

Hālau Mōhala ‘Ilima
Merrie Monarch 2020
Wāhine Division, Hula ‘Auana
Hula Ho‘okūkū

Aloha Au ‘o ka Luna o Maunakea

Haku Mele: Mrs. Nāwelu. 2nd Paukū of “He Inoa no Kawailahaole.”
Source: *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, February 13, 1862.
Our Text: From *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* as cited above. Translation and orthography: Kīhei de Silva.

Aloha au ‘o ka luna o Maunakea hehene au–ē,
‘O ke aha ka hana a Lilinoe iā Poli‘ahu hehene au–ē,
E kilohi ana i ka nani o Punahoa¹ hehene au–ē,
I hoa hui no‘u ke one o Waiolama² hehene au–ē,
Pulu ihola i ka ua o Hilo he Kanilehua hehene au–ē,
Anu mā‘e‘ele i ka nahele o Pā‘ie‘ie³ hehene au–ē,
Hō mai ke aloha i hoa hele no kahi kanaka ‘ole hehene au–ē,
Honi aku ‘o ke ‘ala o ke kūpaoa hehene au–ē,
I kuhi au ‘o nā kaikuahine ‘a‘ala o ‘Aiwohikupua⁴ hehene au–ē,
‘O nā wāhine kia manu o ka uka i ‘Ōla‘a⁵ hehene au–ē,
A nānā ana i ka nahele o Kaho‘okū⁶ hehene au–ē,
Pakele mai hala i ka pāhoehoe o Kauanahunahu⁷ hehene au–ē,
Pa‘a ‘ē i nā lehua o Pū‘ena‘ena⁸ hehene au–ē,
‘Ū–hū–hehene au–ē.

I am enamored of the heights of Maunakea, hehene au–ē,
What is Lilinoe doing to Poli‘ahu? hehene au–ē,
Gazing at the beauty of Punahoa, hehene au–ē,
The sands of Waiolama are a friend for me to meet with, hehene au–ē,
Drenched in the rain of Hilo, a Kanilehua, hehene au–ē,
Delightfully chilled in the forest of Pā‘ie‘ie, hehene au–ē,
Bring your love here as a traveling companion in lands without kānaka, hehene au–ē,
Breathing the kūpaoa fragrance, hehene au–ē,
I imagine it is the fragrant sisters of ‘Aiwohikupua, hehene au–ē,
The bird-catching women of the uplands at ‘Ōla‘a, hehene au–ē,
Attending to the forest of Ho‘okū, hehene au–ē,
Escaping, leaving behind the pāhoehoe of Kauanahunahu, hehene au–ē,
Already embraced by the lehua of Pū‘ena‘ena, hehene au–ē,
‘U–hū–hehene au–ē!

This mele is actually the second of eight paukū composed for Oliver Kawailaha‘ole Stillman and submitted to the nūpepa *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* on February 8, 1862, exactly a year after his birth and in apparent commemoration of that important day. The complete, eight-verse

composition is entitled “He Inoa no Kawailahaole” and seems to have been written as a group assignment that adhered to the following template:

First line: Aloha au o ka luna o _____ hehene au–e
Next 12-14 lines: _____ hehene au–e
Last line: U–hu–hehene au–e

Some leeway in length was apparently allowed – one paukū is 13 lines long, five are 14, and two are 15 – but the place-to-place movement and celebratory tone of each verse is remarkably similar and suggests that the eight poets had done more than fill in the required blanks. They seem to have been faithful collaborators who were close to each other, close to the boy, and close to his mother who was the kaukau ali‘i Kamaka Stillman. “Mrs. Kamaka,” in fact, is named as the author of the first paukū – “Aloha au o ka luna o Waialeale hehene au–e” – and it is my as yet undocumented suspicion that the other poets (all but three of them are identified as “Mrs.”) were either family members or dear friends.

We know quite a bit about Kamaka, her Kohala roots, Kamehameha ties, and highly regarded place in Hawaiian society for the 101 years of her life. She was born in ‘Āwini on July 10, 1823. Her full name, Oukamakaokawaukeioiopiopio (‘Ō‘ū-ka-maka-o-ka-wauke-‘oi-‘ōpiopio, Nip the bud of the wauke while it is very young), belongs to Alapa‘i-nui’s prediction that Kamehameha I would rise to unprecedented power if not “plucked” at birth. It was Kaha‘ōpūlani, Kamaka’s great-great-grandmother, who took the newborn into hiding at ‘Āwini, nursed him alongside her own daughter Kuakāne, and kept him safe in the early years of his life. We know that Kamaka was taken in hānai by Kanaha and his wife, that she moved to Honolulu at the behest of Ka‘ahumanu, and that she became a favorite in the royal courts of the mid- and late-monarchy because of her gracious nature:

Ua hanau ia o Mrs. Kamaka Stillman ma Honokane, Awini, Kohala, Hawaii, ma ka la 10 o Iulai, 1823; he eha makahiki mahope iho o ka make ana o ka Na‘i Aupuni Kamehameha I. He moopuna kualua oia na ke kaukualii Kahaopulani, ka mea nana i hanai ia Kamehameha, a i hoopakele iaia, i ka wa a Alapai-nui ke alii e imi ana e pepehi iaia.

Iloko o kona mau la kamalii, ua hanaiia no o Mrs. Kamaka Stillman malaila e kona mau makua hanai, oia o Kanaha ame kana wahine, a i kona nui ana ae, i laweia mai ai oia no Honolulu nei, e ka Moi-wahine Kaahumanu, me kona lilo i punahele imua o ke aloalii, a i makemakeia mamuli o kona mau ano maikai. (“Hiamoe o Kamaka Stillman Iloko o ka Maha,” *Kuokoa*, July 31, 1924.)

We also know that Kamaka was thought of as keeper of knowledge – “he kupuna wahine i paa na moolelo kahiko o na alii kahiko” (“Ua Hala o Mrs. Kamaka Stillman,” *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, Aug. 7, 1924). She incited a flurry of letters to the editor (some outraged, some supportive) in May 1911 when she wrote to *Ke Au Hou* in order to correct a February 10 *Kuokoa* reprint of Kamakau’s contention that Nae‘ole was responsible for saving the infant Kamehameha from Alapa‘i-nui. Kamaka asks forgiveness for the tardiness of her response and insists on setting the record straight on several counts: Nae‘ole did not rescue Kamehameha; Kamehameha las born at ‘Āinakea (not Kokoiki, or Hālawa, or in a canoe); Keku‘iapo‘iwa and Keōua learned

of the ‘ō‘ū-plot and arranged for him to be taken by kūkini to the chiefess Kaha‘ōpūlani at ‘Āwini; Kamehameha was raised there at the breast of Kaha‘ōpūlani until she personally took him to Keōua to live at Hālawa. It is all here, she says, in the royal genealogy of Kaha‘ōpūlani beginning with Kauhi‘aimokuakama who dwelt with Kaleimakali‘i. “O keia ka mea pololei, a pehea la i loa ole ai? *This is the truth*, she writes, *and why is it not known?* (“He Pane na ‘O-u-ka-maka-o-ka-wauke-oi-opioio,” *Ke Au Hou*, May 10, 1911).

Finally, we know that Kamaka was a celebrated horsewoman and pā‘ū rider of great skill and elegance. Even in her eighties, her “kulana hiehie i ka hololio” exceeded that of much younger women.

He 16 makahiki nei i hala, i ka manawa he 86 na makahiki o Mrs. Stillman ia wa, oia kekahi o na wahine holo pa-u ma na alanui o keia kulanakauhale me ka nui o kona mahaloia e na mea apau, no kona kulana hiehie i ka hololio, i oi aku imua o na wahine opioio. (“XXX Kamaka XXX Ka Haneri Makahiki,” *Kuokoa*, Jan. 11, 1923.)

Considerably less is known about Kamaka’s son, Oliver Kawailaha‘ole Stillman. He was born on February 8, 1861, and he died on Oct. 23, 1925, surviving his mother by just a year. He had two older sisters but seems to have been the first of the four acknowledged children of Kamaka and Henry Martyn Stillman. His parents were married in 1860 after Henry (a childhood classmate and, later, a banking associate of Charles Reed Bishop) had been in Hawai‘i for about a decade.

Oliver’s two older sisters were Rose Kapuakomela, born in 1857, and Katherine Keaopolohiwa, born in 1859. Rose’s *Kuokoa* obituary identifies her father as Piliwanui (“Ua Hala me ke Aloha Nui Ia,” Jan. 24, 1919), but she is named in several genealogy websites as the daughter of Kamaka and William Wond. Katherine is listed as Kamaka’s only child in Kamaka’s first nūpepa genealogy (“He Pane...,” *Ke Au Hou*, May 10, 1911) but is left out of the corrected version (“He Hooponopono Moo-Kuauhau,” *Ke Au Hou*, June 7, 1911) in which five children are named: Rose Kapuakomela (Mrs. McInerny), Oliver Kawailahaole, Charles Kahokuauokekai (listed elsewhere as Charles Keonaona), Jennie Kapahukalaunu (Mrs. Smythe), and Helen Anianiku (Mrs. Cushingham).

Katherine’s obituary identifies her as Katherine Stillman Drew, “a daughter of Mrs. Kamaka Stillman” (“Mrs. K.S. Drew Dies after an Operation,” *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, August 17, 1925), but neither she nor Rose is named in a notice of the settlement of Henry Stillman’s estate in 1905; the four heirs are “his four children, viz. Oliver Stillman, Charles Stillman, Jennie K. Smythe, and Helen A. Holt.”⁹ Katherine is said to have been prominent in royal circles in the closing years of the Kamehameha dynasty; she was “one of Queen Emma’s favorite maids of honor” (“Drew,” *Star Bulletin*, 1925).

Katherine was honored in two lengthy mele inoa that were published in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* in the months preceding the February 1862 publication of her brother’s “He Inoa no Kawailahaole.” The first of these, “He Mele no Keaopolohiwa,” was published on Oct. 17, 1861, and consists of eight paukū of about 20 lines each. The second, “He Inoa no Keaopolohiwa,” was published on Jan. 2, 1862, and consists of nine paukū, also of about 20 lines each. Unlike

Oliver’s first-birthday mele inoa, neither of Katherine’s coincides with her own August 29 lā hānau. Like “Kawailahaole,” her two mele follow a common-assignment template:

First line:	Keapolohiwa he inoa
Second line:	_____ he makua
Third line:	(E) Ho‘i _____
20th/last line:	O Keapolipolipo he inoa

Like “Kawailahaole,” the combined 17 paukū of her two mele inoa were composed, in large part, by women (“Mrs. _____”), among them Mrs. Kamaka herself. Finally, a number these wāhine haku mele were also involved in composing verses for Oliver’s mele inoa: Mrs. Kamaka, Mrs. Kaho‘ohulimoku, Mrs. K. Keamoku, Mrs. John Mele, Mrs. Waihoikaea, and our own Mrs. Nāwelu, the author of “Aloha Au ‘o ka Luna o Maunakea.”

We don’t understand the circumstances that resulted in the five-month flurry of inner-circle writing that resulted in these three mele inoa. Nor do we understand why none were published later (if any were even composed) for Charles, Jennie, and Helen. Nor do we understand the family dynamics that led to the back-and-forth, inclusion-exclusion of Katherine Keapolohiwa and Rose Kapuakomela.

What is clear from the published record, particularly in nūpepa Hawai‘i, is that the Stillman family fades almost completely from view in the half-century after “Kawailahaole.” It is only Mrs. Kamaka herself who regains our attention for correcting Kamakau in 1911, for her 100th birthday celebration in 1923, and for the obituary-tributes that follow her death in 1924.

We know a few little things about Oliver Kawailaha‘ole. We know from the Stillman family website that he was “an authority on Hawaiian land titles” (stillman.org/g1819), and we know from two short news articles and an introductory note to a land commission document, that he was:

- until 1893, a kupakako (clerk/bookkeeper) at the kingdom’s Hale Dute “Nuhou Kuloko,” *Hawaii Holomua*, May 13, 1893)
- in 1916, a bookkeeper in the Honolulu City sewer department (“City Employees Rejoice,” *Star Bulletin* June 29, 1916)
- at a later, unspecified time, a title clerk at the Territorial Office of the Commissioner of Public Lands (“Indices of Awards Made by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles” (Star Bulletin Press, 1929).

He is also mentioned briefly in nūpepa articles identifying him as:

- a district 3 “Luna Nana” (ballot inspector) for the 1892 elections (“Hoolaha Koho Balota,” *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, Oct. 3, 1892)
- one of the dignitaries present at Queen Kapi‘olani’s funeral (“Ka Lawea ana mai o ke Kino,” *Kuokoa*, June 30, 1899)
- a founding member, in 1903, of Kūhiō’s ‘Ahahui Kamehameha (“Ka Lani Alii Jonah Kuhio...,” *Kuokoa*, Jan. 20, 1922).

In addition to these mea hunahuna, we know one thing about Oliver that is considerably more detailed and revealing of his voice and personality. As a young man, he served Princess Ruth Ke‘elikōlani and went with her to Hilo in August 1881 when she was asked to intercede with Pele in the Maunaloa eruption that was threatening the town. George Kanahale offers the following account of this intercession, “as told by Ruth’s longtime bookkeeper, Oliver Kawailahaole Stillman”:

Things were looking desperate for Hilo, as the lava came through the forest, trees would burn. Everything went before the hot lava.

We went to see it one morning when it was three quarters of a mile from Hilo near the stone wall of a sugar mill. I went back and told Ruth about it.

She didn’t do anything for a little while, as she sat quietly musing. Then she said, “I wonder if there are any silk handkerchiefs in Hilo. Go and get me as many as you can,” she told me.

I bought out the town and got some 30 of them mostly from Turner’s Dry Goods Store. I took them to Ruth.

“Now bring me a bottle of brandy,” she said and gave me the money for it. I brought a quart of brandy to her.

“Now,” she announced, “I am going to the flow.”

It was very dramatic. I remember it clearly because I was quite concerned for the Princess who wasn’t in any too good health.

...

When we got to the flow it was advancing slowly but unmistakably. The Princess walked to the flow, and I heard her give a long prayer. I was about 20 ft. away from her.

Then she took off her own red silk handkerchief and threw it into the red hot lava. Pele likes red silk.

Then Ruth took the other handkerchiefs and did the same thing.

After the handkerchiefs were all gone she took the brandy bottle and broke it by smashing it on the hot lava. It blazed into fire right away. Then she prayed again to Pele.

We left the fire then and went to the tents where we spent the night.

Early the next morning all of us went to the lava flow and we couldn’t believe our eyes. The flow had stopped right there. Suddenly our feelings towards the Princess changed. We were one and all awed. The whole thing was awe-inspiring.

(George Kanahale, *Pauahi*, 1986, pps. 159-60; reputedly from an interview with Kristin Zambuka, *The High Chiefess Ruth Keelikolani*, 1972, pps. 69-70.)

It is a bit difficult to imagine Oliver Stillman as Ruth’s “longtime” bookkeeper since she died two years later, and he was only 20 years old at the time of the Hilo incident. But we can still infer that his association with Ke‘elikōlani derived from his mother’s kaukau ali‘i status and loyalty to the Kamehameha family. We can also infer that Oliver was trained early-on as a keeper

of records and accounts, and that both his status and training served him well, in a variety of mostly small ways, throughout the remainder of his life.

The last thing we know from the public record is that Oliver Stillman is the great-great-grandfather of our dear friend Amy Ku‘uleialoha Stillman. Oliver K. Stillman married Nancy Molteno. Their son Frank Molteno Stillman married Amy Stratemeyer. Their son George Stillman married Caroline Kaeo. Amy Stillman (PhD. and ethnomusicologist extraordinaire) is their daughter. I can’t help but think that she embodies the brilliance of Mrs. Kamaka (her kupuna wahine kuakolu) and the circle of ladies who composed “He Inoa no Kawailahaole” for little Oliver K.

So: we have this mele inoa for a man who embodies both sides of the term “laha ‘ole,” who is both uncommon and not widely-known. All eight paukū of his mele celebrate high places and the beauties found there and below. Each moves in māka‘ika‘i fashion from location to location; each includes veiled expressions of opposition and interference (often in the form of rain or wind; sometimes in the guise of place names), and almost all end in clear affirmation of life and resilience for the boy and his guardians.¹⁰ There is a sometimes obvious, sometimes veiled ferocity in all eight, the ferocity of mothers who defend their own at all costs. But there is also no denying the defenders’ merriment. The boy is the irresistible, apparently unending source of their “hehene auē” and “‘uhū, hehene auē” – of their laughter, cooing, exclaiming, and sighing.

Mrs. Nāwelu’s tightly-composed second paukū of “He Inoa no Kawailahaole” opens with Poli‘ahu and Lilinoe (female guardians, of course) on the beloved heights of Maunakea. *And what are they doing?* They are keeping a watchful, admiring eye on the land below. On the beautiful sands of companionship and light – Punahoa and Waiolama – that embrace Hilo Bay from north to south. They are keeping an eye, too, on the Kanilehua rain that adorns all of Hilo and that brings a mā‘e‘ele chill of intoxicating numbness and love to the nearby forest of Pā‘ie‘ie. This, we gather, is the context of love into which Kawailaha‘ole is born: it is watched over from the wao akua above, and it is moistened, thrilled, united, and consummated in the wao kanaka below.

And what of the desolate places that lie beyond; what of the double-dealing ‘Aiwohikupuas and the biting rains? Kawailaha‘ole will carry his Hilo origins with him; they will be his traveling companions in those seemingly friendless lands. And he will be taken-up there, as well, by the overwhelming fragrance of the Maile Sisters who will direct him to the bird-feather sanctuary of Paliuli, ‘Ōla‘a. He will establish himself at Kaho‘okū, aware of Kauanahunahu but secure in the knowledge that he is already held fast in the embrace of the fiery lehua of Pū‘ena‘ena.

It’s obvious that Mrs. Nāwelu isn’t fooling around. I have no idea how old she was when she composed her paukū, but for some reason I keep thinking of Alice Namakelua making a point with her cane. *Pahupahu: ē Kawailaha‘ole ē, we’ve got your back. Pahupahu: Poli‘ahu mā are above; Kanilehua mā are below; Mailekaluhea mā are on the Puna side; and Aunty mā are here at home. Pahupahu: hehene auē!*

* * * * *

Our daughter Kapalai found this mele while she was on one of her many nūpepa searches for voices that have fallen silent and need to be heard again. She gave it a leo, choreographed it as a hula noho kuhi lima, and taught it to her hula sisters in our Papa ‘Āpiki. All of us went to the Mauna in November, slept in our cars, helped in the food and kūpuna tents, and danced this for the first time as part of our ho‘okupu on the Alahulukupuna for those kūpuna. For Auntie mā who’ve got our backs – and for Poli‘ahu mā who’ve got theirs.

There was no question that we’d do this again for them at Merrie Monarch, both up there and down below. The unexpected thing is that we are putting it to slack key and dancing it in ‘Auana. We are hoping that it will bring stillness and delight.

NOTES:

¹ Pukui’s *Place Names* identifies Punahoa I and II as land sections in the Hilo quadrant of Hawaii Island (194). It is most frequently described in our mo‘olelo as a Hilo Bay canoe landing adjacent to Kaipalaoa and directly below Ka‘ūmana (Fornander, *Collection IV*, “Legend of Kana and Niheu,” 444; “Legend of Kapuaokaoheloai,” 541). Waiānuenuē is the first thing one sees upon coming ashore at Punahoa (Fornander *IV*, “Kauaokaoheloai,” 547); the two surfing spots there are Huia and Hikanui (Kamakau, “Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I,” *Kuokoa*, March 16, 1861): those waters were famous for nehu fishing, and a rain there is thus named “Ua-huki-heenehu” (Nakuina, *Moolelo Hawaii no Pakaa...*, 97, 99). The literal meaning of *Punahoa*, as given by Pukui, is “companion spring,” and this is perhaps the reason for its inclusion in a number of mele inoa and mele aloha as emblematic of romantic love. For example:

Hoi mai ke aloha
My sweet lei lehua,
E lei i ke one o Punahoa,
He hoa no oe i ka wai kilihune
I ka wai huihui o Hilo Bay
(paukū 4 of “Come Darling Lei Lehua,” in *Ka Buke o na Leo Mele Hawaii*, 1888, p. 94).

² Waiolama, at the time of the composition of “Kawailahaole,” was the kipikipi-style taro land, stream, and beach between Waiākea and Hilo town; it is now the open space and soccer fields in the bayfront area (Peter Young, “Images of Old Hawai‘i – Waiolama,” <http://imagesofoldhawaii.com/waiolama/>.) It was known for its sparkling sands – “Ke one ‘anapa o Waiolama” (Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, #1773) – and this became a favorite expression (sometimes with *‘anapa*, and sometimes without) in 19th-century mele, particularly in kanikau. We note, in the two excerpts below, that Waiolama is paired with Punahoa, and, that, in the first excerpt, both sands engage with the Kanilehua rain. This is very much in keeping with the early lines of “Aloha au ‘o ka Luna o Maunakea” and demonstrates the familiarity of all three haku mele, Mrs. Nāwelu among them, with the poetic cannon of their day: they knew how to haku-into-lei the beloved phrases expected of them by their well-versed audiences.

Kuu kaikamahine mai ka ua kanilehua,
E hehi ana i ke one o Waiolama
E wili okai ana i ke one hanana o Punahoa
(“Kanikau Aloha no Mrs. Maleka Ii,” *Kuokoa*, Nov. 1, 1861)

Kuu hoa mai na pali o Hilo.
Mai ka piha kanaka o Punahoa,
Mai ke one anapa o Waiolama
("Kanikau no Kawai," *Kuokoa*, June 15, 1872).

Peter Young notes that: "The ali'i Ruth Ke'elikōlani had a house near the bay at Waiolama, and spent time there during her well-known 1880-81 visit to Pele, at which time it was said she successfully stopped an advancing lava flow..." ("Images of Old Hawai'i – Waiolama"). Oliver Kawaihaha'ole Stillman was with her then, 19 years after his mele inoa paid homage to that same Waiolama.

³ Pukui identifies Pā'ie'ie as a land near Pana'ewa, Hilo, Hawai'i, and gives its literal meaning as "'ie'ie vine enclosure" (*Place Names*, 175). The phrase "ka nahele o Pā'ie'ie" appears regularly in the mele of the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, sometimes as an honorific, sometimes in reference to the burdens of love (especially in death), and sometimes as a metaphor of the ties that bind us in everlasting affection. The first of these uses is clearly evident in "He Inoa no Maria Kulamanu Kaonowai" where the forest of Pā'ie'ie is compared to a silk kīhei worn by a fragrant and sparkling Kulamanu:

Onohi daimana o Maunakea i ka ua a ka naulu
Kihei silika ka nahele o Paieie,
Ku mai Kulamanu, kahiko i ke ala me ke onaona
(*Kuokoa*, Feb. 4, 1871).

The second is equally evident in the kanikau "Kuu Lei Rose Ua Hala" where the poet compares his loss to the grief-enveloping, love-smiting rains of that forest:

[Ka] ua pehi puhala i ka maka o ka opua
Ke loku mai la i ka nahele o Paieie
Ua pa-ia-au i ko aloha e—
(*Kuokoa*, Dec. 15, 1894).

And the third is beautifully expressed in the compounding of *pili* and *pipipili* in "He Mau Mele Kanikau no Uilama Olo":

Maule au i ke aloha ia oe i kahi a kaua e haele ai
E pili ai me ka lani aloha o kaua
Pipipili aku kaua o ka nahele o Paieie
(*Kuokoa*, April 11, 1902).

"Anu mā'e'ele i ka nahele o Pā'ie'ie" – the Pā'ie'ie reference in our mele for Kawaihaha'ole – combines elements of the first and last of these mele excerpts: the forest is a thing of great beauty and high appeal, and it wraps one up in the intoxicating, tingling numbness of love. Mrs. Nāwelu's line is also reminiscent of a song taught to us by Kawai Cockett, "Aia i Kumukahi ka Lā i Luna o ka Lani," whose chorus employs the same imagery:

Pulu au mā'e'ele i ka ua lā
Kilikilihune i ka nahele lā
Ho'opulu ana i ka palai
(Kimo Keaulana, *Puke Mele*, 56, and MS Grp 329, 4.29, Bishop Museum Archives)

⁴ ‘Aiwohikupua, the promise-breaking Lothario of S.N. Hale‘ole’s *Lāieikawai*, seems out of place in a mele that has only been focused, thus far, on positive relationships. ‘Aiwohi fails twice with Lā‘ieikawai, strays with Hinaikamalama, and cheats on Poli‘ahu – all to his ultimate demise at Poli‘ahu’s hot-n-cold hands. But ‘Aiwohi is secondary, in our mele, to his fragrant Maile Sisters (Maileha‘iwale, Mailekaluhea, Mailelauli‘i, and Mailepākaha) who, with their fifth sister Kahalaomāpuana, establish themselves as the faithful, undeterred guardians of Lā‘ieikawai at Paliuli. “Faithful, undeterred guardians” seems to be the key to understanding this section of Mrs. Nāwelu’s “Aloha Au ‘o ka Luna o Maunakea.” five of the eight composers of this eight paukū mele are identified as “Mrs.,” and it is quite possible that the other three are also women. I think of them as ladies-at-arms who, with Mrs. Kamaka Stillman form an inner circle of “kaikuahine ‘a‘ala,” of “wahine kia manu” who aren’t about to permit any disruption to the harmony into which Oliver Kawailaha‘ole Stillman is born. The Maile Sisters and the Kamaka cohort are there as foils to any ‘Aiwohikupua foolery.

We find it revealing that Mrs. Nāwelu was alluding here to S. N. Hale‘ole’s novel a year before its release and at the same time that it was appearing in serialized form in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Kuokoa*. She was either already familiar with the mo‘olelo of Lā‘ieikawai, or very much on top of the serialized version. Or both. In any case, she was several steps ahead of the writers of her era. The next mention of ‘Aiwohikupua and his “kaikuahine ‘a‘ala” (with one exception discussed in n.8 below) does not appear until 1868, and it doesn’t become a “thing” until the 1880s and 1890s when it was used as a playful, insider’s substitute for the word “maile.” One did not come right out and say “maile.” Instead, one referred to maile with the Hale‘ole reference:

“Ua kahikoia [lakou] i na kaikuahine aala o Aiwohikupua.” (In “Ka Ike Ana i ka Ehukai Olalo,” *Ke Au Okoa*, June 25, 1868)

“E halawai ana no oe [i laila] i na lauae aala o ka uka waokele [a me] na kaikuahine aala o Aiwohikupua.” (In “Mea Hunahuna no ke Kahua Mai Lepera...,” *Kuokoa*, Feb. 9, 1889)

“E lawe no hoi oe i na kaikuahine o Aiwohikupua i ka hele a mapu i ka ihu.” (In “He Halawai Mahalo i ke Kuhina Kalaiaina,” *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, December 14, 1889).

⁵ I interpret the “wahine kia manu” (bird-catching, feather-gathering women) of this line as adding to the guardian-imagery of the previous line. Kahalaomāpuana and the Maile Sisters are the women who protect Lā‘ieikawai in her bird-resplendent home in Paliuli, ‘Ōla‘a. Her house is thatched with bird feathers; inside, she rests on the wings of birds, and outside, she is watched over by even more birds. The kaikuahine, in turn, are the keepers of all these “feathers” and the woman they adorn. I would argue that these wahine kia manu are, by extension, Mrs. Nāwelu mā: the keepers of the sanctity of Mrs. Kamaka, her home, and her boy.

“Kia manu” is a familiar phrase in mele inoa; it is most recognizable in “Ea mai ke ali‘i kia manu” (“Kalākaua he Inoa”) as well as in “Holo ka o i ke kia manu” (“He Mele no Kualī‘i”) and “Keiki akamai i ke kia manu” (“He Wehi no ka Moho Wilikoki”). The phrase occurs most frequently in an ‘Ōla‘a or Kīlauea context, as in a kanikau for S.W. Kanalu: “Hala aku la ‘oe me Hiku i ka nahele / I ke kia manu i ka uka i ‘Ōla‘a” (*Kuokoa*, Aug. 4, 1866). It is often qualified by the words “kanaka,” “po‘e,” and “keiki,” but Mrs. Nāwelu’s use of “wahine kia manu” is almost unprecedented (the one exception is

discussed in n.8 below) and adds, I think, to the female-guardian undercurrents of her mele.

⁶ Kaho‘okū is one of those once-familiar place names that has long been lost to most of us. The 1875 boundary certificate for ‘Ōla‘a describes Kaho‘okū as “a cut in the road...where neneleau trees are growing and the houses at Kanekoa can first be seen coming down from Volcano” (cited by Kepā and Onaona Maly, *He Mo‘olelo ‘Āina: A Cultural Study of the Pu‘u Maka‘ala NAR*, Kumu Pono Associates, 2004, p. 63). The *PapakiloDatabase, Place Names: Kapu‘euhi* is a little more helpful. It explains that Kapu‘euhi is the old name for Glenwood and that Kaho‘okū is on the Kea‘au-‘Ōla‘a boundary just mauka of Kapu‘euhi. Ulukau’s *Inoa ‘Āina Hawai‘i* map for Kaho‘okū is the most helpful, in a depressing sort of way: Kaho‘okū is at the edge of what is now Eden Roc subdivision, between Fern Acres and Fern Forest, on the mauka side of Highway 11 and on the volcano side of Mountain View. According to *Google Maps*, Madame’s Cathouse on Ulei St. is the nearest site of contemporary significance.

It is evident that Kaho‘okū was once well-known; the name appears in more than a half-dozen mele inoa and kanikau of the 1860s, where it is associated with beauty, cold, ‘ōhi‘a lehua, long journeys, obstruction, and the pelting rain called Kauanahunahu. For example:

E mahalo ana au i ka nani o Kahooku
Hooma mai i na papa lau ohia o Papalauahi...
Make maele i ke anu o Kahooku
Ua neki wale i ka ino o ka ua nahunahu
 (“He Mele no Kawaikini,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, Oct. 17, 1861)

Owau e hele i kanahale Olaa
E ke‘a mai ana ke anu i Kahooku
He lipo aku ia na Kiakau—nu
 (“No Ke‘elikolani, Muolaulani Ko Inoa,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, May 7, 1863)

Aue kuu kane, kuu kane ho—i
Mai ka piina loa la o Kahooku
Hoomaha aku i Kauanahunahu
 (“He Kanikau Aloha no E. Makaiolu,” *Ke Au Okoa*, Nov. 27, 1865).

⁷ As might be expected, Kauanahunahu (the pelting, biting rain) is not often used in Hawaiian poetry as a carrier of pleasant connotations. We are most familiar with the name as it appears in “Nani Haili Pō i ka Lehua,” the Konia-attributed mele inoa for her hānai daughter Lili‘u in which romance is apparently thwarted by difficulties of a rainy, nahunahu kind:

‘Ike ole au i nā hala o Halaaniani
I ke ālai ‘ia e ka ua Nahunahu
E ake au e ho‘i mai ka Pu‘ulena e pili
E moe aloha māua me ka moani
 (Hui Hānai, *The Queen’s Songbook*, 298).

Kauanahunahu appears regularly in mele of the mid-19th century often in conjunction with Kaho'okū and often in the same context of difficulty and obstruction. For example:

Hewa i ka wai i hukia e Uwekahuna
I ke ai kakaia e Kahooku
Ku Wahinekapu manawaino ia Kauanahunahu
(“He Inoa no Kamehameha,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, Oct 3, 1861)

Ua eha Omaolaa ke uwe nei i ke anu
I ke anu hoi o Kauanahunahu
(“He Mele Inoa Keia no Mele Kanoolehua,” *Kuokoa*, June 27, 1872).

Sometimes, however, Kauanahunahu and Kaho'okū can share an almost intimate relationship as in “He Mele Inoa no Kamaka” where Kaho'okū is described as the bird-catcher of 'Ōla'a for whom the Uanahunahu is reserved, almost as a badge of honor. He is the pride of the mauna, and his bird-catching-gum holds fast regardless of rain or sun:

Kapu maila Kauanahunahu iā Kaho[o]ku
'O ia ala no ka 'oi kelakela o nā mauna
He kia manu no ka nahele i 'Ōla'a
He mamao he kēpau pipili i ka ua me ka lā
'A'ole hehe'e i ka ua Kanilehua.
(In the journal of S. E. K. Papa'ai, b. in Puna, 1826. Keliko Hoe, “S. E. K. Papa'ai: A Study in the Survival of Maoli Beliefs in Mele of the 19th Century,” MA Thesis, UH Mānoa Dept. of Religion, May, 2004, pps, 81, 107).

⁸ Pū'ena'ena is, by far, the most obscure of our mele's place names. It is probably a contraction of Pu'u 'Ena'ena which is listed in Ulukau's *Inoa 'Āina* database as a “Puna district boundary point and place” in the ahupua'a of Kahauale'a, “between Pohakuloa and Kalaniaauli on the Kahauale'a-Waikahekaheike (Kea'au today) boundary.” Before leaping to Pōhakuloa Training Area conclusions, we should note that Kahauale'a is ma kai of Volcano and adjacent to Hōlei Pali along the old Chain of Craters Road. The only nūpepa references to either version of the name are to be found in a mele inoa, a kanikau, and in a mele “uhane kamailio.” The mele inoa is Nāwelu's for Kawailaha'ole; the kanikau is for P. Kamakanana:

Aloha ka piina o Kaluaopele
Hiki aku kua i Omaolaulau
Lalau wale ana ia oe i Puenaena
(“Kanikau Aloha no P. Kamakanana,” *Kuokoa*, Sept. 24, 1864)

And the mele “uhane kamailio” (spirit conversation?) is for Mrs. Kamakamahu. An entire section of this mele (its full title is “He Uhane Kamakamailio no Mrs. Kamakamahu”) contains the following very familiar lines that have been lifted, almost without variation, from the Nāwelu composition of three months prior:

Pulu iho la i ka ua o Hilo he kanilehua,
 Kuhi au o na kaikuahine aala o Aiwohikupua,
 O na wahine kia manu i ka o uka o Laa,
 E uhai ana i ka nahele o Kahooku,
 Pakele mai Pahee i ka pahoehoe o Kauanahunahu
 Kui aku i na lei lehua Puenaena a papahi ke poo
 (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, May 15, 1862).

Duplication of this kind is relatively common in Hawaiian poetry, although maybe not in such a big chunk. We honor the haku mele of earlier days and demonstrate knowledge of their work by including some of their familiar flowers in our own newly-fashioned lei. But the reasons for this 6-line Kamakamahu lift also seem to rest on the close relationships and collaborative efforts of a hui of now-forgotten poets.

- This mele was submitted on May 15, 1862, to *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* by “J. J.W, Kaoliko, kakauolelo” of Kauluwela, Honolulu.
- This is the same “Kaoliko, kakauolelo” who submitted the eight paukū of “Kawailaha‘ole” to *Ka Hoku* for publication on Feb. 13 of the same year.
- This is the same “Kaoliko, kakauolelo” who submitted “He Mele no Keaopolohiwa” and “He Inoa no Keaopolohiwa” (both for Oliver Kawailaha‘ole’s older sister Katherine Keaopolohiwa) to the same nūpepa for publication on Oct 17, 1861, and Jan. 2, 1862. Of the 17 paukū in this pair of mele inoa, at least ten were written by a “Mrs,” and six of these women also composed paukū in “He Inoa no Kawailahaole.”
- The Mrs. Kamakamahu of this “kamailio” is, in all likelihood, the same Mrs Kamakamahu who composed the last paukū of “He Inoa no Keaopolohiwa.”

What we have then, is a group of poets (and Kaoliko, their secretary/recorder) affiliated with Kamaka Stillman – women, for the most part, who composed beautiful, erudite mele for two of the Stillman children and, possibly, for each other. They were poets who composed back and forth in shared language and insider references. Further research into this cohort might reveal additional details and more exact relationships (Kaoliko, for example, might be the same person listed as “kakauolelo” in Kaumakapili Church documents of the period), but we have fascinating evidence, here, of the thinking, interactions, common vocabularies, and favorite imagery of a little-known, mid-19 century hui haku mele. We have the ali‘i pi‘i mauna poets of Emma, the Lili‘u muses at Hāmoa, the Kalākaua kālai‘āina poets, Nā Lani ‘Ehā, the loialiki of *Buke Mele Lāhui*. And here, on a smaller scale, we have the Kamaka Stillman cohort of ‘anakē.

⁹“Settlement of Estate,” https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/hihouml_ferdinand_ver01/data/sn85047084/00294557465/1906012001/0211.pdf.

¹⁰ The one exception is Kamaka’s own first paukū for Wai‘ale‘ale; it ends with an ambiguous reference to kapa-rending sand crabs (“ohiki haehae kapa o Waiolono”) that strikes me as much more fierce than friendly.

