voiced similar opinions upon his first sight of Hawaiians:

Their naked figures, and wild expression of countenance, their black hair streaming in the wind as they hurried the canoe over the water with all the eager action and muscular power of savages, their rapid and unintelligible exclamations, and whole exhibition of uncivilized character, gave to them the appearance of being half-man and half-beast, and irresistibly pressed on the thoughts the query - "Can they be men - can they be women? Do they not form a link in creation, connecting man with the brute?"¹⁸

Under the American missionaries, Hawaiians fell from being the proud descendants of the Akua Papa and Wakea to a pseudo-scientific version of the "missing link" between brute and man. Bingham's mission was to plant the seed of self doubt in the Hawaiian breast. Calvinists taught that Hawaiians were dying

because they did not believe in Jehovah, and that if Hawaiian Ali'i Nui would trust and obey American missionaries - their "true" friends - then Hawaiians could be saved from military threats by rapacious foreign merchants as well as from the terrible foreign diseases.

By 1825, the Ali'i Nui, formerly responsible for protecting their people through correct religious devotion, converted and led the Hawaiian nation into Christianity, a new type of pono perhaps. The Haole, or white foreigners, did not die so easily from foreign diseases and Hawaiians believed that it was the Haole God Jehovah who could protect Hawaiians from Haole diseases. The Ali'i Nui hoped that the Christian message of Ola Hou, literally new life, or resurrection would give their people new physical life. But the price to be paid by the Hawaiian Ali'i Nui was high. American missionary protection meant complete obedience to all dictates and the rejection of everything Hawaiian.

The next 30 years brought many changes to Hawai'i. Following American missionary advice, the Ali'i Nui adopted American legal forms, including a Bill of Rights and a constitution. The government was reorganized with a privy council, legislature and judiciary. Missionaries advised that western forms of government would ensure Hawai'i a place among civilized nations, and would bring foreign respect for the independence of the Hawaiian nation.

Unfortunately, Hawaiian Ali'i spoke very little English and had only a minimal understanding of the Haole world. The Ali'i Nui had learned that many foreigners, especially merchants, desired Hawaiian lands and were not to be trusted. However, the Ali'i Nui did not believe that all foreigners were evil. Some foreigners said they loved Hawaiians and wanted to help them become "enlightened". These "friends" were the American missionaries, and many of them were hired to work for the Hawaiian government as ministers, judges, land surveyors and clerks, until the young Ali'i Nui could be trained by these same Calvinists to run the kingdom. Soon American missionaries had complete control of the government, in direct contradiction of their mission. As Bingham had told Lord Byron in 1825:

"we were not employed by the United States Government, and the instructions from the American Board of Commissioners to us as Christian Missionaries, forbade our interfering with the civil and political affairs of the nation."¹⁹

However, once Hawai'i had become a Christian nation, as it had by 1840, missionaries had no other work to do, unless they left Hawai'i to seek new fields and new heathens to convert. Nor was the American Board of Commissioners willing to

continue their financial support once their goal had been accomplished. Some left, but many others decided to stay, becoming government advisors and businessmen.

Among the missionaries who became trusted advisors of the Ali'i Nui were William Richards, Minister of Education, and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, family physician, Minister of Finance, and *de facto* Minister of the Interior. As Minister of Education, Richards taught the Ali'i Nui about western forms of government and argued strongly for economic reform based on a capitalist model. Richards and other Calvinist missionaries advised that the Hawaiian people would continue to die unless given a greater incentive to live, and that incentive could only be private ownership of land.²⁰

As Minister of Finance, Dr. Judd took control of all monetary sources of income in the kingdom. He hired "upstanding" American lawyers from New England to draft the new laws for the kingdom. So many new laws were written that one observer compared them to the progress of a steam roller. Judd insisted that foreigners who wanted special privileges in the kingdom should take an oath of allegiance to the Hawaiian king. By 1845 Judd had even paid off the 1826 Hawaiian national debt. For the time being the Ali'i Nui were very pleased with their friend's actions. The problems of controlling foreign threats to Hawaiian sovereignty and foreign debts seemed to be resolved. Perhaps all one needed were friendly foreigners to adjudicate foreign problems.

Commoners Hawaiians were not pleased however. While Commoners still loved and revered their Ali'i Nui, they mistrusted foreign intrusion. Commoners wrote many petitions to the Ali'i Nui protesting foreigners in the government, private ownership of land, and foreigners swearing an oath of allegiance. In their petition they wrote:

"Good foreigners will become no better by taking the oath of allegiance under our Chiefs. Good people are not opposed to us; they do not evade the laws of the Chiefs; they do not wish this kingdom to be sold to others."²¹

Commoners feared that foreign advisors would take over the kingdom, but the Ali'i Nui feared that without foreign advice, foreign merchants and their warships would seize the islands first.

As America marched across the North American continent, the islands of the Pacific were also being divided among the great western powers. By 1842, Britain had laid claim to Australia, and New Zealand, and considered New Guinea, the Solomons, Fiji, Sāmoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Tūvalu and Kiribati to be under

their sphere of influence. The French controlled Tahiti, the Marquesas and Society islands, and declared that the Australs, Mangareva and New Caledonia were under their jurisdiction.

The French had also threatened to make Hawai'i part of its Oceanic empire. In 1839, the French frigate *L'Artemise*, under the command of Captain Laplace, demanded concessions from the Hawaiian government under threat of war. A \$20,000 bond for future good behavior, and a most favored nation treaty were required in compensation for the expulsion of French Catholic priests, and the insult of a high duty placed on French wines and brandy. Fearful for their business interests, should Hawai'i become a French colony, American merchants collected the \$20,000 indemnity among themselves to aid the near bankrupt Hawaiian government.

Then in 1843, a British commander, Lord George Paulet, threatened Hawai'i with possible war with Great Britain, because a British Consul had complained that the Ali'i Nui had stolen his land. Although a Hawaiian-British treaty of 1836 had expressly provided only conditional lease of Hawaiian land, not ownership, Paulet used the event as an excuse to bully the Hawaiian government. He made a number of demands upon the young Kamehameha III, that the latter could not fulfill, including a \$100,000 indemnity for alleged insults to British subjects.

King Kamehameha III turned to his foreign missionary advisors to decide the correct or pono course of behavior. Dr. Judd advised that the King should "cede the country under protest to the superior force" of the British military to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, until such time as the British government should realize that a shameful and immoral act had been perpetrated upon a peaceful and Christian nation.

Around the same time, and during the British crisis of 1843, the American President Tyler asserted that Hawai'i was within the American sphere of influence, and warned that European powers were not to interfere. The U.S. Secretary of State cautioned that the U.S. might "use force" if it seemed that Hawai'i were to fall into European hands, as it had been American missionaries who had civilized the Natives, and "prepared an asylum for them all in the midst of the dangers of that vast ocean".²² Above all American business interests should not be threatened in the islands.

Americans were not surprised when soon afterwards, the British Admiral Thomas arrived with instructions from London to undo the great wrong perpetrated by Paulet, and to restore sovereignty to the Hawaiian nation. So the British flag

came down and the Hawaiian flag was raised once more to the delighted cheering of the Hawaiian people.

Perhaps their American missionaries had been right; it was better to wait with patient dignity than to engage in a futile war. With only 90,000 Hawaiians left, it seemed imprudent to seek death in battle, when other means could maintain the independence of the nation. So long as Hawaiian Ali'i Nui obeyed missionary advice, it seemed as though the Calvinists could and would use their divine power to save the Hawaiian nation from treacherous foreign warships, duplicitous merchants, and the terrible diseases which symbolized the wrath of God. A new pono had been found.

But the price to be paid by the Hawaiian Chiefs was quite high. American missionary protection meant complete obedience to all dictates and the rejection of everything Hawaiian. William Richards, an American missionary hired to teach the Chiefs about the workings of foreign government wrote of his lectures:

In these illustrations I endeavored as much as possible to draw their minds to the defects in the Hawaiian government, and Hawaiian practices, and often contrasted them with the government and practices of enlightened nations. The Conversation frequently took so wide a range that there was abundant opportunity to refer to any and every fault of the present system of government....when the faults of the present system were pointed out & the chiefs felt them & then [they] pressed me with the question, *Pehea la e pono ai*, [How shall we be pono]?²³

The 1839 French incident and the 1843 British takeover added great weight to Richard and Judd's arguments for the adoption of private ownership of land. They insisted that once Hawaiian land was owned in fee that foreign nations could not legally take the land. Heretofore, all Hawaiians had interest in and rights to the land, as it was a primary source of food. Ali'i Nui had ultimate control over the lands, but Commoners had ancient and irrefutable usufruct rights. No one owned the land in the western sense nor was land bought or sold. In the traditional context, if anyone "owned" the land, it was the Akua who gave birth to land.

Prominent Christian foreigners such as the kingdom's attorney general, William Little Lee, a New England lawyer hired by Judd, and Lee's best friend Charles Reed Bishop, the first banker of the kingdom, promised the Ali'i Nui that private ownership of land meant protection of Hawai'i's sovereignty as well as great economic prosperity for the nation. Moreover, American missionaries had long argued that Hawaiians were dying as they were lazy and licentious, and therefore

the only means that would stem the death of the people was private ownership of land. From that point of view, the change in land tenure was the pono thing to do.

Finally in 1848, the King and Ali'i Nui reluctantly agreed to the privatization of land, which became perhaps the greatest mistake they had ever made as it quickly allowed foreigners to buy Hawai'i. The Land Commission headed by Richards divided the lands between the government, Ali'i Nui and Commoners. There were about 88,000 Hawaiians in 1848. Only 8,200 Commoners received land awards, and most awards were only three acre lots; Commoners received only 1% of the lands from the Land Commission. While the 34 Ali'i received much larger portions of land, they were required to relinquish at least 50% of their former holdings.²⁴

Most of the lands became government lands and were sold to foreigners, in order to establish a capitalist economy by means of foreign investment. Missionaries received 560 acres a piece as reward for their work in Christianizing and enlightening the kingdom; the multinational corporations of Castle and Cooke, and Alexander and Baldwin began this way. By 1893, even most of the Ali'i Nui lands were controlled by foreigners, if not by outright sale or mortgage default, then as trustees on the boards of the Ali'i Nui estates.²⁵

With the availability of privately owned land, foreigners and former missionaries invested heavily in extensive sugar plantations. These investors included people like Judd, Lee and Bishop, who had argued most vehemently for the change. In fact, Lee and Bishop were business partners and made fabulous fortunes in sugar. As sugar plantations sprang up across the land, America emerged as their most lucrative market. In 1848, America acquired California and Oregon, which brought America closer still.

By 1853, planters had become disgruntled as they discovered that America charged a duty on all imported sugar to protect the American sugar industry. American businessmen and Hawai'i born American missionary descendants began to demand annexation of Hawai'i to America as a territory. Suddenly they were willing to sacrifice Hawaiian independence if it meant they would make more money. No longer would "friendly" foreign advisers protect Hawaiians from "rapacious" foreign merchants; instead they became business partners.

1853 was also a year of the smallpox epidemic which brought the population count down to 80,000. Fearful of the fate of his people and upon Judd's dire warnings of some European takeover, Kamehameha III began to contemplate the Calvinist suggestion of ceding the kingdom to America, but only if Hawai'i would be

admitted as a state. Negotiations stymied when congress balked at granting statehood to a nation of non-whites. In 1854, the beleaguered king Kamehameha IV died at age 41, leaving his 20 year old nephew, Liholiho 'Iolani, to rule as Kamehameha IV.

Immediately Liholiho canceled the annexation negotiations, declaring to foreigners that if they sought to betray Hawaiian independence they should leave the country. He promoted stronger ties with Great Britain to counterbalance the power of America, and Queen Victoria stood as godmother to his son. Liholiho led a marked change in Ali'i Nui behavior; he no longer implicitly trusted those Calvinists who had educated him, and he offered a new pono more conducive to Hawaiian custom. Hawaiian monarchs thereafter would be wary of their American missionary "friends".

Considered the most brilliant of the Kamehameha dynasty, Liholiho spoke English and French, had traveled through Europe and had been well received in British and French society. In America, however, he had been thrown off a train for being a nigger, and he knew firsthand of the racism dwelling in the hearts of those American missionaries who desired his country.

Concerned about the steady decline in the Native population, especially from the ravages of the venereal disease brought by foreigners, Liholiho built what came to be known as Queen's hospital to offer free medical care to his people. Calvinists spoke against the hospital, arguing that free medical care would make prostitution safe, and that Hawaiians deserved to die if they were immoral.²⁶

Calvinist were also afraid of their children mingling with the Native children. Missionaries demanded Hawaiian land for a separate school (Punahou) where their children could be educated without undue heathen influence, and they actively discouraged any intermarriage between whites and Hawaiians.

As Hawaiian kings rejected American racism and chose to ignore missionary advice, Calvinists thought of replacing the Ali'i Nui with their own children, and began to groom them to take over the government. With the economic control they had gained through the privatization of land, American missionary families came to desire full political control. The latter could only be achieved by closer economic ties to America.

As early as 1856, sugar planters petitioned for a reciprocity treaty; Hawai'i grown sugar should be admitted into America duty free, while American products shipped to Hawai'i would enjoy similar benefits. The Hawaiian market being so small, America was not really interested, and congress wanted to protect its own

domestic sugar industry. Hawaiian monarchs did not actively pursue the treaty either, as they were wary of closer ties with America. However, for the next 40 years, American sugar planters would propose annexation or reciprocity as a solution to the fluctuating nature of sugar profits.

The American civil war made sugar grown in Hawai'i increasingly lucrative. More plantations were opened and a larger labor force was needed. By 1872, there were only 51,000 Hawaiians left, and planters seriously considered the importation of more foreigners to work their plantations. By 1890, they would import 55,000 Asians to work in their fields.

However, the problem of a duty free American market persisted and prominent banker Charles Bishop proposed a new solution. Bishop invited General Schofield of the American Navy to survey Pearl Harbor as a possible coaling station, and eventual American military base in the Pacific, in exchange for Hawai'i grown sugar to enter America duty-free.²⁷ Bishop shrewdly guessed that the American congress would be more amenable to a reciprocity treaty if the military supported the proposal. American sugar planters in Hawai'i loved the idea!

Native Hawaiians were absolutely opposed to the cession of Pearl Harbor to America, and their public outcry was enough to halt open negotiations, although they continued in secret. Queen Emma, Liholiho's widow, remarked on Americans living in Hawai'i:

I like the *excessive* impudence of that race. What people possessed of any love of country, patriotism, identity and loyalty can calmly sit and allow foreigners to propose cession of the native born's soil, inspite of their unanimous protests? My blood boils with resentment against this insult.²⁸

In 1874, David Kalākaua was elected to the Hawaiian throne, some say by fraudulent means engineered by American businessmen, over the decidedly anti-American former Queen Emma. Hawaiians rioted when they discovered that Emma had not been elected, and American troops were landed to quell the riot.²⁹

Kalākaua owed a debt to American businessmen and his first act as king was to journey to Washington to plead for a reciprocity treaty. Congress was persuaded by the charming and erudite Kalākaua to pass the long awaited treaty, without the cession of Pearl Harbor! When Kalākaua returned to Honolulu he expected sugar planters to be grateful for his assistance and to support his reforms.

Kalākaua had a vision of a new Hawaiian pono and his motto was Ho'oulu Lāhui, or increase the race. He believed that by reviving Hawaiian pride, by

throwing out the seed of self-doubt planted in the Hawaiian breast by Bingham and his cohorts, that Hawaiian depopulation would cease. Toward this end, Kalākaua revived the hula, forbidden by the Calvinists, and sanctioned its use at court as the national dance. He built the beautiful and inspiring 'Iolani palace, when most buildings in Honolulu were ramshackle wooden shops surrounded by dusty dirt roads.

It was Kalākaua who re-established the ancient Hale Nauā society to foster the study and collection of Hawaiian traditions. He learned how to play the election game and packed the legislature with his supporters. Kalākaua even wanted the legislature to fund a Hawaiian navy and standing army to protect the nation against invasion, and he proposed uniting with Sāmoa and Tahiti to form an Oceanic alliance.³⁰

American missionary descendants were outraged and soundly denounced the "recrudescence of heathenism ... encouraged by the lascivious hulahula dancers ... and evinced by pagan orgies."³¹ They formed a secret league to plot the overthrow of the Hawaiian government and imported rifles to distribute to white foreign businessmen in Honolulu. The leader of the missionary faction was Lorrin Thurston, a grandson of one of the first missionaries to land in Hawai'i. In 1887, he wrote what has become known as the Bayonet constitution, which gave white foreigners, even those who had not taken the oath of allegiance, the power to control the Hawaiian legislature and cabinet. With an American warship in the harbor, and facing an American led rifle league, Kalākaua was forced to sign this constitution, and he became a figure head monarch.³² One week later, a new reciprocity treaty was made with America, one that included the cession of Pearl Harbor. At long last Americans had gained the military tie that would eventually ensure them annexation, and the wishes of the Native Hawaiians were dismissed as the foolish notions of an uncivilized dark race.

The 1887 Bayonet constitution represented the loss of Hawaiian control in the determination of what was pono for Hawaiians, and it was a direct blow to Hawaiian sovereignty. While Kalākaua's power as Mō'i was curbed by the likes of Thurston, Hawaiians did not acquiesce to the situation. Hawaiian politicians organized themselves into strong political leagues whose main aim was to restore the old pro-Hawaiian constitution; they called themselves Hui Kālai'āina and Hui Aloha 'Āina.

One Hawaiian who had been trained in military science and was a cousin of Kalākaua, Robert Wilcox, even tried to mount an armed rebellion in order to

overturn the new pro-Haole constitution. Ultimately Wilcox failed because of insufficient firepower in the face of American marines who were landed expressly to repress his rebellion, and to arrest him. Thurston and his gang were outraged when an all Hawaiian jury subsequently found Wilcox innocent of any wrongdoing.

Kalākaua died in 1891 and his sister Lili'uokalani followed him to the throne. Immediately she began to receive petitions from her Hawaiian people to give them a new constitution; one that would take power away from the Haole who were running the country and restore in to Hawaiians. The Queen waited until 1893, when the resident American warship was out of Honolulu harbor, to proclaim a new constitution requested by the Hawaiian people. Unfortunately, her Haole advisors in the cabinet refused to sign the constitution or to support her, and she could not announce it as planned. In fact, her ministers ran straight to Thurston's law office to inform him of the new development.

Thurston used this attempt as an excuse to call for the overthrow of the Queen and he was supported by those same American businessmen who had helped make the Bayonet constitution, as well as by the U.S. Minister to Hawai'i, John L. Stevens. The U.S. warship returned and Stevens landed the American marines once more, recognizing Thurston and his friends as the Provisional Government of Hawai'i and supporting their revolution against Queen Lili'uokalani.

As Kamehameha III had done 50 years before, the Queen yielded to the superior military might of America until such time as the American government would see the wrong that had been done in its name, and would restore the government to the Hawaiian monarch as Britain had done previously.³³ However, the American military wanted Hawai'i and it convinced congress that Hawai'i should become a territory. Sanford Dole, the President of the Provisional Government advised that Hawaiians should not be allowed to vote on the change of Hawai'i to an American territory as Hawaiians were "like children, and if allowed they would vote to remain a kingdom". At long last, Hawaiian sovereignty was in American hands and Hawaiian pono thereby suffered a terrible blow.

¹ Stannard, David. 1989. Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contract. Honolulu: Social Sciences Research Institute. P.32.

² Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikalā. 1992. Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea lā e pono ai?. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press. Pp.23-25.

³ Kamakau, Samuel Manaiakalani. August 26, 1869. Ke Au 'Ōko'a.

⁴ Stewart, Charles. 1828. A Residence in the Sandwich Islands during the Years 1823, 1824 and 1825. London: H. Fisher and Son. P. 151.

⁵ There were many Akua of war and politics. One famous female Akua Wao Haumea; other female sources of political power included Kameha'ikana, Kalāmainu'u, Kūho'one'enu'u and the

mo'owahine. Ali'i Nui also prayed to them for political power but less is known about those rituals and prayers.

6 Malo, David. 1951. Hawaiian Antiquities: Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press. P.171.

7 Most western historians who have written about Hawai'i, but who have not spoken Hawaiian, have insisted that Hawaiians learned the notion of nation building from white men who settled in Hawai'i. However, Native histories from the 1800's and earlier tell of Ali'i Nui who made such attempts long before white men came. See Kamakau, Fornander, and Malo op. cit.

8 These Mō'i included Puna, Māweke, Paumakua and Pili Ka'aiea, although Māweke of O'ahu was the eldest of these. Fornander; Abraham. 1969. Account of the Polynesian Race. Vol. II. Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle. Pp.22-4.

9 Malo 1951:253.

10 Fornander 1969, vol. II:78-83.

11 Ibid.:295-7.

12 Kamakau, S.M. 1961. Ruling Chiefs. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press. Pp.128-141.

13 Kuykendall, R.S. 1938. The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854. Vol. I. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Pp.49-51.

14 See Stannard 1989:81, who argues for 800,000 in 1778, using the lowest birthrate possible. Hawaiian scholar Haunani-Kay Trask and Kame'eleihiwa who know more about Hawaiian birthrates argue for 1,000,000.

15 Kame'eleihiwa 1992:141.

16 Kuykendall, R. S. 1938:92.

17 Bingham, Hiram. 1981. A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle. P.81.

18 Stewart 1928:88.

19 Bingham 1981:269.

20 Kame'eleihiwa 1992:201-203.

21 The Friend, August 15, 1845:119.

22 Kuykendall 1938:203.

23 Richards, William. 1839. "William Richards' Report to the Sandwich Islands Mission on His First Year in Government Service, 1838-1839." Hawaiian Historical society Annual Report for the Year 1843. Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co. P. 66.

24 Kame'eleihiwa 1992:287-298.

25 Ibid.:298-318.

26 Ibid.:312.

27 Kent, Harold (ed). 1972. Charles Reed Bishop Letter File. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press. Pp.73-4.

28 Queen Emma to Peter Ka'eo, letter of July 18, 1873. See Korn, A.L. 1976. News from Moloka'i: Letters between Peter Ka'eo and Queen Emma, 1873-1876. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

29 Kuykendall, R.S. 1967. The Hawaiian Kingdom. VIII. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Pp.8-11.

30 Kame'eleihiwa 1992:313-314.

31 Alexander, W.P. 1896. History of the Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy... and the Revolution of 1893. Honolulu: Gazette Co. Pp.1-2.

32 Judd, G.P. IV. 1961. Hawai'i: An Informal History. New York: Collier-MacMillan Ltd. Pp.99-100.

33 Lili'uokalani. 1898. Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co. Pp.226-36.