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## Mai Ka 'Āina O Ka 'Eha'eha Mai: Testimonies of Hansen's Disease Patients in Hawai'i, 1866–1897

### INTRODUCTION

Starting in 1865, the government of the Kingdom of Hawai'i and successive governments quarantined people with Hansen's disease, or leprosy, on the remote peninsula of Kalaupapa on the island of Molo-kai.<sup>1</sup> From the beginning, the people who were quarantined and people who were arrested on suspicion of having leprosy wrote letters to the Hawaiian newspapers in Hawaiian, their native tongue. Although much has been written about the leprosy quarantine settlement, these letters have never before been collected and studied. The main purpose of this project is to assemble as many of the letters as possible in order to allow the native voices, so long silent, to be heard.

There are two main reasons for the lack of historical attention to this large archive: the first is that histories of the settlement have focused on the heroic stories of Father Damien and Mother Marianne; the second is that the majority of the accounts were written in the Hawaiian language.

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This is in the process of changing as a new cadre of scholars focus on the patients themselves. Recent academic work by Pennie Moblo and Kerri Inglis privilege patient experiences and consider works in the Hawaiian language.<sup>2</sup> It is hoped that this project will support their ongoing work. Since no indexes for this kind of material exist, we scrolled through reels of microfilm looking for headlines and date-lines that indicated letters and articles were from or about the settlement or about the issue. At the end of the project, we had collected over 350 letters, editorials, and other items published in six different Hawaiian language newspapers between 1865 and 1897 (see Table 1). The collection will be submitted to Hamilton Library at UH Mānoa. Because of time constraints and because not every issue of every newspaper has been preserved, this cannot be said to be a comprehensive collection. It is, however, substantial and should be of interest and value in understanding the experiences of Kānaka Maoli of the nineteenth century who were arrested and exiled to Molokai. It should also help to change some common stereotypes about the patients, particularly that they were too weak and too demoralized to govern themselves. The letters reveal that from the very beginning, those arrested documented their experiences and submitted their accounts to newspapers in order that their fellow Kanaka would know what was happening. Also, from the beginning, those exiled to Kalawao and Kalaupapa organized themselves; first, to start a church and later on to take part in governing the settlement, and to participate in protesting the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States. Our impression of the patients from their letters is that, although they were traumatized by both the disease and by being forcibly separated from their family and friends, they were literate, organized, politically active, and connected to the rest of the Hawai'i community through the newspapers.

We note, too, that the criminalization of the disease as well as the quarantining of the patients constitute attempts to erase their voices—those represented as criminals have no right to have their voices heard. The letters show that the writers, though relatively powerless, acted against these attempts at erasure by using the newspapers to protest government policies and to ask their fellow citizens to take responsibility for the wrongs being done. These mainly maka'āinana

Table 1. Letters and articles collected from Hawaiian newspapers

Newspaper	Years Collected	Types of Articles	Number
<i>Ke Au Okoa</i>	1865–1873	Letters	5
		Editorials	6
		Kanikau (Mourning songs)	1
		Gov't Report	1
<i>Nupepa Kuokoa</i>	1865–1878	Letters	68
		Editorials	35
		News articles	4
		Gov't Report	1
<i>Ko Hawaii Pono</i>	1873–1874	Letters	22
		Editorials	14
		News articles	2
<i>Ko Hawaii Pae Aina</i>	1878–1891	Letters	49
		Editorials	66
		Kanikau	4
		Gov't Report	1
		News articles	3
		News article by patients	1
<i>Ke Aloha Aina</i>	1895–1897	Letters	12
		Editorials	9
		Kanikau	3
		News articles	2
		Mele lāhui	1
<i>Ka Makaainana</i>	1894–1897	Letters	19
		Editorials	2
		News articles	22
		News articles by patients	4
		Petition to Papa Ola (BOH)	1
<i>Totals</i>		Letters	175
		Editorials	132
		Kanikau	8
		News articles	33
		News articles by patients	5
		Petition to Papa Ola (BOH)	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>354</b>

[common people] criticize both the ali'i [chiefs] and the haole [Caucasian or foreign] doctors who influenced them. As Pennie Moblo puts it, "The inmates brought significant improvements to the settlement . . . by actively informing relatives, legislators, and the press of their concerns. The 'lepers' of Moloka'i did not let themselves be forgotten . . ." <sup>3</sup>

Leprosy created great anxiety in the minds of missionaries and other foreigners in Hawai'i, including the members of the Board of Health and other advisors to the ali'i nui. The discourses on leprosy, along with syphilis, implied that the disease was a primary cause of depopulation, as a result of the natives' "poor hygiene, promiscuity, and fondness of touching one another." <sup>4</sup> This was despite the observation that tuberculosis, which was not quarantined, "killed Hawaiians at a rate about four times that of leprosy." <sup>5</sup> Moblo notes that leprosy was not as widespread, deadly, or contagious as was claimed. The patients' letters do not refer to this directly, but show that Kānaka Maoli were not afraid of contracting the disease. They may have contrasted their experience of leprosy with the smallpox epidemic of the 1850s, which would still have been in the memory of most people. Smallpox was a truly devastating virus that killed thousands of people over a period of six months or so, but had been subject to only feeble attempts at quarantine. Moblo and R. D. K. Herman found that the quarantining of people with leprosy fits into a political-economic pattern that vilifies a targeted and dispossessed group, and segregates infected persons for a purported public good. In Hawai'i, the start of the quarantine coincided with the rise of sugar plantations, and the numbers of patients peaked with the Bayonet Constitution, when the (illegitimately formed) government was most anxious about its stability. Other spikes in the numbers of patients sent to Molokai accompanied the coup of 1893 and the resistance to annexation in 1897. <sup>6</sup>

In this paper, we offer a sampling of the letters that demonstrate the range of testimonies of patients themselves to these events. We start with three early accounts of being arrested, then look at the letters of one extraordinary writer of the 1870s, and finally offer an account of the anti-annexation activities at the settlement between 1895 and 1897.

## TERMINOLOGY AND TRANSLATION ISSUES

This is not a translation project, but we have translated excerpts from the letters so that readers will get an idea of the wealth of material in the letters. We have chosen to translate the letters in a way that we hope allows readers to get a sense of the Hawaiian by attempting to preserve original figures of speech. For that reason, the translations may not seem smooth. Translation of verse and metaphors, we realize, is bound to be reductive and inadequate, as the many levels of meaning in Hawaiian cannot be translated without overly long explanations. For that reason, we have chosen not to translate the one mele [song, poem] that we include. We understand as well that our interpretations are not the only ones possible and trust that the excerpts in Hawaiian will inspire others to study the letters and songs further in their original forms.

## BEING ARRESTED

On July 28, 1866, *Nupepa Kuokoa* published one of the earliest letters that documents the experience of being arrested on suspicion of leprosy, written by John W. Makanoanoa of Kailua, Kona, island of Hawai'i. Makanoanoa described his experience on board the ship *Kīlauea*:

Ua haalele aku makou ia Kailua ma ka la 11 o Iulai. A ia makou hoi maluna o ka moku, ua hoonoioia ae la makou iloko o ka pa puaa, me ka hookapu loa ia mai, aole e puka ae iwaho, aole no hoi e pii ae iluna, a hookahi wale no wahi e noho ai, mai ka la i kau mai ai iluna o ka moku.<sup>7</sup>

We left Kailua on July 11. And when we were on the boat, we were packed in a pigpen, with severe prohibitions not to go outside, and not to go up above, and there was only one place to stay from the day we boarded the boat.

After arriving in Honolulu, at the pier at 'Āinahou, Makanoanoa and others remained in the pigpen; they were not allowed to mingle with the other passengers. They waited, confined, until a horse-drawn

carriage arrived to transport them to the hospital in Kalihi-Kai, where Makanoanoa was examined and released. While at Kalihi, he carefully observed the fate of others who were diagnosed with leprosy. He cautioned those who might be arrested and diagnosed with the disease:

Ina oe he keiki no ka helu akahi, e hookomo ko waho ia loko, e paina oe i kau mau mea a pau loa, a e hoomakaukau oe i na mea o kou hopena, no ka mea, o kou laweia ana mai a hiki ma ka Hale-mai o Kalihi-kai, a hala loa aku hoi i Molokai, ua like no ia me kou iho mua ana i loko o ka lua kupapau . . . Eia no hoi; ina no he waiwai nui kou, e hoomakaukau mua oe i Palapala Hooilina no kou waiwai, i ili aku ai ia maluna o kou hooilina, no ka mea, o kou ike hope ana aku la no ia i kou ohana.<sup>8</sup>

If you are a first-rate child, you should put what you have outside inside, eat everything that you have, and you should prepare things for your fate, because you will be taken away to the Kalihi-kai Hospital, and passed on to Molokai, it is like your first descent into the grave . . . Further, if you have a lot of wealth, first you should prepare a will so that it will be bequeathed to your heirs, because this will be your last sight of your family.

Another letter from the island of Hawai'i was written by W. Kahalelaau of Ka'u, and published in *Nupepa Kuokoa* on April 24, 1866. Like Makanoanoa, Kahalelaau described his arrest and also that of his ill and paralyzed daughter. The police arrived at his house at around 8 at night, telling him to come with them immediately. He wrote:

Huli ae la au ma na paia o ko'u hale, ike aku la au i ka'u waiwai makamae mai ke Akua mai, oia hoi ka'u kaikamahine, nona ke kino i loohia i ka mai hiki ole i ke ku ae iluna, pane aku la au me ka naau kaumaha, ["P]ehea la kuu kaikamahine?["] [I] mai la no ua wahi makai nei, "Oia no kekahi," ia manawa he mea e ke kaumaha a me ka luuluu o ka naau, i nana aku kuu hana i ua kaikamahine nei, e hiolo mai ana ko ia la mau waimaka.

I turned to the walls of my house and saw my cherished treasure from God, that is, my daughter, the one whose body has gotten a disease which prevents her being able to stand up, and I said with a heavy

heart, "What about my daughter?" The police officer said, "Her too." Then I felt so much sadness and sorrow, [and] when I looked at my daughter, tears were falling on her cheeks.

Kahalelaau asked the police officers to wait until daylight to take his daughter, because they could see that she could not stand up. At first they agreed, but then again ordered him to go with them immediately. He asked that the Chief of Police be summoned to look at her, since other "haole" had been there and told him her sickness was a fever, but not leprosy. They again refused. The officers took Kahalelaau, but left his daughter. He continued:

A hiki makou ma i Kaalualu, o ka miki aku la no ia o ua mau makai nei i ke kapena o ka moku, lohe aku la au i ka olelo a na makai e kii hou i ua kaikamahine nei a'u.

[L]ohe mai la ke kapena i ka nunui o na leo o makou, ia manawa i lohe pono aku ai au i kona leo, e pane ana me ke aloha ole. "Kii koke aku na makai i kela kaikamahine, ina aole hiki, nakinaki maluna o ka lio a lawe mai, i na make ma ke alanui pono no, kanu no malaila[.]"

When we arrived at Ka'alu'alu, the police officers went promptly to the captain of the boat, and I heard them say they were going again to get my daughter. The captain of the boat heard our loud voices, and I heard his voice well, saying with no compassion, "The police should go get that girl and if she is unable, she should be tied onto a horse and brought; if she dies right on the road, bury her there."

Kahalelaau became incensed by those words:

Olelo hou aku la au i na makai me kuu makau ole ia lakou, a maanei hoi e ike ai kakou i ka hana pili i ka lawe ola a na makai a me ke kapena o ka moku, pane aku la au i na makai, ina i kii hou oukou i kuu kaikamahine, ina i pau kona ola ma ke alanui e like me ka oukou olelo, hoopii kino au ia oukou, a hiki aku i ka mea e noho ana ma ka Noho Alii.

I spoke again to the police, with no fear of them—and here we see the actions of the police and captain of the boat are close to taking life—I said to the police, if you folks go again to get my daughter and if she

dies on the road as you say [she might], I will personally sue you all the way up to the one sitting on the Throne.

But Kahalelaau and his family would not let that happen. He described the extraordinary measures they took to ensure that his daughter was eventually transported safely to the ship.

Eia wale no ke kumu i pakele ai ke ola, o ka nui o ka ohana, ua hana ia he holowaa huinaha, me ke amo kua ana, ma kahi maikai amo ia me na lio elua, me ka hoolimalima ana i ko maua dala pono.<sup>9</sup>

This is the only reason her life was spared, that is, that the whole family [did it]; a four-sided box was built, which was carried on their shoulders, and in good places it was carried by two horses, which were rented with our own money.

Kahalelaau ended his letter with a criticism of government policy, accusing them of racism:

Ua pono anei keia hana, aole paha? Oiai, ke hana ia nei keia hana mai Hawaii a Kauai me ka huikau, e like me ka'u mea e ike maka nei a ua like no hoi keia hana me ka Pulumu ana i na Iliulaula, e noho ana ma na papahela o ke Aupuni Hawaii, ka poe i komo io ke aloha i ka Iwi-hilo. Owau no me ke aloha. W. Kahalelaau, Hale Mai, Kalihi-Kai.

Are these actions pono [right, beneficial], or not? These things are being done from Hawai'i to Kaua'i, in a confused way, as I am witnessing, and these actions are like Sweeping away the Brownskinned people, who are living on the floor of the Hawaiian Government, the people in whom aloha has truly entered, in the last rib bone [i.e., the core of their being]. I am, with aloha, W. Kahalelaau, Hospital, Kalihi-Kai.

Kahalelaau's letter confirms the analyses made by Moblo and Herman, specifically, that "the reaction by the government's haole advisors and their expert doctors reflected the colonial mentality towards Hawaiians, rather than the epidemiological and historical character of the disease."<sup>10</sup> He suspects that the government is using the quarantine system unfairly, to sweep away Hawaiians who may be considered undesirable, perhaps standing in the way of progress for



Europeans, European-Americans, and other elites in the Kingdom. Herman says that "Leprosy policies in late nineteenth-century Hawai'i reflect and embody the mobilization of racial discourses to disempower Hawaiians."<sup>11</sup> Kahalelaau's use of the word "Iliulaula" [Brown or Redskinned] for Hawaiian is also reflective of the circulation of racial discourses at this time. At the time (and until today), Hawaiians describe themselves in Hawaiian as *Kanaka Maoli*, *Kanaka Hawai'i*, *Kanaka 'Ōiwi*, and *ka lāhui Hawai'i*, and, in English as Hawaiian subjects/nationals, aboriginal Hawaiians, n/Native Hawaiians, and in other terms that have no reference to skin color.<sup>12</sup> Kahalelaau's use of the color term appears to be specifically directed to the government officials who are viewing the people in such terms.

It is important to note that Kahalelaau also emphasizes the relationship of the *maka'āinana* to the government at the end of the letter. He uses the metaphor of the rib bone, which is the center of the human body, to say that he wants the government to see the people suspected of leprosy not as something to be swept away, but as the very core of the Kingdom.

The next letter, written by a woman named Kaiwi of Lāhainā, documents a case of mass arrest and imprisonment of *Kānaka Maoli* that took place on the island of Maui in 1872. She began the letter like this:

He mau pule paha elua a ekolu mamua aku nei, ua hoouluuluia mai ka poe i loa i ka mai pake maloko o ka halepaahao ma Lahaina nei. Aole nae no Lahaina nei wale no, aka, no Lanai mai kahi poe, o na kane, wahine, a me na keiki. . . . A ma kekahi mau pule mai me he mea la o na mea a pau i komo iloko o ka halepaahao, ua hiki no i ke kanaha a keu.

Perhaps two or three weeks ago, the people who had gotten the Chinese disease were assembled in the jail here in Lāhainā. They were not only from Lāhainā, but some people were from Lāna'i; there were men, women, and children. . . . And after a few weeks it seems [the number of] all the people put in the jail had arrived at forty or more.

Kaiwi reported the names of the people who, once examined by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Ferdinand Hutchinson, were taken to Molokai on board the ship *Wawiki* (the *Warwick*). In addition to the

names, she described in detail the grief people experienced at the forced separation:

A o keia poe a pau, ua kaawale aku lakou mai ko lakou mau makamaka aku, a ua haalele iho na makua i na keiki, a o na keiki hoi i ko lakou mau makua, pela no hoi na hoa'loha i na hoa'loha. A i ka la o ko lakou lawe ia ana, ua piha u kahi uapo o Keawaiki, ua uwe paiauma aku na makamaka o ka poe i hookaawaleia, me ka manao paa no hoi o kahi poe, e holo pu no me ka lakou poe mai, aka, aole nae e hiki; a me he mea la, ua elima a cono wale no paha poe i holo pu aku no kahi Manawa wale no a hoi mai, a hookahi wale no wahine i hoohiki paa, e holo pu no me kana kane, a waiho pu aku no na iwi ia Kalawao.<sup>13</sup>

All of these people were separated from their friends, and the parents left their children, and the children [left] their parents; in the same way friends [left] their friends. And on the day of their removal, Keawaiki pier was crowded, the friends of the ones that were being segregated wept and slapped their chests, some having the intention of going with their sick ones, but it was not possible; and there were only about five or six people that went for just a time and had to return, and only one woman vowed to travel with her man, and leave their bones together at Kalawao.

Kaiwi voiced the growing desire by family members to travel to Molokai and reside with their loved ones who were diagnosed with leprosy. A Board of Health policy allowed non-patients to visit or remain, but only with the written permission of the BOH. They were referred to as *kōkua* or 'helpers'. In 1872, nearly 115 such *kōkua* resided in the settlement. Unfortunately, many of them were sent away the following year to make room for new arrivals.<sup>14</sup>

Kaiwi's letter also illustrates how the government used the language and tools of policing and punishment for the patients. The patients were imprisoned in a jail rather than quarantined in a hospital or clinic.

Further, although people might seem rather powerless here, especially after being thrown in jail, Kaiwi's letter is a positive and forceful act, and is typical of ordinary Hawaiians' insistence on interacting with the government. Many *maka'āinana* did so through letters to the newspapers or through petitioning to the legislature throughout the Hawaiian Kingdom era and afterwards.

## UWELEALEA/WILLIAM HUMPHREYS

Uwelealea was an elected representative from Maui in the 1864 Legislative Assembly, and that is how his name appears on the roster in Jonathan Osorio's history.<sup>15</sup> In September of 1867, he wrote a letter to *Nupepa Kuokoa*, describing his stay at the "Halemai Lepera" or Leprosy Hospital at Kalihi-Kai. He signed it W. H. Uwelealea. He is known, however, in Board of Health records, and thus in histories, as William Humphreys. Uwelealea, as we shall see, was a talented writer in Hawaiian and a leader of two rebellions against the administration of the settlement. He later became an administrator of the settlement himself.

As a member of the legislature that created the quarantine law, Uwelealea wrote in his first letter that "He mea maikai nui ka hooko pono ana i na rula o ka Papa Ola no keia Kanawai i apono ia . . . i mea e laha ole ai keia mai" "The complete fulfillment of the rules of the Board of Health from the law that was passed is a very good thing . . . in order that this disease does not spread."<sup>16</sup> But he also wrote that he saw "kekahi mau kanaka elua i loa i ka lepera, a ua kaalo mau no i na maka o na luna hopu, aole nae hopu ia, no ka manao paha i ko laua Haku hana he haole" "two people who have leprosy, passing continually in the faces of the arresting officers, but were not arrested, because perhaps [the police were] thinking of their boss, that [the two] were haole."<sup>17</sup> Uwelealea closed this first letter saying:

E pono e lawe ia na mea a pau i loa nui a loa iki, aole pono e waiho a oo ka hua oki, o helelei auanei, ulu na kawowo.

All should be taken who have [the disease] a little or a lot, it is not pono to leave a fruit to mature, lest it fall, and seedlings grow.

Although Uwelealea here justifies the law, he cannot help but notice and protest that Kānaka Maoli seem to be the targets of the segregation, and haole seem to be exempt.

A year after his first letter, Uwelealea wrote another, which described life in Kalawao. It appears to reinforce Ethel Damon's suspicion, as described in *Siloama: The Church of the Healing Spring*, that patients may have been prevented from exchanging letters with their

families and friends, and so the newspapers provided a way for patients to provide news to them. The letter opens this way:

E *Ke Au Okoa* e, Aloha oe:

E oluolu ana paha oe ia'u e hoike aku i ka noho ana o na Mai Lepera ma Kalawao nei a me ke ano o ka aina e noho ia nei e lakou, no ka mea, o oe hoi ke kukini mama uiha ole i ke kaapuni i na moku o kaaa, a malia hoi, ma kou ahonui kunukunu ole, e loa aku ai kau wahi lauahea lohe i na kini makamaka o lakou e noho mai nei.

To *Ke Au Okoa*, Greetings:

Please agree that I may report on the lives of the Leprosy Patients here at Kalawao and the nature of the land upon which they are living, because you are the quick tireless runner who circles our islands, and perhaps, in your uncomplaining patience, some hearsay [i.e., news] will get to the friends of theirs that are living here [in the islands].

Uwelealea then reports that the patients are struggling with the pain of their disease, and that it is heartbreaking to witness the sores and redness of the skin, and especially the loss of fingertips. He never, however, uses any language similar to the Western doctors' description of the disease as repulsive or ugly.<sup>18</sup> Instead he prays for better treatment for the patients. His main point in the letter is to reassure others that Kalawao is a livable place, but one that is permeated with sadness:

nunui [*sic*] wai ma Kalawao, nui nui [*sic*] waiu ma Kalawao, a i hiki mai nei ka hana, haule loa ai o ka manaolana, oia no ka mamao loa mai na makamaka mai o ke kino a me ke kaawale hoi mai ka home aloha mai. Aloha oukou.

Get plenty water in Kalawao, get plenty milk in Kalawao, and when you arrive, hopes fall low, because it is so far from the friends of the body [personal friends], separated from one's beloved home. How sad for you.<sup>19</sup>

At the end of the letter, Uwelealea notes "Eia wale no na wahi mea hemahema loa o Kalawao nei o ka halepule ole, a o na keiki liilii hoi, aole no he kula," "These are the big needs of Kalawao, the lack of a

church, and for the little children there is no school.<sup>20</sup> He offers himself as a teacher for the children, and his next letters describe how the patients organized themselves in order to remedy the lack of a church, and to organize politically.

Uwelealea's next letter was published on December 17, 1868. He writes that the patients have begun to hold meetings:

Ua hoalala mau ia ko lakou mau manao aloha lahui, ma ko makou mau hui hoohalawai pinepine ana . . . Ua koho iho nei lakou i mau waha olelo no lakou . . . he 15 poe kane kuikawa, e aloha ana i ko lakou lahui mai, a ua kapa ia lakou 'Na komite 15 o na mai pake o Kalawao', a i ka hui mau ana o na komite 15, ua ae pu ia mai ka puuku o na mai a me ka hope luna, a poo makai hoi o na mai pake a pau, e komo i na halawai a pau a ke komite 15 e halawai ai, a ma keia hana noiau ana lakou ua lokahi ka noho ana me ka oluolu, a ua kuonoono hoi.<sup>21</sup>

Their love of their people/nation has been constantly reawakened because of our frequent meetings . . . They have recently elected spokesmen for themselves . . . they are 15 special men, who love their people, and they are called "The Committee of Fifteen of the Chinese Disease Patients of Kalawao," and in all the meetings of the 15 committee, it has been agreed that the administrator and the deputy head as well as the head sheriff of all the patients may attend all the meetings that the 15 Committee hold, and through this wise deed of theirs, life is unified and pleasant, and prosperous.

The first decision of the committee was that: "E malamaia ka la 28 o Novemaba, i la kulaia no ke kuokoa ana," "The 28th of November shall be observed as a holiday of independence." November 28th, the day that a Joint Proclamation was signed by Great Britain and France recognizing the independence of the Kingdom, was celebrated as a national holiday called Lā Kū'oko'a (Independence Day) between 1844 and 1898.<sup>22</sup> This year in Kalawao the day was celebrated by all the families, who each made their own imu [underground oven] and then gathered together for speeches and other festivities. In the midst of the warmth of the festivities, however,

komo mai ana kekahi nuhou anuanu, oia hoi ka make ana o ka makua alii, makua hoi o ka lehulehu, a haule iho la na hauoli o ka la i ke kumakena, olo ae la ka pih[e] no ke aloha, a minamina alii no.

chilling news came, that is, of the death of the ali'i father [Kekuanaoa, father of Kamehameha IV and V, and Victoria Kamāmalu], father also of the people, and the happiness of the day fell into grief, wails of aloha resounded, for the cherished ali'i.

The patients' decision to celebrate Lā Kū'oko'a as an expression of aloha 'āina (love of the nation) raises an intriguing question: Were they using their expression of aloha 'āina as a tool to survive? Their celebration and publicizing of it was an assertion that they were yet part of the nation. It could be that they were using the collective feelings of nationalism to spur their families, friends, and legislators to action on their behalf. Their mourning on hearing of the death of Kekuanaoa also showed their connection to and love for the royal family. Aloha for the ali'i is also traditionally part of aloha 'āina.

Uwelealea gave a speech that day in which he tried to cheer the patients and encourage them towards greater unity. The speech also called for aloha 'āina and asked the patients to trust in and have affection for the Mō'i or King.

Nolaila, e hoolana kakou, a e hiipoi ae me ka lokahi, i ka lokomaikai palena ole a ko kakou Aupuni e lulu nei maluna o ko kakou mau poo, i lawelawe paka ia hoi me ka hookae ole mai, e ko kakou Moi Aloha Lahui, ana i lokomaikai wale mai ai, i keia home maikai, no ko kakou mau la o ka popilikia ili wale mai. Nolaila, ke noi aku nei au ia oukou a pau, e hoike i ko kakou lokahi aloha Alii, ma ka haawi ana i ekolu huro ana, (ua huro ia,) "E ola ka Moi i ke Akua, a e onipaa kona Aimoku ana."<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, let us be hopeful, let us cherish in unity the boundless generosity that our Government is bestowing on our heads, that is being carried out without hatred, by our People-Loving King, who has been so generous [giving] this good home [to us] in our time of distress that has befallen us. So, I am asking all of you to show your unified aloha for the Ali'i by giving three cheers. (It was cheered) "Long Live the King through God, and may his Rule be steadfast."

Uwelealea's leadership ability and his love for his people eventually led him into conflict with the administrators of the settlement. As William Humphreys, he stands out as one of the native leaders whose

stories Pennie Moblo documented. He served as constable for the settlement for a time.<sup>24</sup> Although originally the government envisioned the settlement becoming self-sufficient through farming, after two years, support for the program disappeared. Episodes of food shortages followed and after one such episode in 1870, patients rioted. Humphreys the constable did nothing to stop them. He was arrested for this and sent to O'ahu Prison.<sup>25</sup> He was eventually released, but arrested again later during another dispute over the distribution of food. In that case, he and some other men slaughtered a steer and distributed the meat to patients. He was again eventually released, and in 1872 briefly served as superintendent of the settlement. In the winter of 1873 after taking some medicine prescribed by Dr. Trousseau for dropsy, he died. With his death, the patients lost the most eloquent voice of their time.

#### ANTI-ANNEXATION ACTIVITIES AT KALAUPAPA AND KALAWAO

Kānaka Maoli in the settlements at Kalaupapa and Kalawao continued to stay in touch with the rest of the nation through the Hawaiian language newspapers. They knew from letters and the newspapers about the death of Kalākaua in 1891, after which Lili'uokalani became Mō'iwahine (Queen). The story is well-known that after Lili'uokalani attempted to promulgate a constitution to rectify the Bayonet Constitution, she was forced out of office in a coup orchestrated by an oligarchy of haole Hawaiian subjects, with the aid of other, mainly haole, residents, as well as the U.S. minister and U.S. military.<sup>26</sup> Almost immediately afterwards, Kānaka Maoli and others organized to support Lili'uokalani and to try to prevent annexation to the United States.<sup>27</sup> Two organizations were prominent in these efforts—Hui Kālai'āina, originally formed to support Kānaka Maoli after the Bayonet Constitution, and Hui Aloha 'Āina, formed immediately following the 1893 coup.

Sometime between 1893 and 1897, the patients at Kalaupapa formed their own branch of the Hui Aloha 'Āina. Many of the approximately 1,300 people exiled at the Kahua Ma'i Lepera demonstrated support for the Queen and their kingdom by joining Hui Aloha 'Āina or otherwise engaging in protests that affirmed their collective identity as Kanaka Maoli and their deep love for their 'āina.<sup>28</sup>

One of the ways that people expressed love for their nation and queen was through mele [song, poetry].<sup>29</sup> Despite being exiled at Kalaupapa and Kalawao, those ill with leprosy, like their compatriots, composed such mele, and sent them to the newspapers for publication.

D. Kahoeka was one such person who chose to express his resistance to the overthrow, his loyalty as a Hawaiian subject, and his commitment to the independence of the nation in a mele lāhui (nationalist song) or mele wehi (song to honor a person) for Lili'uokalani titled "He Lei He Aloha No Liliulani," 'A Lei of Affection for Liliulani.' His mele was published in *Ke Aloha Aina* on May 22, 1897. Kahoeka celebrated, among other things, the unity and the nonviolence of the lāhui Hawai'i during the struggles to preserve their nation. Here is part of the mele:

No Liliuokalani nei kalaunu  
 Hookahi puuwai no ke aloha,  
 No ka aina hoi me ka lahui,  
 Ua hui lokahi na mokupuni,  
 Kau like i ka pono o ka aina,  
 Kaohi ia a paa ko aupuni,  
 Mai Hawai'i a ka mole o Lehua.<sup>30</sup>

In the following lines of the mele, Kahoeka stresses the people's opposition to foreign rule, and also his love for the nation and his Mō'i:

He iini pau ole ko ka lahui,  
 Lokahi ka manao me ke aloha,  
 He aloha wau la i kuu Moi,  
 Me kuu lahui pauaho ole,  
 Ua hoike mai ka pae opua,  
 Ua mau e ka ea la i ka pono.<sup>31</sup>

He ends the mele by expressing to the Queen that, despite their pain from the disease, the patients hope that she will be returned to the throne:

Akahi a lana mai ka manao,  
 Ua ola makou Kou lahui,



E alo ae nei me ka ehaeha,  
I ka hana luhi a ka ma'i lepera.

Although the settlement itself was created by anxieties about leprosy that resulted in the patients being cast off from the main body of the nation, Kahoeaka's mele effectively shows how the patients thought of and represented themselves as loyal subjects who had a kuleana [a right, responsibility, and authority] to express their sentiments about the government. The editors who agreed to print their letters and mele in the newspapers similarly did not share the anxieties about leprosy, and considered people with leprosy part of the nation.

These patients suffered more under the oligarchical Republic and they also had a particular affection for Queen Lili'uokalani because she was the only mō'i to visit them. When the Queen took the throne in 1891, she made a tour around the islands to visit her subjects and her first visit was to Kalaupapa. The Queen brought friends and relatives of the imprisoned to Kalaupapa with her and for the first time in many years, family members could see and embrace each other. The Queen had been welcomed with an arch decorated with fern and ti leaves and the words "Aloha i ka Moiwahine," 'Love/Greetings to the Queen' and by the band playing "Hawai'i Pono'i," the national anthem.<sup>32</sup>

The patients of Kalaupapa also expressed their aloha 'āina and their kuleana in their celebration of the birthdays of Kamehameha I on June 11, 1897 and Lili'uokalani on September 2, 1897. S. W. Kalua recorded the Kamehameha day event and sent his account to the newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina*. Here is an excerpt:

Ma ke kakahiaka nui poniponi o ka la hanau o ka Napoliona I. o ka Pakipika, ia'u i haliu iho ai e nana i ka'u uwati o ka hora 5:30 ia, oia no ka wa a'u i lohe aku ai i ke kani hone mai o ka bana puihi ohe e alakaiia ana e ko makou Porofesa C. N. Kealakai . . . Ma ka hora 10 ana ae, ua malamaia he mau heihei lio, ekake, a pela aku, mamuli o ka ua kilihune ua hoomoeia no kekahi wa aku, ke kinipopo me kekahi mau lealea e ae no ka hookuku mawaena o Kalaupapa a me Kalawao.

In the purple early morning of the birthday of the Napoleon of the Pacific (Kamehameha I), when I turned to look at my watch it was 5:30

a.m., and it was at that time that I heard a sweet sound from the band led by our Professor C. N. Kealakai . . . At 10 am, horse races, donkey races, and so forth were held, [but] because of the light showers of rain, baseball and some other games for a contest between Kalaupapa and Kalawao were postponed for another time.

Kalua also mentioned that following the races, the patients enjoyed a feast that they themselves prepared. Shortly thereafter they toasted the life of “Kalaniaimoku,” that is, Queen Lili‘uokalani.<sup>33</sup> Festivities continued into the late afternoon with Kealakai and his band performing English and Hawaiian melodies, and ending their musical performance with “Hawai‘i Pono‘i.”

Nakanaela (Thomas Kainikawaha Nathaniel), a prolific writer and land agent, wrote an account of the Queen’s birthday celebration that was published in *Ke Aloha Aina*.<sup>34</sup> Nakanaela had been sent to Kalaupapa in 1893, and later released to Kalihi Hospital in 1896 to have his teeth cared for, in part because it was suspected that he no longer had leprosy.<sup>35</sup> He was sent back to Molokai in 1897. Previous to being exiled, he wrote and edited *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki* (1890) a biography of the nationalist figure Robert Wilcox.<sup>36</sup>

Nakanaela reported that Robert Kaaaoa of Olowalu, Māui was president of Hui Aloha ‘Āina. Since his exile to Molokai in 1896, Kaaaoa had been a frequent writer to the Hawaiian language newspapers and to the Board of Health. As president of Hui Aloha ‘Āina, he organized a committee to plan the day’s events.<sup>37</sup> Like the Kamehameha celebration, this day was full of games, contests, music, and feasting. This celebration of the Queen’s birthday at a time when she was not in power, and when the majority of Kanaka Maoli were attempting to restore her to the throne, was an act of overt resistance to the Republic. The publication of Nakanaela’s account in *Ke Aloha Aina* allowed the whole nation to know that the patients exiled at

(Facing page)

Sample page from anti-annexation petition from Kalaupapa, September 1897. Nearly 500 people there signed the petition, which was circulated by Hui Aloha ‘Āina, the Hawaiian Patriotic League. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.

# PALAPALA HOOPII KUE HOOHUIAINA.

I ka Mea Mahaloia WILLIAM MCKINLEY, Peresidena, a me ka Aha Senate, o Amerika Huipua.

ME KA MAHALO :-

NO KA MEA, ua waihoia aku imua o ka Aha Senate o Amerika Huipua he Kuikahi no ka Hooihui aku in Hawaii nei ia Amerika Huipua i oleloia, no ka noonoa ma kona kan maa i loko o Dekemaha, M. H. 1897: nolaila.

O MAKOU, na poe no lakou na inoa malalo iho, he poe makaiinana a poe noho oivi Hawaii hoi no ka Apana o *Kalapapa* Mokuipuni o *Malakoe*, he poe lala no ka AHAIHI HAWAII ALOHA AINA o KO HAWAII PAAINA, a me na poe e ae i like ka manao makee me ko ka Ahahui i oleloia, ke kua aku nei me ka manao ikaika loa i ka hooihui aku o ko Hawaii Paeaina i oleloia ia Amerika Huipua i oleloia ma kekahi ano a loina paha.

IKKA-ITTEST.

*Enoch Johnson*  
Sept. 11, 1897. *Kahuwaleo Secretary.*

# PETITION AGAINST ANNEXATION.

To His Excellency WILLIAM MCKINLEY, President, and the Senate, of the United States of America.

GREETING :-

WHEREAS, there has been submitted to the Senate of the United States of America a Treaty for the Annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the said United States of America, for consideration at its regular session in December, A. D. 1897: therefore,

WE, the undersigned, native Hawaiian citizens and residents of the District of \_\_\_\_\_ Island of \_\_\_\_\_, who are members of the HAWAIIAN PATRIOTIC LEAGUE OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, and others who are in sympathy with the said League, earnestly protest against the annexation of the said Hawaiian Islands to the said United States of America in any form or shape.

*James Keaunui Kaulia*  
President of the Petition.

	INOA—NAME.	AGE.
H.	C. D. Kealakai	27
"	Geo. Keelanui	30
"	Sumiri	55
"	L. H. Alenuitahala	33
"	D. Kaavao x	38
"	John W. Hoake	27
	J. K. Kulu	34
	Hiaw. Kailua	20
	Wm. Kailua	17
	J. J. Uha	40
	Eddie Molalo	24
	Kamaka Hanalei	31
	Kalapapa	20
	Enika Naukana	16
	Philp. Puaalanu	32
	Peters. Wm. Huihoo	27
	Geo. A. Rice	26
	Hoapii Puaalanu	61
	R. W. Pahanu	20
	Abi. Puaalanu	50
	Uyupukailani	64
	J. J. Uha jr	23
	L. Uha	21
	Hooakaasi	37

	INOA—NAME.	AGE.
	Kiuhualani	30
	Thomas Wood	43
	Kashukolomea	15
	L. W. Alenui	28
	Makainina	64
	Isaka	28
	Kimona	32
	Alana Smith B. Boro	39
	Luciakapihoo	37
	Kalepa	x 15
	Kiram Kihano	53
	Ho. K. Makanaala	39
	John. Yuniu	44
	Sam. O. Alenui	20
	John. Uha	17
	Alia Robinson	31
	Makulu	40
	Kolou	39
	Kuhua	30
	David Kaunani	25
	Mouana	44
	George Kihoo	43
	Solomon Kihoo	33
	J. H. Kihoo	63
	J. P. Miao Kihoo	58

Kalaupapa and Kalawao were together in thought and action with them.

At this time, the Republic, against the wishes of the majority of the people, had negotiated a treaty of annexation with U.S. President William McKinley. In response, the Hui Aloha 'Āina (along with Hui Kālai'āina) began a massive petition drive to protest annexation. At Kalaupapa, Robert Kaooao as president must have coordinated the collection of signatures of the patients on the petition. His work resulted in nearly 500 patients, members and non-members of Hui Aloha 'Āina, signing the petition, including Nakanaela and C. N. Kealakai (the "Professor"). Although many women were also exiled there, apparently no women there signed the petition, and so far, we have found no evidence of a women's branch of the Hui there, although women's branches of the Hui were active on O'ahu, Hawai'i, Maui, Kaua'i, and elsewhere on Molokai, and approximately half of the 21,269 signatures on the final petition belonged to women.<sup>38</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Although patients at Kalaupapa and Kalawao were forcibly segregated and often painfully ill, these letters tell us that they often organized to better their lives, and that they remained as politically active as they possibly could in support of the independence of their nation. Hawaiian language newspapers allowed them to remain connected to the nation from which they were physically cut off and provided ways for them to attempt to influence public policies. Our current collection of letters from the newspapers is fairly complete between 1865 and 1881, and for the year 1897. We suspect that patients continued to write to the newspapers until the papers no longer existed. We know that patients continue to be politically active until today.

Moreover, the letters bring up important questions about how the criminalization of disease works in the politics of dispossession in colonial situations. The experiences of being arrested on suspicion of having the disease and of being imprisoned at Kalaupapa can be seen as a microcosm of the political processes of nationalism and colonialism. We hope that further study will be done on these questions, especially to determine what happened to patients' families and to their land. The letters that we have studied so far include people

advising each other to make wills and to make other provisions to protect themselves and their land.

Finally, we hope that other scholars will find the collection of letters useful for various kinds of language studies. The letters tell us how common people thought and talked about race, family, their communities, their nation, and the political changes brought by the encouragement of capitalism in the nation's economy.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Today, leprosy is properly known as Hansen's Disease. We use the term leprosy throughout this paper because that is the term closest to what was used in Hawaiian (ma'i lepela) during the time period we cover. We use the spelling Molokai rather than Moloka'i, following the admonition of Kupuna Lilia Hale and Edward Halealoha Ayau's note in Harriet Ne with Gloria L. Cronin, *Tales of Molokai: The Voice of Harriet Ne* (Lā'ie: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1992): vi. Hawaiian words are not italicized in keeping with the recent movement to resist making the native tongue appear foreign in writing produced in and about a native land and people.
- <sup>2</sup> See the works by Pennie Moblo: "Defamation by Disease : Leprosy, Myth and Ideology in Nineteenth Century Hawaii." (Ph.D. diss., U of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1996); "Ethnic Intercession: Leadership at Kalaupapa Leprosy Colony, 1871-1887," *Pacific Studies* 22, no. 2 (June 1999) : 27-69; "Institutionalising The Leper: Partisan Politics And The Evolution Of Stigma In Post-Monarchy Hawai'i," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 107, no. 3 (Sept. 1, 1998) : 229-262.; and "Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawaii's Reform Party." *The Journal of Pacific History* 34, no. 1 (1999) : 75-89. See also Kerri A. Inglis, "'A Land Set Apart': Disease, Displacement, and Death at Makanalua, Moloka'i." (Ph.D. diss., U of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2004).
- <sup>3</sup> Pennie Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Moloka'i: The Critical Analysis of Contemporary Myth," *Ethnohistory* 44.4 (Fall 1997): 695.

- <sup>4</sup> Moblo, "Blessed Damien" 697.
- <sup>5</sup> Moblo, "Blessed Damien" 697.
- <sup>6</sup> Moblo, "Blessed Damien" 698–700.
- <sup>7</sup> John W. Makanoanoa, "Ka Huakai Hele A Ka Poe Mai Lepera Mai Kailua, Hawaii, A Hiki Ma Kalihi-Kai Oahu," *Nupepa Kuokoa* 28 July 1866: 4.
- <sup>8</sup> Makanoanoa, "Ka Huakai Hele."
- <sup>9</sup> Makanoanoa, "Ka Huakai Hele."
- <sup>10</sup> R. D. K. Herman, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind, Out of Power: Leprosy, Race and Colonization in Hawai'i" *Journal of Historical Geography* 27 no. 3 (2001): 325.
- <sup>11</sup> Herman, "Out of Sight" 319.
- <sup>12</sup> See, for example, the discussion of terms used in *Hoku o ka Pakipika* in 1861 in Noenoe K. Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou: Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Colonization" (Ph.D. diss., U of Hawai'i, 1999, 41.)
- <sup>13</sup> Kaiwi, "Na Mai Pake I Laweia Ma Kalawao," *Nupepa Kuokoa* 31 Aug. 1872: 2.
- <sup>14</sup> Moblo, "Defamation" 114.
- <sup>15</sup> Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2002) 118. Roster based on Robert C. Lydecker, *Roster Legislatures of Hawaii: 1841–1918* (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Gazette Co. Ltd., 1918).
- <sup>16</sup> W. H. Uwelealea, "Halemai Lepera, Kalihi-Kai," *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 28 Sep. 1867: 3.
- <sup>17</sup> Uwelealea, "Halemai Lepera".
- <sup>18</sup> See Herman, "Out of Sight" 325–327. The differences in foreigners' and Kanaka Maoli perceptions of the disease have been analyzed by ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui, "Beloved Hero or Despised Outlaw? The Authenticity of Race and the Native Voice in Two Portrayals of Kaluaiko'olau," paper given at Multi-Ethnic Literatures Across the Americas and the Pacific : Exchanges, Contestations, & Alliances. Conference of the Society for the Study of the Ethnic Literature of the United States, Honolulu, 1997.
- <sup>19</sup> W. H. Uwelealea, letter, *Ke Au Okoa* 24 Sep. 1868: 3. His phrase "nui nui wai . . . nui nui waiu" is a kind of 'ōlelo pa'i 'ai or pidgin Hawaiian, and so we have translated it using pidgin (Hawaiian Creole English).
- <sup>20</sup> Uwelealea, letter, 24 Sep. 1868.
- <sup>21</sup> W. H. Uwelealea, letter, *Ke Au Okoa*, 17 Dec. 1868: 2.
- <sup>22</sup> See Silva, *Aloha Betrayed* 37.
- <sup>23</sup> W. H. Uwelealea, "Ka Haiolelo a Wm. H. Uwelealea, imua o na Mai Lepera ma Molokai, i [ka] la 28 o Novemaba," *Ke Au Okoa* 24 Dec. 1868, 2.
- <sup>24</sup> Moblo, "Defamation" 95.
- <sup>25</sup> Moblo, "Defamation" 98.
- <sup>26</sup> See, for example, Tom Coffman, *Nation Within* (Kāne'ohe: EpiCenter Press, 1998).
- <sup>27</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed* 129–135.
- <sup>28</sup> Thos. K. Nakanaela, "Na Palapala," *Ke Aloha Aina*, 3 Mar. 1897: 7. Nakanaela estimates the number of patients at a little over 1,300, which is close to other reports that estimate the number at 1,100.

- <sup>29</sup> See Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "History Reinterpreted in Song: The Case of the Hawaiian Counterrevolution," *HJH* 23 (1989): 1-30; J. J. Leilani Basham, "He Puke Mele Lāhui: Nā Mele Kūpa'a, Nā Mele Kū'ē A Me Nā Mele Aloha O Nā Kānaka Maoli," (MA thesis, U of Hawai'i, 2002.)
- <sup>30</sup> D. Kahoeka, "He Lei He Aloha No Liliulani," *Ke Aloha Aina*, 22 May 1897: 7. We have chosen not to translate the mele because of the many possible meanings it carries; for a discussion of the many levels of meaning (kaona) in mele, see Samuel H. Elbert and Noelani Mahoe, *Na Mele O Hawaii Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1970).
- <sup>31</sup> Kahoeka, "He Lei."
- <sup>32</sup> Helena G. Allen, *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani* (Honolulu: Mutual, 1982) 247-252.
- <sup>33</sup> Kalani'aimoku is a term used for any ali'i nui ruling a district or island(s). In 1897, although Queen Lili'uokalani was deposed illegally and not ruling the Hawaiian government, the Kanaka Maoli still regarded her (in their national imaginary) as the ruling monarch of Hawai'i.
- <sup>34</sup> Tho[s]. K. Nakanae[I]a, "Na Hoohiwahiwa La Hanau o Ka Moiwahine Liliuokalani ma ke Kahua Ma'i Lepera," in "Na Palapala," *Ke Aloha Aina*, 18 September 1897: 6.
- <sup>35</sup> Moblo, "Defamation" 238-239.
- <sup>36</sup> Thos. K. Nakanaela, *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki* (Honolulu: Lake me Nakanaela, 1890). See also facsimile edition: Thomas K. Nakanaela, *Ka Buke Moolelo o Honorable Robert William Wilcox* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1999).
- <sup>37</sup> The committee consisted of Aluna Smith, L. B. Wahinalo, J. M. Spencer, J. Puni-lio, G. K. Kahaekukona, Job Kahiea, James Harvest and Simon Kapahee.
- <sup>38</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed* 123-163.

