

Reading Bodies, Writing Blackness: Anti-/Blackness and Nineteenth- Century Kanaka Maoli Literary Nationalism

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A June 5, 1850, journal entry written by fifteen-year-old Hawaiian Prince Alexander Liholiho, the future King Kamehameha IV, details his experience of anti-Black discrimination on a train in Washington, DC. The conductor “told [him] to get out of the carriage rather unceremoniously,” because of his skin color, “saying that [he] was in the wrong carriage.”¹ For Alexander Liholiho, a law school student as well as the future monarch, this diplomatic tour of the United States and Europe was an opportunity to interact with foreign heads of state. Although the conductor deferred to the prince after someone whispered into the official’s ear at a critical moment in the argument, Alexander Liholiho surmised in his entry, “he had taken me for somebodys servant [sic], just because I had a darker skin than he had. Confounded fool.”² During a soiree at the White House only days earlier President Zachary Taylor and Vice President Millard Fillmore had treated him as an equal; now a train conductor cruelly abused him as a “servant” in need of correction.

Perhaps ironically, the young prince had found the president’s “plain citizens dress” [sic] lacking in comparison to his own “belted & cocked” attire, yet none of the outward markers of his royalty registered with the conductor.³ Instead, the conductor misreads Alexander Liholiho’s body based on his racist assumption that a Black body, or a body approximating one, could occupy no other narrative than the one inscribed

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upon it by whiteness. As Alexander Liholiho points out, whiteness in the nineteenth-century United States unquestionably renders the Black body's narrative as "servant." His incredulous rejection of this narrative provides a useful entryway for reading and (re)writing literary intersections of indigeneity, blackness, and sovereignty in times and places where the legal and political narratives of settlers—and, in some cases, Natives—"conflate[d] slavery and blackness."⁴

In his description of the encounter, Alexander Liholiho makes two suggestions about racialization and sovereignty that seem novel even in the twenty-first century: first, that Kanaka Maoli constructions of race can be unyoked from the specifically American racialization of Kānaka Maoli as Black, which is historically integral to the United States' ongoing occupation of Hawai'i; and second, that the Kanaka Maoli body is a productive site to think through global articulations of anti-blackness.⁵ Rather than assert his Kanaka Maoli identity in order to avoid any conflation with racial constructions of blackness, Alexander Liholiho instead applies his presumed proximity to phenotypical blackness in order to make a larger point about the peculiarities of anti-blackness in US politics and society. After the incident, he writes that "In England an African can pay his fare for the Cars, and he can sit alongside of Queen Victoria." He had not experienced such discriminatory treatment in England or France, yet in America "must be treated like a dog to go & come at an Americans bidding" [*sic*], not only by the conductor, but also the "waiters in their hotels" and ultimately, "almost every body that one meets in travelling the United States."⁶ Seemingly Alexander Liholiho, as well as Hawaiian royals who subsequently experienced similar treatment, were collateral damage in the larger American project of policing Black mobility and citizenship.⁷ Apart from whether anti-blackness was more prevalent in the United States than in England, Alexander Liholiho's comments make it clear that at that time, "a darker skin" was not a marker of difference or inferiority in the Hawaiian Kingdom.⁸ In the coming decades, the United States would increasingly racialize Kānaka Maoli as Black in their interactions with Americans, yet simultaneously position them as being closer to whiteness than some of their cousins across the Pacific.⁹ As such, Alexander Liholiho's suggestions locate the intersections of blackness and indigeneity as sites of a particular thread of nineteenth-century Kanaka Maoli literary nationalism invested in the body as an epistemological tool and a symbol of sovereignty.

This essay treats Alexander Liholiho's comments on blackness, skin, and sovereignty as historical stepping stones, fleshing out their connections to earlier and later nineteenth-century Kanaka Maoli literature that relies on the Indigenous body's mediation of physical and figurative blackness as markers of self-determination. From the middle to the late nineteenth century, Kanaka Maoli historian Samuel M. Kamakau published extensively in Hawaiian-language newspapers. This essay pays particular attention to his writings on Kahekili, an eighteenth-century chief who proclaimed his political rank and affirmed his religious ties with his community by completely blackening half of his body with *kākau* (tattoo). The latter half of the nineteenth century also saw the last two monarchs of the Hawaiian Kingdom, King Kalākaua and Queen Lili'uokalani, record and translate the Kumulipo, an ancient cosmogonic chant that includes the monarchs' personal genealogy. As haole oligarchs deployed racist,

anti-Black rhetoric against the monarchs, Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani chose to affirm Hawaiian sovereignty by amplifying the ways the Kumulipo serves as their genealogical connection to Pō, the cosmogonic blackness which began the universe.

Placed alongside texts by Kamakau, Kalākaua, and Lili'uokalani, Alexander Liholiho's journal becomes a historical linchpin. His record not only reveals how Kanaka Maoli notions of skin as text predated American racialization of skin as social stratifier, but also anticipates how future monarchs will read and write their own bodies as texts that rely on multiple Indigenous constructions of blackness to resist US imperialism. My analysis of Kamakau, Kalākaua, and Lili'uokalani traces an arc between *kākau* and cosmogony that demonstrates that historically, Kānaka Maoli have embraced *figurative* blackness as a means to combat settler-colonial notions that *physical, racial* blackness made them unfit for sovereignty. After tracing a disciplinary genealogy of blackness in the Pacific, this article concludes by asking what these specifically Kanaka Maoli articulations of physical and figurative blackness—intentional expressions of Indigenous literary nationalism—can offer to broader discussions of blackness and indigeneity in North America, the Pacific, and beyond.

This essay poses an intervention in contemporary discussions of Black and Indigenous intersections in North American contexts, asking us to move beyond *comparative* understandings of the two and instead contemplate what we might gain by examining a particular context in which blackness is a *constitutive*, foundational element of indigeneity. As such, I include a culturally specific framework for theorizing the Kanaka Maoli body as a text inscribed with various forms of figurative and physical blackness, in political, racial, and cosmogonic contexts. I examine texts that ask what happens when these forms of reading and writing the fecundity of blackness as indigeneity encounter the anti-blackness of settler colonialism. While the texts and histories discussed are unique to Kānaka Maoli, I hope that the literary, epistemological, and historical genealogies developed here impel us to think about how blackness and indigeneity have deep, nuanced, and mutually constitutive roots that belie settler colonialism's recent construction of the two as mutually exclusive.

THEORIZING KANAKA MAOLI BLACKNESS: *KĀKAU* AND PŌ

Within Kanaka Maoli literary studies and Native literary studies more broadly, many scholars have advocated for more expansive definitions of terms like literature and writing. Daniel Heath Justice and Teresia Teaiwa both have theorized a range of Indigenous cultural productions as forms of literature, including sand art, song, and architecture.¹⁰ At the same time, scholars across disciplines have similarly expanded methods of “reading” the Kanaka Maoli body. In addition to offering a site for analysis using racial and performative frameworks, this body is developing into a structuring metaphor for discussions of Hawaiian nationhood and knowledge systems.¹¹

Building upon these expansive notions of what and how we might read, I propose a culturally specific framework that is twofold: first, it positions *kākau* as a narrative form. Taken from the Proto-Polynesian word “*tatau*,” *kākau* is both a noun (the dark ink upon the skin) and a verb (to write).¹² Second, it relies on the genealogical

connection of all Kanaka Maoli to Pō, the cosmogonic darkness which birthed the universe and, eventually, the first kanaka. Thus, in certain Kanaka contexts, the body is always already figuratively black through its genealogical connections to Pō. Taken together, *kākau* and Pō reveal that the body is a text on which Kānaka inscribe various forms of literal and figurative blackness. As I will argue more fully, in doing so, *kākau* functions as a literary practice, which frames my subsequent discussion of how the Kanaka Maoli body is connected to Pō in epistemological and cosmogonic terms and thus offers a site of recovery and critique of United States colonization and racialization.

Kānaka Maoli have long practiced their own forms of script in the various motifs and narratives they inked upon their bodies through *kākau*, well before foreign settlers introduced the English language medium of writing to Hawai'i in the late eighteenth century. This article engages both meanings of *kākau*, verb and noun, the act of writing and its physical mark on the body, in exploring historical moments when these bodily and literary mediums intersect. As we will see, Kānaka Maoli wrote—in nineteenth-century newspapers and books, as well as journals—about how the narratives of their bodies were created, received, and (mis)read by themselves and others.

Theorized as a narrative mode, *kākau* is but one form of Indigenous visual communication among many, and its meanings and circulations are inseparable from other forms of visual material culture which expand what, in settler contexts, may be considered “literature.” Daniel Heath Justice calls for us to consider, for example, Indigenous forms of communication as writings with varying degrees of permanence, such as “the short-lived images written in sand and expressed in ceremony and song of various medicine societies, or the complex story patterns made manifest through cloth and thread, smoothed birchbark, fired and painted clay, or shaped stone and bone.”¹³ Esteemed linguist Mary Kawena Pukui has noted that Hawaiian etymology evidences that literature was seen as an extension of preexisting visual art forms such as tapa cloth designs.¹⁴

Similarly, Teresia Teaiwa notes the “continuities between the prototypical Lapita pottery designs of some 3,500 years ago and tapa motifs and tattooing designs in Melanesia and Polynesia.” The body, in particular, plays an integral role in identifying and expanding our notions of Indigenous literature because it not only produces these symbol systems, but also functions as one.¹⁵ *Kākau*'s expansion of recognizable literary practice provokes a corresponding expansion of decolonial practice. Through *kākau* and its roots throughout Oceania, the Kanaka Maoli body becomes part of a narrative tradition spread across the region. This understanding opens up possibilities for reading and writing Kanaka Maoli bodies independent of the racialized narratives United States settler colonialism ascribes to them, such as those that spark experiences like Alexander Liholiho's.

Kākau is a dynamic affirmation of relationships within and beyond one's family, village, and island of origin.¹⁶ It is also a marker of broader regional unity through dynamism and movement, particularly through its itinerant origins. Throughout Polynesia *kākau* is historicized as a staple of an island's culture, yet its origins are often ascribed elsewhere. In “Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body” Albert Wendt translates the

Samoa song “Pese o le Tatau,” which links Samoa to “all the countries of the Pacific” through the “curved lines [and] motifs” of *tatau*: “this is the origins we know/ Of the tattooing of tatau in Samoa/ A journey by two women/ Who swam from Fiji across the ocean.”¹⁷ In this song, the movement of women’s bodies across the ocean to disperse this knowledge clearly ties *kākau* to the voyaging traditions of the region, but also to epistemologies like Pō, in which figurative and generative movement are inherent. *Kākau* is unique to each set of islands, causing the cumulative effect of a regional art form that, like Pō, simultaneously affirms kinship and recognizes difference.

Juniper Ellis theorizes that “tattoos embody the cross-cultural traveling of signs,” given that “in Samoan stories, (as in Tongan ones), the tattoo comes from Fiji; in Fijian stories, from Samoa; in Maori stories, from the underworld.”¹⁸ Akin to the generative movement and circulation of Pō, *tatau*’s peripatetic origin stories produce an epistemology that uses space and time to affirm broader connections. Ellis’s theorization of *tatau* as a “sign of elsewhere” that the wearer carries, and then circulates to a different place, is a critical piece of how Oceanians experience, perform, and read their bodies as texts.¹⁹ Within Indigenous Pacific epistemologies, the body orients constructions of space and time via relationality. *Kākau*, then, is the text which reveals and reaffirms these relationships. This embodied literary tradition is integral to intellectual sovereignty and the reclamation of Indigenous notions of physical and epistemological darkness from settler constructions of darkness as lack or corruption.²⁰

Kanaka Maoli epistemology and cosmogony dictate that all life and existence come from Pō. A pan-Polynesian concept, Pō is the darkness, a chaotic yet generative space from which life emerges. Predicated on the absence of stasis, Pō is a liminal space. It is also imagined as a vortex: spiral and expansive. In addition to its spatial characteristics Pō is temporally expansive, producing a view of time that is spiral rather than linear. Within Pō, time and space are not necessarily discrete categories, which is evident in the linguistic collapsing of terms; for example in languages such as Māori and Hawaiian, the same word, *wā*, can be used for time or space.²¹ *Wā* is also the term used to mark formal divisions of the Kumulipo, the Kanaka Maoli creation chant which details the unfolding of all life from the generative, cosmogonic blackness of Pō—which I discuss later in the context of Kalākau’s and Lili’uokalani’s publications.²² The natural world, the gods, and humanity are all linked by their genealogical succession from Pō. Thus, Pō affords one access to all points of time and space in discussions of cosmogony, genealogy, ontology, and epistemology. Pō is a site of temporal and spatial expansiveness that accommodates, but does not necessarily attempt to order, all of existence. This expansiveness is crucial to reading and writing Indigenous bodies as literary practices; the same strategies that expand what we recognize as literature, similarly expand how we theorize bodily blackness in Hawai’i, and potentially, in broader Indigenous studies’ conversations of blackness.

I hope this brief discussion of Pō suffices to situate this article’s examination of embodied, literary nationalism in an Indigenous reading and writing praxis. A cursory examination of Western constructions of darkness reveals the necessity of such reorientations. For instance, the Indigenous notion of Pō as a site of potential has no equivalent in Western discourse. Ranging from European Enlightenment

rhetoric of hierarchical knowledge to religious narratives of innate moral corruption, both figurative darkness and physical blackness are constructed as markers of intellectual, linguistic, and spiritual lack.²³ More specifically, blackness and indigeneity mark intellectual lack because settlers understood them to be sites of moral and spiritual corruption. As Joy Enomoto writes, under US settler colonialism blackness no longer alludes to Pō's divinity and abundance because "[t]hey turned Blackness into a thing unpure, unclean, violent, and inferior, by ranking the 'purity' of our skin tone and adherence to Christianity."²⁴ Sally Engle Merry has also noted the intersecting efforts of settler religious and political systems to transform how Kanaka Maoli understood their bodies, given that these systems required them to "transform their bodies and their lives . . . in accordance with principles of Christian piety and comportment in the community of the 'civilized.'"²⁵

bell hooks has theorized how the imperial perspective positions physical and figurative blackness in a perpetual state of negation. In her investigation of the complex entanglements of representations of blackness and whiteness, hooks asserts that the "reality" of whiteness is "one that wounds and negates" the black other. hooks reveals how "whiteness exists without knowledge of blackness even as it collectively asserts control . . . [through] imperial racist domination."²⁶ While hooks focuses on blackness as a feature of the African diaspora, her emphases on empire, travel, and global articulations of blackness provide a theoretical entry point for my concerns in a Pacific literary context: particularly, my interest in Pō and *kākau* as sites and symbols of how epistemologies of blackness travel throughout the region. hooks positions Western notions of the black other as a product of the "colonial imperial traveler" and argues that the (post)colonial imagination figures physical blackness—and by extension figurative darkness—as the absence of knowledge and morality.²⁷ Darkness is then fashioned into a palimpsestic space able to be continually rewritten by whiteness as its referential other. Devoid of any specific merit, darkness and blackness become collapsed as whiteness's referential other, always rendered as the inferior opposition, as Alexander Liholiho's experiences so clearly illustrate. One can see how the litany of stereotypes of non-whiteness then accumulates into the discourse of colonial blackness.²⁸

Western constructions of darkness as the absence of knowledge were often the basis for colonial assumptions about an absence of Indigenous history and literature, which were then coded onto the Indigenous body as a space of narrative and intellectual lack.²⁹ This marginalization of the Native is predicated on an assumption of their body as static, intellectually inferior, and temporally behind according to the model of European Enlightenment. However, through its connections to expansive, spiral construction of space and time via the fecund darkness of Pō, the Kanaka Maoli body's genealogical blackness allows it a temporal and spatial alacrity. In effect, theorizing the body through Pō allows it not only to transcend settler constructions of racial inferiority, but to exist outside of the linear formations of time and space which enable these constructions. As a result, figurative darkness allows the Indigenous body to both predate and outlast colonial epistemologies.

As I have suggested, the same principles of expansive genealogy, epistemology, and ontology that operate within Pō are crucial to understanding *kākau*'s theoretical and multivalent significance to Kanaka Maoli literary studies. On a surface level, the motifs displayed as text on the body represent millennia of accumulated knowledge. Each body receives *kākau* whose motifs tell their maternal and paternal genealogy, their social and familial rank, and the unique lived experiences that create an individual's subjectivity. As the most intimate marker of individual subjectivity and humanity, *kākau* is also an unequivocal link to those who have come before and those who will follow. Texts are passed down from body to body in a way that allows past, present, and future to manifest simultaneously. On a figurative level, the act of being *pahupū* ("cut in two") by *kākau* is part of an infinite process of intergenerational production.³⁰ It is in this collective, as Ellis notes of *tatau*, that the individual's identity is fully formed: "These marks on skin signal the splitting or doubling of subjectivity, a mechanism by which the individual human subject is produced continually and repeatedly."³¹ Albert Refiti links the Samoan iteration of *tatau*'s incorporation of time and space to other enmeshed relationships: "the repetitive beaten rhythm or *ta* which the tattooist strike into the skin is a giving over to time (*ta*) and space (*vā*)—by investing the body with dimensional consciousness—past/present/future/land/ancestors/community."³² Taken together, *kākau* and Pō then reveal a culturally specific method of reading and writing the Indigenous body as a nexus of epistemological, social, political, and familial affirmations—one that can never be erased nor overwritten by settler-colonial attempts to racially reinscribe Indigenous narratives.

"HE ELECTED TO HAVE HIS SKIN BLACK": *KĀKAU* AS DYNAMIC, RELATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Ka-hekili, chief over Oahu, Molokai, Lanai, and Maui . . . join[ed] in a war against Kamehameha. Ka-hekili selected a type of soldier new to Oahu called "Cut in two" (*pahupu*'), strange-looking men tattooed black from top to toe, with eyelids turned inside out and held up by props and only their eyeballs and teeth left in their natural state . . . Had the black negroes who came later to Nu'uanu arrived at that time they might have been made favorites and given the lands of "Black Waters" (*Wai-pouli*) and "Daubed black" (*Hono-mā'ele*)! [. . .]

He elected to have his skin black; one half of his body from head to foot was tattooed black, and his face was tattooed black, and this became an established law with him: Any person taken in crime who passed on his dark side, escaped with his life.

—Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*

Samuel M. Kamakau began writing articles about Hawaiian history and culture in 1841 and continued until his death in 1876. The articles quoted in the epigraph above appeared in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Nupepa Ku'okō'a* in 1876.³³ Kamakau's newspaper articles chronicle the history of the Hawaiian Islands under the monarchs and chiefs of the *ali'i* system before the illegal US overthrow at the

end of the century. They also reveal how Kanaka Maoli *kākau* created and circulated visual, written modes of communication long before missionaries introduced Western writing techniques.³⁴ Kamakau traces an arc between the past and his contemporary moment: *kākau* presented a way to understand the actions and beliefs of Kānaka Maoli as they grappled with issues of invasion and governance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This narrative arc resonated with Kamakau's audience in the latter half of the nineteenth century as they faced growing American economic and political encroachment. Kamakau and other Kānaka Maoli saw American and European businessmen, politicians, and missionaries use the racist and anti-Black rhetoric of American exceptionalism and evangelism to justify their attempts to thwart Indigenous sovereignty and appropriate Hawaiian economic and material resources. In the same way that Kamakau examined a past century in order to understand his contemporary moment, I return to Kamakau's *mana'o* (thoughts, opinions) and *'ike* (knowledge) from more than a century ago to understand the intersections of imperialism and anti-blackness for Kānaka Maoli.

According to Kamakau, the blackness crafted by *kākau* was multivalent and contextual. The chief whose revolutionary *kākau* captured Kamakau's attention, Kahekili, was born near the turn of the eighteenth century and died near its close. The tattooing of Kahekili and his warriors exemplifies how Kanaka Maoli bodies functioned as dynamic, relational mediums for storytelling: their skin is the text and the ink upon that skin is a particular type of script. Kahekili and his warriors are elevated by the process of "chiefly darkening."³⁵ By contrast, Kamakau also relates the fate of Kanaloa-kua'ana, who was defeated in battle. His captors had "[h]is whole skin . . . tattooed, his eyelids turned inside out and tattooed. Kanaloa-kua'ana was renamed Ka-maka-hiwa (Blackened-eyes) and Ka-Maka-Paweo (Shamed-eyes)."³⁶ Significantly, in this case Kanaloa-kua'ana's *kākau* carries a meaning that is antithetical to that of Kahekili's elite *pahupū*, although on the surface they appear to be quite similar. The circumstances around the production of these specific scripts invest them with implications, revealing how the contexts and conditions of bodies convey meaning; and, as Kamakau's invocation of these bodily narratives in the nineteenth century suggests, those meanings persist long after their moments of production.

In addition to reflecting the differing contexts in which they are produced, these motifs and representations have layers of varied meanings. Kahekili's name, for instance, suggests his bodily assumption of blackness can be read as an invocation of the god Kane's association with thunder (Kanehekili). One can also argue that Kahekili's tattooing one-half of his body black was a physical manifestation of Pō, the figurative and cosmogonic darkness. Pō and its attendant associations of power and procreation were of such magnitude that Kahekili and his followers literally inscribed it onto their bodies in an attempt to intensify their mana, the life force of supernatural or divine agency.³⁷ Kamakau's relation of these events reveals that Kanaka Maoli have always had a wide-ranging and contextual understanding of how physical and figurative blackness converge on the Indigenous body.

Kamakau's comments on Kahekili's *kākau* and its relationship to Pō position the body as a site of political, legal, and religious intersections. The process of "chiefly

darkening” was accepted by Kahekili and others as a part of a protocol that, to echo Wendt’s comments on *tatau*, or *kākau*, in the Samoan context, affirmed their readiness to serve in leadership positions. This readiness was encoded on their bodies through *kākau* as “scripts-texts-testimonies to do with relationships, order, form.”³⁸ Notably, Kahekili’s *kākau* not only marked his position in the social order, but also his relationality to others in his community. The blackness that Kahekili “elected” to inscribe upon his skin can be read as a connection to the life-giving, genealogical, and relational elements of Pō, which are expressed through his gift of life to any criminal who “passed on his dark side.”³⁹ Kahekili’s *kākau*, then, craft a narrative which invokes Pō; in this act, the body becomes a medium to represent the cosmogonic materially, positioning skin as a malleable site on which blackness is inscribed as affirmation. Kahekili’s example clearly illustrates that in this context, to blacken the body is to *embody* genealogy, cosmogony, divinity, and sovereignty.

Whereas in Kamakau’s own century, the US positioned Native Hawaiian phenotypical proximity to racial blackness as a pretext to overthrow a sovereign kingdom, in the previous century Kahekili’s inscription of cosmogonic blackness upon his body is the justification for his right to rule and a manifestation of “established law.” This right is not simply political, as Kamakau suggests that Kahekili’s *kākau* represents a divine reciprocity. Kamakau, himself a Christian, points out that though the Christian “God punished [Kahekili] for his cruel deeds” during warfare, Kahekili’s gods were also active in the chief’s fate. He was “a religious man and heeded well the laws of his gods, and this is why he was victorious over his enemies, and it was for this reason that he had half of his body tattooed black.”⁴⁰ Reading through multiple lenses, Kamakau asserts the religious and legal elements of Kahekili’s *kākau* in ways that resonate in his narratives of the Indigenous bodies of his own era.

Notably, in drawing attention to how these bodily scripts appear both in the politics of their historical moments and their potential legacies in his own time, Kamakau presents them as relational and transformative. The scripts raise questions about how and when stories are recorded and how meaning is conveyed and circulates in the broader community. Today, Kānaka Maoli continue to consider how individuals encounter and produce meaning through unique and intimate negotiations of their bodies as physical and figurative narratives. To Kamakau, the questions of agency that *kākau* raises seemed relevant for the Kingdom of his time. He ponders how people of African descent would have fared before the ascendancy of Western notions of racial stratification that were invoked to disenfranchise Kanaka Maoli in their homeland, suggesting that they would have been treated favorably and given lands whose physical features were also steeped in blackness: “Had the black negroes who later came to Nu’uanu arrived at that time they might have been made favorites and given the lands [of black waters . . .] of “black waters (Wai-pouli)’ and ‘Daubed black (Hono-má’ele)!”⁴¹ His pointed comments foreground an Indigenous understanding of skin that is out of step with the US political and religious narrative of the Black body as a site of epistemological and spiritual lack and moral corruption.

An Indigenous understanding of skin that is in opposition to the American logic dictating that the train conductor would always read Alexander Liholiho’s “darker skin”

as “servant” and never as “royalty,” is, perhaps, also in tension with twenty-first-century attitudes in Hawai‘i towards black skin. Although genealogy remains a paramount device for affirming and including Kānaka Maoli of various degrees of blood quantum, US settler-colonial race logic has contrived to mark those Kānaka Maoli who appear phenotypically black as somehow “less Native,” and even at times less capable of being “local,” than those with white or Asian phenotypes.⁴² We will never know if Kamakau’s hypothesis about people of African descent receiving preferential treatment in pre-contact times would have borne out, but his insistence that Kanaka Maoli cosmogony and strategies for reading bodies could circumvent the US settler-colonial notions of racial blackness “at that time” come to fruition a few short decades later, in the writings of Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani.

“TO PRESERVE THEM TO POSTERITY”: THE KUMULIPO AND GENEALOGICAL BLACKNESS IN SERVICE TO THE LĀHUI

Wā 1	The First Era, or Age
O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua	At the time that turned the heat of the earth,
O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani	At the time when the heavens turned and changed,
O ke au i kukaiaaka ka la	At the time when the light of the sun was subdued
E hoomalamalama i ka malama	To cause light to break forth,
O ke au o Makalii ka po	At the time of the night of Makalii (winter)
O ka Walewale hookumu honua ia	Then began the slime which established the earth,
O ke kumu o ka lipo, i lipo ai,	The source of deepest darkness.
O ke kumu o ka Po, i po ai	Of the depth of darkness, of the depth of darkness,
O ka Lipolipo, o ka lipolipo,	Of the darkness of the sun, in the depth of the night,
O ka lipo o ka La, o ka lipo o ka Po	
Po wale ho—i Hanau ka po. ⁴³	It is night, So was night born. ⁴⁴

The Kumulipo is an epic poem of the cosmos—a Hawaiian-language creation chant of 2,108 lines that traces the genealogical connections between Pō and contemporary Kānaka Maoli, particularly the Kalākaua dynasty. In many ways, Queen Lili‘uokalani’s English-language translation of the Kumulipo’s description of the tumultuous “heat[ed],” “turn[ing],” and “changing” of the cosmos, which created “the slime which established the earth,” lends itself to what nineteenth-century Kānaka Maoli must have seen as the chaotic rearrangement of their own world over the last century. American and European empires had brought disease, violence, and racism to Hawai‘i, and Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani had both attempted to affirm the *lāhui* through their respective publications of the Kumulipo; Kalākaua published a Hawaiian-language version of the chant in 1889, which Lili‘uokalani subsequently translated into English in 1897.⁴⁵

Literary analysis of the poem is beyond the scope of a single essay, as evidenced by the myriad and intricate entanglements of cosmogony, epistemology, ontology, and language on display in only the first verse.⁴⁶ This article is concerned with what the circumstances of the poem’s production and reception in the nineteenth century can teach us about how Kānaka Maoli marshalled its notions of cosmogonic and

genealogical blackness in the service of sovereignty. Its multiple versions—oral and written, Hawaiian-language and English-language, handwritten and mass produced—each contribute a nuanced layer to our understandings of blackness in Kanaka Maoli thought. Ultimately, I argue that Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani's insistence on using the Kumulipo to read and write their own bodies as texts exemplifies a literary nationalism that incorporates the bodies of all Kanaka Maoli, and figures the lāhui's sovereignty well beyond the nineteenth century.

The Kumulipo's ascriptions of gestational, bodily qualities to the cosmogonic darkness convey an understanding of embodied blackness that has distinct differences from twenty-first-century understandings of racial, phenotypical blackness. The Kumulipo speaks of myriad forms of darkness, "the deepest darkness," "the depth of the sun," and links them all to the first kanaka through a succession of births that begin when Pō is "born."⁴⁷ We can recognize how publication of this cosmogony during a period of political tumult serves as a reminder of the resilience and potential of the Kanaka Maoli body and its connections to multiple forms of blackness.

Roughly forty years after Alexander Liholiho's encounter with anti-Black racism, Hawaiian sovereigns again faced Americans' assumptions of the Black body as a site of narrative lack. Feeling threatened by the monarchs' pro-Native stance and their attempts to reinstate political powers lost by the monarchy and the Native population during the previous century, American politicians, businessmen, and missionary descendants residing in the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States consistently presented both King Kalākaua and his sister and successor Queen Lili'uokalani as racially black in political cartoons and popular discourse. These settler efforts to diminish Native political agency by conflating the monarchy with racial blackness spoke directly and effectively to American politicians furthering a nation built on slavery's denial of Black humanity. These same politicians would eventually support the illegal overthrow and subsequent annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In an unsuccessful attempt to weaken Kalākaua's claim at the time he was elected king, Americans waged a "vicious genealogical trial" and started rumors that his father was a "mulatto shoemaker" from the United States.⁴⁸ American political cartoons deployed the same logic against Queen Lili'uokalani, who was routinely depicted as an amalgamation of Black stereotypes ranging from the pickaninny of the American south to the African savage.⁴⁹

Kanaka Maoli scholars such as Tiffany Lani Ing and Noenoe Silva have meticulously researched contemporary Hawaiian and American responses to settler attempts to discursively assault these monarchs, and, by extension, the validity of Hawaiian sovereignty.⁵⁰ Yet, we might also find productive insights from Jasmine Cobb's work on nineteenth-century African American visual culture, in which she posits that white viewers "used caricature to retool white dominion over the visual."⁵¹ These rumors and stereotypes perpetuated images and ideas of Hawai'i's monarchs as immoral, heathen, and inept. American imperialists used this logic to justify their imposition of the 1887 Bayonet Constitution during Kalākaua's tenure, which stripped the sovereign's executive powers and racialized democracy by extending the franchise to wealthy white foreigners at the expense of working-class Kānaka Maoli and Asian

immigrant populations. When Lili'uokalani attempted to reverse aspects of the Bayonet Constitution, these racist rumors and stereotypes were redeployed during her overthrow.

Rather than eschew any connections to racial blackness in an attempt to maintain their claims to sovereignty—as many Native peoples along the US seaboard and US southeast had been forced to do⁵²—Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani instead turned to literature and made public the ways their bodies maintained genealogical connections to cosmogonic blackness. Just two years after the Bayonet Constitution, Kalākaua published his Hawaiian-language version of the Kumulipo in 1889 to amplify his political right to the throne to which he was elected.⁵³ Its publication was also part of Kalākaua's commitment to "*ho'oulu lāhui*": to cause the *lāhui*—the Hawaiian nation and race—to grow, through the resurgence of Hawaiian language, culture, knowledge, and performance. In 1897, Lili'uokalani published her English-language translation of the Kumulipo while held under house arrest by an oligarchy of American usurpers of her throne.⁵⁴ Both brother and sister were keenly aware of how, in the eyes of their people, their bodies' genealogical connections to figurative darkness functioned to consecrate their positions as sovereigns—even as US imperialists positioned the monarchs' presumed phenotypical proximity to racial blackness as justification for the eventual overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893.⁵⁵

Just as Kahekili's inscriptions of blackness upon his body in the eighteenth century evidenced his sacred and political rights to all who saw him, Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani utilized print media to broadcast to the world that their genealogical connections to cosmogonic darkness not only affirmed their right to rule the Kingdom, but also Hawai'i's rights to sovereignty. The recitation of genealogy is an integral component of the Native Hawaiian governmental system of *ali'i*. Effectively, then, Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani's publications functioned as recitations that stretched across the globe: for example, Lili'uokalani intentionally placed her version in the "libraries of some scientific societies" throughout "that vast extent of archipelago in the Pacific known as Oceanica,"⁵⁶ Kalākaua's version circulated in European academic spaces,⁵⁷ and Lili'uokalani's version was printed by Lee and Shepard in Boston.⁵⁸ In these international contexts, the Kumulipo works as a document of Hawaiian political sovereignty in a similar fashion to the many treaties Hawai'i signed with the United States and various countries across Europe, Oceania, and Asia.

The Kumulipo, whose title can be loosely translated as "source in deepest darkness," was published under two different titles, each of which evidenced the respective monarch's political, intellectual, and literary savvy. Silva notes that Kalākaua's title, *He Pule Hoolaa Alii*, can be translated as "a prayer to consecrate (an) Ali'i." This title avows Kalākaua's personal position as an *ali'i* and, as Silva reveals, simultaneously "consecrates 'ali'i' as a system of government, which Kalākaua, Lili'uokalani, and the *lāhui* were trying to preserve."⁵⁹ Lili'uokalani published the Kumulipo as *An Account of the Creation of the World According to Hawaiian Tradition*. This title does double work: it attests to a rich tradition of knowledge that predates imperial accusations of Native ignorance and incompetence, and simultaneously reveals that Hawaiian epistemology has the power to shape and historicize the world beyond its physical borders. By

sharing their personal genealogy, Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani framed it as a genealogy of the *lāhui* and literary tool of resistance to colonialism.

The Kumulipo granted Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani political, genealogical, and divine rights to rule, but it also emphasized their reciprocal and kinship obligations to the *lāhui*. The text's movement between multiple composers, chanters, recorders, researchers, and translators shows that power is formed by, and beholden to, multiple sources. Kanaka Maoli cultural productions are consistently figured as collective; they are (re)turned to and (re)told over centuries, even millennia, as affirmations of lineage, kinship, aloha, and mana. Lili'uokalani states that the Kumulipo was first recited at the birth of Ka-I-i-Mamao, also known as Lonoikamakahiki. As a pronouncement of his high status, the chant traces the more than 800 generations between the unfolding of the universe through Pō and Ka-I-i-Mamao's birth.⁶⁰ Composed by Keaulumoku in 1700, the poem subsequently was chanted twice: first by Hewahewa and Ahukai, and then by Puou on Captain Cook's arrival.⁶¹ The multiple mouths that first crafted and recited the chant gave way to the many hands that recorded and researched it. Kalākaua's 1889 text not only followed his grandmother Kamokuili's handwritten version, but was also researched for three years by two intellectual societies dedicated to genealogy and religion.⁶² Lili'uokalani recognized that her obligation to uplift the *lāhui* extended beyond politics and made the Kumulipo available because she felt herself "the friend of education, of art, and of all those refining influences which exalt the nation and elevate the character of the individual."⁶³ The circumstances of the Kumulipo's production and distribution show us that Kanaka Maoli constructions of political power are reciprocal and collaborative, and that the wills of the nation and the individual cannot be considered in isolation.

Lili'uokalani's introduction frames the Kumulipo as a cosmogony and a personal and national genealogy, one which has also become a linguistic and historical record in the service of political and cultural survival. This genealogy is not only "the special property" of her family, the queen emphasizes, but also a "national history" that belongs to the entire *lāhui*.⁶⁴ Indeed, Lili'uokalani's translation calls attention to the multiple forms the Kumulipo has taken and even anticipates the ways subsequent Kānaka Maoli may (per)form it: "As it is the only record of its kind in existence, it seemed to me worthy of preservation in convenient form."⁶⁵ As with Pō, the Kumulipo is singular, "the only record of its kind in existence."⁶⁶ Yet it can exist in multiple forms—oral, written, 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, English, personal genealogy, record of political and cultural sovereignty. The Kumulipo is a tool to maintain linguistic connections to future generations and provide a historical touchstone for future sovereignty efforts: "language itself changes, and there are terms and allusion herein to the national history of Hawaii which might be forgotten in future years without some such history as this to preserve them to posterity."⁶⁷ The "terms and allusions" Lili'uokalani endeavored to preserve often contained deeply embedded *kaona* (allusions, wordplay, and metaphors) which, even when rendered in English, spoke to Kānaka Maoli in ways that others would never fully grasp.⁶⁸ Noenoe Silva characterizes the resurgence of Kanaka Maoli performances of orature and dance during Kalākaua's and Lili'uokalani's reigns "as official narratives of the nation and as underground narratives that the haole community

did not understand. In that way they functioned to constitute the nation as the lāhui Kanaka Maoli, excluding those they were resisting.”⁶⁹

These allusions pertained to the people and the nation as an imagined space, and also to the physical space of Hawai‘i. In the opening lines of the Kumulipo, life emerges from “lipolipo,” a word which Lili‘uokalani translates as “the depth of darkness.” It can also refer to the tangible, physical spaces which Kānaka Maoli inhabit on a daily basis.⁷⁰ “Lipo” is a Proto-Polynesian word that Pukui and Elbert define as “deep blue-black, as a cavern, the sea, or dense forest” and also the “Name of a star in the southern skies.”⁷¹ The poem’s linguistic valences, then, incorporate the lands of Hawai‘i—to which all Kanaka Maoli have kinship connections—into what Lili‘uokalani frames as an intergenerational and multigenre movement for political and literary nationalism.

Like the original recitations of the Kumulipo, Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani’s publications were “displays of authority, honor, and power” during moments of political and military assault by a foreign power.⁷² These displays have continued to resonate in the twentieth-century publication history of the Kumulipo. In 1951 an inaccurate and problematic translation was published by Martha Beckwith, an American folklorist with personal and financial ties to descendants of the settler oligarchy that overthrew Lili‘uokalani.⁷³ Her commentary attacked Lili‘uokalani and Kalākaua’s authority over their own genealogy and their claims to the monarchy, which McDougall argues was by extension an attack on Hawaiian sovereignty itself.⁷⁴ In 1978 Kimo Campbell and Pueo Press republished Lili‘uokalani’s version, which had been out of print since its initial publication. While his preface does not mention Beckwith’s version, Campbell states that “the first English translation of this work ought to be available” and he hoped to provide “a useful tool for modern Hawaiians attempting to understand, preserve, and revitalize Hawaiian culture.”⁷⁵ Campbell’s impetus seems to have been successful in inspiring subsequent translations: just three years later, Rubellite Kawena Johnson published another translation. Moreover, scholars such as Kame‘eleihiwa and Silva have opted to provide their own translations of sections of the Hawaiian-language text in their studies of the Kumulipo.⁷⁶ Kanaka poets have also “underst[ood], preserve[d], and revitalize[d] Hawaiian culture” in creative reinterpretations of the epic: for instance, Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio incorporates her personal genealogy in her poem “Kumulipo,” which she performed for President Obama at the White House in 2009, and McDougall’s poem “Pō” is an “anticolonial genealogy” “inspired by the Kumulipo.”⁷⁷

The Kumulipo’s multiple versions draw their political, personal, linguistic, and historical strength from Pō as a site of inspiration, creation, and endurance. In turn, the various versions and composers create direct links to the cosmogonic darkness and perpetuate a form of literary nationalism that is only possible because, and not in spite of, the potential of embodied connections to blackness. The Kumulipo’s connections to Pō’s spiral and expansive constructions of time and space constitute a thread of Kanaka Maoli literary nationalism that exists simultaneously before, during, and after American settler colonialism. I read these works as evidence that contemporary Kanaka Maoli efforts for cultural and political sovereignty have the potential to “turn” and “turn” in “the source of deepest darkness” until they outlast the time and space of American settler colonialism.⁷⁸

BLACKNESS AND ENDURING KANAKA MAOLI LITERARY NATIONALISM

A Native Hawaiian crown prince's experiences of anti-blackness in the Atlantic seaboard of the antebellum United States; an eighteenth-century chief who required his elite soldiers to tattoo their bodies black from head to toe; a pair of monarchs who proclaimed their genealogical connections to cosmogonic blackness and affirmed Indigenous sovereignty in the face of an American overthrow: Kanaka Maoli literature clearly offers new geographic and historical possibilities for imagining Indigenous and Black intersections in North American contexts. Although now Hawai'i and Kānaka Maoli are regularly part of Native American and Indigenous studies discourse and theory, they are largely absent from most North American-based discussions of blackness and indigeneity.⁷⁹ As this essay shows, there is a long-standing thread of Kanaka Maoli literary nationalism that incorporates blackness as a constitutive element of indigeneity. Within Hawai'i and across the Pacific are many more examples of cultural productions in which both figurative and literal blackness are considered in constitutive and comparative contexts.

In many cases, the epistemologies and experiences that underpin Kanaka Maoli understandings of blackness are products of kinship and movement across the Pacific. Thus, in closing this essay on Kanaka Maoli literary nationalism and representations of embodied connections to genealogical and cosmogonic blackness, I feel compelled to offer a disciplinary genealogy of sorts, one that uncovers what is, perhaps, a hidden history in Native and Indigenous studies, a field that is centrally concerned with recuperating variously forgotten or erased familial, social, political, legal, and racial affinities. This brief genealogy of the pluralities of blackness in the Pacific outlines, I hope, a fuller picture of the potential reciprocity between Kanaka Maoli literature and Black and Indigenous studies.

Sharon P. Holland and Tiya Miles locate Afro-/Native studies' historical roots "in the *Journal of Negro History*, where towering historians Carter G. Woodson, Kenneth W. Porter, and James Hugo Johnston published a series of articles on black and native interconnections" in the 1920s and 1930s.⁸⁰ To this chronology, I add that at the same time, the journal ran Porter's "Notes on Negroes in Early Hawaii."⁸¹ In other words, Hawai'i and Kānaka Maoli have been present since this "birth of a field in Afro-/Native studies" and have similarly embodied Holland and Miles' call for contemporary scholarship to challenge the "geographical boundaries of the South, of Indian Territory, and even of the Caribbean, to study locations like New England, the Midwest, and the Rocky Mountain West."⁸² Porter's essay provides historical and biographical information on early Black settlers in Hawai'i and emphasizes the liberality with which some married into and were accepted by Kanaka Maoli communities and occupied "position[s] of responsibility in the Hawaiian Kingdom."⁸³ However, while Porter reveals that the interest of early-twentieth-century African American scholars in Black and Native interactions in Hawai'i was coterminous with a larger interest in similar experiences across the continent, as this article has shown, examinations of the intersections of cosmogonic and racial blackness are intrinsic to the Kanaka Maoli texts of

Alexander Liholiho, Kamakau, Kalākaua, and Lili'uokalani—and push the emergence of “Afro-/Native Studies” decades earlier than Holland and Miles’ benchmark.

In fact, Hawai‘i and the Pacific have long treated blackness as a site for religious, political, genealogical, gendered, economic, and racial formations. In some instances, Pacific scholars have, like Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani, drawn on multiple aspects of blackness. This is seen most readily in the work of Pacific Islands theorists of *Mana Wahine*, a field which centers Native Pacific women’s intellectual, physical, emotional, spiritual, and political strength and prestige. To augment their struggles for cultural and political sovereignty in the post/settler/colonial context of Aotearoa/New Zealand, *Mana Wahine* Māori scholars such as Huia Tomlins Jahnke, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Ngahuia Te Awēkotuku, Patricia Grace, and Robyn Kahukiwa draw on Pō as a specifically Māori female ancestor and simultaneously engage with North American theorizations of racial blackness and gender.⁸⁴ A theory of *Mana Tama’ita’i* from Aotearoa-born Samoan and Tuvaluan poet and scholar Selina Tusitala Marsh, which grew out of *Mana Wahine*, similarly engages with blackness as a political and gendered category. Black feminist scholarship by authors like bell hooks, Barbara Christian, Patricia Hill Collins, and Alice Walker seem ready-made to help *Mana Wahine* and *Mana Tama’ita’i* thinkers describe how the racist logics of settler colonialism also relied on harsh gender inequalities absent from their precontact societies.⁸⁵ Kanaka Maoli nationalist, educator, and poet Haunani-Kay Trask has stated that her intertwined interests in anticolonial politics and gender were deeply impacted by the “nonchalant violence” with which the United States treats African Americans and her observations of Black Nationalist responses.⁸⁶

Significantly, while some Pacific Islanders have embraced blackness as a racial and political category, others have had it thrust upon them, with additional loss of full citizenship. In late-twentieth-century Indigenous political movements across the Pacific, Black Nationalism played a pivotal role: the Australian Black Panther Party was formed in the early 1970s to advocate on behalf of the Aboriginal people⁸⁷ and the Polynesian Panther Party, which Pacific Islanders of various backgrounds formed in Aotearoa/New Zealand at the same time, also drew explicitly on the Black Panther Party’s goal of African American social and political liberation.⁸⁸ While Pacific Islanders intentionally invoked blackness as a racial and political category in both of these instances, some Indigenous communities and governments subscribed to settler hierarchies of race and distanced themselves from blackness. In recent years, the Samoan government has attempted to evict Tama Uli—descendants of Melanesian laborers brought to the Sogi area by German and New Zealand colonial administrations as indentured servants in the early twentieth century—from homes they spent the last century reclaiming from swampland. Scholarly and popular opinion both concede that this is largely due to the racialization of these Pacific Islanders as Black, and therefore never quite Samoan enough—even though they have married into local families for a century and before that were cousins by mutual relation to the Moana Nui.⁸⁹ Another branch of this genealogy would most certainly examine how non-Native Pacific scholars have theorized the Pacific’s impact on global articulations of blackness. In addition to Nitasha Tamar Sharma’s work on Black people in nineteenth-century Hawai‘i, for example,

Robbie Shilliam's *Black Pacific* addresses the links between the Pacific and Africa without the continental United States as a referent, and work by Radhika Mohanram and Gerald Horne also places the Pacific experiences of bodily blackness in broader hemispheric contexts.⁹⁰

More recently, scholarship has shifted away from intellectual and political alliances that are rooted in shared experiences of settler/colonial racism within the Pacific, turning instead to investigate the experiences of those bodies who share both Black and Indigenous genealogies. In 2017, for example, Teresia Teaiwa, of Kiribati and African American heritages, convened the forum "Black and Blue in the Pacific: Afro-Diasporic Women Artists on History and Blackness" in *Amerasia Journal*.⁹¹ The forum's contributors (Ojeya Cruz Banks, Joy Enomoto, Courtney-Savali Andrews, Alisha Lola Jones, and Teaiwa) center Black and Pacific women's bodies and draw Afro-Diasporic connections across and between the Indigenous Pacific and global protest movements growing from events of violent, systemic racism, such as the development of Black Lives Matter following the 2013 Zimmerman acquittal for shooting Trayvon Martin and in 2014, the fatal police shooting in Ferguson of Michael Brown. The forum also asks readers to consider how these events inform Indigenous Pacific movements such as #OurIslandsAreSacred, and places these affinities within a larger narrative of how Indigenous peoples across the Pacific perceive and experience blackness. Elsewhere, Joy Enomoto, an artist, activist, and scholar with African American and Kanaka Maoli heritages, deftly brings these historical, geographical, racial, and political resonances to bear on the cosmogonic roots of the *lāhui* in her hybrid essay and poem, "Where Will You Be? Why Black Lives Matter in the Hawaiian Kingdom."⁹²

All of these branches are vital because, as Teresia Teaiwa so succinctly states, "The first people to settle the Pacific were black."⁹³ If we rely, as Teiawa does, on the enmeshed nature of epistemological, cosmogonic, and phenotypic valences of blackness within the Pacific, how might this reliance inform disciplinary questions that circulate beyond the region? If we embrace the multiplicity of blackness in Pacific contexts, what might Black studies, Native and Indigenous studies, and Pacific studies gain?

When we acknowledge the staggering fecundity of blackness in the Pacific, it is clear why Alexander Liholiho denounces the conductor as a "confounded fool" for (mis)reading his body through the narrow confines of nineteenth-century United States racial logic about the essentialism of skin. This genealogy and explorations of visual, corporeal, and theoretical narratives of blackness in Kanaka Maoli and Pacific contexts reveals, I hope, how we might read Native bodies otherwise.⁹⁴ Using *kākau* and *Pō* as literary practices allows us to see, from a Kanaka Maoli perspective, that the conductor's attempt to read unmarked skin is an attempt to read a narrative that is not there. In Kamakau's work, Kahekili's skin is presented as malleable and reflects only the meaning that has been actively crafted and performed by its wearer. Most notably, Kamakau invokes *Pō* in order to affirm Kahekili's singular political and spiritual authority, which, paradoxically, also sustains his inextricable relationality to others. While not marked by the inscription of *kākau*, the literary productions of Alexander Liholiho, Kalākaua, and Lili'uokalani similarly position their bodies in the same context of intergenerational service and sovereignty.

These corporeal productions, in turn, compose a strand of nineteenth-century Kanaka Maoli literary nationalism that affirms an enduring sovereignty, a sovereignty that predates and outlasts settler colonialism, using Indigenous reading and writing practices to expose and reject settler-colonial racial discourse. Just as time and space form the enmeshed, complex spiral within the epistemology of Pō, this literary nationalism embraces the intersections of figurative and physical blackness across the many times and spaces of Hawai'i, Oceania, the United States, and beyond. As long as Kanaka Maoli bodies endure, they carry within them the "depth of darkness," whose potential allows them to read and write their sovereignty into existence.⁹⁵

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NOTES

1. Alexander Liholiho, *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho: The Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850*, ed. Jacob Adler (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press for The Hawaiian Historical Society, 1967), 108.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 105.

4. Claudio Saunt, Barbara Krauthamer, Tiya Miles, Celia E. Naylor, and Circe Sturm, "Rethinking Race and Culture in the Early South," *Ethnohistory* 53, no. 2 (2006): 399–405, 399, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-53-2-399>. Saunt, et al. open their influential essay with an analysis of nineteenth-century Creek Nation law to contextualize their discussion of Natives' selective and strategic use of racial categorization and stratification: "In 1818, the Creek Nation passed the following law: 'It is agreed, that if a Negro kill an Indian, the Negro shall suffer death. And if an Indian kill a Negro, he shall pay the owner the value.' The law conflates slavery and blackness, suggesting that the socially constructed meanings attributed to ancestry were indeed important markers of status by the early nineteenth century."

5. Throughout this article, I use "Kanaka Maoli" to refer to the Indigenous people of Hawai'i. Kanaka Maoli may be used interchangeably with terms like Kanaka 'Ōiwi. In addition to signaling indigeneity, "Kanaka Maoli" may describe a vast, unquantifiable amount of Kanaka Maoli persons, while the spelling "Kānaka Maoli" is used for the quantifiable plural form.

For a discussion of the Black experience in Hawai'i from the eighteenth century to the present, see *They Followed the Trade Winds*, ed. Miles Jackson (Honolulu: Social Process in Hawai'i, 2004). For a discussion of American blood logic in Hawai'i, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*:

Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008). For an analysis of the racialization of Hawaiians as near-white, see Maile Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

6. Alexander Liholiho, *The Journal*, 108.

7. For an account of Queen Lili'uokalani's *hānai* children (Lydia K. Aholo, Joseph Aea, and John Aimoku) and their experience of similar treatment on American train cars, see Bonura and Witmer, "Lydia K. Aholo—Her Story Recovering the Lost Voice," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 47, (2013): 103–45, 126–28. For an analysis of antebellum Black travel and activism, see Elizabeth Stordeur Pryor, *Colored Travelers: Mobility and the Fight for Citizenship before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

8. David Chang, Introduction, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016). Chang traces the ways Kānaka Maoli travelers to New England and California in the 18th and 19th centuries "engaged with the notion of race" as a feature tied specifically to American constructions of space and nation, noting that it was "a crucial category that was fundamental to Americans' understanding of world geography."

9. Bonura and Witmer, "Lydia K. Aholo," 126–28. Lydia K. Aholo, *hānai* daughter of Queen Lili'uokalani, recounts how she and other wards of Queen Lili'uokalani were instructed in the 1890s to resist whites' attempts to racialize them as black while riding train cars in Washington, DC. Aholo describes how Prince Kūhio advised the youths to "take the front seat . . . [and] tell them you're not Negroes." Her travelling companions also used Hawaiian language to strategically resist racialization, telling her, "Don't talk English. Talk Hawaiian. They might take us for Negroes." During multiple train car rides, the youth "talk in Hawaiian" "all the way home," state their connections to Hawaiian royalty, and flat-out state "We're not colored" when questioned by conductors. As a result, Aholo notes, they "passed." See Joy Enomoto, "Where Will You Be? Why Black Lives Matter in the Hawaiian Kingdom," *Ke Kaupu Hebi Ale*, February 1, 2017, <https://hehiale.wordpress.com/2017/02/01/where-will-you-be-why-black-lives-matter-in-the-hawaiian-kingdom/>. Enomoto examines the ways Kānaka Maoli were racialized in diasporic US contexts in the 19th and early 20th centuries. She notes that those Kānaka who could not deploy royalty and economic class as buffers against US racialization often found themselves "taken in and fed by other Native and Black communities." For discussions of Kānaka Maoli racialized as closer to whiteness than their Pacific cousins, also see Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians*.

10. Daniel Heath Justice, "Indigenous Writing," in *The World of Indigenous North America*, ed. Robert Warrior (New York: Routledge, 2015), 291–307; and Teresia Teaiwa, "What Remains to Be Seen: Reclaiming the Visual Roots of Pacific Literature," *PMLA* 125, no. 3 (2010): 730–36, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25704471>.

11. For racial frameworks, see Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, and Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians*. For performative frameworks, see Stephanie Nohelani Teves, *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); and ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire: Reweaving the Literary Lei of Pele and Hi'iaka* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). For Teves' discussion of how and why non-Indigenous scholars may misread Native performance and intention, see Stephanie Nohelani Teves, "The Theorist and the Theorized: Indigenous Critiques of Performance Studies," *TDR: The Drama Review* 62, no. 4 (2018): 131–40, <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/710649>. For a discussion of the body as metaphor for nation and/ or knowledge systems, see Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, "Ea Hawai'i 2000: Hawaiian Sovereignty is the Life Breath of the Nation," *He Pukenga Kōrero: A Journal of Māori Studies* 6, no. 1 (2000): 23–30; and Manu Aluli Meyer, "Aloha Is the Intelligence with Which We Meet Life," *He Pukenga Kōrero: A Journal of Māori Studies* 6, no. 1 (2000): 31–34.

12. Although I cite the linguistic connections between the Hawaiian *kākau* and the broader, Proto Polynesian *tatau*, I do not wish to conflate the complex traditions that exist across the Pacific. *Tatau* has different names, protocols, and methods of application across the Pacific and even within single island chains. For instance, in Sāmoa men receive the *pe'a* and women the *malu*. In Aotearoa, markings called *moko* were originally chiseled into the skin with an instrument called an *uhi*. In Hawai'i, *uhi* is also the name used for *kākau* in particular contexts. Nor do I wish to suggest that *tatau* is unique to the region of the Pacific known as Polynesia. For a discussion of *pelipel*, the tradition of Pohnpeian tattooing in what is known as the Micronesian area of the Pacific, see David Hanlon, "Beyond 'the English Method of Tattooing': Decentering the Practice of History in Oceania," *The Contemporary Pacific* 15, no. 1 (2003): 19–40, <http://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2003.0009>.

13. Daniel Heath Justice, "Indigenous Writing," in *The World of Indigenous North America*, ed. Robert Warrior (New York: Routledge, 2015), 291–307, 292–93.

14. "*Pahu palapala*" is defined as a "writing desk; formerly a container for the coloring liquid used in printing tapa. *Lit.*, document box." See Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), 301.

15. Teaiwa, "What Remains to Be Seen," 734. For an example of contemporary Māori ceramic art influenced by the "Lapita aesthetic," see the work of Colleen Waata Ulrich in PATAKA Art + Museum, *Uku Rere: Nga Kaihanga Uku & Beyond* (Porirua City: PATAKA Art + Museum, 2013), 18–21.

16. For an extended discussion of literary representations of *kākau* as affirmation of genealogical connection between Pacific peoples, as well as the natural world across time and space, see Joyce Pualani Warren, "Theorizing Pō: Embodied Cosmogony and Polynesian National Narratives," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2017). For discussions of Pacific literature and history as products of dynamic exchange across Oceania, see Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), and Kealani Cook, *Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). For comparative treatments of Pacific literature and history across global regions, see Elizabeth M. DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), and Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*.

17. Albert Wendt, "Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999): 399–412, 403.

18. Ellis, "'Tatau' and 'Malu': Vital Signs in Contemporary Samoan Literature," *PMLA* 121, no. 3 (2006): 687–701, 687–88, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25486348>.

19. *Ibid.*, 688.

20. Noenoe Silva's work reconstructs an expansive and nuanced intellectual history, centering Hawaiian-language newspapers and recovering lost or forgotten documents to counter US colonial constructions of Kanaka Maoli history, epistemology, language, and governance as sites of lack. See Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004) and *The Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

21. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), 375. Pukui and Elbert classify *wā* as a Proto Polynesian word which in Hawaiian can mean era, time, or season, as well as "space, interval, as between objects or time"; see Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999), 50–56. *Wā* has a similar use in the Māori language, which also contains words like *rerenga*, which can mean "space or time of leaping." For a discussion of the linguistic collapsing of distinction in the Māori context, see Smith, 50–56.

22. This is the Kumulipo, which I discuss later in the context of Kalākauā's and Lili'uokalani's publications. Lili'uokalani's translation was initially published in 1897 as *An Account of the Creation of the World According to Hawaiian Tradition* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1897), then reprinted as *The Kumulipo*, trans. Lili'uokalani, ed. James Kimo Campbell (Kentfield, CA: Pueo Press, 1978). Kalākauā's Hawaiian language version was printed in Honolulu in 1889 from an inherited manuscript; see *He Pule Hoolaa Alii: He Kumulipo No Ka-I-imamao, a Ia Alapai Wabine* (Honolulu: Pa'iia e ka Hui Pa'ipalapala Elele, 1889), <http://ulukau.org/elib/cgi-bin/library?e=d-0hoolaaalii-000Sec-11en-50-20-frameset-book-he+pule+hoolaa+alii-1-011escapewin&a=d&p2=book>. For literary analysis of the Kumulipo, see Brandy Nalani McDougall, *Finding Meaning: Kaona and Contemporary Hawaiian Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016); Kame'eleihiwa, "Kumulipo: A Cosmogonic Guide to Decolonization and Indigenization," *International Indigenous Journal of Entrepreneurship, Advancement, Strategy, Education* 1, no. 1 (2005): 119–30; Rubellite Kawena Johnson, *Kumulipo: Hawaiian Hymn of Creation* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1981); and Warren, "Theorizing Pō."

23. See, for example, bell hooks, "Representing Whiteness in the Black Imagination," in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cay Nelso, and Pauala Treicher (New York: Routledge, 1992), 338–46; Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 2008); and *Whispers and Vanities: Samoan Indigenous Knowledge and Religion*, ed. Tamsailua M. Sualii-Sauni, Mauaiaiva Albert Wendt, Vitolia Mo'a, Naomi Fuamatu, Upolu Luma Va'ai, Reina Whitiri, and Stephen L. Filipo (Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers, 2014).

24. Enomoto, "Where Will You Be?"

25. Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton University Press, 2000), 23.

26. hooks, "Representing Whiteness," 339–40.

27. Ibid.

28. As Homi K. Bhabha argues, "As a form of splitting and multiple belief, the stereotype requires, for its successful signification, a continual and repetitive chain of other stereotypes"; see Bhabha, "The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism," in *Black British Cultural Studies*, ed. Houston A. Baker, Jr., Manhia Diawara, and Ruth H. Lindeborg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996): 87–106, 100.

29. Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton University Press, 1993), 30; Teaiwa, "What Remains to Be Seen," 730.

30. Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: Kamehameha Press, 1992), 159.

31. Ellis, "'Tatau' and 'Malu,'" 687.

32. Albert Refiti, "The Forked Centre: Duality & Privacy in Polynesian Spaces & Architecture," *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 4, no. 1 (2008): 97–106, 100.

33. Kamakau's articles originally appeared in various Hawaiian-language newspapers. This article cites the English translations performed by Mary Kawena Pukui, Thomas G. Thrum, Lahlilahi Webb, Emma Davidson Taylor, and John Wise for the 1961 compilation and publication of Kamakau's works as *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i*, cited above.

34. Jon Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering the Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 289. Osorio defines the *ali'i* system as "the class of Natives who ruled over the land and people and maintained their genealogies through careful mating and by recording their *mo'okū'auhau*." Genealogy is a tool to navigate this chiefly system, whereby the individual has multiple opportunities to access rank through different branches. This system is also a way to think about a narrative form rooted in the body that is exercised with creativity, as one selectively crafts narratives to increase one's mana and political rank.

35. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 298.

36. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 58.
37. Kathryn Waddell Takara also surmises Kahekili's *kākau* is a connection to Pō; see Takara, "The African Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i," in *They Followed the Trade Winds*, 2.
38. Wendt, "Tatauing," 403.
39. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 166.
40. *Ibid.*, 167.
41. *Ibid.*, 159.
42. For a discussion of Native Hawaiians' navigation of the ascendancy of racialization in the nineteenth century, see Takara, "The African Diaspora."
43. *He Pule*, Kalākaua, 1–2.
44. *An Account of the Creation*, trans. Lili'uokalani, 1.
45. See endnote 22.
46. For analyses and histories of the Kumulipo, see McDougall, *Finding Meaning*, 52–85; McDougall, "Mo'okū'auhau versus Colonial Entitlement in English Translations of the Kumulipo," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2015): 749–79; Kame'eleihiwa, "Kumulipo: A Cosmogonic Guide to Indigenization and Decolonization," *International Indigenous Journal of Entrepreneurship, Advancement, Strategy, Education* 1, no. 1 (2005): 119–30; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 97–104; Warren, "Theorizing Pō," 1–58, 190–231; Warren, "Embodied Cosmogony"; Lili'uokalani, "Introduction," in *An Account of the Creation of the World*; Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story*, 349–53, 399–409; ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*.
47. Kalākaua's version of the Kumulipo does not contain the diacritical marks that have since become standard; my quotations maintain his renderings. This absence of diacritical marks also allows for multiple translations of a single word according to context.
48. Helena G. Allen, *Kalākaua: Renaissance King* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1994); Takara, "The African Diaspora."
49. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 173–80. See Silva's discussion of depictions of Lili'uokalani on the covers of *Judge*.
50. Tiffany Lani Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua*; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*.
51. Cobb, *Picture Freedom*, Introduction.
52. Saunt, et al., "Rethinking Race"; Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics*; Krauthamer, *Black Slaves, Indian Masters*; Naylor, *African Cherokees*; Miles, *House on Diamond Hill*; Miles and Holland, *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds*.
53. Campbell, "Introduction."
54. For an extensive overview of the Kumulipo's various versions, see Brandy Nālani McDougall, *Finding Meaning: Kaona and Contemporary Literature* (Tucson: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016).
55. For an extended analysis of the connections between sovereignty, Pō, the Kumulipo, and physical and figurative blackness in contemporary Pacific literature, see Warren, "Theorizing Pō."
56. Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story*, 351.
57. For example, in *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant*, trans. and ed. Martha Warren Beckwith (University of Chicago Press, 1951), 1. While Beckwith's note evidences the Kumulipo's global movement, her surmise that Kalākaua himself did not see the value of the chant until a European scholar expressed interest in it, has been thoroughly critiqued and debunked by McDougall's extensive research in "Mo'okū'auhau versus Colonial Entitlement."
58. *The Kumulipo: an Hawaiian Creation Myth*, trans. Lili'uokalani, Queen of Hawaii, ed. James Kimo Campbell (Kentfield, CA: Pueo Press, 1978).
59. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 98.
60. Lili'uokalani, Introduction, *An Account of the Creation*.
61. *Ibid.*

62. McDougall, *Finding Meaning*, 55; Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 225, 249.
63. Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story*, 351.
64. Lili'uokalani, Introduction, *An Account of the Creation*.
65. Ibid.
66. For an overview of the loss of other prominent cosmogonic chants, see Warren, "Theorizing Pō," 3.
67. Lili'uokalani, Introduction, *An Account of the Creation*.
68. For the most extensive overview of *kaona* in Kanaka Maoli literature, see McDougall, *Finding Meaning*.
69. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 89.
70. *An Account of the Creation*, 1.
71. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 208.
72. McDougall, *Finding Meaning*, 54.
73. McDougall, "Mo'okū'auhau versus Colonial Entitlement."
74. Ibid.
75. Campbell, *The Kumulipo*, Preface.
76. Kame'elehiwa, "Kumulipo: Cosmogonic Guide"; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 99–104. One should also place these translations in the context of larger efforts by scholars to translate, preserve, and analyze Hawaiian-language literature and orature, particularly, ho'omanawanui's *Voices of Fire* and Silva's *The Power of the Steel-tipped Pen*. For an overview of the intellectual value and methods of this type of work, see Noelani Arista, "I ka moolo nō ke ola: In History There Is Life," *Anglistica* 14, no. 2 (2010): 15–23.
77. McDougall, *Finding Meaning*, 52–53; Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio, "Kumulipo," <https://jamaicaosorio.wordpress.com/poetry-publications/kumulipo/>.
78. *An Account of the Creation*, 1.
79. For instance, Hawai'i has yet to be the focus of a monograph on blackness and indigeneity in North American contexts, and of the four edited collections which Holland and Miles position as the fourth wave of Afro-/Native studies in the Americas: *Confounding the Color Line: The Indian-Black Experience in North America*, ed. James F. Brooks (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); *When Brer Rabbit Meets Coyote: African-Native American Literature*, ed. Jonathan Brennan (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Terri Strauss, *Race, Roots, and Relations: Native and African Americans* (city: Albatross Press, 2005); and *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country*, ed. Tiya Miles and Sharon P. Holland (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006). Only the latter work contains an entry on Hawai'i, namely ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui's "From Ocean to O-Shen: Reggae, Rap, and Hip Hop in Hawai'i," 273–308.
80. Sharon P. Holland and Tiya Miles, "Afro-Native Realities," in *The World of Indigenous North America*, ed. Robert Warrior (New York: Routledge, 2015), 524–48, 525.
81. Kenneth W. Porter, "Notes on Negroes in Early Hawaii," *Journal of Negro History* 19, no. 2 (1934): 193–97, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2714532>.
82. Holland and Miles, "Afro-Native Realities," 525, 527.
83. Porter, "Notes on Negroes in Early Hawaii," 194.
84. Huia Tomlins Jahnke, "Towards a Theory of Mana Wahine," *He Pukenga Kōrero* 3, no. 1 (1997): 27–36, 33–34; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 167–68, 78, 90; Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture and Politics* (Auckland, NZ: New Women's Press, 1991); Robyn Kahukiwa and Patricia Grace, *Wahine Toa: Women of Maori Myth* (Auckland, NZ: Collins, 1984); Patricia Grace, *Potiki* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986) .

85. Selina Tusitala Marsh, "Theory 'versus' Pacific Islands Writing: Toward a Tama'it'i Criticism in the Work of Three Pacific Islands Women Poets," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 337–56, 339. For Mana Wahine Māori and Mana Tama'it'i work that draws on black feminist thought, see Marsh, "Theory 'versus' Pacific Islands Writing," 339; Jahnke, "Towards a Theory of Mana Wahine," 33–34; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 167–68, 78, 90; Te Awakotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori*.
86. Haunani-Kay Trask, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism," *Signs* 21, no. 4 (1996): 906–16, 907.
87. Perkins, *Black Panther Woman*; Lothian, "Seizing the Time: Australian Aborigines and the Influence of the Black Panther Party, 1969–1972," *Journal of Black Studies* 35, no. 4 (2005): 179–200.
88. *Polynesian Panthers: A Documentary*, directed by Dan Salmon, Kay Ellmers, and Nevak 'Ilohahia (New Zealand: Tūmanako Productions, 2010).
89. Malama Meleisea, *O Tama Uli: Melanesians in Western Samoa* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1980); *Tama Uli*, directed by Tuki Laumea, The Coconet, <https://www.thecoconet.tv/know-your-roots/pacific-documentaries/tama-uli/>.
90. Robbie Shilliam, *The Black Pacific: Anti-Colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); Radhika Mohanram, *Black Body: Women, Colonialism, and Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Gerald Horne, *The White Pacific: U. S. Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas after the Civil War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007); Nitasha Tamar Sharma, "Over Two Centuries: Black People in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i," *American Nineteenth-Century History* 20, no. 2 (2019):115–40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664658.2019.1650459>.
91. Teresia Teaiwa, "Black and Blue in the Pacific: Afro-Diasporic Women Artists on History and Blackness," *Amerasia Journal* 43, no. 1 (2017): 145–146; Ojeya Cruz Banks, "Tānó: A Black Chamoru Dancing Self-Revelation," *Amerasia Journal* 43, no. 1 (2017): 147–56; Joy Lehuanani Enomoto, "These Could Be Evidence: A Response Work to *Write for Ferguson: Protest Poetry from Hawai'i Review*," *Amerasia Journal* 43, no. 1 (2017): 157–62; Courtney-Savali Leiloa Andrews, "Something Within Me: A Performative Exploration of Afro-Pacific Identity and the Refrain of Black Lives Matter," *Amerasia Journal* 43, no. 1 (2017): 163–68; Teresia Teaiwa, "Mela/Nesian Histories, Micro/Nesian Poetics," *Amerasia Journal* 43, no. 1 (2017): 169–78; Alisha Lola Jones, "'The Women Gather': Towards a Womanist Ethnomusicology of Afro-Diasporic Global Reunion (A Ritual)," *Amerasia Journal* 43, no. 1 (2017): 179–85. All articles in this issue of *Amerasia Journal* at <https://doi.org/10.17953/aj.43.1.145-192>.
92. Enomoto, "Where Will You Be?"
93. Teresia Teaiwa, "Mela/Nesian Histories," 170.
94. Alexander Liholiho, *The Journal*, 108.
95. *An Account of the Creation*, 1.