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Kawaihāpai: A Place in Time

KAWAIHĀPAI, AN *AHUPUA* 'A, or subdistrict, of Waialua, O'ahu, is a place of mystic beauty that gave Hawaiians a special feeling for their *one hānau* (birthplace) and the *'āina* (land) that connects them to the near and distant past. It is also representative of the changes in land tenure and land use that occurred in the *moku* (district) of Waialua as a result of the Mahele (land division) in 1848.

There are several derivations of the name Kawaihāpai, which means "the carried water." E. S. Craighill Handy, an ethnologist working for the Bishop Museum in 1949, wrote that Kawaihāpai took its name from the stream that, at one time, provided the water for several *lo'i* (irrigated terraces). Several varieties of *kalo* grew in the *lo'i*, which extended to Kealia, the *ahupua'a* west of Kawaihāpai.¹

The oral traditions explain the origin of the name differently. Mary Kawena Pūkui, a recognized Hawaiian cultural expert, had this to say:

A drought once came there in ancient times and drove out everyone except two aged priests. Instead of going with the others, they remained to plead with their gods for relief. One day they saw a cloud approaching from the ocean. It passed over the house to the cliff behind. They heard a splash and when they ran to look, they found water.

Because it was brought there by a cloud in answer to their prayers, the place was named Kawaihāpai (the carried water) and the water supply was named Kawaikumu'ole (water without source).²

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The Hawaiian Journal of History, vol. 30 (1996)

The Hawaiian-language newspaper *Nupepa Kuokoa*, on July 14, 1911, published a similar version. The author, H. L. Liokakele, wrote:

Eia hou, o ka moolelo o keia wai i ike ia, penei no ia: O ka noho ana o kela aina i ka wa kahiko he lako no a i ka hiki ana mai o ka pilikia maluna o ka aina ua make na mea kanu aohe he wai, mamuli o keia pilikia ua manao na mea apau e hele a haalele i ka aina.

Aia nae he elua mau elemakule no ka papa kahuna o ke au kahiko ua noho iho la laua, kukulu na hailona me ka pule pu a i ka amama ana o ka laua pule ana ua ike aku la laua i ka ao puaa e oili ae ana maluna pono o ka lae o Kahuku a hoomanao ae la laua e ua ana a ua lohe ia ka laua pule ia laua e kali ana no ka ua mai, ua lohe aku la laua i ke kuho mai o ke kulu wai iluna o ka pali, a i ko laua pii ana aku e nana ua ike iho la laua i keia wai e kahe mai ana mai loko mai o ka pali, a ua kukala aku la laua i ka nui me ka lehulehu e noho ua loa ka wai.

He mea oiaio ua hooponopono ia kela wai i kela au kahiko a hoo-kahe ia iloko o na loi kalo a ua ola kela poe e noho i Kawaihapai ia au kahiko a hiki i kela au hou e nee nei.

He oiaio ua hanai io aku no kela wai i kekahi hapa o ka lahui Hawaii e noho nei ilaila. Mamuli o ka hookumu ana o ke Akua i kela wai iluna o ka pali, peia i kapaia ai ka inoa o kela aina mai kahiko loa mai o Kawaihapai, mamuli o ka hapa ia ana o kela wai a kau iluna, a mamuli o ka ike ole ia ana o ke kumu o kela wai pela no i kapa ia ai kona inoa Kawaikumuoleikapali a hiki i keia manawa.

The translation of Liokakele's text follows:

Here again is the legend of this water that is well known. In the old days, life on that land was rich until trouble came and the plants died because there was no water. Everybody thought of leaving and abandoning the land. But two old men of the old priestly class stayed to prepare a special place to pray. After praying, they saw a hog-shaped cloud coming from the direction of Kahuku Point. They guessed that it was going to rain and that their prayers were heard. They waited for rain. When they heard the splashing of raindrops, they went to look and saw water pouring from the cliff. They told everybody to stay because water was found.

It is true that the water was cared for long ago and it was made to flow into the taro patches. Those people who lived at Kawaihapai long ago were saved until this new period that is going on now.

It is true that water provided plenty of food for some of the Hawaiians living there. God created that water above the cliff; the name of the land long ago was called Kawaihapai [Lifted Water] because some of that water was placed above and since no one knew the source of that water it is called Kawaikumuole-ikapali (Water without source on the cliff) to this day.³

It is of interest to note that this version mentioned a “hog-shaped cloud.” This was one of the body forms of Kamapua‘a, the pig god in Hawaiian legends, who was also associated with the production of food. In this case, Kamapua‘a was alluded to as the transporter of water to that place.

In the mythological epic of Pele, the volcano or fire goddess, and her sister, Hi‘iaka, Hawaiian place names and a feeling for the landscape are brought together in poetry. Pele personifies fire and volcanic activity, while Hi‘iaka is calm, benevolent, and ready to help anyone.⁴

During her journey to Kaua‘i from the Big Island, Hi‘iaka often displayed an enthusiastic interest in the landscape before her. A part of this epic chant speaks of the four hidden waters, Ulunui, Kohe‘iki, Ulehulu, and Waiaka‘aiea, which were known to have existed just *mauka* of Kawaihoa *heiau* at Kawaihāpai.⁵ Hi‘iaka and her companion searched endlessly for the hidden springs. Because water was scarce, the residents did not reveal the location of these springs as told in this chant of Hi‘iaka:

I kihe ia e ke kai o Wawalu,
 Na owaewae pali o Unu-lau
 Inu aku i ka wai o Kohe-iki i ka pali—
 I ka pali i ka wai,
 Kau pu me ka laau.
 Hoole ke kupa, huná i ka wai.
 Ehá ka muli-wai, wai o Ka-ena.

Besprayed by the sea of Wawalu,
 Forefront Unulau’s gullied cliffs.
 I drink of the water distilled
 By the dripping pali walls,
 Led forth in a hollowed log.

The rustic [native] denies it and hides it:
Four water-streams has Ka-ena.⁶

Just as *wai* (water) and *kalo* were important in agriculture to the residents of Kawaihāpai, so was fishing. This was evident through the oral traditions and the *ko'a*, or fishing shrines, that were in existence at one time. One such shrine, Pu'u o Hekili, was an '*ahua*,⁷ or heap of rocks, located on the beach just below the Kawaihāpai wireless station. Another shrine, Kuakea, near the seashore was in direct line with Kawailoa *heiau*.⁸ These shrines, usually of uncarved stones, were used to pray to Ku'ula, the god of all fishermen.

At Kawaihāpai, the fishermen prayed to their god Kāne'aukai. In the legend of Maikoha, his older brother, Kāne'aukai, went in search of his sisters who had been living on O'ahu with their husbands. One of his sisters, Ihukoko, made her home in Waialua with her husband, Kawailoa. The fish that accompanied her was the *āholehole* (Hawaiian flagtail). Changing his body into the shape of a log, Kāne'aukai floated on the ocean for several days and eventually "drifted to the seashore of Kealia in Mokolē'ia, Kawaihāpai, Waialua." After floating in and out with the tide for some time, Kāne'aukai changed into his human form and traveled to Kapaeloa, where two old priests were living and preparing the *imu* (underground oven). After they had covered up the *imu*, they went out fishing, but caught nothing. It was then that Kāne'aukai called out to them:

"E na elemakule, owai ka olua akua e kaumaha nei?" I mai na elemakule: "O ke 'kua ka maua e kaumaha nei aohe loa a ka inoa." I aku Kaneaukai: "Ua loa a, a i kaumaha olua, penei e olelo ai, eia ka ai a me ka ia e Kaneaukai, oia ka inoa o ke kua." Ae aku na elemakule: "Ae, akahi no a loa ia maua ka inoa o ke kua." Nolaila, hoomana ia a hiki i keia la. A ua lilo o Kaneaukai i aku lawaia no laua, a me na mea e ae, ke manao laua pela.

Say, you old men, which god do you worship? The old men answered: "We are worshipping a god, but we don't know his name." Kāne'aukai replied: "You will now know and worship him." This is the way. When you let down your net again, call out, "Here is the food and fish Kāne'aukai; that is the name of the god." The old men agreed to do this,

saying: “yes, this is the first time that we have learned the name of the god.” Because of this fact, Kāne‘aukai is the fish god to this day. Kāne‘aukai became their fish god, and there are others, if they so desire.⁹

It was important to the fishermen that the first fish caught and the proper prayers be offered to Kāne‘aukai. These rituals were strictly observed by the fishermen so that the god would ensure success. This practice of praying to the gods empowered Hawaiian society to maintain that equal balance between nature and people.

KAWAIHĀPAI: ALOHA ‘ĀINA

The oral traditions tell of the many chiefs who ruled O‘ahu. During those times, the *ali‘i* (chiefs) had vested control of the lands. This was not, however, the same concept as ownership of land in the Western sense. The land was never bought or sold but was transferred from one person to another either through inheritance, by means of conquering through warfare, or by redistribution at the death of an *ali‘i*.¹⁰ The distribution of lands in Waialua was no different from the other *moku* on O‘ahu.

The mechanics of this system were such that upon the death of an *ali‘i*, either through illness or warfare, all lands passed to the new *ali‘i nui* (high chief). With the advice of the *kālaimoku* (divider of the island), who was an important adviser, the new *ali‘i nui* would redistribute the lands among those *ali‘i* who were his primary supporters.

This process, referred to as *kālai‘āina* (literally, land carving), was a complex procedure, but the redistribution of land was the most crucial decision for the new *ali‘i nui*. If any of the older and more powerful *ali‘i* were offended because they did not receive any land or were given less than they had anticipated, war was likely to take place against the new *ali‘i nui*.¹¹

This complex process began to change in 1795, when Kamehameha I claimed victory at the Battle of Nu‘uanu, O‘ahu. He now had control of the lands from the Big Island to O‘ahu, and it was important to him that a proper *kālai‘āina* be made. He distributed large portions of the conquered lands on each island to four *ali‘i* from

Kona who were his political advisers. These *ali'i* were instrumental in his rise to the position of *ali'i nui*. The lands were given to them in perpetuity, which allowed them to pass the lands on to their heirs. A Hawaiian scholar remarked that, "By doing so, he effectively shared his sovereign rights with these four *Ali'i Nui*: no longer was ultimate control of all the *'Āina* the sole prerogative of the *Mo'i*."¹²

John Papa 'Ī'i, a Hawaiian historian, wrote that

According to Kamanawa's counsel, Kamehameha had divided the large *ahupua'a* tracts and the smaller *'ili 'aina* [land section] tracts of land all over Oahu among his chiefs. . . . Other *ahupua'a* all over the island of Oahu, which Kamehameha had won after the battle of Nuuanu, were also divided.¹³

In addition to land distribution, Kamehameha also maintained political control. "As governors over the islands of Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Molokai, Kamehameha appointed commoners lest a chief stir up rebellion. But later he made Ka'ahumanu's brother, Kahekili Ke'eau-moku, governor over Maui."¹⁴

While on O'ahu, Kamehameha set an example of *aloha 'āina* (love of land). An article that appeared in the Hawaiian-language newspaper, *Ka Nai Aupuni*, September 1, 1906, tells about Kamehameha's journey around the island of O'ahu. In this account, Kamehameha worked in the *lo'i* along with the *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* (commoners).

Hookahi la i noho ai o Kamehameha e mahiai ma Waianae, a haalele ia wahi no Waialua. Ekolu a eha paha la o ka noho mahiai ana o na lii a me na kanaka ia Waialua, mai ka moena pawehe aku o a hoea i ka wai o Waimea. Mai Waialua aku a hoea i na Laie. Mahiai no malaila.

Kamehameha stayed for only one day to farm at Waianae, then went to Waialua. He stayed at least three or four days with the chiefs and people of Waialua working in the *loi*, which extended from the famous *pawehe* (geometric patterns) mats [of Mokulē'ia] to the waters of Waimea. From Waialua he went to Laie and farmed there.¹⁵

He also tended the farms on the O'ahu lands he kept for himself, that is, those in Nu'uanu, Helumoia in Pua'ali'ili'i, Waikiki, Kapā-lama, Keone'ula, and others in Honolulu.¹⁶ In addition, he was often

seen fishing with his fishermen near the shore and in the deep ocean. He took care of the canoe paddlers by supplying them with the necessary supplies for *aku* fishing.¹⁷

After the death of Kamehameha in 1819, a new political structure evolved in the government. Ka'ahumanu, his favorite wife, declared herself co-ruler of the kingdom, thus sharing duties with Liholiho, the son and heir of Kamehameha. At the time of Liholiho's investiture as *ali'i nui*, it was agreed upon by the Council of Chiefs that Ka'ahumanu should be the one to announce the last commands of Kamehameha I. She spoke to Liholiho as follows:

O heavenly one! I speak to you the commands of your grandfather. Here are the chiefs, here are the people of your ancestors; here are your guns; here are your lands. But we two shall share the rule over the land.¹⁸

This meant that the government of the Hawaiian kingdom would be a shared entity. Ka'ahumanu, as *kuhina nui* (chief counselor), would rule alongside Liholiho, the *ali'i nui*.

How she came to achieve such political power can be traced through her genealogy. From the Hawaiian perspective, Ka'ahumanu attained her position through her father, Ke'eumoku, grandson of Kalanikauleleaiwi, the *ali'i wahine* (queen) of the highest *mana* (spiritual power) from the island of Hawai'i, and through her mother, Namahana-i-kaleleonalani, daughter of Kekaulike and Ha'alou, Maui *ali'i nui*, also with high *mana*.¹⁹

Through her marriage to Kamehameha I at the age of sixteen, Ka'ahumanu's political career would radically change the government of the Hawaiian kingdom. Unable to bear any children, she took Liholiho, the first-born son of Kamehameha and the high chiefess Keōpūolani, as her *hānai* (adopted) child.²⁰ As the *kahu* (guardian) of Liholiho, Ka'ahumanu's duty was to instruct and guide him as if he were her own. It was through this custom and her astute behavior that no one disputed her position in the political arena of Hawaiian politics.²¹

As *kuhina nui*, Ka'ahumanu took control of the lands. But she permitted the chiefs to keep the lands they had received from Kamehameha I because no traditional *kālai'āina* was acted on and she also

needed loyal supporters. She made certain that the *ali'i 'ai moku* (district ruling chiefs) on each island were of the same Maui and Hawai'i genealogical lineage as she was in order to maintain absolute control over the lands.²² This enabled her brother, Kahekili Ke'eumoku, also known by the English name George Cox, to become the *ali'i 'ai moku* of Waialua from about 1837.

In his journal written in 1822, the foreigner Gilbert Mathison wrote:

Here a chief named Coxe, who is one of the richest and most powerful in the island resides; and as he was the person from whom our Captain was to obtain the sandalwood, our first visit was of course paid to him. He bears the name and office, if it can be so called, of Governor. His hut stands on the seashore, and was sufficiently large to accommodate the whole of our party, consisting of several Americans, besides himself.²³

The evidence confirms that Ke'eumoku was the *ali'i 'ai moku* of Waialua. Mathison, from his observation, also wrote that Ke'eumoku, was handsome and literate as well.

He [Ke'eumoku] is a large, athletic, handsome man of an ingenious and good humored countenance, apparently indolent and reserved, unless particularly roused to action: he speaks English better than any other native I had yet conversed with, and welcomed me in the kindest manner.²⁴

As the *ali'i 'ai moku*, Ke'eumoku was charged with the management and overseeing of the annual collection of tributes or taxes. His selection of qualified candidates for the office of land agents, or *kono'hiki*, required final approval from the *ali'i nui*.

The historian Ralph Kuykendall wrote:

The word *kono'hiki* is used in several different senses. . . . Frequently, the landlord appointed an agent or agents to look after his lands, particularly those which were at a distance from his place of residence, and to direct the work of the tenants; such an agent was also called a *kono'hiki*. . . .²⁵

According to David Malo, it was the duty of the *konohiki* to have all the taxes collected and ready in time for the *ali'i* to present as offerings to Lono, god of agriculture, during the time of Makahiki. Lono was known as an *akua* (god) who came from Kahiki and visited Hawai'i each year bringing gifts for the people. The Makahiki was a time of rest and celebration that began in October or November and would continue for three or four months. During this time war, sacrificial worship, and work were suspended.²⁶

The *konohiki* also acted as land agent for the *ali'i 'ai moku* to ensure that the land was continually productive and the fisheries well stocked with the favorite fishes of the *ali'i nui*. If the *konohiki* was late in collecting the necessary taxes or failed to maintain continuous productivity from the land and sea, he or she was replaced.²⁷

In testimonies for Mahele land claims in Waialua, there are examples of claimants who were the *konohiki* or the name of the *konohiki* they worked for was mentioned. In these cases, their required duties were described as well as the problems they encountered.

Kihewa, was an example of a *konohiki* who was replaced. His testimony for a land claim at Pa'ala'a, Waialua, stated, "Further I was the *konohiki* until the month of December 1846 when Holuloa took it; however, I did not neglect the tribute for the land, and I managed well nor was there lack of the annual tribute; there is no reason for fault being found with me."²⁸ Kukea, another claimant, in testimony for claims at [Ka] Mananui, Waialua, said, "this land is named Wai-kapu, and I, the *kaikaina* [younger sibling] inherited it on the death of my *kaikua'ana* [older sibling] with the consent of the *konohiki*, Naukana."²⁹ Na'ili'ili, in his claim, said, "I am the landlord over the people of these *'ilis*. I have the authority and the care of the taro patches of these *'ilis*."³⁰ So, it was evident from these testimonies that the *konohiki* had an important role in the *moku* of Waialua which continued up to the time of the Mahele in 1848.

As for the *konohiki* of Kawaihāpai, the contemporary sources at the time of the Mahele did not name a specific person. The available records suggest, however, that such a person existed. The testimony for land claims to the Land Commission before the Mahele makes no clear indication of a *konohiki* for this *ahupua'a*, although Gideon La'anui, brother-in-law of Ka'ahumanu, was the *konohiki* of the entire

moku of Waialua during Ka'ahumanu's time. From the literature, the *konohiki* was an integral part of the *ahupua'a*, acting as supervisor and land agent for the *ali'i*. In the land-claim testimonies for Kawaihāpai, one name was mentioned by three different individuals. Niho had several land claims at Kawaihāpai. In his third claim he said, "[the land] was bounded on the north by the land of Mahiahume; east by the land of Kaewaewa; south by the *po'alima* [literally, the fifth day] of Napahi."³¹ A claim by Kalalawalu said that his land "is bounded on the north by the land of Niho; east by the land of Haule; east by Hulu; and west by the land of Kaewaewa; south by the *poalima* of Napahi; west by the *poalima* of Napahi."³² The claim of Haule states that his first claim "is bounded on the north by Kaanaana; east by Paele; *po'alima* of Napahi; south by the land of Hoikamalii; west by the land of Moewaa."³³

All these land claims mention the name Napahi as having a *po'alima*. In the preface of the *Indices of Awards* the following terms are defined:

There were also patches and gardens which were planted by the tenants, or common people, for their landlords. These were called "*ko'eles*." These belonged to the chief but cultivated for him by his people, and these also had their names. These *ko'ele* in later years were worked for the chiefs by the tenants on Fridays only, and they then came to be called "*Po'alimas*", *po'alima* being the Hawaiian word for Friday.³⁴

By the evidence stated above, Napahi could have been the *konohiki* of Kawaihāpai. He was probably not a resident of Kawaihāpai but may have lived elsewhere because his name does not appear in testimonies for land claims at that place or any other *ahupua'a* in Waialua. If Napahi was the *konohiki*, land may have been given to him at Kawaihāpai as inheritance, as a gift for doing a good deed for the *ali'i*, or through marriage. Or it is possible that he simply managed the *po'alima*.

After the death of Kahekili Ke'eaumoku in 1824, his sister, Lydia Kekuapi'ia Namahana, also known as Pi'ia, inherited the entire *moku* of Waialua.³⁵ La'anui, nephew of Kamehameha I and husband of Pi'ia, in testimony before the Land Commission, said that, "Ke'eau-

moku died in 1824, and then Kaahumanu gave Waialua to Piia from cape to cape, from the upland to the sea and from that side to that side yet, it had no *ku*" [*ʻili kūpono*, independent land division within the *ahupuaʻa*].³⁶ After Piʻia died in 1829, Kaʻahumanu said to Laʻanui, "Your *wahine* has died and you are my *kaikaina*, you shall live in our house & my lands, which are yours from your *wahine*, shall be yours as in her bequest."³⁷

Then, in her *kauoha*, or oral testament, Kaʻahumanu left all her lands to her niece, Kinaʻu, daughter of her sister Kaheihemalie.³⁸ In his testimony, Laʻanui also said that Kinaʻu had told him, "You return to Waialua and live, you shall be for me [*sic*]—you return as *luna* [landlord or supervisor] of the land you occupy—your lands from your *wahine* [female; wife] shall be yours."³⁹

In either case, however, Laʻanui never owned, in a Western sense, any portion of the *moku* nor was any land listed as his in the 1848 *Buke Mahele*.⁴⁰ After the death of Kinaʻu in 1839, her youngest daughter, Victoria Kamāmalu, held the *kalana* (land smaller than a *moku*) of Waialua.⁴¹ Hence, up to the time of the Mahele in 1848, the *moku* of Waialua was still in the hands of the *aliʻi*, heirs of Kamehameha.

From the time of Kamehameha's death in 1819 until 1848, the lands on all the islands "were in a constant state of flux, being given as presents by one *Aliʻi Nui* to another, as tribute from a lesser *Aliʻi* to a higher one, or granted by an *Aliʻi Nui* as a favor to a lesser *Aliʻi*."⁴² Waialua was no different.

If there is a lesson to be learned from the *moʻolelo* (story, history) of Kawaihāpai, it is that through the *ʻāina* upon which we live, the *ʻāina* that we love, the *ʻāina* that we *mālama* (care for, protect), this is our identity. When dispossessed of our *ʻāina*, we lose the connection to the past and our heritage. Our individual sovereignty is threatened. We become strangers in our own land.

The experiences at Kawaihāpai were a reverberating echo of time past. Kawaihāpai, the place of birth and the place of rest, was at one time the symbol of emotional consciousness of the *ʻāina* for those who lived there. Now that close harmony with the *ʻāina* has been buried by the bulldozer. Gone are the *kūpuna* and the timeless *ʻāina*. Gone are the *loʻi* and the spring that once fed the fields with its sweet

nourishment. Gone are the caretakers of the 'āina. What remains today is a dry and barren landscape. The boundary is defined by a chain link fence. The 'āina is partially covered with black asphalt and litter of the twentieth century: broken glass, rusted cans, and remnants from military use.

NOTES

- 1 E. S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy, *Native Planters of Old Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum P, 1972) 467.
- 2 Mary Kawena Pukui, *Ōlelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum P, 1983) 178.
- 3 H. K. Liokalele, "He Haina Nane," *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 14 July 1916.
- 4 Nathaniel B. Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1915) xi.
- 5 J. Gilbert McAllister, *Archaeology of Oahu* (New York: Krauss Reprint Co., 1976) 128.
- 6 Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka* 101-03.
- 7 Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1986) 8.
- 8 McAllister, *Archaeology of Oahu* 128.
- 9 Abraham Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore*, vol. 5, part 3 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1919) 272; my translation of the Hawaiian text.
- 10 Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1992) 97.
- 11 Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* 56.
- 12 Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* 52.
- 13 John Papa 'Ī'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum P, 1983) 69.
- 14 Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools P, 1961) 184.
- 15 *Ka Nai Aupuni*, 1 Sept. 1906; my translation of the Hawaiian text.
- 16 'Ī'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* 69.
- 17 'Ī'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* 69.
- 18 Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* 220.
- 19 Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* 309.
- 20 Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* 73.
- 21 Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* 73.
- 22 Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* 74.
- 23 Gilbert F. Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil. Chile. Peru and the Sandwich Islands. During the Year 1821 & 1822* (London: S & R Bentley, 1825) 392.
- 24 Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit* 392.

- ²⁵ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1968) 284n.
- ²⁶ David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1951) 141–42.
- ²⁷ Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* 145.
- ²⁸ Native Testimony, Kihewa to Land Commission, vol. 3, 659. AH.
- ²⁹ Native Testimony, Kukea to Land Commission, vol. 3, 677. AH.
- ³⁰ Native Testimony, Na'ili'ili to Land Commission, vol. 2, 142. AH.
- ³¹ Native Testimony, Niho to Land Commission, vol. 2, 491. AH.
- ³² Native Testimony, Kalalawalu to Land Commission, vol. 2, 509. AH.
- ³³ Native Testimony, Haule to Land Commission, vol. 2, 524. AH.
- ³⁴ *Indices of Awards Made by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles in the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin P, 1929) x.
- ³⁵ Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* 120.
- ³⁶ Native Testimony, Laanui to Land Commission, vol. 5, 494. AH. The term *'ili kupono* refers to a land division within the *ahupua'a*.
- ³⁷ Laanui to Land Commission, vol. 5, 494. AH.
- ³⁸ Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* 123.
- ³⁹ Laanui to Land Commission, vol. 5, 494. AH.
- ⁴⁰ *Buke Mahele* (1848), 130. AH.
- ⁴¹ The term *kalana*, as defined in the Pukui-Elbert *Hawaiian Dictionary*, is a division of land smaller than a *moku*, or district. See Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* 27.
- ⁴² Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* 133.

