

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI

**THE EVOLUTION OF HAWAIIAN SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEXITY: AN
ANALYSIS OF HAWAIIAN ORAL TRADITIONS**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

ANTHROPOLOGY

DECEMBER 2000

By

Carolyn Kēhaunani Cachola Abad

Dissertation Committee:

Michael Graves, Chairperson

Ben Finney

Terry Hunt

Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa

Marion Kelly

UMI Number: 9990230

Copyright 2000 by
Abad, Carolyn Kehaunani Cachola

All rights reserved.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 9990230

Copyright 2001 by Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

We certify that we have read this dissertation and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology.

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

Michael W. Graves
Chairperson

Bar Finley

Gregory S. Hunt

Kamelele'ihoa

Maurin Kelly

Copyright 2000

C. K. Cachola Abad

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The support, guidance, and *aloha* of many individuals have made this dissertation possible. While I alone am responsible for errors, omissions, or inadequacies in this dissertation, the positive aspects of this work should be credited to numerous sources. Two entities provided me financial assistance, giving me an uninterrupted year during which I completed the majority of this dissertation. Kamehameha Schools supported me via a sabbatical leave. The American Anthropological Association awarded me its Minority Dissertation Fellowship. In addition, parts of this dissertation were completed while I was a National Science Foundation Pre-doctoral fellow.

Technical support in producing this dissertation came from several kind individuals. Neil "Bubba" Pahia took time from his vacation home to teach me how to operate a database program. Jane Eckelman (of Mānoa Mapworks) and David Hanlon (editor of *The Contemporary Pacific*) graciously allowed me to use their map, The Pacific Islands (Figure 3.1). Craig Clouet patiently created multiple versions of maps from which I was able to chose the ones that appear in this dissertation—the map of the main Hawaiian Islands (Figure 3.2) and the shaded relief maps displaying the traditional *moku* boundaries of the islands (figures 3.3 through 3.6 and 11.1).

Numerous anthropologists also assisted me in my effort. Matthew Campbell and Julie Endicott shared chapters of their doctoral dissertations (Campbell in prep.; Endicott 2000) with me and helped me identify appropriate sources that I utilized in the dissertation. Rob Hommon also provided me a copy of an unpublished

manuscript of one of his conference presentations (Hommon 1989). Jatelyn Moniz and David Addison offered me the warmth of continual friendship. Patrick Kirch encouraged me both in personal discussions and in the form of two letters of recommendation that helped me earn the aforementioned financial assistance.

I also owe a huge debt of gratitude to my friends and family for creating a protective buffer around me during the past year that kept me on target and free from distractions. Had they not been that shield, I am certain my less wise judgement would have had me off and running on multiple projects.

The substance of my dissertation owes much to my committee members. Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa's advice helped me to maintain my Hawaiian voice in the parts of this dissertation that are most anthropological. Her suggestions in identifying appropriate sources were also invaluable, as were the discussions we engaged in regarding debatable topics in the *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau*. The theoretical aspects of this dissertation largely bare the mark of Terry Hunt. I am especially appreciative of Terry's critiques of chapters 1 and 13, which improved their content significantly. Ben Finney and Marion Kelly's suggestions through the editorial process are greatly appreciated. I further thank Ben for nurturing my interest in anthropology from as early as my undergraduate years.

A tremendous *mahalo* is reserved for my committee chair, Michael Graves. His constant support and gentle guidance with each step I took through my graduate education made all the difference between my simply taking a few courses out of a personal interest and my completing this dissertation. Michael helped me develop research focuses and analyses, critiqued and edited my work, assisted in securing me financial support, and continually involved me in research projects. He has

been, in short, a model mentor and friend. There are too many specific ways in which Michael helped with this dissertation to list them here, but perhaps overriding all of them was his willingness to share an enormous amount of his expertise, time, and *aloha* to address whatever questions or obstacles I faced.

The *na'au* (gut, heart, temper, and feeling) of this dissertation originates with my father, Fred Cachola. From my earliest days he instilled in me a deep affection and respect for our *kūpuna* (ancestors) and an enduring passion for learning about them, particularly about *mo'olelo* (history) and *wahi kūpuna* (ancestral places). When he took me to *wahi kūpuna* and spoke of *mo'olelo* related to them, I could not help but want to learn more. This enthusiasm has remained with me as have the many *mo'olelo* he shared.

The cumulative *mana* of all of the above guidance would not have resulted in my finishing this dissertation, if not for my husband, Sean Abad. He helped me edit drafts, reminded me about the ills of procrastination, and encouraged me to continue when I had no energy left. I thank Sean for lovingly supporting me in this and everything else I care about.

ABSTRACT

The socio-political evolution of Hawaiian society has long held a prominent position in the anthropology of Oceania. This study differs from previous research in its comprehensive and systematic application of Hawaiian oral traditions to address the questions of how and why Hawaiian society developed its hallmark complexity. The temporal focus of this study is the span of 23 generations from the last set of migrations to Hawai'i to the political unification of the Hawaiian Islands under Kamehameha Pa'iea. The spatial range of this study includes the political centers of the main Hawaiian Islands—Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, and Kaua'i.

A detailed analysis of Hawaiian oral traditions demonstrates that the information found in them is highly consistent and form a cohesive, reliable picture of the past. The cumulative information from numerous sources provides a clearer view of the political and genealogical relationships of the ruling chiefs and their families. Such data reveals a complex set of factors acting upon Hawaiian socio-political evolution. Evolutionary theory is applied to identify such factors and to explain their differential persistence under varied natural and social environmental settings across both time and space. The findings reveal that established models of Hawaiian socio-political evolution must be reassessed in light of the information provided in Hawaiian oral traditions about the social context that conditioned the behaviors of Hawaiian ruling chiefs and chiefesses. New models are offered which build upon earlier ones and which include critical variables never before addressed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
PART I. RESEARCH GOALS AND METHODS	1
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATION	2
Overview of Research.....	5
Effects of Theoretical Approaches on Research Outcomes	7
Theoretical Foundation	11
Compatibility of Evolutionary Archaeology and Evolutionary Ecology.....	18
CHAPTER 2 ORAL TRADITIONS AS SOURCES OF HISTORICAL INFORMATION	22
Introduction.....	22
Academic Use of Oral Traditions.....	23
Description of the Database	25
Assessments of the Historical Accuracy of Information in the Oral Traditions.....	29
PART II. SETTING THE CONTEXT	50
CHAPTER 3 THE GEOGRAPHIC CONTEXT	52
Overview of the Natural Environmental Context.....	52
Hawai'i Island	58
Maui	63
O'ahu	66
Kaua'i.....	72
Summary and Significance	76
CHAPTER 4 THE CULTURAL CONTEXT	78
Introduction.....	78
Proposed Ancestral Hawaiian Template.....	78
Hawaiian Society on the Eve of Western Contact.....	86
Summary	128
CHAPTER 5 ASCRIBED AND ACHIEVED STATUSES OF ALI'I AND THEIR KULEANA	129
Introduction	129
<i>Kūlana Ali'i (Ali'i Ranks)</i>	129
<i>Kuleana of the Ali'i Nui</i>	143
The 'Aha Ali'i.....	159
Summary	162
PART III. A SYNTHESIZED VIEW OF THE TEMPORAL AND GENEALOGICAL CONTEXTS OF THE MAJOR ISLANDS' ALI'I	164
CHAPTER 6 PROPOSED SEQUENCES OF ALI'I NUI OF THE MAJOR ISLANDS	165
Introduction.....	165
Explanation of the Hawai'i Island Sequence of <i>Ali'i Nui</i>	167
Explanation of the Maui Sequence of <i>Ali'i Nui</i> and <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i>	175
Explanation of the O'ahu Sequence of <i>Ali'i Nui</i> and <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i>	191

Explanation of the Kaua'i Sequence of <i>Ali'i Nui</i> and <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i>	211
Summary	217
CHAPTER 7 TEMPORAL AND GENEALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS OF <i>ALI'I NUI</i>	219
Introduction	219
A Proposed Temporal Correlation of the Major Islands' Sequences of <i>Ali'i Nui</i>	220
Format of the Correlated Sequence of the Major Islands' <i>Ali'i Nui</i>	221
Explanation of the Proposed Correlated Sequence of the Major Islands' <i>Ali'i Nui</i>	224
Significance of the Correlation of the Sequences of <i>Ali'i Nui</i> of the Major Islands	247
A Comprehensive View of Chiefly Genealogical Relationships	248
Summary	259
PART IV. SOCIAL MECHANISMS IN THE EVOLUTION OF HAWAIIAN SOCIETY	261
CHAPTER 8 INFLUENCES FROM KAHIKI	264
Introduction	264
Setting the Context	265
Initial Resistance to the Later <i>Ali'i</i> Settlers in Hawai'i	270
The Establishment of Later <i>Ali'i</i> Settlers in Hawai'i and the Societal Changes They Initiated	273
Accommodations Made Within Ruling Lineages	283
Responses of Junior Chiefs to the Crowded <i>Ali'i</i> Ranks	284
Mutual Gestures Toward Cooperative Relations	285
Examples of the Successful Integration of Older and Newer <i>Ali'i</i> Lineages	287
New Influences from Kahiki and Continued Socio-Political Change	288
Summary and Status of the Islands at the End of the Migratory Period	300
CHAPTER 9 THE EFFECTS OF RELATIVE INTERNAL PEACE ON THE MAJOR ISLANDS AND OUTWARD-DIRECTED AGGRESSION	304
Introduction	304
The Effects of Peace and the Undercurrents of Conflict on Hawai'i Island	305
Effects of Aggression from Hawai'i Island and Internal Peace on All Other Islands	308
A Raid of O'ahu by Hawai'i and Maui <i>Ali'i</i>	315
Maui's Focus on Internal Improvements, Evidence of Prosperity on Hawai'i Island, and the Continuation of Established Policies on O'ahu	316
A Minor Battle on Hawai'i Island	322
Continued Prosperity and Exemplary Governance	324
A Solution to the Dilemma of Powerful Junior Chiefs on Maui and the Continued Rise in the Power of the Priesthood	325
A Continued Trend Toward the Consolidation of Maui Under a Single Ruler and Continued Benevolent Governance Across the Islands	326
The Role of Marriage Alliances in Establishing Peaceful Relations	333
Summary and Significance	334
CHAPTER 10 CONTINUED PROSPERITY, CHANGES IN THE BEHAVIORAL EXPECTATIONS OF <i>ALI'I</i> SIBLINGS, AND THE ROLE OF ALLIANCES	336
Introduction	336
Revolution on Hawai'i Island	337
Revolution on Maui	344
Revolution on O'ahu	347
Discussion of the Causes and Effects of the Changing Political Context	351
Continued Trends of High Standards Set for <i>Ali'i</i>	353
Further Sibling Contests on Hawai'i Island and Their Effects	361
Resolution on Hawai'i Island and Continued Prosperity and Peace Elsewhere	365
Summary and Significance	372

CHAPTER 11 CONTRAVENING FORCES: CONTINUED PROSPERITY, INTERNAL UNREST, AND CHIEFLY ALLIANCES.....	374
Introduction.....	374
An Old Practice Renewed on Kaua'i.....	375
Secondary Effects of Previous Marriage Alliances on Hawai'i Island.....	378
Stability in the Governance of O'ahu.....	384
Negative Consequences of Affluence: Warfare Under Prosperous Conditions.....	385
Benefits of Inter-island Marriages.....	390
Continued Changes in the Role of <i>Ali'i Nui</i> on Hawai'i Island.....	395
Further Secondary Effects of Marriage Alliances: Warfare on Hawai'i Island.....	397
Continued Stability on Maui and O'ahu.....	402
Continued Changes in the Role of the <i>Ali'i Nui</i> on O'ahu.....	402
Increased Interactions Between the Islands.....	404
Continued Reliance of Marriage Alliances and a New Administrative Approach.....	407
Diplomatic Visits Between Islands.....	408
Continued Changes in the Role of the <i>Ali'i Nui</i> on Maui.....	409
Summary and Significance.....	411
CHAPTER 12 INCREASED COMPETITION, WIDER INVOLVEMENT OF ALLIES, AND CONTINUED TRADITIONAL ROLES OF <i>ALI'I NUI</i>.....	413
Introduction.....	413
Political Upheaval on Hawai'i Island.....	415
Reestablished Stability on Hawai'i Island.....	417
A Pre-emptive Raid.....	418
A Pre-emptive Assassination Attempt.....	420
Continued Alliances Based on Close Familial Ties Among <i>Ali'i</i> and the Increased Involvement of Allies in Conflicts.....	422
Secondary Effects of Multiple Marriages on Maui.....	427
Political Consolidation of Moloka'i Under O'ahu.....	430
The Changing Political Scene on Maui and Hawai'i.....	431
Stable Governance on O'ahu and New Developments on Kaua'i.....	436
Aggression on Maui from Hawai'i.....	438
Political Activities of O'ahu's <i>Ali'i</i>	439
Influences of Political Alliances and Aggressive Behaviors of Maui and Hawai'i <i>Ali'i Nui</i>	441
Internal Strife on Hawai'i Island.....	444
Political Upheaval Involving O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i Island.....	448
The Ascendance of Kahekili and Kamehameha.....	453
Challenges of Simultaneously Increasing and Administering a Large Domain.....	460
Consolidation of Hawai'i Island Under Kamehameha.....	467
Political Changes on the Northern Islands.....	469
Consolidation of the Hawaiian Islands Under Kamehameha.....	471
Dissention Among Kaua'i <i>Ali'i</i>	474
Kamehameha's Efforts to Build a Secure and Prosperous Nation.....	475
Summary and Significance.....	480
PART V. PATTERNS IN THE EVOLUTION OF HAWAIIAN SOCIETY.....	484
CHAPTER 13 IDENTIFYING AND EXPLAINING PATTERNS IN THE EVOLUTION OF HAWAIIAN SOCIETY.....	487
Introduction.....	487
Patterns in Political Units of Governance.....	489
Practices Employed by <i>Ali'i Nui</i> Which Promoted Socio-Political Integration and Deterred Aggressive Activities.....	496
Effects of Marriage Practices on Hawaiian Socio-political Evolution.....	513

Inter-relationships of Aggressive Events, <i>Ali'i</i> Marriage Practices, and Natural Environmental Settings	528
Assessment of Three Established Models	541
A Synthetic Explanation of Hawaiian Socio-Political Evolution During Generations 16 Through 23	557
CHAPTER 14 RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS.....	567
Relating to the Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity.....	567
Relating to Hawaiian Understandings	574
REFERENCES CITED.....	580

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. Geographic Comparison of the Eight Major Hawaiian Islands.....	56
Table 4.1. Examples of <i>Heiau</i> Religious Functions.....	112
Table 5.1. Frequency of the Selection of <i>Kāne</i> Versus <i>Wāhine Ali'i Nui</i> and Semi-independent <i>Ali'i</i>	139
Table 5.2. Behaviors that Enhance an <i>Ali'i Nui's Mana</i> (From Malo 1996)	144
Table 5.3. <i>Kuleana</i> of <i>Ali'i Nui</i>	152
Table 6.1. Temporal Ordering of <i>Ali'i Nui</i> and <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i> of Hawai'i Island.....	168
Table 6.2. Temporal Ordering of <i>Ali'i Nui</i> and <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i> of Maui.....	177
Table 6.3. Temporal Ordering of <i>Ali'i Nui</i> and <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i> of O'ahu.....	192
Table 6.4. Data Used in a Possible Interpretation of Paumakua a Lonoho'olewa's Temporal Placement in Relation to Other Prominent <i>Ali'i</i>	195
Table 6.5. Temporal Ordering of <i>Ali'i Nui</i> of Kaua'i.....	212
Table 7.1. Western Calendar Date Estimations for the Beginning Points of the Generational Temporal Units in This Study Based on a Range of Estimated Durations for Each Generation.....	225
Table 8.1. Generational Comparison of Voyaging Personages Recounted in Eleven Hawaiian Genealogies.....	267
Table 13.1. Frequency and Types of Aggression in Which <i>Ali'i</i> Were Involved and the Political Configuration of the Islands.....	494
Table 13.2. <i>Ali'i Nui</i> and Prominent <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i> and Their Recorded Spouses Associated with Neighboring Islands.....	525
Table 13.3. Comparison of the Cumulative Inter-island Marriage Practices of Independent <i>Ali'i</i> of the Major Islands.....	536

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1. Database Layout 1	26
Figure 2.2. Database Layout 2.....	27
Figure 3.1. Map of the Pacific Islands.....	53
Figure 3.2. Map of the Main Hawaiian Islands	54
Figure 3.3. Shaded Relief Map of of Hawai'i Island Displaying the Traditional <i>Moku</i> Boundaries ..	60
Figure 3.4. Shaded Relief Map of Maui Displaying the Traditional <i>Moku</i> Boundaries	64
Figure 3.5. Shaded Relief Map of O'ahu Displaying the Traditional <i>Moku</i> Boundaries	68
Figure 3.6. Shaded Relief Map of Kaua'i Displaying the Traditional <i>Moku</i> Boundaries.....	73
Figure 5.1. Summary of Major <i>Ali'i</i> Lineages.....	133
Figure 7.1 Correlated Relative Temporal Ordering of the Reigns of the <i>Ali'i Nui</i> of Kaua'i, O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i.....	back cover pocket
Figure 7.2 Reconstructed Composite Genealogical Relationships of Hawai'i's Primary <i>Ali'i</i> Lineages	back cover pocket
Figure 11.1. Shaded Relief Map of Moloka'i Displaying the Traditional <i>Moku</i> Boundaries.....	406
Figure 13.1. Changes in the Number of Independent Polities of the Major Islands	490
Figure 13.2. Changes in the Number of Independent Polities of the Four Major Islands (by individual island)	490
Figure 13.3. Changes in the Number of Administratively Independent <i>Ali'i</i> of the Major Islands	492
Figure 13.4. Changes in the Number of Administratively Independent <i>Ali'i</i> of the Four Major Islands (by individual island)	492
Figure 13.5. Comparison of the Frequency of Aggressive Events Within and Among the Major Islands and the Number of Administratively Independent <i>Ali'i</i>	493
Figure 13.6. Comparison of the Number of <i>Ali'i</i> Noted for Skillful Governance, the Frequency of Aggressive Events, and the Number of Independent Polities	498
Figure 13.7. Comparison of the Number of Independent <i>Ali'i</i> and the Number of Them Having Two or More Recorded Acknowledged Spouses	516
Figure 13.8. Presence/Absence of <i>Ali'i</i> with Two or More Spouses.....	516
Figure 13.9. Temporal Comparison of the Number of Administratively Independent Hawai'i Island <i>Ali'i</i> and Their Number of Acknowledged Spouses	518
Figure 13.10. Temporal Comparison of the Number of Administratively Independent Native Maui <i>Ali'i</i> and Their Number of Acknowledged Spouses	518
Figure 13.11. Temporal Comparison of the Number of Administratively Independent O'ahu <i>Ali'i</i> and Their Number of Acknowledged Spouses	522
Figure 13.12. Temporal Comparison of the Number of Administratively Independent Kaua'i <i>Ali'i</i> and Their Number of Acknowledged Spouses	522
Figure 13.13. Changes in the Frequency of Inter-island Marriages	523
Figure 13.14. Frequency of Externally and Internally Directed Aggressive Events on the Major Islands	527
Figure 13.15. Frequency of Aggressive Events, Spouses from Neighboring Islands, and <i>Ali'i</i> with Two or More Acknowledged Spouses	528
Figure 13.16. Comparison of the Frequency of Internal Aggression on the Major Islands	533
Figure 13.17. Frequency of Independent <i>Ali'i</i> of the Major Islands Selecting Spouses of Neighbor Islands	533
Figure 13.18. Frequency of <i>Ali'i</i> of the Major Islands Marrying an Independent <i>Ali'i</i> of a Neighboring Island.....	534
Figure 13.19. Targets of External Aggression.....	538

Figure 13.20. Frequency of Internally and Externally Directed Aggression and Aid in Warfare Provided to Neighbor Island Allies	541
Figure 13.21. Comparison of Dominance and Means by Which Hawai'i Island <i>Ali'i</i> Came to Rule	544
Figure 13.22. Comparison of Dominance and Means by Which Native Maui <i>Ali'i</i> Came to Rule.....	544
Figure 13.23. Comparison of Dominance and Means by Which O'ahu <i>Ali'i</i> Came to	545
Figure 13.24. Comparison of Dominance and Means by which Hawai'i Island <i>Ali'i</i> Came to Rule (coded by territory).....	552
Figure 13.25. Comparison of Dominance and Means by which Native Maui <i>Ali'i</i> Came to Rule (coded by territory).....	552
Figure 13.26. Comparison of Dominance and Means by which O'ahu <i>Ali'i</i> Came to Rule (coded by territory)	553

PART I. RESEARCH GOALS AND METHODS

Chapter 1 Introduction and Theoretical Foundation

Living on some of the most isolated and ecologically diverse islands in the world, Hawai'i offered a varied and nurturing environment for its native people who arrived over the course of centuries from southern Polynesian archipelagos. Generations after the last groups of Polynesians arrived in the Islands, the various Polynesian societies retained fundamental Polynesian cultural traits while having developed in ways that distinguished one from another. Such a phenomenon has fascinated anthropologists for decades. Among the various Polynesian island groups, Hawaiian society has been particularly well studied due to its relative isolation and hallmark complexity—a stratified social system, hierarchical administrative offices, centralized leadership, labor specialization, technological innovations in food production, refinement of the visual and performing arts, etc. Researchers have repeatedly asked how and why Hawaiian society developed in this manner.

Each study has augmented a growing understanding of the difficult and multifaceted answers inherent in such questions. The broad goal of this study is to address these questions by applying an evolutionary theoretical framework to comprehensively study the information found in Hawaiian oral traditions.

Three basic dimensions must be considered in attempts to describe and explain Hawaiian socio-political development. The first dimension is time. What

were the prominent cultural traits of the original Polynesian settlers to the islands? And how did these settlers change through time to reflect the society recorded at the time of Western contact? The second dimension involves space and the natural environment. What were the various environments that the original settlers saw before them? How were these environments affected by natural (non-human related) processes? And how did human interactions with the various natural environments across the island chain affect the development of the societies of each island and the diverse set of environments? The third dimension that must be addressed in explaining Hawaiian socio-political complexity involves the social environment. How did the social contexts in Hawai'i affect the evolution of the different island societies through time? And how did the social interactions among members of the various island societies affect one another through time? Lastly, how did each of these factors influence one another?

The answers to the above questions would necessarily be approximations as there are only limited extant clues to address them. Such questions prove further difficult to answer as they would require the attention of a multi-disciplinary set of researchers wherein each researcher could contribute to a cumulatively built picture. Certainly this is already occurring, resulting in a fuller and more accurate picture of Hawaiian societal development. In an attempt to add to this growing body of understanding, the approach taken in this study is to address in a general manner each of the dimensions described above and then to focus on the more specific research questions which have thus far received comparatively little attention: 1) How did each of the individual island societies develop? (This is in contrast to research that has centered on one island in isolation or that has produced

generalized conclusions for one island and then applied them to the whole archipelago.) 2) How were events occurring on one island temporally related to events on the others? 3) How did the various islands' histories affect one another? 4) How did the varied social environments that existed across the archipelago and through time affect the development of the different island societies?

A similar approach of filling in less well understood areas is also taken in this study in regards to the sources of information used to address the four focal research questions. While most studies addressing Hawaiian socio-political development have utilized oral traditions, this has been done in a very limited fashion, leaving the full explanatory potential of this rich source of information untapped.¹ This study attempts to gain a more comprehensive understanding from Hawaiian oral traditions of Hawaiian societal evolution.

The general scope of this study is defined by the availability of information in the extant oral traditions (more specifically described in Chapter 2). These traditions offer the most detailed and consistently described accounts for the period starting with the last generations of settlers who arrived in the Islands. Hence the temporal scope of this study begins at that era and continues through the political unification of the Islands under Kamehameha Pai'ea in 1810, a span of time comprising 23 temporal units represented by 23 generations. The oral traditions record changes along the geographic range of the Hawaiian Islands, giving most attention to the four major islands (Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, and Kaua'i) which were the political centers

¹ While many researchers used bits of information from oral traditions, three researchers, Hommon (1976), Cordy (1981), and Kolb (1991, 1994) have pointedly utilized oral traditions in building their research.

among the eight main islands. These four political centers will also be the focus of this study. In terms of topical coverage, the oral traditions most richly describe the activities of *ali'i* (individuals of the chiefly class, either male or female). This emphasis on such individuals who were most involved in behaviors related to socio-political change makes the body of Hawaiian oral traditions an especially appropriate source of information for the goals of this study which center on the social contexts of *ali'i*.

Overview of Research

This dissertation is organized in five parts, each comprised of two or more chapters directed toward a similar goal. Part I, including chapters 1 and 2, introduces the research approaches used in this study. Chapter 1 describes the theoretical foundation upon which this study was conducted, explains how this approach differs from previous research, and relates this approach to Hawaiian cultural understandings. Chapter 2 addresses the database of oral traditions used. This includes an overview of the sources, methods used for data collection and analysis, applications of oral traditions in research in Hawai'i and elsewhere, and evaluations of the relative reliability of accounts in the oral traditions.

Part II describes the natural and social environments that were of prime importance in shaping Hawaiian society through time. Chapter 3 describes each of the major islands (Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, and Kaua'i) and their primary districts. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the ancestral culture that was likely established on the islands and the evolved Hawaiian culture that existed on the eve of Western contact. Chapter 5 offers a detailed description of the ascribed and achieved ranks

of *ali'i*, responsibilities of an *ali'i nui* (paramount chief), and the functions of the *'aha ali'i* (council of chiefs).

Part III provides the results of a synthesis of the information assembled in the database. Chapter 6 establishes the sequence of ruling chiefs for the four major islands. Chapter 7 establishes the temporal correlation of 23 generations of *ali'i nui* of the major islands and the genealogical relationships of *ali'i* within and among the major chiefly lineages.

Part IV highlights the major socio-political events of the 23 generations studied, as recorded in the oral traditions. It is divided in five temporally ordered chapters whose beginning and end points are defined by the prevalence of certain social mechanisms described in those chapters. Part IV differs from other presentations in its describing these events in their appropriate temporal order and in the context of other events occurring across the archipelago. Throughout Part IV, numerous explanations are offered regarding the influence of social mechanisms that were affecting Hawaiian societal development.

Part V takes an aggregate, wide-lens view of the data to identify patterns in Hawaiian societal development spanning the 23 generations studied and the spatial range of the four major islands. These data are analyzed and result in suggested amendments to existing models of Hawaiian socio-political development. Additional models are also offered which involve new factors not previously considered and which build upon earlier models. Part V closes this study with a brief discussion of the implications of this research.

Effects of Theoretical Approaches on Research Outcomes

Each of the previous studies of Hawaiian societal evolution has contributed to a clearer and more complete picture. This study, however, departs from most of the previous research in terms of theoretical approaches taken. Three weaknesses of the common cultural evolution approach² used in most of the studies of Hawaiian socio-political evolution involve problems inherent in the cultural evolution paradigm: 1) Descriptions of *how* Hawaiian society changed are represented as explanations of *why* Hawaiian society changed. 2) Various perceived changed states of the society are described while the implied transition periods supposedly leading from one state to the next are not (i.e., the approach is typological). 3) Suggested causal mechanisms for increases in Hawaiian socio-political complexity are offered as “explanations” for the societal evolution when these causal mechanisms themselves require explanation.

This study has been guided by Darwinian evolutionary theory³ (as described below) which transcends the above theoretical shortcomings. Indeed, because a Darwinian theoretical framework directs data gathering and data analysis in qualitatively different ways than have been adopted in the past, this study has produced findings that are as well qualitatively different.

² Strictly speaking, cultural evolutionary approaches are atheoretical in a scientific sense. A theory-based approach would involve theory (e.g., evolutionary theory) to guide data gathering, analysis, and hypothesis formation, as well as hypothesis evaluation and refinement. Culture evolution researchers instead study a phenomenon using common sense beliefs to produce a “theory,” or rather an empirical generalization, at the end of the process (Dunnell 1988, 1989b).

³ A Darwinian evolutionary paradigm is highly consistent with Hawaiian cultural understandings, as described at the end of this chapter.

To illustrate the limitations of previous theoretical approaches, several examples are described below that derive from the research of two archaeologists, Hommon (1976, 1986) and Cordy (1981), who have studied Hawaiian oral traditions and applied them (as with this study) to questions involving the evolution of Hawaiian society across the range of the archipelago and across the span of numerous generations.⁴ Both these researchers adopted cultural evolutionary approaches. Examples from their work illustrate the influence of theory on their research findings. The cultural evolution approach they applied was followed by most archaeologists at the time they conducted their work. Studies following this approach often categorized societies along varied scales of socio-political complexity, providing generalizations about each that justified their placement in such schemes (e.g., Sahlins 1958, 1972; Goldman 1970; Flannery 1972; Johnson and Earle 1987). Detailed cultural evolution studies of a single society and its development through time (as with Hommon [1976] and Cordy [1981]) entailed descriptions of the stages through which that a society was thought to have evolved. Hence a research approach taken by those trained in cultural evolutionary approaches often led to them attempting to identify changes in a society that would indicate that it had been transformed from one stage of development to another. Changes in society were thus used to create box-like units around periods of a society's development.

⁴ The discussion here is not intended to address the conclusions which Hommon (1976, 1986) and Cordy (1981) draw, which in some cases have been confirmed by later researchers. Their work is highlighted here to illustrate the differences in theoretical approaches used in their work and this study and to demonstrate the incomplete nature of their theoretical orientation.

Thus, Cordy's (1981:200-214) descriptions of applicable data found in Hawaiian oral traditions were used to conclude that "the general patterns in the oral tradition data clearly indicate that three periods and two changes in hierarchical organization" occurred through Hawaiian societal development, which he goes on to describe briefly. A rich body of data (some of which Cordy summarized), was left unanalyzed, as these data were not essential to the typologies he developed following the cultural evolution approach.

In the same manner, Hommon (1976:151) concluded from his study of oral traditions for his "Early Traditional Period" (including nine generations which he estimated as spanning from the late 1300s to the late 1500s), that "though the Early traditions include accounts of military raids, chiefly rivalry and usurpation, the relatively plentiful evidence of expansion through the application of force and the superiority of the principle of monopoly of power over the principles of rank and kinship that is found in later Periods is lacking." The analytical significance that Hommon (1976:151) placed on this finding was "that governments in the present sense had not developed in the Hawaiians Islands until the early 17th century," or rather the next period of his scheme. Here again, a wide array of data was not analyzed for its variety but instead used to identify traits that would justify the researcher-defined boundaries of the stage-like progression of a society.

Another example from Hommon (1976, 1986) involves his analysis of inter-island marriages among *alii*. Hommon (1976:102) completed a detailed analysis in which he found that "fully 80 (25%) of the chiefs" in his study "were direct participants in inter-island marriages" and that "282 (57%) were either direct participants and/or were offspring of such unions." However, the cultural evolution

approach in which he was trained led him to use the data in a limited fashion to develop the following generalizations: 1) Inter-island marriages “formed a complex and intricate network of kinship ties among the prominent chiefs that encompassed the entire Hawaiian group” (Hommon 1976:102). 2) “Marriage patterns reflect a difference between the two classes in settlement pattern” where *aliʻi* traveled and developed an “archipelagic” outlook, while *makaʻāinana* were stable residents of a given locale (Hommon 1976:102, 1986:57). 3) Residential practices following inter-island marriages indicate that “marital residence among chiefs as usually virilocal” (Hommon 1976:103). 4) The “economic, political and social advantages of marriage among chiefs had, by the time of Western contact, resulted in a high degree of class endogamy” (1986:57). Thus, as is the norm for cultural evolution studies, Hommon did not apply the data he gathered on *aliʻi* marriages to explain how marriage patterns may have changed through time nor how such changes may have affected other aspects of societal development or may have been shaped by other factors.

As these examples illustrate, the cultural evolution research paradigm led researchers such as Hommon and Cordy to selectively use data to create typologies of the stages of a society’s development. Alternatively, data were used to describe the “highest” state of a society in ways that would facilitate or justify its placement among other societies within a scheme arranging human societies from the least to most socio-politically complex.

In trying to identify a cause for increased societal complexity, cultural evolution research efforts often sought to identify a “prime mover,” or a causal mechanism initiating societal evolution. Previous research following cultural

evolution approaches (Sahlins 1958, 1972; Hommon 1976, 1986, 1996; Earle 1977, 1978, 1980, 1987a, 1987b; 1997; Peebles and Kus 1977; Cordy 1974a, 1981; Kirch 1982a, 1984, 1985, 1990a; Kirch and Green 1987; Allen 1991; Kolb 1991, 1994) *cumulatively* describe Hawaiian society as evolving in a tautological spiral that includes population increases, chiefly ambitions, increases in chiefly displays of symbolic power, innate cultural encoding, improved food production methods, and surplus production as the causes *and* results of increased competition, political integration, and centralized authority among socio-political units. One study's prime mover is described as another study's effect of a different prime mover. As a result, "the greatest areas of disagreement [among cultural evolution researchers] doubtless center on the thorny problem of causality underlying the development of sociopolitical complexity" (Kirch 1990a:340). Rather than recognize the theoretical quagmire inherent in an attempt to assess the temporal order of the above variables in affecting societal development, Cordy (1984:24) encourages more archaeological studies to acquire data that would afford better temporal and spatial sampling so that the inter-relationships of the variables could be "untangled" and placed in their proper sequence for a given region.

Theoretical Foundation

The theoretical foundation used in this study contrasts with that of cultural evolution as it does not direct research toward locating one or more prime movers or toward viewing changes in a post hoc fashion to suggest their causal role in creating other changes. Instead Darwinian theory explains change in terms of natural

selection and other evolutionary principles.⁵ Thus this theoretical approach guides research to 1) identify the multiple and changing factors in the natural and social environments over the span of the geographic area and temporal period studied, 2) identify the advent and differential persistence of behaviors of individuals and groups across time and space, and 3) use the precepts of evolutionary theory to explain why differences in the natural and social environments across time and space led to the advent and differential persistence of individual and group behaviors.

This dissertation is guided by principles from two related programs of archaeological theory, evolutionary archaeology (as described by Lyman and O'Brien [1998]) and evolutionary ecology (as described by Smith and Winterhalder [1992] and Winterhalder and Smith [1992]). Although they differ in fundamental ways, these theoretical approaches are both grounded in Darwinian evolutionary theory. Evolutionary theory is of course most closely associated to the biological sciences, however, the paradigm of Darwinian evolution can explain more than just the differential persistence of species and trait frequencies in species. It can also be

⁵ Although natural selection is theoretically conceived in this study as the main cause of long-term changes in the frequencies of the behaviors under study, it should be noted that two other phenomena affect the long-term differential persistence of traits/behaviors across time and space. One is drift, or "the random component" involved in evolution (O'Brien and Holland 1992:41). For instance, for purely random reasons, more people with wavy hair could be born in one generation within a given population. Their proportionally larger numbers in that generation might then produce even more individuals with wavy hair in the following generation as well, eventually resulting in an observable change in frequency through time in the proportion of people with wavy hair (which might randomly shift again at another time). Another mechanism that leads to evolutionary changes in a population is sorting, which involves neutral traits at a scale lower than that at which selection is acting upon being affected as a "package" along with the trait that is being affected by selective forces. In this case, selection is not acting directly upon the frequencies of those lower-level traits but on the higher-level traits to which they are inextricably associated (Ramenofsky 1995:136).

applied to explain the differential persistence of human cultural groups, individual human behaviors, and patterns of large-group human behavior.⁶

The fundamental principles of Darwinian theory describe how evolution occurs (adapted from Dunnell 1980:38; Boone and Smith 1998:142, and following the general description of a group/cultural unit of evolution described by Dunnell 1980, 1995, 1996; Wenke 1981; Richerson and Boyd 1984; and Boyd and Richerson 1985): 1) Variations in either genes or culturgens (cultural bits of information acquired through social learning and retained either in memory or symbolic form [e.g., written language], which are also referred to as memes) arise among individuals due to mutation and recombination (in the case of genes) as well as innovation and transmission processes (in the cases of culturgens). 2) These variations in individuals interact with the external natural and social environments to shape phenotypes (behaviors, the tangible remains of them [i.e., artifacts], or the physical expression of genetic coding in individuals [e.g., skin coloration]). 3) These variations (as expressed in phenotypes) under a given set of natural and social environments, result in the differential persistence of individuals expressing certain

⁶ Darwinian evolution as applied by evolutionary archaeologists and evolutionary ecologists should not be confused with two other approaches to evolution which have been applied to humans. One involves the inaccurate application of evolutionary theory (modeled after the ethnocentric views of such 19th century figures as Spencer, Morgan, and Tyler) which described groups along varied scales of "civilization" and "fitness." Another approach that is not subscribed to by evolutionary archaeologists or evolutionary ecologists is sociobiology. Sociobiology narrowly views animals and humans as having evolved through natural selection to behave in ways that promote the replication of their genotypes (whether through their offspring or close relatives who share many of the same genes). While sociobiology has been most successful in explaining behaviors of simple organisms in uniform environments, or specific human behaviors directly related to reproduction, this paradigm is ill-equipped to deal with human populations living in variable natural and social contexts where social learning and coordinated large-group behaviors among distantly related individuals occur (see discussion in Dunnell 1980:60-61 and Winterhalder and Smith 1992:9).

phenotypes and hence the differential ability of individuals to reproduce some of their genes (in the form of offspring) and their culturgens (in the form of others learning from them these culturgens). 4) Over the generations, what results are individuals whose phenotypes are better adapted to those local natural and social environments in which they arose, or in other words, natural selection occurs. As environments change, so should the frequencies of the phenotypes identified in those environments, as perhaps other phenotypes are selected for in this new environment (including aspects of both natural and social settings), resulting in phenotype frequencies being environmentally-directed.

Of major significance is the likelihood that when members of a group are interactive, functionally interdependent (i.e., sets of its members serve non-redundant functions necessary for the successful operation of the group), and do not carry within themselves the full set of information to replicate the group, then the unit of selection may shift to groups rather than individuals (Dunnell 1980, 1995; Wenke 1981). Thus the same considerations of natural and social environments affecting the differential persistence of individuals within a population who practice certain adaptive behaviors, could as well apply to the differential persistence of whole groups displaying large-scale behavior patterns involving a suite of coordinated behaviors carried out by the individual members of the group. Such conditions that mark the rise of social complexity are applicable to Hawaiian societal development as seen in the temporal range of this study wherein, for example, labor specialization was implemented, changes in the scale of political integration occurred, and hierarchical, non-redundant administrative and religious offices were instituted.

The above described Darwinian theoretical foundation directed the data collection in this study toward gathering as much information as possible that would allow one to perceive, after assembling a large body of data, the patterning of the differential persistence of individual behaviors (e.g., the frequency of *ali'i* marrying other *ali'i* from neighboring islands) and large-group behaviors (e.g., warfare or the construction of monumental religious architecture). Given the nature of the available data from oral traditions, and the intended research focus, gathering data about the varied and changing social environments was the primary focus for this study (although the natural environmental potentials/constraints of the various islands were also considered in the analyses of the data). These data (described in more detail in Chapter 2) involve a temporal dimension (based on the genealogical sequencing of individuals described in the database), an environmental component (reflected in the districts and islands to which individuals were associated), and relate to traits that are most likely of a functional nature (after Dunnell 1978) (e.g., political alliances, warfare, marriage patterns).

Such data gathered (described in more detail in Chapter 2) lent well to developing models following the precepts of natural selection which explain the differential persistence of behavioral traits among individuals in Hawaiian society through time. This is because the operation of natural selection can be identified only by demonstrating a correlation of environmental variables to functional behaviors (or artifacts which are the tangible remains of behaviors) and then illustrating how a given behavior performs relative to other behaviors in those environmental settings.

The above theoretical discussion largely relied upon evolutionary archaeological approaches that emphasize changes across time. Because the data assembled in this study includes an important temporal dimension of 23 generations, evolutionary archaeological analyses were necessary. However, because the data also dealt directly with human behavioral strategies, the paradigm of evolutionary ecology was also well suited for analyzing and developing models to explain such strategies.

Following evolutionary ecology approaches, culture change can be understood to result from individuals pursuing strategies⁷ (i.e., phenotypes) in the specific natural and social environments they experience. The selective forces of the environment result in the differential persistence of such behavioral strategies and the individuals who adopt them. A key point in evolutionary ecology analyses is the recognition that part of the environment that conditions selection includes the various alternate and identical strategies that other individuals adopt in that same setting (Smith and Winterhalder 1992:34-38). Thus evolutionary ecologists see behaviors as being shaped in a reflexive manner through individuals' responses and counter-responses to the evolving conditions of their social and natural environments (e.g., the integration of numerous independent political units of one island altering the socio-political context faced on another wherein its independent chiefs would then

⁷ Researchers using the evolutionary ecology program rarely study changes in behaviors across a significant temporal span but rather focus on a specific behavior at a specific point in time. However, the precepts involved in this program can be applied to include a temporal dimension, as done in this research effort.

also likely adopt a strategy of integrating their independent polities into a coordinated whole).

Another critical component of evolutionary ecology (and a position consistent with the evolutionary archaeology program) involves the notion of methodological individualism or the recognition “that the properties of groups (social institutions, populations, societies, economies, etc.) are a result of the actions of its individual members” (Smith and Winterhalder 1992:39). Thus group-level phenomena are an aggregate of individual actions. Such recognition of individuals' control over their own behavior, however, does not require a corollary assumption that they follow selfish motives (Smith and Winterhalder 1992:40; Boone 1998). Individuals may adopt behaviors that do not maximize their own interests for a large host of personal and cultural reasons. The point is that regardless of the motives of individuals, group behaviors result from the collective actions of individuals or the aggregate consequences of individuals' decisions. Neither a “group” nor its single leader carries out the behaviors that are seen as large-group behaviors (e.g., warfare). That Hawaiian political units (or any other integrated group) under a strong leader could behave as a coordinated single entity (as Malo [1996:258] describes in his comparison of Hawaiian society to a human body), does not diminish the fact that such coordination occurs only by virtue of *individuals* choosing to act in that manner.

A research strategy used in evolutionary ecology and evolutionary archaeology that is adopted in this study is the hypothetico-deductive method (as described by Winterhalder and Smith 1992:11-12). This entails the development of a model (a coordinated set of related hypotheses) based on evolutionary theory precepts that might explain a given phenomenon (e.g., the differential frequencies

through time of political marriage alliances involving different islands' *ali'i*). Model development should strive to balance the qualities of generality (the applicability of the model to a range of contexts), realism (the ability of a model to fit the specifics of a given case), and precision (the ability of a model to produce specific predictions that allow for appropriate testing of the model) (Levins 1966; Winterhalder and Smith 1992:13). Models should then be tested against an appropriate body of data to either confirm or reject one or more components of the model. Through further research and testing, models can be refined continually. Such processes were followed in the development and testing of models presented in Chapter 13.

Compatibility of Evolutionary Archaeology and Evolutionary Ecology

As the above discussion illustrates, there are large areas of overlap between evolutionary archaeology and evolutionary ecology approaches. Moreover, recent research (e.g., Madsen, Lipo and Cannon 1999) has illustrated the complimentary nature of both paradigms. In this same light, the results of this study illustrate the utility of evolutionary archaeology and evolutionary ecology for different scales of analysis. In this respect this study also illustrates how both research paradigms are compatible. For instance, as described in chapters 11 and 12, and as specifically analyzed in Chapter 13, *ali'i nui* used the strategy of engaging in multiple marriages with *ali'i* from families of their potential opponents to diminish the possibility of conflicts with those families and to increase the likelihood of cooperative ties being formed with those families (an analysis guided by the evolutionary ecology research paradigm). However, these *ali'i nui* may not have perceived the eventual ramifications of these marriage practices, which in the long term (for reasons

described in chapters 11, 12, and 13) intensified competition among rival lineages and placed additional stresses on their own descendants. Hence such marriage practices were not inter-generational stable strategies. The culturgen(s) that promoted multiple marriages among *ali'i* of the highest ranks did not enhance the long-term fitness of those lineages (an analysis that used an evolutionary archaeology research approach). Yet that same culturgen (or ones categorically linked to it involving cooperative behavior skills, the recognition that cooperative strategies work, and the valuing of harmonious relationships) enhanced the fitness of many generations of *ali'i* who exhibited such behavior in numerous ways that were applicable to the specific environmental contexts of different eras. The above example illustrates that the combined use of evolutionary archaeology and evolutionary ecology perspectives provided this study with a wide array of theoretical tools to explain, via a Darwinian paradigm, Hawaiian society evolution.

Compatibility of Hawaiian Cultural Perspectives and Darwinian Evolutionary Models

The Darwinian research paradigm is also appropriate for this study of Hawaiian societal evolution because Darwinian concepts are in fact parallel to fundamental Hawaiian cultural understandings.⁸ The basic tenets of Darwinian evolution, as applied in anthropology, are that phenotypes are heritable, can be transmitted from one individual to another through social learning, can be shaped by natural and social environments, and can render an individual or populations of

⁸ This affinity of Darwinian models and basic Hawaiian cultural understandings makes the research approach applied in this effort neither completely etic (of a perspective from outside of a culture) nor emic (of a perspective from within a culture).

individuals more or less equipped to survive, thrive, or alternatively become extinct in a given natural and social environment. This is no different than Hawaiian cultural beliefs which recognize that an individual's characteristics are inherited from one's family, are formed through the guidance and role-modeling of elders, are shaped by the *kulāiwi* (native homeland) which nurtures that individual, and result in individuals who are more or less successful in given social, political, and natural environmental contexts.

These Hawaiian understandings are evident in numerous *'ōlelo no'eau* (wise sayings) and *'ōlelo kaena* (honorific epithets). The perception of an individual's physical and behavioral traits being inherited is seen in the following examples: *Kū i ka welo* (to reveal or resemble one's ancestry or lineage), *Kū nō i ke ke'a* ("like sire, like child"), and *I maika'i ke kalo i ka 'ohā* (the goodness of the taro is evident in the young offshoots that it produces) (Pūku'i 1983:202, 206, 133). Each of these *'ōlelo no'eau* document the unmistakable connection of ancestors and their progeny. *Ka hana a ka mākua, 'o ka hana nō ia a ke keiki* (what parents do, children will do) is an *'ōlelo no'eau* which captures the recognition that children learn behaviors from parents and elders (Pūku'i 1983:141).

It was also clear to Hawaiians of generations past that one's connection to one's *kulāiwi* involved not only the central spiritual component but other self-evident affects on one's behaviors, as is displayed in the following: 1) *Ka pi'i nō ia a kokī o Wailau* ("Ascends to the highest point in Wailau"), was an *'ōlelo kaena* said in praise for those of Wailau, Moloka'i, "a place of tall precipices" whose inhabitants "were excellent climbers" (and said also in praise of those who accomplished something noteworthy). 2) *'O Kula i ka hoe hewa* ("Kula of the ignorant canoe-paddlers"), was

“said of Kula, Maui, whose people did not know how to paddle canoes because they were uplanders” (Pūku’i 1983:166, 270). The nature of a given area was also seen to have a cumulative affect on individuals which was reflected in the population of an area, as is seen in this example: *Mānu’unu’u wale kini o Honokōhau* (“Multitudinous are the inhabitants of Honokōhau,” Maui, a rich land that could support large families) (Pūku’i 1983:233). Hence, evolutionary concepts were part of common Hawaiian perceptions of life around them.

Such parallel Darwinian and Hawaiian understandings of evolution are also seen clearly in the *Kumulipo* (the longest and most detailed of multiple Hawaiian cosmogonic origin chants) (Lili’uokalani 1978). In the *Kumulipo* are embedded notions of the relatedness of evolved species that are shaped by their varied environmental settings.

Whether the ultimate cause of Hawaiian societal evolution is credited to natural selection or to the *mana* of individuals (originating from the *akua*, one’s *kūpuna* [ancestors], one’s *kulāiwi*, and one’s beliefs and behaviors), both Western and Hawaiian views recognize that environments and people’s individual actions jointly create their ability to produce children and *mo’opuna* (grandchildren and descendants) who continue their lineage, values, and behaviors. Hawaiian understandings of such differential persistence of traits and the individuals who possess and display them are described most richly in Hawaiian oral traditions.

Chapter 2 Oral Traditions as Sources of Historical Information

Introduction

From within the Hawaiian culture, *mo'olelo* (historically based traditions), *mo'okū'auhau* (genealogies), and *mele* (poetry, songs, and chants) are perhaps the richest ancestral legacy that 'Ōiwi Hawai'i (Native Hawaiians) possess. They form a *mo'o* (succession) composed of interconnected elements that link the past to the present and reveal appropriate paths to the future. 'Ōiwi Hawai'i inherently treasure the ancestral voices heard in these traditions (*mo'o*) today. The great value that 'Ōiwi Hawai'i place on such traditions may not necessarily be adopted by those within academia.

This chapter begins by describing oral traditions in terms of how they can be used as valid tools to learn about the past, even from within a scholarly, academic paradigm. Since oral traditions may to a greater or lesser degree record historical events (or record more or less accurately those events), they can be evaluated following the same basic procedures used to evaluate historical sources. Such historical methods are reviewed in this chapter and then applied to Hawaiian oral traditions. Toward that end, a description of the types of data recorded and the data collection process are discussed. In addition, the credibility of oral traditions are evaluated by systematically comparing certain dimensions of the data, considering the Hawaiian cultural context in which the oral traditions were recorded, scrutinizing

specific examples of data, considering the authors of the written versions of the oral traditions, and reviewing previous researcher's assessments of the credibility of the data.

The uneven nature of the data is described and considered in terms of whether absences of information reflect a lack of information having been preserved and collected or whether certain *ali'i* did not engage in certain behaviors (e.g., the differential numbers of wives recounted for various *ali'i*).

Academic Use of Oral Traditions

Oral traditions are defined as "verbal messages which are reported statements from the past" beyond the generation in which they are relayed (Vansina 1985:27). These differ from oral histories which are contemporary accounts of events which occurred in the lifetime of the individual who reported the information, whether "reminiscences, hearsay, or eyewitness accounts" (Vansina 1985:12). Given these definitions, the body of literature used for generations 1 through 21 in this study involves only oral traditions. However, for generations 22 and 23 much of the information that was recorded would be oral histories. These oral histories for the last generations of this study include reports from Hawaiian informants recorded in Westerners' journals, Westerner's own eyewitness observations, and, most importantly, the reports of Hawaiian informants that Hawaiian and Western historians were relying upon in the mid-1800s. Nonetheless, because oral traditions comprise a majority of the sources used, this chapter will primarily address the evaluation of oral traditions as sources of historical data.

Oral traditions offer a unique view of the past that is often otherwise inaccessible through any other means, making them invaluable in many respects, especially for learning about a given event “from the inside” (Vansina 1985:197). “If critically read, there is a wealth of information in written documents that can be employed by archaeologists in studies of culture change” (Lightfoot 1995:205). However, oral traditions of course come with challenges in interpretation. This is because “they accumulate interpretations as they are being transmitted” through each successive speaker and receiver of the information (Vansina 1985:195). It is all the more important therefore that historical methods used to evaluate the veracity of sources be applied carefully to oral traditions.

The basic historic method involves a four-step process (after Tosh 2000:55-70; Wood 1990:84-92): 1) Appropriate sources are assembled that address an identified research focus. 2) Each source is subjected to “external criticism,” or rather is evaluated in terms of whether it is authentic (e.g., that a document purported to be Samuel Kamakau’s *Ka Nūpepa Kū’oko’a* article of a given date, was really written by him and published in that newspaper on that date). 3) Each source is subjected to “internal criticism” wherein the specific data are singularly assessed as to their credibility and accuracy. 4) Information that is found to be reliable is organized and presented in a research product (in historical studies this is typically narrative).

Researchers from numerous disciplines and for a variety of purposes have used the sources of Hawaiian oral traditions cited in this study. None of these sources has ever been questioned in terms of the authenticity of the source (i.e., the dimension of “external criticism”). Such a concern is not an issue in this research

effort. However, a related issue is whether the translations of the original authors' works are accurate translations (although in some cases only the Hawaiian texts were available and these were used and cited in the text). Where feasible and at times when the translated text seemed questionable, Hawaiian texts (where readily available) were consulted (e.g., Kamakau 1996; Malo 1996; Fornander 1999). Given the nature of the information that this study used from the oral traditions, the more subtle aspects of translation difficulties seemed not to be a problem.

Having satisfied the first step of the historical method, the next step was to begin the systematic collection of the data. Once this was completed, the sources could be compared against one another as a means of subjecting the information in the sources to internal criticism.

Description of the Database

The most systematic way to collect and compare information from various sources on numerous topics was to use a database. A database was designed for the specific needs of this study using the program FileMaker Pro. Since the focus of this study was on the behaviors of *alii*, each record in the database corresponded to an individual *alii*. Fifty-six fields of information were created. Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2 are copies of the two layouts for the database showing the different fields of data that the database was designed to record when available. Hence the database could be used to systematically organize relevant data from the oral traditions and then later used to locate and compare information following targeted queries of the database.

Figure 2.1. Data Base Layout 1

<i>Nā Mo'okū'auhau o Nā Ali'i</i>	
Name	Island
_____	_____
_____	'Āina
_____	_____
Generation ____ # of Spouses ____ K/W ____	
Political Position	Residence
_____	_____
_____	_____
Father	Mother
_____	_____
Siblings	Contemporaneous Ali'i/Temporal Information
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
Grandfathers (in generational order)	Grandmothers (in generational order)
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
Spouses	Offspring (of the spouse listed)
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
Hānai	Noted Descendants
_____	_____
_____	_____

Figure 2.2. Data Base Layout 2

<i>Nā Mo'olelo o Nā Ali'i</i>		
Names	Island	Birthplace
_____	_____	_____
_____	Deities	_____
Generation _____ # of Spouses _____	_____	_____
Political Position	Land Area Controlled	_____
_____	_____	_____
Contemporaneous Ali'i/Temporal Informatin	Place of Residence	_____
_____	_____	_____
Allies Assisted	Allies Who Provided Assistance	Opponents
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
Offensive Battles	Defensive Battles	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
Personal Character	Nature of Reign	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
Significant Court Members/Lesser Ali'i	Kahuna	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
Associated Wahf Pans	Heiau	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
Notable Accomplishments	Other Miscellaneous Information	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
Ali'i Hosted or Visited	Passing/Burial	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
Inheritance	Bequest	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	

The database was assembled using information from a wide array of literature. However, the vast bulk of the information derived from the standard sources readily available to researchers (Kamakau 1991, 1992; Malo 1827, 1996; Fornander 1996, 1999; Kalākaua 1990; McKinzie 1983, 1986). In addition to these, other sources were used to a much lesser degree (as can be noted in citations throughout this dissertation). Because of the large scope of this research effort, additional sources available in archive collections were not investigated in order to keep this research effort within reasonable limits (plans are to conduct additional archival research in the future and to amend, as needed, conclusions drawn in this study). While there is undoubtedly additional valuable information to be gained from research into this next layer of sources, these records will in all probability not drastically diverge from the information already reviewed. If the additional sources are at all like those investigated, they will probably corroborate accounts in the more prominent sources and add details to the patterns apparent in these sources.

As the sources were investigated, relevant information was added to the database when encountered. Each bit of information included in the database was referenced by its source and the specific page(s) from which it derived. If a second or later source was found to record the same information that had already been included in the database, the second or later source was added so that a cumulative record of concurrence (or repetition which as well often implies concurrence) could be noted. If sources disagreed, the alternate information was also included for later comparison and evaluation. When information seemed patently false (e.g., the genealogy claims published in the Hawaiian language newspapers that were

anomalous when compared to other records and which were discounted as false at the time of publication), it was not included in the database. At the end of the data gathering effort, the database included over 1,350 records, each representing an individual *alii*. The coverage of data among the 56 fields was highly variable among records in the database (as described in a later section of this chapter).

Assessments of the Historical Accuracy of Information in the Oral Traditions

In order to treat data from the oral traditions as historical factual data, one would have to differentiate such data from random errors, from mythical exaggeration, or from what could be revisionist propaganda (or in terms of the historical method, internal criticism must be done). However, the tremendous volume of information in the database precluded a strict evaluation of each data bit from each source. Instead, several approaches were used to more generally address the issue of assessing the credibility of information: 1) systematically comparing aspects of the data that would bear a heavy interpretive load in this study, 2) considering the Hawaiian cultural context in which the oral traditions were recorded through the generations, 3) scrutinizing specific examples of data that suggest the level of credibility of a larger sample of data, 4) considering the research abilities and possible biases of the main authors relied upon, and 5) considering previous researcher's assessments of the credibility of the data (as discussed on a case by case basis in the text).

Comparisons of Key Dimensions of the Data. One way that the data could be compared, and which at the same time would produce a useful result for the purposes of this study, was to assemble the data to identify which pieces fit together

as an integrated whole and which pieces seemed incongruous with the larger body of coherent data. This was one way of evaluating the degree to which different records corroborated one another, an important step in assessing the validity of historical sources (Lightfoot 1995:205). At one level, this could be done with individual records (as mentioned above) whereby it could be readily seen during data collection that, for example, four of five sources noted an *ali'i* had three wives and a fifth source noted only one wife. In such a case it could easily be seen that the four congruent sources were probably accurate and that the fifth was incomplete for whatever reasons. However, in order to discern whether the records relating to these wives' family members were coordinated in a way that seemed to appropriately indicate their contemporaneity (as should be the case since these wives were all married to the same individual), then numerous records would have to be compared. In other words, the records of different *ali'i* needed to be compared against each other to assess their coherence.

Such comparisons for nearly all the records in the database were accomplished by creating a comprehensive genealogy chart (Figure 7.2). The process of completing this chart helped to clarify many ambiguous records and to identify inaccurate ones. A detailed discussion of such assessments is offered in Chapter 7. The overall result of this effort provided striking evidence that the vast majority of the data that came from varied sources were amazingly coherent when brought together. Further, that the anomalous data could be readily identified was another notable indicator that the bulk of the genealogical information formed a unified whole that any single recorder of oral traditions could not have fabricated.

A similar effort was also accomplished by developing tables of the ruling chiefs of the four major islands in their temporal sequences as reported among the oral traditions. This produced the clearest instance of near total agreement among the sources (as recorded in tables 6.1 through 6.4). The oral traditions were extremely consistent in noting who ruled over the major islands and in what order they ruled. The difficulties involved in creating such lists only entailed those generations for which information was lacking and best guess interpolations needed to be offered.

A related comparison of the data was accomplished by once more assembling together data in a way that would evaluate its coherence. This was done by temporally correlating the reigns of the ruling chiefs. The process resulted in any data bit informing upon the contemporaneity of *ali'i* (either through genealogical rendering or through accounts of individuals involved in the same events) being thoroughly scrutinized in terms of how it compared to other information about the contemporaneity of *ali'i*. The result of this analysis was Figure 7.1. As discussed in great detail in Chapter 7, the body of data was again internally coherent to a very high degree, with only a few exceptions (as noted in Chapter 7).

The numerous accounts that in total make up the body of Hawaiian oral traditions are necessarily connected in a web-like fashion. This is evident if one considers the literally thousands of data bits and probably thousands of separate source citations that are reflected in the synthetic results of figures 7.1 and 7.2. If an *ali'i* wanted to excise an enemy's lineage or create a new one for himself/herself, he/she would have to disassemble the whole web in a way that would affect not only

the account that the *ali'i* might be interested in, but the very weave of the whole pattern. Given this reality, it is not at all surprising that the overwhelming majority of the data could be assembled into a coherent whole and that the few anomalous data could be easily identified as errors or purposeful reconstructions.

Considering the Oral Traditions from Within a Hawaiian Cultural

Context. The coherence of information exemplified in figures 7.1 and 7.2 is predictable given the importance *ali'i* placed on preserving oral traditions. Evidence of this is that chiefly courts (at least by the late pre-contact period about which such historians as Malo and Kamakau had direct knowledge) included at least one *kū'auhau* (an individual with mastery in chiefly genealogies and history) (Malo 1996:261). Kamakau (1991:80) explains that the information which *kū'auhau* were charged with mentally recording were invaluable to *ali'i* maintaining their high status:

Genealogies were of great importance to the chiefs of ancient times. They took care of people who knew genealogies—lest they be scorned, *ho'okae 'ia*, or be regarded as 'juniors,' *ho'okaikaina 'ia*; or as the 'youngest,' *ho'opoki'i 'ia*; or as servants, *ho'okauwā 'ia*; lest they be called by insulting names, *kuamuamu inoa 'ia*; lest they be said to be 'red-eyed outcasts,' *makawela*.

Kamakau (1991:80) also describes a second reason that *ali'i* kept one or more *kū'auhau* in their courts. This is because the familial relationships among *ali'i* that the *kū'auhau* could recite were relied upon to alleviate tense situations: "In the days of warring or of great trouble, the genealogists living with the chiefs would explain relationships and end the trouble... That is why [*ali'i nui*] cared for genealogists."

Another aspect of a Hawaiian cultural perspective that might be considered in evaluating the veracity of oral traditions involves the recognition of how difficult it

would be for an *ali'i* to establish propaganda (e.g., a positive account of his/her reign or of one of his/her ancestors). The practical difficulty involved in an *ali'i* trying to promulgate inaccurate oral traditions would be that witnesses to the real situation (particularly the families of an *ali'i's* rivals), would add their accurate views to the oral traditions. The accurate versions would readily spread through time and space, and have the added force of being consistent with what people generally understood to be the truth. These understandings could not be expunged easily. An inaccurate version, on the other hand, would have to be continually reinforced and people would have to be reminded to remember it (for indeed it is easier to remember the truth than it is a lie). In this regard, a benefit for a society using oral tradition is that powerful individuals could never accomplish the equivalent of book burning and the rewriting of "official" histories without the elimination of entire groups, a practice never recorded in Hawaiian history.⁹

Scrutinizing Specific Examples of Accounts. An analysis of the credibility of all the data included in the database would be extremely impractical. Instead, a useful approach might be to scrutinize certain accounts in the oral traditions where individuals could have perhaps capitalized on a situation to try to forward erroneous propaganda (an issue to which Mercer [1979:144] suggests researchers should give careful attention). For instance, although difficult to accomplish, an *ali'i* who usurped another through war (and hence killed off many of his opponents in the process)

⁹ If one were to suggest that an *ali'i* could simply kill off a rival family to accomplish the equivalent of book burning, this would necessitate that the *ali'i* exterminate members of his own family, as there was no clear demarcation between members of different lineages. Rather, various lineage were intimately connected.

might try to forward propaganda regarding why the attack took place. For example, the tradition might be forwarded that the attack was because the defeated *ali'i* was a bad chief, hence justifying the aggression in the recited traditions. If one considers the record of Kū a Manu'ia (*ali'i nui* of O'ahu during generation 15) who was defeated by his brother Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia, one might presume that Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia may have artificially created the record of Kū a Manu'ia being a terrible chief (as is recorded in the oral traditions [Kamakau 1991:61]). One might further suggest that Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia altered the record of who was the aggressor, as it is said that Kū a Manu'ia rather than Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia was the aggressor. This way, Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia would be viewed as both a victim of his brother's aggression and as the upholder of the higher ideals of leadership which Kū a Manu'ia had ignored. The fact that the traditions also recount that Ka'ihikapu was a beloved and effective ruler might also lead one to suspect a false history in this case.

However, the oral traditions describe in great detail an example of how Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia was nonetheless quite ruthless and unscrupulous. The traditions recount that years after his defeat of Kū a Manu'ia, Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia betrayed and murdered his brother Ha'o who had helped to defend him from Kū a Manu'ia's attack (as described in Chapter 10). If the records in the oral traditions of Kū a Manu'ia being a bad *ali'i nui* and the actual aggressor were merely the propaganda of Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia and his direct descendants, then why would the unflattering record also remain of Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia's unprovoked murder of his brother Ha'o?

Significantly, the later rulers of O‘ahu (e.g., Kānekapu a Kākuhihewa and Ka‘ihikapu a Kākuhihewa in generation 17) were descendants of *both* Ha‘o and Ka‘ihikapu a Manu‘ia. This establishes a significant point: Because the genealogies of *ali‘i* were so intertwined, individuals related to the potential target of negative propaganda would always be a part of the political and social environment and would automatically serve as truth monitors. In this example, the truth about Ka‘ihikapu a Manu‘ia’s behavior toward his brother Ha‘o could not have been hidden or altered.

A second brief example illustrates the same pattern. Although ‘Umi a Liloa was victorious over his half-brother Hākau (in generation 14) in gaining the rule of Hawai‘i Island, his descendants could not successfully hide the fact (nor perhaps did they try to do so) that his ascent to power was not without opposition, even after he defeated Hākau. For indeed, ‘Umi’s conquering the rapacious Hākau did not automatically garner him the favor of the various native district *ali‘i* (in opposition to what a revisionist history of ‘Umi’s rise to power might suggest). Thus, in the most authoritative and detailed versions of this widely known tradition, ‘Umi’s subsequent battles against the district chiefs of Hilo, Puna, and Ka‘ū are well documented (as described in Chapter 10).¹⁰

¹⁰ In contrast to the position taken here that the oral traditions include significant historical data, Baker (1996:331) believes that “the thought cannot be dismissed that [the] sole reason” for the “myths” of ‘Umi, Pā‘ao, and Piliika‘ai‘ea “was to provide legitimation for Kamehameha’s kingship and nothing else.” Given the nature of the traditions surrounding ‘Umi, Pā‘ao, and Piliika‘ai‘ea and their descendants, Baker’s conjecture seems unfounded. Indeed, if they were merely fabrications to legitimize Kamehameha’s reign, then indeed, the entirety of Hawai‘i Island’s ruling chiefly and priestly lines were as well fabrications for the 22 generations from Piliika‘ai‘ea and Pā‘ao to the generation before Kamehameha (with ‘Umi being the proposed fabrication in generation 14). Baker seems not to understand the cultural context of historically based oral traditions. *Ali‘i* could

Kiha a Pi'ilani (of Maui's generation 15), Kamalālāwalu (of Maui's generation 16), Lonoikamakahiki (of Hawai'i Island's generation 16), Keakamahana (of Hawai'i Islands generation 18), and Kalani'ōpu'u (of Hawai'i Island's generation 22) provide similar examples (described in Part IV). Each of these *ali'i* were either victorious in war and/or otherwise held in generally high esteem, which might give rise to the impression of their records being subject to revision. However, careful scrutiny of all that is recorded about these individuals reveal that they were as well portrayed in the oral traditions as having serious character flaws or lapses in judgement that would be inconsistent with a suggestion of their records having been created to laud their memory following their rise to power. The oral traditions appear to portray such individuals accurately as real people rather than as caricatures of heroes or villains. After carefully reviewing the listed examples as well as other records, it is evident that erroneous propoganda was not likely a significant source of error in the traditions. *Ali'i* simply seem not to have been able to get away with such historical reconstruction. Too many truth monitors (especially in the form of the real or potential rivals of an *ali'i nui*) were part of the court contexts where such histories were recited.

Considering the Authors Who Recorded the Traditions. One way of assessing the credibility of the information in a given source is to consider the author of that source. What follows are brief descriptions of relevant facts about the four

not fabricate such a large-scale lie no matter how powerful they were. Further, and perhaps more importantly, to do so would undermine the real basis upon which they could claim their *mana*, that is, their genuine lineal connection to real and honored ruling chiefs of the past.

main historians upon which this study relies who last heard and interpreted¹¹ the oral traditions and put them in written form. These are Davida Malo (1996, 1827), Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau (1991, 1992, 1996), Abraham Fornander (1969, 1996, 1999), and David La'amea Kalākaua (1990).

Davida Malo. Born in North Kona, Hawai'i Island in 1795 (Chun 1993:1), Davida Malo was a contemporary of those *ali'i* of generation 23. His account of *ali'i* lifestyles in the early post-contact and early pre-contact period (as utilized in Chapter 5) is particularly credible as his mother "A'oa'o was somehow attached to the court and army of Kamehameha and...Malo's youth was spent in the courts of the high chief Kuakini" (Chun 1993:1). Malo's recorded genealogical information can also be shown to have a direct link with the traditions of Hawai'i Island's court as he was known to have been under the tutelage of 'Auwae Ka'aloa (a noted orator and genealogist) while he lived in Kuakini's court (Chun 1993:1).

Malo's Western education also began in Kuakini's court where he was the pupil of an unnamed foreigner and of Lucy Thurston (one of the Protestant missionaries who was among the first company to have arrived in Hawai'i in 1820) (Chun 1993:2). Malo moved to Lahaina, Maui in 1823 and was schooled by Reverend William Richards during which time he compiled his genealogical manuscript (Malo 1827), entitled "He Buke no ke oihana kula" (Chun 1993:2). Years later he entered the Lahainaluna seminary that opened there in 1831 where he was

¹¹ This is not meant to imply that any of the authors necessarily altered the information with their own interpretation, but simply to acknowledge that the process of hearing an account and writing it down requires that it be processed through the writer. Indeed, the authors may have been very concerned with maintaining a record of the accounts as they heard them.

a student and a schoolmaster (Chun 1993:3). There he (along with Samuel Kamakau) became part of the 'Ahahui 'Imi i nā Mo'olelo Kahiko (literally translated as the association in search of the ancient histories), a group of Hawaiians and Westerners who researched and recorded Hawaiian oral traditions and who were under the patronage of King Kamehameha III (Chun 1993:5).¹² Malo's life involvement with Hawaiian history remained with him through the years, and it is believed that his only other major extant work, *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, was likely written in the late 1840s (another sizable document on the life of Kamehameha that Malo composed is now lost) (Chun 1993:7).

The above illustrates that Malo's record of Hawaiian courtly life and the associated genealogies and histories can be reasonably thought to reflect the knowledge of the learned specialists of that time to which he had access. His residences and his own family lineage would have likely exposed him more to those traditions of Hawai'i Island and Maui. Although one might question many of Malo's social commentaries interspersed throughout his work, which clearly reveal his Christian bias, these are not the kinds of information involved in this study. The primary use of Malo for this effort is in relation to his discussion of late pre-contact Hawaiian society (Chapter 4 material), *ali'i* responsibilities and statuses (Chapter 5 material), and *ali'i* genealogies, areas for which he could be seen as an authoritative source.

¹² Comparable efforts of Natives and/or Westerners to record ancient and more recent indigenous traditions at this time were not occurring in most other parts of the world where Natives and Westerners were coming into contact. The wisdom and foresight of those involved in 'Ahahui 'Imi i nā Mo'olelo Kahiko is all the more remarkable in this regard.

Samuel Kamakau. Serving as a balance to Malo's Hawai'i and Maui-based information, Kamakau's family can be traced to Kaua'i and O'ahu (Chun 1993:17). He was born in 1815 at Mokulē'ia, Waialua, O'ahu (Chun 1993:17). As a child, Kamakau was likely exposed to some degree to Hawaiian religious practices as his grandparents were of the *kāhuna pule* (priesthood) related to the deity Kānehekili (Chun 1993:17). His grandmother's experiences and knowledge, to which Kamakau was exposed for nearly eleven years while he lived with her, stretched back to the time of Kūali'i (the *ali'i nui* of O'ahu who lived three generations before the time of Kamehameha) (Chun 1993:17). Other senior members of Kamakau's 'ohana could be traced to Kaua'i, including a *kupuna kāne* (grandfather, granduncle, or male ancestor) Kāneakaho'owaha who "was one of the first Hawaiians to meet Captain James Cook" (Kamakau in Chun 1993:17). Another of Kamakau's *kupuna kāne*, Kūikealaikauaokalani "was undoubtedly an O'ahu or Kaua'i priest" (Kamakau in Chun 1993:18). Kamakau's early and likely intense exposure to what must have been a wealth of *'ike* (knowledge, understanding, sensing, and feeling) primed him for his later role at Lahainaluna.

Kamakau entered Lahainaluna at age 17 and stayed there for seven years as a student and a teaching assistant, during which time he became a member and treasurer of the historical society 'Ahahui 'Imi i nā Mo'olelo Kahiko (Chun 1993:18). One of his more influential experiences there involved the Reverend Sheldon Dibble (also a member of the historical society) who instructed Kamakau in the concept of historical chronology. Much of Kamakau's interest in historical studies was a result of his combined experiences at Lahainaluna and his early upbringing.

The voluminous body of newspaper articles that Kamakau would publish throughout his lifetime was largely based on research he engaged in after he left Lahainaluna. “Kamakau conducted his research and studies on Hawaiian history from 1836 to 1848, visiting the islands from Hawai‘i to Kaua‘i” (Chun 1993:18). When Kamakau began publishing his work, he received numerous critical responses. These were largely directed at the fact that he was making the chiefly genealogies public, and not so much directed at the level of accuracy of his accounts (Chun 1993:19). However, when others, including Fornander, criticized his work on substance, this was in relation to Kamakau’s discussion of the earlier generations of the last migrations to Hawai‘i and the generations just following that era (for which this study relies more heavily upon Fornander and Kalākaua).

The period for which Kamakau has received the most criticism with regard to the authenticity of his reports relates to his discussion of Hawaiian creation legends. Barrère (1967, 1969) suggests that Kamakau’s Christian background led him to recast Hawaiian cosmogonic myths and genealogies to mimic Christian precepts. Barrère (1967) asserts that Kamakau and Kepelino sought to portray the gods Kāne, Kū, and Lono in a manner similar to the Christian trinity, with the god ‘Io placed in a supreme position above them.¹³ Whether this similarity is coincidental or is evidence of Barrère’s conclusion is debatable.¹⁴ Barrère (1969) also submits that Kamakau’s

¹³ In Maori culture, “the god Io [is] credited with supreme power over all other gods” (Buck 1949:454), which suggests an antiquity of the same belief in Hawai‘i.

¹⁴ Liliikalā Kame‘eleihiwa (personal communication 2000) cautions that Barrère’s contention may be inaccurate given that similar traditions are present in Maori *mo‘olelo* which have not been understood to have been tainted by Christian influences and which thus may be evidence for an older and authentic tradition (as with the discussion of ‘Io in the preceding footnote).

Kumuhonua creation myth and genealogical revisions were of his own development and not an ancient tradition. Buck (1949:458) seems to adopt this same position given his suggestion that “later Hawaiians” “arrang[ed] their pantheon to conform with the Christian pattern” (see also Buck 1938b:244-246).

If Kamakau edited older traditions to make them more parallel to Biblical accounts he would not have been alone. A propensity to alter origin and creation mythology is seen in other cultures, and indicates that this area of oral traditions are most susceptible to later amendment (Mercer 1979:146). Significantly, such creation and origin legends are not a part of the temporal period that this study addresses.

Although Kamakau’s Christian enthusiasm may have compromised his historical integrity in relation to the creation myths, it is significant to note that the vast majority of his other works have stood the test of time. In total he published almost 300 articles from 1842 through 1874 (Kame’eleihiwa 1992a:iii). Of the information that Kamakau has presented, this study most relies on his discussion of the *ali‘i* beginning with generation 13 (the time of Liloa of Hawai‘i Island), a period after that era for which Kamakau has received critical reviews¹⁵ and a period during which he is considered a pre-eminent source of information.

Abraham Fornander. Fornander was born in 1812 in Öland, Sweden and first arrived in Hawai‘i in 1838 (Alexander 1907:19). In 1847 he married a Hawaiian chiefess of Moloka‘i, ‘Ālanakapu (Davis 1979:52). Fornander developed a tremendous passion for learning and recording Hawaiian history, perhaps due to the

¹⁵ Fornander was recorded to have criticized Kamakau’s knowledge for matters prior to the time of ‘Umi a Liloa (of generation 14 in this study) and his contemporaries (Thrum 1918:46).

exposure he had to Hawaiian oral traditions as the husband of a chiefess, his concern to pass the same on to his daughter Catherine (to whom he dedicated his three-volume work [Fornander 1969]), and his own fascination with Hawaiian history. Fornander's "desire to search out and record the Polynesian past was the deepest and most enduring of a long lifetime of intense enthusiasms" (Davis 1979: 239).

Fornander's work involves three primary efforts. Volumes I and III of his *Account of the Polynesian Race* (which this study does not rely upon), focuses on Fornander's investigations into Hawaiian and Polynesian origins, an effort which was not initially well received and which never gained high regard. However, his accomplishment in volume II (Fornander 1996) which chronicles Hawaiian history as recorded in oral traditions provides the most comprehensive and detailed accounts for periods otherwise lightly documented. His third major work (Fornander 1999) is a compilation of oral traditions in forms that he had not published and which were translated and published by staff of the Bishop Museum more than ten years after his death (including Thomas Thrum, Emma Nakuina, and Nathaniel Emerson) (Davis 1993:276).

Fornander and Kamakau were close associates, with Kamakau having in fact worked to gather information for Fornander (Chun 1993:19). However, the fact that they continued to conduct their own research separate from one another is seen in the differential presence and absence of information in their publications and is also evident in Fornander's criticism of some aspects of Kamakau's work.

Of Fornander's various works, this study most frequently utilizes Volume II of *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, which was his effort to fully and accurately present a historical record of Hawaiian history. "Fornander was trying to write

history, and, though they were all based on oral tradition, he tried to discriminate in his accounts of the exploits of chiefs and heroes between what seemed to him the obviously fictitious and the probably factual” (Davis 1979:256). Given Fornander’s (1996) concern for recording what he believed to be credible, accurate information (as opposed to his more literary accounts in his later published work [Fornander 1999]), and this study’s temporal focus (which does not involve creation legends), Fornander remains an invaluable source.

Kalākaua. Born in 1836 of high-ranking chiefly parents (see Figure 7.2), Kalākaua became the ruling sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1874. As with other chiefs of his time, he was “a product of a bicultural upbringing” (Kanahele 1979:200) wherein he learned both traditional chants and histories (from his family members of the chiefly circles) as well as all that a potential monarch would need to learn of the modern world (in the Royal School run by Protestant missionaries).

Kalākaua’s *Legends and Myths of Hawaii* is “a curious mixture of authentic Hawaiian oral traditions recast in a Victorian Gothic style” (Grant 1990:iii). This writing style and the added Victorian flourishes were in large part the influence of the actual composer of the prose, Rollin Daggett (who appears only as the author of the introduction), who could be thought of as Kalākaua’s ghost writer. For although “it was Daggett who had done the writing, ... the king had told him the stories” (Davis 1979:256). Davis (1979:256-257) describes Daggett’s and Kalākaua’s joint effort:

Daggett was presenting ‘romance,’ addressing himself to a large and popular audience, he hoped, and added to the sometimes bare outlines touches of Victorian sentimentality and extrapolated imaginary episodes and conversations that gave his tales an atmosphere and feeling far removed from the original. He did, however, make an effort to tell his stories against a background of accurate history, authentic customs, and recognizable island scenes. Perhaps he tried to present too much information, which, combined

with the difficult and unfamiliar proper names, discouraged seekers after the romance of the South Seas. On the other hand, the sentimental fictionalizing probably repelled those who might have enjoyed his popular presentation of history and anthropology.

Because of the possibility of certain aspects of Kalākaua's work being the result of Daggett exercising poetic license, Kalākaua (1990) is used in this study with restraint. When other sources are available, they are used in place of Kalākaua. However, the use of Kalākaua and Daggett's work for its historical content is justifiable, not only because there is indeed an historically accurate component to the work, but because the task of weeding out the added details of "Victorian sentimentality" from the main storylines is not difficult.

Kalākaua and Daggett's work product is significant in that it presents additional accounts of genealogies and records of events for periods that are only generally glossed over in other sources. This includes the *mo'olelo* involving Kaupē'epe'enuikauila's raids, Kalaunuiohua's archipelago-wide military campaign, and Iwikauikaua's adventures, along with the genealogies of the individuals involved in such *mo'olelo*.

Given Kalākaua's interest in collecting historical and genealogical information from across the island chain, it is no wonder that he had access to oral traditions that had otherwise gone unrecorded. Kalākaua may have gathered such *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* from members of a chiefly historical society called Ka Papa Kū'auhau Ali'i o Hawai'i, which he convened from 1882-1884 (Ka Papa Kū'auhau Ali'i o Hawai'i 1882-84). He also brought together *ali'i* who were part of his Hale Nauā Society. The Hale Nauā was "a secret society formed or revived by King Ka-lā-kaua for the study of the ancient Hawaiian religion and manner of living" (Pūku'i and Elbert

1986:263). In ancient times “the purpose of this hale (nauā) was to ask and discuss (‘ike pono) the [genealogical] relationship of anyone to the ali‘i nui [which]...was done at this hale” (Malo 1996:262). Some of the discussions among members of these two groups may be reflected in Kalākaua’s work.

Consideration of the Main Sources as a Set. If any one of the main sources relied upon in this study did not exist, major gaps of information in the sequence of the time and space studied would also exist. As a whole, these four sources contribute to a corpus of information in a complementary manner. Where one is weaker (e.g., Kamakau’s descriptions of the earlier generations in the sequence studied) another is stronger in that area (e.g., Kalākaua 1990; Fornander 1996, 1999). Where one lacks specific and crucial detail (e.g., Fornander 1996 in dealing with the later generations of this study), another provides great amounts of detail (e.g., Kamakau 1992).

Unfortunately, the complementary nature of the sources does not help to evaluate their credibility. However, what it does help to establish is that the individuals conducted their own work to some degree independently, albeit probably also with some measure of influence on one another, as all four were contemporaneous and interested in each other’s writing.

That Malo, Kamakau, Fornander, and Kalākaua conducted at least some of their work separately, and that they covered different kinds of information, makes the coherence of their accounts (as exemplified in the results of figures 7.1 and 7.2) all the more compelling in arguing for their accounts being in large part real histories.

Considering Previous Researcher's Assessments of the Credibility of the Data. A researcher who is somewhat notorious for being a skeptic about taking Hawaiian accounts at face value was Stokes (see his discussions in Stokes 1932, 1933, 1934, 1937, and 1939). His work is instructive in reminding researchers of the validity of the main storylines of *mo'olelo* and the potential for exaggeration to be present in the details of these *mo'olelo* (e.g., Stokes' [1937] discussion of the smaller number of fallen warriors in Western accounts of Hawaiian battles that occurred in the early post-contact period, as compared to the numbers suggested in native accounts). Yet even Stokes (1932:48) believed that "the parts of the genealogies which seem to refer to human beings extend back on the unmodified lists to Maweke on the Nanaulu lines, to Paumakau on the Puna line and to Pili and possibly Hanalaa on the Hema line." This assessment is highly consistent with that derived from this study which led to generations prior not being analyzed (except for the case of Hanalaa where this study traces to three generations prior to his time). Hommon (1976:123) also offered the same support for the veracity of Hawaiian genealogies for the period consistent with that described by Stokes, noting that they were "tightly controlled" and hence "relatively trustworthy."

An important indicator that researchers perceive oral traditions as containing valid information is the degree to which they utilize oral traditions in their own research. In Hawai'i, a list of such researchers would be very long. A large majority of archaeological research in Hawai'i has relied upon oral traditions in some manner, most often not relating to genealogies (the body of data considered most reliable) but in regards to the accounts of past events. Those who have pointedly used oral

traditions in their research of the evolution of Hawaiian socio-political complexity are Hommon (1976, 1986, 1989), Cordy (1981), Kolb (1991, 1994), Kirch (1984, 1994), and Spriggs (1988). In Hawai'i, rather than there being an aversion to using oral traditions, if anything, archaeologists (Graves and Erkelens 1991:8-9) have argued that colleagues have too readily used oral traditions to describe some phenomena for which archaeological data might be better suited to address.

The rich body of oral traditions throughout Polynesia (reflective of the high value Polynesians placed on recording genealogies and history) has led many researchers to conduct studies that in total or large part rely on oral traditions. Finney (1994) describes how the inception of the voyaging canoe Hōkūle'a and its specific voyages to Polynesian destinations was an attempt to replicate and test the voyaging lore found in oral traditions, which of course had major implications regarding the larger debate of Polynesian origins and the settlement of Polynesia. Kaepler (1978) and Kirch (1984:224-226) relied upon rich oral traditions for West Polynesia to describe the patterned exchange of spouses among Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji. Aswani and Graves (1998) used Tongan oral traditions as an independent database (in addition to historical, linguistic, and archaeological evidence) to assess the timing, frequency, and geographic extent of Tongan maritime expansion and to explain the evolutionary behavioral strategies involved. Endicott (2000) and Campbell (in prep) both studied land court records of the Cook Islands (that include genealogies and traditions about significant events) to reconstruct late pre-contact and early post-contact societal development in the Cook Islands (Endicott [2000] focusing on Mangaia and Campbell [in prep.] on Rarotonga). Phillips (1994) used

similar land court records to augment her archaeological analyses of the settlements along the Waihou River, North Island, New Zealand. Anderson (1998:7) relied entirely on ethnohistory to describe “the arrival and spread of Ngai Tahu, their contact with earlier tribes, their traditional society and economy and especially the changes they experienced in welcoming the new strangers,” a period spanning the mid-1600s to the mid-1800s. These are but a few examples that illustrate the application of oral traditions in Polynesian anthropological research.

A reason for such wide use of oral traditions in Polynesian archaeology is that the body of oral traditions which Polynesian researchers have at their disposal is often qualitatively different than those found elsewhere. It is unlikely that a majority of Polynesian archaeologists, for example, would subscribe to Mason’s (2000:264) view that “oral traditions are more often than not roadblocks than bridges to archaeologists aspiring to know ‘what happened in history’” (a view he offered in relation to Native American oral traditions).¹⁶ One of Mason’s (2000:260) strongest critiques of the use of oral traditions in North American archaeology is his belief that such traditions most often describe time in an “hourglass” fashion—that which is recent and that which is ancient, offering little further resolution within the two categories and being of limited or no utility to archaeologists. The same is not true for much of Polynesian oral traditions wherein relative chronologies based on chiefly genealogies are often highly reliable and could even be said to offer higher

¹⁶ Mason (2000:261) acknowledges that “some...efforts at using traditions have proven worthwhile,” a perspective that Echo-Hawk (2000) more enthusiastically adopts. Echo-Hawk encourages archaeologists in North America to study oral traditions as part of the multidisciplinary approach inherent in archaeological research.

resolution than radiocarbon dating. That is not to say that Polynesian researchers have not had to approach oral traditions cautiously, but that the importance of oral traditions in Polynesian cultures have left a different sort of record that archaeologists in Polynesia have generally found to be informative, especially in regards to certain topics and the more recent end of the pre-contact temporal spectrum.

The above process of evaluating the credibility of the oral traditions revealed areas where the traditions could most reliably be seen as reflecting actual histories. This is the period selected for study in this research effort (i.e., the period beginning at the end of the last generations of migrations to Hawai'i). For this period, the body of oral traditions form a coherent view of the Hawaiian past that allows one to discern anomalous, erroneous data (examples of which are discussed in Chapter 7). Thus, while the oral traditions are certainly not equivalent to historical documents (which as well involve other kinds of interpretive problems), they offer what could be considered a comparable level of reliability as that which would derive from a complementary archaeological database (which too produces interpretation challenges).

The evaluation of the veracity of the oral traditions also helped to define the geographic scope of this study. The geographic range for which there is adequate and consistently described information in the oral traditions includes the four major islands. However, caution is taken throughout this study given the recognition that Kaua'i's past is significantly less well documented than that of the other islands.

PART II. SETTING THE CONTEXT

Overview of Part II. Chapters 4-6 provide background information intended to place the analyses of Parts IV and V in an appropriate geographical and cultural context. Chapter 4 focuses on the geographic setting of Hawai'i. It highlights the diversity found within each island and among the different islands and emphasizes the food-producing capacity of the various environments. Chapter 5 outlines the ancestral Polynesian cultural template that the original inhabitants of Hawai'i brought with them as well as the nature of the evolved Hawaiian culture on the eve of Western contact. The discussion of the early and late cultural contexts offers an overview of the degree to which Hawaiian society developed in the course of the 23-24 generations that are described in Part III and Part IV. Chapter 6 describes the cultural context of the lives of *ali'i* with close attention to *ali'i nui*. It is intended to offer insights into the actions of the ruling chiefs who are the focus of Part IV.

Chapter 3 The Geographic Context

Overview of the Natural Environmental Context

Hawai'i occupies the northern extremity of Polynesia. It is one of the most isolated archipelagos in the world, located 3,000 kilometers from the nearest continent of North America and 800 kilometers "from any other land"¹ (Macdonald, et al. 1983:1; See Figure 3.1). For millions of years volcanic activity gave birth to these islands while the Pacific Ocean, wind, and rain have sculpted them into the forms we see today. The newest and largest of these are the eight major islands which comprise a total of 6,450 square miles (7,418 square nautical miles) (University of Hawaii [UH] Department of Geography 1983:11; see Figure 3.2).

The most striking characteristic of the Hawaiian Islands, especially as they compare to other islands throughout Polynesia, is the environmental diversity found among them and within the larger islands of the group. People on different parts of an island can simultaneously experience freezing temperatures above the cloud line and 90-degree weather on sandy beaches, pouring rains in tropical forests and barren landscapes in true deserts, calm waveless shores and pounding 10-foot surf. Yet despite the range of ecological niches that exist in Hawai'i, a majority of the

¹ The Hawaiian Islands would be 5550 nautical miles from North American and 1480 nautical miles from the nearest land area (a nautical mile is equal to 1.85 kilometers or 1.15 statute miles).

islands' land area can be said to experience several predominant environmental patterns.

Figure 3.1. Map of the Pacific Islands

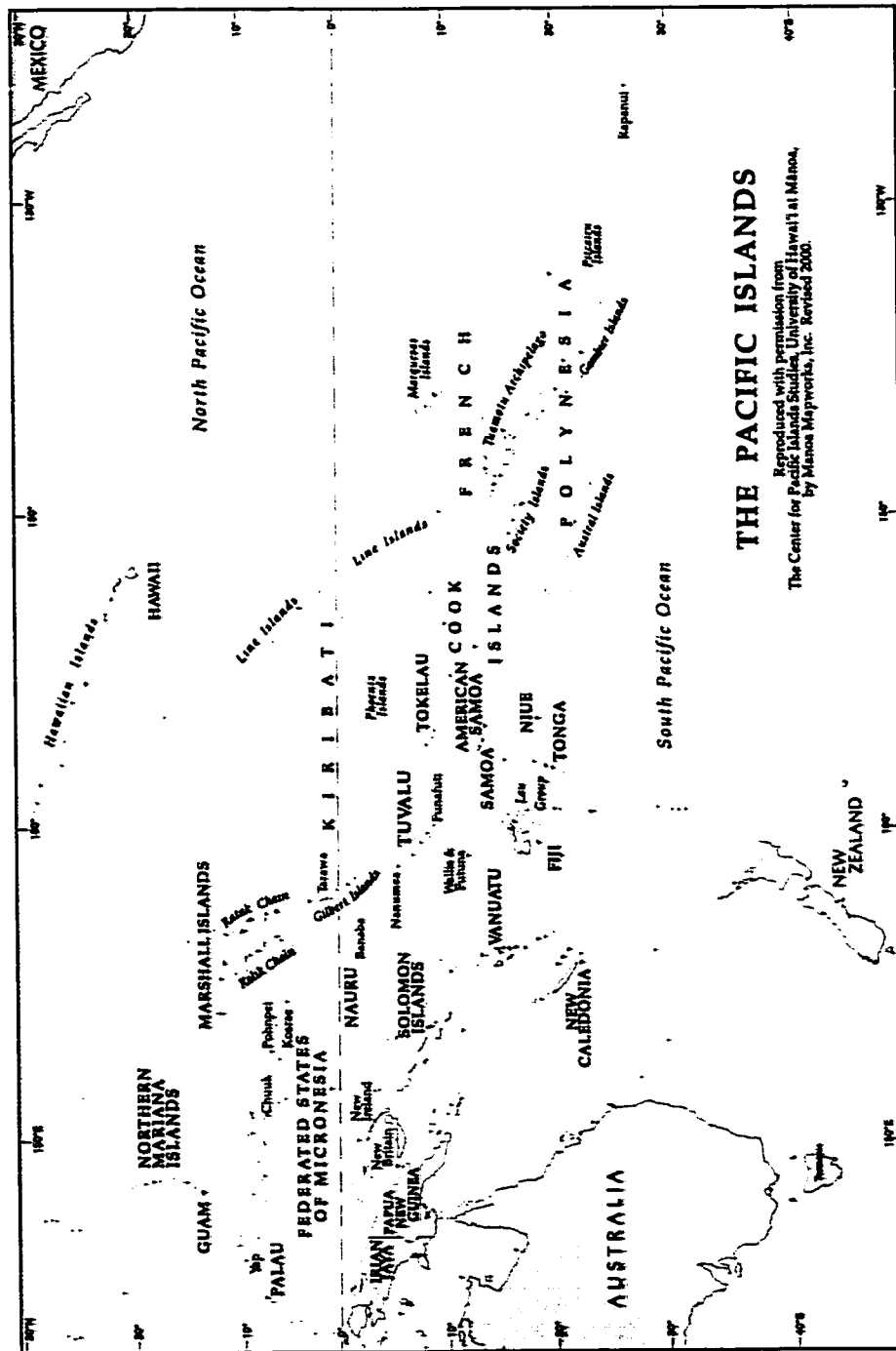
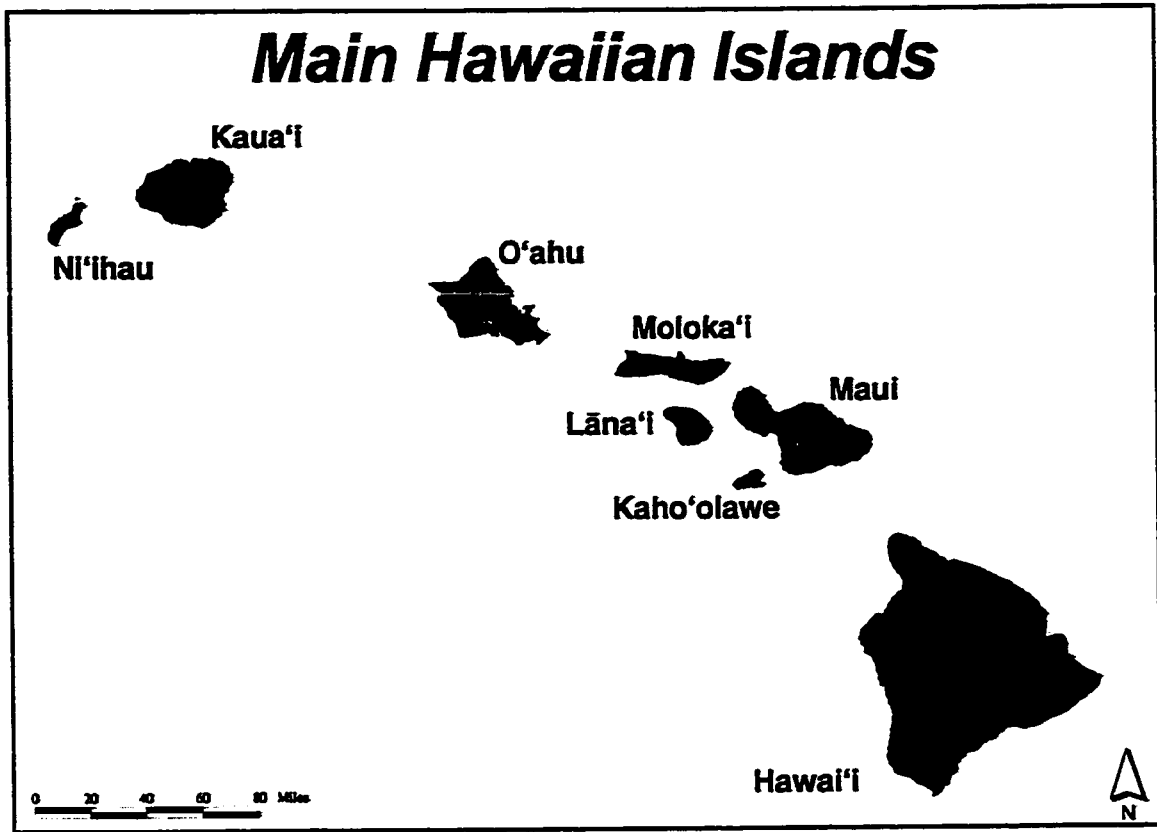


Figure 3.2. Map of the Main Hawaiian Islands



Located at approximately 20 degrees north latitude, the Hawaiian Islands generally enjoy a mild, uniform subtropical climate. Temperatures in Hawai'i are relatively similar throughout the islands, especially in those areas where Hawaiians lived and conducted a majority of their activities. Hawai'i's seashore, plains, and lower slopes infrequently experience temperatures above 90 degrees or below 60 degrees (Carlquist 1980:64). Its subtropical location moderates temperatures throughout the year and the surrounding ocean does the same from day to evening.

Perhaps the most prominent environmental factor affecting the islands is the prevailing tradewind pattern in this region of the Pacific. For about 90 percent of the drier season of *kau* (the months of May through September) the winds blow from the

northeast (UH Department of Geography 1983:65). The sides of the islands that face these tradewinds are referred to as the *ko'olau* or windward sides.

The prevailing tradewinds result in a consistent rainfall pattern as well. The northeast tradewinds push clouds laden with moisture from travelling over the Pacific Ocean up against the mountain slopes of the windward sides of the islands. Along the taller mountainsides clouds reach levels high enough for the cool temperatures there to induce condensation, fog drip, and rainfall. The persistent northeasterly tradewinds create a dominant rainfall pattern where the windward sides receive far more moisture than the *kona* or opposite leeward sides of the islands. Even in the wetter *ho'oilo* or rainy season (during the months of October through April), the same pattern of winds blowing from the northeast occurs about 50 percent of the time (UH Department of Geography 1983:65) keeping the windward sides well watered.

The southeast or *kona* winds that blow less consistently and on fewer days bring rain to the leeward sides of the islands through the same mechanism of cloud uplift, although this happens in the reverse along the leeward facing slopes of the mountains. Such *kona* winds blow rarely during the drier season of *kau* and about 50 percent of time during *ho'oilo*.

A factor that moderates the drier conditions of the *kona* or leeward sides of the islands is the rainfall that occurs in the mountain regions even on the leeward sides under the typical northeast tradewind conditions. Once clouds are pushed up to high enough elevations along the windward sides of mountains, a majority of their moisture is dropped there. However rain falls as well, though to a lesser degree, along the mountain regions of the leeward sides, thus bringing perennial or intermittent stream flows to some of the leeward districts of the islands.

Despite the dominant wind, rainfall, and temperature patterns, the diverse sizes, ages, and topography of the eight major islands provide each with a unique character. Such factors are highlighted in Table 3.1 below (adapted from Macdonald, et al. 1983:Table 3.1² and Table 16.2).

The factors listed in Table 3.1 produce dramatically different effects in shaping the environments of the islands. In general a more prominent windward/leeward rainfall dichotomy is created on islands with higher mountains whereby little moisture falls on the leeward sides in the rainshadow of the taller mountains. For the lower islands (e.g., Lānaʻi and to a greater degree Kahoʻolawe and Niʻihau), rainfall is substantially less as the clouds are not pushed to heights high and cool enough for significant rainfall to occur.

Table 3.1. Geographic Comparison of the Eight Major Hawaiian Islands

	Area (in square miles)	Length of shoreline (km)	Age of oldest region (in millions of years)	Number of Mountains	Highest Point (in meters above sea level)
Hawaiʻi	10,451	504	.45	5	4, 205
Maui	1,902	240	.86	2	3,055
Oʻahu	1,600	336	3.65	2	1,225
Kauaʻi	1,446	177	5.72	1	1,598
Molokaʻi	683	171	1.5	2	1,515
Lānaʻi	366	84	1.46	1	1,027
Niʻihau	182	81	NA	1	390
Kahoʻolawe	119	58	1.03	1	450

² The source cited here (Macdonald et al. 1983) is not the most current available, given for example the significant volcanic activity on Hawaiʻi Island since this source was published. However, the data listed in this source more accurately reflect the status of the islands during pre-contact time (as compared to the most current sources of information). In either case, the differences between newer or slighter older sources is negligible in relation to the points being made here.

The different ages of the islands (falling along a northwest to southeast cline) greatly influence the topography, soils, and ocean environments of the islands. Much of the lower elevations of the older islands are comprised of large, wide valley floors or vast areas of relatively flat plains. In such cases erosion has leveled the islands' mountain slopes over millions of years leaving only tall *pali* or cliffs behind the leveled plains where substantial soil development has occurred. The younger islands typically are less sculpted and display expansive areas of gently sloping land with little natural barriers and with less soil development, especially on their leeward sides. On the windward sides of the younger islands the land is only occasionally dissected by comparatively narrow valleys where streams have only begun the process of eroding away the massive mountain slopes.

The ages of the islands also affect their seashore environments. The older islands generally have proportionately more shoreline area to their land mass and more coral reef development, and the concomitant sandy beaches around their islands, as compared to the younger islands. While coral growth can be found along each of the islands, it is only along the older islands where the beginnings of offshore barrier reefs afford protected near-shore aquatic settings where Hawaiians built fishponds. Near shore and deep-sea fishing grounds around the islands are typically more abundant and more easily accessible along the leeward coasts of the islands. The high cliffs and rocky shorelines of many windward coasts often hinder fishing activities. Wind-generated waves on the *ko'olau* sides of the islands add to the difficulty of fishing, especially during the season of *ho'oulo*. Such barriers to fishing on the windward sides of the islands are much less prominent on the older islands where reef and sandy beach development has already occurred.

In addition to the diversity found from island to island, within each island a great array of micro-environments exist that make the above descriptions oversimplified generalizations. In Hawai'i's extremely diverse settings, floral and faunal life found a plethora of environmental niches that led to highly varied evolutionary histories among the founding migrants. "From the few colonizing seeds and spores that drifted here, nearly 1,000 species and subspecies of flowering plants have evolved, as have 4,000 insect species from 250 immigrant insects species; more than 1,000 land shells from perhaps 25 colonizing species; and 80 bird species from 15 or so ancestral species" (Eyre 2000:14).

Just as these environments provided settings for a myriad of evolutionary responses for the floral and faunal life that arrived here, so too did it provide a variety of paths for human development (Handy and Handy 1991; Hommon 1976, 1986; Earle 1978, 1980; Hunt 1990; Kirch 1990a, 1990c, 1994; Kolb 1991; Allen and McAnany 1994; Graves and Sweeney 1993; Graves and Ladefoged 1995). The differences in the eight islands' overall land masses, rainfall patterns, land areas appropriate for agricultural production, and abundance of shoreline ocean life made Hawai'i Island, Maui, O'ahu, and Kaua'i the centers of Hawaiian populations and political authority.

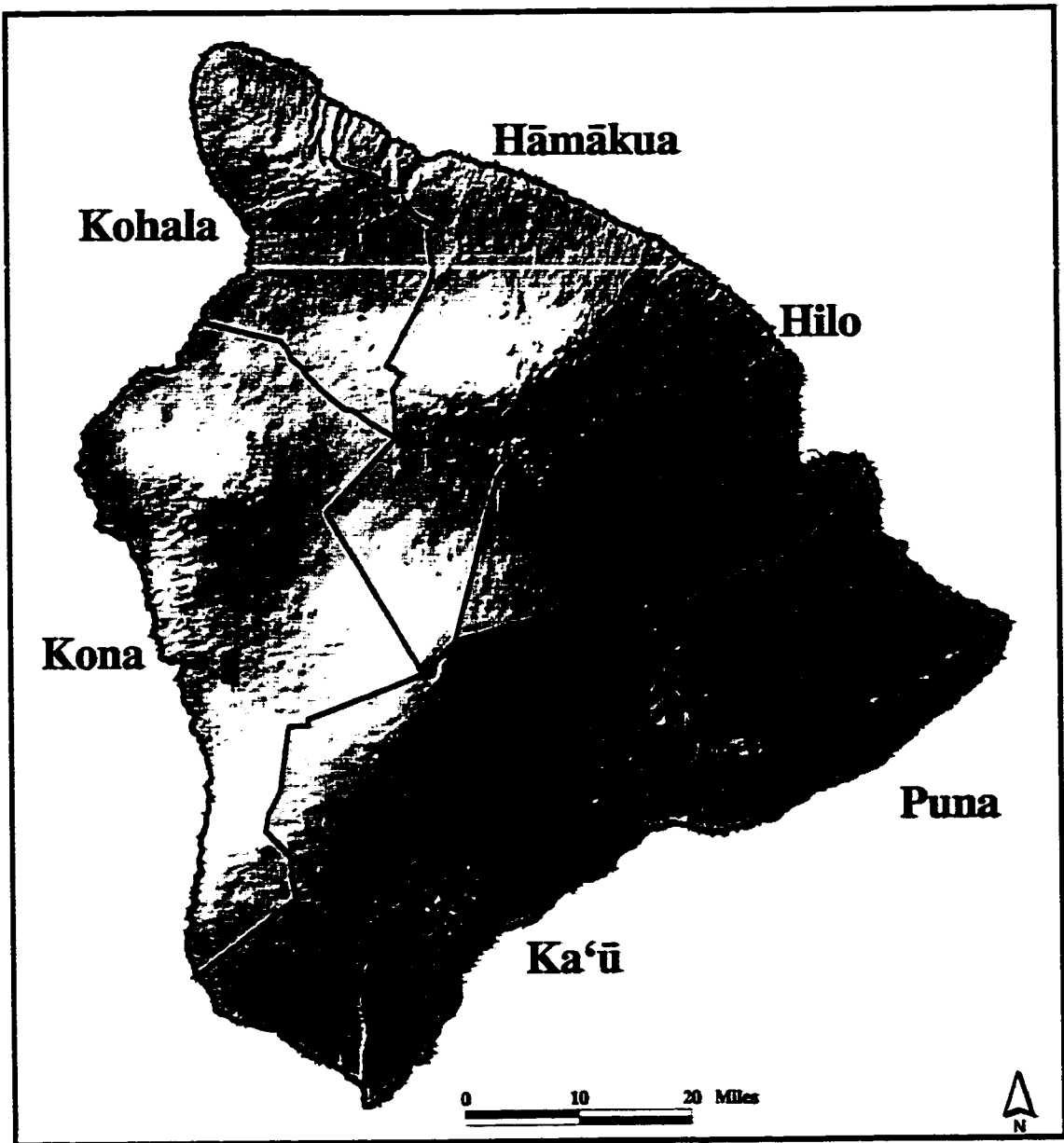
Hawai'i Island

Hawai'i Island is over 60 percent larger in acreage than all the other islands combined. It is comprised of five volcanic mountains whose flows have coalesced through time (See Figure 3.3). These towering and massive mountains dominate the landscape and create additional ecological zones and natural resources that

cannot be found on the lower islands. The mountains also produce the classic windward conditions of high rainfall and perennial streamflows in the districts of Puna, Hilo, Hāmākua and the windward facing side of North Kohala. In the case of Puna and Hilo, much of the area includes gently sloping landscapes with little soil development. In these areas where the classic taro pondfields generally could not be created, Hawaiians used other methods of growing taro in less extensive ways. "In lava-strewn South Hilo [where] there were no streams whose valleys or banks were capable of being developed in terraces," cuttings were stuck into the ground on the shores and islets along the Wailuku River and were held in other well watered areas with rocks that caught nutrients for the plants to be nourished (Handy and Handy 1991:538-539). "In northern Puna there is ample rainfall for raising taro" in dryland environments and smaller areas of terraced pond fields. However, the thin soil in the area did not permit extensive planting areas (Handy and Handy 1991:540).

As one moves northwest from Puna to Hilo and then to Hāmākua and North Kohala an increased number of valleys dissecting the landscape can be seen, from none in Puna, a few in Hilo, a few but larger and more spectacular examples in Hāmākua, to a continual series of smaller valleys along the windward side of North Kohala. Several of these valleys (Pololū in Kohala and Waimanu and Waipi'o in Hāmākua) exhibit comparatively wide valley floors where extensive complexes of *lo'i* or pondfield agriculture were developed. "The greatest wet-taro valley of Hawaii and one of the largest planting areas in the entire group of islands was at Waipi'o" in Hāmākua (Handy and Handy 1972:533). Its fertile agricultural lands made Waipi'o a seat of power for Hawai'i Island chiefs for many generations.

Figure 3.3. Shaded Relief Map of Hawai'i Island Displaying the Traditional *Moku* Boundaries



In the *kula* (gently sloping upland areas) lands of Hāmākua and North Kohala “mulched taro was planted...up to the border of the old forest zone and [was] said to have flourished” (Handy and Handy 1991:537). The seaward leveled lands of North Kohala’s narrower valleys housed the typical terraced *lo’i* fed by stream water captured in a system of irrigation ditches (e.g., Makapala, Niuli’i, Hālawā, and Honokānenui). In addition, “Kohala was unique in the development of terrace areas on *kula* lands, a mile or more inland, where ever water could be brought from streams or springs” (Handy and Handy 1991:529).³

Such irrigated agriculture was rare along the leeward half of Hawai’i Island. This far drier side of Hawai’i Island includes the leeward half of North Kohala, South Kohala, Kona, and Ka’ū. The southern arid regions of Kohala experience the typical pattern created by the rainshadow effect of the mountains blocking the rainfall to the leeward sides. However, at its upper elevations, regular light rainfall occurs as residual clouds make their way over the mountains making dryland agriculture possible. Along the inland South Kohala and North Kona slopes Hawaiians established expansive areas of sweet potato gardens (described in more detail in Chapter 4).

Kona and Ka’ū experienced exceptional conditions that mitigated the effects of being in the rainshadow of the massive mountains of Hawai’i Island. In Kona the Mauna Loa and Hualalai mountain slopes block the tradewinds that would otherwise flow across the land. Absent these strong tradewinds the “ocean-land temperature

³ See also a more detailed discussion of such irrigated *kula* lands in the discussion in Chapter 13 on Kamehameha’s agricultural intensification.

and pressure differences generate local diurnal variations in wind” (Giambelluca and Schroeder in Juvik and Juvik 1998:59). The heat from the land during the day creates winds that travel upslope, and as they do, condensation and precipitation occurs in the afternoons at the higher elevations where clouds are pushed up against the mountainsides. The cooled mountain air reverses its course at night and moves downslope. During the summer, the increased heat of the land during the day “intensifies this process, resulting in the only summer rainfall maximum” averages in the islands (Giambelluca and Schroeder in Juvik and Juvik 1998:59). This provided contexts in the upland South Kona areas for irrigated agriculture. Kona was also blessed with “extensively developed subtidal reefs” which grow off its coast and create abundant fishing grounds (UH Department of Geography 1983:86).

In Ka’ū extremely dry conditions prevail, so much so that there are zones that can be considered true deserts. Still the clouds and rainfall created along the windward side of Mauna Loa carry over to the leeward slopes in Ka’ū. Such regular rainfall in the upper elevations (*ko kula uka*) allowed crops to be grown in dryland conditions (Handy and Pūku’i 1972:20). While there are no overland perennial streams in Ka’ū, the water from upslope rainfall percolates under the surface and emerges in springs near the shore, thus creating habitats for human occupation throughout the district. Within Ka’ū is also the micro-environment of Waiohinu “which is flanked in such a way by the mountain side that it escapes the violence (and evaporation power)” of the winds and also receives “a generous share of rainfall” which made it a favorite place of residence for chiefs of the region (Handy and Pūku’i 1972:21).

Notable resources of Hawai'i Island include its extensive inland forests where *koa* (*Acacia koa*) trees provided large logs for canoes. Also living in this forest habitat were a variety of native birds that were captured and later released after birdcatchers plucked from them their prized yellow and red feathers (although other colors were used as well). The extensive basalt quarries of Mauna Kea also offered the highest quality adze-making material in the island chain.

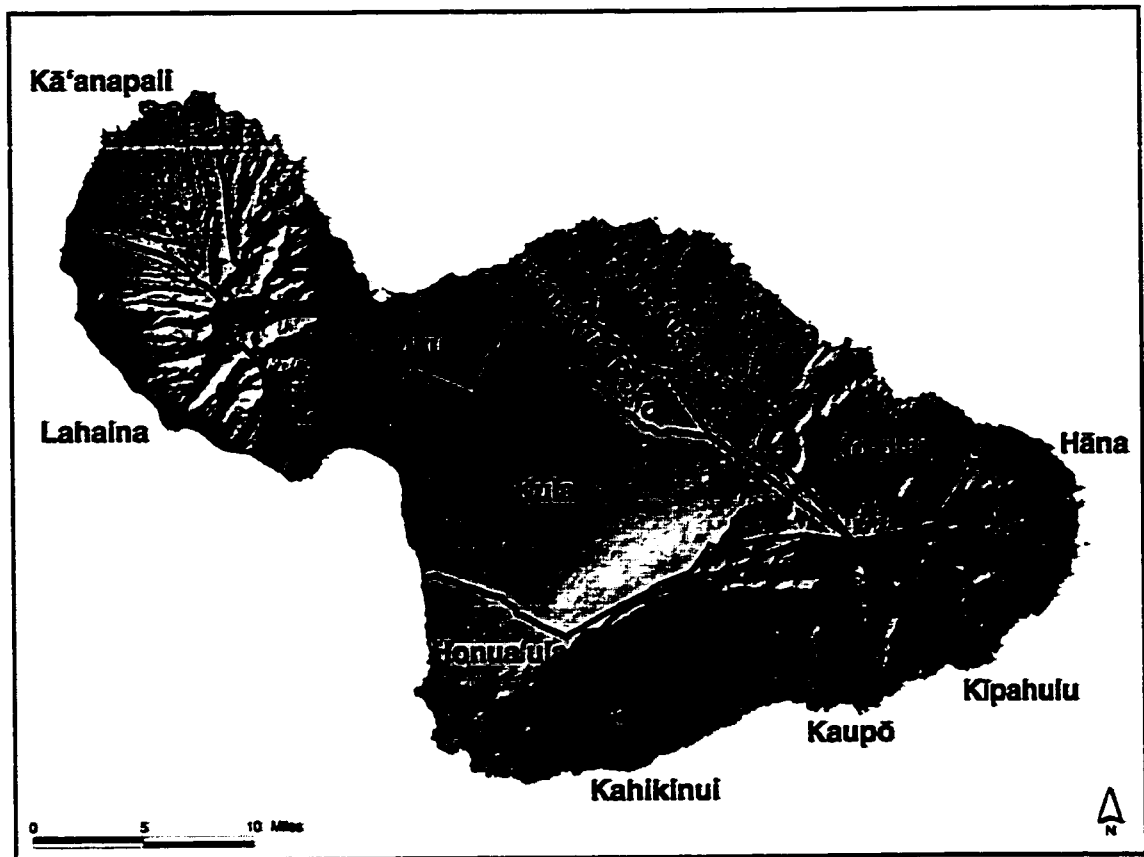
Maui

Maui is comprised of two mountains, Haleakalā and the West Maui Mountains (see Figure 3.4). Their combined flows, the subsequent erosion from the mountains, and the development of an extensive sand dune system joined the two volcanoes together to form a single island. The linking isthmus is a level, open and comparatively narrow area housing much of the island's best agricultural soils (UH Department of Geography 1983:46-47). Both of Maui's two mountains create the typical leeward/windward dichotomy for the island, with the differential in rainfall being much more pronounced for the Haleakalā system than for the West Maui Mountains. As a result of such factors, four general environmental zones can be identified for Maui (Kolb 1991:61-63).

The windward well-watered districts of Hāmākualoa, Hāmākuapoko, Kīpahulu, and Ko'olau house relatively narrow valleys where streams flow throughout the year. This environment made it possible for Hawaiians to create *lo'i* along the streams and at the widened mouths of the valleys. "A considerable number of *lo'i*" were built in such areas and "stream taro was probably planted along the watercourses well up into the higher" inland regions (Handy and Handy

1991:498). The largest complex of *lo'i* on Maui was in Ke'anae, Ko'olau, the only valley with broad walls and an open valley floor.

Figure 3.4. Shaded Relief Map of Maui Displaying the Traditional *Moku* Boundaries



Hāna and Kaupō share similar environments that comprise the second zone type on Maui. In these districts the lack of continual streamflow and the presence of regular rainfall made dryland agricultural production a natural alternative in these districts. In Hāna, the “rich level lands lying between the shore and the gently sloping *kula* land” were planted in taro “as well as bananas, yams, *wauke* and *olona*” most of which were in dryland settings (Handy and Handy 1991:502). Hāna’s smaller streams also afforded this district the opportunity to supplement its mainstay of

dryland production with taro grown in *lo'i*. Along its coast at Hāmoa was also a large fishpond, Haneo'o, which supplemented the diets of its residents (Handy and Handy 1991:505). Kawaipapa was also considered "rich in fish from the ponds and from the sea" (Kamakau 1992:25). Hāna's Pu'u Ka'uiki, a hill with a flattened promontory near the seashore, was a prominent natural feature of the area, which was used as a military stronghold for its warriors and chiefs.

Situated on the leeward side of Haleakalā, Kaupō received its slightly lesser degree of rainfall as the residual moisture from the northeast tradewind pattern continued to bring clouds around and over the lower slopes of Haleakalā. These rains supported Kaupō's dryland crops. In Kaupo "great quantities of dry taro were planted in the lower forest belt from one end of the district to the other" while *'uala* was planted in the lowlands (Handy and Handy 1991:507).

One of the most important resources of Maui's windward districts of zones 1 and 2 include the inland forested areas of Haleakalā's slopes. These forests were famed for providing hardwoods necessary for building canoes and for crafting weapons such as spears and daggers.

The third environmental zone on the opposite western side of Maui is comprised of Kā'anapali, Lahaina, and Wailuku. This older side of the island experienced greater erosion and hence the valleys of these districts are wide and amphitheater shaped. While these districts see relatively little rainfall during the year, they benefit from perennial streams that flow through them. The streams originate in the well-watered West Maui Mountains. The summit of the system, Pu'u Kukui, receives the second highest rainfall levels in the archipelago, far more so than the dry summits of Haleakalā, Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea which stand far above the

cloud line (Giambelluca and Schroeder in Juvik and Juvik 1998:59). The streams flowing from the West Maui Mountains through these districts made *lo'i* agriculture possible in this region. Extensive *lo'i* were developed in Lahaina's Ukumehame, 'Olowalu, and Kaua'ula districts. The valley floors and lower slopes of Kā'anapali's districts housed terraced *lo'i*. Wailuku's "Nā Wai 'Ehā" (The Four Streams) region of Waiñe'e, Wai'ehu, Waiuku, and Waikapū "was the largest continuous area of wet-taro cultivation in the islands" (Handy and Handy 1991:496).

The fourth environmental zone on Maui is the driest and includes the districts of Honua'ula, Kahikinui, and Kula. Situated in the rainshadow of Haleakalā, these districts receive very little rain and possess no perennial streams. Dryland farming utilizing the hardiest of crops such as sweet potato and yams were the mainstay of these districts, with planting areas stretching up the slopes of Haleakalā through not necessarily organized in fields. Offsetting the harsh land environment were the fishing resources of these districts, some of the best in Maui. The fringing reefs along the coast nurtured these marine resources and also afforded the calmer and more leveled shoreline areas upon which Hawaiians built fishponds (Sterling 1998:216, 228).

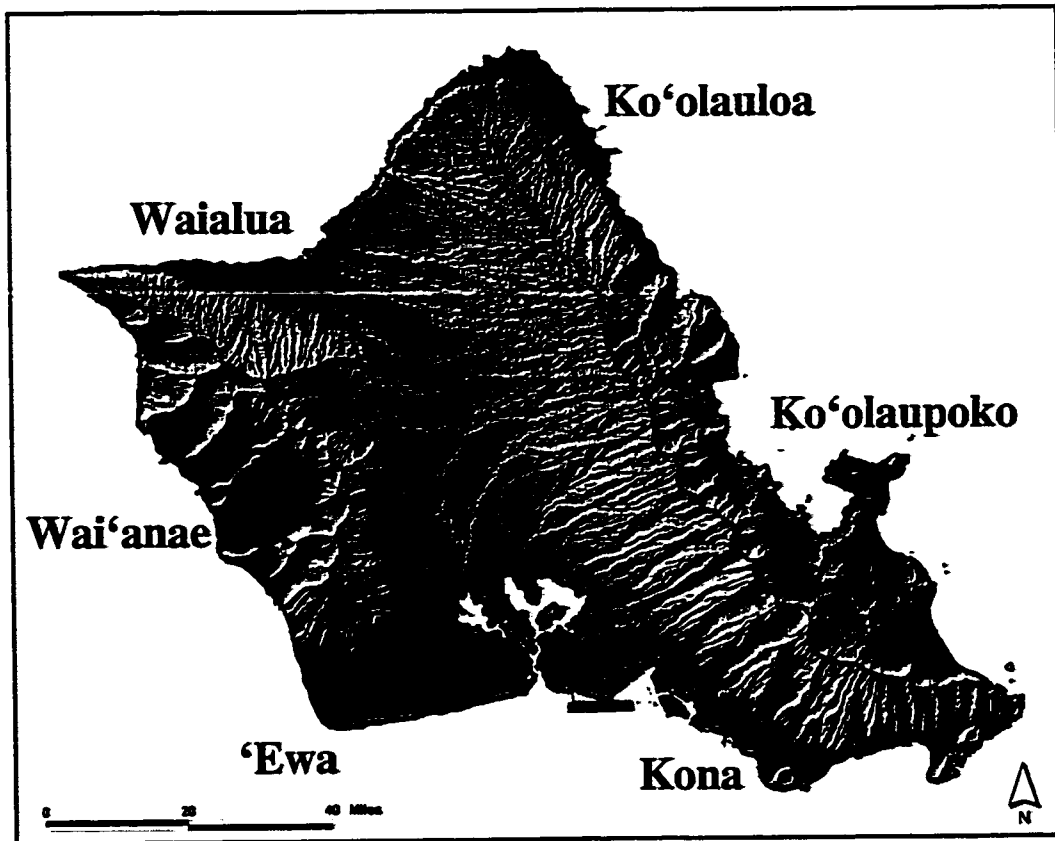
O'ahu

O'ahu is comprised of two coalesced shield volcanoes. Its exposure to a million additional years of erosion, as compared to Maui, has eroded its shield volcanoes down to two parallel mountain ranges (see Figure 3.5). The windward mountains are referred to as the Ko'olau range; the leeward mountains are the Wai'anae range.

O'ahu's windward Ko'olaupoko district is watered well throughout the year. Its broad level plains gently slope upward until they meet the Ko'olau mountains where the land rises suddenly and dramatically. One of the most dominant features of the area are the fresh water marshes in its Kailua and He'eia districts. Extensive research involving Kailua's Kawainui Marsh indicates that the area was once a marine environment. Through natural geomorphic processes, what was once a bay was gradually filled in with sedimentation, a process that began "before 1200 BC" (Athens and Ward 1991:103). Kawainui, and probably the neighboring marsh environments as well, were transformed into freshwater marshes "at about 200 BC" "due to a fall in sea-level" (Athens and Ward 1991:103; see also Athens and Ward 1993). By the time Hawaiians arrived in the islands centuries later, they found these environs perfect for transforming into some of the largest fishponds and *lo'i* complexes in the islands. Allen (1997:245) notes that erosion created by dryland agricultural practices (including clearing by burning) on the slopes around Kawainui would have on one hand decreased the agricultural yields of those slope areas but would have on the other hand added further sedimentation to the basin area providing more fertile land for *lo'i* in that area.

Other areas of Ko'olaupoko such as Kāne'ohe, Kahalu'u, He'eia, Ahuimanu, Waiāhole, and Waikāne include wide open relatively level areas fed by perennial sources of spring water or stream flow. The water sources fed expansive networks of *lo'i* and numerous brackish fishponds along the shoreline. The fringing reefs along Ko'olaupoko's shoreline housed rich fishing grounds and helped to create the sheltered, leveled, and shallow shoreline areas necessary for constructing fishponds.

Figure 3.5. Shaded Relief Map of O'ahu Displaying the Traditional *Moku* Boundaries



Ko'olauloa was also well watered, though to a significantly lesser degree than Ko'olaupoko. Two predominant soil types present in Ko'olauloa possess qualities valuable for agricultural uses (UH Department of Geography 1983:46-47). However, changes in the topography of the land and the decrease in water availability create a cline where "conditions [are] comparatively less and less suitable for wet-taro culture" as one travels northward along the Ko'olauloa coast (Handy and Handy 1991:460). In such southern districts of Ko'olauloa as Kahana and Punalu'u, the valleys are wide and well watered allowing for the typical extensive windward *lo'i* systems. In districts northward of this area, the valleys become narrower with less flat land between the mountains and the sea. The land opens up once more in the

district of Lā'ie where its "many small branching streams" again afforded ideal conditions for growing taro in *lo'i* (Handy and Handy 1991:461). The Lā'ie coastline was also famed for its rich fishing grounds. Along the Ko'olauloa districts that front the northern coast of O'ahu, dryland farming probably predominated along the lower elevations while areas of terraced *lo'i* could be found further inland (Handy and Handy 1991:462).

Waialua "was as generously endowed with water as any area on Oahu" and housed many *lo'i* along "the sloping and level land" of the region (Handy and Handy 1991:465). In these areas can be found soils that "are generally rich in plant nutrients" and hence favorable for cultivation (UH Department of Geography 1983:46-47). Springwater, rather than stream-fed irrigation, most often fed the *lo'i* throughout the area. Inland of the taro-cultivated land and extending up through the plateau area bound by the Wai'anae and Ko'olau mountains was "ideal terrain for sweet potato planting" (Handy and Handy 1991:466). Toward the seashore, conditions allowed Hawaiians to create several substantial inland fishponds fed by a mix of ocean and spring water.

The drier westward districts of Waialua were best suited for sweet potato farming. *Lo'i* cultivation was possible in only a few of these districts such as Mokuīē'ia (Handy and Handy 1991:467). The difficulty of farming in these districts was offset by the ease of fishing there, especially near Ka'ena where "very rich deep-sea fishing grounds" provided an abundant ocean harvest (Handy and Handy 1991:467).

Those of Wai'anae as well enjoyed "exceptionally rich deep-sea fishing" grounds which compensated for the fact that it is a "dry coastal strip with poor soil

and only four rather insignificant streams” (Handy and Handy 1991:467). This dry condition is caused by the location of the Wai’anae district in the rainshadow of both the Ko’olau and the Wai’anae mountains. Hence dryland cultivation was the norm in this region where crops such as sweet potato and yams could survive with unpredictable and sparse rainfall. These crops were supplemented by resources of the upper valleys of Mākaha and Wai’anae. There sufficient stream flow originating in the upper reaches of the Wai’anae mountains allowed for wet-land taro cultivation. Underground water that rose up in a spring near the mouth of Wai’anae stream once fed a freshwater fishpond where mullet grew. This spring called Pueha was also the source of the name for this district (*wai* meaning “freshwater” and *’anae* meaning “mullet”) (McAllister 1933:113; Handy and Handy 1991:468). However, most of Wai’anae’s fish resources were harvested from the rich ocean environment along its coastline.

‘Ewa included perhaps the widest diversity of environments among O’ahu’s districts. Much of Honouliuli is an extremely dry environment. This wide, level plain is a “broad elevated coral reef” (Macdonald, et al. 1983:420) that was “submerged relatively recently” in geological time and hence exhibits poor soil development (Carlquist 1980:60). However, even this dry portion of O’ahu included within its bounds fertile lands that could be used for *lo’i*. A “main village of Honouliuli was located in an agriculturally productive area that can be described as adjacent to [the] West Loch of Pearl Harbor” (Jayatilaka, et al. 1992:10). This area, known as the “Ewa taro lands,” was recorded in 1825 by “Lieutenant C. R. Malden and J. Fremby of the British Navy [who] surveyed and mapped this main village” in 1825 (Jayatilaka

et al. 1992:10).⁴ Such areas likely comprised the 150 acres of Honouliuli that were claimed and awarded to *maka'āinana* (Native Hawaiian commoners) in the Kuleana Act of 1850 (Frierson 1973:12). The relatively limited agricultural resources of 'Ewa's largest ahupua'a of Honouliuli were enhanced by the variety and abundance of ocean life in Pu'uloa (Pearl Harbor). There numerous fishponds and fish weirs once provided a bountiful store for 'Ewa's population, much of which was nucleated around Pu'uloa's different lochs. Along Pu'uloa's shoreline were muddy and sandy flats in which grew many forms of edible shellfish that provided both food and the valued shell material for the shanks of bonito lures. 'Ewa's more abundant districts that were backed by the Ko'olau mountains housed perennial streams and springs which fed pondfields established in the leveled areas inland of Pu'uloa (Handy and Handy 1991:470-471). In some of these districts the upland areas were as well terraced and planted in taro.

The districts of Kona enjoyed some of the best features of both leeward and windward environments. Fishing areas along its coastline were abundant, as with most leeward environments. At the same time, through each of its major districts ran perennial streams that Hawaiians tapped to irrigate *lo'i* created along the flat open valley bottoms or which they built in terraced fashion along the inland lower slopes of the valleys. In the open, wide valley floors of Honolulu and Waikiki extensive *lo'i* spread for miles framed by other cultigens at their margins and along their banks

⁴ Such detail is included here (while not in other areas) as the descriptions stand in stark contrast to the images of Honouliuli with which most people are familiar today. Certainly the effects of later cattle ranching, introduced plants, and the tapping of an artesian well in the area for sugar production would have altered the environment considerably to render it much drier today.

(Handy and Handy 1991:479-484). A combination of springs and streams also fed numerous fishponds extending along Kona's coastline.

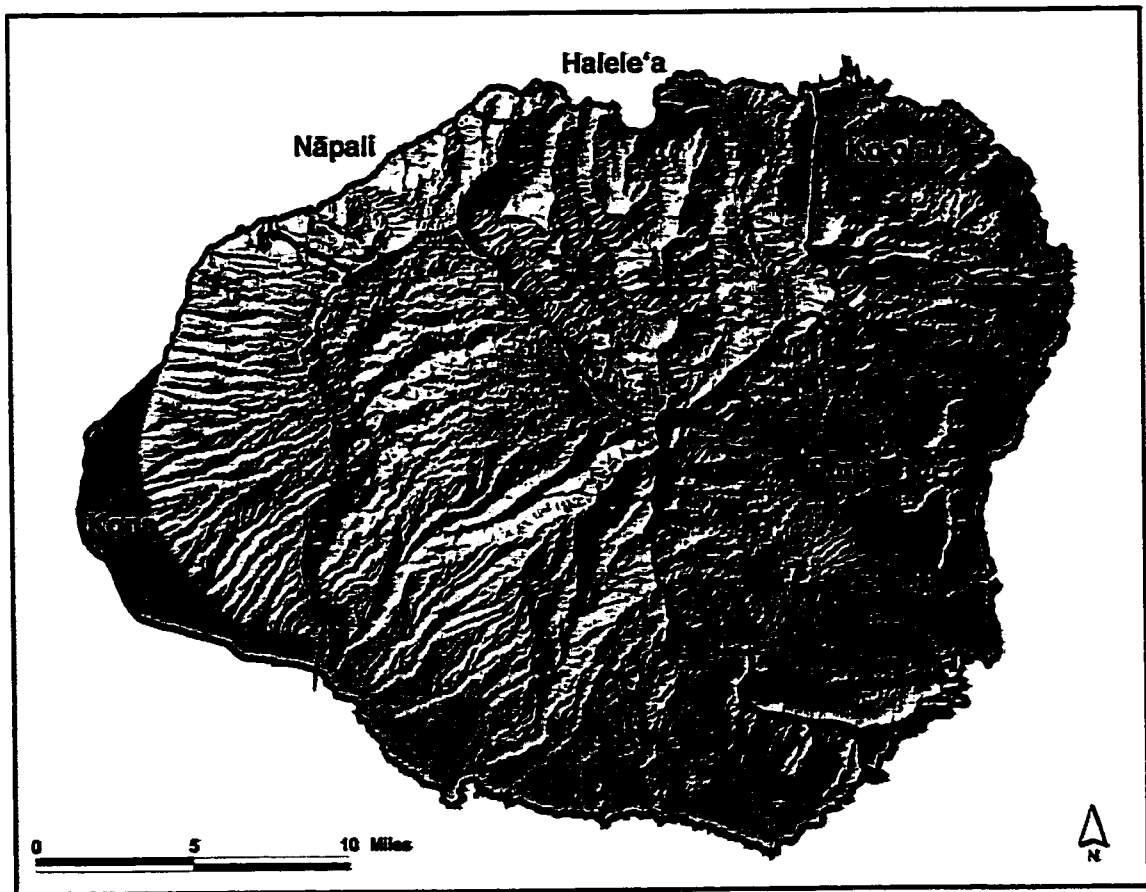
Kaua'i

Kaua'i is the only major island formed by a single volcano, Wai'ale'ale (see Figure 3.6). It is more than two million years older than the next oldest island, O'ahu. Its advanced age, and the resulting greater degree of erosion, distinguishes Kaua'i from the rest of the archipelago. The sediment from much of Wai'ale'ale's erosion and the natural mulching through millions of years affords Kaua'i the highest percentage of high-quality agricultural lands in the archipelago. Such soils are found on both its windward and leeward sides (UH Department of Geography 1983:46-47). The summit of the island, Kawaikini, "is one of the wettest spots on Earth" averaging 444 inches of rainfall per year (Juvik and Juvik 1998:3). Drainage from Wai'ale'ale's central location provides perennial streamflow to the primary watersheds of the windward and leeward districts, allowing for pondfield agriculture throughout the island.

The northern most region of Kaua'i includes two prominent areas, the Nāpali and Halele'a districts. Nāpali is comprised of numerous slender valleys with steep walls, the inland remnants of valleys that once included broader coastal plains now long since eroded away. In these well-watered environments intensive development of terraced *lo'i* lined the narrow valley floors and slopes. Although the Nāpali area was comparatively isolated from the rest of the island "there was one great advantage in living there: the approaches were very easily defended, making the valleys impossible for warriors to invade" (Handy and Handy 1991:417). Eastward in

the Halele'a region is Hanalei valley with its deep crescent bay. "Hanalei is unique on Kauai in having a broad river flowing into a magnificent level seaward area" of considerable size (Handy and Handy 1991:420). Taro *lo'i* covered this valley floor and continued upland into terraced areas at the back of the valley. Similar intensive irrigation and terraced systems predominated throughout the other areas of the Halele'a region.

Figure 3.6. Shaded Relief Map of Kaua'i Displaying the Traditional *Moku* Boundaries



In the Ko'olau district, ample streamflow and springs provided water for terraced *lo'i* in the various natural watershed areas. *Lo'i* could be found on leveled valley floors, the largest of which was Anahola. A river of the same name feeds this

valley. It is the largest river in the region. On the *kula* lands above such areas, dryland farming was practiced. Ko'olau does not contain as many and as large broad, flat areas as does the next region, Puna, but affords far more such areas for *lo'i* cultivation as compared to the Nāpali coast.

Puna's most dominant feature is its broad and relatively flat landscapes. This is particularly true of Wailua and Kapa'a which made these areas especially rich in food and hence the seat of power for many generations of Kaua'i chiefs. The Wailua River that flows through Puna is the only navigable river in the island chain, attesting to the abundant water resources that were a part of this rich land. The district of Lihu'e in Puna also housed many acres of terraced *lo'i*. Its notable features include "the most important fishing localities on Kauai" along its coast, especially at Niumalu (Handy and Handy 1991:427). Inland the slow and calm flow of the Hule'ia River allowed early settlers to build the fishpond Alakoko by cutting off one of the large bends in its course. Its stone-faced, dirt wall extended for over 900 yards making it one of the largest fishponds in the islands (Bennett in Handy and Handy 1991:426).

The Kona region comprises the leeward side of Kaua'i, which includes the major districts of Kōloa and Waimea. Kōloa is a drier environment with open lands dissected by occasional gulches and a major valley, Hanapēpē. Prior to modern diversions of water, even some of the areas in this leeward environment that received little rain were fed by streams originating at Wai'ale'ale. From these water sources, taro was nourished in terraced *lo'i* in a few localities (Handy and Handy 1991:428). The most prominent and once the most populous district in Kōloa was Hanapēpē. "It is a magnificent steep-walled valley winding far into the uplands" with "flatlands along the large streams offer[ing] ideal locations for wet taro for six miles

or more inland” (Handy and Handy 1991:429). As in other areas, even the steeper slopes at the backs of valleys were terraced and planted in taro. On the leveled lands near the shores of Hanapēpē, Hawaiians created earthen salt ponds where they produced high quality sea salt in large volumes. Also located in Kōloa was an unusual natural pond called Nomilu formed in the middle of an extinct cinder cone which Hawaiians slightly modified to use as a brackish fishpond.

In the neighboring and largest district of Waimea is one of Kauaʻi’s most striking natural features, Waimea Canyon. The same geological event that led to its creation also determined its primary drainage pattern and the topography of much of its lands. In the distant geological history of Kauaʻi, “a series of downthrusts occurred” in the Waimea region along a fault line “creating a depression parallel to the west coast” of the island (Carlquist 1980:58). As a result, the drainage pattern that once radiated down the regions’ gently sloping landscape, and which created the beginnings of valleys, was instead now diverted into this depression. Many millennia later, the tremendous amount of water channeled in this area created the Waimea Canyon and left other portions of the region relatively little worn by waterflow. “All the flatlands on both the east and west sides of the [Waimea] river” were “covered with ... terraces” (Handy and Handy 1991:432). This fertile area supported the largest population in the leeward side of Kauaʻi. Farther west in the Waimea region beyond Waimea proper, the landscape becomes considerably drier and reflects typical leeward conditions, including the lack of perennial streams. There typical dryland agriculture was practiced.

Summary and Significance

Variations in the topography, rainfall, soils, and shoreline environments throughout the Hawaiian Islands provide diverse natural conditions both within and among the different islands which create many unexpected and unique natural contexts (e.g., a freshwater spring and streams in Wai'anae or the rainfall averages in Kona, Hawai'i which reach their height in the summer). At the same time, the diversity of the islands can be generalized and summarized along several dimensions significant to the development of Hawaiian society.

The most obvious contrast is the windward-leeward dichotomy of the islands. This pattern generally made both dryland and pondfield agricultural efforts easier, more productive, and more predictable on the well-watered windward sides as compared to the leeward sides. Also clear is the opposite pattern of a greater abundance and easier accessibility of fishing grounds along the leeward coasts of the islands. In terms of the environmental risks on the two sides of the island, the leeward sides were of course prone to drought while the windward sides were subject to flooding and heavy storms.

Environmental patterns in the islands can be seen as well along the north-to-south dimension of the archipelago. Overall, the ability of Hawaiians to transform landscapes into pondfield agricultural settings falls along a cline that corresponds with the ages of the islands. The erosion of the islands through time affected the extent of leveled areas available for agriculture as well as the drainage and soil development in those areas. The northern, older islands provided the most conducive environments for *lo'i* development (especially the islands of Kaua'i, O'ahu, Moloka'i and the west side of Maui) while this is less so the case for the youngest

southern islands (east Maui and Hawai'i Island) (Kirch 1990a:Figure 5, 1994:253, Figure 101). This same pattern describes the ability of Hawaiians to transform shoreline environments into fishponds whereby the reef development and the leveled seashore areas along the older islands provided more favorable settings for Hawaiians to apply this technology.⁵

On the other hand a third general cline of land mass and variety of environments existing at different altitudes can be seen along the opposite direction of the island chain. The youngest southern islands are larger and include wide expanses of forested areas in their higher elevations. Such inland old-growth forests were essential for supplying wood for canoes and for providing hardwood for building materials and tools, including weapons.

Across the islands these general patterns in environmental opportunities and constraints played a major role in influencing the development of Hawaiian polities.

⁵ Kikuchi's (1973:Table 1) archaeological and ethnohistoric survey of fishponds indicated that there was one fishpond known for Ni'ihau, 65 for Kaua'i, 184 for O'ahu, 73 for Moloka'i, 4 for Lāna'i, 35 for Maui, and 87 for Hawai'i Island.

Chapter 4 The Cultural Context

Introduction

Arriving in these islands from the archipelagos of Polynesia, the first inhabitants of Hawai'i were little different than their family members whom they had just left in their homelands. They brought with them a Polynesian cultural template of beliefs, transported with them key Polynesian cultigens, and carried among them the knowledge to reproduce a Polynesian material culture. Continued two-way voyaging helped to sustain the shared Polynesian cultural context of the Hawaiian Islands. But by the time the two-way voyaging ceased and certainly later after generations of isolation from the rest of Polynesia, Hawaiian society was significantly changed. Under the influence of the environmental context of the Hawaiian archipelago and the specific traits of the founding population who settled in the Islands, the society's members developed cultural beliefs and practices that differentiated them from the rest of Polynesia. Yet throughout the many generations during which change occurred, Hawaiians still maintained older cultural beliefs and practices which indelibly marked the society as Polynesian.

Proposed Ancestral Hawaiian Template

Ancestral Polynesian culture, and hence Hawaiian culture, can be traced to what has been called the Lapita Cultural Complex. Individuals of this cultural

tradition settled in Western Polynesia from about 3500-3000 years ago and by about 500 BC developed a culture that can be distinctively identified as Polynesian (Kirch and Hunt 1979:22; Kirch and Green 1987:438).

Those who first settled Hawai'i likely arrived from somewhere in Central East Polynesia including the Marquesas, Society, and Cook Islands (Kirch 1986). Their initial settlement of Hawai'i probably occurred in the first half of the first millennia (Kirch 1986:68; Hunt and Holsen 1991:158; Dye and Komori 1992:123; Graves and Addison 1995:394-395).⁶ Repeated two-way voyaging continued for generations between Hawai'i and other archipelagos in Polynesia but diminished through time (Kamakau 1991; Fornander 1996⁷). Throughout this earliest period, the ancestral Polynesian cultural template became firmly established in the Hawaiian Islands.

Polynesian Worldview and the Socio-Political Organization of the Society.

Central to Polynesian culture is the close relationship among the supernatural world of the gods, the natural order, and the lives of people. In Polynesian thought the ideal state of these forces is seen in the concept of *lōkahi* or the unity, balance,

⁶ Hunt and Holsen (1991:158) argue that "78 early dates from seven islands might be suggestive of a human presence as early as the first century A.D." However, based on a highly conservative use of radiocarbon dates, Spriggs and Anderson (1993:208) suggest that Hawai'i was initially settled "probably after AD 600." Similarly, Athens (1997:266-267) argues based on paleoenvironmental changes, and the presence of microscopic particulate charcoal in coring samples, that Hawai'i was settled no earlier than "the late A.D. 600s or 700s." Graves and Addison's (1995) analysis indicates that the patterns which other researchers have used to suggest a later initial settlement of Hawai'i likely marks a period that might be described as the "establishment" phase that followed significantly after initial discovery of the Islands. The larger population characteristic of the establishment phase would have left the kind of archaeological signature noted by researchers advocating for a later settlement of Hawai'i. Graves and Addison (1995:395) note that the colonization of Hawai'i likely occurred "during the interval AD 200-600."

⁷ See Cachola-Abad (1993) for a systematic discussion and summary of Hawaiian oral traditions related to voyaging.

harmony, and reciprocal relationship of the interconnected spiritual, natural, and human dimensions.

All people in Polynesian society take individual and collective responsibility for achieving this state of *lōkahi*. However, it is the *ali'i* who hold greatest responsibility in this regard. The notion that special individuals within society are born into positions of power, privilege, and greater responsibility is a core truth in all Polynesian cultures. Indeed “the Polynesian idea of a ruling elite is... the expression of a cultural conviction about the whole social order” and not “a political invention” (Goldman 1970:4). It is central to the Polynesians’ worldview.

This belief is inextricably linked to the Polynesian understanding of *mana*, the power that emanates from the spiritual realm and imbues all things animate and inanimate. From the human perspective it is power that is physically felt, intellectually realized, and intuitively sensed. Those most closely connected to the gods and the spiritual realm possess a greater degree of *mana* and hence the authoritative position of being *ali'i*.

In Hawaiian (and Polynesian) cosmogonic genealogies all people are genealogically connected to the gods (Malo 1996:173), the ultimate source of *mana*, but it is only the *ali'i* who can both specifically recount that connection and whose genealogical link to the gods involves greater seniority above those who are commoners (or *maka'āinana* in Hawaiian). Seniority not only differentiated large groups from one another but formed the basis for gradations of rank and responsibility among *ali'i* and even among *maka'āinana* family members (e.g., see Buck’s discussions of the native cultures of Aotearoa, Mangaia, Mangareva, Tongareva, and Manahiki and Rakahanga [1949:337-338, 1934:109-110,

1938a:142-145, 1932b:43-46; 1932a:28-29]; Bott and Tavi 1982:57-58; Handy 1923:76-80; Métraux 1940:133; see also further discussion of rank determination in Hawai'i discussed in Chapter 5). This ancient notion of a chiefly society seems to have been embedded in the very origins of the Polynesian worldview (Henry 1928:229-230; Buck 1932a, 1932b; 1934, 1938a, 1949; Handy 1923; Métraux 1940; Kirch 1984; Green 1986; Goldman 1970).

The close relationship between the gods and the *ali'i* made these individuals and the places and things associated with them *kapu*. That which is *kapu* is so potent with *mana* that it cannot come into contact with other people or things without the *mana* being transferred and the one exposed being immediately harmed by that exposure or punished for the infraction. "Sanctity of the chiefly person and, by extension, of his possessions and surroundings was respected in all Polynesian societies" (Goldman 1970:519; e.g., see also Henry 1928:229; Buck 1949:346-349, 1934:113, 1938a:144-145; Métraux 1940:131). Any sanctioned interaction of a *kapu* item or individual with the world that is *noa* (spiritually free from restriction) was tempered either by physical distance or ritual mediation.

These Polynesian truths were the basis of the social, political, and economic relationships of individuals in the society. *Ali'i* in all Polynesian societies were the central figures in activities intended to create or maintain positive states of and interrelationships among the populace, the natural environment, and the gods. Thus *ali'i* managed the distribution and use of land and other resources. The *ali'i* also played leading roles in the religious life of a community and the *ali'i* exercised authority to determine rules for a given set of people (the size of this group and the

extent of administrative authority that the individual held varied from island group to island group).

The inherent greater intensity of *mana* that *ali'i* possessed was similarly evident in other skilled persons of the society. Through the actions of masters in different fields who regularly displayed their expertise and *mana* in their work, a third, achievement based class developed in ancestral Polynesian societies. These experts or *kāhuna* (*tohunga* in many other Polynesian languages) were valued individuals who “received social recognition and rewards in Polynesian society” (Buck 1938a:149). The number of specialists within the various Polynesian societies differed dramatically at the time of Western contact, but all islands shared the notion involving conferring a title to specialists in the society (Henry 1928:153-154; Buck 1932b:50, 1934:131, 1949:338, 1938a:149-150; Handy 1923:36; Métraux 1940:136-137; Goldman 1970:491).

At the foundation of Polynesian society were the mass of commoners or *maka'āinana*. They formed a more egalitarian body that lived primarily in extended family units. Within these families, Polynesian notions of rank once more determined positions of authority with senior members of families exercising more authority and having more responsibility within their families (e.g., as Pūku'i and Elbert [1972:47] describe for Ka'ū, Hawai'i Island families).

Ancestral Hawaiian Religion. As the leaders within the society, one of the most important roles an *ali'i* served was in their intermediary position between the populace and the gods. In Hawaiian thought, the gods' earthly representatives were their true descendants, the *ali'i*. As such, the *ali'i* served in this intermediary role.

They would pray for the well being of their people and their lands and for a continued close relationship to the gods.

The *akua* (gods) were ever present either in spirit forms and/or in the body forms they took in nature or were provided for in the form of specially-selected rocks or created sculptures designed for their temporary embodiment. *Akua* and worshipped *'aumākua* (ancestral spirits and deities) encompassed an endless array of spiritual forces. A sample of gods known throughout Polynesia include Kū (associated with male activities), Kāne (associated with procreation), Lono (associated with agricultural fertility), Kanaloa (associated with the deep sea), Haumea (associated with childbirth), and Hina (associated with tapa beating and the moon).⁸ In each Polynesian culture a myriad of other specialized gods were seen as having exceptional influence over different activities, environmental settings, elements in nature, genealogical lineages, species of marine, plant, and animal life, as well as times of the year, lunar month, and day.

The influence of the *akua* in these arenas led Polynesians to seek their inspiration and support as they engaged in various activities. Central to Polynesian religion was the desire of worshipers to effect a transfer of *mana* from the various *akua* to an individual, place, activity, or idea of focus. *Mana* originated with the *akua* and *'aumākua* who could then direct that *mana* toward that with which worshipers requested aid. Worship formally occurred at designated areas intended to facilitate a connection between the deity and the worshipper. Reflective of the concept of *lōkahi*, places of worship were situated in natural environmental settings most in

keeping with the nature and realms of the deities involved. At the level of *ali'i*, structures erected for their worship were most times monumental (after Trigger 1990). The sizes of such structures often reflected the rank and geographic range of control of an *ali'i* (Kirch 1990b), and from an indigenous perspective, also perhaps indicated the level of *mana* that was expected to be transferred at that location to and from the gods.

Sacrifices were offered at these focal places of worship in recognition of the reciprocal nature of the relationship between *akua* and *Kānaka* (people).⁹ If the gods were expected to assist the land and the people, it was appropriate that the people provide the *ali'i* with offerings that could be presented to the gods on their behalf. Such ceremonies were directed toward the well being of large areas and whole populations. More personal and informal worship took place within families, work groups, and during the daily activities of individuals at designated places or as transpired spontaneously.

The Ancestral Hawaiian Economy. While the *ali'i* in Hawai'i managed society on behalf of their ancestor gods, the commoners were the laborers of society who produced most of what the society needed materially.¹⁰ *Maka'āinana* grew

⁸ These gods naturally took on unique characteristics within different Polynesian island groups as each evolved through time. The overview provided here is intended more to acknowledge the pan-Polynesian presence of these gods and not intended to describe the nature of each.

⁹ The choice, frequency, and quantity of sacrificial items likely changed through time. Evidence for this is seen in Kolb's (1994:529-530, 533, Figure 7, 1999:96, 102, Table 6.3) excavations of Maui *heiau* which revealed an initially greater prominence of bird and fish over pig and dog at *heiau* features dated to an earlier period while there was a marked increase through time in the quantity of medium-sized mammal bone, particularly pig, associated with later dated *heiau* features.

¹⁰ *Ali'i*, even at the highest levels, were known in instances to join in with the manual labor in efforts usually thought to be the work of *maka'āinana* (specific examples of which are illustrated in Part IV). Such *ali'i* behavior was recorded by Protestant missionary Charles Stewart (1970:139) who in the early 1820s observed the following: "It is customary for the male chiefs to superintend,

staple Polynesian crops brought to each new archipelago that was settled. They produced taro in *lo'i* where water was abundant and in dryland settings where the soil and rainfall allowed for such farming. In drier leeward areas sweet potato and yams were the dominant starches, along with the usual bi-annual crop of breadfruit grown in plantations. Other Polynesian-introduced plants were planted in zones best suited for their cultivation.

These cultigens provided for many of the daily needs and enjoyment of the society. Some of these include the following: coconut (for food, drinking water, cordage, baskets, musical instruments, as well as wood and shell utensils); pandanus (for floor mats, baskets, pillows, and sandals); gourds (for water containers, musical instruments, and medical tools); paper mulberry (for clothing and blankets); bamboo (for knives, water containers, musical instruments, decorative stamps, and tattoo implements), ti (for wrapping items to be cooked, sandals, rain capes, and ritual uses); hibiscus (for cordage, fire plows, canoe parts, disposable plates), etc. Other native species provided for such further needs as house thatching material and wood for canoes and houses. *Maka'āinana* and healing specialists also used a plethora of land and ocean resources (primarily plant varieties) for healing ailments which over the millennia developed into a sophisticated pharmacopoeia in numerous Polynesia island groups.

From the ocean, *maka'āinana* harvested such marine resources as seaweed, shellfish, sea urchins, squid, turtle, and a wide variety of reef and deep sea fish. To

in a degree, any work in which their own vassals, at the place where they are residing, are engaged, whether of agriculture or manufacture...and the female chiefs, also, overlook their women in their appropriate occupations, and not unfrequently assist them with their own hands."

acquire such resources, Polynesians developed a wide assortment of fishing implements including lures, spears, nets, traps, and fishhooks in various sizes and shapes suited for different fishing conditions and the behaviors of species sought.

Maka'āinana groups would typically pool their material and human resources along extended family lines to provide for their collective needs. No marketplaces developed in Polynesian societies. Exchanges among people involved regular acts of reciprocity between givers and recipients that in time ideally averaged out among the parties. Such exchange occurred between people who were regularly interacting, especially family members. Simple barter was likely practiced between individuals with few or no ties to one another who sought specialized products of certain areas made from the resources of those areas (e.g., adze making blanks, pearl-shell, or *olonā* cordage).

Maka'āinana generally provided for the material needs of the *ali'i*, especially for those of the highest ranks. The *ali'i* would consume some of the goods in exchange for the organization and management they provided. In most cases *ali'i* also redistributed part of the surplus back to lesser *ali'i* whom they supported as well as to *maka'āinana* (see the later more detailed discussion relating to the Makahiki in this chapter).

Hawaiian Society on the Eve of Western Contact

The Hawaiian Islands provided a rich environmental setting for the indigenous Polynesian settlers who brought with them their cultural template for chiefly societies. On the eve of Western contact with Hawai'i, the society evolved into something remarkably different from the ancestral culture in the way the society was

organized, what the society produced, how the society produced and distributed its resources, and how the society used its leisure time.

Political Structure of Hawaiian Society. As with the ancestral Polynesian culture, Hawaiian society maintained the basic distinction between the hereditary *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* classes as described above. However, evolving out of this was the hereditary position of the *kauā*, the untouchable class of outcasts. A fourth group of the *kāhuna* ("*kahuna*" for the singular and "*kāhuna*" for the plural) or masters and specialists in various fields was greatly elaborated in Hawai'i from its ancestral roots. Similarly the class of *ali'i* in Hawaiian society evolved as well from its original form to become the most elaborate administrative system within Polynesia (Goldman 1970:493). Thus Hawaiian society expanded the spectrum of rank at both ends and in the middle. At the highest end were the gods incarnate, the *ali'i*, at the lowest end were untouchable outcasts.

Kauā (or the variant spelling "*kauwā*") were "people who were born of *kauwā*" (Malo 1996:183). Their origin indeed remains unclear. They were often tattooed on their foreheads to announce to all their true rank in society (Malo 1996:185). "Rulers, chiefs, and people despised the *kauwa*; it was not proper to eat with them, or welcome them into the house, or sleep near them," and absolutely avoided was any marital relationship with them (Kamakau 1964:8; Kepelino 1932:142-143). They were "compelled to live in a barren locality apart from" the rest of the population (Handy and Pūku'i 1972:202; see also Kepelino 1932:144-145) and were called "*kānaka no ka nāhelehele mai* [*people from the bush*] and *po'e no lalo lilo loa* [*people from the furthest depths below*]" (Malo 1996:185). *Kauā* were governed by

a “hereditary master” or *haku kanu* and were not integrated into the rest of society in any way (Kamakau 1964:9; see also Kepelino 1932:144-145).

Although captive and kept apart from society, *kauā* were not slaves (in terms of the common notion of a slave being one who toils under command of a captor). The mistaken notion of *kauā* being slaves (as conceived in Western terms as captive individuals who labor for a master) derives from the application of the term *kauā* in the translation of the Bible (Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, personal communication 2000). Such a view has been perpetuated by those who have not carefully reviewed such sources as Malo (1996:39-40, 183-184), Kamakau (1964:8), and Handy and Pūku‘i (1972:205).¹¹ These sources describe that lesser *ali‘i*, or anyone in a subordinate position, would refer to themselves as “*kauā*” to show their humility with regard to those who were in superior positions to them.¹² Such individuals, who for instance attended to the needs of higher ranking *ali‘i*, were not “*kauā* ‘i‘o maoli” or “true *kauwā*,” as Malo (1996:40, 184) distinguished. An example of such a servant to a high chief was Pāka‘a. He was the son Kū a Nu‘uanu who was Keawenui a ‘Umi’s “*kahu iwikuamo‘o*” (“near and trusted relative of a chief who attended to his personal needs and possessions, and executed private orders; family” [Pūku‘i and Elbert

¹¹ Daggett (in Kalākaua 1990:52) refers to “*kaua-maoli*” as “slaves” who were “either captured in war or born of slave parents.” No doubt he meant the term “slave” as it relates to the loss of one’s personal prerogatives. However, his informant, Kalākaua, certainly did not intend “slave” to encompass the meaning involving one who toiled for one’s captor as such is not the use in any other authoritative Hawaiian source (as described above).

¹² Another possibility is that these individuals referred to themselves as “*kauā*” to affirm that they would do anything for their *ali‘i*, including serving as a sacrifice for their *ali‘i* (a purpose that true *kauā* served) (Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, personal communication 2000). An examples of this discovered during this research involves a chiefly family by the names of ‘*īkauā*. This name was said to have been applied to this family after one of their ancestors stood in place of ‘*Imakakōloa* to be sacrificed by Kalani‘ōpu‘u in his stead at the *heiau* of Pākini in Ka‘ū (Pūku‘i et al. in Kamakau 1992:109f).

1986:105]). Pāka‘a assumed Kū a Nu‘uanu’s position after his father’s death and served in other high administrative offices within Keawenui’s court (Nakuina 1902:1, 30). Although Pāka‘a held the “highest office in the king’s household,” and was a dutiful and close relative to Keawenui, he was referred to metaphorically as a “kauwa” (Fomander 1999:V:72-73). True *kauā* “were not selected to serve the chiefs” (Kapelino 1932:144). Actual *kauā* would have been strictly forbidden from even indirect contact with *ali‘i*.¹³

Another common belief about *kauā* is that they regularly served as human sacrifices. In reality, if a human sacrifice was needed for ceremonies in the *heiau luakini* (a place of worship involving the highest levels of chiefs, prayers for the well being of the entire nation, and human sacrifices), a lawbreaker was used. Kamakau (1976:134), ‘Ī‘ī (1983:35), Malo (1996:245, 250), and Kelou Kamakau (1999:10, 11) document the Hawaiian norm of using lawbreakers rather than *kauā* as human sacrifices. “When there was no law-breaker or war victim to offer as human sacrifice in the *heiau*, the *kahuna* went near the boundary of the *kauwā* land and selected a man” (Handy and Pūku‘i 1972:204). *Kauā* were seemingly used only when there were no lawbreakers.

While such aspects as hereditary birth classes in Hawaiian society were fixed, there were opportunities for all (less the *kauā*) to improve their position.¹⁴

¹³ Those who have not carefully reviewed the literature on *kauā* described here have formed and perpetuated a mistaken notion that these individuals were “slaves” (e.g., Bellwood 1987:97). Valeri (1985:164), in similarly inaccurate fashion, conflates the two meanings of metaphorical and literal *kauā* to propose that “*kauwā* can have access to [the *ali‘i*’s] houses, which commoners may not enter.”

¹⁴ Of course an *ali‘i* could also degrade his or her status through inappropriate behavior. This issue is discussed in Chapter 5.

Both *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* could become specialists in activities appropriate to their standing. Through time, hard work, and a proven record of exemplary performance, trained apprentices could achieve master or *kahuna* status in that area of endeavor by ultimately being recognized as such by those who trained them. For *ali'i* their areas of focus might involve conducting ceremonies and prayers for national religious affairs or maintaining a mental and verbal account of the complex and extensive genealogical records of the chiefs of the islands.¹⁵ For a *maka'āinana* this might involve farming, fishing, medicinal healing, or manufacturing various items (canoes, *kapa* [bark cloth], houses, adzes, baskets, cordage, etc.).

Kāhuna received foodstuffs, labor, or manufactured goods as compensation for their services. In some cases the compensation was formal *uku* (payment or compensation) and in other cases was provided to *kāhuna* as *ho'okupu* (offerings given in thanks to encourage the growth of a relationship).

Such labor specialization and intra-class sub-stratification was most evident among the ranks of *ali'i*. The Hawaiian political network evolved to include at least four levels of administrators who governed large hierarchically integrated geographic areas. *Ali'i nui* were paramount chiefs who ruled over an island, a large part of an island, an island and a part of another, or multiple islands. Regardless of the extent of an *ali'i nui's* *'āina* (land), he or she relied upon the assistance of *ali'i 'ai moku* or regional chiefs who governed over *moku 'āina* or *moku oloko* (Kamakau 1976:7; Malo 1996:151).

¹⁵ Kame'eleihiwa (1992b:47) describes another dual path for *ali'i* to increase their *mana*: one path via warfare and the acquisition of *mana* through Kū and a second via dance, poetry, and skillful mating (i.e., fertility) and the acquisition of *mana* through Lono.

Moku (short for *moku 'āina* or *moku oloko*) were large districts such as Puna on Hawai'i, Hāmākualoa on Maui, or 'Ewa on O'ahu. The *ali'i 'ai moku* likewise managed their *moku*, and did so in some cases, with the aid of a handful of their most trusted lower-ranking *ali'i* who in all likelihood managed portions of the *moku* called '*okana*'¹⁶ (Kamakau 1976:7; Malo 1996:151; Kalākaua 1990:51). Each '*okana*' was divided in pie-shaped sections called *ahupua'a* over which lesser chiefs called *konohiki* or *ali'i 'ai ahupua'a*¹⁷ were responsible. The boundaries of an *ahupua'a* generally conformed to the contours of the land or in some cases followed chiefly designated boundary markers. The natural or assigned boundaries of the *ahupua'a* most often delineated nearly self-sufficient units including a portion of each of an island's ecological zones from the mountains through the shoreline fishing areas (with the open ocean [moana] falling under no particular jurisdiction). Malo (1996:151) describes these ecological regions which ideally form circular zones at different elevations around a mountain or mountain chain: 1) *kuahiwi* or "the highest point in the center of the island" or the *kualono* which refers to such peaks "when

¹⁶ Malo (1996:151) and Kamakau (1976:7) describe this intermediate land division between the *moku* and the *ahupua'a*. Kepelino (1932:149) describes in parallel fashion "*na 'lii okana*" (*ali'i* of the '*okana*') as being higher than the *konohiki* but lower than the high chiefs who were below the *ali'i nui*. That the land area of an '*okana*' (and the paired *ali'i* who managed the '*okana*') existed by the end of the pre-contact period strongly suggests that along with it emerged another level of chiefs to manage matters at that scale. That a specific term for such chiefs is not known does not rule out the possibility that such chiefs existed. The probable shorter duration of the designation of an '*okana*' and the *ali'i* associated with it may explain the lack of a specific term to refer to such an *ali'i*. Another reason that the terms for the district and its chiefs are not widely known is that '*okana*', and the *ali'i* associated with them, might only be appropriate for *moku* which came to be composed of too many *ahupua'a* for one person to manage, while this might not have been the case for those *moku* with a lesser number of *ahupua'a*.

¹⁷ Although this term *ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* is not widely used and in fact is not noted by Pūku'i and Elbert (1986), it is occasionally encountered in texts. An example of this is in the *mo'olelo* of Kūalī'i when Hāloalena, the *ali'i nui* of Lāna'i, issues a proclamation to all of his district chiefs. In doing so he refers to both *ali'i 'ai moku* and *ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* (Formander 1999:IV:423; see also Mitchell 1982:253).

they stand in a row,” 2) *kuamauna*, or the area directly below the *kuahiwi*, 3) *kua hea* where trees are sparse, 4) *waonahale*, “where the trees grow prolifically seaward of the *kua hea*, 5) *wao maukele* seaward of the *waonahale* “where the tall trees grow,” 6) *wao akua* “where the vegetation is small with new growth” below the *wao maukele*, 7) *wao kanaka* where ‘*ama’uma’u* ferns grow, 8-11) ‘*apa’a*, ‘*ilima*, *pahe’e*, and *kula* areas “where people farm,” and 12) *kahakai*, the area closest to the sea.

Konohiki (lower ranking *ali’i* who acted as land stewards) managed *ahupua’a*, which ideally contained each of the island’s ecological zones.¹⁸ *Konohiki* worked most closely with the *maka’āinana* who lived in ‘*ohana* or extended family units. ‘*Ohana* were assigned divisions of the *ahupua’a* called ‘*ili āina*, or smaller sections of the ‘*ili āina* called *mo’o āina*, or perhaps still smaller sections of the *mo’o āina* called *paukū āina* (Kamakau 1976:7-8; Malo 1996:151). These lands became ancestral areas to which ‘*ohana* remained connected for untold generations even as the influence of the rulers above them shifted through time. That the *iwi* (bones) of their ‘*ohana* members were buried within those lands made these areas the *kulāiwi* (native land or homeland) of the ‘*ohana*. “Each family clearly understood what was ‘their’ land and ‘their’ birthplace—their ‘*aina pa’a*, and their *one hanau*—and the chiefs knew what lands they had given to this and that person, and the obligations that went with each portion of the land” (Kamakau 1976:8). Primary among such responsibilities was that an ‘*ohana* care for the ‘*āina* that was allotted for their use.

¹⁸ Resources such as basalt appropriate for adze manufacture or trees of appropriate size for canoe manufacture were not always present within a given *ahupua’a* and hence these resources were likely managed at a higher administrative level in such a way as to assure that ‘*ohana* of various *ahupua’a* would have access to such geographically limited resources. Though not documented, it is possible that such resources figured in prominently in the redistribution duties that *ali’i* were known to serve.

“If the land lay neglected” the *’ohana* “was ordered off by the *konohiki*” and thereby they would lose their use of the *’āina*, “a right generally inherited from ancestors through successive generations” (Handy and Handy 1991:59).

Working in conjunction with the *konohiki* to assure that all was well with each *’ohana* were the various *haku* of the different *’ohana*. The *haku* was typically the “elder male of the senior branch of the whole *’ohana*.” Although he “had authority over the individuals and households” he also was known to pay heed to “the old folk” both men and women who also held sway over matters in the *’ohana* (Handy and Pūku’i 1972:6-7). The coordinated leadership of the *haku* and *konohiki* was essential in organizing labor for such *ahupua’a* projects as building, cleaning, and repairing the irrigation network of an *ahupua’a*, clearing trails to the mountains, and building *heiau* (places of worship) or fishponds for the district. The *konohiki* further ensured that the *maka’āinana* fulfilled their obligations to the chiefs including providing regular labor for the *ali’i*’s *kō’ele* (cultivated fields). *Konohiki* also gathered the requisite number of people together to represent the *ahupua’a* for *moku* or island-wide efforts such as warfare or building *heiau* for national worship at the highest levels.

In addition to the hierarchy of *ali’i* who managed the lands and people, there were high-level *ali’i* administrators who held specific titles and responsibilities. The *kālainmoku* was the *ali’i nui*’s chief counselor whose job “was to protect the *ali’i*,” “to protect the *maka’āinana*,” and to guide the *ali’i* in “balancing (*ho’oponopono*) these two concerns” (Malo 1996:261). He was the *ali’i nui*’s primary advisor in matters of politics, war, and land management. The *ali’i nui* also had in their court *kuhikuhi pu’uone* or land experts “who understood the nature of the land, the things that grew

on it, the character of the soil,... the presence or absence of water, and so forth” (Kepelino 1932:134). Another set of courtly professionals were the *ali'i nui's* *kū'auhau* (genealogist) and *po'e mo'olelo* (historian) who memorized valued traditions (Kamakau 1991:80; Malo 1996:261; Kepelino 1932:134-135). The *ali'i nui* also had chief officers and battle leaders who “did what ever the *ali'i nui* wanted done” (Malo 1996:261). Lower ranking *ali'i* also served in various attendant roles to their genealogically close and higher ranking family members (as described in Chapter 5 in more detail). *Ali'i* further served as officers within the professional and nearly full-time military forces that came to be in the generations before Western contact.

In addition to *ali'i* secular roles, there were positions for *ali'i* who specialized in worshipping the various national-level *akua* and communicating with these *akua* regarding the well being of the nation. Hence these priests were an integral part of the class of *ali'i* (Kepelino 1932:140-141). The highest of such individuals was the *kahuna nui* or chief religious advisor to the *ali'i nui*. Below him was the *kāhuna pule* (the priesthood) who served in supporting positions. Probably attached in some way to the *kāhuna pule*, or holding overlapping roles in this body, were *ali'i* craft specialists who created items for the highest sacred purposes. Among these skilled *ali'i* were the carvers who sculpted *ki'i* (images) for the *heiau* (Cox and Davenport 1988:5), weavers who made the sacred burial *kā'ai* (basketry caskets woven from braided sennit cordage into an anthropomorphic form) for the highest *ali'i* (Malo 1996:207), and featherworkers who created feather images and sacred regalia for the *ali'i*.

As the above illustrates, within the ascribed ranks of *ali'i* circles, there were many different categories in which an *ali'i* could be placed. One dimension of *ali'i* status involved a general area of specialty. A second dimension fell along the lines of a rank within that area. Whether an *ali'i* was involved in leading military campaigns, religious worship, land management, or attending to the needs of the most sacred chiefs, there were lower level and higher level *ali'i* involved in each arena. Many of these roles were achieved within a lifetime (e.g., becoming a commander-in-chief of the military or being selected as the *iwi kuamo'o* or personal attendant to the *ali'i nui*). However, one's ability to be trained on a track to achieve such roles depended on a most important third dimension of one's status, one's ascribed sacred rank upon birth.¹⁹

Kamakau (1964:4-6) describes 11 such ascribed *ali'i* rankings. The four highest sacred rankings of chiefs were, in order, *pi'o*, *nī'aupi'o*, *naha*, and *wohi* (Kamakau 1964:4-5). Differences between individuals who held such stations resulted from two primary factors, the ranks of their parents and the genealogical distance or closeness of their parents. The higher the rank and the closer the genealogical connection of the parents, the higher would be the rank of the offspring, with full brother-sister marriage of *ali'i* who were *nī'aupi'o* elevating the status of their

¹⁹ Such fundamental differences between *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* gave *ali'i* an aura and presence that was uniquely theirs and which they did not share with their genealogical lower-ranking cousins, the mass of the *maka'āinana*. Evidence of this comes from the journal of Protestant missionary Charles Stewart who was struck by the intrinsic traits which differentiated *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* in Hawai'i:

The chiefs, male or female, are at once known, not only by their size, but by their walk, general air, and manners. In these respects there is [a] marked... difference between them and the [*maka'āinana*]... A consciousness of natural superiority, and the pride of adventitious distinction, imbibed and nourished from their earliest childhood, give them an ease of action, and an unaffected dignity of deportment, that would distinguish them as persons of rank, in whatever company they might appear (Stewart 1970:135).

offspring even above their own to that of *pi'o*.²⁰ Hence among Hawaiian chiefs there were three dimensions of positioning that determined their place in *ali'i* society their ascribed sacred rank upon birth, their area of focus, and their achieved status within that area of focus.

Such complex three-dimensional roles of the *ali'i* class made the administrative functions of this hereditary group the most elaborated in all of Polynesia. "Hawaii was the most fully matured status system, while Tahiti and Mangareva fell behind in lacking a diversified administrative corps. Tonga, with its organization of *matapule*, was closest to the Hawaiian system" although even "the Tongan administrative corps was second... to that of Hawaii" (Goldman 1970:493, 494). This complexity of Hawaiian chiefly society is intricately tied to the economic innovations that occurred in Hawai'i. On one hand the large-scale, hierarchical administration with absolute authority over the populace could not have been supported without the economic changes that fueled the economy. On the other hand such economic changes could not have occurred without large-scale, hierarchical leadership organizing the activities. Indeed it is likely that the increased socio-political complexity of Hawaiian society and its economic innovations developed in concert with one another.

²⁰ Malo (1996:174) calls the marriage of a *nī'auipi'o* full brother and sister a *pi'o* marriage. However, he calls this sacred offspring a *nī'auipi'o* rather than *pi'o*. Significantly, in both Malo's and Kamakau's accounts, they clarify that such an offspring would have a more revered status as compared to the offspring's parents. Kamakau (1964:10) also confirms this by saying that "the kapus of the *nī'auipi'o* and the *naha* were equal, but were lesser than the kapu of the *pi'o* chief." Kamakau (1964:4) perhaps lists the *nī'auipi'o* first ahead of the *pi'o* individuals because he needed to explain the status of a *nī'auipi'o* individual before that of a child born from two such full siblings.

The Hawaiian Economy. The fundamental economic unit at which level most items were acquired and produced was within the *'ohana* of *maka'āinana*. These units were largely self-sufficient with individuals sharing both labor and products to meet collective needs. The classic situation included *'ohana* members who lived inland focusing on agricultural production and *'ohana* members who lived near the coast concentrating on acquiring fish and other marine resources (Handy and Handy 1972; but see Allen and McAnany [1994] who argue that this was a post-contact phenomena in certain districts). Between these groups, members shared freely and provided for each other's needs with complementary surpluses. Similar sharing of their labor resources eased the workload in the more difficult projects like building a new house or making a new canoe. The system of sharing human and material resources within the *'ohana* was efficient. Even during the post-contact era when new stresses would have burdened family members with additional labors, Protestant missionary Charles Stewart (1970:151) noted that "few of either sex devote[d] more than four or five hours of the twenty-four to work."

Pooling of products and labor of the many *'ohana* was organized at higher administrative levels for purposes of larger geographic significance. This collective labor force allowed for the development of such public goods as fishponds and *ahupua'a* irrigation systems from which numerous *'ohana* of *maka'āinana* and *ali'i* alike benefited. The pooling and redistribution of resources was also seen at higher levels of geographic political integration (e.g., across a whole island), a trait that distinguishes Hawaiian society from most others in Polynesia where polities often did not extend beyond a given number of districts within an island. Resources produced by *maka'āinana* of the districts within a polity (usually an island) provided an array of

products to meet the needs of the administration. The return that *maka'āinana* received for their support was the appropriate governance of the polity, including protection from the military encroachment of other polities. One of the major ways that such support from the *maka'āinana* was presented to *ali'i* occurred during the Makahiki, a Hawaiian event perhaps similar to other Polynesian harvest season celebrations but including specific practices that were uniquely Hawaiian.

The annual Makahiki festival honored the god Lono and included such activities as harvesting, feasting, sports competitions, *hula* performances, and religious ceremonies (see Kamakau 1964:19-21; Malo 1996:227-238; K. Kamakau 1999:34-45 for detailed descriptions of the Makahiki). Part of the Makahiki involved the various *konohiki* collecting the wealth of their *ahupua'a* and presenting such surplus to Lono and his earthly *ali'i* representatives. This included foodstuffs, raw materials (e.g., feathers), or manufactured goods. In some respects these items could be considered "*ho'okupu*" (offerings) (Kamakau 1964:20; Malo 1996:229) given of free will in appreciation and honor of the gods and the *ali'i* or, in other circumstances, perhaps under more demanding chiefs, these could be considered as mandatory "*auhau*" (tribute or taxes)²¹ (Malo 1996:74, 229). Evidence that people gave of their free will and with *aloha* (affection and warmth of feeling), regardless of whether the tribute was expected, can be found in at least one account by a Western observer on Kaua'i in 1787. On January 1, 1787 Nathaniel Portlock

²¹ Liliikalā Kame'eiehiwa (personal communication 2000) suggests that *'auhau* were a specific type of *ho'okupu* that were also given of free will but which were specifically set aside for the lineage or *'ohana* of an *ali'i nui* (as may be inferred from the term *mo'okū'auhau* which refers to one's genealogy)

(1968:178) of the *King George* appears to have witnessed such a *ho'okupu* ceremony. He wrote the following of the occasion:

I [went] on shore to see the ceremony, and indeed I could not but admire the order and regularity with which the natives conducted themselves on this occasion: men, women, and even children, paid their contributions with cheerfulness and good-will; some brought hogs, others taro, bread-fruit, and indeed every thing the island produced; all which were placed in separate heaps.

The tribute presented to the *ali'i nui* in the ceremonies on *lā'aukūlua* (a specific day within the Hawaiian lunar calendar) were possibly meant for chiefly or priestly consumption. Malo (1996:229) notes that these offerings were "tribute (*ho'okupu*) to [add to] the *ali'i nui*(s) wealth, such as *kapa* [*bark cloth*], *'apu* [*coconut shell cups*], *malo*(s) [*men's loin cloth*] and everything else." Malo's mention of "everything else" given in tribute might include that which Kamakau (1964:20-21) incorporates in his longer list²² of "*ho'okupu*" which again emphasizes items obviously intended either for the *ali'i* (e.g., ivory, pearls, feathers, "finely designed mats") or for the priests (e.g., *ninikea* and *'oloa* tapa which are both white tapa used for ceremonial purposes [Pūku'i and Elbert 1986:267, 285]).

These chiefly items were distributed to the gods, the *ali'i nui*, the lesser *ali'i*, the *kāhuna pule*, and the *pū'ali* (warriors) (K. Kamakau 1999:38-41; Malo 1996:229). Whether some of these goods were as well distributed to the *maka'āinana* could be debated. Malo (1996:226) describes in some detail how the gods, *ali'i* of various ranks, and priests were distributed their share. He then states parenthetically that

²² Although Kamakau (1964:20-21) mentions that these were items given to Lono rather than to the *ali'i nui*, his generalized account could have resulted in his conflating separate *ho'okupu* presentations (one to the *ali'i nui* and the second to Lono) in a single list. That the gods received part of both, would also explain why Kamakau might have been thinking of both events in this single listing.

“the *maka’āinana* received none” of the tribute. Kelou Kamakau (1999:38-41), however, writes that “the king commanded that the goods be given to the chiefs and chiefesses, and to the guards. And the person who had the superintendency gave the goods away to all the chiefs and to all the people (*nā kānaka a pau loa*).”²³ Similarly Pogue (1858:19) records that after the *ho’okupu* were offered “that which was the gods was separated, then the remainder of the wealth was reserved, and the remainder given to the people.”²⁴ Surely if a district included in its offerings an abundance of products that were not necessarily for *ali’i* use or which were perishable, then these would have been distributed to the *maka’āinana*.

In a later part of the Makahiki ceremonies when *ho’okupu* were offered specifically to Lono, it seems that a majority of the foodstuffs were either eaten in feasts by the travelling entourage and the populace and/or were redistributed back to the populace (‘I’i 1983:76; Kamakau 1964:21, 1992:181; Valeri 1985:209; Earle 1977:225). In such cases the *konohiki* was likely involved in the redistribution and would have made an attempt to have *’ohana* receive items that they did not produce in abundance.

The Makahiki might have as well under the best of administrations served to redistribute goods from one *moku* to another. As the *ali’i nui* and a large entourage traveled around the island during this period, it is possible that the *ali’i nui* could have

²³ Valeri (1985:204), who liberally cites Kelou Kamakau (1999), ignores K. Kamakau’s (1999[1919-1920]:38-41) clear reference of items being distributed back to the populace and instead contends, based only on Malo’s account, that “nothing at all is given to the *maka’āinana*” during this part of the Makahiki ceremonies. Hommon (1986:57-58) exclusively cites Malo as well. Earle (1987:66), without providing a citation, also asserts that nothing was redistributed to *maka’āinana*. Peebles and Kus (1977:425) assert that there is “no hard evidence in which subsistence items flowed to and through the office of the paramount chief.”

²⁴ Translation of Pogue’s Hawaiian text by author.

ordered that the court attendants or others who joined along in the procession bring certain surpluses from one district to another to help balance differential production of goods across an island (which stand in contrast to Earle's [1987] and Brumfiel and Earle's [1987] perspectives). It seems plausible that some goods may not have been kept but instead distributed as the entourage moved about the island since there were many people moving in the circuit who could carry items from one area to the next, since much of the goods were perishable, and since the *cumulative* transport of items would have been extremely burdensome, if the *ali'i* were to keep all the items. Possible examples of these types of items that were not specifically intended for chiefly or priestly consumption might be adzes, cordage, gourd containers, and simple mats or *kapa* pieces.

Regardless of whether the added island-wide distribution of certain goods occurred, the Makahiki still served well-established economic functions. The Makahiki ceremonies which were "new practices" "not observed by *ka po'e kahiko*" (the people of old) (Kamakau 1964:20), provided the evolving Hawaiian society a means for the chiefly, priestly, and military bodies to receive non-perishable goods that they required for their maintenance throughout the year. Such items came from across the island and reflected the diversity of products from the different regions. Surpluses in perishable goods were also enjoyed at the time by these groups and the entire population. This would have at least temporarily balanced differential shortages and surpluses among a larger and more diverse population, an outcome that could not have occurred in the normal interactions of people. The time taken out by the population for relaxation and recreation also ensured that they remained

contented and ready to continue their regular activities with renewed vigor following the Makahiki.

The advent of labor specialization was another essential feature of the Hawaiian economy on the eve of Western contact. While labor specialization was apparent on all islands, its formal institution on the island of Hawai'i is specifically documented in the oral traditions as having occurred under the direction of the *ali'i nui* 'Umi a Liloa who lived eight generations before the time of Western contact. 'Umi a Liloa "selected workers and set them in various positions in the kingdom." He did this with attention to "the work they were best suited for; and each one applied himself to his own task" (Kamakau 1992:19).

Kāhuna trained individuals and directed activities within their areas of specialty. *Kāhuna* were known as well in other Polynesian societies but became a more distinct group from the rest of the society in Hawai'i and Tonga than elsewhere (Goldman 1970:491-495). By the time of contact with the Western world, "the emergence of strong and independent statuses of craftsmen" was a clear feature of Hawaiian society (Goldman 1970:494). Leadership of projects under *kāhuna* direction allowed for increased efficiency and higher-quality results in a wide variety of areas that undoubtedly had a positive impact on the Hawaiian economy.

Three notable technological innovations in the infrastructure of the Hawaiian economy also played pivotal roles in creating the surpluses that supported the *ali'i* administrative networks and necessitated additional administrative levels and specialty areas within those networks. These innovations involved improved irrigation systems that allowed for major expansions of *lo'i* systems, the development

of dryland agricultural complexes, and the increased construction of fishponds throughout the islands.

The improvement of irrigation systems allowed for new areas perhaps previously under dryland cultivation to be transformed into *lo'i*. Hawaiians could produce in an acre of *lo'i* "as much as five times the amount of taro as [in] an acre of dryland cultivation" (Kelly 1989:82). Food surpluses were made possible by these qualitative and quantitative improvements in irrigation technology (Earle 1977, 1978, 1980; Kelly 1989; Allen 1991; Kirch 1994). At its peak, "Hawaiian production achieved an apogee of technological development and intensity within Polynesia, if not the whole of Oceania. Hawaiian taro irrigation systems were certainly the largest and infrastructurally most complex (matched only by the New Caledonian systems)" (Kirch 1994:252). As more sophisticated irrigation systems carried water over longer distances and more difficult terrain, increased areas could be converted from fallow land or dryland agricultural production to *lo'i* production. An example of such development is an *'auwai* (irrigation ditch) in Halele'a on Kaua'i which extended for 3.7 km (Kirch 1984:172). Hawaiian irrigation ditches even included aqueducts, an example of which comes from Waimea, Kaua'i. The dry-laid stone masonry in the upper portions of Waimea Canyon were lined with smaller stones and earth to allow for water transportation. In this ditch "water was carried for about 400 feet around a cliff face" (Handy and Handy 1991:62). Menzies (1920:28-29) likely described this same aqueduct as he passed through Waimea:

We walked to the conflux of these two streams and found that the aqueduct which waters the whole plantation is brought with much art and labor along the bottom of the rocks from this north-west branch, for here we saw it supported in its course through a narrow pass by a piece of masonry raised

from the side of the river, upwards of 20 feet and facing its bank in so neat and artful a manner as would do no discredit to more scientific builders.

Hawaiians on the opposite side of the archipelago in Kohala, Hawai'i carved out the volcanic tuff (a material softer than basalt) of a side wall of Wai'āpuka valley to create a water tunnel 200 feet long which efficiently carried water from Wai'āpuka stream and into an irrigation network that fed extensive pondfields in the area (Handy and Handy 1991:529-30). This water course was so central to life in that area that the *'āina* was renamed after the watercourse ("wai" meaning water, "a" meaning "of or belonging to," and "puka" meaning "hole").²⁵ Another technological leap was seen in North Kohala wherein irrigation systems carried water to the inland *kula* lands above stream-fed valleys to water *lo'i* in these unusual settings (Handy and Handy 1991:529).

Many of the *lo'i* that were created across the islands also housed varieties of fresh water fish such as *'anae* (mullet) or *awa* (milkfish). Their placement in *lo'i* for a fattening period and for later consumption was an innovation in itself. Elsewhere in Polynesia where *lo'i* were common "fishing remained at the level of exploitation of natural populations" in "reefs, lagoons, and open pelagic waters," and fishpond technology was not developed (Kirch 1984:180).

²⁵ Williams (1919) concludes that Wai'āpuka was built using metals tools sometime between 1823 and 1849. Handy and Handy (1991:530) disagree based on the antiquity of the ditch suggested by the district's name and the remembrance in the area that it was built by Menehune. Ellis (1963:277), without mentioning a specific location nor without indicating his having actually seen the site, describes Kamehameha as having had to give up an effort to acquire water by "digging through the rocks." Yet an early missionary to the area, Lorenzo Lyons, specifically commented in 1837, following his travels through Kohala, about what must have been the carved out Wai'āpuka watercourse: "Saw a curious tunnel underground, dug out in the days of Kamehameha" (in Doyle 1945:99).

This simple use of a *loʻi* for both taro and fish was perhaps the first type of fishpond Hawaiians developed. However, through time fishpond innovations became far more sophisticated. Hawaiians developed inland and shoreline walled fishponds (*loko wai*, *loko puʻuone*, and *loko kuapā*) which were fed by fresh water (as with *loko wai*), a combination of fresh stream or spring water and ocean water generating optimal brackish environments for algae and herbivore fish (as with *loko puʻuone* and *loko kuapā*).²⁶

“The Hawaiian walled fishpond stands as a technological achievement unmatched elsewhere in island Oceania” (Kelly 1989:82). Although the concept of aquaculture was used throughout Oceania, “some of the types of fishponds and the sluice grate were unique innovations of the Hawaiians” (Kikuchi 1973:187). Another great contrast between Hawaiian aquaculture and that of other Oceanic islands (with the exception of the Gilbert Islands) is the larger number of fishponds constructed in Hawaiʻi (Kikuchi 1973:206-207). A “striking differences” between Hawaiian and other Oceanic aquaculture is that the “emphasis in Hawaiʻi was placed on fish stocking and raising, rather than on fish trapping, as was the case in the rest of Oceania,” again “with the exception of the Gilbert Islands” (Kikuchi 1973:206).

“The Hawaiian fishpond was primarily a grazing area in which the fishpond keeper cultivated algae for his fish, much in the way a cattle rancher cultivates grass for his cattle” (Kelly 1989:86). Skillfully built broad dry-stacked stone masonry walls, interrupted by one or a few sluice gates, allowed for young fry to enter, for algae to grow in higher quantities due to the calmer and warmer waters, and for fresh and

²⁶ These human built wetland environments attracted birds and increased their habitable environments, and they too could have been used as a food source.

ocean water to percolate through to maintain a balanced environment for the herbivore fish. When the ponds were built along the mouths of streams, as they often were, then water rich in nutrients from inland *lo'i* flowed into the fishpond fertilizing that environment. The fishpond walls kept out carnivorous predators while it penned in the herbivore fish who were initially attracted to the safe and abundant environment but who then grew too large to exit through the sluice gate gratings. Using these ocean pastures for fish, "Hawaiians raised the natural food chain efficiency of protein production by 100 times" over that of a strategy relying on deep sea carnivorous fish (Kelly 1989:82, Figure 5.1).

A third area of Hawaiian economic development involved agricultural intensification on the leeward sides of the islands, particularly on the younger islands of Maui and Hawai'i. One such practice "was characterized by a variety of unirrigated root and tree crops grown...in one or more vegetation zones" matched to their most compatible environment (Kelly 1989:96). An area where such production was most famously recorded was in the *moku* of Kona, Hawai'i. William Ellis (1969:II:91-92), the surgeon for Captain Cook's voyage in 1778, described the inland Kealahou, Kona area as being "covered in every direction with plantations of sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, taro, plantains, and breadfruit trees." A detailed description of the same region comes from Archibald Menzies (1920:75-76), the surgeon and naturalist accompanying Vancouver:

On leaving this station, we soon lost sight of the vessels, and entered their breadfruit plantations, the trees of which were a good distance apart, so as to give room to their boughs to spread out vigorously on all sides...[T]he luxuriance of their crop and foliage, sufficiently show that they thrive equally well on an elevated situation. The space between these trees did not lay idle. It was chiefly planted with sweet potatoes and rows of cloth plant. As we advanced beyond the bread-fruit plantations, the country became more and

more fertile, being in a high state of cultivation. For several miles round us there was not a spot that would admit of it but what was with great labor and industry cleared of the loose stones and planted with esculent roots of some useful vegetable or other. In clearing the ground, the stones are heaped up in ridges between the little fields and planted on each side, either with a row of sugar cane or the sweet root of these islands...

A more specific innovation in leeward agricultural intensification is best recorded in the *kula* landscapes of Kona, Kohala, and Ka'ū²⁷ which were well suited for cultivating 'uala or sweet potato. These field systems "are characterized by extensive reticulate grids of low stone-and-earth embankments...dividing the landscape of undissected, volcanic flow-slopes into narrow rectangular plots which formed permanent cropping units" (Kirch 1990a:333). In between these "stone borders are a wide range of agronomic modifications, such as stone mounds and heaps, windbreaks, planting circles, clearings, simple terraces, and various animal enclosures...as well as both temporary and permanent residential sites" (Kirch 1994:255). Such fields extended for miles and miles across the Kona-Kohala landscape. The North Kohala field system "situated on the leeward facing slopes of the Kohala mountains" "is approximately 19 by 4 km in size" (Ladefoged and Graves in press). Though less well documented than this leeward Hawai'i system, "the building of such fields has been recorded from Nihoa, Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, and Maui... although these were not as extensive in area as those on Hawaii" (Yen 1974:314). Dryland agricultural intensification likely occurred to some degree in a

²⁷ Although extensive dryland field systems are well documented for Kona and Kohala, less has been studied of them in Ka'ū. Newman (1970:Map 12, 177-178) uses descriptions of agricultural practices recorded by missionary William Ellis in 1823 to suggest that both scattered field systems, and the more well recorded type of rectilinear field systems of the Kona and Kohala variety, were found in Ka'ū.

wide array of environments using methods that proved appropriate for the specific conditions of the various districts.

Hawaiian Religion. Just as Hawaiians innovated in the use of the *'āina* they as well elaborated in ways that they related to their *akua* who in fact were the *'āina* and all that was associated with it. These gods were pervasive in the Hawaiian world and Hawaiian thought. Indeed there is no word for religion in the Hawaiian language, for religion was never engaged in apart from another activity. Praying, worshipping, or offering *ho'okupu* were essential aspects of any activity such as building a house, planting gourds, preparing dyes, planning for war, or giving a child a name. This was true in all Polynesian cultures. What differentiated Hawaiian religious practices and beliefs is the degree to which spiritual concerns emerged as central in all activities.

In other parts of Polynesia, specialization in a given area did not necessarily require a master to focus on the religious and spiritual aspects of that endeavor (although they too certainly would pray to and ask for the assistance of their *akua* as well, but perhaps not with the formal inclusion of a *kahuna*). However "the traditional [Polynesian] rule that status demanded a counterpart in sanctity was faithfully followed and was most fully exemplified in the Hawaiian Islands, where every craft and every status had its own cult and its own priests" (Goldman 1970:552). Diverse occupations including specific aspects of Hawaiian politics, religion, medicine, arts, crafts, agricultural practices, fishing endeavors, etc. were organized into orders whose members shared common *akua* (gods), *heiau* (places of worship), *kapu*, and other customary practices (see Kamakau 1964:7-8, 98-113 for some specific

examples). In Hawai'i specialization was not only a technical endeavor but a spiritual one.

The consequence of such practices is evident in the numerous Hawaiian gods that evolved from the religious practices of every area of focus. This "pattern of spiritual specialization ... reached its high point in Hawaii, where a god existed as a counterpart for every form of social specialization" (Goldman 1970:560). As individuals focused their talents in different areas, they called upon new *akua* or relied upon older ones, now with additional areas of focus, to guide, inspire, and strengthen their efforts. . Through time the spiritual practices of "localities, families and courts developed cultural variations of which they were proudly conscious" (Charlot 1983:32).

A stellar example of this is the worship of Kū. What may have originated, for example, as the recognition of an intense male *mana* put forth in the universe by Kū, evolved in Hawai'i²⁸ into the worship of at least 41 distinct, specific Kū deities (Kamakau 1964:58-59; Malo 1996:193-194; Fornander 1999:IV:398).²⁹ For instance, fishermen worshiped Kū'ulakai, farmers worshiped Kūka'ō'ō, those involved in sorcery worshiped Kūwahailo and Kūkoa'e, birdcatchers worshiped Kūhuluhulumanu, and canoe makers worshiped Kūpā'aikē'e (in relation to their work with adzes) as well as Kūpulupulu and Kūalanawao (who were both associated with

²⁸ The elaboration of Kū worship seen in Hawai'i may have been a continuation of practices begun elsewhere in Kahiki but nonetheless proliferated in the Hawaiian natural and cultural context.

²⁹ Kamakau (1964:58-59) lists 29. Malo (1996:193-194) lists 11 additional Kū gods who are not on Kamakau's list (Kū'ula, Kūpepeiaoloa, Kūka'ie'ie, Kūpalalake, Kūhuluhulumanu, Kūmaikaiki, Kūmakanui, Kūmakela, Kūmaka'aka'a, Kūholoholoikaua, and Kūkoa'e). The *mele* for the O'ahu *ali'i nui* Kūali'i notes another, Kūho'opepefauaualani (Fornander 1999:IV:398-399), for a total of 41 Kū deities. A more exhaustive search for Kū deities would no doubt reveal additional ones.

the forested areas of central importance to canoe makers) (Malo 1996:193; Pūku'i and Elbert 1971:390-391; Gutmanis 1983:77). Examples of the geographic and courtly distinctions which evolved in Kū worship include Kūho'one'enu'u, "the god of the chiefs of O'ahu," Kūkeolo'ewa who "was made a god for the chiefs of Maui," and their Hawai'i Island counterpart Kūkā'ilimoku who was a primary god of its island's chiefs from the time of Pā'ao (Kamakau 1991:3, 8). The same generating of *akua* occurred with the other major gods along with the recognition of altogether new spirit forms, thus swelling the ranks of Hawaiian *akua* to an innumerable count. Added to this was the worship of *'aumakua* or deified ancestors.

Linked to the same religious evolution was the development in Hawaiian society of extremely varied *heiau* or places of religious worship (Cachola-Abad 1996). This "endless variety in size, shape, and form" of *heiau* (Stokes 1991:21) is reflective of the fact that Hawaiians worshipped countless deities whose domains encompassed all aspects of Hawaiian life and the *kuleana* (responsibilities and concomitant privileges) of all Hawaiian people. *Heiau* could thus be found in every environment from the highest mountain slopes (e.g., shrines at Haleakalā, Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea [Emory 1970:88-89]), to the deep forests (e.g., Pāpio *heiau* for birdcatchers and canoe makers in Pi'ihonua, Hilo [Thrum 1908a:40]), and to wave swept shorelines (e.g., fishing shrines or even the surfing *heiau* of Ku'emanu [Stokes 1991:70]). *Heiau* could be massive monuments (e.g., Pi'ilanihale in Hāna, Maui) or include no trace of a human built environment at all (Naulili *heiau* at Makaweli, Kaua'i [Thrum 1907a:38]). *Heiau* could include an entire districts' populace in its rituals or might involve a single individual at a personal shrine. *Heiau* could take any number of architectural forms: terraces, platforms, walled enclosures, single upright

stones, earthworks (e.g., Pohākūpā in Kohala, Hawai'i [Stokes 1991:172]), natural features (e.g., the *heiau* at Kapālama, O'ahu that was a naturally shaped outcropping [Sterling and Summers 1978:321; Becket and Singer 1999:28-29]), caves (e.g., a cave on the slopes of Hualalai, Hawai'i Island whose interior was converted into "a place for the worshiping service itself" [Arning n.d.:179]), or completely anomalous "structures" that are more akin to stone sculptures than to architectural buildings (e.g., Nā Imu Kālua Ua at Nā'iwa, Moloka'i [Stokes in Summers 1971:81]). Most importantly, *heiau* could serve a wide range of functions, examples of which are included in Table 4.1. All of these dimensions of variability in Hawaiian *heiau* illustrate the complexity of Hawaiian religious beliefs and practices.

Even so, the intricacies of Hawaiian spiritual beliefs are all rooted in the most fundamental understanding which defines *heiau* and describes all forms of worship. The consistent feature of *heiau* is that they are places of worship where *mana* is concentrated and transferred. *Mana* once more is the central issue in all spiritual matters as it is as well in the uniquely Hawaiian system *kapu*.

Kapu and Kānāwai. The underlying order of Hawaiian society was both defined and maintained by its *kapu*. The core meaning of *kapu* involves that which is at once sacred, restricted, and potent with *mana*.³⁰ If access to something *kapu* is no longer restricted, the potency of its *mana* is diminished as it is exposed to that

³⁰ While this particular definition is not seen directly in any source (but rather offered here by the author), it can be inferred by Kamakau's (1964:9-10) discussion and other references such as Pūku'i and Elbert (1986:132-133).

Table 4.1. (p. 1 of 2)
Examples of Heiau Religious Functions

LABEL	RELIGIOUS FUNCTION	HEIAU NAME	LOCATION	SOURCE
Luakini	To assure success in war	Pu'ukoholā	Kawaihae, Hawaii	Kamakau 1961:150
Luakini	To seek peace and prosperity	Papa'ena'ena	Lae'ahi, O'ahu	'I'i 1983:33, 35
Luakini	Primary heiau of makahiki rituals	Hikiau	Kealekekua, Hawaii	'I'i 1983:75, 115; K. Kamakau 1999:37
Hale o Papa	For high chieftesses to worship	no name given	Kealekekua, Hawaii	Stokes 1991:101
Pu'uhonua	For sanctuary and spiritual renewal	Hekili	Waialua, O'ahu	Thrum 1907b:54
Māpele	To assure abundant crops	Hopuhewa	Hāiawa, Moloka'i	Stokes in Summers 1971:166
Hale o Lono	To assure abundant crops	Hale o Lono	Hāmoa, Maui	Koib 1991:415
Ho'ouluulu 'ai	To assure abundant crops	Kawaloa	Mū'olea, Maui	Walker 1931:198
Ipu o Lono & Hale Mua	For male family members to pray	NA	NA	Kamakau 1976:133
Pōhaku o Kāne	For family members to pray	Pōhaku o Kāne	Kahakuloa, Maui	Walker 1931:127
Pōiani	Shrine where ruling all'i families prayed	NA	NA	Thrum in Fomander 1999:IV:384
Ho'ouluulu ua	To assure adequate rain for crops	Nā Imu Kālua Ua	Nā'iwa, Moloka'i	Stokes in Summers 1971:81
Ko'a, Kū'ula	To worship deities of marine fishing	Ahu o Hāpu'u	Waimea, O'ahu	McAllister 1933:146
Ko'a Ho'oulu 'Ō'opu	To worship deities of inland fishing	NA	Pelekunu, Moloka'i	Stokes in Summers 1971:181
Ko'a	To worship deities of birdcatching	Pāpio	Pi'ihonua, Hawaii	Thrum 1908a:40
Heiau Huia	To worship deities of huia	Kauluapā'oa	Kō'ē, Kaua'i	Emory 1929; Kelly 1980
Heiau Hō'ōia	To learn and practice medicinal healing	Keaiwa	'Aiea, O'ahu	Sterling and Summers 1978:11
Lonopūhā/Kōleamoku	To help in healing an ailing all'i	NA	NA	Malo 1996:209
Kūko'a'e	For purification rituals assoc. w/ eating pig	NA	NA	K. Kamakau 1919:8, 9; Malo 1996:238

Table 4.1. (p. 2 of 2)
Examples of Heiau Religious Functions

LABEL	RELIGIOUS FUNCTION	EXAMPLE	LOCATION	SOURCE
?	To worship Kāneheki and Kānekaulā	NA	Kīpahulu, Maui	Ashdown 1971:54
?	To worship shark deities	Pāpa'a	Kawāpapa, Kaua'i	Thrum 1907a:43
?	To worship mo'o deities	no name given	Honouliuli, O'ahu	Sterling and Summers 1978:51
?	To pray to deities of canoe making	Pāpio	Pi'ihonua, Hawai'i	Thrum 1908a:40
?	To study astronomy and navigation	NA	Moa'ūlanui, Kaho'olawe	Michell in Feevee 1992:208-209
?	To worship deities of kapa making	Pu'uomamo	Lumaha'i, Kaua'i	Thrum 1907a:43
?	To worship deities of 'anā'anā	NA	Moenaui, Lāna'i	Emory 1969:68
?	To worship deities of hana aloha	Kamanuolalo	Kalaupapa, Moloka'i	Stokes in Summers 1971:195
?	To worship and prophesize; for kāula	Ka'enakilolani	Hāiawa, Moloka'i	Stokes in Summers 1971:167
?	To pray for calm seas and weather	Kāneko'a	Kahuku, O'ahu	McAllister 1933:153-54
?	To worship deities controlling surf	Ku'emanu	Kahalu'u, Hawai'i	Stokes 1991:70
?	To worship deities of sports	Kānekahelani	Kamoa, Hawai'i	Kekahuna 1950
?	To perform rites after an ali'i's birth	Ho'olonopahu	Wahiawā, O'ahu	Kamakau 1991:38
?	To confer sovereign rights onto new mō'i	Kapukapuākea	Pa'ala'akai, O'ahu	Kamakau 1991:54
?	To prepare ali'i bones for burial	Kapukapuāhakea	Honomuni, Moloka'i	Stokes in Summers 1971:144-45
?	To entomb high status individuals	Pākui	Kahananui, Moloka'i	Stokes in Summers 1971:119
?	To worship deities of the sun	Mōka'ena	Kua'ōkala, O'ahu	Nakuina in Sterling & Summers 1978:98
?	To commemorate death of an evil element	Punalu'u	Kahaule'a, Hawai'i	Stokes 1991:144

which drains its *mana* or defiles its sacred nature. Hence for something to remain *kapu* it must be restricted in ways that preserve or enhance its *mana*. What may be at times confusing about this concept is that certain “*kapu*” behaviors (e.g., desecrating a burial site) or “*kapu*” individuals (e.g., *kauā* [as Kepelino 1932:144-145] describes) are not sacred but instead are forbidden to be engaged in (as with behaviors) or to be associated with (as with *kauā*) in order to maintain the sanctity of something else that is *kapu*. These general notions of *kapu* are of course ancestral pan-Polynesian concepts. However, in Hawai‘i the notion of *kapu* was significantly elaborated from the Polynesian belief that a chiefly person and the items associated with that person were *kapu*.

In Hawai‘i, *kapu* comprised a system of understandings and behavioral rules that defined and maintained appropriate relationships between 1) *kānaka* (people) and the *akua*, 2) *kānaka* and the natural environment, 3) *ali‘i* and *maka‘āinana*, 4) *kāne* (men) and *wāhine* (women); 5) individuals and the rest of their community; and 6) deceased individuals, their living family, and their place of interment. *Kapu* addressed these relationships to meet three interdependent purposes: 1) to promote *lōkahi* or the balance, unity, and harmony of the spiritual, natural, and human realms; 2) to preserve the *mana* that already existed in these three realms in their natural states; and 3) to increase the flow and intensity of *mana* throughout the interconnected realms of the *akua*, nature, and *kānaka*.

Kapu addressing the relationships of *kānaka* to the *akua* on one level involved a recognition of the balance that existed among the *akua* within the passing of time. In the Hawaiian lunar calendar were certain days understood to be sacred to various gods and thus dedicated to the worship of these gods (Kamakau 1976:17;

Malo 1996:160-161). In sum, “there were four tabu periods in the month that were made sacred and treated with great reverence” (Kamakau 1976:18). These were Kapu Kū, Kapu Hua, Kapu Kāloa and Kapu Kāne (Malo 1996:161). A much more complex array of *kapu* involved the many aspects of worshipping the *akua*, especially at the national level. Ceremonies were strictly followed according to set expectations.

A similar purpose is seen in *kapu* which regulated the relationship of *kānaka* and the environment. A classic example of such *kapu* involved prohibitions on fishing. During the dry season of *kau*, the *‘ōpelu* (mackerel) was open for fishing while *aku* (bonito) was forbidden to be caught. When the rainy season of *ho‘oilo* began, the opposite was practiced (Malo 1996:274). The period during which it was forbidden to catch these staple protein varieties were the times in which those species were spawning and when their young were maturing.

Another example of the responsibilities *kānaka* had to the environment under the *kapu* can be seen in Hawaiian practices regarding the disposal of waste (an illustration related as well to *kapu* which determined appropriate relationships between individuals and their communities): “Hawaiians made great effort to keep the sweet water of the land free from pollution ... out of respect for the great gods” (Bushnell 1966:28). Hence, “no one dared or even wished to pollute a water supply with excrement or rubbish or other forms of defilement: such an affront to the gods ... would have been unforgivable, [and] the insult to other people would have been enraging” (Bushnell 1966:34).

Many of the environmental-related *kapu* may have been unenforceable, as *ali‘i* could not be everywhere at all times to monitor compliance. Nonetheless it is

likely that such *kapu* were the most readily followed, for these *kapu* most obviously brought together the underlying values of the system: a desire for people to live in *lōkahi* with one another and with the elements in nature that were in fact the *akua* themselves.

As the *akua* were thought to exist within nature, so too were their earthly representatives and descendants present in the islands in the form of *ali'i*. Numerous *kapu* were enforced to maintain the absolute sacred nature of the highest *ali'i*. Such laws were easily maintained as the most sacred *ali'i* always had about them retainers who could readily punish violators.³¹ *Kapu* of this sort in Hawai'i were the most elaborated of the ancestral forms. Indeed "Hawai'i brought the concept of chiefly sanctity to its peak in Polynesia" (Goldman 1970:521).

The highest born *ali'i* of *pi'o* or *nī'auipi'o* sacred ranking possessed the *kapu moe* or prostration *kapu* which required all those of lesser rank to prostrate in their presence (Malo 1996:174). If one's shadow projected onto the body or even the house of such a sacred individual, the *kapu* would be violated (Malo 1996:175-176). Any of the personal belongings of the high chiefs were also made *kapu* to those of lower rank. In essence such *kapu* ensured the physical protection and sacred purity of these individuals who were considered closest to the gods and who were "called *akua*" (Malo 1996:174). Hence these individuals could travel only at night so as not to utterly disrupt the activities of the populace (Malo 1996:176). Less restrictive *kapu* defined the appropriate physical distance and posture of individuals when in the

³¹ Significantly, some of the most well documented and positively recorded *ali'i nui* were those who were flexible and compassionate in their dealings with those who inadvertently violated their personal *kapu* (see examples in Part IV).

presence of lower-ranking *ali'i* who were nonetheless acknowledged as being of a sacred nature as well.

The intent of the various *kapu* was to maintain the *mana* of things and people and to assure that this *mana* not be imbued into that which, in Hawaiian understandings of the natural order, was not intended to receive that *mana*. Such purposes are evident in the *kapu* defining the restrictions on *maka'āinana* who were in the presence of *ali'i*. They are also evident in Hawaiian prohibitions regarding gender-related *kapu*. The latter are perhaps best exemplified in the *'aikapu* or eating prohibitions. Unlike other areas of Polynesia where *kāne* and *wāhine* ate together or where women even prepared food (e.g., as with the Maori), "Hawaii, by contrast, had carried separation of eating to an extreme, separating husband and wife and requiring separate cook houses [and separate underground ovens] for men's food and women's food" (Goldman 1970:539).

The Hawaiian logic behind forbidding men's and women's foods from comingling was related to the inappropriateness of females partaking of items sacrificed to male gods or that were the *kino lau* (earthy body forms) of the male gods. Such life forms were infused with *mana* of a particular *kāne* quality which, in Hawaiian thought, was not for *wāhine* consumption. For instance, bananas were the *kino lau* of Kanaloa and coconuts the *kino lau* of Kū (Handy and Handy 1991:23) and neither were allowed in female diets. In the case of bananas, the plant bears "a large purple flower that droops toward the ground in a classically phallic fashion, and the fruit itself has a phallic shape," certainly potent *kāne* symbols (Kame'eleihiwa 1992b:34). Similarly, the coconut tree was envisioned as a man "whose head was buried in the ground with his penis and testicles above" (Kamakau 1992:120).

These foods, along with the offerings of *pua'a* (pig), *kūmū* (goatfish), *ulua* (jackfish) and other “consecrated things” given to the major male gods Kāne, Lono, Kanaloa, and Kū were strictly forbidden for *wāhine* to eat (Malo 1996:158). Such *kapu* once more focused on prohibiting *mana* from being transferred in inappropriate ways.

A fifth arena that *kapu* addressed was an individual’s relationship to the rest of his or her community, and more specifically the responsibility of that individual to properly deal with any defiling elements in order not to leach that defilement into the community or the environment. For example, women were required to stay within a *hale pe’a* or menstrual house during their period, for menstruating women “were considered to be haumia [*polluted*] and pō’ino [*defiled*]” (Malo 1996:157-158; see also Ka’awa 1865a; *Ka Leo o ka Lāhui* 1894). Kamakau (1992:3) more specifically described why a woman was restricted during her menstrual period, saying that “a woman was then defiled, for the god[s] despised all bloody things.” “The idea is that a woman in this condition defiles the gods and for this reason arouses their anger causing them in wrath to bring misfortune upon her and her family” if she does not follow the *kapu* regarding her menses (Green and Beckwith 1926:199). Any soiled articles used during menstruation were buried around the *hale pe’a* to limit the exposure of others to the defilement (Handy and Pūku’i 1972:11).

Kapu such as these helped to maintain the spiritual and physical health of the society through limiting exposure to impure elements that could bring illness. For similar reasons Hawaiians also followed stringent *kapu* for disposing human wastes. These practices carried further implications in addition to issues of environmental cleanliness and sanctity. In burying personal waste, Hawaiians were especially careful, for

“the disposal of body wastes had a double concern: The protection of the *mana*, the spiritual power, of the person from whom the wastes were derived; and respect for the *mana* of all the gods, both great and small, in all of their manifestations, who resided in the earth, the water, the air, and the sea. Out of respect for the gods, the Hawaiian refrained from polluting their abodes” (Bushnell 1966:18).

If people did not dispose of their waste appropriately, the *mana* left in the excrement, hair, or even fingernails could be used against them by a *kahuna* ‘*anā’anā* (sorcerer) to produce death. Such personal remains used in sorcery were called *maunu* or “bait” and “contained some of the *mana* (personal power)” of the individual whom a *kahuna* ‘*anā’anā* was commissioned to pray to death (Pūku‘i, Haertig, and Lee 1972:1:28; see also Ka‘awa 1865b; Emerson 1917). As such, “a sorcerer who obtained the ‘bait’ could gain control over the *mana* and therefore ... the victim” who could then be prayed to death (Pūku‘i, Haertig, and Lee 1972:1:28). Hence, *kapu* surrounding personal wastes were strictly followed. So internalized were Hawaiian sanitary practices and so consistently followed that 18th and 19th century Western observers in Hawai‘i regularly described Hawaiians as “particularly clean” in contrast to other areas they visited and in contrast to their own societies (Kotzebue 1967:175; see also Samwell 1967:1186; Hussey 1958:34). This too was a hallmark of Hawaiian culture.

The last area which *kapu* addressed involved the relationship of individuals upon their death to their places of interment. “Corpses were considered to be very *kapu* ... by the people of old and they were made *kapu*” (Malo 1996:200). These *kapu* involved two separate considerations. The first dimension is actually another example of *kapu* intended to keep an individual’s defilement away from the rest of the community (as with the above discussion). For “people who stayed with [a]

corpse were considered to be *haumia* [defiling]" (Malo 1996:200). After the loved one was interred in his or her final resting place, "those involved in the burial went to wash in fresh water. When they returned from washing, they would sit in a row at the door of the house where the corpse had been laid out. Then the kahuna was sent for and arrived to purify them" (Malo 1996:201). After appropriate prayers and ritual practices to cleanse the individuals by *pī kai* (ritual sprinkling of sea water mixed with *'ōlena* [turmeric]), they were then ready to rejoin the rest of society and were no longer *haumia*.

A second and far more critical dimension of *kapu* involved in burials relates to the *mana* of the individual who was interred. In Hawaiian belief, the *mana* of an individual upon death resides in his or her *iwi* or bones. Thus a corpse was "buried and hidden if the person was beloved" (Malo 1996:202) so that the *iwi* of that individual could not be defiled. The *iwi* and *mana* of the individual were intended to spiritually enrich the lands in which they were interred and were not to be appropriated by others.

A reflection of this is found in the term for one's native land (*kulāiwi*) which references the term *iwi*. It is a confirmation of the spiritual and genealogical connection of an *'ohana* to a place and the *kūpuna* (ancestors) buried in that *'āina*. It is the *iwi kūpuna* (ancestral remains) which connect an *'ohana* and their *'āina* as one. When *mana* flows from the *iwi kūpuna* to the *'āina* and then to the living *'ohana* nourished by that *'āina*, the flow of *mana* is complete. The journeys of the *kūpuna* are fulfilled as their *mana* intensifies the flow that already exists.

By the late pre-contact period, Hawaiian society had developed *kapu* that encompassed behaviors of a most individual, private sort and those that great

masses of people would abide by in grand public settings. In addition to these traditional *kapu* were the *kānāwai*. The *aliʻi nui* had the power to set rules of any kind which were called *kānāwai*. In some cases they were far reaching and long standing policy statements, in other cases they were issued spontaneously to address a specific novel circumstance. Kūaliʻi, the Oʻahu *aliʻi nui* who lived four generations before the time of Kamehameha, was said to have issued a *kānāwai* which, as with Kamehameha's famous Kānāwai Māmalahoa, "provided that old men and old women could go and sleep [in safety] on the highway" (Kamakau 1964:14). However, Kūaliʻi's *kānāwai* called Nīʻaupiʻo Kolowalu further proclaimed "that farmers and fishermen had to welcome strangers and feed the hungry. If a man said he was hungry, he [would] be fed" (Kamakau 1964:14).

Other *kānāwai* protected those on the losing side at the end of a battle. When a chief sought to end the onslaught of a vanquished opponent, he would issue a *kānāwai*. Kahekili, Kalanikūpule, Kamehameha, and Ulumāheihei Hoapili all issued *kānāwai* to protect the lives of their rivals' armies (Kamakau 1964:17). "The slaughterers knew that the *kanawai* had a sacred power beyond the mere spoken word of the king; the *kanawai* was an absolute edict" and as such was followed with strict regard (Kamakau 1964:17).

Breaking a *kānāwai* or *kapu* was typically punished by the gods and various offended spirits in the case where only the culprit was aware of the transgression, or punished by death in the cases when *aliʻi* knew of the violation. "The adjudication of death and life rested with the *aliʻi*'s laws. If the *aliʻi nui* decided that a person or even an *aliʻi* was to be killed, then the *aliʻi nui* would uphold the *kānāwai* make [death penalty] and that person would be killed. If the *aliʻi* decided to uphold the *kānāwai*

ho'ōla [*granting life*], then the person would be spared and not be put to death" (Malo 1996:176).

As with any system of laws, the *kapu* and *kānāwai* were surely broken by some who knew they would not be caught, resented by some who found it burdensome, and questioned by others who did not agree with its underlying premises. However, as long as the *ali'i* held a position of respect and authority in society, the *kapu* were generally followed. Equally important was the fact that many within the society believed in the *kapu* and abided by it out of a deep, profound sense of reverence for what it embodied.

The battle at Kuamo'o to uphold the *kapu* led by Kamehameha's nephew Kekuaokalani in 1819 is a famous example of individuals placing the integrity of the *kapu* above their own lives. However, one could argue (though it would not seem well founded) that the effort was a political battle for control of the government as well. A second example of the "commoners of Hamakua" who also "had risen up against free eating" perhaps better illustrates the ardent desire of many to honor the *kapu* and all that it represented even at a time when the highest priests, chiefs, and chiefesses were commanding otherwise (Kamakau 1992:228). The *kapu* were the will of the gods, the structural basis of the entire society, the spiritual foundation of Hawaiian beliefs.

Products of a Hawaiian Cultural and Natural Environment

It is no wonder that many Hawaiians supported the *kapu*; its order had created in many instances great success for the society. The *mana* of the Hawaiian Islands and the requested presence of the spiritual forces in all activities brought

Hawaiians to experience and create some of the highest forms of excellence known throughout Polynesia and Oceania. Their success in many areas of endeavor are evidence of the increased intensity and flow of *mana* that Hawaiian society sought so fervently to achieve.

Of course areas of distinction are evident in *every* culture, with various cultures manifesting such quality of life in an array of forms and experiences. If one considers those areas where Hawaiians distinguished themselves, several important cultural features can be inferred. The fact that Hawaiians experienced the cultural peaks described below (which includes only an incomplete sample of areas that could be discussed) suggests that there was time in Hawaiian society, time to develop specialties to new levels and time made possible by successes in providing for daily necessities. The cultural peaks further attest to Hawaiians' creative, explorative, and progressive nature as well as the openness of their society for such novelty. For although Hawaiians held firm to traditional core Polynesian cultural tenets, they understood that to follow the ancestral practice of striving for excellence required that they carry their ideas, beliefs, and practices to broader and new heights.

That Hawaiian innovation and attention to quality even encompassed play and games, underscores the prosperity of Hawaiian society and the predilection of Hawaiians for improvement. Perhaps the most famous of all Hawaiian inventions is surfing. Although a "rudimentary form of surfing with a board...was practiced throughout the Pacific islands," it was "along the shores of the Hawaiian Islands [where] surfing reached its peak. There the feat of standing erect on a speeding board found its finest expression" (Finney and Houston 1996:23, 25). The "variety of

skills, on long boards, together with the widespread participation of all classes was unequalled in any other Pacific island group” (Finney and Houston 1996:24). In addition to this most acclaimed sport “the names of over a hundred old games (pā’ani kahiko) have survived,” testifying to Hawaiians having ample opportunity for recreation (Mitchell 1975:6).

The same sense of prosperity evident in Hawaiians’ pastimes is suggested as well by the availability of the most costly food item (in terms of resources devoted to production) in Hawaiian society, that is, pigs. Early Westerners (e.g., Cook, Menzies, and LaPerouse) to travel through Polynesia regularly noted the comparative abundance of pigs for trade in Hawai’i (Yen 1974:312). “Only in the Hawaiian Islands were pigs numerous enough to be classed as a capital reserve available for exchange” (Goldman 1970:476). This is suggestive of the likelihood that “the production of [sweet potato] was probably adequate enough to convert a part of this surplus into one efficient means of storage in animal husbandry; the conversion of starch to meat protein” (Yen 1974:312). Not only was there enough food for people in Hawaiian society, there was enough food to raise pigs.

Excellence and an attention to constant enhancement is as well seen in numerous items that Hawaiians manufactured whether for everyday use or for highly sacred and restricted purposes. These products are evidence of a clear Hawaiian appreciation for fine, detailed, quality workmanship. From the ancestral Polynesian patterns of twining aerial roots of *Freycinetia* (in Hawai’i this was *Freycinetia arboria* or *‘ie’ie*) Hawaiians developed new techniques that were not found elsewhere in Polynesia. Hawaiian *‘ie’ie* twined basketry “surpass[ed] any twined work using

similar material in the rest of Polynesia” (Buck 1964b:1). These twined baskets were used as fishing sieves and traps as well as food storage and serving containers.

The products Hawaiians created for their *ali'i* transcended the quality of everyday items used by most of the population. Such offerings were likely presented to the *ali'i nui* during the Makahiki. Perhaps some *ali'i* demanded excellence in these offerings, maybe others more beloved deserved nothing less. One such product for the *ali'i* were the “finest sleeping mats in Polynesia” (Buck 1964a:132). These soft, flexible mats were made from the *makaloa* sedge (*Cyperus laevigatus*) and most famously crafted by the people of Ni'ihau. So intricate were *makaloa* mats that some “reach a fineness of 20 to 25 wefts to the inch” (Buck 1964a:132). Variations in the coloring of the *makaloa* also allowed Hawaiians to incorporate stunning decorative patterns in these mats.

Kapa making, or the art of creating barkcloth from the *wauke* or paper mulberry plant (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), was also an area where Hawaiians greatly innovated. The most stunning examples of high quality *kapa* are again pieces thought to have been created for *ali'i*. The increased quality of Hawaiian *kapa* was made possible because “*kapa* makers improved their tools and techniques so markedly after arriving in Hawai'i” (Mitchell 1982:214). With these new approaches, Hawaiian women created “some of the finest barkcloth, in terms of both quality of material and variation in design” (Kaeppler 1997:90). Some scholars would go as far as to say it was “the finest in the Pacific and probably in the world” (Mitchell 1982:214).

Kapa in Hawai'i was felted rather than glued together to make larger pieces from the bast of several harvested trees, necessitating an additional step of beating

the *kapa*. A further step of beating the *kapa* with an incised mallet placed an embossed “watermark” design in (rather than on) the cloth itself. The *kapa* was then dyed a variety of colors (e.g., green, blue, and pink) not known to have been used elsewhere in Polynesia, and finally a decorative pattern was drawn or printed onto the cloth with bamboo stamps and contrasting or complementary dyes.

Hawaiian sculpture, probably the work of the *ali'i* priesthood, also displayed evidence of the openness in Hawaiian society to new ideas. Hawaiian sculptors, along with others of each of the island groups in Polynesia, “elaborat[ed] on the common cultural tradition” and “developed their own characteristic styles and aesthetic values” (Cox and Davenport 1988:8). In this way the *ki'i* (images) across Polynesia display unique as well as overlapping traits. However, “Hawaii seems to have produced sculpture that was the least stereotyped in design and execution, and for this reason it appears to be the boldest and most vigorous of the independent but historically related sculptural traditions in Polynesia” (Cox and Davenport 1988:8).

In some cases, as with Hawaiian sculpture, innovation was facilitated by the cultural context of its creation, that is, the flourishing of spiritual diversity in Hawai'i. In the case of Hawaiian featherwork both that context and the unique resources of the natural environment worked together to bring “the aesthetic genius of Hawaiians” to fuller realization³² (Kaepler 1978:52). “The perfection of technique and the

³² It is likely that the art of creating *'ahu'ula* (feather capes) evolved on Hawai'i Island sometime during the reign of either Kūāiwa or Kahoukapu (i.e., before the reign of Ka'uholanui māhū who was contemporary with Kaka'alaneo the *ali'i nui* of leeward Maui). Evidence for this comes from a *mo'olelo* in which an *'ahu'ula* is involved: 'Ele'io the *ali'i nui* of windward Maui received an *'ahu'ula* from Kanikania'ula (a chiefess of Hawai'i Island) in thanks for his reviving her back to life. “Feather capes at this time were so rare that even Kaka'alaneo the king of Maui did not have one in his possession” (Fornander 1999:IV:484). That Kanikania'ula came from Hawai'i, and that she brought more *'ahu'ula* to the Maui court upon her marriage to Kaka'alaneo (Fornander

variation in form and design” in Hawaiian featherwork “are unsurpassed by any Pacific peoples and emphasize the long separation of Hawaii from its parental featherworking techniques” (Kaepler 1978:52).

To create these pieces, trained specialists first snared endemic Hawaiian birds such as the *‘ō‘ō*, *mamo*, *‘i‘iwi* and *‘apapane*. These bird catchers were taught and expected to pluck carefully from them the appropriate size red, yellow, and black feathers sought and to release the birds back into the environment (Mitchell 1982:93).³³ Once the feathers were acquired, *ali‘i* specialists applied techniques evolved from traditional methods to create long feathered cloaks (*‘ahu ‘ula*), short shoulder capes (*kīpuka*), feathered helmets (*mahiōle*), feathered standards (*kāhili*), feathered images (*akua hulu manu*), and feathered *lei* worn on the head or around the neck (Kaepler 1985). These spiritual, ceremonial pieces are the epitome of an

1999:IV:486), suggests that the practice was started on Hawai‘i Island perhaps a generation prior to the reign of Kaka‘alaneo.

³³ Numerous studies (Kirch 1982b; Olson and James 1982a, 1982b, 1984, 1991; James and Olson 1991; James et al. 1987; Moniz 1997; Moniz Nakamura 1999) describe the extirpation and extinction of bird species native to Hawai‘i during the period when Hawaiians occupied the Islands. However, the proportion of these species affected by direct predation remains difficult to assess. Other factors that could have led to the same results would have been predation by rats which arrived with Hawaiians, alteration and destruction of habitats as Hawaiians created their agricultural and living areas, and second-order sea-level and climatic changes (as Nunn 1991:14-26 describes) that occurred following Hawaiian settlement which could have had an adverse affect on bird habitats. Moreover, Moniz Nakamura’s (1999:242, 244) analysis suggests that many of the taxa thought to have become extinct through Hawaiian direct or indirect influences may not have survived into the period of human colonization of the Islands at all or may have continued to live through the historic period. In any case, that Hawaiians sought to minimize their affect on the bird population is seen in their manner of snaring birds recorded by naturalist Archibald Menzies (1920:82-83) who in February of 1793 observed and recorded the practice:

...feathers are in great estimation. It is with them that a great portion of the rents are annually paid to the chiefs by the lower class of people, who thus employ themselves by catching the birds with bird-lime. They do this by spreading a little of it here and there on the boughs, and placing two or three red berries near it which the birds are very fond of. As they perch to eat them, they are entangled with the bird-lime, but the natives are very cautious of not exterminating the birds by killing all that are in this manner caught. Many of them after being stripped of their most valuable feathers are again set at liberty and run the chance of being fleeced in the same way next year.

evolved Hawaiian society. They display Hawaiian innovation and specialization, the pursuit of excellence, the availability of time and labor, the concern for spiritual priorities, and an attention to the honored, sacred nature of *ali'i*.

Summary

Hawaiian society by the time of Western contact evolved into one of the most, if not the most, complex society within Polynesia. The intricacies of the Hawaiian socio-political structure attest to the evolution that occurred here. The same Hawaiian attention to specialization and innovation is seen as well in the religious and economic developments that occurred in concert with the socio-political changes. The abundance resulting from these developments created the context for Hawaiians to reach numerous cultural peaks that distinguish the society. Underlying all the changes were fundamental Hawaiian values evident in the evolved Hawaiian jurisprudence system of *kapu*.

Chapter 5 Ascribed and Achieved Statuses of *Ali'i* and Their *Kuleana*

Introduction

The objective of this dissertation is to investigate the evolution of Hawaiian society. The approach used is to focus on the lives of *ali'i*, and especially *ali'i nui*, to better understand this development. This concentration on individuals is appropriate since individuals rather than cultures or nations make decisions and take actions that lead to changes at a societal level. *Ali'i nui* determined and directly or indirectly administered all large-scale activities that occurred within and between the various Hawaiian nations. While many hands and minds were involved collectively in Hawaiian religious, economic, social, and political activities, such actions were conceived of, approved by, and/or coordinated by *ali'i*. This chapter describes *ali'i* by explaining their ascribed and achieved statuses, their *kuleana* (privileges and responsibilities), and the role of the *'aha ali'i* (chiefly council) of which each was a member. This in-depth view of *ali'i* is intended to place the discussion of the remainder of this dissertation within a clearer cultural context.

Kūlana Ali'i (*Ali'i Ranks*)

Numerous traits define an individual as an *ali'i*. Foremost among these is that an individual's genealogy descends from *ali'i* of unquestioned standing who can be

traced back to the *akua*. Additional ascribed and achieved states can either increase or diminish an *ali'i's mana* and status among other *ali'i*. These multidimensional traits made determining the relative ranks of various *ali'i* highly subjective and prone to change through time. Each new generation added further complications to rendering such evaluations. It is no wonder then that Hawaiian courts retained specialists called *kū'auhau* who assessed and retained genealogical pedigrees of a court (Malo 1996:261; see Figure 7.2 in the pocket of the back cover which illustrates the complexity and volume of information such *kū'auhau* retained).

Ascribed Statuses of *Ali'i*. A number of ascribed statuses would affect the relative standing of *ali'i*. Each of these criteria involve their families: 1) the seniority of *ali'i* among their respective siblings and the seniority of each of their lineal ancestors among their respective siblings, 2) the genealogical relationships between each of the pairs of spouses in the generations producing to the various *ali'i* under consideration, 3) the achieved *mana* of their ancestors (i.e., the reputation of their families), 4) the longevity of a connection between their family lineages and a given *'āina*, and 5) their gender, with males seemingly being preferred for the *ali'i nui* position, though not exclusively so.

The most important criterion in determining the ascribed position of an *ali'i* is seniority. A first born *ali'i* child of the first born in the previous generation who was the first born of the generation prior, etc. would have the highest standing among his or her generation of *ali'i* tracing from the same lineage. At any given time there would be several of these privileged individuals who were understood to be the senior ranking of their respective lineages (see Figure 5.1 for a summary of the major chiefly lineages in Hawai'i). The typical pattern in determining who would be

the ruling chief generally followed classic rules of primogeniture, here defined as the practice of having a male first-born child in a generation receive the title, prerogatives, and responsibilities of his father.

Yet primogeniture rules were often too simplistic to afford clear solutions to determine who would be the most appropriate *ali'i nui*, and such rules fell far short in assessing the relative ranks of a set of *ali'i*. Complications in rendering such evaluations were present even in the earlier generations of settlement in Hawai'i as numerous *ali'i* migrated from Kahiki³⁴ to Hawai'i over the course of at least 19 generations, thus establishing multiple chiefly lineages across the islands (see Table 8.1). Through the generations, these *ali'i* did not always take a single spouse nor did they always marry their highest ranking spouse before already having children with others. Further, *ali'i* did not always have male first born children or in some cases did not have any male children at all. And some *ali'i* were born of established practices understood to increase their *mana* above even that of their parents. All of these factors played into the complexities of determining the relative ranks of *ali'i* and identifying who would be the most fitting *ali'i nui*.

One of the ways *ali'i* might have elevated the status of their offspring and their descendant lineage was to marry and bear children with someone who was a close relative, an act thought to create *akua*. The gods were understood to practice incestuous marriage. Wākea (sky father; the legendary divine ancestor of all *ali'i* and *maka'āinana*) mated with his daughter Ho'ohōkūkalanī who gave birth to the first

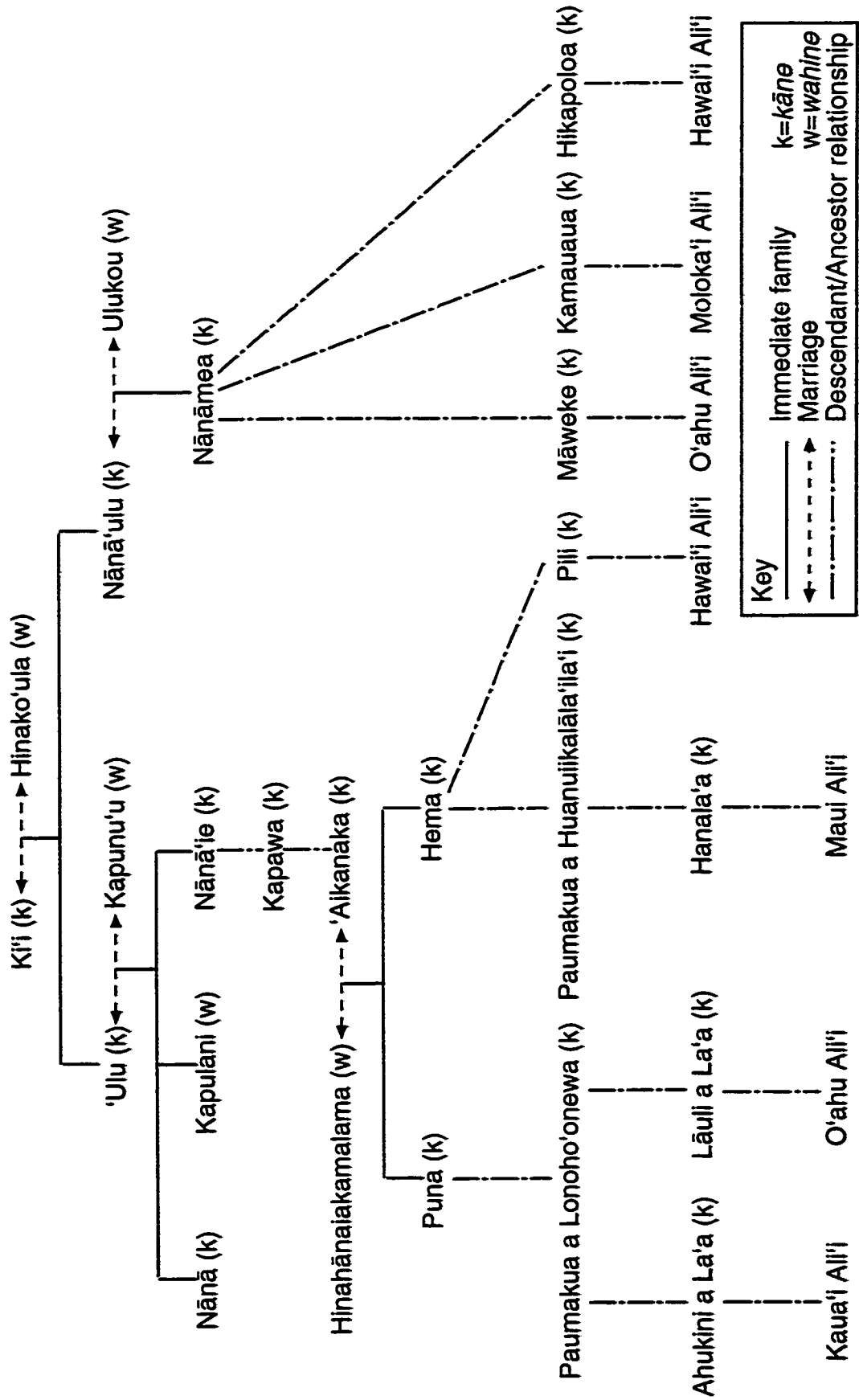
³⁴ Here Kahiki is defined to mean the southern Polynesian region from which Hawaiians originated and is not used to refer exclusively to Tahiti (Kamakau 1991:90; Fornander 1969:i:180; Ellis 312-313; Pūku'i and Elbert 1986:112).

kalo plant, Hāloanaka, and the first *ali'i*, Hāloa. Incest was not only “a formula for creating divinity, but the very act of incest [was] proof of divinity” (Kame'elehiwa 1992b:40). The *akua* behaved in this way generating marvelous results; *ali'i* understood that their adoption of the same would bring godlike outcomes.

The highest sacred marriage was that of a full brother and sister who were both *nī'aupi'o* chiefs. Their children were *pi'o* chiefs; gods possessing the most sacred *kapu* (Kamakau 1964:4). Examples of such honored offspring were Keakamahana, daughter of Keakealanikāne and Keli'iokalani (Kamakau 1992:61; Fornander 1999:IV:405; Malo 1827:35; McKinzie 1983:xxii); Kalani'ōmaiheuila daughter of Lonohonuakini and Kalanikauanakinilani (Fornander 1996:209-210; McKinzie 1983:36; cf. McKinzie 1986:29); Kalanikau'i'ōkikilo, daughter of Kamehameha Nui and Kalola (McKinzie 1983:27; Fornander 1996:212-213); and Kawelo'aikanaka, son of Kawelomakualua and Ka'awihilani (Fornander 1996:277, 293). Other close marriages such as that of half siblings, an uncle and a niece, an aunt and a nephew, or first cousins were also preferred (for a detailed discussion of this see Kamakau 1964:4-5, 1991:39-40; Malo 1996:174-175). Such marriages were especially sought among Hawai'i and Maui chiefs who were, as some would contend, attempting to offset their comparative junior status, as they primarily descended through the Hema branch of the 'Ulu lineage (as opposed to the senior Puna branch of the 'Ulu line; see Figure 5.1).

A third ascribed criterion in determining the relative rank of an *ali'i* is far more subjective. This involves the character of the family into which an *ali'i* was born. Assessing such issues may not have been done formally in courtly circles, however, these considerations no doubt entered into common perceptions among the *ali'i* and

Figure 5.1. Summary of Major Ali'i Lineages



populace regarding the relative ranks of various *ali'i*. The esteemed reputation (another kind of *mana*) of the family into which an *ali'i* was born could afford that person greater opportunities than those provided to another *ali'i* of roughly equivalent genealogical rank who descended from less noteworthy ancestors.

The Hawaiian belief in the transference of ancestral traits to descendants is exemplified in two *'ōlelo no'eau* (wise sayings): 1) "*He māheuheu mai nā kūpuna*" (habits and customary behaviors handed down from the ancestors) (Pūku'i 1983:89). 2) "*Aia a pa'i ka maka, ha'i 'ia kūpuna nāna 'oe*" ("Only when your face is slapped should you tell who your ancestors are"). Pūku'i (1983:6) clarifies the second *'ōlelo no'eau* noting that it suggests that people remain humble about their ancestors unless slandered, at which time the *'ōlelo no'eau* directs that they should reveal their "illustrious ancestors" "to prove that the [slandering] statement is wrong." The fame, respect, and honor given to ancestors would as well bring positive results for a descendant.

A fourth ascribed criterion that factored into determining the relative rank of an *ali'i* was the longevity of his or her lineage's connection to Hawai'i. While none of the nineteenth-century historians mention this criterion directly, it is well exemplified in what these scholars document regarding the esteemed position of certain lineages and the vigor with which *ali'i* sought marriages with family members of those lineages. A possible example of this phenomena is the genealogy of Nānā'ulu and one of his most famous descendants, Māweke. As Figure 5.1 illustrates, Māweke descends from the Nānā'ulu line which may be considered a junior lineage when compared to the 'Ulu lineage (Lili'uokalani 1978:74; Malo 1827:4; Kamakau 1991:135; Fornander 1969:1:190; *Ka Nonanona* 25 October, 1842 in McKinzie

1983:xx, *Ka Hae Hawai'i* 4 August, 1858 in McKinzie 1986:1; *Ka Nūpepa Kū'okoa* 4 May, 1865 in McKinzie 1986:6; *Ka Maka'āinana* 20 April, 1986 in McKinzie 1983:3).³⁵ While it appears that 'Ulu never ventured to Hawai'i, "Nanaulu may be considered as the initial point" of remembered and recorded migrations to Hawai'i³⁶ (Fornander 1996:5; see also Daggett in Kalākaua 1990:19³⁷). Many of his descendants remained in Hawai'i, creating an unbroken connection with the islands through time.

By contrast, 'Ulu's descendants established a permanent presence in Hawai'i much later. Individuals of the 'Ulu branch such as Puna, Hema, and their senior family members Kapawa and 'Aikanaka, were known to have been born in Hawai'i (Malo 1996:297; Kamakau 1991:38; 139, 140). However their descendants, who were the specific progenitors of later ruling chiefs, arrived generations later in the stream of two-way voyages between Hawai'i and Kahiki. Examples of these later arrivals of the 'Ulu line include Newalani, who was Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa's

³⁵ Nānā'ulu appears as the first born in those genealogies that trace through Nānā'ulu (Kamakau 1992:447, 1991:76; Fornander 1969:1:188), while he is listed as the second born in the above sources which document 'Ulu's descendants. In fact, this issue of whose line was the senior was likely a point of debate for untold generations. In later years, this issue may have become largely moot as there was probably no *alii* through whom both brothers' blood did not flow. Nonetheless, in this text 'Ulu is considered more likely to have been the elder given two lines of reasoning: First, if 'Ulu was not the elder, there was little reason for Nānā'ulu's descendants to afford to the later arrivals who descended from 'Ulu the deference that they apparently were given. Second, the pattern of *younger* siblings having to establish themselves in a new homeland (e.g., as with 'Olopana and Mo'ikeha), while elder siblings inherited ancestral estates, comports with *mo'olelo* which indicate that Nānā'ulu was the first of his *'ohana* to settle in the Hawaiian Islands (Fornander 1996:5), while it appears that 'Ulu remained in his homeland and that only his descendants arrived in Hawai'i (Fornander 1996:5).

³⁶ Migrations involving other lineages certainly could have occurred at an earlier time and may not have been recalled in the later generations during which Nānā'ulu's and 'Ulu's descendants became the most prominent *alii*.

³⁷ Daggett's informant was Kalākaua (see discussion in Chapter 2).

grandfather, Pili^{ka}‘ai‘ea, Paumakua a Huanuīkalāla‘ila‘i, and La‘amaikahiki (Kalākaua 1990:71; Fornander 1996:23, 38).

Although these later arrivals traced their genealogy from the senior ‘Ulu branch (as compared to the Nānā‘ulu descendants), they lacked the comparative antiquity and continual connection to Hawai‘i possessed by the descendants of the Nānā‘ulu lineage. Thus chiefs of the ‘Ulu branch “counted it no small honour to be able, through the marriage of some of their ancestors, to claim connection and descent from [the] powerful Nanaulu Māweke family” whose “ancient genealogy” possessed a special attraction (Fornander 1996:48; see also Kalākaua 1990:22). For instance, Hawai‘i Island *ali‘i nui* Kalaunuiohua was especially “proud of his ancestry, which carried back his lineage both to Pili and Māweke, and united in his veins the foremost blood” of the earlier and later migrations to Hawai‘i (Kalākaua 1990:178). Even in later generations, *ali‘i* of Hawai‘i Island considered it a great distinction to count themselves descendants of Nānā‘ulu, as was the case with the *pi‘o* chiefess Keakamahana whose great-great-grandfather was Kaua‘i *ali‘i nui* Kahakumakaliua (Kamakau 1992:61-62). The long-standing connection of “the ancient Nanaulu line” (Kalākaua 1990:22) to Hawai‘i seemingly gave them and those related to them great *mana* and an elevated legitimacy to rule these islands.

In a parallel fashion the oldest known *ali‘i* branches of Kaua‘i were held in similar high regard. An example of a chief who traced his lineage back to those branches was Mo‘ikeha’s son Hā‘ulanui‘aiākea (Kamakau 1991:36, 77; Malo 1827:22; Fornander 1996:54). Fornander (1996:54) notes that the descendants of Hā‘ulanui‘aiākea “increased immensely” their “tabu and aristocratic rank” over other Kaua‘i chiefs who did not share that lineage and who descended instead from

Ahukini a La'a. Hā'ulanui'aiākea's lineage carried the blood of the earlier chiefs of Kaua'i, that of the Puna family from whom his mother Hina'aulua descended (Kamakau 1991:36, 77, 106; Malo 1827:22; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1969:53-54). Through Hā'ulanui'aiākea's father, Mo'ikeha, his descendants carried the older bloodlines of O'ahu's Nānā'ulu-Māweke family, and also via Mo'ikeha, the blood of a ruling chief of Kaua'i who predated Ahukini a La'a. Though Ahukini a La'a's descendants traced their lineage from the senior Puna branch of the senior 'Ulu line, they actively sought connections with the junior line of Hā'ulanui'aiākea. *Ali'i* who married those descended from lineages able to claim more ancient connections to Hawai'i improved the standing of their children over their own.

A final ascribed status that affected an individual's ability to rise to the highest political office of an *ali'i nui* was gender. In terms of sacred ranking (*pi'o*, *nī'aupio*, *naha*, *wohi*, etc.), gender made no difference. However, it appears that *kāne* (males) were preferenced over *wāhine* (females) in the selection of an *ali'i nui*, though not exclusively so. In two instances first born offspring of ruling chiefs were females who had younger male siblings. In both these cases, their younger brothers ascended to the position of *ali'i nui* over them. One such instance is that of Pi'ikea of Maui, daughter of Pi'ilani. While most records indicate that she was born after her brother Lono a Pi'ilani (Kamakau 1992:22, 1991:49-50, 73; McKinzie 1986:12, 21, 1983:14, 21, 35; Fornander 1996:87, 1999:IV:236), two other sources (Malo 1827:27; Fornander 1999:IV:240) unequivocally document Pi'ikea as the first born. A *mele* (chant) composed in honor of the children of Pi'ilani and "solely for the Maui kings" proclaims, "thence came Piikea the wife of Umi, she was the first-born of Laieloholohe" (Fornander 1999:IV:240, 242).

A second example comes from Hawai'i Island. The royal couple Kaikilani (the nominal *ali'i nui wahine*) and Kanaloakua'ana gave birth to three children in this order: Keli'iokalani, a female; Keakealanikāne, a male; and Kalanio'umi, a male (Fornander 1999:IV:405). Even though the nominal *ali'i nui* at the time was the *ali'i wahine* Kaikilani, she and her two husbands Kanaloakua'ana and Lonoikamakahiki assigned Keakealanikāne as the heir to the position of *ali'i nui* (Fornander 1996:127). Keakealanikāne married his older sister Keli'iokalani and kept the *mana* of both within their immediate family (Kamakau 1992:61; Malo 1827:35; Fornander 1996:127, 1999:IV:405; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 79).

Although this study discovered only these two clear examples of *wahine* first born offspring being passed over for the position of *ali'i nui*, it is likely that this scenario repeated itself at other times and that the *kū'auhau* did not feel it appropriate to record the specifics of sibling birth order in that event.³⁸ After all it is highly improbable that 96 percent of the first born offspring of an *ali'i nui* included in

³⁸ Three other possible instances of first born *ali'i wāhine* being passed over for a ruling position involve two O'ahu chiefesses and one Kaua'i chiefess. The first of these is Hinakaimauli'awa (generation 3) who was the granddaughter of Māweke and possibly the only child of Kalehenui (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29; Fornander 1969:204; McKinzie 1986:17, 26). While no source specifies that she was overlooked in receiving her father's position of being the *ali'i 'ai moku* of the Ko'olau area, Hinakaimauli'awa is not known to have ascended to that or any other ruling position, however, her later male descendants (Ka'ula'ulaokalani and Moku a Lo'e) were known to have ruled over these areas (Fornander 1996:68, 88). Similarly in generation 8, the only child of Ka'ula'ulaokalani is Ka'imihauokū, a daughter (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29). Ka'ula'ulaokalani's heir to the position of *ali'i 'ai moku* of Ko'olau is Ka'imihauokū's son, Moku a Lo'e (Fornander 1996:68; Kalākau 1990:177). Either Ka'imihauokū was purposefully passed over or Ka'ula'ulaokalani lived a very long life making the next logical heir Moku a Lo'e rather than the older Ka'imihauokū. The Kaua'i chiefess who was the only recorded child of Kawelomaihunaali'i was Kāneikahealani (Fornander 1996:294). She did not become the ruling chiefess of Kaua'i after her father's death, which may or may not have had anything to do with her gender as a *mo'olelo* involving Kawelomaihunaali'i indicates that "when he became old he was killed by having been thrown over a cliff by some rebellious subjects" (Fornander 1996:294). If this account is accurate, it may in itself explain why his daughter was not allowed to rule following his death.

this study were all *kāne*. This would have to have been the case if there was no preferencing of *kāne* over *wāhine* in selecting *ali'i nui* heirs (see Table 5.1).

As Table 5.1 indicates there was a propensity for selecting *kāne* for the paramount position during the 23 generations included in this study. Only in five percent of the occurrences were *wāhine* placed in the highest office. If one were to add Moloka'i's *ali'i nui* to the calculation, the pattern would not be altered significantly. The two *ali'i nui wahine* known for Moloka'i are Hualani, the first woman *ali'i nui* noted in the oral traditions, and Kāne a Lae (Kamakau 1992:4, 64).

Table 5.1. Frequency of the Selection of *Kāne* Versus *Wāhine Ali'i Nui* and Semi-independent *Ali'i*

	Hawai'i	Maui	O'ahu	Kaua'i	Total
# of <i>ali'i</i> who were <i>kāne</i> *	44	40	44	26	142
# of <i>ali'i</i> who were <i>wahine</i> *	3 (Keakealaniwahine, Kaikilani, and Keakamahana)	0	4 (Maelo, Kūkaniloko, Kalaimanu'ia, and Kekela)	1 Kamakahelei	8
Total # <i>ali'i nui</i>	47	40	42	27	150
% of <i>ali'i nui</i> who were <i>kāne</i>	94%	100%	92%	96%	95%
% of <i>ali'i nui</i> who were <i>wahine</i>	6%	0%	8%	4%	5%

* *Ali'i* included here are those that appear in Chapter 6 in Tables 6.1-6.4 which list the temporal sequences of *ali'i nui* and other independent or nearly independent *ali'i* in this study. *Ali'i* who ruled over more than one island were counted only once and are included with the islands with which they are most closely associated.

A reason for choosing *kāne* over *wāhine* likely involved the underlying beliefs exemplified in the *kapu* which restricted *wāhine* from engaging fully in all activities expected of an *ali'i nui*, especially the all-important ceremonies conducted in the

national *heiau luakini*. Such *kapu* involved the fundamental limitations of *wāhine* that arose from the defiling influence of their menstrual periods. Even the most sacred of chiefesses such as the *ali'i nui* Keakealaniwahine of Hawai'i Island could not participate fully in such ceremonies. For while her highest sacred and political ranks gave her the privilege of entering such *heiau luakini* as Hikiau, Mo'okini, Honua'ula, Kānoa, Waha'ula, and Punalu'u, as well as offering sacrifices within them, Keakealaniwahine could not "eat any of the offerings and gifts with the priests and the men, who ate by themselves." Instead during these parts of the ceremonies "Keakealaniwahine ate in her own house [the Hale o Papa] of the food permitted to women" (I'i 1983:160).

Valeri's (1983:111-124) detailed analysis of the limited role of *wāhine* in *heiau* rituals offers the interesting conclusion that "in the end, it appears that women's exclusion from sacrificial reproduction is symmetrical to men's exclusion from childbearing. It expresses the idea that the two activities are complementary and, in a way, equivalent." He further explains that "it is possible to represent childbearing as woman's sacrifice and sacrifice as man's childbearing" (Valeri 1983:114). In parallel fashion one might suggest that with the ability of women to bear the rulers of the nation came the balancing practice of men bearing the rule of the nation.

Nonetheless, the fact that at least eight *ali'i nui* were females underscores two prominent truths in determining the relative ranks of *ali'i*: multiple criteria were considered; determinations were subjective and to some degree flexible. This is apparently why women with exceptional abilities, and with the prerequisite of being first born children of *ali'i nui*, could rise to the position of *ali'i nui* despite their gender.

Similarly, other male *ali'i* overcame their comparatively humble birth origins to achieve the position of *ali'i nui*.

Achieved Statuses of *Ali'i*. In addition to the five ascribed criteria outlined above, chiefs could do much within their lifetime to gain more *mana* and hence achieve a higher status. Such higher statuses may not have translated in all cases to a higher formal position, but *ali'i* who distinguished themselves by their achievements in key areas were undoubtedly remarked upon, watched, and more highly considered by other chiefs in the court.

As discussed in Chapter 4, there were numerous specialty areas in which *ali'i* could focus their efforts, acquire more *mana*, and through which they could improve their standing. *Ali'i* could manage the land and populace of a given area, address the religious and spiritual concerns of the nation, train and command its military forces, mentally record and recite the genealogies of *ali'i* families and histories of polities, attend to the needs of the highest chiefs in the court, etc. If *ali'i* performed in exemplary fashion in any of these areas, displaying their discipline and skill as well as the spiritual connection with and support of the gods, such individuals would be rewarded by earning elevated positions in their respective arenas.

One of the skill areas in which all *ali'i* were universally expected to train and excel in were the arts of warfare. It was a major responsibility of *ali'i* to organize and train military forces and lead those forces in combat, whether in defense of the nation or in aggressive warfare elsewhere. For these reasons, "all the *ali'i* who ruled the chiefdoms were taught and were very skilled in warfare. Their knowledge [of warfare] was better than all of the people" (Malo 1996:269). *Ali'i* needed to develop a high level of competence in these skills as part of their education. Thus prowess in

warfare became a critical area in which *ali'i* could distinguish themselves and rise to greater prominence.

Another area of training in which *ali'i*, especially those of the highest ranks, needed to demonstrate proficiency was in conducting religious ceremonies in the *heiau*. When an "ali'i was mature, he went to live with a kahuna pule [expert in prayers] who could prepare him in wise and skilled things that could benefit his religious practices" (Malo 1996:226). For instance, the young Liholiho, son of Kamehameha Pai'ea, was taught appropriate prayers and offered one such prayer during the *kapu loulou* rite at the *heiau luakini* of Papa'ena'ena in Kona, O'ahu (I'i 1983:37-38). If an individual could not fulfill such responsibilities, they would not remain in their position of leadership (Malo 1996:261). Conversely, if an *ali'i* excelled in religious pursuits, this afforded him or her increased support from both the *akua* and the *kāhuna pule* (priesthood), as with the cases of 'Umi a Liloa and Kamehameha Pai'ea.

Even the highest *ali'i nui* could elevate their positions by bringing increased honor and pride to their family lineage. Doing so primarily involved governing one's nation with wisdom, skill, and care. Malo (1996) offers perhaps the most comprehensive list of traits involved in good governance that would enhance an *ali'i nui's mana* (listed in Table 5.2).

A critical point to note is that whether *ali'i* achieved or were born into their positions, the *mana* they possessed initially or garnered through their lifetime could easily be lost along with an achieved political position. *Mana* could be forfeited through a wide variety of behaviors that in essence are the opposite of those listed in Table 5.2 below. When *ali'i* were oppressive toward the *maka'āinana*, ineffective in

their administration of the land, neglectful of the gods, or careless with their own personal *kapu*, their *mana* would be so diminished as to no longer grant them the protection that their *kapu* once provided. At this point the lesser *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* could rise up against them and few others would be there to defend them, evidence of their diminished *mana*. Numerous examples of this are evident in the *mo'olelo* (as described in Part IV and Part V). The roles of *ali'i* were by no means rights; they were responsibilities that needed to be fulfilled continuously.

Kuleana of the Ali'i Nui

The term *kuleana* is well suited to describe the lives of *ali'i nui* for it captures the inseparable duality of their role. *Kuleana* on one level can be thought of as prerogatives, privileges, authority, and rights—the benefits that come with positions of power. *Kuleana* at the same time refers to responsibilities, liabilities, concerns, and accountabilities—the burdens that come with leadership (Pūku'i and Elbert 1986:179).

In modern-day contexts, the life of a head of state is readily seen as a position highlighted by privilege while laden with worrisome responsibilities. Yet in discussions of technologically less advanced societies, the stereotype of a ruler possessing complete authority and extensive privileges seems to prevail. This has not been helped by portrayals of Hawaiian chiefs (e.g., Beckwith 1970:376; Earle 1987:68) which have singularly emphasized “insignia of rank” and the rights involved in “aristocratic society” to characterize the “sumptuous lifestyle” of *ali'i nui*. This section is in part an attempt to clarify that Hawaiian heads of state were as much defined by their concerns and responsibilities as they were by the privileges that they enjoyed. As with so many other aspects of Hawaiian life, there was an intended

balance in the role of the *ali'i nui*. By the end of the pre-contact period, the *kuleana* of *ali'i nui* had evolved into the dualistic scenarios described below.

Table 5.2. Behaviors that Enhance an *Ali'i Nui's Mana* (From Malo 1996)

Mana Enhancing Behaviors	Page Source
Listening to people's hardships	173
Punishing those "who concealed things"	173
Giving "comfort to the just"	173
Inspiring people in time of war	173
Taking care of the warriors	173
Listening to the advice of experts	173
Showing bravery in combat	173
Displaying wisdom without hesitation	173
Living under difficult conditions to be able to empathize with others who experience such conditions	173
Practicing great patience	173, 269
Being religious by taking care of the gods and following the advice of the <i>kahuna pule</i> (priesthood)	173, 261
Marrying a woman of high rank, preferably a close relative, to assure unquestioned succession and governmental stability	174
Humbling themselves to the <i>maka'ainana</i>	180, 269
Protecting "all beneficial things"	261
Protecting things of the <i>ali'i</i> and things of the <i>maka'ainana</i>	263
Respecting the homes and crops of the <i>maka'ainana</i> (e.g., sleeping on the side of a trail over a long trip rather than appropriating the home of a <i>maka'ainana</i> family and making sure that no one in the traveling party uproot the crops of the <i>maka'ainana</i> for themselves)	263, 264
Eating the food brought by <i>maka'ainana</i> as offerings (as opposed to not doing so and seeming to be unappreciative)	264
Avoiding during ocean travels areas where fishermen are fishing	264
Keeping the populace physically fit	265
Guarding against any plundering throughout the nation	266
Protecting and caring for the <i>maka'ainana</i>	266
Being kind and moderate	266

Kuleana Which Highlight the Authority of Ali'i Nui. Most of the prerogatives *ali'i nui* enjoyed resulted from their high ascribed sacred ranking. Their rights included ceremonies, prerogatives, and sacred regalia to protect and increase their *mana*. Measures were even taken to assure the *mana* and status of the

highest *ali'i* before their birth such that upon their birth there would be no question as to their sacred rank (Malo 1996:224-226). Care was taken to secure for an *ali'i nui* of the prior generation an appropriate mate to guarantee the sanctity of the heir born of that union in the next generation, for a foremost *kuleana* of one generation of *ali'i* was to preserve the *mana* of the family's lineage into the next generation, in the form of an appropriate heir.

Because of such concerns, royal marriages were "less a suggestion of hearts than of state considerations" (Kalākaua 1990:341). Of prime interest were the alliances that a marriage would produce and the rank, privileges, and support that would accrue to the resulting heir in the next generation. Although high ranking chiefs and chiefesses enjoyed the privilege of having one or more mates of their choosing,³⁹ the ideal was that their first marriage would be with a designated *ali'i* to preserve the *mana* of their lineage and the *kuleana* of an heir.

When such a marriage was arranged, specific rituals and prayers accompanied the first mating of the royal couple which took place in a special house called a *hale kapa*, outside of which was the supportive populace which indirectly witnessed the conception of a royal heir (Malo 1996:224). Once a child was confirmed to have been conceived, *mele* (chants and songs) were composed for the

³⁹ The choice of mates was enjoyed by *ali'i kāne* and *ali'i wāhine*. Fornander (1996:134) specifies that "chiefesses of high rank" had the "freedom of manners and liberty of selecting their husbands." An example of this right being acknowledged is seen in a *mo'olelo* in which Maui chiefess Keleanoho'ana'api'api plays a central role. Kalākaua (1990:232) notes that Kelea's brother, Kawaoka'ōhele, the *ali'i nui* of Maui, was anxious to see her marry an appropriate mate. Kawaoka'ōhele "nevertheless recognized her right, as the daughter of a king, to a voice in the selection of a husband" (Kalākaua 1990:232).

child, *hula* performed in honor of the child, and appropriate plans made for the child's birth.

Upon the birth of a most sacred child, the *akua* transferred to the world of the *kānaka* an immense concentration of *mana* in that *keiki ali'i* (royal child). It was understood that the gods marked this event through "thunder and quakes, lightning, mists and rains" and other signs in nature (Kamakau 1991:154). If a *keiki ali'i* was most fortunate, he or she would be born in a renowned sacred place to further enhance his or her *mana*. Prime among such places was Kūkaniloko, Wahiawā, O'ahu. The hallowed grounds and birthing stones of Kūkaniloko were first used for the birth of Kapawa. Such illustrious *ali'i* as La'amaikahiki, Kalaimanu'ia, and Kākuhihewa would follow in being born there, each receiving from and adding to the *mana* of Kūkaniloko (Kamakau 1991:38, 57, 68, 105; Malo 1996:297; Fornander 1996:21, 272). Associated with many birth places were *heiau* where the highest *ali'i* infants were taken and where their umbilical cords were cut under the watchful eyes of the ruling chief's court. The sacred children born at Kūkaniloko were taken to the *heiau* Ho'olonopahu for this ceremony (Kamakau 1991:38).

The *heiau* Holoholokū at Wailua, Kaua'i was "a sacred birthplace of chiefs" (Pūku'i 1983:56). This is where *ali'i nui* Kahakumakaliua was said to have been born (Kamakau 1991:108, 1996:39). An *'ōlelo no'eau* recounts the connection of *ali'i* status to birth at Holoholokū: "*Hānau ke alii i loko o Holoholokū, he ali'i nui; hānau ke kanaka i loko o Holoholokū, he ali'i nō; hānau ke ali'i mawaho a'e o Holoholokū, 'a'ohe ali'i, he kanaka ia*" (The child of a chief born in Holoholokū is a chief; the child of a person [who is not an *ali'i* in this context] born in Holoholokū is a chief; the child

of a chief born outside of the borders of Holoholokū is a commoner) (Pūku'i 1983:56).

As these *keiki ali'i* matured they would be honored with the composition and performance of their *mele inoa* or name chants. A *mele inoa* embodied the history of a family and its all-important *mo'okū'auhau* (genealogy). With it came the *mana* of generations. It was the verbal record of an *ali'i's* unbroken connection to the *akua*, glorious ancestors, as well as beloved *one hānau* (birth sands) and *kulāiwi* (native lands) of that *ali'i's* *'ohana*. This *mele inoa* was far more important than the tangible ornaments of wealth and status that *ali'i* possessed.

Ali'i privileges were also carried through later stages of an *ali'i's* life. A boy of this status would undergo subincision ceremonies in which the foreskin of his penis was slit. This was a "sign approved by the gods" to differentiate *ali'i* from *maka'āinana*⁴⁰ (Kamakau 1991:153). This rite of passage further initiated the boy into the world of *kāne* activities conducted in the *hale mua* (the men's house and *heiau* where religious ceremonies to family *'aumakua* were performed) (Malo 1996:198). As with the child's birth, this sacred event was said to have been marked by thunderous as well as more subtle signs in nature indicating the involvement of the *akua* in the event (Kamakau 1991:154).

Throughout the lives of these sacred *ali'i* they were protected by their personal *kapu*. Such *kapu* kept those who would harm them physically and spiritually at bay (as described in Chapter 4). The most sacred *ali'i* would have

⁴⁰ The importance of subincision in differentiating *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* is illustrated in the *mo'olelo* of 'Umi a Liloa. When Liloa recognizes 'Umi as his true son, he gave immediate orders to have the subincision ceremonies conducted for 'Umi, marking 'Umi as a legitimate *ali'i* (Fornander 1999:IV:184-185; Kamakau 1992:7).

individuals attending to their needs related to their *kapu*. The *iwikuamo'o* was the *ali'i's* highest attendant who oversaw the *ali'i's* personal needs and "executed private orders" (Pūku'i and Elbert 1986:105), the *'ā'īpu'upu'u* would be in charge of the *ali'i's* food, the *lomilomi* took care of the *ali'i's* excrement, the *kia'ipo'o* watched over the *ali'i* during sleep, the *pa'a kāhili* carried the *ali'i's* feather standard, the *ipu kuha* handled the *ali'i's* spittoon bowl, the *po'e i kahī kapu* cared for the private parts of the *ali'i*, and the *mālama ukana* looked after the *ali'i's* household goods (Malo 1996:178; Kepelino 1932:122-135).

Tangible symbols of royalty were also created to honor *ali'i* and provide them immediate recognition by other chiefs and the populace. This was another means to assure that all *kapu* were followed by those with whom these sacred *ali'i* came in contact. A sample of such regalia of the highest *kāne* and *wahine ali'i* includes the *lei niho palaoa* (a carved whale-tooth pendant attached to a necklace of braided human hair); *kāhili* (feather standards held by attendants), feather *lei* for *wāhine*, and for *kāne*, feather helmets and *'ahu'ula* (feather capes) which both physically and spiritually protected them in battle (Kaepler 1985).

The residences of *ali'i nui* were also marked by royal insignia which defined the *ali'i's* sanctified residence and provided added assurance that an *ali'i's mana* was not diminished by inappropriate exposure to low ranking individuals. A *pūlo'ulo'u* (a kapa-covered ball placed on a staff) was carried before the highest *ali'i* to convey their sanctity. Two were placed at the entrance of their royal residence to signify the same.

A more symbolically significant emblem at a ruling chief's residence was his *'aha kapu*. This was a "sacred sennit cord belonging to a high chief and kept on a

high place before his house” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1986:6). One of two *‘aha kapu* “was stretched between the *pūlo‘ulo‘u* posts outside the entrance to the enclosure of a chief’s dwelling” while the second “inside cord” was stretched between the *pūlo‘ulo‘u* “at the entrance to the chief’s house” (Kamakau 1991:153). With proper approvals, the cords would be removed and a visitor allowed entrance. But if trespassers entered the house and the cords did not drop of their own accord, the violators of the chief’s *kapu* could be killed (Kamakau 1991:155).

As with other insignia of the highest chiefs, the *‘aha kapu* was imbued with great spiritual meaning. In a physical sense, the *‘aha kapu* demarcated the *kapu* area of the *ali‘i* from the *noa* area of the rest of the populace (Kamakau 1991:156). “In a metaphysical sense, the *‘aha kapu* connect[ed] the chief with the gods on the one hand, and with his followers on the other” (Rose 1992:7). It is likely that the connections between the gods and the ruling chief were symbolically bound through the creation of the *‘aha kapu* which probably occurred during the *‘aha* ritual in the *heiau luakini* (Valeri 1985:298).⁴¹ The *‘aha kapu*’s connection to the people may

⁴¹ Valeri (1985:297-298) does not mention a significant point in his analysis which supports his hypothesis of the *‘aha kapu* symbolically connecting the *ali‘i nui* to the gods: Since the *‘aha kapu* is made of coconut husk fibers, as opposed to the superior *olonā* (*Touchardia latifolia*) bast fibers that could have been used for cordage, this suggests that the material chosen had some other significance. While the *olonā* plant produced “the strongest and most durable cordage available to Hawaiians” (Summers 1990:22), it was not considered a *kīno lau* (body form) of any *akua*. On the other hand, the coconut plant is a *kīno lau* of the god Kū, an *akua* of greatest importance to *ali‘i nui*.

A second important reason that *niu* was chosen that Valeri did not consider was the verbal and mental connection that this kind of cord would automatically suggest given two of its meanings. *‘Aha* specifically refers to cords made of *niu*, human hair, or the intestines of animals; it excludes for instance cordage made of such materials as *olonā* or *hau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1986:5). *‘Aha* also means a “meeting, assembly, gathering,” as in the *‘aha ali‘i*, or council of chiefs (described in the next section of this chapter). Significantly, the same individuals granted entrance into the *‘aha ali‘i* were admitted past the *‘aha kapu* at the *ali‘i nui*’s residence.

derive from a symbolic perception of a ruling chief as one who binds together the people and lands of his nation (Valeri 1985:297-298).

The *'aha kapu* also played a central role in another privilege of *ali'i nui*. Upon their deaths, their *'aha kapu* were incorporated into their burial *kā'ai* (basketry caskets woven from braided sennit cordage into an anthropomorphic form). Such *kā'ai* were entombed in chiefly mausoleums where they were to receive perpetual care. The incredible reserve of their *mana* that resided in their *iwi* (bones) upon death needed to be guarded for all time. These caskets provided both spiritual and physical protection as did the sanctified grounds in which they were placed. Examples of such mausoleums included Hale o Līloa at Waipi'o, Hāmākua and Hale o Keawe at Hōnaunau, Kona, both on Hawai'i Island (Rose 1992:11, 15). Other *ali'i nui* were honored with being interred in sanctified caves such as Kapelakapuokaka'e at 'Īao, Maui, a place of extreme *kapu*. Kapawa, Laka, Paumakua a Huinuiikalāla'ila'i, Kaha'i a Hema, Hua, Paumakua, Haho, Hanala'a, Kaka'alaneo, and Kekaulike were said to have been interred at Kapelakapuokaka'e (Kamakau 1991:29, 39, 146, 149; Malo 1996:297; Kalākaua 1990:84; Sterling 1998:80; cf. Kamakau 1991:151).

All of the above *kuleana* of *ali'i nui* could be considered classic chiefly privileges that they enjoyed as part of their high status. As positive in connotation as each of these were, many of these *kuleana* carried concomitant obligations (see items 1-3 in Table 5.3 which summarize the privileges and responsibilities inherent in these *kuleana* of *ali'i nui*). Some of the privileges, as with birth and burial *kuleana*, were inter-generation responsibilities—privileges of one generation and responsibilities for another. Some of these “rights” brought with them continual

restrictions that imposed not only upon a populace but upon the freedom of *ali'i*. If the highest ranking individuals did not follow the proper protocols regarding, for instance, the selection of mates,⁴² having only a restricted recognized set of *ali'i* visitors entering their residence, having attendants properly care for their personal belongings, or having retainers enforce their *kapu* while they traveled, then the *mana* they possessed would diminish and their position in chiefly circles would begin to erode. Hence even such "privileges" could be considered onerous responsibilities.

Kuleana Which Highlight the Primary Responsibilities of Ali'i Nui.

Abiding by the liability aspects of the above *kuleana* were not nearly as consuming as other *ali'i nui* concerns of running their nations. While the power they wielded in doing so may suggest a life of luxury, those prerogatives came with considerable responsibility (see items 4-7 in Table 5.3 which summarize the privileges and responsibilities inherent in these *kuleana* of *ali'i nui*).

A prime *kuleana* of *ali'i nui* was their involvement in the religious well being of their nations. In seeking the guidance, support, inspiration, and *mana* of the most powerful national-level *akua*, *ali'i nui* had to erect and maintain *heiau* that were appropriate to house these *akua*. At these *heiau*, *ali'i nui* were expected to conduct regular religious ceremonies involving prayers, offerings, and specific rituals.

Worshipping these national-level *akua* could be viewed as a privilege of *ali'i nui*

⁴² An example of a chief who lost his sacred *kapu* by "making love to the lesser chiefesses" was Kahāhana of Maui and O'ahu. Kamakau (1992:128) records that Kahāhana's wife was Kekuapo'i'ula, whose beauty "had no equal" in the islands and whose appearance was "without flaw from head to foot." It was perhaps Kahāhana's sentiment that his "tabu was well worth losing" "for such a peerless beauty" as Kekuapo'i'ula. Kahāhana as well was said to have been "a handsome, curly-haired man who was compared to a fine cock who attracts the attention of the hens," which led to this saying applied to curly-haired attractive men: "*Pi'ipi'i hahai moa*" ("Curly head followed by chickens") (Pūku'i 1983:290).

Table 5.3. *Kuleana of All'i Nui* (p. 1 of 2)

<i>Kuleana</i>	Privilege, Right, Authority	Responsibility, Liability, Concern
1 Marriage to one or more high-ranking <i>all'i</i> spouse(s)	1) Opportunity to bear children with those who possess equal or higher degrees of <i>mana</i> . 2) Having children conceived of and born under circumstances which confirm their sacred rank and which honors that sacred nature (i.e., chiefly birth rites).	1) Securing an appropriate spouse in terms of rank and in relation to that individual's political connections. 2) Being disciplined enough to conceive of an appropriate heir as a first born, following protocols to confirm that heir's sacred rank, and honoring that heir's sacred status through ceremonial practices. • Memorizing and being able to present one's <i>mele inoa</i> as well possessing a thorough knowledge of one's collateral and lineal relatives. • Understanding and maintaining the <i>mo'olelo</i> and <i>mo'okū'auhau</i> of one's own family and nation and retaining professionals who also know that of other families and nations.
2 <i>Mo'olelo</i> and <i>mo'okū'auhau</i>	Having <i>mele inoa</i> (songs and chants recording one's genealogy and special attributes or accomplishments) or other kinds of <i>mele</i> composed and presented in honor of one's self and one's family.	
3 <i>Kapu</i> and <i>kānāwai</i>	1) Possessing personal <i>kapu</i> restricting contact of others with one's body, personal belongings, personal space, and residence. Such <i>kapu</i> were symbolized in various emblems of royalty and were attended to by court members and enforced by retainers. 2) Being honored in death by burial practices that ensured the physical and spiritual protection of one's <i>iwi</i> . 3) Punishing anyone who breaches any <i>kapu</i> or <i>kākāwai</i> in whatever way one deems fitting (usually by death).	1a) Moving outside of one's residence only under stringent restrictions or with the possibility of disrupting all ongoing activities (or needing to travel incognito). 1b) Limiting the circle of individuals with whom one comes in close contact as well as the nature and frequency of such contact. 2) Protecting family burial sites. 3a) Establishing appropriate <i>kānāwai</i> to address specific situations or broader national goals. 3b) Enforcing (indirectly via <i>lesser all'i</i> and <i>ilāmuku</i> [executioners]) the <i>kapu</i> and <i>kānāwai</i> .

Table 5.3. *Kuleana of All'i Nui* (p. 2 of 2)

	<i>Kuleana</i>	Privilege, Right, Authority	Responsibility, Liability, Concern
4	Relationship with national-level <i>akua</i>	Worshipping and communicating with the most powerful and all-encompassing <i>akua</i> on behalf of the populace, and receiving <i>mana</i> in various forms from these <i>akua</i> .	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Erecting and maintaining <i>heiau</i> appropriate for the most powerful <i>akua</i> of the nation. • Conducting flawless ceremonies to honor these <i>akua</i> and to seek their aid in any area of concern within the nation.
5	<i>Maka'āinana</i> of the nation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Applying the labor of the <i>maka'āinana</i> to desired efforts (e.g., warfare or large building projects). 2) Receiving <i>ho'okupu</i> and 'auhau from the <i>maka'āinana</i> especially during Makahiki. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a) Providing the appropriate technical and managerial expertise (in the form of trained lesser <i>all'i</i> in most cases) to direct <i>maka'āinana</i> engaged in national projects (e.g., training for war, building <i>heiau luakini</i>, creating trails, etc.). 1b) Monitoring <i>all'i</i> use of <i>maka'āinana</i> labor to ensure that their labor was not abused. 2) Distributing <i>ho'okupu</i> and 'auhau to other <i>all'i</i>, the priesthood, military forces, and the rest of the populace.
6	<i>All'i</i> of the nation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Directing and applying the skills of the <i>all'i</i> to manage the nation. 2) Requesting the views and suggestions of the 'aha <i>all'i</i> or council of chiefs regarding difficult decisions. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Training, selecting, monitoring, encouraging, and rewarding the many <i>all'i</i> who managed the various districts of the nation. 2a) Making final determinations on difficult decisions and being accountable to the 'aha <i>all'i</i> for those decisions. 2b) Maintaining the support of the 'aha <i>all'i</i> and cooperative relationships within it.
7	Land area (and surrounding ocean environments) of the nation	Using any resources within the area of one's nation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enforcing all <i>kapu</i> and <i>kānāwai</i> to maintain the well being of the nation and to promote <i>lōkahi</i>. • Training and monitoring selected <i>all'i</i> managers of the nation's districts and the populations of those districts. • Defending the nation's lands and populace from the aggression of other chiefs.

(lesser chiefs who attempted to do so were considered rebels [Kamakau 1976:129]). However, there was much work involved to assure that such worship would be pleasing in the eyes of the gods. The sincerity of an *ali'i nui's* prayers to the *akua*, and their demeanor of humility and respect towards these *akua* was essential for the success of such ceremonies. One of the ways *ali'i nui* displayed such truths to the *akua* and their nation was in the houses they provided for these honored *akua*.

A substantial effort was needed to construct most *heiau luakini* (*heiau* related to the overall well being of a nation) and *heiau māpele* (*heiau* related to the agricultural fertility of a nation) where *ali'i nui* would often worship. A site and architectural design needed to be selected in consultation with a *kahuna kuhikuhipu'uone* (an expert who knew the physical and spiritual nature of geographic locations as well as the placement and layouts of *heiau* throughout the archipelago, and who understood the history of the various *heiau*, especially with regard to their efficacy) (Kamakau 1964:8, 27, 47, 1976:134; Malo 1996:178, 241). *Ali'i* to oversee the work needed to be directed and organized and the *maka'āinana* under them mobilized. The stones for the dry-laid masonry construction that were often a part of these sites needed to be acquired and then carefully interlocked to form the main structure's foundation. Appropriate wood (i.e., *'ōhi'a* for *heiau luakini* and *lama* for *heiau māpele* [Malo 1996:239-240, 259-260; 'I'i 1983:39, 56] would have to be harvested and then crafted into the *ki'i* (images), *pae humu* (fencing), and the framework for the *heiau's* structures and furnishings. Lashings and thatching had to be applied to the structures to finish them. Chiefesses had to make *kapa* to clothe the *ki'i*. Prayers and rituals were practiced and perfected. Fragrant plant materials were gathered to beautify the *heiau* environment for the gods (Kamakau 1964:12,

1992:325; Green and Beckwith 1926:199). *Ho'okupu* (offerings) and *mōhai* (sacrifices) needed to be secured. All of these activities occurred under the direct or indirect management of the *ali'i nui*. If all the preparations and ceremonies implemented were well done and sincerely conducted, then the *akua* would be pleased and their *mana* passed to the *ali'i nui* and the nation.

The above example illustrates another *kuleana* of *ali'i nui*—the power to command *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* labor at their discretion. With that came the responsibility to select and train the *ali'i* who would manage the activities and then have them appropriately teach and manage the *maka'āinana* regarding their roles. It is likely the *ali'i nui* rarely conducted such training directly, but certainly they were ultimately responsible for the same. Once the *maka'āinana* were organized for a given project, the *ali'i nui* had to indirectly or directly manage the large-scale project, perhaps rewarding successes and correcting inadequacies when the project was underway and even engaging in the actual labor (examples of which are provided in Part IV). An *ali'i nui* also had to balance the need to get a job accomplished with respect for other urgent requirements of *maka'āinana* livelihood. For although the daily living necessities of the *maka'āinana* were probably provided for while they were engaged in such projects, other roles the *maka'āinana* played in their own *'ohana* were suspended during such times.

Similarly, at the district levels, *ali'i nui* also needed to monitor the work for which *maka'āinana* were being asked to provide labor. In optimal situations, the labor of the *maka'āinana* was balanced to some degree by the benefits of the project. For instance, the fish in *loko i'a* (fishponds) helped to offset the need for *maka'āinana* to fish for the *ali'i* and for themselves as well. However, if there were

no such benefits from the labor demanded by a lesser *ali'i*, or rather that the *maka'āinana* were being exploited, then it was the *kuleana* of the *ali'i nui* to put an end to the abuse.

Other aspects of the lesser *ali'i* administering the districts were also the final responsibility of the *ali'i nui*. This would include ensuring that the lands were parceled out and managed appropriately by his lesser chiefs so that each *'ohana* could meet its needs. The *kuleana* further involved the *ali'i nui* checking on the degree to which the land was being made fertile, a sign as well of the spiritual health of the district. One way that *ali'i nui* could assess the well-being of a district was to evaluate the quality and quantity of *ho'okupu* (offerings) and *'auhau* (taxes) that the district provided during the Makahiki.

The Makahiki ceremonies only secondarily provided a mechanism for *ali'i nui* to detect the pulse of the nation as the *ali'i nui* moved from district to district during the season. A primary economic benefit of this sacred and festive ceremonial period involved another *kuleana* of the *ali'i nui*. After receiving tribute during the Makahiki, *ali'i nui* had the *kuleana* of distributing these goods. *Ali'i nui* were only expected to keep a portion of the items for themselves and their court. A majority of the *ho'okupu* and *'auhau* received were to be distributed to others. Skillful distribution was directed by those under the *ali'i nui* such as individuals in the priesthood and likely the *pu'ukū* who was in charge of "distributing the wealth" of the *ali'i nui*⁴³ (Malo

⁴³ The position of the *pu'ukū* was greatly desired by those in the court. In the *mo'olelo* of Kūali'i, the favorite of Lonoikaika, Kapa'ahulani, was most interested in the privilege of serving as the *pu'ukū* for Kūali'i (Forlander 1999:IV:402-403).

1996:178; see also Chapter 4 in which the economic functions of the Makahiki are discussed in more detail).

Surplus goods could also be distributed at other times of the year to utilize the stores in the *ali'i nui's hale papa'a* (the storehouse where his wealth was kept) (Malo 1996:178). Even when the *ali'i nui* decided to distribute items to the lesser chiefs, as opposed to the *maka'āinana* populace, the result would nonetheless be positive for the populace as it would negate the need of the *maka'āinana* under such *ali'i* to give those *ali'i* what the *ali'i nui* provided instead. When done well, the duty of distributing items throughout the nation was likely instrumental to the success of any *ali'i nui* and hence one of their critical *kuleana*.

Perhaps the most important *kuleana* of *ali'i nui*, as it relates to other *ali'i*, was the need to maintain their support and to establish cooperative relationships among them. Without these key manifestations of peace and stability, the nation would not be healthy. Problems could and did at times erupt into civil war—rebellion by lesser chiefs. A way that *ali'i nui* managed such relationships between himself and other *ali'i* and among the various *ali'i* of his nation was through the *'aha ali'i* or council of chiefs (described further in the next section of this chapter).

Encompassing all other *kuleana* was that of the *ali'i nui's* need to maintain the stability and strength of the nation. This would subsume all the above *kuleana* and include two further *kuleana*: 1) the need to maintain all *kapu* and *kānāwai* throughout the nation, and 2) the need to defend the nation against aggression (of an internal or external source) or involve the nation in aggression, if viewed as beneficial to the nation. As described previously, the *kapu* embodied the fundamental beliefs of Hawaiian society and ordered the relationships of people

within the society, bringing it closer toward achieving *lōkahi*. Maintaining the *kapu* and enforcing the practices involved in it was of utmost importance. Evidence that *ali'i nui* took this role seriously comes from the fact that their courts included a special officer, the *ilāmuku* who executed lawbreakers.

The *kuleana* of the *ali'i nui* involving warfare was for some *ali'i nui* their greatest challenge and for others a responsibility they never were required to fulfill. Still, whether war was of greater or lesser concern for various rulers, each had to prepare a soldiery for battle so that the warrior force was ready if needed. First and foremost this involved training the *ali'i* class as a whole in the arts of warfare and seeing that they were well equipped for the endeavor. For unlike today's modern societies where the political leaders of a nation are most often physically removed from actual conflicts, *ali'i* led the soldiery on the battle field. They were the nations' best warriors as well as the trainers and commanders of the fighting battalions. Under the *ali'i* was the soldiery which as well needed to be prepared and supported in their daily needs during their training. Food had to be procured and prepared to sustain these warriors (or time taken from their training to have them attend to providing such basic needs). Raw materials for weapons needed to be acquired and warriors trained to fashion these into effective implements.

With an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the nation's forces, and those of its possible opponents, an *ali'i nui* needed to develop appropriate battle strategies. This would be done in coordination with the *kālaimoku*, the *ali'i nui's* primary advisor in war. The *'aha ali'i* was another source of support and assistance in war strategy. It also initially determined whether or not to go to war. Yet regardless of the many individuals involved in discussions and

preparations for war, final decisions rested with the *ali'i nui*. In the end the *ali'i nui* alone was held accountable for the life of the nation.

The degree to which an *ali'i nui* fulfilled all the above *kuleana* was constantly being evaluated by the *ali'i* of the court as well as the populace. If *ali'i nui* fulfilled their roles in exemplary fashion, their names would be lauded in the traditions and their specific feats recounted for all time. If they did not meet their *kuleana*, they could be threatened or even overthrown.

The 'Aha Ali'i

A key group in maintaining the well being of a nation along with the *ali'i nui* was the *'aha ali'i*. This chiefly council would be the greatest source of support for ideal *ali'i nui* and a most threatening assembly for mediocre *ali'i nui*. The *'aha ali'i* played a pivotal role in the lives of *ali'i*. Haho (in generation 2 of this study) first established this *ali'i* institution on Maui where he reigned (Kalākaua 1990:72, 84; Fornander 28, 78; Kamakau 1991:156⁴⁴). The concept was thereafter adopted across the archipelago (Kamakau 1991:156; Kalākaua 1990:84; Fornander 1996:28; see also Chapter 8 for a discussion of the causes and effects of the establishment of this institution). Once fully established, the *'aha ali'i* provided the following: 1) a means for *ali'i* to be recognized as such, 2) a venue in which the relative ranks of *ali'i* could be determined, 3) an opportunity for *ali'i* from across an island to interact, exchange information, and to develop mutually beneficial ties, and 4) a group decision making process that served to support, advise, or even correct the *ali'i nui*.

⁴⁴ Kamakau (1991:156) describes Haho as ruling on Hawai'i Island. This is likely an error that is related to the likely fact that Haho's father Paumakua a Huanuiikafāla'ila'i had secured lands for their family both on Maui and Hawai'i Island (Kalākaua 1990:71-72).

In short, the *'aha ali'i* provided an internal governance structure among the *ali'i* of a nation and a balance to the power that *ali'i nui* held.

Kalākaua (1990:84) recorded that “to be recognized by this college of heraldry, it was necessary for every chief to name his descent from an ancestor of unquestioned nobility; and when his rank was thus formally established, no circumstance of war or peace could deprive him of it.” Even in times of conflict, chiefs of the *'aha ali'i* whose lives were spared were never made menial attendants to other chiefs and “invariably received the deference and attention due to [their] rank” (Fornander 1996:29). In this way the *'aha ali'i* helped to assure that the high standing of *ali'i* might be afforded them under even dire circumstances.

The *'aha ali'i* further protected the class of *ali'i* from their ranks being infiltrated and defiled by those without a legitimate claim. The genealogical scrutiny *ali'i* would initially receive was intended to exclude “pretenders” and assure that only the “blue-blooded of the entire group” were acknowledged as true *ali'i* (Fornander 1996:30; Kalākaua 1990:84). Hence, *ali'i* desiring admittance into the *'aha ali'i* “were required to recite their genealogies and make good their claims to noble descent” (Daggett in Kalākaua 1990:23). This may be identical or parallel to the process for entrance into the *ali'i nui's* household, which Malo (1996:262) indicates involved the applicant being questioned by several authoritative *kū'auhau* (genealogists) who inquired about the applicant's parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, etc. of the past ten generations. A further process that *ali'i* went through in entering into the *'aha ali'i* involved a determination of the “gradations of rank and *tabu*” to which they were entitled (Kalākaua 1990:84-85).

Once admitted, *ali'i* were privy to such special rights as learning the language of the '*aha ali'i*' "which was not understood by the common people" (Kalākaua 1990:85). Admittance into the '*aha ali'i*', along with the rank bestowed on the individual at that time, gave that person the right to wear their appropriate chiefly insignia of rank at any time (Kalākaua 1990:85; Fornander 1996:29).

The '*aha ali'i*' also provided an opportunity for chiefs of different districts of an island and of different chiefly lineages to meet and develop a sense of camaraderie. The bounds forged among chiefs of the '*aha ali'i*' were of great significance to them. Fornander (1990:29-30) recorded the following of such relationships:

Among members of the Aha-Alii it was not unusual that two young men adopted each other as brothers, and by that act were bound to support each other in weal or woe at all hazards, even that of life itself; and if in after life these two found themselves, in war time, in opposing ranks, and one was taken prisoner, his life was invariably spared if he could find means to make himself known to his foster-brother on the opposite side, who was bound to obtain it from the captor or the commanding chief. And there is no instance on record in all the legends and traditions that this singular friendship ever made default.

While the '*aha ali'i*' certainly helped to promote amicable relations among chiefs of a nation, the main business of the '*aha ali'i*' was to meet and discuss issues of concern to all. In these discussions, both the process and the content of the interactions could determine the outcome. In terms of process, the '*aha ali'i*' no doubt abided by clear and stringent rules. In following such protocols, those of different ranks likely understood the parameters for their engagement in the discussions. All participants needed to be concerned with what was proper in terms of the timing of statements, the manner in which statements were made, and the content area about which it would be appropriate to comment. Careless disregard for such protocol could be disastrous for an *ali'i*. Even "the slightest injury, affront, or

slight” by any participant of high or low rank could foment into a major conflict or be the excuse for such a conflict (Fornander 1996:29).

In relation to the content of what could be discussed, topics included even the actions of the *ali'i nui* themselves. As described in more detail in Part IV, the '*aha ali'i* decided the fate of *ali'i nui* or such critical issues as whether a nation would or would not go to war. The degree of influence the '*aha ali'i* had upon an *ali'i nui* and vice versa was in all probability a function of the comparative personal *mana* of the *ali'i nui* and those within '*aha ali'i*. If the *ali'i nui* was held in unquestioned high regard, then probably the '*aha ali'i* served only in an advisory capacity. If the *ali'i nui* was not respected, the '*aha ali'i* might even meet of its own accord to discuss plans to rid themselves of that *ali'i nui* (e.g., as with Kūmahana who was deposed by O'ahu's '*aha ali'i* [Kamakau 1992:128; Fornander 1996:65]).

Summary

The roles of *ali'i* were determined by numerous factors. Primary among these was their ascribed status relating to the positions, marriages, and reputations of those who preceded them in a genealogical succession. In addition, key achieved statuses relating to lifelong patterns of behaviors affected upward or downward mobility of *ali'i* through time.

Those who came into the position of *ali'i nui* were given tremendous *kuleana* (privileges and responsibilities). While many *kuleana* can be seen as rights affording *ali'i nui* greater *mana*, these often curtailed the activities of *ali'i nui* and entailed significant obligations. Other *kuleana* relating more to the authority held by *ali'i nui* illustrate the large degree of power *and responsibility* that these individuals wielded.

When executed properly, the position of an *ali'i nui* was weighted with numerous concerns.

The *'aha ali'i* or chiefly council was a great asset to *ali'i nui* who were excellent administrators and a dreadful foe to *ali'i nui* who were doing a poor job of managing their nations. This council identified those within the society who were bona fide *ali'i* and also determined the relative ranks of these individuals. The *'aha ali'i* provided information and advice to the *ali'i nui* on regional issues as well as issues relating to interactions with other island nations. Continued interactions of the *ali'i* in this council created a mechanism that encouraged camaraderie among their ranks and stability within the government.

PART III. A SYNTHESIZED VIEW OF THE TEMPORAL AND GENEALOGICAL CONTEXTS OF THE MAJOR ISLANDS' ALI'I

Overview of Part III. The database used in this study of Hawaiian *ali'i* included information from standard references on early Hawaiian history as well as other sources which address more specific topic areas (as discussed in Chapter 2). The database contained information for over 1350 *ali'i* varying in quality and quantity. Having this body of information assembled in a single database provided a synthesized view of *ali'i* from numerous *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* that was not available to earlier authors, even those of the nineteenth-century.

This comprehensive, cumulative view of Hawaiian oral traditions allowed three aspects of the Hawaiian past to come into clearer focus than has previously been possible: 1) the sequence of ruling chiefs for the four major islands, especially the earlier succession of O'ahu and Maui *ali'i nui* (as described in Chapter 6), 2) the temporal correlation of 23 generations of *ali'i nui* of the major islands (as described in Chapter 7), and 3) the genealogical relationships of *ali'i* within and among the major and less well known chiefly lineages (as illustrated in Chapter 7). Understanding these dimensions of the Hawaiian past as presented in chapters 6 and 7 provides the foundation for the perspective used in the analyses in Part IV and Part V that encompass the spatial range of the major islands and the temporal span of 23 generations of Hawai'i's *ali'i*.

Chapter 6 Proposed Sequences of *Ali'i Nui* of the Major Islands

Introduction

The primary objectives of this chapter are to present a proposed sequence of *ali'i nui* for Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, and Kaua'i and to explain the reasoning used to identify the individuals listed. The discussion is limited to *ali'i nui* of the major Hawaiian Islands, as the extant oral traditions do not adequately describe such information for other islands (as with Moloka'i) and because the other islands were often politically subsumed by one of the major islands (as with Ni'ihau, Kaho'olawe, and Lāna'i). Identifying the sequence of *ali'i nui* proposed in this chapter is a preliminary step in the overall research approach of this dissertation. Following this step, the sequences and other information from *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* could be analyzed to correlate the *ali'i nui* of the different islands in a single temporal sequence (the focus of Chapter 7).

The proposed sequences of *ali'i nui* for the Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, and Kaua'i are presented respectively in Tables 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, and 6.5. The tables provide six types of information: 1) *ali'i nui* in temporal order, 2) prominent *ali'i 'ai moku* who are included in the analyses of this and other chapters, 3) the region (usually an island) over which an *ali'i nui* ruled or the districts over which *ali'i 'ai moku* had jurisdiction, 4) the identification of the generation of which each *ali'i nui* is a part, 5) estimations

of the relative degree of authority exerted by these individuals (the justification for which is provided in the detailed discussions in Part IV), and 6) estimations of the accuracy of the identification of the *ali'i nui* or *ali'i 'ai moku* listed.

As is evident in Table 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, and 6.5, the reliability of the sequences of *ali'i nui* are variable for the different islands and time periods. Hawai'i Island is the most securely recorded. This is a function of the fact that its native *ali'i* remained in control of the archipelago throughout the 1800s, the period in which information relating to the different islands' histories were being recorded in written form. Kaua'i is probably the next most secure sequence. This is seemingly due to the relative simplicity of the sequence for that island wherein a single *ali'i nui* seems to have held sway over the entire island until generations 21 to 23.¹

O'ahu's and Maui's histories are less securely recorded for the early generations of their *ali'i*, in part because their early sequences of ruling chiefs are more complex and would have been more difficult to retain over the generations, and also because of the later history of these islands. In the case of O'ahu, its courts (including its historians and genealogists) would have experienced some degree of upheaval following the internal strife brought by Kahāhana's persecution and execution of his *kahuna nui* Ka'ōpuluhulu, by Kahekili's attack from Maui and the related subsequent battles, by Kalanikūpule's and Ka'eokūlani's battle on O'ahu, and by Kamehameha's attack on O'ahu. On Maui, the same lack of continuity would have resulted from the civil war between Kauhī'aimoku a Kama and Kamehameha

¹ Although Kaua'i's sequence of ruling chiefs is consistently recorded in numerous sources, the least information is available for Kaua'i's *ali'i nui* regarding the nature of their governance and notable events during their reigns.

Nui, the repeated assaults by Kalani'ōpu'u from Hawai'i, Kahekili's wars on O'ahu, the transfer of much of Maui's court to O'ahu, Kamehameha's attack on Maui, and the quick turnover of *ali'i nui* of the island following Kahekili's death. Of course the prevalent problems of disease and depopulation in the post-contact period (as Stannard [1989] and Bushnell [1993] document) would as well have played a role in creating gaps of information for all the islands.

Explanation of the Hawai'i Island Sequence of Ali'i Nui

The sequence of ruling chiefs for Hawai'i Island is consistently and well documented among standard sources (as listed in Table 6.1) (Kamakau 1991, 1992, 1996; Malo 1827, 1996, Fornander 1969, 1996, 1999, Kalākaua 1990; McKinzie 1983, 1986; 'Ī'i 1983; Kepelino 1932; Poepoe in McKinzie 1982). Such regularity in the reporting of this sequence has led to agreement among later researchers' reconstructions of the sequence (e.g., Cordy 1981:Table 63; Hommon 1976:Figure 13, Appendix A).²

The only two difficult aspects in understanding the Hawai'i Island sequence of ruling chiefs entail the transition period between the older established Nānā'ulu chiefs and the newer administration of Piliika'ai'ea who was probably of the 'Ulu line

² In such later reported sequences the most difficult period to reconstruct, and a critical one in understanding early socio-political change on Hawai'i Island, was not included. This is the transition period between the older established chiefly lines on Hawai'i Island and the initiation of the new dynasty of chiefs beginning with Piliika'ai'ea. Cordy (1981:210, Table 63) begins his analysis with Kalaunuiohua (generation 8 in this analysis), six generations following Piliika'ai'ea. Hommon (1976:149, Figures 12 and 13, Appendix A) starts his discussion of the "Early Traditional Period" with Kanipahu (generation 5 in this analysis), three generations following Piliika'ai'ea.

Table 6.1. Temporal Ordering of *Ali'i Nui* and *Ali'i 'Ai Moku* of Hawaii'i Island

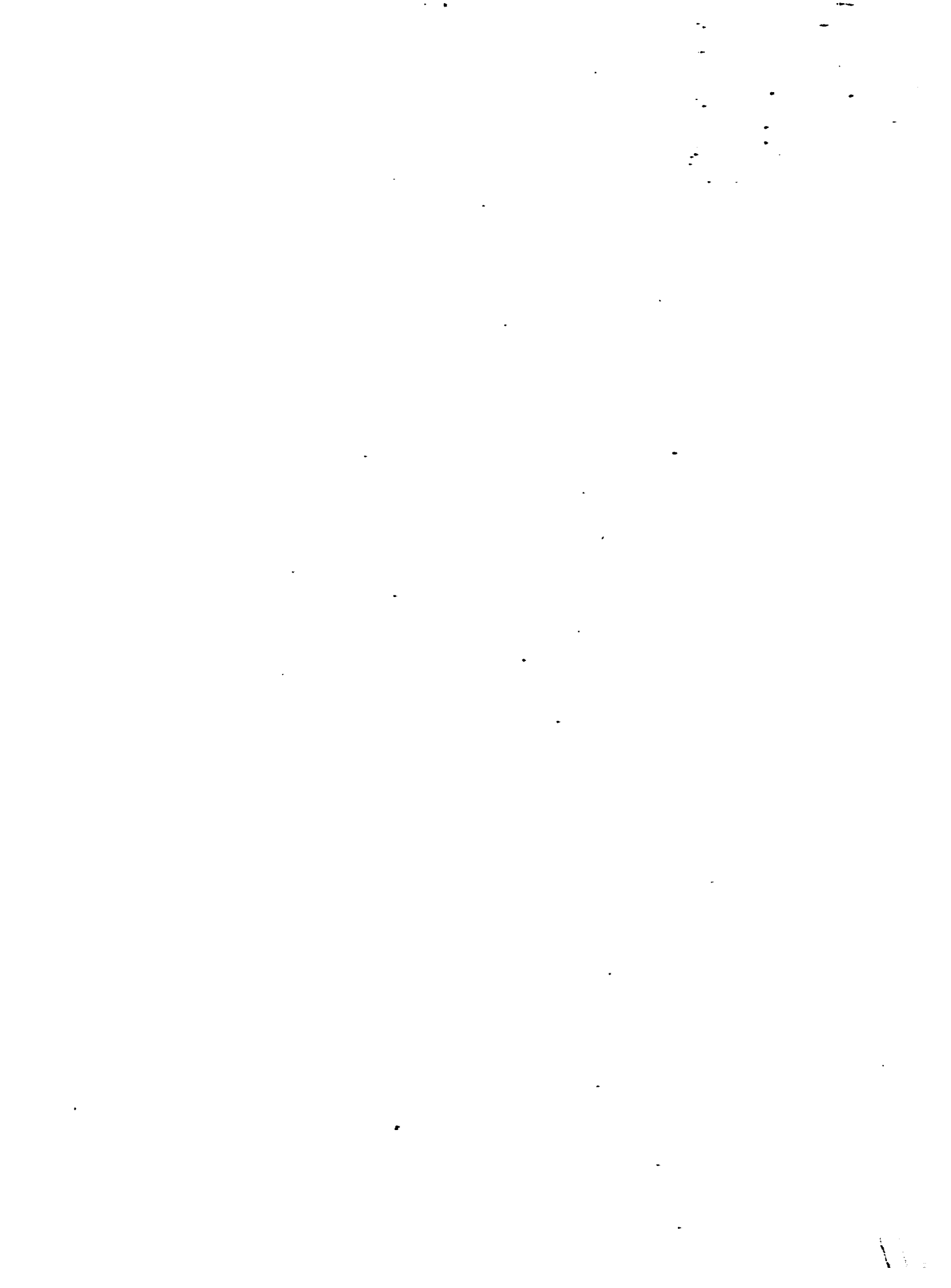
G	<i>Ali'i Nui</i> and <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i>	Area of Administrative Authority	Authority Estimation	A
1	Lā'au	Hawaii'i	Nominal	3
2	Piliika'alea	Hawaii'i	Some administrative authority (increasing through time)	1
3	Kūkohou	Hawaii'i	Some administrative authority (increasing through time)	1
4	Kaniuhi	Hawaii'i	Some administrative authority (increasing through time)	1
5	Kanipahu	Hawaii'i	Some administrative authority (increasing through time)	1
5	Kamal'ole	Hawaii'i	Some administrative authority (increasing through time)	1
6	Kalapana	Hawaii'i	Some administrative authority (increasing through time)	1
7	Kaha'imoele'a	Hawaii'i	Some administrative authority (increasing through time)	1
8	Kalaunuiohua	Hawaii'i	Administrative	1
9	Kūaiwa	Hawaii'i	Administrative	1
10	Kahoukapu	Hawaii'i	Administrative	1
11	Kauhoianuilimāhū	Hawaii'i	Administrative	1
12	Kihanuilulumoku	Hawaii'i	Administrative	1
13	Līloa	Hawaii'i	Administrative	1
14	Hākau	Hawaii'i	Administrative	1
14	'Umi a Līloa Kulūkulu'a Hua'a 'Imaikalani 'Ehunuikaimalino	Hawaii'i Hila Puna Ka'u Kona	Initially nominal, later administrative	1 1 1 1 1 1
15	Kell'iokāloa	Hawaii'i (with administrative authority over Kona, Kohala, Ka'u) Hāmākua, Hilo, Puna	Nominal	1
15	Keawenui a 'Umi Keawenui a 'Umi	Hawaii'i	Administrative	1 1
16	Kaikilani Kanaloakua'ana then Lonoikamakahiki 'Umiokalani Makua a Kūmalae	Hawaii'i Hawaii'i Kona Hilo	Nominal Administrative Administrative	1 1 1 1
17	Keakealanikāne Keaweakai	Hawaii'i Kohala Hilo	Nominal	1 3 1
18	Keakamahana	Hawaii'i	Nominal	1



	Lonoikamakahiki 'Umiokalani Makua a Kūmalae	Kona Hilo	Administrative	1 1
17	Keakealanikāne 'Keaweakai	Hawai'i Kohala Hilo	Nominal	1 3 1
18	Keakamahana Kanaloao'o/Mahi'ololi Kua'ana a 'i	Hawai'i Kohala Hilo	Nominal	1 1 1
19	Keakealaniwahine Kuahu'ia	Hawai'i Hilo	Nominal	1 1
20	Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku Kauaqa a Mahi Mokulani	Hawai'i Kohala Hilo	Administrative	1 1 1
21	Kalaninui'iāmamao Mokulani	Ka'ū Hilo	Administrative	1
21	Kalanike'eaumoku	Kona, Kohala	Administrative	1
22	Alapa'inui	Hawai'i	Administrative	1
22	Kalani'ōpu'u	Ka'ū and Puna (at end of Alapa'i's reign)	Administrative	1
23	Keawe'ōpala	Hawai'i	Nominal	1
22	Kalani'ōpu'u	Hawai'i	Administrative	1
23	Kiwala'ō	Hawai'i	Administrative	1
23	Keōakuahu'ula	Ka'ū, part of Puna	Administrative	1
22	Keawema'uhihi	Hilo, part of Puna, part of Hāmākua	Administrative	1
23	Kamehameha	Kona, Kohala, part of Hāmākua	Administrative	1
23	Kamehameha	Hawai'i and later all islands but Kauai Kauai	Administrative Nominal	1

Key

- Each row represents a distinct political context, often one individual's reign.
- G: Generational temporal unit
- Boldface font: Individual holding position of *ali'i nui*
- Plain font: Prominent *ali'i*, usually an *ali'i 'ai moku*
- Authority Estimation: "Nominal" means that the *ali'i nui* served only nominally as the paramount leader of the island although this individual may have had administrative authority over his/her own district(s). "Administrative" means that the *ali'i nui* exerted both ceremonial and administrative control over the nation wherein *ali'i 'ai moku* were under their direct control.
- A: Estimate of the accuracy of the identification of the *ali'i* listed, with 1 being the highest level of certainty and 3 the lowest



(see discussion of Pā'ao's genealogical origins in Chapter 7). The first dilemma in identifying the series of Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui* is understanding who was ruling prior to Pilika'ai'ea. The second less problematic issue involves who ruled immediately following Pilika'ai'ea.

The most obscure section of the Hawai'i Island sequence is the generation prior to Pilika'ai'ea, that is, generation 1 in this study. Two sources (Fornander 1996:20-22; Kalākaua 1990:20, 70-71) indicate that Kapawa,³ the son of Nānākāoko, was the nominal *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island when the famed *kahuna nui* Pā'ao brought Pilika'ai'ea from the southern islands to establish a new administrative dynasty on the island. Both sources are absolute in their assertion of this "fact." Fornander (1996:22) states that Kapawa "was the last sovereign or supreme chief of the island of Hawaii previous to the arrival of Pili." Kalākaua (1990:71) contends that "it was during [Kapawa's] life that the celebrated chief and priest Paa'o made his first appearance" in Hawai'i.

On the other hand, Kamakau (1991:100; 1992:235) and Malo (1996:143, 298) affirm that the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island at the time of Pā'ao's and Pilika'ai'ea's arrivals was either Lā'au or his father Lonokawai. Kamakau (1991:100) says, "It is thought that Pā'ao came to Hawai'i in the time of the *ali'i* La'au because Pilika'ai'ea ruled as *mo'i* after La'au." Similarly, in recounting the rulers of Hawai'i Island, Malo (1996:298) establishes this sequence: "Lonokawai, Lā'au, Pili," etc. Malo

³ Kapawa is either the father of Heleipawa (Kamakau 1991:136-37; Lili'uokalani 1997:77; Beckwith 1972:239) or the two are similar names for the same individual (Malo 1996:315; Fornander 1969:1:202, 1996:21; McKinzie 1983:xx; Beckwith 1970:328).

(1996:143) also states that “Pā’ao arrived in the Hawaiian Islands during the reign of Lonokawai, the chief of Hawai’i. This was the sixteenth chiefly generation after Kapawa.”⁴

In evaluating whether Kapawa or Lā’au was the *ali’i nui* prior to Piliika’ai’ea, other information from *mo’olelo* and *mo’okū’auhau* provide further facts to substantiate Malo’s and Kamakau’s record. First is that Paumakua a Huanuikalāla’ila’i (an *ali’i nui* of Maui in generation 1) was as a contemporary of Piliika’ai’ea (Kalākaua 1990:71). Second, Paumakua’s son Haho was also a contemporary of Piliika’ai’ea (Fornander 1996:39). Third, Kapawa lived anywhere from 12 to 13 generations prior to Paumakua a Huanuikalāla’ila’i (Malo 1996:315; Lili’uokalani 1978:77; McKinzie 1983:xx, 4, 1986:2; Fornander 1969:I:191). Hence, to contend that Kapawa was ruling at the time that Piliika’ai’ea arrived would be highly inconsistent with the *mo’olelo* and *mo’okū’auhau* of Hawai’i and Maui ruling *ali’i*.

Fornander’s explanation for the inconsistency, and his justification for his belief that Kapawa ruled when Piliika’ai’ea arrived, rests on two propositions: First, he states that Kapawa’s grandmother, Hinakapaikua, was the same as another Hina who was the grandmother of Kaulu, a famous voyager and navigator who would have been contemporaneous with Piliika’ai’ea (Fornander 1996:I:201). Kamakau (1991:41) and Kalākaua (1990:142) both refer to this individual as “Hina,” with no

⁴ Malo’s (1996:143, 298) two references of Pā’ao arriving during Lonokawai’s reign and Piliika’ai’ea ruling after Lonokawai’s son Lā’au are not mutually exclusive. Lonokawai may have been ruling when Pā’ao first settled on Hawai’i, and later by the time Piliika’ai’ea was sent for and arrived, Lā’au was apparently ruling.

further specification of her name.⁵ Given the widespread use of the name Hina, the similarity in names of Kapawa's grandmother and Kaulu's family member could be merely a coincidence.

Fornander's second proposition involves his belief that the O'ahu, Kaua'i, Maui, and Hawai'i historians all "misplaced Nanakaoko [Kapawa's father] some seventeen generations ahead of his actual time" (Fornander 1996:21). This of course seems unlikely. After all, if Kapawa fell from grace for a "great crime or fault" that he committed (Fornander 1969:l:201) and was "deposed or expelled" "for his bad government or other wickedness" (Fornander 1996:21f), he would not be elevated to a *senior* position within the genealogy of the then ruling chiefs. Further, if Kapawa was such a dishonored ruler, it is unlikely that later *ali'i nui* would continue to use and hold in highest esteem two places for which Kapawa was intimately associated. These places were the hallowed *ali'i* birth site of Kūkaniloko at 'Ewa, O'ahu, which Kapawa's parents established for his birth, and the sacred burial cave of Kapelakapuokaka'e at 'Īao, Maui in which Kapawa was the first to be interred (Kamakau 1991:38-39, 136).

A more plausible explanation for why some *mo'olelo* of Hawai'i Island recount "Kapawa" as ruling in the time of Pilika'ai'ea's arrival is that the ancient historians who referred to "Kapawa" in that manner may have been remembering a descendant of Kapawa and referencing a family lineage rather than a specific person.⁶ Indeed,

⁵ Kamakau (1991:111) and Kalākaua (1990:142) record that Hina was a wife of Kaulu's father, Kalana, and not Kaulu's grandmother. Neither source mentions the relationship of Hina to Kaulu. Kalākaua (1990:142) notes that Hina was "the only child of this marriage," suggesting that Kaulu was a child of Kalana with another woman.

⁶ This would be parallel to the manner in which this dissertation and other authors have referred to the Māweke family ruling O'ahu for generations.

Lā'au is recorded to be a descendant of Kapawa (Malo 1996:143, 315-316; McKinzie 1983:xx-xxi, 4, 1986:2). Moreover, since Kapawa was probably the first of his family to move from Maui and O'ahu to settle on Hawai'i Island (Kalākaua 1990:70-71), it is plausible that his name (as opposed to his elders on his lineage) would be used to identify his family's lineage on Hawai'i Island. Thus, it is likely that the individual who preceded Pilika'aiea in ruling Hawai'i Island was not Kapawa but rather his descendant Lā'au.

Following Pilika'ai'ea's reign, the oral traditions suggest two possible alternatives for rulers. Based on genealogical accounts (e.g., Kamakau 1991:157; McKinzie 1983:xiv, xxi, 4, 1986:2; Malo 1996:316), one might assume that Koa and then 'Ole followed as *ali'i nui* in the two generations after Pilika'ai'ea. However, a cautious review of the literature clarifies that a seemingly later convention of listing consecutive generations in genealogies may not have been followed in earlier genealogies, and that instead collateral lines were included in such genealogies (as was likely the case with the Maui genealogies, as described below). Generations later these listings of brothers and their wives may have been assumed to indicate generational changes. Given this understanding of the genealogies, Fornander (1996:39) concludes that "Koa and Ole may have been brothers of Pili" rather than lineal descendants and heirs to the position of *ali'i nui*. If this was the case, then Kūkōhou was most likely Pilika'ai'ea's son and heir. That Koa and 'Ole were perhaps brothers or other close collateral relatives of Pilika'ai'ea is further attested to by Kalākaua's (1990:124) notation that Kaniuhi (son of Kūkōhou) was the "grandson

of Pili.”⁷ Further, if Koa and ‘Ole are understood to be brothers of Pilika‘ai‘ea, the *mo‘olelo* which indicate the contemporaneity of various chiefs of that era would comport well with one another, an independent verification of Koa and ‘Ole likely not being the son and grandson of Pilika‘ai‘ea (see the discussion in Chapter 7 regarding the temporal correlation of *ali‘i* of this era).

The only other aspect of the Hawai‘i Island sequence that would probably be open for debate would be the period of frequent wars in the later generations 16 through 19 and 21. The issues of contention would likely involve the degree to which district *ali‘i* may or may not have acted as fully independent rulers. In all probability, such determinations were being constantly readjusted in relation to the various small-scale wars that were occurring at the time. Table 6.1 reflects primarily the accounts of Kamakau (1992) who offers the most detailed discussion of these generations (which are addressed in more detail in chapters 11 and 12).

Another aspect of Table 6.1 that could be disputed is the inclusion of Keaweakai in generation 17. Such questioning would arise primarily because Keaweakai is not documented in the familiar sources of Kamakau (1992) and Formander (1996, 1999) which best describe this period. He is found only in Malo’s (1827:35) *mo‘okū‘auhau* and is recorded there as a second husband of Keli‘iokalani. Keli‘iokalani was the first born of Kaikilani and Kanaloakua‘ana, as well as the wife of *Ali‘i Nui* Keakealanikāne (Kamakau 1992:61; Malo 1827:35; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 79;

⁷ Kalākaua (1990) regularly distinguishes between grandsons, great-grandsons, or descendants who were any specific number of generations removed from an ancestor in time. Hence, it is improbable that Kalākaua used the term “grandson” in the above reference in the all-encompassing manner that the Hawaiian term “*mo‘opuna*” could be used to describe grandchildren, grandnieces, grandnephews, and other descendants.

Fornander 1996:127, 1999:IV:405). From the marriage of Keli'iokalani and Keaweakai came Kanaloau'o (of generation 18), the often cited progenitor of the Mahi 'ohana of Kohala. The infusion of Keli'iokalani's blood (and possibly Keawenui a 'Umi's, as Keaweakai's name suggests) explains the high status that the Mahi family enjoyed in Hawai'i Island courts at the time. Indeed, an *ali'i* of generation 17 who was a member of the Mahi family was known to have asserted a nearly independent position in Kohala during Keakealani's reign (Kalākaua 1990:346; Fornander 1996:127). As there are no contrary records to identify another *ali'i* of the Mahi 'ohana of this generation who would fit this description, it is likely that Keaweakai was this individual. Thus, he is included among the otherwise thoroughly documented chiefs of the Hawai'i Island sequence.

Anyone who reviews Hawaiian oral traditions would find the remainder of the sequence described in Table 6.1 recorded consistently among the different sources. The last generations of the sequence are further recorded in historical documents which provide Western calendar dates⁸ for various major events that help to solidify the sequence in Table 6.1. In 1778 when Cook first arrived at Kealakekua Bay, Kalani'ōpu'u was the *ali'i nui* (King in Beaglehole 1967:III:512). Later explorers did not return to the island until 1786, however, based on descriptions given to these explorers from those they encountered, it was apparent that Kalani'ōpu'u passed away in the early months of 1782 (Fornander 1996:35; Kuykendall 1938:32).⁹ Upon

⁸ Although Kamakau (1992) and Fornander (1996) provide some Western calendar dates for later events, many of those dates are probably in error (Stokes 1933). As such, throughout this dissertation other sources will be relied upon for the dates of events in the early historic period.

⁹ Kamakau (1992:110) refers to this event as having occurred in 1772, which is probably a typographical error since he as well describes the interactions of Cook and Kalani'ōpu'u in late 1778 and early 1779 (e.g., Kamakau 1992:97-104).

his death Kīwala'ō became the new *ali'i nui*. In what must have been less than a month or two he was killed in the battle of Moku'ōhai, thus initiating a prolonged period of instability and divided governance wherein Keōuakū'ahu'ula, Keawema'uhili and Kamehameha retained partial control. Keōuakuahu'ula went to battle against Keawema'uhili who died as a result in 1790 (Fornander 1996:240-241; Kuykendall 1938:35-36). The series of internal Hawai'i Island wars ended late in 1791 when Kamehameha sacrificed Keōuakū'ahu'ula at Pu'ukoholā and consolidated Hawai'i Island under his control (Fornander 1996:245; Kuykendall 1938:37).

Explanation of the Maui Sequence Of Ali'i Nui And Ali'i 'Ai Moku

The Maui genealogical succession for the initial generations in this study are fairly straightforward (as listed in Table 6.2). Each of the sources consulted indicate that Haho followed Paumakua a Huanuiikalā'ila'i either genealogically (Kamakau 1991:151; Malo 1996:316; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1996:26-27; McKinzie 1983:4, 1986:2) and/or politically as the next nominal *ali'i nui* of Maui (Fornander 1996:78). The same is true regarding the transition from Haho to his son Palena, from Palena to Hanala'a,¹⁰ and from Hanala'a to Mauiloa (Kamakau 1991:72; Malo 1996:316; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX; McKinzie 1983:14, 1986:2, 10). Each of these *ali'i nui* seemed to have served as the nominal sovereign over the entire of Maui. One or more of these generations may have actually resided on the windward

¹⁰ The separate issue of whether the Hanala'a listed is Hanala'aiki or Hanala'anui, or whether there is only one such Hanala'a is discussed in Chapter 7 as it entails issues involving both Maui and Hawai'i Island genealogies.

side, as is indicated by Palena's and Hanala'a's birthplaces being Hāna (Kamakau 1991:101, 152, 1996:34). However, from the time of Palena's or Hanala'a's reign, a political distinction between the windward and leeward chiefs developed (Kalākau 1990:158). From this point forward, the historians of Maui's court needed to recount two sets of chiefs.

The dual records of Maui's related leeward and windward chiefs are found in the *mo'okū'auhau* of the *ali'i* of Maui, which at this juncture requires closer examination. If one was not aware of the *mo'olelo* of Maui and its neighboring islands that describe the contemporaneity of individuals, one could assume that the *mo'okū'auhau* of Maui's *ali'i* were contrived to give the impression that its *ali'i* descended from an extremely ancient lineage (that is, a lineage that includes more generations of chiefs than other genealogies). Even Fornander (1996:24, 80), who was of course thoroughly versed in Hawaiian *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau*, believed that the Maui genealogies were "conflicting relics of the past" that were in "error." In fact, it is clear that the Maui *mo'okū'auhau* cannot be understood, as one might understand other islands' chiefs' genealogies, to be a single listing of lineal descendants.

If one can accept that the early Maui genealogists were not conforming to what became "normal" conventions in the listing of individuals in a genealogy, then the fact that "the Maui genealogy has been doubled up by the insertion of contemporary chieftains, who probably divided the rule of the island" (Fornander 1996:79-80) may not be evidence of the "pretensions" of Maui's genealogists, as Fornander (1996:24) contended. Rather, what seems to be the case is that the

Table 6.2. Temporal Ordering of Ailii Nui Ailii' and 'Ai Moku of Maui

G	Ailii Nui and Ailii' 'Ai Moku	Area of Nation	Authority	Accuracy
1	Paumakua a Huanuilikalāla'ila'i	Maui	Nominal	2
2	Haho	Maui	Nominal	2
3	Palena	Maui	Nominal	2
4	Hanala'a Hua	Leeward Maui Windward Maui	Administrative Administrative	1 1
5	Mauiloa Kanaloa	Maui Windward Maui	Nominal	1 2
6	Kuhimana Kalāhūmoku	Maui Windward Maui	Nominal	3 1
7	Kamaluohua Wakalana	Maui Windward Maui	Nominal	2 1
8	Lo'e Alo	Maui Windward Maui	Nominal	2 2
9 8/9	Kahakuohua Alo and Luako'a	Maui Windward Maui	Nominal	2 3
10 9/10	Ka'ulahea I Luako'a & possibly later, 'Ele'i'o	Maui Windward Maui Windward Maui	Nominal	1 2
11	Kakae	Maui and Lāna'i	Nominal	1
11 10	Kaka'alaneo 'Ele'i'o	Leeward Maui and Lāna'i Windward Maui	Administrative	1 1
12	Kahekili I	Leeward Maui and Lāna'i Windward Maui	Administrative	1 1
11	Kalā'eha'eha	Leeward Maui and Lāna'i Windward Maui	Administrative	1 1
13 12	Kawaoka'ōhele Lei	Leeward Maui and Lāna'i Windward Maui	Administrative	1 1
14	Pi'ilani	Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
13 14	Kamohoali'i - followed by Kalaehina	Windward Maui Windward Maui	Administrative	1 1
15	Lono a Pi'ilani	Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
15	Hō'olaemakua	Windward Maui	Administrative	1
15	Kiha a Pi'ilani	Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
16	Kamalālāwalu	Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1



15	Lono a Pi'ilani		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
15	Ho'olaemakua		Windward Maui		
15	Kiha a Pi'ilani		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
16	Kamalālāwalu		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
17	Kauhi a Kama		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
18	Kalanikaumakaowākea		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
19	Lonohonuakini		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
20	Ka'ulāhea II		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
21	Kekaulike		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
22	Kamehameha Nui		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
22	Kauhi'aimoku a Kama		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
22	Kamehameha Nui		Maui and Lāna'i	Administrative	1
22	Kalani'ōpu'u		Hāna, Kīpahulu	Administrative	1
22	Mahihelelima		Hāna, Kīpahulu	Administrative	1
22	Kahekilinui'ahumanu		Maui, Lāna'i, Moloka'i, and O'ahu	Administrative	1
23	Kalanikūpule				
23	Kamehameha		Maui, Lāna'i and Moloka'i	Administrative	1
22	Kahekilinui'ahumanu		Maui, Lāna'i, Moloka'i, and O'ahu	Administrative	1
	Ka'eokūlani				
23	Ka'eokūlani		Maui, Lāna'i, and Moloka'i	Administrative	1
23	Kalanikūpule		Maui, Lāna'i, Moloka'i, and O'ahu	Administrative	1
23	Kamehameha		Maui, Lāna'i, Moloka'i, and O'ahu	Administrative	1

Key

- Each row represents a distinct political context, often one individual's reign.
- G: Generational temporal unit
- Boldface font: Individual holding position of *alii nui*
- Plain font: Prominent *alii*, usually an *alii* 'aj moku
- Authority: "Nominal" means that the *alii nui* served only nominally or ceremonially as the paramount leader.
- "Administrative" means that the *alii nui* exerted both ceremonial and administrative control and that *alii* 'aj moku were under the direct control of the *alii nui*.
- Accuracy: Estimate of the accuracy of the identification of the *alii* listed, with 1 being the highest level of certainty and 3 the lowest.



Maui genealogies record for the earlier generations two or more offspring at certain generations and then segments of the corresponding lineages of those individuals that probably relate to the divided rule of the island between two branches of the family (as with Wakalana and Kamaluohua in generation 7 [Fomander 1996:80-81]).¹¹ In other words, there is probably a mix of both collateral and lineal relatives recounted in the Maui genealogies.

The alternate interpretation that the “insertion of contemporary chieftains” was the result of the “pretensions” of Maui’s courts to effect an appearance of antiquity (Fomander 1996:24, 79), seems unlikely. If Maui’s *kū’auhau* (genealogists and historians) inserted individuals who were not rightfully ancestors of the sacred lineage recounted, they would have degraded the *mana* of those of that lineage and offended these individuals along with their true ancestors. Such an offense would have been unpardonable. Moreover, the tactic of “inflating” a genealogy would have fooled no other *ali’i* across the islands, especially those of Hawai’i Island who claimed many of the same ancestors.

The improbability that the Maui genealogy represents a single lineal succession becomes evident when comparing the *mo’okū’auhau* of Maui’s *ali’i* to the *mo’olelo* and *mo’okū’auhau* of the other islands. The *mo’okū’auhau* of Maui’s *ali’i* include far more generations than those of other islands which recount the same

¹¹ A physical manifestation of this politically divided rule of the island can be seen in the distinct *heiau* structures of the windward and leeward sides of the island. Seriations of the stylistic features (after Dunnell [1978] and O’Brien and Holland [1992]) of the *heiau* structures of Maui clearly show that the extant *heiau* represent both historical and spatial variation. The seriations show that the Maui *ali’i* of the two sides of the island through a significant span of time followed different rules regarding the incorporation of stylistic features in their *heiau* structures (for a full discussion of this issue see Graves and Cachola-Abad [1996, in prep.]).

relative span of time. The difference in generations included is far too large to be accounted for by early childbirth among chiefly families on Maui and later childbirth among chiefs of the other islands. For example, Piliika'ai'ea (of Hawai'i Island) and Haho (of Maui) are both *ali'i nui* of generation 2 who are known to be contemporaries (Kalākaua 1990:71), just as Ka'uholanuimāhū (*ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island) is known to be a contemporary of the Maui brothers and co-rulers Kaka'e and Kaka'alaneo (Formander 1996:39, 71). In the Hawai'i genealogy, there are nine generations between the corresponding contemporary pairs of *ali'i nui*. However, the Maui genealogies list 17 "generations" separating the pairs (e.g., Kamakau 1991:72; Lili'uokalani 1978:77-78; McKinzie 1983:4, 14, 1986:2, 10-11).

Significantly, in older chants such as the *Kumulipo* in which many of Maui's ancestral chiefs are highlighted, the text of the *oli* (chant) does not indicate that a husband and wife pair necessary begat the husband of the next pair listed, thus leaving open the possibility of the collateral lines being represented in some instances (e.g., Lili'uokalani 1978:77-78; Beckwith 1972:239-240; see also the presentation of genealogies in Malo 1996:315-316). These genealogies simply list husbands and wives. In contrast, later versions of the same Maui genealogies (as well as those of other islands) include a third category, the child of a husband-wife pairing who then appears as the husband of the next husband-wife pairing (e.g., Kamakau 1991:72-75; McKinzie 1983:xix-xxiii, 4-5, 14-15, 1986:1-3, 10-13). Such a later assumption that the listed pairs describe a lineal connection may not be true in all cases. Certain sets of husband-wife pairs may actually represent collateral relationships (e.g., three brothers and their three wives). That such a practice is perhaps seen in the early portion of sequence of *ali'i nui* for Hawai'i Island (that is,

with the likely set of collateral relatives Pilika'ai'ea, Koa, and 'Ole described above) suggests that it may have been a practice of the time period or a practice of the 'Ulu lineage during that era. If there was purposeful obfuscation of genealogies, this may not have served a self-aggrandizing purpose for the *ali'i* descendants. Rather, the lack of clarity may have been related to a desire to keep the knowledge only within appropriate circles who understood how to interpret the genealogies, for indeed, "the genealogies of the chiefs ... used to be *kapu* for the *maka'āinana*" to learn (Kamakau 1991:81).

In summary, the above discussion argues in support of four main points: 1) The Maui *mo'okū'auhau* cannot be interpreted as a single lineal succession. 2) The Maui *mo'okū'auhau* includes lineal and collateral relationships.¹² 3) The collateral relationships fall along a windward-leeward divide (as Fornander's observations seem to support [1996:79-81]). 4) The apparent contradictions between Maui's *mo'okū'auhau* (when interpreted as a single lineal succession) and other oral traditions can be understood not as examples of "errors" in the Maui *mo'okū'auhau* but as clues regarding how one might decode Maui's *mo'okū'auhau* (that is, how one might identify which sets of pairs represent collateral versus lineal relationships). Such hypotheses, along with information from numerous *mo'olelo* about the contemporaneity of *ali'i*, are used as part of the discussion below in reconstructing a

¹² In ancient times when the listings of individuals in the Maui chiefs' lineages were taught by *kū'auhau* to the young *ali'i* of that lineage, the *kū'auhau* surely would have noted what sorts of relationships were being described in different sections of the genealogy. Perhaps when these genealogies were chanted, for instance within Maui's courtly circles, such relationships would have been readily understood; explanations and clarifications would not have been necessary. Many generations later today, the genealogy of Maui's chiefs are enigmatic.

proposed sequence of Maui's early leeward and windward ruling chiefs (and as part of Chapter 7 in offering a proposed reinterpretation of Maui's *mo'okū'auhau*).

The first clearly recorded windward Maui ruling chief is Hua a Pohukaina (also known as Hua a Kapua'īmanakū).¹³ Although previous researchers did not include Hua among Maui's windward chiefs (e.g., Cordy [1981:Table 62]; Kolb [1991:Figure 3.9, 1994:Figure 4]), numerous facts substantiate Hua's position as the "virtual sovereign" and "ancient king of Hana, or eastern Maui" including the districts of Ko'olau, Hāna, Kīpahulu, and Kaupō (Kalākaua 1990:157-158; see also Fornander 1996:41). *Mo'olelo* specifically recount that Hua resided at Ka'uiki (Fornander 1996:41) and Wānanalua, Hāna (Kamakau 1991:149). There Hua "built war *heiau*" (Kamakau 1991:149) and "constructed one of the largest royal mansions in the group" (Kalākaua 1990:159). Hua further conducted the "earliest remembered war between Maui and Hawai'i" (Fornander 1969:41) called Kaniuho'opio which was fought at Hakalau, Hilo (Kamakau 1991:148).

Hua a Pohukaina was a contemporary of Palena and/or his son Hanala'a (of generations 2 and 3 respectively) (Kalākaua 1990:158). Since the traditions also indicate that Hua's war or large raid on Hilo occurred during the reign of Kanipahu (of generation 5) (Kalākaua 1990:158), and that "his proper place" on Maui's genealogies would be "three generations later than Paumakua" (Fornander

¹³ While Hua a Pohukaina's father is evident given Hua's name and the recorded genealogies (Kamakau 1991:101, 148; McKinzie 1983:4, 1986:2) which list Pohukaina (also known as Kapua'īmanakū) as his father, it is probably inaccurate to assume that Pohukaina preceded Hua in the position of *ali'i nui* of windward Maui. This is because Pohukaina was born at Kahakahakea, Kahuku, Ka'ū (Malo 1996: 297; Kamakau 1991:101) and buried at Māhiki, Kohala (Malo 1996:297). As such it is possible that Hua's connection to Hāna and Maui may have been through his mother, especially since he was born at Lahaina, Maui. Huahuakapalei (McKinzie 1983:4, 1986:2) was Hua's mother.

1996:41), it is likely that Hua's reign overlapped more with Hanala'a's than with Palena's. Hence, Hua is listed in generation 4 in Table 6.2.

Although the *mo'olelo* positively state that Hua was a contemporary of Palena or Hanala'a, in direct contradiction, the Maui *mo'okū'auhau* place Hua six (Malo 1996:315; McKinzie 1986:2) to eight "generations" (McKinzie 1983:4) before Hanala'a. Such a "discrepancy" in the Maui genealogies is consistent with the hypothesis forwarded above that the Maui *kū'auhau* were recounting collateral lines of related Maui chiefs.

After Hua's death, and given the displeasure with which the island viewed his reign (see Fomander 1996:41-42; Kalākaua 1990:157-173), it is unlikely that the priests and lesser chiefs of the time would have honored his children with allowing them to rule over windward Maui. Instead the traditions describe that the sons of the once-exiled Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui*, Kanipahu, held this position. These sons of Kanipahu and Hualani (a female *ali'i nui* of Moloka'i) were Kanaloa and Kalāhūmoku (Fomander 1996:79f, 1999:IV:180; Kamakau 1992:4). Given Kanaloa's senior position, it is probable that he ruled before his brother. However, the records are clearer in stating that his brother Kalāhūmoku "became ruling chief of Hana, Maui" (Kamakau 1992:4), hence the tentative "3" rating given to the placement of Kanaloa among the windward Maui chiefs in Table 6.2. Using the timing suggested by the fact that these were Kanipahu's sons, and that Kanipahu was contemporary with Hua, it is reasonable to suggest that Kanaloa ruled over windward Maui during Māuiloa's reign and that his younger brother Kalāhūmoku followed in this position after him.

More difficult to ascertain is the identify of Māuiloa's successor, the nominal *ali'i nui* over Maui during Kalāhūmoku's probable tenure over windward Maui. There are nine pairings of individuals between the generations of Mauiloa and Kuhimana in the Maui genealogies (Lili'uokalani 1978:77-78; Kamakau 1991:72; McKinzie 1983:14, 1986:10-11). For reasons unexplained, Fornander (1969:Appendix IX, 1996:80) collapses these nine generations of individuals, leaving out seven of them and suggests that two, Alau and Alo, represent the same individual. He includes only this presumed composite individual Alo within the Maui sequence to represent this span of time, and in doing so he suggests that Alo was the nominal *ali'i nui* of Maui following Mauiloa (Cordy [1981:Table 62], and Kolb [1991:Figure 3.9, 1994:Figure 4] follow the same¹⁴).

Within the nine "generations" (possible listings of husband-wife pairs that include collateral relatives) between Mauiloa and Kuhimana are only three individuals of note who appear in various *mo'olelo*, Wakalana, Alo, and Luako'a. This is perhaps an indication that at least some of the seven individuals who do not appear in the *mo'olelo* of Maui are the less recounted siblings of rulers rather than the rulers themselves (which was perhaps Fornander's unstated conclusion and his reason for deleting all but one of them). Another clue that some or all of the nine "generations" represent collateral lines comes from *mo'olelo* involving Wakalana.

Wakalana was the ruling chief of windward Maui and a contemporary of the Maui *ali'i nui* Kamaluohua who was in turn known to be the contemporary of *ali'i nui*

¹⁴ Hommon (1976:Figures 12 and 13, Appendix A) begins his analysis with Kuhimana (generation 6 in this study) and hence does not deal with the difficult discussion of the early generations of Maui's rulers. In the same manner, Hommon does not include any windward Maui *ali'i* except for Ho'olae (of generation 15 in this study).

Kalaunuiohua of Hawai'i Island (Kalākaua 1990:177, 182; Fornander 1996:67, 80-81). As Kamaluohua follows seven "generations" after Wakalana in the Maui genealogical listing (Lili'uokalani 1978:77-78; Kamakau 1991:72; McKinzie 1983:14, 1986:10-11), it stands to reason that all or part of the nine "generations" reflect collateral relatives—the siblings of Mauihoa and perhaps some of their children leading to such individuals of note as Wakalana, Alo, and Luako'a.

Alo can also be securely placed among the nine "generations." Alo (also known as Alo'ō'ia) is definitely Wakalana's son. This is documented in the Maui *mo'okū'auhau* by Alo being listed immediately following Wakalana. It is also and perhaps more convincingly attested to in *mo'olelo* describing the events of Wakalana's life which specify that Alo was Wakalana's son (although there is some uncertainty as to which of Wakalana's two wives was Alo's mother) (Kamakau 1991:72, 114, 1996:42; Fornander 1996:80-81). A special note in the *mo'olelo* is made of Alo's birth as, according to some versions, Alo was the child of Neleiki who was said to have been a foreigner belonging to a party from a foreign ship that landed off of Maui during the time of Kamaluohua and Wakalana (Kamakau 1991:72, 114, 1996:42; Fornander 1996:81). As such, it is improbable that Alo was the successor of Māuiloa (as Fornander [1969:Appendix IX] lists¹⁵ and as Cordy [1981:Table 62] and Kolb [1991:Figure 3.9, 1994:Figure 4] adopt) but that, he was the ruling chief of windward Maui following his father Wakalana.

¹⁵ Fornander's (1969:Appendix IX) placement of Alo following Mauihoa as the *ali'i nui* of Maui seems quite puzzling as he also describes the specifics of Alo being the son of Wakalana in the *mo'olelo* of the arrival of the foreigners during the time of Wakalana and Kamaluohua (Fornander 1996:80-81).

The third individual of the nine “generations” who is recorded in various *mo’olelo* is Luako’a. He is listed four “generations” after Alo, but was probably closer in time to Alo than such a conventional interpretation of the Maui *mo’okū’auhau* would imply. Luako’a was known to have taken part in an unsuccessful large-scale raid of O’ahu while Mā’ilikūkahi (of generation 10) was its *ali’i nui* (Kamakau 1991:56; Fornander 1996:70). Leading this raid along with Luako’a were the Hawai’i Island *ali’i* Hilo a La’akapu, Hilo a Hiloka’apuni, and Punalu’u. These *ali’i* were not described in the *mo’olelo* as paramount rulers but were seemingly higher-ranking *ali’i* within their islands’ courts.

Using the O’ahu and Hawai’i Island sequences of ruling chiefs and various *mo’olelo* as guides, significant clues are available to approximate a temporal placement for Luako’a (as well as his Hawai’i Island war companions). Mā’ilikūkahi’s great-grandfather was Kahu’oi (McKinzie 1986:7,13, 26; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1996:89). Kahu’oi ruled two administrations prior to Mā’ilikūkahi and, like his Maui counter-part Kamaluohua, faced a large-scale raid by the Hawai’i Island *ali’i nui* Kalaunuiohua (Kalākaua 1990:177; Fornander 1996:67-68). Kamaluohua of Maui was the contemporary of Wakalana. Therefore, by piecing these data together one can infer that Luako’a lived about two generations following Wakalana and was not likely a ruling paramount of Maui.

In order to forward a hypothesis with the least number of assumptions, it is suggested here that Luako’a was a grandson of Wakalana and son of Alo and that he likely ruled over windward Maui following Alo. The three individuals between Alo and Luako’a on the genealogical listing are possibly Alo’s siblings. An alternate

explanation is that one of those three individuals (Kaheka, Mapuleo, and Paukei) represents a generation between Alo and Luako'a.

Returning to the main line of Maui *ali'i nui*, the question remains as to who was Māuiloa's successor. Fornander's (1969:Appendix IX) reinterpretation of Maui's genealogies suggests that this was Alo and that Kuhimana succeeded Alo (Kuhimana follows five "generations" after Alo on the genealogies). As Alo is clearly the son of Wakalana and hence a probable ruling chief of windward Maui, a reasonable possibility would be that Kuhimana followed Mauiloa in the position of *ali'i nui* and that the nine generations between Mauiloa and Kuhimana were individuals of the collateral windward Maui line. If this is the case, the Maui genealogy from Kuhimana onward would comport very well with other genealogies and *mo'olelo* of the various periods.

The Maui *kū'auhau* after the time of Luako'a seem to have discontinued including windward chiefs in their succession. The genealogies instead appear from that point to conform to the convention of recounting a direct lineal succession. The only record of a Maui genealogy that is at odds with this interpretation is Fornander's (1969:Appendix IX), although even in this case there is only one generation in question. For reasons not described, Fornander excludes the generation of Kahakuohua (generation 9 in this study) (Kolb [1991:Figure 3.9, 1994:Figure 4] follows suit). He may have done this to bring the Maui genealogy into closer correspondence with genealogies of the other islands. Indeed Fornander's inclusion of Alo following Mauiloa in the sequence seems to have necessitated him removing someone later in the sequence to keep the record of the Maui chiefs better aligned with various *mo'olelo*. If a generation was not excluded, Maui chiefs known to be

contemporary with those of neighboring islands would have appeared to be one generation later than they should have been in Fornander's (1969:Appendix IX) comparative listing of the major lineages of Hawai'i *ali'i*.

If Kuhimana is recognized as the *ali'i nui* following Māuiloa, then Kalāhūmoku and Kuhimana were likely ruling over different parts of Maui at the same time (with Kuhimana being the nominal *ali'i nui*). Kamaluohua and Wakalana would be paired in the same way, as would Lo'e and Alo, and Kahakuohua and Luako'a. Given the context of Luako'a's and his companions' raid of Mā'ilikūhahi, it seems that Luako'a would have become Maui's windward ruling chief somewhat later in Kahakuohua's reign, and that Alo would have been in that spot during the earlier portion of Kahakuohua's reign. In the same manner, Luako'a likely overlapped with the reigns of Kahakuohua and Ka'ulahea I.

Regarding the windward Maui chiefs who are not recounted in the remainder of the standard Maui chiefly *mo'okū'auhau*, there are at least six of them who were known to have ruled over those districts prior to the complete administrative consolidation of the entire island of Maui under the political and ceremonial leadership of Pi'ilani (in generation 14). Fornander (1996:78, 78f) notes that among these chiefs who ruled over "the districts of Koolau, Hana, Kipahulu, and Kaupo" were "Eleio, Kalaehaeha, Lei, Kamohohalii, Kalaehina, and Hoolae, each one succeeding the other." Two sources offer clues as to when these windward *ali'i* lived (see Figures 7.1 and 7.2 which are discussed in Chapter 7 but which help to clarify the discussion below). The first is a *mo'olelo* about 'Ele'i'o which suggests that 'Ele'i'o was a subordinate of Kaka'alaneo, the *ali'i nui* of Maui at the time (who ruled jointly with his brother Kaka'e) (Fornander 1999:IV:482-487, 1999:V:434-435).

The second source that places the windward Maui *ali'i* in time is Malo's (1827:27-28) genealogical record. While 'Ele'i'o does not appear in this record, the remaining five *ali'i 'ai moku* who Fornander identifies are listed as relatives of one another and of neighboring island chiefs. Malo's record is especially useful, and in this case seemingly reliable, in that his references involving other islands' chiefs are consistent with the native records of those islands.

Malo (1827:27) recounts that Kalā'eha'eha's first wife was Naluehilokeahomakali'i. She bore from this marriage Kalāhūmoku II and Lei (Malo 1827:27). Malo (1827:27) further notes that Kalā'eha'eha took a second wife Haua who was "a chiefess of Maui" and who was also the wife of Liloa of Hawai'i Island (Kamakau 1992:1). Kalā'eha'eha's daughter with Haua was Kepalaoa who became the wife of the Maui *ali'i nui* Kawaoka'ōhele (generation 13) (Malo 1827:27; see also these sources which document the marriage of Kawaoka'ōhele and Kepalaoa: Kamakau 1991:73; Fornander 1996:83; McKinzie 1983:14, 35, 1986:12, 21).

Of Kalā'eha'eha's two male children, Lei was the successor of his father (Fornander 1996:78, 78f). It is unclear why Lei held this position instead of Kalāhūmoku II, who was the elder of the two (Malo 1827:27). Perhaps Kalāhūmoku II died at a young age before his father Kalā'eha'eha, which would explain his younger brother inheriting that position. Regardless, Kalāhūmoku II is said to have sired a son Kamohoali'i who in the next generation sired Kalaehina. Kalaehina's wife Kaupalemo gave birth to Ho'olaemakua (Malo 1827:28). Ho'olaemakua is reported in *mo'olelo* as a contemporary of Pi'ilani (of generation 14) (Fornander 1996:78) and his sons Lono a Pi'ilani and Kiha a Pi'ilani (of generation 15) (Kamakau 1992:29). Although Ho'olaemakua's rule over the windward Maui districts

extended over the reigns of these Maui *ali'i nui*, it seems he was closer in age to Pi'ilani, given that his daughter Koleamoku became the wife of Kiha a Pi'ilani (Kamakau 1991:73, 1992:25, 26; Malo 1827:28; Fornander 1996:206; McKinzie 1983:14, 1986:114).

The combination of the above facts regarding the windward *ali'i* afforded by Malo's genealogy suggests the ordering presented in Table 6.2. This sequence in relation to the pairing of *ali'i* of leeward and windward Maui differs from previously offered reconstructions of Maui chiefs (i.e., Cordy 1981:Table 62; Kolb 1991:Figure 3.9, 1994:Figure 4). The divergence begins with the record of Hua ruling over windward Maui during the reign of Hanala'a (of generation 4), which is not mentioned in other reconstructed sequences. Another point of divergence is evident in 'Ele'i'o's and Kalā'eha'eha's placement in relation to the leeward Maui *ali'i*. Cordy (1981:Table 62) and Kolb (1991:Figure 3.9, 1994:Figure 4) place 'Ele'i'o and Kalā'eha'eha as contemporary with Lo'e and Ka'ulahea I respectively. In contrast, they are proposed in Table 6.2 as contemporaries of Kaka'alaneo and Kahekili I respectively. The variance is in large part a result of the finer-scale information that Malo's (1827) genealogy and the *mo'olelo* of 'Ele'i'o (Fornander 1999:IV:482-487, 1999:V:434-435) provided.

Cordy and Kolb's reconstructions, which were not informed by such sources, seem primarily based on the assumption that pairs of *ali'i nui* and *ali'i 'ai moku* would be changing from one generation to the next in concert with one another. Yet it is plausible that events occurred more in the manner that Malo's genealogy and the related *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* of other islands suggest, wherein different lineages reproduced new generations at variable rates through time that nonetheless

average out over a longer duration. This is precisely what the Maui sequence proposed in Table 6.2 displays. In the earlier part of the sequence, the *ali'i nui* lines of Maui transition to the next generation at a faster pace than the windward *ali'i 'ai moku*. However for probably purely random reasons the pattern shifts in the later generations.

The remainder of the Maui ordering of *ali'i nui* as appears in Table 6.2 is consistently and well documented. This remaining sequence is the same as that recorded by Hommon (1976:Figures 12 and 13), Cordy (1981:Table 62), and Kolb (1994:Figure 4).

The last two generations of this sequence are solidified by historical documents of early Western visitors in the Islands at the time which also provide Western calendar dates for the transitions in administrations. These accounts establish that Kahekili was ruling most of Maui when Captain Cook arrived in 1778 and that Kalani'ōpu'u had control over the windward districts (King in Beaglehole 1967:III:500; Beaglehole 1967:615f; Stokes 1933:26; Kuykendall 1938:15-16, 30). Native accounts as well document that Kalani'ōpu'u ruled over Hāna, Kīpahulu, and Kaupō with his governors Puna and then Mahihelelima in charge until just before his death which was in 1782 (Kamakau 1992:81-82, 116, 310; Fornander 1996:215-216). The Western accounts further place Kamehameha's short-lived control over Maui, following the battle of Kepaniwai, as occurring in 1790 (Kuykendall 1938:35). By the middle April of 1791, Kahekili, assisted by his half-brother Ka'eokūlani and Ka'eokūlani's Kaua'i forces, reoccupied Maui and Moloka'i (see Quimper in Minson [1952:75-77] and Ingraham [1971:69]). In the meantime Kahekili's son Kalanikūpule was sent to become the regent over O'ahu (Fornander 1996:242). "In the spring or

summer of 1794, sometime after Vancouver's final departure from the islands, the aged king Kahekili died at Waikiki, Oahu" (Kuykendall 1938:44; see also Fornander 1996:260), leaving Ka'eokūlani in charge of Maui, Moloka'i and Lāna'i and Kalanikūpule in control of O'ahu (Kamakau 1992:168; Fornander 1996:262). In November and December of that same year Kalanikūpule and Ka'eokūlani entered into battle at Kaiaua and 'Aiea on O'ahu which proved fatal for Ka'eokūlani and left Kalanikūpule with the inheritance of all the islands formally under Kahekili's control (O'ahu, Maui, Moloka'i, and Lāna'i) (Kamakau 1992:169; Fornander 1996:265; Kuykendall 1938:46). In the spring or summer of 1795 Kalanikūpule entered into battle once more, this time with Kamehameha at Nu'uuanu, O'ahu. This conflict ended Kalanikūpule's life and afforded Kamehameha dominion over Kahekili's kingdom of Maui, O'ahu, and the neighboring islands (Kamakau 1992:260; Kuykendall 1938:47).

Explanation of the O'ahu Sequence Of Ali'i Nui And Ali'i 'Ai Moku

The O'ahu sequence of *ali'i nui* and *ali'i 'ai moku* for the second generation and from generation 7 onward is clearly and consistently documented (as listed in Table 6.3). The difficulty in the reconstruction involves generation 1 and generations 4 through 6. The dilemmas arise in part because of a lack of definitive information in the oral traditions for this period and in part from the fact that *ali'i* at this time were relocating within O'ahu, among the Hawaiian Islands, and between Kahiki and Hawai'i.

Such problems have led previous researchers to largely ignore these early generations. Hommon (1976:Figures 12 and 13, Appendix A) begins his analysis

Table 6.3. Temporal Ordering of *Ali'i Nui* and *Ali'i 'Ai Moku* of O'ahu

G	<i>Ali'i Nui</i> and <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i>	Area of Administrative Authority	Authority	Accuracy
1	Maweke Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa	Leeward O'ahu Windward O'ahu	Nominal	1 2
2	Muli'eleali'i Kalehenui Keaunui	Kona Ko'olau 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua	Nominal	1 1 1
3 (3-6) *	Kumu'honua Ahukai Lākona	Kona Ko'olau 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua	Nominal	1 3 1
4	'Elepu'ukahonua Olopana Ho'okamali'i	Kona Ko'olau 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua	Nominal	2 3 3
5	Kahōkūpohākano Kū o Mua Kaha'i a Ho'okamali'i	Kona Ko'olau 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua	Nominal	2 3 3
6	Nāwele Kawalewale o Kū Kūolono	Kona Ko'olau 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua	Nominal	2 3 3
(5-8) ** 7 7	Lāuil a La'a and Maelo (wahine) Ka'ulia'ulaokalani Lākona II	Kona Ko'olau 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua	Nominal	3 2 2
(7-10) ** 9 ?	Kahu'oi Moku a Lo'e Huapouleilei	Kona Ko'olau 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua	Nominal	3 2 3
9 or 10 (8-13) ^ 11 ^	Haka Mā'ilikūkahī Kalonaiki	O'ahu O'ahu O'ahu	Nominal Administrative Administrative	1 1 1
12	Piliwale Lōiale Kalamakua	O'ahu Lihu'e 'Ewa	Administrative	1 1 1
13 14	Kūkaniloko (wahine) Kela'imanuia	O'ahu O'ahu	Administrative Administrative	1 1
15	Kūamanuia Ka'ihikapu a Manuia Ha'o Kekela (wahine)	O'ahu Heiau 'Ewa, Wai'anae Waialua, Ko'olaui	Nominal	1 1 1 1
15	Ka'ihikapu a Manuia Ha'o Kekela (w) and Nāpūlānahu	O'ahu 'Ewa, Wai'anae Waialua, Ko'olau	Nominal	1
16	Kākuhihewa	O'ahu	Administrative	1
17	Kanekapu a Kākuhihewa Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa	Kona, 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua Ko'olaui, Ko'olaupoko	Administrative Administrative	1 1



15	Ka'ihikapu a Manuia Ha'o Kekela (w) and Nāpūlānahu	O'ahu 'Ewa, Wai'anae Waiālua, Ko'olau	Nominal	1
16	Kākuhihewa	O'ahu	Administrative	1
17	Kanekapu a Kākuhihewa Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa	Kona, 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waiālua Ko'olauloa, Ko'olaupoko	Administrative Administrative	1 1
18	Kaho'owahaokalani	O'ahu	Administrative	1
19	Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha	O'ahu	Nominal	1
20	Kūail'i	O'ahu	Administrative	1
21	Kapi'iokalani	O'ahu	Administrative	1
22	Kanahaokalani	O'ahu	Nominal	1
21	Peleiōhōlani	O'ahu and Moloka'i	Administrative	1
22	Kūmahana	O'ahu and Moloka'i	Administrative	1
23	Kahāhana	O'ahu and Moloka'i	Administrative	1
22	Kahekilinui'ahumanu (see also Table 7.2) Kalanikūpule	O'ahu and Moloka'i	Administrative	1
23	Kalanikūpule	O'ahu & later Maui, Lāna'i, Moloka'i	Administrative	1
23	Kamehameha (see also Table 7.1 and 7.2)	Maui, Lāna'i, Moloka'i, and O'ahu	Administrative	1

Key

- Each row represents a distinct political context, often one individual's reign.
- G: Generational temporal unit
- **Font:** **Boldface**=individual holding position of *all'i nui*, *italic*=one of two possible individuals who may have served as *all'i nui*, plain font=prominent *all'i*, usually an *all'i 'ai moku*
- Authority: "Nominal" means that the *all'i nui* served only nominally or ceremonially as the paramount leader. "Administrative" means that the *all'i nui* exerted both ceremonial and administrative control and that *all'i 'ai moku* were under the direct control of the *all'i nui*.
- Accuracy: Estimate of the accuracy of the identification of the *all'i* listed, with 1 being the highest level of certainty and 3 the lowest
- Ahuqai follows three (Fornander 1969:204; Kalākau 1990:119) or six generation after Paumakua (Kamakau 1992:448; McKinzie 1983:16, 1986:7).
- ** These are descendants of Ahukai and are affected by the aforementioned discrepancies in his genealogy. If their lineage tracing from Kōloko is used, Lāuli a La'a would be generation 8 and Kahu'ol generation 9.
- ^ Mā'ilikūkahi descends from Ahukai and is affected by the aforementioned discrepancies in his genealogy. Also, he is recorded alternatively as following two generations after Kahu'ol (Kamakau 1992:449, 1991:77; Malo 1827:14; McKinzie 1986:15) or three generations after Kahu'ol (Fornander 1969:204; McKinzie 1986:7, 26, 1983:13). He will be considered as contemporaneous with generation 10.
- ^ Kalonāiki is Mā'ilikūkahi's son. Kalonāiki's placement in generation 11 is an estimate based on the possible options, given the various genealogies and given the likely correlation of Kalonāiki's and his contemporaries' generational placements (see Figure 8.1)



with Lāuli a La'a (generation 7 in this study). Cordy (1981:Table 60) begins his study with Māweke, but he ignores the Paumakua family, a prominent 'ohana that will be highlighted in numerous ways in the discussion below. Cordy also chooses not to offer any hypothesized reconstruction for generation 5-6 and 8-9.

Given these difficulties, the hypothesized sequence offered in this study is merely a suggestion for the generations in question. The proposed identifications of individuals in generation 1 and generations 3 through 6 are based on the bits of information that can be gleaned from the *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau*; extrapolations and interpolations from the clear references describing the rulers of generations 2, 7, and 8; and analogies drawn from well noted patterns in Hawaiian chiefly practices. While it cannot be asserted that the sequence offered is anything more than a set of hypotheses, these suggestions and the accompanying discussion nonetheless offer some insight into the occurrences and possible considerations of the chiefs of these earlier years.

In generation 1, two prominent names dominated O'ahu courtly circles: Māweke and Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa.¹⁶ These famed progenitors are the ancestors of nearly all of O'ahu's and Kaua'i's ruling chiefs. In generation 1, Māweke was the "nominal sovereign" over the island (Kalākaua 1990:118). Another well-established point in the *mo'olelo* is that the Paumakua family ruled over Ko'olau (Kamakau 1991:101, 1996:34). However, identifying which individual of the

¹⁶ Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa of O'ahu and Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i of Maui are two distinct individuals, the former a descendant of Puna on the 'Ulu line, the latter a descendant of Hema on the 'Ulu line.

Paumakua family ruled over Ko'olau while Māweke was the *ali'i nui* is difficult to ascertain. Upon evaluating the various data and interpretations, it seems most reasonable (though certainly not indisputable) to suggest that Paumakua himself was the contemporary of Māweke.

This conclusion is based on several factors. First, Paumakua is recorded by Kalākaua (1990:119) to have lived about a span of “two generations before the time of Olopana and his brothers,” who were the grandchildren of Māweke. Second, Fornander's (1969:Appendix IX) comparative genealogical listing of *ali'i* of the major islands also suggests that Paumakua and Māweke were approximately contemporaneous, with Paumakua following perhaps slightly after Māweke in time.

The counter evidence that one might use to promote a view that one of Paumakua's descendants was a contemporary of Māweke (rather than Paumakua) would require a rather complicated argument that pieces together various points made in the oral traditions, with a key assumption added to the mix (see Table 6.4 which attempts to clarify the discussion below).

The argument forwarding the position that Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa predated Māweke could include the following points (illustrated in Table 6.4): 1) Fornander (1996:24) states that “the Oahu Paumakua, the son of Lonohonewa, had been in the country for two if not three or more generations before Paumakua [a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i] was born.” 2) Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i's son was Haho (Kamakau 1991:151; Malo 1996:316; Fornander 1996:26-27, 78, 1969:Appendix IX; McKinzie 1986:2). 3) Haho was contemporaneous with Mo'ikeha (Fornander 1996:39). 4) Mo'ikeha was a grandchild of Māweke (Kamakau 1991:77; Fornander 1996:48-49; Kalākaua 1990:118; McKinzie 1986:14). 5) Mo'ikeha adopted

La'amaikahiki who was the son of 'Ahukai (Kamakau 1991:105; Fornander 1969:50; Kalākaua 1990:119), making 'Ahukai and Mo'ikeha roughly contemporaneous. 6) The common genealogy for Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa and 'Ahukai recounts four generations between the two of them (Kamakau 1992:448; McKinzie 1983:16). As Table 6.4 displays, the six premises would imply that Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa was two generations removed from Māweke in time, *if one assumes* that the generations for Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa's lineage and Māweke's lineage produced children at the same rate.

Table 6.4. Data Used in a Possible Interpretation of Paumakua a Lonoho'olewa's Temporal Placement in Relation to Other Prominent *Ali'i*

G	Nānā'ulu lineage <i>ali'i</i>	Puna lineage <i>ali'i</i>	Hema lineage <i>ali'i</i>
1		Paumakua a Lono (1) (6)	
2			
3	Māweke (4)		
4			Paumakua a Huanui (1)
5	Mo'ikeha (3) (4) (5)	'Ahukai (5) (6)	Haho (2) (3)
6		La'amaikahiki (5)	

- G = generations
- Numbers next to individuals correspond to the numbered points in the discussion below.

Note: Only those individuals mentioned in the discussion below are included in the table to minimize distraction from the relevant points.

If, on the other hand, one accepts the possibility that one individual over the course of a lifetime could become a great-great-grandparent (e.g., Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa) and that another individual (e.g., Māweke), who is an adult during the adult lifetime of the first, might become only a grandparent by the time the former becomes a great-great-grandparent; and if one accepts that two ruling *ali'i* could be

of significantly different ages, then the above data represented in Table 6.4 are actually not in disagreement with the initial argument that Māweke and Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa were contemporaries. Significantly, key data relied upon to construct Table 6.4 derive from Fornander. In an apparent effort to bring the O'ahu *mo'okū'auhau* into agreement with known *mo'olelo* of that period, Fornander (1969:Appendix IX) deleted two generations in the Puna line to bring Māweke and Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa's generations into closer alignment. The same impetus that drove Fornander to represent the two as being contemporaneous is perhaps the reason that Kalākaua (1990:119) also recounts the same and specifies that only two rather than four generations separated Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa and 'Ahukai, thus increasing the likelihood of Paumakua's and Māweke's lifetimes overlapping.

In sum, the discussion of generation 1 illustrates that seemingly contradictory data in the oral traditions can, upon closer and more careful consideration, be understood to comport with one another. In this case, the facts most reasonably suggest that Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa and Māweke shared some span of time together on O'ahu, with the former ruling over Ko'olau while the latter was the nominal *ali'i nui* over all of O'ahu.

Generation 2 is much clearer. Paumakua's family moved to the background while Māweke's three sons rule over the island. Kalākaua (1990:118) records that Muli'ealeali'i "acceded to the title of *ali'i-nui*, occupying the western side of the island [Kona]. Kalehenui was given possessions at Koolau, and Keaunui was established in the district of Ewa." Fornander (1996:48) offers the same conclusion regarding Muli'ealeali'i assuming the rule over Kona, O'ahu. No doubt the Paumakua family

remained prominent chiefs at the time, but their role appears to have been secondary to that of Māweke's sons of generation 2.

In attempting to identify the *ali'i nui* and *ali'i 'ai moku* for generations 3-6 (the least well documented period), the clearest issue that must be considered is the land apportionment that was applied. In generation 2, and during the more well documented generations 7-8, the same land divisions were consistently used, thus indicating that this was possibly the case in generations 3-6. *Mo'olelo* of generations 2, 7, and 8 define the islands' three quasi-independent land areas as being 1) Kona, 2) Ko'olauloa and Ko'olaupoko, and 3) 'Ewa, Wai'anae, and Waialua (Kalākaua 1990:177; Fornander 1996:68, 88).

In generation 3, Muli'eleali'i's eldest son "Kumuhonua seems to have remained in possession of the patrimonial estates on Oahu, and possibly of the nominal sovereignty of the island" (Fornander 1969:49). If this was the case, Kumuhonua likely controlled the Kona district as did his father. Muli'eleali'i's other two sons, 'Olopana and Mo'ikeha, with little prospects of ruling on O'ahu, left O'ahu and went to Hawai'i Island where they initially served as *ali'i* of Waipi'o, Hawai'i Island (Kalākaua 1990:120). Eventually these two younger brothers of Kumuhonua sailed to Kahiki where 'Olopana ruled over the district Moa'ulanuiākea with Mo'ikeha under him (Fornander 1969:50; Kalākaua 1990:121). Mo'ikeha later returned to Hawai'i and became the *ali'i nui* of Kaua'i (Kalākaua 1990:131; Fornander 1996:54).

Kalehenui, Māweke's second son, had no male progeny to take his position over Ko'olau in this generation. His only recorded child was a daughter Hinakaimauli'awa (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29; Fornander 1969; 204; McKinzie 1986:17, 26). She likely retained the family's lands in Ko'olau,

however, as a female, it is less likely that she would have been deferred to by all other chiefs on O'ahu at the time as the most powerful individual of the Ko'olau districts (see also discussion in Chapter 5 involving female rulers). Instead, it is possible that the descendants of Paumakua, whose ancestral lands were also in the Ko'olau region, came to the forefront at this time. A special point is made in the traditions to note 'Ahukai was "the great-grandson and successor of Paumakua,"¹⁷ implying that he assumed the prerogatives of Paumakua in ruling over Ko'olau (Kalākaua 1990:119).

The 'Ewa, Wai'anae, and Waialua areas of O'ahu in generation 3 were undoubtedly inherited by Keaunui's son, Lākona. He is specifically known to have made his home in 'Ewa. That Lākona was the ruler of this area is attested to by the famed *'ōlelo kaena* (honorific epithet) that 'Ewa still bears: 'Ewa nui a Lākona, Great 'Ewa of Lākona (Pūku'i 1983:47). Another similar *'ōlelo kaena* of 'Ewa and an honorific name of Lākona likewise maintains the inseparable identification of 'Ewa and Lākona: 'Ewauli a Lākona, Verdant 'Ewa of Lākona (Kamakau 1991:36).

In generation 4, Kumuhonua's son, 'Elepu'ukahonua¹⁸ was probably his heir to the nominal position of *ali'i nui* and to the administrative rule over Kona. For although he is the last born of four of Kumuhonua's sons, he is the only one with recorded offspring (Fomander 1969:49). Included among the direct lineal descendants of 'Elepu'ukahonua are the well documented *ali'i* of generations 7 and

¹⁷ Ahukai is recorded as the third (Fomander 1969:Appendix IX; Kalākaua 1990:119) or sixth generation from Paumakua (Kamakau 1992:448; McKinzie 1983:16, 1986:7) in different sources.

¹⁸ 'Elepu'ukahonua is noted as a female in McKinzie (1986:23 [by genealogist Unauna in an article originally printed in *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a* on 12/12/1874]). However, 'Elepu'ukahonua is recorded as a male by Malo (1827:17) and Fomander (1996:49). This study treats 'Elepu'ukahonua as a male.

9 (Lākona II and Haka respectively). The other sons of Kumuhonua, Molohaia, Kahakuakāne, and Kūkawaieakāne (Fornander 1969:49), left no further remembered progeny in Hawai'i.¹⁹ Indeed, they may have chosen to travel to their family's original homelands somewhere in Kahiki.

On the Ko'olau side at this time was a new arrival, 'Olopana, who likely controlled this region for much of the time represented in generation 4. The placement of 'Olopana as living during generation 4 is established indirectly through his greatest enemy, Kamapua'a. The contemporaneity of Kamapua'a and 'Olopana is certain, given their many legendary interactions (Kame'eleihiwa 1996:24-43; Fornander 1996:43-44, 1999:V:314-327; Kalākaua 1990:143-146; Kamakau 1991:111, 1996:39). Kamapua'a can be placed within the stream of ruling chiefs given the circumstances of his exploits on Hawai'i Island after he slayed 'Olopana and traveled there. Upon Kamapua'a's arrival on Hawai'i Island he found that "Kamaiole, the usurper, had but just been defeated and slain by Kalapana, the son of Kanipahu" (Kalākaua 1990:148). Additional lines of evidence (described in Chapter 7 in detail) place the reigns of Kamai'ole and Kalapana as contemporaneous with the reigns of those in generation 4 on O'ahu (see Figure 7.1 and the Chapter 7 discussion of this figure).

Given that 'Olopana probably lived and ruled over Ko'olau during this generation, the question remains as to why he and not a first born male of the Māweke or Paumakua family would have controlled the region. The *mo'olelo* of 'Olopana note that he settled "on the Koolau side of the island of Oahu, where he

¹⁹ Kahakuakāne's descendants may have entered into the *ali'i* circles of Kaua'i as the name Kahakuakāne was carried by the *ali'i nui* of that island in generation 11.

had acquired very considerable possessions” (Kalākaua 1990:142). The oral traditions make no mention of how he came to control such estates. However, it is possible that he was related, through common ties shared in Kahiki, to the Paumakua family, which was more recently associated with the Ko’olau area or perhaps to Māweke’s family whose Kalehenui branch likewise was connected with the area. Significantly, both the Paumakua and Māweke families were without male heirs in this generation. ‘Ahukai allowed Mo’ikeha to adopt his son La’a (Kamakau 1991:105, 1996:36; Kalākaua 1990:119; Fornander 1969:50). Hinakaimauli’awa (Kalehenui’s daughter) is known to have had only one daughter, Mualani (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX). These combined facts would have allowed a new arrival to O’ahu, such as ‘Olopana, to have ascended to political power. Indeed, such vacancies in the ruling ranks may have conditioned his choice to settle in Ko’olau.

On the other side of the island, the most likely ruler of ‘Ewa, Wai’anae, and Waialua in generation 4 seems to have been the descendants of Muli’eleali’i (Māweke’s first born son). Although this region was intimately associated with Lākona in generation 3, not one of his children is connected with the region in their adult lives (although one child, Wailuanui a Ho’āno, is known to have been born there (Kamakau 1976:7). Lākona’s offspring were Kūkapunui, Wailuanui, Kaionui, and Kama (Malo 1827:23). Scant genealogical information is known for two of them; no information is available for the other two. The only child of Lākona who is recalled in *mo’olelo* is Wailuanui a Ho’āno. He settled and became an *ali’i* of a district on Kaua’i which at some time later became referred to by his name, Wailua

(Kamakau 1976:7; Dickey 1916:14). Wailuanui a Ho'āno was an *ali'i* over Wailua while Mo'ikeha was the nominal *ali'i nui* of Kaua'i (HEN Vol. I:217-222).

Thus, one of Lākona's children is clearly removed from the consideration as an heir following after Lākona. The other three, given the scant information available for them, may have chosen to move elsewhere as well. What little is known about Lākona's youngest child, Kama a Ho'āno, places his descendants on Maui (e.g., Kānelā'aukahī, the father of Makakūwahine, a wife of Kalanikaumakaowākea [Malo 1827:24]). As barely no other record (except for the name of a wife and child of Lākona's eldest son Kūkapuni) exists for Lākona's children, it is plausible to suggest that either they were overlooked in the determination of a ruler for the region, and hence fell into obscurity, or that they moved to another island or Kahiki as others were doing at the time (as with Muli'ealeali's sons 'Olopana and Mo'ikeha).

While Lākona's children presumably were not associated closely with 'Ewa, Ho'okamali'i (Muli'ealeali's grandson, and Mo'ikeha's son) is said to have settled and resided in 'Ewa (Kamakau 1991:108, 1996:39; Fornander 1996:54). As Ho'okamali'i descends from the senior line of the Māweke family, he would have had the appropriate standing to come into the position as the ruler over the region. No other descendant of Māweke or Paumakua is recorded in *mo'olelo* for the time to be associated with the area.

In generation 5, none of the descendants of either the Māweke or Paumakua families is mentioned in the *mo'olelo* except Ho'okamali'i's son Kaha'i. He is famed for having traveled to Kahiki and returned with the *'ulu* or breadfruit which he planted at Pu'uloa, 'Ewa (Kamakau 1991:77, 110; Fornander 1996:54). Kaha'i's planting of the *'ulu* in this area implies that he possessed both special privileges and

responsibilities to the area—privileges to use, what would require over time, a considerable portion of land and responsibilities entailed in ensuring an abundant supply of food for the population of that land. The absence of any other personages recorded in association with this area for this generation increases the possibility that Kaha'i served as its ruler. The exclusive prominence of both Kaha'i and his father Ho'okamali'i in the lore of 'Ewa for two consecutive generations helps bolster the hypothesis that both ruled over 'Ewa.

The position of *ali'i nui* at this time would probably have remained with the most senior individual of the Māweke lineage. In generation 5 this would have been 'Elepu'ukahonua's son Kahōkūpohakano (McKinzie 1986:23). If the patterns of previous and later generations held true at this time, Kahōkūpohakano's administrative control of lands would have extended over the Kona district.

On the Ko'olau side of the island, an interesting change in the ruling line is likely to have occurred. Two events would have created a context for this change. The first is that Kamapua'a killed 'Olopana. The second is that Kamapua'a subsequently set off for Hawai'i Island creating a vacancy once more in the highest ranks. 'Olopana's son (and Kamapua'a's half brother) was Kahikiohonuakele (Kamakau 1991:111, 1996:40). Yet it is unlikely that he filled 'Olopana's position, for no further record exists of him in the islands in relation to his offspring or events with which he was associated. What is known is that the people of Ko'olau were displeased with the conflict that occurred between 'Olopana and Kamapua'a and were eager to see an end to it as it had brought the destruction of crops, fishing equipment, and the depletion of fishpond resources (Kalākaua 1990:143-146; Kame'eleihiwa 1996:32, 37, 41). As such it is likely that neither 'Olopana's son nor

Kamapua'a gained widespread support. For although Kamapua'a seemed to shortly control 'Olopana's estates, this was short-lived, for Kamapua'a soon after sailed for Kahiki and later Hawai'i Island (Kame'eleihiwa 1996:44, 63; Fornander 1999:V:326-332; Kalākaua 1990:147-148). Similarly, no further record exists for 'Olopana's son, Kahikiohonuakele, which points to the possibility that he too left the Hawaiian Islands and returned to 'Olopana's homeland in Kahiki.²⁰

A second important contextual change that generation 5 experienced on the windward side of O'ahu is the presence of a male heir of the Māweke-Kalehenui lineage. Kalehenui's granddaughter was Mualani. Mualani's first born was Kū o Mua (Kamakau 1991:79; Malo 1827:29; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX). A plausible hypothesis is that Kū o Mua became the most prominent ruler over the Ko'olau region in this generation. This conclusion is based on an extrapolation back in time following the record that his grandson, Ka'ula'ulaokalani (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX), ruled over Ko'olauloa and Ko'olaupoko in generation 7 (Fornander 1996:88). Ka'ula'ulaokalani's grandson Moku a Lo'e assumed the same role following his grandfather (Fornander 1996:68).

The scenario for generation 6 could have simply entailed the direct lineal succession of positions following typical primogeniture rules. In this case Nāwele would have been ruling Kona and serving as the nominal *ali'i nui* following his father

²⁰ A more poetic and dramatic telling of the *mo'olelo* of Kamapua'a and 'Olopana relates that 'Olopana's children "Iouli and 'Iomea" were living on Maui at the time of 'Olopana's death, and that upon hearing the news of his death, arrived on O'ahu "to reign as kings" (Kame'eleihiwa 1996:43). As these names do not appear in chiefly genealogies and seem to symbolically refer to chiefs in a more general sense (as *ali'i* were often metaphorically referred to as *'io*, or hawks), this rendition of the *mo'olelo* may simply indicate that some of 'Olopana's family came to remain on O'ahu.

Kahōkūpohākano (Malo 1827:17; McKinzie 1986:23). Kawalewale o Kū would have inherited the position as ruler over Ko'olau after the passing of his father Kū o Mua (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX).

Kūolono would have likely taken the same role over 'Ewa, Wai'anae, and Waialua following his father Kaha'i (Kamakau 1991:78, 1992:449; Malo 1827:21; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX; McKinzie 1986:15, 26).

For the seventh generation, Fornander (1996:88) records that Lāuli a La'a and his wife Maelo "probably ruled over the Kona side of the island," that Ka'ula'ulaokalani "ruled over the Koolau side," and that Lākona II²¹ "ruled over [the] Ewa, Waianae, and Wailua districts." Lāuli a La'a was the son of La'a and grandson of 'Ahukai and Mo'ikeha (Kamakau 1991:105, 110; Fornander 1996:50, 56; Kalākaua 1990:119, 135; Malo 1827:13). Ka'ula'ulaokalani was the son of Kawalewale o Kū (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX). Lākona II, was the son of Nāwele (Malo 1827:17; Fornander 1996:40; McKinzie 1986:23).

The transition from the past generation to this one seems natural in regards to the Ko'olau district as the position carries from father to son. However, Lāuli a La'a's and Lākona II's roles raise a number of questions about the extrapolations used to determine the above proposed rulers for generation 6, or about Fornander's assessment of how the chiefs of the time came to that arrangement. For indeed, one would not expect Lāuli a La'a to rule over the Kona district but rather to either

²¹ The roman numeral II after Lākona's name is there for current ease of communication so as not to have confused the two individuals of that name. Of course the enumeration was not a traditional manner of reference and in fact is not used in the various sources cited.

rule over Ko'olau (the area with which his grandfather 'Ahukai was associated) or over the 'Ewa, Wai'anae, and Waialua region (over which his wife's grandfather and great-grandfather were associated). An evaluation of this issue is probably best addressed in conjunction with another question: Who was the *ali'i nui* during generation 7?

The oral traditions are silent in assigning an *ali'i nui* of this time period. Moreover, two conflicting records exist regarding the identity of the *ali'i nui* of the next era. Those records for generation 8 indicate that either Huapouleilei "was the *alii-nui* of Oahu" (Kalākaua 1990:177) or Kahu'oi was "an *ali'i nui*" of the time (Kamakau 1991:9). This would suggest that their genealogical predecessors could have held the same position during generation 7. Kahu'oi's predecessor would probably be Lāuli a La'a; Huapouleilei's would probably be Lākona II.

The ambiguity of the identify of the *ali'i nui* in generations 7 and 8 underlines the fact that at the time the *ali'i nui* position may not have been formally assigned and certainly did not grant absolute authority over all other *ali'i*. During this and prior generations, *ali'i nui* were simply "the most powerful chief on [an] island" who "by inheritance, conquest, or marriage had obtained a larger territory than any other chief there" (Fornander 1996:46; see also Kalākaua 1990:97-98). Thus, it is possible that two *ali'i* could both have been considered to hold such a large degree of influence that both in different circles could be viewed as *ali'i nui*.

However, if there was a need to determine who would ceremonially serve as the single *ali'i nui*, by this time, the powers who were making such determinations were likely the members of the *'aha ali'i* or chiefly council. This would especially be the case if a decision required the joint agreement of chiefs of different lineages who

were also rulers over different parts of O'ahu (see also Chapter 5 which describes the function of the *'aha ali'i* and Chapter 8 which describes the causes and effects of its origin). On O'ahu, the *'aha ali'i* was known to have cooperatively and democratically elected their *ali'i nui* (e.g., as with Mā'ilikūkahī in generation 10 and Kahāhana in generation 23) (Kamakau 1991:54, 130; Fornander 1996:88, 154f).

if the nominal *ali'i nui* in generation 7 was Lākona II, then the *'aha ali'i* was simply following primogeniture rules. If Lāuli a La'a was placed in the role of *ali'i nui* in generation 7, then the *'aha ali'i* may have been weighing other factors. If this was the *'aha ali'i's* decision, it was probably attempting to balance the prerogatives of the Māweke family, the Paumakua family, and perhaps those of other newer arrivals of high chiefly standing from Kahiki. These combined concerns highlight why Lāuli a La'a may have rose to the standing of an *ali'i nui*. Lāuli a La'a was the son of La'amaikahiki, and the *hānai* son of Mo'ikeha (grandson of Māweke). Lāuli a La'a was also a direct descendant of the Paumakua family (of the 'Ulu-Punaimua line which was senior to the Nānā'ulu-Māweke line) through his grandfather 'Ahukai, the genetic father of La'a. Thus, through his own blood and that of his *hānai* family he brought together the Paumakua and Māweke families. Lāuli a La'a was also the husband of Maelo, Kūolono's daughter (Kamakau 1991:78, 108, 1992:449; Malo 1827:14, 22; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1996:54, 87-88; McKiñzie 1986:15).²² Through this marriage the royal couple further brought together the Paumakua and Māweke families, a connection which their children would have reified. Lāuli a La'a

²² Kamakau's (1996:39) original text upon which a later translation was based (i.e., 1991:108) indicates that Maelo was married to "Lauhala'ā" which is probably a typo in the original printing in *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a*.

further personified a valued tie between the Kaua'i and O'ahu reigning families since Mo'ikeha established himself as the *ali'i nui* of Kaua'i and since Lāuli a La'a's brother Ahukini a La'a had done the same. Lāuli a La'a also renewed the union of the ruling chiefs of O'ahu to their relatives in Kahiki (along with perhaps their families who had arrived after Paumakua), especially since his father La'amaikahiki returned back to Kahiki where he was the heir to 'Olopana's estates there (Kamakau 1991:108, 1996:38). Thus, is it understandable why O'ahu's *'aha ali'i* might have chosen to place Lāuli a La'a in the ceremonial paramount position.²³ However, as the record remains unclear as to whether Lākona II or Lāuli a La'a or both served as *ali'i nui*, Table 6.3 reflects that uncertainty.

In the next generation, Fornander (1996:68) and Kalākaua (1990:177) record that Kahu'oi ruled over the Kona division; Moku a Lo'e ruled over the Koolau region; and Huapouleilei ruled over the 'Ewa, Wai'anae, and Waialua districts. Kahu'oi was either the son of Lāuli a La'a (Kamakau 1991:78; Malo 1827:14; McKinzie 1986:15) or the grandson of Lāuli a La'a (Kamakau 1992:449; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX), which in either case explains why he was in charge of Kona. Moku a Lo'e was the grandson of Ka'ula'ulaokalani (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX), which as well accounts for his position over the Ko'olau region. As mentioned previously, the records indicate that Kahu'oi and/or

²³ It is unlikely that Maelo could possibly have been chosen over Lāuli a La'a for the singular position of *ali'i nui* if the *'aha ali'i* was considering either of the royal couple for the honor. This is in part due to her gender, but probably more in relation to all of the positive political attributes of Lāuli a La'a's genealogy that made him an ideal candidate. Kame'eleihiwa (1999:9) seems to agree with the secondary role of Maelo as Kame'eleihiwa identifies Kūkaniloko was O'ahu's first female ruler.

Huapouleilei served as *ali'i nui* during this period, and thus both are indicated as possible ceremonial paramounts in Table 6.3.

Huapouleilei's role as the *ali'i 'ai moku* of 'Ewa, Wai'anae, and Waialua is the only enigmatic record in this set of rulers. His name appears nowhere in the *mo'okū'auhau* investigated. He is neither seen as a descendant of Lākona II (who held the same position as Huapouleilei in the generation prior) nor an ancestor of Haka who rules O'ahu in generation 9 and who is a descendant of Lākona II. An educated guess would be that Huapouleilei is either the son or grandson of Lākona II. Since Lākona II's only recorded son is Kapae a Lākona (Malo 1827:17; McKinzie 1986:23), and since it can be argued that Huapouleilei's contemporaries, Kahu'oi and Moku a Lo'e, were both grandsons of the previous set of rulers (suggesting a long reign for the rulers of the previous generation), it is possible that Huapouleilei is a son of Kapae a Lākona and grandson of Lākona II. This hypothesis is bolstered by the only reference found regarding Huapouleilei's family background. Kalākaua (1990:177) notes that Huapouleilei was "the eighth in line from Māweke" which indeed would place him a generation after Kapae a Lākona. Regardless of the specific relationship that Huapouleilei had with Lākona II's family, it is highly probable that some close connection was involved.

A separate line of evidence for the conclusion that Huapouleilei represents a missing generation between Kapae a Lākona and Haka comes from analyses of their genealogical line descending from Kumuhonua. Forlander (1996:88) concludes that the genealogy involving Kapae a Lākona is "deficient in three generations from Kapae-a-Lakona to Haka" (Haka being the son of Kapae a Lakona in that genealogy). While there may not be a need to separate Kapae a Lakona and

Haka by exactly three generations, Fornander's sense that one or more individuals were excluded in this lineage becomes evident in charting this lineage alongside other contemporaneous lineages (as was done to create Figure 7.2 described in the next chapter). Without at least an additional generation, Haka's placement in the genealogical succession appears highly anomalous when compared to other lines of O'ahu's *ali'i* (e.g., Mā'ilikūkahī's lineage tracing from Mo'ikeha and 'Ahukai) or the lineages of other islands' *ali'i*. However, if one were to include Huapouleilei as the son of Kapae a Lākona and the possible father of Haka, that difficulty is addressed as well as the dilemma of understanding how Huapouleilei came to rule over 'Ewa, Wai'anae and Waialua.

Whether Haka is the son of Kapae a Lākona (making him a representative of generation 9) or of Huapouleilei as hypothesized above (making him a representative of generation 10) may never be unraveled. What is clear is that the role of *ali'i nui* in the next generation must have shifted qualitatively (as discussed in Chapter 8), as the island no longer seems to have been divided into three quasi-independent polities. Instead, the records describe only Haka as the supreme ruler of the island (Fornander 1996:49, 88). Haka likely served in this position as the senior descendant of Māweke's eldest son Kumuhonua.

The next ruler, Mā'ilikūkahī, was elected by O'ahu's *'aha ali'i* (Kamakau 1991:53; Fornander 1996:49, 88). The only question relating to his record is his generational placement with regard to others in his lineage. Mā'ilikūkahī descended from 'Ahukai and hence is affected by the discrepancies in 'Ahukai's genealogy which place 'Ahukai either as the third (Fornander 1969:Appendix IX; Kaiākaua 1990:119) or sixth generation from Paumakua (Kamakau 1992:448; McKinzie

1983:16, 1986:7). Also, Mā'ilikūkahī is recorded alternatively as following two generations after Kahu'oi (Kamakau 1992:449, 1991:77; Malo 1827:14; McKinzie 1986:15) or three generations after Kahu'oi (Fornander 1969:Appendix IX; McKinzie 1986:7, 26, 1983:13). Lastly, Mā'ilikūkahī could be considered a member of generation 11, if one uses his lineage from Māweke. The inclusion of Mā'ilikūkahī as a member of generation 10 in this study seems reasonable, given the range of options involved and the generational placement of his contemporaries from other islands (see Figure 7.1).

From Mā'ilikūkahī onward, the succession of O'ahu's chiefs is well documented in multiple sources, all of which are in agreement. The sequence of O'ahu's *ali'i nui* represented in Table 6.3 follows such sources (Kamakau 1991, 1992, 1996; Malo 1827, 1996; Kalākaua 1990; Fornander 1996, 1999; McKinzie 1983, 1986). Secondary sources on the succession of O'ahu's later chiefs are also in accord with earlier accounts (e.g., Hommon [1976:Figure 13, Appendix A] and Cordy [1981:Table 60]).

The final phase of O'ahu's sequence of *ali'i nui* can be further reified and even tied to Western calendar dates indicated in the journals of foreigners visiting O'ahu. During Captain Cook's visits to Hawai'i in 1778 and 1779 Peleiōhōlani was the *ali'i nui* of O'ahu (King in Beaglehole 1967:III:500, 584, 614; Stokes 1933:26; Kuykendall 1938:30). "Not long after the departure of Cook's squadron, Peleioholani, the old king of Oahu, died, and was succeeded by his son Kumahana" who "was soon deposed" and replaced by Kahāhana (Kuykendall 1938:34). The quick succession of Peleiōhōlani's death and Kūmahana's removal from office is supported by a *mo'olelo* that notes that Ka'eokūlani's messengers to O'ahu, who

were sent to describe Cook's visit on Kaua'i, were said to have related their experiences to Kahāhana on O'ahu (Kamakau 1992:96). Kahekili's successful war campaign against Kahāhana seems to have occurred at about the later part of 1785 or early part of 1786. Kuykendall (1938:34) indirectly dates this war by describing events prior to it as occurring in 1785 and the events occurring after it as happening in 1786. Indeed, by the time that Portlock and Dixon visited O'ahu in June and December of 1786 respectively, Kahekili was already residing at Waikiki (Portlock 1968:163; Dixon 1968:97). Confirming the same, Kamakau (1992:136-137) records that a decisive battle occurred in 1783 which forced Kahāhana into hiding. He further states that Kahāhana was protected "for two years and six months" before he was betrayed and eventually killed by Kahekili. Upon Kahekili's death in 1794 (Kuykendall 1938:44; see also Fornander 1996:260), Kalanikūpule was in control of O'ahu (Fornander 1996:262). The brief dominion of Maui chiefs over O'ahu ended in 1795 with Kamehameha's victory in the Battle of Nu'uauu.

Explanation of the Kaua'i Sequence Of Ali'i Nui and Ali'i 'Ai Moku

Except for the initial obscured generations, the Kaua'i sequence is well known (as listed in Table 6.5). The succession of ruling chiefs is consistently documented by numerous sources and seems to have almost exclusively followed the rules of primogeniture succession. What is unsettling about the sequence is that so little is known regarding the activities and events of the hypothesized *ali'i nui*. As such the sequence may reflect a genealogical descent and not necessarily a record of successive governance over Kaua'i. However, as the scant extant oral traditions for Kaua'i do not record any upheavals in the rule over the island until the time of the

Table 6.5. Temporal Ordering of *Ali'i Nui* of Kaua'i

G	<i>Ali'i Nui</i>	Area of Nation	Authority	Accuracy
1	Punakai'ōlohe	Kaua'i	Nominal	3
2	Puna'aikoa'e	Kaua'i	Nominal	3
3	Mo'ikeha	Kaua'i	Nominal	1
4	Haulanui'aiākea	Kaua'i	Nominal	1
5	Ahukini a La'a	Kaua'i	Nominal	1
6	Kamahano	Kaua'i	Nominal	1
7	Luanu'u	Kaua'i	Nominal	1
8	Kūkona	Kaua'i	Nominal	1
9	Manokalanipō	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
10	Kaumaka a Mano	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
11	Kahakuakāne	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
12	Kūwalupaukamoku	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
13	Kahakumakapāweo	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
14	Kalanikukuma	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
15	Kahakumalakiua	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
16	Kamakapu	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
17	Kawelomahamahaia	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
18	Kawelomakualua	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
19	Kawelo'aikanaka	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
19	Kawelomaihunaali'i	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
20	Lonoikahā'upu Kūali'i	Windward K. Leeward K.	Administrative Administrative	1 1
21	Kaumehe'iwa Peleiōhōlani	Windward K. Leeward K.	Administrative Administrative	1 1
22	Kamakahahelei and Kaneoneo	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
23	Keawe	Kaua'i	Nominal	1
22	Kamakahahelei		Nominal	
22	Ka'eokūlani		Administrative	
23	Kaumuali'i & Nakaikua'ana*	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
23	Keawe	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
23	Kaumuali'i	Kaua'i	Administrative	1
23	Kamehameha Kaumuali'i	Kaua'i	Nominal Administrative	1

Key

- Each row represents a distinct political context, often one individual's reign.
- G: Generational temporal unit
- Boldface font: Individual holding position of *ali'i nui*
- Plain font: Prominent *ali'i*, usually an *ali'i 'ai moku*
- Authority: "Nominal" means that the *ali'i nui* served only nominally or ceremonially as the paramount leader. "Administrative" means that the *ali'i nui* exerted both ceremonial and administrative control and that *ali'i 'ai moku* were under the direct control of the *ali'i nui*.
- Accuracy: Estimate of the accuracy of the identification of the *ali'i* listed, with 1 being the highest level of certainty and 3 the lowest
- * In Ka'eokūlani's absence from Kaua'i, the young Kaumuali'i was the nominal *ali'i nui* while Nakaikua'ana, Kaumuali'i's guardian, was the acting regent.

Kawelo family, the genealogical sequence may indeed be one and the same as the sequence of rulers. Perhaps attesting to that relative peace is a famous opening line from a traditional chant, *Maika'i Kaua'i hemolele i ka mālie* (Beautiful Kaua'i, peaceful in the calm) (Pūku'i 1983:224).

The only portion of the Kaua'i sequence that is unclear involves generations 1 and 2, those prior to Mo'ikeha. Kamakau (1991:106) says, "the chiefs of Kaua'i who lived at Kapa'a while Mo'ikeha was living there were Puna-nui-kai-anaina, Puna-kai-'ōlohe, and Puna-'ai-koa'e." Fornander (1969:Appendix IX; 1996:46), however, records Punakai'ōlohe (generation 1) and Puna'aikoa'e (generation 2) as lineal descendants from Punanuikaianaina whom he considers the initial migrant to Hawai'i of that lineage. This study will follow Fornander's record in this instance largely because his confident discussion of the Puna family (e.g., Fornander 1969:I:202, 1996:46) seems to suggest he had additional information which confirmed the lineal rather than collateral relationship of the Puna family members.

The oral traditions are very clear that Mo'ikeha became the *ali'i nui* of Kaua'i in generation 3 following the reign of the Puna family due in part to his own *ali'i* status as well as his marriages to two daughters of the Puna family (Kalākaua 1990:131; Fornander 1996:54). In generation 4, Hā'ulanuia'aiākea, son of Mo'ikeha (Kamakau 1991:77, 106; Malo 1827:22), "followed his father in the supremacy of Kaua'i" (Fornander 1996:54).

The reign of Ahukini a La'a in generation 5 begins the nearly unbroken direct lineal succession of Kaua'i's *ali'i nui*. Sources agree without exception that Ahukini a La'a was a sovereign over Kaua'i and that the *ali'i nui* thereafter traced their lineage to him and his brother Kūkona a La'a (whose descendants though unrecorded

probably married those of Ahukini a La'a, to which the name of the reigning *ali'i nui* Kūkona of generation 8 testifies) (Kamakau 1991:37; Fornander 1996:92). The timing of Ahukini a La'a coming into that position two generations after Mo'ikeha correlates with what one would expect given that Ahukini a La'a was the son of La'amaikahiki, who was Mo'ikeha's *hānai* (adopted) son.

Although there is little doubt that Ahukini a La'a ruled over Kaua'i at the time he is said to have, a question remains as to how he was able to come into that position. The obvious connection is Ahukini a La'a's grandfather Mo'ikeha. However, since Mo'ikeha's native Kaua'i born son, Hā'ulanuia'aiākea, was known to have had a son named Hilo (Malo 1827:22), it seems odd that the succession of Kaua'i chiefs did not follow Hā'ulanuia'aiākea's line. The situation is especially curious since Ahukini a La'a had no other clear ties to Kaua'i besides those that could be claimed through Mo'ikeha. Ahukini a La'a's mother was Waolena, the daughter of a chief of Ka'alaea, Ko'olau, O'ahu (Fornander 1996:55; Kalākaua 1990:134). His father, La'amaikahiki, had returned back to Kahiki, and his genetic grandfather, 'Ahukai, was a chief of Ko'olau, O'ahu as well (Kalākaua 1990:119).

One explanation for why Ahukini a La'a came to rule over Kaua'i might be that Hā'ulanuia'aiākea's son Hilo could have passed on at an early age leaving Ahukini a La'a a natural candidate for the *ali'i nui* position. Another scenario might have related to an understanding that Kalākaua suggests was agreed upon earlier. In commenting on La'a's adoption by Mo'ikeha, Kalākaua (1990:120) says that the arrangement "must have been the result of some extraordinary compact, all reference to which has disappeared from tradition." Could the agreement have included Mo'ikeha promising to 'Ahukai (La'a birth father) that La'a and his heirs

would be granted Mo'ikeha's position and rights upon his death? If so, this would explain why both Ahukini a La'a and Kūkona a La'a settled on Kaua'i despite their immediate family ties to O'ahu where they were born (Kamakau 1991:37, 109; Kalākaua 1990:134; Fornander 1996:55). Regardless of the impetus behind the decision of who was to be Kaua'i's *ali'i nui*, it is clear that Ahukini a La'a's direct lineal descendants continued to rule over Kaua'i through the generations.

The only set of *ali'i* not clearly or consistently recorded for Kaua'i through the many generations would be the last set of its *ali'i nui* prior to the island being ceded to Kamehameha. The *mo'olelo* of this period (which as a body focuses more on Hawai'i's, Maui's, and O'ahu's histories) provide a simplified version of events. This becomes evident when one compares such *mo'olelo* to the history of Kaua'i documented in the historical accounts of early Western observers. As such, the more detailed accounts from these historical sources were used to create the last two generations of Table 6.5.

In late February of 1779, Kamakahelei (daughter of Kaumehe'iwa [Fornander 1996:297, 1969:Appendix IX; McKinzie 1983:16, 33]) defeated Kaneoneo, her own husband (grandson of Peleiōhōlani [Fornander 1996:65, 217, 291; McKinzie 1983:31, 1986:29, 135]) (Stokes 1937:36-37; Kuykendall 1938:30). Clerke (in Beaglehole 1967:III:576-577) recorded that "on the last of February" in 1779, "the day before [their] arrival," Kamakahelei and Ka'eokūlani "drove [Kaneoneo] and his Adherents to the Mountains," resulting in Kamakahelei being noted as the "Queen of [the] Isle of [Kaua'i]." By March of 1779, Ka'eokūlani had recently become her new husband or was just about to become her new husband (Stokes 1933:32; Kuykendall 1938:48f). Kamakahelei apparently placed her son Keawe in the

nominal position as *ali'i nui*, for King (in Beaglehole 1967:III:576) observed in March of 1779 that Keawe was “the Chief of [Kaua'i] as well as [Ni'ihau].” That Keawe must have had only nominal control over the island is evident in the fact that when Portlock met him in 1786, he described Keawe as “a fine boy about twelve years of age” (Portlock 1968:180). Further, the records for Kaua'i seem to suggest that Ka'eokūlani was the “actual ruler of Kauai,” as “visitors to the islands from 1786 to 1791 speak of Kaeo as king of that island” (Kuykendall 1938:30; see also Stokes 1937:36-37). Portlock (1968:79, 176-178) interacted with the *ali'i* of Kaua'i and repeatedly referred to Ka'eo as “the king.” Another visitor in 1788, John Meares (1967:336), described “Taheo” [Ka'eo] as “the king of [Kaua'i].” As such Kaua'i likely saw Keawe and Kamakahelei sharing the nominal positions of *ali'i nui* and Ka'eokūlani taking most of the administrative control of the island, as was similarly the case with Kaikilani and Lonoikamakahiki on Hawai'i Island in generation 16. Later, when Ka'eo left Kaua'i at “about the beginning of 1791... to help his brother Kahekili”, he apparently placed Kaumuali'i in the position of *ali'i nui* and had Nakaikua'ana²⁴ (Kaumuali'i's *kahu* or guardian and family relative²⁵) serving as his regent with administrative control over the island, as is evident in Vancouver's (1967)

²⁴ Nakaikua'ana is the name of Kaumuali'i's guardian in *mo'olelo* of Kaua'i (e.g., Kamakau 1992:162; Fornander 1996:245), however, this same guardian is referred to in Westerners' journals as Inamoo or Enemo (Kuykendall 1938:48f). Fornander (1992:245f) explains that Vancouver also referred to this individual as “Wakea.” This guardian of Kaumuali'i may have been “the brother of Kaahumanu, one of Kamehameha's wives. The real name and the lineage of this chief [remain] unknown” (Fornander 1996:245f).

²⁵ Although the current definition of the word “*kahu*” does not involve the notion of “a family relative” (see Pūku'i and Elbert 1986:113), Kepelino (1932:124-125) clarifies that the term, as used to describe an *ali'i's kahu*, included the notion that the individual “was a high chief from the family” of the individual for whom he was providing guardianship.

and Menzie's (1920) descriptions in 1792, 1793, and 1794 as well as in Hawaiian *mo'olelo* (Kamakau 1992:162; Fornander 1996:245; Kuykendall 1938:48f).

By 1796 this context would change. Keawe contested Kaumuali'i's position and the two engaged in small skirmishes (Broughton 1967:45; Stokes 1937:41; Kuykendall 1938:48f). By the time Broughton returned in July of 1796, Keawe was in control of the island (Broughton 1967:78). "But within a year or two Keawe died and Kaumualii was thus restored to the throne" (Kuykendall 1938:48f). Kaumuali'i remained in both nominal and administrative control of Kaua'i until 1810 when he ceded the nominal control of the island to Kamehameha who allowed Kaumuali'i and his native Kaua'i *ali'i* to maintain their administrative positions and traditional relationships to their lands (Kamakau 1992:196).

Summary

Tables 6.1 and 6.5 recount the well-documented sequences of ruling chiefs for Hawai'i Island and Kaua'i. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 list the consistently recorded successions of the Maui and O'ahu ruling chiefs for the mid to later generations of *ali'i nui* and present a set of hypotheses for the earlier less well-recorded generations. Multiple lines of data were used to propose the sequences of the earlier ruling chiefs of Maui and O'ahu. Inferences used in the reconstructions relied upon information from the Maui and O'ahu *mo'okū'auhau*, *mo'olelo* encompassing those and other islands, and general understandings of Polynesian and Hawaiian chiefly society. Although the reconstructions are merely hypotheses, the discussion of their development offers some insight into a period which is otherwise often ignored in analyses of Hawaiian oral traditions. The remainder of the Maui and

O'ahu sequences, as well as much of the Hawai'i and Kaua'i ones, were not specifically justified since they are consistently recorded in historical and anthropological sources. Western calendar dates of transitions in government for the last two generations of *ali'i nui* were included in the explanations of the sequences as such specificity was afforded by the journals of early visitors to Hawai'i as well as secondary sources which have analyzed such records.

Chapter 7 Temporal and Genealogical Relationships of *Ali'i Nui*

Introduction

Understanding the relationships between the *ali'i* of the Hawaiian Islands is essential to unraveling the causes and effects of changes in Hawaiian society through the generations. The *ali'i* of the different island nations were not acting in closed single-island systems but were entwined in a complex set of relationships that bound them together through marriages, shared lineages, political alliances, diplomatic relations, social ties, and wars. To understand the multiple aspect of these relationships (as investigated in Part IV and Part V), it is essential to first identify the basic temporal and genealogical context in which *ali'i* lives and interacted. This chapter focuses on placing *ali'i nui* within these contexts. The first portion of this chapter describes the rationale behind Figure 7.1 (located in the back cover pocket) which represents the major islands' *ali'i nui* and other prominent *ali'i* within a correlated temporal sequence. The second portion of this chapter describes the creation of Figure 7.2 (located in the back cover pocket), a genealogical chart that cumulatively represents the data found in a large number of *mo'okū'auhau* of the *ali'i* lineages of the different islands. Understanding the temporal and genealogical contexts of the ruling chiefs is essential for interpreting their actions.

Thus, the analyses provided in this chapter lay the foundation for discussions in Part IV and Part V that involve the evolution of Hawaiian society across the archipelago.

A Proposed Temporal Correlation of the Major Islands' Sequences of Ali'i Nui

The oral traditions describe many shared relationships between *ali'i*. In this way they afford a means to reconstruct a correlated sequence of the islands' ruling *ali'i*. Except for a handful of anomalous data that were perhaps inaccuracies in the *mo'olelo* or *mo'okū'auhau*,²⁶ the vast majority of references corroborate one another and coherently describe the overlapping lives of various *ali'i*.

To illustrate such consistency in the oral traditions, numerous references are included in the discussion below. Such referencing may at times seem excessive. This practice is in part intended to confirm the agreement of numerous reputable sources, but it is also necessary in many cases since several combined sources are needed to document the relationships described (e.g., that of a great-granddaughter and great-grandfather whose generational connections are pieced together only via a set of sources).

Figure 7.1 is a cumulative illustration of the data available in *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* regarding the timing of the lives of the *ali'i nui* of the major islands included in this study. For the last two generations involved, Figure 7.1 also summarizes the data recorded by early Western visitors to Hawai'i. Figure 7.1 includes both the hypothesized temporal sequencing of the different islands' *ali'i* (as

²⁶ The systematic comparisons of various data that inform upon the contemporaneity of the *ali'i* listed secondarily provided a means to evaluate the veracity of information in the oral traditions. Only a handful of references are at odds with the bulk of evidence provided in the *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau*. Probable inaccurate data are noted at appropriate points in the discussion in further footnotes.

presented in Tables 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, and 6.5) and a proposed temporal correlation of these sequences to one another.²⁷

Format of the Correlated Sequence of the Major Islands' Ali'i Nui

Figure 7.1 displays time along the vertical dimension of the chart, with the top being the earliest period (as indicated as well by the numbered generations). The four columns represent the four islands, as labeled. Each of the successive ruling chiefs is listed within the columns in the reconstructed hypothesized order of their reigns. They are numbered in relation to their order in the sequence of *ali'i* included in this analysis. It is perhaps important to note that if a different numbering system was adopted in Figure 7.1 that represented the ordering of individuals in *genealogical* sequences, the greater time depth reflected in Hawaiian oral traditions would be evident. For instance, if Māweke of O'ahu (generation 1 in this study) was listed in relation to his descent from Nānā'ulu (the original settler to Hawai'i among Māweke's direct ancestors [Fornander 1996:5]), then Māweke's generation would be number 15 (Kamakau 1991:76-77; Fornander 1969:1:188-189). Although "Nanaulu may be considered as the initial point" of his family's occupation in the Hawaiian Islands, there may of course have been other earlier settlers to Hawai'i prior to

²⁷ A similar presentation of multiple lineages in a single format is seen in Fornander's (1969:Appendix IX), "Comparative Genealogy of Nānā'ulu and 'Ulu." However, by his own description, this was done "approximatively" (Fornander 1969:I:196). Because he was limited in his presentation format, and because he was attempting to correlate *genealogical* sequences, he was forced to display each generation as uniformly changing in succession with one another (which of course was not the case). As such, *ali'i* he describes as being of the same time appear in his listing on different numbered lines (e.g., Kūkona of Kaua'i appears a generation after Kalaunuiohua, Kamaluohua, Kahu'oi, and Moku a Lo'e; and King Kalākaua in one of his lineages appears two generations after his queen, Kapi'olani, on one of her lineages). Figure 7.1, on the other hand, is an attempt to correlate the *reigns of ali'i nui* and, given its presentation format, allows the length of each *ali'i nui's* reign to be determined irrespective of the length of another *ali'i nui's* reign.

Nānā'ulu "of whom tradition makes no mention" (Fornander 1996:5). Further, if the numbering of generations began with such earlier progenitors as Papa and Wākea, then Māweke's generation would be 29 (Fornander 1969:1:188).²⁸

The angled lines in Figure 7.1 denote the approximate relative time of a transition in rule, with the various types of lines more specifically identifying the nature of such changes, as indicated in the key for Figure 7.1. The blocks formed by these angled lines display the length of time of a given *ali'i's* reign. In creating this chart, these blocks were adjusted to represent shorter or longer reigns, or earlier or later reigns, to meet the stipulations of information provided in the *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau*. The data provided in the *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* were used to build a series of separate inferences for any given time span. Where no information was available to align a set of *ali'i* from one island to those of another, the time spans defining the reigns of the *ali'i* involved were distributed evenly among them. The straight lines used in the last two generations represent absolute points in time provided by the journals of Western observers in Hawai'i (as discussed in Chapter 6).

Figure 7.1 is the resulting *estimate* of the temporal placement of the various islands' *ali'i* relative to one another. An angled line used through most of the chart was selected to represent that the identified transition between rulers is indeed an approximation. An angled line was also chosen as it better reflects the fact that the

²⁸ Moreover, it is highly probable that the earlier generations (perhaps prior to the time of 'Ulu and Nānā'ulu) are not as well remembered as those following that era. Hence, although the traditions of those times recall a connection of the *ali'i* lineages to such pan-Polynesian cosmogonic progenitors as Papa and Wākea, the genealogies may not be recounting a succession of historical personages. Indeed, there may have been more than 29 generations from the mythical origins of people in Hawai'i and the time of Māweke.

lives of successive rulers overlap one another in time and that transitions in rule may have been a gradual process, especially in cases where an *ali'i nui* lived to an old age.²⁹ Hence, if one drew a line across the page from left to right representing a single point in time, the line could intersect the reigns of eight potential paramount rulers (two for each of the four islands' sequences represented). This acknowledges that there were points in time when the two individuals for each island were both alive, and that for that specific point in time it is unclear which of the two was ruling. This is not only practical in terms of not overstating the precision of the estimates, but also appropriate in that an aging *ali'i nui* would likely have transitioned in the reign of his/her heir with the heir taking on additional responsibilities as the reigning heir saw fit.

Also included in the succession are the *ali'i 'ai moku* during periods when the position of *ali'i nui* was merely nominal. Other prominent *ali'i 'ai moku* under the administration of an *ali'i nui* were also included, especially where they played a prominent role in events described either in this or later chapters.

For those who are interested in a correlation of Figure 7.1 to Western calendar dates, Table 7.1 is provided below for convenience. None of the discussions in this study uses these estimated figures, given that there was likely a great deal of variability in the duration of generations for different lineages at different points in time, as Figure 7.1 illustrates. The range of dates in Table 7.1

²⁹ An example of such a gradual transition from one ruler to another can be found in the *mo'olelo* of the O'ahu *ali'i nui* Kūali'i. He led a war effort against the chiefs of Kona in which his father, Kaho'owahaokalani, played only a secondary role (Fornander 1999:IV:408). A second example comes from the time of Kalani'ōpu'u on Hawai'i Island wherein he allowed his successors Kīwala'ō and Kamehameha to fulfill his role as *ali'i nui* in the *heiau luakini* ceremonies at Pākini in which 'Imakakōloa was sacrificed (Kamakau 1992:108).

includes Cartwright's (1929:47) approximation of 15 years per generation, Stokes' (1932:62) use of 20 years per generation, Kalākaua's (1990:31) estimation of 25 years per generation, Fornander's (1996:108) application of 30, and another estimation of 35 years to round out the possibilities.

Explanation of the Proposed Correlated Sequence of the Major Islands' Ali'i Nui

Several records in the oral traditions provide clues to relate the reigns of the first few generations of the major islands' *ali'i nui* to one another. These generations are the most difficult to correlate. The challenge is primarily due to data which on the surface seem to conflict and which need to be thoroughly and carefully considered before they become coherent.

The first item informing upon the contemporaneity of individuals in this era involves Maui and Hawai'i. The Paumakua family of Maui was said to have "arrived during the early part of the reign of Pili" (Kalākaua 1990:71). Following this lead Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i's reign is placed slightly later in time than that of Piliika'ai'ea. However, this gives rise to the question of who would have been the nominal *ali'i nui* of Maui prior to Paumakua and during the reign of Lā'au.

The identity of such a Maui *ali'i nui* is left blank in Figure 7.1 as any suggestion there would have little or no basis. For while most of the oral traditions indicate that Paumakua was the son of Huanuiikalāla'ila'i³⁰ (Malo 1996:315; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1996:24, 26, 41; McKinzie 1983:4), this does not

³⁰ Kamakau (1991:150) cautions that Paumakua may not be the son of Huanuiikalāla'ila'i but rather the son-in-law of his, with Paumakua's wife Manokaliilani being the daughter of Huanuiikalāla'ila'i.

necessarily indicate that Huanuiikalāla'ila'i was the *ali'i nui* prior to Paumakua, especially because Huanuiikalāla'ila'i was said to be a *ali'i* of Honolulu and Waikiki on O'ahu. Kamakau (1991:24) records that Hua's "favorite occupation was cultivating, which he did at Kewalo and at Kō'ula" and that his *heiau* was Pu'ukea at Kukuluāe'o in Honolulu. Hence it is unclear who might have served as the nominal *ali'i nui* of Maui prior to Paumakua.

Table 7.1. Western Calendar Date Estimations for the Beginning Points of the Generational Temporal Units in This Study Based on a Range of Estimated Durations for Each Generation

Generation	15 years	20 years	25 years	30 years	35 years
1	1420	1310	1200	1090	980
2	1435	1330	1225	1120	1015
3	1450	1350	1250	1150	1050
4	1465	1370	1275	1180	1085
5	1480	1390	1300	1210	1120
6	1495	1410	1325	1240	1155
7	1510	1430	1350	1270	1190
8	1525	1450	1375	1300	1225
9	1540	1470	1400	1330	1260
10	1555	1490	1425	1360	1295
11	1570	1510	1450	1390	1330
12	1585	1530	1475	1420	1365
13	1600	1550	1500	1450	1400
14	1615	1570	1525	1480	1435
15	1630	1590	1550	1510	1470
16	1645	1610	1575	1540	1505
17	1660	1630	1600	1570	1540
18	1675	1650	1625	1600	1575
19	1690	1670	1650	1630	1610
20	1705	1690	1675	1660	1645
21	1720	1710	1700	1690	1680
22	1735	1730	1725	1720	1715
23	1750	1750	1750	1750	1750

The next two records indicating the contemporaneity of *ali'i* seem almost to stand in contradiction to one another. Fornander's (1996:39) assessment of *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* led him to conclude that Piliika'aiea "must have been contemporary with the grandchildren of Māweke [Mo'ikeha and Kumuhonua], ... with Keolo'ewa of Molokai, [and] with Haho of Maui." Similarly, Kalākaua (1990:84) describes Keolo'ewa as a contemporary of Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i and Haho of Maui. At the same time, Kalākaua's (1990:124) account of Mo'ikeha's travels indicates that Mo'ikeha was greeted on Hawai'i by the *ali'i nui* Kaniuhi and that the ruling *ali'i nui* on Maui, O'ahu, and Kaua'i were respectively Haho, Muli'eleali'i (Mo'ikeha's father), and Puna.³¹

The above accounts from Kalākaua and Fornander can be reconciled (as shown on Figure 7.1), if one keeps in mind that the segments on Figure 7.1 represent the reigns of *ali'i* and not their lifetimes, and that contemporaneous individuals are those whose lives overlap in time but who may not necessarily be the same age. Kalākaua's and Fornander's reports taken together, and as visually represented in Figure 7.1, would imply that Piliika'aiea's and Māweke's grandchildren were contemporaneous. A second conclusion suggested by their records would be that Kūkohou reigned for a very short period. A third inference that could be drawn would be that Kaniuhi must have been at the beginning of his reign when Mo'ikeha arrived, while Haho would have been well into his reign. Muli'eleali'i

³¹ Malo (1996:144) indicates that "Kalapana was the chief of the island of Hawai'i" during Mo'ikeha's voyages. Malo's account differs from Kalākaua's (1990:124) by a span of two generations. As Kalākaua's discussion seems much more purposeful and comprehensive in describing the historical context of Mo'ikeha's voyage, and as his account comports with other known information for the time, it is likely that his record of whom Mo'ikeha visited with on Hawai'i Island is the more accurate.

and Puna would have likely been near the close of their reigns at the time of Mo'ikeha's visit.

The orientation of the reigns of *ali'i nui* in the next generations are of course affected by the aforementioned correlations. Significantly the resulting orientation of the next generations are in keeping with reports in the *mo'olelo* about these individuals. The most well-recorded *ali'i* of this time is La'amaikahiki, the son of 'Ahukai (of O'ahu) and the *hānai* son of Mo'ikeha (Kamakau 1991:105, 1992:448; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1996:50; Kalākaua 1990:119). La'amaikahiki is said to have been contemporary with Kanipahu³² and Mauiloa (Fornander 1996:41, 79). Similarly, various *mo'olelo* of Kila, who was Mo'ikeha's son (Kamakau 1991:77, 106; Fornander 1996:54; Kalākaua 1990:132), describe Kila as the *ali'i* of Waipi'o Valley on Hawai'i Island during Hua's reign on Maui (Fornander 1999:IV:136-137). And Hua in turn was known to have reigned when Kanipahu was the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island³³ (Kalākaua 1990:158).

³² Contrasting genealogical information related to Kanipahu's wife Ālaikauakoko could be used to call into question the validity of the proposed correlated sequence of the islands' *ali'i*. This is because she is recorded by some as a wife of Kanipahu (of generation 5) (Fornander 1969:Appendix IX; Kalākaua 1990:97) and by others as the wife of Lākona II (of generation 7), the son of Nāwele (Malo 1827:17; McKinzie 1986:23). Fornander (1996:40) puts both records together to report that Ālaikauakoko "who at one time, whether previously or subsequently [to her marriage to Kanipahu] ... was the wife of Lakona, the son of Nawele." The placement of these two reported husbands of Ālaikauakoko in Figure 7.1 raises questions as to the veracity of the proposed sequence in Figure 7.1 or the records regarding Ālaikauakoko's marriages. A possible explanation is that Ālaikauakoko was the wife of Lākona I rather than Lākona II and that the records over the generations may have been somehow reversed. Such an account would be consistent with the larger body of other information surrounding these individuals. Indeed Lākona I and Kanipahu are contemporaries with one another in the proposed sequence that is based on this larger body of information. A second possibility is that there are two women who were named Ālaikauakoko (a common practice among family members) and that one was the wife of Kanipahu and the other the wife of Lākona II.

³³ Kanipahu's residence was in Kohala, Hawai'i (Kalākaua 1990:98). It was only later under Kaha'imoele'a's reign that Waipi'o was established as the home of Hawai'i Island's *ali'i nui* of that era (Kalākaua 1990:178; Fornander 1996:73). As such, Kila's ruling over Waipi'o is not incongruous with the accounts of the time.

Further confirmation of the above comes from the *mo'olelo* of Kamapua'a who was a legendary foe of 'Olopana of O'ahu (Kame'eleihiwa 1996:24-43; Kahiolo 1978:14-27; Fornander 1999:V:314-327; Kalākaua 1990:143-147). After Kamapua'a killed 'Olopana he traveled to Hawai'i Island. There "Kamaiole, the usurper, had but just been defeated and slain by Kalapana, the son of Kanipahu" (Kalākaua 1990:148). The specific *mo'olelo* about Kamaiole's defeat indicates that Kamaiole reigned for a period long enough for Kalapana to have grown to manhood while his father Kanipahu lived in exile on Moloka'i. However, Kamaiole's reign could not have been too long for it is further known that Kanipahu was still vigorous enough to engage in the battle leading to Kamaiole's death, which was in fact said to have been at the hands of Kanipahu (Kalākaua 1990:111-112). Figure 7.1 has been developed to reflect such understandings presented in the *mo'olelo*.

The timing of Maui's windward rulers is suggested by the *mo'okū'auhau* recorded for this period. Kanaloa and Kalāhūmoku would have reigned about at the time indicated in Figure 7.1, as they were the sons of Kanipahu and Hualani (Kamakau 1992:4; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1996:40, 79f; McKinzie 1986:28).

The remainder of the *ali'i nui* for generations 1-6 are equally spaced in time in the order dictated by their individual island histories, as no further information is readily available to correlate these chiefs with those of other islands.

Mo'olelo of Kalaunuiohua's large-scale raid involving generations 7 and 8 provide a most useful set of information to correlate the *ali'i nui* of that era. Various *mo'olelo* clearly and consistently recount that Kalaunuiohua was victorious against Kamaluohua on Maui, Kahōkūohua on Moloka'i, and Huapouleilei on O'ahu; but that he was then defeated by Kūkona on Kaua'i (Malo 1996:301; Kalākaua 1990:177;

Fornander 1996:67-68). Given the genealogical placement of the individuals in their own island sequences, it is probable that at the time of Kalaunuiohua's assault, Kamaluohua was in the later period of his reign while Huapouleilei was at the onset of his.

The *mo'okū'auhau* for the Maui and O'ahu *ali'i* provide further detailed information for this era. Ka'ula'ulaokalani, the *ali'i 'ai moku* of Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu of generation 7 (Fornander 1996:88), had a daughter named Ka'imihauokū who was married to Lo'e of generation 8 on Maui (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX). Lo'e was the son of Kamaluohua and the apparent successor of his father (Kamakau 1991:72; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX; McKinzie 1983:14, 1986:11). Lo'e and Ka'imihauokū's son was Moku a Lo'e (Kamakau 1991:79, 1992:449; Malo 1827:29). Moku a Lo'e was reigning over the Ko'olau districts of O'ahu when Huapouleilei was ruling over 'Ewa, Wai'anae, and Waialua (Kalākaua 1990:177; Fornander 1996:68). If such genealogical information for Moku a Lo'e is viewed in conjunction with the *mo'olelo* of Kalaunuiohua's raid, Moku a Lo'e would be ruling over Ko'olau, O'ahu while his grandfather Kamaluohua was at the end of his reign on Maui.

Such information might bring one to question the veracity of the data as an implication that would follow from the above is that Lo'e became the *ali'i nui* of Maui slightly after his son came to rule over Ko'olau, O'ahu. Yet if Kamaluohua lived a long life (as would be required given the information known from the aforementioned *mo'olelo*), it is possible that, for instance, Lo'e came into his position in his forties or fifties even after his own son Moku a Lo'e came to be an *ali'i 'ai moku* on O'ahu perhaps in his twenties or thirties.

The next *mo'olelo* that provides information linking the lifetimes of *ali'i nui* of two islands involves those of Maui and Hawai'i. Kamakau (1992:324, 1991:115, 1996:42-43) records that during the reign of Kaka'alaneo on Maui and of Kahoukapu on Hawai'i Island, a foreign vessel arrived in the islands. The ship landed at Waihe'e, Maui and Ke'ei, Kona, Hawai'i Island and was under the leadership of an individual who Hawaiians called Kūkanaioa (Kamakau 1991:114-115, 1996:42).³⁴ This *mo'olelo*, in conjunction with those described above, would imply that Ka'ulaheha I reigned for a short time. Given other information provided in the *mo'okū'auhau* of Kahoukapu and Kaka'alaneo, as well *mo'olelo* of their general era (two of which are described below), it is likely that the reigns of Kahoukapu and Kaka'alaneo overlapped during Kahoukapu's later stage of his reign and the earlier years of Kaka'alaneo's joint rule over Maui with his brother Kaka'e.³⁵

A record from the *mo'okū'auhau* also helps to correlate the same Maui and Hawai'i Island *ali'i*. Kahoukapu's younger brother 'Ehu (of generation 10 on Hawai'i Island) was married to Kapōhauola (Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1996:82; McKinzie 1986:28). Kapōhauola, was also the wife of Kaka'e (of generation 11 on Maui) (Malo 1827:15; Kamakau 1991:73; Fornander 1969: Appendix IX, 1996:82; McKinzie 1983:14, 35, 1986:11).

³⁴ Kamakau (1991:115) addresses what he viewed as an inaccuracy in some oral traditions related to this event: "According to some people, Kukanaloa landed at Ke'ei in South Kona, Hawai'i, during the time of Ke-li'i-o-kāloa the chief of Hawai'i, but this cannot be correct. Kaka'alaneo was five generations before Ke-li'i-o-kāloa, and there are no *wānana* of the *po'e kahiko* connecting Ke-li'i-o-kāloa and Kukanaloa. Kahoukapu was of the same time as Kaka'alaneo." Kamakau was almost certainly referring to an account credited to Malo (see Fornander 1996:107) which appears in *Ka Mo'o'ōlelo Hawai'i* (Dibble 1984:5-6) in which Keli'io-kāloa is described as ruling at the time of Kūkanaioa's arrival.

³⁵ Kaka'alaneo was also known to have been a contemporary of a chief of Kohala named Kukuipahu (Fornander 1999:IV:504) who likely ruled over an area that minimally included the North Kohala *ahupua'a* and *heiau* therein which both bear his name.

Kaua'i's *ali'i nui* of generation 10, Kaumaka a Mano, is also identified indirectly in *mo'olelo* as a contemporary of Kaka'e and Kaka'alaneo. During Kaka'alaneo's administration of Maui, the most prominent *ali'i* of the windward side was 'Ele'i'o (Fornander 1996:78f, 1999:IV:482-487, 1999:V:434-435). 'Ele'i'o was said to have "sent his messenger, Kikiiole, to Kauai to tell Kaumakaamano, the chief on Kauai, something" (*Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a* in Sterling 1998:146).

Another *mo'olelo* informing upon inter-island correlations of *ali'i* in this period is that of Mā'ilikūhahi of O'ahu (generation 10). Hilo a La'akapu, Hilo a Hiloka'apuni and Punalu'u, of Hawai'i Island, along with Luako'a of Maui, conducted an unsuccessful raid on O'ahu while it was under the administration of Mā'ilikūhahi (Kamakau 1991:56; Fornander 1996:70, 89). Luako'a's placement in Figure 7.1 relies solely on this *mo'olelo*. However, independent information about Hilo a La'akapu helps to correlate the Hawai'i and O'ahu chiefs of this era.

Hilo a La'akapu's *mo'okū'auhau* is preserved only in his name, however, that name offers unequivocal knowledge. Hilo a La'akapu literally means "Hilo of La'akapu." La'akapu II's blood flowed through his veins. La'akapu II was the wife of Kahoukapu and the mother of Ka'uholanui māhū³⁶ (Kamakau 1991:108, 1996:38; Malo 1996:302, 305; McKinzie 1986:30; Fornander 1996:56, 70). In all likelihood La'akapu II was Hilo a La'akapu's mother, which would as well make him the brother or half-brother of Ka'uholanui māhū. Such a scenario would be in keeping with the standing that Hilo a La'akapu must have enjoyed. In order to conduct a raid on

³⁶ The La'akapu described here is seemingly distinct from another described as the wife of Kanalukapu. (This issue is specifically discussed in the next section of this chapter.) As such she is referred to here as La'akapu II while Kanalukapu's wife is referred to as La'akapu I.

another island, Hilo a La'akapu would have needed great human and material resources. Being the son or step-son of *ali'i nui* Kahoukapu, or the brother of *ali'i nui* Ka'uholanuimāhū, would have placed Hilo a La'akapu in a position to have access to such resources. If these hypotheses are accurate, then the raid of Hilo a La'akapu, Hilo a Hiloka'apuni, Puna, and Luako'a on Mā'ilikūkahī would have occurred toward the end of Kahoukapu's reign or sometime during Ka'uholanuimāhū's reign. Thus it is likely that these two Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui* were contemporary with Mā'ilikūkahī, as Figure 7.1 suggests.

The above correlations are corroborated by Fornander's (1996:71) assessment that "Kauholanui-mahu was contemporary with the Kakaalaneo family on Maui, with the Kalonas on Oahu, and with Kahakuokane, the grandson of Manokalanipoo [sic] of Kauai." Orienting the generations prior to these individuals to meet the descriptions of what is known in *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* results in the alignment that Fornander specifies.

The next generation of the major islands' *ali'i nui* is also well documented. In Kalākaua's (1990:232, 234) detailed version of the *mo'olelo* of the famed chiefess, surfer, and beauty of Maui, Keleanoho'ana'api'api, he describes the following *ali'i* as contemporaries: Kawaoka'ōhele on Maui (generation 13); Piliwale, Lōlale, and Kalamakua on O'ahu (generation 12); and Kihanuilulumoku on Hawai'i (of generation 12). As the years progressed in the *mo'olelo*, "Liloa, the son of Kiha[nuilulumoku] and father of Umi, had become the peaceful sovereign of Hawaii," "Kahakuma[kapaweo] ... held gentle and intelligent sway on Kauai," while Kawaoka'ōhele continued to rule over Maui as did Piliwale over O'ahu (Kalākaua 1990:243). Fornander's (1996:91, 94) analysis of *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau*

indicates that the later period of Līloa's and Kahakumakapāweo's reigns continued through the beginning of the reign of Kūkaniloko on O'ahu (generation 13) and Pi'ilani on Maui (of generation 14). These understandings from the *mo'olelo* are reflected in Figure 7.1.

The combined data on Līloa's associations suggest that he enjoyed a comparatively longer reign than most *ali'i* as he ruled for a period of greater duration than both Kūkaniloko and Kawaoka'ōhele. Such a conclusion from the data is confirmed by the general remembrance in the oral traditions of Līloa's long reign over the island (see Malo 1996:303; Fornander 1996:75).

Information from various *mo'okū'auhau* also help to place the windward Maui *ali'i* of this era in appropriate relationship to other *ali'i*. Malo (1827:27) recounts that Haua was the second wife of Kalā'eha'eha. Their daughter was Kepalaoa (Malo 1827:27). Kepalaoa became the wife of Maui's *ali'i nui* Kawaoka'ōhele (of generation 13 of the leeward Maui chiefs) (Kamakau 1991:73; Malo 1827:15, 27; Fornander 1996:83; McKinzie 1983:14, 35, 1986:12, 21). Haua was also recorded as the wife of Līloa, the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island (of generation 13) (Kamakau 1992:1; McKinzie 1986:30). Because Līloa's wife Haua was further remembered to be "a Maui chiefess" (Kamakau 1992:1), it is highly probable that Kalā'eha'eha and Līloa shared the same wife, a common scenario among *ali'i*. Kalā'eha'eha and Līloa would have been contemporaries, although they were probably of different ages.

Another branch of Kalā'eha'eha's *mo'okū'auhau* helps to correlate the reigns of the Maui and O'ahu chiefs. Malo (1827:27) lists Naluehiloakeahomakali'i as Kalā'eha'eha's first wife. She was also the wife of her full brother Kalaniuli (Kamakau 1991:57; Malo 1827:27; Fornander 1996:269). Although Malo (1827:27)

recounts Naluehilo's marriage to her brother as occurring before her marriage to Kalā'eha'eha, it is likely that the opposite ordering was the case. Such a delay in the timing of this mating is suggested by the record of their son Lupekapukeahomakali'i who became the husband of O'ahu's *ali'i nui* Kalaimanu'ia (generation 14) (Kamakau 1991:57; Fornander 1996:269; Malo 1827:14, 27; McKinzie 1986:22, 29).

The ramifications of such genealogical information (and other data about the temporal placement of the reigns of Kalaimanu'ia's children described below) required Kalaimanu'ia's reign to be extended over a longer period of time in Figure 7.1 than would have been expected for an average reign. Significantly, it is remembered that "the reign of Kalai-manu'ia and her husband Lupe lasted a long time" (Kamakau 1991:58) and that her son Kū a Manu'ia began his reign well into his adult years (Kamakau 1991:61).

'Umi a Līloa on Hawai'i Island (generation 14) is the most well recorded individual of the next era. When his half-brother Hākau was forcibly removed from office and 'Umi assumed the position of *ali'i nui*, Pi'ilani continued to rule over Maui. 'Umi's *kahuna*, Ka'ōleiokū, instructed 'Umi that he should seek the hand of Pi'ilani's daughter, Pi'ikea. 'Umi then sent 'Ōma'okamau to Maui to propose the marriage arrangement to Pi'ilani (Fornander 1996:97, 1999:IV:214-15). In later years 'Umi assisted Pi'ilani's second son Kiha a Pi'ilani in overthrowing Pi'ilani's heir, Lono a Pi'ilani, thus making all three of these individuals contemporaries as well, as seen in Figure 7.1 (Kamakau 1992:28-32; Fornander 1996:97-98, 1999:IV:246-255). Yet another possible indication that 'Umi was closer in age to Pi'ilani than to Kiha a Pi'ilani is the record of Pi'ilani and 'Umi both sharing Moku a Hualeiākea as an

acknowledged wife (Fornander 1996:87, 103; Kamakau 1992:19; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 1986:12, 28).

Kiha a Pi'ilani, and by extension his brother Lono a Pi'ilani, are further solidified in their placement in Figure 7.1, given the *mo'olelo* of Kiha's formative years on O'ahu. Kiha a Pi'ilani was said to have been raised in the court of Kūkaniōkoku on O'ahu (Fornander 1996:206), seemingly in his childhood, and then probably in the court of Kalaimanu'ia through his early adulthood³⁷ (Kamakau 1991:50).

There is no specific reference regarding the onset of the reigns of Kū a Manu'ia's and his siblings (Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia, Ha'o, and Kekela). As such they and their Maui counterparts of generation 15 (Lono a Pi'ilani and Kiha a Pi'ilani) are estimated to have begun their reigns at roughly the same time. Regarding the transitions in rule within generation 15 on Maui and O'ahu, again there is no indisputable means to determine which began first. Thus, the intra-generation transitions in rule are purposefully depicted in Figure 7.1 as approximately occurring at the same time. However, there is evidence in the *mo'olelo* to clarify the comparative terminal ends of these chiefs' reigns. This can be done indirectly through records of O'ahu's renowned *ali'i nui*, Kākuhihewa, who was Kū a Manu'ia's nephew and Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia's son (Kamakau 1991:62; Malo 1827:14; Fornander 1996:272; McKinzie 1983:31, 1986:22, 29). *Mo'olelo* reference

³⁷ Kamakau (1991:50) records that Kiha "was taken by the *kahuna* and raised at the *heiau* of Mau'oki at Kamō'ilii'ili. He was raised there until he was grown and taught to be a warrior and an orator; he was skilled in those professions. When he was twenty years of age, Kiha was ordered to go to Maui to become the heir apparent." He was raised on O'ahu because it was the home island of his mother's (Lā'ieiohelohē's) paternal family (Kalamakua's family) (Kamakau 1991:49; Fornander 1996:86; McKinzie 1986:26, 73; Kalākaua 1990:246).

Kākuhihewa as ruling O'ahu prior to the close of Kiha a Pi'ilani's reign (Kamakau 1991:75, 1992:42). Such *mo'olelo* establish that Kū a Manu'ia's and Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia's reigns ended prior to Kiha a Pi'ilani's.

Kaua'i's *ali'i nui* of this era can be correlated with those of the other islands through a key marriage. Kahakumakaliua (in generation 15) married 'Akahi'ilikapu, the daughter of 'Umi a Li'ioa and Moku a Hualeiākea (Kamakau 1992:19, 45; Fornander 1996:104, 292; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 1986:34). This marriage resulted from Kahakumakaliua's visit to 'Umi's court on Hawai'i Island while Kahakumakaliua's father, Kalanikukuma, was still the *ali'i nui* of Kaua'i. During this visit, Kahakumakaliua became enamored by 'Akahiakuleana who, as his new wife, accompanied him back to Kaua'i (Fornander 1996:104). Such information from the oral traditions confirm that Kahakumakaliua was a contemporary of 'Umi, although probably of a younger age.

Ali'i nui of Kaua'i of the next generations 16 through 18 are not described in relation to other islands' *ali'i nui*. Hence the tenure of Kamakapu, Kawelomahamahi'a, and Kawelomakualua, in their positions as *ali'i nui*, are equally distributed through this era.

The ruling chiefs of O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i during the same period are well documented. Kamakau (1991:75) notes that "while Kākuhihewa was ruling, Ke-li'i-o-kāloa, Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, Kanaloa-kua'ana, and 'Umiokalani were the chiefs of Hawai'i...[and that] Kiha-a-Pi'ilani and Kama-lālā-walu were the chiefs of Maui at this time." In another *mo'olelo* focusing on Keawenui a 'Umi's favorite attendant, Pāka'a, Kamakau (1992:42) similarly records that "at the time Keawe-nui-a-'Umi sought Paka'a, Kiha-a-Pi'ilani was ruler of Maui and Ka-kuhi-hewa of Oahu." Later in

Kākuhihewa's reign, he was visited by Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani the who were co-rulers of Hawai'i Island (Fornander 1999:IV:274-321; Kalākaua 328-331). On this same trip Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani planned to visit with Kamalālāwalu on Maui but did not since Kamalālāwalu was not on the island at the time (Kalākaua 1990:325). Kalākaua's account of Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani being contemporary with Kamalālāwalu is substantiated by Kamakau's (1992:52) record of a second trip that Lonoikamakahiki took to seek the good will of his fellow rulers. On this diplomatic tour, Lonoikamakahiki visited Kamalālāwalu on Maui, Kānekapu a Kākuhihewa and Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa on O'ahu, and members of the Kawelo and Ke'alohi families on Kaua'i.³⁸ Each of these temporal relationships are reflected in Figure 7.1.

One of the most notable occurrences of this era solidifies the above reports of Kamalālāwalu and Lonoikamakahiki being contemporaries. This was a war which Kamalālāwalu waged against Kohala and Kona, Hawai'i. Hawai'i Island at the time

³⁸ Kamakau (1992:52) specifies that these Kaua'i *alii* were "Ke-alohi-iki-kaupe'a, Ka-uhi-a-hiwa, and Kawelo-'ahu." There are a number of problems with this information that call into question the accuracy of the specific people Kamakau names. Ke'alohikikaupe'a is the only *alii* of the three who was likely to have been an *alii* on Kaua'i during this period. Ke'alohikikaupe'a is of the same generation 18 as Kawelomakualua, as their great-grandfathers, Kahakumakaliua and 'Ilimealani respectively, were brothers (Malo 1827:13, 17; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1996:292-293; McKinzie 1983:16, 33). Yet the *mo'olelo* describe Ke'alohikikaupe'a as establishing himself "among the Koolau chiefs on Oahu" where he "seems to have been connected with the Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa family" (Fornander 1996:293). Kauhiahewa, the second Kaua'i chief that Kamakau (1992:52) included among those whom Lonoikamakahiki visited, was Ke'alohikikaupe'a's grandfather, thus placing him among those of generation 16 (Malo 1827:13). Kawelo'ahu, the last on Kamakau's list, does not appear in available genealogies and is not otherwise mentioned in the *mo'olelo*. However, this individual may be the same as Kawelo'ehu. Kawelo'ehu is probably the brother of Kawelo'aikanaka (generation 19) (see the discussion of this specific issue in the next section of this chapter). Thus, in total the three Kaua'i *alii* that Kamakau references represent a minimal span of three generations, or if one considers Kawelo'ahu to be Kawelo'ehu, then they would span four generations. This, along with the conflicting source that places Ke'alohikikaupe'a on O'ahu, raise questions about the accuracy of the information that Kamakau provided.

was under the rule of Kanaloakua'ana and Lonoikamakahiki, with Kaikilani serving as the nominal *ali'i nui*. In this battle, Kanaloakua'ana was killed defending Kohala in the initial fray, and Kamalālāwalu and a majority of his troops were also killed later when the full Hawai'i army joined in the engagement. Lonoikamakahiki was victorious and Kauhi a Kama escaped and returned to reign over Maui (Kamakau 1992:58-61; Fornander 1996:123-124, 1999:IV340-351).

The above records from the *mo'olelo* of this period indicate that Kākuhihewa's rule coincided with that of Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui* Keli'iokāloa and Keawenui in generation 15 as well as with Kaikilani and Lonoikamakahiki in generation 16. Kākuhihewa's time as *ali'i nui* also overlapped with Kiha a Pi'ilani's and Kamalālāwalu's reigns on Maui. The relatively lengthy duration of Kākuhihewa's rule suggested by this information is corroborated by a remembrance of Kākuhihewa's extended tenure as O'ahu's sovereign (see Kamakau 1991:68). Similarly the record of Kamalālāwalu's ruling over Maui during both the reigns of Keawenui a 'Umi as well as that of Kaikilani and Lonoikamakahiki is substantiated by *mo'olelo* which recall that "he enjoyed a long and prosperous reign" (Fornander 1996:207). The cumulative accounts for this set of *ali'i nui* also indicate that Kaikilani and Lonoikamakahiki's joint rule included time in common with Kākuhihewa and his sons (generations 16 and 17 for O'ahu) as well as with Kamalālāwalu and his son, Kauhi a Kama (generations 16 and 17 for Maui). Such conclusions are represented in Figure 7.1.

The next group of *ali'i* can be correlated in time across the four major islands using a number of different records. A *mo'olelo* that Kalākaua (1990:334-349) reports of Iwikauikaua (of generation 18) provides much useful data which are also

corroborated by other sources. Iwikauikaua was a high ranking great-grandson of the Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui* Keli'iokāloa (Malo 1827:16, 21; Kamakau 1992:34, 60; Fornander 114, 125). After the installation of Keakealanikāne as the new *ali'i nui* in generation 17, Iwikauikaua set off to adventures elsewhere. He visited with Kauhi a Kama on Maui then entered into the courtly circles of Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa on O'ahu. While in Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa's court, Iwikauikaua offered his services as a warrior among the forces that Ka'ihikapu pledged to Kawelo a Maihunaali'i of Kaua'i (of generation 19) who was attempting to overthrow his cousin, *ali'i nui* Kawelo'aikanaka (Fornander 1996:276, Kalākaua 343; cf. Fornander 1999:V:28³⁹).

Following Kawelo a Maihunaali'i's successful war on Kaua'i, another war was waged on O'ahu that further substantiates the contemporaneity of individuals described above. Kauhi a Kama attacked Waikiki during the joint reign of Kānekapu a Kākuhihewa and Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa and was killed in this battle (Kalākaua 1990:344; Fornander 1996:208, 275, 276).

At this point the *mo'olelo* of Iwikauikaua resumes with him at the court of the new Maui *ali'i nui* Kalanikaumakaowākea (of generation 18) where he was visiting his half-sister Kapukiniakua, the mother of Kalanikaumakaowākea and wife of the recently deceased Kauhi a Kama (Kalākaua 1990:344-346; Kamakau 1991:74, 1992:62; Malo 1827:15; Fornander 1996:126, 209, 1969:Appendix IX; McKinzie 1983:14, 21, 1986:12). Iwikauikaua then ended his long adventures by

³⁹ Fornander's (1999:V:28) narrative version of this *mo'olelo* indicates that Kākuhihewa granted Kawelo Maihunaali'i assistance in his war effort. However, since Ka'ihikapu's full name is Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa, this might be a reason for the remembrance of Kākuhihewa offering the aid in that version. As the two are father and son whose lives overlapped, the possible discrepancy does not raise serious questions as to the validity of the above account.

returning home to Hawai'i Island where he became the husband of the new *ali'i nui wahine* Keakamahana (Kamakau 1992:61; Kalākaua 1990:349; Malo 1827:35; 'Ī'i 1983:6; Fornander 1996:127, 128; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 1986:30).⁴⁰

Further information from the *mo'okū'auhau* of this period's *ali'i* helps to verify the temporal relationships of these chiefs. For instance, Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa married Kanakeawe, the daughter of Keawenui a 'Umi (Fornander 1996:104; Malo 1827:14, 22; McKinzie 1986:22). Kauhi a Kama married Kapukiniakua who was the daughter of Makakuali'i, the brother of Kaikilani (Kamakau 1992:60, 61; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 5). And while Iwikauikaua was in Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa's court, Iwikauikaua married the daughter of Ka'ihikapu, Kauakahikua'anaauakāne (Kamakau 1991:53, 1992:62; Malo 1827:30; Fornander 1996:126, 128). Lastly, Kanaloau'o of Kohala (of generation 18) married Kihamoihala of Maui who was the great-granddaughter of Kamalālāwalu (of generation 16) (Malo 1827:17; Fornander 1996:127, 207; McKinzie 1983:70, 1986:24, 114). The temporal arrangement proposed in Figure 7.1 is consistent with each of these marriages documented in the cited *mo'okū'auhau*.

Numerous associations correlate the lives of the next set of *ali'i* (with the exception of Kaho'owahaokalani and Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha of O'ahu⁴¹ [of

⁴⁰ Kamakau (1992:217), in a brief passing comment about Iwikauikaua, places his travels as occurring after rather than before his marriage to Keakamahana. The general approximations depicted in Figure 7.1 could accommodate either Kalākaua's (1990:349) or Kamakau's ordering of events.

generations 18 and 19] in the interim between the otherwise well documented *ali'i*). Upon the death of Kawelomaihunaali'i of Kaua'i (of generation 19), Lonoikahā'upu "peacefully inherited the sovereignty of the western side of the island of Kauai, while the noted Kualii, of Oahu, retained possession of the remainder" (Kalākaua 1990:354). Simultaneously Kūali'i was ruling O'ahu where he spent most of his time (Fornander 1996:283, 296).⁴² During "the earlier part of Kualii's life and reign" he staged a raid on Hilo, Hawai'i probably "while Keakealaniwahine was still the Moi of Hawaii, and before the accession of her son Keawe" (Fornander 1996:281).

A trip of relaxation and good-will that Lonoikahā'upu took, apparently following Kūali'i's raid, helped to further define the temporal relationships among *ali'i* of this period. When Lonoikahā'upu arrived on Hawai'i Island, "Keaweikekahialiokamoku, the Moi of Hawaii, was at the time residing in Kau." (Fornander 1996:296).

Kūali'i must have reigned over Kaua'i and O'ahu for a relatively long period for "while Kualii was still ruling Oahu" Kamaka'imoku visited his court to spend time

⁴¹ Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha is discussed in relation to other *ali'i* of other islands in his bringing from Kaua'i the reinstated practices of the *kapu moe* and burning as punishment for those who broke that strict chiefly *kapu*. Yet close examination of the discussion clarifies that the *mo'olelo* actually does not provide information on contemporaneity. Fornander's (1996:277) less detailed account suggests that Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha sent Kualono'ehu to the court of Kawelomakualua where the practice was witnessed and then transferred to O'ahu upon Kualono'ehu's return. This apparent anachronism (given the disparity in time between Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha and Kawelomakualua) is clarified by Kamakau. Kamakau (1992:223) writes, "The practice of burning men for [failure to observe] the tabu of the chiefs is said to have been introduced in [the] time of Ka-welo-makua and Ka-'awihī-o-kalani. It was practiced by Kauai chiefs alone and descended to their heirs [on that island] until the time of Ka-ua-kahi-a-Kaho'owaha, ruling chief of Oahu, who sent Kualono-'ehu to get the tabu of Kauai for his grandaunt Kaha-malu-'ihi."

⁴² In a segment of the extended history of Kūali'i, an apparent error in the details of the history is made wherein Kūali'i (of generation 20) is said to have been a contemporary of Kamalālāwalu and Kauhi a Kama (of generations 16 and 17 respectively) (Fornander 1999:IV:422-425). Fornander (1996:282) notes the same segment of the legend as containing "anachronisms" which not doubt refers to this issue.

with her mother 'Umi'ulaika'ahumanu who was Kūali'i's wife (Kamakau 1992:75). It was during this trip that she met Kūali'i's son, Peleiōhōlani, and with him conceived Kalani'ōpu'u (Kamakau 1992:75, 110). The representation in the *mo'olelo* of Kūali'i's contemporaneity with Keakealaniwahine (of generation 19) and the adult Kamaka'imoku (of generation 21) is supported by descriptions of him in the *mo'olelo* as living to "a very advanced age" (Fornander 1996:283). The specifics of such *mo'olelo* describe his attendants carrying Kūali'i in a "network of strings (koko)" due to his being "well advanced in life and unable to walk" (Fornander 1999:IV:364).

The marriages of *ali'i* of this period corroborate the temporal relationships inferred from the *mo'olelo*. A key spouse in this discussion is Kalanikauleleiaiwi, the daughter of Keakealaniwahine. Kalanikauleleiaiwi establishes a *punalua* relationship among four *ali'i*. (Individuals who share the same spouse are *punalua* to one another). Kalanikauleleiaiwi was married to Lonoikahā'upu of Kaua'i, Ka'ulahea II of Maui, as well as Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku and Kauaua a Mahi of Hawai'i Island (Kamakau 1992:62, 64-65, 309; Fornander 1996:129, 131-132, 210, 296; McKinzie 1983:xxii 1986:30-31). Kekaulike, Ka'ulahea II's son, married his half-sister Keku'iapoiwanui the daughter of Kalanikauleleiaiwi and Ka'ulahea II (Kamakau 1992:65, 449; Fornander 1996:131, 204, 210; McKinzie 1983:5, 1986:30). Several other marriages help to establish the temporal relationships of this era proposed in Figure 7.1. Mahi'ololi of Kohala (of generation 19) married 'Umiiwi'ula who was the daughter of Makakūikalani, the nephew of Kamalālāwalu (of generation 16) (Kamakau 1992:56, 1991:75; Malo 1827:28; McKinzie 1983:64, 49, 60, 67, 1986:73). Kūali'i took as his wife Kalanikahimakeiali'i who was the daughter of Ka'ulahea II (Malo 1827:14; Fornander 1996:210, 282, 284, 1969:Appendix IX; McKinzie 1983:5,

16; 1986:23, 29, 31). Kekaulike married Kāne a Lae “a ruling chiefess of Molokai” at the time (Kamakau 1992:64; Fornander 1996:130f, 130-131, 213). Kāne a Lae was as well the wife of Keaweikekahiali’iokamoku (Kamakau 1992:64; Fornander 1996:130-131, 213). Finally, Kekaulike married Hōlau who was the great-granddaughter of Lonoikamakahiki (Kamakau 1992:54-55, 69; Malo 1827:26; Fornander 1996:125, 213; McKinzie 1983:37, 41, 84).

At the transition between the close of the generations just described and the onset of this next period, Alapa’inui was at the court of Kekaulike on Maui (Kamakau 1992:64; Fornander 1996:132) visiting with his half-sister Keku’iapoivanui, with whom he shared the mother Kalanikauleleiaiwi (Kamakau 1992:64-65; Fornander 1996:131, 210; McKinzie 1983:5, 1986:31). There they received the news of Keaweikekahiali’iokamoku’s death and reports of the internal conflicts on Hawai’i Island occurring in its wake. The dissension brought the death of Kalaninui’iamamao and divided Hawai’i Island between Kalanike’eaumoku and Mokulani. Alapa’inui then returned to Hawai’i Island, went to war against these *ali’i* and as the victor he became the sole *ali’i nui* of Hawai’i Island (Kamakau 1992:65; Fornander 1996:132).

Some years later another series of events correlates the reigns of six *ali’i nui* of four major islands. Alapa’inui was involved in each juncture in this sequence. It began with Kekaulike who toward the end of his reign sailed to Hawai’i and attacked Alapa’inui’s home areas of Kohala and Kona (Kamakau 1992:66; Fornander 1996:133). Alapa’inui in turn assembled his forces and prepared to attack Maui. When he arrived on Maui, however, he learned either that Kekaulike passed away (Fornander 1996:136; Henriques 1917:56) or was close to death (Kamakau 1992:70)

and that his nephew, Kamehameha Nui (son of Keku'iapoiwanui), was the heir apparent. Alapa'i remained to spend a peaceful visit on Maui with his sister and nephew.

While on Maui, Alapa'inui learned of Kapi'iohookalani's invasion of Moloka'i from O'ahu and joined in the battle on behalf of his relatives there with whom he shared the common *kūpuna* of Keaweikēkahiali'iokamoku (to whom some of the Moloka'i *ali'i* were related via Keawe's marriage to Kāne a Lae, the previous *ali'i nui wahine* of Moloka'i). Alapa'inui defeated Kapi'iohookalani (who died in that battle) and then left Moloka'i under the leadership of its own chiefs (Kamakau 1992:70-71; Fornander 1996:137-138).

From Moloka'i, Alapa'inui continued to O'ahu with the intent of taking it over at this vulnerable point while its heir, Kanahaokalani, was but a child. He engaged in skirmishes on O'ahu before its chiefs requested and received assistance from Peleiōhōlani (Kapi'iohookalani's brother) of Kaua'i. Peleiōhōlani soon after arrived and assumed the rule of O'ahu and, in accord with Alapa'inui, accepted a diplomatically arranged peaceful end to the encounter. Alapa'inui then returned to Moloka'i to address the aftermath of the war that had just transpired there and stopped on Maui en route back home to Hawai'i Island (Kamakau 1992:71-72; Fornander 1996:138-140).

While on Maui, Alapa'i discovered that the island was in a state of war. Kamehameha Nui's older half-brother, Kauhi'aimoku a Kama (Kamakau 1992:69; Fornander 1996:212-213), rebelled against Kamehameha Nui who was then forced to seek refuge on Alapa'inui's canoe and thus sailed with Alapa'inui to Hawai'i Island. Alapa'i pledged his assistance to Kamehameha Nui to reestablish him as the

ali'i nui of Maui. The anticipated battle on Maui ensued about a year later with Kamehameha Nui and Alapa'i on one side and Kauhi'aimoku a Kama and his ally Peleiōhōlani on the other. Kauhi'aimoku was killed in the battle, Kamehameha Nui resumed his position as the *ali'i nui* of Maui, and Peleiōhōlani and Alapa'i returned to their home islands (Kamakau 1992:74-75; Fornander 1996:140-142). This brief summary of the individuals who were contemporaneous with Alapa'i are illustrated in Figure 7.1.

A few years after Alapa'i's death and Kalani'ōpu'u's eventual establishment in the position of *ali'i nui* over all of Hawai'i Island, Kalani'ōpu'u conducted a successful war campaign against Kamehameha Nui to capture Hāna and Kīpahulu (Kamakau 1992:79; Fornander 1996:146-147). Thus, the various *mo'olelo* of this event clarify that Kamehameha Nui and Kalani'ōpu'u were also contemporaneous.

Several marriages of this period recounted in *mo'okū'auhau* independently verify the temporal relationships that were described in the above *mo'olelo* for this period. Most important among these is the *punalua* relationship of Kamaka'imoku's partners Peleiōhōlani of Kaua'i and O'ahu, and Kalaninui'iāmamao, Kalanike'eaumoku, and Alapa'inui of Hawai'i Island (Kamakau 1992:74-75, 110, 309; Malo 1827:20; Fornander 1996:124f, 135, 144, 204; McKinzie 1983:xxiii, 1986:31). Maui's *ali'i nui*, Kekaulike, is also confirmed to be of this time period given his marriage to Keku'iapoiwanui, Alapa'inui's half-sister (Kamakau 1992:65, 449; Fornander 1996:131, 204). Mokulani of Hilo (of generation 21) married Niau, the great-granddaughter of Kalanikaumakaowākea of Maui (of generation 18) (Kamakau 1991:71,74; Malo 1827:24; Fornander 1996:209; McKinzie 1983:14, 22, 1986:12,

24). Each of these marriages would be in keeping with the sequence proposed in Figure 7.1.

The remainder of the ordering of *ali'i* can be correlated with a high degree of certainty as they are described in *mo'olelo*, *mo'okū'auhau*, and historical documents of Western observers. The calendar dates presented in Figure 7.1 which correlate the reigns of the various chiefs are described in detail in Chapter 6 and are presented in straightforward fashion in Figure 7.1.

However, one aspect of Figure 7.1 that requires further clarification for this era involves the status of Kahekili and those under him, given his various changes in residence and his large domain. When Kahekili gained control over O'ahu and moved his residence there, he placed Kalanikūpule in control of the whole of Maui. However, after Kamehameha defeated Kalanikūpule in 1790, Kahekili and Ka'eokūlani went to Maui in 1791 to reoccupy the island and to engage in battle against Kamehameha's forces (Quimper in Minson 1952:75-77; Ingraham 1971:69; Kuykendall 1938:48f). During this time while Kahekili was away from O'ahu, he reassigned Kalanikūpule to O'ahu to govern in his absence.

Another facet of the last dated portion of Figure 7.1 that requires further attention involves the ordering of events which occurred in the same year on different islands. In 1791 it appears that Kahekili and Ka'eokūlani left O'ahu and Kaua'i, reasserted Kahekili's control over Maui, and engaged in the sea battle of Kepūwaha'ula off of Waimanu with Kamehameha, just before Kamehameha dedicated Pu'ukoholā *heiau*, sacrificed Keōua, and attained control over all of Hawai'i Island. This conclusion is based on three sources: Kamakau (1992:162) states, immediately following his description of Kepūwaha'ula, that "Keoua was at

this time still living.” Further, Fornander’s (1996:329) detailed analysis of this very issue following numerous sources led him to conclude that Kepūwaha’ula “took place before the death of Keoua.” In the same light, Kuykendall’s (1938:37) assessment of Quimper’s and Ingraham’s journals led him to conclude that the battle of Kepūwaha’ula occurred “in April or May, 1791” while other unnamed sources led him to believe that the completion of Pu’ukoholā occurred “some time during the summer” of the same year (see Quimper in Minson 1952:75-77; Ingraham 1971:69).

The two transitions in rule that occurred in 1794 involve Kahekili’s and Ka’eokūlani’s deaths. Kahekili’s death of course occurred first and is documented as having transpired “in the spring or summer of 1794” (Kuykendall 1938:44). His passing placed Ka’eokūlani in control over Maui and its neighboring islands and also brought Kalanikūpule into the position of *ali’i nui* of O’ahu. Ka’eokūlani’s death occurred later in December of 1794, resulting in Kaumuali’i becoming the *ali’i nui* of Kaua’i (Kamakau 1992:169; Kuykendall 1938:46, 48f).

Significance of the Correlation of the Sequences of Ali’i Nui of the Major Islands

Among all the evidence used to develop Figure 7.1, only a handful of references were at odds with an otherwise cohesive and consistent picture painted in the *mo’olelo* and *mo’okū’auhau* about the governance of the islands (as discussed at appropriate places in footnotes). In two cases, Kamakau’s more detailed accounts offered clarifications that negated apparent inconsistencies in other sources (as discussed in footnotes 34 and 41). In two other cases, the substantive differences in accounts were slight and did not affect the ordering presented in Figure 7.1 (as discussed in footnotes 39 and 40). Two further instances suggested

hypothesized reinterpretations of *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* which involved individuals with the same names (as discussed in footnotes 32 and 36). In only three instances were there substantive inconsistencies which would probably be considered inaccuracies, given the larger body of data presented in the oral traditions (as discussed in footnotes 31, 38, and 42).

The otherwise overwhelming coherence of the data from both *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* suggests that the information conveyed reflects a realistic summary of the timing of the reigns of the major islands' *ali'i nui*. For indeed it would have been impossible for anyone, even someone as powerful as Kamehameha Pa'ea in the early 1800s, to force all the *ali'i* lineages of the different islands to alter their *mo'okū'auhau* and their native islands' *mo'olelo* to have them conform to an orchestrated version of the past which displays the unified and complex history of events and genealogical relationships used to develop Figure 7.1.

A Comprehensive View of Chiefly Genealogical Relationships

Identifying the complex genealogical relationships preserved in the *mo'okū'auhau* of *ali'i* is as important as understanding their temporal relationships. The purpose of this section is to place each of the *ali'i* of this study within their appropriate genealogical contexts. Such relationships are integral to interpreting the actions of *ali'i* both within and between islands. A cumulative view of a large number of *mo'okū'auhau* that illustrate those relationships for over 30 generations of *ali'i* is depicted in Figure 7.2. The process of identifying these intra- and inter-island genealogical ties is essential to understanding the evolution of Hawaiian society. Hence, the relationships represented in Figure 7.2 provide a critical layer of

information for discussions in Part IV and Part V that interpret the causes and effects of historical events from the later generations of the migratory era to the unification of the islands under Kamehameha.

The simultaneous drawback and benefit of Figure 7.2 is its complexity. For those who seek a simple depiction of the direct lineal succession from one ancestor to a given descendant, this chart will prove frustrating as it includes far more information. However, for the purposes of this study of chiefly genealogical relationships through many generations of time and across the space of the Hawaiian archipelago, the inclusive approach used in charting the *mo'okū'auhau* was necessary.

The vast majority of the relationships illustrated in Figure 7.2 are regularly and consistently described in multiple sources. The sources used to develop Figure 7.2 are Kamakau (1991, 1992), Malo (1827, 1996), Fornander (1969, 1996, 1999), Kalākaua (1990), and McKinzie (1983, 1986). Other sources (e.g., Lili'uokalani 1978, Kepelino 1932; and 'Ī'ī 1983) were as well consulted but provided far less information than the aforementioned references. Records from each of these sources were systematically entered into the database described in Chapter 2. Comparisons of records and specific fields in the database allowed for the identification of genealogical relationships upon which all sources agree. This process also pointed out ambiguous relationships and identities of individuals that needed further investigation.

The results of such investigations are also depicted in Figure 7.2. This includes 1) proposed relationships that are based on analyses of various sources that describe two or more alternate genealogical relationships and 2) proposed

resolutions to inconsistencies that became apparent when piecing together various lineages in a unified chart.

When sources were in conflict (which represented a small minority of cases), a number of considerations were used to arrive at the decisions illustrated in Figure 7.2. The degree to which a clear majority of sources supported a position was taken into account. The reputations of the genealogists involved were also weighed, with authors such as Kamakau, Malo, and Fornander being relied upon most heavily. The antiquity of sources was also evaluated, with older sources receiving greater consideration. If only one source recorded a given genealogical branch (e.g., the genealogy of a wife of a ruling chief), then that genealogy was assessed in terms of how well it comported with information from other *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau*. For example, such additional information in a number of cases involved the presence of ancestors in the genealogy in question who were known as well in better documented genealogies. If the genealogy in question recorded that ancestor as being contemporaneous with the same individuals noted in the better established genealogies, then the genealogy in question was included.

A small number of genealogies that appeared anomalous and out of sync with other secure genealogies were excluded from Figure 7.2. Such records appeared inaccurate for several reasons: 1) They omitted numerous generations (e.g., a genealogy that documents a daughter of an *ali'i* in generation 11 marrying an *ali'i* in generation 16). 2) They apparently used the identities of well-documented individuals and provided them with a different genealogical context linking them to individuals who otherwise were not known as relatives of the well-documented individuals. 3) They seem to assert the existence of an otherwise unknown branch

of *ali'i* descended from an otherwise unrecorded wife of an *ali'i* that includes descendants who for multiple generations were never incorporated through marriages into well-documented genealogies. Such suspect genealogies were not used in Figure 7.2. Genealogies that were openly contested at the time of their publication were also not used in this study (e.g., those genealogies involving individuals asserting a claim to crown lands which McKinzie [1986:127-128, 134-136] placed in a section entitled, "Genealogical Challenges").

As is evident from the above discussion, a number of judgment calls were made in developing Figure 7.2. While a full dissertation could be written to systematically document the sources of each of the relationships depicted in Figure 7.2 and to justify all the myriad decisions made in rendering each of the relationships, such a focus is not the purpose of this study and must be viewed as a future research project. At the same time, a number of decisions made in creating Figure 7.2 are notably divergent from often quoted standard sources and thus are explained below.

In combining numerous genealogical records into a single chart, a number of inconsistencies in the *mo'okū'auhau* were identified. These include dilemmas that Fornander (1996) previously identified as well as additional problematic aspects of various *mo'okū'auhau* that came to light through this study. Discussed below are the reasons one might dispute certain *mo'okū'auhau*. New interpretations that were developed to address such situations are also described. In reinterpreting such *mo'okū'auhau*, the following principles and goals were kept in mind: 1) eliminating the aspect of inconsistency found in the *mo'okū'auhau*, 2) preserving and using as much of the *mo'okū'auhau* that could be seen to comport with the larger body of

records, and 3) introducing the least number of assumptions into the reinterpretation. Such guidelines were followed to address the *mo'okū'auhau* described below.

A significant problem in the genealogies of Maui and Hawai'i Island that required reinterpretation involves Hanala'anui and Hanala'aiki. The proposed reinterpretation followed in this study is seen in Figure 7.2 wherein only Hanala'a appears on the Maui line and Hanala'anui and Hanala'aiki are not included. This decision is at variance with a large number of genealogical records. What is typically recorded is that Hanala'anui and Hanala'aiki were twin brothers born of Palena (a *kāne*) and Hikāwainui (a *wahine*), that Hanala'anui was the elder of the two, and that Hanala'anui became the ancestor of Hawai'i Island *ali'i* while Hanala'aiki became the ancestor of Maui *ali'i* (Lili'uokalani 1978:77; Kamakau 1991:101, 152; Malo 1827:5, 1996: 298, 316; Kepelino 1932:191; McKinzie 1986:2, 1983:xx, 4).⁴³ In addition, it is often noted that Maui and Hawai'i Island chiefs engaged in continual debates as to the appropriate ancestor of each islands' *ali'i*, as both sought to claim descent from the supposed senior Hanala'anui. However, a careful examination of the full genealogical context of the legendary twins suggests the inaccurate nature of this record.

Fornander (1996:27) asserts that there is but an "illusion of the Hanalaa twins" in Hawaiian oral traditions. He supports this statement citing a chant from the Kalona O'ahu lineage (descending from Māweke and La'amaikahiki) which "says nothing of two Hanalaa's" but "knows but one" (Fornander 1996:27). He continues to

⁴³ The end portions of the names Hanala'anui and Hanala'aiki are significant in that "nui" refers to something that is "big, large, great...important, principal, prime, many...abundant" while "iki" means something that is "small, little, slightly" or a "trifle" (Pūku'i and Elbert 1986:97. 272).

suggest that the “palpably untrue” ruse of the twin birth was an “attempt to piece [Pilika‘ai‘ea’s] lineage on to already existing Hawaiian lines,” as Pilika‘ai‘ea was a later arrival to Hawai‘i from the southern islands (Fornander 1996:27-28).

Other evidence suggestive of the same conclusion includes Kamakau’s record of the succession of Maui and Hawai‘i Island *ali‘i* which lists the names of their *‘aha* (the sacred cords that hung across the *kapu* entrances of their residences and which were used to create the *kā‘ai* in which their bones were encased upon their death). Kamakau (1991:156-157) includes only one Hanala‘a in this register. Further, this Hanala‘a is neither designated as “Hanala‘anui” nor “Hanala‘aiki,” even though Kamakau consistently included the longer and more formal names of individuals in his discussion (e.g., “Haho-a-Huamakua,” “Palena-nui-a-Haholani,” and “Lā‘au-ali‘i”). Similarly, Kalākaua (1990:158) refers to “Hanalaa, the distinguished son and successor of Palena” without any mention of Hanala‘a being or having a twin. Moreover, one of the older printed genealogies appearing in *Kumu Hawai‘i* in 1835 (reprinted in McKinzie [1983:xiv]) records Palena’s son as “Hana” without the addition of a brother or a more specific name designation.

Perhaps most significant in the analysis of the often mentioned Hanala‘a twins is a consideration of the context which the *mo‘olelo* describe for early Maui and Hawai‘i Island *ali‘i* such as Haho and Pilika‘ai‘ea. The *mo‘okū‘auhau* involving Hanala‘aiki and Hanala‘anui record that Haho was the grandfather of Hanala‘anui and Hanala‘aiki and that Pilika‘ai‘ea was the great-grandson of Hanala‘anui (Lili‘uokalani 1978:77; Kamakau 1991:101, 152; Malo 1827:5, 1996: 298, 316; Kepelino 1932:191; McKinzie 1986:2, 1983:xx, 4). On the other hand, various *mo‘olelo* led Fornander (1996:39) to conclude that Haho was a contemporary of

Pilika'ai'ea. Further, Kalākaua (1990:124) describes a *mo'olelo* involving Mo'iheha which identified Haho as the ruler of Maui (presumably at the end of his reign) while Kaniuhi (Pilika'ai'ea's grandson) was ruling over Hawai'i island. If one accepts such *mo'olelo*, as well as the genealogical accounts of the twins' descent from Haho and Pilika'ai'ea's descent from Hanala'anui, then Haho would have to be contemporaneous with Pilika'ai'ea and Kaniuhi but would also have to precede them by five and seven generations respectively. Such a scenario of course would be impossible.

If the *mo'okū'auhau* linking Hawai'i and Maui Island chiefs was not ground in the literal facts of the twin birth of Hanala'anui and Hanala'aiki and their progeny, then what was the significance and origin of the Maui and Hawai'i Island chiefs' dispute about their relative seniority? Surely Fornander's (1996:27) explanation is valid in describing Pilika'ai'ea's descendants' desire to be related to *ali'i* lines of longer-standing connection to Hawai'i (as they also sought through marriage). However, there was likely more to the debate, as is proposed in the depiction of Pilika'ai'ea's origins in Figure 7.2. Perhaps what was being asserted by the Hawai'i Island *ali'i* in the Hanala'anui-Hanala'aiki debate was that Pilika'ai'ea's parents and grandparents of Kahiki were descended from ancestors on the 'Ulu line who also shared common ancestors with the Maui *ali'i* of the same 'Ulu descent. The debate possibly centered on which branch was the more senior on the 'Ulu line (Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, personal communication 2000). If so, then the Hanala'anui-Hanala'aiki debate was a condensed and codified form of a more complex argument. Indeed, such a possibility would explain why Maui chiefs engaged in the debate with the Hawai'i *ali'i* regarding their relative seniority over one another. Some underlying

truth led both Hawai'i and Maui *ali'i* to acknowledge their shared 'Ulu lineage and to assert a senior status in relation to the other. Thus it is proposed in Figure 7.2 that Hanala'a is an ancestor of the Maui *ali'i* and that Pilika'ai'ea is a descendant of the same 'Ulu lineage through which Hanala'a descends. Although the descendant line connecting Pilika'ai'ea to the 'Ulu lineage is placed above the line from which Maui's *ali'i* descend, this is merely to avoid lines intersecting the names of individuals on the chart. No assertion as to the seniority of one lineage over the other is made in Figure 7.2. After all, the Pilika'ai'ea line, as depicted in connection to the 'Ulu lineage, could descend from a comparatively younger or older sibling in the succession of 'Ulu's descendants, as compared to those from whom the Maui *ali'i* descend.

Another substantial reinterpretation of the genealogical records rendered in Figure 7.2 entails the lineage of the early Maui chiefs. The proposed reconstruction in Figure 7.2 does not attempt to deal with the entire sequence, but addresses those generations for which enough information is available to posit plausible relationships. The *ali'i* involved are those listed in the *mo'okū'auhau* from Pohukaina to Kuhimana (from Kuhimana onward the Maui genealogy seems to describe a standard lineal succession).

The rationale for much of the proposed sequence is presented in detail in Chapter 6, as the same discussion was needed to describe the proposed sequences of Maui's ruling chiefs. The main point argued was that the early generations of the Maui genealogies probably recount both collateral and lineal relationships, unlike most *mo'okū'auhau* which describe only lineal relationships. In short, this conclusion was based on 1) the *mo'olelo* of the period which describe contemporaneous Maui

ali'i who, in a lineal interpretation of Maui's genealogies, appear to be widely dislocated in time, and 2) the fact that the earlier generations of the Maui *mo'okū'auhau* include far too many sets of individuals than could possibly be interpreted as actual generations.

A reinterpretation of the *mo'okū'auhau* for Maui's *ali'i* presented in Figure 7.2 asserts that collateral and lineal relationships are represented in the Maui genealogy. It is more specifically founded upon *mo'olelo* (independent of the *mo'okū'auhau*) which describe these relationships among individuals (described in detail in Chapter 6): 1) Hua a Pohukaina was contemporaneous with either Palena or Hanala'a (Kalākaua 1990:158). 2) Kamaluohua was contemporaneous with Wakalana (Fornander 1996:80-81). 3) Alo was the son of Wakalana (Kamakau 1991:113-114, 1996:42; Fornander 1996:81). 4) Luako'a likely followed two generations after Wakalana. The reconstructed Maui genealogy in Figure 7.2 also followed the assumption that every individual in the Maui *mo'okū'auhau* was legitimately part of the Maui chiefly family, and thus none was removed.

The early generations of the Maui chiefly genealogy proposed in Figure 7.2 is consistent with each of the above stipulations. It separates the Maui *ali'i* of the original single extended listing into three collateral segments that are in agreement with information from *mo'olelo*. The proposed genealogical record is merely an approximation, but it is probably closer to reality than an interpretation of the *mo'okū'auhau* as a single lineal succession.

The remainder of the reinterpretations made in creating Figure 7.2 are comparatively minor. These involve the specific identities of individuals and their immediate relationships to others. The primary affected individuals are

Ālaikauakoko, La'akapu, and Huapouleilei. In the case of Ālaikauakoko, the difficulty (as described in footnote 32 in this chapter) is that the genealogical records clearly describe her as a wife of Kanipahu (of generation 5) (Fornander 1969:Appendix IX; Kalākaua 1990:97) and the wife of Lākona II (of generation 7), who was the son of Nāwele (Malo 1827:17; McKinzie 1986:23). Fornander (1996:40) reports that Ālaikauakoko "who at one time, whether previously or subsequently [to her marriage to Kanipahu] ... was the wife of Lakona, the son of Nawele." On the surface such an account appears reasonable, given that different lineages likely produce new generations at varying rates which would then allow for the possibility of a person being married to an individual of generation 5 in one lineage (Kanipahu) and of generation 7 in another lineage (Lākona II). However, other information about the individuals with whom Ālaikauakoko's two recorded husbands were contemporaneous suggests that these husbands were not at all contemporaneous (see discussion in previous section). Instead Kanipahu appears to be contemporaneous with Lākona I. Thus it is plausible that Ālaikauakoko was the wife of Lākona I rather than Lākona II and that the genealogical records may have somehow confused the two. Such an account would be consistent with the larger body of information surrounding these individuals. Therefore, Ālaikauakoko is rendered in Figure 7.2 as the wife of Kanipahu and Lākona I.

Figure 7.2 also deviates from the genealogical records concerning La'akapu (as briefly mentioned in footnote 36 in this chapter). The *mo'okū'auhau* record La'akapu as the wife of Kanalukapu (Fornander 1996:70), the wife of Kahoukapu (Kamakau 1991:108; Fornander 1996:56, 70; Malo 1996:302; McKinzie 1986:30), and the wife of Loma a Kūkahau'ūla (Malo 1827:19). La'akapu follows four

generations after Mo'ikeha in the *mo'okū'auhau* (Malo 1827:20), thus placing her in generation 7 on the Kaua'i sequence. Kanalukapu, who is the grandson of Lākona I (Malo 1827:23, 24), would be part of generation 5 on the O'ahu sequence.

Kahoukapu is a member of generation 10 on the Hawai'i Island sequence. And Loma a Kūkahau'ula would likely have been part of generation 11 for the following reasons: 1) Loma a Kūkahau'ula was the grandfather of Pae (Malo 1827:19), 2) Pae was "a famous priest and high chief in the time of Liloa" (Fornander 1996:78f), 3) Liloa followed three generations after Kahoukapu (Malo 1996:302-303; Kamakau 1992:1; Fornander 1996:70-71; McKinzie 1986:30), and 4) Kahoukapu was a member of generation 10.

Although Fornander (1996:70) records that the same woman was involved in the marriage to Kanalukapu (of generation 5) and Kahoukapu (of generation 10), the above descriptions of the respective generations of these individuals make the marriages an impossibility. Instead it is more likely that two women by the name of La'akapu (La'akapu I and La'akapu II) were involved in these marriages. If so, it is highly probable that the latter La'akapu was a descendant of the first, following practices of name usage among Hawaiian families. Hence La'akapu I is portrayed as the wife of Kanalukapu in Figure 7.2 while La'akapu II is shown as the wife of Kahoukapu and Loma a Kūkahau'ula.

Huapouleilei is another individual in Figure 7.2 whose placement in the chart was not the result of a direct reference in a standard source, for the only reference to his genealogy found in this study was that he was "the eighth in line from Māweke" (Kalākaua 1990:177). He is depicted in Figure 7.2 as descendant of Lākona II following Kapae a Lākona. The reasons for this are described in more detail in

Chapter 6. In sum, Huapouleilei seems to be a descendant of the Lākona II line (or might have married an unnamed female daughter of that line) as he possessed the same right that Lakona II had to govern 'Ewa, Wai'anae and Waialua, O'ahu (Fornander 1996:68, 88; Kalākaua 1990:177). In addition, Kalākaua's (1990:177) description of Huapouleilei as "the eighth in line from Māweke" places Huapouleilei exactly in the right generation to follow Kapae a Lākona on the Lakona II line. As there are no other recorded offspring of Kapae a Lākona, it is suggested in Figure 7.2 that Huapouleilei is a son or son-in-law of Kapae a Lākona.

Every other relationship depicted in Figure 7.2 is described in one or more of the standard sources on Hawaiian genealogies. Thus, with the exception of the cases discussed above, Figure 7.2 offers a cumulative and comprehensive view of the documented genealogical relationships of the *ali'i nui* of the major islands. The few proposed interpretations explained above, which are also part of Figure 7.2, resolve enigmatic and possibly erroneous aspects of conventional interpretations of the genealogical records.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to place *ali'i* within temporal and genealogical contexts with respect to one another, which is a preliminary step necessary for analyses in Part IV and Part V. This task required piecing together a large amount of information from an array of sources. Through this process, gaps or inconsistencies in the data were identified. Where possible and warranted, these dilemmas were addressed with the various hypotheses described above. The result of such efforts are Figure 7.1, which displays the temporal correlation of the

sequences of *ali'i nui* for the major islands, and Figure 7.2, which illustrates the intra- and inter-island genealogical ties for numerous *ali'i* lineages spanning over thirty generations.

**PART IV. SOCIAL MECHANISMS IN THE EVOLUTION OF
HAWAIIAN SOCIETY**

Overview of Part IV. The purpose of Part IV is to discuss the evolution of Hawaiian society following two specific research approaches: The first is assessing how inter-island influences affected the development of individual islands and the society as a whole. The second is investigating the social environments affecting *ali'i* and the decisions they made which shaped Hawaiian societal evolution (Chapter 13 of Part V will consider the influences of the natural environment in conjunction with the social environment). Such social environmental factors might include familial ties, political alliances, and the history of interpersonal relations among individuals. Throughout the discussion in Part IV, the focus will remain on the actions of individuals (primarily *ali'i nui*) and how such actions affected the various island nations and the larger Hawaiian society.

Part IV builds upon the temporal and genealogical contexts of *ali'i* described in Part III to investigate the causes and effects of pivotal changes in Hawaiian society that were brought about by the actions of *ali'i*. As the temporal and genealogical relationships of *ali'i* will be mentioned frequently throughout the discussions in Part IV, Figures 7.1 and 7.2 will be useful references. Explanations regarding the determinations already detailed in Part III, such as the contemporaneity of two specific chiefs or the succession of one *ali'i nui* following another, will not be reviewed in Part IV.

The discussion in Part IV primarily is organized chronologically. To avoid a single lengthy chapter, it is divided into five chapters corresponding to five temporal periods. Each chapter seeks to explain how the social, cultural, and political contexts of any given time affected the actions of *ali'i* and how their behaviors in turn continually altered those contexts. The chapters are partitioned according to the

differential prominence of themes emerging through time in those five eras. This organization approach is somewhat arbitrary as the changes that occurred across the generations are gradual and appear in more than one era.

Chapter 8 Influences from Kahiki¹

Introduction

The first era of this analysis involves generations 1-7. The most prominent factor in the socio-political context of this period was the arrival of additional chiefs from the southern Polynesian archipelagos who would prove to be highly influential.² *Ali'i* at this time were moving not only between Hawai'i and Kahiki but shifting their residences within the Hawaiian Islands. The last generations of chiefs who arrived from Kahiki redefined the roles of *ali'i*. Their governance methods established different modes of interaction among *ali'i* as well as between *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* that increased the delineation and responsibility of different classes within the society. Related to such changes in governance and the movement of *ali'i* were also modifications to the existing religious practices. The transformations that Hawaiian society underwent were supported by some sectors of the society already established in the islands and opposed by others. In a minority of cases this led to

¹ In as much as many of the voyages described below involved people from Hawai'i traveling to Kahiki (here and in the discussion below meaning any area outside of Hawai'i), it is certain that those of Kahiki were as well being influenced from voyagers arriving from Hawai'i.

² Archaeologists have not universally accepted the record from oral traditions of contact with Kahiki after Hawai'i's initial settlement. Cordy (1974b:65) suggests that there was "no good evidence" of individuals from Kahiki arriving during the period described in this chapter. On the other hand, Hommon (1989) posits that such contact may have been a major influence in the rise of social complexity in Hawai'i and cites various specifics from Formander (1996, 1999) indicating the ideological and material culture changes associated with the arrival of individuals from Kahiki. Spriggs (1988) similarly places major emphasis on settlers from Kahiki initiating societal change in Hawai'i.

armed conflicts, however, for the most part, the changes occurred through peaceful transitions. Thus, at the close of this set of generations there were significant changes in who ruled the islands as well as how the islands were ruled.

Setting the Context

At the onset of this era in generation 1, Lā'au was the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i who was followed by Piliika'ai'ea (see discussion in Chapter 7). The identity of a Maui *ali'i nui* for this time is not clear, although the first Maui *ali'i nui* of this study who began his reign just after Piliika'ai'ea was Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i. Māweke was the *ali'i nui* of O'ahu while Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa ruled over the Ko'olau districts of the island. Kamauaua³ was the *ali'i nui* on Moloka'i.⁴ And Punakai'ōlohe was the probable *ali'i nui* on Kaua'i at this time.

The *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* of the lineages of these and other *ali'i nui* indicate that *ali'i* from southern archipelagos had been arriving in Hawai'i for some time. Hence, the later arrivals who would enter the Hawaiian political scene in this era were not a new phenomenon, but part of a continuing pattern. Table 8.1 illustrates the flow of voyagers to and from Hawai'i during the period prior to the generations beginning this study and through the first four generations of this study. The notion of repeated contact between Hawai'i and other Polynesian archipelagos

³ Fornander (1996:39) relates that Keolo'ewa was contemporaneous with Haho and Piliika'ai'ea who are both of generation 2 in this study. Since Keolo'ewa was the son of Kamauaua (Fornander 1996:31; Kalākaua 1990:72), it is likely that Kamauaua was a contemporary of those of generation 1.

⁴ Moloka'i's socio-political history is sporadically recounted in the extant oral traditions. What is preserved entails its history intersecting with that of another island, as is the case during this early period. In this study, Moloka'i's history will be woven into the discussion where there is adequate information available.

rests on the placement of Kapawa and his close relatives within their genealogies. If he was excluded, there would be a gap of 15 generations separating two periods of migrations to Hawai'i. As forwarded in Chapter 6, Kapawa and his grandfather Nānāmaoa are accurately placed in their genealogies, as is followed in Table 8.1.⁵

The recorded rulers of Hawai'i at the onset of this study traced their ancestors to voyagers who spanned the generations included in Table 8.1. This fact is important as the major source of contention at this time was between those who traced their lineage to the range of settlers, from the earliest, to the later groups, or to the most recent generations of arrivals.

Māweke of O'ahu and Kamauaua of Moloka'i shared Nānā'ulu as one of their ancestors. Nānā'ulu was the first migratory figure recounted in the extant *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* (Fornander 1996:5). Nānā'ulu arrived 15 (Kamakau 1991:76-77; Fornander 1969:I:188-189) or 16 generations prior to Māweke (Malo 1827:15). Two other *ali'i* of this period likely traced back to Nānā'ulu's brother 'Ulu. Lā'au of Hawai'i Island was possibly a descendant of 'Ulu, and Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i of Maui was clearly one of 'Ulu's descendants⁶ (Malo 1996:315-316; McKinzie 1983:xx-xxi, 4, 1986:2). Although 'Ulu himself did not seem to have come to Hawai'i, the earliest ancestors on the 'Ulu lineage arrived eight or nine generations prior to this

⁵ Such a conclusion is at odds with Fornander's assessment that there were "fifteen generations" during which no voyagers came to Hawai'i from the southern islands, which was based on his reinterpretation of Kapawa's genealogical and temporal placement as being in the time of Piliika'aifea (Fornander 1996:58). See the discussion in Chapter 7 regarding why Fornander's hypothesis is probably inaccurate.

⁶ Since Lā'au follows Hanala'a in the genealogies listed, it is unclear whether Lā'au was a descendant on the 'Ulu-Hema line tracing from Nānāmaoa or of another branch of the 'Ulu line (see discussion of the issues surrounding Hanala'anui and Hanala'aiki in Chapter 8).

Table 8.1. (page 1 of 2)
 Generational Comparison of Voyaging Personages Recounted in Eleven Hawaiian Genealogies

PERSONAGES	GENERATIONS										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Nānā'ulu	34*	34	15	14	17	14	16	14	2	1	11
Nānāmaoa	43	43	24	23	26	23	26	*	*	*	
Kapawa/Heleipawa **	46	46	27	26	29	26	29	*	*	*	
Hema	49	49	30	29	32	29	32	*	*	*	
Kaha'inui a Hema	50	50	31	30	*	*	*	*	*	*	
'Olopana	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	19	18	18
Mo'ikeha	*	*	*	*	4	*	*	31	19	*	19
Kila	*	9	9	9	*	*	*	*	20	*	20
Kaha'i a Ho'okamali'i	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	33	21	20	*
Paumakua a Lonocho'onewa	*	*	*	*	36	38	41	*	*	*	*
Paumakua a Huanuikailā'ila'i	59	59	40	39	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
La'lamaikahiki	*	6	6	6	42	45	48	*	*	*	*
Piilika'ia'ea	65	65	46	45	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Generations from first to last known voyager	31	31	31	31	25	31	32	19	19	19	19
Generations from Kapawa to last known voyager	19	19	19	19	13	19	19	NA	NA	NA	NA

Table 8.1. (page 2 of 2)
 Generational Comparison of Voyaging Personages Recounted in Eleven Hawaiian Genealogies

- The numeral 34 signifies that Nānā'ulu is of the 34th generation in the succession recounted in genealogy 1.
- The numeral 9 signifies that the number of generations from Nānā'ulu to Nānāmaoa is 9 in genealogy 1.
- * This individual is not a part of the lineage traced in this genealogy.
- ** Kapawa is not recorded as an inter-archipelago voyager but is included to facilitate the text discussion of the information in this table. Kapawa is the father of Helelpawa (Kamakau 1991:136-137; Beckwith 1972:239), although the two are sometimes recorded to be the same individual (Fornander 1969:1:202, 1969:2:21; Beckwith 1970:328) (e.g., genealogies 1, 2, 3, and 4). They will be treated as the same individual in this table.

DESCRIPTION OF GENEALOGIES			Source
Originates at	Terminates at		
1 Kumuhonua	Liholiho, Keauikeaouli, Nāhi'ena'ena		McKinzie 1983:xix-xxiii
2 Kumuhonua	Liholiho, Keauikeaouli, Nāhi'ena'ena		McKinzie 1983:2-5
3 Wākea	Kamehameha Pa'ea		McKinzie 1986:1-3
4 Wākea	Kamehameha Pa'ea		Fornander 1969:I:190-192
5 Kūkalani'ehu	Kalanikaulika'alaneokeōpūolani		Kamakau 1868:29 Feb.
6 Wākea	Kapi'olani		Fornander 1969:I:190-91, 194-95
7 Welaahilani	Liholiho, Keauikeaouli, Nāhi'ena'ena		McKinzie 1986:6-8
8 Wākea	Kalākaua		Fornander 1969:I:188-189
9 Ki'i	Kākuhihewa		McKinzie 1986:14-19
10 Nānā'ulu	Lā'lelohelelohe		McKinzie 1983:12-13
11 Nānā'ulu	Mo'ikeha		Malo 1827:19-20

Sources that document the individuals listed as inter-archipelago voyagers: Kamakau (1991, 1988, 1996), Kalākaua (1990), Fornander (1996),

time.⁷ Regardless of the record that Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i's 'Ulu lineage ancestors arrived earlier to Hawai'i, at some point his own direct ancestor had returned to Kahiki, for Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i or his father Huanuiikalāla'ila'i were known to have come from Kahiki to settle in Hawai'i (Fornander 1996:23). On Kaua'i, Punakai'ōlohe was the *ali'i nui* in generation 1. Punakai'ōlohe "claimed to be, and probably [was], of the Ulu descent" (Fornander 1969:i:202, see also Fornander 1996:46). He was the son of Punanuikaianaina who was "probably the first arrival" of his branch of the 'Ulu lineage (Fornander 1969:46). A likely contemporary of Punanuikaianaina was Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa who, while born at Kua'a'ohe, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu, had extensively traveled through Kahiki (Kamakau 1991:96-97, 101; Fornander 1996:25; Kalākaua 1990:82, 119). It is probable that in Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa's later years he was ruling over Ko'olau, O'ahu while Māweke was the island's *ali'i nui* (Kamakau 1991:101; see also discussion in Chapter 7). Two contemporaries of these chiefs were Pilika'ai'ea, the Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui* of generation 2, and his *kahuna nui* Pā'ao. Both Pilika'ai'ea and Pā'ao arrived from Kahiki.

Although Table 8.1 illustrates the continual connections that Hawai'i had with the rest of Polynesia before and during this first set of generations in this study, the

⁷ Although Kamakau (1991:37) notes that those of the 13 generations from Ki'i to Heleipawa (another name for Kapawa in some traditions or Kapawa's son in other traditions) "lived on O'ahu and Maui" and Hawai'i Island, he provides no specifics for them and none are found in other *mo'olelo*. Probably the first recorded voyagers arriving to Hawai'i from the 'Ulu line were Māuiakalana or his son, Nānāmaoa. In Kamakau's (1991:135) discussion of 'Ulu's descendants, Māui and his brothers are the first that he describes as having specific connections with Hawai'i. Other traditions note that his son, Nānāmaoa, "was the first of his family who arrived from one or the other of the southern groups and established himself on the Hawaiian group" (Fornander 1996:20; see also Kalākaua 1990:20, 70).⁷ Nānāmaoa follows nine generations after 'Ulu who was the brother of Nānā'ulu; Māuiakalana follows eight generations after 'Ulu (Malo 1996:315).

mo'olelo prior to this period are too few to inform upon how the various chiefly arrivals through the generations may have altered the socio-political contexts in Hawai'i at those times. As such it is difficult to assess whether the pattern of new arrivals changing Hawaiian society began with this period or is a continuation of an earlier theme of influences brought by immigrant chiefs. Regardless of the degree of influence that occurred prior, it is clear that the latest arrivals of this era instigated numerous and significant changes.

Initial Resistance to the Later Ali'i Settlers in Hawai'i

During the first and prior generations of this study, an *ali'i nui* was simply "the most powerful chief on [an] island" who "by inheritance, conquest, or marriage had obtained a larger territory than any other chief there" (Fornander 1996:46) or who through other sources of political influence was viewed as the paramount *ali'i* (Fornander 1996:64). *Ali'i nui* of this period exerted only nominal influence over the islands. The actual administration of the various districts was handled "by scores of independent chiefs, each claiming and holding as large a district as he was able to defend" (Kalākaua 1990:97-98). Although these *ali'i* of the various districts "recognized a supreme head, or *ali'i- nui*," they "were absolute lords of their several territories" (Kalākaua 1990:77). "Each chief was entirely independent of every other chief and his authority was co-extensive with his possessions" (Fornander 1996:64).

Around this time there seems to have been an increase in the flow of southern *ali'i* to Hawai'i and/or an increase in the recordation of such arrivals in the

mo'olelo. These later arrivals created very significant changes in the society.⁸ One of the first influences was the heightening or creation of a state of relative scarcity of land over which chiefs could claim as theirs to rule over, live upon, and to leave to their heirs. Of course, such "scarcity" has little to do with any actual lack of land upon which people could live and support themselves. It was rather in relation to the possession of whole productive districts which *ali'i* could claim as their estates. In the past, the latest *ali'i* arrivals could assert their chiefly prerogatives over lands that were not yet settled. However, it seems that at this point such land areas were few or marginal in terms of food-producing potential, absent major investments of infrastructure. This was not only the result of newer arrivals but also the effect of generations of non-first-born offspring moving into and settling areas outside of their parents' estates. Hence, at this point the older native chiefs and newer ones from Kahiki needed to interact directly with one another either in cooperation or in competition regarding land holdings. Both results are apparent in the *mo'olelo* of the period.

⁸ Not only were the latest arrivals from Kahiki changing Hawaiian society, but their travels to remote areas created yet another impact, the arrival of truly foreign people to Hawai'i. Perhaps one of the most famous Hawaiian voyagers was Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa (of generation 1). So extensive were his travels that in later years he was said to have "circumnavigated the world" (Fomander 1996:25). Indeed, a *mo'olelo* that describes one of his voyages indicates that he traveled outside of Polynesia. The seemingly first recorded contact Hawai'i had with *haole* was with two such "kānaka ke'oke'o" (white people) brought to Hawai'i by Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa on his voyaging canoe. These *haole*, Ka'eka'e and Maliu, were known to be *kahuna* (Kamakau 1996:30; see also Kamakau 1991:95-96; Fomander 1996:25; Kalākaua 1990:182). In their capacity as *kahuna*, it is likely that they too affected Hawai'i's emerging religious practices along with their counterparts from Kahiki who were arriving in Hawai'i at the same time. That "several priestly families in after ages claimed their descent and authority" from Ka'eka'e and Maliu indicates their lasting impact. Kaleopu'upu'u, Peleiōhōlani's and Kahekilinui'ahumanu's *kahuna nui*, was "a *kahuna* of the order of Kaka'e, Maliu, and Malela" (Kamakau 1992:85).

As the later *ali'i* established themselves in their districts, one response through at least the first four generations was for the established native chiefs to raid the lands of the later arrivals, an action that was of course returned in kind. The independent, "turbulent and contending" district chiefs of the era (Fornander 1996:66) engaged in "frequent" wars of "plunder rather than wars of conquest" which "sometimes continued in a desultory way until both parties were impoverished, when their chiefs and priest met and arranged terms of peace" (Kalākaua 1990:77).

In generation 1, Kaupe'epe'enuikauila conducted such raids from his fortress at the cliff top of Hā'upu on Moloka'i. He had the full support and approval of his father, the *ali'i nui* of that island, Kamauaua (Kalākaua 1990:75; Fornander 1996:31). This aggression was in response to Kamauaua's and Kaupe'epe'e's "aversion and well-founded alarm" regarding the "migratory tide which for years past had been casting upon the shores of the islands" and which resulted in the diminishment of landholdings for the earlier established chiefs (Kalākaua 1990:72). Kaupe'epe'e's raids of resistance were "waged for years" and were "usually confined to Oahu, Maui, and Hawaii" but sometimes even "extended to Kauai" (Kalākaua 1990:74). The newly arrived Puna family on Kaua'i was one of Kaupe'epe'e's targets (Kalākaua 1990:124). In Hilo, Hakalanileo, a nephew of Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i (Fornander 1996:30; Malo 1827:18; Kalākaua 1990:72, 78; McKinzie 1983:4), faced Kaupe'epe'e's raids as well, which resulted in Hakalanileo's wife Hina being abducted (Kalākaua 1990:79). Eventually, a combined force from Hawaii, Maui, and O'ahu under the leadership of Kana and Niheu, the sons of Hakalanileo and Hina, staged a counter raid on Hā'upu. The raid ended

Kaupe'epe'enui's life, destroyed the Hā'upu fortress, and returned Hina to Hawai'i Island (Kalākaua 1990:85-94; Fornander 1999:IV:436-449).

The Establishment of Later Ali'i Settlers in Hawai'i and the Societal Changes They Initiated

The end of Kaupe'epe'e's raids of course did not solve the original problem of the strife between the long established and the *more* recently situated *ali'i* in the Islands. As was surely apparent to the latest arrivals, they needed to establish their right to rule the islands through methods other than force. At this point, it seems that an *ali'i* of a nearly-independent district seemed to hold that position by virtue of the fact that he amassed the support of chiefs of that or other areas who acknowledged his rights to rule over those lands and who pledged their support of him. In other words, the power and recognition of *ali'i* came from other *ali'i*. The new chiefs arriving in Hawai'i instead established their right to rule upon their relationship with 1) the gods (i.e., their genealogies tracing to the gods), 2) the *maka'āinana* (through improved management of them), and 3) other *ali'i* (by strengthening their collective position in regards to outside threats and by providing an effective venue for them to resolve conflicts between one another and for such resolutions to be enforced).

Perhaps the two most famous of all the later settlers in the migratory period was the *kahuna nui* Pā'ao and his *ali'i nui* Piliika'ai'ea. Pā'ao was the first of the two to arrive in Hawai'i. He initially settled at Puna where he built his first *heiau* Waha'ula (Kamakau 1991:100; Kalākaua 1990:98; Fornander 1996:35). There he discovered that Hawai'i Island "was without a chief" (Kamakau 1991:100), or perhaps more specifically, that it had no actual paramount ruler with true authority over the whole island. Further, Pā'ao saw that the "chiefs of Hawai'i were *ali'i*

maka'āinana or just commoners, *maka'āinana*, during this time" (Kamakau 1991:100). And so he brought Piliika'ai'ea from Kahiki to fill the role of an *ali'i nui* (Kamakau 1991:99; Kalākaua 1990:98; Malo 1951:6; Fornander 1996:18). Yet under this scenario, native *ali'i* of the island were not compelled to afford Piliika'ai'ea any special deference nor rights to lands which they already claimed. They could have ignored Piliika'ai'ea's claims and, through armed conflict or otherwise, defended their estates and independence.

So how did Piliika'ai'ea become the acknowledged *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island? The answer could not have included Piliika'ai'ea subjugating the native *ali'i* through war. After all, he could not have brought with him from Kahiki any significant military force, especially as he is said to have arrived with only one canoe load of people accompanying him (Kamakau 1991:99). Invading another island was difficult enough within the Hawaiian archipelago. The notion of an armed invasion from Kahiki is untenable.

Instead, Kalākaua (1990:97) asserts that the foundation of Piliika'ai'ea and his ruling descendants' success was their relationship with the *maka'āinana*: "The *makaainana*, or common people...seem to have been better satisfied with their new rulers than [with] their former chiefs who had been supplanted in authority." And although Piliika'ai'ea and Pā'ao's new religious and social practices were stricter (as described below), "these additional exactions ... were partially if not wholly compensated for to the laboring masses by the protection brought to them through the political change against the oppressions of their petty chiefs and land-owners" (Kalākaua 1990:98). Further, the lack of clear or strong governance at the time had created a state in which "the *maka'āinana* were in commotion" (Kamakau 1991:156),

a problem which Pilika'ai'ea's strong role would have addressed. Thus, the native chiefs of the time could not arouse the *maka'āinana* to resist the "political conditions which imposed upon them no hardships which they had not borne under their old rulers, and no responsibilities with which they were not already familiar" (Kalākaua 1990:97). Such a scenario would go a long way to explain how Pilika'ai'ea, a foreign chief, could have accomplished a major political revolution with no military might.

Part of the system of governmental changes that Pilika'ai'ea implemented on Hawai'i Island included the *'aha ali'i*, or chiefly council. (The functions of the *'aha ali'i* are described in Chapter 5 while the causes and effects of its adoption are discussed below.) The first *ali'i nui* who introduced this council was Haho of Maui. Its many advantages led to its quick adoption across the islands (Kamakau 1991:156; Kalākaua 1990:84; Fornander 1996:28). The *'aha ali'i* provided a peaceful and dignified venue for the range of *ali'i* families who had arrived during different generations to meet, discuss, and come to agreement on key issues affecting their island.

The first fundamental issue that they would have dealt with was who had standing to be a part of the *'aha ali'i*. The result of this process alone was revolutionary and served the needs of the older and newer lines of *ali'i*. On one hand, Fornander (1996:30) records that the *'aha ali'i* "arose, probably, as a necessity of the existing condition of things during this migratory period, as a protection of the native aristocracy against foreign pretenders." On the other hand, Kalākaua (1990:84) asserts that Haho established the council to "permanently degrade" the "native nobles" who could not trace themselves to "the blue-blooded" *ali'i* lineages of Polynesia. Indeed, the *'aha ali'i* of each of the islands accomplished both purposes.

Only those who had a legitimate right to rule the lands as the descendants of the *akua* could join the ranks of the *'aha ali'i*, and only they would decide the fate of the island. Identifying who belonged to the various *'aha ali'i* and who did not immediately created a clear demarcation between the *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* classes which had become blurred in the generations prior (Kamakau 1991:156; Fornander 1996:30). Those who were the descendants of the gods and who had the right to manage the lands on their behalf were *ali'i*. All those who could not recount such a connection were *maka'āinana*.

Because so many native "chiefs had intermingled with commoners and had brought themselves low" (Kamakau 1991:156), the later *ali'i* settlers were at a decided advantage in the *'aha ali'i*. They, with their comparatively purer bloodlines, not only composed a greater proportion of the various *'aha ali'i* memberships, but were also likely afforded comparatively higher ranks within the councils. It is no wonder then that more of their *ali'i* came to fill the positions of *ali'i nui* which at this juncture were newly defined.

When the *'aha ali'i* of each island was instituted, the protocols of the institution clarified the relative ranks of those within its membership (see Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion). In identifying the highest-ranking individual, the *'aha ali'i* simultaneously inaugurated the notion of a "supreme sovereign"⁹ (Kalākaua

⁹ Kalākaua (1990:97) states that the *ali'i nui* were then called by "the title of moi [*mō'i*]." Fornander (1996:64) as well refers to "the idea of a sovereign lord or king" being linked to the initiation of the term "Ka-Moi." Malo (1996) does not use the term. Kamakau (1991, 1992) uses both "*ali'i nui*" and *mō'i*." Stokes' (1932:9) detailed analysis of the origin of the term "*mō'i*" led him to conclude that "it did not belong to the native language, official or common" but instead made "its first official appearance, in 1842" and was "an introduction through foreign influences." It is possible that the term was part of the secret language of the *'aha ali'i* which was not understood by the common people, and which was changed whenever it became known to the *makaainana*" (Kalākaua 1990:85). Its origin could in fact derive from the time of Mo'ikeha (Mō'ikeha?) and be

1990:97). This “development of the idea of a sovereign lord or king ... over each of the principal islands” was a new concept in Hawai‘i (Fornander 1996:64). “The whole institution of a recognised political head” was useful for all the *ali‘i* across an island as such an empowered *ali‘i nui* could serve as the “umpire between turbulent and contending chiefs” (Fornander 1996:66). An *ali‘i nui* with such powers over other district chiefs “was a great advantage, in so far as it tended to make a political unit of each island, and in a measure to check the condition of anarchy into which the people had fallen” and “enabled each island to combine its forces for purposes of defence” (Fornander 1996:66).

Hence, the newly-conceived *ali‘i nui* could provide “protection” to the “laboring masses” from the “oppression of their petty chiefs” (Kalākaua 1990:98), intercede in a conflict between two lower-ranking *ali‘i*, or join the forces of several districts for the benefit of the whole island (a likely reaction to the destructive raids that had occurred previously). However, *ali‘i nui* at this stage did not seem to have direct administrative control over the daily affairs of each district. These powers were to evolve at a later time under different conditions.

The resulting governmental changes brought on by the *‘aha ali‘i* and the redefined *ali‘i nui* position probably solidified Pilika‘ai‘ea’s, Haho’s, and Puna‘aikoa‘e’s positions over their respective islands. On O‘ahu, there was a notable difference in the outcome of the events. Unlike other Nānā‘ulu descendants of the time, the O‘ahu Māweke family “was strong enough to... absorb and

associated with his strong rule as sovereign of Kaua‘i (Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, personal communication 2000). However, as the term *“mō‘ī”* was apparently not used by the common populace any time prior to the mid-1800s, this dissertation will use only *“ali‘i nui.”*

subordinate to itself several of those southern invaders whose descendants in after ages counted it no small no honour to be able, through the marriage of some of their ancestors, to claim connection and descent from this powerful Nanaulu Maweke family” (Fornander 1969:48). The key to the success of the Māweke family was that it retained “its ancient genealogy” tracing to Nānā’ulu. Significantly, the only other extant genealogy that can be shown to connect to Nānā’ulu is that of Kamauaua of Moloka’i; all other of Nānā’ulu’s descendants across the islands remain unrecorded, a likely artifact of their having been too intimately associated with *maka’āinana* through the generations. In contrast, Māweke’s unbroken genealogical connection to the brother of the same individual to whom the newer (and supposedly purer) strains of chiefs descended (i.e., ‘Ulu), provided the Māweke family unquestioned standing within the *‘aha ali’i*. Hence, in generation 2, Māweke’s sons and heirs remained in control over the island with Muli’eleali’i governing over Kona and serving as O’ahu’s *ali’i nui*, Kalehenui ruling over Ko’olau, and Keaunui ruling over ‘Ewa, Wai’anae, and Waialua (Kalākaua 1990:118).

The institution of the *‘aha ali’i*, the expanded powers of the *ali’i nui*, and the differentiation of the *ali’i* and *maka’āinana* classes came with other related changes. Primary among them were additional *kapu* which maintained a strict separation between *ali’i* and *maka’āinana* (Fornander 1996:63). Among the *ali’i* were further ceremonial distinctions which perhaps mirrored the redefined position of the *ali’i nui*. “The persons” of the *ali’i nui* “and high chiefs had become more sacred, and they exercised their functions with increased display and ostentation” that included such symbols of royalty as the *pūlo’ulo’u* or *kapu* standards (Kalākaua 1990:97-98). In

short, “the *tabus* of the chiefs and the priesthood had been enlarged and rendered more strict” (Kalākaua 1990:98).

In addition to the *kapu* preserving the *mana* of *aliʻi*, another example of newly instituted *kapu* involved the *mana* of the natural environment, specifically key fishing resources. *Moʻolelo* recount that Pāʻao issued a *kapu* to preserve the *aku* (bonito) and *ʻōpelu* (mackerel) fish during their spawning seasons in appreciation of the aid these fishes provided him on his difficult journey to Hawaiʻi (Kamakau 1991:100; Malo 1996:144).

Overlapping with the more stringent and numerous *kapu* promulgated by the *aliʻi* and *kāhuna* was the new practice of capital punishment for violations of the *kapu* and the related use of the law breakers as sacrifices in ceremonies at the state *heiau luakini*. Capital punishment and human sacrifice were apparently introduced by the recent arrivals from Kahiki, and not the sole introduction of Pāʻao.¹⁰

There were many reasons for the *makaʻāinana* and perhaps even a few of the native *aliʻi* to support the reforms and innovations which the more recent arrivals initiated. For *aliʻi* who were worn by the ongoing raids between the older and newer

¹⁰ Although previous researchers have specifically attributed Pāʻao as being the single person who introduced human sacrifice in Hawaiʻi, they either fail to specify a source of their contention (e.g., Beckwith 1970:370) or upon closer examination, the source that is cited does not bear out the assertion (as with Valeri’s [1983:247] citation of Kamakau). Kamakau (1991:98; 1996:31-32) describes Pāʻao as having in his homeland dealt his brother Lonopele retribution in the form of killing his brother’s son after this son broke a *kapu* that Pāʻao imposed. In the *moʻolelo* it is unclear whether Pāʻao did or did not use the son’s body in part of a *lolo* ceremony involving his canoes. Rather than establishing that Pāʻao was the sole source of initiating capital punishment in Hawaiʻi, this *moʻolelo* perhaps illustrates that capital punishment was being used in Pāʻao’s homeland. If such was the case, that practice could have been introduced to Hawaiʻi from any number of trans-Polynesian voyagers who settled in Hawaiʻi at the time. Given that human sacrifice was practiced throughout central east Polynesia and Tonga (Goldman 1970), and given that it came to be practiced as well throughout the Hawaiian Islands, it seems unlikely that Pāʻao was the sole source of its initiation in Hawaiʻi.

ali'i lineages and seeking protection, for native *ali'i* who were in conflict with one another and without a form of adjudication or relief, for *maka'āinana* living under "oppressive" *ali'i*, and for *maka'āinana* who were law-abiding and not fearful of the new death penalty, the reforms of Pilika'ai'ea, Haho, and others who had recently arrived were probably welcomed. They offered the islands greater stability, a peaceful means to address conflicts, and a degree of accountability of *ali'i* to one another and to their *maka'āinana*.

Once Pilika'ai'ea and other chiefs who sought to establish themselves in the islands gained the backing of a critical mass, they could channel that support in significant ways, namely toward solidifying their collective relationship with the gods through the construction of state-level *heiau luakini*. This was another area of change brought by the later arrivals from Kahiki. These *heiau* were "grandier" in construction, and the ceremonies that occurred within them were more elaborated, although "they did not greatly differ from that of the native priests" (Kalākaua 1990: 98; Daggett in Kalākaua 1990:21). The ways in which the ceremonies were altered mirrored the socio-political order that was then being established. The new high-walled or fenced-in structures of *heiau luakini* created a physical barrier that separated *ali'i* from *maka'āinana* "and shut the populace from the observance" of much of the ceremonies (Kalākaua 1990:98). Fornander (1996:59) more specifically notes the following:

Under the new innovations of this period, the presiding chief, those whom he chose to admit, and the officiating priests, were the only ones who entered the walled enclosure where the high-places for the gods and the altars for the sacrifices were erected, and where the prayers and invocations were recited, the congregation of the people remaining seated on the ground outside the walls, mute, motionless, ignorant of what was passing within the Heiau until

informed by the officiating priest or prompted to the responses by his acolytes.

The human sacrifices that occurred during the rituals were also a function of the socio-political evolution, that is, the imposition of new laws for which capital punishment was applied to violators. Other changes involved the introduction of new gods¹¹ (Fornander 1990:37). A specific *akua* whom Pā'ao was said to have brought from Kahiki was Kūkā'ilimoku (Kamakau 1991:3).

The large-scale *heiau* which were the focus of the religious practices of the new chiefs additionally served an important political purpose. A case in point is Pilika'ai'ea and Pā'ao's Mo'okini *heiau*. Through its construction, Pilika'ai'ea and his high priest Pā'ao communicated to their observers (such as the chiefs of the older lines) three related messages: 1) Pilika'ai'ea had the support of a large populace needed to conduct a monumental undertaking. As one *mo'olelo* recounts, the stones used were passed hand to hand from Niuli'i nine miles away, "a feat requiring at least some fifteen thousand working men at three feet apart" (Fornander 1996:36). As other *mo'olelo* describe, the stones for Mo'okini came from Pololū (Ka Papa Kū'auhau Ali'i o Hawai'i 1882:March 9), a distance of "about 15 miles" along the trails over which they would have passed (Stokes 1991:173). 2) Pilika'ai'ea had the support of the *ali'i* of the districts spanning from the source of the stones to the area where Mo'okini was built. 3) Pilika'ai'ea and the *ali'i* aligned with him possessed the leadership abilities to successfully mobilize and organize a large labor force to meet a collective goal. As described in Chapter 5, the effort required to build a typical

¹¹ Given the nature of Polynesian religious practices, the concept of adding gods to those already worshipped was the norm rather than a novel practice.

heiau luakini was highly labor intensive and required utmost skill on the part of the *ali'i nui* to appropriately delegate and oversee all aspects of the work. A clear inference one could develop from the above observations would be that the time, human labor, and material resources invested to construct Mo'okini could be used for other efforts (e.g., in training the people in the arts of warfare or in crafting weapons).

Hence, whether intended or not, an effect of Pilika'ai'ea and Pā'ao building Mo'okini *heiau* was that their potential opponents discovered the strength of Pilika'ai'ea and Pā'ao's support base. Pilika'ai'ea's organized populace created what at the time certainly would have been the largest *heiau* on the Hawai'i Island, standing 280 by 140 feet in extent with walls as high as 19 feet and as thick in places as 33 feet (Stokes 1991:173, 175). Such a proclamation of Pilika'ai'ea's and his populace's competitive ability would likely have avoided warfare between them and their potential opponents. That peace seems to have prevailed between Pilika'ai'ea and the older lines of chiefs when Pilika'ai'ea established himself over Hawai'i may have to do with the *mana* of Mo'okini in connecting the *ali'i* and *kānaka* to their national *akua*. Part of that *mana* and perhaps part of the aid rendered by the *akua* was through the practical messages Mo'okini conveyed to those who observed its awesome size and the aura of power it exuded.

At the same time on Kaua'i, Puna'aikoa'e of generation 2 similarly gained the approval of the island's native population. Since Puna'aikoa'e was a third-generation settler to the island, he possibly would have faced opposition from the native chiefs of Kaua'i. However, Puna'aikoa'e likely won over these *ali'i* through his skillful leadership. He was compassionate toward his *maka'āinana* and catered to

the desires of the lesser chiefs of his island. "Puna was one of the most popular rulers in the group, and strict as he may have been in the exercise of his prerogatives, was always merciful...He would pardon the humble laborer who might inadvertently cross his shadow or violate a *tabu*, but never the chief who deliberately trespassed upon his privileges" (Kalākaua 1990:124). Puna'aikoa'e also channeled the energy of his warriors and kept them prepared to fend off raids "by frequent sham fights, marine drills, and the encouragement of athletic games and friendly contests at arms, in which he himself sometimes took part." His court became known for the "chivalry of its chiefs" and for "the splendor of its entertainments" that included "feasting and dancing" (Kalākaua 1990:124-125).

Accommodations Made Within Ruling Lineages

During this era, another source of strain among the chiefs would have involved the rights and privileges of the highest-ranking members who were not the determined *ali'i nui*. A solution to that dilemma was to divide an island into nearly independent units with the senior line of the family maintaining the nominal title of *ali'i nui*. Beginning in generation 2 and apparently continuing through generation 8, O'ahu was partitioned into three quasi-independent political units over which were first placed Māweke's three sons Muli'eleali'i, Kalehenui, and Keaunui (described further in Chapter 6). Such large regional areas were likely a new concept at the time, whereas, in previous generations a large number of *ali'i* would have retained control over one or more smaller districts that later would come to be known as *ahupua'a*.

On Maui, from generation 4 through 11, the island was similarly divided between two branches descending from Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i (described further in Chapter 6). The division of the island began with Hanala'a who governed over leeward Maui. His contemporary was Hua a Pohukaina who ruled over the windward districts of Ko'olau, Hāna, Kīpahulu, and Kaupō (Kalākaua 1990:158).

There on the windward side of Maui, Hua a Pohukaina garnered a significant following. In fact, unlike other later windward Maui *ali'i* who were under the nominal control of senior leeward Maui paramounts, Hua a Pohukaina likely enjoyed complete control over his portion of the island. Indeed, an argument could be made that Hua on the windward side, rather than Hanala'a on the leeward side, held the nominal authority over the entire island. Evidence for this is the record of Hua building the *heiau* of Luakona and Waifē in the leeward district of Lahaina where it is said he was born (Kamakau 1991:101, 148; Malo 1996:297; Thrum 1909a:38, 1909b:44). In his adult years he moved to Hāna where he set up his royal residence (Kalākaua 1990:159). His support base in windward Maui can be seen in his construction of Kuawalu and Honua'ula *heiau* in his home district of Hāna (Kamakau 1991:148-149; Kalākaua 1990:157, 159; Fornander 1996:41 Thrum 1909a:39).

Responses of Junior Chiefs to the Crowded Ali'i Ranks

Despite the various means which afforded the highest *ali'i* complete or near independence in governing lands, and the venue of the *'aha ali'i* which provided them all the honor due their rank, many junior *ali'i* found their situations less than favorable. This was especially the case with the older lines of chiefs who from times past would have found that their relative status and land holdings had decreased in

most cases. A common response to this scenario was for *ali'i* to seek a more advantageous place to live, whether this meant moving from their *one hānau* (birth sands) to another island in Hawai'i or to another archipelago in Kahiki (Fomander 1996:46-47).

Muli'eleali'i's younger sons 'Olopana and Mo'ikeha are examples of such *ali'i* who left O'ahu. The two "resolved to seek their fame and fortune elsewhere" (Kalākaua 1990:119). Initially they relocated in Waipi'o on Hawai'i Island (Fomander 1969:49; Kalākaua 1990:120). After a flood devastated the area, the two left for Kahiki. 'Olopana eventually settled at Moa'ulanuiākea on Ra'iatea while Mo'ikeha traveled back to Hawai'i and came to live and rule on Kaua'i (Fomander 1969:50; Kalākaua 1990:121).

Around this same time Wailuanui a Ho'āno, Māweke's great-grandson and the second child of Lākona I (Malo 1827:23), moved from O'ahu and settled on Kaua'i in the district that now bears his name (Dickey 1916:14). Wailuanui a Ho'āno was a contemporary of Mo'ikeha (HEN Vol. I, 217-222).

Mutual Gestures Toward Cooperative Relations

Several examples from the genealogies of this period indicate that the various chiefly lineages were actively seeking means to alleviate tensions and to gain mutual connections with one another. Potentially rival *ali'i* lineages were brought together through amicable means of adoption and marriage. In generation 3 on O'ahu the newer arrivals from the Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa family and the older Nānā'ulu descendants agreed to an adoption which "must have been the result of some extraordinary compact" (Kalākaua 1990:120). Before leaving for Kahiki, Mo'ikeha,

the son of Muli'eleali'i and grandson of Māweke (of the Nānā'ulu lineage) adopted La'a, the son of 'Ahukai of the Paumakua family of O'ahu (Kamakau 1991:105; Fornander 1996:50; Kalākaua 1990:119). This adoption brought together the most prominent older and newer lineages of O'ahu *ali'i* and surely helped to build good will between those families.

Marriage was another approach that created amiable connections between families. These were often purposefully entered into for the political implications of the relationships and were not merely the fortuitous outcome of romantic attraction. Ruling chiefs applied the strategy of marrying chiefesses whose genealogical lineages and ancestral geographic homelands were removed from their own. This provided a meaningful and effective way to unite their island, foster good-will, and increase their own *mana*. More specifically, the practice 1) created alliances with chiefly families who would otherwise be potential opponents (thereby diminishing the possibility of warfare with these families), 2) impaired the ability of rival chiefs to secure high ranking chiefesses and heirs (although the chiefesses involved could have on their own accord selected additional chiefly mates), 3) increased the *mana* of the *ali'i nui* in his securing a marriage with a woman of equal or higher rank, 4) helped to assure the perpetuation of a chief's lineage through the strategic placement of offspring within other politically powerful families which gave these offspring an added network upon which they could rely. Such practices are apparent throughout the entire geographic and temporal range of this study (see also a further analysis of marriage patterns among *ali'i* described in Chapter 13).

A contemporary of Mo'ikeha on Hawai'i Island, Kanipahu, was facing escalating opposition from Nānā'ulu's descendants on the island. "To strengthen his

power and placate the native chiefs and people, Kanipahu took to wife Hualani, the fifth in descent from Māweke, of the [Nānā'ulu] line, and subsequently Alaikaua[koko], who was probably of the same native strain" (Kalākaua 1990:97). These marriages were probably initially successful in maintaining peace on the island, but they were not full-proof solutions (as will be explained below).

Another marriage shows the mutual benefits provided to both older and newer lineages. In an interesting twist, once settled on Kaua'i, Mo'ikeha (a Nānā'ulu descendant) sought the hand of two daughters of the Puna family (whose family had only recently become established on Kaua'i). These wives of Mo'ikeha were Hinaaulua and Ho'oipoikamalanai (Kamakau 1992:449, 1991:77, 106; Fornander 1996:Appendix IX, 1996:53-54). Through his marriage into the ruling Puna 'ohana, and his own high *ali'i* standing, Mo'ikeha rose to the position of *ali'i nui* upon Puna'aikoa'e's passing. Thus, through marriage, the rule of the Kaua'i reverted from a newer arrival back to the line of Nānā'ulu in generation 3 on Kaua'i.

Examples of the Successful Integration of Older and Newer Ali'i Lineages

Mo'ikeha is a prime example of an *ali'i* who actively and successfully attempted to integrate the chiefly families who had arrived in Hawai'i over the course of numerous generations. He was a Nānā'ulu descendant who had adopted a Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa descendant (La'a) and who married two daughters (Hinaaulua and Ho'oipoikamalanai) of the Puna family descended from the 'Ulu-Punaimua lineage.

However, Mo'ikeha's success as an *ali'i nui* was probably as well due to his abilities to gain the support of his populace, lesser chiefs, and priests. Mo'ikeha's

“court, like that of his predecessor Puna‘aikoā‘e, was noted for the distinguished chiefs, priests, prophets and poets connected with it” (Kalākaua 1990:131). Additional evidence of him having a supportive, effectively managed population was his successful construction of the massive walled *heiau* of Malae. At the time of Western contact it was Kaua‘i’s second largest *heiau* measuring over 320 by 270 feet in extent, with walls 6 feet wide and 7 to 10 feet high (Thrum 1907a:40). Again, as with Pilika‘ai‘ea’s case on Hawai‘i Island, the *mo‘olelo* record for Mo‘ikeha’s reign no acts of aggression against him. This is perhaps the reason that an *‘ōlelo kaena* (honorific epithet) for Mo‘ikeha is still remembered which recounts his peaceful reign: *Kalulu o Mo‘ikeha I ka laulā o Kapa‘a*. (“The calm of Mo‘ikeha in the breadth of Kapa‘a.”) (Pūku‘i 1983:147). Moreover, from about the time of his reign, it is said that Kaua‘i’s neighboring island Ni‘ihau came into close political association with Kaua‘i, a relationship which fluctuated through the generations whereby Ni‘ihau was “independent at times” and “acknowledging [the] suzerainty [of Kaua‘i’s *ali‘i nui*] at others” (Fornander 1996:94-95).

New Influences from Kahiki and Continued Socio-Political Change

In the next set of chronologically ordered events of this era, three major themes are evident: 1) continued cultural influences from southern archipelagos, 2) an increase in the political power of the *kāhuna pule* (priesthood) and their responsiveness to the *maka‘āinana*, and 3) continued transitions in the political control of the islands.

Three additional voyagers traveling to or from Kahiki carved new patterns into Hawaiian society. The principal figures in these voyages were ‘Olopana (an

individual distinct from the 'Olopana who was the son of Muli'eleali'i), La'amaikahiki, and Kaha'i a Ho'okamali'i.¹² Interspersed in time between the arrivals of these three voyagers were significant socio-political developments evolving from the interactions of the earliest and later arrivals to Hawai'i.

Socio-Political and Cultural Influences of Additional Settlers from

Kahiki. 'Olopana probably came to Hawai'i in the later part of generation 3 or at the beginning of generation 4 (see discussion in Chapter 6). At this time 'Elepu'ukahonua was probably the nominal *ali'i nui* over O'ahu. According to most versions of the *mo'olelo*, 'Olopana was the first of his immediate family to arrive to Hawai'i from Kahiki (Kamakau 1991:111; Fornander 1996:43; Kalākaua 1990:142).

¹² A fourth legendary voyager who may have arrived during this period was Pele who would have arrived with her family members from Kahiki. According to Kalākaua (1990:140), "the Pele family came to Hawai'i during the reign of Kamaiole." While numerous legends involving Pele seem to indicate that she preceded this time period (Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, personal communication 2000), there is evidence as well to suggest that she may have been contemporaneous with those of this era. Indeed, if Kamapua'a is understood to be part of this time, then the dual records of Kamapua'a and Pele living as historical personages of this era would comport with one another, as Fornander (1996:44) seems to have considered. For it is said that following 'Olopana's death, Kamapua'a traveled to Hawai'i Island where he met Pele and her *'ohana*. On the other hand, Kamapua'a may have encountered the deified spirit of Pele long after her historical life, and not her mortal person. Further, the record of Kamapua'a and Pele's exploits may be more metaphorical than actual. Indeed, "it is extremely difficult to advance an opinion as to whether the combats and adventures of Kamapuaa with Pele...have any historical foundation, or are merely pure fiction of later ages, embodying some hidden and half-forgotten religious tenets of opposing creeds" (Fornander 1996:44).

In any case, the *mo'olelo* recount that the Pele *'ohana* arrived from Kahiki having left from their specific native homeland land of Kuaihelani (Emerson 1997:IX). After traveling through the island chain, Pele's family probably settled in and around the "valleys back of Keauhou, among the foothills of Mauna Loa" (Kalākaua 1990:141) or "in the fat lands of lower Puna or Hilo" (Emerson 1997:XVI). They were of chiefly and priestly descent but did not serve as prominent rulers on Hawai'i Island, whose governance at the time was recently restored to Piliika'ai'ea's descendant Kalapana after it was seized for a time by Kamaiole of the Nānā'ulu lineage (Kalākaua 1990:140, 148). Because of their chiefly standing, they seemed to have been allowed to live quite independent of Kalapana's rule, as it is noted that they "recognized the authority neither of Kalapana nor the governing chief of Puna" (Kalākaua 1990:150).

Numerous epic legends surround the life of the Pele *'ohana* which convey the remarkably strong character of this family. In the long term, Pele and her *'ohana's* foremost influence on Hawaiian society occurred posthumously as their larger-than-life feats brought them to be worshipped as *akua* and *'aumākua* associated with fire, volcanoes, the forest, and *hula*.

'Olopana settled on "the Koolau side of the island of Oahu, where he had acquired very considerable possessions" (Kalākaua 1990:142). His ability to do so was almost certainly due to his genealogical connections either to Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa's descendants or Māweke's descendants. In any case, 'Olopana asserted a superior position over at least the Ko'olaupoko region. His significant political power is evident in the record of his commissioning five *heiau* to be constructed in Ko'olaupoko. These were Kāwa'ewa'e, Ahukini, Pahukini, Holomakani, and Pu'umakani (Kamakau 1991:111; Kalākaua 1990:145-147; Fornander 1990:43; Landgraf 1994:112; Sterling and Summers 1978:219, 221, 228, 229).

Another traveler from abroad whose memory remains strongly imprinted upon the *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* of Hawai'i is La'a, the son of 'Ahukai and the *hānai* (adopted) son of Mo'ikeha (Kamakau 1991:105; Fornander 1996:50; Kalākaua 1990:119). The various versions of this *mo'olelo* of La'a recount that La'a accompanied Mo'ikeha and 'Olopana to Kahiki where La'a remained when Mo'ikeha returned to Hawai'i and settled on Kaua'i. Mo'ikeha in his senior years sent his son Kila to bring La'a from Kahiki for a last visit together.¹³ (This would likely have occurred after 'Olopana was already ruling over Ko'olau and before 'Olopana's passing.) La'a, who was referred to in Hawai'i at this point as La'amaikahiki (i.e., La'a from Kahiki), visited Mo'ikeha at Wailua, Kaua'i and there introduced the *pahu*

¹³ Although Fornander (1996:95) states that the migratory period "may be considered closed with Laamaikahiki," La'a was probably not the last voyager to arrive from Kahiki. The Pele family of Kahiki is recorded as having eventually settled in Puna during the reign of Kalapana (of generation 6 in this study) (Kalākaua 1990:150). Kaha'i, who was the grandson of Mo'ikeha's and the son of Mo'ikeha's Kaua'i-born son Ho'okamali'i, is said to have traveled to Kahiki and returned back to Hawai'i (Kamakau 1991:110; Malo 1827:21; Fornander 1996:54).

kā'eke or large ceremonial drum (Kamakau 1991:109). The name of his *pahu* was 'Ōpuku (Kamakau 1991:109). This *pahu* remained at Holoholokū *heiau* "until comparatively modern times" (Fornander 1996:62). Thereafter, such large *pahu kā'eke* became part of the regular furnishings of state-level *heiau*. La'a also introduced the worship of Lonoika'ouali'i who was his personal god (Fornander 1999:IV:128).¹⁴ La'a's most consequential impact, however, would come in the form of his offspring whom he sired and who would come to hold pivotal positions in Hawaiian society by the close of this era.

After La'amaikahiki returned home and following Mo'ikeha's death, his son Kila sailed from Kaua'i to settle at Waipi'o, Hāmākua on Hawai'i Island which at the time was under the nominal control of the *ali'i nui* Kanipahu whose chiefly residence was in the neighboring *moku* of Kohala (Fornander 1996:56; Kalākaua 1990:98, 135). Kila was said to have been an "industrious" *ali'i* who saw to it that Waipi'o was cultivated to a high degree. His skillful management of the lands engaged the *maka'āinana* in a "system of working so many days for the [*ali'i*] landlords out of every month," a practice that was adopted throughout the island chain and which was in effect through the 1800s (Fornander 1999:IV:134-136). The "labor-days" system allowed *ali'i* to forward any number of projects upon their discretion.

Continued Resistance Against Pilika'ai'ea's Descendants. The chiefs' shifting of residences, their cultivation of family ties, and their diplomatic discussions

¹⁴ Although this *mo'olelo* states that "Laamaikahiki was the first person who brought idols to Hawai'i" (Fornander 1999:IV:128), this is probably inaccurate as Pā'ao was said to have brought two idols with him (Fornander 1996:37). Further Kalākaua (as conveyed through Daggett (in Kalākaua 1990:21) notes that the religious practices that Pā'ao brought to Hawai'i "did not seem to differ greatly from" what was previously practiced in Hawai'i.

that occurred in the *'aha ali'i* still did not quell all animosity between the various *ali'i* who arrived through the generations, especially on Hawai'i Island. Pilika'ai'ea's heirs Kūkohou and Kaniuhi (of generations 3 and 4 respectively) faced some opposition from the older lines of chiefs (Fornander 1996:40). Kanipahu, Pilika'ai'ea's descendant in generation 5 received the greatest resistance. Although "Kanipahu was a just and considerate sovereign, and sought by every peaceful means to harmonize the conflicting interests of the chiefs and strengthen and consolidate his power," he nonetheless had two sets of adversaries to address (Kalākaua 1990:99). They were Nānā'ulu's descendants who were native to Hawai'i Island as well as 'Ulu descendants who settled some generations after Nānā'ulu, but before Pilika'ai'ea, and who had established estates on the island. The latter set of challengers to Kanipahu were led by Hua a Pohukaina who at the time was ruling over windward Maui. Hua was a descendant of Kapawa and of Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i. Kapawa's descendants (and Hua's family members) Lonokawai and Lonokawai's son Lā'au were displaced by the arrival of Pā'ao and Pilika'ai'ea (Malo 1996:143; see also discussion in Chapter 6). Similarly, Hua's direct lineal ancestor Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i (of generation 1) had held estates on Hawai'i Island (Kalākaua 1990: 72), which no doubt were negatively affected by Pilika'ai'ea's ascent to the position of *ali'i nui* and his garnering lands for himself and those aligned with him.

Hua a Pohukaina seemed to have a significant support base on Maui, and had ample reason to resent the descendants of Pilika'ai'ea. Thus he directed his aggression at Kanipahu by forwarding "the earliest remembered war between Maui and Hawai'i" (Fornander 1969:41). "Having access to the largest and finest timber in the group, [Hua's] war-canoes were abundant and formidable" (Kalākaua 1990:158).

Hua landed his fleet at Hilo and “slaughtered those of Hawai‘i” in a battle at Hakalau that came to be called Kaniuho‘opio (Kamakau 1991:148). The choice of Hua invading Hilo seems to suggest that Pilika‘ai‘ea’s descendants Kūkohou, Kaniuhi, or Kanipahu substantially encroached on the lands in Hilo that were once under the Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla‘ila‘i family. For in generation 1, much of Hilo was under the possession of the Paumakua’s nephew Hakalanileo (who would as well have been a collateral ancestor of Hua a Pohukaina) (Kalākaua 1990:78). Certainly under the conditions of the time, Hua would not have been attacking his own family members, and as such it is likely that Pilika‘ai‘ea’s descendants had assumed control of what were previously Hakalanileo’s Hilo estate.¹⁵

Hua’s raid in Hilo resulted “in nothing more than a temporary seizure and occupation” of the lands there that were at the time under the sovereign control and protection of Kanipahu (Kalākaua 1990:158). However, it is probable that the raid extended as well to the coast of Kohala as it is said that just following this raid Hua consecrated the *heiau* of Mulei‘ula at Halelua, Kauhola, Kohala (Thrum 1908a:42). Since Pilika‘ai‘ea resided in Kohala, as did Kanipahu and the generations between them (Kalākaua 1990:98), Hua’s worshipping at a *heiau* in their home district was a powerful symbolic, albeit momentary, act of asserting a superior position over them.

Kanipahu’s difficulties did not end after Hua returned to Maui. For like his father Kaniuhi, and his grandfather Kūkohou, Kanipahu faced “occasional

¹⁵ Hua’s attack on Kanipahu helps to illustrate the fact that generations of arrivals to the island were involved in the conflicts rather than just a single set of “new” and a single set of “old” families. After all, Hakalanileo had been under attack during generation 1 from Kaupe‘epe‘e, for at the time, he and his Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla‘ila‘i family members were the “newer” arrivals. In this case, it seems the Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla‘ila‘i’s descendants were attacking Pilika‘ai‘ea’s descendants under the similar argument that Kaupe‘epe‘e forwarded.

disturbances” involving “the ancient chief families of the island” (Fornander 1996:40). These “native chiefs of the old stock of [Nānā’ulu]” “refused to yield allegiance to the new dynasty” (Kalākaua 1990:97). Such conflicts culminated in a battle which resulted in Kanipahu hiding his sons in Waimanu, in Kanipahu seeking refuge on Moloka’i, and in one of Nānā’ulu’s descendants, Kama’i’ole,¹⁶ holding the position of *ali’i nui* over the island.

There on Moloka’i Kanipahu came to live at Kala’e and became the husband of an *ali’i nui wahine* of the island, Hualani (Kamakau 1992:4; Kalākaua 1990:106; Fornander 1996:40, 70; Malo 1951:298; McKinzie 1986:28). With her he had four children, “Kanaloa the eldest, then Kumu-o-ka-lani, La’a-iki, and Ka-la-hu-moku” (Kamakau 1992:4).

An Increase in the Political Power of the Priesthood and Their Responsiveness to the *Maka’āinana*. In the meantime on Hawai’i Island, Kama’i’ole’s attempt to reassert the land holdings that existed prior to Piliika’ai’ea’s arrival “had not only stirred up bitter strife among the nobles, but had unwittingly disturbed the vassalage of the masses and thereby rendered all classes restless and distrustful” (Kalākaua 1990:109). “Finally the discontent became so general among the *makaainana* that they appealed to ... the high-priest of the kingdom, for advice and assistance” (Kalākaua 1990:107).¹⁷ Together the *kāhuna pule* (priesthood) and

¹⁶ Fornander (1996:140) describes Kama’i’ole as descending from “one of the ancient chief families” of Hawai’i Island. Throughout Fornander’s (1996) work, he consistently refers to the Nānā’ulu branches in those same terms.

¹⁷ Malo’s (1996:298) version of this *mo’olelo* describes the discontented *maka’āinana* as beseeching Pā’ao for assistance. It is likely that the individual leading the priesthood in this generation was a descendant of Pā’ao (perhaps even bearing the same name as his ancestor), but was not one and the same Pā’ao of generation 2.

maka'āinana requested of Kalapana (Kanipahu's son who was raised in Waimanu, Hāmākua [Fornander 1969:40; Kalākaua 1990:105-106]) to lead a revolt against Kama'i'ole. Kama'i'ole was killed in the ensuing battle and the island was placed in the care of Kalapana (Kalākaua 1990:107-113), thus restoring the succession of chiefs of Hawai'i Island to Pilika'ai'ea's descendants. At Mo'okini *heiau* Kalapana sacrificed the rebel *ali'i*, including Kama'i'ole, who had overthrown his father and who Kalapana defeated in battle (Kalākaua 1990:113).

No doubt in an effort to mend the animosity between Pilika'ai'ea's descendants and those of Nānā'ula, Kalapana also took for his wife Makeamalamaihanāe who was the niece of Kama'i'ole (Kalākaua 1990:100, 106; Malo 1996:305). These measures, along with Kalapana's conciliatory position with regards to the *ali'i* of the island, provided peace to his kingdom for the duration of his tenure as *ali'i nui* (Kalākaua 1990:113). Kalapana's continued close relationship with the *kāhuna pule* is perhaps evidenced in the record of him having initiated the construction of Pāka'alana *heiau* in Waipi'o (Kalākaua 1990:178).

Another *mo'olelo* that follows the last days of Hua a Pohukaina's reign on Maui illustrates the same trend of the increasing power of the *kāhuna pule* and its role is addressing the concerns of the *maka'āinana*. Hua's "reckless, independent and warlike" nature led him to conduct numerous raids. These extended not only to Hawai'i but also to Moloka'i (Kalākaua 1990:158). However, it was not until his aggressive nature was turned against his own *kahuna nui* Luaho'omoe that Hua brought on his own demise. As a *mo'olelo* recounts, Luaho'omoe "did not approve of many of Hua's marauding acts, advising him instead to lead his people in happier

and more peaceful pursuits, and not provoke either the retaliation of his enemies or the anger of the gods” (Kalākaua 1990:158). Hua, resenting these words, planned for another attack upon Hawai‘i, and thus required of his people further resources. “These exactions caused very general dissatisfaction, and the priesthood assisted in promoting rather than allaying the popular discontent” (Kalākaua 1990:158-159). When Hua heard of this, he initiated a plan to kill Luaho‘omoe. Before being executed under false pretenses, which Hua and another priest Luaana fabricated, Luaho‘omoe prophesied that those involved in the scheme would face a disastrous end (Kalākaua 1990:160). Widespread famine followed Luaho‘omoe’s execution and many died (Kalākaua 161-165; Fornander 1996:41-42). “Hua and his family...perished from the earth...[and] a new dynasty came into being to claim the sovereignty of eastern Maui” (Kalākaua 1990:173). In the end, the *kāhuna pule* and the *maka‘āinana* prevailed on Maui just as it did on Hawai‘i Island. This *mo‘olelo* was hence preserved “as a solemn warning against the wanton trespass upon the prerogatives of the priesthood or disregard of the power and sanctity of the gods” (Kalākaua 1990:157).

In likely response to the vacancy created by Hua a Pohukaina’s death, Kanaloa and Kalāhūmoku (sons of Kanipahu and Hualani) settled in Hāna, Maui and became the new windward Maui rulers (probably with Kalāhūmoku following Kanaloa or with the two jointly ruling) (Kamakau 1992:4; Fornander 1996:79f; Ka Papa Kū‘auhau Ali‘i o Hawai‘i 1882:March 18).

An Example of Internal Conflict Within the Families of the Newer Arrivals and the Political Power of the *Kāhuna Pule*. At some point while the above events involving Hua, Kanipahu, Kama‘i‘ole, and Kalapana were occurring,

‘Olopana had arrived on O‘ahu. The *mo‘olelo* of ‘Olopana primarily focus on his relationship with his greatest challenger, Kamapua‘a. Kamapua‘a was ‘Olopana’s nephew and stepson, for he was the son of ‘Olopana’s brother Kahiki‘ula and ‘Olopana’s wife, Hina (Kamakau 1991:111; Kame‘eleihiwa 1996:14; Kahiolo 1978:150/151; Fornander 1969:43; Beckwith 1970:203). Although the antagonism between ‘Olopana and Kamapua‘a seemed to be rooted in personal issues, the outcome of Kamapua‘a’s attacks on ‘Olopana put a significant strain on the larger Ko‘olau region. Kamapua‘a “harass[ed] the estates of Olopana” by stealing ‘Olopana’s chickens and other foodstuffs, “breaking his nets, cutting adrift his canoes and robbing his fish-ponds” (Kalākaua 1990:143). This brought the matter to a crisis, as such acts were always regarded as a declaration of war” (Kalākaua 1990:144).

In various versions of the *mo‘olelo* of ‘Olopana and Kamapua‘a, it is clear that ‘Olopana’s warriors eventually captured Kamapua‘a. In several versions, Kamapua‘a’s release was made possible only through the intervention of ‘Olopana’s then out of favor *kahuna nui* Lonoaohi (Fornander 1999:V:320-327; Kalākaua 1990:145-147; Beckwith 1970:204). With Lonoaohi’s assistance, Kamapua‘a escaped being sacrificed at Kāwa‘ewa‘e *heiau*, after which he slayed ‘Olopana, took possession of ‘Olopana’s estates, and set about travelling to other islands. However, before sailing to Kahiki and Hawai‘i, Kamapua‘a provided Lonoaohi compensation for his aid by granting Lonoaohi lands whose names began with “Wai” (Kamakau 1992:230-231; Fornander 1999:V:324). This arrangement in later years was revised and the *kāhuna pule* “were given the lands of Waimea, Pupukea, Waiahole, and Hakipu‘u in perpetuity” (Kamakau 1992:231).

This episode involving Lonoaohi, as well as that of Luaho'omoe and Hua on Maui and of the priesthood's ousting Kama'ole on Hawai'i Island, illustrates the emerging prominence of the *kāhuna pule* which in fact was often comprised of the younger siblings of the ruling families (see also discussion of the ranks of *ali'i* in Chapter 5).¹⁸ Indeed, the *kāhuna pule* became more powerful, independent, and influential in the courts of this era (Fornander 1996:63; Kalākaua 1990:98).

Additional Influences from Kahiki. The last inter-archipelago voyager recorded in the *mo'olelo* is Kaha'i a Ho'okamali'i. He was the grandson of Mo'ikeha and the son of Mo'ikeha's Kaua'i born son Ho'okamali'i (Kamakau 1991:110; Malo 1827:21; Fornander 1996:54). Kaha'i is said to have traveled to Kahiki "to go sightseeing" and to have returned back to Hawai'i where he introduced the '*ulu* (breadfruit). He planted his '*ulu* at Pu'uloa, 'Ewa (Kamakau 1991:110; Fornander 1999:IV:392) the area over which he likely ruled. This valuable plant added significantly to the staple food relied upon in Hawaiian society and became an especially important crop on the leeward sides of the islands.

At this point in the stream of events, the most significant effects of an earlier voyager, La'amaikahiki, were more fully realized. These influences of La'amaikahiki were in the form of his three sons born of his partnerships with three chiefly women

¹⁸ Examples of such individuals serving within the *kāhuna pule* include the following: 1) Kaupe'epe'e's *kahuna nui* Mō'i was a younger sibling among the offspring of Keaunui (who was a son of Māweke) (Fornander 1996:31-32, 48-49; Kalākaua 1990:84, 118), 2) Liloa's *kahuna nui* Lāeanuikaumanamana was the grandson of *ali'i nui* Kūāiwa (of generation 9 on Hawai'i Island) through his son 'Ehu, the younger half-brother of Kūāiwa's heir Kahoukapu (Malō 1827:21; Fornander 1996:76). 3) Kaululā'au served a prominent role in the priesthood in his mature years (Kalākaua 1990:230) and was the son of Kaka'alaneo, the younger brother of the nominal Maui *ali'i nui* Kaka'e (Fornander 1996:82; Kalākaua 1990:209) through whom the ruling line descended.

of O'ahu. These sons of La'a were Lāuli a La'a (son of Hoakanuikapua'ihelu), Ahukini a La'a (son of Waolena), and Kūkona a La'a (son of Mano'ōpūpa'ipa'i) (Kamakau 1991:109; Malo 1827:13; Fornander 1996:56; Kalākaua 1990:134). "Lāuli-a-La'a became the ancestral chief for O'ahu, and Ahukini-a-La'a and Kūkona for Kaua'i" (Kamakau 1991:37). Lāuli a La'a, was known to have been ruling over the Kona district of O'ahu (Fornander 1996:88). Ahukini a La'a, and possibly Kūkona a La'a, moved from their *kulāiwi* of O'ahu to Kaua'i over which Ahukini a La'a came to rule (Kamakau 1991:37; Fornander 1996:92).

It is likely that Lāuli a La'a and Ahukini a La'a came to be such prominent *ali'i* because they embodied a vital political need of the time. Through their birth and *hānai* associations they brought together the lines of both the 'Ulu and Nānā'ulu chiefs who represented earlier and later settlers to Hawai'i (see also the discussion in Chapter 6 which explains how Lāuli a La'a and Ahukini a La'a came to be *ali'i nui*). Such ties were no doubt further solidified through their own marriages, as is documented for Lāuli a La'a who married Maelo, a descendant of Māweke (Kamakau 1991:78, 110, 1992:449; Malo 1827:21-22; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX, 1996:54, 87-88; McKinzie 1986:15, 26). Counterbalancing ties in the opposite direction, Ahukini a La'a married Hai a Kamaio (Fornander 1996:92; McKinzie 1983:16, 32), the granddaughter of Lua'ehu who was a recent arrival to Hawai'i from Kahiki (Fornander 1996:92). In later years the descendants of Lāuli a La'a and Ahukini a La'a continued to rule over O'ahu and Kaua'i respectively. Kūkona a La'a's progeny were no doubt among the bloodlines that flowed through the Kaua'i ruling family as well, as is evidenced in the name of Kaua'i's ruler, Kūkona, in generation 8 at the beginning of the next era.

Summary and Status of the Islands at the End of the Migratory Period

At the close of this first era including the initial seven generations of this study, the migrations to and from Hawai'i from other Polynesian archipelagos were seemingly over as no such voyages were recorded in the *mo'olelo*.¹⁹ Hawai'i at this stage had evolved into a society significantly transformed from what existed at the onset of this era. The interactions of the range of earlier and latter settlers in Hawai'i played a major role in creating these changes. Most striking among these were shifts in who ruled the islands. At the end of this era controlling the islands were *ali'i*

¹⁹ Near the close of this era, a set of *haole* landed on Maui. These were the third group of *haole* to have arrived in Hawai'i. (The *haole* whom Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa brought to Hawai'i were the first; the *haole* who landed at Mōkapu and for whom places like Olomana, Aniani, and Holokamakani were named were the second [Kamakau 1991:113, 1992:325, 1996:41]). This third set of *haole* landed on Maui during the joint reigns of Kamaluohua and Wakalana (Kamakau 1991:113, 1996:42; Kalākau 1990:183).

Kalākau (1990:183) suggests that these foreigners were on "a Japanese vessel that had been dismantled by a typhoon, driven toward the North American coast until it encountered the northwest trade-winds, and then helplessly blown southward to the coast of Maui." The one item of these shipwrecked *haole* settlers that made the greatest impression upon the *mo'olelo* in later years was a sword that belonged to the group's male leader (Kalākau 1990:183-205). The name Hawaiians gave to this individual was Kuluiki a Manu (Kamakau 1991:113, 1996, 42). His sword was said to have eventually come into the possession of *ali'i nui* Kūkona of Kaua'i through events described in Chapter 9 (Kalākau 1990:183).

Related to Kalākau's account is a study by Stokes (1932). Stokes' (1932) suggests that the similarities between unique aspects of Hawaiian cultural traits and Japanese cultural traits (such as the standing *kāhili* [an idea which could have been brought with the hypothesized stranded Japanese seafarers]) may indicate the possibility of pre-1778 Japanese influences in Hawai'i. Braden's (1976) analysis of meteorological conditions and historic drift voyages of Japanese fishermen who landed in Hawai'i adds to the plausibility of Japanese landing in Hawai'i during the pre-contact period.

The belief that the stranded visitors described in Hawaiian *mo'olelo* were not Spaniards is forwarded in an exhaustive study by Dahlgren (1916) which concluded that "no historical fact proves, nor is there any sort of probability, that the Hawaiian Islands were ever visited, or ever seen, by the Spaniards before their discovery by Captain Cook in 1778" (Dahlgren 1916:213). Stokes (1939) arrived at the same forceful conclusion. An estimated Western calendar date for the start of this generation further indicates that the shipwrecked individuals could not have been Spanish. For generation 7 to which Wakalana and Kamaluohua belonged would have begun somewhere between AD 1270 (if one estimated a generation to be about 30 years in length) to AD 1510 (if one estimated a generation to be about 15 years in length) (see Table 7.1). Given that first Western trans-Pacific passage brought Magellan to the Philippines in 1521, it is unlikely that the shipwreck was that of the later Spaniards.

in whose veins mixed the blood of both the newer and earlier arrivals to the Islands. The descendants of La'a ruled over Kaua'i, and a combination of La'a's and Māweke's descendants ruled jointly over the three political districts of O'ahu.

On Hawai'i Island, Pilika'ai'ea's descendant Kaha'imoele'a (son of Kalapana) (Fornander 1996:73; Kalākaua 1990:178) securely ruled over the island. Kaha'imoele'a was even able to extend his locus of control into Hāmākua from his family's traditional center of Kohala. He moved his residence and *alo ali'i* (those of his royal court) to Waipi'o, Hāmākua where he built his royal complex which included Pāka'alana *heiau* (Kalākaua 1990:178; Fornander 1996:73). No longer were the descendants of Nānā'ulu and Pilika'ai'ea in contention for the administration of Hawai'i Island. In this generation the blood of both families flowed through the veins of the ruling *ali'i nui*.

On Maui in generation 7, the island's two leeward and windward political divisions were well established by this period, with the two branches of Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i's family controlling the two sides of the island. Kamaluohua ruled over the leeward portion of Maui and served as the island's *ali'i nui* while Wakalana (whose lineage as infused with the Nānā'ulu blood of Kanaloa and Kalāhūmoku²⁰) ruled over the windward districts (Fornander 1996:80-81; Kalākaua 1990:197, 182).

The patterns of governance in the Islands at this point included several evolved features that either did not exist or were not in their same forms at the beginning of this era. The *'aha ali'i* now provided a means for *ali'i* to substantiate

²⁰ Evidence that Kalāhūmoku's blood flowed through the veins of later windward Maui *ali'i* can be seen in their use of names. Kalā'eha'eha and his wife Naluehiloakeahomakali'i (of generation 12) had a son whose name was Kalāhūmoku (Malo 1927:27).

their positions and to formally discuss issues of mutual concern. The increased power of the *ali'i nui* of this period afforded that office the ability to join the forces of an island in a defensive posture against common outside threats and, in conjunction with the *'aha ali'i* venue, provided a means for conflicts among *ali'i* to be settled. Part of the role of the *ali'i nui* at this point also involved a *kuleana* of overseeing the relationships of *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* and ensuring that the *maka'āinana* were not being oppressed or exploited (Kalākaua 1990:98).

The increased power of the *ali'i nui* and the defined body of *'aha ali'i* members helped to demarcate the strict division between the *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* classes that arose during this period. These changes were as well mirrored in the developments in *heiau* construction and ceremonies that limited the involvement of the *maka'āinana*. The greater authority of the *ali'i nui* also affected the enforcement of *kapu* in the society. With the introduction of capital punishment for violations of the *kapu* (including new ones that preserved the *mana* of *ali'i*), there was an increased accountability for all those in the society to follow the ideals expressed in the *kapu*.

An economic change which occurred at least on Hawai'i Island, and which may have spread to other islands, was made possible by the increased power of the *ali'i* class. This was the enactment of required labor days for the *maka'āinana*. Such a ready labor force would have allowed the *ali'i* to undertake major projects that could benefit the populations of whole districts or regions and which would then have offset the added burden that such requirements entailed for the *maka'āinana*.

Another related change was the heightened political influence of the *kāhuna pule* whose support proved pivotal to the success of *ali'i* of this era. In their more

prominent political positions, the *kāhuna pule* seemed to act as another point of accountability to assure that *ali'i nui* were effective in their administration of the islands and responsive to the needs of their people. The *kāhuna pule* actively censured or sought the removal of those who did not meet their expectations, especially in regards to the treatment of *maka'āinana*.

Through these far-reaching political changes and key marriages between the later and earlier settlers in Hawai'i, the later *ali'i* arrivals established themselves firmly on the major islands. Their innovations appealed to a large sector of the society, including some of the native chiefs. For these changes offered greater political stability, improved administration of the lands and people, and an overall organization to the society that was absent when it was ruled by completely independent *ali'i* with no accountability to one another or to their *maka'āinana*. That the newer arrivals of the first generations of this era rose to the positions of *ali'i nui*, and that their descendants (infused with the blood of the older lineages) successfully defended those positions from the aggressions of other *ali'i*, suggests that the new governmental reforms received widespread support.

Chapter 9 The Effects of Relative Internal Peace on the Major Islands and Outward- Directed Aggression

Introduction

At the beginning of this era comprising 6-7 generations (generations 8-13 on Hawai'i Island, 7-14 on Maui, and 8-14 on O'ahu and Kaua'i), the Hawaiian Islands were politically stable and enjoyed a period of peace both within and among the different islands. Kaupe'epe'enuikauila's and Hua's raids were but a memory as were the internal wars on O'ahu (between 'Olopana and Kamapua'a) and Hawai'i Island (between Kamai'ole and both Kanipahu and Kalapana). All was at peace.

Two major factors shaped societal evolution through this era. The first and most important was the internal peace of each of the islands afforded by the cooperative ties formed among the *ali'i* lineages of the last era and the governmental changes that helped to create political stability. The second factor on the surface seems to be a continuation of the raids of the last era, but these raids involved a different set of actors, motivations, and results (as described below). This combined scenario of internal island peace and the possibility of aggression from external neighbors formed a new political context. The responses of *ali'i* to this reality continued the evolution of Hawaiian society.

By the end of this era, the powers of the *ali'i nui* were once more increased. With their improved ability to administer their domains, the islands were brought to a high degree of prosperity. The final generations of this era could be considered some of Hawai'i's most blissful years. Peace prevailed, skillful and compassionate *ali'i nui* governed the islands, and the various populations of the nations were content.

The Effects of Peace and the Undercurrents of Conflict on Hawai'i Island

Kalaunuiohua of Hawai'i Island inherited from his father Kaha'imoele'a a relatively stable government as there had been no open revolts during Kaha'imoele'a's rule. However, even Kalaunuiohua, seven generations following Piliaka'ai'ea, is said to have only then "brought all the districts of Hawaii under his control" (Kalākaua 1990:181). Such a remembrance in the *mo'olelo* is evidence of one of the themes of this era, that is, the increased authority of *ali'i nui*. Under these conditions and following Kalaunuiohua's "warlike and enterprising" nature (Fomander 1996:67), he "entertained the ambitious design of uniting the several islands of the archipelago under one government" (Kalākaua 1990:181). In this plan "he was sustained by the leading chiefs of Hawaii, hungering for foreign possessions" and who provided him with "large quotas of canoes and warriors" (Kalākaua 1990:181).

In analyzing this situation, one might even conclude that the district chiefs who supported this enterprise to increase their land wealth, could easily have turned against Kalaunuiohua, directed their aggression toward him, and seized his lands—if Kalaunuiohua did not focus their aggression elsewhere. After all, his own sovereign

status over the island was only recently affirmed (Kalākaua 1990:181) and was probably tenuous at the time.

A possible second reason that Kalaunuiohua needed to remain in good stead with the various district *ali'i* was that he seemed to have had a poor relationship with the *kāhuna pule*, and thus was in need of all other forms of support that he could convene. The *mo'olelo* are not specific about the nature or cause of his conflict with the *kāhuna pule*, but what is recorded is that "Kalaunuiohua was a chief who murdered the priests and prophets" (Kamakau 1988:64; see also Fornander 1996:69). A famous *kāula wahine* (female prophet) whom he tried unsuccessfully to kill was Wa'ahia²¹ (Malo 1996:300).

Thus in this context, the wealth of human and material resources generated during the years of relative peace that Hawai'i Island enjoyed under Kaha'imoele'a and Kalaunuiohua were spent on Kalaunuiohua's major archipelago-wide military campaign. This invasion of the northern islands was given the name Kawelewele (Kamakau 1988:64, 1991:56), meaning the opening up or clearing of a path, possibly in this case a hoped for path to political ascendance. Kalaunuiohua directed the Hawai'i Island chiefs' collective assault upon the other islands. He and his large force of warriors first defeated and captured the *ali'i nui* Kamaluohua of Maui (of generation 7). Next he sailed to Moloka'i, accomplished the same there, and added to his political leverage the custody of its *ali'i nui* Kahōkūohua. From there he continued to O'ahu where he landed at Wai'anae and battled against the forces of

²¹ Wa'ahia and Kalaunuiohua apparently were reconciled as Wa'ahia is credited for bringing him safely back to Hawai'i Island from his campaign of aggression that landed him as a captive on

Huapouleilei who governed the districts of 'Ewa, Wai'anae, and Waialua. Kalaunuiohua won the engagement there as well and seized Huapouleilei (of generation 8). Continuing with his royal captives to Kaua'i, he engaged Kūkona (of generation 8) in combat and, ending his victorious streak, was defeated and taken prisoner. Kūkona released Maui's,²² Moloka'i's, and O'ahu's *ali'i*, but kept Kalaunuiohua (Kalākaua 182-193; Fornander 1996:67-69; Malo 1996:301-302; Kamakau 1991:56). The most detailed rendition of this *mo'olelo* recounts that Kalaunuiohua was released only after Wa'ahia, on Kaluanuiohua's behalf, provided Kūkona with the sword that was originally obtained on Maui from the *haole* who landed during Wakalana's reign and which was acquired in Kalaunuiohua's battle on that island (Kalākaua 1990:198-205). Following his long adventure, Kalaunuiohua returned to Hawai'i Island where he lived out the remainder of his years.

The nature of such warfare was unusual in Hawaiian *mo'olelo*, for the ruling *ali'i* were captured and held rather than slain. It suggests that perhaps Kalaunuiohua was planning to negotiate the release of these individuals under conditions which suited him and his chiefs and which possibly would have required tribute, the possession of certain districts, and/or a nominal control of the islands under the Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui*. What the actual stipulations would have been, or whether such a conditioned release was part of Kaluiohua's design, will never be known since Kalaunuiohua could not fulfill his entire plan due to his defeat on Kaua'i.

²² Another version of this *mo'olelo* suggests that Kamaluohua "had accompanied the chief of Hawai'i to Kaua'i to make war," and when captured and treated kindly by Kūkona, refused to betray Kūkona when a plot was planned against Kūkona (Pūku'i 1983:154). "As a reward for his loyalty," he and others were allowed to return home in peace, thus originating this epithet relating to Kamaluohua: "*Ka la'i loa a Kamaluohua*" ("the long peace of Kamaluohua") (Pūku'i 1983:154).

Nonetheless, his attempt involved a far more purposeful strategy than that of a mere raid for the sake of acquiring the riches of another court's possessions.²³ Nor was this raid to exact revenge by plundering an enemy's territory, after all, Kalaunuiohua had no reason to bear great hostility toward the other islands' rulers. (The only *ali'i* of another island that was recorded to have attacked one of his ancestors was Hua, whose descendants did not rule after his demise.)

In the end, it seems at least one of Kalaunuiohua's possible objectives was met. The Hawai'i Island district chiefs were never recorded to have revolted against Kalaunuiohua during his tenure as *ali'i nui*. He followed through with an effort to acquire them new territories and focused their aggressive energy away from himself and onto the *ali'i nui* of Maui, Moloka'i, O'ahu, and Kaua'i.

Effects of Aggression from Hawai'i Island and Internal Peace on All Other Islands

Kalaunuiohua's raids on the other major islands was a rude awakening for each of the ruling families of those islands. They had done nothing to provoke an attack, and yet a war party landed on their shores. At the time they were apparently unprepared to handle the situation, and now they needed to remedy that vulnerability. The possibility of an assault from abroad that could destroy the sovereignty of an island was now a reality, whereas in the past, the raids (now merely a memory from generations long past) were simply intended to exact harm

²³ Hommon (1976:149) suggests that Kalaunuiohua's effort was "more in the nature of raid rather than conquest" and supports the contention with the fact that Kalaunuiohua never "established governors or attempted to consolidate control over the islands he invaded." This logic seems problematic since of course Kalaunuiohua's plan was never fulfilled. That Kalaunuiohua did not stop at each island to consolidate his control over them merely indicates that Kalaunuiohua's plan may not have been to gain the absolute administrative control of the islands.

upon an unwanted “newcomer.” Any responsible set of leaders at the time would have had to consider how they would strengthen their position to withstand another possible attack from another island. The fact that each of the islands had been experiencing generations of internal peace provided a fertile context for the individual *ali'i nui* and *'aha ali'i* to develop and implement plans to improve their islands and allay their fears of threats from abroad.

Significantly, the generations of *ali'i nui* following Kalaunuiohua's attack undertook major economic and political changes across the islands. Whether these would have occurred without Kalaunuiohua's war campaign is certainly a possibility. However, the timing of these developments happening on the heels of Kalaunuiohua's effort, and their focus on strengthening each island in ways that would have better defended them from a future attack, suggests that Kalaunuiohua's aggression may have been a significant catalyst to the changes.

At the same time, much of the governmental initiatives during this period continued a trend of the previous era, that is, a concern that an *ali'i nui* experience not only the privileges of his or her rank but also the responsibilities of that role. As such, many of the changes enacted display an attention to the effective management of the island nations.

On Kaua'i, Manokalanipō “was noted for the energy and wisdom with which he encouraged agriculture and industry, executed long and difficult works of irrigation, and thus brought fields of wilderness under cultivation” (Fornander 1996:93). Such efforts at infrastructure development created new areas that could be settled, made food production on the island more efficient, likely created food surpluses, and in the long-run afforded portions of the population more free time.

These additional human and material resources that such improved infrastructure provided could then be directed at whatever efforts were necessary to further strengthen the island nation. Word of such improvements certainly came to the attention of other *ali'i nui* at the time. Hence it is no wonder then that “no foreign wars disturbed [Manokalanipō’s] reign,” and that it was thereafter remembered in *mo’olelo* as “the golden age of that island” (Fornander 1996:93). Manokalanipō’s exemplary management of his nation has ever since been acknowledged in a famous *’olelo kaena* (honorific epithet) still heard in songs and chants through today which honors him and recalls his integral connection to his island: *Kaua’i a Manokalanipō* (Kaua’i of Manokalanipō) (Pūku’i 1983:108).

On O’ahu a major change in the political structure of the society emerged in the generation following Huapouleilei’s return from being held captive by Kalaunuiohua. In generation 9, the *mo’olelo* describe the island as being ruled by a single *ali'i nui*, and no mention is made of the major district chiefs that once held sway over largely independent regions of the island (i.e., the Ko’olau region, the Kona region, and the ‘Ewa, Wai’anae, and Waialua region). Although the *mo’olelo* do not specify the actors involved in instituting the change, it is certain that the *’aha ali’i* either initiated or collectively approved of that decision. Since this political change increased the scope of the *ali'i nui*’s role to include administrative rather than only nominal, ceremonial control over the island, the decision would have necessarily involved the *’aha ali’i* and could not have been imposed upon the island by any of the three ruling families. The *’aha ali’i*’s discussion would have focused on the obvious defensive advantages that full incorporation of the island into a single polity would provide. The debate surely also included a retelling of how

Kalaunuiohua's invasion had overcome Huapouleilei's regional forces. The outcome of the deliberations placed Haka in the position of *ali'i nui*, now seemingly defined as an administrator over the entire island.

Haka was a natural choice for this position as he was a direct lineal descendant of Māweke's first-born son Kumuhonua (Fornander 1996:40, 49, 88; Malo 1827:17; McKinzie 1986:23) and seemingly the son of Huapouleilei (see discussion of this point in Chapter 6). However, much to the dissatisfaction of the *'aha ali'i*, Haka proved to be "a bad chief and a stingy one" who "did not take care of the chiefs and people" (Kamakau 1991:53-54; see also Fornander 1996:88). Such faults in an *ali'i* could not be tolerated. Shortly into Haka's reign, "the chiefs rebelled against him and fought with him" (Kamakau 1991:54). Besieged in the *pu'u kua* (war fortress) of Waewae at Kawiwi,²⁴ the *mo'olelo* describe that Haka's "ill-natured" character eventually led to his death (Fornander 1996:88). One of Haka's watchmen had not been given any food and resented such poor treatment (I'i 1983:97). In protest, this watchman allowed Haka's opponents to enter the *pu'u kua*, and apparently no other guards stopped him. Thus, since Haka's guards were in revolt as well, "Haka was the only person killed" (Kamakau 1991:54).

After Haka's death, his son Kapiko a Haka (Malo 1827:17; Fornander 1996:88; McKinzie 1986:23) is not mentioned in extant *mo'olelo*. Further, Haka's descendants are only sporadically noted through the generations in the various *mo'okū'auhau*, indicating that many of his descendants had slipped into obscurity, forever to be forgotten (see Figure 7.2). It is not until generation 15 that one of his

²⁴ I'i (1983:97) records that "the stronghold of Kawiwi was part of a mountain ridge lying between Waianae and Makaha and overlooking Kamaile" *heiau*.

descendants is clearly noted as being linked to the highest *ali'i* circles with which Haka was associated. This is the record of Kamili, a descendant of Haka, who married 'Ilimealani, the brother of Kua'i *ali'i nui* Kahakumakaliua [Malo 1827:17; Fornander 1996:88-89, 292; McKinzie 1983:16, 33]. This lost history of Haka's family is evidence of the seriousness of Haka's breach against his nation, the consequences of such action, and the high standard to which the *ali'i* of O'ahu held their *ali'i nui*. Since the *ali'i* of the island probably had to grant Haka the ability to serve as an *ali'i nui* with expanded power, that same *'aha ali'i* had the right to revoke that power.

In the aftermath of Haka's assassination, the *'aha ali'i* was convened and Mā'ilikūkahī was "chosen by the chiefs" to serve as O'ahu's *ali'i nui* (Kamakau 1991:53; see also Fornander 1996:88). Mā'ilikūkahī possessed in his person the *mana* of the ancient Nānā'ulu lineage as he was a descendant of Mo'ikeha, and through another of his lineages his ancestors included La'amaikahiki and Paumakua a Lonoho'onewa, all great men of the past era (Kamakau 1991:77-78, 1992:449, Malo 1827:13-14, 21-22; McKinzie 1986:7, 15, 26; Fornander 1969:Appendix IX). Mā'ilikūkahī's unquestioned high rank allowed for his birth at Kūkaniloko, a privilege of the most *kapu* of *ali'i* and a further reason that made him an ideal candidate for O'ahu's new *ali'i nui* (Kamakau 1991:53).

Mā'ilikūkahī began his illustrious career at Kapukapuākea *heiau* in Pa'ala'akai, Waialua where he was consecrated and inducted into the sacred office of *ali'i nui* (Kamakau 1991:54). His "exceedingly great concern for the prosperity of the kingdom" led to numerous progressive, benevolent, and effective policies throughout his reign (Kamakau 1991:55). He created an environment where "the

people all over O‘ahu lived religiously and in peace” (Kamakau 1991:56). And while he was a “religious chief” who followed the *kapu*, “he did not sacrifice men in the *heiau* and *luakini*” (Kamakau 1991:56, 1992:223).

In terms of new economic and political policies, Mā‘ilikūkahi can be credited for having instituted the system of land management that “caused the island to be thoroughly surveyed, and the boundaries between the different divisions and lands to be definitely and permanently marked out, thus obviating future disputes between neighbouring chiefs and landholders” (Fomander 1996:89). “When the kingdom passed to Mā‘ilikūkahi, the land divisions were in a state of confusion” as the various administrative units “were not defined” (Kamakau 1991:54). He therefore ordered his lesser chiefs “to divide all of O‘ahu into *moku* and *ahupua‘a*, *‘ili kūpono*, *‘ili ‘āina*, and *mo‘o ‘āina*,” the result of which created six *moku* and six major offices of *ali‘i ‘ai moku* to oversee those *moku*. In addition, lesser chiefs were assigned to smaller divisions of land and “lands were given to the *maka‘āinana* all over O‘ahu” (Kamakau 1991:54-55). As the island was said to be “very populous” (Kamakau 1991:55) at the time, such an organization of lands and overseers of those lands offered added stability and predictability in relation to the population’s access to resources.

Perhaps in an effort to better monitor the entire island and to become more intimately acquainted with his whole domain, Mā‘ilikūkahi was known to have lived at two locations on the opposite ends of O‘ahu. One of his residences was at Waialua and the other was at Waikiki (Kamakau 1991:54, 55). This move to Waikiki inaugurated the area as a home of the highest royalty of the island (Kamakau 1991:54).

In terms of social policies, Mā'ilikūkahī "instituted a code of laws giving better protection to the poor, making theft punishable with death" (Kalākaua 190:219). Even the *ali'i* were under the jurisdiction of this law. They were ordered not to steal from the *maka'āinana* and told that such behavior would be treated as rebellion against the authority of the *ali'i nui* (Kamakau 1991:55).

Mā'ilikūkahī was also famed for his adopting all the first born *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* males of the island (Kamakau 1991:55, 1992:223; Kalākaua 1990:219; Fornander 1996:89). He raised these children in Waialua where they were educated and specifically trained in spear throwing until "each one [was] an expert in the field" (Kamakau 1991:55). Out of appreciation for the care Mā'ilikūkahī provided to these first-born sons, the *maka'āinana* and *ali'i* supported Mā'ilikūkahī and his *hānai* sons with all the provisions they needed. "These were brought as gifts, *ho'okupu*, not as tribute levied by the chief" (Kamakau 1991:55). Thus in essence Mā'ilikūkahī established a large, well-supported, and well-trained standing army whose warriors were no doubt devoted to their charge.

The success of Mā'ilikūkahī's numerous initiatives can be seen in the *mo'olelo* which record that "the chiefs and people never rebelled during his reign. No voice was heard in complaint or grumbling against [Mā'ilikūkahī] from the chiefs to the commoners, from the most prominent *po'e ki'eki'e* to the most humble *po'e ha'aha'a*" (Kamakau 1991:51). All of these efforts to improve the governance of O'ahu were soon tested.

A Raid of O'ahu by Hawai'i and Maui Ali'i

During the later portion of Mā'ilikūkahī's reign, the measures he put in place to strengthened O'ahu were forced into action by a combined assault from Maui and Hawai'i Island. The specific *ali'i* involved in this raid were Hilo a La'akapu and Hilo a Hiloka'apuni of Hawai'i Island who were partnered with Luako'a of Maui (Kamakau 1991:56; Fornander 1996:70, 89). At the time, either Kūāiwa (the son of Kalaunuiohua) or his son Kahoukapu was the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island, while Luako'a probably ruled over the windward region of Maui with Kahakuohua or his successor Ka'ulahea serving as its *ali'i nui* (see an explanation of these conclusions in Chapter 7). Since Kūāiwa's wife was La'akapu, it is probable that Hilo a La'akapu (the likely son of La'akapu) was of high standing within the Hawai'i Island *alo ali'i* and hence in a position, as with Luako'a, to stage the raid.

These chiefs and their armies could have been inspired to such action for numerous reasons. The *mo'olelo* suggest that they were motivated by the "pacific temper of Mailikukahi and the wealthy condition of his island" which "emboldened" them as they considered the great distinction they would gain if their raid was successful (Fornander 1996:90). For indeed, "Mā'ilikūkahī's name became famous...from Hawai'i to Kaua'i" and "the chiefs of Hawai'i and Maui heard of [Mā'ilikūkahī] and the high state of his kingdom" (Kamakau 1991:56). Possibly the Hawai'i and Maui forces were as well encouraged by *ali'i nui* who sought an external outlet for restless warriors and potential enemies internal to their governments. Regardless, it seems that the Maui and Hawai'i leaders did not accurately estimate the strength of O'ahu's military.

The joint Hawai'i and Maui forces landed at Kapua'ikāula, 'Ewa and progressed inland to Waikakalaua where Mā'ilikūhahi's *hānai* sons engaged them in battle. The heaviest casualties were at a gulch that thereafter was called Kīpapa (i.e., pavement) which recalls the bodies of the Hawai'i and Maui forces which paved the floor of the gulch that day (Kamakau 1991:56). In similar fashion, the heads of some of the defeated warriors "were cut off and taken to Honouliuli" to a place that came to be known as Po'ohilo (Kamakau 1991:56). The investment that O'ahu made in training and supporting its military of first-born sons proved highly beneficial as these sons annihilated their invaders and maintained the full integrity of O'ahu's sovereignty.

Maui's Focus on Internal Improvements, Evidence of Prosperity on Hawai'i Island, and the Continuation of Established Policies on O'ahu

From the time of the raid on O'ahu in generation 10 to the next era in generation 14, only one relatively small-scale act of aggression was recorded in the *mo'olelo* (a revolt against Ka'uholanuimāhū on Hawai'i Island in generation 11). Instead of focusing energies on such efforts, the island nations seemed to center their energy on internal improvements. And under leaders who were lauded in the *mo'olelo* ever since, the island nations of Hawai'i flourished.

Maui's *ali'i* of generation 10 was Ka'ulahea. He ruled at about the same time as the raid of Hilo a La'akapu, Hilo a Hiloka'apuni and Luako'a on O'ahu. Whether before or after the raid it is unclear, but Ka'ulahea was said to have traveled to O'ahu. It was seemingly a friendly, diplomatic visit, as attested to by the account that Ka'ulahea's O'ahu hosts took him to Kūkaniloko, one of the most hallowed places on O'ahu. Ka'ulahea had the honor of being the only Maui chief of his time

and of many generations following him to have entered Kūkaniloko's sacred grounds (Kamakau 1991:38). On this trip Ka'ulahea no doubt heard of and observed the new developments that Mā'ilikūhahi implemented in terms of land management as well as other policies. It may be no coincidence that in the very next generation on Maui, similar measures witnessed on O'ahu were adopted on Maui (described below).

In the meantime, on Hawai'i Island new developments were occurring as well. Although the *mo'olelo* are largely silent about the status of Hawai'i Island under the leadership of Kūāiwa (generation 9) and Kahoukapu (generation 10), there is some evidence that the island enjoyed a degree of prosperity. One sign of such a state can be seen in the civic project conducted by 'Ehu who was the son of Kūaiwa and the half-brother of Kahoukapu (Kamakau 1988:59; Malo 1872:21, 1996:305; Fornander 1996:70, 1999:IV:405; McKinzie 1986:28, 30). 'Ehu "built a road from the uplands of Kona into Ka-'u which is called "the way of Ehu" (Kamakau 1992:429). This added to the developing infrastructure on Hawai'i Island. The labor needed for this project and the resources required to support those working on it suggests that Hawai'i Island was not for lack of surpluses which its *ali'i* could direct as desired.

Another gauge of a nation's affluence and availability of resources is the state of its arts. On Hawai'i Island during this period the Polynesian art of featherwork was raised to a new standard, as the innovation of creating feather capes had seemingly begun. Such an inference can be drawn from a *mo'olelo* involving the chiefess Kanikania'ula who arrived on Maui from Hawai'i²⁵ with a feather cape. At

²⁵ Fornander (1999:IV:484) clearly states that Kanikania'ula was a chiefess from Hawai'i Island. However, her lineage apparently traced back to Moloka'i *ali'i*, specifically through Hai'i, the son of

the time it was completely novel on Maui, and even Maui's royal family had not seen such articles. Later when Kanikania'ula became the wife of Kaka'alaneo (of generation 11), she brought from Hawai'i Island additional capes (Fornander 1999:IV:484-487).²⁶

On Maui in this generation 11, the island was ruled by three individuals under unique circumstances. Ka'ulahea's two sons were Kaka'e and Kaka'alaneo (Malo 1827:15; Kamakau 1991:72; Fornander 1996:82; McKinzie 1983:14, 1986:11, 136). Kaka'e, the elder of the two brothers, served only as the nominal *ali'i nui*, because he "was considered as deficient in mental qualities" (Fornander 1996:82) having possibly suffered from "an accident in his youth" (Kalākaua 1990:229). Kaka'alaneo "ruled jointly with him and was the real sovereign" (Kalākaua 1990:209). The royal brothers maintained their court in Lahaina (Fornander 1996:82; Kalākaua 1990:209). 'Ele'i'o was the principal *ali'i* of the windward side of Maui at the time, although he was clearly a subordinate chief to Kaka'alaneo (Fornander 1996:78f, 1999:IV:482-487, 1999:V:434-435; Nakuina in Thrum 1907b:147-155).²⁷

As with O'ahu in the generations prior, the powers of the *ali'i nui* on Maui seem to have been expanded to some degree in this generation. Evidence of this greater authority of the *ali'i nui* can be seen in Kaka'alaneo's achievements.

Kamauaua and half-brother of Keolo'ewa (of generation 1) (Kalākaua 1990:209; Fornander 1996:83).

²⁶ Nakuina's version (in Thrum 1907b:148, 154) confirms that the *'ahu'ula* was a new item to the island of Maui and also asserts that the *'ahu'ula* of Kanikania'ula was the first in the islands. Further, this version of the *mo'olelo* indicates that Kanikania'ula was a native of windward Maui (for a similar report see also Sterling 1998:20).

²⁷ The *mo'olelo* (Fornander 1999:IV:482-487, 1999:V:434-435; Nakuina in Thrum 1907b:147-155) describing the contemporaneity of Kaka'alaneo and 'Ele'i'o place 'Ele'i'o in the position of serving Kaka'alaneo *'awa*, acting as a messenger for him, and completing various other tasks for Kaka'alaneo.

Kaka'alaneo is recorded as accomplishing a "division of the island into *ahupua'a*, *'okana*, and *moku 'āina*" (Kamakau 1991:152), which thereby improved the management of the land resources and clarified the rights of *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* to those lands.

Two related agricultural improvements on Maui are also associated with this period in the *mo'olelo*. Kaka'alaneo is "said to have had a daughter named Wao, who caused the watercourse in Lahaina called 'Auwaiawao' [or watercourse of Wao] to be dug and named after her" (Fornander 1996:83f; see also Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:85). This *'auwai* watered the area of Kalewa which was in Wao's possession (Pualewa in Sterling 1998:39). Whether Wao directed its construction during Kaka'alaneo's reign or in later years is unclear.²⁸ However, the apparent fact stands that Maui's *ali'i* of this general time were directed toward improving the food production capacity of the island. At that time, and certainly in later years, Lahaina's population would come to rely heavily upon such irrigation to support its many *lo'i* in the *moku*.

A second investment in this era in the economic base of Maui is credited clearly to Kaka'alaneo. The *mo'olelo* describe Kaka'alaneo as planting a grove of *'ulu* (breadfruit) at Lahaina (Fornander 1996:82) which would have provided an important predictable source of food for the district. In later years the *'ulu* trees came to be so numerous and verdant in Lahaina that large areas were shaded fully

²⁸ Determining when the *'auwai* (watercourse) was built is difficult because of conflicting specifics in two *mo'olelo*. One describes Wao as having received from Kaululā'au the lands that the *'auwai* watered and indicates that this occurred after the death of Kaka'alaneo (Pualewa in Sterling 1998:19, 39). Another *mo'olelo* describes Wao as having died before Kaka'alaneo (Kalākaua 1990:225).

by the canopy of the trees and recalled in the honorific *'ōlelo kaena* for that district: *Hālau Lahaina, malu i ka 'ulu* (“Lahaina is like a large house shaded by breadfruit trees”) (Pūku'i 1983:53).

The heightened political power of Kaka'alaneo and his brother and ceremonial *ali'i nui* Kaka'e was possibly also extended to Lāna'i. This greater accessibility of Lāna'i to those of Maui was accomplished via Kaka'alaneo's son Kaululā'au. Kaululā'au was banished to Lāna'i “for some of his wild pranks at his father's court in Lahaina” which may have involved “some disrespect shown to” Kaka'e on account of Kaka'e's “mental weakness” (Fornander 1996:82; Kalākaua 1990:229). The *mo'olelo* recount that at the time, Lāna'i “was infested by powerful and malignant spirits” (Kalākaua 1990:229). After Kaululā'au “exorcised the spirits [and] and brought about quiet and order on the island,” he engaged in various adventures on Hawai'i Island, Moloka'i, and O'ahu before returning to Maui where he was “restored to the favour of his father” Kaka'alaneo (Fornander 1996:82-83; Kalākaua 1990:213-225). While the mythic qualities of this *mo'olelo* might not be taken literally, what can be discerned is that Lāna'i, which was previously off limits to those of Maui, was now opened up to normal habitation, free from fear of harm for those who ventured there. It seems Lāna'i was formally established as being politically linked to Maui, for in the next generation it is included among the lands over which Kaka'e's heir Kahekili²⁹ was considered “king,” although Lāna'i was seen more as being “under the protection” of Maui rather than being a conquered territory

²⁹ Kahekilinui'ahumanu who ruled Maui in generation 22 is the namesake of this Kahekili who ruled in generation 12.

of Maui (Kalākaua 1990:229).³⁰ Thus, the administrative powers and scope of influence of the Maui *ali'i nui* were clearly on the rise during this period.

The administrative styles of Kaka'alaneo and Kaka'e were in keeping with the same standards of this era to which Manokalanipō and Mā'ilikūkahī a generation prior subscribed. Kaka'alaneo and Kaka'e are depicted in *mo'olelo* as compassionate and effective rulers. Kaka'alaneo "was renowned for his thrift and energy" (Fornander 1996:82). He "won the love of the people by continuous acts of mercy and benevolence" and adopted a "strict sense of justice" which kept order throughout the society (Kalākaua 1990:229). His brother Kaka'e is remembered similarly in a favorable light. It is said the "Kaka'e loved his people. Rather than risk having to condemn anyone to death for breaking the kapu surrounding him, he lived almost like a hermit in the very restricted part of 'Iao Valley" (Ashdown in Sterling 1998:84).

Overlapping in time with the reign of Kaka'alaneo, Kaka'e, and 'Ele'i'o was Kalonaiki of generation 11 on O'ahu. Kalonaiki³¹ succeeded Mā'ilikūkahī and was recorded as having "followed in the footsteps of his father, and observed the laws and policy inaugurated by him," which granted O'ahu sustained peace and abundance (Fornander 1996:90). As with his father, Kalonaiki was known to have led and supported "one of the most prosperous [islands] in the group" (Kalākaua 1990:219). One possible method that he used to oversee his island nation was to

³⁰ Fornander (1996:94, 204) notes that Lāna'i, from as early as the time of La'amaikahiki, fell in and out of the sway of Maui's political jurisdiction and specifically notes the solidification of Maui's control of Lāna'i under Kamalālāwalu.

³¹ That Kalonaiki was placed in this position instead of his older full brother Kalonanui, suggests that Kalonanui may have died at an early age probably prior to Mā'ilikūkahī's passing.

maintain multiple residences. For although his “principal place of residence was Waikiki, ... he had sumptuous temporary resorts at Ewa and Waialua” (Kalākaua 1990:219).

A Minor Battle on Hawai'i Island

Ka'uholanuimāhū of Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui* was the contemporary of Kaka'alaneo and Kalonaiki (of generation 11). On Hawai'i the effort toward large-scale improvements of the island's food production capacity are less clearly documented for this period (either because they were not occurring or because there is a gap in the records for this time). If such activities were not happening on Hawai'i under Ka'uholanuimāhū, this may have been because of the larger size of his island which could have made the same intensification efforts of the other islands unnecessary until a later period. A possible near absence of major infrastructure projects (except for the road building conducted by 'Ehu) may as well have been due to the islands' energies being placed elsewhere.

In fact, the *mo'olelo* describe two possible sources to which the attention of the populace and its leader may have been focused. The first deals directly with Ka'uholanuimāhū. He is said to have “resided a great portion of his time” at Honua'ula, Maui, where he “exercised royal authority, and, among other useful works, built the fishpond” at Keone'ō'io (Fornander 1996:71). This fishpond consisted of “a wall of stones extending 200 feet across the channel” (Walker 1931:298-299) and was one of only a few fishponds of Maui. Since Ka'uholanuimāhū's wife Nē'ula was said to be “a Maui chiefess,” Fornander (1996:71) surmised that Ka'uholanuimāhū was staying at what might have been her

family's estate, which would explain his influence there and the lack of any aggression either against him or by him in relation to his prolonged residence there.

The productive energy of Hawai'i Island's leaders and populace in this generation may also have been absorbed by a brief rebellion and a battle that was waged to subdue it. During one of Ka'uholanuimāhū's visits to Honua'ula, Kaululā'au of Maui visited Waipi'o. Ka'uholanuimāhū was at Honua'ula at the time while his wife Nē'ula was at Waipi'o and "in charge of the government of Hawaii" in Ka'uholanuimāhū's absence (Kalākaua 1990:214). Kaululā'au orchestrated a scheme in which he wooed Nē'ula, suggested to her that Ka'uholanuimāhū had taken a new wife in Honua'ula, and urged an *ali'i* of Kohala named Noakua to join with Nē'ula to take over the government and force Ka'uholanuimāhū to stay on Maui. Noakua's "revolution was unpopular, and with great unanimity the chiefs and people rallied to the standard of the king. The struggle was brief. A battle was fought near Waimea, resulting in the defeat of the rebel army and the death of Noakua" (Kalākaua 1990:215). "After that Kauholanui remained on Hawaii until his death" (Fornander 1996:71).

Kaululā'au seemed to have known that the outcome would be a brief and unsuccessful war, that Ka'uholanuimāhū would win this handily, and that it would have the effect of keeping Ka'uholanuimāhū on Hawai'i Island (Kalākaua 1990:214-215). Such a result could have been Kaululā'au's original intent as Ka'uholanuimāhū's continued presence in Honua'ula may have been a source of tension for the native chiefs of that area and a potential threat to Maui's independence.

Continued Prosperity and Exemplary Governance

In the next generation, the islands of Hawai'i and O'ahu were specially noted in the *mo'olelo* as enjoying periods of abundance under benevolent and effective leaders. On Hawai'i Island, Kihanuilulumoku (of generation 12) adopted a focus similar to that of his predecessors of strengthening the island and its population. It is recorded that "agriculture and industry received his attention" which fostered a "prosperous and contented" populace during his reign (Fornander 1996:72; see also Kamakau 1991:20-21). A second area he concentrated on was "building *heiau* for his gods" (Kamakau 1991:21).

Several factors on Hawai'i Island created a conducive context for Kihanuilulumoku's initiatives. The first is that "no wars or conquests are reported as occurring during [Kihanuilulumoku's] reign," perhaps a result of his "peaceful disposition" (Fornander 1996:71). Kihanuilulumoku was also known to have been "always ready to keep peace between the subordinate chieftains by force if necessary" (Fornander 1996:71). Further, he "is represented in the legends as a strong, powerful, and industrious chief, who made himself respected and obeyed at home, and held in high estimation by his neighbours" (Fornander 1996:71).

Similar successful governance is recorded for Kihanuilulumoku's contemporaries Piliwale on O'ahu and Piliwale's *ali'i 'ai moku* Lōlale (of Lihu'e, O'ahu [Kamakau 1991:46; Fornander 1996:83]) and Kalamakua (of 'Ewa [Kalākaua 1990:233; Fornander 1996:86]). Among the three of them, they are recorded as possessing the classic traits necessary for a bountiful, secure, and contented nation. Piliwale is said to have focused on defending his nation. During his reign, "the main occupation of the Lihu'e chiefs...was to learn the art of spear throwing, and from

there came the most skilled teachers” (Kamakau 1991:50). Such practices helped to keep the island’s warriors prepared for an invasion and afforded its rulers and population a sense of security. Lōlale was “of amiable temper” (Fornander 1996:83) and, as the *mo’olelo* illustrate, was gracious, kind, and quick to forgive.³² Kalamakua “was a good chief...noted for cultivating...who constructed the large pond field Ke’okea, Kūalulua, Kalāmanamana, and... other *lo’i* in Waikiki” (Kamakau 1991:45). He was known to give “produce to the commoners [and] the *maka’āinana*” who were said to have great affection for him (Kamakau 1991:45).

A Solution to the Dilemma of Powerful Junior Chiefs on Maui and the Continued Rise in the Power of the Priesthood

In generation 12 on Maui, Kahekili, the son of Kaka’e (Kamakau 1991:72; Malo 1827:15; Fornander 1996:83; Kalākaua 1990:209; McKinzie 1983:14, 1986:11), “became king of Maui and Lanai” (Kalākaua 1990:229). However, Kaululā’au, the son of Kaka’alaneo was also an *ali’i* of great influence,³³ especially as his father held the administrative power over Maui in the generation prior and also because of his standing as the hero who opened Lāna’i to settlement from Maui. Thus, there was the potential for serious conflict between Kahekili and Kaululā’au.

³² Such traits of Lōlale were evident in his treatment of his wife Kelea, from the time she came to live with him in Līhu’e through the period in which she moved to ‘Ewa to live with Kalamakua. After learning that Kelea had chosen to live with Kalamakua as his wife, dealt neither of them any retribution (Kalākaua 1990:246).

³³ Kaululā’au in one *mo’olelo* (Pualewa in Sterling 1998:19) is even described as ruling Maui following Kaka’alaneo’s death. However, while he may have been highly influential, it is unlikely that he held the formal title of *ali’i nui* as such would have been the privilege of his cousin Kahekili who in fact is noted as Maui’s sovereign of this period (Fornander 1996:82; Kalākaua 1990:229). Further, the *ali’i nui* in the following generation was Kawaoka’ōhele who was the son of Kahekili (Kamakau 1991:45; Fornander 1996:82).

Perhaps in foreseeing this dilemma, Kaka'alaneo had earlier implemented a solution to avoid the problem. After Kaululā'au had made Lāna'i habitable, and when he was through with his travels to the neighboring islands, "his father permitted him to return to Maui" from his initial state of exile, at which point the *mo'olelo* describe him having become connected to the priesthood (Kalākaua 1990:230). In this capacity as a member of the *kāhuna pule*, Kaululā'au enjoyed an area of influence overlapping with but distinct from that held by his cousin Kahekili. Perhaps part of the arrangement also included lands permanently set aside for the *kāhuna pule* over which Kaululā'au surely held great authority. Kaululā'au was involved in having designated these land areas of Lahaina for the *kāhuna pule*: "the two Kapunakea, 'Alamihi and the three Pu'unoa" (Pualewa in Sterling 1998:18). "From the time that Kaululā'au set apart the lands for the god down to the time of Kamehameha I" the lands remained in the care of the *kāhuna pule* (Pualewa in Sterling 1998:18).

A Continued Trend Toward the Consolidation of Maui Under a Single Ruler and Continued Benevolent Governance Across the Islands

A common pattern through this era were efforts toward political consolidation of an island into a single political unit. Such a trend was especially apparent in generation 13 on Maui. At this time its *ali'i nui*, Kawaoka'ōhele, continued the course that Kaka'alaneo began by expanding his influence into the windward Maui districts. In Kaka'alaneo's case, this involved exerting some degree of authority in having the lands of Maui surveyed and divided into appropriate administrative units. Kawaoka'ōhele further consolidated the windward districts under his control through two steps. First he married Kepalaoa who was the daughter of Kalā'eha'eha (Malo

1827:27), the ruler over the windward district during the reign of Kahekili. By doing this, Kawaoka'ōhele reestablished a palpable connection between the two ruling families of the island and afforded his son Pi'ilani unquestioned standing to engage fully in the political activities of Maui's windward districts. The second measure that Kawaoka'ōhele took to increase his purview over the windward districts was to move his court from Lahaina on the leeward side of Maui to Hāmākuapoko, the windward district bordering the leeward side of the island (Kalākaua 1990:234). Whatever approach Kawaoka'ōhele used in establishing himself in Hāmākuapoko, it was effective. The *mo'olelo* record that during Kawaoka'ōhele's reign, Maui was "prosperous and tranquil;" "no wars with neighboring islands or revolts of turbulent chieftains" were known to have transpired (Fornander 1996:83).

That Kawaoka'ōhele's success likely involved his own gracious character is especially evident in the fact that he exacted no revenge upon the *ali'i* of O'ahu following the abduction of his sister, Keleanoho'ana'api'api, as ordered by Lōlale. Lōlale of Lihu'e, O'ahu (the brother of Piliwale), arranged for Kelea to be taken from Maui and to become his wife on O'ahu (Kalākaua 1990:232-246; Fornander 1996:85-86). She was treated royally there and eventually also became the wife of Kalamakua of 'Ewa (Kamakau 1991:45, 49; Fornander 1996:86; McKinzie 1986:21, 26, 73; Kalākaua 1990:246). Although Kawaoka'ōhele had reason to retaliate against the O'ahu *ali'i* for the initial breach against his sister and the ruling family of Maui, no such conflict ensued.

Across the archipelago during this period there was a uniform pattern of abundance and effective management of the islands and its people. On Kaua'i, Kahakumakapāweo (of generation 13) ruled at this auspicious time. Although little is

known of Kaua'i's history in this era, Kahakumakapāweo is singled out in the traditions as an *ali'i nui* of special note. "He is remembered with great renown and affection throughout the group... as a good, wise, and liberal sovereign" (Fornander 1996:94). O'ahu's first *ali'i nui wahine*, Kūkaniloko was also ruling at the this time. While only scant records remain of her reign, what is known is that she was "a great and powerful chiefess, who kept the country quiet and orderly" (Fornander 1996:91).

By far the most famous ruler of this period was the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island, the "gentle and sagacious" Liloa (Kalākaua 1990:274). Liloa's personal character helped him to establish a secure and bountiful nation. He was known as "an affable, jolly" *ali'i* (Fornander 1996:73). "His heart was kind, and he frequently forgave the humble who had crossed his shadow" (Kalākaua 1990:265).

"Liloa was a tabu chief who was noted for his good deeds" (Kamakau 1992:1). First among these was that he "kept the peace in his kingdom and his people contented and prosperous" (Kamakau 1992:2). Evidence in the *mo'olelo* indicates that Liloa was attentive to fostering positive relations with his *akua*, his *ali'i*, the *kāhuna pule*, and his people.

Liloa was said to be "a religious chief" (Kamakau 1992:2). This is illustrated in the *heiau* with which he was associated. He was said to have refurbished the *heiau* of Pāka'alana at Waipi'o, Manini at Koholālele, and "several heiaus in Hamakua from Kukuihaele to Kowana'e and the vicinity about Kealakaha" (Kamakau 1992:1-2; see also Kalākaua 1990:302). It is clear that his relationship with the *akua* was a priority to Liloa.

The respect that Liloa earned from the *ali'i* of the island is evident in that the "chiefs all around Hawai'i remained under his rule" and never rebelled during his

reign (Kamakau 1991:1). Indeed, “the legends make no mention of any wars or contentions having occurred during Liloa’s long reign” (Fornander 1996:75). One of the ways that Liloa maintained the allegiance of the numerous *aliʻi* was that he was said to have “frequently traveled over the island,” which kept him in close contact with all those in his charge (Fornander 1996:73). Liloa was the first Hawaiʻi Island *aliʻi nui* mentioned in the *moʻolelo* to have adopted this practice, which apparently proved successful for him.

Another important component of the mutual loyalty that Liloa and the *aliʻi* of the island felt toward one another was bound by the sons of the various *aliʻi* who were placed in Liloa’s care. These sons of the different *aliʻi* “became war lords (*kuhina kua*), keepers of the treasures of the chiefs (*aliʻi puʻuku*), and war leaders (*mamaka kua*)” (Kamakau 1992:1). Thus, the most treasured resources of the different chiefly families of the island were concentrated in the *alo aliʻi* of Liloa. This further maintained the close ties Liloa fostered among the *aliʻi* lineages of Hawaiʻi Island.

It was not only the *aliʻi* who supported Liloa but also an enthusiastic populace. This appreciation was earned in part by Liloa’s actions during his travels over his island. “Sometimes he traveled incognito, visiting suspected district chiefs to observe their methods of government, and, when occasion for rebuke occurred, to their great confusion making himself known to them” (Kalākaua 1990:265). Thus, he was able to “punish wrong-doing in chiefs,” assure that the “humblest were protected,” and maintain the integrity of governance on the island (Kalākaua 1990:265, 274).

The increased authority that Līloa exerted over his chiefs and nation were symbolically incorporated into two aspects of his royal residence at Waipi'o. The first involved his having founded the use of the *'aha kapu* or *'aha'ula* (Desha 2000:316). This *'aha kapu* was the sacred sennit cordage that was tied between two *pūlo'ulo'u* (a kapa-covered ball placed on a staff) at the inner and outer entrances to his residence which delineated the sacred space within which only those authorized could enter (see further description in Chapter 5).

The second symbolic means that Līloa used to maintain his elevated status was designed by Līloa and Lāeanuikaumanamana. Lāeanuikaumanamana was Līloa's *kahuna nui* (Fornander 1996:76; Kalākaua 1990:265) and was known as a close attendant of Līloa's who took care of Līloa's spittoon bowl and *kāhili* (feather standard) (Kamakau 1992:2). Līloa and Lāeanuikaumanamana "made a pavement of stones leading from the bank (*kuauna*) of the place called Kahiki-mai-aea to the narrow side door (*puka pakaka*) of the chief's residence" through which only a privileged few could enter (Kamakau 1992:2).³⁴ "The long stone which Līloa himself carried on his shoulder was placed there...Līloa called the stone he carried 'the sacred slab of Līloa' (*Ka paepae kapu o Līloa*)...No chief was permitted to step upon the stone that Līloa bore on his shoulder... Only two persons were allowed on this sacred slab, Līloa, the ruler, and Laea-nui-kau-mananana" (Kamakau 1992:2).

This close relationship between Līloa and his *kahuna nui* Lāeanuikaumanamana suggests the political importance that the *kāhuna pule*

³⁴ Fornander (1996:73) states that the sacred pavement called Haunokamaa'ahala was already in existence in the time of Kīhanuilulumoku, Līloa's father. If so, perhaps Līloa and Lāeanuikaumanamana added to it their own sacred stones as described by Kamakau (1992:2).

enjoyed during this period on Hawai'i Island (as was also the case on other islands during this era), and attests to the reciprocal support that Liloa likely received from the *kāhuna pule* as well. Further evidence of the same comes from the record that Liloa gave Lāeanuikaumanamana "in perpetuity the possession of Kekaha in the district of Kona" (Kalākaua 1990:267, see also 290; and Fornander 1996:76).

Through such astute administrative decisions, Līloa established and solidified his administrative control over Hawai'i Island. Having earned the support of the *kāhuna pule*, the *ali'i*, and the *maka'āinana*, Liloa guided his nation to a time of serenity and abundance.

Reigning on Maui during the later portion of Liloa's administration was Pi'ilani (the son of Kawaoka'ōhele), another highly celebrated *ali'i nui*. Pi'ilani followed in the footsteps of his father Kawaoka'ōhele. "Through his good and wise government [he] brought Maui up to a political consideration in the group which it never had enjoyed before" (Fornander 1996:87). The strength and affluence of Maui at this time was supported in measure by Pi'ilani's "frequent tours all over his dominions" during which he was able to "enforce order and promote the industry of the people" (Fornander 1996:87).

Pi'ilani's unquestioned administrative authority over the leeward and windward Maui districts is evident in various *mo'olelo* (Kalākaua 1990:157; Fornander 1996:87). His control over the windward areas is perhaps most apparent in his having selected Hāna as his royal residence (Fornander 1996:97). As the son of a windward chiefess (Haua), he would have been well within his right to reside at her family's (and his own) *kulāiwi* (native homeland). The name of his home was Halehuki (Kamakau 1991:49). In addition, it is also highly probable that he

commissioned the monumental *heiau* Pi'ilanihale (meaning Pi'ilani's house) and that it too served as one of his residences (Walker 1931:177).

One of the most enduring remembrances of Pi'ilani was his influence over the islands in his region. This can be seen in the famous *'ōlelo kaena* honoring Pi'ilani: *Nā hono a Pi'ilani* (the bays of Pi'ilani), including "all the bays of Maui whose names begin with *hono*" as well as "the islands of Moloka'i and Lāna'i" (Pūku'i 1983:243; see also Sterling 1998:6, 37, 62). Since the time of Kaka'e (in generation 11), Lāna'i seemed to be closely associated with Maui's governance. During Pi'ilani's reign, Moloka'i was to some degree affiliated with Maui as well. Although, given Moloka'i's political independence during Alapa'i's reign (in generation 21), Maui's *ali'i* likely exerted only a nominal influence over Moloka'i at this time.

A contemporary of Pi'ilani on O'ahu was Kūkaniloko's daughter, Kalaimanu'ia (of generation 14). She "was a good chiefess" whose governance allowed *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* to live "in comfort all over the land" (Kamakau 1991:57). Her success is manifested in the record that "no foreign or domestic wars... troubled her reign" (Fomander 1996:269). This peace is reflected in the affluence that O'ahu seemed to enjoy during Kalaimanu'ia's reign. For instance, the *mo'olelo* recount that "no taxes were laid upon the chiefs and their men, *kānaka*" during Kalaimanu'ia's tenure as *ali'i nui* (Kamakau 1991:57).

More indications of the bounty of the time can be found in the civil works that were created. Kalaimanu'ia "ordered the chiefs and commoners to erect *heiau* to the gods and also *mua*, men's 'chapels,' as places for the chiefs and their men to pray to the gods" (Kamakau 1991:57). She also "had Pā'aiau, Opu and Kapa'akea

fishponds made for herself” and saw to it the “the island of O’ahu was made productive through cultivation” (Kamakau 1991:57).

Kalaimanu’ia remained in touch with and in control of the various districts of O’ahu by conducting “customary circuits of inspection of the island” (Fornander 1996:269). Accompanying her on these visits to the districts was her husband Lupekapukeahomakali’i who also served as her primary administrator (Kamakau 1991:58; Fornander 1996:269).

Lupekapukeahomakali’i “became a parent to the children of the commoners, as in the days of Māili-kūkahi,” and as such “he was beloved by the commoners” (Kamakau 1991:58). He focused much of his attention on “cultivation and fishing” (Kamakau 1991:58). Lupekapukeahomakali’i was known to possess a kind and judicious nature. He once punished a man who stole one of his pigs by making the man cook it and then eat it, not just until he was full, but until the man was “nearly suffocated with food” (Fornander 1996:269; see also Kamakau 1991:58), a fitting, generous, and kind form of punishment. It was through such actions that Lupekapukeahomakali’i gained a reputation for being a “wise and kind man” (Fornander 1996:269). Thus, in the able hands of Kalaimanu’ia and Lupekapukeahomakali’i, O’ahu flourished during this generation.

The Role of Marriage Alliances in Establishing Peaceful Relations

Part of the peace and good will established within and among island nations at this time was due to the continued strategic marriage alliances among *ali’i* which afforded them numerous advantages (as described in Chapter 8). Such practices were evident throughout this era and seem to have intensified from the previous

generations. Three such marriages occurred in generation 11. Ka'uholanuimāhū of Hawai'i Island was married to Nē'ula, a chiefess of Maui (Malo 1996:305; Fornander 1996:71; McKinzie 1986:30). Kaka'alaneo of Maui was married to Kanikania'ula, a chiefess of Hawai'i Island (Fornander 1996:83, 1999:IV:486). Kahakuakāne of Kaua'i was married to Kapōnaenae of Maui (Malo 1827:17; Fornander 1996:94).

In generation 12, O'āhu *ali'i* Lōiale and Kalamakua were both married to Keleanoho'ana'api'api who was the sister of Kawaoka'ōhele, the *ali'i nui* of Maui (Kamakau 1991:45-46; Fornander 1996:83, 86; Kalākaua 1990:241, 246; McKinzie 1986:21, 26, 73). Līloa on Hawai'i Island was married to Haua of Maui who was also the wife of Kalā'eha'eha, the ruler over windward Maui (Kamakau 1992:1; Malo 1827:27; McKinzie 1986:30).

In generation 13, Kawaoka'ōhele, whose lineage traced to the leeward-centered Maui chiefs, married Kepalaoa who was the daughter of the windward Maui ruler Kalā'eha'eha and his wife Haua (Kamakau 1991:73; Malo 1827:15, 27; Fornander 1996:83; McKinzie 1983:14, 35, 1986:12). On O'āhu at the same time, Kūkaniloko took Lupekapukeahomakali'i of Maui to be her husband (Kamakau 1991:57; Malo 1827:14, 27; Fornander 1996:269; McKinzie 1986:22, 29). In short, the familial relationships between these generations of the highest ranking *ali'i* were intimately entwined with one another. Such connections through this era seemed to support the continued warm relations among the various courts of the islands (see also a further analysis of marriage patterns among *ali'i* described in Chapter 13).

Summary and Significance

At the onset of this era, *ali'i nui* held only nominal and somewhat tenuous control over their island nations. As the more complete records for O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i indicate, the district rulers exerted a considerable degree of independence. In contrast, by the end of this period, the *ali'i nui* throughout the archipelago were each firmly in charge of their nations both at the ceremonial and administrative levels. Several related changes seemingly instigated this evolution. Kalaunuiohua's campaign through the island chain (possibly waged to divert the aggressive inclinations of his district chiefs to the other islands) apparently had the effect of consolidating the islands' districts under a single ruler who could join their forces for better defence. However, if the district chiefs were going to relinquish some of their independence, it would not be without greater expectations placed upon the paramount ruler. When such a ruler did not produce, he was removed, as was the case with Haka. The role of the *ali'i nui* at this time was defined more by the position's administrative responsibilities than by the privileges of rank that these sacred *ali'i* also enjoyed.

In this context, *ali'i nui* such as Manokalanipō, Mā'ilikūkahi, Kaka'alaneo, and Liloa set a new standard for sovereigns. It was the norm through most of this era that *ali'i nui* ruled with a focus on improving the productive capacity of their islands, on cultivating their relationships with the *akua*, on maintaining cooperative and cohesive ties among the island nations' leaders, and on respecting the rights of their lesser *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* to have access to the resources they needed. Perhaps both cause and effect of such efforts was the peace and tranquility throughout the islands for which this era was so renown.

Chapter 10 Continued Prosperity, Changes in the Behavioral Expectations of *Ali'i* Siblings, and the Role of Alliances

Introduction

The discussion of this era overlaps with the descriptions of the generations described in Chapter 11. It begins peacefully in the northern islands with Kalanikukuma of Kaua'i, Kalaimanu'ia of O'ahu, and Pi'ilani of Maui continuing their reigns. On Hawai'i Island at the time, however, revolutionary changes were unfolding involving Hākau and 'Umi of generation 14 which began a new political context in the Islands. This new climate swept through the island chain in this era comprising 2-3 generations (generations 14, 15, and the beginning of 16 on Hawai'i, 14 through the first half of 16 on Maui, 15 and the first half of 16 on O'ahu, and 15 through 17 on Kaua'i). During this brief time, major changes on O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i Island transpired wherein peace was temporarily lost and power transferred from senior to junior siblings. In each case, the specific conditions and proximate causes were different. However, in all three courts the transfers in power were accomplished between siblings and via open warfare, resulting in shifts in power from the lineages of senior siblings to that of the younger ones. Prior to this period, younger siblings were of course always a part of the political context and were known to have peacefully ruled in subordinate positions under siblings who held a

paramount position. What changed at this time to create a period of unprecedented open aggression between siblings?

It is of course natural for siblings to find themselves in conflict on occasion. And when they do, strict cultural mores against hurting one's sibling stop such conflicts from escalating into open aggression. In fact, cultural norms further prescribe that siblings support and protect one another. For siblings of the same household, the logic behind the protection that siblings are supposed to provide one another and the prohibition against engaging in acts of aggression upon one another is clear: Harm inflicted upon one sibling (by another or by anyone else) produces negative secondary effects for the entire family, as members may need to assist the individual who was hurt and as any losses would be borne by the family as a whole. Conversely, assistance provided to a sibling (by another or by anyone else) produces positive effects for the family. Further, for most siblings who are reared in the same household, a shared deep sense of affinity develops that tempers conflicts which arise.

At this point in Hawaiian history, such mitigating factors were not present in the highest levels of chiefly society. Siblings were not reared together and did not have such built-in feelings of affinity and loyalty toward one another. A significant second factor at this time were the higher standards to which *ali'i nui* were now held. The interaction of both these issues created a context ripe for change.

Revolution on Hawai'i Island

The most important individuals in setting off the revolutionary changes that occurred in this era were Hākau and 'Umi a Līloa. Hākau was the eldest son of Līloa

and Liloa's royal heir born of his sacred wife Pīnea; 'Umi was Liloa's son born of 'Akahiakuleana, a descendant of Hualani and Kalapana, but who was nonetheless of far lower birth than Pīnea (Kamakau 1992:1, 3; Malo 1996:304, 316; Kalākaua 1990:266, 274; Fornander 1996:74; McKīnzīe 1986:30). The interactions between Hākau and 'Umi a Liloa in generation 14 on Hawai'i Island, and indeed the history of the island, would have been altered drastically had Hākau and 'Umi not been born into the context that emerged at the end of the last era. If there had not developed an expectation that *ali'i nui* were to administer their nations with wisdom, kindness, and deference to the rights of others; if the *kāhuna pule* had not risen to a position of great influence in the political arena; if there had not been strict *kapu* in place to exalt the highest *ali'i* above all others; and if the administrative powers of an island's *ali'i nui* had not been expanded; then the revolution that occurred in this generation, which reverberated powerfully throughout the archipelago, would never have taken place.

A significant factor in the dynamics between Hākau and 'Umi were their formative years. These years separated the two from knowing one another and widely differentiated their views of their roles. Hākau was raised in Liloa's *alo ali'i* as "the only recognized son [and heir] of Liloa" where "his caprices had been humored until his heartlessness and tyranny had become almost a by-word in Hamakua" (Kalākaua 1990:274). On the other hand, 'Umi was raised in humble circumstances by his mother 'Akahiakuleana and her husband Ma'akao in Kealakaha, Hāmākua (Fornander 1999:IV:186; Kalākaua 1990:266).

When 'Umi was accepted into Liloa's *alo ali'i* and formally acknowledged as Liloa's son through appropriate ceremonies at the *heiau* Pāka'alana, all versions of

this famous *mo'olelo* uniformly describe the resentment that grew in Hākau for his younger, low-ranking half-brother. It is said that this ire was fed by 'Umi's superior performance in sham battles and by the greater appreciation Līloa showed toward 'Umi for 'Umi's humility and obedience to his teachers and the *alo ali'i* (Kamakau 1992:9).

Before Līloa's death, he instructed that Hākau would have possession of all of Hawai'i Island while 'Umi would be the guardian of the gods and *heiau*, including Līloa's personal god Kūkā'ilimoku (Kamakau 1992:9; Malo 1996:308; Fornander 1999:IV: 186; Kalākaua 1990:278). In short this made Hākau the *ali'i nui* and 'Umi, "the nominal head of the priesthood" (Kalākaua 1990:278). After Līloa's death, Hākau was said to have treated 'Umi with such disrespect and contempt that 'Umi moved from Waipi'o and lived a life of obscurity in Waipunalei, Hilo (Kamakau 1992:10; Fornander 1999:IV:186).

While 'Umi lived the life of a common fisherman, Hākau began his reign following the training that he had been provided. "But in the later years of his rule he was lost in pleasure... [and] beat those who were not guilty of any wrongdoing" (Kamakau 1992:10). No one was spared from his covetous behavior as he was "heedless of the rights of property" and took from others whatever he wished (Kalākaua 1990:74). Even "without giving note or credence to the many tales of barbarism with which tradition has connected his name, it is doubtless true that his cruelty and contempt for the rights of his subjects rendered him an unfit successor" (Kalākaua 1990:274). However, Hākau's most foolish and irreverent behavior he reserved for the gods, chiefs, and *kāhuna pule*. He "mistreated the chiefs" and "abused the priests of the heiaus of his god" (Kamakau 1992:10). Hākau

“impoverished all the old and faithful counselors and servants of his father, chiefs, priests, or commoners” (Fornander 1996:76), including Nunu and Kokohe who “were old men who had served under Liloa as priests and were great favorites of his” (Fornander 1999:IV:190).

Eventually Nunu and Kokohe “began to conspire within themselves to give away the possession of the kingdom to ‘Umi” (Fornander 1999:IV:190).

Simultaneously, the priest Ka’ōleioikū discovered ‘Umi’s identity and was as well making plans to see ‘Umi placed in control of the government. Ka’ōleioikū was the *kahuna* of Manini *heiau* at Koholālele, Hāmākua (Kalākaua 1990:291). Nunu and Kokohe later met with ‘Umi and Ka’ōleioikū and together they developed a plan to assassinate Hākau.

‘Umi’s behavior in this regard was antithetical to the role of a younger sibling whose responsibility it was to serve and honor his elder sibling Hākau. Yet ‘Umi needed to answer to a higher *kuleana*: his duty to the gods, the land, the priests, the lesser chiefs, and the *maka’āinana*. When the chiefs, priests, and populace condemned Hākau’s behavior and actively sought a new ruler, ‘Umi could not ignore that Hākau “was hated by his subjects and abandoned by the gods” (Kalākaua 1990:291). If ‘Umi did not meet his *kuleana* of taking care of the nation and addressing the urgings of his people, he too would have been as guilty as Hākau for failing to heed their pleas.

Thus ‘Umi and the *kāhuna pule* advanced a plan to eliminate Hākau. The *kāhuna pule* were integral in this plan as it entailed a ruse which led Hākau to believe that the populace, priesthood, and lesser chiefs were all preparing for a *heiau* ceremony which Nunu and Kokohe had directed Hākau to conduct at

Pāka'alana. Instead, everyone was preparing for an attack on the minimal few who were Hākau's core supporters. Nunu and Kokohe were even said to have sent away Hākau's "household guards and immediate followers to the mountains on some religious errand" to minimize any defense that Hākau could stage and to create a near bloodless revolution (Kalākaua 1990:292). Hākau and his few resolute supporters were killed in a surprise attack and sacrificed at Honua'ula *heiau* in Waipi'o (Kamakau 1992:14; Thrum 1908a:41; Fomander 1999:IV:218).

'Umi and his supporters next focused their attention on reestablishing control over the entire kingdom. Because his accession to the position of *ali'i nui* occurred via a revolution, the *ali'i 'ai moku* of Hawai'i Island did not automatically owe their allegiance to 'Umi as they would have to Hākau whose authority came from Liloa whom they had honored as their sovereign. Further, 'Umi's comparatively lower birth was reason for some of the *ali'i 'ai moku* who were of higher sacred rank than 'Umi to balk at the possibility of accepting 'Umi as their supreme sovereign (Kamakau 1992:15). Hence the district chiefs of the time asserted their independence (Kamakau 1992:14; cf. Kalākaua 1990:315; Fomander 1996:96³⁵).

'Umi first conquered the district of Hilo and had killed its *ali'i 'ai moku* Kululukulu'ā (Kamakau 1992:17; Fomander 1999:IV:226-227). Soon thereafter he seized the *moku* of Puna which was under the control of Hua'a who also died in

³⁵ Kalākaua describes that before Hākau's death and after Hākau's recognition of the impending attack upon him, he sent out a dispatch to the district chiefs to provide warriors. When they arrived, 'Umi was already in charge and Hākau dead. "The district chiefs and their warriors accepted the changed conditions without protest, and promptly tendered their allegiance to 'Umi" (Kalākaua 1990:315). Fomander (1996:96) describes the various island's chiefs as being so discontented with Hākau that they "cordially received and freely acknowledged the sovereignty of Umi as he made his first imperial tour around the island shortly after his accession to power."

battle (Kamakau 1992:18; Fornander 1999:IV:226). Perhaps at the same time as 'Umi's initial contests, 'Umi also formalized his rule over Kona and Kohala. In this case, no wars were fought and instead "Kona and Kohala were simply ceded to Umi-a-Liloa" by the elderly *ali'i 'ai moku* 'Ehunuikaimalino (Fornander 1999:IV:228; see also Kamakau 1992:19). The district of Ka'ū, however, did not come under 'Umi's control until well later in his reign following many small-scale battles that ultimately ended in the death of its *ali'i 'ai moku* 'Īmaikalani³⁶ (Kamakau 1992:18; Fornander 1999:IV:226).

Even before Pi'imaiwa'a ('Umi's trusted warlord and "adopted son" [Kamakau 1992:15]) defeated 'Īmaikalani and united Hawai'i Island under his rule, 'Umi's triumph over Hākau and his renown as a supreme warrior and benevolent *ali'i nui* spread throughout the islands. He is known to have continued many practices of his father and other great chiefs of the prior generations as well as instituted new measures to improve his kingdom (as described in a later section of this chapter).

One of the first measures he adopted to solidify his rule was to marry key chiefesses which created mutual alliances between his and their families. From these ties both families could expect respect for each other's chiefly prerogatives and support from each other in difficult times. The numerous *mo'okū'auhau* documenting 'Umi's marriages in total recount his seven acknowledged wives (Kamakau 1992:15, 19; Malo 1827:33-38; Fornander 1996:103; 1999:IV:220, 405;

³⁶ 'Īmaikalani's assertion of his sovereign independence is in part seen in the record of his having "almost entirely rebuilt" Waha'ula *heiau* (Fornander 1996:35). Given its clear identity as a *heiau luakini* (see Thrum 1908b:48-54), and especially with its connection to Pā'ao, 'Īmaikalani was certainly making a bold statement of his authority by taking the prerogative of using and renovating this *heiau luakini* which would have been the *kuleana* of an *ali'i nui*.

McKinzie 1983:xxi, 1986:xxi-xxii, 22, 30). His wives included the daughter of Kulukulu'ā of Hilo (whose name is not mentioned in available genealogies). One of his two most sacred wives was Kapukini, his half-sister.³⁷ To "remedy" the fact that 'Umi was of a much lower rank than other chiefs "Umi took his half-sister, Kapukini" as his wife so that "their children would be 'Alii Pio,' chiefs of the highest grade" (Fornander 1996:97). 'Umi also married another key *ali'i wahine* of Hawai'i Island, Mokuahualeiākea. This marriage allied him with the *ali'i* of Kona since Mokuahualeiākea was a descendant of 'Ehunuikaimalino through his daughter Pā'ūla (Kamakau 1992:19; Fornander 1996:87, 103, 1969:Appendix IX; McKinzie 1986:28). 'Umi's marriage to Henahena brought together a separate branch of the descendants of Kahoukapu (Liloa's great-grandfather). While Liloa was the great-grandson of Kahoukapu and La'akapu (Malo 1996:302-303; Kamakau 1992:1; Fornander 1996:70-71; McKinzie 1986:30), Henahena was the great-granddaughter of Kahoukapu and his sister and second wife Hukilani (Unauna in McKinzie 1986:22; Fornander 1996:103). The lineage of Kulamea, another wife of 'Umi, is not remembered, although she is reported to have been a close associate of 'Umi during his childhood years living in Kealakaha, Hāmākua (Kalākaua 1990:270). Maka'alua was another wife of 'Umi whose descent was not recorded. Pi'ikea was the second of 'Umi's two most sacred wives.³⁸ She was the daughter of Pi'ilani and Lā'ielohelohe, 'Umi's contemporaries of Maui (Kamakau 1991:49-50, 73; 1992:22;

³⁷ Kapukini is consistently documented as the daughter of Liloa but is alternately described as the progeny of his marriage with Haua (Kamakau 1992:1; McKinzie 1986:30) or Pinea (Kalākaua 1990:274; Fornander 1996:74).

³⁸ An indication that Kapukini and Pi'ikea were honored above 'Umi's other wives (given their more sacred bloodlines) is the record that Kapukini and Pi'ikea "had the largest houses, and ... were near the enclosure of 'Umi's house" (Kamakau 1992:27).

Malo 1827:27; Fornander 1996:87, 103; McKinzie 1983:14, 21, 35; 1986:12, 21).

As a result of this marriage to Pi'ikea, the political alliance that it entailed, and the influence of 'Umi's unprecedented revolution, 'Umi both directly and indirectly brought about a similar revolution on Maui.

Revolution on Maui

As with 'Umi and Hākau, the vying chiefs in generation 15 on Maui were raised completely apart in widely separated geographical areas, and as such engaged different individuals in their circle of trusted advisors and held differing sets of allegiances. Hence, these siblings, like Hākau and 'Umi, were not raised in the same *alo ali'i*. Such factors, combined with a change in behavioral expectations toward siblings produced by 'Umi's success, created a conducive context for the highest *ali'i* siblings of Maui to aggress upon one another.

Pi'ilani had four acknowledged wives. The highest ranking among them was Lā'ielohelohe (the daughter of Pi'ilani's aunt Kaneanoho'ana'api'api and Kawaoka'ōhele of O'ahu [Kamakau 1991:49; Kalākaua 1990:246; Fornander 1996:86; McKinzie 1986:26, 73]). She bore from this marriage a daughter and two sons (of generation 15). Pi'ikea (who became 'Umi's wife) and Lono a Pi'ilani were the elder siblings who were followed by Kiha a Pi'ilani.³⁹ After Pi'ilani's death, "the government went to Lono-a-Pi'ilani. Pi'ilani had commanded that the kingdom be his, and that Kiha-a-Pi'ilani dwell under him in peace" (Kamakau 1992:22). The

³⁹ Some sources document that Lono a Pi'ilani (Kamakau 1992:22, 1991:49-50, 73; McKinzie 1986:12, 21, 1983:14, 21, 35; Fornander 1996:87, 1999:IV:236) was the eldest of the siblings. Other sources attest that Pi'ikea was the eldest sibling (Malo 1827:27; Fornander 1999:IV:240). The seemingly oldest source, a chant composed in honor of Maui chiefs and recorded by Fornander (1999:IV:240), states that Pi'ikea was the first born of Lā'ielohelohe.

serene co-existence that Pi'ilani envisioned for his sons was not to be, possibly because they had never had an opportunity to develop a warm, supportive familial relationship through their youth and young adulthood.

While Lono a Pi'ilani was reared within Maui's courts, Kiha was "raised at the *heiau* of Mau'oki at Kamō'ilī'ilī" in Kona, O'ahu (Kamakau 1991:50) since this was the island from which the paternal side of his mother's family descended (i.e., his mother's brother Kalamakua). Kiha's earliest days were spent in the court of Kūkaniloko (Fornander 1996:206), and his later childhood and formative years would have been among the highest ranking *ali'i* of Kalaimanu'ia's *alo ali'i*. There he was trained in all endeavors necessary for a potential ruler of a nation to master and is said to have especially excelled in the arts of war and oration (Kamakau 1991:50). He continued his training under the tutelage of O'ahu's *ali'i* until the apparent death of Pi'ilani was near. Kiha a Pi'ilani was called to return to Maui where he arrived just following his father's passing (Kamakau 1991:50).

When Kiha arrived on Maui, Lono had already assumed control of the government (Kamakau 1991:50). Surely at this point Lono could not help but recall the relatively recent revolution on Hawai'i Island staged by its current ruler and could not have avoided the thought that Kiha's recent arrival on the Maui scene was a similar threat to his own longevity as *ali'i nui*. Yet "in the first years of Lono-a-Pi'ilani's reign all was well, ... the people were content," and relations between Lono a Pi'ilani and Kiha a Pi'ilani were agreeable (Kamakau 1992:22).

However, when "Lono-a-Pi'ilani and Kiha-a-Pi'ilani started farming in the *ahupua'a* of Waihe'e" and when "the ruling chief's taro patch was smaller" because "the latter saw to it that his patch exceeded in size," the competitive spirit between

the two grew to distrust and animosity (Kamakau 1992:22). It is said that Lono then “grew angry with” Kiha a Pi’ilani, “abused him,” and “sought to kill Kiha” (Kamakau 1992:22). Fearing for his life, Kiha a Pi’ilani fled to Moloka’i, then to Lāna’i, and finally back to Maui (Kamakau 1992:22-23). A *mo’olelo* specifically describes him as living in humble circumstances at Kalaniwai, Makawao (Fornander 1999:IV:236).

In this time of exile from the Maui court, Kiha a Pi’ilani established a “huge patch” of sweet potato plants in the “waterless lands” of Kula and Makawao (Kamakau 1992:23-24). All the while he plotted a means to avenge Lono’s ill-treatment of him and to establish himself as the *ali’i nui* of Maui. He sought assistance from numerous parties and eventually gained the help of Kahu’akole who was “a person of prominence” who lived at Waipuna’alae (Kamakau 1992:25). Kahu’akole urged Kiha a Pi’ilani to make the most of his “perfect physique” and woo Koleamoku who was the daughter of Ho’olaemakua, the *ali’i* who governed the windward Maui districts (Kamakau 1992:25; Malo 1827:28; Fornander 1996:206; McKinzie 1986:114). This he did, and when Koleamoku became Kiha a Pi’ilani’s wife, he implemented his plan to have Koleamoku request certain lands from Ho’olaemakua for their use. Ho’olaemakua refused to assist Kiha with his request as the lands Kiha sought held the fortresses of Ka’uiki and Koali and supplied the resources to equip the main fortress of Ka’uiki with ladders to occupy the fort and stones that could be used in battle to assault opponents attempting to climb to the fortress. Kiha a Pi’ilani, embittered by Ho’olaemakua’s denial of aid, left Maui “to consult his brother-in-law, ‘Umi-a-Liloa” on Hawai’i Island (Kamakau 1992:26-27).

Pi’ikea, upon hearing of Kiha a Pi’ilani’s situation, took up his cause which brought ‘Umi to do the same. The next year was spent in preparation for an attack

on Lono a Pi'ilani which culminated in a war recounted as involving more canoes and warriors than any conflict prior (Kamakau 1992:28-29). When 'Umi's fleet landed at Hāna, the fortress of Ka'uiki was besieged, Ho'olaemakua killed, and Lono a Pi'ilani's son, Kalanikupuapāikalaninui, also killed to avoid a prolonged inter-generational war (Kamakau 1992:31; Fornander 1999:IV:248). Lono a Pi'ilani either died just before the attack (Fornander 1999:IV:248) or after he heard of Ho'olaemakua's defeat (Kamakau 1992:31). In either case, with Ho'olaemakua, Kalanikupuapāikalaninui, and Lono a Pi'ilani all dead, Kiha a Pi'ilani took control over Maui and the "lands were apportioned and chiefs set over each district, land section, and *ahupua'a*, and all was at peace" (Kamakau 1992:32).

Revolution on O'ahu

Part I. About at the same time as the war between Kiha and Lono a Pi'ilani was transpiring on Maui, O'ahu too was facing revolutionary changes of a parallel sort. The stage for this confrontation was set years prior by the child-rearing practices of the time. The powerful *ali'i nui* Kalaimanu'ia and her husband Lupekapukeahomakali'i had four children (of generation 14) whom Kalaimanu'ia placed in the care of various trusted *kahu* (guardian, caretaker, and family relative) to have them raised for their *ali'i* responsibilities. Kū a Manu'ia was brought up by his *kahu* at Waikiki; Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia was raised at Waimānalo, Honouliuli, 'Ewa; and Ha'o was reared at Waikele (Kamakau 1991:57-58; Fornander 1996:270). Their sister Kekela, who was apparently significantly younger,⁴⁰ was the only child

⁴⁰ The large age differential between Kekela and her next elder sibling Ha'o is suggested by the record that Kekela married Nāpūlānahumahiki who was Ha'o's son (Fornander 1996:271).

raised in her mother's royal household at Kalauao, 'Ewa (Kamakau 1991:58; Fornander 1996:269). In the case of Kalaimanu'ia's three sons, each was groomed for their royal positions in their respective districts with the intent that they would administer those areas in their adult years. The royal heirs of Kalaimanu'ia remained habitually separated from one another throughout their lives and apparently grew up with little interaction among one another.⁴¹

Prior to Kalaimanu'ia's passing, Kū a Manu'ia was given the title of *ali'i nui* and inherited the *moku* of Kona and Ko'olaupoko to administer. Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia received the care of Kūkalani and Kūho'one'enu'u, Kalaimanu'ia's gods, and was apparently provided lands in Moanalua, Kona (Kamakau 1991:61).⁴² Ha'o was placed in charge of the *moku* of 'Ewa and Wai'anae. And their sister Kekela was given the *moku* of Waialua and Ko'olauloa (Kamakau 1991:60, Fornander 1996:270). At this time the role of *ali'i nui* seems to have reverted back to being largely nominal and the sibling *ali'i 'ai moku* apparently exerted considerable independence.

Although some "bickering and disputes" were known to have occurred between Kū Manuia and his brothers in the first years following Kalaimanu'ia's passing (Fornander 1996:270), no dispute had escalated to armed conflict.

⁴¹ Kalaimanu'ia's decision to rear her male children separately from her daughter may have been to promote the feasibility of having one of her sons join with her daughter Kekela in marriage. In order for her sons to have formed any attraction to Kekela, and vice versa, they would have needed to have been reared separately through their formative years to avoid what sociobiologists have referred to as familial bonding. This is the dual propensity of individuals who are reared together to exhibit preferential altruism in regards to one another but to also be predisposed against incest (Erickson 1989).

⁴² Although no mention is specifically made of Ka'ihikapu receiving lands, such would be expected and is apparent in the remembrance of Ka'ihikapu "constructing the fishponds" called Ka'ihikapu and Lelepaua at Ke'ehi, in the *ahupua'a* of Moanalua, Kona.

However, Kū a Manu'ia's felt compelled to engage his brother Ka'ihikapu in battle after he observed that Ka'ihikapu was "building the two fishponds at Keehi known as Kaihikapu and Lelepaua" in Moanalua (Kamakau 1991:61). Although there was nothing overtly aggressive in Ka'ihikapu's construction of the fishponds, the surplus food resources that the ponds would provide to Ka'ihikapu's people (and hence the free time that the same would afford them), could have been quite threatening to Kū a Manu'ia, particularly if no deep sense of trust was established between the two. Kū a Manu'ia's suspicion regarding Ka'ihikapu's motives would especially have been heightened given his understanding of 'Umi's revolution on Hawai'i Island. As such the *mo'olelo* recount that Kū a Manu'ia attacked Ka'ihikapu at Moanalua as Ka'ihikapu was about to complete his two new fishponds (Kamakau 1991:61; Fornander 1996:270-271).

Since Kū a Manu'ia was generally regarded as a poor and greedy administrator of O'ahu and had already gotten into arguments with his siblings, the aid from the other *ali'i* of the island went to Ka'ihikapu (Fornander 1996:270; Kamakau 1991:61). Ha'o in particular was said to have backed Ka'ihikapu. The support others provided Ka'ihikapu was in reality a revolt against the authority of Kū a Manu'ia and is consistent with the general evaluation of Kū a Manu'ia maintained in the *mo'olelo*. Kamakau (1991:61) records that Kū a Manuia "was a chief who disregarded the commands of his parents; he was greedy and covetous of honors. He wanted to take the lands of his younger brothers, as well as everything else left by the parents, and take them for himself alone. He did evil to the chiefs, *kāhuna*, and the commoners, *maka'āinana*." Fornander (1996:270) similarly notes that Kū a

Manu'ia was an "ambitious king" who through his miserly behavior "incurred the ill-will of the priests and the country-people, and became very unpopular."

With the combined strength of the island's forces joined to withstand the attack from Kū a Manu'ia, Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia was victorious. Kū a Manuia was slain, and the now nominal role of *ali'i nui* apparently transferred to Ka'ihikapu (the oldest surviving sibling), along with Kū a Manu'ia's lands of Kona and Ko'olaupoko (Fornander 1996:272). Ha'o and Kekela retained the estates over which they ruled. It is likely that Kū a Manuia's children were either killed or became comparatively inconsequential due to their father's unpopularity, for there are no records of the names of his children or their descendants.

While one might question whether the *mo'olelo* of this generation of *ali'i* is a revisionist history put forth by the descendants of Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia, the next round of interactions between Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia and Ha'o seems to argue against that supposition, for certainly Ka'ihikapu is not framed in a glowing light in the next set of events.

Part II. As O'ahu's *ali'i nui*, Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia was said to have made "circuits of the island," and during one of these he paused at Waikele where Ha'o resided (Kamakau 1991:64). Ka'ihikapu was "surprised and disturbed ... at the wealth of all kinds and the number of vassals and retainers, both chiefs and commoners, that followed the banner of his opulent brother" and was concerned "that a chief with so abundant material resources might any day rise in revolt and assert his independence" (Fornander 1996:271). Ka'ihikapu was further worried about the future of his children and the possibility that, upon his passing, Ha'o would

remove his heirs and instead place his own (Ha'o's) children as rulers over the island (Kamakau 1991:65).

Ka'ihikapu then, upon the advice of his *kahuna nui*, Luamea, maintained good relations with Ha'o to instill a false trust between the two upon which he could later capitalize to rid him of his fears about Ha'o's possible future behavior (Kamakau 1991:65). Years later Ka'ihikapu had a monstrous *niuhi* (tiger shark) snared, had its belly slit, "the flesh removed from inside the shark," and then had it filled with a few warriors and spears carried on a litter into Ha'o's *heiau* as a offering (Kamakau 1991:66). Vulnerable while in the midst of their ceremonies, Ha'o, his priests, and his chiefs were killed by those hidden within the *niuhi* carcass and then sacrificed in that very *heiau* by Ka'ihikapu. Ha'o's son Nāpūlānahumahiki a Ha'o was one of the few who escaped (Kamakau 1991:66-67; Fornander 1996:271).

After this surprise attack, Nāpūlānahumahiki fled to Wai'anae where he ruled in place of his father, and Ka'ihikapu seized Ha'o's district of 'Ewa (Kamakau 1991:67; Fornander 1996:272). Nāpūlānahumahiki later married Kekela, and they ruled jointly over their combined districts of Wai'anae, Waialua, and Ko'olaupoko, while Ka'ihikapu ruled over the remainder of the island (Kamakau 1991:67; Fornander 1996:272). During this period, "the chiefs supported the two rulers equally" (Kamakau 1991:67) and the islands was "divided into two independent sections" (Fornander 1996:272).

Discussion of the Causes and Effects of the Changing Political Context

Seeds of a Revolution. Among the reasons that could be cited for the revolutions that occurred on Hawai'i Island, Maui, and O'ahu are at least three that

were described above and which are summarized here. First were the emerging higher standards of *ali'i nui* conduct set by the *ali'i nui* of the last era against which their descendants in this one were measured. If an *ali'i nui* did not fulfill requisite *kuleana* (responsibilities) and conduct himself/herself in a fitting manner, then that ruler no longer had the *kuleana* (right) to that position. Second, the apparent changes in the child-rearing practices of the time that separated siblings at a young age had a chilling effect on their relationships. Suspicion among the highest ranking siblings was the norm. A third factor which affected Maui and O'ahu was 'Umi's successful coup. The distrust among the possible sibling rivals on Maui and O'ahu was at least doubled in the wake of the revolution on Hawai'i Island. A reigning *ali'i nui* no longer saw younger siblings as valued supporters but rather as potentially fearsome opponents. Actions by younger siblings, such as opening up fields for cultivation or creating new fishponds, were no longer viewed as strengthening the nation's resources but rather as garnering the greater favor of the *maka'āinana* or lesser chiefs—a prelude to rebellion. The political arena was drastically altered.

The Changing Significance of Chiefly Alliances. The conflict that occurred on Maui involving the Hawai'i Island and Maui forces was another notable development of this era in that it began a pattern that would become more pronounced in later years: The alliances that *ali'i* entered into on occasion needed to be paid in order to remain effective. This occurred when Kiha a Pi'ilani requested and was provided assistance from 'Umi in overthrowing Lono a Pi'ilani. In earlier years when 'Umi married Pi'ikea, it was undoubtedly with the pledge that both the Maui and Hawai'i kingdoms' chiefs would maintain warm and respectful relations with one another and support one another as needed. When Pi'ilani died and Pi'ikea

(the central player in the alliance with Maui) professed Kiha's cause, 'Umi had but one choice to maintain the alliance he sought originally and to assure any other potential allies of his integrity. He had to support Kiha.

The significance of this episode is seen in two related issues. First, it established an amended understanding of chiefly alliances. The stakes were now higher as new expectations emerged regarding the actual costs and benefits that such alliances could entail for a chief and his nation. Second, it escalated the scale of warfare in the islands. No longer were the domestic affairs of one island its own internal business. Instead, there was a new expectation that trustworthy allies from abroad might come to render aid in such instances.

Continued Trends of High Standards Set for Ali'i

In the previous era, several generations of esteemed rulers set a new high standard that their heirs were said to have perpetuated. 'Umi, Kiha a Pi'ilani, and Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia are lauded in the *mo'olelo* as exemplifying some of the best traits to be found among *ali'i*, even despite the political upheaval that each were involved in creating within their island nations.

The Administration of Hawai'i Island Under 'Umi a Līloa. In terms of personal strengths, 'Umi was said to be religious, kind-hearted, humble, just, skillful in the arts of war, adept in physical games such as surfing, ready to seek and follow the advice of his advisors, and willing and able to labor with his own hands (Kamakau 1992:1, 5, 9, 19; Fornander 1999:IV:182,184, 230). In relation to his administration of the Hawai'i Island, one of the prominent themes of his reign was that he "encouraged industry and works of public utility" (Fornander 1996:101).

Perhaps his most innovative mandate was the institution of labor specialization within his population. 'Umi "selected workers and set them in various positions in the kingdom" with attention to "the work they were best suited for" (Kamakau 1992:19). Such labor organization included the designation of administrative offices among the *alii*, including "the governors and the head men who watched over the *'okana*, *ahupua'a*, and *'iili'āina* land sections (Kamakau 1992:19; see also Fornander 1999:IV:228). In similar fashion 'Umi organized and ordered those of the *kāhuna pule*. Among the *maka'āinana*, 'Umi had individuals assigned to farming, fishing, canoe building, or other craft areas, and also had designated those who would serve as warriors (Kamakau 1992:19; Fornander 1999:IV:228). Such labor specialization allowed for increased efficiency in different areas, which provided more time for the population to engage in other activities. Some of the free time was spent undoubtedly by some in improving their skills and products to ever greater heights of artistry and technological sophistication.

Among the many activities of his populace, 'Umi was known to actively participate in both farming and fishing (Fornander 1999:IV:228, 230). However, it was in farming that 'Umi seemed to have provided special leadership. "He built large taro patches in Waipio," "when in Kona...his great occupation" was in farming as well, "and he tilled the soil in all places where he resided" (Fornander 1999:IV:228, 230). In fact, it is probable that 'Umi either initiated or expanded the dryland field systems of the leeward side of Hawai'i Island (Kelly 1989:98).

'Umi's attention to improving the food production capacity of his island was consistent with his known concern for his *maka'āinana*. It is said that "there was no kingdom like his. He took care of the old men, the old women, the fatherless, and

the common people,” and to protect them he outlawed “murder and thievery” (Kamakau 1992:19).

Perhaps as a means to standardize the obligations of *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* and to protect both groups' rights, 'Umi established the *kō'ele* system which specified garden areas where *maka'āinana* would cultivate and harvest for the *ali'i* in exchange for the administrative functions that the *ali'i* provided (Handy and Handy 1991:534). Hence *ali'i* could rely on their means of sustenance and *maka'āinana* would have a sense of the limitations within which the *ali'i* could request agricultural products.

'Umi was also mindful to see that his *akua* and the interests of the priesthood were given proper attention. He is reported to have “enriched the priests, and...built a number of Heiaus” (Fornander 1996:102). In doing so he continued to honor established practices involving *heiau* but seemed open as well to adopting new approaches. 'Umi worshipped at and maintained Manini *heiau* at Koholālele, Hāmākua which was reconstructed by his father Liloa and which had long been in use prior (Kalākaua 1990:303; Thrum 1908a:41). A distinguishing feature of several new *heiau* that 'Umi commissioned was his “employment of hewn stones,” as in the *heiau* of Kūki'i.⁴³ It was located “on the hill of that name, overlooking the warm springs of Kapoho, in the district of Puna...above the wooded belt of the mountain” (Fornander 1996:101).⁴⁴ Another unusual *heiau* of 'Umi's was 'Āhua a 'Umi. This

⁴³ Another *heiau* named Kūki'i located in Hālawa Valley on O'ahu also was built with hewn *pāhoehoe* slabs (Arning 1931:82).

⁴⁴ A number of these hewn stones were called “pōhaku kālai a 'Umi” and “were found scattered about the Kona coast of Hawaii, specially in the neighbourhood of Kailua, and after the arrival of the missionaries (1820), furnished splendid material wherewith to build the first Christian church

heiau was built high up on the interior, desolate slopes of Hualalai and was said to mark the unification of Hawai'i Island under his rule. The main walled structure was surrounded by a set of seven stone mounds (i.e., *'āhua*, or mounded heaps) and another more enigmatic feature at its southeast corner. The seven mounds are said to represent the six *moku* of the island and 'Umi's *alo ali'i* (as the seventh grouping) (Fornander 1996:100-101; Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:16). The relatively central location of this site was a strong symbolic reminder to all of 'Umi's sovereignty over the entire island. One of the *mo'olelo* that describe this *heiau* notes that 'Umi for a time moved to that site "choosing to live there on the income or tribute brought him by the chiefs and the landholders of various districts" (Fornander 1996:101), another indication of the role 'Āhua a 'Umi played in solidifying 'Umi's control of the island.

A second possible reason that 'Umi moved his *alo ali'i* to the site near 'Āhua a 'Umi was said to relate to his concern with his *alo ali'i*. "It is advanced in some legends that...in order to check the rapacity of the nobles and retainers attending his court," which was accustomed to the "rich and densely peopled valley of Waipio," 'Umi relocated his *alo ali'i* to the "comparatively barren plateau" where 'Āhua a 'Umi is located, "far from the fruitful and ordinarily inhabited portions of the island" (Fornander 1996:100-101). This was likely only a short-lived symbolic sojourn for 'Umi and his *alo ali'i*.

A third reason for 'Umi's stay at 'Āhua a 'Umi may have been to use that site as an intermediate step to his later move. It is noted in the *mo'olelo* that after the island was firmly under his rule, 'Umi moved his primary residence to Kona.

at Kailua" (Fornander 1996:101). Some of the hewn lava slabs from Kūki'i were "brought down by Kalakaua, in 1879, which went into the foundation walls of the [ʻIolani] palace" (Thrum 1908a:40).

Kamakau (1992:19) writes that 'Umi moved there because "he desired to dwell in Kona where the climate was warm." Another motive for relocating to Kona may have been to be closer to the districts of Ka'ū and Puna which initially contended his rule. One of 'Umi's specific residences in Kona was at Keauhou in a beach-front complex called 'Umihale (Kekahuna 1950b).

Another indication of 'Umi's administrative consolidation over the entire Hawai'i Island is the record of him having "frequently visited the different districts" (Fornander 1996:101).⁴⁵ One such circuit is recorded as having lasted "two summers and two winters" (Fornander 1999:IV:214). Through these travels 'Umi would have affirmed his rule over each district and monitored compliance of his expectations. During these trips it is also said that he settled disputes among his *ali'i*, thus maintaining the peace of *ali'i* outside of his own *alo ali'i* (Fornander 1996:101). Thus 'Umi used a wide variety of means to sustain his successful governance over Hawai'i Island.

The Administration of Maui Under Kiha a Pi'ilani. In relation to Kiha a Pi'ilani's administrative style and personal characteristics, the *mo'olelo* mention very little. He was said to have "had a perfect physique and was good-looking from head to feet, without mark or blemish" and to have been "unaccustomed" to the work of *maka'āinana*, having been brought up as a royal child (Kamakau 1992:23, 25).

⁴⁵ Before 'Umi became the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island, he visited Hilo and traveled incognito there as his father Liloa was also known to have done (Kamakau 1992:15). Whether 'Umi continued this specific practice of touring his lands in disguise after he became the *ali'i nui* is not specifically stated. However, in as much as it would have provided him an accurate and representative view of his districts, he likely continued this practice of his father.

However, that he was not above such work is also noted as he was famed for personally planting an enormous 'uala (sweet potato) patch in Makawao during his time in exile from Lono a Pi'ilani's court (Kamakau 1992:23-24).

Kiha a Pi'ilani's industrious nature is also well exemplified in his administrative accomplishments. After solidifying his control of Maui, "he devoted himself to the improvement of his island" (Fornander 1996:206). His most honored feats were the roads he had built on Maui and Moloka'i (Kamakau 1992:429; Fornander 1996:206. 1999:V:176). On Maui this famed Kīpapa a Kīha a Pi'ilani (Paved trail of Kīha a Pi'ilani), extended for over 30 miles (Sterling 1998:104). In some places it was comprised of massive dry stacked stone terraces forming a wide road over terrain that otherwise would have been impassable. In other portions it involved the placement of 'alā stones (dense, water worn stones) at close intervals which provided a smooth walking surface. This road constructed "by the alii and the commoners" extended "from Pihehe at Hana as far as Koolau at the forest of Oopulua" (Manu in Sterling 1998:130). Another illustrious construction project of Kīha a Pi'ilani "was a paved road lined with seashells at Kaluako'i, Moloka'i." This was referred to as "Ke ala pūpū i Moloka'i" (the seashell road on Moloka'i) (Pūku'i 1983:181). The remembrance of Kīha's road building project on Maui suggests the continued affiliation of Maui and Moloka'i's *alii*.

Other examples of Kīha a Pi'ilani's efforts to improve his nation were two fishponds he had built. One was Mau'oni, the other Kanahā, both in Wailuku (Manu in Sterling 1998:88; Kamakau 1992:42). Kanahā was Maui's largest fishpond enclosing a space of 37 acres of shoreline environment that supplemented the natural fishing grounds of Wailuku (Cobb in Sterling 1998:11).

Kiha a Pi'ilani's attention was not only on the physical needs of his population but also on the spiritual relationship of his nation to its *akua*. As such it is said that he directed the building of "the heiau of Honua'ula just mauka of the hill of Ka'uiki" (Manu in Sterling 1998:134). "The large elongated stones" from Kaiakahauli used in its construction were carried on litters to the site (Manu in Sterling 1998:134). Haleki'i heiau at Paukukalo, Wailuku was another heiau that Kiha a Pi'ilani is said to have constructed (Sterling 1998:89).

This combination of industrious projects that met the needs of his people, and his concern for keeping "peace and order in the country," created a reign for Kiha a Pi'ilani that "was eminently...prosperous" and which led to his name being "reverently and affectionately handed down to posterity" (Fornander 1996:206).

The Administration of O'ahu Under Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia. The general remembrance of Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia in *mo'olelo* is that he "was a good chief, benevolent toward the *alii* and the *maka'ainana*" (Kamakau 1991:62). His "administration of the land was peaceful" (Kamakau 1991:62). His interest in improving the food production of his island is evident in the two fishponds he began building even before he became O'ahu's *alii nui*. These were the fishponds of Ka'ihikapu and Lelepaua (Kamakau 1991:61; Fornander 1996:270), both of which were in Moanalua, Kona (McAllister 1933:93). The two ponds were enormous. Ka'ihikapu was "258 acres in area, with a coral wall 4500 feet in length, 3 to 8 feet in width, and 3 feet high" with three *mākāhā* or sluice gates (McAllister 1933:93). Lelepaua was an inland fishpond that covered 332 acres and included walls that were "10 feet or more wide" (McAllister 1933:93). Another area of his *kuleana* upon which Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia seemed to focus was encouraging "religious exercises"

(Fornander 1996:271). "He restored the *heiau*... all over O'ahu" as he made his circuits around the island⁴⁶ (Kamakau 1991:62).

Peace, Productivity, and Intermarriages Across the Islands. In this slice of time when 'Umi was in the later years of his reign, and Kiha a Pi'ilani and Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia had reestablished a sense of peace on their islands, the Hawaiian archipelago was in a high state of productivity (as evidenced by the above descriptions). Even the scant information from Kaua'i suggests the same. During this time Kaua'i's *ali'i nui* was Kalanikukuma. His reign is not described in the extant traditions, but what is remembered is that Kaua'i's chiefly circle had the resources to outfit an excursion for its heir, Kahakumakaliua. This trip of "pleasure and observation" likely took Kahakumakaliua through the entire chain as it is well documented that his final stop was at Hawai'i Island (Fornander 1996:104). Such a trip would have required a large double-canoe, attendants, and certainly an assemblage of appropriate *ho'okupu* for the *alo ali'i* which hosted him along his journey.

The second inference that can be made from the record of Kahakumakaliua's trip, placed in conjunction with other data, is that the *ali'i* of the time were concerned with maintaining peaceful inter-island relations. It is unclear whether this was spurred on by the fear of attacks by others (particularly by 'Umi who proved he could successfully do so on Maui). However, that amicable relations were desired was likely one of the motivations behind Kahakumakaliua's trip. The most significant

⁴⁶ Kamakau (1991:62) leaves the impression that Ka'ihikapu circuited around the entire island. However, Ka'ihikapu's circuit may have only entailed his half of the island, as the Waifanae, Waialua, and Ko'olaupua districts were independent and under the joint rule of Kekela and Nāpūlānahumahiki.

outcome of that trip further supports the same point. Kahakumakaliua, while visiting 'Umi's court, was enamored with 'Akahi'ilikapu (Fornander 1996:104), 'Umi's daughter with Moku a Hualeiākea (Kamakau 1992:19; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 1986:34). They were married, and 'Akahi'ilikapu eventually bore two children within whom flowed the blood of both islands' then current ruling families (Kamakau 1992:45; Fornander 1996:104, 292; Kamakau 1992:19; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 1986:110).

Other ties also brought together *ali'i* families across the ocean channels. 'Umi married Pi'ikea of Maui. Lono a Pi'ilani married Kealana a Wa'auli who was the great-granddaughter of *ali'i nui* Kahakuakāne (of generation 11 on Kaua'i) (Malo 1827:17; Kamakau 1991:73; Fornander 1996:205). Lono a Pi'ilani's faithful supporter Ho'olaemakua married Ka'ululena of Hilo (McKinzie 1986:114). 'Umi's son, Keli'iokāloa, was partnered with Hika'alani (McKinzie 1983:xxii, 5, 1986:29) whose paternal grandfather was Pi'ilani of Maui (Fornander 1996:87; McKinzie 1986:29). Keli'iokāloa's younger full-brother, Keawenui a 'Umi, also married a chiefess of another island. She was Hoakalani and her lineage traced to O'ahu's chiefly families (Fornander 1996:113). The intermarriages of *ali'i* from the various islands was a significant factor in the political context of this era that was marked by relatively peaceful relations between the island nations.

Further Sibling Contests on Hawai'i Island and Their Effects

While Kiha a Pi'ilani and Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia were enjoying a renewed calm on their islands, a nearly unabated period of internal unrest on Hawai'i Island was poised to begin. Before 'Umi died, he reestablished the practice of having different portions of Hawai'i ruled by independent paramounts. 'Umi divided his kingdom

between Keli'iokāloa, his eldest son, and Keawenui a 'Umi, Keli'iokāloa's full and younger brother (Kamakau 1992:34). Although this division was likely intended to forestall a possible conflict between the two, the independent human and material resources each held, and the then long-established "normal" state of the island being under a single rule, provided an initial impetus for each to consider engaging in war upon the other and returning the island to its previous state of greater strength and its ruling ali'i to greater prominence.

For a time the two brothers co-existed peacefully. Keli'iokāloa resided in Kona and ruled his half of the island while Keawenui a 'Umi did the same from his primary residence at Hilo (Kamakau 1992:34; Fornander 1996:112). However, some time later the opportunity to engage in war is recorded as having afforded itself when a delegation of Keli'iokāloa's *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* are said to have gone to Hilo and beseeched Keawenui a 'Umi to end the oppression they were enduring under Keli'iokāloa (Kamakau 1992:35). When Keawenui heard of "the burdening of the common people" and "the unjust rule" of Keli'iokāloa from those who sought to give Kona to Keawenui, "he was filled with compassion" for them (Kamakau 1992:35). It is reported in *mo'olelo* that this delegation specifically relayed to Keawenui that Keli'iokāloa's initial responsible government had gone astray as Keli'iokāloa had "deserted the advice of the wise [and] paid attention to that of fools" and had also "deserted the god and oppressed the people" (Kamakau 1992:35). A specific onerous demand Keli'iokāloa made of his people was to have them dive "for *'īna* sea urchins, *wana* sea urchins, and seaweed at night" (Kamakau 1992:35).

Keawenui in response "made himself ready with the chiefs, war lords, war leaders, and warriors from Hilo, Puna, and Ka-'u to make war on Kona" (Kamakau

1992:35). At this turning point, Keawenui a 'Umi was in a parallel position to that of his father and as such was compelled to follow 'Umi's lead and reestablish a more beneficent reign over the windward districts. The battle occurred in the "barren, waterless" "desert of rocks" near the neutral grounds of 'Āhua a 'Umi, and there the Kona armies "were put to flight" (Kamakau 1992:35). Keli'iokāloa was killed, and Keawenui asserted his control over the entire island.⁴⁷

Effects of the Last Era. Regardless of Keawenui's then recent victory, six prominent *ali'i* who were native to the districts of the island "refused to acknowledge the sovereignty...of Keawenui-a-Umi" (Fornander 1996:111). This was perhaps due to several understandings that could have shaped their decision: First, none of the district chiefs involved was a scion of 'Umi and hence none felt a particular allegiance to Keawenui a 'Umi. In fact, the parentage of these chiefs supports the opposite notion that they (especially in the first three instances listed below) may have harbored resentment toward 'Umi (and by extension Keawenui a 'Umi) for his subjugation of their families and his causing the deaths of their fathers. The chiefs who opposed Keawenui were Hilo-Hāmākua (son of Kulukulu'ā of Hilo), Lililehua (son of Hua'a of Puna), Kahalemilo (son of 'Īmaikalani of Ka'ū), Moihala (son of Hoe a Pae⁴⁸ of Kona), Pālahalaha (son of Wahilani of Kohala), and Pūmai'a (son of Wanua of Hāmākua) (Fornander 1996:111, 1999:IV:314-312). These native *ali'i* perhaps recalled the actions of their family members who revolted against 'Umi's

⁴⁷ Whether the reasons for Keawenui attacking Keli'iokāloa are accurately portrayed in the *mo'olelo* or whether they provided a justification after the fact for Keawenui's attack does not alter that main point (as used in the analysis in Chapter 13) that Keawenui was the initial aggressor.

⁴⁸ This person was also known as Hae a Pae (McKinzie 1986:23).

assertion of his authority a generation prior, and hence saw an opportunity before them to avenge their fathers and establish their independence.

A second possible motivation for the district chiefs to refuse their allegiance to Keawenui was that he held a junior position in the genealogical succession both in his generation and in relation to the fact that his father 'Umi was arguably of lower genealogical rank than other chiefs of the time. Even if these chiefs had developed a sense of respect and loyalty toward 'Umi (as well could have been the case), that loyalty would have suggested that they support Keli'iokāloa's son and rightful heir, Kūka'ilani. As the first-born of the first-born of Keli'iokāloa, Kūka'ilani's "right to the throne was unquestioned" (Kalākaua 1990:335).

A third possible motivation for the various district *ali'i* to revolt was that Keawenui's forces would have been perceived as vulnerable at the time after having just gone through the war with Keli'iokāloa. Thus, if there was an inclination to revolt against Keawenui, such a practical strategic reality may have been the deciding issue for the six *ali'i*.

Motivated by one or more of these factors, war ensued between the district chiefs and Keawenui a 'Umi. Either the *ali'i* 'ai moku were poorly prepared or Keawenui's base of support was quite formidable, for Keawenui summarily subdued the six rebel chiefs, and as a reminder to all of his supreme position, housed the bones of the six *ali'i* in a large gourd which he kept in his possession (Fomander 1996:111, 1999:IV: 314-312; Kalākaua 1990:330, 335).

Increased Administrative Powers of the *Ali'i Nui* on Hawai'i Island.

A unique situation developed following the rebellion of the six district *ali'i* and their death in battle: The heirs to the positions of district chiefs were all dead and there

was perhaps no one old enough or trusted enough by Keawenui, to serve in the administrative offices over the various districts. Having established through battle his ability to rule the island, the situation allowed Keawenui to expand the role of the *ali'i nui* to include reassigning the positions of district chiefs according to his own wishes, as opposed to reaffirming the various *ali'i* lineages' relationships to various districts as may have been done in times past. The *mo'olelo* confirm that "it had been the custom since the days of Keawenui-a-Umi" that the new *ali'i nui* "distribute and redivide the lands of the island between the chiefs and favourites of the new monarch" (Fornander 1996:300). This is a significant change in the role of the *ali'i nui* since this new power would have allowed the *ali'i nui* to exercise greater control over their domains (although, as described below, the district chiefs maintained a great deal of inter-generational control over their regions in later years).

Resolution on Hawai'i Island and Continued Prosperity and Peace Elsewhere

Events on Hawai'i Island. Following Keawenui securing his rule over Hawai'i Island, it joined the other island nations in returning to a time of calm and abundance. During this period of high productivity, Keawenui continued his father's leadership style and policies. In terms of personal traits, Keawenui was said to be "a kind ruler" (Kamakau 1992:34) with a "cheerful and liberal disposition" (Fornander 1996:111).

Keawenui was considered "foremost in running the affairs of the government" (Kamakau 1992:34) and was appreciated for having "restored order and quiet in the island of Hawai'i" (Fornander 1996:111). To assist in maintaining stability over the island, Keawenui secured strategically important mates, including the *pi'o* offspring

of two of Hākau's children Keanomeha and Pīnea II. This most sacred offspring, Hākaukalālāpuakea, was important for the intense *mana* that her lineage would have provided, but perhaps was even more so valued for the tie she created between Keawenui and the native Kona chiefs, since Hākaukalālāpuakea was the first cousin of Moihala (the *ali'i* of Kona whom Keawenui killed in battle) (McKinzie 1983:xxi, 4, 23; 1986:73; Fornander 1996:78, 78f; Kamakau 1992:15). Such a marriage alliance with the Kona *ali'i* families would have been critical for Keawenui as his stronghold was in Hilo and his likely staunchest enemies would have been found in Kona, the administrative center and residence of Keli'iokāloa.

Keawenui also sought to gain support for his administration by continuing effective policies that his father instituted, such as the system of labor specialization. Keawenui "sought out all the experts of the land, the *kuhikuhi pu'uone*, the readers of earthly omens and of heavenly omens, the skilled leaders of the kingdom, strong canoemen, navigators, canoe builders, those who could right upset canoes, expert war leaders, and all other skilled workers that were able to help in the affairs of the country" (Kamakau 1992:34).

An important leadership trait of Keawenui was that he is said to have "looked after the welfare of chiefs and commoners" (Kamakau 1992:34). An example of Keawenui behaving in this manner is found in the *mo'olelo* of Pāka'a, his *iwi kuamo'o* (personal attendant and close relative) (Kamakau 1992:36-45). Pāka'a had left Keawenui's *alo ali'i* feeling unappreciated. Keawenui, mournful of the turn of events, ordered a search for him and then personally engaged himself in this quest across the island chain. After getting caught in a storm at the point of Kalā'au, Moloka'i, Keawenui's fleet of canoes were all overturned, except for his own canoe.

Keawenui's navigators suggested that his canoe continue to O'ahu, but Keawenui is recorded to have refused to do so lest he be known as "a chief who deserts his followers" (Kamakau 1992:43-44). All the canoes were righted and he and his people stayed on Moloka'i that night where they encountered Pāka'a and his son Kū a Pāka'a.

An indication that Keawenui and the *ali'i* of the time on other islands had established positive relations with one another is also illustrated in the same *mo'olelo* involving Pāka'a. When Keawenui searched for Pāka'a, Kākuhihewa on O'ahu (of generation 16) graciously hosted him (Kamakau 1992:42). The same occurred when Keawenui met Kiha a Pi'ilani on Maui where "the two ruling chiefs... greeted each other with affection" (Kamakau 1992:42; see also Fornander 1999:IV:240).

Continued peace at home on Hawai'i Island was also apparently a concern to Keawenui. In arranging for the marriages of his children, he allayed what could have been a highly volatile situation upon his death. Keawenui is well remembered for redressing the loss of political standing that Kūka'ilani (Keli'ioakāloa's son) experienced when Keawenui came to control the entire island. Yet Keawenui skillfully accomplished this without undermining his own children. Keawenui did so by arranging to have his son Kanaloakua'ana married to Kaikilani'īnuiwahineopuna (Kaikilani) (Kamakau 1992:61; Fornander 1996:114, 125; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 7, 79, 84). Significantly, Kaikilani was the first born of Kūka'ilani (McKinzie 1986:30; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 79). Having set matters in order in advance of his death, Keawenui dictated in his later days that Kaikilani would serve in the position as *ali'i*

nui and that serving as her regent would be his son Kanaloakua'ana⁴⁹ (Fornander 1996:114-115; Kalākaua 1990:321-322, 336). Thus, in Keawenui's last days, he reaffirmed the traditional rules of ascendance and enacted a diplomatic solution in generation 16 to repair old conflicts.

Events on the Kaua'i, O'ahu, and Maui. On the northern islands, the generation of chiefs contemporary with Keawenui a 'Umi used the momentum of their predecessors and continued the good works previously established. As was the case throughout the previous generations, Kaua'i's records reveal a pattern of governmental stability under Kawelomahamahaia. Unlike many of the other Kaua'i rulers of whom barely any mention is made in the remaining traditions, Kawelomahamahaia is said to have played a significant role in fostering the abundance and serenity that Kaua'i experienced under his rule. "Both legends and the family chants refer to Kawelomahamahaia as one of the great kings of Kauai under whom the country prospered, peace prevailed, and population and wealth increased" (Fornander 1996:292).

On O'ahu, the population at this time enjoyed what could be considered the height of its glory under the rule of Kākuhihewa. "Because of the benevolence of this ruler and because of his many works, O'ahu was called 'the sands of Kākuhihewa,' *ke one a Kākuhihewa*" (Kamakau 1991:69), a tremendous testimony of his rule over O'ahu which thereafter became synonymous with his name.

Kākuhihewa's first task as Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia's heir was to integrate the two independent polities on O'ahu back to a unified nation. Rather than attacking his

⁴⁹ Chapter 12 begins with this state of affairs and explains how Lonoikamakahiki also came to co-rule with Kaikilani over Hawai'i Island.

cousin, Nāpūlānahumahiki, “he made peace with him, and married his daughter Kaea-a-Kalona”⁵⁰ (Fornander 1996:273). Thus, Wai’anae, Waialua, and Ko’olauloa “again fell under the sway of the legitimate [sovereign] of Oahu; and during the balance of his long reign, no war or rebellion distracted the country or diminished his power” (Fornander 1996:273).

Kākuhihewa followed the methods of the past venerated rulers of O’ahu and the other islands. Kākuhihewa honored his gods in two new *heiau*, Kūpalaha at Waikiki (Kamakau 1991:23) and Keāiwa at ‘Aiea, ‘Ewa (Thrum 1907a:46). That Keāiwa was a *heiau ho’ōla* (healing temple) speaks to the nature of Kākuhihewa’s charitable reign. Kākuhihewa apparently supported dedicating the human and material resources necessary to establish and maintain Keāiwa which combined “the features of a modern hospital, medical school, temple for the gods...and [was] the gateway into the gardens in which plants and herbs were grown for the compounding of the kahuna’s prescriptions” (Taylor 1951:1).

Kākuhihewa’s concern for his people is also evidenced in the recollection in *mo’olelo* of his having “treated the old people, the children of the *maka’āinana*, and the destitute like favorites” (Kamakau 1991:70). Such *aloha* was even extended to those who had not earned Kākuhihewa’s favor. For instance, it is remembered that when two of his subjects were found to be “lustful and fault finding,” Kākuhihewa fulfilled their desires and asked the gods to spare them so that all could know that he was “a chief of remote ancestry, a ‘god’ from remote ancestry” (Kamakau 1991:69-70). Kākuhihewa’s rule utilized kindness rather than force to move his people.

⁵⁰ Kaea a Kalona was also known as Kahaianuiakauailana (Fornander 1996:273).

Kākuhihewa was recorded as having “maintained residences in ‘Ewa, at Waikīkī, and at Kailua in Ko‘olaupoko” (Kamakau 1991:69). Such regular presence in the different parts of the island surely helped to encourage stability in the island’s government, accountability of its district *ali‘i*, and a sense of importance of each of the populations of the various districts to their *ali‘i nui*.

Whatever other policies Kākuhihewa had in place to assure effective governance of the island are not specified in the *mo‘olelo*, but what comes through clearly is the great prosperity of O‘ahu under his rule. “The legends speak in glowing terms of the prosperity, the splendour, and the glory of Kakuhihewa’s reign” (Fornander 1996:273). During his governance “peace prevailed all over the island, agriculture and fishing furnished abundant food for the inhabitants; industry thrived and was remunerated, population and wealth increased amazingly” (Fornander 1996:273). For these reasons, “Kākuhihewa became a famous chief from Hawai‘i to Kaua‘i,” for during his reign “O‘ahu became known for its productiveness,” so much so that “its smell” was said to have “reached Kaua‘i [because] there was so much cultivation” (Kamakau 1991:69). A specific example of the abundance of the time was Kākuhihewa’s residence and the activities there that Kamakau (1991:69) describes:

At ‘Ālele in Kailua he built his ‘government house,’ *Hale Aupuni*. It was forty *anana*⁵¹ long and fifteen *anana* wide; Pāmoa was its name. All these were done here: storytelling, distribution of lands, recalling traditions of the ancestors, reciting of genealogies, practicing of battle skills, wielding of war clubs, trusting of spears, observation of omens, study of land features, study of the stars, playing *kōnane*, learning the *mele* of the ancestors and chiefs, running, learning to leap from cliffs, *maika* rolling, dart throwing, boxing, hand

⁵¹ An *anana* is the length from fingertip to fingertip of extended arms (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1986:24).

wrestling, sitting wrestling, shoulder wrestling, hand-to-hand fighting, all kinds of sports that strengthened the body, cultivating, and fishing.”

The prosperity and energy of O‘ahu’s atmosphere during Kākuhihewa’s reign “attracted to his court the bravest and wisest, as well as the brilliant and frivolous, among the aristocracy of the other islands” (Fornander 1996:273). In doing so, Kākuhihewa maintained peaceful, amicable relationships with those of other islands who visited him. A second way he accomplished the same was through marriage. Kākuhihewa had four acknowledged wives, each of whom no doubt brought important alliances with them (Kamakau 1991:70; Malo 1827:14, 25, 29; Fornander 1996:274; McKinzie 1986:29). Aside from his political marriage to Kaea a Kalona, he was careful to cultivate ties with other islands as well. He did this through his marriage to Koa‘ekea whose lineage traced back to Hawai‘i and Kaua‘i chiefly lineages (McKinzie 1986:28).⁵² Hence, Kākuhihewa ensured his island’s peaceful existence.

Following Kākuhihewa in time, but still contemporaneous with him was his neighbor on Maui, Kamalālāwalu. Here too the traditions record that Kamalālāwalu brought Maui to its zenith. While he was not known for having constructed monumental civil works or specific *heiau*, he was well remembered for his effective governance of Maui which created unprecedented abundance for its populace. Kamalālāwalu’s “reputation stood deservedly high among his contemporaries and with posterity for good management of his resources, just government of his people, and a liberal and magnificent court” which could boast of having hosted many

⁵² Given Koa‘ekea’s genealogy (especially as it is best clarified in *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a* [in McKinzie 1986:28]), Kākuhihewa likely took her as a wife in his later years as she appears to be significantly younger than Kākuhihewa.

illustrious guests (Fornander 1996:207). The increased dominance of Maui under Kamalālāwalu is also seen in the record that Lānaʻi, which had been seemingly under the nominal control and protection of Maui since the time of Kakaʻalaneo and Kaululāʻau, became “subject or tributary to Maui” in a more definitive fashion than before under Kamalālāwalu’s reign (Fornander 1996:207). At this point, “Maui probably never stood higher, politically, among the sister kingdoms of the group than during the life of Kamalalawalu” (Fornander 1996:207). Such was the case for a majority of Kamalālāwalu’s reign. From his lifetime onward, Maui came to be known as “Maui a Kama” or “Maui, island of Kama” in honor of Kamalālāwalu and his *kulāiwi* of Maui (Pūkuʻi 1983:234).

Summary and Significance

At the close of this era, Kākuhihewa and Kamalālāwalu were well into their reigns, Kamakapu (of whom the remaining *moʻolelo* are silent) would perhaps just have completed his reign, as would as well have been the case for Keawenui a ʻUmi. From the beginning of this era up until this point, the government of the time in many ways reflected patterns of the previous eras of beneficent governance that expanded the productive capacity of the islands. And yet the world of Hawaiian politics would be forever altered. The set of concerns that the *aliʻi* brought with them to their offices were far more numerous in these generations. The *aliʻi nui* not only had to deal with enemies from outside of their immediate family, but also needed to consider the possibility of the same arising from within their own families. The course they needed to navigate became far more complex. Still, as it would seem from the prosperity that continued to mark this period, the *aliʻi nui* were able to manage the

growing complexity. They had adopted previous successful strategies and expanded upon them to adjust to the shifting context. Indeed, the conflicts of this period fostered new behaviors that in short accomplished the following: 1) made *ali'i nui* far more accountable to lesser *ali'i*, the *kāhuna pule*, and the *maka'āinana*, 2) increased the need to establish alliances both within and between islands, 3) increased the risk of entering into alliances, and 4) created greater competition between *ali'i* to administer their islands or districts with ever greater skill.

Chapter 11 Contravening Forces: Continued Prosperity, Internal Unrest, and Chiefly Alliances

Introduction

This era comprises 3-5 generations on the different major islands. These are generations 16-20 on Hawai'i Island, the later period of generation 17 (Kamalālāwalu's reign) to the first half of generation 21 on Maui, the later period of generation 17 (Kākuhihewa's reign) to the close of generation 20 on O'ahu, and generations 18-21 on Kaua'i.

Many of the same mechanisms that created lasting success for *ali'i nui* of previous times were applied as well during these generations. In addition, *ali'i nui* adopted new behaviors to address an evolving and ever more complex context. The challenges of this era involved additional strains that were the secondary results of earlier mechanisms applied. Such factors created the overall effect of engaging the islands' *ali'i* more intimately in one another's affairs. The alliances created in previous generations now entailed different consequences in these generations, as the circumstances surrounding them had changed. *Ali'i nui* of this period continued to initiate activities that fostered positions of strength for themselves, their families, the internal affairs of their nations, and their relationships with *ali'i* of other islands. However, unlike the previous era where peace was more prevalent than war, in this

era wars (both internal and abroad) were a regular feature of the time. When peace was finally reestablished at the end of this period, the balance of power among the various *ali'i* entailed more individuals, a more complex web of relationships among them, and hence a larger set of additional factors that needed to be considered to maintain that state.

An Old Practice Renewed on Kaua'i

At the onset of this era, the reigns of Kākuhihewa and Kamalālāwalu (of generation 16) continued under idyllic conditions (as described in Chapter 10). The same could be said for Kaua'i. Its *ali'i* surely felt blessed by their *akua* as they had avoided the conflicts that the other islands endured in the last era. Kaua'i instead enjoyed a seemingly continuous peaceful and prosperous state. Yet the actions of Kawelomakualua, the first *ali'i nui* of Kaua'i during this period, suggest that he saw the potential for similar conflicts also taking place on Kaua'i and sought a means to curb such treasonous thoughts among his lesser *ali'i*.

The *mo'olelo* describe Kawelomakualua (of generation 18) as reinstating the *kapu moe* (prostrating *kapu*). This *kapu* provided a measure of protection for the *ali'i* of the highest sacred ranks from those who would trespass upon the sacred space of their persons. The *kapu moe* further served as a powerful reminder to anyone of the godly character and status that the highest chiefs possessed (see further discussion in Chapter 5). This earlier practice instituted perhaps in the first era with Piliika'ai'ea, Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i, Māweke, and Mo'ikeha was at some unrecorded point in time relaxed in Hawai'i or fell from common practice (possibly due to its highly restrictive and burdensome requirements for both *ali'i* and

maka'āinana) until the reign of Kawelomakualua (Kamakau 1992:223). Along with the reinstatement of this *kapu*, Kawelomakualua also implemented “the practice of burning men for [failure to observe] the tabu of the chiefs” (Kamakau 1992:223). Such a punishment was of course a strong deterrent to anyone who might consider even a slight transgression (much less a rebellion) against the prerogatives of Kawelomakualua.

Kawelomakualua also engaged in a new marriage practice for Kaua'i chiefs. The general pool of blood among Kaua'i *ali'i* was considered pure and of highly sacred strains. As such, close intermarriages among the highest born Kaua'i chiefly families were apparently not regularly practiced. Breaking from this practice, Kawelomakualua chose his own sister Ka'awihioikalani to be his wife (Fornander 1996:293⁵³). From this union was born Kawelo'aikanaka (Fornander 1996:293). The increased sanctity that Kawelomakualua and Ka'awihioikalani ensured for their son, Kawelo'aikanaka, guaranteed that he would enjoy the unquestioned highest sacred ranking among Kaua'i's *ali'i* and be granted all the rights of the *kapu moe*.

Kawelomakualua's establishing the *kapu moe*, instituted capital punishment for its violation, and created an heir who would undoubtedly have reserved the rights to the *kapu moe*. This may have been a proactive measure to ensure that rebellious notions that transformed the governance of Hawai'i's southern islands did not as well affect his nation.

⁵³ Kamakau (1992:223) alludes to the same point of Ka'awihioikalani and Kawelomakualua being a royal couple when he refers to the practice of burning violators of the *kapu moe* that was implemented in the “time of Ka-welo-makua and Ka-'awihio-kalani.” Kamakau (1992:244) further implies that Kawelomakualua and Ka'awihioikalani were siblings when he describes the progeny of Kamakapu (who was also known as Kamakupua, the name Kamakau uses).

An indication of possible unrest or antagonism existing on Kaua'i at this time is suggested by the record of two high-ranking contemporaries of Kawelomakualua who left Kaua'i and settled on O'ahu. These individuals were Ke'alohi a Pe'ekoa and his younger brother Ke'alohikikaupe'a, the two eldest children of Ke'alohikanakamaika'i (their father) and Kāneiahaka (their mother) (Fornander 1996:293). Ke'alohi a Pe'ekoa, Ke'alohikikaupe'a, and Kawelomakualua (all of generation 17) were great-great-grandchildren of Kaua'i's previous *ali'i nui* Kakalanikukuma (of generation 14). Kawelomakualua descended from Kalanikukuma's eldest son Kahakumakaliua (Kamakau 1991:108, 1996:39; Malo 1827:31; Fornander 1996:104, 292). Ke'alohi a Pe'ekoa and Ke'alohikikaupe'a descended, through their mother Kāneiahaka, from Kahakumakaliua's younger brother 'Ilimealani (McKinzie 1983:16, 33; Fornander 1969:54, 88-89, 293, Appendix IX). In other words, Ke'alohi a Pe'ekoa and Ke'alohikikaupe'a were two of the highest ranking individuals from the junior branch of Kaua'i's ruling family. That both left Kaua'i for O'ahu seems to indicate that some form of trouble was present on Kaua'i during Kawelomakualua's reign. Probably in reaction to this situation (which may have been the adoption of the *kapu moe*), Ke'alohi a Pe'ekoa sailed to O'ahu and "obtained a lordship of Waianae...and became connected with the powerful Ewa chiefs" (Fornander 1996:293). Ke'alohikikaupe'a "sought his fortune among the Koolau chiefs on Oahu, and seems to have been connected with the Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa family" (Fornander 1996:293). These out-migrations of high-ranking Kaua'i *ali'i* to O'ahu perhaps avoided potential conflicts on Kaua'i in this generation but also suggests that such tensions were present.

Secondary Effects of Previous Marriage Alliances on Hawai'i Island

Forestalling potential conflicts on Hawai'i as well were Keawenui a 'Umi's dictates for the generation following him which struck a balance among the two most powerful branches of 'Umi's descendants of that generation (i.e., those descended from Keli'iokāloa and Keawenui a 'Umi). The *ali'i nui* was Kaikilani (of generation 16), the daughter of Kūka'ilani who was deprived of his inheritance by Keawenui a 'Umi's insurrection against Kūka'ilani's father Keli'iokāloa. By Kaikilani's side was her husband Kanaloakua'ana who acted as her regent and advisor (Fornander 1996:114-115; Kalākaua 1990:321-322, 336). He was also the *kahu* (guardian and caretaker) of Lonoikamakahiki, son of Keawenui a 'Umi and Hoakalani, a descendent of the Kalona family of O'ahu (Fornander 1996:113, 115). Two other prominent *ali'i* at the time were Makua a Kūmalaenui, who was associated with Hilo, and 'Umiokalani, who was associated with Kona and Kohala (Kamakau 1992:45). Makua a Kūmalae was the grandson of 'Umi (McKinzie 1983:xxii, 20; McKinzie 1983:5). 'Umiokalani was a son of Keawenui a 'Umi and Ho'opili a Hae (Kamakau 1992:45; Malo 1827:20; Fornander 1996:113) who was the granddaughter of Pae (via his daughter Hae a Pae), a *kahuna* of Liloa (Malo 1827:20; Fornander 1996:78, 78f; McKinzie 1986:23).

In the early years of this administration under the joint rule of Kaikilani and Kanaloakua'ana, the *mo'olelo* record that Kanaloakua'ana's supporters asked that he attack 'Umiokalani to acquire for himself and his supporters the "'awa and rich foods" that 'Umiokalani's people enjoyed (Kamakau 1992:46). A battle followed at Pu'uwa'awa'a in North Kona which Kanaloakua'ana won. Since 'Umiokalani continued to be a part of later events, it seems the end of the engagement must

have included a truce wherein 'Umiokalani acknowledged Kanaloakua'ana's dominance over the Kona and Kohala regions and likely relinquished control of valuable lands.

As time continued, Kanaloakua'ana's charge, the younger Lonoikamakahiki developed into a skillful warrior and capable leader, so much so that it is said that through an examination performed by Kanaloakua'ana, Lonoikamakahiki proved his worthiness to rule over Hawai'i. When Kanaloakua'ana completed this test of Lonoikamakahiki, Kanaloakua'ana is said to have advised Kaikilani to allow Lonoikamakahiki to rule jointly with her, and she is said to have readily agreed (Fornander 1996:115, 1999:IV:268-271; Kalākaua 1990:321-322). It was at this juncture that Lonoikamakahiki also became a husband of Kaikilani. Thus, in reality, it seems Kaikilani continued to serve as the nominal *ali'i nui* while Lonoikamakahiki and Kanaloakua'ana served as Hawai'i Island's administrative heads. Kamakau (1991:75) confirms this conclusion by noting that "Lono-i-ka-makahiki of Hawai'i ruled jointly with his older brother Kanaloa-kua'ana; Lono-i-ka-makahiki, over Ka'ū, Puna, and Hilo; Kanaloakua'ana, over Kona, Kohala, and Hāmākua."

The seat of governance during this generation was Kona where Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani made their home. This royal couple was specifically known to have spent a great deal of their time at Kealakekua (Kamakau 1992:47; Pogue 1858:18). Another one of Lonoikamakahiki's specific residences was at the royal complex of 'Umihale at Keauhou (Kekahuna 1950b).

After several years of peace on Hawai'i Island, and under what seems to have been initially tranquil and prosperous conditions, Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani embarked on a tour of the island group for pleasure and to search for a specific kind

of wood from which Lonoikamakahiki planned to make spears (Kalākaua 1990:323-324; Fornander 1996:115-116). They went to Maui and intended to visit with Kamalālāwalu on Maui, however, since Kamalālāwalu was away at the time, their stay on Maui was short (Kalākaua 1990:325; Fornander 1999:IV:270). They next went to Molokaʻi where they remained at Kalaupapa for some time.

In the meantime, Hawaiʻi Island remained at peace under the direction of Kanaloakuaʻana until word reached its chiefs regarding an altercation involving Kaikilani and Lonoikamakahiki during their stay at Kalaupapa. In a fit of jealousy while at Kalaupapa, Lonoikamakahiki struck Kaikilani with a *kōnane* board⁵⁴ (Kalākaua 1990:326; Fornander 1996:116; 1999:IV:272). Kanaloakuaʻana and the other district chiefs were said to have been enraged by the news of the extreme breach of Kaikilaniʻs *kapu* and planned a revolt against Lonoikamakahiki.

Regardless of whether Lonoikamakahikiʻs assault on Kaikilani was the pretext or the driving force behind the rebellion, nearly all the chiefs across the island supported it except for Puapuakea (Fornander 1996:117, 1999:I:V:322; Kalākaua 1990:330-331). He was a half-brother of Lonoikamakahiki, Lonoikamakahikiʻs personal attendant, and an assistant to Lonoikamakahiki in administering Kaʻū (Kamakau 1992:53-54; Fornander 1996:114). Puapuakea had the most to lose if Lonoikamakahiki was defeated. His close affiliation with Lonoikamakahiki would surely have placed

⁵⁴ *Kōnane* is a Hawaiian board game much like checkers involving one playerʻs black stones and anotherʻs white stones. The two players match their skills of strategy and forethought as they make moves to capture each otherʻs stones. It is either played on a wooden board or on a large stone. In either medium, indentations would be made in the playing surface for the placement of the stones.

Puapuakea in great peril if the rebel chiefs of the island were successful in their effort (Kalākaua 1990:330).

When Kaikilani returned safely from Moloka'i back to Hawai'i Island, she discovered the planned revolt and espoused Lonoikamakahiki's cause. Still, the district chiefs remained firm in their resolve. One possible interpretation of their commitment to overthrow Lonoikamakahiki could be that they continued to see his behavior as unacceptable regardless of how Kaikilani viewed the situation (just as family members today would not condone the abuse of one of their daughters by a son-in-law, regardless of the daughter's allowing it).

Nonetheless, it is likely that "other motives must have existed," given Kaikilani's safety and her avowed loyalty to Lonoikamakahiki (Kalākaua 1990:337). Indeed the stance of a majority of the chiefs of the island was in all probability related to another set of factors. Numerous *ali'i* of the time were viable, high-ranking heirs. If a war occurred and if several of the highest ranking *ali'i* were killed in it, a number of possible heirs could come into contention for the position of *ali'i nui* (or at least be in a more politically advantageous situation). The reason there were a number of *ali'i* who could lay a claim to the position of *ali'i nui* in this generation was because 'Umi and his sons Keli'iokāloa and Keawenui a 'Umi together had a total of 16 acknowledged *ali'i* wives and sired children with each of these. The strategy during their lives was to select mates from different geographic areas and different lineages to bring potentially antagonistic districts of the island in alignment with the ruling family. This worked well for these *ali'i*, but at this time the children of those marriages were potentially even more likely to engage in conflicts. They now each had a legitimate claim to rule (as a direct descendant of 'Umi) and had a distinct

geographic area and lineage to support them in war. Further, the aggression against siblings witnessed in the last two generations relieved this generation of the prohibition against engaging in war upon another close relative. In fact, it was probably more important for a son or grandson of 'Umi to support his or her mother's family rather than his or her paternal half-siblings Kaikilani and Lonoikamakahiki. This is not to suggest that an *alii's* maternal family regularly held greater sway over that individual, but simply to note that in this particular context, an *alii's* paternal half-siblings were more removed from that *alii* than that *alii's* mother family with whom an *alii* shared an allegiance to a specific geographic area and populous of that area.

This is perhaps why the main opponents of Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani were such individuals as 1) Kanaloakua'ana of Kohala who was the son of Keawenui a 'Umi and Ko'ihālāwai (Kamakau 1992:45, 58), 2) Kanaloakua'ana's younger full-brother Kanaloakuakawaiea of Hilo (Fornander 1996:113, 1999:IV:322), and 3) 'Umiokalani of the Pae family of Kona who was the son of Keawenui and Ho'opili a Hae (Kamakau 1992:45; Malo 1827:20; Fornander 1996:113; McKinzie 1986:23). In keeping with this analysis, the primary supporters of Kaikilani and Lonoikamakahiki were 1) Puapuakea of Lonoikamakahiki's stronghold of Ka'ū, who was the son of Keawenui (Kamakau 1992:47; Fornander 1996:114, 1999:IV:322; Kalākaua 1990:337), and 2) Iwikauikaua who was Kaikilani's nephew, the son of her brother Makakuali'i (Kalākaua 1990:339; Fornander 1996:125, 127; Kamakau 1992:60-61; Malo 1827:16).

Since Kaikilani's efforts to forestall the rebellion were unsuccessful, she quickly sailed to O'ahu to warn her husband who had continued his travels there and who was being generously entertained by Kākuhihewa. When Lonoikamakahiki and

Kaikilani were reunited and their conflict resolved, Kaikilani shared the more pressing reason for her visit. Hearing the news, Lonoikamakahiki rushed back to Hawai'i and joined Puapuakea and Iwikauikaua. With their combined forces, they eventually emerged victorious and preserved Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani's rule over the island. Significantly, Kanaloakua'ana and 'Umiokalani somehow, through means left unstated in the *mo'olelo*, reconciled with Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani, and the nation of Hawai'i remained stronger and more united than others may have assumed (Kalākaua 199:330-331; Fornander 1996:117-121; 1999:IV:322-33).

At this point, to assure his position as the co-ruler of the island, Lonoikamakahiki specifically set out to dedicate key *heiau*. Lonoikamakahiki consecrated various *heiau* as an "acknowledgment to the gods for his victories" (Fornander 1996:122). These *heiau* included Mulei'ula in Apuakēhau, Kohala; Pu'ukoholā at Kawaihae,⁵⁵ Kohala; and Mākole'ā in Kahalu'u, Kona (Fornander 1996:122, 1999:IV:330; Kekahuna 1950b). Surely not by coincidence, two of the three remembered *heiau* that Lono dedicated were in Kohala, the stronghold of his previous primary opponent Kanaloakua'ana (Kalākaua 1990:330; Fornander 1990:120). The third *heiau* of Mākolea was apparently one of his primary personal *heiau* and was located in one of the districts where Lonoikamakahiki regularly resided (Fornander 1999:IV:356; Kekahuna 1950b).

After suppressing the rebellion, Lono returned to visiting the other islands. The most important agenda of this trip was to seek "the good will" of the various *ali'i*

⁵⁵ This *heiau* of Pu'ukoholā was seemingly a predecessor of the *heiau* Pu'ukoholā that Kamehameha Pa'ea had erected. Apparently Kamehameha either completely rebuilt a new *heiau* at the same location or remodeled the *heiau* at which Lonoikamakahiki worshipped.

of the other islands with whom he hoped to associate “in a friendly manner” (Kamakau 1992:52). As is evident from his reception, the relations of *aliʻi* among the islands were warm and friendly during this period. Lonoikamakahiki was graciously hosted on Maui by Kamalālāwalu, on Oʻahu by Kaʻihikapu a Kākuhihewa, and on Kauaʻi by members of the Kawelo family (Kamakau 1992:53-55; Fornander 1999:IV:330). Following this trip, Lonoikamakahiki returned home to find that he and Kaikilani remained the acknowledged *aliʻi nui* and that all was at peace.

Stability in the Governance of Oʻahu

On Oʻahu serenity, good-will, and abundance continued as the norm following Kākuhihewa’s passing. Kākuhihewa’s two sons cooperatively ruled the two sides of the island during this generation 17. Kānekapu a Kākuhihewa ruled over Kona, ʻEwa, Waiʻanae, and Waialua. Kaʻihikapu a Kākuhihewa reigned over Koʻolauloa and Koʻolaupoko (Kamakau 1992:52). It is likely that although the title of *aliʻi nui* went to Kānekapu a Kākuhihewa as the elder brother (Fornander 1996:274), Kaʻihikapu did not take a low profile or subservient position relative to his brother. This is evidenced in the *moʻolelo* which more prominently note the court of Kaʻihikapu a Kākuhihewa. It is remembered that “the gay temper and sumptuous style of living, which had made Kakuhihewa so famous among his contemporaries, were in a great measure shared by his son Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa, whose brilliant entourage continued the lustre of his father’s court” (Fornander 1996:275). While Kaʻihikapu’s court is recounted in these glowing terms, his brother’s court is not recalled. However, to the credit of both the brothers, “no dissensions seem to have troubled their lives” (Fornander 1996:275).

Negative Consequences of Affluence: Warfare Under Prosperous Conditions

Kamalālāwalu's War on Hawai'i Island. Maui's population enjoyed the same calm and prosperity throughout Kamalālāwalu's famous reign (during generation 16). However, the war on Hawai'i Island did not go unnoticed on Maui where Kamalālāwalu at the time was in his older years and growing "weary of continued peace with the chiefs of Hawaii" (Kamakau 1992:55). By the end of his reign, Kamalālāwalu appears to have had excess resources and time at his disposal. His thoughts turned to waging war upon Hawai'i which, if captured, would have been the crowning glory of his illustrious reign. That "Lonoikamakahiki's strength and his success in war" were well known inspired Kamalālāwalu further to meet the challenge "to destroy by war the chiefs of Hawaii" (Fornander 1999:IV:334). Indeed, it is recorded that it was "Kamalalawalu's high ambitions" which "aroused [him] to wage war against Lonoikamakahiki" (Fornander 1999:IV:338). Hawai'i Island at the time provided an alluring target as it seemed vulnerable due to the internal dissension that occurred there which culminated in armed conflict. Kamalālāwalu perhaps assumed that such events significantly weakened its warrior forces and the unified resolve of its *ali'i*. Further, Kamalālāwalu could have presumed that Lonoikamakahiki would not have expected or prepared for an attack from Maui, especially with the warm, amicable relations he and Lonoikamakahiki nurtured during Lonoikamakahiki's then recent visit to Maui.

With such factors considered, Kamalālāwalu took serious steps to plan for an invasion. In an unsuccessful reconnaissance effort, Kamalālāwalu sent his half-brother Kauhiokalani as a scout to Hawai'i Island to ascertain the fighting ability of its people. Kauhiokalani was instructed to pay particular attention to the districts of

Kohala, Kona and Ka'ū, for Kamalālāwalu sought to battle in these areas.

Kamalālāwalu “did not want to fight against the chiefs of Hilo because they were cousins of the Maui chiefs” (Kamakau 1992:55). Kamalālāwalu’s aunt was Pīikea (the sister of his father Kiha a Pīilani) who was the grandmother of Makua a Kūmalae (Kamakau 1991:73, 1992:19; Fomander 1996:103; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 4-5, 20) whose family members were then the prominent *ali'i* of Hilo.

Kauhiokalani, with tragic ramifications, failed to understand the settlement patterns and daily activities of the people in Kohala and Kona and hence underestimated their numbers. Fomander’s (1999:IV:338) detailed rendition of the *mo'olelo* recounts how Kalālāwalu’s *kahuna* Lanikāula warned him of Kauhiokalani’s mistake in judgement saying,

Kauhiakama did not see the number of people in Kohala because he traveled on the seashore, reaching Kona from Kawaihae and arrived on the heights of Huehue. He could not have seen the people of that locality because there were only clinkers there, having proceeded along by way of Kona until he arrived at Kau. If he had traveled along the Kona route in the early morning he could not have met people at that time because the inhabitants of that section had gone to the uplands and some had gone fishing; those remaining home were only the feeble and sick, therefore the people of Kona could not have been seen by Kauhiakama on his tour. Had he gone during the evening he would surely have seen the large population of Kona because it is the largest district of Hawaii.

In the same light, Kohala was as well known to be highly populated, the source of it being poetically described with the *'ōlelo kaena* (honorific epithet), *Lēʻ mai o Kohala i ka nuku nā kānaka*, which translates, “covered is Kohala with men to the very point of the land” (Pūkuʻi 1983:213). This saying was made famous especially after Kauhiokalani’s critical underestimation (Pūkuʻi 1983:213).

Kamalālāwalu, paying no heed to his *kahuna* Lanikāula, led his war party to Hawaiʻi. There the Maui warriors initially surprised the Kohala forces that were

readily at hand and who alone had to contend initially with the Maui army.

Kanaloakua'ana was captured, tortured, and demeaned, before he was finally killed (Kamakau 1992:58; Fornander 1996:123, 1999:IV:342). The Maui *alii* "tattooed the inside of his eyelids which led to him being "renamed Ka-maka-hiwa (Blackened-eyes) and Ka-maka-paweo (shamed eyes)" (Kamakau 1992:58). When support arrived from all six districts to battle with Kamalālāwalu in earnest, their combined numbers were far more formidable than Kamalālāwalu was led to believe would be the case. Kamalālāwalu appealed to Lonoikamakahiki for a diplomatic solution. None was offered. The reason for this response was the horrific treatment that Kanaloakua'ana endured prior to being killed. Kamalālāwalu's party was attacked, he was killed, and his warriors put to flight (Kamakau 1992:55-60; Fornander 1996:123, 1999:IV:342-349).

Kamalālāwalu's invasion was the first battle in seven generations between the islands in which an aggressive external force initiated the conflict. This war was the first (but not the last) of a new sort. It is war as an act of bravado sponsored by a highly prosperous nation and a powerful, popular, and successful chief. It was war as an opportunity to display one's *mana*, skills, bravery, and loyalty; war as an *indirect* means to improve one's own and one's family's standing. When Kamalālāwalu went to war against Hawai'i, his nation was wealthy and content. There was no need to acquire the resources of another island. There were no compelling hostilities between the islands that could reasonably account for the

war.⁵⁶ Kamalālāwalu had ruled his island well and perhaps there was only one more achievement for which he was not yet renown: victory in war.

At another level, the lesser chiefs of the time may have also desired war. For they would have had little to distinguish themselves from other chiefs who as a whole were apparently managing the land and people well, whether of their own accord or at the direction of Kamalālāwalu's administration. In other words, there evolved in this era a somewhat negative consequence of the stable and generally affluent status of Maui's society—*ali'i* had few ways to elevate themselves in their ranks. Under such conditions, warfare became a tantalizing arena for *ali'i* (or even lower-level warriors) to improve their achieved status. In doing so, there would be tangible and intangible benefits. A lesser chief could gain administrative responsibilities for a larger or more prestigious district. The *maka'āinana* he managed might have afforded him and his family increased respect and deference, thus making his job of administering a district easier. He may have even garnered for himself a higher ranking chiefess as his wife. If a chief performed in exemplary fashion on the battlefield, or the troops that he trained and led did the same, the positive rewards would extend far beyond any material goods that could be appropriated as the spoils of war abroad.

Indications that Kamalālāwalu's chiefs seemed to desire the war on Hawai'i Island (rather than being coerced into participation by Kamalālāwalu due to their obligations to him) are seen in the outcome of two events during the battle

⁵⁶ Although it is recorded that a spirited competition of words occurred on Maui between Puapuakea (of Lonoikamakahiki's visiting party) and Makakūikalani (of Kamalālāwalu's court), the taunting they exchanged (see Kamakau 1992:54; Fornander 1999:IV:332-335) was surely not enough to inspire Kamalālāwalu to war.

preparations. When Kauhiokalani (Kamalālāwalu's half brother) went to Hawai'i Island to estimate its population and fighting capability, he reported that their numbers were few, which then solidified the battle plans. If Kauhiokalani and those who accompanied him saw the war as pointless and their lives as needlessly being put at risk, they had the perfect opportunity to provide Kamalālāwalu with a report of the large size of Hawai'i Island's population and the likely formidable forces that they would have to face (whether or not they accurately observed the same).

A second clear opportunity for the chiefs of Maui to have protested Kamalālāwalu's war plans came when Kamalālāwalu's trusted priest, Lanikāula, foretold of their doom and urged Kamalālāwalu to abandon his plans (Kamakau 1992:57; Fornander 1999:IV:338, 340). It is even said that Lanikāula was not alone and that other *kāhuna* joined in the opposition (Kamakau 1992:57).⁵⁷ Chiefs who were reticent about going into battle on Hawai'i could have capitalized on Lanikāula's stance and either worked publicly with him and other *kāhuna* in the *'aha ali'i* to argue against the battle, or they could have planned in covert ways to subvert the war campaign. Such a scenario would have been possible, for the *kāhuna pule* and junior chiefs were known to have worked in concert not only to change the plans of *ali'i nui*, but even to go as far as unseating various *ali'i nui* and their heirs (as in the cases of Kamai'ole and Hākau on Hawai'i, 'Olopana and Haka on O'ahu, and Hua a

⁵⁷ Kamakau's (1992:57) informant specifically noted two additional *kāhuna* besides Lanikāula who opposed the battle efforts. They were Kīu and Kāohi. Rather than a literal report of the names of two *kāhuna* who supported Lanikāula's stance, this was probably a poetic reference to a general and larger context of the *kāhuna pule* trying to restrain the war effort and having more accurate knowledge of the populations of Kohala and Kona discovered through more accurate intelligence. This conclusion is suggested by the names Kīu (meaning "to hold back, detain, restrain, prevent") and Kāohi (meaning "to spy, observe secretly") (Pūku'i and Elbert 1986:130, 155).

Pohukaina on Maui). Yet regardless of the strong opposition that the *kāhuna pule* voiced regarding the invasion, the *aliʻi* involved apparently supported it.

Given that the chiefs of Maui had opportunities to avoid the war on Hawaiʻi Island, that they did not rise up in opposition to it, and that there was stability and prosperity on Maui at the time, Kamalālāwalu’s war against Hawaiʻi Island seems to have been instigated by the possible benefits to the *aliʻi* that they could accrue from their prowess on the battlefield, as described above. In short, war was perhaps instigated in this case because of the prosperity on Maui rather than from a need for more land and resources to sustain its population.

Benefits of Inter-island Marriages

Examples Involving Maui and Hawaiʻi Island *Aliʻi*. Regardless of Kamalālāwalu’s defeat, Maui’s affluence continued under his son and heir Kauhi a Kamalālāwalu (of generation 17) (Kamakau 1991:73; Malo 1827:15; McKinzie 1983:14, 21, 1986:12, 114). Although Kauhi a Kama participated in the battle on Hawaiʻi Island, he escaped and eventually made his way back safely to Maui, in large part because he received the sympathy and assistance of a chief named Hīnau. Hīnau was a “foster son,” a “favorite” of Lonoikamakahiki (Kamakau 1992:60) and a messenger and general in Lonoikamakahiki’s army who in the end was executed for the assistance he provided to Kauhi a Kama (Fomander 1999:IV:348-350). Although Hīnau’s genealogy is not recorded, it is probable that he was a close relative of Kauhi a Kama’s wife, Kapukiniakua, for it is said that the reason Hīnau assisted Kauhi a Kama was because of Hīnau’s relationship to Kapukiniakua, a native chiefess of Hawaiʻi Island (Kamakau 1992:60). Kapukiniakua

was the daughter of Kaikilani's younger brother Makakauali'i (Kamakau 1992:60; McKinzie 1983:xxii; McKinzie 1983:5; Fornander 1996:125).

In the next generation 17, Kauhi a Kama followed in his father's footsteps, and again there was a war. This time it was waged against O'ahu. As there are no clear explanations in the *mo'olelo* for this war, the possibility of it being waged for the reasons described above remains plausible. While the oral traditions shed no light on the causes of this war, other dimensions of it are worth noting. Kauhi a Kama's war on O'ahu further illustrates the role of marriage alliances in chiefly decision making. In selecting an island to invade, Hawai'i Island was surely the first to be removed from consideration since Kauhi a Kama's wife Kapukinakua was, on both her maternal and paternal sides, a native Hawai'i Island chiefess. Just as this marriage provided Kauhi a Kama protection when he fled from Hawai'i following his father's defeat there, the same marriage alliance at this juncture afforded Kapukiniakua's family and home island similar protection. Thus, while one might surmise that Kauhi a Kama would want to restore Maui's reputation in a second-round battle on Hawai'i Island, the possibility of that would have been out of the question.

Whether Kauhi a Kama had specific reasons for not selecting Moloka'i as his target is unclear. Its political affiliation to Maui (as loosely described in the *mo'olelo* and mentioned above) perhaps eliminated that possibility. However, one factor favoring the selection of O'ahu was that it was ruled by two *ali'i* who were perceived as being largely independent. These *ali'i* were Kānekapu a Kākuhihewa and his brother Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa (Kamakau 1992:52). Kauhi a Kama could have suspected that their forces were not coordinated nor united enough to repel an

attack from Maui. Further, no close family ties prevented Kauhi a Kama from selecting O'ahu. The most direct Maui relative of Kauhi a Kama would have been his great-grandmother (Lā'ielohelohe) whose father (Kalamakua) was a prominent *ali'i* who ruled over 'Ewa, O'ahu. With the above considerations in mind, and surely many others as well, Kauhi a Kama sailed toward O'ahu and landed his fleet of warriors at Waikiki. It was a "rash" decision as it brought the Maui army to "the most thickly populated district of O'ahu, and led it to slaughter" (Kalākaua 1990:344). As was the case with his father on Hawai'i Island, Kauhi a Kama's sources of intelligence underestimated O'ahu's forces. The battle ended with his warriors defeated, Kauhi a Kama slain, and his body in the hands of the O'ahu chiefs (Kalākaua 1990:344; Fornander 1996:208). No doubt the O'ahu *ali'i* greatly resented the unprovoked intrusion on their home island. Hence Kauhi a Kama, even in death, paid for the assault. Kauhi a Kama was sacrificed in the *heiau* of Helumoa at 'Āpuakēhau, Waikiki⁵⁸ (Thrum 1907a:44) where "his body was exposed" and where "great indignities were committed with his bones" (Fornander 1996:208).

Examples Involving O'ahu and Kaua'i *Ali'i*. A second battle with which the O'ahu forces of this generation had to contend involved the *ali'i* of Kaua'i. This occurred toward the end of Kānekapu a Kākuhihewa and Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa's joint reign. The *mo'olelo* report that Kawelo'aikanaka (of generation 19), the sacred child of Kawelomakualua and his sister Ka'awihioalani, had become exceedingly rapacious during his reign. Kawelo'aikanaka seized the lands of Malaiakalani (Kawelo'aikanaka's aunt [Fornander 1996:293]) and her family, leaving them much

⁵⁸ 'Āpuakēhau is the area where the Moana Hotel is currently located (Pūku'i, Elbert, and Mo'okini 1974:13).

degraded in status (Fornander 1999:V:20). Malaiakalani's son, Kawelo a Maihunaali'i,⁵⁹ took up his family's cause and in some fashion protested against Kawelo'aikanaka's actions. In response, Kawelo'aikanaka had Kawelo a Maihunaali'i "driven out of the island" (Fornander 1996:294).

Kawelo a Maihunaali'i's marriage to Kānewahineikiaoha (Fornander 1996:294; 1999:V:4, 20) proved highly beneficial to him. Kānewahineikiaoha's father was an O'ahu *alii* named Kalonaikaha'ilā'au (Fornander 1996:276, 294, 1999:V:4, 20). Kawelo a Maihunaali'i fled to O'ahu and found refuge with his wife's family (Kalākaua 1990:343; Fornander 1996:294). While there he secured from Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa "land bordering on the Kolekole Pass in the Waianae mountains" (Fornander 1996:294; see also Kalākaua 1990:343). Using the resources of these upland areas, Kawelo a Maihunaali'i "began to construct canoes and prepare[d] for a return to Kauai with a force sufficient to maintain himself on that island" (Kalākaua 1990:343). Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa was also said to have further aided Kawelo a Maihunaali'i "with men, arms, and canoes" for his planned revolt against Kawelo'aikanaka (Fornander 1996:276; see also Kalākaua 1990:343). With this support, Kawelo a Maihunaali'i staged a triumphant rebellion against Kawelo'aikanaka, engaged in a second battle with Kawelo'aikanaka in which Kawelo'aikanaka was killed, and Kawelo a Maihunaali'i established himself as the new sovereign of Kaua'i (Fornander 1996:294, 1999:V:32-71).

An Example Involving Maui, O'ahu, and Hawai'i Island *Ali'i*. Departing Kaua'i after the victorious war effort was a high-ranking Hawai'i Island *alii*,

⁵⁹ This individual Kawelo a Maihunaali'i was also known by the name Kaweloleimakua or simply Kawelo (Fornander 1996:294, 1999:V:2-3).

Iwikauikaua (of generation 16). He assisted Kawelo a Maihunaali'i on Kaua'i as part of Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa's pledged aid from O'ahu. At this juncture, his role proved pivotal in another set of events that unfolded on Maui. Iwikauikaua was the son of Makakauali'i, the brother of Kaikilani (granddaughter of Keli'iokāloa) (Kamakau 1992:92; Malo 1827:16; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 1986:30, 33). When Kaikilani came to the position of *ali'i nui* and was ruling in concert with Keawenui a 'Umi's sons, Kanaloakua'ana and Lonoikamakahiki, Iwikauikaua believed he had no avenue for upward mobility in Hawai'i Island politics, despite his heroic effort in the battle to sustain Kaikilani and Lonoikamakahiki in power. Thus, he ventured to O'ahu, entered the courtly life of Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa, married Ka'ihikapu's daughter Kauakahiakua'anaauakāne, and joined the war on Kaua'i on the side of Kawelo a Maihunaali'i (Kalākaua 1990:341-343).

After leaving the battle on Kaua'i, Iwikauikaua sailed to Maui to visit his half-sister Kapukiniakua (Kamakau 1992:60; McKinzie 1983:5; Fornander 1996:125, 125f) who was Kauhi a Kama's wife. At the time, Kalanikaumakaowākea, Kapukiniakua's son (Kamakau 1991:74; Malo 1827:15; Fornander 1996:126, 209; McKinzie 1983:14, 21, 1986:12), had assumed the position of his father Kauhi a Kama who died in battle on O'ahu (Fornander 1996:130, 209). The Maui *'aha ali'i* was then contemplating waging a war of revenge on O'ahu for its chiefs' cruel treatment of Kauhi a Kama (Kalākaua 1990:344). Being of high chiefly rank and the brother of the dowager *ali'i nui wahine* Kapukiniakua, Iwikauikaua was apparently allowed to enter into the discussion of the Maui *'aha ali'i*. Iwikauikaua's experience with O'ahu's warriors convinced the Maui *'aha ali'i* of the strength of O'ahu's military and the futility of an attack upon them (Kalākaua 1990:344-346). Thus, a third major

war effort from Maui was avoided in this generation 18, in large part due to the increased mobility of chiefs between the islands and the increased marital ties between the islands' *ali'i* that gave Iwikauikaua in this case privileged access to the courts of those islands.

Continued Changes in the Role of Ali'i Nui on Hawai'i Island

All the while that tensions were flaring on Kaua'i and Maui, Hawai'i Island's government was as well experiencing new sources of stress. This time the situation resulted not in a shift in the individuals holding paramount power, but rather in the distribution of the power itself. In this generation 17 on Hawai'i, its *ali'i nui*, Keakealanikāne, adopted a stance of loosening his hold on the district chiefs (Fornander 1996:127). "Under the reign of Keakealanikāne several of the more powerful of the district chiefs had assumed an attitude of comparative independence. The most noted of these were the I family, of Hilo, and the Mahi chiefs, of Kohala"⁶⁰ (Kalākaua 1990:346). They were able "to assume an attitude little short of political independence" due to their "large territorial possessions" (Fornander 1996:127) which seemed to have remained in their families for generations regardless of the political changes and the supposed authority of the *ali'i nui* to reapportion the lands upon their induction to their positions (Fornander 1996:301). Hence, Keakealanikāne may have had little choice but to simply allow for this to occur. The option of keeping a strong hold over these chiefs and their districts would have

⁶⁰ The Mahi family was referred to by this name in later years due to one of its most famous members, Mahi'ololi'i, who followed two generations after this time. His paternal grandfather, who was a contemporary of Keakealanikāne, was Keaweakai (Malo 1827:35; Fornander 1996:128; McKinzie 1986:23, 70). Keaweakai was likely the lead person of the "Mahi" family during this time (see also the discussion in Chapter 8).

required the use of force which, given the resources of the 'Ī and Mahi families' estates, would have made a positive outcome for Keakealanikāne uncertain. In this context, the position of *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island was redefined as being only nominal.

The extent to which the district *ali'i 'ai moku* were independent is illustrated by a *mo'olelo* that affected Maui at this time. At the onset of Kalanikaumakaowākea's reign, a "strong predatory expedition from Hawai'i" left "several villages...plundered on the southern coast" of Maui and continued to threaten Wailuku (Kalākaua 1990:346). Iwikauikaua (half-brother to the dowager queen of Maui, Kapukiniakua) assisted the Maui forces in repelling the attack from Kohala "under the command of one of the Mahi chiefs in person" (Kalākaua 1990:346) (which was perhaps waged in retaliation for Kamalālāwalu's unprovoked attack on Kohala in which the Kohala *ali'i 'ai moku* Kanaloakua'ana was tortured and killed). This raid by the Mahi family on Maui (probably led by Kanaloauo'o, son of Keaweakai and father of Mahi'ololi) seemed to have occurred "without the knowledge or countenance of the sovereign authority" (Kalākaua 1990:346), another indication of the autonomy that the district *ali'i 'ai moku* of Hawai'i Island experienced at this time.

At the core of the newly decentralized government on Hawai'i Island was a change in relationships of the district chiefs to the paramount rulers. In the previous generations a focal reason for the amicable and supportive relationships were key marriage alliances. However, during this era (and particularly in this generation under Keakealanikāne), problems appeared following the secondary effects of the earlier marriage practices. In this generation, the numerous progeny of those previous marriages were 1) more similar in rank and hence in a position of greater

equality to the *ali'i nui* than in times past, 2) less likely to readily develop a sense of affinity to one another (as compared to a situation in which a ruling chief's only acknowledged *ali'i* children were sired by one mother), 3) more distantly related to the ruling chief (as opposed again to the situation where a set of siblings are born of the same mother), and thus less compelled to offer that *ali'i nui* allegiance, 4) more closely connected to different chiefly lineages associated with their respective mothers than to their collateral relative who was the *ali'i nui*, and 5) in direct control of the human and material resources of the districts with which their mothers' families were associated (as opposed to the indirect control exerted by an *ali'i nui*). These factors combined during this era to pull the *ali'i 'ai moku* of the various districts out from under the administrative control of the now nominal *ali'i nui*.

Further Secondary Effects of Marriage Alliances: Warfare on Hawai'i Island

The nominal, conciliatory position of the Hawai'i *ali'i nui* changed upon Keakealanikāne's death when his daughter, Keakamahana (of generation 18), ascended to the position of *ali'i nui*. Keakamahana was an extremely *kapu* chiefess, even exceeding the rank of her father. Hence her approach in dealing with the *ali'i* of the island may have been influenced by this fact and her upbringing. Keakamahana was a *pi'o* chiefess, the daughter of the full siblings Keakealanikāne and Keli'iokalani (Kamakau 1992:61; Malo 1827:35; McKinzie 1983:xxii). A second reason that Keakamahana was held in such high regard was because she possessed the blood of Kaua'i's venerated lineages. She was the fourth-generation descendant of Kahakumakaliua of Kaua'i and his wife 'Akahi'ilikapu ('Umi's daughter) (Kamakau 1992:45, 61; Malo 1827:35; Fomander 1996:113, 127, 292,

1999:IV:405; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 79). This fact brought her to be raised on Kaua'i. When Keakamahana "was born she was taken to Kauai to be reared, and when the chiefs of Hawai'i desired a sacred ruler over their government, they went to Kauai to bring her back," as occurred upon the passing of her father (Kamakau 1992:62). Of course on Kaua'i at the time, the approach toward aggressive or belligerent *ali'i* was not at all conciliatory (e.g., they had recently reinstated the *kapu moe* and the punishment of burning violators), a perspective that Keakamahana seemed to have adopted during her rule.

Her decision to take a harder stance against the district *ali'i* may have also been affected by Iwikauikaua, the husband she took upon becoming the *ali'i nui* (Kamakau 1992:61; Malo 1827:35; Fornander 1996:126, 128; 'I'i 1983:6; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 1986:30; Kalākaua 1990:343). Iwikauikaua had recently returned to Hawai'i Island from his years of adventures abroad and was as well was exposed to the other islands' administrative systems.

The royal couples' further source of strength in asserting Keakamahana's position over the island came from the fact that their marriage joined two major branches of Hawai'i Island's *ali'i*. This was because Iwikauikaua was the grandson of Keli'iokāloa while Keakamahana was the great-granddaughter of Keawenui a 'Umi as well as the third-generation descendant of Keli'iokāloa. Given their lineages, a wide array of chiefs on Hawai'i Island would owe them their allegiance.

Various *mo'olelo* together indicate that Keakamahana held absolute administrative authority over Kona (Kamakau 1992:61) which served as her primary residence while she ruled ('I'i 1983:6). Kamakau (1992:61) specifically recounts that the "chiefs of Kona recognized...and exalted" Keakamahana as their ruler (Kamakau

1992:61), but the same was not true throughout the island. In addition to her control over Kona, she appears to have held nominal control over Kohala and Kaū (Kamakau 1992:61).

However, “the most prominent figures about the time of Keakamahana [were] probably Kanaloauoo, the renowned chief of Kohala, and his three sons,” the most famous of whom was Mahi’ololi (Fornander 1996:127). The “ancestral home” of this Mahi family was at Hālawā in the windward portion of North Kohala (Kohala I Loko, Kohala Nui), which apparently remained in their family through the time of their heir Kamehameha and even later (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:163; Fornander 1996:301). Their family remained from the time of Keakealanikāne, for all intents and purposes, politically independent in Kohala (Fornander 1996:127). Although Kanaloauo’o was a half-brother to Keakamahana (both sharing Keli’iokalani as their mother [Malo 1827:35]), the pattern established under Keakealanikāne allowed him to act quite independently.

The same was the case to an even greater degree for the windward side of Hawai’i which was held by various progeny of ‘Umi, the most dominant of whom descended from Kūmalāenui a ‘Umi (Kamakau 1992:61). In this generation, such a descendant of Kūmalāe who was likely in his prime adult years would have been ‘Ī, from whose name that family was since remembered (Fornander 1996:127). Significantly, the progenitor of this family, Kūmalāe, was a half-brother of Keli’iokāloa and Keawenui a ‘Umi, rather than a descendant of these *ali’i nui*. Hence Kūmalāe

and his family historically owed less allegiance to their descendants who in this generation were Keakamahana and Iwikauikaua.⁶¹

It is unclear what specific program or approach Keakamahana took in asserting her authority over the windward side of the island (including the windward Kohala region where the Mahi family held sway). Whatever the immediate cause was, it resulted in "much fighting between the chiefs of Kona and Hilo" in which "neither was defeated" (Kamakau 1992:62). The battles were said to have been unremitting (Kamakau 1992:62), but of a smaller scale than the "great wars" during the time of Lonoikamakahiki (Fornander 1999:IV:362).⁶² This fighting was said to have continued for "the chiefs of Kona desired Hilo, Hamakua, and La'a because of the *mamo* and 'o'o feathers, the war canoes, and fine tapas such as the 'o'uholowai, 'eleuli, pala'a', and *kaluakalu* of Waipi'o," while "the chiefs of Hilo in turn desired warm food and drinking water, and tough and tender fish... the wealth of Kona" (Kamakau 1992:62). In short, vying parties on Hawai'i Island sought to covet each other's resources and thereby increase the bounty and *mana* of their own domains. The ruling family in Kona and those of Hilo viewed the riches of each other's districts as providing desired complementary resources lacking in their own homelands.

The same unrelenting antagonism between the Kona and Hilo districts continued in the next generation on Hawai'i Island under Keakealaniwahine's rule.

⁶¹ The lesser allegiance that the Hilo chiefs owed to the descendants of Keli'ioakāloa and Keawenui is somewhat tempered in this generation since 'i's grandfather, through his mother Kapōhelemai, was Keawenui a 'Umi (Fornander 1996:104, 113-114; McKinzie 1983:20, 22).

⁶² Further, Stokes (1937:36-40) convincingly argues that even in what were considered major battles (e.g., Kalani'ōpu'u's battle against Kahekili in which his 'Ālapa regiment was ambushed by Kahekili) that large exaggerations in the numbers of warriors who fell in battle seemed to have been recorded in the oral traditions. As such, it is likely that the confrontations between Keakamahana's forces and the district chiefs were of still a smaller scale and without a major impact on the normal activities of the island regardless of the frequency of these skirmishes.

Keakealaniwahine was the first born of Keakamahana and Iwikauikaua (Kamakau 1992:62; Malo 1827:35; 'Ī'i 1983:6; Fornander 1996:128; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 1986:30). She ruled from her primary residence at Hōlualoa, Kona (Kekahuna 1950a). During Keakealaniwahine's reign there was a slight political shift. Mahi'ololi of Kohala chose to champion her cause. Although they shared the same grandmother, Keli'iokalani (Malō 1827:35; Kamakau 1992:61, 62; 'Ī'i 1983:6; Fornander 1996:128; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 70, 1986:23, 30), there were probably additional unknown political motivations for this arrangement. In any case, Mahi'ololi became "the executive officer (*Kuhina kawa nui*) for the chiefess Keakea-lani while she held the government of Hawaii" (Kamakau 1992:76; see also Fornander 1996:128-129). Mahi'ololi and his brothers served as Keakealaniwahine's lead generals in the continued battles against the Hilo 'Ī family (Kamakau 1992:63). In this generation, 'Ī's son Kua'ana a 'Ī and later Kua'ana a 'Ī's son Kuahu'ia, were Keakealaniwahine's opponents. Regardless of the added support of Kohala's forces to the Kona ones, the ongoing wars were indecisive (Fornander 1996:128). Keakealaniwahine remained in control of her side of the island and the 'Ī family under Kuahu'ia maintained their stand in Hilo.

Significantly, at some point in the long-standing impasse, the 'Ī and Mahi families appear to have provided themselves a measure of insurance for any possible outcome. Genealogical records indicate that Mahi'ololi married 'Ī's daughter, Kānekūka'ailani (Kua'ana a 'Ī's half-sister and Kuahu'ia's aunt). This

marriage would have buffered the harms that would ensue for either family in the case that the ongoing battles produced a decisive result.⁶³

Continued Stability on Maui and O'ahu

While Keakamahana and Keakealaniwahine were involved in persistent battles with the Hilo chiefs, Kalanikaumakaowākea and Lonohonuakini on Maui (generations 19 and 20), as well as Kaho'owahaokalani on O'ahu (generation 19) maintained their control over their respective islands. The nature of their reigns is difficult to ascertain from their sparse record in the *mo'olelo*. Activities of note on Maui during this time were initiated in reaction to Mahi'ololi's raid. The chiefs there under Kalanikaumakaowākea "found employment for some time in repairing canoes, establishing signals, and placing their coast settlements in better conditions of defense" (Kalākaua 1990:346). No further raids were noted, perhaps because of the effectiveness of the deterrents established on Maui or the business of war with which the chiefs of Hawai'i were kept busy. On O'ahu Kaho'owahaokalani's reign left only the remembrance of "peace and prosperity" being "uninterrupted" (Fornander 1996:277).

Continued Changes in the Role of the Ali'i Nui on O'ahu

During the reign of Kaho'owahaokalani's son, Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha (in generation 19) (Malo 1827:14, 17; Fornander 1996:277; McKinzie 1983:31, 1986:22, 29), the singular event recalled is Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha's reinstating the *kapu*

⁶³ In the same light, the Mahi's family's relationship with Maui's *ali'i* displayed similar ties. Mahi'ololi also married 'Umiwi'ula (McKinzie 1983:64, 67, 1986:73) who was the daughter of Makakūikalani (McKinzie 1986:73), a brother, personal attendant, and close confidant of Kamalālāwalu (Kamakau 1992:54).

moe and instituting the punishment of death by burning for its violation (as was done two generations prior on Kaua'i under Kawelomakualua) (Kamakau 1992:223). Considering the difficulties which his son Kūali'i later faced during Kūali'i's early years as *ali'i nui*, it is apparent that the district chiefs on O'ahu had been allowed or assumed a significant degree of political independence for their regions under Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha, as was similarly the case on Hawai'i Island at the time. Thus, Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha's renewed adoption of the *kapu moe* may have allowed him to assert some degree of higher authority (if not only symbolically) upon the district chiefs.

The first task that Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha's son and heir, Kūali'i, attended to upon becoming the *ali'i nui* was to bring the district chiefs of O'ahu back "to their proper status as feudatories" (Fornander 1996:280). Kūali'i's first attempt to do so was directed toward the Kona district. He asserted his authority as *ali'i nui* over that *moku* by consecrating the *heiau* of Kawaluna in Nu'uuanu, Kona. Following the ceremony, he "fought and routed the Kona forces that had ascended the valley to resist and prevent him" from conducting the rites and who after losing the battle "submitted themselves" to Kūali'i's authority (Fornander 1996:280).⁶⁴ Thus, Kūali'i returned to his residence at Kailua, called Kalanihale (Fornander 1999:IV:420), and developed plans for his securing control over the rest of O'ahu.

After acquiring wood from Kaua'i for spears for his warriors, Kūali'i "turned his attention to the Ewa and Waialua chiefs and their subjection to his authority"

⁶⁴ Another version of this *mo'olelo* (Fornander 1999:IV:408) indicates that Kauakahi a Kaho'owaha was still alive, though in his later years, during this battle in which Kūali'i led the charge. This suggests that Kūali'i may have ascended to his position as the active *ali'i nui* while his elderly father was in retirement.

(Fornander 1996:280). His victorious battle against these chiefs was at Kalena, on the plain of Hele'au'au near Lihu'e. The chiefs of 'Ewa and Waialua, however, staged a second battle "at Malamanui and Paupauwela, in which they were thoroughly worsted, and the authority of Kualii...finally secured and acknowledged" (Fornander 1996:281). However, Kūali'i's fame and influence would not end there. By the close of his career he traveled to all the main islands and had a major influence on at least three of these.

Increased Interactions Between the Islands

A second island with which Kūali'i was intimately associated was Kaua'i. Whether at this time following his consolidation of O'ahu under his authority or slightly later, Kūali'i was also brought into the governance of Kaua'i, as there was a vacancy there in the position of *ali'i nui*. Kawelo a Maihunaali'i (of generation 19) who overthrew his cousin, Kawelo'aikanaka, was deposed by his people who apparently were not pleased with his administration of the island. The scant extant *mo'olelo* for Kaua'i only note that "when he became old he was killed by having been thrown over a cliff by some rebellious subjects" (Fornander 1996:294).

The chiefs of Kaua'i at this point overlooked Kawelo a Maihunaali'i's daughter for the position of *ali'i nui* (perhaps due to what might have been her young age or her relationship to Kawelo a Maihunaali'i who, probably even in death, was out of favor). Instead the Kaua'i chiefs divided up the island between Lonoikahā'upu and Kūali'i. Lonoikahā'upu became the independent *ali'i nui* of the windward or east districts of Kaua'i and Kūali'i was given charge of the leeward side (Kalākaua 1990:354; Fornander 1996:125, 295). Lonoikahā'upu was a direct lineal descendant

of Kaua'i's *ali'i nui* of six generations prior, Kalanikukuma, but traced this descent from a junior line through 'Ilimealani, the younger full-brother of Kalanikukuma's heir, Kahakumakaliua (Malo 1827:13, 17; Kamakau 1992:55; Fornander 1996:54, 88-89, 293; McKinzie 1983:16, 33). Kūali'i's connection to Kaua'i was perhaps due to the lineage of his grandmother, Kawelolauhuki, whose lineages included those of Kaua'i (Fornander 1996:293f, 295). A second possible tie that Kūali'i may have had with Kaua'i was through his mother Mahulua (Kamakau 1992:8; Malo 1827:14, 17) whose lineage has not been recorded in readily available sources and who may have been related to Kaua'i *ali'i*.

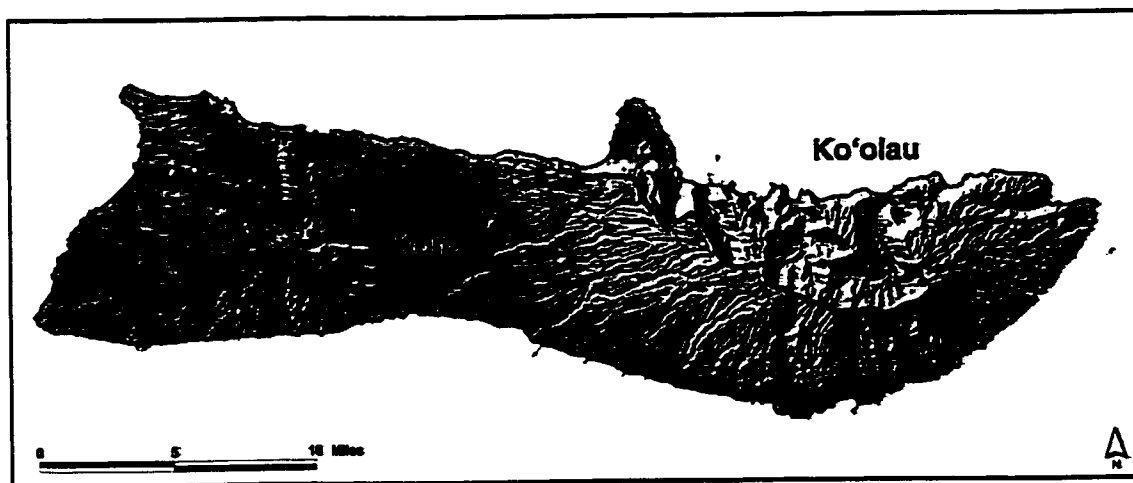
Kūali'i's influence was also felt at the opposite end of the archipelago. In the early period of Kūali'i's reign, he conducted a raid in Hilo at the time when it was controlled by Kuahu'ia and nominally under Keakealaniwahine (generation 19) (Fornander 1996:281). The Hilo forces were unable to repel Kūali'i which allowed him to move into Puna. This "well-organised raid" was "undertaken as much for the purpose of keeping his warriors and fleet in practice and acquiring renown for himself" (Fornander 1996:281). Although Fornander goes on to suggest that land acquisition may have been a second-level interest for Kūali'i, such a scenario is unlikely. After all, Kūali'i was continuing to experience difficulties keeping order on O'ahu and additionally bore the responsibility of managing the leeward Kaua'i districts. As Fornander more strongly asserts, Kūali'i's raid was indeed a war exercise and an act intended to increase his reputation and *mana*. As with the pattern described earlier for the war Kamalālāwalu waged three generations prior in this era, Kūali'i's raid seems to be related in part to the prosperity of his nation and the indirect benefits that victory and glory would bring him and his warriors. By the

time Kūali'i was moving in on Puna, he received news that the 'Ewa and Waialua chiefs were in a state of revolt and returned to O'ahu (Fornander 1996:281, 1999:IV:414).

A significant number of years later Kūali'i ventured back to Hilo for reasons unknown and, enroute back to O'ahu, stopped on Maui. Kūali'i's connection to Maui came through his wife, Kalanikahimakeiali'i, the *pī'o* offspring of the ruler of Maui at the time, Ka'ulahea II (generation 21), and his full sister, Kalani'ōmaiheuila (Malo 1827:14; Fornander 1996:210, 282, 284; McKinzie 1983:31, 1986:23, 29).

Kalanikahimakeiali'i's family was likely the reason that Kūali'i was visiting on Maui and certainly also the reason he chose not to raid Maui but rather Hawai'i Island.

Figure 11.1. Shaded Relief Map of Moloka'i Displaying the Traditional *Moku* Boundaries



Present on Maui at the time was a delegation of chiefs from the Kona (leeward) side of Moloka'i (see Figure 11.1). They initially sought the aid of Ka'ulahea but, having heard of Kūali'i's visit on the island, decided instead to request Kūali'i's assistance. They were making plans to wage a war against the Ko'olau (windward) chiefs of Moloka'i who had encroached upon their fishing areas and who

sought to gain their lands as well. Kūali'i consented to the Kona chiefs' request. He and his forces joined them in battle at Kalaupapa and Pelekunu against the Ko'olau chiefs, and together they were victorious. Kūali'i departed from Moloka'i and returned to O'ahu (Fornander 1996:282, 1999:IV:416-421).

Continued Reliance of Marriage Alliances and a New Administrative Approach

Some time into Kūali'i's reign, Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku (generation 20) became the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island. He diverged from the approach of his mother and grandmother (Keakamahana and Keakealaniwahine) and chose diplomacy and the tried practice of carefully selected marriage alliances to generate peace once again on Hawai'i. The success of his effort is still honored in the *'ōlelo kaena* (honorific epithet) for Hawai'i Island: "*Hawai'i nui a Keawe*" "Hawai'i, great island of Keawe" (Pūku'i 1983:60).

A critical component of Keawe's ability to keep Hawai'i united was his choice of marriage partners. Of his six wives, three were particularly important in terms of the political ties they brought to Keawe. Lonoma'a'ikanaka was the daughter of Ahu a 'Ī, granddaughter of 'Ī and the cousin of Kuahu'ia (the largely independent *ali'i 'ai moku* of Hilo in the generation prior (Kamakau 1992:79; Malo 1827:20; Fornander 1996:129; McKinzie 1983:20, 74, 1986:20, 23). On Lonoma'a'ikanaka's mother's side, Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku was ensured better relations with Maui since Lonoma'a'ikanaka's mother was Pi'ilaniwahine II, the daughter of the previous *ali'i nui* of Maui Kalanikaumakaowākea (Malo 1827:15, 20; Fornander 1996:130, 209). Another of his wives was Kane a Lae, the *ali'i nui wahine* of Moloka'i (Kamakau 1992:64; Fornander 1996:130, 213). Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku's third and highest

ranking wife was Kalanikauleleiaiwi who through her other husband (as described later) brought Keawe additional connections with chiefs throughout the islands (Kamakau 1992:64; Fornander 1996:131; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 1986:31).

Along with this peaceful form of improving relations with other islands and bringing the Hawai'i Island district chiefs into alignment with him, Keawe attended to the "prudent management of his island" (Fornander 1996:129). The *mo'olelo* testify that he "ruled the island peaceably and orderly, without rebellion, tumult, or bloodshed" (Fornander 1996:130). Part of the wisdom of his management was his choice to delegate his authority for the administration of his island to the district chiefs. Surely to a degree this had always been true in generations past, but Keawe seemed to have allowed his *ali'i* significantly more discretion over affairs which would have typically been determined by the *ali'i nui*. Kamakau (1992:64) records that he "ruled over the many chiefs that were under him, and they took charge of Keawe's affairs." This form of light-handed management and Keawe's sense of trusting in those he placed in positions of authority were repaid to him in the loyalty of his *ali'i* and their improved ability to attend efficiently and effectively to the needs of the island.

Diplomatic Visits Between Islands

Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku's management style, and his lesser *ali'i* with whom he trusted the rule of the island, created the peaceful condition that allowed him to visit other courts throughout the archipelago. Keawe "was fond of traveling" and "traveled about Maui, Molokai, Oahu, and Kauai" (Kamakau 1992:64). Such

diplomatic visits, along with his well picked marriage partners, helped to assure that no invasions disturbed Hawai'i from abroad during his reign.

Keawe's contemporary on Kaua'i, Lonoikahā'upu likewise traveled about the islands. The most well remembered of his visits was on Hawai'i Island during which time he became one of the husbands of Kalanikauleleiaiwi who was also a wife of Keawe (Kamakau 1992:309; Fornander 1996:131, 296; McKinzie 1983:xxiii, 16, 31). Via this indirect connection, Lonoikahā'upu and Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku became *punalua* to one another, and would have acknowledged sharing special tie with one another as the spouses of a common wife. This additional link helped to assure amicable relations between the two and hence between the nations of Kaua'i and Hawai'i Island. The same could be said with regard to Kalanikauleleiaiwi's other two husbands, Ka'ulahea II, the contemporaneous *ali'i nui* of Maui, and Kauaua a Mahi (son of Mahi'ololi), the then current patriarch of the Kohala Mahi *ali'i* (Kamakau 1992:64, 65; Fornander 1996:129, 131, 210; McKinzie 1983:5, 1986:31). In this way the *ali'i nui* of Kaua'i, Maui, Hawai'i, and the *ali'i 'ai moku* of Kohala were all *punalua* through their marriage to Kalanikauleleiaiwi.

Continued Changes in the Role of the Ali'i Nui on Maui

At some point into Keawe's reign, Kekaulike was initiated into his position as *ali'i nui* of Maui. Kekaulike was the son of Maui's previous ruler Ka'ulahea II (Kamakau 1991:71, 74, 1992:449; Fornander 1996:210-211; McKinzie 1983:14, 1986:12). Kekaulike's reign, like that of Kūali'i, involved him forcibly establishing his right to rule his island. There were at least four battles "by which he established peace" and by which he became "the ruling chief of Maui" (Kamakau 1992:73).

These were Ki'imumuku and Kīpuka'ōhelo at Kama'ole, and Kaeulu and Kahalamāmalakoa at Kaupō (Kamakau 1992:73).

As was the case with Kūali'i, Kekaulike established his control through force. Kauhī'aimoku a Kama, Kekaulike's first-born son, was the commander-in-chief in these successful battles (Kamakau 1992:73). After establishing himself firmly in the position of *ali'i nui*, Kekaulike experienced the same "peaceful and prosperous footing as that of his predecessors" (Fornander 1996:211).

Kekaulike's cultivated relationships with those of other islands helped to accomplish the same. Perhaps to forestall another raid on Maui from Hawai'i Island, or simply to maintain positive relations with that island, Kekaulike took three wives with ties to Hawai'i Island.⁶⁵ Hōlau was the great-granddaughter of Lonoikamakahiki (Kamakau 1992:54-55, 69; Malo 1827:26; Fornander 1996:213; McKinzie 1983:37, 41). Ha'alo'u was the daughter of Hā'ae who was the son of Kauaua a Mahi (the son of Mahi'ololi) (Kamakau 1992:69, 123; Fornander 1996:131, 213; McKinzie 1983:5, 23, 64, 1986:25, 73). Keku'iapoivanui was the daughter of Kalanikauleleiaiwi and granddaughter of Keakealaniwahine (Kamakau 1992:62, 64; Fornander 1996:129, 131, 210; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 5, 1986:30-31). Kekaulike also married Kāne a Lae, the *ali'i nui wahine* of Moloka'i (Kamakau 1992:64; Fornander 1996:130f, 130-131, 213) (which also made him a *punalua* of

⁶⁵ A possible fourth Hawai'i Island mate of Kekaulike may have been Kano'ena, the daughter of Lonoanahulu, a member of the 'Ehu family of Kona. This inference is based on the record that the twins Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa were considered her sons with Kekaulike or with Keawepoepoe (Kamakau 1992:68, 310; Fornander 1996:154f; Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:13; McKinzie 1983:20, 47, 1986:47, 71). It is plausible that the twins were *po'olua* (individuals who could claim two fathers—Kekaulike who was likely the twins' genetic father and Keawepoepoe who was their mother's was a more permanent mate and who was likely involved in raising them).

Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku). His native Maui wife was his first wife, Kahawalu (Kamakau 1992:69), who was "from the Kaupo or Hana chief families" (Fornander 1996:212). The combination of these marriages helped Kekaulike to maintain his full authority over Maui.

Summary and Significance

At the beginning of this era, the Islands were in a brief state of contentment and peace, a legacy of the exemplary *ali'i nui* of the last era. However, internal island wars and wars between islands thereafter became a regular feature of this era. The internal wars centered around the accumulation of power either by the *ali'i nui* who abused that power (as with Kawelo'aikanaka and Kawelomaihunaali'i) or by district *ali'i* who with their developed lands and populous districts no longer felt compelled to follow the administrative authority of an *ali'i nui* who was not tied closely to them through genealogy, marriages, nor through their travels about the island (as with Kūali'i, Keakealanikāne, and Keakamahana).

The wars fought between islands during this era were the acts of prosperous nations whose chiefs and *ali'i nui* had the resources to wage war and the incentive of gaining further *mana* (as with Kamalālāwalu, Kauhi a Kama, and Kūali'i). These were not wars born of hostilities, as the actions of the *ali'i* in the era prior and in this one involved a concerted effort to keep relations between islands amicable (as with the diplomatic visits by Lonoikamakahiki, Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku, and Lonoikahā'upu). Thus the choices of islands abroad to attack seemed to be determined at least in part by the family ties held between the islands, wherein those

closest were avoided (as with Kamalālāwalu avoiding Hilo, Kauhi a Kama avoiding Hawai'i Island, and Kūali'i avoiding Maui).

Despite the numerous conflicts of this era, at the end of it, there was calm and good will once more across the archipelago. Each island was under stable governance as a new balance was found. The scenario across the islands at the close of this period was dramatically different from the end of the prior era. No longer could *ali'i nui* and their islands' populations see themselves as insular and separated from the activities on other islands. They could not mind their own affairs but needed to develop ties with other islands that would buffer them from possible harm and provide them aid as needed. No longer were marriage alliances only insurance policies affording potential advantages, they now regularly produced actual and substantial benefits. Through such alliances and increased travels by *ali'i nui*, the various islands' chiefly lineages were brought much more closely into each other's spheres of activity. The scale at which *ali'i nui* now needed to consider their behaviors extended far beyond the shores of their islands.

Chapter 12 Increased Competition, Wider Involvement of Allies, and Continued Traditional Roles of *Ali'i Nui*

Introduction

The generations of this era were born into a context far more complex than times past. The *ali'i* in this period needed to take into account additional layers of variables in their decision making as the islands were now more intimately entwined with one another through marriages, the progeny of those marriages, acts of aggression, and assistance in acts of aggression. The complexities of this time are reflected in the organization of this chapter which is set out chronologically to provide the clearest view of cause and effect relationships and the context in which events occurred. This decision forced long, complex story lines of various strands to be interwoven through time. Though cumbersome to read in places, a benefit of the interconnected chronologically ordered events is that it provides a reader a vicarious taste of the multiplicity of major events unfolding simultaneously. This approach also differentiates this retelling of one of the most widely-reported periods of Hawaiian history from other renditions.

The remainder of the generations in this study comprise this era (generations 21-24 on Hawai'i and Maui, and generations 22-24 on O'ahu and Kaua'i). These generations continued to escalate the trends of the last wherein the scale of chiefly

activities and alliances encompassed larger geographic areas and more genealogical lineages. Also taken from the past are standards involving an *ali'i nui's kuleana* to the gods, people, and the land. However, unlike the time of Liloa, Pi'ilani, Kalaimanu'ia, and Kalanikukuma, where *ali'i nui* could focus their energy on the internal well-being of their nation, and in contrast with the generations of Keakealanikāne, Kawelo'aikanaka, and Kūali'i when *ali'i nui* had only their own internal problems to consider, the *ali'i nui* of this time had stresses both at home and abroad as a continuous fact of life.

As increasingly numerous familial ties resulted from marriages of the past generations and ones of this era, a familial or marital connection between two *ali'i* became less important in determining their behaviors toward one another, and instead, the *relative* degree of their familial association became important, as did other contravening political considerations.

Substantial aid being provided to allies was another characteristic of the politics of this era. It was essential for ruling chiefs to secure aid in war, for it was likely that his or her opponent would also have such support. At the same time it became necessary for *ali'i nui* to render aid when called upon in order to assure that the same would be available when needed at a later time. Thus internal island politics became the backdrop for inter-archipelago war on a regular basis. The need for aid also drove alliances that were created for purely political reasons absent a close familial *kuleana*. The net result of the above factors created an era in which the frequency and scale of war escalated considerably.

At the onset of this era, Kaumehe'iwa and Peleiōhōlani were ruling over east and west Kaua'i respectively and had peacefully entered into their roles as the heirs

of their fathers. The same was true of Kapi'iohookalani on O'ahu. On Maui and Hawai'i Island the same internal peace began this era, although it was short lived. Kekaulike on Maui continued his rule, now established fully in the position of *ali'i nui* and enjoying a relative period of repose there. On Hawai'i Island Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku's death left the land divided. Keawe's directives placed Kalaninui'iāmamao (son of Keawe and Lonoma'a'īkanaka) as the *ali'i nui* over Ka'ū and Kalanike'eaumoku (son of Keawe and Kalanikauleleiaiwi) as the *ali'i nui* over Kona and Kohala (Kamakau 1992:65). The political realities of the time left the 'Ī family's patriarch of this generation, Mokulani (son of Kuahu'ia), in control of Hilo and Hāmākua. Puna was likely divided to some degree by Kalaninui'iāmamao and Mokulani. Each of the Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui* could act independently.

Political Upheaval on Hawai'i Island

With Hawai'i Island set up in three independent polities, the situation was ripe for conflict. It is likely that Kalaninui'iāmamao prepared well for that possibility. To forestall a war between the Ka'ū and Hilo contingents, Kalaninui'iāmamao and Mokulani, either at this time or sometime before, agreed to a marriage between Kalaninui'iāmamao and 'Āhia who was the granddaughter of Kua'ana a 'Ī (the primary Hilo opponent of *Ali'i Nui* Keakamahana two generations prior to this time) (Fornander 1996:129). This placed Kalanike'eaumoku of Kona at a disadvantage. Instead of spending his resources on preparing a defensive or offensive force to meet the combined Hilo and Ka'ū contingents, Kalanike'eaumoku simply had Kalaninui'iāmamao assassinated and thus assumed control of Ka'ū. The ratio of costs and benefits of assassination made this option highly attractive. It expended

minimal material and human resources and involved less risk to the individuals carrying out the act than would a typical war (given that the assassination plan was a sound one). In many ways, it was the most humane form of aggression against another polity in terms of its affect on the forces of the polities which would have been otherwise involved in war. The result, however, was that there would be only limited control for Ke'eaumoku over Kalaninui'iāmamao's district of Ka'ū. As such, Kalanike'eaumoku certainly did not have the support of the Ka'ū's forces in the next round of events.

At that time on Maui, Alapa'inui (son of Kauaua a Mahi and grandson of Mahi'ololi of Kohala) was visiting the court of Kekaulike with his half-sister Keku'iapoiwanui who was Kekaulike's wife (with whom Alapa'i shared the same mother Kalanikauleleiaiwi) (Kamakau 1992:66, 64, 74; Fornander 1996:131-132; McKinzie 1986:31). When Alapa'i heard of the instability on Hawai'i Island, he hurried to his home district of Kohala and assembled a force to battle Kalanike'eaumoku. Alapa'i's father and grandfather (Kauaua a Mahi and Mahi'ololi respectively) were the highest war generals in the battles with Hilo of the earlier generations and as such Alapa'i likely remained in control of Kohala's trained forces, despite the fact that Kalanike'eaumoku was ruling over that district. This situation, combined with Kalanike'eaumoku's lack of support from Ka'ū, left Kalanike'eaumoku with only the warriors of Kona to defend against Alapa'i's attack. Alapa'i's army was victorious and Kalanike'eaumoku was killed. Alapa'i continued to Hilo where Moku'ani was ruling and there accomplished the same result. Alapa'i thus became the uncontested *ali'i nui* of the entire island of Hawai'i.

Reestablished Stability on Hawai'i Island

Alapa'i enacted several measures to ensure his control over Hawai'i Island, many of which involved ancestral understandings from the times of Piliika'ai'ea, Kanipahu, Kihanuilūmoku, Liloa, and 'Umi. Perhaps key to his success was that "he did not take lands from the chiefs or the commoners" but only asserted his right as the *ali'i nui* to oversee the management of those lands (Kamakau 1992:75). His administration of the island demonstrated that he "loved the common people" (Kamakau 1992:75). Because of his benevolence and light-handed rule, which respected the ancestral rights of chiefs and the people to their lands, "he was always known and in after years quoted, as a most affectionate parent and kinsman" (Fomander 1996:143). To aid in his management *kuleana*, he also "travel[ed] about the island and made his home for a time in one place and then in another" (Kamakau 1992:75; see also Fomander 1996:142). The cumulative effect of Alapa'i's style of rule allowed him to continue through his reign without rebellion from the Hilo chiefs.

Maintaining the long-term good will of the chiefs of Ka'ū and Kona required further consideration for Alapa'i. The son of Kalanike'eaumoku (Keōua Kalanikupuapāikalaninui [a.k.a. Kalanikupuapāikalaninui]) and the son of Kalaninui'iāmamao (Kalani'ōpu'u) were young chiefs at the time. Rather than have them grow up fomenting rebellious plans among their peers to regain the positions of their fathers, Alapa'i decided to raise them in his court and in due time assigned them the honored status of serving as his leading war generals (Kamakau 1992:70). By keeping them close to him and treating them with "solicitude and care," Alapa'i was later able to place the greatest trust in these sons of the former ruling chiefs (Fomander 1996:143). Thus, Alapa'i secured a new type of alliance that was not

based on marriage but rather a kind of adoption. This would be a recurrent strategy used throughout this era.

A Pre-emptive Raid

Meanwhile on Maui as Kekaulike reached his senior years, life remained “peaceful and prosperous” (Fornander 1996:211). Yet for reasons not made entirely clear in the *mo’olelo*, Kekaulike engaged in a highly unusual attack on districts in Kona and in South Kohala. Kekaulike “cut down the trees throughout the land of Kona” and “abused the country people of Kekaha,” Kona (Kamakau 1992:66). “At Kawaihae he cut down all the coconut trees,” “slaughtered the country people,” and “seized their possessions” before Alapa’i’s warriors arrived at the scene. When Alapa’i met Kekaulike’s challenge, Alapa’i routed the Maui military, and forced their return home (Kamakau 1992:66).

Fornander (1996:133) explains that Kekaulike was considering the internal difficulties that had occurred on Hawai’i as a reason to assume that Hawai’i Island would be somewhat vulnerable. Still, given that Maui was experiencing prosperity at the time, there was little reason for the brutal attack. Further, given the style of Kekaulike’s aggression, it is clear that he did not intend to take over the island. He meant only to inflict harm upon its land and people.

Notably, Kekaulike’s actions were in direct conflict with the understood alliance that his marriage to Keku’iapoivanui entailed, for she was the daughter of Kalanikauleleiaiwi and the granddaughter of Keakealaniwahine, both of whom considered Kona their *kulāiwi* (ancestral homeland). More importantly, Keku’iapoivanui was the half-sister of Alapa’i. Kekaulike had also sired two children,

the twins Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa, with Kano'ena whose father, Lonoanahulu, was of the 'Ehu family which was synonymous with Kona (Kamakau 1992:68; Fomander 1996:154f; McKinzie 1986:71). Despite the connections Kekaulike had to Kona through his mates, he targeted their *kulāiwi* for a cruel assault.

Such enigmatic actions of Kekaulike at the close of his otherwise peaceful and successful career on Maui can be understood if one considers the thoughts of a father for his children, his own flesh and blood. Kekaulike had already secured in his generation the good will between leeward Hawai'i Island and Maui. This he understood would not necessarily hold true for his sons upon his passing and under the tumultuous political climate on Hawai'i Island which could negate the value of Kekaulike's allies there if they lost a future war. Perhaps he also had a sense of the strength of the resource base of the Kona and Kohala areas and feared a future attack on his sons from any *ali'i* who might come to control those districts. As such it is probable that Kekaulike ventured to Hawai'i to diminish the resources, and hence fighting capability, of its leeward coast. By killing its people, Kekaulike impaired the support which the Kona and Kohala districts chiefs relied upon for their strength. In selecting the *niu* (coconut) trees for the vandalism, Kekaulike also degraded the land and its spiritual link to the *akua*. This is because *niu* is seen as a *kino lau* (body form) of the god Kū (Handy and Pūku'i 1972:33) whose "penis and testicles" (Kamakau 1992:120) continually fertilize the land. Kū of course takes other specific forms, each of which are associated with various male activities (see discussion in Chapter 4). That such male *mana* from Kū was severed from the land would have been a devastating blow to the people of the area. The related economic loss of the

trees (whose fruit held valuable drinking water) would have been serious as well, especially in those environments where water resources were less readily available.

Kekaulike seemingly chose to attack Kona and Kohala because they were perceived as a looming threat to his heirs and kingdom in times to come. From this perspective, it is easier to understand Kekaulike's reasoning for ordering that trees be cut down and civilians murdered in those districts. That Kekaulike was also planning to invade Waipi'o in the same fashion (Kamakau 1992:69) supports the notion that his "raid on a grand scale" (Fornander 1996:211) was a preemptive strike to weaken the fighting ability of Hawai'i Island, which he began by targeting the districts that he perceived were the greatest threat.

A Pre-emptive Assassination Attempt

In quick response to Kekaulike's attack, Alapa'i assembled his war party at Kohala. His troops from the entire island of Hawai'i (Fornander 1996:134) were so numerous that the camp extended from Koai'e to Pu'uepa in North Kohala (Kamakau 1992:67). At this point, another story line intersects the entanglement between Hawai'i and Maui. While Alapa'i's troops were encamped and ready to descend on Maui, word was received that Keku'iapoiwa II was about to give birth or perhaps had already given birth to her son who would be known in times to come as Kamehameha Pa'i'ea. Keku'iapoiwa II was the daughter of Hā'ae (Alapa'i's younger full brother) and the wife of Alapa'i's war general Kalanikupuapāikalani (Kamakau 1992:64, 68; Fornander 1996:131, 131f, 136; McKinzie 1983:51986:31).

Under heavy pressure from the chiefs of Hilo led by Keawema'uhili⁶⁶ (son of Kalaninui'iāmamao and husband to Ululani who was the maternal figurehead of the Hilo 'Ī family at the time [Kamakau 1992:122; Fornander 1996:131, 133; McKinzie 1983:5, 1986:106]), Alapa'i agreed to have this child found and killed, a second example of a planned assassination during this era. As with Kekaulike, Alapa'i and the Hilo chiefs were concerned about the challenges their children would face. Certainly they did not want Keku'iapoiwa II's child in their midst as he was foretold in prophecy as one who would mature into an unstoppable conqueror of chiefs (Desha 2000:26).

Thus, immediately upon Kamehameha's birth, "the chief Naeole carried the infant away as soon as he was delivered from his mother" ('Ī'i 1983:3). Nae'ole was the *iwikuamo'o* or trusted close relative and personal attendant of Keku'iapoiwa II, Kamehameha's mother (Kamakau 1992:68; Poepoe 1982:5; Fornander 1996:136). Through the loyal support of Kohala's populace, Nae'ole traveled through nearly all of North Kohala with the infant Kamehameha undetected by Alapa'i's forces sent out to find the child.⁶⁷ Kamehameha was hidden in Hālawa, Kohala, a district

⁶⁶ Keawema'uhili is famous for uttering this saying relating to his views of Kamehameha: "*E 'ō'ū / ka maka o ka wauke 'oi 'ōpiopio,*" which translates, "Pinch off the tip of the young mulberry shoot" (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:8, 64; Pūku'i 1983:37; Desha 2000:26). The idea behind this statement of course related to the notion of nipping a problem in the bud. Frazier (in Desha 2000:26f) explains that more specifically it referred to the practice of nipping off the young lateral shoots of a growing *wauke* plant so that the *kapa* made from it would not have holes that would otherwise be there if the shoots were allowed to grow. "In this case the shoots represent the babies who, if not killed, could grow up to challenge the domain (i.e., barkcloth) of the high chief, Alapa'inui" (Frazier in Desha 2000:26f).

⁶⁷ Many place names of North Kohala (traditionally known as Kohala I Loko [central Kohala, not geographically, but politically] or Kohala Nui [the more important part of the Kohala districts]) were renamed after Kamehameha's birth to commemorate the events surrounding Nae'ole's travels and Alapa'i's troops' behaviors in this pivotal episode in Hawaiian history. For instance, the district of Makapala (literally, ripe eyes) recalls the bloodshot eyes of Alapa'i's warriors who for perhaps days lacked sleep as they were under great pressure to find Kamehameha. Numerous

ancestrally linked to Keku'iapoiwa's family (i.e., the Mahi 'ohana) which would later be considered "*ko Kamehameha kaulana 'āina pono'ī nō ho'i ia*" (Kamehameha's own true homeland) (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:7, 163; see also 'Ī'ī 1983:13; Fomander 1996:301). There he was "reared in secret with great care," as the *ali'i* who protected him were well aware of the desire of others that Kamehameha "be killed in his days of drinking at the breast" (Desha 2000:26).⁶⁸

Continued Alliances Based on Close Familial Ties Among Ali'i and the Increased Involvement of Allies in Conflicts

Alapa'i eventually disengaged the effort to seek out Kamehameha and returned to his plans of revenge upon Kekaulike. Alapa'i's war plans on one level conveyed to the populations of Kona and Kohala that their suffering mattered to their *ali'i nui* and would be returned in kind to the offenders. On another level, any act of aggression against Maui would diminish the possibility of Kekaulike inflicting further harm on Hawai'i Island, as indeed was Kekaulike's plan. On both counts, Alapa'i helped to fulfill his role of defending and caring for his people.

other examples exist and will be addressed in another work. George Pinehaka, an elder from Laumāmā, Kohala, described to Fred Cachola these place names and their meanings in 1972 (Fred Cachola, personal communication). Such place names and additional researched North Kohala names illustrate how unified and coordinated the people of Kohala were in their effort to protect the infant Kamehameha. Their solidarity and loyalty to the infant Kamehameha was even evident under threats of bodily injury from Alapa'i's troops who desired to know the truth of the location and travel route of Nae'ole and the infant Kamehameha. There is no doubt that the district of Kohala desired to have a ruler hail from their *kulā'iwi* who would fulfill the prophecies foretold (Fred Cachola, personal communication).

⁶⁸ Poepoe (in McKinzie 1982:227-228) explains that Keku'iapoiwa II named her son Kamehameha in remembrance of the fact that he was raised in protected, secreted circumstances as was the mythical chiefess Lilinoe. From her upbringing came the saying, "*ihī ke kua, meha ke alo*," or "sacred is the back, lonely is the presence/front." From this sense of "meha," associated with the secluded upbringing of the sacred chiefess, came the name Kamehameha. Of course, an additional possible reason Kamehameha received his name was to acknowledge Kamehameha's being the child of Kahekili (see discussion in the later section of this chapter), whose brother was Kamehameha Nui.

In the meantime on Maui, Kekaulike heard of Alapa'i's plan and in response fled to Wailuku along with his *alo ali'i* (royal court) and warriors (Kamakau 1992:69-70). By the time Alapa'i arrived, Kekaulike was either close to death (Kamakau 1992:70) or had just passed on (Fornander 1996:136), perhaps under the stress of the impending attack. In either case, Kekaulike's heir, Kamehameha Nui, was at the head of government. Alapa'i arrived to discover the new circumstances and immediately revamped his plan. Rather than go to battle, he stayed on Maui for a friendly visit with the new *ali'i nui*, his nephew, Kamehameha Nui (the son of his half-sister Keku'iapoiwanui), for "he had no desire to make war upon his sister's child" (Kamakau 1992:70). The visit was enjoyable and solidified the understood alliance between uncle and nephew whose blood and bones share the same *mana* of Kalanikauleleiaiwi (Kamehameha Nui's maternal grandmother and Alapa'i's mother).

While Alapa'i was on Maui, he received news of Kapi'iohookalani's invasion of Moloka'i from O'ahu. The Moloka'i warriors failed to repel the O'ahu troops' initial landing. Kapi'iohookalani thus made his "headquarters at Kalamaula," "occupied the country from Kaunakakai to Naiwa," and was prepared to battle the Moloka'i forces for control of the entire island (Fornander 1996:136-137). Alapa'i decided to assist the Moloka'i chiefs in this war since they were the "children and grandchildren of Keawe" [i.e., Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku] and hence his own relatives (Kamakau 1992:70). Alapa'i and these Moloka'i chiefs would have shared the same grandmother, Keakealaniwahine (Keawe's mother and Alapa'i's maternal grandmother). "For four days the fighting went on with equal success on both sides," but on the fifth day, Kapi'iohookalani was defeated and killed (Kamakau 1992:70-71). Following the battle, Alapa'i did not assert administrative control over Moloka'i

(Fornander 1996:138) but did exercise other privileges usually reserved for *ali'i nui*, such as erecting and using the *heiau luakini* Kapukū and Kākau at Hālawā and Hālawā Iki respectively (Stokes in Summers 1971:169, 173).

For Alapa'i, the battle on Moloka'i served five critical purposes: 1) It displayed to his family members and allies (e.g., Kamehameha Nui) that his support could be counted upon in time of distress. 2) By establishing his reliability, he helped to assure that others would assist him as needed. 3) He ensured that the ruling chiefs of Moloka'i would be his allies rather than potential opponents. 4) He secured a place of refuge for himself to turn to if ever he needed to retreat from his own island.⁶⁹ 5) He created a window of opportunity for himself and the chiefs of his *alo ali'i* to expand their domain given the position of vulnerability that O'ahu faced following Kapi'iohookalani's death. Alapa'i especially chose to capitalize upon the last variable.

With Kapi'iohookalani having died in battle, his son Kanahaokalani inherited the position of *ali'i nui*. At the time Kanahaokalani was said to be only six years of age (Kamakau 1992:71). Given this context, Alapa'i considered O'ahu for all practical purposes to be "without a ruling chief," for the only other chief who could have wielded proper authority over the island was Peleiōhōlani, the younger brother of its ruler of two generations prior, Kūali'i (Kamakau 1992:71). With Peleiōhōlani

⁶⁹ Moloka'i was viewed at various times in history as a safe neutral territory for *ali'i* of other islands. Kanipahu was welcomed there after his battle with Kamai'ole (Kamakau 1992:4; Kalākau 1990:106; Fornander 1996:40). Kiha a Pi'ilani sought refuge there but was refused by the Moloka'i chiefs who apparently supported his brother and opponent Lono a Pi'ilani (Kamakau 1992:22). Kalola, her daughters, and granddaughter moved from Maui to Moloka'i after Kamehameha's victory in the battle of Kepaniwai (Kamakau 1992:149).

residing at and ruling over leeward Kaua'i at the time, Alapa'i seized the moment and invaded O'ahu with the aid of his Moloka'i cousins.

Alapa'i attempted several times to land his troops but was driven back to sea by O'ahu's forces who symbolically remained under Kanahaokalani, their young *alii nui*. Kanahaokalani was said to have "directed his forces by the voice alone, from the shoulders of his attendant" (Kamakau 1992:71), surely having been guided and closely guarded by those in charge of his care. Eventually, however, Alapa'i landed successfully at Oneawa, Kailua and established his camp there in anticipation of the main battle they were to initiate.

When Alapa'i was first sighted off of O'ahu's shores, the O'ahu *alii* immediately sent a request to Peleiōhōlani to assist O'ahu. Before Alapa'i could stage the first major assault, Peleiōhōlani arrived from Kaua'i with his warriors of that island. At this point Peleiōhōlani "took supreme command of the young king and chiefs" (Fornander 1996:139). The forces of Kaua'i and O'ahu were then prepared to battle against those of Hawai'i and Moloka'i. This was the first war of such a far reaching inter-archipelago scale and all present understood the immense gravity of the situation. Given the tense and ultra high-risk situation, the parties involved relied upon traditional diplomacy to end the conflict. "It was custom when blood relatives went to war with each other and both sides suffered reverses, for some expert in genealogies to suggest a conference to end the war; then a meeting of both sides would take place" (Kamakau 1992:72).

First to offer this solution was said to be Nā'ili "who was the chief in charge of Wai'anae" (Kamakau 1992:71). Nā'ili approached Peleiōhōlani and suggested that an end to the war be broached with the opposing side on the grounds that the two

sides shared close relatives. In all likelihood Peleiōhōlani already understood this well. Alapa'i and Peleiōhōlani shared the same ancestor of five generations prior, *Ali'i Nui Kākuhihewa* of O'ahu. This was through Alapa'i's mother Kalanikauleleiaiwi whose O'ahu connection came through her grandmother Kauakahikua'anaauakāne, the granddaughter of Kākuhihewa and wife of Iwikauikaua (Kamakau 1992:62, 74; Malo 1827:30; Fornander 1996: 126, 128, 276). Peleiōhōlani and Alapa'i were also *punalua* through their shared wife Kamaka'imoku (Kamakau 1992:74-75, Fornander 1996:144, 204), who was also the full sister of Nā'ili (their parents being 'Umi'ulaika'ahumanu and Kū a Nu'uauu) (Fornander 1996:134-135). Kamaka'imoku was also the wife of Kalanike'eaumoku (Kamakau 1992:309; McKinzie 1986:31) and Kalaninui'iamamao (Kamakau 1992:110; Malo 1827:20), both of whom ruled *moku* of Hawai'i Island just prior to Alapa'i.

However, perhaps the most important tie that bound Peleiōhōlani to the Hawai'i Island chiefs involved one of Kamaka'imoku's children, Kalani'ōpu'u. It is recorded that during Kalani'ōpu'u's lifetime, Kalani'ōpu'u's biological paternity was open to question (Fornander 1996:204). For although Kamaka'imoku's "legitimate husband" was Kalaninui'iamamao (Kamakau 1992:110), many understood that "Kalani-'ōpu'u was begotten by Pele-io-holani" during a visit of Kamaka'imoku with her mother 'Umi'ulaika'ahumanu who lived at Waikele, O'ahu (Kamakau 1992:75). The truth of this assertion is evident in Kalani'ōpu'u's name which includes the *'ōpu'u*, an ornament which O'ahu chiefs had carved from *nihopalaoa* (whale ivory) and which they wore as a symbol of royalty (Kamakau 1992:75, 110). Hence, Kalani'ōpu'u, one of the primary war generals under Alapa'i's command (Kamakau 1992:71), was in all probability Peleiōhōlani's own son.

On the opposite side of the imminent war, Alapa'i was perhaps pleased as well to accept a peaceable solution since his original intent was to capture O'ahu while it was in a time of transition without a paramount chief. That vulnerable period ended when Peleiōhōlani arrived on the scene. In this context, Alapa'i agreed to the conference at Nāoneala'a, and there the two ruling chiefs met unarmed and unaccompanied, and an end to the war was declared (Kamakau 1992:72). The family ties understood to maintain positive relations among *ali'i* had fulfilled their role. For all intents and purposes, Peleiōhōlani continued to rule over O'ahu for the remainder of his years, as his nephew Kanahaokalani was said to have lived only about year after the peace was made at Nāoneala'a (Fornander 1996:289).⁷⁰

When Alapa'i sailed back toward Hawai'i Island, he first stopped at Moloka'i to "straighten out matters between the chiefs and the country people and enable[d] them to live at peace with the chiefs of Maui and Lanai" (Kamakau 1992:72). He then went on to Maui where he encountered a rebellion in progress. Kauhi'aimoku a Kama, "the first born" and war general of Kekaulike, had "opened the attack against Kamehameha-nui," his half-brother, who was worsted in the battle and who eventually fled to safety on Alapa'i's canoe (Kamakau 1992:69, 73-74).

Secondary Effects of Multiple Marriages on Maui

Through the next year, Alapa'i and Kamehameha Nui readied themselves and their warriors on Hawai'i Island for the battle on Maui to remove Kauhi'aimoku a

⁷⁰ Fornander (1996:289) supports his statement regarding Kanahaokalani's death by noting that Peleiōhōlani remained as *ali'i nui* over O'ahu and led its troops in battle to assist Kauhi'aimoku about a year after the peace was made at Nāoneala'a. While Peleiōhōlani would have probably done so whether or not Kanahaokalani died, Fornander's belief is bolstered by the fact that there is no record of Kanahaokalani having been married or having sired any children.

Kama. On Maui Kauhi'aimoku prepared in part by sending "a present to Pele-ioholani with the request that he come to help [Kauhi'aimoku] hold Maui," to which Peleiōhōlani consented (Kamakau 1992:74). (Peleiōhōlani was the son of Kalanikahimakeiali'i, the half-sister of Kekaulike, and hence was a cousin to both Kauhi'aimoku a Kama and Kamehameha Nui [Kamakau 1991:71, 74, 1992:130, 449; Fornander 1996:210-211, 284]).

As with the averted war on O'ahu, this conflict involved the major islands' forces. However, unlike the last round, there was no diplomatic solution to the competing siblings' claims to authority over Maui. As with previous cases on Hawai'i Island, the multiple marriages of Kekaulike, and resulting half-siblings of similar rank in the next generation, resulted in ambiguous choices for the warriors and lesser chiefs of Maui in selecting their allegiances (as with the situation of Kanaloakua'ana's revolt against Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani). After all, Kauhi'aimoku was the *hiapo* or first born of Kekaulike and the commander-in-chief of Kekaulike's military. Further Kauhi'aimoku spent all his life in the courts of Maui, whereas Kamehameha Nui would have garnered less of a following having been raised at Waialua and Moanui, Moloka'i (Fornander 1996:214; Thrum 1909a:40)⁷¹ (a situation reminiscent of earlier conflicts between siblings having been reared

⁷¹ If the history of Hawai'i Island's succession held any bearing regarding the considerations of Maui's *ali'i*, Kauhi'aimoku could have noted a precedent that paralleled his situation and that supported his position. Kahoukapu had two wives. One was La'akapu, his first wife from whom Kahoukapu's heir Ka'uholanuimāhū was born (Malo 1996:302, 305; Fornander 1996:70; McKinzie 1986:30). His second wife was his own sister Hukilani from whom Makalae was born (Unauna in McKinzie 1986:22). Makalae would have been the more sacred ranking of Kahoukapu's sons as his parents were full siblings, but Ka'uholanuimāhū as the elder apparently was given the position of *ali'i nui* nonetheless, perhaps in deference not only to his seniority but to La'akapu's family which seemed quite influential at the time (as with Hilo a La'akapu).

apart).⁷² Numerous *ali'i* would have owed Kauhi'aimoku a Kama their allegiance. On the other hand, Kamehameha Nui was Kekaulike's named heir (Kamakau 1992:69; Fornander 1996:136, 21), which was no doubt due to Kamehameha Nui being born of Kekaulike's own half-sister Keku'iapoiwanui (daughter of *ali'i nui* Ka'ulahea II and Kalanikauleleiaiwi) (Kamakau 1991:74, 1992:65, 69, 79, 449; Fornander 1996:131, 212-213) who was certainly of higher rank than Kauhi'aimoku's mother Kahawalu (whose parentage is not recalled in the extant *mo'okū'auhau*).

Given the above two choices of *ali'i nui*, it would have been unlikely for the *ali'i* of Maui to uniformly choose one over the other, and hence the war on Maui commenced in earnest. In this battle Alapa'i and Kamehameha Nui employed the "unusual method of warfare" of reducing one's opponents' food resources (Kamakau 1992:74). Prior to this, the only recorded instance of widespread diminishment of resources in a war or raid was at the hands of Kekaulike who cut down the *niu* trees of Kona and Kohala.⁷³ In this case, Alapa'i and Kamehameha Nui diverted "the streams of Kaua'ula, Kanaha, and Mahoma" and "the taro patches and the brooks were dried up so that there was no food for the forces of Ka-uhi of or the country people" (Kamakau 1992:74).

After multiple episodes of combat on Maui, Kauhi'aimoku was captured, Alapa'i ordered that he be "killed by drowning" (Fornander 1996:142), and

⁷² See the discussion in Chapter 10 of such conflicts between siblings who had little interaction with one another. These examples would include the wars between 'Umi and Hākau on Hawai'i Island in generation 14, between Lono a Pi'ilani and Kiha a Pi'ilani on Maui in generation 15, and between Kūamanu'ia's children in generation 15 on O'ahu.

⁷³ Kalākau's (1990:144) brief account of the *mo'olelo* of 'Olopana's and Kamapua'a's battles describes how Kamapua'a "began to cut down ['Olopana's] cocoanut-trees and destroy ['Olopana's] growing crops." This specific detail may have been added for dramatic flair, as it is absent from other renditions of the *mo'olelo* which simply describe Kamapua'a as stealing 'Olopana's chickens and killing 'Olopana's warriors (e.g., Kahiolo 1978; Kame'eleihiwa 1996).

Kamehameha Nui became the unquestioned ruler of the island. Still, the battle could have raged on had Alapa'i and Kamehameha Nui wanted to devastate Peleiōhōlani or the opposing Maui forces. Instead, it is recorded that Peleiōhōlani and Alapa'i met once more "on the battle field, and, instead of coming to blows, they saluted each other, and, considering their mutual losses on behalf of others, they made a peace between themselves and renewed the treaty of Naonealaa on Oahu" (Fornander 1996:141), and "became friends again" (Kamakau 1992:74). It is understandable that Alapa'i and Peleiōhōlani would have arrived at this truce, for neither entered into the war to capture Maui but rather to fulfill their obligations to their allies and perhaps to deflect any internal tensions on their home islands to an external foe.

Political Consolidation of Moloka'i Under O'ahu

That there may have been *ali'i* of O'ahu anxious to acquire new territories or greater renown for themselves is evident in Peleiōhōlani's decision to sail to Moloka'i before he took his forces back home from Maui. He "visited the windward side of Molokai, and is said to have brought the Koolau chiefs to acknowledge him as their sovereign, though their subjection was neither very thorough nor very lasting" (Fornander 1996:289). The same lack of familial ties that led Peleiōhōlani to act without restraint in taking Moloka'i, also led to his lack of clear control over Moloka'i as he had no close relatives who were native Moloka'i *ali'i* and who would have maintained an allegiance to him.

In contrast, Alapa'i at this same point in time had already passed up opportunities in which he could have captured and controlled Moloka'i, O'ahu, and

Maui. In two of these instances (on Molokaʻi and Maui) Alapaʻi was on the winning side of the battles and had played a critical role in those victories. Indeed, Alapaʻinui “might have secured the rule over the group from Hawaii to Oahu had he so desired, but he had respect for the families of the chiefs, and for his relatives, for he was connected with the ruling families of both Maui and Oahu” (Kamakau 1992:67).

The Changing Political Scene on Maui and Hawaiʻi

It was perhaps soon after this war on Maui fought on behalf of Kamehameha Nui that Alapaʻi sought to honor another close family relationship. He used again his proven strategy of keeping his potential enemies close to him to make them his allies (as he did with war generals Kalaniʻōpuʻu and Keōua Kalanikupuapāikalaninui). Alapaʻi invited Naeʻole to bring Kamehameha, the grandson of his brother Hāʻae, to his court to be raised in safety in a setting befitting Kamehameha’s parentage; Naeʻole agreed (Kamakau 1992:69). Indeed, such a context would be the only appropriate venue in which Kamehameha could be raised. As the child of Kekuʻiapoiwa II (daughter of Alapaʻi’s younger brother Hāʻae), Kamehameha represented the newest generation of the Mahi family of Kohala (Kamakau 1992:68, 123; Fomander 1996:131f, 136; McKinzie 1983:xxiii, 1986:31). Kamehameha was further a *poʻolua* child (a child with two acknowledged fathers) understood to be both the child of Kahekilinuiʻahumanu of Maui whom his mother had visited just prior to her pregnancy (Kamakau 1992:68, 188; Fomander 1996:260; Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:13; Desha 2000:32, 41, 42, 61) and Keōua Kalanikupuapāikalaninui (Kamakau 1992:68, ʻĪi 1983:53; Fomander 1996:136; 123; McKinzie 1983:xxiii, 5; Desha 2000:83).

Kamehameha's presence in the court was not an issue of contention until much later in his life when it was speculated that his father Keōua Kalanikupuapāikalani (Kalanikupua) was poisoned to death by Alapa'i. Kalanikupua was Kalani'ōpu'u's half-brother; both shared Kamaka'imoku as their mother (Kamakau 1992:68, Fornander 1996:134, 135; McKinzie 1983:xxiii, 1986:31). Kalani'ōpu'u, having been requested by Kalanikupua to care for Kamehameha, attempted to rebel against Alapa'i and to take Kamehameha from Alapa'i's court (Fīfī 1983:3). The final result of three battles between Alapa'i and Kalani'ōpu'u changed the political context of the island, but did not succeed in physically transferring Kamehameha to Kalani'ōpu'u's emerging court. After the third battle, Kalani'ōpu'u "ruled over" Ka'ū and Puna, the districts which his father Kalaninui'iāmamao controlled (Kamakau 1992:64; Fornander 1992:132), while Alapa'i remained the sovereign of the rest of the island until his death (Kamakau 1992:77).

Just before Alapa'i passed away, "he appointed his son Keawe-'ōpala to be ruler over the island" (Kamakau 1992:77; see also Fornander 1996:144).⁷⁴ Keawe'ōpala inherited the politically divided island. Soon after he apportioned the lands to the numerous *ali'i* under him, a rebellion was in the offing as key *ali'i* of Kona, such as Keawepoepoe, Kūma'aikū (Keawepoepoe's wife), and their son Ke'eaumoku, were "deprived of their lands" (Kamakau 1992:78, 82, 127, 309, 310; Fornander 1996:145, 213). The discontented *ali'i* joined Kalani'ōpu'u's forces of

⁷⁴ Fīfī (1983:4) states that Alapa'i gave the island to Kamehameha in his last days because of Kamehameha's performance in war and Keawe'ōpala's cowardice in the same, and that Kamehameha then went to his uncle and gave the island to Kalani'ōpu'u. This record is quite anomalous in comparison to all other accounts.

Ka'ū and engaged Keawe'ōpala in a battle waged "between Keei and Honaunau" that lasted "for several days" (Fomander 1996:145).

As in previous generations, a critical political advisor to the *ali'i nui* was the *kahuna nui*. In the midst of this war, Kalani'ōpu'u's *kahuna nui* Holo'ae instructed him to destroy Keawe'ōpala's *kahuna nui* Ka'akau since it was believed that Ka'akau "was the one who held the rule in Keawe-ōpala's favor" (Kamakau 1992:78). "Both Ka-akau and Holo-'ae had been kahunas of Alapa'i" (Kamakau 1992:78). Whatever brought them to opposite ends of this battle continued to find them at odds. Ka'akau was captured and executed, and Keawe'ōpala was soon after killed in combat leaving Kalani'ōpu'u the new *ali'i nui* of the island.

Kalani'ōpu'u completed his division of the lands of Hawai'i, set about organizing his government, and fostered a stable and peaceful nation for "a number of years" when, for reasons unexplained in the *mo'olelo*, Kalani'ōpu'u went to war across the channel in Hāna which at the time was controlled by Maui's *ali'i nui* Kamehameha Nui (Kamakau 1992:79). This attack was enigmatic on two counts. First, it was initiated "without previous rupture of peace or declaration of war" (Fomander 1996:146). Second, Kalani'ōpu'u's aggression against Kamehameha Nui was completely "without regard for his [own] wife, Ka-lola, and the chiefs of Maui" (Kamakau 1992:79), as Kalola was the full-sister of Kamehameha Nui (Kamakau 1992:69, 449; Fomander 1996:212-213). Regardless, Kalani'ōpu'u attacked at Hāna, summarily won, and the districts of Hāna and Kīpahulu became part of his territory (Kamakau 1992:79, 81-82).

What had changed in the context to bring Kalani'ōpu'u to wage this war? In previous generations, Kalani'ōpu'u's marriage to Kalola would have made his attack

on Maui unlikely. The existing peace between the islands would have helped to maintain that state. Perhaps one factor involved was Kalani'ōpu'u's remembrance of Kamalā'āwalu's unprovoked attack many generations prior and Kekaulike's more recent devastating raid. Another possible factor was that the chiefs of Hawai'i Island had experienced two major war efforts on neighbor islands under Alapa'i and ongoing *internal* wars on the island for five of the last six generations. The situation left the *ali'i* of the various districts and their regional forces prepared and primed for war—war against Kalani'ōpu'u or war against another foe. Given those possibilities, Kalani'ōpu'u wisely sought to have any mounting tension under him directed at his closest *external* target (windward Maui). The complex web of relationships that were forged through the generations, and that were continually reinforced through marriages in this generation, no longer held the same meaning. Other more pressing conditions affecting the immediate family of the *ali'i nui* determined their behaviors.

Following the war in Hāna, Kalani'ōpu'u placed Puna in charge of Hāna and Kīpahulu.⁷⁵ “Puna was a chief and a famous soldier of Alapa'i's time” who was also Kalani'ōpu'u's *kahu* (guardian and caretaker) (Kamakau 1992:75-80; Fornander 1996:143). When Kalani'ōpu'u went back to Hawai'i Island, Kamehameha Nui attacked Puna with assistance from both Moloka'i and Lāna'i. The battle proved unsuccessful, and Puna remained in control of that region of windward Maui (Kamakau 1992:80-81).

⁷⁵ Kamakau (1992:81-82) includes Kaupō among the districts that were later taken from Puna by Mahihelelima. However, either Mahihelelima later lost control of Kaupō or Kalani'ōpu'u did not capture it initially, for Kalani'ōpu'u first raided Kaupō when he began his wars with Kahekili (Kamakau 1992:84).

Not long after this, Mahihelelima assumed Puna's position through a ruse that Mahihelelima devised to lure Puna to Kalani'ōpu'u's court on Hawai'i Island. Thereafter Mahihelelima served as governor over Hāna and Kīpahulu. It was perhaps because Mahihelelima's "ancestors, both parents and grandparents, had been governing chiefs of that district" (Kamakau 1992:81-82) that Kalani'ōpu'u chose to leave matters as they were and did not reappoint Puna. No doubt, Mahihelelima was well suited to rule those lands as a native of that area.

Soon after Kamehameha Nui's attempt to retake his windward districts, Kamehameha Nui arrived at his last days. Those with him at the time could have comforted him with the assurance that he would be remembered as "a benevolent ruler" whose "government was peaceful" (Kamakau 1992:82) and whose island remained prosperous. After falling ill at Kawaipapa and being taken to Nēnēwepua in Kahalahili in Hāna, "he ceded the lands and the ruling power to [his full brother] Ka-hekili, who became ruler of Maui" (Kamakau 1992:82) (less those districts that Kalani'ōpu'u held through his Hawai'i Island *ali'i* who held the fort of Ka'uiki and the districts of Hāna and Kīpahulu).

In the meantime on Hawai'i Island, as Kalani'ōpu'u anticipated, the internal harmony there would not continue. For reasons unknown, Ke'eaumoku, a Kona chief and son of Keawepoepoe (the half-brother of Kalanike'eaumoku) (Kamakau 1992:64, 82, 127, 309, 310; Fornander 1996:145, 213), rebelled against Kalani'ōpu'u and "set up a fort on a hill between Pololu and Honokane" in North Kohala (Kamakau 1992:82). Kalani'ōpu'u's forces attacked him there and Ke'eaumoku fled to Maui where Kahekili "cordially received" he and his family (Kamakau 1992:82). This reception was possible because Ke'eaumoku's wife Nāmahana was the half-sister of

Kahekili, both sharing Kekaulike as their father (Kamakau 1992:69, 82-83, 127; Fornander 1996:213). Ke'eaumoku remained with Nāmahana's family at Waihe'e until another conflict occurred which brought Kahekili to force them off the island, at which point they sought refuge on Moloka'i. Kahekili pursued them there, a battle was fought, and Ke'eaumoku and his wife's family fled to Hāna where they found refuge with Mahihelelima (Kamakau 1992:84; Fornander 1996:149).

Stable Governance on O'ahu and New Developments on Kaua'i

While all of this activity was transpiring on Maui and Hawai'i, the few records relating to the other islands seem to indicate that all was stable. Peleiōhōlani remained on O'ahu to rule there (Fornander 1996:296), while he apparently sent his grandson, Kaneoneo (Fornander 1996:65, 217, 291; McKinzie 1983:31), to govern his leeward portion of Kaua'i in his absence. There on Kaua'i a familiar pattern was repeated whereby Kaneoneo, the heir to the leeward side of the island married Kamakahelei, the heir to the windward side of the island, thus uniting the rule of the island (Fornander 1996:291, 297; McKinzie 1983:16, 31, 33).

It was at this juncture that Captain James Cook happened upon the Hawaiian Islands in January of 1778, stopping at Kaua'i and Ni'ihau.⁷⁶ The records of his crew indicate that upon their first arrival, Kaneoneo was the *ali'i nui* of Kaua'i; Peleiōhōlani was the *ali'i nui* of O'ahu; Kahekili was the *ali'i nui* of most of Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe; and Kalani'ōpu'u was the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island and Hāna and

⁷⁶ The point of this study is not to consider the myriad of effects that Western contact had on Hawaiian society, but to focus on the internal development of Hawaiian society, albeit now with some factors present from the Western world. Hence there is a purposeful attempt in this discussion to maintain that focus.

Kīpahulu on Maui (King in Beaglehole 1967:III:500; Clerke in Beaglehole 1967:III:576; Kuykendall 1938:30). After Cook left to search for the anticipated Northwest Passage, the Hawaiian world continued the path it was already on,⁷⁷ albeit now with a new layer of influences, particularly Western diseases,⁷⁸ that would encroach upon Hawai'i far more over the next decades. However, at this stage, these influences were in their incipient form and did not drastically alter the trajectory of Hawaiian society. Before Cook returned in November of 1778, the political context of Kaua'i would change significantly, the movements afoot between Maui and Hawai'i Island would continue, and the warriors of O'ahu would find themselves engaged in war on Moloka'i.

On Kaua'i a new *ali'i* arrived from Maui and entered the *alo ali'i* of Kaua'i. This was Ka'eokūlani of Maui, the son of *ali'i nui* Kekaulike (of generation 21) and Hōlāu, who was the daughter of Kaweloiki a 'Aila, a native Kaua'i *ali'i* (Kamakau 1992:55, 69; Malo 1827:26; Fornander 1996:213; McKinzie 1983:37). Through his mother, Ka'eokūlani could legitimately take his place within Kaua'i's *'aha ali'i*. At the

⁷⁷ Since other "*haole*" (foreigners) were said to have been brought to Hawai'i with Hawaiian voyagers (as described in Chapter 9) and had landed at Hawai'i's shores prior (as described in chapters 9), this visit by Cook's ships was extremely newsworthy but not earth shattering for Hawaiians of the time. Further, the people of the era likely never expected the onslaught of *haole* visitors to Hawai'i following Cook, as no such follow-up ever accompanied previous encounters with *haole* who came to the Islands.

⁷⁸ In 1778 at Waimea and Ni'ihau and again in 1779 at Kealahou, Cook's crews of the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* disobeyed his strict orders and wantonly spread venereal disease (probably both gonorrhea and syphilis) to Hawaiian women (Cook 1967:III:265-266; Bushnell 1993:136). This led to large-scale sterility and death among the sexually uninhibited Hawaiian population. "But venereal disease was not all that Cook's ships brought; they also brought tuberculosis, an influenza virus or some other deadly upper respiratory infection" (Stannard 1989:70). Captain Clerke of the *Discovery*, one of the disease vectors, "was in close contact with Hawaiians from Kaua'i, Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, probably Lāna'i, and possibly Moloka'i (either by going ashore or by meeting them on board his ship) all the while that he was struggling with the final stages of a fatal case of tuberculosis" (Stannard 1989: 71; see also Bligh in Beaglehole 1967:III:567f).

same time, Ka'eokūlani was already well-established in Maui's *'aha ali'i* as the son of Kekaulike and half-brother of Kahekili. While on Kaua'i he became an intimate associate of Kamakahelei who was jointly ruling Kaua'i with her husband Kaneoneo. Kamakahelei and Ka'eokūlani then combined their resources to take over the island from Kaneoneo.⁷⁹ Kamakahelei and Ka'eokūlani placed Kamakahelei's son Keawe (by a father not known in extant *mo'okū'auhau*) in nominal control of the entire island while Ka'eo assumed administrative control of the island, as Cook's crew discovered by late February of 1779 (King in Beaglehole 1967:III:616; Stokes 1937:36-37; see also discussion in Chapter 7). Keawe ruled only in name because he was only a child at the time. (Later in 1786 when Portlock met him, Portlock [1968:180] described him as "a very fine boy about twelve years of age.")

Aggression on Maui from Hawai'i

At the opposite end of the archipelago there was also warfare at this time. Under perhaps the same pressures that led Kalani'ōpu'u to attack Kamehameha Nui's windward region, Kalani'ōpu'u again continued the same pattern against Kahekili. Significantly, the first district he attacked on Maui was Kaupō (Kamakau 1992:84). This *moku* borders the district of Hāna on its southeast side. Although Kahekili's forces successfully repelled Kalani'ōpu'u's, the battle still may have served at least three important purposes for Kalani'ōpu'u: He 1) rallied his island around a single shared goal, 2) deflected would-be adversaries to focus their energy on

⁷⁹ Evidence that battles of this time did not involve many casualties comes from Captain Clerke's account of this battle (see also Stokes 1937). The last battle between the vying Kaua'i parties occurred "the day before [Cook's ships] Arrival among them" in 1779 and "left dead 3 [*ali'i*] and twenty three Men" on Kaneoneo's side while "the Party of the Queen [Kamakahelei] lost a single Man" (Clerke in Beaglehole 1967:III:577).

Kahekili's nation,⁸⁰ and 3) provided a bit of insurance for his territory of Hāna by degrading its neighboring district of Kaupō from which an attack on Hāna might have been staged. These same themes are apparent in two further war campaigns that Kalani'ōpu'u waged on Maui. Significantly, regardless of the military strength of the different districts of Hawai'i Island, throughout the years of Kalani'ōpu'u's reign he never experienced an act of aggression upon his sovereign authority from within his island.

When Cook arrived for his second visit and stopped at Kealakekua, Kona, Kalani'ōpu'u had just completed his first campaign of war against Kahekili.⁸¹ Following this campaign, Kalani'ōpu'u "prepar[ed] an army made up of a body of men from each of the six districts of the island, each division led by a warrior chief," and each named after famed families of those areas: 'Ī, Ahu, Mahi, Palena, Luahine, and Pā'ia (Kamakau 1992:84).

Political Activities of O'ahu's Ali'i

While Kalani'ōpu'u was starting his preparations for his second assault on Maui, Peleiōhōlani was in the midst of attacking Moloka'i's chiefs.⁸² They were said

⁸⁰ Forlander (1996:146) made this same observation. He notes that Kalani'ōpu'u's wars "may have been moved by reasons of policy, such as finding occupation abroad for the young and restless chiefs with whom every district abounded."

⁸¹ While it is a well-known fact that Kalani'ōpu'u had just returned from a war with Kahekili when Cook was at Kealakekua (Beaglehole 1967:III:476n; Forlander 1996:182, 183f; Kuykendall 1938:15), the specific identification of this war as being the first of Kalani'ōpu'u's three invasions of Kahekili's islands can be ascertained through further analysis of the facts available. In the next campaign, Kahāhana was already in charge of O'ahu and had sent Kahekili assistance for the anticipated assault from Kalani'ōpu'u (Kamakau 1992:89; Forlander 1996:254). Hence, since Peleiōhōlani was the *ali'i nui* of O'ahu even during Cook's second visit (see King in Beaglehole 1967:III:584), Kahekili's second campaign must have post dated Cook's time.

⁸² Hawaiians communicated to King (in Beaglehole 1967:III:584) that the "2 large fires at [Moloka'i]" that King observed were the result of a "war...for the Possession of that Island" in which Kahekili and Peleiōhōlani were engaged (see also Stokes 1933). As Peleiōhōlani was not

to have killed Peleiōhōlani's daughter Ke'elanihonuaiakama. Thus in an act of supreme revenge, Peleiōhōlani "slaughtered the chiefs and roasted them in an oven at Hakawai in Kalua'aha," Kamalō as well as attacked the commoners of the area (Kamakau 1992:232). The Moloka'i *ali'i* involved in this were primarily from the Mana'e and Ko'olau districts of Moloka'i (Fornander 1996:289). The fulfillment of Peleiōhōlani's personal vendetta also subdued Moloka'i's *ali'i* for the remainder of Peleiōhōlani's rule and that of his successors, during which time Moloka'i remained firmly within the domain of O'ahu (Fornander 1996:289).

Shortly after this, Peleiōhōlani's passing created a transition period on O'ahu. Following his death, his son Kūmahana came to the position of *ali'i nui* (Kamakau 1992:128; Fornander 1996:290, 297). However, "the chiefs, priest, and commoners of Oahu were dissatisfied" with Kūmahana's administration (Kamakau 1992:128). After "enduring his rule" (Fornander 1996:290) for about a year or two,⁸³ he could no longer be tolerated and "was formally deposed from his office...by the chiefs of Oahu in council assembled," as he was so completely disliked that "not a voice was heard nor a spear was raised in his defence" (Fornander 1996:290). Kūmahana's removal from office was a "bloodless revolution" after which "he and his family were freely

recorded to have engaged in any other act of open aggression on Moloka'i, these fires were likely the result of the aforementioned conflict that Kamakau (1992:232) records.

⁸³ Kūmahana's reign lasted only from Peleiōhōlani's death to a time prior to Kalani'ōpu'u's second attack on Kahekili, as Kahāhana (Kūmahana's successor) was known to have assisted Kahekili in this second round (Kamakau 1992:87; Fornander 1996:154). The length of time that interceded has been estimated by several authors, an average of which was used to forward the statement above. Kamakau (1992:84) states that Kalani'ōpu'u "spent a year in preparing" for this second assault, thus suggesting that Kūmahana's reign was less than a year as Kahekili's first attack on Maui and Peleiōhōlani's attack on Moloka'i prior to his death both were occurring at about the time of Cook's second visit (see discussion above). However, Fornander (1996:290) notes that O'ahu was "enduring [Kūmahana's] reign for three years." Kuykendall's (1938:34f) analysis led him to conclude that "the combined reigns" of Kūmahana and Kahāhana "could not have been much if any longer than five years."

allowed to depart for Kauai, where they found refuge among their kindred in Waimea” (Fornander 1996:290).

At the same time, “the chiefs and the leading kahuna, Ka’ōpūlupulu, agreed to bring Ka-hahana from Maui to rule over them” (Kamakau 1992:128). Kahāhana was the son of ‘Ēlani, an O’ahu *ali’i* of note (who was probably of ‘Ewa [Kamakau 1992:138]) and Ka’ionuilāiāha’i whose direct lineal ancestor was Lonohonuakini (the *ali’i nui* of Maui in generation 19) (Fornander 1996:210, 282; McKinzie 1983:36). Given Kahāhana’s tie to Maui, he was taken in his infancy there to be the foster son of Kahekili (Kamakau 1992:128). As such, Kahekili continued to have some influence over Kahāhana following Kahāhana’s induction as the *ali’i nui* of O’ahu and Moloka’i.

Influences of Political Alliances and Aggressive Behaviors of Maui and Hawai’i Ali’i Nui

In agreeing to allow Kahāhana to leave his *alo ali’i* and rule on O’ahu, Kahekili asked his nephew to grant him the district of Kualoa, Ko’olaupoko and the *palaoa pae*, or the whale ivory that drifted to that shore (which was used to create the highest symbols of royalty, the *‘ōpu’u* and the *lei niho palaoa* pendants). O’ahu’s *‘aha ali’i* was split in their discussion of the issue. However, the decision to deny the request was made when their *kahuna nui* Ka’ōpūlupulu warned Kahāhana and the assembly that to grant Kahekili such a request would be tantamount to relinquishing the sovereignty of O’ahu. Ka’ōpūlupulu explained that the *palaoa pae* was needed for the sacrificial ceremonies at the *heiau luakini*, ceremonies necessary for Kahāhana to assert his continued rule over O’ahu.

Soon thereafter, Kahekili made another request to his nephew Kahāhana for troops to assist him in an anticipated second attack by Kalani'ōpu'u. Kahekili became aware of the impending assault when he heard that Kalani'ōpu'u had built the *heiau* of 'Ōhi'amukumuku at Kahalu'u and Keikipu'ipu'i at Kailua to deter "sedition and for vengeance upon the chief of Maui" (Kamakau 1992:85). In response, Kahekili built and consecrated the *heiau* of Kaluli at Pu'uhala, Wailuku under the direction of his *kahuna nui* Kaleopu'upu'u. Kahekili readied his troops, and asked for and was sent warriors from Kahāhana (Kamakau 1992:85, 131; Fornander 1996:154).

By this point, Kalani'ōpu'u's forces were ready for their next round on Maui. Kalani'ōpu'u was "completely overthrown" in this effort, but only after he "ravaged the countryside" of Honua'ula (Kamakau 1992:85) and degraded Kahekili's ability to attack Hāna or to level a counter attack on Hawai'i Island. At the end of this second campaign when Kalani'ōpu'u's forces were surrounded and about to be annihilated, Kalani'ōpu'u relied upon the very family ties to save him and his troops that would have normally restrained him from attacking Kahekili and his family in the first place. To plead for the safe passage back home of the Hawai'i Island contingent, Kalani'ōpu'u sent his son Kīwala'ō (whose mother Kalola was Kahekili's sister) along with the twins Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa (who were the *po'olua* sons of Kano'ena and their fathers Kekaulike and Keawepoepoe, which thus made them Kahekili's half brothers) (Kamakau 1992:68, 89, 118, 310, 449; Fornander 1996:20, 154f, 212; McKinzie 1983:xxiii, 5, 20, 47, 1986:31, 47, 71). Kahekili honored the ties they shared and recalled his warriors from battle. Kalani'ōpu'u returned home only to plan his third and final assault on Kahekili's dominion.

While Kalani'ōpu'u occupied his *ali'i* in preparing for another war, Kahekili was executing his plans for expanding Maui's domain. He sailed over to Moloka'i to meet with Kahāhana who was then securing his rule over Moloka'i by consecrating Kapukapuākea *heiau* at Wailau (Kamakau 1992:132) and also overseeing the building or repair of the *lo'i* Paikahawai at Kainalu (Fornander 1996:219). Seeing the riches of that island, Kahekili requested the district of Hālawā from Kahāhana, who agreed but also relayed to Kahekili Ka'ōpulupulu's refusal to grant Kahekili Kualoa and the *palaoa pae* of its beaches (Fornander 1996:219). It is said that Kahekili then feigned his surprise and forwarded a plan of his *kahuna nui*, Kaleopu'upu'u, who was Ka'ōpulupulu's younger brother (Fornander 1996:218). Kaleopu'upu'u was said to had been envious of his brother's "riches and consideration which [Ka'ōpulupulu's] wisdom and skill had obtained for him" on O'ahu (Fornander 1996:219). Kahekili lied to Kahāhana saying that Ka'ōpulupulu offered him all of O'ahu but that he refused its rule out of loyalty to Kahāhana, thus instilling distrust in Kahāhana for his own *kahuna nui* (Kamakau 1992:133). Thereafter, Kahāhana's relationship with Ka'ōpulupulu deteriorated to the point that Kahāhana refused all advice from Ka'ōpulupulu.⁸⁴ Kahekili then temporarily stepped aside and allowed the situation between Kahāhana and Ka'ōpulupulu to foment on its own for a number of years.

In the meantime, Kalani'ōpu'u was back for a third time to battle with Kahekili. Kalani'ōpu'u once more began by raiding the district of Kaupō before resting on

⁸⁴ Kamakau (1992:133) records that Ka'ōpulupulu "and all his followers, relatives, and members of his household tattooed their knees as a sign of the chief's deafness to his admonitions." (The word *kulī* means both 'knee' and 'deaf'.) Ka'ōpulupulu also moved to Waimea and Pūpūkea, lands held by the *kāhuna pule* where he was known to worship at Kūpopolo and Pu'u o Mahuka *heiau* (Kamakau 1992:134; Thrum 1907c:51)

Kaho'olawe and returning to battle at Lahaina and Kā'anapali. As in the earlier episode, Kahāhana again supplied Kahekili with aid from O'ahu (Kamakau 1992:89). And Mahihelelima was said to have provided the same for Kalani'ōpu'u from Hāna. The combined forces of Kahekili and Kahāhana fought against Kalani'ōpu'u in intermittent engagements for a total of about six months as Kalani'ōpu'u maneuvered his troops from one district to the next. After leaving Kā'anapali, Kalani'ōpu'u established himself on Lāna'i for a time, moved to Ko'olau, and then to Hāmākualoa where he and his army were forced back into their canoes and then finally sailed home (Kamakau 1992:89-91). Again, Kalani'ōpu'u did not appear to wage this "war" to effect a complete takeover of the island. Instead, Kalani'ōpu'u's attack seemed designed as a prolonged and grand raid to fulfill other purposes (as described above). In this case, the extended campaign also produced the added advantage of releasing his own island from the burden of feeding and otherwise supporting all those he took with him. The fact that Kalani'ōpu'u did not "win" this war does not mean that his objectives were not met.

Internal Strife on Hawai'i Island

In the later days of Kalani'ōpu'u's life (probably not long after his last episode on Maui), he was living in Kona when a famine came upon the district. Kalani'ōpu'u "seized" "all the products of the cultivated areas... even those which were the people's property" (Kamakau 1992:105). Hearing the complaints of his people, he decided to have his *alo ali'i* make a circuit of the island and thus settled for a time at Kapa'au and Kauhola in North Kohala (Kamakau 1992:105).

One of the staunchest opponents of Kalani'ōpu'u's "extravagant demands" was 'Īmakakōloa of Puna who "openly resisted the orders of Kalaniopuu...for contributions of all kinds of property" (Fornander 1996:200). Of the same mind was Nu'uanupā'ahu of Nā'ālehu, Ka'ū. While 'Īmakakōloa and Nu'uanupā'ahu were dutiful *ali'i* of their districts' *ali'i* and *maka'āinana*,⁸⁵ from Kalani'ōpu'u's perspective, 'Īmakakōloa and Nu'uanupā'ahu were both rebels. However, since Nu'uanupā'ahu was still with Kalani'ōpu'u's *alo ali'i* in Kohala, and because Kalani'ōpu'u "feared" him, Kalani'ōpu'u and his *kahuna* planned to have Nu'uanupā'ahu surf off of Kauhola (probably at Keawa'eli Bay) where they anticipated he would be attacked by a shark (Kamakau 1992:106). When a shark was spotted, others fled the water, but Nu'uanupā'ahu did not. He eventually fought with the roving shark, ripped out its gills, and won the contest only to be bitten by another shark near the shore.⁸⁶ Nu'uanupā'ahu made his way to the shore but his wounds were fatal and he eventually died at Pololū and was buried there (Kamakau 1992:107; see also Fornander 1996:200-201).

⁸⁵ The Ka'ū region was especially noted for the high standards to which it held their *ali'i* and the accountability of those *ali'i*. A famous Ka'ū *mo'olelo* describes three terrible *ali'i* (Pūku'i and Green 1995:131-133): The greedy *ali'i* Hala'ea coveted great amounts of fish from his *maka'āinana* who eventually swamped his canoe with all the fish he could want and more which led to his death at sea. The capricious Koihala made his subjects go here and there carrying his food without care for their inconvenience and hunger and was in consequence stoned to death. The demanding Kohāikalani required more stones to be brought to construct a *heiau* than were actually needed and intended to sacrifice the innocent, and as a result was trampled by a large *'ōhi'a* log which his subjects let roll over him that was supposed to be used for his *heiau*. Whether these were didactic stories or actual histories, their being repeated over and again reminded the *ali'i* of Ka'ū and elsewhere of the results that their improper behavior would bring.

⁸⁶ Kamakau further reported that Nu'uanupā'ahu's *kahuna* acquired the gills that Nu'uanupā'ahu tore out of the large shark he fought and prayed for the death of the sharks. "On that very day one shark came ashore at Na'ohaku, the other at Hapu'u" (Kamakau 1992:107).

Kalani'ōpu'u and his *alo ali'i* next retired to Waipi'o. At this time, Kalani'ōpu'u understood that he was in his sunset years and thus made arrangements for his heirs. There at the legendary seat of Hawai'i Island's power, "it was agreed by the chiefs and counselors" and Kalani'ōpu'u that his son Kīwala'ō (whose mother was Kalola [Kamakau 1992:118, 449; Fornander 1996:204, 212; McKinzie 1986: xxiii, 5, 31]) would "rule over the land" and have nearly all *kuieana* associated with the role of the *ali'i nui* except for the guardianship of the god Kūkā'ilimoku. This honor Kalani'ōpu'u reserved for Kamehameha (Kamakau 1992:107). Kalani'ōpu'u dedicated the *heiau* of Moa'ula at Waipi'o on that visit (Kamakau 1992:108), and likely confirmed in those ceremonies what had been agreed to for the next generation of governance. Kalani'ōpu'u's *alo ali'i* at this time could not have avoided comparing the situation unfolding with that of 'Umi and Hākau which also transpired at Waipi'o nine generations prior. Indeed there was an analogous relationship between what Liloa willed to Hākau and 'Umi and what Kalani'ōpu'u passed on to Kīwala'ō and Kamehameha. That analogous relationship would become ever more notable as time passed.

From Waipi'o, Kalani'ōpu'u's court continued around the island to Hilo where he "built the heiau of Kanowa at Pu'ueo", stayed also at Waiākea, and then moved on to Puna to capture the "rebel" 'Īmakakōloa (Kamakau 1992:108). 'Īmakakōloa fled and "for almost a year lay hidden by the people of Puna" (Kamakau 1992:108). At some point while 'Īmakakōloa was being pursued, Kahekili, in an act of solidarity, sent to 'Īmakakōloa "a double canoe filled with small-meshed nets and fishlines" (Kamakau 1992:106). Regardless of the support 'Īmakakōloa received, Kalani'ōpu'u would not allow 'Īmakakōloa to remain free. Kalani'ōpu'u finally implemented a plan

to burn down the houses of the people of the area unless 'Īmakakōloa came forward (Kamakau 1992:108; Fornander 1996:201-202). It is said that 'Īkauā and 'Īpa'apuka are the names⁸⁷ of families in Ka'ū who descend from one of 'Īmakakōloa's attendants who "resembled him" and who presented himself as 'Īmakakōloa to Kalani'ōpu'u's officers (Pūku'i et al. in Kamakau 1992:109f; see also Pūku'i 1983:141). This individual was then sacrificed in place of 'Īmakakōloa at Pākini (Pūku'i et al. in Kamakau 1992:109f).

In the ceremony at Pākini, the adversarial relationship of Kīwala'ō and Kamehameha, if not already set, was then established clearly. Kalani'ōpu'u's advanced age prohibited him from offering 'Īmakakōloa, and so the role of the *alii nui* in the ceremonies fell to his heir Kīwala'ō. Recognizing this situation, Kamehameha's counselors advised him to offer 'Īmakakōloa to assure that he would gain "the rule over the land." When Kīwala'ō was about to first offer a *pua'a* (pig), Kamehameha followed his counselors' instructions and before Kīwala'ō could do so, Kamehameha offered 'Īmakakōloa to the gods. This was a bold act that received the anticipated outrage of Kīwala'ō's supporters of Ka'ū (Kamakau 1992:109). Those who sought Kamehameha's death when he was an infant renewed their calls. Kalani'ōpu'u thus sent Kamehameha to Hālawā, Kohala where Kamehameha would be safe at home in his *kulāiwi* (Kamakau 1992:109; Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:81).

⁸⁷ 'Īkauā ('Ī "the servant") and 'Īpa'apuka ('Ī "who-closed-the-door [of death]") are names that recall the honored role that these families' progenitor played in saving the life of 'Īmakakōloa (Pūku'i et al. 1992:109f).

Political Upheaval Involving O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i Island

Across the 'Alenuihaha channel from Kohala on Maui, Kahekili was busy on two fronts. First, he continued to encourage the division between Kahāhana and Ka'ōpulupulu. These efforts were indeed working, for at this point there was such a rift between Kahāhana and Ka'ōpulupulu that Ka'ōpulupulu was living in the lands of the priesthood at Waimea and Pūpūkea, away from Kahāhana's court (Kamakau 1992:134). Finally, when Kahāhana's distrust of Ka'ōpulupulu became intolerable for him, he summoned Ka'ōpulupulu to Wai'anae where Kahāhana was consecrating the *heiau* of Kamohoali'i. Kahāhana had Ka'ōpulupulu's son, Kahulupu'e, killed there, and Ka'ōpulupulu was later killed at Pu'uoloa (Kamakau 1992:134). Kahekili understood the likely eventuality of the conflict that he had fostered and knew that "the foundation of [Kahāhana's] dominion was shaken" and vulnerable (Kamakau 1992:135). Hence he prepared for his attack on Kahāhana.

Kahekili's second front at this time involved his having heard of "the weakness and approaching end of Kalaniopuu" which set him toward recovering his windward Maui districts (Fornander 1996:215-216). Kahekili cut off Mahihelelima's water supply which weakened Mahihelelima's position and allowed Kahekili to take Ka'uiki in the battle that ensued. This engagement was later called Kaumupika'o ("the dehydrated *umu/imu*") after the "numerous ovens where corpses of the slain were burned and left to dry in the sun" (Kamakau 1992:116; Fornander 1996:216). Not long after the surviving Hawai'i Island chiefs made their way from Hāna and

landed at Makapala, Kohala, the sad news of Kalani'ōpu'u's passing arrived as well (Kamakau 1992:116).⁸⁸

While at Hālawā, Kamehameha received Kekūhaupi'o, the famed warrior of Ke'ei, Kona who was also Kamehameha's *kahu* (guardian and instructor). Kekūhaupi'o told him of Kalani'ōpu'u's death and advised him to attend the funeral which would be followed by a meeting of the *'aha ali'i*, at which time the lands of Hawai'i would be redivided among the *ali'i* (Kamakau 1998:117; Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:98; Desha 2000:1, 30). Kamehameha agreed to accompany his *kahu* to Hōnaunau, Kona where the *'aha ali'i* was assembling.

Fearing that the Kona chiefs would not be treated well, they had already "formed a conspiracy to give the rule over the lands to Kamehameha" (Kamakau 1992:117). Principal among these Kona *ali'i* were five elders upon whose advice Kamehameha would come to rely. They were Ke'eaumoku (the *ali'i* who had rebelled against Kalani'ōpu'u); the sacred twins of Kekaulike, Kamanawa and Kame'eiamoku (who with Kīwala'ō helped to save Kalani'ōpu'u's forces from annihilation on Maui); Keaweheulu (who was a prominent warrior in Alapa'i's and Kalani'ōpu'u's armies); and Kekūhaupi'o (Kamakau 1992:126; Fornander 1996:303).

At Kalani'ōpu'u's funeral there was a temporary abatement of the thoughts of an impending war that weighted the chests of all those present. But after Kalani'ōpu'u was safely interred in Hale o Keawe at Hōnaunau, a series of events inflamed the situation and war became inevitable. The first event was at a social

⁸⁸ Fornander (1996:216) records that "the surrender of Kauwiki may be dated as of the early part of 1782, about the time of Kalaniopuu's death." Kamakau (1992:116-117) dates the event to the same year as that of Kalani'ōpu'u death and presents it in his sequence of newspaper articles as occurring just prior to Kalani'ōpu'u's funeral.

session of drinking 'awa at Kīwala'ō's residence. Kīwala'ō asked Kamehameha to prepare the 'awa. Kamehameha chewed the 'awa for Kīwala'ō, in honor of Kalani'ōpu'u's wishes that he live under Kīwala'ō. When served, Kīwala'ō handed the cup to his *aikāne* (intimate companion), Kekūhaupi'o struck the cup, declared the act an insult, and advised Kamehameha to return immediately with him to Ke'ei (Kamakau 1992:119).

On the next day, the land division occurred with Keawema'uhili playing a large role in the affair. Keawema'uhili and Kalani'ōpu'u shared Kalaninui'iāmamao as their father, and thus Keawema'uhili was Kīwala'ō's uncle and his advisor in the *kālai 'āina* (land division) (Kamakau 1992:122; Fornander 1996:131; McKinzie 1983:5). The *kālai 'āina* occurred just as the Kona chiefs anticipated, with the lands being reserved largely for the *ali'i* of Hilo (that is, Keawema'uhili's family) (Kamakau 1992:119). Lands that the Kona chiefs were accustomed to ruling over were now to be held by those of the Hilo lineages. Even the *ali'i* of Ka'ū were dispossessed. Thus while the Kona chiefs were already preparing for war, the Ka'ū families began to rally as well (Kamakau 1992:120).

The *ali'i* organizing Ka'ū's warriors was Keōuakū'ahu'ula. He was Kīwala'ō's half-brother, sharing with Kīwala'ō their father Kalani'ōpu'u (Keōuakū'ahu'ula's mother was Kānekapolei) (Kamakau 1992:119-120; Fornander 1996:205). Keōuakū'ahu'ula went to Ka'ū and brought his forces back from there to Kona. In protest against the land division, Keōua instigated a battle by cutting down the *niu* (coconut) trees at "Keomo on the east side of Ke'ei," a definite "sign of war" (Kamakau 1992:120).

Exacerbating the situation was that some of Keōuakū'ahu'ula's men while surfing got into a quarrel with some of Kamehameha's men who in the end were killed by Keōuakū'ahu'ula's party. "Their bodies were taken to Kīwala'o to offer up at the heiau, and Kīwala'o offered up these war victims of Keoua Kuahu'ula," an act signifying that Kīwala'o had declared war against Kamehameha (Kamakau 1992:120, 122). Such skirmishes led to others which escalated into the full-blown battle of Moku'ōhai at Ke'ei (Kamakau 1992:121).

At this point in what was approximately 1782 (Fornander 1996:35), the conflicts among the *alii* of Hawai'i Island involved three distinct groups. Kīwala'o and Keawema'uhili of Hilo, Keōuakū'ahu'ula of Ka'ū, and Kamehameha and his pivotal Kona supporters. Yet as much as Keōuakū'ahu'ula was not pleased with Kīwala'o's land divisions, it appears that in this first battle they joined together in an attempt to balance the advantage that Kamehameha and the Kona forces had as a result of the engagement being waged at Ke'ei, Kona (Fornander 1996:308-309). The battle came to a close with the death of Kīwala'o, but little was changed.

The battle of Moku'ōhai altered only the intended land divisions that Kīwala'o verbalized and which were yet to be implemented. Keawema'uhili and Keōuakū'ahu'ula remained allied. Keawema'uhili controlled the southern half of Hāmākua, all of Hilo, and the northern half of Puna. Keōua retained the southern part of Puna and all of Ka'ū. Kamehameha and his coalition of Kona chiefs held Kona, Kohala, and the northern half of Hāmākua (Kamakau 1992:122; Fornander 1996:311).

As the above events illustrate, especially those leading up to the battle of Moku'ōhai, Hawai'i Island at the time was set for war. Indeed, the political context in

this generation had drastically changed from previous ones that made war nearly inevitable. In large part the new context was the result of the secondary effects of earlier rulers' efforts to bring the islands' districts in concert with one another. In previous generations, intermarriages were employed to create ties that would avoid conflicts and foster positive diplomatic and familial relations across the districts and lineages of the island. During this era, once more the secondary result of such practices produced a large set of *ali'i* across the island who were very close relatives and whose ties could be recounted via multiple lineages through which they traced their ancestors. In short, such close familial relationships among the highest *ali'i* were the norm. They did not carry as much weight as they would have generations prior when two lineages were joined.⁸⁹ The previous wars among family members further made the understood prohibition of fighting with one's family members an ideal that could only be honored now in cases involving the most immediate of relatives. Further, due to the multiple marriages of previous rulers, several of the highest *ali'i*, at this stage following Kīwala'ō's death, could have forwarded a legitimate claim to rule. Keōuakū'ahu'ula could claim the right to rule as a son of Kalani'ōpu'u. Keawema'uhili could claim the same authority as the brother of Kalani'ōpu'u. Kamehameha could claim the right to rule based on his being the only remaining of the two specific individuals to whom Kalani'ōpu'u had willed his sovereign prerogatives, which Kamehameha of course received because he was a

⁸⁹ Of course *ali'i* were always related to one another in some manner. The issue described here relates to the *relative* degree of closeness created by an initial marriage between two distinct lineages in times past. Similar marriages at this time between two lineages would not hold the same significance as the lineages were already intimately intertwined in numerous ways even before a further marriage.

high ranking *ali'i*, a direct descendant as well of previous rulers, and an *ali'i* who proved his ability to care for the *akua*.

The situation was also conducive to aggressive contests among the highest level of *ali'i* because they each retained a large, supportive network of lesser *ali'i* and warriors from distinct geographic regions. The situation was made even more volatile due to a secondary effect faced in this generation by Kalani'ōpu'u's previous strategy. Kalani'ōpu'u kept the *ali'i* of the islands' districts from going to war against him by deflecting their attention on gaining the *mana*, lands, and wealth of another, namely Kahekili. Yet this was a risky strategy as it kept the districts' forces in prime condition for battle. At this juncture there was no strong leader to coordinate a joint assault on an external target, yet the districts warriors remained ready for battle.

The Ascendance of Kahekili and Kamehameha

Under the conditions on Hawai'i Island there was barely any chance of Keawema'uhili, Keōuakū'ahu'ula, and Kamehameha, achieving a diplomatic solution to the basic problem of higher-level chiefs not wanting to live as lower-level chiefs on insignificant lands. Hence began what would be a nine-year period in which Kamehameha would engage in three more large-scale battles with the other independent *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island. Keawema'uhili and Keōuakū'ahu'ula would be embroiled in a fourth such battle, and Kamehameha would face Kahekili and Ka'eokūlani in a fifth major engagement (the battle of Kepūwaha'ula) before Hawai'i Island would be consolidated securely under Kamehameha's control.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Other authors suggested that this was a nearly 10-year period of unabated civil war, as if war was a regular part of everyday life. This is simply inaccurate, as the number of engagements indicates. Further, two of the four major battles in which Kamehameha, Keawema'uhili, and

When Kahekili heard of the events of Moku'ōhai on Hawai'i Island, he was in the midst of preparing to attack Kahāhana who was now completely vulnerable having lost his best advisor and *kahuna nui* Ka'ōpuluhulu. Thus Kahekili asked Kamehameha for canoes to aid in his war effort. Kamehameha declined, but Keawema'uhili, having heard about the request to Kamehameha, enlisted Keōuakū'ahu'ula in the effort and the two fulfilled Kahekili's petition. In turn, Kahekili later sent Keawema'uhili and Keōua assistance in their effort against Kamehameha (Kamakau 1992:124, 126). The scale of war on the major Hawaiian Islands continued to escalate.

At this juncture, two simultaneous war fronts were active in the islands. Kahekili was attacking Kahāhana on O'ahu and the three Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui* were in their most active period of aggression upon one another. Significantly, the alliances entered into entwined the armies of Maui and Hawai'i in each other's campaigns. Both these war fronts took years to resolve. The quicker of the two was Kahekili's campaign against Kahāhana. Kahekili landed his forces at Waikiki. Several battles occurred at various locations with mixed results until a decisive combat at Pauoa left Kahāhana and his forces fleeing into the forest. "For two years and six months" Kahāhana and his companions were "fed and clothed by the commoners, who had compassion upon them" (Kamakau 1992:136). Eventually, however, they were betrayed and discovered at Waikele. Kahekili had Kahāhana killed, and thus asserted his rule over O'ahu. Almost immediately, however, the

Keōuakū'ahu'ula were engaged occurred in the same year that Kalani'ōpu'u passed away, a third occurred in 1786 (before the second recorded Westerners arrived in Hawai'i), and the fourth major battle took place in 1790.

O'ahu *ali'i* began plans to overthrow the Maui intruders and some of Kahekili's chiefs as well joined in the rebellion.

Kalaniulumoku, Kamehameha Nui's son, led Maui's rebels (Kamakau 1992:140; Fornander 1996:227). It is probable that Kalaniulumoku harbored some resentment toward Kahekili as Kahekili's role could have been seen as a usurpation of Kalaniulumoku's right to rule following his father's death. Joining Kalaniulumoku were other key Maui chiefs including Ka'iana 'Ahu'ula, the son of Kaupēkamoku, a Maui chiefess, and 'Ahu'ula, a son of Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku (Kamakau 1991:15; Fornander 1996:131f, 222f). This rebellion failed and many Maui and native O'ahu *ali'i* were killed as a result. It is said that in the process of Kahekili putting down this rebellion that "all the Oahu chiefs were killed and the chiefesses tortured" (Kamakau 1992:138).⁹¹ Kahekili was now the embattled but victorious ruler of Maui, O'ahu, and Moloka'i.

On Hawai'i Island, the results of the contests that occurred were far less decisive. The second large-scale battle involving the three islands' forces was fought partly in Hilo and partly in Ka'ū. In preparation for the battle, Kamehameha was encamped at Laupahoehoe, Hilo. From there he attacked Keawema'uhili in Hilo. Keōuakū'ahu'ula's warriors were also in combat with one of Kamehameha's regiments in Ka'ū. Kahekili's warriors were assisting Keawema'uhili and Keōuakū'ahu'ula against Kamehameha in this round (Desha 2000:181-182). This battle was called Kaua'awa, or the bitter war, named for "the bitter rain and biting

⁹¹ Kamehameha's later conquest of O'ahu has often been blamed for the death of many of O'ahu's *ali'i*. The oral traditions do not bear this out and instead seem to indicate that it was in Kahekili's conquest of O'ahu that most of the native *ali'i* were killed.

cold” that obscured the sight of the warriors in the same manner as does habitual ‘awa drinking (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:161; Desha 2000:182). The net effect of this battle left the rule of the island unchanged.

On the heels of this battle, Kamehameha received word of an opportunistic raid on his territory that had just begun. Since it was known that Kamehameha was encamped at Laupahoehoe, Hilo for the battle, a contingent from Maui under Manonoikauakāpekulani landed at Hāpu‘u, the *ma kai* (seaward) area of Kamehameha’s *kulāiwi* of Hālawā (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:162-163; Desha 2000:184). Manonoikauakāpekulani was Kahekili’s son by Luahiwa (Kamakau 1992:82; Fomander 1996:223f). He was perhaps attempting to make a name for himself in the arena of rising *ali‘i* via this attack on one of the more prominent *ali‘i* of the time. Manonoikauakāpekulani’s raid was certainly not intended to change the course of the larger conflict, but rather to elevate his own *mana* through his brazen act.

After landing at Hāpu‘u, Manonoikauakāpekulani plundered the area and attempted to incite a rebellion of its populace⁹² (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:162-163; Desha 2000:184). Kamehameha hurried back to defend his homeland. As soon as he arrived he entered into battle with Manonoikauakāpekulani.

Manonoikauakāpekulani’s forces were eventually put to flight or captured and

⁹² Desha’s version in both the Hawaiian original and English translation suggests that Manonoikauakāpekulani’s efforts were successful in inciting rebellious thoughts among the populace even while he was plundering their very homeland, which seems illogical. On the other hand, Poepoe’s earlier work conveys that Manono made an initial effort to incite a rebellion but that it was ineffectual and resulted in Manonoikauakāpekulani simply pillaging the area.

Manonoikauakāpekulani was sacrificed on the altar of Mo'okini *heiau* (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:165; Desha 2000:187).

The third major battle between the three islands' warriors was called Laupahoehoe 'Elua (the second being the engagement of Kaua'awa in which Kamehameha was encamped at Laupahoehoe). It was fought several months after the Hāpu'u engagement (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:166). Again this battle took place in Hilo, and once more there was no decisive result (Fornander 1996:319).⁹³

The island then entered into a period of truce and Kamehameha returned to Kohala to rejuvenate the lands and *kānaka* under his governance (which was likely the case with Keawema'uhili, Keōuakū'ahu'ula, and Kahekili as well, although the events of their areas are not documented for this period). As with rulers of earlier generations whose focus was on increasing the prosperity of their islands, Kamehameha at this time completed numerous civil works. When Kamehameha left Laupahoehoe and returned to Kohala, it is said that he stayed at Kauhola and engaged his *ali'i* and warriors in farming (Kamakau 1992:126-127). Evidence of this is seen in a map by cartographer J. M. Lydgate (n.d.) who wrote over a large

⁹³ It was after this war while Kamehameha was encamped at Laupahoehoe that he sailed one day with Kahaku'i to Pāpa'i, Puna. Whether in aggression (as Kamakau [1992:125] avers) or not (as Desha [2000:206-207] describes), Kamehameha landed and while on shore got his foot stuck in a rock crevice whereupon a fisherman of the area bashed him over the head with a canoe paddle that splintered from the force of the blow.

The timing of this event suggested here follows Poepoe (in McKinzie 1982:195) and Desha (2000:206). Both of these authors include the battle of Hāpu'u and the differentiation of the two separate times that Kamehameha was encamped with his troops at Laupahoehoe. Other authors such as Kamakau and Fornander conflate the two Laupahoehoe stays and omit the battle of Hāpu'u, thus making it seem as though this event occurred after Kamehameha's first stay at Laupahoehoe, which is probably in error.

expanse of Kauhola, North Kohala, "Kamehameha's Taro Patches."⁹⁴ Kamehameha also was known to have kept his personal *lo'i* at 'Iole, North Kohala (Damon 1927:71; Bond in Damon 1927:179). It is likely that they were known as his *lo'i* not only because he possessed the rights to the *kalo* and land, but because he also worked in those *lo'i* on occasion. Such an inference is suggested by missionary William Ellis' 1823 record of Kamehameha's activities at Wai'āpuka, another district of North Kohala. Ellis (1963:277) writes, "A wide tract of country in the neighborhood [of Wai'āpuka] was divided into fields of considerable size, containing several acres each, which [Kamehameha] used to keep in good order, and well stocked with [sweet] potatoes and other vegetables. One of these was called by his name. He was accustomed to cultivate it with his own hands."

The Kauhola, 'Iole, and Wai'āpuka cultivated lands are three examples of how "Kohala was unique in the development of terrace areas on *kula* lands a mile or more inland, where ever water could be brought from streams or springs" (Handy and Handy 1991:529).⁹⁵ Handy and Handy (1991:529) specifically describe the same irrigated terraces of Kamehameha at the *kula* area of 'Iole and Wai'āpuka as such instances (see Chapter 3 for further discussion of Wai'āpuka). The same would also be the case for the Kauhola *kula* area that Lydgate (n.d.) identifies as the

⁹⁴ At least one large pondfield was used specifically for cultivating fish, as Lydgate (n.d.) drew in a central location on Kauhola Point a rectangle labeled "Kamehameha fishpond." This was in the same region where Lydgate indicated were Kamehameha's *lo'i*.

⁹⁵ These irrigated terraced pondfields located on *kula* lands (rather than valley floors) stand in contrast to the characterization of this region's agricultural profile suggested by Tuggle and Tomonari-Tuggle (1980). They describe this region (their environmental zone 3), as including slopes that "were under intensive non-irrigated cultivation of taro" (Tuggle and Tomonari-Tuggle 1980:303). Further, the intensification of agriculture at this late stage under Kamehameha also contradicts Tuggle and Tomonari-Tuggle's (1980:311) conclusion that "agricultural growth had reached its limits in the Kohala-Hamakua region, under the constraints of a simple irrigation" involving the diversion of water to agriculturally developed areas on valley floors.

location for Kamehameha's taro patches. Given Kamehameha's connection to these three sites, it seems highly probable that the agricultural innovation of irrigating and creating pondfields and other agricultural areas in North Kohala's *kula* lands was directed and implemented during Kamehameha's administration.

Kamehameha's interest in increasing the availability of food for his people is further recounted in relation to the ocean resources of Kohala. Kamehameha was said to have created two canoe ramps in North Kohala to allow canoes easy access to bays that were fronted by high sea cliffs. Certainly trails existed in those areas to allow for foot traffic to the shore, but those on canoes would only have been able to access a few shorelines where there were no cliffs. Lydgate (n.d.) records a "landing originally built by Kamehameha" that provided the Kauhola district with an access to Keawa'eli Bay on the northwest side of Kauhola Point. The second and much longer ramp was created at Kapānai'a (the bay neighboring Hāpu'u on its southeast side). "Kamehameha and his companions, by digging through the rocks" created "a regular and gradual descent from the high ground to the sea, up and down which their fishing canoes could be easily drawn" (Ellis 1963:277).

Kamehameha also considered other aspects of his districts' well being and was known to have had built at 'Āinakea, North Kohala four large *hālau*, or long houses for instruction or meetings (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:88). It is unclear what specific purposes were involved, but they were obviously focused on pursuits aside from the basic fishing and farming needs of his people. These *hālau* may be related to the remembrance that "Kamehameha took the children of commoners and trained them to be warriors or to learn other arts" (Kamakau 1992:178).

Perhaps most important of all the activities with which Kamehameha was involved was his caring for his *akua*. A small sample of *heiau* which he built or refurbished include the following: 1) Hāpaiali'i *heiau* at Kahalu'u, Kona which he dedicated after the battle of Moku'ōhai (Thrum 1908a:44), 2) Kamaike'ekū (also called Ke'ekū) *heiau* at Kahalu'u, Kona (Thrum 1908a:45), 3) 'Ahu'ena at Kailua, Kona, 4) Hikiau at Kealakekua, Kona (Kamakau 1992:203), and 5) Hale o Kā'ili at Hāpu'u, North Kohala (Ellis 1979:278).

Challenges of Simultaneously Increasing and Administering a Large Domain

On Maui at about this time was a lesser *ali'i* Kūkeawe who had brought on a state of crisis. Kūkeawe had no respect for the property rights of the *maka'āinana* of Kula, Honua'ula, Kahikikinui, and Kaupō whose pigs he seized and roasted at will. He was also said to have gone about "with a large party to rob [the people] of their wealth even with violence" (Kamakau 1992:142; see also Fornander 1996:227). The result was an "uprising of the country people" which led to the death of Kūkeawe" and which prompted Kahekili on O'ahu to send his son Kalanikūpule back to Maui to govern the island appropriately (Kamakau 1992:142; Fornander 1996:228). Kalanikūpule was Kahekili's highest-ranking son, the first born of his wife Kauwahine (Kamakau 1992:4, 82; Fornander 1996:223f).

Soon after Kalanikūpule arrived, Kamehameha sent Kalanimālokuloku ikepo'ookalani with a set of *ali'i* to Hāna and Kīpahulu, recognizing the lack of a strong administrative presence in those districts (Kamakau 1992:143). Kalanimālokaloku was Kamehameha's younger brother born of Keku'iapo'iwa and Keōua Kalanikupuapāikalani (Kamakau 1992:123; McKinzie 1983:xxiii, 1986:31).

Kalanimālokuloku and the *ali'i* under him to established themselves in Hāna and Kīpahulu by earning the goodwill of the *maka'āinana* there. These *ali'i* governed the land with strict concern for the rights of *maka'āinana*. Kalanimālokuloku “commanded that no one should touch the property of the common people,” and hence “the common people loved him and called him ‘The good chief’ (*Ke-ali'i-maika'i*) in praise of his kind deeds” (Kamakau 1992:143). Thereafter, Kalanimālokuloku was also and more frequently referred to as Keli'imaika'i. Thus, when Kalanikūpule and his warriors came to battle with Keli'imaika'i “on the Kīpahulu side of Lelekea gulch,” and when the battle turned against Keli'imaika'i, the people of the area did not divulge his hiding place but instead allowed him to leave safely when night fell (Fornander 1996:229; see also Kamakau 1992:143-144). Keli'imaika'i and those of his party then returned unharmed to Kohala and rejoined Kamehameha. “It was in this year, 1786” that the first vessels following Cook's expedition visited Hawai'i (Fornander 1996:229).

Aside from the diseases that came with the foreigners, perhaps the second greatest influence Westerners had on Hawaiian society in this generation was in the weaponry they provided. The most astute at acquiring and using these weapons was Kamehameha. While all the *ali'i* were anxious to have these technologically superior weapons, Kamehameha through fate and foresight was much more successful with them. Fate dealt him the advantage of controlling two popular places where Western traders would anchor, Kealakekua and Kawaihae. Thus he had greater access to trade with the foreigners (Kuykendall 1938:35) and hence secured more Western weapons.

Kamehameha further recognized the value of a specific Hawaiian ally, Kaʻiana ʻAhuʻula. This was the same Maui *aliʻi* who rebelled against Kahekili after Kahāhana's death and who had then found asylum on Kauaʻi after their defeat. In 1787 Kaʻiana accompanied John Meares and the crew of the *Nootka* to China and returned at the end of the next year on the *Iphigenia* (Meares 1967:4; Fornander 1996:231; Kuykendall 1938:35). Kamehameha invited Kaʻiana to stay with him as he realized that Kaʻiana had acquired a great wealth of Western weapons and since Kaʻiana had a rightful place among the Hawaiʻi Island chiefs (especially among his Kona and Kohala faction), for Kaʻiana was the grandson of Keaweikekahialiʻiokamoku (Kamakau 1991:15; Fornander 1996:131). Kaʻiana agreed and "landed with his foreign acquired property, including guns, powder, etc. in January of 1789" (Fornander 1996:231).

Kamehameha also sought Western assistants who could help him maintain, supply, and best utilize Western weapons in combat. Such forethought, and again a fateful series of events, resulted in Kamehameha bringing to his circle of advisors John Young and Isaac Davis. Along with Davis also came the sloop the *Fair American* with its canon that would later be named Lopaka. (For a description of how Young and Davis came to be involved with Kamehameha see Kamakau 1992:145-147; Fornander 231-235; Kuykendall 1938:24-25).

At this point Kamehameha put his Western assistants to the task of training his warriors in using these weapons. That being accomplished, Kamehameha set forth plans to invade Maui while Kahekili was still away on Oʻahu and while a much less experienced Kalanikūpule was in charge. As a number of years had passed since the last battle with Keawemaʻuhili and Keōuakūʻahuʻula, and for other reasons

unknown, Kamehameha thought to ask Keawema'uhili for assistance in this effort. Keawema'uhili consented by providing "canoes, men, and feather capes to equip the war expedition" (Kamakau 1992:147), perhaps with the notion of helping to forestall an offensive attack on Hilo waged from Maui. Since Kahekili's realm was increasing at the time, the threat of such an attack was not implausible.

Kamehameha sailed to Maui in 1790 with his warriors, Keawema'uhili's forces, and the added support of his Western weapons and assistants Young and Davis. The primary engagement was at Wailuku which culminated in the battle of Ka'uwa'upali (also referred to as the battle of Kepaniwai) at 'Īao.⁹⁶ "Had they fought face-to-face and hand-to-hand, as the custom was, they would have been equally matched" (Kamakau 1992:148). However, two factors are recounted in *mo'olelo* which changed the tide of the impasse in the battle. The first of course involved Kamehameha's weapons, including Lopaka which was said to have played a significant role. The second factor was Kamehameha's inspirational leadership that "lit the fire of fearlessness in the breasts of his *ali'i* and his warriors" (Desha 2000:255).⁹⁷ In the end, Kamehameha was victorious and Kalanikūpule was forced to escape to O'ahu. Kamehameha could consider Maui his, although he probably recognized that his control over Maui was only tenuous at the time.

⁹⁶ The name of this battle derives from the fact that the escaping warriors of Kalanikūpule were forced to claw their way up the precipices of the area, and hence the name Ka'uwa'upali (precipice-clawing) (Kamakau 1992:148-149; Pūku'i 1983:191). In this battle, numerous corpses of fallen warriors were said to have damned the 'Īao Stream, and hence this battle is also known as the battle Kepaniwai (the damming of the waters) (Kamakau 1992:148-149).

⁹⁷ It was in this battle that Kamehameha was said to have uttered these famous words which inspired his warriors to redouble their efforts: "*I mua e nā pōki'i a inu i ka wai 'awa'awa, 'a'ole hope e ho'i aku ai.*" "Forward, my little brothers, and drink of the bitter waters, there is no retreat" (Desha 2000:255).

After the battle of Kepaniwai, Kamehameha went on to Moloka'i with the main purpose of ensuring a stable future for his nation, or more specifically, with the goal of securing an appropriate wife with whom he could sire the most sacred children who would command an unquestioned right to rule. He heard that Kalola (Kahekili's sister, Kalani'ōpu'u's wife, and Kīwala'ō's mother), her daughters, and granddaughter were on Moloka'i, and thus sailed for that island. He asked Kalola, who was ill and frail at the time, if she would allow him to take her party to live on Hawai'i with his court in security, comfort, and with all the honors due their high rank. She agreed that they would go with him after her death. Thus, Kamehameha waited on Moloka'i for the appropriate time that they could accompany their royal guests back to Hawai'i Island.

The main object of Kamehameha's attention was Kalanikauika'alaneo Keōpūolani. She was a most sacred *nī'auipi'o* chiefess whose parents Kīwala'ō (son of Kalani'ōpu'u) and Keku'iapoiwa Liliha (son of Keōua Kalanikupuapāikalaninui) shared Kalola as a mother (Kamakau 1992:449; Fornander 1996:212; McKinzie 1983:xxiii, 1986:31). A similar close family relationship would characterize Kamehameha's sacred marriage to Keōpūolani since her grandfather was Kamehameha's father Keōua Kalanikupuapāikalaninui.

While Kamehameha was on Moloka'i, Keōuakū'ahu'ula on Hawai'i was considering attacking Keawema'uhili, for Keawema'uhili's aid to Kamehameha was a breach of their own agreement and a sign of a possible alliance emerging between Keawema'uhili and Kamehameha. To avoid the possible minority position he would face when Kamehameha returned, Keōuakū'ahu'ula entered into combat against Keawema'uhili, routed his forces, and killed Keawema'uhili. To give him an

advantage when Kamehameha arrived back on Hawai'i Island, Keōuakū'ahu'ula then went on to plunder Kohala and Hāmākau, ruining its fishponds, *lo'i*, and beating its people (Kamakau 1992:151).

Hearing of this assault on Kohala, Kamehameha rushed back to his home district and engaged Keōuakū'ahu'ula in battle at Pa'auhau just as Keōuakū'ahu'ula was retreating through Hāmākua. The "great battle" of this confrontation "was at Koapapa in east Hamakua" (Kamakau 1992:151). This was the fourth and last major battle between Keōuakū'ahu'ula and Kamehameha. The fighting ended without a clear victor and both sides retreated. Keōuakū'ahu'ula's forces went through 'Ōla'a to return to Ka'ū. In this journey the "division of his army which came up at the rear was completely annihilated by the volcano," in many cases apparently from toxic gases as it was said that the bodies of these people were found laying "unmutilated just as they were when marching" (Kamakau 1992:152; see also Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:261-262; Desha 2000:280). Surely this loss was a heavy blow to Keōuakū'ahu'ula. For as an *alii* of Ka'ū, it would seem that the very *akua*, Pele, who was native to his *kulāiwi* had severely punished him to the advantage of his adversary, some say for the wanton destruction he brought to the innocent *maka'āinana* of Hāmākua and Kohala (Desha 2000:280). Such an event may have critically affected the mindset of Keōuakū'ahu'ula in his next encounter with Kamehameha that would occur the following year.

Kamehameha paused as well to reconsider his situation. Having once more ended a battle without a victory, he sought additional advice. Kamehameha sent Ha'alo'u (the wife of Hā'ae, Kamehameha's grandfather) to Kaua'i to have her ask Kapoukahi, the famous *kahuna kuhikuhi pu'uone* (expert skilled in the placement

and construction of heiau and other structures) for his advice as to how he might end the battles on Hawai'i. On Ha'alo'u's way to Kaua'i she stopped at O'ahu and found Kapoukahi residing at Kamoku, Waikiki. He instructed Kamehameha to "build a great house for the god and mark out its boundaries" and to erect it at "Pu'ukoholā," Kawaihae, Kohala (Kamakau 1992:149-150). Thus Kamehameha and his supporters set about to complete this *heiau*.⁹⁸

The same impasse that brought Kamehameha to build Pu'ukoholā also set off another series of activities on the northern islands. Possibly hearing of Kamehameha's lack of success on Hawai'i Island and understanding that his attention would be focused there rather than on Maui, Kahekili and Ka'eokūlani initiated plans to retake Maui and to avenge Kalanikūpule's defeat by raiding Kamehameha's Kohala and Hāmākua lands.⁹⁹ Ka'eokūlani left Kaua'i in the nominal control of his son Kaumuali'i and under the administrative control of Kaumuali'i's *kahu* (guardian and caretaker) Nakaikua'ana¹⁰⁰ (Kamakau 1992:162; Fornander 1996:245) while Ka'eokūlani and his forces met Kahekili's on O'ahu. Kahekili appointed Kalanikūpule as the regent of O'ahu, and sailed with Ka'eokūlani to Moloka'i and then Maui. When they paused on Maui, Kahekili apparently gave the administrative authority of the island to Ka'eokūlani who then placed Kaua'i chiefs in charge of the various districts, which infuriated the Maui chiefs. This led to a small

⁹⁸ Another Pu'ukoholā *heiau* may have been on the same site, as referred to in the *mo'olelo* of Lonoikamakahiki (Fornander 1999:IV:324; see also Thrum's footnote on the same page). If so, Kamehameha may have completely rebuilt or simply renovated the earlier structure.

⁹⁹ Kamakau (1992:159) says that Ka'eokūlani instigated this effort while Fornander (1996:241) says that Kahekili requested Ka'eokūlani's aid.

¹⁰⁰ This same guardian is referred to in Westerners' journals as Inamoo or Enemo (Fornander 1996:245f; Kuykendall 1938:48f; Menzies 1920:29).

battle which was somehow smoothed over, and the two fleets sailed for Hawai'i Island (Kamakau 1992:159-160; Fornander 1996:242-243). This was in April or May of 1791 (Kuykendall 1938:37).

Ka'eokūlani ravaged Waipi'o, physically and spiritually corrupting the area. "No one before him, not even Keoua who passed through there the year before and destroyed the land and the food, had made such wanton destruction" (Kamakau 1992:160; Fornander 1996:243). Kahekili, like his son Manonoikauakāpekulani, headed for Hālawā. There he met with prepared defenses, engaged in a short battle, then rejoined Ka'eokūlani at Waipi'o (Kamakau 1992:161; Fornander 243).

Kamehameha received word of Kahekili's and Ka'eokūlani's invasion and with his forces sailed directly for Hāmākua.¹⁰¹ Just off the shore of Waimanu, Kamehameha met Kahekili and Ka'eokūlani's fleet and a sea engagement ensued. The result of this clash forced Kahekili and Ka'eokūlani to retreat back to Maui. Kamehameha's use of Western weapons in this battle led to its name, Kepūwaha'ula (the red-mouthed gun).

Consolidation of Hawai'i Island Under Kamehameha

"Keoua was at this time still living" (Kamakau 1992:162) and was surely contemplating his next move. He knew that Kamehameha already began constructing the *heiau* at Kawaihae, for it was massive and could be seen from a great distance offshore. There is no doubt that while it was being built, word of the work reached Keōuakū'ahu'ula. After the battle of Kepūwaha'ula, and by the end of

¹⁰¹ It is likely that Kamehameha was at this time in the midst of building Pu'ukoholā or at least had not yet dedicated it, given the timing of other dated events.

1791, the *heiau* was ready to be consecrated. All that was needed was a proper sacrifice.

Kamehameha sent his two advisors Keaweheulu and Kamanawa to bring Keōuakū'ahu'ula from Ka'ū to Kawaihae where Kamehameha was staying. Keōua consented to go to Kohala with them, surely having heard of Kamehameha's activities and understanding his intended role in them. That Keōuakū'ahu'ula was aware of the eventual outcome of his trip is evident in a ceremony he conducted at Luahinewai, Kekaha, Kona: "After bathing he cut off the end of his penis (*'omu'o*),... which was a certain sign that he knew he was about to die" (Kamakau 1992:156). If Kamehameha was to sacrifice him at Pu'ukoholā, Kamehameha could not have the satisfaction of an unblemished offering for his god Kūkā'ilimoku. This potent male god would not have all of Keōuakū'ahu'ula's *mana*.

When Keōuakū'ahu'ula landed at Kawaihae, he and those he selected to accompany him on his canoe as *moepu'u* (companions in death) were killed. The only ones who escaped alive were on the canoe of Paulika'ōleiokū. He was a *po'olua* child of Kānekapolei and her two mates Kalani'ōpu'u and Kamehameha [Kamakau 1992:127, 208; Fornander 1996:146f; McKinzie 1983:5, 40, 1986:31]), and Kamehameha sought to honor this relationship he had with Paulika'ōleiokū (Kamakau 1992:157). Keōuakū'ahu'ula and his *moepu'u* were sacrificed at Pu'ukoholā, their *mana* offered to Kūkā'ilimoku, and Kamehameha became the uncontested ruler of Hawai'i Island.

Political Changes on the Northern Islands

For about three years following this pivotal event, all was quiet in the highest levels of politics throughout the Islands. Kamehameha maintained his rule over Hawai'i Island, Kahekili placed Ka'eokūlani in charge of Maui, and Kahekili and Kalanikūpule were on O'ahu. The most tumultuous aspect of life at this time involved the effects of numerous Western influences. In terms of Hawaiian politics, however, there were no major events of note recorded until the early spring of 1793.

At that time there was apparently a revolt against Nakaikua'ana (Kaumuali'i's *kahu*), under whom Ka'eokūlani had left the rule of Kaua'i. Menzies (1920:133-134), who arrived on the scene on Kaua'i "about a fortnight" after the event, recorded that "the insurrection...was not so much against Kaeo or any of the present royal family, as against old [Nakaikua'ana] for his cruel and tyrannic administration from which it was intended to eject him and put the young king Kaumualii in the regency during his father's absence."¹⁰² The rebellion was suppressed and those involved killed in

¹⁰² Menzies (1920:134) went on to note the reasons that he was told precipitated the insurrection and the manner in which it was subdued:

For it would seem that [Nakaikua'ana] exercised his present delegated authority with the imperious sway of a despotic governor by frequent private assassinations for the most frivolous reasons, even among the chiefs, sparing neither rank nor sex in the accomplishment of his views. On this account a few resolute chiefs, among which we were told was even his own brother collected on a small eminence in Puna, near where he resided, at the east end of the island. There they kindled a large fire in the night time as a signal to collect together their adherents, Inamoo [i.e., Nakaikua'ana] having got early intelligence of their intentions, collected on his side seven Europeans that were at that time on the island, and putting musquets into their hands, stationed them at the foot of the hill to cover his own warriors, while they ascended to disperse the insurgents. They accomplished this so effectually that three of the ringleaders of the faction were killed, together with four of their people chiefly by throwing themselves from the summit of a precipice, choosing to die rather in this manner than suffer under the exulting cruelties

some cases and in others kept as prisoners. Vancouver (1967:III:218-219) in 1793 describes having encountered on a canoe along the shore of Pu'uloa, O'ahu Ka'eokūlani's loyal chiefs (with their prisoners and the long bones of the executed rebels). They were on their way to inform Ka'eokūlani on Maui of the recent events on Kaua'i (see also Fornander 1996:258-259). Following that event, questions of Nakaikua'ana's loyalty on Kaua'i surfaced on O'ahu and led Kahekili on two occasions to visit Kaua'i on behalf of his half-brother Ka'eokūlani. In each case, Kahekili seems to have been satisfied with the outcome of his investigations and Nakaikua'ana remained Ka'eokūlani's and Kaumuali'i's regent on Kaua'i (Fornander 1996:260).

The next chain of events of major political consequence was set off by the death of Kahekili in the summer of 1794 at Waikiki (Kamakau 1992:166; Fornander 1996:260; Kuykendall 1938:44). Kahekili left Maui and its neighboring islands to Ka'eokūlani, while O'ahu remained under Kalanikūpule (Kamakau 1992:168).

In November of 1794, Ka'eokūlani yearned to return to Kaua'i, not having been there since 1791. On his way to Kaua'i when stopping off at O'ahu, he encountered Kalanikūpule who engaged him in battle there. This ended in a truce and reestablished good relations between the two. However, Ka'eokūlani is said to have heard of a conspiracy among his own people to "throw him overboard in mid-ocean," and so he decided it was better to die in battle against Kalanikūpule than to

of their enemy. Several were made prisoners and others were taken into custody who were thought to favor the faction. Amongst these was one of Kaeo's favorite wives.

suffer such a humiliating death at sea (Kamakau 1992:168).¹⁰³ The battle began and by December Ka'eokūlani was killed with the assistance of the English ships the *Jackall* (under Captain by William Brown) and the *Prince Lee Boo* (under Captain Gordon) (Kamakau 1992:169; Fornander 1996:265; Kuykendall 1938:45-46). Kalanikūpule's insecure control over O'ahu (much less his new acquisitions of Maui and its neighboring islands) is illustrated by the fact that warriors from Waialua and Wai'anae joined Ka'eokūlani in battle against Kalanikūpule (Kamakau 1992:168).¹⁰⁴

Yet rather than secure his hold on O'ahu, Kalanikūpule commandeered the *Jackall* and the *Prince Lee Boo*, killed captains Brown and Gordon, and endeavored to set sail to Hawai'i Island to make war upon Kamehameha. The attempt failed seemingly due to seasickness, internal dissension between Kalanikūpule and his *ali'i*, and the successful effort of the ships' mates to retake their vessels. These mates, Lamport and Bonallack, left word with Davis and Young about their ordeal who then relayed the same to Kamehameha (Kuykendall 1938:46-47; Kamakau 1992:170-171; Fornander 1996:266-268).

Consolidation of the Hawaiian Islands Under Kamehameha

Having little reason to consider restraint against Kalanikūpule, and recognizing Kalanikūpule's inability at this juncture to control all of the islands under his jurisdiction, Kamehameha seized the opportunity and readied his forces to

¹⁰³ It is remembered that Ka'eokūlani said at this time, "*E aho ka make i ke kaua, he nui nā moepu'u*" (it is better to die in battle where one will have companions in death), which then became a famous *'olelo no'eau* reflecting that sentiment (Pūku'i 1983:31).

¹⁰⁴ A comment that Ka'eokūlani made at this time (perhaps regarding the Waialua and Wai'anae *ali'i*) remains a well remembered *'olelo no'eau* through today: *I ke kaua e 'ike 'ia ai nā hoaloha a me nā kānaka koa* ("It is in war that one learns who his friends are and who among them is brave") (Pūku'i 1983:131).

invade O'ahu. He first stopped at Maui then Moloka'i in February of 1795, and by the spring or summer of that year landed his troops at Waikiki.

The intense predicaments that *ali'i* of this era encountered, deriving from their multiple possible allegiances is exemplified in an ancillary but nonetheless important chapter of the *mo'olelo* of Kamehameha's conquest of O'ahu. While on Moloka'i, Kamehameha's *'aha ali'i* assembled and did not invite Ka'iana to the meeting, despite his standing as a grandson of Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku and his assistance that he had offered at Kepaniwai and the later battles. It is said that Ka'iana was excluded because the *ali'i* who had long stood behind Kamehameha, and Kamehameha himself, questioned Ka'iana's loyalty and "were offended at the airs of superiority which Kaiana gave himself on the strength of his foreign voyages and foreign knowledge" (Fornander 1996:344). Indeed, Ka'iana owed some degree of allegiance to Kaua'i's chiefs who harbored him after he initially defected from Kahekili and was defeated with the rest of Kalaniulumoku's rebels. More importantly, Ka'iana for most of his life lived on Maui among the chiefs with whom Kamehameha was about to enter into battle (since Ka'iana was the son of the Maui chiefess Kaupēkamoku). Ka'iana at this point on Moloka'i, clearly understood his perilous state and the likelihood that the *'aha ali'i* and Kamehameha were suspicious of his role and had sealed his death. Hence Ka'iana decided to defect from Kamehameha. When the combined fleet under Kamehameha left for O'ahu, Kamehameha's canoes headed for Waikiki, and Ka'iana's contingent broke away and landed on the Ko'olau side of O'ahu ready to join Kalanikūpule (Fornander 1996:344-347; Kamakau 1991:15, 1992:172).

Kaʻiāna’s situation most clearly illustrates the dilemmas that *aliʻi* faced in determining their own roles and in other’s assessing their actions. Because the *aliʻi* were so closely intertwined in terms of familial and political alliances that were earlier created to foster cohesiveness, these same ties now created ambiguity in interpreting the core allegiances these *aliʻi* held.

Kaʻiāna of course found himself on the losing side of the battle as Kalanikūpule’s army was forced farther and farther back in Nuʻuanu Valley and finally over the Pali. Kaʻiāna died in that battle and Kalanikūpule was compelled to flee only to be found months later in the uplands of Waipiʻo and then sacrificed to Kūkāʻilimoku (Kamakau 1992:174; Desha 2000:417). Kamehameha at this stage possessed all of the Hawaiian Islands except Kauaʻi and Niʻihau.

Before thinking of taking his fleet and warriors to Kauaʻi, Kamehameha spent the next year restoring the people and lands of Oʻahu and ensuring that peace would remain on the island. The wounded on both sides were provided medical attention and those who died were buried properly (Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:37; Desha 2000:419). That priority taken care of, Kamehameha ordered his forces (including the *aliʻi*) to work with him in planting crops around the island (Poepoe in McKinzie 373-375; Desha 2000:420; Kuykendall and Day 1976:28). Kamehameha even went as far as conducting what could only be called an “agricultural procession” around Oʻahu to engage in improving the farming capacity throughout the various districts (Desha 200:421; see also Poepoe in McKinzie 1982:374-375). “When the people of the island of Oʻahu saw the good example set by this victorious *aliʻi* of Hawaiʻi, they were inspired and ceased to feel abased (*manaʻo hopepe*), and they worked as they saw Kamehameha was doing” (Desha 2000:420). To ensure the continuation of

such productive efforts and the stability of his new government, Kamehameha also had his appointed officials seize all the Western weapons found so that there would be no rebellion (Desha 2000:420).

Having taken proper care of his new *kuleana*, Kamehameha began preparations for an invasion of Kaua'i. This was attempted in 1796 but Kamehameha was driven back by a storm and returned to O'ahu.¹⁰⁵

Dissention Among Kaua'i Ali'i

Had Kamehameha continued on to Kaua'i, the timing of the assault would have been opportune as internal conflicts were then unfolding on that island. Western observers Broughton and Bishop, who were both on Kaua'i in February of 1796, found Keawe in control of the Waimea district and in the midst of a conflict against Kaumuali'i (Broughton 1967:45; Kuykendall 1938:48f). At the time "several conflicts had already occurred, and another was expected as soon as the existing tabu ended" (Stokes 1937:41). By the time Broughton returned in July of 1796, the island "had been entirely conquered by a chief, named Teavee [Keawe], grandson to Perorannee [Peleiōhōlani]. The deposed king, Timoree [Kaumuali'i], lived with him, divested of all power" (Broughton 1967:78). Keawe died either later that year or soon thereafter and so the island returned to Kaumuali'i's control (Kuykendall 1938:48f). Indeed, 1796 was an unstable year for Kaua'i's internal governance and would have been an advantageous time for Kamehameha to have invaded the island.

¹⁰⁵ Knudsen (1913) describes the Kaua'i legend which asserts that Kamehameha actually landed at Māhā'ulepū, Kōloa and was defeated by the warriors of the island. However, Lydgate's (1928) and Stokes' (1937) detailed evaluations of that account indicate that it is clearly erroneous.

Kamehameha's Efforts to Build a Secure and Prosperous Nation

When Kamehameha returned to O'ahu from his aborted attempt to capture Kaua'i, he learned that a rebellion was occurring on his own island of Hawai'i. This involved an *ali'i* Nāmakehā who was a native of Maui but who was living in Ka'ū at the time. Nāmakehā was the son of Kaupēkamoku and hence the half-brother of Ka'iana (Kamakau 1992:173; Fornander 1996:222f). Nāmakehā "rebelled against the rule of Hawaii and began to feed the men" of Ka'ū, Puna, and Hilo "in preparation for war against Kamehameha" (Kamakau 1992:173). Kamehameha returned to Hawai'i Island in 1796 to address Nāmakehā's actions. A battle was fought in Hilo and Nāmakehā was captured and sacrificed at Kaipalaoa *heiau* in Pi'ihonua, Hilo (Kamakau 1992:174).

It is not surprising that this revolt would have occurred under the circumstances it did. Nāmakehā was staying in Ka'ū, a district previously of Keōuakū'ahu'ula, which had little reason to accept Kamehameha's authority and whose populace was still probably resenting the earlier wars and the loss of Keōuakū'ahu'ula and other valued leaders who died with him. Nāmakehā's connection to Maui and his half-brother Ka'iana were surely further reasons for Nāmakehā to feel passionately about a revolt against Kamehameha.

This incident exemplifies Kamehameha's additional challenge at the time of maintaining control over his expansive domain. In doing so Kamehameha relied upon generations-old methods that proved successful in the past: Adopting firm and benevolent administrative policies, including trusted expert advisors in decision-making, closely monitoring junior *ali'i*, maintaining a concern for the productive capacity of the land and people, and developing key alliances sealed by marriages.

Perhaps Kamehameha's most renowned public policy that best captures his ideal for his nation was his declaration of the Kānāwai Māmalahoe (or Kānāwai Māmalahoa).¹⁰⁶ The instigating factor behind this law was an incident in which Kamehameha's foot was stuck in a rock crevice when he landed at Pāpa'i, Puna and a fisherman hit him on the head with a paddle.¹⁰⁷ Whether in recognition of his wrong doing in attacking the fisherman, the converse, or whether in command to spare the lives of those caught who were involved in his being hit on the head years prior, Kamehameha proclaimed his law:¹⁰⁸ "Let the old men go and lie by the roadside, let the old women go and lie by the roadside, let the children go and lie by the roadside and no one shall harm them" (Desha 2000:216). In effect this *kānāwai* placed a *kapu* on even the humble and defenseless that they not be hurt in any way but live in safety and peace.

Kamehameha also held firm to the ancient *kapu* that governed Hawaiian society. While Kamehameha was at Waipi'o, 'Ewa "in late 1803 or early 1804," "three men who had been caught eating coconut with the chiefesses were seized because coconuts were prohibited to women in general and it was kapu for men to eat with women." These men were "imprisoned and condemned to die" (I'i 1983:34-35).

¹⁰⁶ See Poepoe (in McKinzie 1982:195-198), Desha (2000:213-216), and Kamakau (1992:126, 312) for various understandings of the name and meaning of this law.

¹⁰⁷ Both the timing of this incident and the circumstances of this are contested. Kamakau (1992:125-126) and Fornander (1996:318) place this event as occurring after the battle of Kaua'awa. Poepoe (in McKinzie 1982:182-199) and Desha (2000:205-216) indicate that this occurred after the battle of Laupahoehoe 'Elua. The same dichotomy exists regarding why the fisherman hit Kamehameha on the head. Kamakau and Fornander explain that it was because Kamehameha was going to attack the fisherman and his companions. Poepoe (in McKinzie 1982:184) and Desha (2000:206) contend that Kamehameha only wished to speak with the fishermen and that the fisherman was the attacker.

¹⁰⁸ Poepoe (in McKinzie 1982:200) states that this law was proclaimed in 1791.

While Kamehameha felt a need to maintain the power and authority of the *kapu* and his own position, he was also known to have treated his *maka'āinana* and his own *kapu* with great flexibility which allowed him to remain in close contact with his people. "He used himself to take part in the work, no matter what kind it was. He helped in preparing the fishing gear or in drawing the catch ashore, or he would go out himself to sea and take part in the labor" (Kamakau 1992:176).

In relation to Kamehameha's interactions with his *ali'i*, several of his policies served him well. He kept a "deliberative council consisting of his counselors and chiefs selected for the purpose and these persons handled the affairs of government in matters of war or of the welfare of the people" (Kamakau 1992:175). Their focus on secular matters probably overlapped with another set of *ali'i* upon whom Kamehameha also relied. It was said that he "always listened to the advice of orators, diviners, kahunas, and men of skill" (Kamakau 1992:181). At the opposite end of the spectrum were those *ali'i* whom Kamehameha viewed with particular caution. He would monitor his *ali'i* and summon to his *alo ali'i* those who appeared to be "gathering men about them" and considering "conspir[ing] against his rule" (Kamakau 1992:178). While in his court those chiefs were prevented from organizing an uprising.

Another ancient means that Kamehameha used to establish and maintain a unified nation were key marriage alliances. In total, Kamehameha had nine officially acknowledged wives whose names and children are consistently recorded in genealogical records. His most important partner that he married to secure the stability of his nation in later years was Keōpūolani (as described earlier). She provided him with heirs of unquestioned authority to rule after him—two sons, Kalani

Kualiholiho and Kalanikauikeaouli, and a daughter Nāhi'ena'ena (Kamakau 1992:208; McKinzie 1983:xxiii, 5, 1986:8).

However, his most pivotal wife in helping him establish the needed support in his own time was Ka'ahumanu (and to a lesser degree her younger sister Kaheiheimālie) whom he took as his wife in 1785 (Kamakau 1992:127).

Ka'ahumanu "brought a host of relatives and friends to the alliance. It was said that Kamehameha's long control of the government was due to this wife alone; through her all the chiefs became reconciled to Kamehameha to whom she was devoted" (Kamakau 1992:311). Ka'ahumanu's father was Ke'eaumoku (Kamakau 1992:127; Fornander 1996:213-214), one of Kamehameha's core Kona allies from the beginning of his rise to power. Yet it was Ka'ahumanu's maternal affiliations which were the most valued. Ka'ahumanu's mother was Nāmāhana, the half-sister Kamehameha Nui and Kahekili (Kamakau 1992:69, 127; Fornander 1996:213). Through this connection to Maui, Ka'ahumanu brought many *ali'i* to Kamehameha's side who would otherwise have continued to pose a threat to his rule.

Having secured his nation, Kamehameha then set his sights on Kaua'i a second time, but could not fulfill his plans. In this instance the obstacle was a major plague. This "devastating epidemic" of 1804, called the *ma'i 'ōku'u* (squatting sickness), was most likely "typhoid fever, bacillary or amoebic dysentery" and less likely though possibly "Asiatic cholera" (Bushnell 1993:280-281). Because of this outbreak, Kamehameha, with his troops on O'ahu poised to attack Kaua'i, was

forced to cancel his plans. Too many of his warriors had fallen ill and perished (Kamakau 1992:189).¹⁰⁹

By 1810 the strength of Kamehameha's nation and its ability to defeat Kaua'i in war led Kaumuali'i to cede his islands of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau to Kamehameha (Kamakau 1992:196-197; Fomander 1996:298). Perhaps in deference to Kaumuali'i's long role as the sovereign of those islands, or possibly to simplify his own administrative responsibilities, Kamehameha left Kaua'i under the control of Kaumuali'i and his native Kaua'i *alii*.¹¹⁰ Kamehameha was satisfied with the nominal rule of Kaumuali'i's domain (Kamakau 1992:196).

The islands of Hawai'i were unified under Kamehameha's governance and remained as such through his lifetime and those of his heirs.¹¹¹ The greatest testament to Kamehameha's leadership was that he maintained an orderly and peaceful government over the most expansive nation that existed in Hawaiian history and did so without a single uprising for 23 years (from Nāmakehā's rebellion in 1796 until Kamehameha's passing in 1819). That his reign continues to be looked upon with such high regard, and that it was transpiring during a greatly trying time for the

¹⁰⁹ So great was the devastation that it was remembered as "the prime cause of the decimation of [the Hawaiian] race" by a *kupuna* (elder) of Puna, Hawai'i Island who lived through it and recalled it in an article published in *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a* (in Bushnell 1993:285).

¹¹⁰ It is recorded that some of Kamehameha's *alii* were urging him to assassinate Kaumuali'i. However, it is further noted that Kamehameha did not approve of the plot (Kamakau 1992:196), as is evident in Kaumuali'i's safe passage home. Certainly Kamehameha had no reason to assassinate Kaumuali'i as he already had the right to claim all the islands of Hawai'i as his domain and in fact left Kaumuali'i in direct political control of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau.

¹¹¹ Kamehameha's ability to maintain the islands under his governance has sometimes been attributed to the Western arms that he collected. Yet his success could not merely have been a result of his greater weaponry. After all, uprisings occurred following his death which were instigated by those willing to take on the superior arms of others (e.g., Kekuaokalani's effort to uphold the *kapu* against the heavily armed forces of Liholiho).

native Hawaiian population, is yet another indication of the success of Kamehameha's rule which closes the generations of this study.¹¹²

Summary and Significance

The three generations involved in this last era (generations 21-23) experienced the most difficult socio-political context. The strategies used in the previous generations created secondary effects in this one that posed multiple challenges. The family ties that prevented aggression in the past had interwoven the *ali'i* of the time so closely that a new level of closeness in familial relations was necessary to produce the same avoidance response as was the case in the past generations. Related to this major change was another that created numerous chiefs of relatively equal rank whose power base came from different lineages of *ali'i* associated with various geographic regions. Under these conditions, the *ali'i nui* of this era were continually challenged by the strength of their district chiefs. Skillful leaders who could harness that power were successful and expanded their domains beyond that of their predecessors. Those who could not win the support of the district chiefs were overwhelmed by them. These stresses led to aggression being a dominant theme, whether through generalized warfare or through precision attacks on individuals. Aggression was more frequent, of a larger scale, and effected more significant political changes than ever before.

¹¹² The scope of this study closes following Kamehameha's unification of the islands, as the most significant socio-political changes that occurred thereafter did not come from the native evolution of Hawaiian society but from the invasive effects of Western colonization, a discussion significantly divergent from the focus of this study.

A new approach in this era was probably adopted in response to the increased resources that were now required to enter into and win a war. In several cases, *ali'i* were known to have rid themselves of their opponents (or to have made an attempt to do so) by the alternate cost-effective measure of assassination. Prior to this time it had only been employed in two recorded instances at the highest levels of government, both on O'ahu (against Haka in generation 9 and Ha'o in generation 15). Victims of this strategy in these three generations were Kalaninui'iāmamao and possibly Kalanikupupāikalaninui of Hawai'i Island in generation 21. Those who were the intended victims of such attempts were Kamehameha (both as an infant and then as an adult after the ceremonies at the *heiau* Pākini), and possibly Ka'iana and Kaumuali'i. The death of Nu'uānupā'ahu in the shark infested waters off of Kauhola, Kohala could as well be placed in this category. Even Keōuakū'ahu'ula's demise in the end was a form of assassination, even though it came on the heels of several bitter war engagements. While seemingly cruel to the victims, this approach was less harmful to an *ali'i nui's* supporters and those of his opponent.

Another form of aggression used in this era was Kalani'ōpu'u's strategy of deflecting his potential opposition onto another, specifically Kahekili. In the past, others used this approach sparingly and seemingly without the intent of taking over the administrative control of an area. In Kalani'ōpu'u's case, his use of this strategy was incessant and entailed the real possibility of land acquisition. For Kalani'ōpu'u, his attacks on Kahekili's region were useful in securing his rule of Hawai'i Island, regardless of whether or not he won additional lands. If Kalani'ōpu'u was victorious in an engagement (as with his taking of Hāna and Kīpahulu), the welcomed reward was new land to distribute among his *ali'i*. If Kalani'ōpu'u did not gain any lands, he

still temporarily kept his potential rivals of Hawai'i Island districts focused on a target other than him. Kahekili's aggression on O'ahu could as well be interpreted as a similar "win-win" equation for him for the same reasons.

Another striking trend that gained prominence in this era was the increased involvement of allies in combat. In the past, creating alliances (often through marriages) helped to assure a lack of conflict between those allied. In addition, the *ali'i* involved could request and expect assistance in time of need. The *ali'i* whose assistance was requested could refuse and stand to lose the alliance, gain an enemy, and develop a reputation for being unreliable; or the requested *ali'i* could offer the aid and have the assurance of being provided with the same at a later time, if needed. As the better option was quite evident, the scale of war increased substantially through this period. With such increases also came the ability of *ali'i* to establish and maintain control over ever-larger domains. The critical new Western influence of technologically superior weapons played a significant role in escalating the effects of the same trend.

Yet throughout this era, the ancient methods that had come to define the ideal role of an *ali'i nui* were still followed by the most successful rulers, and those who did not adhere to such practices were at a decided disadvantage. Kahāhana who failed to trust and abide by the advice of his own *kahuna nui*, Ka'ōpulupulu, met a humiliating end. Kahekili, Ka'eokūlani, and Kalanikūpule, who gained dominance across two or more islands, each failed to secure their own lands before venturing to acquire new ones, and thus found their home territories repeatedly under attack or in a state of internal dissent. Kalani'ōpu'u, while successful in many respects, spent his last years in subduing unrest caused by his exacting too great demands upon his

people. Kīwala‘ō did not consider the rights of the district *ali‘i* to continually rule over the lands of their ancestors and hence faced immediate armed opposition. In contrast, the two *ali‘i* of this time whose reigns were least contested (once they became established), and who are still affectionately remembered in *mo‘olelo*, are Alapa‘inui and Kamehameha (as described above). They were known to have cultivated their relationships with their *akua*, heeded the advice of their *kāhuna* and *ali‘i*, and cared for their lands and people.

**PART V. PATTERNS IN THE EVOLUTION OF HAWAIIAN
SOCIETY**

Overview of Part V. The nature of Hawaiian history for the 23 generations of this study encourages anyone learning it to become engrossed in the details of a particular period, place, event, or life history of an individual. This tendency is also fostered by the manner in which the oral traditions are recorded, that is, with an attention to focal points and personages in time. Kamakau (1991, 1992, 1996) and Fornander (1996) are the only two scholars whose available works have brought together voluminous records from the oral traditions to present a coherent and comprehensive history of Hawai'i across many generations. Kamakau's and Fornander's works succeeded in their goals of recording the Hawaiian past in rich detail to preserve that legacy. The goal in this study, particularly in Part V, is to take a broader, wide-lens view of that past in an effort to see the patterns imprinted on it that might only be visible after stepping back and viewing the whole.

Part IV sought to present the socio-political aspects of that whole by assembling together records from numerous sources, describing the flow of events in temporal order, while maintaining the connection of the different islands' and districts' histories. Another major goal of Part IV was to present numerous analyses of the social contexts and mechanisms that affected the behaviors of individuals at specific junctures. The goal of Part V is to use the information and analyses assembled in Part IV to view in the aggregate the evolution of Hawaiian society from an archipelago-wide context. More specifically, Part V is directed at five major objectives: 1) to identify the patterns in Hawaiian socio-political evolution, 2) to offer explanations of the observed patterns that are grounded in evolutionary theory and an understanding of Hawaiian culture, 3) to evaluate previously offered models on Hawaiian socio-political development based on the findings in this study, 4) to

suggest additional research that would appropriately build upon and evaluate this study, and 5) to discuss the implications of the history presented regarding popular depictions of the Hawaiian past. The first three objectives are the focus of Chapter 13. Objectives 4 and 5 are the subjects of the concluding chapter of this study.

Chapter 13 Identifying and Explaining Patterns in the Evolution of Hawaiian Society

Introduction

The primary goal of this chapter is to provide an anthropological analysis of the aggregate data available in Hawaiian oral traditions that address the socio-political evolution of Hawaiian society during the 23 generations involved in this study. The first step in accomplishing this is to identify the patterns in Hawaiian societal development. This chapter uses the information presented in Part IV, along with additional data from the assembled database (as described in Chapter 1), to reveal changes in the behaviors of *ali'i* across time and space. In doing so, this chapter provides a description of Hawaiian societal development that is both wider in scope and at the same time more detailed in its presentation of specific features of the society than has been previously offered.

These descriptions reveal that the strategies *ali'i* applied varied across time and space. The changes in these behaviors through the 23 generations studied and over the range of the archipelago illustrate a much more complex view of Hawaiian socio-political development than has been recognized formerly.

The observed patterns in the evolution of Hawaiian society center on issues described in the oral traditions such as the numbers and distribution of administratively independent *ali'i*, their exemplary or poor governance, aggression in

which they were involved or to which they needed to respond, their marriage practices, their residential patterns, and their construction of the most symbolically important state structures, *heiau*. As such the organization of much of this chapter does not follow a temporal sequence (as did Part IV), but is organized topically, focusing on specific behaviors.

The identified patterns relating to such behaviors also offer a means to evaluate and refine existing models of Hawaiian socio-political evolution. In addition, new models are offered to explain the nature of these behavioral patterns. These models build upon earlier established ones and are based on evolutionary theory (as described in Chapter 1) which allows one to consider the specific aspects of Hawaiian socio-political development while still viewing the society in a larger context of human evolution.

Before the discussion of this analysis begins, a brief note about the nature of the data is probably warranted. The manner in which Part V utilizes information from the database of oral traditions is very different than that used to develop parts III and IV, primarily in regards to the scale of analysis. While parts III and IV sought to provide a correlated temporal framework of specific people and events across the archipelago, focusing on social mechanisms that were at work at any given point in time or space, Part V takes a much broader perspective. In this section, general patterns across large spans of time and space are the focus. Hence the generational temporal units used in nearly every figure are just that—units that place individuals in time according to their genealogical record. The deviations at times between the temporal contemporaneity of *alii* versus their generational correlation, for the purposes of Part V, are not significant, given the larger scale of the analyses

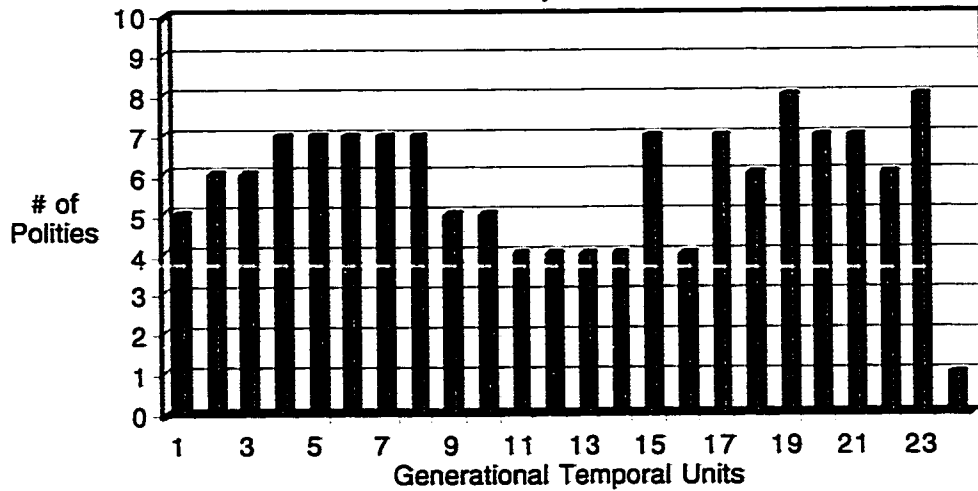
employed. Further, the correlated reigns of *ali'i nui* described in Chapter 7 (Figure 7.1) establishes that no single island's sequence was systematically ahead or behind, so to speak, of the other islands' sequences. Instead each lineage progressed at a comparable *average* pace over the span of the 23 generations studied. Moreover, in the random variances in the pace with which the different lineages produced new generations, no single lineage at a specific point was ever more than one generation (or perhaps one and a half generations) ahead or behind the others (see Figure 7.1). This fact affords validity to the figures below that use generational sequencing to compare behaviors through time, rather than a far more complex (and probably unfeasible) rendering of individuals according to their uniquely overlapping reigns or life spans (which in many cases would be impossible to determine with any absolute certainty).

Patterns in Political Units of Governance

The broadest level of analysis of Hawaiian socio-political evolution involves the units of governance in the islands. The most striking feature of this evolution is its non-linear, bi-modal progression. As Figure 13.1 illustrates, the greatest number of independent polities that existed during any given generation substantially fluctuated through time. The same can be seen in Figure 13.2¹ which displays the identical data partitioned by island and illustrates the variability that existed across both time and space in the number of independent polities. The pattern of change

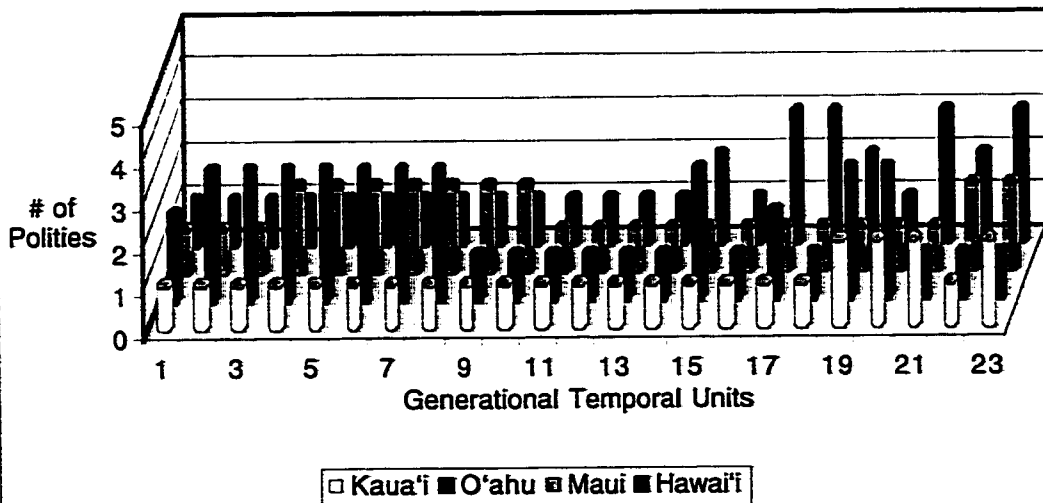
¹ The vertical axes in the pairs of figures 13.1 and 13.3 as well as figures 13.2 and 13.4 are purposefully set at the same maximum to allow for easier visual comparisons of the those pairs. The same practice is adopted throughout this chapter for other sets of related figures.

Figure 13.1. Changes in the Number of Independent Polities of the Major Islands



*Generation 24 is included to recognize the consolidation that occurs in the second half of generation 23 which continues for the next generations.

Figure 13.2. Changes in the Number of Independent Polities on the Four Major Islands



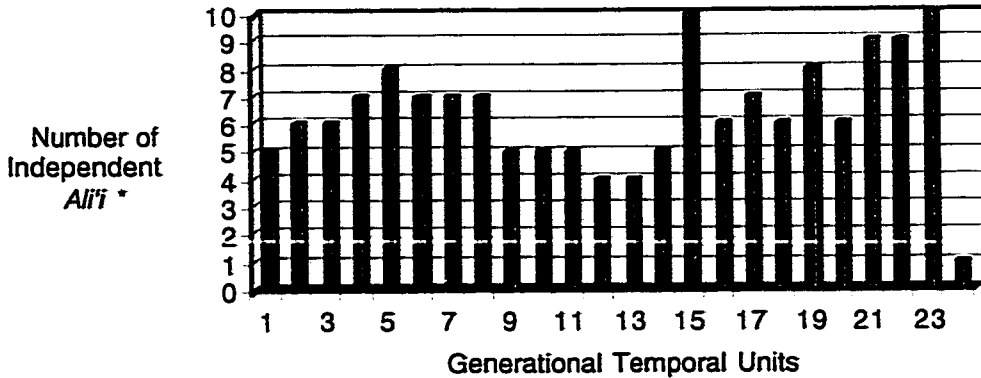
seen in figures 13.1 and 13.2 reveals in the mid-range of the individual island sequences a consolidation of political control (for all islands except Kaua'i and Hawai'i which remain constant through generation 14) then a temporally variable division of each island nation into two or more independent polities (generations 15-17), followed by a variety of responses in the last phase (generations 18-23).

A similar pattern can also be seen in the number of administratively independent *ali'i nui* who reigned during the sequence of generations, as shown in Figure 13.3. Figure 13.4 presents the same with the data separately plotted for the four major islands. Although similar to figures 13.1 and 13.2, the data in figures 13.3 and 13.4 are not identical to them. For instance, in generation 5 on Hawai'i Island, there is only one independent polity at any given time, while there were two independent *ali'i nui* for that generation, since Kamai'ole defeated Kanipahu and assumed Kanipahu's position following their battle. The same would be the case for a number of other generations. Regardless, for the most part, the trends mimic those seen in figures 13.1 and 13.2. which show both fluctuations across time and space.²

Other data correlated with the number of politically independent *ali'i* and polities are the events of aggression, both internally directed within an island nation and externally directed to neighboring island nations, as Figure 13.5 illustrates. Aggression aimed at either an internal or external opponent is defined here (after Durham 1976:389) to include direct aggression in which there is physical harm

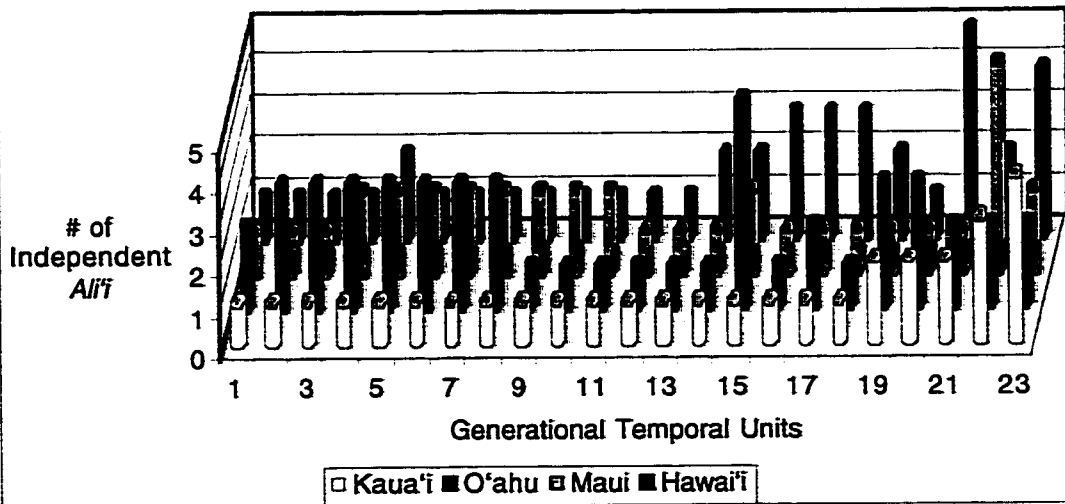
² Another layer of variability in the structure of governance that could not be identified easily or quantified are the changes in the degree of authority wielded by an *ali'i nui* (i.e., the degree of independence experienced by those *ali'i* who are generally depicted in *mo'olelo* as able to act without the approval or consent of the nominal *ali'i nui*).

Figure 13.3. Changes in the Number of Administratively Independent *Ali'i* of the Major Islands

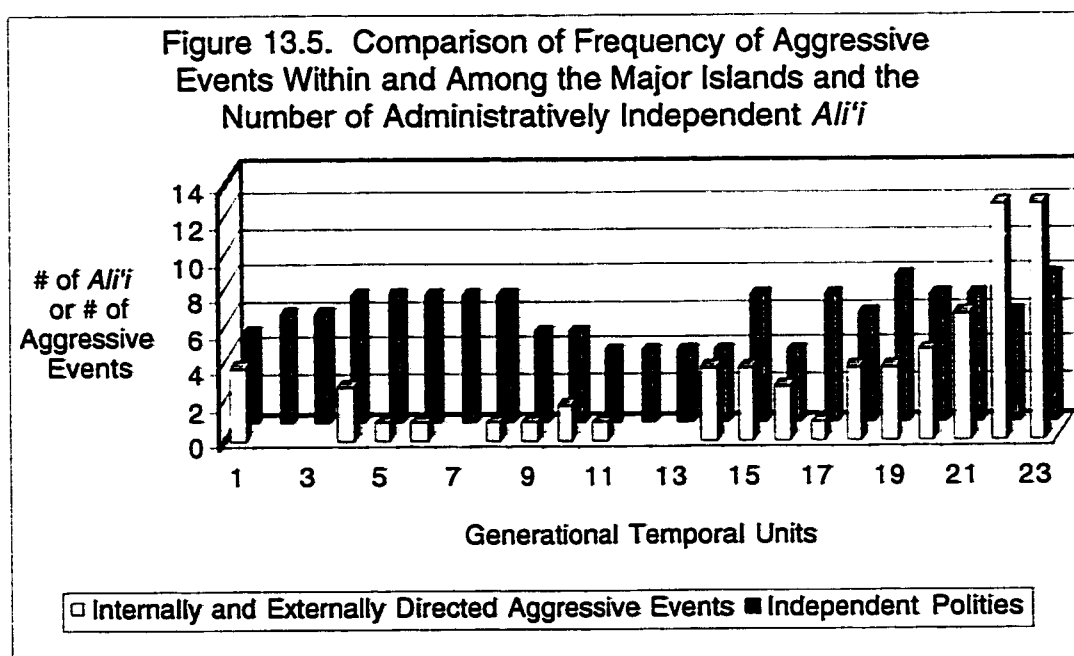


**Ali'i* who governed more than one island are only counted once.
 Generation 24 is included to recognize the consolidation that occurs in the second half of generation 23 which continues for the next generations.

Figure 13.4. Changes in the Number of Administratively Independent *Ali'i* of the Four Major Islands



inflicted on individuals of the opposing force, and indirect aggression wherein the ability of opponents to live and bear children is negatively affected through the destruction of natural resources (e.g., trees used for subsistence needs) and the infrastructure that produces such resources (e.g., fishponds, *lo'i*, irrigation systems). (Throughout the discussion in this chapter, numerous figures will be used that refer to various events of aggression and the number of politically independent *ali'i* or polities. For reference convenience, the raw numbers used in the development of such figures discussed are provided in table form [Table 13.1]).



Assessing the possible causes of the patterns seen in figures 13.1 through 13.5 is the focus of this chapter. Why did political integration increase and aggression decrease in the middle set of the generations studied? Why was the onset and duration of integration variable for the different islands? Why did an

Table 13.1. Frequency and Types of Aggression in Which All'i' Were Involved and the Political Configuration of the Islands (p. 1 of 2)

Hawai'i							Maui							O'ahu							Kauai'i										
G	I	E	D	A	As	AIA	P	G	I	E	D	A	As	AIA	P	G	I	E	D	A	As	AIA	P	G	I	E	D	A	As	AIA	P
1			1			1	1	1				1			2	2	1									1	1				
2						1	1							1	3	3											1	1			
3						1	1							1	3	3											1	1			
4				1			1			2				2	3	3											1	1			
5	1					2	1							2	3	3											1	1			
6	1					1	1							2	3	3											1	1			
7						1	1				1			2	3	3											1	1			
8		1				1	1							2	3	3											1	1			
9						1	1							2	3	3											1	1			
10		1				1	1			1				2	3	3											1	1			
11	1					1	1							2	3	3											1	1			
12						1	1							1	3	3											1	1			
13						1	1							1	3	3											1	1			
14	4			1		2	1							1	5	3											1	1			
15	1					2	2			1				2	3	3											1	1			
16	2		1			3	1							1	3	3											1	1			
17						3	3			1				1	3	3											1	1			
18	3	1				3	3				1			1	3	3											1	1			
19	3					2	2							1	3	3											2	2			
20						1	1							1	3	3											2	2			
21	3		1	2	1	5	3			1				1	3	3											2	2			
22	3	4	2			2	2			2	3	5	2	5	2	2											3	1			
23	5	3	1	3	1	4	3			1	2			2	2	2											4	2			

Table 13.1. Frequency and Types of Aggression in Which *All'i'i* Were Involved and the Political Configuration of the Islands (p. 2 of 2)

KEY

- G = Generational temporal unit
- I = Internal aggression either initiated by an *all'i'i nui* to maintain control or a rebellion against an *all'i'i nui*
- E = Aggression directed toward an external source
- D = Defensive effort to ward off aggression from an external source
- A = Aggression to assist an ally (whether for defensive or offensive efforts of ally)
- As = Assassination of an *all'i'i nui* (and in some cases his retainers)
- AIA= Number of administratively independent *all'i'i* in the given generation (even if ruling at different times)
- P= Greatest # of polities in a gen. (rather than the # of chiefs holding for the paramount position at different times)

Notes:

- 1) The generations listed in this table do not correspond exactly with one another in time (see Figure 8.1). Thus, this table is useful only for very broad comparisons over a long temporal period and is not intended for fine-scaled comparisons.
- 2) The number 1 used in generation 1 for Hawai'i, Maui, and O'ahu refers to the raids by Kaupe'epe'e from Hā'upu, Moloka'i.
- 3) The number 2 in generation 4 on O'ahu includes a raid on Moloka'i by Hua.
- 4) A raid on O'ahu in generation 10 jointly conducted by Luako'a on Maui and Hilo a La'akapu and Hilo a Hilo'ka'apuni from Hawai'i Island will be shown in the graphs in this chapter as 1 event rather than 2 as indeed it is a single event.
- 5) The number 5 in generation 15 on O'ahu includes Nāpūānahu who ruled with those of generation 15 but who was of generation 16.
- 6) The number 3 used in generations 18 and 19 for Hawai'i Island is an estimate.
- 7) The number 4 used in generation 22 for Maui includes Kalani'ōpu'u who controlled Hāna and Kīpahulu.
- 8) The number in 3 in generations 19 and 20 on O'ahu in the AIA and P columns is in recognition of Kūaili's forced subjugation of the Kona and the 'Ewa/Wai'anae/Waiālua *all'i'i* in the first years of his reign.
- 9) One of the 5 defensive efforts on Maui in generation 22 included Kamehameha Nui trying to take back Hāna after its capture.
- 10) The number 2 in generation 22 on O'ahu includes Kahekilli who is included as well on Maui.
- 11) The number 3 in generation 22 on Kaua'i includes Kaneoneo who ruled with those of generation 22 but who was of generation 23.
- 12) The number 3 for external aggression by Maui in generation 22 involves an attack by Ka'eokūlani on Kalanikūpule.
- 13) The number 1 for external aggression by O'ahu in generation 23 involves an attack by Kalanikūpule on Ka'eokūlani.
- 14) The AIA figure in generation 23 includes Kamehameha for each of the four islands and Keawema'uhihi (of generation 22) on Hawai'i.
- 15) External aggressive events by high-ranking *all'i'i* who were not paramount rulers are included in this table.

increase in aggressive contests and political division follow on all the major islands?³ And how was political consolidation accomplished in the last generations of the sequence? Recognizing that the database from the extant oral traditions involves certain limitations (as described in chapters 1 and 2), the purpose of this section is not to offer a comprehensive explanation for these phenomena. A more realistic goal instead is to describe how specific variables described in the oral traditions (e.g., social institutions, warfare, governance methods of *ali'i*, *ali'i* marriage patterns, and *heiau* construction) can be understood as essential parts of a larger picture that might include variables not described in the oral traditions (e.g., the economic relationship of food producing resources to specific district populations).

Practices Employed by Ali'i Nui Which Promoted Socio-Political Integration and Deterred Aggressive Activities

Overview. As is apparent in Figures 13.1-13.5 and the discussion in Part IV, there were several junctures during which political integration or reintegration occurred in the islands. The first instance was during the initial generations of this study when what was once localized, independent estates ruled by the descendants of the earliest waves of settlers were politically integrated following the interactions among them and the later generations of arrivals. The second, for Hawai'i, Maui, and O'ahu was following the revolutions that occurred in the middle of the sequence (generations 14 and 15). The third, for Hawai'i and O'ahu, was during the respective

³ Political division also occurred on Moloka'i in its later generations. This is briefly noted in Chapter 11 wherein Kūali'i of O'ahu (in generation 20) offered assistance to the Moloka'i Kona *ali'i* from the encroachment of the Ko'olau *ali'i* into their territory.

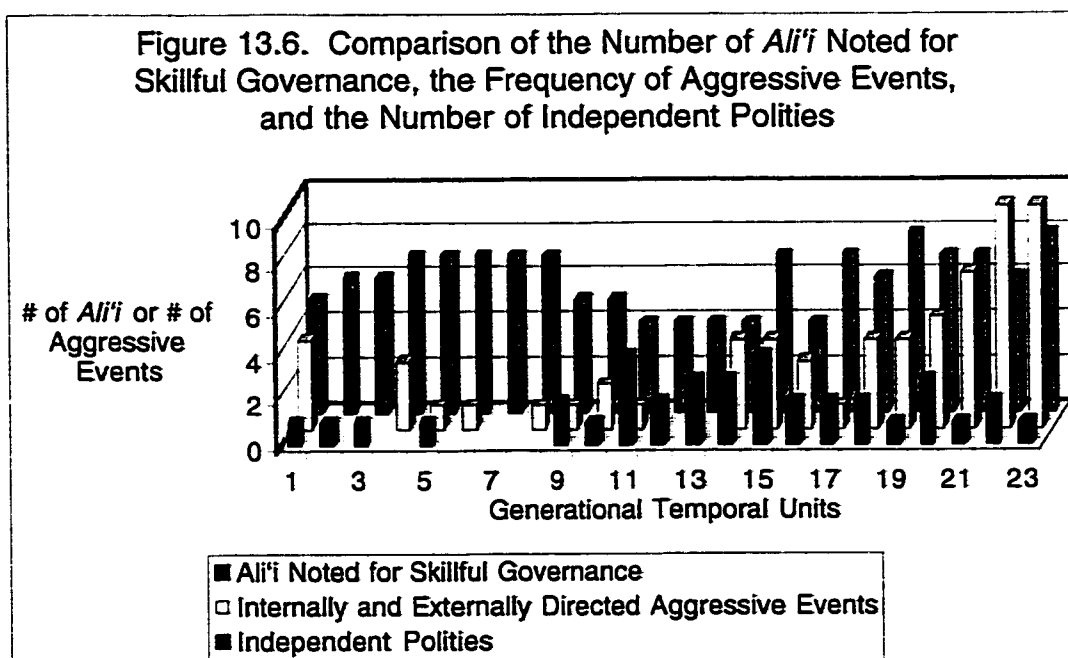
reigns of Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku and Kūali'i (generation 20 for both). The last instance of integration was of course in generation 23 under Kamehameha.

Overlapping though not completely identical with those periods were other periods in which inter- and intra-island aggression was either non-existent or at a minimum. This was during the early to mid-range of the sequence. Individuals associated with this period are Manokalanipō of Kaua'i, Mā'ilikūkahī of O'ahu, Kaka'alaneo of Maui, and Kihanuilulumoku and Līloa of Hawai'i Island.

In the various cases where political integration was occurring and/or when peace prevailed across the islands, the social and natural environmental contexts (given the development of infrastructure that had altered the productive capacity of the natural environment) were markedly different. Nonetheless, the results were the same—previously distinct and even hostile groups were brought together to act in cooperation. Significantly, common management approaches prevailed during the reigns of *ali'i* who accomplished such integration and who either created peaceful contexts or reduced the aggressive activities of their times to a minimum (as described in Part IV). These *ali'i* were the very ones noted in the *mo'olelo* as displaying exemplary leadership.

A summary of the frequency of *ali'i* noted for their skillful leadership can be seen in Figure 13.6 which also compares that record to the frequency of aggressive events and the number of polities of the major islands. As would be expected, the frequency of recorded exemplary *ali'i* is inversely related to the other observations. When there were increases in the numbers of skillful leaders, the incidents of aggression and political segregation decreased, and vice versa. Interestingly, the only point in the distribution where the three records closely correspond (i.e., where

there is a high incidence of political segregation, and skillful administration) is in the range of generations 14 and 15. This is the period when three aggressive, revolutionary events occurred in close succession on Hawai'i, Maui, and O'ahu resulting in *ali'i nui* known for poor management of their nations being replaced with *ali'i nui* whose behaviors match the profile of those who reigned in more peaceful times.



An analysis of the practices of these notable *ali'i*, whose reigns correspond with episodes of political integration and/or eras of political tranquility, reveals a tendency for them to be engaged in several or all of the behaviors discussed below. In total, these behaviors constitute what are portrayed in *mo'olelo* as characteristics of ideal *ali'i nui*. By no coincidence, they are the behaviors understood in studies of evolutionary ecology to promote the formation and persistence of groups and to encourage cooperative behaviors of its members.

The 'Aha Ali'i. One of the first behaviors adopted by the earliest exemplary *ali'i* was the creation of an *'aha ali'i*. This council of chiefs was held in session on a regular basis and assembled for matters of national import (e.g., impending war). It constituted a hierarchically organized body of *ali'i* which, under the direction of the *ali'i nui*, could enforce cooperation and reciprocity among its members and by extension, the members of the districts over which they had jurisdiction. This strategy was more successful than other optional behaviors of the time (i.e., remaining politically independent or engaging in open contests against members of the *'aha ali'i*). For if an *ali'i* attempted to remain independent, this *ali'i* would be vulnerable to attack by the larger set of *ali'i* of that island and would be excluded from automatically receiving defensive aid in the case of an attack from another island. Such a factor was important during this period when aggressive raids were occurring.

From a more positive perspective, the *'aha ali'i* not only diminished or avoided competitive contests between *ali'i* by providing means to develop mutual familial and social ties and to resolve differences, but it also provided a means for *ali'i* and the people they managed to engage in collective, cooperative efforts. In such joint projects they were also able to enjoy the benefits of economies of scale. These joint activities included creating trails that bisected numerous districts or building a regional state-level *heiau*. Further, for *ali'i* from the more unpredictable and/or more marginal environments, forming political affiliations with other district *ali'i* and with a higher-level paramount *ali'i nui* would help to reduce the risk entailed in them living in such environments (i.e., the risk of drought and crop failure) as they could receive aid from other districts (Boone 1992:311, 336).

The *'aha ali'i's* hierarchical organization of leaders encouraged cooperative behavior of its membership and, as a result, decreased competitive contests among them and provided a better alternative for *ali'i* than independence or aggression which would have entailed greater risk of loss of life and territory. Hence, this type of institution, as Boyd and Richerson (1988) and Boone (1992) describe in theory, could be considered an evolutionary stable strategy as it promoted behaviors and outcomes that were better than other alternatives. That the *'aha ali'i* was maintained as an institution across the span of the generations studied⁴ and adopted on all the islands also suggests the same.

However, the one "problem" with an *'aha ali'i* for an *ali'i nui* was that it afforded a means for lower ranking *ali'i* under the *ali'i nui* to meet, to develop cooperative ties and alliances, and, if the circumstances warranted, to work in concert to address an *ali'i nui's* unacceptable behavior. Or in other words, a high ranking *ali'i* in the *'aha ali'i* (whether of the *kāhuna pule* or of the administrative political ranks of *ali'i*) could use the same concept of combining the resources, sharing concerns, and pulling together the cooperative energies of *ali'i* overthrow an unfit *ali'i nui*. This is exactly what occurred in the cases of Haka, Kūmahana (in generations 9 and 23 on O'ahu), and Hākau (in generation 10 on Hawai'i Island).

Such a scenario relates to another criterion of an evolutionary stable strategy. Smith and Winterhalder (1992:34) explain that for a behavior to be considered an

⁴ The scale of the *'aha ali'i* meetings was likely commensurate with the scale of the polities. When the polities encompassed a whole island, *ali'i* from across the island would participate in the *'aha ali'i*. If an island was divided in two or more polities (as with the later generations in this study), then there were in all probability a corresponding number of *'aha ali'i* for the island led by the leaders of the respective polities. The concept of such heads of state utilizing an advisory council of *ali'i* remained constant.

evolutionary stable strategy, it must not only provide the “highest average payoff” among alternate behavior options, it must also produce a positive result when “played against itself” (Smith and Winterhalder 1992:34). For concerned *ali'i* living under an onerous *ali'i nui*, the behavioral strategy of engaging in collective, formal discussions with other *ali'i* to develop a solution was a far better strategy than each *ali'i* taking singular action or one *ali'i* going about an island and speaking individually with each district *ali'i*. Hence, although *ali'i* overthrew *ali'i nui*, they and the incoming *ali'i nui* continued the behavior of collectively discussing issues and jointly arriving at solutions.

Respecting Understood Rights of the Lesser *Ali'i* and *Maka'āinana*. A fundamental role of *ali'i nui* was to ensure that basic rights of those within their nations were respected and maintained, including understandings of protections for the person and property of individuals. For although an *ali'i nui* could do anything to anyone and could request any item at any time of anyone, it was not in good form to do so without cause. *Ali'i nui* who did so without cause did not last long as *ali'i nui* and certainly did not have peaceful reigns. Recording these understandings, the *mo'olelo* praise *ali'i* who protected the weak and innocent and condemned those who took advantage of them; the *mo'olelo* celebrate those who did not confiscate property from *maka'āinana* and castigate those who did. *Ali'i nui* were also appreciated for ensuring appropriate treatment of *maka'āinana* by lesser *ali'i*. In this same theme of valuing *maka'āinana* are *mo'olelo* which honor *ali'i nui* who sought alternate means to punish individuals for violations of the *kapu* or other chiefly prerogatives and vilified *ali'i* who treated human life with little regard.

A second area of *maka'āinana* rights that *ali'i nui* were expected to honor was the *kuleana* of *maka'āinana* to live upon and cultivate lands with which they were associated through generations of use (Kamakau 1976:8; Handy and Handy 1991:59; see also discussion in Chapter 4). In a parallel fashion, *ali'i* of the various districts also expected that the *ali'i nui* would allow lands associated with their families to be held and managed at the local level by members of their families.

Ali'i nui who successfully fulfilled this *kuleana* ensured those within their nations beneficent and predictable treatment of their persons, their property, and their access to the resources that sustained their lives. Such positive expectations of group members regarding these key issues would encourage group cohesion (Boone 1983:84). This is perhaps why Keaweikakahiali'iokamoku was successful in reintegrating Hawai'i Island under a single ruler even on the heels of generations of fighting between the *ali'i* lines of the windward and leeward sides of the island. It is said that unlike his predecessors who sought to subdue their opponent families (especially the 'Ī family of Hilo), Keaweikakahiali'iokamoku instead encouraged their continued relationship in managing the lands over which their families ruled and had them do so with little supervision on his part (Kamakau 1992:64). By releasing the tight bonds of control and ensuring these families of their continued rights to land and freedom from attack from him, Keawe brought about political integration and peace. Keawe's contemporary on O'ahu, Kūali'i, accomplished the same integration initially through warfare in the first years of his rule. However, he likely maintained this integration through his long reign due to policies he adopted which protected the rights of his people and which even encouraged their beneficent treatment of one

another (Kamakau 1964:14; see specific discussion of this in Chapter 4 under the section *Kapu* and *Kānāwai*).

Monitoring Compliance. Regardless of the policies *ali'i nui* may have set in place, or the assurances they received from the *'aha ali'i* that those policies were being carried out, an *ali'i nui* needed to confirm that such was the case. Thus one of the common traits among *ali'i* who were known to maintain cohesive nations and contented populations was their practice of traveling through the districts of an island and/or maintaining multiple residences around an island. While touring their nations, *ali'i nui* could evaluate the condition of their *maka'āinana*, their lands and the resources of them, and the *ali'i* responsible for designated land areas. They could assure proper treatment of the *maka'āinana* and encourage positive relations with their lower-level *ali'i*, or in less optimal conditions, could monitor the behavior of their *ali'i* for any signs of sedition. An added benefit of such trips was that the responsibility for supporting the *alo ali'i* (royal court) would be temporarily shifted to districts other than those in which the *ali'i nui* generally resided, thus offering those of that district periodic rest.⁵

Increasing the Productive Capacity of Their Nations. The most favorably remembered *ali'i nui* also were known to care for their populations through initiating capital improvement projects. In some cases this entailed road building to increase resource accessibility (as with Kiha a Pi'ilani on Maui and Moloka'i, 'Ehu [during the

⁵ An example of this is Kalani'ōpu'u's tour around Hawai'i which he took for the purpose of relieving the strain on those of Kona where he was staying. He had already shifted his Kona residences by staying at Kainaliu, Keauhou, and Kailua. But when a famine came, he moved to Kauhola, Kohala; then to Waipi'o, Hāmākua; and then to Pu'ueo and Waiakea, Hilo; and lastly to Punalu'u, Waiohinu, and Kama'oa in Ka'u (Kamakau 1992:105-108).

reign of Kahoukapu] in Kona, Hawai'i, and Kamehameha in Kohala; see Part IV). However, in most cases, the projects involved increasing the food producing capacity of land and near shore environments. Numerous *ali'i* were known for important infrastructure developments. These included creating fishponds, preparing new areas for cultivation, creating water diversion devices and irrigation systems, and establishing plantations of crops, particularly 'ulu. These projects increased the quantity, quality, predictability, and/or accessibility of food resources to the population.

Such results were a powerful mechanism for integrating individuals into larger groups and maintaining their cohesion (Boone 1992). For indeed, the benefits of such efforts would outweigh the costs of the labor expenditure. And while many of these projects occurred at a local 'ohana or ahupua'a level (as Earle [1977, 1978, 1987, 1997] and Hommon [1976:164] point out), it is highly improbable that the expertise needed to engineer some of the more complex irrigation projects or to construct technologically sophisticated fishponds was readily available within the population of each and every ahupua'a or in the persons of the various *konohiki* who administered those areas, particularly in the case of fishpond construction. After all, the expertise the *konohiki* possessed related to their ability to manage the people and resources of their districts, not in hydraulic engineering or aquaculture/mariculture. Consider also that the designing and engineering skills involved in such works were not those that would have been regularly practiced or understood by all generations in all locales (particularly in such districts where these improvements had not previously occurred). Rather, *kāhuna* who knew how to engineer the more complex irrigation systems, or who understood the many

considerations that went into selecting a site for a fishpond and building it, would have been brought in as consultants for *konoiki* who were involved in the direct management of the labor force that would construct the works. These *kāhuna* were probably employed as part of the administrative system of Hawaiian governments ultimately managed by the *ali'i nui*. This is certainly why the oral traditions credit *ali'i nui* or high-ranking chiefs of great stature (rather than lower-level *konoiki*) for building fishponds as well as being involved in irrigation projects. Archaeological evidence of such higher-level administrative involvement in such works is seen in the “nearly identical construction and use”⁶ of agricultural terraces in Kailua and Kāneʻohe which exhibit a uniformity that would “suggest direct control at a supralocal level” in their building and manner of use (Allen 1991:125).

Heiau Construction. Another kind of major construction project with which the most renowned *ali'i nui* were associated was constructing and refurbishing *heiau*. Certainly every *ali'i* engaged in the same, as their relationships with their *akua* would have been a *kuleana* they took most seriously. Yet *ali'i* who were recorded to be effective rulers were especially remembered for having created these works. In part this is a function of their being better documented in *mo'olelo*. However, it is also due to the incredible *mana* associated with their *heiau*. One indicator of such *mana* was the physical size of these *wahi pana* (legendary places). A small sample of such impressive *heiau* and the honored *ali'i* involved in their construction or

⁶ The similarities in construction of the agricultural terraces in Maunawili, Kailua and Luluku, Kāneʻohe involved facing construction which “typically began with a basal course of large, tabular boulders inserted securely, long axis into the slope, in lozenge fashion. Upper courses of carefully sized and carefully fitted small boulders and cobbles were stacked against the slope with a 70-75° batter angle, for maximum stability. Most facings are only 50-70 cm high and incorporate only five or six rock courses” (Allen 1991:125).

renovation include the following *heiau/ali'i* pairings: 1) Mo'okini/Piliika'ai'ea, 2) Malae/Mo'ikeha, 3) 'Āhua a 'Umi/'Umi a Līoa, 4) Pi'ilanihale/Pi'ilani, 5) Haleki'i/Kiha a Pi'ilani, and 6) Pu'ukoholā/Kamehameha.

Heiau of course served numerous roles in Hawaiian socio-political development,⁷ but one in particular relates to the six cases cited above. A shared trait of the six *ali'i nui* was their need in their political contexts to establish themselves as *ali'i nui*. These *ali'i nui* were entering settings in which their authority could have been or was actively being questioned. Piliika'ai'ea and Mo'ikeha faced the challenges of being newer arrivals to their islands. Pi'ilani was the first of the Maui *ali'i nui* to locate his home and administration directly in the political center of the windward districts. 'Umi, Kiha a Pi'ilani, and Kamehameha were rising to their positions in contexts of conflict.

Yet following the construction of their *heiau*, they were either never challenged or, in the case of Kamehameha, experienced only a minor uprising. The *mana* of these *heiau* included the messages they conveyed to others, specifically potential opponents. As discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 (in the discussion of Piliika'ai'ea), *heiau*, as with other monumental architecture elsewhere in the world, were proxies of the competitive ability of the individuals who commissioned their construction and of those who supported such individuals (following Neiman's [1995, 1998] model of competitive advertising and more broadly Madsen et al.'s [1999:275, 278] view of elaboration [in a variety of forms, including "costly signaling"] and

⁷ *Heiau* ceremonies played a central role in pivotal events in the 23 generations of this study, as could be gathered by their prevalence in the discussions in Part IV. This will be the subject of a future paper. In this dissertation only one of several dimensions of *heiau* and their role in socio-political development is discussed.

resource variability, which was based on Dunnell's [1989a] conceptualization of "waste" behavior). Monumental architecture (e.g., *heiau*) is defined here (after Trigger 1990) as buildings whose scale and elaboration are greater than what would be necessary for the structures to serve their intended functions. They are examples of cultural elaboration or "nonsubsistence-related phenomena" that reflect the degree of human and material resources that individuals in a group could expend above that which was required to their somatic needs (Kombacher and Madsen 1999:241). In this way *heiau* could additionally serve as indicators of that group's ability to apply the same energy toward other efforts, such as warfare. When individuals of a possible opposing group viewed the *heiau* and were able to infer the amount of labor and management expertise that were required to construct it, they could gauge how effectively their own group might compete against the group who erected the structure. If rivals could perceive that an aggressive contest with that group would be futile, then warfare could be avoided. This is likely part of the effect that Pu'ukoholā's construction had on the outcome of interactions between Kamehameha and Keōuakū'ahu'ula. This sort of *mana* wielded by the sample of *ali'i nui* mentioned was part of what made them famed rulers. By erecting such symbols of the power of their nations, these *ali'i nui* were able to avoid or minimize armed conflict, a benefit that their populations no doubt appreciated.

A second advantage that these *heiau* provided to those involved in their construction was that the construction process itself clarified, reified, and solidified the socio-political roles and integration of all the participants. For example, when members of numerous districts, working under the coordinated management of numerous *ali'i*, brought the stone resources for a *heiau* from one or more districts to

the construction site often located across a span of districts, everyone involved understood that they were part of a larger integrated whole which could and would be willing to use their collective resources to aid one another in times of need (e.g., catastrophic flooding in a given district or drought leading to harvesting shortfalls) (Graves and Ladefoged 1995:164).⁸

For *ali'i nui* involved in *heiau* building, the process was also very instructive. They could observe the leadership and management abilities of their lesser *ali'i* as these middle-level managers worked with one another and with their populations from their districts. *Ali'i nui* could use that information in selecting *ali'i* for administrative offices or for other specific commissioned activities. *Ali'i nui* might even have an opportunity to assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of the various districts' populations taking part (e.g., the physical strength of individuals, their workmanship skills, their ability to work as a cohesive group, etc.). All of this was valuable information to an *ali'i nui's* who was an effective administrator.

Summary and Significance of Effective Governance Employed by *Ali'i*.

Together, the above characteristics of ideal governance were commonly seen as a set of behaviors exhibited by the most effective *ali'i nui* who were by no coincidence also acclaimed in *mo'olelo* for establishing and maintaining prosperous and cohesive

⁸ The long-term significance of *heiau* building (a form of cultural elaboration) may further relate to this last example involving shortfalls in food availability. This is because any "non-reproductive activity, necessarily diverts resources away from reproduction" which may limit population numbers at a level that allows individuals within a group to be more successful in surviving periodic environmental stresses (Dunnell 1999:246). In contrast, a population that uses all its resources for food production and reproduction would grow to numbers that would place individuals at a higher risk of not surviving an episode of declines in food production (Dunnell 1989, 1999; Graves and Sweeney 1993; Graves and Ladefoged 1995; Madsen et al. 1999; for examples of the applicability of this model in other environments see Ladefoged 1993; Korbacher 1999; Aranyosi 1999; Dunnell and Greenlee 1999).

societies. These *ali'i* were intensely beloved by their people. In contrast, numerous anthropological sources refer to *ali'i* (especially those of the late pre-contact or early post-contact period) as primarily or exclusively directed toward manipulating and exploiting their *maka'āinana* for personal aggrandizement⁹ (e.g., Earle 1978, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1997; Peebles and Kus 1977; Hommon 1976,¹⁰ 1986; Spriggs 1988; Sahlins 1992; Allen 1992¹¹). Such sources portray *ali'i* as providing administrative services or lands to *maka'āinana* with the sole intent of exacting ever greater tribute from them. This tribute was then seen as a way for *ali'i nui* to ideologically or materially further subjugate their *maka'āinana* and lower-ranking *ali'i* or to conquer new lands, allowing *ali'i nui* to do the same to additional *maka'āinana* and lower

⁹ The same is not true in other disciplines. For instance, historian Ralston (1984:24) paints a far more balanced picture of *ali'i*:

"In return for the people's substantial investment of labour and goods the ruling élite gave them land usage rights, provided the supervisory skills for large communal activities, offered security and justice, and of paramount importance, had the religious connexions and knowledge to ensure the well-being of society. The bond of mutual dependence between *maka'ainana* and *alii* was a personal one, sensitive to pressures put upon it from either side. The chiefs tempered their demands because they still needed their people's support in all political/military struggles. Further, despite the fact that the *kono'hiki* were imposed from above, a spirit of mutual goodwill grew between them and the people, who accepted chiefly rule as god-given and inevitable. On the other hand, most *kono'hiki* must have recognized that their term of power was likely to be limited and that their futures lay with the community and their ability to live with them."

¹⁰ Hommon (1976:168) includes a section in his analyses of oral traditions that involve "Techniques of Administration." Each of the techniques described portrays an *ali'i nui* serving in a purely manipulative or controlling fashion. For example, although Hommon includes the idea of *ali'i nui* engaging in "periodic movement of the administrative center" or court, he notes that this was for "the control of dissident chiefs" and nothing more.

¹¹ In describing changing patterns in lands used for agriculture, Allen (1992:58) exemplifies the tendency of archaeologists to assume purely self-serving motives of *ali'i*, as she notes that "the agricultural expansion that took place after A.D. 1200, as the leaders of expanding Hawaiian polities required more and more foodstuffs as tribute, taxes, and as support for increasing numbers of retainers, apparently did not involve simple shifts inland." Of course the reasons for agricultural expansion were probably multifaceted and could have as well included a need to accommodate a growing *maka'āinana* population, rather than only the hypothesized self-aggrandizing needs of chiefs.

ranking *ali'i*. Such a scenario does not adequately account for all the *ali'i* behaviors summarized above and detailed in Part IV.

A more appropriate model to consider chiefly behavior must recognize that effective administration based on generosity and compassion was a successful strategy in maintaining stable, cohesive societies and was not merely a guise to a more exploitative end. This is of course not to say that every *ali'i* followed this ideal in all times and places. At the same time, it cannot be ignored that many *ali'i* did subscribe to this ideal throughout the span of history and under a variety of conditions.

Boone's (1992:323-324, Table 10.2) model of dominant-subordinate relationships is applicable to this discussion. He suggests that in the interactions between dominants and subordinates, dominants can follow two generalized behavior modes and subordinates can adopt two generalized behavior modes, resulting in four possible outcomes. He notes that any individual under different circumstances can adopt any one of these modes or transition from one to the other. An important point of his model is that all actors will respond to one another's behaviors in a reflexive and continual fashion (following game theory principles). The significance of his model to this discussion of *ali'i* behavior is that the best overall outcome results from a behavior mode in which the dominant actor practices benevolence rather than exploitation.¹²

¹² Although this model may seem like "common sense" to many (and it is), its utility is in its elegant simplicity which clarifies the *economic benefit* of benevolent governance to those who see *ali'i* as a bad stereotype of capitalist entrepreneurs who are forever trying to increase their returns for selfish purposes. Even if one were to believe that *ali'i* were motivated by such capitalist, self-aggrandizing motives, a viable strategy for an *ali'i* to acquire the highest returns would still be through effective and gracious governance.

Here Boone's model is adapted to the Hawaiian context and fleshed-out with examples that follow the conditions of his model for the four possible dominant-subordinate interactions: The first possibility is that *ali'i* use their dominant position to exploit *maka'āinana* to acquire greater tribute or other benefits from them and minimize the fulfillment of their various *kuleana* of being *ali'i* (i.e., *ali'i* as described stereotypically by Sahlins [1992] and others). *Maka'āinana* (and all other subordinates facing the same treatment) minimize their contribution to *ali'i* (whether food, materials, or labor). *Ali'i* must expend their resources to minimize *maka'āinana* "cheating" (e.g., *maka'āinana* withholding products or slacking in their responsibilities to maintain their fields) by monitoring their behavior and face increased risks of a possible revolt. *Maka'āinana* must increase their risks of facing punishment for their "cheating" and expend energy in making their "cheating" less detectable. In this scenario both *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* experience significant losses as their energies are spent in non-productive endeavors.

A second scenario could be that *ali'i* follow the same behavior as in scenario 1, while *maka'āinana* submit and provide greater resources to *ali'i* with less returns in *ali'i* fulfilling their *kuleana*. Here there is a clear "winner" and "loser." The situation is ripe for conflict, and the most productive outcome for the society is not realized.

A third option involves *ali'i* who manage benevolently, fulfill *kuleana* expected of them, make few necessary demands on the *maka'āinana*, and operate following principles of trust and compassion whereby they do not heavily scrutinize *maka'āinana* production levels or other *maka'āinana* contributions (e.g., labor days or Makahiki offerings). *Maka'āinana* can easily "cheat" and withhold labor and

products under these conditions, and again there is a clear “winner” and “loser” with all those in society not experiencing the most optimal outcome.

The last possibility is that *ali'i* follow the same behavior mode as in scenario 3, while *maka'āinana*, in reaction to the skillful and benevolent governance of the *ali'i* which provided them real benefits (e.g., access to more or better food resources or increased leisure time), offer their *ali'i* more of their labor and other resources than they would otherwise have given, as they now have more to give and possess a genuine desire to provide these to their *ali'i* as well.¹³

This model, as with any model, simplifies reality in order to clarify underlying principles. In the real world the interaction modes and outcomes described in the model were constantly renegotiated and redefined with every new interaction. However, the model is useful in outlining the overall effect of the total interactions that might characterize a given nation. With regard to the discussion of *ali'i* behaviors which promoted political integration and cohesion, this model illustrates that effective administration by *ali'i* provided a means for *ali'i nui*, lower-ranking *ali'i*, and *maka'āinana* to *mutually* improve their situation. Under such conditions, those not a part of such a group would find net benefits in joining the group, and group members would have little reason to leave that group or cause dissention within it. In short, effective administration could have played a significant role in creating and

¹³ Although Boone's (1992) model was directed at the observable currencies that affect an individual's fitness, from a Hawaiian perspective, it is as applicable to behavior modes and outcomes entailing the spiritual and unseen. *Maka'āinana* in the first scenario would engage in subtle acts of disrespect that degrade an *ali'i's* *mana* and which would promote his demise, whereas, in the fourth scenario, *maka'āinana* might, for example, pray for the health and long life of their beloved *ali'i*, as *mo'olelo* describe was the case for those *ali'i* who managed their lands and people with skill and *aloha*.

maintaining larger political units. The *mo'olelo* of beloved *ali'i* governing effectively prosperous and contented nations may well be an accurate record of the reigns of well-respected *ali'i nui* and not a just myths that idealize the past.

Effects of Marriage Practices on Hawaiian Socio-political Evolution

The Practice of Marrying More Than One Official Spouse. A prevalent practice of *ali'i nui* who were known for effective governance was their selecting and acknowledging multiple *ali'i* spouses (as opposed to their having a single royal spouse to bear royal heirs while having additional mates who were not acknowledged in the same regard). Voluminous accounts in the oral traditions describe the selective advantages of this practice. As described in Part IV, the benefits of an *ali'i nui* marrying a spouse of another lineage was that the relatives of that spouse's lineage would then more likely engage in cooperative relations with the *ali'i nui*, given the closer family tie produced by the marriage. If there was a potential for conflict between the two lineages, that conflict would now be diminished and diplomatic solutions more likely sought. Marrying additional *ali'i* spouses accomplished the same with those spouses' family members as well. By being partnered with multiple mates, the *ali'i nui* stood a higher chance of remaining free from attack by potential opponents (now established as closer relatives through the marriage¹⁴), increased the possibility of productive alliances with the spouses' families, and brought those same advantages to the offspring of the marriage. In turn these benefits would also accrue to the spouse and the spouse's family. In cases

¹⁴ As Figure 7.2 illustrates, all *ali'i* were related. The issue of relatedness described here is one of degree rather than a presence or absence of a familial connection.

where both families wanted to avoid an armed conflict, and especially in instances when the anticipated outcome was unpredictable, a marriage between the chiefly lines was an attractive diplomatic solution.

An added advantage the marriage arrangement held for the *ali'i nui* (for this example, a male *ali'i nui*) was that it hindered the possibility of his wife's male family members having his wife as a mate with whom they could have sired very sacred offspring born of an incestual mating and who could have perhaps more effectively competed with his own by possessing that trait.

Examples of multiple marriages involving key alliances include the following (many more are provided in Part IV): 1) Kanipahu's marriage to Hualani who was of the Nānā'ulu lineage with whose family Kanipahu and his predecessors had previously experienced tense relations (Kalākaua 1990:97); 2) Kalapana's marriage to Makeamalamaihanae who was the niece of Kamai'ole who Kalapana defeated in battle (Kalākaua 1990:100, 106; Malo 1996:305); 3) Lāuli a La'a's marriage to Maelo, which united the Nānā'ulu and 'Ulu lineages (see discussion in Chapter 6); 4) 'Umi a Liloa's marriage to Mokuahualeiākea who was of the Kona 'Ehu family (Kamakau 1992:19) and to Henahena who was a descendant of another branch of Kahoukapu's descendants (one different from the lineage through which Liloa descended) (Unauna in McKinzie 1986:22); 5) Kawaoka'ōhele's marriage to Kepalaoa, daughter of Kalā'eha'eha who was the principal *ali'i* of windward Maui (Malo 1827:27); 6) Kaikilani's marriage to Kanaloakua'ana and Lonoikamakahiki, which united Keli'iokāloa's granddaughter with Keawenui a 'Umi's sons; 7) Kākuhihewa's marriage to Kaea a Kalona (daughter of Kekela and Nāpūlānahumahiki), which brought together the two reigning families of O'ahu

(Kamakau 1991:70; Malo 1827:14; Fornander 1996:273-274); 8) Mahi'ololi's marriage to Kānekūka'ailani (daughter of 'Ī of Hilo) which united warring factions of Hawai'i Island (McKinzie 1983:64, 1986:24, 34;); 9) Kamakahahei's marriage to Kaneoneo, which joined the two ruling families of Kaua'i (Fornander 1996:291, 297; McKinzie 1983:16, 31, 33); and 10) Kamehameha's marriage to Keōpūolani, daughter of Kīwaia'ō whom Kamehameha defeated in battle (Kamakau 1992:208, 449).

Given the many advantages that would accrue to an *ali'i nui* who enjoyed multiple marriage partners, one might assume that all *ali'i nui* engaged in this practice or at least that those who were most powerful did so. However, the patterning of individuals who had multiple acknowledged spouses indicates otherwise. Figure 13.7 presents for each of the 23 generations in this study the number of politically independent *ali'i* (both male and female) and the number of them who had two or more acknowledged spouses. If the practice of marrying two or more acknowledged spouses was a function of the power wielded by *ali'i nui*, then the frequency of the practice should be generally inversely related to the number of independent polities in a given generation. Such a pattern is not consistently evident in Figure 13.7.

Figure 13.8 displays the presence/absence distribution of *ali'i nui* marrying two or more acknowledged spouses and is partitioned by the four major islands from which the *ali'i nui* hailed. The geographic and temporal variability in the practice of marrying multiple spouses seen in Figure 13.8 further suggests that not all *ali'i nui* in all times and places viewed the practice as advantageous. Indeed, specific examples of the marriage records of highly powerful *ali'i nui* create further questions

Figure 13.7. Comparison of the Number of Independent *Ali'i* and the Number of Them Having Two or More Recorded Acknowledged Spouses

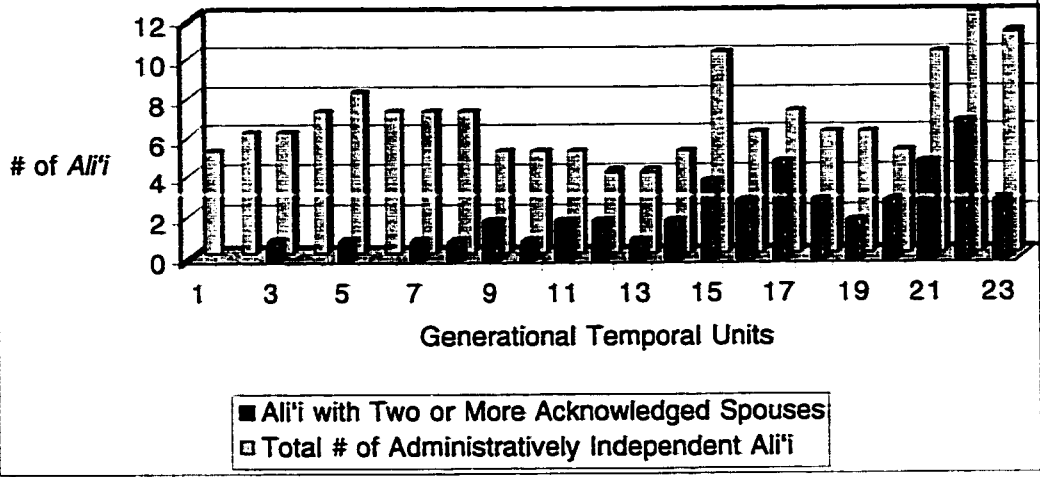
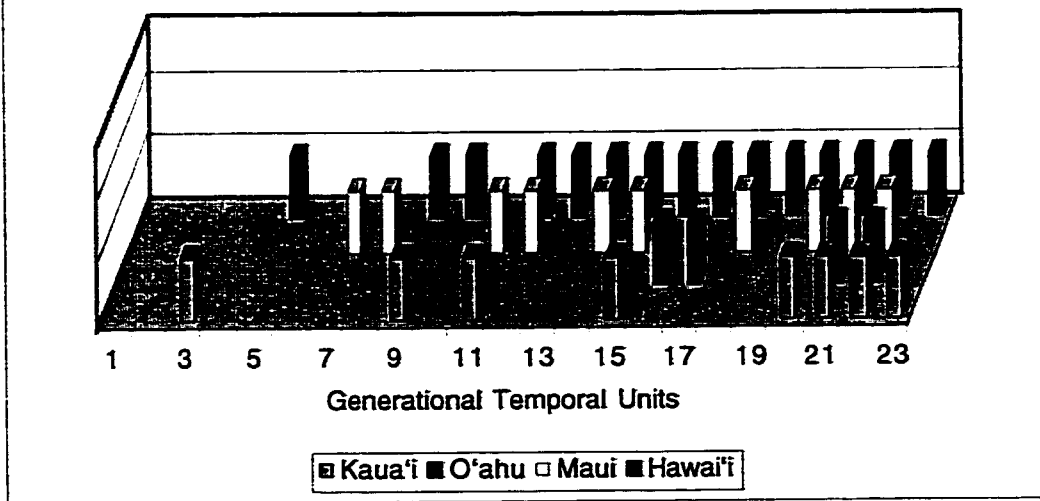


Figure 13.8. Presence/Absence of *Ali'i* with Two or More Acknowledged Spouses

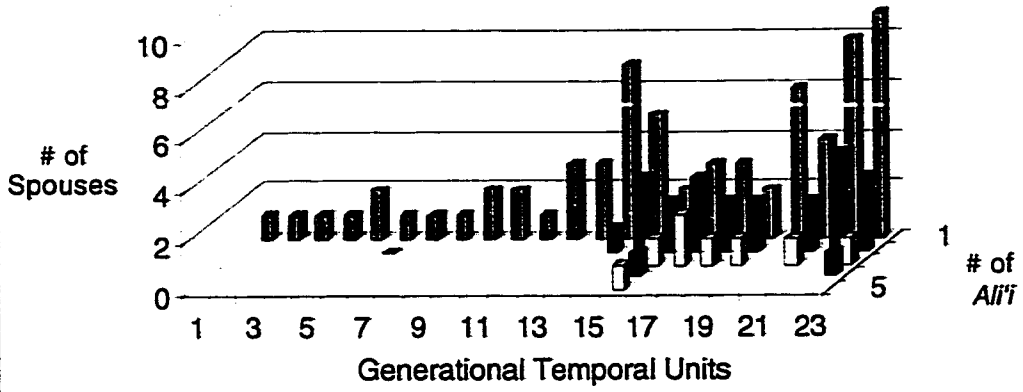


regarding the assumption that wealth and power alone determined whether an *ali'i nui* would have a larger or fewer number of acknowledged spouses. After all, such famously powerful *ali'i nui* as Kūkona, Kawelomaihunaali'i, Mā'ilikūkahī, Kalaimanu'ia, Kaka'e, Kūali'i, Kalaunuiohua, Ka'uholanuimāhū, and Keakamahana were remembered as having only a single official spouse (Kamakau 1988:59, 1991:57, 73, 1992:61; Malo 1827:14,15, 35, 1996:305; 'Ī'i 1983:6; Fornander 1996:69, 71, 90, 127, 210, 269, 282, 294, 1999:V:4; McKinzie 1983:14, 35, 1986:11, 22, 29, 30; Kalākaua 1990:181).

Such *ali'i nui* may have decided to forego the advantages of multiple marriage partners for a host of reasons (e.g., the obligations to a spouse's family resulting from the marriage). One such reason that may have been considered by some (especially those of O'ahu and Kaua'i¹⁵) involved the secondary effects of such marriages (as described in chapters 11 and 12) that created new difficulties in subsequent generations. Such dilemmas became apparent on Hawai'i Island and Maui where the practice of marrying two or more *ali'i* spouses was most often followed. This problematic phenomenon can be noted in Figure 13.9 (for Hawai'i Island) and 13.10 (for Maui) which display the number of independent *ali'i* per generation and the number of acknowledged mates that each of these *ali'i* were recorded to have had. Figures 13.9 and 13.10 show that the generations in which

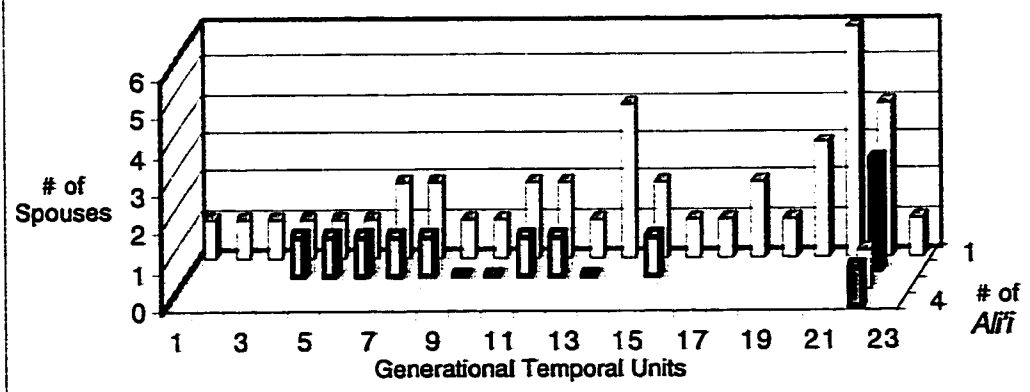
¹⁵ The same could as well have been considered by *ali'i nui* of Maui and Hawai'i Island. However, in those cases there may have been fewer and less promising alternatives for an *ali'i nui* to keeping an island politically integrated other than engaging in multiple marriages.

Figure 13.9. Temporal Comparison of the Number of Administratively Independent Hawai'i Island *Ali'i* and Their Number of Acknowledged Spouses



Note: A plotted zero value indicates that the number of spouses is not known for this individual.

Figure 13.10. Temporal Comparison of the Number of Administratively Independent Native Maui *Ali'i* and Their Number of Acknowledged Spouses



Note: A plotted zero value indicates that the number of spouses is not known for this individual.

an *ali'i nui* took numerous official mates were followed by periods of political disintegration on Hawai'i Island and Maui.

Lonoikamakahiki, Kaikilani, Keakealanikāne, Keakamahana, and Kalaninui'iāmamao of Hawai'i Island, as well as Kamehameha Nui of Maui, were *ali'i nui* who entered into such challenging contexts and faced the problem of being unable to maintain the administrative control over their nations. Under these conditions, there were several marked differences compared to previous generations when *ali'i nui* typically had only one acknowledged *ali'i* spouse. The *ali'i nui* and his/her contenders were now more closely matched in genealogical rank than would have been the case had the previous *ali'i nui* maintained only one sacred *ali'i* spouse. The siblings of the current *ali'i nui* (which at this point could be characterized as realized or potential opponents) were now half-siblings owing half their allegiance to another lineage and *kulāiwi* (native homeland) other than the one they shared with their half-sibling *ali'i nui*. In addition, this contender and his¹⁶ maternal family (one different from that shared with the *ali'i nui* on this contender's paternal side) directly controlled the human and material resources of a *moku* that was often far removed from the *ali'i nui's* home district. Exacerbating the situation was that there had been antagonism between the lineages and districts in the past

¹⁶ Instances of contention over an *ali'i nui's* position came to involve only male adversaries of the *ali'i nui*, although, as noted above the *ali'i nui* who faced such challenges were both *kāne* and *wāhine*.

(which is why the previous *ali'i nui* engaged in the political marriage alliance in the first place).

In this scenario, where half-siblings (or other close relatives descended from a common *ali'i nui*) were less beholden to one another and now more equally equipped both ideologically and materially to compete with one another, and where antagonisms were already present, armed conflict was a common result. Even if the siblings in conflict were not half-siblings but full-siblings (as in the case of Lono a Pi'ilani's battle with Kiha a Pi'ilani and Keli'iokāloa's battle with Keawenui a 'Umi), the effect described above would have fostered the formation of opposing support groups (composed of the offspring of Pi'ilani's, Liloa's, and 'Umi's multiple marriages) standing behind one or the other contender. The ensuing battles either ended in the defeat of one of the competitors, as with Keli'iokāloa's death in battle against Keawenui a 'Umi or Kauhi'aimoku's demise in his war with Kamehameha Nui (in generations 15 and 22 respectively), or on Hawai'i Island resulted in the island being ruled by the two or more equally matched family lineages who could not soundly defeat one another, as in the case with Keakamahana, Kua'ana a 'Ī (of Hilo), and Mahi'ololi (of Kohala) in generation 18.¹⁷

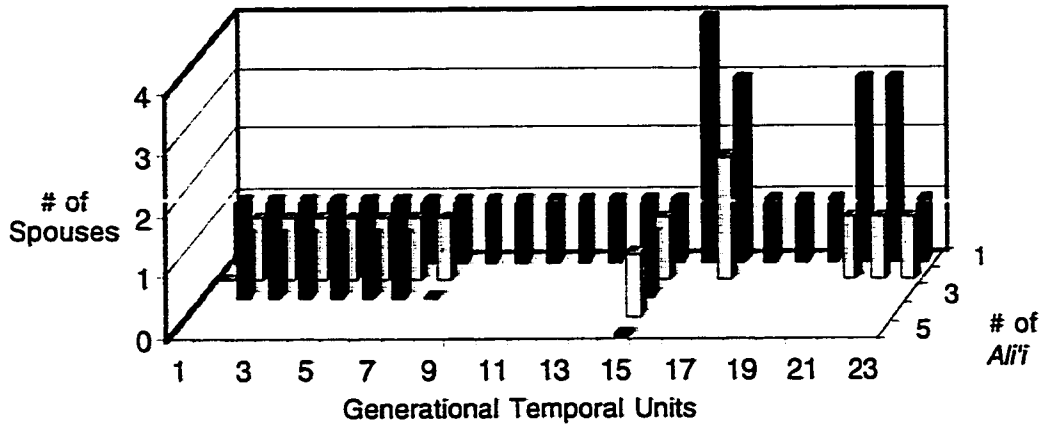
On O'ahu and Kaua'i, where multiple marriages were not as commonly practiced, such marriages cannot be said to have contributed significantly, if at all, to

¹⁷ Mahi'ololi's case illustrates an important point that was not systematically explored in this study, that is, the fact that spouses (*wāhine* or *kāne*) of an *ali'i nui* could as well select additional mates perhaps in their effort to assure their family's appropriate alliances or for their own personal interests. This was the case with Keli'iokalani (sister and wife of Keakealanikāne in generation 17) who took Keaweakai of Kohala as her second spouse. Their child was Kanaloauo'o who was the father of Mahi'ololi. Hence, part of Mahi'ololi's political standing originated in this high-level *mana* of Keli'iokalani which Mahi'ololi possessed.

the political segregation that occurred there. The lack of involvement of multiple marriages in the segregation of the islands of O'ahu and Kaua'i can be noted in Figures 13.11 for O'ahu and Figure 13.12 for Kaua'i, which present the number of spouses of the various independent *ali'i* of the islands. Kaua'i's political division of the island was caused more by the internal strife occurring there (and will be discussed in a later section involving warfare). However, it is important to note that the division of O'ahu into three polities in generation 15 (which involved five individuals, two of whom were married), occurred under circumstances similar to that of the half-siblings described above (and may have been ideologically triggered by such events on Hawai'i and Maui). In this case the brothers Kū a Manu'ia, Ka'ihikapu a Manu'ia, Ha'o and their sister Kekela (who later married Ha'o's son Nāpūlānahumahiki), were raised in separate districts by different *kahu* (guardians) with the purpose of having them trained to rule over those areas of O'ahu. The influence of the various *kahu* (who were certainly natives of their areas), and the royal brothers' loyalty to them, might have created a situation analogous to that described above with the maternal lineages of the potential heirs. Thus, the initial effect of multiple strategic marriages was to strengthen and consolidate the island under a single ruler; the secondary effect of such marriages was to spawn a setting even more likely to bring conflict and undo the consolidation.

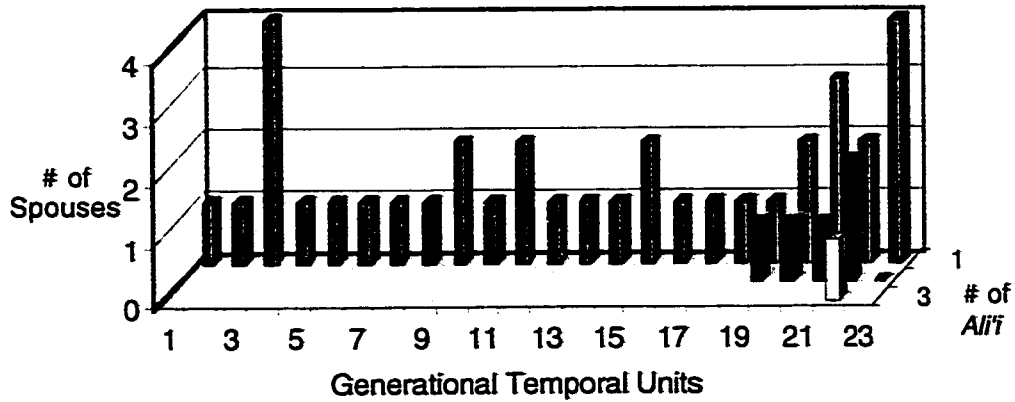
Inter-island Marriages. Just as *ali'i* married spouses from possible opponents' families of various districts of their nations to avoid conflict and promote good will, they did the same with *ali'i* families of other islands. The motivation in the inter-island marriages would likewise have been to diminish the possibility of conflict between the lineages involved (often two ruling families) and to increase the

Figure 13.11. Temporal Comparison of the Number of Administratively Independent O'ahu *Ali'i* and Their Number of Acknowledged Spouses



Note: A plotted zero value indicates that the number of spouses is not known for this individual.

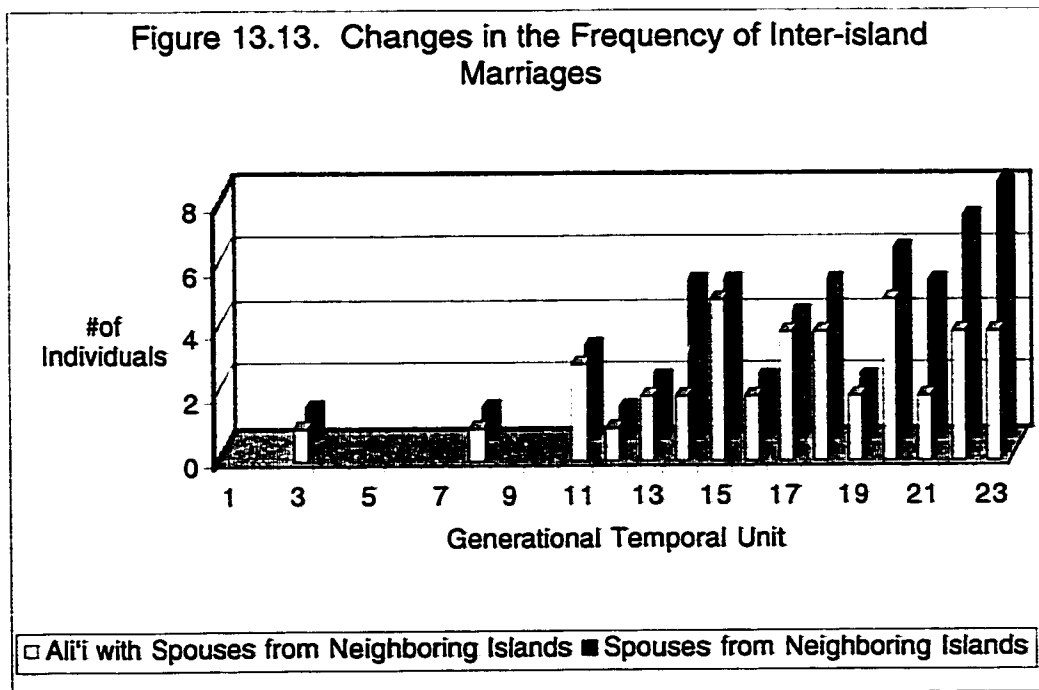
Figure 13.12. Temporal Comparison of the Number of Administratively Independent Kaua'i *Ali'i* and Their Number of Acknowledged Spouses



Note: A plotted zero value indicates that the number of spouses is not known for this individual.

likelihood of each receiving support from the other as needed. These were indeed diplomatic political alliances.

Figure 13.13 illustrates the pattern of this phenomenon through the 23 generations studied in terms of the number of administratively independent *ali'i* who adopted this practice and the number of spouses who were involved (the two are not the same since some *ali'i* married more than one spouse from a neighboring island). The parallel pattern displayed in Figure 13.13 of either measure of this phenomenon is not random. Indeed, inter-island marriages seemed to offer a significant selective advantage to *ali'i* who adopted the behavior.



Although all *ali'i* were related to all other *ali'i*, and hence could be said to come from all islands, only the connections with a neighboring island that were known for one or two generations back in time from the spouses involved were used in Figure 13.13. Table 13.2 additionally provides the names of these *ali'i*, their geographic *kuleana*, their respective generations, their spouses, and the island(s) from which their spouses' or their spouses' parents or grandparents originated.

Figure 13.14 also includes the distribution of externally directed aggressive events and suggests that inter-island marriages may have played a factor in diminishing such aggression (i.e., a raid or full-scale war directed at an opponent on a neighboring island). Such avoidance of externally directed aggression is especially notable from generations 11 through 20. In an opposite fashion, the inter-island marriages may have exacerbated the frequency of externally-directed aggressive events in generations 21 through 23 as the political environment changed (as discussed in the last section of this chapter).

Of course the observation of the increase in inter-island marriages and the correlated elimination of external aggression in generations 11 through 20 cannot be assumed to translate into a cause and effect relationship. The same is true for the simultaneous increase in these variables in generations 21 through 23. After all, other significant factors were likely acting upon the situation. One such variable seems to have been the frequency of internally directed aggressive events. In fact, the frequency of externally directed and internally directed aggressive events are shown in Figure 13.14 to be inversely related for the most part, except again during the last three generations (which will be addressed in a later section).

Table 13.2. *Ali'i Nui* and Prominent *Ali'i 'Ai Moku* and Their Recorded Spouses Associated with Neighboring Islands (page 1 of 2)

Gen.	<i>Ali'i Nui</i> or Prominent <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i> (area of <i>kuleana</i>)	Spouses associated with neighboring islands (island of origin of spouse)*
3	Lākona ('Ewa, Wai'anae, Waiālua)	'Ālaikauakoko (Hawai'i)
8	Lo'e (Maui)	Ka'imihauokū (O'ahu)
11	Kahakuakāne (Kaua'i)	Kapōnaena (Maui)
	Kaka'alaneo (Maui)	Kanikania'ula (Hawai'i)
	Kauholanuimahu (Hawai'i)	Nē'ula (Maui)
12	Lōlale (Lihu'e, O'ahu)	Keleanohoana'api'api (Maui)
13	Kūkaniloko (O'ahu)	Luaia (Maui)
	Līloa (Hawai'i)	Haua (Maui)
14	Pi'ilani (Maui)	Lā'ielohelohe (Maui and O'ahu)
	Pi'ilani (Maui)	Mokuahualeiākea (Hawai'i)
	Pi'ilani (Maui)	Kuamo'okea (Hawai'i)
	'Umi a Līloa (Hawai'i)	Pi'ikea (Maui)
	'Umi a Līloa (Hawai'i)	Kapukini (Hawai'i and Maui)
15	Kahakumakaliua (Kaua'i)	'Akahi'ilikapu (Hawai'i)
	Lono a Pi'ilani (Maui)	Kealana a Wa'auli (Kaua'i)
	Ho'olaemakua (Hāna)	Ka'ululena (Hawai'i)
	Keli'ioakāloa (Hawai'i)	Hika'alani (Maui)
	Keawenui a 'Umi (Hawai'i)	Hoakalani (O'ahu)
16	Kākuhihewa (O'ahu)	Koa'ekea (Hawai'i and Maui)
	'Umiokalani (Kona, Hawai'i)	Pi'imauilani (Maui)
17	Kānekapu a Kuihewa (O'ahu)	Kahamalu'ihī (Kaua'i)
	Ka'ihikapu a Kuihewa (O'ahu)	Kanakeawe (Hawai'i)
	Kauhi a Kama (Maui)	Kapukiniakua (Hawai'i)
	'ī (Hilo)	Ho'oleiali'i (Maui)
18	Kaho'owahaokalani (O'ahu)	Kawelolauhuki (Kaua'i)
	Kalanikaumakaowākea (Maui)	Makakūwahine (O'ahu)
	Iwikauikaua (Hawai'i)	Kauakahikua'anaauakāne (O'ahu)
	Kanaloauo'o (Kohala)	Kihamoihala (Maui)
	Kanaloauo'o (Kohala)	Kapuleiōla'a (Maui)
19	Mahi'ololi (Kohala)	'Umiiwi'ula (Hawai'i and Maui)
	Kawelomaihunaali'i (Kaua'i)	Kānewahineikiaoha (O'ahu)
20	Kūali'i (O'ahu)	Kalanikahimakeiali'i (Maui)
	Ka'ulahea II (Maui)	Kalanikauleleiaiwi (Hawai'i)
	Keawe (Hawai'i)	Lonoma'a'ikanaka (Hawai'i & Maui)
	Keawe (Hawai'i)	Kānealae (Moloka'i)
	Mokulani (Hilo)	Niau (Maui)
	Lonoikahā'upu (Kaua'i)	Kalanikahimakeiali'i (Maui)

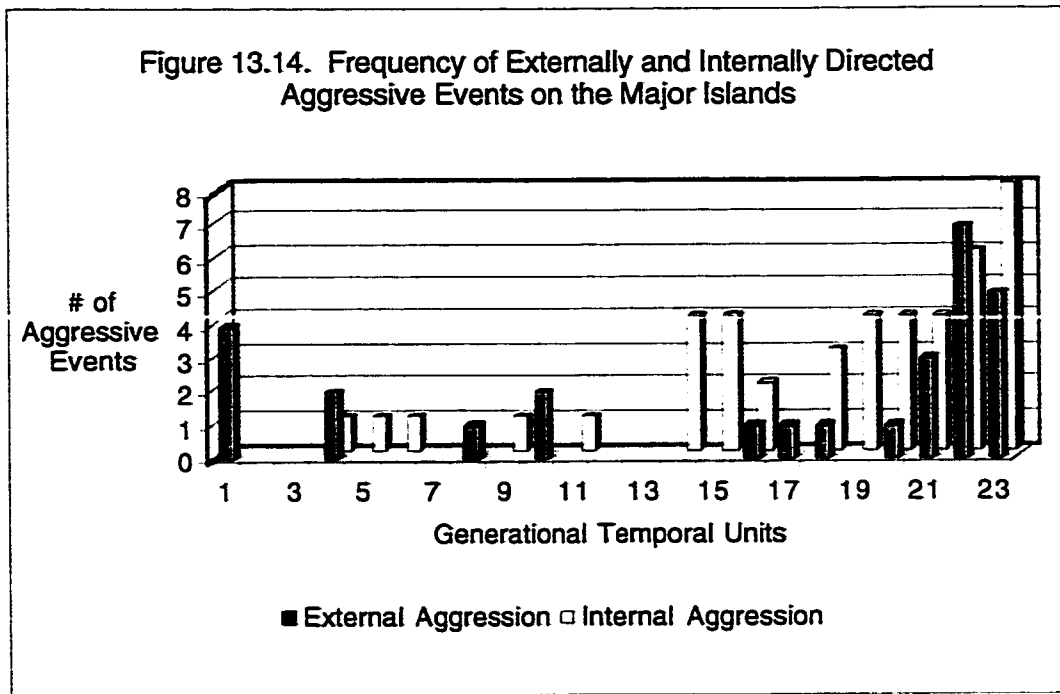
* The spouse's parents or grandparents are clearly recorded to have been an *ali'i* of the island noted. No associations further back in time are represented here.

Table 13.2. *Ali'i Nui* and Prominent *Ali'i 'Ai Moku* and Their Recorded Spouses Associated with Neighboring Islands (page 2 of 2)

Gen.	<i>Ali'i Nui</i> or Prominent <i>Ali'i 'Ai Moku</i> (area of <i>kuleana</i>)	Spouses associated with neighboring islands (island of origin of spouse)*
21	Kekaulike (Maui)	Hōlau (Kaua'i, Hawai'i)
	Kekaulike (Maui)	Kāne a Lae (Moloka'i)
	Kekaulike (Maui)	Keku'iapo'iwa (Hawai'i)
	Kekaulike (Maui)	Kano'ena (Hawai'i)
	Peleiōhōlani (O'ahu/Kaua'i) **	Kamaka'imoku (O'ahu and Hawai'i)
22	Kamehamehanui (Maui)	Nāmāhana (Maui and Hawai'i)
	Kamehamehanui (Maui)	Manuha'aipo (Kaua'i and Maui)
	Kahekili II (Maui)	Luahiwa (Moloka'i and Maui)
	Kalani'ōpu'u (Hawai'i)	Kalola (Maui)
	Ke'eaumoku (Kapalilua, Kona)	Nāmāhana (Maui and Hawai'i)
	Kamakahahei (Kaua'i)	Ka'eokūlani (Maui and Kaua'i)
	Kamakahahei (Kaua'i)	Kaneoneo (O'ahu and Kaua'i)
23	Kahāhana (O'ahu)	Kekuapo'i'ula (Maui and Hawai'i)
	Kaneoneo (Kaua'i)	Kalanikau'i'ōkikilo (Maui)
	Keōuakū'ahu'ula (Hawai'i)	Hi'ileiohi'iaka (Maui)
	Keōuakū'ahu'ula (Hawai'i)	Nālani'ewalu (Maui)
	Kamehameha (Hawai'i)	Ka'ahumanu (Maui, Hawai'i)
	Kamehameha (Hawai'i)	Kaheiheimālie (Maui, Hawai'i)
	Kamehameha (Hawai'i)	Kekauluohi (Hawai'i, Maui)
	Kamehameha (Hawai'i)	Kalola III (Moloka'i)

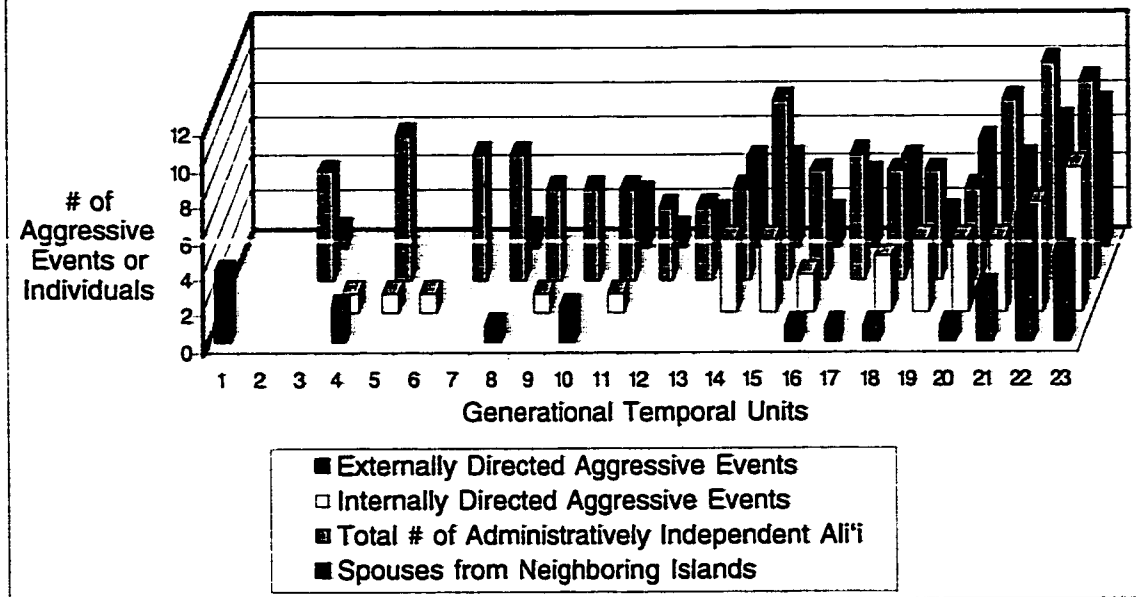
* The spouse's parents or grandparents are clearly recorded to have been an *ali'i* of the island noted. No associations further back in time are represented here.

** Peleiōhōlani is counted among Kaua'i *ali'i* in the calculations used for the figures and table generated from this chart. This is in recognition of the fact that he spent more of his years reigning from O'ahu than from Kaua'i, and that he chose to stay on O'ahu during the time that he ruled both islands.



Another variable that likely affected the patterns seen in Figure 13.4 regarding the inverse relationship of internal and external aggression, for all but the last three generations, may relate to the role of *ali'i* selecting two or more official *ali'i* spouses. When the changes in frequency of the four variables of internal aggression, external aggression, *ali'i* selecting two or more acknowledged *ali'i* spouses, and inter-island marriages are plotted together (as seen in Figure 13.15), the distributions are clearly not random. Their patterning provokes two questions: What were the relationships between the four variables? 2) What changed in the context with regard to the four variables that caused a shift in the pattern in the last three generations?

Figure 13.15. Frequency of Aggressive Events, Spouses from Neighboring Islands, and *Ali'i* with Two or More Acknowledged Spouses



Inter-relationships of Aggressive Events, Ali'i Marriage Practices, and Natural Environmental Settings

A possible explanation that can account for the patterns seen in Figure 13.15 from generations 11 through 20 might begin with the recognition of the effect that multiple marriages seemed to have had, especially on Hawai'i Island where it was most heavily practiced. In the generations after these multiple marriages, internal aggression increased on Hawai'i Island, probably in large part under the conditions described above (additional instigating variables are considered in the next section). The revolutionary events on Hawai'i Island altered the social expectations on the other islands and, whether due to the poor rule of such *ali'i* as Lono a Pi'ilani and Kū a Manu'ia and/or for reasons spurred by the success of 'Umi a Līloa, possibly initiated two incidents of internal aggression on O'ahu and Maui. This set the stage

on three islands that would promote inter-island marriages. In this new political context where internal aggression became a more probable reality (having already occurred), inter-island marriages, and the political alliances that came hand-in-hand with them, proved critical for at least three reasons: 1) The alliances provided a safe haven with other families on other islands that might be needed in the situation that a conflict occurred on one's home island and a place of refuge became necessary. 2) The alliances helped to assure that an attack from abroad (at least from a spouses' home island) would not occur. 3) The alliance provided crucial support to win a conflict, as in the case of Kiha a Pi'ilani getting the aid of 'Umi a Liloa.

Yet in this situation that 'Umi a Liloa found himself as a consequence of his marriage to Pi'ikea (Kiha a Pi'ilani's sister) and her entreating him to aid her brother, points out a reason that inter-island marriages were not universally adopted and why interest in them was not constant. The insurance of support that they provided had to be reciprocated on occasion, in the form of assistance to an ally, in order to have one's reliability and alliances remain in effect. Such obligations were above that which would be entailed in alliances with *ali'i* lineages internal to one's nation. In those cases of marriages within an island nation, *ali'i nui* might treat the allied family with greater deference and favor but was never required to assist that family in war upon another. This was not the case with inter-island marriages that brought significant potential obligations.

A simplified model relying upon the discussion thus far presented in this chapter would include six basic components: 1) Multiple marriages involving spouses from different rival lineages of an island would initially create cohesion and cooperative relationships among the families involved. 2) However, in the next one

or two generations, the secondary effects of these multiple marriages would intensify rather than subdue the potential for internal conflicts. 3) Internal conflicts would encourage *ali'i* to enter into inter-island marriages for assistance or refuge. 4) The potential of being the victim of external attacks would also lead *ali'i* to enter into inter-island marriages to prevent such attacks. 5) Inter-island marriages would serve to diminish the frequency of externally directed aggressive events, but not internally directed events. 6) Multiple marriages of an *ali'i* to family members of potential opponents would continue to be sought when and where possible as a cost-effective solution to internal conflicts.

Numerous expectations can be inferred from the six components of this model. First, components 1, 2, and 6 of the model would suggest that the practice of *ali'i* marrying two or more spouses would promote political integration, then later provide the seed of political disintegration in the same polity, and still later would continue to be adopted once feasible (i.e., when open warfare did not make such marriage arrangements impossible). Such renewed multiple marriage practices would perpetuate the cycle, creating another later round of different regions proclaiming political independence. Thus, measures of political integration through time should display a fluctuating pattern of peaks and valleys rather than a unimodal or random array. This expectation is met in the pattern seen in Figure 13.7 presented earlier, which is heavily conditioned by Hawai'i Island's record where such multiple marriage practices were most frequently adopted.

Another expectation of the model would be that the frequency of internal aggression and inter-island marriages would increase (or decrease) together through time. A similar and more specific expectation would be that those *ali'i nui* who would

most likely find themselves in internal conflicts would also most likely seek mates of other islands, regardless of the risks involved since the potential benefits (outlined above) would outweigh these. Whereas, those not facing the potential of such conflicts might not want to engage in inter-island marriages due to the possible obligations involved.

An inter-island marriage might occur in two forms: 1) An *ali'i* could send his/her family members to other islands to assure a place of refuge in time of need (assuming that this family member in another court would have some influence over that court into which he/she married). 2) An *ali'i* could also bring a spouse to his/her island from an intended safe refuge to effect the same result. In fact, the latter should be a preferred response for those seeking a safe place of refuge, since a host court would be more apt to offer this aid if one of those in peril was their own family member (as opposed to an in-law in the host court requesting that the court support his/her family). Hence a corollary expectation is that an *ali'i* from an island experiencing internal conflicts would more often seek to marry and bring to his/her island spouses from other islands, rather than send his/her family members abroad (although this would be a second choice and still satisfactory alternative).

Following the understanding that inter-island marriages also could be used to buffer potential attacks from external sources, another expectation of the model outlined is that islands vulnerable to external attacks would also be more likely to engage in interisland marriages above those less vulnerable. An *ali'i* in this situation could either bring a spouse from another island to his/her court (which would serve as a hindrance to an attack) or could send his/her family members to other courts where they could proactively influence their new family members against an attack

on their home island and family members. In this scenario, the latter alternative would likely be more appealing, as it offers a stronger protective influence and would have the added advantage of that family member in another court sending word ahead of time of an impending attack. Whereas, another island's army could attack the *ali'i nui's* island, and simply spare their own family member who was a spouse of that *ali'i nui*, while still engaging in war upon the rest of the *ali'i nui's* military forces.

Mo'olelo and *mo'okū'ahau* provide information to test the above hypotheses.

Figure 13.16 illustrates the relative frequency of internal aggression among the major islands. Here Hawai'i is clearly seen as the island most involved in internal conflicts. A factor involving the natural environment that contributed to the internal wars there (in addition to the social environmental setting created by the multiple marriages of *ali'i nui*) was the large scale of the island that was conducive to forming independent political units. For instance, those of the Hilo district might feel disconnected from a government in Kona and might, in its relative isolation, feel able and willing to expound its own regional character and sense of nationalism for its lands and its *ali'i* lineages separate from that of Kona. The same would be less likely on an island such as O'ahu or Kaua'i where the equivalent relative degree of separation does not exist among the districts. Hence, the geographic scale and the social application of multiple marriages by Hawai'i Island's *ali'i* fueled the internal conflicts on the island. The expectation of this related to the above outlined model would be that Hawai'i Island's independent *ali'i* would thus most actively have sought marriage partners of other islands.

Figure 13.17, an island-by-island comparison of the frequency of independent *ali'i nui* selecting spouses of neighboring islands (i.e., those who imported spouses,

Figure 13.16. Comparison of the Frequency of Internal Aggression on the Major Islands

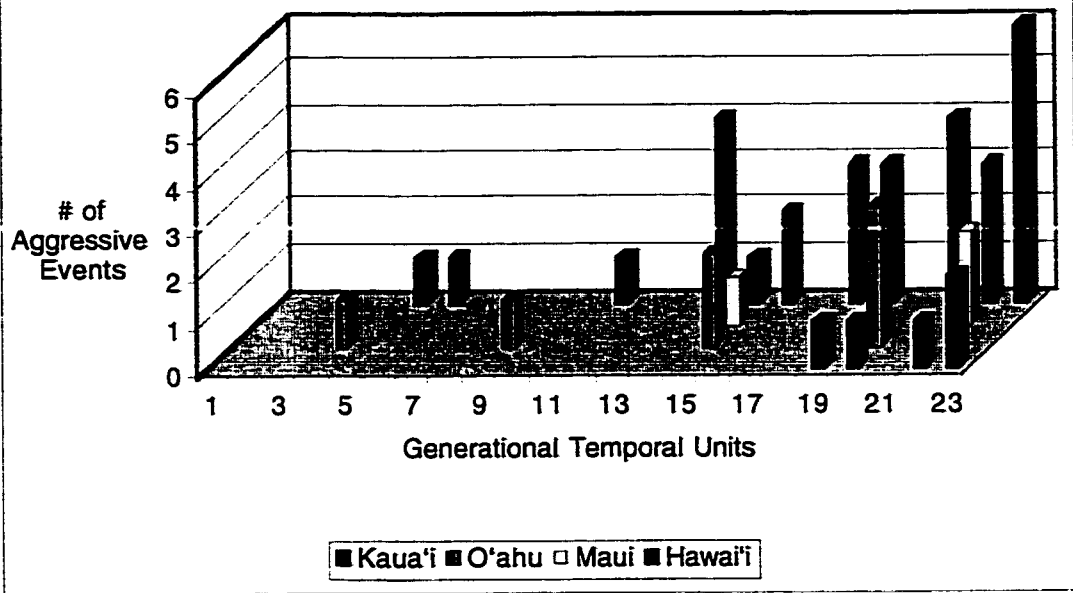
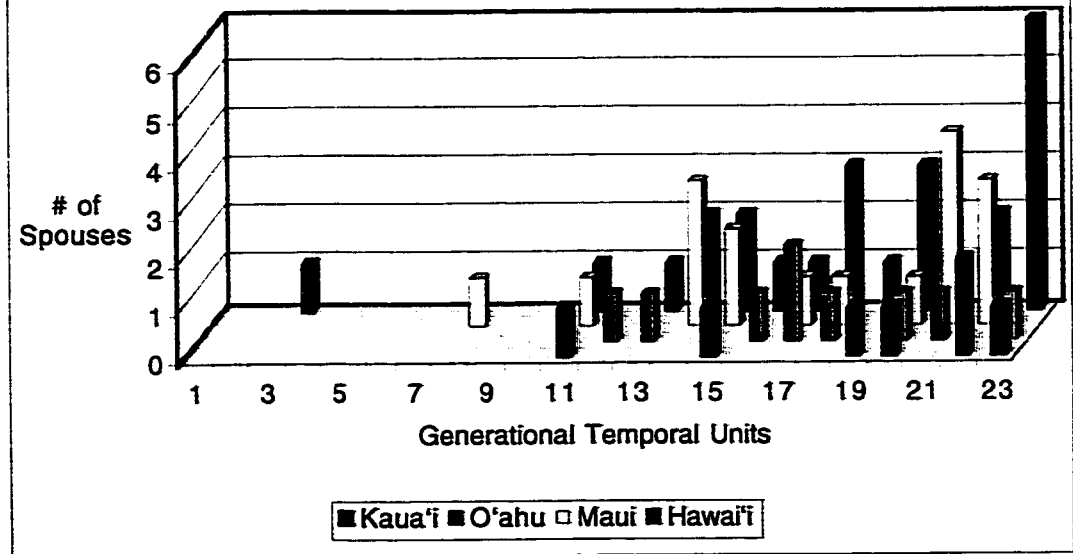
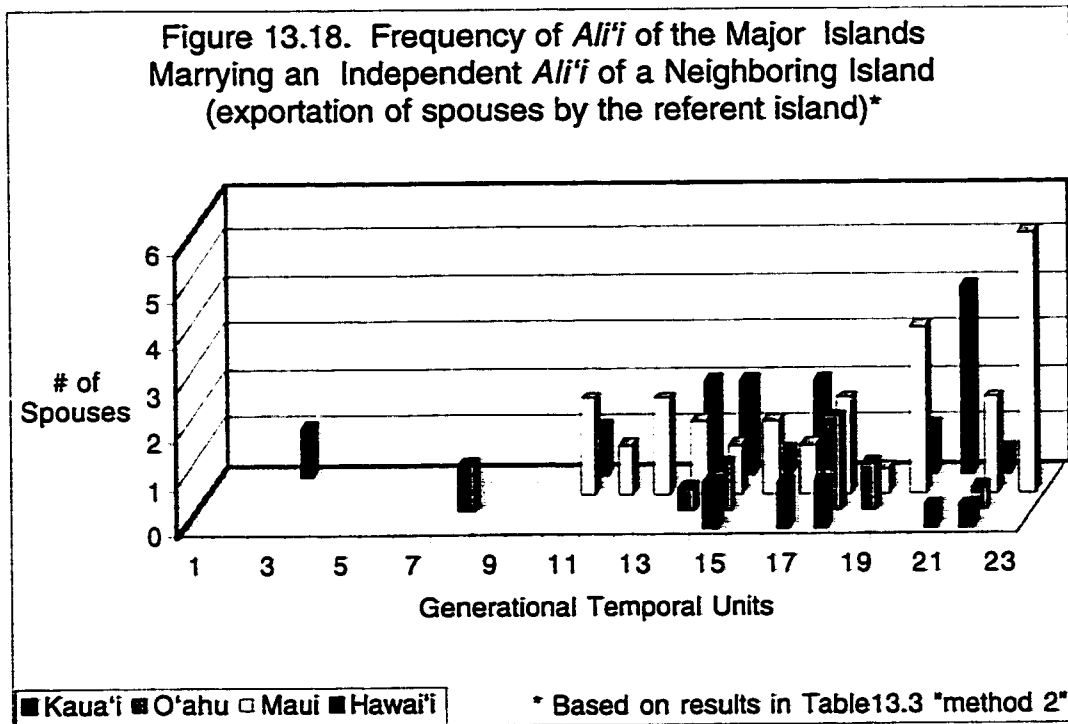


Figure 13.17. Frequency of Independent *Ali'i* of the Major Islands Selecting Spouses of Neighboring Islands (importation of spouses by the referent island)



so to speak), indicates that as expected, Hawai'i Island *ali'i* frequently selected spouses from neighboring islands. The same can be seen in the related opposite view of the same data set which looks at the frequency of spouses entering the courts of independent *ali'i* (i.e., spouses being exported to other islands), as seen in Figure 13.18.



One of the clear patterns in Figure 13.17 and 13.18 is that Maui's courts also played a large role in the inter-island marriages through the generations, regardless of the fact its *ali'i* were not experiencing internal conflicts (see Figure 13.16). Their participation in this practice meets the expectations of the model in regards to Maui's *ali'i nui* likely seeking a means to improve relations with other islands and thereby to assure that Maui would be safeguarded from an external attack. An added benefit

was of course the aid that such a tie might bring should there have arose an internal conflict with which the *ali'i* might require aid, as was the case with Kiha a Pi'ilani having the aid of 'Umi a Liloa.

The interest of Maui's *ali'i* above that of other islands in providing its island with the protection of neighbor island alliances relates in part to Maui's geographic setting. Its placement within the archipelago made it especially vulnerable to aggression by others. It was Hawai'i Island's closest target and was in striking distance of O'ahu as well. Further, by the middle of the sequence of generations studied, Maui had already acquired the fluctuating nominal or administrative control of Lāna'i and the nominal affiliation with or protectorate status over Moloka'i which would have stretched its defensive resources over a large region and place Maui's *ali'i nui* at greater risk.

If the model expectations are taken a step further, the inter-island marriage practices of the Maui and Hawai'i Island *ali'i* should display opposite preferences. Maui's *ali'i* should opt more often to send out their *ali'i* to other courts to provide protection against an external attack, and Hawai'i Island's *ali'i* should be more apt to have *ali'i* of other islands enter their courts to ensure them a place of refuge on that spouse's home island, and to possibly gain the support of that island in the internal conflicts common to that island in the era this model addresses. Table 13.3 compares the cumulative inter-island marriage practices of independent *ali'i*. These figures illustrate the greater involvement of Maui and Hawai'i Island *ali'i* in these practices and reveal that *ali'i* of Maui were more interested in having their family members marry those of other courts, while Hawai'i Island *ali'i* more often solicited those *ali'i* to enter their courts, as the expectations of the model would suggest. Of

Table 13.3. Comparison of the Cumulative Inter-island Marriage Practices of Independent *Ai'i'i* of the Major Islands

Referent Island	Mana/blood from one island's lineage entering the referent islands' lineage (Importation)		Mana/blood a from one island's lineage leaving the referent islands' lineage * (Exportation-method 1)		Mana/blood from one island's lineage leaving the referent islands' lineage** (Exportation-method 2)		%age of the types of inter-island marriages engaged in by the referent islands' <i>ai'i'i</i> ***	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Importation	Exportation
Hawai'i	23	40%	15	25%	14	27%	62%	38%
Maui	17	30%	28	47%	23.5	46%	42%	60%
O'ahu	10	18%	8	13%	6	12%	62%	38%
Kaua'i	7	12%	5	8%	4	8%	64%	36%
Moloka'i	NA	NA	4	7%	3.5	7%	NA	NA
Total	57	100%	59	100%	51	100%	---	---

KEY

- * If a spouse's lineages included that of two different islands and he/she married into an island other than either of his/her two lineages, then that individual was counted with the value of 1 for one island and 1 for the second island from which his/her lineage derived. If an *ai'i'i* with two islands' lineages married into an island from which one of his/her lineages derived, then that individual was only counted in relation to his/her lineage from the island other than the one into which he/she married (and counted with a value of 1 for that island).
- ** The same considerations were made in this calculation except the values used were .5 in each case of an individual whose lineage derived from two islands. Hence, someone whose parents were from Maui and Hawai'i who married an *ai'i'i* of Hawai'i, was only counted with a value of .5 for Maui.
- *** The results of the second method of calculation for "Exportation" were used in these calculations as they provided a more precise accounting.

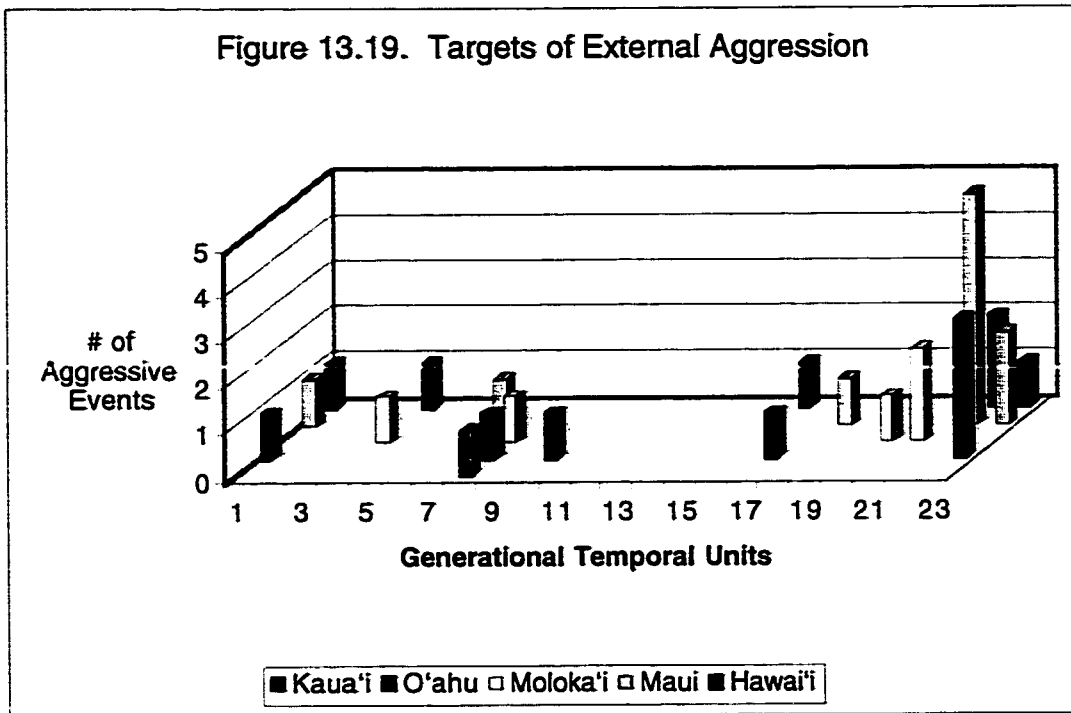
Additional Notes:

- Identifying which island(s) a spouse came from was based on his/her parent's or grandparent's relationship to an island. Connections further removed in time were not included in this analysis.
- The totals for those entering and leaving courts do not correspond because of the two different ways that spouses were handled whose parentage traced to two islands wherein one parent may have been native to the island into which the spouse married. Hence the

the inter-island marriages in which Maui's *ali'i* were involved, 60 percent of the time this entailed *ali'i* of their lineages marrying an *ali'i* of another island. Of the inter-island marriages in which Hawai'i Island's *ali'i* were involved, the opposite was the case with 62 percent of the marriages involving spouses entering Hawai'i's courts.

Table 13.3 as well as figures 13.17 and 13.18 also provide the striking observation to the contrary regarding Kaua'i's *ali'i* who were rarely involved in either bringing *ali'i* into their courts or sending their own to others. Again this behavior would fulfill the model's expectations where involvement in inter-island marriages would be lower in situations where there is either or both low levels of internal conflict and a low possibility of external attack. Figure 13.16 records the late engagement of Kaua'i in internal conflict, or rather their peaceful condition during the time in which this model pertains (which excludes the last three generations that are discussed in the next section), a reason for the disinterest of their *ali'i* in inter-island marriages. Figure 13.19, that charts the islands which were the targets of external aggressive events, illustrates the near absence of a threat from external harm that Kaua'i's chiefs had come to understand was their reality (and also possibly illustrates the success of Maui's strategy of marrying their *ali'i* to those of other islands in that relatively few attacks on Maui are seen until the last two generations).

Kaua'i's *ali'i* were also protected from external attack (and hence even more so less likely to engage in inter-island marriages) due to several factors. Kaua'i's geographic isolation in its placement far north of the other islands provided its *ali'i* a significant natural barrier and therefore relative freedom from external aggression. For the costs and risks involved in another island's military attacking Kaua'i would be



comparatively higher than aggression upon another island closer at hand. Secondly, because Kaua'i's ruling family was intimately related to O'ahu's even from the very establishment of *ali'i nui* on those islands (with Mo'ikeha being part of the O'ahu's Māweke family and La'amaikahiki's three sons' descendants ruling both Kaua'i and O'ahu), O'ahu's *ali'i* would not likely attack Kaua'i nor would they allow others to occupy O'ahu and use it as a staging ground to launch an attack on Kaua'i. Hence, Kaua'i *ali'i* had the added barrier of O'ahu to deter attacks from Maui or Hawai'i upon their island. Lastly, the only and unsuccessful aggressive attack on Kaua'i (by Hawai'i Island *ali'i nui* Kalaunuiohua during Kūkona's reign in generation 8) would have reminded all *ali'i nui*, especially those of Hawai'i Island, of the difficulty of such a project. That pivotal event would have also recalled among the Maui and O'ahu *ali'i* the need to maintain positive relations with Kaua'i's *ali'i* in appreciation of Kūkona's gracious treatment of their ancestors (Kamaluohua and Huapouleilei whom

Kalaunuiohua captured and whom Kūkona released). As a result, Kaua'i's *ali'i* remained for the most part safe from external attack. That, combined with the internal peace they enjoyed, gave little reason to their *ali'i* to seek inter-island marriages.

A further cultural reason behind Kaua'i's disinterest in marrying those of other islands had to do with the well established understanding that Kaua'i's *ali'i* were of the purest strains and of the oldest lineages having connections with Hawai'i (see discussion in chapters 6 and 7). Thus the *mana* of their lineages was highly prized by other islands' *ali'i* and was probably seen by them only to become "tainted" by intermarriage with those of other islands.

For O'ahu's *ali'i*, their intermediate position in being less geographically vulnerable to attack than Maui but more vulnerable to attack than Kaua'i produced their expected intermediate involvement in inter-island marriages, as seen in Table 13.3 and figures 13.17 and 13.18. The same result derived from the *ali'i* of O'ahu having fewer internal conflicts than those of Hawai'i but more internal conflicts than did those of Kaua'i.

All six components of the outlined model from which the above expectations were developed are confirmed by the data presented for the generations prior to generation 21. However, from generation 21 to 23, the expectations of the model stand in direct contradiction with the records for these generations. Referring back to Figure 13.15, the behaviors of independent *ali'i* in generations 21 through 23

reflect an increase in the incidence of internal and external aggression along with high levels of inter-island marriages and multiple marriages.¹⁸

An apparent change in the environment of this period was that the marriages and associated familial ties that served to guard against attack and to create positive diplomatic relations among allies seemed not to have the same effect. Following the discussion presented in Chapter 12, another major difference in this era was the level of involvement of allies in armed conflicts, especially that provided by neighbor island allies. Their involvement created a new political context by increasing the fighting ability of opponents (increasing the number of warriors involved), enlarging the scale of warfare, and enabling competitors to politically integrate greater areas than would otherwise have occurred without the alliance. Internal conflicts became archipelago-wide engagements; war moved from a domestic into an international arena. At the same time that the scale and stakes of war increased, the frequency of warfare did as well. Figure 13.20 displays the incidence of aggressive events (both internal and external) and the aid that independent *ali'i* provided to their neighbor island allies who were either defending their nation from harm (from an internal or external threat) or attacking another nation.

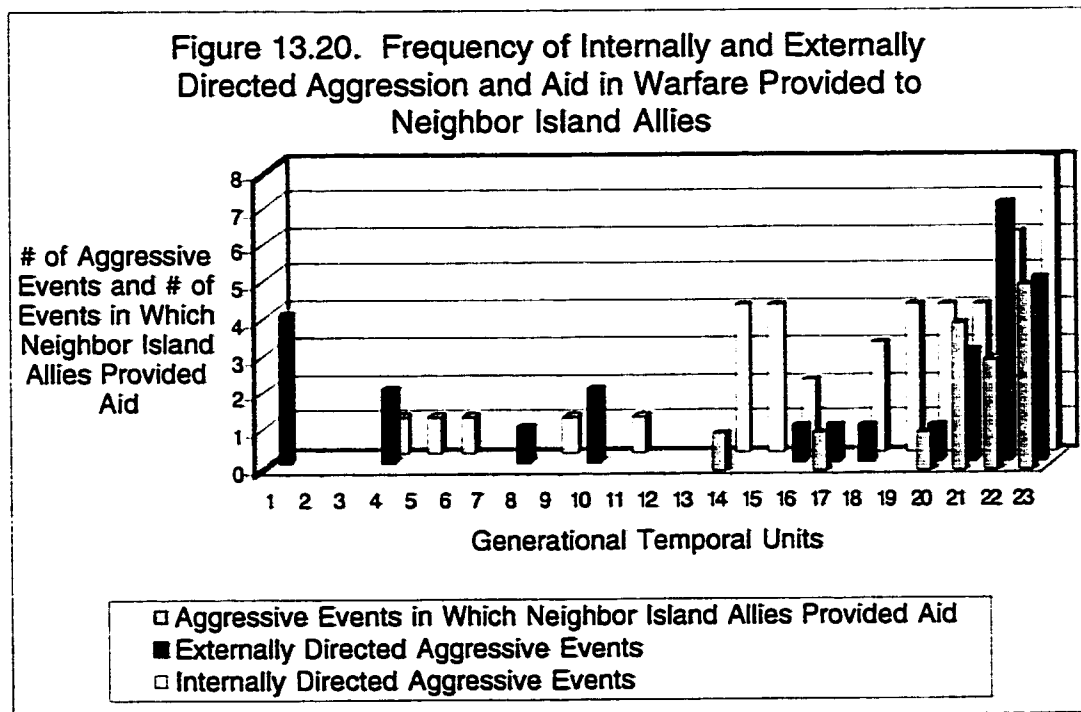
Thus three related changes were occurring simultaneously in the last three generations: 1) There was a marked reduction in the protective influence that familial ties offered in previous generations. 2) The scale of war was expanded as

¹⁸ During these generations there is not a large increase in the *percentage* of *ali'i* marrying multiple spouses or having spouses from neighboring islands. The increases seen in Figure 13.15 are partly conditioned by the overall greater numbers of independent *ali'i* who either concurrently or simultaneously ruled during any one of these last three generations and the number of inter-island spouses that certain *ali'i* acquired.

allies became more actively involved in aggressive events on neighboring islands.

3) The frequency of warfare, both internally and externally directed, also increased.

It is this third variable which is at the core of understanding why Hawaiian society changed in such a dramatic fashion in the last generations of this study, for the first two variables are outgrowths of the third.



Assessment of Three Established Models

Three prominent factors appear in anthropological discussions of socio-political evolution in Hawai'i and the more specific issues of increased competition, chiefly authority, and hierarchical differentiation in the later generations of the 23 studied. These factors include the ambitions of junior chiefs (Kirch 1984 1994; Spriggs 1988), investments in agricultural production in the comparatively

unpredictable and marginal leeward environments (Hommon 1976, 1986; Tuggle and Tomonari-Tuggle 1980; Kirch 1984, 1990a, 1994; Hunt 1990; Ladefoged and Graves, in press), and the maximization of surplus produced by *maka'āinana* under the direction of *ali'i* to support their competitive aims (Earle 1977, 1978, 1980, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1997; Peebles and Kus 1977; Spriggs 1988; Kirch 1984). Aspects of each of the models are consistent with the oral traditions, but not exactly in the manner that has been outlined in the models that describe such mechanisms. The discussion below offers brief summaries of the models and data from the oral traditions that can be used to evaluate these models. Based on this assessment, a revised model is offered that incorporates aspects of the other models as well as inferences drawn from the above discussion of the changes in the social context that occurred in the last generations of the sequence studied.

Junior Chiefs. For both Kirch (1984, 1994) and Spriggs (1988), the breakdown of primogeniture rules under the ambitions of junior chiefs was a causal factor in the competitions that led to political disintegration. Kirch (1994:263; see also 1984:254) proposes that the competitions which marked the later phase (of an unspecified period) of Hawaiian socio-political development on the leeward islands of Maui and Hawai'i entailed the "usurpation of power" that was "frequently" accomplished by "junior kinsmen of the paramount." Similarly, Spriggs (1988:68) suggests that in Hawaiian society (he uses no geographic parameters) there was an "inherent tendency to decentralize into independent segments because of primogeniture pushing out younger sons." Once all environments were occupied by the junior chiefs, "the system's 'safety valve' had ... disappeared" and "junior lines faced a situation of looking forward to less and less power." Spriggs (1988:68)

contends that given this situation, the junior chiefs had no reason to continue to support the primogeniture practices of the past.¹⁹ Spriggs (1988:68) concludes that “succession thus became ‘open’ [and that] primogeniture was in effect divorced from succession to chiefship.” The timing that Spriggs assigns to this phenomena stretches back to AD 1100-1400 (his Phase III) when he estimates that “two-way voyaging took place between Tahiti and Hawaii” (Spriggs 1988:60).

Clear and consistent information in *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* afford a means to evaluate these statements. Figures 13.21 through 13.23 describe for the respective islands of Hawai'i, Maui, and O'ahu²⁰ the manner by which administratively independent *ali'i* came to their positions. The figures track three basic possibilities. The first is inheritance (the shortest bars), here defined as a senior (though not necessarily first-born) male or female heir to the position of *ali'i nui* so designated by the person who last held the position. This definition is meant to be analytically comparable to that of primogeniture but to account for the specific Hawaiian cases in which females and other close family members were as well designated as heirs (e.g., a brother or grandson of a ruler, a highest sacred ranking wife's eldest child who may not have been the first born of a ruler). Such an accommodation to the definition of primogeniture is necessary since the

¹⁹ The history (Fornander 1996:114, 117; Kamakau 1992:53-54) surrounding the relationship of Lonoikamakahiki and his younger brother Puapuakea suggests that junior siblings may have in fact had every reason to support an older sibling's efforts, as does Puapuakea when Lonoikamakahiki is attacked by all other chiefs. This is significant in that Puapuakea had a substantial estate in Ka'u and could have conceivably increased his domain through aggression against his brother. Instead he joins his dominant relative Lonoikamakahiki against the Kona and Kohala chiefs in a manner that might be seen as increasing his own inclusive fitness (after Boone 1983:85).

²⁰ Information for the home areas of Kauai's *ali'i* are not available. And in terms of the means by which their *ali'i nui* came to their positions, the sequence is almost entirely that of inheritance until the last generations (which will be discussed below).

Figure 13.21. Comparison of Dominance and Means by Which Hawai'i Island *Ali'i* Came to Rule

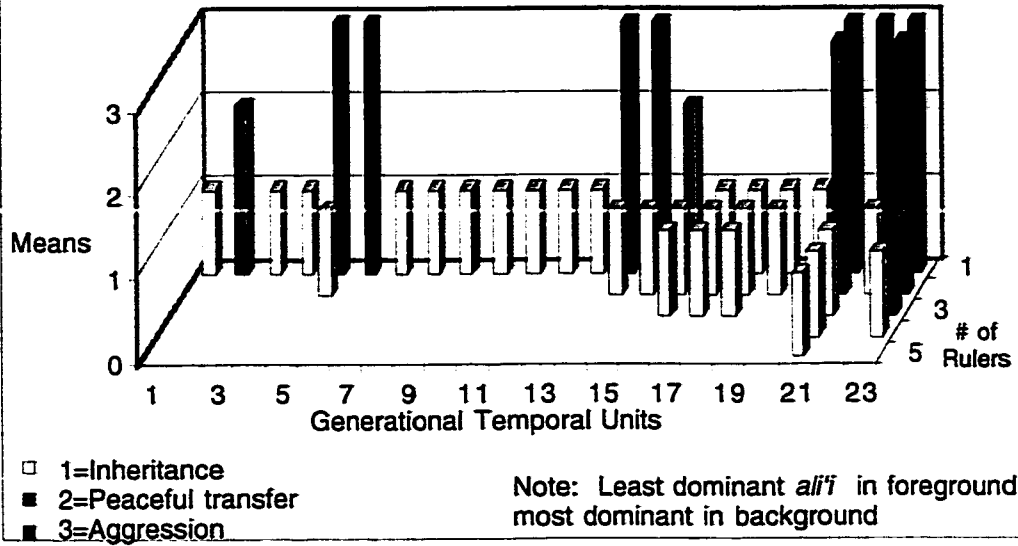
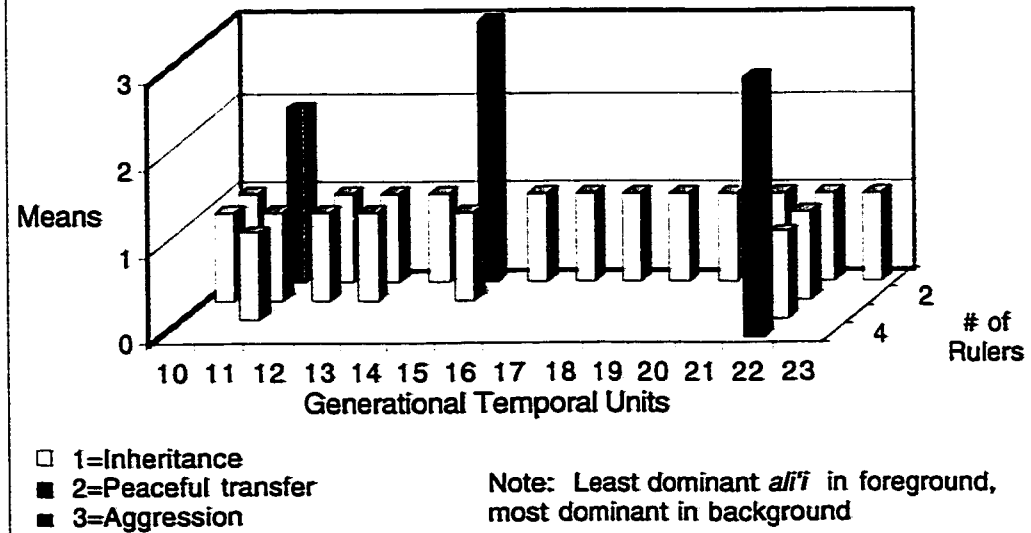
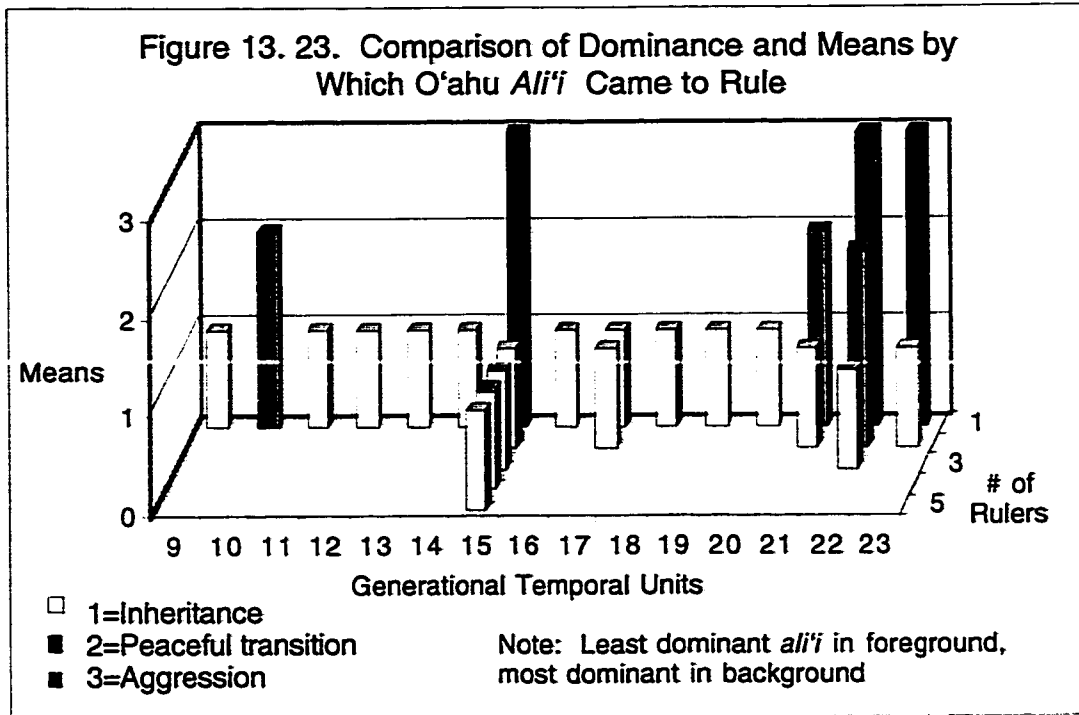


Figure 13.22. Comparison of Dominance and Means by Which Native Maui *Ali'i* Came to Rule





aforementioned situations of inheritance would not have been considered usurpations but simply other forms of honoring the roles and rights of senior members of a ruling family along with the wishes of the previous *ali'i nui*. A second means noted in the figures by which *ali'i* became *ali'i nui* is through peaceful transfers wherein inheritance was not involved and no aggressive assertion of authority was enacted (e.g., Piliika'ai'ea's becoming the *ali'i nui* on Hawai'i Island and Mā'ilikūkahī's election to the position on O'ahu) (the medium bars). A third possibility is through aggression (the tallest bars).

Figures 13.21 through 13.23 illustrate that it was not until the last three generations that rules of inheritance were repeatedly usurped and even then, these instances occurred exclusively on Hawai'i Island. Aside from Kīha a Pi'ilani's victory over Lono a Pi'ilani, Maui's paramounts continued to follow rules of inheritance with only one challenger (Kauhi'aimoku a Kama) in the next to last generation to break up

that pattern, and this challenger was unsuccessful.²¹ The aggression that is seen in O'ahu's case again was isolated to a single generation and the later two generations. However, in those last two generations, the aggression had nothing to do with junior siblings, but rather the external aggression upon O'ahu from Maui. The pattern on Kaua'i (not charted) is very similar to that of O'ahu wherein only one instance of a junior *ali'i* usurping the power of a designated heir occurs (in generation 19 involving Kawelo'aikanaka and Kawelomaihunaali'i) prior to the involvement of other islands' chiefs in Kaua'i politics.

The overall patterns presented in the oral traditions do not confirm the broad generalizations that Spriggs (1988) suggested regarding the timing, frequency, or generalized geographic distribution of the role that junior chiefs played in supposedly causing competitive contests. Kirch's (1994:263) comments that identify the phenomena with the leeward islands is aimed in the right direction, although the phenomena is almost exclusively a Hawai'i Island one, save the anomalous revolutions on Maui and O'ahu in generation 15 and on Kaua'i in generation 19 (see Part IV which describes possible causes for these).

Still, as argued above and throughout Part IV, the occurrence of junior chiefs challenging senior family members, is better understood within the social context of the multiple marriages that were occurring, especially in generations 13, 14, and 20, which created social contexts ripe for conflicts in generations 16, 18, 19, and 21-23. Placing the role of junior siblings within this larger social context is necessary to

²¹ Further, this challenger was not necessarily breaking the rules of "primogeniture" to which Spriggs (1988) and Kirch (1984, 1994) refer. For indeed, Kauhi'aimoku a Kama was Kekaulike's first born but of a lower ranking mother (Kahawalu [Kamakau 1992:69]) than his younger brother Kamehameha Nui (born of Keku'iapoiwanui [Kamakau 1992:4, 449; Fomander 1996:211]).

understand such usurpations. If the ambitions of junior siblings are not analytically linked to such a context, then one might well question why these junior siblings did not usurp the authority of a senior *ali'i nui* more often. For the vast majority of the recorded generations and for most of the geographic range of the islands, these junior siblings who were always a part of the political context did not usurp their senior family members. Thus, it appears that junior siblings were indeed a part of the competitive milieu that evolved in the Islands, but not in the way that has been described. The usurpation of senior chiefs by junior ones was not a "frequent" phenomenon but was late in time and restricted in geographic distribution. How this factor (in its more analytically useful context relating to marriage practices) fits into the larger picture will be discussed in the model proposed at the end of this chapter.

Leeward Environments. A number of researchers have cumulatively shaped an understanding of the role that leeward environments may have played in Hawaiian socio-political evolution. Hommon (1976, 1986) posited that a variable in the aggression of the period from AD 1600 through the early post-contact period related to populations in the marginal areas of the leeward districts facing progressively worse resource production outcomes. He believed that soil exhaustion, soil erosion, the effects of deforestation, and insufficient fallow periods had "reduced the capacity of the land to produce" (Hommon 1986:66). The contrast between this environment and that of the windward region he believed was factor in "the long-lived competition" between the windward and leeward polities (Hommon 1986:67).

Tuggle and Tomonari-Tuggle (1980:311) suggested that "agricultural growth had reached its limits in the Kohala-Hamakua region, under the constraints of simple

irrigation technology and probably a comparable level of dry-field technology.” This situation they believed created a “demand for agricultural land, particularly irrigation land,” which “increased competition among polities.” Such observations added to the growing picture of an economically strapped set of leeward chiefs.

Kirch (1984:191) specifically brought in the role of *ali'i* in reacting to the dryland agricultural regime noting that while there may still have been surplus production from the leeward field systems, the chiefly demand for this surplus to fund ritual activity associated with competitive contests had “approached the state where such demand exceeded the ability of the production base to supply it.” Warfare into the neighboring more productive regions of the island again would be the *ali'i* response.

Hunt (1990:5), following principles in evolutionary ecology, provided the theoretical underpinnings to explain why “inter-group aggression became a viable, even critical strategy” for the leeward chiefs. Financing warfare with the possible outcome of acquiring the windward region’s dense and predictable resources would have been less costly for leeward chiefs than enduring the risks involved in relying on the unpredictable resources of the leeward districts. His model further stipulated how such environmentally driven constraints would have translated into the formation of larger and more hierarchical groups as individuals in ever larger coalitions would have an advantage in gaining the island’s best resources over those who were not part of such an alliance.²²

²² Ladefoged (1993) describes a very similar scenario for the island of Rotuma based on evidence from its archaeological and ethnohistorical records.

Kolb (1991, 1994) provided a description of Maui's socio-political evolution, informed by oral traditions and archaeological evidence, that as well indicated a prominent role of leeward chiefs in its socio-political development, primarily in its later stage (post AD 1600). The increased power of the leeward chiefs Kolb (1991:372-373) indicated was the result of their adoption of irrigation methods to create *lo'i* which provided surplus staple finance with which they could use to gain dominance over the windward chiefs.

Kirch (1990, 1994, 2000) considered a wider archipelago scope of analysis. He refined and provided an environmental basis for Sahlins' (1972) observation (based on oral traditions) of the expansionist activity in the Islands originating from Hawai'i and Maui. Kirch added to the discussion the important dimension of the variability of arable land across the island chain. Kirch (1994:263) pointed out that the intra-island leeward-windward competitions were rooted in the unstable, labor-intensive dryland agricultural systems "focused (or at least most intensely developed) on the easterly islands, especially Maui and Hawai'i." Whereas, the windward islands at the time had not reached their productive capacities. Indeed, such a dichotomy along the span of the archipelago provided a factor for the inter-island expansion launched from Maui and Hawai'i Island.

Ladefoged and Graves (in press) most recently have undertaken an analysis of the temporal changes in a 40 km² region of the North Kohala dryland field system. They were able to demonstrate the probable involvement of local and district level chiefs in "instigating the construction of regular-sized, discrete plots in relatively unused marginal portions" of the southern districts in North Kohala. Chiefs could use these plots to produce surplus for chiefly activities and "to efficiently monitor

agricultural production” (as each roughly equivalent plot in this region should have been producing approximately the same yields) (Ladefoged and Graves in press:32). These surplus production areas were part of a strategy that gave chiefs the flexibility to have the surplus at any time redirected “to buffer chiefs and commoners from periodic shortfalls in output which accompanied dryland farming in areas of less predictable rainfall” (Ladefoged and Graves, in press:33). Thus *aliʻi* who took on the extra responsibility of organizing the construction of these portions of the field systems and monitoring them received net benefits for their efforts, while the *makaʻāinana* who took on the extra burden of farming these plots were provided a form of insurance that on occasion would be used to their benefit which made their investment worthwhile.

A significant contribution of Ladefoged and Graves’ work is their conclusion that planting in the surplus plots and the existence of a flexible surplus labor force was apparently part of the leeward Kohala economy even in the late-prehistoric period (Ladefoged and Graves in press:40). From their findings one might infer that the leeward Hawaiʻi Island chiefs were not in dire straits and were not compelled due to their poor economic condition to covet the resources of the windward districts through war. Kelly’s (1989) description of the apparent abundance created by the systematic dryland cultivation in vegetation zones of the leeward districts (described in Chapter 4) is evidence of the same. Such an understanding of a possibly healthier economic status of the leeward districts illustrates how the chiefs of this region could at once engage in expensive warfare while relying on unpredictable food sources. Other models assuming declines in production and ever increasing populations face a logical incongruity in describing the leeward chiefs as teetering on

the brink of famine while at the same time having at their disposal adequate staple finance with which to train and equip warriors who were being taken away from the food producing labor force.²³

Most of the discussion involving leeward chiefs rely on such assumptions, the most basic being that population increases were driving a need for more land to feed more hungry mouths. A second fundamental assumption of models stressing the leeward chiefs' aggressive behavior is that they were the aggressors. Figures 13.24 through 13.26 are nearly identical to Figures 13.21 through 13.23 except that an added layer of data from the oral traditions presents the region of an island (windward or leeward) with which a chief was most intimately associated. As with the previous evaluation regarding the role of junior chiefs, the data presented in these figures in part confirm the models and in part reject them. The referred to "cycles" of expansion and contraction or warfare and peace are apparent only on Hawai'i Island, and there both windward and leeward chiefs engaged in aggression (suggesting an instigating cause other than the marginality of the leeward staple economy). Moreover, it was only in the very last phase that leeward chiefs internal to Hawai'i Island were primarily involved in aggression. Even then, however, their engagement in combat in generation 23 was in response to their being disenfranchised by the Hilo chiefs (led by Keawema'uhili who orchestrated

²³ Further logical inconsistencies would result (under the assumptions of the models) if one claimed that warfare was forwarded by leeward chiefs in years of abundance. This is because a chief would have to know *ahead of time* that a year *will* be abundant and that they can spare a most robust portion of the labor force (who would normally be contributing to agricultural production) to train for warfare. Of course the primary problem with the leeward environments is their unpredictability. *If* production levels were barely adequate, a chief would be risking a great deal to have labor directed at warfare, both in opportunity costs (in not having the labor invested in food production) and in the possibility of defeat in battle (in which chiefs were directly and foremostly involved).

Figure 13.24. Comparison of Dominance and Means by Which Hawai'i Island *Ali'i* Came to Rule (coded by territory)

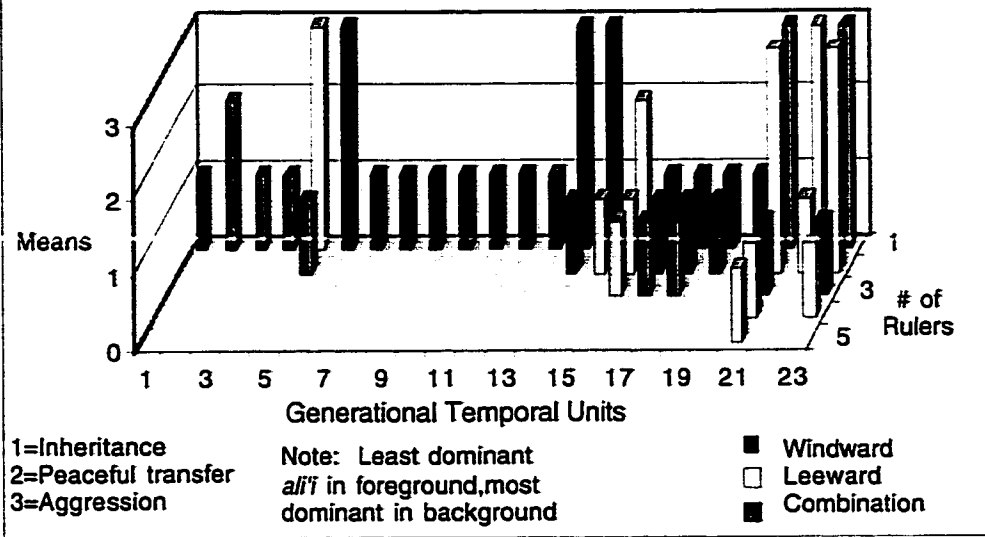


Figure 13.25. Comparison of Dominance and Means by Which Native Maui *Ali'i* Came to Rule (coded by territory)

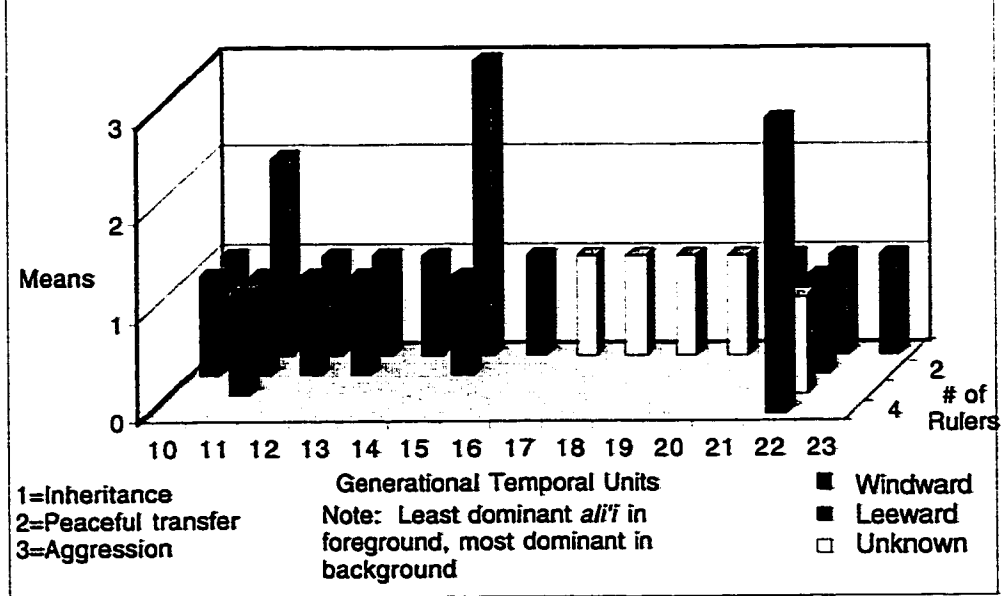
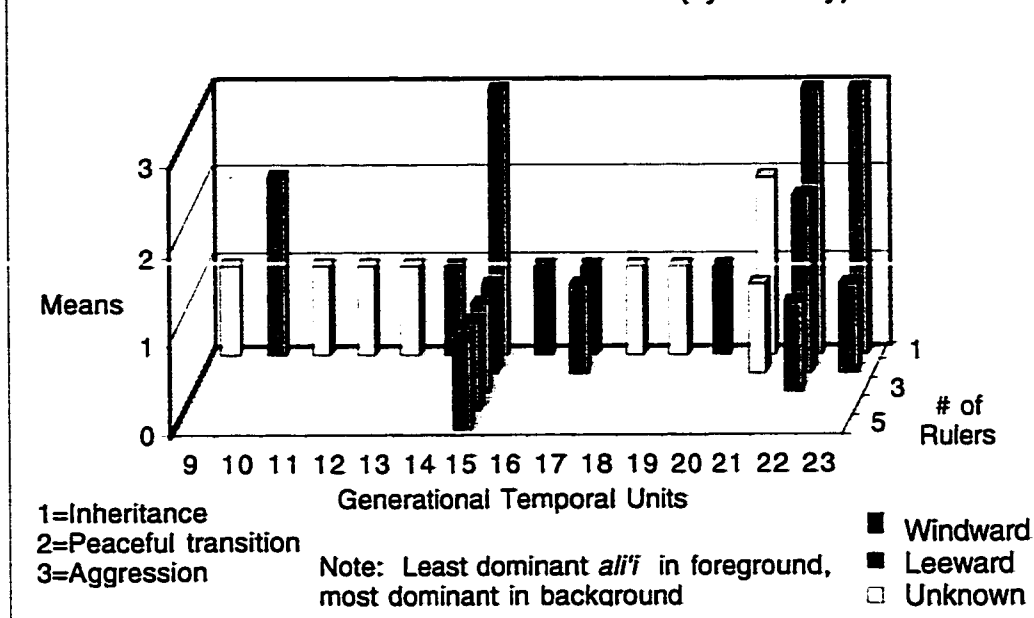


Figure 13.26. Comparison of Dominance and Means by Which O'ahu *Ali'i* Came to Rule (by territory)



Kiwalao's land division). The leeward chiefs did not enter the fray to get the Hilo chiefs' lands but rather to retain their own.

Of likely import in the observations provided by Figures 13.24 through 13.26 is that the most successful *ali'i* were those who controlled leeward and windward districts (e.g., Alapa'i's control over Kohala [which includes a windward region], and Kamehameha's control of the same plus districts within Hamakua). Figures 13.24 through 13.26 of course confirm Kirch's (1990, 1994, 2000) discussion of the westerly-easterly dichotomy among the island chain and the easterly islands' role in bringing about archipelago wide integration (i.e., Kahekili's and Kamehameha's conquests).

The Political Economy. One of the most consistent positions taken on the issue of the development of socio-political complexity in Hawai'i is that provided by Earle (1977, 1978, 1980, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1997). His work cumulatively

describes socio-political evolution as resulting not from population pressures, but from chiefs' inherent desires to compete with one another. In his view, tribute served exclusively to finance elite private needs and political ambitions. Similarly, specialization was induced by elites "as a means to strengthen political and economic control" (Earle 1987:67). Demands for greater surpluses to more effectively compete with other *ali'i* led to the intensification of agricultural production until political integration of whole islands occurred under the most successful accumulators of surplus who were also able to direct that surplus to mobilize military forces (a position also taken by Spencer [1990:11]). Clearly the oral traditions bear out that chiefly competition was a component of the events comprising the 23 generations of this study, but this is a descriptive record rather than a causal one. Earle's unidimensional notion of chiefs does not explain why through time there were periods in which competition waxed and waned.

An additional difficulty with Earle's model is that it fails to produce any testable expectations by which it can be evaluated. There are few or no ways to archaeologically differentiate between an *ali'i* ordering and financing the construction of a fishpond (for example) for selfish purposes, as Earle's model would suggest, or for more benevolent goals, as Boone's (1992) model offers as a possibility. The descriptions in the oral traditions recount the existence of both greedy and generous chiefs, but repeatedly stress that poor managers who were consistently exploitative were not tolerated (a concept that undermines Earle's model).²⁴

²⁴ The repeated references in oral traditions to *ali'i* who were not acceptable being removed from their positions, through aggression or peaceful means, is also not accounted for in Hommon's (1996:586-587) "thought experiment" that posits "simple rules that the Polynesian colonisers may

Yet Earle's lonely position in arguing for a driving force behind increased socio-political complexity that is not rooted in changing levels of Hawai'i's populations is strongly supported by the oral traditions. If wars were to acquire land upon which a bulging population of *maka'āinana* could settle, then there should be a record of *ali'i* doing the following after victory in battle: 1) systematically extinguishing or forcing into exile a significant portion of a local *maka'āinana* population, 2) determining which portion of a local population of the original national land area could remain and which portion would be relocated to the new land area acquired, 3) uprooting local *maka'āinana* from their *kulāiwi* and placing them upon new lands, and 4) redistributing previously held lands to *maka'āinana* who were not relocated. None of these phenomena are known in the oral traditions.

In fact, the archaeological literature suggesting that population increases were the ultimate cause of aggression and land acquisition do not describe the specific processes by which the acquisition of new lands would alleviate the problem of growing populations. Rather there is an implied (though not stated) assumption that land acquisition would automatically translate into a solution to population pressures. This might be true if the lands involved were unoccupied, if there were not significant transportation costs incurred in moving a population from one locale to another (i.e., which would include another island in the last generations under study), and if there were not cultural obstacles to uprooting members of a population from their *kulāiwi* and placing them upon another. All of these issues are not considered in explanations involving population pressure as a prime mover.

have carried in their heads and from which the elaborated system of later times may have emerged.*

This is of course not to say that population changes played no part, but rather that the issue must be more thoughtfully scrutinized. Evidence from the oral traditions does not describe the four actions stated above as events occurring in the wake of combat victories. Instead the *mo'olelo* describe that following a battle, *alii* were known to call a strict truce via a *kānāwai* (edict) to protect the lives of both combatants and civilians of the opposing side (Kamakau 1964:11). When lands were acquired following such victories, the *mo'olelo* uniformly describe *alii* being assigned to the new territories, even in the last generations when supposed population pressures and diminishing resource base yields per capita should have been at a high pitch, and even under circumstances where moving *maka'āinana* would have helped to assure continued control of acquired districts. In discussions of Kalani'ōpu'u capturing Hāna and Kīpahulu, Kahekili gaining O'ahu, Kamehameha incorporating Hāna into his domain (via Kalanimālokaloku), there is no mention of *maka'āinana* being transported to these new lands. Rather, it is said that following Kalani'ōpu'u's victory against Kamehameha Nui, "many chiefs from Hawaii at this time settled on Maui" (Kamakau 1992:79). In the case of Kalanimālokaloku, his interactions with the native Hāna population are well remembered. They appreciated his gracious management so much that they helped to keep him hidden after Kahekili's forces ousted Kalanimālokaloku's. The native Hāna community even renamed Kalanimālokaloku "the good chief," Keli'imaika'i. He not only protected their lives but is said to have faithfully respected their rights to their lands and property (see discussion in Chapter 12). Similar records exist for Kamehameha's interaction on O'ahu with the native populace. In sum, *alii* were relocated following successful conquest of new land, not the *maka'āinana*.

Another angle from which to evaluate this issue is to consider recorded chiefly motivations for going to war. When the Kona chiefs joined Kamehameha in a coalition against Kīwala'ō, and when Keōuakū'ahu'ula likewise brought his army from Ka'ū to war against Kīwala'ō, they and the chiefs under them were specifically protesting the *loss of their* lands to the Hilo *chiefs*. The battles were not rooted in the Kona chiefs, for example, desiring control over Hilo (although this would have been a welcomed consequence). Nor were the battles waged to protect their *maka'āinana* from being evicted upon the arrival of the Hilo *maka'āinana*. The Kona chiefs wanted to continue to govern their families' customary Kona districts, a *kuleana* that Kīwala'ō's redistribution denied them.

A Synthetic Explanation of Hawaiian Socio-Political Evolution During Generations 16 Through 23

Several components of models based on the archaeological records when checked against the evidence from oral traditions seem to be confirmed, while other aspects of the models appear to be oversimplifications or stereotypes lacking explanatory utility. The components of the models that seem to bear serious consideration are incorporated in the discussion below which as well reflect the results of analyses informed by oral traditions.

The explanation below is actually a model (albeit a long one with more detail than most) of what likely occurred. The model offered below, like any model, is a simplification of reality in order to highlight underlying mechanisms affecting a set of behaviors. Models ideally strike a balance between being general enough to encompass a wide array of behaviors, realistic enough to accurately address a given specific situation, and precise enough to produce predictions that can be tested in

ways that afford confirmation or rejection of the model and thereby allow for its refinement (after Levins 1966; Winterhalder and Smith 1992). Many issues that could be included to address the “realism” dimension of a more comprehensive model will not be incorporated below as they would break up the coherence of the broader “generality” theme. However, discussion of such specific scenarios and explanations for them are provided in Part IV.

Throughout the earlier sections of this chapter and in Part IV, numerous explanations have been offered to address the formation, persistence, and modification of institutions, social mechanisms, and behavioral strategies for just over half of the sequence. In addition, the social contexts affecting *ali'i* behaviors in the later period have also been described (especially that of *ali'i* marriage practices). The following model expands upon such social mechanisms, incorporates additional factors in the natural environment, addresses the later half of the generations of this study, and focuses on the last three generations.

On Hawai'i Island (and then later and to a lesser degree on Maui) changing environmental and social contexts placed greater stresses on the political integrity of the single-island polity than experienced on the other island from generations 14 onward. Environmental stresses derived in part from the large scale of Hawai'i Island and its topography which created opportunities for distinct polities to exist independent of one another and for them to occupy discrete districts composed of different environments.

Rising population pressures were continuing to bring new challenges for *ali'i* administrations of the time. As *maka'āinana* and *ali'i* populations increased, they were accommodated by intensifying production in areas already occupied or by

establishing dryland fields in marginal areas unoccupied previously. In formerly occupied areas where intensified food production methods were being applied, the growing *maka'āinana* numbers would be addressed. The growing *ali'i* ranks could also be accommodated by subdividing the lands (as seen in the division of single *ahupua'a* in two) which thus doubled in those areas the *ali'i* who would be gainfully employed, so to speak. The increased production of these lands, and the rising numbers of people in them, justified their being split and the new assignment of an *ali'i* to one of the halves.

Lands that were not permanently occupied in the past were also put to use. *Ali'i* may have encouraged portions of an *'ohana* who became cramped on their *'ohana's* designated land areas, to settle new lands with the incentive that these land areas would be sizable (*ahupua'a* and *'ili* are far larger in marginal areas), would have abundant fishing resources (as is typical of the marginal leeward districts), and would be well managed by *ali'i* who were being assigned to such areas and who were to organize the work for needed infrastructure development.²⁵ It is likely that *maka'āinana* were given a choice to move or remain, those who envisioned a net benefit to living in the newly opened areas would move, those who did not remained. In short, the needs of a growing population could still be accommodated. Thus population growth was not likely a primary (or perhaps not even a secondary) driving force in determining the tense and aggressive interactions among *ali'i* at this time.

A further economic measure forwarded during this period that increased efficiency, was the institution of labor specialization (systematically applied during

²⁵ This scenario matches that described by Ladefoged and Graves (in press) regarding the increased involvement of *ali'i* in the more marginal areas of the southern districts of North Kohala.

'Umi a Liloa's reign [Kamakau 1992:19; Fornander 1999:IV:228]). Specialization in key areas likely increased the available labor for food production as fewer (but more skilled individuals) were charged with doing what many had done in the past with less proficiency. Since these specialists were said to be involved in even everyday tasks of farming and fishing, it is possible that they were tasked with programmatically improving production or acquisition methods. In short, several significant methods were being used to meet the needs of a growing population.

Stresses that pulled apart *ali'i* society at the time seemed to primarily come from the social context of this period in which *ali'i* were experiencing the secondary effects of the previously applied political marriage alliances used to achieve peace and cohesion (as described above). These fostered conditions leading to open contests between lineages associated with various *moku* of the island (as in generations 15 through 19). An important distinction here is that the "junior" siblings involved in these engagements were not so much participating in personal contests of "sibling rivalry" with their brothers or sisters. Instead, they were embroiled in struggles for power and independence rooted in the different genealogical lineages that were native to different *moku*. The conflicts were not to prove one's superiority over a sibling. They were engaged in to establish or maintain the independence or supremacy of a lineage and region of an island.²⁶

A strategy that *ali'i* of these and previous generations adopted was marrying those of other islands to buffer their own islands and districts²⁷ from attack and to

²⁶ This situation exemplifies the phenomena of evolution operating at a larger scale than the individual, as discussed in Chapter 1.

²⁷ An example of this was that Kamalālāwalu was said to have pointedly avoided attacking Hilo when he came to raid Hawai'i Island because the *ali'i* of that *moku* were his cousins (Kamakau

offer themselves a place of refuge if an internal conflict forced them to flee from their island. Hawai'i Island and Maui *ali'i* were the largest participants in this practice for they faced the greatest likelihood of those realities (as more specifically described earlier in this chapter).

In generation 20 on Hawai'i Island, Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku was especially involved in multiple marriages that included spouses from the families of potential Hawai'i Island allies/opponents and neighbor island allies/opponents. These alliances, his light-handed management style, and his subscribing to *ali'i nui* ideals afforded him a reign renown for peace and prosperity (another indicator that population pressures and failures of the land to produce enough food were not the cause of the conflicts in the generations prior).

However, the secondary effects of Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku's and previous *ali'i nui* marriage practices, coupled now with two simultaneously occurring phenomena created a significant new problem. In the past, *ali'i* could be placed over newly created land divisions or previously unsettled areas. However, as the populations grew and available agrable lands were already being used and administered by existing *ali'i*, an emerging and intensifying problem, especially on Hawai'i Island at this time, appears to have been a lack of *appropriate* lands over which *ali'i* of a given stature could manage. Scarcity of land for this specific purpose was exacerbated by (or perhaps primarily caused by) the generations of *ali'i nui* who engaged in multiple marriages which produced numerous high-ranking offspring. This specifically defined condition of land scarcity would have been especially acute

1992:55), descendants of Kūmalae a 'Umi and 'Aihakoko, the children of 'Umi and Pi'ikea, Kamalālāwalu's aunt (Kamakau 1991:73; 1992:19, 32; McKinzie 1983:xxii, 20; 1986:30).

on the leeward sides of the island and on the easterly islands of Maui and Hawai'i where further intensification was becoming more and more difficult. Thus, while the land seemed to be producing enough for the somatic needs of the population, it may not have been expansive enough to accommodate the political roles of a burgeoning *ali'i* population.

As the growing ranks of *ali'i* matured to adulthood, especially those of higher ranks born of the multiple marriages of generations of *ali'i nui*, they would have expected to fulfill their *kuleana* of being *ali'i* by taking care of the responsibilities entailed in managing a designated district, and its associated local population, as well as receiving just compensation for their efforts, an inherent complementary aspect of their *kuleana*. These *ali'i* were specifically trained for such roles. An *ali'i nui* who replaced an *ali'i* native to an area with another (perhaps a closer relative of this *ali'i nui*), or who placed high ranking *ali'i* on lands that were not commensurate with their rank and which did not comport with the level of training that they might have received, could face open rebellion. Thus, the possibility of continuing to add further administrators upon smaller and smaller areas would not have been acceptable from the perspective of the *ali'i* and would have created a greater degree of responsibility on *maka'āinana* that would upset the existing understandings of the mutually reciprocal roles *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* fulfilled.

It is no wonder that Alapa'inui (of generation 21), once established as the *ali'i nui*, was said to have been satisfied with having for his own lands those which were already his as the heir of the Mahi family in Kohala. He was also said to have left landholdings as they were. "He did not take lands from the chiefs or the

commoners” (Kamakau 1992:75). This was surely one of the critical variables that led to Alapa'inui's relatively peaceful reign.

At this juncture, another factor came to the fore—the secondary effects of marriages with spouses associated with neighboring islands. Alapa'inui and Peleiōhōlani were both called upon to enter into the domestic affairs of other islands due to their familial ties with those abroad in need. This would begin a new trend that would normalize the involvement of neighbor island allies in aggressive contests bringing about a marked increase in the scale of warfare (as describe in more detail earlier in this chapter; see also Figure 13.20).²⁸

Such close neighbor island ties also gave *ali'i* a means to enter into the political affairs of other islands, where they became part and parcel of domestic difficulties. A clear example of this is Ka'eokūlani who was raised in Maui's courts but whose mother, Hōlau, was the daughter of Kaweloiki a 'Aila (Kamakau 1992:55, 69; Malo 1827:26; Fornander 1996:213; McKinzie 1983:37, 41). Ka'eokūlani's lineage gave him entry into Kaua'i's courtly circles where he eventually joined with the *ali'i nui wahine* Kamakahahei in ousting her husband Kaneoneo from the joint rule of the island (whether at her urging or his is untold). Ka'eokūlani married Kamakahahei and with her became co-ruler of Kaua'i. Inter-island marriage practices also can be credited for Kahekili's close familial connection to *ali'i nui* Kahāhana of O'ahu (in generation 23). Kahekili exploited his position as a trusted family member

²⁸ As Figure 13.19 illustrates, assistance was provided in times past, and probably helped to lead to this round, but the past assistance did not set off a true change in behavior pattern among *ali'i*, as was the case in this era.

and elder to place Kahāhana in a defenseless position and vulnerable to Kahekili's planned attack.

When Kalani'ōpu'u entered into his position as Hawai'i Island's *ali'i nui* as a contemporary of Kahekili, it appears that the pressure from *ali'i* for lands over which they could rule had reached a critical level. One way it seems he found to address their concerns was to deflect their energy on an external opponent (Kahekili) and the goal of acquiring lands on Maui. Such expansionist warfare (after Boone 1983) helped to secure Kalani'ōpu'u's position and explains why Kalani'ōpu'u's repeated attacks on Maui would take place under circumstances not related to solving production deficiencies brought about by population growth and limited resources. Once Kalani'ōpu'u gained control over Hāna and Kīpahulu, he did not bring his *maka'āinana* there to settle in the area (as would be expected if the motivation was to address the problem of limited resources being inadequate to meet the somatic needs of a growing population for food). Instead Kalani'ōpu'u had *ali'i* placed at Hāna. They were there not merely to administer the lands on Kalani'ōpu'u's behalf, but to ease the pressure on Hawai'i Island of growing numbers of *ali'i* seeking lands that they could administer. In other words, Kalani'ōpu'u's conquering Hāna may have in large part been in response to his need as an *ali'i nui* not only to take care of meeting the basic needs of his *maka'āinana* but also to meet the political needs of his *ali'i* or rather his immediate and extended family. Hence Kalani'ōpu'u's need to address the requirements of *ali'i* under him made his *kuleana* not only that of an *ali'i*

nui but also that of a *kua'ana* (elder sibling) or *makahiapo* (first born sibling). Such *kuleana* to provide for his younger siblings could not be ignored.²⁹

Kahekili may have been encountering similar stresses among its *ali'i* population on Maui as well, which is perhaps why he sought to gain control of O'ahu. Maui and Hawai'i Island are similar in being younger islands where much of their lands do not have substantial soil development nor well developed valleys where intensive *lo'i* agriculture could be practiced. This stands in contrast to O'ahu and Kaua'i which possessed additional as yet unused leveled areas which could be irrigated and made productive (see Chapter 3) (Kirch 1990; 1994). Yet evidence that even O'ahu was experiencing a similar phenomena is seen in Kūali'i having to forcibly establish his control over O'ahu (in generation 20), Kūali'i's raids that may have been a form of outward directed aggression to safeguard his own standing, and Peleiohōlani's conquest of Moloka'i.

In the final stage of conquest by Kahekili and Kamehameha (much of which actually occurred simultaneously), a major factor in the outcomes was the involvement of allies. Part of the cause of the impasse between the Kohala-Kona coalition under Kamehameha and the Hilo-Ka'ū alliance under Keōuakū'ahu'ula and Keawema'uhili respectively, was the aid Kahekili offered to the Hilo and Ka'ū effort. Kahekili provided this aid in reciprocation for the same which Keōuakū'ahu'ula and Keawema'uhili gave him in his war against Kahāhana. Such increases in the scale of involvement in warfare and the advent of Western weapons in battles eventually led to uneven contests with absolute and big winners, as with Kamehameha.

²⁹ This situation is parallel to that described by Aswani and Graves (1998) for Tonga.

However, the dynamics that Kamehameha and Kahekili were reacting to had begun well before their reigns.³⁰ They entered into contexts that offered them less viable peaceful options than their predecessors enjoyed.

When the wars were over, Kamehameha held more power concentrated in his person than had ever before been possessed in the islands. He enjoyed a wide open context to establish a new role for an *ali'i nui*—whatever he wanted it to be. It is that much more remarkable that he chose the path so well used by his most revered *kūpuna*. Rather than redefine his role, he renewed ancient understandings of Hawaiian leadership and aspired to those ideal practices that fostered integration among his people and national unity.

³⁰ One of Kamehameha's reactions to a possible scarcity of administrative units for *ali'i* and the growing Kohala population was to invest in major infrastructure improvements that irrigated *kula* lands in the windward portion of Kohala (at 'Iole and Kauhola), thus transforming them into *lo'i* which could support more people as well as *ali'i* administrative offices (see discussion in Chapter 12). This may have been part of the reason for his large following through the years even prior to his consolidation of Hawai'i Island and the neighboring islands.

Chapter 14 Research Implications

This closing chapter offers a brief overview of the implications of this study. The results of this study fall in two broad areas: 1) models of Hawaiian socio-political evolution and 2) Hawaiian cultural understandings gleaned from *mo'olelo*. These areas will be explored briefly in this chapter.

Relating to the Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity

Previous studies of Hawaiian socio-political evolution were informed by a mix of archaeological data and oral traditions. In such efforts, data from oral traditions were applied in a limited, largely descriptive, and often oversimplified manner without their full explanatory potential being utilized. In many cases, an emphasis has been on the later generations thoroughly described in the ethnohistoric record (generations 21-23) and the geographic range of Maui and Hawai'i. In these cases, an assumption has often been made about the applicability of this record to the entire span of the Hawaiian past and its geographic range (as Graves and Erkelens [1991] explain). This study attempted to explore oral traditions in a more comprehensive fashion to address several objectives: 1) to better describe Hawaiian socio-political evolution across the span of 23 generations in this study and the geographic range of the islands, 2) to evaluate established models of Hawaiian socio-political evolution, 3) to identify additional factors that have not been previously considered in models of Hawaiian socio-political development, and 4) to suggest ways in which such factors could be incorporated into the discipline's cumulative effort to revise and refine these models.

Multiple factors that have not been thoroughly investigated in the past seem to have played significant roles at different junctures of Hawaiian socio-political development. In the early generations of this study such an important dynamic was the interaction of various lineages that arrived in the islands across a span of many generations. While sporadic armed raids ensued, these were quelled not by victory in battle but through diplomacy.

Earlier studies have ignored the role that such skillful governance methods played in forming and maintaining larger and more cohesive socio-political units in those and later generations. Rather, oversimplifications and generalizations have been applied to suggest an inaccurate role of the “Kahiki” chiefs, or the families referred to in this study as the later generations of *ali'i* (in fact, all *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* were from “Kahiki”). It has been suggested that these “Kahiki” chiefs “supplanted those of Hawaiian ancestry” (Hommon 1996:587). Similarly, “the time of the ‘Tahitian migrations’ and stranger-kings” was seen as *initiating* a period in which succession “became ‘open,’ [and] primogeniture was in effect divorced from succession to chiefship” (Spriggs 1988:68). As the discussion in chapters 7 and 12 establish, succession based on inheritance continued through the majority of the 23 generations studied, and if any period could be considered the beginning point at which inherited succession became challenged (even here only in a minority of cases), this would have been with the reign of 'Umi a Liloa.

Related to this point (and in response to Hommon's [1996:587] belief of the replacement of “Hawaiian” chiefs with “Tahitian” chiefs), Part III and Chapter 8 clarify that the *ali'i* who arrived through the numerous generations of settlement were related from the outset, albeit from different lineages and branches of those lineages

(see Figure 5.1). Moreover, through the various lineages' descendants' shared time in Hawai'i, they intermarried frequently and the ruling families of Hawai'i became an *amalgamation* of *ali'i* whose origins traced to periods along the range of the generations of settlement. Also in contrast to the notion of one group "supplanting" the whole of another is that some of the older lineage *ali'i* (e.g., Māweke and his descendants of the Nānā'ulu lineage) continued to rule and remained highly sought after marriage partners of other rulers. In fact, intermarriage between the older and newer *ali'i* lineages was an explicit method that *ali'i* of those generations adopted to allay conflicts between the array of families having comparatively longer or shorter temporal ties to Hawai'i. The peace that emerged through the early generations of this study, following the period of sporadic raids, was a result of the skillful governance methods implemented by *ali'i* in whose veins ran the blood of both earlier and later arrivals to the Islands. The administrative institutions and governing styles applied by rulers of these eras created larger and more cohesive nations. These administrative methods continued to be used in later generations.

Ali'i nui of various eras created contexts in which membership within their political units provided net benefits to others above complete independence. These situations fostered cooperative and peaceful interactions. This is significant in that cooperation is of course as effective a means, if not more so, of achieving socio-political integration when compared to competition. Conditions of intra- and inter-island peace in fact characterize a significant portion of what Hawaiians experienced throughout the time and space studied. Yet in most research of Hawaiian socio-political evolution, emphasis has been on to periods of conflict and on Hawaiian societal development in the later generations of this study, with a particular

emphasis on Maui and Hawai'i Island. Instead, the question of why generations of stability existed should become as important a phenomenon requiring explanation, as has been the case with periods of aggression.

Consider that on Kaua'i, only six of 23 generations were recorded to have experienced any sort of politically oriented aggression (i.e., raids, wars, and one assassination) (see Table 13.1).³¹ On O'ahu, 10 of 23 generations of its people were involved in aggressive events. On Maui, only 11 of 23 generations experienced aggressive events. And on Hawai'i 15 of 23 generations experienced the same. In short, on a majority of the islands for a majority of the time, peace prevailed. Additional models of Hawaiian socio-political development must take into account these periods of stability and calm. In these explanations (as forwarded in this study), the role of *ali'i* purposefully and skillfully managing their people and lands and maintaining amicable diplomatic relations with *ali'i* of their islands and with neighboring islands must be considered.

A second factor that should be more thoroughly utilized in explanations of Hawaiian political integration and cohesion involves the marriage practices of *ali'i*. *Ali'i* married those within and outside of their polities to improve relations between the social divide of competitive chiefly lineages and across the geographic partition

³¹ This brings one to question seriously how Earle (1997:131-141) could describe "The Strategic Use of Naked Force" (the title of his chapter) on Kaua'i, Hawai'i from AD 800-1824 (the heading for his section on p. 131) and arrive at the conclusion that "few paramounts died in bed" for "to be an aging warrior chief was rather unusual" (Earle 1997:140). His insinuation that chiefs died instead on the battlefield is laid bare by his next statement in which he claims that "only the strong survived, but often in a rather gruesome state" (Earle 1997:140). One must wonder what wars he was aware of on Kaua'i that led him to characterize its *ali'i* as habitually dying on the battlefield, especially since he notes that "the archaeological evidence for warfare here...is scant" (Earle 1997:134). Similarly, one might question how his singular example of a Westerner noting the battle scars on a single warrior led him to assume that those who survived battles "often" existed in a "gruesome state."

of *moku* and islands. These were applied in differential degrees and in specific ways (e.g., the “importation” versus the “exportation” of spouses) that relate to expectations of the model offered in Chapter 13 (which describes the role these intermarriages served in decreasing the chances of external attacks, providing potential assistance in internal wars, and offering safe havens for refuge in the case of unsuccessful internal wars).

Marriage practices should also be considered in explanations addressing why periods of conflict and aggression occurred, especially on Hawai'i Island and to a lesser degree on Maui. Tensions within and among the islands were not solely triggered by human reactions to their natural environmental settings (i.e., the proposed factor of leeward chiefs feeling the stress of a resource base that was shrinking relative to the population that it supported) nor the supposed desires of chiefs to increase their wealth and influence (as Earle proposes). Among other possible factors, conflicts were related to the secondary outcomes of earlier generations of intermarriages of *ali'i nui* with those of other lineages and districts. The offspring of these marriages found their allegiance stretched between the districts and lineages associated with their parents, which was a key factor in the destabilization of the Hawai'i Island polity. To a lesser degree the same was the case as well on Maui (see further discussion in Chapter 12).

The relationship of such inter-district marriages and subsequent inter-district conflicts (or a comparative lack of such activity on certain islands) should also be considered in relation to their affect on the level and differential involvement of islands' *ali'i* in inter-island marriages. These were likely linked phenomena wherein

internal conflicts led to increased inter-island marriages. In turn, the inter-island marriages created another set of effects.

Inter-island marriages played a significant role in protecting islands and districts from external attack and in obligating allies created through such marriages to provide military aid to one another. Hence these marriages should be factored into discussions of changing levels of inter-island peace and aggression. Indeed, the inter-island *ali'i* marriages (and the political ties that came with them) were a central reason for the increase in scale of both political integration and warfare, especially in the last three generations studied.

An additional issue that should be addressed in future research of Hawaiian socio-political development is the archipelago context in which each island's history developed (as has been attempted in this study). No island should be seen in isolation of all others. Such a consideration goes well beyond including the factor of inter-island marriages into future models. After all, travels of *ali'i* between islands for diplomatic visits created opportunities for them to establish and solidify their bonds of good will and for *ali'i* to learn of new measures being applied on the different islands. Policies initiated on one island were often adopted across the archipelago and were likely due to such inter-island visits. Some of the policies that were enacted in one locale and which became widely practiced across the archipelago include the following: the assembly of the *'aha ali'i*, the *kapu moe* (or prostrating *kapu*), the *ahupua'a* land division system, the *kō'ele* system (of *maka'āinana* farming particular plots for *ali'i* use or redistribution), and the labor-days system (of *maka'āinana* working on designated days on projects of the *ali'i*'s choosing). The diplomatic visits of *ali'i* also offered them an opportunity to assess the host island's competitive

abilities (which they could not have helped but to notice regardless of their intent or lack of intent to do so), and thus could have served to discourage or encourage externally directed aggression.

Following a proposed model presented in Chapter 13, another dimension that could be considered in additional research into the development of socio-political complexity in Hawai'i is that of a specific population pressure brought on by the growing ranks of *ali'i*. As their numbers rose, there would have been a similar increase in the need for lands commensurate with the ranks of these *ali'i*. Such *ali'i* would have placed pressure upon an *ali'i nui* to assign them to lands where they could come to fulfill their the roles for which they were trained (the management of lands and the people associated with them) and through which they expected they could earn their livelihood and provide an appropriate standard of living for their families. The multiple marriages of *ali'i*, especially on Hawai'i Island, would have heightened this pressure resulting in a new strategy of expansionist warfare that dominated in the last three generations.

The above findings as a whole further illustrate the need to see the evolution of Hawaiian society as involving multiple factors that interacted with one another to create a dynamic socio-political context encompassing the entire archipelago. Among these factors is the social environment of *ali'i* which played a critical role in Hawaiian societal development, a role that is best understood via *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau*.

Relating to Hawaiian Understandings

There are many reasons Hawaiian *kūpuna* (ancestors) sought always to orient themselves in the direction of the past and to heed the lesson inherent in *mo'olelo*. From an understanding of the past one's present position comes into clearer focus and future paths appear that would otherwise have remained obscured. Looking today at the current contexts in which *kānaka maoli* (native Hawaiians) find themselves, *mo'olelo* of generations long past continue to offer important insights.

In this era of an emerging Hawaiian sovereign nation, much discussion has focused on the recent past, that is, the effects of colonialism and imperialism. Yet such a perspective forms an incomplete picture. To study Hawaiian history by starting at the time of Kamehameha (as is the beginning point of the history taught to young Hawaiians in the public school system),³² a majority of the most important historical developments in Hawaiian culture and society remain untold.³³ Such a practice has created four related problems, each of which have diminished the potential for *kānaka maoli* to gain a fuller understanding of their *kūpuna* (ancestors) and themselves. First, being informed primarily by the short historic span from the era of Kamehameha onwards, many Hawaiians have come to perceive that there was a *single, unchanging* "ancient" or "traditional" Hawaiian culture, leading to a

³² The pre-contact Hawaiian culture that students are exposed to in most primary and secondary schools generally does not deal with societal change through time but with a static "ancient" past.

³³ Aspects of pre-contact history and culture of Hawai'i are of course covered in Hawaiian Studies courses in the University of Hawai'i system and through other activities in which Hawaiians are engaged (e.g., *lua*, *hula*, *oli*). However, many Hawaiians are not actively or regularly involved in these experiences.

notion of cultural “authenticity” being linked to that which is perceived as “ancient.” Yet numerous examples from a longer view of Hawaiian history would illustrate that Hawaiian society was extremely dynamic and innovative and did not subscribe to the notion that all things should remain the same or be done in the same static manner. Such attention to improvement and innovation was true regarding, for instance, how *alii* governed their lands and people, how the society cultivated their food resources, how communities constructed *heiau*, which deities would be worshipped at various *heiau*, and who would be the worshippers at these sacred sites. In fact, the *innovations* of Hawaiian *kūpuna* are often what *kānaka maoli* today cite with greatest pride (e.g., Hawaiian fishpond technology, irrigation technology, featherwork, *hula*, surfing, etc.). Broader recognition of the propensity of Hawaiian *kūpuna* to improve, innovate, and build upon that which came before should become a core aspect of *kānaka maoli* identity. Such an internalized understanding will afford a much wider range of options in defining the foundational character of a renewed Hawaiian nation.

The lack of appreciation for this longer view of Hawaiian time and evolution has secondly hindered *kānaka maoli* from gaining an understanding of Hawaiian practices which remained constant over the long duration—an indication of cultural beliefs that Hawaiian *kūpuna* recognized were best left unaltered. Certainly concepts embedded in the *kapu* would be examples of these. For instance, from the most ancient times to the present, there existed a notion of the sanctity of Hawaiian burial sites; these were *kapu*. At least from the time of Kapawa, 19 generations (see Table 8.1) before Piliika‘ai‘ea’s arrival, *mo‘olelo* record the sanctity afforded to burials, as with Kapawa being interred at a cave in ‘Īao which in later years came to

be called Kapelakapuokaka'e (Kamakau 1991:39). Desecrating a burial site was an act of defiance and degradation done only to one's enemies or of those despised. This notion, as regards *ali'i* burials is captured in this 'ōlelo no'eau: 'A'ohe e nalo ka iwi o ke ali'i 'ino, 'o ke ali'i maika'i ke nalo ("The bones of an evil chief will not be concealed, but the bones of a good chief will") (Pūku'i 1983:17). The norm was that the burial sites of beloved members of the society were to be cared for and protected so that the *iwi* of these *kūpuna* could return back to their *kulāiwi* and enhance the *mana* of those lands and the connection of the living to their 'āina and their *kūpuna*. This understanding is recounted in two famous 'ōlelo no'eau: *Mai kaula'i wale i ka iwi o nā kūpuna* ("Do not dry out [i.e., expose] the bones of the ancestors") and *Ola nā iwi* ("The bones live") (Pūku'i 1983:225, 272). This 'ōlelo no'eau was said in honor of a respected, well cared for elder of a family (Pūku'i 1983:272), but it could also refer to burials which were well protected. Such protection allowed for the *mana* of the *kūpuna* interred in those lands to bring new life to their 'āina, hence allowing the *iwi kūpuna* (ancestral remains) to fulfill an important aspect of the Hawaiian life cycle. If Hawaiian *kūpuna* for untold generations perpetuated such practices, then *kānaka maoli* today are offered clear indication of the proper path, one from which no one should stray. Such ancestral understandings are obscured when one does not see the depth and continuity of such practices.

A third disadvantage of the emphasis placed on the short-term and most recent history involving colonialism and imperialism, is all that remains untapped from the generations preceding that era. Some of the greatest contributions that Hawaiian society has to share (e.g., lifestyles, role models, approaches to governance, human resource management, productive and relatively low-impact

uses of land and shoreline areas, etc.) derive from the vast majority of Hawaiian history that occurred before Western contact. Many of these approaches that were developed in the generations prior remain viable options today (e.g., the notion of individuals providing labor or in-kind contributions in lieu of monetary taxes; the practice of competitive vying parties creating mutual, meaningful ties that transform antagonisms to alliances; the perspective of seeing the forces of the spiritual realm imbuing all environments, relationships, activities, and things animate and inanimate). While such concepts are often taught to *kānaka maoli* as part of the static "ancient" past, their contextual development and political importance to Hawaiian society is rarely explored outside of the halls of higher education or the spiritual and intellectual depths of *hālau*.³⁴

A fourth major problem of *kānaka maoli* often primarily learning of Hawaiian history beginning with the last one or two generations prior to Western contact involves the skewed perspective that such a sample provides in identifying core and salient roles, behaviors, and values of Hawaiian *kūpuna*. For instance, a study of the generations around Kamehameha's time might lead young Hawaiian men to see their appropriate role as being brave and fearless warriors. Yet more generations of Hawaiians across the archipelago lived in contexts of peace than in times of war. Similarly, Hawaiian leaders more often sought measures to alleviate conflict rather than to launch headfirst into conflict. The administrative acumen with which *ali'i* of times past managed their nations, and the degree to which they sought cooperative

³⁴ Here "*hālau*" refers broadly to various traditional settings of learning which are directed by *kumu* or *kāhuna* who are masters in such varied practices as *hula*, *mele*, *lua*, or other aspects of Hawaiian life.

measures to minimize conflicts, is not well exemplified in the last generations of Hawaiian history prior to contact.

A clearer understanding of the longer span of the Hawaiian past not only affords a more representative, accurate view of Hawaiian *kūpuna*, and a wider range of options for the future, but it also alters interpretations of the more recent past. One example of such an understanding creates a more positive view of attempts by the Hawaiian monarchs to modernize Hawai'i. By the mid-1800s the ruling monarch of the time, Kamehameha III, established the Hawaiian Kingdom as a constitutional monarchy. The Hawaiian nation was a recognized member of the international family of nations, with diplomatic recognition and treaties of friendship and commerce with the world powers of the time. With an understanding of Hawaiian history that begins from the time of Kamehameha, one might assume that this rush of Hawaiian *ali'i* to gain such recognition was an attempt to Westernize Hawai'i in order to remain a sovereign, independent nation. This is only partly true. For indeed, the notion of rulers recognizing each other's sovereign status, of nations conducting formal diplomatic relations, and of political alliances being formed among heads of state was not at all "Western" or "foreign." It was very Hawaiian. *Ali'i* were engaged in the same for generations. Although other major changes to the political, social, and economic fabric of the time were clearly Western in origin, it is significant to note that Hawaiian monarchs had an astute native understanding of state-to-state relations which in part came from their being taught their own history. It is perhaps this understanding and an openness to evolution that allowed *ali'i* of the 1800s to adapt quickly and effectively to a changing world context that otherwise swallowed up so many other Pacific Island nations.

Today's leaders can as well be enriched from a thorough understanding of the evolution of Hawaiian governance. What is most striking about this evolution is that while numerous aspects of Hawaiian society changed in substantial ways, the ideals to which the most honored and successful *ali'i nui* subscribed remained consistent. The behaviors of Mo'ikeha, Paumakua a Huanuiikalāla'ila'i, Pilika'ai'ea (of generations 1 and 2 in this study) were much the same as those of Manokalanipō, Mā'ilikūkahī, Kaka'alaneo, and Līloa (of generations 9-13), and these behaviors could again be seen in the governance of Kākuhihewa, Kūali'i, Kamalālāwalu, Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku, and Kamehameha (of generations 16-23). Surely adopting these same ideals (as described throughout Part IV and Chapter 13) would bring success to today's leaders as well.

Kānaka maoli who see themselves as part of the mass of the *lāhui* (citizenry) could also gain valuable lessons from the ways in which their *kūpuna* behaved in that role. For even in the *kapu*-defined contexts of long ago where *maka'āinana* and lower-ranking *ali'i* were constrained in terms of how they could address inappropriate governance at such high levels as an *ali'i nui*, Hawaiian *kūpuna* nonetheless did just that. All those below an *ali'i nui* were the force that rewarded and encouraged *ali'i nui* who remain on the proper path, or these members of the *lāhua* became the underlying power that removed *ali'i nui* who refused to take that path.

Just as *mo'olelo* guided the behaviors of generations of *kānaka maoli* long past, they remain a vivid record for those of today to internalize as part of what it means to be *kānaka maoli*. Integrating the lessons inherent in these *mo'olelo* into daily life is one of the richest legacies of the *kūpuna* that *kānaka maoli* can celebrate.

REFERENCES CITED

- Alexander, William D.
1907 Obituary of Abraham Fornander. Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year Ending December 31, 1906 14:19.
- Allen, Jane
1991 The Role of Agriculture in the Evolution of the Pre-Contact Hawaiian State. Asian Perspectives 30:117-132.

1992 Farming in Hawai'i from Colonisation to Contact: Radiocarbon Chronology and Implications for Cultural Change. New Zealand Journal of Archaeology 14:4-66.

1997 Pre-Contact Landscape Transformation and Cultural Change, O'ahu. In Historical Ecology in the Pacific Islands: Prehistoric Environmental Landscape Change, edited by P. V. Kirch and T. L. Hunt, pp. 230-247
- Allen, Melinda S. and Patricia A. McAnany
1994 Environmental Variability and Traditional Hawaiian Land Use Patterns: Manukā's Cultural Islands in Seas of Lava. Asian Perspectives 33:19-55.
- Anderson Atholl
1998 The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori A.D. 1650-1850. University of Otago, Dunedin.
- Aranyosi, E. F.
1999 Wasteful Advertising and Variance Reduction: Darwinian Models for the Significance of Nonutilitarian Architecture. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 18:356-375.
- Arning, Eduard
n.d. Ethnographische Notizen Aus Hawaii 1883-1886. Vol. 16. Mitteilungen Aus Dem Museum Fur Volkerkunde in Hamburg. English translated TMs. Translated by Michael Mueller-Ali and edited by Adrienne Kaepler and Catherine Summers. TMs. on file with the Pacific Translators Committee.

- Ashdown, Inez M.
 1971 Ke Alaloa o Maui. Kama'āina Historians, Wailuku, Maui.
- Aswani, Shankar and Michael W. Graves
 1998 The Tongan Maritime Expansion: A Case in the Evolutionary Ecology of Social Complexity. Asian Perspectives 37:135-164.
- Athens, Stephen J.
 1997 Hawaiian Native Lowland Vegetation in Prehistory. In Historical Ecology in the Pacific Islands: Prehistoric Environmental Landscape Change, edited by P. V. Kirch and T. L. Hunt, pp. 248-270.
- Athens, Stephen J. and Jerome V. Ward
 1991 Paleoenvironmental and Archaeological Investigations, Kawainui March Flood Control Project, O'ahu Island, Hawai'i. International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc., Honolulu.
- 1993 Environmental Change and Prehistoric Polynesian Settlement in Hawai'i. Asian Perspectives 32:205-223.
- Bakel, Martin van
 1996 Ideological Perspectives of the Development of Kingship in the Early States of Hawaii. In Ideology and the Formation of Early States, edited by H. J. M. Claessen and J. G. Oosten, pp.321-338. E. J. Brill, New York.
- Barrère, Dorothy
 1988 Revisions and Adulterations in Polynesian Creation Myths. In Polynesian Culture History, Essays in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory, Bishop Museum Special Publication 56, pp. 103-119. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- 1969 The Kumuhonua Legends: A Study of Late 19th Century Hawaiian Stories of Creation and Origins. Pacific Anthropological Records No. 3. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Beaglehole, John C., ed.
 1967 The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery: The Voyage of the Resolution and the Discover 1776-1780, edited by John C. Beaglehole. Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, Cambridge.
- Becket, Jan and Joe Singer
 1999 Pana O'ahu: Sacred Stones, Sacred Land. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.

Beckwith, Martha W.

- 1970 Hawaiian Mythology. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu
- 1972 The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant. Translated and edited with commentary by Martha W. Beckwith. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

Bellwood, Peter

- 1987 The Polynesians: Prehistory of an Island People. Thames and Hudson, New York.

Boone, James L.

- 1983 Noble Family Structure and Expansionist Warfare in the Last Middle Ages: A Sociological Approach. In Rethinking Human Adaptation: Biological and Cultural Models, edited by R. Dyson-Hudson and M. S. Little, pp. 79-96. Westview Press, Chicago.
- 1989 Conflict, Competition and the Emergence of Hierarchies. In Ecology, Evolution, and Human Behavior, edited by E.A. Smith, and B. Winterhalder, pp. 301-337. Aldine de Gruyter, New York.
- 1998 The Evolution of Magnanimity—When is it better to give than to receive? Human Nature 9:1-21.

Boone, James L. and Eric A. Smith

- 1998 Is It Evolution Yet? A Critique of Evolutionary Archaeology. Current Anthropology 39 Supplement:141-157.

Bott, Elizabeth and Tavi

- 1982 Tongan Society at the Time of Captain Cook's Visits: Discussions with Her Majesty Queen Sālote Tupou. The Polynesian Society, Wellington.

Boyd, Robert and Peter J. Richerson

- 1985 Culture and the Evolutionary Process. University of Chicago, Chicago.
- 1988 The Evolution of Reciprocity in Sizeable Groups. Journal of Theoretical Biology 132:337-356.

Braden, Wythe E.

- 1976 On the Probability of Pre-1778 Japanese Drifts to Hawaii. Hawaiian Journal of History 10:75-89.

Broughton, William R.

- 1967 A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean. Da Capo Press, New York.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M. and Timothy K. Earle

- 1987 Specialization, Exchange, and Complex Societies: An Introduction. In Specialization, Exchange and Complex Societies, edited by E. M. Brumfiel and T. K. Earle, pp. 1-9. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Buck, Peter Henry Te Rangi Hiroa

- 1932a Ethnology of Manahiki and Rakahanga. Bishop Museum Bulletin 99. B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- 1932b Ethnology of Tongareva. Bishop Museum Bulletin 92. B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- 1934 Mangaian Society. Bishop Museum Bulletin 122. B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- 1938a Ethnology of Mangareva. Bishop Museum Bulletin 157. B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- 1938b Vikings of the Sunrise. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.
- 1949 The Coming of the Maori. Maori Purposes Fund Board, Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs and Whitcombe and Tombs, Wellington.
- 1964a Arts and Crafts of Hawai'i, Section III: Plaiting. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Special Publication 45. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- 1964b Arts and Crafts of Hawai'i, Section IV: Twined Baskets. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Special Publication 45. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Bushnell, Oswald.

- 1966 Hygiene and Sanitation Among the Ancient Hawaiian. Hawaii Historical Review 2(Oct.):316-336.
- 1993 The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

Cachola-Abad, C. Kēhaunani

- 1983 Evaluating the Orthodox Dual Settlement Model for the Hawaiian Islands: An Analysis of Artefact Distribution and Hawaiian Oral Traditions. In The Evolution and Organisation of Prehistoric Society in Polynesia, edited by M. Graves and R. C. Green, pp. 13-32.

- Cachola-Abad, C. Kēhaunani
 1996 The Significance of *Heiau* Diversity in Site Evaluation. Cultural Resource Management 19:11-16.
- Campbell, Matthew
 in prep. Settlement and Landscape in Late Prehistoric Rarotonga, Cook Islands. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney.
- Carlot, John
 1983 Chanting the Universe: Hawaiian Religious Culture. Empasis International. Honolulu.
- Carlquist, Sherwin
 1980 Hawaii a Natural History: Geology, Climate, Native Flora and Fauna Above the Shoreline. The Pacific Tropical Botanical Garden, Honolulu.
- Cartwright, Bruce
 1929 Note on Hawaiian Genealogies. Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, pp. 45-47.
- Chun, Malcolm N.
 1993 Nā Kukui Pio 'Ole. The Inextinguishable Torches: The Biographies of Three Early Native Hawaiian Scholars Davida Malo, S.N. Hale'ole and S. M. Kamakau. First People's Productions, Honolulu.
- Cook, James
 1967 The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery: The Voyage of the Resolution and the Discover 1776-1780, edited by John C. Beaglehole. Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, Cambridge.
- Cordy, Ross
 1974a Complex Rank Cultural Systems in the Hawaiian Islands: Suggested Explanations for Their Origin. Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania 9:89-109.
- 1974b The Tahitian Migration to Hawaii ca. 1100-1300 A.D.: An Argument Against Its Occurrence. New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter 17:65-76.
- 1981 A Study of Prehistoric Social Change: The Development of Complex Societies in the Hawaiian Islands. Academic Press, New York.
- 1984 Sampling Problems in Regional Interpretation in Hawaiian Archaeology. Archaeology in Oceania 19(1):21-28.

- Cox, J. Halley and William H. Davenport
1988 Hawaiian Sculpture, revised ed. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Dahlgren, E. W.
1916 Were the Hawaiian Islands Visited by the Spaniards Before Their Discovery by Captain Cook in 1778? Almqvist and Wiksells Boktrycker-A.-B., London.
- Damon, Ethel M.
1927 Father Bond of Kohala. n.p., Honolulu.
- Davis, Eleanor H.
1979 Abraham Fornander: A Biography. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Desha, Stephen L.
2000 Kamehameha and His Warrior Kekūhaupi'o. Translated by Frances Frazier. Kamehameha Schools Press, Honolulu.
- Dibble, Sheldon
1984 Ka Mooolelo Hawaii. Edited and translated by Dorothy M. Kahananui. Committee for the Preservation and Study of Hawaiian Language, Art and Culture, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- Dickey, Lyle A.
1916 Stories of Wailua, Kauai. Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society 25:14-36.
- Dixon, George
1968 A Voyage Round the World: But More Particularly to the North-West Coast of America. Da Capo Press, New York.
- Doyle, Emma Lyons.
1945 Makua Laiana: The Story of Lorenzo Lyons. Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Honolulu.
- Dunnell, Robert C.
1978 Style and Function: A Fundamental Dichotomy. American Antiquity 43:199-202.
- 1980 Evolutionary Theory and Archaeology. Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory, edited by M. B. Schiffer, 3:35-99.
- 1990 The Concept of Progress in Cultural Evolution. In Evolutionary Progress, edited by M.H. Nitecki, pp. 169-194. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

- Dunnell, Robert C.
- 1989a Aspects of the Application of Evolutionary Theory in Archaeology. In Archaeological Thought in America, edited by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, pp. 35-49. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1989b Philosophy of Science and Archaeology. In Critical Traditions in Contemporary Archaeology, edited by V. Pinsky and A. Wylie, pp. 5-9. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1995 What Is It That Actually Evolves? Evolutionary Archaeology: Methodological Issues, edited by P. A. Teltser, pp. 33-50. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- 1996 Natural Selection, Scale, and Cultural Evolution. In Evolutionary Archaeology: Theory and Application, edited by M. O'Brien, pp. 24-29. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- 1999 The Concept of Waste in an Evolutionary Archaeology. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 18:243-250.
- Dunnell, Robert C. and Diana M. Greenlee
- 1999 Late Woodland Period "Waste" Reduction in the Ohio River Valley. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 18:376-395.
- Durham, William H.
- 1976 Resource Competition and Human Aggression, Part I: A Review of Primitive War. The Quarterly Review of Biology 51:385-415.
- Dye, Tom and Eric Komori
- 1992 A Pre-Censal Population History of Hawai'i. New Zealand Journal of Archaeology 14:113-128.
- Dyson-Hudson, Rada and Eric A. Smith
- 1978 Human Territoriality: An Ecological Reassessment. American Anthropologist 80:21-41.
- Earle, Timothy K.
- 1977 A Reappraisal of Redistribution: Complex Hawaiian Chiefdoms. In Exchange Systems in Prehistory, edited by T. Earle and J. Erikson, pp. 213-229. Academic Press, New York.
- 1978 Economic and Social Organization of a Complex Chiefdom: the Halelea District, Kauai, Hawaii. Anthropological Paper, no. 63. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Earle, Timothy K.

- 1980 Prehistoric Irrigation in the Hawaiian Islands: An Evaluation of Evolutionary Significance. Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania 15:1-28.
- 1987 Specialization, Exchange, Complex Societies. In Specialization, Exchange and Complex Societies, edited by E. M. Brumfiel and T. K. Earle, pp. 64-75. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1991a The Evolution of Chiefdoms. In Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology, edited by T. Earle, pp. 1-15. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- 1991b Property Rights and the Evolution of Chiefdoms. In Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology, edited by T. Earle, pp. 71-99. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- 1997 How Chiefs Come to Power: The Political Economy in Prehistory. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Echo-Hawk, Roger C.

- 2000 Ancient History in the New World: Integrating Oral Traditions and the Archaeological Record in Deep Time. American Antiquity 65(2):267-290.

Ellis, William

- 1963 Journal of William Ellis: Narrative of a Tour of Hawaii, or Owhyhe; with Remarks on the History, Traditions, Manners, Customs and Language of the Inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands. Advertiser Publishing Company, Honolulu.

Ellis, William

- 1969 Voyage by Captain Cook, Volumes I and II. Da Capo Press, New York.

Emerson, Joseph S.

- 1917 Selections from a Kahuna's Book of Prayers. Hawaiian Historical Society Annual Reports. 1917:17-39.

Emerson, Nathaniel B.

- 1997 Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawaii. Revised edition. 'Ai Pōhaku Press, Honolulu.

Emory, Kenneth P.

- 1928 Archaeology of Nihoa and Necker Islands. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 53. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Emory, Kenneth P.

- 1929 Ruins at Kee, Haena, Kauai; Famous Court of Lohiau. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual (1929):88-94.
- 1970 A Re-examination of East-Polynesian Marae: Many Marae Later. In *Studies in Oceanic Culture History*, vol. 1, edited by Roger C. Green and Marion Kelly, pp. 73-92.
- 1969 The Island of Lanai: A Survey of Native Culture. Bishop Museum Bulletin 12. Department of Anthropology, Honolulu.

Endicott, Julie M.

- 2000 Archaeological and Ethnohistoric Evidence for Protohistoric Social Relations on Mangaia Island, Cook Islands. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Erickson, Mark

- 1989 Incest Avoidance and Familial Bonding. Journal of Anthropological Research 45:267-291.

Eyre, David L.

- 2000 By Wind, By Wave: An Introduction to Hawai'i's Natural History. Bess Press, Honolulu.

Finney, Ben

- 1994 Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey Through Polynesia. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Finney, Ben and James D. Houston

- 1996 Surfing: A History of the Ancient Hawaiian Sport. Pomegranate Art Books, San Francisco.

Flannery, Kent V.

- 1972 The Cultural evolution of Civilizations. Review of Ecology and Systematics 3:399-426.

Fornander, Abraham

- 1969 An Account of the Polynesian Race; Its Origin and Migrations, Vols. I-III. Charles E. Tuttle, Rutland, Vermont.
- 1996 Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. Mutual Publishing, Honolulu.
- 1999 Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore. Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Vol. IV-VI. 'Ai Pōhaku Press, Honolulu. (First published 1916-1920 by the Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.)

- Friedman, Jonathan
 1981 Notes on Structure and History in Oceania. Folk 23:275-295.
- Friedman, Jonathan and M.J. Rowlands
 1978 Notes Toward an Epigenetic Model of the Evolution of 'Civilisation.' In The Evolution of Social Systems, edited by J. Friedman and M.J. Rowlands, pp. 201-278. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh.
- Frierson, Barbara B.
 1973 A Study of Land Use and Vegetation Change: Honouliuli, 1790-1925. Ms. on file, Hawaiian-Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu.
- Goldman, Irving
 1970 Ancient Polynesian Society. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Grant, Glen
 1990 Foreword to The Legends and Myths of Hawai'i, pp. i-x. Mutual Publishing, Honolulu.
- Graves, Michael W. and David J. Addison
 1995 The Polynesian Settlement of the Hawaiian Archipelago: Integrating Models and Methods in Archaeological Interpretation. World Archaeology 26(3):380-399.
- Graves, Michael W. and C. Kēhaunani Cachola-Abad
 1996 Serration as a Method of Chronologically Ordering Architectural Design Traits: An Example from Hawai'i. Archaeology in Oceania 31:19-32.
- in prep Evolution of Social Groups in Hawai'i. In The Archaeology of Stylistic Variation in Oceania: Exploring Applications and Expanding Method and Theory, edited by M. W. Graves and E. E. Cochrane, in preparation.
- Graves, Michael W. and Conrad Erkelens
 1991 Who's in Control? Method and Theory in Hawaiian Archaeology. Asian Perspectives 30:1-17.
- Graves, Michael W. and Thegn N. Ladefoged
 1995 The Evolutionary Significance of Ceremonial Architecture in Polynesia. In Evolutionary Archaeology - Methodological Issues, edited by P.A. Teltser, pp. 149-174

- Graves, Michael W. and Maria Sweeney
 1993 Ritual Behavior and Ceremonial Structures in East Polynesia: Changing Perspectives on Variability and Change. In The Evolution and Organization of Prehistoric Society in Polynesia, edited by M. W. Graves and R. C. Green. New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 19. New Zealand Archaeological Association, Auckland.
- Green, Laura C. and Martha W. Beckwith
 1926 Hawaiian Customs and Beliefs Relating to Sickness and Death. American Anthropologist 28:176-208.
- Green, Roger
 1986 Some Basic Components of the Ancestral Polynesian Settlement System: Building Blocks for More Complex Polynesian Societies. In Island Societies: Archaeological Approaches to Evolution and Transformation, edited by P.V. Kirch, pp. 50-54. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Gutmanis, June
 1983 Nā Pule Kahiko: Ancient Hawaiian Prayers. Editions Limited, Honolulu.
- Handy E.S. Craighill
 1923 The Native Culture in the Marquesas. Bishop Museum Bulletin 9. B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Handy, E. S. Craighill and E. G. Handy, with the collaboration of M. K. Pūku'i.
 1991 Native Planters in Old Hawaii: Their Life, Lore, and Environment. Bishop Museum Bulletin 223. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- Handy, E. S. Craighill and Mary Kawena Pūku'i
 1972 The Polynesian Family System in Ka-'u, Hawai'i. Charles E. Tuttle, Rutland, Vermont.
- HEN Hawaiian Ethnological Notes
 1885 Heiaus, Kaua'i. Lahainaluna Students' Compositions, number 15. Waimea, Kaua'i, August 22, 1885. Translated by Mary K. Pūku'i. HEN vol. I:203-207.
- Henriques, Lucy Kalaniki'eki'e
 1917 Death of Kekaulike, King of Maui. Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year Ending 1916 (1916):55-56.
- Henry, Teuira
 1928 Ancient Tahiti. Bishop Museum Bulletin 48. B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

- Hommon, Robert J.
 1976 The Formation of Primitive States in Pre-Contact Hawai'i. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- 1986 Social Evolution in Ancient Hawai'i. In Island Societies: Archaeological Approaches to Evolution and Transformation, edited by P.V. Kirch, pp. 42-49. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1989 The Kahiki Connection: Extra-archipelagic Contact and the Development of Complex Polities in Ancient Hawai'i. Paper presented at the Circum-Pacific Prehistory Conference, August, 1989, Seattle.
- 1996 Social Complex Adaptive Systems: Some Hawaiian Examples. Oceanic Culture History: Essays in Honour of Roger Green, New Zealand Journal of Archaeology Special Publication, edited by J.M. Davidson, G. Irwin, B. F. Leach, A. Pawley, and D. Brown, pp. 579-590,
- Hunt, Terry L.
 1990 Variation in Agricultural Production and the Evolution of Socio-political Complexity in the Hawaiian Islands. Paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, April 1990, Las Vegas.
- Hunt, Terry L. and Robert Holsen
 1991 An Early Radiocarbon Chronology for the Hawaiian Islands: A Preliminary Report. Asian Perspectives 30:147-161.
- Hussey, John A.
 1958 The Voyage of the Racoon: A "Secret" Journal of a Visit to Oregon, California, and Hawai'i, 1813-1814. Edited by John A. Hussey. Book Club of California, San Francisco.
- 'Ī'i, John Papa
 1983 Fragments of Hawaiian History. Translated by Mary Kawena Pūku'i, edited by Dorothy B. Barrère. Bishop Museum Special Publication 70. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- Ingraham, Joseph
 1971 Joseph Ingraham's Journal of the Brigantine Hope on a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of North America 1790-92, edited by Mark D. Kaplanoff. Imprint Society, Barre, Massachusetts.
- James, Helen F. and Storrs L. Olson
 1991 Description of Thirty-two Species of Birds from the Hawaiian Islands: Part 2. Ornithology Monographs 46:1-88.

- James, Helen F., et al.
 1987 Radiocarbon Dates on Bones of Extinct Birds from Hawaii. Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, USA 84:2350-2354.
- Jayatilaka, Hemanta, Tomasi Patolo, Barry Nakamura, and Richard C. Nees.
 1992 *Archaeological Survey and Subsurface Testing of the Proposed Hawaii Prince Golf Course Ahupua'a Honouliuli, 'Ewa District, Island of O'ahu*. Public Archaeology Section, Applied Research Group, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Johnson, Allen W. and Timothy K. Earle
 1987 The Evolution of Human Societies from Foraging Group to Agrarian State. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Juvik, Sonia P. and James O. Juvik, eds.
 1998 Atlas of Hawai'i, third edition. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.
- Ka'awa, P. W.
 1865a Nā Kapu Kahiko o Hawai'i Nei. Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a 25 November - 9 December.
 1865b Ka Pule 'Anā'anā, nā Kuahu, nā Heiau, nā Lele, a me ko Lākou Mau Mōhai, nā Hana e Pili ana i ka Heiau. Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a 25 May 1865.
- Kaeppler, Adrienne L.
 1978a "Artificial Curiosities:" An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N. Bishop Museum Special Publication 65. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
 1978b Exchange Patterns in Goods and Spouses: Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa. Mankind 11:246-252.
 1985 Hawaiian Art and Society: Traditions and Transformations. In Transformations of Polynesian Culture, pp. 105-131. The Polynesian Society, Auckland.
 1997 Polynesia and Micronesia, In Oceanic Art, translated by Nora Scott and Sabine Bouladon with the collaboration of Fiona Leibrick, pp. 21-158. Harry N. Abrams, Inc.,
- Kahiolo, G. W.
 1978 He Mo'olelo No Kamapuaa: The Story of Kamapuaa. Translated by Esther T. Mo'okini and Erin C. Neizmen with the assistance of David Tom. Hawaiian Studies Program, University of Hawaii, Mānoa, Honolulu.

Kalākau, David

- 1990 The Legends and Myths of Hawaii: The Fables and Folklore of a Strange People. Edited and with an introduction by Rollin M. Daggett. Mutual Publishing, Honolulu.

Ka Leo o ka Lāhui

- 1894 Kō Hawai'i Nei Kūlana i ka Wā Kahiko (unsigned article). Ka Leo o ka Lāhui, Lunaho'oponopono John E. Bush, 25-26 April.

Kamakau, Kelou

- 1999 Concerning Ancient Religious Ceremonies. In Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 2-45. 'Ai Pōhaku Press, Honolulu. (First published in 1919 by the Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu).

Kamakau, Samuel M.

- 1964 The People of Old: Ka Po'e Kahiko. Translated by Mary K. Pūku'i, arranged and edited by Dorothy B. Barrère. Bishop Museum Special Publication 51. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- 1976 The Works of the People of Old: Nā Hana a Ka Po'e Kahiko. Translated by Mary K. Pūku'i, arranged and edited by Dorothy B. Barrère. Bishop Museum Special Publication 61. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- 1988 I Ka Wā o Kamehameha; In the Time of Kamehameha: Selected Essays by Samuel Kamakau. Edited and translated by Malcolm Naea Chun. The Folk Press, Kapi'olani Community College, Honolulu.
- 1991 Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Nā Mo'olelo o ka Po'e Kahiko. Translated by Mary K. Pūku'i and edited by Dorothy B. Barrère. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- 1992 Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii. Translated by Mary K. Pūku'i, et al. Kamehameha Schools Press, Honolulu.
- 1996 Ke Kumu Aupuni: Ka mo'olelo Hawai'i no Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a me Kāna Aupuni i Ho'okumu ai. Ho'oponopono 'ia e Puakea Nogelmeier. Ke Kumu Lama, 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, Honolulu.

Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikalā

- 1992a Introduction. In Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (revised edition), pp. iii-v. Kamehameha Schools Press, Honolulu.

Kame'elehiwa, Lilikalā

1992b Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā e Pono Ai? Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

1996 He Mo'olelo Ka'ao o Kamapua'a: An Annotated Translation of a Hawaiian Epic from Ka Leo o Ka Lāhui. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

1999 Nā Wahine Kapu: Divine Hawaiian Women. 'Ai Pōhaku Press, Honolulu.

Kanahele, George S., ed.

1979 Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History, edited by G. S. Kanahele. University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu.

Ka Papa Kū'auhau Ali'i o Hawai'i

1882-84 Ka Puke Mo'olelo o ka Papa Kū'auhau Ali'i o Hawai'i. AMs. on file, Department of Indo-Pacific Languages, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu.

Kekahuna, Henry P.

1950a Map of Pakiha enclosure (untitled). Drawing (dated September 14, 1950) on file, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

1950b Map Showing Kaha-lu'u Beach. Drawing (dated March 15, 1950) on file, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

Kelly, Marion

1980 Hālau Hula and Adjacent Sites at Kē'ē, Kaua'i. In Hula Historical Perspectives, Pacific Anthropological Records 30. Bishop Museum Department of Anthropology, Honolulu.

1989 Dynamics of Production Intensification in Precontact Hawaii. In What's New? A Closer Look at the Process of Innovation, edited by Sander van der Leeuw and Robin Torrence, pp. 82-106. Unwin Hyman, Boston.

Kepelino, Zepherin

1932 Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii. Translated and edited by Martha W. Beckwith. Bishop Museum Bulletin 95. B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Kikuchi, William K.

1973 Hawaiian Aquacultural System. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Arizona.

Kirch, Patrick V.

- 1982a **Advances in Polynesian Prehistory: Three Decades in Review.** Advances in World Archaeology 1:51-97.
- 1982b **The Impact of the Prehistoric Polynesians on the Hawaiian Ecosystem.** Pacific Science 36:1-14.
- 1983 **Archaeology and the Evolution of Social Complexity: The Hawaiian Case.** Reviews in Anthropology 10:17-28.
- 1984 **The Evolution of the Polynesian Chiefdoms.** Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1985 **Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory.** University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- 1986 **Rethinking East Polynesian Prehistory.** Journal of the Polynesian Society 95:9-40.
- 1990a **The Evolution of Sociopolitical Complexity in Prehistoric Hawaii: An Assessment of the Archaeological Evidence.** Journal of World Prehistory 4:311-345.
- 1990b **Monumental Architecture and Power in Polynesian Chiefdoms: A Comparison of Tonga and Hawai'i.** World Archaeology 22:206-222.
- 1990c **Regional Variation and Local Style: A Neglected Dimension in Hawaiian Prehistory.** Pacific Studies 13:41-54.
- 1992 **The Archaeology of History, Volume 2.** In Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii, P.V. Kirch and M. Sahlins. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 1994 **The West and the Dry: Irrigation and Agricultural Intensification in Polynesia.** University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 2000 **On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands Before European Contact.** University of California Press, Berkeley.

Kirch, Patrick V. and Roger C. Green

- 1987 **History, Phylogeny, and Evolution in Polynesia.** Current Anthropology 28:431-456.

- Kirch, Patrick V. and Terry L. Hunt
 1979 The Spatial and Temporal Boundaries of Lapita. In Archaeology of the Lapita Cultural Complex: A Critical Review, Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum Research Report No. 5, edited by P.V. Kirch and T.L. Hunt, pp. 9-31.
- Knudsen, Augustus F.
 1913 The Defeat of Kamehameha's Army. Hawaiian Almanac and Annual (1914):136-141.
- Kolb, Michael J.
 1991 Social Power, Chiefly Authority, and Ceremonial Architecture, in an Island Polity, Maui, Hawaii. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles.
 1994 Monumentality and the Rise of Religious Authority in Precontact Hawai'i. Current Anthropology 34(5):521:547.
 1999 Staple Finance, Ritual Pig Sacrifice, and Ideological Power in Ancient Hawai'i. Complex Polities in the Ancient Tropical World, edited by E. A. Bacus and L. J. Lucero, pp. 89-107. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, 9.
- Kornbacher, Kimberly D.
 1999 Cultural Elaboration in Prehistoric Coastal Peru: An Example of Evolution in a Temporally Variable Environment. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 18:282-318.
- Kornbacher, Kimberly D. and Mark E. Madsen
 1999 Explaining the Evolution of Cultural Elaboration. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 18:241-242.
- Kotzebue, Otto von
 1967 A New Voyage Round the World in the Years 1823-1826. Da Capo Press, New York.
- Kuykendall, Ralph S.
 1938 The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation. University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- Kuykendall, Ralph S. and A. Grove Day
 1976 Hawaii a History: From Polynesian Kingdom to American Statehood. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

- Ladefoged, Thegn N.
 1993 Intergroup Aggression and Political Integration in Traditional Rotuman Society. Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- Ladefoged, Thegn N. and Michael W. Graves
 in press Evolutionary Theory and the Historical Development of Dry Land Agriculture in North Kohala, Hawai'i. American Antiquity.
- Landgraf, Anne K.
 1994 Nā Wahi Pana O Ko'olau Poko; Legendary Places of Ko'olau Poko. Hawaiian translation by Fred Kalani Meinecke. University of Hawaii Press in association with the Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- Levins, Richard
 1966 The Strategy of Model Building in Population Biology. American Scientist 54:421-431.
- Lightfoot, Kent G.
 1995 Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship Between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology. American Antiquity 60(2):199-217.
- Lili'uokalani Lydia Kamaka'eaha
 1978 The Kumulipo: An Hawaiian Creation Myth. Translated by Lili'uokalani. Pueo Press, Kentfield, California.
- Lydgate, John M.
 n.d. Map of Kauhola Point, North Kohala, Hawaii Island and surrounding districts. On file at the Department of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawai'i, Honolulu.
- 1928 The Defeat of Kamehameha, 1796. Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society (1927):28-31.
- Lyman, R. Lee and Michael J. O'Brien
 1998 The Goals of Evolutionary Archaeology: History and Explanation. Current Anthropology 39:615-630.
- Macdonald, Gordon A., Agatin T. Abbott, and Frank L. Peterson
 1983 Volcanoes in the Sea: The Geology of Hawai'i. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.

- Madsen, Mark, Carl Lipo and Michael Cannon
 1999 Fitness and Reproductive Trade-Offs in Uncertain Environments: Explaining the Evolution of Cultural Elaboration. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 18:251-281.
- Malo, David
 1827 He Buke no ka 'Oihana Kula. TMs. (of unknown origin and unknown date provided in the reader for the University of Hawai'i Hawaiian Genealogies course Hawaiian Studies 341) on file at the Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa.
- 1996 Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i: Hawaiian Traditions. Translated and edited by Malcolm Chun. First People's Productions, Honolulu.
- Mason, Ronald J.
 2000 Archaeology and Native North American Oral Traditions. American Antiquity 65(2):239-266.
- McAllister, Gilbert J.
 1933 Archaeology of Oahu. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 104. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- McKinzie, Edith K.
 1982 Appendix to An Original Narrative of Kamehameha the Great Written in Ka Na'i Aupuni (1905-1906) by Joseph M. Poepoe. Transcribed by Edith McKinzie. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Hawai'i Mānoa, Honolulu.
- 1983 Hawaiian Genealogies Extracted from Hawaiian Newspapers. Vol. I. The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus, Lā'ie, Hawaii.
- McKinzie, Edith K.
 1986 Hawaiian Genealogies Extracted from Hawaiian Newspapers. Vol. II. The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus, Lā'ie, Hawaii.
- Meares, John
 1967 Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the North-West Coast of America. Da Capo Press, New York.
- Menzies, Archibald
 1920 Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago. n.p., Honolulu.
- Mercer, P. M.
 1979 Oral Tradition in the Pacific. Journal of Pacific History 14(3):130-153.

- Métraux, Alfred
 1940 Ethnology of Easter Island. Bishop Museum Bulletin 160. B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Minson, William Harvey
 1952 The Hawaiian Journal of Manuel Quimper. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- Mitchell, Donald K.
 1975 Hawaiian Games for Today. The Kamehameha Schools, Honolulu.
 1982 Resource Units in Hawaiian Culture. Kamehameha Schools Press, Honolulu
- Moniz, Jadelyn J.
 1997 The Role of Seabirds in Hawaiian Subsistence: Implications for Interpreting Avian Extinction and Extirpation in Polynesia. Asian Perspectives 36:27-50.
- Moniz Nakamura, Jadelyn J.
 1999 The Archaeology of Human Foraging and Bird Resources on the Island of Hawai'i: The Evolutionary Ecology of Avian Predation, Resource Intensification, Extirpation, and Extinction. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Hawaii.
- Nakuina, Moses K.
 1991 Moololo Hawaii o Pakaa a me Ku-a-Pakaa na Kahu Iwikuamoo o Keawenuiaumi ke Alii o Hawaii, a o na Moopuna Hoi a Laamaoma! Kalamakū Press, Honolulu.
- Neiman, Fraser D.
 1995 Spatial Patterns in Classic Maya Terminal Monument Dates: Inference from Darwinian Theory and Geostatistical Method. TMs. on file, Social Science Statistical Laboratory, Yale University, New Haven.
 1998 Conspicuous Consumption as Wasteful Advertising: A Darwinian Perspective on Spatial Patterns in Classic Maya Terminal Monument Dates. In Rediscovering Darwin: Evolutionary Theory and Archaeological Explanation, edited by C. M. Barton and G. A. Clark, pp. 267-290. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, No. 7, Arlington.
- Newman, T. Stell
 1970 Makai–Mauka: Fishing and Farming on the Island of Hawaii in A.D. 1778. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.

- Nunn, Patrick D.
 1991 Keimami sa Vakila na Liga ni Kalou = Feeling the Hand of God: Human and Nonhuman Impacts on Pacific Island Environments. Environmental and Policy Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu.
- O'Brien, Michael J. and Thomas D. Holland
 1992 The Role of Adaptation in Archaeological Explanation. American Antiquity 57:36-59.
- O'Brien, Michael J. and R. Lee Lyman
 2000 Darwinian Evolutionism Is Applicable to Historical Archaeology. International Journal of Historical Archaeology 4(1):71-112.
- Olson, Storrs L. and Helen F. James
 1982a Fossil Birds from the Hawaiian Islands: Evidence for wholesale Extinction by Man Before Western Contact. Science 217:633-635.
- 1982b Prodrum of the Fossil Avifauna of the Hawaiian Islands. Smithsonian Contributions to Zoology 365:1-59.
- 1984 The Role of Polynesians in the Extinction of the Avifauna of the Hawaiian Islands. In Late Quaternary Extinctions, ed. By P. S. Martin, pp. 768-780. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- 1991 Description of Thirty-two Species of Birds from the Hawaiian Islands: Part I. Ornithology Monograph 45:1-88.
- Peebles, Christopher S. and Susan M. Kus
 1977 Some Archaeological Correlates of Ranked Societies. American Antiquity 42:421-48.
- Phillips, Caroline A.
 1994 The Archaeology of Maori Occupation Along the Waihou River, Hauraki. Unpublished, PhD thesis, University of Auckland.
- Pogue, John F.
 1858 Mooolelo Hawaii. Hale Paipalapala Aupuni, Honolulu.
- Portlock, Nathaniel
 1968 A Voyage Round the World: But More Particularly to the North-West Coast of America. De Capo Press, New York.
- Pūku'i, Mary Kawena
 1983 'Ōlelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings. Bishop Museum Special Publication No. 71. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

- Pūku'i, Mary Kawena with Laura C. S. Green
 1995 Folktales of Hawai'i; He Mau Ka'ao Hawai'i. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu
- Pūku'i, Mary Kawena and Samuel H. Elbert
 1986 Hawaiian Dictionary, revised and enlarged edition. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- 1971 Glossary of Hawaiian Gods, Demigods, Family Gods, and a Few Heroes. In Hawaiian Dictionary. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Pūku'i, Mary Kawena, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mo'okini
 1974 Place Names of Hawaii (revised and expanded edition). University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Pūku'i, Mary K., E. W. Haertig, and Catherine A. Lee
 1972 Nānā i Ke Kumu (Look to the Source) Volumes 1 and 2. Hui Hānai, Honolulu.
- Ralston, Caroline
 1984 Hawaii 1778-1854: Some Aspects of *Maka'ainana* Response to Rapid Cultural Change. The Journal of Pacific History 19:21-40.
- Ramenofsky, Ann F.
 1995 Evolutionary Theory and Native American Artifact Change in the Postcontact Period. Evolutionary Archaeology: Methodological Issues, edited by P. A. Teltser, pp. 129-147. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Reeve, Rowland B.
 1992 Na Wahi Pana o Kaho'olawe "The Stored Places of Kaho'olawe": A Study of the Traditional Cultural Places on the Island of Kaho'olawe. TMs. on file, the Kaho'olawe Conveyance Commission, Kahului, Maui.
- Richerson, Peter J. and Robert Boyd
 1984 Natural Selection and Culture. Bioscience 34:430-434.
- Rindos, David
 1989 Undirected Variation and the Darwinian Explanation of Culture Change. Archaeological Method and Theory 1:1-45.
- Rose, Roger G.
 1992 Reconciling the Past: Two Basketry Kā'ai and the Legendary Liloa and Lonoikamakahiki. Bishop Museum Bulletin in Anthropology 5. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Sahlins, Marshal

1958 Social Stratification in Polynesia. American Ethnological Society, Seattle.

1972 Stone Age Economics. Aldine-Atherton, Chicago.

1992 Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii, Vol. I: Historical Ethnography. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Samwell, David

1967 Samwell's Journal. In The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery. Vol. III. Edited by John C. Beaglehole. The Hakluyt Society at the University Press, Cambridge.

Smith, Eric A. and Bruce Winterhalder

1992 Natural Selection and Decision-Making: Some Fundamental Principles. In Ecology, Evolution, and Human Behavior, edited by E.A. Smith, and B. Winterhalder, pp. 25-60. Aldine de Gruyter, New York.

Spencer, Charles S.

1990 On the Tempo and Mode of State Formation: Neoevolutionism Reconsidered. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 9:1-30.

Spriggs, Matthew

1988 The Hawaiian Transformation of Ancient Polynesian Society: Conceptualizing Chiefly States. In State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization, edited by J. Gledhil, B. Bender, and M.T. Larsen, pp. 57-73. Unwin Hyman, London.

Spriggs, Matthew and Atholl Anderson

1993 Late Colonization of East Polynesia. Antiquity 67:200-217.

Stannard, David E.

1989 Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact. Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu.

Sterling, Elspeth P.

1998 Sites of Maui. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Sterling, Elspeth P. and Catherine C. Summers

1978 Sites of Oahu. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Stewart, Charles S.

- 1970 Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands During the Years 1823, 1824, and 1825. University of Hawaii Press for Friends of the Library of Hawaii, Honolulu.

Stokes, John F. G.

- 1932 The Hawaiian King (Mo-i, Alii-Aimoku, Alii-Kapu). Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society 19:1-28.
- 1933 New Bases for Hawaiian Chronology. Forty-first Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year Ending 1932 (1932):23-65.
- 1934 Japanese Cultural Influences in Hawaii. Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Science Congress, pp. 2792-2800. Reprinted by the University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- 1937 Dune Sepulture, Battle Mortality, and Kamehameha's Alleged Defeat on Kauai. Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year Ending 1936 (1936):30-46.
- 1939 Hawaii's Discovery by Spaniards: Theories Traced and Refuted. Hawaiian Historical Society Papers 20:38-113.
- 1991 Heiau of the Island of Hawai'i: A Historic Survey of Native Hawaiian Temple Sites, Bishop Museum Bulletin in anthropology 2, edited by Tom Dye. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Summers, Catherine C.

- 1971 Moloka'i: A Site Survey. Pacific Anthropological Records, 14. Department of Anthropology, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- 1990 Hawaiian Cordage. Pacific Anthropological Records, Volume 39. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Taylor, Clarice B.

- 1951 The Healing of Life Giving Heiau: Heiau Hoola (Temple Healing) As told to Clarice B. Taylor by: Mary Kawena Pukui, Anne Peleioholani Hall, Emily K. Taylor. TMs. on file, Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, State Parks Division, Honolulu.

Thrum, Thomas

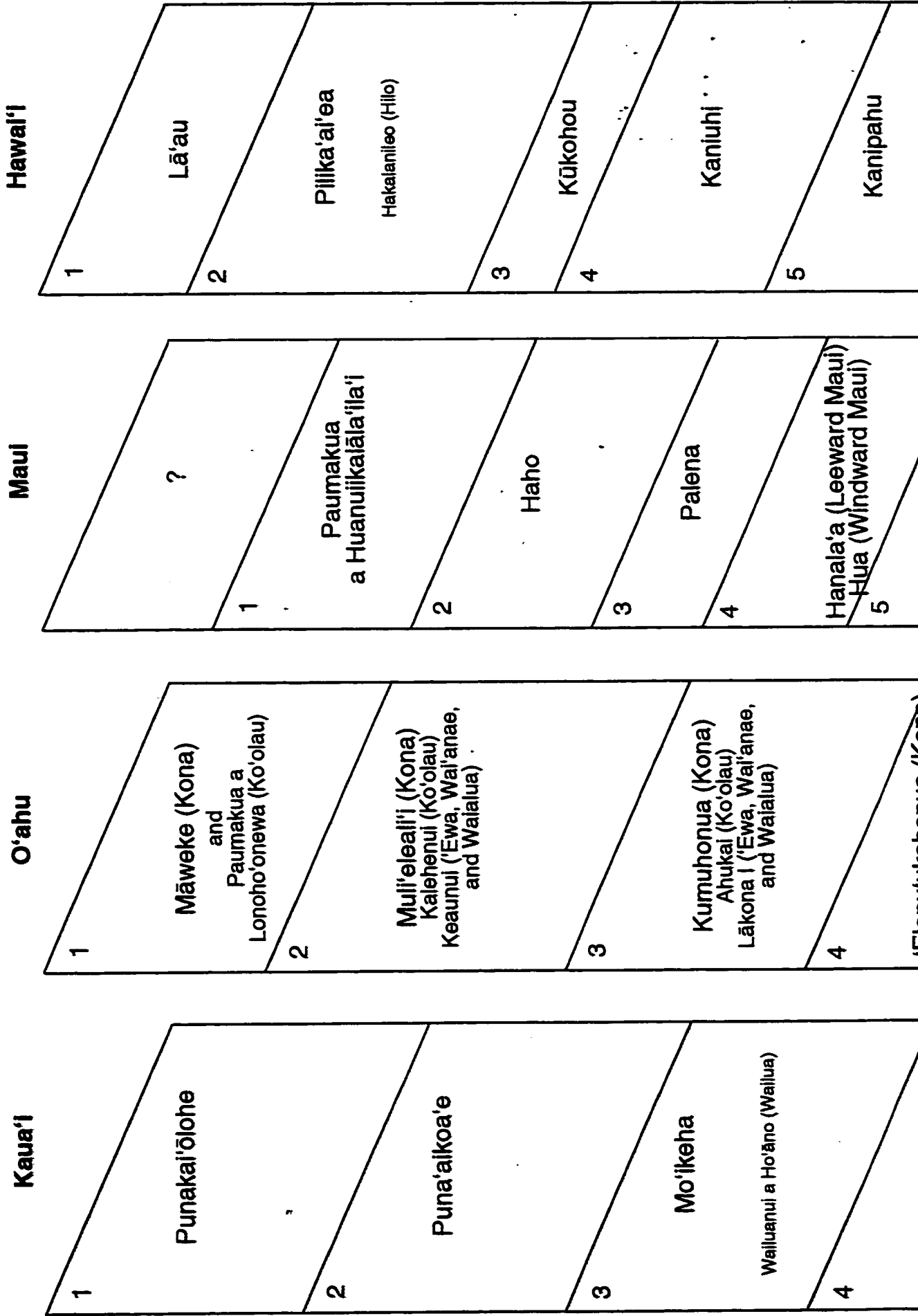
- 1907a Heiaus and Heiau Sites Throughout the Hawaiian Islands; Omitting Koas or Places of Offerings to Kuula. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual (1907):36-48.
- 1907b Hawaiian Folk Tales: A Collection of Native Legends. Compiled by Thos. G. Thrum. A.C. McClurg, Chicago.

- Thrum, Thomas
- 1907c Tales from the Temples. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual (1907):49-69.
- 1908a Heiaus and Heiau Sites Throughout the Hawaiian Islands; Omitting Koas or Places of Offerings to Kuula. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual (1908):38-47.
- 1908b Tales from the Temples. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual (1908): 48-78.
- 1909a Heiaus and Heiau Sites Throughout the Hawaiian Islands; Omitting Koas or Places of Offerings to Kuula. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual (1909):38-43.
- 1909b Tales from the Temples. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual (1909):44-54.
- 1918 Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of S.M. Kamakau, Hawaiian Historian. Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year ending 1917 26:40-61.
- Tosh, John
- 2000 The Pursuit of History, third edition. Pearson Education, New York.
- Trigger, Bruce
- 1990 Monumental Architecture: A Thermodynamic Explanation of Symbolic Behaviour. World Archaeology 22:119-132.
- Tuggle, David H. and Myra J. Tomonari-Tuggle
- 1980 Prehistoric agriculture in Kohala, Hawaii. Journal of Field Archaeology 7:297-312.
- University of Hawaii Department of Geography
- 1983 Atlas of Hawaii, second ed. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Valeri, Valerio
- 1985 Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii.
Translated by Paula Wissing. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Vancouver, George
- 1967 Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World.
Da Capo Press, New York.
- Vansina, Jan
- 1985 Oral Tradition as History. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- Walker, Winslow M.
- 1931 Archaeology of Maui. TMs. on file, Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

- Wenke, Robert J.
1981 Explaining the Evolution of Cultural Complexity: A Review. Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory, edited by M. B. Schiffer 4:79-127.
- Williams, J. N. S.
1919 A Little Known Engineering Work in Hawaii. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual, (1918):121-126.
- Winterhalder, Bruce P. and Eric A. Smith
1992 Evolutionary Ecology and the Social Sciences. In Evolutionary Ecology and Human Behavior, edited by E.A. Smith and B. P. Winterhalder, pp. 3-23. Aldine de Gruyter, New York.
- Wood, Raymond W.
1990 Ethnohistory and Historical Method. Archaeological Method and Theory, edited by M.B. Schiffer, 2:81-109.
- Yen, Douglas E.
1974 The Sweet Potato and Oceania: An Essay in Ethnobotany. B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 236. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Figure 7.1

Correlated Relative Temporal Ordering of the Ali'i Nui of Kaua'i, O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i





<p>4</p> <p>Haulanui'alaieka</p>	<p>5</p> <p>Ahukini a La'a</p>	<p>6</p> <p>Kamahano</p>	<p>7</p> <p>Luanu'u</p>	<p>8</p> <p>Kūkona</p>
----------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	------------------------

<p>4</p> <p>'Eiepu'ukahonua (Kona) 'Olopana (Ko'olau) Ho'okamali'i ('Ewa, Wa'anae, and Waialua)</p>	<p>5</p> <p>Mauiloa</p>	<p>6</p> <p>Kanaloa (Windward Maui)</p>	<p>7</p> <p>Kuhimana (Leeward Maui) Kalāhūmoku (Windward Maui)</p>	<p>8</p> <p>Kamaluohua (Leeward Maui) Wakalana (Windward Maui)</p>
---	-------------------------	---	--	--

<p>4</p> <p>Kahōkūpohākano (Kona) Kū o Mua (Ko'olau) Kaha'i ('Ewa, Wa'anae, and Waialua)</p>	<p>5</p> <p>Kama'i'ole</p>	<p>6</p> <p>Nāwele (Kona) Kawalewale o Kū (Ko'olau) Kūloono ('Ewa, Wa'anae, and Waialua)</p>	<p>7</p> <p>Lāuli a La'a (Kona) Ka'ula'ulaokalani (Ko'olau) Lākona II ('Ewa, Wa'anae, and Waialua)</p>	<p>8</p> <p>Lo'e (Leeward Maui) Alo (Windward Maui)</p>
--	----------------------------	--	--	---

<p>4</p> <p>Kanipahu</p>	<p>5</p> <p>Kila (Waipi'o)</p>	<p>6</p> <p>Kalapana</p>	<p>7</p> <p>Kaha'imoele'a</p>	<p>8</p> <p>Kalaunuiohua</p>
--------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------



Kūāiwa	10	11	12	13
Kahoukapu				
Ka'uholanui māhū				
Kihanuilulumoku				
Līloa				

Kahakuohua	10	11	12	13	Kamaohaili'i (Windward Maui)
Luako'a (Windward Maui)					
Ka'ulahea I					
Kaka'e Kaka'alaneo 'Eiei'o (Windward Maui)					
Kahekili I					
Kalā'eha'eha (Windward Maui)					
Kawaoka'ōhele Lei (Windward Maui)					

9	10	11	12	13	Kūkaniloko (w)
Haka					
Mā'ilikūkahi					
Kalonaiiki					
Piliwale Lōlale (Lihū'e) Kalamakua (Ewa)					

10	11	12	13	
Manokalanipō				
Kaumaka a Mano				
Kahakuakāne				
Kūwalupaukamoku				
Kahakumakapāweo				



Kahakumakapāweo	14	Kalanikukuma	14	Kūkaniloko (w)	13	Lei (Windward Maui)	14	Līloa	
Kahakumakailua	15	Kamakapu	15	Kūamania Ka'ihikapu (nā helele) Ha'o ('Ewa, Wai'anae) Kekela (Wai'anae, Ko'olaupā)	14	Kalanikukuma	14	Hākau	
Kawelomahamahai'a	16	Kākuhewa	16	Ka'ihikapu a Manuia Ha'o ('Ewa, Wai'anae) Kekela (Wai'anae, Ko'olaupā)	15	Kalaehina (Windward Maui)	15	'Umi a Līloa Kulukulu'ā (Hilo) Hua'ā (Puna) 'Imaikalani (Ka'u) 'Ehunulkaimalino (Kona)	
Kawelomahamahai'a	17	Kākuhewa	17	Kūamania Ka'ihikapu a Manuia Ha'o ('Ewa, Wai'anae) Kekela (Wai'anae, Ko'olaupā)	15	Kalaehina (Windward Maui)	15	Kele'i'okāloa (Kona, Kohala, Ka'u) Keawenui a 'Umi (Hāmākūa, Hilo, Puna)	
Kawelomahamahai'a	18	Kākuhewa	18	Kūamania Ka'ihikapu a Manuia Ha'o ('Ewa, Wai'anae) Kekela (Wai'anae, Ko'olaupā)	16	Kamalāiawalu	16	Keawenui a 'Umi	Kaikilani (w)

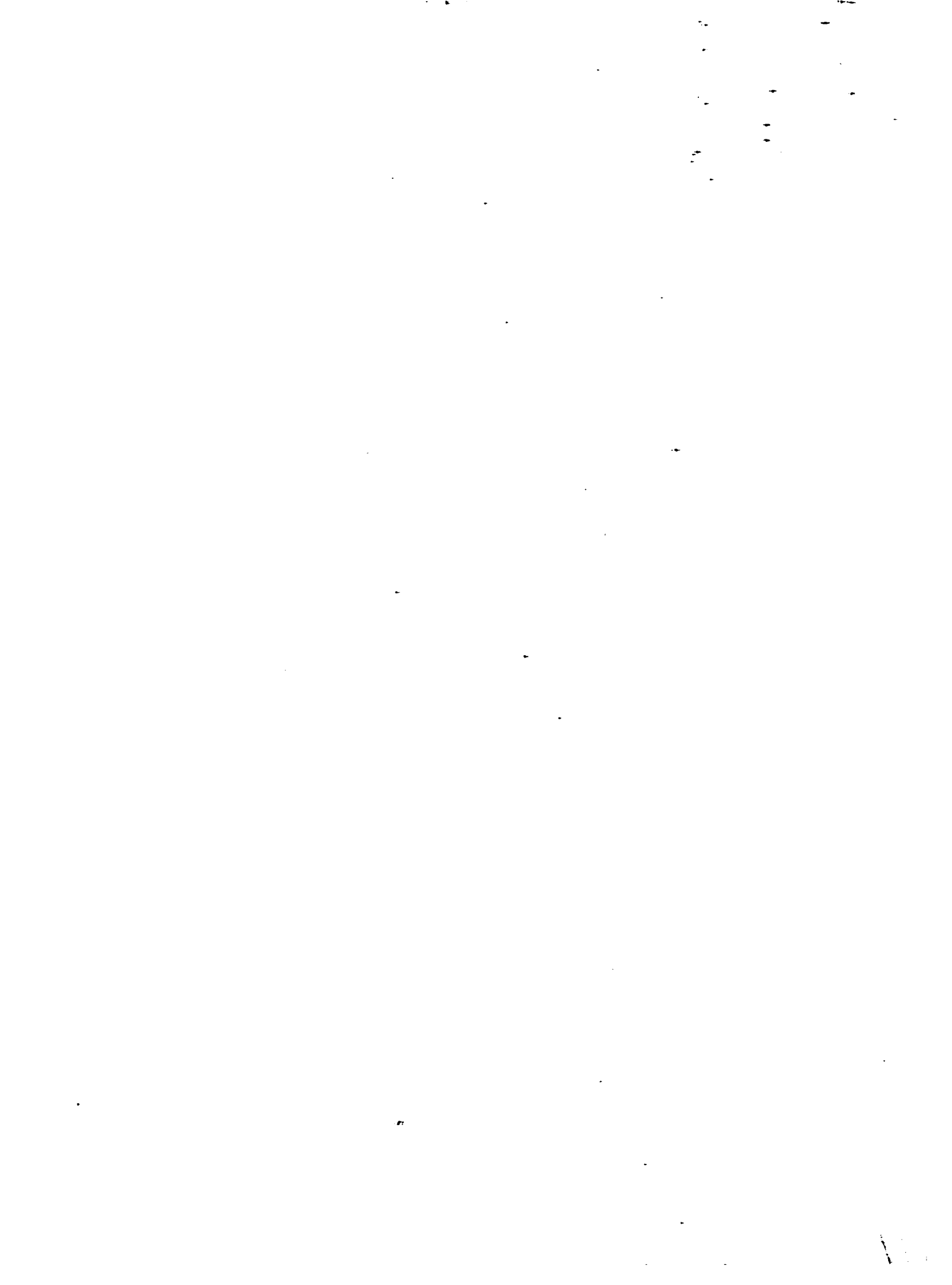


17	Kaikilani (w) Lonoikamakahiki Kanaloakua'ana 'Umiokalani (Kona) Makua a Kūmaiae (Hilo)
18	Keakealanikāne 'i - (Hilo) Keaweakal (Kohala)
19	Keakamahana (w) Iwikauikaua (advisor) Kanaloau'o (Kohala) Kua'ana a 'i (Hilo)
20	Keakealaniwahine (w) Kuahū'ia (Hilo) Mahi'olo'i (Kohala)
21	Keaweikekahial'i'okamoku Mokulani (Hilo) Kauaua a Māhi (Kohala)

17	Kauhi a Kama
18	Kalanikaumakaowākea
19	Lonohonuakini
20	Ka'ulahea II
21	Kekaulike
22	Kamehamehanui Kauhi'āimōku a Kama Kamehamehanui

17	Kānekapu a Kākuhihewa (Kona, 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Wai'āluā) Ka'ihikapu a Kākuhihewa (Ko'olaupoko, Ko'olaupoko)
18	Kaho'owahaokalani
19	Kauakahi a Kaho'owana
20	Kūaili'i
21	Kapi'iohookalani Kana'āakalani

18	Kawelomakualua
19	Kawelo'aikanaka
20	Kawelomaihunaa'i'i
21	Lonolakahā'upu (Windward Kaua'i) Kūaili'i (Leeward Kaua'i) Kaumehe'iwa (Windward Kaua'i) Peleiōhōlani (Leeward Kaua'i)



Kaumehe'iwa
(Windward Kaua'i)
Peleiōhōlani
(Leeward Kaua'i)

22/23

Kaneoneo
and Kamakahahele
1779
23/22 Keawe
Kamakahahele
and Ka'eokūlani

23

Kaumuall'i
Nakalkua'ana (as regent)
1791
1794
Kaumuall'i
1796
Keawe
ca. 1798

1810

Kamehameha

~~22~~ Kapi'iohookalani
21 Kana'ākalani

Peleiōhōlani

22 Kūmahana ca. 1780

23 Kahāhana
ca. 1783

22 Kahekilinui'ahumanu

Kalanikūpule (O'ahu)

23 Kalanikūpule 1794
1795
Kamehameha

22

Kamehamehenui
Kauhi'āimōku a Kame
Kamehamehenui

Kalani'ōpu'u
(Hānā and Kīpahulu)

Kahekilinui'ahumanu

~~23~~ Kalanikūpule (Maui) 1790
22 Kamehameha 1791

Kahekilinui'ahumanu
Ka'eokūlani (Maui)

~~23~~ Ka'eokūlani 1794
Kalanikūpule 1794
1795
Kamehameha

21

Kalaninui'amamao (Ka'ū)
Mokulani (Hilo)
Kalani'ōe'auimoku
(Kona, Kohala)

Alapa'inui

Kalani'ōpu'u
(Ka'ū and Puna)

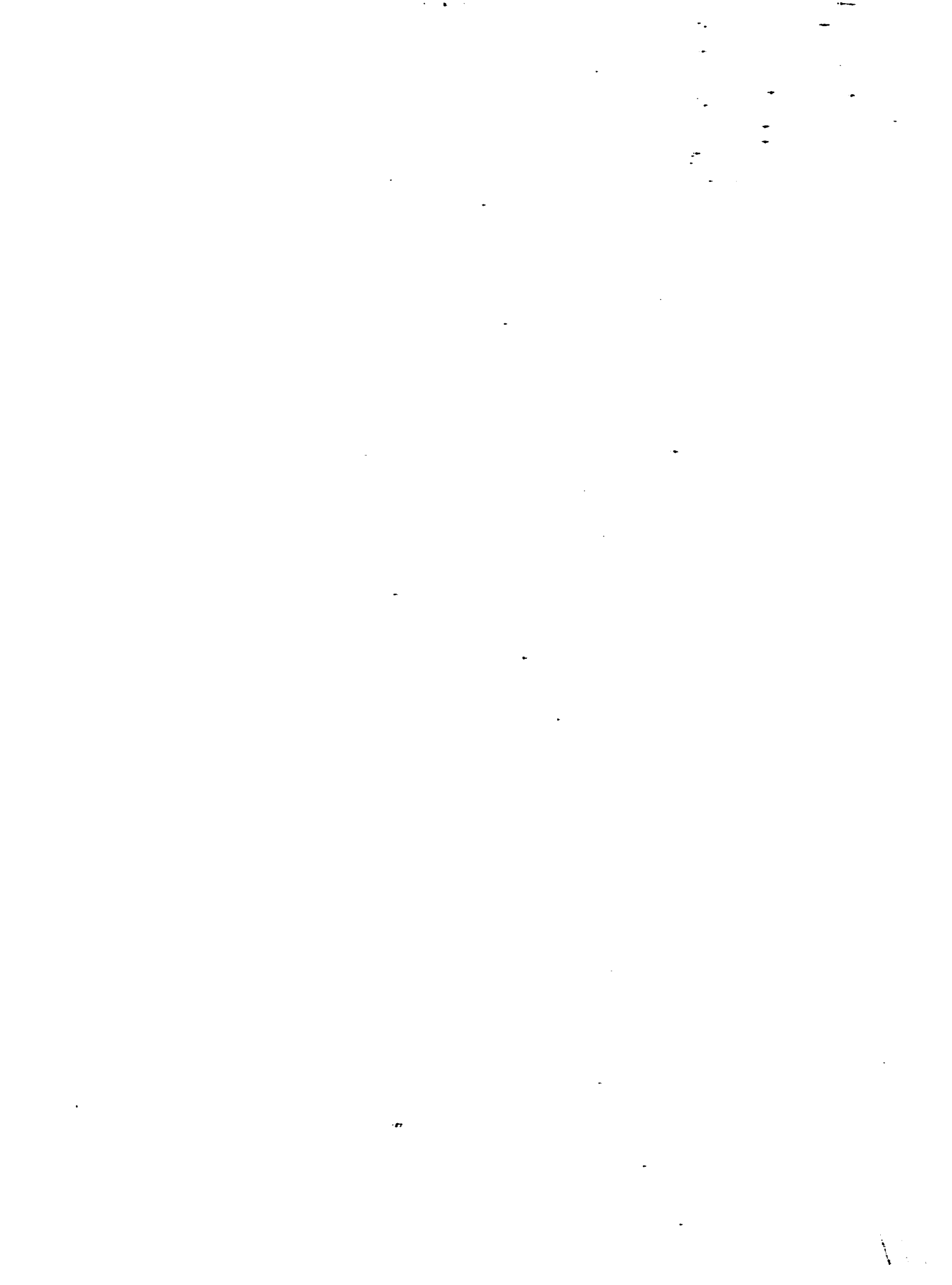
22

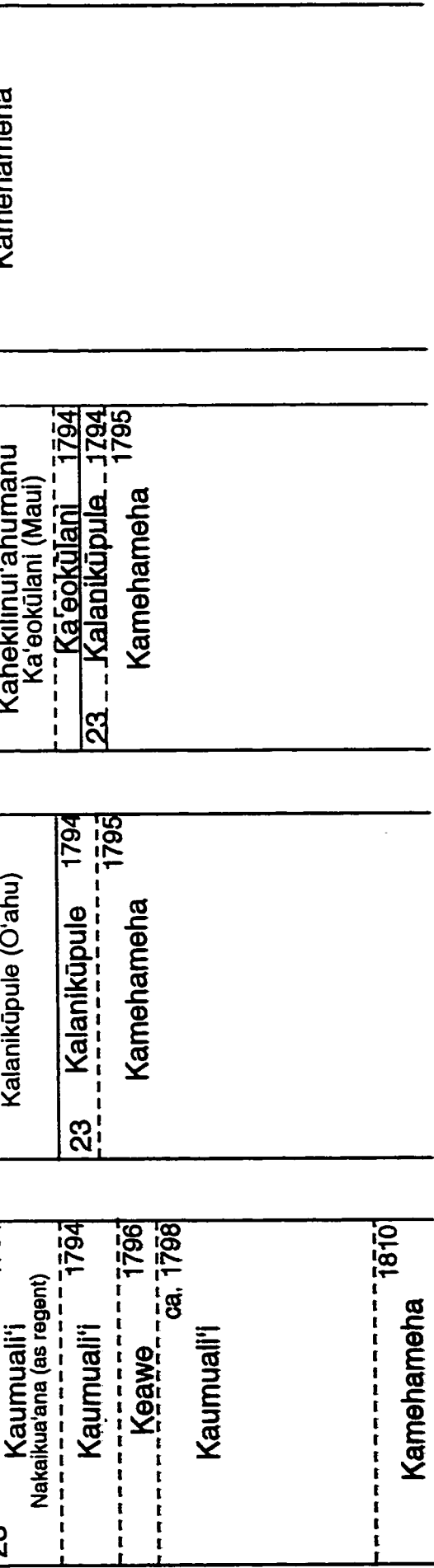
Keawe'ōpala
Kalani'ōpu'u

23 Kīwala'ō ca. 1782
ca. 1782

Keōuakuahu'uia (Ka'ū, Puna)
Keawema'uhihi (Hilo)
Kamehameha (Kona, Kohala)

Kamehameha
1791





KEY

Transitions in rule

- From one generation to the next
- - - - Between individuals of same generation
- · - · From one generation to the one prior
- · - · From one generation to second one following it

Note: Transitions in rule are noted for *all'i'i nui*. In the Maui sequence, the ends of the reigns of the windward district *all'i'i* are indicated by the appearance in the list of a successor.

Numbers enumerate the generations

Names in this size font: *All'i'i nui* (nominal or administrative)

Names in this size font: Semi-independent *all'i'i 'ai moku* under a nominal *all'i'i nui*

Names in this size font: Prominent *all'i'i 'ai moku* under the administration of an *all'i'i nui*

(w) = Wahine

THIS CHART IS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE.



NOTE TO USERS

Oversize maps and charts are microfilmed in sections in the following manner:

**LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM, WITH
SMALL OVERLAPS**

UMI



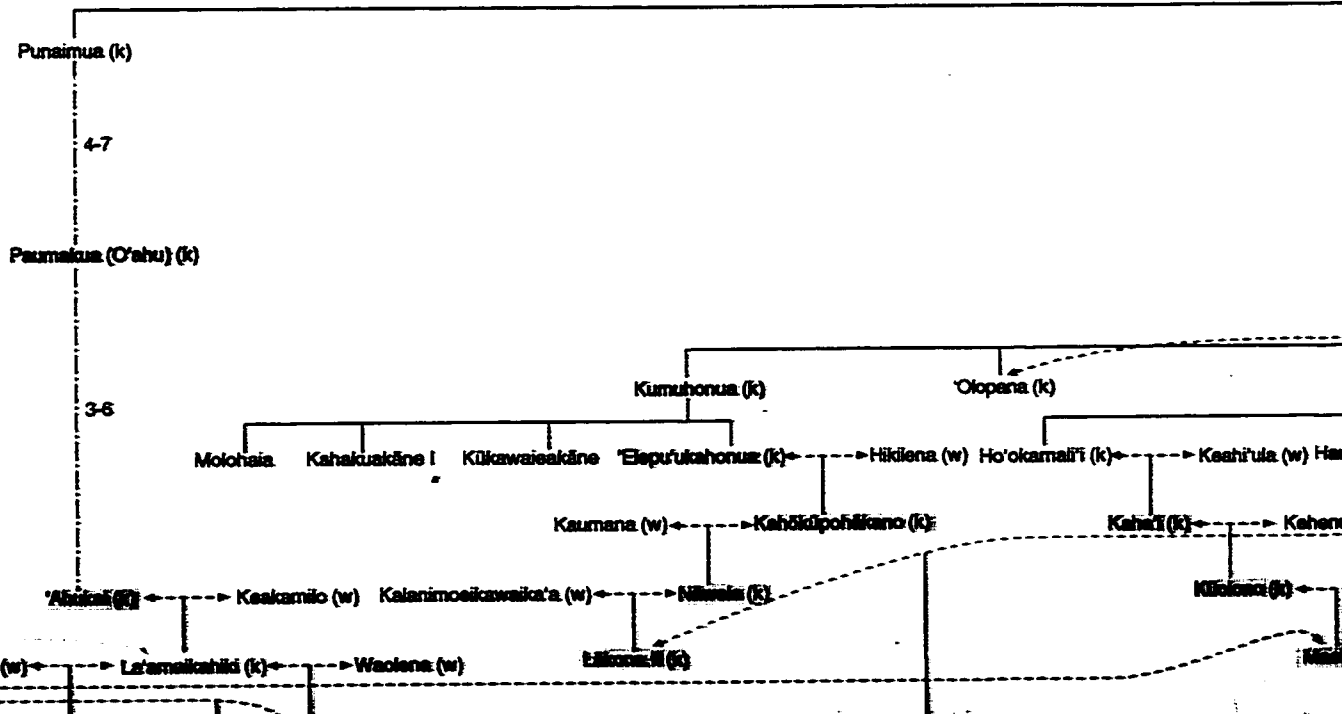
Lonoke'ehu (k)
Hoakanuikopua'ihelu (w)

Eni'ehu (k)

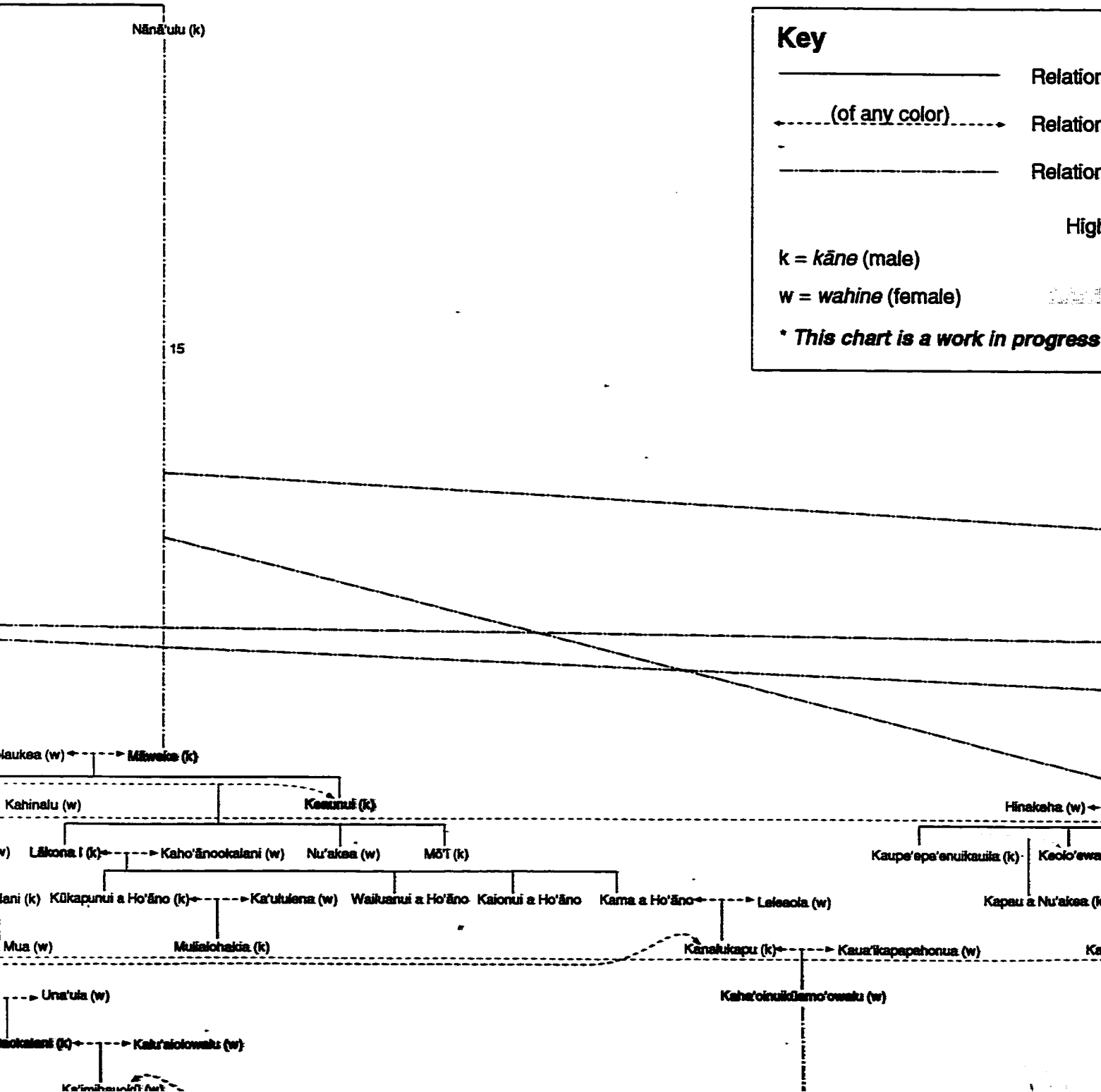
Lua'ehu (k)
Kamaio (k)
Hainkamaio (w)

Mano'opu'ehu

Nānā (k)



Mi'i Lineages *



Relationship between parent and offspring or between siblings

Relationship between mates

Relationship between lineal ancestor and descendant

Highlighted individuals are independent *ali'i nui*

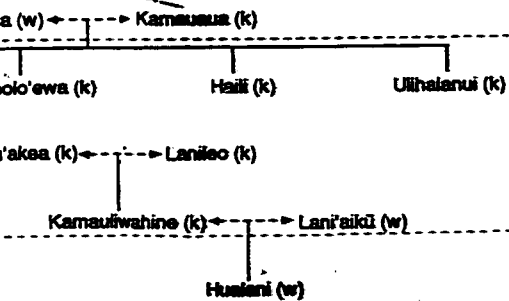
O'ahu

Maui

Kaua'i

Hawai'i

Process and is not intended to be a definitive work product.



apōea (w)

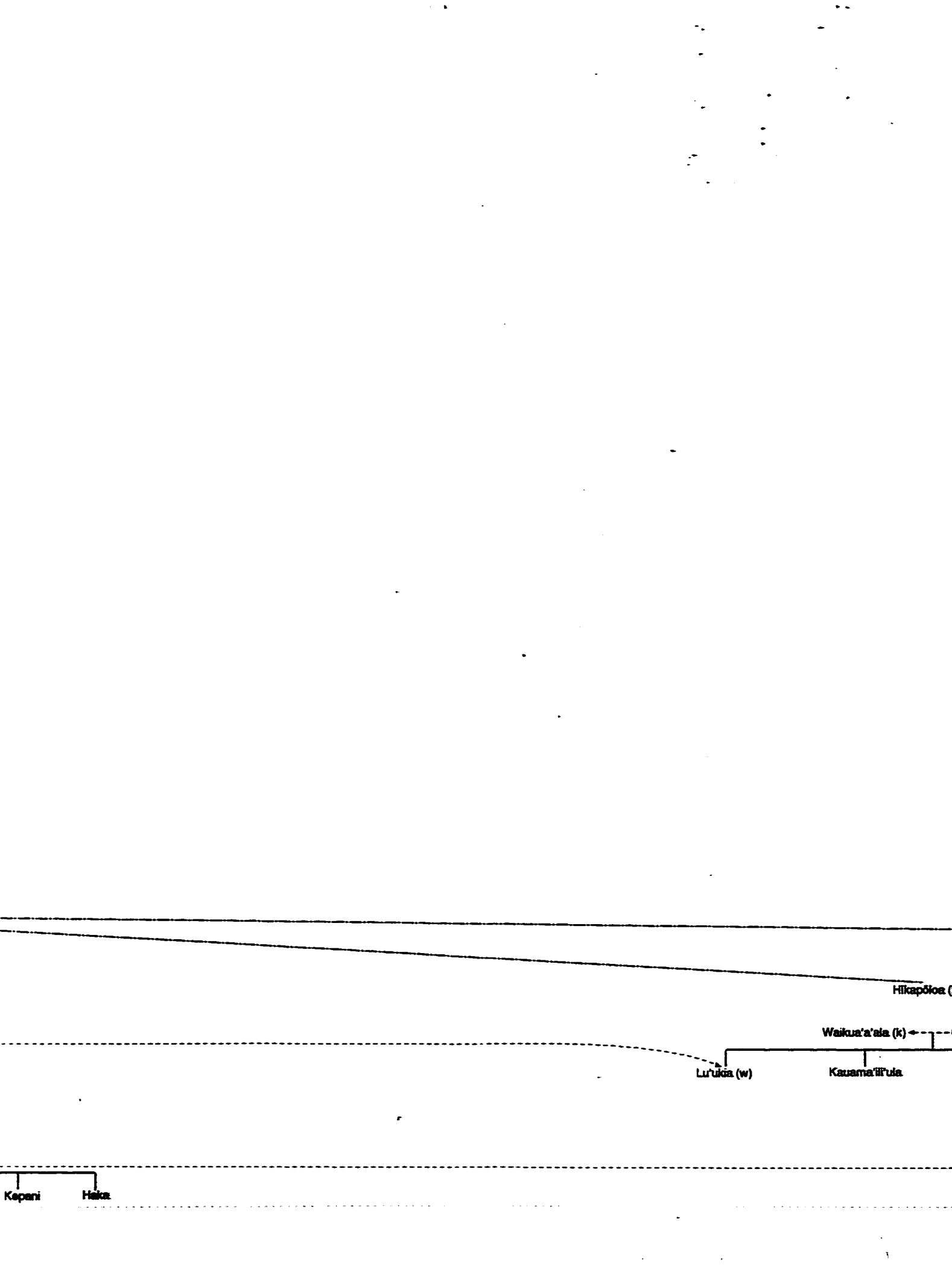
Molehāi (w)

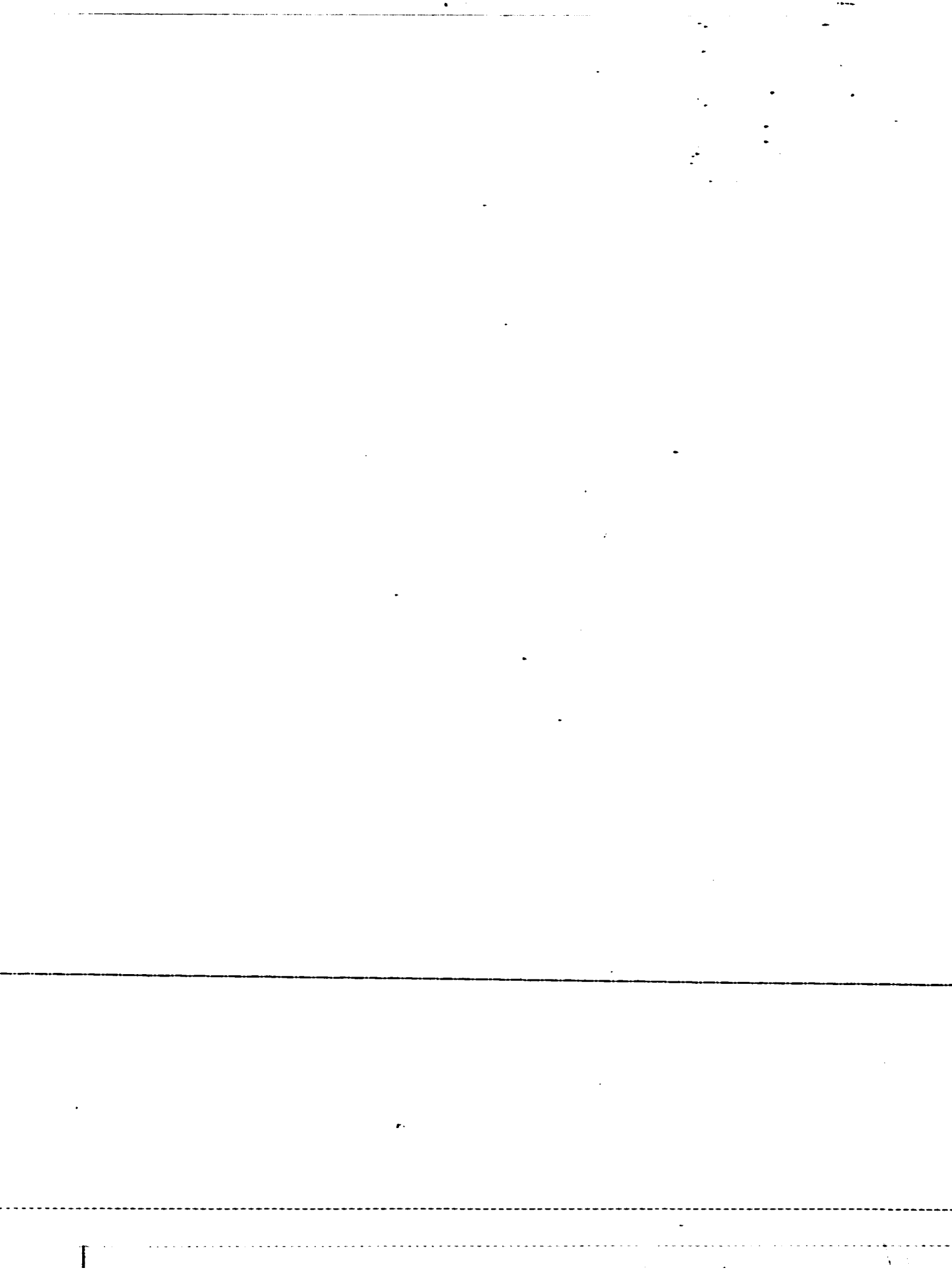
Ma: (k) ← Manōkālāiani (w) Kūhela (k) → Lanīleo (w) Jūi (w)

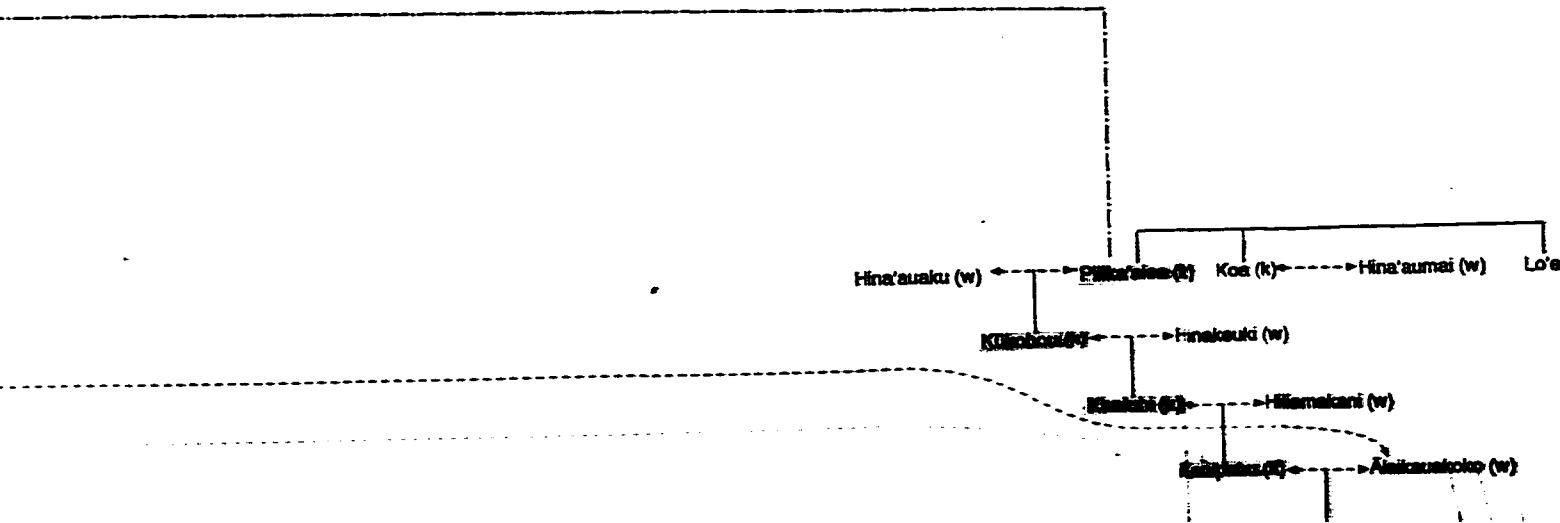
Hāhāi (k) ← Kaulāianapa (w) Hakaianīleo (w) → Hira (w)

Elāiana (k) ← Hāhāimānu (w) Kana (k) → Kapāikūmōkālani (w) Nihau (k) Kōkōhāwāku Kapani Haka

Hāpōkālāni (k) ← Kapūkapa (w) Kanapōlō (k) → Kalanikapa (w)

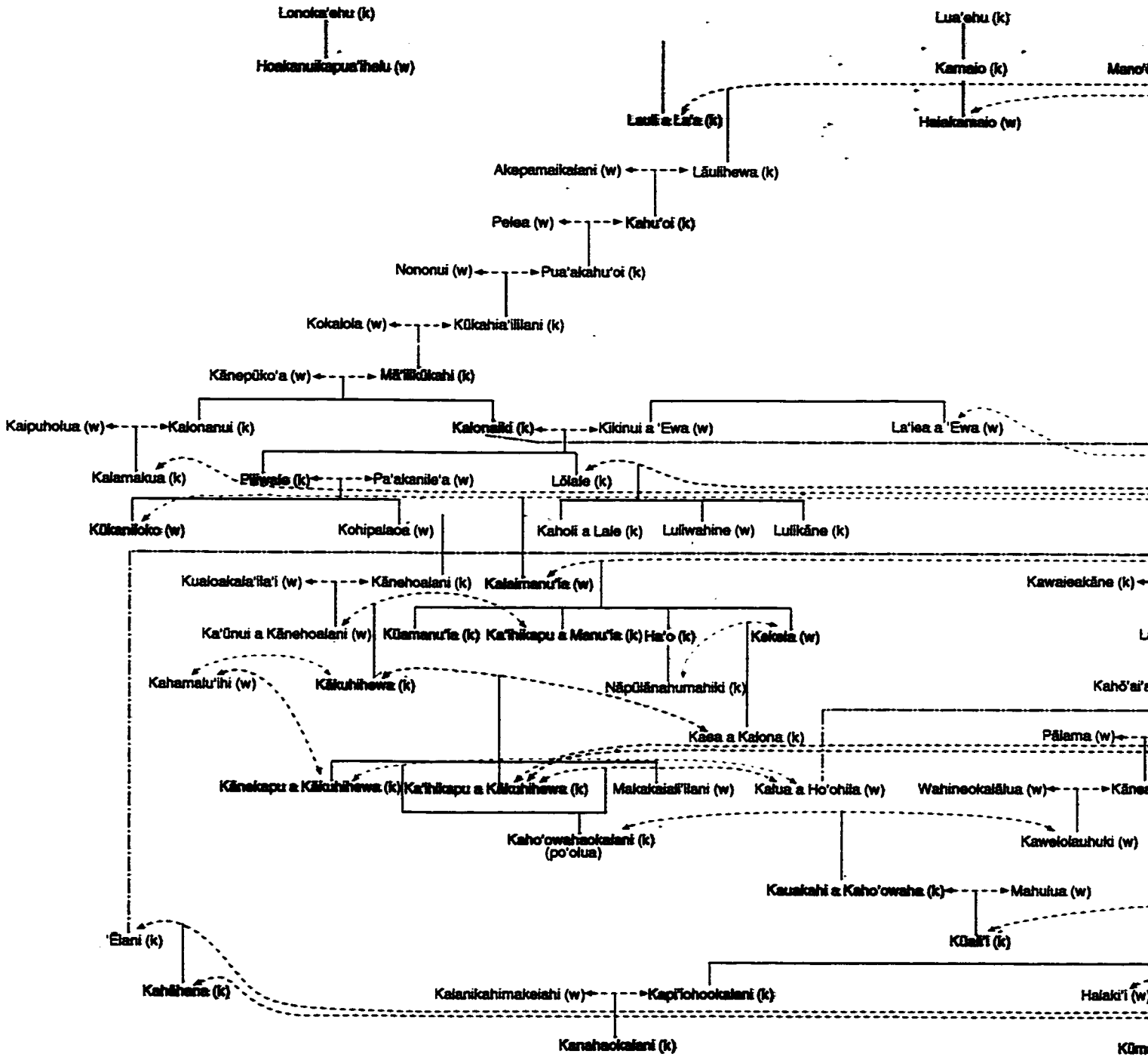


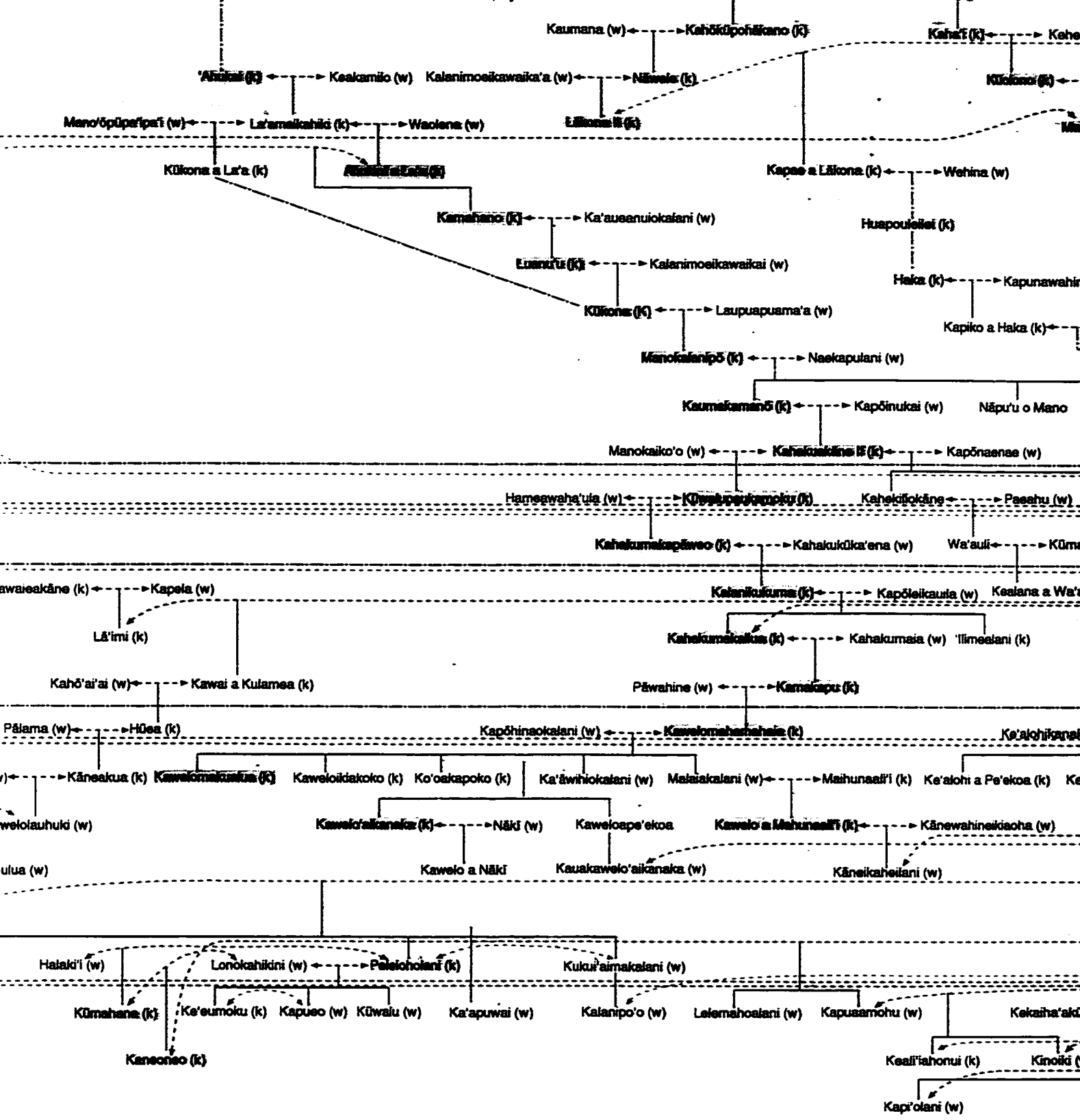


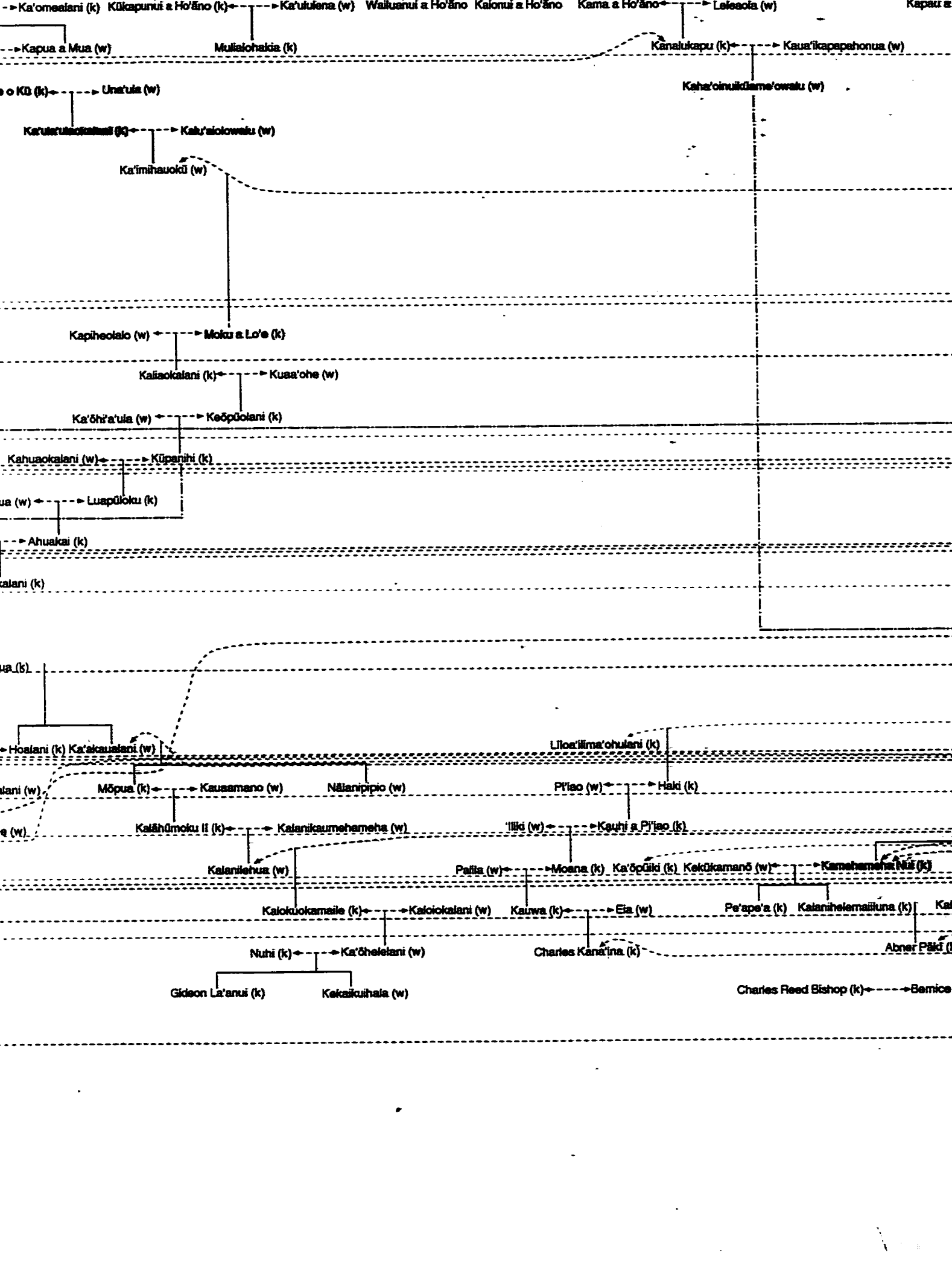


na'aumai (w) | Lo'e (k) -----> Hinamale'i (w)

Ma'auakoko (w) | Waikua (k) -----> Iole (w) | [Redacted] (w)
-----> Makemahamahi (w)







ahu
Kepani
Haka

w)

Lilinoe (w)

ma a Kūkahau'ula (k)

omakūkahau'ula (k) → Moenole (w)

Moenole → Kauluonana Kanaioahuamoenole Uha a Moenole Pae a Moenole

Nāhuku (k)

oko (k) Kaha'iaonui (w)

Kaliokalioka (k)

Kōka'iani (k)

Kalilani'ua'ia'ihwahineopuna (w) Ka'ao'aowao (w)

Kapukiniakua (w) Keawenui'ohokapukalani (k) 'Iheie (w)

a'aiani (w)

Kap

'Iku'ana (w) Umi'ulakatahuanu (w)

ikiokalani (w) → Hehu (k) → Moana (w)

Ahia (w) Kamaka'Imoku (w)

Kala'irehinaui (w) Hākau (w)

Kana'ioanui (k) Keawehau (k)

ea (w) Kaliaomoku (w) Kala'ipahata (w) Kalkokalani (k) Ha'o (k) Ka'ilipekaiua (w) Wahine (w) Keawema'uhihi (k) Kekū'ohi (w) Kalani'opu

a (k) John Young (k) Ka'ōana'eha (w) Luahine (w) Keaweokahikona (k) 'Eieue (k) Kekū'ōhoa (w) Kihaka'o (k)

Kawao (w) Fanny Kekala (w) Naea (k) Grace Kama'iku'i (w) Thomas Fooka (k) Keoniana Kaleipahalanui (k) Jane Lahilahi (w) Keaouanako

Emma Kaleleonāiani (w)

S. L. K. Peleioholani (k)

