

Hālau Mōhala ‘Ilima  
Merrie Monarch 2024  
Wāhine Division, Hula Kahiko  
**Hula Ho‘okūkū**

## **He Inoa no Henelika**

*Haku Mele:* Mrs. Lilia.

*Source:* “He Inoa no Henelika,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 10 April, 1862.

*Our Text:* Ours is the fifth of ten mele inoa published in this issue of the nūpepa under the single title, “He Inoa no Henelika.” Since all begin with “‘Auhea wale ana ‘oe,” they can be identified by their different second lines. Ours is “E ka ua Pa‘ūpili.” Each mele has its own author; Mrs. Lilia is ours.

*Translation:* (and orthographic editing) Kīhei de Silva.

### The Short Explanation

Henelika is leaving Lahaina. The circumstances of her departure are indicated by the Pa‘ūpili rain and the Kaua‘ula wind: the one holds her in loving embrace; the other pushes her on her way.

We find Henelika at the Lahaina landing where the tranquility of Waiokila and the wrapping/binding surf of ‘Uo suggest that the initial tension between pili and kula‘i has eased: la‘i and ‘uo are now at work. She boards a small boat that bounces her through the waves to the mokuahi *Kīlauea*. The ship hauls in its lines, tightens its rigging, powers-up its propellor, and takes her away.

We are left with the echo of “E ‘uo ‘oe e ke hoa” and “Aliolio ka ‘alihi” – words that bring comfort to the minamina of her departure. The first reminds Henelika that she should bind-up those things that she treasures – and that she is bound-up by them as well. The second, with its “‘Au‘a ‘ia” undertones, speaks not only of rigging, but of the ‘alihi cords that hold in place a different kind of net, a net of love and identity. You are leaving, but you are, nevertheless, held fast.

### The Long Version

Let’s start with the mystery, before it becomes the elephant in the room. You would think that the identity of “Henelika” is find-out-able. After all, there are a total of 16 mele inoa composed for her<sup>1</sup> in 1862, six of them published on March 13 in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* under the title “He Inoa no Henelika,” and ten more on April 10, also in the same paper under the same title. All 16 of these are “signed” by their haku mele, and all of the first set of six provide that many

more names in their second lines: “O (name) no he makua.” I’ve waded through the Papakilo database – the nūpepa and genealogy indexes in particular – looking for connections of any kind between these 19 names (three authors show up twice). And I’ve come up empty-handed. Come up with nothing even close to what can be ascertained in similar multi-author mele inoa of the period. For example, “He Inoa no Keapolohiwa” (same nūpepa, two sets of eight and ten mele under the same title on 17 Oct., 1861 and 2 Jan., 1862) reveals itself, after not too much Papakilo-wading, to have been composed by Mrs. Kamaka (Stillman) and her hoa haku mele for Katherine Keapolohiwa, who is Kamaka’s daughter and the older sister of Oliver Kawailahaole for whom a similar set of eight multi-author mele – “He Inoa no Kawailahaole” – was published a year later (13 Feb., 1862) in the same *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*.

But no.

Henelika is the mystery. Not only are her 13 haku mele and six “mākua” still hiding in the ether, so, too, is Henelika herself. In all of Papakilo, only one person has this exact name: the Henelika of our 16 mele inoa. And the obvious next searches – “Henerika,” “Henrietta,” “Henrieta” – yield an unexpectedly long and frustrating list of maybes and probably-nots. Who would have thought that these variations of her name were so popular in 19th century Hawai‘i? There is a total of 526 entries for “Henrietta”<sup>2</sup> alone in the State Archives, Mission House Archives, Genealogical Indexes, Bishop Museum Archives, and Nupepa Index. And dozens more for the variations mentioned above. And then there are ships named *Henrietta*, *Loisa Henrietta*, kuna *Henrietta* ( a schooner seized for smuggling opium in 1895), and wa‘apā *Henrietta*. And there is the opera “Henrietta.” And then there are the “Henriques” and “Enrique” rabbit holes.

Imagine my thrill at finally stumbling upon the following account in the *Missionary Herald’s* “Report of the Schools at Lahaina”:

In real refinement of mind and manners, Henrieta Halekii was the ornament of the female circle in Lahaina. She was, also, the bosom friend of the princess [Nāhi‘ena‘ena] and probably had more influence with her than any other person...<sup>3</sup>

Imagine my disappointment when, on closer reading, I realized that this Henrieta died in 1829, three decades before “He Inoa no Henelika.”<sup>4</sup> So: crickets.

Why, then, would we want to pursue a mele whose owner is, as yet, unknown to us? Well... because we are stubborn. Because, as often happens, the mele chooses us, not the other way around. And because, in the words of Larry Kimura, “‘Eia ka‘u pane i ‘ī aku ai: kāhāhā...He iwi a lehu, ‘o Hawai‘i holo‘oko‘a ‘oia ku‘u kulāiwi.”<sup>5</sup>

What we can say about Henelika as revealed in her 16 mele inoa is not without substance. She had to have been loved and held in high regard by people who had the time, skill, and direction to compose, assemble, and submit these mele, in two separate batches, to a Honolulu nūpepa that

had just been established to provide the first ‘ōiwi voice in what, until then, had been a missionary-dominated press.<sup>6</sup> Someone had to have been in charge of more than a dozen willing and inspired writers. These mele inoa, moreover, were at the spear-tip of what appears to be a new, sub-genre of the form. Beginning with the above-mentioned “He Inoa no Keaopolohiwa,” Hawaiians began composing what I call *mele inoa anakuhi*: “directed” mele inoa that were composed by multiple, named-authors in response to a common assignment and template – mele that were then assembled under a single title and submitted for publication in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. The template varied from assignment to assignment, honoree to honoree, but followed a basic and easily recognizable pattern:

- a set number of lines: usually 12-18, most often in two-line units of thought; line-length within a single collection sometimes varies; this is the least held-to of the anakuhi “rules”
- a prescribed opening, most often a “he inoa” line and sometimes followed by two or three also-assigned lines
- a prescribed closing of at least one (but usually two) lines, usually with a “he inoa” repeat of the opening line.
- the name (or initials, or pen-name) of the haku mele, usually in caps; the name of the last author in the set is often followed by a place of residence and date of composition.<sup>7</sup>

I’ve identified 43 mele inoa anahulu published in the 80-issue, three-year existence (26 Sept., 1861 to 14 May, 1863) of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*.

- Their most common opening line, of course, is “Name he inoa,” or “He inoa no Name.”
- Frequent second and third lines are “Name he makua [or kupuna] / E hoi ka nani i Place Name.” For example: “Keaopolohiwa he inoa–la, / Kapuaikalehua he makua–e, / E hoi ka wai i Kemamo–la.”<sup>8</sup>
- Their most common closing lines are “Haina ka puana i lohe ia / O Name he inoa,” (“Haina ka inoa i lohe–la, / O Keaolipolipo he inoa–la”<sup>9</sup>), but there are some unexpectedly creative closing lines in these 43, including “Ua pau keia i lohe oe / I ike ou kini e noho nei,”<sup>10</sup> and “Hehene au-e / U—hu—hehene—au—e.”<sup>11</sup>

The two sets of “He Inoa no Henelika” followed the two sets of “Keaopolohiwa” by a half-year-or-so, and are among the most disciplined examples of the new form. The six mele of the first set are all 18 lines long. Each begins with “O Henelika no he inoa la, / O Name no he makua, la.” Each ends with “E lono ka hiapo ai la–la, / O Henelika he inoa la.” Each is followed by its author’s name (all caps), and the set concludes with the place and date, I assume, of its compilation and submission: “Honolulu, Feberuari 24, 1862.” These six are further identified by a common theme that is evident in the repetitive tying of the word *la‘i* (and, to a lesser extent, *‘olu*, and *malu*) to much-loved places of apparently great familial significance:

I ka lai aloha o Paliuli la E hoi ka olu i Kanakea la	In the tranquility of Paliuli Let comfort return to Kanakea <sup>12</sup>
No Waiwelawela ke aloha la I ka lai aloha i Kukii la	Love belongs to Waiwelawela In the beloved tranquility of Kūki‘i <sup>13</sup>
Ke ani mai nei ka makani la Olu ai ka lai i Kulaimano a	The wind beckons Bringing comfort to the calm of Kula‘imano <sup>14</sup>
E hoi ka lai i Kikihale la I ka malu hale o ka makua la	May quiet return to Kīkīhale In the parent’s loving embrace <sup>15</sup>

All but the last of these paukū are Hilo- and Puna-centric. The last establishes Honolulu as Henelika’s birthplace, the “one hanau o ko kino.” This suggests that Henelika’s roots are in those Hawai‘i Island districts, and that the intent of this collection of mele inoa is to confirm those connections so that word of her status, as the firstborn of her generation, is made known: E lono ka hiapo, her name is Henelika.

All ten mele of the second set are 16 lines long. All begin with “‘Auhea wale ana oe la”; all end with “A he inoa he aloha la, / A no Henelika la.” Each is followed by its all-cap author’s name, and the set concludes, again, with place and date: “Honolulu, Aperila 1, 1862. Where the first set of mele is concerned with the grounding of a child in ‘āina and la‘i, the second addresses a grown-up and very desirable Henelika. She is, in these mele, attractive in an almost bowl-you-over kind of way. She is: lehua ne‘e, lehua lūlū, ka‘ili wela, wai pipi‘o, ahi āwela, and (mea) hao a pa‘ihi. Her haku mele are, at first, more static and cerebral: they are thoughtful (“manao au e ike”), empathetic (“hoa pupuu anu”), reassuringly present (“eia hoi au”), and quietly committed (“kila hone au”). But the arrangement of the ten mele seems deliberate: the haku mele who speak early-on of flowers, mists, fragrances, shared warmth, and comforting companions give way to those whose language is more outspoken and insistent. In the sixth of these mele, for example, Henelika is addressed as the author’s storm tossed hoa pili of the red-rain rainbow, and her attention is directed to the activity of two well-known sailing ships:

Ke holo mai nei Neki la, A hui me Moi la Ku kaea i ka moana la	The <i>Nettie Merrill</i> comes sailing And meets up with <i>Mō‘ī</i> (Now) they stand exhausted on the ocean
--	---

I see this as a warning about flashy-but-empty relationships, and it is followed by the author’s directive: “Iki kauliki e ka ihu /...huki e ka hae /...A komo i ke awa la / I ka lai o Honolulu” – turn the bow a little to the northeast, hoist the flag, and enter the tranquil harbor of Honolulu. I should note that Henelika and her companion here are passengers on the steamship *Kīlauea*, having just come aboard in Lahaina as described in the previous mele of the set. The implication, by way of this contrast between a less attractive but far-more-reliable moku and

either of the two becalmed schooners, is that steady might be preferable to pretty in both love and travel.

Metaphors of this nautical sort continue in two of the remaining mele: in the eighth, she is advised to choose a “ship” with a single skilled owner and steering paddle (“hookahi ona moku / Nana i ku ia hoe, / Nana e uweke pono e”), and in the tenth, she is told to get rid of her excess baggage in order to tip the scales (“lele pono ka paona”) in her favor. All told, the ten mele of this set are advice-givers. Some are voiced in a gentle manner, and others (as the set progresses) are more adamant and cautionary. In the end, however, the underlying sentiment is always that of love, and the advice given is always meant to put a grown and much-desired Henelika on a course leading to the tranquility that, in her first set of mele inoa, had originally defined her:

Elua hoi kaua la, I ka lai o Hale Ola la	We are indeed two In the tranquility of Hale Ola.
Malama ia ke aloha la I hoa pili no ke kino la E hone ai ka mana‘o	Care for love As if it were a dear companion Who comforts your thoughts
Iki kauliki e ka ihu la... A komo i ke awa la, I ka lai o Honolulu la.	Turn the prow a little to the southeast And enter the harbor The tranquility of Honolulu. <sup>16</sup>

Consistency of this sort, across two sets of six and ten mele each, is a testament to Hawaiian genius. I have to keep reminding myself that these anakuhi were all written by hand and delivered by horse, mule, and packet boat.<sup>17</sup> No phone calls, no texts, no-document sharing, no email, no Zoom. Someone had to come up with the assignment, share its template, convey its deeper themes, collect and assemble the results, and mail it in. And several other someones had to accept the assignment and follow through on it. All in an age when it could take a month for this turn-around to occur. I’ve worked on a few of these anakuhi myself: a multi-author, multi-paukū kanikau in which each of us eventually abandoned the assigned structure and went our own ways; a two-person, back and forth mele inoa that went much better (probably because it was a dad and daughter thing); and a long-ago, three-person effort that fizzled-out entirely. So I am in awe of the commitment these must have required. They speak of bonds of affection that could not be extinguished by distance, the Kaua‘ula, or a deficit of attention.

Which brings us to our “Henelika.” It is the fifth of the ten mele inoa that comprise the second set of “He Inoa no Henelika,” all of which begin with “Auhea wale ana oe.” Ours is composed by a Mrs. Lilia whose name appears nowhere else in either my collection of 43 *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* mele inoa anakuhi or in my less-careful look at mele inoa published during the initial 80 issues of the rival *Nupepa Kuokoa* (in which 11 mele inoa are anakuhi). Whether or not this is the future Lili‘uokalani – who is frequently referred to in newspapers of this decade as Mrs.

Lilia Dominis – our haku mele sets up an immediate juxtaposition of la‘i and ‘ino in the form of the Pa‘ūpili rain and the Kaua‘ula wind. The former is lovingly described in the lengthy article “No Lahaina” published in the 30 May, 1867 issue of *Ke Au Okoa*:<sup>18</sup>

Ka ua paupili. Kuponon maoli no kona inoa, o keia ka makou ua e aloha ai, i like me ke aloha ana o ko Manoa keiki i ka ua o kona aina, he ua Kuahine, a me ko Nuuanu hoi i ka ua Haao, a me ko Waimea hoi i ka ua Kipuupuu, a pela ko Lele i ka ua o kona aina, he ua Paupili, i na e ua mai keia ua ma uka pono mai, o ka iho mai la no ia a kapalena o kahi a ke pili e ulu ai, o ka paa aku la no ia, aole loa e hiki ana i kai, iuka wale no e ua ai... aole loa he mea nana e hoonalowale ae ia mea mai ka hoomanao ana ae, a ke keiki o Lahaina i ko makou naue ana aku e ike i kahi o makou i kiina ia mai la e na lima menemene ole o ka make, lohe aku la no makou i kona hoa e paiauma ana, me ka hoopuka ana ae no i na huaolelo ma kona uwe ana ae i kona hoa penei:

“Kuu kane mai ka ua Paupili,  
Mai ka ua halii mai i ke kula;”

a peia no ka ipo e poina ole ai i kona hoa ma kana mau palapala hoinainau aku ia ia, aole no ia he ua Lanipili, aole no hoi e loihi loa kona ua ana, a oia kekahi i hawanawana mai ia makou “e aloha ia Lahaina,” a na keia mau mea i aua ia makou e noho.

The Pa‘ūpili, we are told, is loved by the keiki of Lahaina just as the Tuahine, Hā‘ao, and Kīpu‘upu‘u rains are loved by the keiki of their respective lands: Mānoa, Nu‘uanu, and Waimea. The Pa‘ūpili:

*falls only on the inland plain of Lahaina on those lands where the pili grows; it stays there, pa‘a, and does not travel to the shore. Nor is it something lost from memory; wherever the keiki of Lahaina mourn the taking of their own by the indifferent hands of death, they hear lamentations that begin with the words, “My beloved from the Ua Pa‘ūpili / From the rain that covers the kula lands.” And so, too, do lovers commemorate their affection in letters to their hoa. The rain is further defined by its gentleness, brevity, and quiet voice: it is not a heavy Lanipili rain, nor does it fall at length. It is something that whispers to us – “Love Lahaina” – and for these reasons, it holds us here, it compels us to remain.<sup>19</sup>*

“Henelika’s” opening address to this gentle, much-loved rain is immediately followed by the Pa‘ūpili’s nemesis, the destructive, ‘ulu-toppling winds of the Kaua‘ula.

‘Auhea wale ana ‘oe lā,	Won’t you listen
E ka ua Pa‘ūpili lā,	O Pa‘ūpili rain
Ka makani Kaua‘ula lā,	The Kaua‘ula wind
Kula‘i ‘ulu o Lele lā,	Pushes over the ‘ulu of Lele

As described in the same article cited above (“No Lahaina,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 30 May, 1867), this is the most terrible of winds; it originates deep within the valley of the same name and sounds like the crashing of surf against the sea cliffs:

He makani ino loa keiai, aole nae he mea mau...hookahi wale no pa ana i ka makahiki, a ekolu a eha la e pa ai, alaila malie, a i keia wa hoi, he mau makahiki, alaila pa mai. O keia makani, he Kauaula, ma uka pono mai o ke awawa o Kauaula e pa mai ai...e lohe ia no kona halulu ana iuka, e like me ke poi ana a ke kai i kumupali, a i kona pa ana mai, he mea weliweli loa, pau na hale i ka hina, haihai na niu, pau na kumu ulu i ke poke ia, na pumaia kulaina lakou a pau ilalo o keia makani huhu, aohe ona hoaaloha nana e hoonana, he aumakua lohe ole i ke kalokalo aku, oiai e pa ana ua makani la, ua pani pu ia aku ka malamalama o ka la e ke‘hu lepo a ua makani la, ua alai ia o Lanai, Molokai, a me Kahoolawe...o kahi moe hoi, aole e ike ia ka maka o ka moena, ua nenelu i ka lepo...

*Although terrible, it isn't a frequent wind; it arises once a year for three or four days, followed by calm, but recently, several years go by before it blows. When it, it is a terrifying wind that rushes down to the shore, toppling houses, shredding the niu, chopping the 'ulu trees into pieces, and destroying the rows of banana. It is an angry wind for which no one has affection; it is an 'aumakua that is deaf to prayer. When it blows, its dust shuts out the sunlight and obscures Lana'i, Moloka'i, and Kaho'olawe from view. Even the bedding in our houses is affected and the weave of our moena is obscured, mired in lepo...*

The dissonance in these four lines of “Henelika” is obvious. We can’t know the details, or read too much into it, but a tugging of opposites – peace and turmoil, pili and kula‘i, stay and go – is at work here and seems to set the emotional backdrop for what soon becomes the departure of Henelika from Lahaina. Someone wants someone to stay; someone, for a windstorm of compelling reasons, is about to leave. The conflict might be internal: perhaps in Henelika herself, perhaps in the person saying goodbye. Or it might be between Henelika and those who would hold on to and protect her. We can’t know for sure, but the minamina is there, and it is being worked through. This working-through becomes apparent, in the four lines that follow, where we find a much-diminished tension between the calm of Waiokila, and the surf of ‘Uo:

Hone i ka lau o ka niu lā	Sounding softly in the leaves of niu
La‘i ai Waiokila lā	Where Waiokila is tranquil
I ka nalu he‘e o ‘Uo lā	In the surfing waves of ‘Uo
E ‘uo ‘oe e ke hoa lā.	Bind fast, O friend

We learn that a breeze of considerably less intensity is stirring sweetly in the fronds of niu and bringing calm to Waiokila, but this is countered, to some extent, by the ‘uo-action – the tying, turning, twisting, wrapping – evident in the surf of ‘Uo. Waiokila, in Pukui’s *Place Names and Dictionary*, is a land section and gulch in Kahakuloa and a name for finely woven Panama hats

(“pāpale Waiokila”). Neither gloss does much to illuminate our mele, but nūpepa accounts of the day provide us with more helpful clues. Elegant waiokila hats, for example, were much advertised and discussed in mid-19th century Hawai‘i,<sup>20</sup> and waiokila itself was used to describe people (be-hatted or not) of distinguished dress and carriage: “kilakila, me he koa kane, hele a paihi, kalali waiokila.”<sup>21</sup> Waiokila also appears in mele of the period to designate peaceful places of otherwise unspecified locations,<sup>22</sup> and it crops up in a pair of kanikau as the name of a sparkling-sand section of Lahaina shoreline where some kind of merchants’ row<sup>23</sup> was apparently situated:

Kuu kaikaina ma ka pela wehe lau ulu o Wainee...	My kaikaina of the Wainee church bell that parts the ‘ulu leaves
Kuu kaikaina i ka wai o Mokuhinia, Mai ka malu o Halepiula, Mai ka hale kuai o Waiokila	My kaikaina in the water of Mokuhinia From the shelter of Halepiula From the Waiokila store <sup>24</sup>
Kuu wahine mai ka malu o ka ulu o Lele, Mai ka piha kanaka la o Keawaiki, Mai ke one anapa la o Waiokila Mai ka wai lanamalie hoi o Mokuhinia	My wife of the ‘ulu shade of Lele From the crowds at Keawaiki From the sparkling sands of Waiokila From the calm waters of Mokuhinia <sup>25</sup>

It’s my impression that Waiokila and ‘Uo were contiguous, the first is at the Keawaiki shoreline where the well-dressed, waiokila passengers of the interisland “coasters” arrived and departed, and the other is the surf itself through which the smaller boats, the “huelo poki,” ferried these passengers. John Clark, in *Hawaiian Surfing Traditions from the Past*, tells us that “of all the traditional surf sites on Maui, the most famous was ‘Uo, the spot off the town of Lahaina.”<sup>26</sup> Nūpepa accounts of the mid- to late-19th century do much to confirm Clark’s opinion. ‘Uo is mentioned repeatedly in poetry and prose of the period as a wahi pana to which great affection and well-being were attached. What follows is probably a too-long selection of old-time ‘Uo excerpts, but I have resisted the editor-in-me impulse to further limit my choices. How come? Because, after wading through pages of Google ads and travel blogs for the great Lahaina surf-spot called “Breakwaters” – and finding nothing at all that recognized it as ‘Uo – I had a Lanikai/ Ka‘ōhao, Mokes/Mokulua surge of disgust and decided to throw a few more punches in the ongoing battle against the un-naming of ‘āina.

Aloha kuu hoa o kua pau pili, Kuu hoa o ka malu o ka ulu... Kuu hoa o ka nalu o uo...	Alas, my companion of the Pa‘ūpili rain My companion of the ‘ulu shade My companion of the surf of ‘Uo <sup>27</sup>
---	--

Na Nalu o Uo. O na nalu waluwalu ili keia a Kama e aloha ai, a makou no hoi e hee ai, e holo ai i ka lala, a mea hoi ae i ka muku... ilaila no makou e hee ai me na hoa o makou i hala aku...a he mau nalu aloha pau ole na koonei mau kupa.



*The waves of Uo. These are the skin-rubbing waves that Kama loved and that we also surfed, going out on the lala and returning on the muku... it is there that we surfed with friends who have now passed...and these are waves that the natives of this place will always love.*<sup>28</sup>

I na la i hai iho nei ka nalu o Uo, ua ike aku makou i ka Mea Hanohano D. Kalakaua e hee ana i ka nalu, e holo ana i ka lala a hoi ae i ka nuku.

*On the days when the waves of ‘Uo were breaking, we saw the Honorable D. Kalākaua surfing on the lala and returning on the muku.*<sup>29</sup>

Ua kau pu mai la maluna mai o ka mokuahi o ke Kaona o ka Poaono i hala ae, Ka Mea Hanohano P. Nahaolelua ...He maikai kona ola ana, i ka holohia wale paha e ka nalu o Uo, hele a eaea kai, he ano ka-uka-u io no ke taona nei.

*The Honorable P. Nahaolelua...returned last Saturday aboard the steamship of the town [Kilauea]. He is in good health, probably because he was riding the waves of ‘Uo; the surf was high so his return to this waiting town was delayed.*<sup>30</sup>

Kuu wahine ma ka piha kanaka o Keawaiki	My lady of the crowds at Keawaiki
A me ka nalu hailua o Uo i ka muku	And of the twice-breaking, muku waves of ‘Uo <sup>31</sup>

Kuu wahine mai na nalu haimuku o Uo	My lady of the muku-breaking waves of ‘Uo
Mai ka piha kanaka la o Keawaiki	Of the crowd of kānaka at Keawaiki
Ikiiki au i ko aloha e noho nei	I am in great distress over your love that yet resides in me

Aloha au o ka bele o Wainee,	Alas, the [church] bell of Wainee‘e
Ka uwe hone mai i ke ano ahiahi	Tolling sweetly in the solitude of evening <sup>32</sup>

Clark goes on to explain that the modern dredging and construction of the small boat harbor and its channel destroyed much of the reef that created the twice-breaking, lala, muku, and ha‘imuku waves celebrated in the excerpts above, but “enough remains of the surf spot to make it one of the most popular in Lahaina today. Contemporary surfers know it as Lahaina Breakwater or Lahaina Lefts, where it is still good for beginners on the inside and challenging for experienced surfers on the outside.” Tsa!

Although there is still considerable disagreement over the meanings of lala and muku as they pertain to surfing – lala: long slope, front of a wave, right-breaking wave; muku: short wave section, left-breaking section of a wave, the curl of a wave, the back of a wave – the language of these excerpts suggests the enveloping/wrapping-up/adorned of a surfer in multiple sequences of waves that are further described as “nalu waluwalu ili” (waves that rub the skin, perhaps in eightfold fashion) and “lei kahiko nalu” (a wave-adornment lei).

This imagery, in turn, is consistent with the meaning of ‘uo: “A group of feathers tied together in a small bunch, to be made into a feather lei or cloak; to tie thus; to tie into a lei; to string on a needle; to splice, interweave, as strands of a rope; seizing turns in lashing.”<sup>33</sup> I don’t think it too far a stretch, then, to see ‘Uo as suggestive of both the action of the waves and the surfers who ride them.

More important to our mele is “E ‘uo ‘oe e ke hoa” – the line that follows “I ka nalu he‘e o ‘Uo” – and whose connotations are beyond my ability to condense into a single line of English (hence my somewhat feeble, “Bind fast, O friend”). Henelika, as I read it, is a precious feather bundle who is ‘uo ‘ia: wrapped up in both the surf of ‘Uo and in the affection of those she leaves behind. As such, she is instructed by Mrs. Lilia to ‘uo: to bind-up the “feathers” she holds most dear. To take them with her as precious memories. She may be leaving, but she is still held-on to and told to hold fast.

The next four lines of the mele describe the progress of the huelo poki (whale boat) that takes Henelika on a bouncy ride to the steamship anchored in the road stand<sup>34</sup> outside the Lahaina reef.

I pi‘i ka huelo poki lā,	When the whale boat surges
‘Oni kō ia nei nui kino lā,	This one’s entire body quakes
‘O ka holo a ka mokuahi lā,	It is the running of the steamship
Ku‘e kaiue ka huila lā,	The back-and-forth, up-and-down of the wheel

As described in “Ports of the Sandwich Islands” (*The Friend*, April 1857),<sup>35</sup> the Lahaina anchorage was “about ten miles in extent along the shore and from the reef...to a distance of three miles out, affording abundant room for as large a fleet as can ever be collected here....” Huelo poki, in the mid-19th century, were long, narrow, double-ended (pointed at both ends), and powered by either oar, paddle, or a stepped-mast sail (the mast was removable and could be raised and lowered as needed), and steered by rudder or over-sized oar. All of this made for speedy, maneuverable, and seaworthy boats that, when lowered from their mother ships, were used by whalers to chase their prey. Because of their utility, these boats were often carried on ships other than whalers or maintained on land for a variety of purposes, primarily for ferrying people and goods to and from shore<sup>36</sup> – as was the case in Lahaina and the huelo poki of our mele.

As for the mokuahi to which Henelika is ferried: it has to be the *Kīlauea*, the only steamship operating in Hawaiian waters at the time our mele was written. “His” schedule, as announced in multiple advertisements published in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Nupepa Kuokoa* during those same early months of 1862, had her leaving Honolulu every Tuesday for Kona with stops at three Maui and four Hawai‘i Island ports:

MOKUAHI KILAUEA

NO KONA HAWAII

E HOLO ANA NO O KILAUEA, MAI HONOLULU aku, no Lahaina, Kalepolepo,  
Ulupalakua, Honoipu, Kawaihae, Kailua a me Kealakekua... i na poalua a pau, no Kona,  
aia a hoolaha ia ka mea hou.

Honolulu, Feberuari 25, 1862.<sup>37</sup>

The *Kīlauea* was a propeller-driven, sail-assisted, inter-island steamship that carried passengers, mail, goods, and livestock during the reigns of Alexander Liholiho, Lot, Lunalilo, and Kalākaua. Although it is common practice in English to speak of all ships as “she,” Hawaiians often assigned different genders to different vessels. For example, the beautiful, clipper-style schooner *Nettie Merrill* (called *Neti* in mele like “Waiho ‘Ao‘ao”<sup>38</sup> and in the sixth mele of our own “He Inoa no Henelika”) appears in several Kalākaua era compositions as a gorgeous woman of questionable character. On the other hand, the blocky appearance and unlady-like equipment of the *Kīlauea* (iron boiler, noisy machinery, single screw propeller) inspired haku mele to personify him in decidedly male terms. He began his checkered career in 1860 and was finally retired in 1877 after having reputedly “scraped bottom on all the reefs of the [island] group.”<sup>39</sup> His propensity for accidents, however, did little to undermine the affectionate regard with which Hawaiians held him. Thus, he is celebrated in numerous mele for his persistence, endurance, and lack of caution. In “I Aloha ‘ia ‘o *Kīlauea*,” he is described as a heroic “gliding horse of the sea” whose relentlessly spinning propeller drives him through wind and wave to deliver badly needed medical supplies to the people of Moloka‘i.<sup>40</sup> In “Maika‘i Ka‘uiki,” his “scooping propeller” is the last in a series of male images—eels, crowbars, bobbing duck necks, flowering bamboo stalks—meant to portray East Maui as fertile, ready, and much-desired.<sup>41</sup> And in “Māhukona,” he is an eager suitor who, in one interpretation at least, comes whirring over the surface of the ocean to discover that his sweetheart is already involved with another man.<sup>42</sup>

It is hard to discount the sexual connotations of the pi‘i (mount) and ‘oni (squirm) imagery of “Henelika’s” whaleboat and passenger. The same holds true for the kue kaiue (up and down, back and forth) action of the *Kīlauea*’s “wheel.” Love-making – decidedly vigorous love-making – is more than hinted-at, and I pause to wonder if our Henelika is leaving Lahaina with or for a lover. I also find interesting Mrs. Lilia’s anachronistic use of the word *huila*. The *Kīlauea*, as already noted, was powered by a single propeller, not by the older and less efficient paddle wheel. Hawai‘i’s last, and I think only, paddle-wheeled steamship was the *Akamai*, a small ship with a side-mounted wheel that serviced Honolulu and Lahaina from November 1853 to August 1854.<sup>43</sup> Although the actual *Kīlauea* was not powered by movements characterized by “up and down, back and forth,” the imagery of *huila* was important enough in the mele for its author to retain the somewhat out-dated term. I also wonder about the possibility of an intentional echoing, in this mokuahi description, of the Kaua‘ula of the mele’s opening lines: both seem inexorable; neither can be stopped or prevented. Both are sweeping Henelika away.<sup>44</sup>

The last four lines of our mele inoa end with a formulaic “he inoa no,” but begin with two lines of considerable import.

Hukia mai ke kaula lā,	The lines are pulled in
A liolio ka ‘alihi lā,	The rigging made taut
A he inoa he aloha lā,	A name chant, an expression of love
A no Henelika lā.	For Henelika.

Although hauled-in lines and tightened rigging are, at first look, hardly unusual in mele that describe the departure of sailing and sail-assisted ships (Aunty Genoa’s version of “Alika” comes immediately to mind<sup>45</sup>), the use of the word ‘alihi evokes imagery that is far less nautical than piscatorial. ‘Alihi are cords that are threaded through the upper and lower meshes of fishing nets. Floats are tied to the upper cord, the ‘alihi pikoi, and sinkers are tied to the lower, the ‘alihi pōhaku. When properly outfitted with floats and sinkers, the net hangs true and won’t furl and unfurl in the currents. It works as intended. This imagery is familiar to us in the mele “‘Au‘a ‘Ia” where the nets are not working as intended – where the ‘alihi pōhaku have come loose and the world is set adrift:

Ua hemo aku la ka piko o ka aina,	The piko of the land is unfastened
Ua kala ka alihi pohakuku,	The ‘alihi pōhaku are untied
Me ka upena a Ku	Along with the net of Kū. <sup>46</sup>

This excerpt is from a version sent to the *Nupepa Kuokoa* in October 1862, by S.W. Kekalohe of Kipahulu, Maui. It is not exactly the “‘Au‘a ‘Ia” of our Maiki tradition, but I quote it here to suggest that the ‘alihi imagery of an 1862, Maui-centered “Henelika” was far from new-fangled. I suspect that the idea of drifting nets and untethered nohona was familiar enough to the readers of Mrs. Lilia’s mele inoa.<sup>47</sup> Nor would it be inconceivable that the Mrs. Lilia of our “Henelika” was Lili‘uokalani herself, the first translator of “‘Au‘a ‘Ia.”

But enough rabbit chasing.

My point is that we are again met with language of holding-close, tying-up, and making-fast. We see it first in the net of rain that clings to Lahaina’s inland plain. We see it again in the enfolding surf at Lahaina’s shore. And we see it here in the the net-like rigging of a departing ship. Pili, ‘Uo, ‘Alihi. Henelika is going away, but she is both reminded and exhorted in these metaphors of retention. Reminded that she is held close by those who love her. Exhorted to do the same for those who remain behind.

Mrs. Lilia’s last words to Henelika before saying her name, are thus consistent with the mele’s kaona of quiet vs. commotion, remember vs. forget. You may be going, but that does not have to be the same as leaving. E ‘uo ‘oe e ke hoa. ‘Au‘a ‘ia e kama.

## He Inoa no Henelika

‘Auhea wale ana ‘oe lā,  
E ka ua Pa‘ūpili lā,  
Ka makani Kaua‘ula lā,  
Kula‘i ‘ulu o Lele lā,

Won't you listen  
O Pa‘ūpili rain  
The Kaua‘ula wind  
That pushes over the ‘ulu of Lele

Hone i ka lau o ka niu lā,  
La‘i ai Waiokila lā,  
I ka nalu he‘e o ‘Uo lā,  
E ‘uo ‘oe e ke hoa lā,

Sounding softly in the leaves of niu  
Where Waiokila is tranquil  
In the surfing waves of ‘Uo  
Bind fast, O friend

I pi‘i ka huelo poki lā,  
‘Oni kō ia nei nui kino lā,  
‘O ka holo a ka mokuahi lā,  
Ku‘e kaiue ka huila lā,

When the whale boat surges  
This one's entire body quakes  
The steamship departs  
With a back-and-forth, up-and-down of the wheel

Hukia mai ke kaula lā,  
A liolio ka ‘alihi lā,  
A he inoa he aloha lā,  
A no Henelika lā.  
MRS. LILIA.

The lines are pulled in  
The rigging made taut  
A name chant, an expression of love  
For Henelika.

### A Few Loose Threads

**Original text.** The original mele, as published in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and offered below, was not divided into verses. The four, four-line divisions are of our own making. These divisions, I think, are consistent with the interpretation we've offered in the preceding pages.

Auheha wale ana oe la,  
E kaua pau pili la,  
Ka makani Kauaula la,  
Kulai ulu o Lele la,  
Hone i ka lau o Kaniu la,  
Lai ai Waiokila la,  
I ka nalu hee o uo la,  
E uo oe e ke hoa la,  
I pii ka huelo poki la,  
Oni ko ia nei nui kino la,  
O ka holo a ka moku ahi la,  
Kue kaiue ka huila la,  
Hukia mai ke kaula la,

Aliolio ka alihi la,  
A he ino he aloha la,  
A no Henelika la,  
MRS. LILIA.

**Kaniu / ka niu.** In the original, the first line of our second paukū reads: “Hone i ka lau o Kaniu la.” After giving the proper noun *Kaniu* as hard a look as time allowed – and finding nothing to identify it as a Lahaina-relevant place or person – I decided to parse it as “ka niu.” Mid-century Lahaina, as revealed in my Papakilo deep dive, was known for its “numerous groves of coconuts...[that] line the beach and its environs.”<sup>48</sup> “He aina momona loa...a he ulu niu na mea kanu, a oia mau no a hiki i keia wa.”<sup>49</sup>

**More Waiokila.** Waiokila is about as fascinating and enigmatic a rabbit hole as any I’ve ever fallen into. In addition to the Papakilo entries already discussed, I should note that “ke kulanakauhale o Waiokila” (the city of Waiokila) appears in two kanikau of 1844<sup>50</sup> and 1845<sup>51</sup>, both composed by Nailiili, the first for the city of Honolulu, and the second for Hawaiian diplomat Timoteo Ha‘alilio. The geography of both, including ocean travel around “Kepe Horn,” suggests that Waiokila is Panama City on the Pacific coast of that country’s isthmus, and the city from which Ecuadorian hats of toquilla straw, during the days of the California Gold Rush, were exported to the world: Panama hats, papale waiokila. I now know quite a bit about those hats and the makaloa-is-just-as-good arguments of mid-19th century Hawai‘i, but I can only make wild guesses about any connections the hat and city might have to Waiokila gulch in Kahakuloa and the hale kū‘ai of Waiokila in Lahaina. Maybe the up-and-down, up-and-down topography of the gulch brought to mind the tight weave of the Panama hat. Maybe Panama hats were sold at the Waiokila store.

**Some mele choose you, not the other way around.** We (mostly our daughter Kapalai) found, gave voice to, and choreographed this mele on the spur of the moment, triggered by our desire to honor Lahaina when we were asked to help with a benefit concert at the Outrigger Ka‘anapali for po‘e displaced by the fire. It was only later, after marveling at how well the hula was received and how good we felt about it – and after diving down all these research rabbit holes – that we realized that, maybe, Mrs. Lilia had chosen us to find Henelika and say her name.

---

<sup>1</sup> Even her gender is a reasonable guess but hardly a given.

<sup>2</sup> Many are duplicate entries, but even half the number is overwhelming for a researcher on a strict deadline.

<sup>3</sup> In Kepā and Onaona Maly, *He Wahi Mo‘olelo no Kaua‘ula a me Lahaina*, Kumu Pono Associates, 37.

<sup>4</sup> The same short-lived excitement occurred over Lucy Davis Henriques (for whom the Henriques-Collection at the Bishop Museum Archives is named). But she wasn't born until 1876 and didn't marry Edgar Henriques until after 1896.

<sup>5</sup> Spoken introduction to the Peter Moon Band's recording of Kimura's "Kulāiwi," on the album *Full Moon*. "Here is the answer that I voice: Kāhāhā...from bones to ash, iwi to lehu, all of Hawai'i is my kulāiwi."

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Noenoe Silva for her seminal work on the import of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. In her PhD dissertation, *Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Mākou*, (UH Mānoa, August 1999), she describes the moment "when a few Kanaka Maoli first collectively dared to claim this power [that of the printed word] for themselves, to say to the mission, "Enough. We are not children; we have much to say; what we have to say is valuable; and we shall say it and preserve it on paper" (18).

<sup>7</sup> In rare cases, the final name is that of the kākau 'ōlelo who assembled and submitted the collection.

<sup>8</sup> "He Inoa no Keaopolohiwa," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 17 Oct., 1861.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> "He Inoa no Kahuaka," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 22 May, 5 June, and 10 July, 1862.

<sup>11</sup> He Inoa no Kawailahaole," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 13 Feb., 1862.

<sup>12</sup> Excerpt from the first mele of the set, that composed by Maria Kaoo. Paliuli is thought to be in Pana'ewa. Kanakea is Reed's Bay.

<sup>13</sup> Excerpt from the third mele of the set, that composed by A.W. Kaililahau. Waiwelawela is the former Warm Springs at Kapoho. Kūki'i is a heiau at Cape Kumukahi.

<sup>14</sup> Excerpt from the fifth mele of the set, that composed by J. Wahine. Kula'imano is in Honomū, Hilo.

<sup>15</sup> Excerpt from the sixth mele of the set, that composed by B. Hanaike. Kīkīhale is an old section of Honolulu now bordered by Maunakea and King streets and Nu'uanu Stream.

<sup>16</sup> The three excerpts are from the third, fourth, and sixth mele of the set, those composed by Peke Okia, J. Helemauna, and A. W. Kahililahau.

<sup>17</sup> Hawaii Department of Accounting and General Services, "Hawaii Post Office," [https://ags.hawaii.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/hsa\\_hawaiianpostoffice\\_fa.pdf](https://ags.hawaii.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/hsa_hawaiianpostoffice_fa.pdf).

<sup>18</sup> The authors' names are given as "C. & K."

<sup>19</sup> This is not meant (and should not be mistaken) as a literal translation. The same is true for the Kaua'ula passage that follows. See the Bishop Museum post: <https://blog.bishopmuseum.org/nupepa/kaua'ula-the-powerful-wind-of-lahaina/> for a more faithful translation of the latter piece.

<sup>20</sup> "Kela Mea Keia Mea o Hawaii Nei," *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2 Dec., 1861. "No na Papale a na Wahine Hawaii e Hana Nei," *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 15 June, 1867. Both articles debate the merits of makaloa vs. toquilla (perhaps "okila" is a Hawaiianization of the Spanish word) in hat-making,

- 21 “Ka Hanohano o ka Hoku Pakipika,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 3 Oct., 1861. Upstanding, like a soldier, well-dressed and moving with pride.
- 22 For example, “Eha wale no makou i ka lai o Waiokila...E hoi kaua i ka olu malie o Waiokila” in “Make i Aloha Nuiia” [No Fany], *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 22 June, 1872. There are no context clues in this kanikau to determine the location of its Waiokila.
- 23 The article “No Lahaina,” in *Ke Au Okoa*, 23 May, 1867, mentions the presence here of a number of hale kū‘ai, hale pākaukau, and hale kū‘ai lole in what I assume to be a place of commercial activity.
- 24 Nahinu, “He Kanikau Aloha no Kalahoolewa Maikai,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 9 April, 1863.
- 25 W. G. Haulewahine, “Make i Aloha Ia” [No Kamealani Haulewahine], *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 1 May, 1875.
- 26 John R. K. Clark, *Hawaiian Surfing Traditions from the Past*, UH Press, 2011, 112.
- 27 “He Kanikau Aloha no Zilepa Uha,” *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 9 March, 1865.
- 28 “No Lahaina,” *Ke Au Okoa*, 23 May, 1867.
- 29 “No Lahaina Mai,” *Ke Au Okoa*, 30 May, 1867.
- 30 “Nuhou Kuloko,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 15 February, 1868.
- 31 “Make i Aloha Nui Ia” [No Mrs. Heneri Haiakeawe], *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 25 March, 1876.
- 32 “He Make Walohia” [No Mrs. Rahab Moeikauhane], *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, 20 July, 1878. Keawaiki is name of the channel in the ‘Uo reef, the boat landing, and the Lahaina lighthouse (built in 1840) that stood near the Hauola stone.
- 33 Pukui, *Dictionary*. “Seizing turns” are the tight, consecutive turns of a rope around an anchoring object.
- 34 Also called a “roadstead.” A protected area in which ships could safely anchor and from which smaller boats could ferry passengers and goods.
- 35 In Kepā and Onaona Maly, *He Wahi Mo‘olelo no Kaua‘ula a me Lahaina, Maui*, Kumu Pono Associates LLC, 54.
- 36 “About Whaleboats,” <http://www.whalingcityrowing.org/about-whaleboats>. “Whaleboats,” <http://www.columbia.edu/~njs2115/Vessels/web-content/Whaleboats.html>. “Whaleboat,” <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Whaleboat>.
- 37 “Mokuahi Kilauea,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, March 13, 1862.
- 38 Kīhei de Silva, “Waiho ‘Ao‘ao (Neki Hula),” Merrie Monarch factsheet 2002. Larry Lindsey Kimura, “Vulgarity in Hawaiian Music,” in the Hawaiian Music Foundation’s *Ha‘ilonō Mele*, v.2, no.2, December 1976.
- 39 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, II:164.
- 40 Roberts, *Ancient Hawaiian Music*, 202; Pukui, *Nā Mele Welo*, 118–119.



<sup>41</sup> Pukui, *Nā Mele Welo*, 164–169.

<sup>42</sup> “Sugar Boiler,” Commonplace Book of Edward K. Lilikalani (1852-1917), Lili‘uokalani Collection, HI. M.4:3, Bishop Museum Archives. Kimo Alama-Keaulana, “Māhukona,” *Puke Mele*, vi:68-89, and MS Grp 329, 5.42 Bishop Museum Archives. Kīhei de Silva, “Māhukona,” *He Aloha Moku o Keawe: A Collection of Songs for Hawai‘i, Island of Keawe*, Lelepalī Productions, 1997, 49-52.

<sup>43</sup> Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, II:164. 12-13.

<sup>44</sup> If we really wanted to get deep into questions of word-choice, we could also look at *huelo poki* as something of an anachronism whose connotations of whale-hunting might have been intended by a disapproving haku mele who thought of Henelika as the victim of haole interests and pursuit.

<sup>45</sup> “Ke liolio nei ke kaula likini.”

<sup>46</sup> S. W. Kekahaloha, “He Mele Kahiko,” *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 Nov., 1862.

<sup>47</sup> Another example of ‘alihi imagery of the 1860s that conveys the idea of “hold-fast or else” can be found in a lengthy mele inoa for *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* itself:

Kokohia mai i paa	Haul-in on it until it is made fast
A liolio ka alihi,	And the ‘alihi are taut
A alualu ole iho,	And there is no slack
I ola mau loa oe.	So that you will live on

(“Kahi Mele,” Oct. 1, 1861.)

<sup>48</sup> “Lahaina in 1857,” *The Friend*, April 1857, 36.

<sup>49</sup> “No Lahaina,” *Ke Au Okoa*, 23 May, 1867.

<sup>50</sup> L[the rest is illegible] Nailiili, “He Kanikau Aloha no Honolulu ke Kulanakauhale Nui o Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, *Ka Nonanona*, 12 Nov., 1844.

<sup>51</sup> J. L. Nailiili, “He Mele Kanikau no T. Haalilio ka Elele Nui o Hawaii Nei i Make aku la i Tahiki,” *Ka Elele*, 21 Oct., 1845.