Miki Basin Industrial Park Environmental Assessment

Exhibit A

Archaeological Inventory Survey

Archaeological Data Recovery Plan

And

Archaeological Data Recovery Report

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Archaeological Inventory Survey for the Miki **Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development**

Lands of Kalulu and Kaunolü, Lähaina District, Läna'i Island TMK: (2) 4-9-002:061* Thomas S. Dye, PhD Kepā Maly Nathan J. DiVito

May 9, 2018

Abstract

At the request of Pulama Lána'i, T. S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists has conducted an archaeological inventory survey with subsurface testing for the Mid Basin 2000 Acre Industrial Development located in the lands of Kalulu and Kamoliu, Lábaina District, Lánari Island. The survey evaluated the parcel for the presence or absence of historic properties and cultural materials in support of a zoning change to the

project area.

Pedestrian survey resulted in the identification and documentation of a secondarily deposited historic artifact scatter, a secondarily deposited lithic scatter, and an historic property, designated Site 50-40-98-1980. Test excavations included a total of 31 backhoe trenches, one of which yielded a fire-pit feature, recorded as Site 50-40-98-1981.

Both historic properties are likely to date to the traditional Hawaiian period and have been evaluated as significant for the important information on Hawaiian history and prehistory that they have yielded or are likely to yield. The Miki Basin 200 Are industrial Development will have an adverse effect on both of these historic properties and data recovery excavations are recommended for Sites 50-40-98-1980 and 50-40-98-1981.

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1 Introduction

At the request of Pulama Lána'i, T. S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists has completed an archaeological inventory survey with subsurface testing for the Mikl Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development 1: Decaded in the lands of Kalulu and Kaunoli, Lahaina District, Lána'i Island (fig. 1). The purpose of the survey was to evaluate the project parcel for the presence or absence of historic properties and cultural materials in support of a proposed zoning change and construction activities. The parcel is forested along Mikl Road in the area surrounding the existing Maul Electric Company power plant and associated facilities. The fence line of the Lána't Airport marks the northern boundary of the parcel. The Mikl Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development is located within TMK: (2) 4-9-002:061 and is situated on lands owned by Pulama Lána'i.

The Mild Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development is located at an elevation of approximately 415 m above mean sea level in an area called Mild Basin, named after a nearly filled pit crater [26:381, Vegetation in the area consists of guava, Christmas berry, and various low-lying shrubs and grasses. The soils underlying the project area comprise Moloka slity clay loam, Uwala slity clay loam, and Waikapu slity clay loam, all dark reddish brown soils

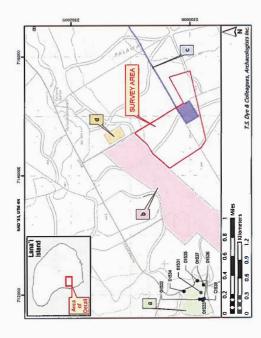


Figure 1: Location of the Miki Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development, nearby archaeological sites, and previous archaeological investigations on a 1992 USGS quadrangle map. Phyvious archaeological investigations include: a, Ahlo [1], Kam [22], Walker and Haun [31]; b, Sinoto [28], Borthwick et al. [3], Dagan et al. [5], Lee-Greig and Hammatt [24], Lee-Greig and Hammatt [24]; c, DiVito and Dyve [6]; d, DiVito and Dyve [6]; s, DiVito and Dyve [6]; s, DiVito and Dyve [7]. Site numbers are prefaced by S0-40-98- (e.g., S0-40-98-01532).

used primarily for *sugarcane* and pineapple production [12]. The project area is relatively dry and receives approximately 16 in. of rainfall annually.

2 Background

This section presents historical and archaeological background information that was used to predict the kinds and distributions of historic properties that may be present within the project area. The information also provides context for understanding and evaluating the significance of historic properties.

The general historic background for the island of Lāna'i was compiled by Kepā Maly. It is based on first-hand observation of cultural practices in the 1970s, interviews with

older *kama't*ima at that time, and an exhaustive review of pertinent documentary sources, including records held by Kumu. Pono Associates and the Lanai Culture & Heritage Center.

The historical narratus of solution to the following pages provide readers with access to some of the most detailed and earliest accounts recorded from Land. The narratuses offer a glimpse into the history recorded from the experience and memory of native residents and eyewitness accounts of those who participated in the events which now make Land's history. Some of these historical narratives have been translated from Hawaiian-language accounts for the first time, and other accounts rarely seen since their original date of composition. They are compiled here to provide a more detailed history of the land than has been previously available.

2.1 He Wahi Moʻolelo no Lānaʻi a Kaululāʻau: Some Traditions from Lāna'i of Kaululāʻau

Lāna'i is sixth in size of the major Hawaiian Islands (fig. 2), and like all islands in the group, it was formed through volcanic eruptions and is constantly being reshaped by erosional activity. The primary caldera was in the area now known as the Paläwai Basin, and it is estimated that Lana'i first rose above sea level approximately 1.5 million years ago. It is approximately 13.25 mil long by 13 mi wide, and at its highest point, Lāna'i, across the Ka-lohi Channel, and Maui lies to the east, across the 'Au'au and Naeheehe Channels; the channel of Ke-ala-i-Kahid and the island of Kaho'olawe lie to the southeast. The southern and western sides of Lana'i face the open ocean and are fringed by imposing cliff sides, while the windward side slopes gently to the sea. Thus, Lāna'i sits in the lee of fits sister islands. Its history, like that of Moloka'i and Kaho'olawe, has almost always been overshadowed by its larger neighbor, Maui.

The name of the island may be literally translated as "day of conquest"—Lā meaning "day" and Na'i meaning "conquest." Through the tradition of the chief Kaululā'au, Lāna'i was named on the day that the young chief vanquished the evil ghosts from the island. An early missionary dictionary translates the island's name as "hump," but this translation does not fit in with traditional knowledge of the meaning or pronunciation of the name jef. 27).

In addition to political and social contexts, Läna'i's relationship to Maui and Moloka'i includes a significant environmental one as well, sitting as it does in the rain shadow of the larger and higher islands. Läna'i's ecosystem evolved in the absence of man and most other mammals, giving rise to doud forest zones, which gave life to the land, and made the island hospitable to people when they settled Läna'i perhaps as long as 1,000 years ago. There were two primary forest-watershed zones, the major watershed of Läna'i Hale at the highest peak of Päläwai and Käalia Aupuni Ahupua'a; and what has historically been called the Känepu'u forest zone of Ka'a Ahupua'a. Untouched for countless centuries, the forest systems of Läna'i evolved the unique ability to capture droplets of water, which in turn percolated through the ground to create water sources that were spread from mountain to shote across the island. While these predous forest region's water-producing capabilities by man's activities and feral amimals, evidence of the region's water-producing capabilities are still visible on the landscape and in traditional accounts and historic literature.

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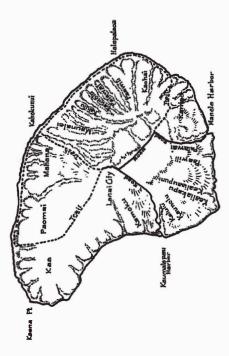


Figure 2: Map of the Island of Lāna'i naming 13 ahupua'a which form the major lands of the Island, as well as historic trails and roads (Hawaii Territorial Survey Division, 1929).

The earliest traditional lore of Lāna'i describes the arrival of the gods Kāne, Kanaloa, and their younger god-siblings and companions to the southern shores of the island. Later accounts describe the visit of the goddess Pele and members of her family to the windward region of Lāna'i. Subsequent narratives describe the settlement of Lāna'i by vell spirits, and the difficulties that the early human settlers encountered in attempts to safely colonize the island. Another tradition relates that in the early 1400s, a young Maui chief by the name of Kaululā'au traveled around Lāna'i vanquishing the evil ghosts/spirits of the island, making it safe for people to live on Lāna'i, and is the source of the island's name (Lāna'i ak Kauluā'au).

By the early 1600s, all the islands of the Hawatian group were settled sufficiently to develop an organized way to manage scarce resources. Each island was divided into political and subsistence subdivisions called ahupua'a, which generally ran from the ocean fishery fronting the land area to the mountains. Under the rule of Pil'lani, Lana'i was divided into 13 ahupua'a. Native tradition describes ahupua'a divisions as being marked by stone calirus (ahu) with a carved pig (pua'a) image placed upon them, and these ancient divisions remain the primary land unit in the Hawaiian system of land management on Lāna'i today.

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The culture, beliefs, and practices of the Hawaiians mirrored the natural environment around them. They learned to live within the wealth and limitations of their surroundings. There is significant archaeological evidence on the island indicating that in the period before western Contact, more people lived on the land sustainably—growing and catching all they needed—than currently live upon the island. Several important traditions pertaining to the settlement of Liana' and the beliefs and practices of the ancient residents are commemorated at sutch places as Kauluilá'au, Kalaedi, Ke-ahi-a-Kawelo, Hālulu, Pu'upehe, Põhaku ö, Kānepu'u, Ka'ena iki, Nānāhoa, Ha'alelepa'akai, and Puhi-o-Ka'ala.

Ancient Hawaiian villages, ceremonial features, dryland agricultural fields, fishponds, and a wide range of cultural sites dot the shoreline of Lána'i at places like Keone, Kaumā-lapa'u, Kaunoli, Māmaki, Kapalaoa, Huawai, Kapiha'a, Hulopo'e, Mānele, Kamalki, Naha, Kahemanō, Löpā, Kahalepalaoa, Kahe'a, Keömoku, Ka'a, Hauola, Maunalei (including a wet land taro field system in the valley), Kahökünui, Kaiolohia, Kahä'ulehale, Kahue, Lapalki, Awalua, Polihua, and Ka'era.

In the uplands, localities at Hoʻopulupuluamoa and Malulani, Koʻele and Kihamāniania, Kalulu uka, Katmoli uka, Kedila Kapu, Kedila Aupuni, and Päläwai were aiso locations of significant trataditional settlements and apprentural endeavors. We also know that over the generations, families with permanent residences in the Lähaina District of Maui frequented Läna'i to take advantage of its rich fisheries.

In the period leading up to 1800, there was a decline in the native population, and in the capacity of Lána'i to produce agricultural resources. This was, in part, due to disputes between the rulers of Maui and Hawai'i which overflowed onto Lána'i in the mid to late eighteenth century. In the late eighteenth century and early mineteenth century, foreign diseases and influences spread across the islands, leading to a further decline in the population. By the 1840s, there were approximately 600 inhabitants residing on Lána'i. By the 1870s, the population hovered around 300 residents, and by the early 1890s, there were just 175 native residents.

Native Lore and Historical Accounts: The Gods Walked the Land—Early Settlement of Lanai' Several traditions pertaining to the gods and people of ancient Lanai were found in a review of Hawaiian-language newspapers. These accounts describe the island condition and the life and practices of Lanai's ancient people. The narratives establish the bond between Länai and neighboring islands of the Hawaiian group and more distant Kahiki—the ancestral homeland of the gods—as Käne, Kanaloa, Pele, and others of the god-family shaped the natural environment and lives of the people of the land. Coming into the historic period, readers find significant changes on the land and in the lives of the people of Länai'. Selected accounts are related here that transition readers fitnough the history of Länai and a native landscape to one of change under western settlement.

A Famine on Läna'i—an Ancient Prayer Offered by Pakeaulani to the God Känepa'ina This tradition tells of two ancient residents of Lāna'i, a period of famine across the islands, and the death of the population. We learn the name of a god of one of the heizu on Lāna'i,

Kānepa'ina. The word *anela* (Hawaiianized angel) is used by the writer in place of the traditional words 'aumakua or akua. Also cited within this account is a pule uttered by ancient residents of Lāna'i.

No na Akua o ka Wa Kahiko ...

Eia mai he wahi moolelo no ka malama ana o kekahi anela paha, a mau anela paha, oia hoi he mau Kane paha. Penei ua wahi moolelo la. Aia ma Lanai ka noho ana o Kaimumahanahana, a me kana keiki o aku la na kanaka i ka make a ka ai, a koe elua o Kaimumahanahana, a me Pakeaulani, kokoke make nae ka makuakane. O ka la no keia e eli wale aku no i kulina uala, a loaa ka uala liilii, (he au ia uala) kalua a moa, lawe aku la keia a he wahi heiau a Pakeaulani, a he nui Ioa no na kanaka ma Lanai ia manawa; a hlki mai ke kau wi, pau Pakeaulani hana; oia keia. Hele wale aku ianei i hana'i, kaumaha aku la, alaila, pule aku la, penei kahi hapa o ka pule.

Kini o ke akua E ka jehu o ke akua E ka pukui akua E ka alami akua E kahuli, e kahele E kahuli, e kahele E ka wahine e moe ana ke alo iluna Eia ka ai au a Pakeaulani keiki a Kaimumahanahana. Pau ka pule, hoi keia a imi hou i ai no ke ahlahi, a moa la al lawe aku, i lawe aku ka han, ua pau kela al, kau keia al, pule no hoi e like me mamua. I kekahi imu iilili ana a lanei, honi mai la kona makuakane i ke ala o fan uala i mai la kela, Aubrea hoi kau uala e kuu kelki e aala mai nei?" Pane mai la kela, "He ai ia na kuu akua." Pane hou mai kona "He ai ia na kuu akua." Pane hou mai kona

About the Gods of Ancient Times

servances for a certain angel (guardian), angels, or perhaps men. The story is this. There was residing on Lāna'i, Kaimumathere were many people living on Lāna'i at that time. There came a time of famine, and all the people died, leaving only Kaithe father was close to death. Here is what sweet potatoes (little potatoes growing on a vine), and baked them. He took these things shipped, made the offerings, and prayed. Here is a little tradition pertaining to obhanahana and his son, Pakeaulani, and mumahanahana and Pakeaulani, though Pakeaulani did. He went and dug up some sweet potato runners and got a few small to a heiau and did the following, This is a portion of his prayer:

Forty thousand gods
Four hundred thousand gods
Assembly of gods
Alignment of gods
Those that change, those that
move about
O women that lie face up
Here is your food, prepared by
Pakeaulani, son of Kaimumahanahana.

When he finished praying, he went again and sought out food for the evening. He cooked the food and took it, doing the same with all the food until it was done, and set there (at the temple), and he prayed as he had before. He prepared the food in a small min, and his father smelled the secent of the sweet potatoes! He said, "Where are

uala a keke, ua hele ka Ape a hilala ka ha; o ke kalo hoi ua makaole kekahi kihapai, a makuakane, "Aohe oʻu akua, a he akua ka hoi kou?" A hala ae la na la elima o kana kamailio pu me kou makuakane a pau ae la ka laua kamailio pu ana, a hele aku la ia anela. Ninau mai la kona makuakane ia ia, 'Owai kou hoa i kamailio mai la.' I aku la Aole liuliu ma ia hope iho, haule mai ana ka ua he nui, ka ua no ia a ao ka po a po ua la nei, a ao ua po nei, malie iho la ka ua. I puka aku ka hana iwaho ua palaku ka Maia, o kekahi pumaia ka ha o ke kalo. Ke kalua iho la no ia o ka ai a moa, kaumaha e aku o Hawaii nei, ma Lanai wale no. Oia iho la kahi moolelo o ka malama ana o kekahi o hana ana pela, alaila, i ka po kamailio mai la kekahi anela o Kanepaina. I mai la, "Ea, a keia po e panipani aku oe i na pukapuka liilii o ko olua hale, a e noho malie mai oia, 'O kuu akua hoi ia a'u e malama nei.' ua moe ke Ko a ala mai, hele ke anakiu o ka la keia i ke Akua oia nei, a pau hoi mai la laua nei ai ka uala, ke kalo, a ai no hoi ka mai a maona; o ka laha hou no ia o kanaka na Kane ia mau kanaka ... Owau no me ka mahalo. John Puniwai.1

1 Nupepa Kuokoa, November 8, 1862.

with the ruling chiefs of Maui. In these narratives, a young chief, Kaululā'au, was born to Kaka'alaneo and Kanikaniā'ula. Kaka'alaneo's elder brother was Kāka'e, and Fornander tional accounts of Lāna'i dates from the early fifteenth century and associates the island reported that these royal brothers jointly ruled Maui and Lāna'i [14:II-82, 83]. During He Mo'olelo no Kaulula'au: A Tradition of Kaulula'au One of the best known tradi:

they two were finished speaking, the anfell lightly. Looking outside to see what had transpired, there was seen ripe Mal'a about, Ape (mountain taro) with long stalks leaning to the side; Kalo (taros) which filled the gardens, banana stalks were used as then cooked the food, and made an offering to his God. When finished, they two of my god." The father then answered, "I thing, then on the fifth night, an angel Kānepa'ina, spoke. He said, "Heed me, this night go and close the very littlest of the holes in the house of you two, and stay calm, do not speak with your father." When gel departed. His father asked him "Who was the companion with whom you were have been worshipping." Not long afterand day, and through several nights and days until there was calm, then the rains ground, 'uala (sweet potatoes) spread all the channels (to irrigate) for the taro. He ate the sweet potatoes, taro, and bananas until filled. This is how Hawaiians came to from Lana'i. So this is one tradition of how one of the Kane (gods), was worshipped by your sweet potatoes, that I smell, my son? He answered him, saying, "It is the food don't have a god, but you do?" Five days passed in his (Pakeaulani) doing this same speaking?" He answered, "My god whom l wards, a great rain fell. It rained night (bananas), Kō (sugar cane) lying upon the once again be spread across Hawaii, only these men ...

I am with appreciation. John Puniwai.²

2 Trans. K. Maly.

Kāka'e and Kaka'alaneo's rule, and for many generations preceding it, anyone who attempted to live on Lāna'i experienced great difficulties, as the island was inhabited by evil shosts/spirits ruled by their king, Pahulu.

published in the Hawaiian language in 1863 in association with another tradition from While there are numerous narratives that describe how Kaululā'au came to free Lāna'i are two major versions of this tradition with variations on the events. The best known is the version published by King David Kalākaua in 1888, but the most detailed version was from the rule of Pahulu, thus making it safe for people to inhabit the island [2; 10], there Maui, "Ka Moolelo o Eleio" (p. 14).

Through the encouragement of his friend and advisor Walter Murray Gibson, 1 the king King Kalākaua's version provides a significant description of Lāna'i and the ability of its people to sustain themselves by working the land and fishing the sea around the island Lāna'i as being richly supplied with food crops, natural resources, and fisheries that, but compiled the traditions found within *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* [21] and described for the presence of the evil beings, made it a destrable place to live.

Excerpts of Kalakaua's version follow, entitled "The Sacred Spear-Point" and "Kelea, the Surf Rider of Maui." These excerpts are followed on page 14 by an excerpt of the Hawaiian-language version of Kaululā'au's legend entitled "Ka Moolelo o Eleio."

"The Sacred Spear-Point" and "Kelea, the Surf Rider of Maui"

Kaululaau was one of the sons of Kakaalaneo, brother of, and joint ruler with, Kakae in the government of Maui ... The court of the brothers was at Lele (now Lahaina), and was one of the most distinguished in the [island] The mother of Kaululaau was Kanikaniaula, of the family of Kamauaua, king of Molokai, through his son Haili, who was the brother or half-brother of Keoloewa and Kaupeepee ...

Kaululaau was probably born somewhere between the years 1390 and 1400. He had a half-sister, whose name was Wao, and a half-brother, Kaihiwalua ...

their doors; and to others he caused information to be conveyed that they [Kaululaau] had a congenial following of companions and retainers, who assisted him in his schemes of mischief ... He would send canoes adrift, open the gates of fish-ponds, remove the supports of houses, and paint swine black to deceive the sacrificial priests. He devised an instrument to imitate the death-warning notes of the *alae*, and frightened people by sounding it near were being prayed to death.

people, since the chiefs or members of the royal household were usually Notwithstanding these misdemeanors, Kaululaau was popular with the

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Walter Murray Gbson settled on Läna'l by early 1862, and came to control most of the land on the island through fee-simple and leasehold title. A friend of many chiefs, some of whom who had been on Läna'l with Kamehameha I, Gibson recorded a number of traditions from the island, and is generally attributed with the Lana'i narratives cited by King Kalakaua.

the victims of his mischlevous freaks. He was encouraged in his disposition to qualify himself for the priesthood, under the instruction of the eminent high-priest and prophet, Waolani, and had made substantial advances in the calling when he was banished to the island of Lanai by his royal father for an offence which could neither be overlooked nor forgiven.

At that time Lanai was infested with a number of gnomes, monsters and evil spirits, among them the giganic moo, Mooaleo. They ravaged fields, uprooted cocoanut-trees, destroyed the walls of fish-ponds, and otherwise frightened and discomfited the inhabitants of the Island. That his residence there might be made endurable, Kaululaau was instructed by the kaulus and sorcerers of the court in many charms, spells, prayers and incantations with which to resist the powers of the supernatural monsters. When informed of these exorcising agencies by Kaululaau, his friend, the venerable Waolani, told him that they would avail him nothing against the more powerful and malignant of the demons of Lanai.

Disheartened at the declaration, Kaululaau was about to leave the *heiau* to embark for Lanai, when Waolani, after some hesitation, stayed his departure, and, entering the inner temple, soon returned with a small roll of *kapa* in his hand. Slowly uncording and removing many folds of cloth, an ivory spearpoint a span in length was finally brought to view. Holding it before the prince,

Take this. It will serve you in any way you may require. Its powers are greater than those of any god inhabiting the earth. It has been dipped in the waters of Po, and many generations ago was left by Lomo upon one of his altars for the protection of a temple menaced by a mighty fish-god who found a retreat beneath it in a great cavern connected with the sea. Draw a line with it and nothing can pass the mark. Affix it to a spear and throw it, and it will do, but let what I have said suffice.

The prince eagerly reached to possess the treasure, but the priest withdrew

I give it to you on condition that it pass from you to no other hands than mine, and that if I am no longer living when you return to Maui—as you some day will—you will secretly deposit it with my bones. Swear to this in the name of Lono.

Kaululaau solemnly pronounced the required oath. The priest then handed him the talisman, wrapped in the *kapa* from which it had been taken, and he left the temple, and immediately embarked with a number of his attendants for Lanal.

12

Reaching Lanal, he established his household on the south side of the island. Learning his name and rank, the people treated him with great respect—for Lanal was then a dependency of Maul—assisted in the construction of the houses necessary for his accommodation, and provided him with fish, poi, fruits and potatoes in great abundance. In return for this devotion he set about redding the island of the supernatural pests with which it had been for years afflicted.

In the legend of "Kelea, the Surf-rider of Maui," will be found some references to the battles of Kaululaau with the evil spirits and monsters of Lanai. His most stubborn conflict was with the gnome god Mooaleo. He imprisoned the demon within the earth by drawing a line around him with the sacred spear-point, and subsequently released and drove him into the sea.

More than a year was spent by Kaululaau in quieting and expelling from the island the malicious monsters that troubled it, but he succeeded in the end in completely relieving the people from their vexatious visitations. This added formmeasurably to his popularity, and the chokest of the products of land and sea were laid at his feet.

His triumph over the demons of Lanai was soon known on the other islands of the group, and when it reached the ears of Kakaalaneo he dispatched a messenger to his son, offering his forgiveness and recalling him from exile. The service he had rendered was important, and his royal father was anxious to recognize it by restoring him to favor.

But Kaululaau showed no haste in availing himself of his father's magnanimity. Far from the restraints of the court, he had become attached to the
independent life he had found in exile, and could think of no comforts or
enjoyments unattainable on Lanai. The women there were as handsome as
elsewhere, the bananas were as sweet, the cocoanius were as large, the awa
was as stimulating, and the fisheries were as varied and abundant in product.
He had congenial companionship, and bands of musicians and dancers at
his call. The best of the earth and the love of the people were his, and the
apparal [apapane] sang in the grove that shaded his door. What more could
has ask, what more expect should he return to Maul? His edde had ceased to be
a punishment, and his father's message of recall was scarcely deemed a favor.

a punisiment, and in statiet's message or recail was scartery teemed a favor, thowever, Kaululaau returned a respectful answer by his father's messenger, thanking Kakaalaneo for his clemency, and amounteing that he would return to Maui sometime in the near future, after having visited some of the other islands of the group; and three months later he began to prepare for a trip to Hawaii. He procured a large double canoe, which he painted a royal yellow, and had fabricated a number of cloaks and capes of the feathers of the ow and mano. At the prow of his canoe he mounted a carved image of Lono, and at the top of one of the masts a place was reserved for the proud tabus regarded of an aha dili. This done, with a proper retinue he set sail for Hawaii.

The tradition continues by describing events in which Kaululä'au participated in battles with various demons similar to those on Lāna'i. His journey took him to the islands of Hawai'i, Moloka'i, and O'ahu prior to his return to Maui.

Upon returning to Maul, Kaululä'au was welcomed home by his father, and learned that Waolani, his priestly instructor and friend, had died. Recalling the promise made to Waolani, Kaululä'au secretly hid the sacred spear-point of Lono with the bones of Waolani. Kaululä'au married Lalea-e-Ewa, a high chiefess of O'ahu, and together they lived out their lives, residing at Kaulu la in Lahaina and parented six children [21:225].

In the tradition of "Kelea, the Surf-Rider of Maul" [21:229-246], mention is made again of Kaululā'au and his adventures on Lāna'l. The account is centered on Kelea, the daughter of Kaheklil i, elder cousin of Kaululā'au. It is reported that when Kaheklil i ascended to the throne (ca. 1415), he "became king of Maui and Lanai; for during that period the latter island was under the protection of the mois of Maui, while Molokai still maintained its independence" [21:229].

King Kalākaua described the introduction of 'ulu to Lele, now known as Lāhaina, and Kaululā'au's banishment to Lāna't:

It was Kakaalaneo who introduced the bread-fruit there from Hawaii ... For some disrespect shown to his royal brother [Kakae], whose mental weakness doubtiess subjected him to unkind remarks, he banished his son Kaululaau to Lanai, which island, traditions avers, was at that time infested by powerful and malignant spirits. They killed pigs and fowls, uprooted cocoanut-rees and blighted taro patches, and a gigantic and mischievous gnome amused himself by gliding like a huge mole under the huts of his victims and almost upsetting them.

The priests tried in vain to quiet these malicious spirits. No sooner were they exorcised away from one locality that they appeared in another, and if they gave the taro patches a rest it was only to tear the unripe bananas from their stems, or rend the walls and embankments of artificial ponds, that their stores of fishes might escape to the sea. Aware of these grievances, Kaululaau took with him to Lanal a talisman of rare powers. It was the gift of his friend, the high-priest of his father, and consisted of a spear-point that had been dipped in the waters of Po, the land of death, and many generations before left by V tono one of his altars.

Crowning a long spear with this sacred point, Kaululaau attacked the disturbing spirits, and in a short time succeeded either in bringing them to submission or driving them from the island. The gnome Mooaleo was the most difficult to vanquish. It avoided the prince, and for some time managed to keep beyond the influence of the charmed spear-point; but the monster was finally caught within the boundaries of a circular line scratched with the talisman upon the surface of the earth beneath which it was burnowing, and thereby brought to terms. It could not pass the line no matter how far below the surface it essayed to do so. Heaving the earth in its strength and wrath, it chafed against the charmed restraint that held it captive, and finally plunged downward within the vertical walls of its prison. But there was no

2 Nupepa Kuokoa, October 24 & 31, 1863.

path of escape in that direction. It soon encountered a lake of fire, and was compelled to return to the surface, where it humbled itself before the prince, and promised, if iberated, to quit the island for ever. Kaululaau obliterated sixty paces of the line of imprisonment, to enable Mooaleo to pass to the sea, into which the hideous being plunged and disappeared, never to be seen again on Lanal. [12:229-230]

Ka Moolelo o Eleio (The Tradition of Eleio) The tradition of Eleio is set in the time of Kaka'alaneo's rule over Maui, Lána'i, Moloka'i, and Kaho'lawe (ca. 1400), and was published by W. N. Pualewa, in the Hawalian-language newspaper Kuokoa in 1863. The account tells us that Eleio was a famous kulkini associated with the court of the king. He account tells us that Eleio was a famous kulkini associated with the court of the king. He are noted for his ability to travel the circuit of the island, to fetch a choice fish from one district and bring it to the court in another district, keeping it alive. When it was learned that Kelekeleioka'ula, Kaka'alaneo's wife, was expecting, the king granted Eleio the privilege of naming the child. Eleio stated his desire, that if it was indeed a boy, and he was named Kaulula'au. As the child grew, his mysterious manner and mischievous nature created many problems for his parents and the people of Maui. Eventually, the youth was banished from Maui and sent to Lána'i to fend for himself. At that time in history, Lána'i was reportedly inhabited by hordes of akua under the rule of Pahulu. While on Lána'i, Kaulula'au was accompanied by his own personal god, Lono. Together, the two travelled about Lána'i, tricking the ghosts, killing them, and setting the lands free from their dominion.²

In this version of the tradition, Kaulula'au traveled around Lāna'i. We are told that he has already killed many of Pahulu's minions, and that Pahulu then feigned friendship with Kaulula'au, telling him that he would help him seek out the other akua who remained on the island. Pahulu's real objective was to round up the remaining akua to fight and kill Kaulula'au. The party traveled around the island counterclockwise, leaving the Keömuku region, passing through Ka'era, Honopû, Kaumâgpa'u, Kaunolû, and Mânele. The excerpts below cover the lands of the southern coast of Lāna'i between Kaunolû and Mânele.

Ka Moolelo o Eleio

A mamuli o keta olele ana a Pahulu; alaila, ua nee lo aku no lakou a noho ma Honopu, ata ia wati ma kahi e ane kokoke aku ana I ka pali o Kaholo, aka, o Kaumalapau nae kahi e pili pu ana me Kaholo.

A hiki lakou nel ma Honopu, a noho malalla i kekahi mau po, aole nae he akua ola wahi, no ka mea, ua kaapuni hele o

The Tradition of Eleio

Pahulu then flew on ahead, and they went on to stay at Honopū. This place is situated not too far away from the cliffs of Kaholo, though Kaumālapa'u is there, adjoining Kaholo.
They arrived at Honopū, and stayed there
several nights. Pahulu had traveled all
about the place, from one side to the other

Pahulu ia mau la a me ia mau po ma ia apana mai o a o, mai ka a uka, aole ona halawai iki me ke akua, nolaila, aole o lakou kuleana e noho hou ai malaila.

lakou ma ia wahi, no ka mea, ua ike o Nolaila, ua nee hou aku la lakou a noho ma Kaunolu, a malaila a noho loihi hou Pahulu he wahi akoakoa ia o ke akua.

ulaau, "E aho e noho kakou ianei, no ka mea, ua ike mai nei au, aia iluna pono o kamaaina mau o keia wahi, a nana no e Nolaila, olelo aku la o Pahulu ia Kaul-Kabilikalani ke akua kabi i nohoai. Eia nae auanei oe i ka nui o ke akua apau; ao ke akua auanei e kapai'na la o Kanemakua, alaila, mai pepehi auanei oe iaia no ka mea, he hana nui kana. O kana hana, oia ke malama i kela i-a o ke kai. Oia ke akua, no pono i keia lae akua. No ka mea, malama paha e pau io ana ke akua o keia aina ma keia hana au e hana nei, a e noho mai ana paha ka mea i like pu me kou ano a'u e ike e laka mai ai o ke akua, a ma ona la e hiki ka mea hai aku ia oe e Kaululaau, e luku ka mea, ina oia e make, aole mea nana e kiai aku nei. Alaila, ua koe iho la no ke kumu ai ke kaumaha aku, a e lilo o Kanemakua i aumakua lawaia no ia poe."

manao. A noho lakou malaila, me ka hana Alaila, ua maikai ia mea i ko Kaululaau aku i kana oihana mau o ka pepehi aku i ke ao ai i ka paeaea ana i ke akua, e like me ka hana ana o na kanaka o Molokai i pae mai ai ma Kahulehale, a no ka lehulehu o na hana maalea i loaa ia Kaululaau mamuli o ke aoao ana mai a kona akua a Lono, nolaila, ua akua oia wahi, a malaila hoi o Kaululaau i pau na akua i ka make o Kaunolu.

alaila, mano iho la lakou e haalele ia wahi a e nee hou aku ma kekahi wahi hou aku. Nee A pau ka lakou hana ana mau Kaunolu, lki ae lakou a noho ma Mamaki, a malaila i luku ia aku ai ...

of the land, and into the uplands, but he could find no akua in the district. Therefore, they had no reason to stay there for Then they traveled once again, and stayed at Kaunolū. They remained at this place for quite a long time, because Pahulu knew that this was a place where the akua gathered.

all the akua; but you should not kill the god called Kānemakua, for he has an important this place, it is he who cares for the fish of the sea. He is the god, and if he should be and as you do your work. From what I have seen, he is perhaps like you in what he Kāhilikalani, is the place where the akua reside. But this is what I have to tell you, Kaululā'au, that you shall indeed destroy cilled, there shall be no other god who can that you do not destroy the akua of this does. So let him remain free, that he may Therefore Pahulu said to Kaululā'au, "Let us stay here a while, for I see there atop ob here. His work, is that he is the native of watch over this godly point. So be careful be worshipped. Kānemakua will become the god of the fishermen of this place."

as he had done with the men of Moloka'i, who had washed ashore at Kahā'ulehale. So they dwelt there, and he did his work, dlling all the akua of this place. Kaululā'au then instructed them in praying to the gods, So it was that the multitudes do this, as Lono. Thus vanguished, were the akua of Kaululā'au thought this was a good idea Kaululā'au had been instructed by his god

pleted, they then thought of leaving the So when their work at Kaunolü was complace, and they went on a short distance and stayed at Māmaki. And there also destroyed them ...

A pau ke koena o ke Akua o Kaunolu i ka lukuia, a pepehi pu ia kekahi akua opu ohao, o Kuahulua ka inoa oia akua, a no ka make ana oia akua ia Kaululaau, nolaila, hele hou ae ia lakou a noho ma Manele.

pii o Kaululaau ame Lono iuka, a o Pahulu A malaíla, ua noho loihi loa lakou i kekahi mau la ame kekahi mau po, a o ka Pahulu hana mau no i ka hele e nana i ke akua mao a maanei. A no ka halawai ole o lakou me ke akua, nolaila, hooholo lakou i ka olelo e Naha, a malaila oia e huli ae ai ia Kaululaau hoi, ua hele loa oia ma kahakai a hiki aku i

They resided there for some time-a number of days and nights-and as was Pahulu's usual practice he went about looking here and there for the ghosts. Not encountering any, he went to tell Kaululā'au and Lono that they should ascend to the uplands, while Pahulu would travel along

their journey and stayed at Mänele.

god was Kuahulua. When this god was killed by Kaululā'au, they then continued

Thus the remaining akua of Kaunolü were destroyed, and there was also killed a god with a protruding belly. The name of this

> a malaila aku no a ke kuahiwi o Kaohai, a hele ae la no malaiala a Kahaalelepaakai, a ma ia kuahiwi aku no ka hele ana a hiki ae A o Kaululaau ma hoi, hele aku la laua mai Manele aku a pii aku a hiki i Kanauau, ka mauna o Lanaihale, kahi hoi a Kaululaau Ohiahalo, a malaila aku ka hele ana hiki i i kapili ai i ka maka o ke akua i ke kepau.¹

Nupepa Kuokoa, October 24 & 31, 1863.

the mountain summit of Lāna'ihale, at the place where Kaululā'au glued closed the

eyes of the ghosts with the glue.²

Kaululā'au folks went from Mānele, ascending up to Kanauau [Kāneua'u (also written Kaniua'u)], and from there up the mountain of Ka'ōhai. From there they went to Kaha'alelepa'akai, and that peak they went to 'Öhi'alalo. And from there they went to

the coast to Naha, and from there he would

seek out Kaulula'au and his companion.

2 Trans. K. Maly.

traditions describing the arrival of the gods and people in Hawai'i. The famed Kealaikahiki, canoe man's path to Kahiki," reportedly starts at Kaunolū on Lānaʻi.³ The residency of: the god-navigator Kāne'āpua is commemorated in a place name to this day, as is the place called Miki (Puuomiki), as a source of water, at Kaunolū. Below is one of the traditions of Kealaikahiki: "Canoe Man's Path to Kahiki" The island of Lāna'i plays a role in some this god and his place in the life of the families of Lana'i.

He Moolelo no Wahanui me Kaneapua ma Lanai

A Tradition of Wahanui and Kane'apua on Lana'i

> O Wahanui kekahi alii o Oahu i holo i Kahiki. O Wahanui ke alii, o Kilohi ke kilo, o Moopuaiki ke kahuna a me na hookele moana. I ko lakou holo ana a pae ma Haleolono ma Molokai. I ka wanaao holo aku la lakou ma

Wahanui was a chief of O'ahu who went to Kahiki. Wahanui was the chief, Kīlohi was the astronomer, and Mo'opuaiki was the navigator. They sailed and landed at Haleolono, Moloka'i. In the early morn-

3cf. "He Moolelo no Makalel" in Ka Hoku o Hawali, January 31 through August 21, 1928.

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ka pali o Kaholo ma Lanai, i ke ao ana, kaalo ae la lakou ma ka lae o Kaunolu, a ma ka hikina hema iki aku o laila, o ka Lae o Apua, ka inoa oia wahi a hiki i keia la. E noho ana mai la ua kanaka nei, penei, "Ko ke waa, no kekahi kanaka o Kaneapua ka inoa. Kahea wai he waa?" "No Wahanui."

Moopuaiki." "O Moopuaiki ke kahuna, o Kahikimoe, i Kahiki kapakapakaua a Kane, "O Wahanui ke alii, o wai ke kahuna?" "O wai ke kilo?" "O Kilohi." "He waa e holo he waa e holo ana e keekeehi i ka houpo o Kane." "O kou houpo la hoi o ko ke kanaka, ka houpo la hoi o ke akua keehiia iho, a pau ana i hea?" "He waa e holo ana i Kahikiku, i ola, a koe make. Pehea la hoi owau kekahi maluna o ka waa?" Olelo mai o Kilohi ke kilo. "Ua piha loa ka waa, aole oe e hiki." I ka holo ana ma kekahi ma-ka-lae mai, loaa i ka ino, me ka makani, a me ka puahiohio, o ka huli waa, hoolana aku la, a komo i ka lulu o Kaunolu, a pae i Kaumalapau.

me kona mau kaikuaana a no ka wai ole, Kahalapiko nolaila, ua haalele ia o Kaneapua i Lanai, a ua moe i ko laila wahine, ua Ma ka moolelo o keia kanaka o Kanea pua, no Kahiki mai no oia, ua hele pu mai hoouna ia o Kaneapua, e pii i ka wai i uka o Miki, aia no ia wahi mauka o Lanai, aka, he kuko ua mau kaikuaana nei o Kaneapua, ka aina momona o Kaneapua, ola ka aina ilo i kupuna no kekahi poe.

Kahiki. Ua olelo ia ma ka moolelo o Wa-Ua hana mau o Wahanui ma a no ka make Kealaikahiki ma Kahoolawe ka holo ana i hanui i holo ai i Kahiki, mai pilikia o Wapinepine, ua hooili ia maluna o ka waa, ma hanui ma i ka moana a ua nalowale na aina,

ing, they sailed along the cliff of Kaholo, on Lāna'i, at daylight, they passed by the point of Kaunolū. Just a little to the southeast of there, is the Point of 'Àpua. That name of Kāne'āpua. The man called out, thus, "The canoe, whose canoe is it?" "It is is the name of this place to the present day. There was dwelling there a man by the for Wahanui."

and Kahikimoe, Kahiki of the rain drops "Your chest is that of a man, and to tred upon the bosom of Kāne, is the end of life, "So Wahanui is the chief, who is the priest?" "It is Moʻopuaiki." "So Moʻopuaiki is the priest, who is the astronomer?" "It is Kilohi." "Where is the canoe sailing "The canoe, is sailing to Kahikdkū only death will remain. How about if I beof Kāne, to tread upon the bosom of Kāne. come one of them upon the canoe?" to?"

they sailed on by, passing a certain point, a Kilohi, the astronomer said, "The canoe is completely loaded, you cannot come." As storm arose, along with a wind and water spouts. Lest the canoe be overturned, they sheltered the canoe at Kaunolů, and then anded at Kaumālapa'u.

came an elder of some of the people there. Wahanui folks continued trying [to sail], In the story of this man, Kane'apua, it is said that he came here from Kahiki. He there was no water, they sent him to the uplands at Miki, to get some water. It is there in the uplands of Lana'i. But because the older brothers coveted the rich lands of Kāne'āpua, that is the land of Kahalapiko, mated with a woman of that place, and became with his elder brothers, and because they abandoned Kāne'āpua on Lāna'i. He

storms came upon the canoe at Kealaikahiki, is said in the tradition of Wahanui's sail-Kaho'olawe, where one sails to Kahiki. It ing to Kahiki, that there was much trouble and frequently came close to dying,

o Kaneapua ka hookele i loaa ai na aina o Kahiki, oia ka hookele akamai loa, ua pau na hoku o ka lani a me ka lewa \dots

Kāne'āpua became the steersman, they reached the lands of Kahiki. He was foremost of the navigators, and knew all of the

that came upon them in the sea.

stars of the sky and heavens...2

 Nupepa Kuokoa, January 5, 1867, p. 1. 2 Trans. K. Maly.

Chiefly Lineages of Lana'i

role and fate of Maui's chiefs in warfare with the chiefs of other islands also spilled over to Lāna'i in the centuries following Kaululā'au, and lasted through the time of Kamehameha I. In fact, a review of Lana'i's history since the time of western Contact reveals that the island and its people have been subjected to Maui's political policies throughout modern It was after the events in which Kaululā'au participated that we see references to chiefly lineages associated with Lāna'i, and the island fell under the dominion of Maui rulers. The

are only a few notable references to chiefly associations on Lāna'i and several passing references—generally one or two liners—to some event in which a chief visited or was associated with Lāna'i. Samuel M. Kamakau made an interesting reference to Lāna'i in his Between the time of Kaulula'au and his immediate peers until the middle 1700s, there discussion of the Hawaiian nation in 1869:

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dom in these islands, though it was a many chiefs and Kings on these islands, the Hawaiian islands were not subject to and the same for Molokai, Oahu and Kauai. As a result of Kamehameha's strength in battle, and with the chiefs that helped him in battle, the kingdom was unified as one Hawaiian nation. From that time until our present time, we are people of these is-The Hawaiian kingdom is an ancient kinglittle kingdom and divided. There were one Sovereign. Once there were two Kings for Maui, with a different chief for Lanai, ands, a Hawaiian Nation.² He aupuni kahiko loa ke aupuni Hawaii ma keia pae aina, aka, he aupuni 🛍 a mokuakekahi elua Moi o Maui, a he alii okoa ko Lanai, a pela ko Molokai, ko Oahu, a me ko Kauai. A ma ko Kamehameha ikaika i ke kaua a na 'lii i kokua pu iaia ma ke kaua ana, ua huipuia ma ke aupuni hookahi ke aupuni Hawaii. Mai ia manawa mai a loaa wale mai ia kakou i ka poe o keia wa ke hana nae o ka noho ana, a ua lehulehu wale na ¹ii Moi ma keia mau pae aina, aole i lilo ka pae aina o Hawaii i ka Moi hookahi, i kapaia o keia mau pae moku ke Aupuni

Nupepa Kuokoa, March 18, 1869.

Hawaii.1

2 Trans. K. Maly.

According to Fornander, a review of genealogies and traditions indicated that Lāna'i, while "independent at times," nonetheless shared a "political relation" with Maui a few generations after the cleansing of Lāna'i by Kaululā'au. This relationship was probably

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research of Kamakau and Fornander make several passing references to the fact that in ca. 1500, Kiha-a-Pi'ilani⁴ was for a time forced to hide on Lāna'i, until the path was open for his taking the throne from a cruel elder brother, Lono-a-Pi'ilani. Kiha-a-Pi'ilani's reign Following Kiha-a-Pi'ilani's death, Kamalālāwalu became the king of Maui, attempted fortified during the reigns of Kiha-a-Pi'ilani and his son Kamalālāwalu [15:94, 207]. The was one of progress and peace, though nothing more is mentioned of Lana'i [23:22,15:87

and was subsequently succeeded by his son, Kauhi. It is during the later years of an account compiled from native informants whose narratives reference a king named Kūali'i who was said to have unified the Hawaiian islands several generations before Kamehameha I. Kūali'i was imbued with godlike characteristics, and reportedly lived to invade the island of Hawai'i, and was killed. His son Kauhi-a-Kama took the throne Kamalālāwalu's reign that we find reference to a chief of Lāna'i. Fornander [13] published between ca. AD 1555 and 1730. He was a sacred chief, feared by all, and famed for his strength. In ca. 1600, Hāloalena was the king of Lāna'i, though he ruled under the authority of Kamalālāwalu and Kauhi-a-kama. Fornander [13] reported that

favorite pastime was the collection of the skeletons of birds. When the chief's Haloalena, the chief of Lanai was considered a very good ruler. His great bird tax was about due it was the usual custom of the agents to go out and proclaim the chief's wishes. [13:IV-422] Hāloalena had the skeletons of the birds cleaned, prepared, and posed for safe keeping in one of several large storehouses on Lāna'i as his personal treasures. Kauhi, a mischievous son of Kauhi-a-Kama, destroyed all the skeletons and

This was the cause of the hostilities between the king of Lanai and the king of Maui, and the reason why the king of Lanai wanted to be independent and not be any longer under the king of Maui. At this time the chiefs of Lanai were under the control of Kamalalawalu, king of Maui. [13:IV-424] Kūali'i was drawn into the dispute, and settled it without bloodshed, though Hāloalena and Lana'i remained under the Maui kingdom [13:IV-426]. It is not until the 1760s-1770s that we find references to Lāna'i, its people, and chiefs, prominent native and foreign historians described this time in Lāna'i's history. Samuel having been drawn into the path of war between the kings of Hawai'i and Maui. This period of Lāna'i's history has a direct impact on the lands of the Ka'ā region, and several M. Kamakau's series on Kamehameha I—which includes background information on the chiefs in historical events predating and during the youth of Kamehameha—names several chiefs from Lana't

The History of Kamehameha-No. 5 Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I—Helu 5 In the year 1769, that is when Kalani'opu'u I ka makahiki 1769, oia ka lawe ana o Kalan-

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iopuu ia Hana a me ka puali hikina o Maui. I o Molokai, oia hoi o Kaohele, Kaolohaka a o na 'lii o Lanai, oia hoi o Namakeha, o ka hoi ana o Kalaniopuu i Hawaii, a mahope iho o ia manawa, hele mai la o Kamehameha Nui ka Moi o Maui, a kaua ia Puna ke alii Kiaaina Kalaniopuu i hoonoho ai no ka puali hikina o Maui. He kaua kaulana keia no na aoao elua. Ma ka aoao o Kamehameha Nui, ka Moi o Maui, ua hui pu mai na'lii Keawe, o Awili, o Kumukoa, o Kapooloku; Kalimanuia, o Keliiaa a me na 'lii o Maui.'

war on Puna, whom Kalani'ōpu'u had left in

took Hāna and the eastern district of Maui. Kalani'ôpu'u then returned to Hawaii, after which time, Kamehamehanui went to make charge of the eastern district of Maui. This was a famous battle for both sides. On the side of Kamehameha Nui, the King of Maui, there were joined the chiefs of Moloka'i, being Kaohele, Kaolohaka a Keawe, Awili,

Nupepa Kuokoa, December 1, 1866.

Kumukoa, and Kapooloku; and the chiefs for Lāna'i, being Namakeha, Kalaimanuia,

Kelliaa, and the other chiefs of Maui.²

2 Trans. K. Maly.

Kalani'ōpu'u failed in an attempt to take control of Maui in ca. 1778, and took the battle directly to Lāna'i. Fornander [15] reported that

unable to oppose him, retreated to a fortified place called "Hookio," inland from Maunalel. But being short of provisions, and their water supply having been cut off, the fort was taken by Kalaniopuu, and the chiefs were killed. This Kalaniopuu ravaged the island of Lanai thoroughly, and the Lanai chiefs, Lanai expedition is remembered by the name of Kamokulu. [15:156-157]

been an early and influential convert to the Protestant mission, and her passing was Forty-five years after Kalani'ōpu'u's raid on Lāna'i, his granddaughter, Ke'ōpūolani, also the sacred wife of Kamehameha I and mother of his acknowledged heirs, died. She had documented in the Missionary Herald.

remarkably amiable and conciliatory, and her treatment of her subjects was Keopuolani was greatly beloved by her people ... Her native disposition was

generations; and that her mother's family belonged to the islands of Mowee, Woahoo [Oahu], Ranai [Lanai] and Morokai [Molokai]. Her grandfather was the king of Owhyhee when it was visited by Capt. Cook, in 1777 [1778]. Island, that she was born on the island of Mowee [Maui], in the year 1773; that her father's family had governed the island of Owhyhee [Hawaii] for many We are informed by her biographer, who is a missionary at the Sandwich

A Visit to Kaunolū in 1868

In 1868, Lot Kamehameha (Kamehameha V) visited his lands on the island of Lāna'i, and also visited Kaunolū where his grandfather, Kamehameha I, had resided for a time. It

^{&#}x27;Kiha, son of Pi'ilani, who lived in about the fifth generation after Kaulula'au.

^{*}Kopuodani, Queen of the Sandwich Islands Died on September 16th, 1823, while in residence at Lahaina," Missionary Heraid, July 1825:234-235.

men responsible for hiding the stone, was Keli'ihananui, an ancestor of several families Kamehameha I), situated on the flats below the heiau, and the former trail leading to the was reported by Walter Murray Gibson (1873) and Kenneth Emory (1924) that, while on this visit, a god-stone at Kaunolū was hidden at the King's orders, and that one of the of Lāna'i in the present day. The Hawaiian newspaper *Kuokoa* published part of a series of articles describing another visit to Lāna'i, and a trip to Kaunolū made in November 1868. Importantly, we learn the names of several of the akua lawai'a (fishermen's gods) of Kaunolů. Altogether, seven god stones are named, six in the coastal vicinity of Kaunolů, and another on the *kula* lands above it. Among the other important sites mentioned in the account are a reference to the house site of Nāhi'ena'ena (the sacred daughter of altar of Käne'āpua. Readers are also told of some of the practices associated with worship of the *akua lawai'a*, and the nature of the spring of Pä'ao, situated on the Kaunolū Valley

Naue ana e ike i ka Mokupuni o Kaululaau.

kanaka i halawai pu me makou i laila o Mr. A wahi hoi ana, e hoi ae ana ua Imi Haku la Aperila na malama kaili aku. Na mea kanu e ulu ana, ipu haole, ipu ala, kulina, uala, a He ahupuaa no keia o Kaunolu, hookahi Makaena, he kamaaina ia oia wahi, nana i kuhikuhi pololei mai i na mea kaulana oia awa. Nana no hoi e malama ana i na mea kanu a ko kakou Haku Lani Kamehameha V laila e lawaia ai, ke hiki ae iloko o Maraki pela aku. A e kukulu ia ana ka ia hale no ua Imi Haku la.

Na Akua Lawaia.

Kunihi, Hilinai, penei kona wahi moolelo. nae, a he lawaia malihini kekahi, a hoi mua Ina he lawaia nui au, he lawaia kamaaina mai ka lawaia, alaila oiala i ka la, ha_¹ ko_ kua me ka'u kaohi iloko ke alo i waho ke k.; a o ka lawaia malihini me kana _ i waho ke alo e hilinai like ai, a oia no kona mea i kapaia ai o Hilinai.

Fraveling About to See the Island of

e mohai mua ai ke kahuna, i mea e oluolu mai ai ua mau aumakua la, alaila, loaa ka ia a Kalani ke'Lii. A lele wale ka pule ana a ke kahuna me ka n_kaka ole o ka puaa, alaila ua maikal, holo ke... i ka hiaku, wili aku la hoi ke kahuna i ke kapa eleuli, a lohe ua kahuna la e awa mai ana na kanaka a penei:

O Namakaokaia ka 5 o na akua. Ia akua

ia e ke kahuna.

April, the months of line fishing for aku. one man there, Mr. Maka'ena, who is a pointed out the famous places of that bay. V. He said that the Lord will return to go The things planted (for the King) are water melons, cantaloupes, corn, sweet potatoes, and such. He (Maka'ena) is also building a Kaunolū is an ahupua'a, and we met with native of that place. It was he who correctly He is the one who attends to the things cultivated for our Royal Lord, Kamehameha fishing here in the months of March and house for the King.

The Fishermen's Gods.

Kunihi and Hilina'i, their story is thus. If you are the main fisherman, a native fisherman, and there is also a fisherman who is a in the day, he will turn his back along with that of the paddler to (lean upon) the god; stranger here, upon returning from fishing and the visiting fisherman will do the same turning his back and leaning upon it, that is why he is called Hilina'i (to lean upon).

Lahe (thinking of him). Then by going there, upset. I may go off and sit alone, and then hide on the side of the heiau, without you seeing me. Inside there, is Kānemakva, the 4th of gods. Now while he (the one who returned from fishing), is there relaxing, and I would go quickly go over to touch the ears of the fish hear, and that is the end of his going, he shall not get fish again, Lahe is the third of the gods. Say if my wife had a disagreement with me, and I was you come back from fishing. Then I go and until he goes to the kahuna. wahine a ukiuki au, alaila, noho iho la au a hoi mai oe mai ka lawaia mai, alaila, pee ae la au me ke hiki o ka heiau me ko ike ole o na akua. A nanea mai la kela i ka hele, he peku iki wale aku no ka'u a pa iki ia Lahe, oia hele no o ka lohe a na pepeiao o ka ia, o ka pau aku la no ia i ka holo, alaila, aole e loaa hou kana ia ke holo hou, a hana hou mai ia'u. Aia iloko o laila o kanemakua ka 4

O Lahe ke kolu o na akua.

They shall cry out, and the troubles are finished. But, if the King does not catch any Nāmakaokai'a is the 5th of the gods. It the 'aumākua. Thus, the King and chiefs shall catch fish. When the priest releases the prayer, and if the pigs were not moving about, then it is good. The King can go the black kapa cloth, and he will hear the people calling thus, "Many aku are caught by the King! The kahuna shall light a small fire and then the King will get more aku. is the first god that the kahuna makes an offering to, as a means of appeasing all aku fishing. The kahuna will twist about aku, the priest would be killed, or perhaps the jaw bone of one of the priestly attendants might be made into a hook and set on the altar, in place of the priest."

> e,!! puoho loa kela, pau ka pilikia, aka hoi, ke kahuna, a i ole hoo... ia ae la ka waha o kekahi kanaka i ka makau a kau i ka lele i

panihakahaka no ke kahuna."

"A mau ke aku a Kalani e! alaila, ho∙a iki ae ke kahuna, a ma@ hou ke aku a Kalani ina aole e loaa ke aku a ke'lii, alaila, make When he (Maka'ena) finished telling his story, we ascended the cliff, and reached the top of Kaihālulu, it is the heiau where men were placed on the altar like a bunch of bananas. He then took us a little be-Nāhi'ena'ena. Kolokolo is there on the seafirst into the water. It is perhaps 80 feet low there on the flats, to the house of side cliff, as is the diving spot of Kahekili, where the King of Maui would leap, feet high, from the water's surface to the top. Looking down, it seems that one would truly break his neck.

la makou ma ia pali a loea ae la iluna o Kaihalulu, he heiau ia oia kahi e kaa ia ai kanaka i ka lele me he ahai maia la, alaila, a hiki i ke kahuahale kula o Nahienena, o Kolokolo ka pali kahakai, ke kawa a Kahekili i hotamo ai ke'lii o Mano, me he la he 80 kapuai ke kiekie mai ka __kai a luna. Hai alakai loa aku kela ia makou makai aku Pau kana hai ana mai i ka moolelo, maoli no ka a•i ke nana ae malalo.

ae --

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Kuhikihi mai la kela i kahi e pu ai iluna o Kaneapua, ke ono ia o na akua lawaia, ke ku la ka makou ahu mui maluna iho o kona akua. He puni o lalo i ke kai i ka wa hohonu. Aole hiki o kamaaina ke pu, no ka mea, ua hanee ke alanuj; i keia mau kupueu onioni wale ia ae no. Hoi mai auan kai a hoi mai e hoopau i ka hea-kai o ka ili.

ke kaikuahine o Kaneapua, mai Kauai mai kona hele ana e ike i ke kaikunane; loaa a i Pau ae la, kau iluna o na lio a hoi mai; ke haawi aku nei no na malihini i ke aloha nona, no kona kuhikuhi pololei i na mea hou o laila. Hiki mai la makou i ke kula, i laila o Makauwahine ka hiku o na akua, ka mai wahine, ku ka hale pe-a i laila, pa-u mai la no i ka puakala. A oia ka mea i ooi ole ai ka puakala oia wahi ke lei ae i a-i. I ka ike kamaka maoli ana aku nei, he like me ka pohaku a kakou e ike mau nei, pela no ke anoo kela poe pohaku, hookahi no mea nui o Kaneapua, aole no hoi ano nui, eia ka hoi he akua iho la ia. He keu no hoi ka hana naaupo o ka wa kahiko, ka hoomana i na mea ana lima o ke Akua Mana Loa Hookahi hana ai; a ke kamau mai nei no ia hana naaupo a na kupuna o kakou i hala aku la i kekahi o na hanauna opio o kaua e noho mai nei. Aole i pau loa ia anoano ino o ke cubihewa.2

He then showed us the place where one climbs to the top of Kāme'āpua, the sixth of the fishermen's gods. From where we stood, we could see the large altar with the god atop it. It is completely surrounded by the sea at high tide. The natives can no longer go up, for the trail has collapsed; so it is that we, these rascals, just went around it. We then went swimming and casting.

Pā'ao is the name of the waterhole there.

Mr. Pali was the first to go into the water-hole; the native then called out in surprise, "Don't go in with your salty water." For this is indeed a mysterious spring. Then Mr. Maka'ena went to bathe, then Pali Junior. And after Pali Junior, we went to bathe. If the one who goes inside has dry salt water on him, and he pours the water upon himself, it will be bitter, just like pure salt water. But if the people are smart, they offer the kalokalo prayer to the 'aumåkua, and the water is sweet to drink.

We ofthen had her period and there was built a When we finished there, we got on the fered our aloha to him (Maka'ena), for his pointing out these places to us visitors. We then reached the kula lands, and there was Makuawahine, the seventh of the gods. She is the sister of Kāne'āpua, who came from Kaua'i, in search of her elder brother; she menstrual house for her there. She wore the puakala (Argemone alba) as her skirt. That is the reason why the puakala of this place is not thorned, and why it may be worn as a neck lei. Upon seeing it, it is like any stone that we may see, and that he is himself a god. It is so amazing, this things made by hands, rather that which was made by the one all-powerful God. And is the nature of those stones. The biggest one is Kāne'āpua, though it is not that big, foolish work of olden times, to worship the here still continues some of this foolish horses to continue on our way.

work of those ancestors of ours who have passed on. Being done by the young generation who live here.³

- 1 An underscore (_) denotes illegible text.
 - Nupepa Kuokoa, January 16, 1869, p. 4
- 3 Trans. K. Maly.

Accounts of Kamehameha I at Kaunolū, 1873

Walter Murray Gibson, who accompanied and hosted Kamehameha V while on his visit to Lāna'i in 1868, penned several accounts of Lāna'i, documenting facts of history as conveyed to him by the late King, other chiefs, and native residents of the island. On March 21, 1873, as a part of the tradition of Puhi o Ka'ala, the newspaper, "Nu Hou," published by Gibson, included descriptions of Kamolia, and events around the life of Kamehameha I, while residing on Lāna'i. Gibson wrote:

We commence the publication of a Hawaiian legend, or story, which was partly written in 1868, during a visit of His Majesty Kamehameha V on Lanai, and at his request ... This story is based upon this amount of fact. The land, the heiau or remple, and the spouting cave all exist as described ... The events connected with the visit and residence of Kamehameha the Great, are not only rife in the traditions of the islanders, but were vouched for in conversations with the author, by the late Governor Kekuanaoa, who was with the Conqueror in none of his expeditions to Lanai. Another historical authority was Pilanaia, whose memory was rich with the legends of his native isles ...

Lanal is an island of many legends, stories and songs ... Here dwelt Kane, who crossed the seas from western isles ... His kindred, Kanekoa, Kaneloa, and those fish gods, the Neptunes of the Pacific, had their chosen seat among the boid bluffs upon the ocean beaten coast of Ululaau, the ancient name of Lanal. It was a sacred isle, and its central land, named Kealia Kapu, or Tabooed Kealia, was a Pahonua or place of refuge. Upon its soil and that of the bordering hand of Kanuolu are the remains of a great temple, which once was a shelter to the fugitive vanquished warrior—to the servant fleeing from a chief's sanger, and even to the victim escaping from bloody sacrifice. Its ruins are still revered by ancients of the isle. But a little while ago when the Fifth Kamehameha was there, the natives, at his command, moved and hid away its great stone fish god; and in these very days anxious fishers have been known to make their secret offerings within the temple grounds in order to propitiate the olden delites of the seas.

This temple, or Helau of Kaunolu, is on the southwestern coast of Lanal and its ruins lie within the mouth of a deep ravine, whose extending banks run out into the sea and form a bold, bulf-bound bay. On the top of the western bank there is a stone-paved platform, called the Kuaha, or Floor of Offering, Outside of this, and separated by a narrow alley way, there runs a broad high

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wall, which quite encircles the Kuaha. Other walls and structures lead down the bank, and the slope is terraced and paved down to the tide-worn stones of the ever-sounding shore.

ăne'āpua

At the beach there is a break; a great block of the bluff has been rent away by some earth shake, and stands out like a lone tower, divided from the main by a gulf of the sea. Its high red walls beetle from their tops, upon to which neither man nor goat can climb. But you can behold on the flat summit of this islet bluff portions of ancient work, of altars and walls, and no doubt a part of the mainland temple, to which this fragment once was joined. But man can visit this lone tower's top no more, and his feet can never climb its overhanging walls.

Village about Kaunolü Described

Inland from the temple there are many remains of the hales, or huts of the people of the past. The stone foundations of their cabins, the enclosures for swine, the round earth ovens, and other traces of a throng of people, cover many acres of beach and hill-side. This was a kulanakauhale, or town, famed as an abode of gods and a refuge for those who fled for their lives; but it drew its people manily through the fame of its fishing ground, which swarmed with kala, ohua, bonito, and the varied life of the Hawaiian seas.

Residence of Kamehameha I at Kaunolü

To this famed fishing ground came the great hero of Hawaii to tax the deep, when he had subdued this and the other isles. He came with his fleets of war canoes; with his faithful koas or fighting men, with his chiefs, and priests, and women, and their trains. He had a hale here. Upon the craggy bluff that forms the eastern bank of the bay there is a lonely pa, or wall, and stones of an ancient halepakui, or fort, overlooking the temple, town and bay. The kanaka of this day speaks of it with subdued voice, and he steps carefully around this ground as he points out to you the Lanai home of the conqueror of the eight lands and seas, Kamehameha the Great.

The stout Son of Umi came to Kealia for sport rather than for worship. Who so loved to throw the maika bail, or hurl the spear, or thrust aside the many javelins fung at his naked chest, as the chief of Kohala? He rode gladly on the crests of the surf waves. He delighted to drive his cance alone out into the storm. He fought with the monsters of the deep, as well as with men. He captured the great mano, the shark that abounds in the bay; and he would clutch in the fearful grip of his hands the deadly publ, the great jawed eel or

snake of these seas, the terror of fish and men, and hence his dread name of Puhikapa, the Devourer of the Seas. When this warrior king came to Kaunohi, the islanders thronged to the shore to pay homage to the great chief, and to lay at the feet of their sovereign, as was their wont, and as they do at this day on the visit of his illustrious grandson [Kamehameha V], the products of the isle; the taro, the yam, the pala, the cocoanut, ohelo, banana and sweet potato. They piled up a mound of food before the door the king's pakul, along with a clamorous multitude of fat pol-fed dogs, and of fathom long swine.

Besides this tribute of the men, the workers of the land, the women filled the air with the sweet odors of their floral offerings. The maidens were twined from head to waist with leis or wreathes of the natu [nā't], which is Lanal's own lovely jasmine—a rare gardenia, whose sweet aroma ladens the breeze, and leads you to the bush seeking it afar off. These garlands were fastened to the planted pill thatch of the king's pakui; they were placed on the necks of the young warriors, who stood around the Chief; and around his royal brows they twined an odorous crown of maile.⁶

Subsequently, Gibson revisited some of the history of Kaunolü, and added a few additional observations:

Lanai.

where the King would sit and angle, and this has been named Pohakualii or good state of preservation. The Heiau, the stone lines of the old Kamehameha on both sides of the ravine. Fish abound at this point, and it was a favorite fishing resort of the First Kamehameha; and we had the honor to entertain here at one time the Fifth of the Kamehamehas, who came here to gratify his native taste of sport in the sea. He also spent a few days, in a small bay, Honopu, a few miles west of Kaunolu, where there are five remarkable natural base, and the others varying from 80 to 60 feet in height. There is a large rock on the brink of the sea, just round the point on the western side of this bay, of Halulu, to the site of a residence of Kamehameha the Great, and of a once populous fishing village, in a ravine that lies between the lands of Kaunolu and Kealia Kapu. This latter land was a place of refuge ... The walls of the Heiau, the altar floor, or kuahu, and other portions of the rude structure are in a residence, and of numerous ancient halepilis cover a space of a couple of acres columns; one apparently over 100 feet high, and about 20 feet diameter at the About five miles along the coast westward of Manele we come to the Heiau Royal Rock, and we have named Honopu, King's Bay.

But to return to our Helau. On its western side, is a natural gap like a gate way in a wall of rock that lines the brink of a precipice about 150 feet above the sea. The old native priest Papalua, who was our guide told us, that the

⁶Walter Murray Gibson in Nu Hou, March 21, 1873, p. 3.

Great Kamehameha would sometimes make men, whom he wished to pumish, jump from this gap into the sea and some would be hurt or killed. But there is a native now on Lanai named Lono, who will readily make this leap of 150 feet into the tide fretted gulf.⁷

u'u o Miki

Pu'u o Miki is translated as "Hill of Miki," Miki meaning "the adept one." This is a feature near the project area. It was identified as Site 142 by Emory in 1924 during his actaeological inventory survey on Lána'í [10]. The area of Miki, Emory's Site 138, formerly and residences and dry land cultivation in traditional times. It also was the site of an early plantation camp.

"He Moolelo no Makale!" (A Tradition of Mākāle!): Kealaikahiki at Kaunolū and noted Places of Lāna'i Named for Former Residents

The story of Mäkälel—beginning in the Kekaha region of North Kona, Hawai'l—includes rich narratives describing ancient fishing customs, gods, prayers, and traditions of places. The tradition provides information on various locations around the islands of Hawai'l, Lāna'l, O'ahu, and Kaua'l, and is set around ca. AD 1200, by association with 'Olopana's reign on O'ahu. It was submitted to the native language newspaper Ka Hôku o Hawaii by noted Hawaiian historian J. W. H. I. Kihe in 1928. The following narratives, translated by Maly, are excerpted from the larger account, and focus on selected accounts of fishing, people, and history from Lāna'l, with reference to Kealaikahiki and other noted places on the rich.

The Supernatural A'u-A'u-lele-o-ka-moana

While fishing off of the ko'a of 'Āwini, Kohala, Mākālei hooked a great fish. The fish rose to the water's surface and rested calmly, for it had pulled out three ka'au lengths of line. Mākālei then saw the great kiwi (sword) of the fish and knew that this fish was an A'u-lele-o-ka-moana (Leaping swordfish of the deep sea). Now while Mākālei had been pulling at his line, the fish had taken him to the open ocean. Hawai'i had fallen behind him, and he was now near, on the side of the chamrel between Moloka'i and Lāna'i. Seeing that this A'u-lele-o-ka-moana had taken him this far, Mākālei called to his aneestress—

E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo, O Hina in the season of Kā'elo, Pa'a 'ia a pa'a ka i'a a kāua! Secure and bind this fish of ours!

By now, the sun was setting, and Mākālei was traveling outside of the point of Keka'a at Kâ'anapall, and he continued to hold back the fish. Darkness covered everything and Mākālei could no longer see the land, yet the fish continued to

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lead luim on. Mākālei called again to his ancestress---"O Hina in the season of Kā'elo, secure and bind this fish of ours!" During that night, Mākālei and this supernauntal fish of 'Āwini encircled Lāna'i two times. In the early light of day, the fish began to tire, and Mākālei then pulled the fish close to the canoe. The size of this fish was truly unbelievable. It was almost seven anana (fathoms) long.

Aku Fisheries of Kaunolū, Lāna'i, and Ke-ala-i-Kahiti

Mākālei secured the great fish A'uleleokamoana on his line and then landed at Kā'dbiā along the shores of Ka-ulu-lā'au (Lāna'l). The shore was filled with people, and Mākālei gave the fish to the residents, who kindly welcomed him and pleasantly cared for him. Now while he was staying on Lāna'l, he was greatly esteemed by the kama'āina, and he asked them if there was a ko'a (fishing station shrine) at this place. The natives told him, "Kaunoli and Keala-i-Kahiti are the famous ko'a. There are many other ko'a, but these are the foremest,"

One day, Mākālei went with the people to the shore of Kaunolü and saw the ko'a; indeed the natives of this shore were fishing there. Looking upon this scene, Mākālei told the native residents which were with him, "This kind of fishing is a game for the children of my land." The kama'āina then asked, "Which land is that?" Mākālei answered—

It is Ka'e lehuluhulu at Kona, Hawai'i; where the dark clouds settle upon the mountain in the rising calm, where the sun appears upon the back and sets at one's face. The land of Kona is indeed famous for its' calm and gentle seas, [the land which is! also known for the streaked ocean where the 'Eka breezes gently blow!

Mākālei then asked, "Do you have an uhi (pā hi-aku), or mother of pearl aku lure, like the type being used by those fishermenn?" Mākālei then took out his lure and showed it to those people who were with him. One person then told Mākālei, "The aku lures are cared for by the fishermen themselves for it is in their knowledge to care for the lures." Mākālei then said, "If you have an 'ohe (aku line boom) for us, I can try to use my lure Kolomikimiki. It is my inheritance from my ancestress Hina-i-ka-malama-i-kā'elo."

One of the people told Mākālei, "Let us go to that canoe which is resting on the shore, it belongs to my elder brother, Ke'ömuku who is the head fisherman of this place at Kaunolia." They then went down to speak with Ke'ömuku, asking that he give them an 'ohe hi aku (aku line boom), which he did. Ke'ömuku then atkat he give them an 'ohe hi aku (aku line boom), which he did. Ke'ömuku then saked, "Who is your fisherman?" And the people told him it was the young stranger. Ke'ömuku then asked, "Do you have a lure with which to fish?" And they responded that the youth did indeed have a lure, and that was why they

Walter Murray Gibson in Nu Hou, September 12, 1873, p. 3.

were asking for the boom. Ke'ōmuku then told them, "So you have gotten your aku fisherman after all."

lure will not be drawn through the water. Indeed, the fishermen lives (has luck) by the moving of the canoe." They then told Mākālei their names; Pali was the man at the front (ihu) of the canoe, Malama was the man at the mast They then paddled towards the place where the canoes were at rest upon the water. Mākālei then set his lure down, and he then asked his companions, What are your names, that I may call to you to paddle as is my rule at the time of fishing. If the canoe does not move when I call out to the kāohi (paddlers who position and/or hold a canoe in place while aku fishing) to paddle, the brace (ku kia), Pālāwai was the man at the bailing seat (kā i nā liu), and the man at the inner outrigger boom (kua 'iako) was Hopu.

for the aku to begin moving. To that time the aku had not yet appeared, and the sun was already drawing to mid-day. Mākālei then called to Pali, Malama, Pālāwai, and Hopu, "Paddle for the Mākâlei, fisherman of the long When Mākālei mā reached the canoe fleet, all of the fishermen were waiting day." Mākālei then called to his ancestress

Ku'u kupuna wahine o ka lā o lalo E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo

Ke ka'awili, ka ho'olili, ka holopapa E pāpale i ke aloha hōmai makana na'u na Mākālei Ho'āla ia mai ke kahuli

í ke hálukuluku i ka mápuna Ka i'a alaka'i noho i ke ko'a o Kaunolů i ke ala i Kahiki Ke aku i ka hale o ke koʻa I ka piko o Wākea I ka hale o ka i'a

My ancestress of the sun which is below (to Hail Hina of the season of Kā'elo he south)

on the water's surface, and travels at the The fish which twists, which causes ripples Your love overshadows, reaches down Arise o fish which upsets the canoe As a gift for me, for Mākālei lower stratum

The aku which is at the house, the ko'a of Kaunolü at the path to Kahild Which is the house of the fishes At the umbilical of Wākea The lead fish dwells at the koʻa Striking at the spring,

When Mākālei ended his chant the aku began to strike at all sides around them. Mākālei then held securely to the lure line and pulled the quivering aku to the to Pālāwai to bail their canoe, and he called to Hopu, Pali, and Malama telling him, "Our canoe is filled, paddle towards the shore, to the land ko'a which is by the house where the canoe carriers await." Now when Mākālei mā finished canoe. He then called to Pali, telling him to take up the aku and place it at the bow of the canoe. Mākālei then took up the other aku without any errors; and the aku were like snarling, raging dogs. When the canoe was filled, he called

ishing, the aku also stopped rising to the surface and remained in the depths

aku from Pali at the bow of the canoe, and then told his kāohi, "Divide all the fish as you desire, giving some to those people who had carried the canoes, and to the people who dwell in the houses without fish. If there are any fish left, give them to the dogs and pigs, and do not worry about me. This one fish When they landed their canoe upon the shore, Mākālei took up the first caught is all that I need.'

so much. The people thought, "This person is no fisherman, but instead he is Now this was something new to those people at this place, that Mākālei should give them all the fish, and keep only one for himself. The people were greatly surprised for there were no other fishermen at this place who had ever given an 'aumakua for us."8

of Lāna'i went to Mākālei with her mother to ask that he become the young Lāna'i-hale, and Pālāwai, who was one of Mākālei's paddlers was the father of The fame of Mākālei's deeds went around the island of Lāna'i-a-Kaululā'au, from the 'okina (land divisions) of Ka'ā, Kaunolū, and Ka'ōhai on the island of Lāna'i. Because of these deeds of our alert one [Mākālei], a beautiful young girl girl's husband. The name of this girl was Mauna-lei, and her mother was this beauty of the land of the god Pahulu; the one for whom it is said "Eia kau wahi e Pahulu – Here is your portion Pahulu!"⁹

people which have sought to arrange a marriage, and not one of them have I agreed to." Mākālei then told Maunalei mā, " I will have no thoughts of marriage until I see the island of Kaua'i. Until this thought has been fulfilled, I cannot consider marriage." Lâna'ihale then said, "If that is so, perhaps the two of you could dwell under a palau (betrothal agreement), until the time for marriage is right." But Mākālei explained that that could not be done, "I would not bind any woman to an agreement, for then if some fine man came along. then she would be unhappy. Therefore, I ask you to forgive me, and do not Mākālei then asked the maiden that she excuse him, "There have been many let these thoughts become unjust." Because of his just words, the people felt certain that Mākālei was indeed a chief.

Now one day while the canoe fleet was out 'aku fishing, Mākālei went with his kāohi Pālāwai, who was the father of the maiden named Maunalei. When they reached the ko'a, the aku were seen swimming, Mākālei turned and tossed out his lure and quickly secured ten fish. When Mākālei mā rested, they saw that it had been a great a'u (sword fish) which drove the aku to their canoe. Mākālei

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Pahalul (Nightmare) was the king of the akua who Inhabited Läna'i, and who were killed by the chief kaului'an. Pahulu was the last akua killed and his spirit infested a weke (goalfsh) that is now called weke pohulu. Naives of Laari'l throw the bones and head of weke pahulu into the cooking fire and utter this saying to ward off nightmares.

those people on the canoes were fearful that they would be pierced by the a'u. sea, to where the islands were seen to sit low upon the water, and Wai'ale'ale barely rose above the horizon. As the sun began to descend, Mākālei called to then took his line and tied one of the aku to his lure, he then threw the baited lure behind the canoe and as it fell, the a'u took the aku. The a'u ran along the water's surface thrusting it's sword all about. The canoe fleet scattered as Mākālei held tight to the line, and Aʻulele traveled out to the dark blue-green

E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo, Pa'a 'ia a pa'a ka i'a a kāua!

Secure and hold tight this fish of ours! Hail Hina of the season of Kā'elo,

A'ulele then dove towards-Kaua'i moku lehua pane'e lua i ke kai (Kaua'i, island of the lehua forests which appear to travel towards the sea). 10

2.2 Historical Events: Transitions in Land Use and Population on Läna'i

native residents and laid the land to waste [15; 23]. Apparently, Lāna'i's native population on foreign ships swept through the group. It is estimated that by 1805, from Ni'ihau to estimate the population on Lāna'i to be between 2,000 and 3,000 people, and by the early 1890s the population was around 200. By 1902, the native population dropped to 80 residents, most of whom were descendants of Lāna'i's long-term native families. One can only guess how much traditional knowledge of place, practices, and traditions was lost as In the 1770s, around the time of western Contact with Hawaiians, Kalani'ōpu'u, sovereign of Hawai'i Island, attempted to take the Maui group of islands by force. Repelled from Mauí, the invading force settled on Lānaʻi for a time and reportedly killed many of the never recovered from this event. In 1804, the first major epidemic brought to the islands Hawai'i 150,000 Hawaiians died. 11 On Lāna'i the decline didn't end. One estimate of the native population on Lāna'i in ca. 1793 is $6,000 \, [4]^{12}$ By 1823, Mission Station Journals the population fell from 6,000 to 80 in a little more than a century.

With the exception of the periods from 1854 to 1864 and 1899 to 1901, there were no increases in the population on Lāna'i. The two periods of increase were tied to western initiatives, the first being an experiment by members of the Mormon Church to establish a station on Lâna'i between 1854 and 1864. This períod led to an increase of more than 300 Hawaiians and a few foreigners, with the majority living in the *ahupua'a* of Pālāwai, and regular travel between the upland settlement and the Mānele landing. The experiment was in decline by 1858, and though there was a revival between late 1861 and 1864, the Pālāwai experiment was terminated, and the native population continued its historic decline. The second period of growth, between 1899 and 1901, occurred when the Maunalei Sugar

Company brought in some 600 non-Hawaiian laborers to operate a sugar plantation along the windward section of Pālāwai Ahupua'a.

population was the introduction of grazing herbivores—goats, sheep, and cattle—which were raised to provide foreign vessels with a meat source. These animals, along with the Scandinavian roof rat, produced a rapid and devastating impact on the ability of Lāna'i's forest to draw moisture from the wind-borne clouds and develop groundwater resources. In addition to the introduction of herbivores, the western demand for staple crops such as potatoes, along with the demand for 'iliahi as a trade item, and the hunger for firewood to be used in processing whale blubber, led to the clearing of vast tracts of land. Just as the Hawaiians had no immunities or natural protection from introduced diseases, the native plants, animals, and ecosystems were also unprepared for the impacts of human clearing of the landscape and foraging animals that browsed and trampled everything One significant contribution to the decline in Lāna'i's ability to support the resident that was visible, thus killing the land.

us with glimpses into the changes on Läna'i, with specific references to Päläwai and Kama'o between ca. 1820 and the early 1900s. Unfortunately, it does not appear that tional knowledge of place survived. A number of historical accounts—those recorded by native residents, visitors, and in various government documents—shed light on a wide range of aspects of the history of Lāna'i's people. The historical records below provide any descriptions of the significant *heiau* at Kaupakuea near the Pālāwai-Калаа'o boundary In light of the incredible population losses on Lana'i, we are fortunate that any

Lana'i in 1823 William Ellis, an English missionary who worked with the early Protestant missionaries in the Hawaiian islands, described Lāna'i, the nature of its resources, and the estimated population in the early 1820s:

RANAI, a compact island, seventeen miles in length and nine in breadth, ies north-west of Tahaurawe, and west of Lahaina, in Maui, from which it is separated by a channel, not more than nine or ten miles across. Though the centre of the island is much more elevated than Tahaurawe, it is neither so the island in general suffers much from the long droughts which frequently prevail; the ravines and glens, not-withstanding, are filled with thickets of high nor broken as any of the other islands: a great part of it is barren, and small trees, and to these many of the inhabitants of Maui repair for the purpose of cutting posts and rafters for their small houses.

The island is volcanic; the soil shallow, and by no means fertile; the shores, however, abound with shell-fish, and some species of medusae and cuttle-fish. teachers are endeavouring to instruct them in useful knowledge and religious The inhabitants are but few, probably not exceeding two thousand. Native truth, but no foreign missionary has yet laboured on this or the neighboring island of Morokai, which is separated from the northern side of Ranai, and the eastern end of Maui, by a channel, which, though narrow, is sufficiently wide for the purposes of navigation. [9:6-7]

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¹⁰ June 5, 1928. Trans. K. Maly.

¹¹ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. Nov. 6, 1864. ¹² Archaeological fieldwork conducted over the last decade supports this estimate, which is higher than that given by Kenneth Emory in 1924.

creation of an important record of history on the island. Excerpts of reports, personal for West Maui, Läna'i, Moloka'i, and Kaho'olawe. Mission station leaders were tasked with overseeing the spiritual, educational, and health needs of island residents. In addition to the Protestant missionaries, Lāna'i experienced a period of development as a Mormon an increase in Lāna'i's Hawaiian population, with Hawaiians from other islands moving to Lāna'i, and also fostered some significant changes on the island, notably in the area of land tenure. The work of the various missionaries and their associates resulted in the population statistics, land use, health, and development of churches and schools—provide A Protestant mission station was established in Lāhaina in 1823, and was responsible mission station from late 1853 to early 1864. As noted above, the "experiment" brought journals, and articles published in Hawaiian and missionary papers—documenting Lâna" important records from Lāna'i.

of our books, many of the first principles of Christianity. Of the number of The islands of Ranai and Morokai have, till within a few weeks, been entirely without teachers. To the former [Lāna'i], I last week sent a man, who is to act as superintendent of four schools, which are to embrace all the people of the island. There are a few people there, who have frequently visited Lahaina, and when here, have always been in our schools. From among this number, the superintendent is to select four assistants; and thus I hope all the people will have it in their power to learn to read and write, and to acquire, by means have yet received no report, and the island has never been explored by any of pupils which will be embraced in these schools, I can form no estimate, as our number ...

are frequent, and even constant. There is scarcely a day, but canoes pass and occasionally visit Morokai. The inhabitants of those islands have very little communication with any other place except Lahaina. If therefore they are Tawawa Kahoolawel, too communicates with no other island except Maui, though there are few inhabitants there, and those mostly fishermen, who are not The communications between the two last mentioned islands and Lahaina repass. Almost the only communication is by canoes, though small vessels illuminated at all, they must derive their light from this station. permanent residents. ¹³

daughter, Princess Nahi'ena'ena, made a visit to the island. The journal notes were forwarded to the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions was penned in 1828, when William Richards, in the company of Kamehameha l's sacred (ABCFM)¹⁴ through a communication on December 25, 1834, and the excerpts from the A Visit to Lāna'i in July 1828 The earliest eyewitness description of travel on Lāna'i

discussion on the practice of people living near the shore, where there is easy access to journal cited below describe conditions on Lāna'i at the time. It is notable that there is a fisheries and brackish water sources; the occurrence of an upland plantation moistened by the cloud and fog drip—the bench lands above the Pālāwai Basin; and the practice of the people to travel seasonally between the coastal region and the uplands to tend their plantations of dry land kalo and other crops.

mountains are cut up by innumerable ravines or alternate ridges and hollows. distant. You will perceive by the accompanying map, 15 that its greatest length is about 17 ½ miles and its greatest breadth is about 12 miles. The land rises from the shore to the interior, and terminates in lofty points. The sides of the But these valleys are not like the valleys on the windward side of the other As it is especially destrable that you have correct information respecting all our fields of labor, I prepare in this letter to give you some account of Lanai, the little island which lies directly opposite Lahaina & about seven miles islands, furnished with openings & rivulets.

when it rains the water for a distance may flow into them. There are steps to which fall on most of the high mountains of the Sandwich Islands, though in it is all lost in a few small talo¹⁶ ponds, and their fare does not reach the shore except in the wet seasons of the year. There is not a well of good water on the island, except such as are prepared after the manner of the Hebrews These wells, though few on Lanai, are common at many parts of the Sandwich Islands. They are either natural or artificial pits, sometimes only a few feet in diameter, and at other times many yards. They are so prepared as that go down into them, but they are not often very deep. In places where they are exposed 17 to direct light & from the wind, they are uniformly covered and even where they are not thus exposed they are often covered, to prevent the water from drying up as soon as it would otherwise. Some of these wells are never exhausted even though they are not replenished for eight or nine months. Others which are small, depend entirely on the almost nightly rains There is but one permanent brook on the island, and that is so small that many places these rains are little more than heavy dews.

There are many people who make no use of water for washing either themselves or their clothes, except the dew or water on the grass and some times, which they collect. Most of these people however, have two places of residence, scarcity of water. In the sea shore, both at Lanai and throughout the islands, with few exceptions, there is a full supply of brackish water, but such as none there is so little of this that they resort to the juice of the succulent plant and only spend a part of the year on the mountain where there is also a great can drink except those who are accustomed to it. I know not a single well on

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¹³ August 9, 1825, Letter of William Richards Describes Progress of Instruction—Four Schools Established on Lanal, Missionary Herald, June 1826:174-175.
On Lanal, Missionary Herald, June 1826:174-175.
¹⁴ Kepå and Onsona Maly researched the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) collection at Harvard in 2004, and subsequently digitized if for return to Hawall'. This journal, along with thousands of other records of Importance to Hawallan history, have been lost to Hawall' for 177

years and are seen here in print for the first time. 15The map referred to by Richards was not found in files with this letter and cannot now be identified. 16Here Richards is referring to kalo, or taro.

¹⁷Page 1 - Reel 797:762.

he Sandwich Islands, supplied with water from the bottom, except such as are on the sea shore on a level with the sea. Owing to the scarcity of water on Lanai, the inland is barren almost beyond principal village on the island exceptone, and during my whole tour, I saw but one good well of water; and no spring or brook, and I saw nothing growing sea weeds and sea grass. I should except a few cocoanut trees and two or conception. I have recently been quite round the island, and visited every which was suitable for food, either for man or beast, and nothing grows except three 18 or four have trees.

the growth of potatoes and in wet seasons some upland - taro is raised. There who reside generally on the shore, go up & spend a month or two at a time so where they can have abundance of fish, and water too, such as it is for there is they receive from Lahaina, in barter for fish. There is however one inland plantation of some extent, which furnishes considerable food. It is watered by the mist or light rain which falls during the night, in sufficient quantities for are few people that reside at that place constantly, but considerable number as to keep their land under cultivation, and then return again to the sea side Most of the people live near the shore for the purpose of taking fish in which the shores of Lanai abound, and a considerable portion of their vegetable food a plenty of that which is brackish.

The numbers of inhabitants on the island, has been estimated at about 1600; but at the present time I think there are not so many though there has been no regular census of the island taken & it is impossible to make such an estimate as can be relied upon.

The island is always under the same governance as the island of Maui, but the direct care of it has for years been given to Kapeleaumoku, an elderly man, who is a member of our church, and a man of established reputation...

In a letter of mine written Oct. 15th, 1828¹⁹ I alluded to a tour around the island of Lanai, made by myself in company with the Princess, and promised a full account of it. The following is from my journal kept at that time, but which was never sent.20

July 24, 1828 - Thursday.

constant instruction, but also over all the inhabitants of the several islands. This they do, in part, through the chiefs in part, through native teachers, but them often to visit the principal places by which means they are brought under exert an important influence not only over those inhabitants who receive their principally, in consequence of the roving habits of the people which induce the occasional sound of the gospel and for a season under the direct influence A few missionaries located at the principal places on each of the islands of missionary instruction.

The chiefs too are after calling the people to the places where they reside to do work for them. In the winter & spring of 1832, all the able bodied men of Maui, Molokai & Lanai were called to Lahaina, and most of them spent several weeks there. It is probable that scarcely a year passes in which most of the people are not thus called to the residence of the chiefs,²¹ The following are extracts from the Lahaina Report dated October 15, 1828. It mentions the people of Lanai assembling for prayer and instruction, as well as population and school enrollment statistics.

there is regular preaching. It is, however, by no means the only place where course the people are inspired with a reverence for the Sabbath; and though the teachers are themselves extremely ignorant, yet they are able, in this manner, to communicate some instruction, and the people are thereby kept for Maui, Molokai, Lanai, and Kahoolawe. Lahaina is the only place where people assemble for religious worship on the Sabbath. There are not less than twenty places on this island, and several on Molokai and Lanai, where people assemble for prayer and instruction. The native teachers take the direction of the meetings, occupying the time in reading and teaching the various Scripture tracts and other books, and conclude with prayer. By this You are already aware that this place is the centre of missionary operations from assembling for vicious purposes, and worse than idle conversation.

Examination of the Schools

arrival of the late reinforcements, owing to an increase of their numbers, During the summer and early part of the fall of 1828, subsequently to the the missionaries at Lahaina were enabled to make tours over Maui and the small island adjacent, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel, examining the schools, and giving the people such counsel and encouragement as their circumstances required ...

Table 1: No. of Scholars

Island	Sch'ls.	Mal.	Fem.	Writers	Readers	Total
Ranai	11	236	249	31	201	485

... A great proportion of the pupils are persons of middle age, and still they have learnt to read the Scriptures. According to the estimate we made, only one fifth of the scholars are under fourteen years of ages.

on this subject, both by ourselves and the princess [Nahienaena]. We have The people of every district which we visited were addressed particularly

¹⁸Page 2 - Reel 797:763.

¹⁹²gg 3 - Reel 797764.
20 At this point Richards inserts lengthy narratives from his personal journal of 1828, and his visit to L\u00e4na1 with Chiefess Nahi'ena'ena and the near loss of Kapeleaumoku while traveling from L\u00e4hana to L\u00e4na1'.

²¹Wm. Richards to Rev. Rufus Anderson, Secretary of the ABCPM, Recounting Trips to Lanal in 1828 and 1834 [page 17 - Rec 797:778].

island [Maui]; 1,000 to Molokai; and 700 to Ranai. It is not probable that, our return from the tour of the island, about 5,000 spelling books have been with the present population, so large a number as this can ever appear at an examination. But 18,000, we think less than the full number of those who are received the fullest evidence that our exertions have not been in vain. Since called for, principally to establish schools among children. This increases the whole number enrolled in the schools to about 18,000; viz. 15,500 to this now enrolled in the schools under the direction of this station...

The population of Maui has been heretofore estimated at 20,000, that of estimate represents the population as probably amounting to 37,000. Upon comparing with this the number of learners in the schools on these islands, as just given, it will be seen that almost half the whole population, of both sexes, and all ages, are in the schools; a larger portion of the people, probably, than are enjoying the advantages of instruction in any other country on the globe. 22 Molokai at 3,000 or 4,000, and that of Ranai at 2,000 or 3,000, making the whole population on these three islands not more than 27,000. The present

2.3 Land Tenure

the development of the Lana'i Culture & Heritage Center, a full history of land tenure on Lāna'i in the period between 1848 and 1960 has been conducted and made available to The *Mähele 'Áina* of 1848 set the foundation for fee-simple property rights in the Hawaiian Islands. As a part of major ethnographic work conducted by Kepā and Onaona Maly for the public.²³

records compiled as a part of the *Māhele 'Āina* of 1848, with subsequent actions of the The narratives below summarize the Māhele 'Āina on Lāna'i, drawn from a review of all Land Commission and government through issuance of Royal Patents on the Awards.

2.3.1 Măhele 'Āina Statistics on Lāna'i

- A total of 110 claims which could be verified for L\u00e4na'i were recorded. These include both chiefly and commoner/native tenant claims.
- 105 claim records were located in the volumes of the Native Register.
- 88 claim records were located in the volumes of the Native Testimony.
- 2 claim records were located in the volumes of the Foreign Register.
- 64 of the claims were surveyed and recorded in the M\u00e4hele Award Survey Books. 21 claim records were located in the volumes of the Foreign Testimony.
- 51 claim records were recorded in the volumes of the Royal Patent Books.

The combined claims from Lana'i represent 331 separate documents (some overlapping in records of the Native and Foreign Books):

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- 56 claims were awarded. Of those awarded, five claimants were chiefly awardees, who received entire ahupua'a.
- 51 awards made to native tenants and individuals of lower chiefly lineage, totaled a little over 600 acres of the approximately 89,000 acres of land on Lāna'i.

2.3.2 Place Names Referenced in Claims by Applicants

A total of 86 place names is in the records provided to the Land Commissioners. The names from Kaunolū and Kalulu are cited in table 2.

Table 2: Place names recorded during the Mahele

Names of Places and 'Ili	Ahupua'a	Names of Places and 'Ili	Ahupua'a
Ahua	Kaunolu	Ahupau	Kalulu
Haupu	Kaunolu	Allau	Kalulu
Kaapela	Kaunolu	Elialii	Kaluk
Kuapohaku	Kaunolu	Iomo	Kalulu
Lelehaka	Kaunolu	Kahawainui	Kalulu
Makapeapea	Kaunolu	Kamoku	Kalulu
Mik	Kaunolu	Kanaiu	Kalulu
Miloonohi	Kaunolu	Kapano kai	Kalulu
Moanauli (Moenauli)	Kaunolu	Kapano uka	Kalulu
Namakaokahai	Kaunolu	Kapano	Kalulu
Neua (Newa)	Kaunolu	Keawaiki	Kalulu
Nihokele (Nihokela)	Kaunolu	Kiholena	Kalulu
Pakihi	Kaunolu	Kukuihapuu	Kalulu
Paooole	Kaunolu	Pueo	Kalulu
Punanana	Kaunolu		

2.3.3 Disposition of Ahupua'a and Konohiki Claims on Lâna'i

As a part of the *Mähele*, the King and Chiefs were required to file their claims for personal lands, determine how to pay for their lands—usually by giving up certain lands, in lieu of cash payment—and to claim the *kapu* fish and wood of their land. The latter items were the konohiki rights to resources with which the konohiki would sustain themselves and generate revenues for their support. In eliciting claims and documentation of rights, the chiefs began submitting letters for the record to the Minister of the Interior.

There were only limited letters submitted for Lāna'i. Of particular interest is a letter dated August 26, 1852 from Noa Pali to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior, documenting the kapu or konohiki fish and trees for 11 of Lāna'l's 13 ahupua'a (table 3).

2.3.4 Buke Māhele (Land Division Book), 1848

In preparation for the final division of lands between the king, *konohiki*, and government, a *Buke Mähel*e was kept as a log of the agreed upon division. This book is the basis of

²²Missionary Heraid, July 1829;208-211. ²³Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center, http://www.lanaichc.org/.

Table 3: Forbidden fish of the konohiki and the prohibited woods

Konohiki	Land	Fish	Wood
Mataio Kekuanaoa	Kaa	Uhu	Koko
Mataio Kekuanaoa	Kaohai	Hee	Naio
Nahaolelua	Maunalei	Hee	Kukui
Kanaina	Mahana	Hee	Ahakea
Kanaina	Paomai	Hee	Aiea
Haalelea	Palawai	Anae	Ahakea
Kaeo	Kealia [Kapu]	Uhu	1
Kaahou	Kamao	Hee	Koko
11	Kalulu	Hee	Ahakea
Pali	Kamoku	Uhu	Koko
Pali	Kealia [Aupuni]	Uhu	Koko

Your Highness, this is for you to decide in your office.*

*Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Lands.

the Crown and Government land inventory now known as the Ceded Lands. There are 13 ahupua'a on Lāna'i. Disposition of 10 ahupua'a was recorded in the Buke Mähele (1848) and before the Land Commissioners. Three ahupua'a were apparently dropped through an oversight on the part of the king, Commissioners, and staff. Titles confirmed at the close of the Land Commission are presented in table 4.

The following is a translation of a Land Commission document from the Native Register. It is from the claimants on Lāna'i and describes the land to which they stake claim. Reproductions of the original document are included as figures 3 and 4.

Aloha to you Commissioners who Quiet Land Claims of the Hawaiian Kingdom. We hereby petition to enter our claims on the Island of Lanai.

Here are our claims — moo (planting parcel) lands; kula (open plains and planting) lands; the mountains; the wood, woods to be taken under the Konohiki; fishes, fishes to be taken under the Konohiki; the length is from the mona (open ocean) to the fishery of Kaholo; from one fishery to the other fishery. We are the people in the Ahupuaa of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kaliulu, Maunalei and Mahana. Here are our names:

38

Heln	Helu Name	 Heln Name	Heln	Name
10024	Lono	Nakalo	-	
10043	Paele	Papalua		
10027	Nathron	Haalu		
10046	Nalei	Apolo (See O)		
10030	Napuulu	Haole		
10049	Моо	Pakele (See O)		
10033	Kaia	Kalaman	_	
10052	Kuakaa	10035 Naehulua	10053	Kapuhi
10036	Paaoao	Elikai		
10055	Kunea	Kaiole		
10039	Puupai	Ohoe		
10058	Kaunele (See O)	Kanekeleia		

That is the end.24

2.3.5 Ali'i and Native Tenant Claims from Kaunolū and Kalulu Ahupua'a

²⁴ Helu 10041 (Recorded with Helu 10024), Kanekeleia (and Lono et al.), Palawai, Native Register 6:510-511, Lanai, February 12, 1848, translated by Maly.

Table 4: Disposition of ahupua'a

Ahupua'a	Claimant	Disposition	Buke Mähele (1848)
Kaa	Victoria Kamamalu	Awarded	Page 4, Jan. 27, 1848
Kalulu	Daniela Ii	Crown	Testimony of M. Kekauonohi,
Kamao	Kahanaiimaikai	Covernment	Dec. 164/
Kamoku	No record	Crown	Record of Boundary Commis-
			slon (1877)
Kaohai	M. Kekuaiwa (M. Kekuanaoa)	Awarded	Page 14, Jan. 27, 1848
Kaunolu	Kelliahonui	Government	Page 130, Feb. 9, 1848; Page 209, Mar. 8, 1848
Kealia Aupuni	Kahanaumalkal	Government	Page 47, Jan. 31, 1848; Page 209, Mar. 8, 1848
Kealia Kapu	Iosua Kaec	Awarded	Page 34, Jan. 28, 1848
Mahana	Wm. C. Lunalilo	Government	Page 22, Jan. 28, 1848
Maunalei	Pane (Fanny Young)	Awarded	Page 161, Feb. 12, 1848
Palawai	M. Kekauonohi	Awarded	Page 26, Jan. 28, 1848
Paomai	No record	Crown	Testimony of C. Kanaina, Dec. 1847
Pawili	Wm. C. Lunalilo	Government	Page 21, Jan. 28, 1848; Page 207, Mar. 8, 1848
'ili of Kaumalapau 1 & 2	Oleloa (wahine)	Government	Page 105, Feb. 7, 1848; Page 209, Mar. 8, 1848

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6 8 4 4 3	Court for a a b	2 1	2 6	,,,
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and was	ting Alland		9 4 4 6 6	
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and and a	12 2 1 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	Imakon Somealu Samealu	Palomer Papula Aprila	all dair
" 2 4 1/2 /4 Co.	4 3 3 3 3 4 4 14	,	1. C. S. H. ba	
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Figure 3: Page 1, Helu 10041, Kanekeleia (and Lono et al.), Pâlâwai, Native Register 6:510–511, Lâna⁴, February 12, 1848.

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110	1011 53 Suma	Mush Hartia	Juns's whole	MINS Howarde Las	Cha 1. thous me	
	111150 Haibain	Halaman	hinkan	A aprehie	Elikai	
	10050	lans1	linusz	Jun53	101154	

Figure 4: Page 2, *Helu* 10041, Kanekeleia (and Lono et al.), Pālāwai, Native Register 6:510-511, Lāna'i, February 12, 1848.

Kaunoli is comprised of 7,860 acres and is one of the four ahupua'a—the others are Pālāwai, Kalulu, and Pa'awill—that cross the island of Lāna'i, spanning both the Kona and Ko'okau regions of the island. Dixon et al. suggest that this is because when Maui chief Kaka'alaneo divided the island in the fifteenth century, the ali'i who ruled those ahupua'a were "too powerful or influential to relinquish their relationship to resources on the opposite side of the island" [8:136].

The leeward point of Kaunoli marks "Ke ala i Kahiki" (the path to Kahiki), and is commemorated as the landing place of the ancient gods on Lāna'i. On the leeward side, the ahupua'a is fronted by the deepsea fishery of Kāholo. The land then takes in the steep sea cliffs of Pali Kāholo, crosses through the Pālāwai Basin, ascends the mountain to Pu'u Ali'i, one of the major peaks of Lāna'i Hale, and then continues to the ocean on the windward side. Supplied by water sources in the Kaunolù-Keālia Kapu gulch, the leeward coast of Kaunolù was the religious, political, and social cenier of Lāna'i. The gods were also said to resort to a spring located in the basin at Pu'u o Miki. While the bench lands and forest zone further inland provided shelter for numerous inhabitants pursuing extensive agricultural activity, the deep valleys and mountain lands provided residents with springs and waluable forest resources. The leeward forest zone at Hi'l was also the site of a significant mountain helau.

On the windward side, Kaunoli shared Hauola Gulch, in which water flowed seasonally, with Kalulu; the ahupua'a extended down to the shore where springs and rich reefsheltered fisheries supported the native tenants. On its eastern, windward side, Kaunoli is bounded by Pallawal Ahupua'a to the mountain peak of Lana'l Hale, where it johrs with Kealia Aupuni, Kealia Kapu, and then continues down the mountain, through forest and basin, to the ocean. Kealiafahonui originally daimed Kaunolib but relinquished it to the Government Land Inventory.

Kaunolū is also the name given to a village on the southwest coast. The meaning of Kaunolū is not certain; however, Emory suggested that it could be translated as "To give property on a wager secretly" [10:32].

tional accounts celebrate the kawakawa (bonito) fisheries of Kāholo, along with documentation of a wide range of other fishes known in the region. Kingdom Law of 1846, listed a There are no specific records documenting the kapu fish and wood for Kaunolü. Tradikapu on the kawakawa fisheries of Lāna'i. The following is a report of M. Kekauonohi to Iolani Hale, dated December 15, 1847. It

shows that Kaunolū was one of her lands.

Here are my Lands from Kamehameha I, Eia ka'u mau aina o Kamehameha I i ike

known from Hawaii to Kauai: ai mai Hawaji a Kauai.

That is what I have heard and known from ... Kalulu, Lanai Kaunolu, " Kaohai, " Oia ko'u i lohe, a i ike no ke Lii. ... Kalulu, Lanai Kaunolu, Kaohai, "

I am yours with appreciation, the King.

M. Kekauonohi² Owau no ke ka mahalo, M. Kekauonohi¹

 Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Lands. 2 Trans. K. Maly. Below is another report, from C. Kanaina to the Minister of the Interior, dated December

and heard of in these Islands. lohe ai ma keia Pae Aina:

... Number 4 Island of Lanai Paomai ... 2 Kannolu Kaohai Kalulu .. Helu 4 Mokupuni o Lanai Paomai ... Kaunolu Kaohai Kalulu

Hawali State Archives, Interior Department Lands.

2 Trans. K. Maly.

is bounded by Kamoku on the north. It then runs across the island, passing the west-Kalulu is translated literally as "the shelter," and contains 6,078 acres. Kalulu is one of three unique ahupua'a divisions on Lāna'i. On the Kona side of the island, Kalulu ern banks of Pālāwai Basin, up the mountain, and then continues to the Ko'olau coast, bounding Maunalei on the north. Along its southern boundary, in both the Kona and *Koʻolau* regions, Kalulu is bounded by Kaunolū Ahupua'a. The *Kona* and *Koʻolau* coasts of Kalulu take in two significant fisheries—one being a part of the deep sea fisheries of Kāholo (shared with Kaunolū), and the other being the nearshore reef-lined fisheries of the windward coast. In the Pālāwai Basin and mountain lands were extensive agricultural fields, ranging from open *kula* lands noted for sweet potato plantings, to forest-sheltered

Kalulu as his personal property during the Mähele, but relinquished it to the king, who woods, and small valleys and gulches where water sources were found. Daniel I'i claimed dryland field systems. The forest resources included stands of koa and other native retained it as a Crown Land. He'e was the kapu fish, and 'ahakea was the kapu wood. Table 5 lists Land Commission Awards of native tenants who filed claims for kuleana (fee-simple property rights) in 1847-1855 to land in Kaunolū and Kalulu. The claims reveal some of the activities that occurred in the lands of Kaunolû and Kalulu. Registered Map 2227 (fig. 5) shows the claims in Kaunolū and Kalulu.

Table 5: Native tenants of Kaunolū and Kalulu Ahupua'a

His Ahupua'a Calens Kalulu				
Kalulu Haupu & Kuapohaku, Kaunolu Haupu & Kuapohaku, Kaunolu Ahua, Paooole, Kaunolu Paooole, Kaunolu Paooole, Kaunolu Paooole, Kaunolu Paooole, Kaunolu Paooole, Kaunolu Nihokela, Kaunolu Nihokela, Kaunolu Makapeapea, Kaunolu Miki, Kaunolu Miki, Kaunolu Miki, Kaunolu Miki, Kaunolu Miki, Kaunolu Makapeapea, Kaunolu Makanolu Mahaa, Kaululu Mahaau & Kalaulu	LCA Helu	Clalmant	fili, Ahupua'a	Claims
Kalulu Ahua, Paooole, Kaunolu Indoku mala uala,' Namakaokahai & Ahua, Kaunolu Paooole, Kaunolu Paooole, Kaunolu Indoka mala uala,' Raunolu Makapeapea, Kaunolu Miki, Kauno	520	Daniela Ii	Kalutu	Ahupua'a: relinguished
Haupu & Kuapohaku, Kaunolu Iuala pate Ahua, Paooole, Kaunolu Imaula, Raunolu Paoode, Kaunolu Imaula, Raunolu Imaula, Imahakea Kaunolu Imala uala, Raunolu Imahakea Imahakea Imahakea Kaunolu Imahakea Ima	3719B	Kalaihoa	Kalulu	
Ahua, Paooole, Kaunolu mala uala, Raunolu mala uala, Paooole, Kaunolu mala uala, Paooole, Kaunolu mahakea Kaunolu mahakea Kaunolu makapea mahakea Kaunolu moke mana uala, Miki, Kaunolu moke manana Kaunolu moke manana Kaunolu moke mouale moke mouale moke mouale moke manana kaunolu moke mouale moke mala mouse loi kanana kaunolu moke mala mou mala, Zaunolu moke kaunolu moke kaunolu manana kaunolu kahawa, Kaunolu manana kaunok kanalu Kahawama, Kalulu moke mala mouse loi mala kapano, Kalulu mala kapano, Kalulu mala house loi house loi kanalu & Kapano, Kalulu mala house loi kapanokai, Kalulu mala house loi kanalu Kahabul mala kanalu Kalulu mala kanalu mala kanoka mala house loi kanoku mala kanoku mal	6814	Pakele	Haupu & Kuapchaku, Kaunolu	1 uala patch, and 2 moku
Mamakaokahai & Ahua, 8 mala uala, Patch Namakaokahai & Ahua, 8 mala uala Paoode, Kaunolu 1 mala uala Punanana, Kaunolu 2 mooku mau Nihokela, Kaunolu 1 house loi Kaunolu 1 house loi Kaunolu 1 house loi Kaunolu 1 house loi Kaunolu 1 kihapai o Kaunolu 1 kihapai o Hunse kaunolu 1 kihapai o Hunse kaunolu 1 kihapai o Hunse loi kaunolu 1 kihapai o Hunse loi kaunolu 1 kihapai o Hunse kaunolu 1 kihapai o Hunse kahai kaunolu 1 house loi lamo, Kalulu 1 house loi lama and a house loi kanalu & Kapano, Kalulu 1 house loi lama and a house loi Kapano, Kalulu 2 moku mala house loi Kapano, Kalulu 2 moku mala house loi Kamoku & Eliali, Kalulu; Kalulu 3 moku mala khuse loi kamoku mala khuse loi Kamoku mala k	6815	Kaiwi	Ahua. Paooole. Kaunolu	1 moku mauu. 2 houses. 3
Namakaokahal & Ahua, Banala uala Kaunolu Paoode, Kaunolu Imala uala Panonde, Kaunolu Imala uala Punanana, Kaunolu Imala uala Punanana, Kaunolu Imala uala Makapeapea, Kaunolu Inouse loi Nihokela, Kaunolu Inouse loi Kaunolu Inouse loi Kaunolu Inouse loi Kaunolu Inouse loi Kaunolu Ikhapai oli Kaunolu Ikhapai oli Kaunolu Ikhapai oli Kaunolu Imano, Kalulu Imala, Kaululi Imala, Kalulu Imose loi Imala, Kalulu Kalulu Kalulu Kalulu Imala, Kalulu Ka				mala uala,† 1 ipu field, 1 ko
Kaunolu Paoode, Kaunolu Imala uaik Kaunolu Punanana, Kaunolu Nihokela, Kaunolu Makapeapea, Kaunolu Miki, Kaunolu Kaunolu Inouse loi Kaunolu Miki, Kaunolu Inouse loi Kaunolu Inouse loi Kaunolu Ikihapa loi Ikihap	6816	Naholowaa	Namakaokahai & Ahua,	parcii 8 mala uala
Raunolu Imahakea's Kaunolu Imoo uaia Kaunolu Imahakea's Kaunolu Inou uaia Makapeapea, Kaunolu Inouse lot Inouse I			Kaunolu	
Kaunolu Imala uak Nithokela, Kaunolu Inouse lou Makapeapea, Kaunolu Inouse lou Miki, Kaunolu Inouse lou Kaunolu Inouse lou Kaunolu Inouse lou Miki, Kaunolu Inouse lou Kalanalu & Kalulu Miki, Kaunolu Inouse lou Kalanalu & Kalulu Miki, Kaulu Miki, Kaunolu Inouse lou Miki, Kaunoka Miki, Kalulu	6817	Kawaihoa	Paooole, Kaunolu	1 moo uala [‡] and 1 moo mahakea [§]
Punanana, Kaunolu nou uala Makapeapea, Kaunolu Inous olio Makapeapea, Kaunolu Inous olio Miki, Kaunolu Inous olio Miki, Kaunolu Industria Kaunolu Industria Miki, Kaunolu Inouse olio Mahorena, Kahawami, Kalulu Inouse olio Kahani, Kalulu Inouse olio Kapano, Kalulu Inouse olio Miki, Kaunolu Kahalu Inouse olio Miki, Kaunolu Inouse olio Miki, Kaunoku Miki, Kalulu Induse olio Miki, Kalulu Induse olio Miki, Kalulu Induse olio Miki, Kalulu Miki, Kalulu Induse olio Miki, Kalulu Miki, Kalulu Induse olio Miki, Kalulu	6818	Haole	Kaunolu	1 mala uala and 1 moku mauu
Nihokela, Kaunolu house lot makapeapea, Kaunolu 1 moosuala house lot Kaunolu 1 house lot Kaunolu 1 khapai chanana Kaunolu 1 khapai chanana Kaunolu 1 khapai chanana Kaunolu 1 khapai chanana Kaunolu 1 house lot lamo, Kalulu 1 khapai chanana kaholera, Kalulu 1 house lot kapanokai, Kalulu 1 house lot kamokai Kamoku ma	6189	Kamakahiki	Punanana, Kaunolu	2 moo uala, 1 mala ko, 1
Nihokela, Kaunolu Ihouse loi Makapeapea, Kaunolu Imouse loi Nouse loi Nouse loi Nouse loi Nouse loi Nouse loi Naunolu Ihouse loi Kaunolu Ikhapai o Banana Ahua, Kaunolu Ipaniku pi Imouse loi Niki, Kaunolu Ipaniku pi Imouse loi Niki, Kaunolu Ipaniku pi Imouse kaulu Imouse loi Niki Adulu Imouse loi Nainola Imouse loi Nainola Kanalu & Kalulu Imouse loi Naina, Kalulu Imoku ma Imoku ma Ahupau & Elaili, Kalulu Imoku ma Ahupau & Elaili, Kalulu Imoku ma Ahupau & Elaili, Kalulu Imoku ma Ahupau & Elaili, Kalulu; Imoku ma Ahupau & Elaili, Kalulu; Imoku ma Kamoku ma Ahupau & Elaili, Kalulu; Imoku ma Kamoku				moku mauu
Makapeapea, Kaunolu Imousio uka kaunolu Miki, Kaunolu Ikhapai okaunolu Ikhapai okaunolu Ikhapai okaunolu Imousio in musika kaunolu Imousio in musika kaunolu in musika kaunolu in musika okai okai okai okai okai okai okai o	6820	Kanohohookahi	Nihokela, Kaunolu	1 house lot and 1 moku mauu
Miki, Kaunolu I house loi Kaunolu Kaunolu I kihapat o Banana Kaunolu I kihapat o Banana Ahua, Kaunolu I pauku pi lamo, Kalulu I pauku pi lamo, Kalulu I house loi lamo, Kalulu I house loi kahawaimi, Kalulu I house loi Kapano, Kalulu I house loi kahalu Kalulu I moku mala house Malau Kalulu I moku mala Ahupau & Ellali, Kalulu; I moku mala kamokai, Kalulu I moku ma Ahupau & Ellali, Kalulu; I moku ma Kamoku Malau Kamoku mala kamoka mala kamoka Malau mala kamoka Malau M	6821	Kuheleloa	Makapeapea, Kaunolu	1 moo uala, 1 moku mauu, and
Miki, Kaunolu I hishapat o Kaunolu Kaunolu I kihapat o I Ahua, Kaunolu I pauku pi iamo, Kaunolu I house loi iamo, Kalulu I iamo, Kalulu I iamo, Kalulu I iamo iamo iamo, Kalulu I iamo, Kalulu I iamoku mala house kapano, Kalulu I iamoku mala house loi Kapanokai, Kalulu I iamoku mala house loi Kapanokai, Kalulu I iamoku mala house loi Kapanokai, Kalulu I iamoku mala house loi Kamoku de Elialii, Kalulu I iamoku mala kunase loi I moku ma				1 house lot
Kaunolu lkhapal o kaunolu Ahua, Kaunolu lpauku plauku plau	6822	Kahukilani	Mik!, Kaunolu	1 house lot and 1 mala uala
Kaunolu I pauku pi and a Ahua, Kaunolu I pauku pi uala, 2 mo uala,	6823	Muhee	Kaunolu	1 kihapai of sweet potato and
Kaunolu I pauku pl Miki, Kaunolu I pauku pl Miki, Kaunolu I house loi I moo, Kalulu I I nouse loi Kahawaimi, Kalulu I khapat c Kahawaimi, Kalulu I khapat c Kanahu & Kapano, Kalulu Some mala house Kapanokai, Kahlu I moku mi				banana
Ahua, Kaunolu Ipanku pi Janku pi Miki, Kaunolu ulai, 2 mou ulai, 2 mou ulai, and Ilamo, Kalulu Ihouse loi Kahawaimi, Kalulu Ikhapaid Kahalu Kahulu Kapano, Kalulu and a house kanalu & Kapano, Kalulu Some mala House loi Kapano, Kalulu Imoku mala House loi Kapanokai, Kalulu Imoku ma Ahupau & Ellalli, Kalulu; 2 moku ma Kamoku & Ellalli, Kalulu; 2 moku ma Kamoku & Ellalli, Kalulu; 2 moku ma Kamoku	68238	Wahahee	Kaunolu	Ī
Mikt, Kaunolu luaia, 2 mou luaia, 2 mou luaia, 2 mou luaia and 1 luano, Kaluu luaia and 1 moke luaia and 1 moke luaia kaluu kaluu kapano, Kaluu luaia kaluu	6824	Napuulu	Ahua, Kaunolu	1 pauku planted with ipu and
Miki, Kaunolu 1 house loul lamo, Kalulu 3 moku me Kahawaimu, Kalulu 1 kihapat 1 Kaholena, Kalulu 1 kihapat 1 Kapanokai, Kalulu 1 kihapat 1 Kapanokai, Kalulu 1 moku ma Alau, Kalulu 1 moku me Alugau & Ellalli, Kalulu; 2 moku me Kamoku & Ellalli, Kalulu; 2 moku me Kamoku & Ellalli, Kalulu; 2 moku me				uala, 2 moo planted in ipu and
Mid, Kaumolu I house loi lamo, Kalulu Kahawaimi, Kalulu I khapai Calulu Raholena, Kalulu I khapai Cananlu & Kapano, Kalulu Some mala house lot Kapanokai, Kalulu I moku ma Aliau, Kalulu Aliau, Kalulu Kanoku Kamoku				uala, and 1 house lot
lamo, Kalulu 3 moku mi Kahawamui, Kalulu 1 kihapat o Kaholora, Kalulu 50me mala Kanalu & Kapano, Kalulu 50me mala Kapanokai, Kahiu 1 moku mi Aliau, Kalulu Aliau, Kalulu; 2 moku mi Kamoku Kamoku Kalulu; 2 moku mi	6825	Kalaniwahine	Miki, Kaunolu	1 house lot and kula
M. Kahawaimui, Kalulu 3 moku ms Kaiholena, Kalulu 1 kihapai Ga Kanalu & Kapano, Kalulu 50me mala Kapanokai, Kalulu 1 moku ms Alian, Kalulu 1 moku ms Kamoku Elialii, Kalulu; 2 moku ms Kamoku ms	6826	Kalawala	lamo, Kalulu	
Kaholena, Kalulu 1 kihapai canda house Kanahu & Kapano, Kalulu Some malah house lot Kapanokai, Kalulu 1 moku mayau & Elialli, Kalulu; 2 moku ma Kamoku	6827	Laupahulu (Palaau)	Kahawaimut, Kalulu	3 moku mauu
Kanabu & Kapano, Kalulu Some mala hous Kapanokat, Kahiu I moku ma Aliau, Kalulu Ahupau & Elialii, Kalulu; 2 moku ma Kamoku	6828	Кеато	Kaiholena, Kalulu	1 kihapai of uala, ipu, wauke,
Kanalu & Kapano, Kalulu Some mala Kapanokai, Kahulu Inoku lot Aliau, Kalulu Inoku me Alupau & Ellali, Kalulu; 2 moku me Kamoku			,	and a house
Kapanokai, Kahulu 1 moku m: Aliau, Kahulu Ahupau & Elalli, Kalulu; 2 moku m: Kamoku	6829	Maawe	Kanatu & Kapano, Kalulu	Some mala uala and maia, 1 house lot
Aliau, Kalulu Ahupau & Elialli, Kalulu; 2 moku me Kamoku	6831	Olot	Kapanokai, Kalulu	1 moku mauu
Ahupau & Elialli, Kalulu; 2 moku me Kamoku	6832	Kele	Allau, Kalulu	
	6833	Kaalal	Ahupau & Elialii, Kalulu; Kamoku	2 moku mauu, 1 house lot
"Crose land /nactions	vari saus	d'unethine cortione		toon from no boundary

[‡]Sweet potato patch. [‡]Dryland sweet potato patch. [§]Fallow parcel. [§]Sugarcane patch.

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Continued p	Londinaed from previous page		
LCA Helu	LCA Helu Claimant	'Ili, Ahupua'a	Claims
6834	Kaukapala	Kalulu	
6835	Kalawaia	Kaholo, Kalulu	
6836	Muhee (Wahahee)	Kaholo, Kalulu	
6837	Malulu	Pakthi and Kaupu and Lele- haka, Kaunolu	1 house lot, 2 moku mauu
6839	Kalehuamakanoe	Kaunolu	1
6846	Malulu	Pakthi, Kaunolu	
6891	Kauwe	Kalulu	
8556	Kaauwaeaina	Kapano uka & Pueo, Kalulu	1 moku mauu
	Napuulu	Kaunolu	Î
10031	Palaan	Kalulu	
	Pakele	Kaunolu	1
	Keie	Kalulu	
10037	Parmioa	Kaa, Kaunolu	1

2.3.6 Palapala Sila Nui, 1855-1867: Royal Patent Grant Lands on Lāna'i

At the same time the *Māhele 'Áina* was being undertaken, it was realized that many native tenants were not receiving lands claimed, or in the case of environmentally stressed areas, they were not able to claim adequate land areas to support their families. As a result, the king signed into law an act giving applicants the right to apply for larger tracts of land from the inventory of government lands set aside for the support of government operations. All Royal Patent Grants issued on Lāna'i are listed in table 6.

Table 6: Royal Patent Grants on Lāna'i

Grant No.	Grantee	Location	Acreage	Book	Year
1928	Koiku	Pawili	34.93	10	1855
1929	Kekua	Pawili	18.57	10	1855
1930	Nalimakana	Pawili	31.96	10	1855
1931	Makaiholoae	Pawili	18.30	10	1855
2214	Lonopaawela	Pawili	1.64	12	1857
2903	Puupai	Pawili and Kealia	52.00	14	1863
		Aupuni			
2971	Kapahoa	Pawili	33.00	14	1864
3029	Nahuina and Keliihue	Kalulu	236.68	14	1866
3030	Kapeleaumoku	Pawili	32.00	14	1866
3031	Kaaina	Kealia Aupuni	20.66	14	1866
3032	Pali	Kaunolu	29.00	14	1866
3033	Кеато	Kaunolu	20.85	14	1866
3045	Wm. Beder	Kaunolu	128.00	14	1867

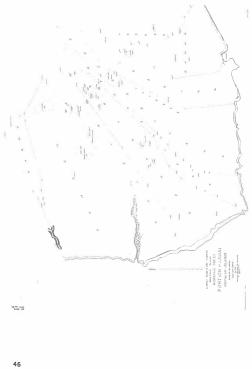


Figure 5: Registered Map 2227. F. E. Harvey, Surveyor, December 1903. Note the Land Commission Awards in Kaunolù and Kamola Ahapus'a.

2.3.7 Boundary Commission Surveys and Testimonies

Following the Mähele 'Aina, there was a growing movement to fence off land areas and control access to resources which native tenants had traditionally been allowed to use. By the 1860s, foreign land owners and business interests petitioned the Crown to have the boundaries of their respective lands—which were the foundation of plantation and ranching interests—settled. In 1862, the king appointed a Commission of Boundaries, ak.a. the Boundaries commission, whose task was to collect traditional knowledge of place, pertaining to land boundaries and customary practices, and determine the most equitable boundaries of each ahupua'a that had been awarded to all'i, knothki, and foreigners during the Mähela. The commission proceedings were conducted under the courts and as formal actions under the law. As the commissioners on the various islands undertook the Commissioners of Boundaries of contracted surveyors to begin the surveys, and in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries for lands brought before them.'s

Primary records in this collection from Lāna'i were recorded from 1876 to 1891. The records include testimonies of elder *kama'áina* who were either recipients of *kuleana* in the *Māhele*, holders of Royal Patent Land Grants on the island, or who were the direct descendants of the original fee-simple title holders, as recorded by the surveyors/commissioners. The resulting documentation covers descriptions of the land, extending from ocean fisheries to the mountain peaks, and also describes traditional practices; land use; changes in the landscape witnessed over the informants' lifetime; and various cultural features across the land.

The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and in some instances, their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Other testimonies from Lana't have remained in Hawaiian, untranslated, until development of a manuscript for the Lana't Culture & Heritage Center.²⁶ Translations of the Hawaiian-language texts below were prepared by Keppa Maly. The descriptions and certificates of boundaries for the ahupua'a of Lâna'i are from the notes of W. D. Alexander, who worked for the Boundary Commission. The notes, dated 1875–76, give boundary information collected from kama'dina. The following are excerpts from Alexander's notes.

At Halepalaoa March 28th, '76.

Hoa, an old Kamaaina states that the boundary between Kaohai and Paawili begins at the inlet of the sea a little south of the Church, & thence follows the bottom of the kahawai to the top of the mountain.

Kaumalapau & Kalama are both Ilis of Kamoku. Three lands run across from sea to sea, viz., Palawai, Kalulu, & Kaunolu...

April 3rd. 76. Monday.

Keliihue widow of Nahuina, was born on Kalulu, & testifies that the boundary between Kalulu and Kamoku comes down from a hill known as Puunene

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down the North bank of the Kapano valley to the Govt. road, passing near Kawaonahiele's house, keeping straight on across a side ravine coming in from the north, called Keaaku, to the top of the north wall of the Palawai crater at a place called Pulehuloa, near Kelitinannui's house.

Kalulu & Kaunolu

The boundary between Kalulu & Kaunolū begins at a small hill north of the helau of Maiaele near the shore, & passes a little south of the sheep pen at Puu Ulaula, at some rocks in the path.

The boundary between Kaunolù & Kealia Kapu, begins at the sea at a Kapu rock south of the great heiau, & follows up the centre of the Kaunolù gulch. Names of villages on the shore of Kealia Kapu were Kapalaoa, Mamaki, Kuahulua nui & Kuahulua idi.²⁷

Kealia Kapu & Kaunolu

... between Kaunolu & Kealia Kapu.

The branches of the deep ravine above mentioned are Waiakeakua nui, Waiakeakua Idi & Waiakaahu towards he S.E. The boundary between Kaunolu & Kealia Kapu comes down a more northerly branch which meets the deep ravine above mentioned some distance to the west. It then follows down the main Kaunoli guich which is formed by their junction x that of a third ravine from the N.E., and at the foot of the terrace where it enters the crater is called the Kauhee guich. A large nock is shown just below the Govt. road, where Maskalena set his compass. From this rock Pohakuloa, the line runs straight across the crater to a point a little N, of a white house, belonging to Ohua. Thence to head of the guich which reaches the sea near the helau.²⁸

Below is a letter from M. D. Monsarrat, a surveyor, to W. D. Alexander dated 1877. There is some description of Monsarrat's process, as well as the areas of Lāna'i which he has already surveyed. He mentioned he has surveyed Kaunolū.

Palawai, Lanai

Since writing my last letter I have found an old Kamaaina by the name of Pali who has been absent for some time. He gives his age at ninety nine and is purity helpless as I had to lift him off and on his horse. I could not get him to come for less than two dollars a day but I think that he is worth it as he seems to be very honest. He puts Kamoku boundary the same as Kelihue and not wrongly as Papalua did.

I have surveyed Kaunolu boundary on this side of the mountain, also both sides of Palawai from the top of the mountain to the South wall of Palawai

²⁵W. D. Alexander in Thrum's Hawailan Annual, 1891:117-118.

²⁶ See http://www.lanaichc.org.

²⁷W. D. Alexander, LANAI (Memo.), 1875-76, Register Book No. 153, p. 14-24. Pages 1-13 in this book contain memos and maps of land holdings at Nu'uanu, O'ahu. Lâna'i notes begin at page 14. Abexander also uses macron accents on certain place and people names as indicated in the citations here. ²⁴Ibid., p. 27.