lead in treating ʻŌiwi narrative genres and literary devices as both "historical source and interpretive method."[122] Moʻolelo have been generally undervalued as legitimate archives of Hawaiian knowledge. Often relegated to the supposedly inferior status of legends and folktales, these moʻolelo in fact mirror ʻŌiwi understandings of their physical reality—both place and space. Other ʻŌiwi genres such as moʻokūʻauhau, kanikau, and ʻōlelo noʻeau have been treated similarly, but ʻŌiwi narrative arts can and should inform critical paradigms developed for their study.[123] In ʻĪʻī's case, while his life writing has been mined for historical and ethnographic information, scholars have paid little attention to the poetics of his texts and his narrative strategies for depicting lives. I hope to show that ʻĪʻī's newspaper series not only offer important insights into traditional Hawaiian methods for recording and celebrating lives, but also how these narratives evolved after the introduction of literacy. One of my objectives in depicting ʻĪʻī's life is therefore to honor ʻŌiwi aesthetics.

Kuamoʻo: Moʻokūʻauhau and Moʻolelo

The kuamoʻo (backbone) of Hawaiian culture is moʻokūʻauhau. We perceive the world genealogically—everything is relational. In its narrowest sense, moʻokūʻauhau refers to biological lineage, but as an ʻŌiwi theoretical and philosophical construct, it stands for relationality. Moʻokūʻauhau includes intellectual, conceptual, and aesthetic genealogies; even more important, moʻokūʻauhau is chronologically plural, extending in vertical, horizontal, and diagonal directions through time. And in terms of intellectual endeavors, moʻokūʻauhau refers to the worldview we have inherited as ʻŌiwi, which informs how we conceive, reason about, and understand thought and artistic production. An intellectual moʻokūʻauhau refers to a person's genealogy of knowledge—how specific knowledge has been generated, learned, or passed on. And moʻokūʻauhau also refers to genealogies of power, and the capacity to effect change. Related to kuleana, these considerations are enmeshed in the historical struggles that characterize the sum of Kanaka Maoli experience—past and present. And as an aesthetic construct, moʻokūʻauhau refers to poetic devices we have inherited that inform and guide our artistic-intellectual expression.

ʻŌiwi are genealogically related to what we call ko Hawaiʻi Pae ʻĀina. As renowned kumu hula (hula master) and scholar Pualani Kanakaʻole Kanahele has said, "I am this land and this land is me."[124] If we do not understand the impact of place and environment on Hawaiian ontology (ways of being) and epistemology (ways of knowing), then we cannot fully appreciate or learn from Hawaiian culture, beliefs, language, and even verbal and visual art. In other words, cultural literacy and personal identity are both grounded in the land. Or as Shawn Wilson puts it, "the shared aspects of an Indigenous

ontology and epistemology is relationality (relationships do not merely shape reality, they *are* reality)."[125] This relationality informs all the metadiscursive practices of moʻolelo, as well as the information conveyed. Metadiscursive practices include genre specification, titles, subtitles, prefaces, introductions, greetings, authorial asides, closing remarks, complimentary closings, and caveats. Such practices can be examined to lay bare the ideological assumptions lurking within the non–Kanaka Maoli writings about ʻŌiwi, their culture, their knowledge, and their beliefs. Or ʻŌiwi narrative strategies can be evaluated using what I term a "mohala ka pua lehua" approach. This is an apt metaphor for the strategies Kanaka Maoli narrators use to frame a moʻolelo (the pua lehua or lehua flower), moving it forward from the moment it first appears to readers until it has fully unfurled (mohala). Mohala therefore stands for both the framing of the narrative and the strategies that move the narrative forward, while each narrative element (character, event, place, character action) stands as one of the many stamens of the unfolding pua lehua.

The unfolding of a moʻolelo is rarely straightforward, for ʻŌiwi narrative strategies resist the common Western penchant for linear explication with little embellishment. Like spiderwebs, moʻolelo are intricate creations, and how the spider creates can itself be read as an allegory for traditional Kanaka Maoli narrative techniques. A spider weaves by releasing silken strands that are then carefully connected as the spider goes back and forth, up and down, and crosses here and there until the web is filled out. And just as this method for constructing its web is informed by the countless spiders that have gone before, likewise ʻŌiwi storytelling reflects the countless generations of ʻŌiwi who, as a collective, have contributed to the formation of a uniquely Hawaiian poetics. As I write this moʻolelo, I strive to respect my Kanaka Maoli heritage. Although ʻĪʻī became a staunch Christian, his writing also attests to just how firmly grounded he was in these Hawaiian ways of being, knowing, and telling. This is yet another aspect of ʻŌiwi writing that needs exploring. How did those ʻŌiwi who embraced Christianity not only navigate the transition from the traditional belief system they had inherited to the new religious system they adopted but also adapt their modes of expression to record this shift? And to what extent did their shifting offer a hybrid space that was neither fully Hawaiian nor Christian? In ʻĪʻī's case, we can learn from how he represents his various genealogies, his direct kinship ties, the kinds of service he provided as a kahu, and his early childhood.

Ola nā iwi (the bones live) is a well-known ʻōlelo noʻeau that refers to descendants who uphold their kuleana to care for their elders just as their elders had cared for them, forming a chain of respect and reciprocity between generations across time. I would extend this ʻōlelo noʻeau to include meiwi, those rhetorical devices or elements that, like bones, provide the structure of ʻŌiwi verbal and written art. Hiapokeikikāne Kitchie Perreira identifies four metadiscursive practices as meiwi: (1) "Kīkahō Kualehelehe," (2) "Kōkua,"

(3) "Hopena," and (4) "Kuhia."[126] The first "imposes the writer's personal thoughts"; the second "provides further explanation of a particular event"; the third signals "present-day results from within the story"; and the fourth is a "reference to knowledge from another source."[127] A legacy of oral tradition, these strategies also preserve ʻŌiwi knowledge and kuanaʻike (worldview). Whoever uses meiwi either to structure or to analyze narratives insures that ola nā (me)iwi (meiwi live). To perpetuate meiwi is to perpetuate our culture, so being attentive to how ʻĪʻī uses these rhetorical strategies also provides further insight into how writers like him not only navigate transitions from traditional to Western-influenced institutions, but also how they weave their written narratives as literary extensions of an enduring oral tradition.

My Moʻolelo of John Papa ʻĪʻī

This introduction has provided the rationale for this life-writing project and an outline of my methodology developed in response to Nogelmeier's discourse of sufficiency argument and the ongoing reconsideration of Hawaiian knowledge production. My intent has been not only to explore the implications of Nogelmeier's work for reconsidering the life and writings of someone like John Papa ʻĪʻī, but to investigate how the discourse of sufficiency argument is also applicable to ʻŌiwi narrative art and aesthetics. I have also enumerated and described the many archives of primary sources and stressed the importance of specific kinds of cultural literacy when reading and interpreting these materials.

Because ʻĪʻī's life was essentially one of service to the Kamehameha lineage and to the Hawaiian Kingdom, he must be discussed in relation to the aliʻi nui he served for nearly six decades. Changes in the lives of his royal charges meant changes in his own life; and each change modified ʻĪʻī's status, and for many years increased his responsibilities. Such changes obviously included, but are certainly not limited to, the deaths—often untimely—of those whom ʻĪʻī served. Whether as the catalysts, the beneficiaries, or the victims of changes in the social, cultural, religious, economic, and political realms, these aliʻi not only mark off our understanding of this history but also influence the structure of my moʻolelo. Important transitional moments and periods in the lives of ʻĪʻī and the aliʻi he served are the rationale not only for my chapters, but also for the divisions within chapters.

Chapter 1 sets the political stage in the Hawaiian Islands at the time of ʻĪʻī's birth. When he began his service in 1810, Kamehameha had just finished uniting the Hawaiian Islands under his rule. ʻĪʻī was born into a lineage with the right to petition for entry into the royal court as kahu. But it was not a privilege without its perils, and he had to prove himself worthy of trust and respect. I examine ʻĪʻī's genealogy because of its importance to understanding