Once the last signature had been affixed to the Buke Māhele in March 1848, the division of ‘Āina between Mō‘i, Ali‘i, and konobiki had been accomplished, and that great evil, private ownership of ‘Āina, was born in Hawai‘i. The Kābuna Pule, a.k.a. missionary advisors, served as midwives to the birth of this new burden upon the Hawaiian people. As such, the new kābuna took complete control over their charge, the Western development of Hawaiian ‘Āina, our elder sibling and our mystical grandmother Pāpahānaumoku. In 1848, the fertile valleys of Hawai‘i were laid open to the capitalist penetration of foreigners, and a scant forty years later, with the bulk of the ‘Āina controlled by such outsiders, Hawaiian sovereignty was overthrown by a new trinity of American missionary descendants, American businessmen, and American Marines. Hawaiians had been taught by the missionaries to doubt the validity of their own history and culture, and from 1893 onward they would be forced by Americans to be strangers to their ancestral language and, most precious of all, to their ‘Āina. Today Hawaiians who live in Hawai‘i are told that if they don’t like life in America they should leave; now, Native Hawaiians are called the immigrant interlopers! Kapaina‘a kēnā!

The immediate consequence of the 1848 Māhele was that foreigners in control of the Land Commission became the source of ‘Āina, replacing the traditional function of the Mō‘i and Ali‘i Nui. Even the Ali‘i and
konobiki given ʻĀina by the Mōʻi himself were required to present their awards to the Land Commission for approval, subject to a one-third commutation fee. This meant that the 252 Aliʻi and konobiki were first forced by the Mōʻi to relinquish one-half of their ʻĀina, ostensibly to benefit the makaʻainaana by increasing the pool of available government ʻĀina. Then, most of these same Aliʻi and konobiki were required by the Land Commission to give up a further one-third of their award before they would be given a Royal Patent and hold complete legal title to their ʻĀina. By the end of this process they were left with only one-third of their original ʻĀina holdings. If the Aliʻi and konobiki had truly understood the legal ramifications of the Māhele at the outset, they no doubt would have bitterly protested the Kālaiʻaina of the Mōʻi and would have insisted upon their rights to proceed directly to the Land Commission, whereby they could have retained two-thirds of their ʻĀina holdings—as did all others who received awards from the Land Commission.

The Aliʻi had agreed to the Māhele in compliance with their religious advisors, but as with other aspects of Calvinism, private ownership of ʻĀina was another part of Western society that did not make complete sense to them. Ultimately, the Aliʻi trusted in their Mōʻi to make the right decision for them. Abdicating this responsibility to the Mōʻi relieved them of facing the hard political decisions that were traditionally left to those beyond their rank. Until recently this has been the Hawaiian way: politics were left for the Aliʻi Nui, and the makaʻainaana ignored that responsibility.

The traditional responsibility of the Mōʻi had been to make life pono, and now, despite all the disaster that had befallen Hawaiʻi upon Western contact, that duty was still expected of him. Although the Mōʻi was relatively young, only age thirty-four in 1848, in Privy Council the Aliʻi addressed him as makua (father). If they disagreed on any matter, they would argue with Koni Ana, his lesser-ranking Kuhina Nui, and once Kauikaeouli indicated his final decision they became mute.6

The decision-making process had been quite different in Kauikaeouli’s father’s time. Kamehameha I had been advised by a council of Aliʻi Nui who were raised to be politically shrewd and who possessed the wisdom of greater experience and old age.7 Kamehameha’s elder statesmen had been of his father’s generation; they included his Kona Uncles and could advise him in all things. Kauikaeouli’s counselors, on the other hand, were principally kaukau aliʻi and American missionaries.8 All the Aliʻi Nui, with a few exceptions, were younger than Kauikaeouli (see table 22), except for Kekauʻōnohi (age forty-three) who, by genealogical reckoning, was his niece. The Aliʻi Nui of his father’s generation who would have restrained his move toward foreign Land tenure practices—Kaʻahumanu, Kahekimālie, Kinaʻu, Hoapili, Kekeaulohi, Kalanimōkū, and Boki—had all died by 1848 (see table 1, p. 102). They had stood firm in their opposition to Kābuna Pule advice in matters dealing with ʻĀina and for the most part had died prematurely from foreign diseases.

In 1848, however, Kauikaeouli was faced with unrelenting depopulation and was surrounded by aggressive foreigners demanding Hawaiian ʻĀina and sovereignty. When his Kābuna Pule insisted the Māhele was another avenue to Ola Hou, what else could Kauikaeouli do to make the kingdom pono? How could he make foreigners respect Hawaiian rule? Besides taking the traditional path of Kū and waging war against the invaders, there seemed to be no alternative action that Kauikaeouli could follow to gain the foreigners’ respect. Foreigners had feared and respected Kamehameha because he was a warrior. For Kauikaeouli, peace had become the new pono. He wanted his people to live, not to make war, as enough of them were dying from foreign disease. He did not know how else to protect his people.

Unfortunately, foreigners did not respect peace and generosity. Having been named for his grandfather Kiwaliaʻō, Kauikaeouli seemed to have inherited his grandfather’s bad luck and unfortunate lack of political acumen. The demands of political reality required that Kauikaeouli understand and employ a certain ruthlessness at times. But he was too kind, too civilized, and too trusting of his American kābuna. As a result, Hawaiian sovereignty, that is, Hawaiian control of the ʻĀina, was allowed to slip away to those foreigners who professed to be friends.

There is evidence, however, that as early as April 1848, one month after Kauikaeouli had signed the Buke Māhele, he realized his great mistake, for he began drinking heavily again. Considering that the weighty responsibility for the nation’s welfare sat upon his shoulders alone, one would be surprised if he did not drink. His opening of the 1848 legislature was described in this way:

Aftermath of the Māhele 289
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buke Māhele Ali'i</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Age in 1848</th>
<th>Date of Death</th>
<th>Age at Death</th>
<th>Heir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Akahi</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>10/08/1877</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Pauahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keoni Ana</td>
<td>03/12/1812</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>07/18/1857</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Emma?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Davis Hu'eu</td>
<td>01/10/1800</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12/31/1873</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Papa 'Ii</td>
<td>08/03/1800</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>05/02/1870</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa Ka'eo</td>
<td>c.1805</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>02/09/1870</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakaleleponi Kalama</td>
<td>c.1817</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>09/20/1870</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kale (Sarah Davis)</td>
<td>02/05/1797</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kama'iku'i (Rooke)</td>
<td>09/08/1808</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>07/25/1866</td>
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<td>Emma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria Kamāmalu</td>
<td>11/01/1838</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>05/29/1866</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Kekūanao'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josua Ka'eo</td>
<td>c.1809</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>06/27/1858</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>c.1801</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>03/13/1877</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Lunarilo Estate</td>
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<td>James Young Kāheoa</td>
<td>08/01/1797</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10/01/1851</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka'ō'ana'eha</td>
<td>c.1768</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>01/22/1850</td>
<td>82</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaisara Kapa'akea</td>
<td>c.1817</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11/13/1866</td>
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<td>Kalākaua</td>
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<tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>12/11/1872</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>12/15/1854</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Alexander Liholiho</td>
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<td>Julia Alapa'i Kauwā</td>
<td>c.1814</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>08/02/1849</td>
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<td>08/17/1800</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>08/23/1840</td>
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<td>Ruta Ke'eelikōlani</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>05/24/1883</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Puaahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mikahela Kekau'ōnohi</td>
<td>c.1805</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>06/02/1851</td>
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<td>Ha'alele</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mose Kekehe</td>
<td>07/20/1829</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11/41/1848</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kekūanao'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataio Kekehe</td>
<td>c.1791</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>11/14/1868</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Ke'eelikōlani</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ane Kehehe</td>
<td>c.1814</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>04/06/1869</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Kalākaua mā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laura Konia</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<td>Pauahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gideon Lānui</td>
<td>c.1794</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>09/1849</td>
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<td>His Children</td>
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<td>Gini Lahilahi</td>
<td>05/1813</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>Leleiōhoku</td>
<td>05/19/1819</td>
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<td>Alexander Liholiho</td>
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<td>11/30/1863</td>
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<td>Kapuāiwa</td>
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<td>William Lunalilo</td>
<td>01/31/1835</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>02/03/1874</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nueku Nāmān'uu</td>
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<td>?</td>
<td>11/1848</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Kekūanao'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abenera Pākī</td>
<td>c.1808</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>06/13/1855</td>
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<td>Pauahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pane (Fanny Young)</td>
<td>07/21/1806</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>09/04/1880</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Peke (Elizabeth Davis)</td>
<td>12/24/1803</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1857/1860?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iona Pēikoi</td>
<td>c.1802</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>04/26/1859</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The King was scarcely able to get through the reading of his speech. He had not made himself familiar with it, and it was too long. He recommended giving titles to lands in fee simple to his subjects.

It is much to be regretted that wine has been introduced at the king's table at public dinners of late. We know his love for stimulants is so strong, that if he tastes liquor at all, excess is sure to follow. It gives us much uneasiness. 10

Thereafter, the Mōʻi was often given to “excess” and from May 21, 1849, he began to neglect his Privy Council meetings. Sometimes Queen Kalama would attend in his place and at other times Keoni Ana would serve in his stead. 11

On May 21, 1849, Kauikeaouli came to Privy Council in a furious temper. The night before, in chapel services, the Kabuna Pule Richard Armstrong had denounced the Mōʻi for his drinking in an effort to discredit him publicly and undermine his sovereign position. 12 Now Kauikeaouli demanded that the Privy Council dismiss Armstrong, who was also the minister for public instruction, for his rude behavior, as the Mōʻi “should not forget it until the day of his death.” 13 Moreover, he had construed Armstrong’s behavior to be indicative of that missionary’s wish to alienate both Aliʻi and makaʻāinana from their Mōʻi. The Privy Council Aliʻi were wary, however, of offending Armstrong who, as their Kabuna Pule could bring divine disaster upon them all. In a compromise, Keoni Ana and Pāhi convinced the Mōʻi to retain Armstrong if the Kabuna Pule would promise to keep silent in the future. 14

Finally, in 1849, it seems that Kauikeaouli had had enough of missionary advice and decided to live his life as he pleased. Realizing that the twin paths of Christianity and capitalism had failed to bring him mana, he reverted to Liholiho’s old law of Makahokukahaunui and gave himself over to leʻaleʻa and liquor. This was the old way of Lono, and perhaps it gave him the comfort of escape from a world into which he had been born as an Akua, but where Westerners demanded that he obey like a makaʻāinana. A foreign visitor noted this cultural discord.

The Royal Family in 1852. Seated left to right are Victoria Kamāmalu, the Mōʻi Kaukeouli Kamehameha III, and the Mōʻiʻiwahine Kapukahāʻili Hukaleleponi Kalama. Standing are Lota Kapuʻaiwa Kamehameha and his brother Alexander Iolani Liholiho.
Kamehameha III does his best to kill himself with strong drinks, and I really believe a great part of the cause lies in the restless talk and tedious warning of the missionaries, in opposition to the old chieftain’s pride."

And how did the Hawaiian people feel about Kauikeaulani and the Māhele? Kamakau gave his opinion of it in the 1860s:

Some of the missionaries thought it wrong to protect this government of God; the kingdom of God is not a kingdom ruled by a king [they said]. Perhaps this was not the king’s thought in joining the kingdom which he ruled as chief with the kingdom of God. He did not mean to give up his rule as chief, but to make God the protector of the kingdom and of his rule over it. That was his real thought. God was to be the judge to set his kingdom to rights, and that is why he commanded the whole nation to learn to read and to turn to the word of God. Strange indeed were the hard thoughts of the missionary! So they girded up their loins, sharpened their knives, and chose which part of the fish they would take, one the side piece, another the belly, one the eyes, another white meat, and another red meat. So they chose as they pleased. When the last man of them had come they were treated like chiefs; lands were parcelled out to them; they were given the same honors as Kaumuali‘i. Yet they found fault. Now you want to close the door of heaven to the Hawaiians. You want the honors of the throne to yourselves because you sit at ease as ministers upon your large land.

Kamehameha III wanted his race to become a god-fearing people, to become ministers of the gospel . . . Then there were ministers appointed who were helped by the government through the legislature to consult with the king. The kingdom of Hawai‘i became famous because of these commands of Kamehameha III, Rich, aye rich! It [the kingdom here compared to a fish] could be cut up, salted down, hung out to dry; filled the big drying frame, the little drying frame until the smell of it wafted from one end of the islands to the other end. This was the result of the land-giving fisherman of the chief [missionaries]. The hands trembled with eagerness to give with the right hand, with the left hand, until the head nodded, the chin swayed wearily. It was grabbed openly and passed on behind the back [in insult]. Great lands were theirs until they were full of pride; they built little houses, big houses, fine wooden fences, grand sleeping houses; there was not a grain spared by the plover, the bird from Kahiki [foreigners]. All was included in the saying, “I give my kingdom to God.”

MĀHELE BENEFITS FOR MĀKA‘AINANA

As foreigners became the de facto rulers of Hawai‘i, the Mō‘i and Ali‘i Nui slipped further down the pyramid of mana toward the pit of commonality. Kaukau ali‘i were fortunate if they could serve the government in konohiki positions, and former konohiki joined the ranks of the maka‘ainana.17 Since the foreign architects of the Māhele had insisted, however, that this event would most benefit the maka‘ainana, let us examine the historical record to see what really occurred.

The awards made by the Land Commission to maka‘ainana were called kuleana (to have an interest) awards.18 The Land Commission had begun receiving claims from the maka‘ainana over a period of two years previous to the 1848 Māhele of the Mō‘i. These claims were to include Native and/or foreign testimony to corroborate that the claimant had indeed been in residence on the ‘Āina in question since before 1839. Maka‘ainana were not required to pay a commutation fee, except for house lots in Honolulu, Lāhainā, and Hilo. They did, however, have to pay for the survey of their kuleana claims.19 At the time, the term “maka‘ainana” included foreigners who had sworn an oath of allegiance to the Mō‘i. (Many of those foreigners, however, retained dual citizenship.)20

In 1848 there were approximately 88,000 Hawaiians (29,220 who were males over the age of 18),21 but only 14,195 applications were made for kuleana awards, and some of these were multiple claims by a single claimant, as well as claims made by Ali‘i and konohiki, distinct from the awards from the Mō‘i. The latter were known as konohiki awards. Of the 14,195 kuleana claims, only 8,421 were actually awarded, which means that only 20 percent of eligible males received awards. These awards amounted to a total of 28,658 acres of Land, which is less than 1 percent of the total acreage of Hawai‘i.22 Only ‘Āina that was under direct cultivation was awarded. ‘Āina that had been previously worked but now lay fallow, in the process of rejuvenation, was not awarded.

If we assume that perhaps 6.6 percent of the kuleana awards were made to various levels of konohiki and foreigners instead of maka‘ainana,23 the average kuleana award was only three acres, hardly enough to ensure success in the capitalist system.

Although some kuleana Lands were located within government ‘Āina,
most kuleana awards were carved out of ‘Āina previously claimed by the Mō‘i, Ali‘i Nui, and konobiki who had already relinquished two-thirds of their ‘Āina to the government. One should not wonder that some kauka ali‘i looked askance at maka‘āinana receiving kuleana awards.

Why so few kuleana claims were made and why even fewer were eventually awarded remains a mystery, because the Land Commission did not keep any records of its deliberations.23 Various theories have been put forth. Some maka‘āinana may have been reluctant to claim ‘Āina that heretofore had been controlled by the Ali‘i Nui, as traditionally that would have been very rude and inappropriate behavior.24 Some may have wished to maintain their dependency upon the Ali‘i and that tenuous bond of aloha with someone more powerful. Still others may not have wanted to bother with the filing of papers, presentation of witnesses, and surveying of the ‘Āina.25 Nui ka pilikia!

The claiming of ‘Āina was a very foreign idea, generally outside the common Hawaiian’s reality.26 In Hawaiian thinking, emphasis was on the proper use of ‘Āina, not on its ownership. In Western terms it would be akin to filing documents for the right to use the air we all breathe.

With only 8,421 kuleana awards given to a population of 88,000, it may have been that only heads of households were granted awards. And, if there were ten or eleven people in each family residence (extended families lived together), the number of awards might have been a fair representation of the populace, although the idea seems farfetched.

The government call for maka‘āinana claims was published in the newspapers and announced in the churches. Kamehameha III himself made a number of outer island circuits to advise his people to apply.27 It is conceivable, however, that many did not hear the Mō‘ī, attend church, or read newspapers and so neglected to apply. In 1848, retaining Natives in the church membership was a continual struggle,28 and there are still many places in Hawai‘i where one can go for weeks without reading a newspaper. In addition, the Land Commission had initially given the maka‘āinana a two-year time limit on making claims, and some may have thought the deadline had passed. Yet considering the number of Hawaiians, so many claims could never have been processed in so short a period of time. What were the Land Commissioners thinking?

It was a gargantuan task to collect evidence and assess the claims, one not easily accomplished by five men sitting in Honolulu. To do the actual work, many missionaries and a few other “trusted” foreigners across the islands were enlisted as sub-commissioners to receive testimony and act as surveyors to mark the correct boundaries of each kuleana award.29 Because of the great distances involved and the difficulty of access to country areas, many sub-commissioners and surveyors made on-the-spot evaluations as to the veracity of a maka‘āinana claim, and it seems likely that their decisions determined the final awards.30 In August 1850, after legislation had been passed to give fee simple title to kuleana awards, these same brethren were hired as government agents to serve the written title documents from the Land Commission to the claimant. This was not a popular job, as maka‘āinana became angry when informed of their claims had been rejected by the Land Commission. Thus, a new network of foreign missionaries replaced the former system of Hawaiian konobiki as arbitrators of disputes over awards of ‘Āina. Because of this, it may well have been that the small number of claimants and fewer number of awards reflected only those Hawaiians who were in good standing with the Church.

The publicly stated purpose of the Mābele was to create a body of landed commoners who would excel and prosper by means of their small farms. This was how, in Judu’s and Richards’ vision, Hawai‘i would ultimately achieve capitalist success. The Mābele then, with its transformation of the traditional Hawaiian land tenure system, was to allow Hawaiians of all classes to realize the capitalist promise of great wealth through proper use of ‘Āina. In theory, the idea should have worked quite well. In fact, it was a disaster for the Hawaiian people.

There were a number of reasons why the proposed benefits of the Mābele did not accrue to Hawaiians. The amount of ‘Āina awarded, an average of 3 acres per household, was much too small to achieve capitalist success or even to support a family. (Formerly, the extended Hawaiian family shared resources from a whole abupua‘a.) Only 9 percent of the population, at the very outside, actually received any ‘Āina in the Mābele. Moreover, many maka‘āinana did not have the financial wherewithal to purchase the government ‘Āina set aside for that purpose. However, the greatest of the reasons was that Hawaiians were not culturally predisposed to capitalism. They could not fully comprehend a
system wherein profit—that is, the denial of one's surplus for another’s use—was more important than unstinting generosity.

In July 1850, when foreigners were given equal rights to acquire ‘Āina, maka’a‘ina Hawaiians were forced to compete with an aggressive group of Westerners who were not only familiar with capitalist rules but possessed the capital with which to buy ‘Āina. In this way by 1852 thousands of acres of government ‘Āina had been bought by foreigners, not by maka’a‘ina.12 The worst predictions of the 1846 maka’a‘ina petitions had come true. Had the Land Commission truly desired to enrich the maka’a‘ina, it would have been far better to have divided the total acreage of Hawai‘i in thirds, keeping one-third in perpetuity for future generations of maka’a‘ina.

As a plan to give new life to the people, the maka’a‘ina land scheme was a complete and utter failure. Even William Little Lee, who as attorney general had drafted the actual legislation, admitted as much in 1851. Of Hawaiians he wrote:

Certainly they are a kind and peaceable people, with a superabundance of generous hospitality; but with all their good traits, they lack the elements necessary to perpetuate their existence. Living without exertion, & contented with enough to eat and drink, they give themselves no care for the future. I consider the doom of this nation as sealed.13

MĀHELE BENEFITS FOR FOREIGNERS

Lee is an excellent example of the evil duplicity with which foreigners who say they love Hawaiians prey upon Hawaiian reluctance to confront the nastier aspects of Western culture, using Hawaiian disbelief to their own advantage. Trained as a lawyer and a devout Christian, Lee came to Hawai‘i in 1846 with Charles R. Bishop, his best friend.14 The two had been raised together in New England, and as intimate companions had decided to seek their fortune in the world together. As enterprising young capitalists, they had planned to join the Western invasion of the rich Indian lands in the Oregon region.15 In the 1840s, Hawai‘i was the logical stop for ships bound for northwest America to take on fresh food supplies, and when their ship stopped in the islands, they decided to stay awhile.

As devout Christian gentlemen from New England, the two were soon invited to join with their fellow compatriots in that select inner set of foreigners who advised the Ali‘i Nui. Judd convinced the lads they were needed in Hawai‘i. Lee was allowed to replace the recently departed Ricord as attorney general, and Bishop was appointed to replace William Paty as commissioner of customs, over the objections of Wylie, who noted that a number of other foreigners had seniority over Bishop. However, as Bishop was Judd’s first choice, Bishop was appointed.16

As soon as foreigners were allowed to own land in 1850, Lee entered into a partnership with Bishop, and together they began Lihue’s sugar plantation on Kauai.17 In 1851, Lee and Bishop bought twenty-seven acres in Mānoa, O‘ahu, near Punahou School, from Kekūanao‘a for $2,000.18 Lee also made it his business to help missionaries gain ‘Āina, as in the case of Father Bond in Kohala, who through Lee’s efforts was able to purchase the ‘Āina of ‘Iole which Kauīkeaouli was reluctant to sell because it had been one of his father’s favorites.19 That the Mō‘i allowed Lee this privilege suggests that Kauīkeaouli felt obligated to him for his legal advice.

As attorney general from 1847 on, Lee wrote all of the legal codes, as well as the Constitution of 1852.20 When Lee decided that foreign investment was essential to the development of Hawai‘i, not excluding his own business ventures with Bishop, he conveniently wrote a law allowing foreigners the right to own Hawaiian ‘Āina. He argued with his Calvinist friends that foreign capitalists could not feel secure in Hawai‘i without the right to fee simple ownership of ‘Āina.21

Lee pushed the law through Privy Council while Judd was away in Europe with the young princes Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuaiwa.22 Judd had consistently opposed foreign ownership of ‘Āina—probably because a great influx of foreigners could threaten his own power. Lee promised that foreign investment would mean great wealth and miraculous prosperity for the kingdom (in much the same way that State of Hawai‘i officials argue today, 140 years later).23 The previous two years, 1848–1849, had been marked by a series of epidemics— influenza, measles, mumps and whooping cough—which reduced the population by another five thousand and carried off six of the thirty-four Ali‘i Nui and kaukau ali‘i.24 The Ali‘i needed a miracle. After some hesitancy, they
agreed to Lee's proposal, although there is no record in Privy Council Records that the Mōʻi ever approved it.41

Perhaps because of the Mōʻi's lack of enthusiasm, the proposed law emerged from Privy Council without royal sanction and instead was presented to a mock legislature for a pro forma approval. Composed of five or six makaʻaina representatives, the mock “house of representatives” sat in the same room with the Privy Council Aliʻi, with Lee as attorney general to define points of law. Richard Armstrong, Bingham’s replacement as the kingdom’s new Kabuna Nui, was included as the minister of public instruction, no doubt to enlighten the “ignorant” legislators.

The new legislation regarding foreign ownership of Hawaiian ʻAina was presented to the House on July 10, 1850, where it received vigorous opposition from the makaʻaina representatives and was heatedly discussed by all parties.46 In the next session, on July 11, Armstrong carefully explained that there was really no difference between foreigners who had taken the oath of allegiance and foreigners who had not, and since the former already had rights to own ʻAina, so should the latter, as was done in all “civilized” countries.47

Standing in opposition to this fatuous argument were five makaʻaina who had been elevated to positions of leadership quite beyond the bounds of normal Hawaiian custom, because missionary advisors had insisted that a legislature was a mark of “civilized” government. This fledgling house of representatives had been created by the American Calvinists, and here before them stood Richard Armstrong, the American Kabuna Nui, arguing for the passage of a particular law. In addition, the Privy Council kaukau aliʻi had already agreed to the new legislation. Who were they to oppose such august personages? Despite misgivings, they voted unanimously to agree that any foreigner, even non-citizens, should be allowed to buy Hawaiian ʻAina, and the proposal became law regardless of the Mōʻi’s negative disposition.

The 1850 law indeed created a great impetus for foreign investment in commerce and agriculture, as well as speculation in real estate. Business in Honolulu was booming. The Waikiki plain was laid out in lots of 100 feet x 150 feet that were selling for $100 and more per lot.48 Capital was on the move:

Some 350 or 400 framed buildings have been erected in Honolulu and its vicinity the past year by the government, by foreigners and by natives. Much expense has been laid out in building a reservoir and in conducting a good spring of water in iron pipes from Nuuanu to the sea side and also in building new wharfs.49

Nor were the missionaries idly sitting by. Amos Cooke, who had run the Chiefs’ Children’s School, remarked on the severance of financial support from the ABCFM in this way:

Today I told Brother Castle that as the Board had not given us an opportunity to make anything for ourselves, I was to begin to look out for myself by investing my money at the Islands.50

A year later, Cooke had begun a partnership with Sam Castle, and reflected on the events of 1851:

Here I am at my place of business and constantly interrupted by calls from the missionary brethren. At intervals I hope to be able to finish my correspondence that it may be in readiness for the “Overland” Mail.

It seems as if Providence was fighting against the nation internally (for it has always appeared as if Providence was contending against other nations). Diseases are fast numbering the people with the dead and many more are slow to take advantage of the times and of the privileges granted to them by the King and Government (as you will learn in the Polynesian). While the natives stand confounded and amazed at their privileges and doubting the truth of the changes on their behalf, the foreigners are creeping in among them, getting their largest and best lands, water privileges, building lots, etc., etc.

The Lord seems to be allowing such things to take place that the Islands may gradually pass into other hands. This is trying but we cannot help it. It is what we have been contending against for years, but the Lord is showing us that His thoughts are not our thoughts, neither are His ways our ways. The will of the Lord be done.51

The company of Castle and Cooke, which today is a successful multinational corporation, began with these hypocritical sentiments.

While not all of the missionaries became businessmen or were as successful as Castle and Cooke, many of them were in the same position of financial uncertainty and sought to avail themselves of the opportunity
at hand. In addition to the 560 acres granted to them at nominal costs by the Privy Council in October 1850, the missionaries were also quite active on the open market. Although there were only thirteen missionaries who made the original application to Privy Council, by 1855 forty-seven of the brethren had bought substantial lands amounting to thousands of acres. Two of the most active of these missionaries-turned-entrepreneurs were Judd and Armstrong, members of the Mōi's cabinet.

G. P. Judd, as minister of finance, Privy Council member, and foremost advisor to the Mōi had been intensively involved in creating the Māhele and in establishing fee simple ownership. He also appeared to have a penchant for 'Āina. Sensitive to foreign public opinion, Judd was not blatant about land acquisition, but he was shrewd. In 1840, Kēkāluohi had offered him the whole of Mānoa valley in appreciation for his services, but he refused it, preferring instead some wharf lots in Honolulu. The Aliʻi Nui readily granted his request.

To have accepted all of Mānoa would have left Judd open to accusations by other foreigners of self-aggrandizement—accusations which were already frequent enough with less cause. Mānoa was too large an 'Āina and too conspicuous. The wharf lots, however, were modest in size, but lucrative. Judd earned $1,000 per annum from that property, a sum equal to his salary as minister of finance, through a lease to the Hawaiian government. But this transaction was not widely known. When the subject arose casually in Privy Council one day in 1846, Wylie was astonished and claimed that was the first he heard of it. Moreover, Judd was profiting from this land at a time when foreigners were not even allowed to own 'Āina.

Earlier, in 1839, Judd had also been given twenty-two acres at Pāwaʻa, Waikiki, by Kaukaoua as “a gift in appreciation of his services as a medic."

This lot was later confirmed to him in the 1848 Māhele. He later spent $1,000 to fence and drain the lot, and began using the property to graze cattle. In 1847, Judd bought 7.61 acres in Nuʻuanu, Oʻahu, for $50. This was the lot his house was situated upon, and the sale probably took place before December, when the Aliʻi met to divide their 'Āina.

In the 1850s, Judd became very busy acquiring 'Āina. He bought the abupuaʻa of Kualoa, Oʻahu, (622 acres) from the Mōi's personal Crown Lands for $1,500. He intended to plant sugar cane there and at $2.00 per acre it was not a bad investment. It was strange that Kaukaoua parted with Kualoa as there had been a prediction about that 'Āina, one of the most sacred of Oʻahu, since the time of Kahahana. The prediction warned that the Aliʻi who held Kualoa would capture the rule of all Oʻahu.

Kaukaoua's sale of Kualoa to Judd was almost symbolic of the real power he had given Judd in controlling government affairs. Nor did Kaukaoua make much profit from the sale of those 622 acres, for Judd paid him only a little more than the Hawaiian government was paying Judd in lease rental for the wharf lots. In that same year, Judd also bought a house lot in Honolulu from Mr. Dimond, another missionary, for only $1.00.

Judd fancied the entire moku of Hāna on the island of Māui as well. It was a lovely 'Āina, lush, fertile, cool, and breathtaking—a spot cherished for centuries by the Aliʻi Nui of Māui and Hawaiʻi islands. Judd may have hoped to retire there. Most of Hāna had been Kaʻahumanu's 'Āina, as this was the place of her birth. Hāna descended from Kaʻahumanu to her grand-niece Victoria Kamāmalu, who in 1848 was allowed to retain only the abupuaʻa of Wānanalua, ceding the rest to the government. In 1846, when Judd had first proposed in Privy Council that he be allowed to buy Hāna, Kekūanaoa strongly objected on the grounds that it was his daughter Kamāmalu's birthright. Two years later, Judd was one step closer to his desire when Kekūanaoa, acting on behalf of the ten-year-old Kamāmalu, was forced to concede most of Hāna in the Māhele process.

By 1851, Judd had bought 223 acres in Hāna (four separate lots) from the government for $127 at 56 cents per acre. The following year he purchased another 217.8 acres, including the 'Āina of Wānanalua, for $166 (76 cents per acre). Later that year he acquired another 80.3 acres and 9.75 acres in Hāna for $40 each, or about 88 cents an acre. In 1860, he bought 211 acres of Hāna 'Āina for $62.50—just 29 cents per acre! Then in 1861, Judd sold all of these 641 Hāna acres to Needham, Cooke, and Unna for $2,500, which was nearly $4 per acre. He had paid a total of $436 for these Hāna lands over the previous ten years and the $2,000 in profit accrued to Judd, not to Kamāmalu. Nor was there any tax on property or speculation paid to the government at this time. How did the Hawaiian, Aliʻi or makaʻainana, gain anything by such a system?

Richard Armstrong became minister of public instruction in 1847,
replacing William Richards, who had died.\textsuperscript{71} He was also the Kabuna of Honolulu—about four acres in all and for a good sum of money. \textsuperscript{72} He and his wife, \textsuperscript{73} and she liked Maui, too, as he had been a pastor there briefly. Later, in 1851, Armstrong bought an entire parcel of 1,382 acres of government land in Ha'ikū, Maui, for only $2.00 and services rendered; it was virtually given for free.\textsuperscript{74}

In that same year, Armstrong acquired another 558 acres in Ha'ikū, Maui, from Kekūanaoʻa for $558.\textsuperscript{75} This 'Aina had belonged to his daughter, Kamāmalu, and was another part of her legacy from Kaʻahumanu. Since Kekūanaoʻa was Kamāmalu's guardian, he had the right to sell it, but he wonders why he did so for only $1.00 an acre when he could have made money much more. Kalo 'Aina at the time was being sold for at least $500 an acre, while pasture 'Aina cost at least $2.00 an acre.\textsuperscript{76} Since Ha'ikū was such fertile 'Aina, one must ask: was Kekūanaoʻa somehow intimidated by Armstrong, his stern Kabuna Pule?

In 1850, Armstrong bought several 'Aina on O'ahu and more on Maui. This included about 40 acres in Honolulu for which he paid a total of $584.\textsuperscript{77} On Maui he acquired a house lot in Lāhainā for $1.00 and 47 acres in Ha'ikū for $500.\textsuperscript{78} He also bought 360 acres at Kula from Rukulau Keʻelikolani for $1,500; she at least knew the capitalist value of her 'Aina.

The following year, Kaukaouli gave Armstrong 2.66 acres at Kahului, O'ahu, for free,\textsuperscript{79} and the government sold him another 525 acres at Ha'ikū, Maui, for $500.\textsuperscript{80} He was also able at the time to purchase yet another unspecified amount of Ha'ikū 'Aina from E. Miner and the government for $500.\textsuperscript{81} He actively continued buying 'Aina on O'ahu and Maui in this manner through 1856, subsequently becoming a wealthy landowner.\textsuperscript{82}

Judd and Armstrong were not the only government officials who used their familiarity with the procedures of the Māhele to acquire large tracts of 'Aina. Lee bought 'Aina on Kaua'i. Robert C. Wyllie, the Secretary of State for foreign affairs, bought a sizeable estate in Nu'uuanu, which he named Rosebank,\textsuperscript{83} as well as a 1,000-acre plantation in Hanalei, Kaua'i, which he called Princeville.\textsuperscript{84} Although he generally supported the Calvinists, he had admonished Judd for siding with the Ali'i on Māhele matters. On this subject Wyllie said:

Upon such points it was the duty of the Foreign Members of the King's Council to enlighten the Natives—not to defer or yield to their ignorance or prejudices, but to take pains to enlighten them and guide them to a right understanding of things.\textsuperscript{85} When it came to 'Aina, Wyllie was sure his advice was the best, and firmly backed Lee in his push for foreign investment.

It was not surprising that these influential foreigners used the new system to their advantage. Given the circumstances, it would have been no surprise if they had not. They firmly believed that by acquiring and developing Hawaiian 'Aina they were teaching the ignorant Natives how to improve the economy and become a "civilized" capitalist nation. For foreigners it was a convenient business all around: they could make money while doling out enlightenment. Only the Natives did not benefit, although they had followed their new Kabuna's advice because it had seemed pono.

In the forty years after the Māhele, between 1850 and 1890, Honolulu society saw a curious merging of missionary and business interests. It was curious because the first few waves of Calvinists, those who had come in the 1820s, had abhorred unscrupulous businessmen and had devoted themselves to converting the heathen, an act they perceived would lead to salvation of their own souls.\textsuperscript{86} Over time, some of these early missionaries changed their minds about sole devotion to religious duties and lusted for political power, arguing that they were doing the Natives a favor while furthering God's work.\textsuperscript{87} In particular, the second generation of missionaries, later arrivals, and children of the first few companies, looked for economic gain in Hawai'i rather than spiritual rewards in heaven.\textsuperscript{88} After all, Hawai'i was so beautiful, it was a heaven on earth, and they meant to own a piece of it.

True to the racist tendencies inherent in their American backgrounds, the missionaries sought to keep their white community intact, and so established Punahou School expressly to protect their children from intermingling with Natives.\textsuperscript{89} Careful intermarriage with the mission crowd or with acceptable whites from the business caste made the missionary clique as closely related as had been the previous ruling class, those "incestuous" Ali'i Nui.\textsuperscript{90} On rare occasions exceptions were made to the color bar so that young men could marry very high-born Native

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replacing William Richards, who had died. He was also the Kahuna Nui and a devout missionary. In 1840 he began buying small lots around Honolulu—about four acres in all and for a good sum of money.

Arnold also liked Maui, too, as he had been a pastor there briefly. Later, in 1840, Armstrong bought an entire parcel of 1,382 acres of government 'aina in Ha'ikū, Maui, for only $2.00 and services rendered; it was virtually given for nothing.

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True to the racist tendencies inherent in their American backgrounds, the missionaries sought to keep their white community intact, and so established Punahou School expressly to protect their children from intermingling with Natives. Careful intermarriage with the mission crowd or with acceptable whites from the business caste made the missionary clique as closely related as had been the previous ruling class, those "incestuous" Ali'i Nui. On rare occasions exceptions were made to the color bar so that young men could marry very high-born Native
women who had attended the Chiefs' Children's School (Ali`i Nui such as Bernice Pauahi or Lydia Kamaka'eha), and thereby gain access to incredible economic and political privilege vis-à-vis the Ali`i Nui who ran the government.

The political coup of 1848 could not be completely and openly enjoyed, however, so long as there were still thousands of Hawaiians loyal to their Ali`i Nui. The American kābuna worked behind the scenes to consolidate their position and to gain time, time to raise their children and to teach them how to take over Hawai‘i. To the outside world they presented themselves as merely political and economic advisors to an infant nation rising from the shackles of barbarism. In reality they were biding their time until they alone would rule Hawai‘i.

**Disposition of ‘āina awarded to the ten highest Ali`i Nui**

Logically, the missionaries’ “friendly” capitalist expertise should have most benefited the Ali`i and konobiki of the Māhele. They were the Hawaiians most closely involved with the foreign advisers in government and in the Māhele itself. However, of the 218 konobiki of the Māhele, 52 failed to present their ‘āina to the Land Commission to receive a Land Commission award. This meant that legal title to such ‘āina was flawed and subsequent legislation had to be passed in 1853 and 1860, and in 1892 to allow these konobiki, or their heirs, to present their claims. In addition, two kaukau ali`i, Kamakahonu and James Young Kanekoa, also failed to apply to the Land Commission. Clearly one quarter of the konobiki did not even know how to complete the process.

If the lesser chiefs did not fare so well in the new capitalist system because of a lack of understanding, what about the Ali`i Nui? Did they become the po`e waiwai, the “wealthy capitalists” of Richards’ vision? The older Ali`i Nui in particular had been instructed at length by Richards on the intricacies of capitalism and the younger Ali`i Nui were well trained by Amos Cooke at the Chiefs' Children’s School in the basics of counting and business. Yet none of these Ali`i Nui made terribly good businessmen. The post-Māhele careers of the ten highest Ali`i Nui of 1848 Māhele provide a telling glimpse of Ali`i Nui business acumen.

Forty years time most of the Ali`i Nui ‘āina had passed into foreign control by the mystifying Western transactions of probate, mortgage default, and foreign trustee management of large estates. These Ali`i Nui and their post-Māhele ‘āina awards were:

- Kauikeaouli 144 ‘āina
- Mikahela Kekau‘onohi 77 ‘āina
- William Lunalilo 65 ‘āina
- Ane Keohokalole 50 ‘āina
- Victoria Kamāmalu 48 ‘āina
- Leleiōhoku 36 ‘āina
- Lota Kapua‘wa 17 ‘āina
- Ruta Ke`elikōlani 12 ‘āina
- Laura Konia 11 ‘āina
- Mosese Kekūāiwa 9 ‘āina

First of all, some of these Ali`i Nui did not live long enough to enjoy any capitalist profit from their ‘āina (see table 23). In 1848, Leleiōhoku and Mosese Kekūaiwa, two grandsons of Kamehameha ages twenty-nine and nineteen respectively, died within a month of each other, one of measles and the other of whooping cough. The scant ‘āina of Mosese Kekūaiwa were inherited by his father Kekūanao. The substantial ‘āina of Leleiōhoku were left to his son, W. P. Kīnaʻu, with his widow Ruta Keʻelikōlani as guardian. But Kīnaʻu died as a youth in 1859 and so Leleiōhoku’s ‘āina were really inherited by Keʻelikōlani.

Three years later, in 1851 at age forty-three, Kekauʻonohi, another grandchild of Kamehameha's and second only to the Mōʻī in ‘āina holdings, died and left her extensive ‘āina to her second husband, Levi Haʻalelea. Haʻalelea died in 1864 at the age of forty-two, leaving $40,000 worth of debts, part of which he owed to Bishop & Co. In the probate of his estate and to pay off his creditors, the court auctioned a great deal of his ‘āina at minimal prices. Several pieces of real estate in Honolulu were sold for only $2,000. Twenty-six parcels of Māui ‘āina were sold for a total of $2,965. Almost all of this ‘āina was purchased by foreigners, with the exception of three Māui ‘āina, which were bought by Hawaiians. The abupua’a of Hākalau and Pāpaʻikou in Hilo, and Honokōhau and Hōnaunau in Kona, as well as ‘āina on Molokaʻi and Kauaʻi,
Table 23. Ali'i Nui and Kaukau Ali'i of the Buke Māhele

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Death</th>
<th>Buke Māhele Ali'i</th>
<th>Age at Death</th>
<th>Heir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Mosese Kekūāīwa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kekūāna'o'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Leleiōhoku</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Ke'elikōlani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Nueku Nāma'u'u</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Kekūāna'o'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Julia Alapa'i Kauwā</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Julia Moemālie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Aaron Keali'i'ahonui</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Kekau'ōnohi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Gideon La'anui</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>His children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Ka'ō'ana'e'ha</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Died intestate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>James Young Kānehoa</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Mikahela Kekau'ōnohi</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Ha'alele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Kauikeaouli</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Alexander Liholiho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Keoni Ana</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Emma Rooke, Peter &amp; Albert Ka'e'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Josua Ka'eo</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>His children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kana'ina did not feel competent in the new system and Lunaililo agreed to his father's "prudent" request.

The court appointed Kana'ina, Armstrong, and J. W. Austin, a lawyer, as guardians of Lunaililo's estate. From that time until his death, his estate was continually administered by others, and except for Kana'ina, they were all foreigners. When Lunaililo died in 1874, he left all of his property to Kana'ina with the stipulation that after his father's death, his estate should be formed into a trust devoted to "poor, aged and infirm people of Hawaiian ancestry." Three years later Kana'ina died, and Lunaililo Home for elderly Hawaiians was established. The estate has to this day been administered predominantly by foreigners, and the lands have dwindled considerably under foreign control.

Victoria Kamāmalu died in 1866 at the age of twenty-seven. Her entire estate was inherited by her father, Kekūāna'o. He died two years later and the estate went to Kekūāna'o's son Lota Kapuāiwa, who by that time reigned as Kamehameha V. He had not been noted for his business sense and had declared bankruptcy before ascending to the throne in 1864. Kapuāiwa died intestate in 1872, whereupon Ruta Ke'elikōlani, Kapuāiwa's half-sister, petitioned for and received in 1873 the entire estate.

In 1869, Keohokalole, a descendant of two of Kamehameha's four Kona Uncles, died. She was the widow of Kapa'akea and the mother of the future King David Kalākaua. She had inherited substantial 'Aīna from her ancestors, but had so heavily mortgaged them after the Māhele that most of them were gone by the time of her death. Of the fifty 'Aīna awarded her in 1848, only eight remained in 1869 to be divided among her surviving children: Kalākaua, Kamā'e'ha, Likelike, and Leleiohoku II. Many of them seem to have accrued to Charles Bishop.

Keohokalole was easy prey for shrewd operators because she did not understand capitalism. Most of her 'Aīna were lost to foreigners through mortgage default (similar losses were also suffered by maka'ainana). The most famous of all her financial fiascos occurred in 1860 when she sold an entire ahupua'a in Hāmākua, Hawai'i, for $600. Joseph H. Morris had surveyed the 'Aīna, which consisted of almost 50,000 acres, and told Keohokalole that it was only 1,200 acres. She trusted him implicitly because he was married to her cousin and former konobiki.
the entire four million acres of Hawai’i. The question that arises continually for Hawaiians is and has been “Peach na e pono ai?” How is it that we shall be pono and how could our ancestors have prevented this loss of control of ‘Āina and sovereignty from happening?

During the forty-odd years between the 1848 Māhele and the 1893 overthrow, the overwhelming problems for the Ali‘i Nui were the depopulation of Hawaiians from foreign diseases and the constant threat of a foreign takeover. Death overshadowed and colored all politics. From 1848 to 1893, the Hawaiian population was again depleted by 50 percent, from 88,000 to 40,000. Despite all the Ali‘i Nui efforts to save their people, and to protect Hawai‘i from rapacious foreigners, they found themselves in a continual search for pono in what was rapidly becoming a foreign world.

When Alexander Liholiho, a brilliant young man, ascended the throne in 1855, his three great concerns were to suppress the overbearing influence of American Calvinists among merchants; to preserve Hawaiian sovereignty; and to prevent the death of his people. He was the epitome of a pono Māoli. In order to accomplish the first goal he pursued British favor and religion, establishing the Episcopal Church in Hawai‘i and obtaining Queen Victoria as godmother for his son. He thereby hoped to foster a healthy rivalry between the British and Americans, and to stave off the American push for annexation of Hawai‘i that began as soon as foreigners gained rights to ‘Āina in 1850. He spoke his mind openly in 1855 upon ascending the throne:

His majesty Kamehameha III, now no more, was permanently the friend of the foreigner, and I am happy in knowing he enjoyed your confidence and affection. He opened his heart and hand with a royal liberality, and gave till he had little to bestow and you, but little to ask. In this respect I cannot help but equal him... I therefore say to the foreigner that he is welcome. He is welcome to our shores. Welcome so long as he comes with the laudable motive of promoting his own interests and at the same time respecting those of his neighbor. But if he comes with more exalted motive than that of building up his own interests at the expense of the Native—to seek our confidence only to betray it—with no higher ambition than that of overthrowing our Government, and introducing anarchy, confusion and bloodshed—then he is most unwelcome!

From Capitalism to Colonialism: 1848–1893

The opportunity for economic control afforded to foreigners by the 1848 Māhele only served to make them greedy for overt political control, which they then demanded in 1893. Appeasement of foreign desires was certainly a mistake: giving them an inch induced them to desire many miles, in fact...
Perhaps the British would keep American aggression from overwhelming the kingdom. With Hawaiian numbers diminishing so quickly, armed resistance to America was unlikely to result in any kind of victory.

Kamehameha IV's other innovation was to provide free medical care for diseased and dying Hawaiians, especially those suffering from venereal disease.⁴⁹ The Mōʻi and his Queen Emma personally solicited funds for a hospital, against much opposition from the missionary faction, and in 1860 Queen's Hospital was opened. The Aliʻi Nui of the 1850s believed that medicine, not merely religion, would save their people. Calvinists argued that Hawaiians deserved to die because they were immoral, and that free medical care would make prostitution safer.¹¹⁰ A British friend of the Mōʻi, Charles G. Hopkins, defended the idea of the hospital with a paraphrase of Shakespeare:

Hath not a Native eyes? Hath not a Native hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter, as a foreigner? If you prick us do we not bleed? If you tickle us do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? ... We are not in a position to do all we would wish, but, to make a beginning, we will subscribe, in the first place for $100—who'll follow the lead?²⁰

Not even the best medical care, however, could save this pono Mōʻi. Alexander Liholiho died of asthma in 1863 at age twenty-nine, bequeathing the troubles of the kingdom to his elder brother Lota Kapuāiwa, Kamehameha V, who was then age thirty-three. Lota Kapuāiwa rejected the pseudo-liberal 1853 Constitution written by William Little Lee and promulgated by his uncle Kaūkeaouli. He insisted on declaring a revised document that was less democratic and less prey to foreign manipulation.¹¹¹ He was the Aliʻi Nui grandson of Kamehameha I and he knew best how to rule his people in a traditional pono fashion. In the face of heated Calvinist denunciation, he licensed trained Hawaiians as medical kābuna to serve ailing Hawaiians and lifted the ban against the beloved bula.¹¹² Perhaps he thought that if Hawaiian lives were to be so short, they might as well celebrate them with bula, and if Hawaiians came to respect their traditions again, they might find inspiration to live longer.

Lota Kapuāiwa reigned for only nine years, dying mysteriously at the age of forty-two in 1872. His cousin William Lunalilo followed as Mōʻi, but died of tuberculosis just two years later at the age of forty. Although dearly beloved by his people, William Lunalilo reigned too briefly to make lasting changes for the Lāhui. He too was bewildered by capitalism and his personal ʻAina were managed by foreigners. He trusted his friend Charles R. Bishop, married to his cousin Bernice Pauahi, to protect Hawaiʻi from the dangers of the foreign world.

Trusting in that particular foreigner was Lunalilo's gravest mistake, for Bishop was a banker, a sugar planter, and one of the most rapacious capitalists in the islands. It was Bishop's idea to cede Pearl Harbor to America in a reciprocal exchange to allow sugar exported by Hawaiʻi into America duty free.¹¹³ In his egotism, Bishop could not understand the Hawaiian outcry against and fury over a proposed cession of Hawaiian ʻAina. This issue is said to have been the only time his wife, Bernice Pauahi, argued with him, and the Mōʻi Lunalilo eventually forbade the cession.¹¹⁴ Foreigners, however, both in Hawaiʻi and in America, did not forget Bishop's proposition and it arose again thirteen years later.

Kalākaua was the next to rule and did so for seventeen years. He was not of Kamehameha lineage; his ancestors had been mere supporters of Kamehameha I. Had it not been for the early deaths of the Kamehameha grandchildren, he would never have come to the throne. Although a descendant of the high ʻI Aliʻi of Hilo, many Hawaiians, especially the supporters of Queen Emma, a great-grandniece of Kamehameha, thought his lineage inadequate for the position. When the legislature elected Kalākaua Mōʻi instead of Emma, Hawaiians rioted. American troops were landed to quell the disturbance and to install Kalākaua as Mōʻi because American businessmen believed him to be more malleable than the staunchly anti-American Queen Emma.¹¹⁰ Yet it was Kalākaua who, during his reign, gave hope back to the Hawaiian people because he had a zest for life. At least he had lived past fifty; no other Mōʻi had lived so long since Kamehameha I, and if nothing else his age alone was proof that the Akua found him pono.

Kalākaua was of Makahonu philosophy, believing in the celebration of life, and he rejected the dour Calvinist doctrine. At the beginning of his reign he used his great eloquence and personal powers of persuasion to convince the United States Congress to give Hawaiʻi a reciprocity treaty.
without cession of Pearl Harbor.\textsuperscript{138} It was Kalākaua's reciprocity treaty that allowed foreign sugar planters to accumulate truly great fortunes in Hawai'i, and he expected them to be grateful. He expected them to know their place and to support his policies.\textsuperscript{139}

Kalākaua believed that by reviving Hawaiian pride—by throwing out the seed of self-doubt planted in the Hawaiian breast by Hiram Bingham—Hawaiian depopulation would cease. His slogan was "Hō'oulu Lāhui" (Increase the Race). He surmised that if Hawaiians could again celebrate life, as their ancestors had, and if they were thus inspired with a great desire to live, then the senseless, premature deaths might cease. As a nation, Hawai'i would be pono again. To this end, Kalākaua built the beautiful and inspiring 'Iolani Palace, reestablished the ancient Hale Naua Society to study Hawaiian traditions, and commemorated his coronation with twenty-four hours of hula dancing at the Palace.\textsuperscript{140} Hula had not been so openly displayed since Liholiho's time in 1823.

The missionary faction was furious at his pro-Hawaiian stance and not at all grateful or respectful. Their parents and grandparents had labored long to wipe out Hawaiian traditions and pride, and here again they were being brazenly flaunted.\textsuperscript{141} It was one thing for upstanding white men to live under Native rule, so long as those Natives were compliant to foreign and Calvinist "advice"; it was quite another thing to obey the whims of a "heathen" and independent-minded King.\textsuperscript{142} Kalākaua represented a rejection of missionary advice; he was determined to proclaim the excellence of Hawaiian culture and he laughed at the suggestion of Hawaiian "savagery."\textsuperscript{143} He treated Calvinist allegations that his father was an American Negro, instead of the handsome Ali'i Kap'akea, with the contempt such gossip deserved. He was an elegant aristocrat and a defiant, disdainful Hawaiian. However, he was poor and the missionary faction fastened upon Kalākaua's money problems in order to hide their own racism and lust for power.

When Kalākaua's mother, Keohokalole, the Ali'i Nui who received fifty abupua'a in the Māhele, died in 1869, she left only eight 'aina. These were to be shared among her four children. Kalākaua received two, which meant he was virtually a landless Ali'i Nui, equivalent to a mere konobiki of twenty years before. But if he were to live and rule as an Ali'i Nui in the new capitalist system, he needed money. His attempts to make money via his capitalist friend Spreckels, through shady land deals and auctioning of the sole opium license for the kingdom to various contending Chinese businessmen, gave the missionary faction an excuse to ferment a rebellion that culminated in 1887.\textsuperscript{144}

It was Lorrin Thurston, a twenty-nine-year-old Punahou graduate and grandson of one of the first Calvinist missionaries set foot in Hawai'i, who wrote the 1887 Bayonet Constitution. Thurston led his fellow whites to stockpile guns, and, subsequently, to use them to force Kalākaua to his knees. The Bayonet Constitution stripped power from the Hawaiian Mō'i and gave it to foreign capitalists.\textsuperscript{145} Broken in spirit and disheartened by the betrayal of foreigners whom he thought could be his friends, Kalākaua's health deteriorated. In 1891 he died in the foreign land of San Francisco, California, his vision of pono for his people destroyed by foreigners greedy for political control. Kalākaua had discovered that it was impossible to rule Hawai'i with pono for both Natives and foreigners—their worlds were too different.

When Kalākaua's sister, Queen Lili'uokalani, succeeded him, the Hawaiian people begged her to dismiss the Bayonet Constitution.\textsuperscript{146} In 1893, she attempted to proclaim a new constitution that would deny foreign aliens the right to vote and would restore power to the Hawaiian people. However, as a Christian she made a fatal mistake in planning: she trusted the missionary faction, and could not believe that her brothers in Christ would overthrow her kingdom. She thought that if she lived as a devout Christian and denounced her brother's Makabunon philosophy, that the "missionary set" would respect her rule.\textsuperscript{147}

When Thurston heard of her plans for a new constitution, he was ready for a revolution and gathered his people and their weapons together. Common Hawaiians and the Marshall of Honolulu, Charles Wilson, wanted to arrest Thurston and his cohorts, but the queen, fearing bloodshed, refused.\textsuperscript{148} After the U.S. Marines were landed at Thurston's request and the Provisional Government was proclaimed, Lili'uokalani warned the maka'ainana not to kill any foreigners nor to rise in protest because that was not the Christian pono.\textsuperscript{149}

Instead, placing her faith in Jehovah, she took exactly the same action that Kauikeouli had fifty years previously: she ceded the kingdom under protest to the greater military strength of the United States, believing
that America would recognize the injustice done and restore the kingdom.\textsuperscript{198} Although Senator Blount's investigative report to the U.S. Congress vindicated Queen Lili'uokalani and recommended her restoration to the Hawaiian throne,\textsuperscript{119} today we Hawaiians still await American justice and have become like foreigners in the 'Aina of our ancestors. Once Hawai'i became an American territory in 1900, foreigners prohibited Hawaiian language and beat Hawaiian children for speaking it.\textsuperscript{122} As a result, we became ashamed to be Hawaiian. Now foreigners behave as though Hawaiians don't belong in Hawai'i, calling the Native people "immigrants."\textsuperscript{113} There is a great lack of pono in Hawai'i today as a direct result of our loss of 'Aina and sovereignty.

**LOSS OF PONO FOLLOW LOSS OF 'AINA**

In reflecting upon Hawaiian history, it is obvious that foreign disease and the resulting depopulation have made Hawaiians prey to foreign interests. In traditional terms, the massive depopulation experienced by Hawaiians, beginning in 1778, indicated a lack of pono, the maintenance of which was the responsibility of the Ali'i Nui. In their search for a new pono that could stem the death of their people, the Ali'i Nui abandoned the 'Aikapu religion and the traditional Akua because they no longer seemed to sustain life. The rejection of 'Aikapu, however, left a religious void—an absence of any Akua whatsoever. When the Calvinists arrived six months after the breaking of the 'Aikapu, representing themselves as the source of foreign mana, and offering a religious respite from the foreign diseases, they effectively forestalled the emergence of a new form of Hawaiian religion more appropriate to the governing of Hawaiian society.

The Ali'i Nui acceptance of Calvinism and its twin gifts of palapala and Ola Hou occurred when the Ali'i Nui realized that they could not reinstate a pono society without some sort of Akua. The Calvinist definition of pono, however, included Hawaiian acquiescence to foreign methods of governance and to Western laws of which Hawaiians had little understanding. Those Western laws included the establishment of a capitalist economic model and the private ownership of 'Aina.

Once the Ali'i Nui agreed to the 1848 Mābele and the 'Aina could be privately owned, foreigners then wanted both economic and political control of Hawaiian 'Aina. When the Ali'i Nui tried to forestall foreign control of 'Aina, the Calvinists and foreign merchants forged a new union, calling for the U.S. military to aid in founding a new American colony in Hawai'i. One hundred years of foreign diseases and 90 percent depopulation of the Native people made Hawaiian military resistance to American imperialism impossible.

The history of Hawai'i is a case study in the rapid progression of a Native society from Christianity to capitalism to colonialism. Hawaiians are not unique in their experience. Most Native people throughout the world have suffered from one form or another of Western imperialism, whether cultural, economic, or political. And as with other Natives, Hawaiians still seek relief from this domination. Dispossessed of our 'Aina and our ancestral language, elements so fundamental to our culture, we Hawaiians find it very difficult to live as Hawaiians in the present Western world.

The internal metaphors of the Hawaiian model, as Dening might say, still survive, but they have little meaning or power in a Western model. Hawaiian generosity and aloha do persist, but at a distinct disadvantage in the capitalist system. Hawaiian 'Aina passed into foreign control because many Hawaiian metaphors did not cross the cultural beach (described in Dening's Islands and Beaches), and because most Hawaiians did not clearly perceive how different the Western model was from their own.

Caught in the entangling net of capitalist economy and foreign domination, the Hawaiian Ali'i and maka'a'īōina alike were undermined by their own sense of aloha. The foreigner did not understand that aloha must be a two-way street. Kamakau once made the following observation regarding the difference between Natives and foreigners:

>The foreign races are quick tempered and hold nothing sacred in their anger, not even kings or chiefs. They are afraid of nothing and even curse God... The Hawaiian nation loves its kings and chiefs. If a chief expresses a wish, his people see to it that his words are not spoken in vain... The foreigners saw this and made this country their home and never thought of returning to their own land. They made Hawai'i their own country to dwell in and leave their bones to whiten in... All the old foreigners who came to trade and invest have also stayed; few have returned to their own governments... As for the missionaries, some returned and others have become

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old residents here and their children have taken up the works of their fathers and helped to educate the people and work for the kingdom of God. [But] some of their children have bought land, become owners of stock farms and sugar plantations and have made slaves out of the people with work. And some have become steersmens and navigators for the government. The Hawaiian people welcome the stranger freely; rich and poor, high and low give what they can. The strangers call this love ignorance and think it is good for nothing."

Perhaps the day has come for Hawaiians to decide if our *aloha* can be wasted on foreigners who find our culture "ignorant" and "good for nothing." Perhaps there can be no *pono* in the Hawaiian universe so long as Hawaiians expect to live in harmony with foreigners, because *pono* and *aloha* may be Hawaiian metaphors that do not cross the cultural beach to be understood in a Western model. Certainly there can be no *pono* in Hawai'i until we Hawaiians regain control of our ancestor's *Āina."