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MO'OLELO KAUKAU ALI'I: THE DYNAMICS OF CHIEFLY SERVICE AND
IDENTITY IN 'ŌIWI SOCIETY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN HISTORY MAY 1995

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Abstract

The kaukau ali'i were lesser-ranked members of the chiefly class in traditional 'Oiwi (Native Hawaiian) society. Based on their rank which was determined by familial relationships to the Ali'i Nui or high chiefs, kaukau ali'i were designated chiefly servers. They performed tasks at the behest of their higher ranked relatives in a service provider-service recipient dynamic that was a component of the overall societal structure. This service relationship delegated responsibilities to chiefly servers that contributed to the overall daily conduct of life in areas ranging from caregiving to Ali'i Nui children to the provision of battlefield support during inter-island warfare.

The standard approach to the study of Hawaiian history has been to focus on the Ali'i Nui as leaders of a stratified society who held power and wielded it as they saw fit. With the coming of foreigners, the investigative emphasis remained on the leadership and decisions they made in the context of introductions posed by the haole or foreigners. This study chose a different point of emphasis by beginning with the premise that the kaukau ali'i as chiefly servers, despite being of lesser rank, played necessary roles that facilitated everything from the distribution of produce to the bearing of spittoons.
Along with this difference regarding the choice of subjects on which to focus primary attention, came an approach that suggested historiographical innovations. Hawaiian language terms became the foundation for conceptual development in this work. The cultural meaning inherent in Hawaiian words offered the opportunity for making Hawaiian values and philosophical principles central to the effort, not mere flavoring added for effect. For the kaukau ali‘i, service so defined their identity that it seemed natural to examine the nature of this service in the contexts of three distinct time periods spanning four hundred years. Throughout the text, I have asserted that history can be written from a decidedly Native point of view and tried to show how this can be accomplished yet still allow the work to contribute to the broader issues of interpreting the past.
Acknowledgments

There are no words or actions that can adequately express the kind of gratitude I feel toward the many individuals who assisted in the completion of this document. Having sustained a cervical spinal cord injury at the age of fifteen, the resultant physical challenge of quadraplegia has made assistance of all sorts something of a perpetual, albeit necessary, state of affairs over the last twenty-five years.

Consequently, the support required to finish an undertaking the magnitude of a dissertation given my physical challenge, goes to the very heart of what it means to receive much-needed, always-appreciated assistance. I could not peruse so much as a single book without first getting assistance in removing the desired volume from the shelf. My voice activated computer works wonders, but only after someone assists by plugging the electrical cord and microphone jack into their respective slots.

I disclose these glimpses of the helping process first because they can be easily overlooked as "grunt" work -- the seemingly menial tasks assigned to "gofers." To perform these often repetitive and uninteresting tasks well takes patience and the willingness to listen to directions that at times are neither clear nor concise. These basic forms of assistance are anything but unimportant considering my
physical challenge and the need to compensate for its limiting effects. I begin, therefore, by expressing my mahalo to the people who have so tirelessly assisted me in this capacity.

Gerry Kosasa-Terry has assisted with everything from printing hardcopy versions of each chapter, to entering the Hawaiian word glossary onto computer, to formatting the Table of Contents and the figures that appear within the text. In addition, she has served as a volunteer graduate assistant to both my classes as I juggled a full-time teaching load with the task of writing a dissertation. Her continuous assistance has been exemplary.

Kanoelani Hee provided assistance in the retrieval of all secondary sources and accessing them for my review of notes, and also compiled the master glossary list in hardcopy of all Hawaiian words used in the text. Aside from these tasks, she has been my most constant source of emotional support as my ipo and partner in life. Kehaulani Pu'u placed diacritical marks on the Hawaiian words in text and assisted as well with the glossary as did Joy Sakamoto and Ke'ala Wilcox. Each of these individuals has given of their time from very busy schedules to assist and I truly appreciate their efforts.

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Momi Kamahele and Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio began graduate study in history with me at the University of Hawai'i-Mānoa in 1988. Enlightening and informative conversations with them have been a catalyst for much of my conceptual development in this text. There have been many lengthy discussions about how we as persons of Hawaiian ancestry can make an impact on the doing of what is our history. We have continued to support one another for seven years, through the rigors of completing doctoral requirements and have faced significant obstacles together and persevered. A wellspring of pono has come from our association and for this I will always be grateful.

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was also the offering of insight. Conceptually, the work of Professor Kame'elehiwa has been a beacon. My effort builds upon hers in some respects and departs from it in others, but in either case, her influence has been foundational to my thinking.

To the faculty, staff, and students of the Center for Hawaiian Studies goes my most heartfelt appreciation, a more caring, supportive, and nurturing place to work could not be found. The day-to-day perseverance it took to finish this project was bolstered immeasurably by their words of encouragement and continuous demonstrations of aloha.

Last but by no means least, I say mahalo a nui loa to my 'ohana for their unwavering support from the time I first chose to return to the university in 1988 and pursue the doctorate. They have provided all manner of assistance over the years and without their backing my task would have been insurmountable. We have accomplished this together in every sense of the word.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract..............................................................iii
Acknowledgements....................................................v

Chapter 1: Nā Kaukau Ali‘i: He Wahi Ho‘omaka ‘Ana
Chiefly Servers: A Point of Departure......................1
Ke ‘Ano O Ka Fū‘olo: Past as Metaphor.....................3
Ke ‘Ano Kaukau Ali‘i: Chiefly Server Identity.........6
A Closer Look at Curious Blends..............................15
Theoretical Influences...........................................16
E Ho‘omaka Pono: To Begin in Earnest....................42

Chapter 2: Kalamakumu, Ka ‘Āina Hanau E
Kalamakumu, The Homeland..................................48
Ancestral Homeland and Its Significance................50
Spiritual Realm: A Context for ‘Oiwi Life...............55
Mahina Cycle and Konohiki..................................57
Food Crop Production and Konohiki Role...............64

Chapter 3: He Leo No Ke Ko‘ihonua
A Voice for the Genealogical Chant......................77
A Metaphor for Service and Status........................78
Nā Ko‘o Lani: Chiefly Supporters.........................87
Noho Ali‘i: Chiefly Hierarchy...............................94
Moana Kaukau Ali‘i Lineage.................................113

Chapter 4: Hana Lawelawe A Ka Wā ‘Aikapu
Service Tasks of the Sacred Eating Era...............171
‘Ōlelo No‘eau: Proverbs and Sayings.....................181
Kaukau Ali‘i Eyewitness Accounts.......................189
‘Aikapu Examples of Hana Lawelawe......................198
Hana Lawelawe of Kapohu..................................212
Final Thoughts..................................................218

Chapter 5: Hana Lawelawe I Ka Wā Aupuni Mō‘ī
Service Tasks of the Kingdom Era......................226
Kalamakumu’s Boy, Honolulu’s Man......................229
Other Kingdom-Era Kaukau Ali‘i.........................253
Christian Kaukau Ali‘i, an Example.....................270
Conclusion to Chapter Five.................................280
Chapter One
"Nā Kaukau Ali‘i: He Wahi Ho‘omaka ‘Ana"
(The Chiefly Servers: A Point of Departure)

The ‘ōiwi are my people, the first inhabitants of the islands now known collectively as Hawai‘i. As the indigenous population, we have cultivated the ‘āina (land) and worked the surrounding ocean with diligence. Our ancestors prayed with devotion to many Akua (deities) and fought vehemently for supremacy on an island, and eventually, for paramountcy over all islands. ‘ōiwi demonstrated loyalty to their leaders and in return those leaders exhorted them to carry on. And while on the alaloa (long course) from that time to this, we have expressed aloha, even when it has resulted in dire consequences for ourselves and our country.

Through cycles of moon and journeys of sun across sky, the ‘ōiwi arrived then took root here. Like the food crops they planted and tended so carefully, traditions were put down into the societal soil then refined through cultivation over time. Kūpuna, the ancestors and elders of ‘ōiwi island chiefdoms from Kaua‘i to Hawai‘i, adhered to particular modes of conduct and ways of life they passed on to their many pua or, descendants.

In comparison to one another, the autonomous island polities that developed were variations on a theme,
organized similarly with some distinguishing features as well. Each chiefdom's resources were allocated and maintained to support a rhythm of life that ideally, was kai hāwanawana, "a small whispering shorebreak" as it lapped gently on coastlines of each island. Life's cadence could also be tenuous and harsh, which is why the detail-conscious social order proved so advantageous in those instances when survival itself became an especially unnerving quest.

The 'āina was cared for with respect and in turn, the 'āina as a figurative elder sibling offered sustenance to its younger 'ōiwi family members. Akua were continually worshipped for their mana, or spiritual lifeforce, and to do right by them was called pono. The need to conduct oneself properly was always an important consideration. Pono defined that propriety with different circumstances dictating the correct solution, contingency, or strategy to employ. When the rightly action of pono was conveyed, the spiritual yield was acquisition of mana.

The object of this journey is the creation of a moʻolelo -- an evidence-based account of the 'ōiwi past that will be interpreted using methods of analysis both Native and Western. My moʻolelo examines a certain group of 'ōiwi from within the chiefly class. They are the kaukau aliʻi, "chiefly servers" who saw to the needs of their blood-related superiors the Aliʻi Nui (great chiefly ones). A service-based relationship between these chiefs
of different rank contributed to a more orderly operation of society as a whole, be it service toward success in warfare, the care and maintenance of Ali‘i Nui homes and family members, or overseeing production of food crops like taro and sweet potato.

The service tasks performed by kaukau ali‘i were one aspect of a larger system that governed how ʻōiwi of different social strata interacted with another in ways that met the overall need to survive, but in a manner which also had its own definitions of excellence, success, and life quality. This text focuses on chiefly servers, what different generations of them did for the ruling class over time, and why.

Ke ʻAno 0 Ka PŪ'olo: The Past As Metaphor

One way to think about and learn from the past is to enhance the meaning of its study with a metaphor. I conceive of the past as a pū'olo (leaf-wrapped bundle) of bygone eras, the endpoint of which at any given moment is never actually reached. This is so because past and present link inexorably in the mind's eye and ear as abstractions for which the physical environment and human action can only give temporary reference. The very same mind's eye and ear holds the pū'olo as knowledge to be conveyed, that pua may in turn partake of its contents. This mo'olelo is one articulation of some of what the pū'olo contains.
The puʻolo has its most remote boundaries set in the time when ʻOiwi words were spoken not written, gestured not read, and signified in the regalia of an Aliʻi Nui warrior rather than on signs reading "Kapu (Restricted), Private Property, Keep Out." Wrapped in layers of leaves that gather in what was then and keep it paʻa (solid) to what is now, the puʻolo is an amalgam of curious blends: the drumbeat that still sounds in a forest clearing as electronic "life" spans the Pacific in microseconds; the sight of a translucent ocean continues to meet the seemingly definitive horizon, only now, the view can more commonly be understood via the science of perception than through the protocol of worship dictated by such a vista. The island that was their world, now part of the world that is an island.

One of the puʻolo's contents that is central to my moʻolelo is the concept ʻano. Its literal meaning is "image," as in the reflection of a face in the surface waters of a mountain pool. The figurative meaning I assign to ʻano is "identity," and in that context of identity, this moʻolelo focuses on the dynamics of service as it defined the ʻano kaukau aliʻi or, "chiefly server identity." It was service and the identity-related strength of serving well which gave the kaukau aliʻi their place in ʻOiwi society.
'Ano reflects the essential nature of kaukau aliʻi service in all its complexity. More generally, 'ano applied to the 'Oiwi as a people and can be thought of as a category of person that describes characteristics, style, folkways, mores, spiritual principles, and the significance of ancestry. To 'Oiwi, phenomena both natural and what most in our time call supernatural, have their own 'ano. This is true for plant and animal life as well.

The pūʻolo includes 'Oiwi values-influenced strategies for gathering and interpreting sources about the past. Authorial selectivity censors as it centers, privileges as it prohibits, and my guide for responsibility in the creation of this text is an adherence to the principle of pono. In this context, pono defines what is proper to either include or omit from the moʻolelo. Together with these considerations, pono calls for responsible representations of what in many instances is a sacred, not merely a distant, past. Consequently, I approach the task of composing this moʻolelo with a faithfulness to pono.

While the pūʻolo itself is not reproduceable, the possibility is there to interpret meaning and gain insights from its contents. The pūʻolo, in its hypothetical entirety, happened once, although historical studies, like polyps on a reef, increase the size of the overall body of knowledge about the 'Oiwi past. The pūʻolo offers what is needed in terms of sources so that the moʻolelo may be
composed. This written form of mo'olelo, if produced in a manner that is pono, should acquire mana or, spiritual lifeforce, from how the mo'olelo was produced and conveyed. In ancient times, one's memory of the words with expressions of the voice in concert with the soul, either spoke or chanted a mo'olelo. What is past becomes and engulfs what is now and what will be. This is the ‘ano of mo'olelo.

Ke 'Ano Kaukau Ali'i: The Chiefly Server Identity

Service was a central aspect of the chiefly servers' ‘ano. They functioned in any number of capacities from spittoon bearer to battlefield negotiator at the behest of their haku (chiefly superiors). Within this context of service, there existed a bond between those who performed the tasks and those who received benefit from their performance. To serve properly was to demonstrate pono. Conduct according to protocol was critical. This meant the various kaukau ali'i roles within which tasks were performed had to be carried out with an eye toward flawlessness. Ali'i Nui were thought of as Akua, sacred deities whose own ‘ano required the efforts of chiefly hands. Consequently, those who served the Ali'i Nui directly had to be from the chiefly ranks as well. More will be said about ‘ano in successive chapters as examples of it are shared in anecdotes and other references.
Because this text is about such a specific group of people, it is necessary to establish various contexts for understanding who the chiefly servers within the larger scope of `Oiwi society. Chapter One presents a theoretical context for understanding this work. Chapter Two describes some basic concepts for keeping time, like the lunar calendar, as well as an example of chiefly servers’ task-specific knowledge of space. The latter case has to do with the role of konohiki, land stewards who oversaw food crop production. These specific examples of measuring time and configuring space, help explain what a chiefly server in the konohiki role would need to know about the environment. Also, this discussion of roles establishes a context for information on other kinds of services the kaukau ali‘i performed which are covered in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three, also contextual, discusses mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogical succession) in the determination of matters like: who is kaukau ali‘i; how closely a chiefly server is related to those served; and what tasks the person is eligible to perform. Especially important for understanding the context this chapter offers is the previously discussed ‘ano kaukau ali‘i. Those who served knew it was something they were born to do, something that contributed much to their ‘ano. The roles played and the tasks performed were related to one’s chiefly server status as indicated through
mo'okū'auhau. One without a chiefly server lineage would not ordinarily be eligible for kaukau ali'i service.

For 'ōiwi, it seems 'ano was a method of observation and classification as well. Asking the question, "he aha kona 'ano?" or, "what is its nature?, what is he, she, or it like?" This logically leads to descriptions about someone or something that provide information not known previously, or perhaps not as fully. When applied to the kaukau ali'i, 'ano is a focal point for my analysis of this sub-group within the chiefly class. The concept of 'ano relies on mo'okū'auhau for its structure. Who they were in terms of lineage determined, to a large extent, what tasks they performed and for whom.

I am concerned with understanding the 'ano of the kaukau ali'i through three distinct time periods. Chapters Four, Five, and Six focuses on these eras respectively. Together, it is hoped my analysis of the chiefly servers from these distinct time periods will offer a different perspective on the 'ōiwi past. By different I mean a point of view that appreciates those days through the eyes of who served as opposed to who ruled.

To discover the meaning of service for these people, there are a number of questions which need to be asked. What, for instance, might have motivated them to perform these service tasks and fulfill them so consistently over time, generation to generation? More particularly, what
place in the 'Oiwi past did chiefly server tasks assume toward the more orderly operation of food distribution, personal care for the ruling class, or looking confidently to able and trusted companions in battle? It is one kind of mo'olelo that examines these questions in the context of the leaders in society. My work chooses to probe remnants of the past, but not for information to interpret about rulers or the powerful. Instead, my focus is on the lives of those who supported rulers and reinforced the powerful through service to them.

Chapter Four looks at the chiefly servers of old. The primary intent here is to understand the nature of kaukau ali'i service as performed in a remote time period I call 'Oiwi Wale or, era of "Native Exclusivity." This period acknowledges that time in the 'Oiwi past when the Kūpuna lived with one another as a people exclusive of those of non-'Oiwi ancestries. The 'Oiwi Wale period defines the time in our distant past before the arrival European foreigners. This era ended in 1778 with the arrival of James Cook.

Although the early years of the second time period (1778-1795) featured engagements with foreigners that ended 'Oiwi Wale time, the continuance of the state religion made this era similar to 'Oiwi Wale time in terms of services performed by the kaukau ali'i. As a result, these years will be discussed as the 'Aikapu era, that period of sacred
eating that overlapped 'Oiwi Wale time and the second period, the kingdom era (1795-1893). I mark the beginning of this period with Kamehameha I's victory in the Battle of Nu'uanu. This conquest unified all the islands except for Kaua'i which was ceded to Kamehameha in 1810. Since the Nu'uanu battle established Kamehameha's paramountcy, I choose to view the cession of Kaua'i as an administrative formality completed well after Kamehameha founded his nation state.

The nature of kaukau ali'i service was significantly affected by foreign introductions of Christianity and private property ownership. A focus on these issues as they relate to kingdom-era service by the kaukau ali'i is what I emphasize in my look at the kingdom era years. Examples of chiefly servers whose tasks were affected by these particular foreign introductions are provided in Chapter Five. The third time period of this study begins after the overthrow of the Hawaiian nation in 1893.

The question posed in Chapter Six is: with the end of the monarchy, does the chiefly hierarchy that allowed for kaukau ali'i service also end? If answered in the affirmative, what happened, then, to the descendants of those who once served? An example that helps to answer this question is provided in the final chapter and is from a portion of my own mo'okū'auhau. Finally, with this conscious personalization of the mo'olelo via information
about my own kūpuna and how they dealt with the transition from kingdom to territory, comes a section within the last chapter which brings themes from previous chapters together in order that larger issues derived from this text are discussed for the last time. I will have more to say about the personalization of this moʻolelo at the end of this chapter.

There are larger lessons this moʻolelo brings to light for the study of Hawaiian history. One of the most obvious has to do with power and power relations. While it is true the Aliʻi Nui could wield a great amount of power, it is equally true the kaukau aliʻi were never solely dependent on any one member of the ruling class for sustenance or someone to serve. The concept of ʻimi haku or, "the seeking of a chiefly superior to serve" demonstrates the two-sided nature of the service relationship. Chiefly servers of the ʻOiwi Wale period were allowed to leave the service of one Aliʻi Nui to seek a better situation if conditions warranted. As such, bonds between server and served reflected a power balance which gave kaukau aliʻi some leeway with respect to who received their services.

Michel Foucault, confirms this fact about power and its relational aspects. He contends that no group within a society is entirely powerless. Power is a function of degree and context to Foucault and it matters less to him who is supposed to hold the most power in a formal sense
because contingencies over time like war, revolution, or famine for instance, can lead to shifting dynamics in the balance of power. The kaukau aliʻi served their ranking superiors, but power in terms of deciding who a kaukau aliʻi served was not completely in Aliʻi Nui hands.

Another larger historical issue this moʻolelo considers is the point of view from which an account of the past can be told. Most works of Hawaiian history have focused on the Aliʻi Nui, their public and private lives, critical decisions made and significant events that occurred during their respective reigns. The point of view in this work privileges the server rather than the served. The change in point of view casts members of the ruling class in a different light. Instead of appearing "centerstage," the Aliʻi Nui are background, a context for the kaukau aliʻi point of view.

Rather than examine the effects of a ruler's decision from the standpoint of leadership quality or the concept of pono, the point of view in this moʻolelo emphasizes the complexities of the service tasks performed that allowed for a decision to eventually be made. Priorities a subject established, values that one applied, or choices made are all affected by the shift in point of view, and consequently, the nature of the historical work is inherently different.
The next section elaborates on a third possible way this mo'olelo speaks to the larger question of the doing of history. The conceptual aspects of this effort rely heavily on the literal and figurative meanings of Hawaiian words. The 'ano of the ʻōiwi as a people, the values-based features of their collective identity, are expressed through the Native language. Use of these words as concept builders places an emphasis on the power words have from the standpoint of cause and effect. Hawaiian language specialist Larry Kimura explains:

From a Hawaiian viewpoint, the factor that gives the Hawaiian language is most important cultural function is the philosophy of power in the Hawaiian word itself. This contains the power of life and death. The basis of the Hawaiian concept is the belief that saying the word gives power to cause the action.... Furthermore, a homonym or simile retains some of the power of the original word to influence events.  

In an effort to apply the concept of word power to the creation of a mo'olelo, I am attempting to use Hawaiian language words and the concepts derived from them as a
foundation for this work. The following section explains how that is possible and why it is important.

Hawaiian Language and Conceptual Development

My work has its most remote temporal boundaries set when words from the mouths of 'Oiwi were spoken but not written. Based exclusively in the oral expression of language, the words and associated meanings already evident in this text link to a time long gone. Conscious and selective use of these words recalls the long ago and somehow brings the spirit, intent, or meaning that was ancestral into the present.

This moʻolelo on the kaukau aliʻi is not only about a subject previously unresearched, but to my knowledge, it is only the second account of the 'Oiwi past written which privileges Hawaiian language concepts and the development of metaphor to reflect basic 'Oiwi values to elucidate topical points in a work. Therefore, while mine is primarily an English language text, it is also a definite attempt to be bi-lingual conceptually. Without the emphasis on Hawaiian language terms and concepts, my account of kaukau aliʻi service would not possess what I believe is a critical link to the 'Oiwi past. This is one advantage as I see it, of examining an academic topic that is also ancestrally relevant and therefore, personally meaningful. I will have
more to say later about personalization of a topic as a feature of mo'olelo.

A Closer Look at Curious Blends

My time is a pū'olo of curious blends: A hālau hula or "traditional learning center for the Native dance" is still the place where this teaching takes place, but the students now move in unison across tile in a studio rather than over an earthen floor. Replicas of long-distance voyaging canoes are made and sailed again these days after a dormancy of hundreds of years, but the carver uses machines for roughing the hulls, and the navigator knows an escort boat accompanies their journey for safety purposes.

Curious blends require further explanation within the parameters of this mo'olelo. When the foreign religion of Christianity was introduced here, it affected the meaning of service for kaukau ali'i. They continued to perform service tasks for their ranking superiors, but as ensuing pages show, they often did so with a new aspect added to their 'ano. Chiefly servers in the post-Christian period still led expeditions for foreigners, but in the process of functioning in a traditional role of service as ordered by a chiefly superior, the person would also extol the virtues of knowing the true God.

The ironies uncovered with regard to the kaukau ali'i past can be better understood in the context of the curious
blend. During the kingdom era, private property ownership was introduced and the ʻōiwi system of land tenure was eventually replaced completely. By examining the role of some chiefly servers who were land stewards or, "konohiki", a curious blend between two types of konohiki service developed as the traditional land tenure system gives way to private property ownership, first for ʻōiwi in 1848 then for foreigners two years later. One chiefly server who began as a konohiki amassed his own personal estate under certain conditions made possible by the legalization of private property ownership. 12

Theoretical Influences

Graduate study at the University of Hawaiʻi-Mānoa exposed me to many approaches to the study of history. This text is in part an eclectic application of these various ideas, although it is solely my responsibility if any theorists' works are misrepresented. As someone of ʻōiwi ancestry, I was most interested in texts that acknowledged, even intentionally sought out the Native voices, perspectives, and values in historical works. This particular interest had much to do with a growing personal conviction that if accounts of the past were written about places where an indigenous population still maintained a physical presence, writers had a responsibility to address the experiences over time of that Native group,
acknowledging the perspective of the indigenous people in the process.

The key way to accomplish this in my mind is to develop, at the very least, a working knowledge of the vernacular language. As someone who is 'Oiwi, what I know about the Hawaiian language has kept me ancestrally connected. It has by choice become something to which I have dedicated myself, hoping to grow and improve in both what is known and subsequently, what is shared. I began studying 'Olelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language) twenty years ago. I am comfortable with the fact that Hawaiian language is an integral, indispensable part of who I am. It has influenced my rather eclectic approach to works of history by leading me to examine those texts that tend to privilege indigenous perspectives and allow those particular voices to be heard.

The eventual outcome of this exposure to various types of history was an intellectual comfort with and special interest in the very broad area of cultural history. The branch of this area I settled on understanding in greatest detail is most influenced by people like Greg Dening. His approach posits the need to consider history in the context of culture. Meaning is the bridge between the respective disciplines.

For Geertz, a bridge was unnecessary. Time and its effects were a diachronic nuisance for the anthropologist.
His focus was on the synchronic meaning of an event. The analysis of meaning embedded in an event was to Geertz all-important for his understanding of societies' deep complexities. The evidence of culture's existence was to be found in the multi-layered web of individual and group behavior, experiences, and accompanying emotions of a people's daily life activities. Geertz believes the meanings associated with these intricately connected behavioral threads are discernible to an extent through close, systematic observation reported via a minutiae-respecting prose known as "thick description."

I grappled with these heady ideas that seemed to be offering an appealing way to analyze culture on the one hand, while integrating the investigative strategies of a cultural history on the other. In both cases, examples from the 'ōiwi past would come to mind. There were ceremonies, rituals, customs, dances, prayers, and chants from my ancestral past that could be analyzed using the methodology developed by Geertz. Thick description would provide the means for better interpretations of the sources: the chant of lamentation, the service task of keeping a religious figure secured, even the government document from a kingdom-era probate case.

These and other examples of sources that explain kaukau ali`i service would be open to meticulous examination, the object of which would be a deeper understanding of what it
meant to be a kaukau ali‘i to serve that lineage-superior ruling contingent. Thick description, I thought, could allow for a kind of "cultural soul searching," the soul in this instance belonging to chiefly servers as members of the societal leadership class.

Unlike Geertz, Dening does offer some interesting thoughts as a historian who is certain culture is central as a force that requires understanding whenever the past is represented, or as he likes to also say, "re-presented."¹⁵ The words "Islands" and "Beaches" are used as both book title and guiding metaphor in Dening's study of Te Enata, the Native people of the Marquesas Islands. His purpose in employing these terms is to mark out specific boundaries of understanding by using geographical locations as metaphors for the conceptual terrain a non-Marquesan like himself had to master in an effort to better understand and appreciate Te Enata for who they were in the late eighteenth century.

For Dening, the Beach is a point of departure in the process of taking in Te Enata customs and what they mean from that particular point of view. The Island reflects a desired destination in the quest to delve deep and achieve greater intimacy with the values of Te Enata society. Beginning on the Beach, Dening's poetic, even introspective approach produces a line of inquiry that is a conceptual journey from the Beach and its sands near water's edge, to the Island and a continuation of the journey toward a keener
awareness of Te Enata rituals and customs in the context of historical significance.

While I applaud Dening for his sensitive rendering of these intellectual parameters and for his honesty in acknowledging the difficulties associated with crossing cultural distances, I would suggest these boundaries of Island and Beach are overly optimistic as starting point and destination respectively.

I do not think it possible to "travel" as extensively on the Island as Dening would have us believe. For my purposes, a resetting of both inner- and outermost boundaries is necessary. Rather than identifying the Beach as a point of departure to reach the Island, I suggest the Reef. My reason is the Reef protects both Beach and Island from outsiders. It insulates the deepest kind of knowledge, rendering spiritual aspects of it inaccessible to any but those of 'Oiwi ancestry. Even then, I am not certain 'Oiwi of my time, myself included, have the capacity to fathom but a portion of all that is protected by the Reef.

As a location, Reef also defines the boundary between the 'Oiwi homeland and that which comes from the horizon's side of the Reef -- that which is haole (foreign). The Reef describes a location away from the Island, a buffer for ideas and innovations, influences and forces, some of which would do more harm than good even if they got as far as the Beach. Another advantage to setting the Reef as an
outermost boundary from the ‘ōiwi point of view is that this part of the ocean environment is so intimately known to Native people it represents a still safe locale for engaging foreign ideas while remaining in familiar territory.

To even get to the Beach, then, requires a more arduous effort than Dening had suggested. There must first be a crossing of the Reef, which can pose an extremely treacherous challenge full of potential risks, especially at low tide. Once the foreign mind absorbs enough of the Native way to cross that Reef, the Beach must surely be a welcome sight.

Once on the Beach, the entire Island does not suddenly become accessible. Different areas of the Island require different skills, tolerances, and levels of understanding to be viable destinations for the ones who come from lands beyond the Reef. In my estimation, this repeated travel from Beach to various areas on the Island represents acquisition of knowledge, in the ‘ōiwi tongue -- "‘ike."

Those who are haole learned the Native language and customs, in many cases even made lives with ‘ōiwi, their children, like myself, descendant examples of the curious blend.

The Island was thoroughly explored and taken in by haole scholars during the last century and this. In the earlier decades of this century, the late Samuel H. Elbert, who was not of ‘ōiwi ancestry, worked in close association with ‘ōiwi scholar Mary Kawena Puku‘i, producing a
dictionary of the Hawaiian language, a most notable and lasting contribution. Elbert developed much 'ike in his study of the Hawaiian language, giving a thorough going over to many areas of the Island.

But two scholars working on the same project whose ancestral identities are rooted in different sources, can represent two very different locations in reference to my revision of Dening's metaphor. Elbert made his way successfully over Reef, onto Beach, and into other locations on the Island. Puku'i, by virtue of her 'ike together with the 'Oiwī ancestry, was already on the Island and able to make her way into areas where a sole reliance on 'ike without ancestry could never take Elbert.

To explain this point further, it is necessary to define one other location within the Island. This is a place the non-Native is unable to access, ever. The Valley is my metaphor for that unreachable realm, a remote place requiring much 'ike, but also demanding something else -- 'Oiwī ancestry. Someone who is not of 'Oiwī ancestry, a scholar like Elbert for instance, can possess and express tremendous 'ike, but without blood ties to the kūpuna, it is not possible to have 'ano 'Oiwī, a "Native Hawaiian identity."

Puku'i had 'ano 'Oiwī, Elbert did not, but the 'ike he did possess enabled a fruitful working relationship nonetheless. Access to the Valley, that place where
ancestral meaning is emotion-producing and spiritually-rooted is not for everyone. What cannot be acquired is the core of Native identity or, ancestry. This is what separates foreigner from Native with regard to how much can be appreciated given the environment and what is is being seen on the Beach or heard on the Island, and thought of, or felt within the Valley.

Furthermore, the Valley is a natural preserve. It is where 'Oiwi can engage in moments where they interact with one another, a unique people with their own language that carries their very own culture. The Valley is ours and ours alone to explore, absorb, learn from, and convey as we deem proper. It is the only conceptual place where foreigner-acquired 'ike matters not. Not even all 'Oiwi have either the opportunity or inclination to travel extensively there. For those Native people who in their lifetimes get to know the Valley well, one of the telling indications is, the knowledge acquired there is distinct, and when shared with others, it is taken in and regarded as a priceless gift would be.

Again, Dening offers an extremely helpful duo of conceptual locales in Island and Beach. It is my belief, though, that the sites Reef and Valley provide a more accurate picture of where it is the inner- and outermost regions for deeply understanding the 'Oiwi and their systems of 'ike really are in relation to the interested, dedicated
haole. By the same token, Valley and Reef can stand in the way of a Native person's ability to know things of foreign origin. As the Valley stands to represent an unreachable area for the foreigner, I believe the many places beyond the Reef remain insulated to the Native person who seeks the same kind of deep understanding of things foreign. What is from the haole world will ever remain the advantage of the haole to know because in the reverse situation, they are the ones who have both the knowledge and ancestral identity.

Someone who is not of ʻōiwi ancestry, for instance, I could, within the metaphorical parameters of Reef and Valley, acquire ʻike, but never have that identity feature ʻano ʻōiwi. Without an ancestral tie, without being born into the ʻōiwi fold, the fullest possible way to explore and know a culture is not possible. Learning can provide much, but not everything. Ancestry can provide the potential to know and feel the most, but this is not a given. It still must be earned and then shared properly for it to remain with that Native person.

A desire to connect more fully to the Valley-related aspects of ʻōiwi traditions and values centered my attention on how to incorporate ʻōiwi concepts and values into the overall theoretical framework of this text. It was a closer, different read of this word text and what it meant in relation to contexts and language that led me to an interest in the work of Dominick LaCapra. He advocates a
rethinking of the constitutive elements that go into the
nature of any text, as well as what the parameters are that
actually define what a text is.16

Like Geertz and Dening, LaCapra was added to my growing
list of academics who not only influenced my thinking, but
actually offered cogent and comprehensive examples in their
respective works from which I could draw conclusions about
some of the theoretical aspects of my own study. There was
an acceptance and a sense that I would be able to apply some
of their ideas to the formulation of my own theoretical
framework. The specific contribution I see from LaCapra is
his willingness to broaden the meaning of text to include,
it seems, efforts not previously considered textual or
having qualities of textuality. A chant as vocally
expressed, an ancient hula, the proverbs and sayings of my
ancestors known as 'ōlelo no'eau, are examples of what
LaCapra would say fit his more accommodating definition of a
text. What this means for my work is an openness to 'ōiwi
sources and possible definitions of textuality, the roots of
which go back through the Hawaiian language to 'ōiwi Wale
times.

While LaCapra chose to rethink these theoretical
matters in order to give a new perspective to the field of
Modern European Intellectual history, I saw his approach as
an overture designed to acknowledge the historical
perspectives of marginalized groups like indigenous peoples
within the formerly exclusive boundaries of his field. At the time, I believed this new inclusive approach was extremely positive. More recently, I have been able to identify some definite restrictions to such inclusion. As the following pages of this chapter will explain, placing Native versions of texts and views on the meaning of textuality into a field within the academic discipline of history is simply not enough. This kind of acceptance, instead of representing an intellectual end in itself for Native peoples like the ‘ōiwi, becomes a theoretical means to an end.

The ideas of authors previously discussed became a means to an end for me because during my graduate studies I was able to spend valuable time in seminars with many peers, as well as University of Hawai‘i historians like Jerry Bentley, James Connors, David Hanlon, and Idus Newby. They assisted in interpreting the concepts in works by Geertz, Dening, LaCapra, and others so that my graduate education in history provided a means by which I could decide about the theorists and their ideas, distill the ideas and formulate from them my own ends.

Eventually, this academic means allowed for my theoretical ends to be served. The kaukau ali‘i and what they did in the context of ‘ōiwi society over time could be framed theoretically using the suppositions put forward by certain historians, anthropologists, and others. One
context for understanding this text centers on what the kaukau ali'i service performance role might contribute as a microhistorical response to broader theoretical questions. Geertz' search for meaning in culture, Dening's views about cultural awareness and approachability, or LaCapra's notions regarding the definition of a text have all cast a contributive hue to the spectrum that is this mo'olelo. I would suppose, then, the opposite could also be true, and my text somehow reinforces their ideas about the relationships between culture, history, and text.

The meaning of service as it anchors my thesis is a thought heavily inspired by the work of Geertz. Thick description as a methodology is also a contribution from Geertz. Dening suggested the use of metaphor to me initially. With LaCapra, I found a practitioner in the historical discipline who was willing to reconsider the basic relevance of text and context in studying the past.

I received much more than intellectual reinforcement from Puku'i's example. As a scholar of ʻōiwi ancestry who has preceded me, I can only hope my commitment enables a walk into the Valley, with the chance to absorb what may be offered, and like her, find the proper avenues for sharing what is learned.

There are other authors whose views about the doing of history I have found instructive. One text that proved extremely helpful for my understanding of the historical
profession's own history was Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession.* For at least the first half of this century, the objectivist school of history was a dominant force of thought within the historical profession in America. Those who espoused this point of view taught lessons about objectivism through their conduct as doers and communicators of a certain kind of history.

I include a critical examination of objectivism here because of what it represents as an opposing intellectual orientation to the consideration of Native cultures and how those cultures influence the meaning and production of historical texts. Therefore, my comments must be understood in the context of an unabashed advocacy for broadening the possible approaches for conceptualizing the past within Native cultural contexts like that of the 'Oiwi.

An objectivist believes a neutral position for the authorial voice is possible, much like a judge who presides over a case, weighing the evidence and balancing the rights of the contesting parties. Objectivists do not think they cheerlead, advocate, or propagandize. Their definition of credible scholarship has a belief in consensual, universal truth at its core.

Novick looked at both "the idea and the ideal of objectivity" as influences in the development of the historical profession in America. Admittedly, the
objectivists no longer hold sway as the dominant school of thought. If anything, discourse has replaced objectivism as the central theoretical approach with issues like the relationship between texts and contexts receiving historiographical consideration from a greater number of historians. Still, it is what objectivism represents that contradicts Nativist orientations.

Incorporating oral traditions as sources is probably the most contentious issue. Objectivity goes hand in hand with the supposed reliability of a written source and other references that trace to oral traditions cannot be properly corroborated. Applying this harsh a standard forces the Native view of the past to somehow comply with restrictions of foreign design. This hardly seems fair. Native peoples should have the right to formulate and apply a theoretical framework to interpret the past that is culturally compatible and consistent with a Native worldview. Challenges to the preeminence of objectivity from within the American historical profession began to shed some light on the issue of non-objectivist ways of doing history. One such challenge

was the Apollonian assault on received norms of objectivity. From the 1960s onward the objectivist assumptions...
be undermined by currents of thought emanating from culturally very 'straight' scholars. Most crucially ...the notion of a determinate and unitary truth about the physical or social world, approachable if not ultimately reachable came to be seen by a growing number of scholars as problematic.\textsuperscript{19}

The point is, this Apollonian assault has implications for the creation of a mo'olelo about the kaukau ali'i. To have historians from within the profession lead the charge against objectivity because the concept of unitary truth became "problematic" was tantamount to historiographical liberation. When this broadening via self-appraisal took place among scholars who were considered "middle-of-the-road," the historical profession, however unwittingly, declared there was indeed a place for scholars and scholarship that was openly anti-objectivist.

The Apollonian assault meant that at least a segment of the historical profession was willing to question the objectivity position and by doing so, open possibilities for the writing of histories which reflected cultural perspectives outside the American mainstream. This was

30
encouraging when I first read it, and the thought remained with me until it was time to begin writing the mo'olelo.

Using oral traditions as historical sources was frowned on by objectivists as unreliable. They held that without the ability to reference something like a story or a chant, its veracity would be highly questionable. Use is no longer the issue that it was. Systematic application of oral sources seems the more pertinent aspect of the argument. Understanding the context from which the oral tradition comes and including the source in a written text so that its meaning remains faithful to the original conveyance are the kinds of concerns to address.

Oral traditions can also carry spiritual significance. In these cases, 'ōiwi tradition advises one to mālama or, take care of sources that are more than mere data. A lineage as represented on paper is not just a list of names. Each name represents a life once lived and an ancestral link to all that was in the 'ōiwi Wale era. The mana inherent in a genealogy requires respectful use of the information as a historical source. This is pono conduct with respect to the use of oral traditions.

The Apollonian assault created enough intellectual space for the eventual development of a cultural history field, the particular area to which this mo'olelo belongs. In addition, the American historical profession as a whole has moved away from objectivism as dogma and more readily
considers theoretical issues and the relationship between history and culture, heretofore separate spheres of academic inquiry.

Marshall Sahlins applied structural anthropology to the historicity of an event to develop a frustratingly complex model of opposing perspectives, Native and foreign, that were based in customs, rules, and roles exclusive to the former or the latter. His point seemed to be that how an event unfolds as a historical reality can actually be analyzed for its metaphorical significance. Conversely, the presence of a deity, considered mythical to an anthropologist, rather than simply assume meaning in terms of metaphor, demonstrates a realistic side that ends with the 1779 death of James Cook in Hawai‘i.

A description of the event from opposing worldviews, ‘Ōiwi and British, is the foundation for his analysis. The Akua Lono is believed to have returned in the person of Cook according to Sahlins' interpretation of the historical evidence. As long as this "mythical" figure remained within the cultural context of the season of Lono, Sahlins claims Cook's presence was accounted for in the ‘Ōiwi worldview and definition of reality. Event and meaning collide when Cook returns to fix a broken mast and the annual festivities dedicated to Lono are over. The season for resuming warfare, the time of Kū, has already begun.
Sahlins calls this juxtaposition of the Lono "myth" with the Cook "reality" on the high seas a "structure of the conjuncture." 'Ōiwi perceptions of the event see Lono's unscheduled return as disruptive according to Sahlins. The order of their world was made chaotic and to 'Ōiwi there at Kealakekua Bay, Lono was a threatening "reality." The other side of this conjuncture was Cook's literal read of an unfortunate occurrence. Not realizing he had sailed back into more than just the physical realm of South Kona waters, the British navigator, acted more hastily due to what must have been stressful circumstances.

Little did he realize that a cultural drama was unfolding which required the keeper of Kū, Hawai'i Island paramount Kalani‘ōpu‘u, to assert the ascendency of his Akua. This assertion resulted in Lono's death and Kū's dominance as it should have been for that period of 'Ōiwi time. Mythical reality collided with historical metaphor and Sahlins suggests the result cost Cook his life. From the perspective of Kalani‘ōpu‘u, the leader had done what was necessary to restore societal pono. Sahlins' case rests on whether or not Cook was actually thought to be Lono by the priests of that cult. The intrigue of this episode continues as one author disputes Sahlins contention about Cook as Lono.²¹

While Sahlins offers food for intellectual thought, I do not consider his work the "main course." It seems the
'Ōiwi worldview fits too comfortably in the conjunctural model that structure modifies. I am not certain the seasons of Kū and Lono for instance, are so mutually exclusive of one another. When Cook first arrived in Kealakekua Bay, Kalani‘ōpu‘u was on the island of Maui. This Hawai‘i Island Ali‘i Nui would have been on Maui as an antagonist. His battles with the Maui Chief Kahekili were quite intense at that time. Interestingly, when Cook first arrived, the season of Lono, not Kū, was going on. Why would Kalani‘ōpu‘u be on Maui, the site for warfare sanctioned by Kū when it was actually Lono’s time to be honored? ‘Ōiwi-rooted analyses of this same event may eventually turn up some very different conclusions.²² I move now to a discussion of authors who, in more specific ways, have contributed to the conceptual development of the moʻolelo.

In his award-winning ethnographic history of the Micronesian island of Pohnpei, David Hanlon encourages the use of sources from oral traditions and makes a case for not using terms like "pre-contact" because they assume a foreign perspective as to what constitutes history.

A commitment to the use of Pohnpeian sources leads, then, to putting aside the Western scholarly distinction between history and prehistory as a largely meaningless
qualification imposed upon the island's past from the outside.\textsuperscript{23}

Hanlon is advocating the use of oral traditions as sources and by extension, believes periodization using terms like "pre-contact" are inconsequential. Further, he suggests that the inclusion of Native sources and culture-specific ways of conceiving of the past, like 'Oiwiana and mo'olelo perhaps, are vital for achieving the kind of history about a place that includes a central place for its Native people. Oral traditions, chants, stories, and genealogies, are Native sources. They privilege 'Oiwiana views, and they record the significant matters of a time period or a particular event. The fact that such an era or event occurred prior to the arrival of European foreigners should not preclude their use as source material in the creation of a history informed by cultural values.

There is a related issue to the contention that 'Oiwiana-centered scholarship has a place in the historical canon. The canon itself has experienced growth in terms of interdisciplinary approaches to commenting on and interpreting the past. The ethnographic context depends on a kind of interaction between the study of history and an examination of culture as a signifying practice that influences how the past is perceived by the scholar and represented in his or her work.
Ethnographic history is that intellectual location where the diachronic character of history presents itself to the synchronic elements most closely examined via anthropology. In the presentation, there is always potential for engagement so that a look into the kaukau ali'í past would be incomplete in an ethnographic sense if the privileging of cultural contexts for chiefly server actions were not also considered.

Hanlon's opinion is that separating history from prehistory in the ethnographic description of a society's past is largely meaningless. His perspective comes in large part from understanding that the doing of history on Pohnpei is an enterprise that has its own conditions, contexts, and contingencies determined by Pohnpeian values and principles. Being open and sensitive to those Native people and their perceptions of the Pohnpeian past, brought Hanlon through the precarious Reef and onto the Island. Imposing outside standards to define which sources are credible and which are not is entirely inappropriate. Doing this only devalues and marginalizes the Native point of view, not to mention the fact that it is a potentially racist attitude to purvey.

The foundation of anthropology as an academic discipline and its own history through the formative years de-centered Native self-appraisal for foreign estimates and observations of what foreign minds judged to be culturally significant. European and American observers mistook being
in the field for understanding who was of it. These foreign eyes privileged their perceptions of what was exotic, alien, or Other to themselves. In doing this, they relegated Native knowledge of the Native culture to informant status, the interpretations being left for those who practitioners of the European discipline anthropology.24

In the course of my studies, I decided that as enlightening as these Western scholars are, a curious blend of their ideas alone could not comprise the only theoretical framework for interpreting the kaukau ali'i past. Two Native thinkers separated by two oceans and the continent of Asia have led me to conceive of this mo'olelo in another, more 'Oiwi-centered way. The culture that Hawaiian language carries is replete with value-intense, principle-bearing concepts which I believe are applicable in metaphor. In concert with one another, these metaphors serve as a theoretical foundation for assessing the mo'olelo's content. In this way, the 'Oiwi story of the chiefly servers and what they did for their ranking superiors, can be evaluated through an 'Oiwi theoretical framework as well.

The major influences for applying Hawaiian language terms and their figurative meanings to the theoretical side of my work are twofold. Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, an 'Oiwi historian, is author of Native Land and Foreign Desires, a look at the Māhele, the revolutionary change in land tenure in Hawai‘i in 1848.25 She employs metaphor as well as
cultural concepts rooted in the Hawaiian language to tell the story of Kamehameha III's search for pono, the proper course of leadership in trying times. Kameʻeleihiwa shows how the search for pono was directly related to acquisition of mana, the spiritual lifeforce which empowers.

A new religion, Calvinism, as taught by American missionaries from Boston, was the foundation for a new process by which pono could be found. The ultimate consequence of finding this pono would be the resultant acquisition of mana. Kameʻeleihiwa constructs an argument around the fact that adopted Christian definitions of morality transformed what it meant to be pono, and in this transformation came the demand to alter the way ʻōiwi related to the land. It was no longer pono to tend and occupy land as if it were a sibling.

Instead, the new definition of pono required Kamehameha III to relinquish complete tenure over the islands and share divisions of land with his chiefs. It would be legal for the Native people to own land as private property. This act of pono would in turn allow the acquisition of mana by Kamehameha, something a ruler of his stature needed to reinforce his rightful place as the leader of his people.

Along the way, Kameʻeleihiwa's moʻolelo introduces other concepts and associated ʻōiwi values that enable a different kind of examination of the Native Hawaiian past. It expresses a point of view that is eye-opening for the
ancestral meaning it conveys. This was a feature of her work that I sought to incorporate into my own.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiongo is the other Native scholar who affected my view of the importance a Native language has. First of all, with regard to maintaining cultural integrity and identity, and secondly, in the creation of English texts on Native subjects composed by Natives themselves, Ngũgĩ's work has proven most instructive. In terms of his categories, this mo'olelo would be classified an English language text that incorporates Native words and cultural concepts in a central way theoretically. The next step would be for a text such as this to be written completely in Hawaiian. I have been told Ngũgĩ only writes in his Native Kiswahili, now holding to the proposition that to use English as a communication medium at all is too much of a concession to the cultural bomb and its continued effects in neocolonial Kenya.

A previous section of this chapter explained my own reasons for privileging the language of the 'ōiwi in the conceptual development of this study. This Kenyan's contribution to my consciousness about Native languages and their cultural and political significance comes from his work that has focused on perpetuating the use of his village language against pressures to continue the imposed use of English. He defines the oral traditions in terms of an oral literature or, "orature" as he puts it. The term
establishes a place for those language compositions that are created, conveyed, and maintained using a combination of abstract thought, memory, and speech without any means of expression except the oral mode.

As Euro-American powers made their way into new areas of the world, settlement strategies usually followed moments of conquest. The colonization of Native places and peoples was tragedy enough, but Ngũgĩ's point is that the most devastating colonization occurred in minds. Indigenous peoples were mentally colonized, made to adopt the colonizer's language and all the related aspects of that foreign way of life which were reinforced through the use of that language. The effects of this colonization result in being schooled in English, learning customs associated with cultures whose lingual foundation is English, and being made to feel inferior about speaking one's own language instead of English.

It is the cumulative effect of this colonizing of the mind that Ngũgĩ calls the cultural bomb. This anti-Native explosive is designed to:

annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past
as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves.... Amidst this wasteland which it has created, imperialism presents itself as the cure and demands that the dependent sing hymns of praise with the constant refrain: 'theft is holy.'

The cultural bomb was dropped on 'Oiwi by the American government. My particular application of this metaphor relates to the history of my people, interpretations of their remote past deemed inferior because they were orature, unwritten and therefore supposedly lacking in credibility. Because sources about the 'Oiwi past come from orature, the cultural bomb is defended against by including orature in the histories that are composed today.

My study of the kaukau ali'i and their lives of service relies quite heavily on interpretations of the past that come, albeit indirectly, from orature. Nineteenth century scholars David Malo, John Papa I'i, and Samuel M. Kamakau each wrote in their time about the more remote past, the era before European arrival.29 Although their works are written, the foundation and ultimate source of these works are not; they are orature. Rather than express skepticism and harbor doubts about their use, I choose to cite thr
anecdote, refer to the aside on ancient religion, and incorporate the comment on a battle fought centuries ago for which there is no record except a written version of one informant's memory of a chant about the event. To eliminate the effects of the cultural bomb on the doing of ʻOiwi history, I will use such sources.

E Hoʻomaka Pono: To Begin in Earnest

This is the introduction to my work. What remains is a commencement in earnest of the course I have outlined in this chapter. There are literally hundreds of definitions for the term culture, as there are many schools of history and sub-disciplines within each school as well. My object is not to minimize the obvious complexities associated with either academic discipline, anthropology or history, but instead to offer a moʻolelo about the ʻOiwi past that focuses on the tasks performed by the kaukau aliʻi, how these texts were accomplished and why.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, an eclectic theoretical approach will be used to analyze the content of this moʻolelo. The conceptual field for accomplishing this includes the following: Hawaiian language terms whose figurative meanings reflect ʻOiwi-rooted thought; a select number Western scholars' theories about the significance of culture, as well as thought that privileges the implications of culture on the doing of history and; my own authorial
voice that is at once a participant in and an escort for the explorations that take place. There will be certain junctures where Hawaiian language concepts will best serve as the framework for understanding the articulation of a point. In other instances, an idea whose source is on the horizon's side of the Reef may be more appropriate.

There is one final matter of a personal nature to explain. I am a descendant of a kaukau ali`i family. My 'ōiwi lineage that connects back to my maternal great-grandfather ties me directly to much of the past I am about to interpret. My voice throughout, then, will seem intentionally involved, and the volume and reverberation that at times emits boldly off the pages are unavoidable. This is an example of how the production of moʻolelo has contributed to my own intellectual empowerment. It began as a result of first acknowledging the personal significance of having kaukau ali`i ancestry and next linking this fact to both what I was producing and how I chose to produce it. This personal aspect may not be a factor in the production of most histories, but I think it is indispensable when composing a moʻolelo. In the end, it is the 'aumākua, my family's ancestral guardian spirits, who I must please. If they are satisfied with this effort as something that is pono, I will know it and be pleased as well.
Chapter One Notes


2. The sibling metaphor to describe the relationship between 'Oiwi and 'Aina will be detailed in a subsequent chapter. The original metaphor and related concepts to it can be found in the work of Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1992, 25.

3. One had to behave correctly in order to be pono. This was a pre-condition for the kind of mana acquired through conduct. The ranking members of the chiefly class also possessed another type of mana based on the inherent sacredness of their respective lineages. In this case, pono behavior served to reinforce the mana of rank based on ancestry. Both kinds of mana required actions of a pono nature to ensure the lifeforce's sustenance. Ibid., 36, 40, 68, 79, 81-83, 150.

4. Throughout this text, I will capitalize the word Native thereby calling attention to the issue of clear and deep differences between peoples indigenous to a place and immigrants who are much more recently arrived. Native is also based on the assertion of an ancestral homeland as a contemporary claim for everything from land rights to the empowerment that comes from 'Oiwi writing their own mo'olelo, privileging a point of view that centers around their perceptions of their past and the ideas that derive therefrom. Also, Native indicates a methodological orientation which results in presenting the efforts of such undertakings in formats suited to custom and tradition. In some instances, this may mean a chant or dance best demonstrates an issue, event, or particular individual's agenda better than any written form can. For a reference that explains why Native offsets the term Western and separates the historical roles of the former and latter groups in Hawai'i and the rest of the Pacific Islands, see Haunani-Kay Trask, "Politics in the Pacific Islands: Imperialism and Native Self-Determination" in Amerasia Journal, 16:1, 1990, 14.

5. The term kaukau ali'i is mentioned by nineteenth century 'Oiwi scholar Samuel M. Kamakau when describing the various degrees of chiefly rank. Although other terms for lesser-ranked chiefs are given in the scheme he outlines, I have chosen kaukau ali'i as the one to define all of the individuals not considered to be of Ali'i Nui rank. The different levels of chiefly rank were based on the lineage
status of one's parents. What was usually the case for kaukau ali'i, was one parent outranked the other. The parent of lesser status, by virtue of that comparatively inferior lineage, caused the child to be placed somewhere below the Ali'i Nui level, but within the overall chiefly hierarchy. For a breakdown of the degrees of chiefly rank, see Kamakau, Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1964, 4-6.


8. For a comprehensive treatment of the traditional Hawaiian metaphor of 'imi haku, see Kameeleihiwa 1992, 44-49.

9. Foucault was not a historian, he was a vehement critic of history. For Foucault, the proper subject matter of history is the principle of power. Even the "downtrodden" were studiable as "micro-powers." The analysis of power relations came from examining what he called "functions." These were dispositions, maneuvers, tactics, and techniques that people of all classes employed to affect certain discourses in life. By connecting the discourses, power relations can be detected. For an analysis of Foucault's position on history and culture see Patricia O'Brien, "Michel Foucault's History of Culture," Lynn Hunt, ed., A New Cultural History, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, 25-46.


11. The other text to which I refer is a previously cited work by a former professor now colleague, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa. I will refer to her influence in a subsequent section of this chapter. Suffice to say for now that her use of metaphor in the conceptual development of her thesis on land tenure changes in the mid-nineteenth century has revised what it means to interpret the kingdom-era past. Without her own pathbreaking efforts my ideas would not be what they are. For her explanations on Hawaiian metaphors see Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 23-49.

12. The chiefly server of whom I speak is Charles Kana'ina. He is the central figure for much of this text, an example of a kaukau ali'i whose life had several identifiable curious blends associated with it, including forces influential to how and why he served.


19. Ibid., 523.


23. I also agree with Hanlon that the Euro-American presence on Pacific Islands and atolls constitutes a "bound-together" history. It is inevitable that an examination of the past be so bound. To expect anything less would be like saying Native people were not affected by interactions and instead, had new ways foisted on them by the foreigners. David Hanlon, Upon A Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890, University of Hawai‘i Press: Honolulu, 1988, xviii.


26. The Hawaiian language has fallen precariously close to the realm of a "dead" language many times during this century. It is currently in a period of resurgence with immersion programs as part of the state government's curriculum offerings. A vocal parent lobby is often the only force for advocating continued financial support given the state's tendency to perceive immersion as costly with little net return. This contemporary challenge has its origins rooted in an historical reality. Hawaiian was banned in 1896 during the Republic period. In Ngugi's analysis, minds that thought in Hawaiian, expressed abstract ideas through that medium, and maintained connections to its ancestral use as the Native tongue, were a threat to the U.S. colonizers. For a complete explanation of the processes of mental colonization and strategies using Native language as a means for decolonization, see Ngugi wa Thiongo, *Decolonising The Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, James Currey: London, 1981.

27. Ibid., 12.

28. Ibid., 3.

29. Originally written in the Hawaiian language, these writers' works were based on a combination of personal experience and interviews with 'Oiwi who were either eyewitnesses to events themselves or were keepers of orature about the remote past. The primary texts they authored that included references to and sources based in orature are: David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1898; John Papa I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1968; and Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, The Kamehameha Schools Press: Honolulu, 1961.
CHAPTER TWO
"Kalamakumu, Ka 'Āina Hānau E"
(Kalamakumu, The Homeland)

The obituary headline declared: "...His Highness Charles Kanaʻina.¹ Yet in strictest terms and according to precedent concerning degrees of chiefly rank, "his Highness" was not an accurate description of Kanaʻina's place in the hierarchy of traditional society. He was of kaukau aliʻi lineage, "a mid-level noble" or "chiefly server," according to custom established by ancestral precedent. The kaukau aliʻi lived to serve their superiors the Aliʻi Nui (high-ranked nobility), and as chiefly servers they knew their place. Consequently, referring to Kanaʻina as "his Highness," seems more attributable to the evolution of kingdom protocol (addressing Hawaiian nobility using European-style titles) than it was a tradition-based acknowledgment of an esteemed lineage.

Kanaʻina, his peers, and their predecessors are the focus of this study. The emphasis is on how they lived to what the nature of their service was, to why service seemed so important back then. This chapter examines the kinds of knowledge someone like Kanaʻina would need to possess, not in the role of "his Highness," but in a more traditional, chiefly server role, that of konohiki (land steward). I begin my closer look at this chiefly server who is also a
relative by contemplating the significance of his life toward an understanding of service. I end by imagining what his service-related beginnings in the South Kona homeland of Kalamakumu might have been like. The particular focus of my examination in the latter instance is on the konohiki's knowledge of time and space as it pertained to the production and distribution of food crops specific to the South Kona area.

In a certain respect, Kana'ina's death marked the end of an era. His obituary implies he was the sole surviving chiefly server of his generation. Longevity afforded him a wealth of memories, including the reality of daily living within the land tenure system begun in the 'Oiwi Wale era. In addition, he could claim first-hand experience with the rituals of heiau (temple) worship and remember when acts of homage were paid to various Akua within the polytheistic system. Kana'ina also had ongoing interpersonal contact with the ruling class whom he served: leaders of the Hawaiian nation from Kamehameha II to Kalākaua.

So much of what 'Oiwi society used to represent changed profoundly within the scope of this man's lifetime. His passing meant that a living link to life as lived by the noble class according to 'Oiwi Wale traditions was gone forever. Kana'ina was a chiefly server from the 1800s who stood between the kaukau ali'i of the sixteenth century, c.a. (to whom I will refer in Chapter Four) and kaukau ali'i
descendants of the mid-twentieth century. In terms of assessing the meaning of service over time, he represents the midpoint. It is to a more detailed description of his ancestral homeland's name and its metaphorical significance that I now turn.

The Ancestral Homeland and Its Significance

Kana'ina was from Kalamakumu. This was his ancestral homeland in the Ka'awaloa district of South Kona on the island of Hawai'i. The mana'o (meaning) in the name Kalamakumu offers insight about an 'ōiwi mode of thought. Appreciating the significance of this place name begins with the noun lama, a general term for "all endemic kinds of ebony...hardwood trees with small flowers and fruits." Lama wood was placed on hula altars and in medicine because the word lama has the alternate meaning of "light" or "enlightenment." The 'ōiwi concept of word power forms an association of spiritual intensity between these two meanings of the word lama. The wood is believed, through its identical association to light or enlightenment, to be filled with such qualities itself, thus giving this particular type of wood a special 'ano.

To further assess the mana'o of Kalamakumu, kumu is defined as "foundation, base, source, origin." Together, then, Kalamakumu evokes the mana'o of "the source of enlightenment found within the endemic ebony wood as an
intrinsic quality that it possesses." A stand of such trees could be appreciated for the "light" its burning logs would eventually emit spiritually, not just physically. Without delving into the mana'o of this name, Kana'ina's homeland would not have been such a significant contributor to the articulation of this mo'olelo's 'ano. In part, the mana (spiritual lifeforce) in this work comes from the mana'o that Kalamakumu gives as a "source of enlightenment" about the chiefly servers, including its own son, Charles Kana'ina. It is noteworthy that someone in Kana'ina's employ remembered hearing him say of all the lands under his control, Kalamakumu was the one he would never think of selling because of its ancestral significance.7

Kana'ina's lineage indicates his mother's people were kaukau ali'i who lived in Kalamakumu for at least four generations prior to his birth.8 Still, Kana'ina's own life as a kaukau ali'i was to unfold, for the most part, beyond the familiar confines of Kalamakumu. Most of his years through young adulthood were spent in the service of the Kamehameha family, particularly as personal companion to 'Iolani Liholiho, who ruled as Kamehameha II.9

The times in which Kana'ina lived also dictated the nature of new and ongoing kinds of associations with foreigners, associations that affected the social interplay between 'Oiwi as well. Kaukau ali'i like Kana'ina engaged haole and vice versa, not merely as 'Oiwi to visiting
explorer, but more and more frequently through the nineteenth century, as ʻōiwi to recently-arrived settler, merchant, missionary, or government adviser. These engagements, coupled with Kanaʻina's position as a kaukau aliʻi in service to the Kamehameha line, took the child of Kalamakumu away from his ancestral place and provided a kind of social access to a different place in a very different world. Kanaʻina and his peers gained many new experiences in the process.

They were exposed to a continuous flow of all manner of foreign goods that were bought, sold, or traded to meet newly created ʻōiwi wants and needs. These goods became problematic for the Aliʻi Nui who, by the late 1820s amassed thousands of dollars in debt. Their creditors, British, French, and American merchants sought recourse through threats to the sovereignty of the island nation. It would seem upsets of this sort could in turn affect an Aliʻi Nui's service needs. A kaukau aliʻi, then, could have been affected by altered desires on the part of those they served.

With the items came new ideas, mores, and the curious blend of ʻōiwi values with foreign ones. Social intercourse, where attitudes and beliefs were shared from the Valley to the outer fringes of the Reef, elicited discontinuities within the kaukau aliʻi group of the noble class. What Kalamakumu meant to someone like Kanaʻina
was affected as a result of these engagement-related experiences between ʻOiwi and haole. In part, this is what my work seeks. I want to understand how Kanaʻina in particular, and the kaukau aliʻi in general, lived as chiefly servers based on ancestral precedent, how they did so in acknowledgment of new engagement-related experiences, and as a result, how differently this class of chiefly servers would function in comparison to their predecessors.

Examining life as it was lived since the end of the ʻOiwi Wale era enables a look at kaukau aliʻi life as a curious blend of custom and engagement-related experience. The curious blend accommodates here as it helps to place attention on facets of the kaukau aliʻi story that explain why someone like Kanaʻina, born into the ancestral fold of one social system in 1800 as a chiefly server, could be honored as "his Highness" at the time of his passing. No longer simply the child-of-Kalamakumu-matured, but a chiefly server-turned-agent-of-change, Kanaʻina could emerge in this moʻolelo as one whose engagement-related experiences recast his social role and ultimately, rewrote both his life plan and his epitaph.

Kanaʻina's life took him from the more knowable boundaries of that Kalamakumu homeland to the perhaps more perplexing engagement-influenced realm of Honolulu, the capitol of the kingdom after 1845. Consequently, Kalamakumu can be thought of as a metaphor for understanding Kanaʻina's
early life, while "his Highness" can apply metaphorically to the more curious blend-influenced days that formed his later life. By extension, the metaphors help define two very different periods in the life of the kaukau ali`i as a subgroup of the noble class: Kalamakumu as the land of the familiar, "his Highness" as a destination laden more heavily with the effects of engagement, newness, and irony.

Kalamakumu was the one hānau for Kana`ina, and it was associated with an `ohana lifestyle where family practices extended to maternal roles filled by aunts or grandmothers; a place where paternal responsibilities were met as often by uncles or grandfathers as biological fathers. The sense of who one was came in part through social identification with the `ohana. Reciprocally, the sense of who the `ohana were as a hui pili koko (blood-related group), came from close identification with a specific one hānau, a homeland, which is what Kalamakumu was for Kana`ina.

The remainder of this chapter will investigate two more functional aspects of konohiki life as it was lived in Kalamakumu. This is the initial context for understanding chiefly servers in terms of methods of acknowledging time and maintaining space. These were basics that the kaukau ali`i who assumed konohiki roles had to know. I have chosen to profile these features of knowing time and space as a context for appreciating the `ano of the konohiki.
In this sense, Kalamakumu represents both a geographical and mental landscape. It was a site where, in the early 1800's boundaries of a conceptual, as well as physical sort, gave 'ōpion ʻōiwi (Native youth) like Kana'ina the cognitive framework necessary for perceiving the environment and the emotional framework to function as successfully as their ancestors had for generations. Kalamakumu was where Kana'ina learned these basics in curious blend with the unmistakable presence of haole influences, that by 1800, the year of his birth, had been visiting from across the Reef for two decades.

Although the ʻōiwi Wale era had passed, the basics most konohiki learned circa 1800 were still well within the centuries-old traditions of the kupuna. Examples of these conceptual basics, their respective meanings for konohiki life, and how they integrated with one another to contribute to the ʻano of the chiefly servers will now be considered.

The Spiritual Realm: A Context for ʻōiwi Life

At its source, life came from all that was primordial. Knowing this and acting accordingly was important for all ʻōiwi, kaukau ali'i included. My kupuna conceived of cosmogonic origins in terms of a birthing process, whereby constitutive parts of physical surroundings (ocean, mountain, sky, forest, island) were born as ancestral forms of life to humankind. All that we of this era label
"natural," my people perceived as a collective presence, forces that first took the form of infant lives, born to their own parents and raised to maturity. They were alive, they breathed, they dwelt in their respective realms and fulfilled their obligations with proper respect, although some ancestral forms (certain deities), could demonstrate extreme malevolence at times.

A plethora of Akua (Gods) numbering in the hundreds threw open forces of creation in cataclysmic splendor and cosmogonic passion. 'Oiwi, rendering mo'olelo about these wondrous beings and their amazing feats countless generations later, cowered as they recounted the earth-eating prowess of Pele, or the reverberating crush of thunderstorms in the appearance of a sky as black as jet. He is a deity "worshiped by those who claim an 'aumakua [ancestral guardian] in the thunder"... which is considered "the divine form of the" Akua Kānehekili. 12

This multitude of Akua had various kuleana, "provinces of responsibility" over which they held supreme authority. Tasks as specific as the felling of a tree, or the weaning of a baby from its nursing mother, called for particular prayers to particular Akua. 13 The presence of Akua in many forms permeated every part of 'Oiwi life. What the contemporary West first defined as the ecosystem or the environment was for 'Oiwi the acknowledgment of a marvelous,
compelling, often fearsome system of what penetrated and surrounded ʻOiwi senses.

Mana was throughout the Akua who were revered for their power to take or give without a moment's notice. Mana was also acquired by ʻOiwi from many sources including physical surroundings that were well-tended or treated with utmost respect, other ʻOiwi through acts of aloha or force, and from Akua who were properly appeased. These sources of mana are what Kameʻelehiwa says come as the result of pono behavior (conduct that induces a spiritual sense of balance and harmony born of proper conduct).¹⁴

The Mahina Cycle and Konohiki

The keeping of time was a component in a system of knowledge that functioned as an integrated element with Akua polytheism. Tasks of daily living were carried out according to how and why time was kept the way it was. Akua whose kuleana it was to oversee, mediate, mitigate, or bestow benevolence consistent with how a task was performed, were invoked by ʻOiwi and honored respectfully for their intercession. One example of this integrated system of thought comes from how those associated with food crop cultivation like the konohiki observed, identified, organized, and named each of the thirty phases of the mahina, or "moon."
The cyclical lifespan of mahina was consistently observable, its changes distinguishable from phase to phase. The mahina cycle was a time construct 'ōiwi used to organize activities of daily living, like when the best time was to plant new taro shoots or harvest the 'uala (sweet potato).

Kamakau includes detailed descriptions of the division of the year into two seasons, the six periods within each season and the thirty nights that the mahina cycle goes through within each period. 15

A konohiki like Kanaʻina would, as the overseer of cultivated lands, need to know this cycle in order to assure maximum yields. The planters were members of the worker-producer class called makaʻainana. It was their kuleana to bring the crops along to eventual harvest. The konohiki needed to know about mahina cycles because they supervised the makaʻainana planters. Ranking superiors from the chiefly class entrusted this duty to the konohiki, usually individuals selected from the kaukau aliʻi ranks. Kanaʻina was a konohiki responsible for knowing what his planters should have also known.

Although there are variations with respect to telling time using the mahina cycle, a review of Kamakau's version offers sufficient evidence of organizational features and basic functions. Kamakau relates how this "calendar was set down in ancient times by the people of O'ahu and Kaua'i who were skilled in arranging the year." 16 There were twelve
individually named periods. Each was divided into thirty equal sub-periods. 'ōiwi knew when one of the thirty had come and gone because each began with the rising, then setting of ka lā (the sun), followed by the showing (or not) of mahina. When ka lā rose again, another of the thirty sub-periods had arrived.

Because each sub-period also had its own name according to the look of the mahina in the night sky (or lack thereof), 'ōiwi could plainly tell when the thirty sub-periods of the mahina cycle were completed and when it would commence once more. With the passage of one mahina cycle, the 'ōiwi scheme for the telling of time advanced to the next of the twelve periods. There were thirty lā-to-mahina sub-periods (days) in each of the twelve major periods (months). Hence, in terms of today's Roman calendar, the 'ōiwi "year" was twelve "months" or 360 "days" long.

According to Kamakau's knowledge of the O'ahu-Kaua'i twelve-period "year," there were two seasons that comprised it, Makali'i and Ho'oiolo. In turn, the season of Makali'i was divided into the following six periods: Welehu (March-April), Makali'i (April-May), Kā'elo (May-June), Kaulua (June-July), Nana (July-August), and Welo (August-September).

Each period derives its name from observed natural phenomena in the physical environment. Makali'i, for instance, is named for the season within which this period
fell. Makali'i is also the name of the constellation known as Pleiades. The literal translation of this name is "little eyes," and the figurative meaning -- "half-closed eyes due to hunger" refers to this second "month," a time of famine when "life was sustained only by wild plants..."17 Welo, the sixth month, took its name from the 'āina (land) being "parched by the sun," which is the literal meaning of the word welo.

In the Ho'oilō season, its six periods run as follows: Ikiiki (September-October), Ka'aona (October-November), Hanaiaʻeleʻele (November-December), Hilina (December-January), Hilinehu (January-February), and 'Ikuwā (February-March). The first period of the Ho‘oilō season, Ikiiki, saw the sprouting of new growth. Literally, ikiiki means "acute discomfort," in this case from the excessive humidity that comes with this period. Another connotation is based in the acute discomfort felt after eating too much food and fish, plentiful during this time. With a "crash of thunder" the period of 'Ikuwā signals its presence. The rain and lightning rages often during this time, thus the name, which literally means "heavy thunder."

'Oiwi divided each "monthly" period into the thirty nights of the mahina cycle. Seventeen of these nights were counted within a number of clusters and thirteen were counted separately. Both the clustered and individually-named nights were given their identities according to a
particular phase the **mahina** was in. The **mahina** went through three major stages of development in the course of thirty nights. **Hoʻonui** was the stage when **mahina** was "growing." The "round" looks of fullness or, **poepoe** followed, and the final stage included those nights when **mahina** would go into various phases of **emi** (decreasing). Interestingly, the night of the full moon was named **Akua**, "God." Apparently, the sight of **mahina** in the splendor of its absolute fullness could be equated with only one **mana**-laden presence -- the deified ones.

The **mahina** cycle also indicated which nights were devoted to which **Akua**. Epic **moʻolelo** tell of how some of the nights in the cycle were named for particular **Akua**. The traditions speak of Papa and Wākea, cosmogonic parents of all ʻōiwi and their lives together as the source for naming several of the nights.

The saga has Papa, the Earth-Mother, giving birth to the islands of Hawai'i and Maui. Wākea, the Sky-Father, is the cosmogony's male procreative force. In addition to the children who were born as islands, Wākea had a daughter with Papa. Her name was Hoʻohōkūkalani ("To-generate-stars-in-the-sky") and she matured to reflect a rare beauty. Wākea wanted Hoʻohōkūkalani and in order to properly fulfill his role as the great male progenitor, he sought the counsel of a **kahuna** (expert, priest, highly skilled practitioner) who dedicated certain nights of the **mahina** cycle to the **Akua**
Kāne, Kū, Lono, and Kanaloa. These dedications required Papa's presence at the heiau (temple). Consequently, Wākea had his opportunity on certain nights of each mahina cycle to be with Ho'ohōkūkalani. 18

The authority of successive generations of kāhuna was established with regard to the dedication of nights in the mahina cycle to various Akua by this precedent. Time, then, according to the mahina cycle, had very strong associations with the four major deities of the temple worship. It is this system of worship that mandated separation of the sexes to prevent one aspect of the female 'ano menstrual flow, from defiling that which was sacred in the 'ano of the male Akua of the temple worship, two of these being Kāne and Kū. 19

Kame'elehiwa proves extremely instructive by linking this act of apparent separation with societal foundation through the concept known as 'aikapu.20 Kāhuna were important keepers of knowledge in the 'ōiwi society of the era of Their expertise was usually specific to a certain subject area like lāʻau lapaʻau (medicinal healing), ʻanāʻanā (sorcery), or kālaiwāʻa (canoe building). As human repositories for the spiritually-based parts of these tasks, the kāhuna held and could wield great power. They advised leaders and thereby influenced all manner of policy-making at the highest levels of the societal hierarchy. It must be understood that the kahuna who had authority over the temple

62
worship for one of the major Akua, was an adviser solely to the ruling class of ali`i.

In the case of maintaining adherence to the worship dictated by various nights of the mahina cycle, the kāhuna of the different Akua priesthoods in a sense, controlled time itself. The name of the night was associated with the Akua to whom the kāhuna had direct access through the making of particular offerings and the recitation of certain prayers. The Ali`i Nui served as celebrants who contributed to the ordering of `Oiwi life as influenced by kāhuna-based religious prescriptions.21

As service providers to the Ali`i Nui, the kaukau ali`i were close to the source of power. What this meant was they had the opportunity to be privy to much of what might have transpired between ruler and advisers. This proximity to the locus of societal leadership afforded the kaukau ali`i the role of insider with respect to the flow of decision making; a party, at times an unwitting one, to knowledge at high levels, not to be confused with a role of partner in deliberations. One could have been present at a meeting in the role of ensign bearer or keeper of the religious figure, but still have no direct role in the proceedings that were going on. If a chiefly server divulged the contents of such a meeting and was found out, he could be executed.

In addition to dedicating nights of worship to specific Akua, those thirty different appearances of the mahina
informed ‘ōiwi of life in another way. Knowing when to
plant at the most opportune periods was based on this thirty
sub-period (lā-to-mahina) system as well. ‘ōiwi were keen
observers and applied what was seen to the understanding of
how best to utilize both the natural and reconfigured
environments. In addition, the six seasons of Makali‘i and
Ho‘oilo respectively, demanded that ‘ōiwi recognize changes
in rainfall, strength of winds, as well as the duration of
the lā in the sky and its intensity.

Food Crop Production and the Konohiki Role

The ‘uala (sweet potato) cultivation methods illustrate
how common knowledge about time related directly to how
space was to be configured. There are also figurative
subtleties in Kamakau's descriptions of the ‘uala
cultivation that are enlightening. They are drawn from
Hawaiian language terms involving a seemingly simple ‘ōiwi
activity of daily living like the planting of a crop, but
the power of ‘ōiwi's oral aesthetics come through even in
this seemingly ordinary situation. ‘ōiwi cultivation
methods demonstrate how applied concepts of ‘ōiwi time from
the mahina cycle affected decisions of how and when to
plant. The cultivation of ‘uala was done by either of two
planting methods depending on the land's elevation,
topography, and grade.
The *malo 'eka* or "dirty loincloth" method, was so named because this planter "sidled along the ground while tilling the soil... and built large bonfires so that smoke would serve as a shade to shelter the patch from the heat of the sun." Planters who utilized the *ha'aheo* (aristocratic) method cultivated the bottom lands, while the *malo 'eka* planters grew their *'uala* on the plains. The *ha'aheo* cultivators acted in accordance with another meaning of *ha'aheo* (proud) on planting day. To go along with their festive mood, these cultivators:

wore fine *malo*, snugly girded around their bodies... their shoulder coverings,
and entwined leis of *'ilima* on their heads. If there were ten, twenty, or more they were all dressed like this; and so were the women dressed festively.

This is how *ha'aheo* planting was done.

The group of *ha'aheo* cultivators were remembered for being a proud sight, resplendent with *'ōlō kū*, their digging sticks, they stood, and together they let their wooden tools coordinate magnificently. With force, the *'ōlō kū* rose then fell and when they bent back, their bodies moved in unison. The men's arms appeared as if they were beckoning to the impressed onlookers, their synchronized motions exuding the
complete meaning of ha‘aheo, a prideful outward appearance
born of the confidence one possesses because of expertise in
a particular task like mahiʻai ʻuala. Following the proud
men of the digging sticks were the women who came after them
with the slips of ʻuala. They dropped two slips into each
planting hole the men dug, while other women placed the
slips "side by side and packed the earth around them with
their feet." 25

The representation of wahine (women) as those who
actually touch and pack the earth is consistent with the
cosmogonic female, Papa the Earth Mother whose mana of
fertility is the source of all life that grows from the
land. In tribute to Papa the wahine do their part as the
planters of the slips which go into the holes fashioned by
the men. Also, in the figurative sense, the ʻōʻō kū of the
men can be understood as procreative thrusts responsible for
the planting of human seed taken in by the wahine and
nurtured internally until that "harvest" is ready nine
months later.

Exploring the manaʻo (meaning) of mahiʻai ʻuala deepens
the significance of inter-era discourse between Kamakau as a
kumu (master educator, source) from the past and myself as a
haumāna (student) from his future. Implied in the
explanation about haʻaheo as a method of cultivating the
ʻuala is the association between a planting strategy and the
ʻano of the planters who utilized them. Within the haʻaheo
cultivation group itself, gender roles were reconfirmed and the reaffirmation of Papa in her role as Earth-Mother was evident through the actions of the wahine who touched and packed the earth to induce growth.

Kamakau went to some length describing the protocol for planting day. He took the opportunity to emphasize the connection between protocol for planting day and a method of 'uala cultivation, all definable by the word ha'aheo. The scholar further illustrates a distinction between planters by relating other names for the "dirty loincloth" cultivators: ihu 'eka (dirty nose) and pepeiao hohono (smelly ears). Like the "dirty loincloth" reference, these terms have their literal origins in how close these planters got to the soil when working. Figuratively, the meaning of these language subtleties suggests differences in planting methods and an assessment of the qualitative differences in the attitude projected when those different methods were applied. Malo 'eka planters actually got dirtier than the ha'aheo cultivators, the latter able to stand and use their long-shafted 'ō‘ō kū, "digging sticks."

The mana‘o or "feeling" that Kamakau's words convey, together with translator Barrere's "aristocratic" definition for ha'aheo, leads me to believe these methods may indicate that class differences could have played a part in determining which method would be used by which class. It appears the ha'aheo cultivators were either Aliʻi Nui or
kaukau ali`i, perhaps both. The malo `eka planters were very likely from the maka`ainana class. These were the people who planted crops and harvested produce, built, carved, wove, plaited, gathered, paddled, sailed, swam, or ran messages as a primary daily task within the `Oiwi Wale subsistence economy.

In terms of a knowledge base, what did kaukau ali`i have that other classes of `Oiwi did as well? The `uala planting offers a portion of the answer. Kamakau's information shows that certain methods of cultivation were known to certain groups of cultivators. The ha`aheo method and the "dirty loincloth" system of planting may have been known and utilized by different groups, but in both cases, the knowledge applied through respective methods yielded the desired result, a crop of `uala.

In their role as konohiki, the kaukau ali`i would need to know something about both methods. As chiefly servers to the Ali`i Nui, they probably represented these esteemed societal leaders on planting day. The unison of the digging sticks were very likely ceremonial gestures performed by the konohiki to the delight of onlookers. With regard to the malo `eka method, konohiki would have had to make sure the maka`ainana cultivators were maximizing their production.

Also, the crops yielded from both methods would become the responsibility of the konohiki to transport. Appetites of the ruling class were great and a constant supply of
produce was expected. The 'uala planting methods coupled with what is known of the konohiki role, demonstrates that knowledge of these cultivation methods had to be part of the knowledge base of different classes for different reasons. If the Ali'i Nui were involved at all, On lā ha'aheo (planting day), it would be within the realm of possibility for chiefly servers to participate as representatives of chiefly "pride."26

Applied concepts of 'ōiwi time played a significant role in 'uala cultivation. A konohiki like Kana'ina needed this knowledge for a ranking superior who wanted to eat 'uala did not want to hear excuses about inclement weather ruining a crop. As such, konohiki, like the planters themselves, would know about the ua kele (heavy rains) of 'Ikuwā (February-March), Welehu (March-April), and Makali'i (April-May). They would be well aware that these rains softened the earth so that plants could more easily be heaped into mounds.

The periods between Nana (July-August) and Ikiiki (September-October) were bitter famine times. 'ōiwi planters would have to plan carefully so that the periods of plenty could be used to their fullest advantage, because when drought conditions occurred, there was little they could do. At this point, the konohiki would serve in the role of messenger. The Ali'i Nui would have to be informed that famine times were upon them. Unpleasant as the news
was, it was necessary for konohiki to relay such information from the worker-producers to the leaders. The 'uala was also a very versatile plant. Space for cultivating it saw configurations of the mounds "on the lower mountain slope...in open country...in the forest...or on bottom lands."\(^{27}\)

Malo instructs that there were various systems for reckoning direction and identifying segments of vertical and horizontal space.\(^{28}\) The land had divisions along two lines, one according to natural features, the other based on 'Oiwi-conceived divisions that were suited to their subsistence use of what surrounded them. The most important aspect of the land divisions to note has to do with the names given to very specific parts and features of topography. Natural features in this category include separate words for mountains that adjoined the rounded swell of another mountain's side, the belt where large-sized forest trees grew, and another name for the belt where small trees were in abundance. Every other vegetation zone down to the sea was similarly categorized and named. The intimacy with which 'Oiwi regarded their physical surroundings comes through clearly in the meticulous nature of naming, and thereby personalizing, the land, ocean, sky, as well as smaller features within these broader areas.

For Kanaʻina, there would be an especially important reason for knowing each particular feature of a vegetation
zone very well. There were no running streams from upland sources in South Kona. A place like Kalamakumu depended on the rain squalls from clouds that moved onto land from the ocean. A konohiki like Kana‘ina had to be aware of this environmental limitation the homeland presented. To compensate for the lack of abundant supplies of fresh water, a systematic dryland cultivation system was developed.\(^{29}\)

It was through the unirrigated root and tree crops in these Kona dryland gardens that production intensification was actually possible. Someone like Kana‘ina would have overseen each crop as it was cultivated in the vegetation zone in which it grew best. Knowing which crop would be most productive and planting accordingly, compensated for the inability to irrigate. In the low-lying areas, niu (coconut) and ‘ulu (breadfruit) were grown. Toward the mountains from these trees was a stand of ko or, "sugar cane." Mai‘a (bananas) would be the next crop, followed by ‘uala and finally dryland kalo (taro) in the vegetation zone that was farthest mauka (toward the mountains).

It was a konohiki like Kana‘ina who would have been responsible for maintaining an adequate supply of each of the aforementioned crops moving to the residences of his chiefly superiors. This was a critical role because after such produce went into the hands of the nobility, it was distributed so that everyone was able to eat. There was no
worse an insult to a leader than he or she was greedy or stingy when it came to food and the feeding of people.  

The examples cited with respect to ʻŌiwi conceptualizations of space for ʻuala cultivation and dryland gardens demonstrate the keen observational abilities both makaʻāinana and konohiki employed to maximize their prospects for continued survival as a people. As both examples of cultivation methods showed, ʻŌiwi of different classes participated in and benefited from the positive results of these planting activities, kaukau aliʻi included.

I will continue to feature Kanaʻina in subsequent chapters to illustrate how the many levels of significance and strands of change there are in a single life. Appreciating his existence in the context of service helps develop ideas about the chiefly servers and their place in society through time. This chapter has demonstrated one kind of context for assessing aspects of kaukau aliʻi service. In the latter half of this chapter, I have tried to give examples of what the konohiki role would be like within the scope of traditional ʻŌiwi views of time and space. The next chapter focuses on the genealogical identities of the kaukau aliʻi, and how their economic and political forms of service were directly related to their positions in the lineage structures of the aliʻi class.
Chapter Two Notes

1. The Hawaiian Gazette ran the first obituary one day after Kana'ina's death. This March 14, 1877 column was the briefest of the three. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser published the second obituary on March 17th which was more biographical and also indicated Kana'ina died intestate. The lengthiest obituary appeared in The Friend on April 2nd and included a diagram of the funeral procession. Using the honorary title "his Highness" was probably a protocol necessity given the social etiquette of the kingdom era. The usage is ironic, though, because of the decedent's ancestral rootedness to the kaukau ali'i class.

2. My maternal great-great grandfather Kalepa, a fisherman from Lahaina, was named as an heir and devisee of Charles Kana'ina in the adjudication of heirs which took place in 1882. A Native jury found that Kalepa's great-grandmother Kaneikoli'a and Kana'ina's mother Kauwa were sisters. The estate was divided into shares of one-ninth with Kalepa and his four siblings each sharing one-fifth of one-ninth, inherited from their deceased mother Kaeakamahu. The probate record contains much valuable information about Kana'ina's 'ohana (extended family) and an array of anecdotes from scores of persons who testified at proceedings, the main portion of which lasted five years and ended with the adjudication of heirs. Related cases to this probate took place in the early 1900s, the 1960s, and I have been informed that lands once owned by Kana'ina are currently being contested for in court. It is possible quiet title claims related to this probate will continue indefinitely. Kana'ina's holdings were numerous, his heirs as determined in 1882 may be only a part of the total number of descendants he actually has. For the entire record of the probate which lasted five years, see State Archives of Hawai'i Archives (SAH), Probate 2426, part 3, 1241.

3. The Friend, April 2, 1877.

4. The suggestion of placing an historical figure in a central place as a referent between two time periods comes from the mind of Simon Schama, Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations, Knopf: New York, 1991.

5. Mary Kawena Puku'i and Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 1986, 167, 177. The genus given is Diospyros and the synonym provided is Maba. Homes were constructed of lama wood in one day during the daylight (lama-related) hours and the sick were placed inside these dwellings for curing. Again, the wood and the light combine as a curative force strengthened by the 'Oiwi concept of word power.
6. Larry Kimura, "Native Hawaiian Culture," Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report, Department of the Interior: Washington, 1983, vol. I. This is Kimura's analysis of how the 'Oiwi mind perceived the life and power of the word via associative meanings that emphasized sound. Orality was the language's basic tenet. A duplication of the same sound, in this case lama, empowered both meanings to the advantage of the name that featured the word, to the person who spoke the name, and in this case, the mana (spiritual lifeforce) of the place which is named Kalamakumu.

7. SAH, Kana‘ina Probate 2426, parts 1-3, 1877.


10. The terms Valley and Reef are intellectual sites I created in response to Dening's Islands and Beaches. The capability to take an intellectual stroll on the Island or the Beach does not reflect the intuitive distance I believe exists between 'Oiwi and haole with respect to the potential for understanding Native concepts. As the outer edge for the understanding of Native thought, it is the Reef, not the Beach that defines the quality of that understanding. Similarly, the interior places of Native thought are rarely accessible by simply exploring the Island. Instead, my mana'o (idea) is the deeper meanings are within the recesses of cognitive Valleys, harder to reach than most think. Requiring more effort to reach as a destination than an Island, a Valley better expresses the difficulty inherent in going for the deeper, more Native-based meaning of a particular term, concept, issue, or event. Dening's metaphors Island and Beach are explained in Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas, 1774-1880, University of Hawai‘i Press: Honolulu, 1980, 31.

11. I attribute this concept to the work of Mary Helms. Her thesis holds that with the crossing of geographical distance and exchange of trade goods came the very definite barter in a market of new and exciting ideas. Hawai‘i was no exception. As a site where provisions were taken on by crews of haole, haole ideas were unloaded and stored in the mana'o of 'Oiwi throughout the archipelago, to be used in curious blend with their own concepts in some cases and independently in others. For a detailed explanation of this concept see Helms, Ulysses' Sail, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1988, 20-22.

12. A most fearsome Ali‘i Nui who hailed from Maui, Kahekili had himself tattooed black on one entire side of his body to indicate he was one dedicated to Kānehekili. When this Akua
takes human form, he can be seen in dreams of his devotees with feet standing on earth, with head touching clouds, one side of his body is white, the other black. For a comprehensive treatment of the Kane worship, refer to Martha Warren Beckwith, Hawaiian Mythology, University of Hawa‘i Press: Honolulu, 1970, 31-48.

13. Ibid., 38.


15. The Kamakau passages were based on the mahina periods as defined by the ‘Oiwi from O‘ahu and Kaua‘i. The implication is variant names were applied to these periods by ‘Oiwi who hailed from either Maui or Hawai‘i. The entire segment on time can be found in Kamakau, The Works of the People of Old, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1976, 13-19. Editor Dorothy B. Barrere notes that differences exist between the time system Kamakau describes and that of Davida Malo. I would tend to attribute some of these differences to Island-specific variations of the same ‘Oiwi theme. That is, names for areas of space or delineations of time may differ, but the basic framework for there being thirty nights in the mahina cycle remained the same in both Kamakau and Malo. The differences between them can be compared by checking the above Kamakau citation with Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1951, Ch. 5, Sec. 5, 16; Ch. 7, Secs. 10-13.

16. Kamakau, 1976, 15. The months and other divisions of the Hawaiian year, are noted by Davida Malo in Hawaiian Antiquities, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1951, 30-33. It seems that the contradictions between Kamakau and Malo are attributable to geographical differences between islands when viewing the sky and the vantage points from which it was observed. The basic systems are extremely similar as are most of the names.


18. For a complete rendering of this mo‘olelo, as well as an analysis of its foundational significance as a cultural concept, consult the entire second chapter of Kame‘eleihiwa 1992.


20. For a complete rendering of the origins and significance of the ‘aikapu to traditional society, see Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992.
21. For a description of the mahina cycle with respect to nights dedicated to particular Akua, refer to Davida Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1898, 30-36. The management of rituals and ceremonies associated with specific nights, fell to the various kāhuna who dedicated themselves to orders of priesthood that focused on one of the Akua of the temple ritual, Kāne, Lono, Kū, Kanaloa.


23. Ibid., 25.

24. Ibid., 24.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., 23.

27. Ibid.


30. Kame‘eleihiwa 1992,
Kalamakumu, my "source of enlightenment," is invoked again, this time as the "place" of origin for a more particular look at a foundational aspect of the 'ano kaukau ali'i (chiefly server identity): mo'okū'auhau (genealogies). Chapter Two examined 'Ōiwi systems of keeping time and configuring space, while also providing descriptions of the methods. In addition, the second chapter looked at the broader 'Ōiwi worldview and created a context for understanding how a chiefly server like Kana'ina would fit into that worldview as a konohiki. It included a treatment of 'uala cultivation methods and another planting system unique to places lacking in a continuous fresh water supply. Both were offered as examples of how konohiki served Ali'i Nui as land stewards and in the course of those duties, oversaw the maka'ainana as well.

Chapter Three will explore the 'ano of chiefly servers through their mo'okū'auhau. In what ways did mo'okū'auhau determine membership in the class of chiefly servers? How did kaukau ali'i lineages begin? What was the political significance of mo'okū'auhau if any, and finally, what those of kaukau ali'i lineages contribute to 'Ōiwi society in general and to the Ali'i Nui in particular?
A Metaphor for Service and Status

The chiefly servers of the ʻOiwi Wale period were like moena lauhala (literally, pandanus leaf mats). Their metaphorical place in society can be thought of as a middle tier, a dividing layer lying in between two other groups. Above the kaukau aliʻi were Aliʻi Nui who were referred to figuratively with the word Lani (Exalted Ones). The Aliʻi Nui were Lani, literally, "sky" or "heavens" -- that majestic realm high above the islands which went on, seemingly forever in all directions, as far as the eye could see. This expansiveness, this image of an all-encompassing view of sacred space was ʻAkea, "expansiveness" or "breadth" literally and in a conceptual sense it means a realm of extraordinary dimensions, the exclusive purview of the ruling class. Aliʻi Nui were luna lilo loa, the "highest of the high," whose status as sacred nobles were equated with references to the loftiest of places. It was proper that they stood above everyone and everything else. These exalted ones were LaniʻAkea, "Breadth of the Heavens." They were expansive and they encompassed all that there was.

Assuming a position below the Aliʻi Nui were the kaukau aliʻi, also members of the chiefly hierarchy but of lesser rank. Below the kaukau aliʻi were the makaʻAinana. Considering the meaning of this term, the worker-producer class was ma ka ʻAina ʻana, "on and of the land." The relationship between makaʻAinana and the land and sea upon
which they worked was so close it was as if the 'ano of the maka'ainana was inseparable from the 'ano of what surrounded them. The first application of this metaphor, then, represents kaukau ali'i as moena lauhala in relation to these two classes of 'ōiwi, for the moena sat above the earth overseeing the people of the land, while also living and serving under the heights of the heavens and those who were exalted. This in between position was an aspect of their 'ano. Both the ruling class and the society-supporting maka'ainana contingent relied on them.

With regard to the maka'ainana and their closeness to the 'āina, one cosmogonic epic discussed briefly in the previous chapter underscores the source for the kind of kinship that existed between 'āina and maka'ainana. The tradition of Wākea acknowledges a sibling relationship between humans and the first stalk of taro, the 'ōiwi staple. The first two children born to Wākea and his daughter Ho'ohōkūkalani, were Hāloa, an undeveloped fetus in the shape of a taro corm and Hāloa the first human. Kame'elehiwa suggests this sibling relationship was foundational to who the 'ōiwi were and how they related to the 'āina. This explains why maka'ainana planters treated the 'āina with such respect. For them, 'āina was an elder sibling within the 'ohana (extended family). As the younger sibling, all 'ōiwi were to treat 'āina well and 'āina would reciprocate with food in abundance.
Ali`i and maka`āinana were the two major classes within society during the ʻOiwi Wale era. The kaukau ali`i were part of the former class but in terms of the service tasks they performed, they were a moena lauhala that occupied the space between Lani and ʻĀina, respective representations of the Ali`i and maka`āinana classes. A moena was spread atop the earthen floor in an ʻOiwi dwelling. Because of its placement, the moena assumed an in between position with respect to the space above it and the ground over which it was spread. The kaukau ali`i assumed a similar position in society -- in between the Ali`i Nui who led from above and the maka`āinana who worked below. This in between status meant the roles kaukau ali`i played were determined because of their position or genealogically-based rank within the chiefly hierarchy.

The Ali`i Nui, by definition, required the care and in some form, the continuous attention of their kaukau ali`i supporters. Roles for chiefly servers came from this requirement of the moena lauhala to be of service. Eligibility for fulfilling these roles was based on rank. The kaukau ali`i stood in the proper moʻokū`auhau relationship to the Ali`i Nui who were considered Akua that walked the earth.

Fitness to serve came from one's membership in the chiefly class. Martha Warren Beckwith was a noted scholar from the early twentieth century who specialized in the
compilation of 'ōiwi oral traditions. With her training in comparative folklore and literature she capably synthesized information from interviews with already texted materials. Of her many works, Hawaiian Mythology stands as a classic.² It not only examines the religious traditions of the 'ōiwi Wale era, but also offers comparative Polynesian analyses for many stories, myth cycles, legends, and traditions.

In another of her fine works, a translation of the 'ōiwi cosmogonic chant "Kumulipo," Beckwith says this about the chiefly class and the issue of one's place in it:

Position in old Hawaii, both social and political, depended in the first instance upon rank, and rank upon blood descent -- hence the importance of genealogy as proof of high ancestry. Grades of rank were distinguished and divine honors paid to those chiefs alone who could show such an accumulation of inherited sacredness as to class with the gods among men.³

As a function of their social and political position, the Ali‘i Nui governed, were serviced by, and inspired those of the lower social strata.

In addition to the social positions of these three groups in relation to one another through moena placement,
the lauhala creation reflects another aspect of the relationship between workers, server and served.

Literally, patterns of crisscrossing hala (pandanus) leaves comprise the design and structural integrity of a moena lauhala. Figuratively, Ali‘i Nui were leaves of hala strengthened because of intersecting family linkages between themselves and the kaukau ali‘i. These leaves of lineage as plaited into one another provided an inter-familial integrity based on service provision and reception.

The maka‘āinana also had their place within the moena because both Ali‘i Nui and kaukau ali‘i would noho (stay, sleep, remain) with them as part of the multiple set of relationships allowed by society’s rules. Essentially, this chapter is devoted to presenting evidence for these metaphor-based contentions through an analysis of kaukau ali‘i mo‘okū‘auhau. One example of this intersection of ancestral hala between kaukau ali‘i and Ali‘i Nui is in the mo‘okū‘auhau submitted to Hawaiian language newspapers throughout the kingdom era. These written forms of ko‘ihonua (genealogy chants) were declared publicly using the newspaper as a forum. The most pertinent reason for doing so as a kaukau ali‘i was to prove pili koko to the ruling group through a statement of lineage that illustrated the interweave of family connections.

In earlier times, if a challenge was issued, the insulted chiefly server would offer the association of
heritage through a ko‘ihonua. With the development of literacy, ko‘ihonua, like other forms of orature, were put to the page and in effect, "chanted" in the literary voices of Hawaiian language newspapers. Kana‘ina had a portion of his mo‘okū‘auhau in print as part of his son’s (William Charles Lunalilo) display of lineage. Even years after Kana‘ina’s death, collateral relatives were submitting these two-dimensional renderings of mo‘okū‘auhau claiming descent from ancestral chiefly servers who ultimately connected by blood to Ali‘i Nui families.

Rather than consider this kingdom-era example a marked change from tradition, I prefer to think of it as an extension of the same kind of mana a ko‘ihonua had always possessed. The difference is, how that mana was put into a context. In her text Ulysses’ Sail, Mary Helms examines the odyssey that power and knowledge experience as a result of the human tendency to venture from the homeland to parts unknown. In so doing, traditional forms are altered structurally, but also take on enhanced qualities of a spiritual nature via these alterations. Regarding this point she says:

the magic of the written word itself and the ability to read and right -- has often been interpreted as a mystical craft...appreciated
by chiefs of foreign tribes where literacy was not a native art.\textsuperscript{7}

The moʻokūʻauhau were set to the page, but the choice to do so could have been based on circumstantial necessities and three examples come to mind. A new way to infuse the keeping of these lineages with mana rooted in the palapala (written word) might have appealed to genealogists of that era. Acquiring spiritual lifeforce through the use of introductions that were from across the Reef seems a distinct possibility. Literacy must have held a fascination for ʻOiwi and their facility with it was both immediate and excellent. Another need born of circumstance may have come as a result of trying to hold on to what few traditions were still tolerated by the Calvinist-influenced morality. ʻOiwi writers may have seen the value of keeping moʻokūʻauhau as a form of cultural perpetuation in the face of pressures to abandon the oral forms of preserving and expressing them. Throughout the mid to late kingdom era and into the territorial period, moʻokūʻauhau were regular items submitted by readers of Hawaiian language newspapers to editors who made the space available to publish them.\textsuperscript{8} They were discussed and debated via these textual representations in much the same way oral wits were constantly matched over them during ʻOiwi Wale times.
The following example, a third possible circumstance for persisting, comes with the notion of mo'okū'auhau as a demonstration of political resistance. Momi Kamahele makes an interesting case for the hula as a Native practice that, after being banned, continued underground during the kingdom era as an act of political resistance. The practice of submitting genealogies to the newspapers for publication and engagement in debates about the veracity of one another's names and connections can be understood as a means of asserting a political identity that came from lineages as a traditional source of power definition.

In the face of ever-changing societal mores that curiously blended some 'ōiwi ways with certain haole values, traditionalists may have sought a connection to their pasts for determining that personal aspect of their 'āno which could have also empowered them politically. When David Kalakaua was king (1874-1891), one aspect of tradition he institutionalized was the Hale Naua Society. This secret order was established in 1886 to revive the ancient sciences of the Native people along with the promotion of arts, literature, and philanthropy. His motto, "E Hoʻoulu ka Lāhui" (Let the Race Grow in Numbers) spoke to the issue of empowerment through population increase. With fewer than fifty thousand 'ōiwi remaining by 1890, the king saw the need early in his reign to increase the Native populace as a form of political strengthening.
In light of Kamahele's thesis, moʻokūʻauhau may have been like the hula in that the traditional settings for appreciating their significance were replaced by haole ones: Calvinist morality, a money economy, and constitutional provisions. Yet even with these changes, the essence of political expression in both moʻokūʻauhau and the ʻŌiwi's hula remained to emotionally bolster certain sectors of the ʻŌiwi community even after the traditional contexts for these Native texts of lineage and dance were no more. I now return to my central discussion of the moena lauhala and its place in my work.

With regard to the literal source for this metaphor, a plaiting process was used to create an actual moena. Long thinly cut sections of dried pandanus leaves were placed perpendicular to one another, then plaited in a repetitive general layout over and under, eventually forming the body of the moena. Often, different shades of tan, the color of dried lauhala, accented and enriched the moena's overall look. Forming crisscross patterns the entire area of the moena, this design is metaphorical for three aspects of my work. It reflects the position chiefly servers assumed in relation to their superiors from the ruling class as well as the place held in comparison to the worker-producers of society.

Moena interweaving also symbolize the meshing of kaukau aliʻi lineages with moʻokūʻauhau of the Aliʻi Nui
group and also with the maka'ainana. While looking to the Ali'i Nui for their orders, the kaukau ali'i counted on the maka'ainana as the workforce that saw to the completion of major labor-intensive tasks. Without this network of relationships based on mo'okū'auhau, the inter-'Ōiwi crisscross that contributed to the orderly conduct of life in 'Ōiwi Wale society would not have been possible.

A third way the moena fits my definition of textual space has to do with this mo'olelo. Like a moena, I am plaiting leaves of evidence with interpretation in crisscross patterns and adding different shaded pieces of hala that reflect both Native and haole ideas, at times in curious blend with one another, shaping a composition as a plaiting specialist would fashion a moena. The work is time-consuming, tedious, sometimes painful given the naturally serrated edges of the lauhala. Nevertheless, in the labor and occasional strain is an earnest effort, born of a consistent concern to do what is pono.

Nā Ko'o Lani (Chiefly Supporters: A Figurative View)

The most centrally defining feature of the noble class (which included the kaukau ali'i) was mo'okū'auhau. Mo'o means "succession" or "series," particularly "a genealogical line." Interestingly, this image of a succession closely parallels other meanings of the word mo'o including "story or tradition," understandable as a
"succession of events that forms an account." The word mo'o also means "ridge," as of a mountain, or "any raised surface extending lengthwise between two points."

In addition, reptiles of any kind, as well as their water-based spiritual forms, are called mo'o. All definitions for mo'o, then, can be thought of in terms of a thematic whole. Add to the previously mentioned definitions that of the ridge-shaped succession of back-to-tail vertebrae typical of many reptiles, their spinal columns can be reminiscent of the mountain ridges that "extend lengthwise between two points in linear succession." The multiple definitions of the word mo'o and the thematic connections between definitions, suggests that in lieu of a written system, the spoken language organized meaning so that abstract thought rooted in one word could signify a number of different signs if Saussure's theory is applied. When a thematic whole can be inferred based on the word mo'o, it suggests a tendency for ʻōiwi to hoʻokamaʻāina, "make familiar through connections between variant meanings of the same word." This is my own formulation of a concept that appears to be based on how tradition tells us the meaning connections between words intensified the mana of the word. As it was given life through the leo (voice), the word mo'o was infused with the mana of all its related meanings.
Hawaiian language specialist Larry Kimura says this was a feature of the 'ōiwi method of oral expression that was linked to what he defines as word power. Repeated expressions of the word mo' o in contexts that fit any of its definitions incorporated the mana of those alternate meanings. I contend the word power Larry Kimura speaks of comes, at least in part, from hoʻokamaʻāina: the intensification of mana in a word based on its multiple meanings for which there is a single pronunciation. Mana is intensified because each time the word (moʻo for instance), is uttered, that word shares the spiritual lifeforce of all alternate meanings for the same word.

It is my belief that hoʻokamaʻāina and the need to establish connections of familiarity also applied to human relations in the 'ōiwi Wale era. To emphasize the pili koko was a way to connect the kaukau aliʻi through blood ties to the Aliʻi Nui. Acknowledgment of this pili koko to the Aliʻi Nui gave chiefly servers the credential of kinship. Pili koko described the connection and hoʻokamaʻāina defined the act of bringing such a connection to light. Having to do so usually came as the result of a direct challenge to a person's lineage. Otherwise, these relationships were not shared openly for fear of retribution by those intending ill will.

Conceptually, the kaukau aliʻi were part of the broader moʻo or, "succession in a series" within the chiefly
hierarchy.  *kū'auhau*, the other meaning portion of the term *mo'okū'auhau*, modifies *mo'o* and indicates the type of succession being referred to is that which "stands as tribute" (*kū'auhau*) -- a succession that is specifically genealogical. By comparison, the word *mo'olelo*, my definition for what this text is, has *'ōlelo* (language, to speak or say) modifying *mo'o*, the meaning here being a "succession of speaking or saying." Analysis of the word *mo'o* demonstrates the depth of meaning one word can possess.

A word like *mo'o* with definitions that on the surface may seem unrelated, can, if analyzed for *ho'okama'āina* relationships, reveal a thematic bond of *'ōiwi* values based in oral traditions and how they were conveyed. Similarly, relationships between classes of *aliʻi* that declared *pili koko*, also implied a *ho'okama'āina* relationship that revealed a bond of blood relatives who gave and received service respectively.

*Mo'okū'auhau* were kept as the oral record of genealogical succession. Kameʻeleihiwa explains: "As the lists of names are chanted, the adventures of each *Aliʻi* are remembered, and these, in turn, form the body of tradition by which their descendants pattern their Chiefly behavior." Every chanted word of a *koʻihonua* was uttered distinctly. There was a monotonal "*kamakua*" quality to the chant and a vibrato combined with both a gutteral "*kāohi*" sound and a gurgling "*ʻalalā*" in the throat."
Kamakau wrote: "The voice was to be brought out with strength "ha'ano'u" and so held in control "kohi" that every word was clear." Those who composed ko'ihonua were educated in this art and possessed excellent oratorical and state-craft skills. These ko'ihonua were considered sacred and as such, were composed under the strictest kapu. Each word was studied meticulously for its meaning, the element of luck it contained or not, and for what its effect would be. With this much care put in to the composition it is no wonder my analysis of the thematic connections and word power in the term mo'o is possible.

The intricacies of word use and choice were so internalized in the oral tradition that to understand and fully appreciate them today requires a kind of systematic attention. Sometimes, ko'ihonua were composed by a group. Individual chanters were asked to contribute a line by the leader. Two or three composers could work on one ko'ihonua. Kamakau adds: "...if there were eighty composers the chant would contain eighty lines, and these would be combined into a single composition." 

Those who were Ali'i Nui knew so by virtue of their mo'okū'auhau. The lineages were committed to memory and recited by individuals whose task it was to render the ko'ihonua through presentations of them on special occasions. The ancestral integrity of an Ali'i Nui, the mana that enabled leadership, and the sacredness of their
ʻāno would be recalled and revered by all who were privileged to hear the koʻihonua.

Makaʻāinana who grew taro, netted fish, and pounded wauke (paper mulberry) into kapa (barkcloth) looked to their Aliʻi Nui for leadership. These cultivators and producers looked to nobles for guidance and protection. The expectation was that an Aliʻi Nui who lived up to the illustriousness of a proud lineage would do right by those entrusted to his or her care. The mana of the Aliʻi Nui, born of all that was sacred, raised to assume control over people and ʻāina, represented a spiritual lifeforce that dictated their role as society’s leaders.

Workers expected the Aliʻi Nui to lead, to be at the core of religious propriety, to symbolize what was mighty, and to embody the meaning of the word pono. The makaʻāinana also had expectations of certain kaukau aliʻi. Those who served as land stewards or konohiki, oversaw the work of the producers. Cultivators of taro grew their crop knowing the konohiki were responsible for coordinating the transport of this harvested staple to Aliʻi Nui venues. That moena lauhala role for the kaukau aliʻi who served as konohiki was clear. They assumed the in between role in society, Aliʻi Nui above them and makaʻāinana below.

The kaukau aliʻi served their half-siblings and cousins of superior moʻokūʻauhau the Aliʻi Nui. It was pono to serve the sacred ones, for their lineages confirmed
godliness and the societal role of leadership on them. And whenever a kaukau ali‘i was to ‘imi haku (seek a chiefly superior to serve), possible candidates came from those noblest of bloodlines. The process of ‘imi haku could be ongoing in the life of any chiefly server. Several different Ali‘i Nui would receive kaukau ali‘i loyalty from the same individual at different times. A commitment to a particular Ali‘i Nui was established through the provision of various service tasks. An example follows.

John Papa I‘i served as boyhood companion to ‘Iolani Liholiho the son of Kamehameha I who succeeded his father as Kamehameha II. Much later in his life I‘i was kahu (personal attendant) to one of Kamehameha’s granddaughters Victoria Kamāmalu, and between the years he performed these tasks he served in the kingdom government as land commissioner, Privy Council member, and judge. Two other kaukau ali‘i, Mataio Kekūanao‘a and Charles Kana‘ina also began their service as companions to ‘Iolani Liholiho (who eventually ruled as Kamehameha II) and assumed positions in government as a result of marriages to Ali‘i Nui women. Both Kekūanao‘a and Kana‘ina outlived their wives and went on to manage the estates on behalf of their children.20

A mo‘okū‘auhau justified kaukau ali‘i involvement in the personal lives of the Ali‘i Nui. As attendants-in-residence, companions in battle, stewards over ‘āina, and secondary or tertiary partners in intimate relations, the
kaukau ali'ì performed their service tasks as members of the Ali'i Nui's extended family. The kaukau ali'ì did what they did because as moena lauhala for 'Oiwi society, their place was to look down and oversee the "soil" as they looked up to serve the "sky."

He Wahi a ka Noho Ali'i (A Place in the Chiefly Hierarchy)

The word power issue is an important one to understand. The structure of chiefly ranks is equally significant and will now warrant some attention. I chose to offer this rank-related information at this point because the more figurative analysis presented first should be appreciated as a context for what will now be considered.

The term kaukau ali'ì was one of many levels of chiefly rank. Kamakau defined eleven such grades, each contingent on the mo'okū'auhau of one's parents. The lineage one had based on parental ancestry determined a child's place in the noho ali'ì (chiefly hierarchy). Chiefliness was a matter of degree. The highest rank was na'aupi'o; children born of this union were considered sacred chiefs. The system cites six degrees of high chiefs. 21

Five of eleven chiefly degrees in the Kamakau classification describe lower level ali'ì. I have chosen the term kaukau ali'ì as a referent for all five of these chiefs of lesser rank. Individual differences between these five levels in terms of tasks performed for superiors cannot
be determined based on available evidence. Because this is the case, I chose to use the one term both Malo and Kamakau employ when describing chiefly servers. Also, since Kamakau was from O‘ahu, the gradations he cites may very well be applicable to his home island and nowhere else.

It is still important to at least define the degrees of chiefly server rank in the system as outlined by Kamakau. I do so because the system as described demonstrates the complexity once associated with determining degree of chieflyness in a society that seemed so intricately organized and detail-conscious. Also, considering Kamakau was from the island of O‘ahu, it seems probable the system he wrote about was typical of that place and, logically, the one with which he was most familiar. Islands other than O‘ahu may well have had other systems of Ali‘i gradation.

By comparison, Kamakau cites six degrees of Ali‘i Nui, each level defined by the rank of both parents with contingencies for appropriate placement depending on whether the father or mother was of higher lineage. These chiefly grades comprised the ranks of council members, advisers, and leaders in certain situations like battles when an armed force was split into divisions for flank attacks. The maka‘āinana were one class in terms of social standing, but were separately identified by task specialties (fisher, taro cultivator, wall builder, etc.).
With five degrees of kaukau ali'i identified, each could have had purposes, functions, or roles specific to their particular degree as well, although such evidence has not been recovered as a result of researching for this mo'olelo. Mo'okū'auhau determined the place a chiefly server occupied within the chiefly hierarchy and contributed to the particular tasks she or he would perform. What follows is a description of each chiefly server level or degree. An example is provided with each description, suggesting someone whose actual parentage would place them in that particular category.

An instance where the mother was from one of the three highest ranks of the Ali'i Nui level, and the father was of lesser chiefly rank, produced a child who was classified papa ali'i. William Charles Lunalilo, the son of Charles Kana'ina with Kekauuluhi was such an Ali'i according to Kamakau's scheme. What gave Lunalilo the right to be considered for the title of MO'1 (he ruled as the Hawaiian kingdom's sixth sovereign) was that his mother's extremely high rank was undeniable, thereby superseding his paternal kaukau ali'i lineage. It seemed if the mother outranked the father, the child's status followed that of the mother, an apparent matrilineal assumption of genealogical mana. In this way, Lunalilo was not "hurt" in terms of rank by having a kaukau ali'i father.
Also, Charles Kana'ina increased his own mana by fathering such a son. To have a child who outranked you was an honor for a kaukau ali'i. So intense was this pride that a domestic recalled at the time of Lunalilo's death Kana'ina said he felt as if his only relative in the world had passed away.

In addition, Lunalilo was born in 1835, a time when his kaukau ali'i paternity had to be overlooked in consideration of a Calvinist-influenced change in morality that disallowed Ali'i Nui siblings to noho with each other. This meant while Kekauluohi was of high birth, she would not be allowed to have children with a sibling of co-equal rank. Consequently, the traditional classification scheme shared by Kamakau could not be held to by the 1830s.

Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) and his sister Nahi'ena'ena are the best known example of kingdom era Ali'i Nui siblings who were forbidden to noho with each other because of Calvinist morality as adopted by the converted leadership, the leader of whom was Ka'ahumanu. In spite of this edict, Kauikeaouli and Nahi'ena'ena did noho with each other. The child from this union died in infancy. At any time previous to 1820 and missionary arrival, this brother and sister would have been expected to noho again with one another. For appearances, Nahi'ena'ena was married to a grandson of Kamehameha I prior to her pregnancy. Dual paternity was called po'olua and while not as high as

97
ni'aupi'o in terms of offspring rank, the child would still be considered the highest of Ali'i Nui.

A child from this noho would be considered Akua, have great mana, and be classified as ni'aupi'o which is the highest possible degree of chieftiness. The adoption of principles based in the religion of Jehovah forbade such a union, but Kauikeaouli and his sister ignored these principles and turned to tradition at least for the moment. Their detractors who had converted to Calvinism pointed to the cause-effect probability that disobedience of God's word brought about the death of that infant. Life created by such ungodly actions had to feel the wrath of this new, seemingly all powerful Akua. Reasons for believing in the new teachings must have seemed so compelling. The obvious gravity associated with disobeying the laws of Jehovah gave many over to the choice of conversion.

Kame'elehiwa characterizes this adoption of Calvinist principles as the new path to power, supplanting the old ways and confirming Jehovah's place as the one and only true Akua there was.\(^27\)

Because of this change in morality, men like Charles Kana'ina became the most suitable marriage partners for Ali'i Nui women given the new code of society. Lunalilo was, for his time, an Ali'i Nui, entitled to the eventual privilege of ruling his people as MO'I.\(^28\) This change in acknowledging who was considered Ali'i Nui according to

98
parental chiefly degree of rank is yet another example of the curious blend that I believe came from the melding of 'Oiwi Wale traditions with Calvinist ones. The system described by Kamakau was not applicable to the noho (sexual liaisons) of Ali`i Nui once 'Oiwi society adopted Calvinist moral codes.

Moving now to describe another grade of chiefly server, to be a lā`au ali`i, Kamakau says one's father "was of the family of the high chief, and the mother also...and they had...children [who were] ku haulua, 'children by secondary matings,'" the next chiefly degree down from papa ali`i.29 A chart showing the noho of Hawai‘i Island Mōʻi Keākealani kāne is offered to better illustrate my point (fig. 1, line A, p. 100). It is a primary alliance with his sister Keliʻiokalani. This noho produced a daughter, Keakamahana (fig. 1, line B) who was of nīʻau po status, the child of a noho between siblings of the full blood. In the entire classification scheme, this was the highest rank possible.30
A Keākealani kāne (k) = Keliʻiokalani (w)

B Keakamahana (w)

A1 Keākealani kāne (k) = Kaleiheana (w)

B1 Moana kāne (k)

Note: The issue from these noho of Keākealani kāne's (B and B1) would have had a child of ʻāhu aliʻi rank. A noho between Keakamahana and her half-brother Moana kāne did not take place.

Figure 1. Two noho of Keākealani kāne31
A secondary noho of Keākealani kāne is also represented (fig. 1, line A1). If his Aliʻi Nui daughter Keakamahana and his lesser ranked son Moana kāne (fig. 1, line B1) had children, those offspring would have been of lāʻau aliʻi rank. There is no evidence that these siblings of the half blood did noho and have children. There is a point to be made regarding service given this example of half-blood siblings. Ordinarily, Moana kāne would have served his sister Keakamahana who did rule as Mōʻī after Keākealani kāne's death. Given the tendency for lesser ranked siblings and cousins to serve their ranking relatives, the service of Moana kāne in some capacity to his sister the Mōʻī can be assumed.

Another feature of the Moana kāne moʻokūʻauhau as an example of how a chiefly server lineage develops has to do with his noho partner, a Maui Aliʻi wahine (chiefess) Piʻilani wahine. She was the daughter of Maui Mōʻī Kalanikaumakaowākea. With this noho between individuals from different islands comes evidence that unions between chiefly servers and their ranking superiors actually took place. This is significant because it would be simple to suggest inter-class noho were limited to parties from the same island. The weave of the moena increases in complexity with this realization. Chiefly networks of support and interdependent engagement included inter-island noho between aliʻi of different classes. This information only bolsters
the point I am trying to make in my present consideration of the different chiefly server classes according to the system described by Kamakau. Degrees of chiefly rank were quite detailed and reflected fine subtleties of status conferred by virtue of someone's ancestry.

To continue with my analysis of the various chiefly server status levels, the actual rank of kaukau ali`i was bestowed when a child's father or mother was kuhaulua. Moana wahine, Kana'ina's maternal grandmother, was of kuhaulua rank (fig. 2, line A, p. 103). When the other parent was of lesser rank than kuhaulua like Moana's man Palila Nohomualani (fig. 2, line A), then their child, in this example, Kauwa, Kana'ina's mother (fig. 2, line B), would be classified a kaukau ali`i.

The grade below this was ali`i noanoa. Such a chief was the product of a union between someone from one of the three highest Ali`i Nui degrees of naupi`o, pi`o, or naha with a country person of no rank. 'Umi was, by this classification, an ali`i noanoa. This sixteenth century (c.a.) figure lived his young life as someone from the back country, only to be told by his mother that his father was really the Mō`i of Hawai`i Akahiakuleana. The lowest level noble was called ali`i maka`ainana. Technically, they were not chiefly servers. These were high chiefs who for various reasons lived incognito in the back country and kept their true identities a secret. Different from the other
A Moana wahine (w) = Palila Nohomualani (k)

B Kauwa (w) = Eia (k) Kāneikoli'a (w) = Kawa'ahoe'ole (k)

C Charles Kana'ina (k) Nāko'olaniohākau (w)

Note: It is both of the daughters of Moana wahine with Palila Nohomualani who are of kaukau ali'i rank.

The individuals on line C are first cousins.

Figure 2. Noho of Moana wahine with Palila Nohomualani
classifications, this one was defined situationally, not by parental rank. The ali‘i maka‘āinana dwelt there as ordinary folk, like those who surrounded them.

Degrees of chiefly rank for those who served were set according to how closely one was related to the Ali‘i Nui (any chiefs from the first five tiers of the Kamakau hierarchy). Mana for these lower classifications of ali‘i came from what I call an associative relationship with the Ali‘i Nui. It was ho‘okama‘āina that allowed the kaukau ali‘i access to their ranking relatives and it was ho‘okama‘āina that determined fitness to serve. An extended family member from the kaukau ali‘i level met protocol demands because this person’s mo‘okū‘auhau established ho‘okama‘āina with respect to the Ali‘i Nui. It was pono — that conduct-related definition of proper in the sense of rightly applied values, that the kaukau ali‘i engaged their superiors.

The chiefly attendants could literally kaukau or, "step up to serve." This was an ‘Ōiwi Wale precept that held sway well past the ‘Ōiwi Wale era. Even the kaukau ali‘i knew this. In one of his kaukau ali‘i roles already mentioned, John Papa I‘i functioned as a kahu (personal attendant) to various members of the Kamehameha family. His loyalty was not only to the individuals of that ruling contingent, but to what was pono and should consequently be adhered to as "proper chiefly conduct." Upon learning of Kauikeaouli's
(Kamehameha III's) choice to noho with a kaukau ali'i (whom he eventually took as his queen), I'i registered his disapproval vehemently:

The king refused to go home and leave the woman he was sleeping with....It is well to consider this thing, the trouble that parents have with heedless children. The result is a dwindling of the fine blood strains, in fulfillment of the expression that, 'one leaves a person of good blood for one who is not,' often one who is entirely without it. A blast of wind takes it all.\(^{37}\)

The "blast of wind" in question was Hakaleleponi Kalama Kapakuha'ili, a niece of Kana'ina's, the daughter of his sister I'ahu'ula with Na'iheku'ui, a harbor pilot for Kamehameha I (fig. 3, line F, p. 106).\(^{38}\) Kalama and her place as someone who, in I'i's estimation, was "entirely without" good blood, deserves comment. In the context of the previously mentioned Calvinist-influenced changes for what was acceptable moral behavior on the part of 'Oivi, a "blast of wind" might well have been better than no wind at all. Kalama, at the very least, had a lineage. Would I'i have preferred a "windless" maka'a'inana for Kauikeaouli over Kalama? It seems I'i's idea of what was pono as far as a
A  Keākealani kāne = Kaleiheana (w)

B  Moana kāne = Pi'ilani wahine

C  Ilikiamoana (w) = Kauhiapi'iao (k)

D  Moana wahine (w) = Palila Nohomualani (k)

E  Kauwa (w) = Eia (k)

F  1) Naʻea
2) Iʻahuʻula (w) = Naiʻhekukui (k)
3) Charles Kanaʻina
4) Kahele
5) Kaikumoku

G  Hakaleleponi Kalama Kapakuhaʻili = Kauikeaouli

Figure 3. Relationship of Queen Kalama to Kanaʻina
suitable marriage partner drew extremely narrow boundaries if Kauikeaouli's point of view is considered.

Calvinist morality took the option of noho with Nāhiʻenaʻena away from Kauikeaouli. This union of full-blooded siblings was the epitome of sacredness in ʻŌiwi Wale times. By the early 1830s, this practice was banned as an unspeakably degrading heathen practice. Similarly, if Kauikeaouli had expressed a desire to noho with his half-sister Kīnaʻu, the kahuna of the new religious order would have reeled once again. The problem from Kauikeaouli's point of view was, women of like rank were too closely related to him and therefore inappropriate candidates for marriage. Instead, Kauikeaouli chose Kalama, perhaps in defiance of the higher ranked Calvinist chiefesses like Kaʻahumanu, Kīnaʻu, and Kekauluohi.

It must be remembered that when his older brother died in England in 1824, Kauikeaouli was a boy of eleven. Strong female figures like Kaʻahumanu and protective kahu like Iʻi were fine, even necessary during his formative years, became nuisances for a young man about to assume his rightful place as Mōʻī. With the traditional vestiges of that title no longer in force, Calvinism's restrictions could, as Kameʻeleihiwa suggests, have created a desire within Kauikeaouli to rebel. Intentionally seeking out someone like Kalama, someone of lesser rank, then marrying her, might well have been an overt demonstration of one young
man's frustration and indifference with what was supposedly part of the new pono based on Calvinist teachings. This rebellion is something Kame'eleihiwa interprets as acts designed to reinstate the 'Aikapu traditions and thereby reinvigorate the position of Mōʻī. ⁴⁰

From Iʻi's perspective, the 'Oiwi Wale principle of an appropriate partner for the Mōʻī in accordance with considerations of suitable rank, might have been inherited and maintained, but the nineteenth century after 1820 presented different challenges. As a kahu (personal attendant, guardian), Iʻi was applying a tradition-based principle to what had become an inevitable double standard.

There were few genealogically-appropriate marriage partners left for Kauikeaouli to select. Those available with suitable moʻokūʻauhau were either siblings, cousins, or aunts of his. As explained, Calvinist morality adopted by 'Oiwi society forbade such alliances. In the 'Oiwi Wale era, these wahine aliʻi (female chiefesses) would have been the most pono of noho partners.

Iʻi was writing as a concerned kaukau aliʻi in the role of kahu. It was his place to criticize constructively. As a grown man, the king was also completely within his bounds to reject Iʻi's criticisms, constructive or not. Although Iʻi tried to apply it, the guiding principle of appropriate noho partners for Aliʻi Nui from the 'Oiwi Wale era was no longer applicable. The kahu could not admonish the Mōʻī.
about sleeping with someone of a lower lineage in the 1830s. Kaukau ali‘i and maka‘ainana women were, by then, the only choices a Christian Mō‘ī had left. The choice between kaukau ali‘i and maka‘ainana in terms of the new morality, would certainly give Kalama the edge over any woman from the worker-producer class.

I‘i demonstrated an attitude affected by the curious blend. Mentioned earlier, this concept of my own making suggests one possible source for the kind of seemingly incongruous thinking I‘i expressed. He lived within the traditional system for nineteen years. His pre-Christian experience continued to inform his morals with regard to what was pono, Christian teaching notwithstanding.

Consequently, an admixture of thinking, values, and behavioral expressions from two worldviews found representation in one person like I‘i -- a curious blend. Knowing what was pono within the proscriptions of the former system did not vanish instantly when values from a foreign system were introduced then adopted. This persistence of trains of thought from a more ‘ōiwi-influenced time is evidence that, for the chiefly server I‘i, values modification and attitudinal change came, but did so enmeshed with beliefs from the previous era.

The curious blend accounts for a more measured engagement in the ‘ōiwi adoption of haole ideas. Foreign ways were absorbed and acted on more gradually than is
sometimes intimated when forces of change are discussed as unidirectional influences that simply obliterated all that was previously. Applying the curious blend framework on this issue of foreign influences and the ‘ōiwi allows for understanding more deeply that those who served lived through an era when relational crisscrosses of types of service, changing definitions of pono, and the acknowledgment of different worldviews made knowing where "in-between" actually was, a perpetual challenge.

There is another aspect of moʻokūʻauhau to consider. How, specifically, does a kaukau aliʻi lineage begin? The analysis of a kaukau aliʻi ʻohana offers clarification. Kanaʻina's moʻokūʻauhau offers an example of how a lineage of chiefly servers is born. For Kanaʻina's line of kaukau aliʻi, the succession began with the Moʻi from Hawaiʻi Island named Keakealani Kāne.⁴¹ His name includes two of the previously mentioned words used to denote Aliʻi Nui status of the highest degree: Ākea, meaning "expansiveness" or "breadth," and lani, "chiefly" or "heavenly."

This Aliʻi Nui reflected his mana as one of extremely high birth. The "kāne" following is separate from his proper name and distinguishes him from a granddaughter who was his namesake. Her name is presented by genealogists as Keākealani wahine. After fathering those who would succeed him as Moʻi, Keākealani kāne was to noho with a woman who
either had no mo'okū'auhau, or had one, but no record of it has survived to this time. Figure 1 shows the mo'okū'auhau of the descendants of Keākealani kāne with this woman whose name was Kaleiheana. The offspring from this noho, Moana kane, began a new kaukau ali'i lineage.

It was customary for ruling chiefs like Keākealani kāne to noho with women of lesser lineages. These were secondary or tertiary liaisons the Ali'i Nui engaged in. Female as well as male Ali'i Nui retained this social privilege. Additional noho partners were taken after alliances with siblings or other close relatives of co-equal rank to further a ruling family's lineage were achieved. It was sibling or cousin liaisons like those between aunts and nephews or uncles and nieces that yielded progeny who were of the highest rank and most likely to succeed as Mo'i, defeats in battle notwithstanding.

Ho'opoipo (lovemaking) and le'ale'a (gratification of desires including sexual fulfillment) were established principles in 'Oiwai Wale society. While these principles certainly had their place, I think it important to comment on one scholar's contention about le'ale'a. Marshall Sahlins makes the claim that "sex was everything: rank, power, wealth, land, and the security of all these." To suggest this place for sexual activity is a misunderstanding of the principle of le'ale'a. This level of joy and expression of affection was part of life, not life itself.
A much more foundational concept for understanding what "everything" was for 'ōiwi was 'ai. The reason I say this is basic to the understanding of survival and what it meant to the people of old. That all-encompassing ability to assume control and consume power that Ali'i held was based on 'ai, not le'ale'a. The word for "eat" was 'ai and for food it was "the edible thing" or mea 'ai. The term for district polity is 'aimoku. The word for being rapacious with food is 'aihue. When someone or something is considered an all-consuming, man-eating force like a shark or a spirit, the description is 'aikanaka. The very word for land includes the prefix 'ai in 'aina. Ironically, Sahlins suggests how throughout Polynesia "sexual intercourse is eating," but he does not take this information and carry it a step further. Instead of citing this eating as the foundational principle and le'ale'a one of the principle's expressions, he simply asserts that cultural order came from le'ale'a.43 I contend the opposite is true. Le'ale'a was a social by-product of the cultural order which the foundational principle of 'ai provided.

Kaleiheana was one of Keākealani kāne's tertiary ipo (lovers). Tertiary status is inferred because no one named Kaleiheana is shown on any Ali'i Nui mo'okū'auhau that have survived in written form till today. It is possible Kaleiheana was the sister of another noho partner of
Keākealani kāne’s, Kaleimakali‘i. She was a lesser ranked chiefess whose lineage traces to the eldest son of ‘Umi, whereas the lineage of Keākealani kāne finds its way back to ‘Umi as well, through another of his sons, Keawenuiaumi.44

Other inferences are possible. The prefix "Kalei-

in each of the names allows for speculation that Kaleiheana and Kaleimakali‘i were related. It was rather common for siblings’ names to share the same prefix or suffix with a different sobriquet identifying them individually. Also, most mo‘okū‘auhau of the kaukau ali‘i only show the hiapo (eldest member of a sibling or generational group) as succession falls to the eldest in terms of furthering the line.45 That being the case, Kaleimakali‘i was probably the elder of the two, assuming she and Kaleiheana were siblings. And as the younger sibling, Kaleiheana would not ordinarily be retained on the mo‘okū‘auhau, perhaps even in a recitation of the ko‘ihonua. Kaleiheana’s name would, quite possibly, emerge only as a tertiary noho partner of Keākealani kāne’s, in recognition of his importance as a Mō‘i.

The Moana Kāne Lineage

As discussed briefly in the previous section, the Mō‘i of the great island of Keawe (Hawai‘i) Keākealani kāne and his wahihe Kaleiheana had a son, Moana kāne. It was Moana kāne who represented the start of a new kaukau ali‘i
lineage. The lineage of Moana kāne from the Ali‘i Nui Keākealani kāne down to Kana‘ina and his first cousin Nāko‘olaniohākau shows how many generations of chiefly servers actually came from this original individual. The Nāko‘olaniohākau side of the lineage continues, including branches that come from her siblings' progeny not shown on this chart. Nākoʻolaniohākau in turn, is an ancestress of persons who will be discussed in Chapter Six when the issue of how much chiefly server identity remained after the system that provided its context was no longer in effect.

Besides the inter-island aspect of Moana kāne's noho with Pi'ilani wahine (fig, 4, line B, p. 115) discussed in the previous section, there is another matter of interest this union brings to mind. It concerns the paramount rulers Līloa of Hawai‘i (for Moana kāne) and Pi'ilani of Maui (for Pi'ilani wahine). Tradition tells of a friendship between these Moʻi. One of Pi'ilani's sons, Lonoapi'ilani, even went to war with the support of Līloa's son 'Umi, took control of Maui and in the process killed his brother Kihaapi'ilani.
Figure 4. Moʻokūʻauhau of Kanaʻina and Nākoʻolaniohākau
Significant for the kaukau ali'i story is that as lineages branched out from 'Umi and the sons of Pi'ilani, lesser lineages from west Hawai'i and east Maui continued to maintain their own inter-genealogical connections. This has never been documented, but is an important aspect of the much-discussed support system Ali'i Nui had. In this case, the moena lauhala were leaves of plaited hala (pandanus) that reached across the channel from one island to another, weaving the lauhala of Maui with that of Hawai'i. The chiefly servers from the Moana kāne line followed the lead of their ranking superiors by engaging in noho that were inter-island. This fact had not been previously confirmed as a trait of the kaukau ali'i class.

Moana kāne and Pi'ilani wahine had three children, Ilikiamoana, Lonoamoana, and Kapuniamoana. Ilikiamoana, a daughter, was to noho with another Maui kaukau ali'i, Kauhiahaki (a.k.a. Kauhiapi'iao). This noho to a cousin from her mother's home island is called a ho'i, that union which "returns" one to a lineage the two share. Typically, the ho'i union describes noho between cousins where the shared mo'okū'auhau goes back to common grandparents. There was definite enhancement of mana associated with ho'i. Whether or not those of kaukau ali'i rank were allowed to engage in the practice continuously is a question. If too many of a particular lesser lineage were to noho with siblings or engage in the act of ho'i, a challenge to Ali'i
Nui supremacy might be suspected. A challenge to Ali'i Nui paramountcy could result if enough familial support for a strategic action was mustered.

I digress from the Moana kāne discussion to make a point about the Lono path to power. Usurpation by one of lower rank through outstanding leadership was 'Umi's tactic, and from that time, measures were taken to prevent such occurrences. With the aid of a loyal following, 'Umi overthrew the rapacious rule of his half-brother Hākau in spite of the fact 'Umi's mother's moʻokūʻauhau was not exalted. 'Umi exercised the Lono path to power Kameʻeleihiwa speaks about by engaging in noho with women of Aliʻi Nui rank.

In the case of 'Umi, the Lono path augmented with his sexual prowess what the initial incision cut by the trail of Ku established through his well-organized, consensus-based, protocol-mandated acts of violence. What 'Umi had to do was incorporate both the Kū and Lono paths to mana. One reason was to overcome his mother's ordinary moʻokūʻauhau. Achievement on the field of battle gave him the mana of Kū. Having children by high-ranking wāhine Aliʻi Nui afforded him the mana of Lono.

So critical was the uplifting of his maternal moʻokūʻauhau that a daughter of 'Umi's who took part of his mother's name was also given an enhancement of the name with a reference to sacredness. Her name, Akahiʻilikapu has the
first portion of 'Umi's mother's name in it (Akahi). The next section of this name, 'ili kapu means "sacred skin" or more figuratively, "skin so sacred it is forbidden to touch." Her name rendered in full translation would be "Sacred-skinned-Akahi." The Lono path to mana, the elevation of 'Umi's mo'okū'auhau through his progeny, and the securement of the island's polity via exalted lineages were all represented in the name Akahi'ilikapua'umi.52

In the context of service to a ruler, a kaukau ali'i lineage was fine. To rise to a position as a ruler and maintain control of what was acquired through warfare, enhancement of a mediocre lineage was necessary. The 'Umi saga reflects this necessity and explains how both kinds of mana were achieved. The less-than-stellar mo'okū'auhau of Akahiakuleana continued to be a topic of discussion far beyond the era from which this epic originated. Malo and Kamakau both commented on Akahiakuleana's mo'okū'auhau but from distinctly different perspectives. Malo offered a reminder of sorts regarding the ali'i side of Akahiakuleana's mo'okū'auhau:

Umi was the child of Līloa by a woman he seduced, named Akahiakuleana. She has often been spoken of as a person of no ali'i blood, but the fact is that she was of the same ali'i line as Līloa

118
himself. They were both descendants of Kanipahu.53

Malo then goes on to illustrate the moʻokūʻauhau connection between 'Umi's parents. Kamakau also cited the Akahiakuleana moʻokūʻauhau, but did not link 'Umi's parents to the common ancestor Kanipahu. Dismayed with a moʻokūʻauhau-related issue of his own time, Kamakau ties the Akahiakuleana information in with a commentary on how to define Aliʻi Nui identity:

The woman's name was Akahi, and it was through her that 'Umi was called a low-born chief (lepolepo) by those of Hawai'i and a free-born person (noanoa) by those of other places.54

Inferior moʻokūʻauhau, together with the inability to marshal battle and related strategic support from many quarters, kept the overwhelming majority of kaukau aliʻi from the successful usurpation role. Only by combining the Kū and Lono paths to mana was 'Umi able to rise above the shortcomings of his maternal lineage and achieve the title of Hawai'i Island Moʻi.

This rather lengthy discourse on 'Umi as an example of utilizing both paths to power as articulated by
Kameʻeleihiwa illustrates the importance of finding pono as a leader. In this sense, pono can best be defined as "rightly balance." In the context of the Kū and Lono paths, 'Umi's conduct demonstrates this kind of pono. Instead of pono's substance being defined more literally as "propriety" that affected the everyday behavior of a leader, this second definition suggests certain spiritual forces to whom the leader is responsible, must be appeased in rightly balanced fashion. 'Umi, because of inferior maternal ancestry, had to demonstrate this second, more figurative and spiritually-rooted form of pono.

He could not rely on the mana of two parents' illustrious moʻokūʻauhau. 'Umi stands as the classic example of a chiefly server at best who rises above a humble heritage to work the power paths in a balanced way. He attended to the business of Kū, but never neglected the enhancement of the Lono path -- pono via multiple noho with women of mana-laden moʻokūʻauhau. It was pono for 'Umi to noho in the manner he did. His progeny held control of Hawaiʻi Island until one descendant named Kamehameha unified the chiefdoms and founded a nation-state.

'Umi's adherence to the Lono path as a pono course continued to affect these islands for centuries beyond his estimated time of life, the mid-sixteenth century. He was and is a source of pride for any 'Oiwi who attempts to meet seemingly insurmountable challenges. The message in the
'Umi saga is, achievement took precedence over ancestry in a major way at least once and affected who would rule Hawai‘i Island until the time of Kamehameha I. No person ruled as Hawai‘i Island Mō‘ī after ‘Umi who was not somehow connected to him as a descendant. Ironically and however technical a point, from ‘Umi's time on, it can be said the Hawai‘i leadership possessed the blood of the server along with the ancestry of the served.

Kamakau continued with a criticism of descendants of Ali‘i Nui lineages from his time whose once excellent mo‘okū‘auhau could no longer be so described:

Kamehamehanui...an older brother of Kahekili...has some living descendants, some of whom are going down into the dust. What name can be applied to them? Some are the descendants of Keōua, father of Kamehameha I. Some are of a different kind, half whites, and have gone away down into the dust. By what names should they be called?55

The ‘ano of an Ali‘i Nui and the issue of how to define class membership in light of increased miscegenation during the nineteenth century disturbed Kamakau. He seemed bewildered about those whose ‘ōiwi ancestry was from chiefly

121
stock, yet what to do concerning the non-‘ōiwi bloodlines in the same person. If an Ali‘i Nui could be so questioned, then a kaukau ali‘i who was hapa (part ‘ōiwi, part haole) would be similarly suspect and probably disregarded completely with respect to mo‘oku‘auhau.

Returning to the more central aspect of this mo‘olelo, namely, kaukau ali‘i service, it appears the moena lauhala were a key source of support to the rulers. Family intersections with their superiors, like hala plaiting, made the chiefly servers an ever-connected part of the same societal weave. These servers gave their superiors what they needed: foundational support that enabled full function for the ruling class. Continuity mattered, and when Kalani‘ōpu‘u (Hawai‘i Island Mō‘ī who preceded Kamehameha) came to power, he continued to govern occupied territory in east Maui in part, by using a member of the Moana line.

Many chiefs from Hawai‘i at this time settled on Maui, some of them grandchildren of Keawe. As governor of the new territory and commander of the fortified hill of Ka‘uiki, Kalani‘ōpu‘u appointed one Puna, a chief of the family of Moana who had been his kahu at the time Hawai‘i became his.\textsuperscript{56}
This was the level of trust Mō'ī Kalaniʻōpuʻu placed in men like Puna. Much less likely to counter-revolt, these chiefly servers' commitments through 'imi haku could be counted on to remain faithful. Puna is even credited with saving Kalaniʻōpuʻu's life in a battle for control of Hawaiʻi Island. The Moana line distinguished itself through service to the Mō'ī going back to the time of Alapaʻi nui and probably even before then to the Keakealani kāne era.

According to testimony in the Kanaʻina probate case, it was from the time of Moana kāne forward that this ʻohana of kaukau aliʻi established residence at South Kona in the Napoʻopoʻo district of Hawaiʻi Island. Kanaʻina's homeland Kalamakumu is located there. To provide a further Kalamakumu-related perspective, Kanaʻina was the great-great grandson of Moana kane. ʻOiwi had (and still have) the propensity to hoʻokamaʻaina, "encourage familiarity between themselves." Establishing links through moʻokūʻauhau is an important strategy for both initiating and maintaining hoʻokamaʻaina.

I have tried to strengthen my moʻolelo by applying the concept of hoʻokamaʻaina to information about the homeland of Charles Kanaʻina and information about the region where his ancestor Moana kāne is said to have settled. My employment of hoʻokamaʻaina yields these assumptions: kaukau aliʻi in service to Hawaiʻi Island Mō'ī from the Moana kāne line were well established in terms of ʻano.
They knew who the person was (Keākealani kāne) who gave them their noho link to the ruling class. They also knew that providing service to that class had been ongoing for several generations in South Kona, the district where Kalamakumu is located.

For the moena lauhala of society, this meant knowing exactly who they were in the context of where they were. Also, it meant knowing exactly where you were in reference to the Mōʻī above and the makaʻāinana below. And because it was believed that all ʻōiwi came, ultimately, from a single source, a bond of hoʻokamaʻāina amongst us has always existed. 58

This bond is still expressed through our unique indigenous language and traditions that emphasize Papa and Wakea were the parents of all ʻōiwi. ʻōiwi knew who they were at their very core as a result of knowing this tradition of common parentage. The kaukau aliʻi needed this associative form of moʻokūʻauhau for empowerment as chiefly servers to their Aliʻi Nui ʻohana. This need remained strong even after the system from which it came was no more. 59 It seems that knowing one's place meant knowing one's moʻokūʻauhau. Successions from that ancestral past rooted the ʻōiwi to their leaders and their homeland. In Charles Kanaʻina's case, the leader was ʻIolani Liholiho, the homeland, Kalamakumu. 60
Na Pua a Moana wahine (The Descendants of Moana wahine)

Moana wahine was Moana kāne's granddaughter (fig. 4, line D, p. 115). 'Umi found pono in the balance of Lono with Kū. Moana wahine did as well, not in the role of ruler, but rather as the ancestress for many lineages of kaukau aliʻi and their progeny who survive to this day.

Moana wahine's parents Ilikiamoana and Kauhiapiʻiao had three other children besides her: Kahanaumalani, and Heiaholani, and Koʻialiʻipuheʻelani (fig. 5, p. 126).61 They were residents of South Kona, a place mentioned before -- Nāpoʻopoʻo. And within Nāpoʻopoʻo, from the time of Moana wahine's mother Ilikiamoana to the early days of Charles Kanaʻina, Kalamakumu was the specific homeland.62

Following the path of Lono as a female chiefly server, Moana wahine was to noho with at least four kāne, two of whom were of Aliʻi Nui rank. Maternal ancestor for many ʻOiwi living today, and direct link to the sacredness of Hawaiʻi Island Mōʻī Keakealani kāne, Moana wahine was to her generation of kaukau aliʻi what a female Aliʻi Nui Kalanikauleleiaiwi was as the ancestress of several branches of high ranking chiefs.63 Moana wahine's multiple noho are significant because they offer evidence of a pattern whereby a kaukau aliʻi chiefess actually assumed a noho role similar to that of a wahine Aliʻi Nui. To my knowledge, no present day work has asserted this as a possibility.
A  Moana kāne = Pi‘ilani wahine

B  1) Ilikiamoana (w) = Kauhiapi‘iao (k)
    2) Lonoamoana (k)
    3) Kapuniamoana (k)

C  1) Moana wahine = Heulu (k)
    2) Kahanaumalani (k)
    3) Heiaholani (k)
    4) Ko‘ialii‘ipuhe‘elani (k)
    5) Huapua‘anui (k)

Figure 5. The Parents and Siblings of Moana wahine
Equally important is the fact that to act as Moana wahine did may suggest that in the context of chiefly server roles, to noho was pono since giving life to a new generation through birthing was a wāhine wale (exclusively female) proposition.

Based on the noho pattern of Moana wahine, it is possible to argue that what a wahine Aliʻi Nui did to further and enhance high chiefly lineages, a wahine kaukau aliʻi did to assure the existence and thereby the ‘ano of chiefly server contributions to moena lauhala. Moana wahine is an example of how Kameʻeleihiwa's Lono path to power worked for women with chiefly server ancestry. While Kameʻeleihiwa focused on the Aliʻi Nui, a close look at Moana wahine's noho reveals the same possibility for the chiefly server class. Before assessing the four noho of Moana wahine in detail, there is a need to further articulate the interrelationships between certain concepts discussed in earlier chapters, but employed now in the specific context of noho.

In her analysis of traditional society, Kameʻeleihiwa identified conquests in warfare and sexual relations as two methods for acquiring mana and the practical benefits therefrom: political influence in society and pono status with the Akua (Gods). One method was associated with the Akua Lono. Its adherents would attain mana via sexual liaisons. For the kaukau aliʻi, it meant increasing mana
through noho with partners of rank superior to one's own. The result of such a noho, a child higher in degree of chiefliness than the kaukau ali'i parent, was pono. The kaukau ali'i parent believed it was proper that an offspring should outrank her or him. The following quotation explains another kind of liaison:

Alternatively, if a man were handsome and somewhat talented in dance and poetry, he could be kept as an aikāne, or male lover, of an Ali'i Nui, as they were bisexual.

In support of this, it is Malo who said Hawai'i Island Mō'ī Līloa (father of 'Umi) originated the practice of moe aikāne (male-with-male oral-genital sex). During Līloa's time this practice was not generally known because according to Malo, the Mō'ī kept it a hana hūnā (hidden practice). Despite the hūnā, there were questions. People wondered why Līloa kept this man as a punahele (favorite) for the reason was not readily apparent. His response to the queries: "He hana ma'i mai ia'u ma ku'u 'ūhā" (It is an act that is done to me in my genital area). Malo relates the society-wide outcome of this innovation. "When people heard this, they tried it themselves, and in
this way the practice of [moe aikāne] became established and prevailed down to the time of Kamehameha I."

As a conclusion to this necessary digression, I submit that the Liloa tradition as perpetuated by Malo refers to the moe aikāne relationship as a service task the kaukau ali'i performed for the Ali'i Nui. Moe aikāne could have been an alternative Lono path to mana that a male kaukau ali'i might engage in with his ranking noble of the same gender. 'ōiwi Wale sexual mores sanctioned practices like these as they were sources of pure pleasure.

Returning now to the central point I was making about kaukau ali'i lineages, Moana wahine's may indicate that a kaukau ali'i version of the Lono path existed as a moena of kinship support for the Ali'i Nui. This could be termed a "Lono path to mana through service." While based on the Hawaiian metaphor devised by Kame'eleihiwa, my application of it to the kaukau ali'i class is original. Were noho of the kaukau ali'i actually such paths to mana, then the standard view of their perpetual servitude at the exclusion of any mana enhancement options demands revision. It remains that without some of Kame'eleihiwa's theoretical mana'o, namely her definitions of pono and mana, my particular perspectives on these concepts as variations on a theme would not be possible. Similarly, the development of my own concepts can be appreciated as mana'o that this related to Kame'eleihiwa's use of 'ōiwi metaphor.
A path to mana may not have been the exclusive province of the Ali‘i Nui. It seems plausible based on the mo‘okū‘auhau of Moana wahine that as members of the Ali‘i class, kaukau ali‘i were, genealogically speaking, closer to the chiefly way than they were to the more pedestrian maka‘āinana. This is significant because mo‘okū‘auhau can now be seen as a succession of intergenerational ties between the entire class of Ali‘i with the servers from that class deserving of certain Ali‘i-type privileges afforded them by membership.

Included among these privileges was the pursuit of Lono’s path to mana through various acts of service, including multiple noho, and for some men, moe aikāne. Moana wahine achieved this by noho with four men of varying rank. Under ordinary circumstances her children would serve the Ali‘i Nui half-siblings and cousins with whom they shared common parentage and kūpuna (grandparents, ancestors). Each of Moana wahine’s four noho will now be considered in succession.

Of her four documented noho, Moana wahine’s highest ranking partner was Keawe‘ōpala (fig. 6, p. 131). For those who know Hawaiian, his name might bring a chuckle. The word ‘ōpala means "rubbish" and if there was ever a word that conflicted with the meaning of high rank, it is rubbish. Kūpuna remind us, though, of the irony attached to the meanings of some names.
Figure 6. The Noho of Moana wahine with Keawe ʻOpala
Infants who suffered from poor health were sometimes given names with negative connotations to ward off malevolent spirits intent on harming the new life. This may have been the case with Keawe'opala. He was the son of Alapa'i nui, Mo' of Hawai'i Island with the Ali'i wahine Keaka. As a chronological checkpoint, Alapa'i nui preceded both Kamehameha and Kalani'ōpu'u as supreme ruler of Pele's island.

The son of Moana wahine with Keawe'ōpala was Kana'ina nui (fig. 6, line B). This child of an Ali'i Nui father and a kaukau ali'i mother grew to manhood and in 1779, was one of the men sent out to meet James Cook's vessels when they dropped anchor in Kealakekua Bay. Thus, a pua from Moana wahine's mo'okū'auhau played a supporting (and typically kaukau ali'i) role in that initial engagement between the 'ōiwi of South Kona and Cook of the British empire.

Among all the excitement and confusion two chiefs, an exceptionally handsome six-footer named Kana'ina and a friendly young man named Palea, made themselves useful by ordering canoes out of the path of the ships and stoning the more importunate commoners from the decks.
Charles Kana‘ina was named for this relative from his mother’s mo‘okū‘auhau. His name means "The Conquering," perhaps given to Kana‘ina nui at birth to commemorate victory in a battle that occurred around that time. For the purposes of contemporary mo‘okū‘auhau studies, identifying Kana‘ina nui in the context of Cook’s arrival links all descendants of Moana wahine living today to ‘ohana of the late eighteenth century. Thus, it can be said with certainty that we indeed trace our ancestry back to the time of, and by extension the time before, the arrival of Cook in these islands. Yet another way to firm up the ‘ano ‘ōiwi (Native Hawaiian identity).

A grandson of Alapa‘i nui, Kana‘ina nui lived to serve Kalani‘ōpu‘u, who was Alapa‘i nui’s successor as Hawai‘i Island Mō‘ī. The fact that Kana‘ina nui functioned as he did when the Resolution and the Discovery sailed into Kealakekua waters in 1779 indicates a kaukau ali‘i level of service. It is important to restate Kana‘ina nui’s connection to the Mō‘ī Alapa‘i nui as a mo‘opuna (grandchild). This social place, this status of mo‘opuna to such an exalted figure might seem incongruous with Kana‘ina nui’s service role upon Cook’s arrival. If Kana‘ina nui was a grandson of the Mō‘ī why would he be assigned such a relatively menial task as directing the traffic of canoes at Kealakekua Bay?
Also, why was Kana'ina nui in 1779 not serving his own father, who by the rule of primogeniture should have become MOʻI when Alapaʻi nui died? The answers lie in the fact that Kalaniʻōpuʻu asserted himself in a battle of succession upon the death of Alapaʻi nui and secured the MOʻI title for himself and his own ancestral line. Kana'ina nui's father Keaweʻopala was killed and this defeat coupled with Kana'ina nui's chiefly server ancestry from the lesser lineage of Moana wahine, probably put Kana'ina nui into a kaukau aliʻi role within the scheme of the new MOʻI's leadership structure.

Had Keaweʻopala lived to rule as MOʻI Kana'ina nui would, in all likelihood, have occupied a more noble place in the chiefly structure. This did not occur so by the time Cook arrived, it was Kana'ina nui in the role of kaukau aliʻi who was among the functionaries handling logistical matters as curious 'Oowi began to surround Cook's ships anchored in the bay. Kana'ina nui's bearing made enough of an impression on Cook's officer that his involvement was duly noted in journal accounts of the event. Kana'ina nui stands as an example from the Moana wahine line of how the two paths to power espoused by Kameʻeleiwiha, the moʻokūʻauhau of Lono and the kaua (warfare) of Kū came together in the life of one kaukau aliʻi to affect the status and consequent role he played in the moʻolelo of 'Oowi society.
The second noho of Moana wahine was with Heulu, an ali'i from the 'Ī lineage of Hilo (fig. 7, p. 136). This noho offers further evidence about the Lono-path-to-mana concept as applied to understanding the significance of kaukau ali'i mo'okū'auhau. Moana wahine and Heulu had a daughter Hakau. Hākau's noho partner was Kana'ina nui, the just-discussed son of Moana wahine with Keawe'ōpala (fig. 6, line B). What is noteworthy about this noho between offspring of Moana wahine comes from the assumption that only Ali'i Nui siblings were allowed to noho with each other. Such a liaison was believed to compound the mana of a lineage and thereby enhance everything that was pono from that lineage. For siblings of the half-blood to noho with each other produced a child who was naha.73

The noho of Kana'ina nui with Hākau contradicts the customary belief that sibling unions were exclusive to the Ali'i Nui class and suggests the possibility such liaisons were acceptable among chiefs of lesser rank as well. One explanation why lineages of chiefly servers from other islands were not preserved can be traced to the Kamehameha unification. From the time this Mō'ī held control of all the islands, the most significant mo'okū'auhau, politically speaking, belonged to those ali'i who showed the closest kinship to him.
A  Moana wahine = Heulu

B  Hākau (w) = Kana‘ina nui (k)

C  Haʻo (k) = Kaʻilipakalua (w)

D  Luahine (w) = Paʻuli Kaʻoleioku (k)

Figure 7. The Noho of Moana wahine with Heulu74

136
This tendency to ho'okama'āina with Kamehameha and as a result increase one's own mana by association, shows up in accounts about Kamehameha's subjects and closest supporters who wanted to be buried with him when he died in 1819.

A man named Ke-amo-hulihia was so wrought up with emotion when he saw the body borne along that he sprang upon the bier and attempted to anger the chiefs into making him into a death companion (moepu'u) for Kamehameha....Formerly it was customary for chiefs to show their affection in this way without caring for their own lives; it was their way of repaying their chief's kindness. 75

Lili'uokalani, in her description of a chiefly ancestor, Keaweheulu, associates her lineage with that of service to Kamehameha as one way to assert her legitimacy as ruler of the kingdom in the 1890s. 76 Even newspaper articles about ancestral figures from entirely different islands find ways to tell the story so as to ho'okama'āina someone in the most positive fashion to Kamehameha. 77

So unprecedented were Kamehameha's accomplishments, so complete his victories that one form of ho'onani (praise) he received included ho'okama'āina, the making of associations between himself and an individual or an individual's 'ohana.
member. It was a custom that could elevate one's status through the establishment of associative ties which paid him homage and respect while infusing those making the connection with mana. Over time, the chiefly servers who retained their traditions and stories did so more consistently, perhaps because it was expected from those in service to the Kamehameha family.

This politics of mo'okū'auhau via the practice of ho'okama'aina could be advantageous. Much of what Charles Kana'ina acquired in his life both materially and in terms of prestige, came from his ho'okama'aina to the Kamehameha 'ohana. The same can be said for Mataio Kekūanao'a, father of Kamehameha IV and V, has well as John Papa I'i, kahu to Kekūanao'a's daughter Victoria Kamāmalu. These kaukau ali'i, Kana'ina, Kekuanao'a, and I'i were to ho'okama'aina with Kamehameha through his son 'Iolani Liholiho who succeeded his father as Mo'ī in 1819.

For Kana'ina and Kekuanao'a, their roles as chiefly servers were politicized through early service to Liholiho as aikāne, duties as konohiki, and later marriages to women from the Kamehameha 'ohana. Their hana lawelawe (service tasks) related directly to the support of someone who had power, Liholiho. He had the mana of a ruler-to-be, then that of a Mo'ī, and in death, allowed these two the associative mana to remain in various service capacities for the Kamehameha family.
For I'i, his ho'okama'aina was in the role of kahu or, "personal attendant, guardian, caregiver." His political advantage played out in the several government positions he assumed in a long and illustrious career. At any given time during the kingdom era from the 1840s through the 1860s I'i was a land commissioner, member in the House of Nobles, adviser to Mō'ī, and Supreme Court justice. Far more than mere genetics, the organizing principle of ancestry and its processual component ho'okama'aina imbued the aforementioned chiefly servers with an empowering mana offered by politically influenced roles in the Kamehameha circle of power.

I do not think it is accurate to characterize ho'okama'aina as simply a cultural practice. Similarly, mo'oku'aahau cannot be fully appreciated if ethnocentrism prevents one from understanding that lineage was more than the charting of biological realities. If received in a more 'Oiwi-based context conceptually, ho'okama'aina garnered multi-dimensional results and advantages for certain kaukau ali'i: ancestral, social, religious, cultural, and political. This tendency for any number of haole-rooted conceptual categories to be reflected in a single 'Oiwi concept has caused me to focus on the development of these more Native-centered ways to conceive of my ancestral past. The mana that emanated from mo'oku'aahau and its associative dynamic ho'okama'aina found its source in many categories of...
'Oiwi life. This concentration on ho'okama'a'ina as content prompts a conceptual point that needs to be made at this juncture.

Especially important in my mind is the fact that the reader is destined to remain well beyond the Reef if the reader chooses to employ the catch-all phrase of "cultural difference" to define what it is I pose through this work. Understand this 'Oiwi-rooted curious blend of an effort instead through interpretations born of a more 'Oiwi-influenced way to conceive of and render the 'Oiwi past. I am attempting to establish contexts that are conveyances founded in what the Valley has offered me.

I would hope what I attempt is therefore seen as fundamentally different at the conceptual level, not just in the fashion the text is presented superficially, from histories of Hawai'i that preceded my mo'olelo. Ultimately, rather than a place in the Western historical canon alone as "new perspectives of ethnographic self-analysis by the 'Other,'" there can be more. I sense in the political analysis of Haunani-Kay Trask, the mo'olelo of Kame'eleihiwa, and in my own efforts as well, the emergence of an 'Oiwi intellectualism that holds the potential for providing a ho'okama'a'ina-like mana to direct other Native Hawaiian minds toward more distinctively 'Oiwi-oriented trails of academic exploration.78 Something I would call
the Mānoa School seems to be developing and future works by the aforementioned individuals and others may prove me out.

I include here what some might think a misplaced presentist digression to make another point about the significance of *hookamaʻāina*. The content-focused treatment of *hoʻokamaʻāina* as a concept has word power. This lends the mana in the definition of the word *hoʻokamaʻāina* in the context of the chiefly server past to the immediacy of the textual present and this broader theoretical point about the Mānoa School. By being deliberate in my choice to "make the association" here, to in effect, *hoʻokamaʻāina* past with present, a politics of moʻolelo is defined here to further articulate this sub-section's concept — the politics of moʻokūʻauhau.

I now return to my discussion of *hoʻokamaʻāina* as applied to the kaukau aliʻi past. In the example of the two chiefly servers who were half-siblings and their noho with one another, there is Kanaʻina nui with his sister Hākau. An alternative explanation for the union of siblings from a lineage other than Aliʻi Nui comes from what Kameʻeleihiwa characterizes as preparation. This implies intentional efforts were made to utilize the Lono path to mana as a foundation that prepared a group to assert itself by challenging existing leaders, not solely through warfare, but through genealogical claims as well.
The noho of siblings produced children of very esteemed rank. Combined with victory on the battlefield, this Lono path could have led to the securement of a Moi title. With the demise of Alapa'i nui and the subsumption of his people into the fold of successor Moi Kalani'ōpu'u, progeny of the former ruler may have been biding their time for a calculated strike. The noho between Kana'ina nui and his sister Hakau could very well indicate such a strategy was being attempted.

One other detail from this Moana wahine-Heulu noho comes from the fathers of Kana'ina nui and Hakau. If a political interpretation might be offered for the liaison between Kana'ina nui and his sister, their respective paternities suggest a possible avenue for speculation. It has already been stated that Keaweʻōpala was the son of Hawai'i Island Moi Alapa'i nui. Heulu, on the other hand, was from Hilo and genealogically connected to the 'I clan, a major warrior force and occupying family of east Hawai'i down through the ages. What the noho of these men's children by Moana wahine represents politically is a consolidation of two chiefly lines that could offer a ruling faction much in the way of support.

Located on the windward side of Hawai'i Island, Hilo is the recipient of a high average rate of rainfall. In addition to augmenting a battle force, taro and other food crops always grew in abundance there. The producers of
Hilo, to whom someone like Heulu had access, could have conceivably provided Keaweʻōpala and his forces with a goodly volume of foodstuffs if a battle was fought in the area for an extended period of time. Given the strength of the 'Ī family, an inference like this can be made. Moana wahine's noho with Heulu connected the Kona and Hilo districts as potential sources of support and service for Aliʻi Nui with more ambitious political motives.

Long after other 'aimoku (district polities) were consolidated by Hawaiʻi Island Aliʻi Nui, the 'Ī clan held their district with firm hands. Not until the conquests of Kamehameha and the killing of 'Ī descendant Keawemaʻuhili did that proud tradition waver.

A noho between Keaweʻopala's son and Heulu's daughter allowed for the possibility of 'Ī family support from Hilo to assist in a campaign. When, for instance, it became necessary for Keaweʻopala to go against Kalaniʻōpuʻu in the challenge for supremacy on Hawaiʻi Island. In all likelihood, Heulu would have been part of the Moana wahine-based contingent supporting Keaweʻōpala's defense of his late father Alapaʻi nui's realm.

This issue of a source from which support could be obtained and its connection to the Lono path is something the moʻokūʻauhau of kaukau aliʻi can help to corroborate. The overall administration of an island or district is, of course, an Aliʻi Nui responsibility. The support needed to
maintain and then improve Ali'i Nui administration depended in part on the strength of kaukau ali'i forces. A ruling family had backing it up. Hence, the importance of ho'okama'āina. Analyses of mo'okū'auhau like Moana wahine's in the context of mo'olelo that survive about these 'ōiwi, enable consideration of the support structure that functioned at the behest of the ruling class. The information taken from these lineages is based on interpretations of the various noho engaged in by the chiefly servers, combined with biographical data available on the individual family members.

Mo'okū'auhau studies have another value. Mention of certain figures in written sources like Kana'ina nui in Cook's officers' journals, placed the mo'okū'auhau of Moana wahine in the Western frames of time and space. The son of Moana wahine by Keaweʻōpala (Kana'ina nui) was identified as one of two men coordinating the 'ōiwi response to Cook's arrival at Kealakekua Bay.80

Kana'ina nui was a young man living at South Kona in service to Kalaniʻōpuʻu in 1779. Kana'ina nui's mo'okū'auhau defines his ancestral identity and place in the papa ali'i. What is known about his father as the vanquished foe of Kalaniʻōpuʻu provides the context for understanding why Kana'ina nui was at Kealakekua when Cook arrived. Together, this information from a mo'okū'auhau based in 'ōiwi tradition, with sentences from a journal
entry by a British ship's officer, tell a mo'olelo of one kaukau ali'i and an incident from his life.

The name of this kaukau ali'i, his appearance and actions, were put into that haole context, (journals kept by Cook's men). From that point on, an engagement of worldviews, systems of knowledge, and behavioral strategies began between haole and 'Oiwi in the roles of observer and observed relative to one another. At that moment the 'Oiwi Wale era came to an end and the change-mediating forces of the curious blend emerged, then assumed more and more influence on subsequent engagements over time.

My point is, even the name of one kaukau ali'i like Kana'ina nui, insignificant as it may seem to the larger mo'olelo being told, ties firmly to other mo'olelo that were (and are) represented structurally in 'Oiwi systems of knowledge like the mo'okū'auhau of Moana wahine. My study is a curious blend-constructed bridge that acknowledges both perspectives that were operating in 1779 and the dynamics of the engagement between them. The mo'okū'auhau of Moana wahine has told 'Oiwi minds for over two hundred years someone named Kana'ina nui lived during a wā kaua (period of warfare) involving Kalani'Opu'u of Hawai'i and Kahekili of Maui. This wā kaua caused Kalani'Opu'u's absence during Cook's arrival, but Kana'ina nui remained and was in service to the Mō'ī that day.
In 1779, the haole written record both reformatted and reiterated the fact of Kana‘ina nui’s function. From 1779 to this day either an oral or written version of the mo‘okū‘auhau of Moana wahine has withstood the erosive effects of time. A product now of the curious blend, it is as if the path of Lono (mo‘okū‘auhau) met the product of the haole pen in the name Kana‘ina nui on the bridge that is this text. His inoa (name), kept in memory as part of a mo‘okū‘auhau and spoken repeatedly throughout his life, was captured by a British ear and scrawled in ink on a rectangular sheet of processed tree bark their language said was "paper."

Equal to or greater than the impact of iron nails from that ship was the initial act of placing literary representations of ʻŌiwi names and likenesses onto paper. The process of haole observing ʻŌiwi and interpreting meaning from it had begun. To be sure, the process in reverse had commenced as well, from the first sighting of those moku, a word for "island" that was given an alternate definition as two of them (Cook's ships Resolution and Discovery) seemed to float into view.

Someone whose name was heard like Kana‘ina nui's was carried across the bridge from the ʻŌiwi concept of inoa to become an encoded representation on a piece of parchment in a foreign language that recorded an eyewitness account of ʻŌiwi-with-haole engagement. Names from the Moana wahine
mo'okūʻauhau eventually took written form and over time were fixed with seeming permanence in explorer's journals, a missionary census, and deeds that somehow symbolized ownership of 'āina.

The third noho of Moana wahine was with Kukalohe (fig. 8, p. 148). Nothing is really known of him, nor of his son, but Kukalohe's grandson made up for their anonymity. Kamakau of Ka'awaloa, not to be confused with nineteenth century historian Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, lived during the era of Kamehameha I. Like his uncle Kanaʻina nui, Kamakau is referred to in connection with a decision by Kamehameha to store all guns in the kingdom on Maui or at Ka'awaloa on Hawai'i Island. As a kaukau aliʻi Kamakau functioned at the behest of Kamehameha. For the chiefly servers of the Moana wahine clan, Kamehameha was the third Mō'i they served since the time of Alapa'i nui.
Moana wahine = Kukalohe

Kanuha nui (k) = Pamaho'a (w)

Kamakau nui Kelou (k) = Ka'auaimoku (w)

Kanihomau'ole (k) = Nalimuoki'ope (w)

Edward Kamakau Lilikalani = Hana

Figure 8. The Noho of Moana wahine with Kukalohe
Another of the Moana wahine-Kukalohe descendants was Edward Kamakau Lilikalani. He was a leading genealogist during the latter part of the last century and served King David Kalākaua in that capacity. The fourth noho of Moana wahine was with Palila Nohomualani (fig. 9, p. 150). Charles Kana'ina (fig. 9, line C), namesake of the man discussed previously, was a grandson of Moana wahine and Palila, his mother being their eldest daughter Kauwa (fig. 9, line B). By comparing the estimated lifetimes of Moana wahine's grandsons Kamakau and Charles Kana'ina, it is clear Moana wahine's noho with Palila came some years after the noho with Kukalohe. Where Kukalohe's grandson Kamakau was an adult during the latter years of Kamehameha's reign, receiving guns from the Mōʻi at Ka'awaloa, Palila's grandson Charles Kana'ina was only about nine or ten years old, his estimated date of birth being 1800.
Figure 9. The Noho of Moana wahine with Palila

Nohomualani\textsuperscript{84}
The practice of naming younger members of a lineage for senior relatives was something the Aliʻi Nui did. What has not been established is whether lower levels of aliʻi also adopted that pattern. Moana wahine herself was named for her maternal grandfather Moana kāne. Moana wahine's mother and uncles carried the name Moana with different prefixes. This repetition of the name Moana through three generations intensified the mana of the name itself, the original bearer, and those who were namesakes. The mana in an inoa (name) was owned and had to it a force of will or determination. When spoken, the inoa assumed an existence that was invisible but believed to be real. The inoa could function as a causative agent, capable of helping or hurting the bearer. There were names given or suggested by supernatural means, the inspiration of nighttime, a sign interpreted from daily life, or one judged to be proper for how it sounded when spoken. Other names were inoa hoʻomanaʻo (commemorative names) given to honor a person or event. The succession of Moana names were inoa hoʻomanaʻo.

Also, a name could be bestowed as an inoa kupuna (handed-down name of an ancestor). If a child was born with a particular malady, an inoa kūamuamu (reviling name) would be chosen in an effort to keep malevolent spirits away from the infant. The logic was ill will would not befall a child further if the chosen inoa was designed to ward off evil. Charles Kana'ina's mother Kauwa had such an inoa kūamuamu.
Literally, the name means "outcast, defiled class of person." It is possible the name was given to prevent this individual from harm as a weak or sickly infant. Another possibility is the name could be related in a figurative sense to the role of service, kauwā in its definition of "servant." In an explanation of this meaning, Malo says:

Those who were kauwā to their chiefs and kings in the old times continued to be kauwā, and their descendants after them to the latest generations....

The Moana wahine descendants who traced paternity to Palila were given inoa hoʻomanaʻo to commemorate those from the mākua (parental) or kūpuna (grandparents') generations within the Moana wahine line. Charles Kanaʻina has already been mentioned as the namesake of Heulu's son Kanaʻina nui. Also, a granddaughter of Palila's Nākoʻolaniohākau (fig. 9, line C) was given a name that in part reflects the name of another family member. Hākau was Moana wahine's daughter by Heulu (fig. 7, line B). To be a koʻolani or "chiefly supporter of Hākau," the figurative meaning of Nākoʻolaniohākau, indicates the possibility of service by the Palila line to the Heulu line.

Interestingly, within the same moʻokūʻauhau, there may well have been degrees of rank and consequently, various
service relationships between ‘ohana members. Finally, the
eldest daughter of Nāko‘olaniohākau, Pamahō‘a (fig. 9, line
D), was named for Kanuha’s woman in the Kukalohe line (fig.
8, line B). Kaukau ali‘i, like their higher ranked
counterparts, engaged in naming the younger generation for
those who were older and had status. While this practice
has always been associated with the Ali‘i Nui class, it has
never been documented that chiefs of lesser rank did the
same thing. The Moana wahine mo‘okū‘auhau shows this naming
pattern was done among the kaukau ali‘i as well. Rather
than being an exclusive practice of the ruling class, the
naming seems to have been something the entire body of
chiefs did.

Three descendants of Moana wahine became noho partners
with members of the Kamehameha family, the ultimate
achievement in terms of ho‘okama‘āina during the post-
unification era for a kaukau ali‘i. Pa‘uli Ka‘oleioku was
the first-born son of Kamehameha by Kānekapolei. She was a
chiefess and noho partner of Kalani‘ōpu‘u, and as a young
man Kamehameha, living as part of his uncle’s retinue, was
to noho with this wahine Ali‘i Nui (female of high
nobility), and Pa‘uli was the product of that union.87

In Luahine, the son of Kamehameha found a woman of
lesser rank than he, but her lineage was not without its
mana-related features. Her chiefly server ancestry went
back to her paternal grandparents who were half-siblings

153
This has already been cited as a noho practice the ruling class engaged in, but not the kaukau aliʻi. I submit that mana was derived from the rarity of this union called naha, and descendants from this alliance were similarly mana-imbued.

These siblings, Kana'ina nui and Hakau, were both the issue of Moana wahine, the former by Keaweʻopala (fig. 10, line B) and the latter by Heulu (fig. 10, line B). Keaweʻopala was the son of MOʻI Alapaʻi nui. Consequently, the ancestral tie Luahine had to MOʻI lineage gave her a degree of mana as well. Because of these two aspects of her lineage, being the grandchild of two who were siblings of the half-blood, and the connection to Alapaʻi nui, Luahine must have been considered a suitable noho partner for Paʻuli Kaʻoleioku.

The more remote ancestry of Luahine also bears further scrutiny. Her great-great grandfather Alapaʻi nui belonged to the Mahi clan from the Kohala district of Hawaiʻi Island. This was a famous 'ohana of warriors active in the fortunes and failures of that island's battle-related engagements for many generations. The Mahi battle group was one more formally organized by either Kalaniʻōpuʻu or Kamehameha. As a descendant of this Mahi clan, Luahine's moʻokūʻauhau would have been considered quite respectable.
Figure 10. The Maternal Mo'okū'auhau of
Bernice Pauahi Bishop90
While the Mahi ancestry came from grandfather Kana'ina nui, grandmother Hākau also had roots to a warrior contingent. Luahine traced her lineage to Hākau's father Heulu who was a chief from the 'Ī clan of Hilo. Like the Mahi, the 'Ī fighting group was involved in the many battles for Hawai'i Island supremacy during the tenures of both Kalani'ōpu'u and Kamehameha. Luahine, then, was a wahine with strong mo'okū'auhau lines that connected her to a sibling noho, a Hawai'i Island as well as two warrior lineages of Hawai'i Island.

Bringing this portion of the Moana wahine mo'okū'auhau down another generation shows that Konia was the daughter of Pa'uli Ka'oleioku with Luahine (fig. 10, lines D and E, p. 157). On her father's side, Konia was identified as a granddaughter of Kamehameha I. Another generation down shows Konia's marriage to Maui-Moloka'i kaukau ali'i Abenera Pākī (fig. 10, line F) Their child was a daughter, Bernice Pauahi. In her will, Pauahi bequeathed her estate to the establishment and administration of The Kamehameha Schools, a private institution that educated children of Hawaiian ancestry since 1887.

What is not generally known is Pauahi's maternal ancestry not only linked her to the Kamehameha line, it also connected her to the chiefly server lineage of Moana wahine. She married a New England banker, Charles Reed Bishop. They had no children. Interestingly, when the Kana'ina probate
was adjudicated, Pauahi received two shares of the
decedent's estate because she was related to him through
both grandparents. A curious blend, this, of traditional
noho practices and kingdom-era jurisprudence. Kamehameha V
offered the throne to his cousin Pauahi while on his
deathbed in 1873, but she refused. Had she accepted, there
would have been two descendants of Moana wahine who rose to
the position of Mōʻi. Lunalilo, Charles Kanaʻina's son with
Kekauluohi, was the other.

Two other Moana wahine descendants, both from the noho
of Moana with Palila Nohomualani, down to their daughter
Kauwa would noho with members of the Kamehameha 'ohana.
Kauwa's son by Eia, Charles Kanaʻina, was the husband of
Kamehameha's niece and youngest noho partner Kekauluohi
(fig. 9, lines B and C). After Kamehameha's death in 1819,
Kekauluohi became one of 'Iolani Liholiho's (Kamehameha
II's) wahine. As one of the Liholiho aikāne, Charles
Kanaʻina was allowed to marry Kekauluohi. From this
marriage, as previously mentioned, was born William Charles
Lunalilo who reigned for but a year (1873-1874). He was the
sixth of eight Hawaiian kingdom-era Mōʻi going back to
Kamehameha I.

The third noho partner for a Kamehameha from the Moana
wahine moʻokūʻauhau was Hakaleleponi Kalama Kapakuhaʻili
(Fig. 9, line D). She descended from the same moʻokūʻauhau
branch of the Moana-Palila lineage as Charles Kanaʻina.
Kalama's mother I'ahu'ula was Charles Kana'ina's sister. Kame'eleihiwa acknowledges that

...although of lesser lineage, [Kalama] had married well by becoming Kauikeaouli's [Kamehameha III's] queen. Her father, Naihekukui, had served Kamehameha as harbor master....On her mother's side, she was a great-granddaughter of Moana. [Kalama] bore two sons by Kauikeaouli, but both died in infancy.95

The descendants from the Moana-Palila line like Charles Kana'ina and Queen Kalama were much younger members of their respective generations compared to cousins from the Moana-Keawe'ōpala or Moana-Heulu lines. It is quite possible Moana wahine began her childbearing years as a teen and probably continued this hana hānau 'ia 'ana (childbearing role) until she was in her forties. This would result in her children from Palila being anywhere from fifteen to thirty years younger than her children from Keawe'ōpala.

To conclude, mo'okū'auhau were defining features of the kaukau ali'i 'ano. They were the ancestral framework for determining social position within the chiefly class. The Moana wahine lineage was described and analyzed as an example of such a kaukau ali'i mo'okū'auhau. As such, the analysis has contributed to the clarification of Ali'i Nui-
to-kaukau aliʻi relationships, suggesting not only how chiefly servers were related to the ruling class, but also offering reasons why the support from such servers was based on family ties between ranking superiors and those who served.

Moʻokūʻauhau held the mana of those individuals whose names were represented, the spiritual lifeforce of warrior clans, female noho partners, Mōʻi, chiefly servers, even makaʻāinana. The lauhala of nobility that was the aliʻi class is better understood through an expanded look at the structure of kin ties represented in moʻokūʻauhau. A force for social binding, moʻokūʻauhau-based relationships connected various aliʻi together through noho. When Kameʻelehiwa's Lono path to mana is applied to the kaukau aliʻi moʻokūʻauhau structure, traditional practices like multiple noho, naming as a way to honor ancestors, and mana enhancement seem equally applicable to the kaukau aliʻi as to the Aliʻi Nui. This finding is significant because chiefly privilege based on lineage appears to have included more persons within the aliʻi hierarchy than just the upper echelon of nobility.

As the moena lauhala of ʻOiwi society, the kaukau aliʻi served their ranking superiors from positions within the moʻokūʻauhau structure. The familial associations of hoʻokamaʻāina allowed the chiefly servers to function as noho partners to the Aliʻi Nui. Other roles were assigned
according to the degree of relatedness chiefly servers had with respect to the ruling class.

The Moana wahine moʻokūʻauhau as analyzed has revealed certain patterns in noho that were heretofore thought to be the exclusive privilege of the Aliʻi Nui. Further analyses of moʻokūʻauhau from other islands will confirm this possible pattern as an established trend. For the purposes of this document, the possibility is now asserted.

Far more than a "who-begat-whom" structure of linear descent, the moʻokūʻauhau functioned as an identity cohesive and role determinant which brought different classes of aliʻi together in a system that, at its optimum, operated to the benefit of all in ʻŌiwi society. The kaukau aliʻi had their particular place in the moʻokūʻauhau scheme. That their place could have been more prominent and based on stronger similarities to the Aliʻi Nui way than previously thought is one of my contentions.

In a more general sense, I offer a context for understanding the ʻano of the kaukau aliʻi through moʻokūʻauhau. Their lineage associations were identity defining. The associative power of hoʻokamaʻaina, that credential of kinship only moʻokūʻauhau could grant, allowed the moena lauhala of ʻŌiwi society to service their superiors. Giving voice to the kaukau aliʻi moʻolelo continues with an analysis of actual service tasks they
performed for the Ali'i Nui from the 'Umi portion of the 'Oiwi Wale period through the monarchy era.
Chapter Three Notes

1. Kameʻeleihiwa demonstrates how Hawaiian metaphors reveal the historical meanings that lie within the manaʻo of 'Oiwī oral traditions. For a complete rendering of this saga and its importance for understanding the 'Oiwī-based values of land and land use through the metaphor Malama 'Āina, see Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992, 25-33.


5. Ibid., 1983, 18, 56.

6. In a September 1893 issue of the Hawaiian language newspaper Ka Mōpe'a Kū 'Oko'a selected chiefs, including Kana'ina were listed as the descendants of various Maui Ali'i Nui. Nearly twenty years after his death, Kana'ina's genealogical connection to the chiefly ones was still contentious enough an issue to warrant publication of portions of his lineage. Ibid., 1984, 26-29.


11. The preface of this second volume of genealogy lists reads in part, "It is to the credit of early Hawaiian newspaper editors and contributors that they anticipated the disintegration of the traditional Hawaiian family and lifestyle, and tried to 'stem the tide,' as it were, by publishing these lists." McKenzie, 1986, v.

The concept of word power is the basis for understanding a word when multiple meanings has mana in the conveyance and reception of words as spoken. Words that meant "care" or "be well" actually carried the mana of good health and wellness. Conversely, words that connoted malevolence brought the essence of evil to a designated human target. Words held the power over life and death. Thus, a word like mo'o that has multiple meanings, assumes the mana of the entirety of those meanings. The thematic associations I suggest are possible because the word mo'o has a spiritual accumulation of these definitions. This concept of word power is applicable to every word in the Hawaiian language. The principle of ho'okama'aina is my way to integrate word power with a social custom of the 'oiwi to actively recognize and instill this sense of an intimate relationship between one another, themselves and the environment. Kimura, 1983.

Ibid.


Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, 22.

These Hawaiian words quoted were not marked with glottal stops or macrons by the translator and I have presented them in this form as well. Kamakau, 1961, 239-241.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Chiefliness was a matter of degree. The highest rank was nā'aupi'o according to Kamakau, "If the father and the mother were nā'aupi'o chiefs...they would be equally warm in their regard for each other. The children born from their loins were ali'i kapu, sacred chiefs." The degrees are listed and defined in descending order from nā'aupi'o down in Kamakau, Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1964, 4-6.

Ibid.


27. 'Oiwi had always been dedicated to their religious principles. Tradition explains that when the 'Aikapu was first introduced it was accepted and made the ho'omana hou or new religion. Using this as precedent, and seeing that by the early 1820s foreign disease was causing a population collapse, the high chiefs took it upon themselves to declare yet another ho'omana, a religion based on everlasting life (Ola hou). When the anti-Christian faction failed to swing opinion and practices in society their way, the Calvinist converts had succeeded in establishing a new order based on the transformation of pono from an 'Aikapu-based religious concept to one grounded in the Ola hou of Jehovah as taught by the missionaries and interpreted by the highest ranking Ali'i Nui then still living -- Keōpūolani. This transformation was foundational and affected every aspect of 'Oiwi life, including what it meant to serve as a kaukau ali'i. Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 142-145.

28. The determination of genealogically suitable prospects for assuming the title of Mo'ī resulted in the desire of Ali'i Nui parents to educate their progeny according to the haole way. The Chiefs Children's School began in 1839. The daily account of goings on at the school written by Juliette Montague Cooke have been edited and provide a valuable record. The only students at this school were those deemed potential heirs to the throne based on lineage. Lunalilo was among them. He ruled as Mo'ī for one year (1873-1874). For further information, see Mary A. Richards, The Hawaiian Chiefs Children's School: A Record Compiled From The Diary And Letters Of Amos Starr Cooke And Juliette Montague Cooke. Charles E. Tuttle: Rutland, 1970.


32. Ibid.

34. For detailed explanations of the three highest degrees of Ali`i Nui see Kamakau, 1964, 4-5.

35. Later in this chapter, `Umi's mother's genealogy is cited as evidence of how inferior lineages are interpreted by Hawaiian scholars of the 19th century. A summary of `Umi's activities and citations mentioning his exploits that occur in Malo, Kamakau, and Fornander are listed in Martha Warren Beckwith, Hawaiian Mythology, University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu, 1970, 389-392.


37. I'i was a man with feet firmly planted in two worlds, 'Oiwi and haole. He was a 19th century scholar, jurist, commissioner, privy council member, and lifelong kahu to the Kamehameha `ohana. He knew how absolutely inappropriate Kauikeaouli's behavior was. Seeing the further dilution of Ali'i Nui lineage and the gross disregard for Jehovah's word by the Mo'ini, caused I'i to comment strongly. A curious blend of moral principles from two distinct worldviews brought on his admonishment of the king. For this and other eyewitness accounts on life as it was lived in Ali'i Nui circles, see I'i, 1959, 152.

38. Na'ihekukui's English name was "Captain Jack." He traveled with 'Iolani Liholiho (Kamehameha II) to England in 1823. One possibility for Na'ihekukui's inclusion in the trip abroad was that he had aikane (male lover) status with 'Iolani Liholiho and as such was part of the retinue. His skills as a harbor pilot would have certainly found such a trip fascinating in light of the fact that the British Isles are archipelagic with coastlines, shoals, and the like. Mention of Na'ihekukui is made in Patricia Wilcox Sheehan's entry on Queen Kalama in Notable Women of Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu, 1984.


43. Ibid., 29.

44. The Kaleimakali'i genealogy goes back to 'Umi's eldest son Keli'iokaloa, making Keakealani kane and Kaleimakali'i cousins. For a comparison between Figure 1 in this text and
the Rose McInerny genealogy that names Kaleimakali'i, see McKenzie, II, 44-45.

45. An example of the hiapo (elder sibling) being mentioned and a younger sibling not, comes from Charles Kana'ina's mo'okū'auhau. His paternal grandmother Kauwa had a younger sister Kaneikoli'a but she was not mentioned in most genealogies including newspaper editions of the Kana'ina lineage, excerpts of which can be found in McKenzie, 1983, volume 1, 56.

46. The Kana'ina probate identifies collateral relatives of the decedent who came forward claiming descent from Kāneikoli'a. A complete listing of the Kāneikoli'a descendants who made their genealogical claims in that case is in Kana'ina Probate 2426, 1877, part 3, 1240-41.


49. Kana'ina Probate, 1877.


51. In the time of the first Kamehameha, four Akua hulu manu (feathered Gods) were prayed to at the heiau. These were four visible forms of the Akua known as Kūnuiākea (Great-Kū-of-the-heavenly-expanse). These Akua "were ultimately regarded as Gods of sorcery. It was for this reason that Kamehameha was careful to secure the Gods of the islands over which he had gained rule." Both O'ahu and Maui rulers prayed to their own forms of Kū as an Akua of war. Had Kamehameha not secured these other-island Akua of war after his conquests, it was believed revolutions against his reign would have been possible. For a detailed description of Kū worship as it relates to warfare, refer to Beckwith, 1970, 28-30.

52. 'Akahi'ilikapu was the daughter of 'Umi by a Kona wahine ali'i named Mokuahualeiākea who was from the mo'okū'auhau of a strong Ali'i Nui of that district, 'Ehunuikaimalino. With the noho to Mokuahualeiākea 'Umi consolidated Kona support behind his efforts as Hawai'i Island Mō'ī. The Kona district was a vital locale for its coastline accessible through large bays with calm seas and having a child by Mokuahualeiākea assured a connection with all the geographical and other benefits derivable therefrom. It is worth noting the name 'Ehunuikaimalino means "Great-ocean-spray-of-calm-seas." In the process, 'Umi's mother was granted a measure of respect through the enhancement of her name as given to her granddaughter with the honored Kona mo'okū'auhau.
Mokuahualeiākea's mo'okū'auhau can be found in McKenzie, 1986, 28. Information on Ehunuikaimalino in the context of mo'okū'auhau of different noho partners of Umi's is in Kamakau, 1961, 2, 19.


55. The dilution of Ali'i Nui bloodlines concerned Kamakau. What had been recognized as noble and sacred for centuries was eroding relentlessly by Kamakau's time. It is obvious from his remarks that interest in mo'okū'auhau and degrees of chiefliness among the kingdom citizenry remained strong. His audience, readers of the Hawaiian language newspaper Ke Au 'Oko'a probably found information like this interesting as well. It is obvious from the tone of his remarks that, at the very least, the "half whites" who traced their mo'okū'auhau to Kamehameha nui were for him a true puzzlement. His comments are in Kamakau, 1961, 4.


58. Malo, 1951, 52.

59. McKenzie, 1985, 43. An excerpt from a Hawaiian language newspaper Ka Maka'ainana, dated July 27, 1896 provides evidence of the strength of this ho'okama'aina concept. Already in the chronological middle of the Republic of Hawai'i period, this periodical openly stated: "The chiefs and the lesser chiefs who are living are requested to submit their genealogical records to the office of Ka Maka'ainana in order that the genealogy be [prepared for publication]. The Hawaiian nation as founded by Kamehameha had faded to recent memory at the time of that announcement's publication, but to ho'okama'aina against all odds, remained the pono course of action. Just as ho'okama'aina had a political edge during the 'Oiwi Wale era, I contend the concept continued to live through the interest shown in mo'okū'auhau in 1896.

60. One of Iolani Liholiho's favorite pastimes was kā'eleke (bamboo pipe "drumming"), a percussion activity from traditional times done as accompaniment to hula or performed by itself. A young Charles Kana'ina took part in kā'eleke as one of Liholiho's companions. Liholiho was Charles Kana'ina's leader for official purposes and recreational ones as well. I'i, 1959, 137.

61. Kana'ina Probate 2426, 1877, part two, 413.
62. Ibid.


65. The purpose of this sort of noho was to "elevate one's mana in the eyes of the people and escape the pit of commonality. To mate with...a woman of high rank...was to capture the fertility of the Akua. This was the path of Lono." The other path, that of Kū, was achieved through warfare, and the kaukau ali'i supported their Ali'i Nui relatives in this endeavor as well. For a detailed version of these relationships refer to Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, 44-49.

66. Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, 47.


68. Malo, 1951, 256.


70. Keawe'ōpala's paternal grandfather, Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku, was a Hawai'i Island Mō'i who is credited with loosening the reins of government, and in so doing, he brought his Island peace. The elder Keawe was remembered for his goodness through an epithet for the island of Hawai'i that bears his name: "Hawai'i, Moku Nui o Keawe" (Hawai'i, Great Island of Keawe). With such an illustrious grandparent, there must have been a goodly share of enemies along the way. Any of these could have intended harm on a grandson like Keawe'ōpala. The negative meaning in his name was, possibly, a way to keep malevolent spirits from endangering the great Keawe's mo'okū'auhau, the mana in his lineage, and more specifically, the well-being of his descendants like Keawe'ōpala. Although my work does not involve comprehensive analyses of Ali'i Nui genealogies, more information on Keawe'ōpala may be found in Abraham Fornander, An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origin and Migrations, Charles E. Tuttle: Rutland, 1969, II, 144-146.


72. When Alapa'i nui died, Keawe'ōpala succeeded his father as Mo'i. For a brief time Kana'ina nui stood in Hawai'i Island society as the lesser ranked son of the most powerful Ali'i Nui of that place. Dissatisfaction over the traditional "carving up and redistribution of lands upon a Mo'i's death,"

73. It is clear that a "suitable partner" for a great chief was his half sister, born, it might be, of the same mother, but of a different father, or of the same father but different mothers. Such a union was called a naha." The critical point Malo makes is a "great chief" could make this liaison happen. In the case of Kana‘ina nui and Hakau, the lineage was not Ali‘i Nui, but was instead, kaukau ali‘i. Malo, 1951, 54-55.


76. Lili‘uokalani, Hawai‘i’s Story By Hawai‘i’s Queen, Tuttle: Rutland, 1964, 1.

77. The desire to ho‘okama‘aina was strong. Even with the death of Kamehameha came the tendency to express associative feelings. Ulumaheihei Hoapili asked for and was granted "charge of his bones." See Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawai‘i, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, 1961, 211-212. Kamehameha’s loyal executive officer Kalanimoku made his wishes regarding ho‘okama‘aina known through a serious request to be buried with his beloved leader. Kamakau, 1961, 213. Lili‘uokalani, in her autobiographical work, justified her family’s rightful claim to the throne by a ho‘okama‘aina to Kamehameha. The association was based on her ancestor Keaweaheulu’s pivotal role as one of his councilors. Lili‘uokalani, Hawai‘i’s Story By Hawai‘i’s Queen, Tuttle: Rutland, 1964, 1-2. The twentieth century saw a persistence in the ho‘okama‘aina custom with regard to Kamehameha. The genealogy of a Molokai seer and prophet Kalākea is sketched within a story about the role he played in fortelling victory for Kamehameha. Mention of the association is obviously designed to elevate the mana of this prophet. "He Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i" in Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a, July 25, 1902.

78. For examples of her multi-faceted offerings from ‘Ōiwi nationalism to infusive Native-privileging poetry respectively, see Haunani-Kay Trask, From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i, Common Courage Press: Monroe, 1993 and; Light in the Crevice Never Seen, Calyx: New York, 1994.
79. For information on the powerful `Ī family of Hilo, their political independence and ability to lend support to allies, see Fornander, 1969, volume II, 65, 127, 301, 315.

80. "Amid all the excitement and confusion two chiefs, an exceptionally handsome six-footer named Kanaina and a friendly young man named Palea, the themselves useful by ordering canoes out of the path of the ships and stoning the more importunate commoners from the decks." This quotation is from Gavan Daws, Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands, University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu, 1968, 11.


82. McKenzie 1983, 44.

83. Lilikalani's lineage and an explanation of who some of his direct-line ancestors were, can be found in State Archives of Hawai'i, Lili'uokalani Collection.

84. Ibid.; Kana'ina Probate, 1877.


86. Malo, 1951, 70.


89. For evidence of a contradiction regarding who actually organized residents of the six Hawai'i Island districts into uniquely identifiable warrior divisions, Kalaniʻōpuʻu or Kamehameha, see Kamakau, 1961, 84 and 176.


91. Ibid.


CHAPTER FOUR

Hana Lawelawe A Ka Wā 'Aikapu

(Service Tasks of the Sacred Eating Era)

It was customary during the ʻOiwi Wāle era for kaukau aliʻi to serve Aliʻi Nui. Chiefly servers performed many kinds of services from bearing a spittoon for one’s haku (chiefly superior) to decidedly more noble roles: "war lords...keepers of the treasures of the chiefs...and war leaders." This chapter examines hana lawelawe: the service tasks kaukau aliʻi performed for their superiors. Hana means to act or as a noun can mean task. Lawelawe is to serve, the reduplication of the word lawe, meaning "to take." The word bring is formed by adding a directional to lawe or lawe mai. Lawelawe, then, combined with hana conveys the essence of a service task performed repeatedly. The term is not a traditional one, but captures the meaning of what it is chiefly servers did for the Aliʻi Nui during the era of sacred eating known as ʻaikapu.

The ʻaikapu required that men's religious observances be carried out based on the mandate that men and women eat in separate houses from one another. This was necessary because the menstrual blood of a woman was kapu. Male Akua could not engage the maʻi (menstruation) of the wahine ʻOiwi because blood of any kind was haumia (defiling). Men who came into the presence of the male Akua in the course of
worship had to remain free of this wahine wale (exclusively female) phenomenon as well as any other source of blood lest the sacred 'ano of these Akua be violated. Consequently, to prevent contact with women who were experiencing their ma'i, men prepared the food. The ma'i as a state of being came into direct conflict with the sacred 'ano associated with 'ai, that organizing principle of consumptive power for which eating was a sacred act. Certain food items were kapu to women altogether because from the male viewpoint, these items (coconuts, bananas, red fish) were symbolic representations of the male 'ano.

The preparation process for that which was eaten had to be kept from the influence of haumia. In this way, the kāne wale (exclusively male) religious practices were devoid of any influences from the ma'i. At the same time, the mana of Akua kāne (male deities) was honored properly. Do not misunderstand this practice. Avoiding the effects of the wahine's ma'i was a male concern prompted by the kāne wale mandate of heiau (temple of worship). 'Oiwi women worshipped female Akua, and to my knowledge, the ma'i as it related to their worship presented no such concern or kapu.

Heiau were where Akua kāne were worshipped. Knowledge-bearing specialists called kāhuna conducted all rituals and observances according to established custom. The conduct of these ceremonies, the preparation of materials used in the
process, even the assistance required to convey the physical representations of various *Akua* from place to place, included roles of *hana lawelawe* for the *kaukau aliʻi*. Chiefs in their own right, the *kaukau aliʻi* had the heritage that made them worthy of the tasks. They did their part in carrying out the *heiau* worship and any "failure in duty towards an *aliʻi*" was considered reprehensible.³

It was the responsibility of a *kahu Akua*, who was keeper of the *Aliʻi Nui's* religions figures, to maintain the feather, wood, or stone visages called *kiʻi* and to transport them for the *haku* (chiefly superior) whenever necessary. The *Kahu Akua* role was one filled by those of *kaukau aliʻi* ancestry. And at any time,

for the *kahu* of the idol to have neglected part of his duties, as feeding it or sacrificing to it; to have neglected such a duty would put a terrible load on the conscience....The fidelity with which such obligations as these were kept is proof enough that this people had all the material of conscience in their make-up.⁴

A digression is necessary. The person quoted above is Malo. He was a *kaukau aliʻi* himself and makes a critical point with the above quotation. There was a moral stance, a
conceptual side to the act of hana lawelawe in 'aikapu times. Malo's statement seems, in a sense, a defiant one. It sounds like a response based on his knowledge of 'Oīwi Wale life and applied to criticisms from Christian moralists of his day. The harshest Calvinist view was that prior to their arrival in 1820, the 'Oīwi were an amoral people, devoid of any redeeming human characteristics. Malo taught that this heathenistic state was an actual part of 'ano 'Oīwi, the way his people were by nature before learning of Christianity. His acceptance or rejection of it as dogma varied based on the subject, content and particular point of view held with respect to what he wrote. In the previous quotation it appeared as if he needed to defend the 'aikapu-era from moralistic criticisms that it was without goodness.

Malo was trying to refute what was a relentless missionary negativism toward 'Oīwi Wale ways. Malo chose to cite the value of excellent service performance as evidence his people were possessed of a moral conscience prior to the introduction of Calvinist doctrines. This aspect of the Native identity is what I would define as an 'ano 'Oīwi, a characteristic way to behave according to what was pono within the principles of 'aikapu-organized society. It probably seemed to Malo a similarity between foreigners and his people: the fact that both Christians and those of
'Oiwi society did follow codes of proper conduct, however oppositive they might have been.

Malo's chosen example of service in 'Oiwi life was part of a larger system of morality that governed how the children of Papa and Wākea conducted themselves. Contrary to the opinions of the most radical Calvinists, people in these islands during 'Oiwi Wale times were governed by rules adhered to by the majority of the populace. There did exist an 'Oiwi Wale version of social order. This may seem obvious today, but consider the resistance Malo experienced when voicing this opinion in the Hawai‘i of the 1840s.

What hurt the 'Oiwi-rooted traditions as more foreign values were implanted was that the moral climate in Hawai‘i became much more to the liking of pro-Calvinist interests and less tolerant of the way things used to be. This led to the chiefly servers and their fellow citizens eventually feeling like the foreigners about their customs of the past. Ngũgĩ's cultural bomb was first dropped in a significant way by these Calvinists in 1820 after a decidedly different morality had been operating in their own homeland for more than seventeen hundred years. The result of this shift in moral values led to the initial effects of the bomb colonizing 'Oiwi minds seventy or more years before the political colonialism came in 1894 with the Republic and continued in 1898 when the U.S. territorial period began.
I return to my original point about the moral mandate on chiefly servers. To attempt an error-free performance of a task was tied directly to conscientiousness and its by-product excellence. An outstanding performance of a task pleased a circle of individuals: haku, the Akua of the haku, kaukau ali'i, and the Akua or 'aumakua (ancestral guardian prayed to during non-heiau worship) of that chiefly server. When the circle satisfied, then pono in an ultimate sense was achieved.

It did not matter what or whom the kahu would malama a Kaukau ali'i were given important responsibilities and were expected to perform them without flaw. Chiefly server roles were determined by lineage as the ancestral credential. It is what connected the kaukau ali'i to the Ali'i Nui who was being served. So exalted was this ruling class that they required people of some rank to do their bidding. It would have been entirely inappropriate for a maka'ainana to perform duties of a personal nature for a high chief. As Chapter Three demonstrates, mo'okū'auhau provided the familial context for a kind of chiefly server placement that was based on both genealogical and experiential fitness to perform hana lawelawe. I'i's selection and appointment to the household of Kamehameha came as a result of mo'okū'auhau credentials and family training in how best to serve.

The 'aikapu-era service task had its serious aspects, yet the human element within any society creates
discontinuities. Any aspect of ʻOiwi Wale society or post-ʻOiwi Wale society could also experience eruptive behavioral fissures that altered or interrupted what should have happened for what actually did. The curious blend did not occur universally. One such fissure from post-ʻOiwi Wale times involving a kaukau aliʻi took place when the ʻaikapu was still in force. This latter eighteenth century episode warrants consideration.

In the time of Kamehameha I, a religious ceremony involving the figure of an Akua named Kāneikaulanaʻula had just been completed. This Akua’s keeper dutifully gathered up the kiʻi and returned it to its usual place at the heiau nearer Kamehameha’s main residence. Under normal circumstances, the Aliʻi Nui officiate, Kamehameha, would probably have escorted the kiʻi back to the heiau himself then returned to his residence. Instead, the famous Aliʻi Nui warrior decided to exercise the Mōʻī’s prerogative and noho with a woman named Kanahoahoa.

It seems two of his most sacred wahine Aliʻi Nui (female nobles), Kaʻahumanu and Kaheiheimālie, were expecting him immediately after the completion of the ceremony. When Kamehameha did not return, the kahu Akua who did go back to the residence was eventually interrogated by the two wahine Aliʻi Nui concerning their man’s whereabouts. The kahu told them what they wanted to know, and the news inspired a mele (chant accompanying a dance) composed out of
anger and jealousy, expressing their point of view in no uncertain poetical terms.

The chiefesses continued to perform this mele until Kamehameha arrived. When he insisted on wanting to know the mana'ō (meaning) of the mele, Kaʻahumanu and Kaheiheimalie explained its kaona (hidden meaning). "Kamehameha's wrath rose as the sea that washes up to the beach morning-glory vines growing on the dry sand." The chiefesses lied to the Mōi when he demanded to know who told them of his whereabouts. Protecting the identity of the kahu, the women implicated an innocent boy, a spittoon bearer, Kalapauahiʻole, as the guilty party.

Kaʻahumanu and Kaheiheimalie apparently thought it better to conceal the truth than risk a gesture of honesty which, in the process of Kamehameha's inquiries, also found them culpable, but why? A possible violation of the sanctity attributed to the Akua may have been committed by the two women if it was determined they pressured the truth out of a chiefly server whose life depended on caring for that kiʻi. It is conceivable the mana of that form of Kane could have been violated by the lie the women told to protect the kiʻi bearer. The two chiefesses were perceived in this context as haumia. Perhaps lying would only serve to compound their contextual liability all the more, deepening the severity of their actions in the face of a kāne wale kapu that mandated non-involvement from those of
their sex. On the other hand, perhaps it was not possible for females (especially two of their rank) to violate the mana of a male Akua like Kāneikaulan‘ula, they did not worship this male Akua. Further, perhaps in the context of the women’s dilemma, the boy was seen as expendable. The kahu, by comparison, given his Akua-related hana lawelawe, might have been a more difficult subject to punish with death. After all, the chiefesses were responsible for the deception. As such, to condemn the kahu without also implicating the two seems unfair based on what we know about Kamehameha’s propensity for being pono. Propensity notwithstanding, these were two women whom he respected and loved. Weighing pono for the kahu with the need, or not, to address the chiefesses’ behavior was something the lie rendered moot. Rather than saddle Kamehameha with such a predicament, his two wāhine chose what was for them, the safest option.

This is a significant aspect of Ali‘i Nui conduct and the definition of pono, and it must be considered here more critically. These societal leaders made the boy expendable rather than risk an admission of the truth to Kamehameha. From a kaukau ali‘i perspective, the young chiefly server’s life was unimportant in comparison to preserving reasonably good relations between the women and their man. As Akua-like as Ka‘ahumanu and Kaheiheimālie were, the human tendency shown in their deceptive behavior was not pono.
Instead, this discontinuous, fissure-like departure from pono conduct sheds light on the issue of how much any chiefly server's life was valued.

Far from any kind of curious blend, to eschew the seemingly more pono path for a lie which preserved their good standing in the eyes of an enraged Kamehameha was a demonstration of misconduct. The lie could have cost a boy of kaukau ali`i ancestry his life through no fault of his own. As such, the critical question becomes, was this an isolated incident or would most Ali`i Nui jeopardize a chiefly server's life to save face with a fellow high chief who was all powerful? If the answer is yes, then it can be said that hana lawelawe could be extremely dangerous acts to perform.

Being in the wrong place at the wrong time could actually mean the difference between life and an entirely wrongful death. The falsely accused boy and his entire kahu-functioning 'ohana came frighteningly close to losing their lives because of the chiefesses' lack of honesty. According to the mo'olelo, Kamehameha asked about the 'ohana's record of service when trying to determine the appropriateness of punishment or not. "Only because of the excellent report on all the possessions in the family's care...were...his people spared." A tenuous existence at times for the kaukau ali`i. The bearer of the ki`i who told
the truth regarding Kamehameha's whereabouts was protected by his interrogators.

The chiefesses who were angry saw fit to accuse an innocent spittoon bearer rather than chance the continued furor of Kamehameha. My just concluded analysis examined possibilities of whether the chiefesses' actions were within or without the moral confines of what was pono for that time and place. The outcome was the boy and his kaukau ali'i 'ohana staved off mass execution by virtue of the fine attention paid to the hana lawelawe they performed for their haku. Also, a calmer Kamehameha made the necessary inquiries, then in the spirit of a more recognizable show of pono in the context of these times, decided to grant pardons to the boy and his relatives.

'Olelo No'ea and the Nature of Kaukau Ali' i Service

Sayings graced with poetic phrases, imagery, and hidden meanings captured the abstract thought, wisdom, and values of the 'Oiwi as a people. In 'Olelo No'ea, the book's title means "orature-based proverbs and sayings", Mary Kawena Puku'i compiled and translated nearly three thousand proverbs and poetical sayings from 'Oiwi life. For the purposes of this mo'olelo, it is critical to appreciate the 'ano of the chiefly servers. One means of fostering such an appreciation comes through looking closely at the kaona (hidden meanings) in sayings on the subject of service to
the ruling class. Knowing the kaona presents an opportunity to appreciate better the values and morality inherent in hana lawalawe as physical acts the kaukau ali'i performed. Each of the sayings included here refer to kaukau ali'i service to their superiors. To convey the conceptual aspects of these performances of service, and to appreciate their 'ano in terms of abstract thought and the expression of 'ōiwi values, is kaona's contribution as revealed in 'ōlelo no'ēau.

One example pertains to the maintenance of secrecy with respect to the relationship between server and served. "The chief knows his servant; the servant knows his chief" is a literal translation of one saying. The kaona in this 'ōlelo no'ēau was that outsiders "do not understand our relationships to our chiefs, and we do not care to discuss it with them." Whatever the inner workings of service provision and reception, these were not matters for the eyes and ears of everyday folk.

A second example of how being secretive shaped the relationship between kaukau ali'i and Ali'i Nui is taken from the kaona of another saying: "Inside of the house you may mention your relationship, but outside of the house your chief is your lord." The kaona is, 'ōiwi who served the Ali'i Nui in their dwellings were usually loyal blood relatives. From childhood they were taught not to discuss the relationship with people outside the household.
Further, the *kaukau ali'i* were told always to refer to their chiefly superiors as *ku'u haku* (my beloved noble one or lord).

It was only the *haku* who could, if so inclined, mention the existence of a relationship between the two. The desire to maintain secrecy with respect to a service relationship *kaukau ali'i* had with their respective *haku* contradicts what I feel is an equally strong tendency to *hoʻokamaʻāina*. Within the chiefly household, it seems that it was entirely acceptable to make relationships between the *kaukau aliʻi* and their superiors a subject of discussion. *Hoʻokamaʻāina* was fine in that context. Publicly however, there appeared to have been more restrictions. Those who served were expected to keep what they did for the *Aliʻi Nui* and how they did it a private matter.

On the one hand, *hoʻokamaʻāina* as a domestic pursuit gave chiefly servers an associative kind of mana, and in this context, the act was pono. On the other, divulging the goings-on of ruling class life to everyday people was not pono and probably took away that same mana from the *Aliʻi Nui* and by extension, their moena lauhala (chiefly servers). It is as if the acquisition or loss of mana and the consequent state of being pono were in this case, more contingent upon the proper conduct of *kaukau aliʻi* than *Aliʻi Nui*. 

183
This would not ordinarily be the case. Gains and losses of mana were largely in the control of ruling chiefs and their highest ranking associates. That chiefly servers even figured into the dynamics associated with the mana of the Ali‘i Nui is intriguing. Could it be that power through mana as the spiritual lifeforce was shared by chiefs of varying degrees of rank? The question is worthy of a speculative response. If server and served engaged one another in a social climate of interdependence, it seems entirely plausible that the pono behavior of either could result in a kind of mana, the source of which was a successful demonstration of hana lawelawe provided and received.

The larger implications of this possibility reach into the Valley of what it meant to be an ali‘i. Despite one’s rank, pono was expected of all chiefs and to an extent, yielded mana the sources of which were dualistic in the context of hana lawelawe. What I mean is, to acquire mana from a hana lawelawe the server had to perform the task with excellence, and the superior would then receive the service as appropriate, hence two sources of pono conduct contributed to the mana associated with hana lawelawe. How the task was performed and how it was received were interdependent factors and came from the respective roles of both kaukau ali‘i and Ali‘i Nui. Further, to command with the expectation of being served was, in this suggested
context, only half of the pono-related process. The other half of proper conduct in this interdependent relationship required the server to hana lawelawe correctly.

Consequently, the yield of mana from the hana lawelawe interrelationship, shows the power of spiritual lifeforce did not always rest solely with the Ali‘i Nui. In this case, being pono in a service task as a kaukau ali‘i, and acknowledging the service as an Ali‘i Nui empowered both parties. By a close examination of the pono-mana relationship in the context of hana lawelawe, an ‘ōiwi-inspired analysis of spiritual interdependence between server and served is arguable. And analysis such as this begins with Hawaiian words and interpreted concepts from those words then form the framework for analytical consideration.

Even desirable qualifications for a service-oriented position are maintained in a saying. Literally, "the servant of a chief has bones that are light of weight," which implies someone who serves the chief must be active and alert.13 ‘Aikapu-era rituals and ceremonies were meticulously followed and demanded assistants who were mentally sharp and physically fit. The concept of service that supported the act included certain prerequisites based on how one could best serve. The mana for a chiefly server came from displaying conduct that was pono. Hana lawelawe were acts that placed the kaukau ali‘i in roles that
required them to be at their best. The expectation that they do so is expressed in 'ōlelo no'eau. Were physical and mental preparedness not important attributes, they would not have been so clearly described in the aforementioned saying.

In the course of service, another valued trait shown by one chiefly server was a demonstration of wit combined with a certain amount of assertiveness.14 Kamehameha I made a bargain with some cultivators at a place called Kahuku in the district of Ka'ū on the island of Hawai'i. The agreement was for Kamehameha's fish in exchange of the growers' poi, which is made from the 'ōiwi staple taro in a process that involves pounding with a stone implement. A konohiki, or land steward whose name was Kaholowaho, took huge ipu (calabashes) of poi to the chief (Kamehameha), who gave the konohiki a small fish in return. Kaholowaho tied the fish to one end of a carrying stick to show his neighbors what the great Kamehameha had done.

After several exchanges of this sort, Kaholowaho brought Kamehameha a small taro in a large ipu (calabash). When Kamehameha saw the taro he laughed, and from then on it is said he played fair. The fish tied to one end of the carrying stick inspired the saying that criticized kau 'ao'ao or, the "one-sided" nature of their first few exchanges. It seems service also required a certain amount of assertiveness and wit. Had Kaholowaho not taken the initiative to finally respond to Kamehameha in-kind, the
Ali'i Nui would have probably continued to force the issue, with a timid Kaholowaho succumbing to the legendary leader's cleverness. Instead, with his approving laugh, Kamehameha acknowledged Kaholowaho as someone who could match wits with the Ali'i Nui and thereby assert himself. The result was an equitable exchange with his chiefly superior and a good-natured gesture from Kamehameha for good measure.

The experience of another konohiki from Ke'ei in South Kona addresses pono conduct given unexplained disappearances of produce, probably the result of thievery. Service put the kaukau ali'i into many situations where security of valuable items was considered a serious responsibility. This 'ōlelo no'eau describes such a circumstance: Pupuhi ka 'ulu o Ke'ei; ua koe ka 'a'aiole. A literal translation is, "The breadfruit of Ke'ei are gone; only those blown down by the wind are left." Puku'i shares the tradition that was the context for the kaona of this saying:

A konohiki of Ke'ei in Kona, Hawai'i, was placed in charge of a fine breadfruit grove. In spite of his watchfulness, the fruit were stolen as soon as they matured. Secretly he asked all of his relatives to help him watch for the culprit. However, some were related to the thief as well, who learned about the
watch and evaded capture. Long after, a slip of the tongue revealed the thief.\textsuperscript{16}

Effort was not always rewarded. Service could be a futile enterprise. Conscientiously, the konohiki of Ke'ei tried to oversee the breadfruit grove. He even attempted to apprehend the guilty party, but to no avail. This saying reflects the reality of doing one's best under adverse circumstances and still not quite succeeding. In a society where food consumption was closely associated with spiritual beliefs and religious practices, stealing breadfruit was considered a heinous violation of the pono principle. What is more, food shortages due to famine or extended periods of warfare could occur, whom and in these contexts, absconding with foodstuffs ran counter to the concept of mālama 'aina. Like life itself, hana lawelawe came with a certain kapa (literally, a processed material from the paper mulberry used to make clothing) that cloaked well-intentioned acts in ineptitude.

There was always the chance a chiefly server could lose her or his life if a hana lawelawe was performed poorly. One young chiefly server nearly lost his life for stumbling and almost dropping a sacred item that belonged to his haku (chiefly superior). Only a rational reminder from a third party spared this kaukau ali'i youth's life.\textsuperscript{17} It could be a precarious kind of social place, one fraught with life-
threatening consequences, yet if performed well, service by the kaukau aliʻi could also be amply rewarded over time. ʻŌlelo noʻeau are wonderful reflections from the ʻŌiwi pool of knowledge. It is now established that the protocol related to kaukau aliʻi performance of hana lawelawe are included in the proverbial images and moral conceptions of ʻaikapu times.

Kaukau Aliʻi Eyewitness Accounts

I will now examine the experiences of various ʻŌiwi whose lives spanned the eras from ʻaikapu to post-ʻaikapu society. Their eyewitness accounts of chiefly service add much to the moena lauhala represented in this work. Born around 1795, Davida Malo lived according to the ʻaikapu into young adulthood.18 His comments about hana lawelawe and those who executed them were confirmed through his own personal observations. There was the distinct possibility that those who served were not always performing at a maximum level. He states that "...the number of retainers, servants and hangers-on about the courts and residences of the kings and high chiefs was very great. The court of a king offered great attractions to the lazy and shiftless."19 Like any contingent expected to perform duties for their superiors, chiefly servers of that time must have included those who failed to behave in a manner that was pono.
Malo remarks further that the people about court were called pū'ali or 'ai alo, "those who eat in the presence [of chiefly superiors]." The privilege of eating where the Ali'i Nui were identifies the "shiftless" characters as kaukau ali'i. It is highly doubtful that the members of the maka'ainana would be accorded the same courtesy.

There were also similarities between the qualities of a leader and those who were her or his followers. Some Ali'i Nui carried themselves in an arrogant fashion, supported by tribute from the many outlying areas of their district or island, yet contributing little in the way of leadership. In a case of follower acting in accordance with superior, the konohiki under such Ali'i Nui were just as arrogant and uncaring. "As was the chief, so were his Kānaka (retainers)."

Hana lawelawe performed by chiefly servers were varied and based largely on what one's parents or extended family did for the noho ali'i (ruling class). One such hereditary position was kahu, a person who raised an Ali'i Nui and also served as that high chief's guardian. Other kahu were responsible for more specific chores or personal effects. An 'ope'ope kept the apparel of one's haku. Various articles of clothing were folded (one literal definition of 'ope'ope), stored and maintained by these individuals. Seemingly repugnant hana lawelawe like spittoon bearing were, in context, actually important functions.
During the 'aikapu era, it was believed curses could be carried out on a chosen subject if hair, nails, even body waste of that subject was made a part of the prayer ritual. To properly dispose of the haku's spittle, then, had direct implications on that haku's well-being. This made the chiefly server's hana lawelawe a critical act of preserving the sanctified 'ano of the haku. No matter the perceived simplicity within of the task, it was imperative each server perform theirs to the best of her or his ability. The younger members of a kaukau ali'i family were usually assigned the smaller, more menial tasks. As they matured and proved themselves, more important duties were delegated.

Other server roles that met a haku's personal needs included lomilomi (masseur), kia'i po'o (one who watched over a sleeping haku literally, "keeper of the head"), and ha'a kū'e (handler of the fly brushes at the haku's sleeping place). Because of the numbers of individuals in one 'ohana, it seems plausible that an extended family of kaukau ali'i serving one Ali'i Nui family could ably fill the numerous hana lawelawe that needed to be done. In general, the more menial tasks were performed by younger members of a chiefly server 'ohana who had been prepared for the day when a change of residence meant the beginning of service to a member of the noho ali'i (body of high chiefs).
Although there were female kaukau ali'i who served female chiefly superiors, information that survives does not include specific examples of their hana lawelawe. The only documented example I have found comes from the last century. Queen Lili‘uokalani mentions her kahu, a woman named Kaikai. The reference is related to how this kahu took her unwilling charge to the dreaded first day of school.\textsuperscript{22}

An educational system existed for training boys of kaukau ali'i rank in specific studies like mo'oku'aauhau (genealogy). Malo was the recipient of such training under the auspices of Auwai, an ali'i punahele (favorite chief) of Kamehameha.\textsuperscript{23} It would seem much of Malo's first-hand experience with the 'aikapu era and his later writings about 'Oiwi traditions came from what he learned through Auwai, the kumu (educational source) of his youth. In all probability, Malo's knowledge about the molowā (lazy) retainers came from eyewitness observations of these sorts of people.

Like Malo, another chiefly server, John Papa I'i lived according to the 'aikapu during its last decades. When the sacred eating and worship at heiau ended, I'i was about nineteen years old. His grandparents Luluka and Keaka were kahu to Kamehameha I.\textsuperscript{24} He began learning the what, how, and why of service to the Ali'i Nui from a young age. He was taught the rules of pono behavior by his mother and also his father Kua'ena.\textsuperscript{25} He was raised with great parental
care and at the age of ten left home to perform his first hana lawelawe. The boy developed into a resourceful and skilled young server. The education given him by his parents was to prepare I'i for a position in the service of an Ali'i Nui member of Kamehameha I's 'ohana. In his account of life in service to the Kamehameha family, I'i consistently refers to himself in the third person. He recalled having a personal trait that elders recognized and nurtured:

Because of his religious nature, the boy was sent frequently with priests in the early dawn of Kane... [27th day of the 'Oiwi calendar]...to make the offerings and to present the gifts they had brought to the appropriate offering place. 26

It is not known why I'i referred to himself in the third person. Not being a student of the Lahainaluna Seminary that trained most of the 'Oiwi writers of that era could have predisposed I'i to a variation in his acquisition of Hawaiian literacy. According to self-appraisals, I'i had displayed a disciplined mind and demeanor since childhood. Ceremonies he took part in at the heiau were conducted with great solemnity. No young person would be chosen to accompany the officiates unless self-discipline and proper
decorum were clearly evident in his behavior. The same discipline was foundational for the acquisition of knowledge associated with hana lawelawe. It was a discipline I'i had retained as a central aspect of his 'ano all his life.27 One person who knew him had this to say: "...I came to know and love the man. He was...unselfish, and on questions involving moral issues, the community always knew where to find him."28

In another instance, during his formative years while being schooled for service, a boy shoved I'i's companion down, hurting him in the process. In the course of plotting revenge, I'i was overheard by his mother. She seized the opportunity to reinforce lessons already taught to him about patience. Concerned about her son's potential for misconduct based on retaliation, I'i's mother told him he

...must not do that. Ho'omanawanui ka maika'i loa (To be tolerant is best). This is the right procedure, for it is what you must be in the royal court...Therefore, you must think of that man and this man, that boy and this boy, that chief and this chief, that you may act rightly.29

"Acting rightly" is what 'Oiwí recognize as being pono. The full expression of this word, while introduced to I'i at
home, would be demonstrated by this chiefly server for over fifty years. I'i left home in the company of his maternal uncle Papa, for whom he was named. It was Papa's duty to place him with any Ali'i Nui he chose. I'i was instructed to be obedient and his mother reminded him of the decision she and his father made to prepare those from their family for a life of hana lawelawe. To 'imi haku (seek a chiefly superior to serve) was his destiny. The example of Papa and other uncles was shared once more with I'i by his mother. She wanted him to keep in mind that, in time, Papa and the others ultimately "became prosperous..." because they "bore with patience the poverty and the many troubles that rested upon them."30

Confusion and not a little fear followed him to his first assignment in the Kamehameha household. I'i was sent to the very same place where Maoloha, I'i's brother was put to death by strangulation for committing some undisclosed misdeed as a server to the Ali'i Nui.31 A first assignment within the same household where his brother was killed seems brutal, and I'i offers no explanation for why this particular site was chosen for him. A possible explanation might be that whatever transgressions the older brother committed to prompt his execution, could be put right if I'i "acted rightly." Perhaps through outstanding service to the very people his brother served poorly, I'i was given the opportunity to make restitution. During a discussion with
his parents about the possibility of serving the Kamehamehas as his brother did, I'i's own puzzlement caused him to speak out on the matter: "How strange for you to take me to the royal court to stay where my older brother died. Perhaps the same fate will befall me there." 32

I'i's placement was with Kamehameha's immediate family, which put him where his kaikua'ana (older sibling of the same sex) Maoloha had been when untold circumstances led to his demise. I'i harbored the fear that, like his brother, he could be put to death if he made any errors in the course of performing hana lawelawe. The young I'i's concerns were well-founded. As a preliminary step to the drilling of Kamehameha's forces, some women, including I'i's mother, were ordered "to fetch and spread grass on the field early in the morning." 33 I'i accompanied her to get the grass, but they were separated when I'i became preoccupied with some coconut midribs he was playing with. He continues the story saying:

When I'i glanced up he saw Liholiho and the person who carried his possessions. Right then his peace of mind left him, because he realized that he was going to be beaten and might even die as a result. After he had been beaten for some time, the person who carried the possessions of the chief said, 'Do not give
such a cruel beating to the servant who will be
your follower when he grows up."

When he finally regained his senses, I'i could only
remember how his mother continued to instruct him about
patience and forbearing. Lying there, trying to come out of
his stupor, I'i recalled that his mother approached. Not
until she saw her son sprawled in the distance did she miss
him. Neither mother nor son said anything in defiance of
Liholiho. Showing dutiful acceptance was their only
recourse, for in Liholiho's eyes, a wrong was committed by
the young I'i.

In another incident, I'i was carrying Liholiho's
spittoon when the cover slipped off, struck I'i's knee, then
bounced up again. He caught it as it came up toward him
"and so was saved from death, for had it dropped to his
feet, his fate would have been that of Maoloha." Another
brush with death occurred during the most solemn portion of
a ceremony dedicated to the Akua Lonomakua. The ritual
required participants to be absolutely silent or face a
dead penalty. The kapu to maintain silence was imposed and
at that very moment, I'i felt a tickle in his throat that
made him want to cough. He recalled holding his throat with
his hands until both his eyes and his throat itself was red,
finally succumbing to the urge. He coughed two or three
times, but the sounds were inaudible. Had he been heard,
"he would have been snatched from this world. Such were the
many troubles that followed one about in the royal
court."

Those like I'i with actual experience serving the
ruling class during 'aikapu times later became key
commentators on that era. Having lived to young adulthood
under the 'aikapu, men like I'i and Malo became
authoritative voices that, in the 'ainoa years following the
abolition of restricted eating sanctions, were taken as
reliable sources regarding 'aikapu-period life. As the
evidence indicates, service during the 'aikapu era came with
very real risks for the kaukau ali'i, including the children
who performed hana lawelawe.

Other Examples of Hana Lawelawe from the 'Aikapu Era

There are two kaukau ali'i from 'aikapu times whose
experiences as chiefly servers will be considered in this
section. But first, a Mo'i from the island of Hawai'i and
the son who was his successor will be discussed for what
they offer: a glimpse into the nature of service from the
Ali'i Nui side, as managers and recipients of hana lawelawe.
There were pono methods for delegating authority and
overseeing the kaukau ali'i, methods that were not always
applied consistently well. This particular father and son
pair seem to have contributed to the organization of chiefly
servers under their control and for that reason, their reigns bear a closer look.

Aside from the tasks already mentioned, aliʻi of all ranks dedicated themselves to their haku for warfare as well. While it appears this was more the case for kāne (males) than wāhine (females), tradition tells of women who fought bravely and well during the ʻŌiwi Wale period. There are no sources that describe other kinds of hana lawelawe which were performed by female chiefly servers. I suspect orientations to the male side of the story prevented most nineteenth century writers from collecting data specifically on women who served and what the nature of those experiences were.

On Hawaiʻi Island, the (c.) sixteenth century Mōʻī Līloa incorporated the concept of service into his organizational scheme for developing battle-related chiefly support. Service was something even the higher ranked chiefs took part in, their roles designed to match their status. An example of this comes with a description of what happened after Līloa secured control of Hawaiʻi Island in its entirety. It was then that the

"other chiefs all around Hawaii remained under his rule and placed their sons under Līloa. It was customary in the olden days
for some chiefs to serve others, and they became war lords...keepers of the treasures of chiefs...and war leaders. Thus did the chiefs and the sons of chiefs serve Līloa."37

Service to this Mō'ī was well-organized. There were specific roles the sons of these chiefs had to play. Pledging loyalty to Līloa came through the service of one's son to the Mō'ī.

'Umi was Līloa's son by Akahiakuleana, a woman of lesser chiefly birth. In spite of having a moʻokūʻauhau that, because of his mother's lineage was not outstanding, 'Umi achieved the title of Mō'ī by consistent and successful demonstrations of leadership. Kamakau mentions 'Umi's genealogical weaknesses, adding "...but he rose until the kingdom was his through victories in battle."38 The 'Umi saga includes some mention of chiefly servers who show loyalty to him in return for the pono qualities he displayed as their leader.

A brother of 'Umi, Hākau, was of much higher rank but once he became Mō'ī, his rapacious behavior caused those who once pledged their support to withdraw it, seek another haku, and find him in the person of 'Umi. In an angry exchange with Līloa upon being told of 'Umi's identity, Hakau is said to have remarked, so my father, "you have a
slave for a son, and he is to call me brother." Līloa replied that rather than Hākau calling 'Umi brother, it was 'Umi who should rightly address Hākau as servant, carrier of his spittoon and loincloth. By responding to Hākau as he did, Līloa explained to future generations what the appropriate relationship between brothers of different rank should be, at least on the island of Hawai'i. Service in a willing fashion had to come from 'Umi, noble acceptance and pono leadership from Hākau for the brothers to have remained mutually supportive. Hākau's death confirmed that to act on vengeance, hatred, and jealousy without even a modicum of fairness shown, brought about a sure and swift demise.

'Umi eventually accepted the position of haku with his brother's disaffected followers. With their support and his own outstanding resourcefulness, 'Umi slew his sibling and assumed the Mō'ī title. His pono actions helped to restore societal order to the island of Hawai'i. His mana increased as a result. The ex-Hākau faction told 'Umi's advisers, "we owe much to your chief for he has made a servant of his royal self for us, for the kingdom." 'Umi lived his formative years without knowing his paternal lineage. He had no "royal self" until his mother revealed her son's true identity and sent him to Līloa. It seems plausible that being able to make himself a servant for Hawai'i Island after becoming Mō'ī came at least in part from his early life and extremely humble beginnings.
The Mōʻi successor to ʻUmi was one of his sons, Keawenuiaumi. The kūpuna who carried his story from generation to generation claimed he governed well and cared for the people of Hawaiʻi Island. One extremely significant moʻolelo from the body of ʻŌiwi oral tradition involves Keawenuiaumi and his quest to find Pākaʻa, a very skilled chiefly server and punahahele (favorite) who at one time was unwavering in his dedication to the Mōʻi. With the moʻolelo of Pākaʻa, I conclude the discussion on high chiefs as service recipients and move to an example of service provision by yet another kaukau aliʻi of the ʻaikapu period who predated both Malo and Iʻi by approximately two and one-half centuries. This is the first of two moʻolelo about kaukau aliʻi service during ʻaikapu times that I will examine.

Pākaʻa was Keawenuiaumi's kahu. Being from a chiefly ʻohana himself, Pākaʻa had the privilege of holding his haku's feathered staff or kahili. Another sign that Pākaʻa was indeed an intimate of Keawenuiaumi comes from the fact that the kahu had the right to cross behind his haku and occupy what was considered sacred space. Extremely skilled in many areas, Pākaʻa was an asset to Keawenuiaumi. He knew the natural history of lands from Kauaʻi to Hawaiʻi. He was also a kilokilo (one trained to read signs) and he could tell when seas would be their calmest and what the clouds portended in relation to changes in the weather. In
addition, Pāka‘a was skillful in handling a canoe, navigating on open ocean, and he could paddle a canoe with great force as well. The Moʻi could not help but be impressed with this chiefly server. As time passed, the haku held him in great esteem:

Pāka‘a was a great favorite with Keawe-nui-a-ʻumi and took care of all the property in his chiefly residence. He was capable of serving his lord in any capacity: to take charge of his possessions, to oversee the preparation of his food, and to care for his clothing and ornaments. Keawe-nui-a-ʻumi did not rely on others as much as he did on Pāka‘a. 42

Two very capable navigators, Hoʻokeleihilo and Hoʻokeleipuna were discovered by Keawenuiaumi. He recognized their outstanding skills and strength in canoe paddling and other related ocean-oriented activities. Ultimately, these two were chosen to serve under Keawenuiaumi, replacing Pāka‘a. Disgruntled because his duties at sea had been assigned to the newcomers, Pāka‘a secretly left Keawenuiaumi’s household and relocated on Molokaʻi at a place called Kaluakoʻi. At this point, Pākaʻa was free to ‘imi haku, or find another chiefly superior to
serve. This option was always possible for kaukau ali'i. Rather than be bound to the land by service restrictions, 'imi haku enabled those who served a certain social flexibility. No chiefly server's fortunes were so inexorably tied to an Ali'i Nui that he had no other possible service prospects if put into a situation of dire need.

Pāka‘a would noho with a woman of that area and have a son, Kūapāka‘a, which literally means "Kū-son-of-Pāka‘a." Time on Moloka‘i was used to correct the turn of events on Hawai‘i. In order to devise a plan that put him back in favor with Keawenuiaumi, Pāka‘a needed time to strategize. He chose Kaluako‘i because it was inaccessible, the passage through the reef fronting the area was so twisted there were names for it: Hikauhi and Kaumanamana. Pāka‘a was safe there, and from that haven he calculated "how he would fulfil his desire to regain his former position, the one that was taken from him."

Keawenuiaumi had been told that Pāka‘a chose to leave, and eventually, the Mō‘ī began to miss his punahele terribly. The Mō‘ī ordered his strongest water men to set out on canoes and search the islands from Hawai‘i to Kaua‘i. They searched the windward and leeward sides of each island, but Pāka‘a could not be found. Keawenuiaumi dreamed Pāka‘a's spirit told him the punahele was on Ka'ula, a small island off the O‘ahu coast. In Keawenuiaumi's dream,
Pāka'a's spirit also said his favorite chiefly server would not return until the Mō'ī went to get the attendant himself.

The key aspect of service this mo'olelo brings out is excellence in the performance of one's duties as a kaukau ali'i. For Keawenuiaumi, the quality of service received from his man was not only impressive but endearing. Keawenuiaumi's dream and his decision to follow its suggestion indicates how important Pāka'a was to him. The 'Oiwi value that can be inferred is that it is well worth the effort to search for a quality chiefly server who has decided to move on. It is said Keawenuiaumi's plan to sail to Ka'ula was faced with a logistical challenge. Kaukau ali'i and other supporters of the Mō'ī secured enough canoes for the large search contingent to put to sea. That accomplished, it was realized there was no double-hulled vessel worthy of transporting Keawenuiaumi.

Intrigue is heightened in this oral tradition as a storyteller would probably go into great detail about the cause for delay: the decision to build the Mō'ī a new canoe. Further postponement was needed in obtaining the logs because of two menacing birds that could speak and the need for their eradication. Conceivably, such interaction between humans and animals could seize the listener's attention and took the imagination on a fantastic journey.\(^4^5\)
With the canoe completed, Keawenuiaumi left Hilo bound for Ka'ula. His steersmen were Ho'okeleihilo and Ho'okeleipuna, the "men that Pāka'a so disliked that he ran away and wandered to a place where he would avenge himself...." The people of other islands received word about the disconsolate Mo'ī's quest. He went from Hawai'i to Maui and from there to Kaunakakai on the island of Moloka'i. Prior to Keawenuiaumi's arrival, Pāka'a heard that his former haku had commenced a search. Pāka'a devised a plan that he hoped would allow him to return to the service of Keawenuiaumi.

The chiefly server's strategy involved raising enough food to entice the Mo'ī into making an extended stay on Moloka'i. The next step was to use Kūapāka'a as escort and host while Keawenuiaumi remained on their island. These two phases of the plan worked well. Keawenuiaumi was somewhat puzzled that this young boy (whose identity was kept secret) knew so many personal preferences of his. Favorite fish were prepared, particular items of clothing belonging to the Mo'ī were presented for his use. The boy even displayed the skill of reading nature's signs for navigational purposes.

With Kūapāka'a gaining the Mo'ī's trust, the third part of Pāka'a's plan could be carried out. His son had access to the inner circle of supporters traveling with Keawenuiaumi. This meant at the opportune time Kūapāka'a could ambush the two navigators and kill them, thereby
enabling his father to return to the primary wayfinding (non-instrument navigation) role he once held with the Hawai‘i Island Mo‘i.

Eventually, Kuapāka‘a’s navigational skills provided Keawenuiaumi with better advice about ocean travel than either Ho‘okeleihilo or Ho‘okeleipuna. As the son of Pāka‘a gained favor in the Mo‘i’s eyes, the two navigators were slowly discredited because of their own inaccurate appraisals of environmental signs. While on one sail off Moloka‘i, Kuapāka‘a had the opportunity and executed both navigators.

The navigators who replaced Pāka‘a were the problem. The ‘Oiwi Wale-era solution was to literally remove them from the picture. Pāka‘a’s plan and the involvement of his son in its implementation, were within the bounds of morality as established for that ‘Oiwi Wale time. Methodical steps of a well-organized plan that culminated in assassination was the strategy this disaffected kaukau ali‘i used. In epilogue, the mo‘olelo has Keawenuiaumi returning to his island and when the time was right, Pāka‘a went back to assume his position as the Mo‘i’s kahu.

Like most ‘Oiwi Wale-era epics, the Pāka‘a tradition features supranormal conditions and extreme circumstances that, in telling the mo‘olelo, reveal an ‘Oiwi-rooted array of ideal responses to seemingly insurmountable challenges. The strategies both Keawenuiaumi and Pāka‘a employed were
then conveyed to successive generations as an oral tradition which taught value-based courses of action. And as long as the kapu of the heiau was 'Oiwī society's state religion, the epic of Kūapāka'a served a dual role that included two meanings of the word kumu. One "ancestral source," the other, "teacher of principles" that underscore particular values and solution-oriented actions.

Another point raised by the Pāka'a mo'olelo concerns the establishment of behavioral precedents. Both servers and served in future generations could look to the Keawenuiaumi and Pāka'a examples and consider for themselves how one person from the ruling class and one from the server contingent behaved when a contentious situation arose. The value of these kinds of mo'olelo came in the lessons they taught about alternate choices in the context of problem solving. It was as if the past served the present, playing the role of a kumu (teacher), offering edification through stories about how kupuna coped under similar circumstances.

The two navigators who Keawenuiaumi took in were seen as the source of the kahu Pāka'a's problem and their elimination was an accepted part of his solution. In the context of kupuna experience from that era, such assassination attempts were pono and within the scope of alternatives available to someone of Pāka'a's class. As a possible solution for those who came after Keawenuiaumi's time, execution as a solution condoned by ancestral
precedent might have been an influential option to pursue. The desire to serve Keawenuiaumi again, under the right circumstances, motivated Pāka'a to act as he did. The quality of service Pāka'a provided to Keawenuiaumi in so many areas, created a desire in the MO'I to find him.

This mo'olelo is an example of how the ideal of service was preserved from Keawenuiaumi's time forward. Just as the Ali'i Nui had idealized figures from oral tradition to pattern their behavior after, so could a kauka ali'i listen to the mo'olelo of Pāka'a and appreciate a life of service provision. The saga demonstrates how intensely a MO'I could want a particular chiefly server, and conversely, the extent to which a kahu could go in attempting a return to the household of his haku.

As told, the mo'olelo absolves Keawenuiaumi of any culpability. The fact that the MO'I chose Ho'okeleihilo and Ho'okeleipuna as navigators does not figure in the development of the values associated with the story. It was completely within the bounds of Keawenuiaumi's prerogative to select the two, yet as the mo'olelo continues, no mention is made of how the MO'I contributed to Pāka'a's decision to leave. If there was anyone in 'Oiwi society who would be considered less fallable and more likely to conduct himself or herself according to what was pono it would be the MO'I.

This is not to say rulers did not make mistakes. What I am trying to emphasize is that because a MO'I was a leader
of supreme rank, the expectation had to be that mistakes of a minor nature were excusable, perhaps not even worth considering. Consequently, in deference to his rank and the privilege of selecting servers that came from such status, any mention of the Moi's misconduct, given the circumstances, would have been entirely inappropriate. What is also understood from Keawenuiaumi's behavior toward Paka'a is the degree to which a ruler could emotionally extend himself and materially expend resources to locate a punahele, who was also probably an aikane, and return that person to the Moi's poli (bosom).

The moral principle here has to do with outer limits. How far could a ruler in Oiwi Wale times go to reestablish contact with and again enlist service from a favorite kaukau ali'i? The answer according to this mo'olelo is, quite far. Keawenuiaumi extended resources, human and otherwise, in his effort to bring Paka'a back to him. If so desired, any successor Moi of 'aikapu-era times could apply the values taught from this tradition to a similar situation and ultimately, follow Keawenuiaumi's lead.

From the chiefly server's point of view, Paka'a performed a number of hana lawelawe for his haku. Perhaps Keawenuiaumi simply thought his favorite chiefly server would be able to accept being replaced as his navigator given there were other service tasks Paka'a did, and did well. Such was not the case and when he realized that,
Keawenuiaumi set out to do something about it. What is to be learned from the kaukau ali‘i side comes from Pāka‘a’s conduct and his strategy for achieving a solution to his dilemma. The chiefly server left his haku, a lesser ranked person’s privilege in the ‘Ōiwi Wale period. He then demonstrated his resourcefulness by moving to another island, establishing contacts of support, and showing ho‘omanawanui (biding his time) before enacting the rest of his plan.

Pāka‘a wanted the position of navigator for himself. His kahu role with Keawenuiaumi was not enough. Pāka‘a obviously took great pride in the way he performed hana lawelawe for his haku. He held Ho‘okeleihilo and Ho‘okeleipuna responsible for his displacement as navigator. Determined to do all in his power to restore himself to the position, Pāka‘a successfully developed and implemented his plan.

Consequently, he demonstrated to successive generations of kaukau ali‘i what could be done if the privilege to do a service for one’s haku were taken away. Properly working a combination of resources to maximize opportunities that arose over time, allowed the chiefly server Pāka‘a to succeed. Not only was it important to serve the haku well and faithfully, but if the chance for continued service was threatened, the mo‘olelo of Pāka‘a stood as an example of how far a kaukau ali‘i could go to be restored to the
desired hana lawelawe. I conclude the discussion on high chiefs as service recipients with the mo'olelo of Pāka‘a. What follows is a mo'olelo about kaukau ali‘i service during 'aikapu times. While similar to the experiences of kaukau ali‘i I‘i and Malo, this chiefly server predated them by approximately two and one-half centuries.

The Hana Lawelawe of Kapohu

The next example of ‘aikapu-era service examines the ‘ano of a kaukau ali‘i who served two haku. The chiefly server's name was Kapohu.47 Kahahana, MO‘I of O‘ahu in the early (c.) 1770s and Kahekili, Maui’s paramount ruler during that same period, were Kapohu's superiors. The basic hana lawelawe he performed for his haku was koa, "warrior."48 It is important to examine the significance behind this word. The mana inherent in the term koa comes not only from the warriors who assume that identity. There are the accompanying definitions for the word that, because of ho‘okama‘aina incorporate additional meanings into the term's mana. Understanding these word meaning relationships helps to clarify the service task of koa in the context of Ali‘i Nui society during the ‘aikapu era.

The first meaning of the word is "brave." Synonyms include bold, fearless, and valiant. These are all descriptions of the trait koa (bravery) -- arguably the single most important trait in any koa (warrior). The same
word is used for the person as well as the trait that most typifies that person when in service to a haku on the battlefield. The bravery would seem to lie within a koa's na'au (spiritual and emotional center; literally, intestines or gut). The core trait within a koa (warrior), is the adjective koa (bravery), definitive of someone's way to serve.

The mana in this word is further reinforced by another meaning: "the largest of native forest trees" (Acacia koa). Tradition relates that a "small koa [log] was sometimes added to the hula altar to Laka, goddess of the hula, to make the dancer fearless." Multiple definitions of the word koa combine to intensify the mana associated with usage. The koa log, through its association with an alternate meaning of koa (fearless), assumed the supplemental 'ano of fearlessness. Ho'okama'aina is the practice previously described wherein the koa log is placed at the hula altar to enhance the dancer's 'ano with the characteristic of fearlessness, an alternate meaning for the word koa. In the association of two definitions for a word pronounced identically comes mana born of word power.

Kapohu was a koa whose 'ano must have been strong in the positive traits of the warrior way. In service to two Mo'ili, this kaukau ali'i could not have served two rulers without being very good at what he did. The saga begins with Kapohu seeking acceptance of a particular sort from his
Maui haku Kahekili. This Maui Mōʻi built a dwelling called 'Umihale and Aliʻi or makaʻainana could only be admitted if the tribute of ʻahuʻula (feather capes) or hulu manu (bird feathers) were given. Kapohu and his companion Kaʻakakai, another warrior in service to Kahekili, left Maui for Hawaiʻi in the hopes of securing feathers and capes they could exchange for admission into 'Umihale. To serve Kahekili was indeed an honor. To gain entry into a place like 'Umihale would reaffirm the honor directly.

The pair made landfall at Kohala on the northern end of Hawaiʻi and Kapohu traveled to Kona, a coastal district directly south from there. From Kona he headed to the district of Kaʻū, then to Puna, and finally to Hilo where the sources of hulu manu and ʻahuʻula were. Kaʻakakai traveled to Hilo by another route, although why they separated is not mentioned in the Kamakau version of this moʻolelo. It was Kaʻakakai who reached Hilo first "and became friendly with Keawe-hano, the chief of Hilo."\[51\]

On his way to Hilo, Kapohu heard villagers say "that a man from Maui had become a friend of Keawehano and had obtained a feather cape from him."\[52\] Kapohu went to Keawehano's residence, skirted the fence and saw Kaʻakakai sitting with Keawehano. Both were wearing ʻahuʻula, hulu manu necklaces, and had mahiole on their heads as well. When Kaʻakakai caught a glimpse of "Kapohu standing outside the fence, he scowled, took up as much room as possible, and
left no room in the doorway." Kapohu, observing their finery, expressed himself through an oli (chant).

When Keawehano heard the poetic phrases he left Ka'akakai and looked outside. Kapohu continued, knowing he would have to impress the Hilo noble since Ka'akakai got to Keawehano first. Obviously taken with the oli, Keawehano was now interested in the stranger and Kapohu continued chanting boldly. The next part of the koa's oli so moved Keawehano he invited Kapohu to come in to eat. As Kapohu entered Keawehano's hale (house) he offered this oli:

À Kahuku i Ola‘a,  From Kahuku to Ola‘a,
Ka uka i Pana‘ewa,  To the uplands of Pana‘ewa,
Ka uka o Haili,  To the uplands of Haili,
Kāpili manu ē,  To catch birds with lime,
Kāwili manu ē,  To catch birds with snares,
Kololio manu ē,  To catch birds with lines,
O ka hulu o ka  For their feathers.

manu.

'Ahu‘ula mai nō,  [Give me] a feather cape,
Mahiole mai nō,  [Give me] a feather helmet,
Hulikua mai nō,  [Give me] a feather necklace."

Keawehano responded, "Here is your feather necklace, here is your feather helmet, but the cape you two shall share!"
With those words from Keawehano, Kapohu reached for a corner of the ‘ahu‘ula that Ka‘akakai had on and placed it over his own shoulders. However, the tradition does not state explicitly whether or not Kapohu or Ka‘akakai ever gained admission to ‘Umihale. One would hope that is the way things ended up. In the pursuit of the feather items, Kapohu had gained Keawehano’s friendship. To show his gratitude the chiefly server promised the Ali‘i ‘Aimoku:

I have two masters, Ka-hekili and Kahahana. If your lord goes to war against my two lords, should my two lords be victorious over yours I will preserve your life that day... Keawehano made the same promise to Kapohu and both agreed to abide by their vow.  

Some time later, Kahekili went to war against Kalani‘ōpu‘u, the Mō‘i of Hawai‘i. Kapohu was with his other haku Kahahana, the O‘ahu Mō‘i then, but they were residing on Moloka‘i. When Kahekili sent a messenger to inform Kahahana about Kalani‘ōpu‘u’s advance on Maui, Kahahana dispatched koa in support. Kapohu remembered his vow to Keawehano and joined the contingent that went on the mission to Maui. By the time Kapohu arrived at the battle
site, hostilities had ended, Kahekili's forces were victorious, and the last of the enemy force was about to be put to death. It was Keawahano. Kapohu intervened on behalf of his Hilo comrade. Kahekili assented to the request and Keawahano's life was spared. It is said the entire dialogue between Keawahano and Kapohu was done in oli. Unfortunately, Keawahano's wounds were so severe he did not survive. Nevertheless, Kapohu kept his promise to Keawahano, thereby finding a way to serve not two, but actually three haku well.

The main values reinforced through this mo'olelo are versatility, the instructive scenario of chiefly servers as rivals, and the importance of keeping a promise. Kapohu was versatile enough to employ oli as a strategy that enabled him to get his fair share of the feather goods. Had he failed, only Ka'akakai would have gained admission to Kahekili's exclusive hale mua (men's house) 'Umihale. Throughout the story, Kapohu remained aware of his conduct and his versatility allowed him to ably serve two Mā'ōī and still seek feather goods on another island from a district chief who was a stranger. That Kapohu was able to outsmart Ka'akakai through the chant suggests chiefly servers could indeed be rivals for the attention of the same haku. Competition that led to creative displays of wit were highly prized.

217
Kapohu and Keawehano pledged life-saving as a mutual courtesy to be extended in case either was in a position to be executed. The mo'olelo has Keawehano in trouble and Kapohu, in accordance with the ideal koa who is also a chiefly server, comes through as intercessor. It seems logical that the only reason Kapohu could ask Kahekili to grant Keawehano amnesty was because Kapohu deserved such consideration. This favor could only be rooted in how well Kapohu served his Maui haku Kahekili, a Mōʻi not known for his benevolence. The single-most ferocious warrior ruler in Hawaiian history, Kahekili was not in the habit of granting amnesty. Kapohu's actions as a koa who served two haku enable another look at 'aikapu-era service and the nature of kaukau aliʻi life.

Final Thoughts on Hana Lawelawe and the 'Aikapu Era

This chapter has examined kaukau aliʻi service during the time of the 'aikapu. It began with a discussion of the precarious nature of service in those days and included a treatment of Aliʻi Nui roles in the context of the relationship between server and served. The chapter closes with an analysis of koa and a moʻolelo about Kapohu and his acts of service to not one, but two haku. The key point made regarding the ruling class was that tradition records their foibles which is refreshing given the otherwise serious and very formal image these leaders projected. To
know they were prone to the same error-ridden ways all humans are capable of expressing is to also know the chiefly servers in their employ were in wonderfully inconsistent relationships where everyone tried their best as a rule but did not always succeed.

Proverbs and poetical sayings unlocked the meaning of kaukau aliʻi service, especially the underlying value of secrecy as a show of respect between server and haku. That the body of oral tradition includes ʻŌlelo noʻeau whose subject matter to are the kaukau aliʻi is indicative of their established place in ʻaikapu times. An integral part of ʻŌiwi society, the kaukau aliʻi, like all members of the populace, had their specific roles to play. The success or failure of the overall system depended on everyone performing consistently well.

Personal experience in servicing Aliʻi Nui during the days of the ʻaikapu is what Iʻi's autobiographical fragments contributed to this study. The fact that children were prepared for service "careers" was established through Iʻi's personal reflections about his formative years. The values of acting rightly and always demonstrating patience in the course of the service relationship are made clear in Iʻi's recollections of his own childhood. Malo catalogued actual hana lawelawe and the names associated with those who performed them. Also, his candid views regarding the less-than-positive attitudes chiefly servers and their haku could
project effectively underscored how very human the enterprise of service was back then. Far from possessing an 'ano that was perpetually pono, kaukau ali'i came in all types, from the extremely efficient to the chronically shiftless.

The lives of two chiefly servers, Pāka'a and Kapohu, further highlighted the nature of service within the context of Ali'i Nui experience. Challenged, these kaukau ali'i demonstrated resourcefulness and confidence as they dealt with the significant obstacles before them. In the case of Paka'a, a return to the role of navigator for Keawenuiaumi was his one desire. The value associated with his relentless quest showed successive generations of chiefly servers just what it took to achieve a stated goal.

Kapohu the koa who served two haku let his oratorical skills secure him a place with the select 'Umihale group. Along the way, discord of some sort between him and Ka'akakai affirmed another reality: kaukau ali'i of the 'aikapu era did not always see eye-to-eye. There was competition between chiefly servers, and if the reward was something like admission to 'Umihale, being comrades was a non-issue.

Service during the 'aikapu era was a multi-faceted, possibly life-threatening, yet potentially rewarding proposition. Chiefly servers and those they performed hana lawelawe for displayed all manner of human nature from
dishonesty to hatred, greed to amazing courage and remarkable ingenuity. Not a story of ideal people in perfect situations, the service experiences of the kaukau aliʻi were as real as real could be. ʻOiwi society in ʻaikapu times was as conflict-ridden and complex as any other time in Hawaiʻi's past. The kaukau aliʻi lived to serve, it is true, but this chapter shows that while serving during the ʻaikapu era, they could also experience danger and face challenges to their very survival as a direct result of hana lawelawe.
Chapter Four Notes


2. For a detailed description of the original reason the 'aikapu was instituted, refer to pages 45-48 in Chapter Two of this text.

3. Malo 1951, 76.

4. Ibid.

5. When observing 'ōiwi for the first time in March of 1820, thoughts from Calvinist missionary Hiram Bingham included "the appearance of destitution, degradation, and barbarism, among the chattering and almost naked savages... was appalling... Can these be human beings?" Hiram Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands, Tuttle: Rutland, 1981, 81.

6. This oral tradition was set to the page by John Papa I'i, lifetime kahu to the Kamehameha family. I'i's family, the Luluka 'ohana, had a long and proud tradition of service to Kamehameha which I'i carried on throughout his years. For this and other personal reflections and eyewitness accounts of 'aikapu-era life with the Kamehameha 'ohana, see I'i 1959, 18.

7. Kamakau is characteristically poetic in this passage where he compares Kamehameha's rage to an angry, surging seacoast. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. The depth of Mrs. Puku'i's knowledge was seemingly limitless. Much of what has been retained about 'ōiwi traditions can be credited to her outstanding efforts. Without a doubt in my mind, she was the foremost 'ōiwi scholar of this century. For a deeper understanding of 'ōiwi thought as it related to daily life in times past, see Mary Kawena Puku'i, 'Olelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings, Bishop Museum Press: Honolulu, Special Publication No. 71, 1983.

10. The Hawaiian is 'Ike nō ke ali'i i kona kanaka; a ua 'ike nō ke kanaka i kona ali'i. Ibid., 132.

11. Ibid.

12. The Hawaiian reads: Maloko o ka hale, ho'opuka 'ia ka pili, a mawaho o ka hale, he haku ia. Ibid., 231.

222
13. In the 'ōiwi tongue, this saying goes: He mau iwi māmā ko ke kanaka o ke ali'i. Puku'i 1983, 88.

14. Ibid., 144.

15. Ibid., 301.

16. Ibid.

17. I'i 1959, 54.

18. Malo 1951,


20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.


23. Malo 1951, viii.

24. Like most chiefly servers of his time, I'i traced his lineage back to a noho of 'Umi. The highest ranking nobles among 'Umi's children had kaukau ali'i siblings also descended from 'Umi who usually served the nobles loyally. The Luluka family was such an 'ohana. I'i 1959, 17-19.

25. Ibid., 22.


27. This excerpt was taken from the biographical sketch that precedes I'i's own text. A descendant, Zadoc W. Brown, included this description of how pono his ancestor was in the writings of Reverend H.H. Parker. Ibid., viii.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., 22.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., 54.

34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 59.

36. Ibid., 61.


38. The one fact that cannot be disputed is that 'Umi earned his respect by deed and remarkable achievement within the context of those deeds. He rose above any shortcomings posed by an inferior moʻokūʻauhau. This particular reference can be found in Kamakau 1961, 1.


40. Ibid., 13.

41. By the mid-nineteenth century, Kamakau and his contemporaries had collected stories through interviews with many kupuna who served as sources for relating traditions that told of ancient times. Much of what Kamakau obtained went into newspaper articles which ran in serial form from the mid-1860s through the early 1870s. The moʻolelo concerning Keawenuiaumi and his man Pākaʻa is well-known. An extended version of this epic can be found in Fornander, The Fornander Collection: of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore, 2:13, 112; 5:14, 72-135; 30, 69-89; 38, 53-67. For the Pākaʻa moʻolelo in Kamakau, refer to Ruling Chiefs of Hawai‘i, The Kamehameha Schools Press: Honolulu, 1961, 36-45.

42. Kamakau 1961, 36-37. In addition, the spelling of Keawenuiaumi’s name in this location is taken directly from the Kamakau text. All names are spelled syllabically. In an effort to remain faithful to the Kamakau work, I reprinted the name as it was used in the Kamakau text as cited.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Woven into the more pedestrian recounting of events, came elements of the supernatural and magical. Fashioning the Mōʻai’s canoe evolves into a sub-plot along with the prior need to enlist the expertise of an arrow shooter from Kauaʻi to kill the birds. The apparently fanciful and seemingly factual are presented in a seamless rendition of this saga in Kamakau 1961, 38-42.

46. Kamakau 1961, 42.


48. Pukuʻi and Elbert, 1971, 156.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
In November of 1819, six months after the death of Kamehameha I, the 'aikapu that brought political, religious, and social order to 'Oiwi society for centuries felt an iconoclastic blow from its own representative, the heir apparent 'Ioani Liholiho. At the politically shrewd urgings of Ka'ahumanu, the departed Kamehameha's favorite chiefess, Liholiho assented. Ki'i (religious figures) and heiau (temples dedicated to deities of the state religion) were ordered destroyed. Kahuna or, spiritualists, priests, religious advisers, overturned the ki'i that they and their predecessors had prayed to for centuries. No longer would sacred eating be the central principle on which 'Oiwi based the conduct of their lives. By eating with the new Mo'ī, Ka'ahumanu would 'oki (sever) the kapu and de-legitimize that which defined pono in the context of state religion. The supreme authority on which leadership was based, activities of daily living, even hana lawelawe the kaukau ali'i performed for their haku, would eventually be affected.

This chapter deals with kingdom-era chiefly servers, what they did for their superiors during that time, and how service was affected by the 'ainoa (free eating between the
sexes) in content and concept. The particular years of the kingdom era to be focused on are 1819-1893. These years include several key time periods within which events of importance took place. Chief among these events are the abolition of the 'aikapu, the arrival and eventual establishment of Calvinist missionaries from Boston, as well as the effects of these and other haole introductions on the kaukau ali'i and their ability to perform hana lawelawe.

Kaukau ali'i service offers an alternative context for understanding events like the 'ainoa and its effects subsequent to the act of free eating in 1819. A focus on the servers changes the lens through which the 'Oiwī past is viewed. Rather than a detailed analysis of the decision made at the MōʻI level about 'ainoa, Chapter Five examines those at the support level, their challenges and contributions as the 'ainoa continued to be practiced -- the new societal source for order, the new individual source for what defined proper conduct. This kaukau ali'i perspective on the 'Oiwī past can potentially yield a different kind of interpretation of the 'ainoa-related evidence. A decision by a MōʻI, for instance, will not be analyzed in this chapter for its national implications, but instead is considered for how and why kaukau ali'i service was affected by that 'ainoa-era MōʻI's choice or edict. The result is the telling of a moʻolelo that addresses the 'Oiwī past from society's mid-level, not its pinnacle. Specific evidence
from that era about their hana lawelawe can also bring a fresh understanding of broader, more far-reaching events that stirred in the 'Oiwī past, like 'ainoa.

"Ua noa" would have been one phrase to describe what occurred in 1819: "it is freed." The food shared between Kaʻahumanu and Liholiho rendered the 'aikapu void in an official sense. In terms of the general population, though, including chiefly servers and others farthest away from Hawaiʻi, site of the 'ainoa, I wonder about the event's immediate effects. I think it also worthwhile to conceive of the impact free eating had through citing changes in service tasks performed by kingdom-era kaukau aliʻi. In this context, perhaps, the effects of the 'ainoa can be understood as a ripple up and down the archipelago like aftershocks from an earthquake, not just as its initial chaos-inducing concussiveness. This is the kind of question an examination of kaukau aliʻi kingdom-era hana lawelawe can address. And it is done from a vastly different perspective than focusing on the power dynamics of rulers and high chiefs. As participants in the lives of the Aliʻi Nui, kaukau aliʻi were involved in the daily goings-on of their chiefly superiors.

The process by which hana lawelawe were carried out can be understood through the word mālama (to keep, care for). If hana lawelawe were what kaukau aliʻi did, mālama described the manner in which those tasks were completed.
Malama was reciprocal. The Moʻi had to show this to his or her people as well. From the chiefly servers' side, when a konohiki or "land steward" would perform the various hana lawelawe of his specialty with the ʻāina (land), malama described the process of the task's performance. It was malama that made service to the haku a personal effort.

Essentially, malama was what service tasks during the ʻaikapu era continued to have in common with hana lawelawe performed in the ʻainoa period. This meant kaukau aliʻi could carry out their tasks with a spirit that nurtured as it served. This spirit fits with one meaning of the word kaukau: "affectionate advice." When the advice was given affectionately, malama had to be an integral part of the process. What someone like a konohiki was to the ʻāina, a kahu was to the Aliʻi Nui: a person whose 'ano (identity) included the ability to malama. One kingdom-era Aliʻi Nui even referred to her chiefly server as the "kahu" of her "waiwai" (caretaker of her wealth). The service of particular kingdom-era kaukau aliʻi will now be examined beginning with a familiar figure.

Kalamakumu's Boy, Honolulu's Man

Charles Kanaʻina claimed Kalamakumu as his ancestral home. It was the land of his kūpuna, the source of his enlightenment regarding ʻōiwi Wale times, and the link between life in kingdom-era Honolulu and his boyhood days.
under the 'aikapu. Required to perform hana lawelawe in the Kamehameha household, Kalamakumu's boy went from that South Kona 'āina to an eventual life of service in Honolulu during 'ainoa times. Kana'ina's service tasks were as varied as they were numerous. His marriage in 1827 to Kekauluohi, a niece and wahine ali'i (chiefess) of Kamehameha I afforded the chiefly server a good life, albeit one he also earned through years of faithful service to her.4

As the konohiki of Kekauluohi's extensive land holdings and of their son Lunalilo's too, Kana'ina managed some of the best 'āina on Hawai'i, Maui, and O'ahu.5 For him, 'ainoa-related changes, particularly the institution of private property ownership in 1848, seemed to enable a transition from konohiki in service to his wife, to independent businessman and sole heir of three Ali'i Nui estates by 1874. This section documents his kingdom-era hana lawelawe. The evidence of his business dealings suggests that in his case, the role of kaukau ali'i gave way to an 'ano of individualism based on ownership of large tracts of land and a tendency toward aggressive entrepreneurship.

I'i's recollections of the past in his Fragments of Hawaiian History include an anecdote concerning Kana'ina.6 The account demonstrates that service tasks did not always mean an activity associated with drudgery or backbreaking toil. Liholiho, the highest-ranking son of Kamehameha I

230
with the wahine Aliʻi Nui Keōpūolani, was fond of kāʻekeʻeke. It was a musical activity that Liholiho enjoyed and Kanaʻina performed with expertise. A number of different sized sections of 'ohe (bamboo) were held in hand vertically by the seated participants and tapped rhythmically on the ground. The hollow 'ohe produced a resonant and haunting tone with different sized pieces emitting their own pitches as the percussive impact of 'ohe met papahele (floor). The tones and rhythms from the kāʻekeʻeke were either performed as accompaniment to mele (a danced chant) or solo. Iʻi remarked how kāʻekeʻeke sessions with Liholiho, Kanaʻina, and others could last well into the late night hours.⁷

The relationship of chiefly server to haku began in this musical fashion between Kanaʻina and the man who reigned as Kamehameha II. Kanaʻina was also an aikāne of Liholiho. His inclusion in a role related to the fulfillment of Liholiho's sexual desires can also be viewed as hana lawelawe. When Iʻi used the term aikāne, the translator used a more literal English equivalent of "favorite" or "companion." The companionship, though, referred to activities of a sexually explicit nature. Never actually converting to Christianity, Liholiho continued to engage in 'aikapu-era practices like keeping aikāne at court, even during the early 'ainoa period.
Kaukau ali`i like Kana`ina met the needs and wants of Liholiho in the latter `aikapu days and functioned in the same kinds of capacities even after the `aikapu was broken. This shows how chiefly servers continued in their traditional roles into `ainoa times. If Kana`ina's haku Liholiho wanted his aikāne, the fact that there was no state religion any longer had no bearing on a decidedly preferred sexual choice. An example, then, of the supposed earthquake that was the `ainoa not having the slightest effect on what remained a royal prerogative for His Majesty Kamehameha II.

In time, Kekauluohi became Kana`ina's wife because Liholiho gave her to him. Liholiho's inheritance included his father's wahine ali`i. Kekauluohi was the youngest of these. She became a wahine ali`i of the first Kamehameha at the age of twelve. Seen on the surface as a reward, perhaps for outstanding service, the granting of Kekauluohi to Kana`ina has another possible interpretation, one based on Kana`ina's ability to serve. In consideration of Kekauluohi's rank, Liholiho could have arranged this marital alliance to also meet the konohiki needs of a woman whose `Āina required an excellent chiefly server. This was a marriage that in terms of rank had the wife as the husband's superior. It would appear there needed to be some particular service Kana`ina could provide, something of which Kekauluohi could be the direct beneficiary. In addition, Kana`ina was an aikāne of Liholiho. Based on this
sexual context, it may very well have been possible that Liholiho decided two of his own personal sexual partners would be quite content with one another. Unlike Liholiho, who only lived until 1824, Kekauluohi and Kana‘ina eventually converted to Christianity. With that conversion, Kekauluohi left old ways behind. She was described by I‘i as one of the Christian chiefesses.

What is intriguing about the relationship between Kekauluohi and Kana‘ina is the curious blend of circumstances that brought them together. Kana‘ina, a very able konohiki who trained during the aikapu era, was "given" a chiefess of superior rank by his aikāne Liholiho. The konohiki’s mana was enhanced through the noho, the union was satisfactory in light of the new moral codes, and practically speaking, the Kekauluohi could rest assured her lands were well-managed. As previously mentioned, Liholiho was not one of the Ali‘i Nui who embraced Calvinism as did his mother Keōpūolani or her companions in conversion Ka‘ahumanu, Kīna‘u, or Kuakini. Because of the Mō‘i’s gesture that brought Kekauluohi and Kana‘ina together must be seen in the context of aikapu values as affected by the ainoa era. This departs from schools of thought that claim the impact of foreign influences including Christianity were fatal to the ʻŌiwi. The thought by some was that the new religion supposedly swept through like a hurricane wind and took its worst toll in terms of the
upheaval of ʻOiwi customs in those first few years after 1820.

Two later examples in this chapter will demonstrate the range of kaukau aliʻi responses to the influences of Calvinism. ʻOiwi attitudes toward the new religion did not move in a single direction toward more Christianity, but instead ebbed and flowed like a tide depending on the individual. Rather than a swift, uni-directional current with a singular alone, the chiefly servers' behavior indicates the presence of a change toward Calvinist morality and principles for some, but for others a continued adherence to shows of respect for the traditional deities.

Another more speculative albeit related point is, had Liholiho lived beyond 1824 and continued to exercise his prerogative in terms of traditional practices as Kamehameha II, missionary efforts to convert the ʻOiwi to Christianity would have been a decidedly more difficult endeavor. Chiefly servers like Kanaʻina would have continued to function in the aikāne role in open defiance of Calvinist admonitions against what the Christians called sodomy, or the lascivious dance known as hula, or noho between siblings and other closely related ʻohana members. Because it was left for Kaʻahumanu to rule as Regent after Liholiho's death, her agenda for change was followed. Eventually, this would include Kaʻahumanu's own conversion to Christianity, and much of the populace would follow suit.
Returning to my description of Kana'ina and his chiefly server roles, he did perform other hana lawelawe besides that of konohiki. His kingdom-era tasks were varied, and in completing them, he demonstrated much skill. Like Pākaʻa from the ʻOiwi Wale era, Kana'ina was multi-talented, something that made him all the more valuable to his wife Kekauluohi, who technically was also his haku. What follows are descriptions of hana lawelawe Kana'ina performed, and after these is an analysis of this service in the context of ʻainoa as the gradual but persistent replacement for ʻaikapu as a foundational organizing principle of ʻOiwi society. As the title of this sub-section indicates, Kalamakumu was Kana'ina's ancestral homeland, but Honolulu became the setting where the man would serve in capacities that reflect ʻaikapu-ʻainoa differences and consequently, warrant attention here.

In 1856, Kana'ina was planning to construct a stone wall and make road improvements at ʻĀinahau, Queen Emma's Waikiki residence. Her husband, Alexander Liholiho, was ruling as Kamehameha IV at the time. Apparently, Kana'ina did stonework well as his own Honolulu home, Hale Honokaʻupu was cut completely from coral stone. The material for the Waikiki project was taken from Leahi (Diamond Head), not more than half a mile from ʻĀinahau and situated on Oʻahu's south shore. Kana'ina's source for rock was the site where a heiau known as Papaʻenaʻena once stood. To appreciate
Kana'ina's actions as a curious blend of 'Aikapu and 'ainoa values, a brief mo'olelo is in order.

When Kamehameha defeated Kalanikupule in the Battle of Nu'uanu, Maui and O'ahu came under his control. With these islands secured, only Kaua'i remained for complete unification. The 1795 victory culminated respectfully in honor of Kūkā'ili limoku, Kamehameha's Akua kaua (warfare deity). This Akua was believed to have enabled Kamehameha's victory and demanded Kalanikupule's remains be offered as was the custom. The ceremony was performed at Papa'ena'ena. These were the last such rites known to be performed in honor of a form of the Akua kaua Kū that included sacred presentation of the remains of a vanquished foe.

Sixty years later, a kaukau ali'i in service to the grandson of Kamehameha I used rock from Papa'ena'ena to complete a construction project. 'Ainoa-era values, at least in this case, allowed Kana'ina access to and use of stone in an area once believed sacred. In 'aikapu times, removal of even a pebble would not have been permitted. The material Kana'ina needed was at Papa'ena'ena. It was the most pragmatic solution in 1856. Ironically, a sacred place in one era became a practical supply source for a construction project in another.

The chiefly server role of konohiki that Kana'ina filled, first for his wife Kekauluohi and after her death in 1845 for their son Lunalilo, gave the kaukau ali'i control
of thousands of acres of ʻāina. In the ʻĀhele, the revolutionary land tenure restructuring begun in 1848, ʻāina became a commodity and private property ownership was for the first time a legal right guaranteed the chiefs. Kanaʻina was one konohiki whose service in the kingdom era under this private property system led to entrepreneurship on his part that continued to the time of his death in 1877.

Konohiki managed lands at the behest of Aliʻi Nui who were above them in the social hierarchy of ʻōiwi society. At the same time, the food supply for haku and their ʻohana had to be provided. The konohiki handled logistics, facilitating access to the food supply. In terms of the moena lauhala (pandanus leaf mat) metaphor introduced in Chapter Three, a moena sits below the open expanse of sky (figuratively, the high chief) and as such, is in a subservient relationship to it. As overseers of the konohiki also dealt regularly with makaʻāinana planters that produced the food.

As managers of the ʻāina, konohiki assumed a middle position between makaʻāinana food production and harvesting below them, and consumption by the Aliʻi Nui and his ʻohana above. Arrangements for moving items like taro to a MOʻI's residence, checking quantities, and meeting expressed needs of the haku were duties for the konohiki. A moena lauhala sits above ground and below sky, as did the konohiki, hence the metaphor.

237
I contend konohiki service and the moena lauhala role continued into the 'āinoa period. Even Kamehameha III, well into his reign that featured adoption of capitalist and constitutional principles, had his taro supplied through a konohiki network that reached from Honolulu to Kaua‘i. In the course of pledging themselves to caring for the land, Kana‘ina and other konohiki said during the time of Māhele they would "mālama" the "Āina." As I stated previously, malama was the means by which hana lawelawe were performed well. It was a description of the process when carried out in a pono way. So critical to the successful management of Ali‘i Nui lands were the konohiki that Kekauluohi stipulated in her will that Kana‘ina continue in his konohiki capacity for their son. She also provided instructions that certain Hawai‘i and Maui ‘Āina should go to another young Ali‘i Nui, but "shall be in the charge of Kana‘ina."

Another hana lawelawe Kana‘ina performed was Associate Judge of the Supreme Court in 1844. Governors of each island appointed district judges or magistrates in an effort to decentralize the judicial system as the kingdom government continued to reach into outlying areas. Introduced forms of government like the judicial system continued to employ chiefly servers in positions suitable to their rank, a consideration based on the traditional system of mo‘okū‘auhau determining one’s service role.
Unless a kaukau aliʻi was exceptional, like Iʻi, for instance, who became a Chief Justice of the court, mid-level posts like district judge were the ones chiefly servers commonly occupied. Kanaʻina was an appropriate choice for magistrate, and to some extent, such a decision seemed class-based. Magistrates appointed to other districts, like Kapena and Kaʻauwai, were from the kaukau aliʻi ranks, as was Kanaʻina.  

ʻAinoa times featured new structures, and government was almost entirely a foreign-influenced creation. Nevertheless, as people were tapped to fill positions that made the structures workable, most chiefly servers seemed to assume posts, whose status remained fairly consistent with their class membership.

One thing that did not seem as clearly defined with respect to chiefly servers in the kingdom-era government was who the haku might be. For newly appointed magistrate Kanaʻina, was the Judiciary his haku, or was the haku the Mōʻī, in consideration of his position as head of state? Did chiefly servers have more than one haku depending on different roles? Kanaʻina served as his wife’s konohiki in 1844, and technically she was his haku. The position of magistrate was service as well, but this hana lawelawe was not rooted in ʻOiwi tradition. With new ways to serve came new understandings about who a server’s haku really was.

Practically speaking, a kaukau aliʻi who had assigned duties within the new governmental system probably
experienced some degree of confusion regarding who was being served. An example, then, of the transitional nature of kingdom life for chiefly servers. This is not to say introduced modes of service were necessarily better or worse than traditional ones, but they were certainly different. Enough differences of this sort could very well contribute to changes in 'ōiwi society as a whole. Ultimately, the question became, who did the sum total of differences favor as the kingdom period continued on during the nineteenth century? By 1893, enough of the differences favored non-'ōiwi interests, and thereby, a nation was taken in an act of war. The ripple-like tremors came to the fore eventually, and the earthquake did, finally, take a devastating toll.

As the highest ranking Ali'i passed on and Christian morals prevented noho between siblings and other closely related family members, kaukau ali'i were taken as marriage partners. The fathers of the last five Moʻī were kaukau ali'i. The brothers Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa who reigned as Kamehameha IV and V respectively, were the sons of Mataio Kekūanao'a, a kaukau ali'i whose lineage traces to O'ahu and Maui families. Their mother Kīnaʻu was a daughter of Kamehameha I and Kekuanao'a served her like Kanaʻina did Kekauluohi.

Succeeding Lota on the throne was his cousin William Charles Lunalilo, Kanaʻina's son with Kekauluohi. After a
brief reign of one year, Lunalilo was succeeded by David La'amea Kalākaua. When Kalākaua died in San Francisco in 1891, his sister Lili'uokalani became Mo'i, the last to rule in that capacity. Their father was Kapa'akea, a man of inferior rank to his wife Keohokalole. He was a konohiki who lived and served in much the same fashion as those who had come before. In fact, Lili'uokalani knew enough about her father's hana lawelawe and its connection to a proud tradition that she commented on it in her memoirs.17

Defending the old system of food production, she offered her father's konohiki role as evidence that ancestral methods were not oppressive to everyday folk, but instead provided all with enough to eat in the context of the ruling chief first getting his or her share.

Kekūanao'a, Kana'ina, and Kapa'akea were each skilled at certain service tasks. Being husbands of high ranking women were an additional feature these three had in common. It was as if the service tasks and the marital roles blended into a single 'ano (nature, way of being) that was usual, something they expressed naturally.

One wonders just how blended the two roles were, or if the role of husband in these cases, or noho partner in the traditional context, was simply another hana lawelawe. A relevant side bar: of the three men, Kekūanao'a served the government more, making the possibility of a blend less likely. I say less likely because as mentioned previously,
government-related service tasks did not always fit the traditional structure of *hana lawelawe*. Consequently, it would seem Kekūanaʻa's government service and chiefly server responsibilities to his immediate family and the Kamehameha 'ohana were more identifiable as different spheres than the duties of either Kapa'akea or Kana'ina were. Kekūanaʻa's government posts included governor of O'ahu, superintendent of public schools, and Privy Council member, a board of aliʻi who advised the Mōʻi on affairs of state. I make a necessary digression from my discussion of Kana'ina and his male contemporaries to address the particular subject of women of chiefly server ancestry.

Of the two kaukau aliʻi women who married Mōʻi, Emma Rooke, Kamehameha IV's Queen, and Kalama, the wife of Kamehameha III, it was Emma who was more oriented to acts of service. In more the vein of European royalty, but still clearly within the realm of *hana lawelawe* as well, she founded the Queen's Hospital with her husband's support. This was the first medical care institution dedicated to the treatment of ʻōiwi.

The only reason I hesitate to do a more in-depth analysis of her contributions is because the service she gave came, not as a woman of kaukau aliʻi ancestry in a *hana lawelawe* role to a haku, but rather as the queen of a reigning Kamehameha. Her role, like Kalama's, was much more defined by marriage to a ruling chief. The three men under
examination would have performed similar service tasks whether they married women of rank or not. Also, the nineteenth century times of Kalama and Emma dictated that if a woman of lesser rank did not marry a mo'i, their deeds would not be likely subject matter for men like Malo and Kamakau who chronicled the era.

Calvinist gender biases could have been conveyed from these religiously committed instructors to 'Oiwi students like Malo and Kamakau in training at Lahainaluna, the West Maui seminary where 'Oiwi converts were educated. If such influences did come from what they were taught and how, the education itself probably affected Malo and Kamakau. The new thinking might have prevented 'Oiwi writers from describing more service tasks of kaukau ali'i women. These writers do relate many anecdotes about women of noble lineage, but those who could be considered chiefly servers do not appear in their texts in any conscious attempt to describe their types of hana lawelawe. In fact, one of the only instances of a female chiefly server's kingdom-era hana lawelawe found comes from Lili'uokalani's memoirs. She mentions Kaikai, the sister of a government chiefly server, was her kahu.\(^20\)

It should be noted however, that Emma, through her position as queen, was also instrumental in bringing the Church of England to her people. An alternative to the long-standing Protestant view of Christianity, the Anglican
Church raised more than a few eyebrows as a would-be challenger to Calvinist preeminence in 1859. The Church of England was that land's official religious institution. American views ran cold toward anything associated with a monarchy since the United States was born out of victory over a monarch from that same British source. Emma's pro-British stance must have been difficult for the Calvinist establishment to accept.

Though not a chiefly server role by my definition, Queen Emma was of service to her people, a caring and generous monarch. For the health and religious improvement of her people, and considered in the context of her times, this woman played a critical role in the lives of her subjects. She even challenged Kalākaua in 1874 for the position of Moʻi, vacated by the death of William Lunalilo, although this challenge would not have even been possible had she not held the title of Queen Dowager.

To reiterate, because Emma, and Kalama before her, assumed the title of Queen, I did not think it appropriate to offer analyses of their lives as kaukau aliʻi. Like the rulers with chiefly server ancestry, their esteemed positions and noble lineage precludes them from consideration as people who served superiors. In terms of rank, they represented the "Best of the Rest" and allowances were made from the time they were children to regard them as the heirs to leadership of their nation. As such, counting
them as chiefly servers is a leap that simply cannot be taken. I return now to a consideration of Kana'ina's kingdom-era hana lawelawe and what those service tasks developed into for him as an individual with a knack for business.

If there was a transition from Kana'ina's life as the boy in Kalamakumu to his time as the man in Honolulu, another more subtle change also took place. The various service tasks he performed seemed to evolve into an entrepreneurship that eventually became more self-serving than service-oriented. This transition from chiefly server to high chief and businessman began because of a change in kaukau ali'i roles.

In 1845, Kekauluohi passed away. The konohiki functions continued, but from that time on they were performed within the context of kahu because Kana'ina's ten year-old son Lunalilo was Kekauluohi's heir. The last interaction between Kana'ina and Kekauluohi was defined contextually by her illness. The contraction of a flu virus in yet another of the relentless epidemics that swept through the Islands caused her death. Kana'ina was at his wife's side constantly. "Echoes of soulful lamentation", an 'ōiwi tradition for expressing the most intense of emotions, came from the coral stone residence Kana'ina had shared with his wife who was also the haku. On Thursday, June 5, 1845, Kekauluohi's chronic problem, a thigh ailment, was
exacerbated by the onset of influenza which only worsened by Friday. In his role as her husband and quite possibly, in a curious blend with the service of a loving kahu, Honolulu’s man from Kalamakumu was vigilant. As time moved into the early morning hours of Saturday, Kana‘ina and three attendants kept an ominous vigil....Sometime between half past six and half past seven [she] succumbed....In deference to his rank, Kauikeaouli [Kamehameha III] took the final moments with her, saying 'your time has come has it not?' She bowed, agreeing, and took a final breath. From that time on, Kana‘ina’s devotion to his son intensified. The attention and praise that had been shared with Kekauluohi was now lavished on the young prince.23

The wahine Ali‘i Nui had passed away, but her kaukau ali‘i husband lived on, and at least one way he did so was through his son. Kana‘ina continued to serve as a konohiki, although kahu would always be the role he played for Lunalilo. Grown to manhood, Lunalilo’s legal and financial affairs were still assigned to Kana‘ina as well as others.24 It has been remarked that Lunalilo consumed alcohol in excess, and there were those who believed he was

246
unable to manage his own affairs. The need to serve as his son's kahu, to manage business matters, and to act as his personal representative for legal affairs placed significant wealth within Kana'ina's reach.

As the years passed between Lunalilo's childhood and his death in 1874, Kana'ina oriented himself more to business, perhaps because it was a necessary function as Lunalilo's kahu, but also because Kana'ina appears to have involved himself in many business activities out of choice. It seems the monetary value of things, land sales and purchases, as well as turning a profit through private enterprise, assumed a more central place in his life since Kekauluohi's passing. He loaned money to a haole government official and assessed the value of gold for pricing purposes.25 During court proceedings that determined the heirs of his estate, testimony was given about his common tendencies. "His body servant Kahele said...nobody went to Kana'ina's [home] except persons about his lands or the produce thereof."26

In 1849, Kana'ina purchased the Monticello, a 75 ton schooner. He renamed the vessel Kekauluohi and entered the inter-island coastal trade primarily on the Kona to Ka'ū route.27 Without access to Lunalilo's wealth as his kahu, indeed his "legal guardian," Kana'ina would not have been able to afford such major transactions. His penchant for business was so engrained that it was even a key element in
the way he perceived the phenomenon of human motivation. He was asked in the mid-1850s whether he thought the sandalwood trade of the early nineteenth century was oppressive to the maka'ainana. Kana'ina thought not, believing they went to work willingly because each was allowed to keep one-half of what they cut to "sell on his own account to whomsoever he may think proper."^{28}

What this view indicates is an acknowledgment of the possibility of individual gain. The maka'ainana were, to Kana'ina, given an incentive to produce. The chance to make something for themselves struck Kana'ina as an opportunity, not a means of enslavement or oppression.

Given his attitude toward individual opportunity, it would follow that management of his son's business affairs was seen as an opportunity. There was probably a very fine line between service duties as a kahu and the loaning of large amounts of money, appraising of gold, selling of large tracts of land, or overseeing the cargo business of a 75 ton schooner as an independent businessman. It also seems the access to extensive real property holdings on which to build business ventures was unique to Kana'ina's personal situation. Other chiefly servers who may have had as much or more ability than Kana'ina did not control the 'aina the way he did. Also, circumstances in his life continued to predispose him to pursue these business activities. The death of Kekauluohi, the wardship status of his son into
adulthood, and his own tendencies toward entrepreneurship combined in Kanaʻina's life to yield full participant status for him in the games of capitalism played during the kingdom era.

There are only glimpses of what Kanaʻina was like personally. As a member of the Privy Council in 1856, he showed his temper in an outburst directed at Kamehameha IV. "His majesty said to Kanaʻina that he did not wish him to appear again in this Council till he received a written apology from him, on account of the uncourteous language." Three months after the incident Kanaʻina made proper restitution: "His majesty informed the Council that he had received a satisfactory letter of apology from Kanaʻina." As involved as he was in business dealings, Kanaʻina did stop short of ever conveying one piece of land under any circumstances. Kalamakumu was the exception.

Kanaʻina said it was a land that has been handed down to him from his ancestors and that was why he never sold it. It was handed down not to be sold or leased....He would never lease the land as long as any of them [his relatives] lived there.

This says something about Kanaʻina's adherence to what he believed was pono. Selling Kalamakumu would not have been
right. Kana'ina, for all his business transactions and involvement with the acquisition and conveyance of 'āina, could never bring himself to sell the ancestral homeland of his kupuna (ancestors).

Two domestics who lived with Kana'ina for a decade until his death in 1877 offered their own views about their employer. Kapahu, his female attendant, said he was never one to make any statements about who his relations were. He did tell Kapahu on one occasion that "when the time came he could prove his royalty." His other domestic, Kahele, recalled that Kana'ina knew and could recite his moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy) with no prompting from notes of any kind. This attendant stated Kana'ina could olioli (chant his lineage) He was partial to a smoke from time to time, and it was Kapahu's kuleana (responsibility) to bring his tobacco on those occasions. As only a domestic could, Kahele remembered his way of speaking. "In ordinary conversations Kana'ina spoke in a low tone... but when he gave orders about his food spoke in a pretty loud tone."35

When Lunalilo died, Kana'ina assigned one honorary kāhili (feather standard) bearer position to his nephew J.S. Kekukahiko who was from Kalamakumu. At the time Kekukahiko was manning his post, a riot broke out because Queen Emma's supporters were angered at the announcement Kalākaua was voted the new Moʻi. Curious about the commotion across the
street from where Lunalilo was lying in state, Kekukahiko left his kāhili unattended and went to observe the goings on. Kana‘ina was enraged when he found out Kekukahiko had deserted his post. Instead of paying for Kekukahiko's funeral clothes, room and board while he was in Honolulu, Kana‘ina demanded reimbursement of these expenses from his nephew. To Kana‘ina, someone who did not honor Lunalilo properly did not deserve complimentary wardrobe, food, or lodging. That was Kana‘ina.

When he died in 1877, Kana‘ina was buried in the same crypt with his son. Refusing to be entombed with his Kamehameha cousins at Mauna 'Ala, the Royal Mausoleum in Nu‘uanu, Lunalilo was buried on the grounds of Kawaiaha'o Church in Honolulu in 1874. The reason for the different burial site was Lunalilo's deep hurt at the mistreatment of his mother Kekauluohi's remains by his cousin Kamehameha IV. The new mausoleum was under construction in Nu‘uanu in the 1860s. When it was completed, the remains of the Ali‘i Nui were taken from the burial area on the palace grounds and reinterred at the new place. Kekauluohi's remains were ignored for some reason and not removed when those of her rank were. Incensed and feeling intentionally slighted, Lunalilo refused to allow his mother's remains to be relocated to Nu‘uanu. He made arrangements for a burial at sea instead. Apparently, the same sentiments caused
Lunalilo, then Kana'ina to be buried apart from the Kamehameha family.

Kana'ina behaved as if the only relative he had left was Lunalilo after Kekauluohi died. The kaukau ali'i from Kalamakumu wrote no will, almost confirming the belief that he truly had outlived all his relations. Technically, this was not true. He knew his mo'okū'auhau too well to actually believe he would have no survivors. Speaking from his heart, he felt connected to no one after his son died, but Kana'ina left many collateral relatives, mostly cousins.

Ironically, Kekukahiko, the kāhili bearer who left his post, was one of many who came forward during probate proceedings that eventually divided Kana'ina's estate into fractions of one-ninth.\(^{36}\) The case was drawn out for five years before a declaration of heirs was announced. Kekukahiko and his line of claimants each received one-fifth of one-ninth of their uncle's estate. What complicated matters further was that in 1870, Queen Kalama died. She was the daughter of Kana'ina's sister I'ahu'ula and at the time of her death, Kana'ina was her nearest next of kin. He inherited her estate, including the otherwise unencumbered portions of Kailua and Kāne'ohe on the island of O'ahu in their entirety. Whatever lands from Kalama's estate were not sold by Kana'ina were liquidated with his own holdings, the net proceeds being what his heirs divided nine ways.
It might seem strange that someone so ensconced in the for-profit, materialistic, money economy of nineteenth century Hawai‘i would not leave a will. Dying intestate, a final statement perhaps, from Kana‘ina about not having any relations could very well have been his clearest. He made the final transition from a chiefly server who knew his mo‘okū‘auhau to a businessman whose individualism overshadowed all else in the end.

What were the real costs, if any, to his ‘ano as a chiefly server by this much involvement in and gain from the capitalist persuasion? The concept of ‘ohana (extended family) was lost on this man of ‘Oiwī ancestry who had crossed over the sometimes blurry bridge of curious blends, chose to engage the economic introductions of the haole, and make them his own. Service to others experienced a metamorphosis, the result of which was a consumption with serving oneself almost exclusively. For the most part, Honolulu’s man had put Kalamakumu’s boy to rest, and did so long before death came in 1877.

Other Kingdom-Era Kaukau Ali‘i

Kekūanao‘a was to government service what Kana‘ina was to entrepreneurship. He was one of only a few from the kaukau ali‘i ranks to receive an appointment as kia‘āina (governor) of an island. The kia‘āina position was instituted by Kamehameha I as a form of decentralized
government. It was a post-unification strategy that also maintained security of individual islands against possible threats to Kamehameha's paramountcy. Able persons of kaukau ali'i status were prime candidates for these positions because they were not considered threats to foment rebellion by using the resources at their disposal as kia'aina.

By the time Kekūanao'a was appointed kia'aina of O'ahu in 1847, the issue of rebellion was moot. He was selected for his ability and because he had served under the O'ahu kia'aina from as early as 1816. In addition, his parents' last hana lawelawe linked him to O'ahu, although Nahiole'a and Inaina had served Kamehameha I until 1795. At that time, Maui controlled O'ahu. The MO'1 Kalanikupule received two deserters from Kamehameha's ranks, Kekūanao'a's parents. They fought with the Maui forces because of familial ties to the leaders from that island.

In the course of the Battle of Nu'uanu that pitted Kalanikupule against Kamehameha for control of Maui and O'ahu, Nahiole'a was struck by a bullet in his leg. Two elder cousins took the desertion of Nahiole'a and his wahine Inaina, also a koa (warrior), personally. They decided to exact vengeance. Following Nahiole'a's trail of blood, the two pursued Kekūanao'a's parents into a grove of hau trees in Nu'uanu Valley. The cousins called Nahiole'a and Inaina out, inviting them to eat and drink. Knowing the invitation had another part to it and realizing his wound was mortal,
they accepted. After sharing the food, the cousins killed both of them as planned. One thing has always puzzled me about this mo'olelo. Was Inaina allowed to eat with the men? Or was she given food and sent back to the hau grove to take her last meal alone? Trivial perhaps, but the year was 1795, two decades prior to the 'ai noa, and I have wondered whether an exception was made under the circumstances.

Kekūanao‘a remained in Kamehameha's household. In 1816, the kia‘aina of O‘ahu was an Ali‘i Nui named Boki. The following mo'olelo demonstrates the kind of chiefly server Kekūanao‘a was. Boki was Kekūanao‘a's haku, and as kia‘aina he decided to openly defy Kamehameha's executive officer Kalanimoku by reassigning hana lawelawe to others. Boki privileged his favorites, including Kekūanao‘a who was put in charge of sugar cane cultivation in Mānoa at a place called Pu‘u Pueo (Owl Hill). "Boki's actions were seen by Kalanimoku as signs of rebellion."39

Not to be outdone by Boki, Kalanimoku built a rest stop for Kekūanao‘a at a location along the way to the cane field. When Kekūanao‘a stopped for a brief respite, Kalanimoku seized the opportunity to get information from the sugar cane overseer about Boki's plans. Kekūanao‘a divulged, telling Kalanimoku a plan was afoot to assassinate Ka‘ahumanu. Kekūanao‘a apparently decided that, unlike his parents, he was not going to assist Boki and in so doing
plot rebellion against Kamehameha. Nahiole'a and Inaina took the other side in 1795 the result was apparently something Kekūanao'a did not want repeated in his own life.

Kekūanao'a, a kaukau ali'i, was included in the intrigue of O'ahu politics during the waning years of Kamehameha's reign. The Ali'i Nui were either the direct beneficiaries of kaukau ali'i loyalty, or the victims of chiefly servers who for some reason chose to ally with a different haku. It appears that Kekūanao'a was forced into taking a side in the controversy, based on which faction could best guarantee his own well-being.

Before going further, it must be said that my purpose with Kekūanao'a is to describe how his life and that of I'i intertwined. It would require a biography hundreds of pages long to adequately cover the service career of Kekūanao'a who served the Kamehameha family in capacities from food collector to O'ahu governor. I chose to include Kekūanao'a because his life was different from Kana'ina's in several ways. Also, Kekūanao'a and I'i had service-related experiences that would wili (intertwine) their respective lives together. Consequently, I use excerpts from I'i's text Fragments of Hawaiian History almost exclusively. The main reason is I want first to establish the existence of this relationship and second to interpret its meaning in the context of service. Were I to treat Kekūanao'a's entire service career, my look at kingdom-era service would be too
skewed towards his *hana lawelawe* and his life story. This is not altogether undesirable, it is just not my primary focus. Although it can be argued Kekūanaoʻa occupied a more prominent place in the goings on of nineteenth century Hawaiʻi than Kanaʻina or even Iʻi, prominence is not what my work examines. I am more concerned with service: how and why it was offered to the prominent of ʻOiwi society, as well as what is knowable about the servers.

The first mention Iʻi makes of Kekūanaoʻa is in relation to Nahioleʻa. The bones of Kekūanaoʻa's father were kept at Hale o Keawe in South Kona. Iʻi remembered that moon the structure was well built, with bundles of dry ti leaves for thatching. The compact bundles of deified bones were in a row inside the house, beginning with Keawe's bones near the right side of the door. At the right front corner of the house, heaped up like firewood, were the unwrapped bones of those who had died in war. In that heap were the bones of Nahioleʻa, father of Mataio Kekūanaoʻa.40

The initial recollection Iʻi had of Kekūanaoʻa took him back to the days of the ʻaikapu. Writing in the days leading up to his death in 1870, Iʻi was thinking about his boyhood and
how travels with his uncle allowed him access to many sacred places. Hale o Keawe was one such site. Bones were sources of great mana and needed to be kept respectfully. Dwellings specifically dedicated to keeping these remains were commonplace in the times before the 'ainoa.

During the reign of Liholiho, Kamehameha II (1819-1824), Kekūanao'a was the person responsible for food collecting from the various ahupua'a (major land divisions stretching from uplands to coastline) on O'ahu. Another of his hana lawelawe at that time was the weighing of sandalwood. These seemingly unrelated fragments of I'i's Hawaiian history -- Nahiole'a's kept bones and Kekūanao'a's hana lawelawe under Liholiho, actually connect with one another significantly. Kekūanao'a was not cast out of the pool of chiefly server prospects because his parents chose to fight against Kamehameha in the Battle of Nu'uanu. He was quite young, probably not more than three or four years old when his parents were killed.

It seems that those who took responsibility for his care were within the same kaukau ali'i 'ohana as I'i and Kana'ina. I'i's intimate knowledge of Kekūanao'a's activities and mo'okū'auhau (genealogy) leads me to believe this. Mālama (to be cared for) and hānai (to be raised by persons other than one's biological parents) are what Kekūanao'a received in the 'aikapu period. It taught him the basics about how to mālama and hānai, ways of behaving
that he displayed during the kingdom era. Had these principles not been applied in Kekūanao‘a's situation in 1795, there would have been no food collector serving Liholiho in the earliest decades of the nineteenth century. That Nahiole‘a's bones were properly honored with placement in Hale o Keawe helped to ensure Kekūanao‘a's receipt of mālama and hānai. It also followed that Kekūanao‘a's service during the kingdom era gave pono, and thereby mana, back to those bones at South Kona when his acts of mālama to others was shown.

There is a comparison to make between Kekūanao‘a and Kana‘ina in their roles as husbands. Unlike Kana‘ina who married a niece of Kamehameha, Kekūanao‘a wed the Mo‘i’s daughter Pauahi.43 This woman is not to be confused with Bernice Pauahi who was the elder Pauahi’s niece. Kekūanao‘a and Pauahi married in November of 1825.44 I‘i notes that several kahu of Pauahi remarked how pleased they were that their haku was to marry Kekūanao‘a. He was well-supplied with farming and fishing equipment, items the kahu were anxious to use.45 In June, 1826 their daughter Ke‘elikolani was born. Pauahi died during childbirth.

A few months before Ke‘elikolani’s birth, Pauahi’s half-sister Kīna‘u lost her husband. Some months after this, a young Kamehameha III went to hew sandalwood at Wao‘ala on the island of Hawai‘i. Kīna‘u went along as did Kekūanao‘a. I‘i says Kekuanao‘a "wooed Kīna‘u" on that
trek. An oli (chant) was composed expressing how Keküanaö’a’s “position rose to the heights.” The imagery includes the word lani, recognizing Kīha’u’s lineage and also acknowledging the uplands near Mauna Loa where sandalwood, and figuratively, a life together could be hewn from the stands of finely scented trees. So intense was the aloha between the two that as they stood, the oli says they used “the peaks for a footrest.”

Sometime in 1827, Kīna’u married Keküanaö’a. Was there some significance to this union? Did the daughter of Kamehameha, like her sister Kekauluohi require a husband who was also a chiefly server? What forces might have influenced such a marriage given the nature of those times? Beyond the practicalities of such an arrangement, were broader influences being exerted that might have contributed to Kīna’u taking Keküanaö’a as her husband?

An ‘Oiwi population collapse together with a growing adherence to Christianity were factors that enabled kaukau ali‘i like Keküanaö’a and Kana‘ina to assume roles from the 1820s on which were not previously open to them. A theory espoused by David Stannard in his text Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai‘i on the Eve of Contact suggests that as many as 800,000 ‘Oiwi could have inhabited these islands in 1778. Stannard challenges the accuracy of eighteenth-century explorers’ population estimates, cites the advanced state of ‘Oiwi Wale food production methods,
and applies demographic analyses to suggest the population could have been much larger than most people think.

His work leads to the conclusion that what occurred was a population collapse of holocaust proportions. The source of the "horror" was the decision made by James Cook to allow his syphilis-infected crew the privilege of going ashore to have sex with 'Oiwi women. The effect on the 'Oiwi populace was catastrophic. From Stannard's argued figure of 800,000 in 1778 to an 1890 kingdom census of 40,000, suggests a ninety-five percent rate of collapse took place in little more than a century.\(^{50}\)

The marriages during kingdom times can be understood in the context of the 'Oiwi population collapse. With fewer ali'i surviving to adulthood because of massive depopulation in that class, it seems to follow that there was probably a decrease in available partners who were genealogically suitable. By comparison to the maka'ainana class, the Ali'i were, even before the collapse, a much smaller group. These few numbers to begin with were only amplified as a result of the collapse. The continued decline of drastic proportions would result in a smaller and smaller general population in successive generations who could then reproduce, and by extension, an even smaller number of chiefs available for lineage-appropriate inter-marriages.

On a more speculative note, Stannard suggests that population density may have directly contributed to the
demise of the Aliʻi as a class. This could have come about because the effects of introduced diseases would have their most profound impact in areas where the population was more dense. During the kingdom era, Kona, Lahaina, then Honolulu were respective capitals. The population of these areas was more dense and these were the locations for the court of the Moʻī from 1819 to 1893. Stannard is implying that because the chiefly superiors and their retainers were situated in places where the population was dense, the decline of their numbers would have been sharper than for ʻōiwi living in areas where population density was thinner.51 Having made my point about the effects of the population collapse on the number of Aliʻi available for marriage with one another, I now return to the specific examples of chiefly servers who became kingdom-era marriage partners to high ranking women.

Kekūanaoʻa and Kanaʻina were not of Aliʻi Nui lineage, but in the decade that followed the ʻainoa, they became leading candidates for marriage as a group that might be termed "the Best of the Rest." This is not intended to be disrespectful. Depopulation decimated the ranks of the highest chiefs, and kaukau aliʻi were the only remaining marriage partners available to the Aliʻi Nui who still retained some kind of a knowable lineage. Kameʻeleihiwa documented the fact that many of the highest ranking aliʻi from the Kamehameha ʻohana had passed away by 1848, the year of the Māhele.52
Compared to the maka'ainana (producer class), the Ali'i Nui constituted a smaller proportion of the overall population. Consequently, losses from their ranks would seem more severe, because of the potential problems lack of leadership could bring and also because there were fewer of them to begin with. As Ali'i Nui numbers dwindled, chiefly servers with respectable mo'okū'auhau assumed primary marriage partner roles. Kaukau ali'i like Kana‘ina and Kekūanao‘a, strong candidates for secondary alliances with Ali'i Nui women during 'aikapu times, became the husbands in the kingdom era, due in part to depopulation.

Calvinists admonished the Ali'i Nui about unions between siblings and other closely related individuals. To the nobles, inter-sibling noho produced children who were niʻaupiʻo, as sacred as the magnificence of a "rainbow's arc." To the Calvinists, keepers of what became the 'ainoa religion, to noho with one's own sibling was considered a sin. A new kapu deemed profane what had for centuries been defined as sacred and god-like. Contrary to its literal meaning, "free," the word noa in the concept 'ainoa did not always indicate freedom for ʻōiwi. Caught in the backwash of foreign intrusions like Calvinist morality, adjustments between traditions from the past and religious practices of their present had to be made.

Chiefly servers were affected by the dual forces of depopulation and Calvinist morality. Kaukau ali'i like
Kekūanao'a and Kana'ina lived during a time when the effects of depopulation limited the pool of available marriage partners for women of rank like Kīna'u and Kekauluohi. The "Best of the Rest" were chosen as marriage partners. Kekūanao'a and Kana'ina fathered three of the last five MO'I who ruled the kingdom. The highest standard for a MO'I of the ʻōiwi-Wale era was to be nāʻau piʻo, the child of full-blooded siblings. Short of this, a child born of a mother whose lineage was exalted and a father who was a high chief, qualified for MO'I succession. Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) was the last reigning MO'I to meet the latter criterion.

Beginning with the accession of Alexander Liholiho as Kamehameha IV in 1854 and continuing to Liliʻuokalani in 1891, each of the last five MO'I did not meet that criterion. In fact, all five were of kaukau aliʻi paternity. Kamehamahs IV and V were Kekūanao'a's sons with Kīna'u. Lunalilo, Kana'ina's son succeeded the last Kamehameha in 1873 and both Kalākaua and Liliʻuokalani were fathered by the chiefly server Kaisara Kapaʻakea. Both depopulation and the introduced morals of Calvinism combined in the early nineteenth century to affect who was available for the female Aliʻi Nui to marry. As a result of their choices, what became the last generation of kingdom leaders were a genealogical curious blend of Aliʻi Nui and kaukau aliʻi ancestries. Historical contingencies, then, played a
definite part in determining the roles chiefly servers would play during the kingdom era. As spouses of high ranking ali`i, men like Kana`ina, Kekūanao`a, and Kapa`akea saw their offspring rise to great prominence.

In the `ōiwi Wale period, it was an Ali`i Nui's moral imperative to noho with a sibling or other close relative, while unions with chiefly servers produced more chiefly servers. They filled the many hana lawelawe roles that their higher-ranked siblings or cousins deemed pono for them. With the population collapse and accompanying changes in what defined morality for `ōiwi society, the "Best of the Rest" stepped up to serve. Included in their hana lawelawe during the kingdom years was the role of marriage partner. In addition to the three chiefly servers who fathered Mo`i, two women from their ranks wed rulers. Kana`ina's niece Hakaleleponi Kalama Kapakuha`ili became Kamehameha III's queen and Emma Kaleleonalani married Kamehameha IV. The latter couple had a son in the late 1850s who was hailed as the kingdom's future hope. Sadly, he died at the age of four.

The monarchy was sustained beyond 1854 because a change in genealogical standards for possible heirs was accepted by the chiefly hierarchy who survived unscathed by the ravaging effects of foreign diseases. When the decision was made in 1839 to give the Ali`i Nui children a haole-based education, the selection of qualified students centered on offspring
from the couples with one partner who was in the "Best of the Rest" category. Kaukau ali'i like Kekūanaoʻa and Kanaʻina and Emma provided a kind of service in the absence of higher-ranked marriage partners lost because of depopulation.

In the context of Calvinist morality, these lesser-ranked chiefs were seen as suitable spouses because their kinship to the rulers was distant. Without them, there would not have been another generation of heirs to the throne. In the context of leadership for the nation's future, a proper education for these children had to include schooling on subjects of foreign origin. Based on the Aliʻi Nui class's "own need for enlightenment there grew in the minds of the Chiefs the conviction that the days of semi-obscurity had ended and that for the maintenance of the Hawaiian kingdom both knowledge and diplomacy were needed."57

Kekūanaoʻa was one kaukau aliʻi who experienced the changes in service roles brought by the kingdom years. He had a total of five children with Kīnaʻu. Their only daughter, Victoria Kamāmalu, was someone Iʻi and his wife Sarai took as their hānai (child entrusted to the care of a couple for the purpose of being raised). For the kahu who had served the Kamehameha family his entire life, Iʻi assumed this, his last caregiving role with an outpouring of aloha. His respect for Kekūanaoʻa, dedication to the
Kamehameha 'ohana, and an unabashed love for Victoria gave the aging chiefly server cause for reflection.\textsuperscript{58}

When Kekūanao'a's wife Kīnā'u died in 1839, I'i observed the grief-stricken widower as he "wept in grief at [the] loss." By then, as I'i recalled it, "Kekūanao'a" [was] "gray of hair and of many days, [saying] "that he would mourn Kīnau until he took his gray head to the grave."\textsuperscript{59} With Kīnā'u's passing, I'i and his wife Sarai became Kamāmalu's [Victoria's] foster parents, under the supervision of her father, Kekūanao'a. She was their constant companion night and day; a companion to crouch with in the cold; a child in the damp and cold; a companion snatching away sleep from the eyes when she cried, waking one suddenly when she tossed about. Such was the care given to the child until she walked with her own feet, and much preparation was made for the child to seek knowledge and wisdom.\textsuperscript{60}

This relationship between two kaukau ali'i is an important one. The expressions of aloha by I'i seem so very genuine. To recognize an aging Kekūanao'a as he did indicates the comaraderie that was possible between chiefly servers of the kingdom era. Kīnā'u's death prompted the need for Kamāmalu to have immediate and constant care. I'i
and Sarai were selected as her kahu. To mālama (care for) this child was a way for I'i to pay homage in service to the Kamehameha family and at the same time, honor his longtime associate and fellow chiefly server Kekūanao'a. I'i's words are a testament to how much of an emotional investment was made when assuming the hana lawelawe of kahu.

I'i outlived Kamāmalu and Kekūanao'a. His kanikau (lamentation chant) for the twenty-seven year old princess clearly shows how his abiding aloha was for her. In part, it reads:

'O 'oe ia e ka ohakia manawa'ula, It is you, O young and rosy bud,

E ke kāhuli pua lei kapu o Haona; O changing, sacred flower for the lei of Haona;

E ka leilei uhu haka o ka pō... The lei, when worn, brings fond memories of the night...

Ua manumanu mohole au i ke aloha, I am bruised and wounded by grief,

I ka wālua 'e ha loko o ke kanaka. I hurt to my innermost depths.

Auhea he wahi 'oko'a iā 'oe ke aloha. There is none other like you, my dear,

Ku'u keiki! Ku'u keiki e!62 My child! My child!

268
There is no doubt I'i the kahu felt a tremendous loss when Kamamalu died. This dirge expresses aloha in its mournful tone and sympathetic sentiment. To hānai a child in infancy, raise her, then outlive her as well must have been overwhelming for this chiefly server who had seen and done so much in his time. It seems with some hana lawelawe, that of kahu for instance, there was the potential for demonstrating great emotional attachments. The practice of hānai placed childrearing responsibilities on the hānai parents. This meant kahu who took the literal aspects of hānai (to raise) as their service task would also demonstrate emotional concern for their charge.

The intensity or degree of caring expressed by a kahu hānai (kaukau ali'ī like I'i in the primary caregiver role) of the nineteenth century was, in terms of contemporary American standards, comparable to the parental role in today's nuclear family. Kīna'u, even if she had lived beyond the infancy of her biological daughter Kamāmalu, would not be directly responsible for her daily care. Her biological father Kekūanao'a, on the other hand, because of his membership in the kaukau ali'ī class, did have some management duties with respect to Kamāmalu's lands.63 It appears I'i and his wife Sarai, while definitely assuming the role of kahu hānai for Kamāmalu, took on a deeper, more emotionally-intensified position in the princess's life because of her mother's death. If Kīna'u survived her
illnesses, broader issues like her daughter's education and possible options for marriage would have felt her influence.

Hanai never precluded a biological parent's involvement, it just framed the most direct and ongoing childrearing duties as the kuleana (obligation) of a kahu. I'i seems to imply that Kina'u's untimely death placed an even greater responsibility on he and Sarai than the customary chiefly server obligations inherent in the kahu role. The chant I'i composed for Kamāmalu to mourn her passing evokes such profound aloha. It is as if the dedicated server is saying "I have lived long, done much, and now in later years, am forced to feel the gut-wrenching loss of yet another Kamehameha -- 'my dear' one no less. Perhaps I have lived too long." When it came to Kamāmalu, I'i's love knew no bounds. She was their daughter in every sense of the word. His old companion Kekūanao'a and he had shared many experiences since the days of the 'aikapu. In the kingdom era, they shared the nurturing of Kamāmalu as longtime confidants, fellow chiefly servers, and fathers to the same beloved daughter.

Christianity and Kaukau Ali'i of the Kingdom Era

The introduction of Christianity was addressed earlier in the context of a morality that forbade siblings and other close relatives to noho with one another. This restriction contributed to kaukau ali'i-Ali'i Nui marriages as the only
officially recognized unions for both classes of chiefs. Gone were the days when a noble could noho with her brother, then also have children with a lesser-ranked ali'i or two. I cite two examples of kingdom-era kaukau ali'i who grappled with aspects of that same Calvinist morality, but in more particular ways with respect to the issue of service.

London Missionary Society devotee William Ellis was assigned to Tahiti in eastern Polynesia. In 1823, he journeyed to the Sandwich Islands and toured the island of Hawai'i quite extensively. He kept a journal of his travels and tended to comment in detail about the social life and customs he observed. One of the village chiefs Ellis met was from Ka'awaloa, South Kona, a kaukau ali'i named Kamakau. This was not historian Samuel M. Kamakau, but someone his senior whom I do not believe was a relation. The other chiefly server Ellis described thoroughly was Makoa, his expedition's guide during most of the tour. What follows is an examination of these two men's hana lawelawe roles in the context of an introduced religion. Within that frame of understanding, and using these chiefly servers as subjects, I wanted to determine, if possible, what kind of impact Calvinist teachings had on the service tasks either of them performed.

Ellis believed Kamakau was anxious for his people to receive the benefits of the word of the Christian God Jehovah. Prior to addressing a large crowd gathered to hear
Ellis preach, Kamakau is said to have begun "earnestly to exhort them to listen and regard, telling them, their salvation depended on their attention to the truths which they heard." 67 When the prayer service Ellis led was finished, Kamakau again addressed the group "affectionately recommending them to consider these things." 68 Chiefly servers helped reinforce the minds of the people as to the importance of accepting Calvinist doctrine. Evidence of this is detectable in Kamakau's support of Ellis' conduct of the religious service. Kamakau was a kaukau ali'i responsible for the affairs of his particular village Ka'awaloa and it is clear one of his hana lawelawe was to encourage the ōiwi to, at the very least, think about the message that was being conveyed.

In three years from 1820 to 1823, Calvinist teachings went from being shared exclusively with Ali'i Nui, to a decentralization that featured a version of the doctrine being heard by makaʻāinana (the producer class, everyday people) in villages like Ka'awaloa. Kamakau, still in the typical chiefly server role of moena lauhala, learned the teachings, converted to the new religion like his superiors did, and serviced those superiors by recommending they consider what people like Ellis had to say. He remained in the same class relationship to Ali'i Nui and makaʻāinana groups as his predecessors, only the hana lawelawe benefited
missionaries like Ellis and his American brethren in Hawai‘i.

In the course of carrying out his service task, Kamakau was a moena lauhala acting in the context of Calvinism: a server to nā Lani (the exalted nobles described as "Heavenly Ones"), and an overseer of nā kua‘āina (those whose backs worked the land). Ironically, the new religion featured not "Heavenly Ones," but a "Heavenly One" who required absolute adherence, with believers expected to forsake all other Akua as sources of what was sacred. The particular type of service he provided grew out of the engagement between 'āiwi leaders and missionaries like Ellis. The decision by the 'āiwi leadership to allow the mission to establish itself in the islands combined with the missionaries' zeal to convert 'āiwi, were contingencies that affected kaukau ali‘i service.

It was a new way to be of service. Calvinism had to be shared to be considered. The religion could not be understood or appreciated much less practiced without consistent encouragement to listen to the word. This encouragement was the service task Kamakau was entrusted to perform. In addition to this role, Kamakau also refined his knowledge by asking Ellis questions. The chiefly server queried him "on religious subjects...respecting the heavenly state; and appeared interested in the answers that were given; especially when informed that heaven was a holy
place, into which nothing sinful could enter." These were by no means superficial issues. The kaukau aliʻi's discussion with Ellis was substantive. It demonstrated Kamakau had a keen interest in Christian concepts and principles.

Ellis had questions of his own. When the two went by a large kiʻi (religious figure from the 'aikapu era), something Kamakau formerly prayed to, the missionary asked the chiefly server why he had worshipped "that log of wood?" Kamakau's reply was that he feared the kiʻi would destroy his niu (coconuts) if he did not. Ellis then asked Kamakau if he was afraid to destroy the kiʻi when the 'ainoa took place. His response was "No, I found he did me neither good nor harm. I thought he was no god and threw him away." Apparently, when the Aliʻi Nui Kaʻahumanu and Liholiho ate together to 'oki (sever) the 'aikapu, chiefly servers like Kamakau found the resolve to be similarly iconoclastic. Another possible explanation for Kamakau's answer is that his newfound religious convictions provided him with the spiritual fortitude to speak out against the ways of the past.

Ellis related that Kamakau had established family worship within his own household and that throughout Kaʻawaloa, the Sabbath was being observed. Impressed with this village chief's dedication to the new learning, Ellis continued:
He is able to read, writes an easy legible hand, has a general knowledge of the first principles of Christianity, and, what is infinitely better, appears to feel their power on his heart, and evince their purity to his general conduct.  

‘Oiwi like Kamakau felt the power of the Christian message on their hearts as a result, at least in part, of 'aikapu spirituality. For centuries, there was a dedication to and established routine for worship. Whether at the heiau praying to the Akua of the state religion, or at a place where the 'aumākua forces of ancestral guardians dwelt, ‘Oiwi lived lives that were heavily influenced by spiritual phenomena that had to be addressed in some way. The expression of their spirituality received constant affirmation for virtually all which was environmental was sacred and required ‘Oiwi to exercise care and show respect.

Kamakau was born around the end of the ‘Oiwi Wale if estimates based on his position in the Moana wahine moʻokūʻauhau. He was a Christian chief whose assigned hana lawelawe were important. What he performed as service tasks were much more suited to someone of a more noble lineage. He was given considerable responsibility as the aliʻi ʻokana (sub-district chief) of Kaʻawaloa. Kamakau was also a grandson of Moana wahine, through his father Kanuha.
Service in South Kona for this Moana 'ohana went back many hundreds of years to the era of the Mō'ī Keākealani kāne, grandson of 'Umi. There were many chiefly servers who could claim ancestry to Moana wahine. Further, the more specific location of Kalamakumu, the 'Āina hānau (ancestral homeland) for both the cousins, Kamakau and Charles Kana‘ina, was Nāpo‘opo‘o a sub-district of South Kona located to the north of Ka‘awaloa. It does not seem the Moana clan ventured far from the 'Āina hānau.

The ancestors and descendants of Moana wahine served Hawai‘i Island Mō‘ī. Like his chiefly server kūpuna (ancestors), Kamakau managed the religious, political, and social life of his South Kona sub-district. In addition to this 'Oiwi Wale type task though, the curious blend of 'ainoa times placed Kamakau in the position to perform a less time-honored, but still important role as an Ali‘i Nui-designated advocate for the acceptance of Christian beliefs.

What the 'ainoa period of the early 1820s seemed to allow for was the continuance of service as a legitimate kaukau ali‘i role. The difference was, within the context of this long-standing role, new tasks were assigned as the leaders chose to learn then adopt the foreign religious belief in Christianity. Chiefly servers were the group that carried out the changes their superiors thought it wise to institute. In this way, the chiefly hierarchy that was established during the 'Oiwi Wale era, facilitated the
introduction of haole values and technologies. A tried and true structure already existed to implement ainoa-based changes. It was the same ancestor-created path that an innovation in ʻOiwi society had always traveled to take its place as a new social, political, or religious wrinkles. Rather than be aikapu-driven any longer, the ainoa-era use of the path during Kamakau's time as overseer of Kaʻawaloa came at the sole discretion of the Moʻi and his closest advisers.

It is understandable someone like Kamakau, in his role as a kaukau aliʻi, would have an incentive to advocate the acceptance of Calvinism. Again, if Ellis' appraisal was accurate, Kamakau's newfound faith was more than a way fulfill a service role. The British missionary claimed Kamakau "regretted exceedingly, as many others have also done, that he was so far advance in life before missionaries arrived at the islands. 78

Makoa was a kaukau aliʻi of lesser grade than Kamakau. He presents another side to the study of influences of Calvinism on the nature of service and how it was performed. Makoa was the guide for Ellis' party on its trek around the island of Hawaiʻi. His hana lawelawe as a younger man was runner and messenger for Kamehameha I. Interestingly, this kaukau aliʻi had a lineage that was not connected to Hawaiʻi Island. He was an Oʻahu kaukau aliʻi whose very noble ancestor was the Moʻi Kākūhihewa. 79 These and other
chiefly descendants from O'ahu lost control of their island, to the Maui warrior chief Kahekili in the early 1780s. This chiefly server was described as small of stature, about forty to fifty years old, with jet black hair that hung long behind both ears. Aside from these particular locks that were extremely lengthy, the rest of his head was cut short. Makoa had small dark eyes and both lids were tattooed with semi-circles. Above each eye there was a tattoo of a goat and the hair that grew on his chin was braided for a length of about an inch then knotted. 80

One departure from the exemplary behavior of Kamakau showed itself early in the journey when an intoxicated Makoa kept Ellis and his group up all night. 81 The intoxicant was made from fermented sweet potato. Obviously, Makoa was no Kamakau in terms of a commitment to the new worship. Another more telling piece of evidence in this regard came when Ellis' entourage was planning to visit the volcano area. Makoa did his duty in part by procuring the men to carry baggage. Surprisingly to Ellis, Makoa did not agree to travel with them to the volcano. Instead, he opted to a route nearer the seashore and wait for Ellis mā (Ellis and them) to catch up.

In a clearly non-Christian demonstration of concern for his own well-being, Makoa objected strongly to the planned volcano trip. The guide felt the trip would offend Pele, goddess of the volcano, whom he obviously believed in
wholeheartedly. Makoa thought that if someone in Ellis' party would unwittingly pluck the 'ohelo berries that were sacred to the goddess that she would have exacted revenge on them. Specifically, Makoa feared Pele would either "make large stones to fall upon us and kill us, or cause darkness and rain to overtake us, so that we should never find our way back." 82

Yet another curious blend of the 'ainoa-based kingdom era is uncovered. Makoa served Kamakau who in turn looked to the kia'aina or governor of Hawai'i Kuakini as his superior. While Kamakau was devoted to the worship of Jehovah, it is clear not all in his service believed as he did. Makoa would do his duty and summon villagers to listen to Ellis, but this was not the same as Kamakau's alignment with the Christian chiefs who knew the introduced religion was their salvation. For Makoa and the kia'aina Kuakini, though, Christianity in the form of Calvinism had been something to listen to and learn about, but conversion was not the end result. 83 That there was this variety speaks to the fact that acceptance of the new religion was gradual and forsaking the Akua of 'aikapu times something that was influenced by personal choice.

It is accurate to say that when 'ōiwi embraced Christianity, the ultimate parties responsible were their leaders and the missionaries themselves. It is equally accurate to say that when 'ōiwi were ready to call
themselves Christians and follow that path, their own individual preferences and conscious actions also had a hand in determining the choice was pono. In addition, the choice to respect Pele took precedence in the value system of someone like Makoa enough to have the expression of that choice pose a direct challenge to the wishes of Ellis. One thing this meant was 'ainoa-era influences did not necessarily include a complete rejection of the ancient beliefs on the part of all 'ōiwi. There seemed to have been an early period of co-existence of beliefs, old and new, during those first few years after the initial missionary companies arrived from Boston.

Conclusion to Chapter Five

The 'ainoa of 1819 set the stage for an eventual society-wide metamorphosis. 'ōiwi of all classes were affected sooner or later by the decision to turn away from the 'aikapu that had determined the meaning of social, political, and religious order for many centuries. Services that were performed for the Ali'i Nui by the kaukau ali'i during the 'ainoa period were also affected. This chapter has focused on chiefly servers of the kingdom era who in the context of 'ainoa times saw some aspects of service change dramatically, while others remained firmly in place, as if the 'aikapu era lingered in many 'ōiwi lives after 1819.
Charles Kana'ina's obvious penchant for entrepreneurship took him from a role of service to his genealogically superior wife and son to a role of businessman and landowner who amassed much personal wealth. It is doubtful whether this would have been possible without the initial iconoclastic action of Ka'ahumanu and Liholiho. The interplay of Kekūanao'a and I'i, both dedicated chiefly servers within the Kamehameha 'ohana, displayed a poignance that perhaps defies classification to either era, 'aikapu or 'ainoa. Their example, I believe, indicates the 'ano (nature) of 'ōiwi to feel and express affinity and regard for one another through children who are mutually cared for and loved.

Kamakau and Makoa present opposing views of how influential Calvinist-taught Christian beliefs were on chiefly servers. Those like Kamakau fell into line behind Christian Ali'i Nui and aided the efforts of the mission. Makoa and 'ōiwi of his ilk opted to remain faithful to Akua like Pele, the potential wrath of the goddess and perhaps familiarity of how and whom to believe in not so shrouded in misunderstanding and foreignness.

The kingdom era saw a transition among the kaukau ali'i ranks in terms of how to serve and indeed, whom to serve as well. 'Ainoa times saw forces like introduced diseases and Christianity modify certain service tasks. Yet for a devoted convert like Kamakau, there was also someone like
Makoa, unwilling to turn away completely from every traditional deity. Makoa would serve by gathering listeners around for a sermon or service, but how much of it he took in for himself can be argued. Some service roles, though, did not change significantly from the 'aikapu era to 'ainoa times. Konohiki managed lands for their haku and were responsible for moving the produce to the court circles for consumption during both eras. As long as the preferred diet remained the same, its means of procurement changed minimally.

Depending on the particular service task or role, there either was some change from one era to the other, or there was not. No across-the-board assessment is possible. In an overall sense, it can be said that as long as there was a Moʻi, there was also a commensurate system of service where kaukau aliʻi were moena lauhala: chiefly servers who looked up from their social positions at the leaders, while looking toward the earthiness of the makaʻainana who supplied all ʻōiwi with sustenance. It was an interweave that continued in some form until 1893.

Assuming the format of an afterword, Chapter six addresses the issue of service for the descendant of one kaukau aliʻi line who carries his hana lawelawe heritage into the twentieth century. In addition, the final chapter draws the various points made about service, service tasks, and particular roles of the kaukau aliʻi to a conclusion.
Chapter Five Notes

2. Puku'i and Elbert 1971, 135.
6. I'i 1959, 137.
7. Ibid.
9. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual, 1906, 44.
10. Ibid., 1910, 49.
12. SHA, Kekauluohi Probate 2061.
13. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
17. Lili'uokalani, Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen, Mutual: Honolulu, 1990, 3.
19. Ibid., 69-72.
21. Ibid., 35.
22. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual 1910, 49.
23. Ibid.

24. SHA, Probate 2415.


26. SHA, probate 2426, part 1, 300.

27. Thrum’s Hawaiian Annual, 1891, 132.


30. SHA, 3 November, 1856, Privy Council records, vol. 10, 90.

31. SHA, Probate 2426, part 1, 300-301.

32. SHA, Probate 2426, part 1, 286.

33. Ibid., 281.

34. Ibid., 291, 294.

35. Ibid.

36. SHA, Probate 2426, 1877, part 3, 1241.

37. I‘i 1959, 145.

38. Ibid., 146.

39. Ibid., 145

40. Ibid., 139.

41. Ibid., 146.

42. Ibid., 146.


44. Ibid., 147.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.


50. Ibid.

51. In a conversation with Stannard about the effects of the population collapse, he indicated that where there were more chiefs heavily concentrated within an area of greater population density, there could very well have been a more decided decline in their numbers. For an examination of the issue of population density as a factor in population collapse, see Ann F. Ramenofsky, "Loss of Innocence: Explanations of Differential Persistence in the Sixteenth Century Southeast" in *Colombian Consequences, Volume 2, Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, edited by David Hurst Thomas, Smithsonian Institution Press: Washington, D. C., 1990, 31-48.


55. Ibid., 107, 108.


57. Ibid.

58. Iʻi 1959, 161-177.

59. Ibid., 164.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., 175.

62. Iʻi 1959,

63. SAH, Kekauluohi Probate 2061.

64. Iʻi 1959, 175.

66. His full name was Kamakaunui Kelou. He was the son of Kanuhanui (father) with Pamaho'a. Kanuhanui was the son of that ancestress of many kaukau ali'i genealogical lines, Moana wahine. For the precise relationship see McKenzie 1983, vol. I, 44.

67. Ellis 1979, 33.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., 33-34.

73. Kamakau’s position within this lineage is shown on a mo‘okūʻauhau chart in Chapter Four (fig. 8, line C). A comparison of Kamakau’s generational position with those of his first cousins from other noho of Moana wahine (fig. 6 and fig. 7) allows for a chronological estimation of his birth.

74. Refer to note 65 in this chapter.


76. Chapter Three of this work analyzed the four noho of Moana wahine. It was the issue from these noho that were documented and adjudged proven before the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1882 as a result of the Charles Kana‘ina probate case 2426. Charles Kana‘ina’s mother Kauwa was one of Moana wahine’s daughters by Palila Nohomualani. The noho of Moana wahine with Kanuhanui that produced Kamakau meant that Kamakau was an elder first cousin of Charles Kana‘ina. For a diagram of their relationship and common ancestry, compare Figures 1 and 2 included in chapter three of this text.

77. For the specific location of Ka‘awaloa and a brief description of the place see Mary Kawena Puku‘i, Place Names of Hawai‘i, University of Hawai‘i Press: Honolulu, 1966, 61.

78. Like any record of the ʻOiwai and their social life or customs, the journal kept by Ellis is but one impression. Considering his religious viewpoint and mission in the Pacific Islands, it would be natural for him to project this assessment of Kamakau’s behavior based on what he (Ellis) observed. Given that, I use this evidence as I would any Native source. What is called history is, to me, an interpretation of the past, not the past itself. The actual entry is in Ellis 1979, 36.

80. Ibid., 71-72.

81. Ibid., 115.

82. Ellis 1979, 141.

83. Ellis remarks that "the governor" warned Makoa not to take the party near the volcano lest something terrible happen to them. It seems ironic the men who stood in rank above and below Kamakau felt similarly to one another about Pele. Ibid.
Chapter Six

"He Lei Ho'okahi A Nā Moena Lauhala"
(One Descendant of the Chiefly Servers)

I have woven my interpretations of the kaukau ali'i past the way "ōiwi crafters plait carefully chosen strips of lauhala into a moena. When the project nears completion, established patterns receive checking glances for overall quality that amount to a last look. As it is with the making of a moena, this mo'olelo could not end in a manner that was pono without a final check of its texture, a scan to survey the workmanship to see that lines fit in as integrated a manner as possible without appearing forced. There are no "bottom lines," no "neat and tidy" conclusions. No work of lauhala achieves absolute symmetry for like mo'olelo itself, a moena is a human endeavor that assumes a certain degree of incompleteness, open for revision or repair at some point in the future.

A loose strand of lauhala, a row that does not quite match the rest, may still be definable as excellent when evaluated by kūpuna. The perceived quality of the finished product is something that cannot be completely controlled. This is true in the production of moena and it is equally so with haku mo'olelo, the process of composing an interpretation of the "ōiwi past. What can be expected from this final portion of my moena, is two things: an
interpretive focus on the issue of service in the context of the life and times of a chiefly server descendant from the post-kingdom era; and a summary of the major themes previous chapters have featured.

I begin Chapter Six with the central question: what happened to chiefly servers' descendants when there was no Ali`i Nui hierarchy to serve? The kaukau ali`i were people with a particular chiefly status based on ancestry. This status had always predisposed them toward the fulfillment of different hana lawelawe (service tasks). As such, it seems important to determine what the fate of this chiefly server class would be given the end of the monarchy on the one hand, and the continuation of a kaukau ali`i descendancy into the post-kingdom era on the other. I will follow one branch of pua or, descendants, who outlived the monarchy as they continued to add to the mo`okū`auhau into the territorial and statehood eras. A particular look at the experiences of one of its members will be attempted to determine what happens to the tradition of service when its context ceases to exist.

The person I focus on in this chapter is my grand-uncle Dallas Kaukaha Kalepa Sr., a descendant of the kaukau ali`i and lifetime resident of Lahaina on the island of Maui. The issue of post-kingdom era service is examined from a detailed look at his life to discern what happened to the inheritors of that chiefly server legacy in the absence of a
Mo'ihn, a chiefly hierarchy to support that ruler, and an independent Hawaiian nation. What were the effects on people who had performed these tasks when the chiefly hierarchy as the context for performing service tasks was no more?

I will look at one example of how the hana lawelawe tradition is lost and do so within the context of my uncle's life. Also offering a contextual framework are family relationships with 'ohana members his senior who may have been the transitional figures in a shift from roles performing hana lawelawe to those that featured 'Oiwi of various classes and socioeconomic backgrounds trying to survive in Hawai'i after the cultural bomb had been doing in an effort to more keenly understand what it means to come from a lineage of service, but to then serve different kinds of haku in contemporary times and perhaps for very different reasons than one's ancestors served. Ultimately, the question is, can service be considered a relevant context for understanding the life of this kaukau ali'i descendant of post-kingdom times?

The chapter's second purpose is to integrate various ideas discussed at previous points of other chapters by identifying major themes associated with the central thesis of service by the kaukau ali'i. In a broader sense, it is hoped identification of major chapter themes as they relate to my pan-textual examination of service contributes
something more. Based on the evidence provided and the interpretations offered in this moʻolelo, what is it that the kaukau aliʻi experience over time shares in the way of a different understanding of the ʻōiwi past? The initial assumption of this chapter is that a puaʻs (descendant from a chiefly server ʻohana) life can be examined in the context of service, much like their predecessors' lives have been in other chapters.

Different challenges and opportunities might have faced chiefly server descendants of the territorial era, but are there consistencies as well between the service experiences of Dallas Kalepa and his kaukau aliʻi ancestors? If such patterns of continuity exist, they may be usable as a context for understanding service as a set of tasks somewhat defiant of the effects of time. It is safe to assume the nature of service changed during the territorial and statehood periods compared to earlier days. But via this examination of service there may come an understanding of how it remained a role in some way recognizable for its similarities to the traditional role. Put another way, is it possible the tradition of service and the ʻano which accompanied it could continue to show itself in the life of a pua after the chiefly structure, so long the context for that service, came to an end?

To grasp the meaning of service for contemporary times, it seems necessary to define a concept influenced by these
times that helps to do some connecting in a spiritual sense. I believe the connection should be between those of us with chiefly server ancestries who are living today to those who we call kūpuna and 'aumākua. To know the moʻokūʻauhau and the moʻolelo that it frames, is to spiritually feel the presence and guidance of these ancestral forces. This defines my 'ano, as a person of ʻōiwi ancestry who knows his kaukau aliʻi lineage. The guidance of which I speak directly influenced my ability to produce this moʻolelo. It is this ancestrally-rooted aspect of 'ano that I will next define. While moʻokūʻauhau is the overall framework for this facet of 'ano, at its core is koko piha, my concept of pure Hawaiian ancestry and its significance as a source of identity definition and reinforcement today.

The Concept of Koko Piha

A thought that has filtered through my mind on occasion relates directly to what I now attempt: my definition of a principle aspect of the ʻōiwi identity -- ancestry. This aspect of 'ano is an example of the past as it informs and influences the present is koko piha (pure Hawaiian ancestry). My uncle is koko piha. He and all others like him living today would have been here even if a single foreigner never set foot on these shores. That is, at one time in these islands, everyone was koko piha. Arrivals from the southern islands stopped and the population
remained with each other, in and among themselves until 1778. Even into the nineteenth century, being koko piha was the rule rather than the exception. By the twentieth century, having koko piha ancestry was rare among Hawaiians and has only become rarer.

This concept became important to me because although I believe anyone who has 'ōiwi ancestry is an 'ōiwi, those who are koko piha symbolize moments from our past when things were very different. Even if we consider the numbers of Hawaiians in 1890 (40,000), they were still a numerical majority of the kingdom population. As terrible as the population collapse was, it can still be asserted that the 'ōiwi are above all, survivors. Poʻe koko piha or, persons of pure Hawaiian ancestry, embody this reality. They have survived and in so doing give their pua the gift of 'ano 'ōiwi -- Native Hawaiian ancestry. In the receiving of this gift is the acknowledgment that all persons of 'ōiwi ancestry must do their part to ensure the further survival of this precious 'ano through the active perpetuation of 'ōiwi traditions.

Today, though, 'ōiwi identity needs its reinforcement, and symbols are one way to achieve that. Koko piha is a contemporary consideration based on what I believe the ancestral past offers to persons of 'ōiwi ancestry today. I consider it an ancestral symbol of survival against the most devastating of odds. Poʻe koko piha live on in these times,
and their survival contributes to the meaning of who we are as a people -- survivors of the most tenacious kind. This survivability is a significant aspect of our 'ano and is symbolized by these po'e koko piha. is a concept I think focuses on that survivor 'ano, a positive glimmer from ancestral sources, alive today and for that, a focal point for reinforcing the 'ano 'Oiwi.²

Consequently, for that spiritual connection, that link necessary between ages past and this one, pua like myself can look to the possible kaona (hidden meaning) in the mo'okū'auhau of which we are integral, living members. Spiritually, we can consider ourselves connected to the kupuna who came before and who served their ranking superiors. For people who are koko piha, like my uncle, the connection is more than spiritual. It is reflected literally in the term koko (blood). His genetic link to our past is something Western research could describe as DNA-based, this era's contribution to the concept of 'ano.

Interracial marriages produced every other member of my 'ohana living today but Uncle Dallas. This has been a sobering thought and one also filled with a kind of wonderment in an emotional curious blend with sadness. Contingencies external to the 'Oiwi Wale context were necessary for the births of all other 'ohana members. For my uncle and his ancestors who were also koko piha, there is an unbroken genetic connection to the early settlers in

294
these Islands, 'Oiwi from places far to the south, people for whom there need not have been a single European, Asian, or anyone else in order that life be lived here. They came to these islands did the Polynesian seafarers, and their progeny remained, developed a society, their own unique language and ways of life. One aspect of that life came from 'Oiwi serving their superiors. That service on the part of those 'Oiwi koko piha (Native Hawaiians of the full blood) links what was then with what is now.

I cannot help but feel the significance of this fact because virtually everything else has been modified in some way through engagement with foreign people, ideas, or things. In what has been a relentlessly surging tide of change here, especially for the po'e koko piha, they represent an ancestral symbol of 'Oiwi continuity. What remains a constant hope, is that as surely as the ocean ends lapping gently on the shore where islands begin, the 'ano of koko piha will live on in the homeland. My uncle is that constant for our 'ohana, that definitive beacon of 'Oiwi Wale light who through his koko piha ancestry reinforces our entire 'ohana's identity as 'Oiwi whose ancestors served the Ali'i Nui in defined, significant ways. Simply by living his life here with us in the homeland, he gives this ho'okupu.

It has been reassuring to have the mana'o (meaning) of this contribute to the core of this mo'olelo in the form of
his oral history and written recollections of his life. I am not implying that those who are koko piha somehow defy the influences of change because of their ancestry. Instead, my contention is that in consideration of change and foreign influences, many of which affect 'Oiwi of the koko piha as well, an ancestral continuity reflected in the keeping of and respect for mo'okū'auhau is still maintained. They are the representatives of 'Oiwi Wale generations that go back thousands of years to the very origins of 'Oiwi identity itself. It is what they symbolize for our continued survival as a people against odds that at times seem insurmountable. Like the po'e koko piha themselves, our people as a whole must carry on.

The ever-growing movement for 'Oiwi self-determination and sovereignty is another context for the employment of cultural concepts like 'ano and koko piha. Cultural nationalism as a political ideology utilizes such concepts as the stones for building that wall of 'Oiwi resistance. At issue is the return of millions of acres of stolen land to the Native people. Many work tirelessly to that end every day. There is a chance that in my lifetime, a sovereign Hawaiian nation in some form will be born again. Whenever this happens, the pū'olo, that leaf-wrapped bundle of bygone eras, will see what lived once as a country, live again in these islands. My uncle shares this vision as do many koko piha. He is enrolled as a citizen with the
sovereignty initiative Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i. This is an example of how the ‘ane ‘ōiwi can fuel the political fire with the high flames of our po‘e koko piha leading the way.

And although a new century looms on the not-too-distant horizon, those who are koko piha keep modernity and that which is contemporary in more of a pono relationship with those kūpuna who have come before. The hope of sovereignty is a testament to the po‘e koko piha will to survive. As someone who knows his chiefly server ancestry, the living link to my shared past defines who I am through who Dallas Kalepa is, and together, who our kaukau ali‘i kūpuna were. This shall always contribute to who we will be as an ‘ohana. I stand proudly with my uncle and other family members as a Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i citizen, looking for the day when po‘e koko piha will, with the rest of us, sing a Hawaiian national anthem within the boundaries of our own country. When this occurs, those who are koko piha will be reaffirming the pono of a nationhood that was, in the spirit of Ea (sovereignty) that is.

When we can no longer claim a koko piha connection within our extended family, there will still be a culturally prescribed ancestral bridge over which we may still pass. The traditional concept of ancestral guardian spirits called ‘aumākua allows for looking to the past as way to link the living with the heritage embodied in lineage. ‘Aumākua are departed kūpuna who serve as guides for pono action and
emotional support for surviving members of an ‘ohana. The physical absence of this koko piha reality does not leave any ‘ohana devoid of that ancestral link. Ho‘okama‘āina, an abiding familial connectedness remains for all ‘ōiwi through ‘aumākuā.

Koko piha remains significant on a spiritual plane for extended families who finally lose their last living link. But remain it does, through the many ‘aumākuā who can be consulted through prayer according to traditional religious beliefs. The element of timelessness as it relates to ‘aumākuā ensures all future generations of an ancestral connection to kūpuna from that ‘ōiwi Wale era: to chiefly servers, to their haku, or to makaʻāinana who cultivated, fished, or crafted for their leaders. It is ‘aumākuā that offers the foundation for my entire koko piha concept. ‘Aumākuā complete the ancestral picture by remaining spiritually for the descendants to call upon for guidance as needed. Applying new concepts like koko piha to the understanding of my people and their ‘ano past and present is a responsibility many of us feel today. A traditional concept like ‘Aumākuā, then, serves as the conceptual source for my articulation of koko piha.

One way to understand Dallas’ place within this text is to say he assumes a role in this chapter similar to that held by Charles Kana‘ina in previous ones. Before going on to examine the life and times of Dallas Kalepa and his
'ohana in greater detail, a context for what became the colonizing presence of the United States in Hawai‘i must be established. To do this, a brief chronology of events from 1893 to 1898 follows.

From Kingdom to Territory: An Overview

On January 17, 1893 a small band of foreign businessmen, most of them with ancestral or nationalistic ties to the United States, gained the military support of American naval forces which led to Queen Lili‘uokalani’s surrender. She did so to avoid bloodshed among her people. Her decision to surrender to America was based solely on the fact that the business contingent had the support of the American government’s military, considered by the queen to be "superior forces." Already dwindling numbers had the Native populace on the edge of extinction and armed resistance against the United States would have driven the population over that edge.

Pacifist that she was as a Christian who tried to live the principles taught through her religious faith, the queen trusted that in time, when the facts became known, the good and gracious president of those United States would order her restoration to the Hawaiian throne. This line of thinking followed historical precedent. In 1843, Kamehameha III ceded the Hawaiian kingdom to Great Britain’s Lord George Paulet until such time as a list of his demands were
met regarding fair treatment of foreigners by Hawaiian authorities and the use of lands granted by the Mōi. In time, the controversy was settled as the British sovereign intervened in a good and gracious manner. Hawaiian sovereignty was returned to Kamehameha III and the Hawaiian people.

This precedent was something Liliʻuokalani hoped the American commander-in-chief would follow. It was not to be. Instead, the American-dominated business faction, in light of the U.S. Congress' failure to annex Hawaiʻi outright in 1893, declared a republic. The result was a long-standing economic oligarchy with its base in large-scale sugar agriculture, finally had what it had wanted for some time: a completely sympathetic system of political control in the form of a custom-made government, able to pass laws and enforce them according to its own needs and desires. The upshot of this for ʻŌiwi society was what amounted to the foundation-building of cultural genocide. Most severely damaging in this context was that the republic era ushered in the use of English as the official language of government and public instruction. Over time, this change brought an upheaval that would undermine ʻŌiwi confidence in the perceived worth of the Native tongue, and by extension, their self-worth and the relevance as well as value of their traditions. Eventually, as vestiges of ʻŌiwi life and customs were on the wane, more and more Native people
experienced the agony of alien-like status in their own homeland. Still a numerical majority in what was their country in 1890, the 'ōiwi were nevertheless dictated to by a haole minority that held a virtual monopoly on all economic and political control opportunities in the Islands at the end of the nineteenth century.

Annexation came in 1898. Hawai'i was made an incorporated territory and remained under that designation until statehood in 1959. Hawai'i became an American colony, defined by the colonizer as an "incorporated territory." It was under this incorporated colonial status that the deposed queen would live until her death in 1917. She continued to have loyal supporters and personal retainers who met her needs with a consistent and loving service in the years after the nation had been taken. No longer the Mōʻi, for there was no government, Liliʻuokalani would still have the respect of 'ōiwi and non-'ōiwi who considered themselves her subjects even in the absence of nationhood. Joe Akana, a Chinese-Hawaiian resident of Waikīkī recalled how the queen was driven in her surrey down what is now Kalākaua Avenue and when Akana and the others saw her coming, they lined up smartly and as she rode by, all bowed their heads respectfully, to which she responded by smiling graciously and nodding.

It is difficult to determine how much of the chiefly hierarchy also went on supporting Liliʻuokalani out of this
sense of loyalty and respect for her rank in spite of an eventual American presence that functioned in the Islands as a colonizing force. One indication of a lingering desire to identify with lineages of chiefly families was the continued publication of Hawaiian genealogies in both Hawaiian and English newspapers during the early years of the territory. Perhaps this longing to sustain an ancestral allegiance to the Ali'i Nui can be understood as the emotional furtherance of what could no longer be a reality of daily life. Lili‘uokalani was forced to surrender to the kingdom to superior American forces and the country's sovereignty was never restored. In lieu of having a monarch to look to as the leader of the people, it seems possible some 'ōiwi loyalists found solace in remembering the pride and recalling the ancestral glory of the past through mo'okū'auhau. 'Ōiwi felt a sense of loss because nationhood was no more. Those of non-Hawaiian ancestry whose families and associates were involved in the post-overthrow events that saw the founding of a republic and eventual annexation to the United States, were well aware of the impact of their actions. One mele directly expresses the sentiments of the 'ōiwi during those dark days. Written by Ellen Wright Pendergast, "Mele 'Ai Pōhaku" or, the "Stone Eating Song," declares that the stones of the land are wondrous and as long as 'ōiwi have them, no matter how politically
oppressed, they would survive by cooking their food with the stones as conductors for heat placed in the imu.\textsuperscript{11}

As Pendergast sat in the garden of her father's home in Kapalama, on a January afternoon in 1893, visitors called. They were two members of the Royal Hawaiian Band. The men were on strike in protest of the overthrow. "We will not follow this new government," they stated emphatically. "We will be loyal to Lili'u (a diminutive form). We will not sign the haole's paper, but will be satisfied with all that is left to us, the stones, the mystic food of our Native land."\textsuperscript{12} The fourth verse reads:

\begin{verbatim}
Ma hope mākou o Liliʻulani
We back you Liliʻuokalani

A loaʻa i ka pono o ka ʻāina
Until the re-attainment of our land rights

Haʻina ʻia mai ana ka puana
Let the meaning be expressed

O ka poʻe i aloha o ka ʻāina
Of a people who love the land.\textsuperscript{13}
\end{verbatim}
This *mele* is sung today as it was in 1893 to protest the overthrow of the duly constituted Hawaiian government and demonstrate support for the restoration of Hawai'i as a recognized member in the world's 'ohana of nations. Uncle Dallas' father, James Ma'ihu'i Kalepa was fourteen years old when Lili'uokalani surrendered to the superior forces of the United States. As the Democratic Party emerged, Dallas' father enrolled to specifically oppose the Republicans who led the overthrow when he was an impressionable teen-ager. The father told the son he would never side with Republicans for what they did to abolish the Hawaiian nation.

The *koko piha* concept, brimming with cultural tradition, is given an historical context through Pendergast's *mele* and the elder Kalepa's party preferences. In addition, Dallas' choice to support the sovereignty movement allows *koko piha* a contemporary political context, one that is evidentiary of Trask's position on cultural nationalism. It is indeed true that sovereignty's impetus today is firmly rooted in cultural values that empower collective action in the public arena. My intention has been to show the relationship between culture and politics in the concept of *koko piha* as my focal point for understanding the *mana* of ancestral 'ano.

The next example of 'ōiwi sentiment toward American hegemony in Hawai'i comes from a very different source and focuses on 'ōiwi sentiment regarding the annexation of my
country to the United States. As a boy, Lawrence McCully Judd, grandson of Gerrit P. Judd, a principal architect of self-serving American influence on Hawaiian leadership and government, recalled the day in August of 1898 when the Hawaiian flag was lowered. His recollections are recorded in memoirs, reports of what was seen and heard as America became the new governmental haku. This haku was the sort of superior that, for the first time, engulfed ʻOiwi of all classes in a permanent foreign presence that was now the absolute power over everyone from the deposed queen in Honolulu to the taro grower in Hanalei. Still a boy at the time, Judd was nevertheless keenly aware of the significance of this event, if not completely as a youth, certainly in retrospect as he wrote his memoirs:

On Annexation Day there was wailing...
in many darkened households of the Hawaiians. Their voices formed a tragic chorus in the musical Hawaiian language in which the word auwē, or alas of was heard at intervals, as punctuation for a dirge....the Royal Hawaiian Band crashed into "Hawaii Ponoī," the national anthem. At that moment the fitful trade wind faltered. The Hawaiian flag drooped, as if dispirited in defeat."
So began the territorial era in Hawai‘i. It lasted for sixty years. During this time, sugar and related businesses continued to fuel the economic fire and thereby, the bank accounts, of many associated with the toppling of the ‘Ōiwi nation in 1893, including the Judds. One of these business concerns, founded under the name Hackfeld and Company by men of German origin, changed its name to American Factors and among their holdings was acreage in Lahaina on the west side of Maui. In that port town, horse-wagons moved along Front Street, the main thoroughfare. ‘Ōpelu kīkā (cigar-length mackerel) were sold for ten cents a ka‘au (grouping of forty). And contrary to the beliefs of some, ‘Ōiwi worked very hard, side by side on the sugar plantations with immigrant laborers from other lands. It was into this turn-of-the-century version of Hawai‘i that Dallas Kalepa was born. By the time he was in elementary school around 1910, he and his siblings were also part of the workforce at Pioneer Mill Company, an American Factors subsidiary, at the rate of a dollar a day. The next section ties Dallas’ story to the same ancestral root as Charles Kana‘ina: Kalamakumu, the homeland of Nāpo‘opo‘o, South Kona. It was Dallas’ great-grandmother Kaeakamahu and her kāne Hehena who for unknown reasons migrated from Nāpo‘opo‘o to Lahaina and began the association with that town and its people.
A Migration to Maui

The chiefly server lineage of Moana wahine was based in the land of Kalamakumu. There were so many separate lines of kaukau ali'i with Moana as the source that migrations of her descendants to other islands Kona were probably commonplace. Such was the case with Dallas Kalepa's great-grandmother Kaeakamahu. It was Kaeakamahu who with her kāne (man) Hehena moved from Hawai'i to Maui, probably settling in Lahaina sometime between 1854 and 1860. This estimate is based on the fact that at least two generations, Dallas and his father James Mai'hu'i Kalepa were born on Maui, the former in 1910 and the latter in 1879.

Going back twenty-five years from James Ma'ihu'i Kalepa's birth year, his father Kalepa's estimated year of birth could have been anywhere from 1854 to 1860. The choice to go back twenty-five years comes from a standard in chronology that the mean range in years for a generation is this length of time. I have made the point elsewhere in this text that a twenty-five year standard is probably far greater as an average than the 'ōiwi Wale standard because females of Hawaiian ancestry could begin their years of childbirth at thirteen or fourteen. The elder Kalepa was identified in Kana'ina's probate and particular information about his mother Kaeakamahu and her family related that they "are all living in Lahaina now."
It is possible, then, that Kaeakamahu and Hehena may have already had some of their children before leaving the South Kona area. If Kalepa was born between 1854 and 1860, whether on Hawai‘i or on Maui, he would still be within the age range of a man who could have a son (James Ma‘ihui) in 1879, hence the estimate. Another date strengthens this estimate. Kaeakamahu’s mother Nāko‘olaniohākau passed away in 1854 and was buried at Ho‘okena Cemetery. If there was a time to break away from the ancestral homeland and seek a life elsewhere, the death of Nāko‘olaniohākau could have been that one event.

Another piece of this ‘ohana mystery is that Pamaho‘a, eldest daughter of Moana wahine by her kāne Palila Nohomualani, married in 1854 on the island of Kaua‘i. Being the hiapo or, eldest of Nāko‘olaniohākau’s children, Pamaho‘a would usually have many familial responsibilities and be expected to play a leadership role in her ‘ohana. Not marrying until (perhaps) after her mother’s death could indicate the hiapo role was Pamaho‘a’s kuleana.

There is evidence that this role for her was actual. Without Pamaho‘a and her attorney, the Kaeakamahu claimants in the Kana‘ina probate case would have had their cases dismissed before final judgment. It was only through Pamaho‘a’s dogged persistence that the basis for her family’s genealogical claim was finally upheld. Pamaho‘a ably filled her family role as hiapo during the Kana‘ina
case. Also, being the hiapo born to a hiapo, her mother Nako'olaniohakau was also the first-born, the pua of Kaeakamahu truly had an alaka'i of ability to lead them. Pamahoa's descendants are my cousins from the Napoleon 'ohana, well-known to 'Oiw on the island of O'ahu.

The legal decision of whether to uphold the claim went to a Native jury. A stipulation in the probate law of that era stated that a judge could be requested to convene a Native jury to deliberate contested genealogical claims regarding the stirps from which descendants could claim relationship to the deceased. A daughter of the kaukau ali'i Moana wahine discussed in Chapter Three as the ancestress of many chiefly server lineages, Nako'olaniohakau might very well have been the final link to a life of chiefly service in South Kona. Her death may have been the thing to finally spark a major move. It was even possible Kaeakamahu cared for her mother until her passing and afterwards, decided to leave.

Unfortunately, these questions are largely unanswerable. Perhaps the nature of mo'olelo, because of its ties to oral traditions, is to accommodate what becomes unanswerable over time. The fact that it is not known for certain when, why, or under what circumstances Kaeakamahu and her family left Kalamakumu does not disturb or detract from the absolute certainty she settled in Lahaina. The actual reason or reasons for the move remain unknown. What
does seem clear is with the move to Lahaina came the need to provide for one's immediate family without the support of an 'ohana system. Also, it does not appear Kaeakamahu had any service-related role in Lahaina, but that is not an absolute certainty. It just seems that if she were a chiefly server to some Ali\'i Nui who resided in Lahaina, then her son Kalepa (fig. 11, line E, p. 311) and his siblings Ma\'ihu\'i and Kaupai, would have most likely assumed similar roles as they matured.\(^{23}\) This was not the case. Kalepa and Ma\'ihu\'i, Dallas' grandfather and grand-uncle respectively, lived much more the maka\'ainana lifestyle as adults. Kalepa was a fisherman in Lahaina, and as a son of Kaeakamahu, he would have held a chiefly server role if his mother had before him.

It seems quite probable Lahaina represented a new life for Kaeakamahu, Hehena and their children. Service in the context of any chiefly server roles simply ended. What seems to have replaced the fulfillment of a role was the basic need to survive. There was enough to the task of surviving in a new place and providing for a family that not performing hana lawelawe could have been seen as a welcome relief from the life in South Kona. Perhaps there were pressures of life in Nāpo‘opo‘o which made necessary the decision to move.
Figure 11. Moana wahine to Dallas K. Kalepa, Sr.
Suffice to say that when Kaeakamahu and Hehena migrated to Lahaina from Napo'opo'o ties to the kind of service that has been discussed throughout this text appears to have come to an end.

One aspect of the 'ano 'ōiwi (Native Hawaiian identity) which probably also ended because of the move to Lahaina was the passing of chiefly server traditions to the generations that followed Kaeakamahu. Whatever identity-related links there were to Kalamakumu and the service inherent in a kaukau ali'i existence, they did not get conveyed beyond the generation of Kaeakamahu's grandchildren. Dallas Kalepa's father James Ma'ihu'i Kalepa may have known about his chiefly server ancestry, but if this were so, that knowledge was not passed on to Dallas himself. An older brother of Dallas' Archie Kalepa told me he believed the Kalepa ancestors were from Kona. Dallas' eldest brother Richard added another bit of information about the Kalepa past by assuring me that Charles Kana'ina was indeed a relative.

These remaining pieces of information indicate what was once known had not been passed down, resulting in vague references being the only thing left after only two generations made their respective homes in Lahaina. Until my research began, our 'ohana only had a few pieces of unrelated information about its chiefly server ancestry. When the aim is to survive in a new place, what came before may assume a certain irrelevance. And while the actual
reason for Kaeakamahu's move from Nāpoʻopoʻo may never be known, there are a few other speculative possibilities.

Lahaina was the center for education according to Calvinist teachings. It is possible either Kaeakamahu or Hehena planned to enroll. In 1853, a smallpox epidemic laid the population low once again. Nāpoʻopoʻo may have been so decimated or Kaeakamahu's immediate family in Kona so hard hit by the contagions that for her and her family to go on living there may have seemed futile. Another reason for the move could have been that Hehena, Kaeakamahu's kāne, was originally from Lahaina, and at some point, circumstances warranted a return.

Finally, the erosion of service roles and depletion of Aliʻi Nui numbers might very well have begun in Nāpoʻopoʻo. Whatever the cause or causes for the change of home island, they were not handed down to Dallas' generation. Life in Lahaina seemed to be oriented toward survival. Fishing, vegetable gardens, a ready poi supply were what now served them best. Dallas represents the third generation to be born in Lahaina from the time of Kaeakamahu's migration. Without the Aliʻi Nui to serve, families like these tended to Hoʻomakaʻāinana or, act as a makaʻāinana.

The next section examines the pua of Kaeakamahu in greater detail, analyzing the various individuals as well as their relationships to one another. Focusing on the moʻokūʻauhau enables an understanding of traditional
pathways of knowledge and acquaints pua of this generation with something ancestral that is also abiding as the lineage allows for a personal way of relating to the past. For the Kalepa branch of the Moana wahine mo'okū'auhau, the charts that depict relationships going back in time provide valuable family history information. It is likely there were many chiefly server families that lost what they knew about their ancestry, but as the Kalepa 'ohana learned, recovering such information and giving it relevance for life in these times is possible and lends to the overall definition of one's 'ano.

Mo'okū'auhau Analysis

Dallas Kalepa's kaukau ali'i ancestry shown in Figure 12 is based on his position as one of the more recent descendants in the mo'okū'auhau of Moana wahine. During the Charles Kana'ina probate case from 1877 to 1882, many came forward to claim kinship to the decedent. In the end, those from Moana wahine's noho with four kāne were among the stirperecognized as heirs to the Kana'ina estate. The final adjudication of heirs found nine parties had legitimate claims, a majority of whom were Moana wahine descendants. They were heirs to the estate by collateral kinship to Kana'ina. Dallas Kalepa's paternal grandfather, Kalepa, was determined an heir as one of the five issue of Kaeakamahu who had pre-deceased Kana'ina.
The reason Kalepa and his siblings were part of the group adjudged as heirs is Kana'ina's mother Kauwa was the elder sister of Kalepa's great-grandmother Kāneikoli'a (fig. 12, lines A and B, p. 316). Upon Kauwa's death and following a visual impairment to Kāneikoli'a, the latter was given the name Kauwamakapa'a, meaning "Kauwa-of-the-closed-eyes." What a second name in her life commemorated in a traditional sense was an acknowledgment of her elder sibling's passing together with the recognition of an acquired physical disability that had altered her former appearance. The entire claim of Kāneikoli'a's pua in the Kana'ina probate was based on the assertion that Kāneikoli'a was indeed the younger sister of Kauwa and the daughter of Moana wahine by Palila Nohomualani.

It is also important to mention that while Kaeakamahu did leave Nāpoʻopoʻo, she left at least two siblings behind (fig. 12, line D). Kaeakamahu's eldest brother Kahonu stayed in Nāpoʻopoʻo. Her brother John Sam Kekukahiko also remained in Nāpoʻopoʻo until at least 1874. This is known because Lunalilo the Mōʻi died that year and his father Charles Kanaʻina sent for Kekukahiko, a representative from the homeland of Kalamakumu in Nāpoʻopoʻo to serve as one of the kahili (feather standard) bearers. Kaeakamahu's youngest brother Kamakamohali'a, like his sister, chose to migrate. His destination was Kauaʻi.
Figure 12. The Pua of Kāneikoliʻa and Kawaʻahoeʻole
As explained in Chapter Three, moʻokūʻauhau was a definitive aspect of the ʻōiwi chiefly identity. Kaukau aliʻi knew who they were and what possible service roles they could play because they knew where they stood within the moʻokūʻauhau structure. The descendants of those chiefly servers, including Dallas Kalepa, connect to that past through ancestry. This connection was knowledge that the Kalepa descendants lost. The oral tradition was not passed down to Dallas from his father. Instead, it seems survival replaced service as the life-defining quest and the Kalepa descendants of Moana wahine went on with life without knowing specifics about their kaukau aliʻi heritage.

The Moana wahine moʻokūʻauhau still has relevance today because Dallas Kalepa continues the intergenerational tie to that chiefly server ancestry. Those of us in the ʻohana who sense a closeness to the ʻaumākua do so in part because Dallas Kalepa is the living representation of who has come before. As I see it, the kaukau aliʻi past of the Moana wahine-Palila Nohomualani line is expressed and reconfirmed via the pua, descendants of the moʻokūʻauhau now living. Dallas Kalepa is the senior member of my particular branch of that moʻokūʻauhau and it is to descriptions of his parents and grandparents that I now turn. The next section ends with moʻokūʻauhau-related information about Dallas Kalepa and some of his descendants.
Kalepa: The Origin of a Surname, Its Use Through Time

The curious blend makes another strong appearance as the kingdom era ends and first the Republic of Hawai‘i, then the territorial period follow. Rather than a wholesale shift to foreign values and customs, it seems ‘Oiwi went through a transitional time when a curious blend of long-standing traditions coexisted, mixed, and mingled with introduced ways from America. Other foreign sources had contributed introductions that blended, but the difference was that Hawai‘i stood as an independent nation then. The transitions occurred in a completely unique context: Hawai‘i as an occupied land, a territory of the United States. Because of this, it is important to understand the transitional era because it was during this time the parents of Dallas Kalepa lived.

Much of what came to shape and influence the ways in which their children were raised had its roots in these times. What is more, mo‘okū‘auhau-related information, even during the post-kingdom era, enriches the overall mo‘olelo by giving what can be seen as a very linear representation of ancestry a dimensionality, a substantive human presence, an identity-bearing significance.

I summarize information on the Kalepa line here to make a broader point. Dallas' father James Ma‘ihui Kalepa (some records indicate his English name was John) was born in Lahaina in the year 1879, the son of Kalepa and a woman
Kukana (Susan) about whom I know nothing (fig. 12, line E).  
Kalepa, a Lahaina fisherman, was one of Kaeakamahu's children, she being the maternal granddaughter of Moana wahine (fig. 12, line D).  
It was Kaeakamahu who migrated from Kalamakumu in Nāpoʻopoʻo, South Kona to Lahaina sometime before the Kanaʻina probate was opened in 1877, perhaps as early as 1854. Maʻihui (James was probably a name he took when baptized) then, could have been a member of that first generation of the Kaeakamahu branch to be born in Lahaina. It is not known whether Kaeakamahu herself had Kalepa and his siblings while still resident in Nāpoʻopoʻo, or if they were born after the relocation. Nor is it known whether or not her kāne Hehena was also from Nāpoʻopoʻo. It is conceivable he was from Lahaina originally, but resided temporarily in Nāpoʻopoʻo, returning to his own ancestral homeland between 1854 and 1877.

What can be deduced is Dallas Kalepa's place in the Kaeakamahu branch that migrated then settled in Lahaina. He is either a member of the second or third generation born in Lahaina. In those two or three generations, information about Kaeakamahu and the migration from Nāpoʻopoʻo was virtually lost on both the Lahaina and Nāpoʻopoʻo sides. Descendants of that first Kalepa from Dallas' generation knew nothing specific about the Kaeakamahu migration or the ancestral tie to Nāpoʻopoʻo in particular. The most informed response I ever got regarding where the Kalepa ʻohana came
from before Lahaina was told to me by Archie Kalepa, Dallas' brother immediately his senior in birth order. He answered by saying the Kalepa people (their paternal line) came to Lahaina by way of Kona. Archie also remarked that the Pali contingent (their maternal line) was from Kaua‘i. Given the importance of naming in the spectrum of `ōiwi traditions, I now examine the issue of how `ōiwi adopted the use of the surname. Dallas is a member of only the second generation to use "Kalepa" as a surname. This phenomenon serves as an example of how social change based on haole introductions became `ōiwi custom over time.

In `ōiwi Wale times, a single name was used. If someone was known by other names, it was usually because a second or third name had been given because of a life-changing event, or the need to commemorate a particularly memorable act involving the individual. It was more commonplace for the Ali`i Nui to have multiple names, but none was used as a family name. The closest thing to a surname came with a son assuming his father's name linked grammatically to his own. An example of this is `Umi. Genealogists from his time to this refer to him as "`Umi-a-Līloa," acknowledging his identity as `Umi-the-son-of-Līloa. In turn, `Umi's son who succeeded him as Mōi, was given the name Keawe-nui-a-`Umi or, "Magnanimous-Keawe-son-of-`Umi. While this seems to fit the pattern of a surname, its use for successive generations is rare.
I believe 'Umī and his progeny needed to enhance their mana, and passing the name of such an achievement-oriented chief to his descendants did just that. What 'Umī had in terms of accomplishments he sorely lacked in moʻokūʻauhau. Rather than merely apply his name as a surname, every invocation of the name 'Umī focused on what noble trait he possessed -- an outstanding record of achievements. This focus belied the fact, and in a certain respect, mitigated the reality that on moʻokūʻauhau alone, 'Umī would never have succeeded to his father Līloa's Mōʻī title.

This example demonstrates that when adoption of surname-like-identities took place during ʻŌiwi Wale times, similarities to the employment of Western surnames are coincidental. In 1869 with the Act to Regulate Names, giving a surname to kingdom newborns became the law. This legislation was yet another example of conforming to Western conventions, perceived then as the enlightened step to take no doubt. It took place during the reign of Kamehameha V, its purpose to assist in census taking and government recordkeeping by identifying individual citizens more easily.

Dallas' father James, born in 1879, was given the first name Maʻihuʻi, with Kalepa as his surname. Neither of his younger brothers had English first names. Why James did is not known. One thought was the English name may have been given in baptism, but if he was baptized after having
decided to stop drinking, then having the first name James was not related to Christian conversion. I say this because the aforementioned decisions came in 1919, and he already had the name James prior to that.

The surname Kalepa has continued to this day, but barely. Dallas has one son, and that son has three sons of his own and one daughter. Of the three male grandchildren Dallas has through his son, only one presently has children of his own. Currently, the toddler who is male carries the Kalepa surname into its fifth generation, does so alone. This mana'o on naming presents the chance to detail still another curious blend.

Traditionally, there were many customs associated with naming a newborn: events surrounding the birth, the difficulty or ease of a birth itself on the mother, or spiritual inspiration through dreams of particular ancestors. The kingdom era modified, then overtly changed these traditions so that eventually, 'Oiwi family names were adopted and regularly used. Even the acknowledgment I made regarding five generations of males carrying the Kalepa surname is an example of the contemporary side of the curious blend. Only the adoption of the practice in 1869 allows for a counting of generations according to the use of a surname.

'Oiwi tradition did not include the passing down of a family name to successive generations. Therefore, 'Oiwi who
take pride these days in the family name continuing do so within the context of a Western point of view about names that was adopted and made customary practice from the last century to this. Therein lies one side to the surname-based curious blend. What was a foreign-inspired introduction chosen by an 'ōiwi ruler had become neo-traditional by the time Dallas' daughter-in-law said to me a few years ago that to her husband (Dallas Jr.) had wondered hopefully whether the Kalepa surname would live on to even the generation below their children.

The first Kalepa was the last of his moʻokūʻauhau line to be named according to ways which began during 'ōiwi Wale times with a single name. The fact that the father Kalepa and the son Maʻihuʻi Kalepa each represented one of the systems of naming used in the last century indicates another aspect of this curious blend. Kalepa the father and Maʻihuʻi Kalepa the son are an example of the transitional processes that moved the 'ōiwi community during the kingdom-to-Republic-to-territorial periods. Kalepa was already an adult when the act was instituted. His death might have come as early as 1890. Rather than haole-influenced social change in the kingdom era occurring rapidly, the example of names of Kalepa and his son suggests the effects of a curious blend. Kalepa was probably born sometime between 1840 and 1860 if his son Maʻihuʻi's known year of birth 1879 be considered. This would mean he fathered this
eldest of three sons when he was between the ages of 19 and 39.

Also, it is known that until at least 1890 father and son lived contemporaneously in Lahaina. Kalepa is listed in the Maui Directory of 1890 as a fisherman whose residence was in Lahaina. This roster of names identified residents of Maui and listed them alphabetically with accompanying data of hometown and occupation. With Ma‘ihu‘i being born a decade after the Act to Regulate Names became law, the accommodation to this Western style of naming had been consistently applied. With Kalepa and his wahine Kukana following the law, what seems to have happened was a gradual change. Those named according to the custom (Kalepa) lived together through the same era with those whose names were structured to meet legal requirements (James Ma‘ihu‘i Kalepa). This would indicate that once a foreign introduction like the use of surnames was adopted through governmental regulation, the time it took for the new way to become a matter of practice and the ‘ōiwi’s ‘ano was gradual. A wholesale change from single names to the adoption of surnames demonstrates the curious blend very well. Kalepa and Kukana's two younger sons, Aukai and Lipo, also carried Kalepa as a surname.34

Of the three sons born to Kalepa and Kukana, only James Ma‘ihu‘i Kalepa had any children. Of the four sons he had with his wife Lilia Pali, only Dallas fathered a son. As
previously mentioned, of Dallas Jr.'s four children, three are male and of these three, only one currently has a son. For five generations, continuing use of the Kalepa surname has hinged precariously on a few individuals. The pride felt in knowing the name lives on, is rooted in Western tradition, but has been adopted as an important neo-traditional custom for 'ōiwi as well. The maintenance of mo'okū'auhau on the other hand, represents that aspect of the curious blend which speaks to ancestral pride through the connection of today's pua with the cultural and historical significance of kūpuna names, including the mana their names carry as 'aumākua. knowing that the kūpuna who came before The two methods of defining identity through names exist as a curious blend today and both contribute to the 'ano of the Kalepa 'ohana.

Dallas' father James Ma'ihu'i Kalepa was the first to have an English first name, and his children, Dallas included, were all given English first names too. From oldest to youngest, their names were Richard, Susan, Albert, Archie, Philip, and Dallas. Interestingly, Dallas was born and given the name David. It was a name he shared with his eldest half-brother David Pali, their mother having had children with three other men prior to marrying James Ma'ihu'i Kalepa. Dallas remembers how exciting it was to finally be old enough to attend school and what happened with respect to his first name one day:
...was I a proud youngster, short pants, starched "blouse" and a large handkerchief pinned to it. At this time my name was "David." One day, somehow I missed school -- instead of returning there, I hung on to my brother Philip who was then in [Kamehameha III School] and accompanied him to his class -- Tsulan Choy was his teacher. Somehow she registered me and I started immediately. Now my name was changed to "Dallas."

So it was that young David Kalepa became Dallas Kalepa, and the name stuck from then until now. Even with English names, there were ways to confuse identities and unintentionally change a child's sense of who he was. The next section deals with Dallas Kalepa and bygone days in Lahaina, days characterized by watching thirty to forty whales frolic at sea from the porch of a favorite aunt's beachfront home, earning a dollar for a day's work at the sugar mill, and hanging fish and squid on the clothes line to dry. This was the Lahaina of Dallas' boyhood. It was his Kalamakumu, a home that taught easy, gentle lessons one day and conveyed other, harsher ones on others.
Dallas Kalepa and Early Lahaina Days

The youngest child of Lilia (Lydia) Pali Kalepa and James Ma‘ihu‘i Kalepa was born in Lahaina on October 1, 1910. Of Lilia's children with Kalepa, five others were born before Dallas. The eldest of the Kalepa children was Richard. Susan (my maternal grandmother), the only female, was followed by Albert, Archie, and Philip (fig. 13, line, p. 328). Prior to her marriage with Kalepa, Lilia had a son David with a haole, said to have been a doctor named Weitek. Lilia then had a daughter Laurinda by a man of 'Oiwi ancestry, and after that, two children, a girl Mary and a boy Willie. The father of these two was Chinese and it is said Willie returned to China with him while Mary was placed in hanai or, permanent care by people other than the biological parents) with a family named Kealaka‘a. In all, then, Dallas could count nine siblings, and although the older ones lived elsewhere, their homes were within Lahaina proper as well.

It is ironic that Dallas' mother had five children prior to her marriage to James Ma‘ihu‘i Kalepa because her father was the Reverend Albert Adam Pali, a Congregationalist minister who served as the pastor at Lahaina's Waine'e Church for over twenty years. Given her father's vocation, Lilia's pre-marital childbearing would have been a glaring contradiction to her father's admonitions from the pulpit about adultery.
A

Kaeakamahu (w) = Hehena (k)

B

Kalepa (k) = Kukana (w)

C

James Ma‘ihu‘i Kalepa = Lilia Pali

D

1) Richard Kalikoʻokalani
2) Susan Paʻaoʻao
3) Albert Pali
4) Archie Kahilina
5) Philip Papaua
6) Dallas Kaukaha

Figure 13. Children of James Maʻihuʻi Kalepa with Lilia Pali
Moral dilemmas fashioned from Calvinist values notwithstanding, Lilia was able to see that the older children, Dallas' half-brothers and sisters, were cared for through hanai. Lilia may have not represented Christian propriety very well by her conduct, but it must also be said that such a person would have been typical for times prior to the 1820s and probably many years after. This, of course, was when the new Akua concept and related values were first being taught in the kingdom by missionaries from Boston, Massachusetts. Lahaina had been a central location for Calvinism because of the seminary at Lahainaluna.

Reverend Pali's moʻokūʻauhau is not known beyond the names of his parents. If he was of chiefly server birth himself, then the haku he served would have been on Hawaiʻi Island in the South Kohala, his ancestral homeland. If the reverend was makaʻainana, then Calvinism may have represented a means for social advancement. In this case, a class-based curious blend could have existed between the lineages of James and Lilia. His kaukau aliʻi background was something seemingly inconsequential to life in Lahaina. Yet James' skills at planting, fishing, and woodwork may indicate that in another more tradition-based social context, he would have used these skills taught by his father to serve a haku as his ancestors had done since the time of Moana wahine. The skills were applied, though, to hard work that helped his family survive, Dallas included.
Lilia's 'ano was probably influenced ancestry by maka'ainana roots, but received status enhancement through her father's profession and good standing in the committee. In neither case was the ancestral heritage of this couple a direct force in their adult lives.

Economic influences introduced by Westerners created a survival challenge for James and his family different from that which was ancestral. The money economy during James' life (1879-1932) was well established. Most 'ōiwi could not help but be connected in some way to the mercantile capitalism that the sugar industry of that time only intensified.

The reverend's background before coming to Lahaina included a placement in Waiʻoli, Kauaʻi during the 1860s prior to assuming the post in Lahaina which he held until his death in 1903. While still at home in South Kohala, he studied for the ministry with the Reverend Lorenzo Lyons. Nothing substantive is known about Dallas' maternal grandmother, the Reverend's wife, aside from her name -- Lily Poholopu Paʻaoʻao Kila.\(^{40}\)

In a conversation held completely in Hawaiian in 1979, Dallas' half-sister Mary Poni Bright described the Lahaina of that era.\(^{41}\) Horse-drawn wagons bumped their way up and down Front Street and the sugar business dominated both the physical and economic landscape of that west Maui town, once the capitol of the independent Hawaiian nation. Mary
recalled how inexpensive everything was back then, but also how very hard everyone worked. She took issue with the stereotypical version of ‘ōiwi being unfit for hāpai kō (cane field labor), emphatically stating instead that Hawaiians worked just as hard side by side with the other laborers on sugar plantations. One cannot help but wonder how many other negative images of ‘ōiwi could be dispelled at their source and made right like this one by those who actually lived through eras now viewed as "historical periods."

Young people of that era surfed, but there boards were smaller, about four feet long, and the best break was in front of the Kamehameha III School. Sometimes when inter-island vessels like the S.S. Likelike anchored off Lahaina wharf, Dallas and others would swim out and were "reported with a 'jailbird' cracker."42

The cracker got its nefarious title because prison inmates would have it as part of their daily diet. Up until 1924, cattle were driven through Lahaina town as herds were changed from one padlock to another. At the same time, it would have been possible to look in another direction and see prison guards marching the regular consumers of
"jailbird crackers" to the main town courtyard where they would repay debts to society by cleaning the area before being marched back to their cells. On the Lahaina side of Pioneer Hotel was a "hangout" for about "20 hacks doing business." These horse-drawn conveyances did a brisk business.

A certain Freeland family upgraded five theaters on the island. By now, readers will possibly recognize another mention of a curious blend between hacks drawn by horses and theaters where the latest silent movie was being shown. The twentieth century ushered in countless such introductions, only a continuation of that first iron nail off a plank from one of Cook's ships. Time as mediator, time as that which coaxed transition, time as presenter of astounding conflicts between what was 'Oiwi and what was haole. While curious blends abounded, astounding conflicts certainly had their way with the Native people of this land.

The Kalepa family lived in a frame building with three rooms. The living room was also where meals were taken. It was also the site for prayer as well as the place where the children slept. There was a second room used for food storage and a third which was smaller "for my parents." The floors were covered with moena lauhala or, pandanus leaf mats. All cooking was done out of doors. Today, Dallas Kalepa has a residence on the very spot where the wood frame structure that was his childhood home once stood.
A strong degree of self-sufficiency was part of the life in Lahaina then. Dallas' family raised pigs and vegetables in a garden that included onions, potatoes, and cabbage. His paternal grandfather Kalepa was a fisherman, and this hereditary occupation was something Dallas' father and two brothers learned as well. The skills associated with fishing were in turn passed on to Dallas and his brothers, although Dallas would be the only Kalepa to make Lahaina his home his entire life. Poi, the 'Oiwi staple made from the boiled corm of the taro plant was already a purchased item for Lahaina residents in the early years of this century. Dallas remembers that people of Chinese ancestry owned and operated the poi business there. The 'Oiwi staple was purchased by Dallas' father at twenty pounds for a dollar. As for meals in the Kalepa household:

Our menu consisted mainly of poi and fish -- meat was on our menu probably once or twice weekly. Fish was plentiful and father being an expert fisherman was the reason for fish being on our menu most of the time.45

Dallas' paternal grandparents, Kalepa and Kukana lived in a house directly in front of them. Kalepa, the family member who represented a transition from the use of one name to the adoption of Hawaiian surnames and English first names is someone Dallas can actually place within the scope of his
formative years. Dallas' grandfather's residence is part of
that flow of memories from childhood now links this moʻolelo
to the kaukau aliʻi past in another way.

As Kalepa was the son of Kaeakamahu, the woman whom
Kana'ina probate testimony says moved from Nāpoʻopoʻo, he
represents the ancestral continuation of the Moana line.
His mother represents the probable end of the chiefly
servers from this particular line, but the fact that Dallas
knows his grandfather Kalepa's residence brings this moena
lauhala lineage of Moana wahine from Kalamakumu with
Kalepa's mother Kaeakamahu to Kalepa's grandson Dallas as
part of his ancestral heritage. That is the key point.
Because Dallas lives on in 1995, he embodies that heritage
for his entire ʻohana. Kalamakumu time and the Lahaina time
are brought together in Dallas as the oldest living link to
Moana wahine for his children, grandchildren, great-
grandchildren. He also presents nieces and nephews, their
children and their children's children with the same
ancestral makana (gift). Dallas is a kupuna, an elder who
has added to the moena with his own eighty-four years,
another strip of lauhala plaited into the broader work over
time and through space.

It is as if Dallas, because of his knowledge of
Kalepa's presence in his past, makes real in an important
way the otherwise more two-dimensional story of chiefly
servers from "a long time ago." To realize Kalepa is

334
someone within the memory of someone else who survives in this era lends an immediacy to what can instead seem distant and of another age. Further, because it was Kalepa and his four siblings who were among the parties found to be heirs of the Charles Kana'ina estate in 1882, one time period now seems to blend curiously with another as supposed divisions of centuries and the turnings of same appear less rigid and more fluid.\(^6\)

To conceive of and compose mo'olelo, that curious blend of culture with history, demands a sensitivity to these unfixed views of time. The doing of Hawaiian history as an effort reflective of the 'ano ʻōiwi influenced by this more fluid less rigid way of conceptualizing time and applying it.

Another example of this temporal malleability and its effect on the idea of mo'olelo is the fact that Dallas' sister Susan, my maternal grandmother, moved to O'ahu after marrying Harry E. Johnson who came here from East Texas in the service of the United States Army. Eventually, my grandparents bought a home in Kapahulu, a central Honolulu neighborhood near Waikiki. The cross street nearest their place is "Kana'ina Avenue." We have literally lived under the Kana'ina "sign" as an 'ohana for over sixty-five years. I have lived on this land as my personal residence since 1965. The point is, without this element of relating the historical subject to its contemporary context, Hawaiian
history is not an 'ōiwi values-influenced enterprise. Discovering then articulating ho‘okamā‘aina as it contributes to the nature of mo‘olelo is part of the 'ōiwi historian's task.

As Dallas recalls, another one room dwelling was located on the south side of the house, that which faces the town of Olowalu. Dallas' grand uncle, Ma‘ihu‘i Kuapu‘u, the younger brother of Kalepa lived there. It was this uncle, one of the Kana‘ina estate heirs, for whom Dallas' father James Ma‘ihu‘i Kalepa was named. To appreciate another variation of naming with the name Ma‘ihu‘i as the example, it is necessary to look again to Kaeakamahu, Dallas' paternal great-grandmother, the migrant from Nāpo‘opo‘o and maternal granddaughter of Moana wahine. She had an older sister Ka‘upai, whose kāne was Kama‘ihu‘i. Kaeakamahu, then, named her son (Dallas' grand-uncle) Ma‘ihui after her sister's husband, in this case a nephew was named for an uncle. When Kalepa, the older brother of this Ma‘ihu‘i Kuapu‘u fathered his first son in 1879, he was named James Ma‘ihu‘i Kalepa. For two successive generations, a nephew was named Ma‘ihu‘i for an uncle.

Ma‘ihu‘i Kuapu‘u was also hunchbacked and blind. In true 'ōiwi tradition, his alternate names were literal renderings of these physical disabilities. As it probably will always be with precocious children, one anecdote from
Dallas' recollections offers another prospective of Maʻihuiʻi Kuapuʻu and what must have been at times a trying existence:

In order for him to use the out house located in the rear of our house he had to hold onto a long string tied one end to his shack and the other end to the out house. Sometimes the older boys would cut the string which left him stranded. 47

ʻOiwi were often given names that represented their identity through a particular ailment, disabling condition, or vile quality. The thinking was that if a child was already beset with some limitation, malevolent spirits could easily make him or her a target for even more misfortune. To ward off further negative forces, the child would be given a repugnant name, something the ʻuhane ʻino (malevolent spirits) were sure to avoid. 48 He was alternately known as Kuapuʻu or Hunchback and Makapō because of the two physical disabilities he had.

There is yet another layer to this naming tradition. Maʻihuʻi means "wet sickness," a reference said another family kupuna to asthma. While it is not known whether the first two Maʻihuʻi were asthmatic, the third one, Dallas'
father was. When I was born, my mother wanted to name me Ma‘ihu‘i after my maternal great-grandfather James Ma‘ihu‘i Kalepa. When my mother told my grandmother (Dallas' sister Susan) of her wish to name me Ma‘ihu‘i, this only daughter of James Ma‘ihu‘i and Lilia Pali Kalepa said not to do so because "it was not a good name."

The name was not handed down, but by age five, I had asthma like my great-grandfather. By age fifteen, like my great-great grand uncle Ma‘ihu‘i Kuapu‘u, I had a physical disability as well, caused by a cervical spinal cord injury sustained in a swimming accident. Tradition would have told those like my mother and grandmother to name me Ma‘ihu‘i because perhaps the name could have fended off the asthma. Tradition also would indicate that the name Ma‘ihu‘i should have been given to me in light of the fact that and the asthma as well as the injury brought me into the realm of physical similarities with two of the Ma‘ihu‘i in this mo‘okū‘auhau. A mother with certain intentions and a grandmother with ways more Christian and Western in some respects than ancestral combined to keep me from having a name I probably should have had according to ʻōiwi tradition.

Essentially, I became the fourth Ma‘ihu‘i even without the formality of being named thus. One source claims that if the name is not given eventually it will result in death.¹⁹ I now carry a form of the name Ma‘ihu‘i as the
'Oiwi name I was not given at my birth. Through a curious blend of historical contingencies and through no fault of anyone protocol for naming according to the ways of our kūpuna were not handed down within our 'ohana. This is common, and all there really is in these cases is a willingness, or not, to make changes as knowledge about the 'Oiwi past is learned. This is the 'Oiwi legacy of mo'olelo -- to utilize the experiences of kūpuna going back generation after generation as an "in-the-now" strategy. Chiefly servers did this and those they served employed it as well. People who worked the land or took from the sea did likewise. Mo'olelo were precedent-indicating and the lessons learned from mo'olelo could be applied when necessary to other life situations.

The early life and ancestral significance of Dallas Kalepa's heritage is now a part of this mo'olelo, is a context for appreciating the transitional nature of post-kingdom era chiefly server progeny from the lineage of Moana wahine. What was established in mo'okū'auhau-centered Chapter three as a critical means of understanding 'Oiwi relationships and family dynamics continues in this chapter to inform with respect to the identity-based matter of 'ano. It seems apparent that kaukau ali'i service was not a role any of Kaeakamahu's children played in Lahaina for any Ali'i Nui contingents. In spite of the service role to ranking nobles fading for the Kalepa 'ohana, the strength and
influence of mo'olelo continues. It is in this text because it is Dallas' choice to share mo'olelo which highlight the transitional nature of his times and those of his parents as well as his grandparents.

Although mo'olelo stopped being the source for the chiefly server aspect of Kaekamahu's life, it did not cease its dogged-like tendencies in another sense -- to serve as the intergenerational carrier of whatever did transpire. Kalepa and his son James with his grandson Dallas served no Mo'i during their respective lives, but mo'olelo has allowed me, a member of the 'ohana four generations from Kalepa, to somehow net a few reef fish from the ocean of mana within them that I share at this textual table of curious blends.

Another portion of the Kalepa mo'okū'auhau is presented on page 274 to better illustrate the relationships between those individuals who carried the name Ma'ihu'i and where the name originated (fig. 14, p. 341). Lest an unnecessary dose of sympathy go out to Ma'ihu'i Kuapu'u it must also be said Dallas' kua'ana or, elder sibling of the same sex, Richard told me that he recalled this grand-uncle of theirs with ever-diminishing eyesight having another string hung from a tree on the beach to a canoe. Apparently, Ma'ihu'i Kuapu'u could approach the canoe independently, prepare it for use, then wait for a companion to accompany him for fishing in the waters off Lahaina's beaches.
Moana wahine = Palila Nohomualani (k)

Kāneikoli'a (w) = Kawa'ahoe'ole (k)

Nāko'olaniohākau (w) = Lonoaea (k)

D 1) Kaupai (w)=Kama'ihu'i 2) Kaeakamahu (w)=Hehena (k)

E 1) Ka'upai II (w) 2) Kalepa (k)=Kukana (w) 3) Ma'ihu'i (k)

F 1) James Ma'ihu'i (k) 2) Aukai (k) 3) Lipo (k)

Note: The second Ma'ihu'i shown (E,3) was also known as Ma'ihu'i Kuapu'u and Ma'ihu'i Makapō.

Figure 14. Individuals Named Ma'ihu'i
Something can be supposed about service from the brothers Kalepa and Ma‘ihu‘i Kuapu‘u. Their fishing might have been a hereditary profession from their father Hehena, of whom nothing is actually known. I speculate because Dallas fished and was taught by his father James Ma‘ihu‘i Kalepa. It seems logical James in turn would have learned the skills associated with that specialty from his father Kalepa. One story Dallas related was about a method of fishing that used an imu. Usually defined as an "underground oven," the imu referred to here is an "undersea lure" constructed from rocks set on the ocean bottom, sometimes placed in locations not far from shore. The imu attracts smaller species of all reef fish and thus attracted, a small net is used to make the catch.50

Dallas would learn ‘ōiwi ways, but in the context of a now American-governed territory. Family life retained aspects of the traditional lifestyle, but as the youngest of the Kalepa children, he did not continue to speak the Native language. Like so many of his era, daily use of ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian language) did not continue. Able to understand, unable to converse, those born after the turn of the century and before World War One were punished for speaking Hawaiian on school premises. To stamp out the heart of a people to live on in the uniqueness of their language and customs is to encourage the eventual death of that people in no uncertain terms. This is what
incorporation into the United States did. Without the traditional leaders, without the use of the language, custom-based roles like that of the kaukau ali'i lost their relevance.

Ancestrally, those like Dallas' father could claim heritage to the chiefly hierarchy, but by that time, it might have been of little consequence to be from a chiefly server line. It seems there were other haku to serve by then. Survival during the post-kingdom years may have been the most demanding haku of all.

Service Takes Other Forms

In 1919, Dallas' immediate family moved onto the premises of Waine'e Church, the dwelling was formerly occupied by a Rebecca Benjamin. Dallas' father began working there as the caretaker and handy man. James quit drinking and Dallas says he never touched a drop of alcohol after that. Service to his church was the chosen form of latter-day hana lawelawe (service task) for James. His new haku was spelled with a capital "H" because in that context, Haku means "Lord" and refers to Jesus Christ.

Dallas remembers the years just prior to this move because World War One prompted Hawai'i-based guard units to march through town. He says the maneuvers were "interesting." They must have been. While in high school at Lahainaluna (by this time it was a public boarding
school), Dallas participated in the Civil Air Patrol and a non-school extra curricular activity was the Boy Scouts. His graduation from Lahainaluna came in 1928, a definite positive influence during those years having come from the principal, H. Alton Rogers. Admittedly one to display kolohe (rascal-like) behavior, Dallas credits Rogers for bestowing a proper mix of tolerance and discipline where he was concerned. After high school Dallas' part-time job at Maui Pineapple Company became full-time employment.

It was during this time that he joined the Democratic party and landed a good job with the Territorial Harbors Commission through the playing of party politics. Around that time, Dallas also enlisted in the National Guard, a choice that would greatly affect his occupational picture in the future. His father James passed away in July of 1932 and a month later, he married Mary Castro, whom he had met in 1931. The enlistment and the romance were not unrelated. It seems Guard maneuvers took place at Paukukalo, near Mary's home. No matter how "interesting" the military had been for him since boyhood, he freely admits another kind of interest got him to enlist. Not one to let Dallas take the lead on everything, he says it was she who proposed to him. It would appear Mary had little choice with the new Guard recruit in such close proximity.

With the advent of World War Two, Dallas' Guard unit was activated October 15, 1940. This came two weeks to the
day after Dallas both celebrated his thirtieth birthday and was also promoted to First Sergeant. He was shipped out and spent time on the continent at various training sites. When the time to enter combat came, a troop transport was taking this ‘Ōiwi koko piha (full blooded Native Hawaiian) to Germany by way of France as a First Sergeant in the United States Army. One of the stories I most enjoyed from this part of his life had to do with the night before his company's first engagement with the enemy. Dallas told me there were men who showed visible emotional upset about the impending contact with German troops. Some actually became physically ill. In order to attempt a lighter side to the matter at hand, the First Sergeant of ‘Ōiwi ancestry decided to become an entertainer. A contingent of Polish soldiers was dancing and a concertina was accompanying them. Lahaina-born Sergeant Kalepa of koko piha ‘Ōiwi ancestry got right up amidst the dancers and began to dance with them to the delight of everyone there.

The First Sergeant for an army company is the most relied upon non-commissioned officer there is. Every company commander depends heavily on the individual who assumes that role. Dallas excelled and was awarded the Bronze Star twice, once for each theater in the war — European and Pacific. His captain specifically requested him when new orders for the Philippines came through after victory in Europe. Dallas went from duty in Germany to
leave granted him whereby time was spent back in Lahaina and after that, he joined his captain in the Philippines.

When World War Two ended in the Pacific, Dallas came home but remained in the National Guard which combined with active duty army time, made for a long and exemplary career. In later years, his Guard unit was activated once more. Realizing the labor unions had infiltrated the Democratic Party, Dallas says he "slackened" in participation. Still serving as the Lahaina armory's First Sergeant in his fifties, Dallas once again accompanied his men on a tour of duty when they were activated. This time it was to Vietnam. Despite remaining in secured areas while there, this man of 'ōiwi ancestry decided the gesture of going along at least to the country itself, was important enough to do. A koa (warrior) of this era, Dallas displayed many of the same qualities his ancestors did during their tenure so many years before. The 'ano of the good and loyal soldier, for any age, for any society, the role is a necessary one.

Learning From a Life as Lived in Lahaina and Beyond

The chiefly server structure Dallas' ancestors worked within was long gone by the time he was born. It seems his family, fully occupied with the kuleana of survival there in Lahaina, made a transition from what was in Nāpoʻopoʻo, to what had to be in that West Maui port town. For whatever reasons, specific knowledge about the kaukau aliʻi role was
not passed on to Dallas from his \textit{kūpuna}. Perhaps the struggle to survive was formidable enough and eventually, to recall a past when service meant something else, had no actual relevance to life in the territory. Lahaina’s economy depended on the production of sugar at the time Dallas was growing up there. Economic and political power revolved around this industry and prominence was largely a function of associations made to that large scale agricultural juggernaut. Within the group of his maternal relatives Dallas had examples of this associative relationship to those with hegemony in Lahaina. His maternal grandfather, the Reverend Pali was a legislator during both the kingdom and Republic eras. During the overthrow of the monarchy Pali was among a handful of Native individuals who actually supported the annexation of Hawai‘i by the United States. His staunch religious views coupled with land holdings in Lahaina predisposed Pali to support the faction that held economic sway and political control in Lahaina.

The Reverend’s son Philip was also a legislator, dubbed the "Maui Thunderbolt." Philip was the older and only brother of Dallas’ mother Lilia. Like his father the Reverend, Philip supported the Republican party. He served as sheriff and magistrate for Lahaina and had a reputation for being extremely stern and miserly.\textsuperscript{53} Neighbors to the Kalepa family, Carl and Bernard Farden, renowned for their
singing, were serenading and recall Pali's conduct with this remembrance:

Maybe we would receive some money for our effort and sometimes we'd be invited in. One morning, at about 2:30 a.m. we stopped at Sheriff Philip Pali's house at the Lahaina Prison quarters. He kept us singing and playing our instruments. He didn't let us go until 5:30 a.m. with nothing but a pat on the back.54

He expressed abject cruelty toward Dallas' older brothers and cousins, expecting them to work on his land at his behest simply because they were 'ohana to him. Dallas remembers his brother Archie running away from this uncle's place because he treated his nephews so terribly.55

In the context of that time, it would seem life was challenging to the point that preoccupations about an exploitive uncle from the maternal side of Dallas' mo'okū'auhau had the potentially negative impact to overshadow any talk of a chiefly heritage on the paternal side. Just to survive without fear of a beating probably seemed familial reward enough most of the time from this Uncle Philip. Life could be harsh. Recalling a past in South Kona which included service to the ranking nobles of
the area could fade fast from memory given the immediacy of
an existence in Lahaina that was demanding and at times,
abusive.

To add to this conflict, the Republican Pali relatives
were political opponents of everything Dallas' father stood
for. James Ma'ihu'i was "a staunch Democrat" according to
his son. With regard to his father's views about the 1893
overthrow of Lili'uokalani by the American-backed Committee
of Safety, Dallas is clear saying, "he supported our Royalty
all the way." This stands to reason. In 1893, James was
a young man of nineteen. It seems conceivable someone of
that age and Royalist sentiment would be more than willing
to defend his country against any threat to its security. I
would imagine many young men of that time felt the same way,
but the queen's choice was to avoid bloodshed and the wanton
massacre of her subjects. As previously mentioned, the Pali
point of view was annexation would benefit the Native
populace. This stood in direct conflict with Kalepa's
perspective to remain ever loyal to the queen at all costs,
and by extension, to the nation she led.

While the experiences of Kaeakamahu and her progeny are
but a single example of how chiefly server descendants came
forward and assumed a place in twentieth century Hawai'i, it
would appear this pattern could be considered a common one.
The egalitarian nature of American colonialism in Hawai'i
probably contributed to the non-adherence to class

349
distinctions over time. When 'ōiwi, chiefly server types or otherwise have to focus almost solely on surviving in a foreign-based system thrust upon them by the colonizer, in this case, the United States government, opportunities to laud and magnify what was, can pale into insignificance.

In the case of the Kalepa 'ohana, it seems understanding the nature of service during the post-kingdom era as something akin to the hana lawelawe of chiefly servers from previous days would be something of a stretch or force. Dallas' professional life was clearly one of service to a haku that was American. Military service during any era generates questions, concerns, and often moral questions about violence and killing. The fact remains that defending one's nation is an honorable task. Dallas proudly served his country through a military career. This certainly was service too, but any similarities between what he did and what was performed by kūpuna, are defined by different contexts. Different demands, circumstances, and challenges faced the kaukau ali`i than were encountered by a descendant like Dallas many years later.

As close as I think any parallels may be drawn come from understanding that during any time period throughout the larger picture of the 'ōiwi past, service will be there as a necessity. No society can function without some type of service component worked into the overall picture. Service is simply a given when it comes to the organization
of human groups, ‘Ōiwi or otherwise. To want to see a
definite connection between Dallas' military service and the
service of his chiefly server kupuna is one thing. I do not
think such a connection is warranted given the fact that the
American territorial context presented and entirely
different picture of whom to serve and why compared to a
chiefly hierarchy established during the ‘Ōiwi Wale era by a
Native people.

Taken in its entirety, the scope of service any ‘Ōiwi
‘ohana performs over centuries can be assessed for the
moena-like textures it displays. Nevertheless, concluding
from this that one kind of service in a particular era
somehow relates directly to service from another simply for
sharing the similarity of a service-oriented task does not
wash. Service, it appears, is too era-dependent, too tied
to its respective periods for assuming the performance of
tasks by an ancestor in the kingdom predisposed descendants
to a life of service during the territory.

Descendants of the chiefly servers from the Kalepa
family went forward from the kingdom era into the years
which followed based largely on an individual will to
survive in a very new and often foreign context that was the
American-controlled territorial period. Although it became
more familiar as time went on, what appears to have also
happened is, as American influences increased, ‘Ōiwi customs
and traditions decreased in significance within the lives of
the Native people. The experience of Dallas' family bears this out. Eventually, life's demands and its pleasures did ebb and flow with a regularity that favored American ways of service. Consequently, this moved the Lahaina contingent of Moana wahine descendants farther and farther away from the ancestral ties to service in the presence of the Ali'i Nui. Without the chiefly hierarchy, a system of kaukau ali'i service ceased to exist and the Kaeakamahu branch of the Moana wahine line is one example of what happened to the descendants of the moena lauhala from 'Oiwī society.

Attempting Some Closure

At this point in my textual journey I think it appropriate to restate what it is I have tried to achieve in this study of the kaukau ali'i. Themes suggested by previous chapters will be reviewed for integrative purposes, examining how I would hope they could stand together. I believe in this text as a work with some blendable features that ultimately say something about how to understand the 'Oiwī past in perhaps a different way than it has previously been understood.

Chapter One outlined the thesis of this study and the theoretical influences that helped to shape my view of what it means to interpret the past. The first of three contextual chapters, Chapter One recognizes the historian's training I have received at the University of Hawai'i at

352
Manoa as well as the myriad ways I have chosen to respond to that academic stimulation.

The first chapter is the only place in this text besides the final chapter that I feel absolutely compelled to discuss my work in terms of a "kind of history" or a "sort of culturally influenced study." These concepts belong to this journey, but in the sense of marking academic boundaries more than describing any subject-based content. I wanted to contain such a discussion to the start and finish because not to do so would detract from key attention being placed on moʻolelo, its creation, development, and presentation. I felt no compunction to include history- or culture-related asides or digressions within the chiefly server-focused chapters three through five. Simply put, I wondered if the kaukau aliʻi story could be told without wrapping it in the theoretical cloak of Western academia from page to page.

My aim was to develop a conceptual structure that privileged Hawaiian language terms because of their more immediate relationship to the subject matter. It seemed fine to cite non-ʻōiwi theories of influence as I began, but the text content from Chapter Two through Chapter Six to continued demand the best overall framework for offering a context to the examination of kaukau aliʻi service over time. If at all successful, what was demonstrated was the viability and tremendous potential for composing moʻolelo
that includes Hawaiian language concepts as integral elements in the theoretical formation of the work. The nature of what it means to compose such a mo'olelo departs decidedly from a vast majority of previously published texts usually grouped under the general heading "Hawaiian history."

This mo'olelo has been as much a look into myself as it was an examination of a subject that was extra-personal. My own chiefly server ancestry centered me in my work. As I wrote and gave evidence for concepts like 'ano, I felt my self-definition and understanding of 'ano develop and establish in a personal sense. The impact of learning about ethnographic history as written by such thoughtful Others as Geertz, Dening, Clendennin, Hanlon and others led me to seek my niche.

To a large extent, I discovered my niche was something I myself had to create. It was a curious blend of the aforementioned thinkers, indigenous people and the societies they fashioned in other places of the world, and my own sense that there was enough Otherness within me to regard the chiefly server saga as both intra-personal and extra-personal at the same time. Was it possible to be the indigenous ethnographer? I believed then, as I do now, that it is. The passage of time made me a decided Other to my ancestral past, the persons about whom I wrote, even the events and actions those persons initiated or experienced.
At the same time, my study of the Hawaiian language and desire to apply it liberally to theoretical formations of my own, provided an intimacy with my subject matter that consoled as it admonished me to persevere. Places from that kaukau ali`i past were a similar, welcome paradox. Kalamakumu could not be traveled to physically, yet maps and references in documents to the site offered indications of its once-clearly-defined presence and my ancestors' links to it. The foreign and the familiar continued to show themselves within the same sub-topic -- a constant acquaintance with that which was largely unknown.

I suppose if a contribution from this indigenous ethnographer exists within the pages of this work, it may be an attempt to define the conceptual parameters of the text by utilizing `ōiwi terms. What I hoped to achieve was a thought foundation for this effort (my niche) that remained intimately connected to the essence of that Native Hawaiian identity. It was a conscious attempt to demonstrate the culture and history blends of my subject without subjecting it to an inordinate number of non-`ōiwi conceptual categories, the doing of mo`olelo if you will. As enlightening as my graduate studies in history were, I continued to seek the niche no school, theory, or author could provide either individually or collectively. Indigenous ethnography requires curious blends of thought and practice. These blends bridge discordant waters between
'Oiwi and haole where possible and where not, a gap or open end must simply be allowed to exist.

The second chapter took readers into the 'Oiwi world by defining their concepts of time. In addition, some basic idea of what a person like Charles Kana'ina might do as a konohiki was an entry into what would follow in successive pages. The contextual nature of this chapter was thought necessary because the chiefly servers as a topic required a particular context to be understood. They were not a class unto themselves, but rather, members of that larger chiefly class that led 'Oiwi societies on all islands. Because of the particularity of their social place, I thought their own social context needed explanation. Chapter Two was designed to give my topic that setting.

Another kind of context was presented in Chapter Three. Kaukau Ali'i were kaukau ali'i based on lineage. To convey the depth of this to my readers it was necessary to explain mo'okū'auhau as it related to chiefly servers as junior members of ali'i families, branches of relatives whose lineage position, social status, or rank indicated the scope of tasks they could perform for their superiors. The interrelationships had to be shown. The Moana wahine line was evidence for this. Mo'olelo as I conceive it depends heavily on mo'okū'auhau for the content of its telling and the structure of its presentation. The people in different generations lived lives that could be recalled to some
extent using those people's names as the mnemonic device. A contemporary version of this aided me in creating Chapter Three.

Chapter Four explored the more remote chiefly server past, citing individuals, events, and tasks which reflected the service-based identity I thought was critical for understanding the kaukau ali\'i role. Chapter Five did the same thing for the kingdom era, allowing a comparison of periods, Oiwi Wale to the later time when European influences and foreign forces of change brought about different roles for those who served their ruling relatives. Service, who provided it, what the situations and circumstances for its performance were, and how it was done, made Chapters Four and Five the definitive ones in terms of who the chiefly servers were and what it was they did and why.

Chapter Six examined one sub-branch of the Moana wahine lineage and followed the generations through time into the twentieth century, asking the question, what happens to servers and service when those served no longer hold their traditional place as societal leaders? This chapter wove itself back into the core of Chapters Four and Five. Dallas Kalepa, as a descendant of Moana wahine, offered the reality of an ancestral link to those who form substantive content of this work. Not merely historical subjects, the kaukau ali\'i, through Dallas' life, have a contemporary presence,
at least in a genealogical sense. This is important for the identity concerns of Native Hawaiians today and something lineage consciousness gave to those of the chiefly class throughout the 'Oiwi experience of time in these islands.

This chapter also wove itself back into Chapter Three for all the significance there is to mo'okūʻauhau. The understanding of chiefly server lineages previously expressed, connects to the more recent lineage of the Kaeakamahu branch, of which Dallas is the senior representative. As important as mo'okūʻauhau was, it continues to be significant today as well. The Lahaina migration is so much more understandable in the context of what was shared in Chapter Three. In a sense, the fact our 'ohana knows its lineage and moʻolelo today, is a satisfying thing to appreciate and keep well.

Without the chiefly hierarchy, service was no longer definable within the context of traditional 'Oiwi society. Whether it was the overwhelming need to self-serve in an effort to survive within the structure of a new territorial government, or a commitment to Christian beliefs, or a choice to serve America through a military career as Dallas did, the contexts for such service were rooted in sources other than 'Oiwi tradition. Reasons to serve and personal meanings for that service during the territorial era may have had links to the chiefly server past for some, but Dallas Kalepa's people seemed quite occupied with survival
issues and adjustments to life in territorial Hawai‘i, a life largely dictated by haole forces that held economic and political power in the homeland of the ‘ōiwi.

As this mo‘olelo is being completed, Dallas’ grandson Chad Kalepa Baybayan has just navigated the double-hulled sailing canoe Hawai‘iloa on its maiden voyage to Tahiti. A veteran of many voyages throughout Polynesia, Kalepa takes his mo‘okū‘auhau with him, internalized as knowledge that tells him who he is as an ‘ōiwi. He has said to me that navigation and the canoe journeys are self-fulfilling, but also, he does what he does for his entire ‘ohana. Kalepa has plied his oceangoing skills like few can. The result, land was sighted once again, reaffirming the ‘ano ‘ōiwi as pono and mana-producing. To more distant homelands, to shores beyond this Reef, to other lineages of the same larger ‘ohana, Kalepa sails. He does so in part, for the Kalepa contingent left behind in Hawai‘i. The stars that guided our ancient ancestors to these islands, serve Kalepa as he finds Tahiti again. What was then is now in this navigator of my time.57

The moena lauhala is now plaited to the maker’s satisfaction. No product can absolutely satisfy, but it is hoped this maker took enough care in the fashioning of his moena that satisfaction with the product is detectable by other eyes. Readers will assess the merit of this work academically, yet in terms of mo‘olelo and an ‘ōiwi-based
view, I look to my kūpuna and my `aumākua for the ultimate judgment of its worth. To be pono in their eyes is especially significant. In a spiritual sense, it is everything.
Chapter Six Notes

1. The literal meaning of pua is "flower." Figuratively, a genealogical descendant is considered the "flower" of the lineage, that blossom which opens to reveal the sweet-scented goodness of an 'ohana's tradition. In the case of a kaukau ali'i family, this quality of goodness or, pono, would have come in the consistent, excellence-intended performance of hana lawelawe.

2. I qualify the era by saying "post-migratory" because during the times that two-way migrations occurred regularly, it seems entirely possible for seafarers from different islands within Polynesia to have journeyed here together. Some believe the priest-navigator Pa'ao, despite having brought the high chief Pili Ka'aiaea to the island of Hawai'i from Tahiti, was himself a Native of Sāmoa. Evidence cited is the place name Upolu. Upolu is located on the northern coast of Hawai'i island. It is where Abraham Fornander's Native sources said Pa'ao first arrived with Pili. The link to Sāmoa is a geographical one since one of the islands of that archipelago is called Upolu, the exact name. Besides Tahiti and possibly Sāmoa, the Marquesas Islands are discussed as points of origin for some arrivals to these shores. My point is, with this number of different homelands for voyagers from the south, there would have to be a passage of some time before the differences between these individuals was absorbed into the wider societies of the islands here. With the slowing and ultimately, the end of two-way voyaging, more assimilation would have led to what I define as a period of "Native Exclusivity," the 'Oiwi Wale era. From whenever that era began, to Cook's arrival in 1778, 'Oiwi Wale describes who inhabited these islands, the migratory period notwithstanding. For the Pa'ao saga, see Fornander, vol. II 19. More on two-way voyaging as a contemporary enterprise can be found in the text documenting an experimental archaeology study by Ben Finney, Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey Through Polynesia, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1994, 201-255.

3. For a description and analysis of this movement, its various factions and key issues see Haunani-Kay Trask, From A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i, Common Courage Press: Monroe, 1993, 87-146.


7. Despite opinions to the contrary, it seems the United States acted as a colonizer in the Hawaiian Islands. Banning the Native language in schools and making English the official language of the government continued policies instituted during the Republic of Hawai‘i era. Erosion of confidence in one's Native tongue and the replacement of same with the language spoken by the colonizers is a classic example of how the Native mind becomes "colonized." Without the throwing off of these mental shekels, self-determination cannot occur. This thesis is found in the writings of Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o 1981, 1-3.


9. An anecdote shared during one of many conversations the writer had with Mr. Akana about the early days of the territory. Mr. Akana was a regular visitor at the writer's home between 1976 and 1986. He is still living today and resides at a care home in Pearl City, O‘ahu.


11. 'Ai kamaha‘o is the Hawaiian phrase for "wondrous food" and as long as even the rocks which heated underground ovens or, imu, physical sustenance could someday lead to political restoration. That was the spirit of this mele for that time. The stone eating reference is in the fourth verse of the mele. Steven Brown, great-great grandson of the composer, has discussed the significance of this mele with me on two occasions, once in 1993 and again in 1994. For a description of the events surrounding this mele's composition, see Noelani Mahoe and Samuel H. Elbert, eds., Na Mele O Hawai‘i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs, University of Hawai‘i Press: Honolulu, 1970, 62-64.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.


15. Information about Lahaina during the early part of this century comes from a conversation held with my grand aunt Mary Poni Bright in August, 1979 at her oceanfront home on Front Street in Lahaina. This was the only conversation I ever had with a relative who was a native speaker of Hawaiian. Born in 1899, my Aunty Poni was Dallas Kalepa's older sisters.
16. Refer to Chapter Three for a description and analysis of this woman's significant place in the telling of this mo'olelo.

17. For any references to Dallas Kalepa's paternal ancestry, the document being cited was researched and compiled by the author and is in his possession. Kalepa Family Genealogy, unpublished document, 1986 (cited hereafter as KFG). Kaeakamahu's genealogical place is included in KFG as well 1986, 23.

18. SAH, Kana'ina probate 2426, part three, 1877, 947.

19. State Archives of Hawai'i (SAH), Kana'ina probate 2426, part two, 1877, 651.


21. Part three of the Kanaina probate is filled with references in documents and court testimony of Pamahoa's tenacity. Because the Nako'olaniohakau descendants were not prominent, other parties attempted to oust their claim from probate court. Undaunted, Pamahoa (by then Mrs. Pamahoa Napoleon) assumed her hiapo (eldest child expected to be a responsible leader) role ably. SAH, Kana'ina probate 2426, part three, 1880-1882.

22. The Kana'ina probate case lasted for five years from 1877 to 1882. The only way to fully appreciate Pamahoa's role is to read all three parts of the court record. It is rich with ethnographic mana'o and the tenacity of Pamahoa is a definite subtext of the proceedings as recorded. Kana'ina Probate 2426, 1877.

23. Kalepa's brother Ma'ihu'i and sister Kaupai are not shown in figure 5 only because of the present ability of the author with regard to formatting. Neither Ma'ihu'i nor Kaupai had any children of their own, and the Kaeakamahu line continued into the twentieth century through the pua of Kalepa alone.

24. Information from both Richard and Archie Kalepa was shared informally, usually at family gatherings, and in Richard's case, during a visit he made to my home sometime between 1977 and 1979.


26. Refer to note 24 for an explanation regarding formatting constraints.

27. SAH, Probate 2426, part one, 83.
29. Ibid., 1042.
30. KFG 1986, 27.
31. Kalepa's occupation was found listed in SAH, Maui Directory, 1890, 42.
32. SAH, Kingdom of Hawai‘i, Privy Council Records 30, Act to Regulate Names 1869.
33. This assumption is possible based on the fact that Kalepa is listed in an occupational roster of men's names until 1890 as a Lahaina-residing fisherman. His name is not shown thereafter. Dallas Kalepa recalls being told that his father James learned about fishing from Kalepa. This suggests a hereditary occupation. It would be unusual to have someone like Kalepa simply drop out of fishing as his work. Kalepa's death seems a possible explanation for the non-listing after 1890.
34. KFG 1986, 27.
36. Kalepa 1986, ws, 1. His own words about the Kalepa portion of the family read "I was born in Lahaina on Oct. 1, 1910 youngest child of (Lydia) Lily Pali Kalepa and James Ma'ihu‘i Kalepa. There were five others born before me - Richard, Susan, Albert, Archie, and Phillip."
37. Information shared about Weitek comes from Senora Lulu Pali de Quintana, a granddaughter of Lilia Pali and the daughter of David Kaukaha Pali, the child born to Lilia by Weitek in 1892.
38. Information about Willie Pali going to China comes from Dallas' older brother Richard Kalepa. Susan Pa`ao`ao Kalepa Johnson's (Dallas' only sister from the Kalepa marriage) ledger includes the names of their half-blood siblings. Kealaka‘a is the name sister Mary has down as a surname, possibly indicating she was also legally adopted.
39. An excerpt from one report Reverend Pali filed when still at the Waioli Mission in Hanalei, Kaua‘i cites the licentious behavior of some residents of the area and condemns church members for backsliding and absenteeism. These reports in his own hand are in the form of personal letters and can be found in a name file: Reverend A. Pali at the Mission Houses Museum Library.
40. KFG 1986, 28.
41. Conversation with Mary Poni Bright, August 1979, Lahaina, Maui.
42. Kalepa 1986, ws, 3.
43. Ibid.
44. Kalepa 1986, ws, 1.
45. Kalepa 1986, ws, 3
46. Kana'ina probate 2426, part 3, 1241.
47. Kalepa 1986, 1.
49. Ibid.
52. Kalepa 1994, in.
53. A well-known, very musical family, the Fardens, recall how then sheriff Philip Pali forced two of the boys, Carl and Bernard, to sing at his house located in the Lahaina Prison quarters where they remained until early morning hours. In character for him, Pali did not offer any honorarium to them for the entertainment. Instead, he said goodbye without doing what was proper, to offer serenaders a gratuity. Some small token should have been given, but that was how he was to everyone, family and non-family members alike. See Mary C. Richards, Sweet Voices of Lahaina, Island Heritage: Honolulu, 1990, 50.
54. Ibid.
57. For an account of Chad Kalepa Baybayan's skills as a navigator see, Finney 1994, 117.
**Glossary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahupua‘a</td>
<td>Major land division stretching from uplands to coastline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ahu‘ula</td>
<td>Feather cloak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ai</td>
<td>To eat, consume, consumptive power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aialo</td>
<td>Attendant of the chief’s household, intimate of a chief, lit., eating in the presence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aihue</td>
<td>To steal, rob, pilfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aikanaka</td>
<td>Man-eater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aikāne</td>
<td>Male lover of a male, companion, friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aikapu</td>
<td>To eat under tabu, sacred eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aimoku</td>
<td>District polity, district power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Āina</td>
<td>Land, region, area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Āina hānau</td>
<td>Ancestral homeland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ainoa</td>
<td>Free eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākea</td>
<td>Breadth, expansiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akua</td>
<td>God, deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akua Kāne</td>
<td>Male deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akua Kaua</td>
<td>War-related deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaka‘i</td>
<td>Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Alalā</td>
<td>A style of chanting with vibration and tremor of voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali‘i</td>
<td>Noble, chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali‘i ‘aimoku</td>
<td>District chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali‘i maka‘ūnana</td>
<td>High chief living incognito in the back country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali‘i noanoa</td>
<td>Child born of a high chief and a country person of no rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali‘i Nui</td>
<td>High ranking noble, great chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali‘i ‘okana</td>
<td>Sub district chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali‘i pūnehele</td>
<td>Favorite chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali‘i wāhine</td>
<td>Chiefess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloha</td>
<td>Love, affection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Anā‘anā</td>
<td>Sorcery, associated rituals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ano</td>
<td>Identity, way, nature, kind, type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ano kaukau ali‘i</td>
<td>Chiefly server identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Alo‘i</td>
<td>Native Hawaiian identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Alo‘a</td>
<td>Page, side of something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aumakua</td>
<td>Ancestral guardian spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian Term</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Aumākua wale</td>
<td>Exclusive to ancestral guardian spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emi</td>
<td>Descreasing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haʻaheo</td>
<td>Proud, prideful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haʻa kuʻē</td>
<td>Feather standard bearer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haʻanoʻu</td>
<td>To chant with emphasis and force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haku</td>
<td>Chiefly superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haku aikāne</td>
<td>Male lover who is a chiefly superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hala</td>
<td>Pandanus or screw pine (Pandanus odoratissimus.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hālau hula</td>
<td>Place where native dance is taught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>House, home, dwelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male mua</td>
<td>Men's house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hana</td>
<td>Task, act, deed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hana hūnā</td>
<td>Covert action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hana kaukau aliʻi</td>
<td>Chiefly server deed, task</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hana lawelawe</td>
<td>Server task</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hānai</td>
<td>Traditional child rearing practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haole</td>
<td>Foreigner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hapa</td>
<td>Half, part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāpai kō</td>
<td>Cane field labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hau</td>
<td>A lowland tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haumāna</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heiau</td>
<td>Religious temple for state worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiapo</td>
<td>Eldest child of a family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoʻi</td>
<td>A sexual union of cousins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoʻipoipo</td>
<td>Lovemaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoʻokamaʻāina</td>
<td>To create or cause familiarity, as in family relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoʻomanawanui</td>
<td>To be patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoʻonani</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoʻonui</td>
<td>To enlarge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui pili koko</td>
<td>Blood related group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hula</td>
<td>Native Hawaiian Dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hulu manu</td>
<td>Bird feathers, fig., entourage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hūnā</td>
<td>Hidden, secret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihu 'eka</td>
<td>Dirty nose, fig., sweet potato cultivation method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ike</td>
<td>Knowledge, to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ili kapu</td>
<td>Sacred skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ilima</td>
<td>A small yellow native shrub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Sida species)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Imi haku</td>
<td>To seek an Ali'i Nui as leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inoa</td>
<td>Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inoa ho'omana'o</td>
<td>Commemorative name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inoa kūamuamu</td>
<td>Reviling name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inoa kupuna</td>
<td>Handed-down name of an ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipo</td>
<td>Lover, sweetheart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipu</td>
<td>Gourd, percussion instrument made from gourd plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka'au</td>
<td>Forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'ēke'eke</td>
<td>Bamboo percussion instrument, small drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāhili</td>
<td>Feather standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahu</td>
<td>Personal attendant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahu akua</td>
<td>Caretaker of religious figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahu hānai</td>
<td>Parental role in traditional childrearing practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahuna</td>
<td>Expert, priest, high skilled practitioner of a particular task</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaikua'ana</td>
<td>Older sibling of the same sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāko'o</td>
<td>Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka lā</td>
<td>The sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālaiwa'a</td>
<td>Canoe building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalo</td>
<td>Taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamakua</td>
<td>Monotonal chant style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanaka</td>
<td>Person, human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāne</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāne wale</td>
<td>Exclusively male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanikau</td>
<td>Lamentation chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāohi</td>
<td>Guttural vocal sound in chanting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaona</td>
<td>Hidden meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapa</td>
<td>Bark cloth from paper mulberry plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapu</td>
<td>Sacred, restricted, sanction associated with sacred matters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kau</td>
<td>To put or place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaua</td>
<td>Warfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kau 'ao'ao</td>
<td>One sided</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kaukau

Affectionate advice, to step up and serve

Kaukau ali'i

Chiefly server

Kaulua

Double

Kauwā

Social class of persons who did not observe society's rules

Kia'ēēna

Governor of an island

Kia'i po'o

Bodyguard

Kīhei

Cape, shoulder covering of bark cloth worn over one shoulder and tied in a knot

Ki'i

Religious figure

Kō

Sugar cane

Koa

Warrior

Koha

Prolonged sound in chanting

Ko'ihonua

Genealogy chant

Koko piha

Pure Hawaiian

Kona

His, hers, its

Konohiki

Land steward

Ko'olani

Chiefly supporter

Kū

To appear

Kū'auhau

Genealogy

Ku'aulua

Degree of lesser chief

Kuleana

Responsibility, traditional land use designation

Kumu

Foundation, base, source, origin, master educator

Kupuna

Ancestor, elder

Ku'u

My Beloved

Lā

Day, sun

Lā'au

Tree, wood

Lā'au ali'i

Degree of chiefly rank

Lā'au lapa'au

Medicinal healing

Lā ha'aheo

Planting day

Lana

Light, a type of wood

Lani

Heaven, heavenly; fig. chief, chiefly

Lani ākea

Breath of heaven; expanse of chiefly greatness

Lauhala

Pandanus leaf

Lawelawe

Service

Le'ale'a

Sensual gratification

Leo

Voice

Lepo

Dirt, ground

Le'polepo

Dirty, earthy

Lomilomi

Masseur, masseuse

Luna lilo loa

Highest of the high
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Māhele</td>
<td>To divide, share from a larger whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahi‘ai</td>
<td>Cultivator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahi‘ai kalo</td>
<td>Taro cultivator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahi‘ai ‘uala</td>
<td>Sweet potato cultivator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahina</td>
<td>Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahiole</td>
<td>Feather helmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma‘i</td>
<td>Menstruation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai‘a</td>
<td>Banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maka‘ainana</td>
<td>Members of traditional society's worker, producer class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maka‘aina‘ana</td>
<td>Conceptual derivation of maka‘ainana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makua</td>
<td>Parent, parental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālama</td>
<td>To keep, care for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālama ‘āina</td>
<td>To care for the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malo</td>
<td>Loincloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malo ‘eka</td>
<td>Dirty loincloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana</td>
<td>Spiritual lifeforce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana‘o</td>
<td>Meaning, idea, thought feeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mea ‘ai</td>
<td>Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mele</td>
<td>Chant interpreted through dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moe aikāne</td>
<td>Male-with-male oral-genital intercourse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moena</td>
<td>Mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moena lauhala</td>
<td>Chiefly server metaphor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moepu‘u</td>
<td>Loyal follower who has himself killed or commits suicide to show love for a dead chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mō‘I</td>
<td>Supreme ruler in traditional society, kingdom sovereign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moku</td>
<td>District of an island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molowā</td>
<td>Lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo‘o</td>
<td>Succession, series, story, tradition, ridge, raised surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo‘okū‘auhau</td>
<td>Genealogical succession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo‘olelo</td>
<td>Account, story, history; lit., succession of talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo‘opuna</td>
<td>Grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na‘au</td>
<td>Intestine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na‘auao</td>
<td>Intelligence, intestinal fortitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naha</td>
<td>Sexual union between half siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nā‘ kua‘āina</td>
<td>Country people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nā lani</td>
<td>Lit., &quot;Heavenly Ones,&quot; meaning high chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nānā</td>
<td>To look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nī’aupi’o</td>
<td>Child born of Ali‘i Nui ranked siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niu</td>
<td>Coconut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noa</td>
<td>Free, without restrictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noanoa</td>
<td>Free, free-born, country born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noho</td>
<td>To stay, sleep, remain with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noho ali‘i</td>
<td>Chiefly hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nui</td>
<td>Great, large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ohana</td>
<td>Extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ohe</td>
<td>Bamboo of all species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ōhelo</td>
<td>A small native shrub, cranberry family (Vaccinium reticulatum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ōiwi</td>
<td>Native Hawaiian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ōiwi koko piha</td>
<td>Pure Hawaiian ancestry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ōiwi wale</td>
<td>Era of Native Exclusively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Oki</td>
<td>Server</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Olapa</td>
<td>Select dancer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ōlelo</td>
<td>Speech, language, to speak, to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ōlelo Hawai‘i</td>
<td>Hawaiian language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ōlelo No‘eau</td>
<td>Proverb, saying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oli</td>
<td>Chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olioli</td>
<td>To chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One hānau</td>
<td>Homeland, birthplace; lit., birthsands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ō'ō kū</td>
<td>Digging stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Opala</td>
<td>Rubbish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Opelu kīkā</td>
<td>Native species of Mackeral when about the length of a finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ope`ope</td>
<td>Caretaker of Ali‘i Nui clothing and personal effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ōpio 'ōiwi</td>
<td>Native Hawaiian youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palapala</td>
<td>Written word, text, document.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papa ali‘i</td>
<td>Chiefly assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papahele</td>
<td>Floor, deck; let., walking board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepepiao hohonu</td>
<td>Synonym for malo ‘eka; lit., smelly ears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pili koko</td>
<td>Related by blood, ancestral closeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi'o</td>
<td>Rainbow’s arc, fig., bow between Ali'i Nui siblings as sexual partners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poepoe</td>
<td>Round, round looks of fullness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pono</td>
<td>Correct, proper, rightly balanced, good conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poi</td>
<td>Pounded taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poli</td>
<td>Bosom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pua</td>
<td>Descendant; lit., flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pū'ali</td>
<td>Warrior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punahele</td>
<td>Favorite person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taro</td>
<td>Staple food for the 'Oiwi (Colocasia esculenta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Enata</td>
<td>Native people of the Marquesas Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ua kele</td>
<td>Heavy rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Uala</td>
<td>Sweet potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ua noa</td>
<td>It is freed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ulu</td>
<td>Breadfruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa'a kaulua</td>
<td>Double-hulled canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahine</td>
<td>Woman, female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahine ali'i</td>
<td>Chiefess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahine Ali'i Nui</td>
<td>High chiefess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahine kaukau ali'i</td>
<td>Chiefess of lesser rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wāhine 'Ōiwi</td>
<td>Native Hawaiian women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wāhine wale</td>
<td>Exclusively female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiwai</td>
<td>Wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wā' kaua</td>
<td>Period of warfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wauke</td>
<td>Paper Mulberry plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wili</td>
<td>Intertwine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

372
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<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</table>
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