

TRANSFORMING HAWAII'

BALANCING COERCION AND
CONSENT IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
KĀNAKA MAOLI STATECRAFT

I lele no ka lupe i ke pola
(It is the tail that makes the kite fly)

Mary Kawena Pukui, *'Ōlelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings* (1983)

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PAUL D'ARCY



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In memory of Kanalu G. Terry Young
Friend, Scholar and Mentor

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