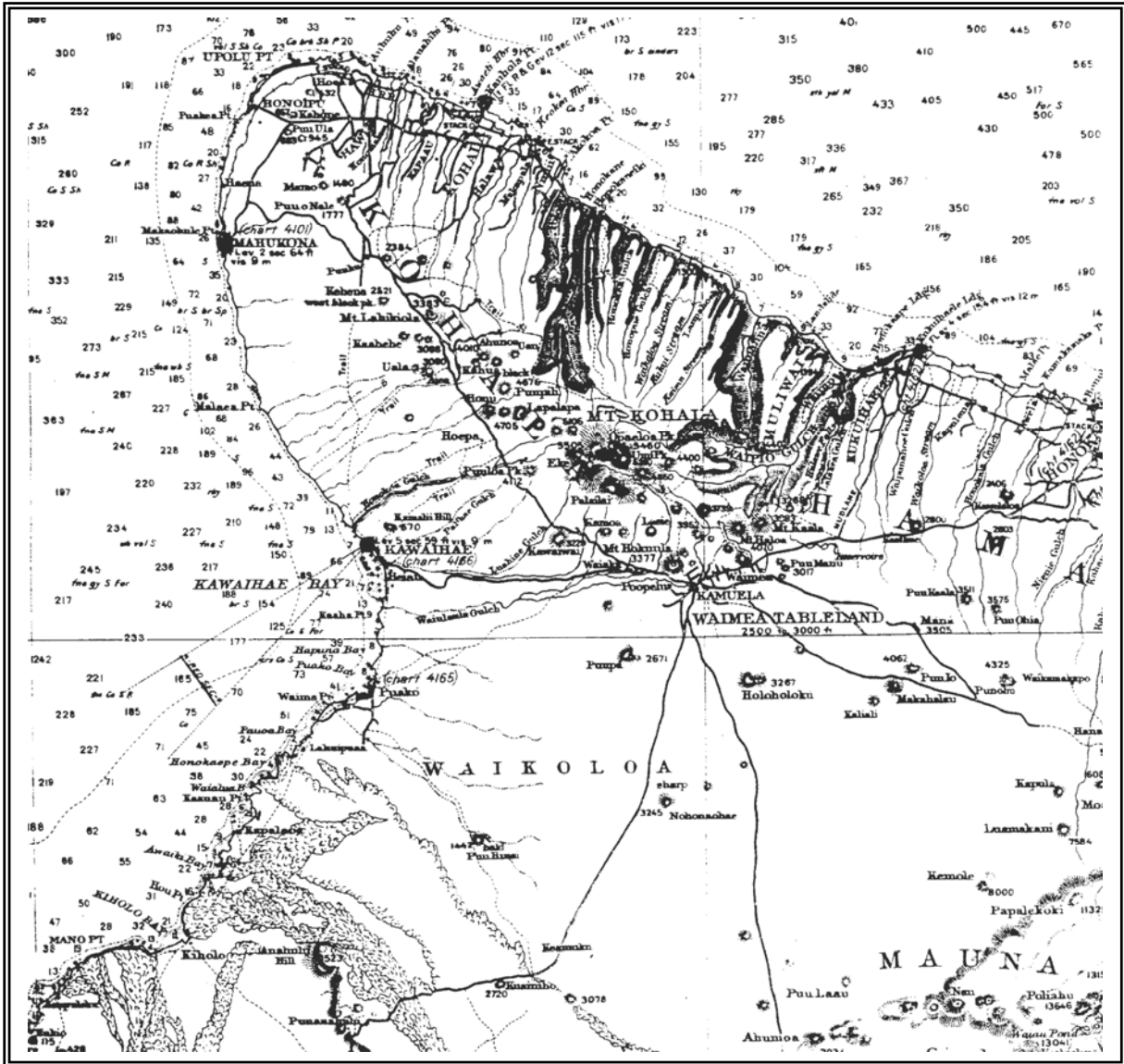


KAIHOLENA MA KOHALA WAHO— A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF KAIHOLENA AND VICINITY, LEEWARD KOHALA, HAWAI‘I



*District of Kohala (and neighboring lands), Island of Hawai‘i
(Portion of U.S. Army Map, surveys up to 1932; in Collection of DLNR-DOFAW, Hilo)*



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

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***Kaiholena 1st and 2nd, North Kohala,
Island of Hawai‘i
(TMK 5-8-01: por. 11)***

BY

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PREPARED FOR

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of Thomas S. Dye, of International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc. (IARII), cultural resources specialist, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a study of archival documents and historical literature for the land of Kaiholena, on the leeward side of the district of North Kohala, on the island of Hawai‘i (TMK 5-8-01:11). The study area contains approximately 260 acres, and is situated on the *makai* (shoreward side) of Akoni Pule Highway, and extends from sea level to approximately the 230 foot elevation. While the study area represents only about one-tenth of the total acreage of the *ahupua‘a* (native land division) of Kaiholena, this study discusses the land in its entirety, and looks at the relationship of the Kaiholena Ahupua‘a to neighboring lands of the region. In traditional accounts, native residents of the larger land area, affectionately referred to the region as “*Kohala waho*” and “*Nā pu‘u haelelua*” (Outer Kohala and The two hills that travel together), so called because of the remote nature of the land (it being isolated from the irrigated agricultural fields and larger communities of “Inner Kohala”) and for the “landmark” hills of Pili and Kalāhikiola which overlook the region of which Kaiholena is a part.

Study Methodology

The research conducted as a part of this study focused on an investigation of archival documents and historical literature. In the period between January 4th to February 8th, 2000, Kepā Maly conducted research of archival-historical resources housed in both public and private collections. Documentation cited in this study includes native and foreign accounts authored in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and records of the Hawaiian Kingdom—such as government records of land tenure, conveyances, roadways, and public lands.

Overview of Findings

By the time of the *Māhele* (Land Division) of 1848, an action which established fee-simple property ownership rights in the Hawaiian Islands, the land of Kaiholena had been divided into two land units or *ahupua‘a*. One *ahupua‘a*, Kaiholena 1st, makes up the northern portion of the land, and the other *ahupua‘a*, Kaiholena 2nd, makes up the southern portion of the land. Together, Kaiholena 1st and 2nd contain approximately 2070 acres. In the *Māhele* of 1848, one individual each received all of the land within the two Kaiholena. Their *Māhele* Awards also gave them control over the offshore fisheries fronting their *ahupua‘a*. Descended from chiefs loyal to Kamehameha I, both of the awardees were pure Hawaiian. Kaopua received Kaiholena 1st (*Mahele* Award No. 38), and Kamakahonu received Kaiholena 2nd (*Mahele* Award No. 38). No claims by native-born residents appear to have been recorded for Kaiholena 1st or 2nd.

By the 1860s, land use in Kaiholena and neighboring lands of Pāo‘o (to the north) and Makeanehu (to the south), as well as the lands throughout the Kohala waho–Pili–Kalāhikiola region, focused on large scale ranching with small scattered residences and agricultural plots. These small properties were generally the holdings of native tenants, and were primarily situated in the vicinity of the *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Roads) which passed through the

uplands of Kaiholena. Other than the two *Māhele* Awards to Kaopua and Kamakahonu, no private holdings were granted in Kaiholena.

Ranching operations in Kaiholena extended from the uplands to the near-shore *kula* (flatlands), and came to be a part of the Puuhue-Woods Estate – Kohala Ranch Company, Ltd., and later, as a part of the Parker Ranch operations. Ranching uses of the Kaiholena study area continued from the 1860s through the 1970s. While cattle still range in the uplands, no cattle presently range on the study area property.

Little site specific documentation such as native traditions and place name accounts, and only limited descriptions of native tenancy for Kaiholena was found during the study. The primary source of area place names and native tenancy and land use descriptions was recorded in 1873, by a few individuals who had resided in the area most of their lives (some as long as 70 years). At that time, they described the agricultural and residency uses in the past tense. This is probably a reflection of the extent of ranching operations in Kaiholena and the fact that land ownership was consolidated under one owner.

Because little site specific information for Kaiholena could be found, traditional accounts and selected historical records for neighboring lands of the larger Pili-Kalāhikiola region — lands which share similar environmental and geographic characteristics — are cited in this study. It is very likely that the traditional and historical accounts, and the practices and lifeways of the early residents of Kaiholena were shared by resident of the larger Pili-Kalāhikiola region.

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INTRODUCTION

At the request of Thomas S. Dye, of International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc. (IARII), cultural resources specialist, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a study of archival documents and historical literature for the land of Kaiholena (*Figure 1*), on the leeward side of the district of North Kohala, on the island of Hawai‘i (TMK 5-8-01:11). The study area contains approximately 260 acres, and is situated on the *makai* (shoreward side) of Akoni Pule Highway (Highway 270), and extends from sea level to approximately the 230 foot elevation. Though the actual study area represents only about one-tenth of the total acreage of the *ahupua‘a*¹ (native land division) of Kaiholena, this study examines the entire land division in order to discuss traditional land use practices. The study also looks at the relationship of Kaiholena Ahupua‘a to neighboring lands of the region.

Study Guidelines

The research conducted for this study was 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 (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).

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 land of Kaiholena, and the relationship of Kaiholena to the larger region. In traditional accounts of Kohala, native residents of the land, affectionately referred to the region as “*Kohala waho*” and “*Nā pu‘u haelelua*” (Outer Kohala and The two hills that travel together) so called because of the remote nature of the land (it being isolated from the irrigated agricultural fields and larger communities of *Kohala loko*, or Inner Kohala) and for the “landmark” hills of Pili and Kalāhikiola which overlook the region of which Kaiholena is a part (*Figure 1*).

While conducting research for this study, the author (Maly) 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

¹ *Ahu-pua‘a* is a traditional term used to describe an ancient Hawaiian land unit, generally extending from marine fishery to a mountain ridge or upland zone, and remains the primary land unit of the modern land classification system.

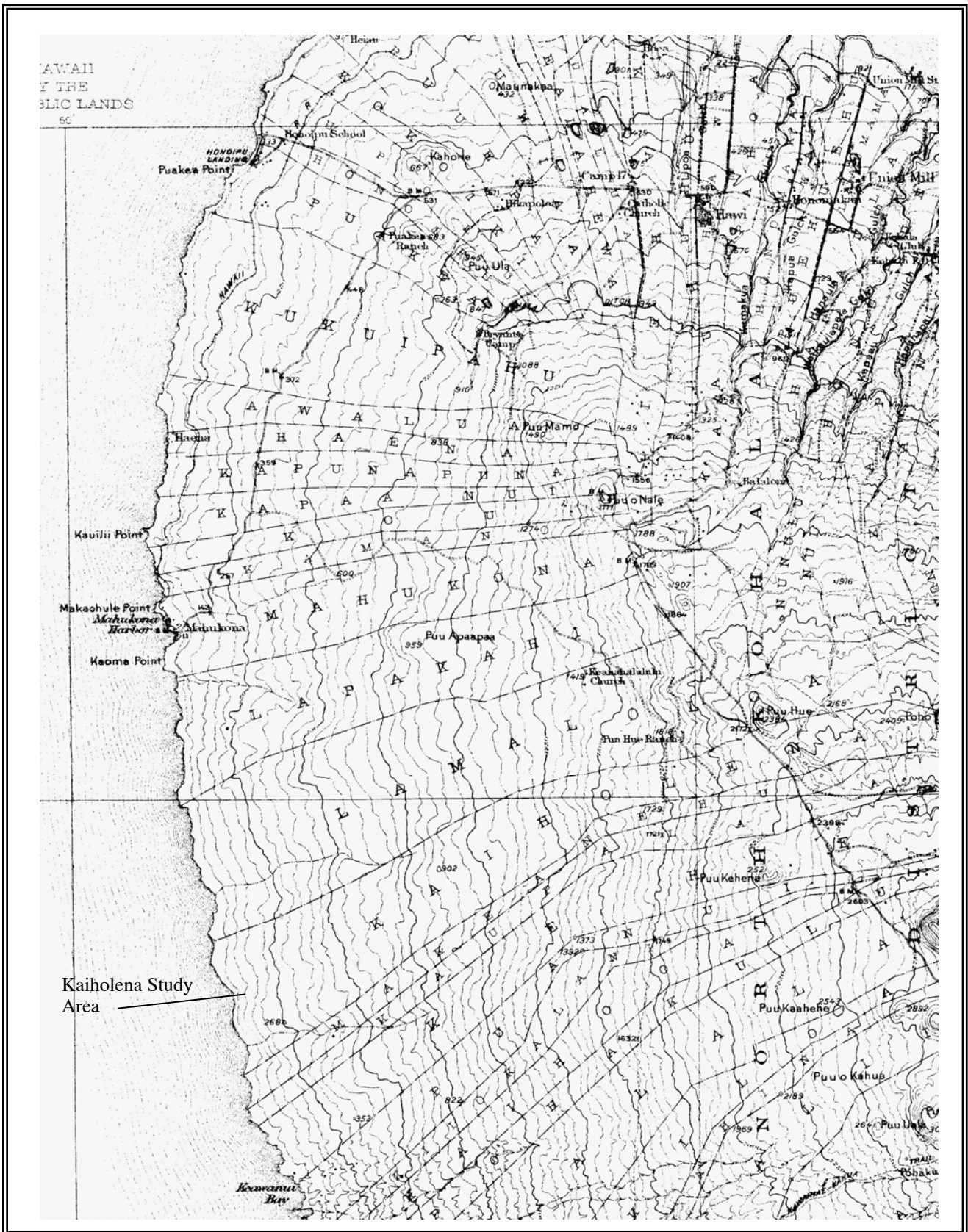


Figure 1. Detail of Kohala Waho – Pili-Kalāhikiola Region, North Kohala, Island of Hawai‘i (Location of Kaiholena Study Area). USGS Quadrangle - Kohala, 1916 (not to scale)

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 the archaeological study (Dye in prep.), will provide readers with a fairly in-depth look into the history of residency, travel, and land use in the study area.

Archival and Historical Research

In between January 4th to February 8th, 2000, Maly reviewed 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; and historical texts authored or compiled by — D. Malo (1951); J.P. I‘i (1959); S. M. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996); G. Bowser (1880); T. Thrum (1908); J.F.G. Stokes and T. Dye (1991); J. W. Coulter (1931); M. Beckwith (1970); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972).

Another facet of archival research included a review of Hawaiian language resources. Over the last 25 years, Maly has been reviewing and indexing Hawaiian language newspaper articles (identifying place-associated traditions and historic descriptions of land use and events). As a part of this study, Maly conducted further review of native language resources. Thus, as a result of past work and the present research, a few native texts have been translated and included as a part of this study.

The archival-historical resources viewed as a part of this study 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; and in the collection of the author.

KAIHOLENA MA KOHALA (KAIHOLENA AT KOHALA)

This section of the study provides readers with a general overview of native Hawaiian land and resource management practices. The narratives also introduce the land of Kaiholena and describe its relationship to neighboring lands on the leeward side of North Kohala. Throughout the texts, whenever possible, specific references to Kaiholena are included, but at times we must look at neighboring lands with similar environmental conditions and resources, and propose that the same could be said for Kaiholena.

An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement

It has been generally reported that 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 to ca. AD 1250, and that the early Hawaiian population came primarily from 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, 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 (by ca. 750 to 1000 AD), and the residents began expanding out into the *kona* (leeward) and more remote regions of the island. Based on his own work and that of others, Kirch (1979) reports that by ca. AD 1200, there were small coastal settlements at various areas along the leeward (western) coast of Hawai‘i. Archaeologists report that initial occupation in the Kohala waho region may have occurred as early as c. AD 520 and AD 620 (Rosendahl 1972 and Burgett and Rosendahl 1993:28).

Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices

By the time detailed land records were being recorded in the Hawaiian Kingdom (ca. 1840s), many of the native residents of the Pili-Kalāhikiola – Kohala waho region had departed from the land. The departure may be attributed to several factors including but not limited to — impacts of foreign diseases on the native people; the development of western-styled community centers, which drew people from isolated settlements; and the fact that the environment of lands in the Kaiholena area was harsher than those further north in *Kohala loko* (Inner Kohala). The leeward region in which Kaiholena is situated was, and remains buffeted by winds, and the availability of fresh water was generally dependent upon seasonal rains. Also, by the middle nineteenth century, introduced cattle were having a significant impact on native ground cover and agricultural resources (Ellis 1963, I‘i 1959, Kamakau 1961, Doyle 1953, and McEldowney 1979).

Native traditions and historic documents record that in the generations following initial settlement, the ancient Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land use and resources management. By the time ‘Umi-a-Līloa rose to rule the island of Hawai‘i in ca. 1525, the island (*moku-puni*) was divided into six districts or *moku-o-loko* (Kamakau 1961:19 and Fornander 1973–Vol. II:100-102). At that time six hereditary chiefs, ruled the six districts of Hawai‘i under ‘Umi-a-Līloa. Fornander (1973) recorded:

During *Umi’s* reign the following chiefs have been recorded as the district chiefs, the “*Alii-ai-moku,*” of Hawaii:—Wahilani of the Kohala district; Wanua of Hamakua; Kulukulua of Hilo; Huaa of Puna; Imaikalani of Kau; and Hoe-a-Pae of Kona. During his and their long lifetime peace and quiet [was] obtained on Hawaii (Fornander 1973:106).

Kohala, one of six major *moku-o-loko* of Hawai‘i, extends from the shore and crosses the volcanic mountain which now bears the district name, and includes all of the land from Honoke‘ā on the windward Kohala-Hāmākua boundary to Ke-ahu-a-Lono on the leeward Kohala-Kona boundary. The district 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). The various regions of Kohala, generally described by their natural environment and prominent geological features have been commemorated in various sayings and riddles that have been handed down over the generations. One account published in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i* in 1917, co-authored by a native of North Kohala, described Kohala and its various regions with the following saying:

*O Kohala nui, o Kohala iki, o Kohala loko, o Kohala waho, o Kohala makani
‘Āpa‘apa‘a, o Pili o Kalāhikiola, o Nā-pu‘u-haele-lua. ‘Oia ho‘i! ‘Oia la! O
nā ‘ōkina iho la ‘ia o ka ‘āina ha‘aheo i ke kāhili a ka makani ‘Āpa‘apa‘a e
ho‘olā‘au mai ana mehe ipo ala ka nē hone i ka poli o ke aloha.*

Large Kohala, little Kohala, inner Kohala, outer Kohala, Kohala of the ‘Āpa‘apa‘a wind, of Pili and Kalāhikiola, the two traveling hills. Indeed! They are! The combined districts of the proud land brushed by the ‘Āpa‘apa‘a wind, maturing like a love nestled fondly in the bosom of love. (John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i* March 22, 1917; translated by Maly)

Ahupua‘a—A Sustainable Hawaiian Land and Resources Management Unit

The large districts (*moku-o-loko*) and sub-regions (‘*okana* and *kalana*) were further divided into manageable units of land, which were tended by the *maka‘āinana* (people of the land) (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 (for example – a gully, stream, or valley; a hill or cinder cone; or a crater). The boundaries of the *ahupua‘a* were generally defined by the topography and cycles and patterns of natural resources occurring within the lands (Lyons 1875).

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 *maka'āinana* or 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* (Malo 1951:63-67; Kamakau 1961:372-377; Boundary Commission testimonies cited below).

Entire *ahupua'a*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konohiki* or chief-landlords of lower rank, who answered to an *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* (chief who controlled the *ahupua'a* resources). The *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* in turn answered to an *ali'i 'ai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupua'a* resources supported not only the *maka'āinana* and *'ohana* (families) 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 fruits and vegetables and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources. Also, in communities with long-term royal residents, divisions of labor (with specialists in various occupations on land and in procurement of marine resources) came to be strictly adhered to. It is in this setting that we find Kaiholena and the present study area.

Kaiholena is one of approximately thirty traditional *ahupua'a* that make up the leeward region of Kohala traditionally known as *Kohala waho* and *Nā pu'u haelelua*. The outer *kula* (plains) of Kaiholena which extend to the sea were known as *Kohala waho*, while the uplands of Kaiholena and its neighbors, situated between the hills of Kalāhikiola and Pili, were known as *Nā pu'u haelelua*. The combined lands of this region of Kohala generally extended from Kapa'a-Māhukona (the northern most lands) to Kahuā-Waikā (the southern most lands). Most of the *ahupua'a* in this region are narrow strips of land that extend from ocean fisheries to an area that was at one time part of the upland forest zone. While some *ahupua'a* were "cut off" by larger neighboring *ahupua'a*, and did not extend as far inland as other lands in the region, all of them had the basic resources needed to sustain the native residents (see Boundary Commission proceedings 1873-1874; historic Survey Field Books and Register Maps in the collection of the State Survey Division; cited in this study).

In this system of land and resource management, 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 a part of the lowlands or coastal region and beyond, extending into 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. It is safe to posit that the people who once lived on the shore of Kaiholena traveled via dedicated trail systems to upland residences and agricultural fields. Moving seasonally between the shore and uplands, native tenants cultivated the land, took advantage of good growing conditions, and when on the shore, they fished, made salt, dried fish and prepared goods for seasons when the ocean was unsafe, and rains on the slopes were conducive to inland activities.

The name Kaiholena, may itself tell us something of the occurrence of native agriculture in the *ahupua'a*, and thus tell us that in the period prior to western contact, the landscape was different than was recorded in the middle and late nineteenth century. “Ka-iholena” may be literally translated as “The-*iholena*-banana,” and in other locations, such as on Hawai‘i and Lāna‘i where the name occurs, tradition tells us that the *mai'a iholena* (*iholena* banana trees) were once cultivated at the locations where the place name occurred (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini 1974:68; and pers. comm. with *kupuna* D. Kaōpūiki Sr. of Lāna‘i).

It has been documented, that on the leeward, drier sides of the Hawaiian islands agricultural activities occurred at higher elevations on dry leeward slopes (the *ko kula uka*), than they did on the wet windward slopes of the island (Newman 1968; Rosendahl 1972; Tuggle and Griffin 1973; Clark and Kirch, and McEldowney in Clark and Kirch 1983; and Walker and Rosendahl 1994). This is the case in the region of which Kaiholena is a part. Generally, agriculturists would have made use of the upland region along the sheltered forest line zones which benefited from cloud and canopy cover, and protection from severe winds.

It is likely that the cultivation of crops such as the *iholena*, plantains, *kalo* (taro), and other food plants occurred in the upland region extending from a little below the *mauka* trail (old government road) to the wet forest, an area extending from around the 1800 to 4000 foot elevation (Boundary Commission Testimonies in this study; and Dye in prep).

NATIVE TRADITIONS OF KOHALA

No traditional accounts which specifically mentioned Kaiholena, or other sites (such as *pu‘u* or hills, and other geographic features) were located while conducting the present study. This apparent lack of recorded information does not imply that none existed, or that none could be located at a later date. This author proposes that the rapid decline of the native population in Kaiholena and the larger Kohala waho region in the nineteenth century is the primary cause for the difficulty in finding native traditions of the land. Fortunately, Kaiholena shares similar environmental and geological characteristics with neighboring lands of the Kohala waho region, and several native traditions were recorded for the larger region. Thus, through those traditions readers can gain a better appreciation for residency, subsistence practices and life in Kaiholena.

Mo‘olelo ‘Āina (Traditions of the Land)

Native historian S.M. Kamakau (1961; original text written January 26, 1871) wrote about Kohala in the 1600s, during the reign o Lono-i-ka-Makahiki, grandson of ‘Umi-a-Līloa. Traditions handed down from that time tell us that most of Kohala was settled, and that there was a large population in the district (Kamakau 1961:57). One of Kamakau’s narratives is associated with an invasion of Hawai‘i, by Maui’s king, Kamalālāwalu. Kamalālāwalu (Kama) sent spies from Maui to Hawai‘i to determine how many people lived on the island. The account of the spies visit includes a specific reference to the coast of leeward Kohala (outer Kohala) of which Kaiholena is a part.

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

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

A famous saying of Kohala commemorates this account and the large number of residents who lived there at the time of Lono-i-ka-Makahiki:

Le‘i o Kohala i ka nuku na kānaka

Covered is Kohala with men to every point of land (A great population has Kohala) (M.K. Pukui 1983:1973)

Kamalālāwalu’ information was erroneous, and he came to be killed at Puakō, South Kohala, by Lono-i-ka-Makahiki (Kamakau 1961:60).

One of the most important contributors to the collection of Hawaiian history in the nineteenth century was Abraham Fornander (1916-1919). Fornander personally collected, and also sent Hawaiian students out to collect, traditions from elder native residents of lands around the Hawaiian Islands. In his “Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore,” are a number of accounts for Kohala. Narratives which describe traditional subsistence practices in Kohala waho are recorded in Fornander’s collection. The following narratives which describe land use (dryland agriculture) from Kahei to Kahuā are important to the discussion of residency and land use in Kaiholena.

In Kohala, Hawaii, the grass was burned until the ground was cleared, then the ground was broken up with an iron spade [previously a wooden digging stick] and when the soil became softened it was thrown up, leaving a hole about one foot deep. The dirt was broken fine and the taro tops planted... When the taro tops take root, then the dirt is cleared away, and again thrown up, and the old leaves of the plant, two or three perhaps, are taken off, so that the taro plant might flourish... In regions where timbers grow high, such as in Hooleipalaoa, in Kahua, and other places, the mode of planting was called *ohiki*, the taro tops being closely planted together; the leaves of the trees constitute the soil... In the higher, grassy fields, as the uplands of Kahei, and Kaauhuhu, in Kohala, the *poi* was a yellowish color like that of the breadfruit... [Fornander 1919:160]

...Kapaihipilipili was a man very famous in the cultivation of the soil and in the adjustment of affairs of life. Nahuluaina, in the division of Kukuipahu, district of Kohala, island of Hawaii, was his birth place. From morning to the close of day he would toil, taking his food with him into the field. It was thus every day. Sugar-cane, potatoes, taro and other things grew in abundance; not a portion of the land would be let remain idle... ..He went peddling and selling his food for fish on credit. Some was paid for and some sold on credit. The fish that he received in payment Kapaihipilipili salted and dried out in the sun, and then he would go peddling again and bring back more fish... [Fornander 1919:170]

“Kaa No Kaulanapokii”
(Tradition of Kaulanapokii)

Another tradition from the collection of Abraham Fornander (1916-1917), titled “*The Legend of Kaulanapoki‘i*” includes a short account of the leeward region of North Kohala; it’s political setting, and primary canoe landing of the region. The following narratives are paraphrased from the tradition recorded by Fornander:

Kaumalumalu was the father and Lanihau was the mother of ten children, five boys and five girls. When the children grew to adulthood, the eldest girl, Mailelauli‘i invited her four sisters (the youngest of whom was Kaulanapokii) to go site seeing with her. The girls set out on their journey from the lowlands of Kona, and traveled through North Kona, and on to Kohala.

Arriving at Kokoiki, the sisters met Hikapoloa who was the chief of Puuepa and Hukiaa. Seeing Mailelauli, Hikapoloa fell in love and gained her as his wife.

Some time later, a group of people traveled from Kohala to Kona, where they saw the brothers of Mailelauli fishing with rare mother-of-pearl *aku* lures. The brothers gave an abundance of fish to the Kohala visitors, and they returned to Kohala. When Hikapoloa saw how many fish were given, and learned about the mother-of-pearl *aku* lures, he asked Mailelauli about the Kona men, and learned that they were her brothers.

Hikapoloa visited the brothers in Kona and was given a mother-of-pearl *aku* lure. When he returned to Kohala, he ordered his fishing canoes out to the *aku* fishing grounds, and held out the lure, expecting the *aku* to jump into the canoe. Angered, and thinking he had been made a fool of, Hikapoloa determined to kill the brothers of his wife. He told his man to watch the canoe landing at Kukuipahu, which is where the canoes from Kona generally landed, and instructed his man to send the brothers to the house of Hikapoloa.

Around this time, a drought caused food in Kona to become scarce, and it was known that Kohala still had food. Mailelauli's brothers traveled to Kohala, and were all secretly killed by Hikapoloa. Mailelauli's youngest sister, Kaulanapoki'i, was gifted with the ability to see and discern things of the spirit, and she knew that her brothers had been killed by Hikapoloa. When Kaulanapoki'i told Mailelauli and her sisters that Hikapoloa had killed their brothers. All of the sisters wept, but Kaulanapoki'i and her sisters called upon their supernatural attributes and caused Hikapoloa to be killed and burned in his house. Kaulanapoki'i and her sisters then brought their brothers back to life and departed from Kohala, returning to Kona. (Fornander 1916-1917 Vol. 4-3:560-568)

As a result of his foolishness in use of the *aku* lure, and his treachery to Mailelauli's brothers, the name Hikapoloa came to be synonymous with a fool, one who acted stupidly. The saying:

Mai Hikapoloa mai.

From Hikapoloa.

[The saying] Is a play on the name Hikapoloa (Stagger-in-the-dark). Said of a stupid person, or of a drunk. (Pukui 1983:223 No.2048)

Hikapōloa was one of the hereditary chiefs of Hawaiian lineage who lived in the time (ca. thirteenth century) of Pili-a-Ka'aiea and Pa'ao's arrival on Hawai'i (Kamakau 1991:102).

Several native traditions written in Hawaiian language newspapers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were located that provide readers with insight into the practices of the people, and sites of leeward Kohala. Below, are a selected excerpts from some of those

accounts which span the traditional (pre-western contact) and historic (nineteenth century) periods.

**“He Moolelo Kaulana no Paaō a me Kaakakainahua, Kana Keiki”
(A Famous Tradition of Paaō and Kaakakainahua, his Son)**

He Moolelo Kaulana no Paaō a me Kaakakainahua, Kana Keiki was submitted to the Hawaiian language news paper *Ke Ola o Hawaii* (published from February 2nd to 23rd, 1884), by P. Kaneiakama and T.N. Pu‘uohau. By association with the priest (*kahuna*) Pa‘ao, the tradition is set around the thirteenth century. The account provides readers with insight into regional agricultural practices in Outer Kohala, and specifically describes the *ahupua‘a* of Lamaloloa which shares a similar boundary in the uplands with Kaiholena.

Of particular cultural interest, the narratives describe the use of an upland *heiau* or temple (named Pāhauna) for promoting rainfall, and tell readers that the “*ne‘ene‘e*” variety of sweet potato was one of the important crops of this leeward area. The tradition is also important in that it places events in a regional context, and even describes them in the larger context of the island of Hawai‘i. The original narratives were published in Hawaiian, and the following translation (prepared by Maly) are a synopsis of the Hawaiian narratives, with emphasis upon the main events and characters of the tradition.

...A he anahulu kēia holo ana o nā wa‘a o Pa‘ao i ka moana. Ua kā‘alo a‘e la o Pa‘ao i ka mole o Lehua i ka wā a ka lā e kōli‘i aku ana i ka ‘ili kai, a he mea hau‘oli nui loa no nā mea a pau ka ‘ike ana i ka ‘āina...ua holo no [i] Hawai‘i a pae aku la i Kapakai a noho ma Pu‘uepa i Kohala Akau—

For a period of ten days (*anahulu*), the canoes of Pa‘ao traveled upon the sea. Pa‘ao then passed the center of Lehua at the time when the sun was disappearing into the ocean’s edge, and it was a great joy for them to see land... Traveling to Hawai‘i, they landed at Kapakai and lived at Pu‘uepa, in North Kohala...

After several months, Pa‘ao’s wife became pregnant. When the child was born, there were many signs in the heavens—the clouds became yellow, lightning flashed, the waves of the ocean rose up to the land, thunder crashed, and the drops of the *lanipili* rains poured forth. All of these things foretold the sacred nature of the child. Pa‘ao took the afterbirth of the child to hide it at an appropriate place, and it was here also, that he planted the famous *mau‘u* (grasses or sedges), that have been cherished from ancient times till the present. The place where this was done was near the mouth of the Wailuku river in Hilo, near the segmented stones of Kolopulepule. It was there that Pa‘ao planted the *mau‘u a Pa‘ao* (grasses of Pa‘ao) and the afterbirth of Ka‘akakainahua.

The great flowing waters of Hilo Hanakahi do not cover the sprouts of this grass [unless there is a great storm]. From ancient times to the present, when the *mau‘u a Pa‘ao* is covered by the flowing waters, it is a sign that one of the chiefs of this land has passed away. The reason that Pa‘ao placed the umbilical cord of his son on the little rocks out in the water was because of

that famous

ancient saying that one must beware lest the umbilical be stolen by a rat (*piko pau i ka 'iole*). For if the *piko* were taken by an *'iole*, the child would then become a thief... When Pa'ao finished his object of his trip to Hilo, he returned to Pu'uepa where he lived with his family.

Over the years, as Ka'akakainahua grew, Pa'ao instructed him in the practices of the *kahuna*. Though there were many things that Pa'ao wanted to teach his son, Ka'akakainahua was not of a similar mind, for he greatly enjoyed the *hula* of Hawai'i, and he spent a great deal of time learning and enjoying the *hula*. Now over time, Pa'ao's fame as a *kahuna* spread around Kohala waho and Kohala loko (throughout leeward and windward Kohala), and the chief Hua who lived at Hālawa, sought to have Pa'ao as his *kahuna*. When Hua's men reached the dwelling place of Pa'ao, they inquired if he was the priest, and Pa'ao said it was not him, but his son Ka'akakainahua.

Pa'ao told them that his son was not at home at the time, but that he was in the uplands of Kahuā. The men then swiftly went to Kahuā, where they found Ka'akakainahua learning the *hula*. Now before these men arrived, Ka'akakainahua had had a premonition, which he shared with his friends regarding the arrival of the king's men. Immediately after telling his companions about the arrival of the chief's men, a pig came into their presence and cried out as it stood before Ka'akakainahua. This was a *pua'a 'imi kahuna* (pig that seeks out the priest), and thus the chief's men knew that Ka'akakainahua was the priest they sought...

...Ka'akakainahua returned with the chief's men to the lowlands of Kohala, at Pu'uepa. There, Pa'ao met with his son, and explained to him that because of his advanced years, he felt that Ka'akakainahua should be the one to serve as the chief's priest. Pa'ao urged his son to remember his gods, at all times. Pa'ao then instructed his son in the last things that he would need to know. He also told Ka'akakainahua that he had a vision that the chief's priests were going to try and challenge him, but that his knowledge was superior to theirs.

Ka'akakainahua then traveled to Hālawa, where the chief Hua lived. Although everyone was surprised by Ka'akakainahua's youth, the chief welcomed him. The priests and those who ate in the presence of the chief (*po'e 'ai 'alo*) were surprised that someone so young could really be skilled in the practices of the priesthood. Understanding their thoughts, Ka'akakainahua called out to the chief and told him how he might know whether or not he had the proper training; "O chief these signs will bare witness of me—If this evening we hear a great roaring coming from the mountains, rushing towards the shore, then you will know that I am not the priest whom you seek, but if it comes from the opposite direction, you will know that it is my sign of being the priest.

As dusk drew near, there was a great roaring of winds that came from the ocean and proceeded to the uplands (a sign of Ka'akakainahua's skills). Also, the chief's fishermen reported that there was a great catch of fish in the seine nets. Indeed, there were so many fish that the nets were overflowing. But one

thing was bewildering to them—it was that there was a great variety of fish like the *halahala* (the young amberjack) and *umaumalei* (a spiked surgeonfish) and many others. When Ka‘akakainahua reached down to pick up an *umaumalei* fish by the tail, the chief Hua grabbed the head the same fish, and pulled it close to him; saying that this youth was very forward to assume that he could just take the fish of the chief. When Hua yanked the fish, sharp spike of the *umaumalei* cut Ka‘akakainahua’s hand, causing his blood to flow like water.

Ka‘akakainahua rose and departed from the chief, going to the *heiau* (temple) of Mulei‘ula, where he began the *kalokalo* (ceremonial prayer) to his gods; to Hi‘iaka i ka poli o Pele and the other gods, and to the shining sun:

E ka lā, e ka mahina, e Lanipilipili, e Lani‘owaka, e Hi‘iaka i ka poli o Pele, ku‘u mau akua o ko‘u mau kūpuna mai Tahiti mai, e ‘ike ia‘u i ke kahuna, i ka ‘oukou pua i laha i ke ao nei i kēia ‘āina malihini o Hawai‘i kua uli. E ‘ai e ka lā i kēia ‘āina, e ka lā haa, e ka lā ikiiki e ka lā kikiki o ka Makali‘i. E ho‘omalo‘o i nā kumuwai, e ho‘opa‘a i ka punawai o Kulanihāko‘i, e pa‘a ka ua i ka lani i nā makahiki ‘ekolu kauna, a me ka hapa ka ‘oi...

O sun, o moon, o filled heavens, of flashing heavens, o Hi‘iaka, my gods, gods of my ancestors from Tahiti. Acknowledge me, the priest, your descendant of this foreign land—Hawai‘i of the green ridges. May the sun eat this land, o scorching sun, sun of the season of stifling heat, unbearable heat of the Makali‘i (summer season). Dry the water sources, seal the spring of Ku-lani-hāko‘i (mythical pond in the sky, which is the source of the rain). Hold the rains in the heavens for three and a half seasons of the *makahiki* (years) and more...

Upon ending his prayer, Ka‘akakainahua left the *heiau* of Mulei‘ula, where his blood had flowed. In this tale, it is said that the line cut straight across Ka‘akakainahua’s hand, and this is a sign of the people who have Hi‘iaka as their *‘aumakua* (patron deity). Ka‘akakainahua returned to the uplands of Kapali-i-uka, where he lived at Lamaloloa. It was there that Ka‘akakainahua built the *heiau* of Pāhauna—without the knowledge of anyone. He did not even go down to the shore of Pu‘uepa, where his parents lived.

When the *heiau* was completed, and dedicated to the gods of Ka‘akakainahua, the sun began to scorch all of the land of Kohala loko; the water sources, streams, and springs dried up. And at ‘Āhau pond in Pololū, there was not even enough water to grow taro in the *lo‘i kalo* (taro pondfields)... Because of the scorching heat of the sun, the people were without vegetable foods, and it was a time of weeping. The dryland gardens of taro and sweet potatoes and the taro pond fields were all dried up. A famine began throughout Kohala loko.

Ka‘akakainahua remained in the temple of Pāhauna offering his prayers to his gods, and it was there that the *nāulu* (shower clouds) perched above the hills Pili and Kalāhikiola, and the mists were spread over Pu‘uhue, and the rain drops fell, born upon that famous ‘*Āpa‘apa‘a* (wind). From the uplands to the lowlands of Lamaloloa, the rains were spread and the people who lived within Lamaloloa had life in the famous crop of this proud land, the ‘*uala ne‘ene‘e* (a native sweet potato). But, wherever the chief Hua went Pololū, Honokāne, the Palihula‘ana, Waipi‘o, Hāmākua, and on around Hawai‘i, the famine followed him and people died... Now the news of the famine had spread, and two priests from Maui had noticed that through all of the time, the rain laden clouds remained upon Lamaloloa. The two priests wondered why such a thing would happen, and the traveled to Lamaloloa to inquire. It was there at the *heiau* Pāhauna that they met with Ka‘akakainahua, and were befriended by him. During the night, they cared for their crops, and in the day, they stayed at the temple praying to the gods.

Now as Hua and his people continued their journey around Hawai‘i, he reached the uplands of Kahilinai, most of his people had died while traveling along the plain of Kanikū, at Puakō, and on to Kawaihae of the whispering seas. The trail was filled with the bodies of the dead, and there was no one left to hide their bones. When Hua finally returned to the *heiau* of Mulei‘ula, he lamented and went to the cliff of Pololū where he cast himself off the cliffs, and where his bones lay exposed in the sun. This is the source of the saying, “*Nakeke nā iwi o Hua i ka lā*” (The bones of Hua rattle in the sun). Because of this event, that place is called Ka‘ana-o-ka-maka-o-Hua (Deceitful are the eyes of Hua); it is a famous cliff, which many of the chiefs have journeyed to see... (Puuohau and Kaneiakama in *Ke Ola o Hawaii*; February 2nd to 23rd, 1884

Ka‘ao Ho‘oniua Pu‘uwai no Ka-Miki
(The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki)

Perhaps one of the most detailed native traditions which includes rich accounts of place names, and practices of the native residents of *Kohala waho – Nā pu‘u haelelua* (of which Kaiholena is a part), is a historical account titled “*Ka‘ao Ho‘oniua Pu‘uwai no Ka-Miki*” (The Heart Stirring Tale of Ka-Miki). The narratives were published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i* from 1914 to 1917. The story of Ka-Miki is a long and complex account, that was recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise (a Kohala native) and J.W.H.I. Kihe², 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.

² J.W.H.I. Kihe was born at Kaloko-Honokōhau in 1853, and John Wise was born in Kohala in ca. 1862; both authors were known for their knowledge of Hawaiian traditions and were translators of A. Fornander's “Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore (1916-1919).

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 and paraphrased 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).

The tradition is set in the time of Pili-a-Ka‘aiea, who was at the time, the chief of all Kona (around the thirteenth century; based on the genealogy of Kamehameha I). The legend depicts Kohala as a populous place, filled with people from the shores to the *koai‘e* and *māmāne* forests. Fishing was a major coastal occupation, and in the uplands, sugarcane, bananas and ‘*awa* plantations were in cultivation.

Ka‘ao Ho‘oniua Pu‘uwai no Ka-Miki

This *mo‘olelo* is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Ma-Ka‘iole (Rat [squinting] eyes). The narratives describe the birth of the brothers, their upbringing, and their journey around the island of Hawai‘i along the ancient *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, and in famed *kahua* (contest fields) and royal courts, against ‘*olohe* (experts skilled in fighting or in other competitions, such as running, fishing, debating, or solving riddles, that were practiced by the ancient Hawaiians). They also challenged priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai‘i. Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka‘iole were empowered by their ancestress Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands), who was one of the myriad of body forms of the goddess Haumea, the earth-mother, creative force of nature who was also called Papa or Hina. Among her many nature-form attributes were manifestations that caused her to be called upon as a goddess of priests and competitors.

...In Kohala, many of the lands are named for chiefs, chiefesses and priests who once lived there. Kohala was a land famed for its gathering of people who watched and participated in contests of strength and all manner of sport competitions. One of the ‘*olohe* chiefs was Kaipuha‘a (the low-lying gourd), and the region of Kohala waho in which he is remembered in the saying —

Ka ‘āina i ka ipukai pōhina a ka makani e kāhili ala i ke kula o Kaipuha‘a
(The land which is like a gourd catching the salt spray, land which glisten in the wind that brushes the plains of Kaipuha‘a (December 21, 1916 and February 1, 1917).

Papa‘alaukānaka was the site of the largest and most famous “*kahua mokomoko*” (contest field) of Kohala. It was perhaps near the old market of Kai‘ōpihi, and was also called Hinakahua (January 25, 1917). It was a place where the chiefs and people often gathered to witness and participate in competitions. One of the two primary chiefs of Kohala at this time was

Hikapōloa, and the land in Kohala waho which bears his name was named for him. Hikapōloa was the chief to whom all other chiefs of Kohala waho answered. The other chief of Kohala was Kapa‘au-iki-a-Kalana; it was he who controlled Kohala loko (Inner or windward Kohala)...

Hikapōloa was married to the chiefess Kukuipahu (a land is also named for her), and they were the parents of Kepaka‘ili‘ula, the swift warrior who humbled Kaikipa‘ananea of Maui. Among the lands and chiefs who were under Hikapōloa were ‘Upolu, Hō‘ea, Honoipu, Puakea, Hā‘ena, Awalua, Kapa‘a, Kahuā, Kai‘ōpae, Koai‘a, Lamaloloa, Kaipuha‘a, and Pu‘uepa were among the contemporaries of Hikapōloa (February 1, 1917)

When Ka-Miki and his brother arrived in Kohala, they inquired if they could participate in the contests which the ‘ōlohe of Kohala were hosting. It was agreed that they could, and Ka-Miki began competing, while setting right the deceitful ways of some of the ‘ōlohe and priests of the district. Hikapōloa heard the roar of the multitudes of people who gathered at Papa‘alaukānaka, and he sent his runner Hō‘ea, to investigate, and report to him. It was because Hikapōloa was an enthusiast of sports and contests, and regularly called many people together for contests on the *kahua* of Kohala, a famous saying for the district came into use —

Le‘i o Kohala i ka nuku o nā kānaka

Each point of Kohala is covered with people...

(The authors attribute the saying to the fact that the chief Hikapōloa and people of the region regularly gathered for the games and contests, filling the contest arenas.)

...The ‘ōlohe of Kohala were so enraged that Ka-Miki had defeated some of their foremost champions, that they called to the young chief and master warrior, Lama-ku‘i-ka-loa (who was also called Lama-loloa; exceedingly tall [*Diospyros spp.*] *lama* tree) to come to the arena. Lamaloloa served under the sacred chief Hikapōloa, and the land of Kohala waho which bears his name was named for him (February 8, 1917 and March 22, 1917).

Lamaloloa was swimming in the sea of Kapa‘a, when his guardians Koai‘e and Kai‘ōpae called him. Heeding the call, Lamaloloa went to Papa‘alaukānaka to compete against Ka-Miki. Eleven feet tall Lamaloloa had never been beaten, he was a fierce fighter. Helelua and ‘Āpuakōhau told Lamaloloa about the circumstances that led to his being called to the *kahua* (arena), and Lamaloloa leapt to attack Ka-Miki (February 22, 1917). Ka-Miki dodged the attack and pinned Lamaloloa down. Ka-Miki called to Lamaloloa in a saying —

Pa‘a ke a‘u lele o ka hohonu la, ua lou aku la iā Mānaiakalani ka makau kīlou moku i pa‘a ai o Pīmoe o ka papakū o ka honua ...

Pa‘a aku la ‘oe iā Kanikawī a me Kanikawā i nā ‘alihi o Mulei‘ula ke kōkō aiwaiwa a ku‘u kūpuna wahine aiwaiwa lua ‘ole a Laninui-ku‘i-a-mamao-loa.

Held fast is the leaping sword fish of the deep, hooked on *Mānaiakalani*, the hook which caught the island, which caught Pīmoe of the earth's foundation... You are bound in *Kanikawī* and *Kanikawā*, in the strings of Mulei‘ula, the mysterious net of my unfathomable ancestress Laninui-ku‘i-a-mamao-loa.

Lamaloloa responded to Ka-Miki, “You are indeed wise, strong, and knowledgeable in dodging, my attacks, but Lama-ku‘i-a-loloa is not yet dead. It is not enough to bind the foremost ‘*ōlohe* of all Kohala —

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

Large Kohala, little Kohala, inner Kohala, outer Kohala, Kohala of the ‘*Āpa‘apa‘a* wind, [Kohala] of Pili and Kalāhikiola the two traveling hills. Indeed! They are!! The combined districts of the proud land brushed by the ‘*Āpa‘apa‘a* wind, maturing like a sweetheart nestled fondly in the bosom of love...

Thus describing the six regions of Kohala, the district greatly loved by the natives of the land...

...Ka-Miki and Lamaloloa continued their fight until Lamaloloa was completely defeated. Ka-Miki then called out asking if any one else wished to compete, but none of the other ‘*ōlohe* of Kohala dared enter the *kahua*. Thus the contests at Papa‘alaukānaka ended, and Ka-Miki and his companions departed for *Kohala makani ‘Āpa‘apa‘a* (the region of Kohala which includes Kahuā and Kawaihae (March 22, 1917).

In their narratives, the authors provide no details of the landscape in the vicinity of Kaiholena. It is not until the travelers reached the uplands of Kahuā (south of Kaiholena), that detailed site descriptions are once again given. Because of the similarity of environmental conditions, those narratives are paraphrased and presented below.

Ka-Miki, Maka-‘iole and Keahialaka departed for *Kohala makani ‘Āpa‘apa‘a*. Crossing the uplands, traveling along the *ala nui* (main trail) towards Kawaihae, where they came to a field abundantly planted in *kō* (sugar cane), where Keanahalululu an ‘*ōlohe lua* (master fighter) was working in the field of his chiefess Keawewai (Keanahalululu is a place name in the uplands of Lamaloloa). Because sugar cane was one of Ka-Miki’s desires, he asked Keanahalululu which sugar cane was *kapu* (restricted) and which was *noa*

(free)? Keanahalululu told *Ka-Miki* that all the *kō* was restricted for the chiefess Keawewai.

Now the area called Keawewai was named for the sacred chiefess Keawewai, who was the ward of the priests *Ka-holoi-wai-a-ka-Nāulu* (The cleansing waters of the *Nāulu* showers, for which Kawaihae is famed), and *Kaho‘opulu* (The one who moistens; also a prominent hill in Kawaihae 2).

Considering the request, Keanahalululu asked Ka-Miki and his companions their names, to which Ka-Miki responded; *Nana-holokē-i-ke-kihi-o-ka-malama*, *Kahuelo-ku-i-ke-kihi-o-Kā‘elo-ka-malama*, and *Keahialaka-o-ka-papa-lohi-o-‘Āpua*. Upon hearing these mysterious names, Keanahalululu understood that the youth were not ordinary travelers, and thought that they were young chief’s from *Kohala loko* (Inner Kohala), so he agreed to ask the chiefess if they might have some sugar cane (3/22/1917).

Keanahalululu went before Kaholoiwai and explained Ka-Miki’s request, and Kaholoiwai discerned Ka-Miki’s nature. Kaholoiwai commanded that food and ‘*awa* be prepared feast, and he sent Honokoa, the chiefess’ messenger to call Keawewai. When all things were made ready to entertain Ka-Miki and his companions, Keanahalululu returned to lead the travelers to the chiefess’ compound. But, upon drawing near to Ka-Miki, Keanahalululu saw that great quantities of the *kō* was missing and that the *āhua* (mounds) of Nā pu‘u ‘āina *kō* (Sugar cane planting hillocks mulched with cane refuse; [a regional place name for the fields which stretched across this portion of Kohala towards North Kona]) were left emptied with only the dirt inside.

When asked how this had occurred, Ka-Miki responded, "We thought that you would go and then return quickly, but the sun rose above (*kahikū*) and the fierce *Nāulu* winds arose tearing and ripping the cane apart. Our desire was so great to eat the cane that we then helped ourselves, and this is what you see..." Keanahalululu agreed that perhaps it was so, and he then led Ka-Miki and his companions to the chiefess’ compound.

There were many people living on these lands from the shore to the *koai‘e* (*Acacia koaia*) and *māmane* (*Sophora chrysophylla*) forests. Ka-Miki and his companions, Keawewai, her guardians and the people of the land all gathered for this meeting and feast. The time with Keawewai was pleasurably spent playing *kōnane* (Hawaiian checkers) and all manner of games which the elders of that time were fond of. When Ka-Miki and his companions departed from Keawewai they traveled to the uplands of Waimea, where they were reunited with their female elder *Lani-nui-ku‘i-a-mamao-loa* for whom the lands of Lanimaomao (in Waimea) were named (3/22 - 29, 1917).

He Mo'olelo no Mākālei
(Tradition of Mākālei)

He Mo'olelo no Mākālei was published in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* (between January 31st to August 21st, 1928) by J.W.H.I. Kihe, of Pu'u Anahulu. The main focus of the legend is about how one of the most famous water caves of the Kekaha region of North Kona (Ke ana wai o Mākālei) was found. But, the story also contains detailed texts about the communities in Kohala, on Lāna'i, and in the Kekaha-Mānā region of Kaua'i. The section of the legend that mentions Kohala, provides a view of life in the lands from Kai'ōpae to the Kapa'a nui-Puakea area (by regional context, including Kaiholena). The events appear to be set around the twelfth century (by association with 'Olopana's reign on O'ahu; (Fornander 1919 Vol. VI, Part II:245 and 315). The following English translations of the Hawaiian texts are a synopsis of the Hawaiian narratives, with emphasis upon the main events and characters of the original narratives, including discussions on agricultural and fishing practices, and the political environment at the time.

One of the important aspects of the narratives is that they describe the relationship between the people of leeward and windward Kohala. The people who lived along the leeward (project area) shores were expert fishermen, and the people along the windward shores were expert agriculturists. The communities exchanged their resources in order to have access to all manner of foods.

He Mo'olelo no Mākālei

Ko'a-mokumoku-o-He'eia (Ko'a) was the father and Ka-ua-pō'ai-hala-o-Kahalu'u (Kaua) was the mother. Born to them were the children; two daughters [Ke-kai-ku'i-o-Keawehala and Ke-kai-ha'a-kūlou-o-Kahiki] and a son named Mākālei. The name of Mākālei was given by the command of his goddess-ancestress who was Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo³ (*Hina* in the season of *Kā'elo*), who was a wife of the god *Kū*... The fathers' occupation was that of a head fisherman with the lead fisherman for the chief 'Olopana. The lead fisherman's name was Kualoa. When Kualoa died, Ko'a left Ko'olau [O'ahu] and traveled to Hawai'i with his family and all the those things by which his livelihood as a fisherman was made... After stopping at Moloka'i and Maui, the family reached Kekaha, Kona, and were greeted by Ke'awalena, a chief and skilled diviner of the Kekaha region... (January 31, 1928)

The family settled in the Kekaha region, and as Mākālei grew up, his unique nature was made know and he was empowered by his goddess ancestress. Mākālei learned and became adept at manner of skills in working the land and fishing the sea. As a young man, he made plans to travel to Kaua'i, and so he departed from Kekaha. On the journey, he traveled by canoe to Kohala

Mākālei and his companions sailed to Kohala waho and landed at Kai'ōpae where they rested a short distance upland of that area. As darkness fell, the steersman told Mākālei, "We will leave Kai'ōpae at the high point of the

³ *Kā'elo* (cf. 'elo - saturated) - a wet month in the Hawaiian calendar, January on Hawai'i; a season associated with short days when the sun is "below," or at its' southern extremity, and a time when a star of that name is seen to rise in the heavens.

rising of *Huhui* (Pleiades), for that is the time when the wind blows with frequent lulls.” So it was in the night that the group got up and traveled to Hā‘ena where the canoe fleet was preparing to go *lawai‘a mālolo* (fishing for the flying fishes). Mākālei and his companions landed the canoe and met with the natives of that area. The residents inquired, “Where is this canoe journeying to?” To which they responded, “To Kohala, at Honoipu, but the gusts of the ‘Āpa‘apa‘a have brought us here.” The natives then told Mākālei *mā*⁴, “Let us go fishing for the *mālolo* and then when we return we will perhaps be able to reach the landing of Honoipu and can go to the house and eat of the *mālolo* fish and such.”

Everyone agreed, and so they made ready to go. Now the old man Hā‘ena was the lead steersman of one of the natives’ canoes, and the land on which he lived bears his name to this day. This is how Mākālei came to meet some of the people—*o ua ‘āina makani ‘Āpa‘apa‘a nei o Kohala, ‘āina ha‘aheo i nā pu‘u haelelua ho‘opā‘ē‘ē i ke kānaka* (of this land in the ‘Āpa‘apa‘a wind of Kohala, a proud land with the two traveling hills that mystify men). Mākālei asked if he might have some line and hooks, but Hā‘ena said that he should serve as a *kāohi*, for this method of fishing *mālolo* was a Kohala style.

Mākālei then asked Hā‘ena if he would take him as a *keiki ho‘okama* (foster son) and teach him the techniques of fishing as used by Hā‘ena himself. The old man agreed to this request, and Mākālei lived with Hā‘ena, thus Mākālei learned all of the techniques of his instructor, and was greatly esteemed by Hā‘ena.

When Hā‘ena taught Mākālei how to prepare the lines and hooks they went out to fish, holding the line tightly, Mākālei then stood up on the canoe and chanted, calling to his ancestress to ensure that a good catch would be made...

Upon ending his chant (*kepakepa*), the *mālolo* were secured by Mākālei. They were like a play thing for him; like the *hei* (cat’s cradle - string figure) game, and in no time, more than four hundred fish were caught. Mākālei then rested and Hā‘ena spoke to him, “You are no regular child traveling around in lowly state, you are like a *Kū‘ula* (fisherman’s god), a great fisherman, the head of the *ko‘a hohonu* (deep sea fishing station), and you have many great *‘aumakua lawai‘a* (fishermen’s gods), I have heard your prayer, and seen with my own eyes. This is the first time I have seen such a thing, there is no one who has ever caught *mālolo* like you. From my youth to this time of my old age, I have never caught fish like you. Indeed for as long as you dwell in Kohala, you will have the role as head fisherman of this place; the house, the canoe, the line and tools, nothing will remain that is not yours...” (April 17, 1928)

⁴ *mā* – is generally translated as “and companions” or “folks.”

Because the fame of Mākālei's fishing skills spread through the land, many people came to the shore see him. They came from the inner lands with vegetable foods, from Hālawā, Makapala, Niuli'i Wai'āpuka, Pololū, and Honokāne. People from all around Kohala became familiar with Mākālei, they brought him vegetable crops, and he gave them fish... For several months, Mākālei lived with Hā'ena. When the *mālolo* fishing season was finished, he asked his foster father if there was a *ko'a lawai'a 'ahi* ('ahi fishing station) somewhere outside of this place. Hā'ena told him, "Yes there is a deep sea fishing station in the ocean between Maui and Hawai'i, it is called 'Āwini... (April 24, 1928).

...Having fished at the *ko'a 'ahi* of 'Āwini, Mākālei turned the nose of the canoe toward the point of 'Upolu, which is just a little above Honoipu and then found the 'Āpa'apa'a [wind] by which he took the canoe close to 'Upolu. Mākālei then traveled along the shoreline and entered into Honoipu where he met again with the 'ōpelu fishermen, and he gave them one of the 'ahi...The fishermen complimented him, saying he was a true expert in navigating canoes as well, for only he had ever done that. None of the other fishermen had even tried it. Mākālei then departed from Honoipu and came to the landing where he set the fish on the shore. Mākālei's foster father, Hā'ena, and some of the native residents then came up to him. They all said this one thing in agreement, that Mākālei was indeed fortunate to have caught the 'ahi and that the ocean had been calm. That was when the 'Āpa'apa'a began to blow, and then the *Ho'olua* and the mist rose off of the ocean waves from the buffeting of the wind...

...Early one morning, Mākālei prepared to go fishing again, and when he reached the sea he obtained 'ōpelu bait from the fishermen. Mākālei then went straight to the *ko'a* and dropped his *pākā* [sinker line] into the ocean. When Mākālei sensed that the line had reached the proper depth, he chanted to *Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo*...and the cordage *Haehae-ka-manu-o-Kaupe'a* then rose up through the water with the running of the 'ahi, and the first fish was secured by Mākālei. The line was set again, and Mākālei caught another 'ahi. In all, he took up five great 'ahi, but unlike the other day, the wild wind of Kohala did not arise. Thus completing his task, Mākālei returned to Honoipu where he gave one fish to the two fishermen who had given him the bait. Like before, Mākālei told them that as they had been generous to him, he too would be generous to them, for, "This is what the 'aumākua *lawai'a* (fishermen's gods) and *Kū'ula* watch for in all seasons."

The 'ōpelu fishermen told Mākālei, "Our [Kohala] fishermen do not do this; they are not at all like you, giving us 'ahi or any other kind of fish. Our fishermen only give regretfully, but you give with no regret at all." Mākālei then told the fishermen, "Remember to honor the practices and rules of the fishermen's gods; do not give fish to others with regret, do not grumble, lest bad luck set upon your fishing endeavors. Bury the grumbling and any of your family's loud speaking about that which you give away. These are some of the firm rules of the fishermen, and if you become the head fisherman, perhaps

you are one of the descendants of the *Kū‘ula*, [descended] from the families that have been practicing fishing from the earliest times. This is the reason that it is *kapu* (forbidden) to speak even of the littlest thing that you give away. The wives and families have *kapu* as well, they may not sleep in the [fishermen's] house or on the same mats preparations for fishing are being made. There are things that must be honored by the fishermen lest they meet with misfortune; perhaps no fish, strong winds, and death upon the sea and such. Therefore you must honor the great fishermen, the head fishermen, the wives, and the children, the families, if you honor them, you will be honored as well.” (May 1, 1928)

Give, give freely! And in giving, the *‘aumākuā lawai‘a* shall see and cause a great abundance of fish to be caught and placed in you canoe. Thus you must practice your fishing tasks. Tomorrow when you two go fishing for *‘ōpelu*, your canoe will filled to overflowing. There will be several *lau* (units of 400) of fish caught. Remember, as you receive, you must also give; give to the people who come to help carry the canoe, and to those people who have no fish, and to the people of the village along this shore.” The fishermen agreed that this was right, and said that on the following day they would try to do as Mākālei had said, “Your words are just and worthy of following, indeed, you are a *Kū‘ula lawai‘a* (fishermen’s god). There is no one in all Kohala who has knowledge like yours in the practices of fishermen.” Mākālei then paddled his canoe to the landing and set his fish on the shore. To the people who helped carry the canoe to the canoe shelter, he gave one fish, and to the people of the village he gave one fish, thus two *‘ahi* remained. Mākālei divided these fish with the people of Kohala loko who came bringing vegetable foods, and they returned to their homes spreading the fame of Hā‘ena’s foster son, Mākālei. There was no other person like him, he did not hold onto the *‘ahi* like the other fishermen, regretting to give any; but instead, Mākālei gave freely...

...One day, Mākālei told Hā‘ena, “I desire to travel and see Kohala loko.” Hā‘ena agreed, and Mākālei began his journey. It was in this way that Mākālei arrived at the uplands of Pu‘uepa, and there was the *kahua le‘ale‘a* (contest arena) of the chiefs. At this place the multitudes practiced *ke‘a pua* (shooting or sliding arrows of sugar cane tassel stems), and as he drew near, the voices rose as the sport was being played... When Mākālei was recognized, he was invited to join the contest, his opponent was Puakea the young chief of the *‘okana* (a land unit comprising more than one *ahupua‘a*) of Hikapōloa, and Maliu in Kohala waho. Puakea was the foremost expert at *ke‘a pua*, no one could beat him...

In the contest, Puakea shot his arrow and it flew over the *mō‘āina* (cultivated dryland parcels) of Kahei and over the dry-waterless lands (*‘ilina wai‘ole*) and landed in the sheltered area (*hono*) of Kohala waho, at the area in which *pu‘e* (mounded) *‘uala* patches were planted. The *kūkini* (runner) followed the arrow and marked the place at which it had landed by building up a dirt mound.

When Mākālei shot his arrow, it landed in this same mound-planted sweet potato plantation, but beyond the arrow of Puakea and Mākālei's arrow was also marked by a runner as well.

Now the sweet potato plantation was cultivated by an old man, and when he saw this arrow land, he went to look more closely at it. He saw the it was of the *'ailehua* type and knew that it was the arrow of a chief. Seeing the *kūkini*, the old man went and inquired of him about the nature of the contest. The old man and the *kūkini* both knew that the arrow of Mākālei had traveled farther than the arrow of Puakea, and this was reported to the assembly. Thus Mākālei became the favored companion of the chief Puakea. He was the only one who ever beat the chief at this sport... (May 8, 1928)

The narratives continue describing a series of contests in which Mākālei and skilled natives of Kohala competed. When the season ended, Mākālei departed from Kohala and continued his journey to Kaua'i.

Kohala in the Time of Kamehameha I

Kamehameha I was born c. 1753, during the reign of the chief Alapa'i-nui, at a time when Alapa'i as at war with Kekaulike (king of Maui), and Alapa'i was making preparations to invade Maui (Kamakau 1961:66). Kamakau wrote:

You have perhaps heard of Alapa'i's war upon Maui and at Kawela. A disastrous war it was for Hawaii, this carrying of the war to Maui. When all was in readiness, Alapa'i set out for Maui with the chiefs, warriors, and fighting men in double and single canoes. The war fleet encamped at Kohala, from Koai'e to Pu'uwepa. The leader landed with the chiefs at the harbor of Kapakai at Kokoiki close to Upolu, near the *luakini heiau* of Pa'ao called Mookini, in the northern part of Kohala.

On the second night Ke-ku'i-apo-iwa was taken with the pains of childbirth... The night was very rainy. It was hard to find a fit place for the birth, and it was hence on one of the lanai adjoining the guest-house that the mother suffered the first pains of childbirth... Kamehameha was born at Kokoiki... (Kamakau 1961:67)

The Koai'e that Kamakau mentions is probably the land division that neighbors Lapakahi (a short distance north of Kaiholena), though native texts also identify an area in or nearby Kahuā, as also being called Koai'e.

Samuel M. Kamakau (1961; original text written January 19, 1867) describes leeward Kohala in the context of the viewing of Captain Cook's vessels in 1778. It is noted here, that the account of the citing is apparently a mistake; Cook's chart (Beaglehole 1967:269) does not include the described excursion. Though Kamakau's historical description of leeward Kohala is of interest to the history of the region.

It was eleven days after leaving Maui before Captain Cook entered the channel between Maui and Hawaii and sailed close to Kohala. The day was December 2, and Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa were capped with snow. He landed close to Kukuipahu, and the whole population of Kohala, men, women, and children, the aged and feeble, flocked to the cliff-side along the coast; the place was covered with them. They came from 'Awini to Kekaha along the coast from the uplands of Waimea and Kahuwa. "Look!" they exclaimed, "How tall it is! The back looks like a hammerhead shark, the front comes to a point; it is wide in the center and will hold ever so many men." When they went out to the ship, seeing some of the strangers peering out of the holes at the back one man said, "Those are the gods of the upland of Mouths-shining-with-fat (Kanukuhinuhinu), Peep (Ki'ei) and Peer (Halo)." Seeing one of the strangers with a telescope they said, "Long-eyes (Maka-loa) and Eyes-that-rove (Na-maka-oka'a) the stargazers who see the heavens and the earth." Captain Cook bought hogs with pieces of iron and iron hoops to be used for weapons, hatchets, knives, and fishhooks. A hog a fathom long was had in exchange for a piece of iron a yard long. This was for a dagger for the chief. A commoner could not keep it; it was taken from him, and if he resisted he was killed (Kamakau 1961:98).

KOHALA WAHO – NINETEENTH CENTURY RESIDENCY AND LAND TENURE

This section of the study provides readers with an overview of various accounts of leeward Kohala recorded in visitor’s journals, missionary records, and land records of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The information is generally presented in chronological order of event.

The Journal of William Ellis

The earliest detailed written descriptions of land in the Kohala District were recorded as a result of a tour by a group of Hawai‘i based missionaries who walked around the island in 1823, with English missionary, William Ellis. The primary function of the tour was to identify community centers in which it would be appropriate to establish mission centers on Hawai‘i. Ellis’ journal (1963), provides readers with important documentary sources pertaining to the Hawaiian population, living conditions, agricultural and fishing practices, and references to traditional beliefs and practices.

While traveling through Kohala (from the northern part of the district to the southern part), Ellis recorded local lore pertaining to the arrival of the priest Pa‘ao, and the *heiau* of Mo‘okini, at “Pauepu” (Pu‘uepa) (Ellis 1963:283). He then continued his narrative by describing the several accounts of ancient voyages between Kohala, Hawai‘i, and other Polynesian islands. Another account of Kohala waho, tells readers about a navigator-priest named Kamapi‘ikai who built a temple and dedicated to the god Kānenuiākea (Ellis 1963:284). Traveling south along the shore (both by foot and canoe), Ellis visited the village of Owawarua (Awalua), a land situated midway between Kaiholena and ‘Upolu:

...About three p.m. we reached Owawarua, a considerable village on the north-west coast, inhabited mostly by fishermen. Here we tried to collect a congregation, but only three women and two small children remained in the place, the rest having gone to Waimea to fetch sandalwood for Karaiomoku [the chief Kālainimoku or Kalanimoku]. From Owawarua we passed on to Hihii, where we had an opportunity to speak to a small party of natives... (Ellis 1963:285)

Regarding Kālainimoku, Hawaiian historian Kamakau (1961) tells readers that, “Kalanimoku was well known as an influential person on Hawaii and holder of the lands of Mahukona in Kohala under Kamehameha” (1961:233). Ellis’ observation about the people leaving their village and lands to work at harvesting sandalwood, also provides readers with an explanation of the diminishing population along leeward Kohala.

Under the heading “*Hawaiian Fisheries and Fishing Methods*,” Ellis’ provides further documentation pertaining to the villages of Hihii (Māhukona), Awalua, and possibly other areas along the coast.

In these villages we saw numbers of canoes and many large fishing nets, which are generally made with a native kind of flax, very strong and durable, but produced by a plant very different from that called *thephorium tenax*, which furnishes the flax of New Zealand, and bearing a nearer resemblance to

the plant used by the natives of the Society Islands, called *roa*, the *urtica argentea*, or candicans of Parkinson.

In taking fish out at sea, they commonly make use of a net, of which they have many kinds, some very large, others mere hand-nets; they occasionally employ the hook and line, but never use the spear or dart which is a favourite weapon with the southern islanders.

Quantities of fish were spread out in the sun to dry, in several places, and the inhabitants of the northern shores seem better supplied with this article than those of any other part of the island... Being considerably fatigued, and unable to find any fresh water in the village [Hihiu], we procured a canoe to take us to Towaihae [Kawaihae], from which we were distant about twenty miles. Though we had numbered, in our journey today, 600 houses, we had not seen a thing like four hundred people, almost the whole population being employed in the mountains cutting sandalwood. It was about seven o'clock in the evening when we sailed from Hihiu, in a single canoe... (Ellis 1963:285-286).

One additional entry of interest to this study, is an account given to Ellis by Lorrin Thurston, who accompanied Ellis around the island of Hawai'i. Thurston visited the village of Kipi, situated three land divisions south of Kaiholena. Ellis observed that there was only one small village (name and location not given) on the coast between Kipi and Hihiu-Māhukona. Thurston was informed by the native residents that there were more people living in the uplands (as much as seven miles away), who tended "plantations:"

On the 23d Mr. Thurston left Towaihae, and walked along the shore towards the north point [‘Upolu]. About noon he reached a small village, called Kipi, where he preached to the people; and as there was only one village between Kipi and the place where I had preached on Wednesday evening [Hihiu-Māhukona], he retraced his steps to Tawaihae. He preached at another four villages on his return, where the congregations, though not numerous, were attentive...The coast was barren; the rocks volcanic; the men were all employed in fishing; and Mr. Thurston was informed that the inhabitants of the plantations, about seven miles in the interior, were far more numerous than on the shore. In the evening he reached Towaihae... (Ellis 1963:288)

Approximately thirty-five years later, fishing remained an important occupation of the residents of Kohala waho. The fishing canoe fleets were seen by Charles de Varigny (1981) who lived in the Hawaiian islands between the 1850s-1860s. One of his journal entries, describes sailing north from Kawaihae and passing Honoipu. He noted that the region of leeward Kohala, was known for its rich fishing grounds which were frequented by many fishermen of Kohala. Departing from Kawaihae, Varigny sailed:

...following a northward rout in order to round Honoipu Point. The coastal areas of the Kohala district which we were now ranging are rich in fishing grounds. At this quite early hour in the morning, the sea was covered with small native canoes, shaped from hollowed logs and balanced by a cross-

beam, or outrigger, and nearly all equipped with triangular sails... (Varigny 1981:73)

The Kohala Mission and District Population Records

Following Ellis' tour, it was estimated that the population on the island of Hawai'i numbered about 85,000 individuals (Ellis 1963:viii, 16). In Kohala, the mission was established at Waimea, and under the supervision of Reverend Dwight Baldwin. He was replaced by Reverend Lorenzo Lyons in 1832 (Doyle 1953).

The size of the mission for which Lyons was responsible was more than one man could care for, and in 1837, Reverend Isaac Bliss settled in North Kohala and established a full time mission at 'Iole. In 1841, Reverend Elias Bond took over the North Kohala mission (Damon 1927). Lyons and Bond both played important roles in the transition of residency and land tenure in Kohala. In the 1840s and 1850s, both men worked to help native residents secure fee-simple interest in land on which lived and cultivated.

Among the records compiled as a part of mission activities were populations statistics. In 1831-32, the missionary census recorded the first formal accounting of residents by district. In Kohala (including all of North Kohala and a portion of South Kohala) it was recorded that 8,679 individuals resided in the district (the Waimea-Puakō region was listed separately) (Schmitt 1973:9). Mission communications reported that many Kohala residents

...live along the western shore where there is a good fishing ground, a still greater number along the line of cultivation which commences two or three miles inland. Over all the interior and also the eastern part of the district, the population is more uniformly scattered... (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions circular of March 15, 1833; in Tomonari-Tuggle 1981:20).

In 1833, Lyons also noted that in his mission field (Kohala and portions of Hāmākua), "deaths are more numerous than births. Hence the population is decreasing" (Doyle 1953:72). By 1835-36, the population was figured at 6,175, representing a decline of more than 2,500 individuals (Schmitt 1973:9). The census recorded the number of residents by *ahupua'a*, including Kaiholena. Below, are statistics recorded in 1835, given for the *ahupua'a* of Kaiholena and its neighbors (south to north):

<i>Ahupua'a</i>	<i>Number of Residents</i>
Kehena	59
Kipi	64
Kaupalaoa	65
Makeanehu	(not given; perhaps combined with Kaupalaoa and Kaiholena)
Kaiholena	118
Paoo	122
Lamaloloa	62
Kaipuhaa	51

(*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, December 9, 1835:198 in Schmitt 1973:27).

In 1835, Lorenzo Lyons also wrote to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, describing conditions along the leeward shore of Kohala. He reported:

The Western shore is hot and barren. The people live on fish and on food cultivated in the interior. Water is brackish. Good water is only to be had five or six miles distant... On the North and East the country is very well peopled and beautiful, with streams verdure, awful majesty... (Doyle 1953:83)

Traditional accounts (cited earlier in this study), and accounts written by Ellis and Lyons above, tell us that in the region of leeward Kohala, primary residences were maintained in the uplands, near the important agricultural field systems of this region. The figure of 118 residents at Kaiholena in 1835 is of great interest, because just 13 years later, during the *Māhele ʻĀina* (Land Division) of 1848, no native tenants registered claims for residences and cultivated fields in Kaiholena. Forty years later, in the early 1870s, only two residents of Kaiholena (one of them born at Kaiholena) could apparently be found, who could provide testimony before the Boundary Commission to describe the *ahupuaʻa* boundaries (see *Māhele* and Boundary Commission records cited in this study).

The decline of remote area populations is partially explained by the missionary’s efforts at converting the Hawaiian people to Christianity. Logically, churches were placed first in the areas which supported the largest 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. The historic record also documents the 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 significant, and perhaps unforeseen impact on native residency patterns, health, and social and political affairs (Iʻi 1959, Kamakau 1961, Doyle 1953, and McEldowney 1979).

The Māhele ʻĀina (1848):

Transitions in Hawaiian Subsistence Practices and Land Tenure

In pre-western contact Hawaiʻi, all land and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (*aliʻi ʻai ahupuaʻa* or *aliʻi ʻai moku*). The use of lands and resources were given to the *hoaʻāina* (native tenants), at the prerogative of the *aliʻi* and their representatives or land agents (*konohiki*), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. In 1848, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was radically altered by the *Māhele ʻĀina*. This change in land tenure was greatly desired 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 *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 Hawaiʻi 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 (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‘eleihiwa 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 (Penal Code 1850). 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‘eleihiwa 1992:295).

In many land areas, the Register and Testimony books of the *Māhele* provide important documentation on land use as recorded by native tenants in support of their Land Commission Awards. But for Kaiholena, Kohala, no evidence of claims made by native tenants for *kuleana* land was found while conducting this study.

Approximately eighty-seven (87) *ahupua‘a* and selected *ili* (land divisions smaller than an *ahupua‘a*) make up the district of North Kohala (the area extending from ‘Āwini to Waikā) (Indices of Awards 1929:490-495 and historic maps in the collection of the State Survey Division). Of that total, approximately sixty (60) of the lands were either awarded to the Crown or kept as a part of the Government land inventory. Additionally, seventeen (17) *ali‘i* and *konohiki* were awarded twenty-seven (27) of the lands. From these *ahupua‘a* in North Kohala, at least 116 claimants were awarded 127 *kuleana* with a varying number of small parcels including house lots and agricultural fields (Indices of Awards 1929:490-495). Of that total, twenty-three (23) native tenants received *kuleana* in leeward Kohala (in this case, an area extending from Pu‘uepa to Waikā), none of which were in Kaiholena or lands immediately adjoining it (Indices of Awards 1929:490-495).

Disposition of Kaiholena 1st and 2nd in the Māhele

The entire *ahupua‘a* of Kaiholena 1st and 2nd were awarded to individuals with connections to the Kamehameha line, and were considered Konohiki awardees. The awardees were:

Kaiholena 1st – *Mahele* Award No. 38, R.P. 7679 to Kaopua (nephew of Kuihelani, a chief who served Kamehameha I) (Barrere 1993:263); and

Kaiholena 2nd – *Mahele* Award No. 5, R.P. No. 7679 to Kamakahonu (grandson of Naeole, birth guardian of Kamehameha I) (Barrere 1993:214).

As noted earlier, no records of native tenant claims for house lots or agricultural parcels were located during this study, and none were recorded in the Indices of Awards (1929). The *kuleana* nearest to Kaiholena, within the leeward Kohala region, awarded to native tenants are found in Hihiu and Māhukona. A total of three LCA, one in Hihiu (LCA 8098 to Hoewaa), and two in Māhukona (LCA 8729 to Kaheana, and 8723 to Kahoiwai), were awarded. All three of the *kuleana* consisted of dryland planting fields (most reported as being cultivated, though crops were not identified), and house lots in the uplands. The claimants (or their parents) all held the land from the time of Kamehameha I. No claims of near-shore house lots or canoe landings, or other types of features which may have been used for subsistence practices near the coast were made. It is likely that similar residency and agricultural uses of land were occurring in Kaiholena around the time of the *Māhele*. Also, historic accounts and traditions as those cited in preceding sections of this study make it feasible to propose that *ala pi'i uka* and *ala lihi kai* (trail systems extending *mauka-makai* as well as trails along the shore); planting fields at varying elevations, coastal residences, and a wide range of features associated with traditional life occur along the length of Kaiholena⁵.

Grant Lands in Leeward Kohala

As the *Māhele* was drawing to a close, the Kingdom initiated a program by which to get more native tenants onto land which they could own in fee-simple title. The land base for the grants came from the Government lands as determined in the *Māhele* of 1848. The program also benefited foreign residents of the Kingdom, and it is in this period that we find a number of large parcels in the leeward Kohala region being granted to non-natives as well. Because the entire *ahupua'a* of Kaiholena 1st and 2nd, and been awarded to Kaopua and Kamakahonu, no parcels in Kaiholena were available for the grant program. Public lands in the neighboring *ahupua'a* of Pāo'o, Lamaloloa, and Kaipuha'a on the north; and Makeanehu, Kaupalaoa, Kipi, and Kehena on the south, were made available to purchasers. In between 1851 to 1860 Parcels ranging from 2.25 acres to 299.73 acres were granted. Grantees in the Kaiholena vicinity included (north to south):

<i>Land</i>	<i>Grant No.</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Year</i>
Kaipuhaa	1998	Nuuanu	17	1856
	2690	Luhiau & 2 others	299.73	1860
Lamaloloa	2054	Luhiau	108.5	1856
	2502	Kanoaloa	96	1858
	2725	G.W. Macey & Wm. Beadle	11.28	1860
Paoo	1972	Wm. Beadle	290	1856
	1997	Kauwe	16	1856
	2224	Wm. Beadle	51	1857
	2335	(Grant No. 2224 is also transcribed as 2234) Kauwe & Kamaka	16	1857

⁵ Testimonies by aged native residents of Kaiholena, before the Boundary Commission in 1873, and cited later in this study describe such activities in Kaiholena.

<i>Land</i>	<i>Grant No.</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Year</i>
Kaiholena	(land not available for grants)			
Makeanehu	2103	Kamoepili	53.5	1856
	2509	Kuaana	67	1858
	2511	Kama	107.5	1858
Kaupalaoa	(land not available for grants; <i>Mahele</i> Award of Lot Kamehameha in LCA No. 7715)			
Kipi	746	Wm. Beadle	227.93	1852
Kipi & Kehena	1995	Wilama Nebeka	320	1856
	2447	Kanaina	120	1857
	2552	Kuia	47	1859
	2733	Kanaina & Kiniakua	212	1860
Kehena 1	659	Nakapaulahua	50	1851
	743	Kuapuu	2.25	1852
	1994	Kanohu	32.75	1856

(Hawaiian Government 1887:74-76).

All of the lands sold as grants to the above individuals are generally situated between the 1400 to 3000 foot elevation, near the historic mountain trails and Government roads, around the upland *pu'u*. None of the *makai* lands of the above *ahupua'a* were sold in Grants, though some were later leased to area ranchers. Hawaii Territorial Survey Maps 504 and 503 (*Figures 2 and 3*), traced from Register Maps 1705 and 1706 depict the grant parcels and subsequent lease-holds up to 1914.

Land use on the grant parcels ranged from residence and subsistence agriculture in the uplands (historic records report that some residences were maintained near the shore), and development of ranching interests. A few foreign residents, and later, part-Hawaiian families secured the largest leaseholds and grant lands, and developed ranching operations throughout the region. In the 1860s, Reverend Bond reported that the native population on the leeward shores had declined significantly, and he noted that the roaming herds of cattle and horses as well as ranching operations under foreign owners all contributed to the decline. Bond wrote:

...[T]he decrease in the population of the district was nearly one hundred per annum. The herds of cattle and horses belonging to natives themselves, suffered to run at large through the most ruinous negligence, had well-nigh annihilated all possibility of cultivation; and thus commenced the work of expulsion, ere foreigners with large herds of cattle came in to complete the process of depopulation...The entire tract of country is gradually filling with cattle and sheep belonging to foreigners, and the natives, as a matter of necessity, are rapidly leaving the district, chiefly for Oahu... (Damon 1927:159 and 207).

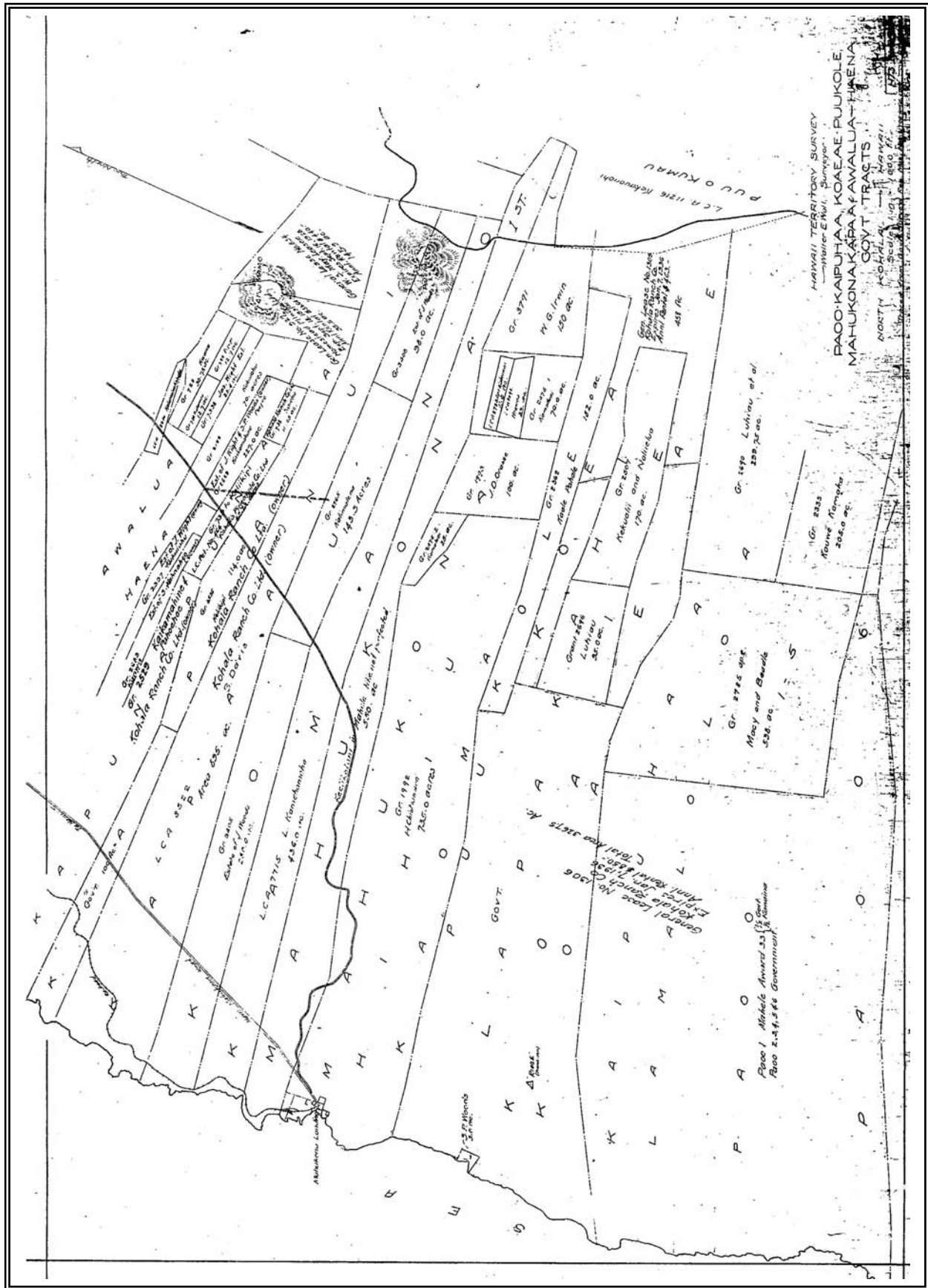


Figure 2. Hawaii Territorial Survey Map No. 504 (Traced 1914), Paoo to Haena-Awalua, North Kohala (State Survey Division - not to scale)

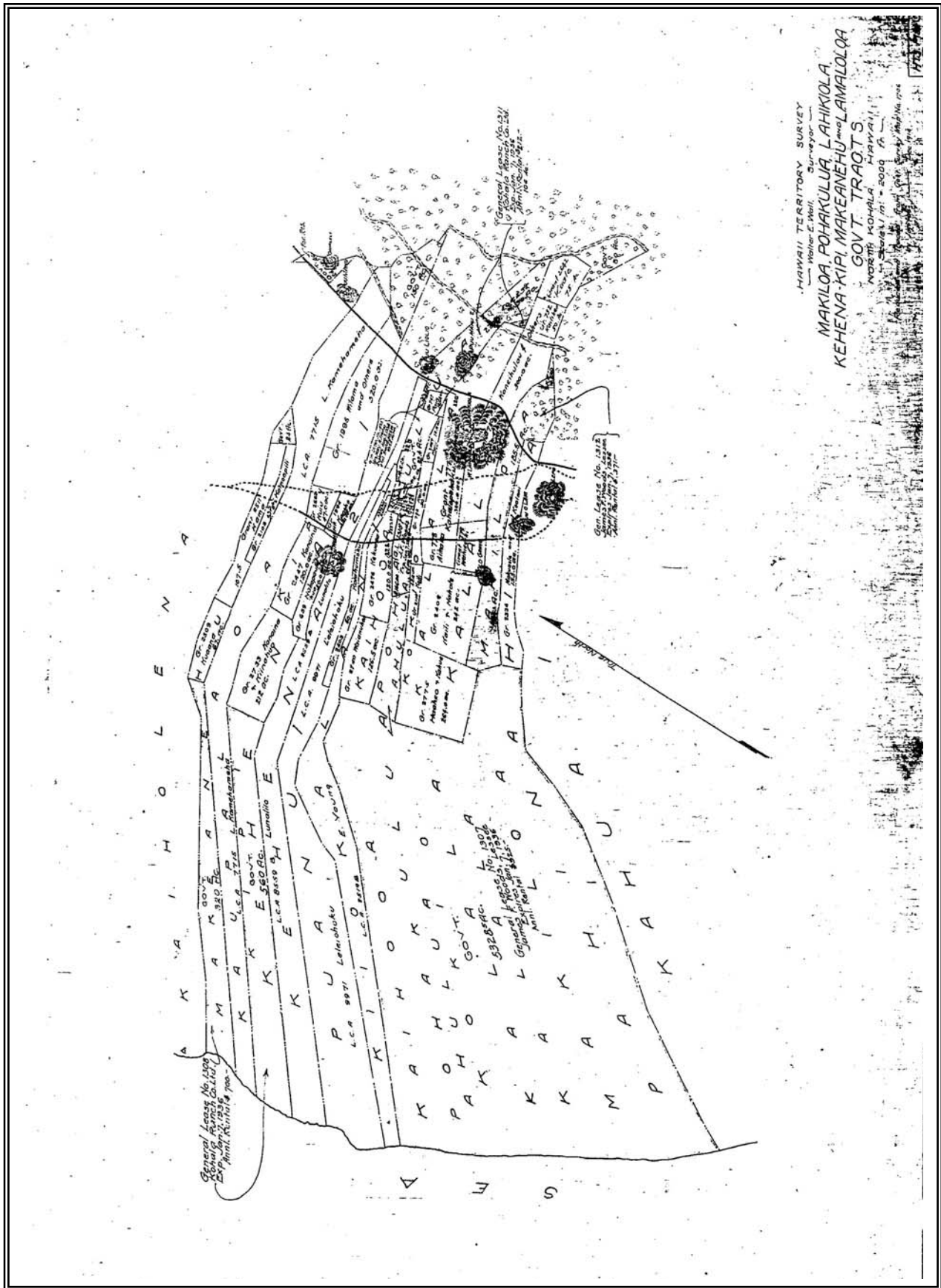


Figure 3. Hawaii Territorial Survey Map No. 503 (Traced 1914), Kahua to Kaiholena, North Kohala (State Survey Division - not to scale)

Boundary Commission Proceedings

The *Māhele* and Land Grant program of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i saw a rapid growth of business interests. As a result, large land owners pursued the establishment of formal boundaries on their land holding, in order to protect their private property “rights.”

In 1862, a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i to 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 were 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—the island of Hawai‘i. The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the area being discussed, additional informants included the individuals who surveyed the lands and went in the field with informants.

For the lands of Kaiholena 1st and 2nd, the informants stated that they were either born at Kaiholena (or a land adjoining them) or that they had lived there since their youth. All of the witnesses had learned of the boundaries from their elders, and described the landscape by the nature of the terrain, presence of resources, land use, and features which were of significance to the residents of the land. The oldest of the informants (Hauli) appears to have been born in ca. 1804, by association with events described at the time of his birth.

The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Readers here will also note that there are often inconsistencies in spelling of particular words such as place names, people names and natural or man-made features.

The testimonies of the native informants provide readers with glimpses into native customs and subsistence practices in Kaiholena and the lands of Pāo‘o and Makeanehu. Most notably, it was recorded that fisheries (thus subsistence fishing) and salt works were accessed in the coastal region, and that trails extended from the shore to the uplands where residences occurred and subsistence agriculture was undertaken. The narratives also provide documentation on place names of significance extending from the shore to the uplands of Kaiholena. Many of the place names are no longer used, but by their meanings, they indicate particular uses or features of the named locations.

Boundary Commission Testimonies for Kaiholena (1873)

The narratives below are excerpted from the testimonies for Kaiholena (underlining is used by this author to emphasize selected references). Not all of the documentation provided by each witness is repeated here, though primary documentation regarding the *ahupua‘a* boundaries, 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. A careful review of the map collections of the State Survey Division and Hawaii State Archives was undertaken as a part of this study, but the Boundary Commission maps which accompany the following Certificate of Boundaries could not be located.

Boundary Commission Volume A 1
April 14, 1873

Kama^{K.} sworn says:

I was born at Hilo and moved on to this land of Kaiholena in Kohala when I was quite small, and lived there ever since. I was born a good while before the death of Kamehameha I. I know the boundaries of the lands of Kaiholena 1st and 2nd. My parents now dead, were *kamaaina* [natives] of Kohala, and pointed out the boundaries of the lands to me.

The sea bounds these two lands on the *makai* [shoreward] side. These lands had ancient fishing rights extending out to the deep sea. The land Makeanehu 1st bounds Kaiholena 2nd on the South side. The lands Kaiholena 1st and 2nd lay side and side from the shore to the end of both lands. The boundary between Kaiholena 2nd and Makeanehu 1st at the sea shore is a long rocky point, narrow near the *makai* land, and growing wider a little way from the shore called Honoaumi. Thence the boundary between these two lands runs straight *mauka* [upland] through *pili* [grass] lands to a ridge of stones on the *kula* [plain] land and up to an *ahu* (or pile) of stones called Nahuaakahui, two piles. Thence *mauka* to *pali* [cliff] called Puukulou, Kuaana's land (Puuhue Ranch) is *makai* of this *pali* and mine *mauka*. Thence *mauka* to Puuhonua. Thence to *makai* side of a large hill called Kupapanui. Thence to *pali* of Hookiokio, the *mauka* end of Makeanehu, and junction of Kaupalaoa with Kaiholena 2nd. Thence along Kaupalaoa along *iwi aina* [land boundary wall] to opposite Puuhooo (or Puuoo) the *mauka* corner of Kaiholena 2nd. Thence the boundary between Kaiholena 1st and Kaupalaoa runs *mauka* to a water hole called Waipahoehoe. Thence to place by the road called Kuauanui. When Wiltse surveyed the land we placed a stone there. Thence *mauka* to small hill called Koheau, and thence to a small gulch with water in it called Kanawai on the boundary of Halawa. Where Halawa cuts Kaiholena 1st off. Thence down the gulch Kanawai a short distance along Halawa, to a junction of the land Lamaloloa, to corner of Wights land on Lamaloloa *makai* of Puumanu. That is the point Wiltse now present stopped surveying the land when I went with. I pointed out part of the boundaries to him when he surveyed the land. A point on the shore is the boundary between Paoo 6 and Kaiholena 1st. I do not know the name of it. Thence the north boundary of Kaiholena 1st runs *mauka* along Paoo 6 across *pili* land, to *iwi aina* where we used to *mahiai* [cultivate crops] to *oioina* [trailside resting place] called Kikiwahia, corner of Beadle's land nearly up to Puuhue.

CX.d'

Hauli^{K.} sworn says:

I was born on the land of Kaiholena at the time of Okuu [c. 1804]. I have always lived there. I know the boundaries. I pointed out the boundaries to Wiltse when he was surveying lands several years ago. The sea bounds Kaiholena 1st and 2nd on the *makai* side. The fisheries belonging to these lands used to extend out to sea as far as from here to Kama's house (about 5/8 of a mile). A point at the sea shore on south side of land is the boundary between

Kaiholena 2nd and Makeanehu 1. There is a *pali* called Nohonaoumi, just *mauka* of this point. The point is a rocky point about five fathoms long. We marked it. I do not remember the mark. From this point the boundary between these two lands runs *mauka* across the *pali* lands to an *Ahu Aa* [stone mound] where we marked XX. Thence *mauka* to where we used to *mahiai* [cultivate crops]. *Makai* of this point there is no *iwi aina* [land boundary wall]. Thence up *iwi aina* to Puukulou. Kuaana's land on Makeanehu is *makai* of this point and Kama's on the *mauka* side. The *mauka* corner of Kama's land is at the foot of the hill Kupapanui, on the *makai* side of it. Thence along the base of the hill on the Waimea side of it, to the *mauka* end of Makeanehu and junction of the land Kaupalaoa with Kaiholena 2nd, on a *huli pali* [cliff overlook]. Thence along *iwi aina* to Government road. Kaiholena 2nd ends a little *mauka* of the Government road, and Kaiholena 1st joins Kaupalaoa. Thence the boundary between these two lands runs *mauka* to Hokeke, and thence to the *Kahawai* [river gulch] called Kanawai where the land of Halawa cuts off Kaiholena 1st. Thence towards the north in the *Kanawai Kahawai*, to an old road a short distance above place called Ohialele, at the junction of the land of Lamaloloa with Halawa and the east corner of Kaiholena 1st. Thence the boundary of Kaiholena 1st turns *makai* along Lamaloloa to a place on the Government road *makai* of Puumanu, the *mauka* end of Dr. Wight's land on Lamaloloa. From the *makai* boundary of W. Beadles land on Paoo 6 the boundary of Kaiholena 1st follows sown the *iwi aina* between this land and Paoo 6 to a hill called Puupili, an old cultivating ground. Thence down to *ahu aa* where we marked a stone X when Kaelemakule was surveying lands. Thence *makai* to a pile of stones on the Kawaihae side of Puumoho. Thence *makai* to an old spouting horn at the sea shore called Kepuhi. Kaulenamoku now dead, was a *kamaaina* of a good many of the lands around here. He might have known the boundaries of Kaiholena 1st & 2nd.

CX.d'

Kikalaeka^K. sworn says:

I was born on the land of Paoo 6 before Liholiho went to London [ca. 1823]. I am a *kamaaina* of Kohala and know the boundaries between Kaiholena 1st and Paoo 6. Paoo 6 bounds Kaiholena 1st on the north side, and Kaiholena 2nd on the south side. A place at the sea shore where the sea rushes in from the point and spouts up, called Kepuhi, is the boundary between Kaiholena 1st and Paoo 6. Beadle used to *taboo* salt ground on Paoo 6 next to the shore. The north boundary if Kaiholena runs *mauka* along Paoo 6 to Puupili, and thence *mauka* to Kikiwahia a stone wall on the boundary of Beadle's land in Paoo 6.

CX.d'

S.C. Wiltse sworn says:

I surveyed the lands of Kaiholena 1st and 2nd, the *makai* portion of them about twelve years ago, as point out to me by Hauli, one of the witnesses, Kaulenamoku now dead, and others. I marked a large rock X near the seashore

on the boundary between Paoo 6 and Kaiholena 1st. I surveyed the rest of these two lands in September 1872, as pointed out to me by Kama the first witness. He pointed out the boundaries of these lands above lands sold on Makeanehu, to the land of Halawa. The boundaries of Halawa I took from notes of survey as given in Royal Patent No. 781. Thence I surveyed along the Government portion of Lamaloloa to a pile of rocks on the east side of the Government road, and the *mauka* corner of Dr. Wight's land. The boundaries adjoining Dr. Wight's and W. Beadle's land, I copied from the notes of survey in the Patents of their lands. The notes of survey filed were made out from my field notes and the notes of survey as given in the Royal Patents of adjoining lands.

CX.d'

Certificate of the Boundaries of Kaiholena 1st and Kaiholena 2nd,
District of North Kohala, Island of Hawaii 3rd J.C.

Upon the application of Henry B. Jackson by his Attorney in fact Theo. H. Davies, and by virtue of the Authority vested in me by law, as sole Commissioner of Land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3rd J.C. I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of the *Ahupuaa* of Kaiholena 1st and Kaiholena 2nd situated in the District of North Kohala, Island of Hawaii, to be as hereinafter set forth.

Given under my hand at Puuhue, North Kohala this fourteenth day of April A.D. 1873.

[signed]

R.A. Lyman...

...Area of 2070 acres.

Summary Land Tenure in Kaiholena and Neighboring Lands in the Kohala Waho Vicinity (ca. 1860 to 1943)

On August 22, 1855, Marae Kamakahonu applied to Kamehameha IV, asking that title to the lands awarded to her late husband, Kamakahonu, be perfected. Lands included the *ahupua'a* of Kaiholena and Nunulu, in Kohala (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department, Lands Folder). The following year, Reverend Elias Bond wrote to Keoni Ana, Minister of Interior, describing flaws in surveys of the lands of Nunulu and Kaiholena 1st, belonging to Kamakahonu's widow, Maria Kamakahonu, and the resulting impact on Lamaloloa and other neighboring Government lands. In 1856, Bond also reported that only one individual (not named) living in Kohala then, was knowledgeable about the boundaries of the land.

Kohala Oct. 29 1856

To His Highness, Minister of Interior,

...I add a few words in relation to surveys of Nunulu & Kaiholena I two lands belonging to Maria Kamakahonu, recently made by a young man named Elemakule. A previous survey of Nunulu made by Kalama was found erroneous in that it had appropriated nearly 500 acres of land belonging to others... I regret to say that despite all the information given the parties, for reasons best known to themselves, they persisted in running lines which take 150 acres more or less fr. Lamaloloa, a Govt. land, declining meantime to consult the only individuals now living in Kohala, who personally knows & was ready to show the correct lines.

Kaiholena, a land nearly seven miles in length (probably more than seven), the upper part of which is thick groves of *Neneleau*, was surveyed in two days & made to number 5000 acres. When I say that the survey was all made on horseback that even the chain was carried by two natives on horses & the lines so run, you may possibly comprehend the reason for the dispatch & in part judge of the probable correctness of the total acres, which I have never heard estimated at over 2500 by good judges. There was moreover no person employed competent to show the boundaries on the adjoining lands belonging to Gov't...

E. Bond

(Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department, Lands Folder)

On April 1, 1860, Malaea Kamakahonu leased the entire *ahupua'a* of Kaiholena and Nunulu to Wm. Beadle for a term of ten years (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 13:234). Beadle, a rancher, already owned and leased portions of lands neighboring Kaiholena and in the larger North Kohala District. In 1862, all remaining Government lands from Kaipuhaa to Pahinahina (excluding the *ahupua'a* of Kaiholena and other lands granted to private owners) were leased to the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company (Spencer and Janion et al.) .

June 18, 1862

Lease No. 92

Between His Majesty, Minister of Interior and the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company... Leasing the Government lands of:

Pahinahina; Makiloa; Kalala 1 & 2; Kokio; Pohakulua 1 & 2; Kaihooa 1 & 2; Puaiki; Kehena 2nd; Kipi; Makeanehu 2, 3, 4 & 5; Pao 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6; Lamaloloa; and Kaipuhaa; an area containing together 7972 acres more or less, which tracts of land and all their present improvements and advantages (the rights of native tenants however being reserved) the said "Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company" is to possess and enjoy without unlawful molestation for the term of Ten years from this date, with the privilege of remaining the same for the further term of at the expiration of the lease...

(Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department, Lands Folder)

One month later, in July 1862, Kaiholena 1st, was assigned in mortgage deed by Kaopua and his wife Kalama, to S. Spencer of Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company (Bureau of Conveyance Liber 15:296). Thus, by 1862, both Kaiholena and almost all of the neighboring lands in the Kohala waho and Pili-Kalāhikiola region had been turned over to ranching interests.

On September 1, 1868 Wm. Beadle leased his private and leasehold lands (including portions of Pāo‘o 1-6, Royal Patent Grants 1972 and 2224; and Lamaloloa, Royal Patent Grant 2725) to R.C. Janion and H.B. Jackson of Kohala Ranch (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 27:26). Seven months later, on April 30, 1869, H.B. Jackson bought out R.C. Janion’s interest in the private and leasehold lands which their partnership had acquired. The sale included Kaiholena 1st and 2nd (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 28:227).

By 1873, Lease No. 92 to the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company had also been assigned to H.B. Jackson, and the lease renewed, Jackson had also finalized his purchase of Kaiholena 1st and 2nd from the estates of Kamakahonu and Kaopua. Jackson’s holdings also included the lands of Nunulu (awarded to Kamakahonu), and Kehena, awarded to Wm. C. Lunalilo. On February 25th 1874, Jackson submitted the Certificate of Boundaries for the lands, and requested that the Royal Patents be issued. Boundary Certificate No.’s 17 & 18 for the lands of Kaiholena 1st and 2nd, and Kehena 2nd were attached to the February 25th communication (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department, Lands Folder).

On June 30, 1883, H.B. Jackson (residing in Manchester, England), conveyed his property rights in Kaiholena 1st and 2nd, Pāo‘o (Grant 1972), and Makeanehu (Grant 2103) to James Woods of Pu‘uhue, Kohala. The combined properties were those purchased and leased under the partnership of H.B. Jackson, W.L. Green, and R.C. Janion (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 27:26, 28:227, and 87:15). These lands were managed by Woods (Pu‘uhue and Kohala Ranch Company, Ltd.), through the remainder of the nineteenth century. In May 1902, Kaiholena 1st and 2nd were mortgaged by Isabella Hanai Woods and family to Trustees of the Bishop Museum (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 237:230). Six years later, Woods conveyed the lease-hold lands of the ranch to the Kohala Ranch Company, Ltd for a period of thirty years. General Leases No.’s 1306, 1308, 1309, 2430, and survey document C.S.F.3560 describe boundaries of lands and terms of lease to Kohala Ranch Company, Ltd. *Figures 4 and 5* are the survey maps of the leasehold lands situated immediately north and south of Kaiholena 1st and 2nd.

In the early 1930s, a series of transactions between Kohala Ranch Company, Ltd.; Bank of Hawai‘i; and A.W. Carter of Parker Ranch; consolidated the fee-simple and leasehold interests of the Kohala Ranch Company, Ltd. under the ownership of Parker Ranch. In these transactions, both of the Kaiholena lands came under the ownership of Parker Ranch in 1932 (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 1189:32, Schedule A – Item 50). These lands were conveyed to Richard Smart, Owner of Parker Ranch on November 20, 1943 (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 1791:325).

Other than the testimonies of Kama (recipient of Grant No. 2511 in Makeanehu), Hauli, and Kikalaeka before the Boundary Commission (cited in this study), no other records of native tenant residency or subsistence practices was located in any of the documentation reviewed.

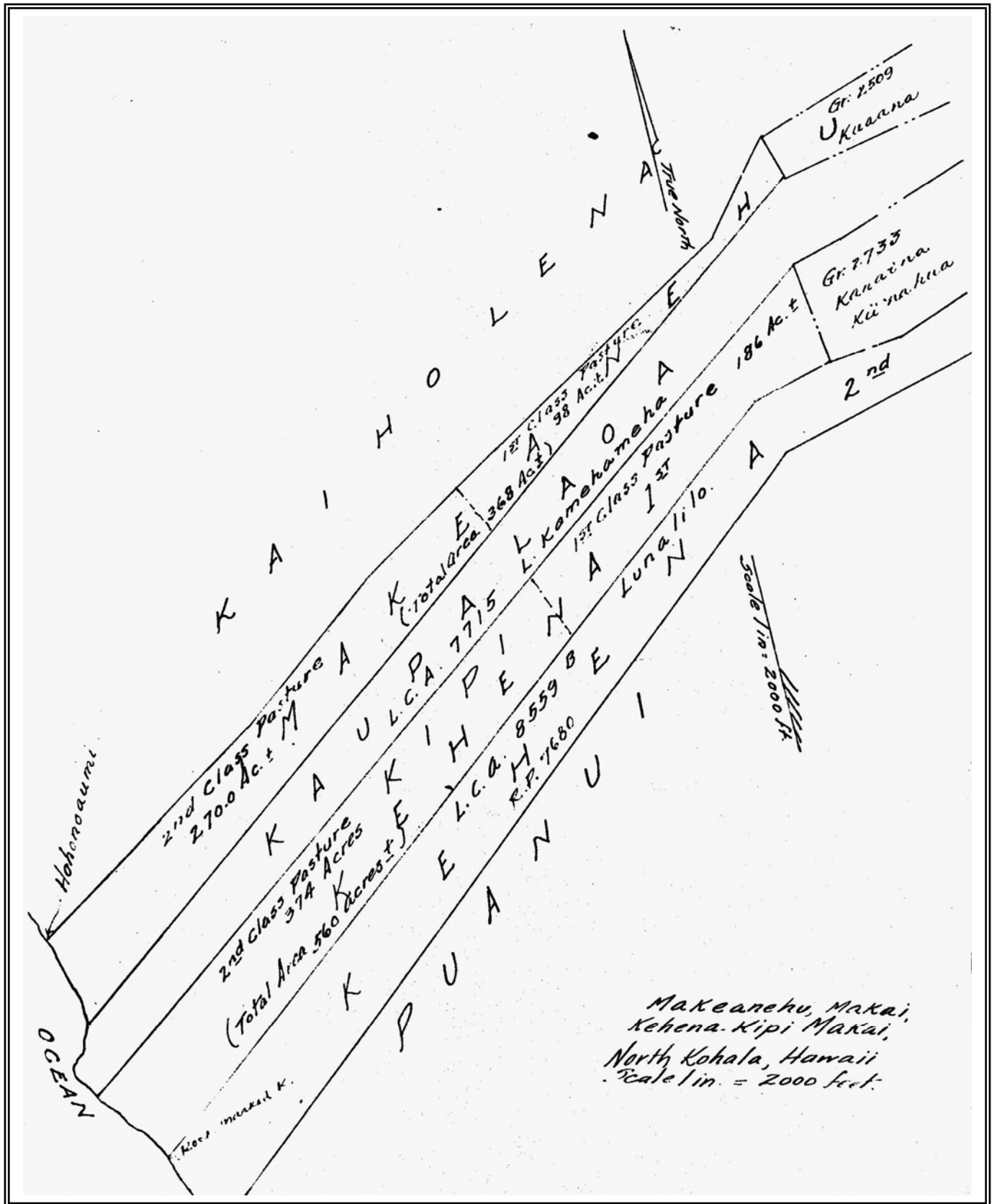


Figure 4. Makeanehu, Makai; Kehena-Kipi, Makai; North Kohala, Hawaii (General Lease No. 1308); (State Land Division, 1912 – not to scale)

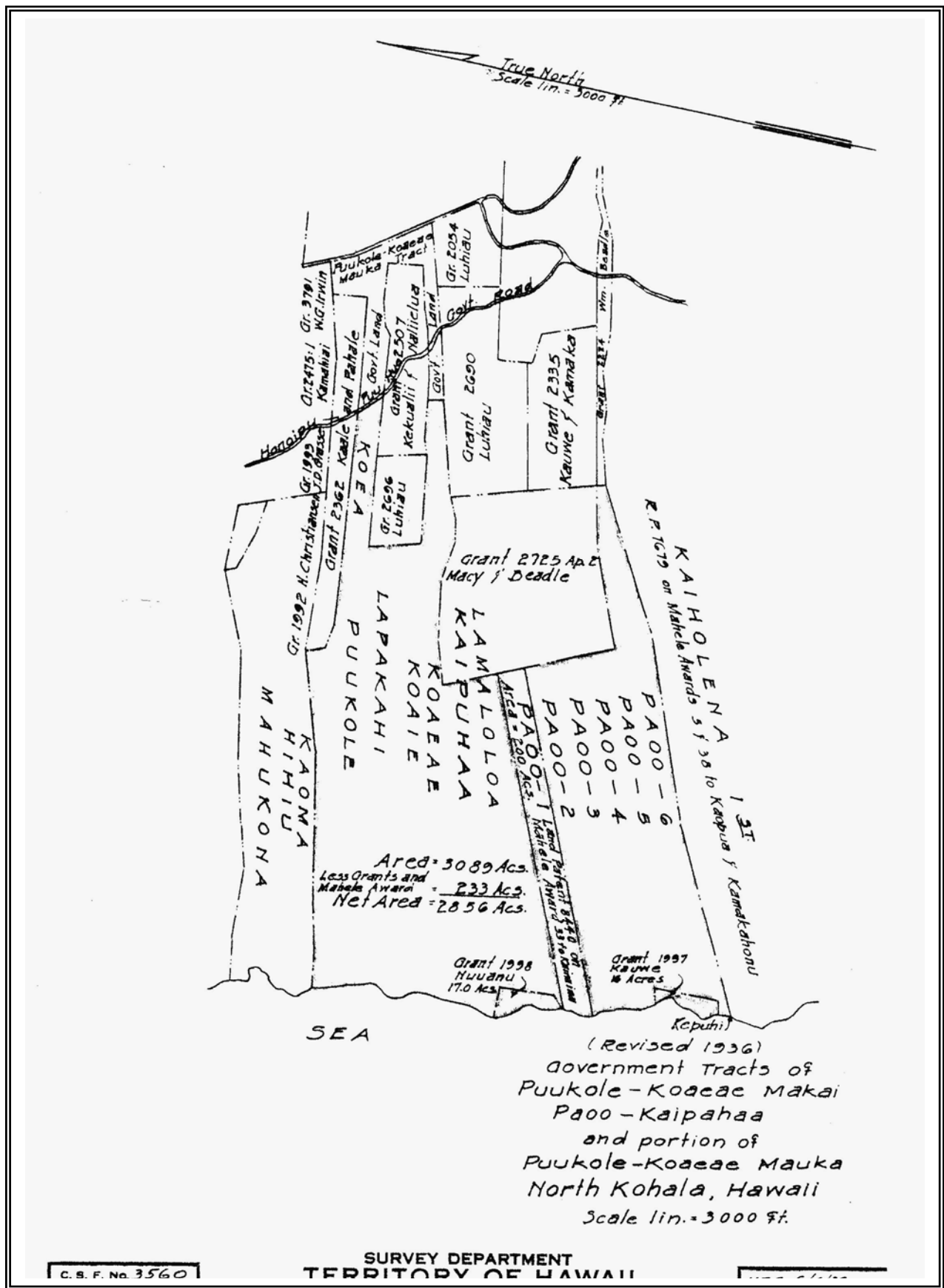


Figure 5. Government Tracts of Puukole – Koaie Makai; Paoo – Kaipahaa and Portions of Puukole – Koaie Mauka; North Kohala, Hawaii (General Lease No. 2430) (State Land Division, June 4, 1936 – not to scale)

It was not until 1912, that a native Hawaiian woman, Kekaulike Eldredge, wrote to Governor Frear, asking him for assistance in securing a homestead on land in the upland section of Kaiholena (near Pu‘uhue Ranch), which she claimed to have inhabited for “22 years” (Hawaii State Archives; GOV 3-10, March 15, 1912). Because the land was already private property, the governor responded that it was not possible for the Territorial Government to grant her a homestead in Kaiholena (Hawaii State Archives; GOV 3-10, April 1, 1912).

Ranching Leeward Kohala

In 1929, L.A. Henke of the University of Hawaii published a report on the history of livestock and development of ranches in the Hawaiian Islands. Henke (1929) provides detailed summaries of ranching activities along the leeward Kohala coast and describes land use in the ranches established through the transactions discussed in the preceding section of the study⁶. Because of the cross-over in ranching operations between Kahuā and the Puakea-Pu‘uhue Ranches, Henke’s narratives for both operations are cited:

Kahua Ranch

Kahua Ranch, located in the Kohala mountains, is about midway between Waimea and Kohala, being slightly nearer to Kohala, and is crossed by the government road between these two places.

The ranch consists of about 38,000 acres, about 10,000 of which are held in fee simple by the present owners, 15,000 acres are leased from the government and the balance from private owners. The ranch lands extend from the sea to an elevation of 4,000 feet, the lands lying between Puuhue and Puakea ranches on the Kohala side and the Parker ranch on the Waimea side. The ranch house is beautifully located about a quarter of a mile *mauka* of the government road.

The ranch is carrying 4,000 Herefords at the present time, and 300 horses. It is planned to reduce the number of horses and increase the cattle to 6,000 in the next ten years, carrying on a development program of fencing etc., which will make it possible to carry that number which will then be a ratio of one head to 6 acres. Fifty-five miles of fences and 25 miles of pipe and 1,000,000 gallons of storage tank for water are in the course of construction at the present time.

The cattle for Honolulu are loaded on the boats at Kawaihae, but few or none are shipped at the present time while the expansion program is under way... The fencing program will be continued until about eighteen well-fenced pastures are available for proper segregation of the different classes and ages of animals.

⁶ It will be noted that in a few instances, Henke’s discussion on the origin of ranch operations and dates of land acquisition do not coincide with the historic record. These are minor points in the overall picture of land use being discussed in this study.

Cattle have probably been found on the lands of Kahua ranch for 100 years or more. About 1880 the lands were owned by Allen and Stackpole, who sold it to George Holmes, and Englishman about 1883. He, in turn, sold it to the Burckhardt brothers, Godfrey, Ernest and Fred, about 1886, the price being about \$40,000. After about five years they sold the ranch to John Maguire, who managed Kahua and Huehue Ranch in Kona as well. Mr. Maguire sold a half interest in Kahua ranch to Frank Woods about 1895, who then assumed the managership of the property and later he purchased the half interest in Kahua that John Maguire still held, Mr. Woods thus becoming sole owner of the ranch and he continued as owner and manager until 1928, when the ranch was purchased by the Theodore Richards family from Ronald K. von Holt, the latter being the present manager. [Henke 1929:29-20]

Puakea and Puuhue Ranches

Puakea Ranch as at present operated also includes the area formerly known as Puuhue Ranch. the headquarters of the Puakea Ranch are on the government road leading from Mahukona to Kohala at an elevation of about 600 feet. The nearest port is Mahukona, about seven miles away.

The headquarters of the Puuhue Ranch operated as a separated ranch previous to about 1906 when an amalgamation with Puakea Ranch was effected which will expire in 1930 are located about a mile *makai* of the Waimea-Kohala road on a road leading to the pineapple cannery, which leaves the main road near the golf course about ten miles on the Waimea side of Kohala.

These combined ranches run from the sea to an elevation of about 4000 feet and have a total area of about 25,000 acres and at present have about 5000 Herefords, 350 light horses and 10 Berkshire sows...

The rainfall at the Puakea Ranch headquarters has varied between 30 and 63 inches since 1920. The water needed for the cattle comes from the Kohala mountains... A scattering of *Ohia lehua* trees is found over the upper section with practically all their branches on the leeward side of the tree, which is indicative of the strong winds which prevail much of the time.

The ranches are in need of more fences and paddocks to facilitate segregations and control of the animals at different ages and to give newly planted grasses an opportunity to get started while the cattle are kept out of certain sections for a time. These paddocks are included in the plans for the development of the ranches... Cattle for Honolulu are loaded at Kawaihae. The Mahukona beach is not suitable for loading cattle on the Inter-Island boats.

History of Puakea Ranch

Henry Christiansen had a sheep ranch on the Puakea land in the early seventies. He also planted some sugar cane, the milling of which was apparently not too successful with the crude equipment of that time.

Dr. James Wight acquired the Puakea Ranch lands about 1875 and continued with the sheep ranch, the sheep at that time numbering about 7000 head... Since the sheep suffered from scab, and wild dogs killed many, cattle were substituted for the sheep in the eighties and there were few or no sheep left after 1890... While Mr. MacKenzie was manager [1886 to 1901] water was brought eight mile from the Kohala mountains, some wells were dug near the beach and some fences built... Dr. James Wight, owner of Puakea Ranch, died in 1905, and the ranch has since been operated by the trustees for the James Wight Estate,—James Wight succeeded Arthur Mason as manager about 1920 and continued till 1928, when Leighton Hind became manager for the combined Puakea and Puuhue ranches.

History of Puuhue Ranch

Puuhue was a cattle ranch as early as 1880, James woods then being the owner and manager. According to reports of cattlemen of that day, Puuhue had 4000-5000 cattle at that time, which roamed over much of the Puakea section on a rental arrangement and many cattle were marketed in Honolulu. After the death of Mr. Woods in 1882, John Maguire became manager. He was followed by Eben Low for a few years and then Palmer Woods, son of James Woods, became manager and continued till about 1906, when the amalgamation of Puuhue with Puakea ranches was effected, which is to continue till 1930. [Henke 1929:40-42]

While conducting the present study, the author spoke with L. R. “Rally” Greenwell, who worked both Parker Ranch and Kahuā Ranches between 1933 to 1971. In between 1944 to 1956, Mr. Greenwell was at Kahuā Ranch, the remainder of the time was spent at Parker Ranch, where he retired as manager. When asked about his recollection of the Kaiholena vicinity lands (purchased by Parker Ranch in 1932), Mr. Greenwell shared the following observations:

Cattle were grazed to shore seasonally. Following rains, the *makai* pastures produced rich feed, supplemented by the *kiawe* beans. Little other activity occurred. To the best of his memory, few people if any, frequented that area of the coast line (pers. comm. February 3, 2000).

SUMMARY

While no detailed documentation regarding site specific land use in the immediate study area (the section of Kaiholena below Akoni Pule Highway, covered by TMK 5-8-01:11), was found in the government and private collections investigated during this study, it is clear that traditional and historic use occurred. The nature of traditional Hawaiian land use; the importance of the leeward Kohala fishery; historical documentation such as that given in the Boundary Commission testimonies; and archaeological studies in Kaiholena and lands of the larger leeward Kohala region tell us that a wide range of residency and land use activities occurred in the Kaiholena vicinity.

Maps surveyed and produced between 1862 to 1964 were reviewed as a part of this study. Unfortunately, the historic maps (dated from 1862 to 1936) provide no details other than shoreline and north-south boundaries, for the coastal lands of Kaiholena. Several maps document grant and lease holdings the “Lahikiola” uplands which include references to Kaiholena, and Register Map No. 1212 (*Figure 6*), does indicate a section of a *mauka-makai* trail which would have passed “Pohooo” in the uplands of Kaiholena.

The most recent map reviewed as a part of the present study, was produced by surveys in 1964, as a part of the Department of Transportation’s Kawaihae-Mahukona Road Project (Map No. 5, Project No. A-270-01-62). The map (*Figure 7*) indicates the occurrence of “ruins” in the coastal section of the Kaiholena property as well as the occurrence of what was then identified as a “jeep trail.” It is likely that in sections, the “jeep trail” may have followed an early foot trail (*ala hele* or *ala lihi kai*), which was used by native residents of the area while traveling between various *ahupua‘a*, and possibly for regional travel as well.

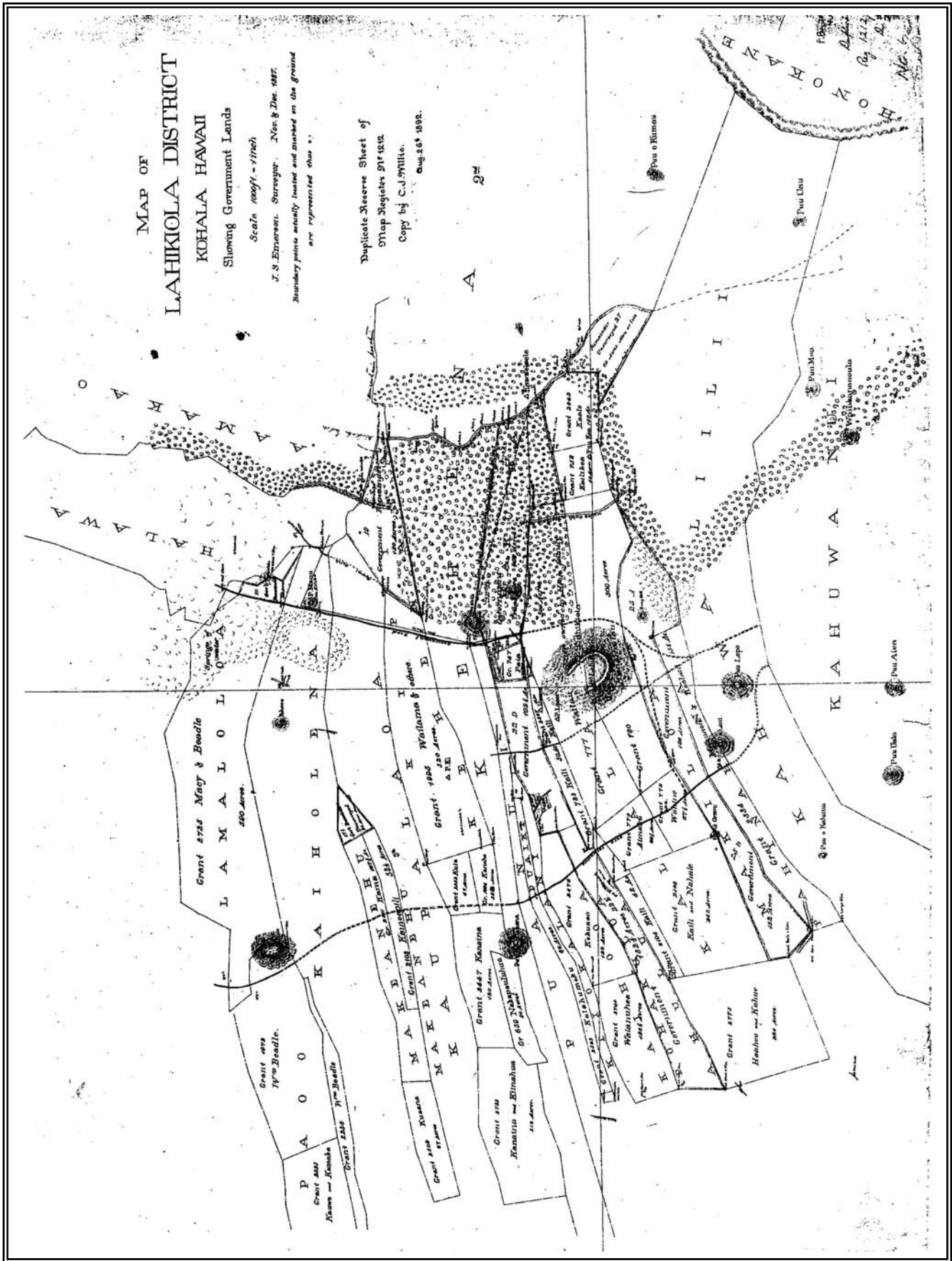


Figure 6. Lahikiola District, Kohala, Hawaii (1887); Register Map No. 1212, J.S. Emerson Surveyor (State Survey Division – not to scale)

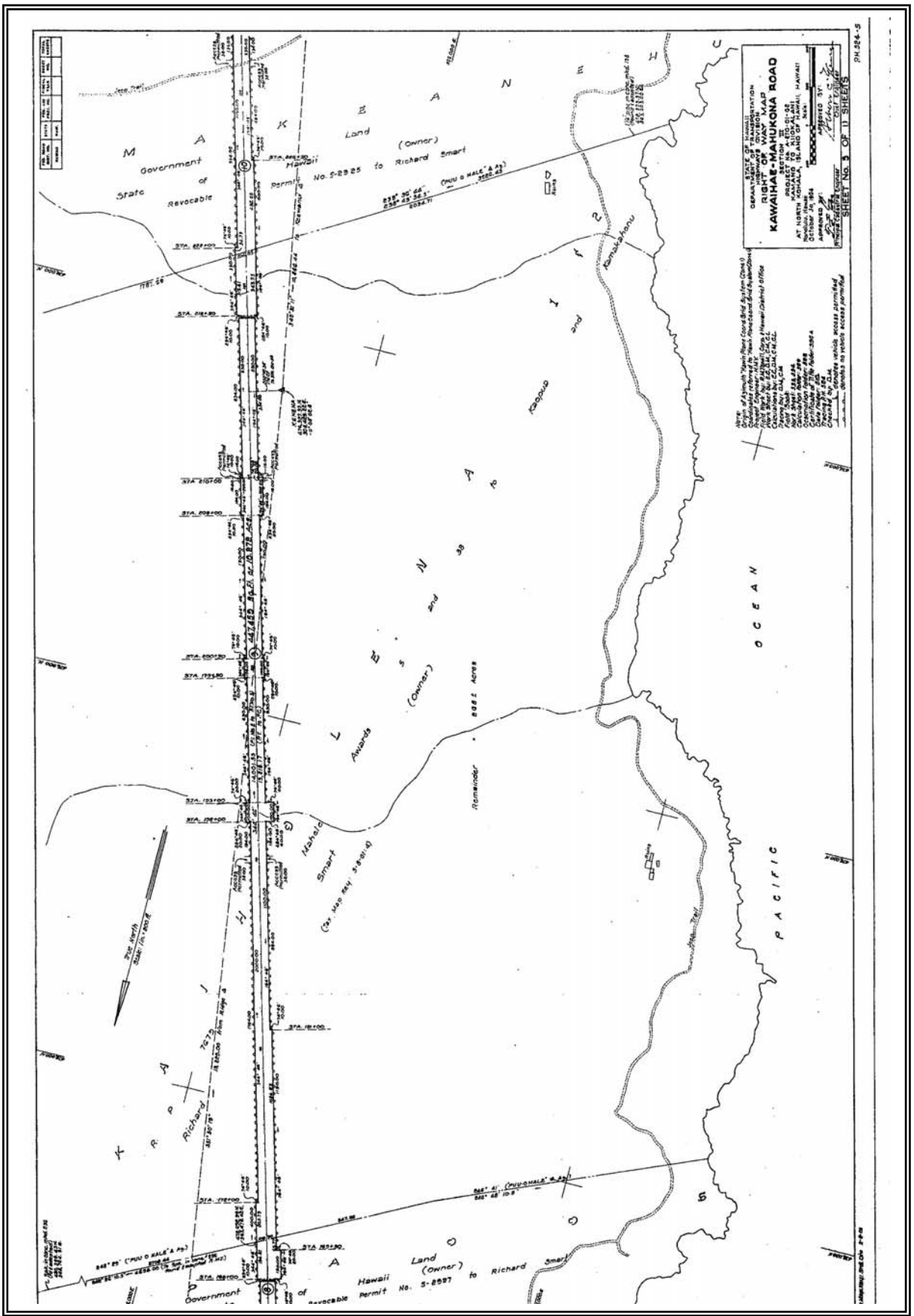


Figure 7. Kawaihae-Mahukona Road Right of Way; Kaiholena Section (Sheet 5 of 11; 1964)
 (State Dept. of Transportation – not to scale)

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