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Hoʻolohe i Nā Mele, Alualu Ka Manaʻo
Evaluating the Role of Mele Hawaiʻi in the Second Hawaiian Renaissance

By
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A Note on Terms

Throughout this paper, I use the term “kanaka maoli” and “kanaka ʻōiwi” (plural “kānaka”) interchangeably to refer to Native Hawaiians, the indigenous people of the Hawaiian Islands. The terms signify indigeneity and does not apply to residency (i.e., “Californian” refers to a person from California, but “Hawaiian” does not refer to a person from Hawaiʻi).

I would also like to mahalo (thank) the following people for their kōkua (assistance) throughout this endeavor:

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Dedicated to my grandmother, Jean M. Watanabe
Introduction

During the 1960s and 1970s, a cultural revival occurred in Hawai‘i that resulted in the preservation of the Hawaiian culture. This restoration, which became known as the Hawaiian Renaissance, was a pivotal moment in Hawai‘i and Hawaiian history. It shifted attitudes of the indigenous population and influenced the agendas of non-natives in support of Native Hawaiians. The reason for such a resurgence of the Hawaiian culture was due to the consequences of nearly two centuries of Western influence, dominated primarily by the United States.

Starting in the 1960s, the Hawaiian Renaissance reached its peak in the 1970s, and slowly waned in the 1980s; however, its effects can still be seen today. Many elements of the revival contributed to its success, but none proved to be more vital than the impact of music. Mele Hawai‘i, or Hawaiian music, was one of the driving forces in the overall success and legacy of the second Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s. Music effectively communicated messages and attitudes about the changing social and political worlds to both Native Hawaiians and the general population of Hawai‘i. Music directly influenced the politics in Hawai‘i at the time, the local culture and society of Hawai‘i, and the identity of kānaka maoli (Native Hawaiians). To get a better understanding of how and why such a movement was needed, one needs to evaluate Hawai‘i’s history.

The Kingdom of Hawai‘i was established in 1810 with the unification of the islands by Kamehameha the Great. After his death in 1819 and the ascension to the throne by his eldest son, Liholiho, the Kingdom saw dramatic changes that would leave it vulnerable to foreign influence. The kapu (taboo) system, the system of laws that regulated daily life and society, would be abolished and Christianity would slowly infiltrate the hearts and minds of the ali‘i
(chiefs/chiefesses) such as Kaʻahumanu, Kamehameha I’s favorite wife and kuhina nui (regent) who reigned alongside Liholiho during the early years of his kingship. The House of Kamehameha would rule the Kingdom until 1874 with the death of Lunalilo. David Kalākaua was elected as king and assumed the throne, establishing the House of Kalākaua. On January 17, 1893, a group of American businessmen, with support from U.S. Marines from the USS Boston, overthrew the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi in a coup d’état. Kalākaua’s sister and successor, Queen Liliʻuokalani, was deposed and, in 1898, Hawaiʻi became a territory of the United States of America.

The first Hawaiian Renaissance came during the reign of King David Kalākaua, who ruled from 1874 to 1891. During his tenure, he reinstituted the art and practice of hula, the traditional dance form of Hawaiʻi. Hula was previously outlawed by foreign missionaries due to its pagan and deviant nature but was revived under Kalākaua. At his coronation ceremony, he requested that hula be performed and invited kahuna lapaʻau (medical priest or practitioner) to partake in the festivities. The practice of lāʻau lapaʻau, the medicinal practice of healing using herbal plants, was also brought back with the establishment of the Hawaiian Board of Health.¹ Also during this time, Kalākaua penned “Hawaiʻi Ponoʻī,” one of the Kingdom’s national anthems and the current state song of Hawaiʻi.² He also produced a written version of the Kumulipo, the creation story of Hawaiʻi that was traditionally passed down orally. Though this revitalization would be beneficial to the Hawaiian culture, it was short-lived as Kalākaua would die in 1891 and the Kingdom would be abolished just two years later. The loss of the kingdom

² For full lyrics, see Appendix 1.
adversely affected the people and society. As George Kanahele described, “The collapse of national sovereignty had an almost fatal effect on Hawaiian cultural integrity.”\(^3\) An example of this integrity was the capacity for self-governance exhibited by kānaka maoli (Native Hawaiians).

Native Hawaiians exercised a high-level of autonomy during the existence of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i through the establishment of treaties with the major world powers at the time. For example, the Anglo-Franco Proclamation of 1843 was a joint resolution in which Great Britain and France recognized Hawai‘i as an independent, sovereign state. In 1846, the Kingdom followed this with a treaty with the United States, France, Japan, and Spain.\(^4\) Resistance to foreign interests was also well-documented; the Kūʻē (Resistance) Petitions serve as a prime example. When the United States Congress debated whether or not to annex Hawai‘i in 1897, thousands of kānaka (Native Hawaiians) signed a petition to stop the annexation process. By the end of the weeklong campaign, 21,269 signatures—representing more than half of the islands’ indigenous adult population—were collected and sent to Washington, D.C.\(^5\) The people were victorious but only for a moment, as the sinking of the USS *Maine* propelled the U.S. into a war with Spain and gave Congress justification to annex Hawai‘i. On July 7, 1898, President William McKinley signed the Newlands Resolution, the formal proclamation for annexation, and converted the republic to a territory of the United States of America.\(^6\) From that moment until

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\(^3\) George Huʻeŭ Sanford Kanahele, *The Hawaiian Renaissance* (Honolulu, 1979), 1.


the mid-twentieth century, the process of Americanization began to spread throughout the islands.

On August 21, 1959, voters in Hawai‘i elected for statehood and became the fiftieth state of the Union. In the following decades, a steady wave of dissent to the status quo spread across the U.S., including Hawai‘i. The indigenous population called into question their place in local society. Various organizations and groups were formed to deal with a wide array of issues, ranging from the cessation of U.S. naval bombing of an uninhabited but sacred island to reevaluating their identity as a people. This is collectively known as the Hawaiian Renaissance, a term first used by Hawaiian historian George Kanahele in 1977.7

My father, Vincent, recalled what it meant to grow up as a Hawaiian during this period of cultural and societal change. Born in 1952, seven years before statehood, he said there were no negative attitudes towards Hawaiians, but students were taught to be “American.” “Well, all we thought was [that] we were American citizens growing up. Growing up as an American citizen, not as growing up as not an American citizen because we [were] a territory when I was born.”8 There were no opportunities to learn about the Hawaiian culture in school. He recounted how his education included courses such as history, English, and science, but that there was no such thing as “Hawaiiana” studies (i.e., Hawaiian history and Hawaiian culture). The only way one could learn about their culture was at home, and this included learning the Hawaiian language:

[The] guys who could speak Hawaiian [learned] mostly from their tūtūs (grandmother). Their [aunties’] and [uncles’] tūtūs. The old people that passed it down to their families […] [it stayed] around in their family. Not to go outside and talk to other people. [You] know like how nowadays, you can speak Hawaiian; you can communicate [in] Hawaiian

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from person-to-person. I think they only [kept] it within their families. But you [didn’t] go out and speak Hawaiian in public, that I know of.9

Dr. Michael Chun, former headmaster of the Kamehameha Schools, reiterated this sentiment in the documentary One Voice. Dr. Chun graduated from Kamehameha in 1961 and said of his academic career at the school, “The purpose and the goals were to assimilate us into Western society. So, we had no culture. We had no Hawaiian culture. We became Americans and we saluted the flag. […] I didn’t know anything about my history.”10 Kīhei Soli Niheu, a prominent activist in the struggle for Kalama Valley, in an interview stated:

I didn’t learn much about Hawaiian history at Kamehameha. […] After eighth grade, they cut out Hawaiian language. They wouldn’t teach us Hawaiian because they said we had to become American. I remember thinking, ‘What? Who the hell are they?’11

There was a suppression and disassociation of the culture, and Native Hawaiians fell victim to it all. This did not remain the case for much longer, though.

In 1964, John Dominis Holt IV wrote a short essay, On Being Hawaiian, which has been described as the literary piece that lit the spark for the second Hawaiian Renaissance. Holt, a self-proclaimed hapa haole (part-white, part-Hawaiian person) went to New York to attend Columbia University. Upon returning, he began to sift through the archives of the Bishop Museum and Hawaiʻi State Archives, where he gathered information about the once vibrant culture that blanketed the islands. Soon thereafter, he began to educate kānaka (Native Hawaiians) on the greatness their people once held. On Being Hawaiian reinvigorated the

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9 Ibid., 5.
11 Michael Tsai, "Pride in Hawaiian Culture Reawakened," The Honolulu Advertiser (Honolulu), August 9, 2009, A6 sec.
interests of Native Hawaiians to look within themselves and revive into their “dying” culture.12 Throughout the rest of his life, Holt would remain active in the Native Hawaiian community and advocate on behalf of key issues facing kānaka (Native Hawaiians) including the push for sovereignty. Another matter of concern was the dwindling number of Hawaiian-language speakers.

The number of mānaleo (native speakers) and Hawaiian-language speakers in general steadily declined for many years. This shortage stemmed from an 1896 law that prohibited Hawaiian from being used as a medium of instruction in both public and private schools.13 The Kamehameha Schools, a private school that sought to provide education to Native Hawaiian children was subject to this law as well. The school was unable to be grandfathered in or exempted from the law although the school was founded in 1887 (nine years before the ban) and had been teaching students in the Hawaiian language since its establishment. Students caught speaking Hawaiian at school were physically punished, harshly reinforcing the notion that only English was to be spoken. Some of the most well-known people in Hawaiʻi’s history, such as ‘Iolani Luahine, Mary Kawena Pukui, and Winona Beamer, suffered the consequences of corporal punishment in their early education at Kamehameha.14 The spread of Hawaiian Pidgin, simply known as “Pidgin,” as the common dialect among younger generations furthered the decline of Hawaiian language speakers. It is unknown how many families continued to speak Hawaiian at home despite the legal restriction that had been placed on it in the school system.

14 ʻIolani Luahine (1915-1978): Kumu hula (hula teacher) who was regarded as a high priestess of hula; Mary Kawena Pukui (1895-1986): Native Hawaiian scholar, composer, and educator who co-authored the first Hawaiian-English dictionary; Winona Beamer (1923-2008): Native Hawaiian singer, dancer, and composer.
The Hawaiian Renaissance paralleled other national movements taking place at the time, such as the Civil Rights Movement and the Chicano Movement. In the book *The Island Edge of America*, author Tom Coffman recognizes these movements. He argues that across the U.S. and the world, marginalized and non-majority ethnic groups pushed against the grain of centuries of oppression; the privileged society that fostered the necessary environment for it to happen were suddenly thrust into the conversation and forced to acknowledge the issue. “Around the world indigenous peoples—about one-tenth of the earth’s population—became more assertive in the course of the 1970s,” Coffman says. “A shift was occurring in the relationship between the colonizing societies and those who had been colonized.” In Hawai‘i, this shift could be seen in the political realm with much credit due to music and the messages it carried.

**Music’s Effects on Politics**

The political landscape of Hawai‘i rapidly changed during the late 1960s through the 1970s. The archipelago became the fiftieth state admitted to the United States of America in 1959 and the population gained a newfound sense of power. In the Native Hawaiian community, the opportunity for change presented itself and young activists were eager to begin. However, their crusade would not have been successful if it was not for a key element of local culture: music. At both the state and federal levels, the Hawaiian Renaissance influenced the politics of Hawai‘i largely due to the efficacy of music and the message within it. The resulting effects included the cessation of bombing on the sacred island of Kahoʻolawe by the U.S. Navy, the

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recognition and establishment of ‘ōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) as an official language of the state, and the creation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.

Beginning in the 1970s, a group of young Hawaiian activists sought to end the U.S. Navy’s bombing of the island of Kahoʻolawe, an uninhabited and the smallest island in the Hawaiian archipelago. The group, known as the Protect Kahoʻolawe Ōhana (PKO), was a spin-off of Hui Alaloa, an association of Native Hawaiians that tried to retain access rights to the coastal resources of Molokaʻi. PKO adamantly pressed the U.S. Navy and its leadership to end the shelling of Kahoʻolawe. The U.S. performed bombing tests and training on the island after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, gaining the nickname “The Target Isle.” One of these experiments, codenamed Operation Sailor Hat, tested the blast resistance of U.S. ships and involved a series of three separate explosions. Each trial detonated 500 tons of conventional TNT on the surface of Kahoʻolawe.

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The result created a crater, “Sailor Man’s Cap,” and is said to have cracked the island’s cap rock, releasing fresh water into the ocean. These two factions were led by various persons; the two most notable being George Jarrett Helm, Jr., and James Kimo Mitchell, Helm’s distant cousin. Helm was a Native Hawaiian activist born in Hawai‘i on March 23, 1950 and became a local musician known for his incredible falsetto. He became inspired to act against the atrocities committed on Kahoʻolawe after attending a Catholic school called Saint Louis on O‘ahu, stating, “[I] went to Honolulu to get an education and instead, I lost my innocence.”

Along with Mitchell, Helm attempted to venture to the island on March 7, 1977, but disappeared en route. Their bodies were never recovered and much speculation was raised as to what their fate was, with some going as far as believing they were murdered by the United States government. Another key figure in the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana was Walter Ritte. Ritte, who continues to be active in Native Hawaiian land rights and issues today, landed and survived on Kahoʻolawe for a few weeks in March 1977 with his friend and fellow PKO member Richard Sawyer. The U.S. Navy looked for the two men for several weeks to no avail. The musical duo Jon & Randy, comprised of Jonathan Osorio and Randy Borden, produced the song “Hawaiian Soul,” which memorialized Helm and his campaign for justice for Kahoʻolawe. The song took on a slow, quiet feel, but managed to convey the importance of Helm’s quest and ardent beliefs. The chorus goes as follows:

Hawaiian soul  
How could you leave us

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19 Haunani-Kay Trask, "Kūpaʻa ʻĀina," in From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 85.
You’ve not been lost at sea
You’re only wandering

Hawaiian soul
We sing your melody
And send them out to sea
You know the harmony

Osorio and Borden’s song immortalized Helm and his fight for Kahoʻolawe. The song paid homage to Helm’s actions and his pursuit for integrity, while nodding to his musical ability (i.e., “You know the harmony”). Aside from the struggle for Kahoʻolawe, music’s influence extended its reach to the creation of a new state constitution.

The concept of a constitution as the supreme law of the land was nothing new to Native Hawaiians. In ancient Hawai‘i, law and order was maintained through a system of laws called the kapu (taboo) system but a changing world forced the ali‘i (chiefs) to adopt Western ideas and ultimately, the constitution. Between 1819 and 1887, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i enacted four constitutions with the first in 1840 during the reign of Kau‘ikeouli, King Kamehameha III. The most notable of these was the Constitution of 1887, known as the Bayonet Constitution. It stripped the monarch, Kalākaua, of much of his power and transferred it to the Hawaiian League, a group haole (foreign) businessmen with capitalistic interests. It also imposed considerably higher income requirements for eligible voters. Some scholars argue that this legislation was illegal since it was signed under threat of violence. To be sure, Lorrin Thurston, one of the chief authors of the constitution and Minister of the Interior for the Kingdom, admitted, “Unquestionably the Constitution was not in accordance with the law; neither was the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain. Both were revolutionary documents, that had to

be forcibly effected and forcibly maintained.”

Thurston played a crucial role in the orchestration and execution of the overthrow in 1893. He used his power and influence as a cabinet member to rally American businessmen to protect their interests. After the immediate events of the coup, Thurston convinced U.S. Minister to the Kingdom, John L. Stevens, to immediately recognize the de facto government that proclaimed its jurisdiction over the islands.

In response to the U.S. annexation of Hawai‘i came, among other things, the composition “Kaulana Nā Pua,” which translates to “Famous Are the Flowers,” by Ellen Keho‘ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast. Members of the Royal Hawaiian Band approached Prendergast after the overthrow and asked her to compose a song that capture their emotions. Its lyrics hold no subtleties when translated to English:

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\begin{align*}
\text{ʻAʻole aʻe kau i ka pūlima} & \quad \text{No one will fix a signature} \\
\text{Ma luna o ka pepa o ka} & \quad \text{To the paper of the} \\
\text{ʻēnemi} & \quad \text{enemy} \\
\text{Hoʻohui ʻāina kūʻai hewa} & \quad \text{With its sin of annexation} \\
\text{I ka pono sīvila aʻo ke kanaka} & \quad \text{And sale of native civil rights}
\end{align*}
\]

Prendergast transcribed the raw emotions felt by many kānaka (Native Hawaiians) during a tumultuous time in Hawai‘i’s history. It held greater power since non-Hawaiian speaking listeners were unable to translate or understand the kaona (hidden meaning) embedded within this piece. The song was originally called “Mele ʻAi Pōhaku” (“The Stone-eating Song”), but is also known as “Mele Aloha ʻĀina” (“Song for the Love of the Land”) and “The Patriot’s Song.” During the second Hawaiian Renaissance, “Kaulana Nā Pua” was used to rile up support for the campaign. Proponents of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement have also used the mele (song) as

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an expressive form of opposition against the United States’ continued occupation of the islands. Regarding legislative advances, music played a role in this area of the Hawaiian Renaissance as well, most notably with the state constitution.

Prior to the 1978 Hawai‘i State Constitutional Convention, ʻōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) was dying out as a result of educational and cultural suppression by non-natives, particularly at the government level. The ironic, and awfully painful, twist was that when Hawai‘i was admitted as the fiftieth state, it retained the Hawaiian language motto once used by the Kingdom of Hawai‘i: “Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono.” This decline was remedied with the adoption of the Hawai‘i Constitution of 1978. One of the major results stemming from the convention was Article XV, which established both English and Hawaiian as the official languages for the state of Hawai‘i. This suddenly gave citizens the ability to conduct business, such as writing personal checks and giving testimony in court, in ʻōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language). The legislation also required that Hawaiian culture be taught in public schools and that traditional and customary practices were protected under the law. It constitutionally protected the rights of cultural practitioners, allowing them to practice traditional customs without fear of prosecution. Moreover, Hawai‘i’s education system witnessed the creation of the Hawaiian-language immersion school ʻAha Pūnana Leo in 1982 as well as strides in higher education at the University of Hawai‘i. Additionally, the Constitution of 1978 created the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), a semi-autonomous government entity that works on bettering the

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23 The rough translation, “The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness,” has been the subject of controversy and disagreement among Hawaiian scholars and nationalists. Different variations exist and therefore, I have decided to include the original text only.
24 Elbert and Mahoe, Nā Mele O Hawai‘i Nei, 108.
lives of Native Hawaiians. Although Native Hawaiians had achieved great progress in legislative and bureaucratic endeavors, this was met with bitter objections by others.

Despite the legal success that resulted from the political aspect of the Renaissance, some individuals felt differently about the affair. For example, Pierre Bowman, a column writer for the now-defunct Honolulu Star-Bulletin, believed that it was too early to apply the term “renaissance” to the movement. In a February 20, 1979 article, Bowman wrote:

…with the word “renaissance,” one is certainly looking for an intellectual and artistic movement, which implies the tangible creation of works of art and literature. There is scant evidence of such work in a Hawaiian Renaissance…25

This was met with immediate criticism by George Kanahele, president of The Hawaiian Music Foundation, which published the Haʻilono Newsletter. In the July 1979 edition, Kanahele responded:

…the renaissance encompasses more than the creation of works of art and literature. It also includes a revival of interest in the past, in the pursuit of knowledge or learning, and in the future. In short, it deals with the revitalization of the human spirit in all aspects of endeavor. And when we look very carefully at what is occurring among Hawaiians today economically, artistically, politically, socially, culturally, it is impossible to ignore the spirit of rebirth. I think the word “renaissance” fits.26

Kanahele was right: Bowman attempted to draw a far-fetched conclusion. He naïvely equated the renaissance taking place in Hawaiʻi with the European Renaissance, which spanned about three hundred years. This type of false equivalence not only threatened the legitimacy of the movement but had the potential to deter future generations of kānaka (Native Hawaiians) from joining in or continuing the breakthroughs made by the leaders of the crusade. The progress made in the political realm for Native Hawaiians was great and music had been interwoven

throughout its entirety. This area of revitalization within the Hawaiian Renaissance would run alongside the role of music in changing Hawai‘i’s local culture and society.

**Music’s Effects on Local Culture & Society**

With the second Hawaiian Renaissance affecting change in Hawai‘i’s political realm, the sentiment spread to and influenced Hawai‘i’s populace. The reason for such profound change was due, in large part, to the importance of *mele Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian music). The prevalence of Hawaiian music in everyday life shaped the overall society and local culture in Hawai‘i, most notably through radio formats. The creation of a network that played only *mele Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian music), as well as the formation of various bands and groups that played both traditional and contemporary Hawaiian music, strengthened the efficacy of spreading music throughout Hawai‘i’s population. In order to better comprehend just how *mele Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian music) affected local culture and society in Hawai‘i, one must first evaluate the conditions that made it necessary for true Hawaiian music to appear.

Prior to the Hawaiian Renaissance, “authentic” Hawaiian music was absent from radio airwaves and the shelves of record shops across Hawai‘i. Hawaiian music during the early twentieth took on a “twangy, white-washed” sound that appealed to the ears of *malihini* (foreigners) and portrayed Hawai‘i as “tropical” and “exotic.” Radio stations, such as KGU and KDYX, played music throughout the islands, but the genre of choice was big-band throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. There was the occasional Hawaiian music program such as the one put on by Johnny Noble, but this music was not continuously played on radio airwaves. Noble, a musician and arranger of *hapa haole* songs, debuted the first Hawaiian music feature on April
11, 1924. The on-air concert included traditional songs such as “Aloha ‘Oe,” “Akahi Ho‘i,” and “Hanohano Hanalei” performed by his Moana Hotel Orchestra. This production was well-received by local residents and KGU began to feature more groups similar to Noble’s – the Waikīkī Beach Boys, the Kunawai Trio, Rose Tribe and Emma Bush, and Bina Mossman and her Glee Club, to name but a few. After World War II, more radio stations were established, extending the reach of music throughout the Hawaiian Islands. However, these stations continued to cater to the growing American population while ignoring the kānaka (Native Hawaiians) and kamaʻāina (local residents) who were the primary consumers of this radio. This changed with the introduction of a broadcast network dedicated to playing mele Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian music).

In the mid-1960s, a radio station based on O‘ahu emerged: call sign KCCN-AM. The station played Hawaiian music and only Hawaiian music, making it the sole radio station in Hawaiʻi to do so at the time. This platform allowed Native Hawaiian musicians to introduce themselves to the local population of Hawaiʻi and share their talent. The radio station provided an outlet for these artists to reclaim ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) and pila hoʻokani (musical instruments), both ancient and modern. Despite its initial success, KCCN began to experience problems with funding beginning in the early 1970s.

In April 1970, a company based in Dallas, Texas acquired the station’s broadcasting license. The new owners believed a format change was necessary in order to turn a profit and decided to switch from Hawaiian music to American Top 40. This elicited a profound reaction

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27 In this instance, hapa haole refers to Hawaiian music with outside influence (i.e., American).
by listeners of the station. In just thirty minutes of the modification, callers had voiced their distaste for the new change and the owners reverted to the previous format.\(^{30}\) The pressure from local residents in Hawai‘i prevented the station from becoming one that played mainstream, “American” music. It also showcased the resistance to outside influence by local residents. This is not to say that kānaka (Native Hawaiians) were not involved in stopping the change but that the vast majority of KCCN’s listeners, including Hawaiians, found this adjustment undesirable. Radio was one area of local culture and society Native Hawaiians were able to breakthrough and create something of their own. The suggestion that the “all-Hawaiian music” format now be restructured to favor the musical preferences of American citizens and tourists was objectionable. Today, KCCN continues to play Hawaiian music, but is not the only station to do so. In 1990, KINE came on the air and topped KCCN as the “all-Hawaiian music” station. Nevertheless, authentic mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music) has maintained a presence on Hawai‘i’s radio airwaves ever since KCCN’s inception. The prosperity of Hawaiian music on radio would not have arisen without bands that felt the need to ho‘i i ka piko, to “return to the source,” and redefine the category of true, authentic Hawaiian music.

Throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s, local groups formed and continued to develop the genre of Hawaiian music while simultaneously furthering the advancement of the Hawaiian Renaissance. These groups used more traditional lyrics, historic instruments, and authentic sounding melodies. In the preceding decades, classic Hawaiian music was hard to find because it had become bastardized to appeal to the interests of visitors (i.e., white Americans) to the islands. Edward “Eddie” Kamae and the Sons of Hawai‘i laid the framework for future musical groups by doing just that – they created a baseline that gave up-and-coming artists something to

\(^{30}\) Ibid.
aim for. Kamae’s original composition of “E Kuʻu Morning Dew,” co-written with Hawaiian language professor Larry Kimura, became one of the group’s greatest hits. Their influence did not stop at just music; the group was also known for grounding themselves in their racial identity. They would introduce themselves to concertgoers, “We are the Sons of Hawaiʻi, and we are Hawaiian.” This preface conveyed a sense of pride for kānaka (Native Hawaiians), while simultaneously inspiring younger musicians in Hawaiʻi. It ushered in a new era in Hawaiian music that performers, both native and non-native, began to take hold of.

Various groups arose during the second Hawaiian Renaissance such as Cecilio & Kapono, Kalapana, and Country Comfort, but none of these bands proved to be more innovative than The Sunday Mānoa. The group was made up of Peter Moon and the brothers Robert and Roland Cazimero. In 1969, the trio released their first record, Guava Jam, to much critical acclaim. It has been cited by some as “the immediate musical ‘spark’ that ignited the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s.” The album featured Hawaiian-language lyrics and traditional Hawaiian implementations such as the ipu (bottle gourd), ʻulīʻulī (gourd rattle), and pahu (sharkskin-covered drum). Their usage of these instruments in their songs was groundbreaking.

Using traditional implements showed kānaka (Native Hawaiians) that it was possible to create popular and contemporary music while honoring the Hawaiian culture. The utilization of these instruments spoke to the larger movement of the Hawaiian Renaissance and connected music to language; to culture, to identity, to being a kanaka ʻōiwi (Native Hawaiian). A few

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33 Ibid., 83.
years later in 1975, Robert and Roland formed the Brothers Cazimero; the two eventually split and started their own successful music careers. The Cazimero brothers never lost touch with their Hawaiian roots. In 1975, Robert Cazimero founded Hālau Nā Kamalei o Lililehua, a *hula hālau* (*hula* school) and Roland allied himself with the struggle for Kahoʻolawe and Hawaiian sovereignty during the Hawaiian Renaissance. Peter Moon continued to make music with The Peter Moon Band, which he formed in 1978. In 1979, this new group produced their first album, *Tropical Storm*, which included a rendition of “Kaulana Nā Pua” and featured an original *mele inoa* (name chant), “Ke Au Hawaiʻi,” written by Larry Kimura. The Sunday Mānoa was joined by another significant group during the Hawaiian Renaissance: The Mākaha Sons of Niʻihau.

Another influential musical group during the Hawaiian Renaissance was The Mākaha Sons of Niʻihau. Performing since 1974, the group formally established themselves in 1976 with members Sam Gray, Louis “Moon” Kauakahi, Jerome Koko, and Henry “Skippy” Kamakawiwoʻole III. Their most prominent member was Skippy’s younger brother, Israel Kamakawiwoʻole. “Bruddah Iz,” as he was affectionately called, was known most famously for his cover of “Somewhere Over the Rainbow/What a Wonderful World,” but his impact extended far beyond a medley of two songs. He spoke out in support of Hawaiian nationalism and Hawaiian sovereignty and on his album *Facing Future*, Iz included the song “Hawaiʻi ’78.” Kāwika Crowley wrote the *mele* (song) in 1976, but Iz managed to make it famous. Its lyrics reflected upon the changing physical landscape Hawaiʻi was having to acknowledge; it also challenged Native Hawaiians to ponder what their *aliʻi* (rulers) would think if they were still

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alive and the current issues plaguing their lāhui (race) such as, but not limited to, land disputes (e.g., Kahoʻolawe) and a decreased socioeconomic status. Its lyrics go as follows:

Tears would come from each other’s eyes
As they would start to realize
That our people are in great, great danger now
How, would they feel, would their smiles be content, then cry

Cry for the gods, cry for the people
Cry for the land that was taken away
And then yet you’ll find, Hawaiʻi

In Iz’s cover, he begins with the line “Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono” – the state of Hawaiʻi’s motto. Though the irony in this is great, the mana (power) is even greater. It hit at the development happening around Hawaiʻi. The song’s lyrics forced the listener to stop and think, ‘How exactly is the ea, the life, of the land being perpetuated in righteousness?’ The fact that Iz released this mele (song) in 1993, about fifteen years after its title, suggests a furthered evaluation of the past events. Iz was a member of The Mākaha Sons of Niʻihau and experienced the Hawaiian Renaissance firsthand. He understood the hardships that Native Hawaiians faced, especially with regards to health statistics.

When the album was released in 1993, four of his five immediate family members, including his parents, were dead. They died relatively young of weight-related health problems. Kamakawiwoʻole himself succumbed to complications from obesity at the age of 38 in 1997. His death resonated greatly in the Native Hawaiian community and raised awareness of the grim health statistics for kānaka ʻōiwi (Native Hawaiians). After Skippy and Iz’s deaths, his former band, The Mākaha Sons of Niʻihau, dropped the “of Niʻihau” portion of their name. It was

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36 Israel Ka‘ano‘i Kamakawiwoʻole, "Hawai‘i ’78," by Kāwika Crowley, Mickey Ioane, Abe Keala, and Cleyton Kua, in Facing Future, Israel Kamakawiwoʻole, Mountain Apple Company, 1993, CD.; for full lyrics, see Appendix 4.
37 Kanahele and Berger, Ka Mele Hawai‘i A Me Ka Po‘e Mele, 439.
originally kept to differentiate themselves with another group of the same name and to pay homage to the Ni‘ihau heritage of the Kamakawiwo‘ole ʻohana (family). The Mākaha Sons of Ni‘ihau cemented their legacy in Hawai‘i’s musical history by producing 21 CDs; however, their most notable accomplishments came in the form of winning multiple Nā Hōkū Hanohano awards throughout their existence. “The Hokus,” as they were called, was “Hawaiian music’s biggest night,” and it would not have been possible without the formation of a few enterprises stemming from mele Hawai‘i’s (Hawaiian music’s) growing reputation.

The establishment of organizations and events such as the Hawaiian Music Foundation (HMF), founded on March 17, 1971, the Hawai‘i Academy of Recording Arts (HARA), and the Nā Hōkū Hanohano Awards played a critical role in growing the genre of Hawaiian music in Hawai‘i’s local culture and society. The Hawaiian Music Foundation was created out of a dire need to preserve and stimulate interest in Hawaiian music. HMF produced the Haʻilono Mele (“News of Hawaiian Music”) newsletters, monthly publications that provided updates and discussion on current events in mele Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian music). The Haʻilono Mele newsletters proved to be an essential tool in disseminating information to kānaka (Native Hawaiians) and the greater population of Hawaiʻi. Readers could learn about musicians in the “Artist in Profile” section, learn a new mele (song) with the included page of sheet music, and write opinion pieces and letters to the editor. The newsletters allowed for two-way communication between HMF and its readers, the majority of whom were interested in this type of material. It also allowed HMF to better adapt and narrate what its audience wanted to learn about.

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38 Ni‘ihau is the westernmost island in the main Hawaiian archipelago. The moku (island) is privately-owned by the Robinson family, who have maintained ownership since 1864.
In 1977, KCCN-AM disc jockey Krash Kealoha created the Nā Hōkū Hanohano Awards (“Stars of Distinction”). It originally was a promotion for the station and its host venue, the Ala Moana Americana Hotel (now the Ala Moana Hotel). The awards ceremony, dubbed “the Grammy Awards of Hawaiian music” by local residents, recognized the outstanding talent and mele (music) made throughout the year. There were also categories for best performance of ʻōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) and a haku mele award, which was a composer’s award for best newly written song or chant. A panel fluent in Hawaiian and well-versed in writing and comprehending Hawaiian poetical sayings, or kaona, selected the winners. The Hawai‘i Academy of Recording Arts was established four years later in 1982 and became the main benefactor for “The Hokus.” The prominence of Hawaiian music began to expand to a national level decades later.

In 2005, the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (NARAS), the organization which also produced the Grammy Awards, created a separate category for mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music): “Best Hawaiian Music Album.”39 This was a very important moment for Native Hawaiian musicians. Not only did the special designation give greater recognition to a genre of music that struggled to gain popularity outside of the islands, and therefore votes on the preliminary ballots for the awards, but it also assured a Hawaiian recording artist would win a Grammy every year. Unfortunately, its inception also brought with it much disagreement, particularly amongst the very artists whom were up for potential nomination. This discourse rested mainly in the language standard: How much ʻōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) should be included in the album for it to be considered “Hawaiian”? Some argued seventy-five percent,

while others said a mere fifty-one percent. The conversation highlighted the tension within the Hawaiian music community and in 2011, The Recording Academy (formerly known as NARAS) announced that it would be restructuring the number of awards given that year from 109 to 78. “Best Hawaiian Music Album” was one of the 31 categories that would be consolidated with others. This move pitted mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music) against other ethnic music genres such as Cajun, zydeco, polka, and Native American recordings the newly created category, “Regional Roots Music.” It lessened the chance of a Hawaiian music album winning considerably.

There are a few other noteworthy songs from this era which influenced the Hawaiian Renaissance and local culture and society in Hawai‘i. The first of these is “Ku‘u Home O Kahalu‘u” by Olomana. Lead singer Jerry Santos composed the song in honor of his hometown of Kahalu‘u, a town on the Windward side of O‘ahu. The song first appeared on their 1976 album Like A Seabird In The Wind and addressed the sentiment felt by some at the time when Honolulu was transitioning into a modern municipality. Its chorus talks about the potential development Kahalu‘u faced and the uneasiness that came with it:

Last night I dreamt I was returning,
And my heart called out to you.
But I fear you won’t be like I left you.
Me ke aloha, ku‘u home o Kahalu‘u. (“With love, my home of Kahalu‘u”)  

Santos’ composition elicited the yearning for the days of old whilst recognizing the progress being made. “Ku‘u Home O Kahalu‘u” debuted in the middle of the Hawaiian Renaissance, when Native Hawaiians were looking to the past as guidance for the future; however, the song

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40 Kanahele and Berger, Ka Mele Hawai‘i A Me Ka Po‘e Mele, 204.
reminded *kānaka* (Native Hawaiians) that it was okay to embrace the changing times. Santos, a Native Hawaiian himself, realized that adaptation was necessary for survival and without incorporating this change into society, their *lāhui* (race) would be left behind while the rest of Hawai‘i progressed into the 1980s.

The second is “Honolulu City Lights” by Keola & Kapono Beamer, the sons of Winona Beamer. Composed by Keola, it was the title song of the album of the same name released in 1978 and became one of the most well-known songs in Hawai‘i. The album itself achieved much commercial success in the islands, and was arguably the top-selling local album released between Statehood (1959) and the end of the twentieth century.43 Its lyrics contained the same feeling echoed by Olomana’s “Ku‘u Home O Kahalu‘u”:

> Each time Honolulu city lights, stir up memories in me.  
> Each time Honolulu city lights, bring me back again.  
> Bring me back again.44

The song described the feeling of leaving Hawai‘i at night, overlooking the twinkle created by the city’s lights. The Carpenters would cover the song after hearing it on a trip to Hawai‘i in 1977. Initially released as a single in 1986, the song was eventually included on their 1989 album *Lovelines*. In terms of the Hawaiian Renaissance, Keola & Kapono Beamer broke new ground in the world of music not only in Hawai‘i, but their significance spread across the United States as well. As noted in *Ka Mele Hawai‘i a Me Ka Po‘e Mele*, “[They] were among the first Hawaiian artists of their generation to have their music featured in a Hollywood film (*Big Wednesday*) and on television (*Sesame Street*).”45 This was a feat achieved by none before them and gave greater

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43 Kanahele and Berger, *Ka Mele Hawai‘i A Me Ka Po‘e Mele*, 317.  
45 Kanahele and Berger, *Ka Mele Hawai‘i A Me Ka Po‘e Mele*, 64.
recognition to Native Hawaiian artists and Hawaiian music. Thus, music influenced the Hawaiian Renaissance and it immediately reciprocated the affection. With a presence now established on radio and notoriety in the political realm of Hawai‘i, the influence of music would spread to affect the identity of kānaka ʻōiwi (Native Hawaiians) during the second Hawaiian Renaissance.

Music’s Effects on the Identity of Native Hawaiians

The Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s brought with it much change to the political realm as well as to the cultural and societal landscapes of the islands. Another area where the Renaissance extended its reach to was the identity of kānaka ʻōiwi, or Native Hawaiians. This reorientation of self-identity rested mainly on the significance of Hawaiian music. Certain traditions and practices of Hawaiian culture were spared from extinction during the second Hawaiian Renaissance due to the influence of mele Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian music). Some of these customs included hula, traditional navigation and wayfinding techniques, and the resurgence of ʻōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language). To get a better understanding of this impact, one must first evaluate the preceding conditions that warranted a cultural revitalization.

Hawai‘i undoubtedly became more Americanized following statehood in 1959. Tourism from the U.S. and other countries soon began to rise and quickly became the state’s largest industry. Military bases such as Schofield Barracks and Hickam Air Force Base on O‘ahu reinforced America’s military presence in the islands. The overall interpretation of Hawai‘i became one of “escape from the rawness and violence of daily American life.”

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46 Trask, ""Lovely Hula Hands": Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," in From a Native Daughter, 136.
were a tropical paradise for tourists to flock to in search of adventure and “exoticism.” Haunani-Kay Trask, a former professor of Hawaiian studies at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, talks about the exploitation of the Hawaiian culture in her book, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaiʻi*. She writes:

…the commercialization of Hawaiian culture proceeds with calls for more sensitive marketing of our Native values and practices. After all, a prostitute is only as good as her income-producing talents. These talents, in Hawaiian terms, are the *hula*; the generosity, or *aloha*, of our people; the *uʻi*, or youthful beauty of our women and men; and the continuing allure of our lands and waters, that is, of our place, Hawaiʻi. […] The purpose is entertainment for profit rather than a joyful and truly Hawaiian celebration of human and divine nature.47

The distortion of the Hawaiian culture was a trend that began before 1898 when the republic was formally annexed, but as the influx of American tourists and American culture seeped into the islands, the identity of *kānaka* (Native Hawaiians) became misrepresented and ultimately compromised. One’s Hawaiian identity became intertwined with their newfound American identity and soon, the two became indistinguishable.

My father recalled that growing up as a *kanaka ʻōiwi* (Native Hawaiian) in Hawaiʻi during the 1950s and into the 1960s was no different than your average, American kid’s childhood. He regarded himself as an American citizen because Hawaiʻi was a territory of the United States when he was born in 1952. When asked about certain American practices such as reciting the “Pledge of Allegiance” in class, he told me:

When we [were] growing up, there wasn’t this Hawaiian movement. [There weren’t] Hawaiians stepping up and trying to identify themselves. Just growing up is just ordinary family as being a Hawaiian, it didn’t make any difference. […] The “Pledge of Allegiance,” and that’s what we did growing up in Hilo. But when we came down to Honolulu in the eighth grade, middle school, there was nothing that I can remember that would gear you towards being a citizen because you already know you’re a citizen…48

47 Ibid., 144.
48 Kanaeholo, "Interview with Vincent K. Kanaeholo."
His was not a unique story. Puhipau, a Native Hawaiian documentary film-maker who co-created Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina (“The Eyes of the Land”) with Joan Lander, detailed his experience with Americanization in education in the chapter “(Self-)Portrait” from the book, A Nation Rising. He writes, “When I went to school, I went to an English-standard school that prepared me to enter Kamehameha Schools, where I was programmed to become a full-on American. I cried when I sang ‘God Bless America.’” Aside from one’s identity, hula faced its own struggle in the time before the Hawaiian Renaissance. However, the establishment of hula festivals helped to promote the move toward a more genuine hula style.

Authentic hula, the dance form of Hawai‘i, was revived with the creation of hula festivals. There are two forms of hula: the ancient style, hula kahiko, and the more contemporary form, hula ‘auana. The former uses traditional implementations (e.g., ipu, ‘ulī‘ulī, pahu), while the latter incorporated Western musical instruments (e.g., guitar, ‘ukulele, double bass). Both kahiko and ‘auana utilize ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) in their hō‘ike (performance); however, hula ‘auana deviated, more often than not, to using ‘ōlelo haole (English language) lyrics. Hula was commodified and, similar to the music being played at the time, commercialized to appeal to American visitors to Hawai‘i. Dancers were often portrayed in a sexual manner, with gyrating hips that swayed to the melody of music that complemented their movements. However, the formation of hula competitions during the 1960s and 1970s recovered this dance form and reconditioned it back to a more authentic style. As Amy Stillman notes:

…hula competitions [provided] venues of high visibility and prestige for hula performance […] these events have played an important role in stimulating participation in the hula and,

thus, have contributed significantly to the preservation and perpetuation of the *hula* tradition.\(^{50}\)

One of the earliest *hula* competitions came as an addition to the Merrie Monarch Festival, which was started in the early 1960s.

The establishment of the Merrie Monarch Festival in 1964 aided in revitalizing the art of *hula*. It was the first of its kind in Hawai‘i and took place the week after Easter at the Edith Kanaka‘ole Stadium in Hilo, Hawai‘i. The festival honored King David Kalākaua, who was instrumental in bringing back *hula* during his reign as mō‘ī (king) and known by the people as the “Merrie Monarch.” The original Merrie Monarch Festival featured a King Kalākaua beard look-alike contest, a barbershop quartet contest, a relay race, a re-creation of Kalākaua’s coronation, and a Holokū Ball.\(^{51}\) The *hula* aspect was not introduced until a few years later when George Na‘ope, a world-renowned *kumu hula* (*hula* teacher), and Dottie Thompson, who took over as Executive Director of the festival in 1968, decided to “move the festival more toward a Hawaiian theme.”\(^{52}\) In 1971, Na‘ope and Thompson added the *hula* component as well as the Miss Aloha Hula competition. Nine *wahine* (female) *hālau* (schools) entered the *hula* competition in its inaugural year. The Miss Aloha Hula portion decided the best female *hula* dancer of the festival and took place on the Thursday of the weeklong festivities. The *hula kahiko* portion occurred on Friday and the *hula ʻauana*, along with the announcement of scores, followed on Saturday.

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\(^{52}\) Ibid.
The festival’s economic feasibility and sustainability came into question during its early years. When the hula competition was introduced, those who purchased a $1 button gained access to all of the events. As Luana Kawelu, Executive Director of the Merrie Monarch Festival and daughter of Dottie Thompson, explained, “…it didn’t go very well. My mom and uncle would go all around town begging people to buy buttons, and still it was very cooly accepted.”

In 1976, the festival opened the competition up to kāne (men); this move helped to grow the Merrie Monarch into the most prestigious hula competition in the world. The reason for this was because men were not typically seen dancing hula in media. Not only this, but men did not want to dance hula “for fear of being perceived as effeminate.” With men now cast onto the hula scene, interest for hula and the Merrie Monarch began to rise. Other hula competitions that were created in the 1970s included the King Kamehameha Chant and Hula Competition (1973), the Queen Liliʻuokalani Keiki Hula Competition (1975), and the Prince Lot Hula Festival (1978).

Hawaiian music was critical to the success of the Merrie Monarch Festival, and this came in the form of the judging criteria. There were many components which made up a hālau’s (school’s) score, but the musical elements included the kaʻi (entrance dance), oli (chant), and hoʻi (exit dance). The kaʻi (entrance dance) served as the first impression for a hālau (school) to make on the judges, all of whom were kumu hula (hula teachers) themselves. In the hula kahiko, an oli (chant) marked the entrance of a hālau (school) into the contest, while a mele

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(song) was used in the hula ʻauana portion. After a hālau (school) finished their hōʻike (performance), the hoʻi (exit dance) provided the final glimpse of the group. It was critical that a hālau (school) demonstrated their understanding of their mele (song) and hula to the judges and, to a greater degree, the audience. If a group was not paʻa (firm) in their commitment to the mele (song), it appeared as sloppy and was generally not well-received by judges and spectators alike.

Another area of revitalization in the Hawaiian Renaissance that should be examined is the recovery of hoʻokele waʻa, or wayfinding.

Traditional navigation and voyaging techniques were saved during the Hawaiian Renaissance, too. The construction of a replica double-hulled Hawaiian voyaging canoe, the Hōkūleʻa (“Star of Gladness”), fascinated kānaka (Native Hawaiians), but also revived interest in a fading and nearly extinct practice. At the time of its construction, no one in Hawaiʻi was trained in traditional navigation techniques. Created in 1973, the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS) set out in search of finding someone who knew this trade and eventually connected with Pius “Mau” Piailug, a Micronesian master navigator. Piailug faced the same problem in Satawal that Native Hawaiians did in Hawaiʻi: Interest among the youth to learn traditional wayfinding skills was waning and few people were still alive that knew the practice. PVS approached Piailug and asked for his help. He agreed and began to teach members of PVS.

The Hōkūleʻa launched on March 8, 1975 from Kualoa Ranch on Oʻahu, becoming the first voyaging canoe built in the Hawaiian Islands in over six hundred years. A year later on May 1, 1976, the vessel left Hawaiʻi and embarked on its inaugural huakaʻi (journey) to Tahiti. The crew was accompanied by Piailug who successfully brought Hōkūleʻa to Tahiti on June 3, 1976 using solely ancient navigation techniques. The journey proved to be an inspirational moment for kānaka ʻōiwi (Native Hawaiians). When the canoe returned to Honolulu on July 26, 1976, over
15,000 people, both native and non-native alike, greeted her and the crew at Ala Moana Beach Park.56 Former governor George Ariyoshi remarked at the welcome back ceremony, “People are not just here to greet the vessel, but are here for the whole idea of regenerating a vital Hawaiian culture.”57 The Hōkūleʻa embarked on subsequent journeys throughout the Pacific for decades following its maiden voyage. The Mākaha Sons of Niʻihau produced the mele (song) “Star of Gladness” in 1999 which celebrated the Hōkūleʻa. Although the lyrics were written entirely in English, other songs created or covered at the time devoted themselves to engaging with ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) lyrics. Since English was the primary language of many native and non-native residents, most enjoyed the music without actually knowing what was being said. Combined with the decline in mānaleo (native speakers) and Hawaiian-language speakers in general, one solution was to create educational opportunities for Native Hawaiians to teach themselves their ʻōlelo makuahine (mother tongue).

The establishment of higher education degree programs in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language), as well as the creation of the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, Inc. school system and other Hawaiian-language immersion schools, added to the overall prevalence and resurgence of ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) in daily life. There was a need to save the Hawaiian language from extinction, a fate to which many other Native American tribes across North America succumbed to. As Hawaiʻi progressed into the 1960s and 1970s, individual artists and various musical groups started to cover traditional songs and retained the original Hawaiian-language lyrics. By doing so, it challenged listeners to learn ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) in order to understand what was being said in the song. Unfortunately, a dwindling number of speakers

57 Ibid.
made it difficult to do so. Thus, a need arose whereby educational opportunities for the Hawaiian language was necessary.

In 1976, the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa created Bachelor of Arts programs in Hawaiian language and Hawaiian studies to satisfy demand for these studies at the higher education level. Six years later in 1982, the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo initiated a Hawaiian studies degree program taught through Hawaiian, marking the first time that ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) had been used as a medium of government-funded education since 1895.  

Students at UH-Mānoa also created Ka Leo Hawai‘i, a Hawaiian-language weekly talk show hosted by Hawaiian-language professor Larry Kimura on KCCN-AM 1420. The Hawai‘i State Legislature established the Ka Haka ʻUla o Keʻelikōlani, the College of Hawaiian Language, at UH-Hilo in 1989. There, the first doctoral program for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) and indigenous languages, as well as cultural revitalization, was created. Although higher educational opportunities were firmly established, a weakness had emerged in the primary and secondary schooling for the kamali‘i (children). This was remedied with the creation of the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, or “Language Nest,” preschools and K-12 Hawaiian-language immersion schools.

The ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, Inc. school system was modeled after the Kōhanga Reo (“language nest”) centers in Aotearoa (New Zealand), which opened in 1982. At these centers, Māori elders interacted with infants and preschoolers all day using the Māori language only.  

‘Aha Pūnana Leo defined itself as “a non-profit, family-based educational organization dedicated

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60 "A Timeline of Revitalization," ‘Aha Pūnana Leo.
to the revitalization of the Hawaiian language.”61 Today, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo maintains accreditation from World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) and has thirteen preschools across the state of Hawai‘i. The Hawai‘i State Department of Education also manages twenty-three K-12 kula kaiapuni (Hawaiian-language immersion schools) and charter schools on five islands. These schools deliver instruction in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) only until grade five, when English is introduced alongside Hawaiian.62 One can now obtain a preschool through doctoral-level education in the state of Hawai‘i completely ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, in the Hawaiian language. The cultural significance of this was great. It gave kānaka (Native Hawaiians) the ability to educate themselves and their keiki (children) in their ‘ōlelo makuahine (mother tongue). Not only this, but it legitimized the language itself through the creation of educational opportunities. It proved that ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) was important enough to create an entire system dedicated to revitalizing a once-dying indigenous language.

There are a couple of noteworthy songs worth mentioning that impacted the identity of kānaka ‘ōiwi (Native Hawaiians): “He Hawai‘i Au” by The Sunday Mānoa and “‘Ōiwi E” by John Keola Lake.

The Sunday Mānoa, the band that produced the record Guava Jam, included the original composition, “He Hawai‘i Au,” on the 1969 album. The song contained only two verses, but its lyrics had the potential to elicit a serious reaction. It was sung ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, in

Hawaiian, which The Sunday Mānoa practiced extensively on *Guava Jam*. The song’s lyrics in their entirety go as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I kēia pō eia au me ‘oe</th>
<th>Tonight, I am here with you</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kēia pō ua hoʻi mai au</td>
<td>Tonight, I have returned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He loa ka helena ma</td>
<td>Long was my journey on the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke ala hele</td>
<td>path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E huli i wahi ma kēia ao</td>
<td>To seek a place in the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maopopo a ua ‘ike hoʻi</td>
<td>I now clearly see and understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka home i loko o</td>
<td>The home within</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuʻu puʻuwai</td>
<td>my heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ua hoʻi mai au, ke ‘ike nei au</td>
<td>I returned when I realized this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aʻole au e ‘auana hou</td>
<td>I will not wander again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke maopopo he Hawaiʻi au</td>
<td>For I understand, I am Hawaiian63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The song talks about the singer’s ill-awareness of his identity as a *kanaka ʻōiwi* (Native Hawaiian) and his wandering aimlessly throughout life and the world with no true understanding. One could interpret it as an identity or existential crisis that is answered, in part, by the notion that they are a Hawaiian. Stereotypes about Native Hawaiians at the time often described them as “lazy,” “stupid,” and “[lacking] initiative.” In *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, author Mary Kawena Pukui writes, “The stereotype, sometimes fairly accurate, sometimes false, represents public image. It can help or hurt the individual Hawaiian.” These assumptions had the potential to dissuade Native Hawaiians from seeking better for themselves and in turn, their *lāhui* (race) as a whole. “He Hawaiʻi Au” was an attempt to connect with *kānaka* (Native Hawaiians) who felt disenfranchised by a modernizing Hawaiʻi. No one person is specifically mentioned (i.e., “you”), but the “home” can be viewed as a metaphor for Hawaiʻi. The final line tugged at the heartstrings.

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of kānaka (Native Hawaiians), who recognized their culture’s steady decline. This mele (song) has been covered by many Native Hawaiian artists since it first appeared on Guava Jam such as Bruddah Iz, Hoʻokena, and Sean Naʻauao.

Another mele (song) that influenced the identity of kānaka ʻōiwi (Native Hawaiians) was John Keola Lake’s composition “ʻŌiwi E.” Although the song was not featured on many albums, Lake managed to teach the lyrics to his students at Saint Louis, the same school George Helm attended. The first verse goes as follows:

ʻŌiwi e ʻŌiwi e kāhea ana iwi e
Ua ʻike mai nei Ua ʻike mai nei kuʻu one
hānau e Natives Natives the bones (ancestors) are calling
I know I know my home land

The importance of this song comes from Lake himself. Lake was pivotal in perpetuating the Hawaiian culture at Saint Louis, teaching Spanish and history and creating the school’s Hawaiian studies program. He wrote “ʻŌiwi E” after a trip to Aotearoa (New Zealand), where he heard the Māori song, “Nga Iwi E.” His version is not an exact translation of “Nga Iwi E,” but the sentiment and feelings contained remained the same.

**Enduring Outcomes**

During the 1960s and 1970s, the indigenous population of Hawaiʻi created a cultural revitalization known as the Hawaiian Renaissance. This movement raised awareness of Native

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67 Lake, "ʻŌiwi E," Huapala.
Hawaiian issues and it would not have been possible without *mele Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian music). Hawaiian music during the second Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s greatly influenced various aspects of the movement such as, but not limited to, politics, Hawai‘i’s local culture and society, and the identity of *kānaka ʻōiwi* (Native Hawaiians). Its legacy and influence remains prevalent in Hawai‘i today. There were many enduring outcomes that stemmed from *mele Hawai‘i*’s (Hawaiian music’s) impact and the Hawaiian Renaissance in general.

In 1996, Hilo resident Harold Rice filed a suit against Governor Benjamin Cayetano after Rice was barred from running in the statewide election as a candidate for OHA due to the fact that he was a non-Hawaiian. The case made it all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States, which ruled in 2000 that it conflicted with the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution and was therefore unconstitutional. The ruling opened the OHA election to all residents of Hawai‘i, regardless of racial or ethnic background. The *Rice v. Cayetano* case was one of legal resistance by non-natives to the benefits granted to Native Hawaiians. This set precedent for another lawsuit that would follow months later: *Arakaki v. State of Hawai‘i*. In this case, Earl Arakaki and twelve other plaintiffs filed a suit against the State of Hawai‘i challenging the requirement that candidates for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs be of Hawaiian descent. The U.S. District Court later allowed non-Hawaiians to run in OHA elections. Dr. Kenneth Conklin, one of the plaintiffs named in the case and a staunch opponent of Native Hawaiian rights, ran unsuccessfully for OHA trustee-at-large in the election following *Arakaki v. State*. These are instances of dissent by members of the population of Hawai‘i whom saw this ‘preferential treatment’ as unfair and unjust.

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With regard to the issue of Kahoʻolawe, the United States Navy ceased live-fire training on the island in 1990. “Title X” of the U.S. Department of Defense’s Appropriations Act of 1994 transferred the title for Kahoʻolawe from the U.S. government to the state of Hawaiʻi. However, the Navy retained access control to the island; it was required to complete environmental restoration and remove unexploded ordinance on the island by November 11, 2003 or until completion, whichever came first.69 It was a celebratory moment for the Protect Kahoʻolawe ‘Ohana and those involved in the struggle for the island. There still remains tons of unexploded ordinance on the island, which makes it extremely dangerous to go there. Nevertheless, PKO and the Kahoʻolawe Island Reserve Commission (KIRC), created in 1993 by the Hawaiʻi State Legislature, continue to send groups of volunteers to the island to plant native flora and remove invasive weeds. Volunteers also learn about Kahoʻolawe’s ancient and contemporary history as well as practice Hawaiian chants and other cultural traditions.70 This provides those unfamiliar with Kahoʻolawe’s prominence to learn about what activists like George Helm and Walter Ritte went through during their effort to bring justice to the island. The “Sailor Man’s Cap,” the resulting crater from Operation Sailor Hat, holds an anchialine pool and is also home to two endemic species of shrimp.71

Harry Kunihi Mitchell wrote the song “Mele O Kahoʻolawe,” which honors the island and calls upon ka lāhui Hawaiʻi, the Hawaiian people, to stand up for the moku (island). Here is a preview of its lyrics:

Alu like kākou Lāhui Hawaiʻi
Mai ka lā hiki mai,
i ka lā kau aʻe
Kūpaʻa a hahai hōʻikaika
nā kānaka
Kau liʻi mākou
Nui ke aloha no ka ‘āina

Let us band together the Hawaiian Kingdom
From sun up to
sun down
Stand together and follow, be strong young people
We are but a few in numbers
But our love for the land is unlimited

It has since been covered by multiple artists such as Maunalua, Olomana, and the late Dennis Pavao. The struggle for Kahoʻolawe set a precedent for contemporary resistance campaigns such as the fight for Mākua Valley and the Thirty Meter Telescope controversy. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs remains a key opponent of the telescope’s construction atop the summit of Mauna Kea a dormant volcano on Hawaiʻi-island that some Native Hawaiians deem sacred.

The United States government also issued Public Law 103-150, informally known as the Apology Resolution, in 1993. The legislation came at a poignant time for kānaka (Native Hawaiians): The year marked a century since the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi. The Apology Resolution recognized that kānaka maoli (Native Hawaiians) “never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum.” It also acknowledged the fact that American citizens were instrumental in the coup d’état and

apologized on their behalf. However, the joint resolution stopped short of offering any sort of settlement on claims against the United States.\textsuperscript{75}

Ironically, the Kamehameha Schools, the school that formerly prohibited Hawaiian language instruction, created an annual choral competition for high school students at its Kapālama campus on Oʻahu. All songs are sung \textit{a cappella} and \textit{ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi}, in Hawaiian. In essence, Song Contest provided a place of refuge for ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) at the Kamehameha Schools. In 2008, the theme for the 88\textsuperscript{th} annual showcase was “Ola Ka ʻÓlelo ʻÓiwi O Ka Āina: Celebrating Hawaiian Language Revitalization.” The showcase marked thirty years since ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) was recognized as an official state language with the Constitution of 1978. In recent years, its Pukalani and Keaʻau campuses, located on Maui and Hawaiʻiʻi-island, respectively, created their own versions of Song Contest called ‘Aha Mele.

The Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s inspired the next generation of Native Hawaiians who were interested in traditional wayfinding techniques. The voyaging canoe Hōkūleʻa completed a three-year circumnavigation of the earth using these skills and without the aid of modern or Western instruments in June 2017. The local Jawaiian group, Kapena, recorded “Hōkūleʻa Mālama Honua” in honor of the \textit{huakaʻi} (journey) undertaken by the vessel and her crew.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The Hawaiian Renaissance was arguably the single greatest thing that happened to \textit{kānaka} (Native Hawaiians), and it can lend its success to \textit{mele Hawaiʻi} (Hawaiian music). The

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
resulting effects of music during the Hawaiian Renaissance are what enabled Kalani Pe‘a, a graduate of Ke Kula ‘O Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u, a kula kaiapuni (Hawaiian-language immersion school) in Kea‘au, on Hawai‘i-island, to become the first Native Hawaiian musician to win a Grammy award in history.⁷⁶ Music is what inspired a former member of Eddie Kamae’s Sons of Hawai‘i to write a mele (song) about an area on Hawai‘i-island, Pōhakuloa, that headed down a path similar to that of Kahoʻolawe.⁷⁷ This in turn raised awareness and culminated in a lawsuit against the State of Hawaiʻi’s Department of Land and Natural Resources.⁷⁸

The influence of mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music) was undoubtedly one of the largest enablers of change during the Hawaiian Renaissance; its influence reverberated, and continues to influence, Hawai‘i today. Kamanamaikalani Beamer summarizes this contemporary extension of the Hawaiian Renaissance and the attitudes of kānaka (Native Hawaiians) in his book No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation. He writes:

> Across the Hawaiian Islands today there is an escalation of a Hawaiian national consciousness. For the most part this emergence is an outgrowth of native communities, but there are also nonethnic Hawaiian individuals who have declared themselves Hawaiian national by joining one of the many independence groups or by claiming their descent from a non-Native Hawaiian national. On many campuses of University of Hawai‘i, growing number of Hawaiians are looking deeper into the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent state under international law. Other Hawaiian students seek recognition by the U.S. federal government, allowing for a nation-within-a-nation government. And there are still others who reject either of these notions, believing in their national identity as Americans.⁷⁹

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This is the legacy of the Hawaiian Renaissance that endures today. It has reawakened the identity of Native Hawaiians, but more importantly, given them the opportunity to choose for themselves where they will go. It is an empowerment of the indigenous population to seek out what they feel is best for their lāhui (race). Though tensions may arise in the course of future endeavors, one thing will remain constant: the Hawaiian culture is here to stay.

Lorenzo Lyons’ infamous mele (song), “Hawaiʻi Aloha” or “Kuʻu One Hānau,” is often sung at the conclusion of gatherings and special occasions. It only seems fitting to end a moment such as this with the final line of the hui (chorus): “Mau ke aloha, no Hawaiʻi; Love always for Hawaiʻi.”80

_Ua pau_. It is done.

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80 Elbert and Mahoe, _Nā Mele O Hawaiʻi Nei_, 42.
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Appendices

Appendix 1: “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī” na Mō‘ī David Kalākaua (1874)

Hawai‘i pono‘ī Hawai‘i’s own true sons
Nānā i kou mō‘ī Be loyal to your chief
Ka lani ali‘i, Your country’s liege and lord
Ke ali‘i The chief

Hui:
Makua lani ʻē, Royal father,
Kamehameha ʻē, Kamehameha,
Na kaua e pale, Shall defend in war
Me ka ihe With spears

Chorus:
Hawai‘i pono‘ī Hawai‘i’s own true sons
Nānā i nā ali‘i Look to your chief
Nā pua muli kou Those chiefs of younger birth
Nā pōki‘i Younger descent

Hawai‘i pono‘ī Hawai‘i’s own true sons
E ka lāhui e People of loyal heart
ʻO kāu hana nui The only duty lies
E uʻiē List and abide

This mele was the national anthem of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i from 1876 until the overthrow of the government in 1893. It was composed by David Kalākaua in 1874 to the tune of “God Save the King” as a tribute to Kamehameha I. The arrangement was composed by Henry Berger, bandmaster for the Royal Hawaiian Band, shortly thereafter.

It was first sung by the Kawaihaʻo Choir for Kalākaua’s birthday on November 16, 1874 and became the national anthem two years later. In 1967, the Hawai‘i State Legislature passed an act proclaiming it as the state song.

It is also played as part of the opening ceremonies at political, cultural, and sporting events. Contemporary Hawaiian nationalists often refer to “Hawai‘i Ponoʻī” simply as “the national anthem” and accord it the respect thus due.81

81 Kanahele and Berger, Ka Mele Hawai‘i A Me Ka Po‘e Mele, 271-272.
Appendix 2: “Mele o Kahoʻolawe” na Harry Kunihi Mitchell

Aloha kuʻu moku o Kahoʻolawe
Mai kinho iou inoa o Kanaloa
Kohe-mālamalama
Lau kanaka ʻole
Hiki mai nā pua
E hoʻomalu mai

I love you my island of Kahoʻolawe
Your original name was Kanaloa
You are the southern beacon
Barren and without a population
Until you were invaded by nine young men
Who granted you peace

Alu like kākou Lāhui Hawaiʻi
Mai ka lā hiki mai i ka lā kau aʻe
Kū paʻa a hahai hoʻikaika nā kānaka
Kau liʻi mākou nui
Ke aloha no ka ʻāina

Let us band together the Hawaiian Kingdom
From sun up to sun down
Stand together and follow, be strong young people
We are but a few in numbers
But our love for the land is unlimited

Hanohano nā pua o Hawaiʻi nei
No ke kaua kauholo me ka aupuni
Paʻa pū ka manaʻo o no ka pono o ka ʻāina
Imua nā pua
Lanakila Kahoʻolawe

Popular are the young people of Hawaiʻi nei
For the civil strife they cause agains the government
Together in one thought to bring prosperity to the land
Forward young people and bring
Salvation to Kahoʻolawe

Kahoʻolawe means the “Carrying Away by Currents.” The ancient name of this island is Kohe-mālamalama-o-Kanaloa, or the “Shining Vagina of Kanaloa,” the god of the sea. “Kohe,” in this instance, means “a place that receives and nourishes,” and “mālamalama” means “to take exceptionally good care of.” Therefore, the Hawaiians recognized Kahoʻolawe as a sacred place.82

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82 Morales, HoʻiHoʻi Hou, 86-87.
Appendix 3: “Kaulana Nā Pua” na Eleanor Kehoʻohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast (1893)\textsuperscript{83}

Kaulana nā pua a’o Hawaiʻi
Kūpa’a ma hope o ka ʻāina
Hiki mai ka ‘elele o ka loko ʻino
Palapala ‘ānunu me ka pākaha

Famous are the children of Hawaiʻi
Ever loyal to the land
When the evil-hearted messenger comes
With his greedy document of extortion

Pane mai Hawaiʻi moku o Keawe
Kōkua nā Hono a’o Piʻilani
Kākoʻo mai Kauaʻi o Mano
Paʻapū me ke one Kākuhihewa

Hawaiʻi, land of Keawe answers
Piʻilani’s bays help
Mano’s Kauaʻi lends support
And so do the sands of Kākuhihewa

ʻAʻole a’e kau i ka pūlima
Ma luna o ka pepa o ka ʻēnemi
Hoʻohui ʻāina kūʻai hewa
I ka pono sivila a’o ke kanaka

No one will fix a signature
To the paper of the enemy
With its sin of annexation
And sale of native civil rights

ʻAʻole mākou a’e minamina
I ka pu‘u kālā o ke aupuni
Ua lawa mākou i ka pōhaku
I ka ‘ai kamahaʻo o ka ʻāina

We do not value
The government’s sums of money
We are satisfied with the stones
Astonishing food of the land

Ma hope mākou o Liliʻulani
A loaʻa ʻē ka pono o ka ʻāina
*(A kau hou ʻia e ke kalaunu)
Haʻina ‘ia mai ana ka puana
Ka poʻe i aloha i ka ʻāina

We back Liliʻulani
Who has won the rights of the land
*(She will be crowned again)
Tell the story
Of the people who love their land

*Alternate Stanza

Written January 1893, published in 1895, this hīmeni (hymn) opposed the annexation of Hawaiʻi to the United States. The original title was “Mele ‘Ai Pōhaku,” or “The Stone-Eating Song,” and was also known as “Mele Aloha ʻĀina” (“Song For Love of the Land”) or “The Patriot’s Song.” This song was composed as Ellen Wright Prendergast was sitting in the garden of her father’s house in Kapālama. Members of the Royal Hawaiian Band visited her and voiced their unhappiness at the takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom. They begged her to put their feelings of rebellion to music.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{83} Prendergast, “Kaulana Nā Pua.”
\textsuperscript{84} Elbert and Mahoe, \textit{Nā Mele O Hawaiʻi Nei}, 63.
Appendix 4: “Hawai‘i ‘78” na Israel “Bruddah Iz” Kamakawiwo‘ole (1993)85

Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina, i ka pono, o Hawaiʻi
Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina, i ka pono, o Hawaiʻi

If just for a day our king and queen
Would visit all these islands and saw everything
How would they feel about the changes of our land

Could you just imagine if they were around
And saw highways on their sacred ground
How would they feel about this modern city life

Tears would come from each other’s eyes
As they would start to realize
That our people are in great, great danger now
How, would they feel, would their smiles be content, then cry

Chorus:
Cry for the gods, cry for the people
Cry for the land that was taken away
And then yet you’ll find, Hawaiʻi

Could you just imagine if they came back
And saw traffic lights and railroad tracks
How would they feel about this modern city life

Tears would come from each other’s eyes
As they would stop to realize
That our land is in great, great danger now

All the fighting that the king had done
To conquer all these islands now there’s condominiums
How would he feel if he saw Hawai‘i nei
How, would he feel, would his smile be content, then cry

[Chorus]

Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina, i ka pono, o Hawaiʻi
Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina, i ka pono, o Hawaiʻi

These are the lyrics for Bruddah Iz’s rendition of “Hawai‘i ’78.” The original mele, written by Kāwika Crowley, differs in its lyrics.

Appendix 5: “ʻŌiwi E” na John Keolamakaʻinānakalāhuihuiokalanikamehamehaʻekolu Lake

ʻŌiwi e
ʻŌiwi e kāhea ana iwi e
Ua 'ike mai nei
Ua ‘ike mai nei ku‘u one hānau e

Eia mai la
Eia mai la nā kupa ʻāina o Hawaiʻi nei
Kākoʻo mai nei
Kākoʻo mai nei kūpaʻa lōkahi e

Kīkilo e nā iwi
Kīkilo e nā iwi e nā mamo e
Nā kini makamaka e
Kūpaʻa ke kanaka
Kūpaʻa ke kanaka hano hano haʻaheo e
Kū ke kanaka
Kūpaʻa ke kanaka hano hano haʻaheo e

From Huapala: When Kumu Hula John Keola Lake travelled to Aotearoa (New Zealand), he was inspired by the Māori (natives) there, so he wrote a mele (song) based on the Māori song, “Nga Iwi E.” “ʻŌiwi E” is not a translation of “Nga Iwi E,” but the sentiments are similar. “ʻŌiwi E” is about the natives standing proud together and looking towards their ancestors for guidance and direction.
Although I do provide the reader with a glossary of terms used throughout this paper, I encourage them to ʻimi naʻauao, to seek knowledge, and consult the Hawaiian-English dictionary or wehewehe.org in the future.

ahupuaʻa: n. Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (puaʻa), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as a tax to the chief.

aliʻi: nvs. Chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch.

alualu: vi. To follow, pursue, chase.

hālau: n. Long house, as for canoes or hula instruction; meeting house.

haole: nvs. White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; formerly, any foreigner; foreign.

hapa haole: nvs. Part-white person; of part-white blood; part white and part Hawaiian, as an individual or phenomenon.

hoʻi i ka piko: “Return to the source.”

hoʻokele waʻa: v. Wayfinding; also “to wayfind.”

hoʻolohe: vt. To hear, mind, obey, listen.

huakaʻi: nvi. Trip, voyage, journey; to travel.

hula: nvt. The hula.

   hula ʻauana: n. Informal hula without ceremony or offering, contrasted with the hula kuahu; modern hula.

   hula kahiko: nvs. Ancient form of hula.

kanaka: nvs. Human being, person, individual, population; plural “kānaka.”

   kanaka maoli: vs. Hawaiian native; pure Hawaiian.

   kanaka ʻōiwi: nvs. Native person.

kāne: n. Male, man.

kaona: n. Hidden meaning, as in Hawaiian poetry; concealed reference, as to a person, thing, or place

kapu: nvs. Taboo; prohibited, forbidden.

kuhina nui: n. Premier, regent; highest officer next to the king.

kūkū (tūtū) kāne/wahine: n. Grandfather, grandmother.

lāhui: nvs. Nation, race, people, nationality.

laina: n. Verse.

lapaʻau: nvt. Medical practice; to treat with medicine.

   kahuna lapaʻau: nvt. Medical priest or practitioner.


malihini: nvs. Stranger, foreigner, tourist; one unfamiliar with a place or custom.

mana: nvs. Supernatural or divine power.

mele: nvt. Song, anthem, or chant of any kind.

mōʻī: n. King, sovereign, monarch, majesty, ruler, queen.
moku: n. District.
ʻōlelo: nvt. Language; to speak, state, talk, converse.
  ʻōlelo haole: nvs. European language, especially English.
  ʻōlelo noʻeau: vs. Wise or entertaining proverb, saying.
paʻa: nvs. Firm, solid.
wahine: nvs. Woman, lady.