

Aia i Waimānalo Kō Nu‘a Hulu

An Essay by Kīhei de Silva

Haku Mele: Mrs. A. L. K.

Date: Perhaps composed in 1883, but first published on Christmas day, 1886.

Sources:

1. Mrs. A. L. K., part 1 of “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu No Ka Moiwahine Kapiolani,” in *Ka Nupepa Elele*, December 25, 1886.
2. “He Mele Inoa No Ka Moi Wahine Kapiolani,” HI.M.82:20, Poomaikelani Collection, Bishop Museum Archives.
3. “Lei Hooheno No Kapiolani,” HI.M.23:51, Mele Manuscript Collection, Bishop Museum Archives.
4. “Aia i Waimanalo Ko Nua Hulu,” given by P. K. Kuhi, MS.SC Roberts 3.9:26-27, 55b-56a, Bishop Museum Archives.
5. “He Mele Hulu No Kapi‘olani i Waimānalo,” Mary Kawena Pukui and Alfons Korn, *The Echo of Our Song*, 159-161. Translated by Pukui. This is the text and translation given by Kaha‘i Topolinski when he taught the mele to us as a hula kuolo in the summer of 2000.
6. “Aia i Waimānalo Kō Nu‘a Hulu,” Mary Kawena Pukui, *Nā Mele Welo*, 134-135. This is the same P. K. Kuhi text that Helen Roberts included in her Bishop Museum Archives collection cited above. Pukui’s translation is less wordy than that published in her *Echo of Our Song*; her footnote to the mele is also somewhat at odds with the longer essay that appears in *Echo*. In *Welo*, she identifies the mele as composed for Kalākaua’s Jubilee (1886) and its nu‘a hulu as feather mats. In *Echo*, she gives the date of composition as 1883 (the year of the Coronation) and identifies the nu‘a as feather lei.
7. “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu no ka Mō‘ī Wahine Kapi‘olani, Mele Nu‘a Hulu No. 1: Aia i Waimānalo kō nu‘a hulu.” in Amy Stillman’s liner notes for the CD *Kapi‘olani: Legacy Hula*, Volume 2, Kūlia i ka Pu‘uwai, DHC80054. This is an orthographically edited text of the original *Nūpepa ‘Elele* publication.

Audio:

1. Kuluwaimaka Collection: tape 2.10.4-8, Bishop Museum Audio Recording Collection.
2. *Kapi‘olani: Legacy Hula*, Volume 2, Kūlia i ka Pu‘uwai, DHC80054.

Our Text: P. K. Kuhi as collected by Roberts and published by Pukui in *Echo of Our Song* and *Mele Welo*, and as shared with us by Kaha‘i Topolinski in 2000 and again by Kuahiwi Lorenzo, a Topolinski-graduated kumu hula, in 2012 (The mele is of great significance to Topolinski since Cummins is his hānai great grandfather through Kaha‘i’s grandmother Elizabeth Kapeka Cummins Kekahio). We have, however, revised our performance text to include Mrs. A. L. K.’s *Nūpepa Elele* version of the mele’s second and last verses (the only points at which the *Elele* and Kuhi texts diverge). In our twice-each-verse performance of these verses, we will do *Elele* first and Kuhi second.

Some mele become victims of their own accessibility. We take them for granted. We assume that all that can be said about them has already been said. We fail to examine them anew because they have been delivered to us by such venerable hands that a re-

investigation of texts and contexts – even after decades, even with all the tools now available to us – seems redundant and almost disrespectful.

To the best of our knowledge, “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu No Ka Mō‘īwahine Kapi‘olani” was first published in the December 25, 1886, edition of *Ka Nupepa Elele* and its authorship attributed to Mrs. A. L. K. Her 64-line text is clearly divided into three sections, each beginning with a variant of the line “Aia i [location] ko nu‘a hulu” (these locations being Waimānalo, Mololani, and Mokumanu), and each ending with the honorific “Kulia i ka nuku la e o mai / Ka wahine nona ka lei hooheho.”

The first two cantos of this feather-bounty name chant (now commonly titled “He Mele Hulu No Kapi‘olani i Waimānalo” and “He Mele Hulu No Kapi‘olani i Mololani”) were republished almost ninety years later by Alfons Korn and Mary Kawena Pukui in *The Echo of Our Song*, their landmark collection, translation, and explication of 36 “chants and poems of the Hawaiians.” The nine pages that Pukui and Korn devote to the two sections (and a quarter page more in the appendix) have provided a ready-made and apparently unimpeachable fact sheet for kumu hula interested in presenting the two, especially in the Merrie Monarch Festival where mele honoring that monarch’s queen are deemed highly appropriate, particularly in the Miss Aloha Hula and Wāhine divisions of the competition.

The two cantos have, in fact, have been performed on the Hilo stage on at least twenty occasions (ten times each) in the last three decades: “Waimānalo” in 1983 (Wāhine), 1985 (Miss Aloha Hula), 1992 (MAH), 1993 (W), 1997 (W), 2000 (W), 2001 (MAH), 2006 (MAH), 2007 (W), and 2009 (Kāne); “Mololani” in 1985 (W), 1986 (MAH), 1987 (MAH), 1992 (K), 1994 (MAH), 1995 (W), 1998 (MAH), 1999 (MAH), and 2010 (MAH, W). This makes them the fourth most-performed “choice” mele in that 30-year period (behind “Kaulīlua,” “E Ho‘i Ke Aloha i Ni‘ihau,” and “No Luna”).² The numbers are impressive but subject, we think, to an old appearance-vs-reality criticism: maika‘i kūlana hale wili, ‘a‘ohe mea hana o loko. Pretty to look at, but not much “going on” inside.

Although *The Echo of Our Song* is to be credited with reviving and popularizing a pair of paukū that would otherwise have languished in the newspaper collections, the book has also engendered a stagnancy of thought that its authors would not have appreciated. At various points in their explication, Korn and Pukui express a desire to “open up unexpected vistas”; they remind us of the importance of additional “systematic comparative study, drawing upon Hawaiian language newspaper sources,” and they caution us against “risky pronouncements” in the absence of such careful study.³ Unfortunately, our horizons of understanding have not been broadened by these twenty performances of the Kapi‘olani feather chants, and careful study of their origin and context is not evident in either the MM program blurbs or TV narrations. We, the hula community, have leaned too heavily on *Echo* and have, for the most part, accepted it without inquiry and repeated it by rote.

First, there is the matter of titles. “He Mele Hulu no Kapi‘olani i Waimānalo” and “He Mele Hulu no Kapi‘olani i Mololani ” are *Echo* titles; they are the inventions of Pukui and Elbert; they do not appear in the 1886 *Elele*, nor do they appear in any of the pertinent mele manuscript collections of the Bishop Museum Archives. Where they do appear, almost without fail, is in the Merrie Monarch programs: in eight of ten titles for “Waimānalo”⁴ and in all ten for “Mololani.” Nowhere is reference made to the A. L. K. title; no hint is given that “He Mele Hulu...” is about as true to the original as “Ka ‘Ōlelo a ke Ali‘i Kāne i ke Ali‘i Wahine” is true to “‘A‘ole i mana‘o ‘ia kahi wai o ‘Alekokī.”⁵ Instead of referencing the original newspaper collection, this Merrie Monarch parroting of made-up titles serves to sidestep an elegant solution,⁶ to validate a weak decision on Korn and Pukui’s part,⁷ and to strip the mele of its actual name.

Second, there is the matter of Merrie Monarch Program blurbs. In eight of the eleven blurbs published since 1995 (when the festival’s programs first began to include these hālau-submitted explanations), the opening paragraph of *Echo* is summarized and no additional information or interpretation is advanced. The parent explanation and two sets of *Echo* paraphrases should suffice as examples of this disheartening inertia:

Echo of our Song: “The two chants are from a set of three, commemorating a visit of Queen Kapi‘olani to Rose Mount (Mauna Loke), the residence and sugar plantation owned by John A. Cummins at Waimānalo, O‘ahu. According to oral tradition, the chants were presented to the queen, along with accompanying feather leis, early in 1883, the year when Kalākaua and the queen were crowned on February 12” (p. 156).

MM Programs 1999 and 2010: “One of three chants in honor of Queen Kapi‘olani and her visit to Rose Mount (Mauna Loke), once the residence and sugar plantation owned by John A. Cummins of Waimanalo, O‘ahu. The chants were presented to the queen in 1883, along with feather leis” (1999). “. . .one of three chants in honor of Queen Kapi‘olani and her visit to Mauna Loke (Rose Mount), once the residence and sugar plantation owned by John A. Cummins in Waimanalo, O‘ahu. Along with these chants, feather lei were presented to the Queen during her visit” (2010).

MM Programs 1997 and 2007: “Precious feather leis are presented to Queen Kapi‘olani by her subjects at Waimānalo, O‘ahu, and celebrated in chant” (1997). “Precious feather lei are presented to Queen Kapi‘olani by her subjects at Waimānalo, O‘ahu. Queen Kapi‘olani is celebrated in this chant” (2007).

Of the three blurbs that are not echoes of *Echo*, one simply identifies “Mololani” as honoring the queen and referring to “a large crater on Oahu” (1995) and two offer paraphrases of Pukui’s footnote to “Waimānalo” in her more recently published *Nā Mele Welo* collection (2005, 2009). Although a five-line program blurb or best-three-sentence TV explanation is hardly an adequate venue for advancing our knowledge of taken-for-granted mele, the following selection clearly gives evidence of the light that can, in fact, be transmitted via MM program when careful study has first occurred:

This [version of “Maunaloa] is similar to Helen Lindsey Parker’s “Maunaloa,” but longer and more descriptive. The language is straight forward and expresses disgust and disappointment. It also illustrates the range of subjects our kūpuna memorialized in song. The melody is simple and up-tempo suggesting that the composer very probably “got over it” and moved on. The second line in the second verse is also found in Parker’s version, as well as “Matsonia” by Kalaluhi. “Oni” is sometimes sung as “honi” in the Parker version, but here “Oni” appears both accurate and appropriate. (Hālau o ke ‘A‘ali‘i Kū Makani, 2007).

Finally, there is the matter of what has not been seen, or just barely. *The Echo of our Song* does not include “Aia i Mokumanu Kō Nu‘a Hula,” the last canto of Kapi‘olani’s feather set, and that canto has been performed only once in the history of the Merrie Monarch Festival.⁸ There is nothing in “Mokumanu” itself that makes for difficult presentation; the *Elele* text is legible, the language far from obscure, the imagery and sentiments celebratory, and the line-lengths and rhythms consistent with “Waimānalo” and “Mololani.” The deterrent, we suspect, is accessibility; paukū three has to be looked for in the nūpepa and archives,⁹ and looking takes effort. Thanks to *Echo* and our own complacency, the first and second sections of the set are among the most popular hula of the festival, the third collects dust, and all three suffer from an imbalance and narrowing of perspective that do not reflect well on the lip service we po‘e Merrie Monarch give to the importance of enlightened performance.

It took hula “outsider” Amy Stillman and Kūlia i ka Pu‘uwai (the Kumu Hula Association of Southern California) to do what we, at home, did not. Their 2007 release of the CD *Kapi‘olani, Legacy Hula Volume 2* includes all three cantos of the correctly identified “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu No Ka Mō‘ī Wahine Kapi‘olani” performed in correct sequence and labeled in the clearest possible manner: “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu No. 1: Aia i Waimānalo kō nu‘a hula,” “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu No. 2: Aia i Mololani kō nu‘a hulu,” and “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu No. 3: Aia i Mokumanu kō nu‘a hulu.” Stillman’s liner notes to the CD offer the text and translation of all three, cite the original publication, and build upon the earlier *Echo* explanations in vista-opening, nūpepa-based fashion.¹⁰

“He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu No Ka Mō‘ī Wahine Kapi‘olani” is a set of three mele that commemorate a visit by Queen Kapi‘olani to the Waimānalo residence and sugar plantation of John A. Cummins not long after the coronation celebrations in 1883. The publication of this set of three mele in *Ka Nupepa Elele* on Dec. 25, 1886 suggest that they were also performed during celebrations of King Kalākaua’s Birthday Jubilee in November 1866. Indeed this set follows the set of fifteen mele that honor King Kalākaua, published one week earlier in the same newspaper. Composition of the set is credited to “Mrs. A. L. K.” The mele trace a route of Cummins’ steamship Waimānalo, as it passes Mokumanu islets off of Mōkapu peninsula and docks at Waimānalo. Along the way, the mele celebrate residents of Mololani, renowned for featherwork and credited with crafting lei hulu tributes, using feathers presumably gathered at Mokumanu. From the coast, the royal party boards a windowed train for a short ride to Cummins’ residence.

What we admire most about Stillman’s effort is the manner in which she gently steers us away from two of our most ossified misconceptions: that the “Waimānalo” of the first paukū is the Ko’olaupoko district itself, and that the three paukū – though obviously linked by visit, feather offerings, and Cummins’ hospitality – share no deeper connection or interdependence. As is clear from Stillman’s true-to-the-original rendering of the first four lines of the *Elele* text, the *Waimānalo* is, in fact, Cummin’s steamship, not the ‘āina of his plantation and home:

Aia i Waimānalo kō nu‘a hulu	There on <i>Waimānalo</i> is your feather bounty
I haku ‘ia mai la e Mololani.	Fashioned by Mololani
Noho ‘o Kalani hano i ka nani	The Queen sits in regal beauty
I ka lawe ho‘ola‘i <u>a ka mokuahi</u> .	Carried in tranquility <u>by the steamer</u> . ¹¹

And as is also clear in Stillman’s narrative, the three paukū are recognized as having a chronological and geographical integrity: they “trace [the] route” of Kapi‘olani’s visit, first by steamship and then by sugar train, to the Cummins’ estate in Waimānalo.¹²

Our own research allows us to give more detail to Stillman’s lightly sketched thesis and to raise questions about several “presumables” that should not be allowed to be taken as fact. We are reasonably certain that:

- Beginning in the 1880s, Cummins 80-foot steamship *Waimanalo* made two or three runs a week between Honolulu and Ko’olaupoko (by way of Makapu‘u), transporting sugar to the capitol and delivering supplies and goods to Kāne‘ohe and Waimānalo.¹³
- In Kāne‘ohe, the *Waimanalo* anchored about a sixth of a mile off shore from He‘eia Uli Landing where she was loaded and unloaded by the “barges” of John McKeague’s He‘eia Sugar Co.”¹⁴
- In Waimānalo, the steamer anchored in deep water off Waimānalo Landing where longboats “line hauled” their cargo between the ship and the sugar shed that stood at the end of the pier.¹⁵ The pier, which was dismantled in 1952, stood at the far end what is now Waimānalo Beach Park, just ma kai of what is now the intersection of Huli St. and Kalaniana‘ole Hwy.¹⁶
- Waimānalo Landing was connected to Cummins’ sugar mill (several miles to the northwest and just inland of what is now Shima’s Market on Pō‘alima St.)¹⁷ by a narrow gauge train line that hauled cane from field to mill, and sacked sugar from mill to landing, by means of a pair of tiny locomotives and a string of Lilliputian flatcars.¹⁸
- Cummins first fired up his railway on May 10, 1881, with the locomotive *Thomas Cummins*¹⁹ (later re-named *Nalo*); he added the *Pualii*²⁰ (later renamed *Olomana*²¹) a second, more powerful saddle-tanker, in May 1883.
- The “hale aniani o ke ka‘ahi” in which the queen rode was probably a further modified coach-car that had already been fitted up for previous visits of the royal party.²² We

have yet to locate a corroborating description of Kapi‘olani’s “glassed-in house,” but several accounts of Kalākaua’s 1882 and 1883 train rides at the Cummins’ Plantation paint a picture of the festive scene and jaunty mode of transport:

October 1882, on the occasion of what might have been the first of many royal train rides at Waimānalo: “Upon His Majesty’s arrival at Waimanalo Plantation, he found a train of cars, prettily decorated, awaiting the arrival of the Royal Party. The train took them up to the plantation when, upon hearing the sound of the whistle of the locomotive, all hands assembled at the train and greeted the King with three hearty cheers”²³

March 1883, on the occasion of Cummins’ “grand luau”: “After landing from the *S.S. Waimanalo*, a train of six cars was waiting to convey the party to Waimanalo proper. The spectacle was a magnificent one. The wharf was lined with ever-greens, the locomotive and cars were ornamented with flags and banners, the Royal cars being commodiously fitted up with sofa, arm chairs, and a canopy. When it was reported ‘All Aboard,’ away we all went, booming along through the cane fields, toward the mill. On arrival at Mr. Cummins’ house, hundreds of natives flocked to welcome his Majesty...”²⁴

April 1883, on the occasion of a party at which Cummins entertained Kalākaua and guests from the Russian and German navies: “... the Royal car being covered with a canopy and handsomely carpeted.”²⁵

- The “hale wiliko helu ekahi” to which the sugar train carried Kapi‘olani began operations in January 1881, four years after John Cummins had initiated the process of converting his father’s cattle and horse-breeding ranching into a plantation.²⁶ He imported his machinery from Scotland, and his efforts resulted in an apparently state-of-the-art, “two-roller, eight-ton mill with a capacity of producing from eight to ten tons of sugar a day.”²⁷
- The Mauna Loke home at which Cummins’ received and entertained the queen was located within comfortable walking distance of the mill – at what is now the far end of Pō‘alima Place.²⁸ Cummins’ father Thomas had come here from Massachusetts in 1825 and married High Chiefess Kaumakaokane Papaleaiaina, a cousin of the Kamehamehas and a descendant of Liloa through Lonoikahaupu. It was perhaps through his wife’s royal connections that he was able to lease, in 1842, the parcel of land on which his home was built and to lease again, in 1850, the 970 acres on which his Waimanalo Ranch and his son’s Waimanalo Plantation would be established. Pictures of Mauna Loke suggest that the home started small and was expanded and added-to in kauhale fashion. In John Adams Cummins’ day, the spacious home became “the scene of lavish Hawaiian... living and entertaining that was synonymous with [his] name.”²⁹ Although we have yet to discover an account of the royal visit that inspired the composition of “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu,” a clear picture of the extent of Cummins’ hospitality can be found in descriptions of Queen Emma’s well-documented tour of O‘ahu in November 1875:

“Two lanais, each capable of accommodating several hundred guests, greeted Queen Emma’s entourage...After a late afternoon siesta under the kukui and coconut trees...festivities started with a magnificent luau studded with fireworks and rockets shot from the precipitous palis shadowing Mauna Rose. Three hundred torches burned throughout the night, burnishing the three hula troupes that performed one after the other until daylight...Bonfires, reveling, lavish entertainment and dancing in Queen Emma’s honor lasted three days and nights without letup. Other activities were stream fishing and surf casting, lei making and the ceremony of opening the silt bar at the mouth of the river so that natives could brave the fast-moving currents...Horse racing on host Cummins’ trotting track...and rifle shooting in which the queen participated were among the other activities.”³⁰

- The kelepona that Mrs. A. L. K. extols as making easy work of conversing with one’s “best-beloved” is not mentioned anywhere else in the Mauna Loke literature, but its presence in the Cummins’ home is hardly surprising for a man so comfortable with the high technology of his day: steamship, train, glass-shielded coach car, Scottish mill, telephone. Alexander Graham Bell invented the phone in 1876. It first appeared in Hawai‘i two years later when Maui storekeeper Charles Dickey rented a Bell Talking Telephone and strung copper lines between his home and place of business. In 1880 the Hawaiian Bell Telephone Co. initiated phone service on O‘ahu with 30 subscribers. And in 1882, Kalākaua connected his palace and boat house with the ingenious device.³¹ Cummins could not have been far behind; we suspect that he followed the Dickey and Kalākaua approach by running lines between various hale in his kauhale – and perhaps to his mill and landing as well.

These details help us to anchor our understanding of “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu No Ka Mō‘īwahine Kapi‘olani” in a much richer and more specific context than that normally associated with the performance of its three pieces. As is often the case, however, the research that allows us to reconstruct the almost-forgotten backstory of Mrs. A. L. K.’s feather chant is the same research that raises questions about the reliability of previous and oft-repeated explanations of that mele’s date of composition, performance history, and exact “nu‘a hulu” status.

Pukui and Korn assert, in their *Echo of Our Song* introduction to “Waimānalo” and “Mokulua,” that:

According to oral tradition, the chants were presented to the queen, along with accompanying feather leis, early in 1883, the year when King Kalākaua and the queen were crowned on February 12.³²

No fewer than three scholarly works³³ and eight Merrie Monarch program blurbs repeat this assertion (in whole or part, and sometimes incorrectly linking the mele and coronation³⁴), but none includes the opening caveat: “according to oral tradition.” Pukui and Korn reveal nothing more about their source, and we have found nothing in our own reading that corroborates their 1883 date or lei-giving description. To further complicate

matters, Pukui's footnote to the 1995 republication of "Waimānalo" in *Nā Mele Welo* ignores her earlier reference to oral tradition; she suggests, instead, that the mele was composed for Kalākaua's 1886 Jubilee:

Many feathers were gathered for the preparation of the jubilee of King Kalākaua. New capes and kāhili were made for the occasion. A bedspread of red cock's feathers was made for the King's bed, and the Queen had a blue velvet holokū made, trimmed with bands of peacock feathers... At this time, several hula chants were composed for the Queen mentioning some of the places where the feathers were obtained, such as Waimānalo, Mokumanu, and Mololani.³⁵

Are we to assume that Pukui had found reason to change her mind? Or did the editors of *Welo* simply publish an off-the-cuff opinion that she did not have occasion to review and reconsider?

Discrepancies in Pukui's understanding of the mele are also evident in her *Echo* and *Welo* descriptions of the feather gifts with which Kapi'olani was honored. In the former, Pukui speaks simply of "chants presented to the queen, along with accompanying feather leis," but in the latter, she dwells first on the collecting of feathers used to make capes and kāhili for the jubilee, and then on the "nu'a hulu" nature of this series of chants:

This series is called *mele nu'a hulu*, or chants of the feather mat. The *nu'a* was often a pile of mats – a coarse one on the floor, another and better one atop that one, then another finer still, and so on until there was a pile about a foot or more in height, with the very best mat at the top. On this, royalty or favorite children reposed.³⁶

What exactly was given to Kapi'olani is thus unclear: lei hulu, feathers for capes and kāhili, a pile of feather mats, or some combination of the three? Or is "nu'a hulu" a poetic expression for the bounty of feather gifts that were placed (perhaps on mats) before the queen? Our research in this matter is far from definitive:

- Stillman asserts the residents of Mololani were "renowned for feather work and were credited with crafting lei hulu tributes presumably gathered at Mokumanu."³⁷ We have been unable, as yet, to corroborate this information.
- We know that the sea cliffs of Mōkapu and the Mokumanu Islets were home to teeming colonies of seabirds whose feathers were more likely to be used in kāhili and capes than in feather lei.³⁸
- We have learned that High Chiefess Kahalewai, the first wife of John A. Cummins, was raised "by the Princess Kekauonohi, whose family were sacred bird trappers under King Kamehameha I."³⁹
- With the possible exception of two argued-over mats in the British Museum, we have yet to find evidence that Hawaiians crafted moena of bird feathers.⁴⁰

What we are left with, then, is a significantly revised list of what can, might, and probably should never again be said about “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu No Ka Mō‘īwahine Kapi‘olani.” The “cans” include its full title, author, 1886 nūpepa publication, and *Waimanalo*/Waimānalo context. The “mights” include a possible 1883 visit, a possible jubilee inspiration and performance, and a nu‘a of possible feather-connections. The “probably nevers” include the assigned titles of *Echo of Our Song*, the reading of “Waimanalo” as ‘āina not steamship, the coronation connection, and the treatment of the mele’s three paukū as only incidentally related.

More significantly, we find ourselves left with the same challenge left with us four decades ago by Pukui and Korn: to open new vistas of understanding through a systematic study of nūpepa and archival sources, and to do so without fear of being questioned or disproved by those who follow. The shabby treatment of the Kapi‘olani feather chants over three decades of Merrie Monarch competition underscores the need for careful research, careful reporting of facts, and careful identification of guesswork. It underscores, as well, the “‘a‘ohe mea o loko” dangers of competitive hula and adjudication: so much value placed on appearance, so little on understanding.

Most significantly, we are left with a new appreciation for a beautiful, three-part mele whose “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu” emerges as an enthusiastic expression of the capacity of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its leaders to assimilate western technology for native benefit without losing native identity: to transport our feather bounty on our own steamships, to place our queen in our own canopied, glassed-screened train cars, to extract sweetness from our own sugar mills, to speak words of love across our own telephone lines, to send this message of hope from the ‘Āpuakea mists of Waimānalo to the Kūkalahale rains of the capitol. Would that we rise again, with our mele inoa and ulukau.org, with our pa‘i ‘ai and laptops, to that same optimism and competence.

He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu no ka Mō‘īwahine Kapi‘olani

Paukū 1: Aia i *Waimānalo* kō nu‘a hulu

Aia i *Waimānalo* kō nu‘a hulu
I haku ‘ia mai la e Mololani⁴¹

Noho ‘o Kalani hano i ka nani
I ka lawe ho‘ola‘i a ka mokuahi.
[*Kuhi text*: I ka lawe ha‘aheo a Mokulua⁴²]

Ho‘ohihi ka mana‘o e ‘ike aku
E kilohi i ka nani o Mokumanu.

Pōhai a ka manu i ka lewa lani
Kīkahakaha mai i ka ‘ili kai.

Welo ha‘aheo kō hae kalaunu
‘Ike mai ‘o Mālei⁴³ ke kupua

O ia kai kapu lā ua noa
Ua hehi kū ‘ia aku e Kalani.

Nāu i ‘ōlali ho‘ohie aku⁴⁴
O ia mau ‘ale hānupanupa.

‘Iniki welawela a ke ‘ehu kai
Lamalama ‘ula i ka lani ali‘i.

Li‘ili‘i nā hana a ke kelepona
Ha‘iha‘i ‘ōlelo me ka huapala.

Kūliaikanu‘u lā e ō mai
[*Kuhi text*: E Kapi‘olani lā e ō mai]
Ka wahine nona ka lei ho‘oheno.

There on the *Waimānalo* is your feather bounty
Gifts fashioned for you by Mololani.

The chiefess sits, dignified and beautiful
Carried peacefully by the steamship.
[*Kuhi*: Carried proudly to Mokulua.]

Entrancing thoughts fill the mind
When gazing upon the beauty of Mokumanu.

The birds circle in the sky
And skim along the ocean’s surface.

Your royal flag flies proudly
Greeted by Mālei, the guardian goddess

Of this sacred sea whose kapu is now lifted
Made free by the arrival of the chiefess.

You are the one who glides in beauty
Over these surging waves.

The sharp pinches of the sea spray
Cause the high chiefess to glow with health.

The telephone makes it so easy

To converse with the sweetheart.

O Kūliaikanu‘u, answer to our call

[*Kuhi*: O Kapi‘olani, answer to our call]

You are the woman we honor with this lei of affection.

Notes:

1. Rianna M. Williams, “John Adams Cummins: Prince of Entertainers,” *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 30, 1966: 156.
2. These numbers are the result of a quick review of the programs in our possession (1983 to 2012) and should be re-checked for accuracy: “Kaulīlua” (16 times), “E Ho‘i Ke Aloha i Ni‘ihau” (12), “No Luna” (11), “Waimānalo” and “Mololani” (10 each), “Iā ‘Oe E Ka Lā (9), “A Ko‘olau Au” (9), “A Kona Hema ‘o Kalani” (9).
3. *Echo*, xii, 228.
4. In 2006 and 2009, the hālau performing the “Waimānalo” paukū of “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu” gave its title as “Aia i Waimānalo Kō Nu‘a Hulu.” The program blurbs for both entries are clearly derived from the *Nā Mele Welo* footnote to this paukū, and their change of title reflects that publication’s decision to set aside Pukui and Korn’s earlier “He Mele Hulu...” for the more accurate “Aia i Waimānalo...”
5. *Echo of our Song*, 94-101; Korn and Pukui’s title for “Alekokī.” They do acknowledge this title as “assigned,” but somehow fail to provide the same disclaimer for their feather-chant titles for “Waimānalo” and “Mololani.”
6. When a mele has no title, or when its title belongs to several paukū in a series, the now-accepted method of identification is that of calling the mele by its first one or two lines. Another more accurate method involves the listing of overall title and specific first line, as was done by Amy Stillman in her liner notes for *Kapi‘olani: Legacy Hula volume 2*: “He Inoa Nu‘a Hulu no ka Mō‘ī Wahine Kapi‘olani, Mele Nu‘a Hulu No. 1: Aia i Waimānalo kō nu‘a hulu.”
7. It is my guess that assigned titles like “Chant of Welcome for Kamehameha / He Mele Aloha no Kamehameha,” “A Surfing Song / He Mele He‘e Nalu,” and the above-mentioned “A Prince’s Words to the Princess / Ka ‘Ōlelo a ke Ali‘i Kāne i ke Ali‘i Wahine” were meant to attract a wider, non-Hawaiian-speaking audience. But what once might have sounded intriguing now borders on patronizing. As noted in 3 above, the *Echo* title for “Waimānalo” was dropped in the 1995 publication of the same mele in Pukui’s *Nā Mele Welo*; it appears there as “Aia i Waimānalo Kō Nu‘a Hulu.” As also noted above, this example was only followed by two of the hālau that performed “Waimānalo” in 1997, 2000, 2001, 2006, 2007, and 2009.
8. Wāhine Division, 1999. The program blurb for this performance uses *Echo* as a primary source (“The third paukū in a lei chant offered to Queen Kapi‘olani ... Many beautiful feather leis were offered with love and respect when king and queen were crowned”), but is accompanied by a not-quite-accurate summary of the paukū’s contents (...tells of train rides through rolling hills

and visits with the Queen's beloved subjects and 'ohana"). Although "Mokumanu" does describe a train ride, the chant centers on the beautiful, mist drenched, bloom-filled morning of Kapi'olani's departure from Mauna Loke and her return – by way of Makapu'u, Kawaihoa, and Diamond Head – to the Kūkalahale rain of Honolulu.

9. Until it became available for electronic search in Ulukau, the *Elele* text would have been quite difficult to obtain, but the Bishop Museum Archives' mele collections have been indexed for many years; "Mokumanu" appears there in two listings: MS SC Roberts 3.9(30-31, 58a-59b) and HI.M.82(21-20); both are literally a page-turn away from the "Waimānalo" and "Mololani" texts of the three-canto set.

10. I am saddened to report that MM program explanations for "Waimānalo" in 2007 and '09 and the two for "Mololani" in 2010 do not reflect the knowledge advanced by Stillman in her 2007 project – this is especially disappointing since two members of the Kapi'olani Legacy project performed these hula in the '07, '09, and '10 competitions.

11. Emphasis mine. The much later P.K. Kuhi version of the chant on which Pukui relied replaces "mokuahi" (steamship) with "Mokulua" (the pair of islands off Ka'ōhao, Kailua); Kuhi's geography is consistent with the route of the steamship, but his substitution has helped to obscure, for almost a century, the identity of *Waimanalo* as mokuahi.

12. Unfortunately, Stillman says nothing about the final leg of the queen's visit: her journey from the mists of Mauna Loke back to Honolulu on Cummins' sugar train and steamer.

13. Edward B. Scott in *The Saga of the Sandwich Islands*, 712 and 713, quotes a Honolulu newsman as reporting that the steamer "runs three times a week to Honolulu." John S. Pratt, Jr., in *The Kaneohe I Remember*, 66, identifies the steamer as *J. A. Cummins*, a later name for *Waimanalo*, and remembers twice-a-week runs taking place in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Peter Young, in his October 10, 2012, blogspot post, "Waimānalo Sugar Plantation" ([/totakeresponsibility.blogspot.com/2012/10/waimanalo-sugar-plantation.html](http://totakeresponsibility.blogspot.com/2012/10/waimanalo-sugar-plantation.html)) repeats Pratt's twice-weekly count but gives no documentation.

14. Various sources cited by Devaney, Kelley, Lee, and Motteler in *Kaneohe: A History of Change*, 44.

15. Scott, 713.

16. Young, "Waimānalo Sugar Plantation."

17. Ibid.

18. Scott, 713.

19. John Adams Kuakini Cummins' father, Thomas A. Cummins, who initially bought and leased the lands on which Mauna Loke and the sugar plantation were established.

20. Perhaps named for John Cummins' son Thomas Pualii.

21. The beautifully restored *Olomana* is now housed in the Smithsonian Museum and History and Technology.
22. Maili Yardley and Miriam Rogers suggest that the coach was completely enclosed – “The ‘glass railroad house’ is the railroad coach with its glass window” (*Queen Kapiolani*, 61). Our guess is that Cummins made a smaller modification, adding a glass screen to his canopied royal car in order to protect the queen from wind and dust.
23. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 19, 1882; cited by Jesse Conde and Gerald Best in *Sugar Trains: Narrow Gauge Rails in Hawaii*, 365.
24. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 1883; cited by Conde and Best, *Sugar Trains*, 365.
25. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 28, 1883; cited by Conde and Best, *Sugar Trains*, 366.
26. Rianna Williams, “John Adams Cummins,” 156.
27. “Hawaiian Sugar Plantation History: No. 17–Waimanalo...,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 22, 1935; cited by Pukui and Korn, *Echo of Our Song*, 158.
28. “Waimanalo: Historical Insights,” olomanagardens.com, 11-18-2012.
29. Kalākaua is reported to have had exclusive use of one of several hale pili in the Mauna Loke compound; another was reserved for Princess Ka‘iulani (Rianna M. Williams, 154).
30. “A Trip Around Oahu,” *Paradise of the Pacific*, June 1895; cited by Scott, *Saga of the Sandwich Islands*, 711-12. The sport of he‘e pu‘e wai, body-surfing the bore of the Puha Stream dam, is described by Cummins himself in “Around Oahu in the Days of Old,” *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, Sept. 1913:235; cited by Sterling and Summers, *Sites of Oahu*, 245.
31. Robert C. Schmidt, “Some Transportation and Communication Firsts in Hawai‘i,” *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Volume 12, 1978:110. “History of Hawaii Communications,” cyberzone.pacific-tier.com/Archives/history_of_hawaii_telephone.html. Scott, *Saga of the Sandwich Islands*, 121, 241-243.
32. *Echo*, 156; emphasis mine.
33. Yardley and Rogers, *Queen Kapiolani*; Williams, *John Adams Cummins*; Stillman, “Legacy Hula.”
34. “This mele tells of train rides through rolling hills and visits with the Queen’s beloved subjects and ‘ohana. Many beautiful feather leis were offered with love and respect when the King and Queen were crowned.” Merrie Monarch Program, 1999.
35. *Nā Mele Welo*, 136.
36. *Ibid.*

37. *Kapi'olani: Legacy Hula*, Volume 2.

38. Frank Richardson and Harvey Fisher discuss ten Hawaiian sea birds that frequent the pair of islets known as Mokumanu: wedgetailed shearwater, sooty tern, noddy tern, Hawaiian tern, Laysan albatross, Christmas Island shearwater, red-footed booby, brown booby, grey-backed tern, and great frigate bird (“Birds of Moku Manu and Manana Islands Off Oahu, Hawaii,” *The Auk, a Quarterly Journal of Ornithology*, Vol. 67, July 1950, no. 3.) Roger Rose, Sheila Conant, and Eric Kjellgren identify the feathers of three of these birds – ‘ewa‘ewa (sooty tern), noio kōhā (noddy tern), and ‘iwa (frigate) as used in the making of several standing kähili housed in the Bishop Museum; the authors suggest that the feathers of two more of these seabirds – moli (Laysan albatross) and pakalakala (grey-backed tern) – were probably used (“Hawaiian Standing Kähili in the Bishop Museum,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 102, 1993: 296).

39. A. Grove Day, *History Makers of Hawaii*, 74. Williams, “John Adams Cummins,” 154.

40. William Brigham of the Bishop Museum argues that the mats, although having no Hawaiian precedent in style or manner of construction, were made to hold offerings to the god Ku. James Edge-Parrington of the British Museum argues that the mats, whose construction “does not follow any known pattern from Hawaii,” are probably Tahitian and were used “as a protection when fighting” (William T. Brigham, “Supplementary Notes to an Essay on Ancient Hawaiian Featherwork,” *Memoirs of the BPBM* – Vol. 1 – No. 5, 1903).

41. Although the name *Mololani* is quite familiar to us, its identity and location are harder to pin down than one might think. Mololani is identified by Pukui as a Nu‘uanu rain (*‘Ōlelo No‘eau* #1563), by the old-time families of He‘eia as both a rain of their district and the name of the sea that fronts it (www.hawaii.edu/mop/tek-fish/interview/hiilei), and by Moses Nakuina as a wind of Kuaaohe, a Mōkapu Peninsula land division (*Ipumakani a La‘amaomao*, 57). The Mōkapu location suggested by Nakuina is supported by the anonymous author of “Huakai Makaikai ia Koolau” who seems to equate Mololani with what is now called Ulupa‘u Crater: “The eyes continued moving along and met the hill named Hawaii Loa; it looked to be leaning on the shoulder of Mololani” (*Ke Au Okoa*, May 29, 1865). Kamakau and Westervelt seem to be of the same opinion: “Mokapu is the peninsula, and Mololani is shaped like a mountain” (“Moolelo o Hawaii” in *Sites of O‘ahu*, 215); “Mololani is the crater hill which forms the little island (Mōkapu)” (*Legends of Old Honolulu*, 70). The Kāneohe Marine Base “Historic Tour and Guide” attempts to resolve the confusion by explaining that Mololani is the name of the crater hill while Ulupa‘u is the name of the crater itself (mcbh.usmc.mil/tour/mokapu/site8.htm). And Dennis Kawaharada offers yet another possibility: “a rise near Heleloa beach [at the northern end of] Mōkapu Peninsula” (“Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions,” http://pvs.kcc.hawaii.edu/ike/moolelo/voyaging_chiefs_kaneohe_bay).

42. Nā Mokulua are the two islands off shore of Ka‘ōhao, Kailua. Cummins’ *Waimanalo* would have passed Nā Mokulua on its way around Wailea Point to Waimanalo Landing, and it is not hard to understand how the mele’s original text “I ka lawe ha‘aheo a ka mokuahi,” could have “evolved”, over the 40-year gap between its *Elele* publication and the Roberts/Kuhi version, into the still geographically accurate “I ka lawe ha‘aheo a Mokulua.”

43. A complete examination of all that has been written about Mālei is beyond the scope of this essay. She is identified by Pukui as a “demigoddess (*kupua*) believed to have migrated to Oahu

from Kahiki” (*Echo of Our Song*, 162), and she is addressed by Hi’iakaikapoliopole as a “hoahanau” and guardian of Makapu’u:

O wau e hele i na lae ino o Koolau
I na lae makaikai o Moeau,
E hele ka wahine au hula ana o ka pali,
Nana uhu kai o Makapuu,
He Ia ai na Malei, na ka wahine,
E noho ana i ka ulu o ka makani,
I Koolau ke ola, i ka huakai malihini,
Ka naenae i ka weuweu,
Ola i ka pua o ka mauu,
E Malei—e, e uwe kaua,
A e Malei—e, aloha ino no—e.
(*Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, Buke I, Helu 20, Aoao 1, 6 Pepeluali 1862.)

But she is also spoken of as a white stone set up at Makapu’u by ‘Ai’ai, son of Ku’ula: “to her belonged the red and streaked fish. From Makapu’u Point to Hanauma Bay, the uhu fish multiplied under her care...all the chiefs and commoners went to give offerings of lei made from lipoa seaweed. They were placed on the stone Malei with prayers (*Sites of O’ahu*, 259; *Hoku o Hawaii*, 12-31-1929).

John Cummins was regularly associated with the Mālei stone. He is said to have taken her into safekeeping at Mauna Loke and that she was responsible for the multitude of blessings that came to him in the early days of his Waimanalo Sugar Plantation (“Anoai O Oahu Nei,” *Hoku o Hawaii*, 12-31-1929 and 1-7-1930. One account of his funeral includes the following description:

A whitened stone fish god, Cummins’s aumakua, or personal god, stood on a pedestal in the front yard, also draped with lei. Cummins had cherished this shapeless stone since boyhood, moving it from Mauna Loke to his other residences as he lived in them.
(*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 24, 1913.)

Several accounts speak of the attempted return of Mālei to her home at Makapu’u, but she is reported to have disappeared for good in 1921 (*Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, 1-7-1931), perhaps at the hands of a distraught haole lighthouse keeper (McAllister in *Sites of O’ahu*, 258).

44. “Nāu i ‘ōlali ho’ohie ai” echoes a verse from the Kainoa Kawelu version of Nahinu’s “Iā ‘Oe e ka Lā”: “Ma ia mau alanui malihini / Āu i ‘ōlali ho’okahi ai” (Pukui, *Nā Mele Welo*, 128). Another “Iā ‘Oe” echo can be heard in “Waimānalo’s” preceding verse: “‘O ia kai kapu lā ua noa / Ua hehi kū ‘ia aku e Kalani”; it reminds us of “Nāu i a’e nā kapu o Kahiki” and “Hehihehi kū ana i ka nuku ‘ale.” Mrs. A. L. K. clearly had the 1881 Nahinu composition in mind when she composed her inoa nu’a hulu for Kapi’olani. Both chants share diction and imagery common to the Kalākaua literature: the high-born, kapu-treading, effortlessly moving, impossible-to-obstruct nature of the king and his queen.

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