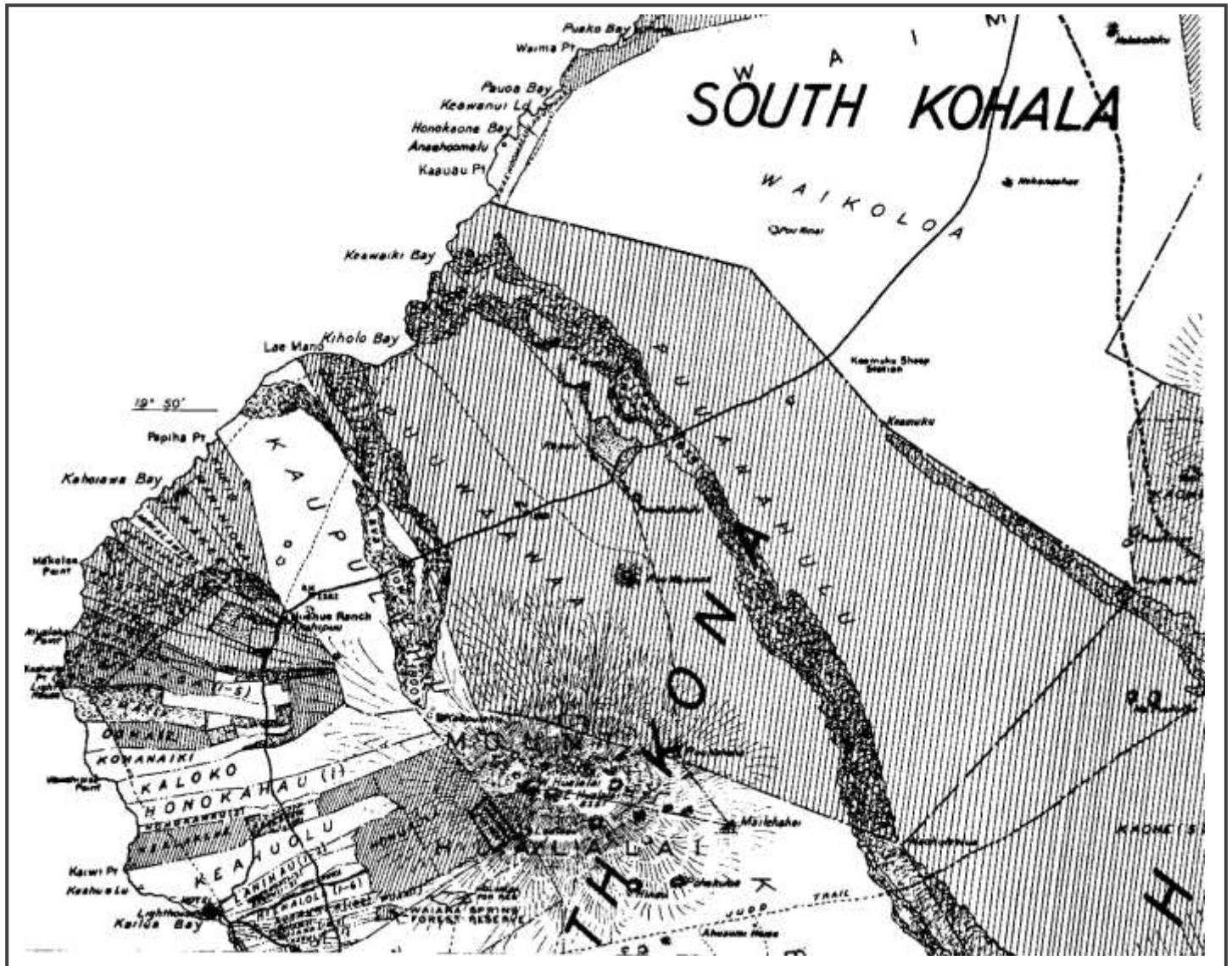


VOLUME I: PU'U ANAHULU AND PU'U WA'AWA'A (NĀPU'U), AT KEKAHA - KONA, HAWAI'I **A REPORT ON ARCHIVAL-HISTORICAL DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH, AND ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS**

*Cultural-Historical Documentation for Ahupua'a Based Planning
in the Lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (Nāpu'u);
District of Kona, Island of Hawai'i*



Ahupua'a of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Vicinity, Island of Hawai'i (HTS Map, 1928)

Kumu Pono Associates

*Historical & Archival Documentary Research • Oral History Studies • Partnerships in
Cultural Resources Management • Developing Preservation Plans and Interpretive Programs*



VOLUME I:

**PU'U ANAHULU AND PU'U WA'AWA'A
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**A REPORT ON ARCHIVAL-HISTORICAL
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Ahupua'a Based Planning in the Lands of
Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (Nāpu'u);
District of Kona, Island of Hawai'i
(TMK Overview Sheet 7-1)**

BY

Kepā Maly • Cultural Resources Specialist

PREPARED FOR

*Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a
71-1581 Mamalahoa Highway
Kailua-Kona, Hawai'i 96740*

July 7, 1999

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& Kumu Pono Associates*



***Kumu Pono Associates
Kepā Maly, Consultant***

*Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Studies · Partnerships in
Cultural Resources Management · Developing Preservation Plans and Interpretive Programs*

‘ŌLELO HO‘ĀKAKA A ME KA LEO HO‘OMAIKA‘I

An explanation and expression of thanks from the program coordinators:

Welina mai me ke aloha pumehana e nā kūpuna o mākou nei —

Eia nō mākou, nā pua a ‘oukou, nā pua o kēia ‘āina kaulana, ka ‘āina o Nāpu‘u, ka ‘āina wai ‘ole o Kekaha, ‘o ia ho‘i o Pu‘u Anahulu a me Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a. Eia nō mākou nā leo, nā alo, nā hā a ‘oukou. I kēia wā e ho‘omana‘o a ho‘omau mākou i nā hana a ‘oukou. He kuleana ko mākou, a ‘ae mākou i kēia kuleana nui. He mau po‘e o ka ‘āina kākou, ‘ōlelo ho‘i kekāhi, “he mau po‘e o nā pōhaku,” a pololei kēlā mana‘o, he kānaka o nā pōhaku nō kākou.

Eia nō kēia ‘ōlelo no‘eau a mākou, “Ke ewe hānau o ka ‘āina,” no laila me kēia mana‘o i pa‘a ai i loko o mākou e holomua ana no nā pua a ka wā e hiki mai ana. Hana mākou me ka ha‘aha‘a, me ka lokomaika‘i, a me ka ‘oiā‘i‘o kekāhi. Pa‘a loa kēia mau mea nui i loko o ko mākou na‘au. Ua kūkulu i ka hale ma luna o kēia kahua ikaika. No kā ‘oukou hana nui, mahalo iā ‘oukou. ‘Imi pono mākou i ka wā i hala no kā ‘oukou ‘ike, kā ‘oukou ikaika, kā ‘oukou ‘ano kūpono nō. Me kēia ‘imi ana hiki iā mākou ke nānā i ka wā e hiki mai ana me nā maka ‘ike loa.

Mahalo hou iā ‘oukou a pau loa. He Hawai‘i kākou a i ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana o kekāhi kupuna, “Aloha kekāhi i kekāhi no nā kau a kau a mau loa aku, he pili koko.” ‘Āmama, ua noa.

Greetings with warmth and love to the cherished ancestors of ours —

Here we are the flowers of you all, the flowers of the famous land, the land of Nāpu‘u (The-hills), the waterless land of Kekaha. Indeed, it is Pu‘u Anahulu and Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a. Here we are, the voices, the faces, the bodies, the breath of you all. At this time, we remember and continue in your workings. We have a responsibility to do so, and we accept this important responsibility. We are a people of the land, it is also said by some the we are a people of the stones. That is correct, indeed, we are a people of the stones.

Here is an old wise saying of our, “Ke ewe hānau o ka ‘āina” (The lineage born to the land). Therefore, is with this thought firmly set in us that we move forward for the flowers (children) and time that is to come. We do this with humility, with generosity and grace, and with sincerity too. These things are deeply instilled in our hearts, minds, and souls. A foundation was built for us by you all and now we need to build sheltered house upon this strong foundation that we have. For all the hard work you all have done, thank you. We strive for and seek from the past, your knowledge, your strength, and your righteous ways. It is with this seeking that we are able to look to the future with a positive view.

Thank you all again. We are Hawaiian and in the words of one of our treasured *kupuna*, “Love one another from season to season, forever and always, we are of the same blood.” It is freed, the *kapu* is lifted.

We the families of Nāpu‘u would like to extend a heartfelt *Mahalo* to the people of the Hewlett Foundation, who without their kindness, generosity, and vision, this important program could not have gotten off the ground. The same heartfelt appreciation is expressed to our friends at The Nature Conservancy — you have been friends and a means by which we have been able to accomplish some of our goals. *Mahalo* for being there for us. We are indeed grateful to Kepā Maly for his gentle, loving, kind, and humble ways. His compilation of oral histories, gathering of historical and archival documentation, and his wise words of enthusiasm are so welcomed. *He pōmaika‘i nō ‘oe, e Kepā, mahalo nui loa.* To Del Pranke and Keola Downing and associates for their recording of interviews on video, and everyone else who has come and touched this work in some way, shape, or form — *mahalo nui loa.* It truly is a dream come true for us to be able to learn so much about our *one hānau*, or birth sands; we wish that each and everyone of you could have an opportunity like this.

We look to the future and see other dreams becoming reality. We envision a family history center in the old Pu‘uanahulu School house where our elders went to school. This same school will house much of the work that is currently being done, and will be available for the generations to come. Our children, both born, and unborn, are another one of the important reasons for this work, they motivate and encourage us to endure. We believe that instilling a sense of self and a true sense of place in our children will ensure *pono* (goodness) for the lands.

Here is our request of you, who read this collection of our history — what we ask of you is respect. Respect our *Kūpuna*. Respect our land. Respect this information by not using it out of context. As our *kūpuna* taught us in all things, we ask you “*noi mua*” (ask permission first). And through your usage, be sensitive to our history and heritage, and in all aspects. We humbly ask this of you as we the *kahu* (caretakers) of this, our homeland, are so very proud and honored to be able to preserve, perpetuate, and live on our ancestral lands, the lands of Pu‘u Anahulu and Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a — *Nāpu‘u ma Kekaha wai ‘ole o nā Kona*.

As an organization, the *Hui ‘Ohana Mai Pu‘uanahulu a me Pu‘uwa‘awa‘a* (Families from Pu‘u Anahulu and Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a) share in common several goals and objectives, among them are:

Our desire to nurture and culturally educate *nā po‘e o Hawai‘i* in our traditions, agriculture, land use, oral history and language, and music; integrating values of *Aloha, Laulima, Mālama* and *Lōkāhi*;

To foster an environment of sustainability — a self sufficiency for our families that will stimulate personal and living participation in stewardship for the *Ahupua‘a* of Pu‘uanahulu and Pu‘uwa‘awa‘a; and

Through personal participation and experiences, we will culturally educate *nā keiki, nā mākua* and *nā kūpuna* to embrace the *‘ike* (knowledge) of their roots, thus providing them with a path upon which to travel into the future.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of the *Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a* — a non-profit organization made up of native Hawaiian descendants of the traditional and early historic families (residents) of Pu'u Anahulu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a, cultural resources specialist, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a study of archival documents and historical literature for the lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (affectionately referred to as Nāpu'u by native families of the land); and conducted oral history interviews with descendants of the native Hawaiian families and others who are known to be familiar with the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the Nāpu'u region of the North Kona District, on the island of Hawai'i (TMK: overview sheet 7-1). The study is presented in two volumes—*Volume I* reporting on the findings of archival and historical documentary research, and *Volume II* reporting on findings of the oral history interviews.

The general study area includes two large *ahupua'a* (native Hawaiian land units) that extend from the offshore fisheries to the uplands at an elevation of approximately 7,000 feet above sea level. Pu'u Wa'awa'a is comprised of approximately 40,000 acres with around 5.0 miles of shoreline frontage; and Pu'u Anahulu comprised of 86,945 acres with about 2.5 miles of shoreline frontage.

This study provides the *Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a*, land managers and interested parties with important historical documentation pertaining to some of the significant cultural and natural features of the landscape of the Nāpu'u region, and the relationship of those resources to other resources of the larger *kalana* (region) of North Kona and South Kohala known as Kekaha. This study also provides readers with foundational documentation for implementation of an *ahupua'a* based program focusing on long-term care, management, and interpretation of the natural and cultural landscape of the Nāpu'u region.

Study Methodology

The work conducted as a part of this study included three basic components: (1) research archival and historical literature, and report on documentary resources; (2) conduct oral history interviews and consultation with *kama'āina* (native residents) and others with knowledge of the land; and (3) develop an overview of guidelines — based on historical practices and interviewee recommendations — for an *ahupua'a* based management plan with recommendations for protection and interpretation of the varied resources of Nāpu'u.

Over the last eight years, the author has undertaken various studies and research — in the form of review of Hawaiian language newspapers, historical accounts, land use records, and oral history interviews — for the Kekaha region of which Nāpu'u is a part. In the period between April to July, 1999, the author conducted additional research of archival-historical literature. Among the primary archival documentation cited in this study are nineteenth century records of the Hawaiian Kingdom—such as government records of land tenure, roadways, public lands and public facilities—and native and foreign accounts authored in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of which have not received broad exposure in the past.

The primary oral historical component of this study (*Volume II*) was conducted between June to October 1999. The study includes interviews with more than **25** individuals, most of whom who have generational ties to the lands of Nāpu'u—all of whom lived upon and traveled across the lands of the study area with elders in their youth. Additionally, the study includes excerpts of historic interviews recorded by families of Nāpu'u, or by the author and other interviewers over the years.

Study Organization

This study is divided into two volumes and several primary sections by subject matter, each with accompanying sub-sections. The primary sections of the study include:

Volume I:

An introduction to the study methodology and general overview of Hawaiian land management practices;

Detailed documentation found as a result of the archival and historical literature research; including important historical documentation written by native and non-Hawaiian authors;

An overview of historical studies and archaeological investigations conducted in the Kekaha region between ca. 1906 to 1930;

Volume II:

An introduction to the study methodology and overview of oral historical interviews and consultation records of the Nāpu‘u-Kekaha study area;

An overview of general comments and recommendations which may be helpful in development of an *ahupua‘a* management approach to future management of the Nāpu‘u region; and

Released oral history interview transcripts

The study provides readers with access to an extensive collection of documentation, including traditional accounts and formal government communications of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and documentation pertaining to native traditions, customs, and practices that have been handed down over the generations by individuals who have resided in Nāpu‘u and neighboring lands for generations. Through this information, readers gain a greater understanding of the depth of the relationship—the cultural attachment^φ—that native Hawaiian families of Nāpu‘u share with their *‘āina kulaīwi* (land which is the resting place of their ancestors’ bones).

^φ “Cultural Attachment¹” embodies the tangible and intangible values of a culture. It is how a people identify with and personify the environment (both natural and manmade) around them. Cultural attachment is demonstrated in the intimate relationship (developed over generations of experiences) that people of a particular culture share with their landscape—for example, the geographic features, natural phenomena and resources, and traditional sites etc., that make up their surroundings. This attachment to environment bears direct relationship to the beliefs, practices, cultural evolution, and identity of a people. (cf. James Kent, “Cultural Attachment: Assessment of Impacts to Living Culture.” September 1995)

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He Leo Ho‘omaika‘i iā ‘Oukou—

E nā makamaka a me nā kupa o ka ‘āina o Nāpu‘u a me Kekaha ma Kona, a me nā kāko‘o mai Hawai‘i a i Kaua‘i — Mahalo nui iā ‘oukou a pau i ka lokomaika‘i a me ke kōkua. A eia ka hua o ka hana, he mo‘olelo no nā mua aku.

Me ka ha‘aha‘a a me ke aloha kau palena ‘ole – Kepā Maly

O ka mea maika‘i mālama, o ka mea maika‘i ‘ole, kāpae ‘ia

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

At the request of the *Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a* — a non-profit organization made up of native Hawaiian descendants of the traditional and historic families (residents) of Pu'u Anahulu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a, cultural resources specialist, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a study of archival documents and historical literature for the lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (affectionately referred to as Nāpu'u by native families of the land); and conducted oral history interviews with descendants of the native Hawaiian families and others who are known to be familiar with the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the Nāpu'u region of the North Kona District, on the island of Hawai'i (TMK: overview sheet 7-1). The study is presented in two volumes—*Volume I* reporting on the findings of archival and historical documentary research, and *Volume II* reporting on findings of the oral history interviews.

The general study area includes two large *ahupua'a*¹ (native Hawaiian land units) that extend from the offshore fisheries to the uplands at an elevation of approximately 7,000 feet above sea level. Pu'u Wa'awa'a is comprised of approximately 40,000 acres with around 5.0 miles of shoreline frontage; and Pu'u Anahulu comprised of 86,945 acres with about 2.5 miles of shoreline frontage. (*Figure 1*).

While the present study seeks to provide readers with a detailed historical overview of the two *ahupua'a* (from sea to mountain), the area situated between the 1,500 to 4,200 foot elevation, containing approximately 21,000 acres (described in State Lease No. 3589), is of particular interest to recently proposed management plans of the *Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a*. In 1998, the *Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a* (*Hui 'Ohana*), in cooperation with The Nature Conservancy of Hawaii, Tropical Reforestation and Ecosystem Education Center, State Department of Forestry and Wildlife, Hawaii Ecosystems Project, and Puuwaawaa Cattle Company developed "A Proposed Multi-Use Plan for the *Ahupua'a* of Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Portions of Pu'u Anahulu..." (*Appendix A*). This study was conducted as a part of the start-up phase of the proposed multi-use plan.

Funding for this study was provided by the Hewlett Foundation, and processed through The Nature Conservancy (TNC) while the *Hui 'Ohana* finalized acquisition of their non-profit (501-c3) status. The work was done in close consultation with members of the *Hui 'Ohana* and TNC field staff, to ensure conformance with goals of the program and compliance with grant requirements. Members of the *Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a* and representatives of their elder generation participated in the oral history, site identification and recommendations facets of this study, and family records were also contributed from the collections of various participants.

This study provides the *Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a*, land managers and interested parties with important historical documentation pertaining to some of the significant cultural and natural features of the landscape of the Nāpu'u region, and the relationship of those resources to other resources of the larger *kalana* (region) of North Kona and South Kohala known as Kekaha. This study provides readers with foundational documentation for implementation of an *ahupua'a* based program focusing on long-term care, management, and interpretation of the natural and cultural landscape of the Nāpu'u region.

¹ *Ahupua'a* is a traditional term used to describe an ancient Hawaiian land unit, and remains the primary land unit of the modern land classification system.

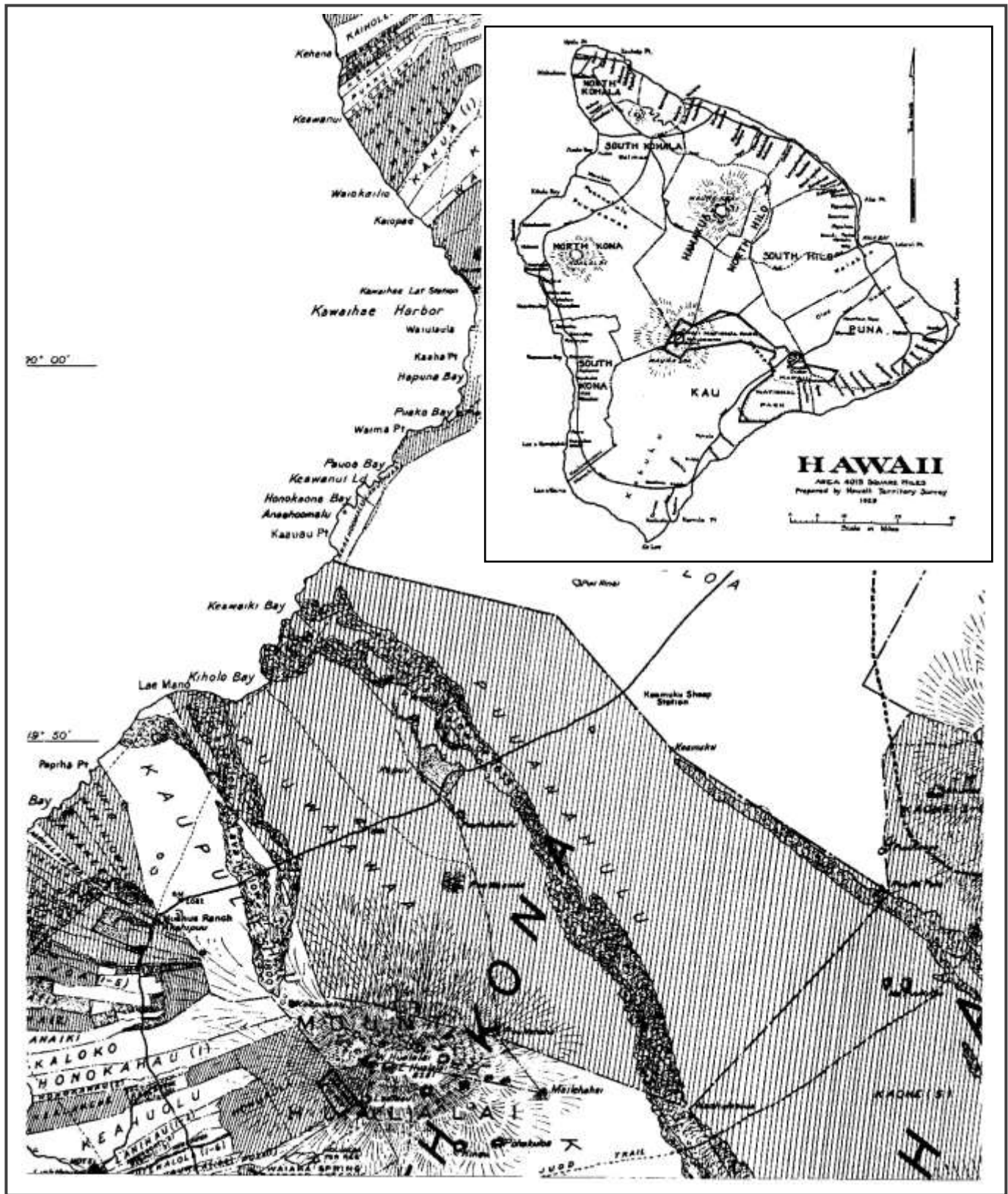


Figure 1. Ahupua'a of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a; North Kona, Island of Hawai'i
(Portion of HTS Map 1928; State Survey Division)

Study Guidelines and Organization

The research and interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the referenced laws and guidelines were 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 ongoing 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 13:274-4,5,6; 275:6 – Draft of December 1996); and guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (November 1997).

Volume I - Archival and Historical Resources

A primary objective of the present study was to research and report on documentation that would help readers better understand native Hawaiian customs and historic events in the lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a and the Nāpu'u-Kekaha region. In preparing the archival-historical documentary report for this study, the author reviewed both published and manuscript references in English and Hawaiian—referencing documentation for lands of the immediate study area as well as those for neighboring lands. In an effort to further our understanding of the cultural-historic resources, the author conducted research in several areas which have not received much exposure in past studies. Thus, this study along with other previously conducted studies, provides readers with a well-rounded picture of residency, travel, and land use in the study area.

Over the last eight years, the author has researched and prepared several detailed studies — in the form of review of Hawaiian language newspapers, historical accounts, land use records, and oral history interviews — for the Kekaha region of which Nāpu'u is a part. In the period between April to July, 1999, the author conducted additional research of archival-historical literature. References included, but were not limited to — land use records, including Hawaiian Land Commission Award (LCA) records from the *Māhele* (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i (ca. 1873 to 1886); and historical texts authored or compiled by — D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996); G. Bowser (1880); T. Thrum (1908); J.F.G. Stokes and T. Dye (1991); J. W. Coulter (1931); E. Doyle (1945); M. Beckwith (1970); Reinecke (ms. 1930); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). Importantly, 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 eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors to the region. This information is generally cited in the chronological order of original publication.

The 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; and in the collection of the author.

Volume II - Oral History Interviews and Consultation Records of the Nāpu'u Study

The primary oral historical component of this study was conducted between June to October 1999. The study includes interviews with more than 25 individuals, most of whom have generational ties to the lands of Nāpu'u—all of whom lived upon and traveled across the lands of the study area with elders in their youth. Additionally, the study includes excerpts of historic interviews recorded by families of Nāpu'u, or by the author and other interviewers over the years.

All interviews recorded by the present author were transcribed and returned to the interviewees and follow up discussions were 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 written permission for inclusion of portions of their transcripts in this study (*Volume II*). 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 other communications, several historic maps were referenced, and when appropriate, the general locations of sites referenced were marked on the maps. That information was in turn compiled on an annotated interview map, which is cited in Volume II as *Figure 1*.

It should be noted here, that some information recorded in the interviews was highly personal and culturally sensitive. Such information has been removed from transcripts which may be viewed by the public. Additionally, two interviews were video taped, the master video, audio recordings, and original annotated maps are being curated by the Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a. Oral history documentation may not be cited without prior written consent from the Hui 'Ohana Mai Pu'uanahulu a me Pu'uwa'awa'a and Kumu Pono Associates.

PU'U ANAHULU-PU'U WA'AWA'A (NĀPU'U²): AN OVERVIEW OF THE CULTURAL HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE

This section of the study provides readers with a general overview of the Hawaiian landscape—with emphasis on the Nāpu'u-Kekaha region—including 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.

Natural and Cultural Resources

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 were 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—Earth-mother who gave birth to the islands)—also called Haumea-nui-hānau-wā-wā (Great Haumea—Woman-earth 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 (cf. David Malo 1951:3; 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.

An Overview of 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 and 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, and near shore fisheries, enriched by nutrients carried in the fresh water, could be maintained in fishponds and coastal fisheries. It was around these bays that clusters of houses where families lived, could be found (McEldowney ms. 1979:15). In these early times, the residents generally engaged in subsistence practices in the forms of agriculture and fishing (Handy and Handy 1972:287).

Over the period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and the residents began expanding out into the *kona* (leeward) and more remote regions of the island (by ca. 750 to 1000 AD). Based on his own field work and that of others, Kirch (1979) reports that by ca. AD 1200, there were small coastal settlements at various areas along the western shore line of Hawai'i—for example: Kīholo, Kapalaoa, 'Anaeho'omalū, Kalāhuipua'a, Puakō and Kawaihae (Kirch 1979:198).

² Nāpu'u (The-hills) is a general name for the hilly region of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a. The name also includes variations, such as Nā-pu'u-pū'alu (The-loose, crumpled, or folded-hills) or Nā-pu'u-pū'alu-kinikini (The-many-folded-hills), which describe the topography—the rolling folds of the hills.

Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices

Over the generations, the ancient Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land- and resources -management. By the time 'Umi-a-Li'loa rose to rule the island of Hawai'i in ca. 1525, the island (*moku-puni*) was divided into six districts or *moku-o-loko* (cf. Fornander 1973—Vol. II:100-102). On Hawai'i, the district of Kona is one of six major *moku-o-loko* within the island. The district of Kona itself, extends from the shore across the entire volcanic mountain of Hualālai, and continues to the summit of Mauna Loa, where Kona is joined by the districts of Ka'ū, Hilo, and Hāmākua (*Figure 2*). One traditional reference to the northern and southern-most coastal boundaries of Kona tells us that the district extended:

Mai Ke-ahu-a-Lono i ke 'ā o Kani-kū, a hō'ea i ka 'ūlei kolo o Manukā i Kaulanamauna e pili aku i Ka'ū! — From Keahualono [the Kona-Kohala boundary] on the rocky flats of Kanikū, to Kaulanamauna next to the crawling (tangled growth of) 'ūlei bushes at Manukā, where Kona clings to Ka'ū! (*Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki* in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, September 13, 1917; Maly translator).

Kona, like other large districts on Hawai'i, was further divided into 'okana or kalana (regions of land smaller than the *moku-o-loko*, yet comprising a number of smaller units of land). In the region now known as Kona 'akau (North Kona), there are several ancient regions (*kalana*) as well. The southern portion of North Kona was known as "Kona kai 'ōpua" (interpretively translated as: Kona of the distant horizon clouds above the ocean), and included the area extending from Lanihau (the present-day vicinity of Kailua Town) to Pu'uohau. The northern-most portion of North Kona was called "Kekaha" (descriptive of an arid coastal place). Native residents of the region affectionately referred to their home as "Kekaha-wai-'ole o nā Kona" (Waterless Kekaha of the Kona district), or simply as the "āina kaha." Within Kekaha is the smaller region of Nāpu'u (literally: The-Hills), so named because of the many hills of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (*Figure 2* – depicts the land areas of Kekaha and Nāpu'u; the northern most lands of Kona). A traditional description of the boundaries of the Kekaha also references Nāpu'u:

O Hikuha i ka uka o Nā-pu'u a me Kekahawai'ole, mai Ke-ahu-a-Lono i ke 'ā o Kanikū a hō'ea i ke kula o Kanoenoe i ka pu'u o Pu'u-o-Kaloa. — [Kekaha extends from] the uplands of Hikuha, which is in the uplands of Nāpu'u and the waterless Kekaha; and extend from Keahualono on the rocky plain of Kanikū, to the hill of Pu'uokaloa [at Keahuolu]. (*Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki* in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, October 18, 1917; Maly translator).

Ahupua'a—A Sustainable Hawaiian Resources Management Unit

The large districts (*moku-o-loko*) and sub-regions ('okana and kalana) were further divided into manageable units of land, and were tended to by the *maka'āinana* (people of the land) (cf. Malo 1951:63-67). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant management unit 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). *Ahupua'a* may be compared to pie-shaped wedges of land that extended from the ocean fisheries fronting the land unit to the mountains or some other feature of geological significance (e.g., a valley or crater). The boundaries of the *ahupua'a* were generally defined by the topography and cycles and patterns of natural resources occurring within the lands (cf. Lyons, 1875; In The Islander).

The *ahupua'a* were also divided into smaller manageable parcels of land (such as the 'ili, kō'ele, māla, and kīhāpai, etc.) in which cultivated resources could be grown and natural resources harvested. 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 (cf. Malo 1951:63-67; Kamakau 1961:372-377; and Boundary Commission testimonies in this study).

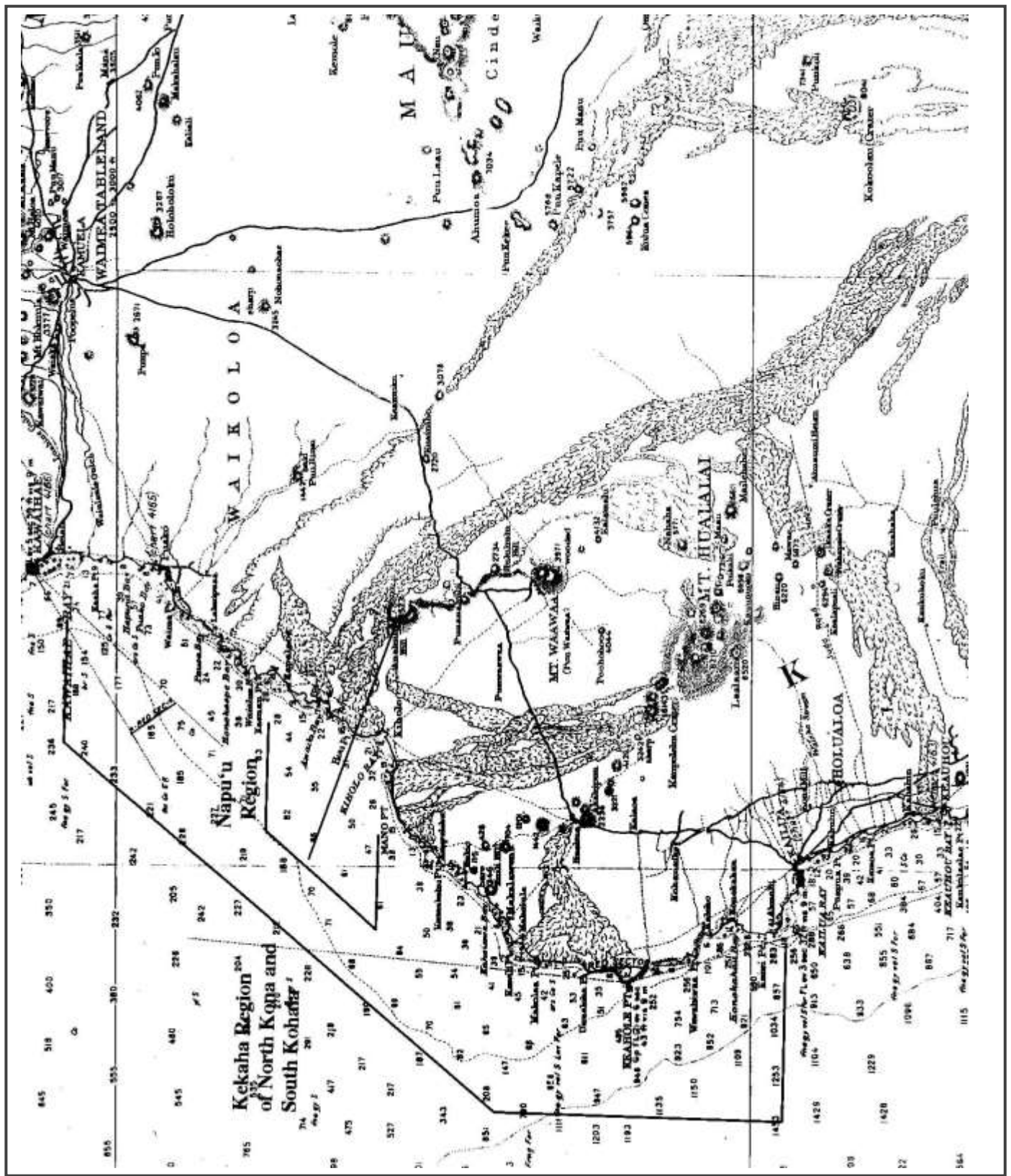


Figure 2. Portion of the Island of Hawai'i (1932, DLNR-DOFAW Collection) - Detail of the Kona District; with approximate locations of Kekaha and Nāpu'u boundaries depicted

Entire *ahupua'a*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konohiki* 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). Thus, *ahupua'a* resources supported not only the *maka'ainana* 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 resources management planning. In this system, the land provided the fruits and vegetables for the diet, and the ocean provided most of the protein, and in communities with long-term royal residents, divisions of labor came to be strictly adhered to. It is in this setting that we find Nāpu'u and the present study area.

Nāpu'u: The Ahupua'a of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a

Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a—which share a common boundary between the two of them—are two of twenty-three ancient *ahupua'a* within the *'okana* of Kekaha-wai'ole. And as described by the Boundary Commission of the Kingdom of Hawai'i (c. 1874-1886), Pu'u Wa'awa'a includes approximately 40,000 acres of land and Pu'u Anahulu contains 86,945 acres of land (*Figures 1*). Traditional and historic literature, and oral historical accounts describe the Nāpu'u region as one of favored lands of Kekaha. The fresh water pond of Luahinewai, and watered shores of Pu'u Anahulu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a; the great fishponds of Kīholo and Wainānālī'i; rich ocean and near-shore fisheries; sheltered bays from Kīholo to Kapalaoa; important salt making locations; the inland agricultural field systems; and diverse forest and mountain resources, attracted native residents to the area, and sustained them on the land.

The *ahupua'a* of Pu'u Anahulu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a cross a wide range of environmental zones that are generally called “*wao*” in the Hawaiian language. These environmental zones include the near-shore fisheries and shoreline strand (*kahakai*) and the *kula kai-kula uka* (shoreward and inland plains). These areas were greatly desired as places of residence by the natives of the land.

The *kula* region of Hīkūhia and Nāpu'u is now likened to a volcanic desert, though native and early historic accounts describe groves of native hard wood shrubs and trees such as *'ūlei* (*Osteomeles anthyllidifolia*) and *lama* (*Diospyros ferrea*) extending across the land and some distance shoreward. Small remnant communities of native dryland forest also give us an indication that there was a significant diversity of plants growing upon the *kula* lands—

The lower *kula* lands receive only about 15-20 inches of rainfall annually, and it is because of their dryness, the larger region of which Nāpu'u is a part, is known as “Kekaha.” While on the surface, there appears to be little or no potable water to be found, the very lava flows which cover the land contain many underground streams that are channeled through subterranean lava tubes. The traditions and historical accounts cited later in this study share with readers, the importance of lava and water in the histories of Nāpu'u and the larger Kekaha region.

Continuing along the *kula uka* (inland slopes), the environment changes as elevation increases. In the *wao kanaka* (region of man) and *wao nahele* (forest region) rainfall increased to 30 or 40 inches annually, and taller forest growth occurred —

This region provided native residents with shelter for residential and agricultural uses, and a wide range of natural resources which were of importance for religious, domestic, and economic purposes. In Nāpu'u, this region is generally between the 1800 to 2400 foot elevation, and is crossed by the present-day Māmalahoa Highway (which also generally follows portions of an ancient *ala loa*, or foot trail that was part of a regional trail system).

In the *wao kanaka-wao nahele* region, where the lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a share a common boundary, the land ascends and embrace the folded or gullied hills of Nāpu'u-pū'alu-kinikini—among which are Anahulu, Ahuakamali'i, Mauiloa, Pu'uokalehua, Nāpu'u, Kuahiku, Pu'u

Kalaukela, Pu'uolili, Huluhulu, and Wa'awa'a. Continuing further inland, Pu'u Wa'awa'a ends at Pu'u Nāhāhā, at the 5,400 foot elevation. Pu'u Anahulu continues further inland, bounded by Keauhou, to Nā'ōhuluelua at the 5,100 foot elevation. On the south-eastern boundary, the land of Pu'u Wa'awa'a ascends the slopes of Hualālai reaching approximately the 6,900 foot elevation.

The upper reaches of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a, upon the inland slope between about the 4,000 to 7000 foot elevation, we find the *wao ma'ukele* (a rain forest-like environment) and the *wao akua*, literally translated as the "region or zone of deities."

The *wao akua* is so named because of the pattern of cloud cover and precipitation which settles upon the mountain slope—this covering was interpreted as concealing from view the activities of the deity and gods who were believed to walk the land under the cover of the mist and clouds (cf. David Malo 1959:16-18; and M.K. Pukui, pers comm. 1975).

Early native historians and the descendants of the *kama'āina* to the lands of Nāpu'u and the larger Kekaha region, share a deep cultural attachment with their environment. Their customs, beliefs, practices, and history are place based. The ancient Hawaiians saw (as do many Hawaiians today) all things within their environment as being interrelated. That which was in the uplands shared a relationship with that which was in the lowlands, coastal region, and even in the sea. This relationship and identity with place worked in reverse as well, and the *ahupua'a* as a land unit was the thread which bound all things together in Hawaiian life.

In an early account written by Kihe (In *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, 1914-1917), with contributions by John Wise and Steven Desha Sr., the significance of the dry season in Kekaha and the custom of the people departing from the uplands for the coastal region is further described. Of the dry season, Kihe et al., wrote:

...*'Oia ka wā e ne'e ana ka lā iā Kona, hele a malo'o ka 'āina i ka 'ai kupakupa 'ia e ka lā, a o nā kānaka, nā li'i o Kona, pūhe'e aku la a noho i kahakai kāhi o ka wai e ola ai nā kānaka* – It was during the season, when the sun moved over Kona, drying and devouring the land, that the chiefs and people fled from the uplands to dwell along the shore where water could be found to give life to the people. (April 5, 1917)

As recorded in oral history interviews in this study, the custom of traveling between the *mauka* and *makai* regions remained important in the lives of the families of Nāpu'u and the larger Kekaha region through the first half of the twentieth century. While life upon the land has changed dramatically since the 1930s, the interviews demonstrate that the native families of Nāpu'u are still very "place based." Place names, native traditions, and historic accounts of the land—connecting the uplands to the shore—are intricately bound together with the features of the landscape and environment of Kekaha.

MO'OLELO 'ĀINA: NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORIC ACCOUNTS OF NĀPU'U AND VICINITY

This part of the study presents readers with a variety of *mo'olelo* or native traditions (some translated from the original Hawaiian for the first time, by the author) spanning many centuries, that reference the lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (Nāpu'u), and neighboring lands which share some of the traditions in common. Some of the narratives make specific references to sites, events and residents of Nāpu'u, while other accounts are part of larger traditions that are associated with regional and island-wide events. The native traditions describe customs and practices of the native people who resided on these lands, walked the trails, and who were sustained by the wealth of the land and adjacent marine fisheries. It is also appropriate to note here, that the occurrence of these traditions—many in association with place names of land divisions, cultural sites, features of the landscape, and events in the history of these lands are an indicator of the rich native history of the area.

It will be seen below, that in the accounts written by nineteenth century historians, most of the narratives focus on the coastal region and rich of Nāpu'u. Later accounts, authored by native residents of, and visitors to Nāpu'u and Kekaha (ca. 1910 to 1930), record from the residents knowledge some of the traditions of the uplands.

He Wahi Mo'olelo (A Few Traditions)

Perhaps one of the earliest traditions which can be placed in a datable context by genealogy, and that references the Nāpu'u-Kekaha region, was collected by Abraham Fornander (1916-1917). Titled "*The Legend of Kaulanapoki'i*," the *mo'olelo* speaks of traveling through the uplands, viewing Kīhōlo and Kapalaoa from Hu'ehu'e, and describes the practice of salt making Puakō (a practice that was also very important in the coastal lands of Nāpu'u). By association with Hīkapōloa, chief of Kohala at the time of the events described in this story, the narrative dates back to around the thirteenth century. The narratives below, are a paraphrased summary of Fornander's texts:

Kaumalumu was the father and Lanihau was the mother (both of these names are also the names of lands in North Kona) of ten children, five boys and five girls. When the children grew to adulthood, the eldest girl, Mailelaili'i invited her four sisters to go site seeing with her. The girls set out on their journey from the lowlands of Kona, and traveled to Hu'ehu'e. Looking upon the shore from Hu'ehu'e, the girls saw the beaches of Kīhōlo and Kapalaoa, and desired to see them up close. They then descended to the shore and visited Kīhōlo and Kapalaoa. From Kapalaoa, the sisters then traveled to Kalāhuipua'a where they met Puakō, a handsome man who lived in the area.

Puakō immediately fell in love with Mailelaili'i, and she consented to becoming his wife that day. The next morning, Puakō rose early and began carrying sea water to the salt ponds for making salt. Mailelaili'i's sisters did not like the thought of Puakō being a salt maker and feared that they too would be put to work at carrying water to fill the salt beds. as a result, the sisters encouraged Mailelaili'i to bid farewell to Puakō and continue on their journey further into Kohala... (Fornander 1916-1917 Vol. 4-3:560-568)

The narrative continues by describing how Mailelaili'i married the chief Hīkapōloa, who by treachery, killed the brother of Mailelaili'i. In the end, Hīkapōloa was killed himself, the brothers returned to life, and all the family returned to Kona, never again to sleep with another person of Kohala. (Fornander 1916-1917 Vol. 4-3:560-568)

***Keahualono and Kanikū:
Traditions from the Reign of Lono-i-ka-makahiki***

The primary traditional narratives which describe events and the occurrence of place names, throughout the region of South Kohala 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 1916-1917 Vol. 4-2:342-344, Vol. 5-2:446-451, and 1996; and Barrère 1971). In this account readers are told of battles that occurred in the region and how the altar marker near the *makai* boundary of Waikōloa-'Anaeho'omalua and Pu'u Anahulu (also the South Kohala-North Kona boundary) came to be built.

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 Wainanalii, where in those days a watercourse appears to have been flowing. Lono won the battle, and the rebel chiefs fled northward with their forces... (Fornander 1996:120-121)

Following two other engagements, in which Lono's forces were victorious, the relationship between Lono and Kanaloakua'ana was restored, and we find them mentioned once again in traditions of the area, that occurred a few years later.

Native historian, Samuel Kamakau (1961) recorded that during the reign of Lono-i-ka-makahiki, Kamalālāwalu (the king of Maui), made plans to invade the island of Hawai'i. Kamalālāwalu (Kama) sent spies to determine how many people lived on the island. The spies "landed at Kawaihae," and one of them, Ka-uhi-o-ka-lani, traveled the trail between Kawaihae to Kanikū (the lava plain between Pu'u Anahulu and 'Anaeho'omalua) (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 Kama on Maui telling him that there were few people in Kohala, and the should he land there, he would be victorious in his quest to control Hawai'i (Kamakau 1961:56-57).

Kama landed at Kawaihae and found his victory easy. He then traveled to Puakō and won there as well. While at Kamakahiwa, in Puakō, Kama killed Kanaloa-kua'ana, the elder brother of Lono-i-ka-makahiki. Kamalālāwalu then prepared to march to Waimea and enter into battle, but his counselors warned him against taking the battle to the plains of Waimea, but he ignored them and moved forward (Kamakau 1961:58):

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, and those of Waimea and Kohala were on the level plain of Waimea. 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... 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. 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)

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 Kekaha and the boundary between 'Anaeho'omalua and Pu'u Anahulu. Out of jealousy, some of the Hawai'i Island chiefs slandered Kapaihiahilina (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'omalua. Fornander described the meeting and how Ke-ahu-a-Lono (The-altar-made-by-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 Hōkū 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. 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 Hōkū o Hawai'i* Jan. 31-Feb. 14, 1924).

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

In another of Kamakau's historical accounts readers find an interesting reference to eighteenth century events in the Kekaha region—with particular emphasis on the lands of Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Ka'ūpūlehu. When Alapa'i-nui—ruler of Hawai'i—died in 1754, and his son Keawe'ōpala was chosen as his successor (Kamakau 1961:78). In the years preceding that time, the young chief Kalani'ōpu'u, had been challenging Alapa'i's rule. The challenge continued after Alapa'i's death, and following a short reign, Kalani'ōpu'u killed Keawe'ōpala and secured his rule over Hawai'i. Kamakau also reports that in ca. 1780, as a result of their valor and counsel Kalani'ōpu'u granted "estate lands" in Kekaha to the twin chiefs Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa (ibid.:310). Kamakau also records, that at the time of Kalani'ōpu'u's death, Kame'eiamoku was living at Ka'ūpūlehu, and his twin, Kamanawa was living at Kīhōlo, Pu'u Wa'awa'a (ibid.:118). Kamakau also reports that "the land of Kekaha was held by the *kahuna* priestly] class of Ka-uahi and Nahulu" (ibid. 231); to which the twin chiefs are believed to have belonged.

'Ōmu'ō Ceremony at Luahinewai and the Dedication of Pu'u Koholā (ca. 1790-1791)

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). In ca. 1791, Kamehameha dedicated this *heiau*, and his cousin, Keōuakū'ahu'ula (Keōua)—a rival for supremacy on Hawai'i—was offered as the sacrifice. The narratives below are excerpted from Kamakau's account of the events that led up to the dedication of the *heiau*, and include references to several places along the coast, between Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Kawaihae. In order to construct the *heiau*, Kamehameha—

...summoned his counselors and younger brothers, chiefs of the family and chiefs of the guard, all the chiefs, lesser chiefs, and commoners of the whole district. Not one was allowed to be absent except for the women, because it was *tabu* to offer a woman upon the altar; a man alone could furnish such a sacrifice. The building of the *heiau* of Pu'u-koholā was, as in ancient times, directed by an expert—not in oratory, politics, genealogy, or the prophetic art, but by a member of the class called *hulihonua* who knew the configuration of the earth (called *kuhikuhi pu'uone*). Their knowledge was like that of the navigator who knows the latitude and longitude of each land, where the rocks are, the deep places, and the shallow, where it is cold and where warm, and can tell without mistake the degrees, east or west, north or south. Such knowledge, taught on Kauai, one could apply anywhere in the world; so Ka-pou-kahi had instructed Ha'alo'u [a chiefess relative of Kamehameha's] to the letter.

When it came to the building of Pu'u-koholā no one, not even a *tabu* chief was excused from the work of carrying stone. Kamehameha himself labored with the rest. The only exception was the high *tabu* chief Ke-ali'i-maika'i [Kamehameha's younger brother]... As soon as the *heiau* was completed, just before it was declared free, Kamehameha's two counselors, Keawe-a-heulu and Ka-manawa [who resided at Kīhōlo], were sent to fetch Keoua, ruling chief of the eastern end of the island of Hawai'i... Keoua was living in Ka-'u *mauka* in Kahuku with his chiefs and the warriors of his guard. Keawe-a-heulu and his companion landed at Ka'iliki'i and began the ascent to Kahehawahawa... Close to the extreme edge of the *tabu* enclosure of Keoua's place the two...messengers rolled along in the dirt until they came to the place where Keoua was sitting, when they grasped his feet and wept... "We have come to fetch you, the son of our lord's older brother, and to take you with us to Kona to meet your younger cousin, and you two to be our chiefs and we to be your uncles. So then let war cease between you." (Kamakau 1961:154-155).

Keōua agreed to accompany his uncles, the two messengers sent by Kamehameha. Some of the

party traveled by foot overland, while Keōua and some of his trusted counselors and guards traveled with the messengers by canoe. Along the way, certain members of his party kept urging Keōua to kill Kamanawa and Keawe-a-heulu, and turn around, but the chief refused:

...They left Kailua and went as far as Luahinewai at Kekaha [in the land of Pu'u Wa'awa'a], where they landed the canoes. Keoua went to bathe, and after bathing he cut off the end of his penis (*'omu'o*), an act which believers in sorcery call "the death of Uli," and which was a certain sign that he knew he was about to die.* There for the sixth time his counselors urged the killing of the messengers and the return by the mountains to Ka-'u, since to go to Kawaihae meant death. Keoua refused...

When all was ready, Keoua and his followers went aboard the canoes, twenty-seven in all. Keoua, with Uhai carrying the *kahili* and another chief carrying the spittoon, was on the platform (*pola*), and the paddlers took their places. Just outside of Puakō they came in sight of the plain of Kawaihae and Pu'u-koholā standing majestic. The fleet of canoes grouped in crescent formation like canoes out for flying fish. Keoua remarked to Keawe-a-heulu, "It looks stormy ashore; the storm clouds are flying!" The chief replied, "From whence can a storm come on such a pleasant day?" Again Keoua repeated, "It looks stormy ashore; the storm clouds are flying." They kept on their course until near Mailekini, when Ke'e-au-moku and some others carrying spears, muskets, and other weapons broke through the formation of the fleet, surrounded the canoes of Keoua, separating them from those of Keawe-a-heulu and his followers and calling to Ka-manawa to paddle ahead. Keoua arose and called to Kamehameha, "Here I am!" Kamehameha called back, "Stand up and come forward that we may greet each other." Keoua rose again, intending to spring ashore, when Ke'e-au-moku thrust a spear at him which Keoua dodged, snatched, and thrust back at Ke'e-au-moku, who snatched it away...Keoua and all those who were with him on the canoe were killed... By the death of Keoua Kuahu-'ula and his placing in the *heiau* of Pu'u-koholā the whole island of Hawaii became Kamehameha's. (Kamakau 1961:156-157)

Kekaha in the Eruptions of 1800-1801

One of the most significant natural events on the island of Hawai'i, that occurred during the reign of Kamehameha I, was the eruption of Hualālai in 1800-1801. Hawaiian historian, S.M. Kamakau (1961) provides readers with an early written description of the eruptions and their affect on the land and impact on the people of the region between Kīholo and Kalaoa —

One of the amazing things that happened after the battle called Kaipalaoa, in the fourth year of Kamehameha's rule, was the lava flow which started at Hu'ehu'e in North Kona and flowed to Mahai'ula, Ka'upulehu, and Kiholo. The people believed that this earth-consuming flame came because of Pele's desire for *awa* fish from the fishponds of Kiholo and Ka'upulehu and *aku* fish from Ka'elehuluhulu; or because of her jealousy of Kamehameha's assuming wealth and honor for himself and giving her only those things which were worthless; or because of his refusing her the *tabu* breadfruit (*'ulu*) of Kameha'ikana³ which grew in the uplands of Hu'ehu'e where the flow started... Kamehameha was in distress over the destruction of his land and the threatened wiping-out of his fishponds. None of the *kahuna*, orators, or diviners were able to check the fire with all their skill. Everything they did was in vain. Kamehameha

* "The death of Uli" refers to death caused by the vengeance of the sorcerer, since Uli is the goddess worshipped by Sorcerers. The part cut off is used for the purpose of sorcery so that those who do a man to death may themselves be discovered and punished.

³ Kāmeha'ikana, one of the many name used for the earth-mother, goddess Haumea; symbolic of her many descendants. In her form as Kāmeha'ikana, Haumea is associated with the *'ulu* (breadfruit), also a form she took to save her husband Ku from his captors (cf. Kamakau 1991:11-13)

finally sent for Pele's seer (*kaula*), named Ka-maka-o-ke-akua, and asked what he must do to appease her anger. "You must offer the proper sacrifices," said the seer. "Take and offer them," replied the chief. "Not so! Troubles and afflictions which befall the nation require that the ruling chief himself offer the propitiatory sacrifice, not a seer or a *kahuna*." "But I am afraid lest Pele kill me." "You will not be killed," the seer promised. Kamehameha made ready the sacrifice and set sail for Kekaha at Mahai'ula.

When Ka'ahu-manu and Ka-heihei-malie heard that the chief was going to appease Pele they resolved to accompany him... Ulu-lani also went with them because some of the seers had said, "That consuming fire is a person; it is the child of Ulu-lani, Keawe-o-kahikona, who has caused the flow," and she was sent for to accompany them to Kekaha.† Other chiefs also took the trip to see the flow extinguished. From Keahole Point the lava was to be seen flowing down like a river in a stream of fire extending from the northern edge of Hualalai westward straight toward Ka'elehuluhulu and the sweet-tasting *aku* fish of Hale'ohi'u. There was one stream whose flames shot up the highest and which was the most brilliant in the bubbling mass as it ran from place to place. "Who is that brightest flame?" Asked Ulu-lani of the seer. "That is your son," he answered. Then Ulu-lani recited a love chant composed in honor of her first-born child as his form was seen to stand before her...The flow had been destroying houses, toppling over coconut trees, filling fishponds, and causing devastation everywhere. Upon the arrival of Kamehameha and the seer and their offering of sacrifices and gifts, the flow ceased; the goddess had accepted the offering. The reasons given for the flow may be summed up as: first, Pele's wanting the *aku* of Hale'ohi'u and the *awa* fish of Kiholo; second, her anger at being denied the 'ulu (breadfruit) of Kameha'ikana in upper Hu'ehu'e; third, her wrath because Kamehameha was devoting himself to Ka-heihei-malie and neglecting Ka'ahu-manu. It was said that Pele herself was seen in the body of a woman leading a procession composed of a multitude of goddesses in human form dancing the *hula* and chanting... (Kamakau in *Kū 'Ōko'a*, July 13-20, 1867 and 1961:184-186)

John Papa I'i, a native historian and companion of the Kamehamehas, adds to the historical record of the fishpond Pa'aiea which extended from the Mahai'ula vicinity to Kalaoa, and was destroyed by the 1801 lava flows. I'i reports that in the 1790s, as result of his exceptional abilities at canoe racing, Kepa'alani "became a favorite of the king, and it was thus that he received [stewardship of] the whole of Puuwaawaa and the fishponds Paaiea in Makaula and Kaulana in Kekaha" (I'i 1959:132).

Kekaha: 1812 to 1841

As a child in ca. 1812, Hawaiian historian John Papa I'i passed along the shores of Kekaha in a sailing ship, as a part of the procession of Kamehameha I, bound for Kailua, Kona. In his narratives, I'i described the shiny lava flows and fishing canoe fleets of the "Kaha" (Kekaha) lands. I'i noted —

...the ship arrived outside of Kaeleluluhulu [the fishery station of Kaulana-Mahai'ula], where the fleet for *aku* fishing had been since the early morning hours. The sustenance of those lands was fish.

When the sun was rather high, the boy [I'i] exclaimed, "How beautiful that flowing water is!" Those who recognized it, however, said, "That is not water, but *pahoehoe*. When the sun strikes it, it glistens, and you mistake it for water..."

† John Wise (personal communication) says, "The Hawaiians believe that the fires of Pele are dead persons who have worshipped the goddess and become transformed into the likeness of her body."

Soon the fishing canoes from Kawaihae, the Kaha lands, and Ooma drew close to the ship to trade for the *pa'i'ai* (hard *poi*) carried on board, and shortly a great

quantity of *aku* lay silvery-hued on the deck. The fishes were cut into pieces and mashed; and all those aboard fell to and ate, the women by themselves.

The gentle *Eka* sea breeze of the land was blowing when the ship sailed past the lands of the Mahaiulas, Awalua, Haleohiu, Kalaoas, Hoona, on to Oomas, Kohanaiki, Kaloko, Honokohaus, and Kealakehe, then around the cape of Hiiakanoholae... (I'i 1959:109-110).

Kamakau also wrote that in the last years of Kamehameha's life (ca. 1812 to 1819), "fishing was his occupation" (Kamakau 1961:203):

...[Kamehameha] would often go out with his fishermen to Kekaha off Ka'elehuluhulu and when there had been a great catch of *aku* or *'ahi* fish he would give it away to the chiefs and people, the cultivators and canoe makers (ibid.:203).

Nāpu'u: Native Traditions from the Pen of Ka-ohu-haaheo-i-na-kuahiwi-ekolu (J.W.H.I. Kihe)

Hawaiian traditions provide readers with documentation pertaining to land use, practices, and features of the cultural landscape, the narratives also convey values and expressions of the relationship between ancient Hawaiians and their environment. One of the most prolific native writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, lived on the island of Hawai'i at Pu'u Anahulu. His name was John Whalley Hermosa Isaac Kihe, who also wrote under the penname Ka'ohuha'aheoinākuahiwi'ekolu (The proud mist on the three mountains).

Born in 1853, Kihe's parents came from Honokōhau and Kaloko. During his life, Kihe taught at various schools in the Kekaha region, served as legal counsel to native residents applying for homestead lands, worked as a translator on the Hawaiian Antiquities collections of A. Fornander, and was a prolific writer himself. In the later years of his life, Kihe lived at Pu'u Anahulu with his wife, Kaimu (Pu'u Anahulu Homestead Grant No. 7540), and served as the postman of Nāpu'u (*Figure 3*). Kihe is still fondly remembered by a few of the elder members of the families of the area. Kihe, who died in 1929, was also one of the primary informants to Eliza Maguire, who translated some of Kihe's writings, publishing them in abbreviated form in her book "*Kona Legends*" (1926).

During his career, Kihe collaborated with several other noted Hawaiian authors, among them were John Ka'elemakule of Mahai'ula, John Wise (who also worked with Kihe on translations of the Fornander Collection), and Reverend Steven Desha Sr., editor of the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*.

Kihe was the preeminent historian of Nāpu'u and Kekaha, and from his pen (with contributions from his peers), came a rich collection of native traditions. His narratives ranged from native traditions to historical commentary.

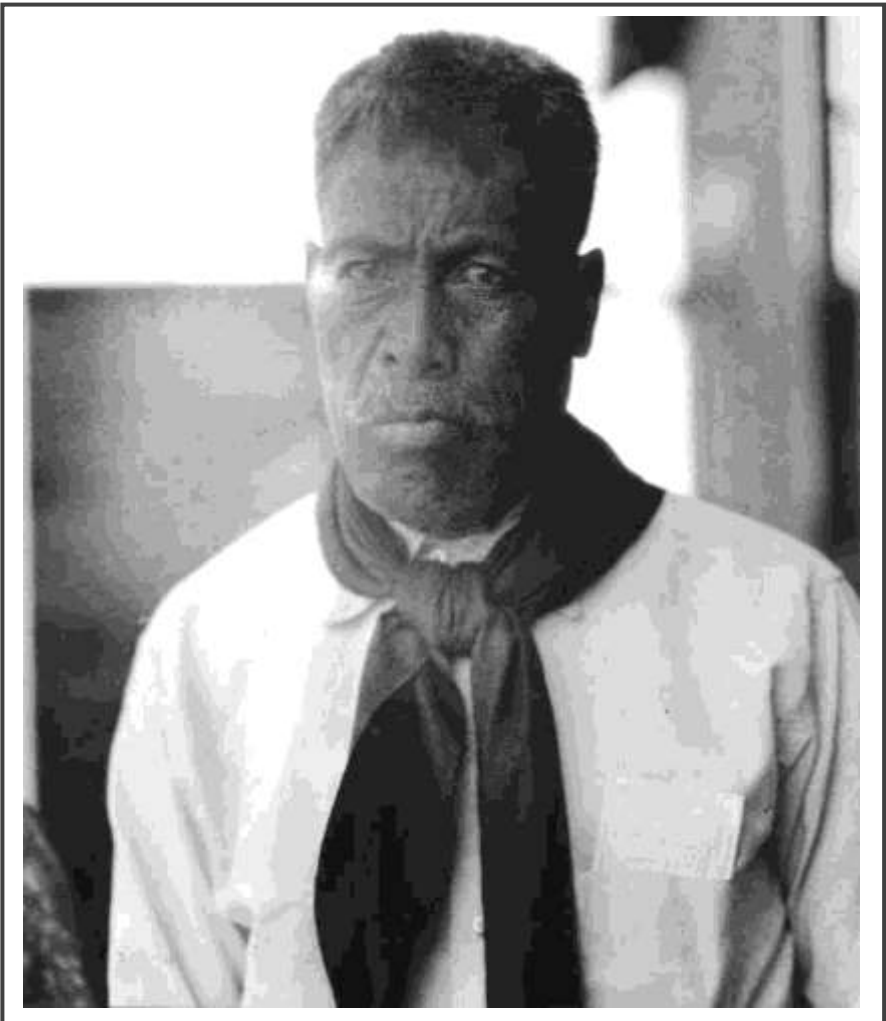
In his traditional accounts, are found subjects of island-wide significance, and importantly for the Nāpu'u region, he provided readers with historical accounts that were place based—the native traditions of the people of Nāpu'u, the people who were most knowledgeable of the land that sustained them.

Figure 3.
J.W.H.I Kihe, Native Historian of
Nāpu'u (Bishop Mus. Photo No.
CN 4342)

In the following section of the study, are translations of several of Kihe's contributions to the history—documenting traditions, beliefs, customs, and practices—of Nāpu'u and the Kekaha region.

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

The historical account titled “*Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki*” (The Heart Stirring Tale of Ka-Miki), was published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* (1914-1917). The story of Ka-Miki 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 an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of local stories, tales, and family traditions in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations.

The complete narratives include historical accounts for approximately 800 place names (many personified, commemorating particular individuals) of the island of Hawai'i. While the personification of all the identified individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely “ancient,” the site documentation within the “story of Ka-Miki” is of significant cultural and historical value. The narratives below (translated by Maly), are excerpted from various parts 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 the Nāpu'u-Kekaha region.

***Overview: Traditions and Place Names of Nāpu'u
 and Vicinity Recorded in the Story of Ka-Miki***

The story 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. The narratives are set in the time when Pili had established himself as the sovereign chief of the Kona District (around the thirteenth century).

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. It was while on this journey, that the narratives pertaining to Pu'u Anahulu came to be told. The following English translations (completed by the author of this report) are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events of the narratives of the legendary account.

PU'U-ANAHULU (Ten day hill – perhaps referring to a ceremonial period of observance⁴)

Pu'u Anahulu was named for Anahulu, the chiefess wife of Wa'awa'a, and mother of 'Anaeho'omalua (w), Puakō (w), Pū'āla'a (k), and Mauiloa (a mystical child). The family came to the Kekaha region from Pū'āla'a, a hill near the Ka'ū and Puna border (at 'Āpua).

'Anaeho'omalua and Puakō were exceedingly beautiful, and they went in search of suitable husbands. Both sisters moved to the Kohala sites which now bear their names. Because of their great love for 'Anaeho'omalua and Puakō, Anahulu, Wa'awa'a, family and attendants also moved to the Kekaha region as well (July 19, 1917). Among the family members were:

The child *Maui-loa* (Long or distant Maui), who is described as "a mysterious mist formed child," a child born in premature form, who had assumed a spirit body. The area which bears his name is on the northern flats below Pu'u Anahulu (July 19 and September 13, 1917). *Pu'u-huluhulu* (Bristled or shaggy hill – descriptive of plant growth) was named for one of two attendants who moved with Anahulu and Wa'awa'a, when they left Puna. Pu'uhuluhulu was of the *kuhikuhi pu'eone* (seer - reader of the lay of the lands; architect) class of priests. *Pu'u-iki* (Little hill) was named for Iki, who was a *kākā'ōlelo* orator-counselor for the chiefess-seer Anahulu (September 13, 1917).

In another article series entitled *Pu'u Anahulu i ka uka 'lu'iu, kona mau Luhiehu Hihiu* (Pu'u Anahulu of the Distant Uplands, with its Uncommon Beauty), J.W.H.I. Kihe, writing under his pen name Ka'ohuha'aheoinākuahiwi'ekolu, told readers more about Anahulu, her family, the nature of the land, and described the origins of place names and natural phenomena of the region:

Ka-holoi-wai-a-ka-Nāulu (The cleansing waters of the Nāulu [Southerly] showers) was an elder brother of the *makāula* (seer-priestess), Anahulu. When Anahulu and Wa'awa'a *mā* (folks) moved from Puna, to be closer to Anaeho'omalua and Puakō, Kaholoiwai followed as well. From his dwelling place at Kaho'opulu, a hill overlooking the Kawaihae region, Kaholoiwai cared for his sister, watching for her needs. When periods of dryness came upon the land, Kaholoiwai would send the *Nāulu* showers across the lands. These rains would moisten Nāpu'u, reaching up to Pu'u Wa'awa'a...

...There are many wondrous things to be told about this community, from the mountain slopes to the shore which is nestled by the sea, and bathed in the ocean mists. On this land in ancient times there was once a *kapu* (restriction) that *lū'au* (taro

⁴ In another series of articles, Kihe, described planting in upland Kekaha and referenced a ten-day ceremonial time of harvesting: "As the seasons changed from the days of the moon (winter) to the days of the sun (summer), the sun dried all the surface growth, but the taro, sweet potatoes, and different plants continued to growing because there was water below the surface in the rocks of the *kīhāpai* (cultivated patches). When the sweet potatoes matured and were ready for harvest, the family returned to the uplands for ten days. They baked a pig and offered chants and prayers in *kahukahu* ceremonies of the planter" (Feb. 7, 1928). Thus, another source of the naming of Pu'u-Anahulu may commemorate this ten-day ceremonial practice of native residents of the region.

greens) could not be eaten in the night, the greens were only eaten during the day. If the greens were eaten at night, rocks would fall and no one would know who had thrown them. There were many *heiau* here also, *heiau ho'oūlu 'ai* (temples to increase the growth of foods), and *heiau ho'oūluulu ua* (temples to increase the abundance of rainfall). There were also many *ki'o* (water pools) and *papawai* (paved ponds) in which the water was caught during times of rain. Some of the ponds were made in the fashion of *pao wai* (dug out water catchments). There was also a *kapu* regarding these ponds, it was forbidden for a woman in her *ma'i* (menstrual period), also called *waimaka o lehua* (the tear drops of the *lehua* blossoms) to step over the catchments.

If a woman did step over one of these areas or take water from the ponds, the water would dry up, and the sun would remain firmly set overhead. As a result, all the growing things would be parched, the food crops and grasses would all dry up. It was during this time that the *Makāula* and *Kāula Pele* (seers and Pele priesthood) would work their works in those days, and in that way the rains would return. This is the wondrous nature of this land of *Nā pu'u alu kinikini*.

The name of one of the *heiau* which remains to this day is Hālulu-ko'ako'a. It is a *heiau* at which the *Kāula Pele* and *Makāula* worshipped at that time. And from this *heiau* all manner of crops were encouraged to grow, covering the land. At this *heiau* could be heard the beating of drums on the nights of *Kāne* and *Lono-moe*. Another *heiau* was named Manohili, it was a *heiau* for increasing the rainfall; it was here that things pertaining to the rains would be done by our elders and ancestors who have since departed.

There are many hills which rise up here—from one side to the other, and which descend to the shore from the place which is called Anahulu, and it was at Anahulu that the old seer-woman dwelt. The land, from this area to the side of the cliffs, and down to the low lands is a broad expanse with *Nā-pu'u-alu-kinikini* (The hills of the many folds or ravines and gullies) is called Pu'u Anahulu. It is a land of much soil, with the upper portions covered with a scattering of stones.

This entire area is now divided into the homesteads. Some of the areas are planted in *kūlina* (corn) and *mau'u* (pasture grasses) which grow well. There are also many *pā pipi* (cattle walls - corrals), and it is a place where cattle and horses are grazed; and indeed the animals are well fed.

The place at which Anahulu lived carries her name to this day. Anahulu caused great fields of *'uala* (sweet potatoes), *kalo* (taro), *kō* (sugar cane), and *mai'a* (bananas) to be planted, indeed the fields stretched as far as the eye could see. Anahulu was also known to be a caring person who offered sanctuary to those individuals who were in need. (J.W.H.I Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; "Pu'u Anahulu i ka uka 'lu'iu, Kona mau Luhiehu Hihiu" – September 2nd, to October 21st, 1915).

NĀPU'U (and) NĀPU'UPŪ'ALU (also called Nā-pu'u-kinikini, and Nā-pu'u-pū'alu-kinikini)

Nā-pu'u (The hills); *Nā-pu'u-pū'alu* (Interpretive translation: The crumpled/folded, or gullied hills); and *Nāpu'u-pū'alu-kinikini* (The multitudinous crumpled or gullied hills) are traditional names of the region in which Pu'u Anahulu, Pu'u Wa'awa'a, Pu'uhuluhulu, and Pu'uiki are situated. The region was commonly known by the name Nāpu'u until the priestess-chiefess Anahulu, her husband Wa'awa'a, and their family settled in the Kekaha region of Kona and Kohala (September 13, 1917).

One additional place name reference found in the tradition of Ka-Miki, tells readers of a place called Kūhulukū (goose flesh), situated in the Kekaha region. Based on historical documentation collected

by J.S. Emerson in 1883 from the elder Kaua'i, of Kīholo (cited later in this study), the site is associated with 'Āwikiwiki, a land area in the uplands of the old Pu'u Anahulu Homestead lots (the area around Lot No. 26). While in Hāmākua, Koapapa'a challenged Ka-Miki to a contest. In doing so, Koapapa'a, compared himself to the yellow backed crab (fierce warrior) of Pau'ewalu. Ka-Miki responded with a taunt of his own, in the form of a saying —

A he 'oia'i'o ka ho'i, o 'oe i'o ka o Koapapa'a ulu ai a kuanea a'e i ka lua 'ia ai o Kūhulukū kēlā wahi akua māliko o nā Kekaha wai'ole e waiho ala i ku'u 'āina ku pōlua i ka la'i la... — Indeed it is true, you most certainly are Koapapa'a, forsaken there in the pit of Kūhulukū, that place from which ghosts imploringly look out, there at Kekaha-wai'ole my land of the two fold calm... (October 5, 1916).

In the series of articles entitled “*Na Hoonanea o ka Manawa, Kekahi mau Wahi Pana o Kekaha ma Kona*” (Pleasant Passing of Time [Stories] About Some of the Famous Places of Kekaha at Kona), J.W.H.I. Kihe presented readers with detailed narratives of native traditions of Nāpu'u and Kekaha (in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; Dec. 6th 1923 to Feb. 21st 1924). Kihe described some of the famous places (*wahi pana*) of the land (from mountain to sea), and how they came to be named. He also identified some of the early residents of the region, and practices associated with water catchment and agriculture in Kekaha. The translations (prepared by this author) are near verbatim translations of Kihe's original texts (*Figure 2* has been annotated, depicting the locations of many of the areas described).

Luahine Wai (Water of the old Woman)–

This is a large pond near Kīholo and Laemanō, it is a famous bathing place of the chiefs of ancient times. The water there is cold, and causes the skin to tingle. Because it is so cold, it is like ice water.

It is said that there is an opening in this pond by which a old woman (*luahine*) enters. And there below the pond, are said to be laid out the bones of the chiefs of ancient times. It has even been said that the bones of Kamehameha are among those buried there. Now one cannot be certain if this is true or not, but, if someone was to enter the hidden cave, it might be known what is in the secret cave.

This pond is about five fathoms deep at its deepest point near the center of the pond. That too, is where the water is the coldest. And if you should dive in and pass this area, you will find the cold water and not be able to stay there long. You will quickly retreat and wrap yourself up with a cloth.

The one who dives into the pond at its deepest point, will also see that his/her skin will turn red like the red coral. There are also pebbles at the bottom of this pond, and it is a good thing, as you will not strike your foot upon any rocks.

This is an attractive and good pond. The only one problem is that there are no people in this quiet place. It is an unpopulated region, which is regretful for this famous bathing pond of the beloved chiefs of distant times.

The chiefs and fearless warriors of ancient times have passed from this side of the dark waters of death, and the bathing pool of Luahine Wai remains with its' beauty, playing in the ocean mist and the gentle blowing of the breezes. This generation too, shall pass, and the next generation that follows, but Luahine Wai shall remain as was found in the beginning.

Ka Loko o Kīholo
(The Pond of Kīholo)–

This pond was consumed by the wondrous fires of the mysterious woman of the crater of Kīlauea, Madam Pele of the mountain castle, Halema'uma'u; it was completely covered with *pāhoehoe* in 1857 [1859], and remains covered to this day. There are many small ponds that remain from this famous pond of Kīholo. They remain as evidence to this young generation whose thoughts return to this ancient land, and the stories of Pele who directed the *pāhoehoe* lava to flow into the famous pond of Kīholo as it is now, and for all generations who will follow. (December 6, 1923)

Ka Pu'u o Moemoe
(The Hill of Moemoe)–

This is a stone outcropping from which one could look to the village at Kīholo in days gone by. On this side was the pond of Kīholo, and from this outcropping to Kīholo, it was about one mile, and to Keawaiki, almost one half a mile.

The hill is so called because of a *Makāula* (priest-seer) who guided and protected the people of the Kaha lands. Before many men and women were eaten by a shark as they swam in the ocean, or perhaps while fishing, and this became a burden for the people. This *Makāula*, Moemoe discerned the reason that so many men and women were killed by the shark. So he instructed the men to make large *imu* (earthen oven), like none ever before made, and he had the men pile the timber high upon the *imu*. He also instructed them how to carefully capture the “man with the mouth of a shark on his back,” telling them to watch that he did not break their arms when they captured him. And one thing which the priest Moemoe forcefully instructed them in while they were preparing the *imu* for the baking of the “shark man,” was that they needed to be watchful, that when he had been completed cooked, that not one bit of ash or one bit of the kindling should be touched by the sea. If one ash or perhaps a bit of kindling from the *imu* was touched by the ocean, the task would not be completed, and the man with the shark's mouth on his back would live again.

It is perhaps appropriate to here talk about the deeds of this Shark who ate men. He had a human body, but on his back was the mouth of a shark, and he ate the people who went to the sea and fished at Nāpu'u. And here, we shall speak of 'Īwaha'ou'ou, the man who had the mysterious shark's body, in the uplands of Nāpu'u. There at the place called Puakō-hale, at Pu'u Anahulu, that is where the house of this shark man was. It was also there that he had his gardens of 'uala, kalo, kō, and mai'a (sweet potatoes, taro, sugarcane and bananas). Also, it was there that the trail to the shore was situated.

When the people would go to the shore, and pass close to the place where 'Īwaha'ou'ou was cultivating the land, he would call out to the people. “You are going down?” They would respond, “Yes, to swim in the sea and remove the dirt of the Nāpu'u-alu-kinikini.” 'Īwaha'ou'ou would then answer, “You go down, but the shark has not yet had his morning meal. Do not pick any of the sugar cane that bears his name, 'mai o hu'i,' that is the firm restriction of Hu'i, of that sugarcane. It is the restricted sugarcane of this land for Hu'i, the fish which gnashes at the people of these shores on the sea of Kapa'ala.”

The people did not heed the warning as they descended the cliff side to Kapa'ala which is shoreward of the cave called Ke ana o Na'alu. When the people arrived at the beach of this place, they heard a voice calling out: “The sugarcane, 'Mai o Hu'i' has been taken.” The people then said among themselves “Hoo! We were told before by 'Īwaha'ou'ou not to take any of the sugarcane that was restricted to Hu'i.” So the

people threw away that particular type of sugarcane and departed, leaving it along the trail side at the cave called Ke ana o Na'alu.

(Here, the story teller once again offers an explanation.) This man, 'Iwaha'ou'ou, who spoke to the people who were descending to the shore, he was also the shark who was named Hu'i, the were one and the same.

When the group of travelers passed by, descending to the shore, the shark entered into the cave and traveled to the shore, arriving at the place where the travelers were at; it was there that 'Iwaha'ou'ou called out to them as mentioned... (December 20, 1923)

(Recounting events that led up to Moemoe's first meeting with 'Iwaha'ou'ou, Kihe wrote):

A story about this hill is, Moemoe was a seer, of the *kāula Pele* (Pele prophet) line, and he was a runner who could run as swiftly as the whirl wind. He was very fast and well known, there was no one that could compete against Moemoe. It is for Moemoe that the hill is named and the saying is given:

"Palakī o Moemoe⁵, palakī o Moemoe, auhea o Moemoe? Pane mai la ka palakī o Moemoe, 'Kalakahi—ko—ia'u—wale—ka—la'." ("Excrement of Moemoe, excrement of Moemoe, where is Moemoe? The excrement of Moemoe answered, 'At the first of the day—I am fulfilled—only by the sun). That is, the transgression will not be forgiven by Moemoe, at noon, at the declining of the sun or any other time.

One time, when Moemoe arrived at the hillock and rested, he heard the roaring of voices rising from the shore. Turning and looking down, he saw that the place was filled with people, and the voices enticed the prophet to descend to them—he wondered what it was that the people were doing, causing them to call out loud on this afternoon? The people had gathered together for a contest of *kōnane* (checkers), being played before the chief Ka'uali'i and the chiefess, Welewele. Arriving there, Moemoe saw that one of the competitors was a man from the uplands of Nāpu'u, and his name was 'Iwaha'ou'ou. He was a man of a dual nature, for he had the body of a shark and the body of a man. But the people did not know the nature of this man, the people all thought that he was a regular man with a real body, not possessed of two bodies. When Moemoe entered the crowd, he immediately knew that this man was a mysterious one, the voracious shark of this place.

When Moemoe sat down among the crowd, 'Iwaha'ou'ou, quickly spoke to him, "Do you know either the game of *no'a* or *kōnane*?" Moemoe answered, "I have been instructed in those things, and taught the skills of racing, and discerning omens—whether or not it will be a stormy day or a good day, a troublesome day or a day of life—and know the features of man, the women, children, old men, and the humpbacked old women... ..Moemoe and 'Iwaha'ou'ou exchanged subtle challenges, and agreed to compete. But first, 'Iwaha'ou'ou invited Moemoe to with him for a swim in the sea, and then they would return and compete. Moemoe replied, "It is needful for you to go and bath in the sea, for there is dirt all over you, covering you in layers. It is as if you slept in the dirt before descending here to the shore, the dust on you is like that of the dry field." 'Iwaha'ou'ou was outraged at these words, saying that he had slept in the dirt, and that it was set in layers upon his skin.

'Iwaha'ou'ou stood up and answered, "You wait here, and I will return, then we will

⁵ Puku'i (1983:285 No. 2592) recorded that "Moemoe was a prophet whose excrement, when questioned, was said to reply of his whereabouts."

then compete, and I will take you up like bait for the shark.” Moemoe responded, “It will be my pleasure. We two shall meet and you will see that there is no branch on which this bird (competitor) cannot land; landing on dry branches and landing on the wet branches.”

Now when ‘Īwaha‘ou‘ou departed, Moemoe remained with the gathering of people, and that was the time that he instructed them about the true nature of ‘Īwaha‘ou‘ou... (December 27, 1923)

While ‘Īwaha‘ou‘ou was out swimming, he killed and ate a few women, and there was much lamenting on the shore. When ‘Īwaha‘ou‘ou returned, the men were ready to trap him. It was then that Moemoe leapt and took him, and ‘Īwaha‘ou‘ou began thrashing about, but the people held him tightly and then bound him hand and foot. Thus, this despised man was safely held. When his shawl was removed from his back, everyone saw the open jaws of the shark, the shark’s eyes, and that his flesh was like that of the *nīuhi* (great white shark).

While ‘Īwaha‘ou‘ou was lying helplessly there, Moemoe called to all of the men and women to come and throw him upon the imu. The families of those who had been killed by the shark were filled with wrath for this man whom they had thought was a real man, and who had dwelt with them in the uplands of Nāpu‘u... They took ‘Īwaha‘ou‘ou and threw him upon the *imu* which was burning with a raging fire. When he fell upon the fire of the *imu*, his shark form was completely burned and turned to ashes. So died the evil one of the uplands of Nāpu‘u.

If Moemoe had not come forward, as was his practice, and helped, the people would not have known that this man had the body of a shark, and that eventually, no people would have remained at Nāpu‘u.

In ancient times, this was a peopled land, and he [Moemoe] is the one who helped establish ‘Ehu as the chief of these districts of Keawe–Nui–a–‘Umi, and he is the one who established the cultivation of sweet potatoes in the uplands of Nāpu‘u... (January 3, 1924)

Pū‘ō‘a o Ka‘uali‘i **(Stone house of Ka‘uali‘i)**

This was a famous *Pū‘ō‘a* in ancient times, for there dwelled one of the chiefs, famous in the traditions of the chiefs of those times. He was Ka‘uali‘i. In the tradition of this chief, it is said that he was a kind and good chief, and his people were very important to him. Inside of this *Pū‘ō‘a*, there were regularly pleasant gatherings with the chief and those who ate with him and his stewards. And because Ka‘uali‘i regularly stayed in this *Pū‘ō‘a* with his priests and orators and with those who discerned the nature of the land, this *Pū‘ō‘a* was greatly liked by the chief.

The chief remained there and was in good health, until one day when he became ill, it was an illness of diarrhea. As a result of this illness, his stewards had built a temporary shelter in which the chief could be isolated and shaded from the heat of the day while relieving himself. Now one day, while the chief was relieving himself, there arrived some mischievous men from Kona, one was named Pa‘a‘āina and the other was Kuahiku. While the chief was relieving himself, these two mischievous men saw the nature of the chief’s illness. Seeing the men, the chief responded, “Are you two visitors?” “Yes, visitors. And here you are, a native of this land.” Ka‘uali‘i asked, “Where do you two come from?” They responded, “We two come from Kona.” Ka‘uali‘i then asked, “Where are your travels taking you?”

[At this point the two visitors began answering the chiefs’ questions using a play on

words that sounded straight forth, but were actually teasing him about his illness, the “*hī*” (diarrhea).]

One man responded, “To Hāmākua; he to Ou-hī-loa, and I to Pa’au-hī-loa.” “Oh! You two are traveling a great distance. And how is the rain of Kona?” The men responded, “The rain of Kona falls like the diarrhea of a pig (*Palahī-pua’a ka ua o Kona*). It is true, the rains have made Kona reddened (inflamed).”

The chief then asked, “How about the *aku* of Kona?” The responded, “There are *aku*, caught with the lure (*hī ka pā*) and the bait carrier (*hī ka malau*). There are *aku*, caught by the large canoes and the little canoes. Greatly loved is this fish held close to the breast in the calm, on the streaked sea.”

When these two mischievous men departed, the chief returned to his place and met with his stewards and orators. The stewards asked, “Who were those men standing by you?” The chief answered, “Some visitors from Kona.” “What were their names, and where were they going?” The chief answered, “They told me they were going to Hāmākua, one to Ouhīloa and the other to Pa’auhīloa. I also inquired about news from Kona, and they told me that there was much rain in Kona, if fell like the diarrhea of the pig. I also asked, ‘how were the *aku* of Kona?’ And the y told me that the *aku* were plentiful caught on the lure and with the bait carrier. That is what they told me.”

The stewards and orators thought about these thing that had been said to the chief—their names were Pu’unāhāhā and Nahu-a-Nōweo. They heard these things and told the chief, “Hoo! These outcasts with the burning eyes (*kauwā makawela*) and marked foreheads, they were reviling you. They saw you relieving yourself, the result of your illness of loose bowels, and so they thus spoke.

Here is the hidden meaning their words to you. They said they were going to Hāmākua, to Ou-hī-loa and Pa’au-hī-loa, because they saw you were sick and that you relieved yourself (diarrhea). So they chose their words, saying to you that they were going to Ouhīloa and Pa’auhīloa; they are small land parcels in the district of Hāmākua of the long corner (Hāmākua Kihī Loa). In saying “*Palahī pua’a ka ua o Kona, a ‘Hī no ka pā, hi no ka malau* (The rain of Kona is like the runny excrement of the pigs, and [the *aku*] were caught with the lure and the bait container); this was said with only one thought, it was to ridicule you, oh chief...

...Outraged, Ka’uali’i sent his runners out to try and capture the two tricksters, that they be brought back and cooked in the *imu*, as was the custom of killing people such as them in those times. The runners departed and followed after those mischievous men of Kaloko of the bitter waters (Kaloko wai ‘awa’awa).

Now let us look at these two mischievous tricksters. They had traveled to the resting place in the uplands of Puakō; the name of this trailside resting place has been commemorated with the name Hukukae. While looking about, these two men saw the runners traveling with great speed. Pa’a’āina said to Kuahiku, “Say! These runners are seeking after us because of our words to the chief; words said with wit, but the chiefs’ orators have discerned our meaning and sent the runners to bring us back.” Kuahiku replied, “Let us not rise and run away, but let us go to them.” Pa’a’āina agreed and they went to meet the runners. When they met the runners, the runners asked “Did you not see two men on the way?” They responded, “Yes we did see to men.” “Where were they?” Asked the runners. “In the uplands of Hukukae, a resting place as you ascend the trail to Uhu [in Kawaihae uka]. They were traveling with great speed along the trail and passed us by.” “Yes, those are the two that we seek, they are the two men who spoke evil words of the chief...”

The runners departed with great swiftness, and the two mischievous ones, continued on their way till they met with one of the natives of these shores, named Pōhakuahilikona. They asked Pōhakuahilikona, "Where is the trail of the Priests (*alaiki a Kahuna*)?" ... (January 10, 1924) Pōhakuahilikona replied, "It the trail here. If you two are going to travel on it, you must walk upon the flat stones that have been set upon the 'a'ā and dirt, in that way, you will come before Makahuna, his house is there atop the promontory, and he is the one who directs the *heiau* ceremonies at Anahulu, the Pele prophet of the uplands of Nāpu'u-alu-kinikini."

So these two mischievous men traveled forward and Kuahiku said to Pa'a'āina, "While we walk, let us two overturn and cast aside all the stones. Then when the runners return this way seeking us, they will have to travel slowly upon the 'a'ā. In that way, we will be freed. Pa'a'āina asked, "Who is it that you seek out as our friend in the uplands of Nāpu'u, one who will hide us from the runners?" Kuahiku told him, "It is my grandmother the seer, her name is Anahulu, and it is for that I was named Kuahiku-ka-lapa-o-Anahulu." As the two walked along the trail, they overturned the stones all the way to the house of Makahuna. There, they asked her where the house of Anahulu was. She directed them to the path by which they would arrive before Anahulu. Arriving there, the old woman saw them and asked, "What are your names?" Kuahiku answered, "Kuahiku-ka-lapa-o-Anahulu." "Ohh! So it is you, the active one of your grandmother. Come forward my grandson." She then told them, "There people following after you because you spoke rudely about the chief Ka'uali'i, so they seek to kill you." The two asked her to hide them. Anahulu commanded them to hide beneath the clumps of sugarcane leaves. So they two hid beneath the tangled mass of sugarcane. And that was when the runners then came up to Anahulu.

The runners asked Anahulu, "Did you meet with two men?" "No, none have come this way." The runners told her that they had followed foot prints to the area, and Anahulu told them they could look around if they desired. The runners looked all around, but could find no one, so they returned to the chief and his orators empty handed.

Pu'uanōweo asked, "Where could those two men have gone, that they could not be found. We went all over and sought them out, when we found two men on the trail, we thought that they were different men because they were traveling towards Kona... (the runners described their search in Kohala, Mahiki, and Hāmākua)... When we arrived at the uplands of Nāpu'u, at the place of the old priestess, Anahulu, we then lost their footprints, and could not find them. Thus we have returned to you with nothing."

Now, the two men joined Anahulu, she took them to her home and fed them to their satisfaction. She then cautioned them that the runners would return in search of them. When they finished eating, Anahulu then took them the 'ūlei forest (*ulu nahele 'ūlei*), which grew in a great tangle. Anahulu told them, "Here is the trail for you to travel upon, it is the *ala huna* (hidden trail), the famous trail of Hīkūhia in the uplands of Nāpu'u. You may return by this trail, upon the 'ūlei, and you will reach Kahawai which is next to Ka'ulupūlehu, and 'Ua'u-po'o-'ole in the forest of Hīkūhia, thus, you two shall be saved. Let us go together, me in the front, and you two behind me. Where I step, you two must step, then it will be thought that it is a native of this land that travels in the uplands, searching for *'iliahi*, *kauila* and such."

Thus, Anahulu led these two mischievous men to the *ala 'Ūlei* ('Ūlei covered trail), and these two famous ones of Kaloko-wai-'awa'awa were able to go on their way... (January 17, 1924)

Ka Loko o Wainānālī'i
(The Pond of Wainānālī'i)

This pond was one of the great ponds of the *ahupua'a* of Pu'u Anahulu in ancient times. Today, it is a place of 'a'ā, the lava flow that is called Kanikū. That is where the pond is covered by 'a'ā till this day. Within the boundaries of the pond, it was like a lake, and the character of this pond was astonishing, and it was exceedingly famous.

Perhaps, if the pond had not been covered by the eruption, there would perhaps be thousands of dollars that could be made by the Government for the multitudes of fish within it. There were *awa*, 'anae, 'ama'ama, and āhole living within the pond. It is said that the width of the pond was about 1 ½ miles and its length was about 2 miles or more. There are many places that show this to be true, as the people of old have said. It is said that upon the walls (*kuapā*) of the pond, there were houses for the pond guardians, and that there were sluice gates (*mākāhā*) at various locations as well.

Nā Wai 'Ekolu
(The Three Waters)–

These were the divisions of the boundaries of the pond. There were stone walls that separated one pond from the other, and separated the 'anae and 'ama'ama, from the pond of the *awa*, and the pond for the āhole, and the ponds of the various 'ōpae (shrimp); the 'ōpae kowea from the 'ōpae 'ula. There were also small fingerling ponds for the 'anae, *awa*, and such.

Nā Pūkolu-a-Ka'ena-o-Kāne
(The Three made by Ka'ena-a-Kāne)–

These are the three channels (*hā*) of this pond, where the ocean comes into the pond, and where the water from the pond entered into the sea. At high tide, the water rose and entered into the pond through these channels. And because of the cold fresh water, the fish came together in schools, filling the channels. It was then that people would go and spear the fish, determine which kind of fish were in the pond, and set the nets to catch the fish. This is what has been said about the pond. It is also said that at these channels, there were *kū'ula* (fishermen's god stones), where the fish could increase, with ceremonies. The fish would multiply, increase in size, and be fat like a pig.

Kanikū a me Kanimoe
(Kanikū and Kanimoe)–

These were to *mo'o* (water-spirits with lizard bodies), who had the forms of beautiful women. They were the native residents of the pond of Wainānālī'i, and it is for the *mo'o* who bore the name Kanikū, that the 'a'ā flow is called Kanikū to this day. At the time that the lava flowed covering this pond (foremost of the land), the *mo'o* lost her pond that was filled with fat fish of all kinds.

Kanikū and Kanimoe, the mysterious-formed *mo'o*, were turned to stone, and the stone bodies remain there to this day in the middle of the 'a'ā, lying side by side, and that is why it is said:

Pupuwale kau wahi
He 'ā wale kāu moe
I moe au i Kanikū
I waenakonu o ka 'ino.

Drawn together in your place
It is stone upon which you sleep
I sleep at Kanikū
In the middle of a treacherous place.
(January 24, 1924)

[See excerpts from Kihe's discussion of Ke-ahu-a-Lono earlier in this study (for the dates of January 31 and February 14, 1924).]

Hi'iaka i ka 'ale 'ī
(Hi'iaka in the Billowing waves)–

This place is the boundary between Kapalaoa and 'Anaeho'omalu, where Kohala and Kona are separated. And from there you go directly inland to Ke Ahu a Lono.

Kapalaoa⁶–

It is said that the name of this place came about because of the destruction of the whale tooth pendant of the chiefess Kuaīwa, by Pele. It is there in a mound of *pāhoehoe*, and called Kapalaoa...

Pōhaku o Meko
(Stone of Meko)–

This is a long stone that can be seen in the sea to this day. The length of the stone, from its base to the waters edge is about six fathoms. There is a basin that has been formed in the stone, by the crashing of the waves upon it.

Nā Pōhaku Ku Lua i loko o ke Kai
(The two Stones that Stand in the Sea)–

These stones separate Kona from Kohala. One stone is for Kona, and one stone is for Kohala. They are in about four fathoms of water, and are the guardians of the inlets to the open shores of 'Anaeho'omalu and Kapalaoa. They are called by the proud name, which is not forgotten, *nā Kia'i Naue'ole* (The Immovable Guardians); they care for the shores of 'Anaeho'omalu in the 'Ōlauniu breeze which clings to Kekaha-wai'ole, protecting Kona and protecting Kohala... (February 14, 1924)

Nā Wahi Pana o Pu'u Anahulu
(The Famous Places of Pu'u Anahulu)–

Pu'u-huluhulu (Shaggy, or bushy hill) It is said that Pu'uhuluhulu is one of the guardians of Pu'u Anahulu, and this is why the area is called Nāpu'u, because the hills each watch out for one another.

Hao-nā-pā-ipu (Scooped out of the gourd containers) was a protected area where *kalo* (taro), *'uala* (sweet potatoes), *mai'a* (bananas), and *kō* (sugar cane) were planted; this was a rich agricultural field. Because the crops were all placed in gourd containers when they were harvested, the area was called Hao-nā-pā-ipu by the ancient people of days gone by.

'Āwikiwiki-lua (interpretive translation: 'Āwikiwiki pit) is a burial cave. Within this cave are the remains of some of the natives of this community who are awaiting the sounding trumpet of the angel who will awaken those individuals who are now sleeping from season to season.

[An 'ili by the name of 'Awikiwiki is identified on the flats below Kuahiku; Kūhulukū, is also said to be the name of a cave in the vicinity (cf. Register Map No. 1877; and Emerson 1883, in this study).]

Pāhoā (Dagger) – This place is the entry way along the cliff route which ascends the ridge to Pu'u Anahulu. It is on the Ka'ū side of the land towards Pu'u Wa'awa'a.

Mano-hili (interpretive translation: Many intertwinings) is a water channel in the uplands. In ancient times, following the *Nāulu* showers, this channel was filled with

⁶ See the detailed account of Kapalaoa provided by Rev. Desha, later in this section of the study.

water which overflowed into dug out catchments which had been made secure by paving the catchments with stones.

‘Āwikiwiki lua-wai (‘Āwikiwiki waterhole) was paved with stones like the above catchments and it remains in place to this day.

Maū-kī (interpretive translation: Damp ti plants) is a catchment like ‘Āwikiwikiluawai.

Kuahiku-ka-lapa-o-Anahulu (Kuahiku {Seventh} ridge of Anahulu) is the highest place on the hills of Pu‘u Anahulu, and from that ridge one may look to the shore of Kīhōlo, Keawaiki, Kapalaoa, ‘Anaeho‘omalū and all the shoreline places between Ka‘ūpūlehu and Kawaihae.

Nā Pana e a‘e o Pu‘u Anahulu ***(Other Famous places of Pu‘u Anahulu)***

Puakalehua, Pilinui, Pōhākau, Pōhaku-o-ke-li‘i, Nā-hale-o-Kulani, Lapakaheo-nui, which is the highest of all the cliffs. Lapakaheo-iki, which is the place below, it has good soil. Then you descend to the lowlands below. It has a different kind of beauty.

Kukui-o-Hakau ***(The Kukui tree of Hakau)***

These are many kukui trees here, that refresh the flat lands. The story of these kukui trees is this. Hakau (^k), was a native of the cliffs of Pu‘u Anahulu, and because he desired a beautiful woman from Hāmākua of the steep cliff side trails. He traveled to see the land of the steep trails where one dangles by a rope and the teeth gnash with fear as one is let down the cliffs... (February 14, 1924)

Arriving in Hāmākua, Hakau went to Kukuihaele and was welcomed by the natives there. Because of his exceptional skills in all manner of practices, Hakau secured a maiden as his wife and companion to live with in the land of the many hills, Nāpu‘u in the distant uplands. Now this maiden had a great desire for *kukui* nut relish, and because of this, Hakau gathered up many nuts in his gourd container and traveled with the nuts to his land at Pu‘u Anahulu. And this is how the name Kukui-haele (Traveling *kukui*) came about, because Hakau took up the nuts and traveled with them to his native home.

Upon returning to Pu‘u Anahulu with his beautiful wife, Hakau planted the first of his *kukui* trees. This tree and the place where it grew, came to be called Kukui-o-Hakau. When Hakau died the first *kukui* tree he planted died also, but all of the *kukui* offspring grew and spread throughout the area. Places where the *kukui* trees of Hakau grew, included Nā-ahu-a-Kamali‘i, Hale-o-Nīheu, and Pōhaku-o-Wai-o-ka-lani. When the rains came, and caused water to flow over the cliffs, these places became standing springs which contained water for several months

Other places where the *kukui* were planted included ‘Āhinahina, which is the flat land next to the *pāhoehoe* lava flow of Pele that closed the fishpond of Kīhōlo in 1859, and Ka‘ala where the cliff ends towards Kohala, and also at Pa‘akea⁷ and Anahulu... There are also many dug out water catchments, more than one-hundred... Among the *papawai* (paved water catchments) were Ka‘eka‘eka, Pu‘uhanalepo, Lepelao,

⁷ The land section called Pa‘a-kea (Firm white; perhaps descriptive of a mist or cloud phenomena which is associated with the area) is an *‘ili* below the *pu‘u* which bears the name of Anahulu.

Pikohana-nui [Pikohena], Pikohana-iki, and Kūmua⁸... (February 21, 1924).

Kekaha and Nāpu‘u Described in the Journals and Articles of Historic Visitors (1778-1902)

This section of the study provides readers with selected narratives from several journals recorded by early visitors—explorers, missionaries, and travelers—who described the coastal region of Kekaha (North Kona-Nāpu‘u and South Kohala). The earlier accounts (those of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) focus on Kawaihae and South Kohala (extending into North Kona), as Kawaihae was used as an anchorage and supply stop. The descriptions of the small coastal villages, land use practices, and general topography would can be likened to those of the Nāpu‘u region.

It will be seen, that those who came from afar—foreigners—looked at the land very differently than those who had developed spiritual and kinship attachment to it—the natives. The themes common to most of the narratives of the foreign visitors include descriptions of an arid and desolate land that was only sparsely inhabited by the time of recording the various accounts.

Observations by Captain James Cook and Crew

The earliest foreign description of the South Kohala region, in which Kekaha of North Kona was included (Beaglehole 1967:607:1 and 608:2), 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 specifically describes Kawaihae (spelled Toe-yah-ya), and land to the south—

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 appeard rocky & black, & partkes more of the nature of the land about Karakakooa. (Beaglehole 1967:525)

Later, in March 1779, while sailing north from Kealakekua, the ships passed the North Kona-South Kohala shoreline. King compared the region to the arid shore of Ka‘ū, and reported that there appeared to be few residents in the area—

We now come to Ko-Harra the NW & last district. It is bounded by two tolerable high hills [thought to mean Hualālai and the Kohala Mountains], & the Coast forms a very extensive bay calld Toe Yah-Yah... In the head of the bay as far as we could judge distant the Country lookd tolerably, but the s side is partook of the same nature as Kao, & along the NE side of the bay close to which we Saild, 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)

Journal of Captain George Vancouver

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 Toeigh), and described the region to the south (into Kekaha) much as did Cook’s crew in 1778-1779. Vancouver’s observations include descriptions of — Kawaihae village and environs (in 1793 Ke‘eaumoku was the chief in residence at Kawaihae); a detailed account of salt making; the *morai* or *heiau* of Pu‘u Koholā; and he noted that the lands to the south of Kawaihae appeared unpopulated.

⁸ Kūmua - has been identified by native residents, as the name of a *heiau* (Site 13162) situated on the flats below Pu‘uolili (pers comm., Leina‘ala Keākealani, Dec. 20, 1993 & oral history interviews in this study). Emerson’s field work in Nāpu‘u in 1882, identified the site name as Kumua o iwi Kau (see Emerson 1882, in this study).

In the excerpts from Vancouver's journals below, it will be noted that in many words, the letter " f " replaces the letter " s ". Also, Vancouver's spelling of Hawaiian words appears to have been phonetic—as he heard them—thus, it is very different than present usage. From the account of his second visit to the South Kohala region, Vancouver approached Kawaihae from Kealahou, he recorded:

February 1794

In the forenoon of the 27th, we had a light breeze from the westward; with this we steered for the anchorage at Toeaigh...the adjacent shores were uninteresting, being chiefly composed 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 shore was amply compensated by the number of our friends that accompanied us afloat in canoes of all descriptions... [Volume III:62]

February 28, 1794

The only circumstances that seem to render this a desirable stopping place, are the run of water, which however does not constantly flow; and the probability of procuring refreshments, from its contiguity to the fertile, and populous western part of the district of Koarra [Kohala], and the plains of Whymea [Waimea], lying behind the land that constitutes this part of the sea coast.

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... [Volume III:64]

Narratives of a Visit in 1819 by de Freycinet and Arago

Louis Claude de Saulces de Freycinet (1798) 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—following the death of Kamehameha I—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, in Kohala (de Freycinet 1978:5).

On August 12th, de Freycinet landed at Kawaihae and was greeted by Liholiho, his relatives, and attendants. The royal compound was situated near the shore, below the *heiau* of Pu'u Koholā and Mailekini, and not far from the trail that continues from Kawaihae through Puakō and on to Kapalāoa (de Freycinet 1978:14-29). Describing the village at Kawaihae, de Freycinet reported:

Kohaihai. Less spread-out and more irregular than Kayakakoua, Kohaihai is surrounded by even sadder, even drier grounds, if that is possible. Here in fact, not an atom of greenery appeared before our eyes. One could have said that it had been ravaged by fire... (de Freycinet 1978:41)

Jacques Arago (1823), who traveled with de Freycinet, also recorded his observations and descriptions of the South Kohala landscape, the difficulty of traveling the trails across the lava flows, the residence of Liholiho (Riouriou) at Kawaihae, and the *morai* or *heiau* of Pu'u Koholā and Mailekini. Traveling from Kailua towards 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]

[Kawaihae] ...Riouriou, Temmeamah's son, has established his residence and his court, since his father's death, near this abode of mourning and sorrow. The reason I have heard assigned for this selection, appear to me insufficient to account for it. One of them would do the prince great honour, the other is too contrary to his interests...we learnt that the motive which induced Riouriou to fix his residence near this frightful spot, was, that this part of the island being so wretchedly poor, he did not feel himself bound to supply his officers with much food, who, moreover, procured the greater part of their subsistence from the bay, which contains great quantities of fish.

But a difficulty on such a supposition suggests itself. The power of Riouriou is not yet so firmly established, as to allow him to risk displeasing his chief officers. One of the conspirators is already at the head of a powerful army; he is encamped a few leagues only from Toyai [Kawaihae]; he is perhaps on the point of some bold enterprise... [Arago 1823:88]

The Journal of William Ellis

Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the Hawaiian religious and political systems began undergoing radical change. Just moments after his death, Ka'ahumanu proclaimed herself "*Kuhina nui*" (Prime Minister), and within six months the ancient *kapu* system was overthrown. Less than a year after Kamehameha's death, Protestant missionaries arrived from America (cf. 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 establish church centers and schools for the Calvinist mission. Ellis' writings (1963) generally offer readers important glimpses into the nature of native communities and history as spoken at the time. As a part of his trip (with two visits to the Kawaihae-Kekaha region), Ellis and party visited some of the coastal communities between Kawaihae and Kailua, including Kapalaoa, Wainānāli'i, Kīholo, and Ka'ūpūlehu.

On his first visit to the South Kohala regions, Ellis noted that Kawaihae was a "considerable village," which presented good opportunity for the establishment of a mission (Ellis 1963:x). Writing about Kawaihae and lands to the south, Ellis commented on the topography of the land and the nature of the *mūmuku* winds which blew across the land from the mountains —

The north side of the bay [Kawaihae] affords much the best anchorage for shipping, especially for those that wish to lie near the shore. It is the best holding ground, and is also screened by the *kuhiva* (high land) of Kohala from those sudden and violent gusts of wind, called by the natives *mumuku*, which come down between the mountains with almost irresistible fury, on the southern part of Towaihae, and the adjacent districts. (Ellis 1963:55)

Departing from Kawaihae, Ellis traveled by canoe to Kailua, and he wrote that the sea breeze —

...carried us along a rugged and barren shore of lava towards Kairua, which is distant from Towaihae about thirty miles... In the evening we were opposite Lae Mano (Shark's Point), but strong westerly currents prevented our making much progress (Ellis 1963:58).

While in Kailua, Ellis and his companions learned of an eruption of Hualālai which had occurred about

23 years (c. 1800-1801) before their visit, and which contributed to the lava flows viewed on their canoe journey to Kailua. Ellis was told that the flows —

...inundated several villages, destroyed a number of plantations and extensive fish-ponds, filled up a deep bay twenty [this should perhaps be two] miles in length, and formed the present coast. An Englishman [John Young], who has resided thirty-eight years in the islands, and who witnessed the above eruption, has frequently told us he was astonished at the irresistible impetuosity of the torrent.

Stone walls, trees, and houses, all gave way before it; even large masses or rocks of ancient lava, when surrounded by the fiery stream, soon split into small fragments, and falling into the burning mass, appeared to melt again, as borne by it down the mountain's side.

Numerous offerings were presented, and many hogs thrown alive into the stream, to appease the anger of the gods, by whom they supposed it was directed, and to stay its devastating course.

All seemed unavailing, until one day the king Tamehameha went, attended by a large retinue of chiefs and priests, and, as the most valuable offering he could make, cut off part of his own hair, which was always considered sacred, and threw it into the torrent. A day or two after, the lava ceased to flow. The gods, it was thought, were satisfied... (Ellis 1963:30-31)

Following the tour around the island, members of the Ellis party returned to Kawaihae. While there, Ellis observed the salt works of the area and provided readers with a description of the salt making and harvesting processes. The process he describes, as well as the harvesting of *pa'akai* (salt) from *kāheka* (natural ponding areas) occurred at various locations along the shores of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a as well.

Salt Ponds at Kawaihae

The natives of this district manufacture large quantities of salt, by evaporating the sea water. We saw a number of their pans, in the disposition of which they display great ingenuity. They have generally one large pond near the sea, into which the water flows by a channel cut through the rocks, or is carried thither by the natives in large calabashes. After remaining there some time, it is conducted into a number of smaller pans about six or eight inches in depth which are made with great care, and frequently lined with large evergreen leaves [possibly ti leaves or coconut leaves] in order to prevent absorption. Along the narrow banks or partitions between the different pans, we saw a number of large evergreen leaves placed. They were tied up at each end, so as to resemble a shallow dish [perhaps plaited coconut fronds], and filled with sea water, in which the crystals of salt were abundant... (Ellis 1963:287)

Following his last visit to Kawaihae, Ellis visited several of the coastal villages along the way. In Nāpu'u, Ellis stopped at Kapalaoa, Wainānālī'i, and Kīholo (*Figure 4*). At that time, Kapalaoa was a village of approximately 22 houses. He wrote —

About nine a.m. I stopped at Kaparaoa, a small village on the beach, containing twenty-two house, where I found the people preparing their food for the ensuing day, on which they said the governor [Kuakini] had sent word for them to do no work,

neither cook any food. When the people were collected, I addressed them, and after answering a number of inquiries respecting the manner in which they should keep the Sabbath-day, again embarked on board my canoe, and sailed to Wainanarii, where I landed, repaired to the house of Waipo, the chief, who, as soon as the object of my visit was known, directed the people to assemble at his house.

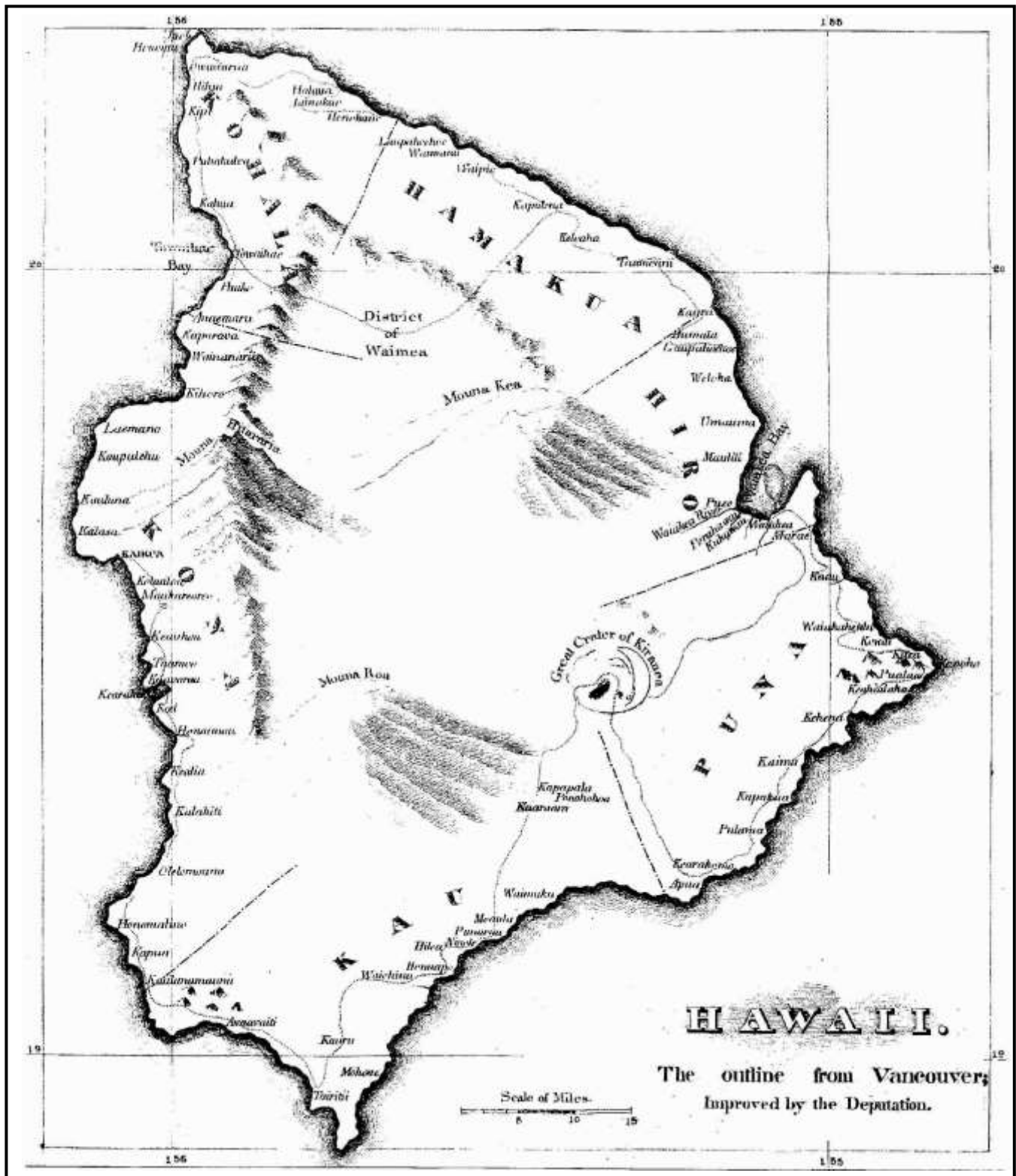


Figure 4. *Island of Hawaii (Showing Trails and Villages visited Between Kawaihae and Kailua) Ellis' Narrative - American Edition 1825; in Fitzpatrick 1986:87*

At Kaparaoa I saw a number of curiously carved wooden idols, which formerly belonged to an adjacent temple. I asked the natives if they would part with any? They said, Yes; and I should have purchased on, but had no means of conveying it away, for it was an unwieldy log of heavy wood, twelve or fourteen feet long, curiously carved, in rude and frightful imitation of the human figure.

After remaining there till two p.m. I left them making preparations to keep the Sabbath-day, according to the orders they had received from the governor.

Kamehameha's Fish-Pond at Kiholo⁹

About four in the afternoon I landed at Kihoro, a straggling village, inhabited principally by fishermen. A number of people collected, to whom I addressed a short discourse... [Ellis 1963:294] ...This village exhibits another monument of the genius of Tamehameha. A small bay, perhaps half a mile across, runs inland a considerable distance. From one side of this bay, Tamehameha built a strong stone wall, six feet high in some places, and twenty feet wide, by which he had an excellent fish-pond, not less than two miles in circumference. There were several arches in the wall, which were guarded by strong stakes driven into the ground so far apart as to admit the water of the sea; yet sufficiently close to prevent the fish from escaping. It was well stocked with fish, and water-fowl were seen swimming on its surface.

The people of this village, as well as the others through which I had passed, were preparing to keep the Sabbath, and the conversation naturally turned on the orders recently issued by the governor.

They said it was a bad thing to commit murder, infanticide, and theft, which also had been forbidden; that it would be well to abstain from these crimes; but, they said, they did not know of what advantage the *palapala* (instruction, &c.) would be.

I remained some time with them, and told them I hoped missionaries would soon come to reside permanently at Kairua, wither I advised them to repair as frequently as possible, that they might participate in the advantages of instruction—be made better acquainted with the character of the true God, and the means of seeking his favour. [Ellis 1963:296]

Departing from Kīhōlo, Ellis passed Laemano (Ka-lae-manō), “a point of land formed by the last eruption of the great crater on Mouna-Huararai” (Ellis 1963:296). He also reported that he landed at the village of Ka’ūpūlehu at night, and that the residents were all asleep. Thus, from Ka’ūpūlehu, Ellis sailed directly to Kailua (Ellis 1963:296).

The Journals of Lorenzo Lyons and Cochran Forbes (ca. 1835-1859)

On July 16 1832, Lorenzo Lyons (*Makua Laiana*), one of the most famed and beloved missionaries of all those who came to Hawai’i, replaced Reverend Dwight Baldwin as minister at Waimea, Hawai’i. Lyons’ “Church Field” was centered in Waimea, at what is now the historic church ‘Imiola and included both Kohala and Hāmākua (Doyle 1953:40 & 57). One of Lyons’ Kekaha churches was Hōkū Loa (Evening star) at the village of Puakō (Doyle 1953:167). His description of the village and practices of the people can be compared to those of Nāpu’u—the families shared historical relationship with one another —

...a village on the shore, very like Kawaihae, but larger. It has a small harbor in which

⁹ Based on historical accounts and Boundary Commission testimonies cited in this study, it appears that the fishpond at Kīhōlo was constructed at the order of Kamehameha I in ca. 1810.

native vessels anchor. Coconut groves give it a verdant aspect. No food grows in the place. The people make salt and catch fish. These they exchange for vegetables grown elsewhere. (Doyle 1953:84-85).

Not infrequently at Kawaihae and Puako there is no food to be had. The people live without food for days, except a little fish which prevents starvation. Nor is this to be had everyday, the ocean being so rough they cannot fish, or a government working day interferes, when the sailing of a canoe is *tabu* — unless the owner chooses to pay a fine. The water too at these places is such that I cannot drink it. I would as soon drink a dose of Epsom salts... On the way to Puako, all is barren and still more desolate. After an hour's walk from my house, not a human dwelling is to be seen till you reach the shore, which requires a walk of about five hours (Doyle 1953:108-109).

In another account, Lyons described his walk on the *ala loa* (main trail) along the coast from Kohala through Nāpu'u (Kīholo) to Kailua, and noted —

Aug. 8, 1843. Took the road from Kapalaoa to Kailua on foot. Passed the great fish pond at Kīholo, one of the artificial wonders of Hawaii; an immense work! A prodigious wall run through a portion of the ocean, a channel for the water etc. Half of Hawaii worked on it in the days of Kamehameha... [Doyle 1953:137]

During the time that Lyons was tending to his mission in South Kohala, Cochran Forbes (his South Kona counterpart), visited him and reports having walked to Kīholo from Kailua where he stayed a short, while prior to continuing on to Wainānālī'i and Kohala. Forbes (1984) described the 1841 journey with the following narratives —

Jany. 1. On the 29th left home for Kohala... [On Dec. 31] ...had a long & tedious journey by land to Kīholo. Arrived there at dark. Our canoe with baggage had not got along bad sea & head wind, *mumuku* & *hoolua* blowing, Spent the night at Kīholo & preached. Next morning our canoe got along as far as Wainanalii where we took breakfast and leaving the canoe, a strong *mumuku* blowing, we came by land over the lava to Puako arrived there about 3 o'clock and encamped with Daniela (Loli) one of Bro Lyons' deacons. Here we spent the night and early this mornng. the men returned for the baggage & brought it By land as the sea is rough & strong winds blowing... (Forbes 1984:91)

On January 29, 1841, Forbes and party departed by canoe from Kawaihae returning to Kailua. Forbes mentioned Pu'u Wa'awa'a (Kalaemanō) and a visit he paid to the village at Ka'ūpūlehu —

...Before noon...the wind shifted around and the sea again grew rough before we reached *lae mano*. It was now near noon so we kept on till we reached Kaupulehu. Here we put in and found a kind reception the old head man Kuakahela [i.e. Kuakahela] led us to a house of the Gov. well furnished with mats where we spent the remainder of the day & that night very comfortably. Poor old man he cannot renounce his tobacco pipe, it seemed almost his idol. He formerly was a priest and one of a vanquished party, by which he came near his death. He escaped only by creeping under the mats in a house while his enemies in pursuit of him passed by. He said he had no hopes for his life... [Forbes 1984:93; see also Kamakau 1968:7,15—for a detailed account of Kuakahela's role as a *kahuna*, and his narrow escape from Pu'ukoholā in ca. 1791].

One of the significant events that had an impact on travel and residency in the coastal region of South Kohala and North Kona, was the February 1859 eruption of Mauna Loa. The eruption began at approximately the 10,500 foot elevation, and in eight days it reached the ocean at Pu'u Anahulu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a, destroying the community of Wainānālī'i and the great fishpond at Kīholo. In his annual Mission report for the year 1859, Lyons wrote that the affects of the flow were felt as far away as Puakō —

...the heat of the volcanic stream that entered the sea near this place killed or frightened away all their fish. . . There remain the fruit of a few coconut trees, & the *lauhala* from the leaf of which the women busy themselves in making mats. The men can sometimes find a job of work that will bring them in something, i.e. if they can manage to obtain food, all of which comes from a distance. (Lyons IN Barrère 1971:111)

Kailua to Kawaihae (1840)

J.J. Jarves, editor of the *Polynesian*, traveled around the island of Hawai'i with members of the United States Exploring Expedition (under the command of Captain Charles Wilkes). On July 25, 1840, he provided his readers with the following brief description of his journey from Kailua to Kawaihae:

...The coast presented nothing but a dreary aspect of extinct craters, and blackened streams of lava, without vegetation. Mauna Hualalai, with its craggy peaks rose abruptly in the background, and occasionally Mauna Kea gleamed its snowy tops from out the surrounding mist. Kawaihae is a barren, cheerless place, containing but few houses and a store, as a depot for goods for the interior. A tolerable cart road leads to Waimea; distance fourteen miles... (The *Polynesian* July 25, 1840:26)

The Wilkes Expedition (1840-41)

In 1840-41, Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition traveled through the Kekaha region. Wilkes' narratives offer readers a brief description of agricultural activities in coastal communities and also document the continued importance of fishing and salt making to the people who dwelt in Kekaha:

...A considerable trade is kept up between the south and north end of the district. The inhabitants of the barren portion of the latter [i.e., Kekaha] are principally occupied in fishing and the manufacture of salt, which articles are bartered with those who live in the more fertile regions of the south [i.e. Kailua-Keauhou], for food and clothing... (Wilkes 1845:4, 95-97).

The practice of inter-regional trade of salt and other articles described by Wilkes above, was based on traditional customs (cf. Malo 1951 & Kamakau 1961), and remained important to the livelihood of residents in the Nāpu'u-Kekaha region through the ca. 1930s (see oral history interviews in this study). The Wilkes account reminds us of the regional interrelationship among *ahupua'a* in both pre- and post-contact eras.

Mai Kailua a hiki i Kiholo – From Kailua to Kiholo (1875)

In 1875, a native resident of the Kailua vicinity wrote a letter to the editor of the Hawaiian newspaper, *Kū 'Ōko'a*, responding to a letter which had been previously published in the paper (written by a visitor to Kona), describing the plight of the people of the Kekaha region. It had been reported that a drought on Hawai'i was causing difficulty for crop production, and a "famine" was occurring. In the following letter, the writer, J.P. Pu'uokupa, responded to the account and described the situation as he knew from living upon the land —

...The people who live in the area around Kailua are not bothered by the famine. They all have food. There are sweet potatoes and taro. These are the foods of these lands. There are at this time, breadfruit bearing fruit at Honokohau on the side of Kailua, and at Kaloko, Kohanaiki, Ooma and the Kalaoas where lives J.P. [the author]. All of these lands are cultivated. There is land on which coffee is cultivated, where taro and sweet potatoes are cultivated, and land livestock is raised. All of us living from Kailua to Kalaoa are not in a famine, there is nothing we lack for the well being of our bodies.

Mokuola¹⁰ is seen clearly upon the ocean, like the featherless back of the *'ukeke*. So it is in the uplands where one may wander gathering what is needed, as far as Kiholo which opens like the mouth of a long house into the wind. It is there that the bow of the boats may safely land upon the shore. The livelihood of the people there is fishing and the raising of livestock. The people of at the uplands of Napuu are farmers, and as is the custom of those people of the backlands, they all eat in the morning and then go to work. So it is with all of the native people of these lands, they are a people that are well off...

...As was said earlier, coffee is the plant of value on this lands, and so, is the raising of livestock. From the payments for those products, the people are well of and they have built wooden houses. If you come here you shall see that it is true. Fish are also something which benefits the people. The people who make the *pai ai* on Maui bring it to Kona and trade it. Some people also trade their *poi* for the coffee of the natives here... (J.P. Puuokupa, in *Ku Okoa* November 27, 1875; translated by Maly)

Travel Along the Coastal Roads and Trails in 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 his narratives about the island of Hawai'i, Bowser described travel along the *ala nui aupuni* (government road) and smaller *ala hele* (trail system) from Puakō to Kīholo, and to the uplands of Pu'u Wa'awa'a-Ka'ūpūlehu, and on to Kailua. Excerpts from Bowsers' narratives for the larger South Kohala-North Kona (Kekaha) region are included below as they may be applied to the general patterns of residency and customs of the region including the lands of Nāpu'u —

...I made my start from the house of Mr. Frank Spencer, leaving the Kohala district...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. At Puako there is some relief for the eye, in the shape of a grove of cocoa-palms, which are growing quite close to the water's edge. These had been planted right amongst the lava, and where they got their sustenance from I could not imagine. They are not of any great height, running from twenty to sixty feet. There are about a dozen native huts in the place. These buildings are from twenty to forty feet long and about fifteen feet high to the ridge of the roof. They only contain a single room each, and are covered with several layers of matting.

From Puako we had a view of Mauna Hualalai, which is distant about twenty-five miles. The country all round is nothing but lava, although, near the sea, a scarcity of vegetation has established itself. On the shore, which is composed of lava-rock, there is an abundance of mussels and periwinkles, but not of a very large size. All the way from Waimea I had not seen a drop of water, but at Puako I found a fine spring of excellent water. It is some ten or fifteen feet from the edge of the sea, and is called by the natives Makahiwa. The land, which gradually slopes up from the shore at Puako to Mauna-Hualalai, is almost devoid of vegetation, and in the whole district there is not a tree to be seen.

From Puako to Kalahuipuaa is about four miles. The traveler cannot mistake the road in this district, as the paths are always plainly marked. The road to Kalahuipuaa is

¹⁰ Moku-ola — literally: Island of life — is a poetic reference to a small island in Hilo Bay which was known as a place of sanctuary, healing, and life. By poetic inference, the Kekaha region was described as a place of life and well-being.

along this the sea beach, and is in good order. A few shrubs are growing along the route, but on my left I had nothing but a sea of lava. At this place [Kalahui-puaa] there are several waterholes into small groves of cocoanut trees. There is a splendid view from here of the south side of the Island of Maui, which is something short of thirty miles away, in a crow line.

On the road to this place we passed over the scene of the lava flow of 1859, one of the grandest that has ever been seen in Hawaii. Here the lava is turned and twisted in all directions. This stream of lava reached to the sea from its source on the north flank of Maunaloa (about thirty miles distant in a straight line) in the incredibly short space of three [sic] days. One of the pieces of mischief it did was to destroy a splendid fish pond and its contents. There is still a pool of water left to market place where this fish pond used to be.

From Kalahui-puaa to Kiholo, my next halting place, the road leaves the sea beach and turns inland in a southerly direction. [as seen from the distance] On the way we saw the great lava flow of 1801, which burst out from the base of Mauna Hualalai, not more than six miles from the sea. There is nothing to be seen all the way but lava; lava to the right of you, lava to the left of you, lava ahead of you, lava behind you, and lava beneath you; the road for a dozen miles or more is composed of nothing but clinkers of every size. The tourist, on his way southwards, will probably keep to this inland road until it leads him upwards into woodland country, and so on to Kailua. The route I had laid out for myself involved a detour to Kiholo, which is reached by a side-track that returns towards the coast over a barren and waterless expanse of lava.

There is, indeed, no water to be had anywhere after leaving Kalahui-puaa until the traveler reaches Kiholo, nor from that place again until within a few miles of Kailua, which is the next coast town to be visited.

Kiholo is situated on a small inlet of the sea, and in its neighborhood the lava has, at some time, run right down to the sea... In the foreground the sea of dark gray lava, far off, some patches of grass which are anything but green, but which, nevertheless, supply food for numbers of goats, and in the background the fine mountain Hualalai. Around the village are a few cocoanut groves, but they are small, and the trees are of stunted growth. Accommodation can be had by any one who visits the place at the house of a native named Kauai¹¹, who will also find plenty of grass and water for your horse. There is a splendid bathing place, and plenty of fish are to be had, and fishing for those who desire it.

From Kiholo the road southwards is rough and laborious. Perpetual travelling over lava is very hard upon our horses, and it is impossible to travel faster than the slowest walk. On the road we met with some awful chasms of unknown depth and numberless cracks and fissures in the lava. Some twelve miles from Kiholo we began to cross the western shoulder of Mauna Hualalai... (Bowser 1880:546-548)

The Roads of Kohala and Kona (1902)

In 1902, Charles Baldwin penned a series of articles in the magazine, *Hawaii's Young People*, describing the "Geography of Hawaii." In his discussion about the roads on the island of Hawai'i, he presented readers with a good description of travel between Kohala and Kona. Baldwin wrote:

¹¹ Kauai, an elderly resident of Kiholo, was interviewed by J.S. Emerson on August 30, 1883 (Bishop Museum HEN I:473). From him, Emerson learned about several of the sites and traditions of Nāpu'u (accounts cited later with Emerson's work). Kauai is an elder of several participants in the oral history interviews cited in this study.

In traveling around the other islands of the group, we usually follow the seashore, but with Hawaii the case is different, for, to avoid waste regions and to accommodate the inhabitants, the road goes far inland in places. As the government could not always afford to build more than one road around the “big” island, that one was put where it would be of the most use to the greatest number of people.

During my first tour around Hawaii I met a gentleman who said that he had *driven* around the island. I had always supposed that this was impossible, as there was only a trail between Kohala and Kona, but there was his buggy and horse which he had purchased in Hilo. Later, I discovered what he had done—and others like him, who claim that they have driven around Hawaii. Putting his horse and wagon on the little steamer Upolu, he had sailed around to Kailua; but as the Upolu has since been wrecked, you cannot now “*drive*” around Hawaii.

In a year or two the wagon road which is now building over the lava between Waimea and Kona [the Pu’u Wa’awa’a-Pu’u Anahulu road being built under the supervision of Eben Low] will have been completed and then one can drive around the island. But this section now being constructed, as well as that portion over the lava between Kona and Kau, will be rough traveling.

Travelers from Kohala to Kona usually take the trail over the lava from Kawaihae. Most people speak of this as a journey to be avoided, but, with a horse that is used to traveling over lava, the ride is not an unpleasant one, particularly if we make an early start from Kawaihae, thus reaching Kiholo before the lava has had time to get thoroughly heated. Twenty miles of the trail is over lava; the first portion, that between Kawaihae and Kiholo, being the worst. Nowhere else in the world may one see so many recent lava flows as are gathered in this region. Most of them are *aa* flows. The ride is certainly a unique one, and consequently interesting... [Baldwin 1902:46]

NĀPU‘U AND KEKAHA:

NATIVE ACCOUNTS OF TRANSITIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

In the columns of *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i*, J.W.H.I. Kihe and J. Ka‘elemakule presented readers with powerful and moving descriptions of their community—how it was and how it had changed—between ca. 1860 to 1930. Excerpts from the narratives are presented below; some of the narratives are general to Kekaha and various sites in the region, while others make specific references to the lands and/or families of Nāpu‘u. It is noted here, that based on interview records (cited in this study), nearly all of the families of Mahai‘ula, Makalawena, Kūki‘o, Ka‘ūpūlehu, Kīholo, Kapalaoa, and the Kekaha region of South Kohala, shared a familial relationship and a common attachment to care of and use of resources throughout the region. This study and the larger efforts of the *Hui ‘Ohana Mai Pu‘uanahulu a me Pu‘uwa‘awa‘a*, are the direct result of the on-going cultural attachment to the landscape and relationship of those families to one another.

Nā Ho‘omana‘o o ka Manawa (Reflections of Past Times)

In 1924, while *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i* was publishing a variety of traditional accounts of Kekaha, penned by J.W.H.I. Kihe (cited earlier in this study), he also submitted an article reflecting on the changes he’d seen in the days of his life. The following excerpts (translated by the present author), provide insight into the historic community of Kekaha (ca. 1860 to 1924). In the two part series, he shared his gut feelings about the changes which had occurred in this area—the demise of the families, and the abandonment of the coastal lands of Kekaha. Kihe tells us who the families were, that lived in areas such as Kaulana, Mahai‘ula, Makalawena, Awake‘e, Kūki‘o, Ka‘ūpūlehu, Kīholo, Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a, Pu‘u Anahulu, Keawaiki, and Kapalaoa. And it will be seen that a number of the names he mentions, are those that have been mentioned in various historical documents- and are the elders of individuals who participated in oral history interviews- cited in this study:

Selected References to Places and Events:

• Honokōhau

• Hawaiian language spoken in
the schools of Kekaha

• Kīholo
• Makalawena

• Kalaoa

Narrative:

There has arisen in the mind of the author, some questions and thoughts about the nature, condition, living, traveling, and various things that bring pleasure and joy. Thinking about the various families and the many homes with there children, going to play and strengthening their bodies.

In the year 1870, when I was a young man at the age of 17 years old, I went to serve as the substitute teacher at the school of Honokōhau. I was teaching under William G. Kanaka‘ole who had suffered an illness (*ma‘i-lolo*, a stroke).

In those days at the Hawaiian Government Schools, the teachers were all Hawaiian and taught in the Hawaiian language. In those days, the students were all Hawaiian as well, and the books were in Hawaiian. The students were all Hawaiian... There were many, many Hawaiian students in the schools, no Japanese, Portuguese, or people of other nationalities. Everyone was Hawaiian or part Hawaiian, and there were only a few part Hawaiians. The schools included the school house at Kīholo where Joseph W, Keala taught, and later J.K. Ka‘ailuwale taught there. At the school of Makalawena, J. Ka‘elemakule Sr., who now resides in Kailua, was the teacher. At the Kalaoa School, J.U. Keawe‘ake was the teacher. There were also others here, including myself for four years, J. Kainuku, and J.H. Olohia who was the last one to teach in the Hawaiian language.

• Kaloko
• Honokōhau

At Kaloko, Miss Ka'aimahu'i was the last teacher before the Kaloko school was combined as one with the Honokōhau school where W.G. Kanaka'ole was the teacher. I taught there for two years as well... [Kihe includes additional descriptions on the schools of Kona]

• When the schools were required to stop teaching in Hawaiian, and start teaching in English, Hawaiian families and education began to deteriorate

It was when they stopped teaching in Hawaiian, and began instructing in English, that big changes began among our children. Some of them became puffed up and stopped listening to their parents. The children spoke gibberish (English) and the parents couldn't understand (*nā keiki namu*). Before that time, the Hawaiians weren't marrying too many people of other races. The children and their parents dwelt together in peace with the children and parents speaking together... [June 5, 1924]

• Honokōhau

• Most of the people of Kekaha are now dead

...Now perhaps there are some who will not agree with what I am saying, but these are my true thoughts. Things which I have seen with my own eyes, and know to be true... In the year 1870 when I was substitute teaching at Honokōhau for W.G. Kanaka'ole, I taught more than 80 students. There were both boys and girls, and this school had the highest enrollment of students studying in Hawaiian at that time [in Kekaha]. And the students then were all knowledgeable, all knew how to read and write. Now the majority of those people are all dead. Of those things remembered and thought of by the people who yet remain from that time in 1870; those who are here 53 years later, we can not forget the many families who lived in the various (*'āpana*) land sections of Kekaha.

• Families lived in all the lands of Kekaha, from Honokōkahu to Pu'u Wa'awa'a

From the lands of Honokōhau, Kaloko, Kohanaiki, the lands of 'O'oma, Kalaoa, Hale'ohi'u, Maka'ula, Kaū, Pu'ukala-'Ōhiki, Awalua, the lands of Kaulana, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Awake'e, the lands of Kūki'o, Ka'ūpūlehu, Kīholo, Keawaiki, Kapalaoa, Pu'u Anahulu, and Pu'u Wa'awa'a. These many lands were filled with people in those days. There were men, women, and children, the houses were filled with large families. Truly there were many people [in Kekaha]. I would travel around with the young men and women in those days, and we would stay together, travel together, eat together, and spend the nights in homes filled with *aloha*.

• Honokōhau

• Kaloko

The lands of Honokōhau were filled with people in those days, there were many women and children... Today [1924], the families are lost, the land is quiet. There are no people, only the rocks and trees remain, and only occasionally does one meet with a man today. Kaloko is like that place mentioned above, it is a land without people at this time. The men, women, and children have all passed away. The only one who remains is J.W. Ha'au, he is the only native descendant upon the land.

• Kohanaiki

At Kohanaiki, there were many people on this land between 1870 and 1878. These were happy years with the families there. In those years Kaiakoili was the *haku 'āina* (land overseer)... Now the land is desolate, there are no people, the houses are quiet. Only the houses remain standing, places simply to be counted. I dwelt here with the families of these homes. Indeed it was here that I dwelt with my *kahu hānai* (guardian), the one who raised me. All these families were closely related to me by blood, while on my fathers' side, I was tied to the families of Kaloko. I am a native of these lands.

- 'O'oma, Kalaoa, Kaulana and Mahai'ula

• Mahai'ula noted for it's great fishermen (families named)

The lands of 'O'oma, and Kalaoa, and all the way to Kaulana and Mahai'ula were also places of many people in those days, but today there are no people. At Mahai'ula is where the great fishermen of that day dwelt. Among the fishermen were Po'oko'ai *mā*, Pā'ao'ao senior, Ka'ao *mā*, Kai'a *mā*, Ka'ā'īkaula *mā*, Pāhia *mā*, and John Ka'elemakule Sr., who now dwells at Kailua.
- Ka'elemakule family members buried near their home

• Makalawena also noted for great fishermen

Ka'elemakule moved from this place [Mahai'ula] to Kailua where he prospered, but his family is buried there along that beloved shore (*kapakai aloha*). He is the only one who remains alive today... At Makalawena, there were many people, men, women , and their children. It was here that some of the great fishermen of those days lived as well. There were many people, and now, they are all gone, lost for all time.
- Families of Makalawena-Awake'e named

Those who have passed away are Kaha'iali'i *mā*, Mama'e *mā*, Kapehe *mā*, Kauaionu'uaniu *mā*, Hopulā'au *mā*, Kaihemakawalu *mā*, Kaomi, Keoni Aihaole *mā*, and Pahukula *mā*. They are all gone, there only remains the son-in-law of Kauaionu'uaniu, J.H. Mahikō, and Jack Punihaole, along with their children, living in the place where Kauaionu'uaniu and Ahu once lived.
- Kūki'o and Ka'ūpūlehu, now without people.

At Kūki'o, not one person remains alive on that land, all are gone, only the 'a'ā remains. It is the same at Ka'ūpūlehu, the old people are all gone, and it is all quiet. Before, there were many people on this land. The last of the families living upon the land were those of D.P. Kaoahu, Kaolelo, Luahine, Paapu, and the very last ones were J.K. Pu'ipu'i, and Kaailuwale who have died. Only their children and the wife remain.
- Kīholo once populated, now without native families.

Kīholo was a populated place before, but today, there is not one Hawaiian there, only a Japanese, who works for Robert Hind as a caretaker of the land and house. It is a place without people. It is the same at Keawaiki until Kapalaoa. At Kapalaoa, there is only one Hawaiian man, Alapa'i. But he is returning to the uplands of Pu'u Anahulu, and there remains only his son, Keawe Alapa'i. All the old natives are gone, none are alive, only Alapa'i and his family. They are the natives of Kapalaoa.
- It is the same at Keawaiki and Kapalaoa.
- Pu'u Anahulu described, and families named.

At Pu'u Anahulu there are only three old natives who remain on the land, living to this day. Most have already passed away. The true natives who are still living are D. Alapai Kahinu, Konanui, and G. Kahuilā.
- Pu'u Anahulu Homestead program.

This is one of the important places for the people today, because it was passed that the Government land be established as a Homestead District. And it is because of that, that the author has remained there as a tenant in the community of the mountain land.

As a result of the Homesteads, there are many people who have taken up homes for themselves. Men and women, with their own belongings, living independently on their own. Living like this in their own homes, they cultivate their own food and such as well. There are parents, children, grandchildren, and grandparents. The homes are full and festive, and there is joy with the growing numbers of offspring.
- Children born to Pu'u Anahulu Homesteaders.

Many children have been born to the mothers at Pu'u Anahulu — Mrs. Jas. Kilonā Alapa'i has 7 children living, and one that passed away. Mrs. Keawe Alapa'i has 5 living children in good health. Mrs. Ka'ailuwale Maka'ai has 7

living children in good health.

- New school built at Pu'u Anahulu.
- Pu'u Wa'awa'a ranch provides families with livelihood.

Mrs. Keākealani has 5 living children in good health. Mrs. Mitchell has 4 living children in good health. Mrs. Kaholo has 6 children living. Mrs. Solomon Ka'ilihwiwa Jr. recently gave birth to a daughter. And Mrs. Keli'i 'Aipia has a new child... All combined, there are 44 children, 22 girls and 22 boys... One of the beautiful things is that we have gotten a new school house in which to teach the children. There is a good teacher too, Mrs. Lily Kekuewa Smythe...

At Pu'u Wa'awa'a, there are no natives left, they all passed away long ago. Senator Robert Hind, with his family, are the ones that are upon the land now. He is raising livestock. Caring for the livestock is the employment of the people of this place. It is that which keeps the people secure upon this mountain land of Pu'u Anahulu, like a parent who loves her children... [June 12, 1924]

Ka Huaka'i Lawai'a i Kapalaoa (The Fishing Trip to Kapalaoa)

In 1926, Reverend Steven L. Desha Sr., editor of the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, penned a series of articles that described Kapalaoa and practices of the native families of the coastal region of Nāpu'u and Kekaha. In the article, he told readers about the work of Reverend George "Holokahiki" Ka'ōnohimaka, who was the beloved elder leader of the churches of the Kekaha region of North Kona. Desha reported that it was Ka'ōnohimaka who founded the school and church at Kapalaoa (in ca. 1880), on the family land of D. Alapa'i Kahinu (Alapa'i) (*Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, August 10, 1926:3). It was while on visits to Kapalaoa, that Desha himself developed a great love for the area—in 1928 Desha purchased Kapalaoa Homestead Lot No. 39. The following excerpts from Desha's articles provide readers with an overview of traditions of Kapalaoa, a description of the Kekaha community in the early twentieth century. He also introduces readers to several of the families who traveled on the *ala hele* and *ala loa* of the region. Writing in the third party, Desha reported—

Several weeks ago, our editor took a break and went to the shore at a place called Kapalaoa near the boundary of North Kona and South Kohala, close to the place called 'Anaeho'omalū. There are three houses at this place called Kapalaoa, they are the pandanus thatched house of D.A. Kahinu, known by the name of Alapa'i, and the house of his family, and a school house which was gotten from him when he got his 17 acre homestead lot, and the house of the late Kimo Hale (James Purdy), which his daughters now own. They are Mrs. Maka'ai of Pu'u Anahulu and Mrs. Lindsey of Waimea. It was in their home that the editor, his family, and some guests were hosted...

The Reason that the Name "Kapalaoa" was Given

Here is a little interesting tale about the name given to this place. At one time in the distant past, there was living along these shores, a chiefess whose name was "*Ke Ali'i Wahine o Kuaīwa*" (The Chiefess Kuaīwa) and there were multitudes of people dwelling in her presence. There were two kinds of work done by the people who dwelled on this land at that time, that was *ka 'oihana hana pa'akai* (salt making) and *ka 'oihana lawai'a* (fishing).

One day, there drew near to the entrance of the chiefess Kuaīwa's house, an old woman with sagging skin. she was very old and her eyes were smeared with mucus. When the old woman met with the chiefess Kuaīwa, she asked if the chiefess could give her a little fish. Now the fishermen were just returning to the shore and their chiefess, with canoes filled with fish of all different kinds. Now perhaps because of the dirty nature of the old beggar woman, and because of the inflamed nature of her eyes, the chiefess felt no compassion for the old woman. So Kuaīwa answered her

haughtily, denying the old beggar woman any fish. She pushed her away from the door and made rude remarks to her.

Not long after the time this old woman was pushed away, the chiefess Kuaīwa was resting in her house with her *ipukai i'a* (bowl of fish) placed before her. There erupted from a place behind where her house was situated a fire. The chiefess tried to run away, while taking up her *ipukai punahele* (cherished fish bowl), and attempted to save her life. Foremost in the chiefess' thoughts about her life, was her *Lei Palaoa* (whale tooth pendant), which she took from her neck and threw outside of the house. Where it fell, it immediately turned to stone. This stone in the shape of a whale tooth pendant is still there to this day. Also, a short distance away, is the body of the chiefess who was consumed by the fire of the old woman who she pushed away without compassion. She was turned to a stone as well. The stone body of the chiefess Kuaīwa may still be seen standing there to this day.

When she was overtaken by the fires of this supernatural old woman, her cherished *ipukai i'a* (fish bowl) also slipped from her hand. And just as the immeasurable wrath of this old woman had turned the *Lei Palaoa* into stone, and just as the chiefess had been turned to stone, so too, was the fish bowl covered by the fires and turned to stone by this supernatural woman. The *ipukai* may still be seen to this day, about 100 feet away from the stone body of the chiefess, Kuaīwa. The fish from within the *ipukai* were perhaps consumed by this supernatural woman of the fire. But only the *ipukai* remains, there are no fish in it.

As a result of the *Lei Palaoa* of the chiefess Kuaīwa being turned to stone, this place came to be called KA-PALAOA [The-Whale-tooth-pendant]. And this place has been the home of many of the fishermen and those who make salt from ancient times, in this land of ours. There remains at this time, the home of D. Alapa'i Kahinu, on this *kaha* (shore) of Kapalaoa, as well as the family of Kimo Hale, the families of these two women who hosted us at this *kaha mehameha* (lonely shore), and who shared this tradition with us.

At the place where the stone body of the chiefess Kuaīwa is found, the water is shallow. It is at the sandy shore which is where 'Anaeho'omalū begins. At this little shallow place, there live many *he'e o kaiuli* (octopus which come up from the deep sea). In the months of September and October the *he'e* move up from the depths of the sea and dig their holes in this shallow water, and are a great benefit to the natives of this *kaha wai 'ole o nā Kona* (waterless shore of the Kona lands). It is not called this because there is no water, but because the water is not sweet. Most of the water of this shore is half salt water (brackish).

At the home of Kimo Hale, where his descendants reside, there is a *punawai* (spring) dug into the earth, a spring in the coral stones. The spring was made by the Hawaiians, by cooking some of the coral as in an *imu*, at the instruction of Mr. Spencer, the grandfather of Sam. M. Spencer. The spring is known by the name "Pakana." The spring, made about fifty years ago, remains there to this day. It is from this spring that visitors obtained water while resting at the village of Kapalaoa, and through the graciousness of the family of Kimo Hale, who make the spring known to the visitors.

In the shallow waters of Kapalaoa, there are also many *ku'una 'upena* (net fishing spots), and more than enough fish may be caught in the nets, filling the fish bowls of the natives of this desirable shore. There is a boastful saying, that one "Lights the fire and is filled with joy, before going to catch the fish, which are placed jumping on the flames." These words are not true, but are said in boast of the good fishing. (S.L. Desha Sr. August 3, 1926)

Later, in the same series of article, Desha wrote that by the 1870s, Reverend George P. Ka'ōnohimaka assumed pastorship for the field of Kekaha, and through his efforts, at least six churches in the Kekaha region were established. The "Statistical Table of the Hawaiian Churches for 1877" identified G.P. Ka'ōnohimaka as the Pastor of the Kekaha Church, with a total of 174 members in good standing (Hawaii State Archives, Lyons' Collection; M-96). Desha noted that the period he was writing about was the time when he was the minister of the churches at Kealakekua and Lanakila (ca. 1889).

The following excerpts, translated by the author come from the August 17, 1926 issue of *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, and describe travel along the coastal and *mauka-makai* trails of the region in the late nineteenth century.

During the tenure of Rev. G.P. Kaonohimaka, as Minister of the Churches of Kekaha, he worked with true patience. He traveled the "*kihapai laula*" (broad field or expansive parish) on his donkey, keeping his work in the various sections of the *kihapai laula*. There were times when he would begin his journey by going to the section of Nāpu'u (The Hills), that is Puuanahulu and Puuwaawaa. Then when he was done there, he would go down to Kapalaoa, at the place known as Anaehoomalu. When he was finished there, he would travel to the various places, being Keawaiki, Kiholo, Kaupulehu, Kukio, Makalawena, Mahaiula, and Honokohau and Kaloko. Kaonohimaka would then return to the uplands of Kohanaiki and Kalaoa. He would be gone for several weeks at a time till he returned once again to his home. He would sleep as a guest in the homes of the brethren.

There were many Church Elders (*Luna Ekalasia*) in these places where the people dwelt. In these various places, there were many residents, and the prayer services would be held in the homes of some of the people, if there was no school house or meeting house at certain places.

It was the custom of the people he visited to give him gifts of various kinds... One time, while on one of his journeys to Nāpu'u to hold a meeting, when the gathering was over, he was given a chicken. He took the chicken, held it in his hand, and then secured it to the saddle of his very patient donkey. This was a good and patient donkey who took him everywhere. Holding on to his umbrella, Ka'ōnohimaka departed, to go down to Kapalaoa, and hold a meeting with the families of the shore.

Shortly after he passed the place called "Puu Anahulu," the chicken began fluttering all around, which greatly startled the donkey, and caused him turn around. So the favorite donkey of Reverend Ka'ōnohimaka, threw off him off with his umbrella, which broke in the fall. Fortunately Reverend Ka'ōnohimaka was not hurt in the fall, and the donkey did not run away, leaving him in the middle of the *pāhoehoe* fields. Instead the donkey came back and with a smile, Reverend Ka'ōnohimaka got back on and continued his journey... (Desha in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, August 17, 1926:3)

NĀPU‘U–RESIDENCY AND LAND USE (NINETEENTH CENTURY)

Residency and Land Records in Archival Collections

In the preceding sections of the study, readers were provided with historical information (most from regional residents and native writers) about the lands of Nāpu‘u. In their writings we learned about native families, the range of environmental zones in which they lived and worked, resource development and land use practices, and features of the cultural landscape spanning both the traditional period (the time preceding ca. 1800) and subsequent historic period through the early twentieth century. This section of the study provides readers with detailed documentation—of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—recorded in governmental and mission station communications pertaining to the Nāpu‘u-Kekaha region of North Kona and South Kohala (with particular emphasis on the lands of Pu‘u Anahulu and Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a). Communications include important records establishing land tenure, land use practices; transitions in ownership; and historic features—primarily recorded through the efforts of native residents and government surveyors.

The primary repositories of the original documentation cited below were the Hawai‘i State – Archives; Survey Division¹²; Land Management Division; Bureau of Conveyances; University of Hawaii-Hilo, Mo‘okini Library; and family collections. The information is generally presented in chronological order (by category), and communications translated by the author (Maly) are noted. (Italics and underlining emphasis is this author’s – noting particular place names, features, and sections of text.)

Population Statistics

Based on missionary calculations (partially a result of the Ellis Tour cited above), the population on the island of Hawai‘i was estimated at 85,000 individuals in 1823 (Schmitt 1973:8). In 1835, population records for the region of Kekaha (Kapalaoa to Kealakehe—the present study area included), placed the population at 1,233 individuals. The total population of Kona in 1831 was 6,649, and in 1835, it was 5,957 individuals; a four year decline of 692 persons (Schmitt 1973:31). Historical accounts (as those cited in the preceding section of the study), recorded the continued decline of the native population in the period from ca. 1850 to 1920.

J.W. Coulter (1931) reviewed various records that detailed population statistics and land utilization records in the Hawaiian Islands up to 1853. He chose 1853, as that was the first year that a census report, by district, for each of the islands was undertaken (Coulter 1931:3-4). On the island of Hawai‘i, Coulter reports that by 1853, the native population numbered 24,450 (cf. Armstrong, April 8, 1854).

The decline of remote area populations is partially explained by the missionary’s efforts at converting the Hawaiian people to Christianity, and encouraging them to leave remote areas (cf. Ellis 1963:296 – in this study). Logically, churches were placed first in the areas of larger native communities, and where chiefly support could be easily maintained. In this way, the missionaries got the most out of the limited number of ministers, and large groups of natives could live under the watchful eyes of church leaders, close to churches, and in “civilized” villages and towns. Overall, the historic record documents the significant effect that western settlement practices had on Hawaiians throughout the islands. Drawing people from isolated native communities into selected village parishes and Hawaiian ports-of-call had a dramatic, and perhaps unforeseen impact on native residency patterns, health, and social and political affairs (cf. I‘i 1959, Kamakau 1961, Doyle 1953, and McEldowney 1979).

Emergence of the Hawaiian Church and School System

Throughout the Hawaiian Islands, important communities (generally near ports and *ali‘i* residences) were selected as primary church and school centers. On Hawai‘i such locations as Hilo Town; Pū‘ula and ‘Ōpihikao, Puna; Wai‘ōhinu, Ka‘ū; Ka‘awaloa and Kailua, Kona; Waimea and I‘ole, Kohala; and Kukuihele, Hāmākua; served as the bases for outreach work on the island. From these centers—all

¹² While various topics are presented under separate sub-titles, survey records of the Hawaiian Kingdom—primarily recorded in the field note books of J.S. Emerson (ca. 1882-1888)—include further documentation on residences, trails, schools, churches, and cultural features.

under the jurisdiction of foreign missionaries—outlying churches were being established. The instruction of students (most of whom were adults in the early years), in reading, writing and other skills also fell to the missionaries and trained native teachers. By 1831, eleven hundred schools were in operation throughout the islands, with more than thirty thousand students (Kuykendall and Day 1970:79). These schools—usually associated with native churches—were organized in most populated *ahupuaʻa* around the island of Hawaiʻi, and native teachers and lay-ministers were appointed to oversee their daily activities.

By ca. 1840, most of the native residents of the Hawaiian Islands could read and write, and interest in the schools began to diminish. On October 15, 1840, Kamehameha III enacted a law that required the maintenance and local support (through Tuesday or “Poalua” taxation revenues) of the native schools in all populated areas (cf. Kuykendall and Day 1970:80 and records cited below). Records of 1848 report that in the Kekaha region there were ten church-school meeting houses. In Puʻu Anahulu and Puʻu Waʻawaʻa these included:

School and Teacher—Kiholo-Puuwaawaa (Palaualelo and Punihaole); Wainanalii-Puuanahulu (Kalua). (Hawaii State Archives, Series 262, Box 1, 1848)

School Records (Nāpuʻu and Kekaha) 1848-1908

The following documentation provides readers with an overview of activities undertaken, and statistics recorded in the churches and schools of the Kekaha regions, with emphasis on schools of Nāpuʻu:

- In 1848 The Kekaha-Nāpuʻu Schools were: Wainānālīʻi-Kalua was the teacher; 18 students. Kīholo-Punihaole was the teacher; 21 students. Kaʻelehuluhulu (Kaulana)-Punohu was the teacher; 27 students. (Hawaiʻi State Archives Series 262-box 2, General Reports, January-December 1848).
- The lava flow of 1859 destroyed the Puʻuanahulu school of Wainānālīʻi. (Apparently, no records were submitted for Kīholo or Wainānālīʻi in the preceding years.)
- In 1861 Punihaole was still the teacher at Kīholo. Twenty-three students were enrolled. The only other Kekaha school registered at the time, was Kaʻelehuluhulu; Kaualii was the teacher, and 21 students were enrolled. (Hawaiʻi State Archives Series 262-box 2, 1861 Reports).
- In 1865, Chas. Gulick, School Inspector conducted a detailed survey of 85 of the 94 “common schools” on the island of Hawaiʻi, traveling to each district, and reporting back to the Department of Public Instruction. While important documentation was reported by Gulick, for the Kekaha regions schools he wrote — “The schools at Honokohau, Kaloko, Kalaoa, and Kiholo I did not visit at this time.” He did note that he combined the (Hawaiʻi State Archives Series 262 – Folder Hawaii - 1865:32)
- The 1873 report on the schools of North Kona report that the school at Kaʻelehuluhulu (Kaulana), had been moved to Makalawena, where 16 students were under the instruction of Kahao. (Hawaiʻi State Archives Series 262, 1873 Reports) No record was found for Kīholo.

In the same year, the South Kohala District reported that there was a school at Kapalaoa¹³. J.W. Poi was the teacher, and there were twelve students; five boys and seven girls. The school house was a wooden building. (Hawaiʻi State Archives Series 262, Box 4; 1873 Reports)

¹³ This communication appears to be the first reference to a school being established at Kapalaoa. Additional information pertaining to the establishment of the school was provided by Rev. S. Desha Sr., in his 1926 article series titled “*Ka Huakaʻi Lawaiʻa i Kapalaoa*” (translated in this study).

- By 1880, school reports for the District of South Kohala, begin reporting on the schools at Kīholo and Puuanahulu¹⁴. Lorenzo Lyons, School Superintendent reported — A. Kekahukula was the teacher at Puuanahulu; there were fourteen students, six boys and eight girls. The school was in good condition. I. Kaonohi was the teacher at Kīholo; there were eight boys and three girls. The school was situated in the church (Hawai'i State Archives Series 262, Box 4; 1880, Reports). There was no reference to the school at Kapalaoa. By the 1890s, E. Kamaipelekane was listed as the teacher at Kīholo (Hawai'i State Archives Series 262; 1893 Reports). No records for the schools at Kapalaoa or Pu'uanahulu were located in this period.
- On January 3, 1890, H.N. Greenwell appointed Keala school teacher at Kiholo, at 75 cents per day. (H.N. Greenwell Journals in the collection of James S. Greenwell)

By 1898, the coastal region schools of Kekaha were in decline, and the *mauka* school at Pu'u Anahulu was replacing the Kīholo school. Oral history interviews (cited in *Volume II*) describe a process of seasonal residency—when school was in session or during droughts, families with children lived in the uplands; when school was out, or other activities called for it, the families lived at Kapalaoa, Keawaiki, Kīholo, and Ka'ūpūlehu. On October 6th, 1898 E.H. Gibson made the following report to Dr. C.T. Rodgers of the Department of Public Instruction —

I have visited all the schools in this District – N. Kona. Two of them, Kiholo and Makalawena, are reached by a ride of three hours over aa and pahoehoe. In Kiholo there are four houses and 13 children at present. It's down on the beach. Nothing grows there but a few halas and some hawani [loulou] trees. All their food except fish is brought there. There ought not to be any school there, for people shouldn't live there. Makalawena has 9 houses and 32 children. In both places school is held in the church. At Kiholo the church is of stone, roofless & windowless. At Makalawena the church is a bare wooden shanty, 16 x 24, with a few old pews. Both teachers [not named] do as good work as could be expected of them... (State Archives, Series 261, Box 82; Public Instruction Files, October 6, 1898)

By the turn of the century, the coastal schools at Kīholo and Kapalaoa had been abandoned, and school instruction only took place at Pu'u Anahulu. Writing to Mr. Davis, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Reverend A. S. Baker reporting on the decline in the number of residents and students, noting that it had led to the abandonment of some the facilities—

...at Makalawena and Puuanahulu the public school is held in the chapels. All these were built for chapels, and have services at stated intervals, with a possible exception at Puuanahulu. However the last has been in use as a chapel, though school has not been held there regularly I am informed. No one seems to remember for which purpose it was first built. In the past we also had stations at Kiholo and Kapalaoa, but as the inhabitants moved away, we abandoned these locations... (State Archives, Series 261, Box 82 – Public Instruction File; 1905)

¹⁴ Field records compiled by J.S. Emerson, while conducting surveys in the region, provides specific documentation on the locations of the Pu'u Anahulu and Kapalaoa school houses in 1882 (see Emerson in this study).

In March 1908-09, Geo. F. Wright surveyed of the Pu'u Anahulu School lot (Figure 5), in preparation for the formal transfer of the land to the Department of Public Instruction. In the survey diagram, he also located the old school house, in proximity to the newer one. On July 6, 1908, the Commissioner of Public Lands issued Land Transfer No. 12 to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, formally setting aside the new Pu'u Anahulu School Lot in C.S.F. No. 1895 (Figure 6).

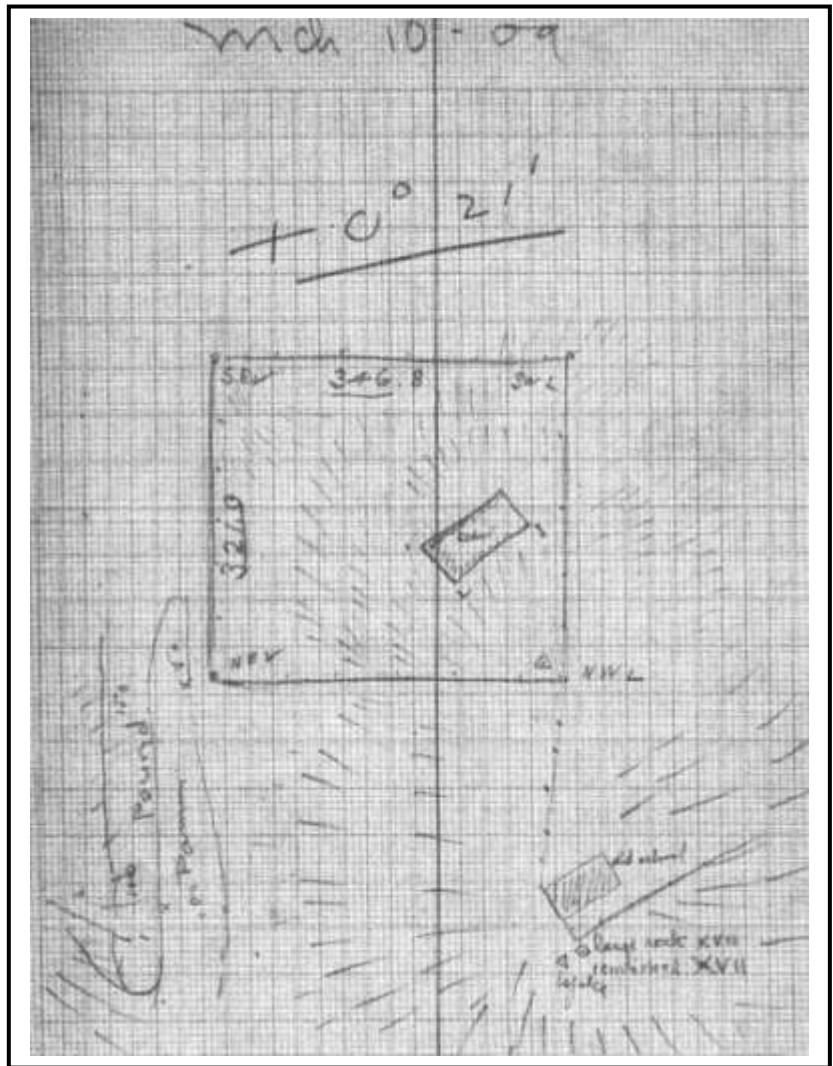


Figure 5. Survey of Puuanahulu School Lot (G. Wright Field Book No. 730; 1909) State Survey Division

The school assessors report on School Buildings (1907-1911), recorded that the school at Puuanahulu consisted of “One frame building, a school and teacher’s cottage combined, made of T&G with a shingle roof and one outhouse (Hawaii State Archives, Series 261 Reports).

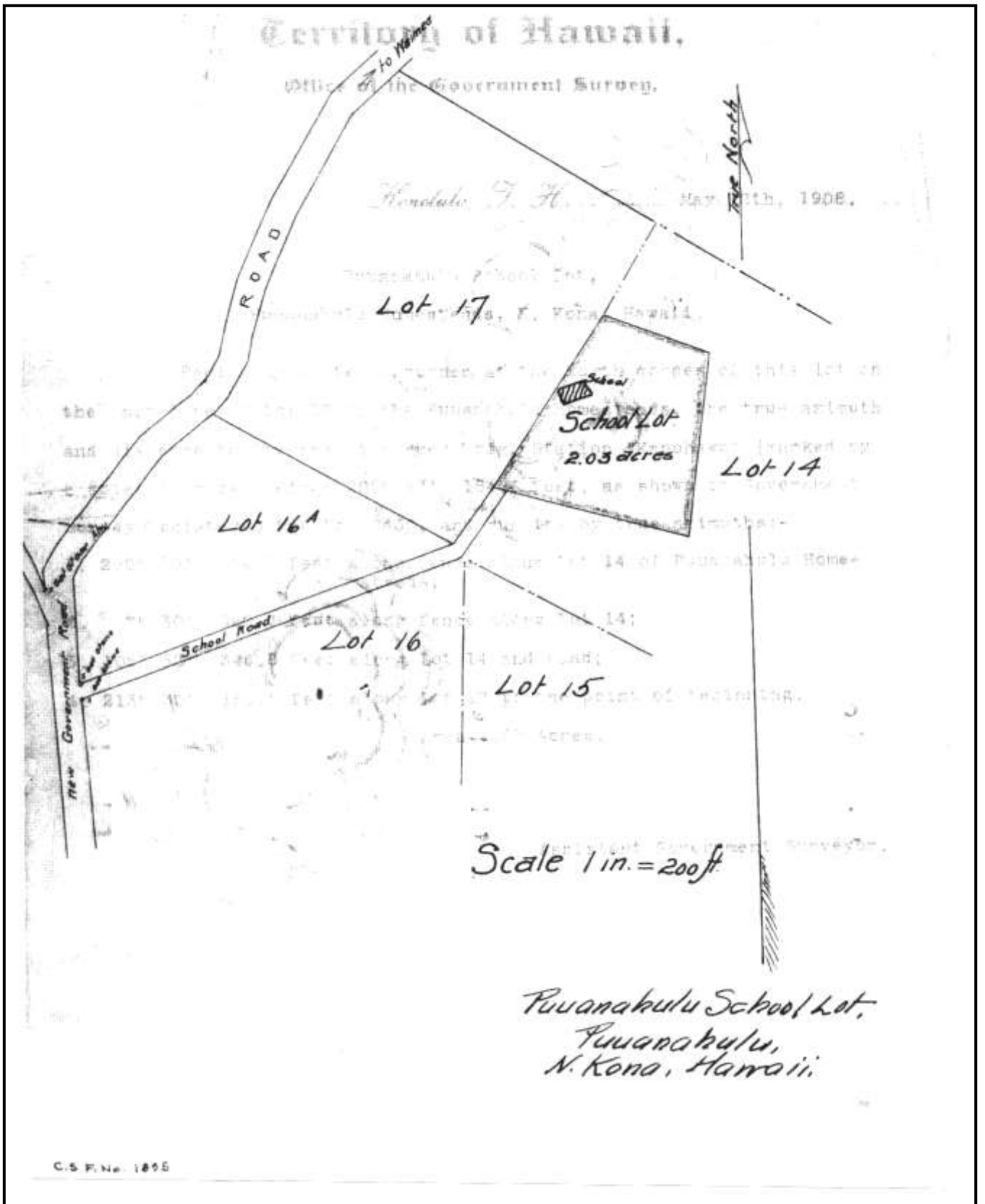


Figure 6. C.S.F. No. 1895; Map of Pu'u Anahulu School Lot (July 6, 1908)
 (State Survey Division)

Taxation Records (1848)

The earliest records identified during this study, that give us names of native residents of Pu‘u Anahulu, Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a and neighboring lands of Kekaha, come from Kingdom taxation journals. The “*Auhau Poalua*” (Tuesday Tax) was collected to help pay for government services—for example public service projects such as roads, and the school programs.

The *Auhau Pō‘alua* was paid by native tenants in labor services, goods, or financial compensation. On January 1, 1849, Samuela Ha‘anio, Tax Assessor (District II, Island of Hawai‘i) submitted a report titled “*Inoa o na kanaka auhau/poalua ma Kona Akau mai Puuanahulu a Honuaino—483 kanaka*” (Names of people who come under the Poalua Tax Laws in North Kona, from Puuanahulu to Honuaino—483 people). The records identify sixteen residents in the lands of Pu‘u Anahulu and Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a. Because of the close relationship between these families, *Table 1* includes the names of individuals from Pu‘u Anahulu to Kaulana. Several of the individuals cited below, are recalled today in this study, by their descendants (see interviews in this study).

**Table 1. *Auhau Poalua*
Ahupuaa *Name of Tax Paying Residents***

Puuanahulu	Kepookoaioku, Kuaiwa, Paka, Kaiwehena, Kuakahela, Kalawaia
Puuwaawaa	Pinamu, Palaualelo, Kauo, Napunielua, Kainoa, Kauai, Kanaina, Naaiohelo, Paaluhi
Kaupulehu	Kaihumanumanu, Kalaehoa, Wainee, Aeae, Kanaina, Nauha, Wahapuu
Kukio:	Kau, Nakulua, Makaakau
Makalawena:	Koaliiole, Kahaialii, Kapehe, Mamae, Kauaonuuanu, Kanaina, Kaiakoili, Kauhulu, Nauele
Mahaiula:	Pahia, Kahewahewaulu, Kailieleele, Namahiai, Kapela, Kahanu, Kaikaula, Noai, Mana
Kaulana:	Paoao, Puluole, Napala, Kialoa, Naopii (Hawai‘i State Archives; Series 262, Hawaii – 1849)

The Māhele ‘Āina (Land Division) of 1848

As described earlier in this study on pages 8 through 10 (in the section titled “*Ahupua‘a—A Sustainable Hawaiian Resources Management Unit*”), it was not until the middle nineteenth century (1848), when the *Māhele ‘Āina* (Land Division) was approved, that a mechanism for fee-simple ownership of land in the islands came into existence. In pre-western contact Hawai‘i, all land and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (*ali‘i ‘ai ahupua‘a* or *ali‘i ‘ai moku*). The use of lands and resources were given to the *hoa‘āina* (native tenants), at the prerogative of the *ali‘i* and their representatives or land agents (*konohiki*), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. The native residents who lived upon and were sustained by the land (extending from sea to mountains), developed an intimate “kinship” with the land as well.

The Hawaiian system of land tenure was radically altered by the *Māhele ‘Āina* (Land Division) of 1848. This change in land tenure was ardently sought after by the growing Western population and business interests in the island kingdom—generally individuals were hesitant to enter business deals on lease-hold land. The resulting *Māhele* (division) defined the land interests of Kamehameha III (the King), the high-ranking chiefs, and the *konohiki*. 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 (Chinen 1958:vii and Chinen 1961:13). Laws in the period of the *Māhele* record that ownership rights to all lands in the kingdom were “*subject to the rights of the native tenants;*” those individuals who lived on the land and worked it for their subsistence and the welfare of the chiefs (*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima... {Penal Code} 1850:22*). The 1850 resolutions in “*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina,*” authorized the newly formed Land Commission to award fee-simple title to all native tenants who occupied and improved any

portion of Crown, Government, or Konohiki lands. These awards were to be free of commutation except for house lots located in the districts of Honolulu, Lāhainā, and Hilo (cf. Penal Code, 1850:123-124; and Chinen 1958:29).

After native Hawaiian commoners were granted the opportunity to acquire their own parcels of land through the Māhele, foreigners were also granted the right to own land in 1850, provided they had sworn an oath of loyalty to the Hawaiian Monarch (Kame'eiehiwa 1992:300). In order to receive their awards from the Land Commission, the *hoa'āina* were required to prove that they cultivated the land for a living. They were not permitted to acquire "wastelands" (e.g. fishponds) or lands which they cultivated "with the seeming intention of enlarging their lots." Once a claim was confirmed, a survey was required before the Land Commission was authorized to issue any award (ibid.). The lands awarded to the *hoa'āina* became known as "*Kuleana* Lands." All of the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards or LCA) were numbered, and the LCA numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai'i.

By the time of its closure on March 31, 1855, the Land Commission issued only 8,421 *kuleana* claims, equaling only 28,658 acres of land to the native tenants (Kame'eiehiwa 1992:295). The Register and Testimony books of Māhele provide documentation on the following Land Commission Awards (LCA) for the lands that were awarded. But in the case of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a, it appears that none of the native tenants—such as those identified in the school and taxation records cited above—filed claims for land on which they lived.

The Indices of Awards (1929) does not identify any awards being granted to native tenants in the *ahupua'a* of Pu'u Anahulu or Pu'u Wa'awa'a. Though while conducting a review of the Native Register (1848), in which native tenants registered their claims, one unawarded claim was located¹⁵:

No. 7358 – Kahauliko

Greetings to the Land Commissioners; I Kahauliko, hereby state my claim for a lot 27 fathoms by 18 fathoms, 70 [fathoms] in circumference.

Kiholo, Kona, Hawaii

KAHAULIKO

January 25, 1848 (Native Register Vol. 8:263)

In the *Māhele* the entire *ahupua'a* were disposed of in the following manner —

Pu'uwa'awa'a, a Crown Land, was claimed by Mikahela Kekau'ōnohi (a granddaughter of Kamehameha I), but relinquished to Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), and made a part of the Crown Lands inventory. (*Buke Mahele* 1848:25-26; Interior Department Land File - Doc. 374 and letter of Apr. 25, 1866.)

Pu'uanahulu, a Government Land, was claimed by J.A. Kuakini 'opio, but relinquished to the government in commutation for land he received elsewhere. (*Buke Mahele* 1848:85-86; Interior Department Land Files - Doc. 374 and letter of Apr. 25, 1866.)

As a part of the Māhele, the Interior Department initiated a surveying program in order to facilitate the issuing of title for awards, and enable the Kingdom to establish lease and sale policies of Crown and Government lands. Among the lands described was Pu'u Anahulu. S.C. Wiltse provided the Minister of the Interior with the following description:

¹⁵ It is likely that a closer inspection of the volumes of the Native Register will provide a few additional records for claims made, but not awarded, in the study area lands. [Note: since completing this study, several other native tenant claims for kuleana in Pu'u Wa'awa'a have been located in the records.]

**S.C. Wiltse, Surveyor; to Minister of Interior
September 5, 1865. Kona, Hawaii**

Government Lands in this District not sold... "Puuanahulu."

This land extends from the sea inland about 16 miles and contains about 50,000 Ac., about ½ of which is grazing land (mostly *pili*); the other part contains very little vegetation of any kind. The last lava flow covered a considerable part of this land. It is leased to three natives for 30 years [cf. Lease No. 106 in this study]... (State Archives; Interior Department, Lands)

**Pu'u Anahulu, Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Adjoining Lands:
Proceedings of the Boundary Commission (ca. 1865-1886)**

The emergence of fee-simple title of lands in Hawai'i facilitated the rapid growth of business interests. 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—much of it spreading over vast tracts of land. Business 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, growing business interests also heightened the need to establish boundaries of the large (*ahupua'a*) awards of land so that "private property rights" could be protected.

In 1862, a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom of Hawai'i to standardize and legally 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). Rufus A. Lyman served as the Commissioner of Boundaries for the Third Judicial Circuit—Hawai'i. The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the areas being discussed; in this case many of the witnesses had been born in one of the lands of the of Nāpu'u or at least in neighboring lands of Kekaha, between the 1790s to the 1830s. Thus, the testimonies provide invaluable documentation pertaining to the lands of Nāpu'u.

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 many words such as place names, people names and feature types. 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 Pu'u Anahulu place name, "Puuoā Kaualii," would be written "Pū'o'a Ka'uāli'i."

The narratives below are excerpts from the testimonies given by native residents (or surveyors who recorded them from native guides) for the lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a, and those lands which share a common boundary with portions of them. Not all of the documentation provided by each witness, is repeated here, though primary documentation regarding *ahupua'a* boundaries in the study area, 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. Most of the place names and other locations cited in the Boundary Commission records can be located on survey maps (for example, Register Map No.'s 515, 1278, 1877, and 2633 dating from 1876 to 1908), and cited as figures in this study.

**Puawaa [Pu'u Wa'awa'a]
Volume B
August 13, 1873**

Aoa K. Sworn:

I was born at Puawaa North Kona Hawaii at the time of Keoua 1st [ca. 1791] lived there till a few months ago when I moved to the adjoining land of Puanahulu. I am *kamaaina* and know the boundaries. Lono an older cousin of mine, now dead,

pointed out the boundaries to me; as the different lands had different Konohiki and different *Koele* [agricultural fields] &c. The land of Puawaa is bounded on the south side by Kaupulehu and *mauka* by the same. On the North by the land of Puanahulu, and *makai* by the sea. The ancient fishing rights of the land extend out to sea.

The boundary at sea shore between this land and Kaupulehu, is at Pohakuokahai, a rocky point in the aa on the lava flow of 1801; the flow from Hualalai to sea. I think it is the third point from Kiholo, in the flow as you go toward Kona. Thence the boundary between these lands runs *mauka* on aa to Keahupuaa, a pile of stones, a short distance *makai* of the Government road, on a spot of old lava in the new flow. Thence *mauka* to Oweowe, a hill covered with trees said hill being surrounded by the flow, the *kipuka pili* [an area of *pili* grass growth] to the south is on Kaupulehu. Thence *mauka* to *mawae* [fissure] on a narrow strip of aa in the middle of the flow with smaller branches of the flow on each side of this strip, thence [page 253] *mauka* to where the aa turns toward Kona, as you go up Hualalai; thence the boundary follows up the East side of the flow to Puuako [Puuakowai], a water hole in the Pukiiawe trees on the old trail from Kainaliu to Puanahulu above the woods.

There the boundary of these lands turns toward Kohala, along the old trail to Waikulukulu, a cave with water dripping from the sides, a little above the woods. Thence along the trail to Punahaha, a hill with cracks running along the top; this is above the large hill at the base of Hualalai; *mauka* of here, it can be seen from here when the mountain is clear. This hill is the corner of Puawaa where Kaupulehu and Puanahulu unite and cut it off. From this boundary point the boundary between Puawaa and Puanahulu runs *makai* to Iana o Maui [Ana-o-Maui], a large cave in the *Pahoehoe*, thence *makai* along the edge of the aa (the *pahoehoe* being on Puanahulu, to Kapohakahiuli a large cave with water in it). Thence *makai* and running along edge of aa, on south side of Haahaa, a place with old cultivating ground at the foot, thence to Kaluakauwila, a *pali* running towards the sea and along the Northern edge of the aa near the foot of the *pali*. Thence the boundary runs to Kukuihakau, a place where people used to live, along the edge of aa. Thence to Kalanikamoa and along an old *iwi aina* [boundary or planting field wall] through this place. Thence the boundary runs to Ahuakamalii; a pile of stones, built in olden times on soil. Thence along old trail to Ahinahina running through the middle of the old cultivating ground; thence *makai* along the road to Uliulihiaka, a *Kahawai* [stream channel] now covered by lava flow of 1859; thence *makai* on the flow of 1859 to Kuanahu, an *ahua* in lava; thence *makai* to Mimiokauahi, an *ahua* covered by flow of 1859. Thence *makai* between Puuoa Lonoakai on Puawaa, and Puuoa Kaulii on Puanahulu, now covered with lava, except small portions of the one on this land. Thence to Kalaiokekai a point on old lava, on the edge of the flow of 1859 near Keawaiki. I used to go on the mountain after sandal wood, and know these boundaries. C.X.d.

A hill called Mailihahei is the corner of Keauhou and Kaupulehu. I do not know the boundaries of Keauhou beyond this point. Keauhou does not reach Puawaa. [page 254]

Nahinalii^K Sworn:

I was born here [Pu'u Wa'awa'a] at the time of the building of Kiholo [ca. 1810], and lived here till 1865 when I moved to Kawaihae. Keopu an old *Kamaaina*, now dead, told me some of the boundaries, and afterwards I went and saw them. Pohakuokahai is the boundary on the shore, between this land and Kaupulehu. From this point the boundaries between these two lands, runs *mauka* to Keahukaupuaa, Paniau is the name of the [*nanu* ?] place where the *ahu* stands, thence *mauka* to Oweowe; which is as far as I know the boundaries on that side.

The *kamaaina* of this land told me that the boundary at shore between Puawaa and Puanahulu, is between Lonokai on Puawaa and Puuokaulii on Puanahulu, they are

very close to the shore.

The *kamaaina* of Puanahulu, told me that the boundary is at Laeokaaukai, on the Kona side of the house at Kaawaiki.

I do not know the boundaries *mauka* of this point, until you come to Ahuaokamalii, an *ahua* on the Kona side of the *pali* some distance from the base; from thence the boundary runs *mauka* to Puuloa, a *pali* in the woods which runs *mauka* toward Hualalai. Thence the boundary runs *mauka* to Kaluakauila, a long *iwi aina* [usually a boundary- or planting field-wall] through a cultivating ground.

This is as far as I know the boundaries and have not heard what the other boundaries are. Have heard that Kaupulehu cuts Puawaa off, above the woods and joins Puanahulu C.X.d. [page 255]

Volume B:428

Puawaa, No. Kona, Hawaii. June 14, 1876

D.H. Hitchcock filed a map & notes of survey. [see *Figure 7* – at end of study – for boundary features between Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Pu'u Anahulu]

D.H. Hitchcock K. Sworn:

I surveyed Puawaa taking Aoa for my *Kamaaina*. I found no dispute as to boundary between Puawaa and Puanahulu. On the boundary between Kaupulehu and Puawaa there is a dispute. The witness Kahueai of Kaupulehu, I found was dead. Commencing on the beach at place called Laemano, old salt works, I took it at an old wall with sand each side, and olds salt works on the south side, and salt works some distance off on the north side. Thence we surveyed to Ahu at Mawae a short distance below road, as Aoa pointed out to me. The other *kamaaina* pointed out towards Kona taking old cultivating ground Oweowe, that Aoa said always belonged to Kaupulehu. The Ahu Aoa pointed out is near a cave. Thence I ran *mauka* to a point of *aa* running down into a *kipuka*, thence I ran a straight line to Puuakowai. I found the witness of Puawaa & Kaupulehu all meet at Puuakowai, but Keliihanapule's evidence cropped the land of Puawaa to Puuiki and then back to Puuakowai.

From Puuakowai I ran a straight line to Pohakunahaha. It is a prominent mark on the side of mountain, an old crater with three divisions in it, middle division belongs to this land. One of the other divisions belongs to Kaupulehu and another to Puanahulu. Punihaole was with me when I surveyed Puawaa on the Puuanahulu side, and said he was satisfied with the survey. He is the lessee of Puawaa. C.X.d... [page 428]

Keliihanapule^k. Sworn

Testimony for the Ahupuaa of Kaupulehu [Section bounding Pu'u Wa'awa'a]; at Henry Cooper's Store, Kailua (Rather a young man) (Vol. B:247-249)

I was born at Kiholo, do not know when. I now live at Kohanaiki and know the land of Kaupulehu and its *makai* [shoreward] boundaries. My *Kupuna* told them to me. Bounded on the north side by Puawaa [Puuwaawaa], Kalaemano is the boundary at sea shore¹⁶ between these two lands; a place where they make salt. Thence passing

¹⁶ Ka-lae-manō (the-shark-point) — It will be seen that the testimony of older natives of the region placed the boundary at Pōhakuokahae (“Pohakuokahai”), south of Kalaemanō. It is also worthy to note that the tradition of salt making in the vicinity has remained important over the generations. Oral history interviews cited in this study identify the Kalaemanō area as one of the primary salt making places in the Kekaha region.

Also, as the name indicates, *manō* or shark(s) were associated with the area, and as recorded in interviews in this study, the *manō* was both god and family member. From a conversation with the chief Kaua'i (living at Kīhōlo), J.S. Emerson learned that “Kolo-pulepule (spotted creeper) is the shark of the

through the middle of Kalaemano to a *mawae* [fracture or fissure] called Paaniau at the Government road. There is a pile of stones just *mauka* [upland] of the *alanui* [road]. Thence to a *kihapai* [usually a dryland cultivating ground] called Hikuhia thence to Puuki, a hill where Kaupulehu joins Puanahulu [Puuanahulu]. Thence along the land of Puanahulu to Puualala. Puawaa bounds it to Puuakowai, thence along Puanahulu to Ahuakamalii, a spot on the lava flow of 1859. This is as far as I know on that side... I do not know a place called Pohakuokahai. The place where they make salt at the sea shore, is on the Kona side of the lava flow; the place I call Mawae is at the Government road. The place called Puuoweoweo is on Kaupulehu, and not on the boundary at the point where the *aa* turns towards Kona, as you go up the mountain. The boundary runs straight up. I do not know a place along here called Waikulukulu or Puuohaha. Puuohaha is an *Ahua aa* [stone cairn or mound] in the middle of Kaupulehu. I do not know where Puulehu is. [page 248]

***Kahueai*^k Sworn. (Vol. B:249-250)**

I was born here at Kailua at the time of building the *heiau* [perhaps a reference to Keikipu'ipu'i c. 1812]. Am a *kamaaina* of Kona and now live at Puawaa. Know the land of Kaupulehu, my *kupuna* (now dead) told me the boundaries, he was an old bird catcher. The boundary on the Kohala side [between Ka'upulehu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a] at shore is a spot of sand called Kalomo¹⁷ on the south side of Kalaemano, thence to Keanaowaea at the Government road, way towards the *aa*. Thence to Hikuhia, crossing at the *aa*, thence to Oweowe a cave. Thence to Pualala [Puualala] a *koa* grove, thence to Pualalaiki [Puualalaiki] a second *koa* grove, there the boundary turning towards Kona runs to a crater called Pohokinikini, thence to Kalulu, a cave. Thence to Puuakowai, a water hole. There the boundary turns towards Mauna Kea, and runs to Kolekole. Thence to Puuki, thence to a strip of *aa* opposite a hill called Mailehahei where Keauhou cuts Kaupulehu off... [page 249]

***Keakaikawai*^k Sworn. (Vol. B:249-250)**

(Witness on Keauhou 2nd) [section of testimony describing *mauka* region of Pu'u Wa'awa'a-Pu'u Anahulu, Ka'upulehu and Keauhou]:

The boundary of Keauhou runs up the mountain to a cave on the side of the mountain above the woods called Waikulukulu. Thence to Puuakowai an old water hole now filled up by cattle tramping around it. This place is the junction of the land of Kaupulehu with Keauhou... [page 251]

Kaupulehu

Volume D No. 5. June 15, 1886

J.M. Alexander – Sworn:

During the year 1885, I surveyed the land of Kaupulehu, *mauka* it joins Puwaawaa. The *Kamaainas*, Luahine and others, shewed me the boundaries. Ikaaka of Kaupulehu kai was the guide, *makai*. Mr. Hitchcock had surveyed this land formerly, but never made a map. On our surveying tour, we often came to piles of stones which the guides said were put up by Mr. Hitchcock; one celebrated place, "Keahukaupuaa," below the Government Road, was a pile of stones, and Hitchcock's flag pole. Above that to Oewe, Ikaaka and Luahine were the guides, and to Puluohia; they told me the boundaries went on to "Puakowai" water hole. Punihaole and Keanini – sent Keanini a guide who went with Hitchcock to point out the places,

coast between Lae Mano in Puuwaawaa and Kalaoa, North Kona. February 20, 1888" (Bishop Museum - HEN I:584).

¹⁷ Kalomo – as noted throughout these texts, the transcriber had difficulty with the spelling of place names; Kalomo may actually have been the name "Kolomu'o" which is one of the "*wahi pana*" or storied places of Ka'upulehu.

Puakowai, Puupohaku etc.

We found the water hole as was said. Keanini, Kalamakini, and some other old men at Kaupulehu kai described the *mauka* boundary to me, and sent Aalona to show me the boundary at “Mailehahee” Where we found the pile and mark that Aalona said Hitchcock put up when surveying.

Kalamakini told me the boundary from [page 30] Mailehahee to East of Hualalai, and we went there, to the Government Trig. Station. At Puunahaha Keauhou 2^d joins Kaupulehu and they run along together to the top of Honuaula, the West Trig. Station, where is an Iron pin in the ground, and marks on rocks. Then on to a *koa* grove, and on in woods, adjoining sundry lands. We marked all the corners of this land with large piles of stones and marked rocks. Kalamakini also went on, adjoining Kaloko, to place near Palahalaha, then to Kawaiokalaepuni, and to Pulehu. Hopulaau and son showed the rest of the boundary on to Moanuahea, and on to “Puhiapele,” and on to head of Kukio 1st, survey by J. Fuller, Grant 2121 to Kukulii [sic – Pupule]. I took the boundaries as per, said Grant, from there to the sea. This is the Map and notes of survey I made. I surveyed along the sea shore, but do not give the bearings as the sea is the boundary. Some of the witnesses are too far off, or too feeble to come here today. The land is much of it lava. ... I have brought Aalona and Kalamakini as witnesses.

Kalamakini – S. I now live at Kahaluu, have lived formerly at Kaupulehu, and know that land well to Puuwaawaa. At Puakowai, I began to shew the boundary to Alexander, and on to Pohakuloa, and Mailehahae, and Pukaiki, between Honuaula and Kaupulehu, and on to “Hinakapoula,” adjoining Kaloko; thence to Palahalaha, along Kaloko, then to “Waiakalaepuni,” and on to Pulehu, where the Government lands end; then on to “Moanuahea,” adjoining “Puukala.” That was all I knew, others showed the rest.

Aalona – S. – I live at Kailua – I shewed the surveyor Alexander, the place “Mailehahee,” a hill between Kaupulehu and Keauhou 2nd on the East of Kaupulehu and North of Keauhou – then to Puumauu – then to Lalakaukolo on the summit of Hualalai, then I [page 31] returned home... [page 32]

Volume C No. 4:55-57

No. 160 Certificate of Boundaries of the land of Kaupulehu. District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii. Third Judicial Circuit, F.S. Lyman Esq. Commissioner; In the matter of the boundaries of the land of Kaupulehu...

Judgement

An application to decide and certify the Boundaries of the land of Kaupulehu, District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii having been filed with me on the 13th day of May, A.D. 1886, by J.M. Alexander, for and in behalf of Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop's Estate, in accordance with the provisions of an Act to facilitate the settlement of Boundaries etc., approved on the 22nd day of June, A.D. 1886; now therefore, having duly received and heard all the testimony offered in reference to the said boundaries, and having endeavored otherwise to obtain all information possible to enable me to arrive at a just decision, which will more fully appear by reference to the records of this matter by me kept in Book No. 5, page 30, and it appearing to my satisfaction that the true and lawful and equitable boundaries, are as follows, viz.

Beginning at the S.W. corner of Puu Waawaa at the seaward extremity of the ledge called Pohakuokahae, whence the Gov't. trig. Station on Akahipuu is S. 2°31'43"W (True) 36137 feet; thence the boundaries run by the true meridian to [page 55] corners marked by ahus over rectangles cut in rock with crosses cut on the

surrounding rocks as follows...

[coordinates cited in original not repeated here, only features or place names given in this copy]

S... along Puuwaawaa to Keahukaupuaa on the Wst side of an "aa" flow and 440 feet below the Kiholo road...

S...16752 feet along Puuwaawaa to a "lae aa" on the West side of a lava flow in Oweowe...

N 77° 11' 11" W 32178 feet; thence

S...7423 feet along Puuwaawaa to an "aa" flow in Puluohia; thence

S...16726 feet along Puuwaawaa to the waterhole Puakowai; thence

S...8530 feet along Puuwaawaa to the knoll Pohakuloa; thence

S...10481 feet along Puuwaawaa to the knoll Mawae; thence

S...9290 feet along Puuwaawaa to the S.W. peak of the rent crater hill, Puu Nahaha, at the upper edge of the forest and at the South corner of Puuwaawaa... [end of Pu'u Wa'awa'a coordinates] [page 56]

Alexander's Field Book, Register No. 559 was viewed in the collection of the State Survey Division. His description of the Pu'u Wa'awa'a-Ka'ūpūlehu boundary and upper Pu'u Anahulu-Ka'ūpūlehu boundary contains a few additional historical points of interest —

Reg. No. 559:77-78 (March 25, 1885)

The Boundary of Kaupulehu begins on the N. side at a high rock rifted along the top & jutting into the ocean, called Pohakuokahai; & is marked on the top of this rock by a rectangle with a hole in the center, cutting through the rock, & by +s on the rocks near by. Thence it runs to the *ahu* a little below the public road called Keahukaupuaa, passing two ahus in this line marked like the boundary corners. Thence to a point on the W. side of a lava flow on an elevated spot in the region called Oweowe; thence to a point in the lava flow of very friable lava, the furthest East of the lava flows in the region called Puluohia; thence to the NW side of a waterhole, N of Kalulu, called Puakowai. Thence to a small knoll a little SE of the forest called Pohakuloa; thence to a similar knoll, similarly situated, called Mawae. Thence to a hill far distant on the edge of the forest, a hill riven through the center called Puu Nahaha...

Volume 1 No. 3

Puuanahulu (Pu'uanahulu)

[Incomplete. Side note reads – "Recorded by mistake"]

by Levi Chamberlain Certificate not necessary." R.A. Lyman)

Certificate of the Boundaries of the Land of Puuanahulu, District of North Kona, Is. of Hawaii. Commission of Boundaries 3rd Judicial Circuit, R.A. Lyman Esq. Commissioner.

Judgement

...Commencing at Sea Coast at an *ahu*, line of Anaehoomalu and running to Keahualono.

North 79°25' East 20.00 Chains. Thence along Waikoloa, as follows:

North 89°00' East 522.00 Chains, passing Puukoa, Palihai, Hanamauloa, Kaua, Kahialaa, Kapalihookaakaa, to Kapukaiki —

South 47°00 East 84.00 Chains to an *ahu*...

[coordinates cited in original not repeated here, only features or place names given in this copy]

...South/East to Kikaha.

South/East to lava of Hanaialii.

South/East to Wawaekea.

South/East to Ahu.

South/East to Keamuku.
 South/East to Hewia.
 South/East to ahu.
 South/East to Kaawa.
 South/East to Puukapele, on southern slope.
 Thence to Kaohe.
 South/West to large ahu on Aa of 1859 at place called "Naohuleelua." Here it corners on Keauhou.
 Thence along line of Kaupulehu to Pohakunahaha.
 North 74°00' West 613 Chains.
 Thence along line of Puuwaawaa.
 North 11°00' West 260.00 Chains to "Ana o Maui," a sleeping Cave.
 North 31°00' West 260.00 Chains to point on "Aa" opposite Puuhuluhulu.
 North 54 ½° West 130.00 Chains to an ahu on "Aa."
 North 29 ½° West 60.00 Chains to an ahu on "Aa."
 North 53 ½° West 13.00 Chains.
 North 21°00' West 34.00 Chains to Ahuakamalii.
 North 51°37' West 129.50 Chains to an ahu on hill [page 272] near "flow of 1859."
 North 50°00' West 182.80 Chains to Pond of Kaawaiki on Sea Coast.
 Thence along the Sea Coast.
 North 54°15' East 150.00 Chains to Ahu at point of Commencement — and Containing an area of 86,945 Acres – more or less as per Map & Survey of D.H. Hitchcock. [Register Map No. 515 – *Figure 7*, at end of study]
 Oct. 30, 1878. [page 273]

Pu'uanahulu (as Recorded in the Boundaries of 'Anaeho'omalu, Waikōloa and Waimea)

Volume A No. 1

The Ahupuaa of Anaehoomalu District South Kohala, Island of Hawaii, 3d J.C.

August 14, 1873

George Kaukuna^K. Sworn (Same witness as on Kalahuipuaa).

Know the land of Anaehoomalu in South Kohala. Puuanahulu a land in North Kona, bounds it on the South west side, this land used to bound it on the *mauka* side also, but I am told that Waikoloa now bounds it from the South corner. Bounded on the North side by Kalahuipuaa; and by the sea on the *makai* side, the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.

Kuihelani (now dead), a *kamaaina* of the land showed me the boundaries. The boundary at sea shore between Anaehoomalu and Puuanahulu is at Hiiakaikalei, a small *heiau*. The *kamaaina* said the line of sea [fishing] rights runs *makai* to Pohakuloa, a place between two rocks in the seas, a few rods to the north side of a rock called Meko [Pohaku o Meko], from this point at the shore, the boundary between these lands runs *mauka* to Ahu o Lono, on the *makai* side of the Government road, which is the corner of Waikoloa [page 386] thence along Waikoloa, along the Government road towards Kawaihae to a place on the Kona side of Kepani...

Naauhau^K. Sworn. (Same witness as on Kalahuipuaa)

The boundary at sea shore between Anaehoomalu and Puuanahulu is at Hiakalaihii [Hiiakaikaalei] a small *heiau*, thence *mauka* to Ahu o Lono, thence along the Government road towards Kawaihae. Waikoloa is said to bound Anaehoomalu *mauka* to Kepani; just before you can see the trees at the shore on Kalahuipuaa coming towards Kawaihae... Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. CX.d. [page 387]

Decision

The boundaries of Anaehoomalu are decided to be commencing at a small *Heiau* on sea shore called Hiiakaikalei, thence, *mauka* along land of Puanahulu to pile of stones Ahu o Lono *mauka* of Gov't. road, thence along land of Waikoloa as given in Certificate of Boundaries of Waikoloa... June 8, 1874. [page 387] [Recorded in Register Map 824 and Certificate No. 131]

Volume A – 1, 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:	Rex Witnesses :
1. Mi 1 st	1. Kaolulu
2. Ehu	2. Kuupele
3. Kuehu	3. Kanakaole
4. Kalua	4. Moluhi
5. Moolau	5. Kanehailua
6. Kuahine	6. Kahakauwila
7. Wahahee	7. Kualehelehe

George Davis claims that Waikoloa, as he had heard, begins at Puaapilau, thence down the road from Hamakua to Waimea, to Puu Ohikona, 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 [i.e., 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...

...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 [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 Kalahuipuaa [Kalahuipuaa] and Anaomaluu [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, 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... I know the boundary of Paulama it does not reach Napuu... [page 7]

Kuahine – sworn: I am *kamaaina* at Lihue. I know the boundaries of Waikoloa; viz. from Koananai to Puuokaa, to Kekio, to Pahoia, 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... 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]... [page 8]

Volume A No. 1 No. 2 For the King

Kaolulu sworn... 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... [page 9]

Witness, Kuupele – testified that he was born at Puuanahulu. "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..." (pages 9-10)

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 Kohiaina, thence to Puakalehua, thence to Kapele, thence to Alaaniu, thence to Alaohia, thence to Kekualapalapa, thence to Kulanapahu, thence to Keanakii, thence to Kahoopapale, thence to Kahooalapiko. Puuanahulu cuts off Paulama here. Nohoaina 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]...

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. [page 10]...

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

Commencing at Kohiaina run to Waiakalehua, to Kapele Alaanui, Alaohia, Keakualapalapa, Kulanapahu, Kaopapa, Keanakii, Kahoopapale, Kahooalapiko, 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. [page 12]

Volume A No. 1 - (No. 4)
Ahupuaa (or Kalana) of Waimea, Hawaii
Boundaries of Waimea – January 8th, 1867

Beginning at a place known as Kilohana, on the south bank of the Waipio Pali...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, Palihai, 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... [page 17]

G. M. Robertson
Commissioner of Boundaries
8th January 1867. [page 18]

Impacts upon Native Residency:
Report of the Royal Commissioners on Development of Resources (1877)

At the same time that the Hawaiian Kingdom was trying to formalize a system of defining land boundaries, alarm over the degradation of natural resources on the lands was growing. Herds of wild cattle, sheep, goats, and other hoofed animals, and the clearing of vast tracts of land had radically altered the landscape, and thus the ability of the land to sustain the native tenants and an economic system. 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.

While detailed narratives are given for most of the island of Hawai‘i, the *kula* (flat lands) and coastal region of Kekaha (including Nāpu‘u) were not described. The description of circumstances on the Waimea plateau and in the forests (extending to the upper Nāpu‘u region) provides readers with an important historical account regarding the impacts grazing animals (mostly feral) on the land. The

animals not only affected the natural resources, but also overran residences and agricultural fields, and made the land almost impossible to live on. The Commissioners reported —

...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...

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... ..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... [Pacific Commercial Advertiser – May 5, 1877; emphasis added]

Nā Ala Hele o Nāpu‘u me Kekaha

Ala hele (trails) are an integral part of the cultural landscape of Nāpu‘u and all Hawai‘i. As described in the accounts of native tenants (cited in the preceding sections of the study), there is a long history of using trails in the Nāpu‘u–Kekaha regions. The *ala hele* provided accesses for local and regional travel, subsistence activities, cultural and religious purposes, and for communication between extended families and communities. Historical accounts describe at least two trails of regional importance— *ala loa* —in the Nāpu‘u region. One *ala loa* was *makai* (near the shore) linking coastal communities and resources together, and the other one was *mauka* (in the uplands) which provided travelers with access to inland communities and resources, and allowed for more direct travel between Kona, Waimea, and the mountain lands (cf. Malo 1951; I‘i 1959; Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; Māhele and Boundary Commission Testimonies; and J.S. Emerson survey letters in this study).

In addition to *ala hele* and *ala loa*, there are a number of other terms used in the native language to describe trails. In the Hawaiian mind, the trails did not end on the land or on readily identifiable

landscapes. The ancient trail system included many kinds of trails and employed a variety of methods of travel which were adapted to the natural environment and needs of the travelers. In the Nāpu'u region, one of the most important types of trails were those generally known as — *ala pi'i uka* or *ala pi'i mauna* (trails which ascend to the uplands or mountain; now generally called *mauka-makai* trails). Their use and number of them that occurred in the region has been recorded in many of the native writings cited earlier.

Because ancient trails were established to provide travelers with standardized and relatively safe access to a variety of resources, the trails were (and remain) important features of the cultural landscape. Along the trails of Nāpu'u are found a wide variety of cultural resources, they include, but are not limited to—residences (both permanent and temporary), enclosures and exclosures, wall alignments, agricultural complexes, resting places, resource collection sites, ceremonial features, *ilina* (burial sites), petroglyphs, subsidiary trails, and other sites of significance to the families who once lived in the vicinity of the trails. The trails themselves, also exhibit a variety of construction methods, generally determined by the environmental zone and natural topography of the land. In Nāpu'u, “ancient” trail construction methods included the making of worn paths on *pāhoehoe* or 'a'ā lava surfaces, curbstone and coral-cobble lined trails, or cobble stepping stone pavements, and trails across sandy shores and dry rocky soils.

Following the early nineteenth century, western contact brought about changes in the methods of travel (horses and other hoofed animals were introduced). By the mid nineteenth century, wheeled carts were being used on some of the trails. In Nāpu'u, portions of both the near shore and upland *ala hele-ala loa* were realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, while other sections were simply abandoned for newer more direct routes. In establishing modified trail- and early road-systems, portions of the routes were moved far enough inland so as to make a straight route, thus, taking travel away from the shoreline.

By the 1840s, the modified alignments became a part of a system of “roads” called the “*Ala Nui Aupuni*” or Government Roads. Work on the roads was funded in part by government appropriations, and through the labor or financial contributions of area residents and prisoners working off penalties (see Government communications in this study). In the Nāpu'u region, sections of the *Ala nui Aupuni* (that is, the Kīholo-Kanikū Road and Kona-Waimea Road) are lined with curbstones; elevated; and/or made with stone filled “bridges” in areas that level out the contour of the roadway.

As a part of past studies conducted by the author, a thorough review of Interior Department – Roads files for the island of Hawai'i (in the collection of the Hawaii State Archives) has been completed. The following communications are those which provide readers with descriptions of the *ala nui aupuni* and some of the subsidiary trails which pass through the Nāpu'u region. The documentation includes important descriptions of the lands traveled through, and efforts at promoting access.

It will be noted that most of the “Roads” communications focus on the *makai* lands. Further documentation on *makai* and *mauka* accesses are found in the section of this study which cites survey records of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. (emphasis has been added to selected texts)

August 13, 1847

Governor of Hawaii, George L. Kapeau; to Premier and Minister of Interior, Keoni Ana

Regarding taxation and public work days. Of particular interest are the paragraphs below which describe the development of the Government Road encircling the island of Hawai'i from Kona to Ka'ū, Puna, and Hilo. It will be noted that by the 1840s there was already discussion in the government about the importance of the road system as a means of travel to be used by visitors.

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 *kono*hiki days....

...The roads from Kailua and down the pali of Kealakekua, and from Kailua to Honokohau, Kaloko, Ooma, at the places that were told 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... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 29, 1848

Governor Kapeau; to Minister of the Interior, Keoni Ana:

Acknowledging receipt of communication and answering questions regarding construction methods used in building the roads.

...I do not know just what amount of work has been done, but, I can only let you know what has come under my notice. The highway has been laid from Kailua to Kaloko, and running to the North West, about four miles long, but it is not completely finished with dirt. The place laid with dirt and in good condition is only 310 fathoms.

The highway from Kealakekua to Honaunau has been laid, but is not all finished, and are only small sections... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 11, 1859

Isaac Y. Davis; to Minister of the Interior, Keoni Ana

Writing in reference to the progress of the 1859 lava flow which also cut off the *Ala nui Aupuni* between Kawaihae and Kona.

...There is nothing new, but, your red eyed woman is flowing once again, damaging the land of the King. It is here in the uplands of Puuwaawaa, and is perhaps going again to destroy the places that remain, such as Wainanalii.

Won't you command your woman, Pele, not to go once again and destroy the land of my King, or you two shall be cut off from me... (Interior Department letters; Lands)

Overview of Road Laws and Development in the Kingdom of Hawai'i (1840 to 1857):

Roads are the most accurate tests of the degree of civilization in every country. Their construction is one of the first indications of the emergence of a people from a savage state, and their improvement keeps pace with the advance of a nation in wealth and science. They are the veins and arteries through which flow the agricultural productions and commercial supplies, which are essential to the

prosperity of the state. Agriculture is in a great measure dependent upon good roads for its success and rewards.

The history of road making in this kingdom does not date far back. The first law that we find recorded was enacted in 1840, which as well as the laws of 1846 and 1850 gave to the Governors a general control of the roads, with power to make new roads and employ prisoners in their construction. But no system of road making has ever been introduced, and the whole subject has been left to be executed as chance dictated. In 1852 road supervisors were made elective by the people, at the annual election in January. This change worked no improvement in the roads, as the road supervisors, in order to remain popular, required the least possible amount of labor, and in many districts an hour or two of work in the morning was considered as a compliance with the road law. Under this law the road supervisors were pretty much to themselves, and though accountable to the Minister of the Interior, they considered favor of their constituents of more importance. This law was found productive of more evil than good, and during the last session of the legislature a new road law was passed, which goes in to force on the 1st of January 1857. This new law gives to the Minister of the Interior the appointment of road supervisors throughout the Kingdom, who are subject to such general instructions (we suppose in regard to the construction of roads) as he may issue... (The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 25, 1856)

1861

**J.P. Travis, Road Supervisor, North Kona; to
Prince Lot Kamehameha, Minister of the Interior**

...I beg most respectfully to submit to your Royal Highness my report as Road supervisor of North Kona Hawaii for the year of 1860. *The new lava flow at Kiholo has been made passable for travel* also the upper road as far as Honuaua... (Subject File – Roads, Hawaii)

July 5th, 1861

**S.C. Wiltse, Surveyor; to
H.A. Widemann, Chief Clerk, Interior Department**

Describes what had come to be called Doctor Judd Road, which passed Nā'ōhule'elua, the *mauka* boundary of Pu'u Anahulu, and was an important route between Kona and Waimea—

...Mr. Charles Wall who leases and occupies the *mauka* part of the Govt. land "Honuaua" in Kona, Begg that your Department would grant him leave to work out his Road Tax on what is known as the Doct. Jud 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. Jud 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 mls. the shortest rout. No work has been done on said road since it was first built. Mr. Wall has two native in his employ and would be glad if they could be allowed to work out their tax on said road like wise... (Subject File – Roads, Hawaii)

March 30, 1866

**Geo. Hardey, Road Supervisor for Kohala, Hamakua, and Kona; to
F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of Interior:**

...I have now 7 prisoners and 9 hired men at work upon the Kiholo Road (the lava flow) and I would beg to enquire if I am to make a separate Quarterly Return of moneys expended of the appropriations or include in my Yearly act. merely. If there should be any money left to be expended upon the Kiholo Road I should feel obliged if you would forward to me said amt. *I expect the Kiholo Road will take me about 2 months from the time of commencement (the 20th of last month).* I also need 12 stone crowbars for this work... (Subject File – Roads, Hawaii)

The individuals who worked on the road between April 1st to June 30th, 1866 included:
Kailihonua, Kahele, Welewele, Keliihanapule, Kailikini, Puukala, Maluo,
Kahaolehokano, Kimo, Poliahu, Moehau, Kiaihili, Paapu, and Papa... (ibid.)

September 13, 1871

**Jas. Smith, Road Supervisor, North Kona; to
Chas. Gulick, Chief Clerk, Interior Department:**

Reports that work has been under way on the "aa of Kaniku." (Subject File – Roads, Hawaii)

September 20, 1871

**Samuel F. Chillingworth, Road Supervisor, South Kohala; to
F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior:**

Herewith I have the honor to hand your Excellency, a/c current vouchers etc. for work on Kawaihae & Kiholo road, also for money expended in the repairs of the Waimea road, in the part damaged by the recent storm.

I have now made about two thirds of the road from the boundary where Mr. Smith commenced, leaving about one third more to finish the road over the "Clinkers." The portion I have worked, I have succeeded in making into quite a good road and have carefully gone over the remaining portion, which will take about two Hundred Dollars to complete. I find however that I have exceeded the limits of your Excellency's first instructions viz. (to expend \$500)...

I now await your Excellency's instructions as to continuing the work... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

Dec. 18, 1871

**R.A. Lyman, Lieut. Governor of Hawai'i; to
F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior:**

...The last time I was in Waimea, parties who came to Court from Kona, told me that the whole of the road between Kiholo and Kawaihae was being well made. I have written to several parties making inquiries in reference to the road and will send you the result of my inquiries, as soon as I hear from them... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

December 28, 1871

**Samuel F. Chillingworth, Road Supervisor; to
F.W. Hutchison, Minister of Interior:**

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 16th Inst. (which reached my hands by "Kilauea" on last evening.) In reply I would beg to say that your informant in the matter of the road over the lava flow has taken the course usually adopted by parties who complain to satisfy some private pique, he has flavored a large quantity of false statements by a few facts. The men employed by me on the road at present, are exactly the same body of men that recently completed the "Waimea & Kawaihae road". I selected these from the fact that they were experienced hands at road making. I employed them at 75 cents per day, this being the lowest terms I could get men to go there for. I did not consent to pay this price until I had tried thoroughly to get some men to work cheaper. What Mr. Smith pays his men I do not know (I have heard it was 50 cents and food) but after I had tried hard to get the men to work for 50 cents, and found that they would not I was compelled to give them the 75 cents, but if your Excellency will refer to my letter, which accompanied the first pay list in connection with the road you will find that in that letter I called your Excellency's attention to the charge per day, asking you if you considered that amount too much, to let me know, and at the same time informing you that I could not get men here to go over for less. The men are employed by the

day are liable to discharge at the termination of any days work. The work has been all done under my supervision, and under the immediate charge of the native Luna "Epa", I have made what I consider a very good road, and I am not alone in that opinion as I have from time to time been complimented by the many travellers. However I would most respectfully suggest that your Excellency should appoint some outside party to examine the road and report on the present condition and quality of work done. I have not measured exactly the quantity of road completed, but have about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile more to work, when the road will be completed from the commencement of the lava flow to the district boundary which is the largest half of the whole flow. The men in my employment as road Supervisor I have always worked to the fullest extent either on start work or otherwise as I thought most beneficial to the work in hand.

With respect to the men working for me on steamer days, if your Excellency will kindly refer to my pay lists forwarded to the department, you will find that the men have just asked five days payment for the government. The sixth day they work for me on the steamer for which I pay them \$1.00 per man. The men are not in my pay only as the work for us here, and are paid by me just in accordance with the number of days they work for us... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

December 29, 1871

R.A. Lyman, Governor of Hawaii; to

F.W. Hutchison, Minister of the Interior:

...I notice in your favor of the 18th inst., that you speak of the new flow of lava on the Kiholo and Kawaihae road. The only New flow of lava on that road, is the flow of 1859, on the north side of Kiholo, and is several miles south of the boundary of south Kohala and north Kona.

Mr. Smith I am told commenced to work the road in Kona at the boundary of south Kohala and is working towards the New Lava flow at Kiholo. He has not yet got to it. Mr. C. [Chillingworth] commenced work at the boundary of his District, and is working towards Kawaihae. Judge Hoapili says that he has almost completed his portion of the road, and that you can canter a horse the whole length of it... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

December 29, 1871

S. Aiwahi (Lead Native Minister of the South Kohala Churches); to

F.W. Hutchison, Minister of the Interior:

I have received your communication bearing date of December 17 last, requiring certain questions to be answered *in respect to the roads between Kawaihae & Kona Akau*. Almost all the questions you have asked are true having obtained information from the very people that worked on the road, and in my opinion a waste of government funds.

As you desired some particulars I will give what have been the prevalent report. 1. On the day of proceeding to work, no work is done on that day. The time allowed for work is from 2, to 2½ hours in the morning. On every steamer day they leave and are made to work for the Luna in Kawaihae. The amount of labor to be performed is one fathom a day, equal to \$5.00 dollars for six fathoms in the week. Where places are made and are incomplete they are made to go over it a second time, adding an additional expense to the government, being \$1.50 for one fathom. I have heard from the very people that work on the roads that during the working days, a portion of the men are detached for fishing, and whatever fish that is caught, it is distributed equally among them, nevertheless those that did not work received their pay equally with those that worked.

I cannot inform you of the condition of the roads, as I have not seen them to give you a description. It is obvious that the Superintendent of the roads in this District have been injudiciously expended by the Luna's without regard of the public good.

As I speak to you in confidence I hope my name will not be mentioned... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

July 9, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior.

Notifies Minister that *the road from Kiholo to Kailua needs repairing.* (Interior Department – Lands)

August 14, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior:

I have just reached here [Kawaihae] from Kona. I have seen most of the roads in N. Kona, and they are being improved near where the people live. *If there is any money to be expended on the roads in N. Kona, I would say that the place where it is most needed is from Kiholo to Makalawena, or the Notch on Hualalai.*

This is the main road around the island and is in very bad condition. Hardly anyone lives there, and there are several miles of road across the lava there, that can only be worked by hiring men to do it. There is also a road across a strip of Aa a mile & a half or 2 in length in the south end of S. Kohala next to the boundary of N. Kona, that needs working, and then the road from here [Kawaihae] to Kona will be quite passable... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

January 1875

Petition to William L. Moehonua, Minister of the Interior:

Signed by 54 Residents of South Kohala, the petitioners ask that Samuel F. Chillingworth be removed from position as Road Supervisor:

We the people whose names are below humbly ask you to release from duty and terminate Samuel F. Chillingworth from the position of Road Supervisor for the District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii, for the reasons described below:

- ...Fifth 5. The roads are left in disrepair from Waimea to Puuloa at Kawaihae uka with no work done on it. It was found to be so on the journey of the young Chief William P. Leleiohoku. And it is so with the remainder of the road of Kaniku which adjoins to North Kona. These two places are left in disrepair... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii, translated by K. Maly)

September 13, 1880

J.A. Hassinger, Chief Clerk Interior Department; to

J.W. Smith, Road Supervisor, North Kona:

...For your present work of necessity, you can draw as notified by the late Minister of Interior. In regard to the Kiholo Road his Excellency desires that you will not act until the same shall be inspected by the Agent who will visit and inspect all the roads of your district in a few weeks... (Interior Department Book 18:84)

November 4, 1880

J.W. Smith, Road Supervisor, North Kona; to

A.P. Carter, Minister of the Interior:

...Heretofore I have been paying one dollar per day, but few natives will work for that, they want \$1.50 per day. Thus far I have refused to pay more than \$1.00 and have been getting men for that sum.

The most urgent repairs are needed on the main road from Kaupulehu to Kiholo, and north of Kiholo to the Kohala boundary, a distance of about 20 miles... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 14, 1883

G. Spencer, Chairman, Road Board, South Kohala; to

L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:

...In answer to your of the 12 inst. regarding the rate of wages we pay the road laborers – for this district – we could not obtain good working men for less than we pay - \$1.50 per day. My predecessor paid \$2. per day for very indifferent laborers, in fact many were School Boys. The Luna Kanehaku, Road Supervisor, rec'd. \$60.00 per month and did not work at all. You will see at glance the difficulty we had to contend with.

Unfortunately this district is not supplied with Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, or Hawaiian labor like the District you allude to, and the Kawaihae Road has not a dwelling between the port and Eight Miles, and the climate is very hot etc. etc... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 21st, 1885

C.N. Arnold, Road Superintendent-in-Chief, Hawaii; to

Charles Gulick, Minister of Interior:

...In accordance with your instructions I beg to hand you the following list of names as being those I would select for Supervisors in the different Road Districts under my charge:

...S.P. Wahinenui, South Kohala District
Judge J.K. Hoapili, North Kona District...

Hoping these parties may meet with your approval... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

July 14th, 1887

C.N. Arnold, Road Superintendent-in-Chief, Hawaii; to

L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:

...In obedience to your request I beg to hand you the following list of the District Supervisors under my jurisdiction:

...South Kohala – Kanehaku; Native
North Kona – Hon. J.K. Nahale; Native... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 8, 1888

J. Kaelemkule; Supervisor, North Kona Road Board; to

L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior.

Provides Thurston with an over view of work on the road of North Kona, and described the Government road (*Ala nui Aupuni* or *Ala loa*) to Kiholo and the South Kohala boundary:

...3. The government road or *ala loa* from upland Kainaliu (that is the boundary between this district of South Kona), runs straight down to Kiholo and reaches the boundary of the district adjoining South Kohala, its length is 20 and 30 miles. With a troubled heart I explain to your Excellency that from the place called Kapalaoa next to South Kohala until Kiholo – this is a very bad section of about 8 miles; This place is always damaged by the animals of the people who travel along this road. The

pahoehoe to the north of Kiholo called Ke A. hou, is a place that it is justified to work quickly without waiting. Schedule A, attached, will tell you what is proposed to care for these bad places...:

The upland Road from Kainaliu to the boundary adjoining S. Kohala – \$1,500.00. (Subject File – Roads Hawaii; translated by K. Maly)

September 30, 1889

Thos. Aiu, Secretary, North Kona Road Board (for J. Kaelemakule); to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior.

Provides Thurston with an over view of work on the road of North Kona, and Identifies individuals who are responsible for road maintenance (cantoniars) in various portions of the district. In the region of the Kiholo Road, the following was reported:

That section of road from Kukuioohiwai [Kaupulehu] to Keahualono. Paiwa is the caretaker. (Subject File – Roads Hawaii; translated by K. Maly)

December 22, 1890

J. Kaelemakule; Supervisor, North Kona Road Board; to C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior:

...I forward to you the list of names of the cantoniars who have been hired to work on the roads of this district, totalling 15 sections; showing the alignment of the road and the length of each of the sections. The monthly pay is \$4.00 per month, at one day of work each week. The board wanted to increase it to two days a week, but if that was done, there would not have been enough money as our road tax is only \$700.00 for this district....

You will receive here the diagram [Figure 8] of the roads of North Kona. (Subject File – Roads Hawaii; translated by K. Maly)

December 1892

Petition to Geo. N. Wilcox, Minister of the Interior:

Signed by 160 residents of Kona. The petitioners note that the Kanikū (Kohala-Kona road) was built in 1871, and ask that S.B. Kaomea be appointed to position of Road Supervisor for unfinished work on Kealakehe Road:

We the undersigned residents of Kona, Hawaii humbly present this petition before your Excellency.

We have known that S.B. Kaomea is a native of great experience in road making, and has been proved by the well constructed roads which he had taken, known as the Kaniku Road, near South Kohala, made in A.D. 1871, which is now in perfect and solid condition... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 23, 1893

Judge S.H. Mahuka, District of South Kohala; to J.A. King, Minister of the Interior:

...I have learned that a petition has been sent to His Excellency asking for the removal of the Road board of this District:

John Maguire, Esq.
Wm. Hookuanui, Esq.
Willie K. Davis

This road board was elected by a popular vote of the people of this district. Wm. Hookuanui was elected by the Board Chairman. Willie Davis has been about from the District on the account of ill health and he has since returned.

In my capacity as District Judge, I wish to say that I have implicit confidence in the Road Board. Wm. Hookuanui personally supervised the working of the roads of this District with capability and at a small cost.

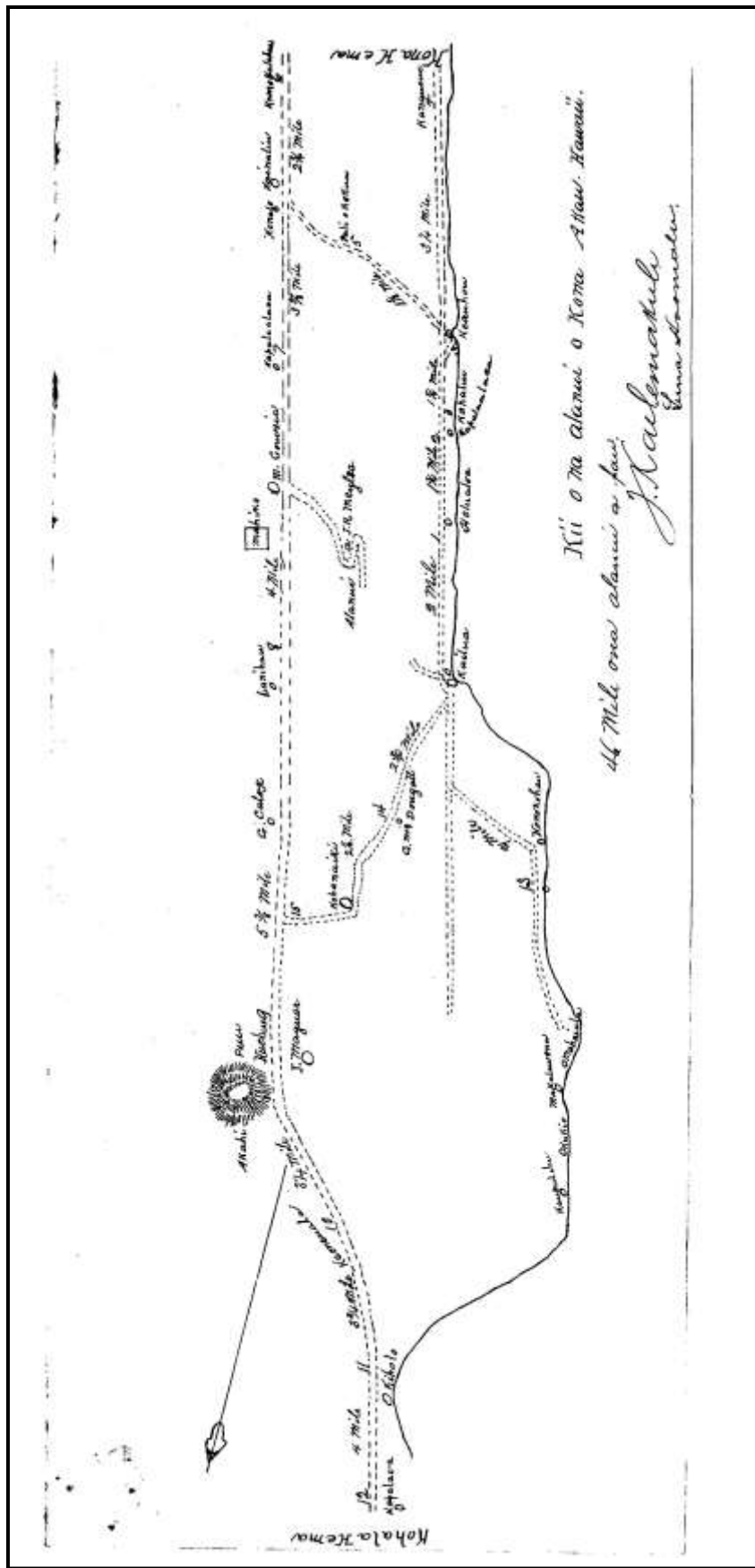


Figure 8. Kii o na alanui o Kona Akau, Hawaii (Diagram of the Government Roads of North Kona); J. Kaelemakule Sr. Road Supervisor (Dec. 22, 1890 – State Archives)

1. The road from Kalahuipuaa to Keahualono has been repaired at a cost of \$90.00.
2. The road from Puako to Kawaihae has been repaired at a cost of \$50.00. The first work that has been done on the same for the last 20 years.

These roads are now thoroughly repaired and in first class condition, the public is witness to this statement... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

Hawaiian Government Survey Records

Among the most significant historic Government records of the study area—in the later nineteenth century—are the field notebooks of Kingdom Surveyor, Joseph S. Emerson. 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 also sought out knowledgeable native residents of the lands he surveyed, as guides. Thus, while he was in the field he also 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). Among the lands that Emerson worked in was Nāpu‘u and the greater Kekaha region of North Kona and South Kohala.

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 help to bring the landscape of the period to life. In a letter to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General, Emerson described his methods and wrote that he 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. 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)

In his field communications (letter series to W.D. Alexander), Emerson comments on, and identifies some of his native informants and field guides. While describing the process of setting up triangulation stations from Puakō to Kaloko, Emerson reported that the “two native men are extra good. I could not have found two better men by searching the island a year.” (State Archives, HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; February 15, 1882). We learn later, that the primary native guides were Iakopa and Ka‘ilihiwa—*kūpuna* of the Keākealani family (State Archives, HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; May 5, and August 30, 1882).

Discussing the field books, Emerson also wrote to Alexander, reporting “I must compliment my comrade, Perryman, for his very artistic sketches in the field book of the grand mountain scenery...” (State Archives, HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; Apr. 5, 1882). Later he noted, “Perryman is just laying himself out in the matter of topography. His sketches deserve the highest praise...” (ibid.:May 5, 1882). Selected sketches, cited in this section of the study, give us a glimpse of the country side of more than 100 years ago.

Emerson’s letter of June 7, 1882, describing the ‘Akahipu‘u region, gives readers an indication of the beauty of the upland region of Kekaha —

Our animals enjoyed the richest pasture, such as they will not see again during this campaign. The country about there appears to be in its primitive freshness without the curse of cattle, horses, and goats. Pohas were very abundant and luscious... (ibid.:June 7, 1882)

Field Notebooks of the Nāpuʻu-Kekaha Region

The following documentation is excerpted from the Field Note Books of J.S. Emerson. The numbered sites and place names coincide with maps that are cited as figures in text (some documentation on sites or features outside of the study area is also included here). Because the original books are in poor condition—highly acidic paper that has darkened, making the pencil written and drawn records hard to read—the copies have been carefully darkened to enhance readability. *Figure 9* (Register Map No. 1278 – at end of study) was produced by Emerson as a result of the 1880-1882 surveys. Register Map 1278, along with the Perryman sketches cited below, identify the locations of many of the place names features documented by Emerson in the study area.

Emerson's Field Book entry (Register No. 312 – survey used for development of Register Map No. 824) during the October 1880 surveys of "Lahuipuaa" and "Anaehoomalu," include several entries of historical interest regarding the *ala loa*, natural features and information he received from native guides while in the field. Among those notes is a description of "Kuahu o Hiiaka" (altar of Hiiaka). During his survey, Emerson placed a mark on a stone on the altar and noted:

Kuahu o Hiiaka Δ on sandstone on old altar sacred to Hiiaka – a pile of aa and coral rock... The Kuahu o Hiiaka is the true [boundary] between Kohala & Kona & between Puuanahulu & Anaehoomalu. [Reg. No. 312:128-129]

J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 1 Reg. No. 251 West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District Puu Hinai²; March 18th, 1882 [see Figure 10 for locations discussed below]

Site # and Comment:

- 1 – Lae Mano.
- 2 – Hikuhia. [Book 251:59]
 - Puki.
 - Kalulu.
 - Kalua Makani.
 - Mailehahae.
 - Kuainiho.
 - Puu Huluhulu.
- 1 – Puu o Lili. Jacob's [Iakopa's] house at Napuu in vicinity.
- 2 – Kuahiku.
- 3 – Pohakau. Rock on hill.
- 4 – Kumua o iwi Kau.
 - Puu Hinai Crater.
 - Puu ka Pele.
 - Kapukaiki Flag. [Book 251:63]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 1 Reg. No. 251
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Nohonaohae; March 23 & 29, 1882 [see Figure 11 for locations discussed below]***

Site # and Comment (Map Section 2):

- 1 – Lae o Mano.
- 2 – Kiholo Bay.
- 3 – Lae Hou.
- 4 – Lae o Kaiwi.
- 5 – Keawaiki Bay.
- 6 – Lae o Lelewi.
- 7 – Kapalaoa Sch. H.

Site # and Comment (Map Section 1):

- 1 – Lae o Kawaihae.
- 2 – Lae o Honokoa.
- 3 – Lae o Waiakailio.
- 4 – Lae o Puulaula.
- 5 – Lae o Waima. [Book 251:93]

Nohonaohae; March 29, 1882 [see Figure 12 for locations discussed below]

Site # and Comment:

- 1 – Mailehahae.
- 2 – Hainoa.
- 3 – Hualalai Peak.
- 4 – Kalulu.
- 5 – Puki ².
- 6 – Puki ¹.
- 7 – Hikuhi. [Book 251:91]
- 8 – Puu Nahaha.
- 9 – Kahoowaha.
- 10 – Kuainiho.
- 11 – Puu Papapa.
- 12 – Warren's House.

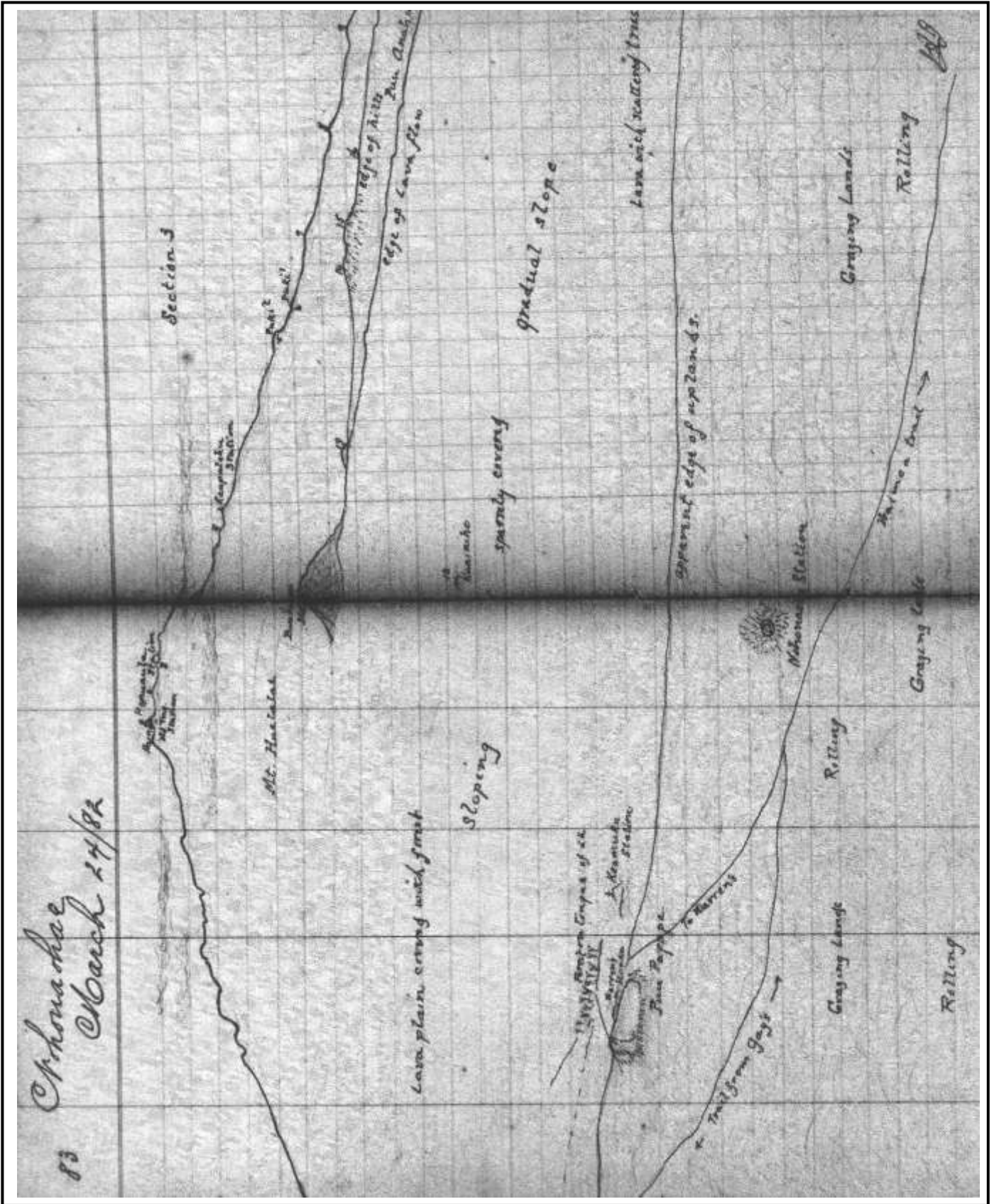


Figure 12. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 251:83 (State Survey Division)

- 13 – Puu Huluhulu.
- 14 – Puu o Lili.
- 15 – Pohakau.
- 16 – Kumua o iwi Kau. [Book 251:93]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 1 Reg. No. 251
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Sea Coast from Ahumoa; April 6 & 7, 1882 [see Figure 13 for locations discussed
below]***

Site # and Comment:

- 8 – Kapalaoa School House
- 1 – Lae o Kaiwi. [Book 251:125]
- 2 – Parker’s House. In Lahuipuaa. [Book 251:127]
- 3 – Puako Church ruins.
- 4 – Lae o Puako.
- 5 – Lae o Kawaihae... [Book 251:127]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 1 Reg. No. 251
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Sea Coast from Ahumoa (Kapalaoa Village to Kuili); April 8th, 1882
[see Figure 14 for locations discussed below]***

Site # and Comment:

- 1 – Lae o ka Mano.
- 2 – Lae o ka Mano.
- 3 – Nawaikulua. Cape.
- 4 – Lae o Luahinewai. Extremity.
- 5 – Nawaikulua Beach.
- 6 – Luahinewai Beach.
- 7 – Lae Waiaelepi. Sand beach on N. side of cape and āā on S. side.
- 8 – Kapalaoa sch. House. Same number on Sect. 1 – Page 109 [Book 251:125]
April 11th.
Puu Ka Pele
- 1 – Kuainiho. (sight on highest point)
- 2 – Puu Huluhulu. (sight on highest point)
- 3 – End of Keamuku flow. [Book 251:127]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. II Reg. No. 252
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Keamuku; April 17th, 1882 [see Figure 15 for locations discussed below]***

Site # and Comment:

Puu Waawaa.

- 1 – Muku flows.
- 2 – “ “ .
- 3 – “ “ .

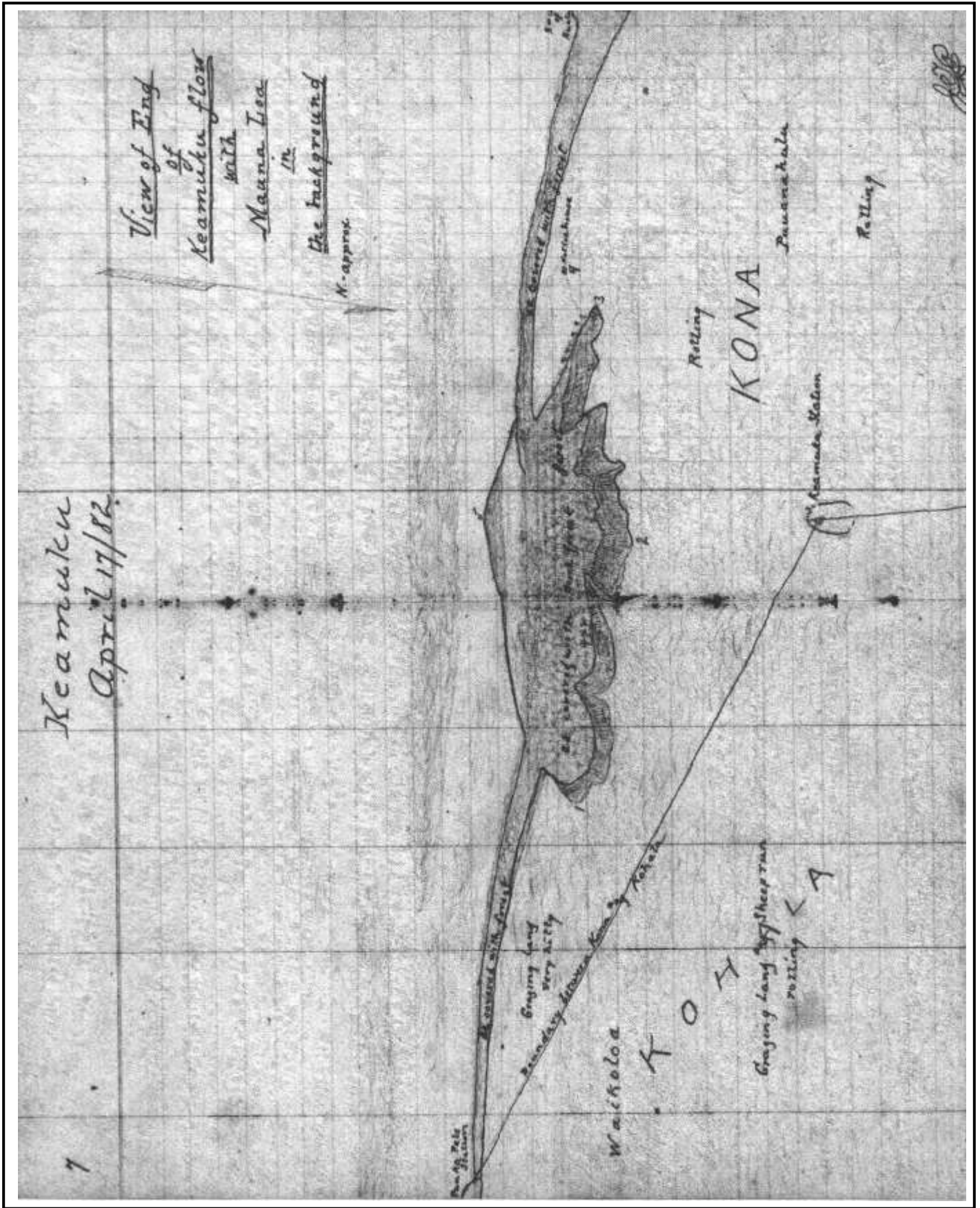


Figure 15. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 252:7 (State Survey Division)

- 4 – Spencer’s grass hut. [Francis Spencer held a ranching lease on Pu’u Anahulu in this period – see discussion of Ranching Leases]
- 5 – Mauna Loa.

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. II Reg. No. 252
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Hualalai - Keamuku; April 18th, 1882 [see Figure 16 for locations discussed below]
Site # and Comment:***

Puu Waawaa.

- 1 – Mailehahei.
- 2-8 – Unknown names
- 9 – Hikuhia. [Book 252:17]
April 22nd.
- 10 – Puu Kipahae.
- 11 – Hainoa.
- 12 – Hualalai.
- 13 – Kalua Makani.
- 14 – Puu Iki. (“*maka*” peak)
- 15 – Puu Iki. (highest point)
Kuahiku (highest point).
Pohakau (highest point).
Puu Kaua – “Battle hill.” [Book 252:27]

Puu Anahulu Station. April 24, 1882

Kamauoha’s grass house. A living house at Keawaiki bay and on the boundary line between the *ahupuaa* of P. Anahulu and P. Waawaa.
Lae o Mano. Tangent to small cape which is situated in the *ahupuaa* of Puu Waawaa.
Kauakahialaa. Boundary point on *āā* between the *ahupuaa* of Waikoloa, Kohala and Puu Anahulu, Kona. [Book 252:33]

Puu Waawaa [see Figure 17 for locations discussed below]

Site # and Comment:

- 1 – Lae o Hiki.
- 2 – Bay.
- 3 – Lae Hou.
- 4 – Keawakeekee – tangent, canoe landing.
- 5 – Reef.
- 6 – Lake Keawaiki – fishpond, south side.
- 7 – Lake Keawaiki – fishpond, north side.
- 8 – Akinakahi.
- 9 – Lae o Naubaka.
- 10 – Kapalaoa Sch. house. Site on Center.
- 11 – Anaehoomalu bay.
- 12 – Lae Anae.

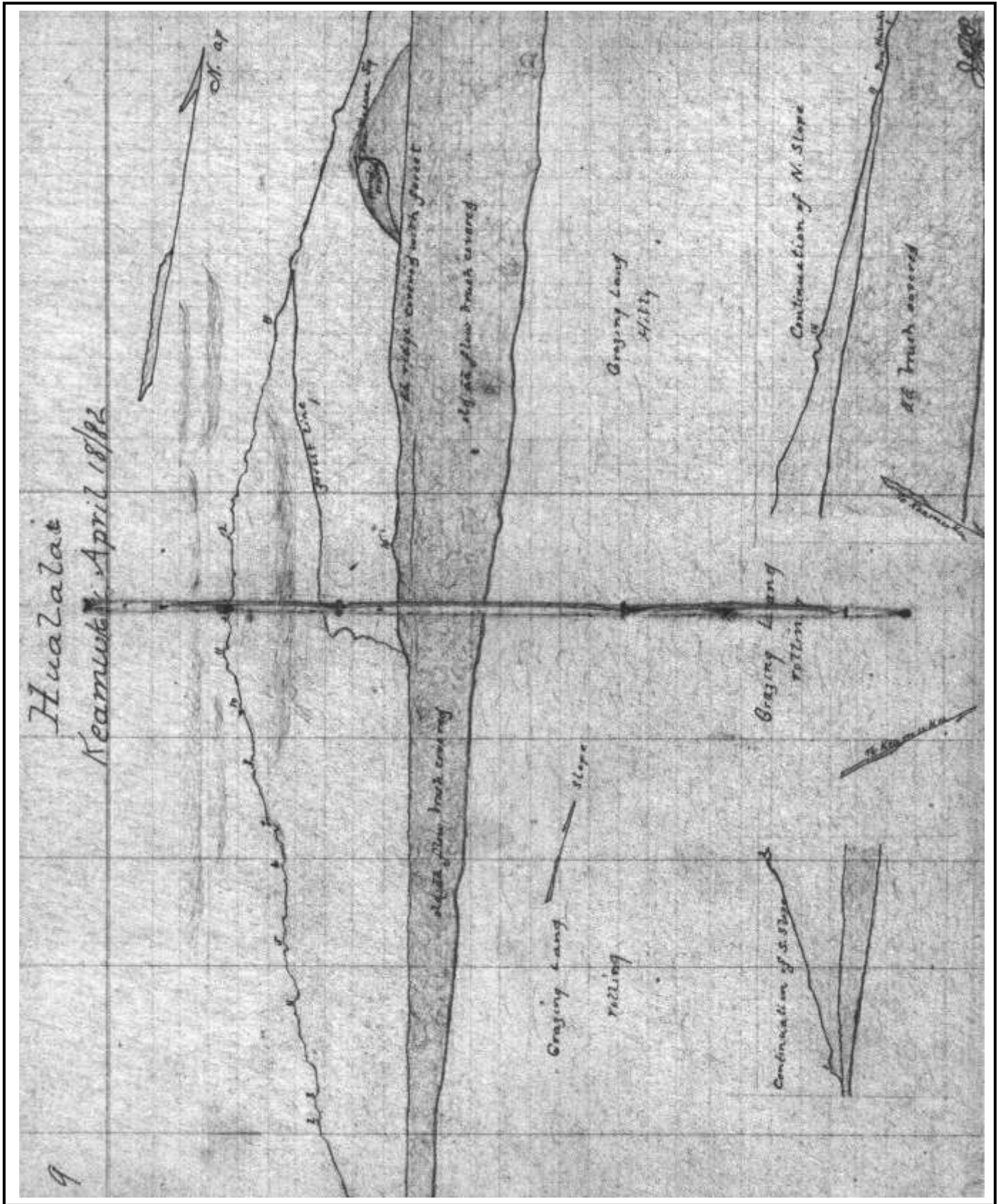


Figure 16. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 252:9 (State Survey Division)

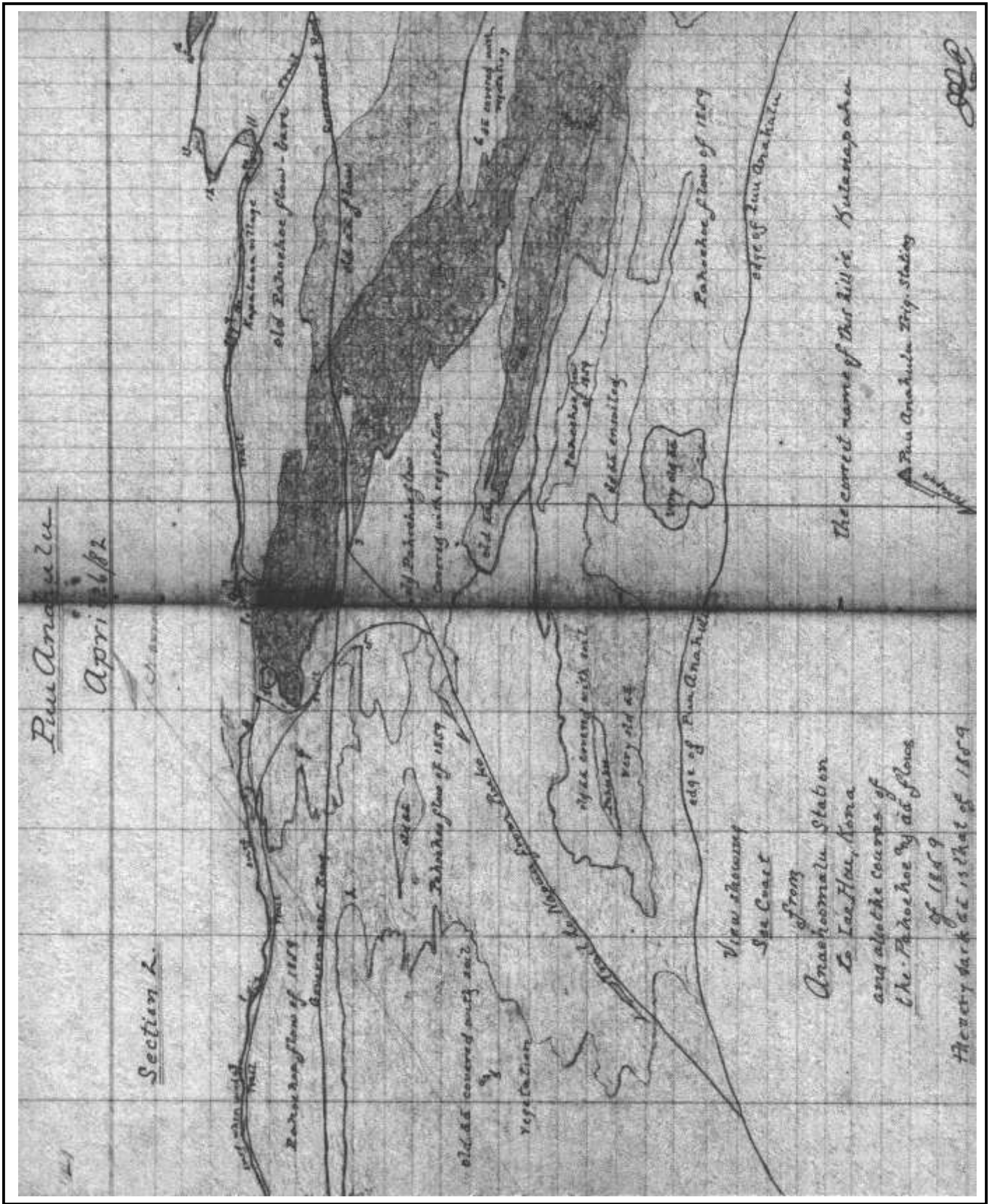


Figure 17. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 252:41 (State Survey Division)

- 13 – Lae o ka Auau.
- 14 – Waiulua inlet.
- 15 – Lae o Pohakuoakaha.
- 16 – Pohakuoakaha. [Book 252:71]

May 4th, 1882

Puu Waawaa

- 1 – Tangent to āā.
- 2 – Tangent to āā.
- 3 – Tangent to āā.
- 4 – Tangent to āā.
- 5 – Tangent to āā.
- 6 – Tangent to āā.
- 7 – Tangent to āā. [Book 252:93]

**J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. II Reg. No. 252
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Puu Anahulu; April 29-20, 1882 [see Figure 18 for locations discussed below]**

Site # and Comment:

- 1 – Lae o Kawili. In Makalawena.
- 2 – Lae o Awakee. In Kukio.
- 3 – Bay this side of cape.
- 4 – Lae o Kukio iki.
- 5 – Large rock in sea.
- 6 – Kukio iki Bay.
- 7 – Lae o Kukio nui.
- 8 – End of reef
- 9 – Kukio nui Bay.
- 10 – Kaoahu's house in Kaupulehu Village.
- 11 – “ “ this side of house.
- 12 – Bay; tangent to head.
- 13 – Lae o Kolomuo (extremity in Kaupulehu).
- 14 – Nukumeomeo rock (opposite cape).
- 15 – Pohakuokahae. By authority of Kailihiwa – Boundary point between the ilis of Kaupulehu and Kiholo.
- 16 – small inlet.
- 17 – small cape.
- 18 – small bay.
- 19 – Lae o Nawaikulua.
- 20 – Small inlet.

- 21 – Keawawamano.
- 22 – Waiaelepi.
- 23 – *Lauhala* Grove.
- 24 – Keanini's Grass house.
- 25 – Kauai's Grass house.
- 26 – Kiholo meeting house. [church and school house]

Puu Waawaa.

- 27 – Lae o Keawaiki.
- 28 – Honuakaha.
- 29 – Lae Iliili.
- 30 – inside bay [Book 252:69-71]

While conducting the Pu'u Anahulu survey, Perryman prepared a sketch of the Nāpu'u region depicting the area from Pu'u Anahulu, upland to Pu'u Wa'awa'a and the southeastern slope of Hualālai. Though Perryman's sketch is not keyed, it includes important visual references and is included here as *Figure 19*.

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. II Reg. No. 252
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Puu Waawaa; May 16th, 1882 [see Figure 20 for locations discussed below]***

Site # and Comment:

Puu Waawaa.

- 1 – Aea's grass house. On Puu Huluhulu.
- 2 – School house, framed. On Kaipohaku.
- 3 – Jacob's [Iakopa's] house, grass. On Pawaa.
Kaialaoa Sch. House [At the time of this writing, it is uncertain as to whether or not this entry is referring to another school in the uplands of Nāpu'u, or if it is a transcription error, and the reference is to Kapalaoa school on the coast.]
- 4 – Puu Kuahiku. Anahulu range.
- 5 – Puu Pohakau.
- 6 – Puu o Lili.
- 7 – Kumua o iwi Kau.
- 8 – Mauiloa
- 9 – Puu Anahulu.
- Puu Iki. In Puu Anahulu – Boundary of P.A. and Waawaa ahupuaa, half way between this station and Puu Iki according to the "boy."
- Ana o Maui. In Anahulu covered with rock. [Book 252:116]

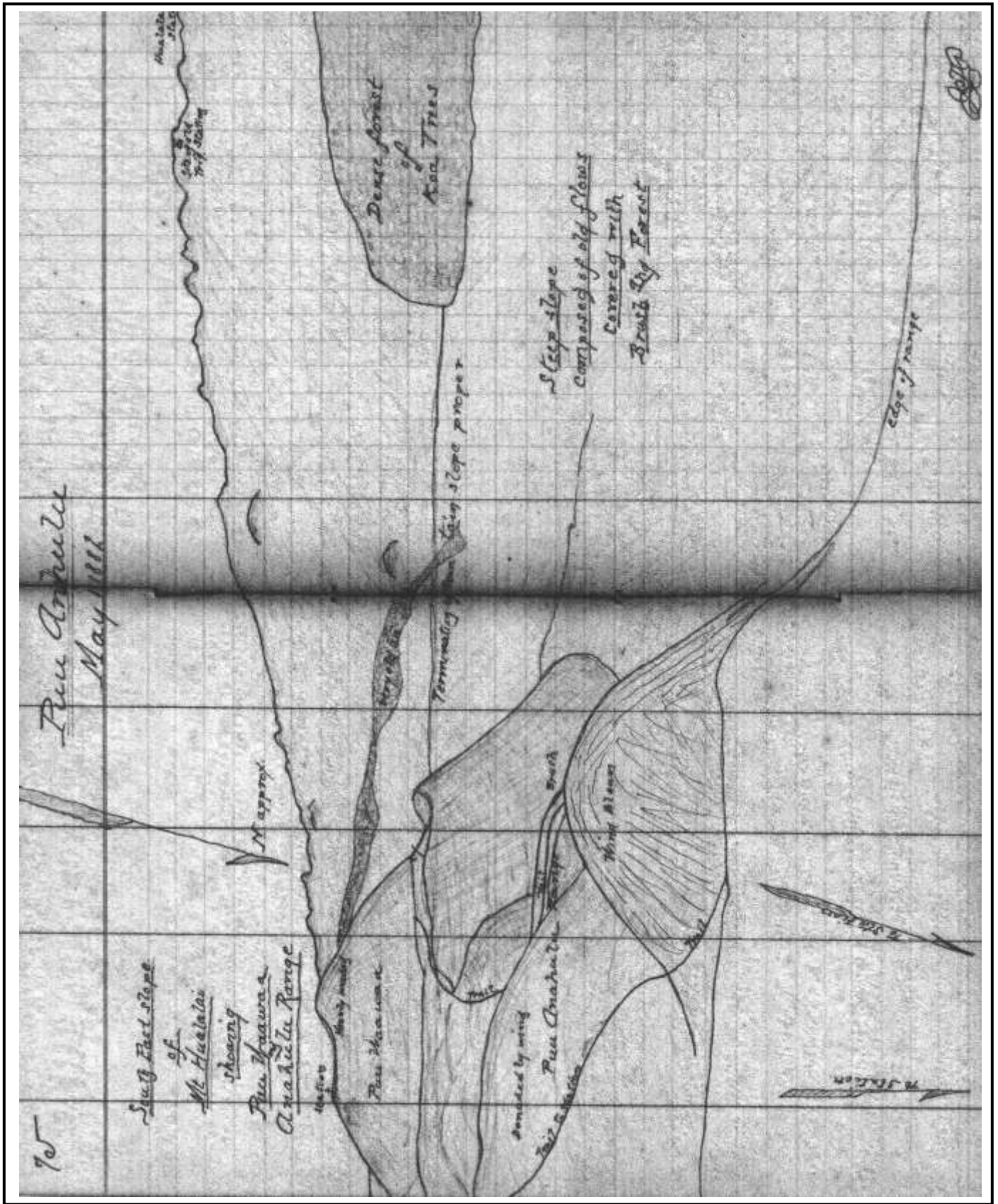


Figure 19. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 252:75 (State Survey Division)

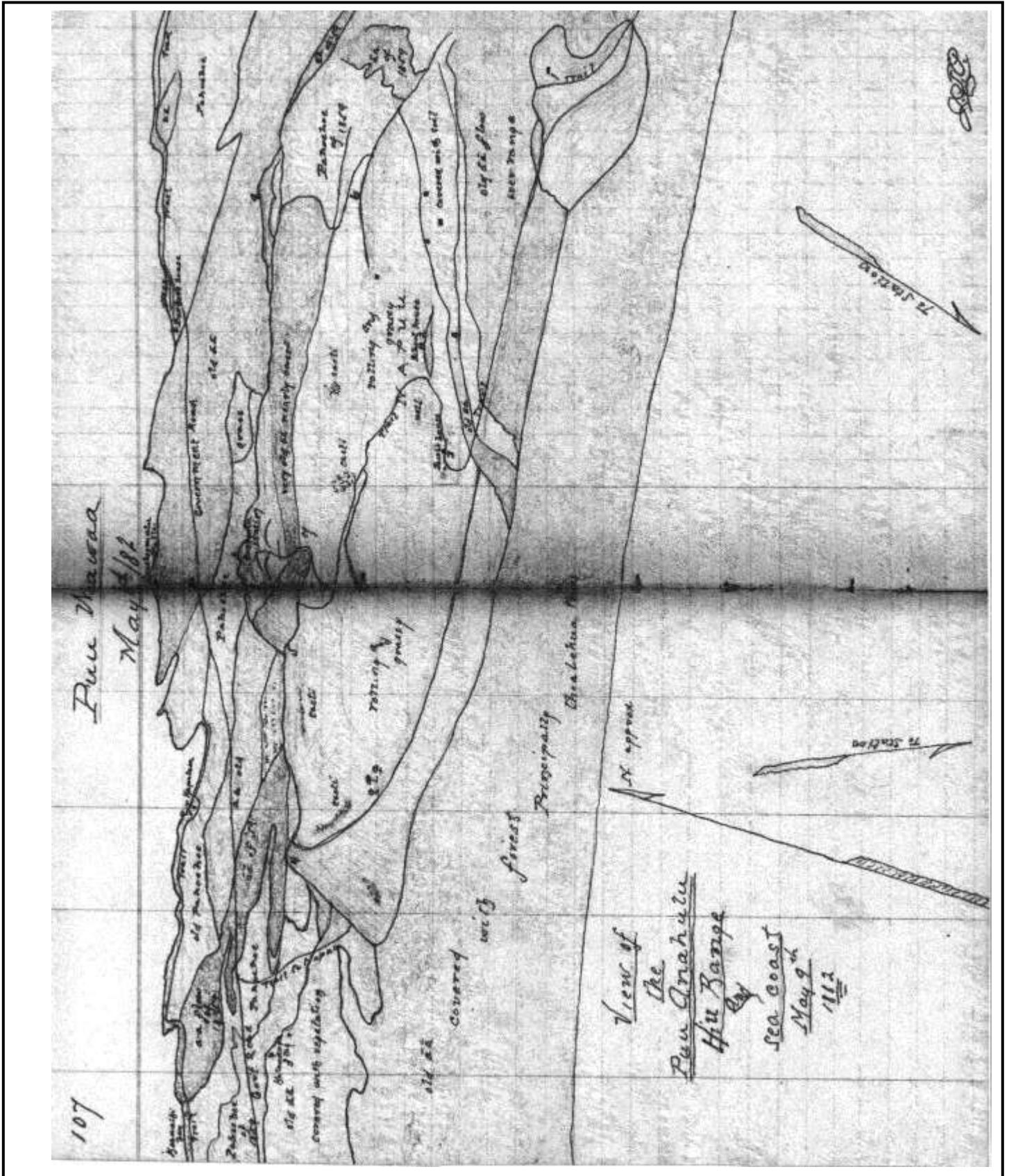


Figure 20. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 252:107 (State Survey Division)

**J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. II Reg. No. 252
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Kuili Station; May 19-20, 1882 [see Figure 21 for locations discussed below]**

Site # and Comment:

- 25 – Kua bay. Sand beach Maniniowali.
- 26 – Lae o Papiha, rock cape Maniniowali.
- 27 – Kakapa Bay, Kukio iki - site of one of Kamehameha's old "heiaus" now destroyed by the sea—D 3°9'0".
- 28 – Lae o Kikaua - Named in honor of Kikaua, the husband of Kahawaliwali, who was slain by Pele for not giving "kapa"... [Book 252:129-130]
- 29 – Paapu's new *lauhala* house in Kukio Village, Kukio nui.

Site # and Comment:

- 30 – Uluweuweu Bay in Kukio nui.
- 31 – Kumukea – from the white surf, Kukio nui.
- 32 – Kapilau Bay – head of bay, Kaupulehu.
- 33 – Lae o Mahewalu.
- 34 – Keonenui Bay; long black sand beach.
- 35 – Lae o Nukumeomeo.
- 36 – Kiholo Bay; site on surf – indefinite.
- 37 – Lae Hou – extremity.
- 38 – Ohiki Bay.
- 39 – Lae o Kaiwi, needle shaped.
- 40 – Akina kahi Bay.
- 41 – Lae o Naubaka, Puu Anahulu.
- 42 – Kahamoi Bay. "Ha" = outlet to fishpond. "Moi" = a choice fish.
- 43 – Pohakuloa rock. On cape of same name, P. Anahulu.
- 44 – Lae o Pohakuloa.
- 45 – Akahukaumu. Indefinite, head of bay.
The lighting – "Akahu" of the oven "Kaumu."
[now written as Akahu Kaimu]
- 46 – Lae o Lelewi, bone cape on a/c of sharpness.
- 47 – Kapalaoa bay.
Anaehoomalu Station
- 48 – Kuaiwa rock. Name from "Kuaiwa" chief of Anahulu Ahupuaa who in the time of Kaahumanu raised a revolt in favor of heathenism and being bound hand and foot, was thrown into the sea at Kailua.

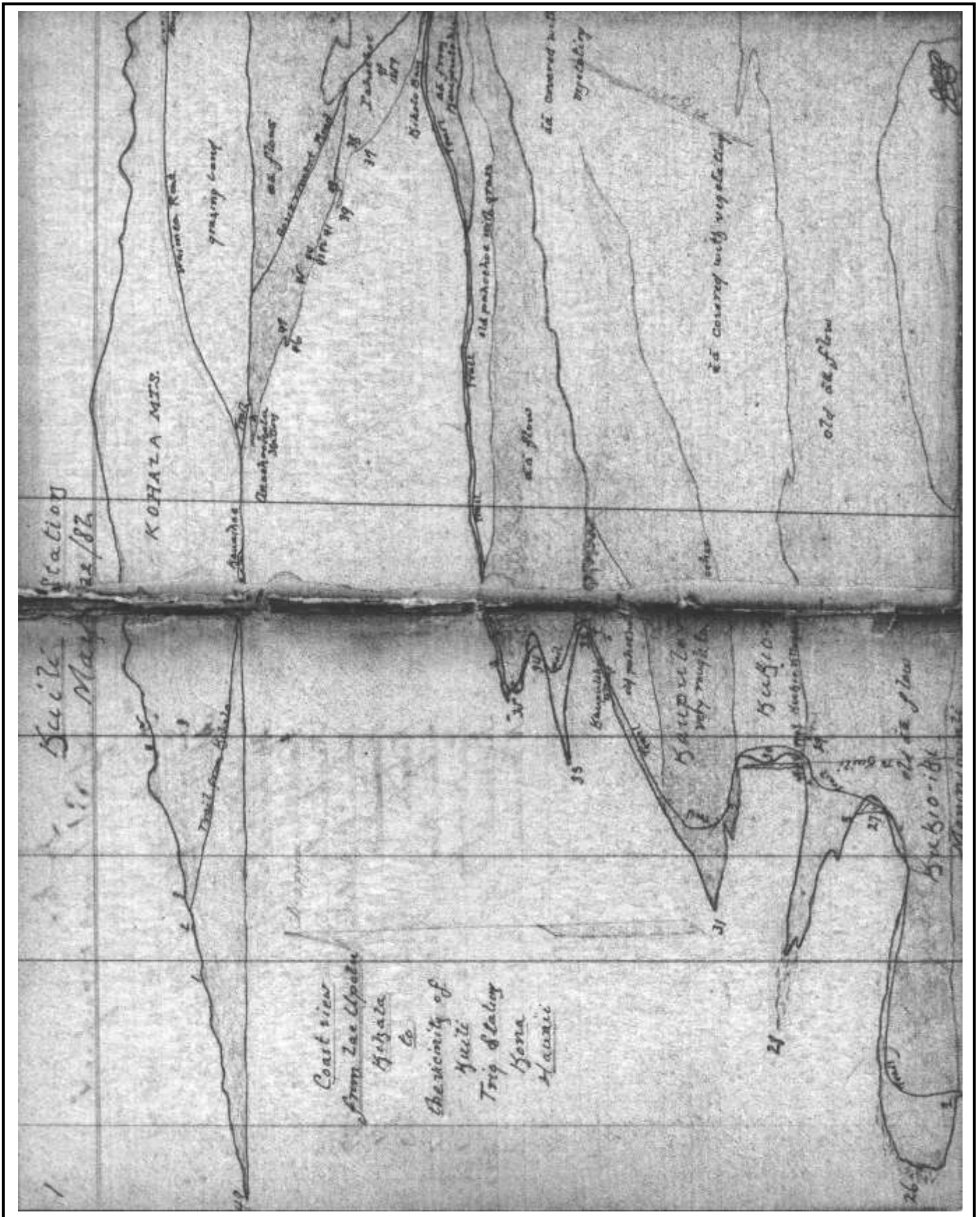


Figure 21. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:1 (State Survey Division)

Lae Makaha. Outlet of fishpond [Book 252:131-132]
Hale o Mihi rock. Mihi an ancient demigod or *Kupua*.
Koukealii Bay, sight on surf at head.
Lae o ka Auau. Anaehoomalu.
Waiulua inlet, abounding in “*ulua*” fish.
Waiulua Cape, nearly on level with sea.
Anaehoomalu Bay. Head of bay. [Book 252:131]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 111 Reg. No. 253
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Akahipuu; May 29, 1882 [see Figure 22 for locations discussed below]
Site # and Comment:***

- 1 – Kiholo meeting house. Puu Waawaa.
- 2 – Kauai’s frame house. Puu Waawaa, Kiholo village.
- 3 – Keanini’s frame house. Puu Waawaa, Kiholo village.
- 4 – Honuakaha Bay. Puu Waawaa.
- 5 – Keawaiki Cape. Puu Waawaa.
- 6 – Kiholo Bay. Puu Waawaa.
- 7 – Lae Iliili. Cape of lava stones.
- 8 – Inside bay.
- 9 – Lae Hou. [Book 253:39]

Akahipuu – May 31, 1882

- 10 – Ohiki Bay. In Puu Waawaa.
- 11 – Lae Ohiki. “
- 12 – Koholapilau bay. “
- 13 – Konalimu. “
- 14 – Keawakeekee bay. “
- 15 – Keawakeekee cape. “
- 16 – Keawaiki bay. “
- 17 – Lae Akinakahi. In Puu Waawaa.
- 18 – Akinakahi Bay. [Book 253:49]
- 19 – Lae o Naubaka. In Puu Anahulu.
- 20 – Kaluaouou Bay. “
- 21 – Lae o Namahana. “
- 22 – Parker’s new frame house. In Anaehoomalu.

- 23 – Anaehoomalu. “
- 24 – Anaehoomalu fishpond, tang. *makai* side. “
- 25 – Anaehoomalu fishpond, tang. *mauka* side. “
- 26 – Lae o ka Auau. In Anaehoomalu.
- 27 – Waiulua bay. “
- 28 – Pohakuakaha rock. At end of cape Auau.
- 29 – Pohakuakaha Cape. Sight on surf.
- 30 – Honokaape bay.
- 31 – Lae o Waawaa. [Book 253:51]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 4 Reg. No. 254
Primary Triangulation, West Hawaii, Kona District
Station Descriptions – August 1882***

Puu Anahulu

This station is situated on a hill at the northern extremity of the Puu Anahulu range. This line of hills is extremely conspicuous on account of the abruptness with which they rise from the *āā* plains, presenting a very steep face, while the other extremity (its Eastern) and the back of the range are level with the surrounding country. The station hill is the most conspicuous at the northern extremity.

The underground mark is a copper triangle. The surface marks are these —the rocks are large and are all “in situ.” The lower pole of the signal is of “*Koaie*” wood, well seasoned and will probably last for twenty years. [Field Book 254:121]

Puu Waawaa

Is too prominent not to be easily found without a description.

A copper triangle and marked stone show the position of the point under ground. The stones above ground are close to the signal. There is a quantity of the cans underground also.

The rocks for the marking purposes had to be brought from the plains below on jackasses as there were none to be found on the hill. The soil is very soft and rich, and the summit is covered with a dense forest. [Field Book 254:123]

J.S. Emerson – Letter Communications (1882-1885)

In addition to the field note book descriptions, Emerson was also writing regular status reports to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General of the Kingdom. Those letters—from the collection of the Hawaii State Archives—often provide readers with interesting reading. The communications document field conditions and features; difficulties with some surveys; and who the informants and field guides were. Among the letters are the following communications —

February 5, 1882

J.S. Emerson W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General

(in Camp – Kaupulehu, Northwest Slope of Hualalai, about 6000 feet above sea level):

Describes establishment of survey markers on Hualālai, Nāpu‘u, and the larger Kekaha region:

...I regret that Puako signal is so placed as to be invisible from Kuili. A cocoanut grove obstructs the view. A new intermediate station on Cape Waawaa in Lahuipuaa, I hope will enable me to connect the two. Puu Anahulu (in Napuu) and Puu Waawaa, will with cape Waawaa as stations fix Kuili. The region around Naohuleelua is invisible from my Hualalai signal. Another peak of about equal altitude, shuts it out. But I will leave the location of that point for a second visit to Kona. My two native men exceed my most sanguine hopes. They “know Kona,” and are splendid fellows... The Kaupulehu signal is a complete success. I have set a signal on Puu Waawaa & Puu Anahulu in Napuu & in the morning I start for Kuili... My mail is probably waiting for me at Kiholo where I expect to be tomorrow at noon... (HGS DAGS 6 box 1)

May 5, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(at Puu Anahulu):

... Iakoba has just returned from setting a signal at Naohuleelua, visible from Nohonaohae, Ahumoa, Puu ka Pele, Napukulua, Puu Waawaa & Kaupulehu. It will have my careful attention and thorough locating. We start at once for Puu Waa & then in a few days for Naohuleelua, via Keamuku & Puu ka Pele, a long and ugly road... (HGS DAGS 6 box 1)

May 21, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(in Camp – Kuili hill, about 400 feet above sea level, about 2,000 feet from sea shore, Awakee):

...We left our station at Puu Anahulu Friday morning May 5 in the midst of a furious sand storm accompanied by occasional whirl winds of great force, and after quite a march through the forest over a rough aa trail reached Puu Waawaa about 5 P.M. To protect ourselves from the *Mumuku* [name of the fierce winds of the area], we pitched tent in a jungle of *ulei* shrubs. But to our intense disgust we found the hill, or little mountain on which we were encamped, swarming with myriads of *pokepoke*, or sow-bugs, sole living representative of the fossil trilobite. They covered and got into everything, lined our blankets & pillows, crawled up the sides of the tent & dropped down upon our faces as we slept, or crawled into our ears and hair. We destroyed thousands upon thousands with fire & faggot, but tens of thousands came to their funeral. The scourge lasted as long as we remained on the hill, and when we left May 17, we carried away a large swarm that still covered the tent. During the ten days we occupied the station, we had but little clear weather. We were in the cloud, fog, mist or rain much of the time, and the continued breathing of such an atmosphere was a most trying ordeal...

Every item of local historical, mythological or geological interest has been carefully sought out & 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... [selected sketches cited as figures above in this section of the study] (HGS DAGS 6 box 1)

August 30, 1883

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(Punihaole's house – Kiholo, Kona, Hawaii):

...I arrived at Kawaihae yesterday P.M. at 5 after an extremely disagreeable voyage on the nasty steamer Likelike. The weather was fair, but the condition of the boat was such as to make all the passengers of the Anglo Saxon race horribly sick. I made formal complaint of the state of things to Capt. King and to Mr. White at Mahukona, and the former gave the steward a severe reprimand for neglecting the sanitary condition of the cabin. I have never seen it so bad before.

This morning at 3 I left Kawaihae in Capt. Kanehaku's¹⁸ clean whale boat, and after a delightful sail along the familiar coast reached this place at 7. Kailihiwa¹⁹ and the animals will be due here this P.M. So says Iakopa... (HGS DAGS 6; box 2)

J.S. Emerson – personal notes

Kauai interviewed in Kiholo, Kona, Hawaii, August 30th, 1883:

Waakelehonua was the *konoiki* of the Kiholo pond in the time of Kamehameha III. Kamehameha 1st had all the men of Kona, Kohala and Hamakua bring stone and build the Kiholo fish pond wall. They took the stone from two old *heiau*, namely, the *heiau* of Meeu and from that of Puhipaio and then formed a line to Luwahinewai about two miles south and brought more stone...

The two *puoa* [houses], where Alapainui's treasures were stored were called respectively Lonoakai and Kaualii, their rafters were six fathoms long. The rafters were fixed *paehumu* [the bases set in the earth in a row] and were of *kaui*.

The *kaui* tree is found mainly in Puu Waawaa and rarely in Kaupulehu.

Kuhuluku was a *kupua* [supernatural being] who lived at Awikiwiki, Puu Anahulu. The rain always fell at his back.

Kalemonuia was a *kupua* living at Kiholo at the *heiau* of Puhipaio. He was continually sounding his drum made of shark skin stretched on a cocoa nut trunk until he became a bore and his life was sought. He used to swim the surf and return to this *heiau* in the sea. At length he was caught in a *nae* net [a tightly woven small mesh-net, usually made of *olonā* fibers] and slain. The net was made to surround the *heiau*. (Bishop Museum Archives, HEN I:473 – emphasis added)

September 23, 1885

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

Kailua, Kona:

Describes efforts at locating the Naohuleelua (literally: the bald men) survey station, which is one of the inland most boundaries of Pu'u Anahulu. Emerson began his search from the Kaumalumu-Keauhou side trying to retrace the steps of Boundary Commission witness, Keakaikawai —

...The only *kamaaina*, who really was posted, was Keakaikawai (Jack *i ka wai*), and

¹⁸ Kanehaku also served as the South Kohala Road Supervisor in the period between ca. 1883-1887 (communications cited in this study).

¹⁹ As noted in the interviews with Robert Keākealani Sr. and his children, Ka'iliihiwa (nui) was the grandfather of R. Keākealani Sr.—the one from whom he learned much about the land of Kawaihae to Ka'ūpūlehu—and Iakopa was also a relative of the grandparent's generation.

he is dead! ...We started Aug. 26 up the Judd road, & camped successively 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 *pahoehoe* rock in search of Naohuleelua, which I am satisfied he knows very little about. We returned at night disgruntled...

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 Iakopa's the next day found that he was the man to go with us, But Mr. Spencer [lessee of Pu'u Anahulu and rancher] 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 Iakopa 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. I do not think a man can be found to show me a point to answer Hitchcock's description of Naohuleelua. Please send me a copy of his map of Puu Anahulu [Register Map No. 515 – 1876] with notes of survey, also such portion of the survey of Kaohe as may relate to Naohuleelua, if indeed there is any such survey.

I am told by Iakopa that Kaohe was surveyed by the "haole lolo" [crazy foreigner], Wiltze. When at Puu Waawaa with Perryman I sighted Iakopa's flag for Naohuleelua. Mr. Lyons thought it was too near Puu ka Pele. But if that is not the point, where is it?... (HGS DAGS 6; box 2)

Dec. 8, 1885

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

Thurston House, Laniakea, Kailua:

...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 could have crossed the *aa*. This is the road and the only road and all agree that the point was somewhere on this road... (HGS DAGS 6; box 2)

Historical Overview of Ranching on Hawai‘i

Ranching in Hawai‘i finds its origins in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1793-94, Captain George Vancouver of the British Navy, introduced the first cattle to the islands (Vancouver 1967 Vol. II:114). Describing the circumstances around this event, Henke (1929) reported:

On the 19th of February, 1793, he (Vancouver) landed a bull and cow from California for Kamehameha I in the canoe of Krimamahoo [Kalaimamahū, a half brother of Kamehameha I], off the coast of Hawaii. On the 22nd of February, 1793, he landed five cows, two ewes and a ram, in the bay of Kealakekua for Kamehameha I; on the 15th of January, 1794, he landed a bull, two cows, two bull calves, five rams, and five ewe sheep from California in Kealakekua Bay for Kamehameha I. (Henke 1929:9)

Henke also observed that “At the request of Vancouver, Kamehameha tabooed the killing of cattle for ten years—except the males should [they] become too numerous” (Henke 1929:9). Kuykendall (1968), elaborated further on the introductions and motives behind them, stating:

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 being moved from Kona to the plains of Waimea, which led to their spreading through the mountain lands of Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa and Hualālai. 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)

With the herds of cattle increasing, in ca. 1815, Kamehameha I hired foreigners to help control the herds (cf. Barrera and Kelly 1974:44). John Palmer Parker—who later founded Parker Ranch, of Waimea—was one of the first men hired to hunt the *pipi ‘āhiu* (wild cattle) for the king. Though some hunting had occurred, the herds had continued to increase. By the 1820s the hides, meat, and tallow of the wild cattle were growing in 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 needed provisions, including fresh and salted beef (cf. Morgan 1948:76 and Kuykendall 1968:313, 317). This was timely for the kingdom because the 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 1969:251-252). Another factor was that while *‘iliahi* or *lā‘au ‘a‘ala* (sandalwood) had been one of the most valuable trade items of the Kingdom up to this point, supplies were diminishing as the forests were denuded (ibid.), and new sources of revenue were needed.

By ca. 1830 Kamehameha III had *vaqueros* (Mexican-Spanish cow hands) brought to the islands to teach the 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 capable students, and by the

c. 1870s, the Hawaiian cowboy came to be known as the "*paniola*"²⁰ 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) offers readers an insightful explanation of how the evolution of ranching in Hawai'i was also tied to the period of harboring whaling ships (ca. 1824-1861).

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 driven away from their homes by the depredations of the cattle, and...elsewhere they were discouraged from cultivating the land [as reported in 1848]. (Morgan 1948:169)

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, and a few foreigners who had been granted the right to handle the cattle (cf. Henke 1929:19-20). By 1851 there were around 20,000 cattle on the island of Hawai'i, and approximately 12,000 of them were wild (Henke 1929:22). The 1859 *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* article cited earlier, authored by "Hualalai," provides readers with an eyewitness account of cattle hunting, a hunter's camp, and a round up of wild cattle in the mountain lands. Though the area described is on the slopes of Mauna Kea, it is likely that similar practices occurred in the Nāpu'u vicinity, as ranching operations shared similar management under the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company (see documentation under Pu'u Anahulu leases later in this study):

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,

²⁰ 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 "*paniola*."

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 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).

Grazing Impacts on Hawaiian Forests

In the districts of South Kohala and North Kona (including the lands in and around Nāpu‘u), ranching

had a significant impact on native land use and ecosystems. This is particularly evident on the upper *kula* (plains) and in the cool *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 Planter's 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)

Numerous historical observations—as those cited in the preceding article and other sections of this study—regarding the demise of Hawaiian forest lands and the impacts of cattle and other introduced animals on native tenants of the land, were causing great alarm to Kingdom residents from the mid 1800s. The result was early efforts at the development of conservation clauses in leases of Hawaiian lands to be used for ranching purposes. As early as the 1870s (Francis Spencer's lease of Pu'u Anahulu – cited in this study), and through out the 1890s to 1950s lease of Pu'u Wa'awa'a-Pu'u Anahulu to the Hinds (cited in this study), lessees were required to implement a wide variety of conservation activities. The tradition of requiring conservation actions is still specified (though implementation is problematic) in clauses of the present State leases of Pu'u Anahulu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a.

Maxwell, in Thrum's *Hawaiian Annual and Almanac* of 1900, reported that while the numbers 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)

Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch — An Overview of Historical Leases and Ranch Operations

It appears that the first formal lease (issued in 1863) for lands in the Nāpu'u region—while not specified, subsequent documentation reports the use—was for ranching operations. On March 20, 1863, the entire *ahupua'a* of Pu'u Anahulu (“with the exception of the land rights of the native tenants upon the land”) was leased to three Hawaiian lessees—G. Kaukuna, M. Maeha, and S. Kanakaole, listed as residents of Honolulu, O'ahu. The lease (granted by Lot Kamehameha) was for the term of five years, at the rate of \$50.00 the first year and \$100.00 each, for the remaining four years (State Archives files – General Lease No. 106; DLNR2- Vol. 15). Two years after Kaukuna, Maeha and

Kanaka'ole acquired the lease, they sold their interest to Francis Spencer for incorporation into the holdings of the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company (see records of ease agreements cited below). From the 1860s until the 1970s, ranching was the primary, large scale land use in the Nāpu'u region. Over that time, the land area under lease, ranged from approximately 4,000 acres to more than 120,000 acres of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a. *Figure 23*, is a 1902 map of the Pu'u Anahulu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a lease lands, and depicts the lands described in various lease documents.

Government Communications and Lessee Documentation (ca. 1862-1970)

The following documentation provides readers with an overview of the ranching operations. The information—some not previously reported—is also an important source of historical records pertaining to land use, the natural resources of Nāpu'u, the cultural landscape, residency, and conservation efforts.

Interior Department – Land Matters

Document 365 (n.d.)

Names and Status of Government Lands in North Kona:

Puuanahulu – 4000 Acres; Leased by the Minister of the Interior. (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department – Land Matters)

General Lease No. 106²¹

March 20, 1863

Lot Kamehameha to G. Kaukuna, M. Maeha, and S. Kanakaole

Puuanahulu – Entire ahupua'a — *excepting the land rights of the native tenants thereon* — lease for the period of five years. (Hawaii State Archives; Series DLNR2 Vol. 15)

March 20, 1865

Assignment of Lease

Kaukuna, Maeha & Kanakaole; to

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)

May 11, 1870

Report as to the portion of the Government land in North Kona, Hawaii:

Puuanahulu. Leased to the Waimea Grazing Co. as to Frank Spencer. Terms unknown... (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department – Land Matters)

April 19, 1870

Chas. Gullick, Interior Department Clerk; to

Theo. H. Davies, Esqr. (for Waimea Grazing Co.):

...I am directed by his Excellency the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. requesting a renewal of the lease of Puuanahulu, and to state that he will renew the lease for two (2) years from date at the same terms as before. (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department Book 10:171)

²¹ A copy of General Lease No. 106 could not be located in the land records of the Land Division. Pu'u Anahulu lease records begin with General Lease No. 192 in the Land Division files.

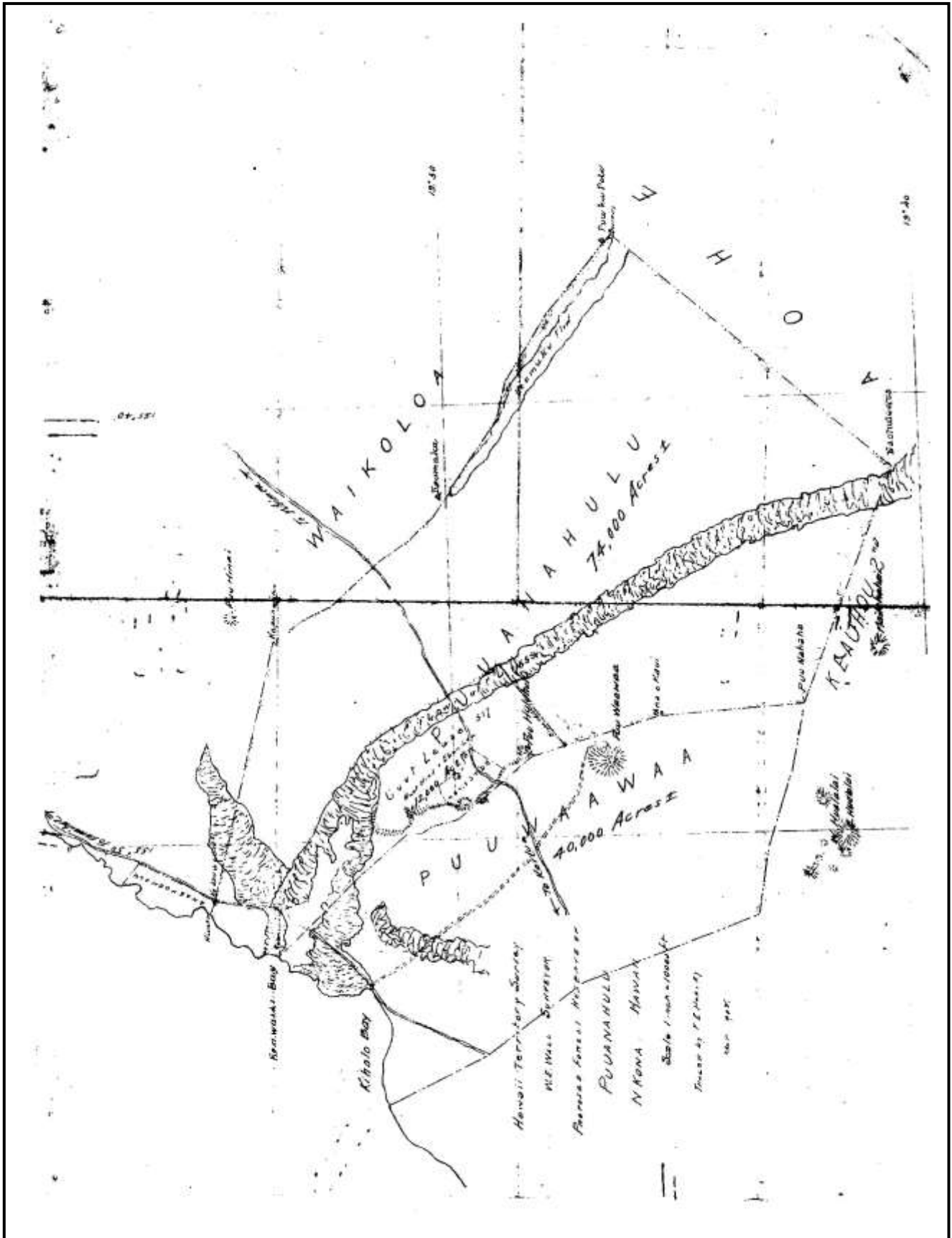


Figure 23. Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a Lease lands (1902).
(Lease 971) State Survey Division

January 1, 1871

Janion Green & Co., Lease Payments to Hawaiian Government:

...Rent to date # 106 <u>Puuanahulu</u>	177.54
Int. on Rents due on # 106 @ 9%	11.99 — \$189.53

(Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department Book 10:382)

October 26, 1874

Francis Spencer; to

W.L. Green, Minister of the Interior:

...I beg to make respectful application to your Excellency for a renewal of lease of the land of Puuanahulu for ten years, with the privilege of a further renewal of five years, at an annual rental of One hundred and fifty dollars.

The said land is situated upon the line of boundary of North Kona and South Kohala in the island of Hawaii. *I have held it by transfer of lease from Kaukuna and others since 1862*; and the present lease [No. 106], at a rental of One hundred Dollars per annum, expires in the 24th of March, 1875... [A note on the cover of the letter states: "10 years with privilege of 5 years more Granted from March 24th, 1875 @ \$150 per an."] (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department – Land Files [emphasis added])

October 26, 1874

Chas. Gulick, Interior Department Clerk; to

Francis Spencer, Esqr. Waimea, Hawaii:

...Sir, I am directed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge receipt of your letter of today in which you ask for a Ten years lease, with a privilege of renewal for five more, of the land known as Puuanahulu, situate in North Kona, Hawaii, lease to date from Mar. 24th 1875, yearly rental One Hundred & Fifty Dollars (\$150.x). I am desired to say further that the request is hereby granted, and the lease will be made out when the present lease (no. 106) expires... (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department Book 12:593)

March 20, 1875

General Lease No. 192

Puuanahulu, North Kona, Hawaii;

to Francis Spencer:

...All that tract or parcel of land Known as "Puuanahulu" situate in the District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii, Excepting the Kuleanas situate upon the above mentioned land. (See Haw'n. Govt. Lease # 106.)...

And Also, that he the said party of the second part...shall and will bear, pay and discharge, at their own cost and expense, all costs and charges for fencing the whole or any part or parcel of the above demised premises, if such fencing should be required... **And Also**, that he the said party...shall not, nor will at any time during the term hereby granted, do or commit, or permit or suffer to be done, any willful or voluntary waste, spoil or destructions, in and upon the above demised premises, or any part thereof, or cut down, or permit to be cut down any trees now growing or being, or which shall hereafter grow or be in and upon the above demised premises or any part thereof...

W.L. Moehonua (Minister of the Interior)
Francis Spencer

In the presence of Chas. T. Gulick
(Hawaii State Land Division Files)

August 11, 1875

**Francis Spencer; to
Minister of the Interior:**

...May it please your Excellency, on or about the 21st of March last, I obtained from you a lease on the land of Puuanahulu for the term of twenty years at the yearly rental of \$150.00 – One hundred and fifty dollars – the said lease I am desirous should it please Your Excellency to cancel, that a new one, maybe made to my Daughter, who is anxious to build and improve upon said land by planting trees &c.

I would most respectfully ask Your Excellency to allow a new lease to be made to my daughter Frances Tasmania Spencer.

My Daughter has appointed W.C. Jones Esqr. by power of Attorney to begin the lease for her. Trusting Your Excellency will pardon me if in asking this kindness I have overstepped the bounds of Courtesy, and that you will in your kindness allow a new lease to be made to my Daughter... (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department – Land Files)

The Spencer property and house site is depicted in sketches in the Field Note Books of J.S. Emerson, cited in this study.

August 30, 1875

**Chas. Gulick, Interior Department Clerk; to
Francis Spencer, Esqr. Puuloa, Hawaii:**

...I am directed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 11th inst. which was delivered by Col. Jones, in which you request that the lease made to you in this office be cancelled and a new one be made on the same term to your daughter Miss Frances – that is to say, land of Puuanahulu for 20 years from March 21st 1875, yearly rental \$150. — and to say in reply that your request is fully granted.

Col. Jones says he will obtain from you a power of Attorney authorizing him to sign for you in the cancellation or transfer... (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department Book 13:66)

December 22, 1875

**General Lease No. 206
Puuanahulu, North Kona, Hawaii;
to Frances Tasmania Spencer
of Waimea, Kohala, Island of Hawaii**

Transfer of Lease to Frances T. Spencer. (See Haw'n. Govt. Lease No's. 106 and 192)

November 4, 1879

**J.A. Hassinger, Interior Department Clerk; to
Frank Spencer, Esq., Waimea, Hawaii:**

...I beg to acknowledge your favor of Oct. 31st in relation to your payments on the Govt Lease of Puuanahulu, and enclosing letter under date of Dec. 20th / 75 from this Department acknowledging yours of Dec 13th, enclosing Order for \$100 – for Rent due on Govt Lease #192, to Nov 20, 1875. We find upon examination that with this payment, lease No. #192 was cancelled and a new lease was granted you (No 206) for the same premises in the name of your daughter Frances Tasmania Spencer – for the term of Ten years from Nov 20th 1875, – annual rental (not in advance \$150. — From that date no payments appear and the A/c was made up – as follows – viz

Lease #206, Puuanahulu, Nov 20, 1878 3 years Rent @ \$150. -\$450. Interest \$40.50 or a total of — \$490.50. On this A/c you have Credits.

1879

July 21 – By Cash	\$300.	
Sept 29 – By Cash	100.	<u>400.</u>
Bal due on a/c		90.50
Nov 20 / 79, add 1 years Rent, due to date		<u>150.</u>
Will make bal due that day		\$240.50

I trust the above explanation may prove satisfactory.

Assuring you that we are always ready and happy to explain all these matters when not clear, and as ready to correct all mistakes – which sometimes will occur in the best regulations... (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department Book 16:409)

August 7, 1884

**Chas. Gulick, Minister of Interior; to
Frances Tasmania Spencer
(Transfer of Lease No. 206)**

Permission is hereby granted to Frances Tasmania Spencer (now Mrs. R.F. Bickerton) to transfer and assign the within Lease No. 206 to Frances Macfarlane Spencer, upon the same conditions and rental as herein cited. (Hawaii State Land Division Files)

November 5, 1891

**F. Spencer; to
Charles N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior:**

...The undersigned would hereby make application to buy fifty acres more or less of the Government land of Puuanahulu, South Kohala, Island of Hawaii.

The piece of land wanted lies near the hill of Puwaawaa, & is from 10 to 11 miles distant from the beach of Puuanahulu & is a part of the land now under lease to your petitioner.

Your petitioner has been at great expense in putting of a cistern on the land & desires to make further improvements upon said land. The land in question is only fitted for raising taro, potatoes & such things. Coffee has been tried there but without success.

There are no native Kuleanas on said land & in fact no natives are living in the neighborhood.

In case your Excellency will entertain this application, your petitioner will cause a survey of the same to be made & file it with your Excellency.

As to the price to be paid for the said land, will be left to your Excellency. Whether the same can be paid for a private sale & public auction... (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department – Land Files [emphasis added])

Title to the above referenced fifty acre parcel of land at Pu'u Anahulu does not appear to have been perfected. J.S. Emerson Field Note Book descriptions (cited in this study) provide the location of the Spencer property.

Government Survey Report on Application for Gov't. Land.

Nov. 30th, 1891

Application 458

To purchase 50 acres at Puuanahulu, Hawaii.

Land said to be fit for cultivation of taro, potatoes & c.

(J.F. Brown, Surveyor) — I know of no special objections to sale of this land but think it best that the survey should be made by some member of the Govt Survey. There are said to be certain Govt remnants in Waimea which it is desirable to survey and whoever went to Waimea for this purpose might also survey this 50 acres applied for. At present however all the members of the survey are engaged on special work in other directions and this particular job would naturally have its turn later...

August 26, 1893

C.P. Iaukea, Interior Department; to

S.B. Dole:

C.P. Iaukea describes development of the "Puukapu Homesteads," surveyed by A.B. Loebenstein. (Loebenstein subsequently surveyed the Pu'u Anahulu Homesteads – Register Map No. 1877). As cited below, he then reports that he will be traveling to Pu'u Wa'awa'a with R. Hind and E.P. Low to inspect development of their ranching lease:

...I have arranged to go to Puuwaawaa with Mr. Eben Low tomorrow, who is taking over his first lot of store cattle, 200 head. Mr. Hind I think will accompany us so both the lessees will therefore be present when I am taking notes of the extent of the forest & c.

March 1, 1894

Indenture Between the Commissioners of Crown Lands; and Robert Hind Jr., and Eben P. Low:

...All that tract of land situate in the district of North Kona, Island of Hawaii, known as the *ahupuaa* of Puuwaawaa, by its ancient boundaries or as may be hereafter determined by legal authority, and containing 40,000 acres more or less... ...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, or any part thereof; together with free liberty of ingress, egress and regress, to and for the said parties of the first part [i.e., the Commissioners of Crown Lands] and their successors in office... ...For and during the term of Twenty five (25) YEARS, to commence from the fifteenth day of August A.D. 1893...paying...the yearly rent of Twelve Hundred & ten Dollars...

[handwritten amendments]:

Provided that they may take such timber and other trees for their own use as fire wood or for mechanical, fencing or building purposes, to be used only on the demised premises...**And also** that they will and shall during the term of the present demised keep up and maintain the forest substantially according to the description hereinafter set forth; **And also** keep the Lantana from spreading or making any further headway on said demised premises; And further that they will within three years from commencement of the terms hereof, put and erect upon the premises hereby demised substantial improvements of a permanent character to the value of three thousand (\$3000.) dollars, and the same to keep and maintain in good repair during the full term hereof...

Signed J.A. King
 William O. Smith Interior Department
 C.P. Iaukea

Robert Hind Jr.
Eben P. Low Lessees

Kohala, July 20/94
MESSRS. P.C. JONES, C.P. IAUKEA,
COMMISSIONERS OF CROWN LANDS.

Dear Sirs;

We respectfully beg to make application for a reduction of \$710.00 on the rental of the land of Puuwaawaa, making the rental to \$500.00 per annum. We find it strictly necessary to ask for the reduction so that we will be in a position to keep up the strict conditions that are stipulated in the lease.

The writer goes to Honolulu by the "*Kinau*" and will give every detail, in person, to you, and will also be happy to give any information that you may require.

We remain, Dear Sirs,

Your obedient servants,

Eben P. Low,
Robert Hind Jr.

(Attachment)

Statement of a few facts in regard to Improvements, Situation, Roads etc. etc., on the Land of Puuwaawaa, North Kona, Island of Hawaii.

Improvements. There are on the Premises, improvements in the way of Buildings, fences to the extent of \$3000--- viz. Watersheds, Dairy Building, Stables, Dwelling quarters Six—5000 Gal. Tanks, 1—1200 gal. tank and over 30,000 gal Cistern not quite completed.

Roads and Trails. The land of Puuwaawaa has only 4 outlet or trails, one by way of the mountain, one by land of Puuanahulu, one by Kapalaoa and one by Kiholo, none of these are Government trails²², it is impossible to go by any other way without inconvenience and trouble. The distance of road from Kohala via Waimea to Puuwaawaa is 47 miles. The distance via Kawaihae is 36 miles.

It takes average going with cattle from P'waa [Puuwaawaa] to Waimea 12 hours, Waimea to Kohala 9 hours, Puuwaawaa to Kawaihae, distance of twenty-one miles 13 hours. No way of making a wagon road under a cost of \$1,000.00 per mile.

Land. There are 40,000 Acres in this piece of property to be divided namely:

20,000 Acres	Worthless
10,000 Acres	Good for only 6 mos. in the year or when it rains.
1,000 Acres	Very rich soil suitable for cultivation.
9,000 Acres	Good for grazing only.

Rainfall. October to March plentiful.
March to May very slight, drizzily.

²² Historical documentation cited in this study includes descriptions of several native and government trails (*mauka-makai*, coastal, and upland) in Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a prior to the date of this communication.

May to October hardly any, very dry.

No water holes or springs of any nature on the land.

Trees and Plants.

Out of 1200 *kiawe* trees planted, about 209 growing.

50 Ironwood, none growing.

300 Eucalyptus, 2 growing.

100 Coffee Trees (for experiment), none growing.

150 Silk Oak, all growing.

50 Peach Trees, all growing.

50 Cheramois Trees, all growing.

12 Mangoes, Apricots, Lemons, all growing.

The great portion of the trees that died was from want of moisture we could not save them, for no water could be spared.

We have rooted up every lantana visible, this will be our worst enemy on a count of the numerous quails that carry the berries from John Maguire's property [Kaupulehu], adjoining ours which is largely covered with this weed.

The cactus or the *Papipi* is also spreading fast, and so is the Scotch Thistle; We are trying to keep them from spreading any further.

Hawaiian trees and shrubs of numerous kinds abound luxuriantly on this land. Viz; the *koa*, *pua*, *mamane*, *koko*, *naio*, *iliahi*, *opiko*, *kolea*, *kou*, *kukui*, *lama* & etc. etc.

Stock. Cattle, Hind & Low, 1,000 head.

Horses 7, mules, Hind & Low 135 head.

Cattle & Horses, Spencer, 400 head.

Cattle & Horses, Natives, 150 head.

We have lost 3 mules and 2 horses from packing lumber from Kiholo, 70 head of cattle from want of water during summer of last year, and equivalent of 7% of our herd of 1,000.

Expenses. The expense of looking after this place is very large, our shoeing account alone is \$37.50 per month, and that is done right on the ranch by our men.

It takes 5 men, and no less, to look after this property, 10 miles of fences, and also fighting against lantana, cactus, thistle and keeping sundry trails in order – \$1500.00.

We pay freight per ton per S.S. to Kawaihae, \$5.00. We pay freight per ton per sloop to Kiholo, \$5.00. From Kiholo to P'waa Hill a distance of 9 miles by road, by pack mules and horses ½ cent per lb., on ordinary mds, as rice, flour & etc.-- \$10.00. 1 ½ cent per foot on lumber, \$15.00. My personal overseeing is not counted.

We intend to put in a large area under coffee, but we cannot see our way to it on account of the heavy rent we are bound under, especially when you have to lay out money besides rent and then wait for 3 years to get any returns.

Honolulu, July 24, 1894.

Eben P. Low.

July 24, 1894
R. Hind Jr., and E. P. Low; to
The Commissioners of Crown Lands,
Honolulu

Dear Sirs:–

We the undersigned respectfully beg that a reduction of \$710.00 be made to Robert Hind Jr. and Eben P. Low, on the rent of the land of Puuwaawaa, North Kona thus reducing the rental to (\$500.00) Five Hundred Dollars per annum. We consider this a fair and a reasonable amount, considering the strict conditions they are bound under their lease. This property was formerly leased for \$150.00 per annum, and no improvements guaranteed; the land is not in a flourishing state, it has no roads, water, landing, or improvements of any nature.

Lantana has taken hold in places, and it is only with the greatest of care and moneys that the forest be maintained and lantana weeded out, as guarded and stipulated in the lease...

(Signed by 33 individuals – possibly business associates)

General Lease No. 517
Commission of Public Lands
to Robert Hind Jr. & Eben P. Low, of Kohala Hawaii
June 1, 1898

...All that portion of the Government land of Puuanahulu, North Kona, Hawaii, bounded as follows:

On the South by land of Puuwaawaa; North by N. edge of lava flow of 1859; *makai* by sea; and *mauka* by line of existing stone wall about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile above Puuanahulu running toward the lava flow of 1859 [see *Figure 23*]. Area, 12000 acres, a little more or less.

This lease is given upon the following express conditions, viz:

Improvements to the values of not less that \$2000. to be made within three years of date of lease. All lantana upon the leased tract to be rooted out during said period of three years, and spread of same to be prevented.

Stone wall to be maintained across *mauka* boundary of leased tract to and into flow of 1859, and wild cattle above such fence on south side of Lava flow of 1859 to be destroyed.

One Hundred and fifty acres of leased tract to be planted in *Kiawe* or other valuable forest trees. The sum of \$50. per year to be expended exterminating prickly pear, during term of this lease or until such prickly pear is exterminated.

Holders of surveyed lots on Puuanahulu shall have the privilege of taking dead wood from this leased tract or live trees for building or fencing purposes.

To Have and to Hold...for and during the term of Twenty one years to commence from the first day of June A.D. 1898...

[includes similar wording regarding protection of forests]

...The Government reserves the right to take possession of such portion of the premises covered by this Lease as may be required for laying out and constructing new roads or improving or changing the line or grade of old roads, and to take soil rock and gravel as may be necessary for construction or improvement of such roads, such taking to be subject to the provisions of Section IV of "Land Act 1895."

Amendment:

Permission is hereby granted to Eben P. Low, to assign to Robert Hind Jr., all his right, title and interest, in the within Lease No. 517, but subject to all conditions and stipulations thereof. It being expressly conditioned, that no further transfer of interest under said Lease be made, without written consent of the Commissioner of Public Lands... June 1st, 1903. (Hawaii State Land Division Files)

General Lease No. 971

Commissioner of Public Lands to Robert Hind

Sept. 27, 1917

Puuanahulu – Lease of 74,000 acres for the period of 21 years.

(Survey coordinates given in C.S.F. No. 1121; J.S. Emerson, Surveyor – March 25, 1902)

Among lease conditions are found:

Fencing to protect Government forests and watershed reservations from livestock; and

Also, excepting and reserving therefrom all existing roads and trails within this tract and other such roads, trails and other rights-of-way that may be required for public purposes. (Hawaii State Land Division Files)

General Lease No. 1038 (replacing previous Lease Agreements)

Commissioner of Public Lands to Robert Hind

Sept. 27, 1917

Puuanahulu – Lease of 12,000 acres for the period of 21 years, commencing June 1st, 1919.

With conditions similar as those cited above. (Land Division Files)

General Lease No. 1039 (replacing previous Lease Agreements)

Commissioner of Public Lands to Robert Hind

Sept. 27, 1917

Puuwaawaa – Lease of 40,000 acres for the period of 21 years, commencing August 15th, 1918. (Hawaii State Land Division Files)

April 5th and 8th, 1919

Governor McCarthy; to Commissioner Bailey:

Communications noting the request of Mr. Muller for a lease of a portion of the Puuwaawaa Beach Lots from the lease of Robert Hind, to be used as a salt works. Commissioner urged Governor to have Muller develop lease arrangement personally with Hind²³. (Hawaii State Archives – Ex. & C.P.L. Files)

²³ Private arrangements were made between Muller and Hind, and remnants of the coral mortar salt beds are still visible at the base of the steps to the house made by Loretta Lynn (ca. 1990). The location is called Mula (the Hawaiianized pronunciation of Muller) by native families of Nāpu'u (see interviews in this study).

Wild Goats and Sheep Impact Grazing Operations

One of the significant problems faced by Hind in his ranching operation was competition that his herd faced from wild goats. By the turn of the century, the impact of goats on Hawaiian forests and lands valued by ranchers for economic purposes was causing alarm among land officials. On October 12, 1922, Charles Judd, Superintendent of Forestry in the Territory of Hawaii forwarded a communication to Governor Farrington describing conditions in the Nāpu'u – Kekaha region. He observed:

Not only are thousands of acres robbed of valuable forage grasses which should properly go to cattle for the meat supply of this Territory but the undergrowth of bushes, ferns, and herbaceous plants which form valuable ground cover is being consumed or destroyed by goats and the trees which form the complement in the scheme of water conservation are being barked and killed by this voracious pest. At Kiholo in North Kona almost every *algaroba* tree, established in this dry region with great difficulty and most valuable here for the production of forage beans has been girdled by the wild goats... Senator R. Hind of Puuwaawaa, North Kona, Hawaii, is one who has felt, probably the most seriously, losses from an over-population of wild goats and in addition has suffered much loss of forage for cattle from wild sheep... He has, therefore, undertaken, on his own initiative, active measures to relieve his ranch of this pest and on June 26 and 27, 1922 conducted a drive which resulted in ridding his ranch of 7,000 wild goats... (Hawaii State Archives Territorial Fish and Game Commission; Com-2, Box 15)

It was estimated in the 1920s that there was one goat on every five acres of land, and Judd reported that in the ranch lands of Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Pu'u Anahulu, which comprised 105,000 acres, that there were 21,000 wild goats. The lands of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kealakekua were combined, totaling 40,000 acres, meaning the goat population was estimated at 8,000 head (Hawaii State Archives Territorial Fish and Game Commission; Com-2, Box 15).

R. Hind Jr. – Tenancy at Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Pu'u Anahulu

Early in their tenancy on the government lands of Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Pu'u Anahulu, Eben P. Low, Robert Hind, and various family members and associates began efforts at acquiring parcels of the lands in fee simple title. Homestead lands were requested by native tenants of Nāpu'u, as early as 1894, but the granting process was slow, and homesteaders competed for land that was also desirable for grazing use by Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch. Indeed, the first applicants and recipients of fee simple title to land in Pu'u Anahulu were—James Hind (brother of the primary lessee), Eben Parker Low, Elizabeth Napoleon-Low (wife of Eben P. Low), and Sanford Dole (the adoptive father of Elizabeth Napoleon-Low). Subsequently, by 1914, only a short time after native families began receiving title to their homestead lots in Pu'u Anahulu, Robert Hind began acquiring title to portions of, or all of the homestead lots from the native residents (cf. Bureau of Conveyances records and files in the collection of the *Hui 'Ohana mai Pu'u Anahulu a me Pu'u Wa'awa'a*).

By the late 1920s, Hind began consolidating his interests in Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch (including the lease lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a and the various homestead parcels he acquired) under the corporation name "Robert Hind, Limited." The later transaction was recorded in the Bureau of Conveyances Liber No. 911:1-4 —

Mortgage – Robert Hind To Robert Hind, Limited, a Hawaiian Corporation Transferring General Leases of Puuanahulu and Puuwaawaa, and Grant No.'s — 4862 to Robert Hind, 25.38 acres; 5344 to Robert Hind, 4.16 acres; 6266 to Robert Hind, 3 acres; 6498 to Robert Hind, 3 acres; 6748 to Robert Hind, 3 acres; 5038 to Nipoa Pahia, 18.8 acres; 4594 to Eben P. Lowe, 116.1 acres, except 8.16 acres sold by the grantor to Margaret Mitchell by deed dated May 10, 1927; 5914 to Kinihaa Amona, 13.5 acres; 6147 to Kalani Nakupuna, 23.74 acres; 6148 to Kailihiwa Kuehu Jr., 13.67 acres; 6156 to Keakealani Kuehu, 31.93 acres; 6159 to J.P. Cundell, Administrator of the Estate of J.W. Kaumelelau, 15.16 acres; 6149 to Joe Keoho,

7.30 acres, except for 2.33 acres sold by the grantor to D.H. Kahuila by deed dated May 31, 1927; and all livestock, improvements and equipment thereon comprising the PUUWAAWAA RANCH. (October 20, 1927)

Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch (1929)

In 1929, L.A. Henke, published a "Survey of Livestock in Hawaii," University of Hawaii Research Publication No. 5. The publication included historical descriptions of ranches throughout the Hawaiian Islands. The following description of Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch, including land tenure, source of livestock, and feed sources was reported by Henke:

Puuwaawaa Ranch in North Kona, with the ranch headquarters beautifully located three miles above the government road, consists of a total of about 128,000 acres, but about 100,000 are waste lands covered with lava flows. Of the remaining 28,000 acres only 1,500 are really good grazing lands. About 100 acres are planted to cultivated crops. All but 300 acres held in fee simple are government leased lands. These lands run from sea level to an elevation of 6,000 feet. Some of the best grazing lands are found at 5,000 feet elevation.

For many years there was practically no water on the ranch other than what the cattle could get from the dew and succulent vegetation. However, as the vegetation became scarcer water was required in all but a few paddocks well supplied with cactus where the cattle still grow to maturity without ever having access to free water. The limited water now available is secured from roofs, and a pipe line from Huehue Ranch.

A total of about thirty miles of fences, half stone and half wire, are found on the ranch. At present, the ranch carries about 2,000 Herefords. All the bulls and thirty of the females are purebred. About 500 head, ranging between two and three years of age and dressing out at 500 pounds are marketed annually,—practically all are sent to Honolulu, being loaded on the steamers at Kailua.

Only rarely are the bulls left with the breeding herd throughout the year. Usually they are turned out only during the seasons when grazing conditions are good, for the owner does not like to risk losing valuable bulls during adverse seasons. The good and bad seasons do not follow the same schedule year after year, so a definite pre-arranged breeding schedule, which would be preferable to get calves at the same time, is impossible.

Calves are weaned at about six months of age, depending on the season. In bad seasons they are weaned earlier and taken to the best paddocks, which helps both the calf and the cow. An 85% calf crop was secured in 1928, but such a good percentage is not always secured.

When bulls range with the cows throughout the year they average about one bull to thirty cows. For restricted breeding seasons more bulls are needed.

The ranch carries about sixty light horses and raises about ten mules per year. Practically no swine and no sheep are kept.

About two hundred dairy cattle of the Holstein and Guernsey breeds, ranging in age from four months to about two years can be found on the ranch at all times. These are the young calves from the Hind-Clarke dairy in Honolulu which are carried to the calving age at Puuwaawaa Ranch and then sent back to the dairy in Honolulu again.

Bermuda grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) is considered one of the best grasses. Other

grasses that do well are *Kukaipuaa* or crab grass (*Panicum pruriens*), Kentucky blue grass (*Poa priatensis*), Spanish needles (*Bidens pilosa*), Rhodes grass (*Chloris gayana*), Mesquite or Yorkshire fog (*Holcus lanatus*) on high elevations, orchard grass or cocksfoot (*Dactylis glomerata*), *Paspalum compressum*, bur clover (*Medicago denticulata*) and red top (*Agrostis stolonifera*). Native weeds supply some forage and in droughty seasons the cactus (*Opuntia* spp.) is a great asset for the cattle eat not only the young leaves but also manage to break off the spines with their feet and survive. Rat tail or New Zealand timothy (*Sporobolus elongatus*) has also been introduced and seems to be spreading.

The real beginning of Puuwaawaa Ranch was about 1892 when Robert Hind and Eben Low leased about 45,000 acres from the government and purchased about 2,000 head of cattle, —a mixture of Shorthorned, Angus and Devon breeds, from Frank Spencer, who had previously leased the lands of Puuanahulu, consisting of approximately 83,000 acres from the government. In 1893 Hind and Low acquired the lease on 12,000 acres of this area and in about 1917 Hind acquired the lease on the other 71,000 acres formerly in the Spencer lease. No cattle were carried on these 71,000 acres during the period 1893-1917, but the land was pretty well overrun with goats... Since 1902 Robert Hind has been the sole owner of Puuwaawaa Ranch and he is still general manager of the ranch. (Henke 1929:43-44)

**Consolidation of Lease-hold Lands
and Transitions in Lease Tenure (1937-1972)**

In the period between the years of 1936 and 1937, several changes were occurring with the leases of lands held by Robert Hind Limited. In October 1936, leases were surrendered for consolidation into one lease (covering an area of approximately 126,000 acres), and to remove private parcels from the existing lease language. By this time, Hind and several friends and associates had acquired fee simple title to beach lots along the shore of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (*Figure 24* – Register Map No. 3000). On April 19, 1937, Robert Hind, Limited and the Commissioner of Public Lands entered into an agreement modifying Puuanahulu-Puuwaawaa leases (No.'s 1038 and 1039), removing beach lots from lease No.'s 1038 and 1039 (Land Division Files).

In the same time period, the Commissioner announced that bidding for the leases would be opened, and for the first time, there was active competition against Hind's interests. On October 12, 1937, the bidding closed with Hind retaining the lease—paying almost three times the original asking price—for the period of 21 years (effective August 15, 1939). The Commissioner of Public lands subsequently issued a new General Lease, No. 2621 (boundaries described in C.S.F. 8592), with descriptions of the boundaries and consolidation of all lands from General Lease No.'s 971, 1038 and 1039. (see General Leases in Land Division and State Survey Division Files; and Honolulu Advertiser and Star Bulletin articles of October 12 & 13, 1937).

C.S.F. 8592 (*Figure 25*), dated March 24, 1938, provides the survey coordinates for the revised and combined lease, containing a total area 125,000 acres. The lease excluded the following —

Puuanahulu Homesteads (Lots 1 to 40 inclusive and roads.	853.41 Acres	
Puuanahulu-Puuwaawaa Beach Lots 1 to 14 inclusive.....	39.06	“
Grant 4862 to Robert H. Hind.....	25.28	“
Grant 5344 to Robert H. Hind.....	4.16	“
Grant 6266 to Robert H. Hind.....	3.00	“
Grant 9513 to S.L. Desha, Sr.	1.22	“
Grant 10286 to A.W. Carter, Trustee.....	25.09	“
Grant 10290 to A.W. Carter Trustee.....	20.72	“
North Kona Belt Road (F.A.P. 10-A and F.A.P. E-10-B) ...	79.67	“
	1051.71 Acres	

Leaving a Net Area of 123,948.29 Acres.

...Also excepting and reserving therefrom all existing roads and trails within this tract and such other roads, trails and other rights-of-way that may be required for public purposes, said rights-of-way to be designated by the Commissioner of Public Lands. (C.S.F. 8592)

Robert Hind died in December 1938. Robert Hind, Limited, under the direction of Trustee, John K. Clarke (who oversaw the trust until his death in 1951), continued operation of the Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch holdings, and various interests both on Hawai'i (Pu'u Wa'awa'a, Captain Cook, and Honomalino) and O'ahu (Aina Haina). An article series published in the Hilo Tribune Herald (April 28 through May 2, 1952), provides readers with documentation on the operation of Pu'u Wa'awa'a and other Hind family business interests. The article series (*Figures 26a – 26e*; on pages 135 to 139) is reproduced from the Land Division files²⁴.

²⁴ *Figure 26b* – the April 29th, 1952 article – includes type-written notes which finish several sentences in the last column that did not reproduce clearly. Because the issue dates of the paper for the article series is not available on microfilm, a clean original copy could not be acquired.

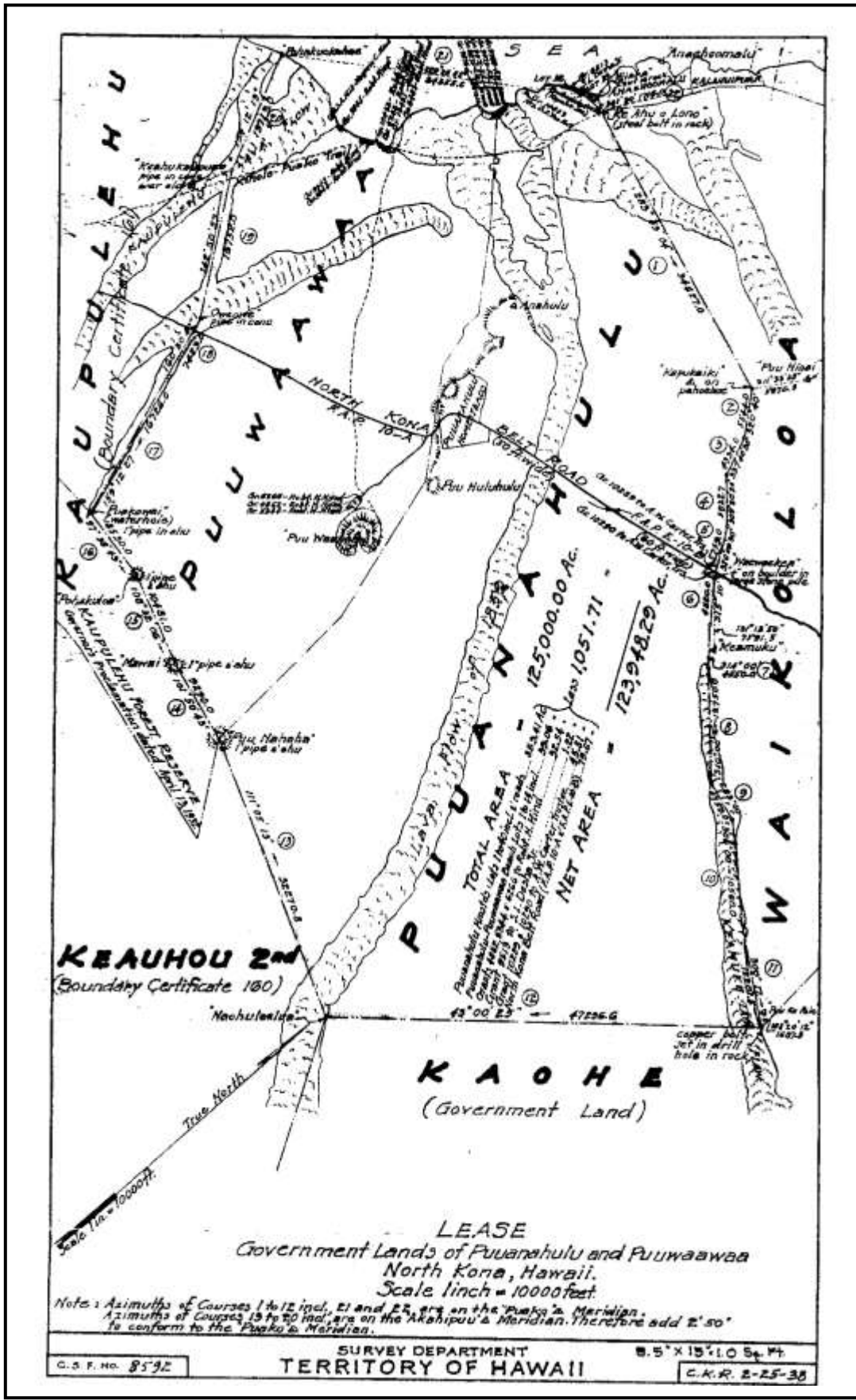


Figure 25. Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (C.S.F. 8592), Feb. 25, 1938.

Kona Cattle And Coffee Interests Are Expanded

(Editor's note — This is the first of a series of five stories dealing with the corporate entities of Robert Hind Ltd. on the Big Island and Oahu — Puuwaawaa ranch and its Keahehu and Honomaline sections, the Captain Cook Coffee Co. in Kona, and the Aina Haina real estate and shopping developments in Honolulu.)

By HARRY BLICKHAHN

Faith in Hawaii — and the judgment and capital to back up this faith — has tied together the extensive and varied Robert Hind interests on Oahu and the Big Island into a corporate entity that seems to have every prospect of paying off in a big way.

Particularly significant here on the Big Island are the Hind developments under way in Kona, developments which should in the years to come greatly strengthen the basic economy of this island.

The story of Robert Hind, Ltd., goes back to the 60's with the arrival from his native Newcastle, England, of the late Robert Robson Hind in the territory to become prominent in the early day sugar industry, to see the possibilities of coffee and cattle, and to become founder of the family which now owns and controls the two-island cattle-coffee-real estate corporation. The corporation last year contributed approximately \$350,000 in taxes toward the support of the territorial and federal governments.

The four principal corporate entities of the firm are: (1) the Aina Haina (land of Hind) real estate development, (2) the Aina Haina Shopping Center, both on Oahu, (3) the Puuwaawaa ranch and the new large scale development at Honomaline, and (4) the Captain Cook Coffee Co. all in Kona.

Newest of the ventures is at Honomaline where the Hind holdings were expanded in 1950 into a ranching project that envisions 7,000 head of blooded cattle within five years on nearly virgin land that in the past supported enough wild cattle, without cultivated pasturage, to provide an excellent living for former owners.

The corporate history of Robert Hind, Ltd., dates back to the enterprise of the late Territorial Senator Robert Hind. He was one of the sons of Robert Robson Hind, early sugar and coffee pioneer on the Big Island and owner and founder of the former Hawi Mill & Plantation Co. in Kohala.

In the 1890's, the younger Hind was employed as head overseer of his father's Hawi venture. At that time he entered into a partnership agreement with his brother-in-law, Eben Low, to develop what is now known as Puuwaawaa ranch.

Later he purchased the interest of Mr. Low and became sole owner of the ranch. After having employed in succession a number of managers of the property, he moved to Puuwaawaa himself in 1902 and took over direct supervision.

Under his management this property so developed that he was able to extend operations to the island of Oahu. From 1918 to 1924 he operated the Kapahulu Dairy in Honolulu, then in 1924 purchased the whole of Waitupe Valley, then in the remote outskirt of Honolulu. The Hind-Clarke Dairy was organized and the headquarters of the dairy was transferred to Waitupe.

Tribune-Herald, Monday, April 28, 1952

During this period other properties were acquired, and Robert Hind, Ltd., was incorporated on October 13, 1927. Incorporation was for a term of 50 years by and between Robert Hind, Norman L. Gilliland, J. K. Clarke, James M. Laird and Fred O. Biven. Actual capitalization was \$1,000,000 with a limit of \$2,000,000. Mr. Hind was president, Mr. Gilliland vice president, Mr. Clarke secretary-treasurer. Besides these men, Mr. Biven and Mr. Lovell also were directors.

Shares represented at a stockholders meeting February 27, 1931, included Mr. Hind, 19,996 shares; Mr. Gilliland, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Lovell, Mr. Biven, one share each. Property which represented the original capital stock was 1,000 shares Hawi Mill & Plantation Co., \$250,000; Puuwaawaa ranch, \$250,000; Hind-Clarke Dairy, \$500,000.

In December, 1930, Captain Cook Coffee Co. and titles to other Hind companies were transferred to Robert Hind Ltd.

Robert Hind died December 29, 1938. Prior to his death, 19,996 shares had been transferred under three separate trusts to J. K. Clarke, long-time friend, financial consultant and trusted business associate of Robert Hind. After Mr. Hind's death, Mr. Clarke became the sole trustee and remained in that capacity from December, 1938, to April, 1950.

The beneficiaries under the three trusts were the five children of Robert Hind.

At the death of Mr. Clarke, on December 29, 1961, the capital stock was vested equally in the five beneficiaries, Mrs. Mona H. Holmes, Mrs. Margaret H. Paris, Mrs. Erma H. L. Stee, R. Leighton Hind and Robert K. Hind.

To secure a continuity of management and make possible long range planning and commitments by management, on April 12, 1950, before Mr. Clarke's death, four of the beneficiaries named above together with Mr. Clarke, the trustee, and C. Wendell Carlsmith entered into a voting trust agreement. Trustees under the original voting trust agreement were Mr. Clarke, R. Leighton Hind and Mr. Carlsmith. After the death of Mr. Clarke, Ernest R. Cameron was elected director, secretary and third member of the voting trust.

Robert Hind, before his death, had carried the title of general manager and had maintained overall direction of the activities of the corporation. After his death, control was exercised by the trustee with certain of the beneficiaries acting in various managerial capacities. Operation under this form of control was successful until it was decided to convert the Waitupe Valley into a real estate project.

(Continued from page 1)
The position of general manager was recreated on October 1, 1948, and W. C. Jennings was named to that position. Mr. Jennings came to the job with a wide background of agricultural and business management.

Financial control and the general direction of operations are conducted through the office of the general manager at Aina Haina, for all four of the principal entities of the corporation.

Present officers are R. Leighton Hind, president; Mrs. Mona H. Holmes, vice president; E. R. Cameron, secretary, and Mr. Jennings, treasurer.

(Next — The story of Puuwaawaa ranch).

(Continued On Page 2)

*File
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Figure 26a. Hilo Tribune-Herald Pu'uwa'awa'a Ranch — Hind Family Articles Series.

Puuwaawaa Operations Expand Into South Kona

(Editor's note — This is the second in a series of five stories on Robert Hind Ltd. developments. Today's story deals with Puuwaawaa ranch).

By HARRY BLICKHAHN

Puuwaawaa ranch, its headquarters and residential buildings nestled snugly in the lee of the cinder cone which gives the ranch its name, is the second oldest of the two-island corporate enterprise of Robert L. Hind, Ltd.

Puuwaawaa today is one of the most successful ranching endeavors in the territory, but this was not always so. The story of the ranch is the story of how Robert Hind, in the early years, managed to turn adversity into advantage by learning to cope with the regional handicap of drought, and by trial and error, learning the best breed of cattle and the best feeding combination of grasses.

The ranch was started by Mr. Hind and his brother-in-law, Eben Low, in the early 1890's. Originally they controlled 125,000 acres of land, some of which they owned and some of which they leased.

Headquarters of the ranch were established by landing equipment at Kiholo Bay in North Kona then carrying it by pack animal up nine and a half miles and blazing a trail which was to be used for similar purposes for many years afterward. There were no roads into the region in those days; travel was by horseback or afoot.

The early history of the ranch is one of struggle in a rugged environment. Puuwaawaa is subject to periods of drought, and before the extensive water system of the ranch was built up to its present capacity,

these droughts took serious toll on the cattle herds. Over the years, a water system has been built up which greatly reduces dry weather losses, according to W. C. Jennings, general manager of Robert Hind, Ltd.

The ranch now includes the entire lands of Puuwaawaa and Puu'anahulu held under lease from the Territory of Hawaii. Fee holding includes the site of the Halepiua watershed and storage tanks, the ranch headquarters, scattered Puu'anahulu holdings, and beach holdings on Kiholo Bay.

The Puuwaawaa herd is genetically purebred Hereford, numbers approximately 6,000.

The Puuwaawaa operation is divided into three geographical sections: Puuwaawaa itself in North Kona where the breeding herds are kept, the Holualoa section in central Kona where the fattening pastures are located, and the Honouliuli section in South Kona where the new development is under way which will be the subject of tomorrow's story.

R. Leighton Hind is general manager of the ranch organization. A. J. Brown is section overseer of the Puuwaawaa section. Bobby Hind is assistant manager and section overseer at the Holualoa section, and Gouveia is section overseer at the malino section.

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Figure 26b. Hilo Tribune-Herald Pu'uwa'awa'a Ranch - Hind Family Articles Series.

Honomalino Is Vast New Kona Ranch Enterprise

(Editor's note—This is the third in a series of stories on the Robert Hind Ltd. interests. Today's story deals with the new ranching development at Honomalino in South Kona.)

By HARRY BLICKHAHN

"Kona has the greatest potential in the territory—and it's mostly agricultural," according to W. C. Jennings, general manager of Robert Hind, Ltd.

Thus was succinctly stated the motivation behind a five-year development plan at Honomalino in South Kona where the Hind interests have purchased or leased some 38,000 acres. They are confident they will one day have one of the finest cattle ranches in the territory.

Honomalino is the newest of the Hind developments. It is carefully planned and directed to include roads, fencing, pasture planting on the basis of best scientific knowledge available, water systems, modern homes for employees, automotive equipment with a ready shop for repair, and — the really modern touch — two airfields.

The development is now two years old and is already largely in evidence in South Kona.

Honomalino will be a far cry from the old time cattle operation of the western movie, for its cowboys will travel in jeeps, operate tractors, and live in comfortable homes. But whatever is lost in picturesqueness in this departure from the "home on the range" tradition will be more than gained in a finely calculated contribution to the economy of West Hawaii.

The development began in 1950 when Robert Hind, Ltd., purchased all J. T. P. Robinson Estate interests in South Kona and at the same time

purchased the ranching interests of Robinson A. McWayne.

Mr. McWayne, now retired and living in Kailua, had for many years conducted a profitable operation on this property. Operations were purposely limited, however, to a small herd of tame cattle on comparatively small area of cleared land and to the capture and marketing of half-wild cattle which roamed the 3,000 acres of undeveloped land under his control.

The operation of Mr. McWayne yielded a satisfactory return. However, the Hind interests set their objective at 7,000 head of Herefords, and upon acquisition of the property began a program of intensive development.

Houses were built for additional employees, Mr. Jennings said, a large automotive equipment repair shop and headquarters building were erected and much heavy equipment was purchased and brought in for constructing roads and clearing land.

Two landing strips for small planes were built to enable aerial spraying in plant pest control and grass seeding.

Corrals, loading chutes and

(Continued On Page 2)

many miles of fences have been repaired. Newly cleared areas are being planted to the better grasses. After clearing and planting, a year to 15 months is required before grazing can be permitted, Mr. Jennings said.

A start has been made on what is to be an extensive water system. One 425,000 gallon steel tank, one 100,000 gallon steel tank and several 50,000 gallon redwood tanks have been erected together with the start of a pipeline system.

Twenty miles of roads have been built, all part of the plan for an eventual complete network of roads.

In the lower lands, clearing is done by means of chain dragging. This is an operation whereby spread-out loops of heavy anchor chain are dragged over the land by heavy tractors. This is followed by the planting of guinea grass and ekoa haole. Under certain conditions, Mr. Jennings said, molasses grass is also planted with the above combination.

In the middle lower lands, the chain dragging operation is followed by the planting of molasses grass, guinea grass, and under some conditions, kukuyu or panicum.

The heavy guava belt is in the middle, and here aerial spraying of herbicides will be depended upon to open up the soil to sunlight by drying up the foliage. This belt will be planted to a number of grasses of proven value now being used in the territory, the general manager said.

Above the so-called guava belt in the zone of heavy rainfall is the strip of heavy ohia-lehua forest with an undergrowth of fern. Mr. Jennings said this probably will be the last belt to be developed.

Mauka of the rain forest is the more open koa forest with a sword or native grasses underneath. Development of this belt is a comparatively simple matter of fencing, providing water and a small amount of clearing.

"It is the plan at Honomalino to stock pastures with Hereford breeding cows from Puuwaawaa ranch as rapidly as fencing is completed and wild cattle are removed," the general manager said.

In the South Kona venture, the Hind interests have purchased 13,500 acres in fee simple. They have acquired another 20,000 in leaseholds.

"We've undertaken a five-year program of improvement and stocking of this ranch in the belief it possesses the potentials for development of one of the finest cattle ranches in the islands," Mr. Jennings said.

Next—The story of the Captain Cook Coffee Co.

Figure 26c. Hilo Tribune-Herald Pu'uwa'awa'a Ranch – Hind Family Articles Series.

Hind Plans Expansion Of Coffee Operations

(Editor's note—this is the fourth in a series of stories on the interests of Robert Hind, Ltd. Today's story deals with the Captain Cook Coffee Co. in Kona.)

By HARRY BLICKHAHN

Coffee is almost the oldest of the commercial enterprises in Kona. It has barely weathered many slumps in the world market, and during these periods of "coffee-depression" neither growers nor economists could see much future for this crop on the Big Island. It was a family operation, due chiefly to the necessity of hand harvesting of the berries. But even when the family operation solved the labor problem, the price of coffee on the world market has declined in the past to the point where it looked as though coffee were through in Kona.

It never was, however, and it now appears that coffee's future in Kona is more secure than ever.

W. C. Jennings, general manager of Robert Hind, Ltd., of which the Captain Cook coffee Co. is one of the corporate entities, points out that the outlook for Kona coffee is brightened by two factors.

The first of these is the increased consumption in the U.S. Americans have become a nation of coffee drinkers, and there is little reason to presume any trend away from this increasing national consumption.

The second factor is that Brazil, world's largest coffee producer, is in the throes of industrial development and diversification, with thousands of workers drained away from the coffee plantations and into the cities.

"Coffee has a very high return per acre," Mr. Jennings said, "and

Kona is the finest natural producer in the world.

"Coffee grows in Kona without shade, and a result of this and other favorable growth conditions, the yield there is about double that of other coffee producing regions.

"Kona's climate fits in perfectly with coffee production."

So, far from turning away from coffee in South Kona, R. L. Hind, Ltd. is planning an expansion of its own coffee growing operations, and encouraging farmers of the area to do likewise, possibly with some diversification as the locality may indicate.

A recent development at Captain Cook is the opening by the company of 200 houses, from one-third to one-quarter of an acre. Twenty-one employees have taken advantage of this subdivision to establish their homes on land they own.

Mr. Jennings said the company has under study at present a plan whereby combination small farms and coffee orchards can be leased

(Continued on page 2)

for long enough terms to encourage the lessees to build homes and improve the property.

"We're also toying with the idea of a model small farm that would be a demonstration of a well developed and economical operation, with diversification enough to be a complete unit in itself," he said.

The Captain Cook Coffee Co. is now the oldest of the corporate interests of the Hinds.

Robert Robson Hind, who came to Hawaii in the late 60's and who later started the Hawi Mill & Plantation Co. in Kohala, saw the possibilities of coffee in the early 80's and acquired land in Kona for cultivation. The elder Hind retired in 1888 and left management of his properties to one of his sons, John Hind.

In 1905 the family interests acquired additional properties in Kona, bought a cannery building from a pineapple venture that had not proved successful and converted it into what is now the Captain Cook coffee mill.

In 1907, Louis McFarlane, a close personal friend of the family, took over management of the Captain Cook Coffee Co. and continued in this capacity for the next 30 years.

Mr. McFarlane died in 1937 and was succeeded by D. M. Fraser, the present manager.

In the 1930's Robert Hind, brother of John, and founder of Puuwaawaas ranch, acquired full control of the coffee company, and later, when Robert Hind, Ltd. was incorporated, the Captain Cook Coffee Co. was incorporated into the new corporation.

The overall objective of the company is the best use of the land, or the production of whatever will bring the highest return on the land involved.

(Next—The Alma Hains real estate and Shopping Center development in Honeoia.)

Figure 26d. Hilo Tribune-Herald Pu'uwa'awa'a Ranch – Hind Family Articles Series.

Aina Haina Sets Pace For Hind Enterprises

(Editor's note—This is the fifth and last of a series of stories on the Robert Hind, Ltd. interests. Today's story tells of the development of Aina Haina on Oahu.)

By HARRY BLICKHAHN

How the Waialupe Valley on Oahu changed from a dairy farm to a multi-million-dollar real estate venture in five years is an illustration of the quickening tempo of the times in the islands.

The Aina Haina (Land of Hind) subdivision and the Aina Haina Shopping Center constitute two of the four corporate entities of Robert L. Hind, Ltd. The others are Puuwaawaa ranch and the Captain Cook Coffee Co., both on the Big Island.

Time was when the Waialupe Valley lay in the remote outskirts of Honolulu. But with nearly the whole Pacific war crowding through Honolulu and the attendant bulging of that city on all sides, it was obvious by 1947 that the Waialupe Valley was no place for a dairy farm. Land prices were soaring, and Oahu was jammed with home-hungry people.

So the Hind interests in that year sold the Hind-Clarke dairy herd and equipment to Creameries of America and began the conversion of the valley into a real estate venture. Originally, Aina Haina was under the management of Robert K. Hind, brother of R. Leighton Hind, manager of Puuwaawaa ranch, and a son of Robert Hind. The first conception of the venture was for leasehold lots only.

However, in 1948 it was recognized that the affairs of Robert Hind Ltd. were so involved and so large in scale that it was decided all activities of the corporation should be correlated. Willis C. Jennings, former manager of the Hakala Sugar Co. on the Big Island and widely experienced in agricultural and business management, became general manager.

A new policy was adopted in the development of Aina Haina. Previously, more than 200 homes had been built and sold on leaseholds. The policy now became one of sale in fee simple and the leaseholders were given opportunity to purchase.

At the present time, according to Mr. Jennings, a total of 951 lots have been sold or leased in the valley. Of this total, 213 lots have been leased for 51-year terms, and fee simple title has been or is in the process of being conveyed on 738 lots.

The overall plan for the valley calls for the development of some 1850 lots. Visiting government housing officials and mainland realtors have termed Aina Haina one of the finest real estate developments in the U. S. Each lot approximates 10,000 square feet, and the average home in the development is valued at \$20,000.

All power and telephone lines are underground, and the development is characterized by wide streets and concrete sidewalks.

A 1,800-pupil elementary school was opened in September, 1951. A second school of equal size is projected farther up the valley, Mr. Jennings said. A pumping plant and the first two of a series of reservoirs are under con-

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued from page 1)

struction at a total cost of more than \$400,000 to provide a water supply for future development.

Promotion of the Aina Haina Shopping Center is a logical development of the automobile age," Mr. Jennings said. "In the typical American city the great increase in automobile traffic so congests main business or 'down town' streets and car parking facilities have become so over-taxed that down town stores are constantly losing business to community or neighborhood shopping centers."

Honolulu is now experiencing the trend toward decentralization common to most American cities at this time. It is generally recognized by city planners that the well rounded city of today would ideally be laid out around a main business district with good transportation facilities leading to and from the different sections of the city and with a number of outlying and strategically located community shopping centers designed to best serve the needs of the nearby residential areas.

"The present community shopping center customer is becoming accustomed to the informality of the neighborhood center. The housewife feels free to bring the baby and to come in shorts, a house dress or other informal attire."

In the modern neighborhood shopping center husbands too have become shoppers. The absence of parking meters or of one-way streets influence business to these outlying centers. The emphasis on neighborhood environment and activities is making these centers increasingly popular."

In this respect, Mr. Jennings said, the Aina Haina Shopping Center is in a good location. The area of ten acres being developed as a business center faces Kalaniana'ole Highway, the only possible artery along that section of coastline.

By mainland standards, the center is small in relation to the number of families in the area. On the other hand, provisions for parking cars are higher than generally accepted ratios, Mr. Jennings said.

"The economic level of the surrounding residential area is high either by island or mainland standards," the general manager asserted. "While being set up primarily as a neighborhood center for 2,000 families, it also serves a substantial district, regional and drive-in trade."

"The Center is planned the eventual development will be of a scale which will establish larger stores, such as a grocery super market and a dollar store, on competitive basis with specialty shops. It is being organized on the principle that the Shopping Center will not develop cumulative customer pull until it is a completely integrated collection of shops."

At the present the following businesses are in operation:

Service station, restaurant, cocktail lounge and drive-in, grocery super market, drug store and fountain, fancy grocery and light store, fish market and Oriental grocery store, bakery, clothes cleaners, real estate office, dance studio, barber shop, beauty parlor, jewelry store and watch and clock repair, shoe store, women's and children's clothing, hardware, garden supplies and nursery. A classified postoffice is to be opened soon, and negotiations are under way for a branch bank and an electrical appliance store and repair shop. A Chinese restaurant is to open soon.

The buildings constructed for the above stores comprise about 50 per cent of the eventual or total plan for the Center, Mr. Jennings said. At present there are parking facilities for 320 cars, with space in reserve for eventual expansion to 55 car stalls as the need develops.

The Hind interests spread from the Big Island to Oahu in 1929 when Robert Hind purchased the whole of Waialupe Valley, some 2,000 acres, and organized the Hind-Clarke Dairy.

The aggregate investment then of all property owners now probably represents close to \$20,000,000.

Figure 26e. Hilo Tribune-Herald Pu'uwa'awa'a Ranch - Hind Family Articles Series.

By the late 1950s, officers of Robert Hind, Limited, had decided to end their relationship with the lease-hold properties of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a. General Lease No. 2621 would end June 30, 1958, and the family could not justify the continuation of a negligible business endeavor. On July 1, 1958, R. Hind, Limited sold its fee-simple holding in North and South Kona (including properties in Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch and the Pu'u'anahulu Homesteads) to Dillingham Ranch, Inc. (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 3469:478-485). Subsequently, in public bidding, Dillingham Ranch, Inc., was the highest bidder at an auction on March 4, 1960, and secured State Lease No. S-3589 for the period of forty (40) years, expiring August 14, 2000 (Land Division Lease Files). On September 15, 1972, State Lease No. 3589 was assigned to the present lessee, F.N. Bohnett.

General Lease No. 2621 includes background on the lease history, and also includes an "assets" statement which provides detailed documentation on the varied resources of the ranch. Summing up the termination of the lease agreement between Robert Hind, Limited and the Territory of Hawai'i, the Commissioner of Public Lands reported:

Robert Hind, Limited, the lessee of these lands up to June 30, 1958, was able to operate a reasonably successful cattle operation on the Puuanahulu and Puuwaawaa lands prior to and including 1949. Due to periodic drought to which the area is subject and to increased operating costs the company suffered losses on cattle operations each year thereafter. Recognitions that only by greater beef production could the company meet increased operating costs and only by a large investment in water systems and range improvements could a greater production be achieved, were compelling factors in Robert Hind, Limited's decision to sell its Kona interests to Dillingham Investment Corporation and its wholly owned subsidiaries.

Robert Hind, Limited was not in financial position to undertake the heavy investments necessary to effect more intensive use of its Kona lands. There being no prospect of either the County of Hawaii or the Territory of Hawaii being able to provide water supply for the widespread grazing areas the only out for the owners of Robert Hind, Limited was sale to companies better able to finance extensive improvements. (G.L. No. 2621; State of Hawaii Land Division)

As noted above, Dillingham Ranch, Inc., secured State Lease No. S-3589 on March 4, 1960, for the Puuwaawaa Ranch holdings, following R. Hind, Ltd.'s non-renewal of their lease interest. On September 15th, 1972, F.N. Bohnett purchased the interest in State Lease No. S-3589 (Land Division files – S-3589, folder 1 through 6 contain detailed documentation pertaining to lease management, conditions, complaints, and proposals). Said lease expires August 14, 2000 (Land Division Lease Files).

Puuwaawaa Quarry Site:

Terms of General Lease No. 3528 (1955 to 1988)

In 1955, the Commissioner of Public Lands proposed to Robert Hind, Limited, removing approximately 500 acres of land—consisting of the area made up by Pu'u Wa'awa'a—from General Lease No. 2621. The goal being to lease it out to a firm interesting in mining rights. The proposal was accepted by R. Hind, Ltd., with the provisions that measures would be taken to protect Hinds' private and remaining lease-hold interests. The Puuwaawaa Quarry Site was auctioned on November 8, 1955, and the lease (No. 3528) sold to Volcanite, Limited (also known as Hawaiian Ornamental Concrete Products, Ltd.), for the period of 21 years (Land Division File – Lease No. 3528). The survey description and map of the Puuwaawaa Quarry Site is recorded in C.S.F. 12,205 (in the collection of the State Survey Division). The lease allowed Volcanite, Limited:

- a. to dig, excavate, blast and quarry trachyte-pumice, for the primary purpose of utilizing or selling the same for concrete aggregate or for the manufacture of clay products...but not for the primary purpose of extracting mineral of any sort except trachyte-pumice.

- b. to construct, maintain and operate a plant (together with camps and other structures appurtenant thereto) for the purpose of crushing materials; and
- c. to remove, use and sell trachyte-pumice, pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (a) above, and also soil and quarry waste incidentally derived from digging, excavating, blasting and quarrying... (General Lease No. 3528)

The lease included a number of conditions, among which were two conditions regarding protection of “the triangulation stations located on Puuwaawaa Hill” and —

- 9. That the Licensee shall in no way deface the northwest half or rim of said Puuwaawaa Hill, and shall not unduly deface any of the remainder of said Hill...above the Rim, which Rim, for the purposes herein is that irregular line ranging from the 3350-foot to 3600-foot contours... Further, the Licensee shall level and fill all pits and other excavated areas to the end that there will be a slope to enable the proper drainage of water and to prevent the stagnation of water... (General Lease No. 3528)

A review of communications in the packet of General Lease No. 3528, reveals that several complaints were made in the 1950s and 1960s regarding infractions by the lessee, of the above cited lease agreement. Volcanite Limited voluntarily surrendered its lease on October 13, 1967, and applied for a land license which was issued as Revocable Permit No. 2-4134. Revocable Permit No. 2-4134 remained in effect from April 1, 1968 to October 31, 1972, and was then covered under Land License No. S-99 which expired on March 31, 1988.

The Hawaiian Homesteading Programs

Following the *Māhele* of 1848, it was found that many native tenants remained on lands for which they had no title—the *Māhele* was minimally successful. In the 1880s, the Hawaiian Kingdom undertook a program to form Homestead lots on Government lands—a primary goal being to get more Hawaiian tenants in possession of fee-simple property (Homestead Act of 1884). On Hawai‘i, several lands in the Kekaha region of North Kona, were selected and a surveying program initiated to open up the lands. Those lands only extended as far north as Kūki‘o. Because it was the intent of the Homestead Act to provide residents with land upon which they could cultivate crops or graze animals, most of the lots were situated near the *mauka* road that ran through North Kona.

Generally, the people who applied for homestead lots in a given land were long-time residents of the *ahupua‘a*—or of neighboring lands—they applied for. The Homestead Act allowed for lots of up to 20 acres, but throughout Kekaha, native residents wrote to the commissioners that land holdings of that size were insufficient “to live on in every respect.” They noted that because of the rocky nature of the land, goats are the only animals which can be raised in an effort to make a living. Thus, the native residents requested that larger parcels be set aside for grazing purposes (State Archives–Land File, December 26, 1888, and Land Matters Document No. 255).

Communications in the Interior Department files of the Hawaii State Archives provide readers with insight into the development the Homesteading program in the Kekaha region of Kona. While not specific to the Nāpu‘u – Pu‘u Anahulu section, the following excerpts from communications written by J.W.H.I. Kihe (who subsequently became a Pu‘u Anahulu homesteader), on behalf of native tenants provides readers with a sense of the plight of the applicants in the Kekaha region.

Interior Department Document No. 184 (ca. 1888); J.W.H. Isaac Kihe and 70 native residents of the Kekaha region petitioned W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General, asking that the Government lands of Kaulana, Mahaiula, Awakee, and Kukio 1&2, on the *mauka* side of the Government Road, be cut into homestead lots. The petitioners also ask that the lands be granted to the destitute residents, and not to the rich people (Hawaii State Archives – Land Matters).

February 22, 1890; J.W.H. Isaac Kihe wrote to Minister of Interior, L. Thurston on behalf of J.S. Makini; J.K. Keo Kaia; J. Pakiai; Hanauwaha Solomona; Palapala Joseph; Moeino; and Kekai, stating their interest in acquiring homestead lands in Kaulana 1 & 2, Mahaiula, Awakee, and Kukio 1 & 2. Interior Department Document No. 308, notifies the applicants that as soon as a surveyor can be located, the lands will be divided, as requested. (Hawaii State Archives – Land Matters)

July 3, 1890; On behalf of 64 applicants, J.W.H. Isaac Kihe wrote once again to the Minister of Interior, Chas. Spencer:

We are tax payers living on lands lying between Kealakehe and Kapalaoa. We are without lands of our own, and petition you to give all Govt. Lands in this District (No. Kona) to poor natives who have no land. We again ask that these Govt. lands be surveyed & laid out and divided amongst the natives till all the poor are supplied with lands.

We ask that lands be not given to rich persons by way of sale or lease, and if the lands are to be leased we ask that they be leased to the poor natives...We also ask that surveyors be sent up to survey and lay out Govt. lands of Kaulana, Mahaiula, Kukio 1 & 2, *mauka* of the Govt. Road... (Hawaii State Archives – Land Matters)

1894: Native Tenants Request that Homestead Lots be Surveyed at Pu'u Anahulu (Land Settlement Association of Pu'u Anahulu)

As discussed in the section of this study that reports on ranching in Nāpu'u, Francis Spencer held a lease on Pu'u Anahulu that ran through 1895. Based on communications from native residents of Pu'u Anahulu, it appears that they chose to wait until the termination of that lease to initiate a request for the subdivision of land to be set aside for Homestead use at Pu'u Anahulu.

The following documentation provides readers with an overview of the early requests and the lengthy period of time (in some cases more than twenty years) before Homestead lots at Pu'u Anahulu were granted to the native tenants. The records are of particular importance as it identifies native tenants of Nāpu'u in 1894, and because members of the *Hui 'Ohana mai Pu'u Anahulu a me Pu'u Wa'awa'a*—who have initiated the present-day *ahupua'a* based planning process—are directly descended from many of the named individuals.

March 1, 1894

D. Alawa and S.C. Kahula; to

J.A. King, Minister of the Interior:

...The lease to Mr. Pakana (Spencer), of Waimea, S. Kohala, Hawaii, of the *Ahupuaa* of Puuanahulu (Government land), situated at North Kona, Hawaii, will expire in the month of April A.D. 1895.

Therefore, before that time arrives, we leave an application before your Excellency, that consent be given for some areas at the beach, and *mauka* of said *Ahupuaa* of Puuanahulu, for homesteads for the natives of that place... (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department – Lands)

June 1894

Petition for Homestead Development, from 38 residents of Nāpu'u; to

J.A. King, Minister of the Interior:

...We, the undersigned, residents and old timers residing on the *Ahupuaa* of Puuanahulu, in North Kona, Hawaii and ones who are making application

before Your Excellency, to be granted homesteads for us, and our children and descendants after us, on the *Ahupuaa* of Puuanahulu aforesaid.

And because, the lease of said *Ahupuaa* will expire in the month of April, A.D. 1895, coming.

We are, in humbleness,

Name	Age	Name	Age
David Alawa	39	K.S. Kahuila	37
D.W. Alapai	39	Naiheuhau	35
J.H. Haau	54	Manaku	35
Makanani	24	P. Hoino	33
W.H. Kamakamanoanoa	28	D. Puihi opio	20
L.W. Haiha	40	Kahinu	50
J.W. Keala	41	E. Kamaipelekane	20
H. Kimoteo	27	Kimo Hale [James Purdy]	39
Kahinu opio	26	J.W. Kaumelelau	28
J.W. Punihaole	60	Miss Kahaikupuna	27
Keoni Mai	20	Kanui	39
Makuaole	27	Kunewa	23
Hopoe	26	Kinihaa	45
K. Keo	48	Kailihiwa	22
D.W. Keanini	43	J. Nihoa	31
Keawe Kahoa	49	S.K. Hoino	25
A. Kahukula	41	S. Paulo	23
J.K. Kaailuwale	29	Paapu	42
Luahine	50	D.K. Makaai	25

[Notes written on the cover of the letter:] June 9, 1894 referred to Government Survey Office.

June 18, 1894 favors the laying out of the above land in the homestead lots; but there is at present a lease upon this land expiring November 28, 1895. Thinks there would be little objection made to the laying out of lots before the present lease expires. (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department – Land Files)

In 1895, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Hawaii, passed the Land Act. In this act, three types of homesteads agreements were defined: (1) the Homestead lease; (2) the Right of Purchase Lease; and (3) the Cash Freehold Agreement. The Homestead Lease was for a term of 999 years, and was issued after the applicants complied with terms and conditions of a Certificate of Occupation. The Right of Purchase Lease was a lease for 21 years with the right of purchase at anytime after the end of the third year of full compliance with the stipulated conditions of residence, cultivation, fencing, payment of taxes, and payment of the purchase price. The Cash Freehold Agreement was an agreement of sale in which the purchaser paid 25% of the purchase price in down payments, and 25% on the remainder for the next three years. (cf. George Luter 1961)

The Land Act of 1895 specifically noted that “The lessee shall from the end of the first year of said term to the end of the fifth year thereof continuously maintain his home on such premises.” (Land Act of 1895, Section 61, Subsection 2). In a decision rendered in 1904, on conditions of the Homestead Act, Attorney General, Lorrin Andrews observed:

The subdivision of Section 61 before quoted, that “the lessee shall from the end of the first year” is mandatory. If he does not do so he forfeits his lease, and there is not

provision of the law that I have been able to find that allows a public officer to take upon himself the burden of changing the conditions of a lease...

The idea of the legislature in creating these leases was clearly to encourage settlement and residence upon lands of the government. It was not for the purpose of allowing persons to obtain farming lands at easy rates, but for the purpose of creating small farm homesteads where the parties would engage in farming and agricultural pursuits and increase in number the thrifty citizens of the Territory... (L. Andrews, November 25, 1904 – Hawaii State Archives; Series GOV2-8)

In response to the 1894 request of the families of Pu'u Anahulu, and in compliance with the Land Act of 1895, the Hawaiian Government Survey office sent A.B. Loebenstein to conduct the survey and lay out 40 lots for homestead purposes in Pu'u Anahulu in 1897 (*Figure 27*). As noted earlier in this study (in records compiled by J.S. Emerson and written by native residents of the region) individuals—some of them applicants for homesteads—resided both in the uplands and on the shore of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a throughout the nineteenth century. By ca. 1897, the homestead program allowed native applicants and Hind and Low (lessees of the larger government tracts) to enter into agreements which were meant to formalize ownership of the Pu'u Anahulu lots. In the following discussion on Pu'u Anahulu Homesteads and land tenure, it will be seen that in the period between ca. 1914 to 1937, many of the lots awarded in fee simple title were subsequently assigned to Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch for pasture purposes (*Figure 28*. Puuwaawaa Ranch Map – Plan Showing Paddocks in Puuanahulu Homesteads; Chas. Murray, March 1937).

Homestead Leases (Mauka Lots) 1898 to 1905

Bureau of Conveyances records for the period between 1898 to 1905, provide documentation on the following Homestead transactions (for locations of described lands, see numbered lots on *Figures 28 & 29*):

Lot 3 (see also Grant No. 5913)

January 3, 1899. Like Kaihemakawalu (w), a native resident of Puuanahulu submitted a document of residency – 28.20 acres. (cancelled June 21, 1905)

June 21, 1905 – D. Alapai Jr., a native resident of Puuanahulu, aged 25 years, applied for Puuanahulu Lot 3, under the Homestead Lease System. (D. Alapa'i Jr., stated that Like Kaihemakawalu, the original applicant, was his late wife.)

Lot 4 (see also Grant No. 8520)

June 21, 1905. Akoni Kaleo, a native residing at Puuanahulu, aged 47 years, applied for Puuanahulu Lot 4, under the Homestead Lease System – 28.0 acres.

Lot 5 (see also Grant 8559)

January 3, 1899. Oniula Kahele, a native resident of Anaehoomalu, Kohala; submitted a document of residency – 27.00 acres.

Lot 7 (see also Grant No. 6147)

January 3, 1899. Kekipi Naia, a native resident of Anaehoomalu, Kohala; submitted a document of residency – 23.5 acres (cancelled July 14, 1903). October 22, 1904. Certificate No. 64 issued to Amina Nakupuna of Kailua, North Kona, Hawaii.

Lot 11 (see also Grant No. 8500)

January 3, 1899. Akoni Kaleo, a native resident of Anaehoomalu, Kohala; submitted a document of residency. (cancelled June 21, 1905 – see Lot 4)

Lots 22 to 26 inclusive – Grant No. 4594

June 1st, 1898. Special Agreement to Eben P. Low – 116.1 acres.

Lot 30 – Grant No. 4859

May 2nd, 1899. Special Agreement to Sanford B. Dole – 30.04 acres. (subsequently conveyed to Annabelle Low-Ruddle).

Lot 31 – Grant No. 4799

May 1st, 1899. Special Agreement to Elizabeth Napoleon-Low – 18.07 acres.

Lot 32 – Grant No. 4858

May 1st, 1899. Special Agreement to J.M. Hind – 20.02 acres.

Lot 36 (see also Grant No. 6161)

February 1, 1899. Daniel Kaainoni, a native resident of Puuanahulu, submitted a document of residency – 34.09 acres (cancelled in July 1903). On August 4, 1903. Ku Kahilina, a native resident of Kiholo, aged 19 years, applied for Puuanahulu Lot 36, under the Homestead Lease System.

In the matter of the application of Eben P. Low for Pu'u Anahulu Lots No.'s 22-26 (Grant No. 4594), J.F. Brown, Commissioner of Public Lands, wrote to Sanford B. Dole, President of the Republic, on December 29th, 1897. The letter presents information that was perhaps indicative of some government officials sentiments on granting homestead leases to native settlers at Pu'u Anahulu. As the homestead grant process unfolded (contrary to reasons given in the following letter for selling the parcels to Eben Low, and other family members or business partners), these lots were never developed for residences but were sought out as pastures for the growing Puuwaawaa Ranch. The homestead lots, contained some of the best land in the area for such purposes.

December 29, 1897

J.F. Brown to S.B. Dole:

...An application has been received at this office from Mr. Eben P. Low for the purchase of 116.1 acres at Puuanahulu, N. Kona Hawaii. The applications covers lots 22 to 26 inclusive, which lots were laid out for Homestead lease purposes by have not been applied for under that system. This land is without water supply, and is reached at present only by lava trails of the roughest nature. It is probable that the development of these Puanahulu lots in the hands of native homesteaders will be extremely slow, and improvements made on the lots applied for by Mr. Low would probably be an incentive to other lot holders.

The Commissioners of Public lands therefore recommend that this tract of 116.1 acres be offered at auction on the following conditions: Upset price \$290.23, or \$2.50 per acre.

One fourth cash remainder in one, two & three years with interest at 6 p.\c. Improvements to be begun during first year, to amount to \$500 in value by end of third year. Patent grant to issue upon fulfillment of about conditions... (Hawaii State Archives – F.O. & Ex., Local Officials; 1897)

Homestead Occupation (1897 to 1904)

As noted earlier in this section of the study, recipients of Homestead Leases were required to fulfill certain requirements in order to obtain title to their lots. The following Homestead Occupation report (from the collection of the Hawaii State Archives) adds important documentation on the names of lessees, dates of issuance of the leases, and documentation on compliance with the requirements.

**Report No. 2 Homestead Occupation Leases – Puuanahulu and Kapalaoa, North Kona
Thomas C. White, Ranger Third Land District (May 4, 1905); to
J.W. Pratt, Commissioner of Public Lands:**

...At your request I inspected the Homestead Occupation Leases of Puuanahulu and Kapalaoa and report as follows.

Lot No. 1 – J. Kahaikupuna (6/12/1897). House built, residence fulfilled, no fence built, land rocky should be pasture and not agricultural as in lease.

Lot No. 2 – Mai Kahaikupuna (6/12/1897). Same as Lot 1.

Lot No. 3 – L. Kaihemakawalu (1/3/1899). Dead. Nothing done.

Lot No. 4 – Akoni Kaleo (1/3/1899). Nothing done.

Lot No. 5 – Oniula Kahele (1/3/1899). Dead. Nothing done.

Lot No. 6 – Miss K. Lima (8/28/1897) (Mrs. J. Kahaikupuna) Dead. Fence not complete, no house, she married J. Kahaikupuna about 3 months after the date of Certificate, Sec. 307, page 193, Revised Laws will explain. She died recently.

Lot No. 7 – A. Nakupuna (10/22/1904). House built and fencing.

Lot No. 8 – K. Hao (8/4/1903). House built, not fenced yet.

Lot No. 9 – Kinihaa (6/12/1897). House built, some fruit trees planted, not fenced.

Lot No. 10 – Wm. Keanini (8/4/1903). Not fulfilled yet.

Lot No. 11 – Kimokeo Puhi (6/12/1897). Just house built.

Lot No. 12 – Ailuene (6/12/1897). No residence maintained, no fence, old grass house on land.

Lot No. 13 – Iokopa Kahaikupuna (8/4/1903). House built, not fenced yet.

Lot No. 15 – Sam Thompson (8/4/1903). Nothing done yet.

Lot No. 16 – Jno. M. Keliliki (8/4/1903). Nothing done yet.

Lot No. 17 – Kulili (W) (6/12/1897). The portion *mauka* of the new Government road is fenced and complete, house built and trees planted, but the portion *makai* of the road is not fenced.

Lot No. 18 – J.W.H.I. Kihe (10/19/1903). Nothing done yet.

Lot No. 19 – D. Kaaa Keala (8/4/1903). Not fulfilled yet.

Lot No. 20 – J.W. Kaumelelau (8/4/1903). Starting to fence, not fulfilled yet.

Lot No. 21 – Isaac Sanford (8/4/1903). Nothing done yet.

Lot No. 34 – Wm. Frye (8/4/1903). Nothing done yet.

Lot No. 35 – M. Puhi (8/4/1903). Nothing done yet.

Lot No. 36 – Ku Kahilina (8/4/1903). Nothing done yet.

Lot No. 37 – D. Keala (6/25/1903). Nothing done yet.

Lot No. 38 – Jas. Purdy (Kapalaoa) (6/12/1897). Conditions all fulfilled.

Lot No. 39 – Jno. Alapai (Kapalaoa) (6/12/1897). Conditions all fulfilled. (Hawaii State Archives Series DLNR2-24)

It appears that only limited documentation was recorded by native tenants in this period of the Homestead program at Pu'u Anahulu. One communication written by Mai Kahaikupuna Ailuene, was found in the collection of the Hawaii State Archives. In her letter, she provides Representative Holstein with an indication of the difficulties—those of the natural environment and in the well-being of the families—with which the homesteaders were confronted:

May 4, 1905

Mai Ailuene to H.L. Holstein:

...Your humble servant Mai Kahaikupuna residing at Puuanahulu, hereby appeals to your honor and to the legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, for my lot at Puuanahulu containing an area of 28 acres and that of my son, John Kahaikupuna, containing an area of 33 acres. In these two lots there are only two acres suitable for Agricultural purposes, the rest of the land is covered with rocks and will make good pasture land, but when I made my applications for this Lot, they made it for Agricultural Land without the same being inspected by the agents.

What I want your honor to do for me is to ask the Legislature to allow us to change our application from Agricultural Land to Pastoral Land.

I have lived at Puuanahulu since 1884, with my husband, until he died in 1896 and in June 12, 1897 I applied for this lot, and it is for you to know how hard I have managed to live that year with a husband or father, afterwards I married again to Ailuene, and after two years I found myself again a widow; while my second husband was living we built a house on the lot and I am still occupying it.

As I am a poor woman and without a husband, you can see for your self how hard it is for me to fence my lot, and that of my son, so I beg you to do what you can do for me who has resided on this mountain land for a long time.

I remain your Obedient Servant,

Mai Ailuene (Hawaii State Archives Series DLNR2-24)

Pu'u Anahulu Homestead Leases Issued Between ca. 1907 to 1931

It appears that formal granting of Homestead Leases and subsequently fee simple title was a slow process, and one that caused the potential homesteaders difficulties. Kaimu Kihe, wife of J.W.H.I. Kihe (a noted Hawaiian author cited earlier in this study, and advocate of native rights of tenancy on lands of Kekaha) documented her frustration with the program. In a letter to Governor Pinkham, she provided him with a brief history of "Land Settlement Association of Pu'u Anahulu" and described the lengthy delays she experienced in receiving her lot—and petitioning for action on her application for Homestead Lot No. 18 (Grant No. 7540):

February 20, 1914

**Kaimu Kihe; to
Governor Pinkham:**

...Your petitioner was one of the applicants in the land Settlement Association of

Puuanahulu – Your petitioner made and signed documents before the Sub-Agent of Public Lands, Thos. C. White Esq., for homestead lot no. 18 at Puuanahulu, which contains an area of 16 80/100 acres. In the month of December 1910, your petitioner signed agreements for taking up residence within said homestead lot.

And whereas, said Agreement for taking up residence has not been delivered up to the present time, – It is for that cause that your petitioner requests that the matter be reconsidered, and said lot awarded to your petitioner.

Your petitioner made application under the provisions of Part 8 of the Land Act of 1895, relative to Settlement Associates, and known s the “Land Settlement Association of Puuanahulu,” which was signed by all of the members of that Association, before Thos. C. White, Sub-Agent... Another application was made, however, whereby the Association aforesaid requested, that all of the homestead lots in Puuanahulu, be given under Part 7 of the Land Act of 1895, aforesaid, relative to Right of Purchase Leases.

This application was approves, and a price of \$5.00 an acre was place, to which the applicants objected, that is, the Settlement Association aforesaid, and a new application was made to reduce the purchase price to \$2.50 an acre, which application was approved and the purchase price was then placed at \$2.50 an acre.

Your petitioner made all these applications in the presence of the Sub-Agent, with the approval of the Chief Agent of Public Lands.

In the month of July 1913 last, my husband [J.W.H.I. Kihe] appeared in person before the Sub-Agent, at a meeting held at Puuanahulu, and was instructed to write direct to the Commissioner at Honolulu, Joshua D. Tucker Esq., by submitting an application with full particulars, somewhat similar to this, but, I have not as yet received a reply thereto.

Your petitioner is a Hawaiian woman by birth, and is a citizen of the United States of America, and has been married twice.

I have answered all questions in the presence of the Sub-Agent, at the various times I signed the applications heretofore... Your petitioner is poor, but is sincere in taking up a homestead lot in Puuanahulu, and hereby asks that she be given the Agreement to take up residence on that lot No. 18, as shown in the Homestead Map of Puuanahulu²⁵ [Figure 27]. (Hawaii State Archives; Executive – Pinkham, 1914)

The “Prove Up Statement” (dated June 24, 1920) for Mrs. Kihe reports that she maintained her home on the property since 1914. She notes — “At present a very small patch of potatoes and onions is cultivated; if not for the dry weather a larger area would be cultivated. 20 trees growing. Land only fit for cactus” (Land Division Files).

1917

***Petition from 12 Native Residents of Puuanahulu
to Gov. Pinkham and Commissioner of Public Lands:***

...We, the undersigned, American-Hawaiian citizens, residing at Puuanahulu, in

²⁵ Governor Pinkham responded on February 27, 1914 – informing Mrs. Kihe that the Kona Land Agent had been instructed to process the agreement if , “it can be assured that you will receive personally the benefit of the same. Your husband’s record is such that the authorities place little or no confidence in him...”

North Kona, County and Territory of Hawaii. Hereby petition, that our request be granted, for the construction of the Government Road for the homesteads, between the homestead lots, at present lying in Puuanahulu, N. Kona, County of Hawaii.

As follows:

- 1 – This is the road lying between lots 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 and lots 15, 13, 12, 11, 10 and 9. This road is the road entering between the lots aforesaid.
- 2 – This road was set apart by the Government as a road for these homes, but, it cannot be travelled over, as same has not been put in proper and good condition for the use of the parties taking up homestead lots and the general public.
- 3 – Hereby request that this road, be immediately put into proper and good condition, to enable the public to travel over it in safety, without danger; and hereby request that this road be immediately opened, and that \$3,500.- be set aside for the construction and completion of said road.
- 4 – The length of the road aforesaid, is nearly one mile or more, and the width is about 16 feet or more, the biggest portion of the line, where the road runs until it meets with the Government road now running within homestead lots 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 11, 10 and 9, is covered with rugged mounds of *pahoehoe* rocks.
- 5 – To secure this road, is for the benefit of those taking up homes in these lots, and for the general public travelling over this roadway, as, this road will connect at each end with the Government road, now being travelled around the County of Hawaii.

Therefore the undersigned herewith submit this humble petition before you, with the continual expectation, for the approval of this petition, hereby relying on the honorable father, the most exalted Governor of the Territory of Hawaii... Such shall always be our humble prayer...

(Signed)

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. J.W. H.I. Kihe | 2. D.H. Kahuwila | 3. Kilonia Alapai |
| 4. Herman Isaac Jr. | 5. D.A. Kahinu | 6. Kanealii |
| 7. Kailihiwa Liilii | 8. Keawe Alapai | 9. Harry Haiha |
| 10. J.W. Keala | 11. Alice Hao Jr. | 12. Isaac Sanford |

(Hawaii State Archives; Exec. Pinkham-1917)

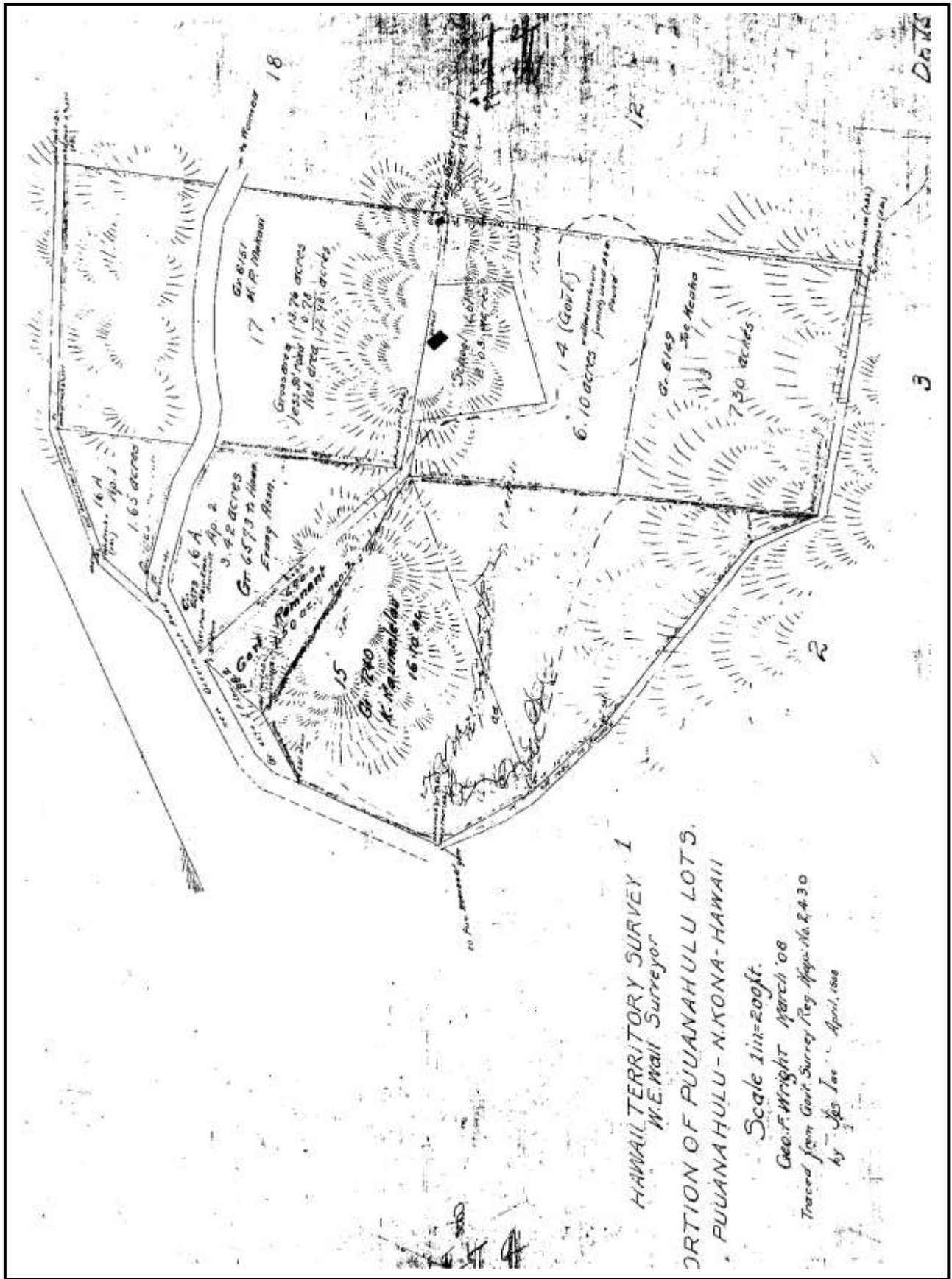


Figure 29. Register Map 2430; Showing Pu'u Anahulu School and Church Lots (1908).
State Survey Division

The following list cites the numbers, recipients, and dates of Grants issued to native residents and others at Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a. (Note: underlined Grant Numbers identify those lots or portions of lots that were subsequently conveyed to R. Hind or R. Hind, Limited.):

Grant No. 5794 to John Kahaikupuna; Lot 1 – 33.6 acres. (November 1, 1912)

Grant No. 8521 to Joseph Kaholo; Lot 2 – 28.1 acres. (September 2, 1924)

Grant No. 5913 to Lizzie Alapai (Kaholo); Lot 3 – 28.2 acres. (April 15, 1913)

Grant No. 8520 to Mrs. Louisa Keawe (L.K. Alapai); Lot 4 – 29 acres. September 2, 1924)

Grant No. 8559 to Henry Hao; Lot 5 – 27 acres. (November 26, 1924)

Grant 9990 to Frank Coelho [a cowboy at Puuwaawaa]; Lots 6 – 23.34 acres. (June 20, 1931)

Grant No. 6147 to Kalani Nakupuna; Lot 7 – 23.74 acres. (June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 6360 to Kawaimaka Hao; Lot 8 – 26.8 acres. (April 15, 1915)

Grant No. 5914 to Kinihaa Amona; Lot 9 – 13.5 acres. (April 15, 1915)

Grant No. 6148 to Kailihiwa Kuehu Jr.; Lot 10 – 13.67 acres. (June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 8560 to Kelii Aipia; Lot 11 – 14 acres. (March 27, 1913)

Grant No. 6159 (to J.W. Kaumelelau) T.P. Cundell; Lot 12 – 15.8 acres. (July 15, 1914)

Grant No. 6149 to Joe Keoho; Lot 13 – 7.30 acres. (June 30, 1914)

Lot 14 – 6.10 acres; Puuanahulu School Lot of 2.03 acres by Land Transfer No. 12 (July 6, 1908). A larger section of the lot, enclosed by a stone wall was formerly used as the animal pound, and the Kaipohaku-Waimea side of the lot was the location of the older Pu'uanahulu School (*Figure 29*). (see also Revocable Permit No. S-3921)

Grant No. 7240 to Joseph Kaholo; Lot 15 – 7.55 acres (April 2, 1919. (This lot was formerly issued in error as Grant No. 6150 to Kamakahuki Kaumelelau, on June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 6573 to the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association; Lot 16A – 3.42 acres (June 20, 1916). (*Figure 29*)

Grant No. 6151 to Kaehu Purdy Makaai; Lot 17 – 13.76 acres. (June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 7540 to Kaimu Kihe; Lot 18 – 16.2 acres. (August 17, 1920)

Grant No. 7799 to J.W. Keala; Lot 19 – 19.2 acres. (April 6, 1921)

Grant No. 6152 to J.W. Keala; Lot 20 – 16 acres. (June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 6153 to Isaac Sanford; Lot 21 – 17.5 acres. (June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 7548 to H. Haiha (C. Mitchell & S. Puou); Lot 27 – 14.02 acres. (August 17, 1920)

Grant No. 5038 to Nipoa Pahia; Lot 28 – 18.8 acres. (July 8, 1907)

Grant No. 6154 to Liwai Manu (M. Mitchell); Lot 29 – 18.3 acres. (June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 6155 to Kailihiwa Kuehu Sr. (S.K. Puhi); Lot 33 – 28.84 acres (lot including the hill, Puuolili). (June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 6156 to Keakealani Kuehu; Lot 34 – 31.93 acres. (June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 6160 to Makaai Puhi; Lot 35 – 31.0 acres. (July 18, 1914)

Grant No. 6161 to Konanui Kahuila; Lot 36 – 34.09 acres. (July 18, 1914)

Grant No. 6157 to Kilion Kahinu; Lot 37 – 30.53 acres. (June 30, 1914)

Grant No. 6161 to Konanui Kahuila (K. Alapai); Lot 36 – 34.45 acres. (July 15, 1914)

Homestead Lease No. 1, Lot No. 39; Kapalaoa Section, Puuanahulu Homesteads (see *Figure 30*) to John Alapai. Certificate of Occupation issued June 12, 1897; 999 year Homestead lease issued on June 12th, 1903. On May 10, 1927 John Alapai, released approximately one acre of Lot No. 39 to the Territory of Hawaii, which was sold S.L. Desha as Grant No. 9513; J. Alapai purchase approved July 26, 1928. Portion of Lot No. 39 sold to heirs of John Alapai under Land Patent Grant No. S-14,088; Aug. 11, 1961.

Homestead Lease No. 2, Lot No. 38; Kapalaoa Section, Puuanahulu Homesteads (see *Figure 30*) to James Purdy (heirs Harriet Purdy-Keaweamahi, Kaehu Purdy-Makaai, and Eliza Purdy-Lindsey). Certificate of Occupation issued June 12, 1897; 999 year Homestead lease issued on June 12th, 1903; purchase approved April 6, 1921 (to Eliza Purdy-Lindsey et al.); Sold under Land Patent Grant No. S-13,804; April 28, 1961.

Pu'u Anahulu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a Beach Lots

Following the development of the Puuwaawaa Ranch leases and operations, Robert Hind and several business associates applied for, and were granted fee simple title to parcels of land on the coast of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (See *Figure 24* – Register Map No. 3000, at end of study). Those include the following parcels:

Land Patent Grant No. 6498 to Robert Hind; Nov. 26, 1915.
Kiholo Beach Lot 1 – 3.0 acres; Puuwaawaa.

Land Patent Grant No. 6748 to Robert Hind; Jan. 4, 1917.
Kiholo Beach Lot 2 – 3.0 acres; Puuwaawaa.

Land Patent Grant No. 9073 to Francis H.I. Brown; August 2, 1926.
Keawaiki Beach Lot 3 – 3.0 acres; Puuanahulu.

Land Patent Grant No. 9513 to Steven L. Desha, Sr.; April 3, 1928.
Kapalaoa Beach Lots (Portion of Lot 39) – 1.22 acres; Puuanahulu. (*Figure 30*)

Land Patent Grant No. 9875 to Frances H.I. Brown; July 8, 1930.
Keawaiki Beach Lot 5 – 3.0 acres; Puuanahulu.

Land Patent Grants No.'s 9943, 9944, and 9945 to Robert Hind; Dec. 22, 1930.
Kiholo Beach Lots 8, 7 and 9 – three parcels at 3.0 acres each; Puuwaawaa.

Land Patent Grant No. 10,433 to Dorothy Von Holt; Aug. 28, 1936.
Weliweli Beach Lot 13 – 2.70 acres; Puuanahulu-Puuwaawaa Beach Lots.

Land Patent Grant No. 10,431 to Robert Hind; Aug. 19, 1936.
Kiholo Beach Lot 11 – 0.71 acres; Puuwaawaa.

Land Patent Grant No. 10,432 to R. Leighton Hind; Aug. 15, 1936.
Kiholo Beach Lot 12 – 3.0 acres; Puuwaawaa.

Land Patent Grant No. 9071 to Frances H.I. Brown; July 15, 1926.
Keawaiki Beach Lot 4 – 3.0 acres; Puuwaawaa-Puuanahulu.

Land Patent Grant No. 9988 to Frances H.I. Brown; May 7, 1931.
Keawaiki Beach Lot 10 – 3.0 acres; Puuanahulu.

S.S.A. 1612 to Sanji Abe; February 24, 1937.
Kiholo Beach Lot 14 (Luahinewai Lot) – 2.65 acres; Puuwaawaa.
(Transferred to Marjorie C. Hind, March 16, 1937)

Further documentation on Homestead Lots, transfer of many of those lots to Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch holdings, and State Lease Agreements is detailed in various Land Division and Bureau of Conveyances Records, among which are:

General Lease No. 3528 (November 8, 1955);
General Lease No. S-3589 (Sept. 2, 1960);
No. 88-101675 (Liber 22148:292-313) July 5, 1988; and
No. 92-145172, August 31, 1992.

Additionally, oral history interviews cited in *Volume II*, provide readers with historical accounts about transitions in land tenure in the Pu'u Anahulu Homesteads and at the Pu'u Anahulu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a (Kapalaoa, Weliweli, Keawaiki and Kiholo) Beach lots.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS:

AN OVERVIEW OF SITE AND PRACTICE DOCUMENTATION RECORDED IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Earlier in this study, readers were provided information pertaining to native traditions, history, and practices of the residents of Nāpu'u and vicinity. The narratives also provide readers with an overview of the changing patterns of residency in the region through the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. As seen in the writings of a number of non-Hawaiian residents of the islands, by the middle to late 1800s, there was a growing awareness of the rapid decline in knowledge of native customs, practices, and familiarity with features of the cultural landscape. This section of the study provides readers with an overview of, and excerpts from selected historical studies and archaeological investigations into the lands, sites, and practices of the Nāpu'u region.

Thos. Thrum (1908) and J.F.G. Stokes (1906-1909)

The earliest systematic report on archaeological features—*heiau* or ceremonial sites—on the island of Hawai'i, was compiled by Thos. Thrum (1908). Thrum's work was the result of literature review and field visits spanning several decades. Unfortunately, Thrum's work did not take him into the Nāpu'u region of Kekaha. He offers no record of sites between Pu'u Koholā and Mailekini at Kawaihae and Keahuolu (the Kailua vicinity) of North Kona. In 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes conducted a field survey of *heiau* on the island of Hawai'i for the B.P. Pauahi Bishop Museum (Stokes and Dye 1991). Like Thrum, Stokes too, bypasses Nāpu'u and most of Kekaha.

In 1909, J.F.G. Stokes returned to Hawai'i and traveled portions of the Nāpu'u shoreline, via the *ala loa-alanui aupuni* (native trail and Government road system). In doing so he found and described an extensive field of petroglyphs. Confusion arose because Stokes identified the site as being at "Puuanahulu in South Kohala." In 1918, A. Baker set out to locate the petroglyphs which Stokes described in 1909, and he noted that Pu'u Anahulu is in North Kona, not South Kohala. Ten years later, J. Reinecke (ms. 1930) noted that neither Stokes or Baker had the benefit of good maps, and Reinecke placed the site in 'Anaeho'omalū (Reinecke's Site No. 147).

Describing the petroglyph field, Stokes (1910) wrote:

At Puuanahulu in South Kohala, when passing a long a trail late one afternoon, the remarkable sight of a couple of acres of pahoehoe closely covered with petroglyphs was experienced... One striking peculiarity was the use of irregularly circular lines for the inclusion or separation of groups of petroglyphs, perhaps for the purpose of limiting or defining a particular record. There were forms innumerable, forms not suggestive of the human or animal, which from this grouping could leave but little doubt that they told a connected story. They left a strong impression that the Hawaiians had made a decided advance towards a written language... Mostly on the outskirts of this interesting area were many names of Hawaiians, sometimes dates, and more initials. It seemed to have been a time-honored place for recording events. The place had been isolated by the flow of lava in 1859 and is not easy of approach... (Stokes 1910:59-60)

A. Baker (1919 & 1920)

Baker (1919) elaborates on the field and described his 1918 visit to the site via the Kīhōlo-Ka'ūpūlehu Trail and then along the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*, which continues to Kawaihae. It is noted here, that Baker's estimated distance from Kīhōlo to the Petroglyph field places the field in 'Anaeho'omalū.

...Proceeding by automobile to Huehue, North Kona, we got an early start in the saddle on what proved to be a forty-mile round-trip horseback journey on trails, a portion of which was over the roughest kind of lava. At one time these trails formed the main thoroughfare around the island, but on this occasion we saw but two living

souls on the whole trip, tho we were away from the present main road thirteen hours. Reaching Kiholo in less than three hours, we pushed on toward Kawaihae, thinking that we might find our goal in the section between the flows of 1859, as that was surely "isolated by the flow of 1859", but it was away past both branches of this flow, some six or probably eight miles from Kiholo, and about two miles before the Kohala line. It was here, on some brown or reddish *pahoehoe* just before a high *aa* flow, that we saw the first Hawaiian name, strangely enough with the date of my own birth. Soon we saw other names, and , looking inland, beheld the first circles and marks, which proved to cover more, rather than less, than two acres... It is on the lower trail, a half mile to a mile back from the shore. It might be reached as easily from the Kawaihae side, judging by the way it looks on the map. I have talked with a number of people who have been over the trail without seeing the figures, probably because their attention was taken up by the names until they had ridden past the area...

The rock is unusually soft for *pahoehoe*, the horses having cut a path along the trail across it, while elsewhere it is so hard that no impression has been made by all the years of travel, the way being marked by little piles of lava with a piece of coral or bone to show white in the night. No such variety of lava in form or color has been seen on any other trail, except on the journey to the summit of Mauna Loa....

There are hundreds of circles and thousands of marks of all kinds on this favorite field of ancient Hawaiian records, covering perhaps centuries... (Baker 1919:130-132)

In 1919, Baker returned to Kona, and accompanied John Lynn, Manager of Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch, to Hinds' Puakō lease holdings . Lynn had told Baker of more petroglyphs in the field there, and agreed to show them to Baker. Baker and Lynn rode down the Ke'āmuku trail to Puakō.

...The second morning we started again, finding the first petroglyphs some two miles or so from Puako Bay, to the south but part way inland. To our amazement we followed this narrow strip of rock cuttings in a relatively straight line, and almost continuous, for what we all agreed was at least two and a half miles and perhaps more, for after a break where sand had drifted over we found a few again, just where the before-mentioned shore trail mounted on the big *aa* lava strip of about three miles to Kalinaopelu²⁶, the name of the place in Puuanahulu *makai*, South Kona, described in last year's ANNUAL, some half-mile inland from Kapalaoa and another half mile north. A third of the way over this lava to Kalinaopelu, going south, seemed to be the boundary between South Kohala and North Kona. The Puako end of these petroglyphs is some three-fourths of a mile from the shore, with the telephone line about a third of the way to the water. The last, at the southern end are about at the shore, as described, where are the last of the algarroba trees, five miles from Puako bay.

This wonderful strip of petroglyphs was along an ancient trail going more inland than the present trail, but of which I could see no trace at the present time. The area is double or three times that at Kalinaopelu, though due to the compact mass of petroglyphs on the two acres or so there, perhaps there are no more actual figures... (Baker 1920:49-52)

Kalina'ōpelu – In the story of Ka-Miki, Kalina'ōpelu is identified as being on the 'a'ā plain of Kanikū (Feb. 19, 1914). It does not appear that the name has been recorded on historic maps.

Archaeology of Kona, Hawaii (Reinecke ms. 1930)

The first detailed recording of Hawaiian sites in the Kekaha-Nāpu'u region was compiled by John Reinecke (ms. 1930). In 1929-1930, Bishop Museum contracted John Reinecke to conduct a survey of Hawaiian sites in West Hawai'i. A portion of Reinecke's survey extended from Kailua to Kalāhuipua'a, his work being the first attempt at a survey of sites of varying function, ranging from ceremonial to residency and resource collection.

During his study, Reinecke traveled along the shore of Kekaha, documenting near-shore sites. Where he could, he spoke with the few native residents he encountered. Among his general descriptions of sites and Kekaha, Reinecke observed:

This coast formerly was the seat of a large population. Only a few years ago Keawaiki, now the permanent residence of one couple, was inhabited by about thirty-five Hawaiians. Kawaihae and Puako were the seat of several thousands, and smaller places numbered their inhabitants by the hundreds. Now there are perhaps fifty permanent inhabitants between Kailua and Kawaihae—certainly not over seventy-five.

When the economy of Hawaii was based on fishing...this was a fairly desirable coast; the fishing is good; there is a fairly abundant water supply of brackish water, some of it nearly fresh and very pleasant to the taste; and while there was no opportunity for agriculture on the beach, the more energetic Hawaiians could do some cultivation at a considerable distance *mauka*... [Reinecke ms. 1930:1-2]

Reinecke also observed that he recorded only a limited number of sites in the region; his study field was generally within site of the shore (ibid.:2), and he wrote:

The coast is for the most part low and storm-swept, so that the most desirable building locations, on the coral beaches, have been repeatedly swept over and covered with loose coral and lava fragments, which have obscured hundreds of platforms and no doubt destroyed hundreds more...many of the dwellings must have been built directly on the sand, as are those of the family at Kaupulehu, and when the posts have been pulled up, leave no trace after a very few years... [ibid.]

The following site descriptions are quoted from Reinecke's field work in the area between Pōhakuokahae (on the Ka'ūpūlehu-Pu'u Wa'awa'a boundary) to Keahualono on the Pu'u Anahulu-'Anaeho'omalū (North Kona-South Kohala) boundary (*Figure 31*).

Site Numbers and Descriptions

Site 122. After crossing the abominable Kaupulehu Flow, west branch, one reaches a *pahoehoe* flat about 1 ½ x ½ mile in extent. I have divided it, for purposes of description, into seven areas, but it should be understood that the ruins are practically continuous, if sometimes buried under the sand.

The whole area is the most interesting on this coast, for several reasons:

1. The great number and continuity of the remains.
2. The apparent considerable age of many of the ruins.
3. The apparent lack of a water supply even barely adequate.
4. The large number of a localized form of storage cupboard, a well-built box-like form at the back of walled sites, due no doubt to the very hard, solid *pahoehoe* offering no handy little caves.

5. The large number of native salt pans. These were sometimes built directly on the *pahoehoe* as a floor; sometimes the base was built of carefully arranged flat rocks. As the sun's rays had to strike the pan directly, the walls were usually about 8-12" high, built of carefully selected stones. Sometimes the pan was rectangular, but oftener rounded or circular, about 8 to 10 feet across. The floor and the case of the wall were cemented with a hard native cement of good quality, which still clings to scattered stones and to patches of *pahoehoe* floor where there are now no walls. Salt is still gathered here, but from natural pockets.

At the western end of the flat: (a) remains of pen; (b) remains of walled dwelling site with "cupboard"; (c) shelter site, walls and cupboard; (d) remains of three shelters; (e) pebble covered ruins of about six platforms—a usual feature of these coarse sand beaches; (f) shelter, walls and cupboard; (g) sundry traces of old enclosures; (h) sand-drifted walled shelter.

Site 123. (a) Ruins of a walled site; (b) at an interval of some 500', the remains of an enclosure, two shelters, and a cave. At this spot are several petroglyphs of unusual type...

Site 124. (a) Platform c. 30x6x4, like part of a wall. Shelter attached and recent *ahu* on it. May possibly be a fishing *heiau*. (b) Two good *papamu*, 13x10, 11x10. (c) Trace of large platform adjacent to a. (d) First of salt pans: a group of three about a heap of stones. Four other pans near. (e) Walls of yard and trace of house platform; traces of walls and platform north of it. (f) Two modern shelters by *kiawe mauka*. (g) A spring with faintly brackish water; traces of ruins in hollow to north. (This is the only water supply noted.)

(h) A large platform on the beach; remains of two smaller ones and an enclosure past it. (i) *Mauka* of it, a shelter pen with cupboard and four more salt pans, with traces of cement on *pahoehoe*. (j) Walled site, cupboard, cairn in front. (k) Pen and three shelters, apparently. (l) Several small areas marked off by rows of stones in the sand. (m) Whitened patches on *pahoehoe* marking sites of salt pans. A salt pan with walls 2' high; four others with very well-built walls 1-3' high - - unusual. (n) Two modern shelter pens.

Site 125. (a) Isolated shelter pen. (b) Three shelter pens together. (c) Shelter pen with piece of wall. All these are about a prominent site on a knoll (d) which may be taken as the starting point for #125: It consists of a house site and two carefully walled enclosures, all used for dwelling; cupboard. (e) Usual traces along the beach. (f) A number of salt pans. (g) Ruins of walled site on beach. (h) Ruins of several house sites on coast.

Site 126. (a) Several large ruined platforms and many salt pans, in a perfect medley. (b) Recent walled shelter; house site behind it. (c) More ruined platforms. Then follows a considerable space where everything is so ruined as to be almost indistinguishable. (d) Traces of a very large pen.

Site 127. At the end of this pen (a) a dwelling complex, consisting of a walled enclosure (walls 3 ½' wide and 2 ½' high, with gate), and including two enclosure-rooms with entrances and one without. About it are a house platform, two walled shelters, a salt pan, and various heaps of stone. (b) Beyond it on north a yard with a fine salt pan, c. 9x7x1/2, cemented carefully about the bottom. (c) Walled dwelling

place, three enclosures. (d) Courtyard of large, flat whitened stones – may have been a salt pan. (e) A considerable complex of walls and shelters, followed by a desert space of dunes.

Site 128. (a) A walled pen; adjoining it eight very fine examples of the local salt pan. (b) Three large pens adjoining this area and one another. On the *makai* side are very thick walls, and a shelter with cupboard. On the *mauka* side is a shelter with cupboard. (c) A little *mauka* are three salt pans. (d) A few sand-covered platforms, etc., to branch of Kaupulehu Flow. [near Pōhakuokahae]

Site 129. Luahinawai [Luahinewai] is a pond behind a black sand beach; no ruins. Waiaelepi is a shallow pond of practically fresh water. From the Kaupulehu Flow on is a grove of *kiawe* and the cattle pasturing under it have undoubtedly destroyed several sites.

There is a pen behind Waiaelepi, where there has been a house or a cowboys' camp. Then come concrete salt pans and a fine terraced platform of stones [Muller's salt works]. There are traces of shelters at the foot of the dune of black pebbles. Remains of a pen with very thick, low walls on three sides. From here on is a continuous row of traces at the foot of the beach and under the *kiawe*. Especially noticeable are the large boulders at the back of the platforms, pens, or enclosed house sites—now it cannot be said which. Toward the north end of this area is a pen and a recent house site.

Site 130. Many shelters on the reddish lava block of the *kiawe*.

Site 131. Large cave [Keanalele] with three feet of almost fresh water.

Site 132. Two narrow pens extend north, enclosing the *kiawe* and stagnant pools. Behind them are two yards, with three house sites between them. Between the cave and the pens is a lot containing a house platform. There are two other very ruinous platforms outside, and a bordered, coral-strewn path running a short distance *mauka* through a few shelters.

Back of the pens a considerable distance are many small hut sites or shelters. They may have been temporary structures. There is also a hollow fenced on all but the perpendicular side, recent. Several waterholes, one walled up.

Site 133. Ruins of five modern houses at the south end of Kiholo Bay. There are many walls in this area.

The area back of the ponds is difficult to penetrate due to the *kiawe*. I found only two ruins, a platform c. 75x25x0-1 and a rough heap that had been a medium-sized platform.

Site 134. Excellent stone platform at the south-end of the long lagoon, probably quite modern.

Site 135. The vitreous *pahoehoe* of the 1859 Flow bears no ruins at all.

Keawaiki: At the south end of the *kiawe* grove are the ruins of several platforms, all very small. Two or three house sites can be distinguished. For most of the way the *kiawe* hides possible ruins. I thought that two platforms could be distinguished just south of a three-sided pen for shelter-dwelling.

I did not see the *heiau* "a little *mauka* of the house"; it is named KAUALII [Pū'o'a-a-

Ka'uali'i], after a chief of the place.

The pond should be shown on the map at the extreme north end of Keawaiki; it is of slightly brackish water. About 200 yards farther is a large, deep, brackish pool.

Site 136. At a spot about one-eighth mile inland, Kaluoo, is an oasis of *lauhala* and *kiawe*, which I did not visit. At Akuko are three stagnant brackish pools. Here are dwelling site, walls that probably surrounded two shelters, and three other shelters.

Site 137. Wiliwili [Weliweli] is a beach with *kiawe* and a few pools. There are traces of a few platforms.

Site 138. Kapalaoa. On the *a-a* where it gives place to the *pahoehoe* are five or more rude shelters. The oasis is bounded at the south with a wall. By the gate is a small pen. On the beach just *makai* is some sort of site. The little headland within the line of the wall is a complex of small enclosures for salt-making. There are two small platforms, one or both being the *kuula* named PUAKO. The oasis as far as Desha's house is cut up by stone walls, within them palms, a few wells now dry, platforms—at least five modern house platforms—and a shelter. On the brittle, easily chipped *pahoehoe* by the southern gate are many petroglyphs. From the names found in connection with them and the carvings of sailing ships, one can see that they belong to a period after 1830, but old Alapai, who has lived at Kapalaoa since about 1860, says that they were there when he came... [Reinecke was told the story of Kuaiwa—which he was informed was a chief of the area—and how he lost his life to Pele (see account by Desha, earlier in this study).]

Kapalaoa is inhabited only by the family of Alapai, the stories bout [sic] whom and his family have been secured from Mrs. Yanagi

Site 139. The first stone wall, at the north of Kapalaoa land, has a house platform just south of it. North is a large *papamu*...15 x 15, two others worn smooth, and unfinished *papamu*, and three petroglyphs. A few pools and marshes, one partially surrounded by a wall. A clump of *lauhala* in the *a-a* 100 yards *mauka* shows a spring there...

Another stone wall marks the Kona-Kohala boundary... [Reinecke Ms. 1930:23-27]

Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972)

In "Native Planters in Old Hawaii" (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972), the authors presents readers with documentation of agriculture, fishing, and life in the Kekaha region of North Kona. The information was collected from native informants and archival sources. In describing the Kekaha-Nāpu'u region the authors wrote:

Wherever a little soil could be heaped together along the dry lava coast of North Kona, a few sweet potatoes were planted by fishermen at such places as Honokohau, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Kaupulehu, Kiholo, Keawaiki, and Kapalaoa. Doubtless potatoes were planted on the upland of North Kona, on the lower slopes of Hualalai toward Pu'u Wa'awa'a, up to a considerable altitude in the rainy seasons. In recent times the flatlands of Pu'u Anahulu, having an elevation of about 2,300 feet, have supported a number of patches planted by Hawaiian cowboys. [Handy et al., 1972:527-528]

Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey (1999)

At the time that this study was initiated, it was also the plan of the *Hui 'Ohana mai Pu'u Anahulu a me Pu'u Wa'awa'a* to contract with Scientific Consultant Services, Inc. (Robert L. Spear, Ph.D.) to conduct an archaeological reconnaissance survey in Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a. The scope of work proposed two basic facets of study: (1) development of locational (GPS and GIS) information on sites documented in historical literature (based on information reported in this study) and by native families of Nāpu'u; and (2) follow a series of randomly outlined transects throughout the upland region of Nāpu'u to assess the distribution of sites.

Such a survey would provide the 'Ohana, lessees, and State land managers with important documentation with which to evaluate future proposals of land use and the development of a culturally responsible management plan. The reconnaissance survey was delayed until September 15th, 1999 (thus Volume I of the present study had been completed to the pre-final stage). When the reconnaissance survey was undertaken (conducted September 15th through October 8th, 1999), a copy of the pre-final Volume I was provided to Leann McGerty (archaeological field work supervisor), with Scientific Consultant Services, Inc. (SCS). On September 17th, representatives of the *Hui 'Ohana*, DLNR-DOFAW, and the author met with the SCS field crew, and visited several known sites, and discussed — (1) the reconnaissance survey methodology; (2) care for the cultural resources; and (3) the overall goals of the *Hui 'Ohana mai Pu'u Anahulu a me Pu'u Wa'awa'a* for long-term stewardship of the resources of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a, including the development of a regional family history center.

The SCS reconnaissance report (McGerty in prep) will provide the *Hui 'Ohana mai Pu'u Anahulu a me Pu'u Wa'awa'a* and State of Hawai'i with important base documentation for formulating long-term resource management planning efforts.

THE EXTENDED FAMILIES OF NĀPU‘U AT KEKAHA

Historical accounts (cited in the preceding sections of the study) and oral history interviews with native residents of Nāpu‘u (in *Volume II*) describe a system of residency in Nāpu‘u and the larger Kekaha region, that was founded on familial relationships and knowledge of the land. The historic families of Nāpu‘u shared—and through their descendants continue to share—an intimate relationship with the ‘*ohana*’ (families) of the neighboring communities. Historically, these communities were at areas such as Kapalaoa, Keawaiki, Kīhōlo, Ka‘ūpūlehu, Kūki‘o, Makalawena, Kalaoa, and Kohanaiki, and extended into the South Kohala region as well. It was perhaps the nature of the landscape of Kekaha-wai-‘ole (the waterless Kekaha region), that brought the families together, not only within individual *ahupua‘a*, but also on a regional level. By living and working within the ‘*ohana*, or extended family units, a wide variety of skills were brought together, and resources—those purposefully cultivated and those collected from the natural environment—from the uplands to the fisheries, were pooled together and exchanged to support the extended families and communities.

For the families of Nāpu‘u, there is a custom of seasonal travel between the uplands and sheltered coves along the shore that is rooted in antiquity. In a series of traditional accounts penned by native historian, J.W.H.I. Kihe (a Pu‘u Anahulu Homestead resident), Kihe and his co-authors presented readers with a traditional account of the custom —

...‘*Oia ka wā e ne‘e ana ka lā iā Kona, hele a malo‘o ka ‘āina i ka ‘ai kupakupa ‘ia e ka lā, a o nā kānaka, nā li‘i o Kona, pūhe‘e aku la a noho i kahakai kāhi o ka wai e ola ai nā kānaka* – It was during the season when the sun moved over Kona, drying and devouring the land, that the chiefs and people fled from the uplands to dwell along the shore where water could be found to give life to the people. (April 5, 1917)

Another saying, perhaps the most famous one of the Nāpu‘u-Kekaha region, also offers insight into the depth of the cultural attachment native residents share with their natural environment, likening the movement *makai* of the people, to *lehua* blossoms upon the sea —

Ola aku la ka ‘āina kaha, ua pua ka lehua i ke kai — The natives of the Kaha lands have life, the *lehua* blossoms are upon the sea! (J.W.H.I. Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i*, February 21, 1928)

This saying describes the seasonal practice of natives of the Kekaha region, who during the winter planting season, lived in the uplands, where they cultivated their crops under the shelter of the *lehua* trees. Then when the fishing season arrived with the warmer weather, the natives would travel to the shore, where the fishing canoe fleets could be seen floating upon the sea like *lehua* blossoms.

It was as a result of this knowledge of seasons, and the relationship between land, ocean, and community, that the residents of the Kekaha region gained sustenance from the land.

At the beginning of this study, there was a brief description of the native Hawaiian *ahupua‘a* management system. This system defined care of, and access to natural resources—and their management—within specific *ahupua‘a* or land divisions. In well watered districts with rich soils, it appears that the system of boundary and resource management remained generally intact through the nineteenth century. However, historical accounts of Nāpu‘u and other lands of the larger Kekaha region, describe a system of caring for and sharing resources on a regional level, rather than relying primarily upon on the resources of single *ahupua‘a*. It may never be known if this pattern of regional (inter-*ahupua‘a*) access to resources in Kekaha was ancient, or if it was a response to changing times—e.g., the development of ranching operations in Nāpu‘u-Kekaha, formalization of a land ownership system, and diminishing native populations.

By the late nineteenth century, the coastal communities of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a consisted of only a few households, with residency focusing in the uplands or even out of the district. Depending on family ties and weather conditions, the families of Nāpu'u still traveled to and took up residency at areas along the coast, and individuals who lived on the shore made seasonal journeys to the uplands as well. In areas like Makalawena, Ka'ūpūlehu, Kīholo, Kapalaoa, and Puakō, where natural resources were generally favorable, a few families were able to maintain residences into the 1930s. Oral history interviews with area *kūpuna* (elders), record that even after the last native residents left their coastal dwellings (by the early 1930s), they continued to return to the shore seasonally for the collection of resources and sustenance of the families (cf., Kelly 1971; Springer 1985, 1989, 1992; Maly 1997, 1998 a & b, and 1999).

The traditions, cultural attachment to place, and practices which have been handed down over generations by the families of Nāpu'u, remain integral to the daily life and well-being of the *Pu'u Anahulu 'Ohana*.

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