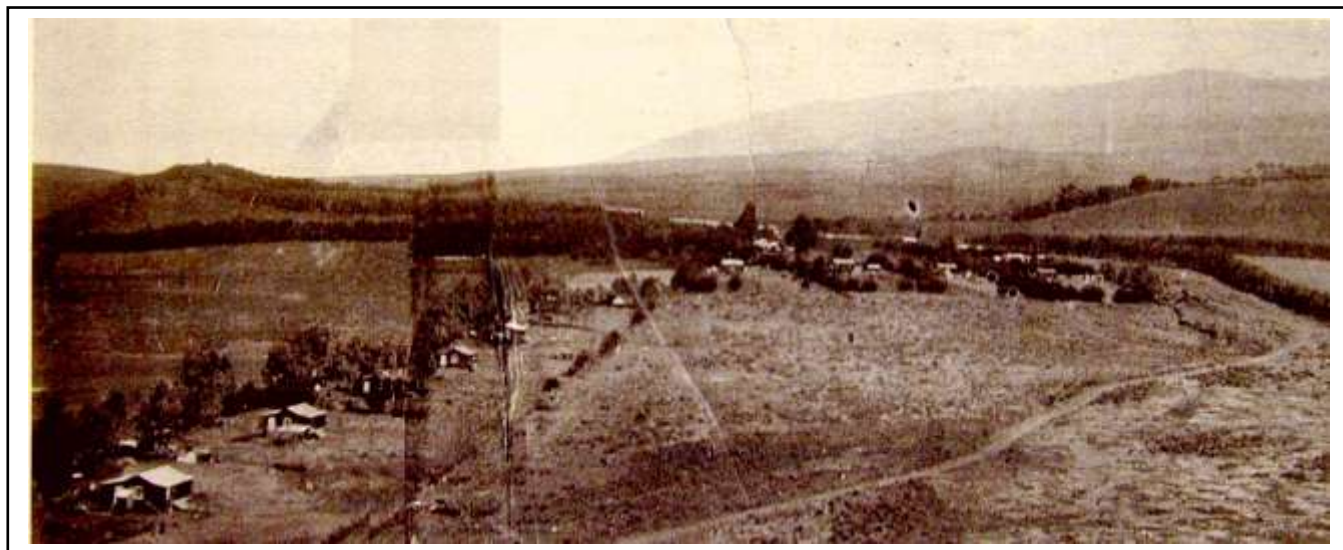


HE WAHI MO‘OLELO NO KA ‘ĀINA A ME NĀ ‘OHANA O WAIKI‘I MA WAIKŌLOA (KALANA O WAIMEA, KOHALA), A ME KA ‘ĀINA MAUNA:

**A Collection of Traditions and Historical Accounts
of the Lands and Families of Waiki‘i at Waikōloa
(Waimea Region, South Kohala), and
the Mountain Lands, Island of Hawai‘i**



Waiki‘i Village (ca. 1917) From Pu‘u Ku‘i Kahekili – Mauna Kea in Background.
(Photograph from Collection of Alex Bell in Paka Paniolo, August 1962)



Kumu Pono Associates

Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies
Researching and Preparing Studies from Hawaiian Language Documents · Māhele ‘Āina, Boundary
Commission, & Land History Records · Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning
· Preservation & Interpretive Program Development

HE WAHI MO'OLELO NO KA 'ĀINA A ME NĀ 'OHANA O WAIKI'I MA WAIKŌLOA (KALANA O WAIMEA, KOHALA), A ME KA 'ĀINA MAUNA:

**A Collection of Traditions and Historical Accounts
of the Lands and Families of Waiki'i at Waikōloa
(Waimea Region, South Kohala), and
the Mountain Lands, Island of Hawai'i
(TMK Overview Sheet 6-7-01)**

PREPARED BY

Kepā Maly • Cultural Historian - Resources Specialist
&
Onaona Maly • Researcher

PREPARED FOR

Waiki'i Ranch Homeowner's Association
c/o Jack McDermott
P.O. Box 6389
Kamuela, Hawai'i 96743

NOVEMBER 12, 2002

Commissioned by Waiki'i Ranch Homeowner's Association



Kumu Pono Associates

Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies
Researching and Preparing Studies from Hawaiian Language Documents · Māhele 'Āina,
Boundary Commission, & Land History Records · Integrated Cultural Resources
Management Planning · Preservation & Interpretive Program Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the request of Jack McDermott (on behalf of the Waiki'i Ranch Homeowner's Association), Kumu Pono Associates conducted a detailed study of archival and historical literature, and oral history interviews with individuals known to be familiar with the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the vicinity of Waiki'i and neighboring lands of the larger Waimea-Ka'ohe region on the island of Hawai'i.

The work conducted as a part of this study included two basic components: (1) research and report findings from archival and historical literature; and (2) oral history interviews and consultation with kama'āina (native residents) and others with knowledge of the land. In addition to pertinent materials previously collected, research specific to this study was conducted by Kumu Pono Associates from October 2001 to June 2002. Research was conducted in both public and private collections, and that documentation, cited herein, includes written narratives that cover the period from 1779 to the 1960s.

The archival-historical resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, and Bureau of Conveyances; Hawaiian Historical Society; University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; private family collections; Records of Parker Ranch and the Paniolo Preservation Society (PPS); and in the collection of Kumu Pono Associates. The documentation includes narratives for the Waimea-Ka'ohe regions on the Island of Hawai'i, including detailed accounts of Waikōloa and Waiki'i—translated from native Hawaiian accounts; recorded in historic surveys; a history of land tenure from 1848 to the present; and the history of ranching in the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku (Keamuku and sometimes written Keaumoku) section of Parker Ranch.

The oral historical component of this study includes interviews conducted by Maly with elder kama'āina of the Waimea-Ka'ohe-Humu'ula region, between 1998 to 2002. The interviewees represent families with generational attachments to the land, former residents of Waiki'i Village, Parker Ranch employees, and individuals familiar with the natural and cultural landscape of the area. All of the interview participants have lived upon, worked on, or are descended from traditional residents of the land, or know the land from traveling it with their extended family and friends from ca. 1917.

In this collection of traditions and historical accounts, we find that the history of the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku area is interwoven with the history of the neighboring lands on the mountain landscape ('āina mauna). Waiki'i in particular provided travelers with a sheltered resting place at the intersection of ancient trails between Mauna Kea, Hilo, Kona, Waimea, and the coastal lands of Kohala. Though for substantially different purposes, in the early days of ranching on the mountain lands, the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku area served again as a midway point in the development of various ranching interests. By the 1860s, the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku area housed stations from which sheep and bullock (wild cattle) were rounded up for market. Under Francis Spencer's direction, the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company gained leasehold and fee-simple interest in lands around the mountain and on the Waimea plain. His operation, including Waiki'i, Ke'āmoku, Ka'ohe-Pōhakuloa, Humu'ula, Holuakawai, Pu'uloa and Līhu'e, rivaled the development of John Palmer Parker's own ranch. But by the 1890s, Parker Ranch had developed and acquired (either as leasehold or fee-simple holdings) most of those lands.

In 1903, Parker Ranch, under the direction of A.W. Carter, purchased the land of Waikōloa, in which are situated the smaller land areas of Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku. By 1904, Parker Ranch began upgrading and developing the Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku stations. The Waiki'i Village was under construction by 1909, and by 1918, over 2,000 acres of corn, hay, and other feed crops; and potato fields, tree farms and a fruit orchard had been planted. The ranch also developed turkey, chicken and pig farms on the land. With the blossoming and fruiting of Waiki'i upon the mountain landscape, there came also, people from the far corners of the earth. Following the Hawaiians, Americans, Australians, Chinese, Englishmen, Germans, Koreans, Japanese, Portuguese, and Russians all called Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku home, and built it into what many elder kama'āina referred to as the "heartland" of the ranch. Those people who came called Waiki'i home, and participated in the development of the ranch lands and outlying stations. By 1957, weather, economics, and ranch infrastructure had all changed, and Waiki'i Village was closed, though ranch use of the land continued. Closure of the Ke'āmoku Station followed in 1965, bringing to an end a little more than 100 years of manned out-station ranch posts in the Waikōloa region.

He Leo Aloha a Ho'omaika'i iā 'Oukou

The voices of our kūpuna are among the most precious resources handed down to us from our past. While the historical and archival records help us understand how we came to be where we are today, the voices of the elders give life to the stories, and demonstrate how history is handed down and made. To each of the kūpuna and kama'āina, we extend our sincerest appreciation and aloha—

(in alphabetical order)

Elizabeth Bowman; Rally and Pat Greenwell; Jess Hannah; Hisao and Elizabeth (Lindsey) Kimura; Ah Fat and Barbara Lee; Alan "Uku" Lindsey; Kamaki Lindsey; Dorothy Phillips-Nishie; Barbara Phillips-Robertson; Jiro and Mark Yamaguchi; the late Coco Vredenburg-Hind and Teddy Bell, Sr.

Also, for their foresight and support, to — members of the Waiki'i Ranch Homeowner's Association; Dr. Billy Bergin; Robert Hind; Ku'ulei Keākealani; Lucky Puhī; Wayne Techera; the Paniolo Preservation Society; the Trustees of Parker Ranch; and to Marie Sutton, who graciously took the time to review the manuscript and provided us with assistance in editing — we say **mahalo nui!**

We also wish to note here, that while a sincere effort was made to provide readers with a detailed history of Waiki'i and the larger 'āina mauna and Parker ranch lands neighboring it, it was impossible to record everything that could be said about the lands, traditions, and practices of the people on the land. The information compiled herein does provide readers with important descriptions of Waiki'i and vicinity, and describes the kinds of activities and cultural resources associated with the land that elder kama'āina are familiar with. We have made every effort to present readers with an overview of the rich and varied history of the area, and to accurately relay the recollections, thoughts, and recommendations of the people who contributed to this study.

māua nō me ka ha'aha'a — Kepā a me Onaona Maly

"A'ohe hana nui, ke alu 'ia!

(It is no great task when done together by all!)

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| INTRODUCTION | • 1 |
| Background | • 1 |
| Archival and Historical Research and Oral History Interviews | • 1 |
| | |
| THE LANDS OF WAIMEA-WAIKŌLOA AND VICINITY: A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL CONTEXT | • 4 |
| Hawaiian Settlement | • 4 |
| Natural Resources and Land Management in the Hawaiian Cultural System | • 5 |
| The Kalana or 'Okana (Land Division) of Waimea | • 6 |
| | |
| HAWAIIAN TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF THE WAIMEA-WAIKŌLOA REGION AND MOUNTAIN LANDS | • 9 |
| I. Mo'olelo 'Āina: Traditions of the Land and Chiefly Aspirations | • 9 |
| "Na Kaa a Kekahi Elemakule o Hawaii" (The Stories of an Old Man of Hawaii) | • 9 |
| Warring Chiefs and Chiefly Associations | • 12 |
| Ke-Ahu-a-Lono (The-Altar-made-by-Lono) | • 14 |
| Kamehameha I in South Kohala | • 15 |
| Ka'ao Ho'onuia Pu'uwai No Ka-Miki (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki) | • 17 |
| Ka-Miki: An Overview of the Tradition | • 17 |
| Narratives Describing Waiki'i, South Kohala and the Mountain Lands | • 18 |
| II. Historic Observations: Waikōloa-Waimea and the Mountain Lands Described in the Journals and Logs of Foreign Visitors (1779-1892) | • 27 |
| Observations by Captain James Cook and Crew (1779) | • 27 |
| The Journal of Captain George Vancouver (1793-1794) | • 28 |
| Narratives of a Visit in 1819 by de Freycinet and Arago | • 29 |
| The Journal of William Ellis (1823) | • 30 |
| The Journal of Hiram Bingham (notes of 1830) | • 33 |
| The United States Exploring Expedition, 1840-1841 | • 38 |
| Trip to the Volcano and Mauna Kea (July 9, 1859) | • 49 |
| Waimea and the Mountain Lands Described by Isabella Bird (1873) | • 53 |
| Report of the Royal Commissioners on Development of Resources (1877) | • 58 |
| George Bowser's "Directory and Tourists Guide" (1880) | • 59 |
| Surveyor's Ascent of Mauna Kea (1892) | • 62 |

| | |
|---|------------------|
| LAND TENURE AND TRAVEL: WAIKŌLOA, WAIMEA AND NEIGHBORING LANDS | • 63 |
| I. The Māhele ‘Āina (Land Division) | • 63 |
| Disposition of Waikōloa and Neighboring Lands in the Māhele | • 66 |
| II. Boundary Commission Proceedings (1865-1871) | • 69 |
| Kama‘āina and Expert Witness Testimonies Describing Boundaries, Practices, and Features (Waikōloa and Adjoining Lands) | • 70 |
| Paauhau Ahupuaa | • 71 |
| Waikoloa nui, Ili of Waimea | • 74 |
| Ahupuaa (or Kalana) of Waimea, Hawaii | • 94 |
| III. Waikōloa, Waiki‘i-Ke‘āmoku and the ‘Āina Mauna (Mountain Lands) Described in Hawaiian Government Survey Records | • 98 |
| IV. Nā Ala Hele o ka ‘Āina Mauna– Native Trails to Government Roads | • 114 |
| LAND TENURE AND LEASEHOLD INTERESTS— EMERGENCE OF THE RANCHING INDUSTRY ON THE MOUNTAIN LANDS OF HAWAI‘I | • 122 |
| Livestock and Ranching Interests in Waimea District and on the Mountain Landscape | • 123 |
| Ranching in the Waimea Region and on the Mountain Lands Described in Letters and Communications of Residents and Government Officials | • 128 |
| Waikōloa (Ke‘āmoku-‘Auwaiakeakua), Ka‘ohe and the Humu‘ula Region Leased to Grazing Interests | • 137 |
| The Mauna Kea Forest Reserve: Former Range Lands Withdrawn from Grazing Uses | • 150 |
| UA MŌHALA MAI O WAIKI‘I MA KA ‘ĀINA MAUNA (WAIKI‘I BLOSSOMED ON THE MOUNTAIN LANDS) | • 157 |
| Water, The Lifeblood of the Ranch | • 158 |
| Alfred Wellington Carter Recollections on Water and Ranch Development | • 158 |
| Waiki‘i (and Ke‘āmoku) Station Facilities– Ranching, Agriculture and Village (1903-1957) | • 171 |
| Parker Ranch–Waiki‘i and the Mountain Lands in the War Years (1941-1945), and Subsequent Development of the Pōhakuloa Training Area | • 196 |
| End of an Era– The Closure of Waiki‘i Village and Ke‘āmoku (1957-1965) | • 202 |
| CONCLUSION | • 212 |
| REFERENCES CITED | • 215 |

FIGURES

| | | |
|--|---|-----|
| Figure 1. Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku Vicinity, South Kohala District, Island of Hawai'i (USGS – Waikii Quadrangle, 1931 Edition) | • | 2 |
| Figure 2. “Temple of Kaili” Ahuaumi Heiau and Complex on the plateau lands between Mauna Loa, Hualālai and Mauna Kea (Wilkes 1970:100) | • | 39 |
| Figure 3. Sketch of Cattle-Pits – Keanakolu Vicinity (Wilkes 1970:204) | • | 46 |
| Figure 4. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:109; View to Waikii-Keamuku and Coast from Ahumoa (April 6 & 7, 1882). | • | 100 |
| Figure 5. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:83; View to Nohonaohae, Keamuku and Hualalai (March 1882) | • | 101 |
| Figure 6. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:105; View of Mauna Kea from Ahumoa (April 7, 1882). | • | 103 |
| Figure 7. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:119; View of Keamuku Section and Coastal Lands from Ahumoa (April 8, 1882). | • | 104 |
| Figure 8. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:139; View of “Valley Between Mauna Kea & Mauna Loa” (April 12, 1882). | • | 106 |
| Figure 9. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:149; View of Ahumoa and portion of Mauna Kea from Napuukulua (April 13, 1882). | • | 107 |
| Figure 10. J.S. Emerson Field Book 252:7; View of Keamuku Section (April 17, 1882). | • | 109 |
| Figure 11. J.S. Emerson Field Book 252:15; View of Mauna Kea from Keamuku (April 20, 1882). | • | 110 |
| Figure 12. T. Metcalf’s Sketch of Proposed Division of Mountain Lands – Aamoku (Keamoku), Lae Eha (Kalaieha), Laumaea (Laumaia) and Nauhi. | • | 133 |
| Figure 13. Figure 13. Teams Plowing Corn Fields at Waiki'i, ca. 1910. | • | 175 |
| Figure 14. Waiki'i Village and Station. Portion of a Map of Waikii by G.F. Wright Surveyor, November 1911. | • | 185 |
| Figure 15. Twin Silos at Waiki'i (KPA Photo No. 4003). | • | 189 |
| Figure 16. Old Waiki'i Village Bread Oven (KPA Photo No. 3023). | • | 189 |
| Figure 17. Waiki'i's Crew and “Mechanized” Fleet; 1917. | • | 203 |
| Figure 18. Waiki'i Turkey Pen (ca. 1935). | • | 205 |
| Figure 19. Shearing Barn at Keamoku, ca. 1960. | • | 210 |

(Unnumbered figures, including – photographs of Interviewees and various sites or features described during interviews will be found in Appendix A)

INTRODUCTION

Background

At the request of Jack McDermott (on behalf of the Waiki'i Ranch Homeowner's Association), Kumu Pono Associates¹ undertook research of archival-historical records and oral history interviews with elder kama'āina to document various aspects of the traditional, cultural and historical setting of Waiki'i, in Waikōloa, in the District of South Kohala on the Island of Hawai'i (Figure 1). While the area known as Waiki'i, including the historic ranch outpost or station, was the primary focus of the study, it was realized that Waiki'i served as a hub for a wide range of activities between the Waimea region; Pā'auhau-Ka'ohoe of Hāmākua; Humu'ula-Kalai'eha of Hilo; and various lands of Kona. Thus, the story of Waiki'i is also tied to other lands, traditions, and historical activities. As a result, this collection of historical documentation and oral history interviews incorporates detailed excerpts of original narratives that describe Waiki'i, Ke'āmoku (also written Ke'āmuku), and the larger 'āina mauna (mountain lands), and their place in the history and lives of the families of the land.

The land area known as Waiki'i, is named for one of two major gulches cut into the western slopes of Mauna Kea. The larger area known today as Waiki'i is situated at approximately the 4,600 foot elevation, and is a part of the land division known as Waikōloa. While native accounts and historical descriptions tell us that Waiki'i and vicinity was once more densely forested and wetter, today the land area is generally open pasture marked by a series of pu'u (cinder cones), and with a scattering of trees (mostly introduced eucalyptus and conifers). The area receives approximately 20 inches of rain a year (a significant amount of moisture comes to Waiki'i by way of kēhau and uhiwai (dew and fog drip), and temperatures generally range from the 40s to the 80s. Soil in the Waiki'i area is generally volcanic ash and cinder, and noted for its fine powdery nature.

Archival and Historical Research and Oral History Interviews

The archival-historical research and oral history interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the pertinent laws and guidelines are the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:275-8; 276:5 – Draft Dec. 21, 2001); and the November 1997 guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (which also facilitate the standardized approach to compliance with Act 50 amending HRS Chapter 343; April 26, 2000).

In the period between October 2001 to September 2002, Maly and Maly conducted detailed research in archival-historical literature, referencing both native Hawaiian language and

¹ Kepā Maly, Cultural Historian-Resource Specialist & Onaona Maly, Researcher; *Kumu Pono Associates* – 554 Keonaona St. – Hilo, Hawai'i 96720; (808) 981-0196– kumupono@hawaii.rr.com

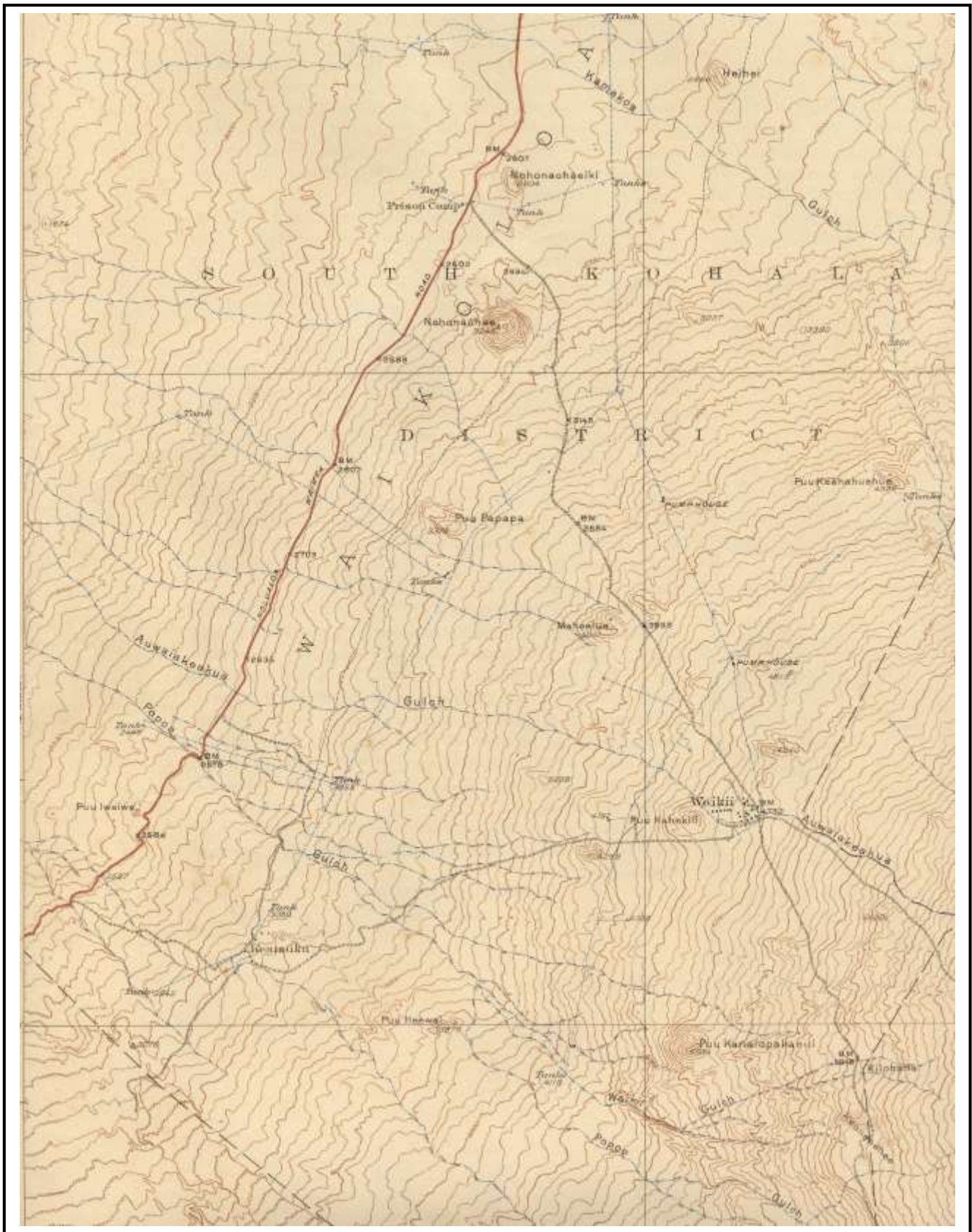


Figure 1. Waikii and Ke'āmoku Vicinity, Waimea-South Kohala District, Island of Hawai'i
With Details of Villages, Water Lines and Topography (USGS – Waikii Quad, 1931).

English texts; conducted field visits with elder kama'āina in the Waiki'i vicinity and larger 'āina mauna study area; and conducted oral history interviews with individuals known to be knowledgeable about the history, residency and land use in Waiki'i and neighboring lands.

While conducting the research, primary references included, but were not limited to—land use records, including an extensive review of Hawaiian Land Commission Award (LCA) records from the Māhele 'Āina (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i; and historical texts authored or compiled by—D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. M. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); Chas. Wilkes (1845) A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996); G. Bowser (1880); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). The study also includes several native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by the author), and historical records authored by nineteenth century visitors, and residents of the region.

Archival-historical resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, and Bureau of Conveyances; the Bishop Museum Archives; Hawaiian Historical Society; University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; private family collections; the Paniolo Preservation Society (PPS) and Parker Ranch collections; and in the collection of Kumu Pono Associates. This information is generally cited in categories by chronological order of the period depicted in the narratives.

The oral history interviews cited in this study (Appendix A) were conducted by Maly through September 2002, and are the recollections of elder native Hawaiians and kama'āina residents of the larger Waimea-Ka'ohe-Humu'ula region. The interviewees ranged in age from their 60s to 90s, and in their stories they described life upon the land, and practices of their families. The interviews provide readers with important insight into the relationship of families of Waiki'i with their natural environment and the larger lands of the Kohala, Hāmākua, Hilo, and Kona mountain lands.

The recorded interviews were transcribed and returned (with the recordings) to each of the interviewees. Follow up discussions were then conducted to review each of the typed draft-transcripts. The latter process resulted in the recording of additional narratives with several interviewees. Following completion of the interview process, all of the participants in the tape recorded oral history interviews gave their permission for inclusion of portions of their transcripts in this study. Because of the review and follow-up discussions with interviewees, the final transcripts cited in this study at times differ from the original recorded interview. The final released transcripts supercede the original documentation.

During the interviews and follow up conversations, several historic maps were also referenced and, when appropriate, the general locations of sites referenced were marked on the maps. That information was in turn compiled on one map, which is cited as Figure 1 in Appendix A—an annotated interview map (please note that sites are shown at approximate locations).

THE LANDS OF WAIMEA-WAIKŌLOA AND VICINITY A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This section of the study provides readers with a general overview of the Hawaiian landscape of Waiki'i, Waikōloa and neighboring lands, and includes discussions on Hawaiian settlement, population expansion, and land management practices that are the basis of the sustainable relationship shared between the Hawaiian people and the land.

Hawaiian Settlement

Archaeologists and historians describe the inhabiting of these islands in the context of settlement which resulted from voyages taken across the open ocean. For many years archaeologists have proposed that early Polynesian settlement voyages between Kahiki (the ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian gods and people) and Hawai'i were underway by AD 300, with long distance voyages occurring fairly regularly through at least the thirteenth century. It has been generally reported that the sources of the early Hawaiian population—the Hawaiian Kahiki—were the Marquesas and Society Islands (Emory in Tatar 1982:16-18).

For generations following initial settlement, communities were clustered along the watered, windward (ko'olau) shores of the Hawaiian Islands. Along the ko'olau shores, streams flowed, rainfall was abundant, and agricultural production became established. The ko'olau region also offered sheltered bays from which deep sea fisheries could be easily accessed. Also, near-shore fisheries, enriched by nutrients carried in the fresh water, could be maintained in fishponds and coastal fisheries. It was around these bays such as at Waipi'o, that clusters of houses where families lived could be found (see McEldowney 1979). In these early times, the residents generally engaged in subsistence practices in the forms of agriculture and fishing (Handy and Handy 1972:287).

Over a period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and by ca. 900 to 1100 AD, the population began expanding to the kona (leeward side) and more remote regions of the island (Cordy 2000:130). Kirch (1979) reported that by ca. AD 1200, there were small coastal settlements at various areas along the western shore line of Hawai'i—for example 'Anaeho'omalū, Kalāhuipua'a, Puakō and Kawaihae (Kirch 1979:198). 'Anaeho'omalū, Kalāhuipua'a and Puakō front Waikōloa. Though not directly a part of the land division of Waikōloa, the coastal lands named above provided the near-shore and deep sea fishery resources necessary for the families of the larger Waimea-Waikōloa region. In this system, the near-shore communities shared extended familial relations with those of the uplands.

By the 1400s, upland elevations to around the 3,000 foot elevation of Waikōloa-Waimea and neighboring lands were being developed into areas of residence and a system of dryland agricultural fields (Tomonari-Tuggle & Burtchard, 2002 in prep; SHA Conference Oct. 12, 2002). Some of the fields may have been irrigated by such streams as Waikōloa and Keanu'i'omanō, as evidence of 'auwai (irrigation channels) may still be seen across portions of Pu'ukapu, Noho'āina, Waikōloa, Līhu'e and Lālānilo. By the 1500s to 1600s, residency in the uplands was becoming permanent, and there was an increasing separation of royal class from commoners. During the latter part of this period, the population stabilized and a system of land management was established as a political and socio-economic factor (see Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; Handy, Handy & Pukui 1972; Tomonari-Tuggle 1985; and Cordy 2000).

Because one of the most significant factors in determining suitability for settlement was the availability of a reliable source of fresh water, it does not appear that the Waiki'i area supported a long-term resident population. It is important to note that native traditions and historic accounts, do tell us that at areas such as Hālauakeakua, Po'opo'o, Pu'u 'Iwa'iwa and Pu'u Hīna'i—situated downslope of Waiki'i—there were cultivated fields in ancient and early historic times (see native accounts cited later in this study).

Natural Resources and Land Management in the Hawaiian Cultural System

In Hawaiian culture, natural and cultural resources are one and the same. Native traditions describe the formation (literally the birth) of the Hawaiian Islands and the presence of life on and around them, in the context of genealogical accounts. All forms of the natural environment, from the skies and mountain peaks, to the watered valleys and lava plains, and to the shore line and ocean depths are believed to be embodiments of Hawaiian gods and deities. One Hawaiian genealogical account, records that Wākea (the expanse of the sky–father) and Papa-hānau-moku (Papa, who gave birth to the islands)—also called Haumea-nui-hānau-wāwā (Great Haumea, born time and time again)—and various gods and creative forces of nature, gave birth to the islands. Hawai'i, the largest of the islands, was the first-born of these island children. As the Hawaiian genealogical account continues, we find that these same god-beings, or creative forces of nature who gave birth to the islands, were also the parents of the first man (Hāloa), and from this ancestor all Hawaiian people are descended (ref. David Malo, 1951; Beckwith, 1970; Pukui and Korn, 1973). It was in this context of kinship, that the ancient Hawaiians addressed their environment, and it is the basis of the Hawaiian system of land use.

In the generations that followed initial settlement, the Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land use and resource management. By the time 'Umi-a-Līloa rose to rule the island of Hawai'i in ca. 1525, the island (moku-puni) was divided into six districts or moku-o-loko. Kohala, extending from the slopes of Mauna Kea in the south, across the Kohala Mountains, and to 'Ūpolu Point in the north, is one of those major districts (cf. Fornander 1973–Vol. II:100-102).

The large districts (moku-o-loko) like Kohala, and sub-regions ('okana and kalana) were further divided into manageable units of land. These smaller divisions or units of land were tended to by the maka'āinana (people of the land) (see Malo 1951:63-67). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant management unit throughout the islands was the ahupua'a. Ahupua'a are subdivisions of land that were usually marked by an altar with an image or representation of a pig placed upon it (thus the name ahu-pua'a or pig altar). In their configuration, the ahupua'a may be compared to wedge-shaped pieces of land that radiate out from the center of the island, extending to the ocean fisheries fronting the land unit. Their boundaries are generally defined by topography and geological features such as pu'u (hills), ridges, gullies, valleys, craters, or areas of a particular vegetation growth (see Boundary Commission testimonies in this study; and Lyons, 1875).

The ahupua'a were also divided into smaller manageable parcels of land (such as the 'ili, kō'ele, mahina 'ai, māla, and kīhāpai), that generally run in a mauka-makai orientation, and are often marked by stone wall (boundary) alignments. In these smaller land parcels the native tenants cultivated crops necessary to sustain their families, and supplied the needs of the chiefly communities they were associated with. As long as sufficient tribute was offered

and kapu (restrictions) were observed, the common people who lived in a given ahupua'a had access to most of the resources from mountain slopes to the ocean. These access rights were almost uniformly tied to residency on a particular land, and earned as a result of taking responsibility for stewardship of the natural environment and supplying the needs of ones' ali'i (see Malo 1951:63-67 and Kamakau 1961:372-377).

Entire ahupua'a, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed konohiki or subordinate chief-landlords, who answered to an ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a (chief who controlled the ahupua'a resources). The ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a in turn answered to an ali'i 'ai moku (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, ahupua'a resources supported not only the maka'āinana and 'ohana who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms. This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and was the product of strictly adhered to resource management planning. In this system, the land provided fruits, vegetables and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources.

The Kalana or 'Okana (Land Division) of Waimea

While the fundamentals of land management described above conform with the basic system employed across the Hawaiian Islands, we find that there were other political divisions that affected the status of land. For example, native witnesses in early historic testimonies described Waimea as a "Kalana" or "Okana," a land division which in ancient times was treated as a sub-district, smaller than the moku o loko, yet comprised of a number of smaller lands that contributed to its wealth (see Boundary Commission Testimonies in this study, & Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:47). The lands and resources subject to the Kalana of Waimea included, but were not limited to, 'Ōuli, Wai'aka, Lālāmilo, Puakō, Kalāhuipua'a, 'Anaeho'omalu, Kakanaka, Ala'ōhi'a, Paulama, Pu'ukalani (Pukalani), Pu'ukapu, and Waikōloa (in which Waiki'i is situated).

In the 1840s and 1860s, elder native witnesses described these various lands as "ili," or land divisions of lower status than ahupua'a, which fell under the jurisdiction of the chiefs of Waimea. Understanding this difference in the status of the land divisions of the Waimea region helps explain why lands such as 'Anaeho'omalu and Kalāhuipua'a have no upland agricultural resources; and why Waikōloa and all the other lands extending north from it, except for Lālāmilo and 'Ōuli, have no ocean frontage.

Regarding the status of Waimea and subordinate lands, Curtis Lyons, a Kingdom Surveyor who had surveyed lands in the region in 1852, wrote to Crown Lands Commissioner C.P. Laukea in 1893. He observed:

...Waimea, Hawaii, was an Ahupuaa which partook largely of the qualities of a Moku or division that was however assigned as an Ahupuaa in the Mahele. That is to say to His Majesty K. III, becoming by the Act of 1865, a Crown Land. It would therefore be assumed that all within its boundaries would be Crown Land excepting such Iliis or subordinate ahupuaas as some might call them as were recognized within the Mahele or in the Land Commission Records, as separate in title; this distinction in title corresponding to the status known as that of an ili kupo. All not so recognized would be technically spoken of as a part of the Ahupuaa.

The Ili Kupono of Puukapu was given up in the Mahele by Kekauonohi and became Crown Land, thus being practically thereafter one with the Ahupuaa.

The other Ili Kupono are as follows:

Waikoloa, Mahele and Award 8512 B to G.D. Hueu... [HSA – DAGS 6 Box 22; Nov. 1893]

There are to this day, remains of extensive dryland planting fields, and residences (both temporary and permanent) on the kula (plain lands) may be found in the Kalana of Waimea. Such features tell us that in ancient and early historic times, there was intensive use of the upland region. These features generally occur in areas extending from about 1,700 to 3,000 feet above sea level. The mahina 'ai (planting fields) were generally marked by a series of kuaīwi, kuakua, and kuāuna (walls and terraces). Planting techniques employed included mā kālua, 'umokī and pu'epu'e (planting in mulched holes, and mulched mounds of stone and earth), and the pulu lepo, or depressions and hollows on the landscape where soil and moisture were caught, and where cultivation was supported. The mahina 'ai of the Waimea region also extended up the slopes of the Kohala Mountains in the vicinity of Pu'u Hōkū'ula, and extended across the uplands towards the Kahuā section of North Kohala. In these upper fields, as well as in areas crossed by streams like Waikōloa, Wai'aka and Keanu'īomanō, it is likely that irrigated fields were developed as well.

Clark and Kirch (1983, Clark 1983) described an extensive agricultural field system in the Waimea region. Crops planted in these fields included 'uala (sweet potatoes) and kalo (dryland taro). Along the ridges and boundaries of the mahina 'ai, and in terraces, outcrops, fissures and mounds, other crops such as kō (sugar cane), wauke (paper mulberry), mai'a (banana), ipu (gourds) and uhi (yams) were cultivated. In the areas where water was available along the streams, lo'i (pond fields) could also have been developed for the cultivation of kalo wai (wet taro). At the time of the Māhele 'Āina (Land Division) of 1848, native tenants described agricultural parcels and house lots (often enclosed to keep cattle out) on lands that make up the Kalana of Waimea. The claimants generally indicated that their right of residency and land use dated back to the period of Kamehameha I and Kamehameha II (pre 1823), thus indicating that residential and agricultural use had time depth. Ross Cordy reported that features of the "Waimea Field System" were in use up until the mid-nineteenth century (Cordy 1989:4), though Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972), and oral history interviews in this study documented small gardens kept by Hawaiian residences remained in use along the northern section of this field system through the 1930s.

Archaeological field work conducted by International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc. (IARII) on kula lands of Waimea have further documented a pattern of building residences and developing mahina 'ai on the leeward side of pu'u and ridges dating back to the 1400s. These residence-agricultural features are scattered across the kula from the Pu'ukapu-Noho'āina vicinity to Waikōloa, and across portions of Lālāmilo, beyond the Pu'u Pā vicinity (Tomonari-Tuggle and Burtchard, in prep; summary given at Society for Hawaiian Archaeology Conference, October 12, 2002).

For many years, the presence of an extensive 'auwai (irrigation channel system), has given rise to the possibility that large portions of the Waimea plains were irrigated and cultivated in ancient times. In fact an important legal case on the water rights of Parker Ranch in the early 1900s led to the production of a detailed map of the 'auwai system on the kula of

Waikōloa Nui, Waikōloa Iki, Lālāmilo and Pu'ukapu (Kanakanui et al., 1914; Reg. Map No. 2576), which depicts flow of water to and through many of the kuleana 'āina (fee simple land interests) awarded to native tenants in the region. Also, in the Waiki'i area is found the "storied" 'Auwaiakeakua, literally translated as the "Water-channel-of-the-god(s)," said to have been built in antiquity to draw water off of Mauna Kea, and conduct it to the cultivating grounds of Hālauakeakua and Kaimumoa, situated a little north (Waimea) and makai of Pu'u Ku'i Kahekili, in the present-day Waiki'i Ranch lots.

Interestingly, the recent work conducted by Tomonari-Tuggle and Burtchard has found dates associated with features of some sections of the 'auwai, indicating that usage of the extensive irrigation system may have been developed in ca. 1835. They believe the more formalized 'auwai system was developed as a part of Governor Kuakini's plan to develop a sugar plantation on the kula of Waimea.

The above said, we find that Waikōloa and its smaller land areas shared a unique relationship with the Kalana of Waimea in ancient and early historic times. While there appear to be only limited historical texts which shed light on traditional residency and practices associated with the Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku lands, the occurrence of place names and cultural sites throughout the region tell us that the land was known, used, and a part of the larger cultural landscape. The historical records of the later 1800s and those through the 1950s reveal to us that as the historic ranching interests developed, Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku played important roles in the history of the land and people of Waimea.

HAWAIIAN TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF THE WAIMEA-WAIKŌLOA REGION AND MOUNTAIN LANDS

In Hawaiian mo'olelo (traditions and historical narratives) are found expressions of native beliefs, customs, practices, and history. Indeed, in Hawai'i the very landscape is storied (wahi pana), and each place name is associated with a tradition—ranging from the presence and interactions of the gods with people, to documenting an event or the characteristics of a given place. Unfortunately, today, many of those mo'olelo have been lost. This section of the study presents readers with several accounts written by native Hawaiian authors and nineteenth century historians, recording the occurrence of events and travel, and the history of place names that have survived the passing of time. This part of the study is divided into two primary sections. The first section presents readers with a collection of mo'olelo describing the land and history, some translated here from the original Hawaiian by Maly. The second section includes detailed excerpts of narratives recorded by foreign visitors and residents, dating from 1778 to 1890.

I. Mo'olelo 'Āina: Traditions of the Land and Royal Aspirations

One of the most significant sources of native mo'olelo are the Hawaiian language newspapers which were printed between 1838 to 1948. Most of the accounts that were submitted to the papers were penned by native residents of areas being described and noted native historians. Over the last 28 years, the author has reviewed and compiled an extensive index of articles published in the Hawaiian language newspapers, with particular emphasis on those narratives pertaining to lands, customs, and traditions. While an extensive review of native language newspapers has been undertaken over the years by the author, only one tradition regarding how Waiki'i was named has been found to date. There are, however, a number of traditions describing lands of Waikōloa, Waimea and the larger mountain lands that have been located, and by association with places described and regional travel, some of these accounts are associated with Waiki'i and the Waikōloa plains. Those accounts describe native practices, the nature of land use at specific locations, and native lore. Thus, we are given a means of understanding how people related to their environment and sustained themselves on the land.

“Na Kaa a Kekahi Elemakule o Hawaii” (The Stories of an Old Man of Hawaii)

In 1865, the Hawaiian newspaper “Ke Au Okoa” published an article titled “Na Kaa a Kekahi Elemakule o Hawaii” (May 8, 15, & 22, 1865). The accounts were collected by Jules Remy, a French man who came to Hawai'i in 1851. While introducing the article, readers are told that Remy dwelt in Hawai'i for about three years, during which time he became quite proficient in the Hawaiian language. While here, Remy traveled around the islands documenting sites and events which he witnessed, and recording histories that were related to him. His narratives, written in French, reached Hawai'i and were translated into Hawaiian by young Alexander at Punahou (Ke Au Okoa, Mei 8, 1865).

“Na Kaa a Kekahi Elemakule Hawaii” was collected by Remy in March 1853, when he visited Ho'opūloa, South Kona. Upon landing, Remy records that he was warmly greeted by the people on the shore, and among the many people gathered, he observed an elderly gentleman. He was “stout and broad-chested, and on the account of his age, his hair was reddish gray.”

Remy learned that the old man was Kanuha², a man of chiefly descent, born before the time that Alapa'i-nui died, in 1752 (Ke Au Okoa, Mei 8, 1865). Remy notes that Kanuha was nearly 116 years old, and in good health. Because of his advanced age, he spoke with authority on ancient customs and history of the Hawaiian people, that few, if any, other people were able to (Ke Au Okoa, Mei 8, 1865).

Among the traditions which Kanuha told Remy, was an account of the ascent of 'Umi to the position of king on the island of Hawai'i. In the account Kanuha describes the history behind the construction of the famed heiau (temple) Ahu-a-'Umi, and the construction of three other heiau on the 'āina mauna—one on Mauna Loa, one on Mauna Kea, and one on a hill overlooking the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku-Pōhakuloa region. It is noted here that, in his own work, Abraham Fornander (1973) acknowledged the age and authority of Kanuha, but he also found inconsistencies in the genealogical relationship of individuals mentioned by Kanuha (Fornander 1973:99-101). In particular, Remy reports that Kanuha conveyed to him that 'Umi went to war with Keli'iokaloa, a chief of Kona. Historical accounts by native writers and Fornander record that Keli'iokaloa was the son of 'Umi, and that he became king of Kona for a time following his father's death (Fornander 1973:99-101). It should be considered here that this historical inconsistency may actually be attributed to Remy's own hand, rather than the narratives of Kanuha.

Regardless of the possible genealogical differences, one of the unique qualities of the account is that it provides us with otherwise unrecorded documentation regarding construction and placement of heiau in the high mountainous region of Hawai'i. The following narratives, with excerpts of the original Hawaiian and translations of the accounts (translated by Maly), are taken from Remy's recording of Kanuha's story in 1853, and published in Ke Au Okoa on May 22, 1865:

Umi ruled in place of Hakau, and his friends Koi and Omaokamau dwelt with him. Piimaiwaa, Umi's war leader dwelt in Hilo. With Umi, there was also his trusted companion Pakaa, and his priest Lono. At this time, Umi ruled the eastern side of Hawaii, while on the western side, his relative Keliokaloa, ruled and dwelt at Kailua... In the time that he dwelt in Kailua, Keliokaloa was known as an evil chief, he cut down the coconut trees and desecrated the cultivated fields. It was because of these evil deeds that Umi made preparations to go to war against him. Umi marched to battle, joined by his famous warrior, Piimaiwaa, and his companions Koi and Omaokamau. Also with him were his favorite, Pakaa, and his priest Lono.

The Hawaiian narrative then reads:

Mawaena o Maunakea a me Hualalai ka hele pualu ana o ua alii nei me kona manao e iho ae i Kailua. Aole nae i kali o Keliokaloa, aka, ua pii nui aku oia me kona poe koa e houka aku ia Umi. Ua halawai na puulu kaua a i elua maluna o kekahi wahi papu i hoopuni ia e na mauna ekolu, a i kapaia hoi ke Ahu a Umi. Kaua mai o Laepuni ma (he mau kanaka makaainana pili alii ole) ia Umi, a aneane e make o Umi ia laua, lele mai o Piimaiwaa e kokua ia ia, a

² Kanuha is found in several historical accounts recorded by Kamakau (1961) and Fornander (1973). One of the historical events in which Kanuha participated with Kame'eiamoku *mā* in the capture of the vessel Fair American, in 1790, at Ka'ūpūlehu (Kamakau 1961:147).

oia ka mea nana i hooholo ae ka lanakila ma ko Umi aoao. Aohe mau mea nui i hai ia mai, aka, me he mea la, ua make ke alii o Kailua iloko oia kaua ana. Ma keia kaua ana, ua lilo holookoa ia Umi ke Aupuni, a lilo iho oia ke alii ai moku o ka mokupuni o Hawaii. I mea e ili aku ai ka hoomanao ana no ia kaua ua hanauna aku a ia hanauna aku, ua kukulu ae la ia i ke ahua aa, e o ia nei a hiki i keia wa ke ahua a Umi...

Between Mauna Kea and Hualalai the chief and all his party traveled, with the thought of descending to Kailua. Keliioakaloa did not wait though, but instead, traveled with his warriors to meet Umi in battle. The two armies met on a broad open plain, surrounded by the three mountains, at the place [now] called Ahu a Umi. There, Laepuni and them (people who were unattached to a chief) fought with Umi. Umi was almost killed, but Piimaiwaa leapt in and helped him, it was he who turned the battle in the favor of Umi's side. There is not much else that is said, but, it is known that the chief of Kailua died in the battle. Thus, with this battle, the entire kingdom was gained by Umi. He became the chief that controlled the entire island of Hawaii. So that the battle would be remembered from generation to generation, he (Umi) built the stone altar, that remains to this day, the altar (ahua) of Umi... (Ke Au Okoa; Mei 22, 1865)

The narrative records that early in 'Umi's life, the priests Nunu and Wawa had discerned 'Umi's nature, and foretold that his god Kā'ili, made with a feather from the god Halulu, had empowered him. Indeed, 'Umi was a religious chief, and made many temples for his god. Among the temples were—

...Ua kukulu no hoi ia he heiau malalo o Pohaku Hanalei, a ua kapaia o ke ahua o Hanalei; a ma na aoao o Maunakea e hele ala i Hilo, ua kukulu no ia i ke kolu o ka heiau, ma kahi i kapa ia o Puukekee³; a ma Mauna Halepohaku malaila ia i kukulu ai i ka ha o na heiau, a malaila no hoi i olelo ia ai ua noho o Umi malaila me kona mau kanaka. Ua olelo ia o Umi he alii noho mauna, no kona aloha i kona poe kanaka, nolaila, ua hoi aku ia i waenakonu o ka mokupuni ilaila kona wahi i noho ai me kona poe kanaka, a na kona makaainana e noho ana ma na kapakai, e lawe mai i ka ai na lakou, mai kela pea, keia pea...

...He (Umi) also built a heiau (temple) below Pohaku Hanalei, it is called the altar (ahua) of Hanalei; and on the side of Mauna

³ Puukekee (Pu'u Kēke'e or Pu'u Ke'eke'e) is a hill that sits on the boundary between Waikōloa, Kohala, and Ka'ohē, Hāmākua. In historic times, the Pu'u Ke'eke'e Paddock was an important pasture in which ranch horses were rested.

Kanuha's narratives were made known to the Environmental and Archaeological staff of the Pōhakuloa Training Area by Maly in 2001, and in early 2002, field reconnaissance work was done on Pu'u Ke'eke'e. Unfortunately, no signs of the heiau have yet been located. Oral history interviews in this study describe intensive military use of the pu'u, which might explain this. Two elder interviewees recalled hearing something about a heiau in the area, but did not personally see it (see interviews with Rally and Patricia Greenwell, and Hisao and Elizabeth Kimura).

Kea, by where one travels to Hilo, he built the third of his temples, at the place called Puukekee [also written Puu Keekee in historical texts]; and there at Mauna Halepohaku he built the fourth of his temples; there, it is said, Umi dwelt with his many people. It is said that Umi was a chief who dwelt upon the mountain, it was because of his love of his people, that he (Umi) returned and dwelt in the middle of the island [Ahu-a-Umi], that is where he dwelt with his beloved people. His commoners lived along the shores, and they brought food for them (in the uplands), from one side of the island to the other... (Ke Au Okoa; Mei 22, 1865)

Warring Chiefs and Royal Associations

Samuel Kamakau, one of the preeminent native historians of the mid-nineteenth century, penned many important traditions and genealogies in native language newspapers and letters. In 1865, Kamakau (Kamakau 1991) observed that “Waikōloa” was one of the cold northern winds called upon by the chief Lonopele, when he was trying to sink the canoes of the priest Pā’ao (Kamakau 1991:5). Set in the 1300s, Pā’ao was the priest who defined the Hawaiian religious system, and established the chief Pili-a-ka-‘aiea on Hawai‘i. Among the descendants of Pā’ao and Pili were Hewahewa, the high priest, and Kamehameha I, who unified Hawai‘i under his rule. It is possible that the place name Waikōloa commemorates the wind (in later accounts, a wind goddess), Waikōloa.

The main body of traditional narratives which describe events and reference place names in the Waimea-Waikōloa region date from around the middle 1600s when Lono-i-ka-makahiki—grandson of ‘Umi-a-Līloa—ruled the island of Hawai‘i (cf. Kamakau 1961 & Fornander 1996). In these accounts, we learn of the movements of large regiments of warriors through the Waiki‘i vicinity (as described in association with travel across the island) and the battles fought on the “waterless” plains (Waikōloa) of Waimea, below Pu‘u ‘Oā‘oaka.

As a result of his work with native informants, Abraham Fornander (1996) recorded that during the reign of Lono-i-ka-makahiki (Lono), his elder brother Kanaloa-kua‘ana attempted to rebel and take control of Hawai‘i. The rebel forces were situated at:

...the land called Anaehoomalu, near the boundaries of Kohala and Kona. The rebel chiefs were encamped seaward of this along the shore. The next day Lono marched down and met the rebels at the place called Wailea, not far from Wainanali‘i, where in those days a watercourse appears to have been flowing. Lono won the battle, and the rebel chiefs fled northward with their forces. At Kaunooa [Kauna‘oa], between Puako and Kawaihae, they made another stand, but were again routed by Lono, and retreated to Nakikiaianihau, where they fell in with reinforcements from Kohala and Hamakua. Two other engagements were fought at Puupa [on the plain north of Waikōloa] and Puukohola, near the Heiau of that name, in both of which Lono was victorious... [Fornander 1996:120-121].

It is reported that the relationship between Lono and Kanaloakua‘ana was restored, and we find them mentioned once again in traditions of the area, when Hawai‘i was invaded by forces from the island of Maui. Samuel Kamakau (1961) wrote that during the reign of Lono-i-ka-makahiki, Kamalālāwalu (the king of Maui) sent spies to determine how many people

lived on the island of Hawai'i. The spies "landed at Kawaihae," and one of them, Ka-uhi-o-ka-lani, traveled the trail between Kawaihae and Kanikū, the lava plain behind 'Anaeho'omalua and Kapalaoa (Kamakau 1961:56). Returning to his companions, Ka-uhi-o-ka-lani reported, "I went visiting from here to the lava bed and pond that lies along the length of the land." He was told, "Kaniku is the lava bed and Kiholo, the pond..." (Kamakau 1961:56).

When the spies completed their circuit around the island, they reported back to Maui and told Kama:

...“We went all around Hawaii. There were many houses, but few men. We went to Kohala and found the men only on the shores...Bare of inhabitants is Kohala, for the men are at the coast.” The spies had seen the land of Kohala [but had failed to see the people for] on all of the fields where sports were held from inner Kohala to outer Kohala, from Kohala of the coastal cliffs to Kohala of the inland, a crowd of people gathered every day from morning to night to play. Kohala was known as a thickly-populated land. The spies thought that if Kohala was conquered, Kona, Ka-‘u, and Puna would be easily taken, and they felt that Hilo and Hamakua would lend no assistance. This was true, for the chiefs of these districts were cousins of the chiefs of Maui... [Kamakau 1961:56-57].

Kamalālāwalu (Kama) and his warriors traveled on a great fleet of canoes from Maui, and landed in the district of Kohala:

At that time a high chief of Hawaii, Kanaloa-kua'ana, the son of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi [an older brother of Lono-i-ka-makahiki's], was taken and cruelly treated. His whole skin was tattooed, his eyelids turned inside out and tattooed. Kanaloa-kua'ana was renamed Ka-maka-hiwa (Blackened-eyes) and Ka-maka-paweo (Shamed-eyes)... Kama-lala-walu set forth for Kawaihae, and found no one there. The people had gone up to Waimea, for all observed the services held at the heiau of Mailekini. Only those of lower Kawaihae and Puako remained [Kamakau 1961:58].

Fornander (1996) elaborated on one point in the account of Kanaloa-kua'ana—who became known as Kamakahiwa—that is of particular interest for those who travel along the coastal trail between Kauna'oa and Puakō. Kanaloa-kua'ana marched to meet the forces of Kamalālāwalu:

At Kauna'oa he met Kamalalawalu, who was marching inland. A battle ensued. The Maui forces greatly outnumbered those of Kanaloakuaana, who was utterly defeated and himself taken prisoner at [what is now called] Kamakahiwa in Puako, where his eyes were put out, and then he was slain [Fornander 1996:13].

Kamakahiwa is the name of a canoe landing at Puakō, in the vicinity of the 1853 School Lot Grant (cf. Register Map No. 1974).

Having gained the victory at Puakō, Kamalālāwalu prepared to march across the plains to Waimea and enter into battle. Kamalālāwalu's counselors told him:

Waimea is not a good battle site for strangers because the plain is long, and there is no water. Should defeat be met with by the warring strangers, they will all be slaughtered... [Kamakau 1961:58]

Kama ignored the advice of his counselors, and instead listened to the advice of two old men of Kawaihae, one of whom was named Pūhau-kole (commemorated as the name of a stream that passes the north side of Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini). These old men purposely misled Kama, telling him that the plain of Waikōloa, below Pu'u 'Oā'oaka, would be a good battlefield, and that all his canoes should be taken apart so none of the Maui warriors could run back to the canoes and secretly return to Maui (Kamakau 1961:58). The advice of the old men was taken by Kama, and the following events occurred:

After Kama-lala-walu's warriors reached the grassy plain, they looked seaward on the left and beheld the men of Kona advancing toward them. The lava bed of Kaniku and all the land up to Hu'ehu'e was covered with the men of Kona. Those of Ka'u and Puna were coming down from Mauna Kea [passing the Waiki'i Section lands], and those of Waimea and Kohala were on the level plain of Waimea [Waikōloa]. The men covered the whole of the grassy plain of Waimea like locusts. Kamalalawalu with his warriors dared to fight. The battlefield of Pu'oa'oaka was outside of the grassy plain of Waimea, but the men of Hawaii were afraid of being taken captive by Kama, so they led [Kamalālāwalu's forces] to the waterless plain lest Maui's warriors find water and hard, waterworn pebbles. The men of Hawaii feared that the Maui warriors would find water to drink and become stronger for the slinging of stones that would fall like raindrops from the sky. The stones would fall about with a force like lightning, breaking the bones into pieces and causing sudden death as if by bullets...

...The Maui men who were used to slinging shiny, water-worn stones grabbed up the stones of Pu'oa'oaka. A cloud of dust rose to the sky and twisted about like smoke, but the lava rocks were light, and few of the Hawaii men were killed by them. This was one of the things that helped to destroy the warriors of Kama-lala-walu: They went away out on the plain where the strong fighters were unable to find water...The warriors of Maui were put to flight, and the retreat to Kawaihae was long. [Yet] there were many who did reach Kawaihae, but because of the lack of canoes, only a few escaped with their lives... Kama-lala-walu, ruler of Maui, was killed on the grassy plain of Puako, and some of his chiefs were also destroyed [Kamakau 1961:58-60].

Ke-Ahu-a-Lono (The-Altar-made-by-Lono)

One of the important, storied features on the landscape of Waikōloa, bounding also 'Anaeho'omalū and Pu'u Anahulu, is a shrine called Ke-ahu-a-Lono. Abraham Fornander (1916-1917) records that following the events described above, there was a period of peace on Hawai'i. But one further event in the life of Lono-i-ka-makahiki takes readers back to the lands of 'Anaeho'omalū and Waikōloa. Out of jealousy, some of the Hawai'i Island chiefs slandered Kapaihihilina (Kapaihi), a trusted advisor and companion of Lono's, who had befriended the king while he was on Kaua'i. For a while, Lono believed the slanderous allegations, and Kapaihi departed from Lono to return to Kaua'i. Feeling remorse, Lono set off after Kapaihi, and they met at 'Anaeho'omalū. Fornander described how Ke-ahu-a-Lono came to be made on the boundary of Kohala and Kona:

When Lonoikamakahiki set sail on his search for his friend, Kapaihiahilina had already arrived at Anaehoomalu and soon afterwards was followed by Lonoikamakahiki and others. Lonoikamakahiki saw Kapaihiahilina sitting on the sand beach when the canoes were being hauled ashore. Lonoikamakahiki immediately began to wail and also described their previous wanderings together. Kapaihiahilina recognizing the king also commenced wailing. When they came together and had ceased weeping and conversing, then Lonoikamakahiki made a covenant between them, that there would be no more strife, nor would he hearken to the voice of slander which surrounds him, and in order that the understanding between them should be made binding, Lonoikamakahiki built a temple of rocks as a place for the offering of their prayers and the making of oaths to Lonoikamakahiki's god to fully seal the covenant.

Kapaihiahilina observed that Lonoikamakahiki was sincere in his desires and at that moment gave his consent to return with Lonoikamakahiki. After their religious observance at this place they returned to Kona and resided at Kaawaloa, in South Kona.

(Tradition says because of the covenant entered into for the erection of the mound of rocks at Anaehoomalu, the boundary between Kohala and Kona was named Keahualono, and that place has been known ever since by that name signifying the erection of a mound of rocks by Lonoikamakahiki) [Fornander 1917 Volume 4-3:360,362].

Another account describing circumstances around construction of Ke-Ahu-a-Lono was published in the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Hoku o Hawai'i* in 1924. The narrative is part of a series of historical articles, penned by J.W.H.I. Kihe, a native resident of Pu'u Anahulu (the land situated on the southwestern boundary of Waikōloa). Kihe was a native Hawaiian historian and prolific writer, and was also one of the translators of the Fornander collection. Kihe placed the construction of "Ke Ahu a Lono" (The-altar-made-by-Lono) in the period when Lono-i-ka-makahiki and his followers were preparing for their battle against Kama-lālā-walu, king of Maui. This native account (excerpts translated by Maly) provides the following historical notes:

This Altar (Ahu) is an Altar of the warrior leaders and warriors of Lonoikamakahiki, built at the time he went to battle with Kamalalawalu, the king of Maui. Kamalalawalu and his forces landed at Kawaihae and began their ascent. This stone altar was built then and is called the Ahu made by Lono to this time (Ke-Ahu-a-Lono)... The Altar is at the boundary between Kona and Kohala, near the road (alanui) to Kohala, made by Haanio [Kihe in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* Jan. 31-Feb. 14, 1924].

Ke-ahu-a-Lono is an important feature on the boundary of Kohala ('Anaeho'omalū & Waikōloa) and Kona (see descriptions of boundaries later in this report), next to the ala loa or ala nui that marks the inland boundary of 'Anaeho'omalū (see also Cordy 1987).

Kamehameha I in South Kohala

In ca. 1790 Kamehameha I and his chiefs were living at Kawaihae. Following the advice of a priest from Kaua'i, Kamehameha undertook the reconstruction of the heiau Pu'u Koholā, to dedicate it as a house for his god, Kūkā'ilimoku (Kamakau 1961:154) During this time,

“thousands of people were encamped on the neighboring hillsides” (Fornander 1996:328). Then, between 1792 and 1796, after the dedication of Pu‘u Koholā, Kamehameha lived at Kawaihae and worked the lands of the Waimea-Waikōloa Region. In 1796, Kamehameha initiated work on the great peleleu canoe fleet for the invasion of Kaua‘i. During those years, Kamehameha worked on the heiau of the land and ensured the safety of those who traveled the trails of South Kohala. Kamakau also noted that Puakō was an important source of coconuts which were used in the dedication of the heiau of Kamehameha:

Kamehameha saw an old man with his grandson on his way home across the plain of Kawaihae. He was gasping under a heavy load of ti root. Pitying him, Kamehameha drew near to help him. When the load was taken from him the old man, supposing Kamehameha to be a robber, exclaimed, “What are you doing! These plains are under the tabu of Pai‘ea [Kamehameha].” “Is Pai‘ea a good chief? “Yes, Pai‘ea is a good chief. He makes the old man and the old woman to sleep [without fear] by the roadside. He is a good chief; it is his favorites who are bad and rob others.” Bad indeed!” said Kamehameha, and he carried the old man’s load until they came to the beach close to Kawaihae. Then he said, “If some men overtake you, do not tell them that I carried your load for you thus far.” Some time later the old man was overtaken by Kamehameha’s favorites who asked him, “Have you seen the chief, Kamehameha?” The old man was terrified, believing that he would die for letting the chief carry his load; but Kamehameha was a kindly chief and a patient one.

While Kamehameha was living with the chiefs at Waimea [he was] engaged in restoring the old heiaus. When the fence of images (paehumu), the oracle tower (anu‘unu‘u), and the pavement (kipapa) of the heiau of Uli had been restored, all the people had to go down to Puako after coconuts. When each had taken up his load to return there remained still 480 nuts unhusked. All had gone except Kamehameha and one other to whom the chief was unknown. Kamehameha turned to him and said, “It looks as if there would not be enough coconuts for the dedication in the morning.” It is possible that the man recognized the chief for he replied, “They will all be there.” The two put the nuts into nets and fastened them together into a huge load that stood taller than either of them. The road from Puako to Waimea is close to twenty miles in length. Occasionally when the man seemed tired Kamehameha took a turn at the load. At dusk as they neared their destination, and it came time for evening prayer, Kamehameha left the man saying, ‘When you get to the heiau spend the night with people of the place, but do not tell them that Kamehameha helped carry the load on his back.’ Because of this feat of strength and another later, when he took up two hogs each more than a fathom long and carried them without help, this Kuihelani, as his name was, became a great favorite with the chief and held an important office under him. He was allowed to have ten wives, an honor allowed to no other chief besides, and there was no home happier than his, no governor of a district to be compared with Kuihelani. [Kamakau 1961:182-183]

Shortly after the death of Kamehameha in 1819, a disagreement between Liholiho (Kamehameha II), and his cousin, Kekuaokalani, arose—the difficulty concerned Liholiho’s setting aside the kapu (restrictions and commandments) of the gods (Kamakau 1961:222).

In December 1819, rebellion arose, and Kekuaokalani, the keeper of the gods, was killed at Kuamo'o in a battle over the breaking of the kapu of the ancient religious system. Shortly thereafter, a small rebellion arose in Hāmākua, and Kamakau tells readers that Hoapili and an army sailed from Kailua to Kawaihae, and then marched up to Waimea where many of the rebels were killed, and others fled through Māhiki (Kamakau 1961:228).

Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai No Ka-Miki (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki)

Perhaps one of the most detailed native traditions which includes rich accounts of place names and practices of native families, covering Waiki'i, the Waikōloa-Waimea lands, and the larger 'āina mauna (mountain lands) surrounding Waiki'i, is a historical account titled "Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki" (The Heart Stirring Tale of Ka-Miki). The story of Ka-Miki was published in the Hawaiian language newspaper Ka Hoku o Hawaii (1914-1917). It is a long and complex account that was recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe with contributions by local informants. While "Ka-Miki" is not entirely an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of local traditions, tales, and family accounts in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations.

The complete narrative include historical accounts of more than 800 place names (many personified, commemorating particular individuals) around the island of Hawai'i. While the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely "ancient," such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian traditions. The selected narratives below, translated by Maly, are excerpted from various sections of the tradition, and provide readers with descriptions of the land, resources, areas of residence, and practices of the native residents, as handed down by kama'āina (those familiar with the land). Of particular interest, specific documentation is given pertaining to the place name of Waiki'i, and also to many places in Waikōloa and neighboring lands.

Ka-Miki: An Overview of the Tradition

The tradition of Ka-Miki is about two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept one) and Maka'iole (Rat [squinting] eyes) who traveled along the ancient ala hele and ala loa (trails and byways) that encircled the island of Hawai'i. Born in 'e'epa (mysterious-premature) forms, Ka-Miki and Maka'iole were the children of Pōhaku-o-Kāne and Kapa'ihilani, ali'i of the lands of Kohana-iki and Kaloko. Reared by their great grandmother, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The great entangled growth of uluhe fern which spreads across the uplands), the brothers were instructed in the uses of their supernatural powers. Ka-uluhe, who was also one of the manifestations of the earth-mother goddess and creative force of nature, Haumea (also called Papa), who dwelt at Kalama'ula on the heights of Hualālai, was also a goddess of competitors.

Following completion of their training, Ka-uluhe sent Ka-Miki and Maka'iole on a journey around the island of Hawai'i to challenge disreputable 'ōlohe (experts, skilled in all manner of fighting techniques and competing in riddling, running, leaping, fishing and debating contests, etc.) and priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai'i.

The narratives are set in the time when Hīkapōloa and Kapa'au-iki-a-Kalana were the two primary chiefs of Kohala (ca. thirteenth century). During their journey, Ka-Miki and Maka-

'iole competed along the ala loa and ala hele and on the kahua le'ale'a (contest arenas) associated with the royal courts of the chiefs of the islands' six districts. In this account, the nature and boundaries of Kohala District are as follows:

O Kohala nui, o Kohala iki, o Kohala loko, o Kohala waho, o Kohala makani
'Āpa'apa'a, o Pili o Kalāhikiola, o Na-pu'u-haele-lua. 'Oia ho'i! 'Oia la! O nā
'okina iho la 'ia o ka 'āina ha'aheo i ke kahili a ka makani 'Āpa'apa'a e ho'ola'au
mai ana me he ipo ala ka nē hone i ka poli o ke aloha —

Large Kohala, little Kohala, inner Kohala, outer Kohala, Kohala of the
'Āpa'apa'a wind, of Pili and Kalāhikiola, the two traveling hills. Indeed! They are
the combined districts of this proud land brushed by the 'Āpa'apa'a wind,
maturing like a love nestled fondly in the bosom of love (Ka Hoku o Hawaii,
March 22, 1917).

For generations, sayings like the one above, have been spoken in praise of Kohala and its various land divisions which extend from Honoke'ā on the Hāmākua boundary to Ke-ahu-a-Lono on the Kona boundary. The lands from Kawaihae to Waikōloa and 'Anaeho'omalua are within the region called Kohala waho (outer Kohala).

Narratives Describing Waiki'i, South Kohala and the Mountain Lands

When the brothers completed their training and tests of their skills had ended, Ka-uluhe instructed Ka-Miki to journey to the hālau alii (royal compound) of Poli'ahu, one of the elder relatives of the brothers. Poli'ahu and her companion Lilinoe, were the guardians of Waiau and the sacred water of Kāne. She then instructed Maka-'iole to go collect the 'awa (Piper methysticum) of the god Luanu'u at Waipi'o. The water and the 'awa were to be used in an 'ai-lolo (ceremony of graduation), commemorating the sacred nature of the brothers and completion of their training in 'ōlohe skills. Ka-uluhe instructed the brothers —

“...You, Maka-'iole, are to fetch the yellow barked 'awa which the gods drink till they are drunk, and bleary eyed, till their eyes are reeling, it is the 'awa that is there along the sacred cliff of Waipi'o in the breast (the ledge) of Ha'iwahine - at the long plain of 'Āpua...”

Maka-'iole stood up straight, prepared to fly like the 'iwa bird soaring upon the winds... Ka-uluhe then called to Ka-Miki, telling him:

“...e kii oe i ka wai a Kāne, aia i luna i ka piko o ke kuahiwi i ka hālau alii o Poli'ahu a me Lilinoe, me ka hanai a laua o Ka-piko-o-Waiiau. Aia malalo mai o kaulu o ka paepae o Pohaku-a-Kane e nana iho la ia Pohakuloa, o ka ohana 'ia o ko makuakane. E kii oe i ka wai no ka awa o olua...”

“You are to fetch the sacred water of Kāne which is there atop the summit of the mountain (Mauna Kea), at the royal compound of Poli'ahu, Lilinoe, and their ward, Ka-piko-o-Waiiau. The water is there below the ledge of the platform of Pōhakuakāne, from where you may look down to Pōhakuakāne; they are your family through your father's genealogy. You are to fetch the water that will be used to make the 'awa for you two...”

Telling Ka-Miki to travel with all swiftness, Ka-uluhe then offered a traveling chant, to keep Ka-Miki warm while traveling the trail to the hālau ali'i of Poli'ahu—

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Ala hele mauka la | The path goes to the uplands |
| Ala hele makai la | The path goes to the lowlands |
| Ala hele mehameha i ke kualono | It is a lonely path to the mountain |
| Ala hele kuo-u koekoe | A damp dreary path |
| He ahi kou kapa e mehana ai | A fire will be the wrap which warms you |
| E lala ai i ke ala kapu la | Warming you along the sacred trail |
| A ko kupuna wahine | [Fire] of your ancestress with many |
| kino manamana | body forms |
| Manamana ke ala nui ou | Your path will have many branches |
| e kuu kama | my child |
| E Nana-i-ka-ulu-o-Kamalama | O Nana-i-ka-ulu-o-Kamalama (Ka-Miki) |
| Ku ana hoolono i ka leo ou | Stand and heed my voice |
| O ko kupuna wahine nei la | It is I your ancestress |
| Ku—e, ku la | Stand, make ready |
| Ku hoolono, lono e! | Stand and hear, listen! |

Ka-uluhe also told the brothers that they were to go to the place of their ancestress Lani-ku'i-a-mamao-loa (whose name is commemorated in the place name Lani-mamao at Waimea); for she had the kānoa ('awa bowl), called Hōkū'ula and the mau'u 'awa (strainer) Ka-lau-o-ke-Kāhuli, which would be used in preparing the 'awa ceremony.

Ka-uluhe then told Ka-Miki:

“...e ukuhi ai i ka wai kapu a Kane ma laua me Kanaloa, a e hii ae i ka poli a huli hoi mai. Maluna mai oe o na kualono, kuahiwi, kuakea, e lehei ana ma na kuamauna, mauna kapu kameha'i hoopaae i ke kanaka, a moe luhi ka leo—e, ae...”

“...dip into the sacred water of Kāne and Kanaloa and hold it close to your breast while returning. You shall be at the heights of the mountainous region, at the whitened peaks, leaping on the mountain top, the sacred and astonishing mountain [Mauna Kea], that causes people to go astray, and the voice is wearied by calling out—indeed it is so...”

Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole then set out to complete their tasks, first traveling to meet their ancestress Lani-mamao on the windward plains of Waimea (in the region of Mahiki) (February 5, 1914).

The brothers greeted their kupuna with genealogical chants, and gained her recognition of their descent. When Lani-mamao inquired of their journey and quest, Maka-'iole called out to her with a mele (chant), explaining the nature of his task.

Lani-mamao exclaimed — “What is your kupuna thinking of, sending you to fetch the cherished ‘awa of Luanu‘u-a-nu‘u-pō‘ele-ka-pō-loa, king of the hordes of ghosts who dwelt at Waipi‘o?” She then inquired. “Where is the water that she told you to fetch?” Ka-Miki answered —

“I ka wai kapu a Kane ma laua me Kanaloa, i ka paepae kapu o ka Pohaku-a-Kane, ke nai ia ala e ka ohu Kakikepa, e ka uwahi noe a ka wahine o ka lua...”

“It is the sacred water of Kāne and Kanaloa at the sacred platform of Pōhaku-a-Kāne, overcome by the mists Kākīkepa, that is like the steaming mists of the woman [Pele] who dwells at the crater...”

Because of the great challenges the brothers would face while going to fetch the ‘awa and water of the gods, Lani-mamao tested their knowledge of the skills necessary to make sure that they were prepared to meet the challenges which lay ahead of them. Lanimamao set out the supernatural net Ku‘uku‘u which was also called Kanikawī - Kanikawā [the thick rainbelt fog] that trapped and ensnared many travelers. She told Ka-Miki and his brother to leap into the net, which they did, she then pulled the net closed and placed high overhead in the rafters of her house. In no time, Ka-Miki had pulled on the lines and caused the net to ho‘omōhala (to blossom or open), thus the brothers were freed. Lani-mamao then told Nana-i-ke-kihi-o-Kamalama (Ka-Miki):

Great is your alertness, bravery, skill, cleverness, strength, and wisdom; indeed if you possessed only half of your abilities you would not have been able to free yourself. No one has ever escaped from this net, and if you had not been able to free yourselves, your training would not have been adequate. Because of this sign, it is you Ka-Miki who must fetch the ‘awa of the ghost king Luanu‘u, for only you could succeed (February 12, 1914).

Thus, Ka-Miki agreed to go to Waipi‘o. Lanimamao then told Maka‘iole, that he was to go to fetch the strainer Ka-lau-o-ke-kāhuli [a native sedge] from the plain of Waikōloa...

Ka-Miki departed and arrived at the compound of Luanu‘u. Unknown to Luanu‘u, Ka-Miki took the ‘awa, and then gave the king a tap before departing... Outraged, Luanu‘u instructed his retainers, Mū-kā and Mū-kī, to seek out the thief. On their journey to find the culprit, they circled the island and traveled to the heights of Humu‘ula, where they inquired of ‘Ōma‘okoili and ‘Ōma‘okanihae if either of them knew who this rascal thief was. They also traveled to the heights of Ka-piko-o-Waiiau, the ward of the chiefesses Poli‘ahu and Lilinoe, where they peered down upon the multitudes, and watched the sacred water of Kāne mā⁴, to where the ‘auwai (water channel) was dug... (February 19, 1914).

...Ka-Miki returned to Lanimaomao and presented the sacred ‘awa container Kapāpāiaoa and ‘awa of Luanu‘u to his ancestress. She bathed him in her rains, and caused lightning and thunder to praise his accomplishments.

⁴ mā is a Hawaiian word that means “and companions, friends” or “and others.”

Lanimamao then gave Ka-Miki the kānoa ‘awa (‘awa bowl), Hōkū‘ula—with the kapu of Lono-Makahiki—so that he could go get the wai kapu (sacred water) of Kāne and Kanaloa (at Mauna Kea). (March 5, 1914).

Ka-Miki then leapt and disappeared in the mists that seem to crawl upon the forest growth. Arriving at the spring (of Waiau), Ka-Miki began dipping the ladle into the sacred water of Kāne, to fill the ‘awa bowl Hōkū‘ula —

“...A ia wa i ike mai ai ua wahi akua kiai i ka ale o ka wai a hu ae la mawaho o ka punawai. A ia laua i holo mai ai, o ka maalo o ke aka ka laua i ike a nalo aku la. A ua kapa ia ka inoa o ua punawai ala o “Ka Wai Hu a Kane,” a hiki i keia la. No ka hu ana i ke kioe ana a Ka-Miki i ka wai iloko o ke kanoa awa o ke akua.”

“...At that time, the guardians, Pōhakuakāne and Pōhakuloa, saw the water rippling, and overflowing from the spring. As they went to investigate, they saw a shadow pass them by. Because of the overflowing of the water, the spring came to be called Ka-wai-hū-a-Kāne (The overflowing waters of Kāne), and so it remains named to this day. It overflowed because Ka-Miki scooped the water, filling the ‘awa bowl of the god.”

Ka-Miki then joined Maka-‘iole at Holoholokū on the plain of Waikōloa. And as they traveled across the plains on their way back to Hualālai, the wind goddess Wai-kō-loa (Water carried far) caused the water to splash over the brim of Hōkū‘ula. Some of the water was carried afar by the wind and fell, forming a new spring. When the spring appeared, Pōhaku-a-Kāne fetched some of the water. Because Pōhaku-a-Kāne fetched some of the water, that place is called Wai-ki‘i (Fetched-water) to this day. This happened near the hills of Pu‘u Keke‘e.

Pōhaku-a-Kāne took the water he retrieved to the base of the cliffs of Mauna Kea and dug into the earthen plain of Pōhakuloa and placed the water there. From Pōhakuloa, the water flowed under ground and appeared as springs at several other places, including Ana-o-Hiku at Hanakaumalu, Honua‘ula, and Kīpahe‘e-wai on the slopes of Hualālai... (March 12, 1914).

Following completion of the ‘awa ceremonies with Ka-uluhe, Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole began their journey around Hawai‘i, traveling south through Kona. While at Kapalilua, South Kona, Ka-Miki was described as the skilled ‘ōlohe from the lands of Nāpu‘u (the Pu‘u Anahulu-Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a vicinity). In describing Nāpu‘u, the wind of Waikōloa was mentioned—

Napuu (pu) Alu Kinikini i kuia e ke ao-lewa i ka makani i ka hoohae a ka Naulu, i ka hoelo ia e ka Waikoloa a me ke Kaumuku kuehu lepo i ke kula pili — The many gullied or folded hills where the wind borne Nāulu rain clouds appear, [land] moistened by the Waikōloa wind, with the Kaumuku winds which stir up the dust on the pili grass covered plain... (December 3, 1914)

When the journey around Hawai‘i Island was completed, Ka-Miki entered into contests at Pua‘a, Kona, before the chief Pili-a-ka-‘aiea. It was in the events associated with these contests that traditions of the people and places of the Waikōloa region and neighboring

lands were once again described. The narratives describe several places on the Waikōloa plain including Po'opo'o, Pu'u 'Iwa'iwa and Pu'u Hīna'i, below Waiki'i; and Kanakanaka, Lālāmilo, and lands makai of Waikōloa.

...The region of Lālāmilo was named for the young chief Lālāmilo, grandson of Kanakanaka, an expert lawai'a hī-'ahi (deep sea tuna lure fisherman) and Pili-a-mo'o, a powerful priestess and 'ōlohe. Kanakanaka and Piliamo'o were the parents of Nē'ula (a fishing goddess), and she married Pu'u-hīna'i a chief of the inlands, and they in turn were the parents of Lālāmilo. Kanakanaka's sister was the wind goddess, Waikōloa, for whom the lands are now named.

Lālāmilo gained fame as an expert 'ōlohe and fisherman. And through his wife Puakō, he came to possess the supernatural leho (cowry octopus lure) which had been an 'ōnohi (cherished) possession of Ha'alua, a goddess with an octopus form... How this octopus lure came to rest on the reefs fronting this land remains a mystery.

The leho was so powerful that if it was only shown to the he'e (octopus), they would climb upon the canoe and be caught. Lālāmilo carefully guarded this lure and even slept with it. When Lālāmilo did leave the lure, he stored it in the hōkeo aho hī-'ahi (tuna lure and olonā line storage gourd) of his grandfather Kanakanaka, and this was hidden, tied to the ridge pole of his house.

Lālāmilo's grandmother Piliamo'o, discerned the nature of the lure, and instructed Lālāmilo to kill all people who inquired about the lure or sought to see it. Because the fame of this lure spread around Hawai'i and people were curious about it, many people were killed.

Pili-a-Ka'aiea, the chief of Kona, greatly loved octopus fishing, and had sent several messengers to inquire of Lālāmilo how he might acquire the lure. All of the messengers were killed by Lālāmilo and Piliamo'o. While at the contest field called Hinakahua, Ka-Miki agreed to fetch the lure for Pili as one of the conditions he needed to fulfill in order to become the foremost favorite of Pili. Now as these events at the court of Pili were unfolding, Lālāmilo decided to visit his father Pu'u-hīna'i, his sister Pu'u 'Iwa'iwa, and his grand-aunt Waikōloa, who was Pu'u 'Iwa'iwa's guardian. To this day, places are named for all of these people as well.

Lālāmilo arose and told his wife Puakō and his mother Nē'ula that he was going to the uplands to visit his father, sister, and the people who worked the upland plantations. Lālāmilo desired to eat the sugar cane and bananas and drink the 'awa which grew on the hill of Po'opo'o. Po'opo'o was also the name of a makāula (seer) who saw to the continued peaceful dwelling of the people. Lālāmilo placed the lure in Kanakanaka's gourd and secured it near the ridge pole of his house. Lālāmilo then asked Puakō and Nē'ula to go and look after the gourd in which the 'ōnohi (eyeball or cherished possession) of Ha'alua was kept.

Lālāmilo then departed and traveled up towards the residences and agricultural lands of Pu'u Hīna'i mā. As he drew near his destination, his thoughts returned to the lure. Lālāmilo looked towards the ocean, and his desire to see the lure

was very great (July 5, 1917). At the same time, Lālāmilo also had a premonition, so he returned to the shore without visiting his father and sister. During the time when Lālāmilo was gone, Ka-Miki had traveled to Lālāmilo's land and met with a man of the area named Nīheu. Ka-Miki inquired, "Where is the chief Lālāmilo's house?" Nīheu said, "It is there above the canoe landing." Ka-Miki then asked, "And where is the chief?" Nīheu responded by saying, "I don't know, perhaps he is in the house." Ka-Miki then went to Lālāmilo's house, and peering in he saw the gourd container and he lowered it, removing the cordage. Ka-Miki then took out the lure and departed from Lālāmilo without incident.

The narrator then breaks from this part of the traditions, and explains to readers how Puakō and 'Anaeho'omalū and other places in the regions came to be named:

Puakō was the daughter of Wa'awa'a (kāne) and Anahulu (wahine), and the sister of: 'Anaeho'omalū (wahine); Pū'āla'a (kāne); and Maui-loa (kāne). Puakō's great desire was to eat he'e (octopus), and Pū'āla'a was kept continually busy acquiring he'e for Puakō, and getting pa'ou'ou fish for 'Anaeho'omalū. When he could no longer provide sufficient numbers of fish for his sisters they left Puna and set out in search of suitable husbands who could provide for their needs.

Because of their great love for 'Anaeho'omalū and Puakō, Anahulu, Wa'awa'a, their relatives and attendants also moved to the Kona - Kohala region and dwelt at sites which now bear their names; only Pū'āla'a remained in Puna. This is how Pu'u-Huluhulu, Pu'u-Iki, and Mauiloa came to be named; and Pu'u Anahulu (Ten day hill [ceremonial period]) was named for Anahulu, the chiefess wife of Wa'awa'a (Pu'u Wa'awa'a).

Arriving at Kapalaoa in the Kekaha lands of Kona, 'Anaeho'omalū married Nāipuakalaulani, son of the chiefess Kuaīwa of Kapalaoa. Puakō went on to Waimā where she met with natives of that area, and was introduced to the chiefess Nē'ula, mother of Lālāmilo. When Nē'ula learned that Puakō greatly coveted he'e, she told Puakō that her son was the foremost lawai'a 'ōkilo he'e (octopus fisherman) of the region. And because Puakō was so beautiful, Nē'ula introduced her to Lālāmilo. Lālāmilo saw Puakō, and compared her to the foremost "he'e" which he could catch.

One day after Lālāmilo and Puakō were married, Puakō went to the shore to gather fish and seaweeds. It was low tide at Waimā, and she was able to go far out upon the flats where she saw a he'e (octopus) spread out upon the reef, which she speared and took it towards the shore. This he'e was so heavy she could barely carry it, and Nē'ula saw Puakō and inquired who had given it to her. Puakō told Nē'ula how she found the octopus on the coral out cropping. Nē'ula responded that she was native of this place and had never seen such an octopus at this area. (July 19, 1917)

While Puakō and Nē'ula were talking, Lālāmilo returned from octopus fishing and saw Puakō's octopus. Lālāmilo asked Puakō where she had gotten that octopus from and she related the events to him. Lālāmilo accused her of lying, and asked how an ocean octopus could be found on the reef. Lālāmilo then

struck Puakō, thinking that she had gotten her octopus from some other man. He struck her so hard that her skin darkened, and Nē'ula interceded saying that they should go to the place where the octopus came from. Nē'ula told Lālāmilo that perhaps what Puakō said was true, and that they should go look upon the reef. Indeed there was an octopus upon the reef, and Lālāmilo caught it. Coming before Puakō, Lālāmilo apologized for thinking that someone else had taken the – restricted fish of the chief (implying that Puakō was restricted to Lālāmilo).

Lālāmilo then went to investigate why the he'e were attracted to that site on the reef. He looked and found a small hole with something red like an 'ōhi'a blossom inside it. He realized that it was a beautiful leho (cowry lure) which had attracted the he'e, indeed it was the foremost lure of all Hawai'i.

Lālāmilo broke the reef and took the cowry, and from that time, no more he'e appeared on the reef. Lālāmilo took the leho to his house and cleaned the meat from it. He then fastened it with rope, making the lure, and he kept it close to him. Lālāmilo placed the lure in a container and went octopus fishing. When he got to the lūhe'e (octopus fishing) site, Lālāmilo removed the lure from the container and secured it to his hand. At the same time, a he'e came up and climbed upon the canoe, but when the lure was covered the he'e stopped coming into the canoe. Lālāmilo had gotten some 120 he'e in a short time, and he returned to show his wife and mother the results. Nē'ula suggested that Lālāmilo take the lure and an offering of he'e to his grandmother, the seer Pili-a-mo'o.

Lālāmilo went to Pili-a-mo'o and showed the lure to her. Pili-a-mo'o discerned the nature of the lure and told Lālāmilo that this was not an ordinary cowry lure, but a god, the 'ōnohi (favorite or cherished one) of Ha'aluea, the mysterious supernatural octopus being of the ocean depths. Ha'aluea and her family came from Kāne-hūnā-moku (The hidden land of Kāne) and settled at Makaīwa in the land of Kapa'a, Kaua'i. Ha'aluea was the wife of the wind and ocean god Halulu-ko'ako'a, and grandmother of 'Iwa-nui-kīlou-moku (Great 'Iwa the island catcher).

The shore line of Nē'ula where the octopus lure was found was described with the saying—The shore where salt is gathered at Nē'ula who is the Kū'ula on which salt grains are placed by the wind Kuehulepo which scatters dust, land where the three canoe sailing winds Haehae, Nāulu, and Ho'olua blow.

Pili-a-mo'o consecrated the leho and the he'e which it attracted. She also told Lālāmilo that the first he'e caught must always be brought to her as an offering. Pili-a-mo'o then told Lālāmilo that no one should be allowed to see the leho, and that anyone who sought to see it had to be killed. As the fame of the lure spread through the land, people were curious about it, and many people were killed by Lālāmilo (July 26, 1917).

It is at this point, that the narrative returns to Ka-Miki and his successful acquiring of the lure.

Because of his premonition that something was amiss with the lure, Lālāmilo returned to his home from the uplands and found that the leho had indeed been

stolen. Lālāmilo went empty-handed to Pili-a-mo’o, and she ignored him, thinking he had forgotten to bring her the offering of the first caught he’e. Lālāmilo called in a chant (mele kahea) to Pili-a-mo’o lamenting the loss of the prized possession of Ha’alaea —

Arise o Ho’olua [Piliamo’o, like the strong wind]
O lashing gusts of the Kiu [northern winds]
of the Nāulu [southern rain storms]
The sea is agitated and the clouds fly by
The waves rise to the land
Throwing the coral pieces upon the pōhuehue growth
[The lure] has fled [vanished], the prize of Ha’alaea’s
eye has been removed
I am overcome with grief
It is I, Lālāmilo
The offspring of Kanakanaka and my mysterious
ancestress Piliamo’o who sleeps here,
Arise!

Thus, learning of the theft, Pili-a-mo’o commanded that Lālāmilo seek out a black pig; a white cock; ‘awa from Po’opo’o — ka ‘awa kīpulu a Po’opo’o (the mulched ‘awa growth of Po’opo’o); an ‘āhuluhulu (red fish); and a red malo before the setting of the sun.

Lālāmilo acquired all of the items and returned to the house of Pili-a-mo’o overlooking the shore of Kauna’oa. Pili-a-mo’o told Lālāmilo to release the pig and chicken, and both of them entered the canoe which Pili-a-mo’o had prepared as the path on which Lālāmilo would travel to Kaua’i-o-Kamāwaelualani, where he would find ‘Iwa-nui-kīlou-moku at Makaīwa, Kapa’a.

Pili-a-mo’o called to Lālāmilo saying, “The gods have approved your offerings, and here is your path (canoe) to present the offerings to ‘Iwa, the mysterious rascal of the land which snares the sun, ‘Iwa the sacred ward of Halulu-ko’ak’oa.” With the offerings set in the canoe, and the sail raised, Pili-a-mo’o then prepared, an ‘awa ceremony.

The pig was at the mast, the ‘awa and fish were set on the platform, the rooster sat on the outrigger end, and the malo was placed at the stern of the canoe. After Pili-a-mo’o and Lālāmilo drank ‘awa they slept and when half the night passed the rooster crowed. Pili-a-mo’o arose and went out of the house where she saw the navigators’ star high above. Pili-a-mo’o then called to Lālāmilo, “Arise great shark of the sea, o offspring of Hulihia-ka-lani, o flippers of the turtle Kamilo-holu-o-Waiākea. Awaken for the light of the star Hīki’i-maka-o-Unulau, the Kualau (shower bearing wind) blows and the traveler will touch Kaua’i.” Lālāmilo arose, entered the canoe and prepared to sail to Kaua’i... (August 2, 1917)

Lālāmilo traveled safely to Kaua’i and befriended the youth, ‘Iwa-nui-kīlou-moku, the two then returned to Kohala, where —

The 'Āpa'apa'a wind carried them past Hā'ena, Awalua, and Kapa'a. 'Iwa asked Lālāmilo, "What land is this which rises above?", and Lālāmilo told him it was Kohala. The 'Āpa'apa'a then carried them past Kawaihae of the whispering sea to the sandy shore of Kauna'oa where they landed and went to Pili-a-mo'o's house. Pili-a-mo'o had prepared food and 'awa, and when they had eaten, the two friends fell asleep. When they awakened, Lālāmilo and 'Iwa swam in the ocean and then went to meet with Nē'ula and Puakō (August 16, 1917).

'Iwa then told Lālāmilo mā, "tomorrow we will retrieve the leho from Kona, and on the following day I will return to Kaua'i." Though Lālāmilo and Pili-a-mo'o asked 'Iwa to stay for a while and visit Hawai'i, 'Iwa told them that he had a vision that he must return to Kaua'i quickly.

On the following morning, 'Iwa awakened Lālāmilo, calling to him — E ala ua ao e, ua mālamalama , ua 'ohi ka pili o Makali'i, ua li'ili'i ka pō, ka hauli ka lani lele ka hōkū ke pi'i nei ka 'ula wena o ke ao ia (Arise the light shines, the Makali'i has passed, the night lessens, the heavens recede and the stars fly as the red glow arises, it is light). 'Iwa then said, "Let us go fetch the pride of our grandmother..."

Lālāmilo and 'Iwa departed from Kohala and traveled to the shore of Pālau'eka at Hōlualoa. There, arrangements were made for the two companions to join the chief and his fishermen. At the opportune time, 'Iwa chanted to his ancestress, and took his cowrie lure "Mulali-nui-makakai" bound with a hook and 'ōahi stone sinker and tossed it into the sea —

When 'Iwa finished his prayer, a he'e like none other pulled at the lure and rose to the canoe. 'Iwa killed the he'e, Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha were astounded, and 'Iwa then told them this is not the biggest octopus yet. He then cast his lure again, and this time the lure was held firmly in the ocean as though stuck in the coral. Pili's double-hulled canoe drew near, and 'Iwa suggested that Kapakapaka mā ask Pili to use his lure at this site, so he could secure the largest octopus. Pili's lure was set into the water and 'Iwa called once again to Ha'aluea...

O Ha'aluea
Here is our lure
Hold it tightly
And let your tentacle
Reach to cling to that which is above... (August 30, 1917)

A large he'e rose and embraced Pili's canoe, this he'e was killed and Pili set the lure into the ocean again. This time the goddess Ha'aluea rose in her octopus form and held tight to the canoe and lure. 'Iwa dove into the ocean and swam along Ha'aluea's tentacles, he found the lure and secured it in the folds of his malo. 'Iwa then tied the chief's line to a coral outcropping and returned to the surface where he joined Lālāmilo. Ha'aluea let go of Pili's canoe, and 'Iwa told Lālāmilo to paddle the canoe towards Maui. In a short time, they arrived along the shore of Waimea (also called Kauna'oa), where they were greeted by Pili-a-mo'o.

Lālāmilo and 'Iwa ate and drank 'awa, and 'Iwa then returned to Kaua'i. Thus Lālāmilo reclaimed his lure (September 6, 1917). Puakō's brother Pū'āla'a arrived from Puna and Lālāmilo divided the leho with him. Because the divided shells looked like portions of baked taro, the lure came to be called Kalo-kunu (broiled taro). And so told is the story of Lālāmilo and Kalokunu of Puakō in the wind, Kuehulepo... (September 13, 1917)

While conducting oral history interviews as a part of the present study, another tradition associated with the lands of Waiki'i was shared by members of the Ka'apuni-Phillips family, former residents of Waiki'i Village. It was related to the family that the menehune undertook construction of a water channel that passed through Waiki'i. But while working, a rooster crowed, leading the menehune to believe that the sun was rising, thus they abandoned their work. The water channel bears the name 'Auwaiakeakua (Water channel of the gods) to this day (see interview of June 29, 2002).

II. Historic Observations:

Waikōloa-Waimea and the Mountain Lands

Described in the Journals and Logs of Foreign Visitors (1779-1892)

This section of the study provides readers with selected narratives from several journals recorded by early visitors—explorers, missionaries, and adventurers—who traveled along the coast and in the uplands of the South Kohala region. Underlining used in the narratives is added here, to draw the reader's attention to texts associated with Waiki'i and vicinity.

Observations by Captain James Cook and Crew (1779)

The earliest foreign description of South Kohala is found in the Journals of Captain James Cook (Beaglehole 1967). The journal entry of February 6, 1779, penned by Captain James King, describes the journey along the Kohala coast (north to south) and describes Kawaihae (spelled Toe-yah-ya):

Although the Neern part of the bay which (the whole or part) is call'd Toe-yah-ya looks green & pleasant, yet as it is neither wooded or hardly any signs of culture, & a few houses, it has certainly some defect, & does not answer the purposes of what the natives cultivate. The s part appear'd rocky & black, & partakes more of the nature of the land about Karakakooa [Beaglehole 1967:525].

In March 1779, while sailing north from Kealakekua, the ships passed the South Kohala shoreline and King compared the southern section of Kohala to the arid shore of Ka'ū. He also reported that there appeared to be few residents in the area around Kawaihae —

We now come to Ko-Harra the NW & last district. It is bounded by two tolerable high hills, & the Coast forms a very extensive bay call'd Toe Yah-Yah, in the bottom of which is foul Corally ground, & there was no approaching it; in the head of the bay as far as we could judge distant the Country look'd tolerably, but the s side is partook of the same nature as Kao, & along the NE side of the bay close to which we Sail'd, it is very little Cultivated, & we saw but few houses; the Peoples appearance shewd that they were the lowest Class that inhabited them... [Beaglehole 1967:608]

The Journals of Captain George Vancouver (1793-1794)

Captain George Vancouver accompanied James Cook on his visits to Hawai'i in 1778-1779. Vancouver returned to the Hawaiian Islands in 1793 and 1794, in command of his own exploring expedition (Vancouver 1967). In February 1793 and 1794, Vancouver visited Kawaihae (written Toeaigh). In 1793, Vancouver approached Kawaihae from the North, and in 1794, he approached it from the south. His observations include descriptions of Kawaihae village and environs—in 1793 Ke'eaumoku was the chief in residence at Kawaihae. Vancouver left the first sheep and goats landed in Hawai'i, and also recorded a detailed account of salt making at Kawaihae. On Vancouver's second visit to the area, Kamehameha was with Vancouver. Describing the region to the south of Kawaihae, Vancouver also noted that the area appeared unpopulated.

Vancouver's spelling of Hawaiian words appears to have been phonetic—as he heard them—thus, the spelling is very different than present usage. Also, in many words the letter “ f ” replaces the letter “ s ”.

In February 1793, Vancouver visited Kawaihae, where he met with the chief Ke'eaumoku (Kahowmotoo), father of Ka'ahumanu (the favored wife of Kamehameha I). In his journal, Vancouver lamented the loss of several sheep and cattle (Vancouver 1967 Volume III:114). He also observed:

To Kahowmotoo, who had taken the greateft care of the goats I had prefented him with on a former occafion, and of their produce fince my laft vifit, I gave a ram, two ewes, and a ewe lamb that had been born on our paffage... [Vancouver 1967 Volume III:115]

In February 1794, Vancouver visited the South Kohala region for a second time, landing at Kawaihae. Vancouver's narratives describe the lands of the upper Waimea plains as a natural pasture, perfect for the increase of the cattle and sheep he has delivered, and which will be protected by a “sacred promise” made to him by Kamehameha I. Sailing north from Kealakekua, Vancouver observed:

In the forenoon of the 27th, we had a light breeze from the weftward; with this we fteered for the anchorage at Toeaigh...the adjacent fhores were uninterefting, being chiefly compofed of volcanic matter, and producing only a few detached groves of cocoa nut trees, with the appearance of little cultivation and very few inhabitants. The deficiency of the population on fhore was amply compenfated by the number of our friends that accompanied us afloat in canoes of all defcriptions...

As this evening was to be devoted to an appointed taboo that would continue until the morning of the 1st of march, the king and the reft of our friends went on fhore for the purpofe of attending their religious duties... [Volume III:62]

February 28, 1794

The only circumftances that feem to render this a defirable ftopping place, are the run of water, which however does not conftantly flow; and the probability of procuring refreshments, from its contiguity to the fertile, and populous weftern part of the diftrict of Koarra [Kohala], and the plains of Whymea [Waimea], lying behind the land that conftitutes this part of the sea coaft.

The country rises rather quickly from the sea side, and, so far as it could be seen on our approach, had no very promising aspect; it forms a kind of glacis, or inclined plane in front of the mountains, immediately behind [Volume III:63] which the plains of Whymea are stated to commence, which are reputed to be very rich and productive, occupying a space of several miles in extent, and winding at the foot of these three lofty mountains far into the country. In this valley is a great tract of luxuriant, natural pasture, whither all the cattle and sheep imported by me were to be driven, there to roam unrestrained, to "increase and multiply" for from the sight of strangers, and consequently less likely to tempt the inhabitants to violate the sacred promise they had made; the observance of the which, for the time stipulated in their interdiction, cannot fail to render the extirpation of these animals a task not easily to be accomplished.

This day being devoted to their holy rites, the king, with all the provincial chiefs, remained on sacred retirement. The same cause operated to deprive us of the society of our other visitors, particularly the females, who are on no account permitted to be afloat on these occasions.

March 1, 1794

The next morning the king, with all our friends, were again about the vessels. In the course of the day a further proof of the liberality of Tamaahmaah's disposition was given, by his presenting us with near an hundred hogs of the largest size, and as great a quantity of vegetables as both vessels could well dispose of... [Vancouver 1967 Volume III:64]

Vancouver departed from Kawaihae on the following day.

Narratives of a Visit in 1819 by de Freycinet and Arago

Louis Claude de Saulces de Freycinet (1978) conducted a voyage around the world on the French ships L'Uranie and L'Physicienne. While on the voyage, de Freycinet visited Hawai'i in 1819 and recorded his observations. Arriving at Kailua in August 1819, de Freycinet met Governor John Adams Kuakini, and learned that Liholiho (Riorio), Kamehameha II, was at Kawaihae. Jacques Arago (1823), who traveled with de Freycinet, also recorded his observations and descriptions of the South Kohala landscape, and the difficulty of traveling across the lava flows south of Kawaihae. Arago reported:

Not a tree nor a bush, not a single stripe of verdure, not a beast nor a bird, and scarcely an insect give life to this desolate scene...the whole coast is indented with crooked and deep ravines, and broken into little cones and petty eminences, once the craters of volcanoes long extinguished. Immense deposits of lava, which the waves break over with violence; massy rocks, suspended like arches, from the precipices between which dart the rays of a burning sun; half-formed paths, which makes us shudder as we tread them, and which at intervals are lost on the rocky shore, or in the distance, which we dare not attempt to reach; such are the terrific objects, which in this [page 87] inhospitable country shock our view, and depress our imagination. The misery of the people is to be deplored, who are frequently obliged rapidly to traverse these frightful deserts, without finding a small spring, or a single rivulet, in which they may have the gratification of quenching their thirst; or a single bush under which they may repose from their fatigues... [Arago 1823:88]

The Journal of William Ellis (1823)

Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the Hawaiian religious and political systems began undergoing radical changes. Just moments after his death, Ka'ahumanu proclaimed herself "Kuhina nui" (Prime Minister), and approximately six months later the ancient kapu system was overthrown in chiefly centers. Less than a year after Kamehameha's death, Protestant missionaries arrived from America (see I'i 1959, Kamakau 1961, and Fornander 1973). In 1823, British missionary William Ellis and members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) toured the island of Hawai'i seeking out communities in which to further the work of the growing Calvinist mission.

During the visit, Ellis and his companions traveled through the Waimea region and to Mauna Kea. Ellis' writings, generally the earliest detailed accounts of settlements around the island of Hawai'i, offer readers important glimpses into the nature of native residency and history at the time:

Mr. Thurston Visits Waimea Population

...on the morning of the 26th, Mr. Thurston walked on to Kalaloa, the residence of the chief of Waimea, Kumuokapiki, (Stump of Cabbage). Leaving Kalaloa, he walked on to Waiakea, from thence to Waikaloa, Pukalani, and Puukapu, which is sixteen or eighteen miles from the sea-shore, and is the last village in the district of Waimea. At these places he addressed the people.

The soil over which he had travelled was fertile, well watered, and capable of sustaining many thousand inhabitants. In his walks he had numbered 220 houses, and the present population is probably between eleven and twelve hundred...

Character of Land in Hamakua, Kohala and Waimea

The surface of the country is gently undulated, tolerably free from rocks, and easy of cultivation. In this district, and throughout the divisions of Hamakua and Kohala, together with the greater part of Hiro, the plough might be introduced with advantage, and the productions of intertropical climates raised in great abundance and excellent quality, as the sugar-cane and other indigenous plants, grown at Waimea, are unusually large.

From Puukapu he directed his steps towards the sea-shore, and in the twilight of the evening reached Puako, a considerable village, four or five miles to the southward of Towaihae, where he took up his lodging for the night. After addressing the people on the morning of the 27th, Mr. Thurston returned to Towaihae, where he arrived at 10 a.m.

Mr. Goodrich Makes Trip to Mauna Kea

About noon the same day, Mr. Goodrich returned from his journey to Mouna-Kea. Leaving Towaihae on the 23rd, he had walked to Waimea, on the skirts of which he encamped with Mr. Parker, who was employed in shooting wild cattle. With him he spent the Sabbath, which was rainy and unpleasant.

Early on Monday the 25th, he commenced his journey up the mountain. The path lay along the side of a deep ravine [perhaps Kemole]; the soil was formed of decomposed lava and ashes.

At noon he dismissed his native companion, and, taking his great coat and blanket, began to ascend the more steep and rugged parts. The [page 289] way was difficult, on account of the rugged volcanic rocks and stunted shrubs that covered the sides of the mountain. In his way, he found numbers of red and white raspberry bushes loaded with delicious fruit.

Camping Conditions and Experiences

At 5 p.m. having reached the upper boundary of the trees and bushes that surround the mountain, he erected a temporary hut, kindled a small fire, and prepared for his night's repose. The thermometer shortly after sun-set stood at 43°; and the magnet, though it pointed north when held in the hand, was drawn between two and three degrees to the eastward, when placed on the blocks of lava, owing probably to the quantity of iron in the mountain.

After a few hours' rest, Mr. Goodrich arose at eleven o'clock at night, and the moon shining brightly, he resumed his journey towards the summit. At midnight he saw the snow about three miles distant, proceeded towards the place, and reached it about one o'clock on the morning of the 26th. The snow was frozen over, and the thermometer stood at 27°.

Conditions at Summit

He now directed his steps towards a neighbouring peak, which appeared one of the highest; but when he had ascended it, he saw several others still higher. He proceeded towards one, which looked higher than the rest, and bore N.E. from the place where he was. On reaching the summit of this second peak, he discovered a heap of stones, probably erected by some former visitor. From this peak Mouna-Roa bore south by west, Mouna-Huararai west by south, and the island of Maui N.W.

The several hills or peaks on the summit of Mouna-Kea seemed composed entirely of volcanic matter, principally cinders, pumice, and sand. Mr. Goodrich did not discover apertures or craters on either of the summits he visited; probably there is a large crater somewhere adjacent, from which the scoria, sand, and pumice, have been thrown out. The whole of the summit was not covered with snow, there were only frequent patches, apparently several miles in extent, over which the snow was about eight inches or a foot in thickness. The ocean to the east and west was visible; but the high land on the north and south prevented its being seen in those directions.

Mr. Goodrich commenced descent about three o'clock, and after travelling over large beds of sand and cinders, into which he sunk more than ankle deep at every step, he reached about sun-rise the place where he had slept the preceding evening. The descent in several places, especially over the snow, was steep and difficult, and rendered the utmost caution necessary. After taking some refreshment at this place, Mr. [page 290] Goodrich continued his descent, and between four and five in the afternoon reached the encampment of Mr. Parker.

Wild Cattle on Mauna Kea

In his way down, he saw at a distance several herds of wild cattle, which are very numerous in the mountains and inland parts of the island, and are the produce of those taken there, and presented to the king, by Captain Vancouver. They were at his request, tabued for ten years, during which time they resorted to the mountains, and became so wild and ferocious, that the natives are afraid to go near them.

Although there are immense herds of them, they do not attempt to tame any; and the only advantage they derive is by employing persons, principally foreigners, to shoot them, salt the meat in the mountains, and bring it down to the shore for the purpose of provisioning the native vessels. But this is attended with great labour and expense. They first carry all the salt to the mountains. When they have killed the animals, the flesh is cut off their bones, salted immediately, and afterwards put into small barrels, which are brought on men's shoulders ten or fifteen miles to the sea-shore.

Early on the morning of the 27th, Mr. Goodrich left Mr. Parker, and returned through the fertile district of Waimea to Towaihae.

Other Trips to Mauna Kea

Nearly six months afterwards, Dr. Blatchely and Mr. Ruggles ascended Mouna-Kea, from Waiakea bay. After travelling six days, they reached the summit of the mountain, where, within the circumference of six miles, they found seven mountains or peaks, apparently 800 or 1000 feet high; their sides were steep, and covered with snow about a foot thick. The summit of the mountain appeared to be formed of decomposed lava, of a reddish brown colour. The peak in the centre, and that on the western side, are the highest.

The following observations respecting a subsequent visit to this mountain from Waiakea, contained in a letter from Mr. Goodrich to Professor Silliman, of New Haven, are copied from the Philosophical Magazine for September, 1826.

Description of Hilo Slope of Mauna Kea

There appear to be three or four different regions in passing from the sea-shore to the summit. The first occupies five or six miles, where cultivation is carried on in a degree, and might be to almost any extent; but, as yet, not one-twentieth part is cultivated.

The next is a sandy region, that is impassable, except in a few footpaths. Brakes, a species of tall fern, here grow to the size of trees; the bodies of some of them are eighteen inches in diameter. [page 291]

The woody region extends between ten and twenty miles in width.

The region higher up produces grass, principally of the bent kind. Strawberries, raspberries, and whortleberries flourish in [sic] this region, and herds of wild cattle are seen grazing. It is entirely broken up by hills and valleys, composed of lava with a very shallow soil. The upper region is composed of lava in almost every form, from huge rocks to volcanic sand of the coarser kind. Some of the

peaks are composed of coarse sand, and others of loose stones and pebbles. I found a few specimens, that I should not hesitate to pronounce fragments of granite. I also found fragments of lava bearing a near resemblance to a geode, filled with green crystals, which I suppose to be augite.

Wild Sheep, Dogs and Goats

“Very near to the summit, upon one of the peaks, I found eight or ten dead sheep; they probably fled up there to seek a refuge from the wild dogs; I have heard that there are many wild dogs, sheep and goats. Dogs and goats I have never seen. I was upon the summit about 2 o’clock p.m., the wind S.W., much resembling the cold blustering winds of March, the air being so rare produced a severe pain in my head, that left me as I descended.”

Legends of Mauna Kea

In the native language, the word kea, though seldom used now formerly meant, white. Some white men, who are said to have resided inland, and to have come down to the sea shore frequently in the evening, and to have frightened the people, were called na kea, (the whites).

The snow on the summit of the mountain, in all probability, induced the natives to call it Mouna-Kea (mountain white), or, as we should say, white mountain. They have numerous fabulous tales relative to its being the abode of the gods, and none ever approach its summit—as, they say, some who have gone there have been turned to stone. We do not know that any have ever been frozen to death; but neither Mr. Goodrich, nor Dr. Blatchely and his companion, could persuade the natives, whom they engaged as guides up the side of the mountain, to go near its summit.

We could not but regret that we had no barometer, or other means of estimating the actual elevation of this mountain, either here or at Waiakea... [Ellis 1963:292]

The Journal of Hiram Bingham (notes of 1830)

In 1830, Reverend Hiram Bingham and family visited Waimea, and in September they were joined by members of the royal household. It was during the September visit that Kamehameha III and party, in the company of Bingham, traveled to the summit of Mauna Kea, via the Waimea-Waikīi-Kalai’eha route. Bingham’s journal includes descriptions of the Waimea region, including the community, industry, and landscape, and also documents the royal visit to Mauna Kea:

...Crossing over to Kawaihae...we ascended at evening to the new inland station [Waimea]. When we had escaped from the oppressive heat on the shore, and reached the height of about 2000 feet, we were met by a slight rain and a chilly wind, which made our muscles shiver... ..as we came within some twenty-five miles of the snows of the mountain... ..The full-orbed moon looked serenely down from her zenith upon the hoary head of Mauna Kea, and the ample and diversified scenery around. The babbling brook [Waikōloa], the sound of a small cataract in a glen, the rustling in the tops of the trees, at a little distance, the scattered huts of the natives in the settlement, while their occupants were hushed at midnight, and the hospitable light of a fire and lamp,

beaming from a glass window of the missionary cottage pitched near the north side of the plain, over against Mauna Kea...

...Riding out one day to call on Gov. Adams, who had done liberally for the station by the erection of the buildings, I was delighted, on my way to his temporary residence, with the grandeur and beauty of the scenery around me. The clear rippling streams that wind their way along the verdant plain, through alternate plats of shrubbery, grass, kalo, sugar-cane, bananas, flowering bushes, and wild vines, occasionally crossed my path. Beyond the scattered cottages, the wild cattle were grazing unrestrained on their own unenclosed territories bordering on the mountain. The green hills and mountains of Kohala, crowned with trees and shrubbery, and their sides partly cultivated and partly covered with grass of spontaneous growth, rose on the north side of the plain. The distant hoary Mauna Loa appeared in the south. Much nearer, on the south-east, the majestic Mauna Kea lifted his snowy summit in his ample form, exhibiting his peaks and precipices and piles of scoria and gravel, and his rocks and forests; and in the south-west, Hualalai, another volcanic mountain, with its terminal quiescent crater [page 374], presented no mean height and dimensions, being 9000 feet high, and forty miles long... [page 375]

Ascent of Mauna Kea.

...The king set out with a party of more than a hundred, for an excursion further into the heart of the island, and an ascent to the summit of Mauna Kea. To watch over and instruct my young pupil, and to benefit my health, I accompanied him. The excursion occupied nearly five days, though it might have been accomplished much sooner. Crossing in a southerly direction the plain of Waimea, some on horseback and some on foot, the party ascended a small part of the elevation of the mountain, and being in the afternoon enveloped in dense fog, they halted and encamped for the night. The next day they passed over the western slope of the mountain to the southern side, thence eastward along a nearly level plain, some seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, to a point south of the summit, and encamped out again, in the mild open air. In the course of this day's journey, the youthful king on horseback, pursued, ran down, and caught a yearling wild bullock, for amusement and for a luncheon for his attendants. A foreigner lassoed and killed a wild cow.

The next day was occupied chiefly in ascending in a northerly direction, very moderately. Our horses climbed slowly, and by taking a winding and zigzag course, were able, much of the way, to carry a rider. Having gained an elevation of about ten thousand feet, we halted and encamped for the night, in the dreary solitudes of rocks and clouds. When the night spread her dark, damp mantle over us, we found ourselves in the chilly autumnal atmosphere of the temperate zone of this most stupendous Polynesian mountain. Below us, towards Mauna Loa, was spread out a sea of dense fog, above which the tops of the two mountains appeared like islands. We found it a pretty cold lodging place. Ice was formed in a small stream of water near us, during the night. As the company were laying themselves down, here and there, upon the mountain side, for sleep, I observed that the king and Keoniana, subsequently premier, and a few others, having found a cave about four feet high, ten wide, and eight

deep, made by a projecting rock, which would afford a shelter from a shower, and partially from wind and cold, had stretched themselves out to sleep upon the ground in front of it. I was amused to see that their heads protruded somewhat more than six feet from the mouth of the cave, and asked, "Why do you not [page 377] sleep under the rock, which is so good a sleeping house for you?" Keoniana, always ready, replied, "We don't know at what time the rock will fall." Whether the apprehension that the firm rock might possibly fall upon the head of the king that night or their unwillingness that any ignoble foot should walk above it, or some other fancy, were the cause of his declining the shelter, did not appear.

In the morning we proceeded slowly upwards till about noon, when we came to banks of snow, and a pond of water partly covered with ice. In his first contact with a snow bank, the juvenile king seemed highly delighted. He bounded and tumbled on it, grasped and handled and hastily examined pieces of it, then ran and offered a fragment of it in vain to his horse. He assisted in cutting out blocks of it, which were wrapped up and sent down as curiosities to the regent and other chiefs, at Waimea, some twenty-eight miles distant... [Bingham 1969:378]

...We descended hastily to the north-west, about twelve miles, sometimes taking leap after leap boldly down steep places of fragmentary scoria and gravel, and sometimes advancing cautiously among rocks, shrubs, trees, and wild cattle. Towards midnight we came to the place of the king's party, near the plain of Waimea, and the next day returned to the station there. As we crossed the plain, we witnessed several striking exhibitions of seizing wild cattle, chasing them on horseback, and throwing the lasso over their horns, with great certainty, capturing, prostrating, and subduing or killing these mountain-fed animals, struggling in vain for liberty and life... [Bingham 1969:379]

Bingham's record for 1830 also includes descriptions of visits to Kīlauea, and a subsequent journey overland to the plateau lands between Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea, on their way to Waimea. The trip took the group past Kalai'eha, and in the shadow of Waihālu [Waikahālu] Gulch where water was found. The narrative then describes travel through the Pōhakuloa vicinity and past Waiki'i, and on out to the Waimea plain:

...After spending about thirty hours at Pele's chief seat, we set off, towards evening, on the 21st, to cross the wilderness to Waimea, which required the time of a little more than two days and two nights. Walking till late, we laid ourselves down where we could find a place. The next day we continued our journey northwardly, towards Mauna Kea, lodging out in the wilderness, in the same manner, at night, the majestic mountain being half a day's walk to the north of us.

Rose at four o'clock from our mountain couch, — a day's journey from any human habitation; saw lightning at a great distance at sea — our elevation being 4000 or 5000 feet; packed our sleeping kapa; offered our morning sacrifice in these solitudes of the centre of Hawaii, and as the day dawned, set forward on our journey. We passed over several large tracts of lava, of different kinds, some smooth, vitreous, and shining, some twisted and coiled like huge ropes,

and some consisting of sharp, irregular, loose, rugged volcanic masses, of every form and size, from an [page 393] ounce in weight, to several tons, thrown, I could not conceive how, into a chaos or field of the roughest surface, presenting a forbidding area, from one to forty square miles in extent, and though not precipitous, yet so horrid as to forbid a path, and defy the approach of horses and cattle. In the crevices of the more solid lava we found the ohelo, somewhat resembling the whortleberry, nourished by frequent showers and dew. At ten o'clock, we halted for breakfast; raised a smoke, as a signal for the horse keeper, at the watering-place, at the south base of Mauna Kea, to approach, and moved on, till twelve o'clock, when I was very glad to see and mount the horse sent over from Waimea to meet me. Our company having become considerably scattered, and pressing on, under a mid-day, tropical sun, were soon collected together by the loud shout, "Here's water," made by the keeper of the horse, who had very considerately brought us a calabash from Waihalulu, cold and sweet, for the refreshment of our weary and thirsty travellers. We drank round, and this gourd bottle soon sounded empty. I mounted and set forward with comfort and revived courage, leaving most of the company to proceed at their leisure.

One of the keepers of the horse wishing to accompany me, girded up his loins, and like Elijah before Ahab, ran cheerfully before me, westward, along the south side of Mauna Kea, about ten miles, then northward, over its undulated, western slope, about the same distance. We halted on the ridge, half an hour, then pressed on till six o'clock, when the sun, having finished his daily race, sank with great grandeur and beauty into the western waters of the vast Pacific, sending back a pleasant farewell to the clouds that hung over Hualalai, Mauna Loa, and Mauna Kea, the three Hawaiian mountains, and shooting upwards his diverging rays with peculiar beauty, after the last limb of his broad, golden disk had disappeared. About seven, we reached Waimea, thus completing my excursion of about 175 miles, with improved health for resuming the labors of the station...[page 394]

In 1830, Bingham also traveled from Waimea through the Waikōloa-Waiki'i region and past Ahu-a-'Umi, to the Kealakekua Mission Station to meet with the chief there assembled. Bingham observed:

...The dedication of the house of worship [at Waimea] was deferred till the chiefs, in their circuit of the island, should be again at Waimea. They had desired me to meet them, in the meantime, at Kealakekua, where they designed to halt for a week or two. Being now informed of their arrival there, I undertook the journey across, with my family. The supposed distance is sixty or more miles. The region, for the most part, was uninhabited and unfrequented; but we had little fear of being harmed; on the contrary, we relied, with confidence, on such aid from the kind-hearted people, for whose benefit we had now labored ten years, as it was in their power to afford. All things being arranged, we started on our way, Dec. 29th. Passing the principal haunts of the numerous wild cattle, some herds of which we saw at a distance, and Mauna Kea on the left, we made our way southward, over lava and through the desert, between that mountain and Hualalai on the west. Just at evening, the second day, we found ourselves wandering in a doubtful course, none of the natives with us being able to set us right.

Night coming on, we pitched our temporary tent midway between the summits of Haulalai [sic] and Mauna Loa, and rested comfortably under the protection of the Watchman of Israel. Waked, and rose refreshed, at day-break, in the heart of Hawaii, where nothing of the surrounding ocean appeared. Aiming at the supposed position of Kaawaloa, we struck across a rough field of lava, exceedingly sharp and difficult to pass, marked with rugged rocks, cliffs, ravines, shrubs, and trees. About ten o'clock we came into a track, leading over sand, towards Kaawaloa.

In these solitudes, some twenty miles from Kealakekua, we unexpectedly fell upon an ancient temple of the Hawaiian gods, built in a dreary wilderness, far from the habitations of men. With what feelings must this gloomy monument of superstition have been erected, and since regarded by dark, idolatrous natives, who bowed to the power of Pele, or other imaginary deities even [page 396] less worthy of regard! Its form, though of little consequence compared with its abominable design, is a square, 100 feet on a side. Its walls, built of the fragments of ancient lava, were eight feet high, and four feet thick. Its entrance was by a door-way, in the middle of the wall, on the north side. The enclosed area is divided, first by an aisle, from the door to the opposite wall. On each side of this aisle was a wall about half a yard in height and thickness. The two main divisions were sub-divided by similar walls, at right angles with the aisle, into three apartments each. Around the principal structure, and at the distance of ten to twenty feet, there were eight pyramids, about twelve feet in diameter, and twelve to fifteen in height. Connected with the south-western pyramidal pile, was a small enclosure or court.

Our fellow travellers, John Li and others, now initiated into the Christian doctrine, regarded these monuments of superstition, as relics of the work of Satan, and proofs of his triumphs over the generations that had passed away. Some of them now united here in offering to Jehovah, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, a morning sacrifice of prayer and praise.

At almost every step for sixty miles we were reminded of Pele's power. Our road was not Macadamized, but Peleized, and by no means inviting. That day, I was thrice unhorsed, in this rough wilderness. Once my horse threw me from my saddle, upon my feet, by breaking through a shell covering of a cavity in the lava, while trotting, and in another case, by dropping both fore feet suddenly down from a rock, throwing both saddle and rider over his head, while his hind feet remained on the rock; and in another instance, still more hazardous, I was dismounted by his plunging his hind legs down into a deep chasm in the lava, which appeared to have been caused by the heaving up of this part of the island, by some subterranean force rending its iron structure, and making a long, well-defined, perpendicular fissure, fourteen or fifteen inches wide, of an unknown depth, and sufficient to swallow up a regiment. The vigorous struggles of the animal to extricate himself were unavailing; and would, unassisted, have been hopeless. A second attempt, on our part, to aid him, was successful in bringing his legs out of the fearful chasm, and he rose on solid footing, and pursued the journey as before through this rough region.

Fifty of the men of Naihe's district came out some twelve miles cheerfully to meet us and help us on. Bearing off to the west, we passed through a dense wood, which affords good timber of a large size, and came out upon the southern slope Mount Hualalai, where, looking over upon the region between Kailua and Kealakekua, we had a fine view of the ocean... [Bingham 1969:397]

The United States Exploring Expedition, 1840-1841

In 1840, Wilkes and party traveled from Kona, up to the Hualālai-Mauna Loa saddle, and across the Mauna Loa-Mauna Kea plateau lands to Hilo and Kīlauea. The following narratives illustrate the journey (via the trail from Kona to the uplands, passing between Nāpu'u Kulua and Pu'u Ke'eke'e), and include descriptions of the nature of the landscape, the occurrence of wild cattle on the mountain lands, 'Ahu-a-'Umi, and the collection of sandalwood:

(In the forests above Keauhou)

...they arose at sunrise, when Mr. Hall and the natives, as they did regularly every morning during the journey, prayed and sang a hymn, before setting out. They soon passed beyond the woods, and entered a country of barren appearance, composed of hard solid lavas, in the crevices of which were found several shrubby Geraniums, Vacciniums, Daphnes, numerous Compositae of a stiff rigid character, and some small ohea bushes, a kind of sweet whortleberry [ōhelo].

On their route, many deep caverns were observed under the lava. The signs of wild cattle and dogs were frequent; the latter seek shelter in these caves. The cattle are now rapidly on the increase, there being a prohibition against killing them until a certain number of years have passed.

After a day's travel, they reached the site of the ancient temple of Kaili. These ruins lie about equally distant from three mountains, Mauna [page 99] Kea, Mauna Loa, and Hualalai. This temple is said to have been built by Umi, who, with his wife Papa, is supposed to have inhabited it, when he was king of the island. The three northern pyramids forming the front were originally erected by Umi, to represent the districts of the island he then governed; and as he conquered other districts, he obliged each of them to build a pyramid on the side of the temple.

This temple is represented in the adjoining plate [Figure 2]. The main building A, is ninety-two feet long, by seventy-one feet ten inches wide; the walls are six feet nine inches high, seven feet thick at the top, and nearly perpendicular; the partition walls are three feet high: B and C are said to have been pedestals for idols; D, E, and F, are the pyramids built by Umi, eighteen feet high; G is the residence of Kaili's wife, Papa, also built by Umi.

The five remaining pyramids, H, I, J, K, L, are those erected by the conquered districts. All these are built of compact blocks of lava, laid without cement.

The building is said to have formerly been covered with idols, and offerings were required to be brought from a great distance, consisting generally of provisions. There are now no traces left of these idols. The situation of the temple is at an elevation of five thousand feet above the sea.

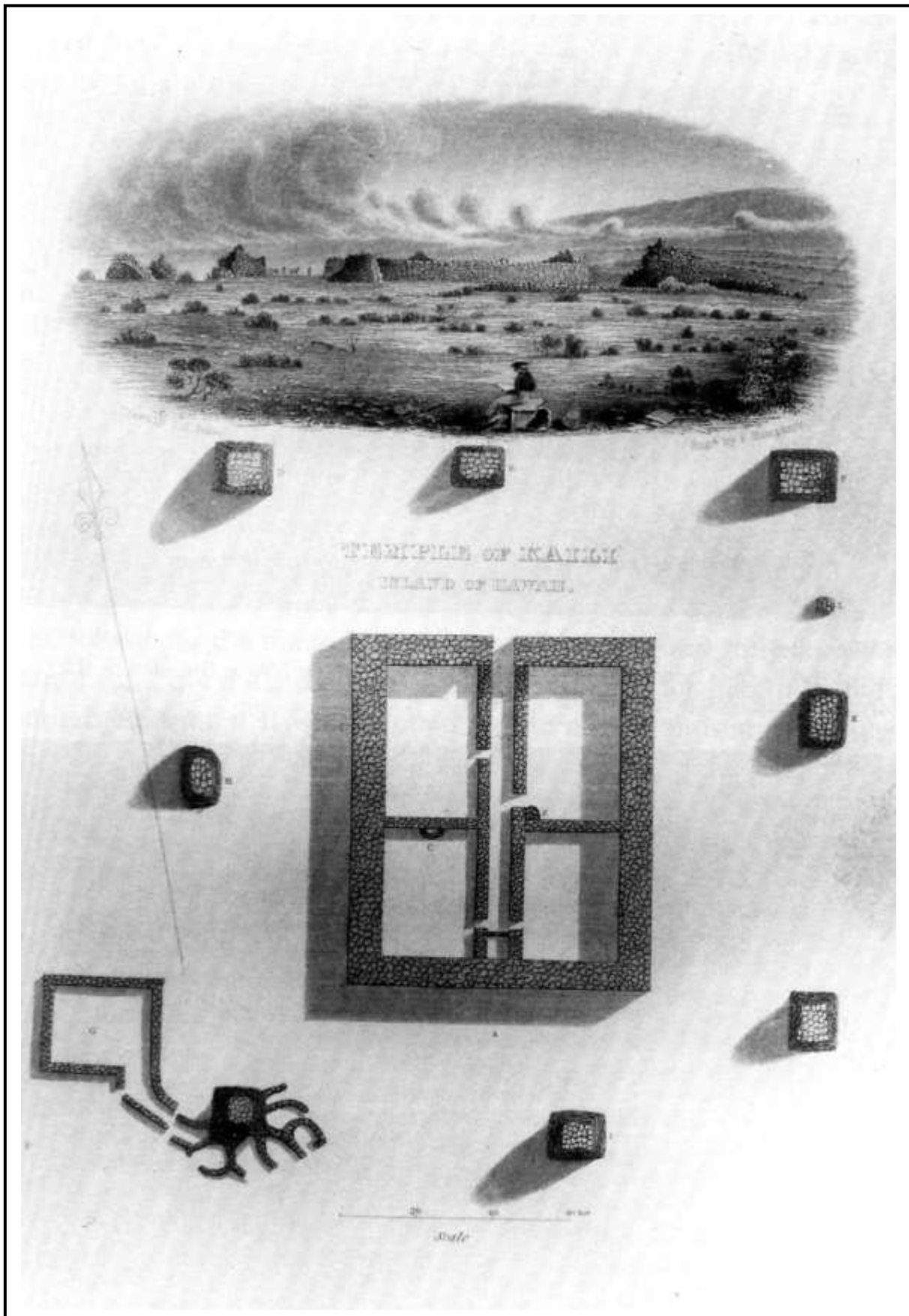


Figure 2. "Temple of Kaili" Ahuaumi Heiau and Complex on the plateau lands between Mauna Loa, Hualālai and Mauna Kea (Wilkes 1970:100).

They proceeded a few miles beyond this point with their horses, but found the ground, consisting of broken lava and scoria, too rough for them. They therefore put them in charge of three little boys, to take them back to Kealakeakua Bay.

Mr. Peale shot two of the mountain geese peculiar to this part of the island; they are remarkably fine birds, and live entirely upon berries. In their route this day they passed several caves, which the natives were said to have inhabited while collecting sandalwood on the mountains for the chiefs. The walking now became extremely fatiguing, over vast piles of scoria, thrown up in loose heaps. There was no vegetation except a few small trees of *Metrosideros*, scattered here and there, and whortleberries. The heaps of scoria were to appearance like those from some huge foundry.

On the 18th, they resumed their journey at an early hour, passing in a direction towards Mauna Kea, over many rough ridges of the old lava streams, that were found from a quarter of a mile to a mile in width. One in particular, that pursued a northwest direction, their guides informed them was forty miles in length, and had flowed down towards the centre of the island. It had not a particle of vegetation on it; not even a lichen was to be seen. The lava of this stream is broken [page 100] up into pieces of all sorts of shapes and sizes, weighing from a pound to many tons. Mr. Peale remarks, that the whole mass looked so fresh, that it appeared as though it ought to burn the feet of the passing traveller—and yet this eruption took place anterior to native tradition.

One of the native guides, Kimo, gave out here from fatigue, and after sharing his load they left him to follow.

They next passed two old craters covered with bushes and grass, at whose base was a fresh-looking stream of glassy lava. The first crater was in many respects like an old stone quarry, though on a gigantic scale: the rocks were broken up, and thrown about in great confusion; one side of the wall appeared as though it had been blown out, and strewed on the plain beneath; the sides that were left were nearly perpendicular, and presented distinct layers. Many plants were growing in the crevices.

The second crater was of a regular conical shape, both within and without, the interior being an inverted cone. Although the interior presented this great regularity, yet its sides were apparently composed of large blocks of lava, thrown out from its bottom, and lodged on its sides one above the other.

They encamped at the foot of a very old crater, now covered with trees of *Edwardsia* and *Acacia*, where they found water. The natives sought out one of the lava caves, as a protection against the cold and misty wind. Kimo again joined them at dark.

Although the next day they had fine weather and clear sunshine, yet they could see the rain falling from the clouds on the route before them. This rain they experienced shortly afterwards, and were obliged to travel through a driving mist all day, with a very chilly atmosphere. The natives complained so much of

cold, that the party were induced to stop, light a fire, and give them some provisions, which had now become rather scarce. Seeing abundant signs of wild cattle, and hearing the sound of a distant gun, one of the guides went off to the haunts of the cattle-hunters in the neighbourhood, and shortly after returned with a supply of jerked beef.

Their route lay next through some very good grazing ground; and large herds of cattle find subsistence here, which are killed for the hides. Bones were lying in all directions. There is also some very good arable land, covered with large grass.

This part of the island would make valuable grazing farms, for there is a sufficiency of soil to support them, and wood to build with, though scarcely enough of the latter article for fuel. The loose scoria would make excellent fences, as the cattle can with difficulty be driven [page 101] over it. The distance from the coast and the want of roads, however, would interpose many obstacles to its settlement; and the climate, so unlike what the natives are accustomed to on the coast, would probably prevent their services from being obtained.

The next morning they perceived that the tops of both Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa were covered with snow, which, however, disappeared by ten o'clock. They now took a southerly course, crossing over many ancient beds of lava much decomposed, and now covered with vegetation. The trees were the koa (*Acacia*), *Edwardsia*, and *Dodonaea*. They now first met the curious *Compositae* mentioned by Douglass, and named by Dr. Hooker, *Aygrophyton Douglassia*; it was seen about eight feet in height, covered with a silver pubescence, which gives it a beautiful appearance. They found many pools of water in the lava. They had crossed over the flank of Mauna Loa, and supposed themselves to be about two-thirds of the way up towards its summit.

The temperature at night fell to 40°.

The beautiful columnar cloud of the volcano of Kilauea, which is always seen to hang over the crater, both by day and by night, was now in full view.

The next day they were on their route early, and passed some rich grazing country, with the grass full four feet high. From all appearances, these parts are not visited by cattle. There were many trees of koa (*Acacia*), *Edwardsia*, &c., as before. A fog coming on, they lost their way, and were obliged to retrace their steps. Our gentlemen, having their pocket-compasses, now took the lead, to the no small astonishment of their guides, that they could, in a thick fog, direct the way through places they had never visited before. Kimo, their Oahu guide, again gave out, and was left to follow; and as he did not come up as soon as he was expected, the guides and natives set out, in a praiseworthy manner, to hunt him up, although they were all more or less lamed by crossing over the rough lava during the day. They soon succeeded in finding him, and returned to the camp... [Wilkes 1970:102]

In 1841, members of Wilkes' party traveled to the summits of Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea. The narratives below, describe the approach to Mauna Kea via the trail from Hilo, passing by Wailuku, the danger presented by wild cattle on the mountain lands, the residence of cattle hunters in the Kalai'eha-Humu'ula mountain lands, and the ascent of Mauna Kea:

...During the time of our residence on Mauna Loa, Dr. Pickering and Mr. Brackenridge volunteered to make the ascent of Mauna Kea. They were furnished with guides, among them Sandwich Jack, our bullock-driver, whose true name I believe was Dawson, though he went by the sobriquet of Billy Lilly. They set out on the 8th of January, attended by natives from Hilo, belonging to Kanuha, having agreed to pay each of them fifty cents a day. Their first stage was to the sawmill erected on the Wailuku, distant about seven miles from Hilo, and three miles within the verge of the forest: here they stopped for the night with a man by the name of Simons, who is the occupant of the mill, which belongs to a Mr. Castle. The mill, as I understand, had proved but a bad speculation: it is now out of repair, and there is not sufficient demand for boards to make it at all profitable...

...On the 10th of January they resumed their journey, and followed the "Long Road" for about two miles, which is the whole distance to which it extends; the removal of the chief who was engaged on it had put a stop to its further progress. They were now fairly in the forest, [page 199] which was thought by our gentlemen to be a fine one; it consisted altogether of two kinds of trees, the ohea (Callistemon), and koa (Acacia); they also met with several species of the tree-fern, which seem to vie with each other in beauty. Many of these were of genera and species that had not before been met with, one of which afforded the silky down before spoken of, and another, the edible fern, a drawing of which will be seen at the end of this chapter. On reaching the bed of the stream, which is one of the routes through the wood, the guides led them upon it. As they proceeded, they overtook one of the boys who had preceded them, endeavoring to catch a large bird. He had armed with bird-lime one of the pendent branches of a small ohea tree that overhung the stream and was in full flower. As they were passing, the bird was seen hovering about, while the boy was slyly watching its movements. When they had passed it a short distance they heard the scream of the captured bird, but by some mishap it afterwards escaped.

Their encampment was under an ohea tree, where the natives built a hut for them with boughs and the fronds of ferns. From the prevalence of heavy rain they found all the wood wet, and could not succeed in making a fire: they consequently passed a miserable night; for in almost any climate, when encamped in the open air at night, a fire seems to be necessary for comfort, particularly when the weather is wet.

Conglomerates were the most frequent rock in the bed of the stream. This rock had not been met with on the trip to Mauna Loa; and on diverging from the stream, the compact rock of that mountain seemed to prevail.

Their guide, Dawson, during the morning showed much alarm at their starting some young cattle, lest the old cows should be near, who he thought might be

troublesome: the cattle, however, were discovered afterwards to be tame. At the forks of the stream they took the left branch, and after a walk of two miles, came to some huts occupied by natives who had been bullock-hunting. In this illegal practice they seem to have been extensively engaged, judging from the quantities of jerked meat they had on hand.

The cattle have been tabooed for five years, from the year 1840, in consequence of the slaughter that had been made among them. Upwards of five thousand hides, I was told, had been procured in a single year, and when this became known to the government, it interdicted the hunting of the animal. I heard no estimate of the number of the wild cattle, but they are believed to be very considerable, and all from the stock left by Vancouver in 1795.

From these natives they procured some jerked beef, and were told [page 200] that ice had formed there the night before. The effects of frost on the foliage was evident, and yet the elevation did not exceed five thousand feet.

They encamped at night in an open space in the woods, near some shallow pools called the Duck-Ponds, from the quantity of these birds frequenting them. The ground was chiefly covered with tufts of a small Carex. The trees now began to appear gnarled and covered with moss, resembling oaks in habit. The ground had become much drier, and the brushwood was gradually disappearing.

On the 12th, they started at sunrise, and by eleven o'clock found they had cleared the forest. Their altitude was about six thousand feet. The woods had become for some time previously much scattered. They passed also a distinct lava stream, of no great size. The ground was frozen, and the pools of water were covered with a thin ice.

This upper part of the forest afforded a greater variety of trees, though of smaller dimensions: here they met with the false sandalwood (*Myoporum*); the koa was, however, still the principal tree.

To the forest succeed the plains; but why this region should be so termed, our gentlemen were at a loss to conceive, for there is an ascent, although gradual, towards the base of the higher peaks; and there are, besides numerous conical hills, varying in height from two to eight hundred feet: even between these the surface is undulating, and cut up by ravines.

This district is famous, according to report, for the number of wild cattle found on it, and from that circumstance would be supposed to produce fine pasturage; but this is far from being the case, for there is nothing but a few scattered tufts of grass, and a species of ranunculus, which is of so acrid a nature that the cattle will not eat it. The prevailing feature of the country is aridity, and concealed rocks cover a great part of it. Shrubs seem to be almost absent, but the scattered mamane trees are every where conspicuous.

It was now evident that their guide had taken them a wrong route, having pursued that leading across the island; they therefore changed their course,

and took a direction to the northwest, crossing the country for an eminence, where Mr. Castle, (the proprietor of the mill,) formerly had a station. When they reached it, they enjoyed a fine view over the distant forest, with the bay of Hilo and the sea beyond; the day being clear, the whole extent was distinctly visible; even a small vessel, which had sailed for Oahu, was seen going out of the bay.

They chose their encampment just above this eminence, under a [page 201] projecting ledge of lava: close by there were several pools of water. Such pools form in the compact lava; and where this rock occurs, water is to be met with at intervals, while in the porous lava none is to be found.

On the 13th, they set out at an early hour, and passed a belt where the vegetation became very rich, and the variety great, particularly on the sheltered banks of the ravines. Among the plants were several Compositae, two or three with decussate leaves, Pelargonium Douglasii, five or six species of ferns several Rubiaceae, grasses and other small plants.

About three miles beyond this, they reached a cave, where they intended to leave the natives and baggage. It was difficult to induce the former to come up even thus far, on account of the cold; but being here in the vicinity of wood, they were enabled to have a fire to keep themselves warm; water was also at hand. This cave was a convenient rendezvous, and sufficiently near the top to allow them time to reach it and return in a day. Some of the natives had gone down to a larger cave, three quarters of a mile below.

A few wild cattle were to be seen in the distance; but, according to the report of Dawson, their guide, they ought to have heard from this position cattle lowing in every direction.

On the 14th, one of their guides was sent off after a bullock; Kanuha, the chief, having granted permission to the party to shoot one.

Dr. Pickering, Mr. Brackenridge, and Billy Lilly, set out for the summit. When about three miles above their rendezvous, and having the high hill of red scoria to the south, they entered upon a plain, of many miles in extent. On reaching this, the vegetation of temperate climates almost at once disappeared, and an Arctic flora succeeded. This plain is made desolate by stones, gravel, sand, scoria, and boulders: a few scanty blades of two sorts of grasses (Aira and Panicum), and one or two stone-mosses, were all the verdure, if such it may be called, that was seen. The whole plain resembled the dry bed of some great river over which the water had passed for ages. There was no appearance of lava streams or clinkers, as on Mauna Loa. In the distance rose six peaks, around whose bases were rough blocks of lava, while towards their tops scoria of a red colour, with gravel, prevailed.

On their way, they passed through a gap to the southeast of the three terminal hills, where stood the stone pen, said to mark the place where the Rev. Mr. Bingham was once lost. The terminal peaks were found steep and very fatiguing to ascend; and when they reached the [page 202] summit, they took

shelter under a pile of stones – the same that Douglass speaks of. They were unfortunate in the weather, as a cold, cutting, and strong wind blew from the southwest, sweeping over these peaks with great force. The water in the bags froze in a few minutes in the bright sunshine. Their man Dawson, alias Billy Lilly, soon became weary and exhausted: he was so stiff, that it was with difficulty they could get him to move down to the base of the mountain. The lee side of the mountain, was a sheet of ice for several hundred feet down the peaks; the weather side on the contrary, was covered with minute icicles pointing to the wind, which, on being walked over, were detached in numbers.

In the early part of the day, Mauna Loa was in sight; but when they reached the summit, the atmosphere became hazy, and consequently their view of the country around was very indistinct. The terminal crater of Mauna Loa, however, was still perceptible.

The highest peak of Mauna Kea is the southernmost; but our gentlemen did not visit it, proceeding to the western side of the mountain, until they obtained a view of the slope to the northwest and north. The lake spoken of by Mr. Goodrich, which lies in the direction of the highest peak, was not visited.

Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea differ essentially, both in form and apparent composition. Mauna Loa, as has been seen, is one mass of lava streams for the distance of four or five thousand feet from its summit; while Mauna Kea is found to consist almost entirely of scoria without any craters, unless the conical hills spoken of can be so considered; which is probable, for they are represented as cup shaped on top. Vegetation on the one ceases at about seven thousand feet; while on the other it is continued to twelve thousand, and a few scattered plants may even be found within a few hundred feet of the top of Mauna Kea. The plants also differ: the mamane occupies a belt eleven thousand feet high, while none of this plant is to be found on Mauna Loa.

On their return, they determined to proceed to the lower cave, where the natives had taken refuge.

On the 15th, they concluded to descend, after making a tour on this same level, where they found the ground as barren as on the route by which they had ascended. Small herds of cattle were seen, but at a great distance apart: these have now become shy, from having been hunted by Spaniards with horses from California, which were imported for the express purpose of carrying on systematically the business of killing the cattle for their hides. These hunters would soon have exterminated them. [page 203]

The golden plover is very abundant on the plain, as every where else; but is said to quit the islands in the breeding season. No geese were seen on this mountain; but many small birds appeared as high up as the mamane trees. They also saw hawks, which, by a perversion of language, are called “crows.”

They then went towards “Ned’s House” (now deserted), and took the path leading in a southeast direction, along the margin of the woods. This was the route that Douglass followed, when he left Ned’s House, on the morning of his

death. In about three quarters of an hour, they arrived at the pits; in one of which he was found dead. They are situated in an open clearing, in the centre of which is a low marshy spot, sometimes containing water, which the cattle come in search of. The annexed diagram [Figure 3] will give an idea of the locality. These pits are covered with raspberry and other fragile bushes; which are covered again with soil, and the hoofs of cattle imprinted on them, to deceive.

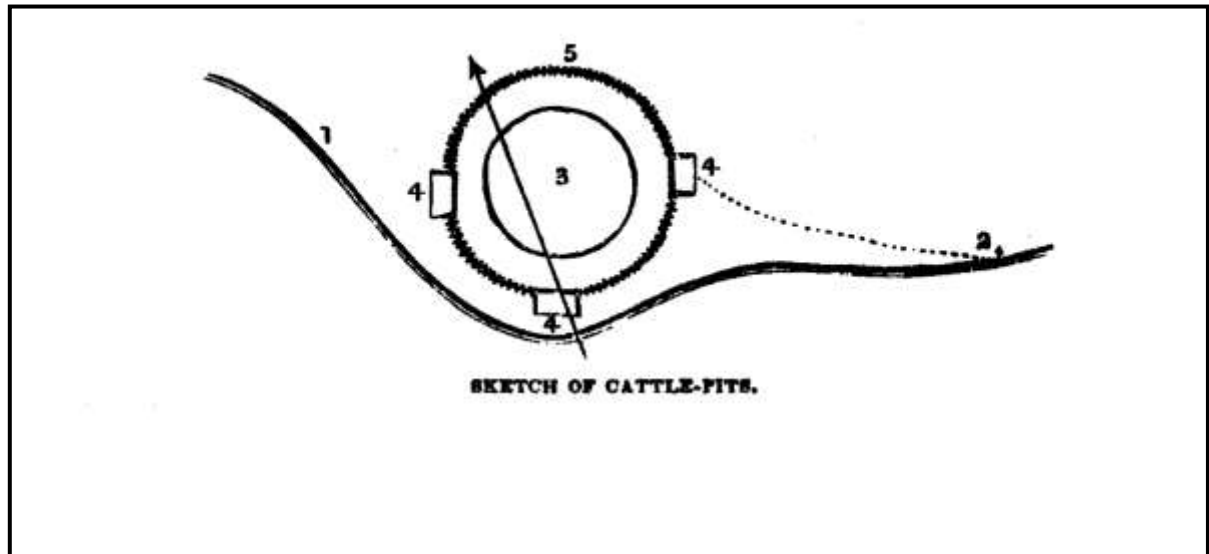


Figure 3. Sketch of Cattle-Pits – Keanakolu Vicinity (Wilkes 1970:204).

1. Path leading from Ned's House. 2. Place where Mr. Douglass left his bundle and dog. Track towards the pit in which he was found with the bull, gored to death. 3. The pool of water. 4. The three pits. 5. The fence which surrounds the pool and compels the cattle to pass over the pits.

The locality of these pits is in a dell, with banks sloping on both sides: the one to the northwest is about twenty feet high, while that to the southeast is about thirty feet. On each side, both above and below, thickets close the dell.

These pits are about seven or eight feet long, and four feet wide, and are walled up: they are placed broadside to the water.

There were many circumstances attendant upon the death of Douglass, leading to the suspicion that he had been murdered by Ned, at whose house he had breakfasted. The general character of Ned gave rise to a feeling that such was the fact, he having been a runaway convict from New South Wales. It seems somewhat singular that Mr. Douglass should have laid down his bundle and returned after passing the pits; and it is remarkable too that his servant, who had parted from him the same morning, should also have perished.

Ned's conduct afterwards was not a little suspicious, for he mentioned he had warned Mr. Douglass against the dangers of these pits, and had accompanied him to within a short distance of them. So strong were the suspicions against him, that a post-mortem examination took place by Drs. Judd and Rooke; but nothing could be elicited, for all the wounds were such as Mr. Douglass might have received from the animal. Few deaths could be more awful than that which he is supposed to have suffered.

Bullock-hunting seems to partake somewhat of the dangers of the chase of wild beasts, and has much of its attraction. Many stories are related of natives having been tossed, gored, and carried on the animal's horns for hours, and from these reports the natives are easily alarmed with the appearance even of a half-tamed animal, as we had abundant reason to observe on our way up Mauna Loa.

A story was related of a native, who, having prepared a pit, succeeded in entrapping a large bull, but became so excited at his success, that he slipped and fell in himself; however, being armed with a knife, he succeeded in killing the animal: when discovered both were dead.

Mr. Castle had three ribs broken, and Ragsdale, our old guide, a leg fractured, while hunting; and many other rencontres, partaking too much of the marvelous to be repeated here, were told me.

They encamped for the night in an old bark hut, in the line of woods. The 16th was rainy, but they continued their way down the mountain in a north-northeast direction, passing through the woods. The path was wretched, and full of mud and mire. The last part of the way the trees became more numerous, and consisted, besides the ohea and koa, of the Ilex, Aralia, Myoporum (false sandalwood), several Compositae, a Silene, and four or five species of Lobelias, with handsome flowers, mostly blue. Lower down, near a deserted hut, they unexpectedly found a mamane tree, which they were told had been painted for the purpose of enticing the birds.

From scrambling over roots and through mire, they were much fatigued before they reached Puahai. This village contains a few straggling houses on the table-land: it is distant about two miles from the sea and twenty-five miles to the northwest of Hilo. The natives here appeared to be much more primitive than they were in other places, and had had but little intercourse with strangers. It was with some difficulty that provisions could be procured: a dollar was demanded for a turkey, and four needles for a chicken. No more than three of the latter could be found in the village. Their guide met with considerable delay in getting the necessary quantity to supply the [page 205] party. At Puahai they were permitted to occupy the school-house, and remained over Sunday... [Wilkes 1970:206]

Wilkes also visited the Kohala District, and traveled through the Waimea region, including travel from Waimea through Waikoloa to Kona. Wilkes narratives describe the community and commerce, noting such activities as ranching, the past collection of sandalwood, and the growth of plants (wauke and mamaki) from which kapa was made.

...The district of Waimea is situated on the northwest side of the island. So much of the soil of this district as lies along the coast, though rich, is badly watered, and seven or eight miles in the interior from Kawaihae Bay, it becomes exceedingly rocky and barren. The amount of the good land is supposed to be about one hundred square miles, and the greater part of this lies on the eastern side, where it is well watered. The face of this district combines hills, valleys, plains, and mountains.

The high land to the eastward of Kawaihae causes an almost perpetual calm. This mountain region is rocky, and has a burnt appearance until the eastern side of the mountain is reached, when a dense forest and a most luxuriant vegetation succeed.

On the south are Mauna Kea and the barren lava plains. The latter lie, as we have seen, between Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa, where desolation reigns. In this plain is said to be the remains of a pathway, upwards of a mile in length, of flat stones, leading to the temple of Kaili, before described in Messrs. Peale and Rich's journey.

The climate of this district is, upon the whole, unpleasant, particularly at Waimea, in consequence of the trade-wind, which is exceedingly strong, bringing with it a mist towards sunset. This wind rushes furiously down between the mountains which bound the valley of Waimea, and becomes very dangerous to shipping in the bay. It is called by the natives "mumuku," and is foretold by them from an illuminated streak that is seen far inland. This is believed to be caused by the reflection of the twilight on the mist that always accompanies the mumuku.

The productions of Waimea are the same as those of the other districts, but it abounds also in timber of good size and quality for building. This was the famous sandalwood district, whence Kamehameha procured the cargoes which he sold for the Canton market. As I have before remarked, there are now no trees left larger than mere saplings. The naio, or bastard sandalwood, is plentiful, and considered as a fine wood for building.

Waimea was also the principal place of export for hides, tallow, and beef. Of these articles only a small amount is now exported [page 217], owing to the taboo on cattle. Leather is here tanned in sufficient quantities to meet the wants of the domestic manufacture, and there are many trees having astringent barks, adapted to the use of the tanner.

A species of morus abounds in the forests: from this, a tapa is made that is highly esteemed, and which is exported to other parts of the island.

The cultivation in this district is much affected by the annoyance of caterpillars, which prove very destructive to the crops.

Waimea enjoys frequent communication with Honolulu, which affords the best market in the group. Besides, there are three or four stores, kept by foreigners, for trade and barter.

In 1830, Waimea was first brought into notice by Governor Adams, who took up his residence there for the purpose of taking the wild cattle, that had become extremely numerous. While he remained in it, there was much activity and life: all trades found employment; roads were made, and ox-carts travelled a distance of fifty miles. Now, since the taboo has been laid, the place is comparatively deserted; and unless the cultivation of the soil be resorted to, it will, before many years, become a barren waste.

During the period of its prosperity, many of the habitations of the natives were improved, and they advanced much in civilization. Some of them own horses and cattle, and are industrious; but the mass, who have lived on this precarious employment, and found their subsistence in that way, have become, since it ceased, more indolent than before.

In this district there are forty-two schools; half of these are for adults and half for children; all are taught by native teachers, excepting two, which are under the instruction of the missionary, the Rev. Mr. Lyons and his wife. In these there are about four hundred children and five hundred adults... [Wilkes 1970:218]

Trip to the Volcano and Mauna Kea (July 9, 1859)

Another source of historical observations is letters published by visitors and residents to the area in local newspapers (English and Hawaiian). One such letter series published in 1859 describes the land and life of bullock hunters in the Waimea-Waikōloa region and on the upper mountain lands. This particular account, coincides with the 1859 eruption of Mauna Loa and the resulting lava flow which crossed the plateau lands, cutting off what came to be called the Judd Trail, and covered most of the Kīholo Fishpond complex.

July 21, 1859 (The Pacific Commercial Advertiser)

Mr. Editor—Having just returned from a trip to Mauna Kea, it has occurred to me that in this dull season of the year, a short account of our jaunt might perhaps prove sufficiently interesting to find a place in your journal.

Our party consisted of six, on horseback, with blankets and guns, followed by three natives with pack bullocks, carrying a canvas tent and the provisions and other necessary outfits for a ten days' absence from the haunts of civilization. We were also provided with a cook, in the person of a dapper little Chinaman, who was by no means an unnecessary part of the inventory. One of our party, whom I shall call "The Mountain" —he being an old ranger among the wilds of Hawaii and fond of relating his adventures—started early on Monday morning, June 27, for the lava flow, in order to ascertain whether it was passable for animals, while the rest were to follow on Thursday, arranging to meet him at Waikapee, near the general camping ground of March last, where at one time not far from three hundred persons watched the descending river of fire.

At 8 o'clock on Tuesday morning, we were aroused by "The Captain," and saddling up in the dark, cold morning, we were well into the woods which

extend from the base of Hualalai before daylight. A chill, damp fog surrounded us, but as the day dawned it disappeared, and the approach of the good of day was hailed by a grand concert from thousands of feathered warblers, combined with the chirping of myriad insects, and varied now and then by the clarion voice of the wild cock. I have traveled through forests in different parts of the world where nature's choristers "warbled their wood-notes wild," but I never before heard such a bewildering gush of melody as on that lovely morning went up in a hymn of praise from the koa woods of Kona. Our road, which was a very decent one for Hawaii nei, lay for an hour through a forest of koa trees, some of them of large size, but mostly of a young growth, thickly interspersed with tall ohias and many kinds of trees and shrubs, the names of which I cannot remember. All along the side of the road was a rank growth of Irish potatoes, their tall stalks indicating a very rich soil, while every patch of greensward was blushing with wild strawberries. The potatoes have sprung from seed, "dropped by the wayside" accidentally, and the strawberries, though quite ripe and of a goodly size had not the rich flavor of the cultivated fruit. Here we heard, some of us for the first time in many years, the unmistakable "caw, caw" of a crow, as he sat perched on a tall ohia tree and eyed our party with the same inquisitive cock of the head that we remembered langsyne and far away among the cornfields of New England. We felt inclined rather to respect him for the recollections he stirred up.

Just before emerging into the open plain we passed a number of young sandal wood trees, with their oval, bright-green leaves, standing amongst a young growth of koa, while here and there were seen the charred remains of huge trees lying scattered about. In reply to our inquiries, "The Captain" said, a number of years ago, when sandal wood was in great demand and the chiefs forced the people to work like slaves in gathering it, here it grew very abundantly. The people at last rid themselves of the burden by setting fire to the forest, which was mostly consumed—sandal wood and all. These half burned trunks were once stately koa trees. The old story of the goose that lay the golden egg, thought I. About nine o'clock, we got sight of the smoke rising through the still air in a perpendicular column from the crater, whence issued the late eruption of Mauna Loa. Pele had apparently exhausted her materials, or was resting herself, and the comparatively small show of smoke led us to argue that there was but a small supply of fire.

At noon, after a long ride over a sandy plain, barren of everything but stunted ohelos, and past the old heiau or heathen temple called "Ke Ahu a Umi," we came to Waikapee, where we halted and lunched. A long ride through the mountain air had sharpened our appetites, and the hot coffee and solid food disappeared at a rate and in quantities that would have dismayed a boarding-house keeper. What a piquant sauce is real hunger! Here we found our old friend and pioneer, "The Mountain," who had paid a visit to the flow and pronounced it quite passable. After resting our animals an hour, we started again and soon came up with the late flow or rather flows, for there have been two. Those who visited the eruption in March represent the stream at this point to have been composed entirely of aa or clinkers. We found the entire surface of the united stream,—say three miles wide,—composed of a bluish, shining pahoehoe, which had oozed out and quite covered up the clinkers, and which

had run into and cooled in every imaginable shape. We found no difficulty in getting along with our animals, traveling up and down the miniature hills and valleys, with the exception of here and there a great crack in the surface, caused by the cooling of the mass, and which forced us to go round it. The rock was however quite cool until we got about a half a mile from the edge, when we came upon a streak of about a hundred yards in extent, where our path lay over and amongst holes and fissures innumerable, from which issued steam and gas. It was evident to all that we were walking over a subterranean stream of fire, rushing along on its way to the sea, and we knew not at what moment it might receive a fresh impetus from its mountain source, and, bursting the frail shell on which we stood, engulf us in a horrible death. When we had safely passed this "Valley of the Shadow of Death," we—I at least can answer for one—drew a long breath of relief. In fact, as one of our party—"The Sheriff,"—remarked: "It was mighty skeery kind of traveling; and it wouldn't have required an unreasonable amount of coaxing to have induced him to stop and turn about when we got to that confoundedly hot streak." Half a mile further on we came to a place where a section of one of the underground tunnels had fallen in, exposing to our wondering gaze the liquid rock over which we were traveling. Some writer on metaphysics has said that a certain degree of fear is one of the essential ingredients which go to make up the feeling of sublimity. Such being the case, it follows that our party was duly impressed with the sublime nature of the yawning, fiery, white hot abyss before us, for all kept at a most respectful distance. Familiarity, in this case, would have failed to breed contempt. While gazing into this "horrible pit," I was forcibly reminded of the fiery furnace of which we read in Sacred Writ, that was heated seven times hotter than it was wont" for the reception of the three children of Israel. Our artist,—for we had a good one in "Paul Phiz" —took a sketch of the scene, and we passed on. We crossed the flow in a northeast direction instead of going straight over, and thus we traveled five miles over the flow instead of three, which is about its breadth. During the latter two miles we frequently passed holes in the surface rock, from which Pele glared at us as we slowly picked our way along, at times sickened and half suffocated by the offensive gasses exhaled. It was quite sundown when we reached the farther edge of the flow and touched again what we felt was terra firma. Here we camped for the night on the old pahoehoe, —perhaps hundreds of years old,—and were fortunate in finding in a little hollow plenty of pili grass for our animals and wood for a fire. Scarcely had we halted, when the "honk" of a goose was heard and we shot three fat fellows, which made us a delicious supper. Building up a rousing fire, more for the cheering light than for warmth, we spread blankets on the ground and with our saddles for pillows; slept soundly till daylight... [Pacific Commercial Advertiser; July 21, 1859]

July 28, 1859

The Pacific Commercial Advertiser:

A Trip to Mauna Kea - July 9, 1859 (concluded from last week):

The next day was a hard day's travel for our animals, over about fifteen miles of clinkers, until we came to the rolling hills above Puakou [Puako, the Waikii vicinity]. A worse piece of road it would be hard to imagine. Fancy that distance of country terribly cut up into ravines and gullies, and the only path or semblance of a road made of equal parts of broken bottles and slag from a blacksmith's forge, and you will get some idea of the plain between Mauna Loa

and Mauna Kea. All these beds of clinkers—for we passed four or five—have come from the former mountain, while Mauna Kea appears to have discharged scarcely anything, latterly, but sand and ashes. On reaching the open ground we found our horses were much cut up and bleeding about the feet, while one bullock was so exhausted and worn down that we were obliged to take off his load and leave him to shift for himself. Pushing along, we arrived at sundown at our camping ground in “the big gulch” among the hills which form the base of Mauna Kea. This was a beautiful spot, the grass growing luxuriantly in the valleys, and the ravines being lined with mamani trees. Wild hogs were plentiful; we disturbed a drove of forty or fifty as we entered the gulch, and they went scampering up the mountain. Cattle too, were seen in droves, but very shy. Unfortunately, however, there was no water in the gulch, and, after stopping one night, we started on Thursday morning for Kalaieha, an elevated point on the east side of Mauna Kea, where report said that water and game were to be found in plenty.

From the “big gulch [Pōhakuloa]” to Kalaieha, a distance of some fifteen or twenty miles, the road lays over a beautiful rolling country, made up of wash from the conical hills which so frequently occur along the base of Mauna Kea, with here and there patches of sand [the area between Pu’u Ke’eke’e-Pōhakuloa and Pu’u Huluhulu]. This would be a magnificent country for sheep farms, or for wheat growing, but for one drawback—the want of water. There is ample evidence, however, in the numerous water courses with which the face of the country is seamed, that at times there is “too much of water.” Huge boulders are seen scattered about, brought from the hills and carried far out on the plains by the streams; but at the time of our visit not a drop of water could be found in any of the gulches or ravines. We reached our camping ground [Kalai’eha] a little after noon, and pitched our tent at the foot of a hill in a magnificent grove of koa and mamani trees. We found the country here equally parched up with that on the other side, there having been no rain for months. Here the clinkers from Mauna Loa came up within a short distance of the base hills of Mauna Kea, and just on the edge of these ragged rocks, in the last place one would have thought of looking for it, we found a hole, just large enough to insert a quart pot, containing about half a barrel of delicious water, as cold as if it had been iced. This was the first supply of water, we had obtained since leaving Kona, and as our kegs were quite empty, it came just in time. The long ride from the big gulch was made without water and our throats were well parched. Those who have never known the actual want of water cannot appreciate the blessing of a constant supply. I found the sense of thirst, much alleviated by carrying one or two small pebble stones in my mouth.

At Kalaieha we remained until Tuesday, the 5th instant, employing the time in rambling about the country, shooting wild hogs, geese and ducks. The latter were not very plentiful, but the hogs were in countless numbers. The ground for miles about our camp was ploughed up in every direction by them in their search after the roots upon which they feed. Our party consumed sometimes four or five small pigs of a day, such as you could buy in Honolulu for \$1.50 each, besides a proportionate quantity of taro, crackers and butter, pickles and coffee. Our appetites, however, in this keen mountain air, (about 7000 feet above the sea,) were prodigious, and digestion never failed to “wait on

appetite.” Two of us demolished a whole goose at a sitting, besides et ceteras—one was a supposed sick man, who six weeks before in Honolulu could scarcely walk, and was sent up to Kona by his physician as a last hope of recovery. He is now as strong and hearty as could be desired. On Monday the 4th, we essayed the ascent of Mauna Kea, and would doubtless have succeeded but for an envious fog—farther down it would be called cloud—which completely enveloped us, and the fear of getting lost, turned us back to grope our way to camp... [Pacific Commercial Advertiser; July 28, 1859]

Waimea and the Mountain Lands Described by Isabella Bird (1873)

Isabella Bird, an English woman ahead of her time, traveled solo about Hawai'i, and in the company of native and local guides, explored many of the remote regions on the Island (Bird 1998). Her narratives are colorful and filled with important descriptions of landscape, practices and conditions on the island. Of particular interest to a study of the 'āina mauna on Hawai'i, are Bird's narratives of Waimea, and travel past Waiki'i (via the Waimea-Waiki'i Trail, coming out near Pu'u Lā'au), to the Pu'u Ke'ekē'e-Pōhakuloa flats, Kalai'eha and the summit of Mauna Kea. Bird included important descriptions of the sheep and cattle industry in 1873, and observed that the mountain lands were remote, and in all but a couple of areas, unpopulated.

Having arrived in Waimea village, Bird described her approach to, and receptions at the home of Francis Spencer (the Spencer house at Pu'uoloa – still standing today), and her journey across the 'āina mauna:

Waimea Region Described

...On clambering over the wall which surrounds my host's kraal of dwellings, I heard in the dusk strange, sweet voices crying rudely and emphatically, "Who are you? What do you want?" and was relieved to find that the somewhat inhospitable interrogation only proceeded from two Australian magpies. Mr. S. [Spencer] is a Tasmanian, married to a young half-white lady; and her native mother and seven or eight dark girls are here, besides a number of natives and Chinese, and half Chinese, who are employed about the place. Sheep are the source of my host's wealth. He has 25,000 at three stations on Mauna Kea, and, at an altitude of 6000 feet they flourish, and are free from some of the maladies to which they are liable elsewhere. Though there are only three or four sheep owners on the islands, they exported 288,526 lbs. of [page 147] wool in 1872. Mr. S— has also 1000 head of cattle and 50 horses.

The industry of Waimea is cattle raising, and some feeble attempts are being made to improve the degenerate island breed by the importation of a few short-horn cows from New Zealand. These plains afford magnificent pasturage as well as galloping ground. They are a very great thoroughfare. The island, which is an equilateral triangle, about 300 miles in "circuit," can only be crossed here. Elsewhere, an impenetrable forest belt, and an impassable volcanic wilderness, compel travellers to take the burning track of adamant which snakes round the southern coast, when they are minded to go from one side of Hawaii to the other. Waimea also has the singular distinction of a road from the beach, which is traversed on great occasions by two or three oxen and mule teams, and very rarely by a more ambitious conveyance. There are few hours

^{*} In 1875 the export of wool had increased to 465,469 lbs.

of day or night in which the tremulous thud of shoeless horses galloping on grass is not heard in Waimea.

The altitude of this great table-land is 2500 feet, and the air is never too hot, the temperature averaging 64° Fahrenheit. There is mist or rain on most days of the year for a short time, and the mornings and evenings are clear and cool. The long sweeping curves of the three great Hawaiian mountains spring from this level. The huge bulk of Mauna Kea without shoulders or spurs, rises directly from the Waimea level on the south to the altitude of 14,000 feet, and his base is thickly clustered with tufa-cones of a bright red colour, from 300 to 1000 feet in height. Considerably further back, indeed forty miles away, the smooth dome of Mauna Loa... Nearer the coast, and about thirty miles from here, is the less conspicuous dome of the dead volcano of Hualalai... To the south of these plains violent volcanic action is everywhere apparent, not only in tufa-cones, but in tracts of ashes, scoriae, and volcanic sand. Near the centre there are some very curious caves, possibly "lava-bubbles," which were used by the [page 148] natives as places of sepulture...

...The moral atmosphere of Waimea has never been a wholesome one. The region was very early settled by a class of what may be truly termed "mean whites," the "beachcombers" and riff-raff of the Pacific. They lived infamous lives, and added their own to the indigenous vices of the islands, turning the district into a perfect sink of iniquity, in which they were known by such befitting aliases as "Jake the Devil," &c... [page 149]

Journey to Mauna Kea

...A few days ago I was so fortunate as to make the acquaintance of Mr. W. L. Green (now Minister of Foreign Affairs), an English resident in Honolulu... He asked me to make the ascent of Mauna Kea with him, and we have satisfactorily accomplished it to-day.

The interior of the island, in which we have spent the last two days, is totally different, not only from the luxuriant windward slopes, but from the fiery leeward margin. The altitude of the central plateau is from 5000 to 6000 feet, there is not a single native dwelling on it, or even a trail across it, it is totally destitute of water, and sustains only a miserable scrub of mamane, stunted ohias, pukeawe, ohelos, a few compositae, and some of the hardiest ferns. The transient residents of this [Kalai'eha] sheep station, and those of another [Kealapū'ali] on Hualalai, thirty miles off, are the only human inhabitants of a region as large as Kent. Wild goats, wild geese (*Bernicla sandvicensis*), and the *Melithreptes Pacifica*, constitute its chief population. These geese are web-footed, though water does not exist. They build their nests in the grass, and lay two or three white eggs.

Our track from Waimea lay for the first few miles over light soil, destitute of any vegetation, across dry, glaring, rocky beds of streams, and round the bases of numerous tufa cones, from 200 to 1500 feet in height, with steep, smooth sides, composed of a very red ash. We crossed a flank of Mauna Kea at a height of 6000 feet [around Pu'u Lā'au], and a short descent brought us out upon [page 231] this vast tableland [the Pu'u Ke'eke'e-Pōhakuloa region],

which lies between the bulbous domes of Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa, and Hualalai, the loneliest, saddest, dreariest expanse I ever saw.

The air was clear and the sun bright, yet nothing softened into beauty this formless desert of volcanic sand, stones, and lava, on which tufts of grass and a harsh scrub war with wind and drought for a loveless existence. Yet, such is the effect of atmosphere, that Mauna Loa, utterly destitute of vegetation, and with his sides scored and stained by the black lava-flows of ages, looked liked a sapphire streaked with lapis lazuli. Nearly blinded by scuds of sand, we rode for hours through the volcanic wilderness; always the same rigid mamane (*Sophora Chrysophylla* ?) the same withered grass, and the same thornless thistles, through which the strong wind swept with a desolate screech.

The trail, which dips 1000 feet, again ascends, the country becomes very wild, there are ancient craters of great height densely wooded, wooded ravines, the great bulk of Mauna Kea with his ragged crest towers above tumbled rocky regions, which look as if nature, disgusted with her work, had broken it to pieces in a passion; there are living and dead trees, a steep elevation, and below, a broad river of most jagged and uneven a-a. The afternoon fog, which serves instead of rain, rolled up in dense masses, through which we heard the plaintive bleating of sheep, and among blasted trees and distorted rocks we came upon Kalaieha.

I have described the "foreign residences" elsewhere. Here is one of another type, in which a wealthy sheep owner's son, married to a very pretty native woman, leads for some months in the year, from choice, a life so rough, that most people would think it a hardship to lead it from necessity. There are two apartments, a loft and a "lean-to." The hospitable owners gave me their sleeping-room, which was divided from the "living-room" by a canvas partition. This last has a rude stone chimney split by an earthquake, holding fire enough to roast an ox. Round it the floor is paved with great rough stones. A fire of logs, fully three feet high, was burning, but there was a faulty draught, and it emitted a stinging smoke. I looked for something to sit upon, but there was nothing but a high bench, or chopping-block, and a fixed seat in the corner of the wall. The rest of the furniture consisted of a small table, some pots, a frying-pan, a tin dish and plates, a dipper, and some tin pannikins. Four or five rifles and "shot-guns," [page 232] and a piece of raw meat, were hanging against the wall. A tin bowl was brought to me for washing, which served the same purpose for everyone. The oil was exhausted, so recourse was had to the native expedient of a jar of beef fat with a wick in it.

We were most hospitably received, but the native wife, as is usually the case, was too shy to eat with us, or even to appear at all. Our host is a superb young man, very frank and pre-possessing looking, a thorough mountaineer, most expert with the lasso and in hunting wild cattle. The "station" consists of a wool shed, a low grass hut, a hut with one side gone, a bell-tent, and the more substantial cabin in which we are lodged. Several saddled horses were tethered outside, and some natives were shearing sheep, but the fog shut out whatever else there might be of an outer world. Every now and then a native came in and sat on the floor to warm himself, but there were no mats as in

native houses. It was intolerably cold. I singed my clothes by sitting in the chimney, but could not warm myself. A fowl was stewed native fashion, and some rice was boiled, and we had sheep's milk and some ice cold water, the drip, I think, from a neighbouring cave, as running and standing water are unknown.

There are 9000 sheep here, but they require hardly any attendance except at shearing time, and dogs are not used in herding them. Indeed, labour is much dispensed with, as the sheep are shorn unwashed, a great contrast to the elaborate washings of the flocks of the Australian Riverina. They come down at night of their own sagacity, in close converging columns, sleep on the gravel about the station, and in the early morning betake themselves to their feeding grounds on the mountain.

Mauna Kea, and the forests which skirt his base, are the resort of thousands of wild cattle, and there are many men nearly as wild, who live half savage lives in the woods, gaining their living by lassoing and shooting these animals for their skins. Wild black swine also abound.

The mist as usual disappeared at night, leaving a sky wonderful with stars, which burned blue and pale against the furnace glare on the top of Mauna Loa, to which we are comparatively near. I woke at three from the hopeless cold, and before five went out with Mr. Green to explore the adjacent lava. The atmosphere was perfectly pure, and suffused with rose-colour, not a cloud-fleece hung round the mountain tops, hoar-frost [page 233] whitened the ground, the pure, white smoke of the volcano rose into the reddening sky, and the air was elixir. It has been said and written that there are no steam-cracks or similar traces of volcanic action on Mauna Kea, but in several fissures I noticed ferns growing belonging to an altitude 4000 feet lower, and on putting my arm down, found a heat which compelled me to withdraw it, and as the sun rose these cracks steamed in all directions. There are caves full of ferns, lava bubbles in reality, crust over crust, each from twelve to eighteen inches thick, rolls of lava cooled in coils, and hideous a-a streams on which it is impossible to walk two yards without the risk of breaking one's limbs or cutting one's boots to pieces.

I will not weary you with the details of our mountain ascent. Our host provided ourselves and the native servant with three strong bullock-horses, and accompanied us himself. The first climb is through deep volcanic sand slashed by deep clefts, showing bands of red and black ash. We saw no birds, but twice started a rout of wild black hogs, and once came upon a wild bull of large size with some cows and a calf, all so tired with tramping over the lava that they only managed to keep just out of our way. They usually keep near the mountain top in the daytime for fear of the hunters, and come down at night to feed. About 11,000 were shot and lassoed last year. Mr. S— says that they don't need any water but that of the dew-drenched grass, and that horses reared on the mountains refuse to drink, and are scared by the sight of pools or running streams...

The actual forest, which is principally koa, ceases at a height of about 6000 feet, but a deplorable vegetation beginning with mamane scrub, and ending

with withered wormwood and tufts of coarse grass, straggles up 3000 feet higher, and a scaly orange lichen is found in rare patches at a height of 11,000 feet.

The side of Mauna Kea towards Waimea is precipitous and inaccessible, but to our powerful mountain horses the ascent from Kalaieha presented no difficulty.

We rode on hour after hour in intense cold, till we reached a height where the last stain of lichen disappeared, and the desolation was complete and oppressive. This area of tufa [page 234] cones, dark and grey basalt, clinkers, scoriae, fine ash, and ferruginous basalt, is something gigantic. We were three hours in ascending through it, and the eye could at no time take in its limit, for the mountain which from any point of view below appears as a well defined dome with a ragged top, has at the summit the aspect of a ridge, or rather a number of ridges, with between 20 and 30 definite peaks, varying in height from 900 to 1400 feet. Among these cones are large plains of clinkers and fine gravel, but no lava-streams, and at a height of 12,000 feet the sides of some of the valleys are filled up with snow, of a purity so immaculate and a brilliancy so intense as the fierce light of the tropical sun beat upon it, that I feared snow-blindness. We ascended one of the smaller cones, which was about 900 feet high, and found it contained a crater of nearly the same depth, with a very even slope, and lined entirely with red ash, which at the bottom became so bright and fiery-looking that it looked as if the fires, which have not burned for ages, had only died out that morning.

After riding steadily for six hours, our horses, snorting and panting, and plunging up to their knees in fine volcanic ash, and halting, trembling and exhausted, every few feet, carried us up the great tufa cone which crowns the summit of this vast, fire-flushed, fire-created mountain, and we dismounted in deep snow on the crest of the highest peak in the Pacific, 13,953 feet above the sea. This summit is a group of six red tufa cones, with very little apparent difference in their altitude, and with deep valleys filled with red ash between them. The terminal cone on which we were has no cavity, but most of those forming the group, as well as the thirty which I counted around and below us, are truncated cones with craters within, and with outer slopes, whose estimated angle is about 30°. On these slopes the snow lay heavily. In coming up we had had a superb view of Mauna Loa, but before we reached the top, the clouds had congregated, and lay in glistening masses all round the mountain about half-way up, shutting out the smiling earth, and leaving us alone with the view of the sublime desolation of the volcano.

We only remained an hour on the top, and came down by a very circuitous route, which took us round numerous cones, and over miles of clinkers varying in size from a ton to a few ounces and past a lake the edges of which were frozen, and which in itself is a curiosity, as no other part of the mountain "holds water." Not far off is a cave, a lava-bubble, in which [page 235] the natives used to live when they came up here to quarry a very hard adjacent phonolite for their axes and other tools. While the others poked about, I was glad to make it a refuge from the piercing wind. Hundreds of unfinished axes lie round the cave entrance, and there is quite a large mound of unfinished chips.

This is a very interesting spot to Hawaiian antiquaries. They argue, from the amount of the chippings, that this mass of phonolite was quarried for ages by countless generations of men, and that the mountain top must have been upheaved, and the island inhabited, in a very remote past. The stones have not been worked since Captain Cook's day; yet there is not a weather-stain upon them, and the air is so dry and rarified that meat twill keep fresh for three months. I found a mass of crystals of the greenish volcanic glass, called olivine, imbedded in a piece of phonolite which looked as blue and fresh as if only quarried yesterday.

We travelled for miles through ashes and scoriae, and then descended into a dense afternoon fog; but Mr. S is a practiced mountaineer, and never faltered for a moment, and our horses made such good speed that late in the afternoon we were able to warm ourselves by a gallop, which brought us in here ravenous for supper before dark, having ridden for thirteen hours... [Bird 1998:236]

Report of the Royal Commissioners on Development of Resources (1877)

In 1876, King David Kalākaua appointed a commission “to aid in the development of resources in the Kingdom” (Act of September 25, 1876). In 1877, the Commissioners toured the Island of Hawai‘i, assessing needs, development potentials, and meeting with residents to discuss the general nature of the resources.

The commission’s description of the Waimea plateau and forests, and the significant impacts that grazing animals had on the community—having overrun residences and agricultural fields, and making the land almost impossible to live on—is dramatic, and in some cases proved to be prophetic. The primary concerns for which action in 1877 was called centered around protection of forests and watersheds, the already noticeable shifts in climatic conditions, and occurrence of droughts.

The commissioners landed at Māhukona and visited North Kohala, praising its resources and potential. Departing from Pu‘uhue, the commission then traveled to Waimea and offered the following report:

The route lies around the slopes of the Kohala mountains through Kawaihae-uka. The forests on the Kohala mountains are dying rapidly. The land is mostly for grazing purposes, though on the mountain potatoes of fine quality can be raised in large quantities. In sheltered places, coffee would doubtless grow, but owing to the sparseness of the population and the superior attractions to other parts of the district, this part will hardly soon be settled. The once fertile and populous plain of Waimea looked sterile and desolate when visited by the Commission—a painful contrast to Kohala loko on the other side of the mountain.

The complaint of the people is well founded. The water they use is fouled in many places by cattle, horses and other animals, and as the stream is sluggish it has no chance to free itself of impurities, and the water used by the people in their houses must be a cause of disease and death, especially to the children... It is little wonder that with his crops trodden out by the sheep or cattle of his stronger neighbors, his family sickened perhaps to death by the polluted

waters, that the small holder should yield to despair, and abandoning his homestead seek employment in some other district, usually without making another home...

The plains of Pukapu and Waimea are subject to high winds, aggravated by the loss of the sheltering forests of former days. The soil however is very good in many places for sugar cane and other products. To develop its best resources, efforts must be made to restore the forests and husband the supply of water at their sources to furnish a supply for agricultural purposes. At present the lands are used almost exclusively for grazing purposes. Although the proprietors and lessors are probably not averse to the establishment of agricultural enterprises, it is to be feared that the denudation of the neighboring mountains and plains of the forests will render the climatic conditions unfavorable to success.

It would seem that a wise appreciation of the best interests of this district, even of the grazing interests themselves, would lead to the decrease of the immense herds which threaten not only Waimea but even Hamakua with almost irreparable disaster. It is to be feared that they will in time render a large part of the land of little value even for grazing purposes. Owing to the increasing frequency and severity of droughts and consequent failure of springs. Some thousands of cattle are said to have died this last winter from want of water, and the works erected in Waimea for the purpose of trying out cattle have been idle for months for want of water.

The commission do not propose here to discuss fully the vexed questions of the causes of the diminution of the forests, but in view of the fact that they are diminishing and the streams and springs diminishing a corresponding rations, also that with the cattle running upon the lands as at present, any effort to restore them must be futile and any hopes of their recuperation vain, the Government, if it would wish to preserve that part of the island of Hawaii from serious injury, must take some steps for reclaiming the forests.

In this connection we would say that it is unfortunate that large tracts of Crown and Government lands have been lately leased on long terms for grazing purposes, without conditions as to their protection from permanent injury, at rates much lower than their value even as preserves for Government purposes or public protection. The commission deem this a matter of grave importance, challenging the earnest attention of the Government, and involving the prosperity of two important districts.

There are large quantities of fallen trees in the forests, whose removal would doubtless be of benefit to the forests and it would seem could be profitably taken to Honolulu for sale as firewood..... [Pacific Commercial Advertiser – May 5, 1877]

George Bowser's "Directory and Tourists Guide" (1880)

George Bowser, editor of "The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourists Guide" (1880) wrote about various statistics and places of interest around the Hawaiian Islands. In the following excerpts from "An Itinerary of the Hawaiian Islands..." (Chapter IV Hawai'i), Bowser describes the Waimea region, ranching interests, and the journey between Waimea, Kalai'eha, and the summit of Mauna Kea.

...Waimea has always been a place of some considerable importance, and there are around it several pretty homesteads, notably the residences of Mr. F. Spencer and the Reverend Mr. Lyons. From Mr. Spencer's veranda there is a striking view of Maunakea, the summit of which was at this time of the year still in its winter robe of snow. The snow never leaves this mountain-top entirely, but the position of the snow-line varies considerably with the season of the year, and also from one year to another, according to the weather which characterizes them. The country all round is chiefly suitable for grazing, and, besides innumerable wild cattle, descended, no doubt, from those which Vancouver gave to Kamehameha I, there are some 20,000 head depastured in the neighborhood, the property of Mr. Parker, who has, besides, some large droves of horses, probably numbering a thousand head in all. Mr. Spencer has turned his attention chiefly to sheep farming, and occupies a large tract of country with his flock of 15,000 sheep and 15,000 goats. Waimea itself, although of immemorial age, and once populous, is now only a scattered village, with but two stores and a boarding and lodging house and coffee saloon. Good accommodation can, however, be procured by the traveler.

On March 23d, I set out from Waimea to visit the north Kohala district... The road I had now to follow is only a track running through and skirting a range of mountain. For some eight or ten miles at the outset it is very steep and very stony, but after that, for the remainder of the way, about seventeen miles, it is over well-grassed mountain country, and is pleasant riding, with a grand view of the sea all the way... [Bowser 1880:540]

Bowser returned to Waimea from North Kohala, offering readers a description of the water source of Kohala Mountains, which in the early 1900s came to play an important role in the development and expansion of the ranch to the Waikōloa, Waiki'i, and Ke'āmoku section lands. Bowser then proceeded to Kalai'eha, traveling via the Waimea-Waiki'i route, describing springs on the side of the mountain—presumably Houpo a Kāne (Hopukani) and Wai hū a Kāne, the lake of Waiau and Kaluakāko'i. Bowser also reported that Francis Spencer had “made” the road from his sheep station at Kalai'eha to Waiau—

The mountain which divides North from South Kohala is called Kaala. Near its summit is a very pretty lake which is the source of the Waimea River, a never-failing stream. This lake is very difficult of access, and few foreigners have ever visited it. The way there is, however, quite practicable to the man who does not fear fatigue; and the views obtained from the summit will repay those who adventure the ascent. The height of the mountain is nearly 6,000 feet, and the views from it are uninterrupted in almost all directions, including a most magnificent panorama, almost a bird's-eye view of the Waipio Valley, with its winding streams and grand precipices.

I turned my back with a feeling of reluctance on the rich district of North Kohala, and retraced my steps to Waimea... On my road returning to Waimea I had before me at every turn of the road the great White Mountain of Hawaii, for such is the translation of the native name, Maunakea. From all appearances, as described by those who have ascended it, this mountain has ceased to be an active volcano long before the more southern ones began to show signs of expiring efforts. Its surface is not composed of lava, as is the case to so great

an extent with Maunaloa and Maunahualalai, but is almost exclusively of scoria, deposited, no doubt, in the last final effort of the volcano. High up on Maunakea there is a singular lake, to which a road has been made by Mr. F. Spencer through his sheep station of Kalaieha. This gentleman and a party of friends, when visiting this lake, upon one occasion made an attempt to fathom it, without success. They had no proper appliances for sounding, but, having tied their horse-ropes together, they succeeded in constructing a line fifty-five fathoms long. With this, however, they found no bottom. The excursion to this lake is well worth making, and can be accomplished by ladies as well as gentlemen, on horseback, the incline of Maunakea being exceptionally gradual for so high a mountain. A day will have to be devoted to the trip, as it takes about five hours to reach the lake from Waimea, although three will suffice for the return. From the elevation thus reached a wide expanse of country and of ocean can be seen, including the distant Haleakala on Maui. On the way between [page 544] Waimea and Kalaieha the traveler will be able to refresh himself with the water of a spring which bursts out just at the base of Maunakea, beautifully clear and cold, as if it came direct from the ice. There is another inducement to make this journey. It is on Maunakea that the silver sword plant, peculiar to these islands, grows in the greatest perfection. It is to be found also on Haleakala, and on Maunaloa and Maunahualalai, but not so fine as on the southern side of Maunakea. This plant grows to the height of from four to six feet; its leaves being arranged so as to resemble a fan of silver, each blade separate from its fellows. At the top of the stem it branches out in a circular form, each branch producing an egg-shaped flower of a delicate dove color. It is in full flower in the month of November. The tourist will also be well repaid for making a visit to a place called Kaluakakoi, which is not far from the lake. Here there is a quarry, whence all the stone axes which used to be in use among the natives were procured from time immemorial, until their intercourse with the foreigner taught them the use of iron. This is the only place in the islands where this blackflint-like stone has been procured.

The district surrounding Waimea is capable of producing most of the ordinary crops of a temperate climate, such as wheat, barley, oats maize, beets, turnips, mangel-wurzel, onions, potatoes and all sorts of vegetables. In the neighboring district of Hamakua, coffee, tobacco and cotton may be grown. In no part of the Kingdom does the guava grow to such perfection as in the Hamakua district. Its fruit is there quite as large as an orange. Three varieties of it are grown-the sour, the sweet and the strawberry guava.

No better opportunity can present itself throughout my journey than when speaking of these rich districts of Kohala and Hamakua, to enumerate for the benefit of the tourist the different fruits that grow wild in the Hawaiian Islands, and give some account of them, and of the seasons at which they ripen. I must give the first place to the mountain strawberry, which is very plentiful all round the three lofty mountains of Hawaii and on Haleakala. It is ripe in June, July and August. The mountain apple grows all over the Islands, at about 800 feet from the sea level... [page 545] To this list I have to add the more familiar forms of the mango...the orange, lime, citron, lemon and bananas, in great variety. Add to these the bread-fruit, tamarind and the rose-apple...

...I returned to Waimea before finally setting out on my journey through Kona and the southern portions of the island. I made my start from the house of Mr. Frank Spencer, leaving the Kohala district, I must say, with much regret. Fifteen miles of a miserably rough and stony road brought me to Puako, a small village on the sea-coast, not far from the boundary between the Kohala and Kona districts. There was nothing to be seen on the way after I had got well away from Waimea except clinkers; no vegetation, except where the cactus has secured a scanty foothold... [Bowser 1880:546]

Surveyor's Ascent of Mauna Kea (1892)

In the September 20, 1892 issue of the Hawaiian Gazette, W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General of the Kingdom, penned an article titled "The Ascent of Mauna Kea, Hawaii." Alexander's article provides detailed descriptions of the journey to the summit of Mauna Kea, via the Waimea-Waiki'i route. The following excerpts from the article tell us of the Waimea-Kalai'eha Wagon Road, the condition of the land and demise of the forests, and reference the "Auwaiakeakua Ranch" and Waiki'i "half-way station," these two being a part of the Ke'āmoku Sheep Station facilities, tied to the Humu'ula operation of the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company.

A wagon road made by the owners of the Humuula Sheep Ranch leads from Waimea around the western and southern sides of Mauna Kea. On the western side of the mountain it passes through a region which only needs more rainfall to make it a superb grazing country. The ancient forests here, as at Waimea have been nearly exterminated, but a fine grove of mamane trees still survives at the Auwaiakeakua Ranch. The manienie grass is gradually spreading and will in time add immensely to the value of the land. At the half-way station, called Waikii, water tanks and a rest house have been provided for teamsters. After turning the corner we skirted the desolate plain studded with volcanic cones that lies between the giant mountains of Hawaii... At length the vegetation began to be more dense, the patches of piipii grass and the groves of the beautiful and useful mamane or sophora tree more frequent, as we approached the Hilo district... [Alexander 1892]

LAND TENURE AND TRAVEL: WAIKŌLOA, WAIMEA AND NEIGHBORING LANDS

In Hawai'i prior to western contact, all land, ocean and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (ali'i 'ai ahupua'a or ali'i 'ai moku). The use of land, fisheries and other resources was given to the ho'a'aina (native tenants) at the prerogative of the ali'i and their representatives or land agents (konohiki), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. By 1845, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was being radically altered, and the foundation for implementing the Māhele 'Āina (a fee-simple right of ownership) was set in place by Kamehameha III.

Following implementation of the Māhele, the King also initiated a land grant program, issuing fee-simple "Royal Patents" on granted land. In addition to the sale of fee-simple interests in land, the Crown and Government lands were also made available for leases and, in some cases, for sale. Together, these three land programs opened the door for the development of the large ranching interests in Waimea, Waikōloa, Pā'auhau, Ka'ohe, Humu'ula, and smaller lands adjoining them on the slopes of Mauna Kea.

In the following narratives, readers will find an overview of several key sources of documentation including: (1) the primary division of land interests in the region surrounding Waimea and Waikōloa—including the Waiki'i Ke'āmoku (Keamuku) lands—and the neighboring mountain lands; (2) the identity of many of the "storied places" (wahi pana) on the land; and (3) routes of travel and access throughout the region. The documentation draws on four primary sources: first, the Māhele 'Āina (ca. 1847-1855); second, proceedings of the Boundary Commission which sought out the testimonies of native witnesses and others familiar with the lands (ca. 1862-1871); third, the field work of surveyors who put the places of testimony on maps of the region and island (1860-1885); and fourth, Government communications describing the Kingdom's efforts at formalizing the Alanui Aupuni (Government Road) system.

While all four categories of documentation relate to Waikōloa and smaller land units that are a part of it, the second, third, and fourth categories provide us with the richest site-specific documentation regarding features, practices and lore around Waiki'i, Ke'āmoku, and the adjoining lands. Underlining is used below, to draw the reader's attention to specific sections of the text.

I. The Māhele 'Āina (Land Division)

On December 10th, 1845, King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli), signed into law "Article IV. – of The Board Of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles," a joint resolution defining the responsibilities of the Board of Commissioners. Several actions were implemented by this law, among them:

SECTION I. His Majesty shall appoint through the minister of the interior, and upon consultation with the privy council, five commissioners, one of whom shall be the attorney general of this kingdom, to be a board for the investigation and final ascertainment or rejection of all claims of private individuals, whether natives or foreigners, to any landed property acquired anterior to the passage of this act; the awards of which board, unless appealed from as hereinafter allowed, shall be binding upon the minister of the interior and upon the applicant...

SECTION VII. The decisions of said board shall be in accordance with the principles established by the civil code of this kingdom in regard to prescription, occupancy, fixtures, native usages in regard to landed tenures, water privileges and rights of piscary, the rights of women, the rights of absentees, tenancy and subtenancy, —primogeniture and rights of adoption; which decisions being of a majority in number of said board, shall be only subject to appeal to the supreme court, and when such appeal shall not have been taken, they shall be final...

Section IX. The minister of the interior shall issue patents or leases to the claimants of lands pursuant to the terms in which the said board shall have confirmed their respective claims, upon being paid the fees of patenting or of leasing (as the case may be)... [In the Polynesian; January 3, 1846:140]

As the Māhele evolved, it defined the land interests of Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III), some 252 high-ranking Ali'i and Konohiki, and the Government. As a result of the Māhele, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) Konohiki Lands. The "Enabling" or "Kuleana Act" of the Māhele (December 21, 1849) further defined the framework by which hoā'āina (native tenants) could apply for, and be granted fee-simple interest in "Kuleana" lands (cf. Kamakau in Ke Au Okoa July 8 & 15, 1869; 1961:403-403). The Kuleana Act also reconfirmed the rights of hoā'āina to access on trails, subsistence and collection of resources necessary to their life upon the land in their given ahupua'a. The Kuleana Act, remains the foundation of law pertaining to native tenant rights. Among the important provisions of the Act were:

August 6, 1850

An Act confirming certain resolutions of the King and Privy Council passed on the 21st day of December 1849, granting to the common people allodial titles for their own lands and house lots, and certain other privileges... That the following sections which were passed by the King in Privy Council on the 21st day of December A.D. 1849 when the Legislature was not in session, be, and are hereby confirmed, and that certain other provisions be inserted, as follows:

Section 1. Resolved. That fee simple titles, free of commutation, be and are hereby granted to all native tenants, who occupy and improve any portion of any Government land, for the land they so occupy and improve, and whose claims to said lands shall be recognized as genuine by the Land Commission; Provided, however, that the Resolution shall not extend to Konohikis or other persons having the care of Government lands or to the house lots and other lands, in which the Government have an interest, in the Districts of Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo.

Section 2. By and with the consent of the King and Chiefs in Privy Council assembled, it is hereby resolved, that fee simple titles free of commutation, be and are hereby granted to all native tenants who occupy and improve any lands other than those mentioned in the preceding Resolution, held by the King or any chief or Konohiki for the land they so occupy and improve. Provided however, this Resolution shall not extend to house lots or other lands situated in the Districts of Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo.

Section 3. Resolved that the Board of Commissioners to quiet Land titles be, and is hereby empowered to award fee simple titles in accordance with the foregoing Resolutions; to define and separate the portions belonging to different individuals; and to provide for an equitable exchange of such different portions where it can be done, so that each man's land may be by itself.

Section 4. Resolved that a certain portion of the Government lands in each Island shall be set apart, and placed in the hands of special agents to be disposed of in lots of from one to fifty acres in fee simple to such natives as may not be otherwise furnished with sufficient lands at a minimum price of fifty cents per acre.

Section 5. In granting to the People, their House lots in fee simple, such as are separate and distinct from their cultivated lands, the amount of land in each of said House lots shall not exceed one quarter of an acre.

Section 6. In granting to the people their cultivated grounds, or Kalo lands, they shall only be entitled to what they have really cultivated, and which lie in the form of cultivated lands; and not such as the people may have cultivated in different spots, with the seeming intention of enlarging their lots; nor shall they be entitled to the waste lands.

Section 7. When the Landlords have taken allodial titles to their lands the people on each of their lands shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, aho cord, thatch, or ti leaf from the land on which they live, for their own private use, should they need them, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. They shall also inform the Landlord or his agent, and proceed with his consent. The people shall also have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way. The springs of water, and running water, and roads shall be free to all should they need them, on all lands granted in fee simple. Provided, that this shall not be applicable to wells and water courses which individuals have made for their own use.

Done and passed at the Council House, Honolulu this 6th day of August 1850. [copied from original hand written "Enabling Act"⁵ – HSA, DLNR 2-4]

The most important source of documentation that describes native Hawaiian residency and land use practices — identifying specific residents, types of land use, crops cultivated, and features on the landscape — is found in the records of the Māhele 'Āina. While the "Land Division" gave the hoā'āina an opportunity to acquire fee-simple property interest (kuleana) on land which they lived and actively cultivated, the process required them to provide personal testimonies regarding their residency and land use practices. As a result, records of the Māhele 'Āina present readers with first-hand accounts from native tenants generally spanning the period from ca. 1819 to 1855. The lands awarded to the hoā'āina became known as "Kuleana Lands" and all the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards or LCA) were given Helu (numbers). The LCA numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai'i.

⁵ See also "Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina" (Penal Code) 1850.

The work of the Land Commission was brought to a close on March 31, 1855. The program met with mixed results, and it has been calculated that the total amount of land awarded to *hoā‘āina* (native tenants – the common people of Hawai‘i) equaled approximately 28,658 acres, of a total four million available acres (see Governor’s report 1902:7). Except for the land of G.D. Hueu, an *ali‘i* awardee, none of the claims or awards appears to have been located in the area identified as Waiki‘i.

Disposition of Waikōloa and Neighboring Lands in the Māhele

A review of the original records of the Māhele, revealed that at least twenty-six (26) claims were made for *kuleana* in the land of Waikōloa, while about ten (10) awards were patented on those claims. None of the claims appear to have been made for *kuleana* in the area known as Waiki‘i.

The individuals who presented claims for land in Waikoloa were:

| Applicant | LCA | Register | Testimony | Award Book |
|------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| James Fay (Kimo Fe) | Helu 589 | NR 2:281 | — | — |
| James Hall (Kimo Holo) | Helu 672 | FR 2:103 | FT 5:67 & NT 4:48 | MA 3:100 |
| Edmund Bright (Braita) | Helu 986 | FR 2:125 | FT 5:67 & NT 4:43 | MA 3:91 |
| Kipikane (w.) | Helu 1117 | — | NT 4:45 & FT 5:66 | — |
| James Fay | Helu 2258 | FR 2:147 | NT 5:65-66 | MA 3:52 |
| Nahoena | Helu 3195 | NR 8:50 | NT 4:8 | — |
| Makalahae | Helu 3684 | NR 8:44 | NT 4:33 | MA 5:48-49 |
| Waiahole | Helu 3738 | NR 8:46 | NT 4:34-35 | MA 5:48-49 |
| Auwae | Helu 3762 | NR 8:47 | NT 4:35-36 | MA 5:46 |
| Ohiaku | Helu 3783 | NR 8:47-48 | NT 4:39-40 | MA 5:47 |
| Opunui (w.) | Helu 3786 | NR 8:48 | NT 4:38 | MA 4:287 |
| I.A. Palea | Helu 3828 | NR 8:380 | NT 4:31-32 | MA 5:46 |
| Pauhala | Helu 3844 | NR 8:51 | NT 4:10 | MA 5:51 |
| J. Seaboy (Seabury) | Helu 4024 | NR 8:55-56 | NT 4:44 | MA 5:49-50 |
| James Hall | Helu 4036 | FR 1:3 | — | — |
| Wm. Beadle | Helu 4038 | FR 3:2 | FT 5:67 & NT 4:42 | MA 3:9 |
| Kaahukoo | Helu 4126 | NR 8:64 | NT 4:12 | — |
| Kaumu | Helu 4129 | NR 8:64 | NT 4:37 | MA 5:51 |
| Keaulama | Helu 4184 | NR 8:53-54 | NT 4:36 | — |
| Kua | Helu 4215 | NR 8:59-60 | NT 4:24 | MA 5:47 |
| Kaulua | Helu 4231 | NR 8: 58 | NT 4:25-26 | MA 5:48 |
| Manuwa | Helu 4505 | NR 8:66 | NT 4:20 | MA 5:50 |
| G.D. Hueu | Helu 8068 | NR 8:70-71 | NT 4:18-19 | — |
| Kipikane (w.) | Helu 8505 | FR 3:19 | FT 5:67 & NT 4:45 | MA 3:55 |
| G.D. Hueu | Helu 8521 B | NR 3:709 | — | — |
| Laahiwa | Helu 9972 | NR 8:169 | — | — |

Documentation found in the claims cited above contains several interesting facts about residency in Waikōloa at the time of the Māhele. These include, but are not limited to the following:

- The claimants also held interest in lands neighboring Waikōloa. Lands named included – Nohoaina, Alaohia, Pukalani (Puukaalani), Puukapu, Pauahi, Opeawai, Keanuimano, and Waiauia.

- House lots were generally in the part of Waikōloa towards ‘Imiola Church (the present-day Waimea Town).
- Agricultural endeavors in Waikōloa were generally described as being in the area watered by the Waikōloa stream (kahawai), or in the “ulu laau” (forested) section of Waikōloa.
- Cultivated crops included kalo (taro), ‘uala (sweet potatoes), ‘uala kahiki (foreign potatoes), māmaki (Pipturus), mai‘a (bananas), kō (sugarcane) and ipu (gourds).
- Many lots and fields (those awarded and not awarded) were enclosed by stone walls, or walls were being planned.
- No reference to pu‘u or other features of the landscape that might indicate travel to, or use of the drier plains towards Waiki‘i or Ke‘āmoku was found in the records, though native testimonies recorded in the 1860s as a part of the Boundary Commission proceedings do make site specific references to planting areas and other features in the Waiki‘i-Ke‘āmoku region (see testimonies in this study).

In the “Buke Kakau Paa no ka Mahele Aina” (Land Division Book), documenting the agreement between Kamehameha III and his supporters, we find that on February 12, 1848, the land (an ‘ili) of Waikōloa, in the Ahupua‘a of Waimea, as well as the ahupua‘a of Kukuau 2nd, and Ki‘ilae were given to G.D. Hueu (George Davis Hueu) (Buke Mahele 1848:165, copy of 1864). G.D. Hueu was an heir of Isaac Davis, who was captured from the ship Fair American, in 1793. The elder Davis and John Young became the two favored foreign advisors of Kamehameha I. Because of service rendered to Kamehameha I during his conquest of the islands, the children of Davis and Young were given lands as a right of inheritance by Kamehameha I, and their right was protected through the Māhele (cf. Native Register Vol. 3:573-574).

Below follow several letters and meeting minutes recorded as a part of the Māhele, describe the division of lands, and G.D. Hueu’s right of ownership to Waikōloa:

December 30, 1847

George Hueu Davis;

to Keoni Ana (John Young, Jr.), Minister of the Interior:

(Regarding the Ili of Waikoloa, Ahupuaa of Waimea, and disposition of inherited lands):

...I received your letter dated the 8th day of December, regarding lands that I reported to you on and calling my attention to certain errors contained in said report in not making a distinction between an Ahupuaa from an Ili. In reply I would say that Waikoloa is an Ili within Waimea, better described in the following manner.

Waimea is the Kalana [district], like Lahaina for instance. Now we have several small lands in Lahaina, Waikoloa is the same in Waimea.

All other lands belonging to our parents received direct from the King are all Ahupuaa, as specified in my report to you... In regards to your inquiry as to

how are we to make division between Kale and Peke, I propose to be all by myself as follows...

G.D. Hueu: Kiilae in Kona, Hawaii; Waikoloa in Waimea, Hawaii; Kukuau in Hilo, Hawaii... [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

On February 12, 1848, Keoni Ana wrote to the Board of Commissioners, outlining the claims of his own siblings and those of Isaac Davis, who had died in 1810 and been cared for by the elder John Young. His letter, covered under LCA 8515, reported:

I hereby make known to you my lands, and those of my relatives, it is for you to investigate and authorize the patents (palapala kuleana). Here below are the names of the lands, and the one who the lands belong to...

G.D. Hueu (Inheritance Lands):
Waikoloa Ahupuaa of Waimea Hawaii
Kukuau 2 Ahupuaa Hawaii
Kiilae Ahupuaa Hawaii
Perfect these Titles...

Hale Alii 12, Feb. 1848... [Native Register Vol. 3:708-709]

By motion of the Privy Council, on September 1, 1848, the 'ili of Waikōloa was confirmed to Davis in the following record:

Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) approved the equal division of lands of John Young (Olohana), between his heirs. In this division, John Young (Keoni Ana) received the ahupua'a of Kawaihae 2nd, and George Hueu Davis received the land of Waikoloa. (Privy Council, Vol. 3-A:97-99)

**Ahupuaa (or Ili) of Waikoloa (Kalana of Waimea)
Royal Patent 5671 (LCA 8521-B) to George Davis Hueu:**
An inheritance land, the ahupuaa of Waikoloa, Kalana of Waimea. (Book 10:394-395).

G.D. Hueu made an additional claim for a part of the land of Waikōloa (LCA 8068), which was not contained within his 'ili (the part of Waikōloa that contained some 95,000 acres). In Volume 4 of the Native Testimony, Hueu's witnesses described the parcel (presumably in the part of Waikōloa still belonging to the King), and in it we learn that by 1848, Hueu had already established cattle and goat pens on the land, and was raising the animals.

**Helu 8068
Hueu, G.D.**

12, Septem. 1848

Mokukia, sworn and stated, I have seen Hueu's house lot in the ili of Waikoloa, the cattle corral in the ili of Nohoaina, the goat corral in the ili land of Paulama, and the house site there. There are four sections.

The first section is the house site in the ili of Waikaloa, it has been enclosed and there are two houses within; one house for the school teacher, Kauahi, he has only a house there; the other one is for Hueu.

To the uplands and outer area (waho) is the land of Uilama Pakele (William Beckley); the kula (plain or open) lands on the lower (makai) side are also his; and on the Kohala side is the Alanui hele (path) and the corral of Parker folks and William [Beadle]. It is his old land, gotten from his father, Aikake (Isaac), from Ki [Kamehameha I]. Gotten by Aikake from Koapapaa. No one has objected.

Parcel two is in the ili land in Nohaaina, a cattle corral. Uilama Pakele's land is mauka, and on all sides.

[Parcel three] The Goat corral in ili land of Paulama. Uilama Pakele is the only one who bounds it on all sides.

Parcel 4. Keoni's house lot is to the upland side; the outer (waho) and shoreward (makai) sides are Uilama's land; towards Kohala is Leleiohoku's cattle corral. Hueu's interest is from Uilama. No one has objected.

William Beckle, sworn and stated: I know this, and his interest is from me. I gave him these sections in 1845-1846. [Native Testimony Volume 4:18-19; Maly, translator]

II. Boundary Commission Proceedings (1865-1871)

The emergence of fee-simple title for land in Hawai'i following the Māhele, saw rapid growth of business interests as well. In 1857 J.F.B. Marshall addressed the Annual Meeting of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, and reported on the increasing development of business in the islands. Ventures included cultivation of sugar and coffee; harvesting pulu for mattresses and pillows, and kukui for oil; ranching and export of hides, tallow and wool; and salt manufacture (Pacific Commercial Advertiser; November 5, 1857). Fee-simple title and growing business interests also heightened the need to establish boundaries of lands so that private property "rights" could be protected.

As early as 1859, disputes regarding the boundaries of Pā'auhau and Waikōloa had arisen, and action on such matters from the Kingdom was appealed for. The following letter briefly describes the situation, and calls for quick action in taking testimonies from elder kama'āina:

Waimea May 29, 1859

**Lot Kamehameha, Minister of Interior;
to W.S. Spencer, Interior Department Clerk**

**(Regarding dispute on boundary between lands Paauhau and Waikoloa;
those who know the boundaries are aged and must be interviewed soon):**

...We arrived at Waimea on the evening of the 26th inst. On the 28th, proceeded up country to Mr. Purdy's, and on following day had a hearing and took evidence in the case of dispute between Mr. Davis and Mr. Parker, relating to the Boundaries of the Lands called "Paauhau" and "Waikoloa," and hope to succeed in compromising the matter, in dispute, to the satisfaction of both parties...

From conversations with Surveyor Wilkes, I have come to the conclusion to recommend to H. Mj's. Government to have all Government Lands, especially

in Hamakua and Waimea, correctly surveyed, if possible, excepting those tracts of Lands already sold to private parties. My reasons for recommending this step are that the Boundaries can only be defined and explained from the evidence of very old people now living in these Districts, and if the Government hesitates or delays this evidence, there will shortly be no guide or information to enable them to come to a decision, as to the correct Boundaries. The people being all old and not likely to remain long as living evidences, in this world...

Monday 30th, May — To day the dispute between Mr. Davis and Mr. Parker was mutually arranged between themselves, and I this day have taken the all the names of the Government Lands in this District... [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

Kama‘āina and Expert Witness Testimonies Describing Boundaries, Practices, and Features (Waikōloa and Adjoining Lands)

In 1862, a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i to legally set the boundaries of ahupua‘a that had been awarded to ali‘i, konohiki, and foreigners during the Māhele. By the middle 1860s, land owners—The Crown, Government, G.D. Hueu, and J.P. Parker—and lessees of land in the Waimea and mountain land regions, were in need of clear definitions of the boundaries for lands which were the foundation of ranching interests on Hawai‘i. As a result, Commissioner G.M. Robertson began taking testimonies from native residents early in the history of the Commission. Thus, some of the earliest testimonies recorded by the Commission are for lands of the Waimea-Waikōloa region.

The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents (generally born between the 1780s to 1820s) of the areas being discussed, including Waimea, Waikōloa, Pu‘u Anahulu or one of the neighboring lands of the larger Waimea and mountain lands region. The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Readers here will note that there are often inconsistencies in spelling of particular words such as place names and features. The author has also observed that often, when two of the same vowels were used by the original translator/transcriber, it indicated that he heard a lengthened pronunciation of a particular vowel. This emphasis of pronunciation is now indicated by a macron mark—for example, the word “neenee” (i.e., nēnē) for the native goose hunted in the mountain lands above Waiki‘i.

The narratives below are excerpts from the testimonies given by native residents of the area, or that were given by surveyors who recorded the boundaries based on the testimony of native guides. Not all of the documentation provided by each witness, is repeated here, though primary documentation regarding district, ahupua‘a, and ‘ili boundaries in the Waimea-Waikōloa region, and narratives regarding native customs, practices, and cultural features are cited. Underlining and square bracketing are used by this author to highlight particular points of historical interest in the narratives.

In this study of the Waiki‘i-Ke‘āmoku section of Waikōloa, it was rewarding to find that a number of important place names and practice-related accounts were recorded before the Commission. Descriptions of the Waiki‘i, ‘Auwaiakeakua, and Po‘opo‘o gulches (streams), traditional agricultural endeavors, hunting of native birds, collection of ‘iliahi (sandalwood), trails, and other features such as shelter caves and burial places were recorded.

Register Map Nos. 574 (Kaelemakule, 1859), 712 (S.C. Wiltse, 1866), 1080 (Lyons, 1885), 2785 & 2786 (G.F. Wright, 1917) identify the boundaries of various lands, including some of the locations (natural and manmade) described in the testimonies. Unfortunately, other maps of surveys made as a part of the proceedings of the Boundary Commission could not be located in public collections.

Paauhau Ahupuaa

District of Hamakua, Island of Hawaii,
Boundary Commission, Hawaii, Volume A, No. 1 [pages 1-5]

Papa Komisina no na Palena Aina, Mokupuni o Hawaii

Palapala Hooiaio, Helu 1

O Makou, nona na inoa malalo, na Komisina nona Palena Aina, ma ka Mokupuni o Hawaii Ke Hooiaio Aku Nei makou ma keia, no ka waihoia ana ma keia Keena Kona, i ka la 12 o Julai 1864, o ka Hoopii o J.P. Parker, ka mea nona kekahi hapa o ka Ahupuaa i kapaia kona inoa o Paauhau, ma ka Apana o Hamakua, ma keia Mokupuni no; a no ke kauohaia mai o na mea nona na aina e pili ana e hele me ka mea i kakauia ma ua Palapala Hoopii la, oia hoi Kamehameha IV. Nona o Kalopa; a no ke Aupuni na aina e ae e pili ana.

A ua Hooholoia na Palena o ua aina la o Paauhau no J.P. Parker, e like me na Palena i hoakakaia malalo nei.

Hanaia ma Kau, i keia la 12 o Augate, M.H. 1864.
F.S. Lyman

Commencing at a mamane post on the top of Puunohu hill. Thence due East 237.50 chains along the dividing line of J.P. Parker's Paauhau uka to a rock in the bottom of Kawaililii gulch marked K.P.; Thence down an ancient foot path which is the boundary between Kalopa and Paauhau along the West bank of the gulch. North $4\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ East 50.- chains to a pile of stones; Thence North $9\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ East crossing the gulch to a rock in the bottom of a ravine marked X 74 chains; Thence North $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ East to a pile of stones on the west bank of a branch ravine 71.25 chains; Thence North $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ East to a rock on west side of the trail marked P.X. and a pile of stones 68.50 chains; Thence North 23° East 28.75 chains to the top of a small conical hill; thence North 5° East 50. Chains to Nohoana o Kiniakua, now a pulu station; Thence North $15\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ West 22.50 chains to a point which forms the junction of Kalopa, Weha, and Paauhau; Thence North $8\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ West 75. Chains to Pupuawa at which place the path crosses the gulch and is no longer the boundary; said point is marked by a pile of stones; Thence the boundary is the top of the pali forming the east bank of the Kawaililii gulch (which gulch belongs to Paauhau) to the sea. (A line from this point to the sea shore to the point of rocks known as Kahupoku which forms the Breakwater of the landing place known as Mahiki.

Note. (the fish between Mahiki point and Kawihinui point belong to the Ahupuaa of Paauhau)

Thence up along the pali upon the west bank of Kahaupu gulch which is the boundary of Kaao, to a natural bridge crossing the mouth of a small ravine which runs into Kahaupu gulch. [Volume A No. 1 page 1]

(This point is three miles in a line from Mahiki)

Thence following the bank of the gulch South 6° West 41.50 chains to the gulch of Kaopili; Thence the boundary line is an old trail leading to Makahilina; South 32° West 58 chains South 57° West 27 chains to Nahuina, a point which is the junction of Kaao and Nienie with Paauhau; Thence South 38° West 10.25 chains to Kahilina road a pile of stones; Thence 5½° East 25.30 chains across the gulch of Kohakohakupaa (a water hole) to Kamakahilina, a point where the road crosses Kahaupu gulch which now becomes the boundary between Nienie and Paauhau; Thence following the gulch up along the middle to a pile of stones on the west bank at the Moku of Nienie; Thence (leaving the gulch) along the Moku South 63° West to the top of Puunohu 95 chains to point of commencement.

Containing an area of 8165 acres
J.S. Low, Surveyor
Hamakua, Hawaii, December 1862

Honolulu 8th March 1864

This is to certify that I have agreed [sic] to & accepted the survey of the boundary between the lands of Kalopa and Paauhau in the district of Hamakua, Hawaii, made by J.S. Low in the month of December 1862, as examined, and certified & sworn to by S.C. Wiltse before G.F. Kenway, District Judge on the 16th day of December 1863.

Mr. Webster, Administrator of the Estate of His Late Majesty

This is the Survey sworn to in December 1863 by Kamaainas Kanakamai and Ohakee, and (myself) and approved by Mr. Webster, Land Agent to His Late majesty, March 8th 1863.

S.C. Wiltse, Surveyor. [Volume A No. 1 page 2]
[see Map Diagram, Volume A No. 1 pp. 3 & 4]

Volume A No. 1 (No. 3)
Ahupuaa of "Paauhau."

On the 4th day of October, 1866, John P. Parker sent & filed with the Commissioner, an application for the settlement of certain boundaries of the Ahupuaa of Paauhau, in the District of Hamakua, Hawaii, which he alleged to be still undefined.

Notice was given to all parties interested, and the Commissioner was occupied at Waimea, Hawaii, on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 22nd of October, in hearing evidence on behalf of the applicant and also on behalf of George Davis Hueue, and the Waimea Grazing Company (Contestants). The evidence was closed at Honolulu, on the 23rd day of November, and the was argued by counsel on the 26th November.

Decision of the Commissioner.

After a very careful examination of all the evidence presented in this case, I am clearly of the opinion that the application of Mr. Parker must be dismissed, for the following reasons, viz.:

Firstly – By Section 4th, of the Act of 22nd August, A.D. 1862, establishing the Land Boundary Commission, it is provided that the Commission “shall in no case alter any boundary described by survey in Royal Patent, in Deed from the King or in Land Commission Award.”

It is objected on behalf of the contestants in this case, that the Commissioner cannot grant the application of Mr. Parker, without conflicting with the before cited provision of the Statute. In my opinion this objection is entitled to great weight, for it will be found on reference to the Royal Patent granted to Mr. Parker, in 1861. Royal Patent No. 2769, that several of the boundaries of “Paauhau” are clearly and expressly defined and described in that Patent. In order to show this, I quote a part of the description given in the Patent, as follows: “Thence South 30 West, 56 chains to a pile of stones marked XIII; thence South 69° West, 40 chains to top of a conical hill known as Puulaau, on a large flat rock on the summit marked XIV, said hill is known to be the South East Corner of Paauhau; thence down the gulch know as the [Vol. A No. 1 page 14] Auwaiakeakua, which is also a boundary line between the District of Hamakua and South Kohala; North 78° West, 138 chains to a koa tree 3 feet in diameter marked “P” on North side, and North 70°, West 138 chains to a point where this gulch ends, known as Kaimumoa, said point is marked by a hill of stones marked “P” and is the most South Western point of Paauhau; thence along the Western boundary of this land (also a boundary line between the District of Hamakua and South Kohala); North 21°, East 627 chains to Puukalihi Hill.”

What may be called the South Western and Western boundaries of the Ahupuaa of “Paauhau,” are distinctly defined by the above language of the Patent, and as the lands which Mr. Parker now claims to have included within the boundaries of Paauhau, cannot be so included without entirely altering and shifting the South Western and Western boundaries, as defined by the Royal Patent, and so established, it follows as a matter of course that his application could not be granted without infringing the law governing the Commission.

Secondly - In my opinion, the weight of evidence is altogether against the proposition that the boundaries of Paauhau ever extended so as to include the kind of land now sought to be included in that Ahupuaa. The weight of oral testimony seems to me already against it, and this is strongly corroborated by what may be regarded as the solemn declarations of the applicant himself, made in 1860, when he furnished to the Interior Department the description which is embodied in his Royal Patent, and the accompanying map, by both of which he explicitly states where the South Western and Western boundaries of Paauhau are, and that the land adjoining Paauhau round those boundaries, is in the District of Kohala, and must therefore belong to Waimea. The testimony of a large majority of the witnesses, coupled with those declaration of the applicant, are in my opinion conclusive against granting the applications.

For the foregoing reasons the application is dismissed.

G.M. Robertson
Commissioner of Land Boundaries
Honolulu; 26th November, 1866. [Vol. A No. 1 page 15]

Waikoloa nui, Ili of Waimea

Lihue August 7, 1865

**Francis Spencer to Jn. O. Dominis, Interior Department
(regarding witnesses for the Boundaries of Waimea-Waikoloa
region lands):**

...I enclose the named of the men who the Late Wm. Webster selected to point out the Boundaries of His Majesty's Lands in Waimea. These men are near at hand, should you wish for all or any of them, they can be got in a Day.

Kahauwila, Kaolulu, Kuupele, Kanakaole, Kualehelehe, Moluhi, and Kanehailua

Should you wish to hear from me, I shall be at Puuloa, Waimea nei. If you have not leased the Muliwai, Waipio, I should be glad to lease it... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

Waikoloa nui, Ili of Waimea

District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii,

Boundary Commission, Hawaii, Volume A, No. 1 [pages 6-12]

(No. 2)

Rex vs. George Davis

Boundary Dispute

Waikoloa nui Ili of Waimea – Hawaii.

Testimony taken August 8th and 9th 1865 at Waimea-Hawaii:

Davis' Witnesses:

1. Mi 1st
2. Ehu
3. Kuehu
4. Kalua
5. Moolau
6. Kuahine
7. Wahahee

Rex Witnesses:

1. Kaolulu [Kaolulo]
2. Kuupele [Kupele]
3. Kanakaole
4. Moluhi
5. Kanehailua
6. Kahakauwila
7. Kualehelehe

George Davis claims that Waikoloa, as he had heard, begins at Puaapilau, thence down the road from Hamakua to Waimea, to Puu Okikona, thence to Paakai nui, thence to Ouli, the land of Keoniana, and along the boundary of Ouli to the sea shore at Kaihumoku, thence along the shore to Lalamilo; thence to Keaha [Keahaaha], thence to Keakolono [Keahuolono], on the boundary of Kona; then along the boundary of Kona to Kaohe, then along the boundary of Kaohe to Kemoli [Kemole], thence to Kupaha.

Ehu – sworn:

I am kamaaina of Puukapu. I was born in Waimea. I know the boundary from my own and my father's knowledge.

Commence at Puaapilau, thence to Napamakani, thence to Paakainui, thence to Kapuulepo, thence to Kapalihalapepe, thence to Puuainako, thence to Kalalako.

I knew Kahanapilo w. wife of George Davis, she was not konohiki of the ilis on Waikoloa – nor of Waimea – I was in Kona when she died.

I am kamaaina of Puukapu only – Kainea was the Konohiki when I lived there. There was no pili grass on that land – my father was not a bird catcher, he used to mahiai [farm]. Waikoloa was the land that had the birds – the boundary as stated is the boundary from the time of Kamehameha first.

Cross – Kainea was Konohiki in the time of Kalaimoku – Kainea is dead. Waikoloa is an ahupuaa of Waimea, which is a Kalana, with eight divisions. I only know about Waikoloa. – I have been on to Pukalani – Nohoaina and Paulama – they join Waikoloa, but do not run far out. – Pukalani joins Puukapu. Nohoaina joins Pukalani, and Paulama joins Waikoloa. Puukapu is a division of Waimea. – Pukalani belonged to Kamehameha and he gave it to his man Kekoikumoku. Nohoaina belonged to the chiefs of Waimea, Kupapaulu. Paulama belonged to Kupapaulu. – Puukapu belonged to Kalaimoku. (I do not know the present owners). I do not know who was the Konohiki before Kainea.

Wahahee – sworn.

I am kamaaina of the King's land Puukapu – I was born there. Commence at Puaapilau, thence to Pooholua, thence to Leohu, thence to Paakainui, thence to Kapuulepo, that is all I know.

Puulepo is close to Pukalani, which land joins Puukapu. – My parents showed me the boundary. – My mother belonged at Puukapu, my father was from Napuu [Volume A No. 1 page 6].

Nohoaina joins Pukalani, Paulama joins Nohoaina, and Waikoloa joins Paulama. Pukalani belonged to Kamehameha fourth. – Nohoaina and Paulama to the same; also Puukapu; and I suppose they descended to Kamehameha V.

Cross. – I do not know the boundary of Paulama and Waikoloa. – I heard that Waikoloa was divided. – there are two Waikoloa's, they lie side by side. I do not know the adjoining lands to Waikoloa, except Paulama on the mauka side. – I heard that Waikoloa joins Napuu. – I have not heard that Paulama joins Napuu. – All the pili belonged to Waikoloa.

Mi 1st – sworn:

I live on Waikoloa – I am a kamaaina of the lands in dispute. The name of the large land is Waimea – I am a witness for George Davis, and also for the Rex. – Waimea is a Kalana. – which is the same as an island divided in to districts. – there are eight Okana in Waimea. In those Okana are those lands said to

extend out (hele mawaho). These lands came in to the possession of Kamehameha I who said to Kupapaulu, go and look out to of the large lands running to the sea, for John Young and Isaac Davis. Kupapaulu went to Keawekulua, the haku aina, who said if we give Waikoloa to the foreigners they will get Kalahuipua [Kalahuipuaa] and Anaiomalua [Anaehoomalu] (two lands at the beach) then your master will have no fish. So they kept the sea lands and gave Waikoloa to Isaac Davis. John Young asked my parents if it was a large land they said, the black aa was Napuu, and the good land Waimea.

They kept all the valuable part of the lands, and gave the poor land outside to Isaac Davis. They kept Puukapu, Pukalani, Nohoaina, Kukuiula (above the church), and Paulama; and gave Waikoloa to Isaac Davis. The other Waikoloa [iki], this side of the stream dividing them, was the King's. It comes down along the stream by Mr. Lyon's, then along the ditch, then along the wall of Puuloa, to Ahuli on the King's land, to the round hill, Uleiokapihe, and is cut off here by Davis' Waikoloa. – The wall was the boundary below, between Waikoloa of Isaac Davis and the land of the King, Kamehameha I. The latter built it by Kauliakamoa; to keep the cattle off from the King's land. The boundary runs to Liuliu, and the pili was all South, on Davis' land; then I know along an old road, Puupa, Waikoloa being South and Waimea North of the road, then to Kaniku. That is all I know.

Cross. – My parents heard the command of Kamehameha I to Kupapaulu, and they told me, and also about John Young's asking about the land.

I never heard that Puukapu, Nohoaina, Pukalani, and Paulama extended out to the pili. A road divided the land of the King and that of I. Davis.

Waikoloa. – The wall was built to keep off the cattle, and to mark the land. The church is on the King's land. When Kalama measured Waikoloa he took in the church, I heard. I went with Kalama some of the time. Kalama said leave the old boundary and make a straight boundary, so I left them, lest Davis' land would go to the King. The boundary as I know it is from the English school house along a hollow, to the ditch near to Hoomaloo; thence to puu Makeokeo; thence to hills outside of Ahuli. The church is on Paulama which joins Waikoloa.

I know the boundary of Paulama it does not reach Napuu.

I know the mauka boundary of Waikoloa and Puukapu. Puukapu extends to Puulepo, then goes in (maloko). [Volume A No. 1 page 7]

Kuahine – sworn:

I am kamaaina at Lihue. I know the boundaries of Waikoloa; viz. from Koananai to Puuokaa, to Kekio, to Paho, which are cut off from Waikoloa, and are cut off by it; the are all divisions of the Okana Lihue.

Liuliu is an old road, forms the boundary between Waikoloa and the ahupuaa to Puuwaawaa, where the road divides, one goes to the sea shore, and the other goes along the boundary, along the pili to Kepani; thence to Keahu a Lono,

Waikoloa being mauka of the road. – My father, who was luna [overseer] of the land Lihue, told me the boundary.

Cross. Kahanapilo w. was Konohiki of Waikoloa – it descended from her parents, and from her husband, Hueu, this is from my knowledge.

I know about the wall built, my father was luna at the time. I was large at the time, and could carry stones. Kupapaulu and Keawekuloa were the Konohikis of the land. I never saw Kamehameha I. But I was born before his death. I was a babe when Kiholo was built [built ca. 1810].

I know Waikoloa first, it goes to the mound near Ahuli.

Moolau sworn.

I am kamaaina of Waikoloa. I was born there.

Puaapilau to Keahu, to Kipukapamakani, to Puakamimi, to Kapuulepo, between Puukapu and Waikoloa, to Pukalani. Palahahapapa, to Puuainako, to Keanakoloa, between Pukalani and Waikoloa, to Nohoaina, which joins Paulama; the road is the boundary all the way. At Ahuli the King's Waikoloa is cut off, while Davis' Waikoloa runs towards the sea. Then Puuokaa joins; also Kekio, Pahoa, Puupili, Kaleiokumakeau, and Puuhuluhulu; the wall built as before spoken of is then the boundary of the King's land inside, and Waikoloa outside, to Liuliu, as perhaps said by the other witnesses; then the road Puupa is the boundary, along the pili; all the plain was given to Waikoloa, and Keanakaloa secured the fish lands at the shore. All the pili from Ouli to the aa of Kona belonged to Waikoloa.

I went around the land with my father.

Hueu was Konohiki of Waikoloa, and it descended to George Davis.

Kahanapilo was only Konohiki of Waiau, her father's land. When I was small, the wall was built, and I helped carry the stones. I was born at Kiholo.

Kuehu sworn.

Rejected from Kaukuna's testimony, the truth of which Kuehu admits. [see detailed testimony of Kuehu, later in this section]

Kaukuna sworn.

I formerly went for Kuehu to show the boundary of Napuu, Waikoloa, etc. and he refused, saying that he did not know the boundary, that Kuupele and Kanehailua knew the boundary.

Kalua sworn. (For the boundary of Napuu)

I am kamaaina of this boundary. Commence at Hiiakaakaiki, thence to Keahuolono, thence to Puupoe, thence to Keanawiliwili, the corner of the land joining Waikoloa, Davis' land. Waikoloa nui. Waimea Joins Napii below this point, to the sea; the Ahupuaa of Waimea.

I was born at Waikoloa iki, the King's land; it extends to Ahuli; from Keanawiliwili to Kapualei; thence to Hanaialii; thence to Wawaekea; thence to Kaoheakauholo; thence to Kalawamauna. That is all I know. Keauhou here cuts it off. I have heard Waikoloa of George Davis joins Napuu to Kalawamauna. [Volume A No. 1 page 8]

Moolau – recalled.

I know some of the boundaries of Napuu, and have heard some. From Ohiiakakaalei [Hiiakaikaalei] to Keahuolono; thence to Puupoe; thence to Kapalihai; thence to Makahonu; thence to Hanamauloa; thence to Kauakahialaa; thence to between Keanawiliwili of Waikoloa and Kahoohewahewa of Kona; thence to Kapukaiki; thence to Puuulaula; thence to Hanaialii; then this side of Wawaekea, and awawa of Keahuolono; to Keamuku of Kona; thence to Puukapele; this is the boundary between Kona and Waikoloa to Hamakua. Only at the sea shore is the Kings.

The mauka boundary of Waikoloa is from Puukapele to Puukeekee; thence to Kilohana; thence to Waikii; thence to Kapoowaiakeakua [Auwaiakeakua]; thence to Kamakoa; thence to Kalapamaile; thence to Kemole; thence to Kupahaa, between Kaohe and Waikoloa. Thence turn down Kapaakea; thence to Puupueo, thence to Kapuaapilau.

Kuahine – recalled.

I know the boundary of Napuu. The aa is Napuu, and the Pili is Waikoloa. Mauka of the road from Puukapele, Kaohe lies mauka of the road, and Waikoloa makai to Waikii.

Kaolulu sworn. (For the King)

I am kamaaina of the lands in dispute from one end to the other. I was born on Ouli, and have lived on different parts of the lands.

Commence at Kokiaina, the head of Waikoloa, thence to Waikalehua, thence to Kapele, thence to Alaanui, thence to Alaohia, thence to Keakualapalapa, thence to Kulanapahu, thence to Kaopapa, thence to Keanakii, thence to Kahoalapiko, the makai boundary is from Puupanui to Puuakowai, thence to Kilohana, thence to Puuokaa, thence to Waikoloa, thence to Puuohu, this is the boundary of Waikoloa nui of George Davis.

Cross. Puupanui is the corner makai. This description begins at Paulama. Puuhuluhulu is the land makai of Waikoloa; and also Kaleikumikiau; Puupili; Pahoa; Kekio; & Puuokaa; and Waikoloa are King's lands adjoining. I know about the wall; I could carry stones then; in the time of Kamehameha I. I know the boundary of Waimea. – Commence at Puukapu, the head of the land. Waikoloa is an ili of the Ahupuaa Waimea, as I have heard.

Waikoloa first reaches Napuu at Puupanui. – The two Waikoloas joined mauka. The King's Waikoloa reaches Puuokaa, which is cut off by Davis' Waikoloa. Davis' Waikoloa does not reach Puukeekee, nor Waikii.

The land from here down to the sea is Waimea, which has divisions. Paulama is adjoining Napuu; so is Nohoaina. Paulama and Waikoloa meet Napii at Kahooalapiko. Kahanapilo w. was never Konohiki of any land but Waiauaia.

Kuupele sworn.

I am not kamaaina of Waikoloa, but of Waimea Ahupuaa. The boundary of Paulama and Waikoloa commence at Nohoaina; thence to Waiakalehua; thence to Kapele; thence to Alaanui; thence to Alaohia; thence to Kalualapalapa; thence to Kulanapahu; thence to Kaopapa; thence to Kanakii; thence to Kahoopapale; thence to Kahooalapiko; thence to Puuanahulu.

The makai boundary is from Puupaha to Puuakowai; thence to Kilohana; thence to Puukaa; thence to Kamakeokeo; thence to Puuohu.

Waikoloa first adjoins the Puukii, Kalapapa, Kanakanaka, Lauhualii, Manienieula, that is all I know. Paulama adjoins mauka, then comes Kukuilu and Nohoaina. [Volume A No. 1 page 9]

I know the wall, it was built to keep off the cattle from the cultivated land. I could carry stones, it was after Kiholo in the time of Kamehameha I.

Davis' Waikoloa reached Napuu. The King's Waikoloa only reaches Puuokaa. Kahooalapiko is the point where Paulama and Waikoloa join Napuu.

Puuiwaiwa is the mauka corned of Paulama on the boundary of Napuu.

Cross. Puuohu is in Davis' Waikoloa. – explanation; Puuohu is in Waikoloa of the King, it was formerly in the other Waikoloa when it was surveyed by Kalama.

Kaleiokumikiau is the land makai of Waikoloa on the boundary of Napuu; then comes Puuhuluhulu, and Kokiapuueo. Paulama is makai of Puukeekee, and the land adjoins that.

Kanakaole sworn.

I am kamaaina of Pukalani, land of the King commences at Kulanapahu. (Paulama joins Waikoloa of Davis, and Nohoaina joins Paulama, then comes Pukalani.) Thence to Kapaakea, thence to Keanaauloa, thence to Puukapu, mauka, and along Puukapu to Haloa, where there is a loi [irrigated pond field].

Pukalani belongs to the King, and is leased to the Grazing Company.

Moluhi sworn.

I am kamaaina of Puukapu. I was born there. I know the boundary of Waipio and Puukapu. At Puaapilau Paauhau joins Puukapu; thence to Puukalii; thence to Puupapapa; thence to Keanaauloa, where ends Puukapu and commences Pukalani; then to Puulepo, between Puukapu and Pukalani; then to Naialolo; thence to Haloa, the end of Pukalani; then Puukapu extends to Kawaihae. Pukalani, Nohoaina, and Paulama lie between Puukapu and Waikoloa, so I do not know the boundaries of Waikoloa. Puukapu is a kupo of Waimea Ahupuaa, my father had charge of it; the present King owns it.

Kanehailua sworn.

I am kamaaina of Waimea. I know the boundary of Waikoloa and the King's land. Paulama joins Waikoloa. Commence at the woods, at Kokiaina, thence to Puakalehua, thence to Kapele, thence to Alaanui, thence to Alaohia, thence to Kekualapalapa, thence to Kulanapahu, thence to Keanakii, thence to Kahoopapale, thence to Kahooalapiko. Puuanahulu cuts off Paulama here. Nohoina joins Paulama from the woods to Napuu. That is what I know of the boundary mauka of Waikoloa. The makai boundary is from Puupaha to Puuakowai, thence to Kilohana, also adjoining Puuokaa and Kamakeokeo, to the settlement of Mr. Lyons ma [folks].

Waikoloa of the King joins makai; then comes Pahoa first and second. Puupili, Kalaeokumikiau, Puuhuluhulu, Kaleohai, Kokiapuueo, Paaina, Opuokopukini, Kaluaana, Papuaa, Wailoa, and Mahoe, which is the kahawai [stream gulch] of Puuiki. All of these are the King's lands. Waikoloa is an ili of Waimea Ahupuaa; as are also these other lands. Waimea is an Okana. Nohoina is between Paulama and Puukeeke; these lands reach Napuu. Waimea is the land adjoining Kona.

Cross: Puuhinai is the makai corner of Waikoloa of George Davis on the boundary of Kona. Puupaha is the corner of the King's Waikoloa. Puupili joins Napuu, so does also Kalaeokumikiau. Kapaakea is the name of the place where Puupili joins Napuu. The Hooneene gulch is where the land joins Napuu. Puuhuluhulu joins Napuu at Halolo gulch. Kaleohai joins Napuu. Kokiapuueo joins Napuu. These are all the lands that join Kona. [Volume A No. 1 page 10]

Kahakauwila sworn.

I am kamaaina of Waimea. I know the boundary of Waikoloa. Commence at Kokiaina; thence to Waiakalehua; thence to Kapele; thence to Alaanui; thence to Alaohia; thence to Kekualapa; thence to Kulanapahu; thence to Kupapa; thence to Kekuanakii; thence to Koopapale; thence to Koalapiko; thence to Napuu. The makai boundary is from Puupaha to Puako; thence to Kilohana; thence to Puuokaa; thence to Makeokeo; thence to Puuohu, which is the corner. There are two boundaries of Waikoloa of George Davis. It is bounded by Waikoloa nui of the King makai, and Paulama, mauka. Waikoloa iki is Davis', and Waikoloa nui is the King's.

The boundary of Waikoloa nui commencing at Puuokaa runs mauka, Pahoa, the mauka corner. Puuiki to Kananakana, Halapepe, Lauhulualii, Manienie, Olelokoa, to Keanuiomano, the corner of Hauhanalamea, Puaahopu, Napooekolu, Waiemi, Haleapala, Koleakanea, Puukole, Kahuhu, Paaina, Kokiapuueo. Waikoloa boundary, Kekio Puupili, Kumaikeau, Puuhuluhulu.

Cross. Napuu is the boundary of all these lands.

Kualehelehe sworn.

I am kamaaina of Puukapu. I was born there. The boundary of Hamakua and Puukapu, commencing at Waipio, at Pupukualana; thence to Kahakolea; thence to Kaimuhonu; thence to Puumoe; thence to Kalapapohaku, along Kanaina's land to the corner. Then to Manukea; thence to Papalaokiekie;

thence to Kahaleula; thence to Makahaluhalu; thence to Kapuaapilau; thence to Puukaliāli; then along Paauhau to Puupapapa; thence to Keanaauloa, the corner of Paauhau; thence to Kapuulepo; thence to Waialolo; thence to Kaloa, along Pukalani to the corner. Then along Nohoaina to Paulama and on to Puuohu, the corner of Waikoloa of Hueu; and thence on to Wawaihae. Pukalani, Nohoaina and Paulama lie between Puukapu and Waikoloa of Davis. I had charge of Puukapu when the late King was king. I am kamaaina of this land only. Pukalani belongs to the King.

Moolau again recalled by permission of the King – and sworn.

The remaining boundary of Waikoloa: commence at Kapele, thence to Kaluamanu; thence to Kokiaina; thence to Kaholopalaa; thence to Puuiki; then turn and run along the foot of Puuohu at Wainehe (Puuohu is the King's), to Mr. Lyon's, Waikoloa; thence to Kamakeokeo, and along the middle of the ridge to Puuokaa.

Review the whole boundary of Waikoloa: commence at Puaapilau; to Keohu; Kipukapamakani; Paakainui; Kapuulepo; Palehalapepe; Puuainako; Kamakalae; Nawawaekanakaikeike; Kekualapalapa; Kapele; Kaluamanu; Kokiaina; Kaholopalaoa; Puuiki; turn down at foot of Puuohu; Wainehe; Waikoloa; Makeokeo; Akuanui; along Puuokaa; Pookahuhu; Puuhuluhulu; Liuliu; along road Puuanuanu; Palinui; Kalapunakekua; Kapaakea; Kapohakau; Pooholua; Kapae; Kaala; Puuweuweu; Kiikii; Kapeaa; Pohakuloa; Keahualono; Puupoe; Kapalihai; Makahuna; Hanamauloo; Kauakahialaa; through Keanawiliwili; Kapukaiki; Uwekaula; Keanaohia; Hanaialii; between it and Wawaekaa; Kaohekauhola; Keamuku; Kaawa; Puukapele; Puukeekee; Kilohana; Waikii; Kapoowaiokeakua; Kamakoa; Kalapamaile; Kemole; Kupahaa; turn down to Kapaakea; Puupueo; Puaapilau. [Volume A No. 1 page 11].

The Boundaries of Waikoloa nui as decided by the Commissioners of Boundaries at Waimea – Hawaii, August tenth 1865.

Commencing at Kokiaina run to Waiakalehua, to Kapele, Alaanui, Alaohia, Keakualapalapa, Kulanapahu, Kaopapa, Keanakii, Kahoopapale, Kahoolapiko, then along Napuu to Puupaha; then along the King's land to Puakowai, Kilohana, Puuokaa, Makeokeo, Waikoloa, to Puuohu, and to commencement, as given by Kaolulu, Kuupele, Kanehailua, and Kahakauwila.

P. Cummings

F.S. Lyman. [Volume A No. 1 page 12]

The following letters are selected communications that were recorded as a part of the Boundary Commission proceedings for the Waimea-Waikōloa region, but for reasons unknown, were not copied on microfilms of the proceedings. They are given here in chronological order, with those records found in the microfilm collection at appropriate dates. It will be noted that the full testimonies given by witnesses before the Commission were apparently not recorded in the Volumes copied in the microfilms. Thus, greater detail is found in the testimonies of witnesses cited below as dated communications (records were viewed in the collection of the Hawai'i State Archives).

Mana – February 19, 1866

**S.C. Wiltse, Government Land agent – Surveyor;
to Jno. O. Dominis, Land Agent for the Crown:**

...The present would be a favourable time to make the survey of “Waimea” & “Waikoloa,” as there is now plenty of water on the Kona side of these lands, which is not the case in the dryer part of the season, grass is also abundant.

I cannot believe that an appeal from the decision of the Comm’s in this case has been taken. It could not have been done without your having been legally notified of the fact. I shall be glad to hear from your Ex. upon this matter as soon as convenient... [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

October 4, 1866

**To the Hon. George M. Robertson, First Associate Judge of the
Supreme Court & Sole Commissioner of Boundaries:**

The undersigned Commissioners of Crown Lands most respectfully beg leave to Represent that they desire Your Honor to take into consideration the settlement of the Boundaries of Waimea in the District of South Kohala on the Island of Hawaii, and for that purpose submit that the names of the adjoining Lands to Waimea in the District aforesaid are as follows to wit: Lalakea, Waikoekoe, Kamoku, Paauhau, Puuanahulu, Kalahuipuaa, Kawaihae kai, Kawaihae uka, Honokane 1st and 2nd, Waimanu and Waipio.

That the names of the owners of said Lands are as follows: Lalakea, Keau; Waikoekoe, H.H. Lunalilo, now leased to Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company; Kamoku part of it belongs to the Waimea Grazing Company and part owned by the Government; Paauhau, John P. Parker, Senior; Puuanahulu, Government Land; Kalahuipuaa, H.M. Queen Kalama, in charge of Kanaina; Kawaihae kai, H.M. Queen Emma; Kawaihae uka, Crown Land; Honokane 1st and 2nd, Estate of the late R.H. Princess Victoria, in charge of Kuke; Waimanu, Crown Land; Waipio, H.M. Queen Kalama, Leased to Halemanu.

That a formal description of the Boundaries of Waimea, aforesaid, is as follows, to wit:

Commencing at a point called Kilohana on the south bank of Waipio pali, the corner of the land of Lalakea to a large Ohia tree marked “W” on the makai side of the Road leaving from Waimea to Waipio. Thence along the line of Waikoekoe to a large mamane post marked “Puukapu,” at which point Waikoekoe and the land called Kamoku meet. Thence along the line of Kamoku to a Naio tree marked H. Thence along the line of Kamoku to a pile of rocks at the S.E. corner of H. Purdy’s land. Thence along Kamoku to a large rock marked “P 19” at Puaapilau, where Kamoku and Paauhau meet. Thence to Puupapapa. Thence to Keanaoloa. Thence to Puuahaka or Paakea. Thence to Puumahoelua. Thence to a large rock marked “H.” Thence to Kuikahekili; then to Namahana on the line of Kona. Thence along the gulch called Poopoo, bordering the land called Puuanahulu to an Ohia tree marked “H.” Thence to Puuiwaiwa. Thence to a point of rocks marked “H.” Thence along the line of Puuanahulu to Kahooalapiko, then to Puuhinei; thence to Puupaha, then to the gulch called Pakoa, then along the gulch to Kapaakea. Thence along the gulch

called Pakoa and the road called Keekee or Kiikii to a pile of rocks on a low rocky ridge. Thence to the most Northerly of three small hills called Lolo. Thence to a large pile of rocks at the South East corner of Kalahuipuaa, on the mauka side of the Beach Kona Road. Thence along the mauka side of said land to a large pile of Rocks on the aa, thence makai to the sea over a large pile of rocks on the mauka side of the Beach Road leading to Kona. Thence along the sea to the mouth of a gulch called Waiulaula. Thence up and along the centre of said gulch to a Rock marked "H," on the North side of said Gulch at a point called Malohuihui, where said Boundary line leaves the gulch, thence along Kawaihae uka to Puuainako. Thence to Luawahine Gulch to the head of said gulch at a place called Kalualepo, which intersects the land called Pukapu. Thence along the mauka line of Kawaihae uka to the head of Honokane Pali. Thence along the head of the Lands called Honokane 1st and 2nd, Waimanu and Waipio to the place of Beginning. Which together with an accompanying chart of the survey of the Ahupuaa of Waimea District aforesaid, are herewith submitted...

C.C. Harris

F.W. Hutchinson

John O. Dominis

Commissioners of Crown Lands. [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

Waimea Hawaii

October 5th 1866

Land Boundary Commission.

The Commissioners of Crown Lands filed an application for the settlement of the exterior boundaries of the Ahupuaa of Waimea...

Mooluhi sworn. (on behalf of the Crown)

Was born at Puukapu, has lived there nearly all his life. Puukapu is in the ahupuaa of Waimea. Know the boundaries of Waimea on the Hamakua and Kohala sides. Beginning at the pali of Waipio and running to Kaakolea, along the boundary of Lalakea; thence at Waihonakalua along Waikoekoe; thence to Papahookiikii along Waikoekoe; thence on to Puaapilau along the line of Kamoku; thence to Pukaliali, on the boundary of Paauhau; thence along Paauhau to Pupapapa; thence still along Paauhau to Keanaoloa. I don't know the boundary beyond that. I know some of the boundary on the side next to Kawaihae uka, as informed by my ancestors. A hill on the head of Honokane gulch is the boundary between Puukapu and Honokane. The watercourse which starts from the high hill or peak I have mentioned and runs to Waipio divide. Puukapu from the lands called Honokane and Waimanu in North Kohala.

The line of Puukapu runs on to the pali of Waipio. Kaakolea was a place of sacrifice [see Register Map No. 1080]. At Papalahookiikii is a hill where the people used to get mamaki. Puaapilau is an ancient place of worship. Kamoku, Paauhau and Puukapu meet there. Pukaliali and Puupapapa are hills. There is a water course and cave at Keanaoloa.

The boundaries as stated today are the same as I have always known. I got my information from my parents and uncles who lived on Puukapu before me. I was Konohiki of Puukapu from the time of my father's death at the arrival of the missionaries [1820], till recently.

At Keanaoloa the lands called Paauhau, Puukapu and Pukalani meet. Pukalani is an Ili in Waimea...

Kaolulo sworn.

Was born at Kaupo in Waimea. Knows the boundaries of Waimea on the sides of North Kohala and Hamakua. Kalualepo is on the boundary of Waimea and Kawaihae uka. There is a hill at that place; from Kalualepo on to Kalahomane on the boundary of Honokane, the place called Waimalu is the boundary of Waimea. Kulanapahu is on the boundary of Waimea and Honokane 2nd. Thence on to the gulch at Oulu. The stream called Oulu runs clear on to Waipio and marks the boundary between Puukapu and the North Kohala lands. A place called Kilohana at the pali of Kahonohono and runs to the place called Kilohana by the last witness, and then to Kaakolea. Thence to Waihonakalua. Thence to Papalahookiiki on Waikoekoe. Thence to Puaapilau. Thence to Pukaaliali. Thence on Puupapapa on the boundary of Paauhau. Thence to Keanaoloa where Paauhau, Puukapu and Pukalani meet. Pukalani is an ili of Waimea. Thence on to Puumahoelua on the boundary of Paauhau. Thence on to Kuikahekili, where is a hill. Thence to Namahana on the boundary of Kona, where there is a gulch called Poopoo. Thence on to a hill called Puuawaiweo. Thence on to Kahoolapiko. Thence to Puupaha. Thence on to Kapaakea where is a gulch, and on to Kepulumao. This is the boundary along Puuanahulu as far as I know it.

I learned the boundaries from my ancestors. Waimea was a rebellious land.

[answer to question from Mr. Jones for G.H. Davis] I know Keahuolono, it is on the boundary of Waimea. Puupoe is on the lava country outside of Waimea. It is a hill. I don't know of a cave there. I know Palihae, it is in Paauhau not on the boundary of Kona. Kahanamauloa is in Hamakua. Kapukaiki is in Kona out beyond the line of Waimea; and so is Hanaialii, a long way from the boundary of Waimea; and so is Wawaekea. Keamuku is also in Kona, a long distance from the line, a point covered with lava. Heewai is also in Kona. Kaawa is in Kona. Puukeeke is on the boundary of Kaohe. Puukapele is in Kona, on beyond the boundary of Waimea. I had to travel over the land to get sandalwood, and I used to go out to hunt for the birds called uwau; my father used to point out the different places to me when we had occasion to travel over the land. I have travelled all along the Kona boundary as far as I have stated it. Waimea bounds on the Kona line, but that line as now given by some people is new to me. Naohulelua is on the boundary of Kona and Hamakua. I have never heard that Kohala goes out so far as that place...

Charles Hall sworn.

Says he is a resident of Kona. Has resided there 27 years. Has crossed between Kona and Waimea as often as twenty times. Part of the boundary of Kona and Waimea has been pointed out to me by natives, one is called

Kuahine who used to live at Keamuku, or near it. I know Puupaha which I was told is on the Kona and Waimea line, below where three gulches join. One of the gulches is called Waikii. Puukeeke I think is in Hamakua away beyond the Waimea boundary. The hill called Puuaiweoweo is in Kona as I understand, not far from the corner of Kaohe and Keauhou. There are some large hills covered with grass there. I don't know whether Naohulelua is in Kona. I think those hills are near the boundary between Kona and Hamakua. Kuahine showed me points on the Kona line three or four years ago. He is an old man. He said the place where the three gulches meet was at the corner of Waimea and the Kona line. I was shooting bullock and was not allowed to go beyond the Waimea line, hence I employed Kuahine to guide me.

[answer to question from Mr. Jones for G.H. Davis] I am not sure about Puuaiweoweo. I understand that Spencer's sheep station is in Kona, about a mile and a half perhaps from Puupaha. I have been shown Puukapele in Kona, four miles perhaps from the boundary, and five or six from Waikii Gulch. Keamuku is in Kona, not on the Line. Pukaiki is in Kona. There may be several places of that name. Keahuolono near the sea is in Kona. Shown to me as the division between Kohala and Kona.

Kanehailua sworn.

Was born in Waimea. Know some of the boundaries of Waimea. Commencing at Puaapilau, where Puukapu and Hamakua meet. Paauhau touched that point; from thence the boundary runs to Pukaaliali between Puukapu and Paauhau; thence on to Puupapapa; thence on to Keanaoloa; thence to Puunahaha between Waimea and Paauhau; thence on to Kenakuku; thence to Puumahoelua; thence to Kuikahekili; thence on to Namahana at the junction of Waimea, Paauhau, and Puuanahulu, in Kona. Thence on to Puuiwaiwa; thence to Kahooalapiko; thence to Puupaha; thence to Kapaakea; thence to Kalolo and on to Kiikii road, which is on the boundary line of Waimea, on to Puali, above Kalahuipuaa. Keahuolono is at the corner of Waimea where it touches Kona. Anaehoomalu is the land on the shore and belongs to Waimea. Kapalaoa is the land on the Kona side. Then turning and running along the sea beach to Waiulua; thence Iliilinahihi; thence to Kamakaiwa; thence to Kapukalua, a cave; thence to Paniau; thence to Milokukahi; thence to Waima; thence to Lalamilo, including Puako hamlet; thence to Wailea; thence to Kaihumoku.

Then leave the sea and run mauka to Puainako on the boundary between Kawaihae and Waimea; thence to a gulch called Kaluahine which is between Kawaihae and Puukawaiwai; thence to Waiokamalii gulch. Then into the woods and towards the mountains; thence to Kalualepo where Kawaihae, Waimea, and Puukapu join. from Kalualepo to Waipahu; thence to Kaleapi; thence to Ulu gulch or stream; the head waters of the streams which run to Waipio, Waimanu, Pololu, Honokane and Keanuiomano. The stream of Honokane is on the boundary of Honokane and Waimea. On from Ulu the boundary runs to Kilohana at the termination of two roads, at the boundary between Puukapu and Waipio. The boundary of Puukapu runs along the mountain range, by the head of the ravines which run into North Kohala, till it reached Waipio. The boundary runs on from Kilohana to Pupuolenalena; thence to Kaakolea; thence to Waihonakalua; thence to Papalahookiikii; thence to Puaapilau.

At Namahana on the boundary of Hamakua, Kohala and Kona, there is a gulch called Poopoo. Waikii is a spring in Hamakua, the father of the different streams of Poopoo etc. Kalolo is the same water course that is called Poopoo farther up. It is called Waiulaula where it meets the sea.

[answer to question from Mr. Jones for G.H. Davis] Naohulelua is in Kona a long distance from the boundary. It is at the line of Keauhou and Kaohe... Puukeekee is between Namahana and Puukapele on the boundary between Kona and Hamakua...

October 6th 1866

Kahakauila sworn.

Was born at Paulama, Waimea... At Namahana is a gulch called Waikii where are several ponds or wells supplied with water from the mountain, where men and animals drink. I don't know the names of the smaller gulches, but I know the one called Poopoo which has two branches, proceeding from Waikii...

Kupele sworn.

Was born in Kona on Puuanahulu. I have some knowledge of the boundaries of Waimea. Commencing at Puaapilau, it runs to Puukaaliali; thence on to Puupapapa; thence to Keanaoloa at the termination of the Puukapu boundary. Thence to Keanakuku; thence to Puumahoelua; thence to Kuikahekili; thence to Namahana at the junction of Kohala and Hamakua, and Kona. From Namahana the boundary runs along Kona to Puuiwaiwa... I learned these boundaries from my father. I have been over them with him when he went to catch uwau.

At Namahana there are two gulches. Waikii is the name of the gulch as it comes from the mountain. The names of Namahana and Poopoo are given below Waikii.

Cross. Naohulelua is in Kona District. It was never the boundary of Kohala, I have always heard that Namahana was the boundary of Kohala. Never heard from kamaainas that Naohulelua was the boundary. Puupoe is in Kona, not on the boundary. Hanamauloa is above Keahuolono and in Kona. Perhaps five miles from the line. Kapukaiki is also in Kona, say five miles from the line. Hanaialii is also in Kona, about the same distance from the boundary. Wawaekea is about the same. Keamuku is also about 5 miles from the line of Waimea. Heewai is also in Kona, say a mile or tow onto the side of Namahana. Kaaawa is just below the last lava stream, say seven miles from Namahana. From Heewai to Kaaawa may be 10 or 12 miles. Puukapele is perhaps 5 miles from Namahana. (The witness seemed to have an imperfect idea of distances.)...

October 13th 1866

Kiai Sworn (on behalf of G. Davis Hueu)

Born in Waimea at the time of the Dysentery [ca. 1804]... Beginning at Keahuolono and running to Hanamauloa; thence on to Puuhinai; thence to Hanaialii; thence to the Keamuku; thence to Puukapele; thence to Naopili [situated on Mauna Kea side of Pu'u Ke'eke'e - see Register Map No. 528;

S.C. Wiltse, 1869]. Puukapele is at the junction of Kohala, Kona, and Hamakua, where Waikoloa, Napuu [Puu Anahulu] and Kaohe meet.

Keahuolono is a rocky point. Hanamauloa is pili land. So is Puuhinai. At Hanaialii is a cave and lava. Keamuku is a point in lava field. Has known the boundary since the time of Kamehameha first. Got my information from my father. I have visited the places mentioned by me...

[answer to question from W. Stanley for Government] Puuhinai is a slight rise in the pili lands, a low hill...Keamuku is a lava field quite near Puukapele. Hanaialii is two miles perhaps from Keamuku. Puuhinai is about the same distance from Hanaialii. There is no road nor any gulches on the boundary. I know no gulch between Hanaialii and Puukapele. There is a gulch of Waikii and one of Palihai, but they are not near the line. These gulches join at Naamana or Namahana. The same gulch runs to the sea at Puako, runs through Waikoloa... I am well acquainted with that part of the boundary, and the rest of it also. I have travelled the whole line personally. Used to hunt for uwau and neenee [nēnē], and to cut sandal wood in that part of the country...

Haupu sworn.

Lives on Haleaha, Waimea. Born near the Kawaihae line, at the time of the building of Kamehameha firsts' first heiau at Kawaihae [ca. 1790]. Know the boundary of Kohala and Kona, beginning at Keahuolono and running to Hanamauloa; thence to Kapukaiki near Puuhinai; thence on to Hanaialii; thence to Keamuku; thence on to Puukapele at the junction of the Districts of Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua, where Kaohe, Napuu, and Waikoloa meet. There is a cave at Kapukaiki. I got my knowledge from my ancestors, with whom I went over the country for sandal wood. Travelled the line in person and have seen the places I named. Saw it when I was a boy in the time of Kamehameha first, and that boundary was always regarded as settled; undisputed until recently.

Cross. From Keahuolono to Hanamauloa is a long distance. From Hanamauloa to Puuhinai is perhaps a mile and a half. from Puuhinai to Hanaialii I cannot say. I cannot state distances confidently. Puuhinai is a pretty high hill where people used to cultivate on Waikoloa side. There is a gulch which approaches Puuhinai within half a mile or so. There is no gulch on the Kona boundary, nor very near it. Knows the Kiikii road. Knows Puuwawaea on the boundary of Waikoloa and Waimea... Kahoolapiko is close to Puuhinai in Waikoloa, not near the boundary...has heard of Puuiwaiwa from youth, but has not seen it. The Poopoo gulch is below the Keamuku, it is in Waimea, not very far from the Kona line. The gulches of Waikii and Palihai unite at Namahana, in Waikoloa, a long distance from the Kona line, say nearly 2 miles.

Pupuka sworn.

Lives half a mile below this house. Born on Ouli, in the time of Kamehameha, when he died, I was grown up. I know the boundary between Keahuolono to Hanamauloa; thence to Kapukaiki; thence to Hanaialii; thence to Keamuku; thence to Kapuukapele, there is a hill there. It forms a junction at this place of Kohala, Kaohe and Napuu of Kona. Kaohe is in Hamakua. Waikoloa is on the Kohala line. I obtained my information from my ancestors. I first knew the

boundaries when I used to hunt birds upon Waikoloa from the time of Kamehameha 1st. I have examined the boundaries personally, that has always been the boundary between Kona and Kohala, from the time of Kamehameha first...

My father died at about the time of the abolition of the Kapu [1819]. I have gone over the boundaries with my father and he showed me the boundaries of Kona and Hamakua. Keahuolono is a rocky point of rocks. Kahanamauloa is pili land. Kapukaiki is close to Puuhinai. from Puuhinai to Hanaialii is as far as from Court House to Lyons place. From Hanaialii to Keamuku is as far as from the board house to the French Mission. From Keamuku to Puukapele, as far as from the Court House to Mr. Purdy's. The places I have given are the most prominent. I am unable to give you any other places upon the line. There is a Road that runs out of Waimea into Kona. There is a road between Keahuolono and Puuhinai that comes up to Keamuku. I don't know the Kiikii gulch or road. There is a gulch this side of the boundary upon Waikoloa. I cannot give the name of the gulch, it is as far from here as to Mr. Lyon's place.

I know the Poopoo gulch, it finds it's source at Naopili. There is another branch at Waikii. They form a junction at Naamana, which is the same place as Namahana. I don't recognize the gulch Palihai. Namahana is as far as the Hill Holoholoku to the Kona boundary, from the Court House. I did not hear anything about the dispute between His Majesty and Geo. Davis...

Pololi sworn.

Lives in Kona, was born in Waimea before the time of Kiholo, about that year. Knows the boundary between Kohala and Kona, beginning at Hiiakaikaalei on the sea shore and running to Keahuolono; thence on to Kapukaiki; thence to Hanaialii; thence to Keamuku; thence on to Puukapele, where Napuu, Kaohe, and Waikoloa join. This is the junction of Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua. Learned the boundary from his father, when they went to hunt for birds; also going for sandalwood. Has also traveled there frequently...

There is a cave with a small mouth at Kapukaiki... Kapukaiki is as far from the sea as say six miles. I know Puuhinai, it is in Waikoloa, not on the boundary, opposite Kapukaiki. Cannot state how far apart. My father showed me the boundary from the sea to Puukapele. The last time I traversed the boundary was when I went to Kaohe after cattle. I did not go with my father along all the line, but he pointed out all the points on that line to me from Keahuolono. I could see Puukapele from that place, and Puuhinai also...

Cross. There is no gulch on the boundary, nothing but stones and old lava, and stony pili land in places. There is no gulch on the line. The aa is in Kona and the pili land in Waimea. There is a gulch in Waikoloa, not far from the boundary. The name of the gulch is Heewai, ¾ of a mile or so from the line. The Waikii and Palihai gulch is on Waikoloa. Some mile and a half from the aa on the boundary, and more than three miles from Puukapele... I don't know any other name than Heewai for the first gulch. The name Poopoo is applied to Waikii and Palihai gulches...

I live at Kainaliu between Kailua and Kealakekua. I never resided on Napuu. I lived in Waimea when I went for birds. I went to live in Kona when Liholiho went to England [1823]. I have traveled from Kona to Waimea by the road which crosses the boundary near Puukapele. I have only been on the mauka part of the boundary since that time, not on the part makai of Hanaialii. I have been after sandalwood in Kuakini's time on Napuu, in the aa, on the line of Kaohe, boundary of Hamakua. Also across the mountain after cattle.

October 15th 1866

Kuehu sworn. (on behalf of G. Davis Hueu)

Resides on Puuanahulu. Was born there. Helped to carry stones to build Kiholo [in ca. 1810]. Saw Kamehameha the first. Knows the boundary of Kohala and Kona. It begins at Keahuolono and runs up to Puupoe; thence on to Palihai; thence on to Hanamauloa; thence on to a hill called Kauakahiala; thence to Paliokaakaa where is a road and a resting place; thence to Kapukaiki on a road; thence to a resting place called Kikiha; thence to Hanaialii, where people sleep; thence to Wawaekea a resting cave; thence on to Keamuku; thence to Heewai Gulch where is a resting place in the aa; thence to Kaaawa; thence to Puukapele, at the junction of the three Districts. Kaohe, Puuanahulu and Waikoloa meet at that place.

Puupoe is clumps of rocks and old lava. I learned the boundary from my father who got his information from his ancestors. We were familiar with that boundary. He showed me the whole line. I was grown up at the time. It was before the death of Kamehameha. I was a bird catcher as well as my father. Many others know that to be the boundary and can testify.

Cross. I know Keawekoloua he has knowledge of the boundaries. He has not told me about them. I have not been on the line with him. Kupele is a kamaaina also. Never went on to the boundary with him. There is no road which runs along the boundary. There is no gulch on the boundary. There are several gulches in Waikoloa. Puuhinai is in Waikoloa. Keamuku is a general name for the great field of old lava. It runs to near Puukapele. I never saw Puukapele from Keahuolono. From Keahuolono the boundary runs to Hiiakaikaaleiki on the sea shore. Anaehoomalu is the name of the Kohala land which joins the boundary at the sea side, and lies all together on the makai side of the Gov't. Road. Waikoloa in Waimea is on the mauka side of the road.

Kuahine sworn.

I live at Napuu in Kona. I was born about the time of Kiholo. I was born at Lihue, I know the boundary between Kona and Kohala. From Keakalahi [Hiiakaikaalei] at the sea shore, at the land of Anaehoomalu; thence up to Keahuolono; thence to Puupoi; thence to Palihai; thence on to Hanamauloa; thence to Kahuakaiala; thence to Palaokaka; thence to Kapukaiki; thence to Kikiaha; thence on to Hanaialii; thence to Wawaekea; thence on Keamuku; thence to Heewai; thence to Kaaawa; thence on to Puukapele. That is the end of the line. There the three lands join, Kohala, Hamakua, and Napuu ma Kona. Kaohe is in the Hamakua district. I derived my knowledge from my father and my elder brother. I have been a luna upon Waikoloa in the time of Kamehameha III. I have been on the boundary hunting Uau, Wild Geese and in search of Sandal wood...

Malai sworn.

I live on Waikoloa. I was born at Pukalani in Waimea. I was born about the time of Kiholo, while they were building it [ca. 1810]... I used to hunt with my father, I was a boy when Kamehameha 1st died... My father went with me to Kiholo to help build Kiholo, my mother remained at Pukalani. I have been to Puuhinai to obtain the Potato leafs, it is a place of cultivation. It is not on the boundary. You can see Puukaple standing at Keahuolono, that is the top of Puukapele. I have been over the whole boundary line, hunting, sleeping at the caves, in and out of the line, sometimes upon one side and sometimes upon the other. Makahuna [Makahonu] is a cave in Kona not far from Pali Hai and from the boundary. I did not state it was upon the boundary before the Boundary Commissioners. Huikaula is in Kikiaha, an old sacrificing ground of the ancestors; it is not on the boundaries. I stated it was upon the boundary of Waikoloa and Napuu, before the Commissioners. Keamuku is a streak of old lava to this point.

I know some roads crossing the boundaries from Waimea into Kona. There is a road, Keahuolono to Puupoi to Makahuna; thence on to Hanamauloa, the road crosses the boundary and recrosses it at various places. The road comes from the sea shore to Puuhinai, at Makahuna, a part of Kona crosses the road and comes this side of Puupoi. The next point is also upon the Kona side. At Pali Hai it is upon the boundary. Hanamauloa is also upon the boundary. Kanakaola is a burying place. At that point the road is on the Kohala side, about 50 paces from the burying place. At Paliokaka the road is upon the boundary. The name of the road from Keahuolono is "Puukowai."

The road rises from Keahuolono, runs on to Hiiakaikaielehi at the sea shore. The people at the sea side have a different road called the Kapaakea Road. It is in Kohala and does not reach the Kona side.

There is a road from Kapukaiki on to Kikiaha. At Hanaialii the road is not on the boundary. At Wawaekaa the road is in Kohala. It is close to the boundary, the road passes on to Keamuku and goes into the Kona side. After you pass Keamuku, you cannot call it a land, there is a gulch, it is called Heewai.

November 10th 1866**(in Honolulu, for the Commissioners of Crown Lands)****Keawekoloua sworn.**

I was born at Puuanahulu in Kona Hawaii, adjoining S. Kohala. I was born after the building of Kiholo. I know the boundaries of Kohala and Kona. It commences at sea shore at Hiiakaikaielehi; thence to Keahuolono; thence to Pohakuloa; thence to Kepani; thence to Kapuuale; thence to Kiikii; thence to Kahawaiokalolo; thence to Kapaakea; thence to Puupaha; thence there three lands join – viz the Ahupuaa of Waimea, Napuu & Waikoloa. Thence to Kahoalapiko. Waikoloa ceases there. Thence to Puuiwaiwa; thence to Namahana, the junction of Paauhau, Napuu & Waimea. Paauhau is in the district of Hamakua.

Namahana is a gulch. There is a road from Namahana to Kona. There is a road on the line which I have described, dividing Kona & Kohala.

I know Puukapele it adjoins & belongs to Napuu. it is on the edge of Napuu, on side adjoining Kaohe. I know Naopili [situated on Mauna Kea side of Pu'u Ke'eke'e], it is a cave. It's where Paauhau ends, joins Kaohe. I have learned these things from my grandfather and father. Accompanied my father in excursions hunting the uau and nene. Went after uau till they were destroyed by wild cats. Afterwards went after sandal wood. I have very frequently visited these places. Have been a guide to foreigners from Kaawaloa to the volcano. My father belonged to Napuu. I lived at Napuu and Waimea... Naohulelua is the junction of Napuu, Keauhou & Hamakua. Puukapele & Puukeekē stand near each other, are in Napuu, mauka of them is Kaohe. I have been to Naopili. It is beyond Puukeekē towards Mauna Kea. I have been to Namahana with my father who pointed out the country. Have been there since his death.

Have been there with Joaquim after cattle. It was a place of meeting where we drove cattle & lassoed them. Heard the name Namahana from my father. Never knew Puukapele was the ancient boundary of Kona.

...I know Waikoloa in Waimea. Part of it is cultivated, at Kapanaolona, in potatoes. Pumpkins, melons and gourds grow if planted there. There is a hill called Puuhinai on the Kona side... It was not considered a part of Waimea till very recently at least...

The boundary runs to Kahoolapiko. Kahoolapiko is at junction of Waikoloa, Waimea & Napuu. I was there last about two years ago. I pass that way to Napuu when I visit my sisters at Napuu. This place has been pointed out by my father on bird catching. It was necessary to know the boundaries so as not to trespass. I took birds on Napuu, Kaohe & Keauhou... [HSA – Interior Department Lands; 1866]

1866

**Before the Honorable G.M. Robertson,
Sole Commissioner of Boundaries, Hawaiian Islands.**

In the matter of the application of the Commissioners of Crown Lands, for the boundaries of the Ahupuaa of Waimea.

And now at this day comes George Davis and respectfully represents to your Honor, that he owns and possesses the ahupuaa of Waikoloa by Award of the Land Commission of the Hawaiian Islands dated the 24th day of February A.D. 1854, and numbered 8521, in which his said land is designated as the ahupuaa of Waikoloa: that the petition of the said Crown Commissioner, in setting forth their external boundaries, include the whole of said ahupuaa of Waikoloa, except perhaps a small part near the Kona line; that the said George Davis claimed as the external boundaries of his said ahupuaa of Waikoloa, the following, to wit:

Commencing at Keahuolono, the corner of the ahupuaa of Waikoloa on the Kona line, thence turning eastward on the Kona line to Puupoe where there is a cave; thence to the Pali of Pali Hai; thence to a place of pili land in the midst of the lava called Kahanamauloa; thence to the hillock and being place of Kuikaiheole; thence to the pali of Paliokaka; thence to the cave of Kapukaiki;

thence to the cave of Hanaialii; thence to the cave of Wawaekea; thence to the lava bed of Keamoku; thence to the resting place and hillock of Heewai; thence to a wood or forest called Kaawa; thence to the hill of Puukeke; thence to the hill of Puukapele, a short distance northwest of Naohuleelua; said Puukapele being the land in the Kona side; thence along the land of Kaohe in Hamakua, to the water course and resting place of Kilohana, thence to the large water course of Waikii that runs to Puuku, thence to Auwaikeakua: thence to the koa forest of Kamakoa; thence to the mound of Keahuamaiele; thence to the cave and water course of Kemole; thence to the cave of Kupaha; thence to the cave and water course of Kapakea; and thence to Puaapilau, the corner of the ahupuaa of Waikoloa on the external line as indicated in said petition: all of which is respectfully submitted with the prayer that said external line be made to conform to the boundaries herein indicated.

George Davis by
W. Claude Jones his Attorney
[HSA – Interior Department Lands; 1866]

Boundaries of Waikoloa in Waimea, Hawaii
Volume A No. 1 [pages 22-24]
No. 6 [Certified March 4, 1867]

Beginning at a place known as Kapuulepo on the boundary of Puukapu where there is a pile of rocks being at the East, Northeastern corner of Waikoloa. Thence North 89 W. 86 50/100 chains to Halapepe; Thence North 88 ½ W. 51 50/100 chains to Kalaeiki; Thence North 83° W. 4 14/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence North 84° W. 33 60/100 chains to Puainako; Thence South 85° W. 19 83/100 chains to Komikolae; Thence North 80° W, 44 60/100 chains to Kulanapahu; Thence North 73° W. 48 80/100 chains to Kanakaikiiki; Thence North 35 ½ W. 14 83/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence North 32½ W. 17 35/100 chains to Holuakamakoa; Thence North 21° E. 2 72/100 chains to Puuhoolelelupe; Thence North 23° W. 6 35/100 to Hoomoe; Thence North 65° E. 4 61/100 chains to a pile of stones; Thence North 53° E. 3 00/100 chains; Thence North 25° E. 4 66/100 chains; Thence North 2° W. 11 37/100 chains to a pile of stones; Thence North 41° E. 2 42/100 chains; Thence North 58° E. 6 10/100 chains to Makanaka. Thence North 3 15/100 chains to Walaohia; Thence North 6° W. 6 85/100 chains to a pile of stones; Thence North 18° E. 7 86/100 chains to Kailiohia; Thence North 17° E. 5 84/100 chains; Thence North 39° E. 5 10/100 chains; Thence North 25° W. 5 92/100 chains to Makahikilua; Thence North 2° W. 4 42/100 chains crossing the enclosure; Thence North 58° W. 1 70/100 chains; Thence North 21° West 4 72/100 chains to a pile of stones; Thence North 4° E 5 70/100 chains to a pile of stones; Thence North 57 ½° E. 2 10/100 chains to Awawa o ka Pele; Thence North 21° W. 3 50/100 chains to a pile of stones; Thence North 84° E. 13/100 chains; Thence North 3° E. 2 40/100 chains. Thence North 70 ½° E. 2 00/100 chains; Thence North 39° E. 4 80/100 chains; Thence North 1½° W. 3 86/100 chains; Thence North 23° E. 1 84/100 chains; Thence North 34° W. 3 76/100 chains; Thence North 8° W. 2 82/100 chains; Thence North 14° E. 28 00/100 chains to Manu at which point there is a Kihapai; Thence North 3° E. 6 70/100 chains to Waikalehua. Thence North 20° E. 7 50/100 to Kaholopalae where there is Ohia; Thence North 5° W. 23 00/100 chains; Thence North 25° W. 11 00/100 chains; Thence North 35°

W. 38 00/100 chains to Puuiki Hill; Thence South 21° W. 82 00/100 chains along to the Wainehe watercourse; Thence South 61° E. 20 00/100 chains along the Waikoloaiki watercourse; Thence South 34° E. 20 00/100 chains along the Waikoloa watercourse. Thence South 20° E. 20 00/100 chains. Thence South 2° W. 2 50/100 chains; Thence South 23 ½° W. 3 34/100 chains; Thence South 63½° W. 3 00/100 chains; Thence South 62° W. 8 88/100 to Puuloa; Thence South 66° E. 5 62/100 chains; Thence South 26½° W. 11 46/100 chains; Thence South 29° W. 42 00/100 [Volume A No. 1 page 22] chains to Kamakeokeo. Thence South 37½° W. 14 85/100 chains to Aieanui; Thence South 88° W. 6 21/100 chains; Thence South 69½° W. 4 66/100 chains to Puuokaa; Thence South 21° E. 4 42/100 chains; Thence South 25° W. 2 62/100 chains; Thence South 47 ½° W. 2 88/100 chains; Thence South 27° W. 1 72/100 chains; Thence South 31° E. 1 24/100 chains; Thence South 18° W. 1 44/100 chains; Thence South 27° E. 2 40/100 chains; Thence South 54° W. 10 82/100 chains to Akuanui; Thence South 41½° W. 1 50/100 chains to a pile or rocks; Thence South 25° W. 3 10/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence South 43° W. 7 70/100 chains to Pahoa; Thence South 27° W. 5 20/100 chains to Kauhuhu; Thence South 56° W. 32 90/100 chains to Puupili; Thence South 47° W. 46 80/100 chains to Kuniaikeau [Kumikiau]; Thence South 66° W. 59 20/100 chains to Puuhuluhulu; Thence South 73° W. 14 10/100 chains; Thence South 55° W. 8 50/100 chains along to wall of Kauliokamoa; Thence South 67½° W. 1 90/100 chains; Thence North 67° W. 2 00/100 chains; Thence North 84½° W. 10 00/100 chains; Thence North 71° W. 4 00/100 chains; Thence North 62° W. 8 90/100 chains; Thence North 68 ½° W. 10 80/100 chains to Kalaeohai; Thence North 76½ ° W. 12 50/100 chains; Thence North 52° W. 7 80/100 chains to Liuliu; Thence South 71½° W. 20 90/100 chains to a pile of rocks on the boundary of Ouli; Thence South 61° W. 31 50/100 chains; Thence South 71½° W. 21 60/100 chains; Thence South 53° W. 11 00/100 chains; Thence South 49° W. 22 90/100 chains to Puuanunu; Thence South 64° W. 73 30/100 chains to Palinui; Thence South 65° W. 40 50/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence South 53° W. 40 50/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence South 59° W. 13 00/100 chains to Kapaakea; Thence South 64° W. 85 50/100 chains to Pohakau; Thence South 63½° W. 24 00/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence South 67° W. 25 50/100 chains to Pooholua; Thence South 74° W. 49 30/100 chains to Kapae; Thence South 70° W. 70 00/100 chains to Kaala; Thence South 67° W. 17 00/100 chains; Thence South 76° W. 20 00/100 chains to Puuwaewae where there is a big stone; Thence South 43° W. 83 50/100 chains to Kiikii, at Puako; Thence South 49½° W. 122 00/100 chains to a pile of rocks at Waima; Thence South 32° W. 85 00/100 chains to Kahopea at Kalahuipuaa; Thence South 12° W. 19 00/100 chains along Government road; Thence South 17° W. 86 50/100 chains to Pohakuloa at Anaehoomalu; Thence South 29° W. 80 00/100 chains to Keahualono on the Kona line; Thence North 89° E. along the boundary of Kona 522 00/100 chains; passing by Puupoe, Palihai, Hanamauloa, Kauakahialaa, Kapalihookaakaa to Kapukaiki; Thence South 47° E. 84 00/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence South 30° East 65 00/100 chains to Kikiha; Thence South 53° E. 136 00/100 chains to the cave of Hanaialii; Thence South 42° E. 87 00/100 chains to Wawaekea; Thence South 53° E. 73 00/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence South 65° E. 72 00/100 chains to Keamuku; Thence South 58° East 162 00/100 chains to Heioia [Heewail]; Thence South 85° E. 72 00/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence

South 62½° E. 160 00/100 chains to Kaaawa; Thence South 58° E. 194 00/100 chains to a point on the Southeast side of Puukapele at the junction of the districts of Kohala and Hamakua on the Kona line. Thence North 12° West along the boundary of the [Volume A No. 1 page 23] Ahupuaa of Kaohe 131 00/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence North 6° W. 24 00/100 chains to a pile of rocks; Thence North 4° E. 31 00/100 chains to pile of rocks; Thence North 13° W. 80 00/100 chains to Kilohana; Thence North 14° W. 70 chains to Keoneheehee near at Waikii Gulch; Thence North 23° E. 111 00/100 chains to Aiakala by the Auwaiakeakua Gulch; Thence to a large flat rock marked XIV on the top of a conical hill known as Puulaau at the southeast corner of S.P. Parker's land of Paauhau; Thence down the gulch known as the Auwaikeakua; North 78° W. 138 00/100 chains to a koa tree three feet in diameter marked P on the North side, and North 70° W. 138 00/100 chains to a point where this gulch ends known as Kaimumoa, said point was marked by a hill of stones marked P and is the most southwestern point of Paauhau; Thence along the western boundary of S.P. Parker's land. North 21° E. 454 00/100 chains to a point opposite to Keanaoloa; Thence West 56 00/100 chains to Keanaoloa; Thence North 13° W. 283 00/100 chains along the boundary of Puukapu to Kapuulepo on the road leading from Waimea to Hamakua to the place of beginning.

I hereby certify the foregoing is a true and faithful copy of the "Boundaries of Waikoloa in Waimea Hawaii" as rendered by the Justices of the Circuit Court of the third Judicial Circuit, February 15th 1867, and at present deposited in this office.

L. McCully, Clerk, Supreme Court — Honolulu, March 2d 1867

I hereby certify that the above is a true and faithful copy of the copy of the "Boundaries of Waikoloa in Waimea, Hawaii," as certified by L. McCully, Clerk, Supreme Court and copied by him in a certified copy dated Honolulu, March 2, 1867 and deposited with me in February 1869.

R.A. Lyman, Boundary Commissioner, 3d Judicial Circuit
Hilo, March 18th 1871 [Volume A No. 1 page 24]

Ahupuaa (or Kalana) of Waimea, Hawaii

Boundary Commission, Hawaii, Volume A No. 1 [pages 238-240]

R.A. Lyman, Esquire, Hilo — Honolulu, July 7, 1873

Dear Sir

Mr. F.H. Harris is authorized by the commissioners of Crown lands to make application to you as commissioner of Boundaries to have the boundaries of all Crown lands on the Island of Hawaii defined. He has a list of the lands with him. I have also authorized Mr. F.H. Harris to make application to you for the settlement of boundaries of all lands belonging to Estate of His late Majesty and Her Excellency, R. Keelikolani.

I expect to be in Kona by the trip of the "Kilauea" which leaves here on the 28th instant. Can't you make it convenient to come round as the steamer goes to

Hilo on that trip. I wish also to apply for the settlement of the boundaries of Honohina.

I remain, Yours respectfully— Jno. O. Dominis

Honorable R.A. Lyman,
Boundary Commissioner for Island of Hawaii, Hawaiian Islands

The undersigned would herewith make application for the settlement of the boundaries of the following named Ahupuaa or lands belonging to the Crown, viz.:

Waiakea in the District of Hilo bounded by Keaau, Olaa, Kapapala, Humuula, Piihonua.

Piihonua in the District of Hilo, bounded by Punahoa, Waiakea, Humuula and Puueo, Paukaa & Alae and other lands names not known.

Ponahawai in the District of Hilo bounded by Punahoa, Kukuau & other small lands.

Hakalauike in the District of Hilo, adjoining lands unknown [Volume A No. 1 page 238].

Humuula in the District of Hilo bounded by Kapapala, various lands in Kona and Kohala and Hamakua, and Hakalau, Makahanaloa, Papaikou, Paukaa, Piihonua and Waiaka in the District of Hilo.

Lalakea in the District of Hamakua, adjoining lands unknown.

Kalopa in the District of Hamakua, adjoining lands unknown.

Honokaia in the District of Hamakua, adjoining lands unknown.

Kaohia in the District of Hamakua, adjoining lands unknown.

Waimanu in the District of Hamakua, adjoining lands unknown.

Pohakumauluulu, Ili of Waipio in the District of Hamakua, adjoining lands unknown.

Muliwai, Ili of Waipio in the District of Hamakua.

Pololu in the District of Kohala adjoining lands unknown.

Aamakao in the District of Kohala adjoining lands unknown.

Iole in the District of Kohala adjoining lands unknown.

Kaauhuhu in the District of Kohala adjoining lands unknown.

Waimea in the District of Kohala adjoining lands unknown.

Puukapu in the District of Kohala adjoining lands unknown.

Kawaihae in the District of Kohala adjoining lands unknown.

Puuwaawaa In the District of Kona bounded by Puuanahulu, Government, Kaupulehu Estate Kamehameha V.

Haleohiu in the District of Kona bounded by Government lands & Kaupulehu, Estate Kamehameha V.

Honomalino in the District of Kona bounded by Omokaa & Okoe, Government & by Kahuku, G.W. C. Jones & Co.

Puaa in the District of Kona adjoining lands unknown.

Onouli in the District of Kona adjoining lands unknown [Volume A No. 1 page 239].

Manoloa, District of Hilo.

Hiaananaloli [Hianaloli] II in the District of Kona bounded by Hiananaloli, Government & Hiaananaloli, R. Keliikolani.

Waiohinu in the District of Kau, bounded by Keaau, Government, Kahilipalinui and Kahuku, G.W.C. Jones & Co.

Kapapala in the District of Kau bounded by Kahuku, G.W.C. Jones, Keauhou, Estate Kamehameha V, Waiakea, Hilo & other lands unknown.

Olaa in the District of Puna, bounded by Keaau, Wm. C. Lunalilo, His Majesty, Waiakea & Kapapala.

Apua in the District of Puna. Bounded by various lands in Puna.

Waiakolea, ili of Kalapana, District of Puna adjoining lands unknown.

Kaimu in the District of Puna adjoining lands unknown.

Gehena [Kehena] in the District of Puna adjoining lands unknown.

Your Honor will therefore please appoint a day for the hearing the evidence in the foregoing named lands and having decided upon the same to grant a certificate to that effect to the undersigned.

(Signed) Jno. O. Dominis, Crown Land Agent,
by F.H. Harris, attorney at law,
Hilo Hawaii, August 16th A.D. 1873

**Volume A No. 1 - (No. 4) [pages 16-18]
Boundaries of Waimea – January 8th, 1867**

On the 4th day of October, 1866 the Commissioners of Crown Lands filed with the Boundary Commissioner an application for the settlement of the boundaries of the Ahupuaa (or Kalana) of Waimea, in the District of Kohala, Island of Hawaii...

Boundaries of Waimea

Beginning at a place known as Kilohana, on the south bank of the Waipio Pali, corner of the lands of Waipio and Lalakea, on the Eastern boundary of Waimea; thence along the land Lalakea, South 35° 50' E. 90 58/100 chains, to a large ohia tree marked W. at a place known as Kaakolea. Thence along the land Waikoekoe, South 60° E 55 30/100 chains, to Kaimuhonu. Thence South 69 ¼° E 118 49/100 chains, South 49° E 10 chains, to a large rock marked W. at Kalapapohaku, mauka corner of Waikoekoe. Thence along the track of land known as Kamoku, South 22 chains, to Manuheia at which point stands a large mamane post marked Puukapu. Thence South 63° W 30 chains, South 13° W 11 50/100 chains, South 12 ½° E 60 50/100 chains to a tree marked X, at a place known as Kahaleula, M.E. corner of Harry Purdy's land in Waimea. Thence South 16 ½° E 35 chains, cross the road leading from Waimea to Parker's, 45 chains to Makahaluhalu, 79 chains to a pile of rocks, S.E. corner of Harry Purdy's land. Thence South 12° E 128 chains to a large rock marked XIX, at a place known as Kapuaapilau. Thence along J.P. Parker's land, Paauhau, South to E 63 chains, to a pile of rocks on the top of the hill called Puukaliiali. Thence along the [Volume A No. 1 page 16] Western boundary of J.P. Parker's land by the line described in his Royal Patent (No. 2769) to a pile of stones marked "P" at the most South Westerly point of Paauhau.

Thence up the gulch known as the Auwaiakeakua, to a large flat rock marked XIV, on the top of a conical hill known as Puulaau, at the South East corner of J.P. Parker's land, Paauhau. Thence to Aiakala on the boundary of the

Ahupuaa of Kaohe. Thence along Kaohe, South 14° E 70 chains to the gulch of Waikii and Keoneheehee. Thence South 13° E 80 chains to a pile of stones marked X, at Kilohana. Thence South 4° W 31 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence South 6° E 24 50/100 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence South 12° E 131 chains to a pile of stones marked X, at the corner of Kaohe, on the South East side of Puukapele. Thence along the boundary of Puuanahulu in the district of Kona, North 58° W 194 chains to Kaaawa, a resting place, where is a pile of stones. Thence North 62° W 160 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence North 85° W 72 chains to Heewai, where is a pile of stones marked X. Thence North 58° W 160 chains to Keamuku to a large stone marked X. Thence North 65° West 72 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence North 53° W 73 chains to a pile of stones marked X, at Wawaekea. Thence North 42° W 87 chains to a cave known by the name Hanaialii. Thence North 53° W 136 chains to a pile of stones at Kikiha. Thence North 30° W 65 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence North 47° W 84 chains to a cave at Kapukaiki. Thence South 89° W 522 chains by Kapalihookaakaa, Kauakahialaa, Hanamauloo, Palihi, and Puupoe, to Keahuaalono on the side of the road leading to Kona. Thence to Hiiakaikaalei on the sea beach, the extreme boundary of the Ili of Anaehoomalu on the line between Kohala and Kona.

Thence along the sea shore makai of Anaehoomalu and Kalahuipuaa to a large pile of rocks on the mauka side of the Beach road. Thence along the sea. North 31° E 19 55/100 chains, North 5° E 15 91/100 chains, South 34° E 59 85/100 chains to the houses on Waima. Thence North 80° E 15 chains, North 42° E 68 chains to the extreme point of rocks at Puako. Thence South 15° E 16 chains to the church. North 63° E 20 chains to the South East point of Bay. Thence North 9° E 16 67/100 chains to Piliamoo. Thence North 10 ¼° E 50 31/100 chains, North 3 ¼° E 44 85/100 chains to Kaihumoku. Thence along the sea to the mouth of Waiulaula gulch, at the corner of the lands Waimea and Kawaihae Kai. Thence up along the center of said gulch to a large [Volume A No. 1 page 17] boulder marked X, at a point known as Paliuli, at the corner of the lands Kawaihae Kai and Kawaihae uka, at which point the line leaves the gulch to the right. Thence North 51 ½° E 75 78/100 chains to a pile of rocks at Lawai [Lauwai]. Thence North 44° E 70 45/100 chains to Puuainako, a small hill on the South side of the Waimea and Kawaihae Road. Thence North 53° E 72 72/100 chains to the Luwahine Gulch where it leaves the hills. Thence up along said gulch North 53° E 70/100 chains, North 10° E, 23 50/100 chains, North 48 ¾° E 81 chains, North 21° ¾ E 31 chains, to Puukawaiwai 61 80/100 chains to angle. Thence North 11° E 22 70/100 chains to the Kohala Road thence up and along the general course to the Luwahine Gulch, North 31° E 240 chains to a place known as Kalualepo, at the mauka South East corner of Kawaihae 2nd on the boundary of Waimea. Thence along the mauka side of Kawaihae 1st and Kawaihae 2nd to the head of the Honokane Pali. Thence along the mauka ends of the lands of Honokane 1st and Honokane 2nd, Waimanu, and Waipio 1st and 2nd, to the place of commencement.

G. M. Robertson
Commissioner of Boundaries
8th January 1867. [Volume A No. 1 page 18]

III.

Waikōloa, Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku and the 'Āina Mauna (Mountain Lands) Described in Hawaiian Government Survey Records

In conjunction with the work undertaken as a part of the Māhele and Boundary Commission proceedings, the Kingdom developed a Survey Department. In the 1860s, W.D. Alexander was appointed Surveyor General, a position he held through the 1890s, and under his direction detailed surveys of the islands were undertaken. The survey work focused not only on parcels of land sold, but also on land divisions and entire islands. In this period, several island-born surveyors excelled—among the surveyors were Curtis Lyons of Waimea, Hawai'i; J.S. Emerson of Waialua, O'ahu; D.H. Hitchcock of Hilo; and the Lyman brothers of Hāmākua and Hilo.

In the region of North Kona and South Kohala, J.S. Emerson did some of the most important work in regards to documentation of places and history. His field work took him to the mountains and wilderness of Hawai'i, where he established survey points and stations. Relying on native testimonies and guides, J.S. Emerson recorded several interesting historical notes pertaining to the lands of Waikōloa and the neighboring mountain lands. Born on O'ahu, J.S. Emerson (like his brother, Nathaniel Emerson, a compiler of Hawaiian history) had the ability to converse in Hawaiian, and he was greatly interested in Hawaiian beliefs, traditions, and customs. As a result of this interest, his survey notebooks record more than coordinates for developing maps. While in the field, Emerson sought out knowledgeable native residents of the lands he surveyed, as guides, and recorded their traditions of place names, residences, trails, and various features of the cultural and natural landscape (including the extent of the forest and areas impacted by grazing). Another unique facet of the Emerson field note books is that his assistant, J. Perryman, was a talented artist. While in the field, Perryman prepared detailed sketches that bring the landscape of the period to life.

In a letter to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General, Emerson described his methods of surveying and recording historical documentation. He reported that they noted:

...every visible hill, cape, bay, or point of interest in the district, recording its local name, and the name of the Ahupuaa in which it is situated. Every item of local historical, mythological or geological interest has been carefully sought & noted. Perryman has embellished the pages of the field book with twenty four neatly executed views & sketches from the various trig stations we have occupied... [Emerson to Alexander, May 21, 1882; Hawai'i State Archives – DAGS 6, Box 1]

The following letters written from the field to W.D. Alexander and excerpts from records of the survey field books provide us with a historic look at the landscape of Waiki'i, Ke'āmoku (written Keamuku in the Emerson books) and neighboring lands. In regards to lands of the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku vicinity, Emerson provided documentation on several important place names; the presence of trails between Waimea, Hilo, Keauhou, Pu'u Anahulu, Pu'u Wa'awa'a, and the coastal lands; and the presence of the sheep station(s) belonging to Spencer and Warren in the Ke'āmoku section. Selected sketches from the field books are included with the narratives below, and several of the site numbers referenced by Emerson coincide with the figures. Unfortunately, the "Puukapele Section Map," Emerson's Register Map No. 1279 (1885) cannot be copied as it is too fragile to open. Other maps cited in this study include some of the locational references made by Emerson.

February 15, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(describing survey stations set on Nohonaohae, Ahumoa and the mountain lands):

...Arrived at Puako. I will begin the instrumental work at once, while Perryman & a native set the signals at Nohonaohae & Keamuku. My two native men are extra good. I could not have found two better men by searching the island a year... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6 Box 1]

In later communications, Emerson provided the names of these native guides as Iakopa Kaha'ikupuna and Ka'iliihiwa (cf. HSA – HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; May 5, and August 30, 1882), kūpuna of the well-known ranching family that bears the last name of Keākealani.

March 30, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander:

On the road to Ahumoa; Auwaiakeakua, Kohala, Hawaii:

...Yesterday was the first clear day we have had for a week, and we made good our retreat from Nohonaohae as a wind storm was threatening the safety of our tent. The threat however was but a threat, and we had a good opportunity to reach this place in peace. We left camp at 4:30 P.M. reaching this abode of a thousand different gods at 7 P.M. and now at 8 A.M. we resume our march with a clear sky and beautiful weather. Our stay at Nohonaohae was a success as far as measuring angle was concerned... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6 Box 1]

April 5, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(Describing conditions of survey from Ahumoa and the mountain lands):

...We are having a terrible time with the weather. The cloud views are magnificent, at times we look down upon a Chaos of surging fog and vapor and anon we are engulfed in it. It is very fine for anything but triangulating. Occasionally however the parting fog allows a sight. I am afraid that this is a poor season for our work... I must compliment my comrade, Perryman, for his very artistic sketches in the field book of the grand mountain scenery about us... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6 Box 1]

Figure 4 is one of the Perryman sketches from Emerson's field Book No. 251. The sketch depicts the view plane from Ahumoa across the Waiki'i – Ke'āmoku region to the shore, and includes reference to such features as Auwaiakeakua, Nohonaohae, the Spencer and Warren sheep stations, and various pu'u and trails.

Field Book No. 251:93

March 29, 1882

Nohonaohae Station

10. Kuainiho

11. Puu Papapa

12. Warren's House sight on East gable... [at Keamuku] [Figure 5]

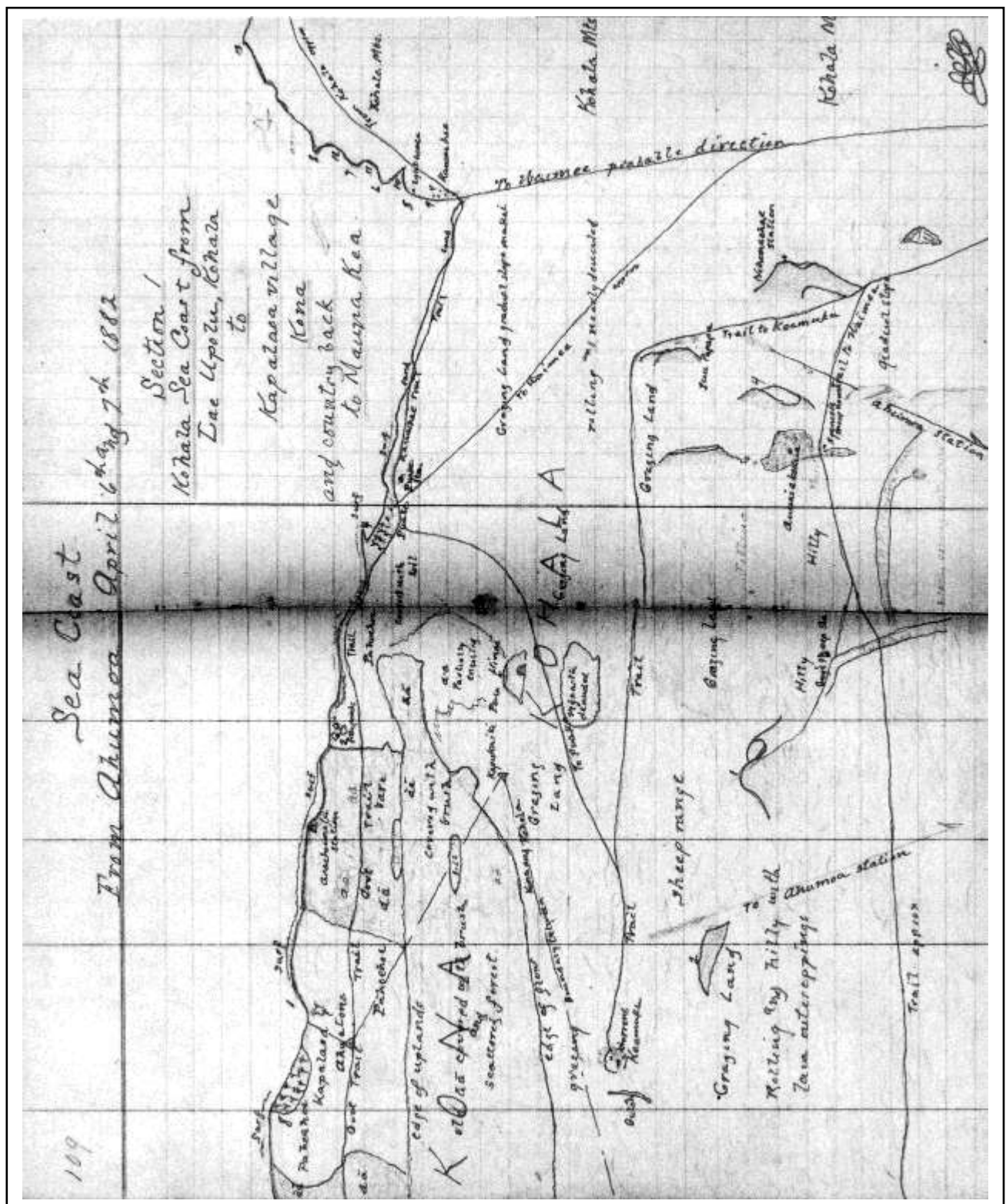


Figure 4. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:109; View to Waikii-Keamuku and Coast from Ahumoa (April 6 & 7, 1882).

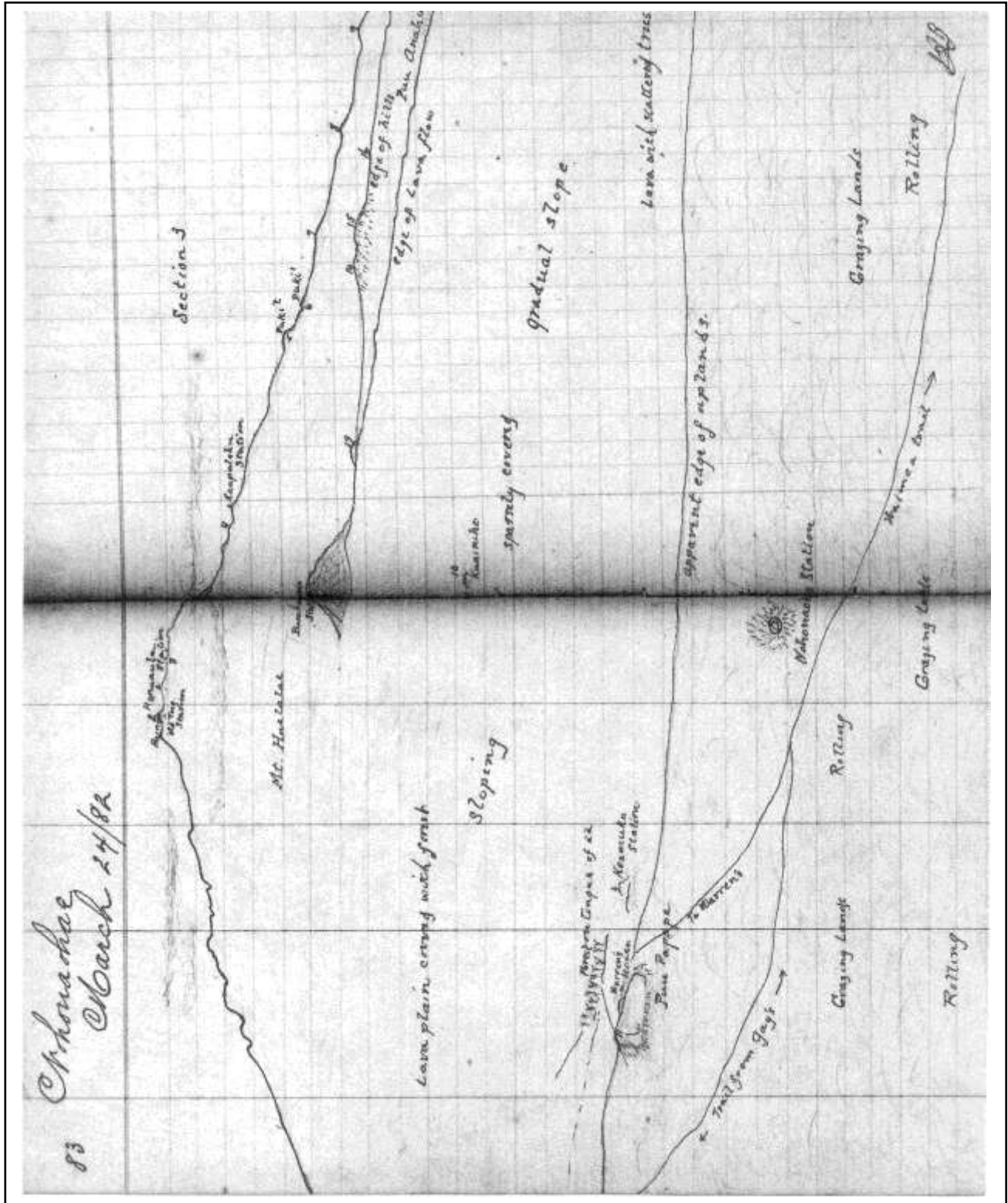


Figure 5. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:83; View to Nohonaohae, Keamuku and Hualalal (March 1882)

Field Book No. 251:111

April 4, 1882

Ahumoa

Warren's house Kapualei, Waikoloa, Kohala.
Spencer's sheep shearing shed [at Keamuku]
Nohonaohae

Field Book No. 251:121

April 8, 1882

Ahumoa Station

Puukapele

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Palihae ⁶ | highest Point in Waikoloa, Kohala | (see page 109) |
| 2. Poopoo | highest Point in Waikoloa, Kohala | " |
| 3. Puu Papapa | highest Point in Waikoloa, Kohala | " |
| 4. Puu Mahoelua | highest Point in Waikoloa, Kohala | " |
| Warren's Keamuku | | " |
| Gay's Sheep Sta. | | " |
| Auwaiakewa | | " |
| Spencer's sheep house [Figure 4] | | " |
| 1. Puu o Maneo | highest Point in Kaohe, Hamakua | (see page 105) |
| 2. Puu o Kauha | highest Point in Kaohe, Hamakua | " |
| 3. Puu o Kau | highest Point in Kaohe, Hamakua | " |
| Ahumoa | | " |
| 4. Puu Ulaula | highest point | " |
| 5. Aiakala | highest point old cattle pen there | " [Figure 6] |

Field Book No. 251:127

April 11, 1882

Ahumoa Station

Puu ka Pele

1. Kuainiho
2. Puu Huluhulu (not Kalaieha)
3. End of Keamuku flow

Field Book No. 251:135

April 12, 1882

Puu ka Pele Station

Napuukulua

1. Kuainiho
2. Puu Huluhulu
3. Keamuku flow
1. Puu Poopoo Left hand "ahu" on highest point No. 1
2. Puu Poopoo Right hand "ahu" on highest point No. 1
3. Puu Poopoo extreme left hand "ahu" on highest point No. 1
4. Puu Palihae [Figure 7]

⁶ J.S. Emerson's Register Map No. 1279 (1885, in collection of State Survey Division), gives the location of Palihae, noting that it is also called Nalopakanui. The latter name is still found on some maps, though Palihae is no longer given.

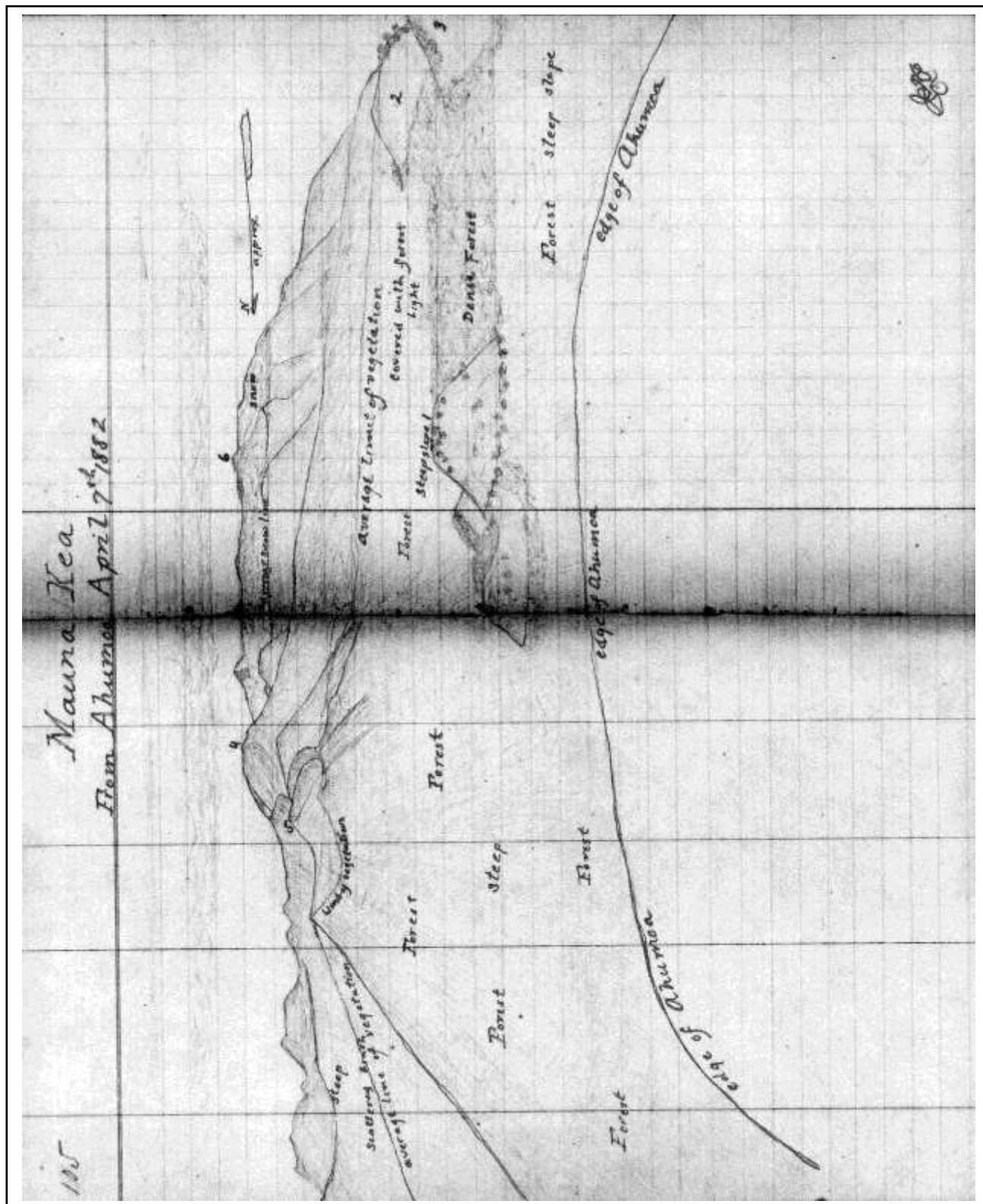


Figure 6. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:105; View of Mauna Kea from Ahumoa (April 7, 1882).

Field Book No. 251:137

April 12, 1882

Puu ka Pele Station

Napuukulua

2. Lepe a Moa single peak – denote peak to right
3. Puu Hookomo sight on trees on top
4. Keaohi
5. Omaokoili
6. Kokopuu highest hill of four having same name.
7. S. of Omaokoili
8. Puu
9. Pohakuloa sight on clump of trees...
- Puu Keekee sight on “ahu” near highest point –
 put up by Kailihiwa [Figure 8]

Field Book No. 251:145

April 13, 1882

Napuukulua Station

Puu ka Pele

Puu Keekee

1. Puu Lau
2. Napuukulua
 Puu o Kau
4. Puu o Kauha
 Puu Mauu
 Lepe a moa
 Puu Hookomo
 Koaohi
 Omaokoili [Figure 9 (& Figure 8)]

Field Book No. 251:151

April 13, 1882

Boundary flag

- Puu Kea Flag An “ahu” shown us by “Kailihiwa” and said by him to have been located by Hitchcock – also said to be by the corner of the districts of Kohala, Hamakua and Kona and the only “ahu” that he knows of around the Hill of Pele [Puu ka Pele].

Field Book No. 252:19

April 20, 1882

Keamuku Station

- Spencer’s grass house sight on center
- Puu Ewaewa [Iwaiwa] an ahu on top
- Warren’s house on East gable
1. Puu Poopoo sight on right hand “ahu”
 2. Puu Poopoo

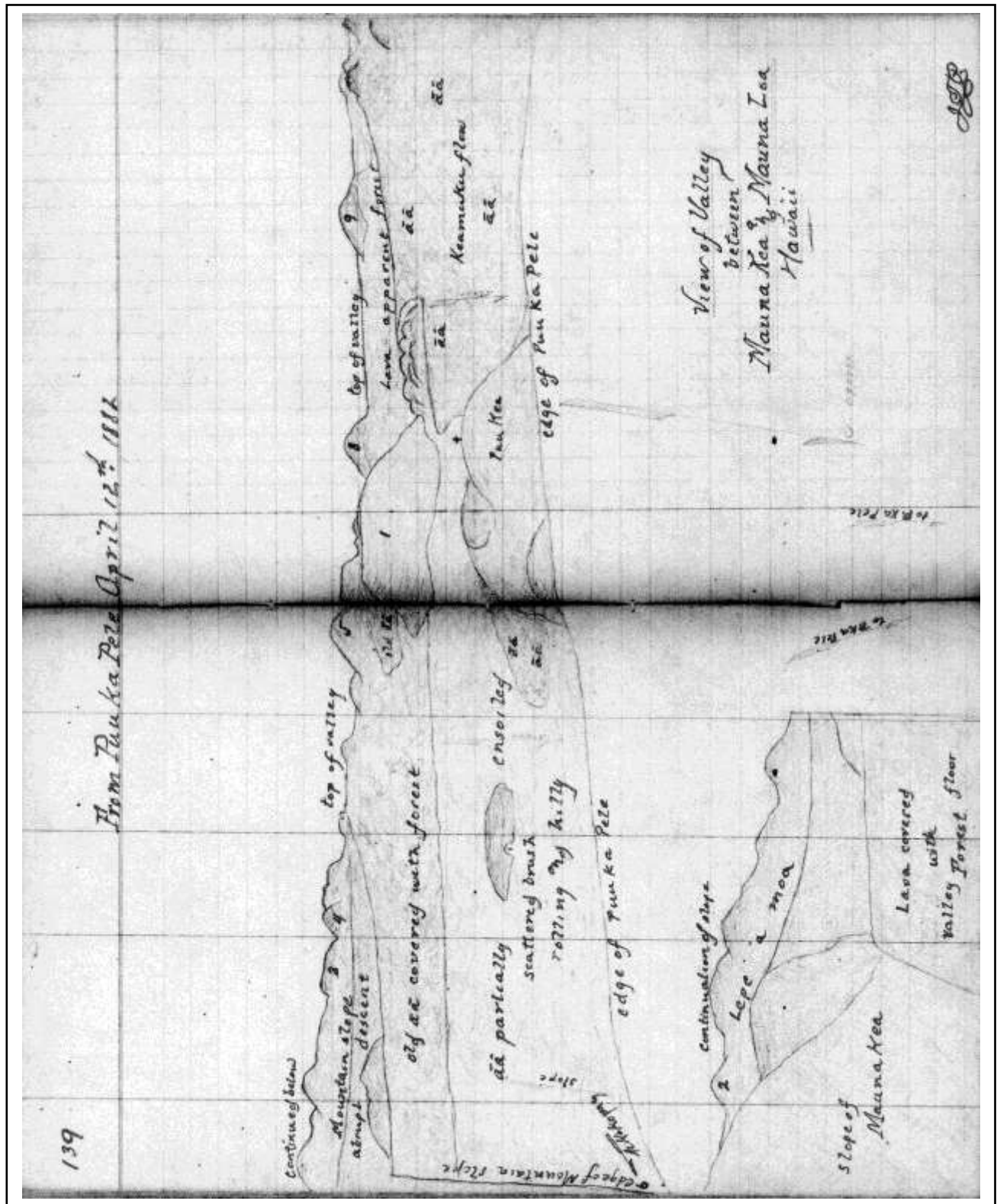


Figure 8. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:139; View of "Valley Between Mauna Kea & Mauna Loa" (April 12, 1882).

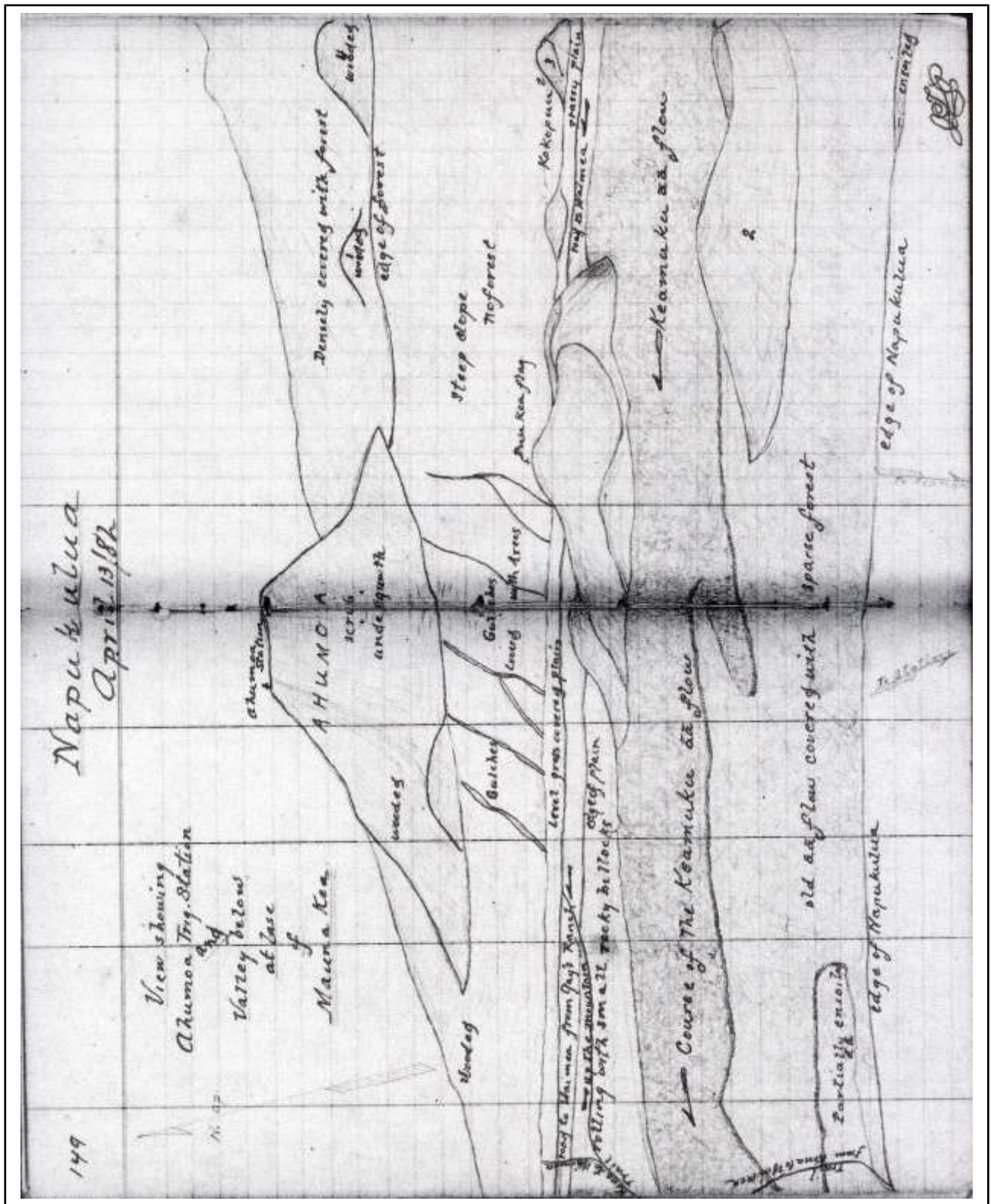


Figure 9. J.S. Emerson Field Book 251:149; View of Ahumoa and portion of Mauna Kea from Napuukulua (April 13, 1882).

- 3. Puu Poopoo
- 4. Puu Palihae sight on highest point
- Puu Keekee sight on hill on extreme left
- 1. Muku flow
- 2. Muku flow
- 3. Muku flow
- 4. Spencer's grass hut [native house on sketch]
- 5. Mauna Loa [Figure 10 (& Figure 11)]

Field Book No. 252:27-29

April 22, 1882

Keamuku Station

- Puu Mahoelua
- Kuu Noulupo
- Auwaiakekua
- Kuikahekili
- Kamakoa
- 1. Kaluamakani
- 2. Puu Nanahu
- 3. Mauna Kea
- 4. Puu o Kauha
- 5. Puu o Kau

[Figure 11]

May 5, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(Describing survey of from Puu Anahulu to Ahumoa and the plateau lands):

...In spite of a "Mumuku," with clouds of dust and occasional whirlwinds howling past, we have finished up this station in first class shape... lakoba has just returned from setting a signal at Naohuleelua, visible from Nohonaoahae, Ahumoa, Puu ka Pele, Napuukulua, Puu Waawaa & Kaupulehu. It will have my careful attention and a thorough locating. We start at once for Puu Waawaa & then in a few days for Naohuleelua, via Keamuku & Puu ka Pele, a long and ugly road. But the journey must & will be made.

Perryman is just laying himself out in the matter of topography. His sketches deserve highest praise... We are all well and ready for anything, though our eyes are red and inflamed by the fierce mumuku... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6 Box 1]

On May 20th, 1882 Emerson penned a description of Pu'u Moanuaiehea, and alluded to a moa (chicken or rooster) of some traditional fame that came from the Auwaiakeakua vicinity:

Moanuaiehea, from the rooster "ahea" that was probably the one that came from Auwaiakeakua on the slope of Mauna Kea. A rock resembling a rooster is to be found there. [J.S. Emerson Field Book No. 252, May 20, 1882:137]

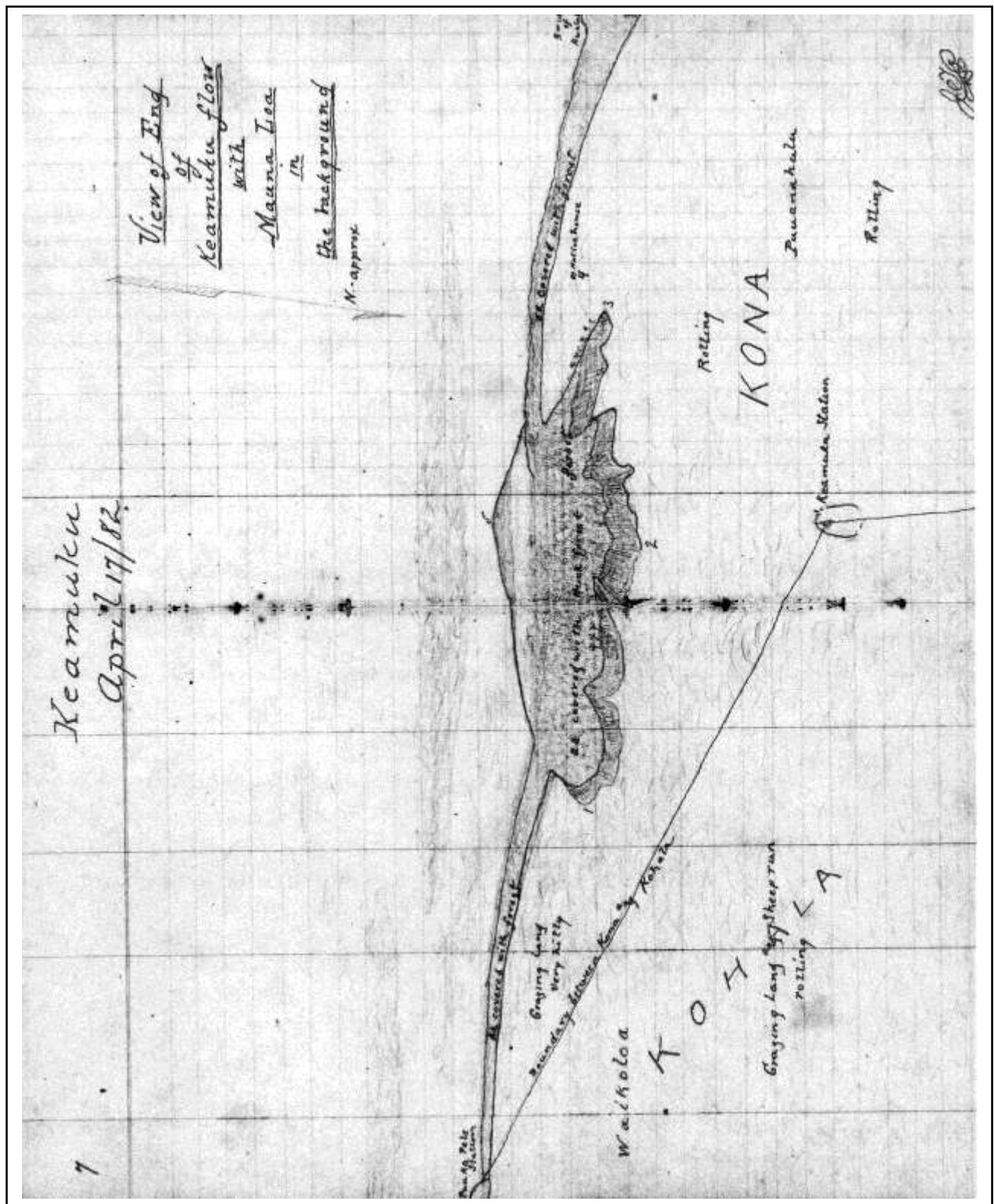


Figure 10. J.S. Emerson Field Book 252:7; View of Keamuku Section (April 17, 1882).

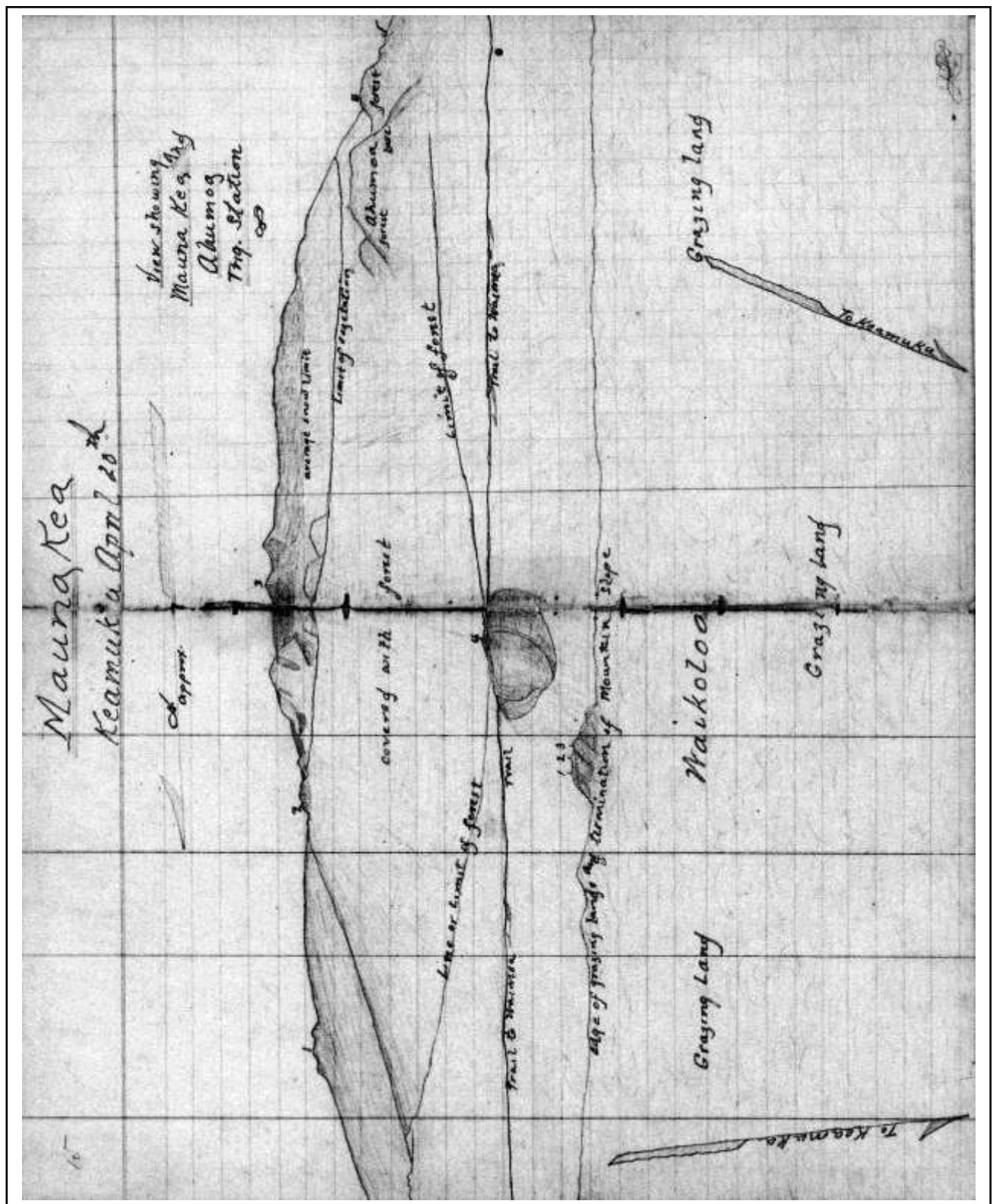


Figure 11. J.S. Emerson Field Book 252:15; View of Mauna Kea from Keamuku (April 20, 1882).

May 21, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(describing survey from Puu Waawaa to Ahumoa):

...To get a fair sight of Ahumoa taxed our patience severally. During the entire ten days we had a clear view for 15 minutes during one morning and 45 minutes one afternoon. The one essential condition for seeing the signal was an illuminated background of fog, in addition to the usual necessity for clear air between the signal & observer. The ahu on the alaloo at Naohuleelua is in a forest and in a hollow, for which reason the signal was set on a clear hillock about 1000 ft. (one thousand) from the ahu. This signal was clearly seen from our station at Puu Waawaa and carefully sighted upon. After a council of war, held for the purpose, on May 17, we concluded that as there was a rain & thunder storm in progress in the direction of Naohuleelua, it was inexpedient for this party to attempt a journey to that place at present, & that the logic of events demanded that we get out of that nest of sow bugs and abode of the fog as fast as possible...

...Perryman has embellished the pages of the field book with twenty four neatly executed views and sketches from the various trig. stations we have occupied... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6 Box 1]

Field Book No. 254

August 1882

Descriptions of Stations and Station Marks:

Puu Hinai

Is a prominent hill bearing about East from Puako Station. The underground point marks consist of a copper triangle and a cow's horn. ..

Nohonaohae

A very prominent hill bearing N.E. from Puu Hinai. The point is marked by an iron bolt driven into a rock. There are no other marks. A tripod signal stands there at this time, also an "ahu."

Ahumoa

Is a station on the western slope of Mauna Kea and is a large pyramid like hill. The station is situated on the Northern side of the crater and on the end of the hill nearest to [254:117] the slope of Mauna Kea. The underground point marks consist of a large irregular rock, apparently "in situ," marked by a triangle, a drill hole, a pair of spectacle rims are in the hole... A large "ahu" also surrounds the signal. There remain few trees on the summit as we cut them down.

Puu Ka Pele

The most prominent hill in the valley below Ahumoa, it's top being very visible from the station in the direction of the S.W. base of Mauna Loa. The marks are as follows, viz: they are all above ground. The signal being set into a hole drilled in rock "in situ," said hole being in the centre of a raised triangle... A very small "ahu" erected.

Napuukulua

A small hill in the same valley, as Puu Ka Pele and about one mile and a half to the S.E. of it. The point marks are above ground and resemble those at Puu Ka Pele. [254:119]

Keamuku

Is on a small eminence to the N.W. of the Keamuku āā flow and said to be on the boundary line between the districts of Kona and Kohala. The underground point marks consist of a section of copper bolt driven into a large rock "in situ," and projecting about an inch. It is surrounded by numerous tin cans and a few bottles. [254:121]

September 23, 1885

J.S. Emerson, to W.D. Alexander

(regarding survey of Kona, Kohala, Hamakua mountain lands):

...Monday I spent in hunting up a couple of suitable men to go with me into the mountains, in which I finally succeeded... We expect to go thence to Mr. Greenwell's ranch at Kanahaha, from which place as a base of supplies etc. to set signals to command the following points, viz.

Jack's Goat pen at head of Lehuula
Ana o Kiha at head of Lehuula
Kikiaeae at head of Hokukano
Aahuwela cave at head of Hokukano
Ahu on Umi Road, head of Kealakekua
Kanekii water hole, head of Kealakekua
Wahapele crater, head of Kahauloa 2.

To do this will occupy some little time, as the great difficulty is to find some of the points. They all say that the only kamaaina, who really was posted, was Keakaikawai (Jack i ka wai) and he is dead!

I spent last Thursday night with your bro. James at Kealapuali (Charles Wall's old place). Though he has, like myself been somewhat ill he is pushing the work at the head of Kaumalumu and was to ascend Hualalai last Monday...with a humbug of a guide, we started Aug 26 up the Judd road & camped successfully at Kealapuali, Ahu o Umi & Halelaau, where we established a base of supplies. Sat Aug 29 our old guide led us a day's journey over the pahoe-hoe rock in search of Naohulelua, which I am satisfied he knows very little about... Aug 31 we started for the summit of M. Loa and after many trials with a foolish guide, who got lost in the woods...we reached a point near the summit Thursday evening, Sept 3.

Friday Sept 4...with one brave native, your bro. & I pushed boldly into the fog...to the very summit... We set a huge signal a great distance down the mountain to command the southern part of Keauhou... Another equally fine signal we set on the summit ridge of the crater commanding (1) a large portion of the interior & base of the crater, (2) the opposite side of the crater, (3) M. Kea, (4) Ahu Moe, (5) Puu ka Pele, (6) Puu Waawaa, (7) W. Hualalai, (8) Puu Laalaau, (9) Keahuolu, Thus the problem of locating the crater will be solved...

On Wed. Sept. 9 with a boy I started for Puu Anahulu to find another guide to show us Naohuleelua. We slept in a cave on the way, and on reaching lakopa's the next day found that he was the man to go with us, but Mr. Spencer could not spare him until Tuesday Sept. 15. While waiting for him, I set signals at Ana o Maui & Puu Huluhulu & reset that at Puu Waawaa...

Sept. 15 we started with our guide & spent the night in a cave. The next day lakopa showed us a large tomb like ahu on the old road from Waimea to the Ahu o Umi which he says is the real Naohuleelua Ahu. It is at least a mile north of the flow of 1859 and still further from the point which our first guide showed us. In conclusion I do not think the man can be found to show me a point to answer Hitchcock's description of Naohuleelua...

I am told by lakopa that Kaohe was surveyed by the "haole lolo," Wiltze. When at Puu Waawaa with Perryman I sighted lakopa's flag for Naohuleelua. Mr. Lyons thought it was too near Puu Ka Pele. But if that is not the point, where is it?

...There is much to be said about the wonderful crater, Mokuaweoweo, and the grand scenery from M. Loa, but I must close... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6 Box 2]

December 8, 1885

J.S. Emerson, to W.D. Alexander

(regarding survey of Naohuleelua, Keamuku and Ahumoa vicinity):

...I have to report that my effort to settle the location of the much talked of Naohuleelua Ahu, of Keakaikawai & D.H. Hitchcock has been, as I believe, successfully accomplished. I have located an ahu 18 feet long, 7 feet wide & 4 feet high on the East side of the well known Alanui Kui leading across the ancient aa from the flow of 1859 to Puu Ka Pele & Waimea. The direction of the road, as far as visible is N. 20 E. magnetic. About 40 feet South of the ahu is the edge of the aa bank. At about 90 feet is another similar descent of say 7 or 8 feet.

From that point the road going South crosses a "kipuka" or open land (ancient pahoehoe), covered with shrubbery & weeds for say 250 feet before reaching the barren, black pahoehoe flow of 1859. The ancient aa about this ahu is covered as far as visible with small trees, ohia, aalii, etc. Magnetic bearing to Puu Ka Pele 229° 15'. At Waimea I saw the aged Kahakauwila, brother-in-law of John Parker, who assures me that the two bald headed men, for whom the ahu is named, met on this road, one coming from Waimea & one from Kona. There is no other road above this one on which they would have crossed the aa. This is the road and the only road and all agree that the point was somewhere on this road. The point selected by Hitchcock was on the aa bank on the North side of the flow of 1859. These considerations lead to the adoption of the above ahu as the one which Mr. Hitchcock fixed upon & attempted to locate.

I think that the difference of bearing in our observations of Puu Ka Pele need not cause any anxiety.

Some local or personal attraction may have deflected his needle the trifling amount of 24°. I went to the point on the N. Bank of the flow of 1859 whence Puu Ka Pele bore in the direction indicated in his notes. I spent one day most carefully searching for an ahu somewhere near the edge of the flow, going a good distance above and a greater distance below the point indicated. I stimulated my men by the offer of a reward for finding it & am satisfied that no such ahu exists. After all the testimony which I have gathered on this subject, it seems that there is little chance of any other point being found to claim the title of Naohuleelua. I occupied Puu Ka Pele and Ahu Moe two days each and left large cloth covered ahus and puloulous at each place. The air was full of dust and I failed to see Puu Ouo in spite of its huge signal, but did good work in other respects.

The terminus of the Judd Road among the other points is carefully located. No expedition which I have ever conducted has caused me such anxiety and has been attended with such loss as this. It was a frightful trip, the remembrance of which haunts me. The water holes were dry and the country parched with drought. At Waimea we encountered a cold storm of wind and rain. At Keamuku the animals drank too freely of bad water. Used up with hunger, thirst, cold and improper drink, they fell by the way. Though I did my best to save them, I lost my poor old horse at Waimea and left the old Waawaaikinaauao to die on the flow of 1859 along with a mule belonging to my man... The rumor which reached you that the tank at Keamuku was locked up and that I went to Waimea for the key was a mistake... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6 Box 2]

IV. Nā Ala Hele o ka 'Āina Mauna – Native Trails to Government Roads

The story of travel and access on the 'āina mauna is an interesting one. We know from native traditions and historical accounts (written as early as the 1820s), that people traveled across the mountain plateau lands and up to Mauna Kea with great frequency. One early account dates back to the 1500s, at the time that 'Umi-a-Līloa fell into a disagreement with the chief of Hilo over a whale tooth (ivory) pendant. Traveling from Waipi'o, across Mauna Kea, 'Umi and his warriors camped in the uplands of Kaūmana. Native historian Samuel Kamakau (1870 & 1961) wrote that 'Umi-a-Līloa:

...conferred with his chiefs and his father's old war leaders. It was decided to make war on the chiefs of Hilo and to go without delay by way of Mauna Kea. From back of Ka'umana they were to descend to Hilo. It was shorter to go by way of the mountain to the trail of Poli'ahu and Poli'ahu's spring at the top of Mauna Kea, and then down toward Hilo. It was an ancient trail used by those of Hamakua, Kohala, and Waimea to go to Hilo. They made ready to go with their fighting parties to Mauna Kea, descended back of Hilo, and encamped just above the stream of Wai- [page 16] anuenue without the knowledge of Hilo's people that war was coming from the upland. Hilo's chiefs were unprepared.

A certain fisherman of Pu'ueo was at sea, catching nehu fish, and he noticed that the water in the ocean was dirty. He was surprised and guessed that there

was war in the mountain, and it was that which caused the water to be so dirty. Some [of his companions] denied this and declared that it was a cloudburst instead of war, and that was the cause of the dirt and the reddening of the water flowing into the sea. He would not believe them and insisted that this dirt was stirred up by the feet of men. He hauled up his drawnets at once and went ashore. He did not stop to dry his nets, but cooked taro and some nehu fish, picked up his war spear, draped his cape of ti leaves over his back, and departed for the upland. The name of this man was Nau.

When Nau arrived away up in the upland of Ka'umana, he remained at a narrow pass, and the other side of it was the camp [of 'Umi]. He sat on a flat stone beside the stream and after opening his bundle of nehu fish, ate some with the cooked taro (kuala). 'Umi-a-Liloa's warriors noticed Nau, the noted fisherman of Pu'ueo, eating taro and nehu fish. It was difficult for 'Umi-a-Liloa's men to pass through to the trail. They came in single file to go through the pass, and at the narrowest part a leg had to reach out first. The spot in which he sat was comfortable and was in a depression. When someone on the other side reached out to go through, he was stabbed with a spear and fell over the cliff, dead. (Ke Au Okoa, Nov. 24, 1870). This was continued until many were destroyed by this lone man who guarded the narrow pass of Ka'uamoa. Forty were killed. Pi'i-mai-wa'a climbed over the cliff and saw but one man against its side. He said to himself, "I shall kill you," and leaped over. [A cry went up] "Pi'i-mai-wa'a is dead! He has fallen over the cliff." It was Nau who died, and so there was no one to warn the chief of Hilo. When night came, the war party reached Hilo. They were supplied with torches and saw the chief's residences and the house of Kulukulu'a's daughter. 'Umi-a-Liloa's warriors surrounded them, and the chiefs of Hilo were destroyed. Kulukulu'a's daughter was spared, and Nani-koki, the famous palaoa, was restored. Regret for the loss of the palaoa was the cause of the war. After the battle, the districts of Hilo and Hamakua were united under the rule of 'Umi-a-Liloa... [Kamakau 1961:16-17]

In this account, 'Umi went on to secure all of the island of Hawai'i under his rule, and it was at that time that the heiau, Ahu-a-'umi, Pu'u Ke'eke'e, Mauna Halepōhaku, and Pōhaku o Hanalei, and many trails and other sites were made in the mountain lands (see the account of Kanuha, recorded by Jules Remy in 1865, earlier in this study).

Travel across the mountain lands afforded people access to various localities, and also facilitated the collection of various resources including, but not limited to: stone for adze; burial sites; 'ua'u, nēnē, and other birds; and various plant materials. In 1793-1794, A. Menzies visited Hawai'i with Captain Vancouver, during which time Menzies and crew members walked inland with native guides to botanize and take readings of the topography. While ascending Mauna Loa, Menzies observed that the Hawaiian kept "Morai" (heiau – ceremonial sites) along the trails at which they regularly stopped in prayer and with offerings (Menzies 1908:110). The following excerpts from Menzies notes describe this practice:

"So bigoted are these people to their religion that here and there, on the sides of the path, they have little Morais, or spots consecrated to their Deity, which none of them ever pass without leaving something—let it be ever so trifling—to obtain his good will, and they were highly delighted, indeed, when we followed their example in throwing a nail or a few beads, or a piece of tape, before their

Deity, which the women were not allowed to pass without uncovering their breasts and shoulders.” [Menzies 1908:110]

While the above narrative was recorded while traveling upon Mauna Loa, such protocol was uniformly practiced throughout the island, and is deeply rooted in the spiritual beliefs of the people. There remain to this day examples of small shrines, upright stones (Pōhaku o Kāne) and other features along trails across the mountain plateau, leading to and from the Waikiʻi section.

By the 1840s, social and economic pressures led to the formalization of a road division in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Native foot trails, which had been used for centuries and often provided the “path of least resistance,” to travel around and across the island, proved inadequate for the new methods of travel with horse, wagons and team animals. By 1847, Kamehameha III had instructed island governors to undertake the survey of routes and construction of new roads, which became known as the Alanui Aupuni (Government Roads). Construction was to be paid for through taxation and “labor days” of the residents of the lands through which the roads would pass. Governor Kapeau, on the island of Hawaiʻi, wrote his manaʻo on this matter to Premier and Minister of the Interior, Keoni Ana on August 13, 1847:

Aloha oe e ka mea Hanohano –

I have a few questions which I wish to ask you. Will the police officers be required to pay, when they do not attend the Tuesday (Poalua) labor days? How about parents who have several children? What about school teachers and school agents? Are they not required to work like all other people when there is Government work on the roads and highways?

I believe that school agents, school teachers and parents who have several children, should only go and work on the weeks of the public, and not on the konohiki days....

...The roads from Kailua and down the pali of Kealakekua, and from Kailua to Honokohau, Kaloko, Ooma, and places spoken of to our King, and from thence to Kaelehuluhulu [at Kaulana in Kekaha], are now being surveyed. When I find a suitable day, I will go to Napoopoo immediately, to confer with the old timers of that place, in order to decide upon the proper place to build the highway from Napoopoo to Honaunau, and Kauhako, and thence continue on to meet the road from Kau. The road is close to the shore of Kapalilua...

The width of the highways around Hawaii, is only one fathom, but, where it is suitable to widen where there is plenty of dirt, two fathoms and over would be all right... If the roads are put into proper condition, there are a lot of places for the strangers to visit when they come here. The Kilauea volcano, and the mountains of Maunaloa, Maunakea, Hualalai.

There is only one trouble to prevent the building of a highway all around, the steep gulches at Waipio and Pololu, but this place can be left to the very last... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads; translation modified by Maly]

The great land resources of Waimea, and the plateau lands between Waikōloa, Ka'ōhe, and Humu'ula, were early determined to be important to the development of ranching interests on Hawai'i. Thus, while in most locations roads were improved through populated areas, on the mountain lands old trails were modified or realigned to improve access to large tracts of Crown and Government Land.

The following communications are part of a collection of records from native Hawaiian and foreign residents, and government officials regarding travel via the mountain trails (see also references to trails, their names and antiquity in the J.S. Emerson letters cited above). In this collection, we look at the Waimea-Waiki'i-Kalai'eha and Waimea-Mānā-Makahalanaloa-Kalai'eha routes, as they served common usage and interests in the development of the Parker Ranch. It will be noted that the Waimea-Waiki'i-Kalai'eha Government Road was formally surveyed in 1866. The section between Waiki'i and Kalai'eha basically remained on the same alignment until after World War II and the eventual paving of the "Saddle Road." In the area from Kilohana (on the north side of the present-day girl scout camp) to Waiki'i proper, the route is almost as it was laid out in 1866 (overlying one of the ancient trails through the area), except for widening. Near the Pu'u Māhaelua-Keanahuehue vicinity, the old route cuts across the Pā Kila-Pā 'A'ali'i Paddocks and out past Pu'u Heihe'i and Holoholokū; while the present-day road cuts down to Pu'u Nohonaohae. The latter route was established around 1902 (coinciding with the construction of the Waimea-Kona road).

It will be noted that early in the history of the Alanui Aupuni, bullocks of the mountain lands also served as a method of payment for engineering and laying out the new roadways.

April 1850

Report of the Minister of Interior for the Years of 1848 & 1849

(Reports on Status of Kona to Hilo Mountain Road – Judd Road):

...A Mountain Road is being constructed on the Island of Hawaii, from the District of Kona to that of Hilo. This is a great and important work, and the Prisoners on that Island have been employed upon it. It is said that about 10 miles of the road are completed. Should this Road be finished, it will be of immense advantage to the People of the Island, and greatly facilitate the business of the Government. But work of such magnitude must require time... [HSA – Interior Department, Misc. Box 141]

December 14, 1854

Contract to Construct Waimea-Hilo Road

(via the Hamakua Mountain lands)

between T. Metcalf, Superintendent of Public Works, and Jno. Van Houghten

...It is hereby agreed between John Van Houghten of the Island of Hawaii, and T. Metcalf, Superintendent of Public Works on the part of the Hawaiian Government, that said John Van Houghten shall superintend the construction of a road from Waimea to the present Aupuni road in or near Kulaimano Kai, Hilo. Said road to take the shortest and most eligible course through the mountain, i.e., by the way of Hanaipoi, Puu Kalepa, crossing the clinkers high up as practicable, then through Nauhi to Palauolelo or thereabouts, selecting the practicable starting point at the upper edge of woods, then cutting to clearing out a road sixty feet wide down through woods to said Kulaimano Kai. Said road to be prosecuted to completion with the utmost diligence and to be left in a condition practicable for carts or carriages to pass over its entire length.

Said Van Houghten is to make and perfect all contracts for labor, provisions &c. necessary and pay for the same at the most reasonable rates in wild bullocks now running in the region of Mauna Kea, and he shall render a strict account of the same to the Superintendent of Public Works. The above work is to be executed to the entire satisfaction of the Superintendent of Public Works, and for the faithful performance of which the said Superintendent of Public Works for & on the part of the Hawaiian Government, hereby agrees to pay to said John Van Houghten or his representative, five hundred wild bullocks above mentioned. The same to be caught & delivered at the expense of said Van Houghten... [HSA – Misc. Public Works, DAGS 7 Box 35; Fldr. 6]

April 17, 1862

**Samuel Wiltse, Government Surveyor;
to Lot Kamehameha, Minister of the Interior
(Regarding development of the Kawaihae–Waimea–Hilo Mountain Road,
via Waikoloa and Waikii):**

...In accordance with your Highness' request, I proceeded to examine the proposed route for a Govt. Road, commencing at Kawaihae and passing through Waimea, thence in a South East direction crossing the plains of Puukapu and Waikoloa, to the S. West base of Maunakea. Thence along the S.W. and South base of this mountain to the plains of Kaihea [Kalaieha], and to Hilo.

Mr. Reed, Road Supervisor of Hilo has passed over the entire route, or rather somewhere along the general course of the route, and you are doubtless in receipt of his report. I met Mr. R. at Kalihae [Kalaieha], where we compared notes. I was then satisfied that a shorter and better route could be found than the one which he had explored. Examinations which I have since made confirmed that opinion. And I have no doubt but when the road shall be located by actual Survey, that many improvements will still be made. The distances which I shall give will be found very nearly correct, as I have taken observations between prominent points along the route from Kawaihae to Waimea, distance 10 miles; there is already a passable wagon road. This is by far the most important section of the proposed road. It is traveled present and probably always will be, by more heavy teams than any other road on this Island. I would recommend that one thousand dollars in addition to the District labour should be expended on this section of the road.

From Waimea to Kalaihae [Kalaieha], distance of 30 miles. There is a good surface and easy grades nearly all of the way. If prison labour is employed \$500.00 expended will build a good wagon road to this point.

From Kalaihae [Kalaieha] to Hilo, I take for granted that a good horse road is all that is contemplate at present. This is the most difficult part of the route, as the road will require to be built over an uneven surface of lava for the distance of about 18 miles. I estimate that one man will be able to build 10 ft. of this part of the road per day, bad weather and necessary loss of time included.

Distance in feet 9540; days labour 9504; 11083 days rations, which will cost 15 cents per day per man which amounts to \$1662.45.

The next three miles take us through the forest, nearly all of this section will require to be ditched, and the road built of logs & covered with fern roots. Timber of a suitable size can be had in abundance.

I estimate that one man will average 10 feet of this part of the road per day; requiring 1584 days labour. Cost for board, \$237.60.

From the lower edge of the forest to Hilo, distance 4 miles will cost, say \$400.00 all told.

Distance from Kawaihae to Hilo by this route, about 65 miles, saving in distance over the old road 15 miles...

...Total cost \$5900.00

I believe that the road can be built for this amount and when once built will require but little repairing for the future... [HSA – Interior Department Roads Fldr. 2]

July 5, 1865

**S.C. Wiltse; to H.A. Widemann, Interior Department Clerk
(Regarding travel via Mountain Road between Kona and Waimea–
Ahu a Umi–Waikii route; Judd Road):**

...Mr. Charles Wall who leases and occupies the mauka part of the Govt. lands “Honuaula” in Kona, begs leave to work out his Road Tax on what is known as the Doct. Judd Road. Mr. W. has a sheep station above the forest 8 miles from any settlement, and about that distance from any road that is now worked. The Doct. Judd Road is the one that he travels to and from the settlement, it is also traveled by most people going to and from Waimea as it is by many miles the shortest route. No work has been done on said Road since it was first built. Mr. Wall has two natives in his employ and would be glad if they could be allowed to work out their tax on said Road, likewise... [HSA – Interior Department Roads Fldr. 3]

June 16, 1869

**S.C. Wiltse; to F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior
(Regarding Survey of new road from Waimea to Hilo, via Holokawai
– Hamakua Route):**

...You wish me to estimate the cost of surveying a route for a Road, from a point known as “Holokawai” on the mauka Hamakua Road to Hilo by the Mountain route.

I beg to say that so little is know about the last 20 miles of this route, that it would be impossible for me, or anyone to estimate the cost for exploring and selecting the best route for a Road for that part of the one proposed.

In common with everybody here, I am very anxious to see a road opened from Waimea to Hilo by the mountain route & will do the exploring & locating as cheap as it can possibly be done... I would respectfully say that there is already a good natural road from Waimea to a point known as “Kalaeha”

[Kalaieha] on the S.E. side of Mauna Kea. Distance about 35 miles. This route is along the southern base of the mountain. Kalaeha [Kalaieha] is about 22 miles from Hilo Bay on a direct line, when the Road for this 22 miles is built the whole route will be opened from Kawaihae to Hilo.

This route is so much shorter & better surveying than the one by Holokawai along the Northern base of the mountain, that they are hardly to be compared. And Mr. Spencer should have told you so... [HSA – Interior Department Roads; Fldr. 5]

August 2, 1869
S.C. Wiltse; to F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior
(Transmitting Map of Mountain Road, Hilo to Waimea,
Register Map No. 528):

...With this, please to receive my report survey etc. of a Route for a Road from Hilo to Waimea in South Kohala. I drew the plan on cap paper with the intention of copying it, but found that I had not time to do so, and forward it by this mail. Should your Excellency wish it drawn on better paper, I will do it some other time.

The expenses amount to more than I expected, but they were unavoidable. I used every economy possible.

I received no assistance whatever from the People of Hilo or Waimea. For my own Service, I will be perfectly satisfied with what ever amount your Excellency may be pleased to allow me.

Expenses of surveying a route for a Road from Hilo Bay to Waimea in South Kohala, as made in July 1869, by S.C. Wiltse:

| | | | |
|----|--|----------------|--------------|
| To | B. Macy, Chainman | 13 days | \$ 13.00 |
| " | G. Kembal Chainman | 13 days | 13.00 |
| " | Koke Kawai Kaamina | 13 days | 13.00 |
| " | Kamalo " | 9 days | 9.00 |
| " | Kailihakuma | 8 days | 8.00 |
| " | Kahooikaika " | 8 days | 8.00 |
| " | " for 2 pack mules | 2 days | 2.00 |
| " | Kauloa for taking our houses from Hilo back to Waimea | | 5.00 |
| " | Kauailana self, horse & mule Outfit & Provisions for the Grp. | 6 days | 10.00 |
| | | | <u>16.00</u> |
| | | Total Expenses | \$103.00 |
| | Cash received on a/c of | | 50.00 |
| | Bal. due | | 53.00... |

[HSA – Interior Department Roads; Fldr. 5]

June 13, 1871

**J.A. Simmons, Road Supervisor;
to F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior
(Regarding repair of the Waimea-Hilo Road, via Hamakua):**

...The Mountain Road from Waimea requires about two hundred dollars, to place it in good order from that place, the Hamakua Hilo Road, upon Kaohe – which amount I would respectfully ask be sent me. I have placed Guide boards so that the stranger may no longer need a guide from Waimea to Hamakua. The two hundred dollars will make a Cart Road to where I mention... [HSA – Interior Department Roads; Fldr. 8]

October 7, 1871

**J.A. Simmons, Road Supervisor;
to F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior:
(Reports that repair of the Waimea-Hilo Road, via Hamakua is completed):**

...I have finished the Mountain Road from Waimea to Hamakua. A loaded wagon can now be driven from Kawaihae to the Landing at Koholalele in that District. The whole cost of which amounts to two hundred and twenty dollars...

I am now quite ready to commence upon the Aiku or Mud Land Road as you directed. That is to say in the most part fill up the holes, and lay stone upon the top. Now is the best time of the year to do this... [HSA – Interior Department Roads; Fldr. 8]

Little other information regarding maintenance and care for the roads through the Waikōloa-Waiki'i region was found in government records. Though entries in the journals of Armin Haneberg, Manager of the Humuula Sheep Station Company, reported at several times that “Japanese” crews were sent to “work at Waikii on Waimea Road” (cf. Haneberg Journal, June 14-26, 1892:196-200; in the collection of the PPS).

Historical notes from A.W. Carter of Parker Ranch and oral history interviews with elder kama'āina, cited in this study, also indicate that maintenance and control of access rested with the ranch. This is particularly true after 1900.

LAND TENURE AND LEASEHOLD INTERESTS— EMERGENCE OF THE RANCHING INDUSTRY ON THE MOUNTAIN LANDS OF HAWAI‘I

By the close of the Māhele ‘Āina (1855), large tracts of land came to be controlled by several key Hawaiian and foreign resident land owners. Lands from the Māhele Awards and subsequent Royal Patent Grants in conjunction with leases of Crown and Government lands set the foundation for the formal development of ranching interests on the mountain lands of Hawai‘i. Among the primary participants in this early ranching interest development were the Crown and Government (from their land bases which were leased out), G.D. Hueu, John P. Parker, Francis Spencer, R.C. Janion, James Louzada, William French, G.S. Kenway, James Fay, D.R. Janion, John Montgomery, Jack Purdy, Geo. K. Lindsey and William Bell.

Development of the ranching industry required access to large tracts of land, thus few Hawaiians had direct interest in building the ranches. A few Ali‘i awardees of land in the Māhele, and foreign residents who were granted fee-simple or leasehold interest in Ali‘i and Government lands, formed the business interests that led to the development of the ranching industry. The native tenants on the land, like many of the witnesses before the Boundary Commission cited above, learned the trade and became the paniola or paniolo (cowboys) who were the backbone of the industry.

The history of Parker Ranch and its people is complex and intriguing, with all land areas and participants contributing to the history. In the early history of the ranch (from the nineteenth century), there is little direct reference to the land area of Waiki‘i proper. This is primarily because Waikōloa nui, in which Waiki‘i is situated, was a private holding of George Hueu Davis. Davis and lessees of his holding, loosely tended cattle, sheep and other livestock on the Waikōloa lands in the period leading up to the 1860s. Interestingly, the remote Ke‘āmoku (or Keamuku) Sheep Station was developed under a lease between G.D. Hueu and William Green and Francis Spencer of the Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company (WGAC) in 1868. The station remained in operation as a part of the WGAC, under various owners and managers, including James Gay, Warren, G.W. Macfarlane, and Frank Johnson through 1903. On July 13, 1903, A.W. Carter purchased a 9/10th interest in the land of Waikōloa (one-half of the total acreage each for A.T.K. Parker and Sam‘l. Parker) from heirs of the Davis estate. It was after the 1903 purchase of Waikōloa that the Waiki‘i Ranch Station was developed and the village began to be developed. It was also during this same period that A.W. Carter undertook the ambitious plan to develop water resources on outlying ranch lands by piping water from the Kohala Mountains to the Holoholokū, Waiki‘i, Ke‘āmoku, Pu‘u Anuanu and Pu‘u Ke‘eke‘e sections of the ranch. The success of this venture allowed the development of thousands of acres as paddocks for cattle.

Letters and communications cited in the following sections provide readers with a chronological overview of land tenure, emergence of the ranching industry, and transitions in the landscape over the period of 100 years from the 1850s to the 1950s. As in earlier sections, underlining is used by the author here to draw the readers attention to specific descriptions of events, places, individuals named, or conditions of land tenure documented in the narratives.

Livestock and Ranching Interests in Waimea District and on the Mountain Landscape

Ranching in Hawai'i finds its origins in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the years of 1793 and 1794, Captain George Vancouver of the British Navy introduced the first cattle, sheep and goats to the islands (Vancouver 1967 Vol. II:115, 120 & 127). Vancouver also recorded in his journal that Kamehameha I gave him a "sacred promise" that the livestock would be safe and allowed to proliferate (Vancouver 1967 Volume III:64). It is likely that there were several motives behind foreign introduction of the stock animals to the islands, and twentieth century historian R. Kuykendall (1968) observed:

Vancouver put himself to considerable trouble to effect this introduction, which he felt sure would not only be of advantage to the native people but would also enhance the value of the islands as a commercial depot and rendezvous. [Kuykendall 1968:40-41]

An 1859 article published in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser (PCA) reported that according to some natives, the "tabu" lasted "thirty years" (PCA, August 11, 1859). This "tabu" led to a great proliferation of the cattle, which led to their spreading across the plains of Waimea and across the mountain lands of Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa and Hualālai. The writer observed that the cattle which were rapidly—

...becoming a flock, were removed to Waimea plains, from whence, breeding very fast, they spread inland and wandered off among the hills and valleys of Mauna Kea, and becoming so numerous, that, when the tabu was removed some thirty years ago, the interior plain and the three mountains of Hawaii were full of them, and they were in some seasons hard pushed for feed, though generally very fat. [PCA, August 11, 1859]

By 1815, the herds of cattle had increased dramatically, and John Whitman reported:

The cattle have become so numerous on the Island of Owhyhee that they are found in large droves and apprehensions were entertained that it would be necessary to destroy part of them on the expiration of the term which Vancouver set, when he left the first pair on the Island. [Whitman 1979:61]

Kamehameha I hired several foreigners to help control the herds, and one of his bullock hunters was John Palmer Parker, an American who had shipped with traders in the Northwest Coast-China fur trade and who by 1808, settled in Hawai'i (Kelly 1974:44 and Wellmon 1973:48-54). In 1818 Parker married Keli'i Kipikāne, a woman of royal lineage, and together, they lived at Wai'āpuka, North Kohala, till around 1835. The couple and their family moved to South Kohala, where between 1847 to 1875, the elder Parker (deceased 1868) and his sons purchased 42,661 acres of land by Royal Patent Grants, the largest parcel being Pā'auhau in 1861 (cf. A.W. Carter-Parker Ranch files in the collection of the PPS). It was from Mānā, in Pā'auhau (Hāmākua), that the Parker family developed their ranch and land holdings, in both fee-simple and lease-hold interests, and on which his personal herds of cattle were developed, these becoming the heart of the Parker Ranch.

By the 1820s the hides, meat, and tallow of the wild cattle were of growing commercial value. Whaling ships had begun regularly making their way to Kealakekua, Kawaihae,

Lāhainā, Honolulu, and other island harbors so their ships could be restocked with provisions, including fresh and salted beef (cf. Morgan 1948:76 and Kuykendall 1968:313, 317). This was timely for the Kingdom because the island economy was suffering. One factor influencing the economy was that Kamehameha III and various high-ranking island chiefs were purchasing more items than they could generate revenues for, thus the Kingdom found itself in serious debt (cf. *The Polynesian*, August 1, 1840:1 and Kamakau 1961:251-252). This was in part because the 'iliahi or lā'au 'a'ala (sandalwood), which had been one of the most valuable trade items of the Kingdom up to this point, was diminishing as the forests were denuded (ibid.).

By ca. 1830 Kamehameha III had vaqueros (Mexican-Spanish cowhands) brought to the islands to teach Hawaiians the skills of herding and handling cattle (Marie D. Strazar 1987:20; and Kuykendall and Day 1961:96). The vaqueros found the Hawaiians to be adept students, and by the 1870s, the Hawaiian cowboy came to be known as the “paniola”⁷ for the Espanola (Spanish) vaqueros who had been brought to the islands.

Shortly after 1830, Governor Kuakini took up residence for a time in Waimea to manage the taking of the wild cattle, and by 1834-1835 exported bullock hides had generated \$26,000.00 in revenue (Kuykendall 1968:318). In his discussion on commerce and agriculture in the Hawaiian Kingdom, Kuykendall (1968) offered readers an insightful explanation of how the evolution of ranching on Hawai'i was also tied to the period of harboring whaling ships (ca. 1824-1861) in the islands:

While the visits of the whale ships were confined to a few ports, the effects were felt in many other parts of the kingdom. Much of the domestic produce, such as potatoes, vegetables, beef, pork, fowls, and firewood, that was supplied to the ships was raised in the back country and had to be taken to the ports for sale. The demand for firewood to supply so many ships over so great a period of time must have had an appreciable effect in reducing the forest areas and helping to create a serious problem for later generations. Cattle for beef were, where possible, driven to the ports on the hoof and slaughtered as needed; at times they were led carelessly through the streets, to the annoyance and danger of the peaceful populace. To supply the shipping at Lahaina, beef cattle were sometimes shipped to that place from the ranches on Hawaii... (Kuykendall 1968:308)

During this period, hunting of cattle was reportedly so extensive, that Kamehameha III placed a new kapu (restriction) on killing the cattle between 1840-1845 (Morgan 1948:168). Morgan reports that through the 1840s, the cattle increased dramatically:

...Some were owned and branded by chiefs and haoles, and many were unclaimed, especially on Hawaii. The cattle destroyed lauhala trees...trampled over cultivated land, and ate growing crops... native people were actually

⁷ Today, the Hawaiian cowboy is more commonly called “paniolo.” Several elder ranchers recall that in their youth, old-timers such as Waimea resident Hogan Kauwē insisted that paniola was the right word, and the paniolo was a more recent pronunciation. Historical records, such as those of the Kahuku Ranch (1882) in the collection of William Baldwin Rathburn, also uniformly use the written form “paniolo.”

driven away from their homes by the depredations of the cattle, and...elsewhere they were discouraged from cultivating the land. [Morgan 1948:169]

By the 1840s, free-roaming cattle, sheep, and goats were having such a severe impact on the native dwellings (eating thatched houses) and by consuming the produce of the agricultural fields, that most of the families who remained upon the land built stone walls around their residences and gardens (Forbes 1991:54). The “pā hale” (house lots enclosed with walls or fences) are recorded in most of the Land Commission Awards (LCA) of the Māhele (see discussion on Māhele ‘Āina earlier in this study). Reverend Lorenzo Lyons dwelt in Waimea and served as the regional minister from 1832 to 1886, and in his journals and writings (Doyle 1953), is found a chronology of events in Waimea of the historic period. Lyons also documents changes in the community and environment which were brought about as a result of the development of the cattle industry. In 1845 Lyons observed:

Feb. 8, 1845. Many are moving from Waimea on account of change of land holders. Waimea has fallen into the hands of a half foreigner, Mr. Beckley... [Doyle 1953:138]

William Beckley was the son of Captain George Beckley and a Hawaiian woman of ali'i lineage. In 1844, he was appointed konohiki (land overseer) of lands belonging to King Kamehameha III, and it was Beckley who for a time managed the government's cattle operations, and facilitated allotting lands to native tenants and foreigners during the Māhele of 1848 (Doyle 1953:138, Kelly 1974:45, and Barrere 1983:34). Beckley oversaw the branding of the government's cattle, which the government sold in quantities as salted beef to traders and whalers that harbored in Hawai'i, and shipped as a trade item (see communications below).

Lyons also noted that by 1847, “two thirds of Waimea has been converted to government pasture” (Doyle 1953:48) —

People are compelled to leave their cultivated spots and seek distant corners of the woods beyond the reach of the roaming cattle, sheep and goats. But the cattle follow, and soon destroy the fruit of their labor. There is a despairing spirit among my people, and great suffering among them... [Doyle 1953:48]

Around 1850, Reverend Lyons commented on the sport of bullock catching which was greatly enjoyed by the natives, and he also noted that the forests and weather had changed over the years of his residence. The once famous gale-force “Mumuku” winds which blew down the plains towards the ocean did not blow as frequently:

The natives enjoy such sport amazingly, and as they cannot now touch the wild cattle, a great deal of unnecessary excitement is gotten up among the tame ones; and Beckley's Boys, who attend to the government herd are known by the clouds of dust that constantly envelope them. Waimea of an evening is a perfect cloud of dust. The soil is remarkably dry, and so extremely fine that water does not even seem to wet it.

Even the elements were affected: Cattle destroying the forest has changed the mumuku. It was formerly so strong that natives always lashed canoes to the rocks, stakes, or trees at Kawaihae. [Doyle 1953:49]

That the free roaming cattle were having an impact not only on the cultivated lands of the native tenants but also on the remaining forests, was documented in 1856 by Curtis Lyons, son of Reverend Lyons:

It is in the memory of many foreigners now living here, when the whole of these plains were covered with thick wood... Where hardly a tree is to be seen for miles, we were informed by an old resident that twenty-five years ago he lost himself with his team in the woods. He also stated that at that time there was far more rain at Waimea than there is now. [Lyons in Forbes 1991:54]

By 1851 there were some 20,000 cattle on the island of Hawai'i, and approximately 12,000 of them were wild (Henke 1929:22). During the period leading up to the late 1850s, nearly all of the cattle belonged either to the King, the government, other chiefs close to the King, or to a few foreigners who had been granted the right to handle the cattle. In 1859, this right and leasehold interest had been almost exclusively granted to Francis Spencer and Company, which in 1861 entered into partnership with other business interests and held most of the Waimea Region and mountain lands, including the Humu'ula and Ka'ohē tracts (see Bureau of Conveyances Liber 15:24-28 in this study).

The following Pacific Commercial Advertiser article authored by "Hualalai" in 1859 provides readers with an eyewitness account of cattle hunting, a hunter's camp, and a round-up of wild cattle on the slopes of Mauna Kea:

Cattle Hunting (1859)

The government conjointly with the King, I believe, are the owners of the unmarked wild cattle on Hawaii, and have sold or leased the right to slaughter to private parties, upon what precise terms I am unable to say. An agent resides at Waimea, who engages the hunters, agreeing to pay them at the rate of \$1.25 for each bull hide and \$1 for each cow's hide, properly dried and delivered at a certain point on the mountains. From thence they are conveyed to Waimea in carts, salted and shipped to Honolulu. During the first half of 1859, 222,170 lbs. of hides were exported, mostly, I presume, to the United States, where a fair quotation per last mail, would be twenty-five cents per lb., giving us an export value of \$55,542, wherewith to help pay our debts in New York and Boston...

The wild cattle are now hunted almost solely for their hides, and they possess the advantage over those of the tame herds for the purposes of commerce that they are not mutilated with the branding iron. Under the present indiscriminate and systematic slaughter of these cattle, by which young and old, male and female, are hunted alike for the sake of their skins alone, they have greatly diminished in numbers, and a few years only will suffice to render a wild bullock a rare site where they now flock in thousands.

The country through which they roam is in many parts composed of fine grazing lands. Thousands of acres could be devoted to wheat growing, being composed, to a good depth, of a light, sandy soil, capable of being plowed with facility. The only drawbacks to this as an agricultural country, would be, — first, the great scarcity of water, second, the depredation of the wild hogs. As to the first, water no doubt could be found in plenty by digging; and the hogs would

have to be exterminated. I wonder that some one has not, ere this, purchased the government right in these hogs, and set up a lard factory on the mountain. Why would not it pay at 12 ½ cents per lb., — or even for soap grease?

But I started to tell you something about the life of the hide-hunters. First, for their camp. This was situated on a side hill, in a grove of koa trees, that sheltered them somewhat from the trade winds, which here blow fresh and cold, and furnish them with firewood — no small consideration at this elevation. The hut was built of three walls of stone, open to the south, the roof formed of koa logs, plastered on the outside with dry grass and mud. The floor was the ground covered with hides for a flooring, and perfectly swarmed with fleas of enormous size and bloodthirsty dispositions. In front, within a few feet of the sleeping places, a large fire was constantly kept burning, and all around, for an acre or so, the ground was covered with drying hides.

In the hut, within a space of about 15 by 20 feet, some twenty-five or thirty native vaqueros found a sleeping place by night, and a place to play cards in by day when not engaged in the chase. Near by was their “corral,” and enclosure of sticks and hides, containing some sixty horses, all owned by natives, and which had been collected for a grand “drive in,” to take place on the morrow... ..The pen which generally encloses a half an acre, is built square of strong posts and rails, and from the narrow entrance a long line of fence gradually diverges like the upper half of the Y, extending its arms out towards the mountain from which cattle are to be driven...

...We spied a great cloud of dust some three or four miles up the mountain side, and here came at a full gallop several hundred head of cattle of all sizes, closely pursued by semicircles of vaqueros, driving the game right down for the corral. As they rapidly approached the arms of the trap, the ground shook beneath their hoofs, and they wedged crowded each other into a compact body to avoid the dreaded horsemen...

...Mixed up with the cattle, and driven along with them, were probably not far from a thousand wild hogs, who, disturbed in their interior haunts, had got into the trap designed for nobler game. Their piercing squeals as, kicked and tossed by the frantic cattle, they rolled over in the dust, added no little to the amusement of the scene... [Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 11, 1859]

In 1865, Lorenzo Lyons lamented the continuing demise of the native population in the Waimea region, and even questioned the land’s ability to support long-term ranching interests:

Feb. 1, 1865. ...Waimea is going downwards, population diminishing, those who remain sickly. How few well bodied are left! It will perhaps not be long until Waimea becomes a desolation. Waimea Grazing company holds on—but how much longer remains to be seen. Waimea Tannery is prosperous. [Doyle 1953:199]

During these years (1830s-1860s), little site-specific information for Davis’ Waikōloa is recorded. Davis’ own land records (see Māhele records above, and leasehold documents

below) do reveal to us that he too was building corrals, keeping livestock, and hunting wild animals on his lands, which included the Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku sections of Waikōloa.

In the districts of South Kohala and North Kona, ranching had a significant impact on native land use and ecosystems. This is particularly evident on the upper kula (plains) and in the cool wao nahele (forest) lands. In the 1900 edition of the Hawaiian Annual and Almanac, Thrum published an 1898 report by Walter Maxwell, director of the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association, regarding the destruction of Hawai'i's forests—primarily by the hooves of cattle:

The forest areas of the Hawaiian Islands were very considerable, covering the upland plateaus and mountain slopes at altitudes above the lands now devoted to sugar growing and other cultures. Those areas, however, have suffered great reduction, and much of the most valuable forest cover has been devastated and laid bare. The causes given, and to-day seen, of the great destruction that has occurred are the direct removal of forest without any replacement by replanting. Again, in consequence of the wholesale crushing and killing off of forest trees by cattle which have been allowed to traverse the woods and to trample out the brush and undergrowth which protected the roots and trunks of trees, vast breadths of superb forests have dried up, and are now dead and bare. All authorities of the past and of the present agree in ascribing to mountain cattle, which were not confined to ranching areas, but allowed to run wild in the woods, the chief part in the decimation of the forest-covered lands. [Maxwell in Thrum 1900:73]

Maxwell, in Thrum's Hawaiian Annual and Almanac of 1900, reported that while the number of cattle in the islands had dropped over the last quarter century (i.e. 1875-1900), large independent ranches were able to supply more than an adequate amount of beef for the island market. Maxwell also reported that since ca. 1875, the grazing range had been decreasing and cattle were forced into the higher elevations:

...the meat-eating population has increased, while the areas devoted to grazing and the numbers of cattle have gradually diminished... Formerly [cattle]... had wider ranges to rove over and feed upon; they were possessors of the land, and their value consisted chiefly in the labor and hides that they yielded. At that time the plantations, which were of smaller areas than now, were almost wholly worked by bullock labor... In the course of time, and that very recent, the sugar industry has undergone great expansion. The lands, some of which formerly were among the best for meat-making uses, have been absorbed by the plantations, and the cattle have been gradually forced within narrower limits at higher altitudes. [Maxwell in Thrum 1900:75-76]

Ranching in the Waimea Region and on the Mountain Lands – Described in Letters and Communications of Residents and Government Officials

A review of records cited above, found in both public and private collections, reveals that early in the nineteenth century, introduced animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, and horses, had a significant effect on the native people and lands on the mountain slopes of Hawai'i. The records also document the process of the letting out and development of lands for use by John P. Parker, Francis Spencer of the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company (WGAC), and several other businessmen.

As a part of the development of ranching operations, G. Davis Hueu's own land of Waikōloa (including the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku section) came to play a key role in the history of the growing Parker Ranch. Waikōloa, along with lands of the Pā'auhau, Ka'ohe and the Humu'ula region all came to be worked into the ranch operation, while lands of the Waimea region became the heartland of the ranching industry in the Hawaiian Kingdom. By the early 1900s, nearly all of the available land resources of the 'āina mauna were consolidated into private and lease-hold interests, and managed under Parker Ranch.

The communications cited below portray the history of the land and people, and provide readers with a chronology of events in the land and ranching history of the region. The records address cattle and sheep populations, disposition of lands, residence, and travel. It will be noted that the records also document the early development of the Waikōloa-Ke'āmoku section lands by Francis Spencer in 1868, under a lease agreement from G. Davis Hueu (also written G. Hueu Davis) with the Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company.

November 11, 1845

**Wm. Beckley; to G.P. Judd, Interior Department:
(regarding lease of a portion of Waikoloa, bounded by "Nohonahae"
to Holoholoku, depicted in diagram):**

...Here is my thought to you, for a part of the kula land on Hawaii at Waimea; I desire to lease that kula land for fifteen years, at fifteen dollars per year. That is my thought to you... [HSA-DLNR 2 Box 4; Maly, translator]

January 7, 1847

**Wm. Beckley (Keeper of Cattle at Waimea & Mauna Kea);
to G.P. Judd, Interior Department:**

...I hereby tell you the number of cattle branded for the Government and their kind:

50 large steers
22 steers, 6 months
21 steers with horns coming out
93

12 steers with horns not out
148 large cows
14 heifers, 6 months
19 heifers, horns out
181

14 heifers, horns not out
300 cattle, that is the number of cattle branded from Leleiohoku.

This is the number of cattle remaining with me when I came back:
Gone back to the mountain, 44.

Cattle remaining:
37 cows and steers, (27 heifers since)
27 horses, young and old
13 young horses, large and small

20 mares and fillies
60 horse, large and small
4 mules
4 asses
1400 feet, boards of all kinds
17 hides.

This is the amount of the property with me now.

This is the expense for branding the 300 head of cattle for the Government, \$27.75.

I believe that you should send me \$100. in cloth goods with which to pay for the men doing the work pertaining to the cattle... [HSA – Interior Department, Misc. Box 142]

[Note: Wm. Beckley was released from position on June 15, 1850; Int. Dpt. Letter Book Vol. 2]

March 26, 1842

Kamehameha III & Kekauluohi; to John Davis & Kuakini:

This is our communication to you. George Bush is going up to Hawaii for the purpose of taking cattle on the mountain, to the amount of three hundred. These three hundred cattle are to settle the difficulty with Bill, formerly spoken of. These are what we have given him for the settlement of that difficulty.

When those three hundred are taken, then the taboo shall again be put upon the cattle, according to the former charge... [HSA – Interior Department, Misc. Box 141]

April 6, 1850

John Young Kanehoa, to Kamehameha III:

It is probably known to your Majesty, that when Capt. Vancouver arrived at these Islands, he gave to your father and my father, some cattle, from which the number of cattle were increased, which are running on the mountains of Hawaii. At the time these cattle were with you, your Majesty, I approved of it. But, at this time, some of these cattle have gone to the Government. Therefore, I humbly ask of your Majesty, that you give instruction that some of these cattle be given to me, and my younger brother and sister, the heirs of John Young, the close companion of your father... [HSA – Interior Department, Misc. Box 141]

June 10, 1850

Public Notice

C.G. Hopkins, Land Agent of the King; and Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

Know all men by these present, that we, the undersigned agents of the King and the Government, hereby appoint G.D. Hueu, as keeper of the Cattle at Waimea & Mauna Kea and surrounding districts, or wherever the cattle may roam. The cattle in the woods, those are the ones he is to keep and run in

places where the food is good; to brand and perform other duties as are usually performed by a cattle herder, always looking after the interest of both parties; until such time as the King and Government may send for them, and to deliver the cattle only upon receipt of an order. In case any trouble should happen to the cattle, whether stolen or feloniously branded, the said G.D. Hueu is empowered to bring law suits in the courts, in the names of the persons who own the cattle. He is to speak the word, and the management and other powers usually given to a cattle herder... [HSA Interior Department Letter Book 2:606]

May 15, 1851

Isaac Young Davis to Keoni Ana

(Regarding hunting on Mauna Kea and Government Lands):

...I again ask you, and you let me know right away, so that I may be able to put more strength to the peace of the Government at Maunakea mountain, because of the great number of people going up the mountain to chase wild pigs. I have many times warned them about this matter, but they have paid no attention. Therefore, I have thought of asking you first, and then tighten up...please let me know soon what the right course is for me to do.

What I am sure about is this, that the wild pigs belong to the Government, and that the people have no right there, and because of having been told that this right was given to Moluhi by Z. Kaauwai, that is why I was doubtful about enforcing my responsibilities on Maunakea on behalf of the Government. If I should receive a letter from you or from some of you, then those who chase wild pigs will be punished by me. I am really put out because they pretend that they too have a right in the mountain (foolish)...

On the 12th day of May past, I went up to inspect the Mountain Road [Judd Trail] which S. Haanio is building with the prisoners. I began the ascent where it starts, to where they are now working. The road has nearly reached Ahuaumi, there are about two miles before it reaches there. It has been built properly. S. Haanio has been fast, building the road and it is good too. Kinimaka was very slow. You will praise the road too, and everything you will see... [HSA – Interior Department, Misc. Box 141]

August 30, 1851

A.G. Thurston, Interior Department Clerk;

to Rev. L. Lyons, Government Land Agent, Waimea

(Regarding conditions on sale of Government Lands):

...The woods are not to be sold to any one but all are at liberty to resort to them for timber & firewood for their own use, but not for sale.

All persons wishing to procure Govt. land in Hamakua are to apply through you whether natives or foreigners, and all applications forwarded to this office must be accompanied by a survey of the land. There is no probability that any application so forwarded will be refused provided that the price offered be a reasonable one, and approved by you...

The price of a Royal patent is Four Dollars which you will send at the same time with the price of the land. The purchaser in all cases is to pay for

surveying, and should his application be refused o kona poho no ia (it would be his own loss).

By the new law all fish in the seas adjacent to Govt. Lands are free, and any purchaser of such lands acquires no right whatever to tabu the fish... [HSA – Interior Department Letter Book 3:168]

Hilo December 4, 1852

T. Metcalf, Superintendent of Public Works;

to A.G. Thurston, Interior Department Clerk

(Reports on inspection Government livestock in the Waimea-Kalaieha region; and recommends development of pens, etc.; with sketch of mountain lands to Keamoku.):

...I have taken an account of stock at Waimea and it results as follows viz:

One Bull; 10 old cows; 87 young cows; 89 Heifers; 25 heifer calves; 84 oxen steers; 25 Bull calves; 43 sheep in all; 3 goats; 6 horses in all; and 32 Bipi Kanawai. The last being Bullocks received for fines. I did not count, not knowing the fact until after the act. was taken, but take Davis' act. for the number.

I should advise the sale of these Bullocks at once. They have been so neglected of late that they have become nearly wild, not herding them sometimes for months. Besides I don't think bullocks will ever be worth more in Waimea than at the present. I have heard no one say he would give more than 50 cts. per head for them as they run. All Bullocks (except the Governments) are increasing at a frightful rate about Waimea. August 5th 1850 there were 267 bullocks; in June 7, 1852 there were 288. And at November 29th ult. the day I took the a/c, there were, as you will see by looking up, 391. Aside from the Bipi Kanawai. Then look at the number of cows & account the increase with natural laws if you can.

I have been up about the mountain a little and made inquiries of all the foreigners and natives that I have seen who have been among the wild bullocks of late. And the result is this:

That the bullocks are very poor at present especially those on the windward side of the mountain. They are decreasing rapidly. The causes are – first, Stealing; second, Dogs; third, by far the most destructive, the great majority of Bulls over that of the cows. The cows being the weaker have more easily fallen a prey to the wild Dogs. The Bulls in their greater numbers now completely worry the cows out of all power to breed.

I propose the following, that His Majesty & the Govt. divide the Bullocks as they now are on the mountains, one party taking all from Nauhi around windward to Laumaia inclusive; the other party taking the balance – see sketch [Figure 12] – as near as I can ascertain those boundaries will divide the bullocks in about equal shares. Those at windward being more condensed but farther from market and in a more tedious climate. The others are more sparse but in a milder climate, nearer market, and my informants say much fatter than those at the windward of the mountain.

After the decision is made, I should advise the building of pens where necessary & castrate all the males & mark the whole, and so continue to do yearly, until finally disposed of. Or otherwise sell the whole at once. One or the other plan must be accepted immediately or the wild bullocks will be of no account. I propose to go back to Waimea again and take a route through the woods from Makahanaloa to Maunakea in order to ascertain the practicability of making a road through the woods around the north side of the mountain to Waimea. But I am apprehensive the rains will defeat my project as it now pours down in torrents and bids fair to continue to do so for a long time.

I have been examining the work upon the roads wherever I have been, but as this road subject belongs to my Annual Report, I will close... [HSA – Interior Department Misc. Box 145]

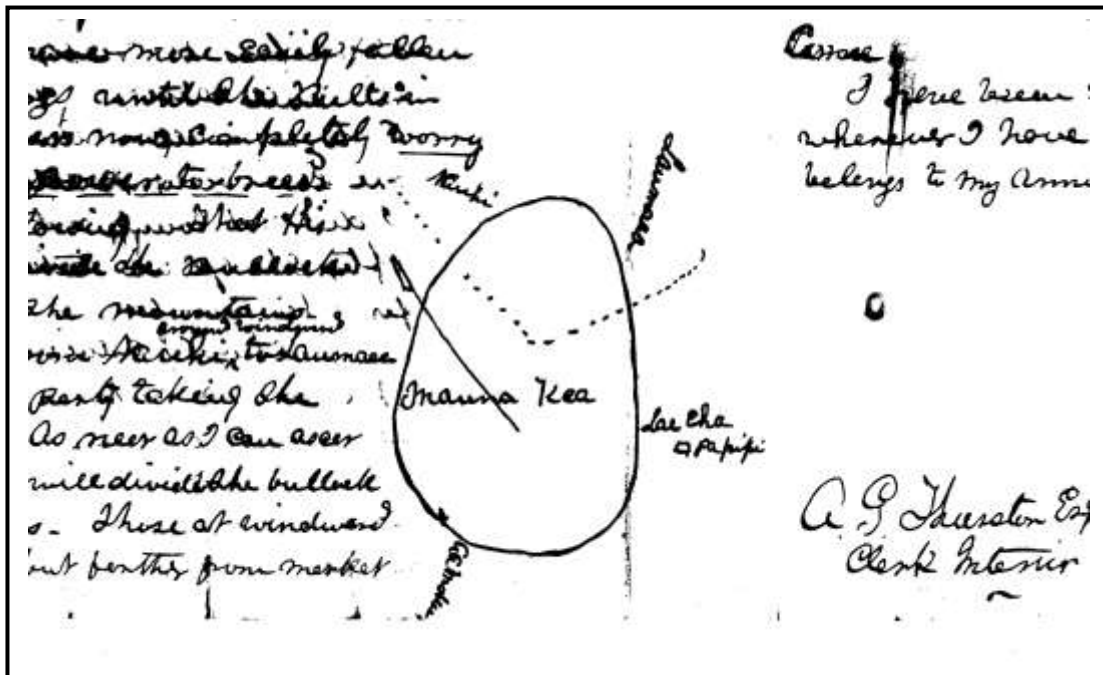


Figure 12. T. Metcalf's Sketch of Proposed Division of Mountain Lands – Aamoku (Keamoku), Lae Eha (Kalaieha), Laumaea (Laumaia) and Nauhi

Waimea Hawaii

November 1, 1856

Isaac Y. Davis, to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior

(Describes depredation of forest and grazing lands around Mauna Kea, as a result of the herds of wild sheep.):

...I now have a good time to write to you with Aloha, and tell you my thoughts about those things pertaining to the Nation of our King. Love (Aloha) is the foremost, and I dwell here with Aloha for all of you.

First, let me tell you about the Sheep of the attorney, Mr. Montgomery, dwelling at Puupueo, on the Mountain. Five or perhaps six miles above the place of J.P. Parker, Esq. E. Sparke Esq., is the one who tends to said Sheep, the Land, and the houses, and many acres of land purchased by Mr. Montgomery. I do not know the number of acres of Land, but I have heard that it is Five hundred

(500) Acres, that is all. But the Sheep roam all about, from one area here, to another area over there. The Sheep roam from Puupueo⁸ to Puuhuluhulu, and to the Gulch of Kemole. That is half of Mauna Kea, and many thousands of Acres that the Sheep roam across. The land is cut down, there is no place that anything will grow. The grasses are gone, and there is only dirt on the Land, just like Waimea, and because of this, the cattle are also no more on this section of the Mountain, having been routed from one place to another.

As a result, I inquire of you, has this thing been agreed to by you, that the Sheep could simply roam about this place? Because I do not know, and am unaware of it, I inquire of you.

If the Sheep are allowed to stay for long, as they presently do, all the grass and forest of the place shall be consumed. It will be an evil thing, for these Sheep have exceedingly poisonous teeth.

Here is what I know, the sheep were not numerous before, and there were many animals of other varieties in those 20 or more years past. There has been no evil seen upon the land as at the present time.

Give my Aloha to C.T.B. Rooke, Kamaikui, and Aloha all of your household as well.

I am with thanks... [HSA – Interior Department, Misc. Box 146; Maly, translator]

January 16, 1857

Francis Spencer; to John Young, Minister of Interior

(regarding lease of Kalaieha and Kaohe for sheep ranching):

...The undersigned carrying on Sheep Farming &c. at Lihue, Waimea, Island of Hawaii, and being anxious to increase his Flock to an extent that would enable him to raise sufficient wool to make it a profitable business to export the same. And having ordered some pure blood Marino Sheep from Germany and New South Wales.

Beg Respectfully to offer to lease for a term of Twenty or more Years — Kalaieha part of the Government Land called Kaohe, district of Hamakua between Maunakea and Maunaloa. A small portion of which was let at five cents per Acre in mistake for his Majesty King Kamehameha IV. Land your petitioner is now informed the land belongs to the Government and Respectfully offers to lease say Ten Thousand Acres at Three Hundred Dollars per Annum allowing your petitioner at any time to annul the same. By forfeiting one years rent and all improvements. Your petitioner would further say there are no inhabitants within Thirty or Forty miles of the place and through the scarcity of water is not likely to be that, together with wild Dogs induces your petitioner to ask the privilege of annulling the lease with the above proviso. Trusting that your Excellency will be graciously pleased to grant my petition...
[page 1]

⁸ Pu'upueo is situated in Pā'auhau, above the Makahālau section of the ranch.

Resolved that the Minister of the Interior be authorized to lease 10,000 acres of land in Kaohe, Hamakua, Hawaii to F. Spencer at the rate of 6 cents per acre a year for such time as the Minister may see fit, provided however that the thousand acres applied for and now occupied by Mr. J. Low shall not be included in the 10,000 acres [page 2]. [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

October 14, 1857

**Isaac Y. Davis, to Lot Kamehameha, Minister of the Interior
(Regarding development of cattle pens on Government Lands –
Waimea & Mauna Kea Region):**

...At the time when the King sold the five hundred cattle to G.S. Kenway, it was then agreed that G.S. Kenway would fix the pens completely, and put all his cattle in, then afterwards, said pens were to belong to the King, he to deliver them into my hands for the King. All expenses pertaining to said pens were to be on the King's side, and were not to be counted against the 500 cattle of Mr. Kenway. The King instructed me in that way, and said those pens were his.

But as you have instructed me in this matter, your servant is agreeable to place said pens in the hands of Mr. Adams & Allen... [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

August 1, 1861

**Indenture of Francis Spencer & Robert C. Janion;
to Waimea Grazing Company
(regarding formation of the Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company
and transfer of interest in lands, properties and rights):**

This Indenture made the first day of August AD One Thousand Eight Hundred & Sixty one, between Francis Spencer & Robert C. Janion, lately copartners in the Grazing business at Puuloa, Waimea, on the Island of Hawaii, under the name & Style of F. Spencer & Company, of the first part, & the Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company of the other part. Where as by articles of agreement & co partnership made & entered into & concluded by & between the said F. Spencer & R.C. Janion of the one part and Francis Spencer, James Louzada and Henry Cornell copartners in another Grazing Establishment at Lihue in the District of Kohala in the said Island of Hawaii, of the other part, reciting that the said several parties & firms respectively had agreed & did thereby agree to consolidate & unite their several partnership propositions that the same should be therefore held, managed & conducted as a Joint Stock Establishment in the name style & title of "The Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company..."

Now this Indenture witnesseth that in perusal of the premises & the said recited agreement...conveying and making over to the said Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company all the said several properties owned by them as copartners in the said Lihue establishment & in further consideration of Ten Dollars in hand paid by the said Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company... They...have granted...all the right, title, & interest in & to all that tract of land in Hamakua on the Island of Hawaii aforesaid granted to George S. Kenway by Royal Patent No. 632, & by said G.S. Kenway afterwards duly conveyed to D.R. Janion & John Montgomery.

And Also in & to all that tract of land situate at Puuloa, Waimea...to the late William French by Royal Patent No. 68, and afterwards conveyed by G.S. Kenway & Nancy Anne his wife to D.R. de Janion by deed 17th day of July 1856... And Also all that lot of land enclosed by a fence & forming part of the dwelling house lot previously occupied by George S. Kenway...as granted to William Beadle by Land Commission Certificate on Claim No. 4038... And Also all that piece of land situate at Pohonui, Kawaihae, Hawaii, granted to the late William French by Royal Patent No. 69... And Also one undivided interest of all that tract of land known as the Ahupuaa of Puukapu...as demised to the said R.C. Janion, James Louzada & F. Spencer by His Majesty Kamehameha IV by Indenture of Lease bearing date of the first day of September AD 1857 & recorded in the Register Office in Liber 10 on pages 405, 406 & 407.

And Also all that piece of Land & Houses there all in Waimea... And Also all that tract of Land called & known as Waikoekoe in the District of Hamakua...the personal property of W.C. Lunalilo by Indenture of Lease bearing the date of the 25th day of January 1860... And Also all that piece of Land situated in Waimea, Hawaii & Known by the name of Kailiohia, being a Kuleana from His Late Majesty Kamehameha III, as demised to the said Francis Spencer by Anthony D. Allen by lease bearing date of the 5th day of January AD 1861...

And Also all that piece of Land containing 1641 acres in Kapulena, Hamakua...Lease bearing date of the 20th day of January 1859... And also in & to all the piece of Land situate at Puukapu... by Deed bearing date the 19th day of April AD 1861... And Also all that piece of land situate at Hanaipoi in the District of Hamakua...conveyed to George K. Lindsey by His Majesty Kamehameha IV by deed bearing date of the 2nd day of September AD 1859... And Also all that piece of land situate at Puukapu...granted to Kaluahinenui by the Board of Land title Commissioners by Award in claim No. 4138... And Also all that piece of land situate at Puukapu aforesaid awarded to Mokuhea by the Board of Commissioners of Land Title on claim No. 4210... And Also all that piece of land situate at Puukapu aforesaid awarded to Mahoe by the Board of Commissioners of Land Title on claim No. 3685... And Also all that piece of land situate at Puukapu aforesaid awarded by the Board of Commissioners of Land Title to Kulunui on claim No. 4227...

And Also all the joint interest of the said Francis Spencer & Robert Janion parties here to in a certain Indenture of Lease bearing date of the 16th day of November AD 1859 made between His Royal Highness, Prince L. Kamehameha, His Majesty's Minister of the Interior on behalf of His Majesty King Kamehameha IV & the Hawaiian Government of the first part & the said Robert C. Janion party hereto of the second part where by the said party of the first part demised to the said Robert C. Janion his executors, administrators & assigns, all that part of those lands belonging to His Majesty & the Government on the Mountain of Mauna Kea, [Ka'ohē and Humu'ula] lying above the forest on the Hilo side of the Mountain & on the Waimea side of the Mountain above the lands of Paauhau & Waikoloa (except certain lands therein specified) with the privilege of catching & killing the wild unbranded cattle on any of the lands belong to His Majesty or the Hawaiian Government on the Districts of Hilo,

Hamakua & South Kohala (excepting His Majesty's land at Puukapu), for and during the term of five years from & after the first day of August 1859... [Bureau of Conveyances Liber 15:24-28]

In 1863, the Government land of Pu'u Anahulu was leased out to three Hawaiian ranchers in General Lease No. 106. The lease, between Lot Kamehameha to G. Kaukuna, M. Maeha, and S. Kanakaole, granted the "Entire ahupua'a — excepting the land rights of the native tenants thereon — in lease for the period of five years" (Hawaii State Archives; Series DLNR2 Vol. 15). The northeastern boundary of the Pu'u Anahulu lease was the Ke'āmoku lava flow, for which the Ke'āmoku ranch section was named. In 1865, Kaukuna, Maeha and Kanakaole sold their leasehold interest to Francis Spencer and the growing interests of the Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company —

Puuanahulu – Entire ahupua'a — excepting the land rights of the native tenants thereon; granted to "Ka Poe hui hanai holoholona a Mahiai ma Waimea..." (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 19:333)

Waikōloa (Ke'āmoku-'Auwaiakēkua), Ka'ōhe and the Humu'ula Region Leased to Grazing Interests

Thus, by the middle 1860s, Spencer's Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Company (WGAC) controlled several Waimea region lands as well as most of the available mountain lands of Ka'ōhe and Humu'ula. The addition of Pu'u Anahulu to his holdings gave him almost continuous grazing coverage from Hilo, Hāmākua, South Kohala and Kona. The exception being the land of Waikōloa which was owned, and being used by G. Huelo Davis, the Māhele awardee of the land division. In July 1868, this changed, when Davis, granted a lease of Waikōloa to Wm. Green on behalf of the WGAC for an initial term of 20 years. The interest of the Grazing company in Ke'āmoku-Waikōloa vicinity lands was extended through several owners of the company, and only terminated in 1903, when A.W. Carter purchased the entire land from heirs of the Davis Estate. Throughout this time, the primary operation focused on sheep herding and the exporting of wool, though records below also document the taking and sale of bullocks from the Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku section lands.

October 23, 1866

George Davis & Wife To W. Claude Jones

Warranty Deed:

This Indenture made and executed this twenty-third day of October AD 1866 by and between George Davis and Kalapuna his wife of the Island of Hawaii of the first part and W. Claude Jones of the Island of Oahu of the second part witnesseth. That the said parties of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of Five Thousand Dollars to them in hand paid by the said party of the second part the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and from the further payment of the same he is forever acquitted and discharged have granted, bargained sole conveyed and delivered and by these presents do grant bargain sell, convey and deliver unto the said party of the second part — all that certain tract of land adjoining Waimea in the District of South Kohala in the Island of Hawaii one of the Hawaiian Islands being a portion of the ahupuaa of Waikoloa awarded to the said George Davis one of the parties of the first part by award of the Land Commissioner No. 8521, letter B dated the 24th of February AD 1854 and known bounded and designated as follows —

Commencing at a stone marked with a cross at a point on the line of the King's land of Waikoloa forty five feet south 29° West of the Northeast corner of the wall of Makahikialua East of Frances Spencer's dwelling at Puuloa — thence along the line of the Kings land in the ahupuaa of Waimea by the hill of Kamakeokeo, Aiea Nui, Puuokaa, Puu o Akuanui, Poowai o Kauhuhu one hundred and ninety four chains 21 links to a pile of stones marked with a cross at a place called Puupili — thence South 33° ½ East fifty six chains to a monument of stones marked with a cross, thence North 48° ½ East sixty six chains 60 links to a pile of stones marked with a cross, thence North 22 East ninety five chains 50 links to a fixed rock at the Southern base of the hill of Puuhoolelelupe said rock being marked with a cross, thence North 25° East seventeen chains to a large basaltic rock marked with a cross at Walaohia [Alaohia], thence North 21° East twenty seven chains and 20 links to a stone marked with a cross at the South Western angle of the wall of Makahikialua, thence North 44° West to the place of commencement the same containing a superficial area of Seven Hundred acres and 6/100 according to the field notes and map of the survey made by S.L. Kaelemakule hereto amended and made part of this deed. To have and to hold the said tract of land to the said W. Claude Jones party of the second part, his heirs & assigns in fee simple and general warranty forever together with all the rights of water and of way, and the privileges of pasturage and fire wood on the said ahupuaa of Waikoloa and all the improvements rights privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any way appertaining. In testimony whereof the said parties of the first part have hereunto signed their names and affixed their seals the day and date first above written.

George Davis & Kalapuna [Bureau of Conveyances Liber 22:244-245]

October 25, 1866

George Davis to W. Claude Jones

Power of Attorney:

Know all men by these present that I George Davis of the Island of Hawaii have appointed constituted and made and by these present do nominate appoint constitute and make W. Claude Jones of the Island of Oahu my true and lawful agent and attorney in fact for me and in my name place and stead to take charge of and manage the ahupuaa of Waikoloa in the District of South Kohala in the said Island of Hawaii and to rent, lease, divide, sell and otherwise dispose of the same to the best advantage — and also to sell, dispose of or otherwise manage the stock of sheep and cattle on said ahupuaa of Waikoloa to the best advantage — hereby giving and conferring as my said agent and attorney in fact all the full ample and necessary proven and authority to carry out all the provisions of this Power of Attorney and hereby notifying and confirming all that he may lawfully do in the premises — this Power of Attorney is to continue for six years from this date and in consideration of the legal services of the said W. Claude Jones this Power of Attorney shall be deemed and considered irrevocable — the said W. Claude Jones shall also have the power and authority to substitute one or more agents to take care of the interests of the said ahupuaa of Waikoloa and to manage the same. Witness my hand and seal this 25th day of October, AD 1866.

George Davis Hueu & Kalapuna. [Bureau of Conveyances Liber 22:242-243]

July 2, 1868

**George Davis Hueu; to William L. Green
(Leasing the “Ahupuaa” of Waikoloa to the Waimea Grazing
& Agricultural Company):**

This Indenture of Lease is executed on this 2nd day of July AD 1868, between George Davis Hueu of Kawaihae, Island of Hawaii, on the first part, and William L. Green of Honolulu, Island of Oahu of the second part.

The reasons for this lease are described, and the agreement made, thus, it is done and leased, and by this instrument, George Davis Hueu leases to William L. Green, his administrators, executors, and representatives, that Ahupuaa aina called Waikoloa – by it’s ancient boundaries – situate at South Kohala, Island of Hawaii, in accordance with the right of George Davis Hueu through Patent of the Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles in Land Commission Award Number 8521 B, Parcel 1 (Withholding all that part of the land at Waikoloa, previously sold by George Davis Hueu to William Claude Jones in the Deed of 23 October, 1866, and one section of the land above that sold to W.C. Jones, for the party of the first part) the land of Waikoloa is for him...William L. Green...for Twenty (20) years, beginning on the 24th day of March, 1868...for Six Hundred Dollars \$600.00 per year.

And also this, that William L. Green will also pay the taxes levied and those that may be levied by the law... Here also is this, that William L. Green agrees that George Davis Hueu, his family and heirs, during the terms of this lease, may continue to keep their 1000 Cattle, 100 Horses, and 1000 Sheep, and other livestock, and graze them on the lands leased to the party of the second part, with no hindrance...

Agreed to this 2nd day of July, 1868

John Young Davis

George Davis Hueu

W.L. Green [Bureau of Conveyances Liber 26:58-60; Maly, translator]

September 5, 1868

The Waimea Company to F. Spencer

Deed:

This Indenture...between The Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company of the one part, and Francis Spencer of Waimea in the Island of Hawaii of the other part. Whereas by Instrument dated 1 November 1859 and supplemental agreement dated 19 March 1860 His Royal Highness Prince L. Kamehameha Minister of the Interior on behalf of His Majesty Kamehameha IV and of His Majesty’s Government did lease for a term of five years from the first day of August 1859 certain tract of land in Hilo and Hamakua Hawaii unto R. C. Janion his heirs and assigns with the privilege of catching the Wild Cattle thereon, and whereas the said Prince L. Kamehameha on the 7th day of July AD 1862 again on behalf of His Majesty and the Government did extend the term of the said lease on the same like conditions for a further term of five years from the first day of August AD 1864 unto the said Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company who had become entitled to the said lease, and whereas the individual interest of His Majesty in the said lands so as aforesaid demised

or comprised in that part of the land of Humuula as described in the said Instrument of 1 November 1859 now in recital by survey thereof with the exception of so much of the same as may lay within the dense forest of Hilo which was not included in the lease from the said Prince L. Kamehameha, and it was by said instrument of the 1 day of November 1859 witnessed that His said Majesty Kamehameha IV for the consideration therein mentioned did agree on the part of himself and heirs and assigns, and did thereby grant unto the said Company...the privilege to renew the said lease of that said land of Humuula above and therein described with the Cattle catching rights therein, and without the exception therein and herein before mentioned for a further term of Ten Years from the first day of August AD 1869 at the yearly rent of Eight Hundred Dollars payable half yearly. And whereas the said Company has agreed to demise and lease to the said Francis Spencer all their estate and interest in a portion of the said land of Humuula herein after more particularly described excepting as is herein expressed for the consideration herein after more particularly mentioned...

The said Company do hereby demise and lease to the said Francis Spencer his heirs & assigns all their estate right title and interest under and by virtue of the several documents herein before recited in and to all that part or portion of the said land of Humuula from Nauhi Gulch to the Northern boundary and from Puuoo [?] Hill and on a line therefrom to the Kolie to the Southern boundary all above the Woods. To have and to hold the same unto the said Francis Spencer...for all the term and time thereof granted to the said Company...subject to the yearly rent of Two Hundred Dollars to be paid to the said Company...annually. And also subject to the reservations as to pasturing their Horses and Cattle over the said portion of land hereby demised...

The Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company by
W.L. Green, President
Theo H. Davies, Secretary
Francis Spencer... [Bureau of Conveyances Liber 26:220-223]

[Note: see also Liber 26:221-225 below, regarding above lands covered by Mortgage Deed in the amount of \$16,000.00 paid by the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company on the part of Francis Spencer; September 5, 1868.]

September 5, 1868

F. Spencer to The Waimea Company

Deed:

This Indenture made the fifth day of September A.D. 1868 between Francis Spencer of Waimea in the Island of Hawaii of the one part and the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company of the other part. Whereas the said company by Indenture bearing even date herewith did for the considerations therein mentioned assign transfer and make over unto the said Francis Spencer all the estate and interest of the said Company in and to certain tracts of land in the said Island of Hawaii held by the said Company under several leases thereof respectfully – that is to say – a certain tract of land called Beadles Hill or Hokuula, Pitman's leased land Holuokawai, Kalepa, Waimea and Puuanahulu. And whereas the said Company did by and then Indenture of

the same date for the consideration therein mentioned assign transfer and make over to the said Francis Spencer all the estate and interest of the said Company in another tract of land called Waikoloa in said Island of Hawaii held by a lease from George Davis [dated July 2, 1868] for an unexpired term of years subject to a yearly rent of Six Hundred Dollars all which said several tracts of land formed part of the Sheep and Cattle runs of the said Company. And whereas upon the treaty for the purchase of the interest of the said Company in the said several lands it was agreed by the parties hereto that the said Francis Spencer should re-lease back to the said Company the privilege of running and pasturing their Cattle, Horses and Mules on all the several lands on the terms herein after mentioned.

Now this Indenture witnesseth that on pursuance and execution of the said recited agreement and in consideration of the rents and covenants herein after reserved mentioned and contained, he the said Francis Spencer hath given granted and demised and by these presents doth give grant and demise unto the said Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company their successors and assigns full free and exclusive privileges and right to run and pasture the Cattle Horses and Mules of the said Company as well those now owned and claimed by the said Company as those which the said Company their successors or assigns shall or may hereafter acquire own or reasonably claim to own on the said Island of Hawaii. And as well unbranded Mountain Cattle or Bush and Tame Cattle, and all increase and produce there of respectively upon and over the said several lands herein before named (save and except) such portions of the said lands as he said Francis Spencer his representatives or assigns may hereafter fence and appropriate for the purpose of Agriculture or Sheep Pens, with free and unlimited right of ingress egress and regress into upon over from and out of the several tracts of land and areas of them and every part thereof respectively...

And further that it shall be lawful for the said Company their Successors or Assigns to enclose and fence any portion of the said land of Waikoloa which they may select for the purpose of a Cattle Pen not to exceed in all Five Acres, and for the consideration aforesaid it is hereby further witnessed that the said Company shall and their successors and assigns shall pay to the said Francis Spencer his Successors and assigns the annual rent of Fifty Dollars for and in respect of the said land of Puuanahulu in the district of Kona [Lease No. 106] during the continuance of the privilege hereby granted. In witness...

...Francis Spencer
The Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company by
W. L. Green, President
Theo H. Davies, Secretary... [Bureau of Conveyances Liber 26:213-217]

In 1870, we find one of the earliest accounts of cattle being taken from lands in the Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku section of Waikōloa. On April 14, 1870, W.L. Green, on behalf of the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company, applied to F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior, for a lease on Kaohe and neighboring mountain lands around Mauna Kea. The application also itemized the number of head of cattle that might be taken from the neighboring lands per annum. The application was not granted; instead, John P. Parker II got the Ka'ohē lease, thus enlarging the range adjoining his Pā'auhau lands. Green wrote:

...I have the honor to address your Excellency in regard to our conversation of the 12th inst. respecting the proposed lease to the Waimea Grazing Company of the Mountain Lands of Mauna Kea belonging to His Majesty's Government and of their interest in the wild mountain cattle.

As I endeavored to explain to your Excellency the Grazing Company could not expect to make anything if they paid the same sum for the Government lands and cattle as they do for Humuula & the Crown interest in the cattle on Humuula viz \$800. per annum — which would make \$1600 per annum in all. I presume it will not be questioned that the land of Humuula is of considerably more value than the Government mountain lands in question; and I may state that my idea of the value of what the Government now proposes to lease is about \$500 per an. – say \$1300 per annum in all.

I understand that the Crown Commissioners would feel inclined to lower the rent of Humuula & the cattle of the Grazing Company would accept of a shorted term, and as possibly your Excellency may hold the same views with regard to the Government mountain lands & cattle on Mauna Kea, I beg to make the following alternative offers for/in the name of the Grazing Co., for the consideration of your Excellency and the Crown Commissioners; say for the Lease of Humuula & the Crown interest in the mountain cattle, and the lease of the Government mountain lands on Mauna Kea and their interest in the mountain cattle.

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| Seven years Lease (instead of ten) | \$1300 per annum. |
| Five years “ | \$1200. |
| One year's Lease with yearly privilege up to five years | \$1300. |
| Year by year with one year's notice from either party | \$1000. |

In these cases however, the Grazing Co. would wish to stipulate for a sheep grazing privilege on a certain portion of Humuula for Mr. Francis Spencer & assigns for whatever term may remain, short of ten years from August 1st 1869.

In all the above offers I have considered that half the rent, say for Humuula counts from August 1st 1869, and the other half (for the Government interests) is to be reckoned from April 1st 1870. The lease to expire however, on the same day.

I beg to enclose a copy of the memorandum I showed your Excellency with some further remarks for your information...

Literal copy from W.L. Green's private Mem. Book of hides that might be reasonably counted on per an. made at Waimea:

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Gr. Co's. Land | Lalakea Bush | 400 hides per an. |
| Parker & Gr. Co. Land | Parker's Bush | 400 “ |
| Gr. Co. Land | Kohala Bush | 100 “ |
| Gr. Co. Land | <u>Apipii Waikoloa</u> | <u>500 “</u> |
| Government Land | <u>Waikii</u> | <u>300 “</u> |
| Gr. Co. Land | <u>Amoku [Ke-amoku]</u> | <u>100 “</u> |

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----|---|
| Government Land | Charley Hall | 100 | “ |
| Humuula | Kalaieha – Louzada | 500 | “ |
| Humuula | Hopuwai to Hanaipoe | 300 | “ |
| Humuula | Hilo Bush Kalaieha to Nauhi | 300 | “ |

Deducting 900 Bush cattle of own leaves 2100 mountain hides – which is about the average number which have actually been obtained when the business has been prosecuted with energy.

It should be observed by the above list that a small population of mountain cattle may be expected from Government lands and how large a population of mountain cattle are obtained from the Grazing Company’s seven lands for which they pay high rents.

Estimate of Mountain Hides:

| | | |
|--|---------|------|
| 2000 hides at 9½ \$ per Hd. | \$5700 | |
| Cost of catching, killing & flaying | \$2250 | |
| Salt & cartage to Waimea | \$750 | |
| Drying – cartage to Beach frt. to Honolulu | \$1000 | |
| Commission on sales cartage etc. | \$285 | 4285 |
| Leaving for rent, profit, etc. | \$1415. | |

N.B. 9½ \$ is an extreme price.

[HSA – Interior Department Lands]

On September 20, 1870, John Young Davis entered into an agreement of Power of Attorney with Edward Aesgut, by which Aesgut would act as Davis’ representative in matters of estate. On the same date, Davis also granted Aesgut “a right to catch, kill, and sell all unbranded cattle upon the land of Waikoloa.” The agreement further allowed Aesgut to catch all the cattle bearing the Davis brands, and to take them to the land he held in Hamakua, to be fattened, and then killed and sold (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 30:442-443; Maly, translator).

January 6, 1871

**Indenture Between the Commissioners of Crown Lands,
and the Association known as the Waimea Grazing Company:**

All that tract or parcel of land situated on the Island of Hawaii known and described as follows to wit:

Humuula— “Commencing at a pile of rocks erected on Papaalepo Hill, the bottom rock marked KIV on the Boundary of Komoko [see Register Map 668; Wiltse, 1862]. The boundary runs...to a pile of rocks, bottom rock marked KIV, on the top of a small hill called Ahuamoa; thence...to the top of a low flat hill called Ahuapoopuaa at the mauka corner of the land of Komoko; thence in a South Westerly direction bounded by the lands of Kaohe and Kalala to a rock on the slope of Mauna loa called Pohakuohanalei; thence in a North Easterly direction bounded by the land of Kapapala; thence in a North Westerly direction bounded by Waiakea; thence in a Northerly direction bounded by Mauna Kea, Piihonua, Makahanaloha, Hakalau, Piha, Maulua, Kapehu and Laupahoehoe to

a pile of rocks on a rocky ridge running East & West; thence in a Northerly direction bounded by the other part of Humuula to Commencement...”

...During the term of Ten Years to commence the First day of January A.D. 1870... Paying therefore unto the said Land Commissioners or their successors in office, the yearly rent of Eight Hundred Dollars...and that they will not commit or knowingly permit or suffer and waste to be done on the said demised premises, or cut down or permit to be cut down any trees on said land, of Humuula.

And will at the end or expiration of the term hereby granted yield up unto the said Commissioners...the premises hereby demised, with all erections and buildings now on or hereafter to be put upon the same in as good order and condition in all respects (reasonable wear and tear and damage by fire and other inevitable casualties excepted) as the same are at present or may hereafter be put by the said Party of the Second Part or those entitled to the Lessee’s interest...

Jno. O. Dominis, Commissioner and Land Agent
The Waimea Grazing & Agricultural Co.
W.L. Green, President
Theo. H. Davies, Secretary

And it is further intended by the parties of the First Part to convey to the said parties of the Second Part the right to Kill all Wild and Unbranded Cattle within the District herein above referred to.

(Signed) Jno. O. Dominis. [HSA Lease Book, Series 369 Vol. 5]

Lihue, Hawaii May 17, 1871

Francis Spencer, to F. H. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior

(Applies for lease of mountain lands of Kaohe – Pohakuloa Section):

...Finding the Government land Kaohe in the District of Hamakua not leased to any person, I beg to make you an offer to lease a privilege of catching the wild unbranded cattle, and horses, that may be found running wild upon said land for the term of five years. Not the Land — for which I am willing to pay Four Hundred dollars per annum in half yearly payments. Allow me to call your attention to the new Law passed last Session, under cover of this Law, persons who own Land by Lease or otherwise, are helping themselves to the Cattle belonging to this Land Kaohe... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

June 5, 1871

F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior; to J.P. Parker II

Government Land Lease No. 156 – Land of Kaohe:

This Indenture of Lease made this fifth day of June A.D. one Thousand Eighteen hundred and Seventy one by and between His Excellency Ferd. W. Hutchinson, His Hawaiian Majesty’s Minister of the Interior on behalf of the Hawaiian Government party of the first part and John Parker of Waimea, Hawaii Party of the second part. Witnesseth that the said party of the first part for and in consideration of the covenants and agreements herein after set forth,

has leased and doth hereby lease unto the party of the second part all that tract of land known as Kaohe situated in the district of Hamakua Island of Hawaii. which land the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns are to process together with all its present improvements and advantages, also the right to Kill the wild unbranded cattle thereon, for the term of five years from the date of this indenture...provided that he or his said representative will yearly pay of cause to be paid...the sum of Four Hundred Dollars...And in addition thereto pay any taxes now or to be hereafter imposed by law on landed property which are applicable to lease hold estates... [HSA – DLNR 2 Government Leases, Vol. 15]

On October 28, 1876, Francis Spencer sold his interests in the Puuloa Sheep Ranch to George W. Macfarlane (Bur. of Conveyances Lib. 47:236-237). Macfarlane in turn sold one-fourth of his interests in the Puuloa Sheep Ranch to William L. Green, a partner with Spencer in the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company, on February 13, 1878. The sale included:

...Twenty one thousand sheep with one fourth increase of the same, all sheep stations on the Island of Hawaii aforesaid with the improvements, and everything appurtenant to said sheep stations, all waggons, oxcarts, spring waggon, working oxen, steers, cows and calves, horses, mares, mules and all the goods, wares and merchandise in the retail store in Lihue, Island of Hawaii...the wool press, vats, tanks, pots, and all the implements and appurtenances belonging to or appertaining to sheep raising which were conveyed to me by Francis Spencer... I the said George W. Macfarlane have granted, sold, assigned and set over, and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell , assign and set over unto the said W.L. Green, the undivided fourth interest in all the several leases of land in the Island of Hawaii aforesaid, as follows, the lese of the Ahupuaa of Waikoloa, the land called Beadles Hill or Hokuula, Pitman's lease, the land called Holuokawai, and Kalopa... [Bur. of Conveyances Lib. 54:185-186]

It appears that in the years between ca. 1857 to 1871, both Spencer (WGAC) and the Parkers shared leasehold interests in resources of the mountain lands of Ka'ohē. In 1871, both ranchers applied for a lease on Ka'ohē, and Parker secured Lease No. 156 for "all" the land of Ka'ohē. In July 1876, J.P. Parker II renewed his lease of the region in Lease No. 217, which covered the Government land of Nienie, "And also, all that tract or parcel of Government land situate in the district of Hamakua, Hawaii, known as "Kaohe" (Land Division – Lease No. 217). The terms of the lease ran for fifteen years at a cost of \$800.00 per year.

The changes in leasehold interests of the mountain lands were not only occurring in Ka'ohē and Waimea, but also in large land of Humu'ula. Thus, F. Spencers' role in the future of ranch development on the island further diminished. On March 6, 1876, The Commissioners of Crown Lands entered into a new lease for the Crown land of Humu'ula. This lease was made between the Commissioners and James W. Gay—Spencer was cut out—by which:

All that tract and parcel of land situated in Island of Hawaii one of the Hawaiian Islands known as the land of Humuula, the boundaries whereof are or will be more particularly described in the Certificate of the Commissioner of Boundaries for the said Island of Hawaii. together with the full and free liberty to

kill all wild and unbranded cattle which may be found upon the said land. except the timber trees, and all young trees fit and proper to be raised and preserved for timber trees, now growing or being, or which shall hereafter grow, or be in and upon the above demised premises... ..for and during the term of twenty five years, to commence from the first day of April A.D. 1876... paying Eight Hundred Dollars by semi-annual payments... [Bur. of Conveyances Lib. 45:258-261]

The Humu'ula holdings subsequently transferred from Gay to the Haneberg brothers and H. Hackfeld & Company in the early 1890s; then to Samuel Parker (grandson of J.P. Parker I) and partners (1900); and in 1914 to Parker Ranch, under A.W. Carter. Thus, Spencer's role on Ka'ohe and Humu'ula ended in the 1870s, though sheep were still being taken in the vicinity of the Waikōloa-Ke'āmoku section. Spencer still maintained a residence and station at Ke'āmoku through the 1880s, and held his interests in the Pu'u Anahulu Ranch lease through 1895.

In 1891, the Ka'ohe Ahupua'a which J.P. Parker had previously held in its entirety, was subdivided into several large tracts. On September 9, 1891, Samuel Parker secured Ka'ohe Tract No. 3, adjoining Kalopā and Pā'auhau, and containing an area of 38,700 acres, at \$620.00 per year (Lease No. 436). The boundaries of Tract No. 3 included several important references to place names of interest:

Beginning at the southeast corner of the land of Kalopa and running as follows:

1. ...W. true 3800 ft. along Kalopa to summit of hill Moano;
2. ...W. true 6500 ft. along the same;
3. ...W. true 2500 ft. to the corner of Kalopa and Paauhau to a pile of stones above Koailiili Gulch;
4. ...W. true 5027 ft. along Paauhau to a pile of stones on the N.W. side of Kaluamakani;
5. ...W. true 16170 ft. along Paauhau to Kemole hill;
6. ...W. true 27900 ft. along Paauhau to Puu Laau;
7. ...W. true 9700 ft. along Paauhau to a point near Aiakala on Auwaiakekua.
8. ...W. true 8500 ft. along Waikoloa to Keonehehee;
9. ...E. true 22200 ft. along Waikoloa passing Puu Kekee to the south corner of Waikoloa on the Southeast side of Puu ka Pele;
10. ...E. true 60200 ft. along Lot 4 Kaohe, to the summit peak of Maunakea, the old Trig. Station on the N.E. point of it.
11. ...E. true 22600 ft. along Lot 5 Kaohe to the peak of Kole;
12. ...E. true 8700 ft. along the same down the mountain side too the initial point... [Land Division – Lease No. 436]

On September 19, 1892, Samuel Parker was authorized by the Minister of the Interior to mortgage the lease to Charles R. Bishop and trustees of the Estate (Land Division – Lease No. 436:3).

At the same time, August Haneberg, President of the Humuula Sheep Station Company, was granted Government Lease No. 457 (the Kaohe Tract No. 4). The 1891 boundaries of Tract No. 4 of Ka'ōhe adjoined the Waikōloa-Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku lands and were described as:

September 9, 1891

Beginning at the Trig. Station on the hill known as "Kole A" on the side of Maunakea, above Puu Oo, and running as follows:

1. ...W. true 12795 feet along Humuula to Lepe a Moa Hill;
2. ...W. true 19876 feet along Humuula to Omaokoili Hill;
3. ...W. true 78286 feet along Humuula to North Pohaku Hanalei on Maunaloa;
4. ...W. true 21075 feet along Kapapala to point in Mokuaweoweo Crater, which is S. 20° 23' W. true 5316 feet from the summit Trig. Station W. Maunaloa;
5. ...W. true 86135 feet along Keauhou 2d of Kona to Naohuleeulua a point on the flow of 1859 that is S. 57°45' W. true 64606 ft. from Ahumoa Trig. Station;
6. ...E. true 46800 feet along Puuanahulu to the south corner of Waikoloa at the foot of "Puu ka Pele;"
7. ...E. true 60200 feet along Tract No. 3 to the old Trig. Station on the N.E. point of the summit peak of Maunakea;
8. ...E. true 24200 feet along Tract No. 5 to the hill Kaupakuhale;
9. ...W. true 17200 feet along Humuula to the initial point, and containing an area of 137,200 Acres... [Land Division – Lease No. 457:1]

Lease No. 457 was sold for fifteen years at a cost of \$620.00 per year. On September 30, 1895, the Humuula Sheep Station and Company was authorized to assign the lease to Messrs. Hackfeld & Company (Land Division - Lease No. 457:4).

The Ka'ōhe No. 5 Tract, covering the lands from the 1877 Mountain Road at Papa Gulch to Hanaipoe iki Gulch at Kalopā (the road being the makai boundary), to the "summit hill of Maunakea," was leased to J.M. Horner and J.F. Hackfeld (Kukaiau Plantation Company) on September 9, 1891 (Lease No. 452). Thus, in 1895, Hackfeld's interest in the windward Hāmākua and Hilo mountain lands extended from Kalopā to the Humu'ula Sheep Station (Kalai'eha), and across the Pōhakuloa flats to Mauna Loa.

During the tenure of Spencer and Gay, transportation between Kalai'eha and Waimea was made via the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku route, as in Emerson's 1882 field book note, "road to Waimea from Gay's Ranch" (Figure 9). Also, in the early part of Haneberg's tenure at Humu'ula, sheep were taken via the Waiki'i (Waiki) route. On August 29, 1890, Haneberg reported:

Left with Ellerbrock and Kramer and 107 sheep, arrived at Waiki at ¼ past 12, no accidents; Spohler and McLane returned with Teams all right. McLane broke gooseneck hook when going up hill at Waiki... [Haneberg Journal, 1890:14; in collection of the PPS]

Later communications indicate that while Haneberg and Hackfeld held a lease on the Pōhakuloa section of Ka'ōhe, they routed much of their transportation from Kalai'eha-Humu'ula via the Hāmākua route. This was perhaps a function of the Hackfeld association with the Kūka'iau-Pa'auilo lands.

On January 24, 1894, Hackfeld and Company applied to the Commissioners of Crown lands for a 30 year extension on their lease of Humu'ula:

...so as to enable the Company to construct a substantial road from Kalaieha, the station on Humuula, to Ookala or Paauilo, on the Hamakua Coast. Thereby affording better facilities for the shipping of wool, sheep &c.

The communication further stated that the construction of a good and substantial road would involve considerable expense, besides being a permanent improvement to the land... [HSA – Series 367 Minutes (1888-1895)]

Terms for the 30 year lease were not granted, and by 1899, negotiations for transfer of the lease between Haneberg, Hackfeld, and Samuel Parker were underway. By 1900, the Humu'ula and Ka'ōhe lease lands were both held by Parker Ranch interests and regular transportation of wool, sheep, and other livestock between Humu'ula, Waiki'i, Ke'āmoku, and the larger Waimea region resumed. Additionally, since the ranch held interest in the lands and outlying stations which encircled Mauna Kea, transportation was facilitated by both the Waimea-Waiki'i and Hāmākua routes, depending on needs.

Several articles in Island newspapers chronicled the transfer of the Humu'ula lease into Parker family hands, and the large-scale development of the sheep operations of the ranch. Articles from 1899 and 1900, cited below, summarize the venture:

**November 3, 1899 (Hawaiian Gazette)
Meat for Hawaii
Heavy Beef and Mutton Hui for the Big Island.**

A Ranch Changes Hands

Col. Sam Parker the Head of the New Company-Supply for Future.

One of the largest land deals ever chronicled in the records of the islands will be consummated on the return of the Hon. Col. Sam'l. Parker from the mainland.

For some time past Col. Parker has held an option of purchase over the Humuula and Kaohe sheep stations on the Island of Hawaii, comprising an acreage of 237,000 acres and immediately adjoining his present ranch of about 300,000 acres and was only prevented from completing the purchase before his departure through a difficulty in obtaining a complete inventory of the stock carried.

The lease of this great property which expires in 1908 is held by August Hanneberg, manager of Olowalu plantation, his brother Armin of Honolulu and Manager Gramberg, who together hold the whole of the 1000 shares of the Humuula Sheep Station which is capitalized at \$100,000.

With the real estate there is sold about 30,000 head of sheep, 7000 lambs, 600 horses and also two shares in the Metropolitan Meat Company.

The purchase price is said to be \$70,000. It is understood that H. Waterhouse & Co. were the brokers who brought about the transfer, but upon enquiry there, beyond admitting that Col. Parker held an option they declined to give any information.

The Humuula Sheep Station is the ranch from which heavy drawings of mutton are made for the local market and the object of the new ranch company of which Col. Parker is the reputed head is to place a check on the present heavy draughts from that island and conserve the present stock to supply the rapidly increasing demand in Hawaii.

This action will of course benefit the local supply.

Graziers, land owners and business men generally of the big Island have for a long time been considering or expecting precisely the step that has been taken by Col. Parker. The population of Hawaii is increasing very rapidly and with the extension of established cane fields and the establishment of new plantations the pasturage area is contracting. At the same time the call from this place for live stock from Hawaii has become stronger and stronger from month to month. The agitation on Hawaii for "protection" of the meat supply of the big Island has resulted in the formation or the proposal to form a concern that will be a factor of the caliber of the Metropolitan Meat Company of this city, upon the same lines, but probably a "closer" corporation.

No less a personage than United States Senator Clark is a member of the new company. [Hawaiian Gazette; November 3, 1899]

**May 4, 1900 (Hawaiian Gazette)
Sam Parker Gets Humuula Ranch
Sale to be Made Today for Seventy-Five Thousand Dollars
and Meat Company Stock:**

Today the Humuula sheep ranch will be transferred by August and Armin Hanneberg to Col. Sam Parker. The consideration is understood to be \$75,000 and several shares of the stock of the Metropolitan Meat Company.

The ranch proper contains about 250,000 acres of choice pasture lands. It is on Hawaii and the land immediately surrounding it, some 500,000 acres, is owned by the purchaser of the Humuula ranch. With the ranch goes over 20,000 sheep and about 600 head of horses.

The Humuula ranch property is all leased land, the lease on which still has eight years to run. In case of failure to secure a renewal of the lease the cattle and other livestock will be driven onto the land now owned by Col. Parker.

R.W. Shingle, who arranged the sale was asked regarding the details. He confirmed the report that the sale was about to be consummated but until it was, he felt that he could not make public the details.

It is reported that this sale is the beginning of a new meat company which will be operated on a very large scale in catering to the increasing demand for meat. [Hawaiian Gazette, May 4, 1900]

What wasn't described above was that, following the death of J.P. Parker II in 1891, there was growing tension between Samuel Parker, estate trustees, and J.P. Parker III. The latter Parker died in 1894, and in September 1899, Alfred W. Carter was appointed trustee on behalf of Annie Thelma Kahiluonapuaapiilani Parker, the daughter of the late John Palmer Parker III and Elizabeth L. Dowsett-Parker (cf. A.W. Carter-Parker Ranch files in the collection of the PPS).

The Mauna Kea Forest Reserve: Former Range Lands Withdrawn from Grazing Uses

As noted in preceding sections of the study, by the early 1800s, concerns regarding the retreat of forest lands before the increasing populations of livestock were being voiced. On Hawai'i, lands around Mauna Kea and the Kohala Mountains were of particular concern. Though leases on Crown and Government lands included provisions for fencing and protection of forests, the destruction continued. So significant was the threat of wild animals to the Hawaiian landscape, that on September 19, 1876, King David Kalākaua signed into law an "Act for the Protection and Preservation of Woods and Forests." By that Act, the Minister of the Interior was authorized to set apart and protect from "damage by trespass of animals or otherwise, such woods and forest lands, the property of government...best suited for the protection of water resources..." (Hawaii Laws Chapter XXX:39). The Minister of the Interior was authorized to appoint a superintendent of woods and forests:

...who shall, under the direction of said Minister, enforce such rules and regulations as may be established to protect and preserve such reserved woods and forest lands from trespass. Said superintendent shall have charge of the construction of fences and barriers required to protect the said woods and forest lands, and shall be responsible for their being kept in good condition... (ibid.).

The above Act was further defined by an Act of the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, approved by Queen Lili'uokalani on January 4, 1893, which established the Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry. Among the Bureau's goals was the "preservation of forests" (Hawaii State Archives – Com 2, Box 11). In 1893, J. Marsden, Commissioner of Forestry, wrote to J.A. King, President of the Bureau of Forestry and Agriculture, regarding the deforestation of the Hāmākua and Waimea lands:

...Within the past (20) twenty years, the land of the Hamakua District extending from Ookala to Waipio gulch, along the sea coast, and inland as far back as Waimea were covered with a dense forest impassible except by trails out through the brush and undergrowth. While in this condition the district had an abundant rainfall, some of the roads being known for their perpetual muddy condition. Within the same period of twenty years, the lands adjoining the sea coast have been gradually cleared for cane, and Agricultural purposed without seriously affecting the rainfall. Also during this same period of time the Ranching industry in the neighborhood of Waimea has been largely increased. The cattle in grazing around Waimea, and in the adjoining mountains have

gradually caused the destruction of the underbrush and finally the large trees throughout that section of the District.

The areas of land affected was at first small. but year by year it has steadily increased until now there are probably 100,000 acres entirely cleared, except for an occasional dead stump still standing. As the above area has increased so the rainfall has diminished, so that now there are two causes, lack of moisture, and the damaging effects of the cattle, for the rapid denudation of all the Forest land in this District... The ranching industry extensively carried on between the Hamakua and Kohala Districts, is also seriously threatened from the reduced feed and water supplies... [HSA – Interior Department Box 2 Agriculture & Forestry; May 29, 1893]

On June 14, 1900, the members and functions of the Bureau were absorbed by the Board of Commissioners of Agriculture and Forestry (Hawaii State Archives – Com 2, Box 11). The Board set about the task of establishing forest reserves on all the islands. In 1904, the Board of Agriculture and Forestry proposed development of the Hilo Forest Reserve, which was needed to “protect the headwaters of the streams, which play so important a part in the success of the various plantations” (Wm. Hall 1904:277). On August 9, 1904, the Commissioners approved the recommendation that “all government and other lands in the district of Hilo, Island of Hawaii, lying above a line approximately 1750 feet above the sea, be set apart as a forestry reservation” (Hall 1904:282). The lands extended from Laupāhoehoe to Pi‘ihonua.

Leasehold interests in the Government land of Ka‘ohe, which in 1891 had been divided into several parcels, and included the entire summit region of Mauna Kea, were modified during this time. The lands generally above the 7,500 to 9,500 foot elevation were removed from the leases. Parker Ranch, Kukaiau Ranch and the Humu‘ula Sheep Company had also been required to fence their boundaries between pasture land and mountain land. This was done in part, to keep ranch herds separate from the remaining wild herds on the mountain. Among the interesting features associated with fencing and boundaries on the mountain lands are the stone walls north of ‘Ōma‘okoili and ‘Ōma‘okanihae Hills and the Humu‘ula Sheep Station, and on the Waiākea-Pi‘ihonua boundaries. As documented in Haneberg’s journals, the walls were constructed primarily by Japanese labor in 1891 to 1892. The Pu‘u Huluhulu section walls were under construction by October 5, 1891, and the boundary between Ka‘ohe and Humu‘ula was being laid out on June 29, 1892 (Haneberg Journals, 1891:122 – 1892:201; in collection of the PPS).

By 1909, the summit of Mauna Kea had been removed from the leases, and Territorial Governor, W.F. Frear, approved the boundaries for the proposed Mauna Kea Forest Reserve. The following communications describe the thinking behind the reserve, and some of the early actions on lands adjoining it (see HTS Plat No. 613, for final boundaries of the reserve and location of fence lines):

**The Mauna Kea Forest Reserve.
Report of the Superintendent of Forestry.
Honolulu, Hawaii, March 30, 1909.
Committee on Forestry, Board of Commissioners
of Agriculture and Forestry, Honolulu.**

GENTLEMEN:—The subject of this report is the proposed setting apart of the upper slopes of Mauna Kea as a forest reserve.

Unlike most of the Hawaiian forest reserves, this project is not concerned with watershed protection. Its purpose is to facilitate the systematic management of an area that can be used to better advantage for growing forest trees than for any other economic purpose. There is now on Mauna Kea a considerable stand of Mamani [māmāne] forest. At the higher elevations there is much land, now unproductive, that could well be planted with commercially valuable exotic trees. By setting apart the area as a forest reserve the existing forest can be made to be of greater service to the people of the Territory, while the afforestation of the upper slopes of the mountain will be facilitated.

Description of the Area.

Mauna Kea, the highest mountain in the Territory of Hawaii, is situated in the District of Hamakua, Island and County of Hawaii. The elevation above the sea of its highest peak is 13,825 feet. The summit and the greater part of the sides of the mountain above the 7,500 foot contour line are included in the government land of Kaohe, an ahupuaa containing an immense area of waste land, in that besides the summit and upper slopes of Mauna Kea it also takes in a considerable portion of the north side of Mauna Loa.

Above a line encircling the mountain at the elevation of approximately 7,500 feet, the slopes of Mauna Kea may be classed as waste land. The herbage is too poor and uncertain to justify grazing and the land has now no other use. This fact, together with the desire to prevent their stock from straying up the mountain to join the bands of wild cattle, led the several ranches controlling the better portions of Kaohe and the other adjoining lands to build fences separating their upper paddocks from the area of low value above. Several such fences were built before the old leases expired. In 1907 when the leases on the govern- [page 229] ment land of Humuula and the better portions of Kaohe ran out and came to be renewed, provision was made for the extension of these mountain fences and for their up-keep during the term of the new leases. At the present time, with the exception of a stretch on the southwestern side of Mauna Kea, across the portion of Kaohe known as Kaohe 4, the mountain is wholly fenced off. It is expected that this stretch also will soon be leased, with a provision that the fence be completed. Further, negotiations are now in progress with the ranches abutting on Mauna Kea looking to a systematic campaign for the rounding up and capture and extermination of the wild cattle on the mountain.

When the new leases of Kaohe were made the waste land was retained by the Government, instead of being included as formerly with the productive areas below. This usage has now become a regular part of the land policy of the Territory. It is a step toward putting all the land to the use for which each tract is best adapted. For it leaves the control of land for which there is now no use in the hands of the Government against the time when some, now unforeseen, use may be found.

In the case of Kaohe it is now proposed that the land be devoted to the purpose of raising trees. The object of this report is to state the reasons that make this use advisable and to show how the setting apart of the area as a forest reserve will help bring about the desired results.

The section included in the proposed reserve may roughly be described as the upper slopes of Mauna Kea above an elevation of approximately 7,500 feet. The area is 66,600 acres.

Use of Kaohe for Forest Purposes.

The question of using the land of Kaohe for wood and timber production may be considered under two heads—the existing and the prospective forest.

The Mamane Forest.

Between the good grazing land and the elevation of about 9,000 feet, especially on the northern and western slopes of Mauna Kea, there is a fairly heavy stand of Mamane (*Sophora chrysophylla*). This forest is increasing through natural reproduction. The reason for the rapid spread of Mamane—which is a matter of the last decade—is not clear, but the fact remains to the advantage of the Territory. Mamane is a wood valuable for posts. Rightly managed there is likelihood that in time this forest can be made a source of revenue. One of the reasons for the setting apart of Kaohe as a forest reserve is that it will facilitate the proper handling of this forest. [page 230]

Above the Mamane belt, between the elevations of from eight to eleven thousand feet, and in sections lower down where the Mamane forest is open and broken, there exists an excellent opportunity for the planting of commercially valuable exotic trees. The general conditions of soil, situation and climate at this elevation are sufficiently comparable to those on the mountains of Southern California to make it appear reasonable to expect that the kinds of trees that do well there can also be made to grow and thrive on Mauna Kea.

The planting of pines, spruces and firs on the upper slopes of Mauna Kea has been recommended by each of the professional foresters who have visited the islands: Mr. E. M. Griffiths, now State Forester of Wisconsin; Mr. W. L. Hall, of the U. S. Forest Service, and by me. Favorable conditions for tree planting are also obtained on the upper slopes of Mount Haleakala on Maui, and on Mount Hualalai on Hawaii.

The U. S. Forest Service has shown its belief in the feasibility of the plan by allotting the sum of \$2,000 for experimental planting on Mauna Kea and Haleakala, during the present fiscal period. This money is now being expended under my direction as Collaborator in the Forest Service, in the inclosure and planting up of a number of experimental plots on these two mountains, located at varying elevations and having different conditions of aspect and exposure.

It is the intention at the start to plant in each inclosure a sufficient number of seedling trees—say 100 of each—of some eight kinds of coniferous trees (pines, spruces and firs) likely to do well. Later, it is expected that additional allotments will be secured from the Forest Service to continue the work. Eventually those trees that prove to be adapted to the situation can be more extensively planted, being then set out in such a way that in the end a belt of forest will be secured. Such a result is, of course, only to be expected after a considerable time. This makes the experiment one that is only likely to be undertaken by the Government. That it appears practical and practicable to the Forest Service is evidenced by the allotment already made.

At first it was felt that it would be sufficient if only the areas actually needed for the experimental plots were turned over by the Land Department for this use. But on consultation with the Land Commissioner it appeared that from an administrative standpoint it would be more satisfactory if all of this portion of Kaohe were transferred to this Board. This proposal met with the approval of the Governor. The present report is the next step in the matter. [page 231]

Recommendation.

For the reasons above outlined—which may be summarized by the statement that the purpose of the reserve is to facilitate the management of the forest, present and prospective, on the upper slopes of Mauna Kea—I do now recommend that the Board of Agriculture and Forestry request the Governor to set apart, in accordance with law, as the “Mauna Kea Forest Reserve,” that portion of the non-agricultural, unleased government land of Kaohe, in the district of Hamakua, Island and County of Hawaii, within and above the boundary hereinafter described.

Official Description.

Following is the technical description of the boundary of the proposed Mauna Kea Forest Reserve, prepared by the Government Survey Department as C. S. F. NO. 2001, and accompanied by Registered Map No. 2060. (Here omitted because it appears in the official proclamation, printed elsewhere in this issue of the Forester.)

Very respectfully,
Ralph S. Hosmer, Superintendent of Forestry. [page 232]

By Authority

Mauna Kea Forest Reserve.

**Proclamation of Forest Reserve in the District of Hamakua,
Island and County of Hawaii.**

Under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the provisions of Chapter 28 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii, as amended by Act 65 of the Session Laws of 1905, and by Act 4 of the Session Laws of 1907, and of every other power me hereunto enabling, I, WALTER F. FREAR, Governor of Hawaii, having held the hearing of which notice has been duly given as in said acts provided, do hereby SET APART as a Forest Reserve, to be called the “MAUNA KEA FOREST RESERVE,” that portion of government land in the District of Hamakua, Island of Hawaii, known as Kaohe, embracing and including the upper slopes and summit of Mauna Kea, above the elevation of approximately 7,500 feet, and containing an area of 66,600 acres, more or less, in the District of Hamakua, Island and County of Hawaii, Territory of Hawaii, more particularly described by and on a map made in February, 1909, by the Government Survey Department, of the Territory of Hawaii, which said map is now on file in the said Survey Department, marked “Registered Map Number 2060” and “Mauna Kea Forest Reserve,” and a description accompanying the same, numbered C.S.F. 2001, which said description now on file in the said Survey Department, is as follows :

MAUNA KEA FOREST RESERVE.

Including Portion of the Government Land of Kaohe V, Kaohe, Hamakua, Hawaii. Beginning at Government Survey Trig. Station “Kole South” (marked by _____ on set stone and ahu) on hill of that name on the South side of Mauna Kea and on the boundary of Humuula and Kaohe, the true azimuth and distance to “Aahuwela” Trig. Station being $234^{\circ} 44' 30''$ 22851.8 feet and to “Puu Oo” Trig. Station being $307^{\circ} 04' 13''$ 111139 feet, as shown on Government Survey Registered Map No. 206O, and running by true azimuths:—

1. $99^{\circ} 56' 58''$ 13798.5 feet along land of Humuula to “Lepeamo” Trig. Station (marked by a + on set stone and ahu);
 2. $39^{\circ} 58' 42''$ 4875.8 feet along land of Humuula to the East corner of , Kaohe IV (Brown Lease, 18,000 acres), from which the true azimuth and distance to “Omaokoili” Trig. Station (marked by on solid imbedded bomb) is $39^{\circ} 58' 42''$ 15,000.0 feet;
 3. $115^{\circ} 10' 37,700.0$ feet along Kaohe IV (Brown Lease) to the East corner of Kaohe III-B (General Lease 594 to A. W. Carter, Guardian);
 4. $1610 10' 19380.0$ feet along Kaohe III-B (General Lease 594 to A. W. Carter, Guardian) to “Puu Laau” Trig. Station on the boundary of Paauhau, from which the true azimuth and distance to “Nohonaohae” Trig. Station is $135^{\circ} 24' 50''$ 43544.0 feet;
 5. $234^{\circ} 10' 27900.0$ feet along land, of Paauhau to “Kemole” Hill;
 6. $244^{\circ} 35' 15060.0$ feet along Kaohe III-A (General Lease 594 to A. W. Carter, Guardian) to a point directly South of “Kaluamakani” Trig. Station;
 7. $255^{\circ} 20' 15700.0$ feet along Kaohe III-A (General Lease 594) to the Hanaipoe Gulch at the Southeast, corner of the land of Kalopa;
 8. $293^{\circ} 45' 13660.0$ feet along Kaohe II-B (General Lease 623 to Kukaiau Plantation Company, Limited), to “Puu Kea” Trig. Station at the Southwest corner of the land of Kohalalele, from which the true azimuth and distance to “Apakuie” Trig. Station is $154^{\circ} 02' 40''$ 6150.0 feet; [page 246]
 9. $254^{\circ} 10' 5800.0$ feet along the head of the land of Koholalele to a waterhole on the mauka side of “Puu o Kihe” Trig. Station;
 10. $319^{\circ} 00' 5200.0$ feet along the head of the land of Kukaiau to its South corner just mauka of Iolehaehae;
 11. $286^{\circ} 50' 5400.0$ feet along Kaohe VI (General Lease 624 to the Kukaiau Plantation Company, Limited) to a place called Waikulukulu, a point in Kaula Gulch at the West base of the hill Puu Kalepa;
 12. $34^{\circ} 30' 9000.0$ feet along the land of Humuula to Holei;
 13. $19^{\circ} 42' 20'' 26368.0$ feet along land of Humuula to Kaupakuhale Hill;
 14. $13^{\circ} 10' 17260.0$ feet along the land of Humuula to the point of beginning.
- Area 66,600 Acres.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the Territory of Hawaii to be affixed. Done at the Capitol in Honolulu, this 5th day of June, A. D. 1909.

W. F. FREAR, Governor of Hawaii. [page 247]

November 18, 1913

Special Report: Forest Conditions – Hawaii

**R.S. Hosmer; to the Board of Commissioners of Agriculture and Forestry:
...Mauna Kea Forest Reserve.**

In passing mention may be made here of the Mauna Kea Forest Reserve that takes in all the upper slopes of that mountain above approximately the 8000 foot contour, altho' across Humuula it is somewhat higher – about 9,500 feet. For the greater part of the way around the mountain the line is substantially fenced; above Humuula by a fence built about 20 years ago by Mr. Haneberg and now kept in repair, under the terms of its lease, by the Humuula Sheep Station Company; above the Kukaiau ranch by paddock fences, which with other fences on that ranch are now being, or soon will be repaired and put in good shape; above the Parker Ranch, by strong fences built and now maintained by a regular fence rider. These fences are all required to be maintained under Government Leases, respectively Nos. 608, 623, 624, 594. Under Lease 594 it was provided that the Government pay half of the cost of the fence on the boundary between the forest reserve and the fee simple land of Upper Paauhau (Parker Ranch), from Puu Laau to Puu Kemole. Lease 608 runs 'til 1930, the others to 1928.

The section on the west slope of the Mountain, between Waikii and the boundary of Humuula, across the Government land known as Kaohe 4, is not fenced. This section is not under lease. It was lately the scene of certain litigation over a broken lease, between Mr. A.M. Brown and the Government.

There are still some wild cattle on Mauna Kea, and a few herds of wild horses, but thru' driving and shooting by men from the neighboring ranches the numbers of these animals have been very much reduced. There are also wild pigs on Mauna Kea, but not, I think, in very great numbers... [HSA – Gov 2-1 Board of Forestry & Agriculture]

UA MŌHALA MAI O WAIKI'I MA KA 'ĀINA MAUNA (WAIKI'I BLOSSOMED ON THE MOUNTAIN LANDS)

Through much of the history recounted above, we find that there are only scattered references to specific sites and resources on lands of the Waiki'i vicinity—albeit there are significant descriptions of the area and native practices. The dawning of the new century (1900), along with significant changes taking place in Parker Ranch management and land use, evolving disposition of Government Lands, and the 1903 acquisition of the land division of Waikōloa by Parker Ranch, set the foundation for Waiki'i's ranching history to unfold and mature. This history is in many ways unique to the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku vicinity, yet intimately connected to the larger ranch holding on the 'āina mauna.

We find that in the early history of Parker Ranch, the primary reason for development of the outlying ranch stations was one of logistics and expense. Travel was difficult, and it was easier to have people stationed at various locations around the mountain lands to ensure immediate access to care of the livestock and maintenance of the ranch infra-structure. As roads and transportation improved, the logistics of transporting people, supplies and livestock between the stations and Waimea improved. By the time World War II ended, the need for “villages” and outposts had greatly decreased. In Paka Paniolo, the Parker Ranch newsletter, Richard Smart noted at the time of closing the Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku stations (1957 and 1965 respectively), that transportation had brought an end to the need for maintaining large, manned outposts (R. Smart in Paka Paniolo, August 1962 & September 1965).

Many of the elder interviewees who shared their memories about Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku affectionately referred to Waiki'i as the “heartland” or “bread basket” of the ranch. Some elders also lamented its being sold and subsequently developed, feeling that the Waiki'i land area had been important to the overall well-being of the ranch. However, all interviewees observed that by the 1950s, significant changes in the weather and seasonal rain patterns had occurred. The once productive fields of Waiki'i, where hay, corn, fruit tree orchards, and other crops had thrived, was drying up. Thus, the crop-producing capacity of Waiki'i was becoming unpredictable and unreliable.

The history of Waiki'i as a village, community, “heartland” and “bread basket” of the ranch, begins to mature and blossom in 1904; first, with the flow of water from the Kohala mountains, and second, with the purchase of Waikōloa from heirs of the Hueu-Davis estate. During this time, Ke'āmoku (Keamuku), which had been an important outstation in the earlier history of ranching development in the region, began to take a backseat to Waiki'i and the Humu'ula operation. Between 1900 and 1957, a number of families—Chinese, Germans, Hawaiians, Koreans, Japanese, Portuguese, and Russians—all called Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku “home.” Their stories unfold here (not in their entirety, but with some depth), in the records and notes of A.W. Carter, Richard Smart, and other participants in this history. Most of the historical documentation reported in this chapter, was found in the collections of the Paniolo Preservation Society (PPS) and Parker Ranch, who graciously permitted us to review and copy selected files.

The words of the people who made this history are extensively cited here, as they are the ones who knew the history best. At the end of our research, it was found that some questions pertaining to the history remained unanswered. Fortunately, a number of elder

kama'āina, many of whom lived at Waiki'i from the 1920s and 1930s—working the land or visiting relatives in the vicinity—kindly shared some of their recollections in oral history interviews. Thus, the interviews answer additional questions which were not answered through research of written sources.

Water, The Lifeblood of the Ranch

Before any significant ranching activity could take place at Waiki'i and in neighboring lands, the issue of water resources needed to be addressed. In the 1890s, the ranch, under John Parker II and manager, Paul Jarrett, began work on a pipe-line system, that transported water from the Kohala Mountains to a few areas on the drier Waimea-Waikōloa plains. But for the most part, livestock on the mountain lands relied on dew and seasonal rainfall. This was particularly true in the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku region (A.W. Carter Water files, in collection of PPS). By 1900, the lack of water in the large, dry region lands of the ranch had almost stopped further growth and development of grazing lands.

While the place name Wai-ki'i may be literally translated as “Fetched-water,” none of the elder interviewees recall seeing a spring, pool, or other water sources in the area now known as Waiki'i. Only during heavy rains were flash floods sometimes observed. Some floods were so severe that animals caught unawares would be killed and washed downstream.

In the 1860s, native testimonies of the Boundary Commission described Waiki'i as a gulch (see Boundary Commission testimonies in this study), this gulch being near the present-day 45 mile marker, a short distance Waimea side of the Kohala-Hāmākua boundary. In the Waiki'i Gulch, which also feeds into the Po'opo'o Gulch, water was apparently found at times in the 1800s, and even in the early 1900s. But by the early 1900s, the water was inadequate for the needs of cattle and people. It may also be recalled that “construction” of 'Auwaiakeakua Gulch is attributed to the mythical menehune; with the 'auwai (water channel) reportedly made to carry water from Mauna Kea to agricultural fields in the vicinity of Hālauakeakua, a short distance north and Waimea side of Pu'u Ku'i Kahekili (see Register Map No. 574), the main hill in the present-day Waiki'i Ranch. But left uncompleted, the water of 'Auwaiakeakua only flowed during periods of heavy rain.

Like Waiki'i, the neighboring Ke'āmoku section of the ranch also suffered for want of water. By the 1880s, Spencer and possibly others working the land had installed tanks, presumably catching run-off from roofs of sheep station buildings (see J.S. Emerson, December 8, 1885 in this study). Indeed, the place name, Keamoku (Ke'āmoku) or Keamuku (Ke'āmuku), seems to be a fitting one for the landscape today. Ke-'ā-moku may be literally translated as “The-rocky-section” or “The-burned-section,” while Ke-'ā-muku may be interpretively translated as “The (place) cut off by rocks/lava or fire.”

Alfred Wellington Carter

Recollections on Water and Ranch Development

A.W. Carter became trustee of the Parker estate interests of young Annie Thelma Kahiluonapuaapiilani Parker in 1899, while the other half remained with heir, Samuel Parker. Shortly after his appointment, Carter visited the ranch and conducted an inspection of ranch assets. Reflecting on the visit, Carter shared his recollections with his assistant, Lucille Brundage, observing that he was—

...Impressed by the idea that if the ranch was to prosper to its fullest possibility several pressing needs should have immediate attention. More lands must be acquired to provide for increase in the herds. Separation by fencing, and the importation of better breeds would improve the stock. Perhaps most essential of all was the necessity of a piping system to carry water from the mountains for distribution over pasture lands.

The region where cattle had suffered most from this need was that below Waikii. "There were not many head", Mr. Carter said in his reminiscences, "but they had to walk away to Waimea to the stream back of Puuopelu to get a drink of water – a distance of from six to ten miles. This, of course, resulted in plenty of dead cattle in dry weather."

Near the water sources at these times the ground would be so trampled that no vegetation remained upon which the cattle might subsist, and they would make their weary way back to their usual feeding grounds. This perhaps they would have done by instinct anyway. Weakened as they were, the long trips to and from meant exhaustion and death for many of their number.

Eager to take steps toward improving these conditions, Mr. Carter returned to Honolulu. But as guardian of little Thelma he represented only half of the ranch interest. No important step could be taken without the approval of the other partner, Sam Parker, and when the plan was submitted to him Mr. Parker was strongly opposed to its adoption. The piping system that was needed would mean an expenditure of thousands of dollars, and he objected to the proceeds of the ranch being diverted this way instead of being available as cash. Moreover he consulted certain Honolulu engineers and was assured that the scheme was not feasible. With pipes laid according to the Carter plan, friction would be so great, they said, that not a drop of water would ever emerge at the end of the line.

Far from admitting the authority of these would-be experts, Mr. Carter decided to become an authority himself. He obtained all possible literature on hydraulics, made a careful study of the subject, and became more strongly convinced than ever. Indeed he guaranteed that if when completed the pipe did not furnish 7,000 gallons in twenty-four hours he would pay for it himself. An agreement with Mr. Parker was reached at last and the work promptly begun.

The pipe line was completed April 14, 1902 and proceeded to justify itself by sending forth 15,840 gallons of water in twenty-four hours. [A.W. Carter Water files, in collection of PPS]

Interestingly, early in Carter's investigations into water sources, and a means of getting water to the Pu'u Ke'eke'e, lower Waiki'i and Ke'amoku region, he caused an inspection of the high elevation Mauna Kea springs to be conducted. C.H. Kluegel and former ranch manager Paul Jarrett traveled to the Mauna Kea springs in July 1900, and Kluegel provided the following report to Carter:

July 14, 1900

C.H. Kluegel; to A.W. Carter:

Enclosed herewith I send you report on Water Supply for Parker Ranch.

It is disappointing to find so little water in the three springs on the south slope of Mauna Kea. With an abundant supply at that elevation a large dry area could be supplied with water.

The matter of water rights I have not examined.

One and one half, and two inch pipe is proved to be a pressure of 500 pounds per square inch. This is more than the pressure on the proposed line from Waikoloa creek, but pipe of good quality is required. It should be galvanized pipe.

Regarding asphalt lining for reservoirs, Messrs Vincent and Belser, Sewer contractors in Honolulu may be able to give you cost, etc.

The enclosed report follows:

In accordance with your request, I have examined, with the assistance of Mr. Paul Jarrett, the water supply for the Parker Ranch at Waimea and vicinity.

On the southern slope of Maunakea there are three springs.

Waihu is the lowest. Its elevation is 8900 ft. A $\frac{3}{4}$ inch pipe two miles long, now conveys the water to Pohakuloa, a station on the road to Kalaieha. The flow of this spring is 1730 gallons in 24 hours.

The second spring is at an elevation of 9800 ft. The flow is 2900 gallons in 24 hours.

The third spring is called Kahoupokani [Ka Houpo Kāne], and is at an elevation of 10,500 ft. The flow is 4300 gallons in 24 hours.

The total flow of the three springs is 8930 gallons in 24 hours.

A portion of this amount is now required in the near vicinity, and more may be required hereafter. Much trouble has been caused in the present pipe by freezing and bursting. This has been remedied to some extent by covering the pipe with earth.

This would be difficult to do between the lower and upper springs, as there is only rock and no earth on hand, while the protection is more needed. Even at this time [July] we found ice at the second spring.

The distance from the springs to the lower paddock at Waikii is about 16 miles... [A.W. Carter Water files, in collection of PPS]

Apparently the proposal of developing water lines from the Mauna Kea springs to the Waiki'i vicinity was not acted upon, as more reliable sources from the Kohala Mountains were developed in the next couple of years.

In 1963, Richard Smart also reflected on the “fascinating” role of water in the development of Waiki‘i and neighboring lands—

The history of water on Parker Ranch is fascinating. In 1900, there was no water distribution system for the Ranch. The break-through to gain water for our lands started under the late Alfred Wellington Carter in the early 1900’s. He installed the first two-inch line from Waikoloa intake to Aalii [lower Waiki‘i].

Installation of three-inch lines with more branches followed. Higher pressures were introduced by adding intakes not only in Kohokohau but also in Alakahi. Delivery ends of the lines were extended. The water was lifted still higher up Mauna Kea by diesel engine pumps.

Finally, Parker Ranch could count 160 miles of water carrying pipeline. Until the unprecedented drought, this seemed to fill our needs. But in the drought crisis it was brought home that changes would be necessary to fulfill our place in a growing, demanding market... [R. Smart in Paka Paniolo, October 1963; in the collection of PPS]

A part of the “fascinating” history of water, alluded to by Richard Smart above, is further documented in the notes of A.W. Carter (1900-1947), and in the recollections of elder kama‘āina who heard accounts from their parents who had participated in the history.

Following A.W. Carter’s appointment as trustee of the ranch interests on behalf of Annie Thelma Kahiluonapuaapiilani Parker, Samuel Parker, grandson of J.P. Parker I, cousin of A.T.K. Parker, and owner of the other half share of the ranch assets, fell at odds with Carter. By 1900, Parker began to seek out ways by which to remove Carter and gain control over the combined ranch assets. There appear to have been four primary areas of leverage sought by Sam Parker and associates in their bid for the ranch—the first was water; the second, the land of Waikōloa (including the Waiki‘i and Ke‘āmoku sections); the third, guardianship over Annie Thelma Kahiluonapuaapiilani Parker; and the fourth, acquisition of the leasehold interest in Humu‘ula and the Kalai‘eha Sheep Station.

On the first two of these items, A.W. Carter observed:

On my first visit to the Ranch I found the place undeveloped in every way.

But for the short line of pipe from Kohala mountains there was no distribution of water. Some cattle had to travel fourteen miles to get a drink of water and return fourteen miles out of their grazing ground.

Waikii paddocks had no water for the steers held there. The fattening paddocks had no water.

I told Mr. Sam Parker that there were two things that should be done immediately; one was to acquire the land of Waikoloa which had a very short lease; the other was to get water across the plain to below Waikii, as cattle in that neighborhood, although there were not many head, had to walk a ways into Waimea to get water at the stream back of Puuopelu, from six to ten miles distant.

Mr. Parker agreed that both things should be done.

Later.

Regarding the pipe line Mr. Parker repudiated this, and said he wanted all the profits and didn't want anything expended for improvements. I told him I could borrow the money. He absolutely refused to give his consent.

He then talked with some of the surveyors in town who knew nothing of hydraulics and they contended that if I went ahead with this scheme that there would not be a drop of water come out of the other end of the pipe.

I had prepared myself for this connection and I told him, that unless a certain amount of water was obtained at that end of the long pipe in twenty-four hours I would pay for it myself. (My recollection is that I said 7,000 gallons within the twenty-four hours.)

The quantity which flowed at the end of the pipe when completed was 15,840 gallons per twenty-four hours.

Some time afterwards he, Parker, came to my office in Honolulu and wanted \$5,000 as he wanted to go to Washington. I thought of the pipe line. I told him there was no profit on hand, I had paid him his share a few days before. He asked if I could not let him have the money myself. I told him I could go out and borrow the sum and loan it to him if he would give his consent to putting in the pipe line which I was anxious to do. His reply was that it was a hold-up proposition, to which I said if he so considered it I would not raise the money for him.

A few days later he came in and said he had been thinking the proposition over and would give his consent, and wanted the check for \$5000, which I borrowed and turned over to him.

The pipe line was completed April 14, 1902. [A.W. Carter Water files, in collection of PPS]

By 1902, Sam Parker, cousin Eben Low and backers set in motion plans to take over the ranch and remove A.W. Carter. Their first action was to contest Carter's trusteeship of Annie Thelma K. Parker. Parker and party also bid, unsuccessfully, on the Waikōloa lands from heirs of the Davis estate, and attempted to demonstrate that expenditure of Parker estate funds on the development of the water lines was a waste. Things got so heated between Sam Parker, his partners, and A.W. Carter, that a take over was attempted, and on June 7th, 1904, Eben Low, J.A. Magoon, and J. Lightfoot stormed Carter's office, with Low apparently brandishing his pistols (A.W. Carter & Parker files 1904). Things were heated, but no shots were fired. Subsequently, John "Keoni Poko" Lindsey (father of interviewee Elizabeth Lindsey-Kimura) slept in Carter's office, armed, in case of an attack.

In response to criticism and subsequent litigation over trusteeship and waste of ranch capital in the development of water lines and paddocks, numerous communications between A.W. Carter, Fred Carter (A.W.'s brother, and assistant in the daily management of ranch

operations), and Mrs. Elizabeth “Tootsie” Dowsett Parker-Knight (mother of A. Thelma K. Parker) were recorded. Also, as litigation heated up, numerous testimonies by ranch employees describing conditions on the land and ranch operations prior to the availability of reliable water sources on the ranch were taken.

Those testimonies and communications for the period of 1900 to 1906—including A.W. Carter’s personal response to portions of the lawsuit (June 16, 1904)—are cited below in chronological order, with particular emphasis on development of water resources and laying out of paddocks on the Waikōloa lands. It will be noted that the Old Waiki’i Paddock, developed prior to Carter’s arrival, was the focal point of the arguments raised against Carter. All records cited, unless otherwise noted, were viewed in the collection of the PPS under various headings such as—Water, Cattle, and Employees:

1900 - A.W. Carter Notes on Inspection of Water Resources, and Proposed Development of Water Lines:

From a pool in this stream [Waikōloa], about 1 ½ miles North of Waimea, the stream has a steep descent to the plain. Above this pool it is flat, so by locating the head of the pipe nearly a mile above, but little will be gained in elevation.

This pool, and proposed head of pipe, is lower than the Waikii paddock.

The water can be delivered at a point 8700 feet distant, northerly from Paddock # 2.

This requires a pipe 52,600 feet, or ten miles long. The fall, as indicated by aneroid, is 170 feet. Under these conditions a 2 inch pipe will deliver 20,000 gallons in 24 hours. A 1 ½ inch pipe will deliver 10,000 gallons. The pipe will be 1800 feet shorter. The objection to stopping the pipe at this point is its greater distance from the paddocks.

The water should at all times be allowed to flow freely. There should be no stopcock in the pipe (the main pipe).

The utility of this pipe can be much increased by making one or more reservoirs to store the water which otherwise would run to waste. An asphalt lining would be suitable for such reservoirs...

1901 – April 9

A.W. Carter; to Fred Carter:

...A surveyor goes up next week to run the line from spring for Dairy... Mr. Wall will go up 3 weeks hence to locate line for Waikii water and locate boundaries. This will be pushed upon completion of preliminary work.

1901, April 16. (A.W. Carter to F. Carter) – Mr. Howell will probably go to Hawaii next week to examine supply for Waikii paddocks on the Kohala side and run a line; also run a line to the spring for dairy purposes [Pu’u Kīkonij].

1901, April 23. (A.W. Carter to F. Carter) – Mr. Howell takes the steamer today for Parker Ranch. I have requested him to examine the water supply on the Kohala side and to run levels for a pipe line across the plain to the direction of

the Waikii paddocks; also to run levels from the spring on the Paauhau side towards the Dairy [Pu'u Kikonu]. Mr. Wall will go up next week on the Kinau for the purpose of locating all boundaries and laying out all paddocks on the map [see Parker Ranch Map dated, 1901].

1901, April 30. (A.W. Carter to W. A. Wall, Surveyor) – ...On your arrival at Waimea you will proceed immediately to locate the pipe line from the Kohala mountain side of the Parker Ranch across the plain in the direction of the Waikii paddock. Mr. Fred Carter will give you such assistance as you may desire. My idea is to get the water as near as possible to the present Waikii paddock. This will necessitate the examination of probably two or three streams on the Kohala side. I want to get the elevations and have the proposed line marked. Mr. Fred Carter will show you a report made by Mr. Kleugel. The same was made after taking elevations by a period which of course are not correct. I also desire to get the exact length of pipe line required, and the amount of water that will be delivered from a 2" and 2 ½" pipe.

I also desire you to run the levels for a pipe line from the spring on the Paauhau side of the Ranch in a direction towards the dairy, furnishing me with the exact length of pipe required and the amount of water that will be delivered through a 1" pipe.

At the conclusion of your work I wish you would make me a full report containing the above data, and also any suggestions which your experience may dictate.

Note the location at the ends of the pipe line on your map or sketch...

1901 (ca. May). W.A. Wall to A.W. Carter:
[Report on Surveys and Investigations for Piping Water from Kohala Mountain to Waikii Paddock, Parker Ranch] – The most practical point for taking water from the mountains is at the head of the rapids on Waikoloa Stream, 1 – ¾ miles north of Waimea village, at or near a point recommended by Mr. Kleugel. See accompanying sketch of water head. The line was staked out from this point to a point within 8,300 feet of Waikii Paddock. Three terminal stations were located and marked by stakes marked T. No. 1, T. No. 2, and T. No. 3 respectively.

Estimates of flow were made at each point as follows:
Estimated flow through a two inch pipe from water head on Waikoloa Stream into a tank at T. No. 1 – 16000 gallons, to T. No. 2, 14000 gallons and to T. No. 3, 10000 gallons per 24 hours. 10000 gallons per 24 hours being sufficient supply for Waikii. T. No. 3 which point is marked by stakes is a preferable location for tanks and watering troughs as it is the nearest possible point to paddock to which water can be brought from the adopted water head.

The following estimates refer to T. No. 3 as terminus:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Distance from water head to terminus | 53,800 ft. |
| Length of pipe required | 54300 ft. |
| Assumed elevation of water head | 1,000 ft. |

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Elevation top of entrance tank | 997 ft. |
| Elevation of outflow top of tank 12 ft. high | 897 ft. |
| Total head | 100 ft. |
| Estimated flow per 24 hours | 10,000 gal. |
| Greatest pressure per sq. inch | 380 lbs. |
| Average pressure per sq. inch on pipe across plains | 360 lbs. |
| Distance from terminus to Paddock | 8,300 ft. |
| Elevation of Paddock gate | 1,530 ft. |
| or 645 feet higher than proposed terminus: | |

Waikii Paddock being higher than any practical point for piping water from Waikoloa Stream, levels were run and investigations made up stream just back of Thos. Lindsay's place. On this stream an elevation 300 ft. higher than adopted water head can be had, but this supply at this elevation in extremely dry seasons would be doubtful. It would require about 1 ½ miles longer pipe on the mountain end and it would be a difficult and expensive task to get pipe in place on mountain. Taking water from this stream at the above mentioned point it could be raised to a point marked A on the accompanying profile which is about 4,800 feet from Paddock or 3,500 feet nearer than adopted terminus.

Considering the additional cost, additional pressure on pipe and doubtful supply of water, it is not economic to take water from this stream in preference to Waikoloa and all further remarks are directed to the Waikoloa Stream.

If it should be necessary to take water from main pipe at any intermediate point or points as B and C (indicated on profile) the only practical method of doing so would be to establish large tanks or reservoirs at desired points, connect them to main with full two inch connections. Place stop valve near and on Waikii side of tank connections, said valve to be closed immediately when water is turned into tank or reservoir. In filling tank or reservoir, allow water to flow at full capacity of main pipe. The valve referred to will prevent Waikii end from emptying and immediately the water is turned through the main it will begin to flow at Waikii. The supply at Waikii will be diminished in proportions to time required to fill tanks at B and C. Ten Thousand gallons at B and C like amount, can be taken by this method in 12 hours leaving 12 hours uninterrupted flow as Waikii, or 5000 gallons during same day or a total of 25000 gallons per 24 hours.

Theoretically by means of automatic valves, or a steady flow at B and C water could be taken from the main at the rate of only 10,000 gallons per 24 hours leaving no or very little flow at Waikii. It would be necessary to have a careful man to look after filling of tanks. Distributions from tanks could be accomplished automatically.

Provision should be made for repairs in main, such as placing flange joints at intervals of 1000 feet or so apart or else keep in stock a number of such joints together with proper tools for fitting in said flange joints. A good quality of commercial galvanized wrought iron pipe would fulfill requirements. All valves inserted in main should be of full two inch openings.

In taking water from stream (see sketch of water head) it will be necessary to blast out a ditch 44 feet long and 3 ft. deep or sufficient depth to take supply without the use of a dam. A flume or 4 inch pipe should convey water to entrance tank marked on sketch. Stakes were replaced for location of same.

A tank 7 feet in height to be placed where indicated by stakes. A screen must be placed over the top of tank which must be kept at overflow. The main pipe should enter tank two feet or so above bottom. In laying pipe from tank along gulch, care should be taken not to lay in over stakes at any point before leaving gulch...

1902, January 9.

(F. Carter) – I am rushing post hauling so that we can be ready for the Waikii pipe.

1902, January 30. (to Mrs. Knight) – The 2 inch pipe line which is to be laid from back of Waimea to Waikii has arrived, and I have engaged one of the Myers boys from Molokai to attend to putting it up.

I believe this will be a great advance in improvement on the Ranch.

1902, February 4. (A.W. Carter) – Am sending a 3,000 gal. tank instead of a 2,000. The pipe for the Waikii line is all one size and strength. You had better have the pipe on hand packed up to the water head and along the line.

Does the line cross any gulches? If so let me know the number; also depth of depression.

Waikii paddock cannot be built until we know exactly where the pipe line will come. This can only be ascertained by allowing the water to run as you put in the latter part at the end of the line.

I am sending a few flanges and rubber for packing in case you desire to start laying pipe. Great care should be taken at this end of the line.

1902, April 18. (F. Carter) – In re water at Waikii. The pipe is now at the tank 17 feet from the ground and is discharging at a rate of 5 gal. every 24 seconds.

There is a small stream running into each of the tanks (4 in number) across the plains.

Rains every day across flat and at Waikii. As yet very little water being drunk from the troughs. [A.W. Carter Water files, in collection of PPS]

1902, April 18. (F. Carter to A.W. Carter) – Regarding water at Waikii, the pipe is now in the tank 17 ft. from the ground and is discharging at rate of 5 gal. every 24 seconds. (17,000 gal. per 24 hours).

1902, October 24. (A.W. Carter to Mrs. Knight) – Over on the Waikii section it is a little dry, the feed there however is still splendid, and the pipe line has

enabled us to retain the steers in the paddocks, and the cattle outside the paddocks have remained there in good feed with plenty of water and are in fine condition.

1903, May 3.

(A.W. Carter to Mrs. Knight) – On the Waikii section it is rather dry and I do not look for much more rain for the balance of the year. The cattle however, are in excellent condition, having water in the lower paddock. The situation will not be at all serious.

1903, October 27. (A.W. Carter to Mrs. Knight) – The Government have agreed to the extension of the Kaohe lease, and also agree to grant the right of way for pipe line. So far so good.

1903, November 26. (Fred Carter) – Went to Waikii Sunday. No steers suffering for water. Looked over the paddock proposition. By running out from Puumahaelua corner ½ mile it will make a good paddock.

Water from the tank will not flow on Hamakua side of Puupapapa. Will go across proposed paddock and below said hill.

1903, December 21. (F. Carter) – No water running in Waimea streams. Still water in water holes on way to Kawaihae. All feed at Kawaihae burned up. Cattle unable to get water at beach on account of high seas. Should have a windmill at Puako side of Kawaihae and one near our cattle pens.

Cattle at Waikii paddocks showed distress, so took them out and put them in Pa Kila with gates open to Pa Aalii where they can get water. Brush all drying up. Even mamani leaves hanging straight down.

No fog, no rain, no dew. In all the years I've been here have never seen it so dry.

1904, February 8.

(A.W. Carter to F. Carter) – Run the proposed pipe line from Aalii paddock to over back of Sheep Station [Ke'āmoku], and make a report on paddock I suggested. I want this done promptly.

1904, February 18. (F. Carter) – Had good rains at Keamuku and tanks are all full.

1904, March 31. (F. Carter) – I went out with Williamson on the pipe line. The distance to the trough site in Puumahaelua paddock is 1,000 feet. I will put 2 inch pipe (hailed today) to that point.

The distance from tank to where pipe stops is 16,380 feet, and we can get 35 feet fall.

“Can deliver 8,000 gallons 24 hours into tank at that point if 2 inch pipe can be used all the distance.”

1904, April 12. (A.W. Carter) – 2500 or 3000 gallons will be sufficient water at end of pipe, say 80 ft. fall. You may order tank, but not before you are ready for it; and let me know the size you suggest.

1904, April 15. (F. Carter) – Troughs in and connections made, Aalii and new paddock.

1904, April 19. (A.W. Carter to F. Carter) – Your sketch of new paddock. ...I don't want it to go down so far. If you can get the water in, build it as I pointed out on the ground. If you want more head, put a cock and ball on the last tank at the present end of pipe line in Aalii paddock, connect 2" pipe to main line, and lead into Puuomahaelua paddock, feeling your way up as you lay the pipe. You, can, I think, safely gain from 25 to 60 ft. in this way. Then put your tank in and lead off with 1" pipe.

1904, June 16.

Statement of A.W. Carter

[Answer to litigation brought by Jack Low et al., on June 8, 1904]:

Answering sub-division 32 of said paragraph 7 this defendant denies that he has projected the construction of a paddock and the laying of a pipe line at a large expense and which as projected will be of little value to said ranch and not commensurate with the outlay that will be incurred; that this defendant assumes that said charge refers to the plans that were made and about to be carried out before litigation intervened of constructing a paddock and laying a pipe line into a section of land below the old Waikii paddock, so-called, on the land of Waikoloa; further answering said charge this defendant says, that the old Waikii paddock, so-called, contains about 4000 acres of good fattening land, said paddock having been made and built before this defendant took charge of said ranch; that said paddock has no water supply of its own except the dew which falls in time of drought or in case of high winds, and is too high up on the mountain to be reached by the pipe line laid from the Kohala range to the Waikii district as hereinabove set forth, the result being that when the dew fails for any cause in said old Waikii paddock the animals have to be taken into a paddock lower down the mountain, already carrying stock, and which has a supply of water from said water pipe laid by defendant as aforesaid, but that this necessitates the crowding of the last named paddock and results in the depreciation of the entire herd enclosed therein; that is impracticable to get water up into the original Waikii paddock by gravity, it being too high as aforesaid, and therefore defendant planned and had started to build a smaller paddock lower down and adjacent thereto to which the water could be conducted by gravity as aforesaid and where the animals in the old Waikii paddock as aforesaid can obtain water readily in case of need, and at the same time avoid the overcrowding of other stock; that the expenditure in question involves \$1500. worth of pipe and about \$900. for the construction of the remaining three sides of the proposed paddock, the fourth being the fence already constructed and constituting the makai boundary of said original Waikii paddock; that the land to be enclosed will contain about 2400 acres of good fattening land and will at the same time add to the efficiency of said original Waikii paddock and the security of the said ranch outside of the consideration hereinabove recited in justification therefore and would in itself and without

connection with said original Waikii paddock fully justify the expenditure necessary to make the same.

1904, June 26.

Statement of John Lindsey, to W.A. Kinney (Translated):

Mr. Carter has done a great deal of piping, and particularly that to Waikii paddock. That is a fine fattening paddock that belongs to the ranch. It is on the slope of the mountain, but when dry weather came on the cattle died for want of water.

As long as the weather is not too windy the dews are sufficient to keep the animals supplied with water, but when it is windy and dry that fails and the animals die very fast.

They are so far away from the water supply at Waimea that it is impracticable to save them by taking them to water there. If they undertake the journey are apt to die right after drinking the water at Waimea.

Thousands of animals have died in that paddock from that cause.

But now that difficulty is overcome as water has been piped across to the paddocks, since which time the death rate has become merely nominal, perhaps two or three in a thousand, whereas previously they have been known to die so fast that the hides could not be saved from the carcasses.

This piping has also helped the land of Waikoloa makai. This is a country without any water or spring, but it is good land for the pasturing of animals.

Heretofore, as soon as dry weather would come on the animals had to leave so that the land would not be carrying stock.

Sometimes the animals would leave and go up to Waimea for water, and attempt to come back, but the distance would wear the stock out travelling to get water, so that the land was not available for stock as soon as the dry weather came on.

Now, however, this pipe line that comes to Waikii also supplies water for the stock at four points, and the result is that the stock is now able to remain on this land, which is good pasture land.

One result also is that the land now carries and sustains more livestock even in dry weather than it did formerly before the water was brought over, in wet weather...

1904 – Testimony of Frank Johnson

There was a heavy loss of cattle in the Waikii district before the water was brought there. I have seen as many as seven or eight dead on the road to Nohonahae. You would see bones on the road, but they were all picked up and sent to Honolulu...

1904 – Testimony of William Lindsey II

In the Waikii district there was no water about the middle of July, nor any dew. The cattle died. They did not die by few, but by big numbers, about 100 up.

When they first started to put cattle into the Waikii fattening paddocks you'd find large numbers of cattle dead in the Auwaiakeakua Gulch where they were attempting to get water and not getting it.

There has been trouble ever since they put up those paddocks until they got the water.

You know, you take cattle up to put into that paddock when they are thin. Those cattle are not strong enough and for lack of water die. Not in such large numbers as when there is a drought and no dew. Then is when most are lost.

But, as I say, some considerable numbers used to die when they were turned in because they were weak and where they had been taken from they could get water without trouble and they could not get used to the change. They died up there, and when we brought them down they would drop on the road.

When it was so dry at Waikii the cattle would have to be brought down to Waimea where they could get water. Being in a weakened condition numbers would die on the trip, for it is a long journey. Then a number would die immediately after drinking water.

Then the balance would be put in the Puukapu paddocks on the Kohala side. There they would have plenty of water, but the feed was short. Then, after they had eaten out the feed, would come starvation and more would be lost.

All these losses have been cured by running water to Waiki, for the cattle were not lost there for want of food, but for want of water.

That pipe line also carried water outside the paddocks for the country out there where there is no water. Cattle there would have to come in dry times to Waimea, and walk way back to get to their feeding ground again. This exhausts the stock, and of course it was worse for cows just before they calved or just after. Sometimes the cows would have to leave their calves to come and get water...

1905 – excerpts of Paul Jarrett's Testimony:

When Waikii is dry the feed dries up there. If the cattle had water or moisture they would manage to exist, but at the Waikii paddocks we trusted to the dew entirely, for their water, which was quite sufficient.

The dew comes when there is no wind, but if the wind is blowing, that is when there is no dew, and the time the stock begins to settle.

Say about two weeks steady wind – the cattle will begin to feel the effects of it then. They have had the young weeds – grass – they get moisture from that, but after two weeks of winds blowing that all seems to parch up, and no moisture in it, and then the cattle begin to settle.

Three weeks wind would cripple that portion of the ranch very effectually. Waikii has the best fattening lands on the ranch. I considered it the cream of the ranch...

Litigation over right of trusteeship was decided on November 3, 1905, in favor of A.W. Carter as trustee. And the case regarding partition of assets was decided in September 1906, thus bringing an end to more than five years of disagreements and litigation. The result was that water flowed across the land to outlying regions, and A.W. Carter went on to develop Parker Ranch to its fullest potential.

Waiki'i (and Ke'āmoku) Station Facilities– Ranching, Agriculture and Village (1903-1957)

Once the water issues were resolved, and the ranch had purchased the 9/10^{ths} interest in the land of Waikōloa, the ground was set for the development of reliable and rich fattening paddocks, and for planting and stocking the land with improved feed, fowl and pigs of value to the ranch community and markets.

By 1909, the planting of introduced trees for watershed and orchard purposes, the planting of corn for feed, and development of pig and fowl farms came about. Communications between A.W. Carter, station managers, and ranch hands, provide us with first-hand accounts of Waiki'i's blossoming and maturing on the ranch landscape. The records describe early work being done primarily by Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese employees. The plowing of fields and construction of water lines, tanks, troughs, fences, and support buildings were undertaken first, with much of the construction done by Japanese laborers. Subsequently, the Japanese laborers also began the cultivation of the corn fields. It appears that by 1910, disagreements had arisen between station managers and some of the Japanese hands, and it was in that period that A.W. Carter sought out and secured the employment of Russian immigrants at Waiki'i.

Another change of importance to the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku vicinity landscape was that by 1918, A.W. Carter closed the Ke'āmoku Sheep Station operation, which had been in place since the 1860s. The stock and resources were combined with the assets of the Humu'ula Sheep Station at Kalai'eha. Several factors were considered in this move, among them were weather and improved pasturage in the uplands, and the spread of the kīkania and other burrs which made shearing difficult. Waiki'i and the lower Pu'u Pāpapa paddocks continued to serve as an important link between Kalai'eha and Waimea until closure of the sheep operations in 1964. Through the 1950s, sheep were walked via the Kalai'eha-Waiki'i-Waimea road, with rest stops in the Ahumoa-Pu'u Lā'au, Waiki'i, Pu'u Pāpapa and Holoholokū paddocks. Bales of wool from Humu'u were also stored in Waiki'i facilities until shipping quotas were met.

The following narratives, generally presented in chronological order, are verbatim excerpts from letters and communications between A.W. Carter and various parties affiliated with the ranch and development of Waiki'i. There are also cited a few articles from newspapers of the period, describing events which were deemed of public interest at the time.

The records document the further development and improvement of the water delivery system at Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku; paddock improvements; herd development; construction of facilities, including the silos; and identify the people who worked at, and made the history of,

this landscape. All records, unless otherwise indicated, were viewed in the collection of the PPS and Parker Ranch, under various headings such as—Employees, Russians, Vredenburg, Water, Cattle, Sheep, World War I and World War II.

1903, July 13.

A.W. Carter notes: Purchased Waikoloa, 9/10ths interest. Half for Ward, Annie T. K. Parker and half for Samuel Parker.

1904, January 18.

The Puuloa Sheep and Stock Ranch [purchased by G.W. McFarlane from the Spencers in 1896] was purchased by Parker Ranch on January 18, 1904. Frank Johnson, manager of the Ke‘āmoku section of the Puuloa Sheep and Stock Ranch, reported on February 18th 1904, that a total of 6,175 sheep were held at the Ke‘āmoku Station (PPS – Humuula File).

(By 1919, the Ke‘āmoku sheep operation had been closed, and on October 17th 1919, A.W. Carter responded to a request for sheep, that “The only sheep we have are at Humuula...”)

1904, May 5.

(F. Wundenberg, Attorney for Sam Parker, to A.W. Carter) – Understand that a large quantity of pipe had been shipped to the Parker Ranch and in view of the recent heavy purchases of realty, I view with some concern any outlay amounting to any considerable sum. I feel that I should be consulted in any contemplated outlay involving any serious reduction of Mr. Parker’s income...

1904, May 9. (A.W. Carter to F. Wundenberg) – Stating that the pipe consisted of 4 miles 1-inch pipe, at cost \$1,595.86 and was to be laid from the termination of the present Waikoloa pipeline into the paddock below the old Waikii paddock.

1904, July 29. – Testimony of Frank Johnson:

Q: In weather like this July when an animal comes in and drinks when will he go back?

A: He will go every day; walk in and out.

Q: That means 12 or 15 miles travel?

A: Yes. I know it because I have seen them go, particularly on that side; and you notice the cattle traveling in the bush, and down the gulches for water.

1906, December 7.

J. Jorgensen, Civil Engineer, to A.W. Carter:

...As requested by you, the undersigned made a preliminary survey of a proposed pipeline from Alakahi Branch of the Waipio Stream; said pipeline to connect with two existing pipelines across the Waimea plains to Waikii and Wahinekeahou and begs to submit the following:

Intake

Alakahi Stream 4007 feet above sea level – ¼ million gallons flowing in dry weather.

Pipeline... Waikii

7000' of 2-1/2" pipe to tank (new)
53800' of 2" pipe to No. 3 tank 3376' elevation (old)
6200' of 2" pipe to 3900' elevation (new)
or 4700' of 2" pipe to 3800' elevation (new)

Capacity

3376' Elevation 25920 gallons
3800' Elevation 12960 gallons 24 hours and one
3900' Elevation 8422 gallons outlet flowing

I also beg to submit a sketch map herewith showing the existing and proposed pipelines. [map not located with files]

1907, August.

Employees at Keamoku:

Condo (Kondo) Kanikubo (1901)
Ah Kune Yamamoto
Ah Him Egawa
Mori Codeiro (also mentioned 1908 & 1912)
Suketa

1907, September 17. (A.W. Carter to Mrs. Knight) – It is my plan to put in two more subdivisions by fencing after laying the lateral pipes across the mountain.

Piping is completed to the 3,700 ft. elevation on Mauna Kea, at Makahalau, and below Waikii. Engines and pumps should be here in four weeks' time.

1908, January.

John Pieper is at Waikii.

1908, February 3.

(A.W. Carter to Mrs. Knight) – Pipe lines are largely completed.

1908, February. (A.W. Carter Notes) – No record is available of the exact date that Mr. Vredenburg went to Waikii. His reports from there begin in March, but in February, Young writes to Mr. Carter, "I enclose sketch made by Vredenburg, re: Bone Crusher. Vredenburg has put on the sketches of the plant a lot of suggestions."

1908, March 2. (Sam Spencer to A.W. Carter) – The water reached Keaumuku at 11 o'clock P.M., Saturday. The delay was occasioned by the one inch pipe being filled with dirt etc. We have a total of 8,000 gallons so far.

1908, March 3. (A.W. Carter to Mrs. Knight) – I have one pumping plant in operation which places water in all the big paddocks around Mana and the dairy, and the other plant will be in operation in about three weeks and will place water all around Waikii except the small upper paddock, which will help us materially.

1908, June 8. (A.W. Carter) – Weather has been especially dry, particularly at Waikii. In all my eight years on the ranch there has never been a season on the leeward side like this. Fortunately we have the water in the upper paddocks at Waikii and back of Mana so it will not affect the marketing of cattle. There is plenty of dry feed, and with fresh water the stock seem to take on flesh very quickly.

1908, July 21.

Aubrey resigned as manager of Keaumoku Sheep Ranch, to take effect Sept. 30. (Probably Donald Macalister took Aubrey's place, as in 1912 Macalister wrote, "I have worked on the ranch nearly five years.")

1908, August 7. (A.W. Carter) – Manuel reported on his return from Keaumoku that the water was running all right through the pipe. The obstruction was caused by the bunching up of some galvanizing in the inside of the pipe.

Aubrey came in and reported that the cattle could not get water enough from the small trough. He says that after ten A.M. the water is so hot the cattle are unable to drink it.

It is a question of putting up the tank or putting in another trough. I will see Manuel tonight and decide what changes to make.

1908

Keaumoku Fence Work:

| | |
|--------|-----------|
| Egawa | Yamamoto |
| Asale | Henoita |
| Nakano | Ischemoto |

Other Work:

| | |
|----------------|----------------|
| Antone Codeiro | Kahaikupuna |
| Mioshi | Kamikubo |
| Hisamoto | Ah Shung |
| Mesochima | Manuel Freitas |

Waikii Fence Men:

Join in job:

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Weda [Uyeda] | Ogata |
| Hiyashi | Sako |

1909 – Ilianu is hauling lumber to Waikii.

1909. Wilmot Vredenburg II recalled – When I went up to Waikii in 1909 there were still quite a few wild cattle in Ahua Moa Paddock.

January 22, 1909. (W. Vredenburg to A.W. Carter) – I have 4 plows, 1 disc, 1 drag harrow, 1 mowing machine and 1 wagon running. [see Figure 13]



Figure 13. Teams Plowing Corn Fields at Waiki'i, ca. 1910
(Courtesy of Waiki'i Ranch Homeowner's Association).

1909, January 28-February 28. (W. Vredenburg notes to A.W. Carter) – Plows doing fine work and if remain undisturbed till April, will promise you 500 acres for this year's planting.

My only trouble now is getting sufficient roughage for the work horses. Paddocks are practically bare.

Pumping plants O.K. Cistern and tanks full at Waikii.

Had a rather serious accident with a little engine grinding corn; a vital part broke and it took considerable time to repair.

Finished harvesting corn crop. Total yield 8206 baskets, averaging 60 lb. net, in all, 246 tons. The baskets actually go to 65 or 70 lb. and the count is about 2% below what actually went into the cribs, so that the estimate is safe.

Hogs are doing well. Whole gang is now busy clearing mamane timber.

1909, March 2. (Higgins, Horticulturalist; to A.W. Carter) – Waikii: It will probably be necessary to water all the young trees to keep them alive. However I believe Mr. Vredenburg is watching the matter closely, and will apply the water whenever it is necessary. Mr. Vredenburg gave me a list of all new trees planted.

1909, July 23. (W. Vredenburg to A.W. Carter) – It is my intention, with your approval, to extend the work at Puukeekee on a larger plan, putting in 30 or 40 acres of corn. Also to fence off the stag pen. This will give us at Waikii from 7 to 800 acres for next crop...

1909, August 5. (W. Vredenburg to A.W. Carter) – Went after beef yesterday. Found a herd of six head. Shot them all. Packed hides home and part of beef. Am sending my boys for balance on slopes of Nanahu. All are unbranded.

I should like to get a Caliber 30. U.S. model 1895 Winchester and 100 rounds. My old rifle is too heavy and has not the range of a modern gun.

1909, September 9. (A.W. Carter) – W. Vredenburg reports only 3 feet of water in Waikii cistern. Tell Manuel to keep in touch with the amount of water in these cisterns and to regulate it accordingly, if there is a shortage.

1909, September 14. (A.W. Carter to S.M. Spencer) – The hand pump for Waikii was sent up last week. Ascertain from Vredenburg how much one inch pipe he requires and deliver their lot at the stables. The one and a quarter inch pipe which went up last week is for the extension of the pipeline below Kondo's which Macalister has charge of. There is not sufficient pipe for this line, and with the balance of the one inch pipe there may not be sufficient. I have more pipe of the one inch ordered which will be going up in a week or two. The three and a half inch pipe has arrived and goes up next week. There will be 23-1/2 tons.

1909, September 16. (W. Vredenburg to A.W. Carter) – Shot five cows above Pohakuloa last Sunday. Could have killed a dozen but could not handle more meat.

Would you be able to procure me a couple of fox terriers? Mongoose are bad here and we have many young turkeys on hand.

1909, September 23. (Wilmot Vredenburg) – Water is very low in cistern (Waikii) 1' 3" yesterday night. Just telephoned Spencer who promises water tonight. Expect 4 or 5 feet tomorrow, very dry on the plains.

1909, September 28. (A.W. Carter to Rbt. Hind) – We have been running short of water and at times down to 1 ½ feet in cisterns. This is dangerous having so many thousand head dependent on these cisterns. I have given orders to cut off the Keamoku water until our cisterns refill. If the water is strong it should not take long. I am sorry that this is necessary but if anything should happen to our pipe or the water should give out for a few days the damage could not be calculated.

1909, September 28. (A.W. Carter to D.S. Macalister) – On account of the low water in cisterns I have given orders to cut the water off from Keamoku until they fill again. Reserve all the water you have as we might have grave trouble if the water in the mountain should diminish together with shifting of pipe and possibility of dipping. If the cisterns fill up the water will be turned on again but it is unsafe to count on this.

1909, September 30. (W. Vredenburg to A.W. Carter) – The little pump is a great disappointment to me. It will not pump anything like the height it is listed

for (175 feet). If you decide in taking the water from Pakila tank direct to Keanehuehue flat and thereby doing away with a large pumping plant at Pakila tank, then we shall need a plant to supply Waikii. The engine we have here is becoming too small for our needs, that is grinding the corn, etc. and 5 HP would be just the thing with a suitable pump to deliver 5 or 10 gal. a minute.

1909, October 1. (D.S. Macalister to A.W. Carter) – I started laying the 1 ¼ pipe from Old Waikii tank towards Kondo's on Wednesday. My Japanese are camping at Waikii while working at that end.

I found 2 sheep in the flume on Tuesday. They try to drink water and the force of the water down the flume takes their heads under the pieces of 1 x 3 on top of the flume and they cannot get out again.

1909, October 1. (S. M. Spencer to A.W. Carter) – I immediately had the water shut off at Keamuku and also notified Macalister and Mr. Hind. This morning there is 8 ft. of water in the Waikii reservoir and 5 ft. in Puu Io.

1909, October 2. (A.J. Williamson to A.W. Carter) – I have just received your letter of the 27th ultm. in re. to water for the road below Puupapapa, and I am sure that the Board of Supervisors will be glad to know that you will permit them to get water, and they will be willing to build a proper tank, etc. as you suggest.

1909, October 7. (A.W. Carter to W. Vredenburg) – Regarding the water supply, I have come to the conclusion that the plant which we have at Puuio is hardly large enough for the needs which we now have, and will certainly not be large enough for the requirements in a dry year, when I have extended the system leading from Puuio. I therefore think that a 4x6 pump designed for the same water pressure, that is 225 pounds, would be best suited. This would give 49 gallons per minute running at 50 revolutions. The present plant does not average better than 25 gallons and with ten hours continuous work does not pump more than 15,000 gallons of water. Take the engine and pump from Puuio to Waikii, using the pump with the 5 horse power engine you now have and place the 8 horsepower engine from Puuio in the corn house. With a two inch delivery pipe at Waikii pumping station the total pressure would be about 155 pounds, as against 185 pounds with the present plant at Puuio. You could gear an engine or pump so that the flow would not exceed 20 gallons a minute.

Under these circumstances I should think the 5 horse power engine would be sufficient and the 8 horse power engine from Puuio would be sufficient for your needs at the station. I think there will be sufficient two inch pipe for this work as soon as we have reconstructed the pipe line in the mountain, which will leave several thousand feet of two and one half inch pipe to be added to the Waikii line, and the two inch can be taken up for the pumping system there...

1909, October 14. (W. Vredenburg to A.W. Carter) – The plan you have outlined in regard to the Puu Io pumping plant could not very well be improved upon. A minor change would be to obtain that 8 HP engine with the pump, and allow the 5 HP to remain where it is. This, however, depends on whether you contemplate supplying present Stag Pen with water or not.

There will be no difficulty whatever is pulleying up the engine to drive the pump at any speed necessary. I notice that following the pipeline from Pakila tank towards Waikii tank, there is a spot about 1500 feet from Pakila tank on said line where a greater altitude can be reached in a shorted length than by the route I surveyed and sent to you.

1909, October 15. (D.S. Macalister to A.W. Carter) – I finished laying the pipe from Old Waikii tank to location of tank below Kondo's on Tuesday night and have started the Japanese burying it.

1909, November 11. (D.S. Macalister to A.W. Carter) – I started putting up the 10,000 gallon tank below Kondo's last Monday with Waikii Japanese carpenter and got through on Wednesday night. I expect to finish putting up the water trough and make all connections today.

1909, November 16. (A.W. Carter to D.S. Macalister) – A 3 or 5000 gallon tank would be ample for house purposes at Keamoku, and we can use the ten thousand gallon tank off the main line.

1909, December 2. (W. Vredenburg notes to A.W. Carter) – Finished new field makai of road. Have new hog pen nearly finished. Am hauling Gov't. trees for Nursery. Need the wire very badly and cannot finish fencing until I get it. I have a lot of fine apples stored away. Shall I send them, or keep them until you come? Working horses in fine condition. New orchard very dry, and I am doing what I can to get water to the trees. Chickens and turkeys doing fairly well.

(Note: This is the last letter from W. Vredenburg on record.)

In December 1909, a tragic event occurred in the growing Waiki'i family. It was the accidental death of Wilmot Vredenburg, who was, at the time, manager of Waiki'i, overseeing development of the water system, corn fields, orchards, tree nurseries, and daily operations of the ranch station. Wilmot Vredenburg was killed by a gun shot while pig hunting. The accounts below describe the accident:

1909, December 13. (D.S. Macalister to A.W. Carter) - I have just come in to Waimea and I hear no one has written you an account of Mr. Vredenburg's death. We, Mr. J.C. Searle, Searle's Boy Sam, Theo Vredenburg, Dolly V. and myself were out looking for pigs mauka of Puu Laau corral; then we found a band and chased after them. Mr. Searle shot at one and wounded it. It ran into a gulch.

Manuwai, Theo and myself went into the gulch. Sam Searle in the meantime had had a shot at another and wounded it. He came down and wanted a knife so I left Manuwai and Theo V. cutting up the pig, and went with Sam Searle. A little time elapsed and we heard a shot. We went down and found Vredenburg dead.

We did not find the other wounded pig, and when we heard the shot concluded that it was the others shooting the wounded pig.

While cutting up the pig, Vredenburg's revolver slipped from his holster and going out shot him in the abdomen.

1909, December 13. (Dr. H.L. Ross to A.W. Carter) – On my return from Waikii last night my wife informed me that Central was able to get my Sunday wireless through, so you will know of Vredenburg's untimely end.

Sam and Jamieson will probably write you details.

I am enclosing a copy of my examination, which I will give to Will Lindsey.

Report of H.L. Ross, Govt. Physician, South Kohala District:

On December 12, 1909, I examined the body of a male at Waikii whom I personally recognized as Wilmot L. Vredenburg, and that on said examination I found a hole in his shirt, evidently caused by a bullet.

On examination of the body I found a hole a little below the Ensiform cartilage and to the right of the median line. Inserting a probe I could feel what was evidently a bullet amongst the shattered bone of the spinal column on the left side.

In my opinion death was caused by a bullet entering as above described, such bullet causing internal hemorrhage, shock and paralysis.

Also beg to state that on the shirt I found powder marks such as could only be found by a gun being discharged at very short range.

1909, December 13. (A.W. Carter to S. Spencer) – Your letter of the 12th inst. received, as also the wireless regarding Vredenburg's death. It is hard for me to believe that poor old Manuwai is down and out; a man full of life, ambition and hope; and it does seem cruel that he should be taken from his family. I will write Macalister regarding Waikii.

1909, December 21.

“Accidental Shot is Cause of Death”

The Hilo Tribune gives the following account of the killing of Wilmot L. Vredenburg, manager of the Waiki section of the Parker Ranch, on Hawaii last Sunday morning:

“Vredenburg went out hunting last Sunday morning, being accompanied by his son. Both rode horseback. Vredenburg shot a pig, and placing his revolver in his pocket, he descended from his horse in order to dispatch the wounded animal. The revolver fell from his pocket. It was discharged in striking the ground, and the bullet passed through the unfortunate man's heart.

He fell to the ground and, saying to his son, ‘I am make, I am make,’ he expired on the spot. This happened about three miles from Vredenburg's house.

Vredenburg had been in the Hawaiian Islands for many years. He had an exceedingly large circle of friends all over the group, as he was an exceedingly

pleasant and accomplished man. He was very practical, and added to this an unusual musical talent, one of his performances which secured him local fame being his ability to play the cornet and accompany himself at the piano.

Vredenburg spent most of his life in Hawaii in the South Kohala district. He was the first principal of the public school at Waimea. Later he went into the chicken business, and when the Puako Plantation was started he became its manager. He then started in the automobile transportation business, with Waimea as his headquarters, and finally accepted a position as manager of the Waiki section of the Parker Ranch. When the ranch began extensive farming in this section, such as corn planting and hay raising, Vredenburg was in charge of this work." [Hawaiian Gazette December 21, 1909:4]

To this day some elder members of the Parker Ranch families, including those of the Vredenburg-Hind and Greenwell families, point out the area between Pu'u Lā'au and Pu'u Ke'eke'e, referring to it as Pahu'a Koko (Field of Blood), noting that it was the place of Wilmot Vredenburg's death.

1910.

(A.W. Carter) – It might be advisable to put Wilmot down at Keaumoku and keep Newman at Waikii, but this we can talk over when I come next month.

1910. (A.W.C. to D.S. Macalister) – If you are short of labor, let me know. I have cut out a great deal of work for you. I have confidence in your ability to handle it expeditiously and economically or I would not have pushed it as I have.

I have never said anything to you regarding your work since you have been in my employ, and I wish to express my entire satisfaction. In addition to your energy, I feel an absolute confidence in your integrity. I am not a man of many words and sometimes I think that when a person has given good service it does no harm to say so.

1910, January 20. (A.W. Carter) – Have forwarded to Waikii 1,500 ft. of 1 inch pipe. Manuel Vierra has four horses with the light wagon hauling gravel for the water troughs. He has hauled gravel for the two Pookanaka water troughs and has set new water trough in lower Mana paddock and is hauling gravel for that now.

1910, February 11. (A.W. Carter) – Paulo will be through with the pipe packing about Wednesday of next week. Tomorrow Manuel Vierra will be through with all the trough gravelling except Waikii line troughs.

1910, February. (D.S. Macalister to A.W. Carter) – I had a talk with Kamikubo, my Keaumoku Japanese. He said he did not wish to stay at Keaumoku because his wife had no work there. I agreed to pay him \$25.00 a month till we get another man for Keaumoku, with the understanding that he goes back to \$22.00 when we get another man.

One of the Japanese teamsters quit and one fell down and got kicked by a horse and has been laid up five days. I find it hard to get all the Japanese to turn out regularly. Some want to lay off nearly every day. I got after them again today.

1910, February. (A.W. Carter to D.S. Macalister) – The labor at Waikii has been unsatisfactory. The cost of handling the corn crop is excessive. I do not, however, blame you for this, in any way. I know that the discipline has been very lax, and a full day's work has not been the rule at Waikii. This was more or less unavoidable on account of the attitude of the Japanese, but I hope before long that conditions will be materially better. With a gang of Chinese there and if I succeed in getting some Russians, it will make a great difference I think in the expense of operating the place.

Much attention should be given to the labor and their work, but too much should not be left to the luna in the field. In starting these new gangs I want them started right. I do not mean by this that the labor should be continually nagged, and where men are doing a full days work it should be recognized. But on the other hand I do not want them to get into the way of the Japanese that have been at Waikii.

1910, February 14.
(A.W. Carter to D.S. Macalister) – Regarding labor at Waikii, I have about come to the conclusion that it would be well for us to get a number of Russian families. I understand that they are a good, hard working agricultural class of people. This would necessitate, however, putting up a number of small cottages.

1910, February 14. (A.W. Carter) – I am sending up today about 9,000 feet of 1 ¼" inch pipe and about 6,500 ft. of 1 inch pipe.

15,000 feet of this pipe is required for the new branch at Puu Papapa, down below the Kona road.

Get this pipe up as soon as possible, and take it out. Have Manuel and his gang start right in to lay it. Macalister will tell him where it is to be laid.

1910, February 18. (S.M. Spencer) – Manuel has been working on the Kahoomaha water trough. He went out to work on the Puupapapa pipe extension Monday.

I have delivered him 2 loads of 1 ¼" inch pipe which will keep him going until I can get out the rest next week.

1910, March 31. (A.W. Carter to D.S. Macalister) – I will double up your order for small cottages next week. I am desirous of taking some of the Russians to Waikii and giving them a trial. I wish very much indeed that I had settled upon a location for the homes before I came down, and I shall be glad if you will let me know your suggestions.

I think it would be well to have them separate from the other nationalities. If there was a protected, desirable spot of about twenty acres in the Honolulu paddock, close to the pipe line, it might be well to put them there.

My intention is, if they prove efficient and desirable, to locate about twenty families, giving them about an acre each to cultivate for their own uses, and I should want them all located together.

I expect to go up about May 10, when I shall probably bring up several families. I will give instructions to have the lumber go up as soon as possible and also to furnish you with all the carpenters required.

Please make a sketch of Waikii and the surrounding paddocks, and indicate on it your recommendation of the location.

1910, April 7. (D.S. Macalister to A.W. Carter) – I enclose a rough sketch of the surrounding paddocks. I think the lower end of the Honolulu paddock would be a good place for some Russians. They would be below the pipe line, this is a fairly sheltered spot, fairly level, but it is rather far away from the general run of the work, and if we built several houses there we would have to abandon the idea of plowing up the Honolulu paddock, or at least the lower half.

We could easily locate 20 families there, giving each about one acre. How many small cottages do you wish built for Russians out of lumber that has come for six cottages. I understand it to be three for Russians and three for Ohulu, Kane and Pacheco. But you mention in your letter that you will probably bring up several families. Perhaps you would rather have them all built for Russians.

1910, April 11. (A.W. Carter to D.S. Macalister) – There are to be three cottages built for the native boys and three for Russians if they materialize. Would it not be well to place the Russian camp in the field above the Humuula road and just over the bridge, locating them a couple of hundred feet from the fence? I think this is now planted to wheat. It will not take a very large area however, and if we build more houses we can select another location.

1910, April 14. (D.S. Macalister; to A.W. Carter) – I do not altogether like the idea of locating the Russian camp where you suggest. This particular spot is about the dustiest of any during the windy weather, the dust coming across from the stable. I was thinking as it is only three houses at present a fairly good place would be in the present pig fence facing Kona, or the old pig fence facing over Keaumoku. I will go over advantages and disadvantages very thoroughly before deciding.

1910, June 7. (A.W. Carter to D.S. Macalister) – Hold a good stock of potatoes at Waikii, the Russians I take up will have need of them.

I am taking three or four laboring families, 12 or 14 in the lot. Engage a couple of Japanese stages to take them to Waimea.

1910, June 17. (D.S. Macalister to A.W. Carter) – The Chinamen are gradually leaving and there are only five left. They say they can't stand the work. Suckering corn is certainly hard work.

The names of the boys living in the house that was burned are: Kane, Manoa, Ohuli, Sam Kimokeo, and Pololu.

1910, June 17. (A.W. Carter to S. Spencer) – By today's boat there will go forward one large pump and fifteen horse power engine, which is intended for Puu lo station, but you better unload it at the warehouse and store it there until I come up. There is also a small pump and a five horse power engine going forward for Waikii. Get them up as soon as possible.

I am also sending five barrels of cement which Macalister can use on his foundation. I have engaged a Portuguese to go up when I do... Please inform me of the sum paid on the Ranch last year for similar work.

...I am sending 6,000 ft. of 2 ½" pipe which is to be laid on the main Waikii line, to connect with the 2 ½" pipe which Manuel laid last year.

The 2" pipe which is taken out is to be carted up to Waikii for the new pump. Have Manuel go at this work as soon as possible.

The 2 ½" pipe weighs 5.74 pounds per foot, and 50 pieces should weigh 5,740 lb., or a little less than 3 Tons.

1910, September 8. (Wilmot Vredenburg II to A.W. Carter) – Owing to a disturbance in the Russian camp last Friday morning, I was obliged to separate two of the families and a single man who were sharing the last house with another man and his family. I have put them in the middle room of the Chinese quarters (this room is 10 ft. wide by 40 ft. long). I am enclosing a lumber order to make three rooms out of it, so that each family can have a room.

1910, December 27. (Board of Immigration to A.W. Carter)

There are two families of Russians who have applied at this office for employment on a corn plantation. In one family the man, his wife, one boy and a girl are workers, and in the other family the man and his wife are the only ones able to work, their two children being about five and six years respectively. There is also an application with us from a Russian who says he is an experienced blacksmith.

Will you be good enough to inform me if you desire any people of this nationality to work at the ranch, and if so, what wages you are prepared to offer them.

1911, February 23.

(D.S. Macalister to A.W. Carter) – Yesterday the old original three Russian families had a quarrel, purely personal, and more between the wives than the men as far as I can make out. But Walueff, i.e. the one that worked for you in Honolulu says that if Teakanoff stays at Waikii he will leave and I came to the

conclusion that it is Teakanoff and his wife which are to blame, so I told him he will have to leave at the end of the month. Teakanoff is the one that lives in the mauka house of the three. It may be that they will patch it up amongst themselves before the end of the month. It is a long story and all about nothing or else they have not told me the real facts. I know that Teekanoff's wife beat Walueff's wife and for that reason she is to blame.

1911, May 11. (A.W. Carter to D.S. Macalister) – Open the School at Waikii as soon as you are equipped. Fix the hours to suit yourself. I think two hours will be ample at present. No charge may be made for the books.

[See Figure 14 – November 1911, Map of Waiki'i Village and Station]

1912, April 10.

Dr. Victor S. Clark, Commissioner of Immigration; to A.W. Carter:

...People now coming forward are, many of them, persons who have spent months in preparation for their emigration to Hawaii, and they cannot well be diverted without causing hardship to them. In many cases they have spent months in the perusal of our literature and of the letters received from the advance guard now in the Islands, in the discussion of the matter with their friends, etc. etc. They have disposed of what property they possessed, and are now beginning to come forward to Harbin upon the representations that have been placed before them through us and by their friends in the Hawaiian Islands.

It would be impossible to stop this tide of emigration without having serious trouble on our hands. It must be remembered that many of these people come from places well into the interior; that traveling to the rail embarkation point means for many of these people from two to six weeks over a vast stretch of territory; that they have "burned their bridges" behind them, so to speak; that the proceeds of the sale of their belongings before departure from home are but nominal that they arrive at Harbin without funds, in many cases, even to provide their own food, our Harbin office in the past sixty days having made many cash advances for this purpose; and that arriving in Harbin under the above conditions and upon the representations made to them, they must be taken care of......We trust that in view of a situation which we hope we have made clear to you, you will be inclined to act in a manner not too conservative, but as it required by the exigencies of the case, and that pursuantly you will re-affirm the instructions to the Toyo Kisen Kaisha and the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. at Kobe, to pay to us the usual sum of twenty dollars per passenger embarked at Kobe for Honolulu on your order...

1912, April 18. (D.S. Macalister; to A.W. Carter)

Census of Russians at Waikii:

Mr. Demetree Costechencho

| | | |
|---------------------|----------|--------|
| Mrs. Costechencho | wife | |
| Nadai Costechencho | daughter | 5 yrs. |
| Peter Costechencho | son | 4 yrs. |
| Nicoli Costechencho | son | 3 yrs. |
| Sofia Costechencho | daughter | 1 yr. |

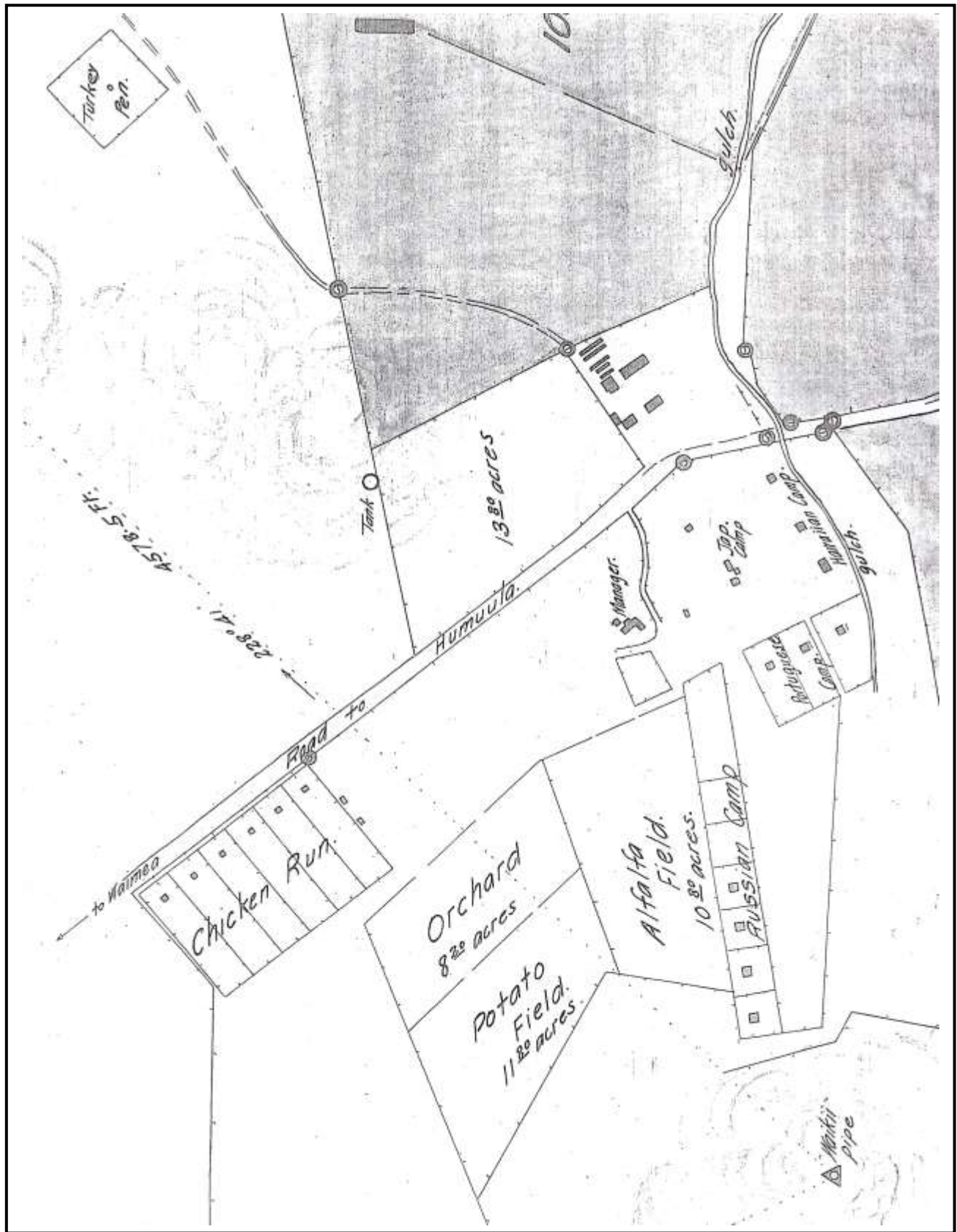


Figure 14. Waiki'i Village and Station. Portion of a Map of Waikii by G.F. Wright, Surveyor; November 1911 (Courtesy of Parker Ranch).

| | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Mr. Wasili Neskrompyh | | |
| Mrs. Neskromnyh | wife | |
| Agrafina Neskromnyh | married daughter | 24 yrs. 1 boy 2 yrs. |
| Annicia Neskromnyh | daughter | 17 yrs. |
| Michael Neskromnyh | son | 12 yrs. |
| Alexander Neskromnyh | son | 7 yrs. |
| Mr. Simon Walueff | | |
| Mrs. Walueff | wife | |
| Veera Walueff | daughter | 9 yrs. |
| Mr. Henry Shustoff | | |
| Mrs. Shustoff | wife | |
| Pio Shustoff | Brother | single |
| Mr. Peodra Krasaoff | | |
| Mrs. Krasaoff | wife | |
| Tanka Krasaoff | daughter | 10 yrs. |
| Cola Krasaoff | daughter | 7 yrs. |
| Parchio Krasaoff | son | 5 yrs |
| John Krasaoff | brother | single |
| Mr. Enokenti Zrmien | | |
| Mrs. Zrmien | wife | |
| Alexander Zrmien | son | 21 yrs. |
| Austin Zrmien | son | 18 yrs. |
| Michael Zrmien | son | 16 yrs. |
| Peodra Zrmien | son | 15 yrs. |
| Anna Zrmien | | son 12 yrs. |
| Fiokla Zrmien | daughter | 11 yrs. |
| Nicoli Zrmien | son | 8 yrs. |
| Olga Zrmien | daughter | 5 yrs. |
| Mr. John Cossoff | | |
| Mrs. Cossoff | wife | |
| Mr. Nicoli Colbatoff | | |
| Mrs. Colbatoff | wife | |
| Marg Colbatoff | daughter | 15 yrs. |
| Olga Colbatoff | daughter | 11 yrs. |
| Costantin Colbatoff | son | 5 yrs. |
| Nicoli Colbatoff | son | 3 yrs. |
| Mr. John Lareonoff | | |
| Mrs. Lareonoff | wife | |
| Grayzoli Lareonoff | son | 12 yrs. |
| Praskovia Lareonoff | daughter | 5 yrs. |
| Yoshka Lareonoff | son | 3 mos. |
| Seargay Vearhoff | single | |

Mr. Franka single

TOTAL 50 Men, Women and Children at Waikii.

WAGES OF RUSSIANS.

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| 8 Russians receive | \$30. per month |
| 3 Russians receive | 28. per month |
| 3 Russians (young men) | 24. per month |
| 1 Russian (boy) | 18. per month |
| 7 Russians (women) | 13. per month |
| 4 Russians (children) | 10. per month |

Total 26 work of the Total of 50 Russians.

In addition to the above wages they receive house, firewood, riding horse, & milk cow free.

1912, May 10. (A.W. Carter to Hon. A. Marques, Russian Consul, Honolulu) – I enclose herewith a Census of Russians working on the Parker Ranch, showing the number of dependents and the scale of wages received by the different classes. Trusting that this is what you require. [see Census above, dated April 18, 1912]

1912, September 4. (Superintendent Pope. Department of Public Instruction; to A.W. Carter) – I have your communication with enclosure from Mr. Edwin Lindsey, in which he states that he does not care to accept the (teacher's) position at Waikii. It is unfortunate for the Department that Mr. Lindsey cannot accept this position, so we will have to try to make some other arrangements for a teacher. I hope to be able to get a satisfactory teacher to go take charge of the work there by the opening of the school on September 16th.

1912, October 3. (W. Vredenburg II to A.W. Carter) – The Russians have been asking me whether there is going to be a school teacher up here or not. If not, one of the Russians wants to teach their children in Russian a couple of hours every day, but I told them that I'd write to you, and ask you about it, before letting him teach the children in Russian, as I did not know whether you are going to have a teacher up here or not.

1912, October 8. (A.W. Carter to W. Vredenburg II) – The Superintendent of Education informs me that he will probably be able to get a teacher for Waikii in three or four weeks. In the meantime you can allow the Russian to teach the children, and allow him his time for so doing.

1912, November. (A.W. Carter) – When D.S. Macalister went to Kukaiau, young Wilmot Vredenburg took charge at Waikii.

Waikii Men:

| | | |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| W. Vredenburg | S. Kaimapau | Kaliko Maialoha |
| Mikaeli | J. Limahai | Pua Raymond |
| G. Davis | Kaulu Apa | Ogawa |

(continued)

Hulihia
Nadai

M. Kapoi
Manoa

W. Shipman

Among the intriguing features found on the historic ranch landscape—at two locations in the Waiki'i section and at one location each in the Paliho'okapapa and Makahālau sections—are the large cement silos. No one interviewed in the present-time remembers their ever being used (memories dating back to the early 1920s), though interviewees all knew that they had been made to store grain as silage as feed for livestock. It was the general recollection, having been heard from elders, when the present interviewees were young ranch employees, that the silage had rotted because of the ambient moisture (see interview of June 29, 2002, and individual interviews). The silos, a failure, were replaced by numerous corn cribs, with walls made of spaced lathes through which air could circulate, thus preventing rot. In two notes viewed from 1911 and 1912, A.W. Carter described the thought behind construction of the silos, and the date around which they were made.

1911. A.W. Carter, regarding Silos:

Heretofore it has been impossible and it would have been foolish to run a dairy for the manufacture of butter on a large scale. Any portion of the ranch where there is rich feed is subject to a dry season annually which will materially cut down the output of butter. There could not be a regular large supply. See Silos.

1912, December 23.

(A.W. Carter) I have engaged Moody to go up and put the water system, silos and water troughs in. It is pretty difficult to get anyone who does not booze, and that is one thing about Moody, he does not drink, and he is a hustler.

I do not want him delayed in any part of his work. He will make the forms and also give me a list of the reinforcements, so that will go up next week, and should be carted to the localities where it will be used.

He will have two complete sets of forms so that he can be building two silos at once...

The silos remain today (Figure 15), a reminder of perhaps one of the least successful enterprises undertaken during A.W. Carter's career.

Another interesting feature seen on the landscape of the old Waiki'i village is three mortar and stone bread ovens (Figure 16). While no specific information regarding the ovens was found in the records reviewed, elder interviewees recalled that the ovens had been made by the Russian immigrants who settled at Waiki'i, and the ovens mark locations of the old homes. The last recalled use of the ovens dated to about 1936, by two women, a Russian by the name of Muragin and a Portuguese by the name of Codeiro. The ladies produced fresh loaves of bread for their own families, and also sold hot bread at 25 cents a loaf to those who requested them (see interviews with AhFat Lee).



Figure



Figure 16. Old Waiki'i Village Bread Oven (KPA Photo No. 3023; April 2, 2002)

1913, January 31.

(O. Sorenson to A.W. Carter) – The cylinder and piston for new Puu lo pump is to go to the Paalii camp today. Jorgensen has no Fairbanks Morse engine in the vicinity of Waimea. Wilmot thought the old cylinder would last until the new one came, but this is no time to take chances.

1913, April 3. (Sorenson) Have sent you a wireless regarding the water in the Kohala mountains.

Manuel went over yesterday and reported all the new reservoirs were overflowing, and plenty of moisture in the mountains.

The Waikii line is on the low pressure in order to fill everything on the Puu lo line first. Waikii will probably be put on high pressure Saturday.

1913, June 17. (A.W. Carter) – You had better have Moody try to plaster enough around the suction pipe of new concrete cistern to stop the leak. Then fill tank again. If patching is successful, fill to level of ground. If it continues to leak around the pipe do not fill higher than a foot or two under the pipe. If you think differently in this matter follow your own judgment.

I am sending 2500 ft. of 1 ¼” pipe. This ought to be laid to the tree plot at Nohonohae to water trees recently planted. The pipe may be continued towards Nohonohae and a small tank and water trough put in for the stock outside. I would carry it well over towards the hill.

1913, June 27. (O. Sorenson) – The 5000 ft. of 1 ¼” pipe will carry the line about 1500 ft. beyond the Kona Road fence toward Nohonahae and we will get the 1 & 1 ¼” pipe at the dam to cross section the tree plot.

Do you think a 2000 gal. tank will be big enough for Nohonahae, or shall we get one of the 5000 gallon tanks from Makahalau? The suction pipe at the Makahalau cistern has been recaulked at the wall and does not leak any more.

Everything on the ranch is practically full now.

1914, January 1.

(O. Sorenson) – A pile of water is being used by the stock at Waikii. The man has to pump night and day to keep up.

1914, December 28. (A.W. Carter to O. Sorenson) – A Mr. J.D. Brown is going up on Wednesday to teach at Waikii. Supply him with a horse to go to Waikii and see that he has one for his use while there.

He is to live at the headquarters and I have told him that they divide up the cost of living but that if his share comes to more than \$20.00 a month, I will pay it. He is to make a list of things required for the school and they are to be sent down this week.

1915, January 1.

(O. Sorenson to A.W. Carter) J.D. Brown, the Waikii school teacher, arrived, and went to Waikii yesterday, and is to let me know today what will be needed for the school room. The room at Waikii is unfurnished and I take it you want us to get what is needed, furniture, bed linen, etc. I had even to lend him a saddle, bridle, and blanket. He seems like a nice fellow, however, and I hope he will stay. Bell, books, Hyloplate received. Chairs & desk in 6 weeks.

1915, January 24. (O. Sorenson) – Nahulu seems to be getting off a little again, have told Sam Parker to let Kuli go over the land with Nahulu and get on to the ropes and then to take Nahulu with him to drive the Humuula shipping sheep. I have taken it on myself to tell Sam to drive the two shipments to Waimea together and to herd the shipment for the 12th in Holoholoku for a week leaving them in Puhiale at night.”

1915, February 4. (James Wight to A.W. Carter) – Johnnie and I went to Waikii yesterday and got 70 head of corn fed steers. They averaged 1079 lbs. I got the Waimea barber to photograph them this morning and he promised to deliver the proofs at your house Sunday evening.”

1915, March 5. (John Larionoff to A.W. Carter) – I am John Larionoff. Please excuse me that I have went from Waikii bud now I ask you again please give me work. How I was work for you before. I am going to work again if you will give me work. I will come in October or in September in 1915. Please do not answer me that you don't want me. I would come now bud I have no money to come, in summer I will make some money and I will come. Please answer me on my letter. Goodby Mr. Carter

Reply: I am in receipt of your letter dated March 5th and in reply there to, would say that if you return to the Ranch you may gain work at Waikii.

1915, May 21. (A.W. Carter to O. Sorenson) – I have given instructions to have the sheep pen built at Nohonaohae. I would like to have this completed before our next shipment of sheep, therefore it had better be pushed to completion. Let Sam Parker supervise this job and give him as many men as he can use. It will be all right to take men from Manuel Vierra's gang or put all Manuel Vierra's gang on to the job. Let it take precedence over the tree planting of Pookanaka and the pipe laying on the mountain. I should like to have all of these jobs completed by the first of July or as soon thereafter as possible.

I want the floor of the small pen on the intake side of the dipping vat at Humuula cemented. If you wish to you can also cement the floor of the draining pen, but it will have to be arranged differently from the present arrangement. It should be as it is at Keamoku. The water drain into a cement container and from there drain into the vat so that the sediment will be collected in the bottom of the small cement container. If you decide to do this it is not necessary to make this pen as large as the present one at Humuula. Sam Parker can superintend this job but you had better go out with him to Keaumoku to look at the arrangement out there. Have him tackle this job as soon as he finished the sheep pen at Nohonaohae.

1916, January 6.

(O. Sorenson to A.W. Carter) – Sam Parker went to Humuula today to be there when the new rams (25) get there and see that they are properly cared for. Next we will shear Keaumoku sheep for market and also mark and tail Puupapapa lambs. The rams were taken to Waikii in two loads, the first load is being taken to Kalaieha today from Waikii, balance tomorrow, they have had two days rest at Waikii. Sam says he likes the look of these rams better than the last bunch.”

1916, January 14. (O. Sorenson to A.W. Carter) - This week we have been shearing sheep for market, about 700. Waller has been complaining some about the quality of mutton we have been sending down, it has been very poor, a lot of the old Humuula ewes. Have been sending these down as fast as any were in any sort of condition. We also tailed the Puupapapa lambs this week.

1916, September 15. (O Sorenson to A.W. Carter) – Monday noon it was reported that no water was running into the Puu Papapa tank and that both trough and tank were empty and cattle looking as though they were suffering. I sent Manuel out right away when he got there some one had given the float a shake and the water was running again. As soon as Johnnie came in I had him send two men out to see the stock did not drink too much. I went out Tuesday morning and found that no apparent damage had been done. Yokopa found on Monday that one of the Puu Papapa bulls had gotten into Puu Hinai and in very bad shape in fact he soon died. Mr. Hind who passed the bull Sunday told me he thought the bull was thirsty and that the men had given him too much water...

One of the important developments at Waikii was the planting of thousands of acres of corn and other grains. The corn feed fields were being planted by 1908, but when World War I broke out, “A.W. Carter stepped up agricultural efforts in accordance with the nation-wide efforts to produce food stuffs in quantities reaching the limit of possibility.” Two thousand acres of corn were planted in 1916 and double that amount in 1917. Early in 1918 “the production of corn meal on the ranch was undertaken, its manufacture studied, and the suitable machinery imported.” A.W. Carter reported that “samples of the first products were submitted both to housewives and dealers, and on the whole the output was considered satisfactory and the venture successful” (Parker Ranch Collection – World War I folder).

An article published in the Advertiser in 1918 (Wednesday; date not given on clipping), provides the following description of corn meal production on Parker Ranch (primarily at Waiki'i, though Makahālau also produced some corn):

1918. Limit Placed on Profit Derived From Corn Meal

A.W. Carter and Food Commission Reach
Tentative Agreement Regarding Sales.

A tentative agreement reached today between A.W. Carter of the Parker ranch and James D. Dole, chairman of the territorial food commission, provides that wholesalers shall make a profit of 5 per cent, and retailers a profit from 15 to 20 percent on sale of corn meal manufactured in Hawaii from island-grown corn.

The Parker ranch has installed milling machinery and is planting 4000 acres to corn. The first of the product probably will reach Honolulu next week. Mr. Carter said today that the ranch will put the meal on the market in bags.

Under the tentative agreement the corn meal will be sold to the public at 6 cents a pound for 50 pound bags, and at 7 cents a pound for 5 pound bags, the latter being the prevailing price. This will mean prices much cheaper than those charged for imported corn meal... [Parker Ranch Collection – World War I folder]

The corn meal operation did not last long after the end of the war, but corn for feed remained a stable product at Waiki'i until the early 1950s. Interviewees in this study recall, that by that time, weather had become so unpredictable and the rains so diminished that crops could no longer be brought to maturity (see group interview of June 29, 2002 & individual interviews).

1920. Employees & Families at Waikii.

| | | |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Hulihia | Theo. Zimen | Nadai |
| Kaliko Maialoha | Kooteff | Mrs. Nadai |
| Mikaele | Muragin | Ogawa Kobayashi |
| Manoa | Henry Muragin | Sakata |
| Alex Bell | Jno. Muragin | Mike Nyskromysh |
| Sandy Bell | Silgoar Muragin | Fuji |
| Peter Bell | Alex Muragin | Hashimoto |
| Kealoha Napalapalai | Martinoff | Kono |
| Ah Kim Seu | Walter Martinoff | Miyashita |
| Ernest Vredenburg | Mike Martinoff | Yamashiro |
| Harry Johnson | Miss Martinoff | Hong Key Saw |
| Lareonoff | Ziva Martinoff | Kawatachi |
| Minnie Lareonoff | Henry Martinoff | Fukui |
| Peroff | Kamikubo | Walter Arioli |
| Victor Peroff | Asari | Rose Kalua |
| Nicolai Peroff | Yagi | Eugene Campbell |
| Shibacoff | Mrs. Yagi | Nyskromynh |
| Chas. Vavaranoff | Hamasaki | Alex Nyskromynh |
| Mintopau Vavaranoff | Nakamoto | Dick Kawai |
| Paul Vavaranoff | Mrs. Nakamoto | Yamamoto |
| Peter Vavaranoff | Tanaka | Sakamoto |
| Mitsuhara | Matsuoka | Honma |
| Yamashita | Abraham Akau | Mrs. Shirbacoff |
| Fujii | William Akau | Wilmot Vredenburg |
| Mrs. Fujii | Jno. Akau | Robert Kuhio |
| Kipi Naia | Robert Puakea | |

1920.

(A.W. Carter – regarding Waikii) – I have a good many boys on the place, some of them quite young, who are getting the equivalent of \$4.00 & \$5.00 a day; but they are boys of considerable experience and usefulness. They can operate a Tractor with a gang plow, handle a truck, handle stationary gas engines, and go into the machine shop and make necessary repairs. When their machines are laid off they get out and pick corn, and do whatever farm work there is to be done.

1924, July 8.

Water in 100,000 gal. tank at Waikii down 14 ft. from top. Puu lo cistern 8 ft. 10 in. Going down 2" a day.

1930, April 16.

(J.J. W. to A.W. Carter) – I have had a check made of the low pressure pipe line from Waimea to Aalii and thence to Keaumoku, and enclose a rough sketch of the line.

You will note the line is 3 inch from Waimea to above Nohonohae at which point it is reduced to 2 inch.

From here to Aalii where it bends towards Keaumoku it is 2 inch and continues this size to Puupapapa I, then 1 ½" inch to Puupapapa II and then 1 ¾" to Keaumoku wool shed.

There is a short line, 3000 ft. of 1 ¼" inch from tank at Puupapapa I leading down, being reduced to 1 inch before crossing the Kona road.

1931, February 7.

(A.H. Carter to A.W. Carter) – Further matter on the water system:

If the necessity arises, we can put in a pump and an engine in the lower part of the old Aalii Paddock, above the junction that runs over to Puupapapa and raise the water which comes through this low pressure pipe line, to the Aalii reservoir, using the pipe that is now laid to the reservoir to pump through. This new low pressure pipe line which is 3-in. most of the way through Holoholoku and 2 ½" in. for a portion of the way before it gets to the Aalii Paddock, will supply us with ample water for the Waikii line as well as the Puupapapa line.

We could use the old gasoline engine and pump now installed at the Aalii pump house to lift the water to the Aalii cistern.

This is not a suggestion for immediate action but it will not be a very big job to make this installation which will take care of the Waikii paddocks.

Thinking it over, we could use the portable 15 HP gas engine to operate a pump in this location, or the Fordson Tractor in which case the only installation would be the pump, but please send all of your water from Alakahi to Puu lo in case the stock are taking everything as it comes. We can take care of Waikii but we cannot take care of Puu lo in case we run short there.

I will have a little diagram made, showing my ideas and send it to you by this mail.

1931, February 9. (A.W. Carter) – I was very glad to get your letter this morning, saying that you had a little rain in the mountain, and that water was going into the high pressure reservoir... If the water starts to go down on the Waikii side in the future, you had better put all the people up there on an allowance...

On the 3-in. low pressure pipe line, how many feet of pipe is there of lesser dimension and what dimension is it – 2 ½ or 2 in? I mean, from where the 3-in. pipe ends in Holoholoku to the Old Aalii Paddock where it branches to go to Puupapapa.

1932, August 25.

(A.W. Carter to Ah Fat Lee) – I have your letter of the 22nd instant informing me that you could not take the position offered you until the first of October.

You will understand that I would like to have you work for me, but I cannot delay as long as you wish.

1936.

(A.W. Carter to Frank Greenwell – Keamoku) – It is unnecessary for me to tell you what splendid work your boys are doing on the ranch, and I consider ourselves and the owners very fortunate to have them in my employ.

The other day I went over some horses with Radcliffe and also took him to look at some bulls and asked him for his opinion and I have come to the conclusion that he is a pretty good cattleman and pretty good horseman – that is if I know anything – because we agreed in almost every case.

Jimmy is equally good, and I think his trip will be beneficial to him in the judgment of stock. I know that it did me a lot of good.

1936, April 28. (A.W. Carter – Waikii Notes) – Asari has been in my employ twenty-three years, leaving in 1931 of his own accord to go into the store business in Honolulu.

During his period of employment with me he worked at the farms station at Waikii on the Parker Ranch. He has shorn sheep for twenty-two years, also operated a caterpillar tractor nine years. In addition to this, he is handy in all farm work.

1937, September.

(A.W. Carter) – Mr. Medeiros is appointed school teacher at Waikii.

1947. (Wilmot Vredenburg II notes to A.W. Carter)

My father died in December 1909, and I came back from school and went to work at Waikii. Macalister was in charge of Waikii, and when he left to take charge of the Horner Ranch I took charge of Waikii.

Mitsuvara is an old timer, and I believe you are right that he worked on those mountain fences back in 1906. I do not remember a man by the name of Kiyota or the man by the name of Eki.

Takaki I knew well, and before the war I use to meet him at Olaa town on Sundays whenever I went to Hilo, and he always wanted me to stop and have a drink with him. I asked about him and was told that he went back to Japan before the war broke out. Takaki worked with me in Kahuku a few months the

first year I was there, on the fences. There was another pukapuka Japanese who came with him but I cannot remember his name. He was always with Takaki when I met Takaki in Olaa.

Matsuoka I remember. He was at the Alii Pump House. I knew Egawa. He and Takaki always worked together on fences, and later he went and planted corn on shares on the side of a hill at the bottom of Puu Keke paddock. Before him there was another old Japanese who planted corn there, but I cannot remember his name.

Macalister was at Keaumoku looking after sheep when my father died and you moved him to Waikii. He use to be in Hilo and I used to meet him quite often, but he went back to England before the outbreak of the war, and I never heard anything more about him.

You know I use to remember Takaki before I went to Waikii, I use to see him riding a black horse. He sure took good care of that horse.

Another Japanese was at Keaumoku when I first went to Waikii, and that was Kamikubo. What happened to him I do not remember.

The last time I went to Waikii hunting, I think it was in the latter part of 1944, I went over to see old Mitsuhara. He was getting weak, and he told me that he was not feeling very well and he did not think he would live much longer. I had taken some fish over with me and I gave him some and this sure made him very happy.

Another old timer was old man Nadai, he was with Frank Johnson, Harry's father, at Keaumoku, and later came up to Waikii.

I still think of those days at Waikii, and often wish they can come back again.

Parker Ranch–Waiki‘i and the Mountain Lands in the War Years (1941-1945), and Subsequent Development of the Pōhakuloa Training Area

As had been the case during World War I, Parker Ranch played an important role in the Territory's war efforts during World War II. Operations at Waiki‘i, Ke‘āmoku and the mountain lands continued much as they had in the preceding years, though livestock, water resources, and agricultural produce were more carefully guarded. As a result, access to and from the ranch lands was greatly restricted, and security stations set in place so that no one without a good reason was allowed onto ranch lands. Parker Ranch and other ranches in the Territory all developed programs to enhance the supply of meat and food resources with which to support the military effort, and with which to sustain the island population in case of embargoes (see interviews with Hisao Kimura and Rally Greenwell). It was during these years also, that the piggery at Waiki‘i was in full operation. With 20,000 troops in Waimea, leftovers from the mess halls was substantial. The pigs ate well, and were in turn fattened for the table (Rally Greenwell, pers. comm. November 26, 2002).

One of the significant developments on the ranch landscape was the removal of tens of thousands of acres of land from the Waikōloa-Lālāmilo plains (down to the shore and

Kawaihae Harbor) and adjoining land areas such as portions of Holoholokū, Ka'omoloa, and Pu'ukapu from ranch use. These lands were dedicated to military training, live fire ranges and camp facilities. The famed Camp Tarawa, located near Pu'u Opelu, in which was housed more than 20,000 U.S. Marine troops, served as the base of operations. During this action, the land area below the old Waimea-Kona Highway was removed from the ranch inventory. It was also during this time that weeds such as fountain (pampas) grass, which had generally been held at bay, got away, and spread across the land. In the years prior to World War II, the fountain grass which began at Ka'ūpūlehu (in 1917) had spread through the Pu'u Wa'awa'a-Pu'u Anahulu ranch lands, and A.W. Carter had implemented a strict program of daily weeding efforts; the sole purpose being to protect the quality and carrying capacity of the pasture lands. This matter was reportedly so important to Carter that, if he saw an employee pass by a designated weed, there was a likelihood that the employee would be fired (Hisao Kimura, interview of June 29, 2002). Once the land was turned over to military control and live ammunition fire, ranch employees were unable to access the region. By the time the war ended and the land returned to ranch use, it was too late, as the fountain grass had spread across the Waikōloa plains (see interviews with Rally Greenwell).

Several interviewees also described widespread live fire target practice that occurred in those days. At one point near the Waiki'i Road intersection with the Waimea-Kona Road, there was a prison site, which had been established to house prison laborers working on the ca. 1899-1902 Waimea-Kona Road alignment. Construction of the road (well-built stone walls and causeways of the road may still be seen at locations along the present-day highway) was supervised by Eben Low (cf. Baldwin 1902:46; & pers comm. Billy Paris and Tita Ruddle-Spielman), and the location of the Waiki'i intersection prison camp is still pointed out by elder kama'āina. The area is today marked by a few eucalyptus trees, and a dirt pull off where cars park. Though use of the prison camp ended before the birth of the elder interviewees, an old wooden building or two was apparently standing on the site when the Marines first started use of the Waikōloa lands. The abandoned buildings were taken down as a part of the live fire training of the troops (see interview with Jess Hannah).

In 1951, Lucille Brundage, who had been A.W. Carter's personal secretary, wrote a brief summary of her recollections of the war years in Waimea, in which she noted the following points:

Waimea Marine Camp.

Regarding Marine Occupation – the mention of the camp site (4000 acres) doesn't begin to convey the true picture. I do think, however, mention of this area, and the fact that the ranch made no claims for damages after the removal of the camp, shows more plainly their cooperation with the Armed Forces.

As I remember it, the total area of the maneuvering and range areas was 202,674 acres. This I can check, it may have been greater.

Of course all cattle had to be removed from this area; also the ranch made no entry into these lands – with the result that cactus, which they had started to eradicate in this area before the war, spread by leaps and bounds.

There were other incidents of physical damage – constant fires, punctured pipe lines, a large stand of trees burned out – but at the end of the war, no claim of any kind was made against the government.

During all the period of Marine occupation, while the ranch could not be used as pasturage, the ranch continued to pay property taxes on the land at the prevailing pasture land rates. No charge was ever made to the Government for the lease.

The only request made by Mr. Carter after the war was that the range area be entirely cleaned, and cleared of duds, for he feared that after cattle were again turned into the area, his men, in the course of their work, might possibly be injured. [World War II File, Parker Ranch Collection]

After the war, live fire ammunition, including rifle ammo, hand grenades, and bombs, was left behind, some lying exposed on the surface, and others hidden below surface in impact areas, and covered by soil. The agreement between the United States and Parker Ranch, at a cost of \$1.00 per year, had included a condition that required clean up of unexploded ordinance (cf. Camp Special Order No. 6-1945; April 13, 1945). Unfortunately, the clean up, if any, left unexploded ordinance across the Pu'ukapu, Ka'omoloa, Holoholokū, Pu'u Opelu, Līhue, Waikōloa, Pu'u Hīna'i and Lālāmilo vicinity lands (see interviews with R. Greenwell, H. Kimura, T. Bell, J. Yamaguchi, and J. Hannah).

In June 1954, Theodore Lindsey and Russell Iokepa were killed, and Edwin Lindsey, Gene Mitsunami and John Almeida, were seriously hurt by an explosion in the Pu'u Pā - Range 2 Paddock vicinity. Regarding this event, on June 8, 1954, Lucille Brundage wrote to Richard Smart informing him of the accident:

I guess Hartwell wrote you about the accident on the Ranch when we lost two of our Hawaiian boys through the explosion of a dud. I just got a call that Tripler cannot accept the injured boys (there were three of them). I remember Mr. Carter insisting that the Range be cleaned up thoroughly after the war and it would seem like carelessness on the part of the demolition party to not find all the duds on that area and I should think the Government would accept some responsibility for the accident. Particularly in view of the fact that we charged them nothing for this huge area they used and also never tried to recover damages which we suffered as a result of the carelessness of the Marines stationed there. [World War II File, Parker Ranch Collection]

On numerous occasions since the end of the war till the present day, unexploded ordinance has been uncovered—in pastures; in subdivisions developed in the years since the war; and even in school yards. Another accident in 1972 took the life of a ten year old who brought home a hand grenade. And as recently as the September 2002, during grubbing and grading of land for a new subdivision in the Ka'omoloa section (between Pu'u Opelu and Puhiale), unexploded ordinance was encountered. Pōhakuloa Training Area EOD personnel were able to detonate the explosives without injury to anyone.

After the end of World War II, Parker Ranch and the Marine Corps entered into discussions regarding leases permitting the continued use of ranch lands for training maneuvers. By the early 1950s, the Marine Corps were seeking land in which long-term training exercises could be conducted; the newly formed Marine Corps Air Station at Mōkapu, O'ahu, did not have adequate space for field training. A portion of the Lālāmilo lands, as well as lands adjoining the upper Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku vicinity in Ka'ohē 3, 4, and Pōhakuloa were considered. On December 11, 1952, A. Hartwell Carter, who had replaced his late father (A.W. Carter

passed away in 1949), wrote to Lt. General Franklin A. Hart, of the United States Marine Corps, describing various options available for acquisition of land for troop training exercises:

...I. Lalamilo. The land of Lalamilo is situated in the district of South Kohala on the north[west] side of the Island of Hawaii. As you can see from the map it is a long, narrow parcel. It contains approximately 9,000 acres and is eight miles long and two miles wide. The terrain is rough. The distance from this site to Hilo is 62 miles. Hilo, as you know, is the only sizable town and the only real deep water seaport on the island. If the land is to be used for a camp site and training area we believe that ultimately you will find it inadequate. In viewing the land on the ground it is not too easy to envision the boundaries since there are no distinguishing marks between Lalamilo and the adjacent land which is owned by us in fee simple...

During the war Parker Ranch, in order to cooperate fully in the war effort and particularly with the Marine Corps, made available an area of land approximately 70,000 to 80,000 acres, rent free, which was used for approximately two years. This involved the normal problems of any area where a full division or more was stationed. We enjoyed good relations with the command and the officers and men.

Since the war we have lost large tracts of land and are now unable to surrender additional areas without suffering a serious handicap in our operations...

II. Keonepoko [Puna]...

III. South Point (Kamaoa-Puueo) [Kau]...

IV. Kaohe 3 and 4 – Pohakuloa. This land contains approximately 27,000 acres, a part of which is a territorial game reserve and Kaohe 3 [Ahumoa – Pu'u Ke'eke'e] is a horse pasture used by us. This particular site was indicated to your officers making the land inspection and it has since occurred to us to be more desirable than any of those heretofore under consideration. The area is adequate and it is not objectionable from the standpoint of being a long sliver of land such as Lalamilo. This tract is 35 miles from the city of Hilo and contains a spring which could be used to supply water tanks for storage if that is desired. At the same time there is a 500,000-gallon tank in use on the land. If this area were selected as the maneuver area it would be feasible and convenient for you to have camp site on the saddle road at the location of the old Prisoner-of-War camp. There is in this area approximately 100 acres which camp would be 9 miles from the city of Hilo and 26 miles from the maneuver area of Pohakuloa. Assuming that Lalamilo could not be used for both a maneuver area and camp site and that you would be obliged to acquire other lands for a maneuver area in the event you chose Lalamilo as a camp site, we point out that the distance from Lalamilo to Pohakuloa is 26 miles and the distance from Pohakuloa to the POW camp is likewise 26 miles...

If the proposed site at Pohakuloa meets with your approval and you are willing to forego the use of Lalamilo as a camp site in favor of the one which is nearer the city of Hilo as suggested, we would be quite willing to make available to the

Marine Corps an area of Parker Ranch land adjacent to Kaohe 3 which is now used as our horse pasture, of approximately 6,000 acres. Moreover we will turn these areas over to the government for a reasonable period without rent... [Marine Corps File, Parker Ranch Collection]

On January 9, 1953, A.H. Carter and others associated with the ranch met with General Hart and military personnel. As a result of that meeting, it was learned that the Marine Corps had decided not to take the land of Lalamilo, for the reasons generally detailed by Carter in his letter of December 11, 1952. It was further agreed that action on the Ka'ohē 3 and 4-Pōhakuloa lands would be taken, thus modifying the usage of lands adjoining Waiki'i, particularly those above the Waiki'i Station. Though early in the development of the Pōhakuloa Training Area (PTA), it had been proposed to establish the Marine Corps Base Camp in the Nohonaohae Paddock below Waiki'i, and the training area in a section of the existing PTA facility. Ranch Manager Richard Penhallow summarized the meeting, observing:

6. Final Prospective: Obtain the agreement of Parker Ranch to convey 320 acres in the vicinity of Nahonohae [sic] to the U.S. for a permanent division camp site. Construct a 12" water main from the Kohala Mountains to this site. Obtain the agreement of Parker Ranch to permit infantry maneuvers in the adjacent pastures without any weapon firing, and coordinated with grazing usage. If this plan is agreeable then Pohakuloa and Kaohe together with our Puukeekee paddock land would be used for mechanized and fire problems, artillery fire being limited to the lava wastes of Pohakuloa and Mauna Loa. The cost of this development would be over 20 million dollars, which would render it almost prohibitive according to General Hart, who sets the odds against its adoption at 10 to 1.

7. Immediate Training: For the present, running concurrently with the plans for Maui, General Hart recommends unit by unit training in artillery and mechanized maneuvers, operating from a tent camp in Kaohe III game preserve, supplied with water from the Pohakuloa 500,000 gallon tank and supplementary truck hauling. The size of the units to be trained and the length of the training period will be limited by the availability of water. This program would utilize the Puukeekee Paddock area which we have offered.

8. Conclusion: It seems advisable to cooperate with the Marines. They have adopted a serious and considerable attitude toward our problems and recommended withdrawal of Lalamilo. In the immediate future their training will be limited to from Pohakuloa to Puukeekee Paddock as we have suggested. The probability of their final prospective materializing is remote at this time and may be indefinitely postponed. [Marine Corps File, Parker Ranch Collection]

On January 20th 1953, Richard Penhallow wrote full details of the Marine Corps proposal to Richard Smart, with specifics about use and minimized impact on the Waiki'i Village area:

...General Hart presented his immediate problem for unit training. His training officers have submitted to him their requirements which will involve greater depth than he had indicated previously. They contemplate as was reported before, to camp one regimental combat team in temporary buildings and tents

for only two-week periods, at or near the Pohakuloa camp site. Their artillery range will be the lava wastes of Mauna Loa in that region. Specific small training problems of sub-units within the R.T.C. can be conducted near the camp and in Puukeekee.

But to round out the attack games of the whole regimental teams he asked that you permit the Marines to enter your land from the Saddle Road below Puumahaelua and attack mauka in the direction of Puukeekee and Pohakuloa, ending up with weapons firing over the heads of the attacking troops as they finally approach the artillery practice area in Pohakuloa. He specified that there would be no firing of any arms in your pastures and that the village of Waikii would be by-passed. Also Engineer troops would be with the advancing units to open and repair fences as vehicles were channeled through. He pointed out that there are no other clear areas in Hawaii with suitable depth from front to rear to permit a three day advance of ground forces with all their supporting units. In this sham attack sub-units, types of weapons and actions would be identified by colored arm bands...

After being shown their maps of the proposed maneuver grounds, Hartwell asked for a recess during which he and Garner [Anthony] Stanley Wright and myself developed a counter proposal which we thought would not interfere too much with our operations or installations and still be adequate for their needs.

We proposed, pending your approval, allowing them to initiate their advance at the Kona Road anywhere beyond the Nahonohae-Puupapapa I fence and confine their movements within the paddocks of Puupapapa 1 & 2, Big Heewai, Old Waikii and Puukeekee and also the outside paddocks along the edge of the lava near Keamoku house, reserving an out-of-bounds zone around the house, horse pasture and old shearing shed. This will allow plenty of room, and while it does involve passing over our pipe line, still that will occur near the far end and the number of fences to be crossed will be held to a minimum by the confinement of operations to large pastures only. It will keep their activities out of sight of the Saddle Road, except mauka of Waikii village, and at a considerable distance away from the village at all points, by denying them entry to any of the smaller pastures in that vicinity. Our proposal was acceptable to the Marines and the spirit of cooperation by both side a worth while outcome of delaying action which was started by your well timed letter.

...While my first contacts with the General were austere, I have found him to appear to better advantage and more human with each meeting. As Garner once told me, these conferences have been fruitful in teaching the General that he is not "dealing with children," which he may have imagined at first.

Hartwell and I recommend your approval of our mutually acceptable results...
[Marine Corps File, Parker Ranch Collection]

End of an Era— The Closure of Waiki'i Village and Ke'āmoku (1957-1965)

By the 1950s, significant changes were taking place on Parker Ranch, just as they were throughout the Territory of Hawai'i. Following World War II, methods and routes of transportation were being improved as both roadways and vehicles were modernized. Ease of travel for people, and acquisition of vehicles in which livestock could be transported, reduced the need for manning remote area stations. By 1957, closure of the Waiki'i Village Station was completed and most of the houses were moved to "Little Waiki'i" in Waimea. Today, a corn crib, part of the stable facilities, the manager's house, and three "bread ovens" from the early village may still be seen.

The families that lived at Waiki'i in this period were given the opportunity to relocate in the same houses they'd lived in—a number of them for most of their lives—in the new "Little Waiki'i" village in Waimea. Among the interviewees, Jess Hannah and Dorothy Phillips-Nishie still live in houses from Waiki'i. Interviewee Barbara Phillips-Robertson (sister of Dorothy Nishie) was born at Waiki'i in 1936, and the old family home is just across the street from the Nishie's present-day home. Everyone who spoke of Waiki'i, their life on the land, and the old village, spoke with love and sweet memories of those days. While life was hard, there was a closeness that is missing from communities today.

Interviewees also shared that aside from improved travel, perhaps the most significant factor that led to the closure of Waiki'i was the weather. Up until the late 1940s, the annual rains remained consistent. There was a time for planting and for rotating livestock through regional paddocks, and the weather could be counted on. This changed and by the early 1950s, crops were lost, and the ranch's feed planting program diminished, adjusting to the weather patterns. As a result, there was no longer a need to have a village at Waiki'i. Appendix A to this study is a collection of oral history interviews that provide readers with first-hand accounts of life, work, and play on lands of the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku region and the mountain lands of the larger holdings of Parker Ranch.

By 1959-1960, Parker Ranch, like all the other ranches in the new State of Hawai'i, were struggling to make ends meet. A decision was made to sell the Waiki'i Village Lands to Signal Oil, which was speculating on a development program. The lower Waikōloa lands, formerly the Pu'u Hīna'i Paddock, were sold to Boise-Cascade. The future of development in the Waiki'i section was uncertain for a while, but after installation of a private deep water well at Wai-ki'i, the "water" was indeed "fetched" to the land, and the door opened for development of the present-day Waiki'i Ranch.

In the 1960s, Richard Smart published several articles in the Parker Ranch Newsletter, Paka Paniolo, describing the Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku stations, and sharing recollections of some of those people who had participated in the history of this land⁹. Writing in 1962 about the 1957 closure of Waiki'i Village, Richard Smart described the circumstances around relocation of the homes and families to Waimea:

⁹ It will be noted that there are a few small historical inaccuracies in the following articles regarding dates and tenure of ranch operations, which have been described from original source information in preceding sections of the study.

1962, August.

A story with strong overtones of nostalgia and sentiment is that of little Waikii Village, a cluster of homes once rooted in the mountainside of Waikii on the Saddle Road. It was a warm, hearty community and the families who lived in Waikii became closely knit.

When the Ranch moved these houses to Little Waikii in Waimea, it was the wish of the families that they remain together. And so they are today, still neighbors separated only by flower beds and hedges of akulikuli.

The move was made in 1957, but as years passed, occupants of some [of] these homes have changed. But for the most part, they remain the villagers of Waikii.

The history of Waikii will be told another time. Briefly, it was established around 1904, as a way station while bringing wild cattle from the mountainside. Gradually it became a community in itself. It took three hours of leisurely horseback travel to reach Waimea, as compared to the 20-25 minutes drive today.

The Waikii villagers created their own amusement. For years there was no school. There were diversified interests, turkey raising, honey bee hives, great fields of corn, a piggery, and each villager was proud of his fruit and vegetable garden. [R. Smart in Paka Paniolo, August 1962; in collection of PPS]



Figure 17. Waiki'i's Crew and "Mechanized" Fleet; 1917.

IN 1917 THIS MECHANIZED FLEET WAS [Figure 17] considered the Cat's Whiskers, to use an expression almost as old as these tractors. The line-up was at Waikii where the machines worked the big corn fields surrounding the village now transported to Kamuela.

Left to right: George Arthur (deceased), Kaulu Apa, retired and now at Kahua; George Elarinoff (deceased); Masao Kawatachi, now at Honolulu; Masa Ogawa (deceased); K. Kobayashi, now with Hawaii Meat Co., Honolulu; an unidentified man; M. Sakata, now farming in Waimea; N. Ogawa, presently on the Mainland; Alex Bell Sr., retired Waikii foreman living in Waimea; "Korcheck"

Peroff, now in Honolulu; an unidentified man, and Mike Zimen, a member of the Russian colony who has returned to the Iron Curtain country. [August 1962, Richard Smart in Paka Paniolo (No. 9)]

While Waiki'i village had been relocated, the ranch continued to keep cattle in the Waiki'i area, and a few men, who were responsible for weed control and fence work in the outer region of Ke'āmoku, continued to live there as well. Indeed, Richard Smart reported that in 1962, the Ke'āmoku Station had been renovated:

1962, August.

Old Keamoku Is Given Face Lift

Roof and other minor repairs have been given the bachelor quarters at Keamoku, one of the oldest landmarks on Parker Ranch.

Keamoku, near the Kona boundary of the ranch, was once a bustling sheep station. The old shearing shed still stands as it did during the days of Colonel Sam Parker.

Only a small crew lives at the Keamoku station today, while others who work in the area commute to and from Waimea. [Richard Smart in Paka Paniolo (No. 9)]

Another activity that continued at Waiki'i after the relocation of the village was the collection of turkeys to be fattened in the Waiki'i pens, in preparation for the holiday meals. Richard Smart wrote about this activity in November 1962, and also cited recollections of Willie Kaniho, Sr., who managed the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku-Humu'ula Stations in the later years of his employ with the ranch:

1962, November.

Ranch Heroes Snare Wild Turks

...A Ranch crew has been invading mamani groves near Waikii to snare wild turkeys. The birds went wild half a century ago when the Ranch ceased operating a turkey farm.

Turkeys bearing the Waikii brand are not as succulent and meaty as they might be when captured. To bring them to par they are put on feed, stuffed with corn and other turkey goodies to bring them to desired weight and tenderness. The average gobbler weighs about eight pounds. He will be brought to 14 pounds before marketing. Hens are smaller but gain comparable weight [Figure 18].

The first safari assembled at Waikii on a moonlight October night. Bearers toted bamboo poles and flashlights. It was a hush-hush operation as the hands crept cautiously toward mamani groves and the luckless, unsuspecting turks perched in the branches.

As Willie Kaniho explains the operation, a wire hook is placed on the tip of a 15-foot pole. A looped fish line runs through the hook. A powerful flashlight blinds the gobbler (or hen) and the loop quick-as-a-wink is slipped over the bird's head.



Figure 18. Waiki'i Turkey Pen (ca. 1935)
(courtesy of the Waiki'i Ranch Homeowners Association).

In the meantime the other birds get wise and make off with much whirling of feathers.

The trapped bird has little chance to join his fellows in their bid for freedom. The string is tied to a branch, all strings collected when the night's work is done.

So far some 40 turkeys are being fattened for the feast. You can order your turkey through Willie Kaniho, on the hoof or dressed. Happy eating! [R. Smart in Paka Paniolo, Nov. 1962 (No. 12)]

One of the focal points of the old Waiki'i Village was the school house. The location of the school house is marked today by a Norfolk Island Pine, planted there by Teddy Bell Sr. when he was a student in the school. This was a one room school house, serving first through eighth grades. There were generally 15 to 20 children in attendance, and Barbara Phillips-Robertson, now the principal of the new Kamehameha Schools Campus at Kea'au, recalled that after the first few years in school, a child had heard all the lessons from the various grade levels, so things got pretty easy. She observed though, that the teachers were dedicated, and that the children received a good education. The children were regularly exposed to new reading materials, delivered by a book-mobile. Interviewee Elizabeth Bond-Bowman, book-mobile librarian in the years prior to World War II, described

boxes of books being packed up and delivered to the school in return for those which had been previously loaned. Nearly all of the girls that went to Waiki'i School transferred in their ninth grade year to the Kohala Seminary, and some to Kamehameha Schools. Many of the boys moved right into ranch work, helping to support their families.

The Christmas and New Year's holidays were particularly notable for the children. Each child received small presents from the ranch, and the fruit orchard was a source of delicious apples, nuts and other fruits which were relished by all. With the relocation of the village and families to Waimea in 1957, the school house was closed. In 1963, Richard Smart wrote about the moving of the Waiki'i School house:

**1963 March.
"Aloha Aina"**

...The A&O Corporation will start moving old Waikii schoolhouse to the site [across the road from the Lanakila Park] in the near future. It will temporarily house the Kamuela Branch of the First National Bank, making its entry into our community for the first time in that institution's history.

The bank will occupy the old schoolhouse only until a new building is constructed.

...When the Waikii schoolhouse is moved down, little change will be made in the exterior other than painting and freshening. The schoolhouse is in excellent condition and has not been used since Waikii was moved to Little Waikii in the village... [R. Smart in Paka Paniolo, March 1963 (No. 16)]

In 1963 and 1964, Richard Smart published two annotated interviews he conducted with Willie Kaniho, Sr. and Alex Bell. Alex Bell, father of interviewee, the late Teddy Bell, had lived at Waiki'i from 1910 to 1957, and from about 1936 until his retirement, he served as the Waiki'i Station foreman. According to the elder interviewees who participated in this study, his knowledge of the land and history was formidable. Willie Kaniho Sr. managed the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku Stations, as well as other ranch stations after Alex Bell's retirement. Willie Kaniho Sr. was very knowledgeable about the land history of Waimea and the larger 'āina mauna, and from the 1920s, he was a regular guide for visitors who wished to travel to Mauna Kea. Mr. Kaniho assisted a number of Bishop Museum staff and exploratory expeditions in their treks to the mountain lands.

Interviewees recalled that it was under Willie Kaniho's tenure that the ranch made the decision to close the Ke'āmoku Station and move the remaining building. The old Ke'āmoku house went to a Japanese Church in Waimea, and the old shearing house went down, though many years prior to that the shearing equipment and wool press had been relocated to Humu'ula.

Richard Smart's notes from interviews with Kaniho and Bell follow here:

1963, December [Recollections of Willie Kaniho Sr.]

There are some people for whom you can find the proper adjectives. But a new set should be invented for William Kaniho Sr., who winds up 50 years with Parker Ranch and is still strong as the ropes he used to tie the wild cattle.

He is “Willie” to everyone, the Big Boss on down.

Born at Kalopa on March 18, 1894, Willie’s life has been woven into the ranching history of Hawaii. His father was William Kaniho who worked “for the Germans at Humuula.” His mother was Kanaiholo Papa.

His father died shortly after Willie was born and he was taken by his grandparents, the John Papas, who also worked at Humuula. There was an older brother, Robert, now a Kona tour guide.

This is Willie’s story. We regret the typewriter does not carry the proper inflection and the humor in Willie’s face as he tells it.

I went to school at Kalopa but I left at 14 and went to work at Humuula but the Germans had gone and Sam Parker Jr. was owner then. He was a big fellow, tall, husky—the house where he lived in Waimea is down now. It is where the CCC camp is now.

I was all-around cowboy for Sam Jr. I worked for Sam little more than two years then he sold to Parker Ranch. Mr. Carter bought it. I remember the day Mr. Carter came to Humuula and said Parker Ranch had bought the land.

When I started at Humuula, Ikua Purdy was the foreman—you know the famous roper. He stayed on as foreman when Parker Ranch bought the land. Then three of us went to Kauai—for better pay—Ikua Purdy and Kainapau Kailikini and me. We went for more money. We got \$12 a month at Humuula. Princeville Ranch paid us \$75 and a bonus. Ikua was Princeville foreman.

I worked at Princeville two years. Then Frank Wood at Kahua offered us better pay—\$85 a month, top wage and bonus. Ikua was to be foreman, I was still a hand.

We had a disagreement over the wage bonus and I got in my Model T, packed my gear, and drove to Waimea. Mr. Carter heard I had left the job and he had a cowboy named Manoa (he was our lunch boy and carried lunches out to the job on horseback in those days) waylay me at Uyeda’s Barber Shop (across from Lanakila Park).

He said, “Mr. Carter wants to see you.” I said, “I’ll see him in the morning.” He said, “He wants to see you now.” I said, “I’ll see him in the morning.” So I went to my mother’s house at Hamakua and came back the next morning.

Mr. Carter’s office is where the Bank of Hawaii is now. He asked “You left Kahua Ranch?” and I said “yes,” and he said “Why?” so I told him. Then he asked me to come back and work for Parker Ranch. I say “Okay but how much you going to pay me.” So he told me he’d pay me “\$35.” “Excuse me for that,” I told Mr. Carter. “But I get more pay at Kahua Ranch and they feed me and I get free wood.”

He say he cannot pay that much. I say “That’s Okay, you can’t pay that much, I don’t ask for the job, you want me.” He told me he’d “give me a foreman’s job then can pay more high pay.”

So I took that job at \$100 and he sent me to Keamoku and I stayed there one week and he brought me back to stay with him at a cottage in the back. I get free food with him. Then he send me to work with the cowboys as a hand but I got my \$100. I stayed six months with Mr. Carter.

He sent me back in charge of Keamoku. I stayed there two years. Then he sent me in charge of Humuula replacing Herbert Ishizu's brother Junichi Ishizu who was killed in the flash flood on his horse.

Willie then tells of his six years at Humuula, returning to the cowboy gang, replacing Johnny Lindsey Sr. when he retired, and his eight years as cowboy foreman in the days when cattle were lashed to longboats and lifted aboard the Humuula.

He talked of Hogan Kauwe, Awili Lanakila, Harry Kawai, Joe Pacheco, Kaliko Mainaupo, Tom and Albert Lindsey, Frank Vierra, Alex Akau Sr., William Campbell, John Lekelesa and others who were members of the legendary cowboy gang.

Willie stayed on at Humuula until 1959 when he was brought to Waimea as general foreman under Manager Richard Penhallow... [W. Kaniho in Paka Paniolo, December 1963 (No. 25)]

1964, March.

[Waiki'i – 1910-1958: Recollections of Alex Bell, Sr.]

Retired Parker Rancher Turns Clock Back to Early Waikii:

Alexander Bell Sr. of Parker Ranch and inventor Alexander Graham Bell are not related. But both have witnessed startling changes in the world of communications.

Inventor Bell gave birth to the telephone. He watched Henry Ford tinker around with what emerged as the Model T. He saw Thomas A. Edison create a light bulb. Waimea's Bell is on TV speaking terms with astronauts, cosmonauts, nuclear subs and Telstar. All in the span of a lifetime.

Alex was born June 9, 1896, on the old Lindsey place where now stands Tony Smart's home. His father was George Bell of Kohala. He came to Waimea as a young man, opened a blacksmith and carpentry shop. In 1910, he moved his family to Waikii to run the smithy for Parker Ranch.

"The corn was as high as an elephant's eye" and young Alex won't forget it. He was 14 years old when they handed him a hoe and pointed in the direction of the cornfield.

"The Ranch raised acres of corn at Auwaikekua. Legend has it that the gulch was built by menehunes, running up to Lake Waiau," Alex recalled.

"Earliest folks up there were Germans. One man was named Holder. He left. There were some Hawaiians there, too. In 1903 the Ranch bought the land. Some Chinese hands were sent to Waikii to clean up the place. There were three Russian families from a shipload of emigrants. Mr. Carter hired them."

(Alfred Wellington Carter, then guardian of young Thelma Parker, bought the Waikoloa land from Miss Lucy Peabody of Honolulu, niece of Isaac Davis, advisor to King Kamehameha 1.)

“First Waikii foreman was Jacob William Sproat, father of Bill Sproat of Kohala. Then came Wilmot Vredenburg Sr., then Donald McAllister who later was manager of Kukaiau Ranch, then a fellow named William White and after him came Wilmot Vredenburg Jr., Ernest Vredenburg succeeded him, then Tom Bell was foreman until George Elarinoff.

It was following Elarinoff’s term that Alex Bell—who started feeding turkeys at \$8 a month—was named Waikii foreman, a post he held 24 years.

“I never will forget those turkeys. Big, hungry birds we fattened for market. They fed on milkweed and corn and ran about 350 to the flock.”

“Waikii was a long way from Waimea in those days. It took us three hours by horse—the distance you can cover in minutes by car today. When Thelma Parker was married (1912) we all came down on horseback, the ladies carrying their dresses to change before going to Puuopelu. I wasn’t very old but I remember what a beautiful bride she was and her long train.”

“I remember the first time I rode in a car. I was 17 years old and Mr. Carter gave me a ride in his Cadillac. I sure felt big. Later I drove for Mr. Carter.”

“Waikii was really a wonderful place to live. We had high fences around our gardens—everyone raised a garden, had a milk cow and chickens—but there were lots of wild cattle and wild pigs.”

“We made our own fun. There was always a Christmas program and tree at the school—the school was started in McAllister’s time—and we’d have kalua pig and music, lots of music.”

“There was the wonderful orchard which Mr. Carter planted in the first Vredenburg’s time. All the Ranch families enjoyed the fruits of that orchard. During the war the only walnuts we had came from there.”

“I retired in August, 1958, after 47 years on Parker Ranch. It’s been a good life...” [A. Bell in Paka Paniolo, March 1964 (No. 28)]

The May, 1965, closure of the Ke’āmoku Station was documented in Paka Paniolo by Richard Smart (Sept. 1965), who described the circumstances leading up to the closure:

The Keamuku Camp was closed several months ago when it was consolidated into one operation with Waikii, thus withdrawing the need to maintain two camps instead of one in the same general vicinity. In the early days it was necessary to maintain Keamuku as an outpost camp as transportation and communication to and from the camp were difficult but with the modern means of communication of today the Keamuku area may be inspected and worked very readily from headquarters at Waikii. This was a decision by management in the interest of streamlining ranch operations.

The present buildings at the Keamuku camp will eventually be dismantled. Standing there now are several interesting old buildings including an old shearing barn [Figure 19]. Originally the Keamuku Camp was the Puuloa Sheep and Stock Ranch owned by Macfarlane and Company. It was purchased by Parker Ranch in February 1904 along with the stock numbering 6,175 sheep. Wool produced that year totaled 10,000 pounds. Mr. Frank Johnson was the manager of the Puuloa Sheep and Stock Ranch when it was purchased by Parker Ranch, and remained as manager of the station until 1906 when Mr. A.C. Aubrey became the manager. [See additional documentation above regarding history of station prior to McFarlane's 1896 acquisition of the ranch.]

By June 1908 the station had increased its stock to 10,997 sheep and produced 30,000 pounds of wool which was almost completely free of kikania (cockle burr). Therefore, Parker Ranch wool always brought good prices in Boston where it was marketed. Shearing was done early in the Spring before the kikania burrs had a chance to mature and harden and stick to the wool. For this reason also Parker Ranch wool was always preferred in the Islands as padding for the Hawaiian quilts. Speaking of quilts, Mrs. Theresa Quinn of Kohala was contracted to make a quilt for Queen Liliuokalani's bed at Washington Place during Governor Stainback's term of office. The wool for this quilt was donated by Parker Ranch.



Figure 19. Shearing Barn at Keamoku, ca. 1960.

After Mr. Smith's resignation in July 1908 as manager of Keamuku Sheep Station, Mr. Donald Macalister became the manager but only remained at

Keamuku for a year as he was transferred to Waikii to replace Wilmot Vredenburg who had met with an accident and was killed.

Raising sheep at Keamuku had its problems. There were severe droughts, and the constant menace of wild dogs. After the purchase of the Humuula Sheep Station [1914] Keaumuku gradually eased out of the sheep business and was turned over to raising cattle. [R. Smart in Paka Paniolo, September 1965; courtesy of Alan "Uku" Lindsey]

CONCLUSION

The traditional and historical narratives cited in this study tell us that knowledge of the landscape and use of lands in the Waiki'i-Ke'āmoku vicinity and adjoining mountain lands spans many hundreds of years. The name of Waiki'i itself is attributed to the "fetching of water" by the gods (Pōhakuloa and Pōhaku-a-Kāne), and their placing it on the land. Other place names in areas neighboring Waiki'i are also tied with the actions of gods and creative forces of nature on the land. Among these wahi pana (storied places) are Ahumoa, 'Auwaiakeakua, Hālauakeakua, Kaimumoa, and Waikōloa itself, which was named for a wind goddess who chose this land as her home.

While we found no ancient record of long-term residency in the immediate vicinity of Waiki'i, the history of the area is interwoven with the larger lands of the 'āina mauna (mountain landscape). The Waiki'i environs provided travelers with sheltered resting places at the intersection of ancient trails between Mauna Kea, Hilo, Kona, Waimea, and the coastal lands of Kohala. Native traditions and testimonies reveal that people traveled via Waiki'i—when on pilgrimages to Mauna Kea; to hunt 'ua'u, nēnē and other birds; to gather select woods and stone for tools and other purposes; and in journeys to the upper mountain slopes, to commemorate the beginning and ending of life. Thus, we know by the place names and traditions, that there are and have been old places on the land.

There are also descriptions of large cultivating grounds a short distance below Waiki'i, and of ceremonial sites on the mountain landscape, to which chiefs, warriors and the people of the land sometimes resorted. It is in association with these practices that some ancient cultural sites, such as temporary residences, trails, collection and quarry sites, burial places, and trailside- and collection site-shrines have occurred. While much has changed on the landscape of Waiki'i and the neighboring 'āina mauna since the development of the Waiki'i and Ke'āmoku ranch stations, there still remain places to be respected, cared for, and discovered.

The elusive and storied water of Waiki'i, if rediscovered, is something that should be cared for. In the native tradition of the naming of Wai-ki'i, that "Fetched-water" is sacred, and was shared with other localities on the island, thus providing the ancient people with access to the water of life – Kāne i ka wai ola. The pu'u (hills) on the landscape are also significant and the names of many of them are still spoken. Pu'u such as Ahumoa, Po'opo'o, 'Iwa'iwa, Holohokū, Pā, and Hīna'i, are integral to the storied landscape of Waikōloa and the larger Waimea region. Each taking from them, takes something of our history.

Pu'u Ku'i Kahekili (Pu'u Kahekili), seemingly the heart of Waiki'i today, is a significant marker on the landscape. While it does not appear that a tradition of the naming of the hill has survived, imagery comes to mind when speaking the name. The place name may be literally translated as "Hill of the pealing thunder." The "hekili" was a body form of the god Kāne, and Kāne is associated with the traditions of 'Auwaiakeakua, Ahumoa, Kaimumoa, and keeper of the sacred waters of Waiiau on Mauna Kea, from where the water fetched for Waiki'i came. Thus, one association of that name may indeed be divine. Another, perhaps simpler explanation may be found in historical and oral history accounts. Apparently, in the past, this area has been frequented by lightning strikes, some of which in recent times have been known to strike cattle dead. Either way, the story instills some awe.

Thus, care for the land, its resources, understanding and speaking its history, enriches us and those who will follow us. There is an old Hawaiian saying, shared in common by kūpuna on the various islands, which instructs us — “E mālama i ka ‘āina, a mālama ka ‘āina iā ‘oe.” (Care for the land, and the land will care for you.)

Thus spoken, this history offers those who will read it a glimpse into the rich past of this land and its people. We may learn from it, be touched by it, and always hope to be bathed in the cool dews of Waikī‘i.

One last account given here, sings the praises of Waikī‘i and the larger ‘āina mauna with which this land shares its life and history. It is the story of a Queen’s pilgrimage to Mauna Kea in 1882, led by her Hawaiian cowboys, through upper Waikī‘i, past Pu‘u Lā‘au, Ahumoa, Kilohana, and along the mountain lands to Kalai‘eha. On this journey, Queen Emma Kaleleonālani bequeathed upon members of the Lindsey family the name Kahalelaumāmane, commemorating the shelter of māmane greenery which was made to shelter her from cold rains of the ‘āina mauna.

1882

**He Inoa Pii Mauna no Kaleleonani
(Na Kaniu Lumahehei o Kapela i haku)**

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Kaulana ke anu i Waikii | Famous is the cold of Waikī‘i, |
| Oo i ka ili o ka Lani | Piercing the skin of the Chiefess. |
| E aha ana la Emalani | What is it that Emalani is doing? |
| E walea a nanea ae ana | Relaxing and enjoying, |
| I ka leo hone o ka Palila | The sweet voices of the Palila, |
| Oia manu noho Kuahiwi | Those birds that dwell upon the Mountain. |
| Kikaha o ka Iwi-Polena | The ‘iwi-polena soars over head, |
| Ko Hoa ia e like ai | It is like your companion. |
| Hoolulu Kapena Kaulani | Captain Kaulani called us to shelter, |
| Ina ae hoi kakou | If we should continue. |
| Kaalo ana Ahumoa mamua | We then passed before Ahumoa, |
| A kau i ke one heehee | Rising to the sliding cinders (Onehehe‘e). |
| A imua, a i hope o ka Lani | The Chiefess moved forward and backwards. |
| He ihona loa ana Kilohana | Descending the length of Kilohana. |
| Noho ana o Pumauu i ka lai | Pu‘u Mau‘u sits in the calm, |
| Au mai ana o Puukapele | Pu‘ukapele juts out, |
| Kaala i kuu maka ke aloha | My eyes rise up with love. |
| Komo i ka olu o Kalaieha | We entered the cool of Kalaieha, |
| Eia mai ke Kuini Emalani | Here is Queen Emalani |
| Ua wehe i ka pua mamane | The blossom of the māmane has opened. |
| E o ke Kuini Emalani | Respond Queen Emalani |
| Kaleleonani he Inoa | Kaleleonani is the name. |

(BPBM Archive – Mele Collection; call # fHI.M50; Maly, translator)

Might all those who touch Waiki'i and the mountain lands be so fortunate to in turn be touched by the beauty and majesty of this land.

**“Pīpī a holo ka'ao!”
(So sprinkled and told is the tale!)**

O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia!

REFERENCES CITED

ACHP (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation)

- 1985 Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review. Washington, D.C.: Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. (Draft report, August)

Alexander, W.D.

- 1891 A Brief History of Land Titles in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1891. Honolulu. T.G. Thrum.
- 1892 The Ascent of Mauna Kea, Hawaii. The Hawaiian Gazette. Honolulu.

Arago, J.V.

- 1823 Narrative of a Voyage Around the World in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, Command by Captain Freycinet, During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820. London: Truettel and Wurtz, Treuttle, Jun, and Richter. (facsimile reprint by Bibliotheca Australiana)

Beaglehole, J.C.

- 1967 The Journals of Captain James Cook. Cambridge: Hakluyt Society.

Beckwith, M.

- 1970 Hawaiian Mythology. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Bingham, H.

- 1969 A residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands. Praeger Publishers, New York, Washington & London (Reprint of 1855 edition).

Bird, I.

- 1998 Six Months in the Sandwich Islands. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co.

Board of Commissioners

- 1929 Indices of Awards Made by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles in the Hawaiian Islands. Honolulu: Star Bulletin Publishing.

Boundary Commission Testimony

- 1873-1876 Hawaii State Archives (Digitized copy in collection of Kumu Pono Associates).

Bowser, G. (compiler)

- 1880 The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourists Guide. Honolulu: Bowser and Co.

Clark, J.T.

- 1981 Archaeological Survey of the Proposed Lalamilo Agricultural Park, South Kohala, Island of Hawaii. Manuscript. B.P. Bishop Museum Library, Honolulu.
- 1983 Report 8. Archaeological Investigations of Agricultural Sites in the Waimea Area, pp. 293-314 IN Clark and Kirch (1983).

Clark, J.T., and P.V. Kirch (editors)

- 1983 Archaeological Investigations of the Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor, Island of Hawai'i. An Interdisciplinary Study of an Environmental Transect. Departmental Report Series 83-1. Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Prepared for Department of Transportation, State of Hawaii.

- Cordy, R.**
1987 Anaehoomalu's Ahupuaa Altar Ke Ahu o Lono, HA-E1-63: An Archaeological and Archival Overview. South Kohala, Hawaii. Manuscript. Department of Land and Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Program, State of Hawaii Historic Preservation Office.
- 1989 Additional Archival and Archaeological Information on a Portion of the Waimea Field System, Waimea Area, South Kohala, Hawai'i Island. State Historic Preservation Office, Honolulu.
- 2000 Exalted Sits the Chief. The Ancient History of Hawai'i Island. Mutual Publishing: Honolulu, Hawai'i.
- Desha, S.L. (F. Frazier, translator)**
2000 Kamehameha and his Warrior Kekūhaupi'o. Kamehameha Schools Press.
- DLNR (Department of Land and Natural Resources)**
2001 Hawaii Administrative Rules, Title 13, Department of Land and Natural Resources, Subtitle 13, State Historic Preservation Division Rules, Chapter 276:7, Consultation with individuals knowledgeable about the project area's history; & Chapter 277, Rules Governing Minimal Requirements for Archaeological Site Preservation and Development (Draft, December 21, 2001).
- Doyle, E.L.**
1953 Makua Laiana: The Story of Lorenzo Lyons. Compiled from the manuscript journals, 1832-1886. Honolulu Star-Bulletin.
- Ellis, W.**
1963 Journal of William Ellis. Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd.
- Emerson, J.S.**
1884 Field Books No. 251-254. Hawai'i State Survey Office.
1882-1888 Field Letters (Emerson to Alexander). Hawai'i State Archives.
- Forbes, D.W.**
1991 A Pictorial Tour of Hawaii, 1850-1852: Water Colors, Paintings, and Drawings by James Gay Sawkins; with an account of his life and travels. Book Club of California, No. 197.
- Fornander, A.**
1917-1919 Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore. (9 vols.). Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
1973 An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origin and Migrations. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc.
- Freycinet, L. de**
1978 Hawaii in 1819: A Narrative Account by Louis Claude de Saulses Freycinet. Pacific Anthropological Records 26. Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. (Translated by E. Wiswell, edited by M. Kelly)
- Handy, E.S.C., E.G. Handy, with M.K. Pukui**
1972 Native Planters in Old Hawaii, Their Life, Lore, and Environment. B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 233. B.P. Bishop Museum Press.

- Henke, L.A.**
1929 A Survey of Livestock in Hawaii. University of Hawaii. Research Publication, No. 5
- I'i, J.P.**
1959 Fragments of Hawaiian History. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kamakau, S.M.**
1961 Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press.
1964 Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old. B.P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 51. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
1976 The Works of the People of Old. B.P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 61. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
1991 Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Mo'olelo a ka Po'e Kahiko. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- Kame'eleihiwa, L.**
1992 Native Land, and Foreign Desires. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kelly, M.**
1974 Historical Survey of the Waimea to Kawaihae Road Corridor, Island of Hawaii. Departmental Report Series 74-1, Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Kingdom of Hawai'i**
1850 Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina [Penal Code].
- Kuykendall, R.S.**
1968 The Hawaiian Kingdom: 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation, Volume I. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Lyman, C.**
Ms. The Journal of Chester S. Lyman (1846-1847). Type-written manuscript (919.69 L 98): Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.
- Lyons, C.J.**
1875 Land Matters in Hawaii. Islander, Honolulu.
- Malo, D.**
1951 Hawaiian Antiquities. Honolulu, B.P. Bishop Museum.
- Maly, Kepā (translator)**
ms. Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki). A translation of a legendary account of people and places of the island of Hawai'i. published in the Hawaiian Newspaper Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i; January 8, 1914 - December 6, 1917. (translations 1992-1999)
1999 "Na Kaa a Kekahi Elemakule o Hawaii." In Ke Au Okoa May 8, 15, & 22, 1865.
- Maxwell, W.**
1900 The Hawaiian Island Ranches. IN The Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for the Year 1900:75-79.

- Menzies, A**
1908 An Early Ascent of Mauna Loa. Extract from "A. Menzies' M.S. Journal in Vancouver's Voyage, 1790-1794." In Thrum's Hawaiian Annual.
- Morgan, T.**
1948 Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change 1778-1876. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- OEQC (Office of Environmental Quality Control, State of Hawai'i)**
1997 Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impacts. Adopted by the Environmental Council; November 17, 1997.
- Parker, P.L., and T.F. King**
1990 Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties. National Register Bulletin 38. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington D.C.
- Pukui, M.K., and A.L. Korn**
1973 The Echo of Our Song. Chants and Poems of the Hawaiians. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- State of Hawai'i**
Ms. Files cited in text from the collections of the:
Hawai'i State Archives
Department of Land and Natural Resources — Bureau of Conveyances
Department of Land and Natural Resources — Land Management Division
Department of Land and Natural Resources — State Survey Division
- Strazar, M.D.**
1987 Ranching in Hawai'i. IN Nä Paniolo o Hawai'i. Lynn Martin (ed.). State Foundation on Culture and the Arts and the Honolulu Academy of Arts.
- Tatar, E.**
1982 Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Chant. Pacific Anthropological Records No. 33. Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Thrum, T.G.**
1908 Heiaus and Heiau Sites Throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Island of Hawaii. Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1909. Honolulu: T.G. Thrum.
- Vancouver, G.**
1967 A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World, Volumes 1-3. London: Robinsons and Edwards.
- Wilkes, C.**
1970 Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838-1842, Under the Command of C. Wilkes, U.S.N. Vol. 4. Philadelphia: Lothrop, Blanchard.