

# “Hanohano Lāna‘i” – “Lāna‘i is Distinguished” An Ethnography of Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a And the Island of Lāna‘i



**Kumu Pono Associates LLC**

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Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies ·  
Researching and Preparing Studies from Hawaiian Language Documents ·  
Māhele ‘Āina, Boundary Commission, & Land History Records ·  
Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning ·  
Preservation & Interpretive Program Development



# “Hanohano Lāna‘i” – “Lāna‘i is Distinguished” An Ethnography of Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a And the Island of Lāna‘i

(A Traditional Cultural Properties Study of Ka‘ā  
Ahupua‘a, Island of Lāna‘i – TMK: 4-9-02:1)

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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**“Ke noho nei makou me ka hoomanawanui i ka wi no ko makou, no ko makou aloha i ka wahi i maa ia makou, a mai ko makou mau kupuna mai, a mau makua, a hiki wale ia makou...”**

We live here in patience though we are yet in famine, it is out of our love for the place with which we are familiar, coming from our ancestors, to our parents, and to ourselves... [Excerpt from a letter of native Lāna‘i residents of Paoma‘i to their King. Mei 16, 1873]

There is a wide range of history from the island of Lāna‘i, some of which is general, but nonetheless important as it sets a foundation for delving deeper into the cultural context and life-ways shared between the ‘āina (land/environment) and people of Lāna‘i. The Ka‘ā study that follows additionally focuses on narratives that describe life in the ahupua‘a (traditional land division) of Ka‘ā and adjoining lands, as recounted over the generations.

A number of the narratives contained herein have never before been translated from Hawaiian to English, and shed valuable new light on an old way of life on Lāna‘i. Documentation of the lives lived, blood spilled, joys, beliefs, development of sustainable resource management, changes in the land, and unfortunate events over the centuries of residency on Lāna‘i are brought to life in such narratives. We also find in this compilation of historical accounts, tools for assuming “stewardship” roles in care for the land and its varied resources. As expressed by Kupuna Kuuleialoha Kaopuiki Kanipae, we should – “Mālama pono i ka ‘āina” (Care righteously for the land/environment).

Many of the native authors wrote passionately about the land and experience of the people living on it. In our own lifetime, the mo‘olelo (traditions) told us by Lāna‘i’s elders were spoken with deep love and appreciation for what had been; and at times with lament for what has come about or been lost. The spirit of the land and its breath—the many named winds which blow across the land—is held dearly to the heart of individuals who share familial ties with Lāna‘i. In preparing this study we could do nothing but strive to connect the surviving fragments of history and tell the stories of the islands’ people with a similar passion and aloha ‘āina (a spiritual and multifaceted love for the land – that which connects a people to their environment).

So this study presents, to the best of our ability, the living story of the land, its people, their gods and beliefs and values. As another Hawaiian saying tells us — **“Aia ke ola i ka hana”** (Life is in the work that is done). We believe that it is for each of us to take what we can from the traditions and history of Ka‘ā and Lāna‘i,

and do our best to ensure that the cultural legacy which we have inherited will be passed on, in recognizable forms, to the generations that follow.

Some readers may review this study with a critical eye, and consider it flawed, because it draws on hundreds of traditions and historical accounts, which document almost 1,000 years of Hawaiian residency on Lānaʻi. Others may consider it out of form with some culturally detached, “academic standard” of reporting research findings. While we understand those thoughts, we have elected to accept the wisdom of the traditional Hawaiian saying, passed down over many generations—

**“‘A‘ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okāhi!”**  
(Not all knowledge is found in one school!)

### **Study Development and Organization**

Castle & Cooke Resorts, LLC is the modern day owner of the ahupua‘a of Ka‘ā and neighboring lands on the island of Lānaʻi. Following meetings with various organizations, agencies, elected officials and individuals, it was felt that an ethnographic/traditional cultural properties study, including a preliminary archaeological field study would set a foundation for entering into informed decisions about land use in the region. This study, a program of the Lānaʻi Culture & Heritage Center, was funded in large part through a grant of the Trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, with supporting funding from the Agape Foundation, Cultural Surveys Hawaiʻi, Inc., Kumu Pono Associates LLC, and a broad cross-section of Lānaʻi’s community members. Following negotiations, Castle & Cooke Resorts, LLC authorized a Right of Entry Agreement, dated September 24<sup>th</sup>, 2010 for the undertaking of the archaeological field work as a part of the overall grant program.

The study is organized by distinct sections—

- Part I: Mo‘olelo ‘Āina o Lānaʻi (An Overview of Lānaʻi’s History);
- Part II: Ka‘ā–He ‘Āina Pana (Ka‘ā–A Storied Land: Traditions, Native Lore, and Historical Events);
- Part III: Summary of Cultural Resources Identified Through Archaeological Field Work.

Each part contains introductory narratives to specific facets of the histories being documented, and then cites original letters, articles and other accounts, being either the earliest documentation of its kind, or having been authored by participants in the referenced history.

The land of Ka‘ā has undergone significant changes since the late 1700s. While there are numerous cultural sites found across the land, there is little current memory of the sites. This is in part a reflection of the significant impacts of battles between warring Hawaiian chiefs, and the impacts of western contact with the

Hawaiian Islands. With the introduction of grazing animals to Lānaʻi, the environment was immediately stressed. As the ever important forests and ground cover were consumed, the rains diminished. The loss of rainfall, and the continued decline of the Hawaiian population on Lānaʻi led to a loss of knowledge and familiarity with traditional knowledge of place.

In the middle 1800s a western-styled system of land ownership was implemented, and native tenants were further detached from the land. Kaʻā quickly came under the control of one foreign landowner, and by the 1870s, most all the land on Lānaʻi was controlled by one person (in either fee simple or leasehold interest). The primary use of lands in the Kaʻā vicinity was for ranching—focused on two of the most destructive ungulates, sheep and goats. It wasn't until 1912 that efforts in resource stewardship were begun in sections of the Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa (the Kānepuʻu dry forest region), under the management of George Munro. Over the years, Hawaiian cowboys, kupuna Solomon Kaopuiki, and more recently arrived families of Lānaʻi collaborated with Hui Mālama Pono o Lānaʻi and The Nature Conservancy, to work on protecting and restoring small sections of the endemic dry forest in Kaʻā. While that work is still going on in areas, under the leadership of ʻIke ʻĀina, more than 10 feet of soil have blown away from the land since 1900. As a result, much has changed in Kaʻā. But upon careful investigation, we find that much still remains the same.

In a perfect world we would have the resources to study the island of Lānaʻi, one ahupuaʻa at a time. We hope that this ethnographic study is the first of many such studies—the results would document in depth for the first time, the way ancient Hawaiians lived upon the land, and how it has changed over time.

## **Limited Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey**

Most of the funds from the grant of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs were dedicated to undertaking an archaeological reconnaissance survey. Due to the size of the study area (c. 20,000 acres), and the limitations under which the team worked, the field research was necessarily limited in scope. Under the direction of Hallett Hammatt, Ph.D., and field guidance of Tanya Lee-Greig, M.A., Cultural Surveys Hawaiʻi conducted the archaeological survey. The initial archaeological field work consisted of four days of aerial surveys (December 14-17, 2010) in which transects were flown across Kaʻā with some over-flight occurring on lands which adjoin Kaʻā (the ahupuaʻa of Paomaʻi and Kamoku). The field team took GPS points of sites identified from the air. Timing of the aerial survey was optimal, the absence of vegetation (due to two and one half years of drought) revealed many places that otherwise would have remained hidden by plant overgrowth and been difficult to see from air or land.

Five Lānaʻi residents, under the supervision of six professional staff from Cultural Surveys Hawaiʻi, conducted the field work between January 24<sup>th</sup> to March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2011. Teams followed the GPS coordinates to each of the sites identified during the aerial

surveys. They then took detailed GPS coordinates of the sites, photographed them, prepared site sketches, and investigated the adjoining area to determine the extent of the features. While on the way to the sites identified from the air, the team also recorded other sites and features they encountered.

During the course of conducting the limited reconnaissance survey for cultural features, 111 sites with 439 contributing features were identified. Site types included:

- Ceremonial sites
- Ahu (cairns)
- Burials
- Trails
- Residences (both long term and temporary)
- Salt making sites
- Agricultural features
- Stone walls
- Lithic quarries and workshops
- Petroglyphs
- Modified caves
- Modified outcrops
- Fields of contest/game sites
- Historic features associated with ranching and hunting activities
- Sites of undetermined uses

As would be expected, the majority of sites identified during the field work were found from the area of the shore to about the 300 foot elevation, and from around the 1,400 foot elevation to the 1,700 foot elevation. These two regions form the foundation of traditional Hawaiian subsistence and residency practices — near shore fishing and limited agriculture, and upland agriculture and resource procurement sites.

Other sites and features occurred across much of the landscape (except in areas where the pineapple fields were once cultivated). But even in the former plantation fields, indigenous artifacts were found—and are still turning up—along the field edges; residents periodically donate some of them—primarily ulu maika and ko'i (adzes) blanks or fragments to the Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center for long-term care.

The purpose of the limited initial archaeological reconnaissance survey conducted as part of this study is to provide all interested parties with a baseline of information on cultural features and ethnography of the Ka'ā Ahupua'a. But, as noted above, the limited nature of the field work serves merely as an indicator of the kinds of sites and features which are likely to be found in the Ka'ā region and a detailed archaeological inventory survey and traditional cultural properties assessment will



document the Ka‘ā vicinity landscape, and more completely describe the numbers, types and scope of sites in the area. Such an undertaking is anticipated to be part of any development that would be proposed on the land. And when the field work is reviewed with this ethnographic documentary research, agencies, landowners and parties interested in the outcome of the planning and permitting processes will be provided important information that will help them make culturally responsible and informed decisions.

## **Traditional Cultural Properties of Ka‘ā and Vicinity**

Several areas within Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a qualify under federal criteria as “Traditional Cultural Properties” (TCPs), known traditionally as wahi pana. These locales include, but are not be limited to:

- The Keahiakawelo-Lanikāula Cross-Island District (including Keahiakawelo, Keahi‘āloa, Malulani and the view plane across Ka‘ā and Paoma‘i, to the Kalohi/‘Au‘au Channel, to Moku Ho‘oniki Islet, and on to the site of the famed Kukui Grove of Lanikāula on the island of Moloka‘i)
- The Ka‘ā-Paoma‘i Dune Complex
- Lae o Ka‘ena and the Ka‘ena Iki Heiau Complex
- The Honopū-Nānāhoa District
- The Kānepu‘u Dry Forest District

A traditional cultural property can be eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places “...because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community’s history, and (b) are important in the maintaining the continuing cultural identify of the community” (National Register Bulletin 38, 1990:1. Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties). These places may include, but are not limited to, locations associated with the beliefs of traditional communities regarding their origin and history and reaffirming of their cultural identity through ceremony and ritual.

The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), 1966 (PL 89-665; 16 USC 470) is the statutory authority of the historic preservation process in the United States and the State of Hawai‘i. Section 106 of the NHPA requires federal agencies to take into account the effects of things that they do, fund, or authorize on historic properties—places listed on or eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Under the law, cultural/historic properties must be evaluated under a set of criteria which include:

Criterion A—association with significant events in the past;

Criterion B—association with significant people in the past;

Criterion C—exemplifying an important architectural type, construction technique, or other qualities; and

Criterion D—potential to yield important information about history or prehistory. To be eligible, properties generally must be at least 50 years old and exhibit integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, association, or feeling.

The State of Hawai'i has added one additional component to the above criteria as a part of the historic preservation review process:

Criterion E— Have an important value to the native Hawaiian people or to another ethnic group of the State due to associations with cultural practices once carried out, or still carried out, at the property or due to associations with traditional beliefs, events or oral accounts--these associations being important to the group's history and cultural identity.

In this process, Section 106 also includes “consultation,” discussion with, and input from affected individuals, groups, and agencies. Responsible agency(s) must seek out and contact knowledgeable people, and collect adequate information from the affected community and present the information for public review. The purpose being to provide agencies, the land owner and interested parties with adequate information to allow due consideration of the findings in the review process, and to affect the outcome of the decisions made.

It is noted here, that while Section 106 requires that agencies consider the effects of their actions on historic properties, they are not required to preserve historic places or to abandon land use proposals if there is a conflict between preservation and development. But a good cultural resource planning process will logically seek to Avoid, Minimize, and Mitigate impacts to TCPs.

We have done our best to provide a fair and balanced cultural-historical record of Ka'ā Ahupua'a and vicinity (with an overview of its relationship in the larger history of Lāna'i), utilizing the available historical resources. We have also endeavored to provide accurate translations of Hawaiian language source materials, but will preemptively apologize for any errors or omissions, and ask, as Lāna'i native, Kahu, Daniel Kaopuiki, Sr., taught us years ago —

**“O ka mea maika'i mālama. O ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia.”**  
(Keep that which is good. Set that which is not good, aside.)

Kepā Maly  
Onaona Pomroy-Maly

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A me nā Kūpuna i aloha nui ‘ia! –

Na wai ho‘i ‘ole i ke akamai i ke ala i hehi ‘ia a nā kūpuna!

Each of you, and many who go unnamed, have contributed in some way to development of this study and the telling of the cultural history of Ka‘ā. To each of you who have shared personal knowledge or family memorabilia; worked to make the ethnographic and archaeological studies possible; worked in the field to document cultural resources; assisted in editing the narratives (any remaining errors are the fault of the primary authors, and we offer our sincerest apologies for any such errors); who provided moral support and guidance over the years and throughout the term of this undertaking we say—

**Ke aloha kau palena ‘ole me ‘oukou a pau! Mahalo a nui!**



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## “HANO HANO LĀNA‘I” – “LĀNA‘I IS DISTINGUISHED”

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Hanohano Lāna‘i i ke kauna‘oa, Kohu kapa ‘ahu‘ula, kau po‘ohiwi,	Lāna‘i is distinguished by the kauna‘oa, Which rests like a feather cape upon its’ shoulders
E ola Lāna‘i iā Kaululā‘au, Hea aku mākou, e ō mai ‘oe!	Let there be life for Lāna‘i of Kaululā‘au, We call to you, now you respond! (“He Wehi Hooheno no Haalilio” Nupepa Kuokoa, Dekemaba 28, 1922)

Though the history of Lāna‘i has generally taken a backseat to the history of its larger neighbors—this is in part a result of the major impacts on the population of the island (the decline of those who could speak the island’s traditions), which began in the 1770s, and continued through the early 1900s—one finds that Lāna‘i indeed has a distinguished history. The island figures in the accounts of the gods, the great voyaging epics of Polynesian seafarers, the development of agricultural stock and resources, the making of island kingdoms, the development of significant plantation interests, and the broad history of Hawai‘i’s people.

Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a, the focal point of this study is part of a unique landscape in the Hawaiian Islands. It is a place of significance as a traditional cultural property and for its history. It is a place where one may find cultural landscapes, clear view planes, an open wilderness (still home to rare endemic species, though threatened for lack of care) and solitude, it is even considered by many to be a spiritual landscape. The natural and cultural resources and subsistence practices sustained by the environment remain important to both native Hawaiian families with generational ties to Lāna‘i, and as a way of life to countless others who have helped shape the history of Lāna‘i.

### Study Background

In June 2010, the Trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) provided the Lāna‘i Culture & Heritage Center (Lāna‘i CHC)<sup>2</sup> with a generous grant<sup>3</sup> to prepare a detailed ethnographic study, and conduct a limited field archaeological survey in the ahupua‘a (native land division) of Ka‘ā on the island of Lāna‘i. The work, undertaken

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<sup>2</sup> The Lāna‘i Culture & Heritage Center (Lāna‘i CHC) was organized in 2007 to facilitate the preservation, interpretation and exhibition of Lāna‘i’s rich history. The program includes artifact and historic material repatriation, conservation and exhibitions, interpretive/educational programs (in museum and field settings), and research and publications.

<sup>3</sup> The grant funds were following a meeting with OHA Trustee Colette Machado, community members and Lāna‘i CHC’s Director, Kepā Maly and the president of Lāna‘i CHC’s board of Directors. In June 2010, OHA Trustees approved the Grant No. 2575, which falls under the OHA’s “Traditional Cultural Properties Projects” category, and is a part of Lāna‘i CHC’s ongoing and long-term strategy of documenting, preserving, and sharing the history of Lāna‘i.

as a part of OHA Grant No. 2575, documents historical accounts and facets of the traditional-cultural landscape, and shares some of the distinguishing histories of Lānaʻi, with a focus on the region of Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa.

In undertaking this study and the associated field work, Lānaʻi CHC's goal is to facilitate the identification, recordation, and documentation of resources which make Kaʻā a treasured landscape. We hope also to promote greater awareness and appreciation for the fragile nature of this land.

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs funding was used to engage a consulting team that compiled cultural, historical and biological data, including cultural/archaeological site documentation, collection of maps and documents, and kamaʻāina recollections that will help to promote, preserve and celebrate the traditions associated with the lands of the Lānaʻi study area.

The research and field work concentrated in the geographical area known by the traditional boundaries of Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa (Figure 1), and includes the full expanse of the lands from the uplands to its offshore reaches. Under the administrative watch of the Lānaʻi CHC and the guidance of island kūpuna (elders), we have documented facets of the rich heritage of Lānaʻi and the Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa. The research program also engaged Lānaʻi youth as part of this program, training future generations of Lānaʻi to value, identify, document and preserve their history, and to serve as stewards of their cultural and natural resources.

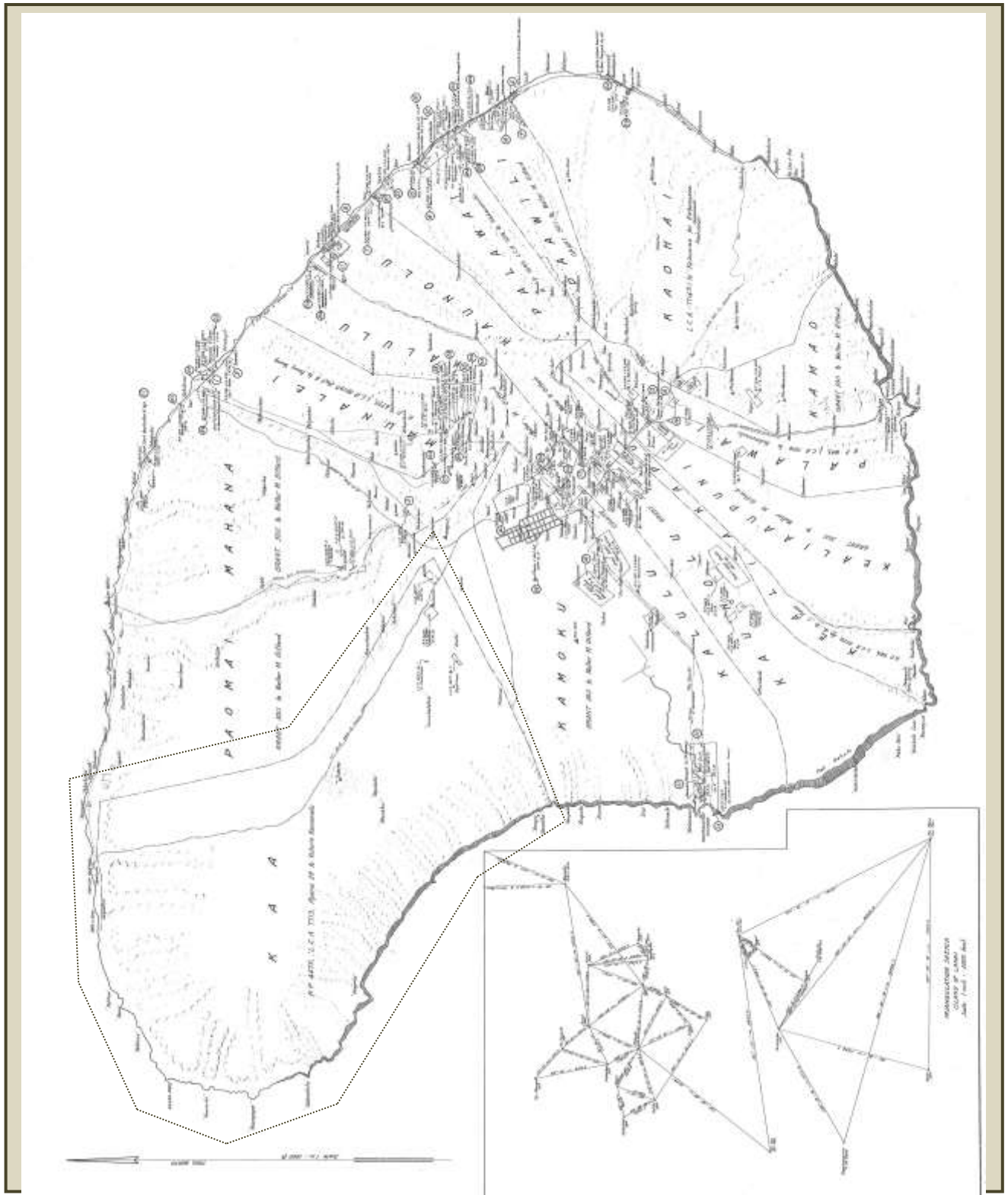
This multi-faceted study is a natural next step in the efforts of the Lānaʻi Culture & Heritage Center to document, preserve and share Lānaʻi's treasured history. We hope that the results and conclusions of this study will foster greater community awareness and knowledge of the rich legacy of Lānaʻi.

## **Study Development: Organization and Research Methodologies**

This study is organized in three primary categories:

- (1) Lānaʻi–Moʻolelo ʻĀina: An Overview of Lānaʻi's History.
- (2) History of Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa.
- (3) Summary of Cultural Resources Identified Through Archaeological Field Work.

The first section of the study focuses on native lore and early history of Lānaʻi—the general things that shaped the land and lives of people living on Lānaʻi. The second section cites specific references to traditions and history of the land and people of



**Figure 1. The Island of Lānaʻi, Land Court Application No. 862, Map No. 1 (1929), surveyed on behalf of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Ltd., to secure title to its Lānaʻi holdings, and to identify those parcels of private and government lands not under its control. Outline of land and fisheries of Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa and vicinity marked by dashed line.**

Ka'ā Ahupua'a, Lāna'i. The third section of the study provides a synthesis of archaeological field work conducted December 13<sup>th</sup>, 2010 to March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

Research for the study actually began in the early 1970's, when Kepā Maly, the primary author, was living on Lāna'i. Several elder native Hawaiian family members (including native speakers) were still living at that time, and they freely shared their stories of Lāna'i and the Ka'ā region with Maly. The families included Kaopuiki, Kauila, Cockett, Nakihei/Kauwenaole and Gay. Other kama'āina families who shared their Lāna'i knowledge included Shin, Hera and Desha. In 1975, Maly also accompanied Dr. Kenneth Emory on a walking trip around Lāna'i, revisiting sites documented by Emory during his 1920-1921 survey of Lāna'i. These shared stories and traditions, along with visits to storied places around Lāna'i during Maly's youth, initiated the decades-long process of collecting documentary accounts and oral historical recollections for the lands and people of Lāna'i.

From 1974 to 1978, Maly reviewed Hawaiian language newspapers, while working on projects for the City & County of Honolulu, and began making notes on all references he found to Lāna'i that appeared in native language accounts. Over the ensuing years, Maly conducted many research projects around the state of Hawai'i, as part of historic preservation programs with private landowners, state and federal agencies. During those years, he continued researching native language resources along with historical accounts in journals, manuscripts and a wide range of publications to identify the stories and history of Lāna'i.

The narratives that follow are generally presented in chronological order, and by category or class of information – e.g. traditions, land use, land tenure, etc. They are additionally ordered by citing the earliest period described, though the date of publication may not be as early as other accounts. For example, King David Kalākaua's "Legends and Myths of Hawaii" was published in 1888 and includes "The Sacred Spear-Point" and "Kelea, the Surf Rider of Maui," both of which contain narratives of Kaululā'au's vanquishing the evil ghosts of Lāna'i. The date of publication is later (1888) than Samuel M. Kamakau's 1867 account of Kamehameha I on Lāna'i. But as the Kaululā'au account pre-dates Kamehameha I on Lāna'i, Kaululā'au is cited first.

It should be noted here that we will not repeat all the narratives of historic writers such as Kenneth Emory (1924), Lawrence Kainoahou Gay (1963), and George C. Munro (2007) and others. Their work speaks for itself and is widely cited in research on Lāna'i. Instead, we focus on primary written accounts dating from the late 1700s and covering the years through the middle 1900s. This primary information was recorded by participants in the history being described—or was learned by informants from their elders—and provides first-hand knowledge of life on Lāna'i. We were able to clarify and correct certain interpretations previously made on Lāna'i's history through this compilation of historical documentation.

## Ethnographic and Documentary Resources

The documents cited in this study come from resources found in local and national repositories, including, but not limited to:

- The State of Hawai'i: Archives  
Bureau of Conveyances  
Land Court  
Survey Division  
University of Hawai'i Hamilton and Mo'okini Libraries
- The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum
- The Hawaiian Historical Society
- The American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (Houghton Library, Harvard; digitized in the collection of Kumu Pono Associates LLC)
- The Mission Houses Museum & Library
- The United States Geological Survey Library (Denver, Colorado)

A significant collection of archival records covering many facets of Lāna'i's history is also posted on the Lāna'i CHC website: [www.lanaichc.org](http://www.lanaichc.org) and may be viewed to access thousands of accounts documenting the history of Lāna'i and its people.

## Stewardship of Lāna'i's Resources

Another facet of this study—resulting from extensive research in archival collections; found in spoken in the words of kūpuna and elder kama'āina; and identified in the field—is that there are found a variety of tools for development of stewardship and resource management programs in Ka'ā Ahupua'a and on the larger island of Lāna'i. The experiences of the past provide us with markers to follow in the development of preservation and conservation programs. This way of life, in caring for the environment around us has been expressed by Lāna'i native, kupuna, Kuuleialoha Kaopuiki Kanipae, in the words, "Mālama pono i ka 'āina!" (Care for the land/earth about us in righteousness!).

Also, the words of those who have gone before us, and the results of past work—that which was successful, and that which has failed and hurt the land—give us guidance in how to be better stewards of Lāna'i. This stewardship will take the work of many hands, but as Tūtū Papa Daniel Kaopuiki, Sr. shared, years ago, "Maika'i ka hana o ka lima, 'ono no ka 'ai o ka waha!" (When the hands do good work, the mouth will have good food to eat!)

**"Ola ka 'āina, ola ke kānaka!"**  
(Healthy land, healthy people!)

## **KA MOKUPUNI O LĀNA'I (THE ISLAND OF LĀNA'I)**

---

**I puni ia 'oe o Lāna'i a i 'ike 'ole ia Lāna'i-Ka'ula me Lāna'i-Hale,  
'a'ohē no 'oe i 'ike ia Lāna'i.**

If you have gone around Lāna'i and have not seen Lāna'i Ka'ula and Lāna'i Hale, you have not seen all of Lāna'i. (Pukui, 1983: 'Ōlelo No'ēau, No. 1258)

This traditional saying from Lāna'i commemorates two wahi pana (celebrated locations) on the island. The first — Lāna'i Ka'ula situated on the shore a short distance west of Kahalepalaoa, and honors the birth of the island to Ka'ulahea (a goddess, creative force of nature). The second — Lāna'i Hale, is the highest spot on the island and celebrates the success of Kaululā'au in conquering the evil spirits who once infested the island, thus making the island safe for people to live.

In order to understand the significance of Ka'ā Ahupua'a and neighboring lands, some background on the island (mokupuni), mo'olelo (traditions and history) and the people of Lāna'i must be described, as they set the cultural-historical context for appreciating the Ka'a Ahupua'a with its windswept slopes.

### **Lāna'i a Kaululā'au (Lāna'i a Kaululā'au)**

Lā-na'i (literally translated means, the “Day of conquest”) is sixth in size of the major Hawaiian Islands (Figure 1), and like all islands in the group, it was formed through volcanic eruptions, and is constantly being reshaped by erosional activity. The primary caldera was in the area now known as the Pālāwai Basin, and it is estimated that Lāna'i first rose above sea level approximately 1.5 million years ago. It is approximately 13 ¼ miles long by 13 miles wide, and at its highest point, Lāna'i Hale, the island stands 3,370 feet above sea level. The island of Moloka'i lies to the north of Lāna'i, across the Ka-lohi Channel, and Maui lies to the east, across the 'Au'au and Naeheehe Channels; the channel of Ke-ala-i-Kahiki and the island of Kaho'olawe lie to the southeast. The southern and western sides of Lāna'i face the open ocean and are fringed by imposing cliff sides, while the windward side slopes gently to the sea. Thus, Lāna'i seems to lie in the bosom of its sister islands, and its history, like that of Moloka'i and Kaho'olawe, has almost always been overshadowed by its larger neighbor, Maui.

In addition to political and social contexts, Lāna'i's relationship to Maui and Moloka'i includes a significant environmental one as well, sitting as it does in the “rain shadow” of the larger and higher islands. Lāna'i's fragile ecosystem evolved slowly over countless centuries—without the presence of herbivores or man—giving rise to cloud forest zones, which gave life to the land, and made the island hospitable to people when they settled Lāna'i nearly 1,000 years ago. There were two primary forest-watershed zones, the major watershed of Lāna'i Hale (the highest mountain

region), and what has historically been called the Kānepu‘u forest zone of Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a. The Kānepu‘u forest zone developed the capacity to draw large amounts of moisture from passing clouds and fog—clouds carried on the Moa‘e, Mā‘ā‘ā, Kaomi, and other “kama‘āina” (familiar) winds that escaped the cliffs of Maui and Moloka‘i. Untouched for countless thousands of years, the forest systems of Lāna‘i evolved the unique ability to capture droplets of water, which in turn percolated through the ground to create water sources that were spread from mountain to shore across the island. While these precious forest regions have been radically altered by man’s activities and feral animals, evidence of the region’s water-producing capabilities are still visible in the fragmented dry forest of the Ka‘ā-Kānepu‘u region and on the upper reaches of Lāna‘i Hale.

The earliest human traditional lore of Lāna‘i describes the arrival of the gods Kāne, Kanaloa, and their younger god-siblings and companions to the island, and later accounts describe the visit of the goddess Pele and members of her family to Lāna‘i, with specific reference to lands of the Ka‘ā region and the coast line of Polihua. Subsequent narratives describe the settlement of Lāna‘i by evil spirits, and the difficulties that the early human settlers encountered in attempts to safely colonize the island.

In the early 1400s, a young Maui chief by the name of Kaululā‘au traveled around Lāna‘i vanquishing the evil ghost/spirits of the island, making it safe for people to live on the island. It is this account of Kaululā‘au’s victory of the evil ghosts who once inhabited the island, that some have said gave Lāna‘i its name.

By the early 1600s, all the islands of the Hawaiian group were settled sufficiently to develop an organized way to manage scarce resources. Each island was divided into political and subsistence subdivisions called ahupua‘a, which generally ran from the ocean fronting a land area to the mountains. Under the rule of Pi‘ilani, Lāna‘i was divided into thirteen ahupua‘a (Figure 1). Native traditions describes ahupua‘a divisions as being marked by stone cairns (ahu) with a carved pig (pua‘a) image placed upon them, and these ancient divisions remain the primary land unit in the Hawaiian system of land management on Lāna‘i today.

## **Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a – A Historical Summary**

### **Lei aku i na lehua o Keahiakawelo.**

Wear a lei of lehua blossoms of Keahiakawelo.  
(Nupepa Kuokoa, Apelila 30, 1864, aoao 4)

Among the lehua (*Metrosideros polymorpha*) groves which once occurred in the region — of particular note was the purple blossomed lehua — which is tied to the account of naming the area of Keahiakawelo.

**Ka-‘ā** (literally translated means, “the rocky area”) is the largest ahupua‘a on Lāna‘i, and embraces approximately 19,468 acres of land, comprising the entire north end of the island. Ka‘ā is bounded on the south by the ahupua‘a of Kamoku and Paoma‘i, on the west and north by the ocean, and on the north and east by the ahupua‘a of Paoma‘i. Ka‘ā historically supported many near-shore settlements, from which its rich fisheries could be accessed. The turtle (honu) population at Polihua is integral to the account of Pele’s migration to Hawai‘i, and in the time when ancient Hawaiians lived at Ka‘ā the honu provided important resources for traditional subsistence.

In addition to village sites, the near shore lands of Ka‘ā also hosted many ceremonial sites, including the largest heiau (temple) on the island, at Ka‘ena iki. Springs along the coast provided residents with potable water, and in the uplands, the rich dry forest zone of the Malulani-Keahiakawelo-Kānepu‘u region (from around the 1,400 to 1,700 foot elevation) supported extensive dry land agricultural systems, residences, ceremonial features and resource collection sites. The endemic dry forest region was naturally adapted to drawing moisture in the form of clouds to the land, which in turn facilitated water collection for crops and drinking through cloud/fog drip.

The region around Keahiakawelo (since 1912, popularly called “Garden of the Gods”) is one of the most significant storied landscapes on Lāna‘i; there are numerous traditions describing how native Hawaiians were able to survive on Lāna‘i, and why, at one time, Lāna‘i was noted for purple colored lehua (*Metrosideros polymorpha*) blossoms. As the tradition of the area known as Keahiakawelo reveals, the Ka‘ā region of Lāna‘i, with the view plain to the eastern end of Moloka‘i and the famed kukui tree grove of Lanikāula and Mokuho‘oniki, is one of great significance to the history of Lāna‘i and connected by history to the larger Maui group of islands.

Ka‘ena iki and Ka‘ena were famous Ka‘ā sites, as they hosted a penal colony for women between the 1830’s and ‘40’s, and the Awalua vicinity became quite infamous when a number of grisly deaths occurred in 1892 (details were published in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser and other papers under titles such as, the “Lanai Horror”). Once an active canoe landing, and later, a “harbor” area, the last native tenants abandoned the Awalua region soon after the 1892 incident. It is currently a popular fishing and camping site for residents.

At one time Ka‘ā supported many near-shore settlements, upland agricultural fields, resource collection/workshop areas and ceremonial sites. The residents of Ka‘ā regularly traveled between the coast and uplands, and several named localities in both environmental regions are found in native traditions and historical literature. Traditional features, including ceremonial sites, burials, trails, residences (both long term and temporary), salt making sites, agricultural features, lithic workshops, petroglyphs, modified caves, contest fields and sites of undetermined uses are found throughout Ka‘ā. Native Hawaiian chants and traditions passed down over time speak loudly of the cultural and historical significance of this area.



Ka‘ā is a place of on-going cultural attachment<sup>4</sup>. As such, the Keahiakawelo-Ka‘ā region may be considered a traditional cultural property under Federal Register Bulletin No. 38 (Parker & King, 1990).

## 1847-1855: Chiefly and Native Tenants Claims For Kuleana (Fee-Simple Property Rights) in Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a

During the Māhele (a fee-simple, western-style land division that occurred in 1848) Chiefess Victoria Kamāmalu (granddaughter of Kamehameha I) claimed and retained the ahupua‘a of Ka‘ā as a personal land holding. She declared the uhu (parrot fish) the kapu (“forbidden” or “restricted”) fish, and koko (Euphorbia spp.) the kapu tree. In addition to the claim of Chiefess Kamāmalu, seven native tenants claimed land in Ka‘ā.

<b>L.C.A.</b>	<b>Helu</b>	<b>Claimant</b>	<b>Ahupua‘a</b>	<b>Ili</b>	<b>Awarded</b>
	2513	M. Manoa (w)	Kaa	Kaena	No
	3417 B	Hoomu	Kaa	Kaluaakea	Yes
	4288 B	Kahalekai	Kaa	Mokuha, Kukuikahi	Yes
	4289 B	Hoopapalani	Kaa	Kukuikahi	No
	6542	Hoa (Howa)	Kaa	—	No
	7713	Kamamalu, Victoria	Kaa	Ahupuaa	Yes
	8627	Kauhihape & Halapuu	Kaa	Kalihi, Piiloa	Yes
	8627	Halapuu	Kaa	Kalihi, Piiloa	No

While only three of the claims (Hoomu, Kahalekai and Kauhihape) were awarded (see Figure 1), individuals with ties to some of the native tenants of Ka‘ā still remain on Lāna‘i and on neighboring islands of the Hawaiian group. It is to be expected that as any land use driven research is conducted, that descendants of those individuals will be sought out for consultation purposes. Also, should ilina (burial remains) be identified, these families must be sought out for consultation.

## Wahi Pana (Storied and Celebrated Places) Identification of Traditional Cultural Properties

Wahi pana and traditional cultural properties are those features of and on the land that remind us that others once lived here before us. They connect us with our

<sup>4</sup> The term “cultural attachment” (cf. James Kent, “Cultural Attachment: Assessment of Impacts to Living Culture.” September, 1995) embodies the tangible and intangible values of a culture—how a people identify with, and personify, the environment around them. It is the intimate relationship (developed over generations of experience) that people of a particular culture feel for the sites, features, phenomena, and natural resources that surround them—their sense of place. This attachment is deeply rooted in the beliefs, practices, cultural evolution, and identity of a people. The significance of “cultural attachment” in a given culture is often overlooked by others whose beliefs and values evolved under a different set of circumstances.

ancestors, tell us who we are, and help us understand where we came from. There are a number of significant wahi pana (ranging from individual sites to districts, man made or natural landscapes) which occur in the ahupua'a of Ka'a. The notes that follow below, are meant to provide readers with an overview of the national criteria for identification of traditional cultural properties. If sites, features or districts are identified as traditional cultural properties in the Ka'a vicinity, laws and guidelines come into play, as to how these resources are treated—e.g., preservation, use, interpretation, and long-term management.

Cultural perceptions—the concepts, beliefs, ideas, and values handed down over generations—are perhaps the most dynamic of cultural artifacts. Historically the Hawaiian culture evolved in partnership with the natural environment of the islands, and was (and is) as dynamic as the environment itself. In the Hawaiian mindset natural and cultural resources were one and the same, and in the context of Hawaiian cultural values and cultural resources, we consider not only things of a physical, geographic, or archival nature, but we also consider the intangible—the sense of spirit and place that traditional people shared with the world around them. It is here that people of another culture, or even another generation, often have difficulty understanding the significance of cultural properties and resources. Sadly, if a dominant culture doesn't value (or place as high a value on) the cultural-historic resources of another culture, those resources are often overlooked, or even removed from the landscape.

The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), 1966 (PL 89-665; 16 USC 470) is the foundational law of the historic preservation process in the United States and State of Hawai'i. The NHPA along with associated bulletins and guidelines, provide lawmakers and land use planners with a basic context for considering cultural resources and their traditional values in a given culture. Section 106 of the NHPA requires federal agencies to take into account the effects of things that they do, fund, or authorize on historic properties—which are places that are listed, or eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Under the law, cultural/historic properties must be evaluated under set of criteria which include:

Criterion A—association with significant events in the past;

Criterion B—association with significant people in the past;

Criterion C—exemplifying an important architectural type, construction technique, or other qualities; and

Criterion D—potential to yield important information about history or prehistory. To be eligible, properties generally must be at least 50 years old and exhibit integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, association, or feeling.

The State of Hawai'i added one additional component to the above criteria as a part of the review process in the state:

Criterion E– Have an important value to the native Hawaiian people or to another ethnic group of the State due to associations with cultural practices once carried out, or still carried out, at the property or due to associations with traditional beliefs, events or oral accounts—these associations being important to the group's history and cultural identity.

One associated guideline to the NHPA offers the following guidance in the identification of traditional and cultural properties:

“Traditional” in this context refers to those beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice. The traditional cultural significance of a historic property, then, is derived from the role the property plays in a community’s historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices[.]

A traditional cultural property can be defined generally as one that is...associat[ed] with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community’s history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community...” [National Register Bulletin 38:1; Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties]

To qualify for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), a property must be a “tangible property—that is, a district, site, building, structure, or object” (Parker and King 1990:9). However, tangible property does not have to be a constructed one, as described in the National Register definition of “site” (from NR Bulletin 16, quoted in Parker and King 1990:9):

“[T]he location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure...”

Parker and King (1990:9, emphasis added) elaborate on this by noting:

“Thus a property may be defined as a ‘site’ as long as it was the location of a significant event or activity, regardless of whether the event or activity left any evidence of its occurrence. A culturally significant natural landscape may be classified as a site, as may the specific location where significant traditional events, activities, or cultural observances have taken place... A concentration, linkage, or continuity of such sites or objects, or

of structures comprising a culturally significant entity, may be classified as a district.”

In this process, the responsible agency(s) is required to contact knowledgeable people and collect adequate information from the affected community and present the information for public review. The purpose is to provide agencies, the land owner and affected parties (those with cultural affiliation to a given area) with adequate information to allow due consideration of the findings in the review process, and to affect the outcome of the decisions made.

While Section 106 requires that agencies consider the effects of their actions on historic properties, they are not required to preserve historic places or to abandon the proposed land use if there is a conflict between preservation and development. But a good cultural resource planning process will logically seek to Avoid, Minimize, and Mitigate impacts to wahi pana or traditional cultural properties.

In any detailed work that will be required as a part of any future land use permitting process, a complete archaeological survey will be required. Another component of the Section 106 process includes consultation—discussions with, and input from affected individuals, groups, and agencies.

**...Aloha na pua aweuweu i Keahiakawelo,  
Aloha na lehua o Malulani,  
Aloha ke one o Polihua,  
Aloha ka makani Hoomoepili o Kekaha...**

...Loved are the grass blossoms at Keahiakawelo,  
Loved are the lehua blossoms of Malulani,  
Loved are the sands of Polihua,  
Loved is the Ho‘omoepili wind of the arid lands...

(Excerpt from an account by Lāna‘i natives, J.H. Lululipolani and Kahaolenui, published in Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, June 22, 1878)

## **PART I. MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA O LĀNA‘I: HAWAIIAN TRADITIONS, CHIEFLY ASSOCIATIONS AND EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF LĀNA‘I**

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This section of the study provides a background of native beliefs and lore—some themes are shared by Lāna‘i and other Hawaiian islands—and a general history of Lāna‘i from antiquity to the present-day. While not all are specific to the ahupua‘a of Ka‘ā, the references detail some of the events in native history that influenced and shaped the land and lives of all people living on Lāna‘i, from the upland slopes to the sea shore.

### **Ua Hānau ka Moku (The Island was Born)**

As a result of the cultural diversity of our island community, today’s island residents look at the natural and cultural resources around them in different ways and apply different values to them. As noted earlier, in the Hawaiian context these values—the “sense of place”—have developed over countless generations of evolving “cultural attachment” to the natural, physical, and spiritual environments. In any culturally relevant discussion of the island of Lāna‘i, one must understand that Hawaiian culture evolved in close partnership with the natural environment. Thus, Hawaiian culture does not have a clear dividing line between where culture ends and nature begins. Cultural resources are not only things of a physical, geographic, practitioner or archival nature, they are also natural resources—the earth and elements around us. Indeed, the spiritual beliefs, cultural practices, and cultural landscape of the Hawaiian people were intricately bound to the natural landscape of the island.

Hawaiian mo‘olelo, or traditions, express how the Hawaiian people felt (and continue to feel) between themselves and the earth around them. Mo‘olelo tell us that the sky, earth, ocean, wind, rain, natural phenomena, nature, animate and inanimate forms of life—all forms of the natural environment, from the skies and mountain peaks, to the valleys and plains, the winds and rains, the shore line and ocean depths, were the embodiments of Hawaiian gods and deities. One Hawaiian genealogical account speaks of Wākea (the expanse of the sky) and Papa-hānau-moku (Papa—Earth-mother who gave birth to the islands, also called Haumea-nui-hānau-wā-wā or Great Haumea: “Woman-earth born time and time again”)—and various gods and creative forces of nature that gave birth to the islands. In Hawaiian tradition, Hawai‘i, the largest of the islands, was the first-born of these island children. As the Hawaiian genealogical account continues, we find that these same god-beings/creative forces of nature that gave birth to the islands were also the parents of the first man (Hāloa), and from this ancestor all Hawaiian people are descended (cf. David Malo 1951).

One of the ancient mele (chants) handed down through the generations that records the mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy) of the islands, published in the Hawaiian language

newspaper Ka Hae Hawaii (The Hawaiian Flag) in 1860, reveals the birth of Lānaʻi was as a child of the gods-creative forces of nature:

**June 20, 1860 (aoao 52)**

**Ka Hae Hawaii**

**He Mele.**

Eia malalo iho he Mele i oleloia, ua  
hanau ia na Mokupuni o Hawaii nei,  
o Papa ma laua o Wakea.

...O Wakea a Kahikoluamea,  
O Papa hanau moku ka wahine,

Hanau Kahikiku, Kahikimoe,  
Hanau Keapaapanuu,  
Hanau Keapaapalani,  
Hanau o Hawaii, ka moku makahiapo,  
child,

He keiki makahiapo no laua—  
O Wakea laua a Kane,  
O Papa o Walinuu ka wahine,  
Hookahua Papa i ka moku,  
Hoilololi ia Maui,

Hanau Maui loa he moku,  
I hana ia he lolani,  
He uilani, uilani, he—i,

Kapa lau maewa he nuu no lolani Lono,  
no Ku,  
No Kane ma laua o Kanaloa,  
Kahea o Papa ia Kanaloa, he moku,  
I hanau ia he punua he naia,

He keiki ia na Papa i hanau,  
Haalele o Papa, hoi i Kahiki,  
Hoia Kahiki, hoia Kahiki,

Kapakapakaua, Moe o Wakea,

Moe ia Kaulawahine,

Hanau o Lanai,

Keiki makahiapo a ia wahine,

Hoi ae o Wakea,

Loaa ia Hina,

He wahine moe na Wakea,

Hapai o Hina ia Molokai, he moku,

Here below, is a Chant in which it is  
said that the island of Hawaiʻi was  
born to Papa and Wākea.

...Wākea the son of Kahikoluamea,  
Papa who gives birth to islands, the  
woman,

Born was Kahikikū, and Kahikimoe,  
Born was the upper stratum,  
Born was the uppermost stratum,  
Born was Hawaiʻi, the eldest island

The first born of the two of them—

Wākea was the man

Papa of Walinuʻu was the woman,

Papa conceived the island,

She experienced nausea (morning  
sickness) with Maui,

Maui loa was born, an island

It was done and acclaimed,

There was restlessness and  
irritation,

Spreading out to the heights,

For Lono, for Kū,

For Kāne and Kanaloa,

Papa called it Kanaloa, an island

Born, it was like a fledgling bird,  
a porpoise,

A child born of Papa,

Papa departed, returned to Kahiki

Returned to Kahiki, returned

to Kahiki,

Kapakapakaua, and Wākea took,

Took Kaulawahine,

Born was Lānaʻi,

The first born child of that woman,

Wākea then went,

He found Hina,

Hina was a woman mated with

Wākea,

Hina became pregnant with

Molokaʻi, an island,

O Molokai a Hina ke keiki moku...

Moloka'i of Hina, an island child...

L.S. Kalama

Honomaele, Maui, Mei 12, 1860.

[Maly, translator]

Another island genealogy offered in the research of Nathaniel Emerson, who prepared the translation of David Malo's "Moolelo Hawaii" (Hawaiian Antiquities, 1951)—the earliest of the esteemed native historians—reveals a slightly different account of Lāna'i's birth:

O Wakea noho ia Papa-hanau-moku,

Hanau o Hawaii, he moku,

Hanau o Maui, he moku.

Hoi hou o Wakea noho ia

Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.

Hanau o Molokai, he moku,

Hanau o Lanai ka ula, he moku.

Lili-opu-punalua o Papa ia

Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.

Hoi hou o Papa noho ia Wakea.

Hanau, o Oahu, he moku,

Hanau o Kauai, he moku,

Hanau o Niihau, he moku,

He ula a o Kahoolawe.

Wakea lived with Papa, begetter  
of islands,

Begotten was Hawaii, an island,

Begotten was Maui, an island.

Wakea made a new departure and

Lived with Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.

Begotten was Molokai, an island,

Begotten was red Lanai, an island.

The womb of Papa became jealous  
at its partnership with Hoo-hoku-ka-  
lani.

Papa returned and lived with  
Wakea.

Begotten was Oahu, an island,

Begotten was Kauai, an island,

Begotten was Niihau, an island,

A red rock was Kahoolawe.

[Malo, 1951:243]

While differing in some details from Kalama's account, the theme of Lāna'i being born to the gods-creative forces of nature remains constant, and is at the very core of the Hawaiian relationship with the island and its multi-faceted environment.

A third explanation of Lāna'i's ancestry is found in the research conducted by Abraham Fornander in the 1870s, who reported being told that "Lanai is said to have been an adopted child of a chief from Tahiti..." (Fornander, 1996:12)

## **The Gods Walked the Land—Early Settlement of Lāna'i**

Several traditions pertaining to the gods and people of ancient Lāna'i were found in a review of Hawaiian Language newspapers. These accounts describe the island condition, life and practices of Lāna'i's ancient people. The narratives establish the bond between Lāna'i and neighboring islands of the Hawaiian group and more distant Kahiki (the 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.

## **The Water of Life Opened on Lānaʻi by Kāne and his Companions, and an Account of How Food Crops Were Brought to Lānaʻi**

The native language accounts that appear below were penned by elder Hawaiians of the 1860s. They feature Lānaʻi's place in the history of the larger Hawaiian Archipelago, and an association with the ancestral lands of the gods. Several of the accounts are translated here, for the first time, thus providing new access to traditional knowledge. The original Hawaiian texts are included here to help facilitate access to Hawaiian language resources for students and future generations.

**Ianuali 12, 1865 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Hoomana Kahiko, Helu II.**

**Ua moololo o Kane, ame kona mana, ame kana mau hana.**

Eia ka moololo no keia mau akua, o Kane ke kaikuaana, o Kanaloa kona kaikaina, a o Kaneapua ko laua pokii. Mai Kukulu o Kahiki mai lakou, a noho ma Hawaii nei. A ua hoomanaia e ko Hawaii nei lahuikanaka, i ka wa kahiko i mau akua no lakou. Penei ka lakou hana ana: Kanu mua lakou i ka ai a oo, ka lua a moa, alaila, kaumaha aku la penei. "Eia ka ai e ke akua e Kane e Kanaloa, eia ka ai, eia ka ia, e ola ia'u ai ka'u mau pulapula, a kanikoo a palalauhala, i mahiai, i lawaia, i kukulu hale nou, i kaumaha ai nau na ke akua."

A ina hoi he wahine, penei kana kaumaha ana, "Eia ka ai e ke akua, eia ka ai, eia ka ia e Kane e Kanaloa, e ola ia'u ai ka'u mau pulapula, a kanikoo a palalauhala, i mahi ai, i lawaia, i kuku aahu nou no ke akua, ai kaumaha ai hoi."

**No Kona Mana.**

Eia kona mana, ia laua e hele ai i kaapuni ia Hawaii nei, a hiki i kahi wai ole. O aku no o Kane i kona kookoo, a puka mai la ka wai, a ua kapaia ka waio a Kane ma laua o Kanaloa.

Eia hoi kekahi mana o laua, he hiki hoi ia laua ke lawe i ke ola o kekahi kanaka, ke aua i ka laua mea e noi aku ai, ina he awa, ai ole ia, he mea e ae paha, e like me ko laua makemake.

A ua nui wale ka laua hana ana pela, a pela no ko laua wahi ana i kekahi loko ia ma Honuaula me ko laua mana.

**Kana Mau Hana.**

He inu awa ka laua hana mai Hawaii a Kauai, a oia ko laua mea i oai i ka wai, i loa ka wai hoka awa no laua, ma kahi a laua e hele ai, a hoi lakou a noho ma Lanai; a pau ko laua noho ana ia Hawaii nei. Hoi aku la laua a hiki i ko lakou wahi i hele mai ai, i ke one Lauenaakane. O kela one, he one hapahapai iluna i ko laua wa e moe ai.



A o ko laua pokii, ua hoonohoia i Kaunolu i Lanai, i kiai ma ka lae, a ua kapaia ia lae o Kaneapua. A hiki i ka wa i holo mai ai o Kanewahanui mai Hawaii mai, e imi ana i kona makemake. Kahea'ku la o Kaneapua, "He waa e holo ana i hea?" Pane mai la o Kanewahanui, "He waa e imi aha e keekeehehi i ka houpo o Kane ma laua o Kanaloa." Pane mai la o Kaneapua, "Ka! O ka houpo ka o ke akua, keekeehehi ia'e oe e ke kanaka."

Pehea la hoi kou ko ke kanaka, pehea la hoi owau kekahi. Ae mai la o Kanewahanui, o ko lakou holo aku la no ia a hiki i kukulu o Kahiki, a ua ko no hoi kona makemake. A na Kaneapua no i alakai aku ia Kanewahanui a ike i na koko a Makalii, ia wa, ua akiaki ia ke koko a Makalii e na iole a Kanewahanui, oia ka loa ana o ka ai ia Hawaii nei.

Pela mai ko'u lohe. Naimu.

[Translation]

**Ianuali 12, 1865 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ancient Religion, Part II.**

**The tradition of Kāne, his power and his deeds.**

**(Kāne'āpua travels to Kahiki from Kaunolū, and helps bring all manner of foods to the Hawaiian Islands)**

Here is the tradition of these gods. Kāne the elder, and Kanaloa, his younger sibling, and their younger sibling, Kāne'āpua. They came from the Foundations of Kahiki, and dwelled here in Hawai'i. The Hawaiian people worshiped them as their gods in ancient times. These are some of the things they did, they planted vegetable foods, and when matured, they cooked them. When the food was ready, they prayed thus. "Here is the food o gods, Kāne and Kanaloa. Here are the vegetable foods, here are the fish, that I might have life, and my descendants, till the tapping of the cane is heard, till the skin is like the dried pandanus leaves, I plant and fish, and build a house (temple) for you, in which I might worship you the gods."

And if it is a woman, she worships in this way, "Here is the food, o gods, here are the vegetable foods, here are the fish of Kāne and Kanaloa, that I and my descendants may live, till the tapping of the cane is heard, and the skin looks like the dried leaves of the pandanus; to cultivate foods and to fish, till things are heaped for you o gods, indeed I worship you."

**About his Power.**

Here is his power, when they two were traveling about Hawai'i, and they reached a place where there was no fresh water, Kāne thrust his staff into the earth, and fresh water poured forth. Such places were called "The water thrust forth of Kāne and Kanaloa."

Here are some other powers that they had. They could take over the life of a man, one that they led to do that which they desired, such as if they wanted 'awa or fish, some other thing that they desired. There were many things that they did at places they traveled to, like making the fishpond at Honuaula, by their power.

### **His Deeds.**

Drinking 'awa is what they did, from Hawai'i to Kaua'i, and this is why the thrust forth to make the water, to have water for the mixing of their 'awa, at the places they stayed. This is how they came to stay at Lāna'i. And when they finished visiting Hawai'i, they returned to where they had come from, Lau-'ena-a-Kāne (in Kahiki). Those sands are the sands which are tossed upon them during their periods of sleep.

Now their younger sibling (Kāne'āpua), was left at Kaunolū on Lāna'i, watching from the point, which is named Lae o Kāne'āpua. There came a time when Kānewahanui sailed from Hawai'i, seeking out those things which he desired. Kāne'āpua called out to him, "Where is the canoe traveling to?" Kānewahanui answered, "The canoe seeks to tread upon the bosom of Kāne and Kanaloa." Kāne'āpua, responded, "Is that so! The bosom of the gods that you a mortal shall tread upon. How about if I join you as well?"

Kānewahanui agreed, and they traveled to the Foundations of Kahiki, and his desire was satisfied. Kāne'āpua led Kānewahanui to see the net of Makali'i, and it was at that time that the net of Makali'i was gnawed by the rat of Kānewahanui, and that all kinds of foods were obtained in Hawai'i.

So I have heard. Naimu [Maly, translator]

## **The God Kāne'āpua is an Ancestor of Some of the People of Lāna'i, and was a Noted Navigator**

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 Kaunolū on Lāna'i (cf. "He Moololo no Makalei" in Ka Hoku o Hawaii, January 31 through August 21, 1928). The residency of the god-navigator, Kāne'āpua is commemorated in a place name to this day, at Kaunolū. Below, is one of the traditions of this god and his place in the life of the families of Lāna'i.

**Ianuari 5, 1867 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**He Moololo no Wahanui**

**me Kaneapua ma Lanai**

O Wahanui kekahi alii o Oahu i holo i Kahiki. O Wahanui ke alii, o Kilohi ke kilo, o Moopuaiki ke kahuna a me na hookele moana. I ko lakou holo

ana a pae ma Haleolono ma Molokai. I ka wanaao holo aku la lakou ma 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 Kahikiku, i Kahikimoe, i Kahiki kapakapakaua a Kane, he waa e holo ana e keekeehe i ka houpo o Kane.” “O kou houpo la hoi o ko ke kanaka, ka houpo la hoi o ke akua keehiia iho, a pau 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 puahiohio, 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, hoouna ia o Kaneapua, e pii i ka wai i uka o Miki, aia no ia wahi mauka o Lanai, aka, he kuko ua mau kaikuaana nei o Kaneapua, 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 hooili 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 pilikia o Wahanui ma i ka moana a ua nalowale na aina, 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...

[Translation]

**January 5, 1867 (page 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**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, Kīlohi was the astronomer, and Mo‘opuaiki was the navigator. They sailed and landed at Haleolono, Moloka‘i. In the early morning, they sailed along the cliff of Kaholo, on Lāna‘i, at daylight, they passed by the point of Kaunolū. Just a little to the southeast of there, is the Point of ‘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 Kīlohi.” “Where is the canoe sailing to?” “The canoe, is sailing to Kahikikū 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?”

Kīlohi, 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 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... [Maly, translator]

## **Kāne and Kanaloa Made a Spring of Fresh Water on Lāna’i**

**Ianuali 12, 1867 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I. (Helu 10)**

**(He Moolelo no Ka Wai a Kane ma Lanai)**

O ka moolelo o na Akua. Ua olelo pinepine ia ma ka moolelo kaa a ma na pule, a ma na mele a ka poe kahiko a pau, mai Kahiki mai ke akua, a mai ka lewaalani mai, a no ka lani mai.

O ka moolelo o Kane a me Kanaloa, a o laua paha na kahu akua mua i hiki mai i Hawaii nei, a no ko laua mana, ua kapaia laua he mau akua. A ua kapa mua ia o Kahoolawe o Kanaloa ka inoa no ka hiki mua ana mai ma Kealaikahiki. Mai Kahoolawe aku laua a hiki i Kahikinui, na laua i wawahi ka loko ia a Kanaloa aia ma Lualailua, na laua ka wai o Kou ma Kaupo, na laua i hoomake kahuna oia o Koino ma Kikoo i Kipahulu, a na laua i hoomake ka moopuna a Waianu ma no ka hoohaumia i ka wa ai, a

na laua i wahi i ka pohaku a puai mai ka wai, he wai kahe momona, aia ma Waihee ma Kahakuloa, a ma Lanai, aia ma Waiakane ma Punakou ma Molokai, aia ma Kawaihoa i Oahu. Pela no a puni keia pae aina, aia ma Kapua i Hawaii ke ana i Kahoupo o Kane, a me Keonelauena a Kane. A pela o Ku me Lono ma ka moololo o na poe Lonopuha a ka poe lapaau ma Kahiki mai ke akua, a ma Kauai i pae mua mai ai, a malaila i laha mai ai ke akua.

[Translation]

**January 12, 1867 (page 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**The Traditions of Kamehameha I (Number 10)**

**(A Tradition of the Water of Kane on Lanai)**

In the traditions and prayers and chants of ka po'e kahiko, it is often said that the gods came from Kahiki, from upper space, lewa lani, and from the heavens, lani.

According to the mo'olelo of Kāne and Kanaloa, they were perhaps the first who kept gods ('o laua paha nā kahu akua mua) to come to Hawai'i nei, and because of their mana they were called gods. Kaho'olawe was first named Kanaloa for his having first come there by way of Ke-ala-i-Kahiki. From Kaho'olawe the two went to Kahikinui, Maui where they opened up the fishpond of Kanaloa at Lua-la'i-lua, and from them came the water of Kou at Kaupō. They caused the deaths of the unholy priests (kāhuna 'aiā) at Ko'ina at Kīko'o in Kīpahulu and of the grandchild of Waianu for defiling drinking water. They broke open rocks so that water would gush forth—sweet, flowing water—at Wai-he'e and at Kahakuloa on Maui, on Lāna'i, at Waiakāne in Punakou on Moloka'i, and at Kawaihoa on O'ahu. This they did throughout the islands. At Kapu'a in Kona on Hawai'i is the cave called Ka-houpo-a-Kāne and in Puna was Kāne's stretch of sand called Ke-one-lau'ena-a-Kāne. [Translation, Pukui & Barrere, 1991:112]

## **Ka Huaka'i Pele i Hawai'i (The Migration of Pele to Hawai'i)**

In the narratives which record "Ka Huaka'i Pele," we learn that Pele and beloved members of her family, all of whom possessed various powers of nature or forms, departed from Kahiki in the canoe Honua-i-ākea, steered by Pele's eldest brother, Kamohoali'i. Pele called out in a mele (chant) to her traveling companions:

Kū mākou e hele me ku'u mau pōki'i aloha  
Ka 'āina a mākou i 'ike 'ole ai malalo aku nei  
A'e mākou me ku'u pōki'i kau i ka wa'a  
No'eau ka hoe a Ka-moho-ali'i a'ea'e kau i ka nalu

He nalu haki kākala, he nalu e ‘imi ‘ana  
I ka ‘āina e hiki aku ai. . .

We rose to travel with my beloved siblings  
To the land below, which we have not yet known  
My siblings and I enter the canoe  
Kamohoali‘i is skilled with the paddle as we rise over the waves  
Waves which are broken and choppy, waves which seek  
The land that is our destination. . .  
[Ho‘ohila Kawelo Collection, June 1975; Maly, curator]

As the mele and narratives continue, we are told of Pele’s arrival in Hawai‘i, her journey down the island chain, and her encounters with her elder sister, Nāmakaokaha‘i who was possessed of an ocean body-form. Thus, Pele being fire and her sister being ocean, there was an inherent family issue—that being, the conflict between fire and water. Along the way, Pele was routed from one location to another, until she arrived at Lāna‘i where she found a brief period of quiet and rest. In the section of the mele describing Pele’s sojourn on Lāna‘i, two primary locations are mentioned, Maunalei, where garlands of ‘ie‘ie were fashioned for her, and the waters refreshed Hi‘iakaikapoliopole, the youngest sister of Pele; and Polihua on the shore of Ka‘ā. The mele observes that Pele found particular pleasure in eating the turtles that frequented Poli-hua (literally translated as “Cove-of-eggs”), a name which according to elder native speakers of Lāna‘i commemorates the nesting practices of turtles on Lāna‘i. There is also a reference in traditional mythology to the place Malulani, situated at approximately the 1,500 foot elevation (Site 14 in Emory, 1924), so named because another of Pele’s sisters, remained there on Lāna‘i, following Pele’s departure from the island. See the Lāna‘i mele and notes pertaining to Malulani in the section of this study addressing sites of the Ka‘ā region.

## **A Famine on Lāna‘i – an Ancient Prayer Offered by Pakeaulani to the God Kānepa‘ina**

The tradition below tells of two ancient residents of Lāna‘i, a period of famine across the islands, and the death of the population. We learn the name of a god of one of the heiau on Lāna‘i, Kānepa‘ina. The word “anela” (Hawaiianized angel) is used by the writer in place of the traditional words ‘aumakua (family guardian) or akua (gods). Also cited within this account, is a pule (prayer) uttered by ancient residents of Lāna‘i.

### **Nowemapa 8, 1862 (aoao 3) Nupepa Kuokoa No na Akua o ka wa kahiko**

...Eia mai he wahi moololo no ka malama ana o kekahi anela paha, a mau anela paha, oia hoi he mau Kane paha. Penei ua wahi moololo 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, kokoke 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 hana'i, kaumaha aku la, alaila, pule aku la, penei kahi hapa o ka pule.

“Kini o ke akua,  
E ka lehu 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 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 kamaile mai la kekahi anela o Kanepaina. I mai la, “Ea, a keia po e panipani aku oe i na pukapuka liili o ko olua hale, a e noho malie mai kamaile pu me kou makuakane a pau ae la ka laua kamaile pu ana, a hele aku la ia anela. Ninau mai la kona makuakane ia ia, “Owai kou hoa i kamaile 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 puka aku ka hana iwaho ua palaku ka Maia, ua moe ke Ko a ala mai, hele ke anakiu 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...

Owau no me ka mahalo. John Puniwai

[Translation]

**November 8, 1862**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**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 worshiped, 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 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, Kānepaʻina, 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 Maiʻa (bananas), Kō (sugar cane) lying upon the ground, ʻuala (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 Lānaʻi. So this is one tradition of how one of the Kāne (gods), was worshipped by these men...



I am with appreciation. John Puniwai. [Maly, translator]

## **Heiau a me ka Ho‘omana Akua— Temples, Ceremonial Sites and Shrines In the Traditional Hawaiian Belief System**

Religion permeated and directed the lives of the ancient Hawaiians. The kinolau (myriad body forms) of their gods were manifest in every aspect of nature. Each wind and breeze had a known name, and could be associated with a god or goddess. Likewise every drop of rain, cloud form, plant, living creature, ocean wave and current, each stone, and even the heavenly bodies, were believed to be the physical manifestations of one or more gods and goddesses. The very islands themselves were born as children of the gods, and kānaka (the people) were the youngest siblings in this extended family. As described in the selected narratives above, there was a time when the gods walked the earth and interacted with the people of the land.

Esteemed native historian, Mary Kawena Pukui shared this perspective on the Hawaiian belief system with Maly in 1974:

It is impossible to enumerate the hundreds of gods and goddesses of old Hawai‘i. Some of the gods were inherited from exceedingly ancient times, from our ancestors who came from southern islands and they can be said to have been ‘brought’ along by them, just as truly as were the material things in the canoes because they [the gods and goddesses] were in their minds and souls... [M.K. Pukui Ms. page 2.]

As a result of this relationship between the gods and people, many forms of worship evolved among the Hawaiian people, and a wide range of heiau (temples and ceremonial sites) were developed. These ceremonial sites varied in form from places where a single stone might be set in place to large platforms or walled enclosures. An example of the latter is found at Ka‘ena iki—in Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a, which measures 55 feet wide by 152 feet long.

The Ka‘ā region contains other heiau—some named and some whose names have been lost. In traditions associated with the god Kāne, Ka‘ā is noted for one particular type of small shrine usually found along trail sides and at resource development sites, called Pōhaku o Kāne (Stone of Kāne). In ancient times, travel across the island via the ala hele (trails and byways), afforded people access to various localities, and also facilitated the collection of resources including, but not limited to the products of agricultural fields, stone for adze making, burial sites, and various plant materials. In 1793-1794, A. Menzies visited the Hawaiian Islands with Captain George Vancouver, during which time Menzies and crew members walked inland on the island of Hawai‘i with native guides to botanize and take readings of the topography. While ascending the mountain slopes, Menzies observed that the

Hawaiian kept “Morai” (heiau – ceremonial sites) along the trails at which they regularly stopped to pray and make offerings (Menzies 1908:110). The following excerpts from Menzies describe this practice:

“So bigoted are these people to their religion that here and there, on the sides of the path, they have little Morais, or spots consecrated to their Deity, which none of them ever pass without leaving something—let it be ever so trifling—to obtain his good will, and they were highly delighted, indeed, when we followed their example in throwing a nail or a few beads, or a piece of tapa, before their Deity, which the women were not allowed to pass without uncovering their breasts and shoulders.” [Menzies 1908:110]

While the above narrative was recorded on a trip to Mauna Loa—on the island of Hawai‘i—this protocol was uniformly practiced throughout the islands, and is deeply rooted in the spiritual beliefs of the people. Examples of small shrines, upright stones (Pōhaku o Kāne) and other features can still be found today along the trails and at resource collection sites in Ka‘ā and around Lāna‘i.

In the 1860s, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (Kamakau, 1976), one of the early preeminent native historians documented various types and uses of heiau that help frame a cultural context for certain features which occur on the lands of the Ka‘ā study area:

#### **Heiau — “Places of Worship and Rituals”**

Heiau were not alike; they were of different kinds according to the purpose for which they were made... If it were for blessings to all the land, the well-being of all the people, for “food” or “fish,” then the chiefs built heiaus all over the land. The people, maka‘ainana, erected fishing shrines, ko‘a ku‘ula, all around the islands so that the land would be provided with fish.

If there was distress because of trouble with the staple plant food, ‘ai, heiaus called ipu-o-Lono were raised up all over the land to revive them.

The luakini po‘okanaka were large heiaus and were called ‘ohi‘a ko and haku ‘ohi‘a. They were built along the coast, in the interior of the land, and on the mountain sides. They were only for the paramount chief, the ali‘i nui, of an island or district (moku). Other chiefs and maka‘ainana could not build them; if they did, they were rebels.

The waihau ipu-o-Lono were comfortable heiaus [did not have the stringent tabus of the luakini]. The chief would build one first; afterward the people, the maka‘ainana and the kanaka, of the land would build them so that the land might “live” (no ke ola o ka ‘aina). The offerings were easy ones.

The hale ipu-o-Lono were heiaus to inspire rain, heiau ho'ouluulu ua, when the land was parched. After the chief had built a heiau ho'ouluulu ua the people built unu ho'ouluulu ua to inspire rain and so make ready the land for planting.

Waihau hale-o-Papa were also comfortable heiaus. They belonged to pi'o and ni'aupi'o chiefesses, and were for the good of the women and the children, borne for the benefit of the land. [1976:129]

Ku'ula were ko'a fishing heiaus. The chief would build a ku'ula, and when his was freed, the chiefs, and his people, kanaka, would build them all around the seacoast of the island. They were for fish—to increase the fish around the island. The tabus were comfortable.

Pohaku-o-Kane were single stones set up in commemoration of Kane. Families would set up these stones at their residences, and to them they would go and make offerings and sacrifices to obtain forgiveness for a wrong done by someone in the family or by the family itself... [1976:130]

### **Heiau of the People**

The people built their heiaus in different ways. If they were prominent people, their heiaus would be large; if they were humble people, their heiaus would be small.

All the male gods and the female gods would be prayed to, and appeals made to this and that one. Then they would request "life" for the ruler. If [1976:131] he were a good chief, they would pray for his health. Then they would request blessings for his family... The health of the body was the main thing prayed for by the people of Hawaii. Ka po'e kahiko prayed constantly—in the morning, at midday, in the evening, in the middle of the night. They made tabu the place for the ceremonial offering of 'awa to the gods, and that is why the women were kept separate in the house and the men were in the mua... [1976:132]

Heiau ko'a, fishing shrines, were sometimes large, but most of them were small. Some consisted of a house enclosed by a wooden fence, and banana offerings were made in them; but most were exposed to view and were just rounded heaps of stones with a kuahu altar where pigs were baked. When the offering had been made and the pig eaten, the ko'a was left exposed but the imu and its stones were covered over with dirt and packed down. Heiau ko'a were close to the beach or in seacoast caves, on lands with cliffs. The purpose of the heiau ko'a was important. The ko'a brought life to the land through an abundance of fish; there was no other purpose for the ko'a but this. There were many kinds of gods of the people who worshiped fishing gods. The people whose god was Ku'ula built

Ku'ula ko'a; those whose god was Kanemakua built Kanemakua ko'a, and those of Kinilau, Kamohoali'i, and Kaneko'a did likewise, and so there were many, many ko'a.

Ko'a were also built to increase the 'o'opu fishes in streams, rivers, and fishponds. On islets inhabited by birds, the bird catchers who caught birds by imitating their cries and then snaring them (kono manu), or who smoked them out of their nesting holes (puhi manu), or who drew them out from their holes (pu manu) also set up ko'a to give life to the land by an abundance of birds...

Heiau ipu-o-Lono were for the increase of plant foods (heiau ho'oulu 'ai). Some were large, but most of them were small.

When trouble came to the land because of famine, when the earth lay baked in the sun, the streams ran dry, the land was barren, and many "enemies" ('enemi) plundered the growing things, the ruler inquired as to how the land might be revived, and the cultivated things be made to grow. Then those whose hereditary calling it was to inspire growth erected houses to the gods who had to do with rain and the land was revived by rain. There were few such rain heiaus, heiau ho'ouluulu ua. Makuku, in Nu'uaniu, was one of them. Their functions were not as many as in other heiaus; they were only to bring rain.

The heiau ipu-o-Lono constantly maintained by the populace was the hale mua, the men's eating house, which every household had. In it was a large gourd container, an ipu hulilau, with four pieces of cord for a handle. Inside the gourd there was "food" and "fish" ('ai and i'a) and outside, tied to the cord handle, was an 'awa root. This gourd was called an ipu kua'aha, or an ipu-o-Lono, or an ipu 'aumakua. Every morning and evening the householder prayed and offered food to the god; then he would take the ipu-o-Lono from the hanging post, the wall, or the rack—from wherever it was kept—and bring it to the center of the house, take hold of the 'awa root on the handle, and pray to the god about troubles or blessings, and pray for peace to the kingdom, to the king, the chiefs, the people, his family, and to himself. When the praying was ended, he sucked on the 'awa root, opened the gourd, and ate of the "food" and "fish" within. This gourd was also called an ipu 'ai or an ipu kai. It was sacred, and consecrated to the god. [1976:133]

## **Hānai a 'ai: Traditions and Practices of Cultivating the Land and Fishing the Sea**

In ancient Hawai'i nature and culture were one and the same, and the wealth and limitations of the land and ocean resources gave birth to, and shaped the Hawaiian

world view. Nature was the source of the spiritual relationship between people and the earth about them—the ‘āina (land), wai (water), kai (ocean), and lewa (sky) were, and remain the foundation of life. The makani (winds) carried the breath of life, the spirit and essence of the gods and people, and the ua (rains) were likened to the tears of godly beings. Every aspect of life, whether in the sky, on land, in the waters, or of the winds were believed to have been the physical body-forms assumed by the creative forces of nature, and the greater and lesser gods and goddesses of the Hawaiian people. Respect and care for nature, in turn meant that nature would care for the people. Thus for the most part, Hawaiian culture evolved in a healthy relationship with the natural world around it, and until the arrival of foreigners on Hawaiian shores the health and well-being of the people was reflected in the health of nature around them.

As documented in the traditions of the gods cited above, the earliest Hawaiian settlers – perhaps the gods themselves – brought with them plants and food crops necessary to sustain life on the land. Lāna‘i is cited in some of these accounts as being a place where valued cultivars were introduced. Among the "purposeful introductions" were the basic plants—dry- and wet- land taros, sweet potatoes, yams, gourds, breadfruit, coconuts, ‘awa, sugar cane, and wauke (paper mulberry)—which would be cultivated.

Samuel Kamakau wrote detailed descriptions of traditional and customary practices associated with working the land and fishing the ocean. He compiled important narratives (translated by Kawena Pukui, 1961, 1968, 1976 and 1991), including “Mo‘olelo o na Kamehameha” (History of the Kamehamehas) (Kamakau, 1867 & Ruling Chiefs, 1961). One of Kamakau’s accounts was titled “O na Hana ike a me ke Akamai mamua o ka Hiki ana mai o na Misionari” (The Skilled Works and Wisdom—of the Hawaiians—prior to the arrival of the Missionaries). Kamakau observed that the Hawaiians were adept at many crafts, they were industrious, skilled agriculturalists, and proficient fishermen. The narratives also describe some of the hardships forced upon the people under the old system, but he noted that his people are worse off today (ca. 1867-1869), under the foreign innovations than they were in earlier times. The narratives also provide insights into the relationship of people to the land, how they lived upon it, and traditional materials—cultural/archaeological features—that have been left behind.

## Cultivation of Food Crops and Work of the People on the Land

**Dekemaba 14, 1867 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I**

**Na S.M. Kamakau – Helu 51**

**No ka Noho Alii ana o Liholiho Maluna o ke Aupuni,  
a ua Kapaia o Kamehameha II.**

He momona ka aina, a he puni kauoha ka mahiai na na kupuna kahiko o keia Pae Aina. Aia a make ka makuakane a me ka makuahine, a o ka olelo kauoha a na makua i na keiki, ina he keikikane, o ka mahiai a me ka lawaia, a ina hou he kaikamahine, o ke kuku, kekapala a me ka ulana moena. O ka mahiai ana o ke kalo wai, ua mahi ia maloko o na loko, na loi, o na kuakua, na paeli, a me na wahi pulu wai. O ke kalo kanu maloo, aia no ma Maui a me Hawaii kahi i kanu nui ia ai ke kalo maloo, a he hapa na aina wai ma ia mau mokupuni. A me Kauai, Oahu a me Molokai ka nui o na aina kalo wai. O Lanai a me Niihau, o ka uala ka ai nui. Ua mahiia ka aina mai kai a hiki i ke kuahiwi e ka poe kahiko...

He lahui mahiai, a he lahui naauao ka lahuikanaka kahiko o Hawaii nei, a he lahui hookuonoono no hoi; aohe lakou i ola i ka aea wale ai i ka lau nahelehele a me hua limukala, e like me ka noonoo a kekahi poe no keia Lahuikanaka Hawaii...

[Translation]

**December 14, 1867 (page 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**The Tradition of Kamehameha I**

**By S.M. Kamakau – Helu 51**

**Liholiho's Reign over the Kingdom,**

**He was called Kamehameha II.**

The Hawaiians were in old days a strong and hard-working people skilled in crafts and possessed of much learning. In hospitality and kindness they excelled other peoples of the Pacific. Cultivation of the land was their main industry. With their hands alone, assisted by tools made of hard wood from the mountains and by stone adzes, they tilled large fields and raised taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, sugar cane, and 'awa; and bartered (ku'ai 'ia) their product or used it at home. Always the first food of the harvest was offered to the gods. Parents before they died instructed their children, the sons to plant and fish, the daughters to make and dye tapa and weave mats. The land was fertile... On Lanai and Niihau sweet potatoes were the principal crop. The land was cultivated from the shore to the mountains by the people of old...

The ancient people of Hawaii were a race of agriculturalist, theirs was a wise nation, and well mannered. They didn't simply live by eating wild greens and seed of the limu kala, as some people now supposed of the Hawaiian race...

The Hawaiians built houses of various kinds... [page 237] ...The house of a chief was made lofty with a high-peaked roof, and carefully thatched, first with some coarse material laid flat underneath and then with a covering of fine pili grass neatly tied and fastened to give a smooth appearance inside the house. Houses thatched with pandanus, ti, or banana leaves were finished with equal care. Heaps of mats completed the furnishing within. The houses of the commoners were of pili thatch, sometimes with cane leaves or 'uki grass underneath, or of pandanus or cane leaves folded over, and were often built only just a little higher than the head. Many varieties of grasses were used to put a handsome finish to the house...

All the work outside the house was performed by the men, such as [page 238] tilling the ground, fishing, cooking in the imu, and furnishing whatever the women needed in the house...

Fishing was one of the chief occupations in old days. The fishhooks were made of turtle shell, dog, fish or human bones, prongs of hard wood, and other materials... [page 239]

...[I]n old days people who lived in out-of-the-way places were heavily burdened by labor performed for chiefs, landlords, and land agents. But although the work was hard, that today is even more so when families are broken up and one must even leave his bones among strangers. In the old days, the people did not work steadily at hard labor but at several years' interval, because it was easier then to get food from the fishponds, coconut groves, and taro patches. Hogs grew so fat that the eyelids drooped, bananas dropped off at a touch, sugarcane grew so tall that it leaned over, sweet potatoes crowded each hill, dogs fattened, fish cooked with hot stones in the early morning filled the food gourd, and a man could eat until he set the dish aside...

Today the working man labors like a cart-hauling ox that gets a kick in the buttocks. He shivers in the cold and the dew-laden wind, or broils in the sun with no rest from his toil. Whether he lives or dies it is all alike. He gets a bit of money for his toil; in the house where he labors there are no blood kin, no parents, no relatives-in-law, just a little corner for himself. In these days of education and Christianity there is no regard for the old teaching of the ancestors. In those days the boys

were taught to cultivate the ground and fish for a living, the girls to beat out tapa and print patterns upon it, and to work well and pray to the god, and they were taught that it was wrong to be indolent and take to robbing others. These teachings were held in esteem in old Hawaii, and the land was rich and its products varied... [Kamakau 1961:372]

David Malo, some 20 years senior to Kamakau, also observed in 1839 that on Lānaʻi:

There was kula land on...Lanai, just as on Niihau. The chief crops of these lands were sweet potatoes. There was wet taro land, however, at Maunalei on Lanai and an abundance of taro... [Malo, 1951:205-206]

## **Knowledge of the Sea and Fishing: A Distinguished Practice Among Hawaiians**

Fishing was a major occupation for the ancient residents of Lānaʻi, and it remains an important practice for families on the island in the present day. The coastal region from Awalua/Hale-o-Lono across Polihua and Kaʻena, to Honopū/Nānāhoa, is visited regularly by island fisher-people who seek to feed their families and find peace in being on the land. Selected narratives below, describe the knowledge and practices of traditional lawaiʻa (fisher-people), and provide an understanding of the foundational basis of Hawaiian management, use, and reverence of land and aquatic resources. While Kaʻā and Lānaʻi are not specifically mentioned in each of the accounts, these Kamakau narratives reveal the traditional use of features which are still present on Lānaʻi.

### **The Seas**

Ka poʻe kahiko distinguished by name the waters along the coast, out to sea, and to the deep ocean. The place on land where waves break and spread is the lihi kai or ʻae kai, edge of the sea. Where they wash over the land is called pahola, hohola, or palaha (“spread”), and the place where they break and spread toward land is called puʻeone or poʻina nalu or poʻina a kai.

The overall term for a place where shallow seas come in without rising [into breakers] is kai kohola or just kohola (the shallow sea within the reef). The water on the mauka, or land, side of the kohola is called the kai ʻelemihi [for the ʻelemihi crabs that are to be found there]; the makai, or seaward, side of the kohola is called the kai haha papaʻi (the sea in which to feel for papaʻi crabs). The mauka part is also called kai kahekaheka [because of the many small salt-collecting sea pools], or kai kiʻokiʻo [because water remains in the rocky basins after the tide goes down], or hapuna [for the puddles of standing water]. Seaward of this area are the kai hele ku, the sea for wading; the papa heʻe, the octopus grounds; the



kai 'ohua, feeding grounds of young fishes; and the kai 'au kohana, the sea for bathing naked.

Then comes the kai he'e nalu, surf-riding sea, or kua'au, and the po'ina nalu, or po'ina, where the waves break. Just beyond this surf line is the area called kua nalu, back of the wave, or kulana, pitch and toss, and then the kai kea, white sea; or kai lu'u, sea for diving; or kai paeaea, sea for pole fishing. Outside of there are the areas of the kai 'o leho and kai 'okilo he'e, sea for octopus fishing; the kai kaka uhu, sea for netting uhu; the kai ka'ili, sea for fishing with hook and line; and the kai lawai'a, sea for [deep sea] fishing.

Just before the sea becomes very dark is the kai lu he'e, the sea in which to catch octopuses with lures, and where the sea is very dark blue is the kai malolo and kai hi aku, the sea in which to fish for malolo and aku. Outside of there are the ko'a hi kahala and ko'a hi 'ahi, the fishing grounds, ko'a, for kahala and 'ahi. Beyond is the ocean, moana, called lepo or lewa or lipo—the dark blue-purple sea of Kane, kai Popolohua mea a Kane—that extends to the clouds on the horizon.

Where the sea is a very dark blue it is called the kai popolohua mea a Kane...; [Kamakau, 1976:11] where it is white [with foam] it is called kai ke'oke'o; where it becomes reddish colored, like 'alaea, it is called kai 'ula'ula; where it becomes yellowish colored, like 'olena, it is called kai lenalena. A sea that is mottled or streaked is a kai ma'oki'oki. Where the sea is calm and tranquil it is called kai malino or kai pohu or kai paeaea; where it floats in puddles it is called kai kaheka or kai ki'o or kai hapuna.

A sea where waves each break up into individual waves (po'i pakahi), is called a kai kulana and, if they break into innumerable waves (po'i kuakini), a kai ko'o, rough sea, or nalu ku ka halelo (jagged waves). Where waves dash against points of land the sea is called kai maka lae; where they dash against cliff bases it is called kai kuehu. Where waves break in a cave or crevice and blowout forcibly is called kai puhi, or just puhi, "blowhole," and where the sea goes up and down within a crevice is called mimilo or mimiki or 'a'aka.

A sea that extends inland and is almost surrounded by land is a kai haloko or kai puhi lala; one that extends inland but is wide open on one side is a kai ku'ono. One that is entirely surrounded by land is a loko kai, lagoon, or haloko kai, sea pond, or loko pa'akai or loko li'u, salt pond. The sea that flows into a loko is a kai hi, and the sea that evaporates in the sun is a kai ho'olu'u or kai pa'akai (a sea that stores or makes salt).

Sea water in a dish, pa, is called kai penu or kai miki, "sopping gravy."

Sea water in a basin is called kai ku, kaikuehu, or kaikea; these names apply to sea water used for enemas.

### **The Waves**

Here is something further. That which swells and rolls in “furrows” (‘au kawahawaha) just makai of the surf line (kua‘au) is a nalu, a wave. A wave that breaks along its entire length is a kai palala, nalu palala, or lauloa; if it breaks on one side, that is a nalu muku. A wave that is sunken inward when breaking (po‘opo‘o iloko ke po‘i ana) is a nalu halehale (cavernous wave) [called “tube” by modern surfers]; one that draws up high is a nalu puki; one that does not furrow or break is an ‘aio, a swell; one that sinks down just as it was about to break is a nalu ‘opu‘u. A wave that swirls and “eats away” [the sand] (po‘ai ‘onaha) is a nalu ‘a‘ai or ‘ae‘i; one that rolls in diagonally (waiho ‘ao‘ao mai) is a nalu kahela.

Where waves meet at one place because of some rise on the sea bottom—or a mass of coral heads perhaps—is called a pu‘ao and where they break constantly at coral heads they are called nalu ko‘aka.

The “furrows” (kawahawaha) of the ocean that are stirred up by the wind become waves called ‘ale, billows or ni‘au; a swell that blows off above (pu‘o iluna) and breaks below (po‘i iho) is an ‘ale ni‘au. A long swell, aio, that breaks and spreads in (po‘i pahola mai) is an ‘ale lauloa; long swells that break in lines [in sets] are ‘ale kualono. A swell that twists about and breaks here and breaks there in an agitated manner (kupikipiki‘o ka po‘i ana) is an... [Kamakau, 1976:12] ‘ale wiliau, and when many swells break agitatedly against points or capes of land they are called ‘ale wiliau maka lae.

The [little] swell that “grows” (kupu) [occurs] close to the ama, or float, of a canoe and keeps curling is called an ‘ale kuloko, a “local” swell, or ‘ale hu‘e, a “flowing” swell. The one that curls under the forward outrigger boom, kua ‘iako mua, is called the ‘ale hu‘e i mua, the flowing swell in front; and the one that curls at the rear ‘iako is called the ‘ale hu‘e i hope, the flowing swell in back. The swell that curls in front of the canoe is the ‘ale po‘i i ka ihu, the swell curling at the “nose”; the double curl (po‘i palua) at the middle of the canoe is called the ‘ale kawa or ale kapo or ‘ale pani, and the swell that curls “outside” (mawaho) [behind] the canoe is called the ‘ale ‘uha... [Kamakau, 1976:13]

### **Methods of Fishing**

The Hawaiian people were a race of expert fishermen. The art had been handed down from their ancestors. Agriculture and fishing were the two main professions always passed on by the grandparents to the boys—and at the same time they taught them that thievery and idleness are disgraceful.

The fishing profession was an important one, and one that could not be undertaken without supplies of canoes, nets, and fishing lines. If a fisherman were a landholder or a chief, or a descendant of a fisherman, or a son in a family which had 'aumakua of fishing, then he could be a true fisherman with no lack of long canoes, short canoes, light, swift canoes, large and small nets, and long and short fishing lines. He would have everything he needed, and there would be nothing to stop him.

...Some ways of fishing were much work, and some were very easy. Fish was obtained in greatest quantity with nets. Other main ways of fishing were, with basket traps; with hook and line; by prodding about with a stick; by feeling about and grasping by hand or ensnaring between the fingers; by striking loose with stones [the 'opihī]; and by drugging fish. A man could also fish with his hands, or with crab or shrimp nets, or with a pole from a ledge or the seashore, or catch fish in tide pools with a scoop net, or go along the seashore with a net, or set a fish line; or search for fish with a small basket trap; or draw a net over sandy spots in the sea or up onto the shore; or drive fish into nets by splashing; or with a pole. But these were not expert ways of fishing; they were just for the taking of fish to make living more pleasurable—to have something for the family and guests to [Kamakau, 1976:59] eat with their poi. Superior to these ways were fishing with long lines and by diving... As fishing was done by ka po'e kahiko so it is done now—it is impossible to improve upon their methods... [Kamakau, 1976:60]

The waters fronting Ka'ā were noted for several types of fish, and several historical accounts provide descriptions of fishing practices. Among the fish were the uhu (parrot fish), the kapu fish of Ka'ā, claimed by Chiefess Kamāmalu, following the Land Division of 1848, he'e (octopus) and varieties of honu (turtles). Kamakau (1976) provides basic descriptions of several fishing techniques:

### **Kaka Uhu Fishing**

Kaka uhu fishing was a well-known and distinguished way of fishing in the old days. It could not be done by those who only cast for fish, ka'ili, but by those who were trained, and who knew the rules for fishing with a decoy, a pakali... On a lucky day, la [1976:65] kulia, the fisherman would catch anywhere from twenty to forty uhu...

The time for fishing for uhu was from seven o'clock in the morning until late afternoon. All the while the uhu were being decoyed and netted was a time of much joy and pleasure as the dark shiny uhu pano, the red uhu 'ula, the flame-colored uhu 'a'a, and the yellow-tinted uhu halahala glistened from the front to the back of the canoe. By the time the fisherman turned homeward and beached the canoe at the landing, his 'ie baskets would be full of fish jostling each other. His wife, children, and

family all rejoiced. Fish were given to the family members and kinfolk who carried the canoe ashore, then the fisherman went home... [Kamakau, 1976:66]

### **Fishing With Lures**

Ka po'e kahiko had many other ways of fishing besides net fishing. Using a cowry-shell lure to catch octopuses (lulu he'e; lu he'e), and a mother-of-pearl shell lure to catch aku fish (pa hi aku) were two "aristocratic" (ha'aheo) ways of fishing that were widely engaged in. It was not necessary for the fisherman to go into the sea or the ocean; these "fishes" were obtained from the surface.

One skilled in fishing with a cowry, leho, could predict beforehand, "This leho will get twenty he'e; that one will get forty; this one, twice forty," and so forth. Very choice cowries were the leho ahi and the leho kupa, and they were desired and searched for, as a beautiful woman is sought. The ahi is red like the red of a firebrand. Its well-formed "double canoes" (kona mau wa'a kaulua) [its lips] are covered over by a mantle (literally, feet; na wawae) which envelops the shell to the top, pu [where the edges of the mantle meet]. The kupa is alike in beauty to a shade-ripened mountain apple; it is a deep dark color through which shows red. A leho has a body and mantle alike from top to lips...

A stone had to be used with the cowry—a handsome one, to enhance the loveliness of the "female," the cowry. The handsome stone was the "husband" to the cowry, and the cowry was "married" to the stone. When the two matched in beauty, and they swayed in dance in the ocean, the he'e came to watch the joyful dance. Those of them who wished to "kiss" (honi) the cowry, leaped to embrace and kiss her because they were aroused by the dance. When the fisherman saw one hug the cowry, he braced himself and kept shaking the lure. When the octopus took hold of the cowry, the [1976:67] fisherman pulled up the cord swiftly with his right hand, grabbed it with his left hand, and pulled it hard against the side of the canoe, which forced the kakala hook into the octopus. It came up so fast through the water that its head stood up straight and its tentacles trailed like the branches of a willow, wilou, tree. With the fisherman shaking the lure, it was like an 'ala'apapa hula, and many he'e came to embrace the dancer, unaware of the hook underneath... There were many kinds of stones obtainable, but the fisherman of old especially looked for certain ones—the komana, pu'uku'ua, maili, polipoli, pupukea, kalapaiki, 'iole, kaua'ula, and the 'o'io. There were many, many stones that were put to suitable uses by ka po'e kahiko, but today most of them have been forgotten...

The stone was shaped like a large cowry; its front was flat, and its back humped, with a narrow groove from end to end. The stem was attached to its flat side. First the stick was lashed to the stone, then the cowry fitted to the stone at the place where it was attached to the stick—the stick being between the stone and the cowry. The snood, ha'a, that fastened the cowry on was shoved into the "tail" (puapua) of the cowry, and came out through a hole on the back of the cowry. A piece of human bone or of 'ekaha ku moana [black coral] or of kukui nut shell was placed at the "tail," and bound on by the snood, which then stretched to the "mouth" (waha) [front indentation] of the cowry. It was shoved through a hole there, and looped and secured. At the "tail" and at the front loop-fastening a small cord held the cowry together with the stone and the stem. All that remained was to go fishing... [1976:67]

...These were the days of many he'e. They did not cease to yearn for the cowries, and would fill the canoe. The only thing that made the fisherman stop was concern over his cowries—too much immersion in the salt water would dim their luster.

A choice cowry was given the name of a grandparent, a father, a mother, a wife, or of a chief. Mulali was a famous cowry of ka po'e kahiko, and so was Hualalahu. Long stories are told of these famous cowries and of how, when they were merely shown alongside a canoe, the he'e would just rise up and fill the canoe... [1976:69]

### **'Ō He'e – Octopus Spearing**

In the old days he'e were a famous seafood of lands with reef flats and coral beds. There were so many that a stench would arise from these lands. They were also a tabu "fish," although they were not made tabu exactly the same in all places. In some places the hau branch was set up [signifying that a fishing tabu was on] in the month of Kaelo [May-June], and in other places in Kaulua [June-July]; in some places the tabu might last four, five, or six months, and in others, fewer. When the rainy, winter months (ho'oilo) began, the he'e were speared. Some speared them from canoes, some while diving, and some while wading... [1976:70]

The he'e were salted and dried on racks; ten racks would fill a house. The number of he'e caught today are only fifty percent (hapa haneri) of those caught in the old days.

When the he'e were to be dried they were slapped about (kanono kio'o) and the tentacles braided. The craftsman-like way to handle a large he'e with a big bone in its head and tentacles so long that they trailed when it was held up by a man—such as the he'e of Ka'ena—was to leave it overnight and the next day massage it with much slamming about (lomi

me ka 'upa'upa ana) until it shrank, and then salt it and leave it to turn pinkish. After that the salt was washed off, the head and neck cut open, and the he'e dried. An octopus so treated would be tender... [1976:70]

## **Ancient Fishermen's Gods of Lāna'i Named in 1823**

William Ellis, an English missionary who came to Hawai'i via Tahiti in 1823, was acquainted with many of the chiefs, and spent quite a bit of time walking around the major islands in an effort to identify key places at which the American Mission could establish stations. While Ellis did not visit Lāna'i, he was acquainted with several people tied to the island, and learned some things about Lāna'i. In his published journal (Ellis 1961), the following lines named two fishermen's gods from the island, and by their names, they are tied directly to Kaunolū, along the south western shore of Lāna'i.

The people of Ranai, an adjacent island, had a number of idols, but those best known by the chiefs with whom I was conversing, were Raeapua and Kaneapua, two large carved stone images, representing the deities supposed to preside over the sea, and worshipped chiefly by fishermen... Several kinds of fish arrive in shoals on their coast, every year, in [page 51] their respective seasons. The first fish of each kind, taken by the fishermen, were always carried to the heiau, and offered to their god, whose influence they imagined had driven them to their shores.

In some remote period, perhaps, they had observed the sharks chasing or devouring these fish, as they passed along among their islands, and from this circumstance had been led to deify the monster, supposing themselves indebted to him for the bountiful supplies thus furnished by a gracious Providence. [Ellis, 1961:51-52]

## **The People Are Connected to the Land – Burial Sites are a Family Inheritance**

In another section of his history, Kamakau visits the attachment-connection shared by the people for the land of their ancestors. He describes this in the context of the land as the burial place of one's family, and notes the sanctity of such a relationship:

...In the old days the inheritance of the family burial place, the caves and secret burial places of our ancestors was handed down from these to their descendants without the intrusion of a single stranger unless by consent of the descendant, so that wherever a death occurred the body was conveyed to its inheritance. These immovable barriers belonged to burial rights for all time. The rule of kings and chiefs and their land agents might change, but the burial rights of families survived on their lands. Here is one proof of the people's right to the land.

With this right of the common people to the land is connected an inherent love of the land of one's birth inherited from one's ancestors, so that men do not wander from place to place but remain on the land of their ancestors. The Kona man does not wander to 'Ewa or Ko'olau, nor does the 'Ewa man change to Waialua. Whether rich or impoverished and barren, his love is unchanged; he cannot treat the land with contempt. However good the land on which he later lives he will wish to return to the land of his birth. The land so worthless in the eyes of a stranger is good to him. But today the habit of going away for an education or sailing abroad has undermined this old feeling for the land... (Kamakau 1961:376)

Miles of sand dunes line the coast of Ka'ā, Paoma'i and lands towards the east. The frequent occurrence of burials in these dunes, in caves and crevices on the slopes running inland, and on promontories are documented in historical accounts and in oral histories with Lāna'i kama'āina.

## **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 1400s 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 (Fornander 1973:II-82, 83). During 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 (see, Emory, 1924 and Beckwith, 1970), 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 (see "Ka Moololo o Eleio" later in this study).

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<sup>5</sup>, the King compiled the traditions found within "The Legends and Myths of Hawaii" (1888), 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.

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<sup>5</sup> 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 who 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.

**1888**

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

Kaululaau was one of the sons of Kakaalaneo, brother of, and joint ruler with Kakae in the government of Maui... The court of the brothers was at Lele (now Lahaina), and was one of the most distinguished in the [island] group.

The mother of Kaululaau was Kanikaniaula, of the family of Kamauaua, king of Molokai, through his son, Haili, who was the brother or half-brother of Keoloewa and Kaupeepee... Kaululaau was probably born somewhere between the years 1390 and 1400. He had a half-sister, whose name was Wao, and a half-brother, Kaihiwalua...

[Kaululaau] had a congenial following of companions and retainers, who assisted him in his schemes of mischief... He would send canoes adrift, open the gates of fishponds, 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, Kaululaau was popular with the people, since the chiefs of members of the royal household were usually the victims of his mischievous freaks. He was encouraged in his disposition to qualify himself for the priesthood, under the instruction of the eminent high-priest and prophet, 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 uncurling 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 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 cocoanuts 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 [‘āpapane] 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 some time 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... [Kalakaua, 1888, pp. 209-213]

The tradition continues by describing events in which Kaululaau 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 (Kalakaua, 1888:225).

In the tradition of “Kelea, the Surf-Rider of Maui” (Kalakaua 1888, pp. 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 the 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” (Kalakaua, 1888:229).

King Kalākaua described the introduction of ‘ulu (breadfruit) to Lele (Lāhaina), and Kaululā‘au’s banishment to Lāna‘i:

It was Kakaalaneo who introduced the bread-fruit there from Hawaii... for some disrespect shown to his royal brother [Kakae], whose mental weakness doubtless subjected him to unkind remarks, he banished his son Kaululaau to Lanai, which island, traditions avers, was at that time infested by powerful and malignant spirits. They killed pigs and fowls, uprooted cocoanut 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, Kaululaau 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, Kaululaau attacked the disturbing spirits, and in a short time succeeded either in bringing them to submission or driving them from the island. The gnome Mooaleo was the most difficult to vanquish. It avoided the prince, and for some time managed to keep beyond the influence of the charmed spear-point; but the monster was finally caught in 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 forever. Kaululaau obliterated sixty paces of the line of imprisonment, to enable Mooaleo to pass to the sea, into which the hideous being plunged and disappeared, never to be seen again on Lanai. [Kalakaua, 1888, pp. 229-230]

In Fornander's discussions on chiefly lineages and Kaululā'au he reported that Kaululā'au:

[F]or some of his wild pranks at his father's court in Lahaina, was banished to Lanai, which island was said to have been terribly haunted by ghosts and goblins – "Akua ino."

Kaululā'au, however, by his prowess and skill, exorcised the spirits, brought about quiet and order on the island... [Fornander, 1996:82-83]

## 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:

### **Maraki 18, 1869 (aoao 1)**

#### **Nupepa Kuokoa**

#### **Ka Moolelo o Hawaii – Helu 108**

He aupuni kahiko loa ke aupuni Hawaii ma keia pae aina, aka, he aupuni liilii a mokuahana nae o ka noho ana, a ua lehulehu wale na 'lii 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 kua a na 'lee i kokua pu iaia ma ke kua 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.

[Translation]

### **March 18, 1869 (page 1)**

#### **Nupepa Kuokoa**

#### **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. [Maly, translator]

According to Fornander, a review of genealogies and traditions indicated that Lānaʻi, while "independent at times," nonetheless a few generations after the cleansing of Lānaʻi by Kaululāʻau the island shared a "political relation" with Maui. This relationship was probably fortified during the reigns of Kiha-a-Piʻilani and his son Kamalālāwalu (Fornander 1996:94 & 207). The research of Kamakau and Fornander make several passing references to the fact that in ca. 1500, Kiha-a-Piʻilani (Kiha son of Piʻilani, who lived in about the fifth generation after Kaululāʻau) was for a time forced to hide on Lānaʻi, until the path was open for his taking the throne from a cruel elder brother, Lono-a-Piʻilani. Kiha-a-Piʻilani's reign was one of progress and peace, though nothing more is mentioned of Lānaʻi (Kamakau, 1961:22 and Fornander 1996:87 & 206).

Following Kiha-a-Piʻilani's death, Kamalālāwalu became the king of Maui, attempted to invade the island of Hawaiʻi, 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 Lānaʻi. Fornander (1916) published an account compiled from native informants, whose narratives reference a king named Kūaliʻi who was said to have unified the Hawaiian islands several generations before Kamehameha I. Kūaliʻi was imbued with god-like characteristics, and reportedly lived between ca. 1555 to 1730 AD. He was a sacred chief, feared by all, and famed for his strength. In ca. 1600, Hāloalena was the king of Lānaʻi, though he ruled under the authority of Kamalālāwalu and Kauhi-a-kama. Fornander (1916) reported that:

Haloalena, 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... [Fornander 1916 Volume IV:422]

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

This was the cause of the hostilities between the king of Lanai and the king of Maui, and the reason why the king of Lanai wanted to be independent and not be any longer under the king of Maui. At this time the chiefs of Lanai were under the control of Kamalalawalu, king of Maui... [Fornander 1916 Volume IV:424]

Kūali'i was drawn into the dispute, and settled it without bloodshed, though Hāloalena and Lāna'i remained under the Maui kingdom (Fornander 1916 Volume 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'ā 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 and events in historical events predating and during the youth of Kamehameha—names several chiefs from Lāna'i:

**Dekemaba 1, 1866 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I. Helu 5.**

**Na S.M. Kamakau**

I ka makahiki 1769, oia ka lawe ana o Kalaniopuu 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 Kiaaina Kalaniopuu i hoono 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 Kaohela, Kaolohaka a Keawe, o Awili, o Kumukoa, o Kapooloku; o na 'lii o Lanai, oia hoi o Namakeha, o Kalimanuia, o Keliiaa a me na 'lii o Maui...

[Translation]

**December 1, 1866 (page 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**The History of Kamehameha I. No. 5.**

**By S.M. Kamakau**

In the year 1769, that is when Kalani'ōpu'u took Hāna and the eastern district of Maui. Kalani'ōpu'u then returned to Hawaii, after which time, Kamehamehanui went to make war on Puna, whom Kalani'ōpu'u had left in charge of the eastern district of Maui. This was a famous battle for both sides. On the side of Kamehameha Nui, the King of Maui, there were joined the chiefs of Moloka'i, being Kaohela, Kaolohaka a Keawe, Awili, Kumukoa, and Kapooloku; and the chiefs for Lāna'i, being Namakeha, Kalaimanuia, Keliiaa, and the other chiefs of Maui...

[Maly, translator]

Kalani'ōpu'u failed in an attempt to take control of Maui in ca. 1778, and took the battle directly to Lāna'i. Fornander (1996) 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 Kamokuhi. [Fornander 1996:156-157] <sup>6</sup>

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:

### **Missionary Herald**

#### **Keopuolani, Queen of the Sandwich Islands**

#### **Died on September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1823, while in residence at Lahaina**

Keopuolani 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 Owhyhee [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 Owhyhee when it was visited by Capt. Cook, in 1777 [1778]... [Missionary Herald, July 1825:234-235]

## **Lāna'i: Historical Events and Transitions in Population**

Research has revealed a number of historical documents that describe changes on Lāna'i between ca. 1820 to the 1890s. 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 foreign endeavors, the first being the efforts of the Mormon Church to establish a station on Lāna'i between 1854-1864; this experiment increased the Hawaiian population by some 300 souls, and was quickly followed by a decline when the program failed. The second period of "growth", between 1899-1901, occurred when the Maunalei Sugar Company brought in some 600 non-Hawaiian laborers to operate a sugar plantation. The island population rapidly dropped to little more than 120 residents when the plantation failed, those who remained were mostly members of Lāna'i's long-term native families.

A common theme through most of the historical events on Lāna'i is the decline of the native population throughout the 1800s and early 1900s. The raids of Kalani'ōpu'u, which ravaged the population and laid waste to important agricultural field systems,

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<sup>6</sup> Further accounts from this period of Lāna'i's history and details of events that occurred on the lands of Ka'ā are cited in the section of this study titled "History of Ka'ā Ahupua'a."

were the start of the decline. But the introduction of foreign diseases, starting with Captain Cook's arrival in 1778 and followed by successive foreign vessels, furthered the overall decline in the native population of the Hawaiian Islands at large. It is estimated that between 1804 to 1805 as many as 150,000 Hawaiians died as a result of the ma'i 'ōku'u (believed to have been Asiatic cholera), and the decline continued, with each subsequent decade witnessing the death of tens of thousands of Hawaiians at a time.

Also adding to the decline of the native population were the growing impacts of introduced herbivores dropped off by foreign vessels to build meat stocks for ships wintering in the islands. The European boar, goats, sheep, cattle, and Scandinavian rats immediately began to alter the landscape. On Lāna'i, this had a rapid and devastating impact on the island's ability to draw moisture from the trade wind-borne clouds, and develop ground water resources. In addition to the introduction of herbivores, western demand for staple crops such as potatoes, along with the demand for 'iliahi (sandalwood) as a trade item and fire wood for 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 everything visible and trampled root systems into the ground.

The earliest population estimate for Lāna'i in ca. 1793 was 6,000 (Bowser, 1880). By 1823, the population on Lāna'i was estimated to be between 2,000 to 3,000 people, and by the early 1890s the population was around 200. William Ellis (1961), 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 below:

### **Lāna'i ("Ranai") Described in 1823**

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 Lanai, and the eastern end of Maui, by a channel, which, though narrow, is sufficiently wide for the purposes of navigation. [Ellis, 1961:6-7]

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 between 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.

**August 9, 1825**

**Letter of William Richards**

**Describes Progress of Instruction—  
Four Schools Established on Lanai.**

The islands of Lanai and Morokai have, till within a few weeks, been entirely without teachers. To the former [Lanai], 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... [Missionary Herald, June 1826:174-175]

## A Visit to Lānaʻi in July 1828

The earliest detailed description of the island of Lānaʻi was penned in 1828<sup>7</sup>, when William Richards, in the company of Kamehameha I's sacred daughter, Princess Nahi'ena'ena made a visit to the island. The journal notes were forwarded to the secretary of the A.B.C.F.M.<sup>8</sup> through a communication on Dec. 25, 1834, and the excerpts from the journal cited below, describe conditions on Lānaʻi at the time.

**December 25, 1834**

**Wm. Richards: to Rev. Rufus Anderson, Secretary of the A.B.C.F.M.  
Recounting Trips to Lanai in 1828 and 1834**

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 [map not in files with this letter], 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 talo [kalo - taro] 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, some times 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 exposed [page 1 – Reel 797:762] 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

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<sup>7</sup> This account is the earliest eyewitness description of travel on Lānaʻi found to date.

<sup>8</sup> Maly & Maly researched the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) 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 years and are seen here in print for the first time.

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 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 cocoanut trees and two or three [page 2 – Reel 797:763] 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 Kapeleaumoku, an

elderly man, who is a member of our church, and a man of established reputation...

In a letter of mine written Oct. 15<sup>th</sup>, 1828 [page 3 – Reel 797:764] 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.

[At this point Richards inserts lengthy narratives from his personal journal of 1828, and his visit to Lānaʻi with Chiefess Nahiʻenaʻena and the near loss of Kapeleaumoku while traveling from Lāhaina to Lānaʻi.]

### **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.

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... [page 17 – Reel 797:778]

### **October 15, 1828**

**Extracts from the Lahaina Report;  
People on Lanai assemble for prayer and instruction;  
Lanai statistics given.**

...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...

Islands	No. of Scholars			Writers	Readers	Total
	Sch'ls.	Mal.	Fem.			
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 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... [Missionary Herald, July 1829:208-211]

## Lāna‘i–Historical Accounts from 1830 to 1850

**November 2, 1830**

**Mission Station Letter - Schools on Lanai.  
School Statistics**

...Lanai        9 Schools    522 Scholars 231 Readers 254 Writers...

...During the summer past a regular census has been taken... 2,000 is the probable population of Lanai... [Missionary Herald, August 1832:51]

**September 1832**

**Miscellaneous Reports - Description of the Sandwich Islands;  
Statistic from Lanai.**

...Lanai is a compact island, 17 miles in length, and nine in breadth. The width of the strait, which separates it from Maui, is nine or ten miles. A great part of the island is barren. Population about 2,000... [Missionary Herald, September 1832:22]

The mission station at Lahaina, began publishing a Hawaiian newspaper, Ke Kumu Hawaii in 1834, and became the means of disseminating information to the majority of the Hawaiian population. Ke Kumu Hawaii published a review of the Hawaiian Islands in 1838, the number of residents, and an alarming decline in the population on each island, including Lāna‘i:

**Kekemapa 5, 1838 (aoao 55)**

**Ke Kumu Hawaii**

**Kanaka o Hawaii Nei (1832 & 1836 Statistics of the Hawaiian census**

Eia kekahi olelo i unuhiia noloko o kekahi palapala haole.

“Ehia na kanaka o ko Hawaii nei pae aina i keia manawa? Ua akaka lea anei ia mea? Ke manao nei makou, aole. I ka helu ana ma ka makahiki 1836, he 108,759, na kanaka a pau loa, aka, i ka makahiki 1832 he 130,313, penei.

	<u>1832</u>	<u>1836</u>	<u>O ka emi ana i na makahiki 4.</u>
Lanai,	1,600	1,200	400

[Translation]

**December 5, 1838 (page 55)**

**Ke Kumu Hawaii**

**The People of Hawaii**

Here is an account translated from one of the English papers.

“How many Hawaiians are there in the island at this time? Is this matter well known? We think not. In the census of the year 1836, there were 108,758 people all told, but in the year 1832, there were 130,313, thus:

	<u>1832</u>	<u>1836</u>	<u>Decline of the 4 years.</u>
Lanai,	1,600	1,200	400

[Maly, translator]

Later records of census were published in which, a continual decline in Lānaʻi’s population was documented:

**1843**

**“Hawaii Nei in 1843”**

**In The Friend of February 1843 (pages 50 & 118)**

**Lanai population and general setting in Hawaiian Islands.**

...Major Low estimates the population of Maui, and the adjacent Island of Lanai, taken together, at from 24,000 to 25,000 souls. For Lanai, he allows 600.

**July 6, 1844**

**The Polynesian**

**Population and Extent of the Sandwich Islands**

What the Sandwich Islands are capable of, under good government, is evident from the following table, from data in Mr. Jarves’ recent interesting work on the Sandwich Islands:

	Length	Breadth	Square Miles	Population as estimated in 1823	Census of 1832	Census of 1836
Hawaii	88	73	4,000	85,000	45,792	39,364
Maui	48	50	620	20,000	35,062	24,199
Lanai	17	10	160	2,500	1,600	1,200
Molokai	40	7	190	3,500	6,000	6,000
Kahoolawe	11	8	60	50	80	80
Oahu	46	25	530	20,000	29,755	27,809
Kauai	22	24	500	10,000	10,977	8,934
Niihau	20	7	90	1,000	1,047	993

If the above calculation be correct, the whole population of the Sandwich Islands is at present less than .8 to the square mile; while if the celebrated British navigator Capt. Cooke is to be believed, the population in his day (1778) was nearly 66 to the square mile.

As his calculation was founded only on the crowds of natives whom he saw at the ports he visited, and not upon any accurate computation, it may have been exaggerated; but the above table shows a decrease of 33,471 in 13 years from 1823. From this fact, it may be reasonably inferred, without taking into account the pestilence which raged in 1803 and 1804, during the reign of Tamehameha I, and the loss of life arising from his wars, that the population has decreased at least to the extent of 200,000 since 1778.

It appears from the above table that the decrease, since 1823, has been confined to six of the islands; and that in the two islands of Molokai and Kahoolawe, there has been an increase of 2,520 since that year...

**January 1850  
Census of the Islands.**

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	<u>Births</u>	<u>Excess</u>
...Lanai	604	50	9	51...

[Missionary Herald, December 1850:34]

**Mormon Settlement on Lāna‘i (1853-1858)**

Writings of Mormon Elders and Hawaiian converts (“saints”) who started settlement of Lāna‘i in 1853, provide some of the earliest, detailed sources of information of life on Lāna‘i. This period of history also led to a short-lived increase of the population on Lāna‘i, and facilitated later development of resources along the coast, below Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a at Awalua.

For a while several hundred Hawaiians from the other islands of the Hawaiian group gathered on Lāna‘i and attempted to create their new “Zion” and the “City of Joseph” in the Pālāwai Basin. Some Hawaiian converts from Lāna‘i relocated—at least part time—to the “city,” and much work was put into raising livestock and cultivating western crops on the island. Journals and reports of the missionaries from this period contain the first direct reference to introduction of cattle, turkeys, hunting goats, and various western food crops to Lāna‘i.

Beginning in 1853 key congregants included: Reddick N. Allred, Jonathan T. Napela, Ephraim Green, Francis A. and Mary Jane Hammond, H.K. Kaleohano, Bro. M. Kanahunahupu, Thomas Karren, Kimo Pelio and John Stillman Woodbury. Extracts from letters and articles by the above participants in the “Palawai Experiment” offer the following details on the period from 1853 to 1857:



**Nov. 2, 1853**

**Extracts from a Letter to the First Presidency. Honolulu, Oahu. Sandwich Island. Lanai chosen as home of Mormon Hawaiian Saints. Deseret News (March 30, 1854)**

...A committee of brethren, appointed by the conference for that purpose, have paid the island of Lanai a visit to ascertain its capabilities and resources for supporting an increase of population. They found the place well adapted in many respects for this purpose, the soil being good, the situation a central one and having ready intercourse with the two principal markets, Honolulu and Lahaina, and sufficiently isolated to be comparatively free from the surrounding evil influences—a great desideratum in making a settlement on these islands. The scarcity of water is the principle obstacle in the way of a settlement in this place, and accounts for the thinness of the population at the present time on the island...

**Honolulu.**

**Monday. July 24, 1854**

...This evening Haalelea visited us and talked very favorably in regard to letting us have his land [Palawai] on Lanai to establish a gathering place for the Saints. Said we could use the land four years and make what we could off of it, and he would ask us no rents. He appeared very friendly. Bro. Cannon conferred with him a good deal on Mormonism and he said he believed it. [Journal of John Stillman Woodbury, Vol. 5, page 99]

**Honolulu.**

**Tuesday. July 25, 1854**

...Brother Hammond then made his report from the committee appointed to find a location for the gathering of (page 105) the Saints, and he said the prospects were favorable as Haalelea had offered his land on Lanai for 4 or 5 years, free from of charge, and he, Bro. H. believed it a suitable place. The report of the committee was accepted, and conference was adjourned until tomorrow morning, 9½ a.m. [Journal of John Stillman Woodbury, Vol. 5, page 104]

**Wednesday. July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1854**

Conference commenced and being opened by singing and prayer proceeded to act in relation to Lanai as a place of gathering. And it was decided by a unanimous vote that the experiment be made on Lanai, and that be the place of gathering... ...Bro. Green was then appointed to take charge of the locating of the Saints on Lanai, in conjunction with Elder Hammond... [Journal of John Stillman Woodbury, Vol. 5, pages 105-106]

**Palawai, Lanai.  
Sunday, July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1855 [page 77-79]**

...Attended native meeting early this morning. The meeting house was well filled as many had come over from Maui & Molokai to attend Conference... Some 300 were present & their countenances were lit up with joy & the Spirit of the Lord...\_[Journal of John Stillman Woodbury, Vol. 5, pages 77-79]

In 1857 the leader of the Mormon Church, Brigham Young, called all white elders back to Utah as tensions between the United States and the Utah settlers were on the rise, and there was fear of a war. The Hawaiian saints of Lānaʻi were left on their own, and once again, the population of the island continued its decline, as many Hawaiians who'd come to Lānaʻi from other islands returned to their homes, or moved to larger islands where they might find a means of supporting themselves.

**Arrival and Work of Walter Murray Gibson  
In the Hawaiian Islands (1861-1888)**

The story of Walter Murray Gibson on Lānaʻi is one of intrigue, and might be termed an unfortunate period in the history of the Mormon Church in the islands. Gibsons' brief history as the director of the Mormon work at Pālāwai dated from 1861 to his excommunication in 1864. On October 18, 1861, Gibson reported that "On Lanai, there is one branch, and 186 adult members." Shortly thereafter, he took up residency at Pālāwai, Lānaʻi, and became an important figure in consolidating title to lands on the island.

The collection of kingdom records includes a petition on behalf of the Lānaʻi congregation from Gibson that provides important details of life on Lānaʻi in the early 1860s:

**Island of Lanai, Hawaiian Islands, July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1862.  
Petition of Walter Murray Gibson  
To His Majesty the King.**

...May it please Your Majesty

I the undersigned am the director or "president" of a religious organization among Your Majesty's subjects, styled the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day – Saints.

This organization numbers about five thousand souls.

Under my direction a portion of this Community have formed a settlement upon this island. They have cultivated a large body of hitherto wild land; and the labour of a daily average of twenty able bodied men has produced

this season not less than three thousand bushels of cereals and esculent roots. –

Previous to my organization of their labour, these people obtained a precarious subsistence by fishing, or by tending a few goats.

In addition to these agricultural labours they have built a commodious house for assemblage and worship; and a school house capable of comfortably accommodating one hundred scholars.

There are eighty-two children in this settlement or parish... I have organized an industrial school, in the advantages of which, the labouring adults participate, as well as the children.

The usual fundamental branches of common school education are taught; but especial attention is devoted to the study of the English Language. It is designed that this shall become ere-long a familiar tongue in this community. Occasional lectures, or rather conversations are held in which the principles of science connected with useful manufactures are made familiar.

A female school has been established and is conducted in an establishment separate from the males. The native girls are made familiar with the details, the duties, the comforts, and the benefits of a civilized, domestic establishment, Mother's with little children participate sometimes in these exercises, and the proper care of their infants is an important portion of the instruction imparted.

We have made some preparation to build a large and comfortable house for the sick of our parish; and have devoted some attention to the training of nurses.

Although I have given my chief attention to the settlement on Lanai; at the same time I have largely stimulated agricultural pursuits among the members of this organization upon the other islands of Your Majesty's dominions... This organization over which I preside being composed of the very poorest of Your Majesty's subjects, has not been enabled to purchase a suitable body of land for the full development of the objects of improvement they have in view; therefore they desire to form a new settlement upon certain Government land upon this island.

We do not ask a donation; but a suitable opportunity for our industry to return to Your Majesty's Government the requisite compensation for this land.

There are several sections, or districts of Government land upon this island probably amounting in all to about 15,000 acres, which are comprised in a valley, or extinct crater; and this body we desire to purchase in order to form a permanent settlement; and to carry out more fully the pursuits I have mentioned.

There is no running water on this portion of the island; and during the dry season, there is a scarcity for drinking purposes, even for the few now settled upon it.

There is no road over which to carry our produce by wheeled conveyance; there is nothing but a dangerous bridle path through a wide belt of lava boulders, bound in the coast.

It would require a large community well organized, or large capital, or the aid of Government to overcome these difficulties to settlement. Single handed agriculturists could not subsist here.

An organization like the one I represent is qualified to overcome, these difficulties and make this waste territory a source-of subsistence for thousands of Your Majesty's native subjects.

We would if in possession of the land make a good waggon road to the coast. We would also construct wells, and substantial cisterns; or even reservoirs for purposes of irrigation. We have constructed some small cisterns for domestic use.

Furthermore we would construct a slip at the roadstead of Manele suitable for the safe mooring of one or more coasting craft.

These are a few of the improvements contemplated and easy of accomplishment with our organization of labour.

I feel bold in saying, that we would immensely increase the productiveness of this hitherto profitless island; and largely add to Your Majesty's revenues.

This Government land is now rented out in districts of four or five thousand acres for the paltry compensation of about thirty dollars each per annum; and rented for the purposes of herding a few goats and burning charcoal; – both pursuits being deplorably destructive of what little valuable shrubbery now remains upon the island.

I in the name of and for this organization propose to pay for all the arable and mountain lands of the Government on Lanai, such price, as has been

customary for the Government to receive; and I now pray that Your Majesty will graciously deign to favour such action through the legitimate channel of Your Majesty's Government, as will enable the petitioner and his associates to realize the objects herein presented.

I take the liberty to suggest, in case the general object of this memorial is regarded in a favourable light, that as a preliminary step, Your Majesty's Secretary of the Interior be instructed to appoint an agent to survey the land in view, to determine the amount and qualities, and terms of payment, and also that Your Majesty's Secretary of the Interior have discretionary power to act at once upon such report; as it is important that we should be enabled to make our arrangement speedily for the coming season.

I avail myself of this occasion to mention that all the aims of the organization, I represent, are for the substantial welfare of your Majesty's people, for the maintenance of the Laws of Your Majesty's Kingdom; and for the upholding of the Royal Prerogative of Your Majesty's person. And by no one are these aims more sincerely entertained than by The Petitioner.

Your Majesty's very obedient and humble servant,

Walter Murray Gibson. [Hawaii State Archives Series U-178 Box 1 1847–1864]

On February 23, 1863, Walter Murray Gibson purchased the entire ahupua'a of Pālāwai from Levi Ha'alelea, following an intensive fundraising campaign from Kaua'i to Hawai'i in which more than 500 Hawaiians—including some of the native families of Lāna'i—contributed money and assets to the land purchase proposition. A short time later Gibson found himself in trouble with the Mormon Church, the Hawaiian Saints and protestant leaders—as it was discovered that he had placed the land under his own name, rather than in the name of the church.

In 1863, Dwight Baldwin of the Lahaina Mission Station reported on Gibson activities, and the situation on Lāna'i:

**May 15, 1863**  
**Report by D. Baldwin on the Lahaina Station**

...Mormons. I am not aware that we have any of this sect at Lahaina. In the south part of Lanai is the spot which they have fixed upon as the new Jerusalem. How many there are, I am not informed. I only know that the population of the island, which for many years has been about 600, was in 1860, 649. They hold meetings on the Sabbath. Capt. Gibson, as he is called is said to be their leader. I cannot learn that he labors much to

proselyte the people to Mormonism; he seems to be engaged mostly in agriculture, raising poultry and sheep, and in trafficking with the natives. He has leased lands of the Govt. and chiefs, and I suspect will soon have the resources of the island under his control... [Reel 810:1197]

In 1864 Brigham Young sent several elders to Lānaʻi to try the case of Walter M. Gibson, and to determine a course of action in his regard. When they arrived, they found that Gibson had performed a series of services that placed him above all others, in the manner of the ancient high chiefs. Following an investigation, they determined that the effort of securing the Lānaʻi holdings from Gibson and putting them into church hands would be more work than it was worth. So they excommunicated Gibson but left him in control of the Lānaʻi property.

Gibson's 1862 petition to lease a portion of the Government lands on Lānaʻi went unanswered. On March 27, 1866, Gibson purchased the ahupuaʻa of Kaʻā from trustee Chiefess Victoria Kamāmalu (Liber 21, page 300). In 1867 he applied to the Minister of the Interior for the lease of several lands, and included a rough map of the island identifying lands which he already owned or held leases on, and those for which he desired to secure a government lease.

**Honolulu. April 27, 1867**  
**Walter M. Gibson; to**  
**F.W. Hutchison, Minister of Interior:**

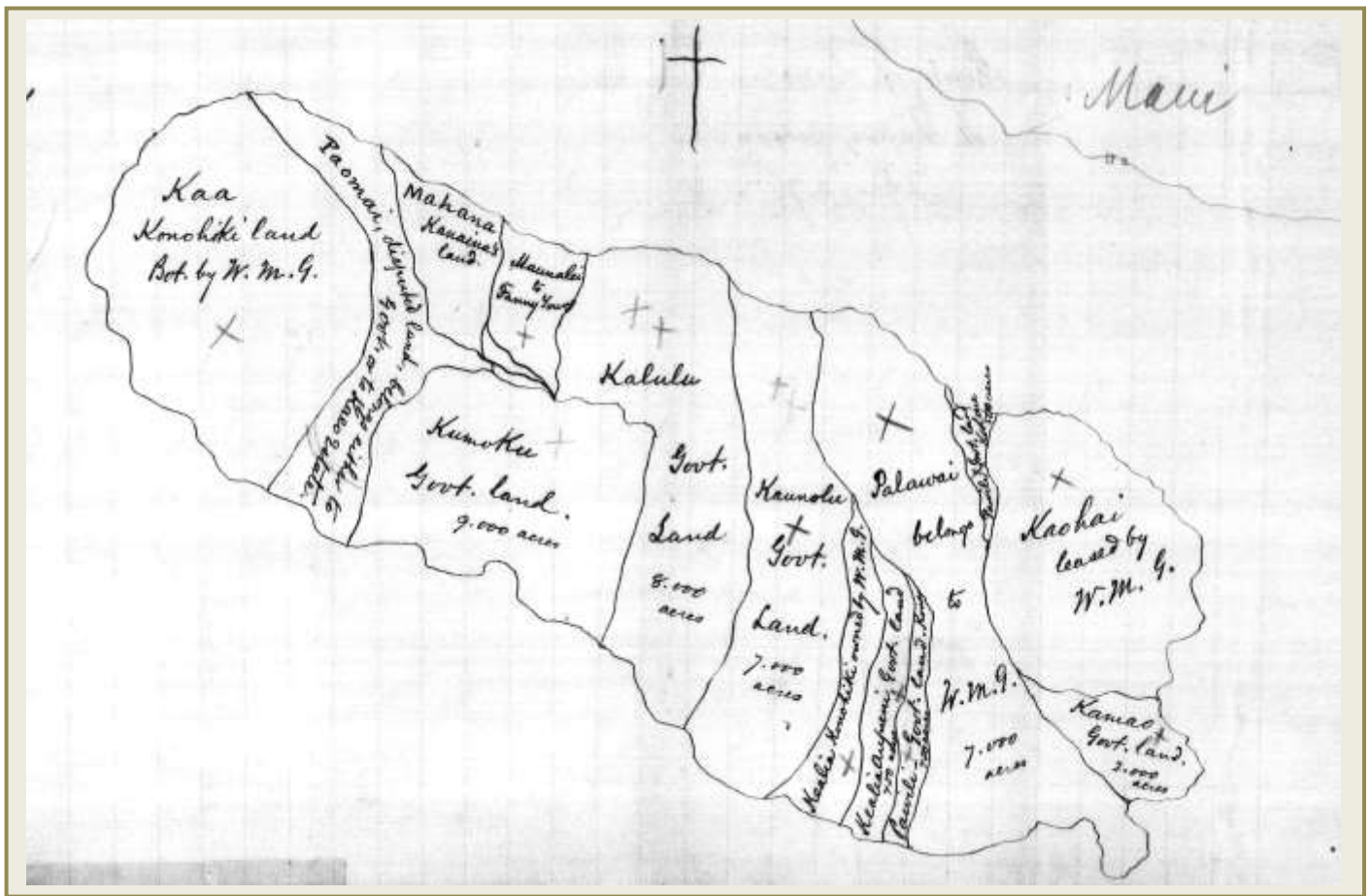
...I beg to present to you a rough plan of Lanai, indicating its land divisions [Figure 2].

I wish to lease the S.E. corner named, Kamao, situated between my lands, Kaohai and Palawai; and I also wish to lease the strips, named, Kealia Aupuni, and Pawili on the Koolau and Kona sides of the island. These latter small lands, lie between my lands, Kaohai, Palawai, and Kealia Konohiki.

The three large Govt. districts, Kamoku, Kalulu, and Kaunolu comprise about 23,000 acres, or nearly one third of the best land of the island. The lands I desire to lease, contain about 4,000 acres mostly rough Kula land.

I will repeat with more explicit designation the lands I want; Kamao, Pawili, 2 apanas, Kealia Aupuni, 4 apanas, or ilis... [Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Lands]

Shortly after the Mormon elders left Lānaʻi, Gibson set in motion plans for economic development on the island. By this time sheep and goats had become numerous on the island, and Gibson entered into a partnership with Kamehameha V in a sheep ranching operation on Lānaʻi. In the early 1870s, Awalua, which in traditional times served as an important area of Hawaiian settlement, was developed into a landing



**Figure 2. April 27, 1867 – Lāna‘i Sketch Map Depicting Disposition of Lands (Hawaii State Archives).**

for interisland steamships. Walter Murray Gibson’s sheep ranch used Awalua landing for shipping wool and sheep, and receiving supplies and passengers. At Kingdom expense, the ancient trail from the uplands to the coast was modified and maintained as a part of the Alanui Aupuni (Government Road) system. The right of access to such government roads and trails was protected through the law of 1892<sup>9</sup>; and further confirmed by the 1929 Land Court action of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited (predecessor of the present landowner), with the following proviso:- “Also excluding all existing roads, trails, and rights-of-way as shown on Government Survey Registered Map No. 1394” (Land Court Application No. 862, Map No. 1).

<sup>9</sup> Highways Act of 1892 (Kingdom Law) – Amended in 1988, Haw. Rev. Stat. Chapter 264, Section 1: “All trails, and other non-vehicular rights-of-way in the State declared to be public rights-of-ways, by the highways act of 1892, or opened, laid out, or built by the government or otherwise created or vested as non-vehicular public rights-of-way at any time thereafter, or in the future, are declared to be public trails...”

## **Lāna‘i: Transitions in Land Tenure, Economics and Population (1890-1992)**

Beginning in the 1890s experiments in economic development expanded beyond ranching interests, though most failed, and ranching remained the focus of operations on the island. The following article from a visitor’s guide describes Lāna‘i in 1890:

### **1890 (Whitney)**

#### **Lanai Described in**

#### **“The Tourists’ Guide Through the Islands of Hawaii”**

The sixth island of the group in size, is twenty-one miles long, eight miles broad, and has a territory of a little more than 100,000 acres. The summit of its main ridge rises to about 3400 feet, and this mountain range forms a wall continuous with a circle of lower elevations, so as to completely enclose an interior space like a crater, which it no doubt is, that has an area of about 20,000 acres; and this large, round, land-locked valley of Palawai, elevated 1500 feet above the sea, is level and grassy, like the richest of cultivated meadow. The ridges and ravines of the island are covered with forests of timber and shrubbery, which afford a rich field for the botanist. The outer slopes of the island leading to the sea present usually a brown and uninviting appearance; but they afford excellent pasture for numberless herds of animals,—about 30,000 sheep, 2,500 goats, 650 horses, 500 head of cattle, and innumerable hogs and turkeys. Lanai is well watered with springs and ravines, and with sweet fountains at several points on its beach; and has one perpetual stream of water in a great ravine or barranca of great natural beauty, named Maunalei or the Mountain Wreath. The native population is now about two hundred, who are fishers, shepherds and patch cultivators.

Walter Murray Gibson and his heirs maintained tenancy on Lāna‘i through 1902, eventually controlling nearly all of the fee simple and government lease-hold land on the island. When W.M. Gibson died in 1888, his daughter, Talula, and son-in-law, Frederick H. Hayselden, formed a series of partnerships to improve ranching profitability, land development schemes, and a sugar plantation in the Maunalei-Keomoku region of the island.

The Maunalei Sugar Company built a large community at Keomoku, imported Japanese laborers, along with smaller numbers of Chinese and Portuguese laborers to handle the work. Lands were cleared, a narrow gauge railroad between Keomoku Village and Kahalepalaoa was built along with a water system and mill facilities, and sugar cane planted. Awalua remained a periodic port of call in those years, but residency in the Ka‘ā region declined. Then, following an incident in 1892 in which several deaths occurred, the area was all but abandoned. With the development of the Maunalei Sugar Company as well as a new landing at Kahalepalaoa, most



activity on the island focused in the Keomoku region, and in the uplands at Kō‘ele, which served as the ranch headquarters and mountain estate of the Gibson/Hayselden family. The Maunalei operation went bankrupt in 1901, and in 1902, Charles and Luisa Kala Gay purchased the sugar company’s interests and put their energies into mixed sheep and cattle ranching, and limited agriculture.

By 1909, the Gay family was losing control of the Lāna‘i holdings, and by 1910, ranching interests were transitioned from sheep to cattle. Little traffic, other than cowboys and guests who were hunting or exploring Lāna‘i, frequented the Ka‘ā region. Visits by geologists, biologists and anthropologists documented facets of Lāna‘i’s history, and in this period, the resources of the Ka‘ā region began to draw some interest. By 1912, George C. Munro, then manager of the Lanai Ranch Company, initiated efforts to protect the dry land forest of the Kānepu‘u vicinity.

When Charles Gay and family lost control of Lāna‘i, the ranch operations passed through several hands, until late 1922, when James Dole’s Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Ltd., purchased the island to develop what would become the world’s largest pineapple plantation. In the ensuing years, Lāna‘i’s population underwent significant diversification—from around 125 residents in 1922, mostly Hawaiian, to a population exceeding 3,300 in the 1930s. As a result of the need for plantation workers, the island’s population grew to include Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, Portuguese, Korean, Puerto Rican and Caucasian immigrants, all of whom were in some way associated with plantation operations.

A 1926 article of the Maui News described the changing history of Lāna‘i and the growth of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Ltd., in the following paragraphs:

“With the advent of the pineapple interests, a new type of people came to live on the island. Their life was bound with the crop, and those who had lived through the sugar and cattle days of the island went elsewhere...” [Maui News – Lanai Section, October 11, 1939, page 3, c. 4]

**December 4, 1926 (Section 2, page 6, c. 6)**

**Maui News Lanai Attraction for Naturalists**

Lanai has been the delight of botanists and other naturalists, who have visited the Archipelago. It has great varieties and many specialties in plants, ferns, mosses, and land shells. And the antiquarian, the archaeologist, and student of ancient superstitions find in this island much to interest them. According to native beliefs it was the first home of their Hawaiian gods. There are sixteen ruins of heiaus, or ancient places of worship upon the island. One at a point called Kaunolu is in as good state of repair as when the sacrifices were offered upon its Kuaha or altar, a hundred years ago. Near this heiau, the Conqueror, Kamehameha had favorite fishing grounds, and natives at this day point out vestiges of the hale or residence of the great warrior and his favorite wife, Kaahumanu. In this neighborhood is a famous submarine cave, which is associated with

the story of Kaala, one of the most interesting legends of these islands.

There are other caves, and some noted blowholes or spouts along the shores of this island. On the south side at a point called Honopu, are some remarkable columns or needles, near the shore. The tallest is about 120 feet high with a base about 40 feet square. Another column or sea tower, at the east end of the island, about 80 feet high, with a base about 40 feet square is associated with the interesting legend of Puupehe. From the mainland of Lanai, there can be seen on the top of what is called the tower of Puupehe, some stone work in the form of an altar, and an enclosure. This tower presents straight, inaccessible walls, but according to tradition a hero, Makakehau of Misty Eyes, transferred to the top of it, the body of his beloved and beautiful chiefess, Puupehe, who had been slain in the cave of Maluea [Malauea], nearby; and erected the altar over her remains.

The island abounds in traditions and curious and interesting legends; but the ancient population has nearly all passed away — not owing to disease and death, but attracted by the temptation of Honolulu, or the tempting inducements to work on plantations, the population has dwindled to about 240 souls.

The Hon. Walter M. Gibson, who came to the island in 1861, had by purchase and by long leases from the Government and the Crown, become possessor of all the island except a small corner held by natives. He had numerous flocks of sheep and large herds of cattle and horses. He had for some years represented Lahaina in the Legislature of the country, and had acquired a well deserved reputation as a politician and litterateur, and above all, as a philanthropist, than whom not even the King himself had more at heart the welfare of the Hawaiian race. [Maui News, December 4, 1926, Section 2, page 6, c. 6]

The Lānaʻi Pineapple Plantation proved to be the most successful economic driver to be developed on Lānaʻi. It remained in operation for 70 years, and cleared more than 16,000 acres of land—including several thousand acres in the upper region of Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa. Today, the footprint of the former plantation fields is still visible, marked by the outline of roads and planting blocks. On the drive into Kaʻā, one can also tell where the cultivated fields end, by the absence of black plastic imbedded in the ground that in the early 1960s had replaced mulch paper for lining planting rows. With each subsequent turning of the fields over the years, the plastic was buried in the ground. Today, it is seen fluttering in the wind on the surface and in gullies, washing down to the ocean.

In October 1992, the plantation was closed, succumbing to rising costs, and development of the resort communities. The area of Kaʻā, known as “Garden of the

Gods” (traditionally, Keahiakawelo), along with the Kānepu‘u Forest Conservation Easement, the State of Hawai‘i Game Management District, and the Polihua Beach Dunes—are all featured as special places to visit on Lāna‘i. They are often noted as visitor destinations and as sites offering unique recreational resources.

In a publication titled, “Lana‘i – Hawaii” (A. Savrann, 1989), David H. Murdock wrote the forward, in which he observed:

...Lana‘i becomes frozen in time... you can hear the earth... feel the air... smell the wind’s bounty, and see history. It is here... on Lanaï... that you can touch the very soul of man...

To preserve this island’s distinctive-character, we have carefully constructed two new resorts, new homes, shops, and activity centers for the people who live here and the people we invited to see and experience this exceptional island.

Lana‘i is a small island, but it has the richness and variety of an entire continent. Our team of architects, landscape architects and interior designers, working closely with me, have endeavored to impart our respect for Hawaii’s history, culture and natural environment. These new developments will continue the traditions that are such an integral part of Hawaii.

I invite you to share with me, the Island of Lana‘i.

(signed) David H. Murdock

It is the qualities mentioned above, the unique nature of Lāna‘i and its people, that make Lāna‘i special in the Hawaiian Islands. It is indeed a place set back in time, where one feels a spiritual connection with the environment, and a connection with those who walked the land in the generations before us. It is these qualities that many people seek to pass on to future generations—these qualities that are worth protecting.

**“Aia ke ola i ka hana”**  
(Life is in the work that is done)  
(‘Ōlelo No‘eau, No. 57. M.K. Pukui, 1983)

## **PART II. KA'Ā-HE 'ĀINA PANA KA'Ā-A STORIED LAND: TRADITIONS, NATIVE LORE AND HISTORICAL EVENTS**

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The preceding section provided an overview of Lāna'i's history as recorded through a wide range of Hawaiian and English language accounts, including citations to several not previously available sources..

This section explores archival-documentary resources for Ka'ā Ahupua'a in more depth, with occasional references to adjoining land. These resources include detailed native language accounts and historical English language narratives on the traditions and history of Ka'ā. The work is the result of many years of research, and while it includes numerous primary accounts, it is not meant to be exhaustive and will likely be aided by future research. Although research conducted thus far provides a fuller understanding of various periods in history, it also indicates that some previously-held interpretations are incomplete or even inaccurate.

The narratives that follow are generally organized chronologically, and by classes of information such as: Place Names of Ka'ā, Lāna'i; Traditions and Native Lore of Ka'ā, Lāna'i; and Nā Mo'olelo Makani-Wind Traditions (Winds as Cultural Properties of Lāna'i and Ka'ā), etc.

### **Place Names of Ka'ā, Lāna'i**

In 1902, after fifty years of survey work, Kingdom/Government Surveyor General W.D. Alexander compiled a lexicon of place names from across the islands. He observed that:

Speaking Lāna'i's place names acknowledges the significant traditions of place, and lends continuity to the history of the island.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to translate most of these names, on account of their great antiquity and the changes of which many of them have evidently undergone. It often happens that a word may be translated in different ways by dividing it differently. Many names of places in these islands are common to other groups of islands in the South Pacific, and were probably brought here with the earliest colonists. They have been used for centuries without any thought of their original meaning... [W.D. Alexander in "Hawaiian Geographic Names"; 1902:395]

Place names often provide insight into the history of various locations. In 1921-1922, a very young Kenneth Emory of the Bishop Museum conducted an archaeological inventory on Lāna'i (Emory, 1924). Though not a speaker of the Hawaiian language, Emory documented facets of the archaeological landscape, recorded some of the native history of the island, and documented place names, traditions associated with them, and their meanings.

The gazetteer of Hawaiian Place Names in Ka‘ā and Vicinity that appears in Table 1, was compiled from archival historical accounts; Emory’s 1924 publication; the writings of Lawrence Gay (1965); and from interviews with elder kama‘āina of Lāna‘i conducted between the 1970s and 2010.

Figure 3 is a reduction of Register Map No. 1364, surveyed in 1878, that identifies the ahupua‘a of Lāna‘i and lists numbered locations in each ahupua‘a, as annotated by Kenneth Emory. Diacritical marks appear in the second spelling of the place names in order to follow correct pronunciation, another method of historic preservation.

**Table 1. Gazetteer of Hawaiian Place Names in Ka‘ā and Vicinity**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Pronunciation</b>	<b>Interpretation/Notes (Emory’s Site Numbers):</b>
Awalua	Awa-lua	Two landings (Site 287). A bay, site of a traditional village, and the historic landing from which livestock were shipped off of Lāna‘i. The last residents departed from Awalua in the 1890s. A coastal site in Paoma‘i, below Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a.
Awaluaiki	Awa-lua-iki	Little Awalua (Site 288). Same as above.
Haleolono	Hale-o-Lono	House of Lono (an important god in the Hawaiian religious system) (Site 290). Site of a heiau (temple), on boundary of Ka‘ā and Paoma‘i.
Honopu	Hono-pū	Perhaps: Divided bay or Conch bay (Site 23b). A former village site, Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a.
Honowae	Honowae	Separate bay (Site 286). A coastal site in Paoma‘i, below Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a.
Honuaula	Honua-‘ula	Red earth (Site 272). A point on the shore of Paoma‘i.
Hoopulupulu- amoa	Ho‘o-pulupulu-a-moa	The place name may be literally translated as: “dampened by the moa (light-mist rain)”; or, as “scratching, mulching of chickens.” Emory (Site 13) reported that there were holes and stones along the ridge where chickens were cooked. The area was once part of the upland planting ground for people who lived along the shore of Ka‘ā—moisture came from the mist which was caught in the overstory of the ancient dry land forest.

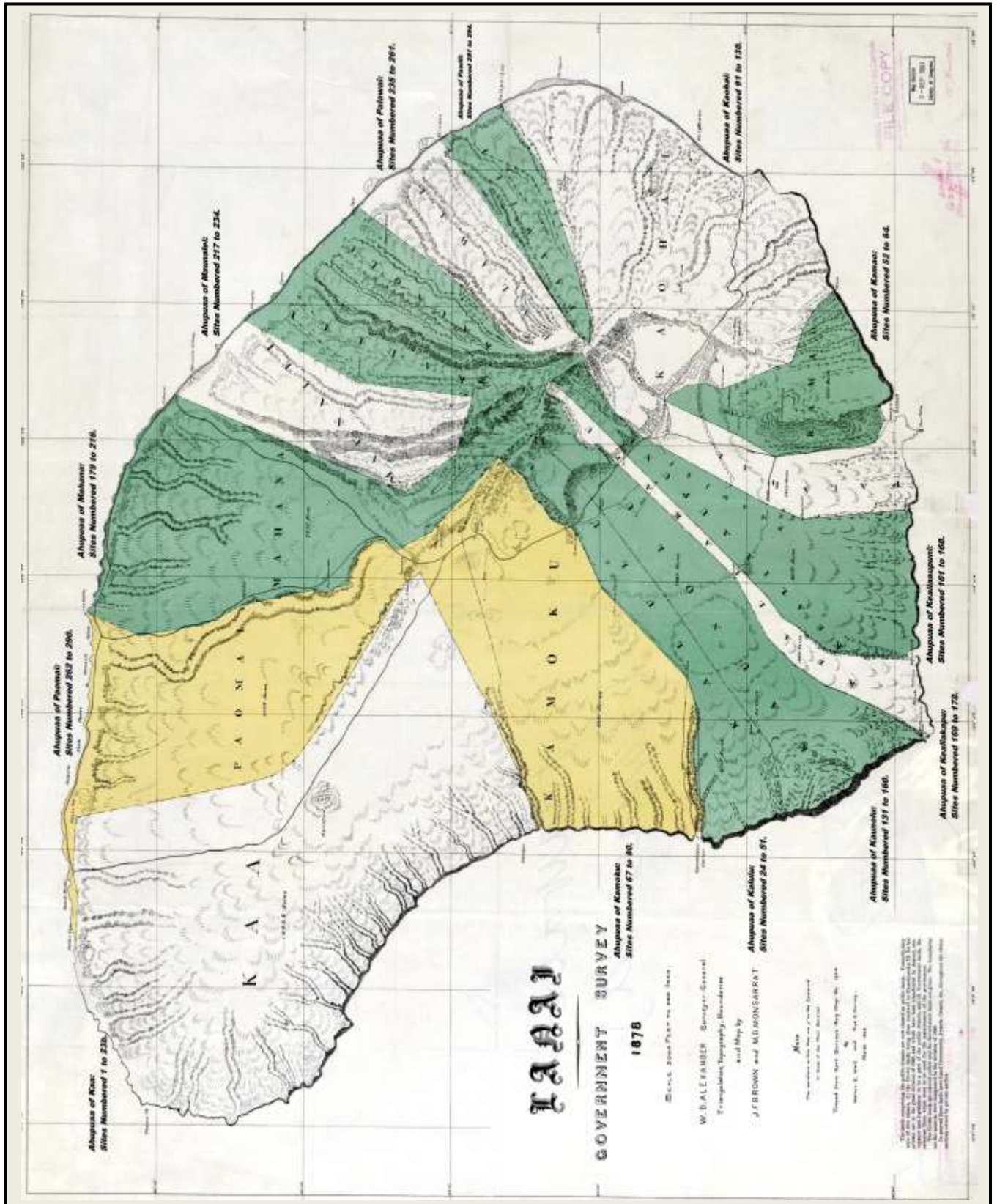


Figure 3. Annotated Map of Lāna'i — Reduction of Register Map No. 1394 (1878); With Site Numbers Identified by Kenneth Emory in each of Lāna'i's 13 ahupua'a.

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Pronunciation</b>	<b>Interpretation (and Emory's Site Numbers):</b>
Kaa	Ka-'ā	The rocky place, or the burning. Largest of thirteen ahupua'a on the island of Lāna'i.
Kaapahu	Ka-'āpahu	Literally: The conspicuous place, or Cut-off section (Site 8). A hill above the cliffs of Ka'ā Ahupua'a. Emory observed that below Ka'āpahu, there was a goat pen.
Kaea	Ka-'ea	Literally, The hawkbill turtle. A small point of rocks along Polihua Beach, Ka'ā Ahupua'a. Also called Ka-lae-o-ka-'ea (Site 2).
Kaena	Ka-'ena	The wrath (Site 4). Descriptive of the rough seas which strike against the shore. The northern point of Lāna'i. Location of house sites, a well, and fishermen's shrines. In the early 1840s, this location was developed into a prison for women, a function which lasted only a few years.  An 'ili Ka'ā Ahupua'a, identified in the Māhele claim of Manoa (L.C.A. No. 2513).
Kaenaiki	Ka-'ena-iki	The little Ka'ena (Site 5). A point and valley, formerly a village and location of dry land agricultural terraces. One of the two largest on Lāna'i, a platform 55 by 152 feet, parallel and close to the edge of a bluff at the head of the bay on the north bank of the stream. Elevated platform on the north. The south pavement is smaller. Emory says Hawaiians had not lived in this end of the island for many years, so no name was remembered for the heiau. Ka'ā Ahupua'a.
Kahue	Ka-hue	The gourd (Site 270) Paoma'i. A bay and site of an ancient settlement. There were several ancient shelters along the bluffs facing the ocean, as well as a fishing heiau on the east ledge of the beach south of Kahue. The heiau is a low platform, 4.5 feet by 10 feet by 2 feet high. In 1921, the interior was filled with pieces of coral, with lobster shell, sea urchin spines, sea shells and fish bones scattered on platform. There are also a number of platforms and enclosures, and petroglyphs.
Kakaalani	Kāka'alani	Tumbling or rolling heavens, descriptive of the banks of clouds which flow over the pali (cliffs). On the boundary of Ka'ā and Paoma'i.
Kalaeahole	Ka-lae-āhole	The āhole fish point (Site 7). Situated along the lower western cliffs of Ka'ā. A former fishing settlement.

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Pronunciation</b>	<b>Interpretation (and Emory's Site Numbers):</b>
Kalapuu	Kala-pu'u	K. Emory's Site 20, near Keonehe'ehe'e. The Mahele claim of Hoa (L.C.A. 3418 B) is situated in this vicinity, and a native tenant was identified by the name Halapu/Halapuu (L.C.A. 8627). It is possible that the residents' name was transposed to a site name in this instance.
Kalihi	Ka-lihi	The edge or a narrow strip of land, formerly a cultivated area (Site 23). An upland 'ili of Ka'a Ahupua'a, identified in the Mahele claim of Kauhahape (L.C.A. No. 8627).
Kaluaakea	Ka-lua-akea	The wide pit. An 'ili of Ka'a Ahupua'a, identified in the Mahele claim of Hoomu (L.C.A. No. 3417B).
Kanaele	Ka-naele	The rocky cleft (Site 283). A beach area and village. Paoma'i Ahupua'a.
Kanepuu	Kane-pu'u	Kane's hill (Site 17). A high point on the northern section of the island. Region in which the dry land forest occurs. Associated with the god Kane, giver of life, rains, and sun. Under shelter of the native forest, old residents of the coastal region would plant crops.  Along the trails rising to Kane-pu'u, travelers would set up ceremonial stone shrines, known as Pohaku o Kane, where prayers for safe and successful travel would be offered. Ka'a Ahupua'a.
Kapoai	Kapō'ai	To rotate as in a movement of hula. A site noted for its grove of lehua trees – Nā lehua o Kāpō'ai – associated with Malulani (perhaps descriptive of the lehua blossom laden branches moving in the winds of Ka'a).
Kapukaloa	Ka-puka-loa	The distant opening, or long hole (Site 18). Situated on the edge of the Ka'a kula lands, southwest of Kane-pu'u. On the flats just beyond Kapukaloa, a kahua 'ulumaika—a tract upon which the game 'ulu-maika was played—5 feet wide by 100 feet long is situated.
Keahiakawelo	Ke-ahi-a-Kawelo (Keahikawelo)	The fire made by Kawelo (Site 16). Named for the priest Kawelo, who protected the people of Lāna'i from the sorcerous prayers of the priest, Lani-kāula of Moloka'i. Ka'a Ahupua'a.  Emory observed, "On the great boulders along the Keahiakawelo ridge, many small monuments of three or four stones, one on top the other, have been erected by natives travelling up and down, to insure good fortune on their way."



<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Pronunciation</b>	<b>Interpretation (and Emory's Site Numbers):</b>
Keahialoa	Ke-ahi-'ā-loa	The long burning fire (Site 15). The place where Kawelo burned the excrement of the Moloka'i priest, Lani-kāula. Ka'ā Ahupua'a.
Keanapapa	Ke-ana-papa	The paved cave (Site 6). Situated along the lower western cliffs of Ka'ā. A former fishing settlement.
Keoneheehee	Ke-one-he'ehe'e	The sliding cinders (Site 19). There is a small heiau by the name of Maluhie here. On the boundary of Ka'ā and Paoma'i Ahupua'a.
Kukuikahi	Kukui-kāhi	Lone kukui tree (Site 21). An upland 'ili of Ka'ā Ahupua'a, identified in the Mahele claims of Kahalekai (L.C.A. No. 4288 B) and Hoopapalani (L.C.A. No. 4289 B).  Note: Hoopapalani was transposed to a place name during historic surveys, and is identified as an upland boundary point in the narrow section of Paoma'i Ahupua'a (on boundary with Kamoku). It is possible that a portion of Hoopapalani's land (house lot or a planted field), crossed from Ka'ā into Paoma'i Ahupua'a, and during the time of survey was used as a reference point.
Laepalolo	Lae-pālolo	Clay point (Site 289). A coastal site in Paoma'i, below Ka'ā Ahupua'a.
Lanai	Lā-na'i	A literal translation of this name is "Day (of) conquest". While other translations occur they are not based on the traditional pronunciation of the island's name. In traditional mele (chants) and genealogical accounts, the name is sometimes written as "Nanai" (Nāna'i) or "Ranai" (Rāna'i). When the missionaries formalized the Hawaiian alphabet, the "N" and "R" sounds sometimes associated with the letter "L" were standardized to "L."
Lapaiki	Lapa-iki	Little ridge (Site 284). A small valley and former area of residence.
Leinukalahua	Leinukalahua Limukalehua	Leinukalahua, translation unknown (Site 22). Written "Limukalehua" in an 1878 account of Lāna'i (descriptive of moss which grows on lehua trees in a moist environment). Situated on the upper flat lands of Ka'ā Ahupua'a.
Malulani	Malu-lani	Sheltered heavens (Site 14). An area named for one of the sisters of Pele. Malulani settled on Lāna'i at the place which bears her name. This region was part of the upland cultivating grounds for people who lived along the coast of the Ka'ā vicinity.

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Pronunciation</b>	<b>Interpretation (and Emory's Site Numbers):</b>
Maunakui	Mauna-ku'i	Steep mountain (Site 9). Situated on the western slopes of Ka'ā, overlooking the high ocean high cliffs.
Mokuha	Moku-hā	Literally, Fourth section. An 'ili of Ka'ā Ahupua'a, identified in the Māhele claim of Kahalekai (L.C.A. No. 4288B).
Nanahoa	Nānā-hoa	Look upon a friend (Site 23a). Four sea towers fronting Honopū Valley. The tradition goes that on seeing a woman rise from the sea, the tower nearest shore rose up. The tower farther out represents the female, the one nearest the shore represents the male.
Palahinu	Pala-hinu	Bright shiny, glistening (Site 3). Beginning of the rocky bluff on the western side of Polihua Beach. Noted as a salt making area. Ka'ā Ahupua'a.
Paliamano	Pali-a-mano	Interpretive: Cliff of many. Cliff and gulch on the boundary between Ka'ā and Kamoku Ahupua'a.
Paomai	Pao-ma'i	Sick Pao. An ahupua'a of Lāna'i, named for a chief who marked out the boundaries of the land area, and then quickly paddled to Lahaina, claiming a hill that, to this day, is called, Pu'u Lāna'i (Lāna'i Hill). Pao, who claimed the hill for Lāna'i, was reportedly so exhausted after the paddle across the channel, that he became ill, and afterwards was called Paoma'i.
Piiloa	Pi'i-loa	Long ascent. An 'ili of Ka'ā Ahupua'a, identified in the Māhele claim of Kauhahape (L.C.A. No. 8627).
Pohakualii	Pōhaku-ali'i	Royal stone. Situated on the western side of Honopū Bay, Ka'ā Ahupua'a. Reportedly a large stone upon which chiefs would sit while fishing along the shore.
Pohakulaie	Pōhaku-lā'ie	Lā'ie stone (Site 10). A large stone in the lowlands of Ka'ā Ahupua'a, near the boundary of Paoma'i.
Pohakuloa	Pōhaku-loa	Long stone (Site 285). A coastal point in Paoma'i Ahupua'a.
Polihua	Poli-hua	Cove of eggs (Site 1). A long white sand beach, famous for nesting sea turtles. Site of ko'a (fishermen's shrines). While on Lāna'i, the goddess Pele reportedly ate the turtles of this place.
Poopoopilau	Po'opo'o-pilau	Dirty (defiled) hollows or depressions (Site 12). A ridge area in Ka'ā, below Keahiakawelo. Perhaps descriptive of hollows in the land in which defiled items may have been placed.
Puulala	Pu'u-lala	Diagonal hill. Boundary point in the uplands between Ka'ā and Paoma'i Ahupua'a.

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Pronunciation</b>	<b>Interpretation (and Emory's Site Numbers):</b>
Puualealea	Pu'u-ale'ale'a	Hill of pleasure (Site 264). Trailside resting place and gaming site/training ground in Paoma'i Ahupua'a, a short distance from the boundary with Ka'ā Ahupua'a.
Puumaiekahi	Pu'u-ma'i-'ekāhi	Interpretive: First illness hill (Site 11). A gulch in Ka'ā Ahupua'a that opens up on the coast of Paoma'i above the Laepālolo vicinity.

While extensive research has been conducted through a wide range of archival-documentary resources, and through oral history interviews with elder kama'āina, there remains much to learn about the place names and famous localities of Lāna'i. We may never know all of the named localities in Ka'ā or across the island, but it is important to remember that every named place has traditional cultural significance—that there is history associated with it.

Use of the traditional place names on Lāna'i, rather than the more recent names (such as "Garden of the Gods," "Shipwreck," and "Sweetheart Rock") honors the rich heritage of the island, and gives depth to our own lives. These native Hawaiian place names, and the history associated with them, make Lāna'i unique in all the world. They are our inheritance, and the legacy that we pass on to future generations.

## **Traditions and Native Lore of Ka'ā, Lāna'i**

The traditions of Ka'ā include the origins of several place names, descriptions of the landscape and natural environment, and accounts of events in the lives of people who made Ka'ā home, or those who visited or traveled across the land. The narratives below broaden an understanding of the rich history of Ka'ā from traditional time through the early historic period.

### **Pele Rested on Lāna'i and Found Sustenance at Polihua, Ka'ā**

Part I of this study referenced "ka huaka'i Pele" (the migrations of Pele), a tradition in which the goddess Pele and members of her family departed from Kahiki (the ancestral home land). Kamohoali'i steered the canoe in which she travelled, in search of a new home where she might keep her fire dry and burning. At the start of the journey, Pele called out in chant to her traveling companions:

We rose to travel with my beloved siblings,  
 To the land below, which we have not yet seen,  
 My siblings and I enter the canoe,  
 Kamohoali'i is skilled with the paddle as we rise over the waves,  
 Waves which are broken and choppy,

Waves which seek the land that is our destination...  
[Ho'ohila Kawelo Collection June 1975; Maly, curator]

Upon reaching the northwestern islands of the Hawaiian chain, Pele, her family, and traveling companions sought a home in which Pele could keep her fires burning. At Lehua, Ka'ula, Ni'ihau, Kaua'i, and on down the island chain, she could find no place suitable. Onward travelled Pele, to O'ahu and then Moloka'i, but still no satisfactory home could be found. Pele and her family then arrived at Lāna'i, where the goddess and her companions traveled to Maunalei, plaited garlands of the forest 'ie'ie, and bathed in the waters there. From Maunalei she made her way to the coast of Ka'ā, where she rested on the shores of Polihua. According to one mele Pele found particular pleasure in eating the turtles that frequented Poli-hua (literally translated as "Cove-of-eggs"), a name given to commemorate the nesting practices of the turtles on Lāna'i—

...A Nāna'i Kaulahea  
A Mauna-lei kui ka lei  
Lei Pele i ka 'ie'ie la

Wai hinu po'o o Hi'iaka

Hōlapu 'ili o Haumea  
'Ua 'ono o Pele i kāna i'a  
O ka honu o Polihua  
Honu iki 'ā'i no'uno'u  
Kua pāpa'i o ka moana  
Ke 'ea nui kua wakawaka

Ho'olike i ka 'ai na Pele  
I nā 'oaoaka 'oaka i ka lani la  
Elieli kau mai...

[Ka Hoku o Hawaii, Pepeluali 20, 1862, aoao 1]

...It was on Nāna'i<sup>10</sup> of Kaulahea,  
At Mauna-lei the wreath was made,  
Pele wore the 'ie'ie as her  
Adornment,  
And Hi'iaka's head glistened with  
water,  
Haumea's skin was burned,  
And now Pele desires to eat her fish,  
The turtle of Polihua,  
A small turtle with a thick neck,  
Crab backed turtle of the deep sea,  
The great hawksbill turtle with its  
razor-like back,  
Made into food for Pele,  
As lightening flashes skyward  
Awe possesses me...

## The Naming of Malulani at Ka'ā, Lāna'i

During this period of antiquity, when the gods and goddesses walked the earth with human-kind, one of the noted place names in the uplands of Ka'ā evolved: Malulani, named for one of the lesser known sisters of Pele. Judge Abraham Fornander, then president of the Board of Education, engaged Hawaiian students across the islands in collecting traditions from elders in the middle 1800s. One such student, Joseph Kahele, Jr., collected "He Moololo No Ka Ohelo" or the "Story of the Ohelo" (Fornander, 1918, Vol. V, pages 576-583). This tradition captures the history of naming the place of Malulani, which is situated a short distance west and north of

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<sup>10</sup> Nāna'i is an ancient variation of the name Lāna'i

Keahiakawelo and Keahi'āloa, at approximately the 1,400 foot elevation (K. Emory, 1924. Site 14):

Kaohelo was a fine-formed woman; her face was good to look upon. Her older sisters were Pele, Hiiaka and Malulani. Their birthplace and where they lived for a long time was Nuumealani, a place at the border of Kahiki... Kaohelo and the others left their birthplace and came here to Hawaii.

When they arrived here Malulani dwelt on Lanai, while Pele and the younger sisters went on to Hawaii. Pele and Hiiaka lived at the volcano of Kilauea, but nobody knew exactly where Kaohelo settled on Hawaii. Yet while so living she bore a son named Kiha. When Kaohelo was nearing death she said to her son, "Should I die, do not bury me at any other place, but take my body to the very navel of your grandmother, right on top of Kilauea; then bury me there." When Kaohelo died her son took her dead body; that is the creeping part as well as the bush-plant part. The flesh became the creeping vine and the bones became the bush-plant. Pele retained Kaohelo's head, which became the smouldering fire in the volcano; the rest of the body was thrown over to Haleakala, Maui, and to the salty Kealia, Oahu; some of it was thrown on Kauai, and some of it was left on Hawaii.

When Malulani, living on Lanai, heard of the death of their youngest sister, she came over to get her, thinking that Pele hadn't kept her; when she arrived she did not find her whole body. It was scattered and lost over the ground, and it was sprouting and growing from the soil. She commenced to gather and bundle it, thinking that that was all, and she wanted to care for it. But some time after, as she went back to Lanai, she saw Kaohelo's body strung and worn as leis by the people; because she loved her youngest sister very much she hung herself.

Kaohelo is one of the gods of Pele even unto this day. Malulani and Kaohelo died and left Pele and Hiiaka... [Fornander, 1918. Vol. V, pages 376-378]

### **Kū'ula and 'Ai'ai (Fisherman's God): The Establishment of Fisheries on Lāna'i– Kū'ula Becomes a Turtle (Origin of the Name "Polihua")**

As noted earlier, beliefs, customs and practices of the lawai'a (fisher-people) were associated with several gods and goddesses. Notably among these are Kū'ula and Hina, and their son, 'Ai'ai. The shoreline of Ka'ā (as well as other Lāna'i locations) is marked by shrines dedicated to these akua lawai'a (gods of the fisher-people). One

notable ko'a (fisherman's shrine) lies near the shore of Ka'ā, and the traditional reason given why turtles nest at Polihua traces directly to this period of history.

The Hawaiian Annual and Almanac published a detailed series of accounts in 1901 and 1902, portions of which were written by L.D. Keli'ipio, Moses (Moke) Manu; other sections were compiled by M.K. Nakuina and S.N. Emerson. These important narratives included descriptions of fishing customs, the diversity of species in the Hawaiian fisheries, and a wide range of ceremonial observances associated with the gods and practices of the lawai'a.

## **Hawaiian Fish Stories And Superstitions**

### **Ku-ula, the Fish God of Hawaii**

The story of Ku-ula, considered by ancient Hawaiians as the deity presiding over and controlling the fish of the sea—and is still believed in by many of them today... The name of Ku-ula is known on each of the islands comprising the Hawaiian group, from the ancient time, and the writer [HAA 1901:114] gives the Maui version as transmitted through the old people of that island.

Ku-ula had a human body, and was possessed with wonderful or miraculous power (mana kupua) in directing, controlling or influencing all fish of the sea, at will.

Leho-ula, in the land of Aleamai; Hana, Maui, is where Kuula and Hina-pu-ku-ia, lived. Nothing is known of their parents, but tradition deals with Kuula, his wife, their son Ai-ai, and Ku-ula-uka, a younger brother of Ku-ula. They lived together for a time at Lehoula and then the brothers divided their work between them, Kuula-uka choosing farm work, or pertaining to the land, from the sea-shore to the mountain top, while Kuula—known also as Kuula-kai—chose to be a fisherman, with such other work as pertained to the sea, from the pebbly shore to ocean depths.

...While Kuula and his wife were living at Lehoula he devoted all his time to his chosen vocation, fishing. His first work was to construct a fish-pond handy to his house but near to the shore where the surf breaks. This pond he stocked with all kinds of fish. Upon a rocky platform he also built a house to be sacred for the fishing kapu which he called by his own name, Kuula... [HAA 1901:115]

During this period the wife of Kuula gave birth to a son, which they called Ai-ai-a-Kuula, (Ai'ai of Kuula)... [HAA 1901:116]

[A lengthy narrative here describes events in the lives of Kū'ula, Hina and 'Ai'ai and how Kū'ula gave 'Ai'ai sacred fishing tools and instructions on

establishing ko‘a (fishing stations around the islands). Kū‘ula calls to his son and tells him:]

...You must take this hook called ‘manaiakalani’ with you; also this fish-pearl (pa hi aku), called ‘kahuoi’; this shell called ‘lehoula’, and this small sand-stone from which I got the name they call me, ‘Kuula-au-a-Kuulakai.’ It is the progenitor of all the fish in the sea. You will be the one to make all the kuulas from this time forth, and also have charge of making all the fishing stations, (koa lawaia) in the sea throughout the islands. Your name shall be perpetuated, and that of your parents also, through all generations to come, and I hereby confer upon you all my power and knowledge. Whenever you desire anything all you will have to do is to call, or ask, in our names and we will grant it. We will [HAA 1901:119] stand up and go forth from here into the sea and abide there forever and you, our child, shall live on the land here without worrying about anything that may happen to you... [HAA 1901:120]

...After living for a time at Hana he [‘Ai‘ai] left that place and went around the different islands of the group establishing fishing ko‘as (ko‘a aina aumakua). Ai‘ai was the first to measure the depth of the sea to locate these fishing ko‘as for the deep sea fishermen that go out in their canoes, and the names of many of these ko‘as located around the different islands are well known... [HAA 1901:123]

### **Aiai, Son of Ku-ula (1902).**

#### **Being part II of Ku-ula, the fish god of Hawaii**

...After Ai‘ai’s practice of his father’s instructions and the return of the fishes, his fame spread throughout the district and the people made much of him during his stay with them... [HAA 1902:115-119 – recounts the establishment of ko‘a around the island of Maui]

### **Ko‘a (Fishing Stations) on the island of Lāna‘i [Figure 4]–**

#### **Kū‘ula becomes turtle and is the source of the place name, Polihua**

From Kahoolawe Ai‘ai next went to Lanai where he started fishing for aku (bonito) at Cape Kaunolu, using his pearl [mother of pearl lure] Kahuoi. This is the first case known of fishing for aku with pearl from the land, as it is a well known fact that this fish is only caught at deep sea, far from shore. In the story of Kaneapua it is shown that he was the only one that had fished for aku at the Cape of Kaunolu, where it was started by Ai‘ai.

From Kaunolu Ai‘ai went to Kaena cape where, at a place close to Paomai, was a little sandy beach now known as Polihua. Here he took a stone and carved a figure on it, then carried and placed it on the sandy beach and called on his parents. While making his incantations the stone moved towards the sea and disappeared under the water. His

incantations finished, the stone reappeared and moved toward him till it reached the place where it had been laid, whereupon it was transformed into a turtle and gave the name of Polihua to that beach. This work of Aiai on the island of Lanai was the first introduction of the turtle in the seas of Hawaii, and also originated the habit of the turtle of going up the beach to lay their eggs, then returning to the sea... [HAA 1902:121]

...In former times at most of these fishing grounds were seen multitudes and varieties of fish, all around the islands, and occasionally deep sea kinds came close in shore, but in this new Era there are not so many. Some people say it is on account of the change of the times.

These are the matters known to me. The end. [HAA 1902:128]



**Figure 4. One of the Heiau Ko'a (Fisherman's Shrines) Near Ka'ena Point. (Robin Kaye Photo No. RK\_2260 Dec 17, 2010. Lat (N) 20 54.77; Long (W) 157 03.15)**



## **Ka ‘Oihana Lawai‘a – Customs of the Fisher-people at Ka‘ā, Lāna‘i**

In 1902, Judge Kahā‘ulelio of the Lāhainā district authored some of the most detailed narratives pertaining to fishing customs, sources of fish and catching methods, “Ka Oihana Lawai‘a,” for the native newspaper Ku Okoa. He demonstrated a vast knowledge of locations, practices, methods and beliefs of native fisher-people. The following translations were prepared by Mary Kawena Pukui, and are from the archival manuscript collection of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.<sup>11</sup> The narratives describe malolo, uhu, and turtle fishing in the Ka‘ā region, and are cited with the permission of the Bishop Museum:

### **Nupepa Kuokoa**

**April 4, 1902**

#### **Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)**

##### **With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahalelio**

Fishing for Malolo, Iheihe and Puhikii. This is the kind of fishing in which the ohana (families) took part around Lanai and Kaa. Big canoes and little canoes went to the leeward side of Lanai to the places called Na-lele-a-Nanahoa [in the Honopū vicinity of Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a] and the cliffs of Kaholo for a month. The malolo (flying fish) are numerous there. The canoe was soon filled, the sails set to catch the puffs of the Maaa wind and away we went cutting a path across the surface of the sea. We had a speedy canoe that was eight and three fourth of a fathom in length that was called manua. The boom was three fathoms long, the yard was three yards in length and the mast was three and a half fathoms high. It took only three hours from the cliffs of Kaholo to Lahaina and if the Maaa wind was blowing well, your writer made it in two hours on the canoe... As soon as the malolo were sold back to Lahaina we went to one side of Kaena Point, that famous point of Kaena. It is a mere thing to be brushed aside by Paulele, the famous woman skipper... [page 36]

On May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1902, Judge Kahalelio told his readers that uhu (parrot fish) fishing “was one of the best known” on the island of Lāna‘i (Nupepa Kuokoa). The uhu was listed as the kapu fish of chiefess Victoria Kamāmalu, who through the Māhele ‘Āina (Land Division of 1848) became the owner of the entire ahupua‘a of Ka‘ā (see section of this study which covers the Māhele ‘Āina).

On May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1902, Judge Kahalelio, again mentioned uhu fishing in the following lines:

...For paeaea pole fishing, for moi fish we were all clever at it, using long bamboo poles and shrimps and aama crabs for bait. There was [page 72] no lack for this means of livelihood. (3) Paeaea fishing for uhu was done

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<sup>11</sup> Maly obtained a copy from Dorothy Barrere – historian and Kawena Pukui’s partner in translating several significant Hawaiian publications.

on the beaches of Lanai and Kahoolawe where your writer practiced it with a pole used also for aku fishing. Haukeuke, wana and ina sea urchins were used as bait, crushed and tossed in. When you have selected a good spot to fish in, bait your hook with the teeth of a haukeuke or wana or an ina then toss in your line. It was fun as the bamboo pole bent in uhu fishing just as it did in aku fishing... [Nupepa Kuokoa]

## **Nupepa Kuokoa**

**May 23, 1902**

### **Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)**

#### **Turtle Fishing at Polihua**

Turtle Fishing.— Polihua at Lanai was a very famous place for turtle catching. The natives catch them on the sand on shore if they need meat. Strangers do too, when they want to visit and see for themselves and if they wanted some to eat. It was a good thing to see this famous fish of the birthplace of my beloved mother who has preceded us yonder when your writer was but a wee child. This was the fish that Pahulu asked the gods not to allow it to have any irritation in its flippers or tail. But should strangers go there to Lanai to visit Polihua and Ke-ahi-a-Kawelo, the famous chiefess of our land, and if John Nakihei, Kaopuiki, S. Kealakaa and Judge Kahooalahala give you some weke-aa to eat, along with other fish, “Don’t eat it (weke) lest Pahulu will get you.” (It was an irritation of the throat and when you are asleep you are lifted up in the air and rocked.) Pahulu was the last ghost that Kaululaau pursued into the sea. Kaululaau held on as hard as he could but it slipped through his hands into the sea. The tale was a theme for a song composed by one of my nephews, now passed to the other side, who learned music. It was for the benefit of the Girl’s School at Makawao, twenty-six years ago. Elia, Hebert Upai and Junior Ihihi are the survivors today that were called professors of singing of those days by Governor John M. Kapena. Here are the lines of the song that the writer remembers:

Cho.— Pele makes a rustling  
A rumbling noise in the Pit. [page 81]  
The goddess looks askance  
While Pahulu ran and dived into the sea.

Verse I.— Bring us some money  
To assist Makawao.  
We have a hundred  
To help her with.

There are two more verses but this is enough about Pahulu and Kaululaau who fought the ghosts of Lanai and killed them. He was a handsome and good person who was vexed at the ghosts for chasing the fishermen of Lanai a very long time ago, so he ran away from his parents.

If some singers wish to learn the tune of this song let him come to the writers home and it will be given to him free of charge. This was a song that roused a great deal of enthusiasm and if I am not mistaken the amount received for the concert that was opened for the benefit of the Maunaolu Girl's School of that day was almost two hundred dollars.

Say, the writer has been digressing, but no matter, Hawaiian meles are enjoyed when one knew the verses. Yes, when you get to Polihua to catch turtles you need all your strength.

It is done thus— Go to Polihua in the evening and sleep there and in the early morning, in the twilight, draw close to the edge of the clumps of grass adjoining the sands and there you will see large female turtles returning to the sea. Run as fast as you can to reach a turtle, step with your left foot on the left flipper of the turtle and turn the turtle over with your hands with all your might. If you succeed in turning it over, you are going to eat some turtle meat but if you fail, you'll find yourself in the sea. It is better to let it go or your clothes will get a soaking in the sea. The other way is by diving into the sea. Your writer has been accustomed as he went to sea frequently to seeing turtles gathered close to the reef. At the time that you see the turtles coming up to breathe, paddle softly until you are very close. The turtle will dive downward and then you'll distinguish it clearly. Dive down and catch it, turn it over as quickly as possible and it becomes very light and easy to land on the canoe. This seemed to be the method used by most of the people who relish the greenish luau meat in a turtle. Still the easiest way to catch a turtle is by spearing it and if one speared them at Polihua one caught several times four of them... [page 81]

## **The History of Kaululā'au as told in "Ka Moolelo o 'Eleio" (The Tradition of 'Eleio)**

There are several published versions of the traditional history of Kaululā'au's vanquishing spirits that have survived the passing of time. One, noted in a preceding section, dates from the early 1400s and is told in "The Sacred Spear-Point" and "Kelea, the Surf Rider of Maui" (King David Kalākaua, 1888). The history of Kaululā'au's freeing Lāna'i has also been passed down through generations of Lāna'i's Hawaiian families in varying levels of detail. In the 1970s, elder native speakers of Lāna'i—notably members of the Kaopuiki and Kauila families—described to Maly, events and locations on Lāna'i at which Kaululā'au fought with or tricked the ghosts, killing them, and making it safe for people to reside on the island.

The Hawaiian language newspaper, Nupepa Kuokoa, published the most detailed account of Kaululā'au under the title "Ka Moolelo o Eleio" submitted by W.N. Pualewa (1863). This version is significant because it also includes details on the origin of place names and features around the island of Lāna'i.

According to this version, 'Eleio was a famous kūkini (runner and messenger) associated with the court of King Kaka'alaneo, and noted for his ability to travel the circuit of the island of Maui, to fetch a choice fish from one district and bring it to the court in another district, while keeping it alive. When Kaka'alaneo's wife Kelekeleioka'ula became pregnant, the king granted 'Eleio the privilege of naming the baby. 'Eleio told the king 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, Kaululā'au was banished from Maui and sent to Lāna'i to fend for himself. At this time in history, Lāna'i was reportedly inhabited by hordes of akua (gods and ghosts/spirits) under the rule of Pahulu, who killed humans who came to Lāna'i.

Kaululā'au was taken by canoe to Lāna'i, and dropped on the shore at a place which now bears his name. Unknown to his parents and accusers, he was accompanied by his own personal god, Lono, who helped him protect himself, as they traveled around Lāna'i. On their journey, Kaululā'au tricked the ghosts, killing them, and setting the land free from their dominion. (Nupepa Kuokoa, Oct 24 & 31, 1863).

In the narratives that follow, Kaululā'au has already killed many of Pahulu's spirit followers. Fearing Kaululā'au, and seeking a way to kill him, Pahulu 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 against, and kill Kaululā'au. Kaululā'au and his akua companions traveled around the island counter clockwise, leaving the Keomoku region, passing Ka'ena, going on to Honopū and other locations on Lāna'i.

A transcript of the original Hawaiian language account from Nupepa Kuokoa, October 24, 1863, follows, for the benefit of those interested in Hawaiian language resources. Selected paragraphs have been translated, with a focus on the sections covering the long coastal stretch crossing through Mahana, Paoma'i and Ka'ā Ahupua'a, continuing along the cliff region to Ka'ena, Honopū Pali Kaholo, and Kaunolū.

**Okatoba 24, 1863 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Moolelo o Eleio**

...A lohe o Kaululaaui ia mau olelo o Pahulu, no ka pau loa o ke akua oia wahi i ka make i ka nalu, alaila, ninau hou aku la o Kaululaaui ia ke akua ona ia Lono, "Pehea kua e hele, no ka mea, ke olelo mai nei o Pahulu, ua pau loa ke akua o keia wahi i ka make i ke poia e ka nalu?"

I mai la hoi o Lono, “Auhea oe, mai hoolohe wale aku oe i ka olelo mai a Pahulu, no ka mea, no ia la ka oleloia ana, he hana lepo ulaula ko ke akua, he poo huna ko iala i ke aouli; e aho e kali kua maanei i keia po, a i hiki hou ole mai hou ke akua, alaila, ua pau io i ka make, o ko kua hele ka hoi ia ma kau wahi e aku e noho ai.”

Alaila, hai aku la o Kaululaau i kona manao ia Lono, “Akahi no au a hoomanao mai i ke aloha i o’u mau makua i keia manawa, no ka mea, ia kua i hele mai nei, elua wale no wahi pun ko, oia iho la ka ai o ka hele ana o keia wahi makamaka ole; no ka mea, ma ka hale o ko’u mau makua, he nui loa ka lakou mau mea ai e ai ai i kela la, i keia la.”

Olelo mai la o Lono, “Mai aloha oe i ou mau makua, no ka mea, ua kiolaia mai e make i ke akua o Lanai nei; no ka mea, i na oe e aloha i ou mau makua a hou hou oe i Maui, alaila make oe, aole oe e ola, no ka mea he keiki oe no Mauhaalelea, a ua kiola loa ia oe no ka make. Aka hou, in kua e noho i keia aina, a pau ke akua o keia wahi a puni ka aina i ka lukuia e oe, a kaapuni kua i keia aina, a i loa ole kekahi akua hookahi ia ia kua, alaila, hoi mai no kua a keia wahi la, ia nei no oe e ho-a aku ai i ke ahi; a ike mai ou mau makua i ka a aku o ke ahu, malia o manao iho ou mau makua aole io no oe i make i ke akua, alaila, o ka laweia mai ka hoi ia o ka ai nau, ai iho oe one ka ai ana, no ka mea hou, ua make ae la ka hoa paio.”

Ma keia kamailio ana a Lono ia Kaululaau, ua lilo ia i mea oluolu loa i ko Kaululaau manao; a noho ia iho la laua malaila ia po, no ke kali ana i ka hiki hou mai o ke akua. I ke kali ana o laua i ua po nei, aole wahi mea a hele mai o ke akua, hookahi wale no akua i hele mai, o ka ahailono no a laua nei, oia hou o Pahulu.

Eia nae, i ka ike ana mai o Kaululaau, o Pahulu hookahi wale no ka mea i hele mai ia po, alaila, olelo aku la o Kaululaau ia Lono, “E aho e pepehi ae kua ia Pahulu a make, no ka mea, oia hookahi wale no koe, aole hoi paha ana make, nolaila, hookahi wale no ia, elua pu hoi kua.”

Alaila, olelo mai la o Lono ia Kaululaau, “Aole pono kua ke pepehi ia Pahulu, no ka mea, i na kua e pepehi ia Pahulu, alaila, aole e puni o Lanai nei ia kua, no ka mea, o Pahulu, oia no ka mea i ike i kahi e noho nui ai o ke akua, a oia no hoi ka mea nana e hoolohe mai ka kua mea e makemake ai e hana aku, a malaila wale mai no o Pahulu; a oia no hoi ka waha mana, e kamailio aku maluna o ka nui o ke akua o Lanai nei, nolaila, moi koi oe e pepehi ia Pahulu.”

A i ke kakahiaka ana’e o kekahi la ae, ia wa, hele hou mai la o Pahulu, a olelo mai la ia Kaululaau ma, “E aho e hele kakou a hiki i ka lae o

Kahoomano (o Kalaehi kekahi inoa oia wahi), ilaila makou e noho ai i kekahi mau la, a na'u no hoi e hoolauna aku me ka nui o na akua o makou e noho ana ma ia wahi; a in hoi lakou e ae mai ia'u ma ko makou launa ana, a laila, ua ike iho la no hoi oe i ke kumu i pau mai nei ke akua o kela wahi ia oe. A pela no hou oe e hana ai i keia wahi."

A pau ka Pahulu kamailio ana i kana pono ia Kaululaau , a me Lono, alaila, kakali aku la o Lono, o ka ui mai o Kaululaau ia ia i pono o ko laua hele ana, ame ka pono ole.

Alaila, ninau mai la o Kaululaau ia Lono, "Pehea kua, ua pono anei ka ianei e olelo mai nei ia kua e hele kakou, in e nana mai oe ua pono, alaila, pono kua ke hele, ina no hou oe e nana mai aohe no hou he pono, alaila, e aho no hoi ko kua noho ma keia wahi."

Alaila, olelo aku la o Lono, "Ua oi aku ka pono o ko kua hele ana mahope o ka olelo a Pahulu, no ka mea, o ianei no ke kamaaina o keia wahi, a o ianei no ka mea i ike pono i ka pau ana o ke akua o keia wahi a kua e noho nei, nolaila, ua pono ia kua ke hele mahope o ka Pahulu olelo i keia manawa."

A holo ka olelo no ka hele ana, ia wa koke no , o ko lakou nei hele aku la no ia a noho ma ka lae o Kahoomano.

A poaha ko lakou noho ana malaila, a o na hana a pau a Kaululaau i hana'i ma Waiahoole, oia no ka mea i hana ia ma Kahoomano.

A pau ko lakou noho ana ma ka lae o Kahoomano, alaila, nee ae la lakou a noho ma Kahaulehale, a poalua ko lakou noho ana malaila, o ka Kaululaau hana kahiko no nae i hoomakaia'i ma kahi ana i noho mua ai, o ia no kai hanaia ma Kahaulehale, a hele aku la oia ma ia wahi aku, alaila, halawai aku la o Kaululaau me keia mau kanaka e noho ana i ka lae kahakai. Ia lakou i halawai ai, a ike pono aku la keia he mau kanaka io no, alaila, kamailio pu iho la lakou me ua mau kanaka nei.

Alaila, olelo aku la keia i ke akua ona ia Lono, "Kupanaha maoli, olelo ia hoi keia aina he aina kanaka ole, he akua wale no kanaka, eia kakou he aina kanaka no."

Alaila, olelo mai la o Lono, "Aole no he kanaka o keia aina, o ke akua wale no, i no eia ia ke kanaka, alaila, he olulo ia kanaka, no Molokai mai paha la, ua holo mai nei a make i ka moana, au mai nei paha a pae mai ianei, oia kau i ike iho la he kanaka. Aka, eia nae ka pololei, e ninau pono aku no oe i ua mau kanaka la, a na laua no ia e kamailio pono mai ia oe, anoai aole io he mau kanaka, he mau akua io no paha, kuhihewa kua he akua, aole ka!"

Ia wa, pane aku la o Kaululaau ia Lono, “E aho nau e kamailio aku ia Pahulu, e nana pono ae ia i ke ano o ke akua o keia aina; a ina e hoole mai oia, aole pela ke akua, a he mau kanaka io kela, alaila, na‘u hou ke kamailio e pono ai, no ka mea, ua kuae la hou i ko‘u aoao i ko ke kanaka.”

Nolaila, lilo ka nana ana ia Pahulu, ia wa, olelo mai la oia ia Kaululaau a me Lono, “Aole keia he mau akua, aole pela ke ano o ke akua o ko makou aina nei.”

I ka hoole ana mai a Pahulu aole he akua, alaila, lilo hou ke kamailio ana na Kaululaau me ua mau kanaka nei.

Hooneenee aku la o Kaululaau a kokoke loa me laua la, alaila, aloha aku la keia ia laua la, “Aloha hoi paha olua e nei mau kanaka?”

Aloha mai la no hou laua la, “Aloha no hoi paha oe e nei keiki opiopio maikai?”

Ia manawa, hoomaopopo aku la o Kaululaau i ua mau kanaka nei i ko laua wahi i hele mai ai a hiki ai hoi i Lanai.

Alaila, olelo pono mai la ua mau kanaka nei ia Kaululaau, “No Molokai mai maua, i holo mai nae maia hele loa i Maui, o ka make e nei i ka moana, o ka au hele mai nei paha ia la, pomaikai ka pae ana mai i Lanai nei. Eia hoi ka hewa, ua pakele mai nei hou i ka make o ka moana, o ka make hou paha auanei a ke akua koe, nolaila, aole i ikea pono, oia ka maua mea e mihi nei la, no ka mea, he aina akua keia.”

Alaila, i aku la o Kaululaau i ua mau kanaka nei, “Aole olua e make, no ka mea, he mau kanaka makua olua, aole ka hoi au i make ke kamalii, make hoi olua.”

A ike aku la o Kaululaau i ka mokoi paeaea a ua mau kanaka nei, alaila, ninau aku la o Kaululaau, “He mea aha keia a olua e hana nei?”

Alaila, olelo mai la laua, “He mea paeaea na maua, penei e hana ai, o ke kaula no o ka waa, oia no ke aho, o ka o no o ka pea, oia no ka mokoi, a o kekahi uha puua no, o ia no hoi ka maunu, nakiikii ka uha puua i ke aho a paa; aia a poeleele iho, alaila, kola aku iwaho o kahi papaa hale nei o maua la, ia manawa, kii ae la ke akua, a paa iho la i ka uha puua, alaila, hapai mai la ka mokoi, paa mai la ke akua, ia wa, kaikai mai la maua a hookomo iho i ka eke, alomi iho mawaho o ka eke, make iho ana ia akua, i na no eha akua, pau no a eha i ka make i paa mai ai i ka uha puua.”

Alaila, olelo aku la o Kaululaau, “Ae, he wahi hana maikai io no hoi ka olua e hana nei. Heaha la hoi auanei ka hewa, e aho no e hana no hoi olua i ka olua hana, malama o pau no hoi koonei akua i ka olua hana, alaila, o ko olua aina iho la no hoi ia; a owai hoi, e hele aku no hoi au ma keia wahi aku e noho ai, a ike ia hou ka pono, alaila, o ka pono ka hoi ia o ka noho hana o keia aina makamaka ole.”

O keia mau kanaka nae e kamaailio pu nei me Kaululaau, oia hoi na kanaka o Molokai mai. Ua manao ia, o laua no na kupuna i loa mai ai na kupuna o Lanai. A ma o laua la i loa mai ai o Lonoikapuokoko, a ma ona ala i puka mai ai o Kaluaikaeokiikii, a malaila e pili ai ia hanauna me na mamoa a Kaiakea a me Puhene.

A nolaila, ua olelo ia moolelo ma ko Molokai olelo ana no ke kaha pili a Kaiakea.

A pau ko lakou kamaailio ana, alaila, hele aku la o Kaululaau a noho ma ka lae o Kaena, a noho kela me ka luku aku i ke akua oia wahi e like me kana hana mau o ka hoopunipuni i ke akua i mea a pau ai lakou i ka make.

Ua noho loihi loa lakou malaila i kekahi mau la, a ike o Pahulu i ka pau o ke akua o ia wahi, alaila, olelo aku la o Pahulu ia Kaululaau ame Lono, “Ua pau ke akua o keia wahi, e aho e hele kakou a ma kela aoao o Honopu, malaila kakou e noho ai, malama ua nee aku nei paha ke akua ma ia aoao e noho ai, no ka mea, ke nanahelu nai au ma keia wahi aole akua i koe. Nolaila, ua makehewa kakou ke noho maanei i keia mau la loihi loa.”

A mamuli o keia olelo 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 hiki lakou nei ma Honopu, a noho malaila i kekahi mau po, aole nae he akua oia wahi, no ka mea, ua kaapuni hele o Pahulu ia mau la a me ia mau po ma ia apana mai o a o, mai ka a uka, aole ona halawai iki me ke akua, nolaila, aole o lakou kuleana e noho hou ai malaila.

Nolaila, ua nee hou aku la lakou a noho ma Kaunolu, a malaila a noho loihi 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 hoho 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 manao. 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 Kahaulehale, a no ka lehulehu o na hana maalea i loaia Kaululaau mamuli o ke ao-ao ana mai a kona 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... (Aole i pau.)

[Translation]

**October 24, 1863 (page 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**The Story of Eleio**

...At the end of their stay at the Point of Kahoomano, they then went to stay at Kahaulehale, and remained there two nights. As was his practice, and as he had done when he stayed at the first place, he did the same at Kahaulehale [fishing]. He then went from that place and met with two men who were there on an ocean point. When they met, he recognized that they were indeed really men [not ghosts/spirits], so they spoke together with those men.

Then, this one [Kaululā'au] said to his god, Lono, "This is amazing, it is said that this is a land without people, it is only people by ghosts, and here we find it to be a land of people."

Lono then said, "There are no people of this land, there are only ghosts. Here are these men, they are people who have been washed up on the shore, perhaps from Moloka'i, men who traveled and nearly died in the sea, swimming to land here perhaps. That is what I know of people here. But of course here is what you should do, you ask these men, that they two may tell you the truth. If not, men, perhaps they are

ghosts. Then we would have been mistaken, they are ghosts, maybe not!”

Kaululā’au answered Lono, “Patience, I will speak with Pahulu, that he should look carefully at the nature of the ghosts of this land; and if he should deny that they are ghosts, then they are indeed men. Therefore I will again speak for it is my determination that they are from the side of men.

Thus, this is what was learned from Pahulu’s investigation, he told Kaululā’au and Lono, “These are not ghosts, for this is not the nature of the ghosts of our land, here.”

When Pahulu said that they were not ghosts, Kaululā’au went again to speak with the men.

Kaululā’au moved close to them, and greeted them with aloha, “Do you offer aloha to people?”

They gave their aloha again, saying, “Do you offer your aloha o fine youth?”

At that time, Kaululā’au wanted to know the place from which the men had come to arrive on Lāna’i.

The men then told Kaululā’au, “We two came from Moloka’i, sailing to Maui, nearly dying in the ocean, swimming here, we were fortunate to land here on Lāna’i. Here is the problem, we’ve escaped one death in the ocean to perhaps be killed by the ghosts that remain here. We do not rightly know, that is why we are asking forgiveness here, for this is a land of ghosts.”

Kaululā’au then told the men, “You two shall not die, for you are both mature adults, I will not kill the youth, nor will you be killed.

Kaululā’au then saw the fishing poles of the men, and Kaululā’au asked, “What is this thing that you are doing?”

They then said, “This is a manner of pole fishing that we are doing, and here is how, the rope from the canoe, that is the line, and the mast is the pole, and the thigh of the pig is the bait. The pigs’ thigh is tied fast to the line. Then at night, the line is set out in front of this temporary house we have here, and then the ghosts come and hold tight to the pigs’ thigh, we then lift up the pole, and the ghost is held fast. We then take it and secure it in a bag/basket mashing the outside

of the bag, killing the ghost, four so far have been killed by being held fast by the pig's thigh."

Kaululā'au then said, "Yes, this is a good work that you two have done. What could be wrong with this, you patiently do the work that you two do. You do your work in honor of your gods, therefore this land is for you; and who else? I will now leave this place and see what else I have need of, as this is what is needful in residing on this friendless land.

These men who were speaking with Kaululā'au, were the men from Moloka'i. It is thought that they are the elders from whom the people of Lāna'i are descended. And from them is gotten Lonoikapuokoko, and from him arose Kaluaikaeokiikii, and from there is a generational relationship with the descendants of Kaiakea and Puhene.

Therefore it is said in the traditions of Moloka'i, that these sands are connected to Kaiakea.

When they finished their conversation, Kaululā'au went and stayed at the Point of Kaena. While staying there, he destroyed the ghosts of that place as was his way, through deceiving the ghosts, until all were killed.

They resided here for a long time, and then after several days, Pahulu observed that the ghosts of the place were all gone. Pahulu then said to Kaululā'au and Lono, "The ghosts of the place are finished, perhaps we should go to that side, at Honopū, we shall stay there and see if the ghosts have moved to that section to live. For I have gone and looked around all this place, there are no ghosts left. Therefore we would be mistaken to remain here any longer."

As a result of these words of Pahulu, they went to stay at Honopū, which is there, close to the Kaholo cliffs, though Kaumālapa'u is still closer to Kaholo.

They arrived at Honopū and resided there for several nights, but there were no ghosts at this place. Pahulu went all about the places of this region over several nights, from the coast to the uplands, but he did not encounter even one ghost, therefore they had no reason to stay there any longer.

Thus, they moved again, and stayed at Kaunolū. They stayed there for a long time, for Pahulu saw that this was where the ghosts had congregated.

Therefore Pahulu said to Kaululā'au, "Let us stay here a while, for I see there atop Kāhilikalani, is the place where the ghosts reside. But this is what I have to tell you, Kaululā'au, that you shall indeed destroy all the ghosts; 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 gods 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 worshiped. 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 ghosts of this place. Kaululā'au then instructed them in praying to the gods, as he had done with the men of Moloka'i, 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 ghosts of Kaunolū... (Not finished [continued].)

## **Nā Mo'olelo Makani – Wind Traditions (Winds as Cultural Properties of Lāna'i and Ka'ā)**

In Hawaiian beliefs and traditions, makani (winds) are body forms of the gods and creative forces of nature. Hundreds of names for winds have been handed down over the generations. Many of the names are typically descriptive of the wind's nature, while others are given as portends of weather or events which they precede—the foretelling of rains to come, continued periods of drought, calm weather, high seas, and such.

The Hawaiians studied the nature of winds and used this knowledge to plan a wide range of traditional activities. By understanding the characteristics of makani kama'āina (winds native to given areas), one could determine when to go fishing or when to end a fishing trip; when to plant one's crops or when to harvest the crops; when to set out on a canoe voyage or when to pull the canoes into the hālau (canoe sheds) above the shore. Over the generations, several people became famous for their ability to call upon winds—and cause them to blow—necessary to accomplish certain tasks. Some of these individuals became deified, and their histories have been added to the traditional knowledge of the Hawaiian people.

## **He Wahi Mo'olelo—Kūapāka'a me ka Ipu Makani a La'amaomao (A Little Tradition—Kūapāka'a and the Wind Gourd of La'amaomao)**

One of the most famous of these "wind callers" was a woman by the name of La'amaomao. Upon her death, her bones were bundled and placed in a gourd

container, and revered by her son, Pāka'a. The gourd container was named, "ka Ipu Makani a La'amaomao" (the Wind Gourd of La'amaomao). Set during the reign of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, on the island of Hawai'i, the tradition dates from the period around 1550 A.D. Beginning on April 17, 1861, readers of the Hawaiian newspaper, Ka Hae Hawaii, were introduced to a retelling of the tradition in its' first formal publication by native historian, S.K. Kuapu'u, who provided the following background on the tradition:

Pāka'a, was a servant of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, the ruler of all Hawaii [Island]. Pāka'a was highly favored by his lord in all things, therefore his lord gave him authority to make decisions over all the lands and those who ate together with him... Pāka'a became the master canoe steersman of the king's canoes. And because he cared for all things, and was able to steer the king's canoe where ever the king desired to go—whether on calm days or stormy days. Pāka'a was always at the stern of the canoe, with his paddle, Lapakahoe.

Pāka'a had the wind gourd called La'amaomao. It was a true gourd, and was covered by an 'ie'ie woven net on the outside. The one for whom the gourd La'amaomao was named, was the mother of Pāka'a. When she died, Pāka'a placed her bones in the gourd, and it was called the gourd of La'amaomao, for the name of his mother. When La'amaomao was alive, she was famous because the winds listened to her when she called upon their names. When she died, she gave him, her son, the power to call upon the winds... [Ka Hae Hawaii, Apelila 17, 1861; Maly, translator]

Others became jealous of Pāka'a's high favor with the king, and through deceit caused him to lose the favor of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi. Pāka'a went into hiding, and eventually settled on Moloka'i where he passed his knowledge of the winds and the ipu makani a La'amaomao on to his son, Kū-a-Pāka'a. In the tradition of Kū-a-Pāka'a, Keawe-nui-a-'Umi learns of the treachery of those who were jealous of Pāka'a, and sets out to find Pāka'a and return him to his rightful place. Through telling of these adventures, we learn of winds, chants for calling upon them, and events in Hawai'i's history. The eight named winds of Lāna'i offer a glimpse into this traditional knowledge, and the cultural attachment shared by the inhabitants with winds of the island.

On May 15, 1861, S.K. Kuapu'u recounted a wind chant, referencing the winds of Maui, passing over to Lāna'i and then on to Moloka'i:

**May 15, 1861**  
**Ka Hae Hawaii**  
**He Wahi Moolelo. Helu 5.**

...He Maaa ko Lahaina,  
Ke kau mai la i Kamaiki,

Mā'ā'ā is the wind of Lahaina,  
That settles at Kamaiki,

<p>Moa'e ae aku la ka pali,          He Alani ko Liloa,          Ka Pa-a-la o na Kaha,          Na keiki aku a Naiwi,          Holio mai nei ka makani,          Lau koaie i ke kula,          Holo Kaomi ma Paomai,</p> <p>He pelu ka makani no kai,          He kupa he okea ka makani,          He Paiolua i ka moana,          Ka Hoolua o ka Moae...</p>	<p>The Moa'e is next, along the cliff,          The 'Alani is at Līloa**,          Pa'alā is there along the shore lands,          Where are the youth of Naiwi,          The wind causes the leaves of,          the koi'e to glitter upon the plains,          Kaomi is the wind that travels across          Paoma'i,</p> <p>Pelu is the wind of the shore,          A wind that stirs up the sands,          Paiolua is the wind on the ocean,          The Hoolua (strong gusts) of the          Moa'e... [Maly, translator]</p>
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Mā'ā'ā – A noted wind the blows from Lahaina.

Moa'e – A tradewind.

Alani – A wind along the coast.

Pa'alā – A wind along the coastal lands.

Kaomi (to press down) – A northeast tradewind.

Pelu (to fold over) – Perhaps a local name of a particular wind.

Paiolua – Perhaps a local name of a particular wind.

Ho'olua – A strong, northerly wind. (cf. Pukui & Elbert, 1972)

\*\* Note: The place name written “Līloa” in this account is a typesetting error, and should be Kīkoa, a place along the Ka'ōhai coast of Lāna'i, a short distance west of Lōpā<sup>12</sup>.

## **Nā Makani Kama'āina o Lāna'i me Ka'ā Native Winds of Lāna'i and Ka'ā**

Among the Lāna'i names for winds, which have been recorded in traditional lore and by elder kama'āina are the following:

<p>'Alani (Ka'alani)          Ho'olua          Ho'omoepili</p> <p>Kamakanihulilua          Kamakanilau'a'ali'i          Kaomi</p>	<p>a wind which frequents the Kīkoa section of Lāna'i.          a strong, cold tradewind, noted for knocking houses down.          a wind of the Ka'ā region, which causes the pili grass to lie flat against the ground.</p> <p>a twisting wind which blows from side to side.          a wind which causes the 'a'ali'i leaves to quiver.          a tradewind which bears water with it.</p>
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<sup>12</sup> See also: “He Moololo Hawaii o Pakaa a me Ku-a-Pakaa, Na Kahu Iwikuamoo o Keawenuiaumi, ke Alii o Hawaii, a o na Moopuna hoi a Laamaoamo! Ke kamaeu nana i hoolakalaka na makani a pau o na mokupuni o Hawaii nei, a uhao iloko o kana upu kaulana i kapaia o ka, Ipumakani a Laamaoamo.” (Moses K. Nakuina, 1902)

Kololio	a gusty wind.
Kona	a wind which blows from the south west, associated with the time of Lono.
Kēhau	a wind which bears dew with it, typically blowing down the mountain slopes in the night.
Kumuma'oma'o	a wind of the Keomoku region.
Mā'ā'ā	a tradewind which crosses the channel to Lāna'i from Lāhaina.
Moa'e	a tradewind which blows to Lāna'i.
Moa'ea'e	a tradewind which blows along the cliffs of Lāna'i.
Nāulu	a southwesterly wind which brings rain squalls to the land.
'Ōlauniu	a gentle breeze which blows through the near shore coconut groves (noted in Ka'ōhai).
Pa'alā	a wind which blows along the windward coast of Lāna'i.
Paiolua	a wind which blows off the sea on the windward side of Lāna'i.
Pelu	a wind which blows off the sea on the windward side of Lāna'i.
Pōpōkapa	a wind which bore rains with it, noted for the Kaiholena Vicinity.
Pu'ulena	a wind which blows across the island of Lāna'i from Hawai'i Island, bearing the fragrance of the volcano.

## Ho'omoepili of Ka'ā

The name of the wind “Ho'omoe pili” is one that stands out in the Ka'ā Ahupua'a. It appears in a mele recounting of the life of Kahaukomo, and was published on June 22, 1878, in the native language newspaper, Ko Hawaii Pae Aina.

Kahaukomo was born at Manele in 1852, the daughter of J.H. Lululipolani and Kahaolenui. When she died, her father composed a mele in her honor that is typical of the expressions of grief Hawaiians traditionally and historically shared when a loved one passed away. In this instance, the mele is actually written in the style of a mele pana (chant which commemorated celebrated sites and resources of the island)—things which the deceased and the living should never again visit together. Lululipolani's lines are a journey around the island, introducing noted places, including a wide range of resources, along with rain and wind names, including the predominate wind of Ka'ā:

**June 22, 1878 (aoao 1)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**He Kino Uhane Ua Hala, Ua Moe i ka Moe Kau Moe Hooilo**

...Aloha na pua aweuweu i Keahiakawelo,  
Aloha na lehua o Malulani,  
Aloha ke one o Polihua,

Aloha ka makani Hoomoe pili o Kekaha,  
Aloha ke kula o Limukalehua,  
Aloha ke anu o Kihamaniania...

**June 22, 1878 (aoao 1)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**A Spirit has Passed on to Sleep through Summer and Winter**

...Loved are the grass blossoms at Keahiakawelo,  
Loved are the lehua blossoms of Malulani,  
Loved are the sands of Polihua,  
Loved is the Ho'omoe pili wind of the arid lands  
Loved are the plains of Limukalehua<sup>13</sup>,  
Loved is the cold of Kihamāniania... [Maly, translator]

### **Pā mai nā Makani a'e o Lāna'i (Other Winds that Blow on Lāna'i)**

There are other makani (winds) which are known to “pā” (blow) on Lāna'i, and which played a role in the culture and history of the land. In the early 1900s, Abraham and James Kauila (son and father) of Lāna'i, composed a song that incorporated a poetic name for a wind in the composition. The wind, “Pu'ulena,” is one that blows across the islands from Hawai'i. Since this wind bears with it, the fragrance of the volcano, the wind name is translated as “Yellow Hills.” In Hawaiian poetry, the wind Pu'ulena spurred people to complete a task, while the doing was good, and the presence of the Pu'ulena on Lāna'i is referenced in this mele, when calling people to eat and savor the favored fish of the island. The lines in which the wind is named state:

#### **Nā 'Ono o ka 'Āina**

...Mai kali a pau nā niho,  
O hala e ka Pu'ulena,  
O ka wā kēia o ka 'ono lā  
Lawe a'e nō a 'ike i ka 'ono...

#### **The Delicacies of the Land**

...Don't wait until the teeth are gone,  
Or until the Pu'ulena wind has passed by,  
This is the time when it is good,  
Take it and know the flavor...

One additional source of wind names on Lāna'i was brought to the island in 1989, by the late Kumu Hula, John Ka'imikaua. The names recorded in the mele from a Moloka'i collection are marked by underlining . These wind names were not heard in conversations with elder native speakers of Lāna'i in the 1970s-1980s. No further information appears to be available as to the source or antiquity of the mele and wind names. It is hoped that at some time in the future, further information on the mele may become available.

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<sup>13</sup> Limukalehua was transposed as Leinukalahua during the 1921-1922 archaeological survey of Kenneth Emory.



### **Makani o Lana'i o Nunuwe**

Aniani ka makani o Nunuwe  
A kahu pu a Lana'i kahu  
Ina pu ohiohi a Maunalei

Ma'oi'oi 'e'e lala ahakea

Mai Maui mai ke Kupapaha'o  
A kuehu he ao ula a'i Ke'ea  
Holu ka niu i Kaena loa  
Holu ka niu i ka Welewele

Na'ina ka mokupuni e ka Na

Hi'o ka makani i Hikikau'alono  
Ina hu mai i ke Ahu'anu  
Kani mau ka unihi kini i Palawai

Awawa Kalolohai ai Kilo'ahi  
Ka pali o ke kuula he lani  
Uwi ke kolea mahe Pu'ele'ea

Oehu i ka papa o Waikele

### **Nunuwe, Wind of Lana'i**

Refreshing are the winds of Nunuwe  
Keeper of the winds of Lana'i  
When the Ohiohi wind blows  
from Maunalei  
The ahakea branches move zigzagged

From Maui comes the Kupapaha'o wind  
Stirring a red cloud at Ke'ea  
The palm trees sway at Ka'ena  
The palm trees sway in the Welewele

The Na wind encompasses the  
whole island  
Wind blowing from Hikikau'alono (East)  
When the Ahu'anu wind blows  
Multitudes of locusts sounding in the gasses  
of Palawai

The Kalolohai wind blows at Kilo'ahi  
On the cliffs of the fishing god, a chief  
The screeching of the kolea is like  
the Pu'ele'ea

Gushing on the flats of Waikele

“This chant was given to Aunty Elaine Kaopuiki by John Kaimikaua from his Kumu Kawahinekapuheleikapokane.” [Courtesy of Martha Haia Evans]

If traditional knowledge and lore handed down across the islands is any indicator, it is likely that many more names for winds, and stories of their cultural significance one existed on Lāna'i. Unfortunately, after western contact, the rapid decline in the native population of Lāna'i led to a dramatic loss of knowledge.

## **Ke-ahi-a-Kawelo: He Wahi Pana no Lāna'i ma Ka'ā (The-fire-of-Kawelo: A Storied Landscape of Lāna'i at Ka'ā)**

The traditions of Kawelo, a kahuna (priest) of Ka'ā, Lāna'i, and a priest of Moloka'i—identified in various accounts as either Lani-kāula or Waha—is of regional importance to the people of Lāna'i and Moloka'i. The traditions, significance of the cross-island cultural landscape and ongoing importance of place in the lives of the people of Lāna'i establish Keahiakawelo and neighboring localities such as

Keahi'āloa and Kaweloahi as a "Traditional Cultural Property"<sup>14</sup> subject to federal criteria for protection and treatment (Figure 5).

Kawelo was a famous priest of Lāna'i, who is remembered in several written accounts, dating back to at least 1868. Information collected by Kenneth Emory from Lāna'i natives and residents in 1921-1922, and accounts shared in the 1970s by elder native residents, also place prominent sites associated with this tradition in the ahupua'a of Ka'ā and Mahana..

There are several recorded narratives with varying circumstances and different characters, but each focuses on the central theme of the priest, Kawelo, who kept an ahu (cairn or altar) at Ka'ā, Lāna'i, on which he burned a fire to protect the well-being of the people of his island. (see Emory, 1924; and Gay, 1965). A native writer in the Hawaiian newspaper "Kuokoa" wrote the following account in an article titled "Pane ia Lanikaula" (Answer to Lanikaula), and published on July 18, 1868:

**Iulai 18, 1868 (aoao 4)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**No Lanikaula.**

O Lanikaula, oia no kekahi kaula o Molokai mamua, a ua make oia, aia kona luakupapau e waiho nei ma Puuohoku, a ua kapaia no ka inoa oia wahi o Lanikaula, mamuli no o ka inoa o Lanikaula.

Ua olelo ia ua Lanikaula nei, he kaula ike a akamai i kona mau la e noho kaula ana.

Aka nae, iaia e noho kaula ana, ua hiki loa iaia ke ike i ka make o kekahi alii a kanaka no hoi, mamuli no o kona ike kaula iho.

Aka, i ka wa i kokoke mai kona mau la hope, ia manawa, ike ole iho ua Lanikaula nei.

Eia ke kumu i olelo ia ai oia aohe ike, iaia no e noho ana i kekahi kakahiaka, maalo ae la kekahi luna a Keahiakawelo o Lanai, me ka uala maka e paa ana ma kona lima, aia maloko oia uala, ua hahao ia ka honoa o na o Lanikaula, a ma ke alo pono ae na ka lawe ia ano o ua uala nei, aole he olelo aku o Lanikaula, o kuu honoa no paha keia au e lawe ae nei, he ole loa no.

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<sup>14</sup> A traditional cultural property may be "... the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure..." (Parker and King, 1990:9)



**Figure 5. An Āhua (Hillock) in the Vicinity of Keahiakawelo at Ka'ā, Lāna'i, with view to Lanikāula, Moloka'i (Photo No. KPA-C3174, Kepā Maly)**

Aia a hiki ka elele a Keahiakawelo i Lanai, a ina po paha i o Kane, oia ka wa i a mai ai ke ahi a Keahiakawelo, akahi no a ike aku o Lanikaula o ka honoa kela ona e puhi ia mai la i ke ahi. Akahi no a manao o Lanikaula e make ana ia, oia Ke kuahaua ia o na kanaka o Molokai e ka i ka pahoa, oia kona lepo e kanu ia ai ke make oia, no ka mea, ina e kanu i ka lepo maoli makau oia o huai ia, a pau na iwi i ka hanaia i makau lawaia, oia iho la kahi ano pokole o ko Lanikaula moolelo...

[Translation]

**Iulai 18, 1868 (aoao 4)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**No Lanikaula.**

...Lanikaula was a prophet of Molokai before times, he died and his burial place is there at Puu-o-Hoku. The place of Lanikaula was named Lanikaula for him.

It was said that he was a clever prophet in his day.

While he was a prophet he could foresee the death of any chief or commoner through his wisdom as prophet, but when his own death drew near, he did not know.

This was the reason it is said that he did not know. One morning, one of the overseers of Keahi-a-Kawelo, of Lanai [and who had feigned friendship with Lanikāula], passed by. He had a raw sweet potato in his hand and inside of the sweet potato he had placed the excrement of Lanikāula. He passed right in front of Lanikāula, and the priest did not say, “That is my excrement you are carrying away,” he didn’t say a word.

The messenger got back to Keahi-a-Kawelo on Lanai. It was perhaps on the night of Kane (po Kane) when the fire was lighted by Keahi-a-Kawelo, and then Lanikāula knew from the smoke, that it was his excrement that was being burned. It was in this way, that he knew that he was going to die. He asked the men of Molokai to make stone knives under which to bury him when he died. He was afraid to be buried with just plain earth lest he be dug up and his bones used for fish hooks. . . [Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Hawaiian Ethnological Notes I:2690]

In 1873, Walter Murray Gibson published “A Legend of Lanai” in the newspaper “Ka Nu Hou.” Titled “Keahiakawelo” (The fire of Kawelo), the account offers additional details on events in this tradition, and references the upland region of Ka’ā:

In the district of Kaa, on the western side of Lanai, there are several tumuli of large stones, and some rude contrivance of sacrificial altar, surrounded by a low round enclosure. Here three generations anterior to the reign of Kahekili, who was King of Maui and Lanai, lived the prophet Kawelo, who kept up a constant fire burning day and night upon this altar; and a similar fire responsive to it, was maintained by another prophet Waha, on the opposite side of Molokai. Now Kawelo had a daughter to assist in keeping watch and to feed the sacred fire, and Waha had a son; and it was declared to the people by these prophets, that so long as the fire burned, hogs and dogs would never cease from the land; but should it become extinguished these animals would pass away, and the kanakas would only have fish and sea-weed to eat with their poi... [Gibson, Ka Nu Hou, May 31, 1873:4]

Gibson described how the boy Nui, of Moloka’i, and the girl Pepe, of Lāna’i, came to fall in love, and how on one fateful night, they failed to keep the fires on their respective islands lit—the fire on the “altar of Keahiakawelo” had died. Upon discovering their error, Nui and Pepe fled to Maui, and Kawelo:

...threw himself headlong from a precipice of the barranca [bluff] of Maunalei. And many natives of Lanai believe to this day, that their native hogs and dogs have passed away, in consequence of the prophecy of Kawelo. [Ibid.]

In 1912, another native writer submitted an account titled, “Na Wahi Pana o Lanai” (“The Famed and Storied Places of Lāna‘i”), to the paper Kuokoa. One of the places referenced by the narrator was Kaweloahi (also written “Ke-ahi-a-Kawelo”).

...O Kaweloahi, he wahi ahua keia nona ka palahalaha o hapawalu eka, aneane e pili me kekahi oawa kahawai o Maunalei. Aia ma keia wahi ahua i ku ai ka hale o kekahi kahuna o Lanai nei, oia kela inoa ae la Kaweloahi. Na ia nei i puhi i ka lepo o ko Molokai kahuna kaulana oia au, Lanikaula, a i kaulana ai hoi o Molokai pule o-o.

Aia nohoi ma keia oawa i ulu ai kekahi mau kumu ohia ku makua kupanaha, ulaula, keokeo, a eleele ko lakou pua, a wahi a kamaaina, eia wale iho nei no i nalowale ai, mamuli o ka pau o ka ili i ka ai ia e ke kao ahiu. A ina e nana oe mai keia wahi aku, e ike no oe i ka waiho molale o ka aina o kela huli o Lanai, kahi hoi a na luna nui o ka hui e noho nei me ko lakou mau kanaka, a e huli papu aku ana ia Kaunakakai a e ike no oe ia Kalaeokalaau e oni ana i ke kai. . . [Kuokoa, June 21, 1912]

[Translation]

Kaweloahi is a mound with an area of an eighth of an acre, very close to one of the stream gulches that enters Maunalei. It is there on that mound, that the house of one of the priests of Lanai stood, it was he who was named Kaweloahi. He is the one that burned the excrement of the famous priest of Molokai, Lanikaula, the famous priest who made Molokai known for its strong prayers.

There in this gulch (below the house of Kaweloahi), grew several mysterious ohia trees, they bore red, white and black blossoms, and natives say that the trees have only recently been lost as a result of the wild goats eating their bark. If you look from this place, you will see the lands of that side of Lanai stretched out before you; reaching from the place where the ranch manager and his people live, over to Kaunakakai; it can be seen clearly before you, all the way to Kalaeokalaau, which juts out into the sea... [cf., Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Hawaiian Ethnological Notes; Nwsp. Kuokoa:6-7]

In his work with native informants in 1921-1922, Emory collected site specific documentation of sites in Ka‘ā, that were associated with the events cited above. Emory identifies Site No. 16 as Ke-ahi-a-Kawelo, and reported:

Mr. W. J. D. Walker of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company reports a group of two small, circular, raised platforms, two house platforms, and three stone shelters half a mile up the parched slopes back of Kalaeahole [Site

No. 7], in the district of Kaa. The two circular platforms are places on a raised ledge about 15 feet apart and in a line approximately east and west.

The eastern platform, a little larger, measures about 6 feet high and 6 feet in diameter. On the south side of the platforms and between them is a shelter formed by a low wall of stones against the ledge. West of the platforms are two small, terraced house sites and north, two more shelters; one under a low bluff, the other directly above it. It is not beyond possibility that these ruins represent a heiau and are the setting for the traditions of the Fire of Kawelo, which burned at Keahialoa... [Emory 1924:69]

Emory continued:

A native Kauila, informed me that Keahialoa, indefinitely located in Kaa, is the name of the high point to one looking upland from Kaena point. . . [Ibid.]

In another section of his 1924 report, under the heading “Stones Marking Places of Religious or Magical Observances,” Emory elaborated:

On the great boulders along the Keahiakawelo ridge many small monuments of three or four stones, one on top the other, have been erected by natives travelling up and down, to insure good fortune on their way. I am reminded of similar monuments which were set up along the trail at Ke-ahu-o-ka-holo in Haleakala (18, p. 250) to keep the fog from enveloping the travellers and causing them to lose their way. But the ahu at Keahiakawelo represent the kukaе offerings of Kawelo. (See p. 19.). [Emory, 1924:72]

In 1972, Maly recorded an account by Tūtū Papa Daniel and Tūtū Mama Hattie Kaopuiki, Sr. (born in 1890 and 1892, respectively), which included details on Ke-ahi-a-Kawelo, and the significance of the tradition and landscape on Lāna‘i. As relayed them by their elders, the Kaopuikis recalled hearing that:

The priests Kawelo and Lani-kāula kept their fires burning at prominent locations on their islands to protect their people from one another’s prayers. When Kawelo learned that Lani-kāula had his sons secretly dispose of his kūkaе (excrement) on the islet of Moku-ho‘oniki, he made plans to fetch some to use in praying the Moloka‘i priest to death. Lani-kāula had his kūkaе hidden so that no one could take it and use it as ‘maunu,’ or bait in sorcery to kill him.

Under the cover of darkness, Kawelo paddled to Moku-ho‘oniki and fetched some of the kūkae, which he then hid in a hollowed out ‘uala (sweet potato). Upon returning to Lāna‘i, Kawelo placed the kūkae on his fire altar, and began his prayers. The smoke burned a dark purple-black, crossed the slopes of Ka‘ā, and could be seen on Moloka‘i. It was in this way, that Lani-kāula knew that his kūkae had been taken and burned by Kawelo. Lani-kāula cried out and fell dead, and on Lāna‘i the lehua trees [Metrosideros polymorpha] that had been covered by the smoke from the fire, all produced dark purple lehua blossoms.

The Kaopuikis also observed that the “Pō-lehua” (dark–purple–lehua), had been decimated by goats, and that only in their youth had they seen any remnants of the trees on the Mahana slopes (Ibid.)<sup>15</sup>.

In 1865 native writer Kupahu published an account on traditional Hawaiian religion in Nupepa Kuokoa, and referred to the death of Lanikāula, as a result of his excrement being burned on Lāna‘i:

**Mei 11, 1865 (aoao2)**  
**Nupepa Kuokoa**  
**Ka Hoomana Kahiko – Helu 17**  
**Na Kaula Kahiko o Hawaii Nei**

...Ko Molokai Kaula o Lanikaula:  
Oia ke Kaula i laweia kona hanalepo a Lanai puhia i ke ahi, a mahope make ia...

Kupahu.

[Translation]  
**May 11, 1865 (page 2)**  
**Nupepa Kuokoa**  
**Ancient Religion – No. 17**  
**The Ancient Prophets of Hawaii**

...Moloka‘i’s Prophet was Lanikāula:  
He was the prophet whose excrement was taken to Lāna‘i and burned, and he then died...

Kupahu. [Maly, translator]

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<sup>15</sup> Over many years of traveling through the uplands of the Ka‘ā-Paoma‘i-Mahana region, no sign of the famed “pō lehua” has been found.

## Keahi'āloa (“Long Lasting Fire”)

Lawrence Kainoahou Gay and his family moved to Lāna'i in 1902, and he spent years traveling and working the land with elder kama'āina. In 1965, he published “True Stories of the Island of Lanai,” a compilation of tales documenting the history of various places and people of the island. Under the heading “Ke-ahi-A-loa and the Purple Lehua,” Gay wrote about the long lasting fire which had burned at this site in Ka'ā, and the purple blossomed lehua of the area:

This story was told by a man named Hua'i, a man who must have been in his seventies at the time. He spoke about a purple lehua flower (Metrosideros) which he had seen when he was a young man, at a place called Keahi-A-Loa in the ahupuaa of Ka'a. One day we started out in search of this specie of lehua. We arrived at the scene after an hour of horseback riding and much to our disappointment, we found only a few Pua trees, Wiliwili and Naio growing in the place; the rest were remains of a fairly large forest which was destroyed by wild goats some years before our arrival. Although we did not find the lehua, I was glad we had visited the place and heard on the spot the story of Ke-ahi-a-loa.

Many, many years ago, this part of Lanai was well populated. The people at this elevation (about 1,000 ft.) were engaged in growing sweet potatoes, yams, and other food crops, pigs and chickens. The people in the lowlands were fishermen who grew whatever they could, but depended a great deal on potatoes and yams raised on the higher elevation, so the barter system was in operation. Sea foods from the ocean and staple foods from the uplands.

Like any other community where a group of people lived, there was always a chief in charge. In the case of this particular village, the chief in charge was a priest or kahuna named Kawelo.

The priest Kawelo had noticed that a great number of his subjects were under some sort of supernatural spell. In a council meeting with his elders, it was decided that the Molokai Kahuna, Lani-kaula, was the guilty one. Retainers were sent across the channel by each of the kahunas, with accusations directed at each other. A proposition was made between the two kahunas to build a fire visible to each other without the assistance of their retainers, so that they were to pray each other to death. Whichever fire went out first, would be the signal of death.

Several full moons passed, till one night it was noticed by the Lanai populace that the Molokai fire had disappeared. Kawelo announced that Lani'kaula the Molokai Kahuna had died. The excrement of Lani'kaula was secretly brought to Lanai and burned on Kawelo's fire.



The smoke from the excrement passed through the Lehua Forest, changing the color of the flowers to purple. This place has long been known as Keahi-A-Loa (the long lasting fire). [Gay, 1965:59-61]

In a special 1939 edition of the Maui News that provided updates on development of Lānaʻi under the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Ltd., the story of Kawelo was featured:

**October 11, 1939 (pages 1-3)**

**Maui News**

**Lanai**

...One of the cleanest and brightest of all the cities in the island, this community takes pride in its sanitation. Few stray dogs are seen in Lanai City's streets, a feature which is noticed by all who visit.

Legend Told.

Perhaps this is due to an ancient Hawaiian legend. This tale, the story of the prophet Kawelo, taught that as long as a sacred fire was kept burning hogs and dogs would be plentiful. This fire was constantly tended by the prophet's daughter, Pehe [Pepe], who fell in love with a handsome suitor. She forgot the sacred fire, and let the flames die out. This is the reason the old Hawaiians give for the scarcity of dogs in the city... [Maui News – Lanai Section, October 11, 1939, page 1, c. 3-4; page 2, c. 3]

## **Lono-i-ka-makahiki at Awalua**

Passing reference is found in the tradition of Lono-i-ka-makahiki, a famous chief of the island of Hawaiʻi (circa 1650), to the island of Lānaʻi, and lands of the Awalua vicinity:

**Dekemaba 10, 1887 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Lonoikamakahiki**

...I ka owehewehe ana mai a kaiao, ua hala hope ka Lai o Hauola iaia nei, aia ko ianei wahi waa mawaho pono o ke kahawai o Maunalei i Lanai. He maikai ke alanui moana a ianei e holo nei, aohe hou he mau keakea no ianei, a hiki keia mawaho ae o Awalua, o ka aina kakahiaka ia...

[Translation]

**December 10, 1887 (page 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Lonoikamakahiki**

...With the opening of the first rays of dawn-light, he passed the calm of Hauola, and then to the place of the canoes directly outside of Maunalei, Lanai. The ocean path was a good one to travel, and there

was no new opposition to him. He then arrived at Awalua, which is a land of the morning time... [Lonoikamakahiki then passed on to Moloka'i.] [Maly, translator]

## **Lāna'i – In the Path of Warring Chiefs**

As noted earlier in this study, the people of Lāna'i generally found themselves under the dominion of the ali'i (rulers) of Maui. Fornander (1973) reports that in its political relationship to the Mō'i (King) of Maui, Lāna'i was, "independent at times, acknowledging his suzerainty at others" (Fornander 1973:94-95). By the 1730s, Kekaulike, the King of the Maui island group and his brother-in-law Alapa'i-nui, king of Hawai'i, began challenging one another, fighting battles on Hawai'i and Maui. When Kekaulike died from an illness in 1736, his son Kamehameha-nui (older brother of Kahekili), took the rule of the Maui kingdom. Because Kamehameha-nui was the nephew of Alapa'i-nui, peace was declared between the kingdoms (Kamakau 1961:69-70). It is around this time that the islands of Lāna'i and Moloka'i emerge in the historic records.

Kamakau reports that Alapa'i-nui joined the chiefs of Maui, Moloka'i, and Lāna'i in a conflict with the chiefs of O'ahu, which Alapa'i-nui settled by a truce with Peleioholani of O'ahu (Kamakau 1961:70-72). Upon returning to Moloka'i, Alapa'i-nui set "matters between the chiefs and the country people" right, and they were able to "live at peace with the chiefs of Maui and Lanai" (ibid.:72). In 1754, Kalani'ōpu'u became the ruler of Hawai'i, and in 1759, he sailed with his fleet to make war on Maui, against Kamehameha-nui (ibid.:79). In retaliation, the chiefs of Maui, Moloka'i and Lāna'i joined together against Kalani'ōpu'u. Kamakau notes that the chiefs of Lāna'i included "Na-makeha, Kalai-manuia, [and] Ke-alii-'a'a," and in this way, Maui regained its lands (Kamakau, 1961:80, 82).

### **Dekemaba 1, 1866 (aoao 1)**

#### **Nupepa Kuokoa**

#### **Ka Moololo o Kamehameha I – Helu 5**

#### **Na S.M. Kamakau.**

I ka makahiki 1759, oia ka lawe ana o Kalaniopuu 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 kua ia Puna ke alii Kiaaina Kalaniopuu i hoonoho ai no ka puali hikina o Maui. He kua 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 Kaohela, Kaolohaka a Keawe, o Awili, o Kumukoa, o Kapooloku; o na 'lii o Lanai, oia hoi o Namakeha, o Kalaimanua, o Keliiaa a me na 'lii o Maui...

[Translation]

**December 1, 1866 (page 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**The History of Kamehameha I – Number 5**

**by S.M. Kamakau.**

In the year 1759, that is when Kalani'ōpu'u took Hāna and the eastern division of Maui. Kalani'ōpu'u then returned to Hawai'i, after which Kamehameha Nui, the King of Maui, went to war with Puna, the chief which Kalani'ōpu'u had established over the eastern division of Maui. It was a famous conflict for both sides. On the side of Kamehameha Nui, the King of Maui, there were joined the chiefs of Moloka'i, that is Ka'āhele, Ka'olohaka a Keawe, Awili, Kumuko'a and Kapo'oloku; and the chiefs of Lāna'i, being Namakehā, Kalaimanuia and Keli'i'a'a, with the chiefs of Maui... [Maly, translator]

The efforts of Kamehameha Nui to reclaim the eastern division of Maui, from the forces of Kalani'ōpu'u, proved unsuccessful, and the Maui forces retreated from the battle (Kamakau, 1961:81).

In 1766, Kamehameha-nui died and his brother, Kahekili became the king of the Maui-Moloka'i-Lāna'i island group (Kamakau, 1961:82). In 1775, Kalani'ōpu'u returned to Maui in his efforts to usurp the rule of the island's hereditary chief. This time, the Hawai'i forces were routed, and forced to return to Hawai'i. In the period between c. 1776 through 1779, Kalani'ōpu'u returned to Maui on several occasions to make war, and it was in these battles on Maui that a young chief of Hawai'i, Kamehameha, earned his fame as a fierce fighter (ibid.:85-89, 91). Native writers described the events which took the battle to Lāna'i:

**Iulai 22, 1865 (aoao 4)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Papa Kuhikuhi Makahiki o na mea Kaulana o Hawaii Nei! Helu 2.**

...1777 Kaua o Kalaiopuu ia Lanai, a ua hee ka puukaua o Hookio; a ua lukuia o Keliiaa ma, a ua hoomaewaewa ia na makaainana. Ua kapaia o Kamokuhi...

[Translation]

**July 22, 1865 (page 4)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**A Chronological Table, by Year of Famous Events in Hawai'i!**

**Number 2.**

...1777, Battle of Kalai'ōpu'u on Lāna'i, the fortress of Ho'okio is routed; Keli'i'a'a folks are killed, and the commoners mistreated. It was called Kamokuhī... [Maly, translator]

**Dekemaba 22, 1866 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Moololo o Kamehameha I**

**Na S.M. Kamakau – Helu 7**

...Holo mai la o Kalaniopuu i ke kaua i Lanai, he kaua nui loa ma Lanai, aia ma ka puu kaua na 'lii a me na koa o Lanai. O ka puu kaua, oia no, o Hookio, aia mauka o Maunalei oia ka puuhonua o Lanai i ka wa kaua; ua haiki ka hewa; ua hiki no ke maaia i ka pohaku, oia ke kumu i kee ai ka puu kaua, a no ke pani paa ia o kahi e loa ai o ka wai e inu ai o na koa, nolaila, ua luku ia na'lii me na kanaka o Lanai. O ka mokupuni holookoa o Lanai, ua luku ia me ka hoomainoino ia e na koa o Kalaniopuu. Ma Paomai, malaila ke Aea i kokoke o ka laau, a ma Kaohai malaila kahi i kapaia o Kamokupeu, oia ke alina o ke kaua i ka wa kahiko. O kekahi kanaka, ua lawe pio ia me ka nakinaki i a o na lima a paa, a alakai ola ia i mua o Kalaniopuu, aka, i ke kokoke ana i ka pali, olelo mai la ua kanaka nei, ua pilikia au i ka mai, e hookookoo ae kuu kaula o kuu lima, aole hopohopo o ka poe lanakila, ua ike lakou i ka pali a ua paa ia lakou kahi papu, i ke wa i kaawale aku ai o ua kana nei, e lele aku ana ua kanaka nei i ka pali.

O keia kanaka, he kanaka kaulana i ka mama i ka lele pali, o Kini ka inoa, nana no i lele ka pali kiekie o Kukaemoku ma lao, a ma Olowalu, ma ka mama o Kini i ka lele pali i pakele ai kona ola i ke kaua ma Lanai.

I ka noho ana o Kalaniopuu ma Lanai, ua wi loa ka aina o Lanai, no ka nui loa o na koa o Kalaniopuu, a me na kanaka, aole ai e ola ai, nolaila, ua ai na kanaka i ke kupala, a no ka nui o ka ai ana, ua hanahemo na kanaka; ua kapaia ka inoa oia kaua o Kamokuhi, he kaua kaulana ia no Lanai a ka i na mamu.

Manao iho la o Kalaniopuu ma Koolau o Maui e hoi ai, no ka mea, he nui ka ai ma Koolau...

[Translation]

**December 22, 1866 (page 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**The History of Kamehameha I – Number 7**

**by S.M. Kamakau**

Ka-lani-'opu'u carried the war into Lanai and attacked the chiefs and soldiers in their stronghold called Ho'oki'o, mauka of Maunalei, which was their place of refuge. The trouble with the place was that when the chiefs and soldiers fled thither, their water supply was cut off and they were all slaughtered. The whole island of Lanai was ravaged by the forces of Ka-lani-'opu'u. At Paomai, at Keaea close to the forest, and at Ka'ohai was the place called Kamokupeu scarred by war markings

of old. A certain captive who was being led to Ka-lani-'opu'u with his hands tied, as he neared a cliff asked to have the cords loosened, pretending he was in pain. Since they were so close to the cliff the men felt no fear of his escaping, but no sooner were his hands released than he leaped over the precipice. His name was Kini and he was famous for his skill in leaping cliffs. He had leaped down the rough cliff of Kukaemoku at 'lao and Olowalu, and it was this skill in leaping down cliffs that saved his life in the battle on Lanai. During Ka-lani-'opu'u's occupancy of Lanai, the food ran out, and the men had to eat the root of a wild plant called kupala. This had a loosening effect upon the bowels when eaten in quantity. The war is therefore called The-land-of-loose-bowels (Ka- moku-hi) and it is a war still talked of among the descendants on Lanai.\*<sup>16</sup>

Ka-lani-'opu'u decided to go on to Ko'olau, Maui, where food was abundant... [Kamakau, 1961:90-91; M.K. Pukui, translation]

## **Kamehameha I Takes Lāna'i**

In 1791, while the aging Kahekili was residing on O'ahu, Kamehameha I invaded Maui and secured Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, and Kaho'olawe under his rule (Kamakau, 1961:149). Because of civil war, Kamehameha was forced to return to Hawai'i, and in 1793, Kahekili regained control of the islands Kamehameha had taken (Kamakau, 1961:159). In c. 1794, Kahekili died on O'ahu, and by early 1795, Kamehameha had retaken Maui, Kaho'olawe, Lāna'i, and Moloka'i (Kamakau, 1961:171).

In 1862, Maakuia, a native of Lāna'i, wrote a letter describing the conquest of his home island by Kamehameha I. Maakuia's letter expressed his mana'o (thought) that the Hawaiian people had been "blessed" since the end of the kapu, by the teachings of the missionaries.

His relationship to Lāna'i is documented as early as 1834, when Lahaina Luna listed a student of that name from Kamoku. Records reveal that in 1835 Maakuia was assigned as a teacher at Honouliuli, O'ahu, and between 1868 to 1879 he served as a representative of a hui (association) of natives who held a lease on government lands on the island of Lāna'i; Ma'akuia died in 1879.

Maakuia's narrative, published in the native newspaper, Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, speaks of the decrease of the Hawaiian population and observes that many people on Lāna'i were murdered during the battle of Kamehameha I on the island.

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<sup>16</sup> \* Kupala, also called paha, is a native cucurbit, species *Sicyos pachycarpus*. (Kamakau, 1961:91)

**Malaki 20, 1862 (aoao 2)**  
**Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika**  
**No ka Pomaikai.**

...Ua kamailio ia ka moolelo no keia pae aina mamua, he nui loa na kanaka, a he mau hoouka kua nui ia mau la, he luku nui loa ana i ke au ia Kahekili, ma Oahu nei, oia hoi ke kua o ka Poloku ka inoa, ua olelo ia, paa ka wai o Niuhelewai, a hoi iuka no ka nui o na kanaka i make i ke kua.

No ia kua no, i kukulu ia ai kela hale o Kauaulua, ma Moanalua; o ka iwi o ke kanaka ka laau oia hale, a me ka pa laau o waho, he iwi wale no a puni. Pela no ke kua ma lao i Wailuku, ua kapa ia o Kepaniwai ka inoa oia kua, no ka paapu o na kanaka make i ke kua, paa ka wai o lao, a hoi iuka.

Pela hoi ma Kahokunui i Lanai, ua piha ia lua hohonu i ka nui o na kanaka make i ka luku ia a ua kapaia ia kua o ka Laehohoma...

K. Maakuia.  
Kaopuaua, Honolulu  
Mar. 18, 1862.

[Translation]

**March 20, 1862 (page 2)**  
**Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika**  
**For the Blessings.**

...It is said in the traditions of these islands from before, that there were many people, and that there were many battles which destroyed them in those days. There was much destruction in the time of Kahekili, here on Oahu. It was the battle called Poloku, of which it is said that the waters of Niuhelewai were clogged to the uplands because of the great numbers of people who died in the battle.

It is from the battle that the house of Kauaulua at Moanalua was built; the bones of the people were the posts of the house, and the fence around it was all bones. It was the same with the battle at lao, Wailuku, that battle was called Kepaniwai, as the waters of lao were clogged with the men killed there.

It was the same at Kahokunui on Lanai. The deep pit was filled with many men killed in the battle called Kalaehohoma...

K. Maakuia.  
Kaopuaua, Honolulu  
Mar. 18, 1862. [Maly, translator]

George C. Munro, who moved to Lānaʻi in 1911 to manage ranching operations there until 1935, prepared a manuscript on the history of Lānaʻi that added local documentation to the above accounts. Munro based his work on information he received from native residents, field researchers (e.g., K. Emory, 1921-22; and C. Wentworth, 1924), and through his personal research and observations while traveling around the island (Munro, manuscript:4, 43). Munro offered the following observations and accounts of former residents in the Kaʻā-Paomaʻi area in this version of events following the Kalaniʻōpuʻu and Kamehameha encampments on Lānaʻi:

...The invaders killed the defenders and slaughtered the civilian population who had taken refuge in the forest of Kaohai on the south side and in that of Paomai on the northwest end. ...[T]he houses were left standing on the northwestern slopes. They needed them while eating up crops of the natives on Kaa and Kamoku...

Captain King [1779] reported that the island was well inhabited except on the south side. The houses and clearings on the northwestern seaward slopes gave a populous appearance to the land but in reality the inhabitants had been wiped out by Kalaniopuu's men and few or none were living at the time. This upper land had probably been under cultivation for 200 to 300 years and today there is still much evidence of this. [Munro, ms.:13]

Munro went on to write:

When Captain Geo. Vancouver passed by Lanai on May 6, 1792, some canoes came out to the ships but they had nothing in the way of food stuffs to barter. Menzies, Vancouver's surgeon, noted the absence of "hamlets or plantations" and judged the island to be "very thinly inhabited." The effect of Kalaniopuu's devastation was by that time plainly evident on Lanai, as the houses seen by Captain King thirteen years before no doubt had fallen into ruin and disappeared. These houses may have been temporary dwellings used for shelter when working on the uplands by people living on the coast. . . [ms.:14]

## **Lae o Kaʻena – As a Penal Colony for Women**

Lae o Kaʻena (Kaʻena Point) is the site of one of the early post-Western contact historic narratives of Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa. It was used as a penal colony for women, and Kahoʻolawe Island was the penal colony for men. The women would be dropped off from canoes, and later government boats such as the Hooikaika, and left to swim into shore to fend for themselves (Figure 6).



**Figure 6. Lae o Ka'ena, Lāna'i. View from Ocean to Uplands of Ka'ā--Area Formerly Used as Penal Colony for Women. (Photo KPAC2-6604, Dec. 15, 2010, Kepā Maly)**

Little documentation from this period of history survived the passing of time; perhaps out of shame on the part of the missionaries who encouraged the action. There also appears to be some discrepancy in how long Ka'ena was used for this purpose, but there are a few primary source records that document the use of Kaho'olawe and Lāna'i for incarceration during this period of Kingdom history.

Samuel M. Kamakau described the establishment of punishment for infractions of the western laws in the middle 1820s:

**June 27, 1868**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Moololo o na Kamehameha – Helu 77**

**Na S.M. Kamakau**

...Eia ke kumu i hoino ai na haole ia Kaahumanu, o ke kau ana a Kaahumanu i mau kanawai hoomalu no ke aupuni, a ua kokua like na Kuhina a me na alii Aimoku a pau mai Hawaii a Kauai, a o Boti wale no koe.

Penei hoi ua mau kanawai la:



1. Mai pepehi kanaka oe, a o ka mea e pepehi i ke kanaka a make, e hoopaiia no oia i ka make.
2. Mai moekolohe oe, a o ka mea e moekolohe i ka hai kane a me ka hai wahine, e hoopaiia oia e kiola i Kahoolawe.
3. Mai hookamakama oe, a o ka mea e hookamakama, e hoopaahao ia oia me ka hahau ia o ke kua i ke kaula, a i maluna ole i ke kanawai, e kiola ia ma Kahoolawe...

[Translation]

**June 27, 1868**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**The History of the Kamehamehas – Number 77**

**By S.M. Kamakau**

Here is why the foreigners despised Kaahumanu; Kaahumanu set in place laws to keep the kingdom in peace, and all the ministers and chiefs from Hawaii to Kauai concurred, all except for Boki.

The laws were these:

1. You are not to kill anyone. And the one who injures and kills a person, shall be punished by death.
2. Do not commit adultery. The one who commits adultery with anothers' husband or wife, shall be punished and cast onto Kaho'olawe.
3. You are not to engage in prostitution. The one who engages in prostitution, shall be imprisoned and whipped on the back with rope, and if that is not supported by the law, then the guilty party shall be cast onto Kahoolawe... [Maly, translator]

It appears that initially both men and women were sent to Kaho'olawe. Of course, this didn't address the problem of the moe kolohe (adultery) or mea ho'okamakama (prostitution), so by the early 1840s, women were separated from men and sent to Lāna'i.

In 1826, Missionary William Richards described the development of western-style laws in the Hawaiian Islands, and the use of Kaho'olawe as a prison for both men and women in the early days of the Western style penal system. His original handwritten journal can be viewed in the Houghton Library Collection of the A.B.C.F.M. at Harvard (digital copy in collection of Kumu Pono Associates, LLC).

**Lahaina. June 13, 1826**

**Extracts from the Journal of William Richards:**

**Execution of Salutory Laws;**

**Kahoolawe used as Prison for both Men and Women at this time.**

...The people assembled early this morning on the beach, to see inflicted the penalty of a law, which was proclaimed at this place by Kaahumanu, and which I mentioned in my journal nearly two years ago. Until within a few months, this law has been entirely disregarded both by the chiefs and by the people. Indeed there have been two chiefs of distinction, who have stood in the way of all law for the preservation of morality. Several months ago, a noted thief at Oahu was sentenced by Karaimoku, and Kaahumanu and other chiefs, and put on board a vessel in irons for transportation to the island of Kahurawe [Kahoolawe]. The vessel arrived at Lahaina, and by a chief here the convict was taken out, and has had his liberty ever since. But that chief God in his providence has seen fit to remove by death. A few days ago a female arrived here in irons, under the same sentence, though not for the same crime as the thief who was liberated. She had not only broken a law of the chiefs by devoting herself to the most infamous practices, but had also, both publicly and privately, expressed her contempt of all law, and that too after she had been frequently counseled by Kaahumanu, and as frequently promised reform.

She declared that she would persevere in her iniquity, even though the chiefs should inflict the utmost penalty of the law. Last evening a council of the chiefs in Lahaina was summoned to meet this morning, and a crier went through the village inviting all the people to be present. Early in the morning, the council met, and the people assembled, and the two convicts mentioned above were brought forward.

The chiefs then unanimously expressed their approbation of the sentence that had been passed upon them by the chiefs at Oahu, and declared their determination to punish all who should be guilty of like crimes. They then called the governor of Kahurawe, to who they committed the criminals, charging him to keep them safely; at the same time telling him, that if they escaped from the island, he would be called to account for it.

They also called on all the people to be witnesses of their determination to stop the former iniquitous practices of the island, and assured them that they should persevere in the new course which had been adopted. The convicts were then, in the presence of the people, ordered to the canoes, and the multitudes dispersed... [Missionary Herald, April 1828:106]

In 1842, Dwight Baldwin of the Lāhaina mission station wrote to the secretary of the A.B.C.F.M. (digital copy in collection of Kumu Pono Associates, LLC) to report that recently Lāna'i had been established as a penal colony for women convicts.

**July 18, 1842**

**Letter of Dwight Baldwin**

**Sabbath attendance, and women convicted of crimes recently being sent to Lanai**

...At some of our outstations things appear promising. The natives consider it a time of turning to the pono. At Lanai, where I went to spend Sabbath before last, attendance at meeting was very great considering the population of the island. The Spirit seems to have been some time at work there, & the waking up to be general. The female convicts from other islands have lately been banished by the government to that island; & all or the most even of these hardened creatures now profess to be on the side of the Lord. How permanent this turning will prove, or how many individuals will, in the end, be found really converted, cannot now be even a matter of conjecture. These are somewhat trying days; but we may be sure the Lord will not desert his cause... [page 4 – Reel 800:205]

In 1839 Miriama Kekāuluohi (mother of Charles Lunalilo, who was later elected King of Hawai'i) became the premier of Hawai'i under Kamehameha III, and served in this office until her death in 1845. She formalized use of Ka'ena, at Ka'ā, Lāna'i, as a prison for women during her premiership. Although Lāna'i's use as a woman's penal colony was short lived, travel along the coast today still reveals evidence of terraces and house sites at Lae o Ka'ena and Ka'ena iki, which also hosts the largest heiau on the island of Lāna'i.

Samuel M. Kamakau's wrote on February 11, 1869, that during this time men imprisoned on Kaho'olawe would periodically sneak over to Lāna'i to get women from Ka'ena:

**Feberuari 11, 1869 (aoao 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Ka Moololo o Hawaii**

**Na S.M. Kamakau – Helu 103**

A i ka noho kuhina nui ana o Miriama Kekauluohi i ke au o Kamehameha III. Ua hana ia ke kumukanawai mua o ke aupuni Hawaii. He kuina naauao no keia he akahale ma kona noonoo, a ua punihe i no nae ma ko hai akamai, a me ke akamai papele a kapoe hoonioniolo olelo. Eia kekahi mea kaulana. I kona wa i noho ai i kuhina nui no ke aupuni, ua hoolilo ia o Kahoolawe, a me Lanai i mau halepaahao no ka poe lawehala i hoopai ia ma ka hihia karaima a me kekahi mau hihia e ae, o ke kipi, o ka aihue, o keoki mare, o ka pepehi kanai i ku i ka pepehi ola, a me ka moekolohe.

O Kahoolawe ka halepaahao no na kane, aohe i loa ka maluhia i poe lawehala, ua malama aku ke aupuni ia lakou i ka ai, a i kekahi wa, ua pilikia i ka pololi. O ka make i ka pololi, o ka make i ka moana, ua uuku ka make i ka moana, mamua o ka make i ka pololi. Nolaila, ua au kekahi poe lawehala mai Kahoolawe i ka po, a pae ma Honuaula, a aihue malaila i ka

auwaa o kamaaina, a holo aku ma Ukumehame me Olowalu e aihue i ka ai i ka po a hoi aku ma Kahoolawe. Ina he lawehala moekolohe ka poe i aihue i ka waa, alaila, aihue i ka ai a piha ka waa, alaila, lawe i ka ai i Lanai ma ka pali o Kaholo a Kaumalapau a pae i Kaena, ai o Kaena i ke ahupuaa o Kaa i Lanai o ka halepaahao ia o na wahine moekolohe. O kekahi poe kane, ua lawe pu i ka lakou mau wahine a hoomahuka i na kuahiwi o Maui...

[Translation]

**February 11, 1869 (page 1)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**The History of Hawaii – Helu 103**

**By S.M. Kamakau**

[Kamehameha III] ...selected Miriam Ke-ka-ulu-ohi-o-Mano for this office, and she became premier during the time of Kamehameha III, when the first constitutional law was made for Hawaii. She was an intelligent premier, careful in her decisions, but she was easily led by those who were flatterers and speech makers.

Here are some of the events of her time. She made Kahoolawe and Lanai penal settlements for law breakers to punish them for such crimes as rebellion, theft, divorce, breaking marriage vows, murder, and prostitution. Kahoolawe was the prison for the men and there was no protection for them; the government furnished them with food, but they suffered with hunger and some died of starvation and some few in the sea. Death by starvation was so much more common than by sea that some of the prisoners swam at night from Kahoolawe to Honua'ula, stole a canoe from the people there, paddled to Ukumehame and 'Olowalu, stole food at night and went back again to Kahoolawe. Those who were being punished for adultery filled the canoe with food and paddled for Lanai, where, rounding the cliff of Kaholo and Kaumalapau, they landed at Ka'ena where was the large tract of land called Ka'a where the women were imprisoned who were being punished for adultery, and some of the men took their women and ran away with them to the mountains of Maui... [Kamakau, 1961:356-357; M.K. Pukui, translation]

When Kenneth Emory conducted his survey on the island in the early 1920s (Emory, 1924) many island residents shared memories of Lāna'i's role as a penal colony for women. A special edition of the Maui News in 1939 mentions the island's use as a penal colony along with general observations of the Ka'ā region:

**October 11, 1939 (pages 1-3)**

**Maui News**

**Lanai Served as a Penal Colony.**

...in more recent times the island was known as a place to avoid. Little more than a century ago, in 1830, Lanai was used as a type of Devil's Island.

As a penal colony for Maui's incorrigible women. Lae-o-Kaena on the northern coast served its purpose well. The cruel existence of these women became the subject of much controversy, and finally this law of exile was abandoned by the chiefs of Maui who had put it into effect.

Today, the only spot on this fair island which seems to symbolize destruction is the northern coast of Lanai. Swept by gales from the treacherous Molokai channel, the beaches here are covered with ancient vessels which have found a final resting place.

Once famous ships such as the W.G. Hall, the J.A. Cummings, the bark Helene, and the Mikahala are in this ships' graveyard...

## **HE MEA HO‘OMANA‘O (REMEMBRANCES)**

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With the advent of writing and the publishing of native language newspapers in the Islands, the Hawaiian people began sharing their laments with others across the islands. These kanikau and uwē helu (lamentations, dirges and wailing), such as the kanikau of Kahaukomo (1878) in the section above, describe the cultural attachment that people of old shared with their environment and are culturally rich sources of information. The mele (chant formed) laments published in the Hawaiian language papers are narratives rich with information about sites, resources, winds, rains, and traditional knowledge of Lāna‘i. Several of the mele below document traditional knowledge of Ka‘ā.

### **Kanikau, Uwē Helu (Lamentations and Recounting Experiences in One’s Lifetime)**

**Apelila 30, 1864 (aoao 4)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**He Kanikau No Ka Moi Iolani Kamehameha IV**

**Ka Moi i Aloha Nui Loa**

He Uhane hele Hookahi, No ka Lani nui Liholiho — Ua hala, aku nei oe; I ke ala hoi ole mai...!

14... Auwe kuu hanai. Kuu kaikunane hoi  
Mai ka ia kapiu ohe o Kaunolu,  
Mai ke kula wai ole o Kahalepalaoa,  
Aia ka wai la i Maunalei,  
Lei aku i na lehua o Keahiakawelo e —

Na L. Kamehameha V.

[Translation]

**April 30, 1864 (page 4)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**A lamentation of the the King, Iolani Kamehameha IV**

**The Greatly Loved Sovereign**

Gone together in Spirit, for the Great Royal one, Liholiho – You have passed on to the path from which there is no return...!

14... Alas my provider. My elder sibling.  
From where the fish cause the pole to bend at Kaunolu,  
From the waterless fields of Kahalepalaoa,

The water is there at Maunalei,  
The lehua blossoms of Keahiakawelo are made into a garland for you—

By L. Kamehameha V. [Maly, translator]

**June 22, 1878 (aoao 1)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**He Kino Uhane Ua Hala, Ua Moe i ka Moe Kau Moe Hooilo.**

...Aloha ka ihona o Puulealea,  
Aloha ke ala hele ma Pulu-pulu,  
Aloha na pua aweuweu i Keahiakawelo,  
Aloha na lehua o Malulani,  
Aloha ke one o Polihua,  
Aloha ka makani Hoomoepili o Kekaha,  
Aloha ke kula o Limukalehua,  
Aloha ke anu o Kihamaniania...

**June 22, 1878 (page 1)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**A Spirit has Passed on to Sleep through Summer and Winter  
(A lamentation for Kahaukomo, by Lululipolani and Kahaolenui)**

...Loved is the descent traveled past Puulealea,  
Loved is the trail at Pulu-pulu,  
Loved are the grass blossoms at Keahiakawelo,  
Loved are the lehua blossoms of Malulani,  
Loved are the sands of Polihua,  
Loved is the Ho'omoepili wind of the arid lands  
Loved are the plains of Limukalehua<sup>17</sup>,  
Loved is the cold of Kihamāniania...

**June 21, 1879**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**Naha ke Aloha.**

...ma ka la 10 o Mei, 1879, ua mawehe mai la o Ahinoama w., i ka maua pili a naue hookahi aka la i ke ala hiki ole ia'u ke ka-ua aku...

O Pulehulua i Lanai kona one hanau, a me he mea la, o ka loihi o kona mau la ma keia ao, aneane he 30 makahiki a oi. Ua hanau mai ekolu keiki, a ua hoi lakou i ka opu o ka honua... Ua haku iho au i wahi kanenae aloha nona, oia keia:

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<sup>17</sup> Limukalehua was transposed as Leinukalahua during the 1921-1922 archaeological survey of Kenneth Emory.

Kanikau aloha nou e Ahinoama  
Kuu wahine mai ka la koliliu o Paomai  
Mai ke ehu o ke kai o Keanuenuē...  
...Kuu wahine hoāhele oia aina kaha  
Kuu wahine mai ka aina i ka makani  
E kaa aku ana ke ola'i na pea hulilua o na waa  
Kuu wahine mai ka lai o Malulani  
Mai ka hale kehau o Kaunolu...  
...E nana ai kua i ka honu loa i ke one o Polihua  
Ike aku la oe i ka onini pua la i ke kai  
E aoao ana ke kai o Pailolo me kuu wahine  
Aloha wale ia kai a kua e au ai  
I Lanai i Oahu kua e hele ai—a  
Kuu wahine i ke kai leo iki o Halapalaoa  
Ke aoao mai la i ke one o Awalua  
Elua mea a kuu manao e lia nei  
O ke kuko o ka lia a ke aloha  
Kuu wahine i ke kula loa o Maunalei  
E lei no wau i ko aloha—a  
Kuu wahine hoāhele o Kaa  
Mai ke kehauanu o Keahiakawelo  
Aloha kuu wahine hoāhele oia wahi  
E puili ai maua i ka hua ulei...

Abenela S. Kamaneō  
Waikiki. Iune 9, 1879.

[Translation]  
**June 21, 1879**  
**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**  
**Love is Lost**

On the 10<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1879, Ahinoama w., was separated from us, and taken on the path from which there is no return.

Pulehuloa, Lanai was the place of her birth, and the length of time here on earth was a little more than 30 years. She gave birth to three children, all of whom have returned to the bowels of the earth, awaiting the final call... I have composed this lamentation for her, it is this:

This is a lamentation of love for you Ahinoama  
From Paomai of the dim shining sun,

From the spray of the sea at Keanuenuē...  
...Woman who was my traveling companion of the lowlands,



My wife of the land there in the wind,  
Where the sails of the canoes are seen turning to and fro,  
My wife from the calm of Malulani,  
From the dew-laden house of Kaunolu...  
...We looked upon the length of turtles on the sands of Polihua,  
You saw those blossoms glistening on the sea,  
There on the edge of the sea of Pailolo with my woman,  
There was such love for that sea in which we swam,  
We traveled from Lanai to Oahu,  
From the sea of the soft voice at Halapalaoa,  
The boundary there on the sands at Awalua,  
There are two things which I desire,  
The desire and longing of love,  
My wife on the long slopes of Maunalei,  
Your love is the garland that I wear,  
My wife, traveling companion at Kaa,  
From the cool, moist dew of Keahiakawelo,  
Love for the woman, traveling companion of that place,  
Where we two gathered the berries of the ulei... [ Maly, translator]

**Nowemapa 22, 1879 (aoao 4)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**He wahi ukana makamae puolo waimaka a ke aloha**

Ua make o Kapena Pila Kaihehau ma Honoipu, Kohala, Hawaii, ma ka la 11 o Iulai, 1879...

...Kuu kane i ke ao kau o Lanai  
He ao kapuhau makani ia e pa nei  
E mio ana e ka makani o Kaholo  
Pa kolonahe i ka iho o Kulamanu  
Na ka alani makani kakou i lawe mai  
Kuu hoa nana hono o na moku i kai  
Kuu kane i ka moana kai lipolipo  
Mai na ale hanupanupa la e Pailolo  
Mai ka makani paio lua o na kowa...

Mrs. Lusie Kaihehau  
Waikiki kai, Oahu. Nov. 11, 1879.

[Translation]

**November 22, 1879 (page 4)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**A cherished container, bearing tears of love**

Captain Bill Kaihehau passed away at Honoipu, Kohala, Hawaii, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1879...

My husband in the clouds setting on Lanai,  
Clouds blown in the damp winds,  
The winds move swiftly past Kaholo,  
Blowing gently down Kulamanu,  
Bearing the alani winds to us,  
My companion who sought out the islands in the sea,  
My husband in the dark blue sea,  
From the surging waves of Pailolo,  
The dual battling winds of the channel...

By Mrs. Lusie Kaihehau  
Waikiki kai, Oahu. Nov. 11, 1879.

**Kekemapa 4, 1880 (aoao 4)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**He Kanikau Aloha no Maea**

Ua hala kuu lani, kuu mea minamina, he wahine i ke ala hoi ole mai... Ua make o Maea i ka la 12 o Novemaba, 1880 ma Kuloloia, Honolulu, Oahu, i ka hora 3 o ka wanaao...

He 50 makahiki o kona ola ana, a hala aku la...

... He kanikau he aloha keia nou e Maea  
Kuu kupuna wahine mai ka hono ona moku  
Mai ka makani hulilua o ka aina  
E wehe ana i ka lau o ka ulu...  
Kuu kupuna wahine i ke kaha o Paomai  
E nana ana i ke one o Polihua  
E kahiko ana i na lehua o Malulani  
Mai ka makani Kehau o Kihamanienie  
Makani popokapa o Kaiholena  
Hoomaha aku i kahi wai ono Pulehuloa  
Ola ke kini kiai wai o Kaa—e.  
Auwe kuu kupuna wahine—e.

Kuakeaweniho.

[Translation]

**December 4, 1880 (page 4)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**A Lamentation of Love for Maea**

My royal one has passed away, my cherished one, a woman who is traveling the path from which there is no return... Maea died on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of November, 1880, at Kuloloia, Honolulu, Oahu, at 3 a.m. in the morning...

She lived for 50 years, and now is gone...

This is a lamentation of love for you Maea,  
My grandmother from the bay of islands,  
From the twisting winds of the land,  
Which opens the leaves of the breadfruit trees..  
My grandmother from the shores of Paomai,  
Where one may see the sands of Polihua,  
Adorned in the lehua blossoms of Malulani,  
From the kehau (dew-laden) winds of Kihamanienie,  
The Popokapa winds of Kaiholena,  
Resting in the place of the sweet waters of Pulehuloa,  
The multitudes find life in guarding the water of Kaa,  
Alas, my grandmother...

Kuakeaweniho. [Maly, translator]

**Kekemapa 11, 1880 (aoao 4)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**He Kanikau Aloha no Maea**

... Kuu hoa i ka wai huna ke kupua o Honopu  
Kuu hoa i ka wai ka kehau kakahiaka  
E hoala mai ana i ka hia moe ua ao e...

[Translation]

**December 11, 1880 (page 4)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**A Lamentation of Love for Maea (continued)**

...My companion in the hidden waters of the supernatural beings of Honopu,  
My companion in the dewy morning waters,  
Awaken from your sleep, daylight has arrived...

**Kekemapa 11, 1886 (aoao 2)**  
**Ka Nupepa Elele**  
**He Inoa Iubile no Kalani**  
**(Hakuia e Aiaumoe)**

...Eia Molokai nui a Hina,  
Me Lanai a Kaulahea,  
E lawe mai i ka ia a Kalani,  
I ka honu nee hou o Polihua,  
Me ke Akua hou o Kaunolu...

[Translation]

**December 11, 1886 (page 2)**  
**Nupepa Elele**  
**A Jubilee Name Song for the King**  
**(Composed by Aiaumoe)**

...Here is Great Molokai of Hina,  
And Lanai of Kaulahea,  
Taking fish to the King,  
The young turtles which move across Polihua,  
And the new god of Kaunolu...

# LAND TENURE: TRADITIONAL RESIDENCY AND THE MĀHELE 'ĀINA (LAND DIVISION) OF 1848

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## An Overview of Traditional Hawaiian Land Stewardship and Title

In pre-western contact Hawai'i, all 'āina (land), kai lawai'a (fisheries) and natural resources extending from the mountain tops to the depths of the ocean were held in "trust" by the high chiefs (mō'ī, ali'i 'ai moku, or ali'i 'ai ahupua'a). The right to use of the lands, fisheries, and the resources was given to the hoa'āina (native tenants) at the prerogative of the ali'i and their representatives or land agents (often referred to as konohiki or haku 'āina). Following a strict code of conduct, which was based on ceremonial and ritual observances, the people of the land were generally able to collect all of the natural resources—including terrestrial and aquatic—for their own sustenance and to pay tribute to the class of chiefs and priests, who oversaw them and ensured the prosperity of the natural environment through their divine mana (spiritual power-godly associations).<sup>18</sup>

As western concepts of property rights began to infiltrate the Hawaiian system shortly after the arrival of foreigners in the islands, Kamehameha I, who had secured rule over all of the islands in the early 1800s, granted perpetual interest in select lands and fisheries to some foreign residents, but he and the chiefs under him generally remained in control of all resources. After Kamehameha I died in 1819 and the Calvinist missionaries arrived in 1820, the concepts of property rights, including rights to fisheries, evolved and were codified under Kamehameha II and his young brother, Kūikeyouli (Kamehameha III).

Missionary William Richards wrote this early observation on the nature of Hawaiian resource management – rights to resources from both land and sea -- in 1825:

**August 9, 1825**

**Letter of William Richards**

**Observations Regarding Hawaiian fisheries and Konohiki Rights.**

...The right, by which a man may claim fish caught by others in the sea, may, indeed, be questioned by those enlightened in the principles of jurisprudence; but the chiefs of the Sandwich Island, make no questions on the subject. They lay equal claim to the sea and land, as their property. The sea is divided into different portions; and those who own a tract of land on the sea shore, own also the sea that fronts it. The common rule

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<sup>18</sup> It is of interest to note the fact that the Hawaiian system of land ownership virtually identical to feudalism in medieval Europe in the ninth to fifteenth centuries could evolve in total isolation, and is the subject of much speculation among scholars.

observed by the chiefs is, to give about one half of the fish to the fishermen, and take the other half to themselves... [Missionary Herald, June 1826:174-175]

The inexorable move to Western style fee-simple property rights in the Hawaiian kingdom resulted in the Māhele 'Āina (Land Division) of 1848, which divided “ownership” among the King, his Chiefs, the Government and commoners. The Māhele 'Āina records and associated Helu or Land Commission Award Numbers (L.C.A.), that identified the original holders of title to lands on Lāna'i (and throughout the Hawaiian Islands) remain in use today. The story of the Māhele 'Āina on Lāna'i reveals much about residency, land use and land tenure on the island, but also leaves much unanswered.

It is important to remember that by the time of the Māhele 'Āina, the population of Lāna'i had decreased from close to 6,000 in 1794—prior to western contact—to around 600 in 1848. The population of Lāna'i (and all Hawai'i) continued to decline during the first few years of the Māhele, and many applicants died between the time a claim was registered and when testimonies were offered to support a claim.

## **Codification of Rights to Fisheries and Land**

Kamehameha III formally defined the ancient fishing rights and practices of the Hawaiian people in the Constitution and Laws of June 7, 1839, and reconfirmed them on November 9, 1840. The law respecting fisheries distributed the fishing grounds and resources among Kamehameha III, the chiefs and the people of the land. The law granted near shore fisheries to those of the deep ocean beyond the sight of land to the common people in general, while granting fisheries on coral reefs fronting various lands to the landlords (konohiki) and the people who lived on their given lands (ahupua'a) under the konohiki.

The fisheries of Lāna'i were specifically cited in the early laws of the kingdom, under the section title “No na kai kapu” (Pertaining to the Restricted Fisheries):

The fishing grounds...thus protected, are...On Lanai the Bonito and the Parrot fish... and all the transient shoal fish from Hawaii to Niihau, if in sufficient quantity to fill two or more canoes, but not so small a quantity as to fill one canoe only. But if the fishermen go and borrow a large canoe, that all the fish may be put into one, then there shall be a duty upon them... [1842:38 (Hawaii State Archives Collection, KFH 30 1842a. A233)]

The “Statute Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III” (1846) confirmed that:

SECTION VIII. The royal fish shall appertain to the Hawaiian government, and shall be the following, viz:

1st. The bonito when off any part of the coast of Lanai... [Hawaii State Archives Collection (KFH 25 .A24 1825/46)]

The laws also applied to the fishery of Ka'ā:

- (1) the kawakawa (bonito) fish found anywhere around Lāna'i had restrictions upon them;
- (2) the uhu (parrot fish) was similarly subject to kapu (restrictions), and following the Māhele, the uhu was claimed as the kapu fish at Ka'ā by Chiefess Victoria Kamāmalu.
- (3) By law of 1846, the major fishery of Ka'ā, not being fronted by a reef, extended one geographical mile from the shore [Hawaiian Kingdom Law, 1846:94; HSA collection KFH 25 .A24 1825/46].

## **1845: Protest by Lāna'i Natives Against the Sale of Hawaiian Land to Foreigners**

Changes being implemented in the Hawaiian system of land tenure alarmed native Hawaiian subjects of the King on all the islands. As King Kamehameha III began to organize his Kingdom under a Western system of land tenure—a system under which he incorporated many foreign office holders and those eager to own land in the kingdom, native residents wrote the King asking him not to give his land rights away to foreigners. In April 1845, three hundred and one native Hawaiians from Lāna'i joined thousands of Hawaiians from across the kingdom to petition the King on this matter:

### **Apelila 1845. Lanai. (Petition signed by 301 residents of Lanai on land matters)**

E ka Moi hanohano o na mokupuni 12, aloha nui oe a me ke Kuhina ka mea kiekie malalo iho ou, a me kou poe malalo aku. E maliu mai a nana mai i ko oukou poe kini a me na palalepo o kou Aupuni mai ka po mai a hiki i kou makuakane ia Kamehameha I. Ke noi aku nei makou ia oe a ke Kuhina a me ko makou poe haku malalo iho ou i pomaikai nou mau loa a me kau poe hooilina pono aku a me kau mau kauwa o na makaainana a pau loa. A eia malalo iho ka manao nei.

1. No ke kuokoa ana o ke Aupuni Hawaii.
2. Hoole i na luna haole i kohoia i luna no ke Aupuni Hawaii.
3. Aole o makou makemake e hoohiki no na hoole i kanaka Hawaii.
4. Aole o makou makemake e kauia ka auhau pohihihi i kau poe makaainana.

5. Aole o makou makemake i kuai hou aku oe i kekahi apana aina o kou Aupuni i na haole.
6. O ka pilikia a me ka makai i ke kaumaha e loohia mai ana.
7. Mai makau oe no ko makou noi ana aku, no ka mea, o oe no ko makou makua.
8. Mai hopohopo oe no ka uuku o ka waiwai o kou Aupuni i kou poe pono.
9. Aole o makou makemake e wehe mai oe i ka puka e komo mai ai ko na aina e.
10. Mai nana oe i na olelo kiekie a ke kanaka naauao, no ka mea, aole oe i makaukau i na hana naauao ko makou Makua, pela no hoi makau kau poe keiki pono.
11. Hopohopo makau o kuhi mai ka naauao i ka naaupo e like me Amerika a me kekahi mau aina e ae! Maluna au a me makou.
12. I ka wa o kou poe kupuna, he mea ma kau loa na lakou ke kiuhoopulu.

Ma keia mau mea maluna ae nei ke kakau nei makou i ko makou inoa.

<u>Poupou</u>	Paa	Kaaiokala	Opunui	<u>Lono</u>
Nika	Lahaba	Polani	<u>Ohua</u>	<u>Kekuakaulu</u>
<u>Kaiwi</u>	Laakila	Kahololio	Kamakaiola	Ounui
Keauhana	Miki	<u>Kalawaia</u>	Kahea	Opu
Kukiiahu	Liilii	Kahuna	Opunui 2	<u>Kalawaia</u>
<u>Mahoe</u>	Naliko	Kalaaunui	Kamakauhaole	Lumahimaina
Kulepe	Makaoha	Kaloanui	Kaihuolua	<u>Nalimakaua</u>
Kekipi	Aumoana	Puuhawali	Kaiu	<u>Mano</u>
<u>Moo</u>	<u>Holohua</u>	Kaukaao	Kahawai	<u>Kekua</u>
<u>Koia</u>	Kahakaha	Kekapalau	<u>Kahili</u>	Kapua
Kuene	Hina	<u>Keloha</u>	Kaleikau	Kamaka
<u>Pauahi</u>	Kamakalohi	Lani	Kapukui	Kailua
Pio	Kaauwaikuia	Kamakanao	Kawaona	Keoho
Lawaole	<u>Kaka</u>	Piaholo	Kamala	Aki
Kaaukai	Uu	Kalauao	Kahikane	Hoimaihilo
Kaoio	Haaheo	Poopuu	Kamakele	Pokanui
Mailou	Kekila	Ounui	Kalole	Kahele
Kaumoana	Waiwaiole	Pupuka	Kahaukaula	Naliikipi
<u>Kapu</u>	Kahele	Nalepo	<u>Kapahoa</u>	Kaheewahine
<u>Keawe</u>	<u>Kauhi</u>	Mahiole	<u>Kapuhi</u>	Kailiuku
<u>Keamo</u>	Kukapu	Kalama	Kekoha	Makaono
<u>Maawe</u>	Opilopilo	<u>Kahukilani</u>	<u>Kalamama</u>	Kanuialoha
<u>Hoopapalani</u>	<u>Hoe</u>	<u>Kamakahiki</u>	Wailuia	<u>Muhee</u>
Uila	Namakahai	Hiiaka	Kalahu	<u>Napuulu</u>
<u>Pohano</u>	Kahua	Kau	<u>Makahi</u>	<u>Palaau</u>
Wailanalii	Hakawai	Kauhauhi	<u>Kaka</u>	<u>Kaia</u>
<u>Kuheleloa</u>	Piiapoo	Kumanomano	<u>Kapu</u>	Nunu
Poonui	Kula	Paliiki	Kainei	Kamakakuaaina



Kapa	Iona	Kaakau	Uilama	Kawaka
<u>Apolo</u>	Hina	Kainaina	Piliwale	Kohi
<u>Keie</u>	Keliimai	Mahaoi	Hoolawa	<u>Kaia</u>
<u>Kaukapala</u>	Kaniokalani	Uiha	Laea	Keaku
Kahalau	<u>Kawaihoa</u>	Poopuu	<u>Kaauwaeaina</u>	Kahina
Kahalooa	Kipi	<u>Paele</u>	Kua	Kanae
<u>Kalua</u>	Poopuu	Auwaioahu	Waihowale	Kapali
Kalauhiwa	Kaukapa	<u>Kaiole</u>	Luka	Kaululeolani
<u>Kahoau</u>	<u>Keloha</u>	Puhipuhi	<u>Kaaikaula</u>	Pukoikoi
Kamokumaia	Ihuole	Makai	<u>Kalehuamakanoe</u>	Kekuanui
Keahua	<u>Iwiolo</u>	Pule	Ohimau	Paa
Keliikipi	Upai	Kolika	<u>Awa</u>	Paahana
Kekaua	Kailipeleuli	Hanui	Ainoa	Kaaea
Keakaikawai	Kaulaula	Kanekoa	Kaaiholei	Kauwehanehane
Kelua	Kai	<u>Kaiaia</u>	Kailikea	Kahakauila
Kuamu	Kapa	Kekoohiwa	Kawaa	Kaanaana
Kuualii	Hakuole	Kakue	<u>Pukai</u>	Kapua
Maile	Kauhae	Upai	<u>Poloole</u>	Kaluau
Minomino	Kaumoana	Opunui	Kaaiakaia	Kuihewa
Makainiki	Kapoo	Kalauku	Maloli	Hinau
Nalii	Kahue	Kahewahewanui	Piimoku	Kapihenui
Nalua	Kaoiwi	Kawelo	Omali	Naoholaunui
Nakaikuaana	Keo	Hawawa	Pii	Okuu
Naiahelu	Kaliihue	Luapo	Kahalau	Kekea
Haoleaha	Kealakai	Nainoa	<u>Laukapu</u>	Kane
<u>Halimu</u>	Kuku	Aipo	Kopa	Naaoa
<b>54</b>	<u>Lono</u>	Pokaa	Ku	Kalalike
	<u>Manoa</u>	<u>Kalaniwahine</u>	Kekuanui	Hoolana
	Nawai	Kaha	Kamaka	Kalehua
	<b>57</b>	Pelekila	Kainaina	Hilia
		Bemaela	Pulahalaha	Pohai
		Kauo	<u>Nahula</u>	Kiha
		<b>59</b>	Nahili	Oopu
			Poohina	Kawai
			<u>Naoopu</u>	Hoaliku
			<b>63</b>	Alika
				Holianoa
				Kapeahi
				Keliikoa
				<b>68</b>

Huipu makou ekolu haneli me kahi (301) iloko o ke apo.

Aloha Nui Ka Moi. [Hawaii State Archives – Interior Department, Misc. April 1845]

[Note: Underlined names are individuals who also claimed lands as a part of the Māhele, Royal Patent Land Grants, or who were identified in other land records of the Kingdom. Also note: several names were illegible or difficult to read, and may not be the correct spelling.]

[Translation]

**April 1845. Lanai.**

O honored Sovereign of the 12 Islands, great love to you, to the distinguished ministers below you, and those under you. Listen to, and look upon your many people who are like the daubs of earth belonging to your Kingdom, from antiquity to your father, Kamehameha I. We hereby petition you and the Minister and those who rule below you, who rule over us, that you may be always blessed, and your own heirs, and also your servants, and all the people of the land (commoners). Here below, is what we think to ask:

1. For the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom.
2. Do not let foreign advisers be appointed as advisers to the Hawaiian Kingdom.
3. We do not want foreigners sworn in as Hawaiian citizens.
4. We do not want confusing taxes levied upon your commoners.
5. We do not want you to sell another parcel of the land of your kingdom to any foreigners.
6. For there is trouble and fear of the burden that will eventually result.
7. You do not need to be afraid of our petition, for you are our father.
8. Do not be concerned that your Kingdom and people are not rich.
9. We do not want you to open the doors to the coming of those of other lands.
10. Do not pay attention to the haughty words of the intelligent people, though you are not prepared, act wisely our father, that is what we your own children ask.
11. We are concerned that the wise ones, like the Americans and those from other lands, will tread upon the ignorant ones, such as we who are your own.
12. In the time of your ancestors, they greatly feared the spies.

To these things above, we hereby sign our names. [See list of names above]

We total three hundred and one (301), all together.

With Great Love to the King... [Maly, translator]

## **The Board of Commissioner to Quiet Land Titles (1845)**

The pleas of the people to their king, went unheeded, and from his personal land inventory, the King set up a mechanism to lease out and eventually sell large tracts of land for the development of businesses, which it was hoped, would also benefit the kingdom. On December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1845, Kamehameha III signed into law, a joint resolution establishing and outlining the responsibilities of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, setting in motion the Māhele 'Āina or division of lands and natural resources between the king and his subjects. Among the actions called for, and laws to be implemented were:

### **ARTICLE IV. –Of The Board Of Commissioners To Quiet Land Titles.**

SECTION I. His Majesty shall appoint through the minister of the interior, and upon consultation with the privy council, five commissioners, one of whom shall be the attorney general of this kingdom, to be a board for the investigation and final ascertainment or rejection of all claims of private individuals, whether natives or foreigners, to any landed property acquired anterior to the passage of this act; the awards of which board, unless appealed from as hereinafter allowed, shall be binding upon the minister of the interior and upon the applicant...

SECTION VII. The decisions of said board shall be in accordance with the principles established by the civil code of this kingdom in regard to prescription, occupancy, fixtures, native usages in regard to landed tenures, water privileges and rights of piscary, the rights of women, the rights of absentees, tenancy and subtenancy, —primogeniture and rights of adoption; which decisions being of a majority in number of said board, shall be only subject to appeal to the supreme court, and when such appeal shall not have been taken, they shall be final...

...SECTION XIII. The titles of all lands claimed of the Hawaiian government anterior to the passage of this act, upon being confirmed as aforesaid, in whole or in part by the board of commissioners, shall be deemed to be forever settled, as awarded by said board, unless appeal be taken to the supreme court, as already prescribed. And all claims rejected by said board, unless appeal be taken as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be forever barred and foreclosed, from the expiration of the time allowed for such appeal. [In The Polynesian; January 3, 1846:140]

The Māhele defined the land interests of Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III), some two hundred and fifty-two high-ranking Ali'i and Konohiki (including several

foreigners who had been befriended by members of the Kamehameha line), and the Government. As a result of the Māhele, all lands in the Kingdom of Hawai'i—and associated fisheries as described in the laws above—came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) Konohiki Lands. The “Enabling” or “Kuleana Act” of the Māhele (December 21, 1849) further defined the frame-work by which hoā'āina (native tenants) could apply for, and be granted fee-simple interest in “Kuleana” lands (cf. Kamakau in Ke Au Okoa July 8 & 15, 1869; 1961:403-403). The Kuleana Act reconfirmed the rights of hoā'āina to: access, subsistence and collection of resources from mountains to the shore, which were necessary to sustain life within their given ahupua'a. Though not specifically stated in this Act, the rights of piscary (to fisheries and fishing) had already been granted and were protected by preceding laws.

## **The Kuleana Act of 1850**

The Kuleana Act, remains the foundation of law pertaining to native tenant rights and prescribed:

### **August 6, 1850**

An Act confirming certain resolutions of the King and Privy Council passed on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of December 1849, granting to the common people allodial titles for their own lands and house lots, and certain other privileges.

Be it enacted by the Nobles and Representatives of the People of the Hawaiian Islands in Legislative Council assembled;

That the following sections which were passed by the King in Privy Council on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of December A.D. 1849 when the Legislature was not in session, be, and are hereby confirmed, and that certain other provisions be inserted, as follows:

Section 1. Resolved. That fee simple titles, free of commutation, be and are hereby granted to all native tenants, who occupy and improve any portion of any Government land, for the land they so occupy and improve, and whose claims to said lands shall be recognized as genuine by the Land Commission; Provided, however, that the Resolution shall not extend to Konohikis or other persons having the care of Government lands or to the house lots and other lands, in which the Government have an interest, in the Districts of Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo.

Section 2. By and with the consent of the King and Chiefs in Privy Council assembled, it is hereby resolved, that fee simple titles free of commutation, be and are hereby granted to all native tenants who occupy and improve any lands other than those mentioned in the preceding Resolution, held by the King or any chief or Konohiki for the land they so

occupy and improve. Provided however, this Resolution shall not extend to house lots or other lands situated in the Districts of Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo.

Section 3. Resolved that the Board of Commissioners to quiet Land titles be, and is hereby empowered to award fee simple titles in accordance with the foregoing Resolutions; to define and separate the portions belonging to different individuals; and to provide for an equitable exchange of such different portions where it can be done, so that each man's land may be by itself.

Section 4. Resolved that a certain portion of the Government lands in each Island shall be set apart, and placed in the hands of special agents to be disposed of in lots of from one to fifty acres in fee simple to such natives as may not be otherwise furnished with sufficient lands at a minimum price of fifty cents per acre.

Section 5. In granting to the People, their House lots in fee simple, such as are separate and distinct from their cultivated lands, the amount of land in each of said House lots shall not exceed one quarter of an acre.

Section 6. In granting to the people their cultivated grounds, or Kalo lands, they shall only be entitled to what they have really cultivated, and which lie in the form of cultivated lands; and not such as the people may have cultivated in different spots, with the seeming intention of enlarging their lots; nor shall they be entitled to the waste lands. [Generally wet lands, ponds and fallow fields (see citations later in this section).]

Section 7. When the Landlords have taken allodial titles to their lands the people on each of their lands shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, aho cord, thatch, or ti leaf from the land on which they live, for their own private use, should they need them, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. They shall also inform the Landlord or his agent, and proceed with his consent. The people shall also have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way. The springs of water, and running water, and roads shall be free to all should they need them, on all lands granted in fee simple. Provided, that this shall not be applicable to wells and water courses which individuals have made for their own use.

Done and passed at the Council House, Honolulu this 6<sup>th</sup> day of August 1850. [copied from original hand written "Enabling Act"<sup>19</sup> – Hawaii State Archives, DLNR 2-4]

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<sup>19</sup> See also Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina (Penal Code) 1850.

## Procedures of the Land Commission (1848-1855)

The records of the Māhele 'Āina are a significant source of documentation that includes first-hand accounts from native tenants generally spanning the period from ca. 1800 to 1855. The records describe native Hawaiian residency and land use practices and identify specific residents, types of land use, fishery and fishing rights, crops cultivated, and features on the landscape. The Māhele 'Āina gave the hoā'āina an opportunity to acquire a fee-simple property interest (lands awarded to the hoā'āina became known as "Kuleana Lands") in land on which they lived and actively cultivated, but the process required them to provide personal testimonies regarding their residency and land use practices.

All of the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards, or L.C.A.) were numbered, and the L.C.A. numbers remain in use today to identify original owners of lands in Hawai'i

The work of the Land Commission concluded on March 31, 1855. The program, directed by principles adopted on August 20, 1846 (see ARTICLE IV. –Of The Board Of Commissioners To Quiet Land Titles above), met with mixed results. In its statement to the King, the Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles (George M. Robertson, March 31, 1855) summarized events that had transpired during the life of the Commission:

...The first award made by the Commission was that of John Voss [a foreigner] on the 31<sup>st</sup> March 1847.

The time originally granted to the Board for the hearing and settlement of all the land claims in the kingdom was two years, ending the fourteenth day of February, 1848.

Before the expiration of that term it became evident that a longer time would be required to perform the work... Accordingly, the Legislature on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of August 1847, passed an Act to extend the duration of the Board to the 14<sup>th</sup> of February, 1849, adding one year to the term first prescribed, not however, for the purpose of admitting fresh claims, but for the purposes of hearing, adjudicating and surveying those claims that should be presented by the 14<sup>th</sup> February, 1848. It became apparent to the Legislature of 1848 that the labors of the Land Commission had never been fully understood, nor the magnitude of the work assigned to them properly appreciated, and that it was necessary again to extend the duration of the Board. An act was accordingly passed, wisely extending the powers of the Commissioners "for such a period of time from the 14<sup>th</sup> day of February 1849, as shall be necessary for the full and faithful examination, settlement and award upon all such claims as may have been presented to said Board." ...[T]he Board appointed a number of

Sub-Commissioners in various parts of the kingdom, chiefly gentlemen connected with the American Mission, who from their intelligence, knowledge of the Hawaiian language, and well-known desire to forward any work which they believed to be for the good of the people, were better calculated than any other class of men on the islands to be useful auxiliaries to the Board at Honolulu...

...During the ten months that elapsed between the constitution of the Board and the end of the year 1846, only 371 claims were received at the office; during the year 1847 only 2,460, while 8,478 came in after the first day of January 1848. To these are to be added 2,100 claims, bearing supplementary numbers, chiefly consisting of claims which had been forwarded to the Board, but lost or destroyed on the way. In the year 1851, 105 new claims were admitted, for Kuleanas in the Fort Lands of Honolulu, by order of the Legislature. The total number of claims therefore, amounts to 13,514, of which 209 belonged to foreigners and their descendants. The original papers, as they were received at the office, were numbered and copied into the Registers of the Commission, which highly necessary part of the work entailed no small amount of labor...

...The whole number of Awards perfected by the Board up to its dissolution is 9,337, leaving an apparent balance of claims not awarded of say 4,200. Of these, at least 1,500 may be ranked as duplicates, and of the remaining 2,700 perhaps 1,500 have been rejected as bad, while of the balance some have not been prosecuted by the parties interested; many have been relinquished and given up to the Konohikis, even after surveys were procured by the Board, and hundreds of claimants have died, leaving no legal representatives. It is probable also that on account of the dilatoriness of some claimants in prosecuting their rights before the Commission, there are even now, after the great length of time which has been afforded, some perfectly good claims on the Registers of the Board, the owners of which have never taken the trouble to prove them. If there are any such, they deserve no commiseration, for every pains has been taken by the Commissioners and their agents, by means of oft repeated public notices and renewed visits to the different districts of the Islands, to afford all and every of the claimants an opportunity of securing their rights... [Minister of Interior Report, 1856:10-17]

It has been reported that the total amount of land—throughout the Hawaiian Islands—awarded to *hoāina* equaled approximately 28,658 acres (cf. Kame‘eleihiwa 1992:295).

## **Native Terms Used to Describe Features and Activities in Māhele Claims in Ka‘ā on the Island of Lāna‘i**

**Ahupuaa** (traditional land management units.)

As noted earlier, ahupua‘a generally cover an area extending from a fishery fronting the land division to a point on the mountains, and historically, provided native tenants with access to all the basic resources necessary for sustainable life upon the land. The island of Lāna‘i has thirteen (13) individual ahupua‘a. Interestingly, three of the ahupua‘a cross the entire island, passing from the ko‘olau (windward) fisheries, over the mountain, to the kona (leeward) fisheries.

**Ala, Alanui Aupuni, Alapuni** (trails and government roads).

One Māhele ‘Āina claim in Ka‘ā cited the Alanui Aupuni.

**Ili, Ili aina** (a native land division).

‘Ili are traditional land divisions, usually running mauka–makai (upland to shore). They were designed to make smaller tracts of land within the larger ahupua‘a, available to native tenants for residency and cultivation. ‘Ili might be laid out in contiguous pieces or separated, with certain sections of the ‘ili situated at various elevational zones to coincide with seasonal variations in crop production.

**Kahua hale, Kulanahale, Pahale** (House sites and residential compounds).

**Ko** (sugarcane).

**Konohiki** (land and resource managers).

Konohiki were assigned to oversee certain aspects of the natural resources and tenancy within each ahupua‘a. They were usually of chiefly lineage, and in many of the claims for Lāna‘i, they were the high chief awardees of entire ahupua‘a.

**Kula** (plain, field, dry land cultivated areas).

Kula lands were named for their appearance or location where they occurred. Generally, these were open lands used by native tenants for cultivating crops, and later as land where animals were grazed.

**Kula hanai holoholona** (open land for feeding animals / pasture).

One (1) claimant cited a kula hānai holoholona as a part of his land claim.

**Kuleana** (claim, property, title, responsibility).

By the Māhele and Kuleana Act of 1850, kuleana were the lands of the native tenants, those lands which they actively cultivated, collected resources from, or lived upon. Depending on the context of usage in a narrative, the word may be translated in several ways, and is sometimes interchangeable.



**Mala mahakea** (a fallow patch of cultivated land, left to rest for a period).

**Mauka** (towards the uplands, or above).

**Pauku & Moo** (small parcels of land). Paukū and mo‘o were smaller land division within ‘ili, used to cultivate crops.

**Pulu** (mala pulu – a cotton patch).

**Uala** (sweet potatoes).

## **Place Names Referenced in Claims by Applicants at Ka‘ā**

<b><u>Named Places and ‘Ili</u></b>	<b><u>Ahupuaa</u></b>
Kaaina	Kaa
Kaena	Kaa
Kalihi	Kaa
Kaluaakea	Kaa
Kukuikahi	Kaa
Lanakahua	Kaa
Mokuha	Kaa
Piiloa	Kaa

## **Results of the Māhele ‘Āina on Lāna‘i**

- **110** verifiable claims were recorded for Lāna‘i. 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 Mahele 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):

- **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.
- **8 claims** were filed for the ahupua‘a of Ka‘ā. Seven claims were made by native tenants or individuals of low chiefly association, and one claim was made by the Ali‘i awardee (V. Kamāmalu). At the close of the Māhele, three native tenants were granted portions of their claims in kuleana, while four claims were left without action.

The land claimants and awardees were:

<b>Helu</b>	<b>Claimant</b>	<b>Ahupua‘a</b>	<b>Ili</b>	<b>Awarded</b>
2513	M. Manoa (w)	Kaa	Kaena	No
3417 B	Hoomu	Kaa	Kaluaakea	Yes
4288 B	Kahalekai	Kaa	Mokuha, Kukuikahi	Yes
4289 B	Hoopapalani	Kaa	Kukuikahi	No
6542	Hoa (Howa)	Kaa	—	No
7713	Kamamalu, Victoria	Kaa	Ahupuaa	Yes
8627	Kauhihape	Kaa	Kalihi, Piiloa	Yes
8627	Halapuu	Kaa	Kalihi, Piiloa	No

### **Disposition of Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a (the Konohiki Claim)**

As a part of the Māhele the King and Chiefs were required to file their claims for their personal lands and determine how they would pay for those lands they kept—usually by giving up other lands, in lieu of cash payment—and to claim their kapu (restricted) fish and the wood of the land awarded. The kapu fish and wood were the ‘Konohiki’ rights to resources with which they might sustain themselves, while generating revenue to support themselves. The chiefs began submitting letters for the record to the Minister of the Interior to document their claims and rights. A few of those letters which were filed, identify resource claims for Ka‘ā and neighboring lands:

**Lanihuli Hale**  
**15, Dekemaba 1847**  
**N. Namauu; to G.P. Judd, Clerk:**

Aloha oe,  
Ke hai aku nei au i na inoa o na aina pono i o ka Moi e like me kau i  
kauoha mai ai i'au. Eia no ka papa inoa o na aina, a me na mokupuni ma  
lalo iho.

... Mokupuni Lanai

Helu 4 Paomai.

Mokupuni o Kahoolawe Helu 5...

Oia ka'u i ike, a i lohe, a i kaulana no hoi, no Kamehameha I, K. II. I. III...  
[Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Lands]

Aloha to you,

I hereby tell you the names of the lands that rightly belong to  
the King, as you instructed me to do so. Here is the list of  
names of the lands and the islands, below:

Island Lanai.

Number 4. Paomai.

Island of Kahoolawe, Number 5... [Maly translator]

**Aukake 26, 1852**  
**Noa Pali, to Keoni Ana**

Aloha oe e Keoni Ana ka mea kiekie. Ke hoike aku nei au ia oe, no na lio  
ke ma Lanai nei, he umi lio kea, ma Lanai nei. E hoouna mai paha oe i na  
luna nana lio ma ke ia mokupuni i nana ia na lia kea mai kai, a kakau ia  
kainoa o ka mea nona ka lio kea maikai, a haavi i ka palapala hooko iaia.  
E like me ke kanawai.

Pau ia.

Eia kekahi, o na aina aupuni ma Lanai nei. Makemake makou e hele mai  
kaluna kuai aina, ona mau aina aupuni la e kuai me ka poe aina ole. Pau  
ia.

Eia hoi kou vahi manao kupono e hai aku ia oe, no ka ohi kai o Kaunolu,  
ma ka aoao Akau, o Miloonohi, Moanauli, o Kaa. Oia kai noa ou ua vahi

kai la. Ma kahakai a kuanalu, manao vau e kuai kaua. Ua pau o uka i kuleana ia. Mai kahakai a mauka o ke pili, koe aku ke kula me na vahi kai. O ke kula a me kahi kai kau i manao ai e kuai me oe e ana ia ke kai ma ka eka i hapalua ke kumu kuai o ka eka hookahi.

Me ka mahalo ia oe,

Noa Pali

Ia kapu o na konohiki me ka laau hoomalu.  
E like me ke kanawai.

<u>Konohiki</u>	<u>Aina</u>	<u>ia</u>	<u>laau</u>
Makaio Kuanaoa	Kaa	Uhu	koko
	Kaohai	hee	Naio
Nahaolelua	Maunalei	hee	kukui
Kanaina	Mahana	hee	Ahakea
	Paomai	hee	Aiea
Haalelea	Palawai	Anae	Ahakea
Kaeo	Kealia	Uhu	—
Koahou	Kamao	hee	koko
Pi	Kalulu	hee	Ahakea
Pali	Kamoku	Uhu	koko
	Kealia	Uhu	koko

E ka mea kiekie nau e hooponopono keia ma kou keena.

Noa Pali [Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department, Lands]

[Translation]

**August 26, 1852**  
**Noa Pali, to Keoni Ana**

Love to you, his excellency, Keoni Ana. I make known to you about the stallions here on Lanai, there are ten stallions here on Lanai. Perhaps you might send the overseer of horses to this island so that the good stallions might be seen, and the names of the ones to whom the good stallions belong, be recorded, they be given the certificate as to the law.

It is finished.

Here is something else, about the Government lands here on Lanai. We want a land agent to come, that those government lands may be sold to those who have no land. It is finished.

Here is my own true desire to tell you, that the fisheries of Kaunolu, on the North side, from Miloonohi, Moanauli and Kaa, they are to be my fisheries. From the shore to the wave backs (breakers), I think of purchasing them. All the lands above have been given as kuleana, from the shore to above the pili (grass), there remain the slopes and the fisheries. The slopes and the fisheries are what I have thought to discuss with you, so as to purchase; the sea to be surveyed per acre at fifty cents each.

With appreciation to you.

Protected fish of the landlords, and the protected wood. Pertaining to the law.

<u>Landlord</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>fish</u>	<u>wood</u>
Makaio Kuanaoa	Kaa	Uhu	koko
	Kaohai	hee	Naio
Nahaolelua	Maunalei	hee	kukui
Kanaina	Mahana	hee	Ahakea
	Paomai	hee	Aiea
Haalelea	Palawai	Anae	Ahakea
Kaeo	Kealia	Uhu	—
Koahou	Kamao	hee	koko
Pi	Kalulu	hee	Ahakea
Pali	Kamoku	Uhu	koko
	Kealia	Uhu	koko

Your excellency, it is up to you to approve this in your office.

Noa Pali. [Maly, translator]

### **Ka'ā and Adjoining Lands in the Buke Mahele (Land Division Book) 1848**

In preparation for the final “Division” of lands between the King, Konohiki and Government, a “Buke Mahele” was kept as a log of the agreed upon division. This book is the basis of the Crown and Government land inventory now known as the Ceded Lands. Disposition of ten (10) of Lāna'i's thirteen ahupua'a was recorded in the Buke Māhele (1848) and before the Land Commissioners. Three (3) ahupua'a were apparently dropped through an oversight on the part of the King, Commissioners and staff. At the close of the Land Commission, the following title for Ka'ā and lands that abut it was confirmed:

Ahupua'a	Claimant	Disposition	Buke Mahele (1848)
Kaa	Victoria Kamamalu	Awarded	Page 4, Jan. 27, 1848
Kamoku	No record	Crown	Record of Boundary Commission (1877)
Paomai	No record	Crown	Testimony of C. Kanaina, Dec. 1847

## Claims of Native Tenants and Ali'i for Kuleana in Ka'a

Helu 2513

Manoa

Kaa

Native Register 3:531-532

2513 M. Manoa  
 Hoo'pii Kuleana ia oukou e  
 ma Luna hoona o ke Aupuni Hawaii,  
 he auna kōu ma i Lanai o Kaahakooa  
 o ua auna la, mai a Kahili mai a ia

532  
 Kaluahinenui, malalo no o Kaahumanu ke  
 notio aia o Kaluahinenui ka heke aia no  
 ko aku no koia anaku Kane o Kikipa malalo  
 o Kaluahinenui. Ika notio aia i keia wa me  
 Lanai ke heke ole Aloha oukou Oua me ka'ina  
 heke ia oukou  
 Na M. Manoa Waithee  
 Imau D. h 29  
 1847

Kuleana claim to you Commissioners who Quiet Claims of the Kingdom of Hawaii. I have a land on Lanai. Kaa is the name of the land, gotten from Kahili to Kaluahinenui. Kaluahinenui dwelt below Kaahumanu, the Lord of the land. My father, Kikipa lived under Kaluahinenui, thus it is mine at this time, not having been removed. Aloha to all of you. I am with appreciation to you.

By M. Manoa  
Waihee, Maui  
Dec. 29, 1847.

**Helu 2513**  
**Manoa**  
**Kaena at Kaa**  
**Native Testimony 5:263-264**

2513. Manoa  
Kaena at Kaena  
Ua ike au i 2 ahupuaa he Ahupuaa o Kaa ma Lanai  
ma ka ili o Kaena. No Kaluahinenui nui ka Manoa, no  
Kaahumanu I nui ka Kaluahinenui. He kula Kula Keia  
Ua oiake o Manoa i Augate 8, 1848. o kona kaunani  
he Naluahine o Naluahine ka ike.

264.  
Ua ike au i 2 ahupuaa he Ahupuaa o Paomai  
ma ka ili o Kaena. He kula Hanai Holoholona  
Ua oiake he kula ma ka ahupuaa o Paomai.  
Ua oiake he kula ma ka ahupuaa o Paomai.

July 25, 1849.

Kaawa, Sworn.

I have seen the 2 parcels in the Ahupuaa of Kaa, on Lanai, in the ili of Kaena. Gotten from Kaluahinenui, to Manoa. Kaluahinenui nui received it from Kaahumanu I. This is a kula (dry land) parcel. Manoa died on August 8, 1848. Her elder brother (kaikunane), named Naluahine, is her heir.

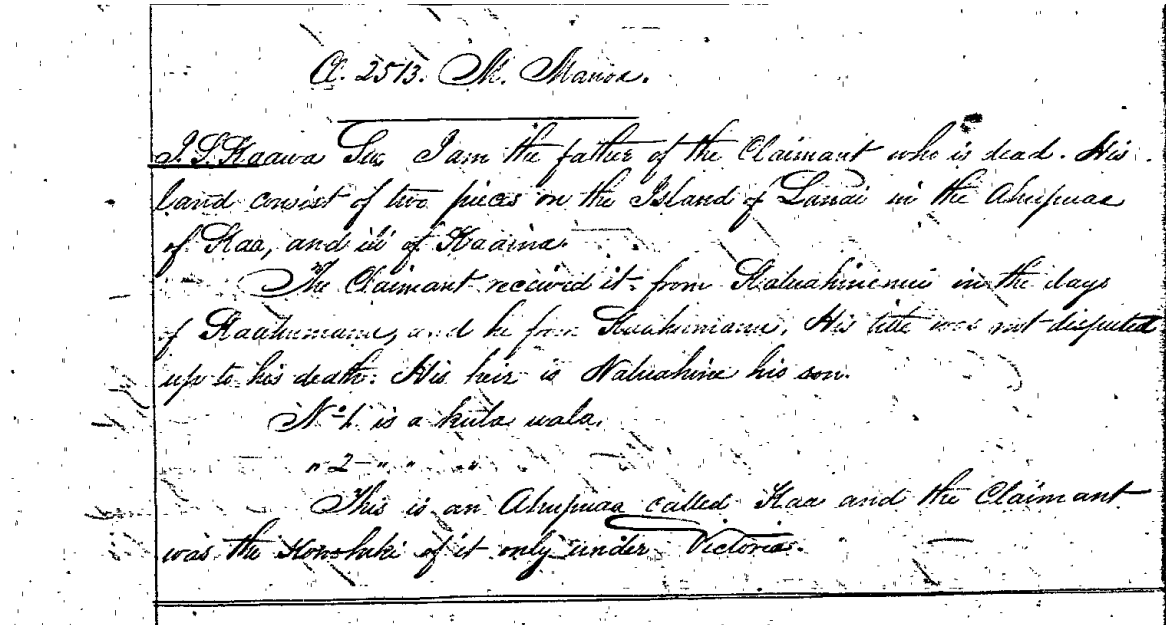
Par. 1. Kula (dry land field) cultivated in uala (sweet potatoes).

Par. 2 Kula hanai holoholona (open land) for grazing animals.

These two parcels of land are surrounded on all sides by the Ahupuaa of Paomai<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> The description of the parcels being "surrounded on all sides by the Ahupuaa of Paomai" does not conform with the configuration of the ahupuaa.

Helu 2513  
M. Manoa,  
Kaa  
Native Testimony 8:25



I.L. Kaawa, Sw. I am the father of the Claimant who is dead. His<sup>21</sup> land consists of two pieces on the Island of Lanai in the Ahupuaa of Kaa, and ili of Kaaina [Kaena].

The Claimant received it from Kaluahinenui in the days of Kaahumanu and he from Kaahumanu. His title was not disputed up to his death. His heir is Naluahine his son.

No. 1 is a kula uala (sweet potato field).

No. 2. Is a kula uala.

This is an Ahupuaa called Kaa and the Claimant was the Konohiki of it only under Victoria.

<sup>21</sup> Note: The gender and identification of the 'ili name in this transcription differ from that of the Native Testimony.



**Helu 3417 B  
Hoomu  
Kaluaakea at Kaa  
Native Testimony 13:263  
(for Native Register, See Helu 8627)**

*3417 B Hoomu*  
*Koia Aohikiia, Ua ike au i kona apana aina ma Kaluaakea.*  
*Kaa, Lanai. 1 Apana aina.*  
*1 Puka aina o Kahuahale - Puka ma puka.*  
*Konohiki, a puka, aina o Konohiki.*  
*Ua waa ia ia ika apana aina i ka wa o Kamehameha I.*  
*he wahi wahi wahi iho no. a ika ma i wahi a hiki i ka*  
*hale, a ua wahi ma ma keia wahi me ha ole ole a hiki i ka*  
*manawa, ole ma keia.*  
*Kauhipe Aohikiia, Ua wai ma ole a pau i kaia maluna.*  
*ua ike au ika ike ma kona, ua kahiko iho ma kona wahi ole ole ma hoi*  
*ma keia.*

Koia, Sworn. I know his parcel of land at Kaluaakea, Kaa, Lanai. 1 Parcel of land.

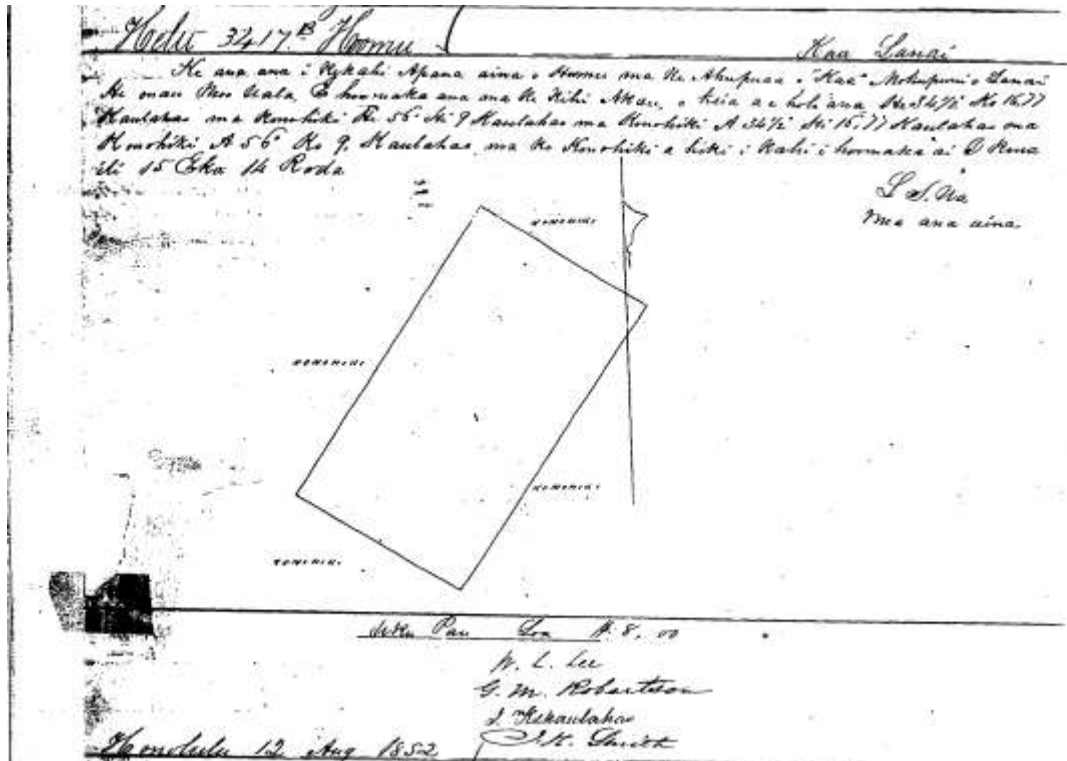
1 section of land & three houses. The boundaries are thus:

Above and on all sides, the land of the Konohiki.

He received this parcel of land in the time of Kamehameha I. It was an idle piece of land. It was he who cultivated it and built the houses thereon. He has dwelt peaceably at this place to this time. No one has objected.

Kauhipe, Sworn. All of the words spoken above are true. I have known the same as him. His residency is from olden times. There has been no objection.

Helu 3417 B  
Hoomu  
Kaa  
Mahele Award Book 8:102



The survey is for one piece of land of Hoomu, in the Ahupuaa of Kaa, Island of Lanai. There are several pieces of land cultivated in uala... [metes and bounds] ... 15 Acres, 14 Rods...



Kauhihape, Sworn. I know his Parcels of land at Kaa, Lanai, 2 parcels of land.

Parcel 1. 1 pauku (cultivated land section) in the ili of Mokuha.

Parcel 2. 1 house in the ili of Mokuha.

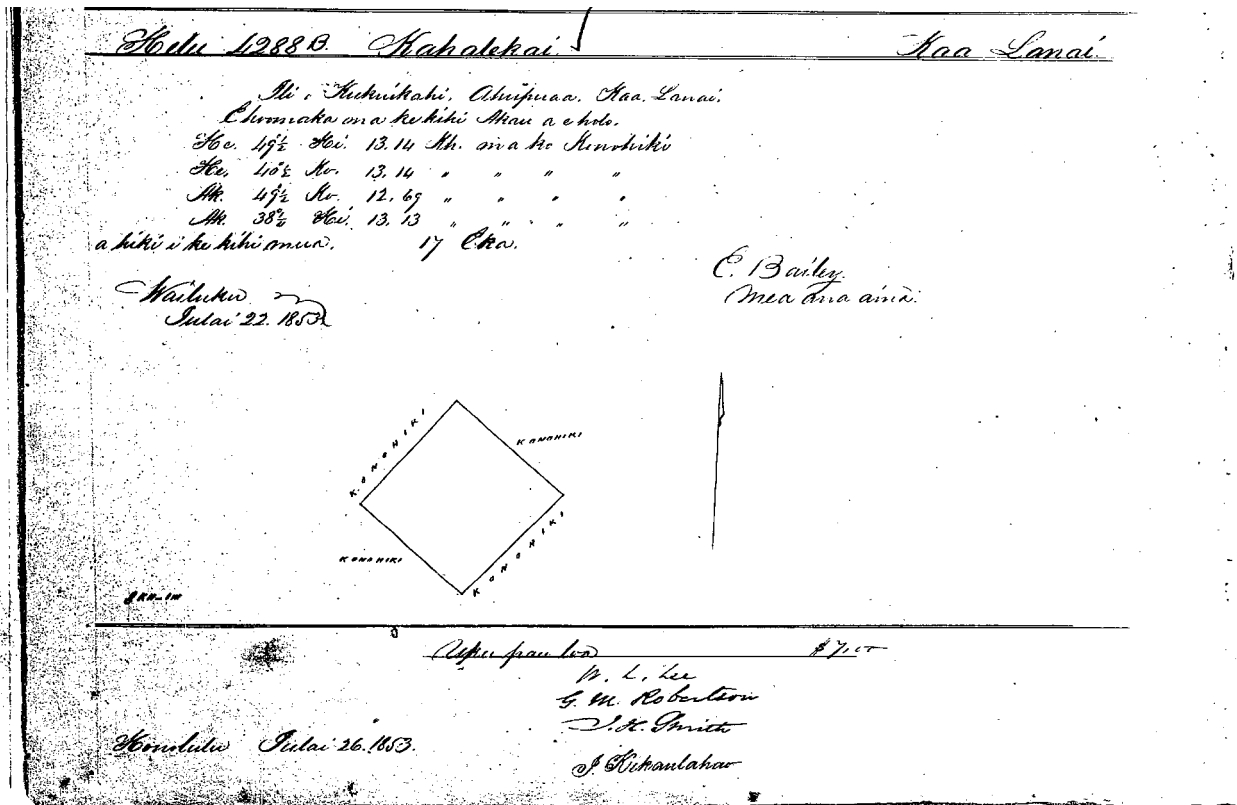
Parcel 1. The bounadries are thus. Mauka and on all sides, land of the Konohiki.

Parcel 2. The bounadries are thus. Mauka and on all sides, land of the Konohiki.

He received these Parcels of Land from his parents in the time of Kamehameha I, and has lived peacably there to this time. No one has objected.

Kawaaiki, Sworn. All the words above are true, and as I have known.


**Helu 4288 B  
Kahalekai  
Kukuikahi at Kaa  
Mahele Award Book 7:272**



Ili of Kukuikahi, Ahupuaa of Kaa, Lanai... [metes and bounds] ... 17 Acres...

Royal Patent No. 6425  
 Kahalekai  
 Kukuikahi at Kaa  
 Book 24:221-222

HELU 6425

 PALAPALA SILA NUI

A KE ALII, MAMULI O KA OLELO A KA POE HOONA KULEANA.

**NO KA MEA.** Aia hoolohia na Luna Hoona i na kumu kuleana aia i ka olelo, he kuleana oiaio ko  
 ma ke **Ano Alodio** iloko o kahi i oleloia malalo. Kuleana Helu 4288<sup>th</sup>

Nolaila, ma keia Palapala Sila Nui, ke hoike aku nei o **Kahalekai**, ke Alii Nui a ke Akua i  
 Kona lokomaikai i hoonolo ai maluna o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, i na kaha a pau, i keia la mona iho, a no  
 kona mau hope alii, ua haawi aku ma ke **Ano Alodio** i  
 i kela wahi a pau loa ma **Kukuikahi Kaa**  
 ma ka Mokupuni o **Lanai** penei na mokuna:

E hōmāka ma ka kahi **Alkai, a o kahi**  
 He 49° N; 13.14. Paul ma ka **Honokihiki**  
 He 40° N; 13.14. " " "  
 Alk 49° N; 12.69 " " "  
 Alk 38° N; 13.18 " " "  
 a hiki i ke kahi oiaio. if Ka.

**UPOKA ONA**

Maloko o *Kia* Apana *[Signature]* Eka  
a oi iki aku, a emi iki mai paha. Un kee uae i ke Aupuni na mine minerela a me na metela a pau.  
No *Hahalekai*

ua aina la i haawiia ma ke **Ano Alodio** a no kona mau hooilina, a me kona waihoia; ua pili nae ka aubau  
a ka Poe Ahuolelo e kau like ni ma na aina alodio i kela manawa i keia manawa.

A I MEA E IHEA AI, ua kau att i ko'u inoa, a me ka Sila Nui-o ko Hawaii Pae  
Aina ma Honolulu i keia la *16* o *November* 1873

*[Signature]* *Lunalilo B*  
*The Minister of the Interior*  
Edcom. O. Hall.

**Helu 4289 B  
 Hoopapalani  
 Kukuikahi at Kaa  
 Native Testimony 13:262-263  
 (for Native Register, see Helu 8627)**

*1289 B Hoopapalani.  
 Kauhikape. Hoohikua. Ma ike au i kona kapa aia ma ka ili  
 o Kukuikahi, Kaa, Lanai. 1. Ahaia aia  
 1 Pauku aia kama uala. Kona ma pauna  
 Mauka, a pua, aia o ka Konohiki.  
 Ma lona ia ia keia wahi manawa o ka M. 1839. he wahi waiho  
 wale ma a nana iho i maiki, a kuhikuhi i ma hale a ua <sup>noho</sup> olioli maia  
 mai a hiki i keia manawa aia maia kaia.*

*Koia Hoohikua. Ma oia ma oia a paunaloa a paha iho ma  
 keia ili au.*

Kauhikape, Sworn. I know his Parcel of land in the ili of Kukuikahi, Kaa, Lanai. 1 Parcel of land.

1 pauku of land for planting uala. The boundaries are thus:

Mauka and on all sides, land of the Konohiki.

He received this place prior to 1839. It was a vacant place, and he planted it and built the houses. He has dwelt there peaceably to this time. No one has objected.

Koia, Sworn: All the words above are true, and my knowledge is the same.

Helu 6542 (see also Helu 3418 B)  
Howa (Hoa)  
Kaa  
Native Register 6:399

6542      Howa      Lanai February 2, 1848  
Ke hoakaka aku nei au i Kaa  
Lanai Kuleana aina ke Konohiki o Kaa. Ua  
loaa mai mai na Kumu Kahiko  
mai, o Kaahumanu ka imi hale  
o Kahiki ka noho hale, a noho aku  
o Kaluahinenui Malalo ma, a ma-  
lalo aku au o Kaluahinenui; Malalo  
Kuleana Kaa mai lalo loa mai a  
hiki loa mai iau, O lohe ma e outou  
e na Luna hoona Kuleana aina  
Kau na Howa

Lanai. February 2, 1848.

I hereby describe my claim to you. It was gotten from the Konohiki of Kaa. Kahiki sought a house to live in from Kaahumanu. Kaluahinenui lived under him, and I was below Kaluahinenui. Therefore this is a claim from one who was under them to me. Hear me Commissioners who Quiet Land Claims.

Done by me, Howa.



**Helu 7713**  
**Victoria Kamamalu**  
**Kaa**  
**Native Register 5:441**

Mahele Aina:

...Kaa Ahupuaa, Lanai...

**Helu 7713**  
**Victoria Kamamalu**  
**Kaa**  
**Foreign Testimony 3:409**

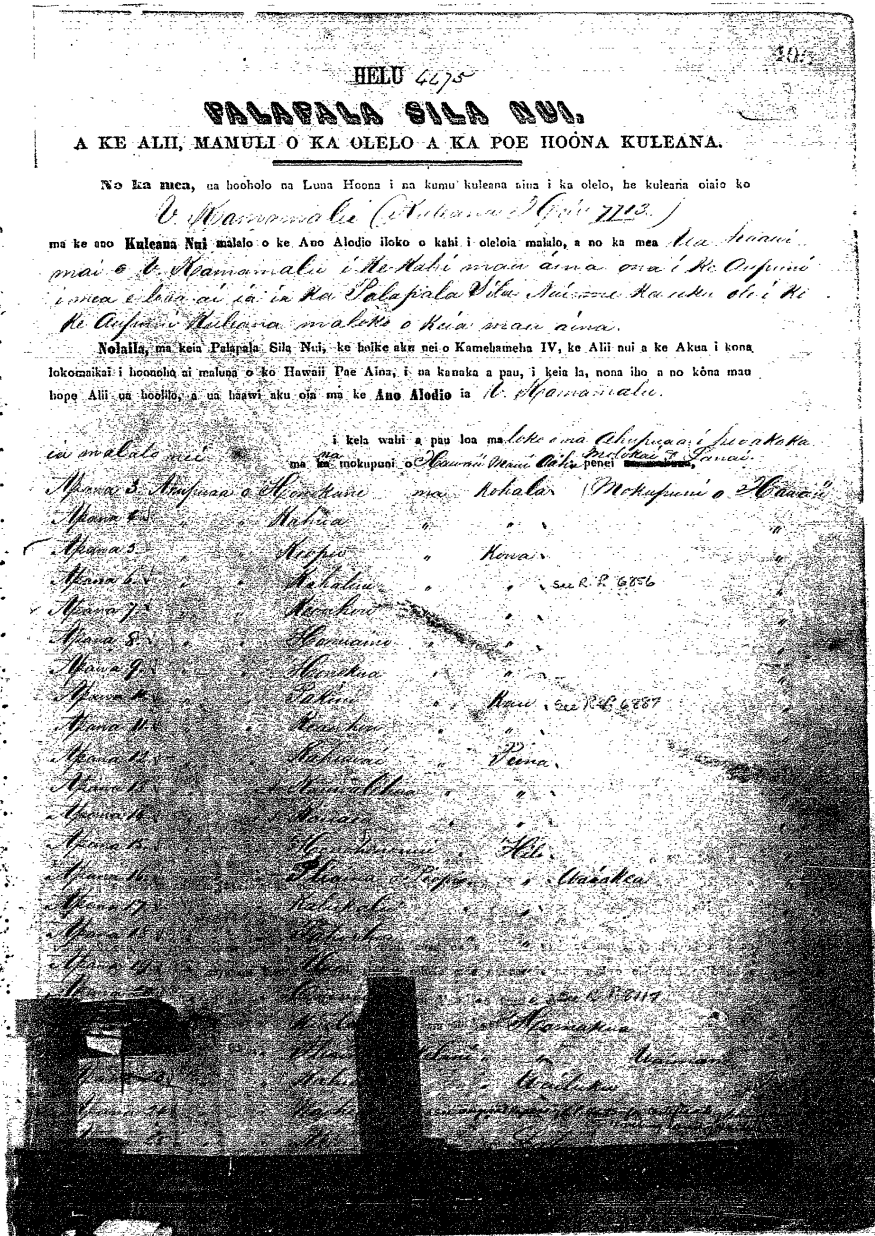
*7713/ko Victoria Kamamalu mau aina  
ma ke ano Alodio.*

*Kaa, Kona, Lanai*

Victoria Kamamalu's Allodial title lands...

...Kaa Ahupuaa, Kona, Lanai...





✓ Apua 29	Ahupuaa o Kaa	ma	Mahealani o Lanai
✓ Apua 30	"	"	"
✓ Apua 31	"	"	"
✓ Apua 32	"	"	"
✓ Apua 33	"	"	"
✓ Apua 34	"	"	"
✓ Apua 35	"	"	"
✓ Apua 36	"	"	"
✓ Apua 37	"	"	"
✓ Apua 38	"	"	"
✓ Apua 39	"	"	"
✓ Apua 42	"	"	"
✓ Apua 43	"	"	"
✓ Apua 44	"	"	"
✓ Apua 45	"	"	"
✓ Apua 46	"	"	"
✓ Apua 47	"	"	"
✓ Apua 48	"	"	"
✓ Apua 49	"	"	"
✓ Apua 50	"	"	"
✓ Apua 51	"	"	"

Hev i nae He Kuluana o ma Hev i nae aloko  
 o ma Ahupuaa a ma na Ahaina i hoko la  
 maluna

Maloko o Kua moai  
 a oi iki aku, a emi iki mai paha. Ua koo ike i ke aupuni na moe mahealani a ma na metela a pau.

No  
 O Kamamaila  
 na aia la i haavin ma ka Ang Alodio a no koo ma hev i nae aloko, a ma koo mahealani, a ma pili ma ka aia  
 a ka Poe Abaolo a kua ike ai ma na aia aloko i kela manawa a kua moe.

A i mea e ike ai, ua  
 Poo Ama ma  
 Kua la  
 3  
 10  
 Hev i nae aloko  
 Hev i nae aloko

Helu 8627

Kauhihape, Kahalekai, Hoopapalani, Hoomu & Halapu

Kaa

Native Register 6:473

473

8627. Kauhihape. Kaa Lanai Feb 4<sup>th</sup>  
 Me hai aku nei makou i na kuleana  
 aina, Makou  
 Lanai Inoa aina  
 Kauhihape (Kalihi  
 Piiloa  
 Kahalekai Mokuha  
 Hoopapalani Kukuikahi  
 Hoomu Kaluaakea  
 Halapu Kaa  
 Omakou lima ka hae mona  
 Heia mau aina wa Kaa i Lanai

Kaa, Lanai. Feb 4<sup>th</sup> [1848]

We hereby tell you of our land claims.

Lanai	Name	Land
	Kauhihape	Kalihi Piiloa
	Kahalekai	Mokuha
	Hoopapalani	Kukuikahi
	Hoomu	Kaluaakea
	Halapu	Kaa

We are five people to whom these lands at Kaa, Lanai, belong.



- Par. 1. The boundaries are thus. Mauka and all about, land of Konohiki.
- Par. 2. The boundaries are thus. Mauka and all about, land of Konohiki.
- Par. 3. The boundaries are thus. Mauka and all about, land of Konohiki.
- Par. 4. The boundaries are thus. Mauka and all about, land of Konohiki.

He received these lands from Unuunu in the time of Kamehameha I, and he has held them peaceably to the present time. No one has objected.

Koia, Sworn. All the words above are true, and as I have known.

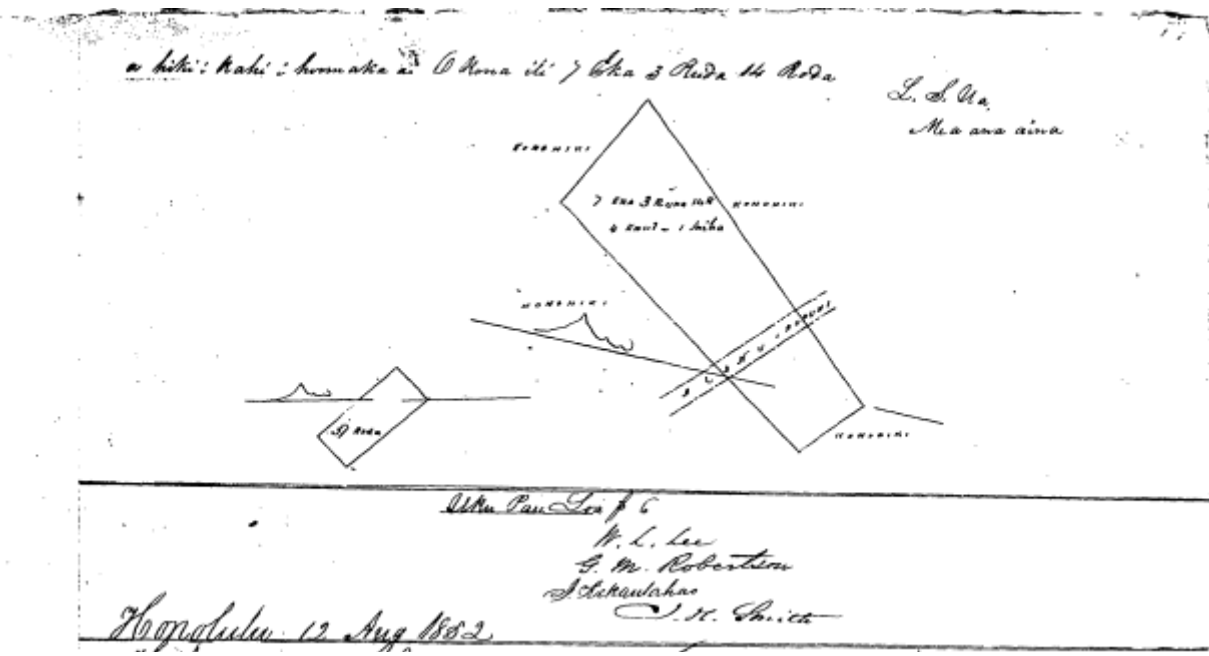
**Helu 8627**  
**Kauhahape**  
**Kaa**  
**Mahele Award Book 8:96-97**

*Helu 8627 Kauhahape "Kaa" Lanai*

*Ke ana ana ana i kahi mau Apana nina. Kauhahape ma ke Ahupuaa o Kaa Motukupuni o Lanai.*

*E lua mau Apana*

*Apana 1 Wahi Kula Nahi E hoomaka ana ma ke kiki Kuma. Keia a e holo ana, A 47' He 1' Kaulahas ma Kauhahape A 45' He 2.07 Kaulahas ma Kauhahape He 16 1/2' He 0.16 Kaulahas ma Kauhahape He 48 1/2' He 2.39 Kaulahas ma Kauhahape a kiki i kahi i hoomaka ai O Kona ili 3) Puka Apana 2. Pahala o nina Kula nahi E hoomaka ana ma ke kiki Kuma Kauhahape a e holo ana He 48 1/2' He 3.52 Kaulahas ma Kauhahape He 17.25 Kaulahas ma Kauhahape He 63' He 6.14 Kaulahas ma Kauhahape He 25 1/2' He 15.72 Kaulahas ma Kauhahape*



The survey of some parcels of land of Kauhihape in the Ahupuaa of Kaa, Island of Lanai.

#### Two Parcels

Parcel 1. A cultivated section of kula (open plain land)... [metes and bounds] ... 37 Rods...

Parcel 2. House lot and cultivated kula land... [metes and bounds – with the Alanui Aupuni (Government Road) running through it] ... 7 Acres, 3 Roods, 14 Rods...

### **Survey Notes of Māhele Lands Awarded on Lānaʻi (1876)**

In 1875-1878, Kingdom Surveyor General, William D. Alexander and staff conducted surveys on the island of Lānaʻi. Their work was designed to accomplish several objectives, including (1) development of a map of the entire island (Register Map No. 1394); (2) establishment and certification of boundaries of the thirteen ahupuaʻa on the island (see Boundary Commission Proceedings); and (3) to identify the locations of the kuleana awarded to native tenants on Lānaʻi.

Notes in Alexander's Survey Register Book No. 162 (collection of the State Survey Division), besides summarizing land ownership on Lānaʻi as a result of the Māhele, also include surveys and plot plans of the kuleana that were awarded. A review and comparison of Alexander's notes with the original records of the Māhele, reveals a number of discrepancies regarding the location of various kuleana, and nine claims that were awarded are not included in Alexander's Survey list at all. These discrepancies may have implications on unsettled title issues for some of the Lānaʻi kuleana. The claims awarded in Kaʻā are cited below.

### **Notes of Old Surveys Island of Lanai**

**H.T.S.**

**W.D. Alexander & M.D. Monsarrat**

**1878**

**Reg. No. 162**

#### **Konohiki Land Titles**

<b>Ahupuaa</b>	<b>Owner</b>	<b>Title</b>
...Kaa	V. Kamamalu	Award 7713

#### **Govt. Lands**

Kaumalapau 1 & 2, Ili of Kamoku	Crown...
Kalama, Ili of Kamoku	



Paomai omitted in the Mahele.  
 Kamoku only in part, the ilis of Kaumalapau 1 & 2.  
 and Kalama being mentioned in the Mahele book as Govt. lands. [page 3]

**List of Kuleanas in Lanai (Ka'ā Ahupua'a)**

[The categories and entries below, are recorded in Alexander's original list; Royal Patent (RP) No.'s have been added from the Indices of Royal Patents on Awards.]

No.	Owner	Position	Page	Bk.	Royal Patent
3,417 B	Hoomu	Kaa	102	8	No RP
4,288 B	Kahalewai	Kukuikahi, Kaa	272	7	6425
8,627	Kauhahape	Kaa	96	8	No RP
7,713	Kamamalu, V.	Kaa	445	10	4475

**No. 3,417 B**

In Kaa

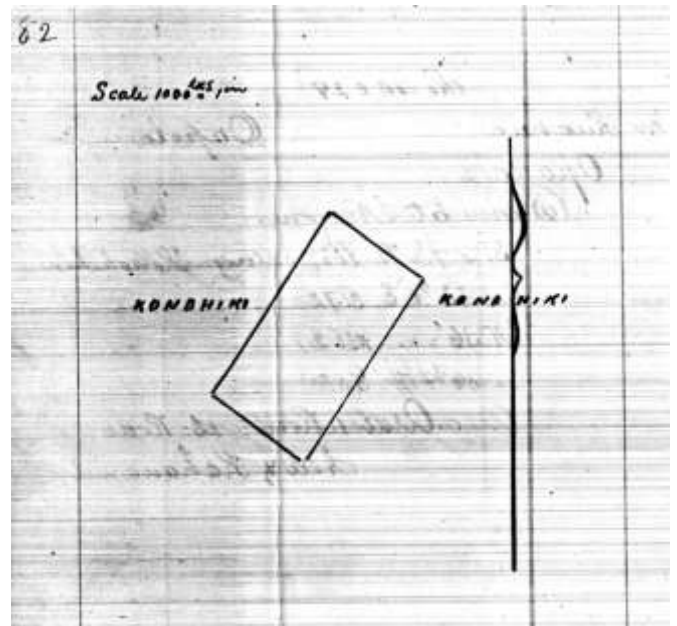
Hoomu

Begin at N. corner:

- S. 34 ½ ° W. 16.77 ch. along Konohiki;
- S. 56° E. 9.00 ch. along Konohiki;
- N. 34 ½ ° E. 16.77 ch. along Konohiki;
- N. 56° W. 9.00 ch. along Konohiki.

Area 15 Acres, 14 Rods. [page 83]

**Map of Kuleana Award No. 3417 B [page 82]**



**No. 4288**

In Kukuikahi

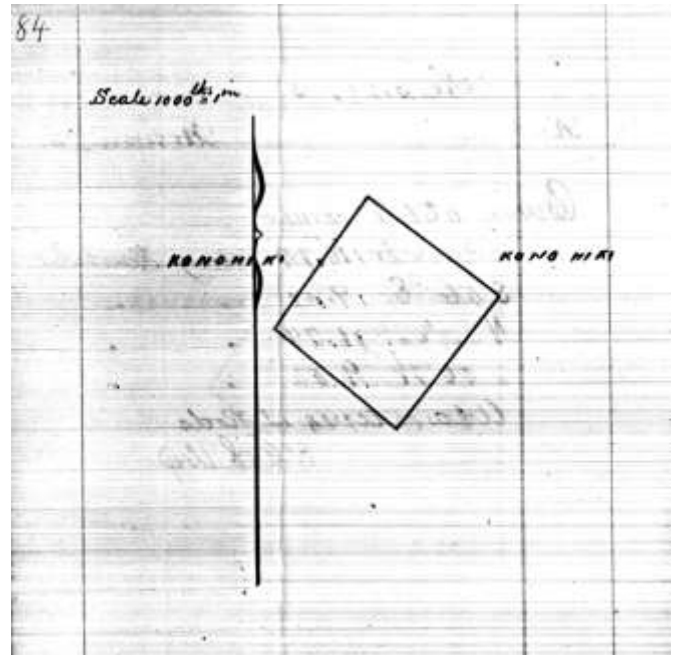
Kahalekai

Begin at N. corner:

S.  $49\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  E. 13.14 ch. along Konohiki;  
S.  $40\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  W. 13.14 ch. along Konohiki;  
N.  $49\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  W. 12.69 ch. along Konohiki;  
N.  $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  E. 13.13 ch. along Konohiki.

Area 17 Acres. [page 85]

**Map of Kuleana Award No. 4288 [page 84]**



**No. 4288**

In Kukuikahi

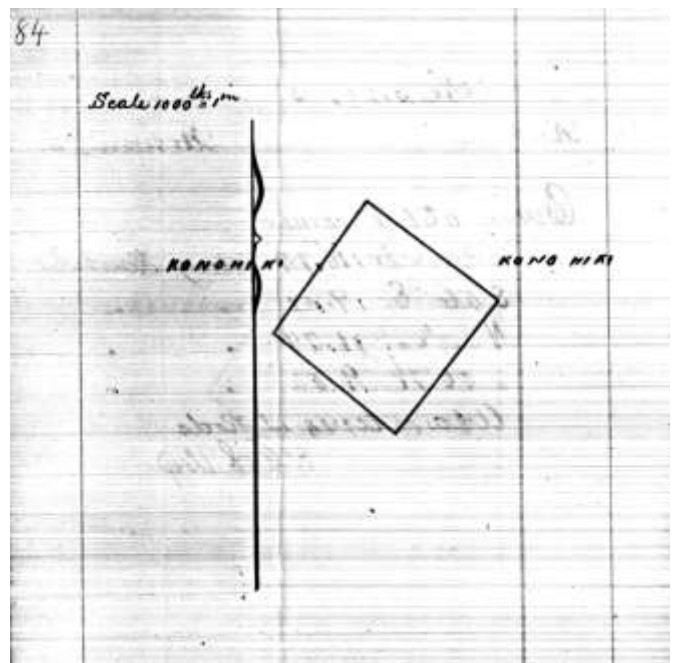
Kahalekai

Begin at N. corner:

S.  $49\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  E. 13.14 ch. along Konohiki;  
S.  $40\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  W. 13.14 ch. along Konohiki;  
N.  $49\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  W. 12.69 ch. along  
Konohiki;  
N.  $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  E. 13.13 ch. along Konohiki.

Area 17 Acres. [page 85]

**Map of Kuleana Award No. 4288 [page 84]**



**No. 8627**

In Kukuikahi

Kauhihape

Apana 1

Begin at the S. corner:

- N. 47° E. 1.00 ch. along Konohiki;
- N. 45° W. 2.07 ch. along Konohiki;
- S. 48 ½ ° W. 0.96 ch. along Konohiki;
- S. 43 ½ ° E. 2.39 ch. along Konohiki.

Area, 37 Rods.

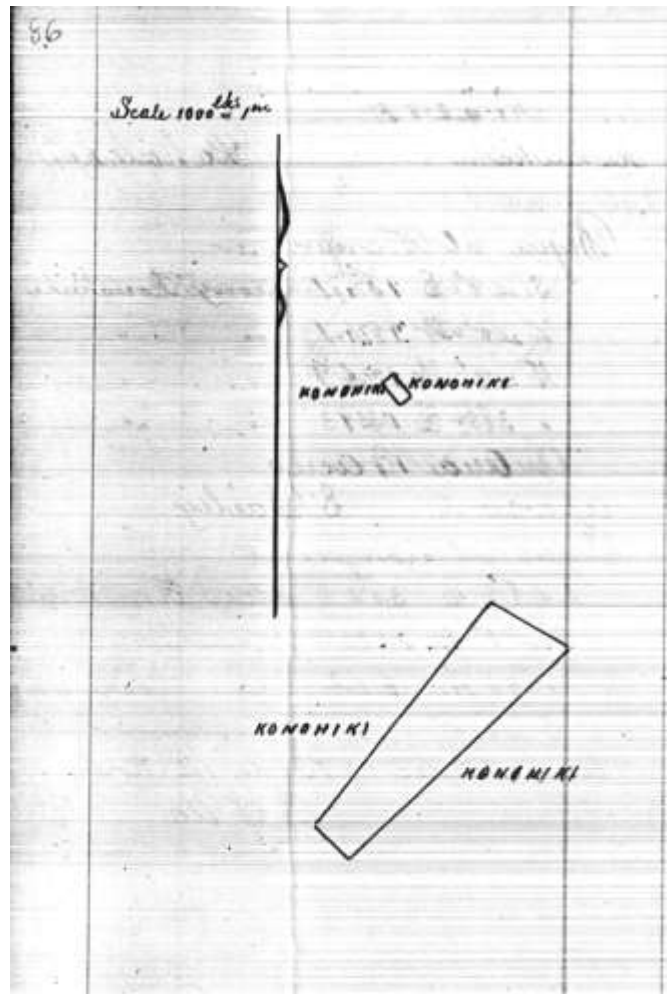
Apana 2

Begin at S.W. corner:

- S. 48 ½ ° E. 3.52 ch. along Konohiki;
- N. 45° E. 17.25 ch. along Konohiki;
- N. 63° W. 6.14 ch. along Konohiki;
- S. 46 ½ ° W. 15.72 ch. along Konohiki.

Area, 7 Acres, 3 Roods, 14 Rods.

L.S. Ua. [page 87]



**Map of Kuleana Award No. 8627 [page 86]**

**No. 7713**

In Kukuikahi Kaa

V. Kamamalu

No Notes (Ahp.) [page 89]

## **ISLAND OF LĀNA'I: SURVEYS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION IN THE YEARS 1876 TO 1891**

---

Following the Māhele 'Āina, there was a growing movement to fence off the land areas and control access to resources that native tenants had traditionally used. In the 1860s, foreign land owners and business interests petitioned the Crown to have the boundaries of their respective lands—which became the foundation for plantation and ranching interests—settled. In 1862, the King appointed a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission), and tasked them with collecting traditional knowledge of place, land boundaries, customary practices, and deciding the most equitable boundaries for each ahupua'a that had been awarded to Ali'i, Konohiki, and foreigners during the Māhele.

The commission proceedings were conducted under the courts and as formal actions under law. As the commissioners on the various islands undertook their work, the kingdom hired or contracted surveyors to begin the surveys, and in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries were authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118).

Primary records from Lāna'i were recorded between 1876 to 1891. By this time, Walter Murray Gibson was gaining control of all Government and Crown Lands on Lāna'i, and had already acquired fee-simple interest in Ka'ā Ahupua'a.

The records include testimonies of elder kama'āina who were either recipients of kuleana in the Māhele, holders of Royal Patent Land Grants on the island, or who were the direct descendants of the original fee-simple title holders. The narratives that follow, include several sources of documentation. There are examples of the preliminary requests for establishing the boundaries; letters from the surveyors in the field; excerpts from surveyor's field books (Register Books); the record of testimonies given by native residents of Lāna'i; and the entire record of the Commission in certifying the boundaries of each ahupua'a on Lāna'i. The resulting documentation offers descriptions of the land, extending from ocean fisheries to the mountain peaks; traditional and customary practices; land use; changes in the landscape witnessed over the informants' lifetime; and various cultural features across the land.

The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, but in some instances, their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Other testimonies from Lāna'i have remained in Hawaiian, but are now translated for inclusion in this study.

## Place Names and Features of Lānaʻi Cited in Surveys of the Boundary Commission

Among the most important documentary artifacts of the historical record are the surveys compiled by the Kingdom Survey Division and Boundary Commission, which identify place names and features on the cultural landscape of Lānaʻi. In place names we find evidence of traditional knowledge and use of the land. Use of the traditional names also provides present and future generations with a sense of history and value.

There are more than 300 traditional place names on Lānaʻi that have survived the passing of time. The occurrence of place names demonstrates the broad relationship of the natural landscape to the culture and practices of Lānaʻi's early residents. Place names cross the land, from the ocean and shore line to the summit of Lānaʻi Hale. These names demonstrate Hawaiian familiarity with the resources, topography, sites and features of the entire island. Coulter (1935) observed that Hawaiians had place names for all manner of feature, ranging from "outstanding cliffs" to what he described as "trivial land marks" (Coulter 1935:10). History tells us that named locations were significant in past times: "Names would not have been given to [or remembered if they were] mere worthless pieces of topography" (Handy and Handy with Pukui, 1972:412).

In ancient times, named localities signified that a variety of uses and functions occurred, including:

- (1) triangulation points such as koʻa (land markers for fishing grounds and specific offshore fishing localities);
- (2) residences; areas of planting;
- (3) water sources;
- (4) trails and trail-side resting places (oʻioʻina), such as a rock shelter or tree shaded spot;
- (5) heiau or other features of ceremonial importance;
- (6) may have been the source of a particular natural resource or any number of other features; or
- (7) the names may record a particular event or practice (e.g., use for burials, or making of koʻi or adzes) that occurred in a given area.

Table 2 below, is a compendium of place names of the Kaʻā vicinity, as documented in the proceedings of the Boundary Commission. The following list includes several facets of information, documenting the original spelling as recorded in the primary documents and characteristics or features of the locality (where located). A number of the place names remain in use on maps or among some residents, while others are no longer in use.

**Table 2. Place Names of Ka‘ā and Vicinity Documented through Surveys of the Boundary Commission**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Characteristic/Feature</b>
Awalua	Village site and landing on coast of Paomai
Halala	A place along the old trail (road) and near the boundary of Mahana and Paomai Ahupuaa.
Hale o Lono	An ancient heiau on the coast that marks the boundary between Paomai and Kaa.
Honowai	A village site in Paomai, east of Awalua.
Honuaula	A village site in Paomai, east of Awalua.
Kaa 19468.31 Acres	An ahupuaa on Lanai, on the northwest-facing side of the island.
Kahue	A village site in Paomai, east of Awalua.
Kakaalani	A place situated along the boundary of Mahana and Paomai, having been identified as the “crest of the watershed;” and about 500 feet N.W. of Keoni’s house.
Kamoku 8291.09 Acres	An ahupuaa on Lanai, on its leeward side.
Kanaele	A village site in Paomai, east of Awalua.
Kanepuu	“A commanding hill N.W. of the central plain, which was selected for a primary triangulation station;” In the ahupuaa of Kaa.
Ka Pohaku Ahi Pohaku Ahi	An area along a gulch near the upper boundary of Paomai and Mahana (near the divide between Paomai and Mahana gulches).
Kealakole	Area near boundary of Paomai and Mahana Ahupuaa, by trail to shore, and white house.
Lae wahie Ka Lae o ka Wahie	A point on the shore that forms the boundary between Paomai and Mahana Ahupuaa.
Mahana 7973.37	An ahupuaa of Lanai, on the north-facing, windward side of the island.
Panau	Site of two houses on coast of Paomai.
Paomai 9078.37 Acres	An ahupuaa of Lanai, on the north-facing, windward side of the island.

**Table 2. Place Names of Ka‘ā and Vicinity Documented through Surveys of the Boundary Commission (continued)**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Characteristic/Feature</b>
Pawili (Paawili) 1785.8 Acres	An ahupuaa of Lanai. Its primary land is situated on the windward side of the island, though there is a Lele (detached) portion that extends into Palawai Crater along the boundary of Kealia Aupuni and Palawai. The Lele does not extend to the sea on the leeward side.
Piliamoo	Location on the boundary of Kaa and Paomai Ahupuaa.
Pohakuloa	A sandy hill on the boundary between Paomai and Kaa Ahupuaa. Kapuniai’s house was situated along a gulch above here.

## **Lāna‘i Surveys (1875-1876)**

Surveyor General, W.D. Alexander kept a log of his work in his field books, and included notes of interest from his work on Lāna‘i. Figure 7 is a reduction of Register Map No. 590, depicting primary triangulation stations from the survey period.

### **... Lanai (Memo.)**

**W.D. Alexander**

**1875-76**

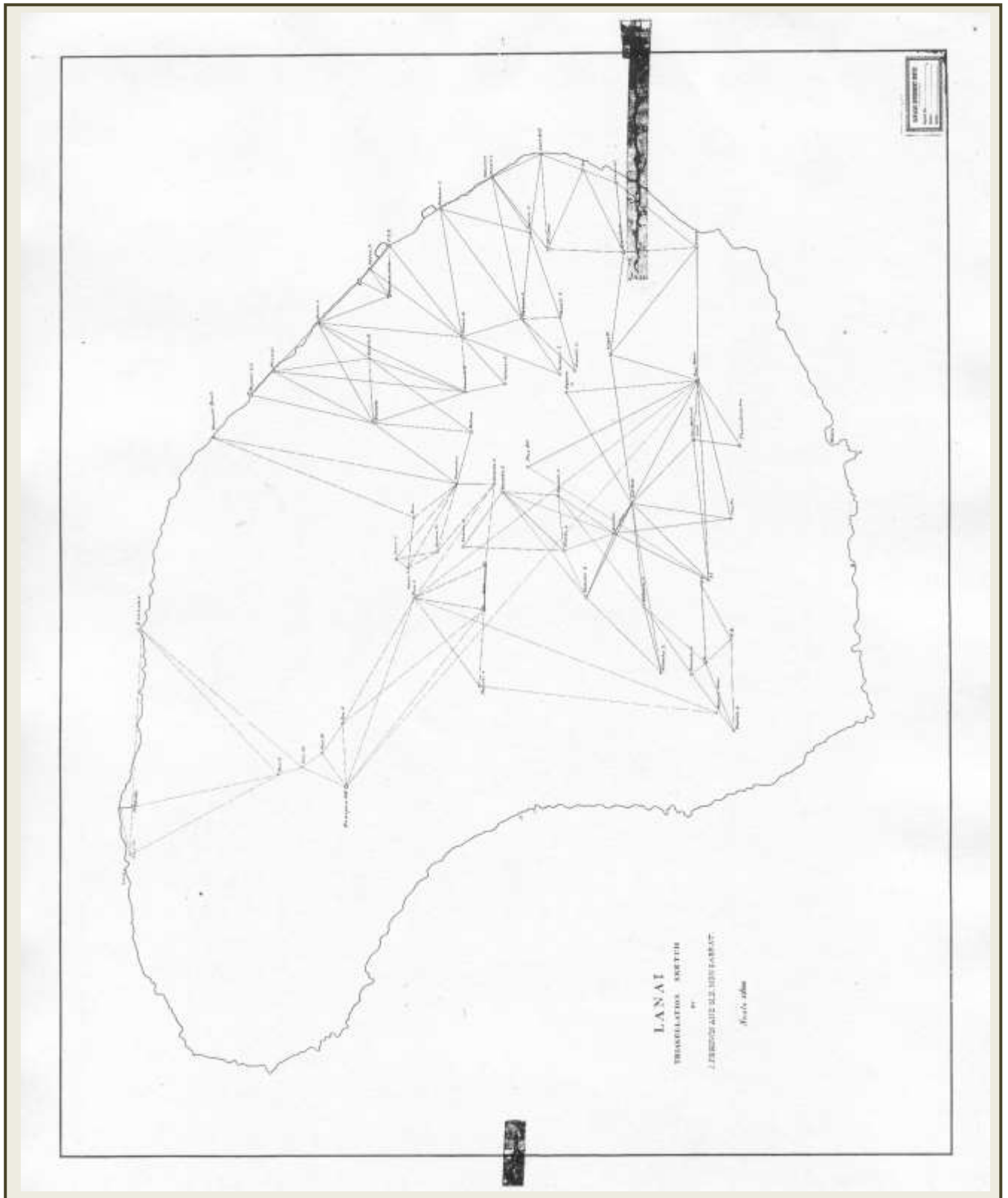
**Register Book No. 153<sup>22</sup>**

#### **Notes on Lanai Boundaries**

##### **... Names of hamlets in Paomai:**

Panau, two wooden houses 2 miles E of Awalua  
 Honowai ½ mile E of Awalua  
 Kanaele 1 ½ mile E of Awalua  
 Honuaula 3 miles E of Awalua  
 Kahue 3 miles E of Awalua  
 Ka Lae o Kawahie 4 miles E of Awalua [page 17]

<sup>22</sup> Note: Pages 1-13 in this book contain memos and maps of land holdings at Nuuanu, Oahu. The notes from Lāna‘i begin at page 14. Alexander also uses macron accents on certain place- and people-names as indicated in the citations here.



**Figure 7. Register Map No. 590 - Triangulation Stations on Island of Lanai (1877). Hawaii State Survey Division**



## Bearings with Prismatic Compass:

From Awalua Village

Leahi not visible today

Mauna Loa on Molokai 320°

Round Hill on Molokai 296 ½°

Kalae on Molokai 348 ½°

### March 31st

Old Kamai states that the boundary between Paomai & Kaa begins at a heiau called Hale o Lono about a mile West of Awalua. He confirms the statement that Ioba surveyed Paomai for Kanaina in the reign of K. IV. His father Lauaole was Ioba's guide. They assert that Paomai takes the strip of sand beach about 200 ft. wide from Hale o Lono to Pohaku Loa, & the adjacent fishery. Pohaku Loa is about a mile East of Awalua, a large rock & row of rocks. From Ka Lae o Kawahie, the boundary between Mahana & Paomai, runs tolerably straight inland a little east of the Paomai gulch, [page 18] coinciding with a road most of the way. It turns a little to the west around the head of the Paomai gulch & along a narrow ridge between the head of Paomai gulch & that branch of Maunalei which belongs to Mahana.

At a point where the latter gulch divides into two branches called "Ka Pohaku Ahi," the boundary crosses and runs up to the top of the mountain, till it meets Kalulu.

The other side of Mahana is bounded by the sea and by the Maunalei line which was surveyed by Mayor & settled by Judge Robertson.

The boundary between Paomai and Kaa, after following the top of the sand beach from Hale o Lono eastward to Pohaku Loa turns inland and runs straight for a small gulch near Kapuniai's house. [page 19]

From Kapuniai's house, the line follows the foot of a line of bluffs, sending off a branch to the sea on the west between Kaa and Kamoku. It grows narrower towards the south and forms a narrow strip between Kamoku and Mahana as mentioned before. One of its landmarks is an ahu-puaa [stone marker where tribute was paid in ancient times] near Koele, at foot of the encircling ridge near the mouth of a small ravine.

### April 1.

Appr. Elevation of the water shed near the road from Maunalei to Kamoku = 1750 ft.

Appr. Elevation of the Koele station 1550 ft.

Kealakaa states that the boundary line between Kaa and Paomai after leaving Kapunia'i's house, strikes the edge of the encircling line of bluffs about 500 ft. N.W. of Keoni's house on the [page 20] crest of the water shed, at a place called Kakaalani. Thence the line descends a transverse ridge to S.W., marked by two or three large rocks, to the central plain. Thence it runs straight Southwesterly to the head of a ravine which separates Kaa from Kamoku. According to ancient tradition the bottom of this ravine to the sea belonged to Paomai.

A stone was pointed out on a low ridge at about the middle of this line, as one of Ioba's marks.

A commanding hill N.W. of the central plain, which was selected for a primary trig. station, is called Kanepu [Kanepuu].

The boundary between Paomai & Kamoku begins at the west, at the head of the ravine... [page 21]

...Paomai Boundary which separates Kaa from Kamoku. In Makalena's [survey], he commenced here at a house site. The line then runs S.E. nearly straight to the ahupuaa before mentioned near Koele. One of Makalena's stations was a house site on a rising ground about half way, where there is a group, or clump of rocks.

The name of the square red bluff in the encircling ridge, a little S. of Kakaalani, is Pohoula. At its foot was the general burying ground for this part of Lanai in ancient times.

From the above mentioned ahupuaa, the boundary between Paomai & Kamoku runs up a small ravine to the top of the dividing ridge. It then follows the [page 22 <sup>23</sup>] edge of the pali round to the main branch of the Mahana gulch & thence returns to the northward along the west side of that gulch to Pohaku ahi mentioned above.

The Mahana gulch, which is a branch of the Maunalei valley, & the Kamoku gulch which turns to the westward, are separated by a narrow ridge which is nearly broken down at the point when the latter gulch makes a bend at right angles to the westward. Paomai properly should not extend to the south beyond this point. The ancient tradition, however, was that it continued as a narrow path between Mahana & Kamoku as far as Kalulu & even to Kaohai.

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<sup>23</sup> Page 22. Note: handwritten page numbering in Register Book is out of order; number 22 is repeated in the sequence of page numbers.

Mem. The Mahana gulch has four branches which all drain into the Maunalei valley. There are two gulches which drain to the westward, the larger & western one which belongs to Kamoku, having the name of Kaiholena.

**Table 3. Ahupua‘a of Lāna‘i Certified by the Boundary Commission**


<b>Ahupua‘a</b>	<b>Acreage</b>	<b>Volume:Page</b>	<b>Disposition at time of Proceedings</b>
Kamoku	–8291.09	Vol. I:114-115	Crown (held in Lease)
Paomai (Lease)	– 9073.37	Vol. II:35-37	Government
Mahana (Lease)	– 7973.37	Vol. II:38-39	Government
Kaa	– 19486.31	Vol. II:40-41	William G. Irwin

**Boundary Commission  
Kamoku Ahupuaa  
District of Lahaina, Island of Lanai  
Maui, Volume No. 1 (pages 114-115)  
No. 37–A**

**June 1877. Survey of the Crown Land of “Kamoku” Lanai**

Commencing at a pile of stones over a cross cut in a large stone on South side of Kaumalapau Harbor on edge of gulch. The boundary runs:

1. N 86° 27’ E true 3254 feet along Kalulu up South edge of gulch to a stone marked with a cross on edge of gulch a little above a branch that comes into the main gulch from the South. Thence:
2. N 88° 46’ E true 5225.9 feet along Kalulu, up South edge of gulch to a cross cut in a stone on South edge of same. Thence:
3. N 84° 40’ E true 2594 feet along Kalulu to head of gulch. Thence:
4. N 72° 43’ E true 2080 feet along Kalulu to a cross cut in a stone amongst a lot of stones at the former site of an old Heiau called “Ili o Lono.” Thence:
5. N 46° 19’ E true 10144.4 feet along Kalulu up road to a point a little North of a cactus clump marked by two triangular pits.

6. N 65° 44' E true 4939 feet along Kalulu along North edge of crater to a redwood post on the North wall of the crater at a place called Pulehulua near Keliihananui's house.
7. Thence along Kalulu down across a small ravine (coming in from the North called Keaaku) to Government Road and up the N.W. edge of the Kapano valley, passing near Kawaonahale's house to a point on ridge marked with four triangular pits and ditch thus  ; said point being a little east of Puu Nene and bearing N 44° 53' E true 8052 feet from above mentioned redwood post. Thence:
8. N 45° 49' E true 1067.9 feet along Kalulu across valley passing to the S. E. of a waterhole called Kaiholena to a red wood post on ridge that comes down from the central mountain range. Thence:
9. N 62° 37' W true 6742.5 feet along Paomai down above mentioned ridge and across valley into a small ridge and down said ridge to a redwood post at end of same.
10. S 84° 37' W true 1316.8 feet along Paomai to a cross cut in a stone.
11. S 74° 8' W true 6258 feet along Paomai passing to the North of a couple of Hala clumps to two Triangular pits at an old house site.
12. S 74° 07' W true 3045 feet along Paomai to a cross cut on a stone at head of gulch.
13. N 86° 6' W true 1368 feet along Paomai down South side of gulch.
14. S 83° 45' W true 1455 feet along Paomai to a cross cut in a stone.
15. S 74° 9' W true 920 feet along Paomai.
16. N 55° 12' W true 898 feet Paomai across gulch to a redwood post a little West of a cactus clump; here ends the Crown land of Paomai. Thence:
17. S 65° 58' W true 1617 feet along Kaa down North side of gulch to a cross on a stone.
18. S 64° 57' W true 2040 feet along Kaa down North side of gulch to a cross on a stone. Thence: [page 114]

19. S 70° 33' W true 3590 feet along Kaa to a point 10 feet East of a large rock with cross cut on it. Thence:

20. S 68° 53' W true 1664 feet along Kaa to Sea Shore. Thence:

21. S 1° 55' W true 13460 feet along sea shore to point of Commencement.

Area 8291.09 Acres.

Surveyed by M.D. Monsarrat, Assistant  
Hawaiian Government Survey

Lanai. June 1877. [page 115]

## **Lanai Boundary Commissioner's Notice**

### **February 5, 1889 (page 5) Hawaiian Gazette**

APPLICATION having been made to me for the settlement of the boundaries of the "Ahupuaa of Mahana" on the Island of Lanai, all parties interested in said land or lands adjoining same are hereby notified that Thursday, Feby. 28, 1889, at 1 o'clock p.m. at the Court House in the town of Lahaina, is the time and place set for hearing proofs of survey and any objections thereto.

Sam'l. F. Chillingworth.  
Commissioner of Boundaries Second Judicial Circuit.

APPLICATION having been made to me for the settlement of the boundaries of the land of "Paomai" on the Island of Lanai, all parties interested in said land or lands adjoining same are hereby notified that Thursday, Feby. 28, 1889, at 12 o'clock noon at the Court House in the town of Lahaina, is the time and place set for hearing proofs of survey and any objections thereto.

Sam'l. F. Chillingworth.  
Commissioner of Boundaries Second Judicial Circuit.

APPLICATION having been made to me for the settlement of the boundaries of the "Ahupuaa of Kaa" on the Island of Lanai, all parties interested in said land or lands adjoining same are hereby notified that Thursday, Feby. 28, 1889, at 10 o'clock a.m. at the Court House in the town of Lahaina, is the time and place set for hearing proofs of survey and any objections thereto.

Sam'l. F. Chillingworth.  
Commissioner of Boundaries Second Judicial Circuit.

**Boundary Commission**  
**Kaa Ahupuaa**  
**District of Lahaina, Island of Lanai**  
**Maui Volume No. 2 (pages 40-41)**

**Land of Kaa, Island of Lanai**  
**Lahaina, Maui, Feb. 28th, 1891**

In the matter of the settlement of the Boundaries of the land of Kaa, Island of Lanai.

Application by William G. Irwin & Co.

Mr. M.D. Monsarrat for Wm. G Irwin & Co., Commissioner of Crown Lands and the Hawaiian Government, respectively, and having filed his authorization to act in the premises, the following were agreed to be the Boundaries of the land, and in accordance with the agreement and their [sic] being no other parties of interest, it is decreed that the Boundaries of the said land of Kaa, Island of Lanai, are as follows:

Commencing at a redwood post at a place called Kakaalani from which point Puu Manu Sig. Sta. bears S 36° 57' E true. Thence the Boundary runs:

1. N 59° 42' W true 13846 feet along Paomai along bed of shallow ravine to rock marked **X**.
2. N 54° 19' W true 3449 feet along Paomai to redwood post on small hill from which point signal of hill Kanepuu bears S 54° 38' W true.
3. N 33° 59' W true 2310 feet along Paomai to rock m'k'd **X**.
4. N 17° 12' W true 2334 feet along Paomai to center of triangle formed by three stones set in the ground.
5. N 11° 57' W true 14243 feet to a redwood post set in sandy hill near place called Pohakuloa.

6. N 86° 18' W true 4574 feet along Paomai to corner of enclosure at Kamai's house.
7. S 77° 18' W true 1776 feet along Paomai.
8. N 89° 9' W true 4737 feet along Paomai to place called Hale o Lono.
9. N 88° 46' W true 1309 feet along sea shore.
10. S 77° 50' W true 3970 feet along sea shore.
11. S 59° 48' W true 6600 feet along sea shore.
12. S 55° 15' W true 2008 feet along sea shore.
13. S 11° 10' W true 3453 feet along sea shore.
14. S 12° 58' W true 3995 feet along sea shore.
15. S 25° 20' E true 7135 feet along sea shore.
16. S 48° 30' E true 1010 feet along sea shore.
17. S 60° 03' E true 4860 feet along sea shore. [page 40]
18. S 72° 30' E true 4995 feet along sea shore.
19. S 52° 39' E true 8822 feet along sea shore.
20. S 29° 09' E true 5415 feet along sea shore.
21. S 29° 57' E true 4635 feet along sea shore to Kamoku Boundary.
22. N 68° 53' E true 1664 feet along Kamoku to a point 10 feet East of a large rock with a cross cut in it.
23. N 70° 33' E true 3590 feet along Kamoku up North edge of gulch to rock marked thus **X**.
24. N 64° 57' E true [illegible] feet along Kamoku up North edge of gulch to rock marked thus **X**.

25. N 65° 58' E true 1617 feet along Kamoku to a red-wood post a little to the West of a cactus clump on North edge of gulch.
26. N 67° 28' E true 1475 feet along Paomai to rock marked thus T.
27. N 56° 34' E true 1574 feet along Paomai to redwood post set in middle of triangle formed by three stones;
28. N 63° 22' E true 10649 feet along Paomai to hugh [huge] rock marked Δ .
29. N 37° 20' W true 1622 feet along Paomai to point of Commencement.

Area 19468.31 Acres.

Samuel L. Chillingworth  
Commissioner of Boundaries II J.C.

Costs	
Hearing	\$10.00
Stamp	1.00
Certificate	2.00
Certificate 685 words	3.42
Evidence 760 words	1.90
	\$18.32
Advertisement	2.00
	\$20.32 [page 41]

**Boundary Commission  
Paomai Ahupuaa  
Island of Lanai  
Maui, Volume No. 2 (pages 35-37)**

**No. 81  
Land of Paomai, Island of Lanai.  
Lahaina, Maui, Feb. 28<sup>th</sup>, 1891.**

In the matter of the settlement of the Boundaries of the land of Paomai, Island of ~~Molokai~~ Lanai.



Application made by Commissioner of Crown Lands, Curtis P. Iaukea.

Mr. R.W. Meyer for Honorable C.R. Bishop, Mrs. B.P. Bishop and himself and Mr. M.D. Monsarrat for the Hawaiian Government respectively, and having filed their authorization to act in the premises, the following were agreed to be the Boundaries of this land, and in accordance with the agreement and their [sic] being no parties of interest, it is decreed that the Boundaries of the said land of Paomai, Island of Lanai, are as follows:

Commencing at a cross cut in a rock at a rocky point called Lae Wahie the boundary runs:

1. S 22° 47' W true 4482 feet along Mahana to a cross cut on a stone.
2. S 9° 04' E true 5279 feet along Mahana to a triangle cut on a stone.
3. S 27° 24' E true 3830 feet along Mahana to a cross cut on a stone at a place called Halala.
4. Thence along Mahana following up the East edge of the gulch, to a redwood post which bears S 12° 51' E true 5995 feet from last point (at a place called Puu Kauwela). Thence:
5. Still along Mahana up edge of gulch to a point on East bank. The traverse from the redwood, post being as follows:
6. S 15° 01' W true 1076 feet. [page 35]
7. S 37° 05' E true 2023 feet.
8. S 73° 29' E true 1928 feet.
9. S 59° 11' E true 1578 feet.
10. S 14° 03' East true 1438 feet to above mentioned point.

11. S 37° 17' W true 1447 feet along Mahana to a redwood post at head of Paomai gulch and on edge of a branch of the Maunalei gulch.
12. S 28° 53' E true 3143 feet along Mahana to three stones set in a triangle on South edge of branch of Maunalei gulch.
13. S 49° 14' E true 8425 feet along Mahana to a red wood post on ridge that comes down from the central mountain range (said post being the North edge of Valley that contains the water hole of Kaiholena).
14. N 62° 37' W true 6742.5 feet along Kamoku down above mentioned ridge and across valley into a small ridge and down said ridge to a red wood post at end of same.
15. S 84° 37' W true 1316.8 feet along Kamoku to a cross cut on a stone.
16. S 74° 08' W true 6258 feet along Kamoku passing to the North of a couple of Hala clumps to two triangular pits at an old house site.
17. S 74° 51' W true 5045 feet along Kamoku to a cross cut on a stone at head of gulch.
18. N 86° 06' W true 1368 feet along Kamoku down South side of gulch.
19. S 83° 45' W true 1455 feet along Kamoku to a cross cut in a stone.
20. S 74° 09' W true 920 feet along Kamoku.
21. N 55° 12' W true 898 feet along Kamoku across gulch to a red wood post a little West of a cactus clump.
22. N 67° 28' E true 1475 feet along Kaa to a rock marked thus **T**.
23. N 56° 34' E true 1574 feet along Kaa to a red wood post set in middle of triangular [sic] formed by three stones.



24. N 63° 22' E true 10649 feet along Kaa to a huge [huge] rock marked thus  $\Delta$  .
25. N 37° 20' W true 1622 feet along Kaa to a red wood post at a place called Kakalani [Kakaalani] from which point Puu Manu Signal Station bears S 36° 57' E true.
26. N 59° 42' W true 13846 feet along bed of shallow ravine to a rock marked thus  $\times$
27. N 54° 19' W true 3449 feet along Kaa to red wood post on small hill from which point Signal of hill Kanepuu bears S 54° 38' W true. [page 36]
28. N 33° 59' W true 2310 feet along Kaa to rock marked thus  $\times$ .
29. N 17° 12' W true 2334 feet along Kaa to center of triangle formed by three stones set in the ground.
30. N 11° 57' W true 14243 feet along Kaa to a red wood post set in a sandy hill near place called Pohakuloa.
31. N 86° 18' W true 4574 feet along Kaa to corner of enclosure at Kamai's house.
32. S 77° 18' W true 1776 feet along Kaa.
33. N 89° 09' W true 4737 feet along Kaa to place called Hale o Lono.
34. N 83° 47' E true 10966 feet along sea shore.
35. S 76° 21' E true 8288 feet along sea shore.
36. S 88° 15' E true 8889 feet along sea shore to point of Commencement.

Area 9078.97 Acres...

Saml. L. Chillingworth  
Commissioner of Boundaries II J. C. [page 37]

## **GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS: LAND RECORDS, ROADWAYS AND PUBLIC WORKS**

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An important resource of records from Lānaʻi is found in the collections of the Interior Department, under which various offices and areas of responsibility were handled. These included such programs as land management, public works, travel and resource development. The records of the Interior Department are now housed in the collections of the Hawaiʻi State Archives. This section of the study includes a number of government communications and articles from Hawaiian newspapers and periodicals, documenting efforts on the part of Hawaiian residents of Lānaʻi to secure land title (in opposition to the efforts of Walter Murray Gibson) through leasehold or fee-simple interests; the development of the Alanui Aupuni (Kingdom/Government Road) system, and eventual sale of all government (ceded) lands on Lānaʻi in the early 1900s.

As a background, Kaʻā has been held in fee simple interest since 1848, and much of the history tied to its ownership under Walter Murray Gibson, his heirs and estate, who also came to control the adjoining lands in through leasehold or fee-simple interest. Between 1866 to 1907 at least eight conveyances were recorded for Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa in its entirety. Additionally, kuleana, or native tenant holdings were also documented through other deeds. The descriptions of government lands which adjoin Kaʻā, provide a better understanding of the nature of Kaʻā and land use in the northwestern region of Lānaʻi over the last 150 years.

### **Walter Murray Gibson and Native Tenants Compete for Leases on Government Lands on Lānaʻi**

**Lahaina 23, Nowema. 1866**

**P. Nahaolelua; to H.A. Widemann, Interior Department:**

Aloha oe,

Hamau. Ua hele mai o W.M. Gibson a e olelo mai ana he palapala kana mai ke Kuhina Kalaiaina mai e pili ana no na Aina Aupuni ma Lanai, i kona manao e mahele ka Aina Aupuni o Lanai nona kekahi, no kanaka kekahi.

I aku au "nui kou aina ia oe, Palawai, Kealia, Kaa, Kaohai, 4 ou mau ahupuaa a pehea kanaka?"

I koʻu manao maoli makemake kela e lilo o Lanai ma ka hoolimalima. I kau nana aku ina lilo ia W.M. Gibson o Lanai, pilikia loa ko Lanai, aole e noho ana kekahi kanaka i Lanai.

He hipa, kao, pipi oia i holo kona manao maoli.

Aohe no ia he mea hou. O kona hana mau no ia mai kona keehi ana ia Hawaii nei a hiki i keia la.

Ua nui ka poe o keia lahui mai Hawaii a Kauai pilikia pau ka waiwai kuai i ka aina nona wale no, nele ka poe, nana ka dala.

Aole e pau ko'u hoomaloka iaia no kona mau hana a'u i ike ai. E hai wale ae ana i kona ano... [Hawaii State Archives Interior Department Lands]

[Translation]

**Lahaina 23, Nowema. 1866**

**P. Nahaolelua; to H.A. Widemann, Interior Department:**

Aloha to you.

Keep it quiet. W.M. Gibson came to say that he had a letter from the Minister of the Interior pertaining to the Government Lands on Lāna'i, and his thoughts that the Government Land of Lāna'i should be divided between himself and some of the people there on.

I said, "There is much land which you have, Pālāwai, Keālia, Ka'ā, Ka'ōhai, 4 ahupua'a, what about the people?"

My own thoughts are that that one wants to get all of Lāna'i under lease. As I look at it, if W.M. Gibson takes all of Lāna'i, there will be much trouble for Lāna'i, there will not be left one native person living on Lāna'i.

Sheep, goats and cattle, that is what he is really thinking of.

This is nothing new. It is what he has always done since first stepping foot on Hawai'i to this day.

There are many people of the nation, from Hawai'i to Kaua'i who have had trouble. They lost their valuables to the land for him. The people are without, and the money is his.

There is no end to my skepticism of his work that I have seen. This is said only to make known his character... [Maly, translator]

## A Petition from Residents of Paomai and Vicinity in 1873

“...His Majesty sends herewith, a Petition from the Island of Lanai, which we had under consideration in Cabinet Council...”

**Mei 16, 1873**

**Kamai and 34 others; to William C. Lunalilo, King**

O makou o ka poe nona na inoa malalo nei kekahi o kou makaainana na kauwa a ou e noho kuewa ana maluna o Paomai, Moku-puni o Lanai.

Ke noi aku nei makou ia oe e oluolu oe e ae mai ia Paomai nei e hoolimalima makou me oe ma ka uku au e hai mai ai i ko makou mau luna ia Kamai, Kalili, Iwi-ole.

O makou he poe Kupa makou no ka aina ua noho a kulaiwi, aole no ka pono io o keia a makou e noho nei. Ke noho nei makou me ka hoomanawanui i ka wi no ko makou, no ko makou aloha i ka wahi i maa ia makou a mai ko makou mau Kupuna mai a mau makua a hiki wale ia makou.

Eia ko makou mau pilikia e hai aku ia oe i ka wa ia olua ka aina a moku ia wa, i ka lilo au nei ia Maeha ua Kipaku ia mai makou aia makou ma Paomai nei e noho nei.

I keia wa hou ke lohe hou nei no makou e hele mai ana ka haole e kipaku hou ia makou, aole makou e noho ma Paomai nei ina e nele mai ia oe e kii hele loa ana ka manu o Kaula, aohe punana e hoomoe ai.

I ko makou noonoo ana a me ka hoomaopopo ana o na malihini ka poe mai na aina e mai, ua lilo lakou i poe koikoi ma ka aina a o makou la ua like makou me na uhini i ko lakou mau maka.

E ike ia kakou hookanaka o kipa hewa ke aloha i ka Ili-puakea.

Ua oki.

Na ka Hui hoolimalima,

- |            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| 1. Kamai   | 19. Kahalemake |
| 2. Iwi-ole | 20. Apiki      |
| 3. Kalili  | 21. Kukololoua |
| 4. Hau     | 22. Paahao     |
| 5. Iosepa  | 23. Namilimili |
| 6. Kala    | 24. Uilama     |
| 7. Paa     | 25. Kimo       |

- |                     |                |
|---------------------|----------------|
| 8. Lawaole          | 26. Keonehana  |
| 9. Nawai            | 27. Holokahiki |
| 10. Puniai          | 28. Pia        |
| 11. Kahaulekini     | 29. Namauu     |
| 12. Lukela          | 30. Kalawaia   |
| 13. Naehu           | 31. Kailikea   |
| 14. Waiahao         | 32. Aikake     |
| 15. Kahoolealeamaka | 33. Kauwila    |
| 16. Palau           | 34. Kaai       |
| 17. Kaaialii        | 35. Keawe      |
| 18. Kawika          |                |

[Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Lands]

[Translation]

**M1y 16, 1873**

**Kamai and 34 others; to William C. Lunalilo, King**

Greetings to you,

We, the undersigned, some of your subjects, and your servants, are living as homeless ones on Paomai, Island of Lanai.

We make application to you, that you be kind and consent that Paomai be leased to us by you upon such rent that you may inform our representatives, Kamai, Kalili and Iwiolo.

We are natives of the land and have lived and become long residents, not because of the land that we have been living on being of much benefit. We live here in patience, though we are yet in famine. It is because of our love for the place with which we are familiar, coming from our ancestors, to our parents, and to ourselves.

These are our troubles which we inform you, at the time you had the land and we were leasing, it we were satisfied then. When it was acquired by Maeha, we were driven off and we are now living here on Paomai.

At this time, we are hearing again that the foreigner is coming to drive us off again, we are not to stay on Paomai. If we are denied by you, then the birds of Kaula will be forced to wander about, for there is no nest to rest upon.

According to our thoughts and understanding, the strangers from foreign countries have become more important people in the land, and we are like grasshoppers in their eyes.

Recognize us fellow men, or does the aloha mistakenly visit the White skinned ones.

It's ended.

Done by the Leasehold Association,

- |                     |                |
|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Kamai            | 19. Kahalemake |
| 2. Iwiolo           | 20. Apaki      |
| 3. Kalili           | 21. Kukololoua |
| 4. Hau              | 22. Paahao     |
| 5. Iosepa           | 23. Namilimili |
| 6. Kala             | 24. Uilama     |
| 7. Paa              | 25. Kimo       |
| 8. Lawaole          | 26. Keonehana  |
| 9. Nawai            | 27. Holokahiki |
| 10. Puniai          | 28. Pia        |
| 11. Kahaulekini     | 29. Namauu     |
| 12. Lukela          | 30. Kalawaia   |
| 13. Naehu           | 31. Kailikea   |
| 14. Waiahao         | 32. Aikake     |
| 15. Kahoolealeamaka | 33. Kauwila    |
| 16. Palau           | 34. Kaai       |
| 17. Kaaialii        | 35. Keawe      |
| 18. Kawika          |                |

### **W.M. Gibson's Efforts to Gain Control of Government Lands on Lāna'i, And Use of Ka'ā for Sheep Ranching (A Pen Built at Ka'ā)**

**Mei 28, 1873**

**P. Nahaolelua, Governor of Maui; to**

**Chas. T. Gulick, Interior Department:**

Ua loa mai ia'u kau palapala o ka la 26 o nei malama e pli ana i ka Palapala noi a W. Gibson "e hoolimalima kekahi mau aina ma Lanai" eia ko lakou mau inoa, Kamao, Pawili, Kealia, Kaunolu, ame Kalulu.

A ke olelo mai nei i ka wa ia L. Kamehameha ke Kalaiaina, ua ae mai oia ia aina ka Hoolimalima i ua mau aina nei, ua pololei kela mau olelo, maanei au e koakaka ai ina kumu i nele ai o Gibson i ua mau aina nei i ka wa i noho Moi iho nei of Kamehameha V.

Ua lohe ka moi ina hana a W. Gibson, ma ia hope mai. Eia ka mua, Puhi ae la o Gibson i ke ahi a pau loa aku ka mauu o ka aina i ka a ia e ka ahi.



A olelo iho la o Gibson i kanaka o Lanai he mea waiwai ole ka Hanai holoholona, o ka mahiai oia ka mea waiwai o ka aina a a he mea hooikaika no hoi ia i ke kino o ke kanaka a he mea no hoi ia e nui ai ka hanau ana a na keiki. Ia lohe ana o kanaka ia mau olelo lawe aku la lakou ina hipa e kuai me Gibson he mahina hookahi a oi ae paha nui loa na Hipa a Gobson, aka, aole i mahiia ua wahi nei i pau i ke ahi, ua loha Moi i keia hana Gibson.

Eia kekahi ua olelo o Gibson i na Hoahanau o ka Hoomana Molemona e lawe mai i ko Kauai, ko Oahu, Molokai, Maui, Hawaii i no Dala no ke kuai ana i ka aina ma Lanai ia Palawai, no ka Ekalesia ka olelo ana a Gibson no lakou ua aina nei, aka i ka hana nae, o ka Palapala Kuai o ua aina nei o Palawai, o ka inoa wale no o Gibson kai kakauia ma ka Palapala Kuai ame kona Hooilina. Nele iho la ka Ekalesia Molemona, ma keia mau hana akamai a Gibson i haule malna o ka Lahui Hawaii.

Ua komo ka manao kanalua iloko o ka Moi no ka haule ana iho o keia mau pilikia maluna o kekahi o kona mau makaainana, oia ke kumu i nele ai o Gibson i ka aina ole.

Eia kekahi hana akamai a Gibson i hana mai e ka poe o Lanai. Kuai iho nei o Gibson i ka aina ia Kaa a lilo ia ia kukulu aku nei i ka Pa i ua aina nei o Kaa. Lawe aku nei ka Hipa ana i Kaa mai Palawai aku pau pu aku nei me ka hipa a Kanaka, a komo iloko o ka Pa o Kaa a noho ilaila. Elua paha pule, lawe hou mai Kaa mai a hiki i Palahai, hui hou me ka Hipa a kanaka a komo hou iloko o kela pa, ike aku nei kanaia i ka lakou aia iloko o ka Pa me ko lakou Hoailona, kii aku nei e hoihoi mai, olelo maikai mai la no o Gibson, pela iho. Pilikia wau i keia manawa e holo ana wau i Lahaina a hiki keia i Lahaina nei, a hala kekahi mau la holo aku la kela i Honolulu a hala kekahi mau la malaila a hoi maila kii aku la ka mea hipa a hookuuia maila na makua ale no ka mea i hoailonaia a o na keiki paa aku iloko ka Pa, aka aia no i Lanai ka poe i ike ia Gibson i ka hana penei.

Nolaila he hai wale aku no keia i ko'u manai, aole kupono keia Hoa Hoolimalima ke aeia mai nae keia olelo a ka mea iaia ka mana o keia hana oia hoi o ke Kuhina Kalaiaina "E.O. Hall." A he nui no ka poe kanaka o Lanai e noho ana maluna o keia mau aina, aka he mahalo au ia Gibson i ka hana akamai... [Hawaii State Archives – Interior Department Lands]

[Translation]

**May 28, 1873**

**P. Nahaolelua, Governor of Maui;  
to Chas. T. Gulick, Interior Department:**

...I received your letter of the 26th day of this month, relative to the application of W. Gibson, "to lease some lands on Lanai," these being their names, Kamao, Pawili, Kealia, Kaunolu and Kalulu.

And during the time that L. Kamehameha had the Interior, he had consented that he was to get the lease of said lands. That statement is true. Here I will explain the reasons why Gibson was refused said lands during the time that Kamehameha V was King.

The King had heard after that what Gibson had done. This is the first: Gibson set fire to the grass on the land and was all burnt up by the fire, then Gibson said to the natives of Lanai, that there was no benefit from raising animals, that farming is what will enrich the land, and will make the body of the person strong, and would be the means of having a lot of children born. When the natives heard these words, they took their sheep to sell to Gibson, and in one month and a little over, Gibson had plenty of sheep, but, the place which had been burnt was not cultivated, the King heard of these doings of Gibson.

Here is another, Gibson told the members of the Mormon Religion from Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Maui, Hawaii, to secure money to buy land on Lanai, that is Palawai. Gibson said it was to belong to the Religion and to be their land, but when the deed of said land of Palawai was made out, only Gibson's name was written on the deed, and to his heirs. The Mormon Religion had nothing. Because of these smart doings of Gibson, and which fell upon the Hawaiian Nation, doubt was entered into the King's mind of this distress having fallen on some of his subjects, that is the reason why Gibson was without any land.

Here is another smart doing of Gibson which was reported by the people of Lanai. Gibson bought the land of Kaa, and it became his, a pen was built on said land of Kaa, then he took his sheep to Kaa from Palawai, the native sheep went too, and entered the pen at Kaa and remained there about two weeks. Then they were taken again from Kaa to Palawai, they mixed again with the natives' sheep and again entered that pen. The natives saw that theirs were inside the pen, having their marks. They went after them to bring them back. Gibson said very nicely to them, wait a while, I am busy now, I am going to Lahaina. And when he got to Lahaina, and some days passed, then he went to Honolulu. And after some days were passed there, he came

back. The owner of the sheep went to get his, and only the parent sheep which had the mark was released, and the ewes were kept in the pen. But there are still on Lanai who saw Gibson doing this.

Therefore, I am only letting you know what I think, that this fellow lessee is unsatisfactory. If this report, however, is acceptable to the one in authority over such matters, that is, the Minister of the Interior, "E.O. Hall." And there are quite a number of natives living on these lands. But I do admire Gibson for being so smart... P. Nahaolelua.

**April 15, 1874. Honolulu.**

**Walter Murray Gibson; to H.A. Widemann, Minister of the Interior  
(see sketch map, Figure 8):**

I desire to lease the following Government lands situated upon the island of Lanai.

The Ahupuaa of Kaunolu  
The Ahupuaa of Kalulu  
The Ahupuaa of Paomai  
The Ahupuaa of Mahana

Also the Ahupuaa of Kamoku, which is now under lease, nearly expired.

I make this application on the ground that it is due as an act of justice on the part of the government, to concede to me a lease of these lands. I received a promise from the Interior Department that I should have a lease of these lands, and in consequence of this assurance, addressed to me Feb. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1863 by S. Spencer, Chief Clerk, by authority of the then Minister, H.R.H. Prince L. Kamehameha. I was led to make many improvements, such as opening a road to a landing, making fences, and other works; - all of which proved a loss in consequence of the denial by a succeeding Minister of a lease as promised by his predecessor: and this took place, notwithstanding the solemn assurance from the Department, "that no undue advantage will be taken, if you should proceed to enclose and cultivate any portion of the Government land, (of Lanai), or that you will assume any risk by so doing.

It is true, I received a lease from your Excellency's immediate predecessor of a few small government lands, but these are mere unimportant strips, or areas within my own lands, and unavailable to any one else, and no portion of the lands above mentioned, which were especially promised, and upon which I had made some improvements.

I will pay the rents priced by the Government, semi-annually in advance...  
[Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Lands]



## **Lease of Paoma'i Ahupua'a Sold to Walter Murray Gibson (1874)**

On September 30, 1874, the Minister of the Interior granted a twenty year lease of Paoma'i Ahupua'a (a Crown Land) under Lease No. 167, to Walter Murray Gibson through the instrument below. It will be noted that no reference to the rights of native tenants living thereon is made, though a condition of the lease required that no damage be done to the land, and that the trees found growing on Paoma'i were to be protected.

**September 30, 1874**

**Wm. L. Green, Minister of Interior; to Walter Murray Gibson  
Lease (Terms of 20 years) Covering the Ahupuaa of Paomai  
(Lease No. 167)**

This Indenture made this 30<sup>th</sup> day of September A.D. 1874 between His Excellency W.L. Green His Hawaiian Majesty's Minister of the Interior for and in behalf of the Hawaiian Government of the first part and Walter Murray Gibson of the Island of Lanai of the second part. Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the rents covenants and agreements hereinafter reserved and contained on the part and behalf of the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators, and assigns, to be paid, kept and performed he, the said party of the first part, hath demised and leased and by these presents doth demise and lease unto the said party of the second part his executors, administrators, and assigns.

All that tract or parcel of Land situate on the Island of Lanai, one of the Hawaiian Islands, known as "Paomai." To have and to hold all and singular the said premises above mentioned and described with the appurtenances thereunto belonging unto the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns, for and during the term of Twenty Years to commence from the first day of August A.D. 1874, the said party of the second part, his executors administrators and assigns, yielding and paying therefore from and immediately after the commencement of the said term and during the continuance thereof unto the said party of the first part and his Successors in office, the annual rent of Fifty (\$50) Dollars over and above all leases, changes and assignments, to be levied or imposed thereon by Legislative Authority, the first payments of the said rent to be made on the first day of August next ensuing the date last mentioned, and the said party of the second part for himself and his executors, administrators and assigns does consent, grant, promise and agree to and with the said party of the first part and his Successors in Office by these presents, in manner following that is today that he, the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall and will well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said party of the first part or his Successors in office, the said annual rent above reserved according to the true intent and meaning of these

presents, clear of and over and above all taxes, impositions, changes and assessments whatsoever, and also that he the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns shall and will from time to time during the term of this present demise bear, pay, and discharge all taxes, changes impositions and assessments, ordinary and extraordinary which may hereafter at any time during the continuance of the said term be laid, imposed, assessed or charged on the said demised premises or any part thereof, or upon any improvements made or to be made thereon, which may be imposed on changes on the said party of the first part on his Successors in effect, for or in respect of the said premises or any part thereof and shall and will indemnify the said party of the first part and his successors in office, from and against all damages, costs and changes which he may at any time sustain or be put to by reason of any neglect in the due and punctual discharge and payment of the said taxes, impositions, charges and assessments.

And also that he the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns shall and will bear, pay and discharge at his own cost and expense all costs and charges for fencing the whole or any part or parcel of the above demised premises if such fencing should be so required by any law now in force or that may be hereafter enacted by Legislative authority, and shall and will indemnify the said party of the first part and his successors in Office from and against all damages, costs, expenses and charges which he may at any time sustain by reason of any neglect or refusal of the party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns, in the performance of the promises and agreements last aforesaid and also that he the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall not nor will at any time during the term hereby granted, do or commit or permit to be done any willful or voluntary waste, spoil or destruction in and upon the above demised premises or any part thereof or cut down trees now growing, or being, or which shall hereinafter grown or be in and upon the above demised premises or any part thereof and will at the end or other sooner determination of the said term hereby granted peaceably and quietly lease and yield up unto the said party of the first part, his successors in office, all and singular the premises hereby demised with all erections, buildings and improvements of whatever name or nature now on or which may be hereafter be set up, erected and placed upon the same in as good order and condition in all respect (reasonable use, wear and tear excepted) as the same one at present or may hereafter be put by the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns. And also that he the said party of the second part, his executors or administrators or any of them, shall not nor will at any time during the continuance of the said term demise lease, assign over the said premises or any part thereof to any person or persons whatsoever for any term or time whatsoever without the

license and consent of the said party of the first part or his Successors in office, in writing under his or their hands first had and obtained for such purpose and the said party of the first part for himself and his Successors in office doth covenant and agree, to and with the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns by these presents that the said party of the second part, his executors administrators and assigns, shall or may at all times during the said term hereby granted by and under the annual rent, covenants, conditions and agreements herein contained, peaceably and quietly have, hold, occupy all and singular the said premises hereby demised and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances (except as before excepted) without the let, trouble, hindrance, molestation, interruption and denial of the said party of the first part, his Successors in office or of any person or persons whatsoever lawfully claiming or to claim the same or any part or parcel thereof. Provided always, and these presents are upon this condition nevertheless, and it is the true intent and meaning of these presents that if it shall happen that the annual rent herein before reserved shall be behind and unpaid, in part or in all, by the space of Thirty Days after the same ought to be paid according to the reservation aforesaid, and no sufficient distress can or may be found in and upon the premises whereby the same, with the arrears thereof (if any shall happen to be) can be made or if the said party of the second part his executors and administrators shall demise, set, let or assign the said premises or any part thereof to any person or persons for any term or time whatsoever without the license or consent of the party of the first part or his Successors in Office, first had and obtained in writing or if the said party of the second part his executors administrators and assigns shall not well and truly observe, keep and perform all and singular the covenants and agreements on his part to be observed, kept and performed according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, that then and from thenceforth in any of the said cases it shall and may be lawful to, and for the said party of the first part and his Successors in Office, without warrant or other legal proofs into and upon the said hereby demised premises or any part thereof in the name of the illegible and the same to have again, repossess, and enjoy as in his first and former estate and right, this Indenture or anything hereinbefore contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereinto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written...

W.L. Green

Walter M. Gibson... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 40, pages 356-359]

Lease No. 167 of Paoma'i and Kamoku Ahupua'a to Gibson and his estate was extended in 1890 (Liber 128:276-279) for a term of 25 years; and transferred to Charles Gay in 1903 (Liber 245:346-348) at the termination of the said lease.

## **Lease of Remaining Government Lands on Lānaʻi Sold to Walter Murray Gibson (1882)**

W.M. Gibson continued his efforts to secure leases on the Government Lands of Lānaʻi. By 1882, the native tenants and Chinese lessees of the lands on Lānaʻi had died or given up, and he came into control of all the government holdings on the island. Gibson present this application on October 21, 1882:

**October 21, 1882**

**W.M. Gibson; to J.E. Bush, Minister of Interior**

Sir;

I desire to obtain new leases for the following Government lands on Lanai. Ahupuaa of Mahana (Lease #220) was leased to Maeha in 1876 and transferred to me, rent \$80 per annum. I will give \$100 per annum on a new lease for a term of 30 years.

The lands named Kamao, Pawili (2 ap.) and Kealia Aupuni (3 apana) are now leased to me till 1888 (Lease # 168). I ask a new lease for the above lands for the term of thirty years at \$150 per annum so that I may commence improvements of fencing and building a permanent value. Also a renewal of lease of Ahupuaa of Kaunolu (Lease #278) \$200 per annum, for the same term and for the same reasons.

I have the honor to be very respectfully yours... [Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Lands]

The leases were granted to Gibson under numbers 220, 168 and 278, and Gibson's heirs received extensions on the leases from 1907 through 1918.

However, in 1887, a group of natives from Lānaʻi again approached the Kingdom, asking for a right to lease the government lands. Communications between the Governor of Maui and Interior Department document the interests of Lānaʻi's native tenants:

**Sept. 9, 1887**

**Robert Hoapili Baker, Governor of Maui;  
to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior**

Aloha oe:

Ua kauoha ia mai au e ne kanaka o Lanai, e ninau aku i kou hanohano no kekahi mau aina Aupuni ma ka Mokupuni o Lanai, oia keia: Kalulu, Kaunolu, Kamao, Mahana ame Kamoku, Paomai. No ka mea, o keia mau aina i hoike ia maluna eia no malalo ka mana o W.M. Gibson. A he ano pilikia ka noho ana o na kanaka i keia manawa maluna oia mau aina.



Nolaila, ke ninau aku nei au imua o kou hanohano, Peha la, ua lilo maoli ani keia mau aina i hoike ia ma ke ano hoolimalima ia W.M. Gibson, aole paha?

Ke makemake nei lakou e lohe i ka oiaio o keia, mai kou hanohano mai, me ko lakou hilinai pu, aia maluna o kou hanohano ko lakou pono, a pomaikai.

E oluolu kou hanohano e pane mai i keia ninau.

Me ka mahalo kau kauwa... [Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department, Lands]

[Translation]

**September 9, 1887**

**Greetings to you,**

I have been instructed by the natives of Lanai to inquire of your excellency about some Government lands on the Island of Lanai, being these: Kalulu, Kaunolu, Kamao, Mahana and Kamoku, Paomai. Because these several lands shown above, are under the power of W.M. Gibson. And there is some trouble at this time for the natives residing upon these lands. Therefore, I ask your excellency, How is it, are the lands as shown truly under lease to W.M. Gibson, or not?

They desire to hear the truth about this from your excellency, with trust upon you to care for their rights and benefits.

Please, your excellency, answer this question.

With appreciation, your servant... [Maly, translator]

**Sept. 13, 1887**

**Jas. H. Boyd, First Secretary, Interior Department;  
to R.H. Baker, Governor of Maui, Lahaina.**

Aloha oe,

Ua kauoha ia mai au e ke Kuhina Kalaiaina e hoike aku ua loa pono mai kau palapala o ka la 9 iho nei, e ninau mai ana i na aina e paa nei i ka hoolimalima malalo o .M. Gibson.

O na aina Aupuni i hoolimalima ia ia W.M. Gibson, oia keia: Kealia, Pawili Kamao, Ahupuaa o Mahana a me Kaunolu.

Me ka mahalo... [Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Letter Book, Vol. 31, page 76]

[Translation]

**Sept. 13, 1887**

Greetings to you,

I am instructed by the Minister of Interior to make known to you that your letter of the 9th day, instant, has been received, in which you inquire about the lands which are held under lease by W.M. Gibson.

The Government lands leased to W.M. Gibson are these: Kealia, Pawili, Kamao, and the ahupuaa of Mahana and Kaunolu.

With appreciation... [Maly, translator]

In 1888, it was recorded that the lands of Kamoku and Paoma'i, which bound Ka'ā, had been left unassigned, and were missing from the Crown Land inventory, though leased out to W.M. Gibson:

**Jan. 9, 1888**

**List of Unassigned Lands Occupied by Private Parties  
Without Any Title from the Government  
(compiled by Surveyor General, W.D. Alexander)**

...Island of Lanai.

Kalulu. Area 5945 acres. Declared to be Government land by the Privy Council, Jan. 31st, 1853.

Grant 3000, Sept. 12th, 1866, 236.68 Acres...

Unassigned lands surrendered to the Government by the Crown Commissioners.

...Lanai. Paomai

Kamoku

Kalulu... [Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department, Lands]

In 1896, Talula Gibson Hayselden and her husband Fredrick H. Hayselden, executor of the Gibson estate, were forced into foreclosure, which put their Lāna'i holdings up for sale (see announcement published in the Hawaiian Gazette, below). The foreclosure was settled, and the lands were retained under special agreements with investors. By this time, Ka'ā had come under the control of William G. Irwin, through a series of mortgages from Gibson and his estate.

**June 23, 1896 (page 4)**

**The Hawaiian Gazette**

**Lanai: Notice of Sale Under Decree of Foreclosure and Sale**

In the Circuit Court of the First Judicial Circuit, Republic of Hawaii. In equity – S.M. Damon, J.H. Fisher and H.E. Waity. Co-partners under the firm name of Bishop and Company, plaintiffs, vs. Cecil Brown, Administrator with the will annexed of the Estate of Walter Murray Gibson, and Trustee of the Estate of said Walter Murray Gibson, deceased, under said will, and Jane Walker, Executrix under the will of J.B. Walker, deceased, and H.E McIntyre, in his own behalf, and as Executor under the will of said J.S. Walker; Talula Lucy Hayselden, and Frederick H. Hayselden, her husband; Wilder's Steamship Company, a corporation; Walter H. Hayselden, Lucy T. Hayselden, Frederick H. Hayselden, Junior, a minor; David Kalakaua Hayselden, a minor; and Rachel K. Hayselden, a minor, defendants.—Foreclosure Proceedings...

**LEASEHOLDS.**

First.—Lease No. 167 from the Hawaiian Government of Paomai containing 9078 acres, and of Kamoku, containing 8291 acres, expiring January 1, 1916, annual rental \$500, payable semi-annually in advance.

Second.—Lease No. 168 of Kealia Aupuni, Pawili and Kamao, containing 8300 acres, expiring June 23, 1908, annual rental \$150, payable In advance.

Third.—Lease No. 220, Mahana, containing 7973 acres, expiring November 1, 1907, annual rental \$100, payable semi-annually in advance.

Fourth.—Lease No 279 of Kaunolu, containing 7860 acres, expiring February 9, 1907, annual rental \$250, payable semiannually in advance...

## **Sale of Government Lands Adjoining the Boundaries of Ka'ā (1906)**

In 1902, Charles Gay began to purchase lands on Lāna'i, and also engaged in efforts to purchase other portions of Lāna'i held by the Gibson-Hayselden heirs and Wm. G. Irwin (who controlled the ahupua'a o Ka'ā). By 1904, Charles Gay began developing an exchange of family lands held on O'ahu for public lands of the government (ceded) lands on Lāna'i. While the exchange did not include the ahupua'a of Ka'ā (it was a parcel already held in fee-simple interest), the government lands of the proposed exchange adjoined Kaā. The premise of the

exchange was that successful development of ranching interests and resources on Lānaʻi could only be undertaken if all the land on the island was held by one owner.

Territorial Governor Carter and Public Lands Commissioner, James Pratt, initiated an exchange in 1906, which was immediately contested by Representative Lincoln McCandless, and proceeded through the legal system, all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1907, the case was settled in favor of the exchange, and all of Lānaʻi—less the small native tenant land holdings—came under the control of Charles Gay. A 1906 article from the Honolulu Evening Bulletin described the pending exchange:

### **Government Lands on Lanai Island Now Offered For Exchange**

Governor Carter stated this forenoon that the administration has decided to dispose of the island of Lanai by land exchange. The value placed on the island by the Territorial Government is \$107,000.

The island of Lanai has been the subject of the attention of the government for some time. In its present condition the island is being blown out to sea. There is little water there and the ranching operations have failed on that account.

No homesteader or small settler can do anything on the place because it is so dry.

The Governor has finally decided that the island will be exchanged by the government and, if any corporations or individuals can offer land or property to the Territory to the value of \$107,000, the island is theirs. This is deemed the only practical way to make the island of value to anyone.

Land Commissioner Pratt valued the island higher. A commission was sent to the island to appraise it. The figure finally settled on by the Governor is supposed to be sort of a happy medium between Pratt's high figure and the commission's low one.

"Take the island of Niihau," said the Governor, "if it were not in the hands of Gay, it would be a barren waste. A man who owns property is willing to put out money for benefits which his estate may reap. If he can only lease it for a comparatively brief period, he cannot afford to do things he would otherwise. The policy in dealing with the smaller island must be directly the reverse of that on the large islands where the small settler has some show." [Evening Bulletin, October 24, 1906 (page 1)]

## Description of Government Lands Adjoining Ka'ā (1906)

The narratives below, are taken from the appraiser's reports on the lands adjoining, or in the vicinity of Ka'ā. The descriptions and assessment of the quality of the land provide a glimpse into the nature of Ka'ā in 1906:

**September 29th, 1906**

**Paul Jarrett; to**

**Jas. W. Pratt, Commissioner of Public Lands**

**(re. Lanai Government Land Exchange with Chas. Gay)**

...In compliance with your request for appraisal of the Public Lands on the Island of Lanai for Pasturage purposes, I beg to submit the following report which I have carefully prepared according to my personal observation of these lands and investigation as to their climatic conditions; and from data obtained at your office regarding names, acreage and location of these lands on the map of Lanai island...:

MAHANA	7973 A.
Less	<u>8 A. Ku..</u>
	7965 A. Net.

This land is situated on the windward side of the island. The upland section, consisting of about 2700 acres, is fairly good pasture land, but covered mostly with Pilipiliula grass with a sprinkling of Manienie. A small forest exists in the ravines at the top of this section and there is one of stunted Pua trees at a lower level about twenty acres in area. I value this upland section of about 2700 acres at \$1.- per acre = \$2700.-.

The lower section of this land, comprising about 5265 acres in area, is bleak and barren, cut up by gulches and ravines, and very stony like Paawili only more exposed to the strong trade winds which dry up vegetation. I value this section (lower) of about 5265 acres at 50cents per acre - \$2632.50.

PAOMAI	9078 A.
No Kul.	0

About 7818 acres are situated on the windward side and this area consists of land that is very barren, being most exposed to the trade winds, of the Public Lands on Lanai, the only vegetation being a few scattered and stunted Pua and Hualama trees growing upon the top section of this land. A very large gulch runs from top to bottom of this windward section, and the lower portion is very stony and cut up by ravines and gulches, with sandy soil near the beach. I value this windward section of about 7818 acres at 50cents per acre = \$3909.-.

About 1260 acres of this land is situated on the leeward side of the island and this area is fairly good land being slightly exposed to the trade winds. It is covered with

Pilipiliula grass, although this grass is not fattening for livestock. At the extreme top boundary of this section which is very narrow, is a small sprinkling of scrubby trees. I value this leeward section of about 1260 acres at \$1.50 per acre = \$1890.-.

KAMOKU      8291 A.  
 Less            222 A. Kul.  
                     8069 A. Net.

This land is situated entirely on the leeward side of the island, and taken as a whole for pasturage purposes I would consider same very fair land, the extreme upper section of about 830 acres being cut up into ravines and healthy Kukui, Guava, and Ohia trees growing with good Manienie and Pilipiliula grasses. The middle section, comprising about 3128 acres in one table land, is covered with Pilipiliula grass, with some Manienie grass and Lililehua pest weed. The makai section, comprising about 4111 acres, is rocky for about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile from the beach with a few passable ravines and gulches, but Pili grass is growing thereon; the balance of this makai section is covered with scattered growths of Pilipiliula and Manienie grasses. The present Ranch Houses and Homestead of Mrs. Charles Gay are located on this land in the upper section. This entire area of about 8069 acres net, taken as a whole, I value at \$2.- per acre = \$16138.--.

SUMMARY:

Name	Location Area	Gross Kul.	Less Area.	Net	Value	Total Valuation.
Mahana	Windward	7973	8	7965	@ A. \$1.	\$2700.—
		5265			@ A. 50 cents	\$2632.50
Paomai	Windward	7818	---	7818	@ 50cents A.	\$3909.—
	Leeward	1260	---	1260	@ 1.50 A	\$1890.—
Kamoku	Leeward	8291	222	8069	@ \$2.--	\$16138.—

My estimates and valuations are based upon the comparison of these lands with other pasture lands of this Territory, most particularly the land of Waikoloa in the District of South Kohala, island of Hawaii... This land as a whole and as thoroughly as I know it, is far superior to any and all of the Public Lands on Lanai for any purpose of agriculture or stock-raising. According to the above estimates I have made of the Public Lands on Lanai, I find my average to be about \$1.44 per acre, which average price assures me that I have placed the very highest valuation I could conservatively and justly place on these lands.

The above valuations are also based upon what I consider the lands are able to produce and support in the nature of livestock from year to year. During my experience of three years as a representative of ranching interests in checking the grading of beef and mutton by the Metropolitan Meat Co., Ltd., at its slaughter house in Honolulu, the prices realized for beef cattle and mutton supplied from the

island of Lanai have been low in comparison to those of other suppliers, the quality and grade being inferior with but a few exceptions.

I am advised and informed that the period of my visit to Lanai was one during very dry weather, and I have given same proper consideration and allowances in my estimates... [Hawaii State Archives, DLNR 2-21]

**September 29th, 1906.**  
**Commission of Public Lands**  
**John Kidwell, Board of Appraisers**  
**(re. Lanai Government Land Exchange with Chas. Gay)**

**Appraisalment of Paomai, Island of Lanai.**

No.	Lot	Area	Per Acre	Total	REMARKS
	8.	1260. Acres	\$ 5.00	\$6300.00	Class 2 <sup>24</sup> .
		7818 acres	.50	<u>3909.00</u>	Class 5 <sup>25</sup> .
				\$10209.00	
		Grand Total		\$107059.00	

For the eight lots of land herein appraised.

As the Commissioner of Public Lands claims Government ownership of the water flowing down into the Maunalei Gulch the foregoing appraisements have been made on that assumption; should the facts prove that the title to that water does not rest in the Government then these appraisements would be much too high, for a large proportion of the Public Lands on Lanai would be entirely worthless if they were barred the use of any part of the Maunalei Gulch water, as that small stream seems to be the only permanent supply of fresh water on the island.

At present Mr. Gay pumps a portion of this water to an elevation of 1000 feet from its source, and from there it flows through some miles of pipe to the watering places; but only a small beginning has been made in this direction, for it will require at least fifty miles of pipe lines to make the watering system reasonably efficient. As it is, the stock have to travel many miles to get a drink, and the bad effects are shown by the poor condition of the stock.

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<sup>24</sup> Class 2. Smooth pasture land not dissimilar to Class 1 in many respects, but with inferior pasturage and more exposed to wind.

<sup>25</sup> Class 5. Lands on windward side, steep, rough and rocky, cut by deep dry gulches, with a large proportion of absolute waste land. In this Class is also included the mountain top and deep ravines having value only as reservation for forest.

In fact before these lands can be placed on a possible paying basis it will be necessary to incur a large expense in fencing, laying pipe lines, burning off many thousands of acres of worthless grasses, plowing, and cultivating feed crops on the best lands, planting valuable fodder grasses on good lands that are now unproductive, destroying certain obnoxious weeds (*Salvia*) that produces abortion among the cattle; these are a few of the things, it seems to me, that must be done before any possible profit can be made. Then the Prickly Pear (*Panini*) is running wild over a large area of the best land on the island; this ought to be destroyed, or at least kept in check. The only feasible plan, it seems to me, for the improvement of those almost worthless lands on the windward side of the island would be to transfer the *Panini*, now growing on some of the best land on the leeward side, to the lands of Mahana and Paomai. This, of course means great expense but I can see no prospect of making a living on the island of Lanai if these things are not done. My remarks I fear, may have exceeded the limit, but they seemed necessary in order to make my position clear in the matter... [Hawaii State Archives, DLNR 2-21]

## **Trails and Roadways: A History of Access on Lānaʻi**

The history of Hawaiian travel and access is intricately bound together with residency and land tenure, and the *ala hele* (trails) and *ala loa* (regional thoroughfares) are an integral part of the cultural landscape of Lānaʻi. The *ala hele/ala loa* provided access for local and regional travel, subsistence activities, cultural and religious purposes, and for communication between extended families and communities. In addition to the *ala hele* and *ala loa*, that run laterally to the shore, there is another set of trails that run from the shore to the uplands. The nature of traditional land use and residency practices meant that every *ahupuaʻa* also included one or more *mauka-makai* trails. In native terminology such mountain to sea trails were generally known as *ala piʻi uka* or *ala piʻi mauna* (trails which ascend to the uplands or mountain). The trails were, and still remain important features of the cultural landscape.

Following the early nineteenth century, western contact brought about changes in the methods of travel (horses and other hoofed animals were introduced). By the mid nineteenth century, wheeled carts were also being used on some of the trails. In 1847, Kamehameha III established the *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Roads) system in the Hawaiian Islands. A description of the *Alanui Aupuni* system and early laws governing access and work on the roadways was published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in 1856:

### **Overview of Road Laws and Development in the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi**

Roads are the most accurate tests of the degree of civilization in every country. Their construction is one of the first indications of the emergence of a people from a savage state, and their improvement keeps pace with



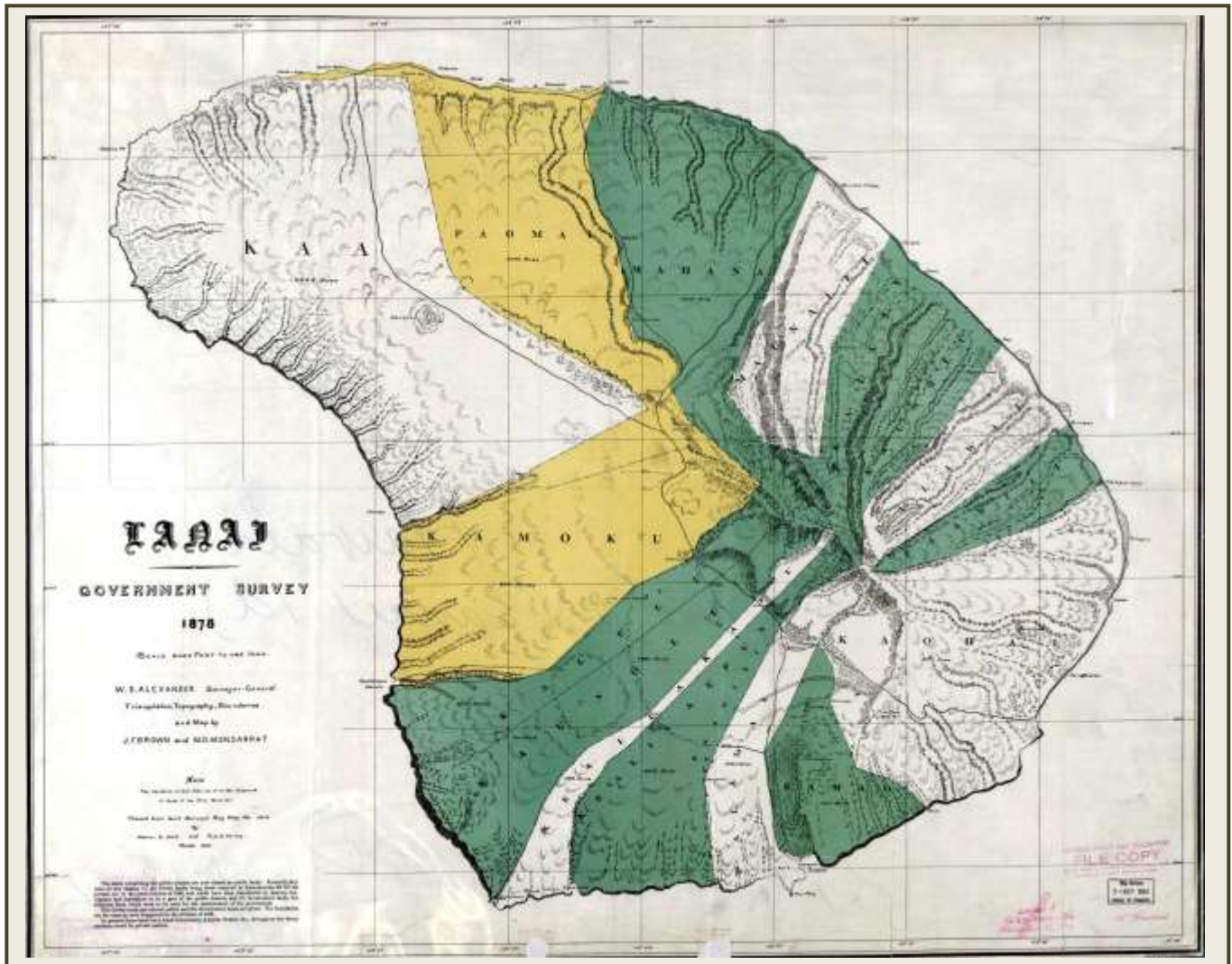
the advance of a nation in wealth and science. They are the veins and arteries through which flow the agricultural productions and commercial supplies, which are essential to the prosperity of the state. Agriculture is in a great measure dependent upon good roads for its success and rewards. The history of road making in this kingdom does not date far back. The first law that we find recorded was enacted in 1840, which as well as the laws of 1846 and 1850 gave to the Governors a general control of the roads, with power to make new roads and employ prisoners in their construction. But no system of road making has ever been introduced, and the whole subject has been left to be executed as chance dictated.

In 1852 road supervisors were made elective by the people, at the annual election in January. This change worked no improvement in the roads, as the road supervisors, in order to remain popular, required the least possible amount of labor, and in many districts an hour or two of work in the morning was considered as a compliance with the road law. Under this law the road supervisors were pretty much to themselves, and though accountable to the Minister of the Interior, they considered favor of their constituents of more importance. This law was found productive of more evil than good, and during the last session of the legislature a new road law was passed, which goes in to force on the 1st of January 1857. This new law gives to the Minister of the Interior the appointment of road supervisors throughout the Kingdom, who are subject to such general instructions (we suppose in regard to the construction of roads) as he may issue... [The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 25, 1856]

On Lānaʻi the Alanui Aupuni system was developed from ancient ala hele, with sections of at least five of the major trails on the island being realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, while other sections were simply abandoned for newer more direct routes. With the areas of residency on Lānaʻi having been significantly reduced in the 69 years since western contact, the resulting Alanui Aupuni reflected only areas of the largest population on Lānaʻi at that time. Figure 9, a reduction of Kingdom Register Map No. 1394, depicts major roads and trails on the island of Lānaʻi in 1878. The major road through Kaʻā that led to the historic Awalua landing, begins in the Kōʻele vicinity, the hub of the Alanui Aupuni on Lānaʻi.

The Alanui Aupuni system and rights of access was and remain protected through the Highways Act of 1892 (Kingdom Law), as amended in 1988, Haw. Rev. Stat. Chapter 264, Section 1:

“All trails, and other nonvehicular rights-of-way in the State declared to be public rights-of-ways, by the highways act of 1892, or opened, laid out, or built by the government or otherwise created or vested as nonvehicular public rights-of-way at any time thereafter, or in the future, are declared to be public trails...”



**Figure 9. Reduction of Kingdom Register Map No. 1394 (1878). Depicting Major Alanui Aupuni and Ala Hele of Lānaʻi.**

The rights of access were subsequently confirmed by the 1929 Land Court action of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited (predecessor of the present landowner), by a proviso which stated, “Also excluding all existing roads, trails, and rights-of-way as shown on Government Survey Registered Map No. 1394” (Land Court Application No. 862, Map No. 1).

### **Alanui Aupuni – The Government Road System in Kaʻā**

The letters and articles on the following pages describe government sponsored development (by funding appropriations) — and maintenance (by appointment of road supervisors and laborers) of the Alanui Aupuni through Kaʻā and neighboring lands of the island of Lānaʻi.

**December 14, 1854**

**L. Kaaina, Assistant Road Supervisor; to C.B. Analu  
Regarding Lanai Road Report:**

Love to you.

I have heard your orders by the mouth of Pualewa, saying, that my road report which was sent is wrong, is it true that it is wrong?

This is my explanation now in order to make it clear. The number of labor days was 36, persons subject to road tax 148, 1 man paid in full \$2.00. Government tools and implements with me, none. This is how those 36 working days were arrived at. Here in Lanai, 6 roads were repaired, — at (1) Paomai; (2) Maunalei; (3) Kaa; (4) Kaunolu; (5) Palawai; (6) Kaohai.

On each road were 6 days work, multiply 6 roads, will equal 36 days work as above described, that is the number of work days.

The persons subject to road tax are 148, multiplied by 6 days for each person, will be 888 days. The 888 days, all the 36 days were worked.

Here is another, in case you wish to write about the ballots, you send them right away by Pali's boat, so that I may be able to publish notice about the ballots here for the road. I will not be able to go to Molokai, I have appointed acting judge, Koiku, he is going to Molokai to publish the notice of the ballots for the representatives.

After the election day here, I will go to gather up the ballots.

This is mine to you, with thanks. [Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Roads, Misc. Box. 146]

**December 22, 1876**

**Walter M. Gibson, Acting Supt. of Roads, on Lanai; to I. Mott-Smith:**

I was assured by your predecessor in office, His Ex. W.L. Moehonua, that a certain proportion of the road monies appropriated for Maui, Molokai, and Lanai, would be set apart for Lanai, and according to the recommendation of Mr. Meyers road superintendent for Molokai, and Lanai. I understood the amount for Lanai to be \$600. This could not be drawn at the time, but I was assured, both by your predecessor, and the late Minister of Finance that I might commence certain needed improvements on a road leading from Awalua to Manele on Lanai, with full assurance that in return of Mr. Meyers from the coast in December as expected, the proportion of public money designated for Lanai roads

would be paid to me. Will your Excellency, kindly inform me, what action I may expect of your Department in this matter. [Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department, Roads]

**August 4, 1880 (Supplement, page 5)**  
**Hawaiian Gazette**  
**Legislative Appropriation for Roads on Lanai**

Roads and Bridges Throughout The Kingdom, Viz:

...Lanai                                      \$2,000.00

**September 12, 1881**  
**Henry H. Gibson, to H.A.P. Carter, Minister of the Interior**  
**Lanai Roads**

Dear Sir:

I beg to submit herewith a statement in relation to roads on Lanai.

A highway leading from the landing of Manele in the S.E. end of the island, and terminating at the landing of Awalua on the N.W. end of the island, a distance of about fifteen miles, is known as a government road (ala nui aupuni). For a distance of about a quarter of a mile leading from Manele, and for about the same distance leading from Awalua, the road is impassable for a vehicle on account of masses of volcanic rock or aa. It would require an amount of labor and blasting at these two ends of the road that would cost about \$400 each, or a total of \$800.

Another government road, "ala nui aupuni," leads from the landing of Maunalei in the N. side of the island, into an upper valley, where a junction is formed with the Manele and Awalua road. Part of the Maunalei road is an ancient paved ala nui through the aa. This is much broken up and not passable for a vehicle. A horse can barely pick his way along such a road. Labor and blasting material to the amount of about \$300 would be required to put the road in good travelling order. In the interior of the island where the soil is easily worked, and there are not obstructing rocks, road work is easy, yet the road readily washes into gulches, and there are places where stone and other material should be hauled to make permanent repairs.

The sum of \$1400 cash for labor of men and use of carts; and about \$100 for blasting material could at this time be applied advantageously in making good roads on Lanai; and I ask permission of Your Excellency to draw on the Department for the repair and completion of these roads... [Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department, Roads – Molokai & Lanai]

**September 14, 1886 (page 4)**  
**Hawaiian Gazette**  
**Lanai Road Expenses**

The egregious lie told in the Advertiser relative to the Government spending more money for the roads than the districts were really entitled to has already been referred to, but a few additional figures will not come amiss. We have not space to give all the figures but the few we do give will be sufficient to nail the lie. The unexpended road taxes for the most important districts are as follows:

Hilo	\$3,950.95
Kau	\$9,263.96
North Kona	\$2,432.00
North Kohala	\$10,269.10
Hamakua	\$2,643.52
Koloa	\$2,686.90
Lihue	\$3,451.92
Wailuku	\$12,493.71
Makawao	\$6,560.39

Certainly these districts must thank the paternal care of the Government which has used up this money and is now willing to have it re-voted and used again during the next biennial period.

Of the districts cited above, all are very important and the traffic over the roads is heavy. Such places as Wailuku, Makawao, North Kohala and Kau are great producers, but thousands of dollars appropriated for their benefit have remained unspent and the roads remain disgraceful, not for two years only, but for ten years.

It is curious to note however that there is no return made from Lanai of any unexpended balance. Now Lanai is a very insignificant island and almost the only traffic on its roads is the carting of Mr. Gibson's wool and the hauling of his supplies. Yet on this Island every cent of the road tax has been expended. The total amount appropriated was \$1,143 and the expenditure was exactly the same amount. Of this the road supervisor got \$348, or thirty per cent of the whole appropriation. Under the new system the supervisors will only get ten per cent.

When one sees such figures as these it becomes very evident that Mr. Gibson looks after the affairs of number one pretty carefully. To defeat the bill the said Mr. Gibson will now strive by might and main to prevent the King signing it. But we doubt whether it will be to any purpose. It must be plain to any one considering that the money expended to the last cent on the Lanai roads was practically robbed from the other districts. Now it

does not look well for a Minister to bilk the other districts and leave their roads in a villainous condition, while he uses every cent he can legally lay his hands on to improve his own private property. Yet this is what has been done. And it has not only been done in this instance, but it is certainly being done in some way or another, though the ways are mighty tortuous and well protected from scenting.

**October 26, 1886 (page 6 & 7)**

**Hawaiian Gazette**

**The Appropriation Bill... Bureau of Roads and Bridges...**

Island of Lanai.

Roads on Lanai                      \$2,000.00...

**July 23, 1887**

**Appropriation request for Lanai Roads**

...Mokupuni o Lanai.              \$200.00

[Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department, Roads, Box 45]

[Translation]

...Island of Lanai.      \$200.00

**July 10, 1888 (page 3)**

**The Daily Bulletin**

**Legislative Assembly**

**34th Day – July 9**

The House re-assembled at 1:10 p.m., and was called to order by the vice-President J. Kauhane. It then went into committee of the whole, Rep. F. Brown in the chair, to resume consideration of the Appropriation Bill.

The Following items were passed:

...Roads and Bridges, Lanai                      \$500.00...

**July 24, 1888 (page 3)**

**Hawaiian Gazette**

**The Legislative Assembly**

**Forty-First Day**

**Tuesday, July 17th**

...petition for sundry improvements, not in Honolulu or vicinity: ...(4) for a mail road around Lanai, (5) for \$10,000 for road on Lanai...



**August 24, 1893**  
**F.H. Hayselden;**  
**to J.A. Hassinger, Esq., Chief Clerk, Interior Department.**  
**Lanai Roads**

Dear Sir:

Your favor of 19<sup>th</sup>, in regard to Lanai Roads is to hand. Also copy of instructions of May 2<sup>nd</sup>. There is as you say some misunderstanding in regard to the amt. to be expended. You will perhaps remember that before authorizing me to make repairs on Lanai Roads you enquired of one of your clerks for the amt. to the credit of Lanai Road acct. in Interior Department books, and if I remember rightly it was with the special deposit in your safe upwards of \$500.00. I stated at the time that we should need the whole of it, but upon consultation with the Minister it was decided to advance me then \$200.00 of said amt. further advances to be made as the work went on. The work done mostly on the Awalua road, eleven miles in length, was absolutely necessary and we now have a good road there. It had to be worked all over for five miles of its length and I consider it was most economically done, had I not felt sure that the amt. of the credit of Lanai Roads was not wholly available I should have hesitated to commence the work, however, I can only do as you request, send you vouchers for the \$200.00 advanced and for the \$57.40 you held as special deposit according to copy of instruction of May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1893; original of which I have been hunting for but cannot find as it is mislaid somewhere. But I trust that when His Excellency the Minister of the Interior has a spare moment that you will explain matters to him. But before doing so please look up on your books for the amt. to credit of Lanai Roads and which by law cannot be used for any other purpose and if you find it as I say, I hope His Excellency will authorize the expenditure of the same through me or accept my vouchers for what has been expended on the roads.

Awaiting your further instructions, I have the honor to remain your obedient servant,

Fred. H. Hayselden.  
[Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department, Roads Box 46]

**June 23, 1898 (page 1)**  
**Evening Bulletin**  
**The Senate This Morning**  
**Lanai Road Appropriations**

...The House amendments to the current accounts appropriation bill were resumed where left off yesterday, with the following results:



Roads and Bridges:

...Road from Koele to Awalua, Lanai. \$500. Yes...

**Apelila 26, 1897 (aoao 3)**

**Nupepa Ka Makaainana**

**Nee ka Hana Hou ia o na Alanui o Lanai-Kaululaau**

Ua hoomaka ka hana hou ia ana o ko makou mau alanui o keia makahiki, ma ka la 22 o Maraki, ma ke alanui e moe ana mai ke awa kumoku o Awalua a hiki i Koele. Elua pule a oi a ke hoomakaia nei ka hana ma ke alanui o Maunalei i keia pule, a o S.K. Peleaumoku ka luna. I na makahiki mamua, o ko makou haku aina no ka luna alanui, no na makahiki loihi i hala aku, a i keia makahiki nae hoi akahi wale no a waihoia mai i ko makou hoa'loha o ka makani Maaa o Kahalepalaoa.

Akahi wale no a waihoia mai i na kanaka maoli keia hana me ka ike mua ole ia e ke Keena Kalaiaina mamua, huliia mai nae hou keia inoa a loa ma kona wahi noho. Ke lawelaweia nei ka hana me ka makaukau a me ke kupono. Maluna no na pomaikai o ka mea malama i ka hana.

A. Kaaloa.

O ka Makani Kumumaomao o Keomoku, Lanai.

[Translation]

**April 26, 1897 (page 3)**

**Newspaper, Ka Makaainana**

**New Work is Progressing on the Roads of Lanai Kaululaau**

There was started again work on our roads this year, on the 22nd day of March, on the road that runs to the boat landing of Awalua to Koele. It has been two weeks or more, and this week the work began on the road from Maunalei. S.K. Peleaumoku is the supervisor. In the past years, our landlord was the road supervisor, for many years past. Only recently has our friend in the Maaa winds of Kahalepalaoa been given the task.

This is the first time that a native has been given this work to do, it has not been known to have happened in the Interior Department before, that someone's name was taken at his place of residence. He has taken the work with skill and thoroughness. Blessings upon the one who does this work.

A. Kaaloa

In the Kumumaomao wind of Keomoku, Lanai. [Maly, translator]

**April 18th, 1899**  
**Cecil Brown, to James, A. King, Minister of the Interior**  
**Lanai Roads**

Sir:

I note that there is to the credit of Lanai Road account a sum approximating \$144, and also an appropriation by the last Legislative assembly of \$500 more.

This last amount I believe was for a specific road, i.e. from Koele to Awalua, the then landing for Lanai. The conditions now however, are changed, for since the appropriation was made, the landing at Awalua has been wiped out, and the buildings and pens there and the road have been washed away by freshets, so that as a landing Awalua is no longer a port.

Representing as I do as Administrator of the Estate of W.M. Gibson, the largest interests on the Island of Lanai, I beg to draw your attention to the following facts:

The principal business with the estate I represent, is, that of raising cattle and sheep, and the wool of said sheep. You will by reference to the tax books find that we pay the majority of taxes on said Island.

In consequence of high winds and floods of rain, the Awalua road has been for the past year practically useless. So much so that last years clip of wool is still in warehouse in the interior of the island.

On May the 1<sup>st</sup> next, shearing will commence, and within 3 months another clip of wool will be taken off.

This wool and also the clip of last year must be transported to a landing where a steamer can take it. The only port now available is Manele on the south east point of Lanai.

I would therefore ask Your Excellency to direct that the \$500 appropriated for (road from Awalua to Koele) be applied to the road from Koele to Manele.

I have seen Mr. Hassinger and he has a map that will more fully explain the requirements.

I will guarantee that the money will be properly and economically expended, and I will furnish Your Excellency detailed bills of expenditure properly endorsed and authorized... [Hawaii State Archives ID Roads, Molokai & Lanai]

## **Public Announcements Pertaining to Roads on Lānaʻi (1905-1938)**

Government sponsorship of road work on Lānaʻi was documented in a number of letters and articles. Selected accounts of which are cited below. It should be noted that in 1905, the Territory turned over jurisdiction of public roadways to the County of Maui. In 1938, the county, allocated funding for a significant project on the Kōʻele-Keomoku Road, one of the early Alanui Aupuni routes on Lānaʻi, along with a connector to the upper section of the road to Kaʻā.

### **May 9, 1905 (page 2) Hawaiian Gazette Lanai Road Appropriation**

The House.  
Items Passed... Roads And Bridges.

...Lanai \$250.00.

### **Mei 19, 1905 (aoao 4) Nupepa Kuokoa Na Lala Papa Alanui (Members of the Road Board)**

...Lanai. Charles Gay, S. Kenui, S. Keliihanani.

### **April 13, 1906 (page 6) Hawaiian Gazette Old Boards Wiped Out Lanai Road Board Members Disbanded**

Yesterday Acting Governor Atkinson was engaged in writing polite letters to the members of the various old road boards throughout the Territory, thanking them for the services they had given the public, and informing them that as the money with which they had worked was now exhausted, and as the road business had all been handed over to the counties anyway, their commissions would be revoked. So another relic of the old system passes away...

...Island of Lanai.

Lanai – Charles Gay (chairman), S. Kenui, Keliihanani...

**Polk-Husted Directory of City and County of Honolulu  
and the Territory of Hawaii (1915 & 1916) - Lanai**

...Apiki, J. lab road dept. Keomoku, Lanai

**Polk-Husted Directory of City and County of Honolulu  
and the Territory of Hawaii (1921) - Lanai**

Gibson, Henry. Lab[or] road dept. Keomoku, Lanai

**Polk-Husted Directory of City and County of Honolulu  
and the Territory of Hawaii (1923 & 1924) - Lanai**

Apiki, I. lab road dept. Keomuku, Lanai

Gibson, Henry. lab, road dept. Keomuku, Lanai

Kahaulua, J. lab road dept. Keomuku, Lanai

**Polk-Husted Directory of City and County of Honolulu  
and the Territory of Hawaii (1925 & 1926) - Lanai**

Gibson, Henry. lab road dept. Lanai City, Lanai

**Polk-Husted Directory of City and County of Honolulu  
and the Territory of Hawaii (1929 & 1930) - Lanai**

...Anderson. Frank. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Arruda, John. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Botelho, Jos. M. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Carvalho, Frank. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Kalua, Kila lab. lab road dept. Lanai City (782)

Kanakaokai, Mano. lab road dept. Lanai City

Kanehekili, David. lab road dept. Lanai City

Kauwenaole, John. road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Kawamoto, Takezo. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Martines, Pedro. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Namaau, David. luna road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Puulei, Jos. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Puulei, Solomon. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Rosa, Alf. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Shimono, Yoshi. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Shin, Jos. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Silva, Manuel. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai

Tanaka, Shigeru. lab road dept. Lanai City Lanai...

**August 17, 1938 (pages 1 & 6)**

**Maui News**

**Lanai Sees Big Things Ahead Under Leadership  
of Dexter “Blue” Fraser**

County recognition of Lanai, signalized by last weekend’s visit of the board of supervisors to look over the site for a \$30,000 road to Keomuku is only an incident in the development of a community that has made rapid strides during the past few years under the leadership of Dexter “Blue” Fraser, Hawaiian Pineapple Co. superintendent on the Pine Island.

**August 17, 1938 (pages 1 & 2)**

**Maui News**

**Supervisors Pay Visit to Pine Island, Inspect Site for Keomuku Road**

Lanai’s Cinderella story reached its happy conclusion last weekend as the Maui County board of supervisors, in the role of Prince Charming, fitted a \$30,000 glass slipper to the Pine Isle’s dainty foot and cast aside the rags of neglect which have made residents of the island feel that the board had overlooked Lanai’s position as an integral part of the County.

Members of the board visited Lanai Saturday and Sunday to look over the proposed site for a road to Keomuku, for which \$30,000 in bond money is now available.

Accompanied by County Engineer, Joseph Matson, Jr., four members of the board and County Chairman, Al Spencer, sailed from Mala on the Naia Saturday afternoon, arriving in time for a brief inspection of Lanai City and environs before dinner at the Lanai City clubhouse as guests of Dexter “Blue” Fraser, Hawaiian Pineapple Co. superintendent...

## **LĀNA'I – LAND TENURE AND CONVEYANCES AT KA'Ā: RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF CONVEYANCES**

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A review of all conveyances (Bureau of Conveyances – State of Hawai'i) from the Island of Lāna'i, recorded in the books (Liber) for the years between 1845 to 1961 was conducted by Kumu Pono Associates LLC, as a part of a documentary study for the Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center. Nearly one thousand pages referenced in three hundred and eight-five separate documents were collected from Grantor/Grantee volumes of the Bureau of Conveyances. All records identified as being from Lāna'i, including sixty four documents translated for the first time from the original Hawaiian texts to English, have been transcribed and are available in the online archive at [www.lanaichc.org](http://www.lanaichc.org).

While the Grantor/Grantee volumes covering Lāna'i, Maui, Moloka'i and Kaho'olawe, date from 1845, the earliest record of land title found in the volumes from Lāna'i was dated March 31, 1860. Land records for the period from 1845 to 1859 are generally covered under the Māhele 'Āina (Land Division), which established fee-simple property rights in the Hawaiian Islands, or by issuance of Royal Patent Grants on lands taken from the Government land inventory.

The conveyances which focus on Ka'ā Ahupua'a are cited below, and provide key points of the records including:

- (1) Who entered into the agreement;
- (2) When the agreement was made;
- (3) The type of action (lease, sale, or other);
- (4) What and where the property or action is found;
- (5) Conditions and how sum was paid; and
- (6) Family documentation.

Similarly, those documents originally recorded in the Hawaiian language were translated by Kepā Maly, and, like those recorded originally in English, include verbatim excerpts of key points of the conveyances, while omitting the repetition of clauses, conditions and circumstances of the instruments. Although the translations were done with due care, reference to the original documents to ensure accuracy of the citations is suggested.

## Conveyances for Ka‘ā and Vicinity Island of Lāna‘i (1865-1928)

**March 7, 1865**

**Kamaika, Mahoe & Kuaole; to W.M. Gibson**

**Warranty Deed**

**Conveying Kuleana Helu 3417 B (to Hoomu) in Kaa Ahupuaa**

To all people to whom these presents shall come. Greetings. Know ye that we Kamaika, Mahoe and Kuaole, the children and heirs, at Law of the Estate of Hoomu late of Lanai, Hawaiian Islands, the two former residing at Lahaina Island of Maui, and the latter residing at Lanai aforesaid for and in consideration of the sum of Ninety Dollars to be paid them by Walter M. Gibson of Lanai aforesaid in manner and form as hereafter described. To Wit — Thirty Dollars in hand. Thirty Dollars or Thirty Sheep to be paid at the signing and sealing of this instrument and Thirty Dollars when proved before a Judge of Probate that the said Mahoe, Kamaika & Kuaole and the children and heirs at Law of the said Hoomu to the hereafter described property. For and in consideration of the said sum of Ninety Dollars to be paid in manner and form as aforesaid by the said Walter M. Gibson, we the said Kamaika, Mahoe and Kuaole do grant, bargain, sell, and confirm unto the said Walter M. Gibson his heirs and assigns all that certain piece of parcel of land situated in the Ahupuaa of “Kaa” on the Island of Lanai, being the same as awarded to Hoomu by the Board of Land Commission Award No. 3417 B on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of August 1852 and bounded and described as follows:

He. 34 ½ ° Ko. 16.77 Kaul. ma Konohiki;

He. 56° Hi. 8.00 Kaul. ma Konohiki;

Ak. 34 ½ ° Hi. 16.77 Kaul. ma Konohiki;

Ak. 56° Ko. 9.00 Kaul. ma Konohiki a hiki i kahi i hoomaka ai

Containing Fifteen Acres and Fourteen Rods. To have and to hold the above granted and bargained premises with the appurtenances thereof unto the said Walter M. Gibson, his heirs and assigns to his and their own proper use and behoove forever. And we do for ourselves and our heirs executors and administrators covenant with the said Walter M. Gibson his heirs and assigns that at and until the unsealing of these presents we were well seized of the premises as of a good and identifiable Estate in fee simple and we have good right to bargain and sell the same in manner and form aforesaid and that the same is free from all encumbrances whatsoever, and further we do by these presents bind ourselves and our heirs to warrant and defend forever the above granted and bargained provided unto the said Walter M. Gibson his heirs and assigns against all

claims and demands whatsoever. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals at Lahaina this 7<sup>th</sup> day of March A.D. 1865.

Kamaika X

Mahoe X

Kuaole X... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 19, pages 274-275]

**May 26, 1865**

**Kauhihope; to W.M. Gibson**

**Warranty Deed**

**Conveying Land Commission Award No. 8627 in the Ahupuaa of Kaa**

Know all men by these presents, that I, Kauhihope of Lahaina in the Island of Maui, Hawaiian Islands, in consideration of Forty Eight Dollars to me paid by Walter M. Gibson of Palawai, Island of Lanai (the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged), do hereby give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Walter M. Gibson, his heirs and assigns, certain tracts or parcels of land situated in “Kaa” Island of Lanai aforesaid, bounded and described as follows, viz.:

In the Ahupuaa of Kaa, Island of Lanai.  
Parcel 1, wahi kula waiho (an open field).

Beginning on the Southern corner of this and running:

N. 27°, S. 1 ch. along the Konohiki;

N. 45°, W. 2.57 ch. along the Konohiki;

S. 49 ½ °, W. 2.96 ch. along the Konohiki;

S. 43 ½ °, E/ 2.30 ch. along the Konohiki;

To the place of commencement.

Containing 37 Rods.

Parcel 2. Pahale & Aina Kula Mahi (House lot and Cultivated Land).

Beginning on the Southwestern corner and running:

S. 48 ½ °, E. 3.52 ch. along Konohiki;

N. 45°, E. 17.25 ch. along Konohiki;

N. 63°, W. 6.14 ch. along Konohiki;

S. 46 ½ °, W. 15.72 ch. along Konohiki, to the point of commencement.

Containing 7 Acres, 3 Roods, 14 Rods.

To have and to hold the afore granted premises to the said Walter M. Gibson and his heirs and assigns in fee simple forever. And I, the said Kauhihope, for myself & my heirs, executors and administrators do covenant with the said Walter M. Gibson... that I am lawfully seized in fee of the afore granted premises, that they are free from all encumbrances, and that I have good right to sell and convey the same...



I, Puhene, wife of said Kauhihope, do hereby release and quit claim unto the said Walter M. Gibson... all my right, claim, or possibility of dower in, on, out of the afore described premises. In witness whereof we, the said Kauhihope and Puhene have hereunto set our hands & seals this 26<sup>th</sup> day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty five...

Kauhihope X

Puhene X... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 19, pages 408-409; Maly, translator (metes and bounds)]

**March 27, 1866**

**C.C. Harris Trustee of V. Kamamalu; to Walter M. Gibson  
Deed**

**Conveying the Ahupuaa of Kaa  
(Land Commission Award No. 7713, Ap. 29)**

Know all men by these presents that I Charles C. Harris Trustee for Her Royal Highness Victoria Kamamalu Kaahumanu of Honolulu Island of Oahu for and in consideration of the sum of Three Thousand Dollars to me in hand paid for the use and benefit of Her Royal Highness the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged have granted, bargained and sold and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell and convey unto Walter M. Gibson of the Island of Lanai and unto his heirs and assigns forever all the right, title, interest and estate of Her Royal Highness in and to all of that certain piece of parcel of land situate in the District of Kona Island of Lanai and known as the Ahupuaa of Kaa and in and to all and singular the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging and any wise appertaining as confirmed to Her Royal Highness by Land Commission Award 7713 Apana 29 Volume 10, page 445 Land Commission Records. To have and to hold the above demised Ahupuaa or tract of land unto the said Walter M. Gibson and unto his heirs and assigns forever according to its ancient boundaries in the same manner as Her Royal Highness has heretofore or might have heretofore held the same – and I, the undersigned Trustee aforesaid do avouch that there are no encumbrances on the said Ahupuaa and that I as Trustee aforesaid will, and my successors and the heirs and assigns of Her Royal Highness shall warrant and defend the same unto the said Walter M. Gibson and unto his heirs and assigns against all claims whatsoever and against all persons claiming by, through, or under Her Royal Highness or any one acting on her behalf. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty seventh day of March AD 1866. Charles C. Harris... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 21, page 300]

**June 11, 1866**  
**W.M. Gibson; to C.C. Harris as Trustee of Estate**  
**of the late V.K. Kamamalu**  
**Mortgage Deed**  
**Mortgage on the Ahupuaa of Kaa**

Know all men by these presents that I, Walter M. Gibson of the Island of Lanai for and in consideration of the sum of Twenty Five Hundred Dollars to me in hand paid the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged have bargained, granted, sold and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell and convey unto Charles C. Harris Trustee of Her Royal Highness V.K. Kaahumanu and unto his successors and assigns for ever all of that certain Ahupuaa in Tract of land situated in the District of Kona Island of Lanai known as Kaa is conveyed to me by the said Charles Harris Trustee aforesaid by Deed dated the 28<sup>th</sup> day of March AD 1866 and of record in the office of the Register of Conveyances in Liber 21 on page 300.

To have and to hold the above demised Ahupuaa or tract of land unto the said Charles C. Harris Trustee as aforesaid and unto his successors and assigns to his and their sole benefit forever.

This Conveyance however is intended to secure the payment of four Promissory Notes all dated the 27<sup>th</sup> day of March AD 1866, one for the sum of Five Hundred Dollars payable six months from the date thereof; one for Five Hundred Dollars payable twelve months from the date thereof; one for the sum of Five Hundred Dollars payable eighteen months after the date thereof; the three aforementioned notes without interest; and one for One Thousand Dollars with interest at the rate of one per cent per month payable thirty months after date.

Now therefore if the said Walter M. Gibson, his executors and assigns shall well and truly pay unto the said Charles C. Harris, his successors and assigns the said promissory notes at maturity together with the interest then this conveyance shall be void, otherwise to remain in full force and effect. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this eleventh day of June AD 1866.

Walter M. Gibson... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 21, pages 322-323; Written across the text on page 323, are the following notes of Release:]

Know all men by these presents that the foregoing Indenture of Mortgage made by Walter M. Gibson and Charles C. Harris, Trustee of Her late R.H. V.K. Kaahumanu, deceased, is this day fully paid, rectified and discharged and dated at Honolulu this 14<sup>th</sup> day of October A.D. 1870. Jno. O. Dominis...

**January 30, 1867**

**Mahoe, Kawilioho and Kuaole; to W.M. Gibson  
Deed**

**Conveying Land Commission Award No. 4317 (to Hoomu) at Kaa**

To all people who see this. Know that we, Mahoe (k), Kawilioho (k), and Kuaole (w), of Lahaina, Island of Maui, that we do hereby sell, grant and bargain by this instrument, to W.M. Gibson of Palawai, Island of Lanai, and to heirs and assigns for all time, our Kuleana land, inherited from Hoomu, our late father, known by the Land Commission Award, Number 4317, and situated in Kaa, on the Island of Lanai, as confirmed before His Honor, A.M. Kahalewai, Magistrate of the Second Circuit, on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1866.

Here is the reason that we are conveying this inherited Kuleana land, aforementioned, W.M. Gibson has paid into our hands, \$90.00...

Kuaole (w) X

Kawioho [Kawilioho] (k) X

Mahoe (k) X...

[Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 24, pages 262-263; Maly, translator]

**August 1, 1874**

**H.R.H. Keelikolani; to W.M. Gibson  
Lease**

**Covering the Ahupuaa of Kaa**

This Indenture made this first day of August in the year One Thousand Eight hundred and seventy four between Her Highness Ruth Keelikolani the party of the first part, and Walter M. Gibson of the Island of Lanai one of the Hawaiian Islands of the second part. Witnesseth: That the said party of the first part doth hereby demise and lease unto the party of the second part All of that certain land or Ahupuaa known as Kaa in the Island of Lanai according to its ancient boundaries as they are now understood and as they may be determined by legal authority with all the rights and privileges thereto pertaining. To have and to hold the same for the term of twenty years beginning with the day of the date hereof, yielding and paying therefore rent at the rate of Three Hundred Dollars per annum; to be paid in equal semi-annual payments, namely, one hundred and fifty dollars on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January and on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July during the said term. And the said Lessor hereby covenants with the Lessee and his executors, administrators and assigns that they shall peaceably hold and enjoy the said premises as aforesaid... ...In witness whereof the said parties hereunto, and to another instrument of like manner set their hands and

seals on this day and year first above written. [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 41:107-107 ¼ ]

**June 20, 1878**

**Walter M. Gibson; to James Campbell**

**Mortgage Deed**

**Covering the Ahupuaa of Palawai, Kealia Kapu and Kaa;  
along with 20,000 Head of Sheep, and 100 Head of Cattle**

This Indenture made the twentieth day of June eighteen hundred and seventy eight between Walter M. Gibson of the Island of Lanai one of the Hawaiian Islands, hereinafter designated Mortgagor of the first part, and James Campbell of Honolulu Island of Oahu Hawaiian Islands aforesaid of the second part. Witnesseth: That in consideration of the sum of Five Thousand Dollars now due and owing from said Mortgagor to said Mortgagee and also in consideration of the sum of Seven Thousand Dollars now lent and advanced by said Mortgagee to said Mortgagor making together the sum of Twelve Thousand Dollars the receipt whereof is by the acknowledgement of this instrument admitted, he the said Mortgagor doth hereby grant release and convey unto the said Mortgagee and his heirs and assigns. All that tract of land situated on the said Island of Lanai containing Five Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety seven 1/10 Acres more or less – being the “Ahupuaa of Palawai” and fully described in Royal Patent No 7083 based upon Land Commission Award to M. Kekauonohi No 11216 being the same premises conveyed to said Mortgagor by L. Haalelea the devisee under the will of M. Kekauonohi by deed recorded in the Office of the Registrar of Conveyances at said Honolulu in Liber 16 on pages 264 and 265.

Also all that other tract of land situated on the said Island of Lanai containing eighteen hundred and twenty nine acres more or less according to the survey of M.D. Monsarrat now on file in the Office of the Minister of Interior, known as and called the “Ahupuaa of Kealiakapu” being the same premises conveyed to said Mortgagor by deed recorded in Liber 23 on pages 167 and 168 in the Office of the said Registrar of Conveyances.

And also all Freehold lands of every name or denomination on the said Island of Lanai belonging to the said Mortgagor. Together with all buildings, fences, water and other rights, erections and improvements thereon and all the estate and interest of the said Mortgagor therein and thereto, to have and to hold the same with all the rights easements and appurtenances thereunto belonging on therewith usually held or enjoyed unto the said James Campbell, the said Mortgagee and his heirs and assigns forever.

And this Indenture also witnesseth that for the consideration aforesaid he the said Mortgagor doth hereby transfer, set over and assign unto the said Mortgagor all that lease dated first of August eighteen hundred and seventy four made by Her Royal Highness Luka Keelikolani to said Mortgagor recorded in Liber 41 on page 107 in the books of said Registrars Office of the tract of land on said Island of Lanai known as and called "Kaa." Together with all improvements thereon and all the estate and interest of the said Mortgagor in and to said lease and the land therein maintained or demised. To have and to hold the same unto the said Mortgagee, the said James Campbell and his executors, administrators and assigns for the residue of the term now to come and unexpired in the said lease.

And this Indenture further witnesseth that for the consideration aforesaid he the said Mortgagor doth hereby bargain, sell, assign, transfer and set over unto the said Mortgagee all his the said Mortgagors Sheep to the number of Twenty Thousand and now grazing or depasturing upon the said Island of Lanai and also one hundred head of cattle also grazing or depasturing upon the said Island. Together with the increase or progeny thereof. To have and to hold the same unto the said Mortgagee the said James Campbell his executors, administrators and assigns forever.

Provided always that if the said Mortgagor or his representatives shall pay to the said Mortgagee, his executors, administrators and assigns the sum of Twelve Thousand Dollars on the twentieth day of June eighteen hundred and eighty with interest thereon, in the meantime and until paid at the note of nine percent per annum payable semi-annually then these presents as well as a promissory note of even date herewith shall be void and of no effect. And Provided also, and these presents are upon this express condition that if default be made in payment of the said sum of Twelve Thousand Dollars and or of the interest thereon or any part thereof on and of the days witness herein before appointed for the payment thereof it shall be lawful for the said Mortgagee, the said James Campbell, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forth with or at any time after such default to enter into and upon the said lands and to take possession of the same and of the said Sheep and Cattle and to sell all the said Mortgaged property by public auction with full power and authority to sign make execute, deliver and acknowledge all such deeds, receipts, conveyances, bills of sale, transfers and assurances as may be deemed requisite to vest the property sold on the purchaser or purchasers freed and barred from all equity and benefit of redemption.

And it is hereby declared that the said Mortgagee or his representatives shall stand possessed of the monies to arise from such sale or sales in trust in the first place to retain and pay himself and themselves there out all such costs and expenses which he or they may sustain or be put into

incidental to such possession on sale or sales and in the next place to retain pay and satisfy to himself and themselves all monies hereby secured with interest thereon at the note aforesaid rendering the surplus if and unto the said Mortgagor or his representatives – and the said Mortgagor doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators covenant promise and agree to and with the said Mortgagee and his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns to pay the said principal sum of Twelve Thousand Dollars and the interest thereon in the days and times herein before appointed or mentioned for the payment thereof – and it is mutually agreed that the said Mortgagor shall have the privilege to pay off the whole or any part of said principal sum in payments of not less than one thousand dollars upon and of the days whenever the interest may fall due he and his representatives giving thirty days notice of such intended payments.

In witness whereof the said Mortgagor hath hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal the day and year first above written.

Walter M. Gibson... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 56, pages 46-49]

[Release of Mortgage Deed, dated August 14, 1882, recorded on page 47 of this Instrument.]

**August 14, 1882**

**Walter M. Gibson; to William G. Irwin & Co.**

**Mortgage Deed**

**Covering the Ahupuaa of Palawai, Kealia, and Kaa;  
along with 30,000 Sheep and 100 Head of Cattle**

This Indenture made the 14<sup>th</sup> day of August A.D. 1882 between Walter Murray Gibson of the island of Lanai, sheep farmer, of the first part, and Claus Spreckels and William G. Irwin of Honolulu in the island of Oahu, merchants trading under the name, style or firm of W.G. Irwin & Co., and hereinafter designated the mortgagees of the second part.

Witnesseth That in consideration of the sum of Thirty Thousand Dollars lent by the mortgagees to the said Walter Murray Gibson, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, he the said Walter Murray Gibson doth hereby grant, bargain, sell release and convey unto the mortgagees and their heirs, all that tract or parcel of land situate on the said island of Lanai, containing Five Thousand Eight Hundred and ninety-seven 1/10 acres and known as the Ahupuaa of Palawai and comprised in Royal Patent No. 7093; and also all that other tract or parcel of land situate on the said island of Lanai containing One Thousand Eight hundred and twenty-nine acres, and known as the ahupuaa of Kealia, and comprised in Royal Patent No. 7144 and also all other lands situate on the said Island

of Lanai of which the said Walter Murray Gibson is now seized, possessed or entitled to with their and each and every of their rights easements and appurtenances, and all the estate right, title and interest of him the said Walter Murray Gibson therein or thereto. To hold the same unto and to the use of the mortgagees, their heirs and assigns forever;

And this indenture also witnesseth, that for the consideration aforesaid he, the said Walter Murray Gibson doth hereby bargain, sell, assign, transfer, deed, set over unto the mortgagees, their executors, administrators and assigns, all that tract or parcel of land situate on the said island of Lanai and known as the ahupuaa of Kaa, held by the said Walter Murray Gibson by lease recorded in Liber 41, page 107 from her Highness R. Keelikolani together with all rights, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging. To hold the same unto the mortgagees, their executors, administrators and assigns for all the residue yet to come and unexpired of the term created by the said lease.

And this indenture further witnesseth: That for the consideration aforesaid he, the said Walter Murray Gibson doth hereby, grant, bargain, sell, assign, transfer and make over unto the mortgagees their executors administrators and assigns all those flocks of sheep numbering together thirty thousand or thereabouts of mixed ages and sexes and now depasturing running or being upon the said Island of Lanai or some part or parts thereof; and also all that herd of cattle numbering One Hundred more or less also depasturing and running upon the said Island of Lanai. Together with all the natural increase of the said flocks and herd.

And also all the wool now upon the said sheep or which during the continuance of this security may be produced and shorn from the said sheep and their said increase. And all the estate, right, title, interest, property, claim and demand whatsoever of him the said Walter Murray Gibson of in and to the premises and every part and parcel thereof. To have and to hold the said sheep and cattle and other, the premises hereinbefore assigned unto the mortgagees, their executors, administrators and assigns as their own property and it is hereby declared that the assurance hereby made is by way of mortgage to secure the repayment of the said principal sum of Thirty Thousand Dollars on the fourteenth day of August A.D. 1887 together with interest thereon in the mean time at the rate of six per cent per annum payable semi annually (for which the said Walter Murray Gibson hath given his promissory note of even date herewith). On which payment being well and truly made these presents shall become void and the mortgagees their executors, administrators or assigns will at the costs and charges of the said Walter Murray Gibson his executors, administrators or assigns reassign and reassure the said property. But if default shall be made in the payment of

the said principal sum or of any interest thereon on the days and in the manner aforesaid or if the said Walter Murray Gibson shall be adjudged bankrupt or shall suffer any execution to be levied upon his property it shall be lawful for the mortgagees, their executors, administrators and assigns to sell the said property or any part or parts thereof at public auction and either together or in such lots as they may deem advisable and for that purpose to enter upon the said lands and to take possession of the said sheep, cattle and increase and all sheep and cattle of the said Walter Murray Gibson for the time being on the said island of Lanai. And it is hereby declared and agreed that the moneys arising from such sale or sales shall in the first place be applied in satisfaction of all costs incurred or sustained in and about the said sale or sales incident thereto and in taking possession of the said mortgaged property and on the next place in payment and satisfaction of the said promissory note and interest thereon up to the date of the receipt of the purchase money and the balance of any shall be paid to the said Walter Murray Gibson his executors, administrators or assigns and the said Walter Murray Gibson doth hereby for himself his heirs, executors, and administrators covenant and agree to and with the mortgagees their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns that he the said Walter Murray Gibson now hath good right to assign and assume the said property and that he will well and truly pay the said principal sum and interest in manner aforesaid. Together with all taxes that may be imposed thereon and that he will not sell or dispose of any of the said sheep and cattle or their natural increase, or the wool to be obtained from the said sheep without the consent of the mortgagees their executors, administrators and assigns and then only through the said form of W.G. Irwin & Co. or such other agent as they may appoint. And it is hereby agreed that the mortgagees their executors, administrators and assigns shall and will accept payment of all or any part of the said note at any time previous to the maturity thereof. In witness whereof the said Walter Murray Gibson hath hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written signed sealed and delivered...

Walter M. Gibson... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 75, pages 341-343]

**February 16, 1883**  
**R. Keelikolani; to C.R. Bishop**  
**Mort. Deed**  
**Covering the Ahupuaa of Kaa**

This Indenture made this 16<sup>th</sup> day of February A.D. 1883 by and between H.H. Ruth Keelikolani of Honolulu, Island of Oahu Hawaiian Islands of the first part and Charles R. Bishop of said Honolulu of the second part. Witnesseth: That said party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of Eighty two thousand Dollars (\$82,000.) to her paid by said party of the second part the [Liber 79:253] receipt whereof is hereby



acknowledged has given, granted, bargained, sold, conveyed and confirmed and by these presents doth give, grant, bargain, sell, convey and confirm unto said party of the second part his heirs and assigns all and singular the following tracts and parcels of land... [Liber 79:254] ...Fourth. All of that tract of land situated on the Island of Lanai known as the Ahupuaa of Kaa L.C.A. 7713... ...Provided however, if said party of the first part shall well and truly pay to said party of the second part, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns said sum of Eighty-two thousand Dollars (\$82,000.) in U.S. Gold coin, according to the tenor of right promissory notes, seven for the sum of Ten thousand Dollars each, and one for the sum of Twelve thousand Dollars of even date herewith, payable to the order of said party of the second part in one, two, three, four, five, six, seven and eight years from date respectively with interest at the rate of Seven (7%) per cent per annum [Liber 79:255] ...In witness whereof said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written. [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 79 pages 253-257]

**July 1, 1886**

**S. Parker; to W.G. Irwin**

**Bill of Sale**

**Conveying the Ahupuaa of Kaohai and Kaa**

This indenture made and entered into this 1<sup>st</sup> day of July A.D. 1886 by and between Samuel Parker of Mana Island of Hawaii, Hawaiian Islands, party of the first part, and William G. Irwin of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Hawaiian Islands aforesaid, Witnesseth: That the said Samuel Parker party of the first part aforesaid, for and in consideration of the sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars to him paid by William G. Irwin, the said second party hereto, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and granted, bargained, sold, assigned, conveyed and set over... unto the said William G. Irwin, his heirs, representative and assigns, all and singular, his, said first party's remaining undivided interest in and to the hereinafter enumerated lots, pieces, tracts, and parcels of land (an undivided one half interest in which said lands having been heretofore by said first party granted, bargained and sold unto said second party by deed dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of June A.D. 1883, and recorded in Liber 83 page 31) situate, lying and being in the Islands of Hawaii, Maui and Lanai... as follows:

(5) All that tract of land situate on the Island of Lanai, known as the Ahupuaa of Kaohai, being the same premises described in L.C.A. No. 7714 B to Kekuaiwa.

(6) All that tract of land situate on the Island of Lanai, known as the Ahupuaa of Kaa, being the same premises described in L.C.A. No. 7713

and conveyed to said party of the first part by H.H. Ruth Keelikolani by deed dated the 15<sup>th</sup> day of March, 1883.

The above described premises are subject to the several leases now existing and outstanding thereon. To have and to hold all and singularly the remaining undivided one half interest of said first party in and to the premises above described and also his remaining undivided one half interest in and to all and singular the buildings, tenements, and hereditaments and in and to all water and water courses and in and to all rights, easements, privileges and appurtenances of every kind and character whatsoever... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 101, pages 178-180]

**August 31, 1887**

**Walter Murray Gibson; to William G. Irwin & Co.**

**Mortgage Deed**

**Lands on the island of Lanai, Maui and Oahu; along with 40,000 head of sheep, 300 head of cattle, 200 head of horses, ranching equipment and facilities**

This Indenture made this 31<sup>st</sup> day of August A.D. 1887, by and between Walter Murray Gibson of Honolulu Island of Oahu, Hawaiian Islands of the first part and William G. Irwin and Claus Spreckels of said Honolulu partners in business under the firm name and style of W.G. Irwin & Co. of the second part. Witnesseth:

That said party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of Sixteen thousand Dollars (\$16000.) to him paid by said parties of the second part the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, hath given, granted, bargained, sold and conveyed and by these presents doth give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto said parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns: All of those tracts and parcels of land situated in Honolulu, Lahaina and Lanai, mentioned in the Schedule hereunto annexed and made a part thereof marked Schedule "A." To have and to hold together with all of the tenements, hereditaments, rights, privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging to them said parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns forever. And in consideration aforesaid said party of the first part doth hereby bargain, sell, assign, set over, transfer and convey unto said parties of the second part, all leases, mortgages, livestock, personal property, chattels and effects mentioned or referred to in the schedule hereunto annexed and made a part thereof marked Schedule "B." To have and to hold to them said parties of the second part, their executors, administrators and assigns said leases for and during the several terms thereof now unexpired and yet to come and said other property forever. Provided however if said party of the first part shall well and truly pay said sum of Sixteen Thousand Dollars (\$16000.)

according to the tenor of three promissory notes of even date herewith two for the sum of Five thousand Dollars (\$5000.) each and one for the sum of Six thousand Dollars (\$6000.) all payable to the order of said parties of the second part in one, two and three years respectively in United States Gold coin together with interest at the rate of nine per cent per annum from date until paid, payable semi-annually and shall faithfully observe all of the covenants herein contained then these presents shall be void.

And said party of the first part for himself his heirs, executors and administrators hereby covenants with said parties of the second part their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns that [t]he said party of the first part has full power to sell and convey the said premises and that the same are free and clear of all encumbrances except a mortgage to W.G. Irwin & Co. of record in Lib. 70 fol. 341-3<sup>26</sup> and also that upon default in payment of either of said notes or interest upon either all of said notes shall at once become wholly due and payable and that in case default be made in the payment of either of said notes, principal or interest when due or breach be made in the performance or observation of any covenant therein contained, said parties of the second part, their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns without first taking possession may sell said premises and property or any part thereof at public auction at such time and place which to them may seem best and may become purchasers at such sale, and as the attorneys in fact of said party of the first part hereby irrevocably constituted and appointed may execute, acknowledge and deliver all necessary deeds and other instruments and do and perform all such other acts as may be necessary fully to carry into effect this power of sale, and said deeds shall be effectual to convey unto the purchasers at such sale all of the right, title and interest of said party of the first part in said premises and property together with his equity of redemption; and may apply the proceeds of such sale, first to the payment of all costs and expenses of sale and foreclosure together with a counsel fee, then to the payment of said notes and the remainder if any pay over to said party of the first part, his executors or administrators.

And said party of the first part further covenants that he and his heirs, executors and administrators shall and will warrant and defend all and singular said premises to the parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns against the claims of all persons, except under said mortgage of record in Lib. 75 fol. 341. In witness whereof said party of the first part has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written by F.H. Hayselden, his duly authorized attorney in fact...

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<sup>26</sup> This conveyance does not include property on Lānaʻi.

## Schedule “A”

1. All those parcels of land on King Street in Honolulu comprising the homestead of said W.M. Gibson mentioned in deed of Chas. T. Gulick Administrator dated \_\_\_ of record in Liber 70 fol. 448.
2. That parcel of land in the rear of Music Hall in Honolulu mentioned in deed from G.W. Keaweamahi to W.M. Gibson dated Jan. 8<sup>th</sup> 1884 of record [page 108:237] in Lib. 87 fol. 229.
3. Those parcels of land on Queen Street in Honolulu described in Royal Patent 6778 Ap. 1 L.C.A. 8515 and in Royal Patent 3566 L.C.A. 6428 B mentioned in deed from A.J. Cartwright Executor to W.M. Gibson dated April 1<sup>st</sup> 1886 of record in Lib. 98 fol. 164-166.
4. Those parcels of land on Queen Street in Honolulu mentioned in mortgage from Kalo and Kalaina to B. Borres, dated August 29<sup>th</sup> 1878 of record in Lib. 55 fol. 450-452. (See Schedule “B” No. 7)
5. That parcel of land at Lahaina known as the Pa Halekamani mentioned in deed of Emma Kaleleonalani and others to W.M. Gibson dated May 13<sup>th</sup> 1884 of record in Lib. 92 fol. 62.
6. That parcel of land at Lahaina being a part of L.C.A. 2320 mentioned in deed from Kia Nahaolelua to W.M. Gibson dated Nov. 4 1879 of record in Lib. 62 fol. 102.
7. That parcel of land at Lahaina described in L.C.A. 8519 B Royal Patent 1876 conveyed to W.M. Gibson by deed of A.J. Cartwright Executor above named.
8. Those premises at Lahaina described in Royal Patent 1779, Royal Patent 1196 and Royal Patent 1876, L.C.A. 8519 B.
9. All that tract of land situated on the Island of Lanai, known as the Ahupuaa of Palawai containing 5897 1/10 Acres. Royal Patent 7093, deed from L. Haalelea Lib. 16 fol. 264-5.
10. All that tract of land situated on the Island of Lanai, known as the Ahupuaa of Kealiakapu containing 1829 Acres. Royal Patent 7144 conveyed to said W.M. Gibson by deed of J.D. Dominis guardian dated March 9<sup>th</sup> 1867 of record in Liber 23 fol. 167.  
The last two tracts being subject to a mortgage to W.G. Irwin & Co. to secure the sum of Thirty thousand Dollars dated Aug. 14<sup>th</sup> 1882.
11. All that tract of land situated on the Island of Lanai known as the Ahupuaa of Maunalei containing 3442.38 Acres. R.P. 6775, conveyed to said W.M. Gibson by deed of A.J. Cartwright Executor above named. [Liber 98, pages 164-166]
12. All that tract of land situated on the Island of Lanai described in Royal Patent 3045 containing 128 Acres, conveyed to said W.M. Gibson by deed of Wm. Beder dated Sept. 27<sup>th</sup> 1875 of record in Lib. 43 fol. 359.

13. All those tracts of land situated on the Island of Lanai described in Royal Patent 3029 containing an area of 236.68 Acres and all the title conveyed by deed of Keliihue et al. to W.M. Gibson dated Aug. 20 1876 of record in Lib. 46 fol. 330, and in deed of Kealakua to W.M. Gibson, dated Dec. 7<sup>th</sup> 1877 of record in Lib. 51 fol. 389 and in deed from Kealakua to W.M. Gibson dated Aug. 23<sup>rd</sup> 1876 of record in Lib. 46 fol. 329.
14. All those parcels of land situated on the Island of Lanai conveyed to said W.M. Gibson by deed of Uilama Paahao and another, dated Nov. 27<sup>th</sup> 1886 and also all other parcels of land situated on the Island of Lanai belonging to said W.M. Gibson. [Liber 116, page 33]

Walter M. Gibson by his attorney in fact, Fred H. Hayselden

### **Schedule “B”**

1. The Lease of the Ahupuaa of Kaa Lanai from Ruth Keelikolani to said W.M. Gibson of record in Lib. 41 fol. 107.
2. All other leases of lands on the Island of Lanai held by the said W.M. Gibson so far as he has the right to assign the same without incurring any forfeiture.
3. Three Hundred head of cattle. Forty thousand head of sheep and Two Hundred head of horses now being on said Island of Lanai with the increase of the same and also all wool from said sheep now clipped and all hereafter to be until the debt hereby secured is fully paid.
4. All wool presses, wagons, carts, harnesses, tools, implements, chattels, household furniture and effects belonging to said W.M. Gibson situated on said Island of Lanai.
5. Mortgage from Kia Nahaolelua to said W.M. Gibson dated March 15<sup>th</sup> 1887, of record in Lib. 108 fol. 55-57 to secure the sum of One Thousand Dollars and also the note and debt secured thereby.
6. Mortgage from Waihoioahu to J.M. Percy dated Nov. 4<sup>th</sup> 1879 of record in Lib. 63 fol. 135 to secure the sum of Three Hundred and Ten Dollars and also the note and debt secured thereby.
7. Mortgage from Kalo and Kalaina to Mrs. B. Borres dated August 29<sup>th</sup> 1878 of record in Lib. 55 fol. 450-2 to secure the sum of Five Hundred Dollars, and also the note and debt secured thereby assigned to W.M. Gibson by assignment of record in Lib. 105 fol. 189... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 108, pages 236-239]

[Written across the text on page 237 of this conveyance, are the following notes of Assignment of Mortgage:]

In consideration of One Dollar to me paid by Bishop & Company, the holders by assignment of the foregoing mortgage, I do hereby assign, transfer and set over unto said Bishop & Company that certain Indenture of lease of the land called Kaohai etc. made by and between Samuel Parker and William G. Irwin of the first part and Walter M. Gibson of the second part dated Nov. 1, 1883 of record in Lib. 83 fol. 224. To have and to hold as a part of the forgoing mortgaged premises and subject to all of the powers contained in said Mortgage and as further security for said mortgage debt.

Witness my hand and seal this 20<sup>th</sup> day of January A.D. 1891...

**February 13, 1888**

**L.B. Kerr; to J.F. Morgan Trustees**

**Deed of Trust**

**Pertaining to Delivery of Wool from Lanai.**

Know all men by these presents that I, Lawrence B. Kerr of Honolulu in the island of Oahu and Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands, in consideration of One Dollar to me paid by Jas. F. Morgan of said Honolulu, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and other good and sufficient considerations by me moving do hereby grant, sell and deliver unto the said Jas. F. Morgan all and singular, the goods and chattels now being in or in any way connected with my tailoring shop and business situate on Merchant Street in said Honolulu, and also all that certain invoice of goods bought by and consigned to me... also all that certain invoice of wool purchased from Wm. G. Irwin & Co. by me on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of February A.D. 1888, and consisting of about three hundred bales, and now in the Islands of Oahu and Lanai... To have and to hold all and singular the said granted chattels and every part and parcel thereof... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 106, pages 355-356]

**December 31, 1888**

**W.G. Irwin & Co.; to Bishop & Co.**

**Assignment & Additional Charges on Mortgage**

**Covering lands and livestock on Lanai**

This Indenture made the thirty-first day of December A.D. 1888, between William G. Irwin and Claus Spreckels doing business together at Honolulu in the Island of Oahu and Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands as copartners under the firm name of W.G. Irwin & Co. of the first part and John S. Walker of said Honolulu Executor of the will of Walter Murray Gibson late of said Honolulu deceased, testate and Talula Lucy Hayselden a devisee and beneficiary under said will and Frederick H. Hayselden her husband and Henry H. Gibson also a devisee and beneficiary under said will of the second part and Charles R. Bishop, John H. Paty and Samuel M Damon

doing business together at said Honolulu as copartners under the firm name of Bishop & Co. of the third part. Whereas by two certain indentures of mortgage dated respectively, the fourteenth day of August A.D. 1882 and the thirty first day of August A.D. 1887 and recorded in the Registry of Deeds in said Honolulu in Book 75 on pages 341, 342 and 343 and in Book 108 on pages 236 to 239 respectively and made between the said Walter Murray Gibson of the one part and the said W.G. Irwin & Co. of the other part all those lands tenements and hereditaments, leases, leaseholds and personal property in said indentures of mortgage mentioned or described were granted or otherwise assured unto the said W.G. Irwin & Co. their heirs & executors, administrators and assigns subject to the provisions therein contained for redemption of the said premises on payment by the said Mortgagor (as to said first mortgage) to the said Mortgagees, their executors, administrators or assigns of the promissory note of the said mortgagor of even date with said first mortgage in the sum of thirty thousand dollars (\$30,000.) on the fourteenth day of August A.D. 1887 with interest at the rate of six per cent per annum payable semi annually and as to said second mortgage on payment by the said mortgagor to the order of the said mortgagees of his three promissory notes of even date with said second mortgage, two of said notes in the sum of five thousand dollars (\$5000.) each being payable in one and two years respectively from their date and the other note in the sum of six thousand dollars (\$6000.) being payable in three years from its date and all of said notes bearing interest at the rate of nine per cent per annum payable semi annually and also on performance by said mortgagor and his heirs executors and administrators of all the mortgagors covenants in said second mortgage contained.

And whereas no part – of the principal – of the said note is now paid and there is now owing thereon to said Mortgagees the sum of forty-seven thousand nine hundred and twenty dollars (\$47,920.) as principal and interest.

And whereas the said Executor hath published as required by law and by the order of the Honorable Albert F. Judd Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of said Hawaiian Islands before whom the said will was admitted to probate a notice to all persons having claims against the estate of the said Walter Murray Gibson to present the same to him for payment within six months from publication of said notice which said six months have now fully lapsed and whereas all the claims now outstanding against said estate to have been paid in full with the exception of said promissory notes and interest and certain other unsecured claims amounting to the further sum of seventeen thousand six hundred and thirteen dollars and seventy one cents (\$17,613.71) for the payment of which said unsecured claims all the said testators property is liable but for the payment whereof

there are no assets of the said testator now available unless by sale of the equities of redemption in said mortgages contained.

And whereas the said Bishop & Co. have agreed with the said parties of the first part to advance the said sum of seventeen thousand six hundred and thirteen dollars and seventy one cents (\$17,613.71) to said Executor for payment of said claims and to pay to the said W.G. Irwin & Co. the moneys owing as aforesaid on said notes the entire sum so to be paid to said W.G. Irwin & Co. and to said Executor amounting in all to the sum of sixty-five thousand five hundred and thirty-three dollars and seventy one cents (\$65,533.71) upon having a transfer of the said mortgage notes and securities and upon having the repayment of all of said moneys at the times herein after named with interest thereon at the rate of seven and one half per cent per annum payable semi-annually further secured in the manner hereinafter expressed.

Now this indenture Witnesseth that in pursuance of said agreement and in consideration of the sum of forty-seven thousand nine hundred and twenty dollars (\$47,920.) paid to the said W.G. Irwin & Co. by the said Bishop & Co. on or before the execution of these presents the receipt whereof the said W.G. Irwin & Co. hereby acknowledge the said W.G. Irwin & Co. hereby assign unto the said Bishop & Co. their executors, administrators and assigns the said promissory notes and all interest now due and henceforth to become due thereon. And the full benefit of the covenants powers of sale and other powers and provisions in the said indentures of mortgage contained for securing payment of said promissory notes and interest. And all the right, title and interest of them the said W.G. Irwin & Co. to and in the said promissory notes and premises to have, receive and take the said promissory notes and interest and all other, the premises hereby assigned or expressed so to be unto the said Bishop & Co. their executors, administrators and assigns absolutely.

And This Indenture further Witnesseth that in further pursuance of said agreement and for the considerations aforesaid the said W.G. Irwin & Co. do hereby grant and assign and the said Executor by consent of said devisees attested by their executing these presents doth hereby grant and confirm unto the said Bishop & Co. their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns all and singular, the lands, tenements and hereditaments leases, leaseholds and personal property comprised in and granted or assigned by said indentures of mortgage. To Have and To Hold the hereditaments and premises hereby granted and assigned or expressed so to be unto and to the use of the said Bishop & Co. their heirs executors, administrators and assigns freed and discharged from all rights or equities of redemption now subsisting therein under the aforesaid mortgages or either of them but subject only to the proviso for redemption



hereinafter contained. Provided always that if the said parties of the second part or any of them or the heirs executors administrators or assigns of any of the parties of the second part shall pay to the said Bishop & Co. their executors administrators or assigns the said sum of sixty-five thousand five hundred and thirty-three dollars and seventy one cents (\$65,533.71) in United States Gold Coin in said Honolulu as follows: seven thousand (\$7,000.)—dollars in one year and seven thousand (\$7,000.) dollars in two years and seven thousand (\$7,000.)—dollars in three years and seven thousand (\$7,000.)—dollars in four years and seven thousand (\$7,000.)—dollars in five years and thirty thousand five hundred thirty three and 71/100 (\$30,533.71) dollars in six years from date hereof with interest thereon at the rate of seven and one Half per cent per annum payable semiannually to be computed from the date of these presents. And also shall keep and perform all and singular the mortgagors covenants contained in each of said mortgages (except as to the time therein fixed for the payment of said promissory notes and interest).

And provided further that if during the continuance of this security the flock of sheep depasturing on the Island of Lanai and comprised in said mortgages shall not be allowed to run below forty thousand head of sheep at any one inventory and provided further that if at the end of each year or if so requested by the said Bishop & Co. their representatives or assigns the said Executor shall furnish on the first day of July in each year to the said Bishop & Co. their representatives or assigns a sworn inventory of the number and kind of sheep actually comprising such flock.

And provided also that if all the rents and lessees, covenants reserved and contained the several leases assigned by said mortgages shall be duly paid, kept and observed respectively then and in such case the security of these presents shall be released by the said Bishop & Co. their representatives or assigns at any time thereafter at the request and cost of the parties of the second part.

And This Indenture also Witnesseth that in further pursuance of said agreement and for the considerations aforesaid the parties of the second part hereby severally covenant and agree with the said Bishop & Co. that the said promissory notes and interest are not and shall not (except at the option of the said Bishop & Co.) be payable according to their tenor and that no right in equity to redeem the said mortgaged property or any part or parcel thereof shall be exercised or demanded until the payment of the said sum of sixty-five thousand five hundred and thirty-three dollars and seventy one cents (\$65,533.71) and interest at the times and in the sums herein above expressed for payment thereof anything in the said mortgages and promissory notes notwithstanding. And also that at any time after the date of these presents the said Bishop & Co. their

executors, administrators and assigns shall in thirty days after their written request therefore made to the said Executor or the person for the time being acting as a trustee or executor in his place be entitled to receive of such Executor or other trustee full payment of all the moneys the payment whereof is hereby secured or intended or expressed to be.

And it is hereby agreed and Declared by and between said parties of the second part and said Bishop & Co. that in case of non-payment thereof or of any part thereof at the end of such thirty days or (if no such demand is made) in case of non-payment of any of the said moneys at the times herein limited for payment thereof or of the non-observance or non-performance of any of the mortgagor's covenants and agreements in either of said mortgages contained (save as to the times therein named for payment of said promissory notes) or of the non-performance or non-observance of any of the conditions, covenants and agreements herein contained on the part of the parties of the second part or any of them it shall then and at any time and times thenceforth be lawful for the said Bishop & Co. their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns to exercise any of the powers of sale in said mortgages contained or at their entire option and without any further consent on the part of the parties of the second part or any of them or of their heirs executors administrators or assigns or any of them to sell and assign the hereditaments and premises hereby assigned or expressed so to be or any part or parts thereof either together or in lots and either by public auction or private contract but if sold by private contract such sale shall be valid only by consent of not less than two of the parties of the second part and either with or without special conditions relative to title or otherwise with power to buy in at sales by auction and to rescind contracts for sale and resell without being answerable for any loss or dissolution in price and with power also to execute assurance, give effectual receipts for the purchase money and do all other things for completing the sale or assignment which they shall think proper and with the moneys to arise there from the persons so selling shall in the first place pay and retain the costs and expenses attending such sale or otherwise incurred in relation to this security and in the next place pay and satisfy the moneys which shall there be owing upon the security of these presents and shall pay the surplus (if any) to the said Executor or other trustee for the uses and purposes declared in said will but no purchaser at any such sale shall be concerned or bound to see or inquire as to the necessity or propriety of such sale or as to the application of the moneys to arise therefrom. And any sale or assignment made either under the power of sale herein or in either of said mortgages contained shall forever bar the parties of the second part, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns from all right, claim or demand in law or equity to the property so sold or assigned. And it is also hereby agreed and declared that all notices requests and demands herein or in said mortgages mentioned may be made by personal delivery or by

mailing to the last known address in said Honolulu of the person to whom the same shall be directed. And the parties of the second part further covenant with the said Bishop & Co. that during the continuance of this security all taxes, charges and assessments shall be paid by them as well on the said mortgaged premises as on the debt, deed, promissory notes thereby or herein secured without being held to be part payment thereof. And also that all covenants herein contained on the part of the parties of the second part shall hold them both jointly and severally provided always and it is hereby agreed that said Executor or other trustee in his place shall not be held personally liable therein further than for the proper application of all such trust funds or property as shall come into his actual possession. In witness whereof the said parties have hereunto and to another instrument of the same date and tenor set their hands and seals the day and year first above written... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 112, pages 354-359]

**August 28, 1902**

**Charles Gay; to William G. Irwin**

**Mortgage**

**Covering the Lanai Properties, Livestock and Produce**

Know all men by these present that I, Charles Gay of Makaweli, Island of Kauai, Territory of Hawaii, mortgagor, in consideration of Sixty Thousand Dollars (\$60,000.) to me paid by William G. Irwin of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, in said Territory, mortgagee... hereby give, grant bargain, sell assign, set over and convey unto the said William G. Irwin, all and singular an undivided two-thirds (2/3) of all that real and personal property situate on the Island of Lanai... referred to and described in Schedule "A" hereunder, and being all of the premises and property conveyed to me by deed of A. Barnes, Commissioner appointed by Honorable G.D. Gear, Second Judge of the Circuit Court of the First Circuit... at Chambers, in Equity which said deed is dated the 28<sup>th</sup> day of August A.D. 1902... And also that certain lease of the lands known as the Ahupuaas of Kaohai and Kaa, on said Island of Lanai, made by the said William G. Irwin to said Charles Gay of even date herewith, by which said lands of Kaohai and Kaa are leased to the mortgagor for Thirty years. To have and to hold the granted premises with all the rights, privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging to the said William G. Irwin and his heirs and assigns forever, according to the respective tenures thereof that is to say as to said goods, chattels and effects, and to the lands in said Schedule named as in fee simple forever; and as to the leaseholds in said Schedule named, for and during all the rest and residue of the terms thereof yet to come and unexpired, subject however to the payment by the mortgagee, his heirs and assigns of the rents therein mentioned, and the performance of the covenants therein continued on the part of the lessee...

Provided nevertheless that if I or my heirs, executors, administrators or assigns shall pay unto the mortgagee the sum of Sixty Thousand Dollars (\$60,000.) in five years from the date hereof with interest semi-annually at the rate of seven percent per annum, until said principal sum is fully paid and until such payment shall pay all taxes and assessments to whosoever laid or assessed... may be legally imposed upon the property... whereby I promise to pay the mortgagee or order the said sum and interest at the times aforesaid....

And it is further covenanted and agreed by and between the said Charles Gay and the said William G. Irwin, that for and during the whole of the period of five years from the date hereof, the said Charles Gay... shall consign to said William G. Irwin, or to W.G. Irwin & Co., Limited, and Hawaiian corporation, all of the wool, hides, livestock and other marketable articles or produce grown, raised or produced upon said property to be sold, and the proceeds accounted for quarterly to the said Charles Gay after deducting an agents commission of four per cent; and that so long as the security of this mortgage shall remain in force; the number of the livestock (sheep, cattle and horses) owned by the mortgagor upon said lands and covered by this mortgage, shall not at any time be reduced to less than eighteen thousand (18,000).

#### **Schedule "A" Fee Simple.**

First. All that tract or parcel of land situate on the Island of Lanai, containing Five Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Seven and 1-10 (5897, 1-10) acres, and known as the Ahupuaa of Palawai, and comprised in Royal Patent No. 1093.

Second. All that tract or parcel of land situate on the Island of Lanai containing One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-nine (1829) acres, and known as the Ahupuaa of Kealia, and comprised in Royal Patent 7144.

Third. All other lands situate on the Island of Lanai of which the said Walter M. Gibson was seized on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of August, A.D. 1882 with their rights, easements and appurtenances.

Fourth. All that tract of land situated on the Island of Lanai known as the Ahupuaa of Maunalei, containing 3442.38 acres Royal Patent 6775, conveyed to said Walter M. Gibson by deed of A.J. Cartwright, Executor.

Fifth. All that tract of land situate on the Island of Lanai described in Royal Patent 3045, containing 128 acres, conveyed to said Walter M. Gibson by deed of Wm. Beder, dated September 27<sup>th</sup>, 1875 of record in liber 43, fol. 359.

Sixth. All of those tracts of land situated on the Island of Lanai, described in Royal Patent 3029, containing an area of 236.68 acres, and all the title conveyed by deed of Keliihue et al to Walter Murray Gibson dated August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1876 of record in liber 46, fol. 330 and in deed of Kealakua to Walter Murray Gibson dated December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1877 of record in liber 51, fol. 389 and in deed from Kealakua to Walter Murray Gibson dated August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1876 of record in liber 46, fol. 329.

Seventh. All those parcels of land situate on the Island of Lanai conveyed to said Walter M. Gibson by deed of Uilama Paahao, and another dated November 27<sup>th</sup> 1886.

Eighth. All other parcels of land on the Island of Lanai belonging to the said Walter Murray Gibson on or about the 31<sup>st</sup> day of August, 1887.

Ninth. All that land described in Royal Patent Grant 2903 containing 52 7-100 acres conveyed to W.M. Gibson by Puupai, by deed dated April 24 1864 recorded in liber 20, fol. 24.

Tenth. All that land described in Land Commission Award 3417 B conveyed by Kamaika and others to W.M. Gibson by deed dated March 7, 1865, recorded in liber 19, fol. 274.

Eleventh. All that land described in L.C.A. 10038, containing 7, 72-100 acres, conveyed by Kaiole to W.M. Gibson by deed dated June 2, 1865, of record in liber 19, page 407.

Twelfth. All that land described in L.C.A. 3417 conveyed by Mahoe and others to W.M. Gibson by deed dated January 30, 1867, and recorded in liber 24, fol. 262.

Thirteenth. All that land described in Royal Patent 4766, conveyed by Kuaweamahi [Keaweamahi] and Wahie to W.M. Gibson by deed dated June 25, 1874 of record in liber 39, fol. 398.

Fourteenth. All that land described in Royal Patent 4767, L.C.A. 10041 conveyed by John S. Gibson to W.M. Gibson by deed dated July 17, 1876 of record in liber 47 fol. 49.

Fifteenth. All that land described in Royal Patent 3031 to Kaaina conveyed by K. Kaaina to W.M. Gibson by deed dated May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1885, recorded in liber 95, fol. 129.

## **Leases**

First. All leases of land on the Island of Lanai held by said Walter Murray Gibson on August 31<sup>st</sup>, 1887, so far as he had the right to assign the same without incurring any forfeiture.

Second. All the property conveyed by Frederick H. Hayselden on January 24<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1891, to wit: That certain Indenture of Lease of the Ahupuaa of Kamoku and Paomai, on the Island of Lanai made by and between the Commissioners of Crown Lands of the first part and said Frederick H. Hayselden, of the second part, dated December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1890, of record in liber 128, fols. 276-279.

Third. Lease No. 168 of Kealia Aupuni, Paawili and Kamao containing 8360 acres expiring June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1908, annual rental \$150. payable semiannually in advance.

Fourth. Lease No. 220 Mahana, containing 7973 acres expiring November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1907 annual rental \$100, payable semiannually in advance.

Fifth. Lease No. 279 of Kaunolu, containing 7860 acres expiring February 9, 1907 annual rental \$250, payable semiannually in advance.

## **Personal Property**

First. All those flocks of sheep on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of June A.D. 1902 or thereabouts of mixed ages and sexes, on said day depasturing, running or being upon the said Island of Lanai and also all that herd of cattle and all horses on said 20<sup>th</sup> day of June, 1902, also depasturing and running upon the said Island of Lanai on said day, all formerly belonging to the Estate of Walter M. Gibson, deceased, together with all the natural increase of the said flocks and herds, and also all the wool, then upon the said sheep and which has since that time been produced and shorn from said sheep.

Second. All wool presses, wagons, carts, harnesses, tools, implements, chattels and effects belonging to said Walter Murray Gibson on said August 31<sup>st</sup>, 1887, situated on the Island of Lanai, at said time and now in and upon said lands or any of them.

The flocks of sheep and their increase are now estimated at about 18,000 head.

The herd of cattle with their increase are now estimated at about 240 head.

The herd of horses with their increase are now estimated at about 210 head.

In witness whereof I, the said Charles Gay hereunto set my hand and seal this 28<sup>th</sup> day of August A.D. 1902... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 236, pages 389-395]

**August 28, 1902**  
**Charles Gay; to Bishop & Company**  
**Mortgage On Lanai Holdings**

(By this conveyance, Charles Gay secured a loan of \$25,000.00 on the properties described in documents of the same date, between C. Gay, the estate of W.M. Gibson, and William G. Irwin.)

Note of transfer of mortgage was recorded across page 396 of this liber document:

Know all men by these presents that we, Bishop & Co., the Mortgagees named on the before written mortgage in consideration of the sum of One Dollar (\$1.00) to us paid by William G. Irwin of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do hereby grant and assign unto the said William G. Irwin, the before written mortgage by Charles Gay to us dated August 28, 1902, the note for Twenty Five Thousand Dollars (\$25,000.) and interest thereby secured and all our estate, right, title and interest in and to all of the real and personal property thereby conveyed or expressed so to be. To have and to hold the same together with the appurtenances unto the said William G. Irwin, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns absolutely. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the 4<sup>th</sup> day of October 1904. Bishop & Co. [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 236, pages 395-400]

**August 28, 1902**  
**J.D. Spreckels, et al.; to Charles Gay**  
**Lease**  
**Covering the Ahupuaa of Kaohai and Kaa, with right to Purchase**

This Indenture made this 29<sup>th</sup> day of August A.D. 1902, between William G. Irwin of Honolulu... and John D. Spreckels and S.B. Spreckels both of San Francisco... Lessors, parties of the first part, and Charles Gay of Makaweli, Island of Kauai... party of the second part, Witnesseth. That the said parties of the first part do hereby demise and lease unto said party of the second part all those two several tracts or parcels of land situate on the Island of Lanai... and known as the Ahupuaa of Kaohai, being the land described in Land Commission Award Number 7714 B and the land known as the Ahupuaa of Kaa being the premises described in L.C.A. number 7713 and being certain of the lands described in those two certain deeds from Samuel Parker to said William G. Irwin dated respectively

June 19, 1883 and July 1, 1886, and recorded in the Office of the Registrar of Conveyances in said Territory in Liber 83 pages 31-35 and Liber 101 pages 178-180. To have and to hold the same for the term of Thirty (30) years, beginning with the 28<sup>th</sup> day of August A.D. 1902.

Yielding and paying therefore rent at the rate of Four Thousand Dollars (\$4,000.) per annum, payable semi-annually the first of such payments to be on the [blank] day of [blank]. And the Lessors hereby covenant with the Lessee and his executors, administrators and assigns that they shall peaceably hold and enjoy the said premises as aforesaid and that upon the payment to them... by the Lessee... of the sum of Eighty Thousand Dollars (\$80,000.) at any time within Five years from the day hereby, they will thereupon by proper deed or deed of conveyance, convey the said tracts of land to the Lessee... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 240, pages 98-99]

**March 15, 1903**

**Charles Gay & Louisa Gay; to Estate of Walter M. Gibson**

**Mortgage**

**Undivided interest in all land, property and holdings on Lanai**

This Indenture... by and between Charles Gay of the Island of Lanai... party of the first part, hereinafter called the Mortgager, and Fredrick Harrison Hayselden, Administrator with the will annexed and Trustee of the Estate of Walter Murray Gibson, deceased... party of the second part, herein after called the Mortgagee, Witnesseth:

That the said mortgagor in consideration of the sum of Sixty Thousand Dollars (\$60,000) to him paid by the said mortgagee... does hereby grant, bargain, sell, convey, confirm, assign, transfer, set over and deliver unto the said mortgagee, and his successors and assigns all the following described or referred to property situate on the said Island of Lanai, and being all the property conveyed by the said mortgagee et al to said mortgagor by deed dated March 15, 1903, to wit...:

**Schedule “D”.**

... And also all and every land or lands upon said Island of Lanai with the exception of the Ahupuaa of Kaa and Kaohai, which may be acquired or obtained by lease or purchase for the use and benefit of said mortgagor or his heirs and assigns...



**February 27, 1907**

**Claus Spreckels, et al.; to Charles Gay**

**Deed**

**Conveying the Ahupuaa of Kaohai and Kaa**

...We, Claus Spreckels, John D. Spreckels, A.B. Spreckels, and W.G. Irwin of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, for and in consideration of the sum of Forty thousand (\$40,000.00) Dollars to us in hand paid by Charles Gay of the Island of Lanai... do hereby grant, bargain, sell, convey and confirm unto the said Charles Gay all those certain parcels or tracts of land situate on said Island of Lanai, more particularly described as follows:

The Ahupuaa of Kaohai as confirmed by L.C.A. 7714 B to Kekuaiwa no Kekuanaoa containing an area of 9677 acres more or less and the Ahupuaa of Kaa granted by Royal Patent 4475 on L.C.A. 7713 to V. Kamamalu and containing an area of 19468 acres more or less.

To have and to hold the granted premises together with all the rights, easements, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging and the improvements thereon situate unto the said Charles Gay, his heirs and assigns forever... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 291, pages 90-92]

**April 19, 1907**

**Charles & Louisa Gay; to William G. Irwin**

**Mortgage**

**Securing payment by conveyance of lands on Lanai**

This indenture made this tenth day of April, 1907, by and between Charles Gay of Lanai... hereinafter called the “Mortgagor: of the first part, and William G. Irwin of Honolulu, Island of Oahu... hereinafter called the “Mortgagee” of the second part.

Whereas the Mortgagor is indebted to the Mortgagee... in the aggregate sum of One Hundred and Forty-five Thousand Dollars (\$145,000.00) as follows: (1) the sum of Sixty Thousand Dollars (\$60,000) part of the said sum of \$145,000.00, on his promissory note dated August 28, 1902, and payable five years after date to the order of the Mortgagee, the payment of which note is secured by the certain mortgage dated August 28, 1902, made by the Mortgagor herein to the Mortgagee herein, and of record in Liber 236, pages 389-395, Hawaiian Registry of Conveyances; (2) the sum of Twenty-five Thousand Dollars (\$25,000.00) part of the said sum of \$145,000.00, on his promissory note dated August 28, 1902, and payable in one year after date to the order of Bishop & Company, the payment of which note is secured by the certain mortgage dated the 28<sup>th</sup> day of August, 1902, made by the Mortgagor herein to said Bishop & Company

and of records in Liber 236, page 396, said Registry; and (3) the sum of Sixty Thousand Dollars (\$60,000.00) being the remainder of the said sum of \$145,000.00, on his two promissory notes dated March 15, 1903, one for Eight Thousand Dollars (\$8,000) and the other for Fifty-two Thousand Dollars (\$52,000.00) and payable respectively three and ten years after date, the payment of which two notes is secured by that certain mortgage dated March 15, 1903, made by the Mortgagor to Frederick Harrison Hayselden, and of record in Liber 247, pages 253-260, said registry, the last mortgage having been assigned by the said Frederick H. Hayselden to W.G. Irwin by deed dated October 29, 1904, and of record in Liber 267, pages 5-7, said Registry.

And whereas the Mortgager has requested the Mortgagee to lend to him the additional sum of One Hundred and Ninety Two Thousand Two Hundred & Seventy Nine 98/100 Dollars (\$192,279.98) which the Mortgagee has agreed to do on the Mortgagor securing the payment thereof and further securing the payment of the said sum of \$145,000.00 with interest on both sums in manner hereinafter appearing.

Now this Indenture Witnesseth that in consideration of the said sum of One Hundred and Forty-five Thousand Dollars (\$145,000.00) so now owing by the Mortgager to the Mortgagee, and of the further sum of One Hundred and Ninety Two Thousand Two Hundred & Seventy Nine 98/100 Dollars (\$192,279.98) the Mortgagor hereby admits and acknowledges the Mortgagor doth hereby grant, bargain and sell, convey and confirm unto the Mortgagee and his heirs:

...Eighth: All that parcel of land mentioned or described in Land Commission Award 3417 B [Kaa Ahupuaa], and conveyed by Kamaika and others to Walter M. Gibson, by deed dated March 7, 1865, and recorded in liber 19, page 274, said Registry...

...Tenth: All that parcel of land situate on the said Island of Lanai, and mentioned and described in Land Commission Award 3417 [Kaa Ahupuaa], and conveyed by Mahoe and others to Walter M. Gibson, by deed dated January 30, 1867, and recorded in liber 24, page 262, said Registry...

...Seventeenth: All that tract of land situate on the said Island of Lanai, containing an area of 9677 acres more or less and known as the Ahupuaa of Kaohai, and mentioned or described in Land Commission Award 7714-B to Kekuaiwa no Kekuanaoa; and all that tract of land situate on the said Island of Lanai, containing an area of 19,468 acres, more or less, and known as the Ahupuaa of Kaa and mentioned or described in Royal Patent 4475, Land Commission Award 7713, to V. Kamamalu, the said two tracts of land having been conveyed to C. Gay by C. Spreckels and

others by deed dated February 27, 1907, and filed for record in the said Registry herewith... [Liber 290, pages 259-272]

**April 28, 1910**

**William G. Irwin & wife; to Robert W. Shingle and Cecil Brown**

**Deed**

**Conveying Lanai holdings to Lanai Company, Limited**

...I, William G. Irwin, of the City and County of Honolulu... in consideration of the sum of Three Hundred and Twenty-Five Thousand Dollars (\$325,000.) to me in hand paid by Robert W. Shingle and Cecil Brown... do hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Robert W. Shingle and Cecil Brown, their heirs and assigns forever...:

...Eighth: All that parcel of land mentioned or described in Land Commission Award 3417 B [Kaa Ahupuaa], and conveyed by Kamaika and others to Walter M. Gibson, by deed dated March 7, 1865, and recorded in liber 19, page 274, said Registry.

...Tenth: All that parcel of land situate on the said Island of Lanai, and mentioned and described in Land Commission Award 3417 [Kaa Ahupuaa], and conveyed by Mahoe and others to Walter M. Gibson, by deed dated January 30, 1867, and recorded in liber 24, page 262, said Registry...

...Seventeenth: All that tract of land situate on the said Island of Lanai, containing an area of 9677 acres more or less and known as the Ahupuaa of Kaohai, and mentioned or described in Land Commission Award 7714-B to Kekuaiwa no Kekuanaoa; and all that tract of land situate on the said Island of Lanai, containing an area of 19,468 acres, more or less, and known as the Ahupuaa of Kaa and mentioned or described in Royal Patent 4475, Land Commission Award 7713, to V. Kamamalu, the said two tracts of land having been conveyed to C. Gay by C. Spreckels and others by deed dated February 27, 1907, and of record in Liber. . . . [291] page . . . . [90-92]. [Liber 338, pages 2-6]

**March 3, 1917**

**George Rodiek Trustee et als., Lanai Company, Limited;**

**to Frank F. and Harry A. Baldwin**

**Deed**

**Conveying Lanai Ranch Lands, livestock and personal property**

This Indenture, made this 3<sup>rd</sup> day of March, 1917, by and between George Rodiek, Trustee appointed under and by that certain order made on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of November, 1916, by the Honorable Wm. L. Whitney, Second Judge of the Circuit Court of the First Circuit, Territory of Hawaii, presiding

at Chambers, in that certain cause before said presiding Judge entitled “John T. McCrosson and Frank E. Thompson, petitioners, vs. Cecil Brown, respondent, “being a bill for removal and substitution of Trustee, the residence of which said George Rodiek is in the City and County of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, hereinafter called “George Rodiek, Trustee,” of the first part, J.F.C. Hagens, of said Honolulu, of the second part, Frank E. Thompson, John T. McCrosson and H.M. von Holt, guardian of the person and estate of Cecil Brown, a mentally non-competent person, all of said Honolulu, of the third part, and Frank F. Baldwin, of Puunene, Island of Maui, Territory aforesaid, and Harry A. Baldwin, of Paia, said Island of Maui, of the fourth part.

Whereas the said George Rodiek, Trustee, is the legal owner of the property and premises hereinafter described, subject to the mortgage and lease hereinafter mentioned, in trust for said Cecil Brown to the extent of an undivided four-sixths (4/6) share or interest, the said Frank E. Thompson to the extent of an undivided one-sixth (1/6) share or interest, and the said John T. McCrosson to the extent of the remaining one-sixth (1/6) share or interest, to convey the same for the benefit of said beneficiaries as a majority of said beneficiaries may direct; and

Whereas the said H.M. von Holt is the duly appointed and acting guardian of the person and estate of said Cecil Brown, a mentally non-competent person, under a decree of the Honorable Wm. L. Whitney, Second Judge of the said Circuit Court, made on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1916, and Letters of Guardianship issued to said H.M. von Holt on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1916, as shown by Probate record No. 5162 in the office of the Clerk of said Circuit Court; and

Whereas as shown by that certain order and that certain amended order, both made by the said Honorable Wm. L. Whitney, said Second Judge, respectively dated the 28<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1916, and the 30<sup>th</sup> day of January, 1917, the said H.M. von Holt, said guardian, was authorized, as incident to the authorized sale of certain corporate stock owned by said Cecil Brown, to direct the said George Rodiek, Trustee, to convey to the purchaser the said property and premises, either in conjunction with the said Frank E. Thompson and John T. McCrosson, or the interest or share of said Cecil Brown therein separate and apart from said Frank E. Thompson and John T. McCrosson; and

Whereas the said Frank E. Thompson and John T. McCrosson, and the said H.M. von Holt, said guardian, as incident to his sale of said corporate stock to said J.F.C. Hagens, have directed and do hereby direct the said George Rodiek, Trustee, to convey the said property and premises held by him in trust as aforesaid, to the said J.F.C. Hagens or to his order; and

Whereas the said J.F.C. Hagens has sold the said property and premises held by said George Rodiek, Trustee, as aforesaid, to the said Frank F. Baldwin and Harry A. Baldwin, and has directed and doth hereby direct the said George Rodiek, Trustee, to convey the said property and premises held by said George Rodiek, Trustee, as aforesaid, to the said Frank F. Baldwin and Harry A. Baldwin, in consideration of the sum of One Hundred Eighty-Six Thousand Six Hundred Ninety-Nine Dollars (\$186,699.);

Now, therefore, this indenture Witnesseth: That the said George Rodiek, Trustee, in pursuance of the request and direction of the said Frank E. Thompson, John T. McCrosson and H.M. von Holt, said guardian, to convey the said property and premises held by said George Rodiek, Trustee, as aforesaid, to the said J.F.C. Hagens or to his order, testified by the said Frank E. Thompson, John T. McCrosson, and H.M. von Holt, said guardian, being parties to and executing these presents, and the request and direction of said J.F.C. Hagens, to convey the said property and premises to the said Frank F. Baldwin and Harry A. Baldwin testified by the said J.F.C. Hagens being a party to these presents, and in consideration of the sum of One Hundred Eighty-Six Thousand Six Hundred Ninety-Nine Dollars (186,699) paid by the said Frank F. Baldwin and Harry A. Baldwin to the said J.F.C. Hagens, receipt of which by the said J.F.C. Hagens is hereby acknowledged, and under and by virtue of every right and power him hereunto enabling, doth hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey, unto the said Frank F. Baldwin and Harry A. Baldwin, their heirs and assigns...;

... Eighth: All that parcel of land mentioned or described in Land Commission Award 3417-B [Kaa Ahupuaa], and conveyed by Kamaika and others to Walter M. Gibson, by deed dated March 7, 1865, and recorded in liber 19, page 274, said Registry...;

Tenth: All that parcel of land situate on the said Island of Lanai, and mentioned and described in Land Commission Award 3417 [Kaa Ahupuaa], and conveyed by Mahoe and others to Walter M. Gibson, by deed dated January 30, 1867, and recorded in liber 24, page 262, said Registry...;

Seventeenth: All that tract of land situate on the said Island of Lanai, containing an area of 9677 acres more or less and known as the Ahupuaa of Kaohai, and mentioned or described in Land Commission Award 7714-B to Kekuaiwa no Kekuanaoa; and all that tract of land situate on the said Island of Lanai, containing an area of 19,468 acres, more or less, and known as the Ahupuaa of Kaa and mentioned or described in Royal Patent 4475, Land Commission Award 7713, to V. Kamamalu, the said

two tracts of land having been conveyed to C. Gay by C. Spreckels and others by deed dated February 27, 1907, and of record in liber [291] page [90 etc.]... [Liber 468, pages 189-194]

**December 5, 1922**

**Frank F. Baldwin & Harry A. Baldwin; to Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited**

**Deed**

**Sale of all Lanai lands held by Baldwin/Lanai Ranch, to the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited**

This Indenture, made the 5<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1922, between Frank F. Baldwin... and Harry A. Baldwin... hereinafter called the "Grantors", and the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited, a Hawaiian corporation, hereinafter called the "Grantee".

Witnesseth: That the Grantors, in consideration of Eight Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$800,000.) to them paid by the Grantee... do hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Grantee, its successors and assigns, all of the lands on the Island of Lanai... described in the deed thereof to them made by George Rodiek, Trustee, and others dated March 3, 1917, of record in the Office of the Registrar of Conveyances in Honolulu... in Book 468 on pages 189-195, (and confirmed by deed from H.M. von Holt dated September 16, 1919, of record in Book 523, pages 285-287), as follows (all references herein to "Liber" or "Book" and "page" being to the records in said Office of the Registrar of Conveyances), to-wit...:

...16. The Ahupuaa of Kaohai, area about 9677 acres, described in L.C.A. 7714-B to Kekuaiwa no Kekuanaoa; and the Ahupuaa of Kaa, area about 19,468 acres, described in R.P. 44765, L.C.A. 7713 to V. Kamamalu; these two tracts having been conveyed to Charles Gay by deed of Claus Spreckels, et al., dated February 27, 1907, recorded in Liber 291, page 90.

17. All the lands described in Land Patent No. 5011 to W.M. Giffard;

18. All other lands on said Island of Lanai, to which the Grantors acquired title under and by virtue of said deed of March 3, 1917, to them made by said George Rodiek, Trustee, of which said Walter M. Gibson was seized on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of August, 1882, or which belong to him on or about the 31<sup>st</sup> day of August, 1887, or of which he died seized or possessed, or to which he was in anywise entitled.

19. All other lands and hereditaments, and all shares and interested, legal and/or equitable, in lands on said Island of Lanai, to which the Grantors

acquired title under and by virtue of said deed of March 3, 1917, to them made by said George Rodiek, Trustee, which were formerly owned by Wm. G. Irwin.

20. All other right, title and interest and estate of the Grantors and each of them, in and to any and all other lands and interest in lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, on the said Island of Lanai, of which they or either of them may be seized or possessed or to which they or either of them may be entitled... and howsoever acquired or held.

It being understood that this conveyance includes all of the right, title and interest acquired by the Grantors in certain additional lands on said Island of Lanai under a deed of exchange made between them and Charles Gay, of even date herewith; and that the several parcels of land by said Grantors released unto said Charles Gay under said exchange deed are excluded from this deed of the Grantors to the Grantee.

Together with all buildings, structures and improvements standing or being on said tracts or parcels of lands hereinabove mentioned and described.

This Deed and Conveyance being subject, however, to the general lease of lands on said Island of Lanai, made by Cecil Brown and Robert W. Shingle, Trustees, to Lanai Company, Limited, dated July 9, 1910, and recorded in Book 343 on pages 24-27, made for the term of forty-nine years from the date thereof, as a paid up lease, free of all further rent.

To have and to hold, all and singular the said lands and interests in lands, as hereinabove granted and conveyed or intended to be, and all rights, easements, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging... unto the said Grantee and its successors and assigns, to its and their own use and behoof forever... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 659, pages 412-416]

**May 4, 1926**

**Naimu Keaoililani (widow); to Pia Kauhane  
Deed**

**Conveying Land Commission Award No. 4288 (to Kahalekai), at Kaa**  
...Naimu Keaoililani (widow), of Lahaina... of the first part, and Pia Kauhane, of the same place, of the second part;

Witnesseth: That the said party of the first part, in consideration of the sum of Two Hundred Dollars (\$200.00)... paid by the party of the second part, does hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said party of the second part, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the following described property, to-wit:

All that certain tract or parcel of land situate at Kaa, Lanai... as fully described in Royal Patent 6425, L.C.A. 4288 to Kahalekai, and containing seventeen (17) acres more or less.

To have and to hold the same... unto the said party of the second part... forever... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 830, page 9-10]

**May 22, 1926**

**Naimu Keaoililani (w)**

**Affidavit**

**Genealogy and source of title to Land Commission Award No. 4288  
(to Kahalekai)**

I, Naimu (w), residing at Lahaina, Maui... Hereby below makes known and Swear:

I am one of the living heirs under the law, of Kahalekai (k), deceased without a will, the family genealogy is thus:

Na-o-o (k) married Makie (w), having the children:

- 1 – Waimanalo (k);
- 2 – Nahula (k);
- 3 – Kahalekai (k) aforesaid;
- 4 – Kaili (w);
- 5 – Kahaule (w);
- 6 – Kamai (w);

Waimanalo (k) (the first born child of Na-o-o and Makie) married Kekapiimoku (w), and had:

- 1 – Naimu (being myself);
- 2 – Nahula (k);

Nahula (k), child of Na-o-o, married Ehu (w), there was no issue.

Kahalekai (k), aforesaid, married Laakila (w), and had

- 1 – Kekuhe (w);
- 2 – Kaahanui (k).

Kaili (w) Kahaule (w) and Kamai (w), all died without having married.

Nahula, my brother, died without marrying.



Kekuhe (w) and Kaahanui (k), the children of Kahalekai, aforesaid, died very young, and did not marry. They died before Kahalekai; and Laakila (wife of Kahalekai) died before Kahalekai.

All of the people above mentioned are dead, I am the only one remaining now.

Therefore the land of Kahalekai has been inherited by me. It being the land known in Royal Patent 6425, Land Commission Award Number 4288-B, situated at Kukuikahi, Kaa, Lanai.

Naimu Keaoililani

Her mark X... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 839, pages 270-271; Maly, translator]

**December 15, 1926**

**Pia Kauhane & wife, Ulalia Kauhane;  
to Hawaiian Pineapple Company**

**Deed**

**Conveying Land Commission Award No. 4288-B (to Kahalekai), at  
Kukuikahi, Kaa**

...Pia Kauhane of Lahaina... hereinafter called the “Grantor,” party of the first part, and Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited... having its principal place of business in Honolulu... hereinafter called the “Grantee”, party of the second part;

Witnesseth: That the said Grantor, for and in consideration of the sum of Eight Hundred Fifty Dollars (\$850.00)... to him paid by the said Grantee,... does by these presents give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited, its successors and assigns;

All of that certain piece or parcel of land (being the same land mentioned and described in Royal Patent Number 6425, Land Commission Award Number 4288-B, to Kahalekai), situate, lying and being in Kukuikahi, Kaai [Kaa], in the Island of Lanai... and thus bounded and described:

Commence at the Northerly corner and run:

S. 49 ½ ° E. 1313. chs. Along the Konohiki;

S. 40 ½ ° W. 13.14 chs. Along the Konohiki;

N. 49 ½ ° W. 12.69 chs. Along the Konohiki;

S. 38 ¼ ° E. 13.13 chs. Along the Konohiki;

Containing an area of 17 acres, more or less, and being the same parcel of land that was conveyed... to the Grantor by Naimu Keaoililani, by deed dated May 4<sup>th</sup>, A.D. 1926, and recorded in... Liber 830, pages 9 – 10.

To have and to hold the said granted premises. together with all of the rights, easements, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining... unto the said Grantee... [Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 857, pages 250-252]

**May 11, 1928**  
**Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited.**  
**Notice – Land Court Application No. 862**  
**Identifying Ownership of all Lands on Lanai**

To all whom it may concern: Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited, a Hawaiian corporation, hereby gives notice that on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of May 1928, it filed an application in the Land Court of the Territory of Hawaii to have its title to certain land, in said application described, registered and confirmed pursuant to Chapter 186 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii 1925.

Said land is the Island of Lanai, Territory of Hawaii, U.S.A., lying between 20° 44' and 20° 57' North Latitude and 156° 45' and 157° 02' West Longitude (as shown on Government Survey Registered Map No. 1394), containing an area of 88,953 acres, or 139.0 square miles, more particularly described as follows:

The following Ahupuaas cover the Island of Lanai, and with the [Liber 939:133] exceptions of Exclusions 1 to 32-B (inclusive) are owned by the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited.

...13. Kaa – R.P. 4475, L.C.A. 7713, Ap. 29, to Victoria Kamamalu Area 19468 Acres...

**Within the above mentioned Ahupuaas there are several Grants and Land Commission Awards, the following being owned wholly or in part, as noted, by the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited:**

- ...5. L.C.A. 3417-B to Hoomu;
- 6. R.P. 6425, L.C.A. 4288-B to Kahalekai...;
- 34. L.C.A. 8627, Apanas 1 & 2 to Kauhihope (not located);

## **KA‘Ā VIEWED THROUGH THE EYES OF VISITORS (ISLAND RESIDENTS AND FOREIGNERS)**

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Between the 1850s and 1920s, a number of visitors to Lāna‘i—both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians—penned accounts of their journeys to various locations on Lāna‘i. In these historic narratives we find descriptions of Ka‘ā, from sea to uplands. Many of the Hawaiian writers shared familial relationships with traditional residents of the island, districts or locales being visited, though occasionally, it was just a matter of visiting a place that was noted as a wahi pana (celebrated or sacred landscape).

The accounts in this section of the study (several never before translated into English) provide a record of: storied places and noted resources of Ka‘ā; changes on the land and in Hawaiian residency; note the altered topographical nature of the land; the diminishing dryland forest (primarily from the impacts of introduced ungulates); and changes to the cultural landscape. It is possible through these narratives to hear the voices of those who have gone before us, and visualize the landscape that inspired writers to document Ka‘ā’s traditions and history. In 1912, the unique natural beauty of Ka‘ā led one writer to liken the land to a “Garden of the Gods.” The landscape also inspired people to engage in resource management efforts to preserve the landscape for future generations. Indeed, several of these accounts represent the last voices of elder Hawaiians who experienced the history of Ka‘ā through the lives of their kūpuna (ancestors).

These narratives not only provide a view into what was, but also what might be planned as a means to foster stewardship programs for restoration of facets of Lāna‘i’s natural and cultural landscapes.<sup>27</sup>

### **The Capture of a Large Turtle at Polihua (1857)**

Honu (turtles) are not only cited in ancient traditions of Ka‘ā, but contribute to a significant place name in the ahupua‘a: “Poli-hua” the “Cove of eggs.” Polihua is a significant stretch of white sand beach and dunes, and is a place long recognized for honu nesting and laying egg. In the historical account that follows, the writer told readers across Hawai‘i of a particular incident in which a turtle was captured after ascending some distance inland from the shore.

**Maraki 4, 1857 (aoao 1)  
Ka Hae Hawaii  
He Honu Pii Mauka Loa**

E ka Hae Hawaii e: Aloha oe.—  
Ke hai aku nei au ia oe he Honu ma Polihua i Lanai, i ka la 18 o lan. o

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<sup>27</sup> These wahi pana (sacred or celebrated landscape) are also considered eligible for recognition as traditional cultural properties (TCPs) under the National Historic Preservation Act, and related bulletins .

keia makahiki, pii mai kekahi Honu maloko mai o ke kai, mai ke one kai mai kona pii ana mai a ke one maloo, a hala ke one maloo a hiki i ke pili. Ike kekahi wahine i ua Honu nei kahea aku la i kekahi mau mea ma kahi e aku, he kane me kana wahine. Lohe ua honu nei i ka leo o ua wahine nei i kahea ai, huli hou i kai ua Honu nei e hoi a hiki he wahi kipapali one, hehee huli ke alo o ua Honu nei iluna, loa ia lakou nei ekolu lakou mea i loa ai, ina aole e huli ke alo iluna, ina no aole e loa, he muku kona laula, nui maoli no keia Honu. O kona kua ua akaakaa ia i una na R.K.—, i hui mai ia'u he mea hou no keia i ka lohe ana; nolaila, he mea pono no e hai mai i na mea hou ma kela wahi keia wahi na ka Hae Hawaii e hai ae mai Hawaii a Kauai, i ike ka lehulehu.

Me ka mahalo, S.R. Lohepono.  
Kulaokahua, 20 Feb. 1857.

[Translation]

**March 4, 1857 (page 1)**

**Ka Hae Hawaii**

**A Turtle Which Climbed Far Upland**

**(Regarding the catching of a large turtle at Polihua)**

To the Star of Hawaii: Greetings to you:—

I speak to you about a Turtle at Polihua, Lanai. On the 18<sup>th</sup> day of Jan., this year, a Turtle came up out of the sea, from the sea beach, ascending to the dry sands; passing the dry sands, it came up to the pili grasses. A certain woman saw the Turtle and called others from another place, a man and his wife. When the turtle heard the voice of the woman, it turned around and got to a slope on the sands, where the Turtle was turned over, facing up. The three of them arrived there, knowing that if it had not turned over, they would not have gotten it. This Turtle was very large; it was a muku (from the tip of the fingers on one hand to the elbow joint of the other arm) wide. R.K. opened its back. As this was a new thing to me, I thought that it was right for me to tell those from Hawaii to Kauai about this, that the multitudes would know.

With appreciation, S.R. Lohepono,  
Kulaokahua, [Honolulu], 20, Feb. 1857. [Maly translator]

## **A Visit to Honopū by Kamehameha V in 1868**

**September 12, 1873 (page 3)**

**Nuhou**

**by Walter M. Gibson**

...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...

### **A visit to Lāna'i in 1869:**

**Travel Through Ka'ā, Growth of Maile, Lehua, 'Akoko and Mānewanewa Described; a Visit to Coastal Villages Between Awalua and Kahōkūnui:**

**Ianuari 9, 1869 (aoao 4)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Naue ana e ike i ka mokupuni o Kaululaau**

...No Ke Kaapuni Ana.

Ma ka Poaono la 14 o Novemaba. la makou e holo la, ke i ae la no o Mr. P. "aohe loa o nei kula i ka hao a ka ihu lio." Holo aku no makou ma ia kula a hiki pono i Keahiakawelo. He wahi kaulana keia no ke puhi ana o ka lepo o Lanikaula, ka paka-ona o Molokai i ke au ia Nalowalekapo i hala aku la. He ole hoi ia paka ona i nei Kamaeu, iliki ia ae ku na imu a me na ahua a i puhi ia ai.

Ma kai he kaulu a ma uka a ma aoao akau he ululaau i hoohanohano ia, ma o mai he mau ahū pohaku na ka poe malihini, a ke ku la makou mau ahū, papahi mai la hoi i na lei maile ma ka papale a me ka a-i, hao mai la hou ma na a-i o na lio. Oki pau ka hana i ke one kani o Nohili, i laila makou i puana like ae ai i ke kauwahi hu mele penei:

"Moani mai ke ala,  
Ala, Ala,  
Ke ala o ka maile,  
O Keahiakawelo nei."

Kau iluna o na lio, holo komohana hema aku ma ke kula e hiki ai i kai o Polihua. Holo aku la makou iluna o na lehua o Malulani, ako kikepa ae la i

na lehua uliuli, ulaula, a keokeo no hoi a ka wahine i kanu ai, i ka nana ana iho popohe lua i na kowa o na pohaku, i honi ae ka hie paoa i kuu ihu i ka ua mea o ke ala.

Iho pono aku makou mai ia lapa pohaku a hiki aku i ke kula. Ia makou e iho nei ke hapakue nei na lio i ke a, hookele aku la hoi ko makou mau kapena kamaaina, nei mea i maa i ka holo ana i na kai anu o Aukaki, a hu hewa aku la makuaau, aole hoi ma kahi i lu-a i ka holo mau ia e laua, nolaila i olelo mai ai laua, "I ko maua wa kamalii loa no la hoi, pau ka alo ana i keia kai anu, oiai ka wa e kau ana na niho, ua hele ae nei a kahi moopuna, a akahi no a hoomaka hou e holo i ua kula."

Hou no hoi na kamaaina i ka laua la hou, eku no hoi makou i ka makou eku, e ake o ka hiki i kai o Polihua. Hele aku la na kamaaina i ke au a ka Hewahewa, holo hoi makou i ka mala a ke Lii hiki ana i Kuaheua.

Naku ae no ia i kana maka, naku ae no ia i kona maku. Ke au-ku la ho'i wahi moku iluna ilalo, io ia nei, no ka mea, ua paa i ke au, ke pakuikui mai nei na ale hanupanupa o ka nahelehele loloa, a me na laalaa akoko, a hiki ole i ka lio ke iho aku, a ke i hou ae la no o ua o Mr. Pali-opio.

"Opala keia kula paakiki,  
I kiani ia mai nei,  
E na mamo inu wai pua kanawao,  
O ka uka olu o Halona."

Pela makou i naue ai a ku ana i kai o Polihua.

Kaulana keia wahi no ke nee o ka honu i uka, a hanau iloko o ke one a me ka pohuehue, aole nae hoi i hiki i ka wa hanau o ka honu, ina paha e hanau i na la hoi ua ike makou.

He wahi one palahalaha maikai keia, he pohopoho, a he loko kai kekahi; a wahi a ka lohe a kamaaina, aia ka ka ike ia Polihua a lei i ka manewanewa, o ko makou lele like iho la no hoi ia u-u e like me ka u-u ana i ka maile; i pau mai hoi ka hana i ka a-i, onaona launa ole mai i ke ala o ka hala o Panaewa, he ano like me ka rose ke ala, a o ka hao mai ia no ia kapalulu ana ma kaha one.

He nani hemolele maikai ia hele ana mai, he pae wale no ia holona mai a makou i ka pa a ka Maaa mahope, poho pono na peaheke, a hiki ana i Awalua. He nani okoa no hoi ia, he awa ku moku o kai, he mau hale maikai no e ku ana ma kapakai, i laila makou i inu iho ai i ka wai opunui o Puako i Hawaii, me ka haawi aku i ke aloha no lakou, ulele mai no a hehi ana ia Paomai a me Awili.

He mau aina nui keia mai kahakai a kuahiwi, kiola ae la makou ia mau aina i hope, holo aku no a hiki i Honuaua.

I laila ke keiki a ke aloha i noho ai o Mr. Palau, hookipa kela ia makou. He alihikaua oia no ua hana pono ma ke uhane ma ia Kihapai o ka Haku, a he alihikaua no hoi e alakaia ana i na wahi pulapula opio o koe malaila; a pau ka paina ana me ne poke hee, o ka hele ae la ia a like toil kupalaka wahi a ka haole... Ke haawi aku nei na malihini i na koena wai a ke aloha no na hookipa oluolu a Mr. Palau a me ka hale holookoa, ke welo aku la ka lai i ka ilikai, kau iluna o na lio a holo aku.

**Ianuari 16, 1869 (aoao 4)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Naue ana e ike i ka Mokupuni o Kaululaau.**

Koena mai keia pule mai.

Hala hope ia wahi ia makou, hiki ana i Kahue, Lae o Wahie a me Kahua, ke pili pu la no keia mau aina; holo kau no a hiki ana i Hokunui. Ka mea i kapaia ai ka inoa o keia wahi o Hokunui, mamuli o ka haule ana o kekahi hoku nui i ka wa kahiko, pela ka olelo mai a kamaaina. Aka, aole nae makou i ike i na hiohiona o ka hoku, he lua nui nae ke “hamama ana ka waha o Kaena i ka makani,” a he wahi maikai no hoi keia.

Aole nae he nui o kauhale a me na kanaka malaila, aka, he mau wahi pupupu hale no e ku ana me na wahi ohua no nana e hoopumehana; o ka mau no hoi o ke kuehu a ka Mana mahope, holo aku no a hala ana o Maunalei-kai ia makou, ku ana iluna o Lae o Kahoomano. Kaulana hoi ia wahi no ka hoopunipuni ana o Kaululaau i ka ohana akua a pau i ka make iaia...

Me ka mahalo,

Maua na Malihini – M. & K.

Snow Hill, Olowalu. Nov. 27, 1868.

[Translation – excerpts]

**January 9, 1869 (page 4)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Moving about to see the island of Kaululaau**

About the Circuit.

Saturday, the 14<sup>th</sup> day of November. We went around and Mr. P. [Pali] said, “It is not far to the plains where the nose of the horses will be buffeted.” We went along these plains and arrived rightly at Keahiakawelo. This place is famous because it was here that the dirt [excrement] of Lanikaula of Molokai was burned, in those times lost in

darkness which have passed. One can still see the imu and mounds at which it was burned.

Towards the shore are stepped cliffs, and towards the uplands is the forest grove, which is distinguished. There are many mounds of stones set in place here by visitors, and we too set up our own mound of stones. We were adorned with garlands of maile on our hats and necks, with more placed around the necks of the horses. So finished is the task of the resonating sands of Nohili [telling of the story], and we sang the refrain of the song from olden times:

“The fragrance is born upon the wind,  
Sweet fragrance,  
Fragrance of the maile,  
Of Keahiakawelo.”

We mounted our horses and rode south west on the plain to the shore of Polihua. We went along the lehua grove of Malulani, gathering and wearing the dark (almost black -- purple), red and white blossoms of the lehua grove planted by the women [Pele and her sisters], looking upon them in their fullness as we passed through the openings in the stones, the sweet fragrance was borne to my nostrils.

We descended down a rocky ridge and arrived on the plain. It is a rugged descent, by which the horses could be crippled, but we were led by our native captain, who was familiar with this difficult journey, like in the cold seas of Aukaki ...But we desired to reach Polihua, so our natives pushed on... We saw a boat below, as if it was held fast by the currents, buffeted by the surging waves as we passed through the long wilderness of akoko, and the horse could not go forward. Mr. Pali, junior said,

“This rubbish makes it difficult to travel the plains,  
Moving back and forth,  
Like the mamo birds drinking the water of the kanawao blossoms,  
In the cool uplands of Halona.

Thus we made our way to stand upon the shore of Polihua.

This place is famous for the movement of the turtles to the inland areas, and for their birthing in the sand and pohuehue. We were not there at the time of the birthing of the turtles, perhaps had we been there in those days we would have seen it.

This place is a fine, wide beach, with hallows and some salt ponds; and it is said by the natives, “It is known that you have seen Polihua,



when you wear a lei of manewanewa.” So we quickly went and stripped it, just like how you strip the maile. When we finished our work, we placed it upon our necks. Its fragrance is second to none, like the fragrant pandanus of Panaewa, also like the fragrance of a rose. Its fragrance is born across the sea beach.

It is beautiful beyond compare to travel here, and as we went on we felt the Maaa blowing behind us, causing the sails to billow, and we reached Awalua. There is a different beauty here, it is the boat harbor, and there are many good houses here along the shore. It is there that we drank the brackish water, which causes one’s stomach to enlarge, as at Puako on Hawaii. Offering our aloha for the people there, we departed for Paomai and Awili.

These are large lands, from shore to mountain. Leaving these lands behind, we then went on to arrive at Honuaula.

There, the beloved child, Mr. Palau resides, and he welcomed us. He is a leader of the good work in the field of the Lord, and a leader of the young people who still remain there. When we finished our meal of raw octopus, we then continued on the way in toil, as the foreigner says...

The visitors then gave the left over water for the kind hospitality of Mr. Palau, and the other households, on the calm of the shore. Then mounting the horses to travel on...

#### **January 16, 1869 (page 4)**

#### **Nupepa Kuokoa**

#### **Moving about to see the island of Kaululaau**

Remainder from this past week.

Leaving that place, we arrived at Kahue, Lae Wahie, Kahua [Kuahua], these places are all close together. We then went on to arrive at Hokunui. The reason that this place is called by the name Hokunui, is because a large star fell here in ancient times. That is what the natives say. But we did not see evidence of the star. It is a large pit, like "Kaena with its mouth open to the wind." It is a good place.

There are not many houses or people there, but there are scattered houses and places where the travelers can warm themselves. So the dust of Mana [travelers] continued on passing Maunalei kai, where we arrived at the Point of Kahoomano. This place is famous for the tricking of Kaululaau in the ghost family and killing them...

With appreciation,

We two Visitors – M. & K.

Snow Hill, Olowalu. Nov. 27, 1868.

## **Plant Collecting on Lānaʻi in 1870**

**J.M. Lydgate – “Reminiscences of an Amateur Collector”**

**(Lydgate Writes About a Botanizing Trip to Lanai with Dr. Hillebrand in 1870; Reports on the Occurrence of the Hawaiian Gardenia in the Kaa Forest)**

...As we neared Lanai, we ran into smoother water, and early in the afternoon landed at the little native hamlet of Ka-hale-palaoa. As I remember it, there were half a dozen grass houses there, with the traditional easy-going population of men, women, children and dogs... [page 68]

By dint of special inducements, followed up by much emphatic exhortation, we finally secured two passable saddle horses and a pack horse, and set off over the mountain trail that crossed the ridge to the other side of the island, where was located the Gibson ranch of Palawai. This we reached, hungry and weary about nightfall—a simple, primitive ranch, the home of Walter Murray Gibson and his family... [page 69] ...We arrived at Palawai just before dark and were very glad of the cordial reception we got at the hands of the distinguished looking Walter Murray. There was certainly nothing impressive in the surroundings. A main grass house in which the family lived, I should say, about 20 by 30, another which served as kitchen and dining room, about a third of that size, with a Chinese cook in command, and a third cottage of this same kind, somewhat farther detached, for guests, which was assigned to us.

For dinner we had roast mutton—very excellent in quality—boiled rice with molasses, and coffee... [page 72]

...Lanai, even in those early days, had been pretty well denuded of its forest cover; only on the summit of the island ridge was there a somewhat moth-eaten mantle of it left, and only on the slopes of the higher ravines and the steep hill sides was that mantle really intact and undisturbed. It was to these limited remnants that we devoted our attention.

...At the very summit of the island, which is generally shrouded in mist, we came upon what Gibson called his lake—a little shallow pond, about the size of a dining table. In the driest times there was always water here, and one of the regular summer duties of the Chinese cook was to take a pack mule and a couple of kegs and go up to the lake for water.

Among other plants which we found in this region, there was one new *Lobellia*, with dark purple flowers in a crown just under the head of palm-like leaves, a striking and rather showy plant, which Dr. Hillebrand named *Cyanea Gibsonii*, in honor of our gifted and generous host. As it was found nowhere else, it is probably extinct by this time.

Another interesting plant which we found in the chaparral region lower down was a small tree Gardenia—Gardenia Brigamii. The more common Hawaiian gardenia is a forest tree, rather sparse in flowering. This smaller one, growing in the open, flowered profusely, and filled the air with its delightful fragrance.

Botanically speaking, Lanai was at one time a very interesting island, with a rich and somewhat peculiar flora, confined to a very small area. It was well that we visited it when we did and were able to make so thorough an examination, for after our visit it remained unexplored for many years, while the ravages of cattle, sheep and goats, as well as forest diseases, hastened the decadence of the indigenous forest, so [page 75] that a good many things that we found there were gone for good when someone else tried to get them... [Hawaiian Annual of 1921:76]

### **A Visit to Lāna‘i in 1872 – Notable Place of Lāna‘i Described (Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a and Vicinity)**

**Kepakemapa 21, 1872 (aoao 2)  
Nupepa Kuokoa  
Makaikai ia Lanai**

E ka Nupepa Kuokoa e; Aloha oe:—

E oluolu oe a me kou mau hookele, e hooili ae i keia mau kuhikuhi o na wahi kaulana o Lanai, i ike mai ai na kini makamaka o kaua, mai Hawaii a Kauai, e hele ana e makaikai ia Lanai. A penei; mai Awalua aku, aia o Polihua ma ke komohana, a mai Awalua aku, aia o Keahiakawelo ma ka Hema, a ma ke komohana ae Nalehua o Kapoai, a me na lehua o Malulani, hoomaka e hele mai Keahiakawelo aku, hele ma ka Hikina Hema aku, a hiki i Kanepuu, a ma hikina ae o Kanepuu, o Hoopulupuluamoa. Alaila, nana aku ia Kihamanienie, a me ke awawa pali o Kaiholena, hele aku mai Hoopulupuluamoa, o ke kula o Kaa, he elua hale pili e ku la ma nae o ke alanui o Kukuikahi mai laila aku, hele pololei aku i kahi o Holokahiki, e ninau ia Holokahiki i ke alanui e pii ai i Kaiholena, he wai ia, oia ka wai e inu ai mai Palawai mai, Kealii a me Pulehuloa, Kihamanienie, Kiekie, Nininiwai, a oia ko lakou wai auau, a hooihainu lio, o Palawai nae ka inoa nui oia wahi

...a mai Maunalei aku, hele aku a loa a Kahokunui, elua hale olaila, hele mai he kula ia, o ke kula o Kaiolohia, ma keia hele ana, aole nui na hale oia wahi, o Kahaulehale, hookahi hale, o Kahue elua hale, o Honuaula eono hale, o Paomai hookahi hale alaila, puni o Lanai...

S.A. Kanakeawe.  
Waialua, Molokai, Sept. 9, 1872.

[Translation]

**September 21, 1872 (page 2)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Sightseeing at Lanai**

To the Independent Newspaper; Greetings to you:—

Might your directors allow a little space for a description of the famous places of Lanai, that our many friends from Hawaii to Kauai might know about a visit to Lanai. It is thus. From Awalua, Polihua is on the west; from Awalua, Keahiakawelo is on the south, and west of there is Nalehua o Kapoai and the lehua grove of Malulani. When one begins traveling from Keahiakawelo, going to the south east, you arrive at Kanepuu; and to the east of Kanepuu is Hoopulupuluamoa. From there, one can then look towards Kihamanienie, and the valley cliffs of Kaiholena. Going from Hoopulupuluamoa, is the plain of Kaa, where are two houses near the road at Kukuikahi, it goes straight to the place of Holokahiki. You may inquire of Holokahiki about the road which ascends to Kaiholena, which is where the water is found. It is the water which those of Palawai drink, coming from Kealii and Pulehuloa, at Kihamanienie, Kiekie, Nininiwai there is water for bathing, and watering the horses. Palawai is the main name for this place...

[The narrative of this journey to noted places of Lānaʻi, follows the trail to Puʻumanu, then down to Naha and around through Keomoku and Maunalei.]

...from Maunalei, one goes until reaching Kahokunui, there are two houses there. One then goes on along the plains to the flats of Kaiolohia. Along this way there are not many houses. At Kahaulehale, there is one house. At Kahue, there are two houses. At Honuaula, there are six houses, and at Paomai, there is one house. Then you have encircled Lanai.

S.A. Kanakeawe.

Waiialua, Molokai, Sept. 9, 1872. [Maly, translator]

## **A Visit to Lānaʻi in 1893**

**April 1893 (page 51)**

**Paradise of the Pacific**

**Lanai and Niihau.**

**Two Interesting Islands, Rarely Visited by Tourists  
(Grazing of Livestock and Landscape Described)**

The Island of Lanai with its delightful climate and other attractive features is one of the most interesting of the Hawaiian Islands. It is the principal sheep-growing district of the Kingdom, and from it are chiefly drawn the mutton supplies for Honolulu and other portions of the Islands. The island is about ten miles from Lahaina, and some seventy-two miles by way of the latter from Honolulu. It has an extreme breadth of twenty-two miles, with a width at its broadest part of thirteen miles, while the highest point of its ring-shaped mountain ridges has an altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. To the visitor approaching it by sea, Lanai has, by no means an inviting appearance, the brown slope rising towards the inner range in almost every direction, giving no indication of the rich grass-covered lands which lie beyond, or of the timber and shrub-covered ridges and ravines with which it is interspersed. Nevertheless, some 45,000 or 50,000 sheep and lambs here fatten upon the succulent grasses, as well as some 600 horses, 500 horned cattle, and goats and hogs. Wild turkeys almost without number also inhabit the island. During ten months there were shipped from this island some 5,000 sheep; and numbers of cattle and horses. Very large quantities and an excellent quality of wool are also clipped here, and shipped to the United States, England and other countries.

Lanai is noted for the extent and character of its fisheries. It was once the favorite fishing resort of Hawaiian Royalty. The island is the sixth in point of size of the group, and in common with its sister isles is clearly and unmistakably of volcanic origin... The island is also unique in that it is the only one of the group which has a coral reef on the windward side...

The kanaka population is now in the neighborhood of two hundred and fifty, who are engaged in cultivating small patches, in sheep-herding, and in fishing. One of the places of interest here is the native temple where, in old days, the heathenish rites were wont to be performed...

## **A Visit to Lānaʻi in 1908 – Travel to the Kaʻā Region**

**June 1938 (pages 21 & 27)  
Paradise of the Pacific  
Lanai Thirty Years Ago [1908]  
(by Henry P. Judd)**

The island of Lanai, although close to Maui, is one of the least known and visited of all the Group. Before it was developed into a pineapple plantation about fifteen years ago, it had been known simply as a cattle ranch and visitors were few and far between. Now it is the home of thousands of field workers and many of the tons of pines sent down to Honolulu for canning.

The Lanai of 1908 was an isolated community. An Interisland steamer made weekly visits and at times a whale-boat or launch would come over from Lahaina. There were no airplanes, no radio, no automobiles, no tractors or other modern implements. It was the horse age, the kerosene lamp age, the days of the ice-box from Lahaina and the weekly visit of the Mikahala from across the channel. And Lanai had all the charms of that age, free from the rush and nervous haste of the modern days. There were times for real conversation and for communion with Nature, for long walks or rides all over the Island, for getting in touch with the native life of the Islands and for enjoying a genuine vacation. It was an ideal spot for all these things.

Mr. Charles Gay, formerly of Kauai, was the owner of Lanai in 1908 and it was a privilege to have been his guest for ten days or so... The population of Lanai was then less than one hundred and fifty, about half being at the headquarters of the ranch, Koele, and the remainder at Keomuku, and the east coast...

...Another impression was the simplicity of life among the people. They were largely cowboys, workers on the ranch of Mr. Gay; some however who lived at Kahalepalaoa, or at Keomuku, on the coast, were fishermen. These unspoiled natives were hospitable and it was a privilege to have been with them in visits to the various points of interest on Lanai. Their interest in hunting goats was remarkable and it was one of the stunts for the visitor to be taken to the place where the goats were in greatest abundance. It was estimated that the goat population was about 10,000 in those days and that number could not have been far from fact, for these pests were to be found here and there and everywhere. I engaged in several hunting trips with Mr. Gay and some of his men and was surprised at the great number of these wild animals.

### **[A trip to the Ka‘ā Region]**

There was a drought in 1908 that bothered several of the ranches in the island. Cattle died on Lanai from lack of water; the present system of pipe-lines to the western lands had not yet been introduced. The goats felt the need of better feed than could be found in the lower lands and so they often made sorties to such good spots as Kanepuu. Riding along from Koele house out to Kaa, we frequently came across bands of goats. They ran into the dry forest and tried to escape the destructive fire of our Winchesters. One day’s hunt at Kaapahu resulted in a decrease of about 350 in the goat population. Another attempt at the old landing place, Manele, was not as successful. The goats refused to be driven and broke time and time again through the line of Hawaiians from the top of the high ridge down to the sea. That was one of the longest days I have ever lived, being in the saddle from shortly after 5:00 a.m. until almost 9:00 p.m., pursuing the goats and hiking down and up rocky ridges and into desolate Valleys on the south side of the Island.

Among the Hawaiians living in Palawai Basin was one of the oldest men on the island—Simona Petero Ioane Keliihananui. He was of the ancient type, a well-built man, blessed with a white beard and looked upon as a real kamaaina of Lanai. His little kuleana was on the edge of the Basin. On one of our hunting trips, we came across him in a far-off spot, cultivating a water-melon patch in a most forbidding place, unlikely for successful crops. But the soil was rich right there and he knew what he was doing...

...The impressions of a land of vast pastures dotted here and there with cattle and sheep, with many wild goats running about in many places, of charming mountains and ravines and ridges, of beauty spots here and there, of old-time hospitality, of generous entertainment and of delightful days, enjoying everything God and man had made, are the things that will abide in memory’s hall of pictures as among the finest pictures of all.

## Travel Through Ka‘ā, and Origin of the Name “Garden of the Gods (1912)

### The Land of Lanai

(by Alexander Hume Ford in 1912)

Mid Pacific Magazine, August 1912 (pp. 151-156) (Figure 10.)

...Lanai is not often visited by the tourist, although it lies only eight miles from Lahaina, the ancient capital of Hawaii on the the Island of Maui. Once a week a steamer from Honolulu touches at Lanai, but usually the visitor is a friend of the proprietor of the island and waits in Lahaina until the launch is sent over for him...



**Figure 10. Alexander Hume Ford on the Lāna‘i Trail amid the “Pānini” Cactus. R.J. Baker Photograph, 1912 (HAPCo, Collection)**

...Lanai provides landscapes and aspects of a dozen countries. More so, perhaps than does any island of the Hawaiian group. ...We rode out over the plains, half a mile or more above sea level. An hour’s ride and we passed from pasture country to a land of a million grassy hummocks. Every ten feet there was a round tuft of native grass, a foot or two high and two feet across. The whole aspect of the country looked knobby or like a chess board with a green pawn on every square. Twenty odd years ago this was a level desert waste. The then manager of the ranch planted square miles in grass, a root every ten feet, and the grass grew. It gathered the red dust that blows eternally over this area, climbed up on the accumulated dust and still continues to do so. Over several square miles the grass was originally planted in rows, and in rows a foot or two high it still grows. Where the wagoners dumped a load of grass there is a mound of rich grass three or more feet high.



From the long ridge along the backbone of the island the trade winds bring over the crest a constant cloud of red dust.

I rode on my horse to reconnoiter and see if there was anything for the camera. I turned toward Molokai and Maui, over a barren red wind-blown country where the whitened roots of trees lay on the surface of the red soil—a fierce wind bore the great sheets of red dust into my face, and the whole country beyond the lee side of Lanai seemed as though it were being blown away. I rode on to reach the summit of a series of red barren mounds, and at their summit I reined my horse. I stood there stupified with wonder. Before me lay one of the wonder sights of the world—and I had never heard that it existed. I have seen the Garden of the Gods in Colorado; Rotorua, the thermal wonderland of New Zealand; the Badlands and the Grand Canyon in Arizona, but none prepared me for the sight at my feet. A great gulch opened wide—spread out and seemed to stretch to the sea miles away and a thousand feet below. Up through this gulch came a blast that was covering upper Lanai with a layer of red soil. The blast was bearing its freight—a cloud of red by day and night. The blast had cut away every grain of sand, leaving rocks behind, and pinnacles of lava that reached from the solid hard pan in delicate spears fifty feet in length and more. These pinnacles of every conceivable shape arose from a waving ocean of every conceivable color. There were reds and greens and purples, scarlets, crimson lakes, yellows, greys, blacks and whites. It was as though the Garden of the Gods, Rotorua, the Grand Canyon, had been reproduced all in miniature. The wind of ages had laid bare this part of Lanai seemingly just as some great volcanic eruption had left it ages and ages ago. It was a devils caldron—a sight that would tempt people in any other land thousands of miles to see. With the horses I stood on the red edge of the cliff looking down to a multi-colored caldron a hundred feet deep, a hundred feet of soil removed by the wind from those pinnacles and cathedrals of lava. Far away, the pinnacles seemed to grow smaller and dwindle away in the distance until green patches, on which ruddy sheep fed, blended in with the other colors, and far away was the blue ocean, the mountains of Maui beyond and the white fleecy clouds above.

I turned my horse and galloped back to my companions at full speed and bade Baker to come and examine my find. Loaded with cameras we returned.

“Is it worth while?” I asked as we stood on edge.

“I wish I had a hundred plates with me.” was the quick reply. “It is worth it. I am going down into the caldron. Oh, for bright sunlight on those colors.”

I watched Baker descend one of the red gulches. I saw him outlined against the blue hard pan, then against the yellow and the crimson; he grew smaller, and now among the rocky pinnacle seemed but the merest pigmy. I found him. The amphitheatre seemed to stretch out, the great sheer red and yellow walls seemed awesome—it was a weird place. I attempted to climb a spire of rock, and it crumbeled in my

hands. The blast of wind tore by, carrying its freight of red sand, and Baker hid behind one pinnacle to secure the picture of another. We wandered out of one gulch into another, and it was the same, the startling grandeur but increased with acquaintance.

Darkness was approaching, and we were many miles from the ranch house. We had seen the coloring of this devil's caldron only by dusk. We shall see it in all the glory of sunlight, and some night by moonlight. It will ever remain one of the great scenic wonder surprises that have made life seem to me something that should last forever rather than for a day. We rode quietly home. [pages 151-156]

## **A Visit to Lānaʻi in 1912 – Wahi Pana o Lānaʻi Traditions of Kawelo and Polihua – and Lānaʻi's Storied Places**

**Mei 31, 1912 (aoao 6)  
Nupepa Kuokoa  
Na Wahi Pana o Lanai.**

E Mr. Lunahooponopono, Aloha oe.—

Eia au ke hoouna aku nei i ka inoa ona wahi pana o Lanai nei, ame ko lakou moolelo pu, i wahi mea hoonanea na ka poe heluhelu o ka kua milimili.

O na mea no aʻa i ike maka ai a koe aku no kahi mau wahi pana, aole au i ike, elike me na mea i kuhikuhiia mai iaʻu e ne kamaaina o Lanai nei. Eia iho ko lakou mau inoa:

1. Kaululaau; 2. Ka Laehi; 3. Lanai Hale; 4. Pahulu Punawai; 5. Pehu Lua-a; 6. Kawelo-ahi; 7. Kahee; 8. Polihua; 9. Ke Puhi o Kaala, a eia iho ko lakou moolelo pakahi.

E hoopokole aku ana no au i kahi mau moolelo, malia paha ua paanaau no i kahi poe o kua, koe no na hanauna hoe e ulu ae nei, a e like no me kou mea kakau ka maopopo ole i na mea e kamailio ia ae ai, he kaaka iki maalea, eia ka no Lanai nei...

**Iune 21, 1912 (aoao 6)  
Nupepa Kuokoa  
Na Wahi Pana o Lanai**

...O Kaweloahi, he wahi ahua keia no na ka palahalaha o hapawalu eka, aneane e pili me kekahi oawa kahawai o Maunalei.

Aia ma keia wahi ahua i ku ai ka hale o kekahi kahuna o Lanai nei, oia kela inoa ae la Kaweloahi.

Na ia nei i puhi i ka lepo o ko Molokai kahuna kaulana oia au, Lanikaula, a i kaulana ai hoi o Molokai pule o’o.

Aia nohoi ma keia oawa i ulu ai kekahi mau kumu ohia ku makua kupanaha, ulaula, keokeo, a eleele ko lakou pua, a wahi a kamaaina, eia wale iho nei no i nalowale ai, mamuli o ka pau o ka ili i ka ai ia e ke kao ahiu.

A ina e nana oe mai keia wahi aku, e ike no oe i ka waiho molale o ka aina o kela huli o Lanai, kahi hoi a na lunanui o ka hui e noho nei me ko lakou mau kanaka a e huli papu aku ana ia Kaunakakai a e ike no oe ia Kalaekalaau e oni ae ana i ke kai...

### **Iulai 12, 1912 (aoao 7)**

#### **Nupepa Kuokoa**

#### **Na Wahi Pana o Lanai**

(Hoopau ana.)

Polihua.—Aia keia wahi ma kela huli hema o Kalaehi, aneane elua mile mailaila aku he awa paena waa keia. Aia ma keia wahi e waiho nei ke kino pohaku o kekahi honu, a eia kahi moololo:

He elua kanaka mai uka mai o keia wahi a e iho ana i ka lawai’a paeaea, o kekahi o laua ua maa i ka lawai’a, a o kekahi akahi no a iho i ka lawai’a, a ia laua i hoea ai ma keia wahi, ike iho la laua i keia mea nui e waiho ana i ka ae one. Olelo aku nei kahi kanaka i maa i ka ike ana i ua ano i’a i ke kokoolua; “E laki maili hoi kua.” “Heaha ko kua laki?” wahi a kahi hepa. “Laki hoi paha kua ua loa ka kua i’a nui.” “Aia ihea?” “Eia iho no hoi la.” “A heaha ka inoa o keia i’a?” “He honu,” wahi a kahi kanaka maamaalea.

“Auhea oe, e nana oe i ka i’a a kua,” wahi a kahi kanaka i maa, “a e pii ae au i wahie.” “Ae,” wahi a kahi.

Aia kela ke pii la, a o kahi kokoolua hoi ke pa’ipa’i la i ke kua o ka honu, a ke panee nei hoi ka honu i kai.

“Auwe! He i’a nee ka keia me he kanaka la!” wahi a kahi ihepa iaia iho no.

A ike aku nei keia i kahi kokoolua e iho mai ana me ka wahie, a ke ike aku nei nae keia i ua honu nei ua kokoke loa e hoea iloko o ke kai.

“Auhea ka i’a a kua?” “aia ku la iloko o ke kai.” A ike i’o aku la keia i ua honu nei i ka luu ana aku iloko o ke kai, ulu ae la ka maka’u iloko ona, a olelo aku la i kahi kanaka ihepa; “E, aia ka ua i’a nei la ma-o,” (oia hoi he

pali pohu, ua ulu ka pohuehue a luhe ilalo). Kena aku nei i kahi kokoolua ihepa ona e u-u mai i ka pohuehue, (o ka naau iho la ia o ua honu nei), a e pii hou ae ana. Ke holo la kela, a ke huki nei hoi keia i ka pohuehue.

A i ka ike ana mai hoi o ka honu i ka mama o kahi taata i ka holo no uka, e hoopii mai ana kela i ka nalu, a mai kela wahi kanaka e mama la i ka holo ame keia e u-u nei:

O ka hao a ke kai nui,  
Aohe opala koe.

Pela iho la kahi moololo no keia wahi inoa Palihua [Polihua].

E ka mea heluhelu, ina oe e hele ma keia wahi i hoikeia ae la, e ike no oe i ka nui ino o ka honu ma keia huli o Lanai nei, a ina he ai oe i ka honu, a o ka aina keia e noho ai; makehewa oe, a ina e maalo ae oe mauka o ka aeone i na hoes 7 a 8 o kakahiaka, a he wa kai emi ia, kuhi aku no oe ka malihini he ahua pohaku aia iloko o ke kai; eia ka he honu, ua hoouluulu a kahi hookahi; in he umi honu a oi aku no ma kahi hookahi...

Me ka haahaa,

P.M.  
Kai Malino a Ehu.

[Translation]  
**May 31, 1912 (page 6)**  
**Nupepa Kuokoa**  
**The Storied Places of Lanai.**

Mr. Editor, Aloha to you.—

I am sending you the names of the noted places on Lanai with their stories to interest the readers of our favorite [the Nupepa Kuokoa].

Only the things which I have seen, but not the noted places which I had not seen. Those which were pointed out to me by the natives of Lanai. Here are the names:

1. Kaululaau; 2. Ka Laehi; 3. Lanai Hale; 4. Pahulu Punawai; 5. Pehu Lua-a; 6. Kawelo-ahi; 7. Kahee; 8. Polihua; 9. Ke Puhi o Kaala, are the legends of each.

I will shorten some of the stories, though some of our readers may have them memorized, that they remain for the generations that will rise up, and like your writer who did not know, they will be told about those skilled ones of Lanai...

**June 21, 1912 (page 6)**  
**Nupepa Kuokoa**  
**The Storied Places of Lanai.**

...Kaweloahi is a mound about an eighth of an acre across, it is very close to the stream gulch of Maunalei.

It is there on this mound, that the house of one of the priests of Lanai stands, that is why it is named Kaweloahi.

He is the one that burned the excrement of the famous priest of Molokai of that time, Lanikaula, and why Molokai was famous for its strong prayers.

There in this gulch grew several mysterious ohia trees, whose flowers were red, white and black, and natives say that the trees have only recently been lost as a result of the wild goats eating their bark.

And if you look from this place, you will see the lands of that side of Lanai stretched out before you; reaching from the place where the ranch manager and his people live, and turning over to Kaunakakai; it can be seen clearly before you, all the way to Kalaeokalaau, which juts out into the sea...

**July 12, 1912 (page 6)**  
**Nupepa Kuokoa**  
**The Storied Places of Lanai.**  
**(Conclusion)**

Polihua.—This place is to the south of Kalaehi, and about two miles from there, this is the canoe landing. There is situated at this place a stone-formed body of a turtle, and here is its story:

There were two men from the uplands of this place, who went down to go pole fishing. One of them was accustomed to fishing but the other was just coming fishing for the first time. When they came to this place they saw a large object there on the sand. The man who knew about all kinds of fishes said, "We are lucky indeed." "Why are we lucky?" asked the ignorant one. "We're lucky for we have found a large fish." "Where is it?" "There it is." "And what is the name of this fish?" "A turtle," answered the crafty one.

"Now you stay here and keep an eye on our fish," said the one who knew, "I'll go up to gather some fire wood." "Yes," said the other.

As he went up, his companion patted the turtle's back and the turtle moved slowly to the sea.

"Ah, so this is a fish that moves like a man!" said the ignorant one to himself.

When he saw his companion coming down with the fire wood, he saw that the turtle was nearly in the ocean.

"Where is our fish?" "It is in the sea." The man saw the turtle dive into the sea, and he became frightened and said to the slow thinking person, "Say, there is the fish, over there." (He pointed to a small, round hill covered with pohuehue vines that grew till they hung over.) He told his slow thinking companion to pull on the vines (that was the entrails of the turtle), and came up again. He ran away while the other pulled on the pohuehue vine.

The turtle saw the man running swiftly for the uplands and caused a huge wave to rise, which caught both the fleeing man and the one that was tugging.

"Up came a huge wave,  
Not a bit of trash remains."

This is the tale of this place which was named Palihua [Polihua].

O reader, if you go to this place I've just told you about you will see many turtles on this part of the island. If you like to eat turtle, this is the place to live. They are so innumerable that if you pass along back of the sands at 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning, when the tide is low, you, o visitor, you will take them to be stone piles in the sea. They are turtles, gathered together in one place...

With humility,  
P.M.  
Calm Sea of Ehu (Kona).

**Na honu ne'e o Polihua.**  
The moving turtles of Polihua.

Polihua is a place on Lāna'i where turtles come to lay their eggs.  
(Olelo No'eau No. 2219, M.K. Pukui, 1983)

## **A visit to Lānaʻi in 1917 – Decline of population Noted**

**Okatoba 11, 1917 (aoao 3)  
Ka Hoku o Hawaii  
Ka Huakai i na Hono a Piilani  
(na Steven Desha, Sr.)**

...He mau makahiki i ke ola ana o ka mea e kakau nei keia huakai i hoo hala ai ma keai Mokupuni o Kaululaau i na la opio, a ia manawa he aneane eono hale kula o keia mokupuni, oia hoi he hookahi hale kula ma Awalua, he hookahi ma Paomai, ka Home o koʻu Ohana i noho ai, a he hookahi no hoi i Maunalei, he hookahi no hoi i kahi kokoke i Kahalepalaoa, a he hookahi i uka o Kihamaninia, a he hookahi no hoi i Palawai. A ina la hoike nui o ka makahiki, e hui ana kela mau kula ma Kahalepalaoa Luakini, a malaila e hoike ia ai na kula like ole, a i kekahi makahiki hoi ma ka Luakini iuka o Kihamaninia e hoike ai, a i maluna o ka 250 mau haumana o keia mau kula e hoike ia ai, a he la laukanaka maoli no ia o ua Mokupuni nei o Kaululaau. I keia ike hou ana aku nei hou ua nele na wahi i noho ia e na kanaka i ke kanaka ole, a he mehameha wale ka aina ma na wahi lehulehu...

[Translation]

**October 11, 1917  
Ka Hoku o Hawaii  
A Sightseeing Tour to the Bays of Piilani  
(by Steven Desha, Sr.)**

...There were some years past in the young life of the writer of this journey to the Island of Kaululāʻau, a time when there were six school houses on this island. There was one at Awalua; one at Paomaʻi, the place where my family resided; one at Maunalei; one close to Kahalepalaoa; one in the uplands at Kihamāniana; and one at Pālāwai. And on the days of the annual exhibition (of skills), the schools would all gather together at the Church of Kahalepalaoa, where the schools would exhibit their knowledge. Then the next year, they would gather at the Church in the uplands at Kihamāniana to exhibit their knowledge. There were more than 250 students in these schools who participated in the exhibitions. Indeed, those were days when there were many people living on the Island of Kaululāʻau. Now, upon seeing it once again, those places have no people, it is without people. All about, the land is silent... [Maly, translator]

## **‘Oahu‘ohu Polihua i ka Mānewanewa (Polihua is Adorned by the Mānewanewa)**

Reference was made above to an important native plant for which the coastal region of Ka‘ā was known. This plant, indigenous to the Hawaiian Islands, is called mānewanewa on Lāna‘i, though it is generally known as pōhinahina or kolokolo kahakai on the other islands of the Hawaiian group. The plant (Figures 11 & 12) is commonly known as the “beach vitex” (*Vitex trifolia* var. *simplicifolia*), and its association with Polihua was described in Nupepa Kuokoa (January 9, 1869:4) through the following lines:



**Figure 11. Mānewanewa at Polihua Beach. The Last Old Growth of Mānewanewa Plants Known on the Island of Lāna‘i (Photo No. KPAC-2289. Sept. 9, 2006. Kepā Maly)**

He wahi one palahalaha maikai keia, he pohopoho, a he loko kai kekahi;  
a wahi a ka lohe a kamaaina, aia ka ka ike ia Polihua a lei i ka  
manewanewa, o ko makou lele like iho la no hoi ia u-u e like me ka u-u  
ana i ka maile; i pau mai hoi ka hana i ka a-i, onaona launa ole mai i ke  
ala o ka hala o Panaewa, he ano like me ka rose ke ala, a o ka hao mai ia  
no ia kapalulu ana ma kaha one.



This place is a fine, wide beach, with hallows and some salt ponds; and it is said by the natives, "It is known that you have seen Polihua, when you wear a lei of manewanewa." So we quickly went and stripped it, just like how you strip the maile. When we finished our work, we placed it upon our necks. Its fragrance is second to none, like the fragrant pandanus of Panaewa, also like the fragrance of a rose. Its fragrance is born across the sea beach. [Maly, translator]

The significance of the mānewanewa to Lānaʻi's people from the Kaʻā-Paomaʻi coastal lands still lives in the memory of some of Lānaʻi's oldest native Hawaiians and their descendants in the present day. In the 1930s, Tūtū Papa Daniel Kaopuiki, Sr., celebrated the mānewanewa and its association with the families who lived along the coast of Kaʻā in the lines of a song, composed for the Hawaiian Churches of Lānaʻi:

'Ohu'ohu Polihua i ka mānewanewa,	Polihua is adorned by the
i ka lei kaulana 'oia 'āina...	mānewanewa,
	the famous lei of the land...



**Figure 12. Rocky Point on Polihua Beach—Slopes of Kaʻā in the Background. The Mānewanewa is Found at the Upper Left Section of the Rocky Bluff, Below the Introduced Kiawe Growth. (Photo No. KPAC2-6633. Dec. 15, 2011. Kepā Maly)**

Kupuna Solomon Kaopuiki (eldest surviving son of Daniel Kaopuiki, Sr.) and Maly travelled along the Ka‘ā coast a number of times over the years, and a visit to the mānewanewa has always been an important stop. When Kupuna Kaopuiki speaks of the mānewanewa, one can hear the voices of his own kūpuna telling him the stories of families who in earlier times traveled to gatherings at other locations on Lāna‘i, wearing lei of mānewanewa, as the indicator of their place of origin. This was the custom of those people who lived in the Awalua vicinity through the turn of the century.

Kupuna Ku‘uleialoha Kaopuiki Kanipae (born 1915), and Kupuna Irene Kamahuialani Cockett Perry (born 1917), the two eldest Hawaiian women on Lāna‘i, tell similar stories.

### **Hāhāpa‘akai ma Ka‘ā (Gathering Salt at Ka‘ā)**

Pa‘akai (literally: hard/solid ocean water) was a prized resource in ancient Hawai‘i. Pa‘akai is still a cherished item today, and at Lae Pū‘olo, Kaua‘i, families carry on the practice of making salt in loko (ponds), as their ancestors did in generations past. The natural pa‘akai is still used on Lāna‘i and across the islands in food preparation, for medicinal purposes, and in ceremonial/religious practices. It is far superior to anything that can be purchased, and should not be confused with what is now found in stores, identified as Hawaiian ocean/rock salt. The Hawai‘i State Health Department prohibits the sale of natural Hawaiian pa‘akai, so it can only be acquired from practitioners of traditional salt making and harvesting practices.

Pa‘akai was important in many aspects of life in ancient times. Hawaiians ate most everything fresh, but when a large catch of fish was collected, the excess would be kāpī/kōpī (salted) for storage until times when no fish was available. Salting was also used as a method for storing other foods. The eldest native Hawaiians of Lāna‘i share fond recollections of their childhood, when they would eat honu (turtle) which was baked in an imu, salted, and stored away for special occasions. On a spiritual level the pa‘akai was used to ward off evil spirits, purify, and even prepare bodies of deceased family members for burial. This latter practice was still occurring on Lāna‘i through the 1920s, and using pa‘akai to ward off evil spirits is still practiced today.

Salt making ponds are found around Lāna‘i. Several place names including the names of two ahupua‘a of Lāna‘i (Keālia Kapu & Keālia Aupuni), are associated with salt making. Salt making sites were known by several names, among them were— loko pa‘akai, poho pa‘akai and ‘āina pa‘akai (typically manmade salt drying basins/ponds); and kāheka, hāhāpa‘akai, loko li‘u, and ālialia (typically natural ponds and crevices) where during predictable seasons ocean water would be caught and then dried and turned into pa‘akai.

Several historic narratives mention pa‘akai and its value in Hawaiian culture. One account in particular, titled “Naue ana e ike i ka Mokupuni o Kaululaau,” published in Nupepa Kuokoa on January 9, 1869, specifically references the salt pond resources of Polihua. The traditional practice of gathering salt from the coast of Ka‘ā has been handed down over the generations on Lāna‘i, and today, several ‘ohana (families) continue to periodically gather pa‘akai as needed for special occasions and purposes. Palahinu (literally, bright, shiny) lies at the point where Polihua beach ends and the lava shelf coast line begins, and was named because of the natural beds of salt which can be seen glistening in the sun, and from which pa‘akai is gathered in the present day. The natural basins are filled with kai (ocean water) seasonally, following high seas, and then hardened (pa‘a), as the sun dries it out (Figure 13).



**Figure 13. Pa‘akai is Gathered from Natural Ponding Areas Along the Rocky Coastline of the Islands. (Photo No. KPAC-10180, Kepā Maly)**

Other forms of poho pa‘akai (salt basins) are also found along the Ka‘ā coast. These poho pa‘akai are typically small hollows or dishes worked into the stone by hand (Figure 14), with the surface smoothed. Ocean water is poured into the poho and left to dry for use after fishing trips.



**Figure 14. Poho Pa'akai at Honopū, Ka'ā Lāna'i. Natural lava shelves near the shore line were modified into smooth basins used for making pa'akai. (Photo No. KPAC-2493, Kepā Maly)**

Families with generational ties to Lāna'i, who continue to gather pa'akai from the Polihua region, and at other areas along the shore of Ka'ā, include but are not limited to descendants of the Alonzo, Cockett, Kaenaokalani, Kahikiwawe, Kahooalahala, Kaopuiki, Kauwenaole, Kealakaa, Keliihanani, Mano, Nakihei, Richardson and Suetos lines. Other families of various cultural backgrounds, who have made Lāna'i their home over the last ninety years, also gather pa'akai of the land for home use.

**I komo ka 'ai i ka pa'akai.**  
It is the salt that makes the poi go in.

Poi tastes much better with salted meats. If there is no meat,  
one can make a meal of poi and salt.  
(Olelo No'eau No. 1216, M.K. Pukui, 1983)

## Kenneth Emory's Letters from Lāna'i (1921-1922) In the Field at Ka'ā and Vicinity

In between July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1921 to January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1922, Kenneth Pike Emory traveled to Lāna'i to undertake a cultural study of the island on behalf of the Bishop Museum (Figure 15). At the time, the island was functioning as a ranch and the population—approximately 125 people—resided in three primary places: the windward Keomoku-Kahalepalaoa

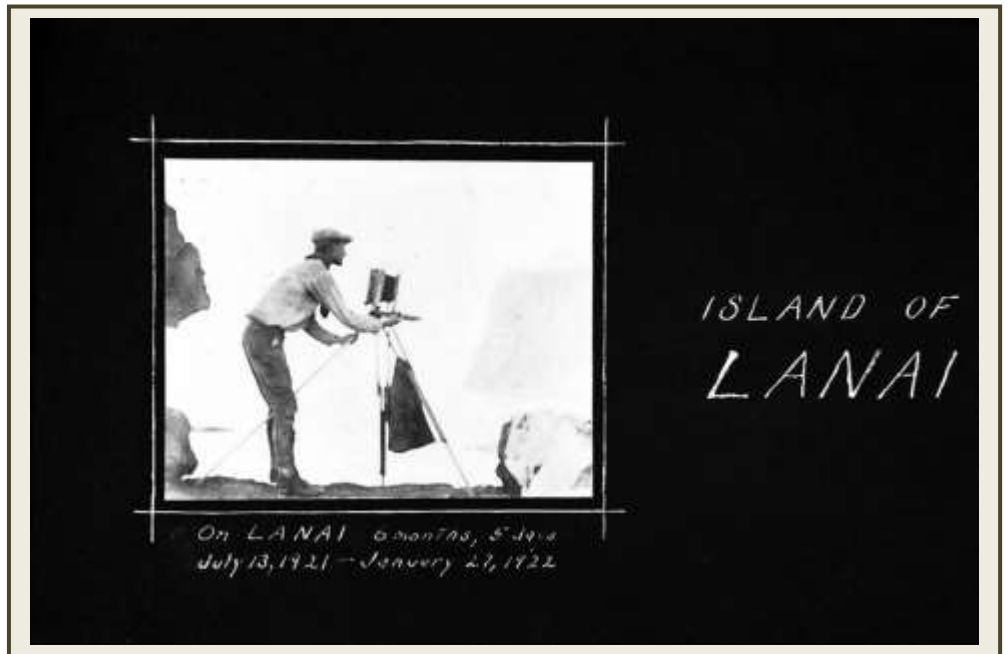


Figure 15. Kenneth Emory Photo Album Cover (K. Emory Family Album)  
(Courtesy of Robin Kaye)

region; at Kō'ele near the 1,700 foot elevation; and in Pālāwai Basin at approximately the 1,100 foot elevation. Emory was befriended by Lāna'i natives, and the George C. Munro and Charles Gay families. He had full access to the island, and to all its elder residents. Emory's documenting of traditions and historical accounts, and his identification of cultural sites around the island occurred at a time when most of the island was untouched. Lugging along his box camera and tripod, he captured images of the people and places, illustrating the history of a living landscape.

Emory's love for Hawaiian culture and archaeology led him to delve into the depths of Lāna'i's history. Had he not worked on the island when he did, much would have been lost, as in late 1922, the island began its transition to what was at one time the world's largest pineapple plantation. The results of Emory's field work and research were published in "The Island of Lanai a Survey of Native Culture" (Bishop Museum, 1924). The bulletin set the foundation for all other work that has been, and will be done on the island of Lāna'i.

During his stay on Lāna'i, Kenneth Emory kept a daily log and he penned regular letters back to the museum, documenting his progress. The log and letters were the foundation of "The Island of Lanai a Survey of Native Culture," but they also included details that did not make it into the bulletin. Excerpts from Emory's letters,

covering work in the Ka‘ā region are cited below, courtesy of the Bishop Museum.

### **Friday, July 29, 1921**

It was still misting when I dressed at six o'clock. The rain yesterday made what the natives here would call a "nalu" [nalu] day. If it is showering with a Kona storm they would call such a day "kewai."

I decided to ride in the Ford with Mr. Munroe in to Kaa this morning. It was very cloudy on which account Mr. Munroe sent all his men out to the Kaa forests to cut fire-wood and at the same time to widen his "tourist" rode.

We marked trees to be cut, and traveled about thru the forest. I was glad of the chance to collect specimens of the native trees and to observe with Mr. Munroe's comments, the real old Hawaiian forest of shrubby trees. It was too dark even out at dry Kaa, to take pictures. We were back at noon without feeling the rain. As it was damp out and I had been soaked the day before in the showers, I stayed in during the afternoon to write letters.

### **Saturday, August 6, 1921**

Before noon I looked over my photographs and my notes on petroglyphs. I was ready for the open in the fine, quiet afternoon. Henry Gibson<sup>28</sup> had brought in more stones from a red, windblown hill in Kaa, which he pointed out from the ranch post-office veranda. I was curious to know what luck I might strike in picking up these ancient stone implements. I strapped a canteen and a camera on to me and rode off on Waimea. It was flat rolling grass country to gallop over. At the edge of the table-land I looked down a thousand feet to a shining sea. The grass had disappeared except for clumps. I could tell by the tracks that wild sheep were plentiful here. At the end of several hours I was riding over a hard packed tract of red earth when I noticed an abundance of opii ['ōpihi] shells, cowry shells, and water-worn pebbles scattered around. The most interesting moment to me was when I found an ulumaika (stone-disk for bowling) laying where it had rolled and toppled over, spent of a force which it received a hundred years ago, at least. Then I found a stone ground the shape of a door knob with a hole in one side, probably the handle for a drill. Leading my horse over patches of earth swept bare of everything except stones, I soon had my trousers pockets, my shirt pockets and my camera bag filled with stones. I could not have been happier if I were picking up golden eggs. I never dreamed that such a thing could be the specimens that I had been handling so religiously in the museum were here as thick as berries to be had for the picking. In two hours I had more of an archaeological

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<sup>28</sup> Henry Gibson, a part Hawaiian grandson of Walter Murray Gibson.

collection than I expected to gather in my whole year in the field. With the coming lateness I left the treasure ground reluctantly. Mr. Munroe was a little surprised at the number of rocks I brought home, he had been over the same area. He remarked, "Mr. Emory is going to clear our land for us."

### **Sunday, August 7, 1921**

We began the day dutifully, Hector and I put up a tent for the kids. We played with them for a long time. About 10 a.m. I took it into my head to go back to Kaa. Ruby put up my lunch. As Hector was willing to come after me in the Ford I left on foot. Oh, I was foot sore by 4 o'clock but look at this list of specimens which I now have; all but the axes and two ulumaika stones came from Kaa.

- 44 ulumaikas (12 fine condition; 13 poor; 9 broken; 10 unfinished)
- 3 sling stones
- 22 coral files
- 4 sharpening stones
- 1 coral bath rubber
- 3 lava bath rubbers
- 1 bird-trap holder
- 1 spindle for a top, broken
- 1 ? handle for drill
- 8 shells bored for squid bait
- 1 stone, unknown purpose
- 1 part of a lamp
- 19 adzes in the rough
- 6 pebbles used as hammers
- 6 hammers
- 126 specimens

I covered pretty thoroughly 10 acres for this collection. Mr. Munroe tells me of other places like this on the top-land and one which is even more promising. In the above search I came across the track used in playing the ulumaika game of bowling. It was a perfectly level stretch of hard ground a hundred yards or more long, on the top of a rise. Along the track were ulumaika stone, about 20, some of them broken probably in the third part of the game where they are rolled against each other by the opponents. I did not pick up hundreds of sharpening and polishing stone and bored shells, only a few of the most representative or unusual. [page 14]

**Wednesday, September 7, 1921**  
**Camp at Kahui [Kahue], Lanai**  
**7:10 p.m.**

At 6 I was putting my things together for the three day trip to the north coast of Lanai. After breakfast. Ruby helped me get salt, Crisco, and two peroxide-bottles full of honey, from the kitchen. Mr. Munroe and I left in the Ford, leading the two polo horses, Apollo and Lei Lehua. Ruby and Georgie [the Munro girls] presented me with a pulmarie [plumeria] good-bye lei, for they will be gone to school in Honolulu when I return to the ranch.

At 9 o'clock we left the machine in the shed at the Kaa forest, to ride down to the shore. As yesterday it was peculiar weather for Hawaii Nei. The sky was overcast by a thin veil of clouds thru which the sun shone yellow with a great circle about it, but the wind was a good Trade. If a storm was to come on, I would hit the trail for the ranch and Mr. Munroe would send a horse down to me.

Three miles along we filled up my 5 gallon water bag at the pipe line, which runs around the northern half of the island at 1,000' elevation. Two or three miles further we came to the beach. A real coral beach with a protecting reef upon which the rough waters of the channel between Molokai and Lanai, broke with a spray. [page 23]

I set down my 40 pound knap-sack to go over with Mr. Munroe to the wind-mill at the mouth of Kahue' (The Spray) gulch; Across the fence on the Maunalei side, to a steady wind-sweep. The sand has drifted into hillocks covered with morning glory vines and keawe [kiawe] bushes. The keawe hugs the ground and grows away from the wind, rising in a garden trimmed curve. Among the keawe we saw about 15 head of wild sheep.

At 11 o'clock we started for the next wind mill west, at Kanaeli [Kanaele] 2 miles away. There was a skull on the beach, also a 40' Oregon red-wood, 3 ½' in diameter, which had broken loose from a log raft. The beach is littered with a conglomeration of rubbish: oars, boxes, kukui nuts, turtle shells, etc. I picked up a rare thing, a nautilus shell, which Mr. Munroe spent 20 minutes packing in an old can at the Kanaeli [Kanaele] shack for they are extremely fragile. Near this deserted house was a collapsed grass house where I found a nice stone lamp and squid-hook sinker.

We rode on several miles to Awalua landing place. Its windmill has gone salty. Here as all along the only tree is the keawe and it is very scarce and stunted by the constant wind. Inland from the sand dunes the slopes are rocky and barren. We rode to the end of the beaches four miles further on. Again there were a good number of fish heiaus and a few house sites.



I rode with Mr. Munroe back as far as Kanaeli [Kanaele] then said aloha and went on to my new home on foot. Arrived at the shanty at 4; threw away fish-bones, old shoes, etc., that natives had left, built my fire, then went to where I had left the water bag. Made supper out of a bowl of rice and fish, and two bowls of coffee. The wind howls outside, but the moon is shining from the rim of a cloud [cloud] onto the nine mile stretch of water between here and Molokai. I have burned 3 inches of candle, another inch while I read, then to bed!

#### **Thursday, September 8, 1921**

Slept very comfortably on the board floor till 5. From where I lay I spied two crabs sneaking into the grub; a yell sent them head-over-heels. As I touched the water bag to pour, I nearly put my hand on an eight inch centipede. Strangely it did not give me the creeps. I killed it calmly...

But overhead it was sublime; an opal cloud bank stretched over Kamakou peak on Molokai, and also over Kukui of W. Maui and Haleakala of E. Maui. The coming sun instantly painted the whole cloud mass a fiery red. The channel was still foaming under the high wind.

At 7 I finished crackers and jam and two bowls of coffee. Out on the north-eastern point, Lae Wahie, there is a fish heiau which I excavated, finding the bones of offerings all thru the structure. There was a lauhala mat hidden in a cave with a bag of salt wrapped in a Hawaiian newspaper dated October 1918. Returned to the shack at noon for honey and crackers. Then I laid down for a minute and must have dozed for I came to with the word "paaloa" (fast asleep) in my ears. I turned my head to see Pohano and Kawelo ride by, whistling could not attract their attention. I continued my note taking over the barren country about camp until 5 o'clock. There is very little here besides a few petroglyphs, 4 or 5 fish temples, a score of house sites, stone shelters and walled-in caves. I picked up a wooden platter and a canoe paddle. Tomorrow I will go on to Kanaeli [Kanaele], and if I have time to Hale o Lono. [page 24]

Dinner went badly tonight, the wind kept me 10 minutes lighting matches, then the rice was too salty (I use ocean water) and when I was making coffee I nearly put the fire out with water. Before dinner I had stripped for a run along the beach and a dip in the waves. I dared not go out in the unknown water for it was dark, the sun had set, gloriously. Turtles are numerous here, I watched two play about at noon time.

It is now 8 p.m. The moon is half full and very bright.

## Friday, September 9, 1921

At 5 I built the fire for the coffee. The E. end of Molokai was draped in showers but it was quite clear here. Before packing to leave I went over some of the ruins again. It was 10 o'clock before I started with the pack on back. I had gone a few steps when Namau and three younger natives rode up to the gate with mail and poi sent down by Hector's kindness. They were going to Kanaeli [Kanaele] for a day or so to split up the 40' red-wood log. Mr. Munroe came down to where they were working several hours later. They had carried my pack to the Kanaeli [Kanaele] shack and Mr. Munroe took it over to Awalua for me. I was left free to prospect the coast where there were two village sites but little of importance.

At Kanaeli [Kanaele, Site 283] I ate my full of poi; the first food I have had which really hit the spot. I would like to find some means of taking home from here a 6 foot wooden platter on logs, which lies against the ruins of a grass house. I put a conch shell, a native stone lamp, and a squid-hook sinker in a bag addressed to myself at the ranch, hoping the natives will take it up. I opened my mail before I started mauka for water. It was beginning to cloud up as if for rain. About 3 miles inland I came to a trough [trough] on the pipe line, at 3:30. I was out on the beach at Awalua, very tired and foot sore. I had to hunt for a camping place, the wind blew the sand every where. I selected a dangerous spot considering the stormy sky—a dry river bed. But it was the only sheltered place near the sea. It was under the lee of the river bank with plenty of drift wood around. Piling up wood on the exposed side of me and improvising a stove out of an old 5 gallon kerosene tin, I was ready for the night.

At 6 I had poi and 3 bowls of black coffee. The poi was delicious, just the right age; it was only with an effort that I left some for breakfast. (A crab just jumped onto me while writing, attracted by the candle light). Dry Kaunakakai, on Molokai was under a column of rain all afternoon. If it rains here I'll hike for Kanaeli [Kanaele] cabin, the roof leaks but I will have company in misery. Lanai has 40" of rain a year, probably this beach receives only 10" a year.

My grub supplies are lasting well. I am a little short on implements, but an opii shell makes a good spoon and a coconut shell a good sugar bowl. [page 25]

## Saturday, September 10, 1921

Anxious to cover my work and meet Hector at the Kaa forest promptly, I stirred forth into the star light at 4:30. As I was preparing coffee in record time on my improvised kerosene stove, I was attracted by the splendour of the rising sun. A line of soft, violet hills had stretched from the summit

of Molokai island to the peaks of West Maui, now it was melting in a stream of gold. The beach along here is continuous for five miles to Kaena point, and everywhere about 100 yards wide. The whiteness is deceptive for mixed in the coral sand is mud, which colors the water reddish brown as it washes up.

I went a mile back towards Kanaeli [Kanaele] to visit the only ruin along that part of the coast, a small fish shrine, then a mile mauka, attracted by a segment of a stone wall.

At 8:30 I packed off for the ruins beyond Hale o Lono. At one cove there were 7 or 8 stone slabs set upright in a row, probably fish gods. At 10:30 I arrived at my immediate destination. I spent two hours here, finding very little of interest; several house-sites, shelters, and koas (fish-heiaus), not an implement. Back at Awalua landing at a recently used house site I picked out of the sands a beautiful and uninjured specimen of an adze.

To make my pack more endurable I repacked it and used up a bottle of honey and can of jam on some crackers, for lunch. I was three hours climbing up the 8 mile slope to Kanepuu, 2000' elevation, at the edge of the dry forest. It was cool all the way, in fact it has been cool on the north beaches all along. With the stiff ocean breeze I don't believe that it is ever warm even in the middle of the day. At the forest I had an hour and a half to wait till 5 o'clock, so I made a side [t]rip around Kanepuu. My shoes were heavy and tired my feet on the climb up so I took them off. To keep my feet warm I had to walk lively. After an hour hike I turned towards the road to come back, intending to intercept Hector. But he was early. I caught sight of him tearing along towards the gate and could not get his attention. I chased after him but when I arrived at the gate, a mile off, he was not [to] be seen. Perhaps he was at the other gate, but no. I was on my way to the ranch on foot after hunting about thru the forest for three-quarters of an hour before I saw Hector down the road again. He had waited at a different gate, then he had gone back to the tank to fill the leaking radiator. Hector had to go down to Manele to meet a bunch who were coming over with James Munroe from Lahaina. He made up for the last time by speeding over the country at a rate which scared me, we did the 3 mile in 10 minutes, stopping to open five gates.

Hector and Ogata took two machines down to the landing. We waited dinner till 8 o'clock then received a telephone call that the bunch would not be in for an hour, and it would take another hour to come up. The new school teacher has come, Mrs. Handy, an American girl who had just been teaching and nursing for years in Australia. Mrs. Forbes will be delighted to have her for her three children. The school is being opened here for the first time in years.

At 9 I went to bed, too sleepy to wait up for the bunch.

### **Monday, September 12, 1921**

I had Lei Lehua, a polo pony, at my disposal today. We rode off at 9:30 to the Kaa forest, I am on the trail of the problem as to where the natives lived who fished along the north coast and played games on the Kaa plateau. Did they live anywhere on the plateau? I tied Lei Lehua at 10:30 combed over the plateau about Kanepuu without a stop till 1:30. I found only one hearth, but numerous charcoal pits. These are remains of the charcoal burning days of 1850 – 18??, which together with goat herding about exterminated the forests causing the remarkable and beautiful works of wind erosion on this end of Lanai. Riding home a different way I found a few more stone implements making a total for the day of: 8 adzes, 9 ulumaika bowling stones, 9 circular coral polishers, 4 files, 6 shell spoons, 9 bored cowrie shells, 2 fish-hook sinkers, 3 hammers, 1 grindstone.

Along the [Keonehe'ehe'e-Kaka'alani] bluffs which bound the plateau on the mauka side, I counted 31 house sites as I came home. Here, certainly, is where the natives lived. Allowing for 20 more house sites marked with stone divisions, and 50 grass houses at least which had used a perishable wooden fence, and allowing 5 natives to a house, this sheltered spot could have and probably did hold a population in ancient times of 500.

Hector and I talked until 11 this night. We proposed a fishing trip in the launch Saturday night and Sunday. Leave Manele by moonlight, return from Kaena point (25 miles) in the morning along the coast where we could spot the burial caves and take pictures. [page 27]

### **Thursday, December 15, 1921 (Koele/Trip to Kaena Point)**

As soon after breakfast as the Ford would start, Mr. Munroe and I left for the north end of the island. It was another clear day with the wind moderate.

At Kanepuu, at the edge of Lanai's ancient "dry land" forest, we untied our horses from the machine and rode towards the coast for a mile together. Mr. Munroe then followed the pipe line while I continued to the coast coming out at the first point where the cliffs end and the land makes a series of little bays and sharp points, the finest fishing coast on the Island. Near the first bay were a couple of shelters and a dozen petroglyphs, one being a rooster. I rode from one little bay to another, going north, until I came to the valley with the reported heiau. The going was up and down

over the most desolate country imaginable, great fields of loose sharp rocks with a few wisps of burnt pili grass between the cracks. I measured and took a photograph of the great platform that represents the temple. But I was in a great hurry, as it was approaching sun-set and I was fifteen miles from home. I thought this must be the last bay before reaching Kaena point, but on riding to the top of the next bank I saw the ruins of a large village around another bay [Keanapapa].

Just at dark I arrived at Kanepuu, finding Mr. Munroe there using his time while waiting for me, to look after the many trees and shrubs he is experimenting with here.

There are no lights on the Ford, however we found the way home, arriving just at 6, dinner time. [page 70]

### **Saturday, January 14, 1922 (Koele/To Kaena Point)**

Last night I asked Hector if I could have their ranch man, Kauila, for today, to go to Kaena point for place names and to look over the one remaining village site. Hector woke me at 6, and said Kauila was there. I dressed, drank a glass of milk, grabbed a banana, and went off for my horse. Kauila and I arrived at Kaena at 9 o'clock. This is the lands end for Lanai, and the furthest point from the ranch, but because of level ground all the way a quick place to ride a horse to. I was determined to have plenty of time to finish Kaena today, if I had had fifteen minutes more of daylight last time I was here, I need not have come back. But the village was soon covered and we started back at 11, making the ranch at 2. Kauila was good company, [page 80] telling me the old traditions (there are only about three in circulation and I know them quite well), and trying to find out why I wanted and picked up a broken bowling stone which he found and threw away.

The results of Kenneth Emory's field work remain an important source of documentation for those interested in learning about Lāna'i's native history. Emory provided further reference to sites of Ka'ā in his publication:

#### **Dwelling Sites**

...I have seen a fireplace on level ground south of Kanepuu hill, which, it may be supposed, warmed a house of the high plateau. [Emory, 1924:39]

#### **Features Associated with Dwelling and Village Sites**

...Many oven pits containing charcoal and ashes have been exposed by wind erosion on the top lands. The most interesting one lies about a mile east of Kanepuu hill, in the district of Paoma'i. As described by George C. Munro, this pit is 3 feet 6 inches in diameter at the top, 3.5 to 4 feet deep

with sides nearly straight. The rim had evidently been moistened and smoothed with the hand or an instrument, marks of which still remain, for about 12 inches into the pit. The plaster and hardened burnt soil this made projected like the lips of a clay bowl about two inches above the natural surface of the wind swept ground... [Emory, 1924:45]

...It is at first puzzling to note that most of the village sites and isolated house sites are far from springs or wells. The present natives say that in the days before sheep, goats, cattle and horses were grazing on the plateau lands, dew could be collected from the thick shrubbery by whipping the moisture into large bowls or squeezing the dripping bush tops into the vessels. Oiled tapa was also spread on the ground to collect the dew. Water accumulating in natural depressions in rock or in cup marks was husbanded carefully. . . [Emory, 1924:46]

### **Village Sites**

...On the flats about Kanepuu hill are quantities of household implements and a few fire places, which are signs of dwellings. But I found no platforms or enclosures... [Emory, 1924:50]

### **Heiau at Kaena-Iki [Figure 16]**

...The stone platform, 55 by 152 feet, at Kaena-iki, is one of the two largest heiau foundations on Lanai.

The platform lies parallel and close to the edge of a bluff at the head of the bay, and on the north bank of the stream; the main part of the village is on the south bank. (See fig. 6, a.) The elevated pavement on the north is of very rough stones, in the northwest corner of which is a small hole probably intended for an image socket. The south pavement is of small, loose stones. Rock is abundant about the heiau, but smooth, water-worn stones from the shore below the bluff were found scattered through the structure. The walls are only two to three feet high; the small pen in one corner is two feet high. The south division of the heiau rests on bare ground. No natives have lived on this end of the island for a great many years, and no name for the heiau is remembered. [Emory, 1924:64]

### **Grindstones, Whetstones and Rubbing Stones**

Over the stretches of plateau about Kanepuu hill numerous artifacts have been dropped, most of them distinguished as such, not because of any artificial shaping, but because the stone is foreign to the region. Among these are flat and oval water-worn stones of vesicular basalt of a size fitting the hand and with both sides smooth and soft to the touch, also thin, flat fragments of lava which probably served for rubbing wooden objects. Fragments of vesicular basalt or more commonly of coral are found which have been brought to the discoidal form by the crumbling



**Figure 16. The Heiau at Ka'ena Iki and valley with terraces on south. View to the upland slopes of Ka'ā. (Photo No. KPAC2-6590. Dec. 15, 2010. Kepā Maly)**

process. They resemble bowling stones, but their irregular outline and signs of wear indicate use in rubbing... On the plateau are numerous stream and beach pebbles of close, smooth-grained basalt having one or more sides highly polished by use, probably as burnishers... [Emory, 1924:79-80]

### **Bowling Stones, Ulumaika**

...On the great flat, south of Kanepuu hill near Kapukalooa, is a level hard-packed strip of earth which seems originally to have been about 5 feet wide and more than 100 feet long. On this track the game of maika was played, judging from the several score of ulumaika stones gathered there by Mr. Munro and myself. There were also many broken ulumaika lying on or near the track... [Emory, 1924:85]

Since the early 1920s when Emory conducted his survey, erosion—the result of wind, rain and ungulate depredation—has further altered the landscape of Ka‘ā (Figure 17). The natural winds and seasonal rains have taken as much as ten feet of top soil from exposed areas, and the introduced ungulates have lain waste to vast areas which were once protected by native vegetation. Significant remnants of native occupation and cultural features have been altered and in some cases lost forever as a result.



**Figure 17. Exposed Slopes of Ka‘ā (Keahiakawelo vicinity), View Across Kalohi Channel to Moloka‘i. (C. Wentworth Collection, May 1924; Bishop Museum Negative No. CP 13184.)**



## **EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF AWALUA HISTORIC SHIPPING AND SHIPWRECKS**

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### **Lānaʻi i ke ʻehu o ke kai.**

Lānaʻi stands among the sea sprays.  
(ʻŌlelo Noʻeau, No. 1945. M.K. Pukui, 1983)

The original settlement of the Hawaiian Islands involved the greatest maritime migration the world has ever known. Over thousands of years, Polynesian navigators discovered all of the inhabitable islands in the remote Pacific. Archaeologists currently estimate that the Hawaiian Islands may have been discovered and settled sometime between 300-600 AD. Their seafaring and navigation skills were unmatched by any other maritime culture.

More than a thousand years later, as European and American influence began to increase following Captain James Cook's visit in 1778, maritime activity reflected a multicultural blend of expertise. By the early 1800's, Hawaiian chiefs owned a growing fleet of western sailing vessels, and provisioning foreign ships gave rise to inter-island commerce. This demand grew due to the hundreds of whaling vessels visiting annually during the mid-19th century, the heyday of American whaling. Sailing brigs, sloops, and schooners were soon joined by early steam vessels, the first operated in Hawaiʻi in 1852. With the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1876, which opened the US mainland for island products, the plantation era boomed while supporting a fleet of hard working steamships.

The US Navy was quick to realize the strategic importance of Hawaiʻi, and began development of Pearl Harbor in 1900. The islands proved to be the first line of defense during WWII. All of this maritime activity has left a physical legacy beneath the waves, for hundreds of vessels were lost in the islands' waters—sloops, schooners, steamships, navy ships and sunken aircraft. NOAA's Maritime Heritage Program seeks to discover and appreciate this legacy, sharing Hawaiʻi's maritime past with the public.

### **Maritime Heritage Along Lānaʻi's Windward Coastline**

The rough north shore of Lānaʻi, particularly within the ahupuaʻa or traditional Hawaiian land divisions of Paomaʻi and Mahana, possesses many cultural and historic locations. Oral histories provide many traditional names of coastal places. Awalua or Two Landings Bay, once the site of an ancient village, later served as a steamship landing during ranching days. Here, sheep and cattle were rounded up by paniolo (local cowboys) and made to swim out to the waiting steamers, then loaded for transport to Honolulu. Today the north shore features a unique concentration of historic wrecks, the remains of steamships from Hawaiʻi's ranching and plantation era. Glimpses of this history on Lānaʻi's Northern coast are documented in the narratives below.

**Malaki 13, 1880 (aoao 3)**  
**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**  
**Na Nu Hou Hawaii.**

Ma ka Poaono o ka pule i hala, ua loohia na manu hou i ke kuna Wawiki, oiai oia ma Lanai i ka hooili hipa no ke okaikai no hoi oia mau la aku nei. Ua hookamumuia oia maluna o na puko'a, a pakele mai no nae.

[Translation]

**March 13, 1880 (page 3)**  
**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**  
**News of Hawaii**  
**Warwick ran aground on Lanai**

On Tuesday last week, the birds bore news of the schooner, Warwick, that while it was at Lanai taking on sheep, and because of rough seas during those days, it ground on the coral, but it got free. [Maly, translator]

**September 18, 1882 (page 2)**  
**The Daily Bulletin**  
**Shipping Notes**

By the arrival of the Mile Morris we learn that the schr. Rob Roy with 100 bags of sugar from Molokai went ashore at Keawalua [Awalua], Lanai, on Friday last. She had lost her false keel and had a hole in her, near her foremast. The above information is given by kind permission of J.M. Oat, Jr.

**Kepakemapa 23, 1882 (aoao 3)**  
**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**  
**Na Nu Hou Hawaii**

...Ua ili ka moku kuna Rob Roy ma Keawalua, Lanai, i ka Poalima, Sepatemaba 15.

[Translation]

**September 23, 1882 (page 3)**  
**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**  
**News of Hawaii**

...The Schooner, Rob Roy, ran aground at Awalua, Lanai on Friday, September 15. [Maly, translator]

**March 11, 1887 (page 3)**  
**Daily Bulletin**  
**The Return of The Surprise**  
**News of the Loss of the Malolo**

The steamer Surprise returned this morning from Kuau [Maui] and Lanai. She brought 2,107 bags of sugar, that being all that was in readiness. The Surprise on her up trip called at Awalua, Lanai, on Wednesday morning. On landing, the captain heard from the natives that the Malolo's crew had lost their boat on a point, and had gone inland to Mr. W. M. Gibson's ranch.

Word was sent to the sailors that the Surprise would return for them the next day. The capsized schooner was not seen by anybody on the steamer, and no knowledge of her whereabouts could be obtained. On Thursday the Surprise called at Awalua for the Malolo's crew, but they had left the island the evening before, on the tug Eleu. The natives said they had departed for Honolulu, but as the tug has not yet arrived here, the probabilities are that she went in search of the Malolo, and has found her.

**March 10, 1887 (page 3)**  
**Daily Bulletin**  
**Capsize of the Malolo**

The schooner Mary Foster, which arrived yesterday afternoon from Lahaina, confirmed the reported capsizing of the schooner Malolo. The steamer Mokolii had sent a boat ashore at Awalua, Lanai, where she found the crew of the Malolo. Captain McGregor, of the Mokolii, reported the accident to the captain of the Mary Foster, at Lahaina, and the definite news reached here yesterday. It seems that the captain had just gone below, leaving the mate, a white man, at the wheel, when a squall struck the vessel. The captain was on deck in an instant, but one of the crew who was in the forecastle, could not get out in time, and was drowned. The vessel keeled over and filled rapidly, but fortunately one of the shop's boats was loose on deck, and the crew made shore in it. On receiving the news yesterday, Mr. Cook, president of the Pacific Navigation Co., applied to the Minister of Interior for the use of the tug boat Eleu. His Excellency L. Aholo having complied with the request, the tug was provisioned, supplied with divers and wreckers, under the command of Captain Cluney, and dispatched at dusk, with Captain John Rice at the wheel. The steamer Surprise, which left here Tuesday afternoon, has probably left some men at Awalua, and if the schooner is afloat when the Eleu gets there, she will be righted and brought to port.

The Malolo is one of the largest schooners in the P.N. Co.'s fleet. She was built four or five years ago at Port Ludlow, W.T., by Hall Bros. She was about 80 tons register, and a good sea boat. She was valued at \$10,000, and was not insured in any

outside insurance company. The Malolo has been to the South Sea Island, and had proved herself a staunch craft. She was commanded by Captain Rosehill, an able seaman, and manned by South Sea Islanders. The tug is not to remain away longer than Saturday next.

**March 11, 1887 (page 3)**  
**Daily Bulletin**  
**The Return of the Surprise**

The steamer Surprise returned this morning from Kuau and Lanai. She brought 2,407 bags of sugar, that being all that was in readiness. The Surprise on her return trip called at Awalua, Lanai, on Wednesday morning. On landing, the captain heard from the natives that the Malolo's crew had left their boat on a point, and had gone inland to Mr. W.M. Gibson's ranch. Word was sent to the sailors that the Surprise would return for them the next day. The capsized schooner was not seen by anybody on the steamer, and no knowledge of her whereabouts could be obtained. On Thursday the Surprise called at Awalua for the Malolo's crew, but they had left the island the evening before, on the tug Eleu. The natives said they had departed for Honolulu, but as the tug had not yet arrived here, the probabilities are that she went in search of the Malolo, and has found her.

**Maraki 12, 1887 (aoao 2)**  
**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**  
**Moku Kuna Malolo**

Ma ka moku kuna "Mary E. Foster" mai o ka Poakolu, i loheia mai ai mai Lahaina mai, o Malolo io no ka moku kuna i kahuli ai mawaena o Molokai a me Lanai i ka po Poaono i hala. E holo maikai ana no ka moku i ka wa o ka wati a ke kapanena e ku ana. A i k ku ana mai o ka wati a ka malamamoku, ua kuhikuhi aku ke kapanena i ka ihu o ka moku e holo ai. A iaia i hoi aku ai e hooluolu a wehe ae i kona aahu, o ka huli aku la no ia o ka moku. Me he la ke kikiaio makani kai pa iho ia wa koke a o ka huli pu aku la no ia o ka moku.

Mahope iho o ka maopopo ana ua huli io ka Malolo, ua noi aku ka Peresidena A.F. Cooke i ke Kuhina Kalaiaina e hoouna i ka mokuahi Hiiaka e imi ina aia ka moku ke lana hele la i ka ili kai. Nolaila, ua hoouna aku ke Kuhina ia Hiiaka i ke ahiahi oia la no holo e huli, a e hoomau i ka hulia ana a hoi mai i keia la.

I ka haalele ana o ka mokuahi Kaala ia Honolulu nei, i ka Poalua i hala, ua kalewa aku la oia ma Awalua i Lanai i ka hora 12 oia po. Ua hoouna ia he waapa i uka, aka o na olulo ua pau i ka pii i uka o ka aina Hanai Holoholona o Maunalei.

Ua waiho ia aku he kauoha e ke Kapanena, e kii kekahi i na olulo, a e hoi mai a kali ma Awalua i ka Poaha iho nei, no lka mea, oia ka wa a ke Kapanena o Kaala i manao ai e kii aku ia lakou ke hoi mai oia mai Kuau mai.

I ka hora 11:15 am o ka Poaha nei, ua haalele aku ke Kaala ia Kuau a hoi ae nei i Awalua a ku ilaila i ka hora 4 a mahope iho.

Ua ku mua aku nae o Hiiaka i Awalua i ke kakahiaka nui, ua hookau aku la i na olulo a holo aku la e imi ia Malolo ina aia oia ke lana hele la i ka ili kai.

Ua hoi mai o “Hiiaka” i ke ahiahi mai ka huli ana a loa ole o Malolo. Ua hoihoi pu nei oia i na olulo a pau i pakele mai. O ke kapena o Malolo, he Norewai, ka malama moku he Geremania, a o na luina he Makahiki.

[See article below, “The Loss of the Malolo” in The Daily Herald and Hawaiian Gazette.]

**March 12, 1887 (page 3)**  
**The Daily Herald**  
**The Loss of the Malolo**  
**Return of the Search Expedition**

The Government steam tug Eleu arrived in port at dark last evening bringing Captain Rosehill and the ten surviving South Sea Island sailors of the schooner Malolo that foundered off the Island of Lanai of this group. Not a trace of the lost vessel was seen during the cruise. The Eleu had fine weather up till yesterday morning when she had it rather rough. Following is the official report of Captain Cluney who was in charge of the expedition on behalf of the Pacific Navigation Company

“Report of the cruise of the tug boat Eleu in search of the schooner Malolo. Left the wharf at 6:30 p.m. on Wednesday 9th March. Proceeded to Lanai. Arrived off Awalua at 5 a.m. on Thursday morning. Sent the boat ashore and took off the captain and the men. Then started off on a southwest course. Consulted with the captain about the schooner. He said she lay on her beam ends and he was satisfied he saw her roll down and sink. We cruised a zigzag course W. S. W. to S. S. W. until 6:15 p.m., then hauled up to N. E. Slowed down until 2 a.m., then started up slow until daylight. Then cruised back from N. N. E. to E. N. E. At 12 p.m. Oahu bearing N. W. kept off for port, arriving at the wharf at 6:15 p.m. We came back sooner than we wanted to on account of coal being short.

“Capt. Cluney,  
Acting for Pacific Navigation Co.”

**March 15, 1887 (page 5)**  
**Hawaiian Gazette**  
**The Loss of the Malolo**

On Monday evening March 7<sup>th</sup>, rumors reached this city of the loss of the fine schooner Malolo belonging to the Pacific Navigation Co. off Lanai while on her passage up to Hawaii. On Wednesday evening definite news was received of the disaster by the schooner Mary Foster. The steamer Mokolii on her way up called at Lanai and Captain McGregor had an interview with Capt. Rosehill of the lost schooner who stated that he had just gone below leaving the first officer in charge at the wheel when a fierce squall struck the vessel throwing her on her beam ends when she immediately began to fill. One of the schooners boats which was on deck was got afloat and the Captain and crew escaped from the wreck to Awalua, Lanai in her, with the exception of a South Sea Islander who was in the forecandle asleep at the time and who has not since been heard of. Capt. McGregor on meeting the Mary Foster communicated his information to her Captain. The schooner Malolo was considered one of the finest sailing vessels belonging to this port, and was believed to be in good sailing trim as to freight when leaving here Saturday the 5<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Frank Cooke on hearing the news of the disaster lost no time in seeing the Hon. L. Aholo who promptly placed the tug Eleu at Mr. Cooke's disposal to go in search of the Malolo. The tug was supplied with every requisite including divers and sailed the same evening for the scene of the disaster, in charge of Captain Rice with Captain Cluney, who directed the search for the Malolo. The Malolo was built by Hall Brothers at Port Ludlow W. T.; was of 80 tons burthen and valued at \$10,000. The vessel was not insured in any outside office.

The tug Eleu returned Friday evening after a fruitless search for the missing vessel The following is Captain Cluney's official report:

“Report of the cruise of the tugboat Eleu in search of the schooner Malolo. Left the wharf at 6:30 p.m. on Wednesday, March 9<sup>th</sup>; proceeded to Lanai arrived off Awalua at 5 a.m. on Thursday morning; sent the boat ashore and took off the Captain and the men; then started off on a southwest course; consulted with the Captain about the schooner; he said she lay on her beam ends and he was satisfied he saw her roll down and sink.

We cruised a zigzag course W. S. W. to S. S. W. until 6:15 p.m.; then hauled up to N. .E slowed down until 2 a.m.; then started up slow until daylight; then cruised back from N. N. E. to E. N. E. At 12 p.m., Oahu bearing N. W. kept off for port arriving at the wharf at 6:15 p.m. We came back sooner than we wanted to on account of coal being short.

Capt. Cluney,  
“Acting for Pacific Navigation Co.”

**December 9, 1893 (page 3)**  
**Daily Bulletin**  
**Shipping Notes – Local and General News**

Purser Green of the Mokolii said that very heavy rain fell at Awalua on the island of Lanai, yesterday. "I've never seen such heavy rain on the island before," said the purser.

**June 28, 1901 (page 2)**  
**The Honolulu Republican**  
**Steamer Golden Gate Lost at Awalua**

Along the Waterfront. Hoodoo Still at Work.

The Hoodoo which has been at work on the Wilder Steamship Company for about a year and a half is still at work. Yesterday news came from Maui of the total loss of the schooner Golden Gate at Awalua on Lanai on Wednesday evening. The schooner was loaded with a cargo of pipe for Lahaina and left here Tuesday in tow of the steamer Mokolii. She was in charge of Captain William Madon, one of the most capable and expert schooner captains in the islands. He is an extremely careful man and has never before had an accident.

How the accident happened is not yet known, but it is thought that the vessel was becalmed after being dropped by the steamer and that the strong current swept her onto the rocks. News of her accident was sent to the steamers Lehua and Mokolii and they were soon beside her to render any assistance they could. They got all her cargo off and nearly all her running gear and the personal effects of the crew.

Superintendent Captain Tom Clark went to the scene of the wreck in the steamer Helene which left here yesterday shortly after noon and will render any assistance that will be of avail.

The Golden Gate was valued at about five thousand dollars and carried no insurance.

**October 14, 1902 (page 3)**  
**The Independent**  
**Use of Awalua Landing in 1902**

John H. Wise and "Bert" Colburn went up on the steamer Hawaii last evening for Lanai, to take possession and hold down certain interests there claimed by Jno. F. Colburn. They will be landed either at Awalua or Maunalei.

## Navy Vessels on the Windward Shore of Lānaʻi

The two largest and most visible shipwrecks on Lānaʻi's north shore are actually navy vessels. The YO-21, aground at Awalua Bay, was a navy yard oiler, used to provide fuel oil to other vessels in the harbor. The oiler was built in New York in 1918 and assigned to the 14th Naval District at Pearl Harbor in 1924. YO-21 is one of the few remaining vessels that were at Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941 (Figure 18). According to oral reports, the vessel was intentionally grounded sometime in the 1950's.



**Figure 18.** Naval Ship, YO-21, aground at Awalua, with view along coast to Haleolono Dunes, and the slopes of Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa towards the west. (Photo No. KPAC2-6652. Dec. 15, 2010. Kepā Maly)

The prominent concrete and steel hulled tanker near Pōʻaiwa is the navy fuel barge YOGN-42. Twenty-two of these non-self propelled barges were built in National City, California, to supply gasoline and other supplies during World War II. YOGN-42 went into service in 1943 and was sent to Espiritu Santo as part of a forward staging area for U.S. forces in Vanuatu. The vessel was stricken from the active register in 1949, and abandoned on Shipwreck Beach sometime after that.



## The Pu'ulolo Incident at Awalua

On February 11 and 12, 1892, an event took place in the small village at Awalua, that instantly threw Lāna'i into the forefront of Hawaiian news. A young woman by the name of Pu'ulolo (also written Pulolo), instigated the murder of three people (one child and two adults), and the burning (attempted murder) of a fourth, her own brother. The participants in this event were: five women—Pu'ulolo (the principal), Kanoē, Kano'ēna, Nawai and Kahikina, and six men—Kala, Kakaio, Kealaka'a, Keola, Keli'iku'ewa and Kealaka'ali'ili'i. Those killed were Kalali'ili'i (a boy of about six years in age), and two adult males, Puni and Kaholokai. Pa'a, Pu'ulolo's brother was also set on fire, and survived, and was held (pending his recovery) with his wife, Awili, as co-conspirators.

In 1891 and the months leading up to February 1892, Puulolo had led some people to believe that she was a kahuna, with power to rid people of evil spirits. Pu'ulolo discerned that the child, Kalali'ili'i, was possessed, and during the exorcism, he was killed. The events which unfolded are described below in a series of articles, documenting the arrests and court case. In the months that followed, a group of desperate Caucasian businessmen and political leaders even went so far as to use the Awalua event, as evidence that Hawaiians were unable to govern themselves (see "The Lanai Horror" in *The Friend*, July 1892).

### **February 17, 1892 (page 3)**

#### **Daily Bulletin**

#### **News of Puulolo and Events at Awalua**

#### **Horrible Affair. Man Burned to Death on Lanai. The Finale of a Party's Debauch.**

Somewhat startling news of a tragedy on Lanai was rumored around town yesterday. The news was said to have been brought by the steamer *Mokolii*, which arrived that day.

A Bulletin reporter sought information at the Station House and was told that news had been received that the Deputy Sheriff of Lahaina had gone over in a boat to Lanai to investigate the matter. Purser S. Green, of the steamer *Mokolii*, when accosted gave the following account:

A party of natives (including wives and families) lived in a house near the beach at Awalua, Lanai. On Friday a quantity of awa root was procured and pounded into a drink of which all began freely to partake. Toward evening they became hilarious and commencing to dance, created considerable noise. They were all, in plain language, beastly drunk. One of the party, a woman, sat on the beach in a nude condition, and dug in the sand with her hands. The others were running to and fro, laughing and acting as if crazy. During the evening all went into the house, and, it is

presumed, while dancing one of the party accidentally set fire to the building.

In the confusion that followed a young man who was “too far gone,” was unable to get beyond the flames, and, the others who were in the same condition being unable to extend him any help, he perished in the burning building. The extent of the whole sale debauchery that caused the fatality can be judged by the fact that when the steamer Mokolii left on Monday, four days after this catastrophe, the survivors were still under the influence of the liquor. A woman of the party was running about the beach entirely nude, and the others were shamefully abusing themselves. Further news will be eagerly awaited.

**February 22, 1892 (page 2)**  
**The Daily Bulletin**  
**News of Puulolo and Events at Awalua**

The Lanai Horror.

Frequently the most shocking crimes are committed amidst the most peaceful scenes. Isolation and solitariness appear to breed morbid conditions of mind in those subject to such situations. The darkest horrors in lands of civilization are often reported from sparsely settled backwoods districts, where each habitation is far from any other and remote from populous centers. It is not that Nature in her undisturbed keeps, with all the charms that poets give her, provokes the tenants of her bowers to homicide or misanthropic freaks of any kind. Rather is it the lack of the checks and balances and stimulating influence of society—rude it may be but bound together by mutual ties of self preservation and common interests—which makes segregated families or tribes and scantily peopled communities the easy victims of suddenly-coming influences of an exciting character. With an extreme paucity of social concerns to exercise them, the minds of solitarily situated people have a tendency to feed on themselves and, with that pabulum becoming exhausted, to reach out for material to what wild Nature may suggest to their imaginations. Such people run naturally into superstitious notions, and are liable to be carried away into the wildest actions by only slight excitation. This would appear to be the case of the family community at Awalua on Lanai, the account of whose shocking crimes is given today. In addition to their isolated state, however, these unfortunate Hawaiians were under the incubus of a traditional respect for the supernatural power of the genus kahuna (sorcerer). Any who may have regarded the influence of kahunas at this late day as having become deprived of its force, except in a case here and there where the superstition is fatally invoked in sickness to the exclusion of modern medical science, will be rudely awakened by this dark chapter of heathenish crime on Lanai.

The case is not exactly parallel with the rebellion of Kaona, the religious fanatic, in Kona in 1867 and 1868, an account of which is given in the late Hon. W. C. Parke's "Reminiscences." That case was more like the recent "Messiah" craze among the Indians in the United States. Kaona and his wife took the Bible as their shield and buckler, materially, and called on all people to join them in propitiation, for a universal calamity, under pain of death and the burning of their houses to those who refused. They murdered Sheriff Neville and a native constable, sent to serve a writ of ejectment on them, before they were overpowered and 78 of them arrested by a military force over 100 strong sent from Honolulu.

**February 22, 1892 (page 3)**  
**The Daily Bulletin**  
**News of Puulolo and Events at Awalua**

Kaiao, one of the natives connected with the murder at Lanai, is a brother of Hon. J.W. Kalua, of Wailuku.

**February 22, 1892 (page 3)**  
**The Daily Bulletin**  
**News of Puulolo and Events at Awalua**  
**Revolting Tragedy!**  
**Three Murders by Fanatics on Lanai**  
**A Fourth Victim Shockingly Tortured by Fire**  
**The Work of a Cruel Female Kahuna**

Puulolo and Ten Accomplices Under Commitment In Oahu Jail for Murder.

A much worse tragedy was enacted on the island of Lanai this month than the first dark and vague reports of the uncanny conduct of a family there made evident. By the Kinau on Sunday morning there arrived in Honolulu two officers in charge of eleven persons committed to jail for trial on the charge of murder. There is a twelfth person who has been accused of murder, in connection with the same blood-freezing horror, left lying in jail at Lahaina charged with participation in the crimes, while being himself one of the sufferers from the brief but frightful reign of fanaticism at the hamlet of Awalua.

The prisoners comprise five women—Puulolo (the principal), Kanoë, Kanoëna, Nawai and Kahikina, and six men—Kala, Kakaio, Kealakaa, Keola, Keliikuëwa and Kealakaalilili. Puulolo is charged with three murders, one of them wholly her own cruel work. The others are charged with participation in one or both of two of the murders with which the principal is charged. According to the commitments, the first murder was

the killing of Kalaliili, a nephew of Puulolo's and a child of only six years, in which the murderous kahuna was assisted by nine of the family group, on the night of February 11. Puulolo is charged singly with the murder of Puni, whom she beat to death with a club, the night of February 12. The same night Kaholokai was seized by the assistants of the priestess, while she beat him with a club into unconsciousness. She is supposed to have finished him after the retirement of the others. Early in the morning the hut was burned down, and the fanatics threw Kaholokai's body into the flames.

Paa, who is in jail with his wife at Lahaina, was one of the first ones to be attacked for his skepticism of the powers of the priestess. He is a brother of Puulolo and his treatment gives some idea of the intensity of her malignant frenzy. By her orders he was held down, while the devilish wench roasted his face, arms, and body with a burning torch composed of rags dipped in grease. The foregoing is a summary of the crimes for which the prisoners await trial. Below will be found a history of the awful tragedy, in which the motives already hinted at are made more clear.

The following facts are gathered from the report of Deputy Sheriff Sam. F. Chillingworth, Wailuku, to Marshal Wilson:

On Monday the 15th inst. a boat arrived at Lahaina from Lanai, bringing information of several deaths at Awalua, Lanai. A constable from Lanai and two witnesses came by the boat, on hearing whose statements Captain of Police Hose rode to Olowalu, and thence telephoned an account of the affair to Wailuku. Sheriff T. W. Everett instructed Deputy Sheriff Chillingworth to send Deputy Sheriff Makalua of Lahaina and Capt. Hose at once to Lanai, make a thorough investigation, and report to the Sheriff at Wailuku with all possible dispatch. Deputy Makalua having ear ache confined himself to holding a consultation with the Police Justice and finally swearing out a warrant for twelve persons named by a woman Kahue, who had come from Lanai with the officer. Capt. Hose, taking some officers with him went in a boat to Lanai, where, employing horses for himself and three others, he proceeded to Awalua. Arriving there he arrested the twelve persons named in the warrant, and brought them together with a number of witnesses to Lahaina on Wednesday.

Capt. Hose after lodging his prisoners in jail rode to Wailuku and reported his action to Sheriff Everett. The Sheriff directed that Mr. Chillingworth should go to Lahaina and attend to the case, and in pursuance of his instructions the Wailuku Deputy arrived at Lahaina early Friday morning the 19<sup>th</sup> inst. He found that the prisoners (with the exception of Paa and his wife, Awili), had been arraigned Thursday morning and charged with murder, and their cases postponed, waiting the return of Hose from Wailuku, until Friday morning.

On Mr. Chillingworth's arrival the prisoners were again remanded until Saturday morning. In the meantime the Deputy-Sheriff worked up the case, and that day presented charges as follows:

Puulolo (w.), for the murder of Puni (w.) on Friday, February 12, 1892.

Kala (k.), Kakaio, Kealakaa, Keola, Keliikuewa, Kanoë, Kanoëna, Nawai, Kahikina and Puulolo (ten in all), for the murder of Kalaliili on February 11, 1892.

Puulolo (w.), Kakaio, Kala, Keola and Kealakaalilii (five), for the murder of Kaholokai, on February 12, 1892.

Defendants had a local lawyer for counsel. They pleaded not guilty, waived examination and were committed for trial at next June term, Circuit Court at Wailuku.

Paa (k.) and Awili his wife are in the jail at Lahaina. Paa was the first one abused, having been terribly burned about the face and upper portion of the body, with a torch in the hands of Puulolo, Paa being held by the others during the burning. He is under the treatment of Dr. Davison and, although his injuries are shocking, he will probably recover. It is quite evident, in the opinion of Deputy-Sheriff Chillingworth, that Paa could not have had anything to do with the subsequent terrible occurrences. His wife would testify as to what was done after his torturing.

Mr. Chillingworth gives the following connected narrative of the case, as gathered from his investigations:

"All of the defendants now in jail and the murdered persons resided at Awalua, a small landing place on Lanai, there being at that place only four houses—two storehouses belonging to Mr. Hayselden and two other houses, one a frame house owned by Kahue (w.) and the other a grass house occupied by the parties to the tragedy.

"Puulolo went to Honolulu and returned from there about two months ago, and on her return claimed to be possessed of supernatural power, especially in the curing of diseases, which she claimed were all the results of evil spirits that entered into the bodies of people and destroyed them. After her arrival back from Honolulu, Puulolo had opportunity to show her skill by the treatment of two young people (one of whom was the boy Kala whom she since beat to death). These patients she appeared to cure by necromancy, and her power was at once acknowledged by the rest of the villagers (who by the way were all related to each other either by blood ties or marriage).

“Probably emboldened by her success and power Puulolo went from one extravagance to another. She claimed that at intervals she had a spirit or god that entered her and gave her the power to detect the evil spirits that had entered other people, and she played the role of kahuna with sovereign power. In fact, as some of the unfortunate, misguided people say, she was their “Queen and God.’

“The different murders were committed under her instructions, that a devil needed to be driven out of the person attacked. Any attempted questioning was promptly punished by her orders to the people around her. They were afraid of her and afraid of each other, none knowing whose turn would come next, and each and all afraid to refuse the execution of her orders, fearing that his fellows would be ordered to inflict summary punishment to drive out the devil that had prompted the disobedience.

“So the dismal details of crime, fanaticism, and superstition, followed rapidly on one another through the days and nights of the week of the murders, until, encouraged by the presence of some outsiders, some of her deluded followers turned on her and tied her and her husband up, to be so found by the officers on their arrival with the warrants of arrest.

“Last night I went to the jail and had Puulolo brought to me for examination. She impresses me as a more than clever schemer with a cruel nature. She unhesitatingly admitted the deaths of the three persons and the burning of Paa, but denied altogether any knowledge of the cause of death of the woman Puni or of the boy Kala. She says that Kaholokai (k.) must have been killed by the burning of the house. She admits that she was present at the other two deaths, but knows of no cause. I sat with the woman for over an hour, questioning her closely as to the facts of the case, but could not either confuse her or gain any admissions from her.

“So far as I can detect, there is not the slightest trace of humility about her, and, coupling the results of my examination with the statements of the others as to her instructing the burning of the house, and other movements to conceal the crimes committed, I believe her to be perfectly sane, but given over entirely to her love of power and the indulgence of a terribly cruel nature.”

Mr. Chillingworth asks for instructions as to the exhumation of the bodies for the purposes of evidence. Dr. Davison having advised him that decomposition would have destroyed traces of violence in tissues and flesh, and fractures of bone could be discovered later as well as now. The Deputy-Sheriff gives high praise to Capt. Hose, for the energy he displayed in arresting the accused and securing witnesses.

**February 22, 1892**  
**Pacific Commercial Advertiser**  
**The Awalua Incident – Puulolo Case**

A horrible outbreak of heathenish superstition has occurred on the island of Lanai, leading to deeds of the most frightful violence, to the murder of a man, a woman, and a child, and the savage torturing of still another unfortunate. The first rumors of these shocking events reached Honolulu on the Mokolii last Tuesday. Yesterday the Kinau brought confirmation of these rumors, together with twelve prisoners, an entire family all charged with murder, some of them on three indictments. The names of the twelve [sic] persons are as follows: Kakaio; Kala; Keliikuewa; Keola; Puulolo (wahine); Nawai (wahine); Kanae; (wahine); Kahikina; Kanoenoe (wahine); and Kealakaa.

The murdered persons are the three following: Kala (liilii) [infant], six years; Puni (wahine), sister; and Kaholokai.

There are three charges of murder: (1) Puulolo (wahine) is charged with the murder of Puni (wahine); (2) all twelve are [page 181] charged with the murder of Kala [sic: Kula], (liilii); and (3) Kahikina, Puulolo, Kakaio, Kala, Keola, and Kealake [sic: Kealakaa] are charged with the murder of Kaholokai.

The police are cautious in their utterances, and it is difficult to ascertain the course of the whole dreadful history. Much of it will not be known until the trial; some of it will never be known. The following brief sketch of the facts is derived from the most trustworthy sources accessible.

On Monday, the 15<sup>th</sup> inst., news reached Lahaina that murders had occurred at Awalua, on Lanai. The deputy sheriff dispatched Mr. Chillingworth, R.P. Hose, and other constables to the scene. They left Lahaina at 10 a.m. Tuesday, reaching Awalua at 12:30, where they found Puulolo (wahine) and Kealaka [Kealakaa] tied with ropes. It appears that sometime before the events described below, Puulolo had cured, or was credited with curing, a child of Kaholokai's which had been very sick. This had gained for her the reputation of a kahuna, and she probably was convinced of the reality of her supernatural powers. The aumakua or spirit, which had power over her was called Kihilikini. Acting under the guidance of this spirit, on the night of Thursday, February 11, she beat and killed her sister Puni, beating her to death with a club. Puni, it is said, had expressed disbelief in her power, which had angered her. The following night was marked by events still more bloodcurdling. The furious woman clubbed to death her nephew Kala [sic], a boy of six years, the rest of the family acquiescing or assisting. After this action was

completed, the other members of the family held Paa, a young man of about thirty and a brother of the kahuna, while she burned him over the face, body, and arms with a flaming torch made of cloth dipped in oil or lard. Later in the night her fourth victim, Kaholokai, was seized and held while she beat him with a club until he became unconscious. At this point the rest left him and went away, leaving the murderess alone with the dying man, to whom she was supposed to have dealt the finishing strokes. The family returned and went to sleep, and early in the [page 182] morning the fire was started which destroyed the hut. Into its flame the body of Kaholokai was thrown, the other corpses being left to die on the ground outside, where the sickening horror had been enacted.

Saturday morning a native by the name of Palau, who lived about a mile away, came down and asked questions about what had occurred, but receiving no answers went to the other side of the island, about eight miles away, to inform the constable. Returning, he with another native, by the name of Kahulu, made some rough wooden coffins in which the three murdered Hawaiians were buried. Some of the family, who by this time may be supposed to have come partially to their senses, dug the graves.

This was on Saturday night. On Tuesday the four police officers arrived from Lahaina, and on Wednesday morning at four o'clock they started back with two boats, in the second of which were the twelve prisoners. They reached Lahaina at 6:30 and were met by an excited crowd, among them women armed with sticks. The face of the burned man, Paa, was covered from sight with a veil, it being feared that his disguised appearance would incite the people to violence against Puulolo.

The examination of the prisoners was set for the following day but was postponed until Friday owing to the absence of Mr. Chillingworth in Wailuku. All twelve prisoners were sent down to Honolulu and arrived on the Kinau on Sunday morning. They were taken first to the station house, and afterwards to the Oahu Jail. It is said that Dr. Davison, of Lahaina, from an examination of the kahuna Puulolo, found no reason to suppose her insane. An officer who had a good deal of conversation with her on the voyage from Lahaina says that she seems perfectly rational. She is a young woman between twenty and thirty years of age, rather slender in figure. An eyewitness in the Oahu Prison speaks of her as cowering in a blanket, with her head bent down and muttering to herself.

The murders of Kaholokai and the child Kala [sic] were perpetrated, it is believed, in the expectation that the ka- [page 183] huna would bring them to life again. Paa, the brother, who was so horribly burned, is said to be improving, with a prospect of recovery.



The natives have all deserted Awalua, and the scene of this sickening outburst of heathenism and superstition is now a desert.

### **Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Feberuari 27, 1892 (aoao 3)**

**Na Make Limakoko Ekolu ma Lanai**

**Ka Hopena Ino Maewaewa o ka Puni Wale i ke Kahuna Hoopunipuni.**

**Na Lawehala ma Honolulu**

Ma ke ku ana mai o ke Kinau ma ke kakahiaka Sabati nei, Feberuari 21, ua lawe mai oia no Honolulu i na poe o ke kahua limakoko o Lanai, he 10 ko lakou nui, a eia k lakou mau inoa: Puulolo, he wahine kahuna; Kala (k), Kakaio (k), Kealakaa [lilii] (k), Keliikuewa (k), Kanoë (w), Kanoëna (w), Nawai (w), Kahikina (w), a me Keola (k). Eia malalo iho nei ka moololo ano nui o ia pepehi kanaka i hili ia:

Aia ma Awalua, Lanai, kekahi wahine kahuna hoonohonoho akua o Puulolo kona inoa, a me ia akua e noho ana iluna ona, e lapaë ai oia i ka mea ma'i. Ma ka moololo i hai ia mai ua hoola aku keia kahuna i kekahi keiki i make i lawe ia mai imua ona, a ma ia hana ana a ua kahuna nei a ole, ua nui na poe i manaio. Ma ia ano, ua hoomaka ka noho mana o ka weli ia o ua wahine nei maluna o na mea a pau e manaio nei iaia, a ua lilo lakou i poe kauwa hooko hana malalo o na kauoha a pae a keia wahine kahuna.

Aia maloko o kekahi hale ma Awalua, he anaina nui o na kino ola ke akoakoa ana maloko, a o keia wahine kahuna kakahu iwaena o lakou. O ke ahiahi Poalima ia, Feb. 12, ua waihoia aku imua o keia kahuna he kaiki ma'i ma ka inoa o Kalalilii; he wahi kamaiki keia nona na makahiki elima a eono paha. Eia ka pane a ke kahuna; "He moo ko loko, oia ka pilikia o ke keiki."

Penei hou ka lawelawe lapaau ana a ke kahuna i puka ka moo iwaho; Paipai ae la na lima i ke poo me ka ikaika a me ka hoomau pu, alaila hopu ka pauku laau a hahau maluna o ke keiki me ka ikaika. Ke uwe ae la ke keiki i keia mau ehaeha a ua nui ke kupaka, aka, ua ikaika loa na lima kakauha o kekahi mea e piliki ana iaia, nolaila i mauiawa iho ai ke keiki iloko o na eaheha a ka hoomainoino a hanu ae la i kona aho hope loa no ka make. A make o Kalalilii, i aku nei ua Kahuna nei i na poe e noho ana iloko o ka hale, "E nana oukou ma ka hikina mai ka la, a e kii ae au i ka uhane o kahi keiki a hookmo hou ae iloko ona."

Me ka maopopo no nae i keia poe o ke ko ole o na olelo a ke kahuna no ke ola hou o ke keiki i make, ua waiho ia mai la no he ma'i hou, he whaine oia ma ka inoa o Puni.

O na lawelawe lapaau a ke kahuna maluna o keia ma'i hou, aia no ia ma kahi o na limaikaika i like ole me ka hana i hookoia maluna o ke keiki, a penei no ia; Kauohaia kekahi kane (Kaholokai) e paa ia Puni ma ka lauoho, hoopili i ke kua ma na kuli ona a hounuunu iho me ka ikaika. Ua hookoia ke kauoha me ka hikiwawe. He mea ole na uwe ana ae me ka ehaeha a me na uwalo ana no ke kokua, a pela i nana ia aku ai o Puni e noke ia la i ka hounuunu. Alaila weheia na aahu a olohelohe ke kino, puku ia he ahi maluna o ke one, a moluna o ke one wela enaena i koala ia aku ai ke kino nawaliwali o Puni. O kana mau hooikaika ana e pakele aole loa i hiki. Ua kaa a ua kupaka oia maluna o kela one wela a hiki ke aili ana o kona aho. He mau wahi mapuna leo hope loa kona i pa-e mai me keia mau huaolelo moakaka i kana punua: "E Kakaio e! E kii mai oe e kokua ia'u, e make ana au aole au e ike hou ana ia oe." Ua pane aku o Kakio, "Aole e hiki ia'u ke kii aku e kokua ia oe." Nani wale kona lohe hope ana i na olelo lokoino a kana aloha he kane a kunewa aku la oia a make.

Alua make mainoino i hookoia malalo o na kauoha a ke kahuna Puulolo, aole nae i ikeia aku he mau kue mai kela anaina hohe wale e makaikai la i ke kino oolopu o Puni i na hana mainoino a keia kahuna, aole no hoi i hookaakaa ia ko lakou mau maka e ike iho i ka weliweli okeia mau hana hoopunipuni kiekie.

Waiho aku la keia mau kino make, puka hou ke kauoha a ke kahuna e hopu a nakii i ke kaula ia Kaholokai, na lima a me na wawae. O Kaholokai, limakakauha keia maluna o Puni, a ua hooko koke ia ke kauoha. Hopu ke kahuna i ka pauku laau ha hahau maluna o ke kino o Kaholokai. Ua hoomau ia keia hahau a hiki i ka make loa ana o Kaholokai iloko o kona manaio i na hana wahae e a iloko pono i o na lima o ke kahuna.

Akolu kino kanaka i maka mainoino, aole no he kue i hana ia e na poe iho i koe maluna ke kahuna. A liuliu wale mahope iho, mamuli no o ke kauoha a Puulolo ke kahuna, hahao ia aku la na kino make iloko o ka hale, a pupuhi ia ua hale la i ke ahi me na pono a pau oloko aole i laweia. Ua huhewa ka mana o ke akua o ke kahuna a ua ola ole na moepuu a ka hilinai kuhihewa.

Na kekahi mea ma ka inoa o Palau i hoike keia mau hana manaonao.

Ua hopuia na limakoko e na makai mai Lahaina aku a hului ia ae la no kahi hoopaa malaila.

Ua noho ka Aha ninaninau no keia hihia, a o na mea i hoike ia mai, o Puulolo (w), a ua hoopiiia oia no ka pepehi kanaka ia Puni (w), a ua hoopiiia na poe e ae he 12 no ka pepehiu kanaka ia Kalaliili, he kamaiki;

O Puulolo ke kahuna, Kahikina (w), Kakaio, Kala, Keola a me Kealakaaliliii, he poe kane lakou, no ka hew pepehi kanaka ia Kaholokai. He umi poe i lawe ia mai i Honolulu nei, a ke paa nei lakou ma ke kakela eehia o Kawa.

Ua hoike hou la mai he elua aku la i koe ma Lahaina, oia o Paa a me kana wahine. O keia Paa kekahi ma'i lapaau ia e kela kahuna ma ke kunikuni ana i ka ili me ke ahi aila kao. Ua hoike mai kona mau papalina, na maka a me ke kino i ka paa a me na alina mawewaewa a ke ahi, a ma ka lono hope, ua kaa aku la kona lapaau ia ana ma Lahaina malalo o ke kauka aupuni me ka pii mai o kona oluolu.

E malamaia aku ana ko lakou hookolokolo ia ma ke kau kiure o Wailuku, Maui i lune aenei.

[The Hawaiian language account is cited here for the benefit of Hawaiian readers. For a general translation of this narrative, see English language accounts dated February 22, 1892, above.]

**February 27, 1892 (page 2)**  
**Daily Bulletin**  
**News of Puulolo and Events at Awalua**

Maui Notes.

...The Triple murder of Kalaliliii, Puni, Kaholokai and the torturing by fire of Paa at Awalua, Lanai by Puulolo, a slightly-built, comely looking native girl of only 23 years of age, is without doubt unparalleled in the annals of crime and has been the subject of comment hereabout since the news reached us. Through the courtesy of our efficient Deputy Sheriff, Mr. Samuel Chillingworth, we are in possession of the awful details of the doings of this young girl at Awalua, but they are so disgusting and horrible they will not bear publication. I doubt any civilized mind could conceive of the diabolical cruelty, bestiality and sickening torture as were there practiced by her, assisted by the ten or twelve other natives of the little community, who, it seems, were quite willing to do her bidding through fear of supernatural or kahuna powers. Paa, under the doctor's care at Lahaina, is disfigured beyond recognition.

**June 8, 1892**  
**Pacific Commercial Advertiser**  
**The Awalua Incident – Puulolo Case**

The steamer Claudine was detained till six o'clock last evening waiting for the court.

Pulolo, the Lanai murderess, and her band of accomplices in that horrible tragedy were marched from the prison to the steamer by policemen, a crowd of natives following them all the way. Pulolo was dressed in a new blue dress but had no shoes on. She wore a native loulu hat. Several native women were eager to catch a glimpse of the tragical kahuna, but when they saw her she being only a small woman, they gnashed their teeth, wishing that she was in glory. The police encountered no small trouble in their efforts to prevent the eager visitors from coming too close to the person of Pulolo.

**June 15, 1892 (page 3)**

**Daily Bulletin**

**News of Puulolo and Events at Awalua**

**Second Degree Murder!**

**Life Imprisonment for Pulolo the Kahuna.**

**Sentence Suspended Under a Doubt of the Law.**

The Bulletin's Maui correspondence by the steamer Claudine gave the information that the summing up in the Lanai murder case at Wailuku had been reached on Friday evening. By the Kinau the conclusion of the case is received. The jury retired at 9 p.m. Friday and returned at 11:45 with the verdict of — Murder In The Second Degree. The jury was thereupon discharged and the Court adjourned at 12:20 p.m. Saturday.

The evidence revealed a crime of the most revolting character, and there is no doubt that it was a cold blooded murder. Pulolo, a female kahuna, clubbed to death a little child, with its unnatural father consenting to the infamous deed by passively looking on. The child was only six years old and a nephew of Pulolo, and nine of the family aided in doing him to death. Pulolo stands charged besides with the murder, single handed, of a girl named Puni; also, with having clubbed Kaholokai, a man, into unconsciousness while her abettors held him, and it is supposed returned when the others were asleep to finish the victim. Another person was beaten and burned almost to death by the decree of the cruel priestess.

Judge Bickerton pronounced sentence on the murderers in the following words, the closing paragraph, beginning, "It appearing," being addressed later to Pulolo the principal :

"You defendants have been found guilty of the crime of murder in the second degree by the jury. The verdict was right in regard to you four boys, but it may have been murder in the first degree in the case of Pulolo, and would have been fully justified by the evidence. The evidence adduced in this case certainly warrants the verdict found by the jury, and

in so doing they have, in my opinion, done their duty. I think I am safe in saying that there never has been before in the Courts of this Kingdom such a horrible case, such a diabolical case as this. It goes beyond anything that a human being can imagine another human being could be guilty of. There was no provocation, there was no reason or cause whatever why this poor boy should be murdered in cold blood in the way in which he was.

“Through temptation to rob, to gain money, or to avenge themselves for some imagined wrong where murder is committed, there is some cause, some reason for it; but here there is absolutely nothing but the cool deliberate determination to take life. It is difficult to understand the diabolical cruelty exhibited by this woman; it is something that is beyond comprehension. It is said to be insanity, but certainly the evidence to my mind did not indicate insanity, for the reason that an insane person could not have planned to try and cover up the crime, to try to get rid of those dead witnesses, to destroy their bodies; the calling of the people together and talking to them, and giving the reason why it was necessary to get rid of the bodies; those are not acts of an insane person.

“Pulolo, your plans to terrify these people, to make them afraid of you, to make them afraid of each other, were not the acts of an insane person. And, again, it is very difficult for me to understand why four young able-bodied fellows like you could stand coolly by and see that little child murdered and not go to its assistance, murdered by a little woman that anyone of you could have picked up and put under your arm and walked away with. Although it is not in evidence, the statement of the case is that she was easily secured and tied before the police got there. Why was it not done before the crime was committed?

“Now, you heard me tell the jury the other day that such acts as that brought you within the meaning of this law, and the law is intended, for just such cases where men who have the ability to prevent crime, and the means of preventing crime, the means of saving life, stand by coolly and allow the crime to be committed, the killing to go on without lifting a hand to prevent it.

“Now, there has been no claim of insanity on behalf of you four young men, and no evidence that indicated insanity; the only claim of insanity being set up is in behalf of the woman. There was a general excitement but nobody claimed that you were insane.

“I don't think that we could select out of this audience four more intelligent looking young men than you. You are not lolos, you are not idiots, you are four intelligent looking men. Your faces are intelligent, you are not fools.

We have, in our consultations in regard to this matter, come to the conclusion that these sentences must take three different turns: first the woman, then Kala, the father of the little boy, and, third, these three boys.

“In the case of Kala, the father of the boy, he certainly deserves more punishment than these three young men. It was his own flesh and blood being murdered right before his eyes and he had not courage enough, he was not man enough, to go in and save his own child. It is the duty of a father to go in and save his own child ; even if he loses his own life in the act, it is his duty. Animals will protect their offspring and give their life to do so. A dog will fight for its puppies even when they are not in danger. Why, a hen will defend her little chickens. So much more should human beings protect their own children.

“The conclusion that we have arrived at (and we consider that it is our duty in passing this sentence), is, that you, Pulolo, be sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for the remainder of your natural life. We do not think it safe to allow a woman that has shown the character that you have to ever be at liberty. And Kala, for the reasons which I have given, you being the father of this child, we feel it our duty to sentence you to be imprisoned at hard labor for thirty years. The other three, Kakaio, Keliikuewa and Keola, we feel that under the circumstances we should not go beyond the minimum penalty prescribed, which is twenty years, and we sentence you to be imprisoned at hard labor for twenty years.”

Pulolo was called up later and addressed as follows:

“It appearing that there is a variance between the English and Hawaiian versions of this law, and there seems to be some doubt whether the law requires the Court to fix the number of years you are to be imprisoned, or whether under this law you may be sentenced for life; there is no doubt the law provides that you may be sentenced for any number of years more than twenty. Under the circumstances we withhold your sentence, and in a few days we will inform you of the conclusion we have arrived at, and you will be sentenced accordingly.”

**June 20, 1892**  
**Pacific Commercial Advertiser**  
**The Awalua Incident – Puulolo Case**

Owing to the nature of this extraordinary murder case, it was found impossible to give a full report of it by furnishing the lengthy evidence produced in court, which was the most revolting ever placed on record in this kingdom. The following narrative covers the principal facts brought out in the trial, which, it will be seen, has not been concluded, only one of the several indictments having been tried.

On Thursday afternoon, June 9, after great difficulty in selecting a native jury, occurred the trial of the Lanai murderers before the Circuit Court at Wailuku. A brief abstract of the case, from the testimony presented to the jury, is as follows: On Thursday, February 11, the woman Pulolo, who claimed to be a kahuna and to have at her command a spirit named Kilikina, had two of her soldiers, Keliikuewa and Kakaio, seize her husband and hold him, while she beat him cruelly and cut his feet with broken bottles till he could not walk. Not satisfied with this, she commenced punishing a little boy, six years old, the son of her eldest brother, Kala.

Another brother, Hoopii, being skeptical as to her supernatural powers, at her command was seized and held by some of her attendants, while this inhuman wretch burned him most horribly with torches ignited from a large fire in the dwelling nearby. While in the witness box, Hoopii brought tears to the eyes of some of the audience, and caused execrations to come from the lips of others, by exhibiting the fearful scars received during this fiendish torturing. At the time he was so exhausted by the pain and punishment that he could scarcely move, only groan with agony.

Her vampire instincts remaining still unquenched, she took the boy, Kalaliilii, in hand again, and buffeted him about till he bled profusely at the nose and mouth, while his father and others stood by and silently witnessed this new [page 185] act of cruelty. The poor stripling cried to his parent again and again for help, but the poor superstitious creature did not dare (or perhaps wish) to move hand or foot to succor his tortured offspring.

This brutal sorceress finally put an end to the boy's sufferings by sitting on his head till it bent to his waist, like a broken reed, and life was extinct. The poor little corpse was then taken and laid out on a mat, and the helpless Hoopii was placed beside it with his face to the wall guarded by the so-called soldiers.

Her next victim was her sister, whom she suffocated with the assistance of Kaholokai, by thrusting her head into hot sand. After this, the body of her dead sister was placed on the matting beside the boy's; she then ordered her satellites to seize her late assistant Kaholokai, and they held him fast while she beat him to death.

During the night the house, which at this time much resembled a morgue, caught fire, but was saved from destruction by the men near at hand. Early the next morning, February 12, a council of war was held to decide how best to cover up the dark deeds of the previous night. Her instructions to her tools were to say, when interrogated, that the boy's

death resulted from sickness; that the man, Kaholokai, lost his life in the fire, which attacked the house on the night before; that the girl, her sister, died in a fit.

The next move in this frightful tragedy after removing the bodies of the boy and woman was to cremate Kaholokai's corpse, by burning the house, with all its furniture and effects; thus hoping to give an appearance of accidental conflagration. The other two bodies were afterwards burned. After the destruction of the dwelling and the bodies, the murderess and her retinue spent the night at a neighbor's house some distance away.

The jury, on Friday, the 10<sup>th</sup> inst., brought in a unanimous verdict of murder in the second degree against Pulolo (twenty years in prison) and four of the men, for the murder of the boy. The remainder of the ten persons arrested were discharged on this count, but were held (as well as the five already found guilty) to answer two other indictments—for the murders of the woman and man. Owing to the terrible pitch of popular feeling on Maui, there will probably be a change of venue granted before another trial takes place.

As to the motive for these unprecedented crimes, it is difficult to conjecture. The reason given out generally among Hawaiians is this: that Pulolo and her brother-in-law, one of her willing tools, wished to marry, and in order to consummate their purpose, it was necessary to put the husband of one and the wife of the other out of the way. The other horrible acts were perpetrated to conceal their real intention. The intensity of popular feeling among the natives is not directed against kahunaism as a practice, but against this imposter, who has falsely claimed the powers of a Hawaiian magician.

During Thursday, p.m., the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> inst., the foreign jury distinguished itself by rapid and thorough work. The jury is probably the best one, taken as a whole, that has been summoned to try cases on Maui for a number of years. Last night Judge Bickerton excused them until Monday morning. Today some native divorce cases are under consideration.

**June 23, 1892**  
**Pacific Commercial Advertiser**  
**The Awalua Incident – Puulolo Case**

News came by the steamer W.G. Hall that a native wahine by the name of Kaaiai, of Kailua, Hawaii, tried to imitate the fiendish work of Pulolo, the notorious Lanai murderess. This woman is also a kahuna, and her neighbors are said to have obeyed her commands with superstitious fear.



It is said that a few weeks ago, she ordered her sentinels to drag a kanaka about the place, after which a hole was dug to bury him alive. The sentinels were about to carry out her instructions, but were prevented by the timely appearance of others who took him out. The kahuna and her attendants were tried before the district judge of the place and were fined \$100 each and costs.

**June 27, 1892**  
**Pacific Commercial Advertiser**  
**The Lanai Horror**

Although the Hawaiian people have always been kindly and gentle as a group, and even in the heat of battle seldom tortured their foes, they were victims of a cult of sorcery that sometimes caused outbreaks of fiendish fame. Such an episode took place as late as February 12, 1892, on the smaller island of Lanai.

The kahuna anaana or sorcerer could be either male or female. His professional calling included murder, in which he was guided by a familiar demon. "He usually does his victims to death by secret administration of poison, or quite as commonly, perhaps, by some occult influence upon them, possibly of a hypnotic sort," an editorial ran in the July issue of *The Friend*, a Protestant missionary journal founded in Honolulu in 1843. "He first establishes himself in business by killing one or more of his nearest relations. This creates for him a reputation of remorseless truculence, which makes him greatly feared, and ensures large emoluments. All these murders he professes to execute by means of his demon, often claiming to have produced deaths in which he really had no hand. Sometimes he overdoes the business, and has to fly before the wrath of the outraged people whom he has held in terror. This is very rare; their fear of his demon masters their anger."

The behavior of Pulolo, the sorceress of Lanai, follows the classic formula. Again to quote the article in *The Friend*, "A significant fact is that Pulolo learned her trade of sorceress during a residence of some years in this city. Under the fostering patronage of royalty for a little more than thirty years, Honolulu has grown to be a headquarters of superstition and a chief seminary of sorcery. This began when Prince Lot's agent Kapu issued printed licenses to about three hundred kahunas or native doctors, with schedules of fees ranging up to fifty dollars. These kahunas rarely knew much of real remedies. Their chief stock in trade was the superstitious fears of the people, who would hire their incantations to propitiate or exorcise the evil demons that made them ill. In order to educate and develop those fears, they immediately formed private classes in idolatry and sorcery throughout the kingdom. Since then

this culture of diabolism has gone steadily on. Fresh accessions of force were largely made to it during the late reign.

The story of the Lanai outbreak may best be told by quoting from successive issues of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, a Honolulu newspaper which ran weekly from 1856 to 1888 and resumed publication daily in 1882. A sequel to the event described is to be found in The Friend for October, 1892: "The scene of the Pulolo murders and hoomanamana frenzy is at the steamer landing at the western end of the island. A curse rests on the place. The houses that stand there have been abandoned, and the place where the killing was done and where the bodies and the house were given to the flames is now but a bit of sand marked off by the stumps of the fence posts."

Pulolo, the kahuna murderess, was sentenced to fifty years' imprisonment.

**July 1892**  
**The Friend**  
**The Lanai Horror.**

Hawaiians are peculiarly a kindly and gentle race. Even in the heat of battle-slaughter, they never tortured their foes. They are especially kind and indulgent to children. All this renders more strange the almost incredible series of atrocities perpetrated at Awalua on the island of Lanai, by the sorceress Pulolo, last February 11<sup>th</sup>. We here present the substance of the horrible facts, condensed from the Advertiser's summary of the evidence given at the recent trial of the murderers at Wailuku.

Pulolo claimed to be a kahuna anaana or sorceress, having at command a destroying spirit named Kilikini. She had trained two satellites to do her bidding, and had terrorized the rest of the family at the isolated hamlet to execute her behests. On the night named she first had her husband held while she beat him cruelly and cut his feet with broken bottles till he could not walk. She next began a series of violent buffetings and squeezings of a boy of six years, the son of her eldest brother Kala, in order as she said, to drive out an evil demon from the child.

Another brother Hoopii protesting at this, she had him seized and held, while she burned him fearfully with torches, the horrible scars of which were exhibited at the trial. He became helpless from the torture.

Pulolo then resumed her buffeting and wrenching of the child. His father, dominated by the sorceress, was deaf to his pitiful appeals for help. Pulolo finally sat on the child's head, bending it down, upon the breast, and breaking the neck. It was then laid by the side of the helpless Hoopii.

The fend, with the help of one Kaholokai, next seized her sister, and suffocated her by thrusting her head into the hot sand of the fire-bed. Kaholokai himself was then seized and held while Pulolo clubbed him to death. Finally by her orders the thatched house was burned with the three bodies, in order to conceal the cause of their deaths. Many of the details were of a hideously unnamable nature.

For the death of the boy a verdict of murder in the second degree was rendered against Pulolo and four others. For the other two murders further trials are to be held, probably on another island, on account of the popular excitement on Maui. The police had much difficulty in protecting Pulolo from the populace. She has already received a sentence of fifty years. Whether her sex should protect her from hanging, we leave to the opinions of our readers.

Murder is the professional calling of the Kahuna anaana or sorcerer. He usually does his victims to death by secret administration of poison, or quite as commonly perhaps, by some occult influence upon them, possibly of a hypnotic sort. He first establishes himself in business by killing one or more of his nearest relations. This creates for him a reputation of remorseless truculence, which makes him greatly feared, and ensures large emoluments. All these murders he professes to execute by means of his demon, often claiming to have produced deaths in which he really had no hand. Sometimes he overdoes the business, and has to fly before the wrath of the outraged people whom he has held in terror. This is very rare; their fear of his demon masters their anger.

The diabolical malignity shown by Pulolo has an irrational look; but it was merely an unusual form of exercising the fiendish malice habitual to the regular kahuna anaana. The difference is that as a rule they are secretive in their murderous proceedings, while her murdering took a violent and brutal form. The system of terrorism upon those around is alike in both cases. The community, by fear of the deadly demon at the sorcerer's service, are driven to become abettors and participants in the murders committed. There is good reason to believe that such murders constitute no small percentage of the causes of death that are swelling the immense mortality among Hawaiians.

A significant fact is that Pulolo learned her trade of sorceress during a residence of some years in this city. Under the fostering patronage of Royalty for a little more than thirty years, Honolulu has grown to be a headquarters of superstition, and chief seminary of sorcery. This began when Prince Lot's agent Kapu issued printed licenses to about 300 kahunas or native doctors, with schedules of fees ranging up to fifty dollars. These kahunas rarely knew much of real remedies. Their chief

stock in trade was the superstitious fears of the people, who would hire their incantations to propitiate or exorcise the evil demons that made them ill. In order to educate and develop those fears, they immediately formed private classes in idolatry and sorcery throughout the kingdom. Since then this culture of diabolism has gone steadily on. Fresh accessions of force were largely made to it during the late reign.

It has become true that now there are comparatively few Hawaiians, however well educated, who do not believe in the supernatural powers of the medicine men and of the sorcerers, as well as in the real existence and powers of the Aumakuas and of the multitude of lesser gods or demons. Up to 1860, the ascendancy of Christianity had kept the smoldering ancient superstition repressed and inactive. It has again become rampant, The Lanai Horror is only an open outbreak of the malignant diabolism that is terrorizing and poisoning Hawaiian homes on every street in this city.

There are now very few native households, whose heads in any case of sickness would dare refuse to call in the kahuna or to obey all his orders. It is most painful to say that some of our native pastors do this. We rejoice to testify that most of these good men are brave and loyal in their resistance to the satanic practice, even while in some cases believing in the existence and powers of the demons. All of our native pastors find themselves hard pressed between their sense of duty and the terrors of their deacons and church members, as well as the fears of their wives, if not their own, lest the evil gods destroy them and their children.

This kahuna domination paralyzes the efforts of our skilled physicians to heal the people. The government employs physicians at great expense, but most of the people are prevented from obeying their prescriptions by the orders of the exorcisers, to whose violent and destructive treatment they timidly submit. Hence the great monthly death reports of Hawaiians, with causes of death very commonly unreported. Hence also the numerous petitions to the Legislature to create a Hawaiian Board of Health, that is, to employ a body of kahunas to minister to the sick at public expense. Kalakaua did actually create such a Board of Kahunas, through his Legislature of 1886. This was one of several facts, like the Aki opium bribe, which made necessary the Constitution of 1887, depriving the King of his control of the Legislature.

Another and most poisonous effect is in antagonizing the Hawaiians to civilized ideas and enlightened guidance. The Kahuna is the deadly enemy of Christian civilization. He and enlightenment are sworn foes, and he does his utmost to create aversion and jealousy towards the haole and particularly the "missionary." He organizes and consolidates the heathen party. Still more, all the ethics and logic of Kahunaism are stupefying and

paralyzing to enlightened action of the mind. The minds of those poor Awalua wretches were stifling in the horrible fog and stench of Pulolo's teaching. So is every mind that inhales the noisome atmosphere of Kahuna superstition. They cannot think reasonably nor entertain sound opinions.

A sad evidence of the extent to which the Hawaiian intellect has become befogged and befouled by kahuna domination, is seen in the heathenish character of the majority of the petitions from natives daily presented at this session of the Legislature. Probably one half of these petitions call for partially or wholly doing away with the segregation of the Lepers. Half of the rest of the petitions are to stop vaccination, to dismiss the Board of Health, and to create a Kahuna Board of Health. This perversion of the native mind creates a gloomy outlook for the usefulness of Hawaiians as participants in the government of the country. We cannot be governed by Pulolos, nor by people of any of that turn of mind.

We are strongly hopeful that this kahuna domination is soon to wane. The Pulolo outbreak may open the eyes of the people. Earnest and successful effort is being made by some native pastors, and by Mr. Bicknell especially, to win the people from superstition. Higher education will help much. But our only reliable dependence is in the spiritual power of the living Savior brought in contact with these suffering and terrorized souls, and uplifting them into the higher life of the spirit. As the piety and spiritual power of Christian Hawaiians is invigorated, each one will become a kindling light, before which all Puloloism will be dispelled.

**August 15, 1892 (page 2)**  
**Daily Bulletin**  
**News of Puulolo and Events at Awalua**

The final result of the three Lanai murder trials is that Pulolo, the woman, is under sentence for seventy years at hard labor; Kala (k.), is under sentence for thirty years; Kakaio, twenty-five years; Keliikuewa, twenty years; and Keola, twenty years. The other five defendants in the case were acquitted by the jury.

Counsel at the term were P. Neumann, W.O. Smith, J.L. Kaulukou, and S.K. Kaeo; Deputy Attorney General Creighton and A. Rosa for the Crown.

A review of historic papers following the sentencing reveals little of the subsequent status of the prisoners after they were sentenced.

**March 16, 1894 (page 2)**  
**Hawaiian Gazette**  
**Prisoners' Life on "The Reef."**  
**How the Convicts are Treated at Oahu Prison – Puulolo Serving Sentence**

...Puulolo, a woman prisoner, is another whose atrocious deeds attracted a great deal of attention a few years ago. She is known as the Lanai sorceress, and she is serving two terms, one of 50 and the other of twenty years—practically a life term, as it is hardly probable that she will live until her time is up. Her crime was a most frightful one. She was considered a Kahuna by the superstitious natives of Lanai, on account of some cures that she was credited with making. Taking advantage of her supposed powers, she brutally murdered her sister, her nephew and another man not a relative, and tortured her brother horribly by burning his whole body with a torch soaked in kerosene. In these murders she was assisted by eleven other natives, who were guided by their superstitions, four of whom are now serving long sentences on the reef [the O'ahu prison site].

**October 15, 1895 (page 4)**  
**Evening Bulletin**  
**Homicidal Lunacy – Puulolo.**

Some extraordinary statements were lately made by Dr. Forbes Winslow of London...

...In this connection it is save to say that the female kahuna [Puulolo], who was the principal in the Lanai horror, was certainly insane and Oahu prison, with its mild regimen, is the best place for all such homicidal lunatics who wear the semblance of rational persons. But when their terms expire they ought at least to be well watched, if there is not expert evidence forthcoming to commit them to the Insane Asylum...

**July 7, 1897 (page 4)**  
**Hawaiian Gazette**  
**Council of State**  
**Puulolo's Co-Defendants, Keola and Keliikuewa,**  
**Sentences Commuted and Pardons Granted**

At the meeting of the Council of State, held yesterday afternoon, but four cases were presented for consideration. The most important concerned two Hawaiians – Keola and Keliikuewa – convicted of being concerned in a brutal murder on Lanai in 1892, and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment each. One of them is now a trusty in the station house, and the other is the driver for Jailer Low. Their sentences were commuted to 10 years each.

**April 18, 1900 (page 4)**  
**The Independent**  
**Death of Samuel Kanoe, of Lanai**

Samuel Kanoe, Hawaiian male, 60 years, born on the island of Lanai; was ill for two months and died at Kamakela, mauka of St. Louis College, facing the new school house on the east side, of dysentery; Dr. Alvarez; Catholic cemetery.

**Pu‘ulolo Returned to Lāna‘i**

Although Pu‘ulolo was sentenced to a lengthy prison term, families descended from those named in the case—and who cite Pu‘ulolo in their genealogies—share that Pu‘ulolo was eventually released from jail and returned to live out her life on Lāna‘i.

As reported in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of February 22, 1892, this incident led to the abandonment of Awalua, though a house or two remained standing through the 1920s.

Indeed, Awalua has been considered a “spooky” and “haunted” place by many Lāna‘i residents over the past several generations. It is also a documented fact that the dunes spanning the entire coastal region from Paoma‘i to Ka‘ā served as burial sites for many generations of ancient Hawaiians.

## **RANCHING OPERATIONS ON LĀNA‘I– KA‘Ā AND VICINITY TURNED OVER TO GRAZING**

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Goats, sheep, cattle, the European boar, and horses were introduced to the islands between 1778 to 1810. Kamehameha I and his chiefs placed kapu (restrictions or laws) over the newly introduced animals to ensure that their populations would grow during the early years after introduction. In the fifty year period between 1780 to the 1830s populations of these non-native animals—like the hipa (sheep), pua‘a bipi or pipi (wild steer or cattle) and kao (goats)—became a great nuisance to the Hawaiian population, causing devastating effects on agricultural fields and the natural environment. As a result, King Kamehameha III brought the “po‘e Paniolo” (Spanish Vaqueros) to Hawai‘i in the mid 1830s to teach Hawaiians how to manage the cattle and other grazing animals.

The first of these introduced ungulates arrived on Lāna‘i around 1830, and a few native tenants, living under landed chiefs, managed the populations. When a western-style system of land management grew after the Māhele ‘Āina of 1848, large tracts of land were turned over to ranching operations across the islands. Many of the early efforts were devoted to controlling the hipa, pipi, kao, and other introduced herbivores.

The story of ranching on Lāna‘i spans close to 100 years of the island’s history. The “paniolo” (cowboy) heritage of the island is a rich one, with formal ranching efforts spanning ca. 1850 to 1951. Ranching efforts initially focused on herds of sheep and goats, whose numbers on Lāna‘i grew to a nearly uncontrollable 100,000 animals by the 1890s. The most significant impact of the animals between the 1830s to 1890s was the rapid deforestation and drying up of the island’s water resources. Loss of vegetation had an affect on every other aspect of life on Lāna‘i and contributed to the continual decline in the native population of the island; by the 1870s, natives living in the watered valley of Maunalei were forced out of the taro lands as a result of rock slides.

As detailed earlier in this study, Walter Murray Gibson began to secure fee-simple and leasehold land rights for much of the land on Lāna‘i beginning in 1863, excepting only native kuleana lands. In 1866, Gibson secured fee simple ownership of Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a (Bureau of Conveyances – Liber 21, page 300). Ranching operations on Lāna‘i were based out of Kō‘ele, with a direct route from Kō‘ele, through Ka‘ā and down to Awalua Landing. Gibson and Lot Kamehameha V, entered into a sheep ranching agreement, and for several years the focus of Lāna‘i’s economic venture was raising sheep for wool and mutton. To further his ranching venture, Gibson also secured use of the King’s Crown Lands in Paoma‘i and Kamoku, which adjoin Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a.



Throughout Gibson's tenure, and in subsequent years as land on Lāna'i changed ownership, ranching operations continued to be the focus of economic development. For a brief period between 1898 to 1901 Gibson's heirs developed a sugar plantation in the Keomoku region, but it quickly failed. The lands on the island changed hands once again, and ranching operations moved from sheep herds to cattle.

The Lanai Company Ranch developed in the early 1900s, and in 1911, George C. Munro was brought to Lāna'i to manage the ranch and implement a program of forest restoration and watershed development. Munro protected the dry-forest lands of Ka'ā from grazing by fencing them off, and he initiated efforts to develop a forest conservation zone. This zone is generally known as Kānepu'u, named for the prominent hill of the same name, and associated with the Hawaiian god of sun and life giving waters—Kāne i ka 'ōnohi o ka lā and Kāne i ka wai ola.

In late 1922, the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited (HAPCo), purchased the interests of the Lanai Ranch Company and began developing a pineapple plantation. The ranch paddocks were reduced, and the best pasturage lands were taken out of the ranch inventory and turned over to pineapple cultivation. Figure 19, a Lanai Ranch/Hawaiian Pineapple Co. Ltd., map, depicts the plantation lands and numbered paddocks that continued cattle grazing. A large section of Ka'ā Ahupua'a makes up Paddock No. 1, and Paddocks No. 2, 5, 19, 20, 21, & 22 take up the remaining Ka'ā lands and adjoining Paoma'i. HAPCo continued operation of the ranch until 1951. Shortly thereafter, since the Ka'ā lands were not under cultivation in pineapple, it became part of a Territorial (later State) Game Management Easement for a public hunting program in the islands.

## **Historical Accounts of Ranching Endeavors on Ka'ā and Lāna'i**

Below, a series of historical communications and articles describe ranching and grazing operations on Lāna'i and in Ka'ā Ahupua'a:

**Oct. 12th, 1868. Honolulu.**

**Lot Kamehameha V; to R.W. Meyer**

**Business Partnership in Sheep Ranching with Walter M. Gibson**

Mr. Dominis has written to you placing the Queen at your disposal to visit Lanai and to take off the sheep to Molokai. If you find that some of the sheep are fit for the market, then the schooner is to return and bring sheep here. On returning from here we will be dispatched again for sheep, at Lanai. Three or four trips will bring off about the number purchased from Mr. Gibson.

Whenever you have time I would advise you to begin building your pen for cattle, on the site that I called your attention to, and be careful to have

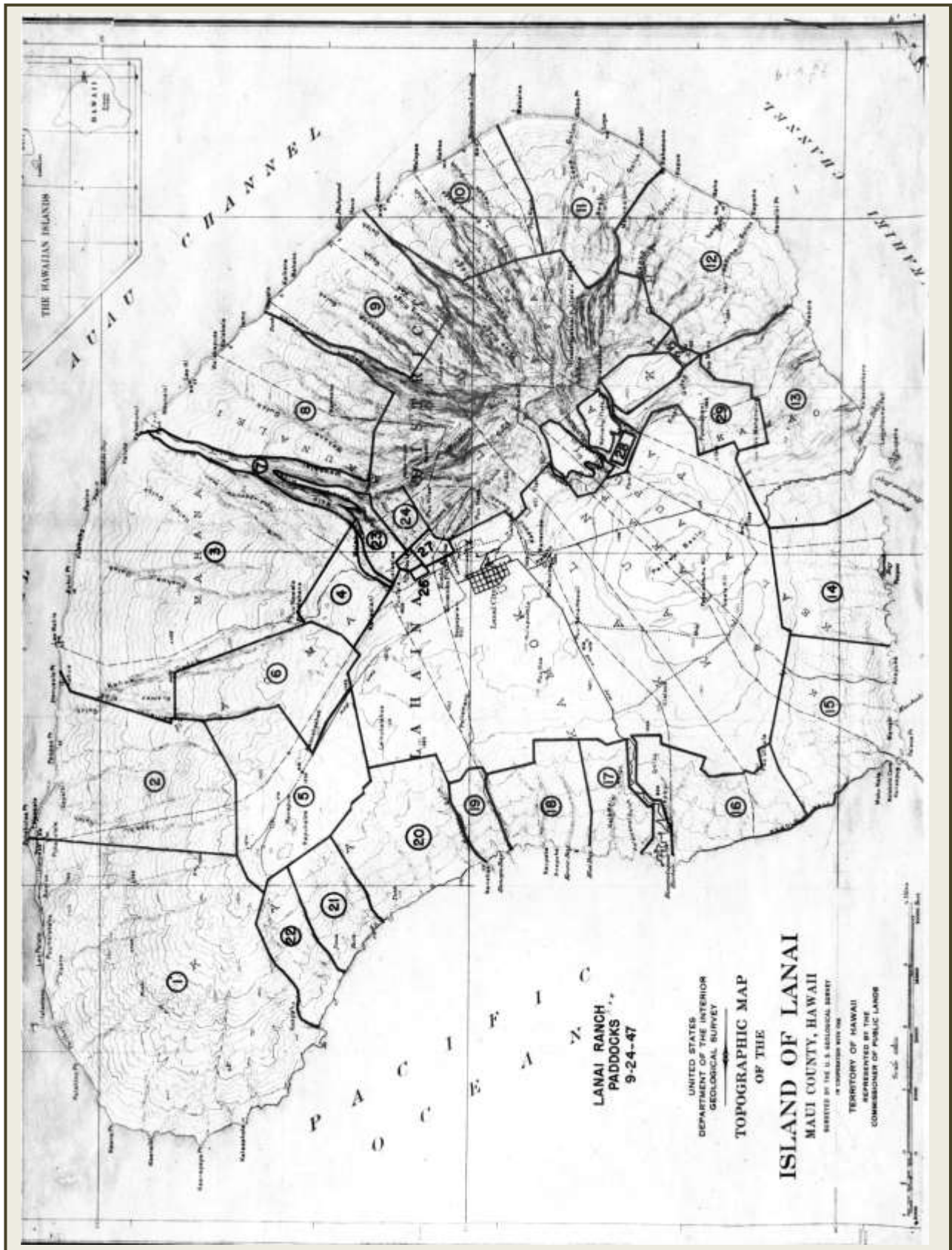


Figure 19. 1947 Lanai Ranch Paddock Map (Courtesy of Albert Halapē Morita)

it as large as you can make it. I would advise constructing with the people on the land, paying them at the rate of one dollar a fathom, and at every one hundred fathom made, we will pay cash promptly, and so on till the wall is completed. I mean by this, the pen and the enclosure adjoining it, as was agreed upon by us. I should like also to have fifty acres enclosed near to the Dairy, the lumber is at the dairy now intended for the purpose but we never had the posts got out of the woods.

It is intended to plant vegetables and pumpkins for the pigs, in fact I wanted to raise vegetables for my own use, and raise perhaps some grain for my stable, and feed for the pigs now being bred at the dairy. Will you therefore hire some person to cut posts in the mountain for this purpose.

Captain Gibson's horses are free to run on the lands. Mr. Dwight I hear claims the right of sending any person on the kula whenever he wishes. No person besides you can pretend to have any such right. In all cases parties who have been allowed to run their stock on my lands, must first give notice of their intention, and you must use your own discretion in the matter. I am anxious to go up for a short time and will if I can get an opportunity. My father has slightly improved... [Hawaii State Archives, M-88 Folder 3, Lot Kamehameha]

**October 1 to December 31, 1871**  
**Accounts of His Majesty's Ranch on Molokai and Lanai:**

[page 5]

...Sheep on Lanai

Wages to shepherds.

Hau 3 months at	\$ 10.00	\$30.00
Iosepa 3 months at	\$ 6.00	\$18.00
Palau 3 months at	\$ 6.00	\$18.00
		\$66.00

Supervision

3 months salary to R.W. Meyer		\$300.00
16 sheep for meat for S. [shepherds___30]		16.00
		\$16.00

Returns of the Ranch

Sheep

Sold to E.H. Boyd 409 sheep at 2.00	\$818.00	
Sold to Waller 20 sheep at 2.00	\$ 40.00	
Sold to G. Risely 15 sheep at 2.00	\$ 30.00	
Sent to Waikiki 40 at 2.00	\$ 80.00	\$968.00



[Translation]

**July 1, 1876 (page 2)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**A Sheep Dog**

With the arrival of the steamship from New Zealand, there was a dog brought over that was trained in tending sheep for Gibson of Lanai. Last week the dog was set to work at the order of the overseer, to drive the sheep into a pen. At that time set about driving the sheep into the pen, together with the intelligence of the shepherders. There are other lands where dogs are used for shepherding, and there is no reason why these dogs couldn't be used on our lands... [Maly, translator]

**Nowemapa 4, 1876 (aoao 2)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Hulu Hipa.**

Ua hoopuka aenei o Kipikona o Lanai a me ke Kauka Farani o Kona Akau, he palapala hoike i ko laua manao i ka poe a pau e komohia ana ka makemake ma keia hana mikiala he hana hulu hipa, e kukuluia ona ahahui malalo o ka inoa, "Ahahui Hana Hulu Hipa" a o ka manao o ia hui i kukuluia ai, oia ka hookomo mai iloko nei o ka aina i na hipa maikai, ka hoopaa ana i ke kumukuai maluna o na hulu hipa a pau, ka makaala e kauia ona kanawai e luku ai i na ilio pepehi wale i na hipa, ka hooholo aku imua no ka hana hou ana i na kula hanai holoholona, ka hoohalike ana i ke kaumaha o ka bena hulu hipa, a me kekahi mau kumu e ae e pipii mai ana mai loko ae o keia hana. Ua koho wale aku keia palapala hoike manao i ka nui o na eka kupono no ka hanai hipa, o ia he 1,500,000 eka, oia no hoi ka akahi hapakolu o ka ili holookoa o ko kakou wahi aupuni.

O kahi maikai loa nae paha o ua palapala la, oia ka manaolana wale ana aku malia o kukulu ua ahahui la i hale hana hulu hipa iloko nei o ka aina, a loa ia kakou na huluhulu. He mea makehewa i ko kakou mau hulu hipa ke kuai aku ma ka 15 a 20 keneta o ka paona, alaila kii hou mai no i ua mau keneta la a ko na aina e i kuai mai ai, a lawe hou aku, ma ka hookomo ana mai iloko nei o ko kakou aina i na kapa huluhulu o na ano a pau ma na kumukuai i oi papalua ae i ko lakou mau kumu lilo a me na luhi. Ua hooholoia he kanawai e hoohoihoi ai no ke kukulu ana i ona hale hana lole mailoko ae o ka hulu hipa, aka, ua make wale nae ua kanawai la no ka hala o na makahiki i manaoia ai e kukuluia ana o ia hale hana lole.

[Translation - summary]

**November 4, 1876 (page 2)**

**Nupepa Kuokoa**

**Sheep Wool.**

There has been published by Gibson of Lanai and Dr. Trusseau of North Kona, a notice to all people of their intention to enter into the work of wool production. Their plan is to develop a business under the name "Wool Growers Association," with purpose of bringing all the good sheep raising lands together and setting a price for all the wool produced. They are also preparing a law that will allow for the killing of dogs which destroy sheep in the pastures, to be passed prior to this endeavor. It is expected that there are perhaps 1,500,000 acres of land suited to the raising of sheep. This is one-third of all of our government land.

One of the good things about this notice is that there is a proposal to build a facility in which the wool can be processed in the islands where we can get our own wool. The problem now is that we get 15 to 20 cents a pound for our wool which is then taken to another country where it is processed into wool blankets and such, and then shipped back to us where it is sold for twice the amount, of what we got from our labor. There has been a bill proposed with interest in building a facility for making cloth from sheeps wool, but the bill died for the passing of the session. It is believed that there is a need to build this clothing plant. [Maly, translator]

**Novemaba 3, 1883 (aoao 4)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**Ka Hon. Samuel Paka Ma Lanai.**

Ma ka hapalua paha o ka hora 12 o ka wanao Poakolu, Okatoba 17, 1883, ua kalewa ae la ke alii wahine aukai, "Likelike" ma ke awa o Kahalapalaoa, no ka hoolele ana mai i kana ukana ano nui, ke kii onohi hoi o Mana. "Aia i Mana ke kii onohi, i ka piko waena o Hualalai." Ua lele mai o Mr. Kikaha, J. Likinikini, Maunakea anaaina me W.G. Iriwin a he eono ko lakou nui. I ka pae ana i uka, ua hoouna koke o Kikaha ia K.K. Kauhi, e ahai aku i kalono ia Hanale Kipikona ma ke awa o Maunalei, me ka lawe pu mai i mau lio. Ua hai pu ia aku no hoi ia Mr. D.S. Keliihanani, kekahi o na ohua mai Honolulu mai, a kupa hoi o keia aina, e ahai pu aku i keia lono ia Poomaa, kekahi o na ohana o Kipikona e noho ana mauka o Koele. Aka, ua lohe mai au, o kana paakai kai hoihoi hou i Waimea, mamuli o ka lilo mua ana o ka paha hopu ia Hanale.

I ka hoi ana mai o ka elele i hoonuna ia no Maunalei; ua pane aku ua keiki la, "Ina he moa kau, e haawi mai oe na makou, a penei e loa ai ia oe ke dala; E like me ka

nui o na kipa ana a hala, pela ka nui o na dala e loa ia oe, ma ka hapaha ko ke ki hookahi ana.” Nolaila, ua pani koke o Kikaha i ke dala hookahi, a pela paha i nele ai ka mea nana ka moa i ka pomaikai i i oi aku, mamuli o ke oki pa ia ana o ka laahia o ka olelo a ua keiki nei, aka ua lilo no ia ua keiki nei ka hanohano o ke kua ana o ua moa la, ua oleloia aole i emi iho malao o ke ki ana i hala.

I ka lohe ana o ke me e kakau nei, ua iho koke mai au i Kahalpalaoa nei e ike i ka nuhou ano nui, a e lohe hoi i ka moolelo pololei, aka i ka’u hiki ana aku e makaukau ana lakou i luna o na lio. Iaia i kau ae ai iluna o ka lio, ua kahea aku oia i ka mea nona ka inoa maluna ae, e haawi mai oe i ka’u pu, hookahi pehu oia, pela no ka holo ana i Maunalei he elua pohaku oia. Mahope oia, ua kamoe aku ka huakai maluna o kona aina kuai; no ka hoomaopopo ana ino paha no ke kupono a kupono ole paha. Ma ke kipa ana ma “Ziona” o na la i hala, a hoaumoe aku la mauka o Koele no elua po. Ma ka Poalima Okatoba 19, ua kamoe loa aku la kahakai no Awalua a kau aku la no ka mokuahi “Lehua” no Honolulu.

Ua oelo mai no oia, o ka bipi oia ka holoholona kupono loa. Ua like no hoi na hipa eha o Lanai nei me ka hipa hookahi o Waimea. Mau no ka nele o ko Lanai nei hipa.

O keia ka moolelo pokole o ka huakai a Hon. Samuel Paka i ka moku o Kaululaau; ka malihini ano nui hoi i kipa mai ma kona mau aekai. Me ke aloha i na luna hooponopono.

Heleikolani.

Kahalapalaoa, Lanai. Okatoba 27, 1883.

[Translation - summary]

**November 3, 1883 (page 4)**

**Ko Hawaii Pae Aina**

**The Honorable Samuel Parker on Lanai**

[A visit to the land of Ka’ā, purchased by deed of September 9, 1882 from Ruth Ke’elikōlani – Liber 75:265-267; and Bill of Sale dated July 1, 1886, Liber 101)178-180]

At about 12:30 in the morning on Wednesday, October 17, 1883, Likelike, the queen of the sea, called at the harbor of Kahalpalaoa, for the unloading of her important cargo, the beloved one of Mana. “There at Mana is the beloved one, the summit peak of Hualalai.” Mr. Hayselden (Kikaha), J. Likinikini, Samuel Parker, along with W.G. Irwin, six in all, landed. As soon as they landed, Mr. Hayselden sent K.K. Kauhi to tell Henry Gibson who was at the landing of Maunalei, to bring horses. They then spoke with Mr. D.S. Keliihananui, one of the passengers who came in from Honolulu, a native of this land. Word

was also sent to Poomaa (Morehead), one of the family of Gibson, living in the uplands at Koele...

...When I, your writer heard about their arrival, I quickly went down to Kahalapalaoa to see first-hand about this important news, and to hear if the story was correct. When I arrived they were prepared and on their horses. When he was on his horse, he called out to one named above, for his gun...they then rode to Maunalei, and from there the party took the path upland to the lands he purchased [Ka'ā Ahupua'a by deed of March 15, 1883; purchased from Ruth Ke'elikōlani], as he wanted to learn whether or not it was good land. They were then welcomed at "Zion" where they stayed at Koele for two nights. On Friday, October 19<sup>th</sup>, they set out on the trail to Awalua, where they boarded the steamer, "Lehua" for Honolulu.

He remarked that cattle were the best animals here. The sheep of Lanai are one and the same as those of Waimea. The sheep of Lanai are poor.

So this is a short story of the visit of Hon. Samuel Parker to the island of Kaululaau, the fairly important visitor to these shores. With aloha to the editor.

Heleikolani.

Kahalapalaoa, Lanai. October 27, 1883.

### **Ranching Operations and Residency on Lāna'i in 1893**

The Island of Lanai with its delightful climate and other attractive features, is one of the most interesting of the Hawaiian Islands. It is the principal sheep-growing district of the Kingdom, and from it are chiefly drawn the mutton supplies for Honolulu and other portions of the Islands...

To the visitor approaching it by sea, Lanai has by no means an inviting appearance, the brown slope rising towards the inner range in almost every direction, giving no indication of the rich grass-covered lands which lie beyond, or of the timber and shrub-covered ridges and ravines with which it is interspersed. Nevertheless, some 45,000 or 50,000 sheep and lambs here fatten upon the succulent grasses, as well as some 600 horses, 500 horned cattle, and goats and hogs. Wild turkeys almost without number also inhabit the island. During the last ten months there were shipped from this island some 5,000 sheep; and numbers of cattle and horses. Very large quantities and an excellent quality of wool are also clipped here, and shipped to the United States, England and other countries...



...The island is held partly in fee simple and partly in leasehold, by Mr. Fred. H. Hayselden..., its ownership having been originally acquired by the late ex-Premier Walter M. Gibson, from whom it descended to Mr. Hayselden and his wife, who is a daughter of that prominent and ambitious statesman whose name is inseparably lined with the political history and general affairs of the Kingdom of Hawaii. Since Mr. Gibson's death, Mr. Hayselden has, from time to time, added largely to his landed possessions, and the entire island, with the exception of a few kuleanas (native homesteads), is now under his control.

The kanaka population is now in the neighborhood of two hundred and fifty, who are engaged in cultivating small patches, in sheep-herding, and in fishing...

Lanai is a place well supplied with water. There are springs and several small streams in ravines; and upon the beach in different places wells have been sunk which furnish a liberal supply of fresh water. There is one perpetual river, or rivulet, which flows through the ravine of Maunalei. The lovers of the grand and beautiful in nature will here find much to gratify and please, and the botanist, especially, will obtain much food for study and entertaining research among the numerous canyons covered with shrubs and timber forest. [Paradise of the Pacific, April 1893:51]

### **Charles Gay Purchases Two-Thirds of Lānaʻi (1903)**

Charles Gay is now practically the owner of the entire island of Lanai, having bought the two-thirds interests of W.H. Pain and Paul Neumann last fall for \$108,000, and that of the Hayseldens recently for \$60,000. [Maui News – April 4, 1903, page 3, c. 3]

### **Cattle Headed for Lānaʻi**

The Lanai Ranch Company received the first installment of pure bred cattle, on the Lurline, which arrived in Honolulu, Wednesday. The cattle were a lot of six Hereford bulls, and it is the intention of the Ranch Company to cross them with a herd of Durham beef cows which will be brought over from Niihau, in an effort to improve the beef stock in the island markets.

A large shipment of Merino rams are expected shortly. These will be mixed with a larger herd of ewes with the expectation that they will produce the finest kind of mutton for the local market. [Maui News – August 6, 1910, page 2, c. 2]

## **Lanai Ranch Gets Island (1910)**

Papers filed with the registrar of conveyances formally turns over the Island of Lanai to the Lanai Ranch Company, Limited, probably one of the most ambitious corporations working Hawaiian land today. The conveyance was made by a forty-nine year lease, being transferred into the custody of the corporation by Cecil Brown and R.W. Shingle, as trustees.

The trustees, holding the land under conveyance from W.G. Irwin, are released by the terms of the lease from the obligations of the mortgage on the property to secure a debt of \$275,000 which is to run for ten years at 5 per cent. This obligation is to be taken over by the company, which is also to pay taxes, and as usual, is ordered to conform with the demands that may be made upon it by the Territory under law.

All the improvements, buildings, etc., on the island become the absolute property of the corporation. Cecil Brown, the president of the Lanai Company, signing in that capacity, Frank Thompson, the treasurer, signing with him. The lease is made out and conveyed for the formal one dollar. [Maui News – December 10, 1910, page 2, c. 3]

## **Improvements on Lānaʻi Ranch Lands (1914)**

In a recent interview the Advertiser quotes J.T. McCrosson as follows:

I spent a week on Lanai inspecting the ranch, The lee side of the island is greener than it has been for years. The finest Pili grass pastures in the Territory extend in a broad belt the whole length of the island, from 150 feet above sea level to about 1000 feet elevation. The belt varies from a quarter to two miles wide. Up in the shallow crater that occupies the center of Lanai a good many hundred acres have been plowed and planted in Rhodes grass and Paspalum. It formerly took twenty acres of the wild pasture land to support a bullock. The Paspalum pastures now fatten fifty head of stock on every hundred acres. [Maui News – October 24, 1914, page 5, c. 1]

## **Lānaʻi to be Used as Big Cattle Ranch (1917)**

As announced by wireless last week, the island of Lanai has been bought by F.F. and H.A. Baldwin, and is to be used primarily as a cattle ranch.

The Star Bulletin gives the following details of the deal in its issue of March 1:

Lanai Island passes into the ownership of F.F. and H.A. Baldwin. Neither Libby, McNeill & Libby nor the Hawaiian Pineapple Company is in the deal for its purchase, which was closed at noon today. James F. Morgan Company, Ltd., represents the purchasers and the Waterhouse Trust Co., represents the sellers.

The unexpected and surprising element that enters into the sale of Lanai Island is the fact that no pineapple interests are included in the purchase. For months deals have been pending for the property and Libby, McNeill & Libby and the Hawaiian Pineapple Company were included among the prospective buyers. They went so far as to carry on an investigation of the possibilities for pineapple growing and it was understood that there only remained to be made arrangements for the utilization of the grazing areas by cattle interests for the completion of the deal with them.

Late yesterday the developments of the ranching interest became known, and the Star Bulletin's information then was confirmed and amplified this morning.

It was learned this morning, following a meeting at which final details were arranged, that the \$400,000 stock in the Lanai Company and fee simple title to the island pass by the transaction. The consideration is said to have been \$588,000.

The Island of Lanai is to be a big cattle ranch. It is with that purpose that the Baldwins have purchased it. They will not, it was learned after the deal had been closed, make any leases of any part of the island to pineapple interests, but use it entirely for stock and cattle ranch purposes.

James D. Dole of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, when interviewed by telephone, said that his company had not been interested in the proposed purchase of the island, and from other sources it was learned that had one of the former deals gone through the company would have secured a lease of 15,000 acres.

The island of Lanai is about 21 miles long and 14 miles wide, and contains more than 90,000 acres. The stock holders of the selling company were Cecil Brown, F.E. Thompson, J.T. McCrosson, Hackfeld & Co., and C.Q. Yee Hop. [Maui News – March 9, 1917, page 5, c. 2]

## **Hawaiian Pineapple Company Purchases Lānaʻi: Ranching Operations to be Continued—5,000 Head of Cattle on Ranch in 1922**

### **Hawaiian Pineapple Company Acquires Island of Lanai in Million Dollar Deal. Honolulu Concern Plans Gigantic Development of Pineapple Industry on New Holdings; 10 Year Expansion Program Under Contemplation.**

Marking the largest real estate deal in the history of the Territory, the Hawaiian Pineapple Company today announced it has exercised its option to purchase the Island of Lanai and has consummated the opening of new fields on Lanai that will be far reaching.

The move, local pineapple men say, is one of the greatest ever made in Hawaii's second most important industry, and the effect of a deal embracing \$1,100,000 with Harry and Frank Baldwin.

The island for which the sum was paid has an approximate area of 150 square miles, or about 100,000 acres of which, recent investigators reported, about 25,000 acres are suitable for the growing of pineapples. Of the entire terrain less than 1000 acres is owned by outside interests.

### **Tentative Plans.**

Associated Press dispatches from Honolulu declare the company expects to plant between 12,000 to 15,000 acres to pineapple and will continue to operate the island ranch which at the present time contains 5000 head of cattle.

The development of the new tract will be extended over a 10 year period in order to cause no break in the pineapple market, advices declare. It is also officially asserted that now outside capital to handle the project will be required.

Frank F. Baldwin was in Honolulu yesterday attending to final details of the deal.

### **Option Obtained.**

That such action might be taken was first made known in September when the Hawaiian Pineapple Company secured three months option on the Lanai holdings. Previously the land had been examined by other investigators and characterized as unsuitable for the production of pineapples.

A subsequent survey, however, reversed earlier reports and on Nov. 4, a committee sailed for Lanai on the Bee for the purpose of investigating harbor conditions. At the same time this committee acted as representatives of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company.

### **Investigate Lanai.**

The party included: R.W. Filler, head of Hawaii Consolidated Railroad Company; Captain Soule and T.H. Petrie. It is assumed their findings formed one of the final links in the chain which attached the island to the holdings of the pineapple company.

No details as to the probable date of starting operations on the island or the manner in which the production work will be carried on could be obtained today, but it is expected that Frank F. Baldwin will issue a formal state on his return to Maui. [Maui News – November 17, 1922, page 1 c. 6]

### **The Lānaʻi Ranch Operations Described in 1929**

The Island of Lanai, while primarily given over to the growing of pineapples since 1924, still has an area of 55,000 acres of fairly well grassed but rocky and rather arid country extending in a belt around the 55 miles of coast line of Lanai, that are utilized as ranch lands and carry about 2,000 Herefords and 180 horses. This belt is from two to four miles wide and extends from the sea to about 1,000 feet in elevation.

The total area of the Island is about 140 square miles and it ranges in height from sea level to about 3,376 feet elevation, with an average annual rainfall on a great part of the uplands of about 34 inches.

In 1922 before the upper lands were given over to the more profitable pineapples, an area of some 2,000 acres had been planted to Pigeon peas (*Cajanus indicus*) and *paspalum dilatatum*. On the lower, rather rocky, present ranch lands the algaroba tree (*Prosopis juliflora*) is valuable because of its bean crop, and Koa haole (*Leucaena glauca*) and Australian salt bush (*Atriplex semibaccata*) are considered desirable forage crops. It is planned to further improve the lower pastures by additional planting of the above crops and by light stocking and resting present pastures.

In the future the ranch will not do much more than raise beef and saddle horses for the pineapple plantation needs. The ranch, though a part of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company's property, still operates as the Lanai Company, Ltd.

The Hawaiians formerly herded goats, probably for their skins on the uplands of Lanai, and some agricultural work was done by Walter Murray Gibson, who arrived in 1861, in connection with the Mormon church. Gibson acquired considerable land and when he died in 1888 his daughter, Talula Lucy Hayselden, became the owner. Gibson and the Hayseldens developed a sheep ranch on the island, much of which was then owned by the Government and by W.G. Irwin.

Irwin later acquired the Government lands and the Hayseldens about 1902 sold out to Charles Gay and nearly the whole island of 89,600 acres was combined under the ownership of Charles Gay, which passed to Irwin in 1910 and from him to John D. McCrosson and associates in the same year, when the Lanai Company, Ltd., was formed. Their interests were sold in 1917 to H.A. and F.F. Baldwin, who in turn sold the property to the Hawaiian Pineapple Co., Ltd., in December 1922, who are the present owners.

Mr. Gay continued with the sheep ranch started by Gibson and Hayselden, probably carrying as high as 50,000 head at times, but when the Lanai Company, Ltd., was started in 1910 they changed to cattle and put in extensive provisions for water and fences, and a count in April 1911, gave 20,588 sheep and 799 head of cattle. At the end of 1920 there were only 860 sheep and early in 1923 a count showed that the number of cattle had increased to 5,536 and besides 4,462 had been sold during the previous five years. Reduction of the herd to make room for pineapples was started on a large scale in 1924, and from the end of 1922 to October 1928, 6,764 head of cattle were sold.

Mr. Moorhead was manager for the Hayseldens, Mr. Gay managed his own property for a time, Lt. Barnard was manager for the Lanai Company in 1910, and G.C. Munro, the present manager, took charge in 1911. [Henke, 1929:51-52]

### **The Last Round-Up – Lanai Ranch Closed in 1951**

The Lānaʻi Ranch era came to an end in 1951 when the Hawaiian Pineapple Company closed the ranch. This action was in-part taken to reduce the impacts of erosion on the island. The Company reported that “grazing during drought periods on Lanai resulted in harmful soil exposure and erosion, conflicting with HAPCo’s land conservation program.” (Figure 20)

In 1951, the approximately 2,500 cattle that roamed the 47,000 acre ranch. were rounded up, loaded on trucks at Kōʻele, and transported down to Kaumālapaʻu Harbor. At the harbor, they were loaded onto the barge and transported to Honolulu. Thus ended the years of ranching interests on Lānaʻi.



**Figure 20. Cattle on the Windward Lānaʻi Range, 1948.**  
(HAPCo Collection, Lānaʻi Culture & Heritage Center)

**April 15, 1950**

**Maui News**

**Lanai Ranch Operations Will End**

Twenty six regular employees and three part-time student workers will be affected by plans of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company to discontinue operation of its Lanai Ranch and dispose of all livestock within the next six months. It was announced recently by Henry A. White, HAPCO President, "Every effort will be made to provide employment for those displaced by ending of ranch operations." White declared, but added that the character of the ranch jobs is such that some of the workers, such as the cowboys might not want to change their occupations for plantation jobs, and would elect to leave Lanai.

"Discontinuance of the ranch" White said, "is in line with the company's policy to dispose of operations not directly connected with the business of growing, canning, and selling Dole products, and disposing of unrelated

activities when such services can be supplied by others without penalty to our own employees.”

“It is now possible,” he added, “to get adequate meat supplies from Honolulu by barges which regularly ply between Lanai and Honolulu.”

He said also that ranch operation was in conflict with the soil conservation program on Lanai, because grazing during periods of drought has resulted in harmful soil exposure and erosion.

A piggery part of the ranch operations will be sold for individual operation if a person or group on Lanai indicates interest in acquiring the enterprise, the president revealed.

### **Record of Ranch Water Supply In Ka‘ā (Ms. J.T. Munro, Feb. 18, 1958)**

...The other major improvement was the laying of some 18 miles of gravity line from the lower tunnel dam, elevation 1,103 feet, down and out of the Maunalei gulch below Shaft 1 to the west and around the end of the island approaching Honopuu [Honopū], elevation 300 feet. This line started with two-and-one-half inch galvanized pipe and ended with three-quarter inch. Along with some branch line, including one to the east at Shaft 1, this system distributed water to livestock over some 200 square miles of pasture land.

Pipe for these lines was supplied by the Kahului Railway Company on Maui, most of it being landed along the north coast and hauled to location by a 30 H.P. Caterpillar front-wheel steered tractor with a four-wheeled trailer made up with steel wheels from the abandoned portable drill rig boiler. This old tractor is still lying alongside the road above Manele....  
[J.T. Munro, Ms., page 7]



## **THE KA'Ā FOREST LANDS: IMPACTS AND DECLINE OF RESOURCES; AND EARLY STEWARDSHIP PROGRAMS**

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In the preceding sections of this study, many references to the relationship shared by Hawaiians with their environment are found. There is also documentation of the continual decline in the health and well-being of Lāna'i's natural environment. The ahupua'a of Ka'ā is among those land areas which has suffered the most as a result of poor management, and degradation of its environment. Fragile ecosystems have been radically altered, and the face of the land as seen today, looks nothing like it did in ancient times.

In the centuries prior to the arrival of westerners in 1778, and subsequently into the reign of Kamehameha I, the system of land tenure and management mirrored the natural landscape of the islands. After western contact, however, the forests were primarily valued in terms of the western economic system, and later management practices typically focused on what, and how much could be gotten from the land.

Following western contact foreigners looked at the land first as a source of provisions for ships; and second as a means for earning money, through the trade of natural resources such as 'iliahi (sandalwood). In 1778, European boars, goats, rams, and ewes were introduced by Captain Cook. While offered as a "gift," one of the motivating factors was to leave animals that would produce a breeding stock to supply other foreign ships (Beaglehole 1967:276, 578-579). In 1793, Captain Vancouver brought cattle to Hawai'i which were given to Kamehameha I as "gifts." The cattle were first let off at Kawaihae, Hawai'i (then at Kealahakua), and placed under a ten-year kapu to protect them and allow them to reproduce (Kamakau 1961:164). Between 1793 and c. 1811, new stock was added, and the numbers of cattle increased dramatically.

On April 22, 1857, the native language newspaper, Ka Hae Hawai'i, printed a series of articles on the importance of family agricultural pursuits, and the need to fence in one's lands to protect them from grazing animals:

One cannot really protect the land from animals which are not held in a pen. Nor can one prohibit the roaming of animals. Therefore, one cannot relax when crops are not in an enclosure... The stone enclosure (pa pohaku). It is a good enclosure in an 'a'a place. A wall that will not rot, will not burn, will not be stolen. It is a wall that fends off (pale) animals well when it is built well. Goats are the only animals that it will not hold fast. Therefore, it is best to prohibit goats from farming lands... [BPBM HEN I:3242-3245]

So significant was the threat of wild animals to the Hawaiian landscape that on September 19, 1876, King David Kalākaua signed into law, an Act for the Protection and Preservation of Woods and Forests. By that Act, the Minister of the Interior was authorized to set apart and protect from “damage by trespass of animals or otherwise, such woods and forest lands, the property of government...best suited for the protection of water resources...” (Hawaii Laws Chapter XXX:39). The Minister of the Interior was authorized to appoint a superintendent of woods and forests:

...who shall, under the direction of said Minister, enforce such rules and regulations as may be established to protect and preserve such reserved woods and forest lands from trespass. Said superintendent shall have charge of the construction of fences and barriers required to protect the said woods and forest lands, and shall be responsible for their being kept in good condition... (ibid.).

While the act of King Kalākaua covered all the islands, and the conservation of forest lands on the Government and Crown lands retained on Lāna‘i was required in lease for lands adjoining Ka‘ā in the 1870s through the early 1900s, little conservation occurred.

Concern over the continued loss of forest lands in the Kingdom, was also the subject of a law promulgated during the last days of the reign of Queen Lili‘uokalani, who on January 4, 1893, established the Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry. Among the Bureau’s goals was the “preservation of forests.” On June 14, 1900, the members and functions of the Bureau were absorbed by the Board of Commissioners of Agriculture and Forestry. (Hawaii State Archives – Com 2, Box 11)

On Lāna‘i the damage from uncontrolled ungulate grazing was immediate, and little care was given to protect the land. There is also evidence at various elevations in Ka‘ā, of stone wall enclosures made to protect house lots and cultivated lands (Figure 21).

In 1911, the dry forest region of Ka‘ā was given a reprieve under the leadership of George C. Munro, when he came to the island to manage of the Lanai Ranch operations. Munro was a naturalist, and he recognized the importance of the native dryland forest of the Ka‘ā–Kānepu‘u region, and enclosing portions of the forest to keep ungulates out. In 1935, biologist, Ray Fosberg wrote about Munro’s work in Ka‘ā:

“...Mr. Munro fenced the area of dry forest to keep out the ranch cattle, thus giving the trees a chance to grow and seed themselves. The result is today perhaps the finest dryland forest in the Hawaiian Islands...”  
[Fosberg, Mid Pacific Magazine, 1935]



**Figure 21. Walled Enclosure at about the 1,000 foot elevation, West side of Awalua Road (Robin Kaye Photo No. RK\_2416 Dec 17 2010. Lat (N) 20 53.15; Long (W) 156 59.73)**

Lānaʻi native Solomon Kaopuiki followed in Munro's footsteps when he decided in the late 1930's that unique Hawaiian plants were suffering from neglect, and he began to fence areas in Kaʻā. As a result of his work and that of George Munro, several plant species are today preserved in the Kaʻā area that would otherwise almost certainly have become extinct. Their work in living stewardship sets a model for us today and confirms how vitally important it is to care for the ʻāina.

On October 10, 1924, C.S. Judd, Superintendent of Forestry, wrote the following account of forests and forestry in the Hawaiian Islands to Governor Farrington. Sixty-four years later, his words still present readers with an important framework to support on-going efforts to protect Hawaiʻi's native forests:

Forestry is practiced in the Territory of Hawaii primarily, not for timber production, but for the conservation of water. Probably in no other section of the world is the relation between a satisfactory forest cover on the mountains and the supply of water for domestic and agricultural uses better or more ably demonstrated...

The chief product, and, the most valuable, coming from the main forested and mountainous regions of the Territory, comprising about one-fourth of the total land area of the eight islands (4,099,860 acres) is water.

Because of the comparatively limited terrain, short and steep water sheds, heavy rainfall in certain regions and the great need for irrigating the dry but fertile, sun-warmed lowlands, the value of this liquid product of the forest, on which domestic needs and prosperity of the community depend, is most highly appreciated and every effort is being made to conserve and maintain its sources in the forests.

### **Character of the Native Forest.**

The forest of comparatively small trees found growing naturally on the mountain slopes is admirably suited to prevent erosion and to convert surface runoff into underground drainage, the desideratum in water conservation. The happy combination of small trees, brushes, ferns, vines and other forms of ground cover keep the soil porous and allow the water to percolate more easily into the underground channels. The foliage of the trees breaks the force of the rain and prevents the impacting of the soil by rain drops. A considerable portion of the precipitation is let down to the ground slowly by this three-storied cover of trees, bushes, and floor plants and in this manner the rain, falling on a well-forested area, is held back and instead of rushing down to the sea rapidly in the form of destructive floods, is fed gradually to the springs and streams and to the underground artesian basins where it is held for use over a much longer interval.

### **Protection of the Forest.**

Forest practice in the Territory of Hawaii, therefore, resolves itself into what is known as "forest protection" and the main efforts of the foresters are exerted in maintaining and building up of the native forests on the mountains so that they will function to the highest degree in conserving the rainfall.

The native forest, however, is peculiarly constituted in that it is readily susceptible to damage. The shallow-rooted trees depending for proper moisture and soil conditions on the undergrowth of bushes and ferns and when the latter, the first to be attacked by stock, are injured or removed, the tree roots dry out, the trees are weakened and begin to decline, and an opening is made in the forest for the invasion of destructive insects and fungi and of the more vigorously-growing foreign grasses and other plants which choke out native growth and prevent tree reproduction. It is always dangerous for this reason to make any opening in the native forest and the only safe way to preserve it and keep it healthy and vigorous is to maintain it inviolable from all attacks and keep the ground well shaded and dark.

### **Damage to the Forest.**

The chief damage to the native forest is done by cattle and other grazing stock which first attack the toothsome ferns and other plants which give the shallow-rooted trees the protection which is necessary to their existence.

The fencing of exposed forest boundaries to keep out stock and the extermination of wild stock where it exists in the forest constitutes an important item in forest work in the Territory...

### **Forest Reserves.**

Forest lands devoted to the purpose of water conservation have been officially recognized under the law and set apart as forest reserves by proclamation of the Governor. In this manner during the past two decades 50 of such forest reserves have been set aside on the five largest islands of the group. These embrace a total area of 840,984 acres of which 579,905 acres or 68 per cent is land belonging to the Territory... [Hawaii State Archives – Com 2, Box 15]

## **Historical Accounts of the Forests of Ka‘ā and Island of Lāna‘i**

The narratives below provide an overview of changes to the Ka‘ā landscape and suggest direction in restoration and conservation of the ‘āina. Kūpuna express the belief that the health of the people is tied to the health of the land. Support for stewardship programs, and the work of many hands (land owners, agencies and individuals) can restore life to Ka‘ā (Figure 22), but this cannot happen if access to the land is restricted. So it is important that as future land use is contemplated access and sponsorship of continuous land stewardship efforts remain the bedrock of planning efforts.

A review of the archival literature reveal a consistency in approaches to Hawaiian forests and sound stewardship of them:

- (1) The cultural attachment and relationship shared between Hawaiians and their environment is ancient. Traditional Hawaiian values assigned to the forests and upland regions are very different from many of the values presented in current views of forestry and recreational interests.
- (2) The demise of Hawaiian forests and water sheds (resulting primarily from the impacts of grazing animals and large scale land use) has been a concern of governmental agencies and communities for more than 180 years;
- (3) The primary focus of “Hawaiian forestry” since the nineteenth century has been driven by western economic values and interests; and

- (4) Conservation efforts today are rooted in a foundation that crosses both traditional and contemporary boundaries, and is the process in which humans have participated, albeit with inconsistent success, for the last two centuries.



**Figure 22.** Olopuia or Pua (*Osmanthus sandwicensis*) trees of the Kānepu‘u Dry Forest (1926). HAPCo Photo Album (p. 263)

**January 12, 1904 (page 5)**

**Hawaiian Gazette**

**Goats Stand in Way of Development of Lanai**

Lanai will never be of much value until the goats which are now overrunning the government lands are exterminated, is the opinion of the officials who returned from the island yesterday on the Iroquois, after a most thorough inspection. The members of the party spent three days on the island of Lanai, practically all of the time in the saddle. They also visited the island of Kahoolawe which is also said to be in need of considerable attention on the part of the government. Chas. Gay was reported by the members of the party to be spending thousands of dollars

in the improvement of Lanai, mainly in bringing water to his ranch from Maunalei gulch.

“We left Honolulu on the Iroquois at six o’clock Wednesday morning,” said Secretary A.L.C. Atkinson who went with the party as the representative of Governor Carter. “We landed at Manele on Lanai at two o’clock in the afternoon, where we were met by Chas. Gay with horses. The same afternoon, we rode up to Koele, Mr. Gay’s place, inspecting the land on the way up. The next day we rode to the furthest northwest point of the island, and then along the coast to Awalua Harbor. We came back to Koele by way of Paomai....

### **Water On Lanai**

“The great trouble on Lanai,” continued Secretary Atkinson, “is the lack of water. Mr. Gay is making tremendous efforts to get water to his land. He owns in fee simple the great portion of the island and has leases on the balance... Mr. Gay is trying to bring the water over from Maunalei, a distance of forty [four] miles. It has to be pumped two thousand feet, and a six hundred foot pump is being installed. It will be run by windmill and gasoline power...

“I also looked into the question of forest reservation. The forest belt is on government land, and also on a tract owned by W.G. Irwin. Of course no plan for forest preservation has been made as yet, but it will be a difficult problem. The great difficulty is going to be with the goats. There are from 15,000 to 25,000 goats on the island now, and they are thickest in the forest belt. It is hardly worth while to attempt to do anything until the upper levels are fenced in and the goats driven off. There are tremendous cliffs in that portion of the island and it is going to be an expensive proposition to exterminate the goats. Mr. Gay is willing to furnish anyone with a horse and a gun who wants to help get rid of them...”

### **Star Bulletin**

**March 12, 1907**

#### **Lanai Forests Being Denuded**

**(re. Lanai Government Land Exchange with Chas. Gay)**

#### **Wild Goats Destroy All Verdure—Protected By The Law.**

...Superintendent of Forestry Hosmer had visited the island at the request of Mr. Pratt in the interest of forest reserves. The side of the main ridge gave indications of at one time being quite heavily forested. The same indications showed on the Kaa land. About 100 acres of the latter still existed. Mr. Hosmer stated that the forest growth is very poor and is getting worse on account of the many wild goats. He understood that the shooting of wild goats had been prohibited and in consequence their

numbers had multiplied wonderfully. He believes that to reforest Lanai it would be absolutely necessary to kill off the goats. As there was no appropriation for that work the wild goats would render useless any attempt to reforest the island. With Mr. Gay he had discussed the scheme of destroying the goats by means of drives which would bring them into a corral, where they could be slaughtered. One or two small drives had been carried through by Mr. Gay, but they came high when carried on out of his own pocket. If the goats are to remain unmolested in a short time all or nearly all of the sources of the water supply will dry up through the destruction of the forests. He did not think that the water supply on the island at present was more than sufficient to water stock, let alone agricultural purposes. Taken as a whole, and viewed from all sides, he considered that the deal had been an advantageous one to the Government.

Mr. Hosmer had heard of one or two taro patches in Maunalei gulch, but they had been destroyed by rocks knocked down the sides of the gulch by passing goats.

The committee adjourned to meet again Wednesday. [Hawaii State Archives – Series M-219]

### **Star Bulletin**

**April 8, 1907**

### **Investigators Find Lanai Is Not Suitable For Independent Homesteaders**

**(re. Lanai Government Land Exchange with Chas. Gay)**

...During the day the party passed over the Palawai basin, went to the Maunalei gulch and from there to Kaa. W.G. Irwin's portion, and some went even further, staying in the saddle until 7 p.m.

In the evening a meeting of the Hawaiians was called at Gay's house.

### **Inhabitants Examined**

Kaleiopu opened the meeting by stating to the people that the committee had come to investigate matters pertaining to the Government lands and water rights on the island, as there had been some objection raised to the sale of the Government land to Gay. The committee wanted to find out about these things and also about how Gay was treating the people.

Kealiihananui, a 60-year old Hawaiian who was born and had lived on the island all his life, was the first witness.



In Kamoku there had formerly been considerable forest. He was not familiar with the entire island. He knew Kaa, Mahana, Maunalei and other places. Maunalei was cultivated by the Hawaiians in former days, but the increase of the goats had destroyed their industry. The goats had been there when he was born and had been increasing ever since. He had not been in the Maunalei gulch since the taro industry was abandoned, years ago. The taro patches had used the Maunalei water. Each patch had a right to a certain amount of it. He did not know whether the source thereof was on private or public lands. There had been no constantly running streams within the memory of the witness. There were some other gulches in which there were streams during the rainy seasons. He could not say whether the rainfall had increased or decreased during his lifetime. Formerly sweet potatoes were raised on the island, in the Palawai basin, as well as corn and watermelons. It was used only for home consumption and depended solely on rain water. Wells had been sunk but only brackish water had been obtained. People living inland depended on rain and in dry spells they had to get water from makai...

[For Hawaiian language account of testimonies by native residents of Lānaʻi on this matter, see Nupepa Kuokoa, Apelila 12, 1907 (aoao 1) "O Gay ka Makua o ka Lehulehu ma ka Pane a na Hoike i ke Komite."]

**Advertiser**

**April 9, 1907**

**All It Needs Is Water Supply**

**(re. Lanai Government Land Exchange with Chas. Gay)**

**Lanai Would Be Ideal If It Could Escape The Long Droughts**

... For a little place Lanai has more rough country, steep hills, precipices, rocks and sand heaps than one would suppose possible. In places the soil has been blown away from around the giant boulders, leaving these piled upon one another in most fantastic shapes; in places the wind has gouged great holes out of the hilltops, streaking the country with great canals as if some titanic steam shovel had been at work; on the Kaa coast for several miles back from the sea the whole country is strewn with lava boulders and shale through which the surest footed horse has to carefully pick his way. The bad lands of Arizona, the grand canyon of the Colorado, the Mohave desert and the Chinook prairie of northern Montana are all sampled in the make-up of Lanai. In places are little gulches in which guava bushes grow well and the vegetation is comparatively thick. In these gulches attempts have been made to sink wells, but the only return for the thousands spent has been enough water to make a splash when a rock is dropped down the ninety feet of shaft and this water is brackish.

**August 1909 (page 14)**

**The Friend**

**The Superintendent's Tour of Lanai and Molokai**

**[Hunting for to control wild game; and shooting sharks from Ka'āpahu cliffs in Ka'ā]**

...As we were going to press last month, I was starting out on a trip to the most interesting islands of Lanai and Molokai. It was my second visit to the former island, and I felt as though I was among friends when I preached in the Lanaihale Church on Sunday, June 27<sup>th</sup>. The services that day were helpful as usual and the spirit of worship was felt most strongly. Rev. David W. Keliokamoku White of Lahaina was present and took a large part in the services. After the Sunday school hour and the preaching of a sermon by the Superintendent, there was the sacrament of baptism, the reception of two new members into the church and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The regular C.E. meeting then took place, after which the congregation adjourned to the residence of Mr. Charles Gay at Keomuku for luncheon. While on Lanai I was able to obtain a glimpse of the life on a sheep ranch and to observe the method of shearing the sheep. We also had opportunities to indulge in some forms of hunting, the grandest of which was to shoot at man-eating sharks from the top of the pali of Kaapahu. We had a chance to see the famous "pali o Kaholo" and the spouting-horn of Kaala, renowned in Hawaiian legend. After my enjoyable visit on Lanai, I went over to Molokai on Sat., July 3<sup>rd</sup>...

**September 1910**

**Board of Agriculture and Forestry, Division of Forestry**

**A Report on Possibilities of Forest Work On The Island of Lanai, Territory of Hawaii (by Ralph S. Hosmer, Superintendent of Forestry)  
Drawn up by request for The Lanai Company.**

Honolulu.

September 1910

The following report is drawn up by the Division of Forestry of the Territorial Board of Agriculture and Forestry at the request of the Lanai Company, under the offer of assistance to tree planters contained in Circular No. 1 of the Division of Forestry. Its purpose is to outline a comprehensive program of forest protection and forest planting for the Island of Lanai. From its nature such work must be done gradually. It is not the expectation that all the recommendations in this report will be carried out at once; rather than the several parts of the plan can be put into effect as the property is developed and as opportunity offers.

## **Object.**

The object of forest work on Lanai is to increase the value of the island as a productive asset. Without forest it would be impossible adequately to develop Lanai. With the native forest protected and more trees planted, the value of the island to the Lanai Company will be materially increased. Therefore, forestry on Lanai is a practical necessity. [page 1]

The first need of course is to do whatever is reasonably possible to safeguard, and as far as may be to increase the available supply of water.

Next is the reclamation of the areas of waste, or of now only slightly productive land which through the systematic planting of trees, shrubs and soil binding plants can be much increased in value. Third is tree planting with idea of direct return, such as can be got by establishing groves for sheltering stock, windbreaks and shelter belts for agricultural crops, forest plantations for the production of wood, and rows of trees along fence lines.

Recommendations covering the forest problems on Lanai fall naturally into several divisions. This report therefore, deals in turn with the mountain forest, the low lying land along the coast, the reclamation of the west end of the island, stock shelters, and windbreak, shelter belt and fence row planting.

## **Acknowledgement.**

It is only just to say here that the greater part of the recommendations made in this report have already occurred to officers of the Lanai Company, or have been suggested by Mr. Charles Gay, who from his long residence on Lanai and his close observation of local conditions has a clear conception of what ought to be done and definite suggestions as to how plans for such work should be carried out. The present report, by bringing together these and some additional recommendations into one harmonious plan, puts the problem squarely before the Lanai Company, and perhaps from the manner of presentation throws some fresh light on the subject. It also presents a definite program of work to be done. [page 2]

## **... Extermination of the Goats.**

It is unnecessary here to go into a dissertation on why and how the forest has receded. The greater part of the damage is directly due to the wild goats. The problem today is to repair the injury. In the work the first step is the extermination of the goats. Not until all of these animals are got rid of will the sources of water on the Lanai mountain be properly protected. It

follows too that until the goats are pretty well killed off, there is little point in starting other forest work.

The fencing off of the mountain now going on under the direction of Mr. Gay, seems to me very decidedly to be the right way of attacking this problem. The construction of a strong boundary fence with interior compartments is of course expensive, but in view of the importance of the forest cover on the mountain, I am positive that it is a good investment. The main difficulty will come in the driving. The majority of the goats ought of course to be rounded up in the regular drives, but I regard it as essential that proper provision be made for hunting down [page 3] those that get away. Unless the goats on the mountain are absolutely exterminated there will continue to be trouble. If even a few are left to breed the work cannot be regarded as finished.

This shooting down of the few remaining goats will be hard work which will require to be done by men who not only are good shots, but who also are accustomed to cliff climbing and who know the country intimately. Success can only be had by strict adherence to a systematic plan, aggressively and continuously pursued. The cost of such work will for a time be relatively large but if the goats are not got rid of once and for all, in the end the Company would be called on for very much larger sums, to say nothing of other disadvantages.

In the initial drives, advantage may be taken of visitors who happen to be on the island to help out in the shooting, but when it comes to really serious work it should be remembered that a few well trained men, accustomed to such work, and acting under the direction of one leader are worth much more than a large company of less skilled persons, however well intentioned. The wild goat is a highly intelligent creature and it takes good generalship to outwit him. Furthermore, with a view of offsetting a part of the cost, wherever possible in the initial drives the goats ought to be rounded up into pens, where they can be killed and their skins taken in good condition. Damaged skins bring a much lower price. For those reasons I do not favor the suggestion that a company of the National Guard be secured to assist in the goat hunting. While such a plan might work well in open country, as at the west end of Lanai, I do not think it would on the steep gulch sides where the hard work of goat hunting has to be done. A few good cliff climbers would I believe, accomplish more than a [page 4] much larger number of men unaccustomed to such work...

### **[Ka'ā] ...The West End of the Island**

As the result of continued overstocking in former years, a large section at the western end of Lanai has now reached a condition that makes it not

only of little value in itself but a menace as well to the better land in that vicinity. The problem is how best to check the present waste and restore this section to a permanently productive condition. It is a situation that demands the most energetic measures, but from work that has already been done there is every reason to believe that the reclamation of this section can be successfully accomplished.

From the head of the Maunalei gulch there extends toward the west end of the island a flat topped ridge having an average elevation of about 2000 feet. On the windward side the slope is fairly regular down to the north shore of the island. On the south there is a sharp descent into the extension of the Great Basin that lies to the west of Koele. The area in question is a belt of varying width, principally from the west branch of the Maunalei Gulch to a point somewhat to the north of the hill on the land of Kaa known as Kanepuu. Blowing down the channel between West Maui and Molokai, the full force of the trade wind is concentrated on this portion of Lanai. The soil cover once broken, erosion by wind and rain goes on apace. The upper layers of soil being lost, the surface is worn down to hardpan or to the only slightly less compact subsoil. In places where the soil is somewhat more sandy, dunes are forming and unless speedily checked will spread and render valueless still further areas. With the example of Kahoolawe as a warning the Lanai Company cannot afford not to undertake prompt and strenuous measures of reclamation.

The extent and character of the damage over the exposed areas is by no means uniform. The area may in fact be divided [page 13] into four main sections; (1) The land between the main road and a line roughly parallel thereto, from the crest of the ridge down across the basin in the Paomae [Paomai] Gulch, where it is proposed to construct the dam and storm water reservoir; (2) the section of "bad lands", including the dunes, immediately to the west of this line; (3) the slope on the southern side of the crest of the ridge, above the Basin; and (4) the section along the crest and extending toward Kanepuu, already reclaimed through the planting of Manienie grass.

On the windward slope of the ridge are several groves of native trees, the remnants of the old time forest. These groves consist mostly of the Wild Olive Ulupua [Olopua] ([Osmanthus] sandwicensis) [Figure 22]. Other trees are Lama ([Diospyros] Maba sand-wicensis) and in scattering groups, Halapepe (Dracaena [Pleomele spp.]).

The object in the reclamation of this area should be to restore it to a condition of permanent productiveness. It is primarily a question of finding suitable grasses and other soil binding plants that can in time be themselves used for grazing, or that when they have checked erosion can be made to give place to other plants of greater forage value.

Comparatively little of this area is suitable for any agricultural crop. Part of it should be kept permanently in forest, both because trees are the most valuable crop that such land can produce and also because groves in the more exposed parts would afford protection to the better land. It goes without saying that the groves now on the land form a starting point.

The solution of this problem rests in the establishment of certain grassed and other soil binding plants, rather than in tree planting pure and simple. That much work is feasible and will yield results is amply proved by the Manienie grass planting done by Mr. Morehead during the years when Lanai was [page 14] controlled by the Hayseldens. The question now is to find plants that can be depended on to arrest erosion on the several types of land that are now going to waste, and that can later themselves be used or can easily give place to others that in time can be used for the pasturage of a limited number of head of stock, under strict regulations against over-stocking. I believe it is possible to devise such a plan and I recommend that the Lanai Company undertake this work.

The first step in such a program as is here proposed is to fence off the area. Certain of the fences required are already contemplated as a part of the general ranch fencing program. Others would have to be built specially. I suggest that starting from the road at the grove of Ulupua [Olopua] trees about a mile below the crest, a fence be built along the slope following approximately that contour line until it intersects the present paddock fence running to the beach. Further to the west the fence should be continued around the slope so as to include the groves to the north of Kanepuu and the "bad lands" section near by that point.

On the south side I believe and do now recommend that a fence be built along the foot of the steep slope leading up from the Basin to the crest of the ridge. This slope is beginning to erode badly in places. At one point a dune is breaking over the cliff. Unless this sort of thing is checked there is grave danger that serious damage will be done to the good land below. To these reasons may be added the same arguments that were adduced earlier in this report in regard to the similar slope in the Great Basin, above the old school-house and the Gibson Place. In short, it is my belief that such land will yield more to the Company if it is used to grow trees than can be got from continuing to hold it as grazing land.

At the east end, along the road, it is my understanding [page 15] that a fence is to be built anyway. This would enclose a block which in area would be somewhere between four and five thousand acres. This seems a large area to take out of the ranch but as a matter of fact only a small part of it is now of much value and unless that is very carefully handled it will soon be on the road to becoming of the "bad lands" type. The fencing off of this section and its reclamation through a well devised plan of

planting will, I am confident, in the end yield better results to the Company than can be got in any other way.

Such work need not be very expensive, at any rate not for the present, and even if more extensive work were later to be undertaken it would be spread over a number of years. The building of the fence will be the largest initial cost. The reclamation planting can go on slowly. Indeed it must needs do so for in the beginning it will necessarily have to be somewhat experimental. The expenditure of a few hundred dollars under a carefully thought out plan ought to go a long way in determining what plants to use and how to go about getting them started... ..it seems to me that some attention should be given to extending the existing groves of Ulupua [Olopua] and other trees. The Ulupua [Olopua] bears seed in profusion but there is now no reproduction. Excluding the sheep ought to make a great difference, especially if slight help could be given the seed by breaking up the soil, as with a hoe, in suitably protected spots, sheltered by the parent trees. If this proved successful seed might be gathered in coming seasons and sown more extensively. Ulupua [Olopua] is a slow growing tree but it has shown itself adapted to this locality which is a great point in favor of getting more trees of this species started.

For the real solution of the problem of the "bad lands" I believe dependence must be placed, however, on introduced soil-binding grasses and plants of various sort. In different parts of the world there are plants that apparently are exactly suited to the need. Experimental lots of the more promising things could be got and started without undue expense, through the agency of the territorial and Federal Experimental Stations. A few hundred dollars would go a long way in such work and the experiment could hardly help paying for itself, for out of the plants tried some and or more are practically certain to prove of such value as far and away to offset the initial outlay. Following these experiments more extensive planting could be undertaken if the Company then so desired... [page 19]

**March 11, 1911**

**Report of the Board of Commissioners of Agriculture and Forestry  
Territory of Hawaii**

**Biennial Period ending December 31st, 1910:**

**Trip to Lanai and West Maui.**

On July 19 it was thought advisable to visit the island of Lanai, having made arrangements with Mr. J.T. McCrosson and Mr. Chas. Gay previously. Mr. Marston Campbell consented to have Mr. J.G. Hammond, a local teacher, accompany me. Mr. Hammond had had experience in collecting plants, etc., and was therefore a great help in the field, his duty being the drying of blotters and labelling, as well as collecting plants.

Lanai was thoroughly explored from the summit of Lanaihale to Kaa; the valleys Maunalei and Nahoko, the two largest ones, were visited besides Mahana and Kaiholena and the small gulches on the slope of the main ridge.

A new violet was discovered on the main ridge, that seems to be peculiar to Lanai. It is woody, three feet high, with pink flowers and narrow lanceolate leaves. The dry districts were of the greatest interest, especially the valley of Kaiholena. Here also several new species were discovered. The material collected on the Island of Lanai comprises about 2500 specimens; the largest amount of the species of Lichens were found on that Island. After a month's sojourn on Lanai I left the Island for Lahaina on the "Nunulaweleka," a whale-boat carrying the U.S. mail between Halepalaoa and Lahaina, Maui... [Territory of Hawaii 1911:79-80]

### **September 1930 (page 193)**

#### **The Friend**

#### **The Goat Menace on Hawaii**

For more than a hundred years goats have roamed the hills of all the islands of our group. No one can ever estimate the amount of damage inflicted by these pests upon our pastures and forests. In many localities they have ruined the native woods and turned into barren wastes what should still be good forest cover.

Ranchmen, foresters, and others have been cognizant of the steady losses caused by the goats. An effort to keep down the number of goats has been maintained for years, with more or less success. The smaller islands offer an easier solution of the problem than the larger islands, because there it is possible to pursue the goats from one locality to another and eventually destroy them...

Lanai...has suffered badly from goats. The splendid forest area in the center of Lanai was encroached upon by hundreds of the destructive goats. In 1908 there were about 10,000 of these animals on the island. Not content with staying on the lowlands, they entered the dry forest lands of Kaa and did harm to the old native trees. For years they could be found in all parts of Lanai, but constant warfare resulted in the slaughter of thousands of the pests. It was a real task to get them out of the cliffs of Maunalei and Nahoko, Kahawainui, and Naio, but at last that part of Lanai has been freed of goats, and it is thought that only a few animals remain in the western pali region of the island...



## **Raymond Fosberg's Biological Investigations of 1934**

In 1934 F. Raymond Fosberg, of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum conducted field work on Lāna'i. There have been significant changes (for the worse) in the landscape of Ka'ā and the island of Lāna'i in the more than 75 years since Fosberg's visit. Many think it is even more critical now that Lāna'i residents work together as a community to ensure that the last vestiges of the island's unique character and natural history are not forever erased.

**June 1935**

**Mid Pacific Magazine**

**"Plant Collecting on Lanai"**

The island of Lanai, when viewed from the sea or from neighboring islands, presents a dry, barren, and most uninteresting aspect. It is little known, compared with the other islands of the Hawaiian group and general belief about conditions on Lanai tends to agree with and confirm the impression gained from a distant view-point. The widespread opinion about this island is that there is no rain that the forests have been well nigh destroyed, and that there is nothing there to see but a huge pineapple field.

In botanical literature with the exception of many descriptions of plants peculiar to Lanai, the island has been neglected. Hillebrand, in his *Flora of the Hawaiian Islands* scarcely mentions Lanai, while he discusses the other islands to a considerable extent. Rock, likewise, in his fine book, *The Indigenous Trees of the Hawaiian Islands*, dismisses Lanai with a single paragraph. Writers in other branches of natural history have remarked about the almost complete denudation of the forests on this island, saying that there are only a few acres of forest left on the top of the highest mountain.

When, last November, through the courtesy of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company and the kindness and hospitality of Mr. George C. Munro, of Honolulu, and Mr. and Mrs. James Munro of Koele, Lanai, I was enabled to collect plants on Lanai for a week. I went expecting to pick up the last remnants of a dying flora. I was certainly in no way prepared for the wonderful condition in which I found the forests of the island. Lanai furnishes a striking example of what vigorous efforts at conservation may accomplish, also of what the native Hawaiian forests will do for themselves when protected and given a chance. How this change has come about is a story well worth telling.

It is the story of the efforts, over a period of more than twenty-three years, of a man with a rare combination of keen interest in and love for plants, strong business ability and the vision to see far enough ahead to realize

the potential value of the miserable remnants of forest which remained when he took over the management of Lanai Ranch. The fact that there is today a fine forest, and consequently a dependable water supply, on Lanai is the direct outcome of the work of Mr. George C. Munro, until he retired as manager of Lanai Ranch. Mr. R.L. Usinger, entomologist of the Bishop Museum, and I were fortunate enough to be conducted over the island by Mr. Munro, who told us of his conservation work, pointing out the differences between conditions which exist now and those which prevailed twenty-five years ago.

At that time the forests were being rapidly devoured by thousands of head of wild cattle, goats, deer, sheep, and pigs. Soon after he arrived, Mr. Munro declared war on these animals. Many of the wild cattle he ordered driven into [page 1] large corrals, to be domesticated and used as breeding stock for the ranch, as the ranch was under stocked at the time. The other animals he hunted down relentlessly, killing them by thousands.

Today they are almost, if not completely, eliminated. There is probably not a pig or cow or goat left wild on the island, and the deer and sheep, if any remain, are so few as to be negligible. The mountains were then fenced off and even the ranch cattle kept out. From that time on, the native forest on Lanai began to come back. Many plants were introduced from other places to help in this reclothing the mountains with forest but, though some of them have flourished, the important elements of the new forests are the native trees and shrubs which have always grown there. One introduction, molasses grass (*Melinis minutiflora*), is apparently of great value in protecting the bare land at the lower edge of the forest from erosion while the forest gradually spreads.

The water supply was not the only problem on Lanai requiring conservation methods. The whole north end of the island, being denuded of the dry land forest with which it was naturally covered, was starting to blow away. Strong winds cut rapidly into the exposed soil and great storms resulted. Ordinary wind-breaks of Eucalyptus and other trees were of no use, as they were immediately killed by a terrific bombardment of wind-driven sand and gravel. Realizing that if the dry land forest, of which a few small patches remained, could be encouraged to come back this part of the island might be saved, Mr. Munro studied the matter for a few years and then invented a new sort of wind-break.

A great many sisal plants were growing near Koele where they were not wanted. Mr. Munro had them dug up and hauled out to the region where the wind-breaks were necessary. Here furrows were plowed and the great rosettes of thick, leathery leaves of the sisal were planted in long rows where the wind-breaks were to be. They soon took root and grew. The thick leaves resisted the attack of wind-blown sand and the plants

multiplied by suckers and bulblets, forming dense hedges. Meanwhile on the leeward sides of these rows were planted rows of Eucalyptus which grew in the protection of the sisal. As each row of Eucalyptus got well started another was planted to the leeward of it. Each successive row was [page 2] able to grow a little higher because of the protection of the preceding one. Ironwoods of a species which sends up a great number of sucker shoots were planted among the Eucalyptus, the result being, at present, a dense strip of solid vegetation sloping up from the row of sisal on the windward side. Its effectiveness in protecting the land from the wind is strikingly demonstrated at points where there are for some reason gaps in the strip. Here, at each gap, is a swath cut through the vegetation on the leeward side, filled with wind-blown sand, and extending for hundreds of feet down wind. In the shelter of these wind-breaks the forest has completely eliminated wind erosion for a considerable distance.

In addition to the wind-breaks Mr. Munro fenced the area of dry forest to keep out the ranch cattle, thus giving the trees a chance to grow and seed themselves. The result is today perhaps the finest dryland forest in the Hawaiian Islands...

One of the most interesting days of our whole visit to Lanai was spent in the company of Mr. Munro tramping over the north end of the plateau near Kanepuu. The slopes down from the edges of the plateau have been eroded by the wind into a remarkable topography, even resembling in miniature the Garden of the Gods in Colorado. The gently rolling area on top is partially covered by patches of dry forest. This forest is remarkable. It might even be considered an anachronism. It is apparently the sole remaining good example of the type of dry land forest which before the advent of Europeans must have covered great areas in the lowlands of the older islands of the Hawaiian group. Although it is in a large measure composed of such common trees as pua, naio or false sandalwood (*Myoporum*), lama (*Diospyros*), and others, there persist here a number of species such as *Gardenia Brighamii*, formerly abundant on other islands, but now practically extinct. Also there are a number of plants found here and nowhere else. One of these, a small mint, *Haplostachys Munroi*, is restricted to a spot less than one acre in extent.

Mr. Munro, while he was manager of the ranch had this area fenced off and protected from stock. He had a winding road through the forest making accessible most of the rare plants, and had dreams of preserving it as a natural park. He had full realization of the great scientific, historical, and sentimental value of this bit of Hawaii as it was before the coming of plantations, keawe [*kiawe*] (*algaroba*), guava, and lantana, as well as its tremendous practical value in protecting the north end of the island from wind erosion. Furthermore, he had seen Lanai at a period when the forests were at the point of being destroyed, and so realized the

shortsightedness of sacrificing the forest for a few years cattle grazing. At present, however, the fences have been removed and the cattle are again feeding in this remarkable area.

Although Lanai has by no means the attractions, from the standpoint of the tourist, offered by the other Hawaiian Islands, it is of such interest to the student of natural history that he would gladly return again and again. [Mid Pacific Magazine, June 1935: 5]

**March 30, 1938 (page 1)**  
**Maui New**  
**Maui County Geography is Outlined.**  
**Three Major Islands form Jurisdiction.**

...Lanai, the sixth in size of the island, lies about eight miles westward of West Maui and the same distance southward of the easterly end of Molokai. It is about 15 miles long in a northwesterly direction and about 10 miles wide near its southeasterly end, gradually narrowing toward its northwestern end. The highest point is Mount Palawai (Lanaihale) 3,370 feet high, located in the southeasterly part. The slopes on the easterly side of the mountain are steep and cut up by deep gulches, while those on the westerly side are more gradual, terminating in a rolling plain. A coral reef fringes the shore one hundred to two hundred yards off the beach. Area of the island is 141 square miles.

There are no rocks or islets off shore from Lanai, except Puupepe rock in Manele Bay on the south coast, and Five Needles or Nanahoa, a group of pinnacle rocks from 40 to 128 feet high lying just north of Honopu Bay on the west coast... [Maui News – March 30, 1938, page 1, c. 6]

**Ka'ā-Kānepu'u: Recreation, Aerial Bombing,  
Hunting and Stewardship (1930s to Present Day)**

Land use in those sections of Ka'ā Ahupua'a that lie on the shoreward side of Kānepu'u, and on the west side where the plateau lands end and gulches begin, was generally devoted to ranching in the post-Western contact era. In the 1930s, members of Lāna'i's growing Japanese community used the area below Kānepu'u as a site for weekend family outings (Figure 23), and elder kama'āina recall that as children, they and their families would load up on plantation trucks which would take them out to Ka'ā for day trips. The men and the older children cleared land and cared for trees, while women and younger children gathered pohā – cape goose berries – for making preserves back at home. They played field games and set up tables for picnic lunches.



**Figure 23. Japanese Families of Lānaʻi on a Day-trip to the Kānepuʻu Forest Region of Kaʻā Ahupuaʻa, ca. 1933. (Photo Courtesy of Fusae “Alice” Nobui)**

The recreational activities of the Japanese families in the Kānepuʻu vicinity ended with the onset of World War II, and during the war the open area south of Kānepuʻu was put to military use. In his 2009 manuscript, William George Munro wrote:

By 1944 the pace of military aviation training in the territory was so high that there was a need to supplement the bombing ranges on Kahoʻolawe. Among other solutions, a small bombing range was laid out on a badly eroded, unvegetated area of hardpan some distance west of the north end road, a mile or two south of Kanepuʻu. Big stones were laid in two concentric circles and painted white. Military aircraft would frequently show up to drop small practice bombs and fire practice rockets. In those innocent days it was not considered necessary to fence this range or post warning signs, so cattle and local residents had free run of the place. We soon discovered that the little practice bombs, when dug up and polished, made nifty table lamps and the like. Of course, about 10 percent were duds and their spotting charges of black powder had to be removed, but the powder came in handy for improvised fireworks. [Munro, Manuscript 2009:257-258]

### **Public Hunting Program on Lānaʻi**

In the ninety years before World War II, hunting on Lānaʻi was controlled by whoever was the majority land owner/lessee at the time. Native families, ranch employees, and visitors to the island (generally as guests of the Gibson-Hayselden and Gay families, and the owners of Lanai Ranch) were periodically allowed to hunt.

Feral goats were the primary game, and the goal was first to thin the herds and second to supply meat for consumption.

By the late 1940s it was legal for private citizens to own firearms, and the Territory of Hawai'i began implementing a public hunting program (Figure 24). While no government lands were left on Lāna'i, the Hawaiian Pineapple Company needed assistance in controlling the feral goat population, as well as the growing threat from axis deer introduced by George C. Munro in 1920. So the Company entered into an agreement with the Territory to allow public hunting of the goats and deer that competed with cattle for grazing areas, and also negatively impacted fruit in the pineapple fields.



**Figure 24. “Hunting Party” at Keahi‘āloa, Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a, 1949  
Photo by Masao Matsumoto (Courtesy of Matsuko Matsumoto)**

In the 1950s, the Territory's Fish and Game Division also introduced other ungulates to diversify the hunting stock, and provide greater hunting opportunities on the island. As the hunting program evolved, Territorial game wardens were hired to work on Lāna'i, among the early staff were Richard Morita and William Kwon. Sons of both these men took up the work initiated by their fathers, and have maintained a relationship with the hunting programs on Lāna'i. The development of watering and trail resources for game and hunters began and continues today as part of the work undertaken by the elder Moritas and Kwons. Figure 25 is a portion of a ca. 1970 Lāna'i Game Management Water Map covering Ka'ā and vicinity. At the time of this writing, the State of Hawai'i and Castle & Cooke remain partners in a game management easement in the ahupua'a of Ka'ā.

On August 1, 2002, the State of Hawai'i, Board of Land & Natural Resources and Castle & Cooke, Inc. renewed the Cooperative Game Area Agreement, for a period of ten years, with the term expiring February 28, 2012. The Cooperative Game Management Area (CGMA ) which takes up the entire ahupua'a of Ka'ā is known by the following description:

The CGMA is the area on the northwest portion of the island of Lanai with the southern boundary extending from the western shore off of the Kaumalapau public road and following an easterly direction along said road to the lower boundary fence of the cattle operations; continued in a northerly direction along this fence line to its intercept with the Guard Road at Honopu Gulch. Thereafter, the boundary of the CGMA shall follow makai of, and along the Guard Road northward to the intercept with the North end Road, and continue along Keoneheehee to the fence of the Horse Pasture, along said fence to the intercept with Koele-Keomoku public road, and following said road to the northeast shore of Lanai. [Excluding the Kanepuu Easement Area.] [State of Hawaii, DLNR to P.R. Catalani. August 2, 2002]

Hunting is a way of life for Lāna'i residents. While it is not a "traditional and customary practice" (based on National Register Bulleting Criteria), it is a vital subsistence practice that has been a part of the local culture for five generations of Lāna'i families. The game gathered from the Ka'ā region not only supplements the food resources of nearly all of Lāna'i's families, it has the added effect of culling the ungulate population to the benefit of restoration efforts.

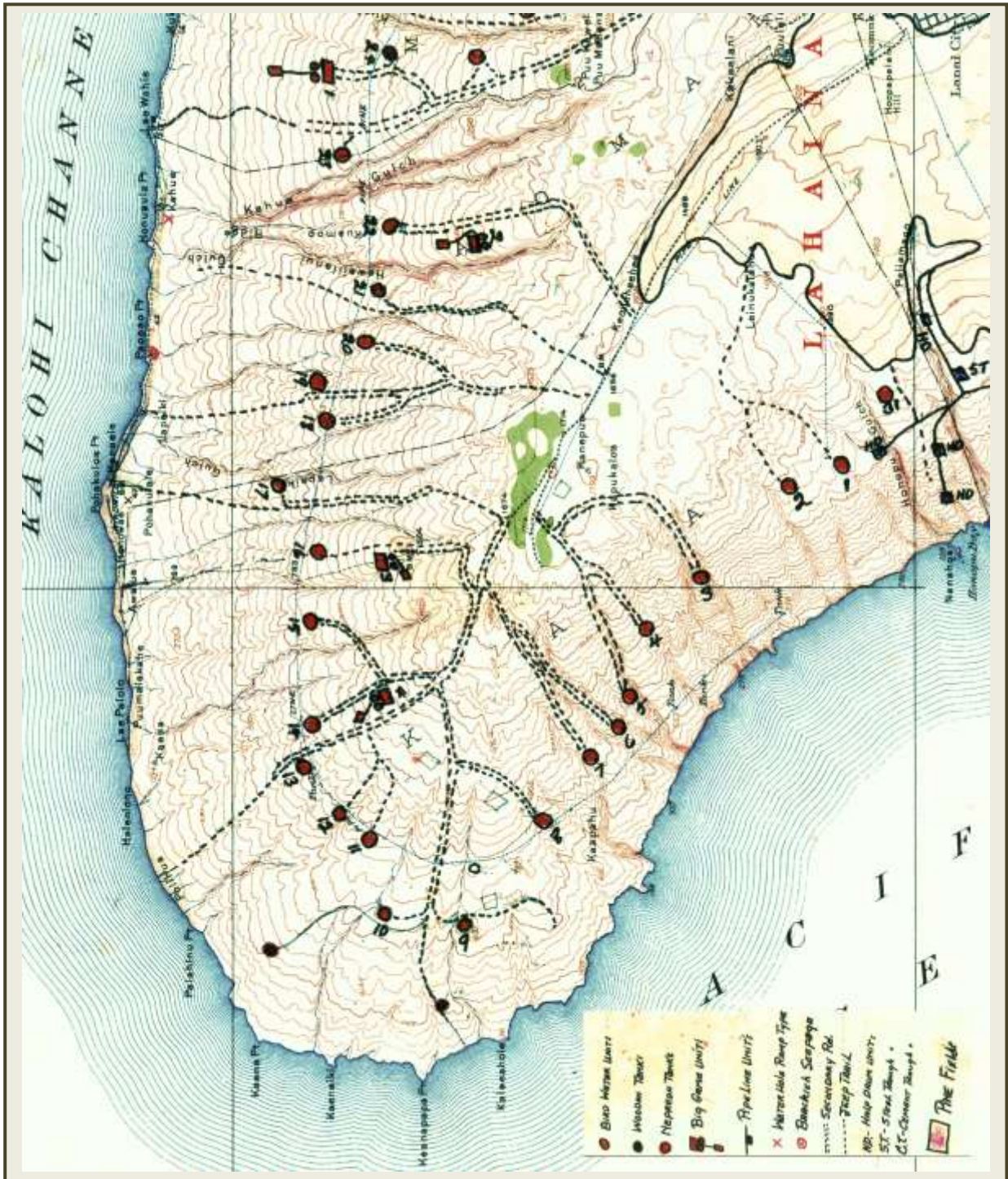


Figure 25. Ka'a Vicinity Section of Lāna'i Game Management Water Map, ca. 1970



## Kānepu‘u Stewardship Initiatives

Kānepu‘u (the god Kāne’s hill) is associated with the god Kāne, believed to be the highest of Hawaiian gods in ancient times. Kāne was possessed of many attributes, two which were paramount in the Ka‘ā region—Kāne i ka ‘ōnohi o ka lā, Kāne, the giver of sunlight; and Kāne i ka wai ola, Kāne in the waters of life. Keeping these natural forms in balance was essential in the subsistence practices that nurtured the ancient people of the land. The prominent hill known by this name situated in Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a is a noted land mark, and gives its name to the modern-day endemic dry land forest preservation area. In the 1980s and 1990s Lāna‘i families—many part of a native Hawaiian organization known as Hui Mālama Pono o Lāna‘i (Hui), undertook stewardship initiatives in the dry land forest. Eventually, they entered into an agreement with Castle & Cooke and The Nature Conservancy to carry on the stewardship work which had been initiated under the management of George Munro, and for many years, later carried on almost single handedly by Solomon Kaopuiki. The emphasis of the Hui programs was to:

...secure and maintain fenced enclosures for rare and endangered plants at the place called Kānepu‘u. The monitoring and maintenance of enclosures led to the expansion and establishment of new enclosures, demonstrating that simple fencing was beneficial in the recovery and regeneration of native flora. By stark contrast, the exposed areas were continuously foraged and denuded by an ever-increasing population of introduced axis deer. The result of the active fencing program and persistent conservation expansion was paramount in the establishment of the 590-acre Kānepu‘u Native Hawaiian Dryland Forest Preserve in 1989... [manuscript ca. 1990, Hui Mālama Pono o Lāna‘i]

For a time, the Hui programs were implemented through an agreement with The Nature Conservancy, but that momentum was lost. The Nature Conservancy, which at the time of this writing still holds a conservation easement with Castle & Cooke for the Kānepu‘u preserve, subsequently removed itself from the daily management of the conservation area, and an agreement was made with another Hawaiian organization, ‘Ike ‘Āina, for maintenance of the dry forest lands. Today, significant work has been accomplished in Kānepu‘u (Figure 26). Fencing and clearing of invasive vegetation has been accomplished in selected areas, and habitat restoration work is being done. Volunteers from Lāna‘i and across the state, along with national and international volunteers provide support to the stewardship efforts in the Kānepu‘u Dry Forest. Many more volunteers and financial support is needed if this rare and unique facet of Lāna‘i’s (and all Hawai‘i’s) natural history is to survive.



**Figure 26.** Section of Kānepu‘u Dry Land Forest Preservation Area. Forest fenced, invasive vegetation removed, and irrigation systems installed. (Robin Kaye Photo No. RK\_2412 Dec 17 2010. Lat (N) 20 52.37; Long (W) 156 58.50)

### **The Kānepu‘u Preserve Long-Range Management Plan**

The Kānepu‘u Preserve Long-Range Management Plan (2009) for the period covering 2011-2016, includes the following summary of the program history:

The formation of Kānepu‘u Preserve was announced in January 1989 and officially established in November 1991, when Castle and Cooke finalized a perpetual conservation easement with The Nature Conservancy of Hawai‘i. The preserve was created to protect and enhance the olopua/lama (*Netegis/Diospyros*) dryland forest that once covered large portions of the lowlands on Maui, Moloka‘i Kaho‘olawe and Lāna‘i. Today, Kānepu‘u Preserve contains the last major remnant of this rare dryland forest community...

The preserve is comprised of seven distinct sections that range from 13 to 368 acres in size and total 590 acres. Major threats to the preserves native vegetation are introduced game animals (axis deer and mouflon

sheep), cattle, rapid soil erosion, wildfire, and a number of invasive alien (non-native) plants. Much of this area was protected from 1911 through 1935 by fencing and other efforts carried out by George Munro, then ranch manager for the areas. Subsequent ranchers removed these fences. From 1970 [1980] to 1989, dedicated volunteers and the Hui Mālama Pono o Lānaʻi built four small fenced exclosures that helped protect patches of native forest and associated rare plants. Without these efforts, the last remnants of this rare Hawaiian forest type would probably have been destroyed...

Eleven rare plant taxa have been reported in Kānepuʻu Preserve; six of these are listed as federally endangered. However two of these species, along with another with no federal status, are known only from historical records and have not been seen in Kānepuʻu Preserve since 1930. The four endangered plant species currently in the preserve are: the fragrantly flowered *Gardenia brighamii* [Naʻū or Nānū – Figure 27], sandalwood or ʻiliahi (*Santalum freycinetianum* var. *lanaiense*) [Figure 28], *Bonamia menziesii* [Figure 29], and the maʻo hau hele (*Hibiscus brackenridgei*) [Figure 30]. The Lānaʻi populations of *Gardenia brighamii* account for approximately 2/3 of all known *Gardenia brighamii* plants. It is believed that the maʻo hau hele was planted in the preserve and may not have occurred there naturally... [The Nature Conservancy, 2009:4-5]



**Figure 27. Na'ū (*Gardenia brighamii*)  
Photo No. KPAC-2166. Kepā Maly**



**Figure 28. 'Iliahi (*Santalum freycinetianum* var. *lanaiense*)  
Photo No. KPAC-2073. Kepā Maly**



**Figure 29. *Bonamia menziesii*  
(no Hawaiian name known).  
Photo courtesy of Zachary Anguay**



**Figure 30. Ma'ō hau hele  
(*Hibiscus brackenridgei*)  
Photo No. KPAC-7882. Kepā Maly**

**“A'ōhe hana nui ke alu 'ia!”  
(It is no great task when done together by all!)  
(‘Ōlelo No‘eau No. 142. M.K. Pukui, 1983)**

### **PART III: SUMMARY OF CULTURAL RESOURCES IDENTIFIED IN KA'Ā THROUGH ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD WORK**

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The Office of Hawaiian Affairs generously provided support for the archaeological field work conducted under the Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center's Ka'ā research program through Grant Number 2575. Although Ka'ā is the largest of thirteen ahupua'a on the island of Lāna'i -- it takes up the entire northwestern end of the island and contains nearly 20,000 acres -- the archaeological study conducted was a limited reconnaissance survey, due to financial constraints and the scope of the program.

The project design and methodology focused on identifying cultural sites and features that could be documented first through aerial over flights, followed by selected pedestrian surveys; in other words, the findings from the aerial survey, conducted over only four days, determined the areas over which the pedestrian surveys would then be carried out. Because of the limited nature of the field work, the findings serve more as an indicator of the kinds and numbers of sites and features which are likely to be found in the Ka'ā region. A detailed archaeological inventory survey and traditional cultural properties assessment will more fully document the Ka'ā vicinity landscape and more fully describe the types, numbers, and extent of sites in the ahupua'a, both as distinct cultural properties, and as properties which are culturally related to one another. In sum, the purpose of this work is to provide interested parties with a baseline of information on cultural features of Ka'ā Ahupua'a. It is hoped the combined ethnographic/archaeological information reported in this document will help Lāna'i's families, government agencies and landowners make culturally responsible and informed decisions in planning future land use, preservation and conservation programs.

While the present archaeological project may have been limited, the findings are significant. When viewed through the combined lens of ethnographic documentary research and the current results of the field work, the history of Ka'ā ahupua'a and the island of Lāna'i as a whole begins to more clearly emerge.

It is safe to say that a full survey of Ka'ā Ahupua'a will lead to a rewriting of the settlement and land use history of Lāna'i.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> The full details of the limited archaeological reconnaissance survey conducted as a part of this grant project will be reported in a separate document by Cultural Surveys Hawai'i. The report will include site numbers, descriptions, photos, maps and treatment recommendations, and will be completed following implementation of community outreach programs planned for the 2011-2012 grant period.

## Lāna‘i Field Work (December 2010 – March 2011)

The initial archaeological field work consisted of four days of aerial surveys (December 14-17, 2010). Transects were flown across Ka‘ā with some over-flight occurring on lands which adjoin Ka‘ā (the ahupua‘a of Paoma‘i and Kamoku). The field team<sup>30</sup> took GPS points and photographs of sites identified from the air (Figure 31). Timing of the aerial survey was optimal, as the absence of vegetation (due to two years of drought) revealed many places that otherwise would have remained hidden by plant overgrowth and been difficult to see from air or land.

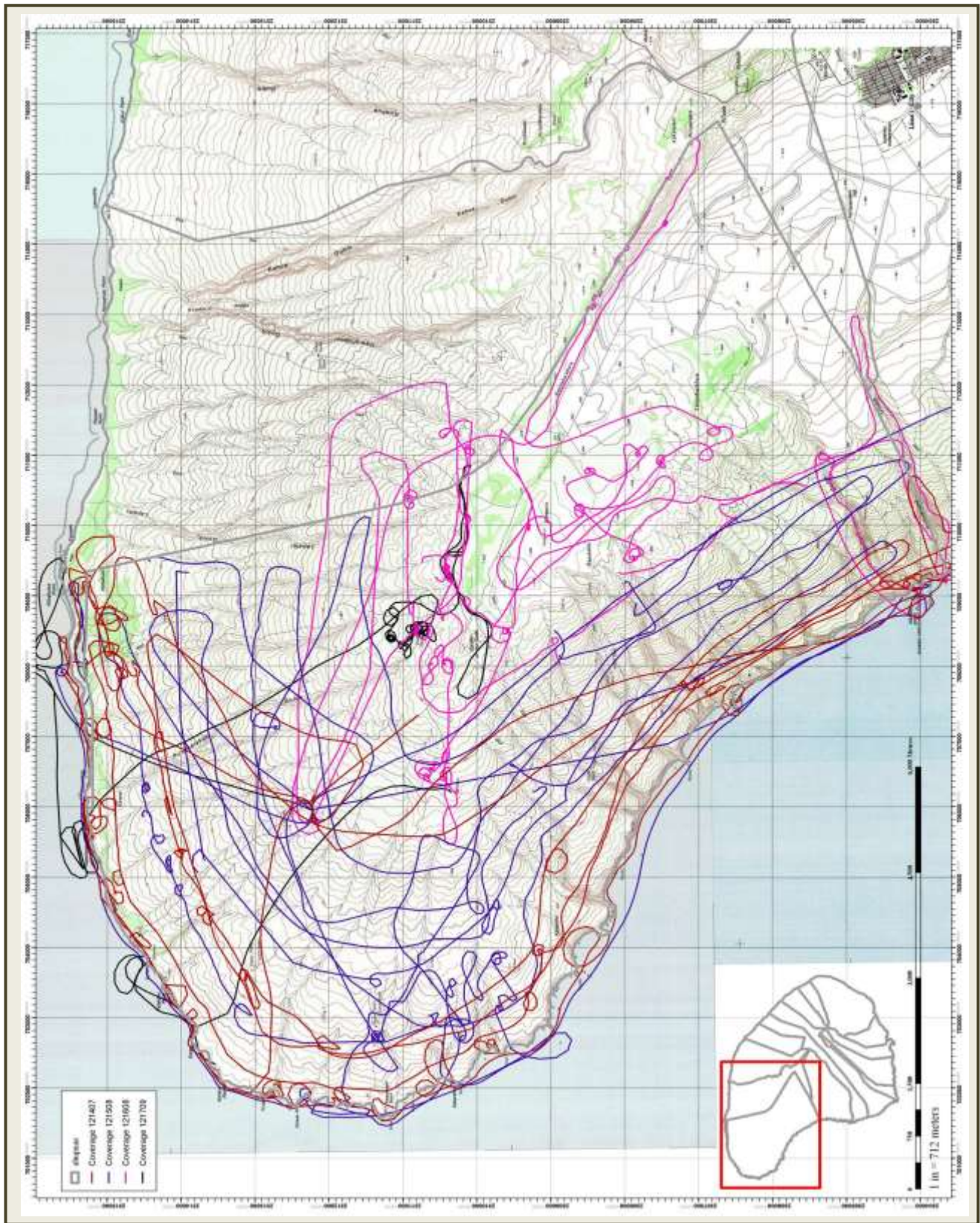
The subsequent pedestrian surveys were conducted over thirty days between January 24<sup>th</sup> to March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2011, by five Lāna‘i residents (Kaulana Kahoohalahala, Warren Osako, Ben Ostrander, Hy Hoe Silva, and Keao Kaopuiki Soriano) who worked under the supervision of six professional staff from Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i (Hallett Hammatt, Tanya Lee-Greig, John Dudoit, Missy Kamai, Jonas Madeus and Kate Sprouse). The eleven participants divided themselves into three teams, with each team responsible for assigned sections in Ka‘ā. Team members followed the GPS coordinates to each of the sites identified during the aerial surveys. They then took detailed GPS coordinates of the sites, photographed them, prepared site sketches, and investigated the adjoining area to determine the extent of the features. The team also recorded other sites and features they encountered while traveling to and between sites identified from the air.

One hundred and eleven (111) sites with four hundred and thirty-nine (439) contributing features were identified (Figure 32) during the course of this limited reconnaissance survey. Site types included:

- Ceremonial sites
- Ahu (cairns)
- Burials
- Trails
- Residences (both long term and temporary)
- Salt making sites
- Fish ponds/Fish traps
- Agricultural features
- Stone walls
- Lithic quarries and workshops
- Petroglyphs
- Modified caves
- Modified outcrops
- Fields of contest/game sites

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<sup>30</sup> Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i conducted the archaeological reconnaissance survey under the direction of Hallett Hammatt, Ph.D., and field guidance of Tanya Lee-Greig.



**Figure 31. Map of Aerial Transects of the Ka'a Survey (December 14-17, 2010) (Tanya Lee-Greig, Cultural Surveys Hawai'i – Project KAA6)**





- Historic features associated with ranching and hunting activities
- Sites of undetermined uses

Table 4 is a preliminary list of cultural/historic resources and temporary site numbers assigned to individual sites, complexes and features discovered. The majority of sites identified during the field work were found from the area of the shore to about the 300 foot elevation, and from around the 1,400 foot elevation to the 1,700 foot elevation. Since these regions form the foundation of traditional Hawaiian subsistence and residency practices — near shore fishing and limited agriculture, and upland agriculture and resource procurement sites — the results discovered at these elevation levels, even over a limited time frame, were not surprising (Figure 33).<sup>31</sup>

Other sites and features occur across much of the Ka‘ā landscape, with less found in areas where the pineapple fields were once cultivated. But indigenous artifacts have been found—and are still turning up—along the edges of former plantation fields. Residents periodically donate some of them—primarily ulu maika and ko‘i (adzes) blanks or fragments -- to the Lāna‘i Culture & Heritage Center for long-term care and preservation.



Several notable artifacts from Ka‘ā Ahupua‘a have been donated to the Lāna‘i Culture & Heritage Center by William G. and Jean Munro (William Munro is the son of Hector Munro, and was born on Lāna‘i in 1928). During a 1954 family visit to Lāna‘i, the Munros traveled to the heiau at Ka‘ena Iki and found the small stone ki‘i (image) depicted in Figure 34. This ki‘i is a unique piece in Hawaiian collections, and most similar in style to the rare carved urchin quills noted from Kaho‘olawe.

**Figure 34. Ki‘i Akua (Deity Image) found at Ka‘ena Iki Heiau in 1954 (Lāna‘i Culture & Heritage Center Collection No. L2008.32.1) (Photo No. KPAC-11194, Kepā Maly)**

<sup>31</sup> Figure 33 (prepared by Tanya Lee-Greig, Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i) which appears at the end of the study, illustrates locational references to the sites on the ground. The base map, Land Court Application No. 862, Map No. 1 (1928), provides a historical context of cultural sites (indicated by triangles), and the historic ranch pipeline (indicated by a high-lighted dashed line), in relationship to prominent place names, kuleana awarded to native tenants, and geographical features.

**Table 4. List of Ka‘ā Region Historic Properties and Temporary Site Numbers With Possible Functions (Tanya Lee-Greig, Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i)**

<b>Temporary Site Number and Feature</b>	<b>Sum of Features</b>
<b>T-01242011-A1</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-01242011-A2</b>	<b>1</b>
Cultural Material Scatter- Habitation	
<b>T-01242011-B1</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-01242011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Terrace - Ceremonial	
<b>T-01242011-B3</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	
<b>T-01242011-C1</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Cairn - Burial	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>6</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> C-Shape/Alignment - Habitation	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Overhang/Modified Outcrop/Terrace - Habitation	<b>4</b>
<b>FEATURE E:</b> Modified Outcrop/C-Shape – Function Indeterminate	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE F:</b> Cairn - Marker	<b>1</b>
<b>T-01252011-A3</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE E:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE F:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>T-01252011-A4</b>	<b>1</b>
Retaining Wall -Agriculture	
<b>T-01252011-A5</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Indeterminate	
<b>T-01252011-B1</b>	<b>1</b>
Outcrop - Indeterminate	
<b>T-01252011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-01252011-B3</b>	<b>1</b>
Outcrop – Indeterminate	
<b>T-01262011-A6</b>	<b>3</b>
Enclosure - Habitation/Animal Husbandry	<b>3</b>
<b>T-01262011-A7</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Indeterminate	<b>1</b>
<b>T-01262011-A8</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Mound - Agriculture	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Modified Outcrop/Terrace - Habitation/Activity Area	<b>1</b>

**Table 4 (continued).**

<b>Temporary Site Number and Feature</b>	<b>Sum of Features</b>
<b>T-01262011-B1A</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Lava Tube - Habitation	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Wall - Shelter	1
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Rock Art - Rock Art	1
<b>T-01262011-C1</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn -Marker	
<b>T-01262011-C2</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Shelter, Rock Art - Habitation	4
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Terrace - Habitation	4
<b>T-01262011-C3</b>	<b>2</b>
Rock Art - Rock Art	
<b>T-01272011-A9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace - Habitation	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Terrace - Agriculture	1
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	1
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	1
<b>FEATURE E:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	1
<b>FEATURE F:</b> Mound - Burial	1
<b>FEATURE G:</b> Enclosure - Shelter	2
<b>FEATURE H:</b> Mound - Agriculture	1
<b>FEATURE I:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	1
<b>T-01272011-B1</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound - Indeterminate	
<b>T-01272011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-01272011-C1</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Function Indeterminate	
<b>T-01312011-A10</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace – Function Indeterminate	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Wall – Function Indeterminate	1
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Mound - Agriculture	1
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Terrace - Indeterminate	1
<b>T-01312011-A11</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace - Agriculture	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Wall - Indeterminate	1
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Mound - Agriculture	1
<b>T-01312011-B1</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-01312011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-01312011-B3</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-01312011-B4</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Modified Outcrop -Activity Area	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Modified Outcrop - Activity Area	1
<b>T-01312011-B5</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	1

**Table 4 (continued).**

Temporary Site Number and Feature	Sum of Features
<b>T-01312011-B6</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound - Possible Burial	
<b>T-01312011-C1</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-02012011-A12</b>	<b>2</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	
<b>T-02012011-A13</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound – Adze Workshop/Quarry	
<b>T-02012011-A14</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>T-02012011-B1</b>	<b>1</b>
Water tank platform - Animal Husbandry	
<b>T-02012011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Water trough - Animal Husbandry	
<b>T-02012011-B3</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	
<b>T-02012011-B4</b>	<b>1</b>
Platform - Ceremonial	
<b>T-02012011-B5</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound - Burial	
<b>T-02012011-B6</b>	<b>1</b>
Wall - Indeterminate	
<b>T-02012011-C1</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn -Marker	
<b>T-02012011-C2</b>	<b>1</b>
Shelter - Shelter	
<b>T-02012011-C3</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Shelter	
<b>T-02022011-A15</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace -Agriculture	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Terrace - Agriculture	<b>1</b>
<b>T-02022011-A16</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE E:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>3</b>
<b>T-02022011-B1</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	
<b>T-02022011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	
<b>T-02022011-B3</b>	<b>1</b>
Terrace - Habitation	
<b>T-02022011-B4</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	

**Table 4 (continued).**

Temporary Site Number and Feature	Sum of Features
<b>T-02022011-B5</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound - Burial	
<b>T-02022011-C1</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Platform - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Enclosure, Shelter, Mound - Habitation	<b>5</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Platform - Ceremonial	<b>1</b>
<b>T-02032011-A17</b>	<b>22</b>
Mound - Agriculture	
<b>T-02032011-B1</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Possible ahu or burial - Possible Burial	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Possible ahu or burial - Possible Burial	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Ahu/ Possible Burial - Possible Burial	<b>1</b>
<b>T-02032011-B10</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound -Possible Burial	
<b>T-02032011-B11</b>	<b>2</b>
Platform - Burial	
<b>T-02032011-B12</b>	<b>1</b>
Shelter - Shelter	
<b>T-02032011-B13</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Enclosure - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Paved Area - Indeterminate	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Enclosure - Canoe Shed	<b>1</b>
<b>T-02032011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure/Platform -Ceremonial	
<b>T-02032011-B3</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	
<b>T-02032011-B4</b>	<b>1</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-02032011-B5</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Cairn - Marker	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Cairn - Marker	<b>1</b>
<b>T-02032011-B6</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound - Indeterminate	
<b>T-02032011-B7</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound - Burial	
<b>T-02032011-B8</b>	<b>1</b>
Platform - Burial	
<b>T-02032011-B9</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure/Platform - Habitation	
<b>T-02072011-A18</b>	<b>1</b>
U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey Reference Marker - Marker	
<b>T-02072011-A19</b>	<b>1</b>
Modified Outcrop - Indeterminate	
<b>T-02072011-A20</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace - Agriculture	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Terrace - Agriculture	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Wall - Indeterminate	<b>1</b>

**Table 4 (continued).**

Temporary Site Number and Feature	Sum of Features
<b>T-02072011-C1</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Platform - Habitation	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Enclosure/Wall - Habitation	3
<b>FEATURE C:</b> C-Shape - Habitation	1
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Enclosure/Platform/Terrace/Wall/Alignment - Habitation/Activity Area/Ceremonial	3
<b>FEATURE E:</b> Terrace - Habitation	1
<b>FEATURE F:</b> Terrace/Overhang - Habitation	3
<b>FEATURE G:</b> Enclosure/Terrace/Wall/Rock Art/Paving/Overhang - Habitation	6
<b>FEATURE H:</b> Terrace/Wall/Overhang - Habitation	6
<b>FEATURE I:</b> Terrace - Habitation/Activity Area	3
<b>FEATURE J:</b> Terrace - Habitation	2
<b>T-02082011-A21</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	1
<b>T-02082011-A22</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Cairn - Marker	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Alignment - Indeterminate	1
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Mound - Indeterminate	1
<b>T-02082011-A23</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Retaining Wall - Agriculture	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Retaining Wall - Agriculture	1
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Retaining Wall - Agriculture	1
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Retaining Wall - Agriculture	1
<b>FEATURE E:</b> Retaining Wall - Agriculture	1
<b>T-02082011-B1</b>	<b>1</b>
Alignment - Bombing Range	
<b>T-02082011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound - Indeterminate	
<b>T-02082011-B3</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Mound - Burial	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Mound - Burial	1
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Mound - Burial	1
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Mound - Burial	1
<b>T-02082011-B4</b>	<b>1</b>
Mound - Indeterminate	
<b>T-02082011-B5</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Mound - Burial	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Alignment - Indeterminate	1
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Cairn - Marker	1
<b>T-02082011-B6</b>	<b>1</b>
Retaining Wall -Animal Husbandry/Agriculture	
<b>T-02082011-B7</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Indeterminate	
<b>T-02082011-C1</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Scatter - Activity Area	1
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Scatter - Activity Area	1
<b>T-02082011-C2</b>	<b>1</b>
Modified Outcrop - Animal Husbandry	

**Table 4 (continued).**

Temporary Site Number and Feature	Sum of Features
<b>T-02082011-C3</b>	<b>5</b>
Cairn - Marker	
<b>T-02082011-C4</b>	<b>5</b>
Modified Outcrop - Hunters Blind	
<b>T-02082011-C5</b>	<b>1</b>
Scatter - Activity Area	
<b>T-02082011-C6</b>	<b>1</b>
Scatter - Activity Area	
<b>T-02092011-A24</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	
<b>T-02092011-A25</b>	<b>1</b>
Wall - Agriculture	
<b>T-02092011-A26</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace - Agriculture	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Terrace - Agriculture	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Terrace - Agriculture	<b>1</b>
<b>T-02092011-A27</b>	<b>1</b>
Wall - Shelter	
<b>T-02092011-B1</b>	<b>1</b>
Paving - Habitation	
<b>T-02092011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Wall - Indeterminate	
<b>T-02102011-A28</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace/Mound - Habitation	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Terrace - Agriculture	<b>1</b>
<b>T-02102011-A29</b>	<b>44</b>
Mound - Agriculture	
<b>T-02102011-B1</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Platform - Ceremonial	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Terrace - Ceremonial	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Rock Art - Rock Art	<b>1</b>
<b>T-02102011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Salt Beds - Activity Area	
<b>T-02102011-B3</b>	<b>1</b>
Modified Outcrop/Shelter - Shelter	
<b>T-02102011-C1</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>FEATURE A:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE B:</b> Overhang - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE C:</b> Terrace/Lava Tube/ U-Shape - Habitation/Ceremonial/Shelter	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE D:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE E:</b> Wall/Cave - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE F:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE G:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE H:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE I:</b> Enclosure/ Terrace - Habitation/Ceremonial	<b>2</b>
<b>FEATURE J:</b> Mound - Ceremonial	<b>1</b>
<b>FEATURE K:</b> Terrace - Habitation	<b>2</b>

**Table 4 (continued).**

Temporary Site Number and Feature	Sum of Features
<b>T-02102011-C1 (continued)</b>	<b>38</b>
FEATURE L: Terrace - Habitation	2
FEATURE M: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE N: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE O: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE P: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE Q: Enclosure - Habitation	3
FEATURE R: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE S: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE T: Overhang - Habitation/Shelter	1
FEATURE U: Lava Tube - Shelter	1
FEATURE V: Wall - Indeterminate	1
FEATURE W: Shelter - Habitation	1
FEATURE X: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE Y: Terrace - Habitation	2
FEATURE Z: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE AA: Enclosure - Habitation	2
FEATURE AB: Terrace/ Mound - Habitation/Ceremonial	2
<b>T-02102011-C2</b>	<b>9</b>
FEATURE A: Platform/Terrace/Wall - Habitation/Activity Area/Ceremonial	3
FEATURE B: Platform - Ceremonial	1
FEATURE C: Terrace/Wall/Shelter - Activity Area/Ceremonial/Shelter	1
FEATURE D: Enclosure/Well - Habitation/Activity Area	2
FEATURE E: Remnant C-shapes - Habitation	2
<b>T-02142011-B1</b>	<b>26</b>
FEATURE A: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE B: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE C: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE D: Platform - Shelter	1
FEATURE E: Enclosure - Habitation	3
FEATURE F: Enclosure - Habitation	1
FEATURE G: Enclosure - Habitation	1
FEATURE H: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE I: Trail/Cairn -Transportation/Marker	3
FEATURE J: Enclosure - Habitation	4
FEATURE K: Platform - Habitation	1
FEATURE L: Mound - Burial	1
FEATURE M: Enclosure - Indeterminate	1
FEATURE N: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE O: Platform - Habitation	1
FEATURE P: Mound - Indeterminate	1
FEATURE Q: Modified Outcrop - Indeterminate	1
FEATURE R: Wall - Indeterminate	1
FEATURE S: Platform - Habitation	1
<b>T-02142011-B2</b>	<b>1</b>
Enclosure - Habitation	



**Table 4 (continued).**

Temporary Site Number and Feature	Sum of Features
<b>T-02152011-A30</b>	<b>17</b>
FEATURE A: Retaining Wall - Transportation	1
FEATURE B: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE C: Terrace - Habitation	2
FEATURE D: Terrace/Overhang (cave) - Habitation	1
FEATURE E: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE F: Mound - Ceremonial	1
FEATURE G: Terrace - Habitation	2
FEATURE H: Terrace - Habitation	2
FEATURE I: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE J: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE K: Rock Art - Rock Art	2
FEATURE L: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE M: Terrace - Habitation	1
<b>T-02162011-C1</b>	<b>1</b>
Modified Outcrop - Indeterminate	
<b>T-02162011-C2</b>	<b>1</b>
Scatter - Activity Area	
<b>T-03012011-A31</b>	<b>4</b>
FEATURE A: Platform\ Terrace - Ceremonial	1
FEATURE B: Terrace - Habitation/Ceremonial	1
FEATURE C: Shelter/ Overhang - Habitation	1
FEATURE D: Terrace - Habitation	1
<b>T-03012011-A32</b>	<b>11</b>
FEATURE A: Terrace - Agriculture	1
FEATURE B: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE C: Enclosure - Agriculture	3
FEATURE D: Terrace - Agriculture	1
FEATURE E: Terrace - Agriculture	1
FEATURE F: Terrace - Agriculture	1
FEATURE G: Mound - Indeterminate	1
FEATURE H: Terrace - Agriculture	1
FEATURE I: Terrace - Agriculture	1
<b>T-03012011-A33</b>	<b>10</b>
FEATURE A: Terrace - Habitation/Ceremonial	1
FEATURE B: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE C: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE D: Terrace/Overhang - Habitation	3
FEATURE E: Overhang - Habitation	1
FEATURE F: Rock Art - Activity Area/Rock Art	1
FEATURE G: Terrace – Habitation	1
FEATURE H: Modified Cave - Habitation	1
<b>T-03012011-A34</b>	<b>3</b>
FEATURE A: Lava Tube - Shelter	1
FEATURE B: Terrace/ Lava Tube - Habitation	1
FEATURE C: Terrace - Habitation	1

Table 4 (continued).

Temporary Site Number and Feature	Sum of Features
<b>T-03022011-A35</b>	<b>13</b>
FEATURE A: Terrace - Indeterminate	1
FEATURE B: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE C: Terrace - Habitation/Burial	2
FEATURE D: Terrace/ Lava Tube - Habitation	1
FEATURE E: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE F: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE G: Terrace - Habitation	2
FEATURE H: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE I: Terrace/ Modified Outcrop - Habitation	1
FEATURE J: Modified Overhang - Shelter	1
FEATURE K: Terrace/ Ko'a - Indeterminate	1
<b>T-03022011-A36</b>	<b>11</b>
FEATURE A: Rock Art - Activity Area/Rock Art	1
FEATURE B: Terrace/Mound - Habitation	2
FEATURE C: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE D: Terrace/ Lava Tube - Shelter	1
FEATURE E: Terrace/Lava Tube - Shelter	1
FEATURE F: Terrace - Habitation	1
FEATURE G: Terrace/Mound - Habitation	2
FEATURE H: C-Shape - Shelter	1
FEATURE I: Roughly C-Shape - Habitation	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>439</b>

It is significant that an area such as the Ka'ā landscape, which has been largely overlooked for more than a century, could reveal itself as a remarkably rich place of tradition, cultural resources and practices (Figure 35) even through the brief archeological survey conducted for this research program. It causes one to stop and think about what will be revealed when a thorough archaeological survey is undertaken. But as noted earlier, it is clear that even as a result of this limited field work, a full study would lead to a rewriting of the history of settlement and residency on the island of Lāna'i.

**Hanohano Lāna'i I ke kauna'oa,  
Kohu kapa 'ahu'ula kau po'ohiwi,  
E ola Lāna'i a Kaululā'au  
Hea aku mākou, e ō mai 'oe!**

Lāna'i is distinguished by the kauna'oa,  
Resting like a feather cape upon its shoulders,  
Let there be life for Lāna'i of Kaululā'au,  
We call to you, now you respond!  
("He Wehi Hooheho no Haalilio"  
Nupepa Kuokoa, Dekemaba 28, 1922)



**Figure 35. Adze Making Workshop/Quarry Site No. T-02012011-A13**  
**GPS Lat (N) 20 52.89, Long (W) 156 59.32**  
**(Photo No. KPAC2-7982, May 2, 2011. Kepā Maly)**

**“O ‘imi‘imi, o nalowale, o loa‘a lā e!”**  
(Seek that which has been lost, and it shall be found!)

Closing line of the ancient prayer chant, “Hulihia ke au”  
(Ho‘ohila Kawelo Collection)

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