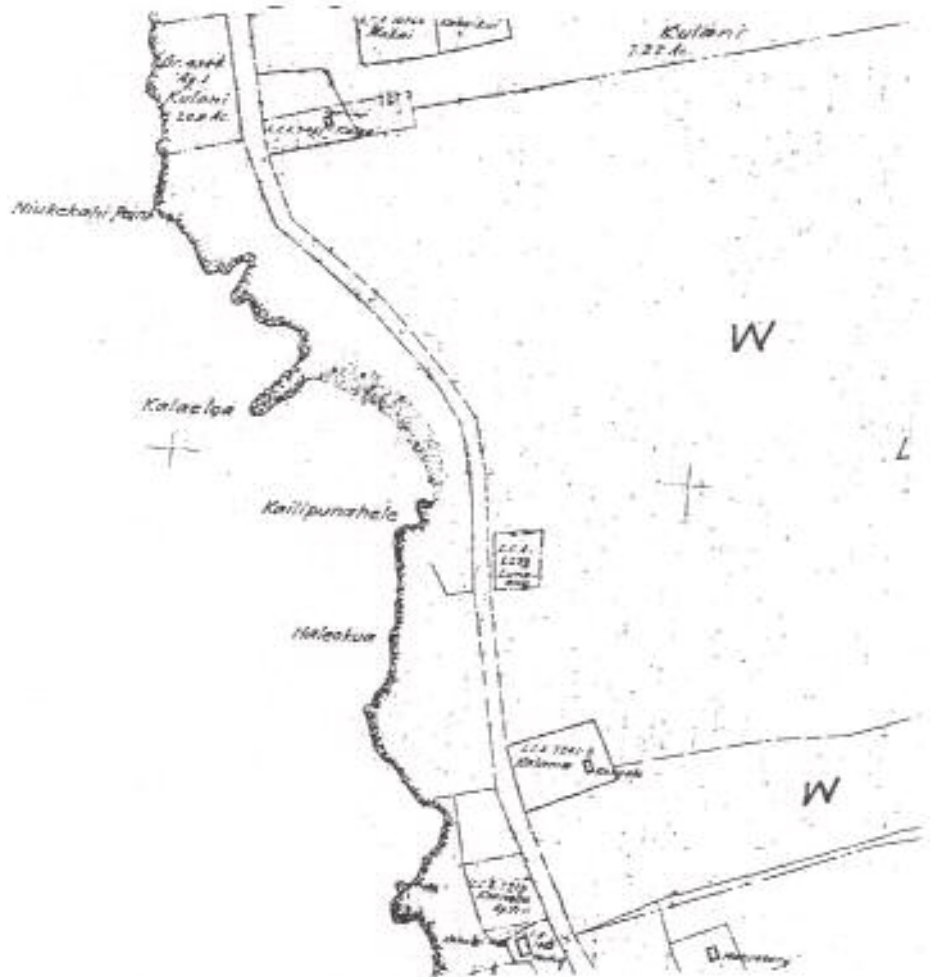


“WAI’AHA, MA KONA, HAWAI’I”

A Limited Cultural Assessment Study of Historical and Ethnographic Documentation

Ahupua’a of Wai’aha, District of North Kona – Island of Hawai’i



Coastal Portion of Wai'aha (J.S. Emerson Survey of 1885)
Register Map 1676 (Hawai'i State Survey Division)



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

“WAI‘AHA MA KONA”
A Limited Cultural Assessment Study
of Historical and Ethnographic
Documentation

Ahupua‘a of Wai‘aha,
District of North Kona,
Island of Hawai‘i
(TMK:7-5-18:20)

BY

Kepā Maly • Cultural Resources Specialist

PREPARED FOR

Roy A. Vitousek III
Cades Schutte Flemming Wright
75-170 Hualālai Road, Ste. B-303
Kailua-Kona, Hawai‘i 96740-1737

MARCH 23, 1998

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Kumu Pono Associates
Kepā Maly, Consultant

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Commission, & Land History Records · Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning
· Preservation & Interpretive Program Development

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Preparation of this study has been made possible by the work of many people who have come before us—*kūpuna* (elders), historians, and individuals who have been interested in the lands, history, and people of Kona—such people have set the foundation upon which we stand. While it is not possible to record here, all that could be said about the land, traditions, and people of Wai'aha, a sincere effort has been made to present readers with an overview of the rich and varied history of the area. Also, in the preparation of this study, I am indebted to the staff of the Hawai'i State Survey Division, State Land Management Division, State Archives; University of Hawai'i-Hilo, Mo'okini Library; the late June Gutmanis (curator of records from the T. Kelsey and H. Kekahuna collection); George Hū'eu Kanahēle, Ph.D.; and Randy Vitousek, Esquire.

As you review the information recorded here, I ask you to remember a saying taught me by my *kūpuna hānai* (foster grandparents) —

O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia!
Keep the good, set the bad aside!

'o wau nō me ka ha'aha'a — Kepā Maly

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INTRODUCTION

Background

At the request of Roy A. Vitousek III, Esquire, of Cades Schutte Flemming & Wright, Attorneys at Law, Kepā Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted a limited cultural assessment study for a 0.68 acre parcel of land situated in the ahupua'a (a native land division) of Wai'aha, North Kona, Hawai'i (TMK:7-5-18:20). This study focused on a review 19th and 20th literature that could help describe traditional and historical sites, features, and practices associated with the project area, and also presents an overview of the history of the larger ahupua'a within which the project area is situated (Figure 1).

This assessment study was prepared between March 19 to 23, 1998, and it incorporates two primary sources of archival and ethnographic documentation. These sources are: (1) reference materials compiled by, and/or translated by the author, since c. 1990; and (2) references obtained from the collections of the Hawai'i State Survey Division, Land Management Division, Archives on March 20, 1998. All references and their sources are cited in text.

Findings

Several questions about the land in and nearby the Wai'aha study area have been raised regarding Hawaiian historic sites, the birth place of Queen Emma (1836-1885), and surfing. This study provides readers with answers to some of those questions, and adds important historic documentation to the record. The findings reported in this study record that:

- 1 – A *heiau* (ceremonial site) named Nalupo'o (also called Ma'o) was situated within, or immediately adjacent to the study area.
- 2 – Several other traditional or historic sites—springs, walled enclosures, and *wahi pana*, or storied places have been recorded in the vicinity of the project area.
- 3 – In the area between the ahupua'a of Pua'a to Hōlualoa, historical records document two ancient surfing grounds. They are Ko'okā and Kahopuka, in Pua'a; and the surf of Kāmoa at Keolonahihi and Pu'u (in Hōlualoa).
- 4 – Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma both lived at Wai'aha for a period, though she was not born there as one source reported. The royal home was situated inland by a spring, at approximately the 1200 foot elevation, and about 2000 feet below Māmalahoa Highway, towards the Wai'aha Stream in Wai'aha 1st (property owned by the family of Mr. Joseph Gomes since 1927).

Narratives that provide detailed documentation for the above references are cited in the following section of this study. Additionally, there is a general overview of sites, practices, and customs associated with the families and lands of Wai'aha.

Wai'aha: A Historical Overview

In ancient Hawai'i, the *moku puni* (islands) were divided into a series of ecological and political districts and subdivisions. On the island of Hawai'i, the *moku-o-loko* (district) of Kona is one of six major districts which came to define the lands of the island. Within these districts are several other land divisions that facilitated management of the natural resources. Perhaps the most important of the ancient land divisions, and one that remains integral to land management in present-day Hawai'i, is the *ahupua'a*. In a traditional context, the *ahupua'a* were 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). *Ahupua'a* usually extended from the mountain regions to the ocean fisheries fronting the land unit; and their boundaries were generally defined by cycles and patterns of natural resources occurring within the lands (cf. Lyons, 1875; In "The Islander").

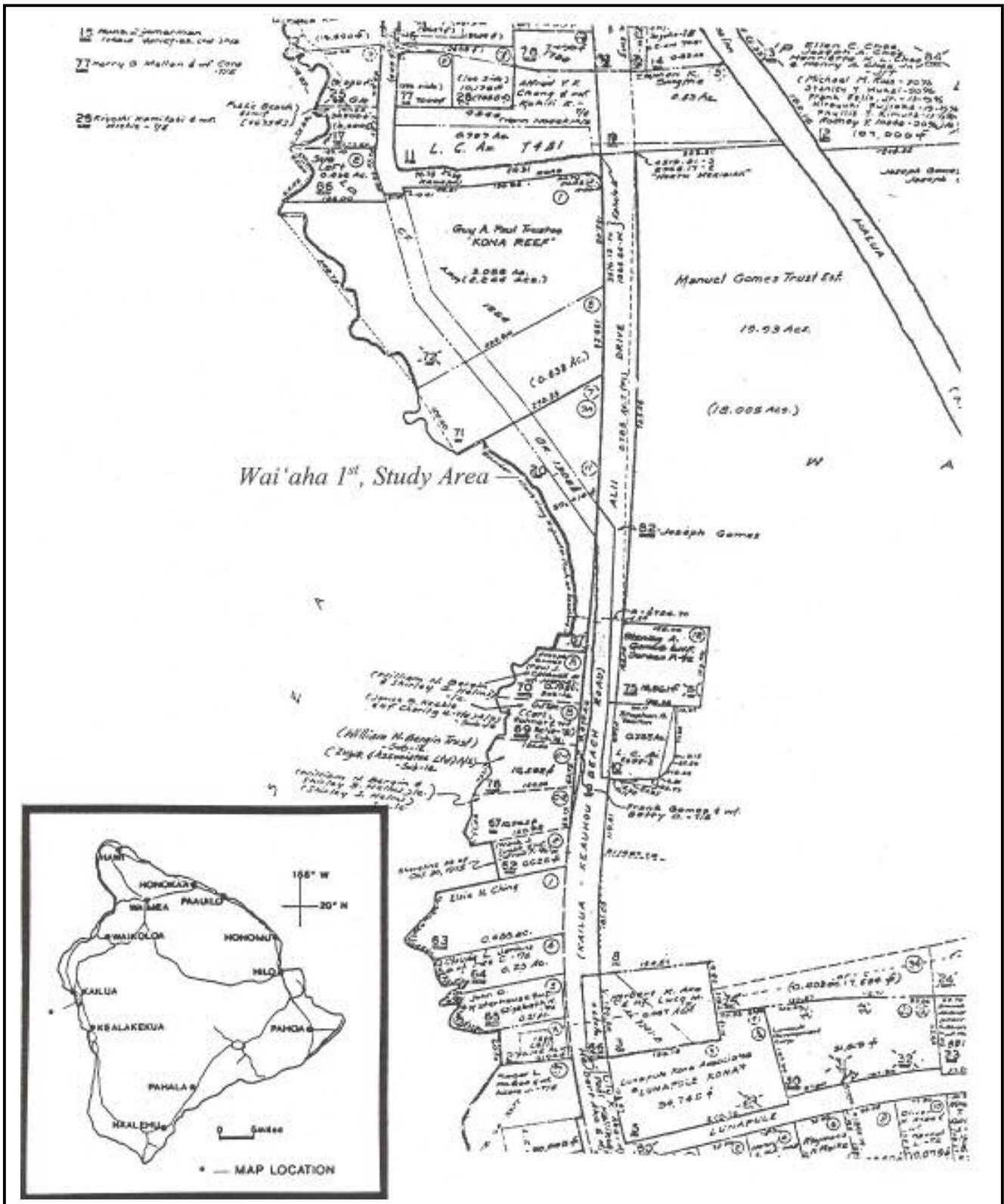


Figure 1. The Wai'aha Study Area, Island of Hawai'i (portion of TMK 7-5-18:20)

Entire *ahupua'a*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konoiki* or lesser 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). Like the larger district, the *ahupua'a* were also divided into smaller, manageable parcels in which crops could be cultivated and natural resources harvested. It was within these *ahupua'a* and smaller land units that the *maka'ainana* (people of the land) lived, worked, sustained their families and chiefs. In return for protection (both physical and spiritual) the *maka'ainana* also worked the *ahupua'a* resources to support their *ali'i* and royal community. As long as sufficient tribute was offered and *kapu* (restrictions) were observed, the *maka'ainana*, who lived in a given *ahupua'a* had access to most of the resources from mountain slopes to the ocean. Indeed, Wai'aha 1st is one of 88 historic *ahupua'a* within the district now known as North Kona. Like most of the *ahupua'a* of North Kona, Wai'aha 1st is a relatively narrow strip of land—containing 237.5 acres—that extends from the sea to the mountain.

There appear to be only a few traditional Hawaiian accounts that have been recorded for the land of Wai'aha. One of the most significant aspects of the history of Wai'aha, is the fact that a number of early historians (e.g., I'i 1959, Kamakau 1961, Ellis 1963, and Fornander 1917-1919) record that since around the 16th century, the land between Lanihau (modern day Kailua Town) to Keauhou was favored by the *ali'i nui* (high ranking chiefs) of the island of Hawai'i as a residence. Thus, the *ahupua'a* of Wai'aha is a part of this larger district that was a significant political seat and population center.

Historic narratives including those found in native traditions and early foreign discussions provide us with some sense of the natural and cultural landscape of Wai'aha in pre-western and early 19th century Wai'aha. One traditional account, recorded by native historians early this century shares the following glimpse into the history of Wai'aha.

Excerpts from a Hawaiian Legendary Account

In 1914-1917, the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, published an account titled "*Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki*" (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki). The account (translated by the author of this study) ran in serial form between 1914-1917. In this narrative, readers learn that:

...the stream of Wai'aha joins with the lands of Kahului. The waters filled the upland taro mounds of the sacred prostration chiefs Kalei'eha, Kapahu (or Kapahu-a-Lo'i), and Ka'alaea, who possessed the *kapu* (restrictions) of Lono-Makahiki... There too, you see — ka luawai ua kīpapa 'ia i ka pōhaku 'alā e ulu pōhai 'ia e nā lā'au loulu, o ka punawai i ka o'io'ina pali o Waiakekea — a spring paved with dense ['alā] stones and surrounded by loulu palms, this is the spring of Wai-a-Kekea, which was near the trail side resting place... (IN *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, April 9, 1914; Maly translator)

The same account also includes a reference to an extensive "*māla 'uala*" (sweet potato garden) that extended across the land, on the inland side of the *ala loa* (ancient coastal trail —now in the vicinity of Ali'i Drive) from Niumalu (Kailua Bay) to Hinakahua in Puapua'a (thus including the land of Wai'aha) (ibid. May 24, 1917). Readers are told that Wai'aha was named for one of several priest advisors of the chief Pili-a-Ka'aiea, who ruled Kona around the 12th century (ibid. November 15, 1917).

Historic Descriptions (the early 19th Century)

Native and foreign writers provide us with documentation of residency, land practices, and the occurrences of religious sites in the coastal lands of which Wai'aha is a part. Cultivation of land on the lower *kula*, above the zone of coastal residences, was recorded up to the time of the Māhele of 1848. In 1823, Reverend William Ellis and his companions traveled across the shoreward *kula* (*kula kahakai*) in the area between Kailua and Keauhou. On their journey, they noted that the houses were neat and generally built on the seashore. Planted around them were *niu* (coconut trees) and *kou* (*Cordia*) trees. The area around the houses was:

...cultivated to a considerable extent; small gardens were seen among the barren rocks on which the houses are built, wherever soil could be found sufficient to nourish the sweet potato, the water-melon, or even a few plants of tobacco, and in many places these seemed to be growing literally in the fragments of lava collected in small heaps around their roots (Ellis 1963:31).

As a general observation in his travels around the islands, Ellis also recorded that it appeared that there had been considerable depopulation as:

...traces of deserted villages, and numerous enclosures formerly cultivated, but now abandoned, are every where to be met with (ibid.:16).

While Ellis does not make specific reference to the land of Wai'aha, the following narrative, comes from his description of a walking journey between Kailua to Keauhou:

Leaving Kairua [Kailua], we passed through the villages thickly scattered along the shore to the southward. The country around looked unusually green and cheerful, owing to the frequent rains, which for some months past have fallen on this side of the island. Even the barren lava, over which we travelled, seemed to veil its sterility beneath frequent tufts of tall waving grass, or spreading shrubs and flowers.

The sides of the hills, out for a considerable extent in gardens and fields, and generally cultivated with potatoes, and other vegetables, were beautiful.

The number of heiaus, and depositories of the dead which we passed, convinced us that this part of the island must formerly have been populous. The latter were built with fragments of lava, laid up evenly on the outside, generally about eight feet long, from four to six broad, and about four feet high. Some appeared very ancient, others had evidently been standing but a few years (ibid:72-73).

David Malo, earliest of the eminent Hawaiian historians of the 19th century, was born near the shores of Keauhou Bay, Kona in c. 1793. In his writings ("Hawaiian Antiquities", Malo 1951) he offers the following comments on dryland planting practices, the importance of agriculture to the Hawaiian family. His descriptions of dryland agriculture in Kona are appropriate for the discussion of general land use and practices in the land of Wai'aha:

Agriculture

1. Agriculture was a matter of great importance in Hawaii, because by it a man obtained the means of supporting himself and his wife, his children, friends, and domestic animals. It was associated, however, with the worship of idols...
3. On the kula lands, farming was a laborious occupation and called for great patience, being attended by many drawbacks. On some of these were grubs, or caterpillars, or blight, hauoki (frost), or kahe (freshets), or the sun was too scorching; besides which there were many other hindrances...
8. The cultivation of kula lands was quite different from that of irrigable lands. The farmer merely cleared of weeds as much of the land as he thought would suffice. If he was to plant taro (upland taro), he dug holes and enriched them with a mulch of kukui leaves, ashes, or dirt, after which he planted the taro. In some places they simply planted without mulch or fertilizer...
10. If a field of potatoes was desired, the soil was raised into hills, in which the stems were planted; or the stems might merely be thrust into the ground any how, and the hilling done

after the plants were grown; the vines are also thrown back upon the hill. In six months the potatoes were ripe. Such was the cultivation of *kula* land.

11. On the *kula* lands the farms of the *alii* were called *koele*, *hakuone*, or *kuakua*, those of the people, *mahina-ai*...
14. There was *kula* land on parts of...Hawaii. Kona was the part of Hawaii most exposed to the sun, because of the prolonged dryness of the weather. They frequently suffered from famine in that district. In time of famine the people of Kona performed religious ceremonies with great diligence and carefully reckoned the months in which to plant.... (Malo 1951:204-206).

Hawaiian historian Kepelino Keauokalani, was born in the Kailua area of North Kona, around 1830. In his *Traditions of Hawaii* (Beckwith 1971), Kepelino documented some of the customs, practices and history of the native agriculturist of Kona. While describing the nature of the months of the Hawaiian year, and practices undertaken in those months Kepelino mentioned the flow of the stream of Wai'aha in the month, *Welo* (May on Hawai'i). Kepelino noted:

"It is no longer the cold season, it is warm. The showers are light, but because of the thawing of the snow the streams of Hilo become swollen and the water overflows its banks. Men are drowned in the water, as it is in Kona; there is rain with wind and the water of Waiaha flows... In Welo the coffee blossoms in Kona, and it begins to ripen in the month of Hinaialeele [August]... (Kepelino IN Beckwith 1971:90).

LAND TENURE

When westerners first arrived in Hawai'i 1778, all land and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (*ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* or *ali'i 'ai moku*). In the 1790s western visitation to the islands began increasing as Hawai'i's value as a wintering harbor and supply station for foreign ships grew. In 1820, less than one year following the death of Kamehameha I, American missionaries arrived and land use and economic development began quickly evolving towards Western practices. In 1848, a Western-style ownership system was set in place; this event was called the *Māhele 'Āina* (a division of land between the crown, government, lesser chief's [*konohiki*], and native tenants of the land) (cf. I'i 1959, Kamakau 1961, Chinen 1958 & 1961). In order for the *hoa'āina* (native tenants) to receive their lands, they were required to register their claims, and subsequently provide testimony describing the boundaries, nature of land use, and source of their right (*kuleana*) to the claim. The Land Commission subsequently awarded certain claims, which came to be known as Land Commission Awards (LCA).

Māhele Claims at Wai'aha

In the period leading up to the *Māhele*, the land of Wai'aha was divided into two sections, Wai'aha 1 on the north, and Wai'aha 2 on the south. In the *Māhele*, Wai'aha 2 was retained by Kamehameha III (Interior Department Document 374¹). Wai'aha 1, was initially awarded to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions in LCA 387 (Indices 1929 & Interior Department Lands; July 9, 1853), but was later acquired by Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma (Interior Department Lands; March 24, 1865 & April 25, 1866).

It is also appropriate to mention here, something about the neighboring land of Kahului². Grace Kama'iku'i Rooke was awarded the neighboring *ahupua'a* of Kahului 2 in LCA 8516-B:3 (Indices 1929). Kama'iku'i was one of four children born to chiefess Ka'ōana'eha and John Young Sr. Kama'iku'i's mother was of the daughter of Kepo'okalani Keli'imaika'i, a half-brother of Kamehameha I. John Young, also called Olohana, was one of the two prominent *haole* advisors to Kamehameha I. Kama'iku'i and her husband, Dr. T.C.B. Rooke, adopted her niece Emma (daughter of Fanny Kekelaokalani and George Naea). Later in life, Emma married Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), and became Queen Emma (cf. Korn 1976).

In the land of Wai'aha 1, several claims for land were made by native tenants, long-time residents on the land. One of the *kuleana*, awarded to Kalae (LCA 7481), has a parcel that is situated just north of the project area, on the boundary between Wai'aha 1 and Pua'a 3. Documentation provides for these *kuleana* includes the following records (***please note***: the native-register and -testimony narratives are paraphrased translations of the original Hawaiian texts, focusing on the significant details of the records):

Kalae – LCA 7481

In the *ili* [land parcel] of Kamuku, Waiaha, a cultivated lot 50 fathoms long by 5 fathoms wide. [Native Register Vol. 8:442]

Lumaawe, Konohiki sworn, states that he knows the land of Kalae, in the *ili* of Moonuiahua, Waiaha.

Section one is bounded by the *pa aina* (land wall or Kuakini Wall) on the *makai* side.

Section two, in the *kaluulu* [a zone in which breadfruit grow at the c. 500 to 1000 foot elevation]; bounded on the inland side by Walaohia spring; on the Kau side by Moonuiohua; *makai* by the *konohiki*; and on the Kohala side by Kamuku. It is a cultivated section, given to him by me in 1838. [Native Testimony Vol. 4:513]

¹ Interior Department records and other documents cited below are from the collection of the Hawai'i State Archives (HSA).

² By this reference to Kahului, the author cites documentation modifying a historical account, collected in 1950 by T. Kelsey and H. Kekahuna (see narrative of the birth place of Emma Rooke below).

Kalama – LCA 7241-B

A house lot and land claim in the *ahupuaa* of Waiaha [divided by the historic boundary of Wai'aha 1 & 2] and Kahului. The house lot is 62 fathoms by 22 fathoms. The *kula* [dry land agricultural field] is 240 fathoms by 20 fathoms.... Land received in the time of Kamehameha I. [Native Register Vol. 8:419]

Land in Kahului and Waiaha [1 &] 2. Two cultivated parcels on the *kula*, and one house lot. The Government trail (*alanui aupuni*) is on the *makai* side of the house lot. Old land in Waiaha, since the time of Kamehameha I, from Kalama's wife. [Native Testimony Vol. 4:514]

Lumaawe – LCA 6699

In the *ili* of Puukou, at Waiaha in the land of Dr. L.L. Andrews [LCA 387]. Adjacent land holders are Naihe on the north, and Kaulua on the south.

There is a house lot on the shore, on the side of the government trail (*alanui aupuni*). [Native Register Vol. 8:413]

In the *ili* Puukou is a cultivated parcel. At Maiahuna, the *e'a* mountain variety of banana is cultivated, and there are four other cultivated parcels inland.

On the Kau side of the house lot is an *alanui pii* [*mauka-makai* trail]; the *alanui aupuni* [government trail] is on the shoreward side; and on the Kohala and inland sides the land is vacant. It is old land from the elders, in the time of Kamehameha I. [Native Testimony Vol. 4:549]

Kaulua – LCA 7083

A house lot in Kahului 1. Seven garden plots in Waiaha 1, *mauka* of the *pa pipi* (cattle wall or Kuakini Wall). The *ili* of Puukou is on the north; Waiaha 2 is on the south; the *pa pipi* is on the west; and the *ili* of Papalanui is on the east. The land has been cultivated from ancient times until the present [Native Register Vol. 8:418]

Land in the *ahupuaa* of Kahului 1 and Waiaha 2. House lot and cultivated parcels in Kahului 1. Cultivated parcels *mauka*, in Waiaha 2. Kaulua died in 1848, the lot was left to his foster daughter, Kaeloa. [Native Testimony Vol. 4: 513-514]

Wai'aha 1—A Royal Retreat

Following the death of Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) in December 1854, his *hānai* (adopted) son, Alexander (Kalanikualihohiōkekapu 'Iolani) Liholiho, grandson of Kamehameha I ascended the throne. The new king was the son of chiefess Kīna'u (a daughter of Kamehameha I) and Mataio Kekūana'ōa. In 1856, he married Emma Naea Rooke (Queen Emma), and they ruled the Kingdom until Liholiho's death on November 30, 1863 (cf. Kame'eleihiwa 1992).

By the early 1860s, the king's health was in decline, and at the suggestion of his doctor, he moved for a while to the district of Kona, Hawai'i, where he acquired property at Wai'aha 1st. Korn (1976) reports that in late 1861, Liholiho, Emma, and their son, Prince Albert spent several months in Kona. At Wai'aha, the king had a "cotton and coffee plantation at Waiaha, on the mountain-side above Kailua" (Korn 1976:74). Queen Emma and her cousin Peter Ka'eo, exchanged letters for several years, while Ka'eo was confined at Kalaupapa, Moloka'i. In one letter, Ka'eo recalled a visit he had had with Emma at Wai'aha, at which time they rode to the pool Hāli'a. Korn adds that "Halia was the old name for a 'magic' pool at Waiaha..." And that by its name, meaning "sudden thought or remembrance of someone loved," that the pond may be associated with a water spirit, and have some healing powers (ibid.: 158-159).

Interior Department records of the State Archives contain several records pertaining disposition of Wai'aha 1st, under Liholiho and following his death. On March 24, 1864 H.N. Greenwell wrote to Wm. Webster, and from his communication we learn how Liholiho acquired at least a portion of Wai'aha:

I should like to call your attention to a *kuleana* on Waiaha, containing about 1 acre close to the house which has been bought by His late Majesty from the native. His late Majesty requested me to give the native 2 acres above the road, but as i [as written] am not aware, whether the native has given title for his kuleana to His I. Majesty and has received one in return for his 2 acres i think the matter as to be settled, as there might arise some difficulties about it. His *kuleana* has always been a great source of annoyance to Mr. Taylor, who has never been able to make any arrangements with the native for it. If the native should take back his *kuleana*, it might materially injure the sale of Waiaha.

I should like to inquire of you if Waiaha could be leased for a term of years, and if so, I would be willing to lease it, providing the terms would be acceptable... (State Archives, Interior Department files).

On February 8, 1865, the Supreme Court authorized John Dominis—administrator of Liholiho's Estate—to dispose of certain properties of the late king, in order to pay off his remaining debts. In the matter of Wai'aha, we see that there are discrepancies in the courts' description of the land, but the total acreage encompasses a significant part of the *ahupua'a* of Wai'aha 1st.

Land known as "Waiaha First," situated at Kailua, District of Kona, Island of Hawaii, and bounded and described as follows: Commencing at a rock X at high water mark, the *makai* west corner of this land 31 chains 20 feet in a direct line from the *makai* south corner of Hianaloli (Rev. A. Thurton's land), towards Kau, and running along sea 20 chains and 59 ½ feet in a direct line to another rock marked X at the *makai* south corner of this land, then from these two points this land runs *mauka* both boundaries being well demarked to large Koa tree marked A at the *mauka* north corner, or *makai* edge of woods and a pile of stones 8 chains 6 ½ feet in a direction S. 10 ½° E. from Koa tree is the *mauka* east corner of this land — area 273 ½ acres. Together with all structures there on situated, rights and appurtenances thereunto belonging... G.M. Robertson, Justice Supreme Court. Honolulu, Feb. 8th 1865. (State Archives, Interior Department files)

George Hū'e'u Kanahale, Ph.D., a noted Hawaiian author, is presently preparing a biography of Queen Emma. Kanahale (in prep.) reports that Governor Kapeau had been the original owner of the house, and a portion of the lands which Liholiho and Emma acquired as their royal estate. The "Mr. Taylor" referenced above, was Rev. T.E. Taylor, who also resided for a time in Kona.

On May 1, 1865, the Dowager Queen Emma, purchased the land of Wai'aha from the estate of her late husband. The home of Queen Emma is recorded on survey maps of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, and is situated some distance inland, approximately 2,000 feet below the present-day Māmalahoa Highway (Figure 2). Some time following the death of Queen Emma on April 25, 1885, her estate disposed of Wai'aha. We find that on March 25, 1887, Curtis P. Iaukea had mortgaged Wai'aha, and said mortgage was paid off in April 1892 (State Archives Interior Department files). By 1899 the Kona Sugar Company began developing lands for the new Kona plantation, Wai'aha 1st was among the lands acquired. Following the closure of the plantation in c. 1926, Wai'aha 1 & 2 were purchased by Manuel Gomes, and turned over to cattle grazing operations which extended across the length of the *ahupua'a* (pers comm. Joseph Gomes, March 13, 1996).

Boundary Commission Proceedings the Land of Wai'aha Described (ca. 1873)

Further documentation on historic period land use, is found in the records of the Commission of Boundaries (Boundary Commission) that was established in 1862. It was the task of the Commission to set the boundaries of all the *ahupua'a* that had been awarded as a part of the Māhele. Subsequently, in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries was authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118). The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the lands, many of whom had also been claimants for *kuleana* during the Māhele. The information was collected primarily between c. 1873-1885; the testimonies were generally given in Hawaiian and transcribed in English as they occurred.

The following narratives are excerpted from the testimonies for Wai'aha, Pua'a, and Kahului. The testimonies provide us with some additional descriptions of land use patterns and the occurrence of sites, as recorded by native tenants at the time.

Waiaha 2nd (June 9, 1874)

Volume B:269-270

Peahi^k, Sworn: I was born at Kohala at the time of Kiholo [1859], when I was married I came here and have lived here ever since. Know the land of Waiaha, lived there sixteen years. A water hole called Wai'alipi is on the boundary between the two Waiahas. Waiaha 2nd is bounded by Waiaha 1st to a banana grove at the edge of the woods, called Maiahuna. Waiaha 2nd is bounded on the south side by Kahului. The land is sold to Kapae^k from the shore to above the Government Road... Waiaha 1st was surveyed from the shore to Maiahuna and I do not think it extends very far beyond there. Waiaha 2nd is bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.

Makahiehie^k, Sworn: I was born at Puaa, Kona at the time of Kumoalii [Kaumuali'i, c. 1810], so my parents told me. I know the boundaries of Waiaha, have always lived on these lands. My father told me the boundaries. Waiaha 2nd is bounded on the north side by Waiaha 1st. I saw Fuller survey Waiaha 1st, from the shore to Maiahuna, the mauka end of it. Kahului 1st bounds Waiaha 2nd on the south side...

In his description of the boundaries of Pua'a 1st, Kahueai noted that he lived Puaa 2^d. His testimony recorded that Pua'a 1st, cut off the inland boundaries of Puaa 2nd and 3rd, Waiaha 1st Waiaha 2nd, and the two Kahuluis. In the uplands, there was a *koa* grove at Palule, and near the stream of Namahana, they used to make canoes. In the forest zone, there was a *kauhale k̄alaiwa'a* (canoe makers house) and below that there were agricultural fields. He also stated that "ancient fishing rights" extended out to the sea. At the close of Kahueai's testimony, it was reported that no other *kama'āina* (natives) of this land could be found (Boundary Commission; Vol. B:244-245).

The testimonies of Niniha and Makuakāne for Kahului do mention the spring, Waiakekea is generally situated within the land of Wai'aha 1st. By associations with the testimony for Kahului, one assumes that the spring is far enough inland, in the narrowing *ahupua'a*, to be a reference point in the boundaries of several land divisions. Niniha's testimony reports:

Kahului 2nd (August 11, 1873)

Volume 1-A:327

Niniha^k, Sworn: I was born at Kahului...at the time of *Kaoku* [*ma'i 'ōku'u*; c. 1804] and have always lived there. My parents pointed out the boundaries to me.

Boundary at the sea shore between Kahului 2 and Puapuaaiki is at the right hand side of Kakapa, a rocky point in the sea, thence *mauka* along an *iwi aina* [an *ahupua'a* land division wall] to Governor Adams' wall, thence to Waiakalua a water hole. Thence *mauka* to Waiakekea a waterhole near the *iwi aina* and a little above the Government road. Thence to Kaaipaka, a *kulanakauhale ahua hulipali* [a residential complex at a hillock from where one can view the cliff], thence *mauka* a short distance to where Puapuaaiki ends...

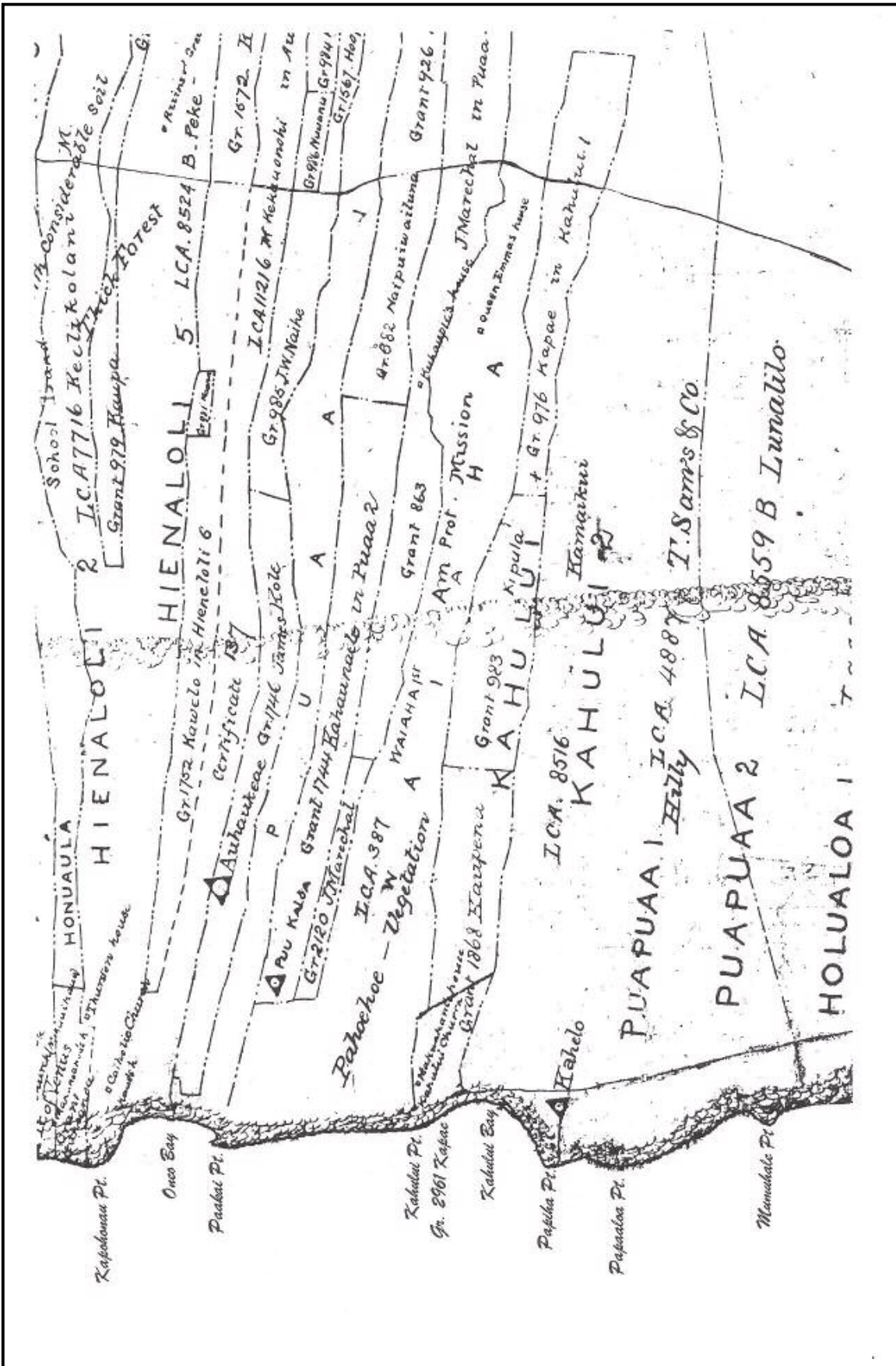


Figure 2. Portion of Register Map 1280 (November 1891); compiled by J.S. Emerson (State Survey Division).

Hawaiian Kingdom Survey Records (Survey of Land in the Project Area)

Interestingly, it is from around the period of Queen Emma's death in 1885, that perhaps the most significant records pertaining to Wai'aha and the present project area are found. In April 1885, J.S. Emerson was conducting surveys of lands in North Kona. His work is among the most detailed of all the surveyors of the time. Emerson (brother of historian, N.B. Emerson) was an astute collector of history as well as a careful surveyor. Describing his methods in a letter to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General, Emerson reported that his party took readings off of:

...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... (Emerson to Alexander, May 21, 1882, Hawai'i State archives)

During several years of survey work in the district of Kona, Emerson was accompanied by J. Perryman who drew detailed, annotated sketch maps while they were in the field. It is from this collection of materials that we find the following documentation of coastal Pua'a, Wai'aha, and Kahului (*Figure 3*). *Selected points of interest* that have significance to the findings in this study, are referenced in the quoted texts below—including either the place name, a number, and/or a letter. The locations of the sites may be found on *Figure 3.*, by referencing the keyed text from the field book.

Register Book No. 306:39-52 Kona Detail I Kailua District (Apr. 28-29, 1885)

Location	Place Name	Map Key Code	Comment
Kooka Pt. on rocky coast	Kahopuka	a.	Land of Puaa 2 Famous in ancient times for surf bathing [land of Pua'a 2].
Kapuoia Pt. Pt. on pile of stones Pt. on rocks at coast marked K		2 b. c.	[land of Pua'a 2] Boundary bet. Puaa 2 & 3. Boundary bet. Puaa 3 & Waiaha K mark made by Kamehameha IV. [see Figure 4]
Kalae's <i>kuleana</i> lot		A	LCA 7481. [crossed by boundary of Puaa 3 7 Waiaha 1]
Makai's <i>kuleana</i> lot Pi's lot in Gov't. land Extremity Kalaeoa in Waiaha 1		B C	LCA 10266 [In Pua'a 3] [in Pua'a 2]
Water hole	Keanawai	e. f.	The name a contraction of Keanawai [on boundary of Pua'a 2 & 3]
Waiaha 1 Waiaha 1 Waiaha 1 Waiaha 1 for	Keawakupapau Nalupoo Heiau	g. x4 D	point in wall Nalupoo flag [no text given — see next section discussion on historic
archaeology] Waiaha 1			South end of Beach called Kaili-Punahale; a girl much loved by her parents was here seized by a shark & never seen since.

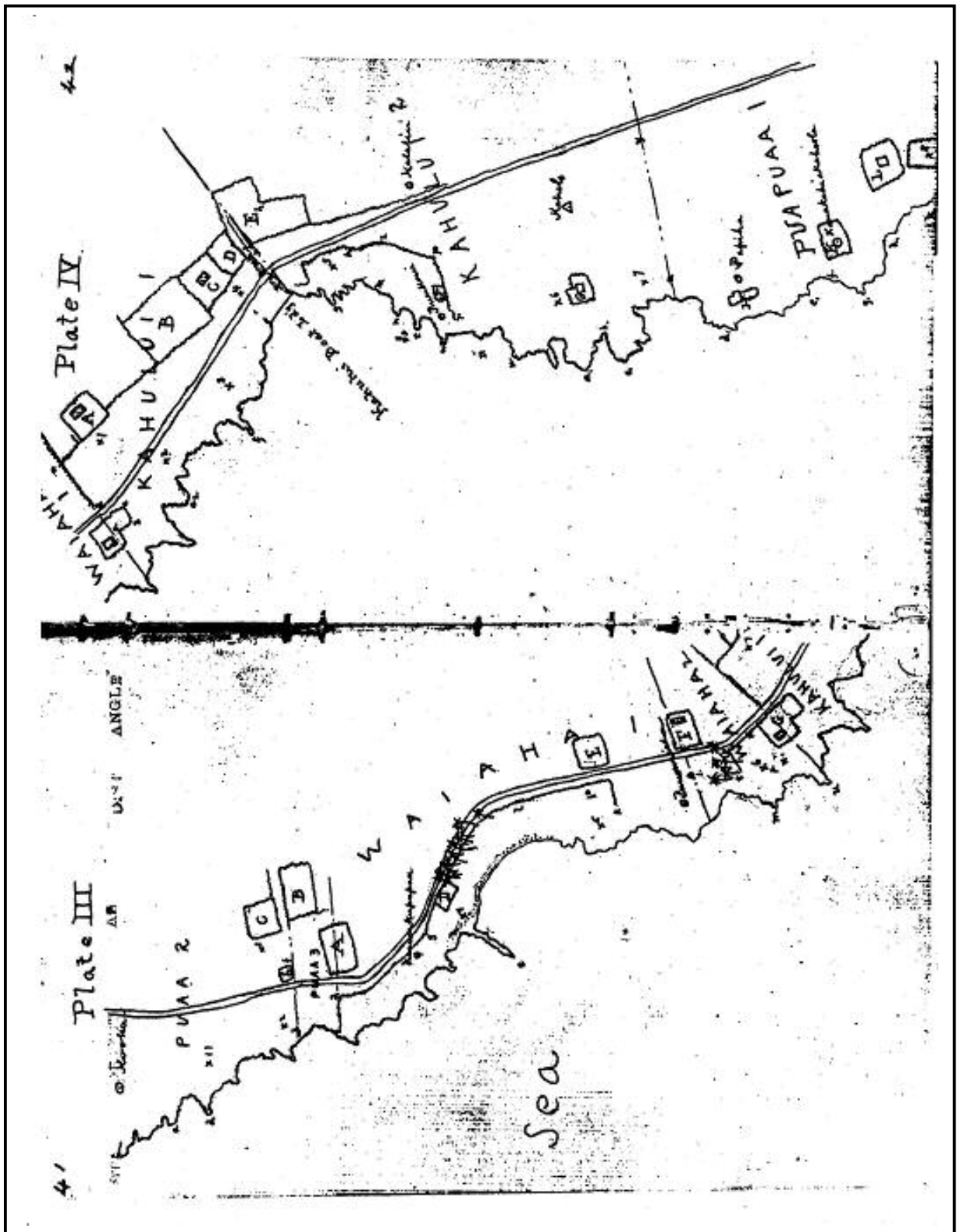
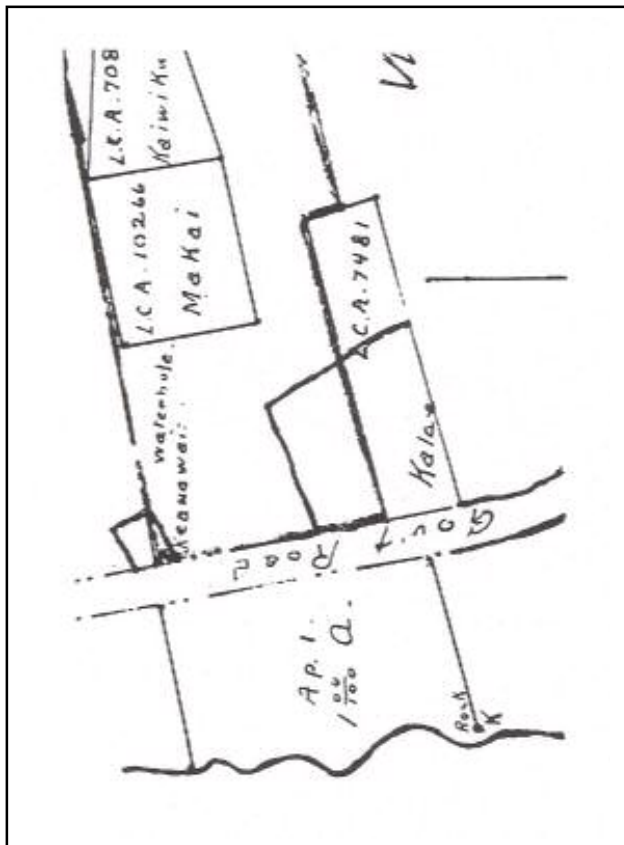


Figure 3. Plat III & IV, Detailed Survey of the Coastal Portion of Wai'aha and Vicinity
 Joseph Swift Emerson, Register Book No. 306, 1885 (State Survey Division)

Register Book No. 306:39-52 (cont.'d)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Place Name</u>	<u>Map Key Code</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Waiaha 1		i	Water hole
Lumaawe's <i>kuleana</i> lot		E	LCA 6699
Waiaha 1	Puukoi	x5.	survey flag
Waiaha 1		k.	end of wall
Waiaha 1	Haleokua	l.	The shark Kua & his sister Kaaeokekai (Sea foam) came From Kahiki & dwelt at this point; the site of her house is still visible.
Waiaha 1	Puuowaiaha		
Kalama's <i>kuleana</i> lot		F	LCA 7241-B; occupant, Kaililua Waiaha 1 & 2
Kaulua's <i>kuleana</i>		G	Crossed by boundary of Waiaha 2 & Kahului 1
Waiaha 2	Puunaio	u.	Point at boundary of Waiaha 2 & Kahului 1.

Kanakahe'enalu – Kahopuka and Ko'okā (Pua'a 2)



One of the sites mentioned above by Emerson, was Kahopuka, in Pua'a 2, which was "Famous in ancient times for surf bathing." In regards to surfing, Hawaiian historian John Papa I'i (1959) also provides us with some documentation about the famous sites associated with surfing in the region between Kailua to Keauhou. In the vicinity of the present study area, the two surfing spots recorded by I'i are at Pua'a (to the north of Wai'aha) and Hōlualoa (to the south of Wai'aha). I'i reports that Ko'okā in Pua'a 2, Kāmoa at Keolonahihi and Pu'u, in Hōlualoa are the famous surfs of the area (I'i 1959:133-134).

Interestingly, Emersons' field notes also include a triangulation station named "Kanakaheenalu," which may be literally translated as "Man-[who]-surfs-waves" (i.e., surfer) (cf. Emerson 1885, Book 306:42, 44...). While Field Book 306 does not give the exact location of Kanakahe'enalu, Emersons' Register Map No. 1851 (an 1885 map showing triangulation Stations in Wai'aha and neighboring lands – Figure 5), does provide us with the location of Kanakahe'enalu — the trig. station is inland (presumably on an elevated area) a short distance below the Kuakini Wall, and near the Wai'aha 1 & 2 boundary.

Figure 4. Portion of Map, Patent Grant 4344 to Kulani, showing "K" inscribed on Boundary of Pua'a 3 and Wai'aha 1, by Kamehameha IV (Land Management Division, August 17 1899)

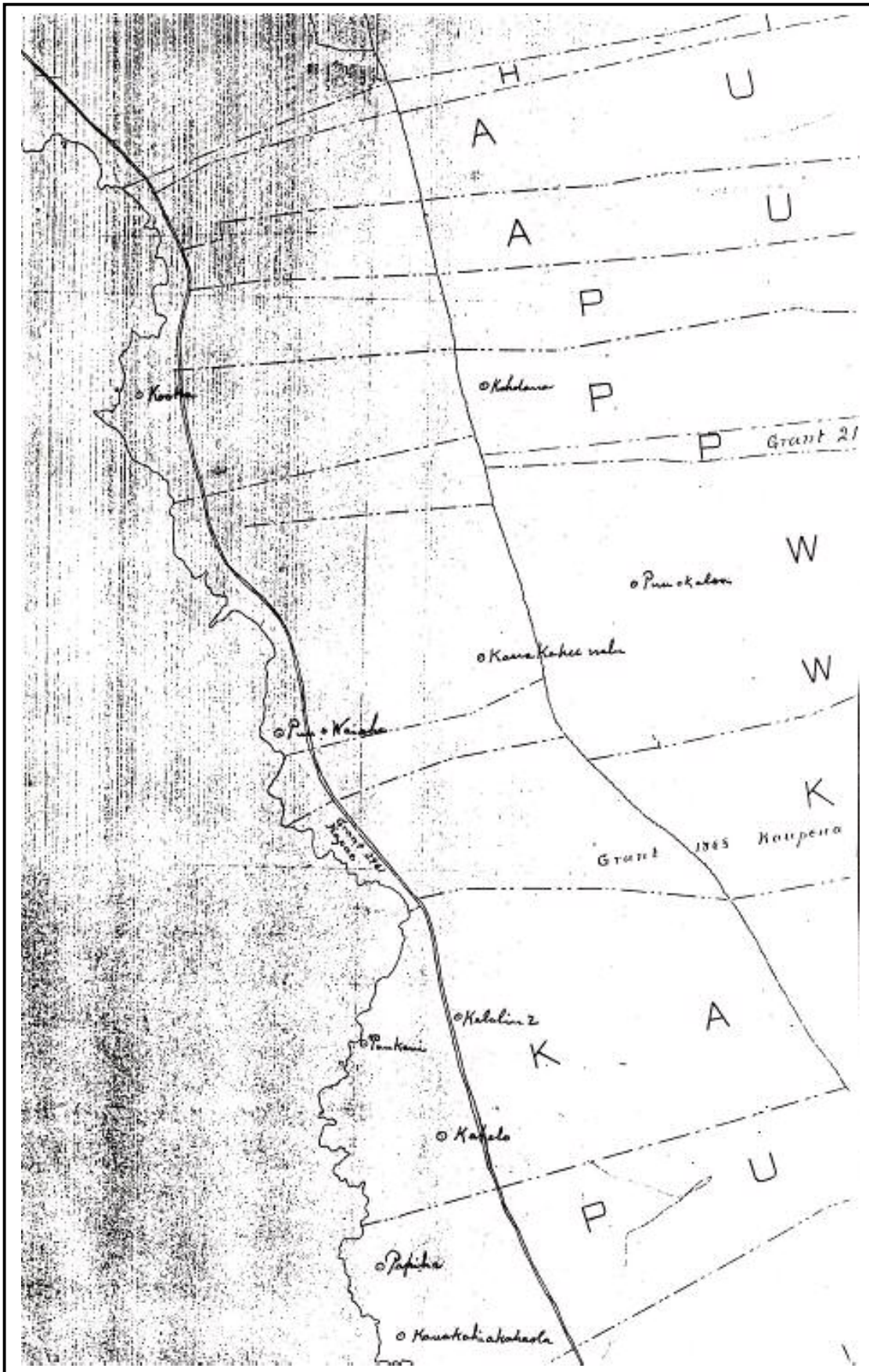


Figure 5. Portion of Register Map 1851 (J.S. Emerson, 1885); Kona Triangulation Stations, Detail of Wai'aha and Vicinity (State Survey Division)

AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

By the late 1800s and around the turn of the century, a growing number of island residents, Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian alike, were becoming concerned about the destruction of traditional Hawaiian sites and the rapid decline of native knowledge about those sites. *Heiau* (temples) and ceremonial sites were an area of particular interest for several writers around the islands. This section of the study provides readers with an overview of four early study which include documentation on *heiau* in Wai'aha. Of particular importance to the present study area, it will be seen that the *heiau* Nalupo'o described above, is also the *heiau*, Ma'o, for which Wai'aha was well known. The *heiau* was in the class of agricultural temple, called *heiau kālua ua* (temple in which rain was baked); these were *heiau* where prayers were offered to cause an increase of rainfall and thus ensure successful growth of crops in the dryland field system. The name Ma'o is literally translated as "green," and taken to be a description of the landscape as a result of successful prayers at the temple (cf. Pukui et al. 1974:219).

Thrum 1908

Thomas Thrum, historian and editor of *The Hawaiian Annual* compiled a substantial list of *heiau* and short descriptions of them. A major list of *heiau* on the island of Hawai'i, with 31 *heiau* identified between Kailua (Lanikai) to Keauhou, was published in 1908. In the land of Wai'aha 1st, Thrum described one *heiau*:

Mao. ...a small *heiau*, now in tumbled down conditions, the road—which has cut into it—runs along its *mauka* side. The inner division shows a series of holes in its platform, said to have been where rain was cooked (Thrum 1908:43).

J.F.G. Stokes (1906-1907)

In 1906-1907, John Stokes, an archaeologist from the Bishop Museum, traveled around the island of Hawai'i, and, with native informants in most all of the localities, visited *heiau* or sites of former *heiau*. Though the work was not formally published until 1991 (Stokes and Dye), it was available in manuscript form by 1919 and has served as an important resource for all subsequent archaeological surveys. In Wai'aha, Stokes recorded the following information about the *heiau* called:

Mao Heiau, Nalupo'o Heiau

Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D7-3

State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3834

Heiau of Mao, land of Wai'aha, North Kona, situated on a sandy beach on the north side of the bay [Figure 4]. A portion of the northern side has been removed for the government road, adjoining. Kahelo benchmark bears 334 50', 321 feet. This is a platform *heiau* of peculiar construction built mainly of waterworn stones. The surface of the platform, 3 feet above the sand, is irregularly pitted, and in some of the holes *kī* [ti plants] was growing. On the ocean side, a small wall, 1.5 feet high, enclosed a section of the beach, leaving a space for an entrance at the western end. Later information was to the effect that the name of this *heiau* was *Nalupo'o*. Said to have been built by Kiwala'o [son of the chief Kalani'ōpu'u, who died in 1782].

J. Reinecke (1929-1930)

In 1929-1930, Bishop Museum hired John Reinecke on Hawai'i to conduct a study of sites in the district of Kona (Reinecke Ms. 1930). Reinecke relied on the work of Thrum and Stokes, and he also met with several elderly native informants and other individuals who were knowledgeable about various sites in the district. In some respects, Reinecke's work went further than Stokes in that he documented the occurrence of all sites that he came across. Though Reinecke's work has not been formally published, it has been referenced over the years, and today, it gives us insight into certain sites and features for which no other early information is available.

Under the heading “Sites From Kapalaalaea To Lanihau,” Reinecke recorded some general information about the cultural landscape at the time, and made specific references to sites in Wai’aha 1 & 2. While introducing this section of his study, Reinecke observed:

The most distinctive feature of this section is the use of coral fragments as a top dressing for the floors of dwelling sites. This is as characteristic as the use of *ilili* in the *a-a* section of Kahaluu.

A very large proportion of the dwelling sites and other structures along this coast must have been erected *mauka* of the government beach road; but it is practically impossible to penetrate the undergrowth to investigate even as far *mauka* as the Pa Kuakini; where I did so, the results were disappointing, as grazing of cattle and the demands of *Kuleana* walls have resulted in the destruction of many sites. Furthermore, this coast was rather densely populated until recently, so that most dwelling sites will be recent and of little interest [Reinecke ms. 1930:52].

Specifically, in Wai’aha 1 & 2, Reinecke recorded several sites along the shore. Based on his map locations for the sites in relationship to the locations surveyed in the 1880s by Emerson, sites 65 and 67 (south to north) are the former locations of the *kuleana* of Kalama and Luma’awe. Reinecke reported:

- Site 65. A very small, earth covered platform on the shore, on which is a heap of large water-worn pebbles. They may possibly be offerings for luck in fishing, and this a sacred spot.
- Site 66. A boulder-and-coral site of some sort; an indistinct site; a modern house site with a choked-up well near; one, perhaps three, old house sites.
- Site 67. An old site, probably a house platform; the same just north of the lot. The lot is filled with loose rock, which may have been parts of platforms destroyed by livestock.
- Site 68. HEIAU MAO, Waiaha 1. Since Stokes’ visit in 1906: the large stones have been removed for the building of the American Factors store foundation, and so the pits to which he refers are gone. There are left only a depression with small, smooth stones littered about the bottom, and the traces of a platform on the north. (Reinecke ms. 1930:60; In the collection of B.P. Bishop Museum)

T. Kelsey and H. Kekahuna with Nāluahine Ka’ōpua (1949-1950)

In the late 1940s and 1950s, Theodore Kelsey and Henry Kekahuna mapped and recorded sites and histories around Hawai’i, including extensive in Kona. One of their main native guides and informants was Nāluahine Ka’ōpua (Naluahine) born in c. 1870. He only spoke Hawaiian; was known as a *kahuna*; descendant of chiefly lines (perhaps most notably to families of North Kona, he was the great grandson of Isaaka Lāna’i of Kahalu’u); was one of the most knowledgeable practitioners of native practices; and a gifted historian. Many *kūpuna* (elders) in Kona today, still express deep *aloha* for “Tūtū Nāluahine” (cf. Maly 1996—Volume II, Oral History Interviews).

As a result of the work done by Kelsey, Kekahuna, and their native informants, a great resource of information was compiled. Selections from their work, are found in the Hawai’i State Archives (Collection M-445), in the personal collection of the late June Gutmanis, and the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. The collections include handwritten and typed sheets, ranging from single-page entries to multiple-page manuscripts, and audio recordings.

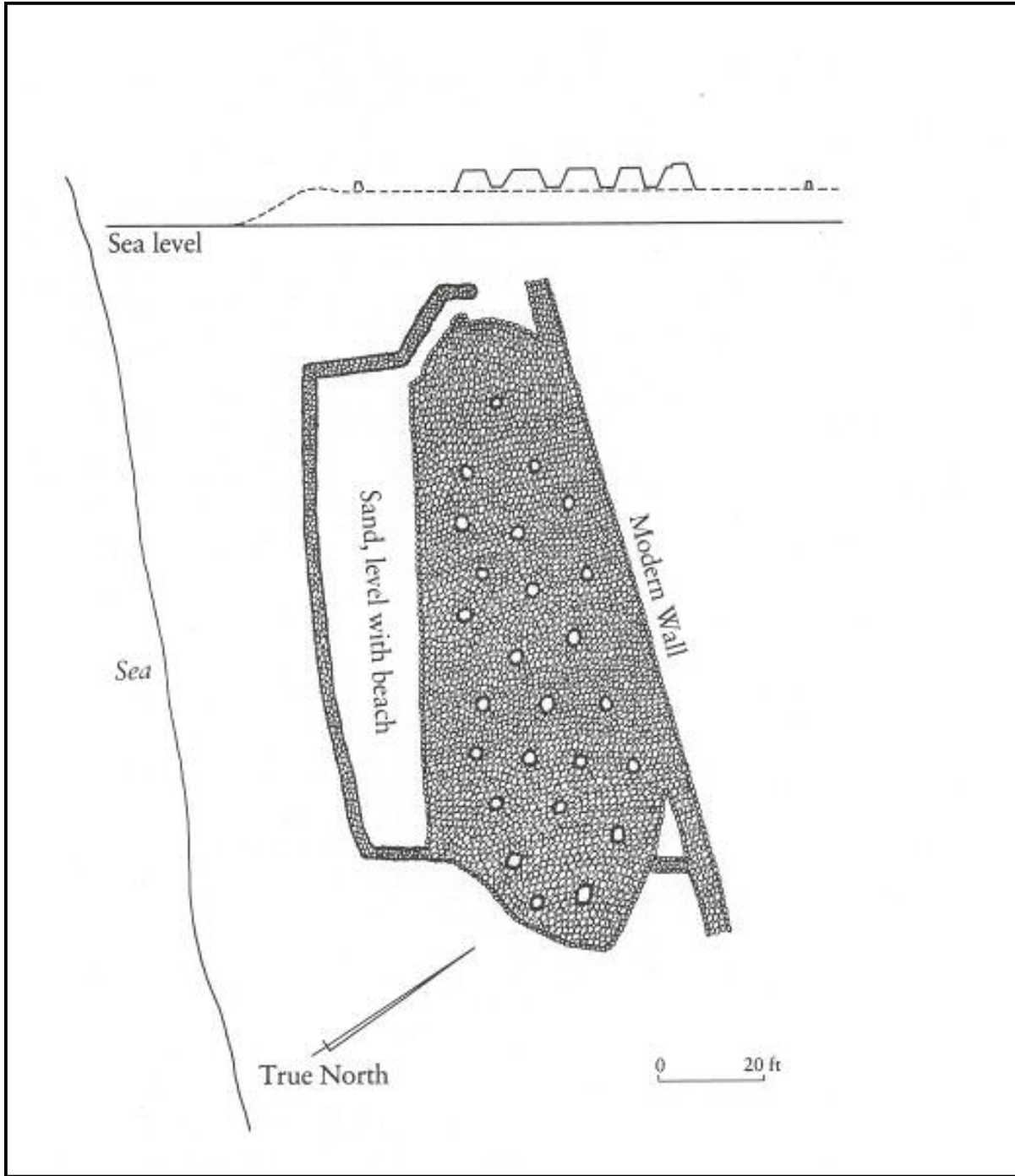


Figure 6. Heiau of Mao or Nalupo'o at Wai'aha, Kona, plan and cross-sections. Stokes plan H.I. (Stokes and Dye 1991:50)

It will be noted, that there are occasionally items mentioned which do not agree with earlier accounts cited in this study. Some of these differences may simply be that a place name occurs in more than one location—e.g., Waiakekea spring being identified as a water source both inland³, and at the sea shore. Other differences may simply be attributed to the passing of time, and some confusion over actual events and the roles of various individuals mentioned in the accounts. The following narratives for Wai'aha and vicinity have been excerpted from the collections of Kelsey and Kekahuna (with footnotes by the author, to clarify certain aspects of the historical record):

North Kona, an Upland Trip

Names from Mr. Naluahine Ka-'opua, of Kahaluu [nd.]

Wai-a-kekea, a stream in Pua-puaa. (Also written Wai-a-keakea.)

Ka-hului I, with Wai-a-kekea on the upland side...

[hand written notes; May 3, 1950]

Wai-aha. O keia ka aina i noho ai na makua o ke kama-lii-wahine, a me na kahu, a ma'anei no ho'i i hanau ai oia (Queen Emma). Lawe ia o Emma Ka-lele-o-na-lani a ho'o-kama (adopted) ia e Kauaka (Doctor) Rooke, ke kane ho'i a Kamaikui, ka hoahanau pono'i o Fanny Kekela Young, na keikimahinie ho'i a John Young. O Fanny Kekela Young oia ka makuahine o Queen Emma.

Wai-aha. This is the land on which lived the parents of the chiefess, also the attendants, and here is where she was born (Queen Emma)⁴. Emma Kaleleonalani was adopted by Doctor Rooke, the husband of Kamaikui, the true sister of Fanny Kekela Young, they were the daughters of John Young. Fanny Kekela Young was the mother of Queen Emma. (translated by the author of this study)

...Wai-a-kekea. He punawai keia mamua pono iho o ke kahua-hale kahi i hanau ai o Queen Emma ma ka aoao akau (north), a mai laila mai ka inoa o ke kuono, ai ole hono i kapa ia wa kahiko o Wai-a-kekea.

Wai-a-kekea. This is a spring directly in front of the house site where Queen Emma was born, on the north side, it is from there that the little cove or bay received the name Wai-a-Kekea in ancient times. (translated by the author of this study)

Place Names

[typed notes, nd.:17]

Ke-ana-wai – literally The Water Cave. A spring formerly used exclusively by commoners. It has now a cover over it, and is located in a yard on the upper side of the road a little south of Hoonanea Apartments. [on the boundary of Pua'a 2 & 3; see *Figures 3 and 4*]

Wai-a-Kekea – Water of Kekea, a spring formerly used exclusively by those of chiefly blood. It is now filled in, but was located just south of Wai-'aha Cove, in the *ahupua'a* of Wai-'aha.

Wai-'aha – Water of the chiefly or Priestly Assemblage, was the place of Queen Emma's

³ Waiakekea — the legendary reference from “Ka-Miki” and the Boundary Commission testimonies both place this spring at an area along the cliff, or bluff that rises up from the kula lands to the vicinity of Māmalahoa Highway.

⁴ As noted earlier in text, the land owned by Grace Kama'iku'i Young Rooke, was that of Kahului 2nd (title conveyed in LCA 8516-B:3).

In the course of conducting this study, the author spoke with Hawaiian author, George Hū'eu Kanahale, Ph.D., who is presently preparing a biography of Queen Emma. When asked his understanding about the birth place of Queen Emma, Dr. Kanahale, observed that all primary data, including her adoption papers, obituary and headstone, place her birth at Honolulu. Dr. Kanahale also observed that during the last few weeks of Fanny Kekela Naea's pregnancy, she and her family had gathered in Honolulu, to be with her father, John Young who was dying. John Young died on December 16, 1835, and Emma was born on January 2, 1836; this during the time that the family was in Honolulu. (pers comm. G. Kanahale, March 20 & 22, 1998).

birth. A remnant of house foundation adjoining the location of Wai-a-Kekea Spring remains on the land where Queen Emma was born.

Wai-‘aha Cove lies between the point of Ka-lae-loa on the north, and that of Ka-ili-punahale on the south.

The ruins of Maka-kua-ii Heiau, for the replenishment of fish and food (*Hooulu ‘ai, hooulu i’a*) lay just above Ka-lae-loa Point and the white sand beach, where until recently there were date palms planted by Dr. Rooke, foster father of Queen Emma.

Pi‘opi‘o was a *Ku-‘ula*, or fishing shrine, the ruins of which lay just south of the date palms, set slightly farther back from the seas than the remnant of Maka-Kua-ii Heiau⁵.

Ma‘o Heiau, for rain-making (*hooulu ua*); the remnant of which was recently removed, was located just above the road, opposite the cove. The area is now cleared of date palms⁶ and what remained of the *heiau*, and is occupied by young McNamara.

The Kai-lua to Ke-au-hou Beach Road was anciently part of the King’s Highway, that circuted the island...

...The best living *kamaaina* of the Kooka region I believe to be Mrs. Henrietta Moku, who was born there, and lived there for years before moving to Ka-hau-loa. She is a niece of Mr. Naluahine Ka-‘opua...

[typed notes, from draft of historic satellites article series; c. 1953]

...A trifle inland from Kā‘ili-ki‘i [sic. i.e., Kā‘ili-punahale] Point was the now covered spring of Wai-a-kekea, on the upland side of which are a few stones of a house-foundation on the place where Queen Emma was born...

Conclusion

Based on the documentation cited above, it has been confirmed that features of cultural and religious significance have been recorded in the immediate vicinity of the project area. It is also seen that most, if not all of the physical remains of the *heiau*, Nalupo‘o (also recorded as being named Ma‘o) have been removed from the land. While additional work in selected historical and Bureau of Conveyances records could answer a few questions of interest to the larger *ahupua‘a*; it is likely that an adequate level of archival and historical documentary research—as reported in this paper—has been conducted for the immediate study area.

Should efforts be undertaken to proceed with the proposed development on the study area parcel, some additional ethnographic work will probably be required by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division. It is likely, that the most beneficial form of “additional” ethnographic work that could be undertaken, would be conducting limited oral historical interviews. To do this, an ethnographer would need to identify *kūpuna* and individuals descended from families who lived on, or neighboring the land of Wai‘aha 1st for several generations (i.e., descendants of Māhele and Grant award recipients). Speaking with such individuals and with others who are familiar with resources and practices associated with the land of Wai‘aha, will help to identify areas of significance and lead to the development appropriate measures for protection of resources.

⁵ Kekahuna’s handwritten notes from a tour with Nāluahine Ka‘ōpua on May 3, 1950, places both Maka-o-Kualii and Piopio in the land of Pua‘a; with Piopio situated on the south of the *heiau* Maka-o-Kualii.

⁶ The indication here, is that the Rookes were living on property in Wai‘aha—or even Pua‘a, by association with the *heiau*, Maka-o-Kualii—while this is possible, the earlier records place their residence (and probably agricultural interests) in Kahului 2nd (see also footnote 4, above). It will be recalled, that historic literature of the period also places the residence of Queen Emma and Kamehameha IV in the uplands of Wai‘aha 1st.

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