

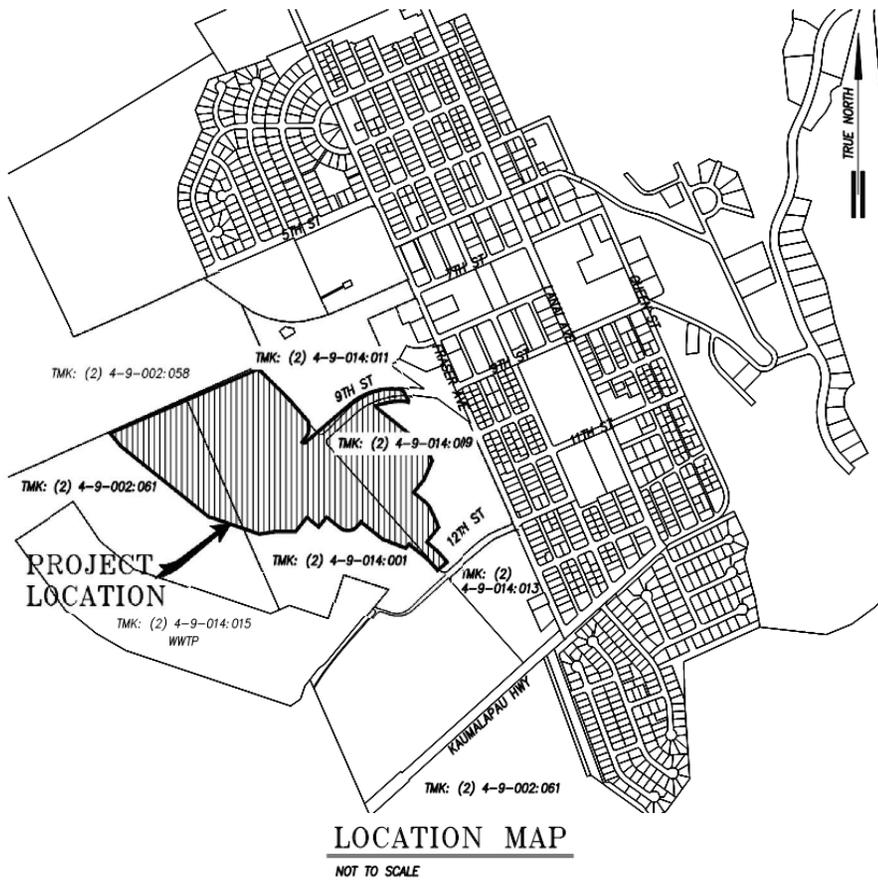


**ARCHAEOLOGICAL
INVENTORY SURVEY
INCLUDING END OF FIELD
WORK REPORT**

APPENDIX

D





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**Archaeological Inventory Survey for the
 Proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project**
 Land of Kamoku, Lāhaina District, Lānaʻi Island
 TMK: (2) 4-9-002:061 por., TMK: (2) 4-9-014:001 por., TMK: (2) 4-9-014:009
 por., and TMK: (2) 4-9-014:011 por.

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Abstract

At the request of Pūlama Lānaʻi, T. S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists has completed an archaeological inventory survey for the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project, located at Kamoku, Lāhaina District, Lānaʻi Island. A review of the historical background indicates the entire 105 ac. project area was modified by heavy equipment during the establishment of Lānaʻi City and commercial pineapple fields in the 1920s. The archaeological inventory survey included surface survey and test excavations with a backhoe. Three potentially significant historic properties were identified, all of which are historic-era artifacts that were transported into the project area for preservation. Two wood-frame buildings from the Kōʻele School complex, in poor condition a decade ago, have now been overgrown by vegetation and lack the integrity of condition to be listed on the Hawaiʻi Register of Historic Places. A pineapple harvester, "Machine 1," in the possession of the Lānaʻi Culture & Heritage Center, possesses sufficient integrity to be significant under Criterion "a" due to its association with the commercial pineapple fields that for seven decades were the primary economic pursuit on the island. It is recommended that "Machine 1" be moved to a sheltered location away from the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project and that funds for its restoration and interpretive display be pursued.

Contents

1 Introduction	5
2 Background	7
2.1 Physical Environment	9
2.2 Historical Background	11
2.2.1 Some Traditions from Lānaʻi of Kaululāʻau	12

2.2.2	Historical Events: Transitions in Land Use and Population on Lānaʻi . . .	29
2.2.3	Land Tenure	35
2.2.4	Ranching Operations on Lānaʻi, 1854-1951	77
2.2.5	Hawaiian Pineapple Company	79
2.2.6	Kihamāniana and the Kōʻele Vicinity	80
2.2.7	Kamaʻāina Knowledge	86
2.2.8	Lānaʻi City	88
2.2.9	Summary of Historical Background	95
2.3	Archaeological Background	95
2.3.1	Emory Survey	95
2.3.2	Late Twentieth-Century Investigations	95
2.3.3	Cultural Resources Management Studies	96
3	Methods	102
4	Field Results	104
4.1	Surface Survey	104
4.2	Test Excavations	105
4.2.1	Test Pit 1	106
4.2.2	Test Pit 2	107
4.2.3	Test Pit 3	110
4.2.4	Test Pit 4	111
4.2.5	Test Pit 5	112
4.2.6	Test Pit 6	113
4.2.7	Test Pit 7	113
4.2.8	Test Pit 8	115
4.2.9	Test Pit 9	116
4.2.10	Test Pit 10	118
4.2.11	Test Pit 11	119
4.2.12	Test Pit 12	120
4.2.13	Test Pit 13	120
4.2.14	Test Pit 14	121
4.2.15	Test Pit 15	122
4.2.16	Test Pit 16	123
4.2.17	Test Pit 17	125
4.2.18	Test Pit 18	127
4.2.19	Test Pit 19	127
4.2.20	Test Pit 20	127
4.2.21	Test Pit 21	129
4.2.22	Test Pit 22	130
4.2.23	Test Pit 23	131
4.2.24	Test Pit 24	132
4.2.25	Test Pit 25	133
4.2.26	Test Pit 26	134

5	Summary and Conclusions	135
	Glossary	136
	Hawaiian Terms	137
	Abbreviations	140
	Bibliography	141

Figures

1	Location of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project	6
2	The proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project on a tax map	6
3	Proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project conceptual lot plan	8
4	Location of Lānaʻi Island	9
5	Elevation of the project area	9
6	Hydrology of Lānaʻi	10
7	Classification of soils	11
8	Ahupuaʻa of Lānaʻi	27
9	Registered Map 2227	39
10	Helu 2686, Native Register	41
11	Helu 4145, Native Testimony	42
12	Helu 6833, Native Testimony	43
13	Helu 6833, Māhele Award Book	44
14	Helu 8556, Native Register	45
15	Helu 8556, Native Testimony	45
16	Helu 8556, Māhele Award Book	46
17	Royal Patent 5137, p. 1	47
18	Royal Patent 5137, p. 2	48
19	Helu 10630, Native Register	50
20	Helu 10630, Native Testimony	51
21	Helu 10630, Foreign Testimony	52
22	Helu 10630, Māhele Award Book	52
23	Royal Patent 4800, p. 1	53
24	Royal Patent 4800, p. 2	54
25	Royal Patent 3029, p. 1	56
26	Royal Patent 3029, p. 2	57
27	Royal Patent 3029 sketch map	59
28	Sketch map of Lānaʻi by W. M. Gibson	67
29	Sketch map depicting disposition of lands of Lānaʻi by W. M. Gibson	70
30	Photograph of Kihamāniana ruins	80
31	Kihamāniana ruins, 1921	87
32	Photograph of Lānaʻi City, 1929	89

33	Photograph of early families of Lānaʻi City	90
34	Historic properties in the vicinity of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project	97
35	Archaeological investigations near the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project	98
36	Dole Harvester machine in use	104
37	Location of “Machine 1”	105
38	Location of Test Pits 1-26	106
39	Excavation of Test Pit 1	107
40	Completed excavation of Test Pit 1	107
41	Stratigraphic sections, Test Pits 1-8	108
42	Excavation of Test Pit 2	109
43	Completed excavation of Test Pit 2	110
44	Location of Test Pit 3	110
45	Completed excavation of Test Pit 3	111
46	Excavation of Test Pit 4	111
47	Completed excavation of Test Pit 4	112
48	Excavation of Test Pit 5	112
49	Completed excavation of Test Pit 5	113
50	Excavation of Test Pit 6	114
51	Completed excavation of Test Pit 6	114
52	Excavation of Test Pit 7	114
53	Completed excavation of Test Pit 7	115
54	Excavation of Test Pit 8	115
55	Completed excavation of Test Pit 8	116
56	Excavation of Test Pit 9	116
57	Completed excavation of Test Pit 9	117
58	Stratigraphic sections, Test Pits 9-16	117
59	Completed excavation of Test Pit 10	119
60	Excavation of Test Pit 11	119
61	Completed excavation of Test Pit 11	120
62	Excavation of Test Pit 12	120
63	Completed excavation of Test Pit 12	121
64	Excavation of Test Pit 13	121
65	Completed excavation of Test Pit 13	122
66	Excavation of Test Pit 14	122
67	Completed excavation of Test Pit 14	123
68	Excavation of Test Pit 15	123
69	Completed excavation of Test Pit 15	124
70	Excavation of Test Pit 16	124
71	Completed excavation of Test Pit 16	124
72	Test Pit 17, an extant trash pit	125
73	Stratigraphic sections, Test Pits 17-24	125
74	Completed excavation of Test Pit 18	127

75	Completed excavation of Test Pit 19	128
76	Completed excavation of Test Pit 20	128
77	Excavation of Test Pit 21	129
78	Completed excavation of Test Pit 21	129
79	Excavation of Test Pit 22	130
80	Completed excavation of Test Pit 22	130
81	Excavation of Test Pit 23	131
82	Completed excavation of Test Pit 23	131
83	Excavation of Test Pit 24	132
84	Completed excavation of Test Pit 24	132
85	Excavation of Test Pit 25	133
86	Completed excavation of Test Pit 25	133
87	Stratigraphic sections, Test Pits 25 and 26	134
88	Excavation of Test Pit 26	135
89	Completed excavation of Test Pit 26	135

Tables

1	Forbidden fish of the <i>konohiki</i> and the prohibited woods	36
2	Disposition of <i>ahupuaʻa</i>	37
3	Native tenants of Kamoku Ahupuaʻa	38
4	Royal Patent Grants on Lānaʻi	55
5	Sediment descriptions for Test Pits 1-8	108
6	Sediment descriptions for Test Pits 9-16	117
7	Sediment descriptions for Test Pits 17-24	126
8	Sediment descriptions for Test Pits 25 and 26	134

1 Introduction

At the request of Pūlama Lānaʻi, T. S. Dye & Colleagues, Archaeologists has completed an archaeological inventory survey of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. The proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project comprises approximately 50 acres (ac.) in the land of Kamoku, Lāhaina District, Lānaʻi Island (fig. 1). The irregularly shaped project area is located immediately west of and downslope from Lānaʻi City. The *project* area is bounded on the east by Fraser Avenue and two church parcels; on the north by 9th Avenue, which is an unimproved dirt road west of Fraser Avenue, and by a dirt road that follows tax map boundaries. Most of the western boundary is marked by the chain-link fence boundary of the wastewater treatment plant, while the southern boundary follows 12th Avenue and Awalua Avenue.

The proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project is identified on tax maps as TMK: (2) 4-9-002:061 por., TMK: (2) 4-9-014:001 por., TMK: (2) 4-9-014:009 por., and TMK: (2) 4-9-014:011 por. (fig. 2).

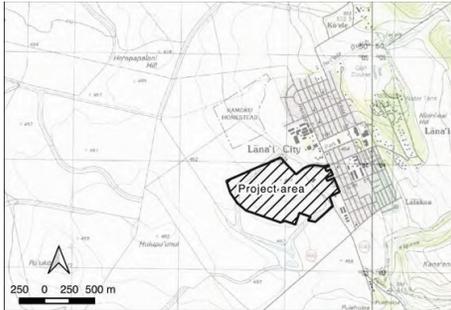


Figure 1: Location of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project at the west end of Lāna'i City, on a portion of the 1992 U.S. Geological Survey Lanai City 1:24000-scale quadrangle map [56].

- TMK: (2) 4-9-002:061 is a large parcel of approximately 16,123 ac. that includes most of the island's abandoned pineapple fields.
- TMK: (2) 4-9-014:001 is an approximately 84 ac. parcel that is used today for storage, the Pūlama Lāna'i Nursery, and community gardens for Lāna'i residents.
- TMK: (2) 4-9-014:009 comprises approximately 25.65 ac. and is the location of the island's original power plant, now abandoned, and the graded yard used to store shipping containers.
- TMK: (2) 4-9-104:011 is a smaller parcel of approximately 18.7 ac. immediately abutting the proposed enhancements to 9th Avenue extending into the project site.

The four parcels that contribute to the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project are owned by Lāna'i Resorts, LLC.

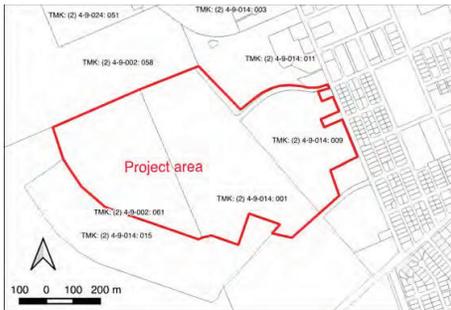


Figure 2: The proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project on a tax map [43]. Tax map keys are shown for parcels larger than 10 ac.

The Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project proposes construction of 200 single family homes, comprising 133 affordable homes exclusively for purchase by buyers falling within

the HUD 2018 low-income guidelines, and 67 market-rate homes. All lots will typically be 6,000 ft.² minimum, with a few 6,100 ft.² lots on irregularly shaped corners (fig. 3).

Most of the project area topography consists of flat to gently sloping open, patchy forest and scrub lands. An existing drainage swale on the western boundary of the site carries storm water away from the existing town and community center.

The archaeological inventory survey included a pedestrian survey that yielded abundant evidence that the area of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project was used in the past for commercial agriculture and industry, and also extensive test excavation with a backhoe to determine the presence or absence of potentially significant buried cultural deposits.

2 Background

Lāna'i is sixth in size of the major Hawaiian Islands (fig. 4), 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 13.25 mi. long by 13 mi. wide, and at its highest point, Lāna'i Hale, stands 3,370 ft. above sea level. The island of Moloka'i lies to the north of Lāna'i, across the Ka-lohi Channel, and Maui lies to the east, across the 'Au'au and Naehehe 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 sits in the lee of its sister islands. Its history, like that of Moloka'i and Kaho'olawe, has almost always been overshadowed by its larger neighbor, Maui.

The name of the island may be literally translated as "day of conquest"—*Lā* meaning "day" and *Na'i* meaning "conquest." Through the tradition of the chief Kaululā'au, Lāna'i was named on the day the young chief vanquished evil ghosts from the island. An early missionary dictionary translates the island's name as "hump," but this translation does not fit with traditional knowledge of the meaning or pronunciation of the name [47].

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



Figure 3: Proposed Hökü-ao 201-H Residential Project conceptual lot plan, courtesy of PBH Hawaii & Associates.

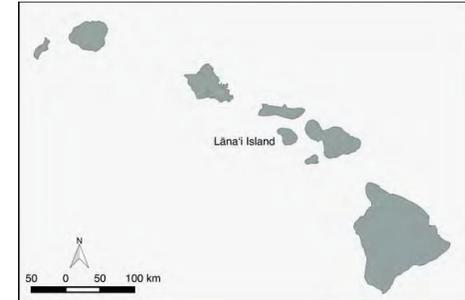


Figure 4: Location of Lāna'i Island in the Hawaiian Islands.

2.1 Physical Environment

The proposed Hökü-ao 201-H Residential Project lies between 1,500 and 1,600 ft. above sea level, about midway in elevation between the 3,370 ft. peak of the island at Lānaihale to the east and the sea (fig. 5). About a kilometer south is the Pālāwai Basin, the partially filled primary caldera of the island's volcano. Topographically, the Hökü-ao 201-H Residential Project is located at the southeastern end of the island's northwest rift zone, which has been described as "rising gradually from the Palawai Basin for about 6 miles is a smooth flat area 1½ to 3 miles wide bounded on the northeast side by a fault scarp which dies out northwestward" [53:11]. Together, the flat part of the northwest rift zone and the Pālāwai Basin supported most of the island's pineapple fields. Most of the proposed Hökü-ao 201-H Residential Project is located on former pineapple fields.

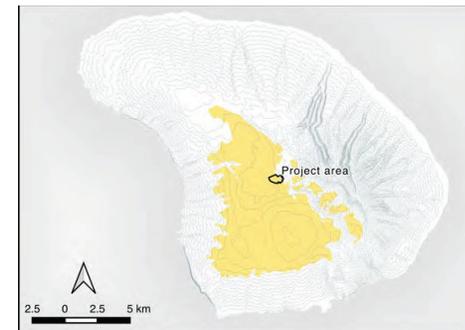


Figure 5: Elevation of the Hökü-ao 201-H Residential Project on a map of 100 ft. contour lines [52]. The former extent of pineapple cultivation is shown in yellow [49]. Note that most of the project area is within old pineapple fields.

Perennial streams on Lāna'i are concentrated on the windward side of the island's main

ridge and are less common elsewhere (fig. 6). The flat area of the northwest rift zone and the Pālāwai Basin are not dissected; most of the streams in these areas are intermittent or ephemeral. Two intermittent or ephemeral streams are shown in the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project; these are drainage ditches associated with the wastewater treatment plant. Rainfall on Lānaʻi varies with elevation. The project area receives about 750 mm of rainfall annually (fig. 6).

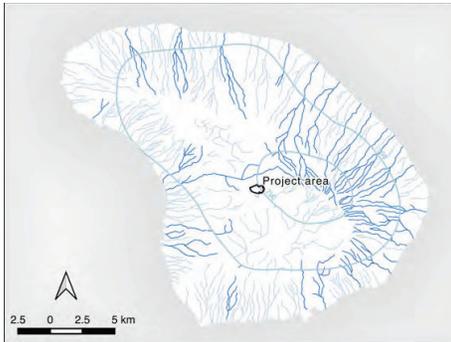


Figure 6: Hydrology of Lānaʻi, showing average annual rainfall and streams in relationship to the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. Isohyets are measured in mm [20]. Perennial streams are dark blue; ephemeral and intermittent streams are light blue [51].

Soils in the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project belong to the Waihuna and Lahaina Series (fig. 7). The Waihuna clay in the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project

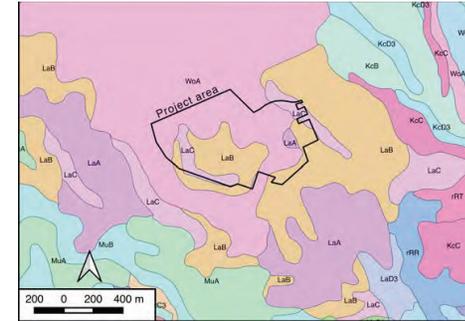
consists of well drained and moderately well drained soils on alluvial fans and in depressions ... These soils formed in old, fine-textured alluvium ... In a representative profile the surface layer, about 18 inches thick, is dark-brown, very sticky and very plastic clay. The next layer, 40 to more than 50 inches thick, is dark-brown, very sticky and very plastic clay and silty clay that has subangular blocky structure. This is underlain by relatively soft, weathered pebbles and stones. The soil is strongly acid in the surface layer as a result of pineapple culture, but it is neutral to medium acid in the rest of the profile. [14:129]

The Lahaina Series silty clay in the project area

consists of well drained soils on uplands ... These soils developed in material weathered from basic igneous rocks ... In a representative profile the surface layer is dark reddish-brown silty clay about 15 inches thick. The subsoil, about 45 inches thick, is dusky-red and dark reddish-brown subangular blocky silty clay and silty clay loam. [14:78]

Lānaʻi City is widely recognized as unique among Hawaiʻi's rural communities. Built as a plantation town, it follows a grid plan focused around a rectangular central park,

Figure 7: Classification of soils in the vicinity of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. The soil identifiers within the project area include WoA, Waihuna clay, 0-3% slopes; LaA, Lahaina silty clay, 0-3% slopes; LaB, Lahaina silty clay, 3-7% slopes; and LaC, Lahaina silty clay, 7-15% slopes [45].



Dole Park. The city also exhibits well-established landscaping, including Cook Pine trees planted along the streets. Most structures date to the decade between 1927 and 1938, and the development standards and styles are typical of American towns in the first half of the twentieth century. Buildings are limited to two stories or 30 ft. above grade, and commercial buildings in the downtown area are all one-story and generally small in scale. Most commercial buildings have setbacks of at least 15-20 ft. from the edge of the street, and are separated from adjacent buildings by an average of 15 ft. of open yard space.¹

2.2 Historical Background

This section presents a general historic background for the island of Lānaʻi that was compiled by Kepā Maly. It is based on firsthand observation of cultural practices in the 1970s, interviews with older *kamaʻāina* at that time, and an exhaustive review of pertinent documentary sources, including records held by Kumu Pono Associates and the Lānaʻi Culture & Heritage Center.

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

¹Lānaʻi City Community Design Guidelines, April 1997, prepared by the Maui County Planning Department.

2.2.1 He Wahi Mo'olelo No Lāna'i a Kaululā'au: Some Traditions from Lāna'i of Kaululā'au

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

By the early 1600s, all the islands of the Hawaiian group were settled sufficiently to develop an organized way to manage scarce resources. Each island was divided into political and subsistence subdivisions called *ahupua'a*, which generally ran from the ocean fishery fronting the land area to the mountains. Under the rule of Pi'ilani, Lāna'i was divided into 13 *ahupua'a*. Native tradition describes *ahupua'a* divisions as being marked by *stone* cairns (*ahu*) with a carved pig (*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.

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

Ancient Hawaiian villages, ceremonial features, dryland agricultural fields, fishponds, and a wide range of cultural sites dot the shoreline of Lāna'i at places like Keone, Kāmālapa'u, Kaunolū, Māmaki, Kapalaoa, Huawai, Kapiha'a, Hulopo'e, Mānele, Kamaiki, Naha, Kahemanō, Lōpā, Kahalepalaoa, Kahe'a, Keōmoku, Ka'a, Hauola, Maunalei (including a wetland taro field system in the valley), Kahōkūnui, Kaiolohia, Kahā'ulehale, Kahue, Lapaiki, Awalua, Polihua, and Ka'ena.

In the uplands, localities at Ho'opulupuluamoa and Malulani, Kō'ele and Kihāmāniana, Kalulu uka, Kaunolū uka, Keālia Kapu, Keālia Aupuni, and Pālāwai were also locations of significant traditional settlements and agricultural endeavors. We also know that over the generations, families with permanent residences in the Lāhaina District of Maui frequented Lāna'i to take advantage of its rich fisheries.

In the period leading up to 1800, there was a decline in the native population, and in the capacity of Lāna'i to produce agricultural resources. This was, in part, due to disputes between the rulers of Maui and Hawai'i which overflowed onto Lāna'i in the mid to late eighteenth century. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, foreign diseases and influences spread across the islands, leading to a further decline in the

population. By the 1840s, there were approximately 600 inhabitants residing on Lāna'i. By the 1870s, the population hovered around 300 residents, and by the early 1890s, there were just 175 native residents.

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

A Famine on Lāna'i—an Ancient Prayer Offered by Pakeaulani to the God Kānepa'ina This tradition tells of two ancient residents of Lāna'i, a period of famine across the islands, and the death of the population. We learn the name of a god of one of the *heiau* on Lāna'i, Kānepa'ina. The word *anela* (Hawaiianized angel) is used by the writer in place of the traditional words *'aumakua* or *akua*. Also cited within this account is a *pule* uttered by ancient residents of Lāna'i.

No na Akua o ka Wa Kahiko ...

Eia mai he wahi moolelo no ka malama ana o kekahi anela paha, a mau anela paha, oia hoi he mau Kane paha. Penei ua wahi moolelo la. Aia ma Lanai ka noho ana o Kaimumahanahana, a me kana keiki o 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 liilii, (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

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 Lāna'i, Kaimumahanahana and his son, Pakeaulani, and there were many people living on Lāna'i at that time. There came a time of famine, and all the people died, leaving only Kaimumahanahana and Pakeaulani, though the father was close to death. Here is what Pakeaulani did. He went and dug up some sweet potato runners and got a few small sweet potatoes (little potatoes growing on a vine), and baked them. He took these things to a heiau and did the following, he worshipped, made the offerings, and prayed. This is a portion of his prayer:

Forty thousand gods

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 lilihi 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 kuu?" A hala ae la na la elima o kana hana ana pela, alaila, i ka po kamailio mai la kekahi anela o Kanepaina. I mai la, "Ea, a keia po e panipani aku oe i na pukapuka lilihi o ko olua hale, a e noho malie mai kamailio pu me kuu makuakane a pau ae la ka laua kamailio pu ana, a hele aku la ia anela. Ninau mai la kona makuakane ia ia, 'Owai kou hoa i kamailio mai la.' I aku la oia, 'O kuu akua hoi ia a'u e malama nei.' Aole liuliu ma ia hope iho, haule mai ana ka ua he nui, ka ua no ia a ao ka po a po ua la nei, a ao ua po nei, malie iho la ka ua. I 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 ..."

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, Kānepa'ina, spoke. He said, "Heed me, this night go and close the very littlest of the holes in the house of you two, and stay calm, do not speak with your father." When they two were finished speaking, the angel departed. His father asked him "Who was the companion with whom you were speaking?" He answered, "My god whom I have been worshipping." Not long afterwards, a great rain fell. It rained night and day, and through several nights and days until there was calm, then the rains fell lightly. Looking outside to see what had transpired, there was seen ripe Mai'a (bananas), Kō (sugar cane) lying upon the ground, 'uala (sweet potatoes) spread all about, Ape (mountain taro) with long stalks leaning to the side; Kalo (taros) which filled the gardens, banana stalks were used as the channels (to irrigate) for the taro. He then cooked the food, and made an offer-

ing to his God. When finished, they two ate the sweet potatoes, taro, and bananas until filled. This is how Hawaiians came to once again be spread across Hawaii, only from Lāna'i. So this is one tradition of how one of the Kāne (gods), was worshipped by these men. . .

Owau no me ka mahalo. John Puniwai.¹

¹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 8, 1862.

² Translated by Maly.

I am with appreciation. John Puniwai.²

He Mo'olelo no Kaululā'au: A Tradition of Kaululā'au One of the best known traditional accounts of Lāna'i dates from the early fifteenth century and associates the island with the ruling chiefs of Maui. In these narratives, a young chief, Kaululā'au, was born to Kaka'alaneo and Kanikaniā'ula. Kaka'alaneo's elder brother was Kāka'e, and Fornander reported that these royal brothers jointly ruled Maui and Lāna'i [17: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 [1; 13], there are two major versions of this tradition with variations on the events. The best known is the version published by King David Kalākaua in 1888, but the most detailed version was published in the Hawaiian language in 1863 in association with another tradition from Maui, "Ka Moololo o Eleio" (p. 19).

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,² the king compiled the traditions found within *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* [35] and described Lāna'i as being richly supplied with food crops, natural resources, and fisheries that, but for the presence of the evil beings, made it a desirable place to live.

Excerpts of Kalākaua's version follow, entitled "The Sacred Spear-Point" and "Kelea, the Surf Rider of Maui." These excerpts are followed on page 19 by an excerpt of the Hawaiian-language version of Kaululā'au's legend entitled "Ka Moololo o Eleio."

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

Kaululau was one of the sons of Kakaalaneo, brother of, and joint ruler with, Kakae in the government of Maui . . . The court of the brothers was at

²Walter 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.

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 fish-ponds, remove the supports of houses, and paint swine black to deceive the sacrificial priests. He devised an instrument to imitate the death-warning notes of the *alae*, and frightened people by sounding it near their doors; and to others he caused information to be conveyed that they were being prayed to death.

Notwithstanding these misdemeanors, Kaululaau was popular with the people, since the chiefs or members of the royal household were usually the victims of his mischievous freaks. He was encouraged in his disposition to qualify himself for the priesthood, under the instruction of the eminent high-priest and prophet, 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 unrolling and removing many folds of cloth, an ivory spear-point a span in length was finally brought to view. Holding it before the prince, he said:

Take this. It will serve you in any way you may require. Its powers are greater than those of any god inhabiting the earth. It has been dipped in the waters of *Po*, and many generations ago was left by Lono upon one of his altars for the protection of a temple menaced by a mighty fish-god who found a retreat beneath it in a great cavern connected with the sea. Draw a line with it and nothing can pass the

mark. Affix it to a spear and throw it, and it will reach the object, no matter how far distant. Much more it will do, but let what I have said suffice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But Kaululaau showed no haste in availing himself of his father’s magnanimity. Far from the restraints of the court, he had become attached to the independent life he had found in exile, and could think of no comforts or enjoyments unattainable on Lanai. The women there were as handsome as elsewhere, the bananas were as sweet, the 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* ['apapane] sang in the grove that shaded his door. What more could he ask, what more expect should he return to Maui? His exile had ceased to be a punishment, and his father's message of recall was scarcely deemed a favor.

However, Kaululaau returned a respectful answer by his father's messenger, thanking Kakaalaneo for his clemency, and announcing that he would return to Maui sometime in the near future, after having visited some of the other islands of the group; and three months later he began to prepare for a trip to Hawaii. He procured a large double canoe, which he painted a royal yellow, and had fabricated a number of cloaks and capes of the feathers of the *oo* and *mamo*. At the prow of his canoe he mounted a carved image of Lono, and at the top of one of the masts a place was reserved for the proud *tabu* standard of an *aha alii*. This done, with a proper retinue he set sail for Hawaii. [35:209-213]

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

Upon returning to Maui, Kaululā'au was welcomed home by his father, and learned that Waolani, his priestly instructor and friend, had died. Recalling the promise made to Waolani, Kaululā'au secretly hid the sacred spear-point of Lono with the bones of Waolani. Kaululā'au married Laiea-a-Ewa, a high chiefess of O'ahu, and together they lived out their lives, residing at Kaua'ula in Lāhaina and parented six children [35:225].

In the tradition of "Kelea, the Surf-Rider of Maui" [35:229-246], mention is made again of Kaululā'au and his adventures on Lāna'i. The account is centered on Kelea, the daughter of Kahekili I, elder cousin of Kaululā'au. It is reported that when Kahekili I ascended to the throne (ca. 1415), he "became king of Maui and Lanai; for during that period the latter island was under the protection of the *mois* of Maui, while Molokai still maintained its independence" [35:229].

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

It was Kakaalaneo who introduced the bread-fruit there from 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 cocoonut-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 within the boundaries of a circular line scratched with the talisman upon the surface of the earth beneath which it was burrowing, and thereby brought to terms. It could not pass the line no matter how far below the surface it essayed to do so. Heaving the earth in its strength and wrath, it chafed against the charmed restraint that held it captive, and finally plunged downward within the vertical walls of its prison. But there was no path of escape in that direction. It soon encountered a lake of fire, and was compelled to return to the surface, where it humbled itself before the prince, and promised, if liberated, to quit the island for ever. 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. [35:229-230]

Ka Moolelo o Eleio (The Tradition of Eleio) The tradition of Eleio is set in the time of Kaka'alaneo's rule over Maui, Lāna'i, Moloka'i, and Kaho'olawe (ca. 1400), and was published by W. N. Pualewa, in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Kuokoa* in 1863. The account tells us that Eleio was a famous *kūkini* associated with the court of the king. He was noted for his ability to travel the circuit of the island, to fetch a choice fish from one district and bring it to the court in another district, keeping it alive. When it was learned that Kelekeleioka'ula, Kaka'alaneo's wife, was expecting, the king granted Eleio the privilege of naming the child. Eleio stated his desire, that if it was a boy, he should be named Kaululā'au (The-forest-grove). When the child was born, it was indeed a boy, and he was named Kaululā'au. As the child grew, his mysterious manner and mischievous nature created many problems for his parents and the people of Maui. Eventually, the youth was banished from Maui and sent to Lāna'i to fend for himself. At that time in history, Lāna'i was reportedly inhabited by hordes of *akua* under the rule of Pahulu. While on Lāna'i, Kaululā'au was accompanied by his own personal god, Lono. Together, the two traveled about Lāna'i, tricking the ghosts, killing them, and setting the lands free from their dominion.³

In this version of the tradition, Kaululā'au traveled around Lāna'i. We are told that he has already killed many of Pahulu's minions, and that Pahulu then feigned friendship with Kaululā'au, telling him that he would help him seek out the other *akua* who remained on

³ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 24 & 31, 1863.

the island. Pahulu's real objective was to round up the remaining *akua* to fight and kill Kaululā'au. The party traveled around the island counterclockwise, leaving the Keōmuku region, passing through Ka'ena, Honopū, Kaumālapa'u, Kaunolū, and Mānele. The excerpts below cover the lands of the southern coast of Lāna'i between Kaunolū and Mānele.

Ka Mooleo o Eleio

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

A 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 noho mai ana paha ka mea i like pu me kou ano a'u e ike aku nei. Alaila, ua koe iho la no ke kumu e laka mai ai o ke akua, a ma ona la e hiki ai ke kaumaha aku, a e lilo o Kanemakua i aumakua lawaia no ia poe."

The Tradition of Eleio

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

They arrived at Honopū, and stayed there several nights. Pahulu had traveled all about the place, from one side to the other of the land, and into the uplands, but he could find no akua in the district. Therefore, they had no reason to stay there for long.

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

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

Alaila, ua maikai ia mea i ko Kaululaau mana. A noho lakou malaila, me ka hana aku i kana oihana mau o ka pepehi aku i ke akua oia wahi, a malaila hoi o Kaululaau i ao ai i ka paeaea ana i ke akua, e like me ka hana ana o na kanaka o Molokai i pae mai ai ma Kahulehale, a no ka lehulehu o na hana maalea i loaia ia 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 Māmaki, a malaila i luku ia aku ai. . .

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

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

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

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

2 Translated by Maly.

Kealaikahiki: "Canoe Man's Path to Kahiki" The island of Lāna'i plays a role in some traditions describing the arrival of the gods and people in Hawai'i. The famed Kealaikahiki,

Kaululā'au thought this was a good idea. So they dwelt there, and he did his work, killing all the akua of this place. Kaululā'au then instructed them in praying to the gods, as he had done with the men of 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 akua of Kaunolū.

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

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

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

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

“canoe man’s path to Kahiki,” reportedly starts at Kaunolū on Lāna’i.⁴ The residency of the god-navigator Kāne’āpua is commemorated in a place name to this day, as is the place called Miki (Puuomiki), as a source of water, at Kaunolū. Below is one of the traditions of this god and his place in the life of the families of Lāna’i.

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 wanao 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 Kāne, he waa e holo ana e keekee 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.

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

Wahanui was a chief of O’ahu who went to Kahiki. Wahanui was the chief, Kilohi was the astronomer, and Mo’opuaiki was the navigator. They sailed and landed at Haleolono, Molokai. In the early 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 south-east of there, is the Point of ‘Āpua. That is the name of this place to the present day. There was dwelling there a man by the name of Kāne’āpua. The man called out, thus, “The canoe, whose canoe is it?” “It is for Wahanui.”

“So Wahanui is the chief, who is the priest?” “It is Mo’opuaiki.” “So Mo’opuaiki is the priest, who is the astronomer?” “It is Kilohi.” “Where is the canoe sailing to?” “The canoe, is sailing to 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?”

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

⁴cf. “He Moololo no Makalei” in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, January 31 through August 21, 1928.

Ma ka moololo o keia kanaka o Kaneapua, no Kahiki mai no oia, ua hele pu mai me kona mau kaikuana a no ka wai ole, hoolana ia o Kaneapua, e pii i ka wai i uka o Miki, aia no ia wahi mauka o Lanai, aka, he kuko ua mau kaikuana 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...¹

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

² Translated by Maly.

Chiefly Lineages of Lāna’i

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

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

Ka Moololo o Hawaii—Helu 108

He aupuni kahiko loa ke aupuni Hawaii ma keia pae aina, aka, he aupuni liliu a mokua-

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...²

The History of Hawaii

The Hawaiian kingdom is an ancient kingdom in these islands, though it was a

hana 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 kaua a na 'lii i kokua pu iaia ma ke kaua ana, ua huipuia ma ke aupuni hookahi ke aupuni Hawaii. Mai ia manawa mai a loa wale mai ia kakou i ka poe o keia wa ke kapaia o keia mau pae moku ke Aupuni Hawaii.¹

¹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 18, 1869.

² Translated by Maly.

According to Fornander, a review of genealogies and traditions indicated that Lāna'i, while "independent at times," nonetheless shared a "political relation" with Maui a few generations after the cleansing of Lāna'i by Kaululā'au. This relationship was probably fortified during the reigns of Kiha-a-Pi'ilani and his son Kamalālāwalu [18:94, 207]. The research of Kamakau and Fornander makes several passing references to the fact that in ca. 1500, Kiha-a-Pi'ilani⁵ was for a time forced to hide on Lāna'i, until the path was open for his taking the throne from a cruel elder brother, Lono-a-Pi'ilani. Kiha-a-Pi'ilani's reign was one of progress and peace, though nothing more is mentioned of Lāna'i [36:22,18:87, 206].

Following Kiha-a-Pi'ilani's death, Kamalālāwalu became the king of Maui, attempted to invade the island of Hawai'i, and was killed. His son Kauhi-a-Kama took the throne, and was subsequently succeeded by his son, Kauhi. It is during the later years of Kamalālāwalu's reign that we find reference to a chief of Lāna'i. Fornander [16] published an account compiled from native informants whose narratives reference a king named Kūali'i who was said to have unified the Hawaiian islands several generations before Kamehameha I. Kūali'i was imbued with godlike characteristics, and reportedly lived between ca. AD 1555 and 1730. He was a sacred chief, feared by all, and famed for his strength. In ca. 1600, Hāloalena was the king of Lāna'i, though he ruled under the authority of Kamalālāwalu and Kauhi-a-kama. Fornander [16] 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. [16:IV-422]

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

⁵Kiha, son of Pi'ilani, who lived in about the fifth generation after Kaululā'au.

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

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. [16:IV-424]

Kūali'i was drawn into the dispute, and settled it without bloodshed, though Hāloalena and Lāna'i remained under the Maui kingdom [16: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 in historical events predating and during the youth of Kamehameha—names several chiefs from Lāna'i:

Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I—Helu 5

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 kaua ia Puna ke alii Ki-aaina Kalaniopuu i hoono ho ai no ka puali hikina o Maui. He kaua kaulana keia no na aoao elua. Ma ka aoao o Kamehameha Nui, ka Moi o Maui, ua hui pu mai na'lii o Molokai, oia hoi o Kaohale, 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.¹

¹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 1, 1866.

² Translated by Maly.

Kalani'ōpu'u failed in an attempt to take control of Maui in ca. 1778, and took the battle directly to Lāna'i. Fornander [18] 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. [18:156-157]

Forty-five years after Kalani'ōpu'u's raid on Lāna'i, his granddaughter, Ke'ōpūolani, also the sacred wife of Kamehameha I and mother of his acknowledged heirs, died. She had

Kaiholena The *iholena* banana tree (Site 89). An area above Kō'ele, where bananas were grown formerly. A favored region of Lāna'i, where enough water could be found to tend cultivated crops.

'Ili o Lono The land section of Lono, site of an ancient *heiau* of the agricultural class, near the former house site of Papalua, and boundary point between Kalulu and Kamoku Ahupua'a (Boundary Commission records). Point where the *mauka-makai* trail crosses out of Kalulu into Kamoku (Site 25). Now covered by the airport. Alternate spelling: Ka Ili o Lono, Iliolono.

Kalamaiki The little torch (Site 71).

Kalamanui The big torch (Site 72).

Kamoku The district or cut off section. One of thirteen *ahupua'a* that make up the island of Lāna'i (Boundary Commission records).

Kaumālapa'u Soot placed in the planting field (Site 73). A bay and ancient village site. The present-day harbor was first opened in 1925, and it has served as the working harbor for Lāna'i since that time.

Ke'a'akū Interpretive, the brave or upright one. A small valley that joins Kapano Gulch on inland side of Pūlehuloa, Kamoku Ahupua'a (Site 81) (Boundary Commission records).

Keahi'āloa The long burning fire (Site 15 & 75). The place where Kawelo burned the excrement of the Moloka'i priest, Lani-kāula.

Keone The sand (Site 69).

Ki'ei To peer, peep (Site 70). A small bay.

Kihamāniania To sneeze and shudder (Site 85). Formerly a place associated with priestly lines, reportedly a training area of warriors. A hill with the ruins of a Protestant church and school house (construction started in 1840). Also the site of an old cemetery. Alternative spelling: Kihamāniemie.

Kō'ele Black or darkness drawn down (Site 88). Said to be named for the heavy, moisture laden clouds which would come down the mountain gulches. These clouds and fog were so thick that one could not see but a few feet in front of oneself. Site of the former Kō'ele Ranch—headquarters of the Lāna'i Ranch from 1870 to 1951.

Ku-a-nā-ipu Interpretive, upright gourds, a section of land between Pu'u Nānā i Hawai'i 'Ili o Lono, near the Kalulu and Kamoku boundary (Boundary Commission records).

Lālākoa *Koa* (*Acacia koa*) tree branch (Site 83). Formerly a forested area and, in the early 1900s, site of the Charles Gay family home.

Makapā'ia Enclosed point (Site 82). Overlooking Kapano Gulch.

Naupaka The *Scaevola* plant (Site 67). A small perched valley.

Nininiwai Pouring water (Site 86). Formerly one of the important agricultural areas of old Lāna'i natives. Later, the location where the first pineapple were planted on Lāna'i.

Palimano Literally, Cliff of Mano. A gulch that forms a boundary between Kamoku and Ka'a.

Pueo Owl. An 'ili of land in Kamoku Ahupua'a, near the boundary with Kalulu.

Pūlehu-loa To broil (cook) for a long time (Site 80). Hill and bank that forms a northern wall of Pālāwai Crater, near the Kalulu-Kamoku boundary. Not far from Keli-ihanani's house (Boundary Commission records).

Pu'u kauila *Kauila* tree hill (Site 74). A boundary point between Kalulu and Kamoku Ahupua'a.

Pu'ukoa *Koa* tree hill (Site 76). A low hill on the flat lands below Hulupu'uniu.

Pu'unānāihawai'i Hill from which to look to Hawai'i (Site 77), a high prominence in Kamoku Ahupua'a close to the boundary with Kalulu (Boundary Commission records).

Pu'unēnē Goose hill.

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

In the 1770s, around the time of western Contact with Hawaiians, Kalani'ōpu'u, sovereign of Hawai'i Island, attempted to take the Maui group of islands by force. Repelled from Maui, the invading force settled on Lāna'i for a time and reportedly killed many of the native residents and laid the land to waste [18; 36]. Apparently, Lāna'i's native population never recovered from this event. In 1804, the first major epidemic brought to the islands on foreign ships swept through the group. It is estimated that by 1805, 150,000 Hawaiians from Ni'ihau to Hawai'i died.⁷ On Lāna'i the decline didn't end. One estimate of the native population on Lāna'i in ca. 1793 is 6,000 [4].⁸ By 1823, Mission Station Journals estimate the population on Lāna'i to be between 2,000 and 3,000 people, and by the early 1890s the population was around 200. By 1902, the native population dropped to 80 residents, most of whom were descendants of Lāna'i's long-term native families. One can only guess how much traditional knowledge of place, practices, and traditions was lost as the population fell from 6,000 to 80 in a little more than a century.

With the exception of the periods from 1854 to 1864 and 1899 to 1901, there were no increases in the population on Lāna'i. The two periods of increase were tied to western initiatives, the first being an experiment by members of the Mormon Church to establish a station on Lāna'i between 1854 and 1864. This period led to an increase of more than 300 Hawaiians and a few foreigners, with the majority living in the *ahupua'a* of Pālāwai, and regular travel between the upland settlement and the Mānele landing. The experiment was in decline by 1858, and though there was a revival between late 1861 and 1864, the Pālāwai experiment was terminated, and the native population continued its historic decline. The second period of growth, between 1899 and 1901, occurred when the Maunalei Sugar Company brought in some 600 non-Hawaiian laborers to operate a sugar plantation along the windward section of Pālāwai Ahupua'a.

One significant contribution to the decline in Lāna'i's ability to support the resident population was the introduction of grazing herbivores—goats, sheep, and cattle—which were raised to provide foreign vessels with a meat source. These animals, along with the Scandinavian roof rat, produced a rapid and devastating impact on the ability of Lāna'i's forest to draw moisture from the wind-borne clouds and develop groundwater resources. In addition to the introduction of herbivores, the western demand for staple crops such as potatoes, along with the demand for *'iliahī* as a trade item, and the hunger for firewood

⁷*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 6, 1864.

⁸Archaeological fieldwork conducted over the last decade supports this estimate, which is higher than that given by Kenneth Emory in 1924.

to be used in processing whale blubber, led to the clearing of vast tracts of land. Just as the Hawaiians had no immunities or natural protection from introduced diseases, the native plants, animals, and ecosystems were also unprepared for the impacts of human clearing of the landscape and foraging animals that browsed and trampled everything that was visible, thus killing the land.

In light of the incredible population losses on Lānaʻi, we are fortunate that any traditional knowledge of place survived. A number of historical accounts—those recorded by native residents, visitors, and in various government documents—shed light on a wide range of aspects of the history of Lānaʻi's people. The historical records below provide us with glimpses into the changes on Lānaʻi between ca. 1820 and the early 1900s.

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

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

The island is volcanic; the soil shallow, and by no means fertile; the shores, however, abound with shell-fish, and some species of medusae and cuttle-fish. The inhabitants are but few, probably not exceeding two thousand. Native teachers are endeavouring to instruct them in useful knowledge and religious truth, but no foreign missionary has yet laboured on this or the neighboring island of Morokai, which is separated from the northern side of Ranai, and the eastern end of Maui, by a channel, which, though narrow, is sufficiently wide for the purposes of navigation. [12:6-7]

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

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

The communications between the two last mentioned islands and Lahaina, are frequent, and even constant. There is scarcely a day, but canoes pass and repass. Almost the only communication is by canoes, though small vessels occasionally visit Morokai. The inhabitants of those islands have very little communication with any other place except Lahaina. If therefore they are illuminated at all, they must derive their light from this station. Tawawa [Kahoolawe], too communicates with no other island except Maui, though there are few inhabitants there, and those mostly fishermen, who are not permanent residents.⁹

A Visit to Lānaʻi in July 1828 The earliest eyewitness description of travel on Lānaʻi was penned in 1828, when William Richards, in the company of Kamehameha I's sacred daughter, Princess Nahiʻenaʻena, made a visit to the island. The journal notes were forwarded to the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.)¹⁰ through a communication on December 25, 1834, and the excerpts from the journal cited below describe conditions on Lānaʻi at the time. It is notable that there is a discussion on the practice of people living near the shore, where there is easy access to fisheries and brackish water sources; the occurrence of an upland plantation moistened by the cloud and fog drip—the bench lands above the Pālāwai Basin; and the practice of the people to travel seasonally between the coastal region and the uplands to tend their plantations of dryland *kalo* and other crops.

As it is especially desirable that you have correct information respecting all our fields of labor, I prepare in this letter to give you some account of Lanai, the little island which lies directly opposite Lahaina & about seven miles, distant. You will perceive by the accompanying map,¹¹ that its greatest length

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

¹⁰Kepā and Onaona 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.

¹¹The map referred to by Richards was not found in files with this letter and cannot now be identified.

is about 17½ 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 talo¹² ponds, and their fare does not reach the shore except in the wet seasons of the year. There is not a well of good water on the island, except such as are prepared after the manner of the Hebrews. These wells, though few on Lanai, are common at many parts of the Sandwich Islands. They are either natural or artificial pits, sometimes only a few feet in diameter, and at other times many yards. They are so prepared as that when it rains the water for a distance may flow into them. There are steps to go down into them, but they are not often very deep. In places where they are exposed¹³ to direct light & from the wind, they are uniformly covered and even where they are not thus exposed they are often covered, to prevent the water from drying up as soon as it would otherwise. Some of these wells are never exhausted even though they are not replenished for eight or nine months. Others which are small, depend entirely on the almost nightly rains which fall on most of the high mountains of the Sandwich Islands, though in many places these rains are little more than heavy dews.

There are many people who make no use of water for washing either themselves or their clothes, except the dew or water on the grass and some times, there is so little of this that they resort to the juice of the succulent plant which they collect. Most of these people however, have two places of residence, and only spend a part of the year on the mountain where there is also a great scarcity of water. In the sea shore, both at Lanai and throughout the islands, with few exceptions, there is a full supply of brackish water, but such as none can drink except those who are accustomed to it. I know not a single well on 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 three¹⁴ 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

¹²Here Richards is referring to *kalo*, or taro.

¹³Page 1 - Reel 797:762.

¹⁴Page 2 - Reel 797:763.

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. 15th, 1828¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

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.¹⁷

The following are extracts from the Lahaina Report dated October 15, 1828. It mentions the people of Lanai assembling for prayer and instruction, as well as population and school enrollment statistics.

¹⁵Page 3 - Reel 797:764.

¹⁶At 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.

¹⁷Wm. Richards to Rev. Rufus Anderson, Secretary of the A.B.C.F.M., Recounting Trips to Lanai in 1828 and 1834 [page 17 - Reel 797:778].

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...

No. of Scholars

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

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

The people of every district which we visited were addressed particularly on this subject, both by ourselves and the princess [Nahienaena]. We have 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.¹⁸

2.2.3 Land Tenure

The *Māhele 'Āina* of 1848 set the foundation for fee-simple property rights in the Hawaiian Islands. As a part of major ethnographic work conducted by Kepā and Onaona Maly for the development of the Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center, a full history of land tenure on Lāna'i in the period between 1848 and 1960 has been conducted and made available to the public.¹⁹

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

Māhele 'Āina Statistics on Lāna'i A total of 110 claims which could be verified for Lāna'i were recorded. These include both chiefly and commoner/native tenant claims.

- 105 claim records were located in the volumes of the Native Register.
- 88 claim records were located in the volumes of the Native Testimony.
- 2 claim records were located in the volumes of the Foreign Register.
- 21 claim records were located in the volumes of the Foreign Testimony.
- 64 of the claims were surveyed and recorded in the Māhele Award Survey Books.
- 51 claim records were recorded in the volumes of the Royal Patent Books.

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

- 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.

Place Names Referenced in Claims by Applicants A total of 86 place names for the island of Lāna'i is in the records provided to the Land Commissioners. The names from Kamoku are Aumoku 1 & 2, Iwiolo, Kaumalapau, Kulelelua (Kalelelua), Makaliilii, and Mooloa.

Disposition of Ahupua'a and Konohiki Claims on Lāna'i As a part of the *Māhele*, the king and chiefs were required to file their claims for personal lands, determine how to pay for their lands—usually by giving up certain lands, in lieu of cash payment—and to claim the *kapu* fish and wood of their land. The latter items were the *konohiki* rights to

¹⁸*Missionary Herald*, July 1829:208-211.

¹⁹Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center, <http://www.lanaichc.org/>.

resources with which the *konohiki* would sustain themselves and generate revenues for their support. In eliciting claims and documentation of rights, the chiefs began submitting letters for the record to the Minister of the Interior.

There were only limited letters submitted for Lāna'i. Of particular interest is a letter dated August 26, 1852 from Noa Pali to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior, documenting the *kapu* or *konohiki* fish and trees for 11 of Lāna'i's 13 *ahupua'a* (table 1).

Table 1: Forbidden fish of the *konohiki* and the prohibited woods

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

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

*Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Lands.

Buke Māhele (Land Division Book), 1848 In preparation for the final division of lands between the king, *konohiki*, and government, a Buke Māhele was kept as a log of the agreed upon division. This book is the basis of the Crown and Government land inventory now known as the Ceded Lands. There are 13 *ahupua'a* on Lāna'i. Disposition of 10 *ahupua'a* was recorded in the Buke Māhele (1848) and before the Land Commissioners. Three *ahupua'a* were apparently dropped through an oversight on the part of the king, Commissioners, and staff. Titles confirmed at the close of the Land Commission are presented in table 2.

The following is a translation of a Land Commission document from the Native Register. It is from the claimants on Lāna'i and describes the land to which they stake claim.

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

Here are our claims — moo (planting parcel) lands; kula (open plains and planting) lands; the mountains; the wood, woods to be taken under the Konohiki; fishes, fishes to be taken under the Konohiki; the length is from the moana (open ocean) to the fishery of Kaholo; from one fishery to the other

Table 2: Disposition of *ahupua'a*

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

fishery. We are the people in the Ahupuaa of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana. Here are our names:

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

That is the end.²⁰

²⁰Helu 10041 (Recorded with Helu 10024), Kanekeleia (and Lono et al.), Palawai, Native Register 6:510-511, Lanai, February 12, 1848, translated by Maly.

Ali'i and Native Tenant Claims from Kamoku Ahupua'a Kamoku means literally “the district or cut-off portion,” [47:82]. Emory explains that the *ahupua'a* “was once cut off from a number of ahupuaas for the use of the whole district, hence its name” [13:31]. Kamoku is located on the leeward side of the island and includes 8,291 acres. It is bounded by the ocean on the southwest and the mountains on the northeast. On the north, it is bounded by the *ahupua'a* of Ka'a, and on the south, by Kalulu Ahupua'a. Kamoku was noted for its upland forest and springs, with areas the Hawaiians developed into an extensive forested dryland agricultural system. Temporary and long-term residences, from which the rich fisheries fronting the *ahupua'a* were accessed, spotted the sheltered coves along the shore. Pali was the *konohiki* of Kamoku under the Kamehamehas, and at the time of the *Māhele*, Kamehameha III retained the *ahupua'a* as a Crown Land. *Uhu* was the *kapu* fish, and *koko* (*Euphorbia* spp.) was the *kapu* wood. Oleloa, a woman of chiefly lineage, claimed the important spring-watered bay of Kaumālapa'u, an *'ili* of Kamoku, but relinquished it to the government during the *Māhele*.

Table 3 lists Land Commission Awards of native tenants who filed claims for *kuleana* (fee-simple property rights) in 1847-1855 to land in Kamoku. The claims reveal some of the activities that occurred in the lands of Kamoku. Registered Map 2227 (fig. 9) shows the claims in Kamoku. None of the claims registered or awarded fall within the Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project.

Table 3: Native tenants of Kamoku Ahupua'a

LCA Helu	Claimant	Land	Claims
2686	Oleloa	Kaumalapau at Kamoku	—
4145	Kauihou	Palawai & Kamoku	1 house lot, cultivated land
6833	Kaai'ai	Kalulu & Kamoku	1 house lot
8556	Kaauwaeaina	Pueo at Kamoku	1 pauku
10630	Pali	Kamoku	Several moku mauu, sweet potato and gourd fields

At the time that fee-simple property rights were established in the Hawaiian Kingdom, Kamoku Ahupua'a was identified as *'Āina Lei Ali'i* (Crown Lands) having been retained by Kamehameha III in the *Māhele 'Āina* of 1848. In 1906, Territorial Governor George R. Carter entered into an exchange agreement which conveyed Kamoku, along with seven other *ahupua'a* on Lāna'i, to Charles Gay. Thus, with the exception of *kuleana 'āina* and Royal Patent Grant lands, all of the *ahupua'a* of Kamoku became private property, eventually transferring to the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Limited (HAPCo) and subsequently to the present ownership. It is within the uplands of Kamoku Ahupua'a, at Kō'ele and Kihamāniania, that the earliest western residences were established, and in 1923, James Dole selected Kamoku as the site for building Lāna'i City.

There are several resources on the cultural landscape and in the archival records which help us understand some of the history of Kamoku. Among these are place names, the occurrence of the ancient *ahupua'a* trail *ala pi'i uka*, the traditional boundary alignment

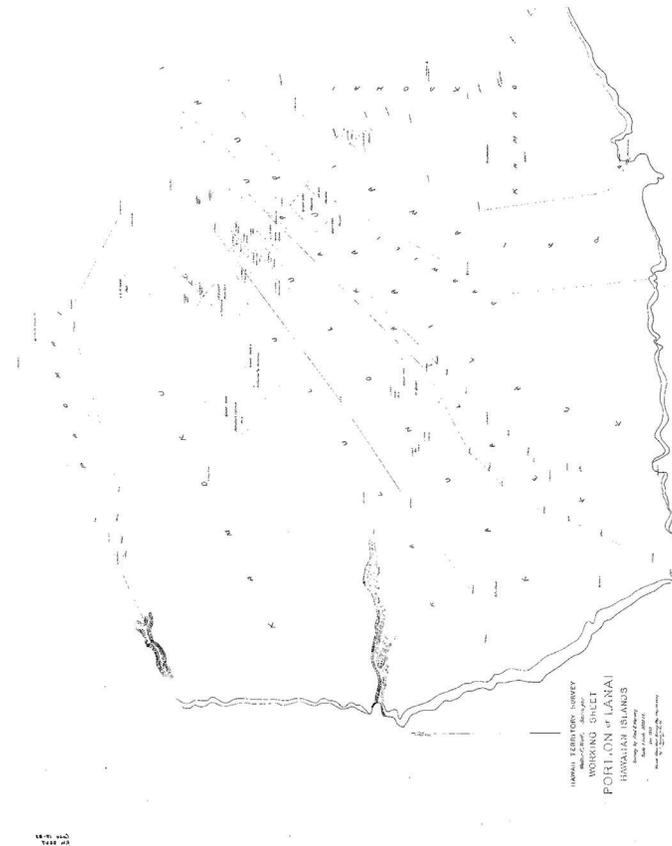


Figure 9: Registered Map 2227. F. E. Harvey, Surveyor, December 1903. Note the Land Commission Awards in Kamoku Ahupua'a.

markers between Kalulu and Kamoku Ahupua'a, and parcels of land which were at one time held by native tenants.

The following are translations done by Kepā Maly of documents associated with *Māhele* claims in Kamoku Ahupua'a. The kinds of documents included are Land Commission Award (LCA) claims documented in the Native Register, Native Testimony, Foreign Testimony, Māhele Award Book, and Royal Patents. Reproductions of the original documents which are in Hawaiian are included in accompanying figures. The descriptions of the claims included in the *Māhele* documents offer a glimpse into the kinds of activities that occurred in Kamoku.

Helu 2686: The Claim of Oleloa

Helu 2686 (see also Helu 367)
Claimant Oleloa (w.)
Location Kaumalapau at Kamoku
Recorded at Lahaina
Date January 8, 1848

Native Register Greetings to you John Ii and Kaauwai, and the Commissioners who quiet claims.

I hereby tell you of my several land claims from the King. Here are the names of my lands: Puunau in Lahaina; Kalama II [Kona]; Kaumalapau [Lanai]; and Kanoni [Kau]. I have five lands, and my residency is from the King. Therefore, I provide before you, my document to you, that you, the Commissioners who quiet claims may see. Here also is my lot at Puunau, and I give to you my document, Kolopapela Kaau [wai] and Richards to quiet by your hands. Aloha to you with peace.

Done by me, Oleloa, Widow. (fig. 10)

Helu 4145: The Claim of Kauihou

Helu 4145
Claimant Kauihou
Location Palawai & Kamoku

Native Testimony Kawaai, Sworn. I now his parcel of land at Keomuku, Palawai. 1 Parcel of land.

1 Parcel, a house site & cultivated land.

The boundaries are thus. Mauka, land of the Konohiki. Kaena, land of Naoopu. Makai, the beach. Kamaiki, land of Hohopa.

He received this Parcel from Hua in the time of Kamehameha II, and has dwelt there peaceably to this time. No one has objected.

Naoopu, Sworn. The words above are all true. My knowledge is the same. (fig. 11)

2686 Oleloa Lahaina January 8, 1848¹⁵

Aloha oe e Keoni Ii. a me
Ho auuawai a me ma Lina noona Kuleana
Ke hai 'ku nei au ia oukou i kuu mau
Kuleana iina no ka 'Iwi, Eia ma iina o kou
mau iina, o Puunau i Lahaina, Kalama
II Kaumalapau, o Kanoni. A hina, Aina
iia, no ka 'Iwi no kuu noho aia e noho
nei, Aolaila, ke haawi maia 'ku nei au i
kui palapala ia oukou i ke oukou ma
Lina noona Kuleana, Eia koi fra o ka
'Iwi ma Puunau nei, a haawi 'ku nei au
i kuu palapala ia oe e Kolopapela Kaau
a me Richards i ma si iloko o ke lua Lina
ia palapala au.

Aloha oukou meka Maluhia
'Iwi ma Oleloa, Katiu Kamehameha

Figure 10: Helu 2686 of Oleloa. Source: Native Register Volume 6:15.

Helu 6833: The Claim of Kaaii

Helu 6833
Claimant Kaaii
Location Kalulu & Kamoku

Native Testimony Pali, Sworn. I know his Parcels of land at Kalulu, Lanai. 3 Parcels of land in the ili below.

Parcel 1. 1 moku mauu in the ili of "Ahupau."

Parcel 2. 1 moku mauu in the ili of "Eliialii."

Parcel 3. House lot [illegible - in the ili of] Kamoku.

Parcel 1. The boundaries are thus. Mauka, land of Keie. Kamaiki, Ahupuaa of "Kaunolu."
Makai, land of Kaukapala. Kaena, Ili land of Kamoku.

4145. Kauihou.

Hawaaiiki Hoohikina. Ua ike au i kuu Apana aino ma Keomoku. Palaua i Apana aino
 1 Apana Kahuahala & ka aino Omaliki.
 Puni ma falamau. Mauka aino o Kauhiki. Kama aino o
 Kauhiki. Mauka i ka laka o Kamaiki aino. Hoohiki.
 Ua loa ia ia kuu Apana ma kuu mau i ka wa o
 Kamehameha II a ua naha olelo a hiki i kua o mau mau aole
 Naepe. Hoohikina. Ua ike au i kuu Apana aino ma Keomoku.
 Ua ike au i kuu Apana aino ma Keomoku.

Figure 11: Helu 4145 of Kauihou. Source: Native Testimony 13:282.

Parcel 2. The boundaries are thus. Mauka, land of Maawe. Kamaiki, land of Konohiki. Makai, the same. Kaena, Ili of Kapano.

Parcel 3. The boundaries are thus. Mauka and all about, land of Konohiki.

He received these Parcels of land from his parents in the year 1840, and his parents received them from Daniela Ii. He has resided there peaceably to this time. No one has objected.

Kawaaiiki, Sworn. All the words above are true. My knowledge is the same. (fig. 12)

Māhele Award Book There in the Ahupuaa of Kalulu, Island of Lanai. Three Parcels.

Parcel 1. There in the Ili of Ahupau... [metes and bounds] ... 6 Acres. 3 Roods, 10 Rods...

Parcel 2. There in the Ili of Elialii... [metes and bounds] ... 7 Acres, 3 Roods, 17.8 Rods...

Parcel 3. There in the ili of Kamoku... [metes and bounds] ... 5 Acres, 3 Roods, 2 Rods... (fig. 13)

Helu 8556: The Claim of Kaauwaeaina

Helu 8556
Claimant Kaauwaeaina
Location Maunalei, Kalulu, and Kamoku
Recorded at Lanai
Date February 7, 1848
Royal Patent 5137 (figs. 17, 18)

6833. Kaaiia.

Pal. Hoohikina. Ua ike au i kua mau Apana aino ma Kalulu.

Lanaia. 3 Apana aino. Ua ike au i kua mau Apana aino ma Kalulu.
 Apana 1. 1 Moku Mauu ma ka ili o Ahupuaa.
 Apana 2. Puni ma falamau. Mauka aino o Maawe. Kamaiki aino o Kauhiki. Mauka, felama. Kama. Ili o Kauhiki.
 Apana 3. Puni ma falamau. Mauka aino o Maawe. Kamaiki aino o Kauhiki. Mauka, felama. Kama. Ili o Kauhiki.
 Ua loa ia ia kuu mau Apana aino ma Kalulu. Ua loa mai i ka M. S. 1840, a ua loa hoi i kua mau Apana aino ma Daniela Ii. Ua ike au i kua mau Apana aino ma Kalulu. Ua ike au i kua mau Apana aino ma Kalulu.

Figure 12: Helu 6833 of Kaaiia. Source: Native Testimony 13:272-273.

Native Register Greetings Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles. I have three loi (taro pond fields) at Maunalei.

Here are other claims of mine, several moku mauu at Kalulu, and a pauku at Pueo.

By Kaauwaeaina. (fig. 14)

Native Testimony Kawaaiiki, Sworn. I know his parcels of land on Lanai. They are in the ili and Ahupuaa below. 3 parcels.

Parcel 1. 3 loi kalo (taro pond fields) in the ili of Ainaiki, Maunalei Ahupuaa.

Parcel 2. 1 moku mauu, in the ili of Kapano uka, Kalulu Ahupuaa.

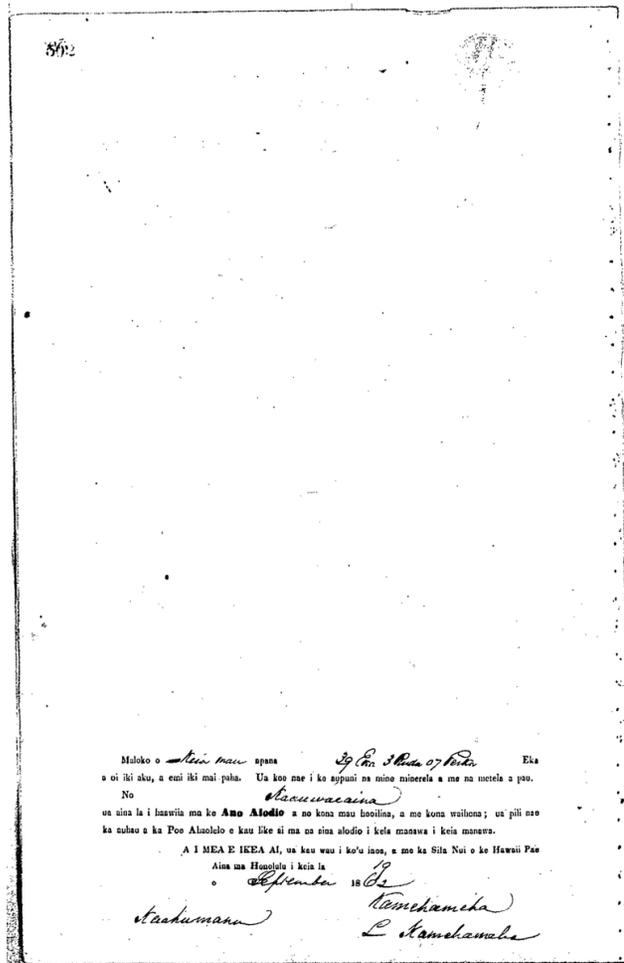


Figure 18: Page 2 of 2. Royal Patent 5137 of Kaauwaeaina. Source: Book 20:501-502.

Location Kamoku
Recorded at Lanai
Date February 5, 1848
Royal Patent 4800 (figs. 23, 24)

Native Register Aloha to you Kaauwai, J. li and Armstrong, Commissioners who Quiet Land Claims. Here are my thoughts to you, that you will look upon my land claim. Here are the lands which the King gave me on Lanai. Auhea gave them to me. I am a Konohiki of the King, the lord of the land. That is what he said to me.

Here is this claim of mine. We spoke with Auhea, about my being the tax collector, that when the reign of the King in the Government was finished, then my position would end. That is what we spoke of. But the Government would not consider my claim if my work should be at fault.

Here is this responsibility of mine, a responsibility of prayer [as an overseer of the Lanai Church] from Ricord and Hoapili. Richards is my overseer. I have attended this work for 13 years. That is what I took care of. Now Baldwin tends to the work, and I am under Baldwin.

School overseer is another responsibility of mine, gotten from those people who had it. That is it. The decision to approve or deny it, is now up to you as you decide. (fig. 19)

Native Testimony Lanai. July 10, 1851.

Poupou, Sworn. I know his parcels of land in the Ahupuaa of Makalilili, Kulelelua, Iwiolo and the 2 Aumoku on Lanai. They are combined into one, being several moku mauu, sweet potato and gourd fields.

The boundaries are thus. Mauka, land of Konohiki. Kamaiki, land of Kaaueaina. Makai, land of Konohiki. Kaena, Alanui (Road).

He received his land from M. Kekauloahi in the year 1839, and has resided there peaceably to this time. No one has objected, and he is the Overseer of these lands.

Keawe, Sworn. All the words above are true. My knowledge is the same.

Pali, Sworn. The reason for my thinking of joining them together as one, is because there are many places of mine which are cultivated here and there, and where are built houses. I go from one place to another to cultivate, as announced in the Elele [newspaper]. Therefore I've joined my places together. It is as the witnesses have stated above. My claims for the other places are ended. (fig. 20)

Foreign Testimony Jany. 17th, 1853.

Resolved, that the Land Commission be and is hereby authorized to award fee simple titles to Pali (Claim No. 10,630), Kalaihoa (No. 3719 B) and Malulu (No. 6846) as surveyed by Asa, containing respectively 112 1/4, 75 1/10 & 90 Acres.

By order of Privy Council
 (Sig.) Lorrin Andrews,
 Secretary. (fig. 21)

526
18630. Pali Lanai Feb 5th 1848

Alaha ve e ka auwai a me i. I
a me ma Lina Aona Kuleana aina
Cia kei manawa ia nuluve, e manawa
mai vaka i kei kuleana aina, eia
na aone o ka mo'i iwa ma Laha
Lana'i nei, i ka Auhia i'panawa ma'i
iahi, O'wau no ke kono'ohi o ka mo'i
no ka haku aina; jela kana alala
mai ia'i.

Cia kei kuleana oia vea alala
no malou me Auhia, no kei
moho kua Auhia ana, eia a pau
ka moho Aupuni ana o ka mo'i a
me ia, alala pau kei moho ana
jela ia alala ana a sarako, aale
mae e manawa mai ke Aupuni i kei
kuleana oia ke heva kei kana
ana ahu.

Cia kei kuleana oia, ke kuleana
jela no kei kuleana a me Aupuni kei ka
kuleana oia, o Laha no malou oia, ma
na ka kana, O'wau ka malou kana
i Ma'alahiki kei malou ana i
kei kana, a ma Paluina ka kana i
kei manawa, a malou ahu ana o
Paluina

Ke haku kula kei kono'ohi kei
ke ana oia i lona mai i ka pau kea
pau kei, o ka vaka wale no kei o
ka hoholo, a me ka hoholo ma'i
e like me ka vaka manawa ana
ke pau

Na Pali

Figure 19: Helu 10630 of Pali. Source: Native Register 6:526.

10630. Pali Lanai Julai 1857

Papua Auhia. Ma ike au i kei manawa Auhia ana ma
Auhia, Makaliili, Kalelelua, Kolo Auhia, a me ma
Auhia, a me ma Auhia, eia lona ma'i, kei kuleana, kei manawa
Ma'i manawa, malou wale, eia
Pau na paluina. Ma'i ana o kono'ohi, kono'ohi ana
o kono'ohi ana, kono'ohi ana o kono'ohi, kono'ohi ana
Ma lona ia i kei manawa no kei kuleana, ma'i i ka mo'i
1839 a me mo'i oia ma a haku i kei manawa alala ma'i manawa,
a ma no ka Lina o kei manawa ana.

Ma'i Auhia Ma'i ana oia alala a pau malou, a jela ia
no kei ike.

Pali: Auhia. Oia kono'ohi, kei manawa, e kei ana kono'ohi
kono'ohi, ma ka mo'i o kei manawa i manawa, ma kei manawa kei
manawa, ma kei kuleana i ma haku, a kei kuleana ma'au i kei manawa
i ma'au i kei manawa kei manawa, e like me ka mo'i o ka
Ehela, malou eia kei kei manawa, e like me ma kei alala a ma
kei manawa, a ma pau kei kuleana ma ma kei manawa
kei manawa.

Figure 20: Helu 10630 of Pali. Source: Native Testimony 13:259.

Māhele Award Book There in the ili of Kaumalapau, Mooloa, Makaliili, Kalelelua and 2 Aumoku, in the Ahupuaa of Kamoku, Island of Lanai. One Parcel. Beginning at the Western corner and running... [metes and bounds]... 112 Acres, 1 Rood, 23 Rods. (fig. 22)

Palapala Sila Nui, 1855–1867: Royal Patent Grant Lands on Lāna‘i At the same time the Māhele ‘Āina was being undertaken, it was realized that many native tenants were not receiving lands claimed, or in the case of environmentally stressed areas, they were not able to claim adequate land areas to support their families. As a result, the king signed into law an act giving applicants the right to apply for larger tracts of land from the inventory of government lands set aside for the support of government operations. All Royal Patent Grants issued on Lāna‘i are listed in table 4.

One Royal Patent Grant was awarded in Kamoku Ahupua‘a, with a parcel also situated in the adjoining Kalulu Ahupua‘a. This land is approximately two miles below the study area. The application and records follow. The original records were written in Hawaiian.

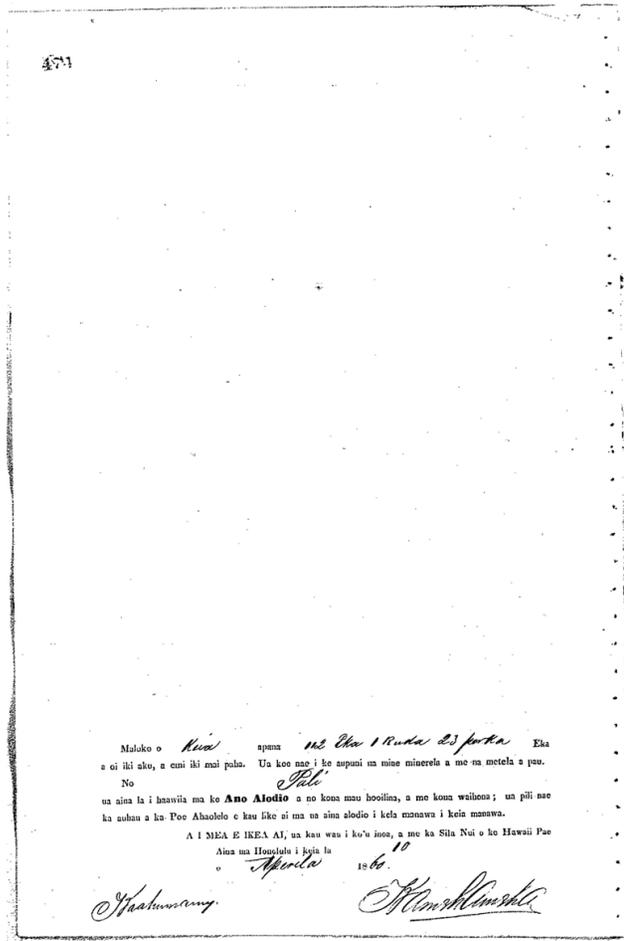


Figure 24: Page 2 of 2. Royal Patent 4800 of Pali. Source: Book 19:473-474.

Table 4: Royal Patent Grants on Lāna'i

Grant No.	Grantee	Location	Acreage	Book	Year
1928	Koiku	Pawili	34.93	10	1855
1929	Kekua	Pawili	18.57	10	1855
1930	Nalimakaua	Pawili	31.96	10	1855
1931	Makaiholoae	Pawili	18.30	10	1855
2214	Lonopaawela	Pawili	1.64	12	1857
2903	Puupai	Pawili and Kealia Aupuni	52.00	14	1863
2971	Kapahoa	Pawili	33.00	14	1864
3029	Nahuina and Keliuhue	Kalulu	236.68	14	1866
3030	Kapeleaumoku	Pawili	32.00	14	1866
3031	Kaaina	Kealia Aupuni	99.07	14	1866
3032	Pali	Kaunolu	29.00	14	1866
3033	Keamo	Kaunolu	20.85	14	1866
3045	Wm. Beder	Kaunolu	128.00	14	1867

Nahuina & Keliuhue, he aina kuai ka laua me ke Aupuni, Kalulu i Lanai, 236.68 Eka, hookahi dala o ka Eka 1.

No ka aina 236.75
 No ke Sila 5.00
 No ke Ana ana 20.00 261.75

Kaa mua ia Ioane Richardson 158.00
 Kaa hope ia P. Nahaolelua 103.75

Ua kaa loa keia aina, ua hooilii ke dala i ke Kuhina Kalaiaina. E nana ma ka Buke 2 aoao 31. Ua loa mai ka P. Sila Nui, Helu 3029, ua haawia ia Nahuina & Keliuhue.²¹

A translation by Kepā Maly of the preceding document follows.

Nahuina & Keliuhue have purchased land of the government in Kalulu, Lanai. 236.68, at \$1.00 per Acre.

Price of the Land 236.75
 Price of the Patent 5.00
 Price of the Survey 20.00 261.75

The land has been paid for in full, with the money collected by the Minister of the Interior. Look in Book 2, page 31. The R. Patent, Number 3029 has been received by Nahuina and Keliuhue.

The Royal Patent documents are included as figures 25 and 26.

²¹Hawai'i State Archives, DLNR 2 Vol. 37:38.

The following is from the Notes of Survey for Royal Patent 3029 to Nahuina & Keliuhue, at Kalulu and Kamoku. The original document was written in Hawaiian. The sketch map accompanying the Notes of Survey is included as figure 27.

Apana 1. Ma ke Ahupuaa o Kalulu, Mokupuni o Lanai.

E hoomaka ana ma ke kahi Komohana Hema o keia apana a holo aku i ka:

He. $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Hi. 2532 pauku pili me Aupuni;
Ak. 52° Hi. 2653 pauku pili me Aupuni;
Ak. $43\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ Ko. 2030 pauku pili me Aupuni;
He. $30\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Ko. 514 pauku pili me Ahupuaa o Kamoku;
He. $53\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ Ko. 718 pauku pili me Ahupuaa o Kamoku;
He. $68\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Ko. 2930 pauku pili me Ahupuaa o Kamoku;
He. $45\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Ko. 2080 pauku pili me Ahupuaa o Kamoku;
Hiki i ke kahi mua. O kona ili $133\frac{1}{10}$ Eka.

Apana 2. Ma ka ili o Kaumalapau i loko o ke Ahupuaa o Kamoku.

E hoomaka ana ma ke kahi Hikina Akau o keia apana a holo aku i ka:

Ak. $52\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ Ko. 415 pauku pili me Aupuni;
Ak. 44° Ko. 2144 pauku pili me Malulu;
He. $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Ko. 4664 pauku pili me Malulu;
He. 43° Hi. 2320 pauku pili e Aupuni;
Ak. 29° Hi. 2540 pauku pili me Ili o Pueo;
Ak. 43° Hi. 2200 pauku pili me Ili o Pueo;
Hiki ke kahi i hoomaka ai.
O kona ili, 103. $\frac{58}{100}$ Eka.

[John Richardson]

Waikapu.

Nov. 1855.²²

Below is a translation of the Royal Patent 3029 Notes of Survey document by Kepā Maly.

Parcel 1. In the Ahupuaa of Kalulu, Island of Lanai.

Beginning at the Southwestern corner of this parcel and running to the:

South $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ East 2532 links along Government;
North 52° East 2653 links along Government;
North $43\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ West 2030 links along Government;
South $30\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ West 514 links along the Ahupuaa of Kamoku;
South $53\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ West 718 links along the Ahupuaa of Kamoku;
South $68\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ West 2930 links along the Ahupuaa of Kamoku;
South $45\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ West 2080 links along the Ahupuaa of Kamoku;
To the first corner.

²²Hawai'i State Archives.

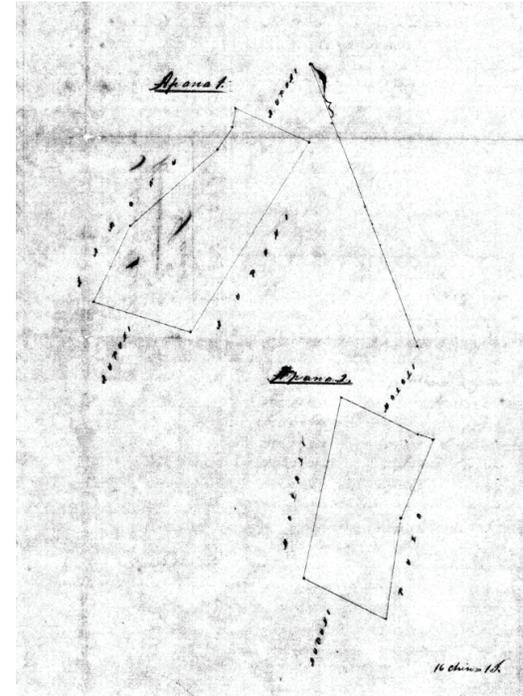


Figure 27: Sketch map accompanying the Notes of Survey for Royal Patent 3029 of Nahuina and Keliuhue. Source: Hawai'i State Archives.

Containing $133\frac{1}{10}$ Acres.

Parcel 2. In the ili of Kaumalapau, in the Ahupuaa of Kamoku.

Beginning at the Northeastern corner of this parcel and running to the:

North $52\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ West 415 links along Government;
North 44° West 2144 links along Malulu;
South $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ West 4664 links along Malulu;
South 43° East 2320 links along Government;
North 29° East 2540 links along the Ili of Pueo;

North 43° East 2200 links along the Ili of Pueo;
To the corner of commencement.

Containing 103 ⁵⁸/₁₀₀ Acres.

[John Richardson]
Waikapu.
Nov. 1855.

Boundary Commission Surveys and Testimonies Following the *Māhele* 'Āina, there was a growing movement to fence off land areas and control access to resources which native tenants had traditionally been allowed to use. By the 1860s, foreign land owners and business interests petitioned the Crown to have the boundaries of their respective lands—which were the foundation of plantation and ranching interests—settled. In 1862, the king appointed a Commission of Boundaries, a.k.a. the Boundary Commission, whose task was to collect traditional knowledge of place, pertaining to land boundaries and customary practices, and determine the most equitable boundaries of each *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 the law. As the commissioners on the various islands undertook their work, the kingdom hired or contracted surveyors to begin the surveys, and in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries were authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them.²³

In the period of 1876–1877, William D. Alexander, Surveyor General; M. D. Monsarrat, Assistant Surveyor; J. F. Brown; and party surveyed the entire island of Lāna'i, traveling with elder native tenants. Alexander's field book,²⁴ covering late March and early April 1876, contains his notes, compiled through interviews and fieldwork. The book provides readers of the present day with glimpses into the cultural and natural landscape of Lāna'i, and identifies several elder informants on Lāna'i. Of particular importance is documentation of traditional sites such as *heiau*, areas of residence, burial sites, shrines, former *'ua'u* nesting grounds, and trails. In the record are also found a number of place names and descriptions of features not mentioned in other documentary sources.

Unfortunately, few of the narratives recorded in Register Book No. 153 made it into the formal proceedings and documents of certification authorized by the Boundary Commission. The court proceedings focused on metes and bounds, relying on the authenticity and accuracy of the documentation provided by the surveyors. Thus, the notes copied verbatim from Register Book No. 153 provide us with the background as to how the boundaries were determined, and identify significant cultural resources of Lāna'i.

The following from Register Book No. 153 are notes on Lāna'i boundaries at Halepalaoa. It is dated March 28, 1876. Note that Alexander uses macron accents—*kahakō*—on certain place and people names as indicated.

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

²³W. D. Alexander in *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual*, 1891:117-118.

²⁴Register Book No. 153; copied from the collection of the State Survey Division.

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...

April 3rd. 76. Monday.

Keliihue widow of Nahuina, was born on Kalulu, & testifies that the boundary between Kalulu and Kamoku comes down from a hill known as Puunene down the North bank of the Kapano valley to the Govt. road, passing near Kawaonahela's house, keeping straight on across a side ravine coming in from the north, called Keaakū, to the top of the north wall of the Palawai crater at a place called Pulehulua, near Keliihananui's house.

Kamoku

Thence it skirts to the northwestern slope of the crater till it meets the old road to the sea, which it follows down to Kaumalapau Harbor.

Papalua another old resident agrees with the above in the main, but declares that from Pulehulua the boundary runs to a rocky eminence called Puu Nanai-hawaii, where he says that Makalena set up his compass.

From thence he says it runs to the site of an old heiau called Ka Ili o Lono, near which Papalua's house formerly stood, near the present road. Kaaiia, an old kamaaina, insane however, points out a pile of rocks nearly on a line between these two points called Kuanaipu, to which he says he guided Makalena.

From the Ili o Lono the line follows the old road to the neighborhood of Kaumalapau Harbor. The whole of the harbor belongs to Kamoku. Starting from the edge of the pali on the south side of the harbor, the line follows the ridge on the south side of Kaumalapau ravine till it meets the old road.²⁵

Primary records in the Boundary Commission collection from Lāna'i were recorded from 1876 to 1891. 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, as recorded by the surveyors/commissioners. The resulting documentation covers descriptions of the land, extending from ocean fisheries to the mountain peaks, and also describe traditional practices; land use; changes in the landscape witnessed over the informants' lifetime; and various cultural features across the land.

The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and in some instances, their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Other testimonies from Lāna'i have remained in Hawaiian, untranslated, until development of a manuscript for the Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center.²⁶ Translations of the Hawaiian-language texts below were prepared by Kepā Maly. The descriptions and certificates of boundaries

²⁵W. D. Alexander, "Lana'i (Memo.)," 1875-1876, Register Book No. 153, p. 14-24.

²⁶See <http://www.lanaichc.org>.

for the *ahupua'a* of Lāna'i are from the notes of W. D. Alexander, who worked for the Boundary Commission. The notes, dated 1875-76, give boundary information collected from *kama'āina*. The following are excerpts from Alexander's notes.

At Halepalaoa March 28th, '76.

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

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

April 3rd. 76. Monday.

Keliihue widow of Nahuina, was born on Kalulu, & testifies that the boundary between Kalulu and Kamoku comes down from a hill known as Puunene down the North bank of the Kapano valley to the Govt. road, passing near Kawaonahale's house, keeping straight on across a side ravine coming in from the north, called Keaakū, to the top of the north wall of the Palawai crater at a place called Pulehuloa, near Keliihananui's house.

Kamoku

Thence it skirts to the northwestern slope of the crater till it meets the old road to the sea, which it follows down to Kaumalapau Harbor.

Papalua another old resident agrees with the above in the main, but declares that from Pulehuloa the boundary runs to a rocky eminence called Puu Nanai-hawaii, where he says that Makalena set up his compass.

From thence he says it runs to the site of an old heiau called Ka Ili o Lono, near which Papalua's house formerly stood, near the present road. Kaai, an old kamaaina, insane however, points out a pile of rocks nearly on a line between these two points called Kuanaipu, to which he says he guided Makalena.

From the Ili o Lono the line follows the old road to the neighborhood of Kaumalapau Harbor. The whole of the harbor belongs to Kamoku. Starting from the edge of the pali on the south side of the harbor, the line follows the ridge on the south side of Kaumalapau ravine till it meets the old road.²⁷

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

Palawai, Lanai

Since writing my last letter I have found an old Kamaaina by the name of Pali who has been absent for some time. He gives his age at ninety nine and is

²⁷W. D. Alexander, LANAI (Memo.), 1875-76, Register Book No. 153, p. 14-23. Pages 1-13 in this book contain memos and maps of land holdings at Nu'uuanu, O'ahu. Lāna'i notes begin at page 14. Alexander also uses macron accents on certain place and people names as indicated in the citations here.

pretty helpless as I had to lift him off and on his horse. I could not get him to come for less than two dollars a day but I think that he is worth it as he seems to be very honest. He puts Kamoku boundary the same as Keliihue and not wrongly as Papalua did.

I have surveyed Kaunolu boundary on this side of the mountain, also both sides of Palawai from the top of the mountain to the South wall of Palawai crater from there to the sea. I will leave until I return from the other side of the mountain, where I intend starting early Monday morning. Don't you think that I had better survey the boundary between the government land of Kamao and Kaohai which is very short and will survey with Paawili on the upper side of the island to Palawai form a survey of Kaohai. I have started to carry a set of triangles around from Puu Manu to Halepalaoa and find that it can be done with little effort and few triangles. When I was in Lahaina Mr. Gibson spoke of having me stop here and complete the survey of the island as he is very anxious for a map.

It is beginning to get very dry here and water scarce. Potatoes are also very scarce and expensive. Pai ai are a dollar apiece in Lahaina now having jumped from seventy five cents since I came over...

As soon as I finish Kaunolu I will send you the notes of survey as the minister of interior is very anxious to get them. Mr. Gibson is going to start his men shearing at Palawai in a few day[s]. Hoping to hear from you soon. I remain yours.²⁸

The following Boundary Commission document gives testimonies of the surveyor Monsarrat, as well as the *kama'āina* Pali on the boundaries of lands on Lāna'i. Pali states that he was the *konoiki* of Kamoku.

Hooponopono Palena Aina a ke Komisina

Ma ka la 14 o Julai, A.D. 1877, ua waiho mai o Prof. W.D. Alexander he palapala noi i ke Komisina Palena Aina o Maui, no ka hooponopono ana i na palena o kahi mau aina i pau i ka Anaia o ka Mokupuni o Lanai. Oia hoi o "Palawai" no W.M. Gibson Esq. "Kaohai" no Ka Mea Kiekie R. Keelikolani; "Kalulu," "Kamoku," he mau Aina Lei Alii; "Kamao," "Kealia," "Pawili," & "Kaunolu," he mau Aina Aupuni.

Decision of Boundaries by the Commission

On the 14th day of June, A.D. 1877, Prof. W.D. Alexander, set before the Boundary Commissioner of Maui, an application to Certify the boundaries of several lands which have all been surveyed on the Island of Lanai. They being, "Palawai" of W.M. Gibson Esq. "Kaohai" of Her Highness R. Keelikolani; "Kalulu" and "Kamoku," Crown Lands; "Kamao," "Kealia," "Pawili," & "Kaunolu," Government Lands.

²⁸M. D. Monsarrat (Surveyor) to W. D. Alexander (Surveyor General), June 2, 1877, Hawai'i State Archives, DAGS 6 Box 1 - Survey.

Ma ka la 17 o Sepatemaba, A.D. 1877, ua noho ka Aha a ke Komisina e hoolohe no ke noi maluna'e. O M.D. Monsarrat (Hope Ana Aina Aupuni) ka mea i hiki mai ma ka aoao o ka mea noi. A no ka mea hoi nana no i Ana ia mau aina apau. A ua hoomana pu ia mai no hoi oia e Jno. O. Dominis e lawelawe imua o ke Komisina ma na mea e pili ana i na Aina Lei Alii ma Lanai.

Hoohikiia a olelo mai:

Na'u no i Ana keia mau aina a pau; ua hele pu au me na kamaaina ma na palena apau o keia mau Aina. A ua lokahi lakou apau, ua pono, a ua pololei ka'u ana ana. O Rev. N. Pali ko'u alakai nui nana i kuhikuhi, a ua make iho nei kekahi. No ka hiki ole ana mai o Pali i keia la, ua hoopono ka Aha a hiki mai oia noho hou.

Ma ka la 30 o Sepatemaba 1877, ua hiki mai o Pali, a ua noho hou ka Aha. Hoohikiia o Pali a olelo mai:

O Pali au, he kamaaina au no Lanai, na ko'u mau makua i kuhikuhi mai ia'u. A no ko'u noho konohiki ana hoi malalo o Kauikeaouli maopopo loa ia'u na palena. Noho Konohiki au no "Kalulu," "Kamoku." He mau aina Aupuni o Kamao, Kealia, Pawili, ame Kaunolu. Maopopo loa ia'u.¹

¹ Palawai Ahupuaa, Island of Lanai, Boundary Commission Volume No. 1, p. 108-110, No. 34, Keena Kiaaina o Maui, Lahaina, September 17, 1877.

² Translated by Maly.

The following is from the Boundary Commission. It certifies the boundaries determined through the survey of Monsarrat.

Olelo Hooholo

Ke hooholo nei au. O na palena o na aina apau ma Lanai i anaia e M.D. Monsarrat, oia hoi o "Palawai" no W.M. Gibson, "Kaohai" no ka Mea Kiekie R. Keelikolani, "Kalulu" a me "Kamoku" he mau aina Lei Alii ame

On the 17th day of September, A.D. 1877, the Commission convened to hear the above applications. M.D. Monsarrat (Assistant Government Surveyor) was present on behalf of the applicant. Also as the one who Surveyed all of the lands. Jno, O Dominis was authorized to bring the matter forward to the Commission by those adjoining the Crown Lands on Lanai.

Sworn and stated:

I surveyed all these lands; I went along all the boundaries of these lands with natives. They were all in agreement, My surveys are correct and true. Rev. N. Pali was my primary guide, he pointed out things, others have since passed away.

Because Pali did not arrive this day, the Commission moved Await his arrival before reconvening.

On the 30th day of September, 1877, Pali arrived, and The Commission reconvened. Pali Sworn and stated:

I am Pali. I am a native of Lanai, my parents pointed them (the boundaries) out to me. And as a result of my having been Land overseer under Kauikeaouli, the boundaries are known to me. I was the Konohiki of "Kalulu" and "Kamoku." Kamao, Kealia, Pawili, and Kaunolu are Government lands. I know them well.²

Decision

I hereby move. The boundaries of all the lands on Lanai, surveyed by M.D. Monsarrat, they being, "Palawai" of W.M. Gibson, "Kaohai" of Her Highness, R. Keelikolani, "Kalulu" and "Kamoku" Crown

"Kamao," "Kealia," "Pawili" & "Kaunolu" he mau aina Aupuni, e like me na ana pakahi i hoikeia maloko nei, ua pono a ua pololei.

Kakauia ma Lahaina i keia la 30 o Sept. 1877.

Komisina P. A. Apana Elua, ko H. P. A.¹

¹ Boundary Commission Volume No. 1, Palawai Ahupua'a, Island of Lanai, p. 113.

² Commissioner of Land Boundaries.

³ Translated by Maly.

The following are the metes and bounds surveyed by Monsarrat of Kamoku Ahupua'a.

Commencing at a pile of stones over a cross cut in a large stone on South side of Kaumalalapa 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 red wood 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 Kawaonahela'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 red wood post. Thence:
8. N 45° 49' E true 1067.9 feet along Kalulu across valley passing to the S. E. of a water hole 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 red wood 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 red wood 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:
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 1877.²⁹

An Interior Department letter from 1878 gives a list of the lands and length of coastline of Lāna'i. It states that Kamoku, a crown land, has 1.54 mi. of coastline.³⁰

The following is a series of correspondence regarding Walter M. Gibson's desire to lease government lands on Lāna'i. The first is a letter written by Gibson in which he first expresses his desire to lease Lāna'i land.

On March 23, 1866, Walter M. Gibson applied to the Minister of the Interior, F. W. Hutchinson, for a lease on the government lands on Lāna'i, including lands in Kamoku. With his application, Gibson submitted a sketch map, included here as figure 28.

In compliance with your request I have the honor to lay before the Department, a statement respecting Government lands on Lanai.

There are six ahupuaas of land belonging to Government on the island, named: Kamao, Paawili, Kealia, Kalulu, Kaunolu, and Kamoku; comprising about 24,000 acres, with a population of 80 persons. About one eighth of this surface is good arable "dry" land; perhaps one half is more or less adapted for grazing; and the remaining three eights, the portion bordering on the beach, an utter barren waste.

I made application to the Department in October 1862 to lease all of these lands. My application was favorably entertained by the Department, but owing to want of proper surveys, a lease was not made out at the time, as I was

²⁹Kamoku Ahupua'a, District of Lahaina, Island of Lanai, Boundary Commission, Maui, Volume No. 1, p. 114-115. No. 37—A. Survey of the Crown Land of "Kamoku" Lanai.

³⁰Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Letter Book, Vol. 15:110.



Figure 28: Sketch map of Lāna'i by W. M. Gibson, May 23, 1866 (Hawaii State Archives).

informed by letter, written by authority of His Majesty, then Minister. A copy of this letter, dated Feb. 20th, 1863 is enclosed.

Feeling myself fortified by a guarantee from the Department, I proceeded to make improvements; to enclose lands with stone wall, to make roads, construct dwelling for laborers, and cultivate on the Government lands, until my operations were interrupted by a lease of Kamoku, the most important of these lands, by the Department, to another party. I had expended much labor on Kamoku, which was thus rendered fruitless.

However, I would still propose to the Government to lease the five lands, Kamao, Paawili, Kealia, Kalulu, and Kaunolu. They are now mere commons, upon which roam many thousand head of sheep and goats that do not yield one cent of revenue to the Government. . .

Accompanying this, a rough draft map of Lanai.³¹

Six months later, on September 18, 1866, Gibson applied again to the Minister of the Interior.

I beg to be informed if the Government lands in this island have been rented or leased. A certain number of natives whom I opposed in their destruction of the little shrubbery of the island, in order to make charcoal, assert that the land is in their possession, and have attempted to subject me to a great deal of annoyance.

I cannot believe in the truth of their assertion that such a lease has been made, in view of the pledge given to me by your predecessor in office, his Majesty.

I am not at all anxious to lease all the Government lands on Lanai. The bulk of these lands, comprised in the districts named Kaunolu, Kalulu and Kamoku, can be better utilized by the native residents at present, and I should waive any pretensions I may have in respect to them; but the smaller lands of Kamao, Paawili, and Kealia, which comprise about one fourth of the Govt. lands, I desire to lease, as they adjoin my own lands.

Your Excellency will observe in the rough draft map I left at the Interior Office, that the lands of Pawili and Kealia are enclosed between my lands of Palawai and Kealia Kapu. Kamao is a barren corner, lying between my lands Palawai, and the leased land Kaohai. There are not more than half a dozen families residing on these small lands, and little or no stock upon them, and they may be properly detached from the bulk of the Govt. lands on the Western half of the island, where the chief part of the population resides.

I trust that some equitable adjustment of these lands will shortly be made, and I beg to be notified respecting any contemplated disposal of them by lease or otherwise . . .

P.S. It is proper to mention that I have made improvements on Kamao, Pawili, and Kealia, and it would be an act of gross injustice were I to be dispossessed

³¹Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Lands.

of the advantages to be derived from them, without being allowed a proper opportunity to enter into competition for leasing the lands upon which the improvements are situated, especially in view of the solemn pledge given me by the Interior Department.³²

The following correspondences detail the matter of leasing government lands on Lāna'i to Gibson. The first is from Chas. T. Gulick, Interior Department clerk, to P. Nahaolelua, the governor of Maui and regards the receipt of Gibson's application. The attached sketch mentioned is included here as figure 29.

Ua loa mai i ke Keena nei, he palapala noi na Walter Murray Gibson (Kipekona) e makemake ana e hoolimalima i ke kahi mau Aina Aupuni ma Lanai. Eia ko lokou mau inoa: Kamao, Pawili, Kealia Aupuni, Kaunolu ame Kalulu. I ke wa ia L. Kamehameha ke Kalaiaina, ua ae mai no oia iaia no ka hoolimalima i ua mau aina nei, a mahope iho o kona pa ana a me ka hana ana i ke kau wahi pono maluna o ka aina, aka, i kona noho alii ana, ua hoonele ia, ua o Kipekona. Ua waiho pu mai no hoi o Kipekona i ka palapala a Stephen Spencer, ke kakauolelo a ke Kuhina Kalaiaina e hooia aku ana ia Kipekona i ka ae ana o ke 'Iii, oiai kona wa e noho ana ma ka Oihana. E nana iho oe iloko o keia hana a e hoike koke mai i kou manao e pili ana no kana noi. Ke hooili ia aku nei he kii, e hoomaopopoana i ka waiho ana o na Aina. Aole no he kii pololei loa aka ma ke ano nui no nae.¹

1 Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Book, Volume 12:251-252.

2 Translated by Maly.

Governor Nahaolelua replies to Gulick with the following, dated May 28, 1873, which essentially asks that the lease request by Gibson be denied so as not to deprive the natives of access to the lands. Nahaolelua plainly expresses that Gibson is an untrustworthy individual. Gibson had claimed no more than a half-dozen families resided on the lands; however, Nahaolelua says that "quite a number of natives" live on the lands, who would thus be dispossessed should Gibson acquire the lease.

Ua loa mai ia'u kau palapala o ka la 26 o nei malama e pli ana i ka Palapala noi a

I received your letter of the 26th day of this month, relative to the application of

³²Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Lands.



Figure 29: Sketch map depicting disposition of lands of Lanai by W. M. Gibson, May 26, 1873 (Hawaii State Archives).

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 hoakaka ai ina kumu i nele ai o Gibson i ua mau aina nei i 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, Puih ae la o Gibson i ke ahi a pau loa aku ka mauu o ka aina i ka 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 Gibson, aka, aole i mahiia ua wahi nei i pau i ke ahi, ua lohe 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 Hoolina. 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

W. Gibson, “to lease some lands on Lanai,” these being their names, Kamao, Pawili, Kealia, Kaunolu and Kalulu.

And that 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 on Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Maui, and 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 be-

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 hoookuuia 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 acia 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.¹

¹ Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Lands.

² Translated by Maly.

Governor Nahaolelua writes again to Gulick on June 5, 1873.

Ua loaia mai ia'u kau palapala o ka la 2, o June nei, ua ike au i na mea i haia mai. He nui io no ka poe e noho ana ma kekahi o keia mau aina o Kalulu, ame Kaunolu, a ma Pawili kekahi mau mea, a o Kamao ame Kealia, aole maopopo loa ia ia'u, no ka mea ua ano huikau ko lakou noho ana.

A ma ka ninau hoi no ko lakou mau kuleana a noho hoolimalima paha, he kuleana no kakahu poe o lakou, aka he kuleana liliu no.

came 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, they are still on Lanai who saw Gibson doing this.

Therefore, I am only letting you know what I think, that the lease to this fellow 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.²

Your letter of the 2nd day of June was received, and I note what is said. It is true that there are quite a number of persons living on some of these lands of Kalulu and Kaunolu, and there are some on Pawili, and I am not quite familiar with Kamao and Kealia, because their living together is rather mixed up.

As to inquiry about their awards or occupancy under lease. Some of them have awards, but they are small ones. Therefore, they leased these lands from the Gov-

Nolaila, ua hoolimalima no kakou i ua mau aina nei me ke Aupuni mamuli no nae o ke Kauoha a ke Kuhina Kalaiaina ia'a e like no me keia manawa. A no ka'u mau wahi holoholona o wau no kekahi i uku ia Hoolimalima ana.

Iloko oia hoolimalima ana, ua hookaa pono no kanaka ina makahiki Eha, a i ka lima o ka makahiki, ua koe nae \$265. i kaa ole mai, a o ka nui o na Dala i kaa mai \$1735.00. Oia iho la ka loaia ame ke koena.

Ina no e lilo o Kalulu ame Kaunolu ia Gibekona a kahi no ia i lehulehu ai ona kanaka, aole no he nui loa o na kanaka ma Lanai, oia wale no ka'u mea hai aku.¹

¹ Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Lands.

² Translated by Maly.

Governor Nahaolelua writes the following to the Minister of the Interior, E. O. Hall, on June 13, 1873.

Ua loaia mai ia'u kau palapala, ua ike au ina olelo i haia mai. E pono nae e helu aku au ia oe ina aina o Lanai a pau: Pawili, Kamao, eha Kealia, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Kamoku & Paomai, pau na aina aupuni a lilo aku la ia Gibesona, Eono aina, a koe iho la Ekolu aina.

Aka, ua pono iho la no ia e like me ka mea i holo ia oukou, a o ka uku Kupono i ko'u manai oia mau aina eono, Elua Haneri Dala i ka makahiki, a o na aina hou i koe no ka hoolimalima mua, Elua Haneri ia. Oia ko'u manao...¹

¹ Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Lands.

² Translated by Maly.

E. O. Hall responds to Governor Nahaolelua on June 16, 1873 with the following letter, which proposes a rental rate to be paid by Gibson for government lands on Lāna'i.

Ua loaia mau kau palapala o ka la 13 o lune nei. Me neia na manao o ke 'Lii a me na Kuhina, no na aina ma Lanai.

ernment but under the instructions of the Minister of the Interior to me, the same as now. And about my animals, I too have paid towards said lease.

During that lease, the natives paid properly for four years, and during the fifth year, there was a balance of \$265. which remained unpaid. The amount of money that was paid was \$1735.00 that is the receipts and the balance.

If Kalulu and Kaunolu are given to Gibson, those are the places where there are a number of natives. There are not very many natives on Lanai. That is all I wish to tell you.²

I received your letter, and noted what is said therein.

I have better give you a list of all the lands on Lanai: Pawili, Kamao, four Kealia, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Kamoku & Paomai. These are all the Government lands, and Gibson has acquired six lands, and three lands remain.

But it is all right according to what have been decided by you people. And the proper rent for these six lands, according to my belief, is Two Hundred Dollars per annum, and for the remaining lands for the first lease Two Hundred. That is what I think.²

Your letter of the 13th of June, has been received. This is the opinion of the King and the Ministers, regarding lands of Lanai.

O na aina o Kaunolu a me Kalulu, no na makaainana ia mau aina, a nau no e ohi i na dala, e like ma na makahiki i hala.

O na aina o Kealia, Pawili 2, a me Kamao, e hoolimalima ia Gibesona no na dala \$100.00 i ka makahiki. Pehea ia?

O ka aina o Kamoku, ua lilo i ka Pake; pela kuu lohe. Pehea? Ehia mak. ka lilo ana, a ehia dala i ka mak.

O ka aina o Mahana, he aina aupuni ia. Ia wai la ka lilo ana i keia manawa? Ua manao ia C. Kanaina. Aole ka.

O Paomai, ua ninau no wau ia oe no keia aina. E pane mai, ke oluolu oe ...²

¹ In the context of the land description it appears that Pawili 2 is the section of Pāwili that runs into the basin, between Pālāwai and Keālia Aupuni. Based on surveys and testimony, this section of Pāwili crosses from windward to leeward Lāna'i, but on the leeward side is cut off from the coast near the 'Eho'ehonui boundary marker.

² Hawai'i State Archives, Interior Department Book, Volume 12:276.

³ Translated by Maly.

Then, in 1899, after the death of Gibson, Gibson's estate trustee Cecil Brown wrote to J. F. Brown, the Commissioner of Public Lands, to extend the lease of government lands of Lāna'i.

Cecil Brown Administrator and Trustee of the Estate of W.M. Gibson, deceased, with the Will annexed. Hereby makes tender the surrender to the Hawaiian Land Commission, leases held by the Estate of W.M. Gibson of Government lands as follows to wit on condition hereafter stated.

1. Lease No. 168 of the lands of Pawili, Kamao and Kealia Aupuni Rental \$150.00 per Annum. Expires June 23rd, 1908.
2. Lease No. 220 Lands of Mahana, Rental \$100.00 per Annum. Expires November 1st, 1907.
3. Lease No. 279 Land of Kaunolu, Rental \$250.00 per Annum. Expires February 9th, 1907.

Also the land of Kalulu as tenant at will, Rental \$200.00 per annum.

The Estate paying for the four leases \$700.00 per annum.

It is hereby proposed to surrender the said leases provided a new lease will be granted for the whole area of lands in said four leases be granted to the Administrator of said Estate of W.M. Gibson at an annual rental of Twenty Five Hundred (\$2500.00) Dollars for a term of lease of Twenty One years from date hereof.

To be granted without Competition.

The lands of Kaunolu and Kalulu, the residents shall occupy those lands, and that you collect the rent of same, as had been the custom for the past years.

The lands of Kealia, Pawili 2¹ and Kamao, shall be leased to Gibson at \$100.00 a year. How about that?

The land of Kamoku is occupied by a Chinaman, so I hear. How many years was it leased for, and how much a year?

That land of Mahana is a Government land. Who is occupying it at the present time? It was thought that C. Kanaina had it. It is not so.

As to Paomai, I have already inquired of you in regard to this land. Would you kindly reply ...³

J. F. Brown writes to Sanford B. Dole, proposing that grazing and *sugarcane* cultivation might be possible on the lands leased to the W. M. Gibson Estate in the following letter, dated March 9, 1899.

Enclosed please find copy of an application on behalf of W.M. Gibson Estate for surrender and for releasing of certain Public Lands held by Gibson Estate on the Island of Lanai.

The total area concerned in this application is about 29,341 acres.

The larger part of this is grazing and mountain land but a portion on a rough estimate not less than 2000 acres might be adapted to cane growing if supplied with water. This area of 2000 acres, say below 600 feet level, would be found on the lands of Mahana, Kaunolu and Kalulu named above, these being on N.E. side where plantation site is proposed. The lands of Paawili, Kamao and Kealia may or may not be included in proposed plantation site. If so included, the possible cane area would be largely increased. I do not understand that any authority exists under the law for the lease without competition asked for by applicants, but for the satisfaction of applicants who desire the matter to be brought before the Executive, I would respectfully refer the same to their opinion at a convenient early date.³³

The document below conveys lands (fee-simple and leasehold), livestock, and personal property on the island of Lāna'i from the Gibson Estate to Charles Gay, as ordered by court decision.

This Indenture made this 28th day of August A.D. 1902, between Albert Barnes, Commissioner, of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii of the first part, and Charles Gay of Makaweli, Island of Kauai, in said Territory, of the second part.

Whereas, in proceedings duly taken in the Circuit Court of the First Judicial Circuit of said Territory at Chambers in Equity, by and between Gustave Kunst, designs of S.M. Damon, J.H. Fisher, and H.E. Waity, copartners under the firm name of Bishop & Company, Plaintiffs and H.N. Pain and Elise S. U. Neumann, sole devisee and Executive under the last Will and testament of Paul Neumann, deceased, and Henry Holmes, Trustee of Elsie S.V. Neumann, and S.M. Damon, S.E. Damon and H.E. Waity, copartners doing business under the firm name and style of Bishop & Company defendants to enforce the Decree of Foreclosure and Sale theretofore made and filed in the suit of S.M. Damon et al vs. Cecil Brown, Administrator with the Will annexed of Walter Murray Gibson and Trustees of the Estate of said Walter Murray Gibson, deceased, under said Will et al., it was ordered adjudged and decreed by an order made on the 24th day of June A.D. 1902 by the Honorable George D. Gear, Second Judge of the said Circuit Court that the said Decree of Foreclosure and Sale be enforced by a sale of all and singular the real and personal property and assets of the estate

³³FO & Ex. 1899 Pub Lands Comm.

of the said Walter Murray Gibson, deceased, hereinafter set forth, and that the same be sold at public auction in said Honolulu at the front door of the Court House (Aliiolani Hale), by and under the direction of the said Albert Barnes, who was by said Decree appointed a Commissioner to sell the said property and was duly authorized to give public notice of, make arrangements for and conduct the sale as set forth in said order.

And whereas, the said Commissioner, pursuant to the said order and direction, after giving public notice of the time and place of sale as in said order required did, on the sixteenth day of August A.D. 1902, at the front door of the Court House (Aliiolani Hale) in said Honolulu expose to sale at public auction all and singular the said premises and property with the appurtenances at which sale the said premises and property hereinafter described were sold to the said Charles Gay for the sum of One Hundred and Eight Thousand Dollars (\$108,000.00) that being the highest sum bid for the same, and Whereas the proceedings of said Commissioner in the premises were duly reported to the said court, and the sale approved and confirmed on the 25th day of August A.D. 1902, as by the records of said court more fully appears, and the said Commissioner was thereupon by an order of said court then made, directed to execute to said Charles Gay a conveyance of said premises and property, pursuant to the sale so made as aforesaid...

And the said Albert Barnes, Commissioner, as aforesaid, doth hereby covenant with the said Charles Gay and his heirs and assigns that notice of the time and place of said sale was given according to the order of said Court, and that the said premises and property were sold accordingly at public auction as above set forth.

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...

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...

Leases

First. All leases of land on the Island of Lanai held by said Walter Murray Gibson on August 31st, 1887, so far as he had the right to assign the same without incurring any forfeiture...

Personal Property

First. All those flocks of sheep on the 20th 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 20th 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, and their said increase save and except such sheep, cattle and wool as have been sold with the consent of the said plaintiff.

Second. All wool presses, wagons, carts, harnesses, tools implements, chattels and effects belonging to said Walter Murray Gibson on said August 31st, 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 the said Albert Barnes has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written.³⁴

2.2.4 Ranching Operations on Lānaʻi, 1854–1951

Goats, sheep, cattle, the European boar, and horses were introduced to the islands between 1778 and 1810. During those early years, Kamehameha I and his chiefs placed *kapu* over the newly introduced animals to ensure that their populations would grow. In the fifty-year period from 1780 to the 1830s, populations of these non-native animals—like the *hipa* (sheep) and *puaʻa bipi* or *pipi* (wild steer or cattle), and *kao* (goats)—grew to become a great nuisance to the Hawaiian population, and had devastating effects on the Hawaiian environment.

Records indicate that the first of these introduced ungulates were brought to Lānaʻi around the 1830s, where a few native tenants, living under landed chiefs, managed the populations. In 1848, a new system of land management was instituted in the Hawaiian Kingdom, and individuals of means were granted large tracts of land. When fee-simple title to land was granted to native Hawaiians and foreign residents who had sworn oaths of allegiance to the king, formal efforts at controlling the *hipa*, *pipi*, *kao*, and other grazers were initiated.

Ranching was a part of Lānaʻi's history for close to 100 years, in the period from ca. 1854 until closure of the ranch in 1951. Initially, Mormon elders brought livestock to Lānaʻi as a part of their effort to establish a mission in the uplands at Pālāwai. In 1862, Walter Murray Gibson took over the Mormon settlement, and focused the livestock efforts on herds of sheep and goats, of which nearly 100,000 roamed the island, almost uncontrolled by the 1890s. As a result, Lānaʻi suffered from rapid deforestation and a drying up of the island's water resources. This impacted every other aspect of life on Lānaʻi and was one of the contributing factors to the continual decline in the native population of the island.

From 1910 to 1951, Lānaʻi ranch operations focused on cattle and a steady decline in the population of other livestock. The steady transition to cattle grazing led to the

³⁴Bureau of Conveyances, Liber 242, p. 91-95.

eradication of tens of thousands of goats, sheep, and pigs—many driven over the cliffs of Ka'āpahu in Ka'a—in an effort to reduce impacts on the steadily decreasing pasturage. In 1914, the *Mauī News* reported on a visit by rancher-investor J. T. McCrosson to Lāna'i under the heading "Big Improvements on Lanai." McCrosson makes specific reference to the leeward pastures on the island, extending from the 150 ft. to 1,000 ft. elevation.

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.³⁵

In 1929, L. A. Henke published *A Survey of Livestock in Hawaii* [32], which included the following description of the Lāna'i Ranch operations. Henke notes that a water line system and extensive fences were made on the island. Describing the basic ranching operations on Lāna'i, Henke reported

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.

³⁵ *Mauī News*, October 24, 1914, p. 5, c. 1.

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 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. [32:51-52]

The ranch ended operations in 1951 when the Hawaiian Pineapple Company decided to focus all its efforts on the pineapple plantation.

2.2.5 Hawaiian Pineapple Company

James Dole, owner of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, purchased the island of Lāna'i on December 5, 1922. The purchase price of the island was \$1.1 million. Nearly \$2 million was spent on improvements to the island, for the development of macadamized roads and the town of Lāna'i City. In 1926, Dole hosted a tour of the plantation and developing city. The 150-person tour of politicians, businessmen, and friends were impressed with the progress that had been made in the short time on Lāna'i [48].

Lāna'i had been often overlooked because the appearance of the island from offshore was dry and desolate, but Dole saw that inland are some arable lands. There were 20,000 acres of land suited to pineapple on the island of Lāna'i—Hawaiian Pineapple Company considered it as the last of the desirable acreage left in Hawai'i. The soil and conditions were desirable, but many improvements had to be made. Many miles of cactus had to be dragged out and removed from the landscape. The Hawaiian Pineapple Company

built a harbor at Kaumalapau with a breakwater made of a solid rock cliff that they had busted and transferred. Roads from the fields to the harbor were paved. One of Hawaiian Pineapple Company's old photos shows neat rows of pineapple, with Lāna'i City in the background. Lāna'i City was developed for the workers that were brought over [31:17-23].

2.2.6 Kihamāniania and the Kō'ele Vicinity

Situated on the edge of Lāna'i City, on the side of Iwi'ole and the old Cavendish golf course, are found the ruins of the oldest historic structure in Lāna'i City. Under the growth of *ironwood* and *Christmas berry* trees are the walls, made of stone and coral mortar, of an old church and schoolhouse, on which construction began in 1840. On the *makai* side of the ruins is an historic cemetery, marked only by some simple stone alignments and depressions in the ground (fig. 30).



Figure 30: Kihamāniania ruins as they appeared in 2008. Photo courtesy of Kumu Pono Associates.

While the Kihamāniania vicinity was the main upland settlement on Lāna'i in the early to mid-nineteenth century, by the late 1860s the population was dispersed. In the 1870s, business interests, in the form of ranching, became established in the Kō'ele vicinity, and the Kihamāniania Church and schoolhouse fell into disuse. Based on the recollections of elder *kama'āina*, we know that the cemetery continued to be used by native families in the area through the early 1900s. To date, we have found only limited documentation pertaining to the construction and uses of this site, but we anticipate that, upon completion of the research project being undertaken as a part of the work leading to the development of the Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center, we will uncover more interesting historical facts.

At present, we rely upon a few historical accounts of the Kihamāniania area, dating from 1840 to 1917, and the memory of elder *kama'āina* of Lāna'i, who learned about the location from their *kūpuna*, to tell some of this story.

For individuals who may be interested in the Hawaiian language, we also include native texts as published in their original sources, with translations of the same prepared by Kepā Maly.

Kaliliaumoku, the resident teacher at Kihamāniania in the 1840s, wrote the following article to readers of the Hawaiian newspaper *Ka Nonanona* in which he described the difficulty in getting the stone house for the church and school constructed:

Auheha oukou e ka poe kukulu luakini o keia pae aina, e nana mai oukou i ka makou hana ana i keia luakini; o ka ha keia o ka makahiki o ka hana ana o keia hale, aole i paa, ua hiolo kekahi aoao, ke hana hou nei nae makou, ke halihali nei makou i ke one; ua moa ka puna; o ka uhau hou koe.

I ko'u nana ana ma keia hana, nui ka hemahema: eia ka loihi o kahi o ka wai i waiho ai, hookahi mile a me ka hapa ka loihi o ka wai.

Eia ka loihi o ka puna a me ke one, eha mile a me ka hapa ka loihi ma ka aoao komohana, pela no hoi ke kii aku i ke one ma ka aoao hikina.

Eia ka loihi o ka pohaku, elua mile ka loihi.

Eia ka pohaku kokoke he kahi ilalo e like me ka ai, pela e loa'a'i ka pohaku, nui ka hemahema o ka makou hana.

Ke ake nei ko makou manao e paa ko makou luakini, kahi e hai ia ai ka olelo a ke Akua. Aole no hoi e pono loa ka hale maoli ma keia wahi, no ka nui o ke anuanu, aole e pono na malihini ke hele mai me kahi kihei wale no: eia ka pono me ke kapa mahuahua ka pono.

Nolaila o keia hale pohaku ka pono loa no keia wahi. Eia no keia hemahema, o ka laau ole, he kakaikahi ka laau loloa loa: aia eha kalooa, a me ka iwilei alaila hiki.

Hear ye, o people who build churches in these islands, you should look to us and our work at this church. This is the fourth year of work on this house. It is not completed. One side collapsed, and we have built it again. We had to carry the sand, bake the coral, and the building yet remains to be done.

As I look at this work, there are many problems. The place for the water is far away. The water is about one and one half miles distant.

Here is the distance for the coral and the sand. It is four and one half miles distant, on the south side, and also if it is gotten from the east side.

Here is the distance to the stones, two miles away.

Here the stones that are close, are gathered like the taro, that is how the stones are gathered. Our work is very unskilled.

In our thoughts, we desire to complete our church, a place in which the word of God may be spoken. The native houses are not adequate in this place, for it is very cold, and not good for the visitor come with only a shoulder wrap. Here is what is needed, a strong (thick) clothing.

Therefore there is a great need for the stone house in this place. Here also is this difficulty, there is no timber. The long wood for timber is but scattered about. If it was perhaps four (feet) long, and a yard, then it could be done.

Nui ko makou makemake e paa ko makou luakini i keia makahiki.

Aka, aole i ikeka ka manawa. O kekahi poe o makou i hana i keia hale, ua hele aku kekahi poe.

Ua make kekahi mau hoahanau ekolu i ai i ke kino o ka Haku.

O kekahi luakini o makou, aia ma ka aoao hikina o keia aina, aole hemahema loa e like me keia hale; ua kokoke no ka puna a me ke one, a me ka pohaku, a me ka wai, hookahi wale no mea hemahema, o ka wahie, oia wale no ka mea kii aku i kahi loihi.

Eia kahi olelo ninau, ina i manao oukou i kuu hoike ana i ka hemahema o keia hale, he pono paha, he hewa paha keia hoike ana a'u?

Na'u na Kaliliaumoku.

Kumu ao Kihamaniania.¹

¹ "The Difficulties of a Church on Lāna'i," *Ka Nonanona*, March 23, 1843, p. 106.

² Translated by Maly.

Shortly after the stone church and schoolhouses on Lāna'i were built, Reverends Cochran Forbes and Dwight Baldwin visited Lāna'i. This being Forbes's first visit, the scenery was new to him, and he took the time to describe the land and people in his journal. We cite the full entry here, as it places in context and relationship, the settlement of Kihamāniania with other settlements on Lāna'i.

Sept. 24. On the 20th left home about sunrise for Ranai [Lāna'i] in company with Bro. Baldwin. Kaoluloo took us over in his boat. We had a very pleasant sail, until within some 3 miles of the landing when the fresh trades spattered us a little.

We landed safely however, after about 3 hours sail, at Kaunolu [this being the section of Kaunolū on the Keōmoku side of the island], where there is a meeting house. The same evening we met with and preached to a congregation of about 125 persons, and next day held four meetings with them. They appeared very attentive to the truth. Our congregation was about 180 on the Sab.

Monday morning after meeting with them we went by canoe to Maunalei, the place of the teacher Waimalu. There we again met with the people of that neighborhood & prepared to ascend the mountains to visit the people on the south side. The north side is a miserable, arid barren rocky place, except a few rods of low sandy soil, evidently made by the wash of the sea, on which grows a sparse, coarse kind of grass.

We greatly desire to complete our church this year.

But it shall not be seen at this time. The people who are making this house, some of them have gone away.

Three of the brethren have died, and are in the body of the lord.

One church of ours is there on the eastern side of this island, it is not in difficulty like this house. It is close to the coral, the sand, the stones, and the water. The only difficulty is the fire wood, that is the only thing which is gotten from some distance away.

So here is a question, if you who think of my testimony about the difficulties of this house, is it right, or is it wrong what I have explained?

Done by me, Kaliliaumoku. Teacher at Kihamāniania.²

When we reached the high land we found the air much more cool & invigorating and after we had crossed the ridge the soil became better and vegetation more lively. There is an extensive piece of tableland there, perhaps 10 miles one way & 3 or 4 the other, on which are very few stones. There we spent the night & met with the people, near 200 in all who had come together to hear & see the strangers. Pali the Lunaauhau [tax collector] for the whole island resides at this place called Kihamaniania. His influence is manifestly good. We found several pious people around him & himself a good man. He told us that his little children only 6 & eight years old had read the Bible through. He also gave us a list of all the men-the women & children on the island, the whole numbering 584 inhabitants. Most of the chiln. are in school and very few of them who are 12 years old that cannot read.

The atmosphere was cool & invigorating at Kihamaniania. We spent the night there and early in the morning held another meeting with them, after which we left amid many greetings for the seaside at Kaohai, Pia's place.

We travelled constantly only stopping once to hold meetings at the place of Kamalulu [presumably in Pālāwai], who teaches a school and is Lunakanawai [Magistrate] for the whole island. He showed us his prison, after meeting. It was a large hole in the side of the hill, some 10 feet in diameter and about 20 feet deep. He said he put prisoners in there when they became rebellious and required punishment. Sometimes he had two in at once but rarely more than one.

He had a turkey baked for us and a fowl roasted which he set before us with sweet potatoes sufficient & two watermelons. After dinner we pursued our course over a rolling country of hill & valley and just as the sun reached the top of the hills which then fell behind us we began to descend to the sea, and by dark reached Kaohai, where Pia had the people of all that neighborhood assembled under some kou trees at his door, and though our feet & limbs ached with the journey we must first sit down and hold a meeting with them which we did & I trust good was done altho' we were all so tired that it was with difficulty we got about & got up when we once had sat a few minutes. Pia then had a decent supper set for us on a table with dishes, plates, knives & forks, & some of Sam & Mow's bread. After supper he had water poured into his bathing tub (a half hogshead or butt) from the sea where each of us bathed, which much refreshed us. We then retired for the night and enjoyed a refreshing sleep.

This morning again I talked to the people and after breakfast Pia got his whaleboat rigged and we started for Lahaina, having a gentle sea breeze. But the surf rolls in so heavily at Kaohai that it was with difficulty we got out. I was expecting two or three times to be swamped, but the boat rode through every surf safely so that by the goodness of God we got safely to sea and reached Lahaina safely before 12 o'clock, where we found our families all well after an absence of 4 ½ days. [15:168-169]

In a short article submitted to the native newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii* in 1856, we learn about the lesson work, and the names of the teachers at both Kihamāniana and Maunalei schools. At Kihamāniana, Solomon Kaho'ohalahala, who later became the island magistrate, was the resident teacher. The Kaho'ohalahala family still maintains its generational attachment and residency on Lāna'i.

E ka Hae Hawaii e:

Aloha oe:—I ka Poaha, oia ka la 25 o Dekemaba, he hoike kula ma Lanai nei. I ka hora eia o ke kakahiaka, o ke kula o Maunalei ka mua.

O S. Halekai ke kumu, 19 haumana: ma ka A 5; ma ka Heluhelu 14; ma ka Helunau 14; ma ka Hoikehonua 7; ma ka Huinahelu 7; ma ka Palapalaaina 7.

Hora 10 1/2, hoike ke kula o Kihamāniana, S. Kahoohalahala ke kumu, 34 haumana: ma ka A 22; ma ka Heluhelu 12; ma ka Palapalaaina 12; ma ka Huinahelu 12; ma ka Hoailonahelu 5; ma ka Pa ko li 9.

Nau na, R. Koiku.

Kahalepalaoa. Dek. 31, M.H. 1856.¹

¹ *Ka Hae Hawaii*, March 4, 1857.

² Translated by Maly.

In the following two short articles, penned by native residents, associates of church in the Lahaina District, we learn that the Kihamāniana Church and School, as well as that at Maunalei, had fallen into disuse, disrepair, and had become home to goats, sheep, and dogs. The first article is called “Luakini ole ma Lanai” which means “There is no church on Lāna'i.”

Ma ka mokupuni au o Lanai i loko o na la mua o Sepatemaba ma ka la Sapati ua hele au i ka pule ma Maunalei, aia malaila kahi e hoomoana ai na Ekalesia me kuu manao he Luakini malaila, i ko'u ike ana he lanai wale no a puni, he hakahaka a nahaha ma kau wahi, he opala a he lepo kahi e noho ai, a he nui na ilio i komo pu, a noho pu me na Ekalesia a e nui ana na Kao a me na hipa ke hiki i ka wa ua, a pela no mauka o Kihamāniana, he hale pohaku a paa loa i ka wa e ola ana o Kaliliaumoku, a me Malulu a

To the Hae Hawaii:

Aloha to you:—On Thursday, that is the 25th day of December, there was a school exhibition on Lāna'i. It was at nine o'clock in the morning, and Maunalei school was the first.

S. Halekai is the teacher, there are 19 students: 5 in Science; 14 in Reading; 14 in Mental Arithmetic; 7 in Geography; 7 in General Arithmetic; and 7 in Mapping.

At 10:30 o'clock, the School at Kihamāniana did its exhibition. S. Kahoohalahala is the teacher, and there are 34 students: 22 in Science; 12 in Reading; 12 in Mapping; 12 in General Arithmetic; 5 in Written Arithmetic; and 9 in music.

Done by me, R. Koiku.

Kahalepalaoa. Dec. 31, 1856.²

I was on the island of Lāna'i in the first days of September. On the Sabbath day I went to the service at Maunalei, for there is a place established there in the Church, and I thought that there was a Church there. But when I saw it, there was only a shelter, for it is broken apart and scattered about. There is rubbish and dirt where one sits, and there are many dogs which enter as well, and reside in the Church. There are also many goats and sheep that enter in when it rains. It is the same at Ki-

i keia wa ua lilo i hale holoholona...

hamāniana, where there is a stone house made in the time when Kaliliaumoku and Malulu were living. But in this time, it has become a house for animals...

S. W. Nailiili.

Puehuehu, Lahaina.¹

¹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 20, 1866, p. 4.

² Translated by Maly.

The second article is entitled “Ka holo ana e Kaapuni ia Hawaii...” which translates as “A Journey around Hawaii...”

Okatopa 21. Ua loa na waapa e holo ana i Lanai, a poeleele e holo ai o Mrs. Kapuhonua a me Luku, ua kauoha mai o Lota Kuaihelani ia'u e malama ia laua ma Lanai. Aole no he lalau o laua ma keia hele ana, a aumoe kau ai ma Manele, a malama ia e ke kaikaina o Mr. Pualewa.

October 21. A boat was gotten to travel to Lāna'i. It was dark when Mrs. Kapuhonua, Luku (and I), sailed. Lot Kuaihelani instructed me to care for them on Lāna'i. That they should not wander about. Around midnight we landed at Mānele, and were cared for by the younger brother of Mr. Pualewa.

Okatopa 23. Ma ke awakea, ua lawe ia mai na lio ekolu no makou, a pii aku makou i uka o Kihamanienie, ua mahalo au ia uka o Lanai, he aina maikai ia he lepo o uka, aole he aa nui, he maikai wale no. O Lanai ka oi o na mokupuni uuku o ka maikai loa.

October 23. At noon, we took three horses for ourselves, and we ascended to Kihamānienie. I admire the uplands of Lāna'i, it is a good land. There is dirt in the uplands, not lots of stones, it is very good. Lāna'i is foremost of the good, small islands.

Okatopa 24. Ua hele nui mai na kanaka e lohe i na mea hou, a pau ka'u hai ana, ua haawi mai lakou i na dala \$4.00. Eia ko'u kahaha. Aole he halepule maemae ma Lanai, ua nahaha o Kihamanienie, he moe ia e na kao i ka wa ua. Aloha nui me Rev. N. Pali a me S. Kahoohalahala...

October 24. Many people came together to hear the news, and my speaking was completed, they gave \$4.00. Here is what astonished me. There is not a clean church on Lāna'i. Kihamānienie is broken apart, and the goats sleep in it when it rains. Aloha nui to Rev. N. Pali and S. Kaho'ohalahala...

(By Rev. Kaukau)²

(na Rev. Kaukau)¹

¹ *Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 16, 1867, p. 4.

² Translated by Maly.

In 1917, members of the Congregational Churches visited Lāna'i. One of the visitors was the part-Hawaiian Reverend Steven Desha, who had also visited Lāna'i in his youth. In an article published in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, Desha described the Kihamāniana-Kō'ele vicinity, and the relationship of the Kihamāniana facility to others on the island of Lāna'i. An excerpt from Desha's Hawaiian texts and the translation follow below. The article is entitled “Ka Huakai i na Hono a Piilani.”

He mau makahiki i ke ola ana o ka mea e kakau nei keia huakai i hooahala ai ma keia Mokupuni o Kaululāau 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 ko'u 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 Kaululāau. 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...¹

¹ *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, October 11, 1917, p. 3.

² Translated by Maly.

In 1921, Kenneth Emory conducted his survey of cultural resources on Lāna'i. During the course of his fieldwork, he visited Kihamāniana and took a photograph of the site (fig. 31). His photograph shows us a very different setting than the one we see today. More of the walls were standing, and the ground about the area was completely open, clear of trees, with only low grass surrounding the region. This was a result of years of sheep and cattle grazing, for these lands made up some of the important pasturage of the Lanai Ranch. Of the Kihamāniana ruins, Emory reported

Two Protestant stone meeting houses were begun on Lanai in 1842. One of them was finished in 1851 and represents the ruins at Kihamaniania, near Koele. The other church, at Maunalei, seems not to have been finished in 1858. [13:9]

2.2.7 Kama'āina Knowledge

Over the years, members of elder Hawaiian families of Lāna'i have passed down their recollections that, at one time, the lands around Kihamāniana (the Kō'ele vicinity) were an important area of residence for the people of Lāna'i. In traditional times, the lands in the Kihamāniana, Kō'ele, Kaiholena, and Nininiwai area were noted for their agricultural

There were some years past in the young life of the writer of this journey to the Island of Kaululā'au, a time when there were six school houses on this island. There was one at Awalua; one at Paomai, the place where my family resided; one at Maunalei; one close to Kahalepalaoa; one in the uplands at Kihamāniana; and one at Pālawai. 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 Kaululā'au. Now, upon seeing it once again, those places have no people, it is without people. All about, the land is silent...²



Figure 31: Kihamāniana Church and School ruins in 1921. Source: Kenneth Emory Collection. Copy work courtesy of Robin Kaye, 1975.

resources which supported the life of the people. This was in part a result of the environmental conditions of the region, and the traditional place names, themselves, tell us something about the environment.

Kō'ele Pronounced with a long ō, and a break between the ō and e. Elder *kama'āina* of Lāna'i say that Kō'ele was named because of the cool, moisture-laden breeze and clouds which blow off of Lāna'i Hale, darkening the land. In this case, *kō* means windborne, the *'ele* means darkness (Kō'ele — Darkness-borne upon the wind). These dark mists carried with them. The life-giving waters which settled upon the land, and made it an area capable of sustaining the people of the land.

Kiha-māniana Also written Kiha-mānienie, is said to describe someone sneezing in fits. The name was perhaps given as a result of the cold, moist nights of the area.

Ka'iholena Named for a native type of banana (The-iholena), which was a choice crop of the area.

Ninini-wai Describes the dripping (pouring) water, resulting from the moist clouds and mist which came down the mountain slopes, and enabled the cultivation of crops.³⁶

In the early 1970s, Abraham Pi'ianāi'a—an elder Hawaiian descendant of the chief Pi'ianāi'a that resided on Lāna'i during the occupation by Kamehameha I—said that in his *'ohana*, there was a tradition about Kihamāniana in times before the making of the church and school. Abraham's father and sister were both born on Lāna'i in the late nineteenth century, and are descended from the Chinese resident who at one time held the government lease on Kamoku Ahupua'a.

³⁶From Kepā Maly's notes and personal communications with elder members of the Cockett, Ka'ōpūiki, Kaula, Kauwēna'ole, and Richardson families in the 1970s and 2006.

2.2.8 Lāna'i City

The story of Lāna'i City begins when James Dole purchased nearly the entire island of Lāna'i in November 1922, as a part of the holdings of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, Ltd. Prior to 1922, the lands on which the city would be built had been grazed as part of the old Lāna'i Ranch operations, and a large horse paddock at Kaumaikahōkū dominated the pre-city landscape. Plans for building Lāna'i City were drawn up in early 1923, as Dole and his partners set out to make Lāna'i the world's largest pineapple plantation. Coming from Connecticut, Dole was familiar with the design of the "town square" and grid system of laying out streets in such a way that everything was connected to the "green" or park in the middle of town. Under Dole's tenure, the Lāna'i plantation and city grew, and at one time the island supported nearly 20,000 acres of cultivated pineapple, making it the world's largest plantation. For seventy years, from 1922 to 1992 when the last harvest took place, the name "Lāna'i" was synonymous with pineapple.

Between 1924 and 1929, Lāna'i City blossomed upon the landscape; most of the buildings and streets which we still see today were constructed during this short period (fig. 32). By March 1924, the general layout of Lāna'i City was established and some 40 buildings—many of which remain in the present-day Lāna'i City—were built or were under construction.

In the early years of the plantation, the largest group of immigrant laborers was made up of skilled Japanese carpenters and stone masons. Their initial work was undertaken on an almost barren landscape, overgrazed by years of sheep, goat, and cattle pasturing.

Following a brief and successful experiment in planting pineapple on Lāna'i by Charles Gay, James Dole, president of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, purchased the island of Lāna'i for \$1.1 million dollars in 1922. In 1923, he sent engineers to begin the design of Lāna'i City, the Kaumālapa'u Harbor, fields, and facilities which would support the envisioned pineapple plantation. Between 1923 and 1925, the city was laid out. It included houses for individual families and group homes for single men; a hospital dispensary; a theater; stores; churches; a hotel; offices; and labor yards. Outlying plantation camps, overlooking Pālāwai, at Miki, Quarry Camp and Kaumālapa'u, were also built. The Kaumālapa'u Harbor was also built during this time. As this work was going on, and housing became available, tracts of land in Pālāwai were being cleared of stones and boulders both by hand and with livestock, and then planted in pineapple.

In 1926, James Dole and a large group of island politicians and business backers visited Lāna'i. They were greeted by the new residents of the island, who were mostly of Japanese origin. By 1930, the population of plantation employees and their families included 965 Japanese, 867 Filipinos, 102 Koreans, 82 Puerto Ricans, 78 Chinese, 46 Caucasians, and 43 Portuguese. There was also a population of 173 Hawaiians, mostly representative of the old native families, but few were working directly for the plantation (fig. 33) [cf. 54].

A series of articles published in the *Mauī News* between 1926 and 1939 provide us with eyewitness accounts of the growth and development of the Lāna'i pineapple plantation operations and city. Several of these articles are cited below. The first, published in the *Mauī News* on February 3, 1926, told readers of the visit by James Dole and his associates, as he unveiled the plantation and city to all Hawai'i. The account, describing development



Figure 32: Lāna'i City surrounded by newly planted pineapple fields and dotted by recently planted Cook Island Pines. The eastern end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project is to the left of Lāna'i City in the foreground. *Source:* Army Air National Guard Photo, October 23, 1929, in the collection of the Lāna'i Culture & Heritage Center.

which had occurred on Lāna'i between 1923 and January 1926, reads

Sunday was show day at Lanai, the Hawaiian Pineapple Company having chartered the Inter-Island steamer Kilauea to take almost 150 prominent Honoluluans to see what it has done with the property it purchased from Baldwin interests in the way of pineapple developments. The Governor and other territorial officials as well as some of the city and county officials were in the party.



Figure 33: Early families of Lānaʻi City on Lānaʻi Avenue, fronting Dole Park. Courtesy of Castle & Cooke, Inc.

The Kilauea sailed from Honolulu at 10 o'clock Saturday night and discharged her passengers at Kaunalapau at 6 Sunday morning. Awaiting them were some 40 automobiles and they were taken about in cars for their sightseeing trip, most of which were brought with them from Honolulu. James D. Dole, president of the company personally conducted the party. The motorcade started at 7:50 headed by H. Bloomfield Brown in charge of affairs for the company on the island.

Dinner was served at noon and there was speech making, among the speakers being the Governor. A heavy rainfall cut short the sightseeing trip and the Kilauea sailed on her return trip at 3:30. The Hawaiian Pineapple Company has spent for purchase of the property and its development more than \$3,000,000 and the visitors were much impressed with what has been done on the property.

Statistics Furnished

The following facts and figures as to Lanai are taken from a folder which was prepared for the excursionists:

Island of Lanai, 140 square miles, 90,000 acres; located 65 miles southeast of Honolulu; estimated pineapple land, 15,000 to 20,000 acres; option on Lanai taken September 5, 1922; option exercised December 5, 1922; population at that time about 150; present population, 1000; elevation of Lanai City, 1650 feet; building of Lanai City commenced August 1923; number of schools, two; attendance, 150; seven miles of asphalt macadam road to Lanai City, eight to 12 inches thick, and 200 feet wide, widened at turns; maximum grade of

road to Lanai City, about 6per cent; water supply lifted 750 feet by electric pump from tunnels in bottom of Maunalei gulch; water brought in six inch redwood pipe through three riders by three tunnels, aggregating 5300 feet in length; capacity of old Kaiholena reservoir, 500,000 gallons; capacity new Kaiholena reservoir, 3,900,000 gallons; electric power generated by 100 KW oil engine generator set, generated at 440 volts, transmitted at 2300 volts; capacity moving picture theater, 450; Kaunalapau harbor development work commenced September 1923; length of break water 300 feet; tonnage of rock in breakwater, 116,000; minimum depth of Kaunalapau harbor, 27 feet; depth of Kaunalapau harbor entrance, 65 feet; length of wharf, 400 feet; number of cattle on ranch at present time, 4000.³⁷

By 1930, the population on Lānaʻi totaled 2,356 residents. In the mid-1930s, efforts in expanding the amount of acreage were made, and new laborers, primarily of Filipino and Japanese background, settled on Lānaʻi. All planting, picking, weeding, and most field clearing was done by hand. There were no pineapple picking machines. The pickers picked by hand, loaded bags, walked to the end of the rows and then loaded the pineapples in boxes. The boxes were then hand loaded onto trucks and driven down to Kaunālapaʻu, where cranes would load the truck bins onto the barges for shipping to the cannery at Iwilei in Honolulu.

Later, *Maui News* articles document the following descriptions of Lānaʻi City, the island community, and plantation operations, noting that 16 years after Dole's acquisition of Lānaʻi, the island had become the world's largest pineapple plantation. The following reports on the success of the Lānaʻi venture were published in 1938 and 1939:

Ten years ago, Lanai was just another unimportant island on the map of the Hawaiian group; today the Hawaiian Pineapple Co. operates on it the largest pineapple plantation in the world, to supply fruit for its cannery in Honolulu, also the largest in the world.

Ten years ago, Lanai's population was approximately 600, and about 4,000 acres were under cultivation. Today the land under cultivation, has increased five-fold to 20,000 acres, and the island's population has grown to an estimated 3,500.

The five year period from 1925 to 1930 was one of great building activity on Lanai as the pineapple company conducted an extensive building program to provide housing for the hundreds of workers who were arriving almost on every boat to make their homes on the island.

Homes for married couples were erected by blocks, in numerical order. There were model two bedroom homes, with large airy living rooms and spotless kitchens, running water, electricity and spacious grassed yards.

³⁷January 31, 1926: Developments on Lānaʻi Visited by Businessmen and Government Officials, "Hawaiian Pineapple Company Runs Excursion to its property and Entertains Visitors," *Maui News* Editorial, February 3, 1926, p. 1, c. 2.

Single men's houses were divided in two by a partition with three furnished rooms in each section. All these houses were supplied with running water and electricity. They were laid out to provide ample space around each house.

Attractive as these homes were eight years ago, they are now being remodeled and made better, finer homes. More spacious rooms are being added and sanitary toilets and baths installed.

These new homes are painted cream white inside and out, with doors stained walnut. Each contains six rooms, four of which are 10 by 12 foot bedrooms with built in drawers and closets. The living room has a floor space of 12 by 16 feet, and the kitchen is 14 by 16 feet. All have built in cabinet cases and pantries. All are supplied with running water.

Sanitary toilets, baths and wash basins are installed in all of the homes.³⁸

A story elsewhere in this issue of the *Maui News* describes some of the progress which is being made on all sides on Lāna'i Isle. It is a story of the building of a happy community and reflects credit on all who are having a hand in the Pineapple Isle's development.

The cooperation which has been forthcoming from everyone is a splendid example of the Lanai spirit and in the years to come, this little Island will be as famous for its spirit as any other place in the Territory.

More power to Dexter Fraser and the hundreds of Lanai residents who are supporting him in his efforts to make Lanai City the finest in all the land.³⁹

The following *Maui News* article is from August of 1938. In the article, many of the developments occurring on Lāna'i are described. The article is entitled "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.

The Lanai of today is a community of happy people, working in harmony for the better island. Moral of Hawaiian Pineapple Co. employees is high. Everyone is pulling together, and this unanimity of purpose has resulted in a way of life for the people of the island that stands as a model for other communities in the Territory.

Painting the City.

The physical aspect of Lanai City has been improved recently by a program of renovation and modernization. When the board of supervisors arrived on

³⁸1938: "Hawaiian Pine Improves Conditions on Lanai Isle. The past ten years have brought phenomenal development to the island of Lanai under the guidance of the Hawaiian Pineapple Co., which is creating ideal working conditions for its employees." *Maui News* Editorial, January 22, 1938, p. 1, c. 2.

³⁹*Maui News* Editorial, January 22, 1938, p. 8, c. 2.

Lanai last Saturday for an inspection trip, members of the party saw a neat city, freshly painted in green and white, shaded by cool evergreens.

The painting program is not quite complete, but even now there is an appearance for fresh cleanliness. The city is, as it always has been, spotless. Crews of men are assigned to keep the community clean from fallen leaves, weeds, and refuse and to trim the lawns which surround each of the comfortable homes in which the pineapple workers live.

Aside from the County's projected road to Keomuku, the plantation is doing a bit of road work itself. About a month ago, work was started on a project to eliminate some of the dangerous hair pin curves on the Lanai City-Kaumalapau road and widen it to provide ample room for the large pineapple trucks which haul fruit to the port for shipment to the cannery in Honolulu.

Have Safety Program.

Safety has become almost a fetish on Lanai. There is a safety committee composed of community leaders. Workers are invited to submit suggestions and as result of the committee's activities, guards have been placed on machinery, instruction has been given in first aid, and safety first signs have been conspicuously posted.

In the fields mechanical loading machines have relieved some of the back breaking toil which heretofore has been the bane of the field worker. These machines are by no means perfected as Hawaiian Pine freely admits, but progress is being made and experiment is constantly in progress.

In order to correct one deficiency discovered in the fields, the company is now spending about \$500 on each loading machine, an outlay of \$10,000 for the twenty loaders now in operation. With the pineapple marked as uncertain as it is, Hawaiian Pine is proceeding carefully. There is a definite trend toward improvement in quality. Marginal fields have been abandoned for the time being. Small pineapples, lacking in quality, are left in the fields.

Carrying out the quality idea, Hawaiian Pineapple Co. is now replanting after the first crop rather than after the third as has been the practice in the past.

Athletic Program.

Community life is becoming more pleasant as the years go by. An extensive program of athletics has been developed. This reached its peak during the summer picking months when Maui and Hawaii send young men to Lanai to work in the fields. Most of these are high school students, and many of them are athletes who have found that work in the fields is an ideal conditioner for football and other strenuous sports.

At present, two Maui high school football teams are on Lanai preparing for the forthcoming season under the direction of their coaches...

The Lanai City golf course has recently been remodeled and is becoming increasingly popular. The course is laid out on the slope above the city, which offers a number of good natural hazards, not the least of which is the road

to Koele, which cuts through the course. This is no course for the exclusive use of the “big shots.” Anyone on the island may use it if he chooses, and the result has been a growing interest in golf. . .

Lions Active.

Lanai also is finding that the Lions club is filling a definite community need. This organization has been particularly active and only recently sponsored an eye clinic in which more than 100 individuals had their eyes examined. . .

The fine spirit that has developed on Lanai is due in no small part to the fine leadership of Mr. Fraser. He is universally beloved. He joins enthusiastically in the life of the community. His wise, just dealing with his employees has made him a respected friend of everyone on the island.

The board of supervisors found last weekend how persistent Blue Fraser can be despite his constant joviality and penchant for playing schoolboy pranks. If someone started to a joke about two Scotchmen, Mr. Fraser somehow or other swung the conversation about so that he could get in another, “Now about the Keomuku road.”

Mr. Fraser, the board found, is determined that Lanai shall have full and complete recognition as an integral part of Maui County, and that extends to the budget meetings when the money is being passed out.

Voters Total 507.

Lanai is becoming a political factor not to be overlooked. Mr. Fraser pointed out on a number of occasion; There are 507 voters on the island at present, nearly twice as many as there were in the 1966 election. One of the reasons for the increase is that Lanai youngsters are reaching voting age. This portion of the electorate, Mr. Fraser points out, is keenly interested in government affairs and exercises its voting privilege with discretion.

Mr. Fraser and other Lanai leaders recognize that the \$30,000 available for Lanai roads “is only a fly speck,” to use Mr. Fraser’s expression. “But it is a start,” he went on to say.

Jim Munro readily agreed with County officials that it would be desirable to spend \$5,000 or more of the amount for a complete survey, even if it does mean less road to start with. Lanai is confident that the board, having once recognized Lanai’s needs will augment the \$30,000 as time goes by and that eventually the county will do more for the Pineapple Island than replace a \$67 cesspool cover.

Uncertainty of the pineapple market on the mainland, Lanai regards as “one of those things.” But it is not allowed to interfere with the community’s peace of mind, solidarity and intense joy of living in a land where every factor is favorable and better days loom just ahead.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Maui News Editorial, August 17, 1938, p. 1, c. 4; and p. 6, c. 1-3.

2.2.9 Summary of Historical Background

In Hawaiian mythology, Lānaʻi was only sparsely inhabited until the ghosts that wreaked havoc on the island were defeated by a prince from Maui named Kaululāʻau. However, by around the time of western Contact, many of the native residents of Lānaʻi were killed by invading forces from Hawaiʻi Island. That, coupled with the foreign epidemics brought to the islands, resulted in a dip in population estimates from 6,000 in ca. 1793 to a mere 200 by the early 1890s. The introduction of ungulates to Lānaʻi caused changes in the landscape and erosion issues on the island. Following the *Māhele ʻĀina* of 1848, foreign interests brought new ventures to Lānaʻi, including ranching and, eventually, pineapple cultivation. The Hawaiian Pineapple Company purchased the island of Lānaʻi in 1922. Nearly \$2 million was spent on improvements to the island, for the development of macadamized roads and the town of Lānaʻi City.

2.3 Archaeological Background

Several archaeological studies have been conducted in the general vicinity of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project and for the island as a whole. Section 2.3.1 discusses the earliest survey, by Emory [13], which records the baseline data for the island. Subsequent studies focused on retracing Emory’s work in order to inventory the sites that he originally recorded; this is discussed in section 2.3.2. The last phase of archaeological research has been in support of recent land developments; the majority of this work has taken place near Lānaʻi City, and is summarized in section 2.3.3.

2.3.1 Emory Survey

The earliest archaeological investigation on Lānaʻi Island was conducted by Emory [13] in the 1920s. This investigation was the first archaeological and ethnographic study of Lānaʻi Island. In this work, Emory broadly summarizes Hawaiian cultural traditions of Lānaʻi and includes discussions on the traditional oral histories, place names, material culture, and archaeology. The work is geographically organized around an inclusive gazetteer that is keyed to numbers on an accompanying map. Since Emory’s work was focused on ethnography as well as archaeology, these numbers refer to places of cultural interest in a general sense and may or may not be considered archaeological sites in their conventional sense—as locations that display evidence of past human behavior. Nevertheless, archaeological sites were included in Emory’s survey of Lānaʻi Island, but, like many of his contemporaries, his focus was on larger archaeological sites, most notably the village of Kaunolū located on the southwestern shore of Lānaʻi.

No archaeological sites were recorded by Emory in the vicinity of the project area.

2.3.2 Late Twentieth-Century Investigations

There was a general dearth of archaeological work conducted between the 1920s and the 1970s. The next period of archaeological investigations at Lānaʻi was due to the statewide inventory of archaeological sites that occurred in the mid-1970s. This study

was focused toward the relocation of previously identified sites, and the consolidation of that information into the new State Inventory of Historic Places system. It was during this effort that Emory's sites were assigned their State Inventory of Historic Places numbers (see sec. 2.3.1).

In general, the statewide inventory left the identification of new archaeological sites as a task to be completed for future surveys. Due to this, no new archaeological sites were recorded in the vicinity of the current project.

Following his work on the statewide inventory of historic places, Robert Hommon produced a paper that outlined his general impression of the archaeology of Lāna'i Island. He noted that Lāna'i Island contained the greatest degree of relatively untouched archaeology in the Hawaiian archipelago. He states,

Through a happy set of circumstances, the archaeology of Lana'i is almost entirely intact. Despite the fact that nearly 20% of the area of the island is under cultivation for pineapple, less than 2% of the archaeological features recorded by Emory in the early 1920's have been destroyed in the process. [34:1]

He then argued, given the completeness of the archaeological record, that an island-wide research design should be developed in order to direct future investigations. This recommendation also appears to respond to a development plan that was proposed by Castle and Cooke that would have substantially altered the interior and northeast shore of the island. It appears that this broad-scale development of Lāna'i has not occurred, and no comprehensive island-wide research design is known to have been written.

2.3.3 Cultural Resources Management Studies

From the late 1980s to the present day, the primary impetus for archaeological research near the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project has been for cultural resources management studies in support of construction and development. The majority of these investigations have been within the general vicinity of Lāna'i City; however, some have extended to the areas of Hi'i Flats and Waiapa'a Flats.

No *pre-contact* sites have been recorded in the vicinity of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. This is due in part to construction disturbances associated with the founding of Lāna'i City and the use of the surrounding area for pineapple cultivation and industrial pursuits, which likely destroyed any intact surface architecture and/or deposits.

A few early settlement and ranch-era historic properties have been identified near the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project and include the Kihamaniania Church, site 50-40-98-1946, and its associated historic burial complex at Nininiwai Hill, site 50-40-98-1947 (fig. 34). Also located in Kamoku Ahupua'a is the Kō'ele District, site 50-40-98-01004, which is a group of preserved historic ranch-era buildings in and around the Four Seasons Lodge at Kō'ele.

No significant historic properties were documented within the project area during the island-wide survey by Kenneth Emory in 1924 and the statewide survey of 1974 [13; 34].

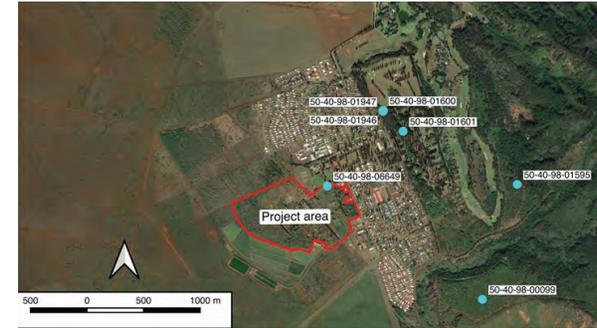


Figure 34: Historic properties in the vicinity of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project.

Previous archaeological investigations in the vicinity of the current project are shown in figure 35. The following discussion presents the results of the research in chronological order.

In October of 1986, Cultural Surveys Hawai'i conducted an archaeological reconnaissance survey with subsurface testing for the Koele Hotel (fig. 35, k). A total of 20 auger tests were excavated during the project. The survey and subsurface testing of the area concluded that "[i]t appears very unlikely that any prehistoric cultural deposits could remain intact within the immediate Koele area" [37:23]. However, the area was recognized for its historic *significance* as a center for livestock and ranching activity on the island. No artifacts were collected and no historic properties were documented during the project.

An archaeological reconnaissance was conducted of 24.6 acres for the proposed Lalakoa III Subdivision in 1987 (fig. 35, m) [22]. The subdivision has been built since that time. The following observations were made:

The present condition of the property shows clear evidence of long term use as a pineapple field. [A]lthough presently overgrown with weeds, small pineapple plants are still the dominant vegetation. The cultivation service roads, field boundaries and plastic mulch are still visible. [22]

Because of the history of cultivation in the area, the archaeologists concluded that the subdivision would have no impact on archaeological or historic resources.

In 1988, a subsequent archaeological investigation was conducted for the Lalakoa III Subdivision (fig. 35, m) [23]. Surface sweeps yielded "almost exclusively basaltic flakes of both coarse- and fine-grained raw material with a few retouched pieces and adz fragments" [23:3]. In addition, four volcanic glass specimens were collected.

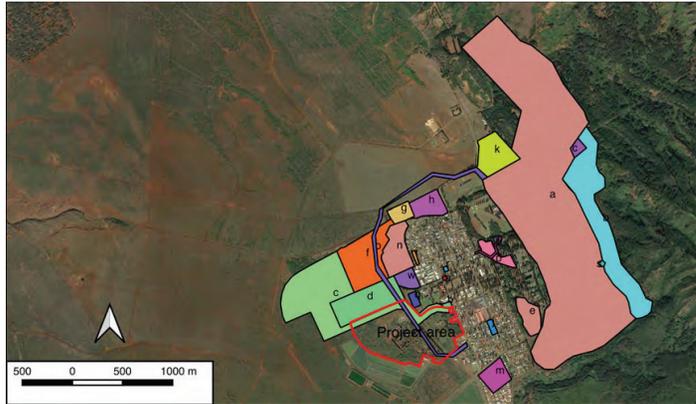


Figure 35: Location of previous archaeological investigations in the vicinity of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project: *a*, Hill et al. [33], Dagan et al. [10]; *b*, Fredericksen [19]; *c*, Lee-Greig and Hammatt [41], Dagan et al. [9]; *d*, Lee-Greig and Hammatt [40]; *e*, Hammatt and Borthwick [24], Hammatt and Borthwick [26]; *f*, Creed et al. [7]; *g*, Conley-Kapoi and Hammatt [5]; *h*, Borthwick and Hammatt [2]; *i*, Hammatt and Chiogioji [29]; *j*, Lee-Greig and Hammatt [38]; *k*, Kaschko [37], Hammatt et al. [28]; *l*, Hammatt and Borthwick [24], Hammatt and Borthwick [26]; *m*, Hammatt [22], Hammatt and Borthwick [23]; *n*, Hammatt and Borthwick [24], Hammatt and Borthwick [26]; *o*, Hammatt and Borthwick [27]; *p*, Hammatt and Shideler [30]; *q*, DiVito and Dye [11]; *r*, Madeus et al. [42]; *s*, Borthwick and Hammatt [3]; *t*, Hammatt and Borthwick [25]; *u*, Dagan and Hammatt [8]; *v*, Lee-Greig and Hammatt [39]; *w*, Pfennig et al. [46]; *x*, Cordova et al. [6].

The number, size and quality (fine-grained basalt) of the artifacts collected suggest that they were present within the project area prior to commercial pineapple activity. [T]he type of quality material present is the same as that found from the quarry at Koʻi in the Palawai Basin. [23:19]

Subsurface testing was conducted and the stratigraphy indicated that there had been repeated plowing, which would have shifted any cultural materials out of primary context. The archaeologists concluded that “no archaeological materials remain on the property and clearance has been given for the Subdivision to proceed” [23:24].

Also in 1988, inventory survey and data recovery were conducted on a 20 acre parcel for the Four Seasons Lodge at Kōʻele (fig. 35, *k*) [28]. Data recovery was performed on

two historic ranch-era trash pits. The artifacts recovered contributed to the knowledge of ranch life on Lānaʻi.

In 1989, Borthwick and Hammatt [2] conducted a reconnaissance survey of the Waialua Multi-Family Housing Project area now known as the Iwiōle Dormitories (fig. 35, *h*). A single lithic scatter was documented during the project and was determined to have been disturbed during cultivation activities in the area. No historic properties or intact subsurface remains were recorded.

Also in 1989, Hammatt and Borthwick [24] conducted reconnaissance surveys of four localities in Lānaʻi City, including the Kōʻele Golf Course, the Kōʻele single-family housing, the Queen’s multi-family housing, and the Olopuā Woods subdivision (fig. 35, *l*, *e*, *m*). Three historic ranching features and a secondarily deposited lithic scatter were recorded during the survey of the golf course. A small amount of secondarily deposited lithic material was observed at the other project locations and was attributed to an off-site source. No historic properties were recorded.

In 1992, Borthwick and Hammatt [3] conducted an archaeological survey for the proposed Kōʻele Reservoir (fig. 35, *s*). No archaeological surface sites were identified. No historic activities were recorded for the survey area. The area was probably unused because of the steepness of the slope in the area. Monitoring was recommended for only the initial construction activity as subsurface deposits were not expected.

Cultural Surveys Hawaiʻi conducted an investigation with archaeological monitoring in 1992 for a short length of sewer line located within the Waialua Annex Subdivision (fig. 35, *i*) [29]. The plow zone was observed in the trench to a depth of 70 cm below ground surface. No historic properties, intact deposits, or cultural materials were collected during the project.

In 1993, Cultural Surveys Hawaiʻi completed an archaeological inventory survey of a 13,000 ft. long, 100–150 ft. wide waste water pipeline corridor connecting the Lānaʻi sewage treatment plant with the Kōʻele Golf Course irrigation system (fig. 35, *o*) [27]. The route of the waste water pipeline corridor ran north–south through the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project.

In the entire project area visibility was excellent because of low vegetation consisting of secondary growth in now abandoned pineapple fields. Emphasis was placed in examining the ground surface along the proposed pipeline route for scatters of basalt flakes ... None of these were observed during the fieldwork. [27:5]

The survey yielded no historic properties and no intact cultural remains.

Also in 1993, Hammatt and Borthwick [26] conducted data recovery and monitoring at a 300 acre parcel for the Kōʻele Golf Course, which is the easternmost portion of *l* in figure 35. The southern extent of the large project area runs along a portion of Kapano Gulch. Five sites were studied. Four were in the northern portion of the project area, and one, site 50–40–98–1595, was in the southern portion (see fig. 34). Backhoe trenches were excavated at site 50–40–98–1595, which contained a surface scatter of historic debris associated with the Charles Gay homestead at Lālākoa. No cultural feature was observed and it was concluded that no intact historic-era layer was present.

Cultural Surveys Hawai'i conducted an archaeological inventory survey of a 50 acre Hawaiian Homelands parcel located at the northwest corner of Lāna'i City in 2000 (fig. 35, f) [7]. No cultural materials were observed and no historic properties were recorded due to the use of the area for pineapple cultivation.

In 2002, an archaeological inventory survey of the Lāna'i Police Station was conducted by Xamanek Researches (fig. 35, b) [19]. No historic properties or cultural remains were documented during the project.

In 2004, an archaeological inventory survey of the lower west slope of Niniwai Hill, east of Lāna'i City, was conducted by Hammatt and Shideler (fig. 35, p) [30]. The fieldwork focused on documentation of the ruins of the Kihamaniana Church, site 50-40-98-1946, and the associated cemetery, site 50-40-98-1947 (see fig. 34). At the cemetery, 18 discrete burials were identified, which were marked by stone alignments or pavements. Also identified was an "altitude breaker," which "serves to dissipate the force of water coming down through a pipeline from the upper slopes of Niniwai Hill" [30:39]. It was assigned SIHP 50-40-98-1600, although the archaeologists thought it was less than 50 years old. Finally, a trail feature was assigned site 50-40-98-1601 (see fig. 34). Characteristics such as cement on a path margin stone indicated that the trail is twentieth century. The church is significant for Criteria A, C, D, and E because

[t]he church ruin is associated with the initial Christianization of the Hawaiian people of Lāna'i, is suggested to have a distinctive method of construction (mortar from burned coral carried up from the coast), to have the potential to yield further information and as having important value to the native Hawaiian people. [30:45]

The cemetery is significant under Criteria D and E. Preservation is recommended for the church and cemetery. For the altitude breaker and trail, the archaeologists assign a significance of Criterion D and recommend "consultation in writing with SHPD prior to any substantial alteration" since they feel the young ages of the sites do not warrant preservation.

In 2005, Cultural Surveys Hawai'i conducted a field inspection of the Court Family housing project area and a 7.673 acre parcel in the northwestern portion of Lāna'i City (fig. 35, g) [5]. No cultural materials were collected and no historic properties were identified during either of the projects.

In 2006, Cultural Surveys Hawai'i conducted archaeological monitoring for the installation of a sewer line on the lower west slope of Niniwai Hill (fig. 35, v) [39]. No cultural materials were identified during the trenching for the sewer line.

Cultural Surveys Hawai'i conducted a cultural impact assessment and an archaeological inventory survey of a 73 acre parcel for the Lāna'i Affordable Housing project in 2009 (fig. 35, c) [9; 41]. The archaeological inventory survey overlapped the northern end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. A pedestrian survey and subsurface testing were conducted. Only one *historic property* was assigned a State Inventory of Historic Places site number during the project, site 50-40-98-6649, an historic-era culvert head wall located just outside the northern boundary of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. The culvert was determined eligible for listing on the Hawai'i

Register of Historic Places under Criterion d "because of the potential to yield information important for understanding the history of the region" [41:57]. However, no further historic preservation work for the site was recommended [41:58]. Lee-Greig and Hammatt [41:36-41] also document two historic wood-frame buildings in poor condition: CSH-2, a structure identified as associated with the Kō'ele School complex; and CSH-3, the original Kō'ele single-room schoolhouse. These buildings were moved to their current locations in the mid-1980s through the efforts of several community groups and were intended to be preserved, restored, and incorporated "into the landscape of Kō'ele as a part of a heritage program through an agreement with Castle & Cooke Resorts, LLC" [41:56]. However, the survey found the two buildings "in an extensive state of disrepair" [41:56]. Nevertheless, the buildings were both evaluated as significant for their information content, Criterion d [41:32].

Constructed around the mid-1920's, CSH-2 ... is a double-room building with a covered deck or *lanai* fronting the entry ways and an add-on room on the west end of the building and off of the *lanai*. Overall assembly is of single wall construction consisting of timbers and wood boards with horizontal sliding windows. Roof construction is of conventional wood framing and asphalt shingles with cross ventilation facilitated by shuttered vents below the roof line ... The interior lighting of both rooms consisted of suspended fluorescent lighting, hanging from a drop ceiling and the floors appear to be of plywood construction.

Room one is an open room with built-in cabinetry and counter space constructed from the floor to the window sill ... Room two is also an open room floor plan with a green board mounted to a shared wall between rooms one and two ...

The floor boards of the *lanai* and a portion of the roof that once sheltered the *lanai* have collapsed. Additionally, the majority of the window glass from the surrounding windows is missing from the framework and the cabinetry and walls have been subject to extensive wood rot. While prominent elements of the building construction are still discernible, on the whole ... CSH-2 is in extremely poor condition. [41:36]

CSH-3 is the original Kō'ele single room school house that was refurbished in the mid-1920s into the Richardson residence ... Currently, the structure is a multi-roomed building of conventional wood frame construction and wood board siding ..., single hung windows ..., and a *lanai* that extends off of the apparent front entryway. The roof of this structure consists of corrugated sheet metal while the floors are entirely constructed of plywood.

Like CSH-2, this structure is in extremely poor condition as 3/4 of the roof is no longer intact, the floor of the *lanai* and south-facing wall has completely collapsed ..., and the window glass has been completely removed. [41:39]

Lee-Greig and Hammatt [41] also excavated five test trenches, two of which—BT-2 and BT-3—were within the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. The stratigraphic

profile in test trench BT-3 was described as a dusky red *A horizon* from the surface to 28 cm below surface underlain by a dusky red weak *B horizon* grading to laterite at the base of excavation 106 cm below surface. The stratigraphic profile in test trench BT-2 was described as a dark yellowish brown plow zone with pieces of black plastic mulch from the surface to 30 cm below surface underlain by dark yellowish brown B and C horizons to the base of excavation at 134 cm below surface. No cultural materials or pre-contact historic properties were documented in the test trenches, including the two located in the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. The lack of pre-contact historic properties was attributed to the lands having undergone “heavy modifications by commercial pineapple cultivation and the development of Lāna‘i City” [41:54].

Hammatt and Borthwick [25] report a section of eroded modern irrigation ditch within Kaiholena Gulch, east of the Kō‘ele Golf Course (fig. 35, *t*).

Dagan and Hammatt [8] monitored the construction of a 2 million gallon storage tank in 2009 (fig. 35, *u*). Three isolated historic artifacts were found. Since no significant findings were observed, no historic properties were affected.

In the late 2000s, various cultural and archaeological assessments have been conducted for areas in the western part of Lāna‘i City. The studies include cultural assessments and field inspections of the Lāna‘i Senior Center, the Court Housing, the Lāna‘i High and Elementary School, and the Lāna‘i Community and Health Center project parcels (fig. 35, *d, a, j, x, q, r*) [6; 10; 11; 33; 38; 40; 42]. No surface remains and no historic properties were identified during any of the investigations and only on-call monitoring was recommended.

In 2014, archaeological monitoring was conducted by Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i for a 3.5 acre project area for the Six Classroom Building, part of Phase I of the Lāna‘i High and Elementary School master plan (fig. 35, *w*) [46]. During the project 20 soil profiles were documented for the area. Monitoring and the documented profiles in the area indicated that the parcel had been previously disturbed and modern trash and plastic from pineapple cultivation were observed throughout all of the stratigraphic layers documented during the project. No artifacts were collected and no historic properties were documented.

3 Methods

The archaeological inventory survey of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project was directed by principal investigator, Thomas S. Dye, a fully qualified archaeologist. Dye was assisted in the field by Zeth Kipi and Taz Del Rosario. The backhoe used for test excavations was operated by Terrence Sarne.

Historical information indicates that the entire proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project has been modified by the introduction of pineapple agriculture to the island and the founding of Lāna‘i City in the 1920s. Most of the project area, except for the sloping lands adjacent to Fraser Avenue, can be characterized as abandoned pineapple fields. An aerial photograph from the 1920s shows the sloping lands adjacent to Fraser Avenue recently worked by heavy machinery (see fig. 32, p. 89). Based on this historical information, potentially significant surface structural remains were not anticipated in

the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. In this situation, archaeological interest in surface survey turns to the discovery and identification of secondarily deposited artifact scatters that might indicate locations of past human activity and the presence of significant buried deposits. Archaeological survey of a 100–150 ft. wide corridor through the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project in 1993, shortly after the area went out of pineapple cultivation and surface visibility was excellent, did not observe any artifact scatters [27]. Now, more than two decades since the pineapple fields were abandoned, fallow growth of grasses, herbs, *lantana*, and Christmas berry trees is vigorous, which makes surface visibility poor throughout the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project.

Pedestrian survey of the project area was completed at a low level of intensity on July 18, 2016. Two north–south transects of the western portion of the project area, west of the Pūlama Lāna‘i Nursery and the Community Gardens, were completed. Two north–south transects of the eastern portion of the project area, one on the slope adjacent to Fraser Avenue and the other on the flatland at the base of the slope, were also completed. In these two areas, vigorous vegetation growth made surface visibility poor. Open plots within the Pūlama Lāna‘i Nursery were investigated for the presence or absence of secondarily deposited cultural material. The northern portion of the project area, north of the Pūlama Lāna‘i Nursery, is the site of ongoing green waste disposal and propane gas storage. It was not traversed during the pedestrian survey.

The bulk of the inventory survey effort was directed to test excavation using a backhoe. The test excavations were designed to determine whether or not the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project included places where potentially significant cultural deposits might be buried. A backhoe with a blade fitted to the bucket, rather than teeth (see fig. 77, p. 129), excavated 25 test trenches typically 2 m (meters) long, 0.8 m wide, and more than 1 m deep. In each case, excavation ended within the natural subsoil. These excavations were carried out over a period of two and a half days on July 19–21.

Each trench was photographed and described. A sample was taken of each sediment layer exposed in the excavations and returned to the laboratory for standard description using a Munsell soil color chart [21] and a flowchart to determine texture by feel [55].

Test excavation locations were determined with a handheld Global Positioning System (GPS) rover with post-processing for differential correction. Differentially corrected GPS points typically achieved horizontal precision less than 2 m. They were plotted on publicly available base maps using geographic information system software. Because no sites were found, a method to determine site boundaries was not employed.

The report contains an extensive background section prepared by Kepā Maly, who grew up on Lāna‘i and has been conducting ethnographic interviews with knowledgeable individuals and compiling historical information for many decades. No additional consultations were undertaken as part of this archaeological inventory survey.

The collections made during the archaeological inventory survey were limited to soil sediment samples, which were analyzed and discarded.

4 Field Results

This section presents the results of the surface survey and test excavations carried out in the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project.

4.1 Surface Survey

Archaeological surface survey revealed the presence of three potentially significant historic properties within the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project, including Dole Harvester “Machine 1,” the original Kō’ele one-room schoolhouse, and a two-room school building also associated with the former Kō’ele school complex.

The Dole Harvester “Machine 1” was moved to its current location adjacent to the Recycle Center from the Miki area of southwestern Lāna’i in March 2010 [44]. In practice, the harvester used a conveyor belt on long boom to transport the handpicked fruit to a bin on a flatbed truck (fig. 36).



Figure 36: Dole Harvester machine in use. Photograph courtesy of the Lāna’i Culture & Heritage Center.

“Machine 1” is now in the possession of the Lāna’i Culture & Heritage Center, which assessed the condition of “Machine 1” around the time it was moved to its current location (fig. 37). The assessment found the main frame to be sound and the diesel engine repairable, but other components, such as the electrical system, elevator, boom, conveyors, counterweight, crown blower system, walkways, rails, ladders, platforms, operator station, and bin were in various states of disrepair. Several pieces were noted as missing, and rust, which was widespread, threatened the structural integrity of several components.

Four treatment options were considered during the assessment, including full restoration, stabilization, storage, and disposal. To date, the storage option has been followed, with the machine now enclosed with a chain-link fence but otherwise unprotected from the elements.

The two school buildings, CSH-2 and CSH-3 (p. 100), both of which were in extremely poor condition when they were described in 2009, have not been kept up since then. The photographs in Lee-Greig and Hammatt [41:37–41] show dilapidated buildings in a field of short grass; today the buildings have been overgrown by vegetation and are in worse



Figure 37: Current condition of Dole Harvester “Machine 1,” looking south. Note the chain-link fence.

condition than they were in 2009. No detailed observations of building condition were made during the archaeological inventory survey, but preservation of these two buildings appears to be a lost cause today, some 30 years after they were moved from their original Kō’ele locations.

No other historic properties were identified during the surface survey.

4.2 Test Excavations

Twenty-six test excavations with backhoe, Test Pits 1–26, were excavated throughout the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project (fig. 38). The test pits were placed to cover the entire proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project; however, no test pits were excavated within the Pūlama Lāna’i nursery operation or within the Community Garden area due to the ongoing use of these facilities. Instead, Test Pits 6–11 were placed around the perimeter of these two facilities for the purpose of determining whether or not they were established on typical soil profiles. Also, a reduced level of test excavation was carried out at the northern end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. This is an area that is used today for processing green waste and for storing large tanks of propane, and in the past housed industrial activities related to the pineapple plantation. Sparse vegetation growth and numerous push piles indicate that this area has recently experienced quite a bit of grading and earth moving. Test Pits 24 and 25 indicate the degree to which these modern activities have affected the landscape.

One of the main divisions of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project, from a historical point of view, is between the former pineapple fields on the west and the uncultivated area on the east between the former fields and Lāna’i City. The test pits were placed to investigate both of these areas. Test Pits 1–4 were excavated east of the former pineapple fields and Test Pits 5–26 were excavated within the former pineapple fields. These excavations augment the two long trenches, BT-2 and BT-3, excavated within the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project some years ago [41]. BT-2 was excavated within the former pineapple fields and BT-3 was excavated east of them.

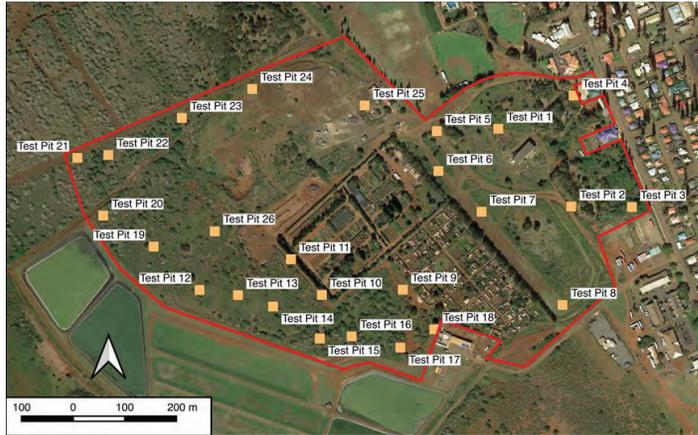


Figure 38: Location of Test Pits 1–26 in the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project. Imagery courtesy of Google Earth.

Finally, somewhat greater effort was expended at the southern end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project, where Test Pits 15–18 were placed relatively close to one another. Vegetation here is better developed than in other parts of the former pineapple fields. The increased level of effort was designed to investigate whether this was related to a less intensive use of this area for pineapple cultivation in the hope that evidence of earlier uses might be preserved.

4.2.1 Test Pit 1

Test Pit 1 was located immediately south of 9th Street near the base of the slope down from Fraser Avenue (fig. 38). Vegetation is dominated by tall grasses and young trees (fig. 39). The underlying soil is Waihuna clay (see fig. 7), which was a favored soil for pineapple cultivation. According to data held in the State of Hawai'i geographical information system [GIS] (see fig. 5), the test pit was located a short distance east of the former pineapple fields.

Excavation to a depth of 130 cm below surface exposed two natural stratigraphic layers and no cultural deposits (fig. 40). The upper layer, *Context 1*, a dark reddish brown *silt* loam, was typically 70 cm thick (fig. 41, table 5). The second layer, *Context 2*, a dark reddish brown silty clay, extended to the base of excavation, which was determined by



Figure 39: Excavation of Test Pit 1, looking northwest. Note the modern trash adjacent to the test pit location.

the increasing presence of soft weathered pebbles that mark the basal layer of Waihuna clay soils. Aside from the loamy texture of *Context 1*, the stratigraphic profile exposed in Test Pit 1 closely resembles the representative profile for Waihuna clay [14:129].



Figure 40: Completed excavation of Test Pit 1, looking northwest. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 41 and table 5 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

The stratigraphic profile in Test Pit 1 can be compared to the profile description of BT-3, which was excavated in Waihuna clay about 75 m north of Test Pit 1 [41:46]. That excavation revealed a dusky red *A* horizon from the surface to 28 cm below surface, followed by a dusky red *B* horizon that extended to the base of excavation at 106 cm below surface. No cultural materials were found.

4.2.2 Test Pit 2

Test Pit 2 was located close to the southeastern end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project and adjacent to Awalua Avenue, a dirt road that runs generally north-south and parallel to Fraser Avenue (fig. 38). Vegetation is tall grasses and young ironwood trees (fig. 42), and the underlying soil is Lahaina silty clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit was located a short distance east of

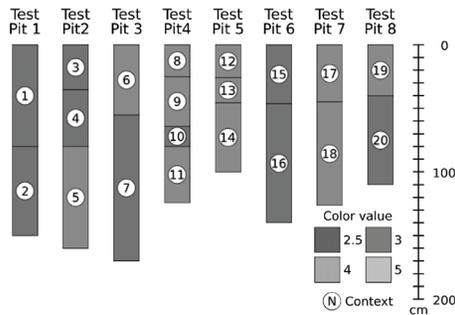


Figure 41: Schematic stratigraphic sections, Test Pits 1-8. See table 5 for sediment descriptions.

the former pineapple fields.

Table 5: Sediment descriptions for Test Pits 1-8

Context	Depth*	Description	Interpretation
Test Pit 1			
1	0-70	Dark reddish brown (5YR 2.5/2) terrestrial silt loam	Natural deposition process
2	70-130+	Dark reddish brown (5YR 2.5/2) terrestrial silty clay; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 2			
3	0-35	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 2.5/4) terrestrial loam	Natural deposition process
4	35-70	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 2.5/4) terrestrial silt loam	Natural deposition process
5	70-140+	Dark reddish brown (5YR 3/4) terrestrial silt loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 3			
6	0-55	Dark reddish brown (5YR 3/3) terrestrial sandy clay	Natural deposition process
7	55-150+	Very dusky red (2.5YR 2.5/2) terrestrial sandy loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 4			
8	0-25	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) terrestrial sandy loam	Fill material deposition process
9	25-62	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) terrestrial loam	Fill material deposition process
10	62-80	Very dusky red (2.5YR 2.5/2) terrestrial silty clay	Natural deposition process
11	80-123+	Dark red (2.5YR 3/6) terrestrial silty clay; base of excavation	Natural deposition process

* Centimeters below surface.

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Context	Depth*	Description	Interpretation
Test Pit 5			
12	0-25	Dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2) terrestrial silt loam	Cultural deposition process
13	25-44	Dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2) terrestrial loam	Natural deposition process
14	44-100+	Dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2) terrestrial silt loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 6			
15	0-47	Dark reddish brown (5YR 2.5/2) terrestrial clay loam	Cultural deposition process
16	47-130+	Dark reddish brown (5YR 2.5/2) terrestrial silty clay; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 7			
17	0-44	Dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2) terrestrial clay loam	Cultural deposition process
18	44-125+	Dark reddish brown (5YR 3/3) terrestrial silty clay loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 8			
19	0-40	Dark reddish brown (5YR 3/3) terrestrial silty clay loam	Cultural deposition process
20	40-110+	Dark reddish brown (5YR 2.5/2) terrestrial silt loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process

* Centimeters below surface.



Figure 42: Excavation of Test Pit 2, looking east. Archaeological technician Taz Del Rosario monitors the excavation.

Excavation to a depth of 140 cm below surface exposed three natural stratigraphic layers and no cultural deposits (fig. 43). The upper layer, Context 3, a dark reddish brown *A* horizon, was typically 35 cm thick (fig. 41, table 5). The second layer, Context 4, a dark reddish brown *B* horizon, typically extended to a depth of 70 cm below surface. The basal layer exposed in the excavation was Context 5, a dark reddish brown *C* horizon. The stratigraphic profile exposed in Test Pit 2 resembles the representative profile for Lahaina silty clay [14:78].



Figure 43: Completed excavation of Test Pit 2, looking southeast. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 41 and table 5 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

4.2.3 Test Pit 3

Test Pit 3 was located near the southeastern corner of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project, immediately downslope from Fraser Avenue (see fig. 38). Vegetation in the vicinity of the test pit is tall grasses and Christmas berry trees (fig. 44), and the underlying soil is Lahaina silty clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit was located well east of the former pineapple fields.



Figure 44: Location of Test Pit 3, looking north. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments.

Excavation to a depth of 150 cm below surface exposed two natural stratigraphic layers and no cultural deposits (fig. 45). The upper layer, Context 6, a dark reddish brown *A* horizon, was typically 55 cm thick (fig. 41, table 5). It was underlain by Context 7, a very dusky red *B* horizon that extended to the base of excavation. The stratigraphic profile exposed in Test Pit 3 resembles the representative profile for Lahaina silty clay [14:78].



Figure 45: Completed excavation of Test Pit 3, looking northeast. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 41 and table 5 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

4.2.4 Test Pit 4

Test Pit 4 was located near the northeast corner of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project, immediately adjacent to the grounds of the Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses (see fig. 38). This is an open area used to stockpile construction and other materials (fig. 46). The underlying soil is Lahaina silty clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit was located well east of the former pineapple fields.



Figure 46: Excavation of Test Pit 4, looking southwest. Archaeological technician Zeth Kipi monitors the excavation.

Excavation to a depth of 123 cm below surface exposed four stratigraphic layers, including a modern application of fill material that has begun to support vegetation and two natural deposits that represent a *paleosol* (fig. 47). Test Pit 4 yielded abundant evidence of modern human activity. In addition to the application of fill material, pieces of plastic, glass, and other modern materials were exposed on the surface of the paleosol. No potentially significant cultural deposits were observed. The upper layer, Context 8, is a dark reddish brown *A* horizon typically 25 cm thick that is developing on the dark reddish brown fill material identified as Context 9 that extends to a depth of 62 cm below surface

(fig. 41, table 5). The very dusky red Context 10, which extends to a depth of 80 cm below surface, represents the *A* horizon of the paleosol. The modern artifacts noted above were found on its surface. It is underlain by Context 11, a dark red *B* horizon that extends to the base of excavation.



Figure 47: Completed excavation of Test Pit 4, looking southeast. Note the modern paleosol at the middle of the stratigraphic section. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 41 and table 5 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

4.2.5 Test Pit 5

Test Pit 5 was located near the intersection of 9th Street and Awalua Avenue near the northern end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project (see fig. 38). Vegetation is tall grasses and ironwood trees (fig. 48), and the underlying soil is Waihuna clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit is located in a former pineapple field.



Figure 48: Excavation of Test Pit 5, looking north-east. Awalua Avenue is the dirt road in the foreground. The white truck is heading toward Lāna'i City on 9th Street.

Excavation to a depth of 100 cm below surface exposed three layers (fig. 49). The upper layer, Context 12, a dark reddish brown silt loam with pieces of black plastic mulch, which extends to a depth of 25 cm below surface, represents the plow zone of the pineapple field. The second layer, Context 13, is a dark reddish brown *B* horizon that extends to

44 cm below surface. The basal layer, Context 14, is a dark reddish brown *C* horizon that is found to the base of excavation. Context 12 is a twentieth-century cultural deposit formed in the 70 years that pineapple was cultivated on Lāna'i. Contexts 13 and 14 are natural deposits. No potentially significant cultural materials were found in the Test Pit 5 excavation.



Figure 49: Completed excavation of Test Pit 5, looking east. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 41 and table 5 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

The stratigraphic profile exposed in the Test Pit 5 excavation is similar to the profile description for BT-2, which was located about 50 m east and still within the old pineapple fields [41:49-51].

4.2.6 Test Pit 6

Test Pit 6 was located immediately east of the Pūlama Lāna'i Nursery (see fig. 38). This is a grassy area next to a dirt road (fig. 48). The underlying soil is Waihuna clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit is located in a former pineapple field.

Excavation to a depth of 130 cm below surface exposed two layers (fig. 51). The upper layer, Context 15, a dark reddish brown plow zone with pieces of black plastic mulch, extends to a depth of 47 cm below surface. Context 15 is a twentieth-century cultural deposit formed in the 70 years that pineapple was cultivated on Lāna'i. The lower layer, Context 16, is a natural dark reddish brown *B* horizon that is found to the base of excavation. No potentially significant cultural materials were found in the Test Pit 6 excavation.

4.2.7 Test Pit 7

Test Pit 7 was located immediately east of the Community Garden, near its northern end (see fig. 38). This location near the middle of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential



Figure 50: Excavation of Test Pit 6, looking northwest. Archaeological technicians Taz Del Rosario and Zeth Kipi (in pit) record the test pit excavation.



Figure 51: Completed excavation of Test Pit 6, looking northeast. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 41 and table 5 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

Project is a grassy area next to a dirt road (fig. 52). The underlying soil is Waihuna clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit is located in a former pineapple field.



Figure 52: Excavation of Test Pit 7, looking east. The backhoe operator is Terrence Sarne.

Excavation to a depth of 125 cm below surface exposed two layers (fig. 53). The upper layer, Context 17, is a dark reddish brown plow zone with pieces of black plastic mulch. It extends to a depth of 44 cm below surface. Context 17 is a twentieth-century cultural

deposit formed in the 70 years that pineapple was cultivated on Lāna'i. The lower layer, Context 18, is a natural dark reddish brown *B* horizon that is found to the base of excavation. No potentially significant cultural materials were found in the Test Pit 7 excavation.



Figure 53: Completed excavation of Test Pit 7, looking northeast. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 41 and table 5 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

4.2.8 Test Pit 8

Test Pit 8 was located near the southeastern end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project, immediately east of the Community Garden (see fig. 38). This location is a grassy area next to a dirt road (fig. 54). The underlying soil is Lahaina silty clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit is located in a former pineapple field.



Figure 54: Excavation of Test Pit 8, looking west. The community garden area is in the background at the left.

Excavation to a depth of 110 cm below surface exposed two layers (fig. 55). The upper layer, Context 19, is a dark reddish brown plow zone with pieces of black plastic mulch. It extends to a depth of 40 cm below surface. Context 19 is a twentieth-century cultural deposit formed in the 70 years that pineapple was cultivated on Lāna'i. The lower layer,

Context 20, is a natural dark reddish brown B horizon that is found to the base of excavation. No potentially significant cultural materials were found in the Test Pit 8 excavation.



Figure 55: Completed excavation of Test Pit 8, looking west. Note the black plastic pieces in the upper stratum. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 41 and table 5 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

4.2.9 Test Pit 9

Test Pit 9 was located immediately west of the Community Garden, near its middle (see fig. 38). The vegetation here is high grasses (fig. 56). The underlying soil is Lahaina silty clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit is located in a former pineapple field.



Figure 56: Excavation of Test Pit 9, looking west. Note the black plastic pieces exposed at the surface in the foreground.

Excavation to a depth of 100 cm below surface exposed two layers (fig. 57). The upper layer, Context 21, is a dark reddish brown plow zone with pieces of black plastic mulch. It extends to a depth of 44 cm below surface. Context 21 is a twentieth-century cultural deposit formed in the 70 years that pineapple was cultivated on Lāna'i. The lower layer, Context 22 is a natural dark red B horizon that is found to the base of excavation. No potentially significant cultural materials were found in the Test Pit 9 excavation.

Figure 57: Completed excavation of Test Pit 9, looking east. Note the black plastic pieces in the upper stratum. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 58 and table 6 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.



Figure 58: Schematic stratigraphic sections, Test Pits 9–16. See table 6 for sediment descriptions.

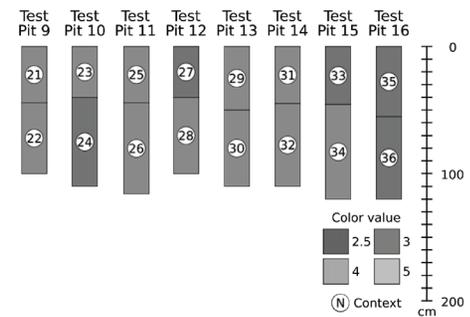


Table 6: Sediment descriptions for Test Pits 9–16

Context	Depth*	Description	Interpretation
Test Pit 9			
21	0–44	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) terrestrial loam	Cultural deposition process
22	44–100+	Dark red (2.5YR 3/6) terrestrial clay loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 10			
23	0–40	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/3) terrestrial silt loam	Cultural deposition process
24	40–110+	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 2.5/4) terrestrial loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 11			
25	0–43	Dark red (10R 3/6) terrestrial sandy loam	Cultural deposition process
26	43–115+	Dark red (2.5YR 3/6) terrestrial sandy loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process

* Centimeters below surface.

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Context	Depth*	Description	Interpretation
Test Pit 12			
27	0-40	Very dusky red (2.5YR 2.5/2) terrestrial clay	Cultural deposition process
28	40-100+	Dark red (2.5YR 3/6) terrestrial silty clay loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 13			
29	0-50	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) terrestrial silt loam	Cultural deposition process
30	50-110+	Dark red (2.5YR 3/6) terrestrial silty clay loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 14			
31	0-45	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) terrestrial sandy loam	Cultural deposition process
32	45-110+	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) terrestrial sandy loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 15			
33	0-45	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 2.5/4) terrestrial sandy loam	Cultural deposition process
34	45-120+	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/3) terrestrial silt loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process
Test Pit 16			
35	0-55	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 2.5/4) terrestrial silt loam	Cultural deposition process
36	55-120+	Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 2.5/4) terrestrial silt loam; base of excavation	Natural deposition process

* Centimeters below surface.

4.2.10 Test Pit 10

Test Pit 10 was located at the southwestern corner of the Pūlama Lāna'i Nursery near the middle of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project (see fig. 38). This is a grassy area just outside the nursery fence. The underlying soil is Lahaina silty clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit is located in a former pineapple field.

Excavation to a depth of 110 cm exposed two layers (fig. 59). The upper layer, Context 23, is a dark reddish brown plow zone with pieces of black plastic mulch that extends to a depth of 40 cm below surface. Context 23 is a twentieth-century cultural deposit formed in the 70 years that pineapple was cultivated on Lāna'i. The lower layer, Context 24, is a natural dark reddish brown *B* horizon that is found to the base of excavation. No potentially significant cultural materials were found in the Test Pit 10 excavation.

Figure 59: Completed excavation of Test Pit 10, looking southeast. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 58 and table 6 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.



4.2.11 Test Pit 11

Test Pit 11 was located outside the western end of the Pūlama Lāna'i Nursery near the middle of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project (see fig. 38). This is a grassy area just outside the nursery fence (fig. 60). The underlying soil is Lahaina silty clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit is located in a former pineapple field.

Figure 60: Excavation of Test Pit 11, looking southeast.



Excavation to a depth of 115 cm below surface exposed two layers (fig. 61). The upper layer, Context 25, is a dark red plow zone with pieces of black plastic mulch that extends to a depth of 43 cm below surface. Context 25 is a twentieth-century cultural deposit formed in the 70 years that pineapple was cultivated on Lāna'i. The lower layer, Context 26, is a natural dark red *B* horizon that is found to the base of excavation. No potentially significant cultural materials were found in the Test Pit 11 excavation.

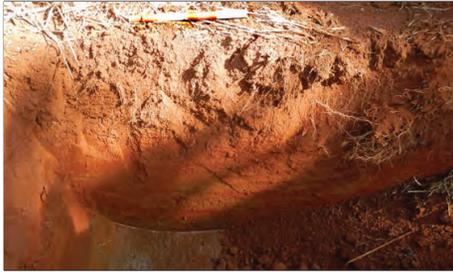


Figure 61: Completed excavation of Test Pit 11, looking northwest. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 58 and table 6 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

4.2.12 Test Pit 12

Test Pit 12 was located near the western end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project (see fig. 38). The vegetation here is dominated by lantana (fig. 62) and the underlying soil is Lahaina silty clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit is located in a former pineapple field.



Figure 62: Excavation of Test Pit 12, looking north. The backhoe operator is Terrence Sarne.

Excavation to a depth of 100 cm below surface exposed two layers (fig. 63). The upper layer, Context 27, a very dusky red plow zone with pieces of black plastic mulch, extends to a depth of 40 cm below surface. Context 27 is a twentieth-century cultural deposit formed in the 70 years that pineapple was cultivated on Lāna'i. The lower layer, Context 28, is a natural dark red *B* horizon that is found to the base of excavation. No potentially significant cultural materials were found in the Test Pit 12 excavation.

4.2.13 Test Pit 13

Test Pit 13 was located near the southwestern end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project, about 75 m east of Test Pit 12 (see fig. 38). The vegetation here is



Figure 63: Completed excavation of Test Pit 12, looking northwest. Note the black plastic pieces in the upper stratum. The scale is marked in 10 cm increments. See fig. 58 and table 6 for description and interpretation of the stratigraphic profile.

dominated by lantana (fig. 64) and the underlying soil is Lahaina silty clay (see fig. 7). According to data held in the State of Hawai'i GIS (see fig. 5), the test pit is located in a former pineapple field.



Figure 64: Excavation of Test Pit 13, looking north. The backhoe operator is Terrence Sarne.

Excavation to a depth of 110 cm below surface exposed two layers (fig. 63). The upper layer, Context 29, a dark reddish brown plow zone with pieces of black plastic mulch, extends to a depth of 50 cm below surface. Context 29 is a twentieth-century cultural deposit formed in the 70 years that pineapple was cultivated on Lāna'i. The lower layer, Context 30, is a natural dark red *B* horizon that is found to the base of excavation. No potentially significant cultural materials were found in the Test Pit 13 excavation.

4.2.14 Test Pit 14

Test Pit 14 was located near the southwestern end of the proposed Hōkū-ao 201-H Residential Project (see fig. 38). The vegetation here is dominated by lantana (fig. 66) and