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HULI KA PALENA

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Chapter 1.

Huli Ka Palena, E Ho'okahua Ka Mua: Setting the Scene

1.1 Introduction

He hanai alii, he ai ahupua'a

*"a person who is in care of a young chief was often awarded an ahupua'a." 'Ōlelo
No'eau*

I was born Halilipalala... Aunty Lady Kamana

One of geography's earliest encounters with Hawai'i and its people happened in the period of the Mahele in which survey techniques and mapping methods were applied to aid in the transition from the traditional 'Ōiwi (Hawaiian) system of land "tenure" to that of fee-simple and leasehold ownership. A report authored by Surveyor General of the Hawaiian Kingdom, W.D. Alexander discusses methods of triangulation that had been done in order to complete surveys. He mentions that surveys were done in accordance with ancient place divisions such as moku, ahupua'a, and 'ili and describes the way in which areas were marked and bounded.¹ While other contemporary *haole* (foreigner) of his time termed the Hawaiian people to be "savages,"² Alexander concludes his report under the signpost of, "your humble servant," when

¹ Alexander, W.D. "A Brief Account of the Hawaiian Government Survey, Its Objects, Methods and Results." *Published under the order of the minister of the interior of the Hawaiian Kingdom*, Honolulu Bulletin Steam Print, 1889.

² Stolpe, Hjalmar. "On Evolution in the Ornamental Art Of Savage Peoples." *Yemer Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography*, 1890, pp. 1-75.

addressing Hawai'i's reigning *Mō'i* (sovereign), King David Kalakaua.

The "bounding of the native" and the subsequent dispossession of the native with their native land is a topic that has received much attention in fields of post-modern/post-colonial geography.³ Harris writes, "The management of the dispossession of the colonized of their land rested with a set of disciplinary technologies of which maps, numbers and law were perhaps the most important."⁴ In the context of Hawai'i, this necessitates a look at the events of the Mahele. The 1848 Mahele and the Kuleana Act of 1850 brought tremendous change to Hawai'i. These acts transformed the traditional system of tenure into that of fee simple and leasehold title under the capitalist model. Documents from the Mahele represent the establishment of the system of private property in Hawai'i, and offer insights into what the conception of private property was during this time. "It is not hyperbole to suggest that the impact of the Mahele was far more profound than anyone, especially the Hawaiian people, had dreamed. The Mahele set the stage for a variety of alterations in the social,

³ Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonizing Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
Braun, Bruce. *The Intemperate Rainforest*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

⁴ Harris, Cole. "How Did Colonialism Dispossession? Comments from the edge of Empire." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 94, 1, 2004, p. 179.

political, economic, and physical landscape of Hawai'i."⁵ Some authors have concluded that this transition from the traditional system of land tenure to that of fee-simple private property, though being greatly beneficial to those of foreign origin, has proved disastrous for those native born and of *maoli* (Hawaiian) ancestry.⁶ Other analysis have reached an opposing conclusion.⁷ Regardless of the type of normative analysis taken, these changes in the system represented a *huli*, or a change in the traditional system to one of a capitalist nature.

Geographers and other scholars focusing on colonialism have taken various approaches to their studies.⁸ Harris calls for a fuller understanding of colonial power through explaining colonialism's basic geographic dispossessions of the colonized, in which "one needs to study the colonial site itself, assess the

⁵ Moffat, Riley, Gary Fitzpatrick. *Surveying the Mahele*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995, p. 11.

⁶ Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikala. *Native Land and Foreign Desires; pehea la e pono ai?* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992. Moffat, 1995.

⁷ Osorio, John, "Kū`ē And Kū`Oko`a (Resistance And Independence):History, Law, And Other Faiths." *Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics*, Summer, 2004, p. 105. Osorio summarizes the Council of Regency position on the mahele in this section.

⁸ Pratt, M.L. *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturalization*. London and New York: Routledge Press, 1992.

Willems-Braun, Bruce. "Buried Epistemologies: The Politics of Nature in (Post)Colonial British Columbia." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 87,1, 1997, pp.3-31.

displacements that took place there and seek to account for them.”⁹

In this thesis I focus on the material aspects of colonialism/occupation in Hawai’i through the use of specific ahupua’a and the *huli* or transitions of their *palena* or boundaries. Being a *kanaka ‘ōiwi* (Native Hawaiian) researcher, I have experienced personally the effects and fallout of colonialism/occupation. As a result of the effects of colonialism and its accompanying indoctrinism, many *kānaka* as well as *haole* are unclear about traditional *palena* and what function these served in the daily management of traditional society. This thesis will consist of three parts: 1 – an examination of the traditional nature of *palena*; 2– some of earliest encounters with placing *palena* on maps during the early mapping initiatives of the Hawaiian Kingdom done through the Boundary Commission; 3 –An attempt to theorize why *palena* may have existed traditionally and how mapping attempts of them may not fit into traditional colonial mapping discourse.

In order to fully understand the material aspect of colonialism/occupation and how it affected the native inhabitants, one must first have an understanding of what the *‘āina* (native land) was like prior to colonization/occupation. A thorough understanding of native land systems and use is a pre-requisite to

⁹ Harris, 2004, p. 166.

understanding how colonialism etched out changes in the landscape. The traditional system of land tenure in Hawai'i is most often characterized by Euro-American writers as resembling a "feudal"¹⁰ system. Though this term is of Western/European origins, it is one that most academics most normally apply to the system that existed previously to the Mahele.

1.2. A Hawaiian Conception of Land and Tenure

1.2.1 Papahānaumoku, Tūtū Pele

The traditional link of *kānaka maoli*, or ethnically Hawaiian people, to land is always genealogical. A survey of any of the great genealogical chants (Kumuhonua, Welaahilani, Kumulipo, Opu'ukahonua) reveals that the 'āina (land and sea, lit. that which feeds) is an ancestor to *kānaka maoli*. Many modern Hawaiians still refer to *Pele* (the akua and in some chants, creator of these islands) as *Tūtū* (Grandmother) Pele. This illustrates that the connection of the *kānaka* with the 'āina is a familial one. This contrasts greatly with a relationship with the land that defines possession as the determining factor.

Kame'eleihiwa writes, "Buying and selling 'Āina, created by the Akua was even

¹⁰ Fitzpatrick, G., R. Moffat. *Mapping the Lands and Waters of Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Editions Limited, 2004, p. 11. "Many writers have spoken of the indigenous Hawaiian land system as feudal in nature, but in fact it differed significantly from the European feudal system..."

like selling one's grandmother, as Papa-hānau-moku was a grandmother to the Hawaiian race."¹¹ This familial and spiritual connection to the land required that kānaka maoli seek *pono* (harmony) in their interactions with 'āina.

Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono, the phrase proclaimed by Kamehameha III, translates as, *the sovereignty of the land is perpetuated through the secured harmony (of its people)*.¹² This clearly and concisely articulates the spiritual, genealogical and material connections of the Hawaiian people to the 'āina. Kamehameha III, and all other Ali'i, derived their right to rule out of three categories: spiritual, genealogical, and material – all of which were measured by their ability to bring *pono* to any given situation.

Ali'i Nui were mediators between the divine and the human. Should an Ali'i Nui neglect proper ritual and pious behavior famine or calamity would ensue. Should a famine arise, the Ali'i Nui would be held at fault and deposed. Alternately, should an Ali'i Nui be stingy and cruel to the commoners, the cultivators of the 'āina, he or she would be struck down, usually by the people.¹³

The maoli historian David Malo evaluates the *kuleana* (responsibility) of an *ali'i nui* (ruling chief) to maintain a *pono* relationship between him/herself and the *maka'āinana* (commoners) . The ali'i nui who is the body of the government

¹¹ Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, p. 33.

¹² Author's translation

¹³ Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, p. 26.

must insure that a pono relationship of aloha exists between themselves and their people, lest they be beaten and killed by the maka'āinana.

He mea pono i ke alii nui ke malama i kona mau makaainana iho, no ka mea, oia no ke kino pono i ke aupuni, ua nui na alii i pepehi ia e na makaainana, no ka hookaumaha i ka makaainana.¹⁴

It's a good thing for an alii nui to care for the people of the land under himself, because he/she is the rightful body of the government, there have been many ali'i that have been beaten and killed by the people of the land for overburdening the "common" people.¹⁵

Much of Western academia has a fetish of placing everything in separate little boxes. When conceptualizing Hawaiian relationships with land one must remember that the spiritual/metaphysical and genealogical connections to the land are not fragmented in Hawaiian ways of thinking. The material connection is very important and must not be forgotten, as *'āina*, that which feeds, is the primary source that provides nourishment for the physical body; however, it is equally important for nourishing the mental and spiritual as well. A Hawaiian conception might not see the three boxes as separate – the spiritual, the genealogical, and the material – but as one.

¹⁴ Malo, David. *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, Honolulu: The Folk Press Kapi'olani Community College, 1987.

1.2.2. Konohiki System: Kālai'āina and Palena

The Konohiki system is one that is often referred to when trying to describe maoli or Hawaiian resource management systems. At a certain time in the history of our kūpuna, the 'āina was not divided. As Kamakau writes,

I ka wa kahiko loa, aole i mahele ia na aina, ua waiho wale iho no ka mokupuni me ka mahele ole ia e na mokuaina, e na kalana, e na okana, e na ahupuaa, a me na ili aina, aka, i ka wa i paapu ai ka aina i kanaka ua mahele pono ia ka mokupuni a ua hookaawale pono ia ka aina, me ke kapa pono ia o ka inoa o kela mea o keia mea e maopopo ai¹⁶.

In very ancient times, the lands were not divided and an island was left without divisions such as kalana, okana, ahupua'a, and 'ili, but in the time when the lands became filled with people, the lands were divided, with the proper names for this place and that place so that they could be known.

Kamakau discusses how certain names were given to certain areas such as O'ahu island:

O na wahi i kapa mua ia i ka wa kahiko loa o ka inoa o na mokupuni, a ua loli hou ae i kekahi manawa. Ua noho o Oahu ma uka o Kalakoa no Waianae, a i ka wa ma hope o kana poe mamo, ua kapa ia ka inoa o ka mokupuni o Oahu. Pela ka loaa ana o ka aina o ka mokupuni aia ma kahi kaulana i noho ia e kekahi

¹⁶ Kamakau, Samuel. "Mo'olelo Hawaii." *Ke Au Okoa*, 11 Novemaba 1869.

kanaka, a e kekahi alii hoi, a i ka lakou poe mamo, ua kapa ia akula ke ahupuaa holookoa ma ia inoa, aia kahi i kapa ia o Honolulu ma Niukukahi, he wahi uuku loa, a ua hoolilo ia i wahi loi uuku loa, a i ke aloha o kana poe mamo, ua kapa ia ke ahupuaa holookoa o Honolulu, a pela no mai Hawaii a Kauai, aohe he inoa i kapa wale ia me ke kumu ole.¹⁷

The places that were first named in very ancient times were islands, and time passed. (A man named) O'ahu lived in the uplands above Kalakoa in Wai'anae, and in later times his descendants named the entire island O'ahu. That was how lands and islands (got their names), When there would be a famous place that was lived at by a certain person, or an ali'i, and it would be their descendants that named the entire ahupua'a this name (the name of their ancestor). There was a place called Honolulu in Niukukahi, it was a very small place, and this very small taro patch, due to the love of its ancestors became the name of the entire ahupua'a. The was the way it was done from Hawai'i to Kaua'i, there was no place that had a name for no reason.¹⁸

As the land became more filled with kānaka and more names were being established, mo'olelo tell us that different ali'i established the foundation of the ahupua'a system at different times on each island. According to Fornander, Ma'ilikūkahi¹⁹ is known for clearly marking the palena on O'ahu island.

¹⁷ Kamakau, Samuel. "Moolelo Hawaii." *Ke Au Okoa*, 11 Novemaba 1869.

¹⁸ Author's translation

¹⁹ See genealogy in Table. 1 &2

Manōkalanipo²⁰ on Kaua'i island, and 'Umialīloa is regarded as establishing a similar system on Hawai'i island.²¹ This system that was established brought greater "productivity" to the land. When Fornander writes about Ma'ilikūkahi he states that,

"He caused the island to be thoroughly surveyed, and boundaries between differing divisions and lands be definitely and permanently marked out, thus obviating future disputes between neighboring chiefs and landholders."²²

The type of surveying that was done at the time of Mā'ilikūkahi is unclear, but, what is clear is that the ahupua'a system was developed by different ali'i on each island and that this brought greater pono for the 'āina and people. This "surveying of the lands" also enabled *kālai'āina*, or carving of the land, to occur with a greater accuracy.

Kālai'āina refers to the political reassignment of land that was done at the time a new ali'i nui took control over an island.²³ The lands of all ali'i and Konohiki would revert to the new Mō'i, and he/she would redistribute the lands

²⁰ See genealogy in Table. 3

²¹ Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, p. 27.

²² Fornander, Abraham. *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the times of Kamehameha I*, Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1996, p. 89. I checked Bishop Museum for an 'ōlelo makuahine version of this and especially the term "survey" but found that Fornander only published this volume in English and thus no other text exists (according to the Archivist at B.M.)

²³ Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, p. 52.

in accordance with his or her own judgment as well as that of the advisors. This action of dividing up the lands among the prominent ali'i represented one of the most important actions an ali'i could accomplish. A good kālai'āina would assure peace by appeasing all ali'i of that island. One might strategically place those ali'i that might have the ability to challenge the authority of the Mō'i in an ahupua'a that was neighboring the residence of a strong supporter of the Mō'i, so that they might be under strict watch for any signs of revolt. In most cases following a kālai'āina, an ali'i would be in charge of a single or several ahupua'a, which they might then place under the control of a konohiki (resource manager for an ali'i of an ahupua'a) for its day-to-day management. Malo gives a detailed description of the kuleana that a kālaimoku ali'i who divided lands for Mō'i had to fulfill:

Elua no mea nui iloko o ka ke kalaimoku aoao o ka malama i na alii kekahi, o ka malama i na makaainana kekahi, no keia mau mea elua, e alakai ai ke kanaka kalaimoku i ke alii ma kona aoao, ma ka hooponopono ai keia mau mea elua, pela no ia e hooponopono ai.²⁴

There are two important aspects in being a kālaimoku, to take care of the ali'i, and to take care of the maka'āinana, for these two reasons the kālaimoku guides the ali'i at his side, with the careful attention

²⁴ Malo, 1987, p. 125 (27).

to these two things, things were made to be done properly.²⁵

An ahupua'a is a subdivision of land smaller than a kalana²⁶ and moku²⁷ but larger than an 'ili. Some modern usages of the word "ahupua'a" have distorted its meaning by equating ahupua'a to "watershed". Fallacies such as this make an ahupua'a similar to "nature" as critiqued by Braun where, an ahupua'a is "emptied of human inhabitants who might lay claim to the land."²⁸ A more traditional understanding of the term would encompass the meaning of the term which is associated with *Makahiki* (annual procession of the god Lono where tribute was collected), where the akua (god) would stop at the seaward boundaries of ahupua'a where the *ahu* (sites of worship, signified by a rectangular pile of stones) would be adorned with the carved image of a *pua'a* (hog) made from kukui wood (a kinolau of Lono) and *ho'okupu* (tribute) would be made and collected. Malo writes,

Ma ka wa e hele mai ai ke akua a ku mai i ke ahu ma

²⁵ Author's Translation

²⁶ *Hawaii Holomua*, 13 May 1893. In Hen index at Bishop Museum Archives, translation by Mary Kawena Pukui: Maui was cut up into moku, kalana and ahupuaa, which was not so of Hawaii, for its kalana and ahupuaa were within the moku. It is difficult now to distinguish the various kalana with in the six districts of Hawaii.

²⁷ Malo, 1987, p. 13. Ua Mahele ia i mau apana maloko o ka mokupuni o kela mau apana i mahele ia, ua kapa ia he moku oloko e like me Kona ma Hawaii a me Hana ma Maui, a me na mea like ae ma keia mau moku

²⁸ Braun, 2002, p. 47.

ka palena oia ahupuaa²⁹, At the time that the god comes, the god stops at the ahu on the boundary of that particular ahupua'a³⁰..

Malo then discusses the area that is marked *kapu* (forbidden to enter) and *noa* (free to enter) by the *ālia* sticks, then he states the place that is noa:

...malaila na konohiki e hookupu ai.³¹ ...it was there that the konohiki would offer ho'okupu.

When the sufficient ho'okupu had been given, Malo tells us that a *kahuna* (priest) would utter this *pule* (prayer) before the procession would leave to another ahupua'a,

Oukino Lono i ka lani,
he ao loa, he ao poko, he ao kiai, he ao halo, he ao
hoopua i ka lani, mai Ulili, mai Melemele,
mai Polopola, mai Haehae, mai Omaokuululu, mai ka
aina o Lono i hanau mai ai, oi hookui aku ai o Lono,
ka hoku e mihai i kalanai, amoamo ke akua laau nui o
Lono, kuikui papa, kalua mai kahiki ha paina kukaka,
i ka hau miki no Lono, e ku i malo ahiu, alaila hooho
mai kanaka, hui, hea hou ke kahuna o Lono, hooho
mai kanaka, ke akua laau, hea mai ka kahuna, aulu,
hoo(ho) mai, kanaka, Aulu e Lono³²

The ahupua'a was a central land division for *kālai'āina*, and for 'auhau or

²⁹ Malo, 1987, p. 99.

³⁰ Author's translation will be used throughout, authority should always be placed in original language, 'ōlelō makuahine (Hawaiian Language).

³¹ Malo, 1987, p. 99.

³² Malo, 1987, p. 99.

tribute collection, as well as spiritual rejuvenation during the Makahiki season. In modern contexts ahupua'a serve for the kānaka maoli people as a reminder of more pono times. Though ahupua'a are not "ancient" in the sense that they are something out of the distant past whose meaning is merely re-produced for political aims (as Harvey terms "ancient heritage").³³ Knowledge of ahupua'a, has never been forgotten and thus need not be recreated, but rather can be "sought out."³⁴ Yet, the conception of ahupua'a by kānaka maoli today may have a similar function to what Harvey refers to as "ancient monuments", where "ancient monuments result from the decisions of the people in the present, about what memories they wish to ascribe on to the future and appear to be at the forefront of cultural production."³⁵

An aspect of the traditional land system that was integral for its existence is that of palena. Establishing palena on moku and ahupua'a must have made the kālai'āina a smoother process. Palena, or possibly an evolved term "*palena* 'āina," are place boundaries. These are the boundaries that would have been

³³ Harvey, David. C. "National Identities and the Politics of Ancient Heritage: Continuity and Change at the Ancient Monuments in Britain and Ireland c.1675-1850." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28, 4, 2003, p. 475.

³⁴ Cajete, Gregory. *Native Science*, Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2000, p. 80. The scholar Gregory Cajete speaks of process called "coming to know" which expresses similar sentiments to what I call "sought out."

³⁵ Harvey, 2003, pp. 473-487.

codified by Ali'i such as Ma'ilikukahi, Manokalanipo, and 'Umi as stated previously. Another term that was used for boundary was *iwi*. *Iwi* are described in Andrews dictionary as "the stones stuck up along the boundaries of ili, or other lands; sometimes it would be a low stone wall." Mary Kawena Puku'i described *iwi* as "stones or earth ridge marking land boundary." When Kanahele talks about place and boundaries, he writes,

A place always had bounds around it, whether real or imagined... A place is distinguished not only by its relative position, but more important, by its distinctiveness or its identity. This is what fences do for a place, whether it be a house site, a corner room, or an ahupua'a. In a word, the place is made private.³⁶

For Kanahele a place clearly has a boundary around it; *palena* for Kanahele makes a place private. When I addressed a former kumu of mine and now "fellow geographer" about the word *palena 'āina*, this was his response:

As far as I know, *palena* is a traditional word, it may have been adapted to be used in the fee simple system but there were definitely boundaries in the traditional Hawaiian system. However in the Hawaiian system the boundaries were negotiable and referenced on peoples relationships with each other as well as with other entities (*akua*, etc).³⁷

I received a similar response by Noenoe Silva, a Hawaiian language professor

³⁶ Kanahele, George. *Kū Kānaka*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986, p. 178.

³⁷ Carlos Andrade, e-mail correspondence, 13 April 2004.

and now an Associate professor in the Political Science department. Silva writes:

aole maopopo pono ia'u ka pane i kau ninau, aka maopopo no ia'u i ka wa kahiko, i ka lilo ana o ke aupuni i alii ai moku hou, kalai hou ia ka aina, a loa na konohiki hou a pela aku, a kalai ia no na mahele aina i mau moku, kalana, ahupuaa, ili, a pela wale aku, a no laila i ko'u manao ana, he mau palena aina i ia mau la. Aole nae paha like me ke au ma hope, ke au hoi a na mea ana aina, a me ke kukulu ana i na pa ma waena o na aina like ole.³⁸

I don't know for certain the answer to your question, but I do know that in ancient times, when a new Ali'i would rise to power, he would redistribute the lands and assign new Konohiki etc, and the lands would then be distributed by sections such as moku, kalana, ahupua'a, and 'ili and such, therefore In my thinking, there were place boundaries (land boundaries) in those days, but perhaps they were not like the ones in the times following. The times when lands were being surveyed and walls being built on various lands to serve as boundaries. (author's translation)

Both of these correspondences believe that there were traditional palena and that they served a political purpose, which confirm the ideas that Fornander had put across that palena were political in nature. Andrade writes that palena were dynamic and could be dependent on varying factors,³⁹ this was something that was not indicated in Fornander's writings and will be explored later in this thesis.

³⁸ Noenoe Silva, e-mail correspondence, 17 April 2004.

³⁹ Carlos Andrade, e-mail correspondence, 13 April 2004.

1.2.3. Palena and Place

When I spoke with a kupuna who I thought had been born in Waiapuka ahupua'a in North Kohala, I found that she had actually been born in the ahupua'a of Niuli'i (an ahupua'a bordering Waiapuka on its North side). One of the first questions I asked her was if she had been born in Waiapuka. Her answer was immediate: *"No, I was born in Halilipalala!"* I was a little confused at first because I thought she was born in Waiapuka. After further research into the place names of Waiapuka and their adjoining ahupua'a I found that Halilipalala was an 'ili in Niuli'i, not Waiapuka, about 500 feet away. Aunt Lady Kamanā is the kupuna that I refer to and I am sure she knew of the reason for my confusion (you cannot find Halilipalala on any modern map, nor is it a name that one is very likely to ever hear today). She possibly wanted to see how much I already knew and how open I was to learning something new. The sense of place that was conveyed to me by Aunt Lady was a much more traditional nature than I realized. Often times, when you ask a Hawaiian my age, "Where you from?" you are likely to get an answer that is island based, such as Kaua'i, or Maui. Fewer times you might get an answer that refers to a more specific place, possibly an ahupua'a such as Hakipu'u, Waimea, or Wailua. Among people my

age, it is very rare to refer to their places of origin in terms of 'ili. Perhaps it is because most of us have been born in area hospitals rather than at home as most kūpuna have. Or it could be because many of us don't relate to the land in 'ili terms today. We very definitely live in a different time and it has indeed changed our perceptions of place.

In order to understand the palena of an area (moku, ahupua'a, 'ili) like the ancestors (ko kākou kūpuna) did, one must have a much more intimate sense of that place. While one might be able to draw imaginary lines over a "space" he or she has never walked, smelt, or even seen, "place is not a purely formal operator empty of content, but is always contentful, always specifiable as this particular place or that one."⁴⁰ This is a version of the lesson that Aunty Lady was teaching me. Halilipalala, though very close to Waiapuka in measured actual distance, and indistinguishable on almost any modern map, was a distinctly different place in the eyes of this kupuna. Individual 'ili in the same ahupua'a are distinctly different places. Cajete writes,

Indigenous people are people of place, and the nature of place is embedded in their language, the physical, cognitive, and emotional orientation of a people is a kind of map they carry in their heads

⁴⁰ Casey, Edward. "How to Get From Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time, Phenomenological Prolegomena" in Field, S. and Keith Basso, *Senses of Places* Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1996, pp. 13-52.

and transfer from generation to generation.⁴¹

Cajete's ideas, together with my own personal feelings, compel me to assume that one could not know the palena of an ahupua'a or 'ili without "knowing the place much more intimately," or having received the information by someone who did. Thus any inquiry into the nature of palena must be a place-based inquiry. Traditionally, knowledge of boundaries were held in the memories of people who were intimate with what we today would call the "geography of the places concerned." However, knowledge of palena often included references to other realms of information such as contained in oli, ka'ao, mele and mo'olelo concerning personages such as menehune, mo'o, kupua, or akua. Place names themselves denote story. "Places can never become utterly attenuated."⁴² If one accepts this statement and that places have boundaries, then one must accept that boundaries as well are never "utterly attenuated" and thus can be attained by those who "seek them out."

⁴¹ Cajete, 2000, p. 74.

⁴² Casey, Edward. S. "Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean To Be In A Place-World?" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 91, 4, 2001, pp. 683-693.

1.2.4. Ke 'Ano O Ka Palena: The Nature Of Palena

One need only open a Hawaiian dictionary to the page that lists the English word *wind*, for that one English word there would be over 300 available options for a Hawaiian counterpart. A similar situation would exist if one looked up the word *cloud*. Hawaiian descriptions of 'āina and its different aspects are as varied and diverse as our genealogies. For a people to be able to give such detailed descriptions for different states of 'āina, aboriginal Hawaiians also must have had extensive knowledge of place and the boundaries that gave each its unique identity. The boundaries did not necessarily manifest themselves as lines on a map, but palena had distinctive characteristics associated with each place. Many ahupua'a and 'ili have distinct rain names. For instance a rain name associated almost exclusive with Mānoa is Tuahine, while its neighboring valley Pālolo, is famous for its Līlīlehua rain. Knowledge of palena would enable a person to know which of the two rains one was experiencing. Some form of a "mental map" along with the corresponding palena on the ground must have enabled these palena to be actualized and adhered to. Numerous studies have been done on the traditional cognitive mapping and navigation techniques of

Polynesians and indigenous people.⁴³ Little has been done on the mapping of the 'āina or terrestrial mapping. A problem that arises when one attempts to uncover traditional terrestrial mapping is "where do we find that knowledge?"

As one article states,

remarkable systems of cartographic and navigational understanding that have been lost as a result of European contact and because it simply did not occur to so many of our predecessors to ask the local experts what they knew.⁴⁴

Since traditional ahupua'a cannot be lost (they are the 'āina we live on) and while the methodology for "coming to know" palena might be acceptably different in modern times than in traditional times, an understanding of traditional palena would lead to a way to document traditional "terrestrial" mapping.

One of the activities that led up to the placing of palena on paper include the surveys conducted during the Mahele and later those that were required by the Boundary Commission in establishing the boundaries of ahupua'a that had been awarded in name alone. The Boundary Commission came into being in

⁴³Belyea, Barbara. "Inland Journeys, Native Maps' in Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use." *University of Chicago Press*. 1998.

Yee, Sandra. "Aboriginal Maps and Pre-maps of Pacific Islanders," M.A. Thesis University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1977.

⁴⁴Feinberg, Dyman, Rangituteki Paiaki, and Rollins Nukuriaki. "Drawing the coral heads: Mental mapping and its Physical Representation in a Polynesian Community." *The Cartographic Journal*, 49, 3, 2003, pp. 243-253.

1862 by an act of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. In other contexts, original surveys were used as a means of "bounding the native," and enumerating and enframing the power and wealth of the colonizer.⁴⁵ The tool of surveying may or may not have been used for similar ends in Hawai'i. Hawai'i's case is interesting in that the first surveys were done under the direction of the native run government of Hawai'i. Although directed primarily by non-natives, a number of surveys were actually carried out by *kānaka maoli*. If ancient palena or place boundaries were indeed preserved by these surveys one might be able to speculate on the origins of the boundaries. If ancient palena were not preserved one might be able to critique the methods applied in the surveys in order to see why the surveys did not preserve palena. If scholars such as Andrade are correct in asserting that palena were in fact dynamic, the act of attempting to survey them and render them static would prove most problematic.

1.3. E Nānā I Ke Kumu: A Hawaiian Epistemological Approach

There have been a number of approaches in the study of Hawaiian ahupua'a. While much work has been done on ahupua'a which uses an

⁴⁵ Braun, Bruce, 2002, p. 47.

approach, "Western Science"⁴⁶ as termed by Smith, that produces the "geography of x ahupua'a", geographers such as Oliveira⁴⁷ and Andrade⁴⁸ through the use of forms of Hawaiian epistemologies have produced what may be better termed "an ahupua'a geography" rather than the "geography of x ahupua'a." I intend to take a similar approach in that I hope to produce a "palena geography."

Manu Meyer writes about Hawaiian Epistemology noting that, "Knowledge for Native Hawaiians, is grounded in the natural environment and in the ancestral line of the family."⁴⁹ In doing my research on North Kohala, I found a family name, Ka'ili, in a Boundary Commission document. This name comes through my family from my *kupunakuakolu*, or great-great-great grandmother, Isabella Hale'ala Ka'ili. I have been taught that in the Hawaiian world, coincidences are for those that cannot see clearly or are not ready to see yet. Knowing that my kupuna took part in the events that happened in the area brings a personal/genealogical connection to the 'āina of North Kohala. I pa'a

⁴⁶ Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, University of Otago Press, 1999, p. 39.

⁴⁷ Oliveira, Katrina-Ann Rose-Marie, Kapā'anaokalāokeola. "Oluohu O Kahakuloa Kuu Kulaiwi," M.A. Thesis in Geography, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1999.

⁴⁸ Andrade, Carlos L. "Towards a Hawaiian Geography," PHD dissertation in Geography, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2002.

⁴⁹ Meyer, Manu. "Native Hawaiian Epistemology: Sites of Empowerment and Resistance," *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 31, 1, 1998, p. 23.

no nā 'ā'ā o ka huli 'o ka ulu iholā no ia, when a taro stock is firm in its roots
growth is soon to follow.

1.4. Correspondences of Place: A Phenomenological Conception

Early Greek philosophers such as Aristotle and Archytas, had speculated that place was prior to space. Philosophers of the Twentieth century like Heidegger and Bachelard building on the works of Aristotle and Archytas have seen space as being posterior to place. Authors such as Edward Casey have grappled with the conception of place and space, and come to a similar conclusion. Casey proposes what he calls the "Archytian Axiom," and states that "place is the first of all things."⁵⁰ He agrees with Kant's assumption that all knowledge begins with experience and goes on to say that all experiences (perceptions, sensations) happen in a place. Thus the very nature of one's perception is in the words of Casey are "emplaced" from the very beginning. Accordingly there can be no knowledge of a place prior to being in that place, perception of a place cannot be a priori to being in that place, thus , Casey would argue that "place is an ingredient in perception itself."⁵¹ Since places gather things such as culture, histories, even languages and thoughts, places become

⁵⁰ Casey, 1996, p. 16.

⁵¹ Casey, 1996, p. 18.

bearers of culture as the people of a place become the bearers of that place. As these features of place change so does the place change with it.

1.5. Kahi E Huli Ana ; The Journey Forward

The following chapters of this thesis will all deal with palena. The next chapter will attempt to consolidate, cite, and clearly explain the range of kanaka land terms, such as ahupua'a, kalana and moku. Chapter three will examine the process of a traditional kālai'āina through the use of 'ōiwi sources. Chapter four describes a Hawaiian epistemology that is adaptive and the changes that palena experienced as a result of the mapping that was done by the Hawaiian Kingdom. The final chapter will revisit some of the places that the thesis has taken us and theorize on the nature of palena and their mapping.

Chapter 2.

Ke Kapa 'Ana I Nā 'Ano Inoa

O Ka 'Āina: Hawaiian Land Terms

2.1. Ke Kapa 'Ana I Kō Loko Mau Inoa O Ka Moku; The Naming of the interior of an island.

Many authors have written about Hawaiian land terms⁵² and from these writings and others definitions and interpretations of Hawaiian land terms have been presented. For instance, take the word ahupua'a. Through some modern uses it has been equated to that of a watershed,⁵³ or a self-sufficient divisions of mauka to makai resources among its inhabitants.⁵⁴ A reading of early Hawaiian scholars such as Malo and Kamakau include neither of these theories. This chapter seeks to map the transformation of Hawaiian land terms through a look at early sources written ma ka 'ōlelo makuahine (Hawaiian Language), and the

⁵² Malo, 1987; Kamakau, Sammuel Manaiakalani. "Moolelo Hawaii," *Ke Au Okoa*. November 11, 1869; Lyons, C.J. "Land Matters in Hawaii," *The Islander* July, 2 – October 15, 1875; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Fitzpatrick, 1995; Chinen, Jon. *Original Land Titles in Hawai'i*. 1961; Ziegler, C. A. *Hawaiian Natural History, Ecology, and Evolution*. Honolulu:University of Hawaii Press, 2002.

⁵³ Male, T. Fitzgerald, T. Fujita, R. "All One Ahupua'a When It Comes To Mercury," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, April 25, 2004.

⁵⁴ Kirch, V. P. *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.

interpretation of these writings by later authors, many of whom are not able to access these sources in their original language.⁵⁵

2.2. E Nānā I Kō Kākou Kūpuna: Look To The Source

The Hawaiian scholar David Malo is one of the first to write about Hawaiian land terms. David Malo was a primary source who experienced much of what he wrote about and also had the opportunity to learn from and record the knowledge of kūpuna (elders) of his time. The writings of David Malo discuss land terms such as moku, ahupua'a and 'ili as being successively smaller land divisions. Malo does not talk about ahupua'a with the "common definition" of ahupua'a as is offered by many scholars. Zeigler seems to categorize this definition well as he writes,

Ideally--although not invariably in practice-- each ahupua'a consisted of a relatively narrow triangular area of land with its apex at the highest point of an island or proximate mountain ridge ("mauka" toward the uplands), extending down slope to its base along the coast (makai toward the ocean). Each usually represented a discrete watershed, and its mauka-makai range helped to ensure the inclusion of natural resources characteristic of

⁵⁵ Reading a translated version of Malo and Kamakau can give the reader a less precise understanding of the content. It should also be noted that for Hawaiian Language proficient scholars there may be an abundance of sources other than Malo and Kamakau located in the Hawaiian language newspapers.

all elevations and even marine environment because resident exploitation rights extended far offshore.⁵⁶

When Linda Tuhiwai Smith discusses the problems “Western research” has had on aboriginal people, she notes that it has done little to add to the native body of knowledge and “instead it left a foundation of ideologically laden data about Maori society, which has distorted notions of what it is like to be Maori.”⁵⁷ A similar problem can be seen for ‘Ōiwi when dealing with the ideological assertions evident in the descriptions of authors like Zeigler, who offers assumptions without citations. Zeigler writes,

Theoretically, the ahupua’a concept should have provided the makaainana with a satisfactory though hard-earned existence, but their ali’i were usually notoriously conspicuous consumers and also had to support a large retinue of idle relatives, priests, advisors, and other courtiers. The chiefly demands on their subjects for Taro and other vegetables, fishes and Pigs, as well as other labor intensive-products such as feather cloaks and tapa, often exhausted the commoners and occasionally brought them to the brink of starvation.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ziegler, 2002, p. 334.

⁵⁷ Smith, 1999, p. 170.

⁵⁸ Ziegler, 2002, p. 334.

Malo includes neither of the descriptions offered by Ziegler and instead speaks of ahupua'a in terms of it being a subdivision of larger divisions of land, he writes,

Ke Kapa ana i ko loko mau inoa o ka moku. Ua kapa aku ka poe kahiko inoa no ko ka mokupuni mau mea ma ko lakou nana ana a kupo ko lakou manao ana, elua inoa i kapa ia ma ka mokupuni, he moku ka inoa, he aina kahi inoa, ma ka moku ana ia ke kai ua kapa ia he moku, a ma ka noho ana a kanaka, ua kapa ia he aina ka inoa. O ka mokupuni, oia ka mea nui e like me Hawaii, Maui a me keia pae moku apau.

Ua Mahele ia i mau apana maloko o ka mokupuni o kela mau apana i mahele ia, ua kapa ia he moku oloko e like me Kona ma Hawaii a me Hana ma Maui, a me na mea like ae ma keia mau moku. A ua mahele hou ia mau apana hou ua kapa ia aku ia he okana kahi inoa he kalana kahi inoa, he poko maloko ia o ka okana. A ua mahele hou ia mau apana hou malalo iho o keia mau apana, ua kapa ia aku ia he Ahupuaa, aka malalo o ke Ahupuaa, ua kapa ia he Ili aina. A ua mahele ia malalo o ka Ili aina na moo aina a malalo o ka moo aina na pauku aina a malalo o na pauku aina na kihapai malaila i mahele ia na Koele, na hakuone, na kuakua⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Malo, 1987, p.14.

The naming of the interior of a land

The kupuna of old gave names for the island's different parts through their observing until their ideas became clear and precise, there are two names used on an island, moku is a name, aina is another name, lands that were separated by the sea were called moku, lands where people resided were called moku. The island (moku that is surrounded by water) is the main division, like, Hawai'i, Māui and the rest of the island chain⁶⁰. (Islands) were divided up into sections inside of the island, called moku o loko, like such places as Kona on Hawai'i island, and Hana on Māui island, and such divisions on these islands.

These sections were further divided into subdivision called 'okana, or kalana; a poko is a subdivision of a 'okana. These sections were further divided into smaller divisions called Ahupua'a, and sections smaller than an Ahupua'a were called 'ili 'āina. Divisions smaller than 'ili 'āina were mo'o 'āina and paukū 'āina, and smaller than a paukū 'āina was a kihāpai, at this section the smaller divisions would be multiple Kō'ele, Hakuone, and kuakua.

While not refuting it, Malo's description does not indicate that an ahupua'a is a pie-shaped piece of land that runs from the mountain to the sea as it is commonly described. Malo instead focuses on an ahupua'a simply being a sub-division of a larger land division within a complex system of ordering the land.

We may speculate why Malo does not offer a description that is similar to a "modern description." Could it be because it was fairly obvious that ahupua'a were "pie shaped pieces of land/ watershed that ran from mountain to the sea"

⁶⁰ *In all translations refer to Hawaiian language text as authority.

and that it need not be mentioned. But was it really this obvious ? A look at other original sources may help us find out. The 'Ōiwi historian Samuel Kamakau presents us with descriptions of land terms similar to that of David Malo. Kamakau writes,

Elua inoa i kapa ia ma ka aina, he moku kekahi inoa, a he aina kekahi. Ma ka moku ana i ke kai, ua kapa ia he mokupuni.....O ka mokupuni, o ia ka mea nui, a i ke ku kaawale ana o kela mokupuni, o keia mokupuni, ua kapa ia aku he aina. Ua mahele ia ka mokupuni i mau mahele aina i mea e maopopo ai na mahele aina nui i loko o ka mokupuni, o ka mahele mua, he mokuaina, e like me Kona, Waikiki, a o na palena o ka mokuaina, mai Kanau a Kapukakê a ua kukulu ia na kukulu ehoeho, a he mau oeo pohaku keia i kukulu ia i maopopo na palena. O ke kalana, ua like ke kalana me ka mokuaina, he mahele nui no ia i loko o ka mokupuni. O ka okana, he mau mahele ia i loko o ka mokuaina a me ke kalana o ke ahupuaa, o ia na mahelehele i loko o ka mokuaina, o ke kalana, o ka okana⁶¹, he nui kekahi ahupuaa a he liilii kekahi o na iliaina, o

⁶¹ In the Bishop Museum archive, listed in the Hen Index (translated by Mary Kawena Puku'i) List place names and terms for Hawai'i island, in which is listed that Hawai'i island used to have a Division called Ko'olau and that the Moku of Kona was divided into 12 okana, "Napoopoo extends thence to the end of Kahauloa boundary of Keei thence on the ahupuaas are named seperately to the end of Honaunau at the boundary of Keokea. This was formerly grouped as Koolau.

The group of Ahupuaas including Keei and Honaunau was formerly grouped under the general name of Koolau but of late this name has been abandoned.

Okana. In olden times Kona was divided into tweleve Okanas, some of which are the following: 1. Ahu a Lono 2. Pohakuloa 3. Papaokahinu 4. Lekeleke 5. Puu Ohau 6. Pa Ohia 7. Kakalaioa 8 Puu Ohulehule 9 Kalualapauila 10 Kaheawai (Makani says Puu Noni instead of Puu Ohau)

These points are situated as follows 3 between Holualoa and Kaumalumu 6 between Kaawaloa and Kealakekua 7 between Keei 1 and 2; 8 between Waiea and Honokua: 9 between Waikakulu and Kolo; 10. between Kona and Kau Popokahinu extends from Pohakuloa by Keahuolu to Lekeleke which is the iwi between Keauhou and Honalo."

ia na mahele i loko o ke ahupuaa. O Honolulu ke ahupuaa, o Kaakopua ka iliaina, a o Kehehuna Kahehuna ka iliaina, he nui kekahi iliaina a he liilii kekahi iliaina. Ua mahele ia ka iliaina i na mooaina, i na pauku aina, a ma lalo iho o na mooaina me na pauku aina, na one koele, na kihapai, na kuakua, na hakupaa, na malua, na nanae, na kipoho, na puluwai, na paeli.⁶²

There are two names for land. Moku is one name and 'āina is another. Because of being cut off by the sea islands were called mokupuni. Mokupuni is the main division, and since one mokupuni is separated from another, it is called 'āina. Islands were divided so that each portion could be identified. The first division is the moku'āina, like Kona, O'ahu. The palena of moku'āina were like from Kanau to Kapukakī.⁶³ Boundary stones(kukulu 'eho'eho) and (oeoe pohaku) were placed so that palena could be identified. The Kalana is a similar division to a moku'āina, a large division within an island. The okana are divisions within moku'āina and kalana; ahupua'a are the numerous divisions within moku'āina, kalana, and 'okana. Some ahupua'a are large some ahupua'a are small. 'Ili 'āina are the subdivisions of the ahupua'a. Honolulu is the ahupua'a, Ka'akopua is an 'ili 'āina (in Honolulu), Kehehuna is an 'ili 'āina (in Honolulu). Some 'ili 'āina were large some were small. 'Ili 'āina were divided into mo'o'āina, pauku 'āina, smaller than mo'o'āina and pauku 'āina were the kōele, kihapai, kuakua, hakupa'a, malua, nanae, kipoho, puluwai, and paeli.

⁶² Kamakau, November, 1869.

⁶³ Footnote 3 on page seven of Na hana a ka po'e Kahiko which was translated by Mary Kawena Puku'i, states that, "at the time of this writing the Kona district boundaries were the ridge between Hālawa and Moanalua where Kapukaki (Red Hill) is located, and the ridge between Kuliouou and Maunalua where Kaunau must have been located. The name of the Kona district was changed to Honolulu in 1859; Maunalua formerly in the Ko'olaupoko district, was specifically incorporated into the Honolulu district in 1932."

Kamakau offers a similar description in content as well as in presentation to Malo. The combined expertise of these two 'Ōiwi scholars is uneasily matched, yet they do not seem to explain terms such as ahupua'a in the same way that many do today. Instead they focus on an ahupua'a within the context of other land divisions within the land system and resources of that time.

Where do modern definitions of ahupua'a come from, if not from the writings of scholars such as Malo and Kamakau? I offer two opposing propositions for examination. 1. Malo and Kamakau knew that ahupua'a were diverse and differed so greatly that to attempt to classify them under terms similar to pie shaped pieces of land or watersheds would not reflect the true nature of ahupua'a; 2. It was so obvious that ahupua'a were, "pie shaped pieces of land/ watershed that ran from mountain to the sea," that it need not be said.

In order to examine these propositions one would first need to have examples of ahupua'a. Where would one get these examples? One could speak with kupa 'āina (long time native resident) who still know their boundaries, or one might use maps. What kind of map should one use, and what map is the authority on palena of ahupua'a? Many modern scholars have used USGS quads

as a source for ahupua'a boundaries,⁶⁴ but these methods prove to be very problematic.⁶⁵ A map that might be of great importance to look at is the 1838 Hawai'i nei map of S.P. Kalama. (Figure 1) A look at the Kalama map shows that ahupua'a are more complex than many of their modern descriptions. Kalama who was a Lāhainaluna student along with scholars such as Malo and Kamakau, authored this map through the use of a technology new to his time called copper plating. Among other things this map shows the entire island of Lāna'i covered in ahupua'a that ran not from makai to mauka, but from makai to makai stretching from one coastline up mauka all the way to the other coast line.

⁶⁴ Fitzpatrick, 1995, p. 29. "Close examination of maps showing the boundaries of ahupua'a, such as modern topographic maps, reveals that ahupua'a size is not explained by one factor alone."

⁶⁵ I have been in e-mail contact with Henry Wolter, the Liaison for Hawai'i and the Pacific Basin of USGS, in an attempt to trace the sources of USGS Quad ahupua'a boundaries for two, North Kohala Quads. He is tremendously busy in dealing with much of the entire pacific region. Henry has been very helpful and we have made e-mail correspondences about ten times in the past year of my research. Currently there can be no source data found to indicate how the ahupua'a boundaries on these Quads were derived. In a recent e-mail from Henry he writes, "No luck in finding any more info than we had before. this is one of those chicken and egg things. which came first." E-mail correspondence. 4 March 2005.



**Figure 1 : 1838 *Hawaii Nei* Map by S.P. Kalama
(modified by Kamana Beamer)**

Scholars like Malo and Kamakau might have had extensive knowledge of ahupua'a palena on most, if not all, of the islands in ka pae 'āina Hawai'i. If for some reason they needed another source of reference, being students of Lāhainaluna it is likely that they may have had access to this map or other maps that were authored by Kalama.

2.3. Ka Mana'o O Kekahi Kanaka Ana 'Āina: The Thoughts Of A Surveyor

2.3.1. Ma Ka Mokupuni O Keawe; Aspects Of Hawai'i Island Land Divisions

C.J. Lyons had a fairly extensive knowledge of ahupua'a. Although not of 'ōiwi decent, he was a surveyor in the period of the Mahele as well as a commissioner of boundaries for the Boundary Commission. Lyons' writings have been cited by many of today's scholars for his knowledge on Hawaiian land terms. Lyons published many of his writings in *The Islander* newspaper under the title "Land Matters in Hawai'i", most of which were published in 1875.

Lyons does not cite any of his sources so it is unclear if he had been educated by the writings of Malo and Kamakau or if his knowledge only comes from personal experience and communication. Lyons is the first author I have found to attempt to theorize and speak of ahupua'a and to group them in general terms. He states that, "The Ahupuaa ran from the sea to the mountains, theoretically. That is to say the central idea of the Hawaiian division of land was emphatically central, or rather radial."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Lyons, C.J. "Land Matters in Hawaii," *The Islander*, 2 July 1875.

Lyons though is very careful not to generalize ahupua'a too broadly as he clearly points out the differences that could be noted on each island. In a later section of his articles Lyons notes that "On Molokai and Lanai, there are exceptional cases of lands extending directly across from sea to sea."⁶⁷ Lyons is perhaps the most familiar with Hawai'i island where he conducted many surveys of ahupua'a. When attempting to categorize different types of ahupua'a on Hawai'i island, he writes,

Taking the above mentioned island (Hawaii) first in order, the common ahupuaa is found to be a strip say of 1,000 feet average width, and running from the seashore, not by any means to the top of the mountains, but to the zone of timber land that generally exists between 1,700 and 5,000 feet line of elevation. The ordinary ahupuaa extends from a half a mile into this belt. Then there are larger ahupuaas which are wider in the open country than the others, and on entering the woods expand laterally so as to cut off all the smaller ones, and extend toward the mountain till they emerge into the open interior country; not however to converge to a point at the tops of the respective mountains. Only a rare few reach those elevations, sweeping past the upper ends of all the others, and by virtue of some privilege in bird catching, or some analogous right, taking the whole mountain to themselves. Thus Mauna Loa is shared by three great lands, Kapapala and Kahuku from Kau, and Humuula from Hilo. Possibly Keauhou from Kona may yet be proved to have had a fourth share. The whole main body of Mauna Kea belongs to one land from Hamakua, viz., Kaohe, to whose owners belonged the sole privilege of capturing the ua'u, a mountain inhabiting but sea fishing bird. High up on its eastern flank, however, stretched the already mentioned land of Humuula, whose upper limits coincide with those of the mamane, a valuable

⁶⁷ Lyons, *The Islander*, 9 July 1875.

mountain acacia, and which, starting from the shore near Laupahoehoe, extends across the upper ends of all other Hilo lands to the crater of Mokuaweoaweo.

These same lands generally had the more extended sea privileges. While the smaller ahupuaas had to content themselves with the immediate shore fishery extending out not further than a man could touch bottom with his toes, the larger ones swept around outside of these, taking to themselves the main fisheries much in the same way as that in which the forests were appropriated. Concerning the latter, it should here be remarked that it was by virtue of some valuable product of said forests that the extension of a territory took place. For instance out of a dozen lands, only one possessed the right to kalai waa, hew out canoe from the koa forests. Another land embraced the wauke and olona grounds, the former for kapa the latter for fish line.⁶⁸

2.3.2. Ahupua'a : Pie shaped pieces of land?

Lyons classification system of ahupua'a on Hawai'i island can be seen in the writings of scholars such as, Cordy⁶⁹, Fitzpatrick, Moffat⁷⁰. One should note that Lyons discusses that certain ahupua'a on Hawai'i island broaden and cut off neighboring ahupua'a in its mauka zone. This implies that these types of ahupua'a would not be geometrically similar to "pie shaped" wedges and instead would be broad and top heavy on its mauka end, as its palena extended

⁶⁸ Lyons, *The Islander*, 9 July 1875.

⁶⁹ Cordy, Ross. *Exalted Sits the Chief*, Honolulu; Mutual Publishing, 2000.

⁷⁰ Fitzpatrick, 1995.

to include more land. A pie that was sliced in such a way would be very difficult to apportion, and using such a metaphor to describe terms like ahupua'a may simplify the diverse palena of ahupua'a, and over time simplify the process of a complex people.

2.3.3. Ahupua'a: Self-Sufficient Resource Community?

One might assume that Lyons' knowledge of the resources available to certain ahupua'a might have come out of his work with the Boundary Commission where he would have heard vast amounts of kupa 'āina testimony about their ahupua'a, although one should refer to each individual testimony for clarity on this source. Lyons mentions that only one land out of a dozen possessed the right to kālai a wa'a from particular forest of koa. Does this mean that out of the dozen ahupua'a, only this ahupua'a could carve canoes and had a canoe monopoly? Or could it mean other ahupua'a had to acquire koa from this ahupua'a in order to make a canoe, through means of makana, ho'okupu or trade? Given the large amount of koa canoes and kanaka lawai'a, I would speculate that the latter would be correct. In Desha's book *He Mo'olelo Ka'ao no Kekūhaupi'o*, he writes about the mō'i of Māui, Kahekili, sending a request to the

ali'i 'ai moku of Hilo, Keawemauhili, to allow his men to come to Hilo and carve a canoe for Kahekili. Desha writes,

'O ke kumu o ka hō'ea 'ana o kēia pū'ali koa o Kahekili i ka uka nahele o Hilo, ma muli nō ia o ka noi 'ana mai a Kahekili iā Keawemauhili, ke ali'i 'ai kalana o Hilo, e 'ae 'ia aku ho'i kekahi o kona po'e kanaka e holo mai i Hilo i kālai wa'a nona.⁷¹

The reason for the arrival of Kahekili's soilders in the upland forests of Hilo, was because of the request of Kahekili to Keawemauhili (the ali'i 'ai kalana of Hilo) to grant permission for his men to sail to Hilo so that they could carve a canoe for him.

Desha's mo'olelo demonstrates that ali'i were not confined to the resources within their ahupua'a or land holdings. Kahekili was the mō'i of Maui at this time and would have had access to all the lands on Maui. Not being limited to the resources of his island, he is able to access the resources of Hilo to fulfill his desires for a canoe. This is a small illustration of the complex nature of resource makana (giving) or possibly exchange that took place in the traditional 'Ōiwi system. Though Kahekili had recently been at war with the ali'i nui of Hawai'i island (Kalaniopu'u), Kahekili still requests for Keawemauhili's (an ali'i under Kalaniopu'u) permission to access the resources under his control.

Keawemauhili in return is able to grant this request, with apparently no consultation between him and Kalaniopu'u.

⁷¹ Desha, Stephen. *He Mo'olelo Ka'ao no Kekūhaupi'o ke koa kaulana o ke au o Kamehameha ka nui*, Hilo: Hale Kuamo'o, 1996.

2.3.4. Kō Maui Mea 'Oko'a: Differences Found On Maui

Lyons writes briefly on ahupua'a on Maui island. He speaks differently of the ahupua'a on East Maui and West Maui and makes mention of a pohaku 'oki 'aina which was a point that ahupua'a on East Maui would converge,

On East Maui, the division in its general principles was much the same as on Hawaii, save that the radial system was better adheard to. The fact there is pointed out, to this day, on the sharp spur projecting into the east side of Haleakala crater, a rock called the "Pohaku oki aina"-land dividing rock, to which larger lands came as a centre. How many lands actually came up to this is not yet known.

On West Maui the valleys were very marked and natural mode of division. The question suggest itself as to how the isthmus would be appropriated. Some powerfull chiefs of Wailuku and Waikapu seem not only to have taken the isthmus, but to have extended their domain well up the slope at the foot of Haleakala. So that there is the rare case of a long range of lands in Kula, East Maui without any sea coast.⁷²

If Lyons is correct about a pōhaku 'oki 'āina, a rock that separates the land, one could speculate that our kupuna possessed a detailed knowledge of geometry. While Kanahele is describing the complex divisions 'Ōiwi placed in the sky sea and land, he writes, "The Greeks are credited with having invented geometry, but clearly, in order to function in their world of spatial relationships,

⁷² Lyons, C.J. *The Islander*, 9 July 1875.

Hawaiians had to have a basic understanding about measurement of spaces, properties and relationships of points, lines, angles, and surfaces."⁷³ An actual point on land where all divisions connect, or tie into, bears a resemblance to modern cartographic principles.

2.3.5. Ka Ho'one'e 'Ana I Nā Palena: The Changing Of Place Boundaries ?

Lyons also suggests that a change in palena may have occurred anciently and as a result lands in Kula have no sea coast. Authors like Kirch have suggested that, "corresponding to a change in the residence of a ruling chief, the political development entailed a redrawing of ahupua'a boundaries."⁷⁴ I have not found wide examples of this practice, the only examples I have found are offered by Lyons which does not give any specific names of chiefs or other people involved, other than some powerful chiefs of Wailuku and Waikapū. If specific names were given of the chiefs, one would be able to study their genealogy to get an approximate time period of these events, it is possible that these events took place prior to the palena being made pa'a by the kahuna of Kāka'analeo.⁷⁵

⁷³ Kanahele, 1986, p. 178.

⁷⁴ Kirch, P. and Sahlins, M. *Anahulu; The Anthropology Of History In The Kingdom Of Hawai'i*, Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1, 1992, p. 20.

⁷⁵ Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, p. 27.

The other example I found is given by Kirch and Sahlins in Waialua, O'ahu.⁷⁶ It should also be noted that in both cases a fishery was changed, not the entire ahupua'a palena. As Kirch and Sahlins write,

the two royal fishponds of Lokoea and 'Uko'a, although spatially separated from Kamananui (by the intervening ahupua'a of Pa'ala'a and Kawailoa), were nonetheless controlled directly from there, by stewards (konohiki) of Kamananui proper. Likewise the remote fishing community of Kapaeloa at the eastern border of Waialua: it was considered part of Kamananui until the late 1840s; the local people held their lands from and "under" a lesser chieftian of Kamananui. The ruling ahupuaa of Kamananui thus encompassed certain detached lands- which gave it privileged access to important piscine resources. However, in the early nineteenth century, when the Waialua chiefship gravitated to Kawailoa, these outlying sections were taken in the latter land. Kawailoa now extended beyond the Anahulu valley, all the way to the border of Waimea in the moku of Koolauloa

It is unclear to me what palena Kirch and Sahlins suggest has changed.

Did the palena of the ahupua'a change? Did the ahupua'a now gain an 'ili lele that was a fishery? An 'ili lele would be a piece of land or fishery that "jumped" from one ahupua'a to that of another, or even a fishery that was contained by a certain 'ili of an ahupua'a. It could be that what is being described is an 'ili lele that were fisheries. Lyons describes them in great detail and notes that they were particularly abundant on Oahu island.⁷⁷ If this is what is being described it might be misleading to suggest that, "corresponding to a change in the residence

⁷⁶ Kirch, and Sahlins, 1992, p. 20.

⁷⁷ See section 2.3.7. Nā ano 'ili.

of a ruling chief, the political development entailed a redrawing of ahupua'a boundaries."⁷⁸ It is possible that this example might be seen as an anomaly and perhaps not the rule.

In Malo's detailed description of kālai'āina, the traditional process of 'Ōiwi land distribution, he does not mention that palena of ahupua'a were changed in the process of a Kālai'āina.⁷⁹ In Desha's account of the kālai'āina that was conducted by Kiwala'ō and Keawemauhili, he notes that Keouakū'ahu'ula only retains the lands of Kā'ū and receives no other lands. This angers Keouakū'ahu'ula and causes him to incite war by cutting down some coconut trees in Ke'ei, which leads to the battle of Moku'ōhai.⁸⁰ One could speculate that if palena were easily moveable and not pa'a on the ground that Keouakū'ahu'ula could simply have extended the palena of Ka'ū to include large portions of Puna, thus acquiring bountiful lands on the windward districts of Hawai'i island. This was not the case and instead Keouakū'ahu'ula and other ali'i fought wars not to extend the palena of certain districts but to acquire the entire district. This suggests that palena did not change as much as did the ali'i residing over the district.

⁷⁸ Kirch, and Sahlins, 1992, p. 20.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 3.

⁸⁰ Desha, 1996, p. 165-178.

2.3.6. Ma Ka Mokupuni O Kākuhihewa, A Me Ka Mokupuni O Manokalanipō: On 'O'ahu and Kaua'i.

Lyons is careful to distinguish ahupua'a on O'ahu from other islands noting that some ahupua'a on O'ahu are very broad, he writes,

On Oahu, the ahupuaa seems to have been often times quite extended. Waikiki, for instance, stretches from the west side of Makiki valley away to the east side of Wailupe, or nearly to the east point of the island. Honouliuli covers some forty thousand acres on the east slope of the Waianae mountains. Generally speaking however the valley idea predominates. Thus Nuuanu (with its branch of Pauoa), Kalihi, Moanalua, Halawa, &c. are each limits of single lands. So Waimanalo, Kailua, Kaneohe, Heeia, &c. are ahupuaas. The long, narrow strip so common on Hawaii, is less frequent on this island, excepting in the Ewa district. Singularly enough the ahupuaa of Waianae mounts the summit of the Kaala range and descends into the table land between Ewa and Waialua, and sweeps on up to the summit of the Koolau mountains. One would suppose that naturally that table land would be divided between Ewa and Waialua.⁸¹

Lyons also gives another name for the ahu of an ahupua'a where on O'ahu island they were often referred to as "ka'ānani'au."⁸² Ahupua'a such as Waikīkī, would not be similar to pie shaped pieces of land since they are very broad and include many valleys and watersheds. Lyons is careful to write about only the areas he has knowledge of and speaks of the land system on Kaua'i with reservation,

⁸¹ Lyons, *The Islander*, 9 July 1875.

⁸² Lyons, *The Islander*, 2 July 1875.

On Kauai, the writer is not familiar with the general divisions. Probably the interior of the island belongs to a few large lands, while the narrow and rather short strips are quite common along the shore, inter-dispersed with large or first class ahupuaas.

2.3.7. Nā 'Ano 'Ili: 'Ili land divisions

Overall the writings of Lyons offer great insight into the palena and 'ōiwi land system. He would have had vast amounts of knowledge since he spent much time with kupa 'āina conducting surveys as well as listening to testimony in Boundary Commission hearings. Possibly the most impressive aspect of the writings of Lyons is that he is careful not to generalize one system of establishing palena over all the islands in ka pae 'āina Hawai'i. Instead he makes note of the differences that he knew of from one island to the next, when it came to the nature of their palena. Lyons also uses specific examples of the differing nature of 'ili,

There were two features of the Ili, referred to by the terms *lele* and *ku*, which are worthy of notice. The former is desultory in character, like unto that of the States of Germany. That is to say, the ili often consisted of several distinct sections of land, one for instance on the seashore, another on the dry, open land, or *kula*, another in the regularly terraced and watered kalo patch or aina loi district, and another still in the forest, thus again carrying out the equable division system which we have seen in the ahupuaa. These separate pieces were called *lele*. i.e. "jumps," and were most common on Oahu. Indeed I know of none on the Island of Hawaii. Some remarkable examples occur near this town. Punahou had anciently a lot on the beach near the Kakaako Salt Works; then the large lot with the spring and kalo patches where is now the school,

and again a forest patch on the steep sides of Manoa Valley. Kewalo meanwhile had its sea-coast adjoining Waikiki, its continues kula on the plain and one-half of Punchbowl Hill, and its kalo and land in Pauoa Valley. Kaakaukukui held Fisherman's Point, and the present harbor of Honolulu, then kalo land near the present Kukui street, and also a large tract of forest at the head of Pauoa Valley. The kalo lands of Wailupe are in Pauoa Valley. In Kahili, and also in Ewa are ilis with from eight to ten different leles, a most prolific kind of lands and now furnishing a truly desultory job for a surveyor to map out.

The second feature is referred to in the word *ku*, short for *ili kupono*. There were two kinds of *ili*; the *ili* of the *ahupuaa*, and the *ili kupono*. The *ili* of the *ahupuaa* was a subdivision for the convenience of the chief, holding the *ahupuaa*; *alii ai ahupuaa*. The *ili kupono*, on the contrary, was nearly independent. The transfer of the *ahupuaa* to a new chief did not carry with it the transfer of the *ili kupono* contained within its limits. The chiefs previously holding the *ili kupono* continued to hold them, whatever the change in the *ahupuaa* chief, having their own *koele* (chief's patches) worked by retainers. There was however a slight tribute of work due to the *ahupuaa* chief; sometimes one or two days in the month; sometimes even less, or only certain days in a year. The *ili* which were used as places of refuge, and those of the god Kaili, did not render even this tribute. Such were Kaahumanu's *ili* in Waikiki.

Of the *ili kupono*, Waimea on Hawaii furnishes an eminent example. Nine tenths of this *ahupuaa* are taken up with the independent *ili* of Puukapu and Waikoloa, to say nothing of half a dozen small ones of the same kind. Accordingly when Waimea Ahupuaa was declared in late years a Crown Land, it was necessary to declare Puukapu also a Crown Land, as though not included in Waimea. Waikoloa was given by Kamehameha I to Issac Davis, and it has remained in the Davis family ever since. When therefore the limits of Waimea were settled by the Boundary Commissioner, the Crown Commissioner knew hardly more than they had previously, of where the Crown Lands was

situated. How much labor and confusion this principle has brought about, remains yet to be seen⁸³.

The writings of Lyons illustrate the complex nature of the land system of our kūpuna. His examples of 'ili kūpono as well as 'ili lele offer insight into the nature of the system. He mentions that he knew of no 'ili lele on Hawai'i island and notes that they were abundant on O'ahu island.⁸⁴ In the book *Surveying the Mahele*, Fitzpatrick and Moffat suggest that out of the eighteen hundred ahupua'a there were 476 'ili in all of Hawai'i⁸⁵ and that most ahupua'a had no 'ili. When I looked at the Land Commission Testimony for Waiapuka ahupua'a I was able to count at least eight 'ili in Waiapuka alone, which might make one question Fitzpatrick's numbers on 'ili.

⁸³ Lyons, *The Islander*, 16 July 1875.

⁸⁴ see map of Ko'olau bay in Ch 4, which list a number of 'ili lele that included fisheries within the bay.

⁸⁵ Fitzpatrick, and Moffat, 1995, p.28.

2.4 Nānā I Ka Hopena; Conclusion

Nearly every scholar that writes on “Hawaiian Land Tenure,” gets his/her information from the writings of scholars like Kamakau, Malo, Kalama, and Lyons. That being the case, why is there such disparities of explanations of these terms from those of the original sources? At what point does the generalization of divisions such as ahupua’a become harmful to a clear understanding of what they actually are? Speaking of ahupua’a as if they exist separately from other traditional ‘Ōiwi divisions of land may give them a prominence that they might not have had when that system was better understood. The proposition that ahupua’a are equivalent to concepts such as watersheds, empties them of the system, people, and context in which they were developed. It is also incorrect since many ahupua’a were not watersheds, and in many cases streams themselves were palena between one ahupua’a and another,⁸⁶ Which by definition can not be the boundary of a watershed. Suggesting that ahupua’a included all the resources needed for the survival of its inhabitants, might also simplify the fact that many ahupua’a did not include certain resources that were necessary for survival, and yet maka’āinana were

⁸⁶ Kingdom of Hawai’i. Boundary Commission Report # 157 Waiapuka Ahupua’a The testimony of Kuuku states that the boundary between the ahupua’a Waiapuka and Niuli’i is “the water in the gulch.”

able to acquire them. What of ahupua'a that had no hala trees, were the people of these places left without lauhala for mats, thatching, moena? An intricate system of makana or possibly exchange may have existed to allow certain resources of one ahupua'a to be accessed by the people of another ahupua'a.

This chapter discussed 'ōiwi land terms through the use of primary sources ma ka 'ōlelo 'ōiwi, as well as the writings of C.J. Lyons. This chapter mapped the dissemination of these terms from the earliest sources onto modern usages of the terms. The original sources that were examined in this chapter all illustrate that the palena of ahupua'a were complex and differed from one island to the next. The chapter focused on ahupua'a and how many modern descriptions of the term may be gross over simplifications. The next chapter will discuss how lands such as moku and ahupua'a were distributed in the traditional 'ōiwi system. A complex process called kālai'āina was the means in which lands were granted to differing ali'i as well as maka'āinana so that pono could be assured on the 'āina.

Chapter 3

Kālainmoku: Kālai'āina:

The Complex Nature of 'Ōiwi Land Distribution

3.1. Introduction

Many authors have written about traditional 'Ōiwi distribution of lands .⁸⁷

The process of kālai'aina involves the redistribution of lands from a new Ali'i nui and his/her Kālainmoku to the varying ali'i of their choosing, and was one of the most important actions a new Ali'i nui could do. The entire mokupuni or island was to be redistributed, this included divisions such as moku, okana, kalana, ahupua'a and 'ili. Knowledge of these places and their palena would likely have been understood by those involved in the process of kālai'āina. A look at the some of the basic divisions to be redistributed such as moku, and ahupua'a can be seen on this map of Hawai'i island.⁸⁸ (Figure 2 and Figure 3) The map shows many ahupua'a on Hawai'i island, but the mental map of the individuals involved in a Kālai'āina would be much more complete to include

⁸⁷ Kame'eleihiwa, 1992.

Kirch, and Sahlins, 1992.

⁸⁸ Hawai'i State Survey Office. Map HTS#1928.

'ili, kalana, okana, and other divisions (some of which are not included on this map).

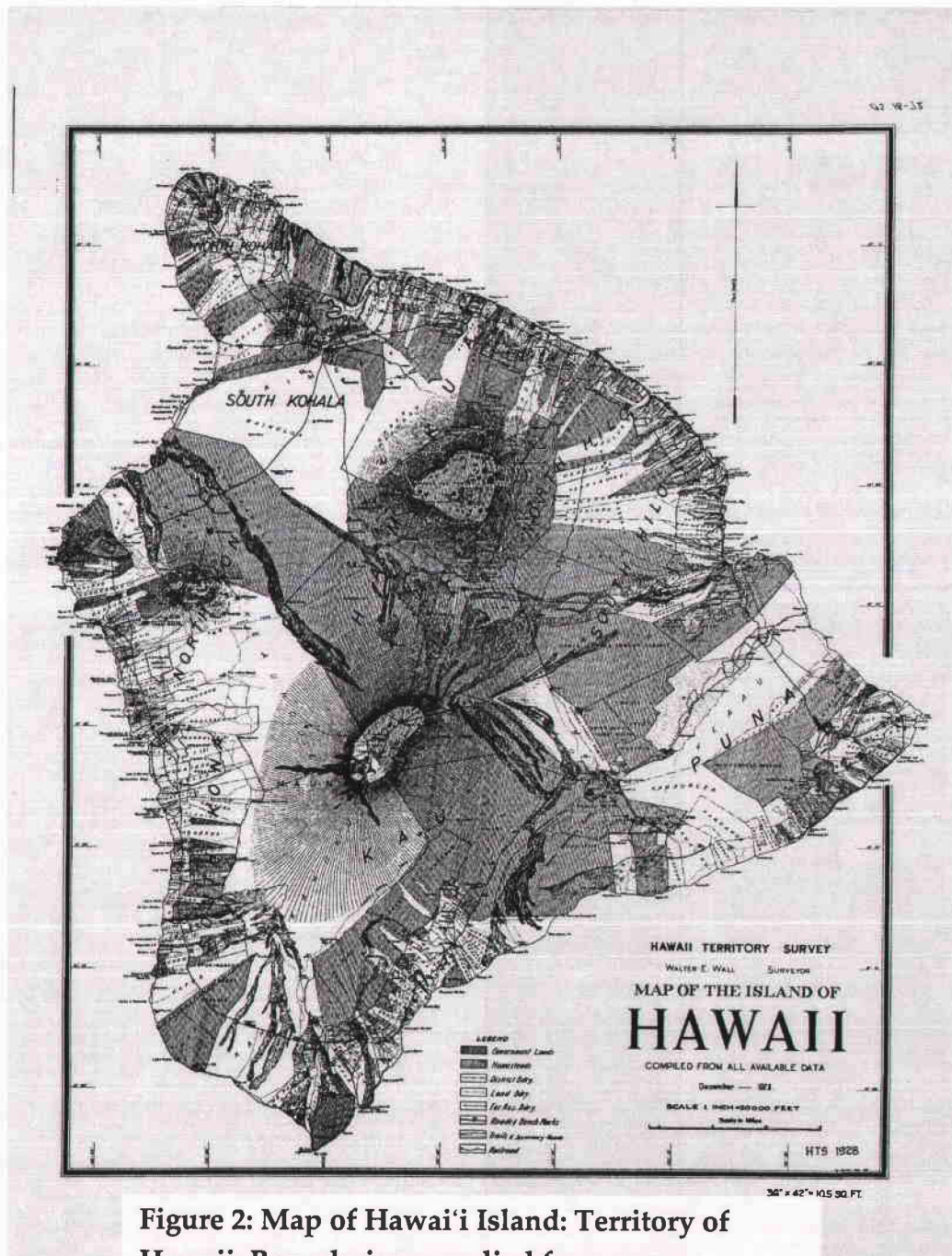


Figure 2: Map of Hawai'i Island: Territory of Hawaii: Boundaries complied from many Hawaiian Kingdom Surveys.

occur that was as structured as *kālai'āina*, clear and definite *palena* very likely were on the ground and understood by the inhabitants of those lands, lest one would be distributing an undefined space, rather than a known place.⁸⁹

A *kālai'āina* would normally take place when a new *ali'i nui* would come to power on an island. Kame'eleihiwa writes,

The mechanics of the *Kālai'āina* were such that upon the death of an *Mō'i*, all '*Āina* would automatically revert to the new *Mō'i*. He or she then would redistribute these '*Āina* according to the advice of his *Kālimoku* (divider of the island), keeping in mind the aid certain *Ali'i Nui* had proffered to the *Mō'i* on his rise to power.⁹⁰

The *Mō'i*, *ali'i nui*, or paramount chief, is the chief who controls an entire *mokupuni*; also referred to as the *mō'i 'ai moku* is the writings of authors such as Desha.⁹¹ This *ali'i nui* would be the chief who had control over all the districts of an island, and it was his/her *kuleana* (responsibility, privilege) to grant lands to other prominent *ali'i* of their time. My review of the literature leads me to believe that the process of *kālai'āina* (following the initial surveys done by the famous chiefs mentioned in Chapter 1) was a process of redistributing lands and

⁸⁹ Kanahele, 1986, p. 178. A place always had bounds around it, whether real or imagined... A place is distinguished not only by its relative position, but more important, by its distinctiveness or its identity. This is what fences do for a place, whether it be a house site, a corner room, or an *ahupua'a*. In a word, the place is made private.

⁹⁰ Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, p. 51-52.

⁹¹ Desha, 1996.

not re-establishing palena. This is not to say that there were never any changes in traditional palena, but that these seem to be the exception rather than the rule. In a process as complex and critical as a kālai'āina, attempting to redistribute lands and at the same time reassign palena would be a monumental task and very impractical. It would be to the benefit of the ali'i that lands were merely redistributed honoring their traditional palena, lest at the kālai'āina of every new mō'i the other prominent ali'i would be at his/her throat not only for certain lands but also to broaden the palena of those lands.

3.2. Nānā I Ke Kumu; Look To The Source

The most detailed description of kālai'āina and traditional 'Ōiwi aupuni offered may be the writings of David Malo. In the section titled *No Kālainmoku*, David Malo evaluates on the detailed inner workings and philosophies of traditional forms of 'Ōiwi government. Malo writes that the aupuni (government) was conceived of as being a human body by the kupuna (ancestors) of old. (Figure 4) Every section of 'Ōiwi society is seen as being included in this body, and the dismemberment of any parts would limit the effectiveness of the whole person. A head cannot exist without the fingers to feed it, nor are fingers as useful as

when conducting pono (productive) work.

***Ke Kino Aupuni Maoli;
An 'Ōiwi political perspective,
as written By David Malo***

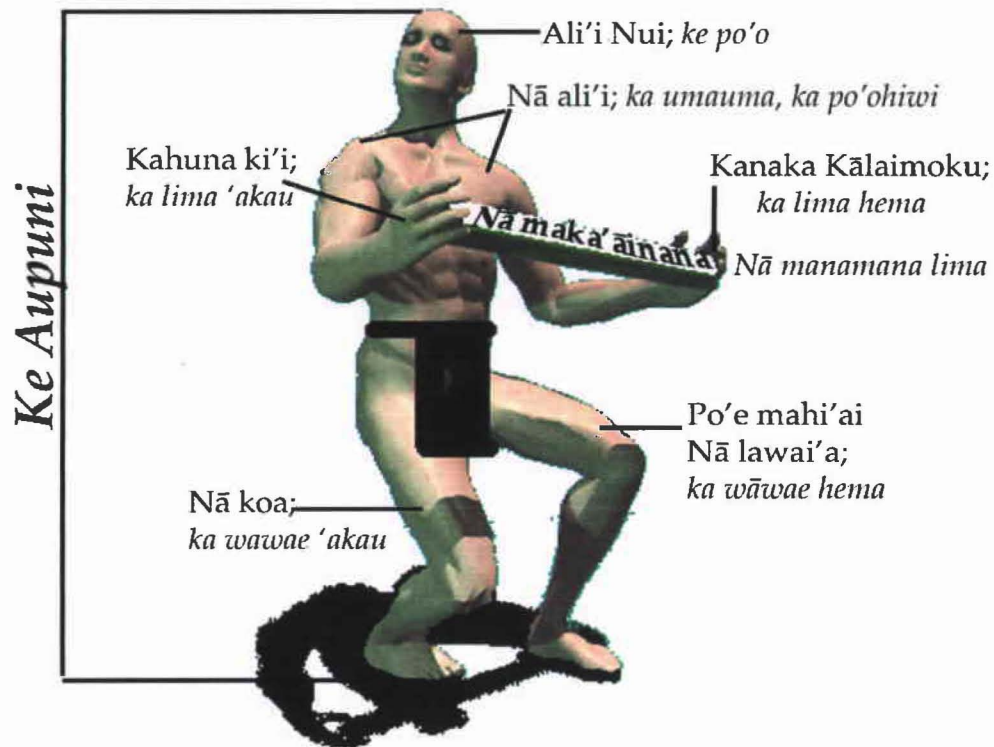


Figure 4: Ke Kino Aupuni Maoli; An 'Ōiwi Political Perspective: Adapted through the writings of David Malo

After Malo gives his metaphor of the 'Ōiwi body politic, he explains the roles that each of the parts had in the government. The left and right hands of the aupuni (government) were the Kahuna ki'i and the Kālaimoku, and are described as being the closest advisors to the ali'i nui.

3.2.1 'O Nā Lima 'Elua E Kauleo I Ke Po'o; Kahuna ki'i, Kālainmoku, and the Ali'i nui. The Two Hands that advise the Head.

While the ali'i nui had a great deal of agency in conducting actions as he/she pleased, to disregard the council of the Kālainmoku or the Kahuna ki'i would place the ali'i nui in a position open for criticism and could prove to be their downfall. In discussing the advising roles of the two arms of the government Malo writes,

na laua no, e alakai i ke poo o ke aupuni ma kahi a laua i manao ai he pono, e alakai no laua i ke poo o ke aupuni malaila, ina hoole ke poo o ke aupuni i ka laua, e lilo no ia aupuni ia hai no ka hewa o ke poo, oia ke alii nui.⁹²

It is these two advisors that guide the government in the direction that they deem pono, (once they decide which is the proper direction) they guide the head of government to go that place. If the head refuses their council, the government would pass into the possession of someone else due to the error of the head of government, the Ali'i nui.

This passage suggests that ali'i nui would carefully consider the advice of his council, and would be hesitant to go against it. Being the limbs of the government the Kahuna ki'i and Kālainmoku also played significantly different roles in their process of governing. The Kālainmoku advised on the material

⁹² Malo, 1987, p. 122. (5).

processes of government: war, political affairs , and taking care of the maka'āinana; The Kahuna ki'i was the ali'i nui contact with nā Akua (gods). While the Kahuna ki'i focused on the spiritual and the metaphysical, the Kālaimoku seems to focus on the material.

3.2.2. No Ke Kālaimoku: The Duties Of The Kālaimoku

The left hand of the aupuni was the Kālaimoku. The Kālaimoku was the advisor to the ali'i nui and played a pivotal role in the material existence of the entire aupuni. The two most important aspects of being a Kālaimoku, are taking care of the ali'i and the maka'āinana.⁹³ If the Kahuna ki'i was the connection of nā Akua with the ali'i nui, then the Kālaimoku would be the connection of the ali'i nui to the maka'āinana. This was an important connection to keep healthy given that, when ali'i nui did not enjoy the confidence of their people , Malo says that they could be killed or deposed by maka'āinana.⁹⁴ While kama'iki (infants) that were picked to be kahuna were not allowed to eat food with women, there were

⁹³ Malo, 1987, p. 125. (27) Elua no mea nui iloko o ka ke kalaimoku aoao o ka malama i na alii kekahi, o ka malama i na makaainana kekahi, no keia mau mea elua, e alakai ai ke kanaka kalaimoku i ke alii ma kona aoao, ma ka hooponopono ai keia mau mea elua, pela no ia e hooponopono ai.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 1987, p. 129. (67) He mea pono i ke alii nui ke malama i kona mau makaainana iho, no ka mea, oia no ke kino pono i ke aupuni, ua nui na alii i pepehi ia e na makaainana, no ka hookaumaha i ka makaainana.

no such restrictions placed on the Kālainmoku, as Malo writes, “ai no ka ai maoli ko ke kalaimoku aoao.”⁹⁵ One of the main roles of a Kālainmoku was to assist the ali’i nui in a Kālai’āina. Malo writes that the Kālainmoku would meet secretly with genealogists, to know the genealogies of the differing ali’i, and their relationship to the ali’i nui.⁹⁶ Malo says that the Kālainmoku does this because the ali’i nui is metaphorically seen as a house. This house has the ability stand on its own, but the house’s only protection is the wall around it. The wall around the ali’i nui are the chiefs and maka’āinana who share a similar genealogy to the ali’i nui. Malo writes,

o ke alii nui, oia no ka hale, o ko ke alii nui mau kaikaina pono, ka mea pili i ke alii nui mai ka makua hookahi mai, a me ko ke alii nui mau inoa makuakane, a makuahine e pili pono ana i ko ke alii nui makuakane, a makuahine paha, oia no ko ke alii pa e paa ai. Eia no kekahi pa, o ko ke alii nui mau kaikaina a mau kaikuahine ma ke kupuna hookahi mau o keia poe no ko ke alii nui, mau kanaka nui he poe koikoi lakou ma ke aupuni, o kekahi o keia poe ko ke alii nui, Kuhina nui, pukaua alihi kaua, Ilamuku nui, na lakou hana ku ke alii nui mau hana i manao ai.⁹⁷

The ali’i nui is the house, the younger siblings (of the same sex), the ones that come from the same parents as the ali’i. Then the ones from only the father’s or mother’s side, those would make the ali’i wall sturdy.

This wall was also made of the chief’s cousins (male and female) who share the same ancestor (grandparent?) with the Ali’i nui.

⁹⁵ Malo, 1987, p. 125. (26). Others have translated this differently.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 1987, p. 125 (28).

⁹⁷ Malo, 1987, p. 126. (29).

They were prominent people in the government. Some of these people of the chief were, Kuhina Nui (prime minister), pūkaua (generals), ilāmuku (sheriff) They accomplished what the Ali'i Nui desired to be done.

Malo also lists relatives such as parents, brother-in-laws, and hoahānau (cousins) as being parts of the pā around the ali'i nui. When all of this genealogical knowledge had been collected and understood by the Kālainmoku, Malo says that a hale nauā was built. It was in the hale nauā that a Kālai'āina would take place. The processes that took place in the hale nauā (as described by Malo) were very structured. The Ali'i nui as well as those who were learned in genealogy, and "others" (assumed to be his/her court) were in the hale nauā. Outside of the hale nauā were two men who stood at the walled entrance, who were kia'i or guards. Prior to any other person entering into the hale nauā they were required to kāhea or request permission to enter. Malo writes,

Ma ka wa e komo ai ke kanaka iloko o ko ke alii hale, alaila, kahea mai na kanaka mawaho. Eia mai o mea ke komo aku la, alaila kahea mai ko loko poe, na wai oe e mea naua, o wai kou makua naua, o wai kou makua naua, a laila, hai mai ua kanaka la, na mea wau o mea ko'u makua.

Alaila, ninau hou ia, ua kanaka la, o wai ka makua o kou makua naua, a laila hai mai oia, o mea ka makua, o ko'u makua, o ko'u kupuna ia, o wai ka makua o kou kupuna ia, o wai ka makua o kou kupuna naua, hai mai io ia o mea ka makua o ko'u kupuna, pela no e ninau ai, a hiki ka umi o ke kupuna.

Aka ina i ike ka poe kuauhau e noho pu ana me ke alii nui, i ka pili

o ua kanaka la i ko ke alii nui hanauna, ua pono ia kanaka.⁹⁸

At the time that one would enter into the house of the ali'i, those outside would kāhea (call out). "Here I am entering", and then those inside would call out, "Who do you belong to? Who are your parents," and then that that person would call out, I belong to so and so, and my parents are...

And then the person entering was further questioned, "who are the parents of your parents," and the person would answer, So and so is the parent of my parent, these are my grandparents." Then the person was asked, "who is the parents of your grandparents." The person would respond truly, so and so is the parent of my grandparent, and it was carried out like this until reaching the tenth generation of ancestors. But if the genealogists that were in the hale nauā with the ali'i could see the connection between the person trying to enter and the ali'i, that person was allowed to enter.

A person's genealogical connection to the ali'i nui was what enabled one to enter into the hale nauā. Malo describes a very clear and structured process that enabled one to enter into the hale nauā. A person's knowledge of genealogy was critical in this process, because it was through one's genealogy that entrance was granted. Malo hints that not only ali'i were involved in this process when he writes that,

A pau keia mau mea i ka lohe ia, alaila, komo ia kanaka paha alii paha iloko o ua hale la, ua kapa ia ua hale la, he hale naua, he ualomalie kahi inoa oia hale.⁹⁹

When all these things were finished (the chanting of genealogy),

⁹⁸ Malo, 1987, p. 126. (35,36,37).

⁹⁹ Malo, 1987, p. 126. (40).

this persons, or perhaps ali'i would enter the house. This house was called a hale nauā, or ualomalie was also another name for this house.

Malo writes that the person entering the house could have been a kanaka, which can be translated as "person". This might be interpreted as meaning those of the classes besides ali'i, which might be a kahuna, a koa (warrior), or perhaps a maka'āinana (commoner) that shared a common ancestor to the ali'i nui. Malo uses the word kanaka again when explaining the significance of the process, he writes,

Pela e maopopo ai na alii kupono i ke alii, a me na kanaka kupono i ke alii nui a me ke kanaka i pili mai malalo o kekahi alii malalo mai o ke alii nui.¹⁰⁰

This was how it was known which ali'i were connected to the Ali'i nui, and also the people (kanaka) that were connected to the Ali'i nui, and those people who were connected to an ali'i under the Ali'i nui.

Once those that belonged in the hale nauā had entered, the process of Kālai'āina would begin. With the advising of his/her Kālimoku the ali'i nui would begin to re-distribute the land under his/her control. This distribution could be based on connection to the ali'i nui, or on other political circumstances such as placing a rebellious ali'i in an ahupua'a or other area that would allow him or her to be under the surveillance of a trusted follower of the ali'i nui.

¹⁰⁰ Malo, 1987, p. 126. (40).

Malo describes the process of distributing land as,

O na alii kupono, pili pono i ke alii nui e haawi ia na moku oloko ia lakou, a o kekahi poe alii, e haawi ia ia lakou na kalana, o kahi poe na okana i kahi poe alii na poko, o kahi poe haawi ia na ahupuaa ia lakou, i kahipoe alii haawi ia na Ili loko.

O kanaka haawi ia i na ahupuaa a mau Ili loko pela e hooponopono ia na mea a pau mai na alii a kanaka¹⁰¹

The ali'i that were liked and had a close connection to the ali'i nui were given the moku oloko. They were given the kalana, some were given okana, some ali'i were given the poko, some were given ahupua'a, and some were given 'ili.

In the process of Kālai'āina as described by Malo he does not mention that the palena of lands were changed, only that the lands such as moku, kalana, ahupua'a and 'ili were redistributed. This is a critical point to observe since some scholars have thought of a kālai'āina as a process of re-defining boundaries as well as land distribution. That is not to say that the ali'i nui could not changed the palena of an area if it was to his/her pleasing, but if that was the case it is not mentioned in the writings of primary sources such as David Malo (that I have covered i.e. *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*). When Malo talks about palena he mentions that,

E hiki no i ke alii nui, ke lawe i na ahupuaa ma na pela(na) o na moku o loko nona, e like me Kaulanamauna, ko Kona palena, a me Manuka ko Kau palena, a ike ke alii i ke kanaka kupono iaia, oia ka

¹⁰¹ Malo, 1987, p. 127. (43,44).

mea malama i ua mau aina la, e pili ana i ke kihi ana moku oloko.¹⁰²

The Ali'i nui could take the ahupua'a that were on the palena of the moku o loke for himself, like Kaulanamauna that is that the boundary of Kona, and the ahupua'a of Manuka that is on the boundary of Ka'u, he/she could know the people that supported him, these were the people who took care of these lands, i.e. the lands that were on the boundary of the moku.

Palena played a critical role in how the ali'i nui managed and kept surveillance over their lands. By controlling ahupua'a that were on the boundary of the moku the ali'i nui might be able to observe much of the happenings between the two palena, in a sense never letting his gaze fall too far off in the distance lest his reign be lost to another ali'i. When differing ali'i were being awarded land Malo writes that the ali'i nui were cautious in giving too much land away lest the ali'i might become too powerful and rebel, Malo also makes note that Kamehameha the 1st did not follow this policy.

Aole no e haawi ia ka aina nui i na ali'i nui, o kipi lakou i ke aupuni, aka ia Kamehameha ekahi, ua hanai no oia i kona mau ali'i nui i ka aina nui.¹⁰³

Large amounts of land were not given to the ali'i lest they rebel against the government, but in the time of Kamehameha the 1st He granted his favorite ali'i large amounts of land.

If a Kālai'āina went wrong and the result was war, the Kālainmoku would have a specific role to play in the advising of war. Malo writes that the Kālainmoku were

¹⁰² Malo, 1987, p. 128. (56).

¹⁰³ Malo, 1987, p. 129. (62).

skilled in the strategies of war:

O ka poe kalaimoku, ua ike lakou i na oihana kāua, ua ike pono i kahua hoouka, a me ke kāua kupono ma ia kahua, a me ke kāua kupono ole ma ia kahua.
Ua makaukau na kalaimoku ma ka hooponopono i na oihana kāua, ua kapa ia lakou, he kaakaua ia, he lau aua kahi inoa.¹⁰⁴

The Kālaïmoku knew the art of warfare, they knew the battle grounds intimately and understood which maneuvers were good for a certain terrain and bad for another.
Kālaïmoku were experts in planning war strategies, they were called ka'akaua (strategists) lau aua was also another name for them.

Along with knowing how to plan and strategize a war, Malo writes that the Kālaïmoku would have to consider the type of fighting formation that would be beneficial for a specific terrain. He mentions a maneuver called makawalu that was ideal for a brushy terrain, and also a maneuver called kahului which was ideal for an open area.¹⁰⁵ He says that the front lines or hunalewa were composed of smaller people and that the people behind them were the hunapa'a. Behind the hunapa'a were the wa'a kāua, the pu'ulu kāua and the papa kāua, and the po'e kāua. It was in the po'e kāua that the ali'i nui resided. Malo writes that,

Aia maloko o ka poe kāua ke alii nui, me kana wahine, me kona mau akua kaai, a me kona mau mea aloha a pau aka, he makawalu

¹⁰⁴ Malo, 1987, p. 130. (79,82).

¹⁰⁵ Malo, 1987, p. 130. (80,84).

ke kua ma ka huna paa ke alii nui e noho ai. ¹⁰⁶

The Ali'i nui was within the po'e kāua division, along with his wife, and his akua ka'ai, and with his beloved people, but if they were fighting in a makawalu formation the ali'i nui would be in the huna pa'a division.

Since the responsibilities of being a Kālainmoku were vast and of critical importance for ali'i and maka'āinana alike, having a well trained knowledgeable Kālainmoku was a necessity for having a harmonious society. Like many other aspects of 'Ōiwi learning, one learned the important aspects of being a Kālainmoku from those of the older generation who had experience with the intricate decisions of a Kālainmoku. Malo writes,

Elua kumu nui a ka poe kalaimoku, o ko lakou ao ma na olelo akamai a ka poe kalaimoku kahiko, a o ko lakou noho mau me ia alii aimoku a make aku, noho hou aku, a make aku, a ike pono i ke ano o kela alii aimoku, keia alii aimoku, me ko lakou lohe mai i ke ano o na alii alimoku kahiko. ¹⁰⁷

Kālainmoku had two important teachers, the instructions they had learned from those who were older Kālainmoku, and from living with ali'i'ai moku through their rise and fall (death and resurgence of an new ali'i'ai moku). From these experiences one could see the differing types of ali'i'ai moku and their adherence (or non adherence) to the protocol of the ali'i'ai moku of old.

A Kālainmoku would need to learn in the same way that many 'Ōiwi prefer today, that is through listening, observing, and then experiencing. (nana ka

¹⁰⁶ Malo, 1987, p. 130. (86).

¹⁰⁷ Malo, 1987, p. 132. (97).

maka, lohe ka pepeiao, hana ka lima). While Malo's description of this process might imply that it takes place in the court of the Ali'i nui, it can also occur in the kua 'āina (back country). Malo writes,

Ma ke kua aina mai kekahi poe akamai i ke kalaimoku, ua ao ia lakou ma ke kuaaina, a akamai i na hana o kahi alii, no ka mea, o na kuaaina kekahi poe mana mai i ke ano o na alii hewa a me na alii pono.¹⁰⁸

Some of those skilled in Kālaimoku came from the backcountry. They were enlightened in the backcountry, and were skilled in the processes of an ali'i, because in the backcountry were some very powerful people (po'e mana) who knew the traits of a good and bad chief.

The skills and kuleana of a Kālaimoku were tremendous. Overall he/she was a person who tried to keep the life on the land as prosperous and pono as possible. Only humility could allow for one to carry such a heavy burden for the benefit of the society as a whole. A good Kālaimoku was not concerned with his or her personal status but rather with the reign and continuity of the ali'i nui. Malo writes,

Ua poe kalaimoku la, he ope makemake ole i ka noho hanohano a me ka noho kiekie aole makemake i ka waiwai nui me ka aina nui.

Aole e makemake e uku nui ia mai e ke alii nui, aka, o ko lakou lohe wale no i ka ke alii nui mau olelo malu, oia wale no ka mea nui loa i ko lakou manao ana.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Malo, 1987, p. 133. (98).

¹⁰⁹ Malo, 1987, p. 132. (92,93).

Kālainmoku did not desire to live in their glory and fame. They did not desire to extract the resources of the land (for themselves). They did not desire to be paid in large amounts by the Ali'i nui, they wished only to hear the peaceful words, this was their main concern.

Malo gives detailed description of a kālai'āina and the peoples involved. This resource is invaluable for those interested in palena and 'Ōiwi land distribution.

3.3. Kō Kepelino Mana'o: The Writings Of Kepelino

Although some scholars question the validity of the Kepelino manuscript,¹¹⁰ I include it since it offers a slightly different picture on early 'Ōiwi society. Kepelino's description shows a greater stratification within the government and makes no mention of the Kālainmoku. Instead Kepelino refers to the Kuhina nui, Pukaua nui, whose duties Malo described as being that of the Kālainmoku. Kepelino writes,

Eia hoi na lōina ma ka hooponopono noho ana aupuni

1. O ka Moi ka mea maluna iho o na mea a pau
2. O na Kuhina nui
3. O ke Kahuna nui
4. Ka Pukaua nui
5. Na koa kaa kaua
6. Na koa
7. Na Poe Moolelo
8. Ke Kuhikuhi puuone
9. Ka poe lawelawe

¹¹⁰ Keauokalani, Kepelino. *Kepelino's traditions of Hawai'i*, Edited by Martha Beckwith, Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Museum Bulletin, 95, 1932, p.125.

Here are the divisions of the persons in charge of governing
The Mō'i who was above everything
The Chief Counselor
The High Priest
The War leader (General)
The War Strategist
The Warriors
The Historians
The Readers of Omens
The Laborers

After Kepelino gives this detailed description of the different "offices" in the government, he later discusses the Hawaiian body politic in a similar fashion to that of Malo. He describes the Aupuni as a kino or body. In reference to that body the ali'i nui is the po'o (head) of the body. He describes in greater detail the positions below the ali'i nui,

Ke Kuhina nui kekahi, ka mea nana e hooko a hana i na mea a pau a ke alii nui e pili ana i ke aupuni. Malalo iho na kiaaina, i mea nana e hooponopono na lahui ma kahi o kona apana. He mau alii okana kekahi, a e hooponopono ana i ka lakou okana iho. Malalo iho o lakou na alii ai-ahupuaa, a e hoomalu lakou i ko lakou mau ahupuaa iho. Na haku aina, oia pono i ka mea aina, aka o na alii ai-ahupuaa, e hoomalu wale no kana i na mahiai a pau ma kona ahupuaa iho i ole ai e nui ka haunaele.

O na Ilamuku kiekie, o lakou no ka poe nana e hookolokolo i ka poe hihia o ka wa kahiko, a na lakou no e hookuu a e hoopai paha, e like nae me ko lakou makemake.

Na konohiki, oia ka poe nana e hooponopono i na aina ma ka mahiai, a me ka imi ana i na mea e pono ai na haku aina a me na alii.

Ka poe mahi moo-aina, he poe ia malalo ino o ke konohiki, a nana no e hooponopono i ka poe a pau e mahiai ana ma kona moo-aina iho.¹¹¹

The chief counselor, was the person who carried out the desire of the Ali'i nui. Directly under him was the Kia'āina (governors) who responsible for those in his/her district. There were also the chiefs who controlled the okana divisions, and they controlled the people of their divisions. Below them were the chiefs who controlled ahupua'a (ali'i 'ai ahupua'a) and they were responsible for their ahupua'a. The landlords (haku 'āina) were the real possessors of the land, but the chiefs who controlled the ahupua'a (ali'i 'ai ahupua'a) took care of the farmers so that quarrels would not arise. The high sheriff, these were the ones who investigated any trouble in the old days. It was up to them to decide whether to punish or to exonerate.

The Konohiki, were the ones guided the cultivation of lands, and also the ones who sought goods to appease the landlord and ali'i 'ai ahupua'a.

The farmers were those people who were under the konohiki, they took care of their mo'o 'āina (small land division).

Kepelino uses terms such as haku 'āina which may be of more modern origins than words like ali'i 'ai moku, but, further research should be done to see which is an older term. Kepelino also uses the term Kia 'āina, which may also be a more modern term for the position of governor, and this too should be investigated further. What is of great interest is that Kepelino makes no mention of the Kālainmoku, a position that as explained by Malo seems to cross over the duties of the Kuhina nui and the Pūkaua nui as cited by Kepelino. The term

¹¹¹ Keauokalani, 1932, p.147.

Kuhina nui is also thought to be a modern term as Ka'ahumanu was proclaimed Kuhina nui by Kamehameha (according to the words of Ka'ahumanu)¹¹² and was the first to hold this position. My speculation is that Malo offers an earlier view of the government than does Kepelino.

3.4. Nānā I Ka Hopena; Conclusion

This chapter examined the people and process involved in governing and in the process of Kālai'āina. An attempt was made to synthesize the vast and knowledgeable writings of David Malo and Kepelino Keauokalani in order to portray the involved and complex process of governing and Kālai'āina. The importance of illustrating such a complexity is that it gives insight into the highly developed and stratified system of government that was in place prior to the arrival of technologies, tools, and concepts not of 'Ōiwi origin. It was a system too complex to be summarized in a chapter of a M.A. thesis, but an elementary knowledge of the complexities is essential for an understanding of hybridization¹¹³ of that system. An understanding of the complex system of

¹¹² Kame'eleihiwa, 1992. p. 73.

¹¹³ Bhabha, Hommi. *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge Press, 1994, p. 4.

government and “hybridity”¹¹⁴ (through the eyes of an ‘Ōiwi scholar) might prove to be the difference between a viewing of history through the lenses of adaptation rather than imposition, survival but not subjugation. To explain these ideas metaphorically, hybridization enables viewing our history as traditional but not static, allowing us the use of Kiawe (an introduced species of tree, the most commonly used and prized for making imu today) rather than ‘Ōhi’a (a native wood that works great for imu but is not used for imu as much as Kiawe is today) when making an imu.

In a system that was as developed as that of the early ‘Ōiwi society, the establishment of palena (place boundaries) likely played a critical role in the actions of that society. Having known and marked palena on the ground would enable the society to function with greater efficiency and ease. The process of a Kālai’āina would be much easier to accomplish if the boundaries of the lands being redistributed were known and in place prior to their distribution. This

¹¹⁴ Bhabha, 1994, p. 4. The stairwell became a liminal space, a pathway between the upper and lower areas, each of which was annotated with plaques referring to blackness and whiteness... The stairwell becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between the upper and lower the black and white. The hither and thither of the stairwell, the temporal movement and the passage that it allows, prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities. This interstitial passage between fixed identification opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy.

might be why chiefs like Ma'ilikūkahi are famed for their works of making the palena clear and known.¹¹⁵

3.5. Kahi E Hele Ana: The Place We Are Headed To

If palena were clear and established in the ancient 'Ōiwi system, how would they be affected by placing them on maps? Would they simply be disregarded as other native ways of bounding the land might have been?¹¹⁶ Would they be thought insignificant and un-functional? Could they be placed on maps? The next chapter will discuss the early mapping attempts of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and a way that traditional palena may have been attempted to be preserved through the Boundary Commission.

¹¹⁵ Fornander, Abraham. *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the times of Kamehameha I.* Mutual Publishing, 1996, p.89 See Chapter one page 10.

¹¹⁶ Turnbull, David. *Maps Are Territories; Science as an Atlas.* Chicago :University of Chicago Press, 1993, in preface.

Chapter 4.

Ke Ana 'Āina: A Premise To (Re) Mapping The Hawaiian State VS The Actions Of Acculturated Hawaiians

4.1. The Development of Hawaiian Epistemology; and the Use of the Tools of the "Other"¹¹⁷

4.1.1. Introduction

Much work in the Colonial/ Post- Colonial fields of Geography has focused on the tools of the colonizer that enabled him to colonize.¹¹⁸ While many other authors have worked to develop native epistemologies methodologies and sciences¹¹⁹, this chapter seeks to investigate how the development of native epistemologies can shape 'ōiwi views on 'ōiwi history and the adaptation of new technologies and ideas.

¹¹⁷ The term "the Other" is most often applied to describe native/ aboriginal peoples in western academic discourse. In this chapter I refer "the other" as the haole or foreigner, who in Hawai'i would more accurately deserve the term other, through the eyes of Hawaiian epistemology. I also use the terms "Western" to refer to the people who had their origins geographically East of Hawai'i. I use the term "Eastern" to refer to those who had their origins geographically west of Hawai'i. I use these terms because this is the way in which much imperial discourse is shaped. I have noted its possible inconstancies here, so that it is noted, and so that 'ōiwi scholars might decide if a discourse that reflects our sense of place might be more appropriate.

¹¹⁸ Braun, 2002; Mitchell, 1998; Stokes, Evelyn. "Contesting Resources Maori, Pakeha, and a Tenurial Revolution" in Pawson, Eric and Brooking, Tom (eds), *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, Melborne: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Harris, 2004, pp.165-182.

¹¹⁹ Meyer, 1998. pp. 22-28; Smith, 1999; Cajete, 2000.

Much colonial/imperial theory as written by authors such as Pratt¹²⁰ have used a spatial approach when examining the material effects of exchange between the “west” and the people of the places that “westerners” visited. This spatial approach sees the place of exchange as a space where western tools, concepts and technology are imposed on the native peoples and any attempt to adapt and make use of those processes is defined under the terms of “transculturation.” Pratt effectively defines the term as,

How subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture. While subjugated peoples cannot readily control what emanates from the dominant culture, they do determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own, and what they use for it.¹²¹

The term transculturation applies with a spatial quality, where it can be used to define the adaptations of “subjugated” or “marginal” peoples on any end of the globe, in each and every space of the “periphery.” This possibly underestimates any agency possessed by the so “subjugated” people and disregards the possibility of the adaptation happening through the use of their own epistemology, rather than in reactionary terms. Applying a placial analysis as developed by authors such as Casey¹²² to the processes involved with the

¹²⁰ Pratt, 1992.

¹²¹ Ibid. 1992, p. 6.

¹²² Casey, 1996, pp. 13-52.

adaptation of tools, concepts, or technologies with origins from outside ones own, could lead to a clearer understanding of that adaptation. This adaptation or in the words of Pratt, act of “transculturation,” should be seen as an “emplaced happening,” rather than an event that happened in a particular space and time. In the words of Murton,

the understanding of the great divide between spatial and placial ways of seeing and coming to know the world is critical for geographers working on the interface of Native and Western understandings of the world.¹²³

When one understands the differences between placial and spatial approaches to research, such specific questions that need to be asked are, who were the subjugated people? Were they subjugated in their own “place” or merely in a perceived “western” space? In which place did the “subjugation” happen? Who defines the “subjugation”? As places gather cannot the people of those places gather and still keep their place?¹²⁴

The inclusion and adaptation of western tools and concepts by ‘ōiwi is abundant in ‘ōiwi history. Iron, electricity, mapping, and Independent Statehood were among some of the things that ‘ōiwi kūpuna brought into the ‘ōiwi consciousness and attempted to “Hawaiianize.” Rather than pre-supposing that

¹²³ Murton, Brian. “Interpretations of the Foreshore in Aotearoa/New Zealand”. Paper presented at the 2005 AAG conference, Denver, Colorado.

¹²⁴ Casey, 1996, pp. 13-52. Also See Chapter 1 sect. 1.4 of this thesis.

any “western adaptation” was imposed on ‘ōiwi, are there cases where the ‘ōiwi him/herself chose to engage and adapt a tool/concept through his/her own epistemologies? Is there a “native epistemology” that looks at the efficacy of a tool/ concept rather than its origin?

4.1.2. A’ole I Pau Ka ‘Ike I Ka Hālau Ho’okahi; Knowledge is not exhausted in one school; Hawaiian Epistemology, and the Contesting Patterns of Western Philosophy

Possibly the most fundamental aspect in anyone’s thought process is one’s epistemology. Authors such as Kant, Lock and Wittgenstein were fundamental framers of their respective ways of knowing the world. Authors like Heidegger, Nietzsche, and the mythical Lao Tzu offer alternative ways of seeing. Much effort in the “Hawaiian Movement” has focused on the development and expansion of a “Hawaiian Epistemology.” Writers such as Meyer have brought “Hawaiian” ways of knowing from cultural practitioners and kūpuna into and through the halls of academia, opening doors to “Hawaiian ways of knowing,” in an academic environment that provides for their nurturing and possible growth in the fields of epistemology.

This illusive but fundamental aspect of Hawaiian/kanaka worldview is also what drives many ‘ōlelo makuahine classes that seek to provide a framework for understanding “Hawaiian Epistemology” through the native

tongue. As a student of Hawaiian language, the nu‘u (summit) that I am trying to reach is the summit where I am thinking about thinking through my maoli language; a place in which I am able to understand and evaluate Hawaiian concepts in comparison to each other, rather than in contrast to concepts that arise out of English.

The term “Western philosophy” blankets a quilt of many differing and contesting patterns; the same can be true for the term “Eastern philosophy”. This being the case, what can one say about the term, “Hawaiian Epistemology”? Could it be similar to the other two terms. That is, within “Hawaiian epistemology” one might find differing ways of seeing and knowing the world. If examples of differing epistemologies can be found in the mo’olelo (ko kākou kupuna) kūpuna (ancestors) of old then we might be able begin to engage with their multiple “Hawaiian epistemologies.”

4.1.3 E Kuhikuhi Pono I Nā Au Iki A Me Nā Au Nui O Ka 'Ike:¹²⁵ Two Forms Of The Epistemologies Of Kalaniopu'u.

One could imagine that a Hawaiian Epistemology was used by the ancients when they made the decision to go to war; they might have taken advantage of an epistemology that consulted with the metaphysical, as did Kalaniopu'u when he looked to his kahuna for signs from Kūka'ilimoku before attacking Kahekili and Kahahana's warriors in Wailuku, Maui.¹²⁶ Instead of heeding the words of his kahuna, Holo'ae, Kalaniopu'u disregards the metaphysical advice given by Holo'ae. The Hawaiian historian Stephen Desha writes,

I hākālia nō a pau nā 'ōlelo a ke kahuna i ka Mō'i, 'o ka wā nō ia o ka Mō'i Kalaniopu'u i hō'ike mai ai i kona 'āpono 'ole i kēia a'o 'ana a ke kahuna.¹²⁷ As soon as the kahuna had finished speaking to the Mō'i (Kalaniopu'u), the Mō'i Kalaniopu'u showed his disagreement with the council of the kahuna.¹²⁸

Kalaniopu'u choosing a materialist type of epistemology over the metaphysical sends his warriors into battle in rejection of his kahuna's predictions. Having made this decision one might argue that Kalaniopu'u's epistemology had shifted to one based on more materialist grounds (i.e. defeat

¹²⁵ Puku'i, Mary Kawena. *'Ōlelo No'eau Hawaiian Proverbs and Sayings*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983. p. 40. Instruct well in the little and large currents of knowledge.

¹²⁶ Desha, 1996, p. 57-58.

¹²⁷ Ibid 1996, p. 57-58.

¹²⁸ My translation

the enemy with whatever weaponry available). Even following the slaughter of much of the 'Ālapa and Pi'ipi'i armies, after a meeting was held with his other respected chiefs it was decided to again ignore the words of the Kahuna and attack Kahekili mā again.¹²⁹ This being the case, Kalaniopu'u might answer the question, "why did you go to war?" through the use of multiple epistemologies, i.e. one that is rooted in metaphysics (i.e. I consulted with the god, but chose not to listen), as well as one that is rooted in materialism (I chose not to listen to my kahuna because I wanted to control Maui's vast lo'i resources). Although Desha himself sees Kalaniopu'u's disregard toward the advice of his kahuna Holo'ae as a foolish decision of Kalaniopu'u, I use this illustration not to place a hierarchy of one epistemology over another, but rather to illustrate that the ancients (ko kākou kupuna) may have used multiple epistemologies throughout their existence. Since 'ōiwi of old accessed multiple ways of knowing, one might speculate that as we begin to again access Hawaiian epistemologies, we might also access their multiple forms.

¹²⁹ Desha, 1996, p. 72-73.

4.1.4 E Lawe I Ke A'o A Mālama, A E 'Oī Mau Ka Na'auao.¹³⁰ "Tools of The Other" Used Under Hawaiian Terms.

A tremendous amount of mana has been and needs to continue being put into the understanding and development of Hawaiian epistemologies.

Hawaiians must also examine if that development is consistent with the myriad ways of kanaka behavior. For instance, when 'Ōiwi had found the usefulness of steel and iron, they quickly became adept and soon began to incorporate its use into ship making, as Freycinet notes,

there were five brigs of 90 to 100 tons each, and equal number of 60-70 ton schooners, and about ten 20-ton cutters—all in all, twenty vessels of European type. The brigs were sold to the islanders by the Anglo-American speculators, and the rest came from the King's shipyards where they had been built by the natives themselves under the direction of foreign carpenters.¹³¹

In this view one can imagine a "Hawaiian Epistemology" that is inclusive and looks advantageously at the development of any technologies or ideas that can be applied. This is an epistemology which might not be based on the experience of ones kūpuna, (since likely no kūpuna could have experienced this

¹³⁰ Puku'i, 1983, p. 40. Take your teachings and apply them to increase knowledge.

¹³¹ De Freycinet, Louis Claude de Saulses. "Hawai'i in 1819 A Narrative Account by" *Pacific Anthropological Records*, 26, 1978, p 91.

before Kamehameha's time) but rather on one's own "rational" ('a'apo) capability to see the usefulness in the inclusion of ideas and objects that might not have been of kanaka origin, but are nevertheless useful. This form of Hawaiian epistemology, has not been explored in depth in academia and might be an area of interest for future research.

This epistemology can be used as a source of explanation when one examines the industry of Kalākaua in making Hawai'i's seat of government the first in the world to make use of electricity. Kalākaua, being a man of confidence and industry, also challenged missionary assumptions of morality, while promoting such traditions like mele, oli, lua, and hula that linked kanaka to their own metaphysics. One could imagine various "Hawaiian epistemologies" that would have been available to Kalākaua, to whom we have to thank for such diverse sources of knowledge as the Kumulipo (which he and Lili'u are often credited for bringing back into the kanaka consciousness) and the Hale Naua society.

It is a battle of epistemologies that leads many native or aboriginal people to turn in disgust toward the field of international law. Having been described by authors like Pratt, as "subjugated people," many aboriginal people seek to define law and their existence under their own rather than reactionary terms.

International law has also failed to grant “indigenous peoples” the right to access its body of law as independent States, and instead has left these populations subject to the laws of their “colonizer”. When Osorio examines the plight of Statehood under the Hawaiian context he writes,

is it a good idea for Hawaiians to claim a kind of immunity from colonialism based on a nineteenth-century constitution and a few words of recognition by a British diplomat and a French diplomat? Should not national identity mean more than that? Should we Hawaiians acquiesce to the colonization of other Native peoples because they themselves did not perform these legal rituals.¹³²

Many scholars have accepted the view that international law is a “western creation.” Views such as these are historically correct because early international law was built upon European origin. In the 19th century the only way for a state to be recognized as an Independent State, was to be accepted as such by the “powerhouse Western nations ” like Britain, France, and the U.S. One can easily see the moral and theoretical grounds on which such an opinion stands, and many might stand on such grounds; that being said, are Hawaiian nationals “selling out” by adapting to what many view as “Western law”?

¹³² Osorio, 2004, p. 108.

In the case of Kalākaua taking advantage of the resources of electricity, did the kanaka marvel at his ingenuity or look up at the lit palace on a moonless night or see it as a western creation? How one answers this hypothetical question is paramount to the description of our (kanaka 'ōiwi) status as an Independent State. Many scholars seem to agree that cultures and the bearers of those cultures are not static. Inventions such as gunpowder by the Chinese, have been adapted and assimilated into every armed forces on the planet, and yet I have never heard of it referred to as a "Chinese creation" with a similar connotation to that of their "Western counterpart." This being the case, can we not use and adapt a resource with possibly as much power as any explosion, when trying to secure our 'āina and kulāiwi ?

There might have been no other answer for our kūpuna who spared no effort when it came to attempting to secure the perpetuity of our 'aupuni's existence, as they entered into the Family of Nations in 1843.¹³³ Having seen the

¹³³ Ha'alilio, Timoteo. and Richards, William. 14 Dec 1842. In letter to Secretary of State of the U.S. Daniel Webster, Ha'alilo mā write, "His Majesty.. have awakened the very strong desire that his Kingdom shall be formally acknowledged by the civilized nations of the world as a sovereign and independent State." This was an early attempt to have the U.S. sign a treaty acknowledging the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent State. In which the Department of State of the U.S. responds, .."the President to be quite willing to declare, as the sense of the Government of the United States, that the Government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected; that no power ought either to take possession of the islands as a conquest, or for the purpose of colonization, and

way other native nations were being colonized around the Pacific and the globe our kūpuna went to great lengths to secure the recognition of the Hawaiian Kingdom as an Independent State. The importance of this action can be better understood through some of the writings of Oppenheim,

The conception of International Persons is derived from the conception of the Law of Nations. As this law is the body of rules which civilized States consider legally binding in their intercourse, every State which belongs to the civilized States and is, therefore, a member of the Family of Nations, is an International Person,¹³⁴

Hawai'i, by being recognized as an Independent State or International Person, assured itself the ability to have a seat at the table with many of those nations that "colonized" many of our cousins in the South Pacific and around the globe, in no way condoning the actions of some of the Independent States that were "colonizers," but rather as a means to assure its (Hawai'i's) continued existence. As Oppenheim writes, "A State remains one and the same International Person in spite of changes in its headship, in its dynasty, in its form, in its rank and title, and in its territory."¹³⁵ This virtually assures the continuity of the State though

that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing Government, or any exclusive privileges or preferences in matter of commerce."

¹³⁴ Oppenheim, Lassa. *International Law: a Treatise*, 3rd edition, London: New York Longmans Green and Co. 1920, p. 125.

¹³⁵ Ibid, 1920, p. 141.

its organ (i.e. government) may change through internal politics. Speaking on the continuity of the State, Oppenheim uses France as an example,

But whatever may be the importance of such changes, they neither affect a State as an International Person, nor affect the personal identity of the State concerned, France for instance, has retained her personal identity from the time the Law of Nations came into existence until the present day, although she acquired, lost, and regained parts of her territory, changed her dynasty, was a kingdom, a republic, an empire, again a kingdom, again a republic, again an empire and is now, finally as it seems, a republic. All her international rights and duties as an International Person remained the very same throughout the centuries in spite of these important changes in her condition and appearance.¹³⁶

Clearly the benefits of being included in the Family of Nations can be seen as desirable for those who want to see their “nation” survive. Since France was granted access to this Family, the State itself cannot be altered by change in its organ or even in the actual amount of the territory itself. What a huge benefit this must have seemed to (ko kākou kupuna) Hawaiians of the 18th century who were in fear of the loss of territory or of an outside State attempting to claim Hawai‘i as its own. The inclusion of Hawai‘i into the Family of Nations theoretically protected Hawai‘i from a situation like the Paulet affair from ever happening again. Hawai‘i being an Independent State would protect itself from being swallowed up by other Independent States by protecting Hawai‘i from the

¹³⁶ Ibid. 1920, p. 141.

process of what Oppenheim calls “occupation,” a term which many might interpret today as “colonization.”

Occupation is the act of appropriation by a State through which it intentionally acquires sovereignty over such territory as is at the time not under the sovereignty of another State.¹³⁷

Many modern Hawaiian scholars agree that Hawaiian people valued applied knowledge. ‘Ōlelo no’eau such as “ma ka hana ka ‘ike,” (through work one gains knowledge) place a stress on knowledge gained through application. Knowledge and ideas that could be applied, as a means to achieve a goal, might rest above theoretical knowledge or knowledge for knowledge’s sake. Kūpuna (ancestors) named plants that they could use, while often times those that had no use also had no name. Since applied knowledge was valued traditionally, the applied value of being included in the Family of Nations may have been understood by ‘ōiwi of the early Kingdom era. Oppenheim illustrates the value of being a State when he lists possibly the most important aspect of being a part of the Family of Nations, the continuity of the State,

A State ceases to be an International Person when it ceases to exist. Theoretically such extinction of International Persons is possible through emigration or the perishing of the whole population of a State, or through permanent anarchy within a State. But it is

¹³⁷ Ibid. 1920, p. 383.

evident that such cases will hardly ever occur in fact. Practical cases of extinction of States are merger of one State into another, annexation after conquest in war, breaking up of a State into several States, and breaking up of a State into parts which are annexed by surrounding States.¹³⁸

Since International Persons or independent States can be extinguished through a very limited number of options, there is a case to be made that says the Hawaiian State has never been extinguished. None of the methods of State extinction (as described by Oppenheim) apply to Hawai'i. As Matthew Craven, observes:

There is no doubt that, according to any relevant criteria (whether current or historical), the Hawaiian Kingdom was regarded as an independent State under the terms of international law for some significant period of time prior to 1893¹³⁹

In the Chinese International Journal of Law, Patrick Dumberry writes that, "The Arbitral Tribunal only went so far as to acknowledge the existence of an independent Hawaiian State before its annexation in 1898,"¹⁴⁰ he goes on later to say, "No doubt there exists in international law a presumption for the

¹³⁸ Oppenheim, 1920, p. 143.

¹³⁹ Craven, Matthew. "Continuity of the Hawaiian Kingdom" *Hawaiian Journal of Law and politics*, Summer, 2004, p. 461.

¹⁴⁰ Dumberry, Patrick. "The Hawaiian Kingdom Arbitration Case and the Unsettled Question of the Hawaiian Kingdom's Claim to Continuity as an Independent State under International Law" *Chinese Journal of International Law*, 2002, p.680.

continuation of the existence of a State.”¹⁴¹ If international law as cited by Oppenheim, and writers such as Dumberry have merit than there might be more left to develop for Hawai‘i in the international courts. That being said, if Hawai‘i was and possibly is an Independent State (as defined by Oppenheim) it might be wise to intellectually revisit areas in Hawai‘i history through the lens of an Independent State.

4.2. Ke Ana ‘Āina ‘Ana: Surveying The Land (Re) Mapping the Hawaiian State

The importance of the implementation of a mapping system in the Hawaiian Kingdom was a crucial step in order to be able to speak the language of Independent States with other such entities. Another importance of mapping was expressed by Kanaka Maoli like the then Prince Lot Kapuāiwa who was concerned with losing the knowledge of traditional palena due to the deaths of kūpuna who were kupa ‘āina. He therefore established the first large scale mapping of the Hawaiian Kingdom with the Boundary Commission of 1862.¹⁴²

As was stated by Fornander earlier in the thesis, the surveying and

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p.682.

¹⁴²Kindom of Hawai‘i, “An Act Providing for Commissioners of Boundaries” Bills and Laws folder. Hawai‘i State archives. June 26. 1862. This Bill is on the books as being introduced by Prince Kamehameha.

establishment of palena had been done scores of generations prior to the arrival of “western” technologies and tools, when he credits Mā’ilikūkahi¹⁴³ with making them pa’a on O’ahu island. Fitzpatrick suggest that, “about six hundred years ago according to the dating of surveyor Curtis J. Lyons, the Hawaiians created the moku and settled on a series of names for them.”¹⁴⁴ Since these ancient divisions were so firmly known on the land, when the Kingdom of Hawai’i began to “modernize” its land system in the period of “the Mahele” of 1848, the kingdom was able to award large portions of land based on traditional name and location alone. When Lyons speaks about the principles adopted in the Mahele, he notes,

The theory that was adopted, in effect, was this: That the King, the chiefs, and the common people held each undivided shares, so to say, in the whole landed estate.¹⁴⁵

One author suggests that the only written map of ahupua’a that was available during the time of the mahele was created at Lāhainaluna by a kanaka maoli named on the map as S.P. Kalama.¹⁴⁶ Kalama had been exposed to mapping that had been done by other States such as the U.S. when they toured

¹⁴³ See Table 1 & 2 for a genealogy of Mā’ilikūkahi, possibly a better way to conceive of this type of dating is a study of genealogy.

¹⁴⁴ Fitzpatrick, and Moffat, 1995, p. 23.

¹⁴⁵ Lyons, *The Islander*, 23 July 1875.

¹⁴⁶ Fitzpatrick, Gary. *The Early Mapping of Hawai’i*, London: Kegan Paul International, 1987, p.111

Kalama seems to have taken the theory of mapping, and created a product that reflected an 'ōiwi approach. The originality of creating a color coding for Moku, and different lettering for ahupua'a was truly an act of agency, in a way taking traditional palena and attempting to put them into a language that could be understood by other States of the world. If Fitzpatrick is right in suggesting the Kalama map was the only written map of ahupua'a in the Māhele, it is easy to see the usefulness of the map, for Kalama was not only a mapmaker he was also the note taker for the *Buke Mahele*. Kame'eleihiwa's writes that Kalama was a secretary for the ali'i and that he described the proceedings of the Māhele in the probate case of Hewahewa, where Kalama writes, "I was Clerk for the Commission who made the division of the lands in 1848."¹⁴⁸

In the Mahele large portions of land were awarded in Konohiki awards by name only and were not accompanied by survey. Often times an ali'i was awarded an entire ahupua'a, or 'ili, subject to the rights of native tenants,¹⁴⁹ as

¹⁴⁸ Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, p. 224.

¹⁴⁹ Hawaiian Kingdom. Supreme Court Letter Book of Chief Justice Lee, January 4, 1848. All deeds issued contained the disclaimer, "subject to the rights of native tenants." William Lee a member of the land commission and the chief justice of the Supreme Court, in 1848 wrote responding to a concerned ABCFM pastor, " the tenants however, will not loose their rights should they fail to send in their claims, for I will see that no Konohiki has a title to lands except on the condition of respecting the rights of tenants."

was the case with the ahupua'a of Waiapuka which was awarded to Kekuanao'a. Large land owners like the government or private lands owners such as Mataio Kekuanao'a might want to themselves understand exactly what lands they were awarded, or in other cases disputes between neighboring land owners may have resulted due to the lack of knowledge about the exact boundaries of their newly acquired lands. This is what was to be remedied through the establishment of the Boundary Commission.

The Boundary Commission was established in 1862. In other contexts original surveys were used as a means of "bounding the native," and enumerating and enframing the power and wealth of the colonizer.¹⁵⁰ Hawai'i's case is interesting in that the first surveys were done under the direction of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, and in some cases carried out by *Kanaka Maoli*. Some might argue that there is no "colonizer" to be found. Different subtleties can be seen in the different versions of the reasons for the establishment of Boundary Commission, depending on a reading of either the Hawaiian or English version of the law. One Hawaiian version of the act before its passing talks about preserving ancient boundaries (while those who know the boundaries are still alive) for those who might be inheritors of the land, while the English version of

¹⁵⁰ Braun, 2002, p. 47.

the passed act talks more about settling the interests of the present as well as future owners of the land awards. In a version of the Act introduced by “Prince Kamehameha” on June 26 of 1862, the English version of the “Act for Providing for Commissioners of Boundaries” prior to section 1 states,

Whereas the “Board of Commissioners to quiet Land Titles” awarded by name only the majority of the Lands mentioned in the “Mahele Book,” and, Whereas, the interests of the present, as well as future owners of said lands, require a settlement of the boundaries of said lands, for reason of the death and consequent loss of the testimony of witnesses necessary, for the just settlement of such boundaries, Therefore be it enacted by the King, The Nobles, and Representatives, of the Hawaiian Islands in Legislative Council assembled¹⁵¹

In the Hawaiian version of the law in the same section it says that ,

No ka mea o ka hapanui o na aina i hookonoia ma ka buke Mahele no hoopukaia ka palapala hooko no ia mau aina e ka poe Hoona Kuleana Aina, ma ka inoa wale no o ia mau aina; A no ka mea, i mea e pono ai ka poe nona ia mau aina, a me ko lakou mau hope a me na hooilina. E hoomaopopo i na palena o ua mau aina la, oiai e ola ana na kamaaina i ike i na iwi a me na palena; No laila, e hooholo ia e ke Alii a me na ‘Lii, a me ka Poeikohoia i akoakoa i loko o ka Ahaolelo Keia Kanawai

Another interesting section in this early version of the bill states in section 11,

No transfer or conveyance of land, shall be legal, from
and after four years after the passage of this Act,

¹⁵¹ Hawaiian Kingdom, “An Act Providing for Commissioners of Boundaries”, Bills and Laws folder. Hawai‘i State archives. 26 June 1862.

unless the boundaries of said land, are accurately defined, in the instrument transferring the land.¹⁵²

Neither of these sections made it into the version of the Act that passed on the 23rd of August 1862,¹⁵³ but they show a clear and precise understanding of the importance on mapping and accurate survey in the new land system. Since the act to establish the boundary commission was introduced by Lot Kapuiwa, one might assume that 'Ōiwi themselves had initiated the Hawaiian Kingdom's movement toward the use of mapping technology to aid in the new land system of the Hawaiian State.

The acceptance and 'a'apo nature of "Prince Kamehameha" into the use and production of mapping for the Kingdom Hawai'i, might remind one of Kamehameha's fleet of "western" type warships¹⁵⁴ and Kalākaua's electric palace. This view may challenge the assumption that the native was passively bounded by the mythical forces of "western technology and tools," and might support a

¹⁵²Ibid, Hawai'i State archives. 26 June 1862

¹⁵³Ibid, Hawai'i State Archives. See entire Law of 1862 on page 24. Also Amendments made to B.C. of 1862 on July 27, 1866, Published in Nūpepa Kū'oko'a 18 August 1866. p. 4.

¹⁵⁴De Freycinet, 1978, p. 91. "there were five brigs of 90 to 100 tons each, and equal number of 60-70 ton schooners, and about ten 20-ton cutters—all in all, twenty vessels of European type. The brigs were sold to the islanders by the Anglo-American speculators, and the rest came from the King's shipyards where they had been built by the natives themselves under the direction of foreign carpenters."

view that the "native" or more precisely, the kanaka 'ōiwi attempted to use whatever technology was available to him/her at the time.

4.2.1. Ka Nūhou; Hawaiian Language Newspaper, I Mea E Ho'olaha Ai. A Means to Spread the Word

All ratified Bills and Acts of the Hawaiian Kingdom were published in Hawaiian language as well as English language newspapers. On September 17, 1862 in *ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a* the entire "Act to Establish a Commissioner of Boundaries was published,

HE KANAWAI.

E hoonohonoho ai i ka poe Komisina no na Palena Aina.

No ka mea, aole no i hoomaopopoia na palena o ka hapanui o na Ahupuaa a me na Ili Aina iloko o keia Aupuni e ke Kanawai ; a no ka mea, he mea ia e pono ai ka poe nona ia mau aina, a me ko lakou mau hope a me na hooilina, e hoomaopopoia na palena o ua mau aina la, oiai e ola ana na hoike, nolaila. E hoolahaia e ke Alii me na'Lii, a me ka Poeikohoia o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, i akoakoa iloko o ka Ahaolelo kau Kanawai.

Pauku 1. E hoonohoia a ma keia ua hoonohoia no i Poe Komisina, e kapaia " Ka Poe Komisina o na Palena Aina" no na makahiki elima mai ka hooholoia ana o keia Kanawai. Penei e hoonohoia'i ua Poe Komisina nei, 1. Elua Komisina ma kela a ma keia Apana Kiaaina o ke Aupuni, a he mana ko kela a me keia papa Komisina maloko o ko lakou mau apana iho.

Pauku 2. Na ke Kuhina Kalaiaina mahope iho o ka hoonohoia'na o keia Kanawai, e hookohu i ua Poe Komisina nei, o ka poe hoi o ka Moi e apono aku ai, a e noho lakou ma ka oihana, oiai a ke Kuhina e manao ai he pono; a he mana no hoi ko ke Kuhina i na e make kekahi o ua poe Komisina nei, ua hoopauia paha, a ua loa ka hakahaka ma kekahi ano e ae, alaila, na ke Kuhina e koho hou i pani no ia hakahaka.

Pauku 3. Ma keia Kanawai o na mea a pau maloko o keia Aupuni nona

kekahi Ahupuaa a ili aina paha i loa ole ko lakou palapala hooko mai ka poe Hoona Kuleana aina a Sila nui paha, a i ole ia he palapala hoolilo aina na ka Moi mai me ka hoakaka hoi i na palena oia aina, ua kauohaia lakou e hoopii imua o na Komisina oia Apana Kiaaina kahi i waiho ai ka aina, iloko o na makahiki eha mai ka hooholo ana o keia Kanawai e noi aku ana i ua mau Komisina la e hoomaopopo a e hooholo no na palena o ua aina nei. Ma ua palapala hoopii la e hai ae i ka inoa o ka aina i hoopiiia a me kona aina e pili ana, a me na inoa hoi o ka mea a mau mea paha nona ia mau aina, ina ua ike ia, a e hoike hoi i palapala ana oia aina, a i ole ia, e hoakakaia ma ke ano e ae no na palena.

Pauku 4. Aia loa i na Komisina palena aina ka hoopii i oleloia malana, alaila, e hoike ae imua o ka mea a mau mea paha nona ka aina, a me ka poe mea aina e pili ana ia lakou, i ka manawa e hooloheia'i no ia aina.

E ninaninau na Komisina i na hoike a pau e lawe imua o lakou a e hele no lakou ma ka aina, ke noi ia mai lakou e kekahi o na aoao elua. Aia a hoopuka ia he olelo hooholo na na Komisina no e hoakaka aku i na palena hooholoia ma ke ana maoli ana, ma ke ano o ke kii o ka aina a ma na hoailona palena paha a ma kekahi hapa paha o keia mau mea, a ia lakou no ka mana e kauoha aku e hana ia keia mau ana aina a hoailona paha, e like me ko lakou manao he pono, a na ka poe hoopii ka lilo a pau, aka, aole no he hiki ia lakou ke hoololi ae i kekahi palena i hoakakaia ma ke ana ana iloko o ka palapala Sila nui, na palapala hoolilo mai ka Moi, a me ka papa Hoona Kuleana mai paha.

Pauku 5. Ina e like ole ka manao o ua mau Komisina nei, alaila, na ka Lunakanawai Hoomalu, a Lunakanawai apana paha, ma ka apana kahi o ka palena i hoopaapaaia a o ka Lunakanawai Hoomalu a ka Lunakanawai apana paha, e noho kokoke ana, ina o ka palena i hoopaapaa ia he palena iwaena o na apana kekahi nana no e hooholo, a e lilo no ia i mea paa loa iwaena o lakou.

Pauku 6. Ina e hoohalahala kekahi no ka olelo hooholo a na Komisina, alaila, e hiki no ia ia ke hoopii hou ae i ka aha Kaapuni oia mokupuni, a ina ma ka mokupuni o Oahu imua o ka aha Kiekie e hoopii ae a na ka aha no e hoolohe, a e hooholo no ia hihia ina ka " banco " eia nae keia iloko o na la he kanaono mai ka hoopuka ia ana o ka olelo hooholo o na Komisina e hai aku ai ka mea i hoohalahala, i kona manao e hoopii hou, aka hoi, ina ma ka aina e kekahi mea aina, aole hoi ona hope kupono e hana nona maloko o keia Aupuni e hiki no ia ia ke hoopii hou maloko o ka makahiki hookahi, mai ka hoopuka ana o ka olelo hooholo.

Pauku 7. I na manawa a pau ina ua hoopii hou ae kekahi e like me ka olelo o ka pauku maluna iho, alaila, na ua poe Komisina nei e hooili aku imua o ka aha kahi e hoopii aku ai i ka mooolelo oia hihia a me ke kope o ka lakou olelo hooholo.

Pauku 8. E uku ia ua poe Komisina nei i elima dala pakahi, no kela a me keia la a lakou i noho mai ai ma ka hoopono ana i na palena aina, elua dala no kela a me keia palapala hooiaio i haawi ia aku, a he kanalima keneta no kela a me keia haneri o na huaolelo maloko o ka hoakaka ana iloko o ua palapala hooiaio nei, a e hookaa ia ia uku e ka aoao hookahi paha, a i ole ia o na mea a pau i kuleana ia, na na Komisina nae e hooholo ia mea.

Pauku 9. He mana ko ua poe Komisina nei e hoohiki i na hoike, e hoopai i ka poe i hoowahawaha mai, e hoopanee i ka hana, e kena i na hoike, a e hoopuka i na palapala hoomalu waiwai, e loa mai ai ke dala koina e like hoi me ka mana e haawiia nei i ke Kanawai i na aha hoomalu Kulanakauhale.

Pauku 10. Aole no i ae ia ke Kuhina Kalaiaina mahope iho o ka hooholoia ana o keia Kanawai, ke hoopuka i kekahi palapala Sila hui ma ka inoa, mamuli o ka olelo hooko o ka poe Hoona Kuleana aina. Ke ole i hoomaopopo lea ia na palapala o ka aina ma ua palapala Sila nui nei, e like me ka mea i hooholoia e na Komisina no na palena aina malalo hoi o keia Kanawai.

Pauku 11. Na na Komisina no e malama he moolelo pololei o ko lakou mau hana a pau maloko o na buke i hoolakoia e ke Kuhina Kalaiaina, a o keia mau buke i ka pau ana o na hana o keia poe Komisina, e hoihoiia aku i ua Kuhina nei, a nana e malama.

Pauku 12. E kau ia no na palapala hooiaio o ka poe Komisina, ma ka pepa i hooiaio ia ka hoailona Aupuni, i hoolako ia ai e ke Kuhina Kalaiaina ; a na na Komisina no e ohi, i hookahi dala no kela a me keia palapala hooiaio i hoopukaia e lakou, a e haawi aku no i ke Kuhina no ka pomaikai o ka waihona Aupuni.

Pauku 13. E lilo keia i Kanawai mai kona la i hoolahaia'i. Aponoia i keia la 23 o Aug., M. H. 1862

KAMEHAMEHA.

KAAHUMANU.

The publishing of laws in nūpepa, provided at least one opportunity for kanaka

maoli to be 'a'apo into the workings of their government. Events that were covered in the Nūpepa Hawai'i not only kept kanaka maoli informed about events in their own nation, it also informed them about events in nations across the globe. There were also numerous articles published in the nūpepa in which kanaka maoli engaged publicly with the problems of their day.

Near the time of the passage of the "Act to establish a commissioner of boundaries" in 1862, notices were sent out in the nūpepa that let people know that surveyors were available to conduct surveys (for a small fee "uku ha'aha'a") on lands that needed to be established in the new system. An article written by D.H. Hitchcock appears in *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a*, on May 17 1862,

Ana Aina.

AUHEA OUKOU E NA MEA PAU E MAKE make ana e "ANA" a ko oukou mau kuleana aina, e mahele ia ko oukou aina hui, e hoomaopoopo ia ko oukou mau palena aina i pau ka hoopaapaa. Eia no au ua makaukau e hana i ka oukou hana, ina ma ka Apana o Hilo a me Puna paha, me ka uku haahaa. Ina ua pilikia au, o ko'u kaikaina no ka mea e kokua mai ia'u. E loaa no wai ia oukou ma ko'u hale, ma Hilo Hawaii. D.H. HITCHCOCK.
Hilo, Hawaii, Maraki 20, 1862. 18-3m

Land Survey

For those of you who want to survey your kuleana lands, divided our the lands within your hui (group), to make plain and clear your land boundaries so that disputes may be resolved. I am ready to survey your land, if you are in the Hilo and Puna districts and are

willing to pay a small fee. If I am not available my younger brother is able to help me.

D.H. Hitchcock

Hilo, Hawaii, March 20 1862. 18-3m

4.2.2. Ke 'Ano O Ke Ana 'Āina: The Types of Surveys Done on the Land

Articles such as the one above can be found in nūpepa Hawai'i of this time and show a change, or huli, in the way in which kanaka maoli were to see their palena. Kanaka maoli who had acquired kuleana lands were now able to attempt to translate these known palena on the land and place them onto a map (me ka uku ha'aha'a), in a sense putting their "place" in "space".¹⁵⁵ Many difficulties may have arisen when these types of surveys were being done. Lyons who himself conducted some surveys of kuleana and konohiki lands notes that native surveyors may have generally had the easiest time conducting surveys. He discusses some of the difficulties encountered, particularly when a foreigner conducted a survey.

Mention was made in the vast number of the haphazard or lack of uniform rule in establishing the boundaries and extent of kuleanas. The best illustration of this may be derived from an example. Three surveyors were sent to Hawaii to as many different districts to measure and report kuleanas. Directions, "to include what the claimant has cultivated and improved." Surveyor 1, a stranger to the country, found the people cultivating on the kula land say two

¹⁵⁵ Casey, 1996, pp. 13-52.

or three acres of upland kalo. Not taking into account the fact, alluded to in our last number, that it was necessary for the land to lie fallow for two or three years before another crop of kalo could be produced from it, he surveyed merely the amount under actual cultivation. The kuleanas were awarded accordingly the poor people having no one to take their part, and as a consequence in many cases abandoning their newly acquired property as utterly insufficient for their needs.¹⁵⁶

Lyons goes on to explain other theoretical situations that surveyors encountered in the early surveys conducted by the Kingdom, and that there were numerous problems with the actual types and accuracy of the surveys in their initial attempts (as cited by Lyons). In the words of Fitzpatrick,

The lack of sufficient surveying capability had practical implications in the conduct of the mahele.... In fact, there was only one man in Hawai'i who was a trained and experienced surveyor, Theophilus Metcalf, and only two with equal qualifications, William Webster and Rudolph Meyer, who came later. A few missionaries used their textbook knowledge of the discipline to practice surveying and teach it to others, but they had no extensive practical experience.¹⁵⁷

4.2.3 Hawaiian Kingdom Mapping, A Colonial Venture?

Surveys attempted to represent traditional palena in a form new to 'ōiwi maps. This contrasts greatly with some of the early surveys in the United States where as were proposed by Thomas Jefferson "aimed at securing the kind of

¹⁵⁶ Lyons, *The Islander*, 6 Aug 1875.

¹⁵⁷ Fitzpatrick, 1987, p. 33.

yeoman society outlined by Crèvecoeur,¹⁵⁸ in a manner that took no regard to how the original inhabitants saw or possibly bounded the land. The checkerboard grid type of land survey that was prescribed by Jefferson was truly creating space over a place, which carved out an empty slate, where often times lands were sold prior to the actual survey (or land ever being seen).¹⁵⁹

Authors have suggested that the map is a tool used to aid “colonizers” in the dispossession of native people from their native lands.¹⁶⁰ While this may prove true in other contexts, the Hawaiian context is remarkably different. An example of colonial mapping is given in the book, *Maps are Territories*, by David Turnbull. (Figure 6) He includes a map of Australia that as done in 1827 by European colonists, and he writes,

This map of Australia relatively accurate in its coastal profile, is filled with imaginary mountain ranges, rivers, and deltas. Its place names, grid and topographical assumptions derive from European cultural conventions unrelated to the landscape depicted, a landscape which the Aborigines had already mapped in minute

¹⁵⁸ Cosgrove, Denis. *Symbolic Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984, p. 177.

¹⁵⁹ Price, Edward T. *Dividing the Land. Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic*. Chicago and London :The University of Chicago, 1995, p. 340.

¹⁶⁰ Harris, 2004, p.179.

and reliable detail.¹⁶¹

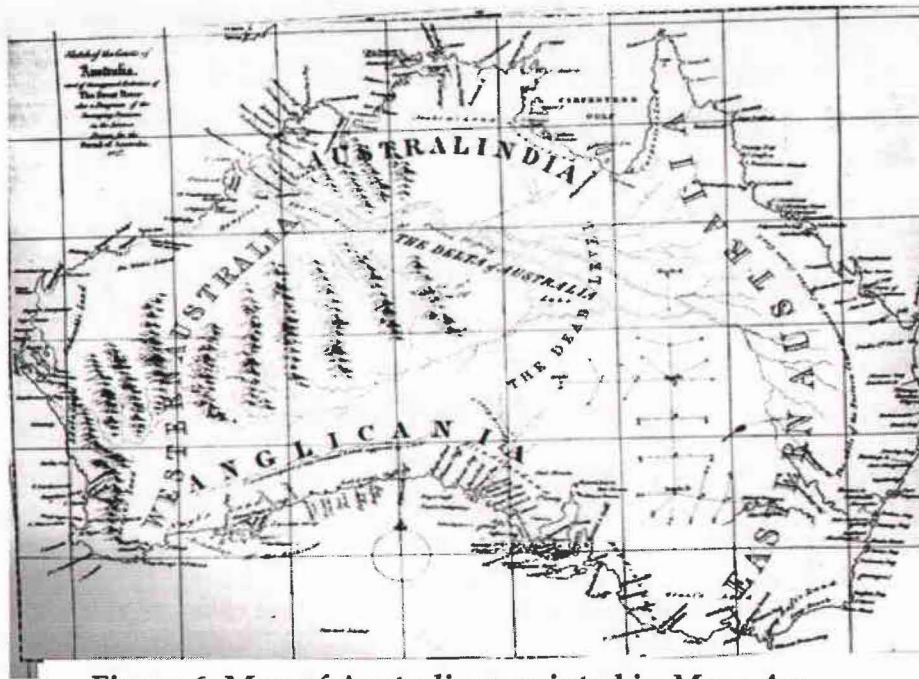


Figure 6: Map of Australia as printed in *Maps Are Territories* by David Turnbull

The map offered by Turnbull illustrates an example of colonial mapping, where Colonists drew and gave names to a land they consider empty or "Terra Nullius." Land that was deemed "Terra Nullius" was seen as being empty of inhabitants who possessed any legal right to the land. Colonists in America took a similar perspective where they, "drew their property lines on what they considered a blank slate, with little regard to those who had occupied the land before."¹⁶²

Surveyors in the Hawaiian Kingdom that were conducting Boundary Commission surveys (some of which were of 'ōiwi descent as was S.M.

¹⁶¹ Turnbull, 1993, p. preface.

¹⁶² Price, 1995, p.11.

Kaelemakule who surveyed Makanikahio ahupua'a),¹⁶³ were required to visit a site with a kupa'āina (long time native resident) who understood the traditional boundaries of the ahupua'a (or at least had learned them from someone who did), so that the survey might reflect the traditional palena.¹⁶⁴ One such map was done by Boundary Commission surveyor Emerson and later traced by Wilste in N. Kohala. (Figure 8) Registered map number 1212 in the state survey office lists the actual ahu that are on the ground and are marked on the map. It is a map of Lāhikiola district of N. Kohala that shows governments lands. At the time that this map was made very well marked palena existed as there are numerous ahu that bound, both the mauka and makai parts of some of the ahupua'a.

¹⁶³ Kingdom of Hawai'i, Boundary Commission #144 Also in Boundary Commission # 8 Kaelemakule states, Also Kaelemakule swore I am a surveyor by profession. "I have surveyed lands for the past twenty-three years."

¹⁶⁴Graham, B.R. "Unresolved Boundaries" *Boundary Law in Hawai'i*. in Bays, Bernard, Eau Claire: National Business Institute Inc, p. 53. When an 1879 Supreme Court case of the Hawaiian Kingdom dealing with the boundary of Pulehunui is examined in *Boundary Law in Hawai'i* it states, "The Supreme Court's decision quotes extensively from evidence received and illustrates the nature and singular importance of kamaaina testimony. The testimony of expert surveyors, including M.D. Monsarrat, was received only insofar as it translated the kamaainas' description into a survey. In other words, Monsarrat and other professionals merely could depict what they were told concerning the ancient boundaries by those who actually knew them."

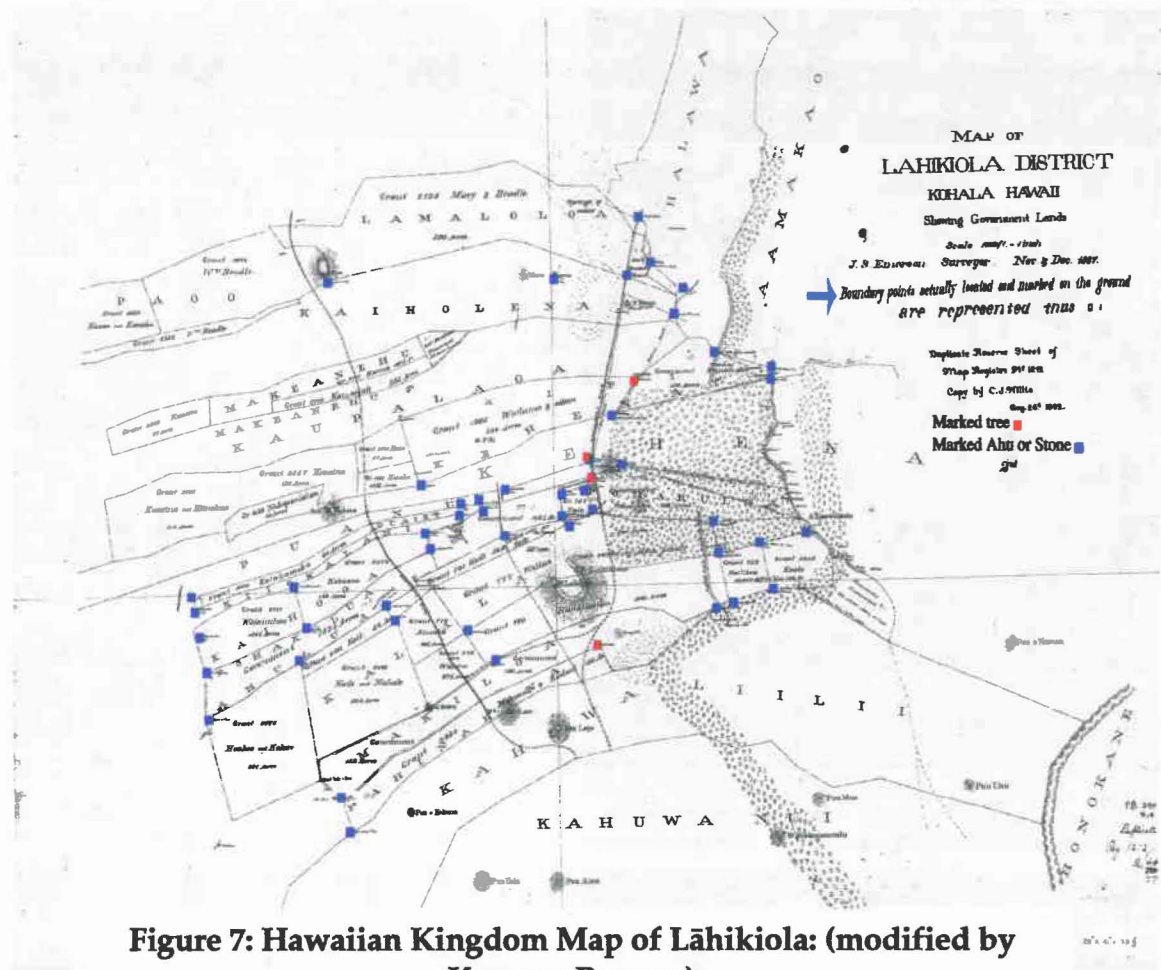


Figure 7: Hawaiian Kingdom Map of Lāhikiola: (modified by Kamana Beamer)

Figure 7 shows the complex boundaries that existed at the time of the creation of this map. The blue squares represent either ahu or stone boundaries and the red squares represent tree boundaries. Ahupua'a such as 'A'amakāō and Hālawā have ahu that mark their mauka palena.

4.2.4 Ke Ana 'Ana I Nā Palena; The Workings Of The Boundary Commission

Before a Boundary commission survey would occur, the owner of an ahupua'a would first need to request that his/her lands be surveyed so that the boundaries may be established on paper. For instance, the administrator of the estate of Kekuanao'a and V. Kamamalu (Kekuanao'a's daughter) requested that the palena of the estate's lands be confirmed on paper, by a written request by J.O. Dominis, Administrator J.H. Harris, attorney at Law signed in Hilo, August 16th 1873 A.D.

Following the survey, articles were published in two newspapers (one English and one Hawaiian) that a hearing was to be held at a local courthouse where testimony could be given about the said piece of land (Figure 8). One such testimony was offered at the Boundary Commission hearing for Waiapuka, in the Waimea courthouse on the 22nd of November, 1873:

**DOCUMENTS
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For Petition of Kohala, Book C.
Testimony
 Kuuku & Sworn.
 I was born at Maui, and now live at Awa
 a land in Kohala adjoining Hapaihaka.
 I have lived in Kohala about fifty years
 and in Awa about forty. I know the land
 of Hapaihaka. I went with Kaili (now dead)
 who showed me the boundaries. I saw the land
 between Awa and Hapaihaka when Awa was sur-
 veyed. The boundary between Hapaihaka and Hapai-
 hi is the water in the gulch. thence up the gulch to
 a place called Nako where Kihuna cuts Hapai-
 haka off. Nako is on Hapaihaka, and the bound-
 ary is marked by it. Bounded Nako by the sea
 on the Hilo side by Awa and Makanihaka.
 That land is established by Royal Patent and
 Certificate of Boundaries of Kihuna. Ancient
 fishing rights extending only a short distance
 Nako is the place on Hapaihaka near the bound-
 ary of Awa.

Figure 8: Boundary Commission Testimony of Kuuku for the palena of Waiapuka Ahupua'a (modified from microfilm by Kamana Beamer)

In other Boundary Commission reports, testimony is given on why palena were established: "In old times the people used to fight over cultivating grounds, and so we used to keep the run of the boundaries of our lands..."¹⁶⁵

This testimony illustrates an idea that is common in many developing systems of land tenure, the idea that without boundaries people war in order to extend their lands. According to this testimony the establishment of palena in wā kahiko (ancient times) helped to put an end to these types of conflict. Another

¹⁶⁵ Kingdom of Hawai'i, Boundary Commission Ahupuaa of Waika District of North Kohala, Island of Hawaii, Hawaii Volume A, No. 1:170-174.

testimony speaks about bird catching and the access to the birds of only one's own ahupua'a lest they be given to the konohiki of another ahupua'a,

Kenoi swore;

I am a kamaaina of the said land and know the boundaries, they were pointed out to me in olden times when it was kapu to catch birds on any land but the one you lived on, and if you did so the birds were taken away from you.¹⁶⁶

The wealth of such a process is worthy of praise when one considers the difficulty in attempting to survey traditional palena, in a way that they had never been done before. These testimonies offer a glimpse of insight into the complex nature of resource division in the traditional 'Ōiwi system and how critical knowledge of palena must have been. The knowledge of place names and place description is abundant in Boundary Commission testimony. On such testimony was given in the Boundary Commission report for Kapāpala ahupua'a, Kenoi (Kemoi ?) swore,

The boundary at the shore between Kaalaala and Kapapapala is at a hill or puulepo called Napuuonaelemakule, thence mauka to Kukalaula a cave in the pahoehoe where people used to live. The boundary follows an old trail all the way from the sea shore. Thence the boundary runs to Keanaonaluahine aa and a cave in the pahoehoe, thence to Puuahi two hills and two ahus running between the hills. Thence to Kapai an awaawa and cave. Thence to Puulehuopaniu, on pahoehoe, thence to a hill of rocks called Punahaha, along a road to where the Kukuilauli'iili'i used to

¹⁶⁶ Kingdom of Hawai'i, Boundary Commission Ahupua'a of Kapāpala Island of Hawai'i Volume A. No.1. p. 437.

stand; thence along Pu'ukoa to Kapalioke'e along Makakupa to Mo'omani a heiau and ahi pu. Thence along Pu'ukoa to Kapalioke'e ili aina and awaawa. Thence along Pohakuloa to Pu'uokamali'i as the government road on the edge of the pahoehoe towards Hilo, thence to Naunu the mauka corner of Pohakuloa the lae ohi'a on the pali, thence along Ahuali'ili'i to Kaholoina kauhale mamake and kahawai.¹⁶⁷

One essential part of the testimony given for the ahupua'a of Waiapuka that may have caused trouble for surveyors is that "ancient fishing rights extended out only a short distance." How this would be included in the survey might be a bit problematic, but it is clear that the kupa 'āina giving testimony on his knowledge of traditional palena included the fishery as a part of that palena.

As traditional palena often included a fishery within the boundaries of an ahupua'a or sometimes 'ili, early Kingdom surveys attempted to place these palena on maps as well. Documents found at the Hawai'i State archives show that the Hawaiian Kingdom was attempting to document and register fisheries and the owners of its Konohiki rights which are identified by the laws of 1840 where it states,

His Majesty the King hereby takes the fishing grounds from those who now possess them from Hawai'i to Kaua'i, and gives one portion of them to the common people, another portion to the landlords (Konohiki), and a portion he reserves for himself. These

¹⁶⁷ Kingdom of Hawai'i, Boundary Commission Ahupua'a of Kapāpala, Island of Hawai'i Volume A No.1

are the fishing grounds which His Majesty the King takes and gives to the people: the fishing grounds without the coral reef via: the Kilohe'e grounds, the Luhe'e ground, the Malolo ground, together with the ocean beyond. But the fishing grounds from the coral reef to the sea beach are for the landlords and for the tenants of their several lands, but not for others.

The Laws of 1840 seems to divide up vested rights in the Kingdom's fisheries in a similar way that was to the land in the 1839 Bill of Rights. It is clear that the three classes of kanaka: ke Ali'i, nā ali'i, and nā maka'āinana, are all given vested interests in the fisheries.

Following this process, some maka'āinana were unhappy with the actions of certain konohiki. These maka'āinana seemed to have no problem in condemning the illegal actions of their konohiki. Knowing their rights and the konohiki rights under the law, these maka'āinana protested to Keoni Ana, (the Minister of the Interior of the time) that a konohiki in Hilo was taking more than his/her legal share of fish. In a letter dated October 24, 1848, three-thousand nine hundred and seven maka'āinana wrote that the konohiki was making wrong divisions on caught fish and was taking more than one kind of fish. They write,

Eia ko makou manao, E hoole loa aku i ka mahele ana a na konohiki, i hookahi no ia a ke konohiki, i kana ia no i lawa (the section is difficult to read) ai oia no ka ia mahele a na konohiki, aole

na ia e ae i holo ana ma ko lakou mau kai....Ua olelo no hoi ke kanawai e noa keia mau kai i na kanaka Hawaii¹⁶⁸

This is what we think, (we) Will completely refuse the divisions of the konohiki, (we know) That only one fish goes to the konohiki, His/her fish (the konohiki) is the fish that he/she had selected as the konohiki fish, and not any other fish that swims in their division of the fishery....The laws state that the fisheries are open to kanaka Hawai'i. (Hawaiians)¹⁶⁹

Documents that list the owners of some of the Konohiki fisheries on the islands from Kaua'i to Hawai'i were submitted to C.J. Lyons who was a surveyor. Having a limited experience in field mapping, it is easy to imagine the methodological problems that would arise out attempting to map palena over the water. In spite of such methodological constraints the Hawaiian Kingdom attempted to make such surveys which would later present a problem for the U.S. following the "annexation".¹⁷⁰ Since traditionally Konohiki or the ali'i 'ai ahupua'a would have the kuleana to claim a certain type of fish in his/her

¹⁶⁸ Kingdom of Hawai'i. Department of Interior Letters, October 24, 1848, Hawai'i State Archives.

¹⁶⁹ My translation.

¹⁷⁰ Bell, F. Higgins. E. "A Plan for the development of the Hawaiian Fisheries." U.S. Department of Commerce. Investigational Report no. 42 United States Government printing office. Washington. 1939, p. 19. Under the section titled Legal Problems it states, " A frequent source of complaint in Hawaii, however, concerns the existence of konohiki rights, that is, the private ownership of ocean waters extending to the boundary reefs by landowners of the adjacent property. This is a relic of the system of ancient property rights which existed at the time of annexation to the United States. " It could also be noted that the Maka'ainana interests in these fisheries have not been extinguished either, though later the U.S. went about a process of condemnation of Hawaiian fisheries where only konohiki interests were "bought out".

ahupua'a, these principles were carried over during a kind of privatization¹⁷¹ of the fisheries. These documents are evidence of the Kingdom attempting to adapt traditional palena into a new form. One such document lists some of the fisheries and their owners on O'ahu Island. (Figure 9)

¹⁷¹ Hawaiian Kingdom. Int Dept. Bk. 6 p. 63. Feb. 16, 1853. Interior Department Letters June 12, 1852- June 12 1857. Hawaii State Archives. In an Interior Department Document of the Hawaiian Kingdom dated Feb 16th 1853. John T. Gower (East Maui Land Agent) acknowledges that, "I am instructed by His Highness to say that no fishponds are to be sold. They may however be leased, if lessees offer at good rates." This illustrates that fisheries (at least in this case) were not owned in fee simple.

**DOCUMENTS
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Table of Monohiki Lands, on the Island of Oahu
abutting on the sea with length of coast line, of each
Land also, whether Lagoon, Reef or open Sea, arranged in
order of Location.

Hauiki	0.38 Miles reef	Crown
Moanalua	5.2 "	Keelikolani
Halawa	8.52 " Reef & lagoon	(Queen Emma & P. Keelikolani)
Aiea	0.57 Lagoon	
Kalaauao	0.95 "	several parties
Waimalu	0.66 "	Awards 11216 & 8525 B
Waiau	0.47 "	Keelikolani Award 7713.
Waimano	1.30 "	" "
Waiawa	1.14 "	" " 7713
Waipio	7.96 "	Award 824 J. Ii
Waikole	2.94 "	various parties
Koaene	0.66 "	Award. 193 Robinson
Puuloa	5.68 Reef	(Fishery doubtful see court decision)
Monouliuli	15.72 Sea	Award 1126 now Campbell
Manakuli	1.61 "	Crown
Lualualei	5.3 ¹ "	Crown
Waianae	1.99 "	"
Kekaha	2.46 "	R. P. (L. C.) 2 ² / ₁₃
Keaum	1.61 "	Crown
Ohikilolo	0.95 "	R. P. (L. C.) 4540
Keawsula	2.46 ¹ "	R. P. (L. C.) 4522
Paelaa	5.88 "	Reef & Sea Keelikolani
Kawailoa	0.19 "	open sea, R. Award 13
Wainea		

**Figure 9: Hawaiian Kingdom Interior Department
Records: listing owners of some of fisheries on
O'ahu Island (modified by Kamana Beamer)**

The figure lists the length of the ahupua'a coastline in miles. In some cases it lists certain the areas of the fishery, as does the Halawa ahupua'a that list Queen Emma and Ke'elikōlani as the owner of the "lagoon and reef." On the Kohala section of the list of fisheries it merely lists Kekuanaoa as the owner of the fishery

had a fishery (as most did). An ahupua'a is seen in Hawaiian terms as being a terrestrial as well as marine environment. This more complete definition of an ahupua'a illustrates some of the problems that were discussed in chapter 2, when people use terms such as watershed to discuss ahupua'a.

4.3. Nānā I Ka Hopena: Conclusion

In this chapter the question was asked can 'Ōiwi adapt and use a tool that is not of our origin ? This metaphor rings throughout the process and events leading up to the establishment of the Hawaiian State. The writing and publishing of laws in ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian Language), the appearance of these laws in native language newspapers, the translation of palena from specific points on the ground to lines on a map: are these events to be defined under the term "transculturation," where they are actions of a subjugated people speaking back at the ones controlling and bounding them ? Or are they acts of agency? The history of mapping on the lands of other native peoples of the world and the baggage that carries are tremendous. The racial and inhumane overtones of the concepts such as "Terra Nullius" and its history of being used to bound native peoples are illustrations of the application of tool used without wisdom. One could imagine what the maps of the world would look like today

if all the native peoples of the world were able to grapple with a tool such as mapping under their own terms prior to its imposition by a “colonizer.” They may have rejected it, or they may have used it. Our explanation of their decisions may say more about our worldviews than theirs.

4.4 Ua Huli Nā Palena; Mapped Place boundaries.

The journey of this thesis has taken us to many places. I have attempted to trace palena from its traditional origins and the society, to the placing of palena on maps, and show some of the reasons for the mapping of palena. In this chapter I tried to deal with the mapping of palena and some of the theories associated with mapping and native people. The next chapter will review some of the places that this thesis has taken us, and attempt to make sense of this journey.

Chapter 5.

Ka Nānā ‘Ana I Ka Palena; Paying Attention to Palena

5.1. Introduction

The preceding chapters of this thesis have looked at palena through a range of perspectives. Chapter two focused on the lands terms that were bounded by palena such as ahupua’a, moku, and ‘ili, and specifically how the palena of ahupua’a were being simplified. Chapter three focused on the political purposes of palena through a look at the process of kālai’āina. Chapter four focused on how palena were transferred from markers on the ground to lines on a map. This chapter seeks to comment on these previously explored aspects of palena and draw conclusions from them. In the previous chapters, an attempt was made to use source material to discuss palena, rather than attempting to theorize about them. In this chapter I will explore the conclusions I draw from the sources cited in earlier chapters, and attempt to illustrate some of the functions and reasons for palena to exist in a system of government that is highly structured. This chapter will fall into three parts: first – the function of palena; second – centralized governance and boundaries; and third – mapping palena.

5.2. Eia Ka Palena; The Function of Palena

If Fornander and tradition are correct palena were established scores of generations prior to the arrival of Europeans in Hawai'i. Lands were bounded and defined in ways that made sense to the 'ōiwi of old. What is commonly referred to as the ahupua'a system is a result of the firm establishment of palena. Ali'i who accomplished the task of clearly bounding the land and defining the palena were often famed for their works, as was Ma'ilikūkahī on O'ahu island.

Fornander writes that,

He caused the island to be thoroughly surveyed, and boundaries between differing divisions and lands be definitely and permanently marked out, thus obviating future disputes between neighboring chiefs and landholders.¹⁷³

Kamakau also tells a similar story. He writes,

When the kingdom passed to Mā'ilikūkahī, the land divisions were in a state of confusion; the *ahupua'a*, the *kū*, the '*ili 'āina*, the *mo'o 'āina*, the *pauku 'āina*, and the *kīhāpai* were not clearly defined. Therefore Mā'ilikūkahī ordered the chiefs, *ali'i*, the lesser chiefs, *kaukau ali'i*, the warrior chiefs, *pū'ali ali'i*, and the overseers, *luna* to divided all of O'ahu into *moku*, *ahupua'a*, '*ili kupo*, '*ili 'āina*, and *mo'o 'āina*.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Fornander, 1996, p.89. I checked Bishop Museum for an 'ōlelo makuahine version of this and especially the term "survey" but found that Fornander only published this volume in English and thus no other text exists (according to the Archivist at B.M.)

¹⁷⁴ Kamakau, S. M. *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Nā Mo'olelo A Ka Po'e Kahiko*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991, p. 53.

If we accept the writing of Kamakau as well as Fonander than we should accept that palena was established and known on O'ahu island. The establishment of palena on these divisions brought greater productivity to the lands. It was also a means of settling disputes of future ali'i who would be in control of the bounded lands. Palena enabled a konohiki (land manager for an ali'i) to know the limits of the resources to be managed. In the Boundary Commission awards that I have looked at there is numerous testimony given that states that the reason a person knew the palena of his/her ahupua'a was so they would not extended their resource gathering across their palena and into an adjoining ahupua'a.¹⁷⁵ In other testimony it states that palena were established because "In old times the people used to fight over cultivating grounds, and so we used to keep the run of the boundaries of our lands."¹⁷⁶ This shows that certain resources contained within one's ahupua'a would be bound by palena, and that palena needed to be known to function in this system. When I have attempted to translate the word palena, I have used the term "*place boundaries*" to signify to the reader that I am

¹⁷⁵ Kingdom of Hawai'i. Boundary Commission # 8 Ahupua'a of Malanahae. 19 April 1871; Boundary Commission Report Keauhou 2nd Kona, Island of Hawai'i Volume A No. 1:256-272.; Boundary Commission Ahupuaa of Waika District of North Kohala, Island of Hawaii, Hawaii Volume A, No. 1:170-174.

¹⁷⁶ Kingdom of Hawai'i. Boundary Commission Ahupuaa of Waika District of North Kohala, Island of Hawaii, Hawaii Volume A, No. 1:170-174.

speaking of a particular kind of boundary. Palena might be also translated as a “protected place.” Palena is a boundary but it is a boundary specific to the ‘ōiwi system of government established by ali’i like Mā’ilikūkahi. These types of boundaries were not impenetrable fences, as writers like Malo and Kamakau are clear to point out that maka’āinana had the ability to move from one place to another. I would speculate that these place boundaries had more to do with the resources of the ali’i in control of the ahupua’a than the bounding the maka’āinana to one place.

Palena also played a critical role in the annual makahiki procession. It was at the makai palena of the ahupua’a that ho’okupu / ‘auhau (tribute / tax) would be collected for the ali’i nui (head chief) and akua (god). Near the ahu that marked the makai portion of the palena, ālia sticks were placed to mark the boundary of the place that was kapu, this was a different type of boundary, one that if crossed by a person without kuleana (right to access) would likely result in death. Palena that marked the area where ho’okupu and ‘auhau would be collected represent an ordering of the land which though metaphysically different might be materially similar to other modes of tax collection done by centralized governments. Having the collection of ho’okupu at the makai portion of each and every ahupua’a (in theory) would enable the government to

exercise a good deal of order in when accepting tribute. Malo discusses the types of items that were offered for tribute, most of which being sought after items like the feathers of the 'ō'ō, 'i'iwi, and mamō birds. He also mentions that large tracts of land paid a correspondingly higher tax than those lands of smaller size.

Eia na waiwai o ka makahiki e hookupu ai i ke akua makahiki, he oo, he hulu mamō, he hulu iiwi.....ma ka aina ka nui, nui kona auhau, ma ka aina uuku iho uuku no kona auhau

Here are the precious items that were offered to the god during makahiki, the 'ō'ō, the feathers of mamō and 'i'iwi birds... Large lands paid high tribute, small lands paid smaller amounts of tribute.

Methods and reasons for tribute/tax collection differ from one government to the next, and other scholars might be critical of using such a term when speaking of the 'Ōiwi system of old, I use it merely to illustrate the degree of order that was placed on the land by the ali'i of that system. That degree of order was placed over the land through a government that was centralized.

5.3. Ke Kino Aupuni Maoli: The 'Ōiwi Body Politic, Palena: A Centralizing Feature of the Aupuni

Chapter three illustrated the complex and structured process of kālai'āina.

This process was a redistribution of lands among those close to the new ali'i nui or Mō'i. Chiefs were given large pieces of land such as moku all the way down to the smaller divisions such as 'ili and mo'o'āina. Attempting to accomplish this with even the technology of today would be a monumental task. The process of kālai'āina was a process unique to 'ōiwi society. I argued in Chapter three that having established palena would make this process run with greater efficiency and that kālai'āina was a process of redistributing lands, not re-establishing palena. Robert Bruce Graham comes to a similar conclusion when he writes, "despite the long practice of redistribution, the ancient boundaries were unchanging."¹⁷⁷ Unchanging (in most cases) palena that separated adjoining ahupua'a would make a kālai'āina a more feasible task. These palena may or may not have been as accurately bound as modern cadastral boundaries, but they were accurate enough to fulfill the function they needed to in the context that they existed.

¹⁷⁷ Graham, 1978, p. 45.

In other places in the world multiple groups of indigenous people cohabit the same territory. One article states that the island nation of Taiwan has,

approximately 600 aboriginal settlements in the country, mapping of 251 has been finalized, and around 200 more areas are nearing its completion. Approximately 200 villages have not yet started creating their own tribal maps.¹⁷⁸

If Hawai'i had multiple indigenous groups of people cohabiting the same islands, one would imagine that each of these differing groups might have their own sense of boundaries for the resources and lands that they accessed. In general, neighboring indigenous groups often do make claims to the sections of the same territory when mapping out their tribal territories. This leads to overlapping or flexible boundaries. While among the population indigenous to the Hawaiian islands there is some differentiation in tradition from island to island, there is not the vast differences in language and culture that would suggest that Ka Pae 'Āina Hawai'i (Hawaiian Islands) is composed of groups of different indigenous people. Islands were connected and ruling ali'i often extended from one island to the next, even prior to the unification under Kamehameha I. A study of ali'i genealogies shows that often rulers had genealogies that connected them with other islands than the ones they ruled.

¹⁷⁸ Hsueh, Hungfu. "Council maps 251 communities of indigenous people Project aimed at charting territories, borders of some 600 aborigine settlements island wide," *Taiwan News*, 13 November 2004.

Thus it becomes difficult to call a certain chief, a Hawai'i Island chief, when his grandmother may have been a Kaua'i chiefess. This demonstrates the connectedness of the islands, and the centralized features of the ali'i class.

Scholars like Kirch have argued that, "even prior to Cook, Hawaiian society constituted an 'archaic state'."¹⁷⁹ While being unsure with the term "archaic," I do agree with the assumption that 'ōiwi society was highly developed and some of these ways could be seen by Europeans to have a similarity to their systems of government. Ke Kino Aupuni, (the 'ōiwi body politic) seemed to exhibit qualities similar to those of centralized systems of government. One thing that might be common to centralized governments is their need to prescribe order on the land. Since early 'ōiwi governments were fairly centralized (even when they existed under the rule of independent chiefs from island to island), palena could have been emplaced as a system to maintain resources and peace across the island territories. In more communal or tribal settings one might imagine that establishing palena (place boundaries) might be a more difficult task, or at least one that would involve the interests of multiple tribes.

¹⁷⁹ Kirch, 2000, p. 300.

5.4. Ka Palapala 'Ana I Ka Palena: The Papering of Palena Beyond Good and Evil

Chapter four showed how the Boundary Commission attempted to place traditional palena onto a map. Since palena were emplaced traditionally and continued to function throughout the Hawaiian Kingdom era, palena could be attempted to be mapped. Would tracing pre-existing boundaries with new tools constitute actions of an acculturated native people ? In order to answer this question one would need to know how palena were mapped and what is the authority in that mapping process. Were palena replaced by boundaries that resembled “western” ways of bounding the land, like the U.S. public survey system ? If one accepts the words of Wood that maps are “weapons in the fight for social domination,”¹⁸⁰ then the process of making maps constitutes arming oneself for the power struggles of the world, or, in the case of the Hawaiian Kingdom, in the power struggle of States. To refuse this process might lead to inadvertently being dominated.

¹⁸⁰ Wood, Denis. *The Power of Maps*, New York: The Guilford Press, 1992, p. 66.

The cadastral mapping in the modern sense of States¹⁸¹ originated in Europe, but it has its specific origin in France. As James C. Scott writes, "Napoleonic France was mapped much earlier than England."¹⁸² If Scott is correct, then one would assume that England borrowed from France's mapping techniques when they eventually mapped out their territory. The early cadastral mapping of States consisted of mapping out pre-existing usages of the land. This contrasted with the mapping done to places that were colonies like Australia and America, where in the words of Scott,

There it was a question less of mapping preexisting patterns of land use than of surveying parcels of land that would be given or sold to new arrivals from Europe and of ignoring indigenous peoples and their common-property regimes.¹⁸³

According to Scott one notable difference in the early mapping of States and the mapping of colonies is that when States map their own territory, they map pre-existing usages of the lands, or pre-existing boundaries that might regulate the way in which the land was ordered prior to its being mapped. On the other hand, when colonies (at least in the western U.S.) are mapped, maps

¹⁸¹ It should be noted that cadastral mapping would be different according to each States property laws. Thus to argue that all cadastral mapping is western might give to much authority to "Western States." To understand cadastral mapping in the Hawaiian kingdom one would have to look to Hawaiian Kingdom property law.

¹⁸² Scott, James. *Seeing Like a State*, New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1998, p. 49.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, 1998, p. 49.

begin to reflect not pre-existing usages, but rather checkerboard grids because lands are treated as empty slates that need to be rationally ordered for future land use purposes. A similar circumstance may have taken place in Aotearoa (New Zealand), where land surveyors saw the land as “both bounded and boundless.”¹⁸⁴ Indigenous Maori had developed a complex system of boundaries that was the basis for their system of bounding the land, but Maori boundaries were fairly fluid. “Boundaries of groups were subject to continuous change as hapu and hapu clusters form and reformed.”¹⁸⁵ Yet, the act of surveying constituted constructing a, “civilized influence on what they (British settlers) considered an untamed and uncivilized land,”¹⁸⁶ which may have been done without observance of traditional Maori ways of bounding the land.

Having examined the events of the Boundary Commission in chapter four, where between these two contrasting situations (State vs Colony) would one place the early mapping of the Hawaiian Kingdom? I suggest that it is more similar to early State mapping than anything else. Boundary Commission surveys at least attempted to convert traditional boundaries into a form legible

¹⁸⁴ Byrnes, Giselle, 'Surveying Space: Constructing the Colonial Landscape', in Dalley, Bronwyn and Labrum, Bronwyn (eds.), 'Fragments. New Zealand Social and Cultural History', Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000, p. 65.

¹⁸⁵ Ward, Allen in Ibid, p. 65.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 56.

on maps. Maps of palena were a means for the Hawaiian State to document its territory in a format understood by other States. This may have shaped the way in which palena could now be seen. Now one could get a glimpse of the palena of an ahupua'a as a line on a map rather than a marker on the ground. In a manner similar to adding writing to an oral tradition, everything is still there but now there are multiple forms, and the written form might not necessarily reflect the other. A noted difference from palena on a map and palena on the ground is that the latter is the authority. One could not know the palena without having a grounded relationship to the land in question. Maps, or lines on a map, are not the authority when determining a boundary in question. The actual authority is the intent of the surveyor or persons establishing the boundary. In *Boundary Law in Hawai'i*, when discussing a boundary dispute, Graham writes,

The underlying question of fact cannot be ignored or mathematically calculated. The issue is the intention of the person who first established the boundary, whether they were 13th century chiefs demarcating the ahupua'a of Hawai'i or modern developers of a tract subdivision.¹⁸⁷

In this sense the transfer of palena to lines on a map would not jeopardize the integrity of the actual palena, since the palena on the ground stems from the person who established it, their intention is the authority. The map is not

¹⁸⁷ Graham. 1978, p. 69.

mightier than the palena. Therefore mapping it only enables it to be viewed in a new fashion and does not replace the authority that created it. An 1879 Supreme Court case of the Hawaiian Kingdom dealing with the boundary of Pulehunui amply demonstrates this:

The Supreme Court's decision quotes extensively from evidence received and illustrates the nature and singular importance of kamaaina testimony. The testimony of expert surveyors, including M.D. Monsarrat, was received only insofar as it translated the kamaainas' description into a survey. In other words, Monsarrat and other professionals merely could depict what they were told concerning the ancient boundaries by those who actually knew them.¹⁸⁸

Neither skilled, malicious, nor incompetent surveyors had much standing when determining a disputed boundary. Authority was given to kama'aina testimony in the Hawaiian Supreme Court. In this sense the risk of placing palena on maps even by the surveyors of foreign origin was not very great, as long as kama'aina knew their palena and the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Kingdom stay the highest court in the land. A greater problem may have arisen when kama'aina were passing away and younger kanaka may have not learned palena, as well as the events following the "overthrow" of the monarchy in 1893.

Boundary Commission surveys produced what cartographers call "floating maps" because they did not tie into grid or coordinate system. In a

¹⁸⁸ Graham. 1978, p. 53.

sense this might make these maps less space and more place based. A question to be asked is, can the tracing of Boundary Commission survey and documents help to re-gain a sense of place with some of the places where palena are unknown by 'ōiwi of today ? In places where kupa 'āina testimony about palena is no longer available, could a person walk the palena of an ahupua'a today with its Boundary Commission testimony and attempt to re-trace the survey, in order to *re-place* the palena? Could kupa 'āina of places today benefit from the vast number of place names in the testimonies of their places? 'Ōiwi researchers should do more research to attempt to answer these questions. When I first discovered the Boundary Commission documents I was amazed at the number of place names in the testimonies. Very early in my search to understand the Boundary Commission, I was led to speak with a Native Hawaiian who works with these documents. After having shared his 'ike with me I offered to repay his kōkua, his response was to the effect that, making the names come alive again on these documents was enough. Reading through the place names on the testimonies and visiting the places have made them alive again for me.

It seems that the 'ōiwi of old were up to the challenge of arming themselves with the "weapons in the fight for social domination [i.e. maps]."¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ Wood, 1992, p. 66.

Why and under what terms Hawaiians were willing to use “Western” tools and survey to (re) map their lands needs to be explored further.

5.5. Ma Hea Nā ‘Ili A Me Nā Okana A Me Nā Kalana: What Happened to the ‘Ili, Okana, and Kalana

Though many traditional palena was preserved through the actions of the Boundary Commission, land divisions such as ‘ili, ‘okana, and kalana seemed to be missing from maps. Though the Act to establish the Boundary Commission states that ‘ili as well as ahupua’a could be surveyed, I did not look at any ‘ili surveys in the Boundary Commission. Questions I have about mapping ‘ili may be answered when I complete looking through each record, but as of now it seems like ‘ili mau have been lost in the process of mapping. The majority of Hawaiian Kingdom maps that I was able to view from the State survey office did not include ‘ili on them. Kuleana awards (a type of award offered by the Land Commission following the Mahele) often include ‘ili as well as ahupua’a, but the large number of maps that I have found name only ahupua’a. I am aware that maps are not reality and that every map has an intent and therefore in many of the maps I have seen there may have been no intent to include ‘ili (either lele or kupo).

In the Kāne'ohe ahupua'a on the map above one can note the various fisheries within the Kāne'ohe fishery. I suggest that these may be 'ili lele within the Kāne'ohe fishery. These would prove to be difficult to map since 'ili lele were considered to be of a certain ahupua'a and could leap possibly out of that ahupua'a into others claiming specific resources. Lyons writes about Kewalo;

Kewalo meanwhile had its sea-coast adjoining Waikiki, its continues kula on the plain and one-half of Punchbowl Hill, and its kalo and land in Pauoa Valley.¹⁹⁰

These types of land divisions would be extremely difficult to map. I would be very interested to see early mapping attempts of these types of divisions and ways in which the Hawaiian Kingdom addressed the resource rights of their inhabitants.

I have not found any map that suggests that either okana or kalana were different to moku. I have found newspaper material that states the names of many okana on Hawai'i island, but I have not found maps that reflected these divisions. In the Hen Index at the Bishop Museum, it states,

Okana. In olden times Kona was divided into twelve Okanas, some of which are the following: 1. Ahu a Lono 2. Pohakuloa 3. Papaokahinu 4. Lekeleke 5. Puu Ohau 6. Pa Ohia 7. Kakalaioa 8. Puu Ohulehule 9. Kalualapauila 10. Kaheawai (Makani says Puu Noni instead of Puu Ohau)¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Lyons, *Islander Newspaper*. 16 July 1875.

Okana and kalana seem to be missing from the maps that I have viewed. Was it because these divisions fused into Moku? Did they get lost between the Moku and ahupua'a? I hope that further research might identify possible answers to these questions.

5.6. Nā Mea Hope Loa: Ua Huli Kāua I Ka Palena.
In conclusion

This thesis has attempted to trace the origin and evolution of ahupua'a boundaries. It is one attempt at framing this story, and more is left to be told. I try to show that early 'ōiwi society emplaced palena and that these place boundaries exist even today. The palena established long ago still have bearing with 'ōiwi people today. Palena were placed on maps under the authority of a Hawaiian Prince, and because of that inherent authority many ahupua'a palena have been preserved. A deeper appreciation and understanding for the complex system of old and the ways in which it was adapted by those of the Hawaiian Kingdom might provide insight into decisions we make for today and tomorrow.

The internal journey of this thesis and the places that this search took me to was much more than I expected to experience. I had to grapple with issue of being indigenous to these islands, while having a history that might have been

¹⁹¹ Bishop Museum Archive, Hen Index, Geographic Names.

different to many other indigenous peoples. I read writings of people whose writings seemed very different, only to find that my conclusions returned to be similar to theirs in certain ways. It has been an attempt that began as a young 'ōiwi boy from Wailua, Kaua'i, now called a "scholar," to make sense of the geography and history of my kūpuna.

Table 1
The Geneaology of Ma'ilikūkahi from Ulu through Punaimua
As printed in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* May 4, 1865

Kāne	Wahine	Keiki
Kii ¹⁹²	Hinakoula	Ulu Nanaulu
1. Ulu	Kapunuu	Nana Kapulani
2. Nana	Kapulani	Nanaiea
3. Nanaiea	Kahaumokuleia	Nanailani
4. Nanailani	Hinakinau	Waikulani
5. Waikulani	Kekauilani	Kuheleimoana
6. Kuheleimoana	Mapunaiaala	Konohiki
7. Konohiki	Hikaululena	Wawena
8. Wawena	Hinamahuia	Akalana
9. Akalana	Hinakamea	Mauimua Mauihope Mauikiikii Mauiakalana
10. Mauiakalana	Hinakealoaia	Nanamaoa
11. Nanamaoa	Hinakapaikua Kalaukulana / Kekahukuhon ua	Nanakulei Nanakaoko
12. Nanakaoko	Kahihiokalani	Kapawa
13. Kapawa	Kaonohiokalani	Hulumalailani
14. Hulumalailani	Hinamaikalani	Aikanaka
15. Aikanka	Hinaaikamalama	Punaimua Hema
16. Punaimua	Hainalau	Ua
17. Ua	Kahilinani	Uamaikalani
18. Uamaikalani	Haimakalani	Uanini
19. Uanini	Welihaakona	Auanini
20. Auanini	Maunakuahaokalani	Newalani
21. Newalani	Kahihikaale	Lonohuanewa
22. <u>Lonohuanewa</u>	Loiloa	Lonowahlani
23. Lonowahlani	Kahikihaaueue	Pau

24. Pau	Kapalakuakalani	Paumakua
25. Paumakua	Keananui	Moeanaimua
26. Moeanaimua	Alahoe	Kumakaha
27. Kumakaha	Moanaaulii	Nana
28. Nana	Haakaleikini	Luahiwa
29. Luahiwa	Kilohana	Ahukai
30. Ahukai	Keakamilo	Laa
31. Laa	Kaikulani	Laamaikahiki
32. Laamaikahiki	Hoakamaikapuaihelu , Waolena a me Manoopupaipai	LauliaLaa ke keki me Hoakamaikapuaihelu(w) AhukiniaLaa ke keiki me Waolena(w) Kukona-Laa keiki me Manoopupaipai (w)
33. Laulialaa	Maelo	Laulihiwa
34. Laulihiwa	Akepamaikalani	Kahuoi
35. Kahuoi	Paleawahine	Puaakahuoi
36. Puaakahuoi	Nonenui	Kukahialiilani
37. Kukahialiilani	Kokalola	Mailikukahi

Table 2. Genealogy of Mā'ilikūkahi from Nanaulu
from *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* September 30 1865

Kāne	Wahine	Keiki
Kii	Hinakoula	Ulu Nanaulu
1. Nanaulu	Ulukau/Ulukou	Nanamea
2. Nanamea	Puia	Pehekeulu
3. Pehekeulu	Uluae	Pehekenana
4. Pehekenana	Nanahapa	Nanamua
5. Nanamua	Nanahope	Nanakeauhaku
6. Nanakeauhaku	Elehu	Keaoa
7. Keaoa	Waohala	Hekumu
8. Hekumu	Kumukoa	Umalei
9. Umalei	Umaumanana	Kalai
10. Kalai	Laikapa	Malelewaa
11. Malelewaa	Pililohai	Hopoe
12. Hopoe	Haunanaia	Makalawena
13. Makalawena	Koihouhoua	Lelehooma
14. Lelehooma	Hapuu	Kekupahaikala
15. Kekupahaikala	Maihihea	Maweke
16. Maweke	Naiolaukea	Muilelealii Kaehunui Kalehenui Keaunui Kamoeaulani
17. Muilelealii	Wehelani	Kumuhonua Olopana Moikeha
18. Moikeha	Hanauulua	Hookamalii Haulanuiakea Kila
19. Hookamalii	Keahiula	Kahai
20. Kahai	Kehenu	Kualono
21. Kualono	Kaneakalelei	Maelo

22. Laulialaa	Maelo	Kahuoi
23. Kahuoi	Palea	Puaakahuoi
24. Puaakahuoi	Nononui	Mailikukahi ¹⁹³

¹⁹³ In the genealogies given by Fornander 1996, p. 89. as well as other Genealogies given in Mackinze, list Mailikukahi as the son of Kukahialiilani (k){the son of Puaakahuoi (k) Nonenui (w)} and Kokalola (w). This genealogy may have mist a generation and listed Mailikukahi's grandparents as his parents. Fornander also notes that Mailikukahi's genealogy "is perfectly correct from the time of Maweke down, and conformable to all the other genealogies, descending from Maweke through his various children and grandchildren. p. 89.

Table 3. Genealogy Of Manokalanipō; from Ulu line through Punaimua
Taken from *Hawaiian Genealogies Vol 1,2*

Kāne	Wahine	Keiki
Kii ¹⁹⁴	Hinakoula	Ulu Nanaulu
1. Ulu	Kapunuu	Nana Kapulani
2. Nana	Kapulani	Nanaiea
3. Nanaiea	Kahaumokuleia	Nanailani
4. Nanailani	Hinakinau	Waikulani
5. Waikulani	Kekauilani	Kuheleimoana
6. Kuheleimoana	Mapunaiaala	Konohiki
7. Konohiki	Hikaululena	Wawena
8. Wawena	Hinamahuia	Akalana
9. Akalana	Hinakamea	Mauimua Mauihope Mauikiikii Mauiakalana
10. Mauiakalana	Hinakealoaia	Nanamaoa
11. Nanamaoa	Hinakapaikua Kalaukulana / Kekahukuhonu a	Nanakulei Nanakaoko
12. Nanakaoko	Kahihiokalani	Kapawa
13. Kapawa	Kaonohiokalani	Hulumalailani
14. Hulumalailani	Hinamaikalani	Aikanaka
15. Aikanka	Hinaaikamalama	Punaimua Hema
16. Punaimua ¹⁹⁵	Hainalau	Ua
17. Ua	Kahilinani	Uamaikalani
18. Uamaikalani	Haimakalani	Uanini
19. Uanini	Welahaakona	Auanini
20. Auanini	Maunakuahaokalani	Newalani

¹⁹⁴ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* May 4, 1865

¹⁹⁵ *Ka Makaainana* June 1, 1896

21. Newalani	Kahihikaale	Lonohuanewa
22. Lonohuanewa	Loiloa	Lonowahlani
23. Lonowahlani	Kahikihaaeue	Pau
24. Pau	Kapalakuakalani	Paumakua
25. Paumakua	Keananui	Moeanaimua
26. Moeanaimua	Alahoe	Kumakaha
27. Kumakaha	Moanaaulii	Nana
28. Nana	Haakaleikini	Luahiwa
29. Luahiwa	Kilohana	Ahukai
30. Ahukai	Keakamilo	Laa
31. Laa	Kaikulani	Laamaikahiki
32. Laamaikahiki	Hoakamaikapuaihelu Waolena a me Manoopupaipai	LauliaLaa ke keki me Hoakamaikapuaihelu(w) AhukiniaLaa ke keiki me Waolena(w) Kukona-Laa keiki me Manoopupaipai (w)
33. Laulialaa	Maelo	Laulihewa
33. Ahukinialaa	HaiaKamaio	Kamahano
34. Kamahano	Kaauoanuiokalani	Luanuu
35. Luanuu	Kalanimoeikawaikai	Kukona
36. Kukona	Laupuapuamaa	Manokalanipo

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