



Figure 2. View west showing the Guinea grass and lantana shrubland characteristic of western portion of the project area in Miki Basin



Figure 3. View northeast across the Pālāwai Basin portion of the project area showing a guinea grass and lantana shrubland

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**ARCHAEOLOGICAL
INVENTORY SURVEY**

APPENDIX

D-1

Archaeological Inventory Survey for the Miki Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development

Lands of Kalulu and Kaunolu, Lāhaina District, Lāna'i Island
TMK: (2) 4-9-002:061*

Nathan J. DiVito Kepā Maly Thomas S. Dye, PhD

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Abstract

At the request of Pulama 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 Kalulu and Kaunolu, Lāhaina 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 50-40-98-1980. Test excavations included a total of 31 backhoe trenches, one of which yielded a fire-pit feature, recorded as Site 50-40-98-1981.

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

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*Prepared for Pulama Lāna'i, 1311 Fraser Avenue, P.O. Box 630310, Lāna'i City, HI 96763.

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1 Introduction

At the request of Pulama Lāna'i, T. S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists has completed an archaeological inventory survey with subsurface testing for the Miki Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development. The Miki Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development is located in the lands of Kalulu and Kaunolu, Lāhaina District, Lāna'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 Miki Road in the area surrounding the existing Maui Electric Company power plant and associated facilities. The fence line of the Lāna'i Airport marks the northern boundary of the parcel. The Miki Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development is located within TMK: (2) 4-9-002:061 and is situated on lands owned by Pulama Lāna'i.

The Miki Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development is located at an elevation of approximately 415 m above mean sea level in an area called Miki Basin, named after a nearly filled pit crater [26:338]. Vegetation in the area consists of *guava*, *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

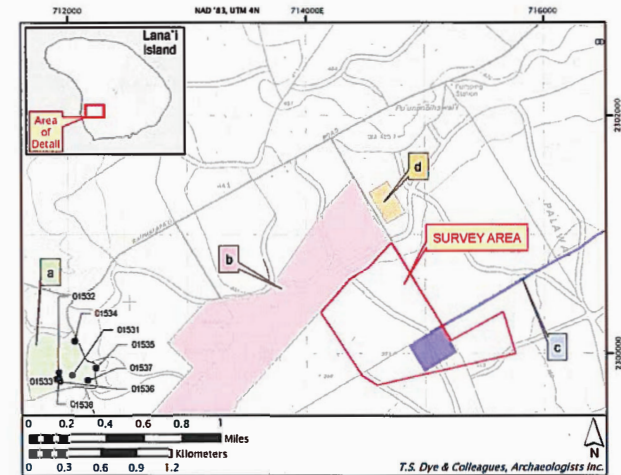


Figure 1: Location of the Miki Basin 200 Acre Industrial Development, nearby archaeological sites, and previous archaeological investigations on a 1992 USGS quadrangle map. Previous archaeological investigations include: *a*, Ahlo [1], Kam [22], Walker and Haun [31]; *b*, Sinoto [28], Borthwick et al. [3], Dagan et al. [5], Lee-Greig and Hammatt [24], Lee-Greig and Hammatt [25]; *c*, DiVito and Dye [6]; *d*, DiVito and Dye [7]. Site numbers are prefaced by 50-40-98- (e.g., 50-40-98-01532).

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

2 Background

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

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

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 Lānaʻi and the beliefs and practices of the ancient residents are commemorated at such places as Kaululāʻau, Kalaehi, Ke-ahi-a-Kawelo, Hālulu, Puʻu-pehe, Pōhaku ō, Kānepuʻu, Kaʻena iki, Nānāhoa, Haʻalelepaʻakai, and Puhi-o-Kaʻala.

Ancient Hawaiian villages, ceremonial features, dryland agricultural fields, fishponds, and a wide range of cultural sites dot the shoreline of Lānaʻi at places like Keone, Kaumālapaʻu, Kaunolū, Māmaki, Kapalaoa, Huawai, Kapihaʻā, Hulopoʻe, Mānele, Kamaiki, Naha, Kahemanō, Lōpā, Kahalepalaoa, Kaheʻa, Keōmoku, Kaʻa, Hauola, Maunalei (including a wet land taro field system in the valley), Kahōkūnui, Kaiolohia, Kahāʻulehale, Kahue, Lapaiki, Awalua, Polihua, and Kaʻena.

In the uplands, localities at Hoʻopulupuluamoa and Malulani, Kōʻele and Kihamāniana, Kalulu uka, Kaunolū uka, Keālia Kapu, Keālia Aupuni, and Pālāwai 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 Lānaʻi 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 Lānaʻi to produce agricultural resources. This was, in part, due to disputes between the rulers of Maui and Hawaiʻi which overflowed onto Lānaʻi 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 Lānaʻi. 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 Lānaʻi Several traditions pertaining to the gods and people of ancient Lānaʻi were found in a review of Hawaiian-language newspapers. These accounts describe the island condition and the life and practices of Lānaʻi's ancient people. The narratives establish the bond between Lānaʻi and neighboring islands of the Hawaiian group and more distant Kahiki—the ancestral homeland of the gods—as Kāne, Kanaloa, Pele, and others of the god-family shaped the natural environment and lives of the people of the land. Coming into the historic period, readers find significant changes on the land and in the lives of the people of Lānaʻi. Selected accounts are related here that transition readers through the history of Lānaʻi and a native landscape to one of change under western settlement.

A Famine on Lānaʻi—an Ancient Prayer Offered by Pakeaulani to the God Kānepaʻina This tradition tells of two ancient residents of Lānaʻi, 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 Lānaʻi,

Kānepaʻina. The word *anela* (Hawaiianized angel) is used by the writer in place of the traditional words *ʻaumakua* or *akua*. Also cited within this account is a *pule* uttered by ancient residents of Lānaʻi.

No na Akua o ka Wa Kahiko ...

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

Kini o ke akua
E ka Jehu o ke akua
E ka pukui akua
E ka lalani akua
E kahuli, e kahele
E ka wahine e moe ana ke alo iluna
Eia ka ai au a Pakeaulani keiki a Kaimumahanahana.

Pau ka pule, hoi keia a imi hou i ai no ke ahiahi, a moa ia ai lawe aku, i lawe aku ka hana, ua pau kela ai, kau keia ai, pule no hoi e like me mamua. I kekahi imu liili ana a ianei, honi mai la kona makuakane i ke ala o ka uala! I mai la kela, "Auhea hoi kau uala e kuu keiki e aala mai nei?" Pane mai la kela, "He ai ia na kuu akua." Pane hou mai kona

About the Gods of Ancient Times

Here is a little tradition pertaining to observances for a certain angel (guardian), angels, or perhaps men. The story is this. There was residing on Lānaʻi, Kaimumahanahana and his son, Pakeaulani, and there were many people living on Lānaʻi at that time. There came a time of famine, and all the people died, leaving only Kaimumahanahana and Pakeaulani, though the father was close to death. Here is what Pakeaulani did. He went and dug up some sweet potato runners and got a few small sweet potatoes (little 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:

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

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

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

Owai no me ka mahalo. John Puniwai.¹

¹ Nupepa Kuakoa, November 8, 1862.

² Trans. K. Maly.

He Mo'olelo no Kaululā'au: A Tradition of Kaululā'au One of the best known traditional accounts of Lāna'i dates from the early fifteenth century and associates the island with the ruling chiefs of Maui. In these narratives, a young chief, Kaululā'au, was born to Kaka'alaneo and Kanikaniā'ula. Kaka'alaneo's elder brother was Kāka'e, and Fornander reported that these royal brothers jointly ruled Maui and Lāna'i [14:II-82, 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, Kānepa'ina, spoke. He said, "Heed me, this night go and close the very littlest of the holes in the house of you two, and stay calm, do not speak with your father." When 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 nights and days until there was calm, then the rains fell lightly. Looking outside to see what had transpired, there was seen ripe Mai'a (bananas), Kō (sugar cane) lying upon the ground, 'uala (sweet potatoes) spread all about, Ape (mountain taro) with long stalks leaning to the side; Kalo (taros) 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 Puniwai.²

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

While there are numerous narratives that describe how Kaululā'au 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 Kalākaua in 1888, but the most detailed version was published in the Hawaiian language in 1863 in association with another tradition from Maui, "Ka Moololo o Eleio" (p. 14).

King Kalākaua's version provides a significant description of Lāna'i and the ability of its people to sustain themselves by working the land and fishing the sea around the island. Through the encouragement of his friend and advisor Walter Murray Gibson,¹ 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 Kalākaua's version follow, entitled "The Sacred Spear-Point" and "Kelea, the Surf Rider of Maui." These excerpts are followed on page 14 by an excerpt of the Hawaiian-language version of Kaululā'au's legend entitled "Ka Moololo o Eleio."

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

Kaululau was one of the sons of Kakaalaneo, brother of, and joint ruler with, Kaka'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 Kaululau was Kanikaniā'ula, of the family of Kamauau, king of Molokai, through his son Haili, who was the brother or half-brother of Keoloewa and Kaupepee ...

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

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

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

¹ Walter Murray Gibson settled on Lāna'i by early 1862, and came to control most of the land on the island through fee-simple and leasehold title. A friend of many chiefs, some of whom had been on Lāna'i with Kamehameha I, Gibson recorded a number of traditions from the island, and is generally attributed with the Lāna'i narratives cited by King Kalākaua.

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, Waolani, and had made substantial advances in the calling when he was banished to the island of Lanai by his royal father for an offence which could neither be overlooked nor forgiven.

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

Disheartened at the declaration, Kaululaau was about to leave the *heiau* to embark for Lanai, when Waolani, after some hesitation, stayed his departure, and, entering the inner temple, soon returned with a small roll of *kapa* in his hand. Slowly uncoiling 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 *Po*, 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 deposit it with my bones. Swear to this in the name of Lono.

Kaululaau solemnly pronounced the required oath. The priest then handed him the talisman, wrapped in the *kapa* from which it had been taken, and he left the temple, and immediately embarked with a number of his attendants for 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 Kaululaau with the evil spirits and monsters of Lanai. His most stubborn conflict was with the gnome god Mooaleo. He imprisoned the demon within the earth by drawing a line around him with the sacred spear-point, and subsequently released and drove him into the sea.

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

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

But Kaululaau showed no haste in availing himself of his father's magnanimity. Far from the restraints of the court, he had become attached to the independent life he had found in exile, and could think of no comforts or enjoyments unattainable on Lanai. The women there were as handsome as elsewhere, the bananas were as sweet, the 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 *apapani* ['apapane] 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, Kaululaau 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 *oo* and *mamo*. 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 *aha alii*. This done, with a proper retinue he set sail for Hawaii. [21:209-213]

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

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

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

King Kalākaua described the introduction of *'ulu* to Lele, now known as Lāhaina, and Kaululā'au's banishment to Lāna'i:

It was Kakaalaneo who introduced the bread-fruit there from Hawai'i . . . For some disrespect shown to his royal brother [Kakae], whose mental weakness doubtless subjected him to unkind remarks, he banished his son Kaululā'au to Lanai, which island, traditions avers, 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 exorcised away from one locality that they appeared in another, and if they gave the *taro* patches a rest it was only to tear the unripe bananas from their stems, or rend the walls and embankments of artificial ponds, that their stores of fishes might escape to the sea. Aware of these grievances, Kaululā'au took with him to Lanai a talisman of rare powers. It was the gift of his friend, the high-priest of his father, and consisted of a spear-point that had been dipped in the waters of *Po*, the land of death, and many generations before left by *Lono* on one of his altars.

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

path of escape in that direction. It soon encountered a lake of fire, and was compelled to return to the surface, where it humbled itself before the prince, and promised, if liberated, to quit the island for ever. Kaululā'au obliterated sixty paces of the line of imprisonment, to enable *Mooaleo* to pass to the sea, into which the hideous being plunged and disappeared, never to be seen again on Lanai. [21:229-230]

Ka Moololo o Eleio (The Tradition of Eleio) The tradition of Eleio is set in the time of Kaka'alaneo's rule over Maui, Lāna'i, Moloka'i, and Kaho'olawe (ca. 1400), and was published by W. N. Pualewa, in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Kuokoa* in 1863. The account tells us that Eleio was a famous *kūkini* 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 Kelekeleioka'ula, Kaka'alaneo's wife, was expecting, the king granted Eleio the privilege of naming the child. Eleio stated his desire, that if it was a boy, he should be named Kaululā'au (The-forest-grove). When the child was born, it was indeed a boy, and he was named Kaululā'au. As the child grew, his mysterious manner and mischievous nature created many problems for his parents and the people of Maui. Eventually, the youth was banished from Maui and sent to Lāna'i to fend for himself. At that time in history, Lāna'i was reportedly inhabited by hordes of *akua* under the rule of Pahulu. While on Lāna'i, Kaululā'au was accompanied by his own personal god, Lono. Together, the two traveled about Lāna'i, tricking the ghosts, killing them, and setting the lands free from their dominion.²

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

Ka Moololo o Eleio

A mamuli o keia olele ana a Pahulu; alaila, ua nee io aku no lakou a noho ma Honopu, aia ia wahi ma kahi e ane kokoke aku ana i ka pali o Kaholo, aka, o Kaumalapau nae kahi e pili pu ana me Kaholo.

A hūki lakou nei ma Honopu, a noho malaila i kekahi mau po, aole nae he akua oia wahi, no ka mea, ua kaapuni hele o

The Tradition of Eleio

Pahulu then flew on ahead, and they went on to stay at Honopū. This place is situated not too far away from the cliffs of Kaholo, though Kaumālapa'u is there, adjoining Kaholo.

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

²*Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 24 & 31, 1863.

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

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

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

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

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

of the land, and into the uplands, but he could find no akua in the district. Therefore, they had no reason to stay there for long.

Then they traveled once again, and stayed at Kaunolu. They remained at this place for quite a long time, because Pahulu knew that this was a place where the akua gathered.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 24 & 31, 1863.

² Trans. K. Maly.

Kealaikahiki: "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 Kealaikahiki, "canoe man's path to Kahiki," reportedly starts at Kaunolu on Lāna'i.³ The residency of the god-navigator Kāne'āpua is commemorated in a place name to this day, as is the place called Miki (Puumiki), 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 Wahanui me Kaneapua ma Lanai

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

³cf. "He Moolelo no Makalei" in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, January 31 through August 21, 1928.

Thus the remaining akua of Kaunolu were destroyed, and there was also killed a god with a protruding belly. The name of this god was Kuahulua. When this god was killed by Kaululā'au, they then continued their journey and stayed at Mānele.

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

Kaululā'au folks went from Mānele, ascending up to Kanauau [Kāneua'u] (also written Kaniua'u), and from there up the mountain of Ka'ōhai. From there they went to Kaha'alelepa'akai, and that peak they went to 'Ōhi'alalo. And from there they went to the mountain summit of Lāna'i'hale, at the place where Kaululā'au glued closed the eyes of the ghosts with the glue.²

A Tradition of Wahanui and Kāne'āpua on Lāna'i

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

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

"O Wahanui ke alii, o wai ke kahuna?" "O Moopuaiki." "O Moopuaiki ke kahuna, o wai ke kilo?" "O Kilohi." "He waa e holo ana i hea?" "He waa e holo ana i Kahikiki, i Kahikimoe, i Kahiki kapakapakaua a Kane, he waa e holo ana e keekeehee i ka houpo o Kane." "O kou houpo la hoi o ko ke kanaka, ka houpo la hoi o ke akua keehia iho, a pau ola, a koe make. Pehea la hoi owau kekahi maluna o ka waa?"

Olelo mai o Kilohi ke kilo. "Ua piha loa ka waa, aole oe e hiki." I ka holo ana ma kekahi ma-ka-lae mai, loa i ka ino, me ka makani, a me ka puahlohio, o ka huli waa, hoolana aku la, a komo i ka lulu o Kaunolu, a pae i Kaumalapau.

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

Ua hana mau o Wahanui ma a no ka make pinepine, ua hoouli ia maluna o ka waa, ma Kealaikahiki ma Kahoolawe ka holo ana i Kahiki. Ua olelo ia ma ka moololo o Wahanui i holo ai i Kahiki, mai pillika o Wahanui ma i ka moana a ua nalowale na aina,

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

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

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

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

Wahanui folks continued trying [to sail], and frequently came close to dying, as storms came upon the canoe at Kealaikahiki, Kaho'olawe, where one sails to Kahiki. It is said in the tradition of Wahanui's sailing to Kahiki, that there was much trouble

o Kaneapua ka hookele i loa ai na aina o Kahiki, oia ka hookele akamai loa, ua pau na hoku o ka lani a me ka lewa. . .¹

¹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 5, 1867, p. 1.

² Trans. K. Maly.

Chiefly Lineages of Lāna'i

It was after the events in which Kaululā'au participated that we see references to chiefly lineages associated with Lāna'i, and the island fell under the dominion of Maui rulers. The role and fate of Maui's chiefs in warfare with the chiefs of other islands also spilled over to Lāna'i in the centuries following Kaululā'au, and lasted through the time of Kamehameha I. In fact, a review of 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 Kaululā'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 Moololo o Hawaii—Helu 108

He aupuni kahiko loa ke aupuni Hawaii ma keia pae aina, aka, he aupuni hili a mokua-hana nae o ka noho ana, a ua lehulehu wale na 'Iii Moi ma keia mau pae aina, aole i lilo ka pae aina o Hawaii i ka Moi hookahi, i kekahi elua Moi o Maui, a he alii okoa ko Lanai, a pela ko Molokai, ko Oahu, a me ko Kauai. A ma ko Kamehameha ikaika i ke kaula a na 'Iii i kokua pu iaia ma ke kaula ana, ua huipua ma ke aupuni hookahi ke aupuni Hawaii. Mai ia manawa mai a loa wale mai ia kakou i ka poe o keia wa ke kapaia o keia mau pae moku ke Aupuni Hawaii.¹

¹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 18, 1869.

² Trans. K. Maly.

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

that came upon them in the sea. When Kāne'āpua became the steersman, they reached the lands of Kahiki. He was foremost of the navigators, and knew all of the stars of the sky and heavens. . .²

The History of Hawaii

The Hawaiian kingdom is an ancient kingdom in these islands, though it was a little kingdom and divided. There were many chiefs and Kings on these islands, the Hawaiian islands were not subject to one Sovereign. Once there were two Kings for Maui, with a different chief for Lanai, and the same for Molokai, Oahu and Kauai. As a result of Kamehameha's strength in battle, and with the chiefs that helped him in battle, the kingdom was unified as one Hawaiian nation. From that time until our present time, we are people of these islands, a Hawaiian Nation.²

fortified during the reigns of Kiha-a-Pi'ilani and his son Kamalālāwalu [15:94, 207]. The research of Kamakau and Fornander make several passing references to the fact that in ca. 1500, Kiha-a-Pi'ilani⁴ was for a time forced to hide on Lāna'i, until the path was open for his taking the throne from a cruel elder brother, Lono-a-Pi'ilani. Kiha-a-Pi'ilani's reign was one of progress and peace, though nothing more is mentioned of Lāna'i [23:22,15:87, 206].

Following Kiha-a-Pi'ilani's death, Kamalālāwalu became the king of Maui, attempted to invade the island of Hawai'i, and was killed. His son Kauhi-a-Kama took the throne, and was subsequently succeeded by his son, Kauhi. It is during the later years of Kamalālāwalu'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 Kūali'i who was said to have unified the Hawaiian islands several generations before Kamehameha I. Kūali'i was imbued with godlike characteristics, and reportedly lived between ca. AD 1555 and 1730. He was a sacred chief, feared by all, and famed for his strength. In ca. 1600, Hāloalena was the king of Lāna'i, though he ruled under the authority of Kamalālāwalu and Kauhi-a-kama. Fornander [13] reported that

Hāloalena, the chief of Lanai was considered a very good ruler. His great favorite pastime was the collection of the skeletons of birds. When the chief's bird tax was about due it was the usual custom of the agents to go out and proclaim the chief's wishes. [13:IV-422]

Hāloalena had the skeletons of the birds cleaned, prepared, and posed for safe keeping in one of several large storehouses on Lāna'i as his personal treasures. Kauhi, a mischievous son of Kauhi-a-Kama, destroyed all the skeletons and

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

Kūali'i 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 Ka'a 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 Moolelo o Kamehameha I—Helu 5 The History of Kamehameha—No. 5

I ka makahiki 1769, oia ka lawe ana o Kalan- In the year 1769, that is when Kalani'ōpu'u

⁴Kiha, son of Pi'ilani, who lived in about the fifth generation after Kaululā'au.

iopuu ia Hana a me ka puali hikina o Maui. I ka hoi ana o Kalaniopuu i Hawaii, a mahope iho o ia manawa, hele mai la o Kamehameha Nui ka Moi o Maui, a kaula ia Puna ke alii Ki-aaina Kalaniopuu i hoono ho ai no ka puali hikina o Maui. He kaula kaulana keia no na aoao elua. Ma ka aoao o Kamehameha Nui, ka Moi o Maui, ua hui pu mai na'lii o Molokai, oia hoi o Kaohele, Kaolohaka a Keawe, o Awili, o Kumukoa, o Kapooloku; o na 'lii o Lanai, oia hoi o Namakeha, o Kalimanuia, o Kelliaa a me na 'lii o Maui.¹

¹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 1, 1866.

² *Trans. K. Maly*.

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

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

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

Keopūolani was greatly beloved by her people . . . Her native 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 Mowee [Maui], in the year 1773; that her father's family had governed the island of Owwhyhee [Hawaii] for many generations; and that her mother's family belonged to the islands of Mowee, Woahoo [Oahu], Ranai [Lanai] and Morokai [Molokai]. Her grandfather was the king of Owwhyhee when it was visited by Capt. Cook, in 1777 [1778].⁵

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

⁵"Keopūolani, Queen of the Sandwich Islands Died on September 16th, 1823, while in residence at Lahaina," *Missionary Herald*, July 1825:234-235.

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 Keli'ihananui, an ancestor of several families of Lāna'i in the present day. The Hawaiian newspaper *Kuokoa* published part of a series of articles describing another visit to Lāna'i, and a trip to Kaunolū made in November 1868. Importantly, we learn the names of several of the *akua lawai'a* (fishermen's gods) of Kaunolū. Altogether, seven god 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 Nāhi'ena'ena (the sacred daughter of Kamehameha I), situated on the flats below the *heiau*, and the former trail leading to the altar of Kāne'āpua. Readers are also told of some of the practices associated with worship of the *akua lawai'a*, and the nature of the spring of Pā'ao, situated on the Kaunolū Valley floor.

Naue ana e ike i ka Mokupuni o Kaululāau.

Kaunolu.

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

Na Akua Lawaia.

Kunhi, Hilina'i, penei kona wahi moololo. Ina he lawaia nui au, he lawaia kamaaina nae, a he lawaia malihini kekahi, a hoi mua mai ka lawaia, alaila oiala i ka la, ha_1 ko_kua me ka'u kaohi iloko ke alo i waho ke k.; a o ka lawaia malihini me kana _ i waho ke alo e hilina'i like ai, a oia no kona mea i kapaa ai o Hilina'i.

Traveling About to See the Island of Kaululāau.

Kaunolu.

Kaunolū is an ahupua'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 will return to go fishing here in the months of March and April, the months of line fishing for water. The things planted (for the King) are water melons, cantaloupes, corn, sweet potatoes, and such. He (Maka'ena) is also building a house for the King.

The Fishermen's Gods.

Kunhi 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 kolu o na akua. _ _ _ _ _ i ka'u wahine a uktuki au, alaila, noho iho la au a hoi mai oe mai ka lawaia mai, alaila, pee ae la au me ke hiki o ka heiau me ko ike ole mai ia'u. Aia iloko o laila o kanemakua ka 4 o na akua. A nanea mai la kela i ka hele, he peku iki wale aku no ka'u a pa iki ia Lahe, oia hele no o ka lohe a na pepeiao o ka ia, o ka pau aku la no ia i ka holo, alaila, ao'e e loa'a hou kana ia ke holo hou, a hana hou ia e ke kahuna.

O Namakaokaia ka 5 o na akua. Ia akua e mohai mua ai ke kahuna, i mea e oluolu mai ai ua mau aumakua la, alaila, loa'a ka ia a Kalani ke'Lii. A lele wale ka pule ana a ke kahuna me ka n_kaka ole o ka puua, alaila ua malkai, holo ke_ _ i ka hiaku, wili aku la hoi ke kahuna i ke kapa eleuli, a lohe ua kahuna la e awa mai ana na kanaka a penei: "A mau ke aku a Kalani e! alaila, ho-a iki ae ke kahuna, a ma@ hou ke aku a Kalani e,! puoho loa kela, pau ka pillkia, aka hoi, ina ao'e loa'a ke aku a ke'Lii, alaila, make ke kahuna, a i ole hoo_ _ ia ae la ka waha o kekahi kanaka i ka makau a kau i ka lele i panihakahaka no ke kahuna."

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

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 Kānemakua, 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 (thinking 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.

Nāmakaokaia 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 'aumākua. Thus, the King and chiefs shall catch fish. When the priest releases the prayer, and if the pigs were not moving about, then it is good. The King can go aku 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 cliff, and reached the top of Kaihālulu, it is the heiau where men were placed on the altar like a bunch of bananas. He then took us a little below there on the flats, to the house of Nāhi'ena'ena. Kolokolo is there on the sea-side cliff, as is the diving spot of Kahekili, 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 his neck.

Kuhikihī mai la kela i kahī e pu ai iluna o Kaneapua, ke ono ia o na akua lawaia, ke ku la ka makou ahu nui maluna iho o kona akua. He pūni o lalo i ke kai i ka wa hohonu. Aole hiki o kamaaina ke pu, no ka mea, ua hanea ke alanui; i keia mau kupueu onioni wale ia ae no. Hoi mai auau kai a hoi mai e hoopau i ka hea-kai o ka ili.

O Paao ka inoa oia luawai kakahe mai la o Mr. Pali mamua, a iho iho i lalo o ka luawai; e kahea mai ana na wahi kamaaina ia me ka leo puiwa penei: "Ei mai iho oe i lalo me kou kai." Eia ka he punawai eepa keia. Na ua o Mr. Makaena i hoauau mua ia Pali-opio, a na Pali-opio hoi i hoauau mai ia makou. Ina no na maloo ka mea kai o ka ili, a iho ae i lalo e _____ ai, he awaawa loa ka wai e like me ke kai maoli. Aia ka huihui a hana hou ia e ka poe akamai e kalokalo aku ai i na aumakua, alaila ono ke inu ae.

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

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

Pā'ao is the name of the waterhole there. Mr. Pali was the first to go into the 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 kalokalo prayer to the 'aumākua, 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 Makuawahine, the seventh of the gods. She is the sister of Kāne'āpua, who came from Kaua'i, in search of her elder brother; she then had her period and there was built a menstrual house for her there. She wore the puakala (Argemone alba) as her skirt. That is the reason why the puakala of this place is not thorned, and why it may be worn as a neck lei. Upon seeing it, it is like any stone that we may see, and that is the nature of those stones. The biggest one is Kāne'āpua, 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 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 underscore (.) denotes illegible text.
- 2 *Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 16, 1869, p. 4.
- 3 Trans. K. Maly.

Accounts of Kamehameha I at Kaunolū, 1873

Walter Murray Gibson, who accompanied and hosted Kamehameha V while on his visit to Lāna'i in 1868, penned several accounts of Lāna'i, documenting facts of history as conveyed to him by the late King, other chiefs, and native residents of the island. On March 21, 1873, as a part of the tradition of Puhi o Ka'ala, the newspaper, "Nu Hou," published by Gibson, included descriptions of 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 Lanai, and at his request . . . 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 vouched for in conversations with the author, by the late Governor Kekuanāoa, who was with the Conqueror in one of his expeditions to Lanai. Another historical authority was Piianaia, whose memory was rich with the legends of his native isles . . .

Lanai is an island of many legends, stories and songs . . . Here dwelt Kane, who crossed the seas from western isles . . . His kindred, Kanekoa, Kaneloa; and those fish gods, the Neptunes of the Pacific, had their chosen seat among the bold bluffs upon the ocean beaten coast of Ululāau, the ancient name of Lanai. It was a sacred isle, and its central land, named Kealia Kapu, or Tabooed Kealia, was a Pahoua or place of refuge. Upon its soil and that of the bordering land of Kaunolū 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 anxious 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 Lanai 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 Kuaha, or Floor of Offering. Outside of this, and separated by a narrow alley way, there runs a broad high

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

Kāne'āpua

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

Village about Kaunolū Described

Inland from the temple there are many remains of the haies, or huts of the people of the past. The stone foundations of their cabins, the enclosures for swine, the round earth ovens, and other traces of a throng of people, cover many acres of beach and hill-side. This was a kulanakauhale, or town, famed as an abode of gods and a refuge for those who fled for their lives; but it drew its people 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 koas or fighting men, with his chiefs, and priests, and women, and their trains. He had a hale here. Upon the craggy bluff that forms the eastern bank of the bay there is a lonely pa, or wall, and stones of an ancient halepakui, or fort, overlooking the temple, town and bay. The kanaka of this day speaks of it with subdued voice, and he steps carefully around this ground as he points out to you the Lanai home of the conqueror of the eight lands and seas, Kamehameha the Great.

The stout Son of Umi came to Kealia for sport rather than for worship. Who so loved to throw the maika 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 puhi, the great jawed eel or

snake of these seas, the terror of fish and men, and hence his dread name of Puhikapa, the Devourer of the Seas.

When this warrior king came to Kaunolu, the islanders thronged to the shore to pay homage to the great chief, and to lay at the feet of their sovereign, as was their wont, and as they do at this day on the visit of his illustrious grandson [Kamehameha V], the products of the isle; the taro, the yam, the pala, the cocoanut, ohelo, banana and sweet potato. They piled up a mound of food before the door the king's pakui, along with a clamorous multitude of fat poi-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 nauu [nā'ū], which is Lanai's own lovely jasmine—a rare gardenia, whose sweet aroma ladens the breeze, and leads you to the bush seeking it afar off. These garlands were fastened to the planted pili thatch of the king's pakui; they were placed on the necks of the young warriors, who stood around the Chief; and around his royal brows they twined an odorous crown of maile.⁶

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

Lanai.

About five miles along the coast westward of Manele we come to the Heiau of Halulu, to the site of a residence of Kamehameha the Great, and of a once populous fishing village, in a ravine that lies between the lands of Kaunolu and Kealia Kapu. This latter land was a place of refuge ... The walls of the Heiau, the altar floor, or kuahu, and other portions of the rude structure are in a good state of preservation. The Heiau, the stone lines of the old Kamehameha residence, and of numerous ancient halepilis 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 Kaunolu, where there are five 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 Pohakualii 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 Papalua, who was our guide told us, that the

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

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

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 Lāna'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 plantation camp.

"He Moololo no Makalei" (A Tradition of Mākālei): Kealaikahiki at Kaunolū and noted Places of Lāna'i Named for Former Residents

The story of Mākālei—beginning in the Kekaha region of North Kona, Hawai'i—includes rich narratives describing ancient fishing customs, gods, prayers, and traditions of places. The tradition provides information on various locations around the islands of Hawai'i, Lāna'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 to the native language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* by noted Hawaiian historian J. W. H. I. Kihe in 1928. The following narratives, translated by Maly, are excerpted from the larger account, and focus on selected accounts of fishing, people, and history from Lāna'i, with reference to Kealaikahiki and other noted places on the island.

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

While fishing off of the ko'a of 'Āwini, Kohala, Mākālei hooked a great fish. The fish rose to the water's surface and rested calmly, for it had pulled out three ka'au lengths of line. Mākālei then saw the great kiwi (sword) of the fish and knew that this fish was an A'u-lele-o-ka-moana (Leaping swordfish of the deep sea). Now while Mākālei had been pulling at his line, the fish had taken him to the open ocean. Hawai'i had fallen behind him, and he was now near, on the side of the channel between Moloka'i and Lāna'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-Kā'elo, O Hina in the season of Kā'elo,
Pa'a 'ia a pa'a ka i'a a kāua! Secure and bind this fish of ours!

By now, the sun was setting, and Mākālei was traveling outside of the point of Keka'a at Kā'anapali, 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 Kā'elo, secure and bind this fish of ours!"

During that night, Mākālei and this supernatural fish of 'Āwini encircled Lāna'i two times. In the early light of day, the fish began to tire, and Mākālei then pulled the fish close to the canoe. The size of this fish was truly unbelievable. It was almost seven anana (fathoms) long.

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

Mākālei secured the great fish A'u-leleokamoana on his line and then landed at Ka'ōhai along the shores of Ka-ulu-lā'au (Lāna'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 Lāna'i, he was greatly esteemed by the kama'āina, and he asked them if there was a ko'a (fishing station shrine) at this place. The natives told him, "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 kama'āina then asked, "Which land is that?" Mākālei answered—

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

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

One of the people told Mākālei, "Let us go to that canoe which is resting on the shore, it belongs to my elder brother, Ke'ōmuku who is the head fisherman of this place at Kaunolū." They then went down to speak with Ke'ōmuku, asking that he give them an 'ohe hi aku (aku line boom), which he did. Ke'ōmuku then asked, "Who is your fisherman?" And the people told him it was the young stranger. Ke'ōmuku 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

⁷Walter Murray Gibson in *Nu Hou*, September 12, 1873, p. 3.

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

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

When Mākālei 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. Mākālei then called to Pali, Malama, Pālāwai, and Hopu, "Paddle for the Mākālei, fisherman of the long day." Mākālei then called to his ancestress—

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

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

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

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

Ke aku i ka hale o ke ko'a
o Kaunolū i ke ala i Kahiki
I ke hālukuluku i ka māpuna
I ka piko o Wākea
Ka i'a alaka'i noho i ke ko'a
I ka hale o ka i'a

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

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

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

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

The fame of Mākālei's deeds went around the island of Lāna'i-a-Kaululā'au, from the 'okina (land divisions) of Ka'ā, Kaunolū, and Ka'ōhai on the island of Lāna'i. Because of these deeds of our alert one [Mākālei], a beautiful young girl of Lāna'i went to Mākālei 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 Lāna'i-hale, and Pālāwai, who was one of Mākālei'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!"⁹

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

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

⁸May 29, 1928.

⁹Pahulu (Nightmare) was the king of the *akua* who inhabited Lāna'i, and who were killed by the chief Kaululā'au. Pahulu was the last *akua* killed and his spirit infested a *weke* (goatfish) that is now called *weke pahulu*. Natives of Lāna'i throw the bones and head of *weke pahulu* into the cooking fire and utter this saying to ward off nightmares.

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then took his line and tied one of the aku to his lure, he then threw the baited lure behind the canoe and as it fell, the a'u took the aku. The a'u ran along the water's surface thrusting it's sword all about. The canoe fleet scattered as those people on the canoes were fearful that they would be pierced by the a'u.

Mākālei held tight to the line, and A'u'elele traveled out to the dark blue-green sea, to where the islands were seen to sit low upon the water, and Wai'ale'ale barely rose above the horizon. As the sun began to descend, Mākālei called to his ancestress—

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

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

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

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

In the 1770s, around the time of western Contact with Hawaiians, Kalani'ōpu'u, sovereign of Hawai'i Island, attempted to take the Maui group of islands by force. Repelled from 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 Ni'ihau to Hawai'i 150,000 Hawaiians died.¹¹ On Lāna'i the decline didn't end. One estimate of the native population on Lāna'i in ca. 1793 is 6,000 [4].¹² By 1823, Mission Station Journals 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 *ahupua'a* of Pālāwai, and regular travel between the upland settlement and the Mānele landing. The experiment was in decline by 1858, and though there was a revival between late 1861 and 1864, the Pālāwai experiment was terminated, and the native population continued its historic decline. The second period of growth, between 1899 and 1901, occurred when the Maunalei Sugar

¹⁰ June 5, 1928. Trans. K. Maly.

¹¹ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 6, 1864.

¹² Archaeological fieldwork conducted over the last decade supports this estimate, which is higher than that given by Kenneth Emory in 1924.

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

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 *'ilahi* as a trade item, and the hunger for firewood to be used in processing whale blubber, led to the clearing of vast tracts of land. Just as the Hawaiians had no immunities or natural protection from introduced diseases, the native plants, animals, and ecosystems were also unprepared for the impacts of human clearing of the landscape and foraging animals that browsed and trampled everything 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 Pālāwai and Kama'o between ca. 1820 and the early 1900s. Unfortunately, it does not appear that any descriptions of the significant *heiau* at Kaupakuea near the Pālāwai-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 north-west of Tahaurawe, and west of Lahaina, in Maui, from which it is separated by a channel, not more than nine or ten miles across. Though the centre of the island is much more elevated than Tahaurawe, it is neither so 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 glens, notwithstanding, 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 medusae 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 Morokai, which is separated from the northern side of Ranai, and the eastern end of Maui, by a channel, which, though narrow, is sufficiently wide for the purposes of navigation. [9:6-7]

A Protestant mission station was established in Lāhaina in 1823, and was responsible for West Maui, Lānaʻi, Molokaʻi, and Kahoʻolawe. Mission station leaders were tasked with overseeing the spiritual, educational, and health needs of island residents. In addition to the Protestant missionaries, Lānaʻi 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 Lānaʻi’s Hawaiian population, with Hawaiians from other islands moving to Lānaʻi, 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 Lānaʻi population statistics, land use, health, and development of churches and schools—provide important records from Lānaʻi.

The islands of Ranai and Morokai have, till within a few weeks, been entirely without teachers. To the former [Lānaʻi], 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 our 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 Morokai. 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 Lānaʻi in July 1828 The earliest eyewitness description of travel on Lānaʻi was penned in 1828, when William Richards, in the company of Kamehameha I’s sacred daughter, Princess Nahīʻenaʻena, 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

¹³August 9, 1825, Letter of William Richards Describes Progress of Instruction—Four Schools Established on Lanai, *Missionary Herald*, June 1826:174–175.

¹⁴Kepā and Onaona Maly researched the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) collection at Harvard in 2004, and subsequently digitized it for return to Hawaiʻi. This journal, along with thousands of other records of importance to Hawaiian history, have been lost to Hawaiʻi for 177

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

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

There is but one permanent brook on the island, and that is so small that it is all lost in a few small talo¹⁶ ponds, and their fare does not reach the shore except in the wet seasons of the year. There is not a well of good water on the island, except such as are prepared after the manner of the Hebrews. These wells, though few on Lanai, are common at many parts of the Sandwich Islands. They are either natural or artificial pits, sometimes only a few feet in diameter, and at other times many yards. They are so prepared as that when it rains the water for a distance may flow into them. There are steps to go down into them, but they are not often very deep. In places where they are exposed¹⁷ to direct light & from the wind, they are uniformly covered and even where they are not thus exposed they are often covered, to prevent the water from drying up as soon as it would otherwise. Some of these wells are never exhausted even though they are not replenished for eight or nine months. Others which are small, depend entirely on the almost nightly rains which fall on most of the high mountains of the Sandwich Islands, though in many places these rains are little more than heavy dews.

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

years and are seen here in print for the first time.

¹⁵The map referred to by Richards was not found in files with this letter and cannot now be identified.

¹⁶Here Richards is referring to *kalo*, or taro.

¹⁷Page 1 - Reel 797:762.

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 inland 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 cocoonut trees and two or three¹⁸ 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 Kapeleamoku, an elderly man, who is a member of our church, and a man of established reputation...

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

July 24, 1828 - Thursday.

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 - Reel 797:763.

¹⁹Page 3 - Reel 797:764.

²⁰At this point Richards inserts lengthy narratives from his personal journal of 1828, and his visit to Lānaʻi with Chiefess Nahīʻenaʻena and the near loss of Kapeleamoku while travelling from Lāhaina to Lānaʻi.

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

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

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

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

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

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 [Maui]; 1,000 to Molokai; and 700 to Ranai. 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 Ranai 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 *Māhele 'Āina* of 1848 set the foundation for fee-simple property rights in the Hawaiian Islands. As a part of major ethnographic work conducted by Kepā and Onaona Maly for the development of the Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center, a full history of land tenure on Lāna'i in the period between 1848 and 1960 has been conducted and made available to the public.²³

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

2.3.1 Māhele 'Āina Statistics on Lāna'i

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

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

²²*Missionary Herald*, July 1829:208-211.

²³Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center, <http://www.lanaichc.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 Lāna'i.

2.3.2 Place Names Referenced in Claims by Applicants

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

Table 2: Place names recorded during the *Māhele*

| Names of Places and 'Ili | Ahupua'a | Names of Places and 'Ili | Ahupua'a |
|--------------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|
| Ahua | Kaunolu | Ahupau | Kalulu |
| Haupu | Kaunolu | Ailau | Kalulu |
| Kaapela | Kaunolu | Elilali | Kalulu |
| Kuapohaku | Kaunolu | Jomo | Kalulu |
| Lelehaka | Kaunolu | Kahawainui | Kalulu |
| Makapepea | Kaunolu | Kamoku | Kalulu |
| Miki | Kaunolu | Kanatu | Kalulu |
| Miloonohi | Kaunolu | Kapano kai | Kalulu |
| Moanauli (Moenauli) | Kaunolu | Kapano uka | Kalulu |
| Namakaokahal | Kaunolu | Kapano | Kalulu |
| Neua (Newa) | Kaunolu | Kcawalki | Kalulu |
| Nihokele (Nihokela) | Kaunolu | Kiholena | Kalulu |
| Pakihī | Kaunolu | Kukuihapuu | Kalulu |
| Paoole | Kaunolu | Pueo | Kalulu |
| Punanana | Kaunolu | | |

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

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

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

2.3.4 Buke Māhele (Land Division Book), 1848

In preparation for the final division of lands between the king, *konohiki*, and government, a *Buke Māhele* 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

| Konohiki | Land | Fish | Wood |
|-----------------|-----------------|------|--------|
| Mataio Kekuaaoa | Kaa | Uhu | Koko |
| Mataio Kekuaaoa | Kaohai | Hee | Naiō |
| Nahaolelua | Maunalei | Hee | Kukui |
| Kanaina | Mahana | Hee | Ahakea |
| Kanaina | Paomai | Hee | Aiea |
| Haalelea | Palawai | Anae | Ahakea |
| Kaēo | Kealia [Kapu] | Uhu | — |
| Kaahou | Kamao | Hee | Koko |
| Ii | Kalulu | Hee | Ahakea |
| Pali | Kamoku | Uhu | Koko |
| Pali | Kealia [Aupuni] | Uhu | Koko |

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

*Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Lands.

the Crown and Government land inventory now known as the Ceded Lands. There are 13 *ahupua'a* on Lāna'i. Disposition of 10 *ahupua'a* was recorded in the *Buke 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 claimants on Lāna'i and describes the land to which they stake claim. Reproductions of the original document are included as figures 3 and 4.

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

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

| Helu | Name | Helu | Name | Helu | Name |
|-------|-----------------|-------|----------------|-------|----------|
| 10024 | Lono | 10042 | Nakalo | 10025 | Kaneakua |
| 10043 | Paele | 10026 | Papalua | 10044 | Kapahoa |
| 10027 | Nalumu | 10045 | Haalu | 10028 | Oawa |
| 10046 | Nalei | 10029 | Apolo (See O) | 10047 | Pauahi |
| 10030 | Napuulu | 10048 | Haole | 10031 | Palaaū |
| 10049 | Moo | 10032 | Pakele (See O) | 10050 | Wailaia |
| 10033 | Kaia | 10051 | Kalamau | 10034 | Nakuala |
| 10052 | Kuakaa | 10035 | Naehulua | 10053 | Kapuhi |
| 10036 | Paaōo | 10054 | Elikai | 10037 | Pamloa |
| 10055 | Kunea | 10038 | Kaiōle | 10056 | Keaka |
| 10039 | Puupai | 10057 | Ohoe | 10040 | Pohano |
| 10058 | Kaunele (See O) | 10041 | Kanekeleia | | |

That is the end.²⁴

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

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

Table 4: Disposition of *ahupua'a*

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