**OLA NĀ IWI:**
BUILDING FUTURE LEADERS
BY LINKING STUDENTS TO THE PAST

*Ola Nā Iwi* is a place-based curriculum resource packet that provides K-12 teachers with both primary and secondary sources—texts, images, videos, links and more—centered on the royal, and other, burials at the Waine’e Cemetery of Waiola Church in Lāhainā, Maui. These materials can be used to create place-based lesson plans that address current Hawai‘i Department of Education Content and Performance Standards.

These curriculum packets seek to highlight Native voice by accessing both Hawaiian and English-language resources, textual and oral, of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. A genealogy of voice links current-day practices with past understandings.

Four central themes are threaded throughout the resources and essays:

**Kuleana**  - the rights and responsibilities that fall to each of us

**Native Agency** - histories should reflect the active engagement of Native Hawaiians in the events that affected their lives, land, and lāhui

**Nation Building** - the creation, under Native rule, of a near fully literate, progressive, sovereign nation

**Ka Po’e Aloha ʻĀina** - a nation of men and women devoted to the defense of their ali‘i, their nation, and their ʻāina

The resources provided are meant to assist kumu in preparing lesson plans and classroom exercises that complement and contextualize field trips to Waine’e Cemetery in Lāhainā. They can be used as preparation for the excursion and/or summarization and further study upon return.

Resources related to the cemetery and burials at Waine‘e, Lāhainā, Maui can be used to teach interdisciplinary lessons about the land, people, and governance of Hawai‘i in both past and present.

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1 “Ola Nā Iwi” signifies the great importance that Native Hawaiians place on preserving and honoring the experience and knowledge of elders—both living and deceased—and is explained by the revered Hawaiian scholar Mary Kawena Pukui in the text ʻŌlelo Noʻeau (Hawaiian Proverbs): “Said of a respected elder who is well cared for by his family.”
The materials included and linked within this resource package are grouped into three categories:

**A: ʻĀINA**

He ʻāina momona kēia! (This is a fattened land, rich in resources!) The islands of Hawaiʻi were filled with abundant and diverse resources. Kuahiwi (mountains), awāwa (valleys), and kahawai (streams) across Hawaiʻi were celebrated for their particular treasures. At Honopū, Kauaʻi, some of the best olonā—a treasured plant used to produce cordage—was grown; the island of Molokaʻi offered an abundance of ʻono (delicious) fish within its many loko ʻa (fishponds); the famous kukui groves of Makawao, Maui, produced nuts that were turned into an ʻinamona (sweet relish) that was greatly coveted by all. The ʻāina provided well for the people who took care of it with reverence.

**B: ALIʻI**

The greatest of Nā Aliʻi o Hawaiʻi (Hawaiʻi’s Ruling Chiefs) dedicated their lives to the service of their people. They offered leadership and guidance to the lāhui (nation/race) and a connection to the divine. They also provided a sense of stability and pride to a people challenged by tremendous change. Numerous oli (chants), moʻolelo (stories/histories), and kanikau (funeral dirges) highlight the devotion of the people to their beloved aliʻi.

**C: KA POʻE ALOHA ʻĀINA**

The Kingdom of Hawaiʻi was an independent and sovereign nation filled with a literate, engaged, and devoutly patriotic citizenry. We now know of the many broad and powerful actions of numerous men and women who fought bravely for their nation, often giving up their livelihoods and sometimes their lives. Ka Poʻe Aloha ʻĀina drafted petitions, created political parties, published newspapers, organized prayer/fast meetings, and employed other means in attempts—often successful ones such as the 1898 anti-annexation petitions that worked to defeat the treaty of annexation in the US Congress—to counter strong foreign and domestic challenges to Native rule and Native desires.

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_Mahalo Nui Loa Mai Ka Mea Kākau_

This project came about because of the vision of Tama Kaleleiki and the support of Hawaiinuiākea, Nā Kiaʻi o Waineʻe and Waiola Church. Their dedication, service, and aloha to the kūpuna of before and the community of today continues to inspire. This work is but a very small piece of the moʻolelo and many will add to its voice.

Copyright 2014 Ronald Williams Jr. - Ka ʻElele Research and Writing
A: ‘ĀINA

He ali‘i ka ‘āina, he kauwā ke kanaka
(The land is a chief, man is its servant)

The Waine‘e Cemetery is located on the border of Waine‘e and Waiokama ahupua‘a, in the moku of Lāhainā, on the mokupuni of Maui.

One of the ancient names for Lāhainā was Lele. This wahi pana (legendary place) was a spiritual, governmental, and economic center of the Islands for centuries. The inland island of Moku‘ula, which sat within the Mokuhina fishpond that bordered Waine‘e Cemetery on the makai side, was a royal residence of the Maui ruling chief Pi‘ilani and his successors down to Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III). This area was the capital of the islands until 1845. The great Council of Chiefs met here to decide important matters of state including naming the royal children who would be eligible to succeed to the throne. The first constitution for the Kingdom of Hawai‘i was signed here in 1840.

In May 1823, the sacred wife of King Kamehameha I, Queen Keōpūolani, founded the first Christian church on Maui here. The church, first named Ebenezer, then Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine‘e, and now known as Waiola Church, celebrated its 190th anniversary in 2013. The burials that are the topic of this resource packet lie within the cemetery of this historic church.
Born was the land, born were the chiefs, born were the common people

The land, the chiefs, and the people belong together.

I ka ‘ōiwi wale,² Lele/Lāhainā served as a site for the courts of Kakaʻalaneo, Kakae, Kahekili I, Piʻilani, and others. It was a place of abundance where fresh-water springs combined with streams flowing makai (seaward) from the nearby mountains to create fishponds, canals, and taro fields.

After contact with foreign vessels, Lele/Lāhainā became an important site of contact and a meeting place where Aliʻi Nui conducted trade and forged alliances. Queen Keōpūolani, the sacred wife of King Kamehameha I, returned to her home island in 1823 with a small company of Protestant missionaries and established the church at Wainē. Her daughter Princess Nāhiʻenaʻena became one of its early members. Aliʻi Nui including Kaʻahumanu, Ulumāhei Hoapili, Kalākua Kaheiheimālie, Miriam Kekauʻonohi, King David Kalākaua, Queen Liliʻuokalani and many others attended this church throughout its history as it served as a religious, political, and social center of the Lāhainā community. Batimia Labana Puaʻaiki, known as “Blind Bartimaeus” was baptized at the church and later became the first licensed Native pastor in the Islands. Both Davida Malo and ‘Ione Papa ʻĪʻī were a part of the congregation at Ka ʻEkalesia o Wainē.

In the time of Mōʻī (King) Kauikeouli (Kamehameha III), Lāhainā was the seat of the government (at Luaʻehu where Hawaiʻi’s first constitution was drafted and signed), the hub of commercial trading (at Pākalā on the shoreline), a spiritual center (the home of Kihawahine at Mokuʻula), and a place of refuge for the king. The anthropologist P. Christiaan Klieger has described the area as “an axis mundi of the Hawaiian world.”³

Lāhainā was an unwavering center of royalist support for the continuing line of Hawaiian monarchs. It was Lāhainā where Queen Emma, in 1862, worked to found the Anglican school Luaʻehu, whose mission was to train Native Hawaiians to be leaders of the nation. King David Laʻamea Kalākaua traveled to Lāhainā throughout his reign to meet his subjects at Ka ʻEkalesia o Wainē in order to rally support for varying programs including his call to “E Hoʻoulu i ka Lahui Hawaii Maoli” (Increase the Native Race)⁴ and the determined efforts to replace the despised Bayonet Constitution of 1887.

After the January 1893 overthrow of Her Majesty Queen Liliʻuokalani, Lāhainā became a center of resistance against the new government and its efforts to have the nation annexed to the United States. Wainē Church was at the heart of this community’s fight.

² Kumu Kanalu Young coined this term to represent the era before contact that was Native only.
³ P. Christiaan Kleiger, Mokuʻula: Maui’s Sacred Island, 1998.
Lāhainā, i ka Malu ‘Ulu o Lele, stood as a shining example of the steadfast devotion of the Native Hawaiian people to their ali‘i, their ‘āina, and their lāhui. There were great patriots from this ancient and historic place who stood out as political, religious, and social leaders, and many others who just as importantly served their nation more quietly by teaching, raising families, and never forgetting who they were—a great and proud people.

‘Ohana such as the Makekau; Makalua; White; Kuemanu; Cockett; Kukahiko; Kalepa; Timoteo; Aiona; Shaw; Kaae; and more enriched Lāhainā and Hawai‘i itself through their works and example.

Lāhainā was the site of one of the strongest branches of the anti-annexation group, Ka Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina, founded in March 1893 to protest the overthrow of the Queen and fight against annexation. In 1896, as resistance persisted, Lāhainā remained a steadfast bastion of Native patriotism. When the great Hui Aloha ‘Āina leader from Hilo, Iosepa Kaho‘olului Nāwahī, died from tuberculosis contracted while in prison, his body was brought around the islands in memorial for people to pay their respects. On 1 October 1896, in Lāhainā, a committee of Hui Aloha ‘Āina o ka Malu ‘Ulu o Lele greeted Mrs. Emma Aima Nāwahī and the body of her beloved husband. The committee consisted of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Makekau</th>
<th>Mrs. C. B. Cockett</th>
<th>Mrs. Lele Duncan</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs. Mina Ahyee</td>
<td>Mrs. Makalua</td>
<td>Mrs. Kamala Aiona</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. B. Cockett</td>
<td>R. H. Makekau</td>
<td>Mrs. Kauwenaoʻole</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs. William White</td>
<td>Miss Lavinia Makalua</td>
<td>Mrs. R. H. Makekau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs. Maleka Kahana</td>
<td>James Kahalepua</td>
<td>Miss Alice Aiona</td>
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<td>Mrs. P. Kuamu</td>
<td>D. Kahanu</td>
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William White was the first to greet Mrs. Nāwahī. A son of John White and Keawe, the genealogy of this Lāhainā native goes back to Kaiakea, the great orator from Moloka‘i and close confidant of Kamehameha I. William became a lawyer and was elected to the kingdom legislature in 1890 where he became an outspoken leader in pushing for a constitutional convention to replace the Bayonet Constitution. Queen Lili‘uokalani credited White with being one of the authors of her proposed new constitution and knighted him with the Order of Kalākaua, calling him and Nāwahī “great patriots of the nation.” White was arrested with four members of Waine‘e Church by the Provisional Government in 1893. He continued to serve as the Queen’s eyes and ears in Lāhainā, informing her of one particular plot to kidnap and murder Native Royalist leaders. William Pūnohu White is one of the many great patriots that have been nearly erased from modern histories of Hawai‘i.
Waiola Church

“‘I Ulu No Ka Lālā I Ke Kumu”
“The branches grow because of the trunk.
Without our ancestors, we would not be here”

Over its nearly two-century history since being founded by the sacred Ali‘i Nui Keōpūolani, Waine‘e/Waiola Church has been a center of life in Lāhainā. It has served as a house of worship, a gathering place, a Hawaiian-language education site, and so much more for many generations of families.

It has also carried the vital kuleana of honoring the ancestors buried within its cemetery. Early committees of the church worked to mālama the grounds and insure proper respect for the burials there. In 1883/84, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, concerned with protecting the iwi of all of the ali‘i, had remains transferred from the mausoleum at Mokuʻula to the cemetery at Waineʻe. After her death, her husband Charles Reed Bishop had the Royal Mausoleum area within the church graveyard constructed.

In 2011, concern within Waiola Church over the condition of the cemetery led to the forming of a committee—Nā Kiaʻi ʻO Waine‘e (The Guardians of Waine‘e)—that was dedicated to preserving and protecting the burials interred there and increasing knowledge about them. What began as a mission of grounds keeping and maintenance became a greater vision as those visiting the cemetery shared moʻolelo of their kupuna and searched their memories for long held but untold stories. The wishes of Princess Pauahi were fulfilled and expanded to include all those who rested at Waineʻe as information on unnamed headstones and unmarked graves allowed for a mapping of the cemetery. In their unassuming way, Nā Kiaʻi ʻO Waineʻe and Waiola Church have again brought dignity and peace to those buried within this historic cemetery. Their work has inspired new interest in the burials and this sacred site continues to be a source of education and inspiration through visits from school groups, civic clubs, and other parts of the community.

Mary Kawena Pukui, ʻOlelo Noʻeau, 1983.
After the move of the capital and many ali‘i to Honolulu in mid-century and the diversion of streams to irrigate sugar, Mokuhinia pond began to fall into disrepair. The following sources speak of the transfer of burials. Hon. Daniel Kahaulelio, “Ka Moolelo o ke Kalanakauhale o Lahaina,” Lei Rose O Hawaiʻi, 15 ‘Aukake 1898. Kalola, “Ka Hoike a Kalola no na Iwi o na Alii e waiho la ma Wainee Lahaina, Maui,” GEN 12.12, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. Oral interview of Alice Kaee by Lahaina historian Inez Asdown in “Lahaina Town.”
A: ‘ĀINA

Lähainā/Lele

Ka Inoa: Place Name

Lähainā - While today there are variant spellings of Lähainā/Lahaina/Lāhaina, oral histories and notes from Mary Kawena Pukui cite the traditional name as “Lähainā (cruel or unrelenting sun).”7

In an oral interview with Mrs. Pia Cockett, the Lāhainā kupuna states, “Not Lahaina, it was Lāhainā. Because there was a man, a baldheaded man who went in the sun and his head became sore. That’s why they called it Lāhainā [hainā = cruel; lā = sun].”8

Mary Kawena Pukui says, “both Ilalaole and Mookini say it refers to a time of terrible drought when the sun was so cruel to the people that it caused everything to wither and dry.”9

‘Olelo Noʻeau concerning Lähainā

Lāhainā, i ka malu ‘ulu o Lele. Lāhainā, in the shade of the breadfruit trees.

Hālau Lāhainā, malu i ka ‘ulu. Lāhainā is like a large house shaded by breadfruit trees.

Ka la‘i o Hauola. The calm of Hauola. There is a stone in the sea at Lāhainā, Maui, called Pōhaku-o-Hauola, where pregnant women went to sit to ensure an easy birth. The umbilical cords of babies were hidden in crevices in the stone.

Ka ua Paʻāpili o Lele. The Pili soaking rain of Lele. The plains of Lāhainā, Maui, were covered with pili grass in ancient days. When the rain poured the grass was well-soaked.

Keikei Lāhainā i ka ua Paʻāpili. Glorious is Lāhainā in the Paʻāpili rain.

Ka ulu lāʻau ma kai. The forest on the seaward side. Refers to the masts of the ships that came into the harbors of Lāhainā or Honolulu.

Ka Maʻaʻa wehe lau niu o Lele. The Maʻaʻa wind that lifts the coconut fronds of Lele.

Kāhela kāhela i ka laʻi o Lele. Stretched out full-length in the calm of Lele. Said of a sleeper stretched out in a careless manner.

Huaʻi ka ‘ulu o Lele i ka makan Kona. The breadfruit of Lele is exposed by the Kona wind. Hidden matters are exposed in time of anger. When the Kona wind blows, the leaves of the trees are blown off to expose the fruit.

Ke Kuahiwi: Lāhainā Peak

Lāhainā sits at the base of Mauna Līhau-wai-ʻeke-ʻeke-i-ka-lani, a place noted for its lehua blossoms that were worn in lei by the youths of Lāhainā.10

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8 Mrs. Pia Cockett, Audio Collection Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, HAW 84.3.2.
**Ka Makani: Some Winds of Lāhainā**

*Ma’a’a* - Ka makani Ma’a’a is a gentle onshore breeze of Lāhainā, blowing from between Lāna’i and Kaho’olawe, that brings the fragrant scent of līpoa (a highly-prized limu) in from the beach of ‘Uo. If this wind blows at night it is called Ululoa and it is kapu to go out on the sandy shores of Lāhainā lest one meet the ghosts and marchers of the night.

*Kaau‘ula* - Ka makani Kaau‘ula is a devastating wind of Lāhainā that whips down from the hills of Kaua’ula Valley. This wind twice caused major damage to Ka ‘Ekalesia o Wainē’e. The mele “Lahainaluna” refers to the school as “Ipu kukui a’ā mau pio ‘ole i ka makana Kaau‘ula” (A lamp that cannot be extinguished by the Kaau‘ula wind).

*Kaomi* - Ka makani Kaomi is a gentle Lāhainā breeze that blows in from the space between Moloka’i and Ka’anapali.

*Moa’e* - Ka makani Moa’e is an onshore Lāhainā breeze that blows from the space between Kaho’olawe and Molokini.

*Huli-alo-pali* - Ka makani Huli-alo-pali is a Lāhainā wind from ‘A’alaloloa and Pāpalaaua (Thousand Peaks) to the East.

*Hau* - Ka makani Hau is a chilly Lāhainā wind that comes from the mountains above Lāhainā in the late evening.

*Ho’oluua* - Ka makani Ho’oluua is a Lāhainā wind blowing from Mauna Ho’omaha, Honokowai, to the north whose chill pierces like the point of a spear.

**Ka Nalu: Some Surfs of Lāhainā**

*‘Uo* - One of the most famous of surfs, a consistent wave fronting Keawaiki (Lāhainā Harbor) and the Lāhainā Post Office. Now known as Lāhainā Breakwater or Lāhainā Lefts.

A mele inoa (name chant) for Kaumuali‘i speaks of the ancient surf at ‘Uo: “Ua hee punaia ka nalu o Uo” (The banana stalks are surfboards at ‘Uo).

Speaking of Gov. P. Nahā’olelua of Maui in 1868: “He maikai kona ola ana, i ka holohia wale paha e ka nalu o Uo, hele a eaa kai, he ano kaukau io no ke taona nei.” (He is in good health, perhaps from riding the waves of ‘Uo. The surf was rising, and therefore he was delayed in his arrival into town.)

In 1870, John Papa ʻĪʻī described his younger days in Lāhainā, watching the surfing there: “aia hoi na keiki e heenalu ana ma ka aoao akau o Pelekane, me na hamaia, oia ko lakou papaheenalu…na kanaka makua , mawaho ae o Uo.” (Children were surfing on the north side of Pelekane with banana trunks for surfboards…the parents surfaced outside at ‘Uo.)

*Makila* - A broad wave, at Puamana, protected fringing reef with a gradual seaward slope.

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13 “Lahainaluna” words and music by Albert Kaleikini, a student at Lahainaluna in 1898.
20 *Ka Nūpepa Kaʻokoʻa,* 15 Pepeluiali 1868, in *Hawaiian Surfing,* John Clark, 2011.
Loko I'a: Some Fishponds at Lāhainā

Loko o Mokuhinia - The Royal fishpond at Wainee, Lāhainā, this abundant inland pond—fed with underground springs and mountain streams—covered almost seventeen acres at the center of the ali‘i compound in Hawai‘i’s capital. The pond was often referred to as Ka Lua o Kiha (The Domain of Kiha) after the akua mo‘o Kihawahine who resided within the pond. The pond, filled in 1914 with coral and dirt, was bordered on the mauka side by the house lot of Ulumāheīhei Hoapili and Wainee Church/Cemetery.

Loko o Nalehu - Actually several ponds, these were located on the land of the ali‘i Nalehu at Waiokama both west and south of Loko o Mokuhinia—across Front and Shaw streets. Today the Nalehu ponds makai of Mokuhinia are covered by the 505 Front Street retail plaza. The 1842 will of Kalākua Kaheheimālie (Hoapili Wahine), wife of Kamehameha I and grandmother of kings Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapu‘iwa, made Nalehu the konohki of Waiokama ahupua’a.

Ke Kai: The Sea

The ocean waters stretching from Lāhainā to Ma‘alaea are named “Kai o Huai.”

Pailolo is the name of the channel between Maui and Moloka‘i.

Ulu Lā‘au: Groves and Agriculture

Lāhainā was famous for its groves of niu (Coconut), ‘ulu (breadfruit), and kou. A coconut grove just north of Ka ‘Ekalesia o Wainee was planted by Hoapili in the 1820s.

The legendary ‘ulu trees of Lele were reportedly planted by the ali‘i Kaka‘alaneo who ruled over Maui from Lāhainā, circa 1380-1415.

In 1911, William Brigham wrote, “at Lāhaina on Maui, were as fine trees forty years ago as I have seen in Samoa or Fiji.” Although Lāhainā received much less rainfall than other areas well known for breadfruit, ‘ulu thrived at Lāhainā because of the abundant groundwater in the region.

“The southern shores of western Maui were perhaps second to only to Puna, Hawaii, as a favorable locality for breadfruit culture.”

The area mauka of Governor Hoapili’s home, across the ancient road of Pi‘ilani, was terraced with crops reaching deep into the recesses of Kaua‘ula Valley.

“Lahaina’s main taro lands, on the lower slopes running up to the west side of Pu‘u Kukui, were watered by two large streams, Kanaha and Kahoma, which run far back into deep valleys whose sides were too precipitous for terracing.”

Ka Pu‘uhonua: Place of Refuge

Pu‘uhonua were sacred lands where those who had violated kapu could gain protection. In Lāhainā, Paunau, an ahupua’a of Ka‘ahumanu, was a pu‘uhonua.

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22 "Place Names," Theodore Kelsey Collection, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, HEN 1:819.
26 Ibid.
27 Handy, Handy, and Pukui, Native Planters in Old Hawaii, 1972.
Foreign Descriptions:

[1793] “Even the shelving cliffs of rock were planted with esculent roots, banked in and watered by aqueducts from the rivulet with as much art as if their level had been taken by the most ingenious engineer. We could not but indeed admire the laudable ingenuity of these people in cultivating their soil with so much economy. The indefatigable labor in making these little fields in so rugged a situation, the care and industry with which they were transplanted, watered and kept in order, surpassed anything of the kind we had ever seen before.”

[1793] “In short, the whole plantation was cultivated with such studious care and artful industry as to occupy our minds and attention with a constant gaze of admiration during a long walk through it…”

[1819] “The environs of Lahaina are like a garden. It would be difficult to find a soil more fertile, or a people who could turn it to greater advantage;”

[1823] “The settlement is far more beautiful than any place we have yet seen on the Islands. The entire district stretching nearly three miles along the seaside, is covered with luxuriant groves, not only of the cocoanut…but also of the breadfruit and of the kou…while the banana plant, kapa and sugar-cane are abundant, and extended almost to the beach.”

[1823] “The appearance of Lahaina from the anchorage is singularly romantic and beautiful. A fine sandy beach stretches along the margin of the sea, lined for a considerable distance with houses, and adorned with shady clumps of kou trees, or waving groves of cocoa-nuts…The level land of the whole district, for about three miles, is one continued garden, laid out in beds of taro, potatoes, yams, sugar cane or cloth plant.”

30 Ibid.
One of the most sacred Ali‘i Nui born in the Islands, Kalanikauikaʻalaneo Keōpūolani was the daughter of Kīwalaʻō—18th century ruler of Hawai‘i Island—and Kekuʻiapoiwa Līlīha—a sibling of Kamehameha Paiʻea. Her maternal moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy) was filled with centuries of Maui rulers including Kekeaulike, Pīʻilani, and Kakaʻalaneo. Her paternal lineage brought her the mana of Hawai‘i Island ruling chiefs such as Kalaniʻōpuʻu and Keaweʻikekahialiʻiokamoku, in whose time the island came to be known as “Moku o Keawe.” The deeper moʻokūʻauhau of Keōpūolani has been cited as tracing back to Ulu, a descendent of Hulihonua and Keakahulilani the first man and woman. It was said of this Maui Ali‘i Nui that her mana was “equal to that of the gods.”

Keōpūolani was born at Pihana Heiau near present day Wailuku, Maui. Her immense mana was an attractive draw to the several ali‘i who were vying for rule over the entire archipelago. After the Hawai‘i Island warrior Kamehameha Paiʻea defeated the Maui forces of Kahekiliʻahumanu—led by his son Kalanikūpule—at ‘Īao Valley in 1790, the victor sought out Aliʻi Wahine kapu Keōpūolani. Kamehameha, while successful as a warrior, desired to raise the rank of his children in order to create the possibility of a ruling dynasty. Keōpūolani was the perfect candidate for this important task. After spending nearly two years with her kupuna, Kalola, at Kalamaʻula, Molokaʻi, the sacred Ali‘i Nui joined Kamehameha at Keauhou, North Kona.

Keōpūolani bore King Kamehameha two living sons that would rule over the unified islands as King Kamehameha II and III; Kalani Kua Liholiho in Hilo in 1797 and Kauikeaouli in Keauhou in 1814. A daughter, Nāhīʻenaʻena was born in 1815.

In May of 1823, Keōpūolani, then living on Oʻahu, brought a company of recently arrived Protestant missionaries with her back home to Maui where her new husband Ulumāheihei Hoapili had just been named governor. Among the missionary company was a Tahitian Christian named Taua who became her primary instructor in both the new religion and the powerful tool of literacy. On Sunday 1 June 1823, the day following their arrival, a Christian worship service was held on the sands of Ōʻu beach in Lahaina. The first Christian church on Maui, Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine’e was founded soon after. On 16 September 1823, Keōpūolani, sick and on her death-bed, was baptized, becoming the first Native Christian baptism in Hawai‘i: she passed away about an hour later.

The sacred and beloved Aliʻi Nui was laid to rest on 18 September 1823 in a state funeral in Lāhainā. Her body was placed at a stone house named Hale Kamani at Kaluokahi, Luaʻehu, Lāhainā. Keōpūolani’s son, Mōʻī Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), constructed a Royal Mausoleum on the island of Mokuʻula—across Front street from Hale Kamani—where he lived and ruled. Upon completing the structure, Kauikeaouli moved the body of his mother to the mausoleum at Mokuʻula. It would eventually also house the bodies of his sister and several other of the highest Aliʻi Nui of Hawaiʻi.

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37 Kamakau, Ibid.
38 “This capture of the women by KI, a conquering chief taking the widow and female relatives of his defeated rival, was politically important. Most noteworthy was the manner in which he captured them, asking a high-ranking chiefess for the women and going to great lengths to pay respect to her; the female head of the matrilinel line.” Moʻokini, 1998.
39 Some sources list her birth name as “Nāhīʻenaʻena” (the raging fires) but later change to the more common “Nāhīʻenaʻena” (possibly a contraction).
In 1845 the capital of Hawai‘i moved from Lāhainā to the busy sea port of Honolulu and many within the Royal Court followed. The residence on the sacred island of Moku‘ula was, however, kept in use until the death of Kauikeaouli in 1854. In the 1860s a diversion of the upland streams that had been flowing into Mokuhinia meant that the water in the pond became stagnant and the sacred fishpond of Mokuhinia began to fall into disrepair.

In the final years of her life, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop set upon a project to assure protection and dignity for the remains of her royal Maui and Hawai‘i Island ancestors. Accounts within the Hawaiian-language newspapers and testimony given in 1888 by the ali‘i Kalola record the transfer of burials from the Royal Mausoleum at Moku‘ula a few hundred yards east of the cemetery at Waine‘e. An oral account from Lāhainā kupuna Alice Ka‘ae describes a night-time torch-led procession in which the iwi of Keōpūolani, Nāhi‘ena‘ena, Ulumāheihei Hoapili, Kaumuali‘i and others were brought to the cemetery of Waine‘e Church and reintered there. After Princess Pauahi’s death, her husband Charles Reed Bishop had a monument erected to these Ali‘i Nui within the cemetery.

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The sacred daughter of Kamehameha Pai‘ea and Keōpūolani was born at Keauhou in 1815. Her mother defied tradition by refusing to hānai Nāhi‘ena‘ena to another chief, instead choosing to raise her among her own court. Her father, the mōʻī, died when she was four.

The sacred princess, child of a nīʻaupiʻo union and filled with the mana of such high genealogies, sat at the center of varied and determined efforts to address the most pressing problem in the kingdom—mass death from the introduced diseases that continued to take a huge toll on the native population. Her mother had proclaimed that she was to be raised a Christian and Nāhi‘ena‘ena had indeed become a member of Waine‘e Church in Lāhainā at age twelve. Traditionalists, however, sought an answer that would come in the form of a new akua produced by a union of the princess and her brother. In order to glorify the union, and more specifically her ability to procreate, an enormous feather pāʻū (skirt) was created for Nāhi‘ena‘ena. This incredible piece of featherwork contains approximately one million yellow feathers of the ʻōʻō bird: a black species that had only ten to fourteen yellow feather per bird.43

In mid-September 1836, Ke Ali‘i Wahine Nāhi‘ena‘ena gave birth to a son, the presumptive heir to the throne of Hawai‘i, but the child lived only a few hours.44 She took ill soon after and the twenty-one year old Nāhi‘ena‘ena died at Ka Hale Uluge, the fern palace of the king, in Honolulu on 30 December 1836.

Mōʻī Kauikeaouli, severely grief stricken, took the body of his sister back to Ka Hale his royal compound. Local newspapers repeatedly inquired about a funeral, but the king refused to part with Nāhi‘ena‘ena and her body remained by his side for more than four weeks. One paper explained, “it seems to be the desire of his Majesty that she shall not be removed from his sight so long as it might be possible to prevent.”45

On 4 February 1837 a funeral was conducted at what was then a grass-thatched Kawaiahaʻo Church with Rev. Rueben Tinker presiding.46 After the funeral, Kauikeaouli had his sister brought back to his royal compound. The body of Nāhiʻenaʻena would next leave Ka Hale Uluhe in April.

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42 Another image of Nāhiʻenaʻena, painted weeks before her death, is part of the collection at Bishop Museum and is available at Hawaiʻi Alive: http://www.hawaiialive.org/viewer.php?resource=139&hostType=res&hostId=367
43 Pāʻū of Nāhiʻenaʻena: http://www.hawaiialive.org/realms.php?sub=Wao+Lani&treasure=367&offset=0
44 “Died,” Sandwich Islands Gazette, 17 September 1836.
45 “Died,” Sandwich Islands Gazette, 7 January 1837.
46 A report on the funeral of Nāhiʻenaʻena with a diagram of the procession order is found in: “No Ka Hoolewa Ana,” Ke Kumu Hawaiʻi, 15 Febuary 1837.
On 12 April, Mōʻī Kauikeaouli set sail with a newly purchased ship—formerly the “Don Quixote” and now renamed the “HHMS Kai”—to reunite Nāhiʻenaʻena with her mother Keōpūolani at Mokuʻula in Lāhainā. The Kai, accompanied by other ships, was bedecked with the Royal Standard of the Hawaiian Islands, which flew for the first time on this voyage.47

The “King’s fleet” docked at Lāhainā and elaborate preparations were made for the funeral. A path was cut from the harbor, beginning at the horse-gate at Panaʻewa, through the famous breadfruit groves, and leading to the Royal Mausoleum. ‘Ili‘ili were laid on the path and lauhala mats atop the stones. Finally, the body of the sacred Nāhiʻenaʻena was brought to rest at the Royal Mausoleum at Mokuʻula.48 The King moved his residence to Mokuʻula so as to not have to be away from his sister.49 Her remains are noted to have been transferred with others, in approximately 1884, to Waineʻe Cemetery.

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48 A “child of Nāhiʻenaʻena” is also recorded as having been buried with her at Mokuʻula. This is most likely her child by Kauikeaouli. P. Christiaan Klieger, *Mokuʻula: Maui’s Sacred Island*, 1998.
49 Klieger writes that Kauikeaouli took up residence at her tomb.
ULUMĀHEIHEI HOAPILI
(c. 1775–1840)

Ulumāheihei was born to the Ali‘i Nui Kame‘eiamoku, one of the Royal Twins that aligned with Kamehameha I in his rise to power. Ulumāheihei himself became one of Kamehameha’s closest confidants and advisors. On the sovereign’s deathbed in 1819, it was to Hoapili that the king whispered his final wishes. It was said that hiding his bones fell to this devoted aikāne. He was also entrusted with the care of Kamehameha’s sacred wife, Queen Keōpūolani.

In May of 1823, Hoapili was appointed Governor of Maui and took up residence on a large section of land in central Lāhainā near Moku‘ula. Besides his duties of state, Hoapili also became a caretaker of the mo‘o diety Kihawahine that lived within Mokuhinia pond just makai of his property.

In October 1823, after the death of Keōpūolani, Ulumāheihei Hoapili married Kalākua Kaheiheimālie—another former wife of Kamehameha I and grandmother to Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V—at the Lāhainā church in the first Christian marriage ceremony among the Ali‘i Nui of Hawai‘i. Kalākua took the name Hoapili Wahine. Hoapili strongly supported the Christian mission and on 12 August 1828 he ordered that land be marked off for a new church site just south of his home on the banks of Mokuhinia at Kuloloia. On 14 September, the cornerstone was laid for a grand new church that Hoapili bestowed with the name “Ebenezera.” He also granted the mission land for a seminary that became Lahainaluna.

Ulumāheihei Hoapili died on 3 January 1840 and was buried at Moku‘ula. His remains are noted to have been relocated to Waine’e Cemetery circa 1884.

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50 The church, in changing buildings on the same site, would come to be known as Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine’e, and after 1951, Waiola Church.
Kalākua Kaheiheimālie was born at Kawaipapa, Hāna, Maui, to the aliʻi Keʻeamoku (Kona chief who directed the military forces of Kamehame I) and Nāmāhana (daughter of Maui aliʻi ʻIke Kekaulike). Kalākua, like her sisters Kaʻahumanu and Namahana Piʻia, became a favored wife of Kamehamea I. It is reported that on his deathbed, as others gathered around, he called for her to be brought to him and asked that she bring him water and feed him his last meal.51

While Kaʻahumanu did not bear Kamehamea any children, her important genealogical line would continue on with the king as her sister Kaheiheimālie had three children by him; Kamehamea Kapuāiwa, Kamāmalu, and Kahoʻanoku Kīnaʻu. The last of these high-ranking children, Kīnaʻu, would bring Kamehamea grandchildren that would take the throne of the Hawaiian Kingdom as King Kamehamea IV (Alexander Liholiho) and King Kamehamea V (Lota Kapuāiwa).53

After the death of Keʻōpūolani, Kaheiheimālie married Ulumāheihei Hoapili and took the name Hoapili Wahine. She preceeded her sister Kaʻahumanu in the conversion to Christianity and while living in Lāhainā, near Ka ʻEkalesia o Waineʻe, started started a school for the older female kaukaualiʻi (class of chiefs of lesser rank than the high chief) and other influential people of the area.54 There “ma ka hale pohaku o Wainee mawaho o ka lanai” (at the stone house of Waineʻe outside on the lānai), the group read the bible and wrote ecclesiastic lessons. She also conducted similar women’s meetings among the makaʻāinana of Kaʻanapali and Olowalu. Her name became famous for these works and it was said that because of the work of Kaheiheimālie and Kaʻahumanu, the island of Maui became a center of “ka olelo o ke Akua” (the word of God).55

Kalākua Kaheiheimālie died of croup at Luaʻehu, Lāhainā in January of 1842. Her remains were buried at Mokuʻula and are noted to have been relocated to Waineʻe Cemetery circa 1884.

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51 Samuel M. Kamakau, “Ka Moolelo o Kamehamea I,” Ka Nūpepa Kāʻiʻōkōa, 16 Maraki 1867.
54 Samuel M. Kamakau, Ke Au ʻOkoʻa, 17 June 1869.
55 Samuel M. Kamakau, Ke Au ʻOkoʻa, 17 June 1869.
Kaumuali‘i was born to Kamakahelei and Kāʻeokūlani—a son of the Maui ruler Kekaulike and ruler of Kaua‘i—around 1778. Upon the death of his father in 1794, reign over Kaua‘i was passed to the young Kaumuali‘i.

In 1796, Kamehameha I, lacking only Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau in his efforts to unify the kingdom, launched an attack on the islands. A great storm led to the sinking of many of his ships and he was forced to turn back. A second attack against the forces of Kaumuali‘i was launched in 1806 but was abandoned when disease ravaged Kamehameha’s warriors. Over the next four years Kamehameha would amass an enormous and powerful fleet of warships. Sensing the death and destruction that would accompany a full scale war, Kaumuali‘i negotiated a surrender with Kamehameha that allowed him to retain his position as ruler over his people, but under the larger rule of a unified kingdom run by Kamehameha. He was the last to rule over a completely independent Kaua‘i before it came under the reign of Kamehameha I in 1810.

After the death of Kamehameha, in an effort to solidify control over the entire archipelago, Kaumuali‘i was wedded to Kamehameha’s favored wife and now Kuhina Nui (co-regent), Queen Kaʻahumanu.

Kaumuali‘i instructed that after his death, his iwi were not to be returned to Kaua‘i “aka, e hoihoiia a e waiho aku ma na keehena wawai o ka hale kupapau o ko lakou haku Keopuolani ma Kaluaokiha.” (but, to return to the mausoleum of our blessed Keōpūolani at Ka Lua o Kiha).

Kaumuali‘i died on 26 May 1824, and in accordance with his wishes, his body was buried at Lāhainā at the feet of the most high Ali‘i Nui Keōpūolani. His remains are noted to have been moved along with her to Waine’e Cemetery circa 1884.

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57 Samuel Manaiākalani Kamakau, “No ka Ike ana o Kamehameha me Kaumualii, ka Moi o Kaua‘i.” Ka Nāpepa Kā‘oko’a, 3 ‘Aukake 1867.
58 Samuel Manaiākalani Kamakau, No ka Make Ana o Kaumualii a me Ke Kaua ana ma Kauai, Ka Nāpepa Kā‘oko’a, 4 Apelila 1868.
59 Samuel Manaiākalani Kamakau, Ibid.
Ke Ali‘i Wahine Kekau‘ōnohi was born at Lāhainā, Maui in 1805 to Kahō‘anokū Kīna‘u of Hawai‘i Island—a child of Kamehameha I by Peleuli—and Kahaku‘a‘ko Wahinepī‘ō, a granddaughter of Kekaulike.

This mo‘opuna wahine (granddaughter) of Kamehameha I became the wife of Mō‘ī Liholiho (Kamehameha II). When His Majesty the King sailed for London in November 1823 with his favored wife Kamāmalu—a voyage from which they would not return alive—he appointed Kekau‘ōnohi governor of Maui. Her links to the royal lines of other Hawaiian islands would expand with later marriages to Kahalawai‘a and, later, Keali‘iaho‘oi—son of the Kaua‘i ruler, Kaumuali‘i. In her final years, Kekau‘ōnohi would also marry the Lāhainā-born chief Levi Haʻalelea, a son of Ali‘i Aimoku Ha‘alou of Moloka‘i.

Kekau‘ōnohi served in a number of important governmental roles throughout her life. She was named among the founding members of the House of Nobles that was created by the 1840 Kumukanawai—the Kingdom of Hawai‘i’s first constitution—and served in that legislative body for nine years. In 1842, she was appointed governor of Kaua‘i. She was also a member of the Privy Council of Mō‘ī Kauikeaouli.

The Maui Ali‘i Nui Kekau‘ōnohi died in Honolulu on 2 June 1851. She was buried at Moku‘ula. Her remains were noted to have been transferred to Waine’e Cemetery circa 1884.

60 Charles Stewart, A Residence in the Sandwich Islands, edited by William Ellis, 1839.
62 “Honolulu, Okatoba 8, 1864,” Ka Nūpepa Kā‘oko‘a, 8 ‘Okakopa 1864.
63 Hawai‘i State Archives, “Government Office Holders.”
Born to Ulumāheīhei Hoapili (aikāne of Kamehameha I) and Kalilikauoha (daughter of Kahekili II), Kuini Liliha was raised amidst the royal court of Kamehameha the Great. She married Boki Kamaʻuleʻule and accompanied him to England in 1824 when Mōʻī Liholiho (Kamehameha II) brought a delegation of aliʻi there to meet with King George IV. In London, Liliha and the others attended the ballet and opera, where they were seated in the royal box. Sadly, Queen Kamāmalu took sick and died of measles during the trip. Liliha dressed the body in proper burial attire and comforted her grief stricken King. He died of the same disease six days later.65

When Boki set sail from Hawaiʻi again in 1829 on an ill-fated trip to the New Hebrides in search of sandalwood, he directed that Kuini Liliha was to take over his responsibilities; including care of the new mōʻī, the young Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III). This also meant that Liliha served as Governor of Oʻahu and controlled significant lands and resources around the island. She was very popular among the people.

Liliha and several supporting aliʻi had been in opposition to some of the mandates of the Kuhina Nui, Kaʻahumanu and her supervision of the new king meant that a power struggle developed between the two Aliʻi Nui and their supporters. Kaʻahumanu soon ordered the removal of the king from Liliha’s supervision and the divisions came to a head. With war perhaps imminent, Kaʻahumanu returned to Lāhainā and asked Hoapili, the father of her rival, to speak with Liliha and convince her to back down. He agreed and soon after, he and his wife, Kalākua Kaheiheimālie, returned with the king.

In October 1830, at Pohukaina, Honolulu, a council of chiefs removed Liliha from her position as governor of the island and repealed her kuleana as caretaker of the lands left by Boki.66 Liliha returned to Lāhainā where she lived for several years. Native historian Samuel Kamakau wrote: “He makaikahi na aliʻi aloha nui ia e na makaainana e like me Liliha.” (Few of the chiefs were so beloved by the common people as was Liliha.) She died in Honolulu on 24 August 1839 but her body was returned to Lāhainā and “e waiho pu ai me Harieta Nahienaena” (placed with Harieta Nahienaena) at the royal mausoleum at Mokuʻula.67 Her remains are noted to have been relocated to Wainē Cemetery circa 1884.

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64 The original painting, located in Scotland in 1975, was purchased and donated to Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate Trust. For more on the painting see: http://ww2.ksbe.edu/ihac/ArtView.aspx?ArtID=223
67 Samuel M. Kamakau, Ke Au ‘Oko’a, 28 Ianuali 1869.
Like many Native Hawaiian families, the Makekau ‘ohana in Lāhainā, Maui, had a strong and resolute matriarch. Meli Kahiwa Swinton was born in Kalaʻe, Molokaʻi on 24 June 1823. She married Abel Keliʻionuʻuanu Makekau in Lāhainā in 1851. Over the next seven decades Meli helped lead a family that would serve both church and nation with undeniable devotion. She bore fourteen children, many of whom grew to serve the country as legislators, lawyers, magistrates, teachers, and community leaders. Her husband Abel Makekau was a trustee of Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waineʻe—founded in 1823—when it was incorporated as a private body in 1872.

In the days following the 17 January 1893 overthrow of Her Majesty Queen Liliʻuokalani, Meli’s husband Abel was an organizer and leader of prayer-fast meetings at Waineʻe Church praying for the return of their Queen to her throne. Abel Makekau served as a deacon of the church and when its pastor came out in strong support of the new government and the idea of annexation to the United States, he was one of the leaders of a strong majority that attempted to oust the reverend from the pulpit.

Meli’s son Ramon Hoe Makekau served as delegate of the Lāhainā branch of Ka Hui Hawaiʻi Aloha ‘Āina, formed on 4 March 1893 to “preserve and maintain by all legal and peaceful means and measures, the independent autonomy of Hawaii nei.” R. H. Makekau was praised in May 1893 by Royalist newspapers for delivering over eight hundred Lāhainā signatures on anti-annexation petitions to the central HAA meeting in Honolulu.

On 8 July 1893, both Abel and R. H. Makekau were arrested by the new government as the struggle for control of Waineʻe Church reached its peak. They were found not guilty at trial. The great majority of the members of Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waineʻe began meeting at nearby Hale Aloha for alternate church services led by Abel Makekau.

Kupuna wahine Makekau passed at 101 years of age in 1925 and is buried at Waineʻe Cemetery next to her husband Abel.
Enoka Semaia Timoteo was born at Pāpōhaku, Wailuku, Maui on 8 April 1847 to Elia Kikalaeka and Emalia Kahionamaka. In October 1876, he entered Ke Kula Kahunapule o Ka Pākīpika (The North Pacific Missionary Institute) in Honolulu. Upon graduation in 1880, he was ordained as a pastor of the ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o Hawai’i (Hawaiian Evangelical Association) to the pulpit of the church in Waialua, O‘ahu. (In late 1890 the congregation erected a new building and renamed their house of worship, Lili‘uokalani Church).

In the aftermath of the January 1893 overthrow, all government employees were ordered to sign an oath of allegiance and foreswear support of the monarchy. Ministers were considered government employees because they were licensed to perform marriages: Rev. Timoteo refused. His name is on the March 1893 "List of Government Officials Reported as having refused or neglected to take the Oath to Support the Provisional Government." He became a member of Ka Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina and offered the opening prayer at the May 1893 meeting in Honolulu organized to assemble the anti-annexation petitions from around the Islands.

Rev. Timoteo and his wife were close friends of Her Majesty Queen Lili‘uokalani and when she was released from imprisonment in 1895, She spent two weeks at her home in Waialua with them. When the beloved patriot Iosepa Nāwahī died in 1896, Rev. Timoteo presided over the funeral.

Enoka always remained devoted to his calling as a minister. When a tumultuous struggle over control of the AEH churches saw a minority white leadership in Honolulu pitted against Native congregations throughout Hawai‘i, Rev. Timoteo stepped in at several sites and mediated peace. His calm demeanor and compassionate heart brought Kaumakapili Church back from the brink of dissolution when he was appointed pastor there in April 1897. He was also instrumental in bringing the great mass of Native Christians back to Waine‘e Church after similar troubles there.

Rev. Timoteo died on 3 August 1917 and is buried at Waine‘e, the site of his final pastoral appointment.
On-line Resources

Hawaiʻi Alive – “The Hawaiʻi Alive project is a cooperative work led by the Bishop Museum to share resources from our collections, library, and archives with the general public, especially teachers gathering resources to teach Hawaiian Language, History, and Culture in accordance with Hawaiʻi Department Of Education Content and Performance Standards.”

The site lists the Hawaiʻi Content and Performance Standards for Social Studies issued by the Department of Education, State of Hawaiʻi, in 2005. For the standards pertaining to Hawaiian studies, topics, benchmarks, and the corresponding codes are provided.

http://www.hawaiialive.org/
Hawai‘i Alive Material Relating to Ola Nā Iwi

Funeral of Keōpūolani –
http://www.hawaiialive.org/viewer.php?resource=397&hostType=res&hostID=367
http://www.hawaiialive.org/viewer.php?resource=398&hostType=res&hostID=367

Nāhi‘ena‘ena –
http://www.hawaiialive.org/viewer.php?resource=139&hostType=res&hostID=367
http://www.hawaiialive.org/viewer.php?resource=395&hostType=res&hostID=367
http://www.hawaiialive.org/realms.php?sub=Wao+Lani&treasure=367&offset=0

Kaumuali‘i –
http://www.hawaiialive.org/realms.php?sub=Wao+Lani&treasure=354&offset=0

Kihawahine -
http://www.hawaiialive.org/viewer.php?resource=614&hostType=res&hostID=555
http://www.hawaiialive.org/viewer.php?resource=588&hostType=res&hostID=555

Nā Ali‘i –
http://www.hawaiialive.org/realms.php?sub=Wao+Lani&treasure=364&offset=0

Overthrow –

Po‘e Aloha ‘Āina –
http://www.hawaiialive.org/realms.php?sub=Wao+Lani&treasure=365&offset=0

On-line Academic Articles Relating to Ola Nā Iwi

http://evols.library.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/588

http://evols.library.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/569

http://evols.library.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/371
OTHER ON-LINE RESOURCES

Hawaiian-language dictionary: http://wehewehe.org/

Hawaiian-language newspapers: http://nupepa.org/gsd/5/cgi-bin/nupepa?l=haw

English-language newspapers from Hawai‘i: http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/?state=Hawaii&ethnicity=&language=

Thrum’s Hawaiian Annual: http://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/hawaiithrums

Place Names in Hawai‘i: http://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/hawaiiplaces

Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes compiled by Mary Kawena Pukui: http://data.bishopmuseum.org/HEN/index.php

Hawaiian Journal of History: http://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/hawaiianhistory/handle/10524/9

Bob Krauss Research Index: http://manoa.hawaii.edu/hawaiiancollection/krauss/

Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum library and Archives: http://bishopmuseumlib.lib.hawaii.edu/

Hawaiian Historical Society: https://www.hawaiianhistory.org/

Hawaiian Chant: http://www.useapencil.org/aks/chants_search.php


Hawaiian Legends Index: http://manoa.hawaii.edu/hawaiiancollection/legends/

Maps of Hawai‘i… http://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/content.php?pid=196917&sid=1816104

Census of Hawai‘i: http://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/content.php?pid=94166


