Miki Basin Industrial Park
Environmental Assessment

Exhibit A

Archaeological Inventory Survey

Archaeological Data Recovery Plan

And

Archaeological Data Recovery Report
Archaeological Inventory Survey for the Miki Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development

Lands of Kaulu and Kaunolū, Lāna'i District, Lāna'i Island
TMIC: (2) 4-9-002:061*

Nathan J. DiVito Kepā Maly Thomas S. Dye, PhD
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Abstract
At the request of Palama Lāna'i, T. S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists has conducted an archaeological inventory survey with subsurface testing for the Miki Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development located in the lands of Kaulu and Kaunolū, Lāna'i District, Lāna'i 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 50-40-98-180. Test excavations included a total of 31 backhoe trenches, one of which yielded a firepit feature, recorded as Site 50-40-98-181. 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 Acre Industrial Development will have an adverse effect on both of these historic properties and data recovery excavations are recommended for Sites 50-40-98-180 and 50-40-98-181.

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*Prepared for Palama Lāna'i, 1311 Fraser Avenue, P.O. Box 630810, Lāna'i City, HI 96763

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1 Introduction

At the request of Pulama Lānā'i, T. S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists has completed an archaeological inventory survey with subsurface testing for the Mākai Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development. The Mākai Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development is located in the lands of Kahaolu and Kaunolū, Lāhaina District, Lānā'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 located along Mākai Road in the area surrounding the existing Maui Electric Company power plant and associated facilities. The fence line of the Lānā'i Airport marks the northern boundary of the parcel. The Mākai Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development is located within TMK: (2) 4-9-002.061 and is situated on lands owned by Pulama Lānā'i.

The Mākai Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development is located at an elevation of approximately 41.5 m above mean sea level in an area called Mākai Basin, named after a nearly filled pit crater [26338]. Vegetation in the area consists of gauna, Christmas berry, and various low-lying shrubs and grasses. The soils underlying the project area comprise Molokai silty clay loam, Uwala silty clay loam, and Waikapu silty clay loam, all dark reddish brown soils

Figure 1: Location of the Mākai Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development, nearby archaeological sites, and previous archaeological investigations on a 1992 USGS quadrangle map. Previous archaeological investigations include: a, Abby [2]; b, Kam [21]; Walker and Haun [31]; c, Sino [28]; Dagan et al. [3]; Lee-Grig and Hammatt [24]; Lee-Grig and Hammatt [21]; D'Vito and Dye [4]; D'Vito and Dye [7]. Site numbers are prefixed by 50-40-98- (e.g., 50-40-98-01532).

used primarily for sugarcane and pineapple production [1]. 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 Lānā'i was compiled by Kepū Maly. It is based on first-hand observation of cultural practices in the 1970s, interviews with
older kama'aina at that time, and an exhaustive review of pertinent documentary sources, including records held by Kumu Pono Associates and the Lāna‘i Culture & Heritage Center. The historical narratives cited on the following pages provide readers with access to some of the most detailed and earliest accounts recorded from Lāna‘i. The narratives 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 Lāna‘i’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 Wahī Mo‘olelo no Lāna‘i a Kaululū‘au: Some Traditions from Lāna‘i of Kaululū‘au

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 Pālīwai Basin, and it is estimated that Lāna‘i first rose above sea level approximately 1.5 million years ago. It is approximately 13.25 mi. long by 13 mi. wide, and at its highest point, Lāna‘i Hale, stands 3,370 ft. above sea level. The island of Moloka‘i lies to the north of Lāna‘i, across the Ka-lohi Channel, and Maui lies to the east, across the ‘Aau‘au and Nāheehee Channels; the channel of Kē-a-ali‘i-Kahului and the island of Kaho‘olawe lie to the southeast. The southern and western sides of Lāna‘i face the open ocean and are fringed by imposing cliffs, while the windward side slopes gently to the sea. Thus, Lāna‘i sits in the lee of its 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 Ka-lohi‘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 [id. 27].

In addition to political and social contexts, Lāna‘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. Lāna‘i’s ecosystem evolved in the absence of man and most other mammals, giving rise to cloud forest zones, which gave life to the land, and made the island hospitable to people when they settled Lāna‘i perhaps as long as 1,000 years ago. There were two primary forest-watershed zones, the major watershed of Lāna‘i Hale at the highest peak of Pālīwai and Kealia Aupuni Ahupua‘a; and what has historically been called the Kīnehu‘u forest zone of Ka‘i Ahupua‘a. Untouched for countless centuries, the forest systems of Lāna‘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 shore across the island. While these precious forest regions have been radically altered by man’s activities and feral animals, evidence of the region’s water-producing capabilities are still visible on the landscape and in traditional accounts and historic literature.

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 (Hawai‘i Territorial Survey Division, 1929).

The earliest traditional lore of Lāna‘i describes the arrival of the gods Kēne‘ea, 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 evil 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 Kauhikau‘u 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’s a Kauhikau‘u).

By the early 1600s, all the islands of the Hawaiian 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 Pā‘ihā, Lāna‘i was divided into 13 ahupua‘a. Native tradition describes ahupua‘a divisions as being marked by stone cairns (ahu) with a carved pig (mau‘u) image placed upon them, and these ancient divisions remain the primary land unit in the Hawaiian system of land management on Lāna‘i today.
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 Lāna‘i and the beliefs and practices of the ancient residents are commemorated at such places as Kāne‘ōri‘ai, Kala‘ekua, Ke-a-kawela, Hākulu, Pūpūpepe, Pāahu ʻū, Kāne‘o‘ia, Kānaha, Hālele‘pā‘akai, and Pūhī-o-Ka‘a’a.

Ancient Hawaiian villages, ceremonial features, dryland agricultural fields, fishponds, and a wide range of cultural sites dot the shoreline of Lāna‘i at places like Keone, Kaumālapa‘u, Kano‘o‘hī, Māmaki, Kapalaoa, Huawe‘a, Kapaho‘a, Holopoi, Mānele, Kamakī, Naha, Kahemānū, Lūpā, Kahalepā‘a‘a, Kahe‘a, Ke‘omoku, Ka‘a, Haooloa, Muunale‘i (including a wet land taro field system in the valley), Kāhūkūnū, Kālokoa, Ka‘āule‘ale, Kāhei, Lapa‘iki, Awahia, Pōlua‘u, and Kā‘ena.

In the uplands, localities at Ho‘opūpūpū‘au‘umoa and Māhānāi, Kō‘ele and Kīhāmānāia, Kalu‘u uka, Kaunolū uka, Ke‘alia Kapu, Ke‘alia Aupuni, and Pilia‘awai were also locations of significant traditional settlements and agricultural endeavors. We also know that over the generations, families with permanent residences in the Lāhaina District of Maui frequented Lāna‘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 Lāna‘i to produce agricultural resources. This was, in part, due to disputes between the rulers of Maui and Hawai‘i which overflowed onto Lāna‘i in the mid to late eighteenth century. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth 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 Lāna‘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 Lāna‘i. Several traditions pertaining to the gods and people of ancient Lāna‘i were found in a review of Hawaiian-language newspapers. These accounts describe the island condition and the life and practices of Lāna‘i’s ancient people. The narratives establish the bond between Lāna‘i and neighboring islands of the Hawaiian group and more distant Kahiki—the celestial homeland of the gods—as Kāne, Kana‘ao‘a, Pē‘e, 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 Lāna‘i. Selected accounts are related here that transition readers through the history of Lāna‘i and a native landscape to one of change under western settlement.

A Famine on Lāna‘i—an Ancient Prayer Offered by Pakeau‘anu to the God Kāne‘pa‘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 heiau on Lāna‘i. Kāne‘pa‘ina. The word anela (Hawaiianized angel) is used by the writer in place of the traditional words lurumaku or akau. Also cited within this account is a pu‘ele uttered by ancient residents of Lāna‘i.

No ma Akua o ka Wa Kahiako ...

Ba mai he wahi modelo no ka malama ana o kekahi anela paha, a mau anela paha, oia hoi he mau Kane paha. Penei ua wahi modelo la. Ala ma Lāna‘i ka noho ana o Kaimumahanahana, a me kea keiki o Pakeau‘anu, a he mai koa no na kanaka ma Lāna‘i ia manaw; a hiki mai ke kau wi, pa‘au aku la na kanaka i ka make a ka ai, a kore eha o Kaimumahanahana, a me Pakeau‘anu, kokoke make nac ka makuakane. O ka Pakeau‘anu hanu; oia keia. Hele wale aku la no keia e di wale aku no i kulauna uala, a loa ka uala BBH, he au ia ualalua kauna a moa, jawe aku la keia a he wahi heiau a ianei i hana‘a, kaumahana aku la, alaia, pule aku la, penei kahi hapa o ka pule.

Kini o ke akua
E ka lelu o ke akua
E ka pukuk akua
E ka lalani akua
E ka kuhul, e kahele
E ka wahine ke mea ana ke alo

Eia ka ai au a Pakeau‘anu keiki a Kaimumahanahana.

Pau ka pule, ho‘i keia a imi hou a i na ke ahala, a moa ia ai jawe aku, i jawe aku ka hana, ua pau keia ai, kau keia ai, puke no ho‘i i like me manuma. I kekahi imu iliihi ana a ianei, homiala la kona makuakane i ke aia o ka ualalua a la, "Auhea ho‘i kau uala e kuu keiki e sala mai nei?" Pane mai la koa, "He a ia na kau akua." Pane hou mai kona

About the Gods of Ancient Times

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

Kini o ke akua
E ka lehu o ke akua
E ka pukuk akua
E ka lalani akua
E ka kuhul, e kahele
E ka wahine ke moe ana ke alo

Iwi, Pakeau‘anu, son of Kaimumahanahana.

When he finished praying, he went a gain 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 imu, and his father smelled the scent of the sweet potatoes! He said, "Where are
mukaukane, “Aho e’u aku, a he aku ka hoi kou!” A hala ae la na la elima o kama hana ana pela, ala’ala, i ka ko komalilo mai la kekahi o kama he alamalama. I maila, “Ea, a leia po e panipani aku oe i na puakapuka illilii o ko oha hale, e a noho maile mai kama hilo, maka mukaukane a pau se la ka laau komalilo pu ana, a hele aku ia ia anela. Niu mai la kona mukaukane ia ia, ‘Owai kou hou i komalilo mai la.’ I aluu la ola, ‘O kou akuia hoi ia a’e e malama nei.’ Aole iliuli ma ia hoike ho, haule mai ana ka ua he mi, ka uano ia a o ka po a po ua la ne, a ao ua po nei, maile hilo ia ia ua. I puaka aku ka hana iwaia ua palaku ka Maia, ua no ke Ko a ala mai, hele ke anakeu o ka ula a keke, u ahe ka Ape a hila ka ha; o ke kalo hui ua makaoke kekahikihapi, a o kekahiki pumai a kaa o ke kalo. Ke kahua hilo na ia o ka ai o ma, kauamahi e aku ka leia i ke Akua oia nei, a pau hoi mai la laau nei ai ka ula, ke kalo, a a no no hi ka maia maona; o ka laha hou no ia o kanaka o Hawaii nei, ma a Lanai wele no. Oia hilo la kahi modelo o ka malama aua o kekahio o na Kane i amau kanaka . . .”

Owau no me ka mahalo. John Punival.1

1 'A'akepa Kaua'i, November 8, 4862.
2 Puna K. Māli, He Moioleta no Kaua'ilua. A Tradition of Kaua’ilua. One of the best known traditional accounts of Lāna’i’s dates from the early fifteenth century and associates the island with the ruling chiefs of Maui. In these narratives, a young chief, Kaua’ilua, was born to Kaka’alaneo and Kanikani’ula. Kaka’alaneo’s elder brother was Kāko’e, and Formander reported that these royal brothers jointly ruled Maui and Lāna’i (148-62, 83). During your sweet potatoes, that I smell, my son!” He answered him, saying, “It is the food of my god.” The father then answered, “I don’t have a god, but you do!” Five days passed in his (Pakeaulani) doing this same thing, then on the fifth night, an angel, Kamapuni, spoke. He said, “Fee’d me, this night go and close the very littiest of the holes in the house of you two, and stay calm, do not speak with your father.” When they two were finished speaking, the angel departed. His father asked him “Who was the companion with whom you were speaking?” He answered, “My god whom I have been worshipping.” Not long afterwards, a great rain fell. It rained night and day, and through several days and nights until there was calm, then the rains fell lightly. Looking outside to see what had transpired, there was seen ripe Ma’o (banana), Kū (sugar cane) lying upon the ground, ‘ula (sweet potatoes) spread all about, Ape (mountain taro) with long stalks leaning to the side; Kalo (taro) which filled the gardens, banana stalks were used as the channels (to irrigate) for the taro. He then cooked the food, and made an offering to his God. When finished, they two ate the sweet potatoes, taro, and bananas until filled. This is how Hawaiians came to once again be spread across Hawaii, only from Lāna’i. So this is one tradition of how one of the Kāne (gods), was worshipped by these men . . .

I am with appreciation. John Punival.2

Kāko’e and Kaka’alaneo’s rule, and for many generations preceding it, anyone who attempted to live on Lāna’i’s experienced great difficulties, as the island was inhabited by evil ghosts/spirits ruled by their king, Pahulu. While there are numerous narratives that describe how Kaua’ilua came to free Lāna’i from the rule of Pahulu, thus making it safe for people to inhabit the island (2; 10), there are two major versions of this tradition with variations on the events. The best known is the version published by King David Kalikaua in 1888, but the most detailed version was published in the Hawaiian language in 1863 in association with another tradition from Maui, “Ka Moelu o Eleo” (p. 14).

King Kalikaua’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. Through the encouragement of his friend and advisor Walter Murray Gibson,3 the King compiled the traditions found within The Legends and Myths of Hawaii (21) and described Lāna’i as being richly supplied with food crops, natural resources, and fisheries that, but for the presence of the evil beings, made it a desirable place to live. Excerpts of Kalikaua’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 Kaua’ilua’s legend entitled “Ka Moelu o Eleo.”

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

Kaua’ilua was one of the sons of Kaka’alaneo, brother of, and joint ruler with, Kāko’e 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] group.

The mother of Kaua’ilua was Kanikani’ula, of the family of Kamaua, king of Molokai, through his son Ha’ili, who was the brother or half-brother of Keoloewa and Kapepeepe . . .

Kaua’ilua was probably born somewhere between the years 1390 and 1400. He had a half-sister, whose name was Wao, and a half-brother, Kahiwalua . . . [Kaua’ilua] 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 plant swine black to deceive the sacrificial priests. He devised an instrument to imitate the death-worning notes of the aloe, and frightened people by sounding it near their doors; and to others he caused information to be conveyed that they were being prayed to death.

Notwithstanding these misdeemors, Kaua’ilua was popular with the people, since the chiefs or members of the royal household were usually
the victims of his mischievous freaks. He was encouraged in his disposition to qualify himself for the priesthood, under the instruction of the eminent high-priest and prophet, Waoanl, 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 gigantic mo'o, Mooeao. They ravaged fields, uprooted coconuts, destroyed the walls of fishponds, and otherwise frightened and discomfited the inhabitants of the island. That his residence there might be made endurable, Kaukulaau was instructed by the kaulau 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 exercising agencies by Kaukulaau, his friend, the venerable Waoani, told him that they would avail him nothing against the more powerful and malignant of the demons of Lanai.

Dishonored at the declaration, Kaukulaau was about to leave the heiau to embark for Lanai, when Waoani, after some hesitation, stayed his departure, and, entering the inner temple, soon returned with a small roll of lapa in his hand. Slowly unrolling and removing many folds of cloth, an ivory spear-point a span in length was finally brought to view. Holding it before the prince, he said:

**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 Pa, and many generations ago was left by Lono 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 reach the object, no matter how far distant. Much more it will do, but let what I have said suffice.**

The prince eagerly reached to possess the treasure, but the priest withdrew it and continued:

**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 dispose it with my bones. Swear to this in the name of Lono.**

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

Reaching Lanai, he established his household on the south side of the island. Learning his name and rank, the people treated him with great respect—for Lanai was then a dependency of Maui—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 ridding 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 Kaukulaau with the evil spirits and monsters of Lanai. His most stubborn conflict was with the gnome god Mooeao. 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 Kaukulaau 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 inestimably to his popularity, and the choices 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 Kaukulaau 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 coconuts 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 popular [lapapane] sang in the grove that shaded his door. What more could he ask, what more expect should he return to Maui? His exile had ceased to be a punishment, and his father's message of recall was scarcely deemed a favor.

However, Kaukulaau returned a respectful answer by his father's messenger, thanking Kakaalaneo for his clemency, and announcing 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 ao and mana'o. 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 tabu standard of an auh ali'i. This done, with a proper reitue he set sail for Hawaii.

[21:202-213]
The tradition continues by describing events in which Kaulūkūʻau participated in battles with various demons similar to those on Lānaʻi. His journey took him to the islands of Hawaiʻi, Molokaʻi, and Oʻahu prior to his return to Maui.

Upon returning to Maui, Kaulūkūʻau was welcomed home by his father, and learned that Waolani, his priestly instructor and friend, had died. Recalling the promise made to Waolani, Kaulūkūʻau secretly led the sacred spear-point of Lono with the bones of Waolani and married Lāea-a-Bua, a high chiefess of Oʻahu, and together they lived out their lives, residing at Kaʻula in Lāhaina and parented six children [21:225].

In the tradition of "Kolea, the Surf Rider of Maui" [21:229–246], mention is made again of Kaulūkūʻau and his adventures on Lānaʻi. The account is centered on Kolea, the daughter of Kahēkīlī, elder cousin of Kaulūkūʻau. It is reported that when Kahēkīlī ascended to the throne (ca. 1415), he "became king of Maui and Lānaʻi; for during that period the latter island was under the protection of the māoi of Maui, while Molokai still maintained its independence" [21:229].

King Kalākaua described the introduction of 'ulu to Lele, now known as Lāhaina, and Kaulūkūʻau’s banishment to Lānaʻi:

It was Kakaalaneo who introduced the bread-fruit tree from Hawaii... For some disrespect shown to his royal brother [Kakae], whose mental weaknesses doubtless subjected him to undignified remarks, he banished his son Kaulūkū’au to Lānaʻi, which island, traditions aver, was at that time infested by powerful and malignant spirits. They killed pigs and fowls, uprooted coconut-trees 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 exercised 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, Kaulūkūʻau took with him to Lānaʻi 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 Pu, the land of death, and many generations before left by Lono on one of his altars.

Crowning a long spear with this sacred point, Kaulūkūʻau attacked the disturbing spirits, and in a short time succeeded either in bringing them to submission or driving them from the island. The gnome Māoako was the most diffcult 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 burrowing, and thereby brought to terms. It could not pass the line no matter how far below the surface it essayed to do so. Having 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 path of escape in that direction. It soon encountered a lake of fire, and was compelled to return to the surface, where it humiliated itself before the prince, and promised, if liberated, to quit the island for ever. Kaulūkūʻau obliterated sixty paces of the line of imprisonment, to enable Māoako to pass to the sea, into which the hideous being plunged and disappeared, never to be seen again on Lānaʻi. [21:229–230]

Ka Moolelo o Eleio (The Tradition of Eleio) The tradition of Eleio is set in the time of Kakaalaneo's rule over Maui, Lānaʻi, Molokai, and Kaholoale (ca. 1400), and was published by W. N. Pualēa in the Hawaiin-language newspaper Keokuk in 1863. The account tells us that Eleio was a famous kiʻi waʻa associated with the court of the king. He was 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 Kekëolekaʻula, Kakaalaneo’s wife, was expecting, the king granted Eleio the privilege of naming the child. Eleio stated his desire, that if it was a boy, he should be named Kaulūkūʻau (The-forest-grove). When the child was born, it was indeed a boy, and he was named Kaulūkūʻau. 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 Lānaʻi to fend for himself. At that time in history, Lānaʻi was reportedly inhabited by hordes of akua under the rule of Pahuʻu. While on Lānaʻi, Kaulūkūʻau was accompanied by his own personal god, Lono. Together, the two traveled about Lānaʻi, tricking the ghosts, killing them, and setting the lands free from their dominion.

In this version of the tradition, Kaulūkūʻau traveled around Lānaʻi. We are told that he has already killed many of Pahuʻu’s minions, and that Pahuʻu then feigned friendship with Kaulūkūʻau, telling him that he would help him seek out the other akua who remained on the island. Pahuʻu’s real objective was to round up the remaining akua to fight and kill Kaulūkūʻau. The party traveled around the island counterclockwise, leaving the Keʻomuku region, passing through Kaʻena, Honopū, Kaumalapau, Kaumolū, and Mānele. The excerpts below cover the lands of the southern coast of Lānaʻi between Kaumolū and Mānele.

Ka Moolelo o Eleio

A māmuli o keia ohele ana a Pahuʻu; alaia, ua nee lo akou no lakou no noho ma Honopu, aia ia wahi ma kahi e ehe koke koke aku ana i ka palo o Kaholo, aka, o Kaumalapau nae kahi e pili pu na me Kaholo.

A hākū lakou nei ma Honopu, a noho ma ka kahi koke koke aku ana ola wahi, no ka mea, ua kaapuni hele o Pahuʻu 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 Kaumalapau is there, adjoining Kaholo.

They arrived at Honopū, and stayed there several nights. Pahuʻu had traveled all about the place, from one side to the other

Pahulu ia mau ia a me ia mau po ma ia apana mai o a, maia ka a a, ote ena ha-
lawai iki me ke aku, nolala, sola o lakou kuleana e noho hou ai malala.
Nolala, nana hee aku ia lakou a noho ma Kaunolu, a malala a noho lilo hou lakou ma ia wahi, no ka mea, ua ike o Pahulu he wahi akekoak a ia ke aku.

Nolala, olo o aku la o Pahulu ia Ka-
ulaua, “E alo e noho lakou janei, no ka mea, ea ike mai neu ai, a ia thina pono o Kahlilikali ke aku aha ki nohoai. Ee nae ka mea hai aku ia o e Kaukulaue, e laku auanai o e ka mai o ke aku akepau; ao ke aku akepau auanai e kapana la o Kanemakua, alala, mai pepehi auanai o ia kana ke mea, he hana nui kana. O kana hana, oia ke kamaain ma o keia wahi, a nana no e malama e kela i a o ke kai. Oia ke aku akepau, no ka mea, ina oia e make, sola mea nana e kai pono i keia le aku. No ka mea, malama paha e pau io ana ke aku a keia sina ma keia hana au e hana nei, a e noho mai a na paha ka mea i ike pu me kou ana a’u e ke aku nei. Alala, ua kao hoo la no ke kumu e laka e ike ake, a ma ana la e hiki ai ke kaunaha aku, e bib o Kanemakua e kamuakua lawais no ia pone.”

Kaululaua thought this was a good idea. So they dwelt there, and he did his work, killing all the aku of this place. Kaukulau then instructed them in praying to the gods, as he had done with the men of Moloka'i, who had washed ashore at Kahuluiha. So it was that the multitudes did this, as Kaululaua had been instructed by his god, Lono. Thus vanquished, were the aku of Kaunolu.

When their work at Kaunolu was completed, they thought on how to leave the place, and they went on a short distance and stayed at Mānāki. And there also destroyed them...

A pau ke koea o ke Akua o Kaunolu i ke hakua, a pepehi pu ia kekahi a ku a opho oha, o Kauhulua ka inoa oia akua, a no ko ma ke ana oia oia akuia Kaunolu, nolala, hee hou ae ia la aku a noho ma Manele.

A malala, na noho lilo i o akekahi mai la e akekahi mai po, a o ka Pahulu hana mau no ia ka hele e nana i ke aku a no a maneau. A no ko halawai ole o lakou me ke akua, nolala, hoo hoo lakou i ka oleleo e poi o Kaualualu aume Lono ika, a o Pahulu boi, ua hehe loa oia ma kaakahi a hiki aku i Naha, a malala oia e hali se ai ia Kaunolu u ma.

A o Kaualualu ma hoi, hehe aku la lau ma Manele aku a po i aku a hiki i Kaunolu, a malala aku no a ke kauhawai o Kauhob, a hehe aie ia malala a Kahaalelepakaa, a ma ia kauhawai aku no ka hehe ana a hiki ae i Ohaihola, a malala aku ka hehe ana hiki i ka maua o Lanaihale, hahi boi o Kaualualu i kapali ai ia maka o ke aku a ke hepea.1

1 Keao Keola, October 24 & 31, 1863.
2 Tanoa, K. Malu.

Kealakahihi: “Canoe Man’s Path to Kahiki” The island of Lāna‘i plays a role in some traditions describing the arrival of the gods and people in Hawai‘i. The famed Kealakahihi, “canoe man’s path to Kahiki,” reports his start at Kaunolu on Lāna‘i.2 The residency of the god-navigator Kāne‘apua is commemorated in a place name to this day, as is the place called Kū‘i (Ku‘u‘omakai), as a source of water, at Kaunolu. Below is one of the traditions of this god and his place in the life of the families of Lāna‘i.

He Moolelo no Wahainui me Keanapua

Wahainui was a chief of O‘ahu who went to Kahiki. Wahainui was the chief, Kōhi‘o was the astronomer, and Mo‘opua‘ai was the navigator. They sailed and landed at Hālōlo, Moloka‘i. In the early morn-

Thus the remaining aku of Kaunolu were destroyed, and there was also killed a god with a protruding belly. The name of this god was Kauhulua. When this god was killed by Kaululaua, they then continued their journey and stayed at Manele.

They resided there for some time—a number of days and nights—and as was Pahulu’s usual practice he went about look-

ing here and there for the ghosts. Not encoun-
tering any, he went to tell Kaululaua and Lono that they should ascend to the uplands, while Pahulu would travel along the coast to Naha, and from there he would seek out Kaululaua and his companion.

Kaululaua folks went from Mānāle, ascending up to Kaunolu (Ku‘u‘omakai’s)’ also written Kanalau‘i), and from there up the moun-
tain of Kā‘ōhi‘a. From there they went to Kaha‘alelepakāi, and at that peak they went to ‘Ohi‘alu. And from there they went to the mountain summit of Lānaihale, at the place where Kaululaua closed the eyes of the ghosts with the gane.2

A Tradition of Wahainui and Kāne‘apua

Wahainui was a chief of O‘ahu who went to Kahiki. Wahainui was the chief, Kōhi‘o was the astronomer, and Mo‘opua‘ai was the navigator. They sailed and landed at Hālōlo, Moloka‘i. In the early morn-

1 Cf. “He Moolelo no Moloka‘i” in Ke Huiki o Hawai‘i, January 31 through August 21, 1928.
o Kaneapua ka hookele i loa ai na aina o Kahiki, oia ka hookele akamai loa, ua pau na hoku o ka lani me ka lina...¹

¹ Neupe Kueou, January 5, 1867, p. 1.
² Trans. K. Maly.

Chiefly Lineages of Lāna‘i

It was after the events in which Ka‘u‘ūkū‘au participated that we see references to chiefly lineages associated with Lāna‘i, and the island fell under the dominion of Maui rulers. The 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 Ka‘u‘ūkū‘au, and lasted through the time of Kamehameha I. In fact, a review of Lāna‘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 times.

Between the time of Ka‘u‘ūkū‘au and his immediate peers until the middle 1700s, there 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 discussion of the Hawaiian nation in 1869:

Ka Moolelo o Hawai‘i—Helo 108

He aupuni kahiko loa ka aupuni Hawai‘i ma keia pae aina, i ke aupuni lihi‘i a mo‘o‘ona hana e o ka noho ana, a ua lehelehe wale na ‘i Mōi ma keia mau pae aina, aole i lilo ka pae aina o Hawai‘i i ka Moi hookeha, i kealohia duai o Moi o Maui, a he ali‘i oko o loa kan, a pela ko Molokai, ko Oahu, a me ko Kauai. A ma ko Kamehameha ma ka keia kaua i ke kaua a na ‘ihi i hoku pu ‘ia ma ke kaua ana, ua iaipia ma ke aupuni hookeha ke aupuni Hawai‘i. Mai ‘ia manawa mai o loa wale mai ia kakou i ka pae o keia wa ke kapua o keia mau pae mo‘o ke aupuni Hawai‘i.²

¹ Neupe Kueou, March 18, 1869.
² Trans. K. Maly.

According to Formander, 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 Ka‘u‘ūkū‘au. This relationship was probably
fortified during the reigns of Kiha-a-Pili'ani and his son Kamālālāwahī [15:94, 207]. The research of Kamakau and Fornander make several passing references to the fact that in ca. 1500, Kiha-a-Pili'ani was at 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-Pili'ani. Kiha-a-Pili'ani's reign was one of progress and peace, though nothing more is mentioned of Lāna'i [23:221, 15:87, 206].

Following Kiha-a-Pili'ani's death, Kamālālāwahī became the king of Maui, attempted to invade the island of Hawai'i, and was killed. His son Ka'ūhi-a-Kama took the throne, and was subsequently succeeded by his son, Ka'ūhi. It is during the later years of Kamālālāwahī's reign that we find reference to a chief of Lāna'i. Fornander [13] published an account compiled from native informants whose narratives reference a king named Kuhālī who was said to have unified the Hawaiian islands several generations before Kamehameha I. Kuhālī was imbued with godlike characteristics, and reportedly lived 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 Kamālālāwahī and Ka'ūhi-a-Kama. Fornander [13] reported that

Hāloalena, the chief of Lāna'i was considered a very good ruler. His great favorite pasttime was the collection of the skeletons of birds. When the chief's bird tax was 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 sale keeping in one of several large storehouses on Lāna'i as his personal treasures. Ka'ūhi, a mischievous son of Ka'ūhi-a-Kama, destroyed all the skeletons and

This was the cause of the hostilities between the king of Lāna'i and the king of Maui, and the reason why the king of Lāna'i wanted to be independent and not be any longer under the king of Maui. At this time the chiefs of Lāna'i were under the control of Kamālālāwahī, king of Maui. [13:IV-424]

Kuhālī was drawn into the dispute, and settled it without bloodshed, though Hāloalena and Lāna'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, 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 Kā'u region, and several prominent native and foreign historians described this time in Lāna'i's history. Samuel 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 Lāna'i:

Ka Moloelo o Kamehameha I—Helu 5

Ka makahiklī 1769, oia ka lave ana o Kalani'opu'u. In the year 1769, that is when Kalani'opu'u

Ka Moloelo o Kamehameha I—Helu 5

The History of Kamehameha—No. 5

14 Khia, of Pi'ilani, who lived in about the fifth generation after Ka'ūhi a Pi'ilani.

Kalani'opu'u took Hāna and the eastern district of Maui. Kalani'opu'u then returned to Hawai'i, after which time, Kamehameha I went to make war on Puna, whom Kalani'opu'u had left in 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 Molokai, being Ka'ōhele, Ka'ōhele a Ka'awe, Avōlī, Kūmoku, and Kapolokolō; and the chiefs for Lāna'i, being Namakea, Kaimāna, Kellīa, and the other chiefs of Maui. 1

1 Nupu'upu'u Kūkū, November 1, 1866.
2 Trans. K. Maly.

Kalani'opu'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

Kalani'opu'u ravaged the island of Lāna'i thoroughly, and the Lāna'i chief, unable to oppose him, retreated to a fortified place called "Hoonikai," inland from Maunakea. But being short of provisions, and their water supply having been cut off, the fort was taken by Kalani'opu'u, and the chiefs were killed. This Lāna'i expedition is remembered by the name of Kamokuhi. [15:156-157]

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

Kupuolani was greatly beloved by her people. Her nativity disposition was remarkably amiable and conciliatory, and her treatment of her subjects was ever humane.

We are informed by her biographer, who is a missionary at the Sandwich Island, that she was born on the island of Mōwee (Maui), in the year 1773, that her father's family had governed the island of Owyhee (Hawaii) for many generations; and that her mother's family belonged to the islands of Mōwee, Waihao (Kauai), Lāna'i (Lāna'i and Molokai (Molokai). Her grandfather was the king of Owyhee when it was visited by Capt. Cook, in 1777 [1785].

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

14 "Kupuolani, Queen of the Sandwich Islands Died on September 16th, 1821, while in residence at Lahaina," Missionary Herald July 1825:234-235.

19

20
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 men responsible for hiding the stone, was Keliihatanui, an ancestor of several families of Lāna'i in the present day. The Hawaiian newspaper Kukui 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 lawa'a (fishermen's gods) of Kaunolū. Altogether, seven gods stones are named, six in the coastal vicinity of Kaunolū, 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 Nāhī'ena'ena (the sacred daughter of Kamehameha I), situated on the flats below the heiau, and the former trail leading to the altar of Kame'epua. Readers are also told of some of the practices associated with worship of the akua lawa'a, and the nature of the spring of Pā'ao, situated on the Kaunolū Valley floor.

Naue ana e Ike i ka Mokuupuni o Ka'ūkāluau.

Kaunolū.
He ahupua'a no Kea o Kaunolū, ho'okahi kanaka i halawai pu me makou i laila o Mr. Makena, he kamaalā ia oia wahi, nani i kukuuihoku pokiele mai i na mea kanana oia a waia. Nana no ho'i e malama ana ia na mea kanu a ko kaku Haku Lani Kamehameha V. A wahi hoi ana, e ho'i aea na u Imi Haku la i laila i lavaia ai, ke hiki ai i lilo o Maralū, Aperī call malama kahi aku. Na mea kanu e uha ana, ipu haole, ipu ala, kūlina, uala, a pela aku. A e kukuui a i ka ia hale no ua Imi Haku la.

Na Akua Lavaia.
Kunuhī, Hilina'i, penei kona wahi mo'eoloh. Ia he lavaia mai au, he lavaia kamaaina nane, a he lavaia malihini kekahai, a ho'i ma'a mal ia lavaia, alaia ola ia kula, ha, 1 kū, ku me ka'au kau kūkū lilo ke alo i wahi ke k.; a o ka lavaia malihini me kana, i wahi ke alo e hilina'i like a, a oia no kona mea i kapaa ai o Hilina'i.

Traveling About to See the island of Ka'ūkūlā'u.

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

The Fishermen's Gods.
Kunuhī 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 stranger here, upon returning from fishing in the day, he will turn his back along with that of the paddler to (lean upon) the god; 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).

O Lahe ke kolo u na akua. ... , i ka'au whalae a ukuui aku, alaia, nēho iho la a hoi mai oe mai ka lawaia mai, alaia, pē e ala me ke hikī o ka heiau me ko ike ole mai ia'iu. Aia iloko o laila o kaneakalua ka 4 o na akua. Na anae mai ia kela i ka hele, he peku iki wale aku no ka'au pa ika Lahe, oia hele no oka lohe a na pepesao o ka i, o ka pau aku la no ia i ka holo, alaia, sole e loa hou kana ia ke holo hou, a hana hou ia e ke kahuna.

O Napakakoalaa ka 5 o na akua. Ika akua e mohai mua ai ke kahuna, i mea e oholo mai aia ai ma uau maaukaua la, alaia, loa i ka a Kalihi keʻai. A lelewale ka pule ana a ke kahuna me ka kaka de o ka puua, alaia ia maka'i, hoʻo ke ke kahuna, a hoʻo ke ka hale i ke kapa ekekeke, a hoʻo kahuna, e hoʻo ke kahuna, a iole hoo, ia a ae la o ke kahuni o kekahi kanaka i ka maku a i ka lele i panahahahaha no ke kahuna."

Pau kana hai ana mai i ka moeole, ... ae la makou mai ia pali a loea e la ilua o Kalihi aku, he heiau ia ota kahi i ka a a kanaka i ka lelo me he ahi mai hale, alaia, alaia loa aku kela la makou makai aku a hikī i ke kahunialae i Kala Nahei, e Koko koko ka pali kakaakai, ke kawa a Kalikī ili hoatoma ai keʻili o Mano, me he la he 80 kapaaie ke kiekie mai ka ... kai a luna. Ha maoli no ka aʻe ke nana a meaio.

Lahe is the third of the gods. Say if my wife had a disagreement with me, and I was upset. I may go off and sit alone, and then you come back from fishing. Then I go and hide on the side of the heiau, without you seeing me. Inside there, is Kūkūlā'u, 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 Lahe (shaking of him). Then by going there, the ears of the fish hear, and that is the end of his going, he shall not get fish again, until he goes to the kahuna.

Nāmakaakaila'ia is the 5th of the gods. It is the first god that the kahuna makes an offering to, as a means of appeasing all the 'auamāku. 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 ahi fishing. The kahuna will twist about 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. They shall cry out, and the troubles are finished. But, if the King does not catch any 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."

When he (Maka'ena) finished telling his story, we ascended the daff, and reached the top of Kahiālulu, it is the heiau where men were placed on the altar like a bunch of bananas. He then took us a little below there on the flats, to the house of Nahe'i'ena. Koko koko is there on the sea side, and is the diving spot of Kāhekī, where the King of Maui would leap, feet first into the water. It is perhaps 80 feet high, from the water's surface to the top. Looking down, it seems that one would truly break their necks.
Kukulikai mai la kela i kahi e pu ai iluna o Kamapua, ke one ia o na alua iluna, ke la ka makou akuahi mai malama iho o kona alua. He puni o lalo i ke kai i ka wahohonu. Aole laki o kamaaina ke pu, no ka mea, ua hanau ke slani; i kela mau kupuupu ostomi waiia ae no. Hoi mai saau kai a ho mai e hoopu i ka hea-kai o ka ilii.

O Paa ko inoa ola ilua kakake mai la o Mr. Palii mumau, a iho i lalo o ka hawaiwai a ke kahua mai ana na wahia kamaaina ia me ka lea puu wi penoi: "Ei mai iho oe i lalo me kou kai." Eia ka he punaaili opea kela. Na u o Mr. Makaena i hoaau mai ia Pali-o-opo, a na Pali-o-opo ho i hoaau mai la makou. Ina no na maloo ka mea kai o ka ilii, a iho ae i lalo i ____ ai, he awaawa loka ka wai e like me ke kai maoli. Aia ka huiuli a hana hou ia i e ka poi aamaki a e koko aku aku i a i na aumakua, alaila one ke inu ae.

Pau ae la, kau iluna o na alo a ho mai; ke hawi aku nei no na malainia ike aloha nona, no kona kukiikiiki pololei na mea hou o ilia. Hiki mai la makou i ke kula, i lala o Makaunahine ka hiku o na akua, ke kaunahine o Kamapua, mai Kauni mai kona hele ana e ke eke kaikuunane; loa a i ka mai wahiine, ku ka hale pe-a ilia, pa-u mai la no i ka puakula. A oia ka mea i ooli ole a i ka puakula oia wahi ke lei e i-a i. Ika eke kaumaka maoli ana aku nei, he like me ka poahau a kaku e ke mau nei, pela no ke anoo o kela poi poahau, hooakoi no mea o Kamapua, aole no ho i no no, eia ka hoi he aku aku ho la i la. He keu no ho i ka hana naupua o ka wa kaikiho, ka hoomana ia na mea ana i luma ke Akua Mana Loa Hooakoi i hana ai; a ke kauai mai nei no ia hana naupua a na puakuna o kaku i hala aku la i kekahi ia o hanauna opio o kau e noho mai nei. Ahi ia paua loa ia anaono ino o ke kukiikiiki.^[2]

He then showed us the place where one climbs to the top of Kâne'pu'a, the sixth of the fisherman'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.

Pâ'o is the name of the waterhole there. Mr. Pali was the first to go into the waterhole; 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 kakekula prayer to the 'uamakua, and the water is sweet to drink.

When we finished there, we got on the horses to continue on our way. We offered our aloha to him (Maka'ena), for his pointing out these places to us visitors. We then reached the kula lands, and there was Makaunahine, the seventh of the gods. She is the sister of Kâne'pu'a, who came from Kaua'i, in search of her elder brother; she then had her period and there was built a menstrual house for her there. She wore the puakula (Argemone alba) as her skirt. That is the reason why the puakula 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 is the nature of those stones. The biggest one is Kâne'pu'a, though it is not that big, he is himself a god. It is so amazing, this foolish work of olden times, to worship the things made by hands, rather than that which was made by the one all-powerful God. And there still continues some of this foolish work of those ancestors of ours who have passed on. Being done by the young generation who live here.^[3]

1 An undercore (\_) denotes illegible text.
2 Naiapa Kualoa 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 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 Pūli o Kā'ala, the newspaper, "Nu Hou," published by Gibson, included descriptions of Kaunolū, 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 Lāna'i, and at his request It. This story is based upon this amount of fact. The land, the heiau or temple, 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 vouch for in conversations with the author, by the late Governor Keuanaoa, who was with the Conqueror in one of his expeditions to Lāna'i. Another historical authority was Planius, whose memory was rich with the legends of his native isles…

Lāna'i is an island of many legends, stories and songs … Here dwelt Kane, who crossed the seas from western isles … His kindred, Kanekoa, Kanepo; and those fish gods, the Neptunes of the Pacific, had their chosen seat among the bold bluffs upon the ocean beaten coast of Ulahau, the ancient name of Lāna'i. It was a sacred isle, and its central land, named Kea'a Kapu, or Tabooed Kea'a, was a Pahouua or place of refuge. Upon its soil and that of the bordering land of Kaua'i 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 anger, 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 anadous fishers have been known to make their secret offerings within the temple grounds in order to propitiate the olden deities of the seas.

This temple, or Heiau of Kaunolū, is on the southwestern coast of Lāna'i and its ruins lie within the mouth of a deep ravine, whose extending banks run out into the sea and form a bold, bluff-bound bay. On the top of the western bank there is a stone-paved platform, called the Keahua, or Floor of Offering. Outside of this, and separated by a narrow alley way, there runs a broad high
wall, which quite encircles the Kuasha. 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.

Kīneʻapua

At the beach there is a break; a great block of the bluff has been rent away by some earth quake, 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 Kaunolū 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 kulanakaulale, or town, famed as an abode of gods and a refuge for those who fled for their lives; but it drew its people mainly 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 Kaunolū

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 kios 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 halepalani, 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 Unui came to Kealia for sport rather than for worship. Who so loved to throw the malaka ball, or hurl the spear, or thrust aside the many javelins flung at his naked chest, as the chief of Kohala? He rode gladly on the crests of the surf waves. He delighted to drive his canoe 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 puhli, the great Jawed eel or snake of these seas, the terror of fish and men, and hence his dread name of Pulilikapu, the Devourer of the Seas.

When this warrior king came to Kaunolū, 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 coconut, ohelo, banana and sweet potato. They piled up a mound of food before the door the king's pukui, along with a flamboyant multitude of fat pot-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 nau (mālō), which is Lana'i's own lovely jasmine—a rare gardenia, whose sweet aroma lads the breeze, and leads you to the bush seeking it afar off. These garlands were fastened to the planted pili thatch of the king's pukui; 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 male6.

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

Lanai.

About five miles along the coast westward of Manele we come to the Heiau of Hahulū, 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 Kaunolū and Kealii Kapu. This latter land was a place of refuge ... The walls of the Heiau, the altar floor, or kuahi, and other portions of the rude structure are in a good state of preservation. The Heiau, the stone lines of the old Kamehameha residence, and of numerous ancient halepalis cover a space of a couple of acres 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 Kaunolū, where there are the remarkable natural columns, one apparently over 100 feet high, and about 20 feet diameter at the 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, where the King would sit and angle, and this has been named Pohualuia or Royal Rock, and we have named Honopu, King's Bay.

But to return to our Heiau. 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 Papulua, who was our guide told us, that the

6Walter Murray Gibson in Nā Hae, March 21, 1873, p. 3.
Great Kamehameha would sometimes make men, whom he wished to punish, jump from this gap into the sea and some would be hurt or killed. But there is a native now on Lana'i named Lono, who will readily make this leap of 150 feet into the tide fretted gulf.7

Pu'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 archaeological inventory survey on Lana'i[10]. The area of Miki, Emory's Site 138, formerly had residences and dry land cultivation in traditional times. It also was the site of an early camp.

"He Moolelo no Mākālei" (A Tradition of Mākālei): Kealakahihi at Kaunolū and noted Places of Lana'i Named for Former Residents

The story of Mākālei—beginning in the Ke'aka region of North Kona, Hawaii—includes rich narratives describing ancient fishing customs, gods, prayers, and traditions of places.

This tradition provides information on various locations around the islands of Hawaii, Lana'i, O'ahu, and Kaua'i, and is set around ca. AD 1200, by association with 'Olopana's reign on O'ahu. It was submitted as part of the native language newspaper Ka Hoku o Hawai'i by noted Hawaiian historian J.W.H. Kīhe 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 Lana'i, with reference to Kealakahihi and other noted places on the island.

The Supernatural A'u—A'ulele-o-ka-moana

While fishing off of the ko'a of ʻAwain, Kohala, Mākālei hooked a great fish. The fish rose to the water's surface and rested calmly, for it had pulled out three ko'a 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 channel between Moloka'i and Lana'i. Seeing that this A'u-lele-o-ka-moana had taken him this far, Mākālei called to his ancestress—

E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-K'e'o, O Hina in the season of K'ë'o, Pa'a ia a pa'a ka' a ku! Secure and bind this fish of ours! By now, the sun was setting, and Mākālei was traveling outside of the point of Ke'aka at K'ë'apa'ali, and he continued to hold back the fish. Darkness covered everything and Mākālei could no longer see the land, yet the fish continued to lead him on. Mākālei called again to his ancestress—"O Hina in the season of Kå'eo, secure and bind this fish of ours!"

During that night, Mākālei and this supernatural fish of 'Awain encircled Lana'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, Lana'i, and Ke-ala-I-Kahiti

Mākālei secured the great fish A'ulelokoalama on his line and then landed at Ka'ōhāi along the shores of Ka-ubah-lau (Lana'i). 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 Lana'i, he was greatly esteemed by the kamaʻaina, and he asked them if there was a ko'a (fishing station shrine) at this place. The natives told him, "Kaunolū and Ke-ala-I-Kahiti are the famous ko'a. There are many other ko'a, but these are the foremost."

One day, Mākālei went with the people to the shore of Kaunolū 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 kamaʻaina then asked, "Which land is this?" Mākālei answered—

It is Ka'elehāliulu at Kona, Hawaii, 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 sea, 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-lek), or mother of pearl akule, like the type being used by those fishermen?" Mākālei then took out his lure and showed it to those people who were with him. One person told Mākālei, "The akule 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 (akule line boom) for us, I can try to use my lure Koloumokāiki. It is my inheritance from my ancestress Hina-i-ka-malama-i-k'ë'eo."

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'omuku who is the head fisherman of this place at Kaunolū." They then went down to speak with Ke'omuku, asking that he give them an 'ohe i aku (akule line boom), which he did. Ke'omuku then asked, "Who is your fisherman?" And the people told him it was the young stranger. Ke'omuku 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

7Wailei Murray Gibson in Ka Hina, September 12, 1873, p.3.
were asking for the boom. Keʻohumu then told them, "So you have gotten your aku fisherman after all."

They then paddled towards the place where the canoes were at rest upon the water. Mākākai 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 kūkāhū (paddlers who position and/or hold a canoe in place while aku fishing) to paddle, the lure will not be drawn through the water. Indeed, the fishermen lives (tank) by the moving of the canoe." They then told Mākākai their names; Pali was the man at the front (hūlu) of the canoe, Malama was the man at the mast brace (ku kū), Pālāwai was the man at the bailing seat (kā i nā lū), and the man at the inner outrigger boom (hulu a loko) was Hupa.

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

Elina-ka-imalama-ka-kēlo
Kūa kupuna wahine o ka ʻā o lalo
E-pāpale i ke aloha hōmal
I mākana na u na Mākākai
Hoʻōna ia ma ke kahului
Ke kaʻawālī, ka hoʻōlīlī, ka holopapa
Ke aku i ka hale o ke koʻa
O Kaunohilo i ke aia i Kahului
I ke hālukuhukuhu i ka māpuna
I ka piko o Wākea
Ka iʻa akara i nūlu i ke koʻa
I ka hale o ka ʻā

When Mākākai ended his chant the aku began to strike at all sides around them. Mākākai then held securely to the hale line and pulled the quivering aku to the canoe. He then called to Pali, telling him to take up the aku and place it at the bow of the canoe. Mākākai then took up the other aku without any errors, and the aku was like snarling, raging dogs. When the canoe was filled, he called to Pālāwai to bail their canoe, and he called to Hupa, Pali, and Malama telling him, "Our canoe is filled, paddle towards the shore, to the land koʻa which is by the house where the canoe carriers await." Now when Mākākai mā finished fishing, the aku also stopped rising to the surface and remained in the depths without rising again.

When they landed their canoe upon the shore, Mākākai took up the first caught aku from Pali at the bow of the canoe, and then told his kūkāhū, "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 is all that I need."

Now this was something new to those people at this place, that Mākākai should give them all the fish, and keep none for himself. The people were greatly surprised for there were no other fishermen at this place who had ever given so much. The people thought, "This person is no fisherman, but instead he is an aumakua for us." The fame of Mākākai's deeds went around the island of Lānaʻi's-Kaulūwā, from the ʻōiō (land division) of Kāʻu, Kaunolū, and Kaʻōhāi on the island of Lānaʻi. Because of these deeds of our alert one [Mākākai], a beautiful young girl of Lānaʻi went to Mākākai with her mother to ask that he become the young girl's husband. The name of this girl was Mauna-lei, and her mother was Lānaʻi-hale, and Pālāwai, who was one of Mākākai's paddlers was the father of 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!" Mākākai then asked the maiden that she excuse him, "There have been many people which have sought to arrange a marriage, and not one of them have I agreed to." Mākākai then told Mauna-lei, "I will have no thoughts of marriage until I see the island of Kauaʻi. Until this thought has been fulfilled, I cannot consider marriage." Lānaʻi-hale then said, "If that is so, perhaps the two of you could dwell under a palu (betrothal agreement), until the time for marriage is right." But Mākākai 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 let these thoughts become unjust." Because of his just words, the people felt certain that Mākākai was indeed a chief.

Now one day while the canoe fleet was out "aku fishing, Mākākai went with his kūkāhū Pālāwai, who was the father of the maiden named Mauna-lei. When they reached the koʻa, the aku were seen swimming, Mākākai turned and tossed out his hale and quickly secured ten fish. When Mākākai mā rested, they saw that it had been a great au (sword fish) which drove the aku to their canoe. Mākākai

May 29, 1928.

Pahulu (Nightmare) was the king of the akua who inhabited Lānaʻi, and who were killed by the chief Kāhului. Pahulu was the last aku killed and his spirit inferred a weke (gallfish) that is now called weke pahulu. Natives of Lānaʻi throw the bones and head of weke pahulu into the cooking fire and utter this saying to ward off nightmare.
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 aku took the aku. The aku ran along the water's surface thrusting its sword all about. The canoe fleet scattered as those people on the canoes were fearful that they would be pierced by the aku. Mākālei held tight to the line, and A’ulele traveled out to the dark blue-green sea, to where the islands were seen to sit low upon the water, and Wa’ale’ale barely rose above the horizon. As the sun began to descend, Mākālei called to his ancestors—

E Hīna-kamalama-ō-Kā‘elo,
Pa‘a ‘ia a pa‘a ka‘a a kaua!

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

A’ulele then dove towards—Kaua‘i moku lehua pono ke kai (Kaua‘i, island of the lehua forests which appear to travel towards the sea).

2.2 Historical Events: Transitions in Land Use and Population on Lāna‘i

In the 1770s, around the time of western Contact with Hawaiians, Kalanapō‘u, sovereign of Hawaii’s Island, attempted to take the Maui group of islands by force. Expelled from Maui, the invading force settled on Lāna‘i for a time and reportedly killed many of the native residents and laid the land to waste [15; 23]. Apparently, Lāna‘i’s native population never recovered from this event. In 1804, the first major epidemic brought to the islands on foreign ships swept through the group. It is estimated that by 1805, from Niihau to Hawai‘i’s 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 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 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 Lāna‘i between 1854 and 1864. This period led to an increase of more than 300 Hawaiians and a few foreigners, with the majority living in the ala‘ula‘o of Pålawai, and regular travel between the upland settlement and the Māne‘lani. The experiment was in decline by 1858, and though there was a revival between late 1861 and 1864, the Pålawai experiment was terminated, and the native population continued its historic decline. The second period of growth, between 1899 and 1901, occurred when the Maunālali Sugar

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

Company brought in some 600 non-Hawaiian laborers to operate a sugar plantation along the windward section of Pålawai. Abupu‘a’s. One significant contribution to the decline in Lāna‘i’s ability to support the resident 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 ‘ili‘ili 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 immunity 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 that was visible, thus killing the land.

In light of the incredible population losses on Lāna‘i, we are fortunate that any traditional 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 us with glimpses into the changes on Lāna‘i, with specific references to Pålawai and Kama‘o between ca. 1820 and the early 1900s. Unfortunately, it does not appear that any descriptions of the significant heiau at Kaupua‘kea near the Pålawai-Kama‘o boundary survived.

Lāna‘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, lies northeast of Tahauru, 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 Tahauru, it is neither so high nor broken as any of the other islands: a great part of it is barren, and the island in general suffers much from the long droughts which frequently prevail; the ravines and gulls, not-withstanding, are filled with thickets of 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 medusea and cuttle-fish. The inhabitants are but few, probably not exceeding two thousand. Native teachers are endeavouring to instruct them in useful knowledge and religious truth, but no foreign missionary has yet laboured on this or the neighboring island of Molokai, which is separated from the northern side of Rani, and the eastern end of Maui, by a channel, which, though narrow, is sufficiently wide for the purpose of navigation. [96-7]
A Protestant mission station was established in Lahaina in 1823, and was responsible for West Maui, Lanai, Molokai, and Kahoolawe. Mission station leaders were tasked with overseeing the spiritual, educational, and health needs of island residents. In addition to the Protestant missionaries, Lanai experienced a period of development as a Mormon mission station from late 1853 to early 1864. As noted above, the "experiment" brought an increase in Lanai's Hawaiian population, with Hawaiians from other islands moving to Lanai, 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 creation of an important record of history on the island. Excerpts of reports, personal journals, and articles published in Hawaiian and missionary papers—documenting Lanai's population statistics, land use, health, and development of churches and schools—provide important records from Lanai.

The islands of Lanai and Molokai have, till within a few weeks, been entirely without teachers. To the former [Lanai's], 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 of our books, many of the first principles of Christianity. Of the number of pupils which will be embraced in these schools, I can form no estimate, as I have yet received no report, and the island has never been explored by any of my number...

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

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

13 August 9, 1825, Letter of William Richards Describes Progress of Instruction—Four Schools Established on Lanai, Missionary Herald, June 1825:174-175.
14 Cape and Omama Mahi researched the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) collection at Harvard in 2004, and subsequently digitized it for return to Hawai‘i. This journal, along with thousands of other records of importance to Hawaiian history, have been lost to Hawai‘i for 177 years and are sorely in need of the first time.
15 The map referred to by Richards was not found in the original letter and cannot now be identified.
16 More Richards is referring to kalo or taro.
17 Page 1 - Rand 797-792.
the 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 island is barren almost beyond conception. I have recently been quite round the island, and visited every principal village on the island except one, and during my whole tour, I saw but one good well of water; and no spring or brook, and I saw nothing growing which was suitable for food, either for man or beast, and nothing grows except sea weeds and sea grass. I should except a few coconuts and trees and two or three 18 or four have trees.

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 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 the growth of potatoes and in wet seasons some upland taro is raised. There are few people that reside at that place constantly, but considerable number who reside generally on the shore, go up & spend a month or two at a time so as to keep their land under cultivation, and then return again to the sea side where they can have abundance of fish, and water too, such as it is for there is 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 Kapuleaumea, an elderly man, who is a member of our church, and a man of established reputation.

In a letter of mine written Oct. 15th, 1828 19 I alluded to a tour around the island of Lanai, made by myself to 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.

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

18Page 2 - Rev. 797:793.
19Page 2 - Rev. 797:794.
20At this point Richards inserts lengthy narratives from his personal journal of 1828, and his visit to Lea'e with Childress Nahlenemanu and the near loss of Kapuleaumea while traveling from Lahaina to Lanai.

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.

You are already aware that this place is the centre of missionary operations for Maui, Molokai, Lanai, and Kahoolawe. Lahaina is the only place where there is regular preaching. It is, however, by no means 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 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 from assembling for vicious purposes, and worse than idle conversation.

Examination of the Schools

During the summer and early part of the fall of 1828, subsequently to the arrival of the late reinforcements, owing to an increase of their numbers, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Schs.</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Writers</th>
<th>Readers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lanai</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

... 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.

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

received the fullest evidence that our exertions have not been in vain. Since our return from the tour of the island, about 5,000 spelling books have been 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 island (Mau); 1,000 to Molokai; and 700 to Lanai. It is not probable that, 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 now enrolled in the schools under the direction of this station ...

The population of Maui has been heretofore estimated at 20,000, that of Molokai at 3,000 or 4,000, and that of Lanai at 2,000 or 3,000, making the whole population on these three islands not more than 27,000. The present 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

2.3 Land Tenure

The Māhekea ʻĀina 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 Māly for the development of the ʻĀnaʻi Culture & Heritage Center, a full history of land tenure on ʻĀnaʻi in the period between 1848 and 1960 has been conducted and made available to the public.

The narratives below summarize the Māhekea ʻĀina on ʻĀnaʻi, drawn from a review of all records compiled as a part of the Māhekea ʻĀina of 1848, with subsequent actions of the Land Commissary and government through issuance of Royal Patents on the Awards.

2.3.1 Māhekea ʻĀina Statistics on ʻĀnaʻi

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

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

22Missionary Herald, July 1828:205-211.
23ʻĀnaʻi Culture & Heritage Center, https://www.anaichc.org/.

• 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 ʻĀnaʻi.

2.3.2 Place Names Referenced in Claims by Applicants

A total of 86 place names is in the records provided to the Land Commissary. The names from Kaunoli and Kaluolu are cited in table 2.

Table 2: Place names recorded during the Māhekea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Places and ʻIl</th>
<th>Ahupua'a</th>
<th>Names of Places and ʻIl</th>
<th>Ahupua'a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahua</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Ahupua</td>
<td>Kaluolu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haupu</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Aliau</td>
<td>Kaluolu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapaia</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kaka'i</td>
<td>Kaluolu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaupahuka</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Iomo</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lihikai</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kakahau'kai</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makapapa'a</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kameha</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kana'o</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōnoohi</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kapa'oo kai</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moanaia (Moona'ia)</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kapa'oo ika</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namakalaihi</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kapauo</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neua (Neu)</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kaawaki</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīhokule (Nīhokele)</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kibilana</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palahi</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Kalu'apuao</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra'oole</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>Pueo</td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puna'ena</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kaupau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.3 Disposition of Ahupua'a and Konohiki Claims on ʻĀnaʻi

As a part of the Māhekea, 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 ʻĀnaʻi. Of particular interest is a letter dated August 26, 1852 from Noa Pali to Keeni Ana, Minister of the Interior, documenting the kapu or konohiki fish and trees for 11 of ʻĀnaʻi's 13 ahupua'a (table 3).

2.3.4 Buke Māhekea (Land Division Book), 1848

In preparation for the final division of lands between the king, konohiki, and government, a Buke Māhekea was kept as a log of the agreed upon division. This book is the basis of
Table 3: Forbidden fish of the konohiki and the prohibited woods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Konohiki</th>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Fish Wood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Makaio Kekuanaoa</td>
<td>Kaa</td>
<td>Uhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makaio Kekuanaoa</td>
<td>Kaohai</td>
<td>Hee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahaleku</td>
<td>Maunaiki</td>
<td>Hee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanaina</td>
<td>Mahana</td>
<td>Hee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanaina</td>
<td>Paomai</td>
<td>Hee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haalea</td>
<td>Palawai</td>
<td>Ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaen</td>
<td>Kealia [Kapu]</td>
<td>Uhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaenou</td>
<td>Kamo</td>
<td>Uhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
<td>Kahului</td>
<td>Hee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Kamoku</td>
<td>Uhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Kealia [Aupuni]</td>
<td>Uhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Lands.

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

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 Māhele* (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 claims 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 Lāna'i.

Here are our claims — mōo (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 from the moana (open ocean) to the fishery of Kaholo; to one fishery to another fishery. We are the people in the Ahupua'a of Palawai, Pāwili, Kaunolu, Kahului, Maunalei and Mahana. Here are our names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Helu Name</th>
<th>Helu Name</th>
<th>Helu Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lono</td>
<td>Nakalo</td>
<td>Kanaanua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paele</td>
<td>Pāpali</td>
<td>Kapaoha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalimu</td>
<td>Haulo</td>
<td>Owia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalēi</td>
<td>Apollo (See O)</td>
<td>10047 Pasahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na'apali</td>
<td>Haole</td>
<td>10031 Palalea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moʻo</td>
<td>Pākele (See O)</td>
<td>10050 Waiiala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaia</td>
<td>Kalamalu</td>
<td>10034 Nahakula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka'akaa</td>
<td>Nekeuulu</td>
<td>10053 Kapahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa'aoa</td>
<td>Elika</td>
<td>10037 Pama'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kine'a</td>
<td>Kāole</td>
<td>10056 Keaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puapai</td>
<td>Ohene</td>
<td>10040 Poha'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka'anele (See O)</td>
<td>10041 Ka'anekele</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is the end.

23 Helu 10041 (Recorded with Helu 10026), Kaunolū (and Lono et al.), Palawai, Native Register 6510-51, Lāna'i, February 12, 1848, translated by Moly.

Table 4: Disposition of ahupua'a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahupua'a</th>
<th>Claimant</th>
<th>Disposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaa</td>
<td>Victoria Kamamalu</td>
<td>Awarded to Crown, Testimony of M. Kekuanaoa, Dec. 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahului</td>
<td>Daniel II</td>
<td>Crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamao</td>
<td>Kahanamakiahi</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamoku</td>
<td>No record</td>
<td>Crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka'ahal</td>
<td>M. Kekuanaoa</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaauhu</td>
<td>Kōlōhonalii</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kea'aukapu</td>
<td>Kahanamakiahi</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kea'aukapu</td>
<td>Joanna Kanaa</td>
<td>Awarded to Crown, Testimony of C. Kanalu, Dec. 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahana</td>
<td>Wm. C. Lumahio</td>
<td>Awarded to Crown, Testimony of C. Kanalu, Dec. 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahana</td>
<td>P Toe (Fanny Young)</td>
<td>Awarded to Crown, Testimony of C. Kanalu, Dec. 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palawai</td>
<td>M. Kekuanaoa</td>
<td>Awarded to Crown, Testimony of C. Kanalu, Dec. 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panai</td>
<td>No record</td>
<td>Crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāwili</td>
<td>Wm. C. Lumahio</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāwili</td>
<td>Wm. C. Lumahio</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uli of Kaumualapa 1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>Olole (wahine)</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kaunolu is comprised of 7,860 acres and is one of the four ahupua'a—the others are Pâlawai, Kâului, and Pa'awâlī—that cross the island of Lâna'i, spanning both the Kona and Kûkui regions of the island. Dixon et al. suggest that this is because when Maui chief Kaka'aina 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 Kaunolu marks "Ke ala i Kâului" (the path to Kahului), and is commemorated as the landing place of the ancient gods on Lâna'i. On the leeward side, the ahupua'a is fronted by the deepsea fishery of Kâhâlo. The land then takes in the steep sea cliffs of Pali Kâhâlo, crosses through the Pâlawai Basin, ascends the mountain to Pu'u Alii, one of the major peaks of Lâna'i Hale, and then continues to the ocean on the windward side. Supplied by water sources in the Kaunolu-Kâhâlo Kapu gulch, the leeward coast of Kaunolu was the religious, political, and social center of Lâna'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 valuable forest resources. The leeward forest zone at Hâi was also the site of a significant mountain heiau.

On the windward side, Kaunolu shared Haoulo Gulch, in which water flowed seasonally, with Kâului; the ahupua'a extended down to the shore where springs and rich refished fisheries supported the native tenants. On its eastern, windward side, Kaunolu is bounded by Pâlawai Ahupua'a to the mountain peak of Lâna'i Hale, where it joins with Kâhâlo Aupuni, Kâhâlo Kapu, and then continues down the mountain, through forest and basin, to the ocean. Kaalâhânui originally claimed Kaunolu but relinquished it to the Government Land inventory.

Kaunolu is also the name given to a village on the southwest coast. The meaning of Kaunolu is not certain; however, Emory suggested that it could be translated as "To give property on a wager secretly" [9:32].
There are no specific records documenting the kapu fish and wood for Kaunōlū. Traditional accounts celebrate the kawukawa (bonito) fisheries of Kaholo, along with documentation of a wide range of other fishes known in the region. Kingdom Law of 1846, listed a kapu on the kawukawa fisheries of Lāna'i.

The following is a report of M. Kekauonohi to Iolani Hale, dated December 15, 1847. It shows that Kaunōlū was one of her lands.

Eia ko' u mau aina o Kamakaneha I i le al mai Hawai'i a Kaua'i. Here are my Lands from Kamakaneha I, known from Hawai'i to Kaua'i:

- Kaluula, Lani
- Kaunolu, Kaluul" Kaua'i,
- Koahe, M. Kekauonohi1

1 Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Lands.
2 Trans. K. Māly.

Below is another report from C. Kanaina to the Minister of the Interior, dated December 1847, where Kanaina lists the lands of the King.

Na Alma Pono o ka Moi a'u i le ai, a i leho al a me kia Pe'a Ama:
- Hehu 4 Moku punu o Lani
- Number 4 Island of Lani

Kaua'i, Kaluul, Koahe, Kaluul

Kaua'i is translated literally as "the shelter," and contains 6,078 acres. Kaluul is one of three unique auhupa'au divisions on Lāna'i. On the Kona side of the island, Kaluul is bounded by Kamoku on the north. It then runs across the island, passing the western banks of Pālāwai Basin, up the mountain, and then continues to the Kō'olau coast, bounding Maualei on the north. Along its southern boundary, in both the Kona and Kō'olau regions, Kaluul is bounded by Kaunōlū Aupu'a'a. The Kona and Kō'olau coasts of Kaluul take in two significant fisheries—one being a part of the deep sea fisheries of Kaholo (shared with Kaunōlū), 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 dryland field systems. The forest resources included stands of koa and other native woods, and small valleys and gulches where water sources were found. Danieli Ti claimed Kahalo as his personal property during the Mōhele, but relinquished it to the king, who retained it as a Crown Land. He's was the kapu fish, and 'aheke 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 Kaunōlū and Kaluul. The claims reveal some of the activities that occurred in the lands of Kaunōlū and Kaluul. Registered Map 2227 (fig. 5) shows the claims in Kaunōlū and Kaluul.

Table 5: Native tenants of Kaunōlū and Kaluul Aupu'a'a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOA Hele</th>
<th>Claimant</th>
<th>'Ili, Aupu'a'a</th>
<th>Claims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>530</td>
<td>Danaleh 8</td>
<td>Kaluul</td>
<td>Aupu'a'a relinquished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37198</td>
<td>Kaluul 8</td>
<td>Kaluul</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6814</td>
<td>Peake 8</td>
<td>Haupū &amp; Kupehaku, Kaunolu</td>
<td>1 ula patch and 2 moku maua^1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6815</td>
<td>Kaiv 8</td>
<td>Aha, Panenolu, Kaunolu</td>
<td>1 moku maua, 2 houses, 3 mala uaka, 1 ipu field, 1 le pach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6816</td>
<td>Nihodavaw</td>
<td>Namakaukau &amp; Ahuva, Kaunolu</td>
<td>8 mala uaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6817</td>
<td>Keilua 8</td>
<td>Paano, Kaunolu</td>
<td>1 moku uaka, 1 moku mahaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6818</td>
<td>Hoole 8</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>1 mala uaka and 1 moku maua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6819</td>
<td>Kamakauhi 8</td>
<td>Pananana, Kaunolu</td>
<td>2 mula uaka, 1 moku kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6820</td>
<td>Kamakahoolua 8</td>
<td>Niiholu, Kaunolu</td>
<td>1 house lot and 1 moku maua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6821</td>
<td>Kulelelua 8</td>
<td>Mahapepea, Kaunolu</td>
<td>1 moku uaka, 1 house lot, and 1 moku maua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6822</td>
<td>Kahiilani 8</td>
<td>Miki, Kaunolu</td>
<td>1 house lot and 1 mala uaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6823</td>
<td>Hekah 8</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>1 kulep of sweet potato and banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6828</td>
<td>Kohahe 8</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6824</td>
<td>Nguwulu 8</td>
<td>Aha, Kaunolu</td>
<td>1 pahu planted with ipu and uaka, 2 mula planted in ipu and uaka, and 1 house lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6825</td>
<td>Kalaniwahine 8</td>
<td>Miki, Kaunolu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6826</td>
<td>Kalawalu 8</td>
<td>Kano, Kaunolu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6827</td>
<td>Lasalalua 8</td>
<td>Kahawatina, Kaluul</td>
<td>3 moka maua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6828</td>
<td>Keamo 8</td>
<td>Kahelema, Kaluul</td>
<td>1 kulep of uaka, ipu, waule, and house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6829</td>
<td>Mawe 8</td>
<td>Kaniu &amp; Kaparo, Kaluul</td>
<td>Some mula uaka and mala, 1 house lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6831</td>
<td>Oio 8</td>
<td>Kapanokai, Kaluul</td>
<td>1 moku maua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6832</td>
<td>Kele 8</td>
<td>Aha, Kaluul</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6833</td>
<td>Kauli 8</td>
<td>Ahupua'a &amp; Ellihi, Kaluul; Kamoku</td>
<td>2 moku maua, 1 house lot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^1Sweet potato patch.
^2Dryland sweet potato patch.
^3Sugar cane patch.
2.3.6 Palapala Sila Nui, 1855-1867: Royal Patent Grant Lands on Lānaʻi

At the same time the Māhele 'Āina 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 Lānaʻi are listed in table 6.

Table 6: Royal Patent Grants on Lānaʻi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grant No.</th>
<th>Grantee</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Keku</td>
<td>Pawili</td>
<td>34.93</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Kehua</td>
<td>Pawili</td>
<td>18.57</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Nai'makaua</td>
<td>Pawili</td>
<td>31.96</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Makaliioloe</td>
<td>Pawili</td>
<td>18.30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2214</td>
<td>Lonopaswela</td>
<td>Pawili</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2903</td>
<td>Puupai</td>
<td>Pawili and Kealia</td>
<td>52.00</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2971</td>
<td>Kapaha</td>
<td>Aupuni</td>
<td>33.00</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3029</td>
<td>Nahuna and Kelihue</td>
<td>Kalulu</td>
<td>236.68</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3030</td>
<td>Kapekaumoku</td>
<td>Pawili</td>
<td>32.00</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3031</td>
<td>Kaaina</td>
<td>KealiaAupuni</td>
<td>99.07</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3032</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>29.00</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3033</td>
<td>Keaño</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>20.85</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3045</td>
<td>Wm. Beder</td>
<td>Kaunolu</td>
<td>128.00</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.7 Boundary Commission Surveys and Testimonies

Following the Mēhele 'Āina, 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, a.k.a. the Boundary 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 ahuapu‘a that had been awarded to ali‘i, kawohi, and foreigners during the Mēhele. The commission proceedings were conducted under the courts and as formal actions under the law. As the commissioners on the various islands undertook their work, the kingdom hired or contracted surveyors to begin the surveys, and in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries were authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them.25

Primary records in this collection from Lāna‘i were recorded from 1876 to 1881. The records include testimonies of elder ka‘u‘ala‘ina who were either recipients of kuleana in the Mēhele, 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' lifetimes; 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 Lāna‘i have remained in Hawaiian, untranslated, until development of a manuscript for the Lāna‘i Culture & Heritage Center.26 Translations of the Hawaiian-language texts below were prepared by Kapalā Maly. The descriptions and certificates of boundaries for the ahuapu‘a of Lāna‘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 ka‘u‘ala‘ina. The following are excerpts from Alexander's notes:

At Halepalaaoa March 28th, ‘76.
Ho‘o‘a, an old Kamaaina states that the boundary between Kaohai and Pawwai 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.
Kaumalapu‘u & Kalama are both ill of Kanoku. Three lands run across from sea to sea, viz., Palawai, Kalaha, & Kaunoh...
April 3rd. ‘76. Monday.
Keliihau widow of Nahuna, was born on Kalahua, & testifies that the boundary between Kaluhiu and Kamoku comes down from a hill known as Puunene.

down the North bank of the Kapono valley to the Govt. road, passing near Kawaamoahe‘e’s house, keeping straight on across a side ravine coming in from the north, called Kealohi, to the top of the north wall of the Palawai crater at a place called Pulehuola, near Keilahanainu‘i’s house.

Kahului & Kaunolu

The boundary between Kaluhiu & Kaunolu begins at a small hill north of the heiau of Mai‘ele near the shore, & passes a little south of the sheep pen at Pno Uula, at some rocks in the path.
The boundary between Kaunolu & Kea‘ula Kapu, begins at the sea at a Kapu rock south of the great heiau, & follows up the centre of the Kaunolu gulch.

Names of villages on the shore of Kea‘ula Kapu were Kapalaoa, Amakoa, Kualhua nui & Kusuhua ali.27

Kea‘ula Kapu & Kaunolu

... between Kaunolu & Kea‘ula Kapu.
The branches of the deep ravine above mentioned are Waiakeakua nui, Waiakeakua nui & Waiakeakua towards the S.E. The boundary between Kaunolu & Kea‘ula 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 Kaunolu gulch which is formed by a junction of that of a third ravine from the N.E., and at the foot of the terrace where it enters the crater is called the Kauhiee gulch. A large rock is shown just below the Govt. road, where Makalena set his compass. From this rock Pokaku, the line runs straight across the crater to a point a little N. of a white house, belonging to Ohau. Thence to head of the gulch which reaches the sea near the heiau.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 Kaunolu.

Palawai, Lāna‘i

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 pretty 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 Keliihau and not wrongly as Papahua 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.

26ibid., p. 27.