Davida Malo’s Unpublished Account of Keōpūolani

We recently came across an important account of the life of Keōpūolani written by Davida Malo and deposited in the archives of the Bishop Museum. Malo’s account is reproduced below in its original, handwritten form (figs. 1–3), as transcribed in Hawaiian and in English translation. He wrote it in 1842, apparently to read before the ‘Ahahui ‘Imi i nā Mea Kahiko o Hawai‘i Nei, the first Hawaiian historical society, of which he was a member. On the outside of his account are written the words, “Auhea oukou e ka poe hui? Aole au e hiki aku ma ka ahaolelo, no ka mea, ua maimai au” (Attention you people of the association. I won’t be coming to the conference, because I’m feeling ill).

The ‘Ahahui was formed at Lahaina in 1841 under the patronage of Mō‘ī (King) Kauikeaouli by a group consisting of the missionary teachers at Lahainaluna School, including Sheldon Dibble, some of their former Lahainaluna students, and several ali‘i. Lahainaluna School had been established in 1831 by the missionaries as an

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advanced school to train teachers for the many schools they established in Hawai‘i. In 1836, Dibble established a seminar for ten senior students to record Hawaiian history. They collected information from knowledgeable elders and then their essays were put together and published by Dibble in 1838 as *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*. Among those senior students were Davida Malo and Samuel Kamakau, and both of them became members of the ‘Ahahui. It was the practice of ‘Ahahui members to write essays to be read at the meetings. Malo read an essay on ‘Umialiloa to the group, according to Kamakau. Malo presumably had considerable knowledge of Keōpūolani’s life as a basis for writing this essay. He was her teacher on O‘ahu prior to 1823 and a fellow student of her daughter Nāhi‘ene‘ena when learning English.

Note Signed by Malo on Outside of His Handwritten Account of Keōpūolani. He notes that he is feeling too ill to attend the conference at which this account of Keōpūolani would probably have been presented (*Auhea oukou e ka poe hui? Aole au e hiki aku ma ka ahaolelo, no ka mea, ua maimai au. Aloha oukou. Davida Malo*).
He apparently accompanied Keōpūolani to Lahaina when she moved there in 1823. He may have also conferred with Ulumāheihei, her last husband who was still alive up until 1840 and living at Lahaina. It seems particularly appropriate that Malo’s account, read to the first Hawaiian historical society, should now be published in the Hawaiian Journal of History, the journal of the third and current Hawaiian Historical Society.

As Esther Mookini says in her 1998 article, relatively little is known of Keōpūolani, although she was an important figure in Hawai‘i during the reign of Kamehameha and the reign of his son Liholiho. Keōpūolani was important mainly because of her high rank. As the highest ranking wife of Kamehameha, she gave birth to his heirs Liholiho and Kauikeaouli who became the rulers of Hawai‘i after him (Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III). In terms of shaping the politics of Hawai‘i, it seems that Keōpūolani was generally overshadowed by Ka‘ahumanu, Kamehameha’s more politically active wife. Kame‘elehiwa has presented a persuasive analysis of the events following the death of Kamehameha, relying mainly on Kamakau’s accounts. She argues that Ka‘ahumanu was the organizing force behind ending both the kapu system and the traditional kālai‘aina distribution of land by a new monarch to his supporters, although she acted in concert with both Keōpūolani and Kalanimoku.

Keōpūolani did act politically on several occasions, and because of her very high rank her actions were probably critical. After the death of Kamehameha, the ali‘i of his court at Kailua under the leadership of Ka‘ahumanu acted to end the ‘ai kapu by which men ate with the male gods as part of religious services and women were required to eat separately from men. During the ten day mourning period after Kamehameha’s death, the ‘ai kapu was suspended, as was commonly done after the death of a ruling ali‘i. The usual custom was for the new ruler to re-instate the ‘ai kapu on assuming his position after the mourning period ended, but Ka‘ahumanu and the other ali‘i had planned instead for the male and female ali‘i to eat publicly together, thus ending the luakini temple ritual and the rank kapu which were major elements supporting chiefly rule. When Ka‘ahumanu called publicly for an end to the ‘ai kapu at Liholiho’s coronation, Liholiho held back. At that time Keōpūolani supported Ka‘ahumanu by sending for her son, Liholiho’s younger brother Kauikeaouli, to eat with her in violation of
Fig. 1. The first page of Malo’s original manuscript about Keōpūolani’s life. Bishop Museum (H1 Hi107.10 ’ao’ao 1).
Fig. 2. The second page of Malo’s original manuscript about Kamehameha’s life. Bishop Museum (H1 Hi107.10 ‘ao‘ao 2).
The ‘ai kapu. She had earlier encouraged Liholiho to join in by putting her hand to her mouth as a sign to participate. Liholiho did not eat with the women on that occasion, but some months later he did give in. However, Kamehameha’s nephew Kekuaokalani, to whom Kamehameha had given the care of his war god Kūkā ili‘ilima‘oku, did refuse. Instead, he decided to maintain the traditional religious rites at Kealakekua, an act which challenged the authority of Liholiho’s rule as well as his decision to end the ‘ai kapu. Keōpūolani acted at that time by deciding suddenly to accompany two representatives sent by Liholiho’s court to Kealakekua to try to persuade Kekuaokalani to end his rebellion and come to Kailua. When they failed to persuade Kekuaokalani, she told him that their family tie was broken, implying that they would have to fight. Kamakau says that if she had not gone there, the war between Liholiho’s side and Kekuaokalani’s would have been delayed and Liholiho might have lost.

Her other important political actions concerned the Congregational missionaries who came to Hawai‘i in 1820. When the missionaries first arrived they asked Liholiho and the ali‘i for permission to stay in Hawai‘i. Many were hesitant, but Keōpūolani welcomed them. Later, she was one of the first of the ali‘i to convert to Christianity and the first to be baptized by the Congregational missionaries. As the highest ranking ali‘i of her time, her embracing of Christianity set a crucial seal of approval on the missionaries and their god.

Although the information available on Keōpūolani’s life is limited,
there are several primary sources of information in addition to Malo’s essay. The most important of those sources is the Memoir of Keōpūolani (1825) written by the missionary William Richards. Richards came to Hawai‘i with the second company of Congregational missionaries in 1823. When Keōpūolani moved to Lahaina later that year, she asked him and fellow missionary Charles Stewart to go with her to teach her about Christianity. She died that same year, so Richards’ acquaintance with her was short, but he was made the guardian of her children Kauikeaouli and Nāhi‘ena‘ena. Richards’ account agrees with Malo’s on some important points. The other important primary sources are the well known historical accounts by Kamakau (original 1866–69), ‘Ī‘i (original 1868–70), and Fornander (original 1879). Two recent articles which describe Keōpūolani’s life by Sinclair in 1971 and Moo-kini in 1998 are based mainly on these primary sources. Neither article makes reference to Malo’s essay and presumably neither writer knew of its existence.

Transcribed and Modernized Hawaiian Language Text

['ao‘ao 1]

Lahaina: Iulai, 29, 1842

No ka hänau ‘ana o Keōpūolani
I ka là i ho‘ouka aì ke kaua iā
Kapu‘unoni nei, ‘o ia ka hänau ‘ana o Keōpūolani

1.5
i Pāpōhaku, kahi i hänau ai. A ma hope
ihō, hele akula ‘o Kiwala‘ō, a me Kekelao-
kālani, a me Liliha, a noho i Häna me Keōpū-
olani nō, ma laila i noho ai. A holo ‘o Kiwala‘ō i Hawai‘i,

1.10
noho ihō nō ‘o Keōpūolani i Häna. A hiki aku
‘o Kahekili i ke kaua iā Kapika‘o nei, e noho
ana nō ‘o Keōpūolani i Kapu‘uiki i Häna. A pau ia
noho ‘ana a me ia kaua ‘ana, a ho‘i maila ‘o
Kahekili a me Keōpūolani i Wailuku a noho i la-
ila. A ma hope, holo hou ‘o Kahekili a me Keōpūola-
ni i ke kaua i O‘ahu, ‘o Ka‘ōpuaki‘iki‘i i ka inoa
o ia kaua ‘ana; a Kaunakahakai, ho‘onoho ‘ia
‘o Keōpūolani i laila; ‘a‘ole na‘e i li‘uli‘u ka noho ‘ana
i laila, ki‘i ‘ia mai a holo ana i O‘ahu, ‘o ka he‘e

[‘ao‘ao 2]

Concerning the birth of Keōpūolani

On the day that the battle of Kapu’unoni\(^{18}\) was begun here [on Maui], that was when Keōpūolani

was born at Pāpōhaku [at Wailuku, Maui].\(^{19}\) After that, Kiwalaʻō, Kekelaokalani,\(^{20}\) and Liliha\(^{21}\) went to live at Hāna, along with Keōpūolani. When Kiwalaʻō sailed to Hawaiʻi, Keōpūolani remained at Hāna. When Kahekili

English Language Translation

Lahaina: July 29, 1842
Concerning the birth of Keōpūolani
On the day that the battle of Kapu’unoni\(^{18}\) was begun here [on Maui], that was when Keōpūolani

was born at Pāpōhaku [at Wailuku, Maui].\(^{19}\) After that, Kiwalaʻō, Kekelaokalani,\(^{20}\) and Liliha\(^{21}\) went to live at Hāna, along with Keōpūolani. When Kiwalaʻō sailed to Hawaiʻi, Keōpūolani remained at Hāna. When Kahekili
came to wage the battle of Kapika‘o\textsuperscript{22} [at Hāna], Keōpūolani was still at Kapu‘uiki\textsuperscript{23} in Hāna. When the war and his stay there ended, Kahekili returned with Keōpūolani to Wailuku and they lived there. Later on, Kahekili sailed with Keōpūolani to fight on O‘ahu, Ka‘ōpuakī‘iki‘i’i being the name of that battle.\textsuperscript{24} [Arriving] at Kaunakahakai, Keōpūolani was settled there. But her stay there was not long before her grandmother Kalola on O‘ahu. She lived there a long time, then returned to Wailuku [on Maui] and lived there until the battle of Ka‘uwa‘upālani\textsuperscript{26} here [on Maui]. That was a great battle, with Kamehameha the leader on Hawai‘i’s side and Kalaikūpule the leader on Maui’s side at that time. There were many with Keōpūolani who had learned the lesson of the rout at Keone‘ula‘ula [that they should make their escape because the battle was lost].\textsuperscript{27} That night Keōpūolani was taken by Kalilikauoha\textsuperscript{28} to the top of Kūkaemoku,\textsuperscript{29} accompanied only by Kana‘e.\textsuperscript{30} When the battle was over and had been won [by Kamehameha], that was the time that Keōpūolani was taken by Kamehameha. Then Kamehameha, Keōpūolani, and Kalola, the grandmother of Keōpūolani, went to Kaunakahakai [on Moloka‘i]. When their stay there ended, Kamehameha returned to Hawai‘i, and Keōpūolani went with him. Koapapa\textsuperscript{31} was the battle that ensued on their return. When that battle
was won [by Kamehameha], they returned to Kona to stay, and from Kona
they moved to Keawa’eli [in Hāmākua]. Keōpūolani was
full-grown when they were
there, the place where Kamehameha slept with her. That is how
Keōpūolani became his wife. However, they didn’t live together as man and wife:
a prohibition was laid by him [Kamehameha], and they lived
apart, separately, not together. Only after she had menstruated, did he go to
sleep with her. That is how she became his wife. Following that,
Keōpūolani and Kalaimoku became lovers.
and after that, Kamehameha traveled to Hilo. There
Keōpūolani and Kalaimoku were married.
That last woman of kapu had Kalaimoku as her true
husband. Kamehameha still required her to sleep with him, and she
became pregnant by him with a prematurely-born child.
Thereafter, they sailed to O’ahu, and Nu’uanu was the battle
that ensued. After the battle had been lost [by Kalaniikūpule] and won [by
Kamehameha], the premature baby
was born, and Ka’ahumanu became the guardian. That was
Keōpūolani’s first-born. The child did not live long before it
died. They stayed there
until Kamehameha sailed for Kaua’i, but he never arrived there.

Ka’ie’ie Waho was the name of the expedition. Kalaimoku
was indeed the true husband of Keōpūolani, but no child was born of
that union.

Then the news was heard of Nämakehā, that he was fighting
[on Hawai’i], and

Kamehameha returned to Hawai’i and fought until
Nāmakehā was killed and he offered him up at the heiau
of Kaipalaoa. Then Keōpūolani became pregnant with Liholiho, the one who died abroad. Keōpūolani had three children by Kamehameha while she was with Kalaimoku. Kamehameha required her to sleep with him and her children were conceived.

Later, Kalaimoku left Keōpūolani and went to Kūwahine. After Kalaimoku left Keōpūolani, she made a circuit of Oʻahu, which was called Kapūʻaiʻopoʻoʻo by name, and she returned to Honolulu, to Mauna Haʻo.

There she took as husband Ulumāheihei, also called Hoapilikāne. Keōpūolani had fourteen children. Hoapili was really her husband, but Kamehameha required her to sleep with him, and she got pregnant and the child was Kamehameha’s.

That is how Keōpūolani became the wife of Kamehameha. Hoapili was still the husband until the death of Kamehameha. That indeed was the time when the missionaries came here to Hawaiʻi, when she welcomed them here to Hawaiʻi.

Comparison of Malo’s Account to Other Accounts

Malo’s account of Keōpūolani is more detailed than other accounts on some points, less detailed on others. He begins with her birth. Keōpūolani was the daughter of Kiwalaʻō, son of Kalaniʻōpuʻu, the aliʻi nui (ruler) of Hawaiʻi Island, and Kiwalaʻō’s cousin (Kekuʻiapoiwa) Liliha. Malo says that Keōpūolani was born at Wailuku, Maui. Her parents then took her to Hāna, and after a few years at Hāna, she was taken by Kahekili, the aliʻi nui of Maui, to his court at Wailuku and raised there. This agrees with the accounts of both Richards and Kamakau. Thus, even though her father Kiwalaʻō was the heir to the rule of Hawaiʻi Island, she is generally identified as an aliʻi of Maui.
When Kamehameha subsequently conquered Maui in 1790, he gained control of Keōpūolani. He then brought her to Hawai‘i Island to become his wife and produce high-ranking heirs for him. Malo’s account of this is rather bare. He says that Kamehameha took Keōpūolani captive, along with her grandmother Kalola, after the climactic battle at ʻIao in which he conquered Maui. He took them to Molo‘kai for a time, then took Keōpūolani to Hawai‘i Island to live with him. By contrast, in Kamakau’s and Fornander’s accounts, Kalola and Keōpūolani escaped from ʻIao to Moloka‘i. Kamehameha followed to gain control of Keōpūolani and found that Kalola was dying. He asked Kalola for permission to take charge of her granddaughter Keōpūolani, and she agreed that he should have Keōpūolani after she died. The Kamakau and Fornander accounts show Kamehameha’s respect for the older Kalola, while Malo’s account does not.

All the accounts describe Keōpūolani as the mother of Kamehameha’s three highest ranking children who lived long enough to be important in the history of Hawai‘i, Liholiho, Kauikeaouli, and Nähi‘ena‘ena. But there are important differences in how they describe Kamehameha’s marital relationship with Keōpūolani. According to Kamakau, Keōpūolani was taken by Kamehameha to Hawai‘i and cared for there for some years. In 1795, they were ho‘āo (formally married) at Waikiki on O‘ahu, but they did not sleep together at that time. Two years later, in 1797, she bore her first child Liholiho, who became Kamehameha II. She bore three more children—the second was still-born, the third was Kauikeaouli born in 1814 and the fourth Nähi‘ena‘ena born in 1815. Kamakau describes both Liholiho and
Kauikeaouli as Kamehameha’s children. (He doesn’t specifically say that of Nāhiʻenaʻena.) Kamakau also says that Kamehameha did not take Keōpūolani as a regular sleeping partner because of her kapu, that he only wanted children of rank by her. Later he says that Kamehameha made Ulumāheihei (Hoapili) a husband of Keōpūolani and a parent for the ‘ohana kapu mōʻi o ke aupuni (referring to his three high-ranking children). Kamakau does not give a date for this marriage. Linnekin has assumed that it occurred after the birth of Nāhiʻenaʻena.

Malo’s account is fuller concerning Keōpūolani’s children and marriages than Kamakau’s. According to Malo, she grew up with Kamehameha on Hawai‘i, but they did not ever live together, nor were they sexual partners at first. He was waiting until her first menstruation to sleep with her. Malo’s description of her relationship with Kamehameha is a little obscure. He says that Kamehameha slept with her and made her his wahine, but he does not say that they were formally married (hoʻāo). He uses the term wahine, which can mean either wife or unmarried sexual partner, to describe her relationship with Kamehameha. After her union with Kamehameha, she married (hoʻāo) Kalanikulana (called Kalaimoku by Malo) and he became her “true husband” (kāne i ka ʻili). He was her husband for some years, during which Kamehameha slept with her and she had three children by Kamehameha. The first of the children was prematurely-born and died, according to Malo, and the second was given the same name, Liholiho. Richards confirms most of this. He says that Keōpūolani had Kalanikulana as a husband early on, but that she married Kamehameha first and then was permitted to take Kalanikulana as a second husband. Like Malo, he says that it was the first child who died, and the second was given the same name Liholiho.

Malo continues his account of Keōpūolani, saying that Kalanikulana left her and took another wife, Kūahine. Ulumāheihei then became her husband (kāne) and continued as her husband until her death. During that marriage, Kamehameha continued to sleep with Keōpūolani. Richards confirms that Keōpūolani was permitted by Kamehameha to take Ulumāheihei as a husband after Kalanikulana left her. Malo indicates that Keōpūolani had many children, all by Kamehameha, but the total count of her children according to his account is not clear. In speaking of her second marriage to Ulumāheihei, Malo says
she had 14 children. This could mean that she had 14 children altogether, including the three born during her first marriage, or that she had 14 children during that marriage to Ulumäheihei, making 17 in all if the three born during her first marriage are added. In either case, this is more than the 11 children born to Keōpūolani counted by Richards, and many more than the three or four children given in other sources (Kamakau, Fornander, and 'Ī'i). 46

Implications for Understanding Pre-Christian Hawaiian Society

Malo’s account has two important implications for our understanding of pre-Christian Hawaiian society. The first concerns the number of children born to high-ranking women. The genealogies published by McKinzie 47 and historical accounts of Kamakau, Fornander and 'Ī'i list only a few children born to high-ranking women. It is easy to assume that while high-ranking men probably had many women and many children, high-ranking women bore a limited number of children. If we accept Malo’s count of 14, or 17, children born to Keōpūolani, compared to the three or four children given elsewhere, then it seems likely that the chiefly genealogies we have are quite incomplete. But we can speculate further as to the reason Keōpūolani bore so many children. Of the many children she bore, only three survived to adulthood. It is quite likely that she bore so many children because so many were still-born or died in early childhood. After the birth of her first surviving child Liholiho in 1797, about 16 years passed before the birth of her second surviving child, Kauikeaouli, in 1814 (according to the dates given by Kamakau). 48 A good number of her other children probably were conceived after Liholiho in the hope of providing Kamehameha with a second heir and then died young, perhaps as infants. 49 We know that Kauikeaouli himself nearly died during his birth. 50 The intriguing question is this: does the fact that so many of her children died represent the common experience of Hawaiian women at that time, the result of introduced Western diseases? Or does it perhaps represent the experience specifically of high-ranking ali‘i women, the effect of generations of inbreeding which may have caused a high rate of birth defects and infant death? Unfortunately, there is no definitive answer to the question.
The second implication of Malo’s account concerns the nature of marriage for the highest ranking aliʻi women, such as Keōpūolani. We know from ʻĪʻī’s account that Keōpūolani did not live with Kamehameha, unlike his other principal wives. In the period prior to 1810, Kamehameha’s compound at Honolulu contained his own houses, plus houses for three of his high-ranking wives. Kaʻahumanu was one, and the other two were probably Kaheiheimālie, and Peleuli.51 This seems to have been the normal arrangement in the case of married aliʻi, that women lived in the compound of their husband.52 Keōpūolani, however, had her own compound some distance to the east.53 Similarly in the period after 1810, Kamehameha’s compound at Kamakahonu in Kailua, Hawai‘i Island, contained his own houses, plus houses for Kaʻahumanu, Kaheiheimālie, and Kekāuluohi.54 Keōpūolani must have lived elsewhere. Although ʻĪʻī does not say exactly where, Kamakau says that she lived at Keauhou, to the south of Kamakahonu.55 We presume that Keōpūolani lived separately because of her kapu moe which required the respect of others. Although the other aliʻi probably did not have to prostrate themselves except when her kapu moe was proclaimed, they would have had to avoid letting their shadows fall on her or her house and that would have been burdensome if they all lived in the same compound together. ʻĪʻī says of the high-ranking female aliʻi Keakealani that she too was kept apart because of her kapu moe.56

It is, therefore, not difficult to understand why Keōpūolani was allowed to have a “true” husband, as Malo calls him, other than Kamehameha. Kamehameha did not live with her, but according to our reading of Malo’s account, he slept with her to produce heirs. This fits with Kamakau’s statement:

ʻAʻole nō i lawe ʻo Kamehameha iā Kalanikauikaʻalaneo i wahine nāna a i hoa moe hoʻi nona, akā, ua kapu ʻo Keōpūolani, a ua hemo kahi kapa i ka hale ʻe, a ua hemo pū nō hoʻi me kahi malo, akā, ua mālama ʻo ia i ke kapu o kāna kaikamahine; aia wale nō kona makemake, ʻo ka loa’a mai o nā moʻopuna aliʻi.57

Kamehameha did not take Kalanikauikaʻalaneo [Keōpūolani] as his wife and sleeping companion, because she was kapu, so that one had to remove his kapa in another house beforehand, together with his malo.
He respected the *kapu* of his daughter [Keōpūolani]; his only desire was to beget *aliʻi* descendants [through her] (our translation).

It seems that the relationship of Keōpūolani with her husband Kalanimoku was closer than that with Kamehameha. However, they also did not live in the same compound. Again, that probably was because of her *kapu moe*.

Linnekin has analyzed chiefly marriage as creating a “political economy of love.” She argues that the ruling male *aliʻi* tried to monopolize the highest ranking women in order to produce heirs of the highest rank. He tried to control the sexuality of the high-ranking women in his chiefdom, his sisters or wives, because their husbands were potential rebels against him and their sons would be potential rebels against his heir. But he also had some obligation to give his wives to subordinates who would become their “secondary husbands.” Once the wives had produced heirs for him. She argues that the ruling *aliʻi* solved this problem by giving his wife to a loyal supporter as a “safe choice.” As an example, she says that late in his life Kamehameha gave Keōpūolani to Ulumāheihei (based on Kamakau’s *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*). Malo’s account qualifies her analysis. It makes it apparent that Keōpūolani always had a husband besides Kamehameha. Kalanimoku was her husband from the beginning, not just after the birth of Kamehameha’s first heir Liholiho. Later he was replaced by Ulumāheihei. Richards’ account does not make this so clear, because he does not date the time of Keōpūolani’s marriage to Kalanimoku. He does generalize that it was usual for a high-ranking wife to have a second husband:

She was permitted by the king to have another husband. Hers was not a privileged case, however, for nearly all the chief women, especially those who are higher in rank than their husbands, follow the same practice.

We amend Linnekin’s analysis of Kamehameha’s management of Keōpūolani as follows. Because of her higher rank, Kamehameha did not house Keōpūolani in his compound. However, he still wanted to control her sexuality and one way to do that was to provide her with a husband. The first husband Kalanimoku was a loyal supporter
of Kamehameha, just as Ulumāheihei was later on. Kalanimoku was closely associated with Kaʻahumanu and the two seem to have been the most important political supporters of Kamehameha in the latter half of his reign. He was, therefore, a safe husband for Kamehameha to give Keōpūolani to, not one who might use her to start a rebellion.

Conclusion

Malo’s account of Keōpūolani is important for the information it provides about her, which corroborates and extends what was known about her from other sources. We were surprised to find this important manuscript at the Bishop Museum, where it had lain for years, apparently unknown to most researchers. Malo is one of the best known and best regarded of the 19th century Hawaiian writers, so it is especially surprising that an essay by him should have been overlooked. Imagine what other treasures remain to be discovered in the archives that can throw light on Hawai’i’s history and culture.

Notes

5 The second Hawaiian historical society, given the same name as the first, was formed in 1863. See Chun, Nä Kukui Pio ‘Ole, 20–21.
6 “Ka Moʻolelo o Kamehameha I” and “Ka Moʻolelo o Nā Kamehameha,” originally published serially in the newspapers Ka Nupepa Kuokoa and Ke Au Okoa and now republished as Ke Kumu Aupuni (Honolulu: ‘Ahahui ‘Ōlelo Hawaiʻi, 1996) and Ke Aupuni Möʻī, 2001. An English translation of most of this material is found in Samuel M. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawai’i (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools, 1961)
According to Marin’s journal, Kamehameha died on May 8, 1819 and Liholiho did not give the order for men and women to eat together, thus ending the ‘ai kapu, until November of that year. At the same time he sent a message to O‘ahu for men and women to eat together which reached Honolulu on November 6, 1819. See Agnes Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journals of Francisco de Paula Marin (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P and HHS 2002) 232–34 (printed in one volume with Ross H. Gast, Don Francisco de Paula Marin, A Biography by Ross H. Gast).


Kamakau, Ke Aupuni Mö‘i, 8.

William Richards, Memoir of Keopuolani: Late Queen of the Sandwich Islands (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1825) 18; Kamakau, Ke Kumu Aupuni, 246; Kamakau, Ke Aupuni Mö‘i, 8.


Malo’s Hawaiian has been altered by adding diacritical marks and modifying the punctuation and word divisions to conform to modern usage. In cases where the spelling (i.e. the appropriate diacritical marking) is not clear, an assumption has been made as to the appropriate modern spelling and the word has been italicized.

“a Ka meka meha” changed to “Kamehameha.”

The battle of Kapu‘unoni that Malo refers to is apparently one that took place on Maui, since he follows the name with the word nei, indicating it was near to where he was staying, which was probably Lahaina. According to Richards (Memoir of Keopuolani, 2), Keöpüolani was born in 1778, so this battle was probably a part of the war called Kakanilua on Maui between the warriors of Hawai‘i under Kalani‘ōpu‘u and those of Maui under Kahekili. It is not the battle by the name Kapu‘unoni referred to by Kamakau (Ke Kumu Aupuni, 222) on Moloka‘i where Peleioholani revenged himself on the ali‘i of Moloka‘i. That battle occurred about 1765 according to Fornander (Ancient History of the Hawaiian People, 289), well before the birth of Keöpüolani.

Richards (Memoir of Keopuolani, 2) confirms that Pāpōhaku is a place within the district of Wailuku and that Keöpüolani was born there. There is presently a park by that name at Wailuku, Maui according to Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, Place Names of Hawai‘i (Honolulu: U of Hawai‘i P, 1974) 180.
This is probably the Kekeloaokalani who was a half-sister of Kahekili (they had the same mother, Keku'iapoioiwa, and different fathers), and she was the mother of Peleuli, one of the wives of Kamehameha according to Fornander (Ancient History of the Hawaiian People, 320) and Edith McKenzie, Hawaiian Genealogies, vol. 2 (Lāie, Hawai'i: Brigham Young University-Hawai'i, 1986) 71.

Liliha is one of the names of Keku'iapoioiwa, the mother of Keöpüolani. She was named for her mother Keku'iapoioiwa, who was also the mother of Kamehameha.

This is the battle in which the supposedly impregnable hill fortress of Ka'uiki was successfully taken by Kahekili, according to Kamakau (Ke Kumu Aupuni, 67–68). He gives another version of the name, Kaumupïka'o.

It is not entirely clear where Kapu'iuki is. Perhaps it is a ridiculing name given to the fortress of Ka'uiki by Kahekili after he took it.

According to Kamakau (Ke Kumu Aupuni, 88) this is the name given by Kahekili to the seaway taken by his war canoes from Moloka'i to Waikiki for the conquest of O'ahu.

Walía was a name given to Kahahana, the ruler of O'ahu, because of his sleeping with low ranking women, thereby damaging his rank kapu according to Kamakau (Ke Kumu Aupuni, 79).

This is another name for the battle of Kepaniwai at 'Iao. See Kamakau (Ke Kumu Aupuni, 102) for this name, spelled in that edition Ka'ua'upali. We have spelled it here as “Ka'ua'upali” in accordance with Kamakau’s explanation of its meaning as “clawing up the cliffs” in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, 13 Apr. 1867, “... a ua auhe'e aku la na kanaka, a alualu aku la na koa lanakila, a luku nui aku la i ka poe pio e pii aku ana i ka pali, me ka wawalu ana i ka lima a he luku nui loa... Ua kapaa hoi keia kaua ana o Kauwaupali [printed as Ka'ua'upali on page 102 of Ke Kumu Aupuni], Iao, o [sic] me Kepaniwai.” The meaning of 'ua'u is the same as wawalu. For the meaning pälani, cf. Andrews' definition, “to dig slightly.”

The Hawaiian phrase na'auao i ka lä i he'e ai ia Keone'ula'ula may be an 'olelo no'eau (proverb). It probably refers to a famous battle by the name of Keone'ula'ula at Pōhakumane'o in Hämäkua on the island of Hawai'i during the reign of Keakealani, several generations before Kamehameha. The gist of the phrase seems to be that the wise person knows to flee before it is too late when the other side is winning the battle.

Kalilikauoha was a daughter of Kahekili according to Kamakau (Ke Kumu Aupuni, 18).

Kākaemoku is commonly called by the English name 'Iao Needle.

Kana'e is called an 'elele (representative) of Kahekili by Kamakau (Ke Kumu Aupuni, 55).

Koapapa is the name of Kamehameha’s battle with Keouaki'ahu'ula on the east side of Hämäkua district on Hawai'i according to Kamakau (Ke Kumu Aupuni, 106).

Keawa'eli is a bay on the west side of the cape of Kauhola in Hämäkua, Hawai'i.

33 Kāne and wahine can mean either husband and wife or a pair of unmarried sexual partners. See page 3 of Malo’s manuscript in Hawaiian and English translation.

34 The ali‘ī in question is most often known today as Kalanimoku. In the early 19th century he was the premier executive officer under Kamehameha, the kalaimoku, and he seems to have been often referred to as Kalaimoku because of his office. We have used the spelling Kalaimoku here however, because “kalai” seems to have been a common alternative for “kalani” in names of ali‘ī. For example, in page 2, line 25, Malo writes Kalaniküpule as Kalaküpule.

35 Kaipalaoa was a luakini heiau in Hilo, located at the bottom of what is now Waiānuenue Avenue. See John Stokes, *Heiau of the Island of Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991) 154.


38 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mö‘ï,* 2, 7, 12.

39 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 190. See footnote 55 and associated Kamakau quotation in the text.

40 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mö‘ï,* 140.


42 The Pukui and Elbert dictionary translates kāne i ka ‘ili as “true husband, literally, husband in the skin.” Presumably, this distinguishes a man who is a sexual partner from a brother-in-law, also called kāne, but not a sexual partner.


44 This must have been before 1809, because Kalanimoku was married to Kūwahine by then according to John Papa ‘Īi in “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawai‘i,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,* 17 July 1869. See also the translation, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1959) 29.


46 Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 189) does say that most of Kamehameha’s children died before he did, but he does not specifically say that of Keopuolani’s children.


49 We know from Malo’s account that one child was born before the surviving Liholiho II, then another child that died young was born before her marriage to Ulumāheihei. Nāhi‘ena‘ena was born after Kauikeaulani in 1815, just four years before the death of Kamehameha. That leaves nine (or 12) other children according to Malo, most of them probably born between Liholiho II and Kauikeaulani.

ʻĪi, “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawai,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 7 Aug. 1869. See also the translation *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 64 and map on page 65 drawn by Rockwell after ʻĪi’s description. The arrangement of Kamehameha’s “palace” (his compound) is also described by Alexander Ross in *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Columbia River* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849) 37, as containing the houses of three of Kamehameha’s “queens” (principal wives).

ʻĪi, “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawai,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 Jan. 1870 (see also *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 94) describes a similar compound containing the houses of several wives for Kuihelani, an important official under Kamehameha.

ʻĪi, “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawai,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 25 Dec. 1869 (see also *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 89 and map on page 90 drawn by Rockwell after ʻĪi’s description).


Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mö‘ī*, 12. Kamakau writes of Keōpūolani’s residence at the time that Kauikeaouli was born.

ʻĪi, “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawai,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 10 Apr. 1869 (see also *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 159).


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