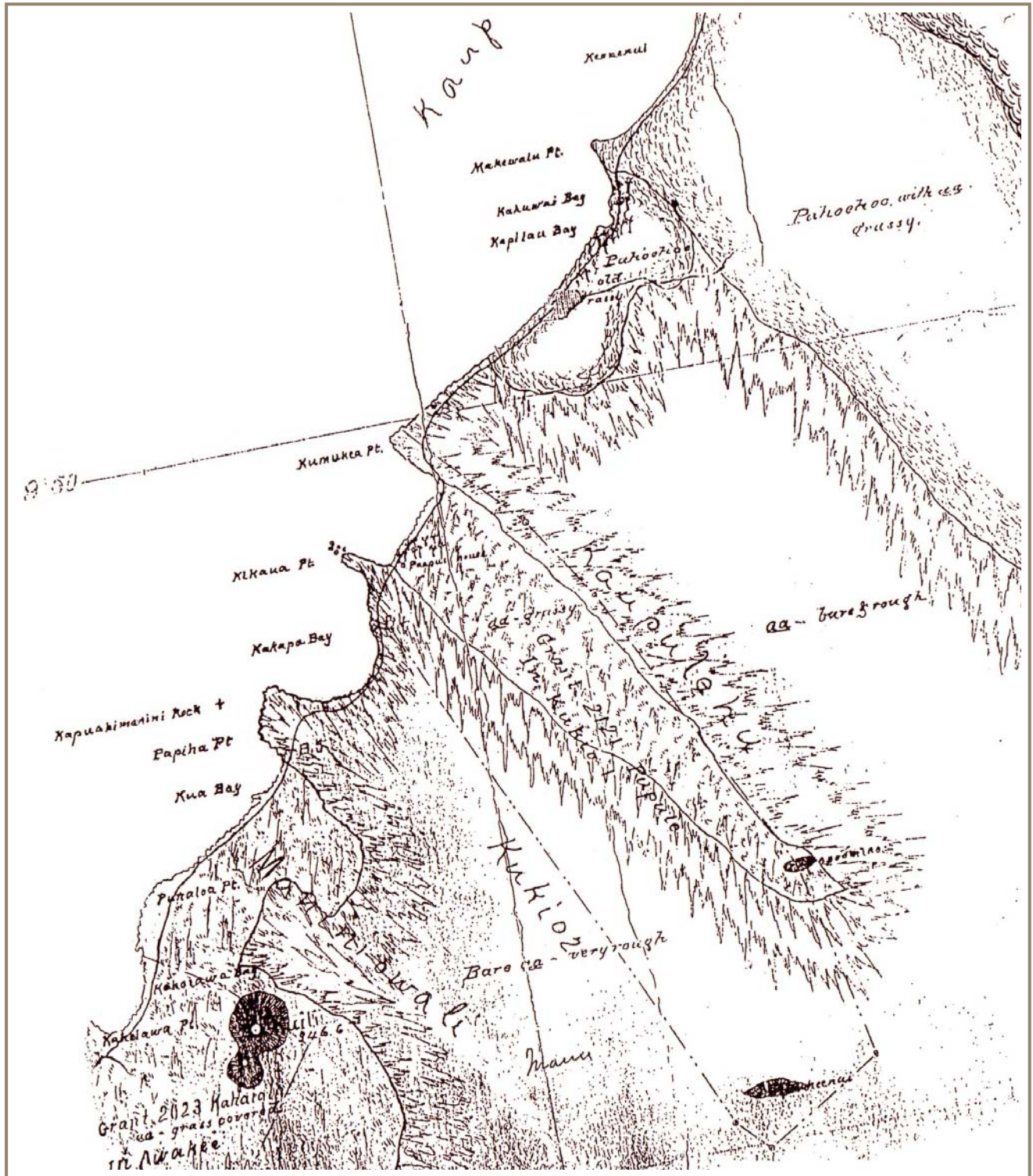


NĀ KŪKI'O MA KA 'ĀINA KAHA: A COLLECTION OF TRADITIONAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF KŪKI'O AT KEKAHA, NORTH KONA



Kumu Pono Associates LLC

**NĀ KŪKI‘O MA KA ‘ĀINA KAHA:
A COLLECTION OF TRADITIONAL
AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF
KŪKI‘O AT KEKAHA, NORTH KONA
(TMK 7-2-04:5)**

BY

Kepā Maly • Cultural Historian & Resource Specialist

PREPARED FOR

*Steven S.C. Lim, Esquire
Carlsmith Ball
121 Waianuenu Avenue
P.O. Box 686
Hilo, Hawai‘i 96721-0686*

March 3, 2000 (ver. 2005)

© Kumu Pono Associates LLC



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

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

554 Keonaona St. · Hilo, Hawai‘i 96720 · (ph./fax) 808.981.0196 · kumupono@hawaii.rr.com

This page intentionally left blank

DETAILED EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of Steven S.C. Lim, Esquire, cultural resources specialist, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), prepared a study of archival documents and historical literature for the land of Kūki'ō nui (Kūki'ō 1st), and neighboring lands of the Kekaha region, North Kona District, Island of Hawai'i (TMK 7-2-04). Maly also conducted several oral history interviews and cites selected historical interviews as a part of the present study (oral history documentation is cited as a separate volume in *Appendix A* of this study). Unlike many studies undertaken in the State of Hawai'i, this study was not conducted as a part of a land use permitting process. It was undertaken as a result of the land owner's (developer's) interest in better understanding the history of the land, and their desire to develop a culturally sensitive interpretive/educational program for the people who will visit and/or reside at Kūki'ō in the future.

This study focuses on Kūki'ō and the larger Kekaha Region of which Kūki'ō is a part, and incorporates research and oral history interviews undertaken by Maly since the early 1990s to the present date. Documentation cited in this study was researched in both private and public collections, and includes — nineteenth century records of the Hawaiian Kingdom (such as government records of land tenure, roadways, public lands and public facilities); and native and foreign accounts authored in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (many of which have not received broad exposure in the past). H. Kihalani Springer also contributed the use of several historical photographs from the Kukui'ohiwai collection, to this study. The photographs are a significant contribution which provide visual reference to documentation recorded in the oral history interviews.

Historical Overview

The native accounts cited in this study provide readers with an understanding of traditional and customary practices and land use of the native families of Kūki'ō. The traditions share with readers how places were named, the kinds of activities which were associated with those places, and the intimate relationship shared by the families of the land with their natural environment. While not all questions are, or can be answered regarding the history and sites of Kūki'ō, through the native accounts, we can appreciate the various aspects of the landscape. It will be seen that some of the documentation is site specific (recorded for the immediate study area), while the larger body of documentation provides *ahupua'a*-specific documentation of sites, practices, and customs associated with the families and lands of Kūki'ō and the larger Kekaha region.

One of the important histories collected from a native resident of the Kūki'ō vicinity in the 1880s, tells us that Kamehameha I built (or rebuilt) a *heiau* (temple) on the shore of Kakapa Point, overlooking Kakapa Bay (in Kūki'ō iki, south of the present study area). From this small account (one line recorded by a Kingdom surveyor), we can perhaps begin to understand something of the diversity of sites in this once remote coastal area of the district of Kekaha. A variety of sites ranging from temporary shelters to high status residences, as well trails, planting areas, *ilina* (interments), enclosures, a sophisticated system of pond division walls, and ceremonial sites, have been recorded in Kūki'ō (cf. Walker and Rosendahl 1985, and Goodfellow, Jensen and Bower 1992). Additionally, the pond and

ocean fisheries of Kūki'ō were rich and highly valued. From these cultural and natural resources, we see that long-term residency occurred at Kūki'ō. It is likely that the native tenants who resided year-round at Kūki'ō, were always prepared to refurbish the residence of their *konohiki* (overlord) and *ali'i nui* (high chief) for such occasions as the visit of their king. Whether for fishing and surfing, or in ceremonial and ritual observances, Kūki'ō, with its sheltered and watered bays, was one of the choice areas of Kekaha for royal retreat.

In the historical accounts of Kūki'ō, readers learn of transitions in residency, and efforts of the native families of the land to maintain their connection with their ancestral seaside home. By the late nineteenth century and in the early 1900s, residency had dwindled, and was generally limited to one family with additional seasonal visitation over extended periods. The native system of land use, resource stewardship, and collection of resources in which families traveled between the coastal settlements and the upland agricultural fields and residences, changed to a new economic system which focused on ranching and the transfer of currency. Access to once important areas from the shore to uplands was restricted, and the families of the land dispersed to other locations where a few more people could gather together. By the early 1900s, the shores of Kūki'ō became a vacation retreat for the owners (some of whom shared common ancestors with the native residents of Kūki'ō), their friends and extended family, and ranch employees. Finally, the *kula* (plains) and coastal lands of Kūki'ō were sold in 1968. At this time, the new owners are working a way of incorporating the history and important aspects of the cultural and natural landscape into their plans for continued use of Kūki'ō.

Kama'āina Observations and Recommendations

The *kama'āina* (native children of the land – descendants of the native families of Kūki'ō) who participated in recent interviews as a part of this study, shared important personal and historical recollections, documentation on cultural-historical sites, and thoughts on care of both the natural and cultural resources of Kūki'ō. These thoughts include, but are not limited to the following paraphrased observations (for detailed accounts, see the interview transcripts in *Appendix A*):

- The *ilina* (ancestral burials) and traditional sites of the land are important to the native families. Care must be given to the sites associated with the *ilina*, and family members should be involved in long-term protection planning efforts.
- The *pā niu* (coconut grove) fronting Uluweuweu Bay, was an important natural resource to the families of the land. It was carefully tended, and protected from the ocean by an old wall (*pale kai*) on the beach side.
- Also within the *pā niu*, near the *loko wai* (ponds) were the *loulou* (*Pritchardia* palms) and *ulu hala* (pandanus groves) which were carefully tended and regularly harvested for weaving and thatching uses by the *kama'āina*. All of these plants (the *niu*, *loulou*, and *hala*) are very important to the families, and it is urged that an active program of stewardship and propagation be undertaken.
- The *loko wai* (ponds), including the *ki'o pua* and *ki'o 'ōpae 'ula* (fish-fry and shrimp ponds) were an integral part of the life and well being of the families who dwelt at Kūki'ō. The ponds were cared for, cleaned, deepened in places, and division walls made in them to promote water circulation and fish propagation. Individuals who work on the

ponds and neighboring features should consult with *kama'āina* of Kūki'o to ensure that the resources are properly cared for and restored.

- The family members concur with selective interpretation and careful, monitored site visitation to those sites at which visitation is appropriate. In general, it is suggested that site stabilization be done. While discussions of “restoration” were cautious, due to the fact that the knowledge of specific site functions and form, is limited. Also, it is urged that the carrying capacities of the cultural and natural resources be carefully monitored. There may be times when visitation or wide spread resource collection or use is inappropriate.

Me ka mahalo –

E nā kūpuna, nā mākua, nā keiki o ka 'āina, a me nā hoaloha, iā 'oukou pākāhi a pau — Mahalo nui i ko 'oukou lokomaika'i a me ka ho'olauna pū 'ana me ka 'oukou ho'omana'o 'ana a me ka mana'o kuhikuhi 'ana no kēia mo'olelo 'āina no Kūki'o ma ka 'āina kaha. Iā 'oukou (ma ka helu pī'āpā):

Karin Haleamau, Kinoulū Kahananui, David a me Robert Keākealani (a me ka 'ohana), Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Pereira, Tessa Magoon-Dye, Joseph Pu'ipu'i Maka'ai, Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole (me ka 'ohana), Kihalani Springer; a me ka nui o nā kūpuna i hala aku nei, akā ke mau nei nō ma ka mana'o a me ka pu'uwai —

Mahalo a nui!

A ke nonoi ha'aha'a aku nei au iā 'oukou – O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia.

Me ka ha'aha'a a me ke aloha – Kepā Maly

A'ohē hana nui ke alu 'ia (It is no great task when done together by all)

CONTENTS

NĀ KŪKI‘O MA KA ‘ĀINA KAHA: A Collection of Traditional and Historical Accounts of Kūki‘o at Kekaha, North Kona	• 1
Introduction	• 1
Kūki‘o in the Kekaha Region of North Kona	• 1
An Overview of the Cultural Context and Importance of Hawaiian Place Names	• 3
Interpreting the Meanings of Place Names	• 3
Meanings of Selected Place Names of Kūki‘o and Vicinity	• 4
The Significance Attributed to Place Names in Hawaiian Culture Today	• 5
MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA: (NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS)	• 6
He Mo‘olelo no Mākālei (A Tradition of Mākālei)	• 7
Ka‘ao Ho‘oniua Pu‘uwai no Ka-Miki (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki)	• 13
Kekaha, Kona – ca. 1740 to 1790	• 14
Eruptions of Hualālai (1800-1801)	• 15
1800 and 1801: Ka Huaka‘i o Pele — The Procession (eruptions) of Pele	• 15
Ka Loko o-Pa‘aiea (The fishpond of Pa‘aiea)	• 16
Ka Pu‘u o ‘Akahipu‘u (The Hill of ‘Akahipu‘u)	• 19
Kūki‘o and Manini‘ōwali	• 19
Nā Ho‘omana‘o o ka Manawa (Reflections of Past Times)	• 21
John Ka‘elemakule (1854-1935)	• 24
KEKAHA DESCRIBED BY FOREIGN VISITORS OF THE HISTORIC PERIOD	• 27
Kekaha (1823) Described by William Ellis	• 27
Kekaha (ca. 1840): the United States Exploring Expedition	• 28
George Bowser’s “Directory and Tourists Guide” (1880)	• 28
RESIDENCY AND LAND TENURE: KŪKI‘O AND VICINITY	• 30
Kūki‘o and Vicinity in Government Communications	• 30
Boundary Commission Testimonies (1874 and 1886)	• 34
Hawaiian Government Field Surveys (1882)	• 37
Subdivision of Kūki‘o and Vicinity in the Homestead Act of 1884	• 44
An Overview of Ranching in Kekaha	• 49

<i>Hu'ehu'e Ranch (ca. 1886 to 1968)</i>	• 51
<i>An Overview of Twentieth Century Coastal Land Use at Kūki'o</i>	• 52
<i>The Kikaua Point Beach Lot and House</i>	• 52
<i>Kūki'o 2nd-Manini'ōwali Beach Lots</i>	• 53
KŪKI'O AND VICINITY: AN OVERVIEW OF SELECTED HISTORICAL STUDIES (CA. 1930 TO 1992)	• 55
<i>Overview</i>	• 55
<i>Archaeology of Kona, Hawaii (Reinecke, ms. 1930)</i>	• 55
<i>Kūki'o and Vicinity - Sites Documented by Reinecke (1930)</i>	• 56
<i>Recent Archaeological and Historical Research</i>	• 59
<i>Kekaha: 'Aina Malo'o (Marion Kelly 1971)</i>	• 59
<i>Regional Notes from Kekaha (Kihalani Springer 1985, 1989, 1992)</i>	• 60
AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL NOTES RECORDED IN ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS	• 62
<i>Caring for the Places and Things of the Past (Recommendations from Native Families of the Land)</i>	• 62
REFERENCES CITED	• 65
ILLUSTRATIONS	
<i>Figure 1. Kūki'o Project Area, North Kona, Hawai'i (TMK 7-2-04)</i>	• 2
<i>Figure 2. Portion of Survey Map for Grant No. 2121 to Pupule; Kukio 1st J. Fuller, September 27, 1854. (State Land Division)</i>	• 32
<i>Figure 3. Portion of Register Map No. 1278 (Detail of Kūki'o and Vicinity); J.S. Emerson, 1882</i>	• 38
<i>Figure 4. Portion of Register Map No. 1449 (Ka'ūpūlehu-Kaulana Section of Kekaha); J.S. Emerson, 1888</i>	• at end
<i>Figure 5. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 252:47</i>	• 39
<i>Figure 6. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:3</i>	• 40
<i>Figure 7. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 251:1</i>	• 42
<i>Figure 8. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:27</i>	• 43
<i>Figure 9. Royal Patent Grant 3438, awarded to J.A. Maguire (1888)</i>	• 47
<i>Figure 10. Lots A,B,C, and D Kukio 2nd-Maniniowali Beach Lots</i>	• 54
<i>Figure 11. Map after Reinecke (Bishop Museum - Ms. 1930:46,49) Showing Approximate Locations of Sites and Features Described in the Coastal Region of Kūki'o</i>	• 57
APPENDICES	
<i>Appendix A – Oral History Interviews</i>	

This page intentionally left blank

NĀ KŪKI'Ō MA KA 'ĀINA KAHA: A COLLECTION OF TRADITIONAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF KŪKI'Ō AT KEKAHA, NORTH KONA

Introduction

At the request of Steven S.C. Lim, Esquire, cultural resources specialist, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), prepared a study of archival documents and historical literature for the land of Kūki'ō nui (Kūki'ō 1st), and neighboring lands of the Kekaha region, North Kona District, Island of Hawai'i (TMK 7-204:5) (*Figure 1*). Maly also conducted several oral history interviews and cites selected historical interviews as a part of the present study (oral history documentation is cited as a separate volume in *Appendix A* of this study). Unlike many studies undertaken in the State of Hawai'i, this study was not conducted as a part of a land use permitting process. It was undertaken as a result of the land owner's (developer's) interest in better understanding the history of the land, and their desire to develop a culturally sensitive interpretive/educational program for the people who will visit and/or reside at Kūki'ō in the future.

Since the early 1990s, Maly has conducted extensive research in the larger Kekaha Region of which Kūki'ō is a part, and he has conducted both archival research and oral history interviews with several individuals descended from nineteenth century residents of Kūki'ō (cf. Maly 1998a, 1998b, & 1999). The documentation cited in this study was found in several important and frequently cited historical accounts (written by both native and foreign authors, cited in text). The narratives also provide readers with first hand accounts written or recorded in Hawaiian by native residents of Kekaha, with several of the narratives having had only limited exposure in English to the present date (translations of the Hawaiian texts were prepared by Maly). Additionally, selected narratives which describe the customs, practices and beliefs of native residents of the larger Kekaha region are included when they can help interpret historic resources of the land and the lifeways of the residents.

Kūki'ō in the Kekaha Region of North Kona

Kona is one of six major districts (*moku-o-loko*) that make up the political units of the island of Hawai'i. Like other large districts on the island, Kona was divided into 'okana or kalana (regions smaller than the *moku-o-loko*, yet comprising several other units of land). In the region now known as Kona 'akau (North Kona), there were at least two ancient regions (*kalana*) as well. The southern portion of North Kona was known as "Kona kai 'ōpua" (interpretively translated as: Kona of the distant horizon clouds above the ocean), and included the area extending from Kailua to Pu'uohau. The northern-most portion of North Kona was called "Kekaha" (descriptive of an arid coastal place). Native residents of the region affectionately referred to their home as "Kekaha-wai-'ole o nā Kona" (Waterless Kekaha of the Kona district). It is in Kekaha, that the *ahupua'a* (native land division; generally an area that extends from the sea fishery fronting a land to an upland area on the mountain slope) of Kūki'ō is found.

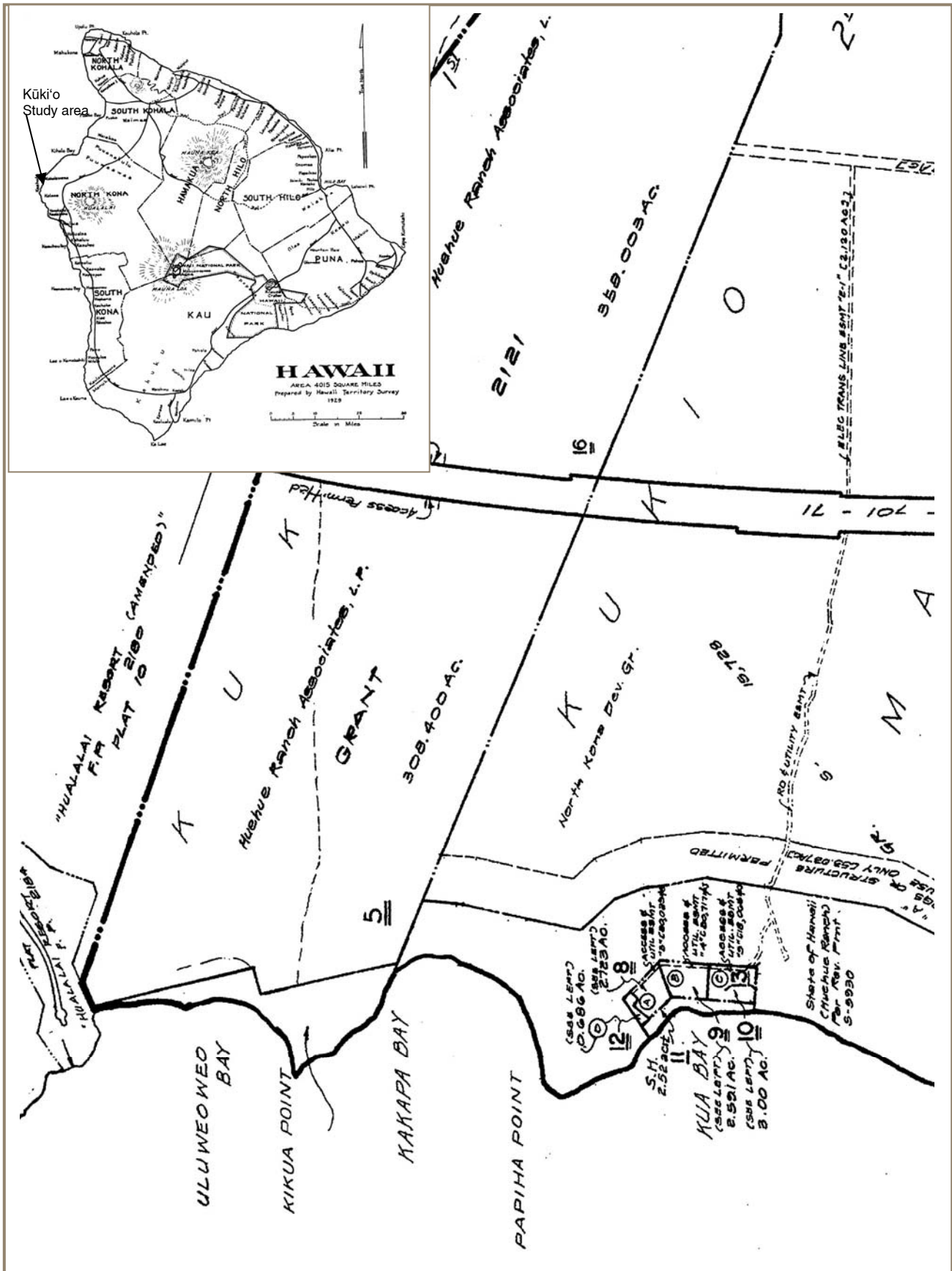


Figure 1. Kūki'o Project Area, North Kona, Hawai'i (TMK 7-2-04)

An Overview of the Cultural Context and Importance of Hawaiian Place Names

The occurrence of Hawaiian place names demonstrates traditional knowledge of place, and the broad relationship of the natural landscape to the culture, practices and beliefs of the Hawaiian people. Among the place names recorded for the study area are Kūki'o, Uluweuweu, Keawaiki, and Kikaua. In ancient times, named localities served a variety of functions, including: (1) triangulation points such as *ko'a* (markers for fishing grounds); (2) residences; (3) areas of planting; (4) water sources; (5) trails and trail side resting places (*o'io'ina*), such as a rock shelter or tree shaded spot; (6) *heiau* or other features of ceremonial importance; (7) may have been the source of a particular natural resource or any number of other features; or (8) the names may have recorded a particular event or practice that occurred in a given area. The place names of Kūki'o (including the *ahupua'a* name) fall into all eight of the above identified categories.

Interpreting the Meanings of Place Names

In 1902, W.D. Alexander, former Surveyor General of the Kingdom (and later Government) of Hawai'i, wrote an account of "Hawaiian Geographic Names" (1902), under the heading "Meaning of Hawaiian Geographic Names" he observed:

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to translate most of these names, on account of their great antiquity and the changes of which many of them have evidently undergone. It often happens that a word may be translated in different ways by dividing it differently. Many names of places in these islands are common to other groups of islands in the South Pacific, and were probably brought here with the earliest colonists. They have been used for centuries without any thought of their original meaning... (Alexander 1902:395)

History tells us that named locations were significant in past times, and it has been observed that "Names would not have been given to [or remembered if they were] mere worthless pieces of topography" (Handy and Handy with Pukui, 1972:412). In "A Gazetteer of the Territory of Hawaiian," Coulter (1935) observed that Hawaiians had place names for all manner of feature, ranging from "outstanding cliffs" to what he described as "trivial land marks" (Coulter 1935:10).

As noted above, some place names may be easily translated, being either a single word, or a compound of two or more words that remain in common usage. Such names are generally descriptive of a landscape or event. Between 1975-1977, the author discussed place names and their interpretations with Dr. Mary Kawena Pukui (author of many important publication on Hawaiian language, culture, and beliefs). In those conversations, Dr. Pukui shared her opinion that where obvious translations could be made — names for which traditional interpretations existed, or which were made up of words that remained in common use in the language — those names could be given "literal" translations. For other names, generally, a compound of two or more words that lent themselves to various translations, "interpretive translations" might be given. Additionally, for some names, it was inappropriate to offer translations, as the possible meaning was too obscure (pers. comm. M.K. Pukui).

In regards to the place name "Kūki'o," there are at least two locations which bear the name, one on O'ahu, and the other on Hawai'i (the latter being the subject area of this paper). In Place Names of Hawaii (Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini 1974), Kū-ki'o is "literally" translated as

“settled-dregs” (1974:121). Based on conversations with Dr. Pukui, the source of the interpretation comes from the place name account as given at Kahuku O’ahu. It is noted here, that the word “*ki’o*” occurs in other traditional place names or site descriptions as well.

As this authors understands it, the “Kū-ki’o” (Settled-dregs) tradition for the place name on O’ahu, is associated with the settling of shore-wash debris in a pond complex of that name, near Kahuku point. Another translation of the name, which has been passed around more recently, and of which the age and source are not clear, is that the “*ki’o*” may translate as excrement (mounds of excrement). Below, is a discussion on the word “*ki’o*” and its older use in describing a pond or pool.

Meanings of Selected Place Names of Kūki’o and Vicinity

Based on historical documentation and oral history interviews conducted by the author in Kona, the Kona place name “Kū-ki’o,” was given as a description of the “standing-ponds or pools of water” which are found along the shoreline. The word “*ki’o*” in this context is literally a pond or pool, and “*kū*” translates as standing or rising; when written together, Kū-ki’o can be interpretively translated as a “pond of rising water,” or a “holding-pond.” Family traditions of native residents of Kekaha, record that where such “anchialine” ponds maintained a sufficient level of water (generally fed by an infusion of sea water mixed with fresh water from underground sources), native residents would stock the ponds with fish fry (*pua*) and near shore fish to be used during seasons of rough seas when ocean fishing was unsafe. This practice of stocking the ponds at Kūki’o, Ka’ūpūlehu, Kīholo, Makalawena, Mahai’ula and Kaulana (lands situated to the north and south of Kūki’o, was continued through the early 1950s by elderly native residents of the coastal Kekaha region (recorded in oral history interviews by Maly).

Among the other place names of Kūki’o, recorded in traditions and historic survey records, we find the following names:

Kakapa – literally translated as “Edge” or “Border” (descriptive of the boundary between Kūki’o iki and Manini’ōwali.

Kanaka-loa – literally translated as “Long-man”. A stone form of a supernatural man, and one of the triangulation markers of the Kūki’o fishery.

Ke-awa-iki – literally translated as “The little canoe landing” (the shoreward boundary of Kūki’o-Ka’ūpūlehu).

Kū-ki’o – as translated above. Use of “*nui*” and “*iki*,” describes the larger (*nui*), and little (*iki*) smaller sections of the land of Kūki’o.

Lae o Kikaua – literally translated as “Point-of-Kikaua” (meaning of Kikaua, uncertain). Reportedly named for a *kahuna* (priest) and resident of the land.

Lae o Papiha – literally translated as “Point-of-Papiha”.

Pōhaku-o-Keawe – literally translated as “Stone-of-Keawe”.

Pu’u Mūhe’e-nui – literally translated as “Large-cuttlefish-hill”.

Pu’u-o-kai – literally translated as “Seaward-hill”.

Pu’u Po’opo’omino – Interpretively translated as “Hill-[with]-dimpled-hollows” (descriptive of the hill’s topography).

Pu’u Pāpapa – literally translated as “Low (or flat)-hill”.

Ulu-weuweu – interpretively translated as “Verdant-growth”

The Significance Attributed to Place Names in Hawaiian Culture Today

Kūpuna (and native residents) of the Kekaha region share a strong cultural attachment and historical pride for the native place names of the landscape. Whether they are *ahupua'a* (land division names) like Kūki'o, or names which identify specific locations, the place names are an important link to the past history of the land. During interviews, the *kūpuna* and *mākuā* (younger parent generation) interviewees have requested that individual *ahupua'a* and other place names be used, and that interpretive wayside stations and interpretive and educational materials be developed to help perpetuate the history of those names (cf. Maly 1998a, 1998b, 1999).

MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA: (NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS)

A review of nineteenth and early twentieth century Hawaiian historical records (narratives written by both native and foreign historians) presents readers with a few rich glimpses into the history and customs associated with the land of Kūki‘o and the larger Kekaha region of North Kona. While there is a limited amount of documentation in historical narratives for Kūki‘o, the available narratives help us understand the significance of the lands of Kekaha, and how the land shaped the lives and practices of the native population in ancient times. It is appropriate to note here, that the limited number of early native accounts, is not surprising when one takes into account the dramatic changes in the natural landscape in the region, a result of the 1800 and 1801 lava flows of Hualālai. The lava flows not only covered large tracts of land in Kekaha, but they also erased significant features in the cultural landscape. Adding to the limitations of early records is the fact that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the native population was also in decline, primarily as a result of foreign diseases. Thus, many of the people who could tell the stories were gone before detailed written accounts could be recorded.

At Kūki‘o and lands which neighbor it to the north and south (e.g., Ka‘ūpūlehu, Manini‘ōwali, Awake‘e, Makalawena Mahai‘ula, and Kaulana), where fresh water, sheltered, bays were found, and natural resources were favorable, families in small communities maintained residence into the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From some of the descendants of these families we are provided a unique historical record—indeed at least two of the “sons” of Kekaha (born in the early 1850s) were prolific writers. In the period from ca. 1907 to 1929, J.W.H. Isaac Kihe (who also wrote under the penname “Ka-‘ohu-ha‘aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-‘ekolu”) and John Ka‘elemakule, who independently and in partnership with Reverend Steven Desha and John Wise¹, wrote detailed historical accounts in Hawaiian language newspapers. Their rich texts tell us that the lava flows of 1800-1801 covered important agricultural fields, large native communities, and a highly valued complex of fishponds. They also offer us documentation on place names, practices, customs, and beliefs of the people of Kekaha.

The following historical texts include selected excerpts from frequently cited narratives, and also provide readers with first hand accounts by native residents. To the greatest extent possible, all native accounts which make specific reference to Kūki‘o have been included here. Other selected narratives which describe the customs, practices and beliefs of native residents of Kekaha-wai-‘ole-o-nā-Kona, are included when they can help interpret historic resources of the land and the lifeways of the residents. Many of the places identified by name in the traditional and historical accounts may still be found on historic maps as well. The historical records are usually presented in sections by date of occurrence — that is, the period of the events described in the traditions.

¹ Kihe and Wise also worked on the translations of Abraham Fornander’s “Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore” (1916-1919).

He Mo'olelo no Mākālei (A Tradition of Mākālei)

The tradition of Mākālei was submitted to the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* (published between January 31st to August 21st 1928) by Hawaiian historian and educator J.W.H.I. Kihe (writing under the pen name Ho'olaleaka'ūkiu). The tradition is set around the thirteenth century (by association with 'Olopana's reign on O'ahu). The following translations prepared by Maly, are excerpted from the first few editions of the article series recorded by Kihe. The narratives describe traditional practices associated with agriculture (including water catchment), specifically describing agricultural fields in the uplands of Kūki'o, and also include important descriptions of the rich fisheries of the Kekaha region of which Kūki'o is a part.

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 three 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'elo*² (*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 [on 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, and they landed at Hale'uki near the shore of Ka'ulupūlehu (Ka'ūpūlehu). Mākālei *mā*³ were greeted by Ke'awalena, a chief and skilled diviner of the Kekaha region.

Because Ko'a was an excellent fisherman and farmer, and because Ke'awalena sensed Mākālei's supernatural qualities, Keawalena welcomed the new family and encouraged them to stay and live with his people. In time, Ko'a saw that this land was a dry one, without quantities of food crops, though there was good fishing. Because he did not wish to burden the family of Ke'awalena, Ko'a asked that he be allowed to go to the uplands to care for some land and cultivate food so that everyone would have more to eat. Ke'awalena responded by saying that this is the trouble with this land, there is little water. When the sun is above the land in the *lā malo'o*-dry season the crops are dried out, and the people move from the uplands to live along the shore where water is available...

Ko'a then asked how is it that the people in the uplands get water. And Ke'awalena told him that "The water comes only from the rains. When it rains, then the water ways (dry rivers), the small and large water gourds, the stone catchments made by placing stones together, are all filled with water. The *pao wai* or dugout pits are filled with water and these are the places where water is stored." Keawalena also told Ko'a that "some people have *kaulana wai* (places where water rests) or *ana wai* (water caves) which they use when

² *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.

³ *Mā* - a Hawaiian word meaning "and family," "associate(s)," or "companion(s)."

there is no other water. For those people who do not have *kaulana wai*, there is great tribulation, and they are the ones who return in the [dry] season to dwell on the shore. The water in the caves, is a water which *kulu wai* or drips from the rocks. Channels of banana stalks are set in place to direct the water into troughs of *‘ōhi‘a* and *wiliwili* wood...”

Though he heard these words, Ko‘a was not discouraged, and he and Ke‘awalena traveled to the uplands of Ka‘ulupūlehu. In all this area, there was no *kihāpai* (garden area) or *mo‘o ‘āina* (arable strip of land) left uncultivated. The two then went to Kūki‘o, and there also was no place left uncultivated, and it was the same at Makalawena. They then went to the hill of ‘Akāhipu‘u, the place where the house of Maguire now stands, called Hu‘ehu‘e Ranch. All the good lands were cultivated and there was only one place left open, this was at Mahai‘ula, on the [south] side of ‘Akāhipu‘u. This place had been left because of its rocky, uneven surface with depressions and rocky mounds. It was here that Ko‘a told his companion, “this is a good land for cultivation.”

Ke‘awalena responded, “This is a rocky uneven land with it depressions and rocky mounds, there is no soil and none of the natives of the area would try to cultivate crops here.” Ko‘a said, “Though the land is as you described, it is here that I will grow taro, bananas, sugar canes, sweet potatoes, and *‘awa* (*Piper methysticum*), there will be no end to the growth of these plants...” (January 31, 1928)

The two companions then to the shore of Ka‘ūpūlehu to gather things in preparation for their return to the uplands of Mahai‘ula. While the work was being done, the family would remain along the shore. When Ko‘a returned to the uplands, he took his son Mākālei with him, for he wished to see Ho‘olale-a-ka-‘ūkiu [another name for Mākālei’s ancestress, “*E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā‘elo, pa‘a ‘ia a pa‘a ka i‘a a kāua*” (Hail *Hina* in the season of *Kā‘elo*, secure and hold tight to the fish of ours)].

The first task was to build their house and enclose it, then they built the *pao wai* (water catchment) for storing the waters which came from rains. The great task of the companion [Keawalena], was to go to the farmers and collect planting stock of the *pōhuli mai‘a* (banana sprouts), the *lau ‘uala* (sweet potato runners), the *pulapula ‘awa* (‘awa cuttings), seed sprouts of the *ipu ‘awa‘awa* (bitter gourd), and all manner of cultivated plants.

The local people teased Keawalena, and ridiculed the stranger (Ko‘a), who new friend, who would dwell upon this rocky land with its uneven surface, depressions, and rocky mounds. They said it would be a waste of time to try cultivating such a place. Keawalena responded by saying “You have one knowledge, and this man has another knowledge. It is like the fishermen who have ways different than yours.”

Ko‘a took up residence and began farming the land, and Keawalena began setting out the *hue wai* (water gourds), the *haona wai* (water bowls), the *‘olo*

(long gourd containers), and preparing the *pao wai* (water catchments). The rains then returned and filled the gourds with water. Ko‘a then planted the *kalo* (taro), sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar canes, and bitter gourds etc. And as these plants began to grow, they grew more luxuriously than any plants which had been seen before. The rains also continued to fall, filling all of the containers. Wild grasses began to grow around the *mākālua kalo* (taro planting holes), and around all the things which had been planted. This grass was used as the *kīpulu* (mulch) for all the other plants, and things grew even better; there was more cultivated food than had ever been available.

As the seasons changed from the days of the moon (winter) to the days of the sun (summer), the sun dried all the growth surface growth, but the taro, sweet potatoes, and different plants continued to growing because the was water below the surface in the rocks of the *kīhāpai* (cultivated patches). When the sweet potatoes matured and were ready for harvest, the family returned to the uplands for ten days. They baked a pig and offered chants and prayers in *kahukahu* ceremonies of the planter. When the taro, sweet potatoes, and foods were all prepared, Ko‘a called to all who passed by to come and eat and to even take food home.

Now the people who had ridiculed Ko‘a, withdrew and ceased talking, they did not come forward. Their words and actions had been made as nothing, by the accomplishments of Ko‘a. But the work of the farmer continues even as the sun begins its descent, there is no time to rest except for in the night. The taro sent out shoots, the bananas ripened, the sugar canes laid upon the ground [bent over with their weight], and the ‘*awa* was plentiful. Throughout this time, Mākālei was his father’s constant companion in cultivating the land.

One day the child Mākālei went to relieve himself along side a small depression in the field and while excreting, he felt a breeze rising to him from below. Greatly startled, he carefully looked down and saw the opening of a dark whole from which the wind was blowing. Mākālei stood up and went to call his father and told him about the wind blowing from under the ground, thinking that it was a wind cave which extended from the uplands. The father went to look at the opening and saw that the wind was indeed coming out of the cave. This is the place that came to be called *ke ana wai o Mākālei* (the water cave of Mākālei), named for the one that this story is about.

On another day, after having completed his work, Ko‘a went to the place of this wind cave. After looking at the opening, he began to remove rocks from the cave mouth and made a round opening large enough for a man to enter. Ko‘a then went to his house and took a *kukui* torch and returned to the cave. Upon entering the cave, he saw that it was a very large cavern with a high ceiling and wide expanse, and water was dripping down from the ceiling.

When Ko‘a returned to his house, he did not tell his wife or daughters about the cave, he kept his actions hidden and made as if the site of the cave opening was a place for refuse and relieving one’s self. (February 7, 1928)

So now we see my reading companions that it was the thought of Ko‘a to keep this place a secret, known only to Mākālei and himself. This was a *kaulana wai huna* (hidden resting [gathering] place of water), and indeed, no other person ever knew of the existence of the cave. The water cave remained hidden from everyone except Ko‘a and his son Mākālei. Even after Mākālei traveled to *Kaua‘i-nui-moku-lehua-pane‘e-lua-i-ke-kai* (Kaua‘i of the great *lehua* forests which appear to travel by twos to the ocean), and when Ko‘a died, no one knew about the cave. This water cave remained a secret until Mākālei was near death, then he told his son Ka-lei-a-Pā‘oa-o-Mākālei (Kalei) about the water cave, before Kalei made a journey from Kaua‘i to the island of Hawai‘i to visit his relatives. It was Mākālei’s command that Kalei reveal the existence of this water cave to his surviving family and their descendants. It was in this same cave that Mr. J.A. Maguire, deceased, built a water tank, and laid pipes to his house from within the cave. A wind mill was then used to pump the water from the cave; perhaps he [Maguire] was one of the last descendants of Mākālei.

After realizing the nature of the cave, Ko‘a then set about at the large task of carving canoes of *‘ōhi‘a* (*Metrosideros polymorpha*), and *wiliwili* (*Erythrina sandwicensis*), which he did at night without being observed. He then took the *wa‘a wai* (water canoes, or troughs) and placed them in the cave till there was no room for anything else. And when it was once again the season of the sun’s return to this land, the sun drank all of the water which had been stored from the rains. The sun moved over head and the people once again relied on the *kaulana wai*. For those people who did not have water the sun offered no compassion, and the people moved again to the shore where water was not disputed over. But for them [the family of Ko‘a] there was no problem in obtaining water. The *‘ōhi‘a* and *wiliwili* troughs were filled with water which rippled and overflowed upon the *pili* grass.

As Mākālei grew, he matured into a handsome young man and he enjoyed all the favorite pastimes of youths at the time. But, farming was Mākālei’s favorite pastime, and as his father did, so did Mākālei. Their produce went to those who lived down by the place of the canoe fleets, to the uplands of Pahulu, and to the community at Moa-nui-a-hea.

One day Ko‘a told Mākālei, “It is now time for Keawalena and I to instruct you the skills of the fishermen. That way you will have no need to wait on the skills of others to provide you with food to eat, and there will be no shame in waiting on others to supply you. You will have your selection of that which you wish to eat.” When the day arrived that Mākālei was going to begin learning the skills of the fishermen, they descended to the shore where he was taught about *hī* (lure trolling) for *aku*, *‘ahi*, *kāhala*, *ulua*, and fishing for *ō‘uku‘uku*, *‘ōpakapaka*, and *kalekale*, etc. The father also taught his son the techniques of fishing with all manner of nets, and Mākālei embraced the knowledge of all the practices of the fishermen, and the cherished knowledge of the ancestors and parent generation.

Now the daughters of Ko‘a and Kaua took husbands who were also fishermen. Their husbands were from the shores of Ka‘elehuluhulu and Mahai‘ula, and the husbands names were ‘Ōhiki and Hainoa. The daughters went to live with their husbands, while the parents lived with their one remaining child, Mākālei. Over the next ten years, Mākālei learned all manner of knowledge pertaining to the cultivation of crops and fishing. Mākālei also learned the practices of fighting in the techniques of *lua*, *ha‘iha‘i*, and *ku‘iku‘i* etc. [martial arts, bone breaking, and boxing], for these were greatly cherished by our *kūpuna* (ancestors) of those days, and this is how people of the Hawaiian race strengthened their bodies in those days.

When the days of the *aku* fishing season arrived in Kekaha which is called Kekaha-wai-‘ole (The waterless place) by its native children, it is said – “*Ola aku la ka ‘āina kaha, ua pua ka lehua i ke kai*” (The natives of Kekaha are well when the *lehua* blossoms are upon the sea) [During the fishing season of Ka‘ūpulehu-Kekaha many of the people who dwelt in the *lehua* forested uplands moved to the coastal communities from where they launched their fishing canoes. Thus the people of the uplands were likened to *lehua* blossoms, and the saying came about because of this practice.] It was in these days that the best trained fishermen of Kekaha-wai-‘ole, exhibited their knowledge of *hī-aku* fishing, this famous task of Kekaha and all Kona.

The husbands of Ko‘a’s daughters were the head fishermen of Ka‘elehuluhulu, and when they heard that the fish were running, they went and prepared to fill their canoes with *aku*. Hearing the news that the canoe fleet was being made ready, Mākālei called to his father, asking that he be allowed to go down to the shore of Ka‘elehuluhulu to get some *aku* from his sisters. When Mākālei went to the shore, his sisters saw him, and he was carrying cooked taro and lengths of sugar cane longer than the span of a man’s arm. Some taro and sugar cane was given to each sister. Mākālei then said, “O my elder sisters, I have come down here because we have heard that the sea is filled with *aku*, and we desire to eat some *aku*.”

The sisters responded, “Wait until your brother-in-laws return with *aku*, for they have never missed in catching the fish; but, perhaps there will be none to ask for.” Mākālei responded, “Perhaps this is not a day for the fish to run. Though there have been many *aku*, this is a day in which the fish may be sleeping [in the depths] for this is the time of *Kulu*, when it is said – ‘*Kulu ka pō, o Welehu ka malama, he lā i‘a ‘ole kēia*’ (*Kulu* is the night, *Welehu* is the month, this is a day of no fish). The sister answered saying, “Your brother-in-laws will not come back empty handed. How indeed shall the two foremost fishermen of the *kaha* (shore) return empty handed, when fishing is what they are famed for?”

Mākālei then said, “Look, the canoe fleet is returning, and the sun travels peering upon *ka paepae kapu o ka hale o Uli* (the sacred platform of the house of Uli; i.e. the sun sits atop of the head, it is midday); there are not even ten canoes, and the people return. The canoe fleet does not return when the sun is still rising above. Indeed – *o ka hele la a kūpono ka la i ka*

lolo, a'ohē no he 'ike 'ia aku o ka wa'a (when the sun rises and sits directly upon the brain [is directly overhead] the canoes are usually nowhere to be seen). Mākālei asked, "Do you see the canoes returning? Perhaps what you have said [about your husbands fishing skills] is not true."

Mākālei's sisters disagreed with his accounting of the returning canoes, and questioned whether he had an understanding of practices associated with fishing. Mākālei then reminded his sisters that their father had been the lead fisherman under Kualoa in service of the chief 'Olopana at Ko'olau, "Only after the death of Kualoa did we leave O'ahu and come to dwell here at Kona of the dark green mountain which stands in the calm—*Kona mauna hāuliuli kū pōlua i ka pohu.*"

Upon finishing his comments, the sisters agreed that perhaps this brother of theirs was correct, "it may be that our father has taught our brother all manner of fishing skills." As the sun began to move away, the canoe fleet was seen to enter the landing. Mākālei then quickly went down and stood at the bow of the canoe of his brother-in-law 'Ōhiki, who was one of the lead fishermen of Ka'elehuluhulu. (February 14, 1928)

Seeing that Mākālei held fast to the canoe bow, 'Ōhiki spoke harshly, "What is it that this child of the dangling genitals wants, that he should hold so fast to the bow of the canoe with one eye [desire]; you are not ours you little lazy child."

Though he heard the spiteful words of his brother-in-law, Mākālei still took up the *lona wiliwili* (*wiliwili* wood canoe rollers) and placed it below the canoe, so that the canoe could be taken up the shore. Mākālei then departed and went back to his sister home, and she asked, "are there many *aku*?" Mākālei responded that there were a few. The sister then asked, "were there no fish for the one who helped to take the canoe up on the shore?" Mākālei responded, "No, I told you this was the day of Kulu when the fish remained in the depths..."

Now when the other brother-in-law, Hainoa landed his canoe, Mākālei went quickly to the shore and secured the *lona* and carried the canoe up to the canoe stalls. Hainoa called to Mākālei, chose three fish for you, but Mākālei took up only one fish and Hainoa encouraged Mākālei to take more, but Mākālei declined saying this one was enough. Hainoa then went and greeted Mākālei with a kiss, and inquired about his parents who were living in the uplands...

Upon returning to the uplands a little below the hill of 'Akahipu'u, Kaula inquired of Mākālei how his sisters were. Mākālei also described the circumstances of how he came to have the one large *aku*. Now when this fish had been consumed, Mākālei returned to the coast, and like before, he took taro and sugar cane with him. When he arrived before his sisters, they inquired how their parents were and asked if there was water to be had in the uplands. The sisters thought that perhaps there would be no water for their

parents and Mākālei in the uplands. But Mākālei told them, “we have no problem with the water, it is fish that we lack.” The sisters responded that they only had dried *aku* in the storage houses.

Mākālei then told his sisters, “The canoe fleet will returning, but there will be no *aku*, for this is the day of *Kāloa-kulua*, a day when there is much traveling done to follow the swift moving *aku*, indeed, the canoes have traveled so far that the shoulders of the paddlers are weary with their task. Of days like this it is said, ‘*Ke pī o ke aku, a’ohe po’e o ka pā* (The *aku* are stingy, the lure attracts no people).’ This is a day when the *aku* take off, they do not stay at the *ko’a* (fishing stations) for the sword-fish of the depths chases after them. (February 21, 1928)

When it was afternoon, the canoe fleets returned to Ka’elehuluhulu, Mahai’ula, Makalawena, Ka’ūpūlehu and beyond. Of all the canoes, only the canoe of Hainoa, the husband of Mākālei’s sister Ke-kai-ku’i-o-Keawehala (The striking [rough] seas of Keawehala) had any fish. Taking up his five fish, Hainoa went up to his home where he found that many people had gathered together. These people were the natives from the surrounding lands, but foremost among them was the stranger [Mākālei], who had brought and prepared large quantities of taro, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and bananas, for them to eat, and *’awa* for them to drink. Hainoa then gave them the four of the *aku*. In this way, Hainoa and Mākālei *mā* became benefactors of those same people who had ridiculed Ko’a-mokumoku-o-He’eia for selecting the land on which he was cultivating these great quantities of food... (February 28, 1928)

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

Ka’ao Ho’oniua Pu’uwai no Ka-Miki (Ka-Miki) is one of the earliest accounts found to date (published between 1914-1917 in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai’i*), which describes certain sites and customs associated with the lowlands of Kūki’o and vicinity. Penned in Hawaiian by Kihe and Wise (translated by Maly), the tradition is set in the thirteenth century. Ka-Miki is a long and complex tradition that takes readers around the island of Hawai’i, describing practices, sites, and how places came to be named. In the lands of Kūki’o and Manini’ōwali, the following sites are referenced:

Kanaka-loa (Long man) On the hill of Mūhe’enui in Kūki’o.

Mūhe’e-nui (Large cuttlefish) In the land of Kūki’o, named for the wife of Kanakalaoa.

Ka-ho’owaha (To carry something on one’s back; cf. Emerson in this study)
In the land of Manini’ōwali.

The place called Kanakalaoa was named for the deified sling stone fighting master, and brother of Kū-mua-a-lau-a-hanahana, husband of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. Near the boundary of Ka’ūpūlehu and Kūki’o, is the hill Mūhe’enui, also called Ka-lā-malo’o-o-Mūhe’enui. On the ridge of the hill is a long stone like no other, which is the form of Kanakalaoa. The Kanaka-loa stone is one of the *ko’a* triangulation stations for deep sea canoe fishermen,

who used the *ko'a lawai'a kūkaula* (deep sea hand line fishing grounds) of Kaho'owaha. Another one of the markers is the hill called Kaho'owaha in Manini'owali.

Kanakaloa was the fierce warrior (fighting bonito) of the Pu'uhinuhiu and 'Ua'upo'o'ole hills in the 'ulei covered region of Hikūhia. Kanakaloa was skilled in wrestling, bone breaking and sling stone fighting, no one could compete with him. The region around Hikūhia, associated with Pu'u-hinuhiu-o-'Ua'u-po'o'ole, a gullied hill, and the lands named Kapipā (above Pu'unāhāhā and Pu'umau'u) were once famed for *kīmopō pōwā* (thieves and robbers) who waylaid travelers along the trail which led to Mauna-kilohana, (towards Mauna Kea) from Ka'ūpūlehu; the bones of many of their victims were left along the trail. Kanakaloa rid the region of these thieves and robbers... (June 18, 1914; Maly translator)

Kekaha, Kona – ca. 1740 to 1790

Native historian, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1961) wrote about the history of Hawai'i in nineteenth century Hawaiian newspapers. From his writings, we learn something of the history of the Kekaha region, and events in the period leading up to western contact (1778), and shortly there after, that impacted native residency in Kekaha (presumably also impacting the native residents of Kūki'o). Kamakau's narrative tells us that Alapa'i-nui, who had secured all of Hawai'i under his rule, was attacked by the forces of Kekaulike from Maui. The circumstances of the battle, and their impact on the native residents of Kekaha are recorded thus:

This Ke-kau-like so delighted in war that he sailed to attack Hawaii. The fighting began with Alapa'i at Kona. Both side threw all their forces into the fight. Ke-kau-like cut down all of the coconut trees throughout the land of Kona. Obligated to flee by canoe before Alapa'i, Kekaulike shamefully treated the commoners of Kekaha. At Kawaihae, he also cut down all the coconut trees. He slaughtered the commoners of Kohala, seized their possessions and returned to Maui (Kamakau – *Kū 'Ōko'a* October 20, 1866; and 1961:66).

Kamakau tells us that Alapa'i-nui died in 1754 (Kamakau 1961:78). Leading up to that time, the young chief Kalani'ōpu'u, had been challenging Alapa'i's rule, and after a short reign, Keawe'ōpala, Alapa'i's son was killed and Kalani'ōpu'u secured his rule over Hawai'i. Kamakau reports that in ca. 1780, as a result of their valor and counsel Kalani'ōpu'u granted "estate lands" in Kekaha to the twin chiefs Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa (Kamakau 1961:310). Later, from his Kekaha residence at Ka'ūpūlehu, Kame'eiamoku played the lead role in one of the famous early historical events between Hawaiians and foreigners. In 1790, while residing at Ka'ūpūlehu, Kame'eiamoku captured the ship, *Fair American*. As a result of the capture, Kame'eiamoku and his followers acquired several foreign arms, including a cannon which they called "*Lopaka*," and the ship's Captain, Isaac Davis. Taken before Kamehameha, Davis and another captured foreigner, John Young, became friends and advisors of Kamehameha I (Kamakau 1961:147).

Having secured his kingdom on the island of Hawai'i, by 1797, Kamehameha I honored Kame'eiamoku's right to estate lands of Ka'ūpūlehu-Kekaha, in return for services provided by Kame'eiamoku (Kamakau 1961:175). Kamakau also reports that "the land of Kekaha was

held by the *kahuna* class of Ka-uahi and Nahulu” (Kamakau 1961:231); of which descendants of the twin chiefs also belonged (Kamakau 1961:354).

Eruptions of Hualālai (1800-1801)

In 1800 and 1801, two events which were perhaps the most significant in the native history of Kekaha occurred. The lava flows of Ka’ūpūlehu and Puhi-a-Pele on the slope of Hualālai, poured across the land consuming native settlements, agricultural field systems, sheltered coves, fresh water sources, and numerous sites of significance in the cultural and natural landscapes of Kekaha. Among the most significant of the resources covered by the lava flow was an extensive complex of fishponds. These fishponds included those between Ka’ūpūlehu and Kūki’o, and the great pond Pa’aiea (*ka loko o Pa’aiea*) which extended from Ka’elehuluhulu in Kaulana, to at least as far as Keāhole in the land of Kalaoa. Indeed, the *loko o Pa’aiea* was famous for its vast expanse, and is recalled in the Hawaiian proverb:

O na hōkū o ka lani luna, o Pa’aiea ko lalo — The stars are above, Pa’aiea is below. (Referring to: “Kamehameha’s great fishpond Pa’aiea, in Kona... Its great size led to this saying—the small islets that dotted its interior were compared to the stars that dot the sky...” (Pukui 1986:275 – 2515)

Writing in the 1860s, native historian, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1961) provided readers with a description of the Hualālai eruptions and their impact on the people of Kona:

1800 and 1801: Ka Huaka’i o Pele — The Procession (eruptions) of Pele

One of the amazing things that happened after the battle called Kaipalaoa, in the fourth year of Kamehameha’s rule, was the lava flow which started at Hu’ehu’e in North Kona and flowed to Mahai’ula, Ka’upulehu, and Kiholo. The people believed that this earth-consuming flame came because of Pele’s desire for *awa* fish from the fishponds of Kiholo and Ka’upulehu and *aku* fish from Ka’elehuluhulu... Kamehameha was in distress over the destruction of his land and the threatened wiping-out of his fishponds. None of the *kahuna*, orators, or diviners were able to check the fire with all their skill. Everything they did was in vain. Kamehameha finally sent for Pele’s seer (*kaula*), named Ka-maka-o-ke-akua, and asked what he must do to appease her anger. “You must offer the proper sacrifices,” said the seer. “Take and offer them,” replied the chief. “Not so! Troubles and afflictions which befall the nation require that the ruling chief himself offer the propitiatory sacrifice, not a seer or a *kahuna*.” “But I am afraid lest Pele kill me.” “You will not be killed,” the seer promised. Kamehameha made ready the sacrifice and set sail for Kekaha at Mahai’ula.

When Ka-’ahu-manu and Ka-heihei-malie heard that the chief was going to appease Pele they resolved to accompany him... Ulu-lani also went with them because some of the seers had said, “That consuming fire is a person; it is the child of Ulu-lani, Keawe-o-kahikona, who has caused the flow,” and she was sent for to accompany them to Kekaha.[‡] Other chiefs also took the trip to see the flow extinguished. From Keahole Point the lava was to be seen flowing down like a river in a stream of fire extending from the northern edge

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

of Hualalai westward straight toward Ka'elehuluhulu and the sweet-tasting *aku* fish of Hale'ohi'u. There was one stream whose flames shot up the highest and which was the most brilliant in the bubbling mass as it ran from place to place. "Who is that brightest flame?" Asked Ulu-lani of the seer. "That is your son," he answered. Then Ulu-lani recited a love chant composed in honor of her first-born child as his form was seen to stand before her...The flow had been destroying houses, toppling over coconut trees, filling fishponds, and causing devastation everywhere. Upon the arrival of Kamehameha and the seer and their offering of sacrifices and gifts, the flow ceased; the goddess had accepted the offering. The reasons given for the flow may be summed up as: first, Pele's wanting the *aku* of Hale'ohi'u and the *awa* fish of Kiholo; second, her anger at being denied the 'ulu (breadfruit) of Kameha'ikana in upper Hu'ehu'e; third, her wrath because Kamehameha was devoting himself to Ka-heihei-malie and neglecting Ka'ahu-manu. It was said that Pele herself was seen in the body of a woman leading a procession composed of a multitude of goddesses in human form dancing the *hula* and chanting... (Kamakau in *Kū 'Ōko'a*, July 13-20, 1867 and 1961:184-186)

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

Ka Loko o-Pa'aiea (The fishpond of Pa'aiea)

In the early 1900s, native resident and regional historian, J.W.H.I. Kihe, retold the native account titled "*Ka-loko-o-Pa'aiea*" (The fishpond of Pa'aiea), which described in the Hawaiian context, events leading up to and following the Hualālai eruptions of 1800-1801. Kihe's narratives (translated by Maly) specifically describe the ancient fishpond Pa'aiea, and provides details of the villages along the coast and in the uplands:

Pa'aiea was a great fishpond, something like the ponds of Wainānālī'i and Kiholo, in ancient times. At that time the high chiefs lived on the land, and these ponds were filled with fat *awa*, *'anae*, *āhole*, and all kinds of fish that swam inside. It is this pond that was filled by the lava flows and turned into *pāhoehoe*, that is written of here. At that time, at Ho'onā. There was a *Konohiki* (overseer), Kepa'alani, who was in charge of the houses (*hale papa'a*) in which the valuables of the King [Kamehameha I] were kept. He was in charge of the King's food supplies, the fish, the *hālau* (long houses) in which the fishing canoes were kept, the fishing nets and all things. It was from there that the King's fishermen and the retainers were provisioned. The houses of the pond guardians and *Konohiki* were situated at Ka'elehuluhulu and Ho'onā.

In the correct and true story of this pond, we see that its boundaries extended from Ka'elehuluhulu on the north, and on the south, to the place called

Wawaloli⁴ (in the vicinity of 'O'oma). The pond was more than three miles long and one and a half miles wide, and today, within these boundaries, one can still see many water holes.

While traveling in the form of an old woman, Pele visited the Kekaha region of Kona, bedecked in garlands of the *ko'oko'olau* (*Bidens* spp.). Upon reaching Pa'aiea at Ho'onā, Pele inquired if she might perhaps have an *'ama'ama*, young *āholehole*, or a few *'ōpae* (shrimp) to take home with her. Kepa'alani, refused, "they are *kapu*, for the King." Pele then stood and walked along the *kuapā* (ocean side wall) of Pa'aiea till she reached Ka'elehuluhulu. There, some fishermen had returned from *aku* fishing, and were carrying their canoes up onto the shore.

Pele had now taken the form of a beautiful young woman, and she approached one of the houses at Ka'elehuluhulu, where she was greeted. Because it was seen that she was a stranger to the place, one of the natives commented on this, and asked "Where is this journey that has brought you here, taking you?" Pele confirmed that she was indeed a visitor, and that she had come down to the place of the chief, to fetch some *pa'akai* (salt) with which to season their fish. Pele told them, "When I came down here, I went before the *Konohiki*, and was told that the fish, the *palu* (fish relish), the young mullet, the *āhole*, and the *'ōpae* were all *kapu* (restricted). They were only for the King. Thus, I have arrived here before you."

When the natives of the village heard Pele's story, the woman who dwelt in the house that Pele was at, told her "Here, the fish is cooked, it has been steamed (*hāku'i*), let's eat. Then when you've finished eating, you may continue your journey." Pele joined the *kama'āina* of the place, and when she dipped her finger in the bowl, she took and ate all the fish to see if the people would deny her the food. But when she did this, the *kama'āina* set another bowl before her, not refusing her.

Pele then stood up, ready to leave and she told the people, "This evening set up *lepa* (flags, boundary markers) at the corners of your land. One doesn't know if perhaps tonight, something good or bad might occur." Then Pele departed from the place, and she disappeared from sight. Startled, it was then that the people said among themselves, "This woman that visited our home must have been Pele-Honuamea (Pele of the red earth)."

When Pele departed from The shore of Ka'elehuluhulu she arrived at the uplands of Manuahi at Keone'eli [Ka'ūpūlehu], the place that is known today as Kepuhiapele. It is an *'a'ā* hill about 200 feet high, below the place where J.A. Maguire lives. At this place, there was a village (*kūlanakauhale*) of many

people. At this quiet village, Pele saw two girls, who were *-pūlehu 'ulu 'ana* (broiling breadfruit); these girls were Pāhinahina and Kolomu'o. All the other

⁴ Eliza Maguire's account of Pa'aiea (1929:14-17), indicates that the pond extended as far as Keāhole. This description fits in with the extent of the 1801 lava flows of Hualālai. The pond would have extended beyond Keāhole Pt. if canoes traveling on it were to pass inland of the point (see also Kamakau 1961:184-186).

people of the village were away performing agricultural service for their chief. Pele approached the two girls and inquired about their tasks. When she asked who would receive the first offerings of this 'ulu, Kolomu'ō said her goddess La'i would receive the offering for she was a powerful deity. Kolomu'ō did not acknowledge Pele. Pāhinahina replied that her goddess Pele-Honuamea would receive the first offering. Not knowing that the old woman was Pele, the girls continued responding to Pele's comments about the power of their respective goddesses.

When their conversation was completed, Pele told Pāhinahina, "Our 'ulu is cooked; let us eat." Pele then instructed Pāhinahina to mark the boundary between her and her family's dwellings and the dwelling of Kolomu'ō with *lepa* (white *kapa* flags). She also told Pāhinahina not to fear the events that would occur that night.

Well, that night, a white flash was seen to travel from Mauna Loa to Hualālai, and in a short time a red glow was seen at Ka-iwi-o-Pele. The people along the coast thought that it was the fire of the bird catchers at Hono-(manu)-'ua'u. The light dimmed and then appeared at (*pu'u*) Kileo where the shiny hills of black *pāhoehoe* may be seen. Pele then went underground and appeared at Keone'eli where she caused deep fissures to open, and the *kahe-ā-wai* (fire rivers) to flow.

Some of the houses were destroyed, and Kolomu'ō *mā* were consumed by the lava. As a result, the lava flats below Kepuhiapele and a shoreward 'ōpelu fishermen's *ko'a* (shrine) bear the name of Kolomu'ō. The area where Pāhinahina and her family lived was left untouched, and this open space bears the name of Pāhinahina to this day. It is because of this event that the lands of Manuahi came to be called Ka-'ulu-pūlehu (The Broiled Breadfruit), and this has been shortened to Ka'ūpūlehu...

...Now because Kēpa'alani was stingy with the fishes of the pond Pa'aiea, and refused to give any fish to Pele, the fishpond Pa'aiea and the houses of the King were all destroyed by the lava flow. In ancient times, the canoe fleets would enter the pond and travel from Ka'elehuluhulu to Ho'onā, at Ua'u'ālohi, and then return to the sea and go to Kailua and the other places of Kona. Those who traveled in this manner would sail gently across the pond pushed forward by the 'Eka wind, and thus avoid the strong currents which pushed out from the point of Keāhole

It was at Ho'onā that Kēpa'alani dwelt, that is where the houses in which the chiefs valuables (*hale papa'a*) were kept. It was also one the canoe landings of the place. Today, it is where the light house of America is situated. Pelekāne (in Pu'ukala) is where the houses of Kamehameha were located, near a stone mound that is partially covered by the *pāhoehoe* of Pele. If this fishpond had not been covered by the lava flows, it would surely be a thing of great wealth to the government today. (J.W.H.I. Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; Maly translator, compiled from the narratives written February 5-26, 1914 and May 1-15, 1924).

Ka Pu‘u o ‘Akahipu‘u (The Hill of ‘Akahipu‘u)

In his series of traditions, Kihe (translated by Maly) also relayed the account of how the *menehune* attempted to relocate the top of ‘Akahipu‘u from the uplands to the coast. Portions of ‘Akahipu‘u are situated in the lands of Awake‘e, Makalawena and Mahai‘ula, near where the *ahupua‘a* join together. The events of the story are primarily situated in the uplands, but in opening the account, Kihe states:

This is a great hill, standing inland of the place of J.A. Maguire. The high point of this hill is called ‘Akahipu‘u. The ancient story of this hill is that the *menehune* desired to cut the top off and carry it, to set it atop the Kuili, which stands near the shore.

Kihe’s story continues, describing how the supernatural rooster, Moa-nui-a-hea, the pet of Kāne, thwarted the *menehune*’s efforts by crowing out. This causes the *menehune* to stop work as they believed sunrise was approaching. Eventually, the *menehune* killed the rooster, and baked him in the place now called “Ka-imu-moa,” but Kāne brought him back to life with the *wai ola* (water of life) of Kāne. On their last try at relocating the hill, the *menehune* heard the rooster again, and gave up. (Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i* May 22, 1924; see also E. Maguire 1926, for further details)

Kūki‘o and Manini‘ōwali

In this series of articles, we find one other tradition (translated by Maly) which tells us of coastal sites and features of Manini‘ōwali and Kūki‘o. The names of several of the people mentioned in the narrative are also the names of places on or near the coast of these lands. Kihe begins the account with the following description:

There is a stone on the beach dunes between Awake‘e and Kūki‘o 2. This is a stone in the form of a woman, she has a head, a nose, a mouth, breasts, and a large body laying in the sand to this day. It can be covered entirely with sand, and then when the high surfs come, the sand is dug away and the stone body is exposed. This stone is known by the name Manini‘ōwali. (Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i*; November 1, 1923)

The following texts are a summary of Kihe’s narratives, focusing on the main part of the tradition:

In ancient times, there were families living on these lands, and to them children were born. One family had a son, and he was given the name Uluweuweu. He was a good child, and he lived at Kūki‘o with his parents and family. And so it was, there was another family, and to them, a daughter was born. She was very beautiful, and her name was Manini‘ōwali. When these to children were young, the parents entered into a betrothal agreement (*ho‘opalau*), so that when they grew up, they would marry (*ho‘āo*).

When the children grew up, preparations were made for their wedding feast. Just as all things were made ready, Uluweuweu, became ill. Manini‘ōwali learned of this and the ceremony was postponed till a later time. Hearing that the marriage had been postponed, he became well, and went back to his favorite pastimes, leaping into the ocean (*lele kawa*) and surfing (*he‘enalu*).

Seeing that he was well, the families of Kūki'o made arrangements once again for the marriage, and once again, Uluweuweu became mysteriously ill. Because of this unusual illness, the family called a priest. His name was Kikaua. When Kikaua arrived at the house, Uluweuweu was sitting up speaking with the people that had gathered there. Kikaua then asked, "Why have you come and gotten me?" She explained that her son had been ill, and they needed his help to discern the nature of the illness.

Kikaua told the parents that this was no real illness, but a result of the boy's love for another. He has been out in the night with a cherished garland (*ipo lei manu*), and has been ensnared in the nets of the bird catchers that are set in the mists... When Kikaua finished speaking, all those who had gathered together, began speaking among themselves, wondering who the woman could be. Well my companions in this pleasant passing of time, this royal 'ōhai blossom that adorns the breast (*pua lani uma a 'ōhai*) was the cherished daughter of Po'opo'omino^(w) and Ka'eleawa'a^(k), the *ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* (chiefs who controlled the wealth of the land) of Kūki'o. She was a beautiful chiefess, and unknown to anyone, she had been meeting with Uluweuweu. At the time that this became known, some of the members of Manini'ōwali's family were present. There were relatives of Moana, Manini'ōwali's father, and relatives of Kaiha, her mother, at this gathering. Some of them went to Manini'ōwali and told her that Uluweuweu's sickness had not been a real one, and that the *kahuna* had told them of his relationship with Kahawaliwali.

Hearing of what had happened, Manini'ōwali's mother cancelled the wedding arrangements. Hearing all of this, Manini'ōwali quickly became ill and almost died. Kikaua was called again, and he discerned that it was no real illness, but one of love...Following consultation with the parents of Manini'ōwali, it was decided that Kikaua should pray the youths to death. Praying to his gods Kamohoali'i and Pele, the girls and the boy were turned to stone.

Uluweuweu was turned into a stone that stands in the water to this day. The amazing thing about this stone is that where it stands, it is securely imbedded, but it can rock back and forth when struck. Though it moves, the stone cannot be taken from its place. Kahawaliwali was turned into a long stone about thirty feet long and of like height. The stone extends out into the sea in two sections, which are said to be the thighs of Kahawaliwali, and into which the water rushes. This stone can be seen to this day as well^[5]. Because Manini'ōwali understood what was happening, she ran to the beach and laid on the sand. It was there that she was turned to a stone which can still be seen today. When the tide comes in, she is covered with sand, and when it goes out, the sand is washed away.

One of the most unusual things about the ocean of this place is the movement of the *manini* (common reef surgeonfish) that are seen swimming

⁵ In 1929-1930, J. Reinecke conducted a survey of archaeological sites for the Bishop Museum (Reinecke Ms. 1930). In Kūki'o, it appears that Reinecke's Site 115 coincides with Kihe's description of the stone of Kahawaliwali. This stone was pointed out by Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole, as being called Pōhakuloa (see interview with Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole).

across the bay. The *manini* twist and move as if on a rope, and roll about like big fish in the ocean. From afar, these *manini*, moving together can be mistaken for a shark. But when one moves closer, it is seen that they are *manini*, twisting and rolling very close together. The nights of Kū and the mornings of Lono and Maui are good times to see this mysterious practice of the *manini*. It is said that these fish, the *manini ali'i kākalaolua*, are the *manini* fish form of the girl Manini'ōwali, and that is why she was given her name. It is also the reason that the *manini* fish are seen twisting and turning in the waters there. (Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; November 8 & 22, 1923)

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

In 1924, while *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* was publishing a variety of traditional accounts of Kekaha, penned by J.W.H.I. Kihe, he also submitted an article reflecting on the changes he'd seen in the days of his life. The following excerpts (translated by Maly), offer insight into the historic community of Kekaha (ca. 1860 to 1924). In the two part series, he shared his gut feelings about the changes which had occurred in this area—the demise of the families, and the abandonment of the coastal lands of Kekaha. Kihe tells us who the families were, that lived at Kūki'ō and in neighboring lands of Kekaha. A number of the names he mentions, are those that have been mentioned in other historical accounts cited in this study, and several are the ancestors of participants in oral history interviews with the author.

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

In the year 1870, when I was a young man at the age of 17 years old, I went to serve as the substitute teacher at the school of Honokōhau. I was teaching under William G. Kanaka'ole who had suffered an illness (*ma'i-lolo*, a stroke). In those days at the Hawaiian Government Schools, the teachers were all Hawaiian and taught in the Hawaiian language. In those days, the students were all Hawaiian as well, and the books were in Hawaiian. The student were all Hawaiian... There were many, many Hawaiian students in the schools, no Japanese, Portuguese, or people of other nationalities. Everyone was Hawaiian or part Hawaiian, and there were only a few part Hawaiians.

The schools included the school house at Kiholo where Joseph W, Keala taught, and later J.K. Ka'ailuwale taught there. At the school of Makalawena, J. Ka'elemakule Sr., who now resides in Kailua, was the teacher. At the Kalaoa School, J.U. Keawe'ake was the teacher. There were also others here, including myself for four years, J. Kainuku, and J.H. Olohia who was the last one to teach in the Hawaiian language. At Kaloko, Miss Ka'aimahu'i was the last teacher before the Kaloko school was combined as one with the Honokōhau school where W.G. Kanaka'ole was the teacher. I taught there for two years as well... [Kihe includes additional descriptions on the schools of Kona]

It was when they stopped teaching in Hawaiian, and began instructing in English, that big changes began among our children. Some of them became

puffed up and stopped listening to their parents. The children spoke gibberish (English) and the parents couldn't understand (*nā keiki namu*). Before that time, the Hawaiians weren't marrying too many people of other races. The children and their parents dwelt together in peace with the children and parents speaking together... [June 5, 1924]

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

From the lands of Honokōhau, Kaloko, Kohanaiki, the lands of 'O'oma, Kalaoa, Hale'ohi'u, Maka'ula, Kaū, Pu'ukala-'Ōhiki, Awalua, the lands of Kaulana, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Awake'e, the lands of Kūki'o, Ka'ūpūlehu, Kīholo, Keawaiki, Kapalaoa, Pu'uanahulu, and Pu'uwa'awa'a. These many lands were filled with people in those days.

There were men, women, and children, the houses were filled with large families. Truly there were many people [in Kekaha]. I would travel around with the young men and women in those days, and we would stay together, travel together, eat together, and spend the nights in homes filled with *aloha*.

The lands of Honokōhau were filled with people in those days, there were many women and children... Today [1924], the families are lost, the land is quiet. There are no people, only the rocks and trees remain, and only occasionally does one meet with a man today.

Kaloko is like that place mentioned above, it is a land without people at this time. The men, women, and children have all passed away. The only one who remains is J.W. Ha'au, he is the only native descendant upon the land.

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

The lands of 'O'oma, and Kalaoa, and all the way to Kaulana and Mahai'ula were also places of many people in those days, but today there are no

people. At Mahai'ula is where the great fishermen of that day dwelt. Among the fishermen were Po'oko'ai mā, Pā'ao'ao senior, Ka'ao mā, Kai'a mā, Ka'ā'īkaula mā, Pāhia mā, and John Ka'elemakule Sr., who now dwells at Kailua.

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

Those who have passed away are Kaha'iali'i mā, Mama'e mā, Kapehe mā, Kauaionu'uaniu mā, Hopulā'au mā, Kaihemakawalu mā, Kaomi, Keoni Aihaole mā, and Pahukula mā. They are all gone, there only remains the son-in-law of Kauaionu'uaniu, J.H. Mahikō, and Jack Punihaole, along with their children, living in the place where Kauaionu'uaniu and Ahu once lived.

At Kūki'o, not one person remains alive on that land, all are gone, only the 'a'ā remains. It is the same at Ka'ūpūlehu, the old people are all gone, and it is all quiet... [June 12, 1924]

John Ka'elemakule (1854-1935)

Another native resident of Kekaha penned several articles about life in the region. This author was John Ka'elemakule, a native resident and land owner at Mahai'ula-Kaulana, a short distance south of Kūki'o. Under the series of articles titles "*Ko Keoni Kaelemakule Moolelo Pono (Kakau pono ia mai no e ia)*" — The True Story of John Kaelemakule — (Actually written by him⁶), Ka'elemakule introduced readers to the native residents of Kekaha, and included descriptions of the practices and customs of the families who resided there (translated by Maly). His narratives also provide us with important discussions on sites of traditional and historic importance in the larger Kekaha region. From his narratives come several references to Kūki'o, and important discussions on life in the region:

...Upon the arrival of those friends of the uplands, from various places inland of Kekaha, they would visit the houses of their companions, bringing bundles of pounded *uwala* (sweet potato) wrapped in "*omao-lai*" (bundles of ti leaves), and other times they brought bundles of partially pounded *poi*. When those goods reached one of the houses at Mahai'ula, as was the custom of those who lived on the coast in days gone by, the goods were divided up among the various households. They were not greedy (*'ānunu*), the provisions were divided among the households of the native fishermen of the waterless shore of Kona...

⁶ This account was published in serial form in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, from May 29, 1928 to March 18, 1930. The translated excerpts in this section include narratives that describe Mahai'ula and nearby lands in Kekaha with references to families, customs, practices, ceremonial observances, and sites identified in text. The larger narratives also include further detailed accounts of Ka'elemakule's life, and business ventures. A portion of the narratives pertaining to fishing customs (November 13, 1928 to March 12, 1929), and canoeing practices (March 19 to May 21, 1929) were translated by M. Kawena Pukui, and may be viewed in the Bishop Museum-Hawaiian Ethnological Notes (BPBM Archives).

When I grew older and it was time to go to school, I entered the Hawaiian school. Indeed, in those days there were many boys and girls who dwelt along this coast, and the school room was filled with students. It was in a meeting house built by the Father Thurston (Makua Kakina).

The missionary had the meeting house built and it also served as the school...It was at that time in my youth when I was living with my foster parents, that I first saw Mr. Thurston. He traveled on a canoe on Saturday and landed at Ka'elehuluhulu and stayed at the place of Pookoai, who was the church leader of this place...Following the arrival of Mr. Thurston, many people came on canoes the next morning, they were our relatives from Ka'upulehu, Kūki'o, and Makalawena...In the church where Mr. Thurston held the prayer service, long *koa* benches were placed along the walls, and in the center of the church, the *makaloa* sedge had been spread on the floor. The *makaloa* was obtained from what remained of the famous pond that was covered by the eruption. It was the pond Pa'aiea, a portion of which remains at Ka'elehuluhulu to this day. That is what remains of the great pond that was several miles long, but is now covered by the stone plain that spreads across Kekaha... (June 12, 1928:4)

Among his historical narratives is the following account of water collection and care of water resources, and anecdotes on life in Kekaha:

...Kekaha is a land without rain, there are perhaps no more than ten times in one year that it rains. The reason for this is that there are not many trees growing on the land of Kekaha. The trees are the thing that pull the rain from the clouds. The drinking water of this land, the water in which to bathe, and the water for doing various tasks, is the water that is partially salty. It is called by the name *wai kai* (brackish water), and it is a water that causes trouble for the visitors to this land.

It is perhaps appropriate for me to describe the name given to this problem, "*ka wai ōpū nui*" (the water of the big stomach). *Ka wai ōpū nui* is the name that is given to the visitors. They come to the land of Kekaha and are invited in to eat, by the natives of the villages. And because of the deliciousness of fish of this land, the visitors eat large quantities. Then after this, they ask for water to drink. Upon drinking the water, the visitor's thirst is not satisfied, and shortly there after, more water is asked for. And because of the continuous drinking, the stomach is filled. That's why the visitors to Kekaha are called *ka wai opu nui*. So this is a description of the fisherman's land, in which I was reared by my foster parents. [September 3, 1929:3]

While we dwelt in the shelter of our house, Kalāhikiola, fishing was the occupation undertaken. I also continued selling the fish of the fishermen, taking them to Kawaihae and sending them to Honolulu. So every Friday, I would go to Kawaihae. Then I met with Nawahie, who dwelt in the uplands of Kawaihae with whom I went into the business of selling *pa'i 'ai* (partially pounded *poi*), from Maui. On Saturdays, I took the *pa'i 'ai* along the coast of Kekaha to the fishermen of Ka'upulehu, Kūki'o, Makalawena, and Mahai'ula.

The fishermen paid in fish, which we in turn took back to Kawaihae, for delivery to the market at Kai'ōpihi, Kohala. We carried on this partnership for some time, and it was this which caused me to think of making my own store.

Kekaha Wai 'ole o nā Kona (Waterless Kekaha of Kona)

We have seen the name "*Kekaha wai ole o nā Kona*" since the early part of my story in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, and we have also seen it in the beautiful legend of Mākālei. An account of the boy who dwelt in the uplands of Kekaha wai 'ole, that was told by Ka-'ohu-ha'aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-'ekolu [the penname used by J.W.H.I. Kihe]. I think that certain people may want to know the reason and meaning of this name. So it is perhaps a good thing for me to explain how it came about. The source of it is that in this land of Kekaha even in the uplands, between Kaulana in the north and 'O'oma in the south, there was no water found even in the ancient times. For a little while, I lived in the uplands of Kaulana, and I saw that this land of Kekaha was indeed waterless.

The water for bathing, washing one's hands or feet, was the water of the banana stump (*wai pūma'ia*). The *pūma'ia* was grated and squeezed into balls to get the juice. The problem with this water is that it makes one itchy, and one does not get really clean. There were not many water holes, and the water that accumulated from rain dried up quickly. Also there would be weeks in which no rain fell...The water which the people who lived in the uplands of Kekaha drank, was found in caves. There are many caves from which the people of the uplands got water... [September 17, 1929:3]

...The *kūpuna* had very strict *kapu* (restrictions) on these water caves. A woman who had her menstrual cycle could not enter the caves. The ancient people kept this as a sacred *kapu* from past generations. If a woman did not know that her time was coming and she entered the water cave, the water would die, that is, it would dry up. The water would stop dripping. This was a sign that the *kapu* of Kāne of the water of life had been desecrated. Through this, we learn that the ancient people of Kekaha believed that Kāne was the one who made the water drip from within the earth, even the water that entered the sea from the caves. This is what the ancient people of Kekaha wai 'ole believed, and there were people who were *kia'i* (guardians) who watched over and cleaned the caves, the house of Kāne... [September 24, 1929:3]

When the *kapu* of the water cave had been broken, the priest was called to perform a ceremony and make offerings. The offerings were a small black pig; a white fish, and *āholehole*; young taro leaves; and *awa*. When the offering was prepared, the priest would chant to Kāne:

E Kāne i uka, e Kāne i kai,

*E Kāne i ka wai, eia ka pua'a,
Eia ka 'awa, eia ka lū'au,*

Eia ka i'a kea.

O Kāne in the uplands, O Kāne at
the shore,

O Kāne in the water, here is the pig,
Here is the 'awa, here are the
taro greens,

Here is the white fish.

Then all those people of the uplands and coast joined together in this offering, saying:

He mōhai noi kēia iā 'oe e Kāne, e kala i ka hewa o ke kanaka i hana ai, a e hooma'ema'e i ka hale wai, a e ho'onui mai i ka wai o ka hale, i ola nā kānaka, nā 'ōhua o kēia 'āina wai 'ole. Amama. — This is a request offering to you o Kāne, forgive the transgression done by man, clean the water house, cause the water to increase in the house, that the people may live, those who are dependent on this waterless land. It is finished... [October 1, 1929:3]

KEKAHA DESCRIBED BY FOREIGN VISITORS OF THE HISTORIC PERIOD

Some of the earliest written accounts for the Kekaha region are found in the journals of early visitors to the Hawaiian Islands. Among those writings are accounts from 1823, 1840-1841, 1880, and a general observation on residency and agricultural practices gleaned from various sources compiled by Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972).

Kekaha (1823) Described by William Ellis

In 1823, British missionary William Ellis and members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) toured the island of Hawai'i seeking out community centers in which to establish church centers for the growing Calvinist mission. Generally, Ellis' writings (Ellis 1963) offer readers interesting glimpses into the nature of native communities and history as spoken at the time. Unfortunately, Ellis did not visit Kūki'o, though he did offer historical glimpses into some of the history of the larger Kekaha region, and he added further documentation to the account of the eruptions of Hualālai.

Departing on ship from John Young's residence in Kawaihae, Ellis reports that the sea breeze:

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

While in Kailua, Ellis and his companions learned of Hualālai eruptions discussed above, which had occurred about 23 years before their visit. His description reports that the flows:

...inundated several villages, destroyed a number of plantations and extensive fish-ponds, filled up a deep bay twenty miles in length, and formed the present coast.

An Englishman, who has resided thirty-eight years in the islands, and who witnessed the above eruption, has frequently told us he was astonished at the irresistible impetuosity of the torrent.

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

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

All seemed unavailing, until one day the king Tamehameha went, attended by a large retinue of chiefs and priests, and, as the most valuable offering he

could make, cut off part of his own hair, which was always considered sacred, and threw it into the torrent.

A day or two after, the lava ceased to flow. The gods, it was thought, were satisfied... (Ellis 1963:30-31)

Kekaha (ca. 1840): the United States Exploring Expedition

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

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

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

George Bowser, editor of "*The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourists Guide*" (1880) wrote about various statistics and places of interest around the Hawaiian Islands. In his narratives about the island of Hawai'i, Bowser described the Kekaha region, visited while traveling on portions of both the coastal trail system and upland government roads. Though Kūki'o is not specifically referenced by name (the trail traveled by Bowser passes through the "woodland" of Kūki'o), excerpts from Bowser's narratives, which cover Kiholo to Kohanaiki provide readers with an overview of the Kekaha landscape and residency at the time —

...From Kalahuipuaa to Kiholo, my next halting place, the road leaves the sea beach and turns inland in a southerly direction. On the way [viewed from the distance] we saw the great lava flow of 1801, which burst out from the base of Mauna Hualalai, not more than six miles from the sea. There is nothing to be seen all the way but lava; lava to the right of you, lava to the left of you, lava ahead of you, lava behind you, and lava beneath you; the road for a dozen miles or more is composed of nothing but clinkers of every size. The tourist, on his way southwards, will probably keep to this inland road until it leads him upwards into woodland country, and so on to Kailua. The route I had laid out for myself involved a detour to Kiholo, which is reached by a side-track that returns towards the coast over a barren and waterless expanse of lava. There is, indeed, not water to be had anywhere after leaving Kalahuipuaa until the traveler reaches Kiholo, nor from that place again until within a few miles of Kailua, which is the next coast town to be visited.

...From Kiholo the road southwards is rough and laborious. Perpetual travelling over lava is very hard upon our horses, and it is impossible to travel faster than the slowest walk... Some twelve miles from Kiholo we began to cross the western shoulder of Mauna Hualalai, and the aspect of things changed, although the condition of the road did not. Here all around, for miles

and miles, trees are growing thickly, on the otherwise almost bare surface of the lava. In numberless instances these trees, which are numerous enough in places to form a dense forest, grow out of lava pure and simple, without a semblance of soil of any kind to support them... Pursuing my way through this forest land, I enjoyed, in spite of the roughness of the road, one of the most delightful days experienced throughout my journey... In this woodland I heard for the first time since I landed on the islands the notes of a pretty little bird about the size of a lark, called by the natives *akakane*. Its song is very sweet; nor is it the only songster of the woods. One especially I noticed, called *iwi*, from its note. During the ride we saw numbers of native geese and sundry herds of goats skipping from ledge to ledge on the lava beds. Presently I reached the ridge of the mountain and had a fine view of the surrounding country...Fronting the sea...in North Kona there is a rich tract of bottom land which might be turned to good account. Large areas of the mountain land might also be cultivated for coffee...

I was astonished to see in this district how bananas, mangoes, oranges, pineapples, in short all the fruits belonging to these islands, grow in profusion... At Kohanaike, a place about six miles short of my destination, I came upon a store kept by a Chinaman, who has Hawaiianized his name to Akao... (Bowser 1880:547-549)

In their discussion of early agricultural practices in the region, Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972) further described agricultural practices of residents of the Kekaha region:

Wherever a little soil could be heaped together along the dry lava coast of North Kona, a few sweet potatoes were planted by fishermen at such places as Honokohau, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Kaupulehu, Kiholo, Keawaiki, and Kapalaoa. Doubtless potatoes were planted on the upland of North Kona, on the lower slopes of Hualalai toward Pu'u Wa'awa'a, up to a considerable altitude in rainy seasons (Handy and Handy 1972:527-528).

RESIDENCY AND LAND TENURE: KŪKI‘O AND VICINITY

One of the earliest records of title resulting from the westernization of property ownership (the Māhele of 1848), is an undated Interior Department document, which by subsequent references was recorded in ca. 1847-1848. Document No. 374 lists various lands in Kona which belonged to Kamehameha III. In the Kekaha region of Kona those lands included Kaulana, Makalawena, Oawakee (Awakee), Maniniowali, and Kukio (Doc. 374, Hawai‘i State Archives).

Disposition of Kūki‘o and neighboring Manini‘ōwali following the Māhele was recorded as:

<i>Ahupua‘a</i>	<i>Māhele Applicant</i>	<i>Disposition</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Kuleana Registered by Native Tenants</i>	<i>Claims</i>
Manini‘ōwali	Wm. Lunalilo	Govt. (ahp.)	<i>Buke Mahele</i> 1848:17-18, 179 Indices 1929:34	No Native Tenant (<i>Kuleana</i>) claims were located	
Kūki‘o (1&2)	M. Kekauonohi W.P. Leleiohoku A. Kaeo	Govt. (ahp.) Govt. (ahp.) Govt. (ahp.)	<i>Buke Mahele</i> 1848:23-24, 27-28, 41-42, & 179 Indices 1929:33	No Native Tenant (<i>Kuleana</i>) claims were located	

Records of the “*Auhau Poalua*” (Tuesday Tax) provide us with another important record of native residents in the Kūki‘o – Kekaha region. Collected to help pay for government services—e.g. public service projects and the educational program—the *Auhau Pō‘alua* was paid by native tenants in labor services, goods, or financial compensation. On January 1, 1849, Samuela Ha‘anio, Tax Assessor (District II, Island of Hawai‘i) submitted a report identifying the following residents of Ka‘ūpūlehu, Kūki‘o-Manini‘ōwali, and Makalawena, who came “under the ‘*Poalua*’ tax laws”—several of the names figure in other accounts cited in this study, and are the ancestors of individuals who have participated in oral history interviews with the author:

<i>Ahupua‘a</i>	<i>Name of Residents</i>
Kaupulehu	Kaihumanumanu, Kalaehoa, Wainee, Aeae,
Kukio:	Kanaina, Nauha, Wahapuu Kau, Nakulua, Makaakau Koaliiole, Kahaialii, Kapehe, Mamae, Kauaonuuuanu, Kanaina, Kaiakoili,
Makalawena:	Kauhalu, Nauele (Hawai‘i State Archives; Series 262, Hawaii–1849)

Kūki‘o and Vicinity in Government Communications

The following records provide readers with general overview of several aspects of land history in Kūki‘o and neighboring lands. The records, found in government communications describe several aspects of land use and tenure, and cover: transitions in ownership; who the native residents were and where they lived; descriptions of land use practices; and historic features (primarily recorded through the efforts of early surveyors). It will be noted that generally, land use records focus on practices valued in a western economic system. Thus, there are almost no archival records of native

Hawaiian subsistence or economic practices. The primary area of land use documented in the located records, focused on the region extending from the mid-level *kula* (plains) to the cooler uplands where the forest zone began. The latter area being generally *mauka* of the main road (called Kealaehu) that ran through upland North Kona, and at Hu'ehu'e branched off to Kiholo.

The land was for the most part acquired by a few individual owners, whose primary occupation was the grazing of cattle and goats. Though some records of leases, fee-simple ownership, and homestead agreements in the uplands also reference cultivation of crops such as coffee and mangoes. The documentation cited here includes most of the records identified for Kūki'o, and also includes selected references to neighboring lands in the Kekaha region:

Kūki'o

- On September 27, 1854, J. Fuller recorded the survey of 690 acres of land in Kūki'o 1st, sold to Pupule in Grant No. 2121 (*Figure 2*). The Grant parcel is described as follows:

...Begin at a heap of stones at the west corner of this land, near the sea, adjoining Kukio 2, and run –

- 1 – N 20° E 13.76 Chains to Sta. Opposite canoe landing^[7]
- 2 – N 63°30' E 6.26 Chains along the bank of the seashore
- 3 – N 17°30' E 20.75 Chains " " " " " ", to N corner heap of stones
- 4 – S 62° E 2.15 " " the ancient boundary of Napulehu ^[8]
- 5 – S 50° 45' E 17.60 " " " " " " "
- 6 – S 41° 30' E 22.60 " " " " " " "
- 7 – S 39° E 80.00 " " " " " " " top of Hill
- 8 – S 19° 45' E 48.00 " " " " " " " " to East corner a heap of stones
- 9 – S 50° W 20.65 " to large rock mauka of round Hill
- 10 – S 50° 15' W 11.50 " " " " the most southern corner
- 11 – N 55°30' W 10.20 " " heap of stone – thence
- 12 – N 33°30' W 141.50 " to point of beginning and containing 690 acres. [Land Management Division]

- The Royal Patent of Grant No. 2121, recorded in Hawaiian, also closes with the standard saying "*Koe ke kuleana ona kanaka*" (the rights of the people are retained). (Royal Patent 2121; November 12, 1856)

⁷ In the English language survey description and on the map of Grant No. 2121, "Canoe Landing" is written in the area symbolizing waves, on north shore-side of Kikaua Pt., extending to the area fronting Site D21-12 (Paapu's house); identified as Sites 116 and 117 (Reinecke ms. 1930). In the Hawaiian text, the canoe landing is written as "*kahi e pae ai ka waa.*"

⁸ Napulehu or Kaupulehu.

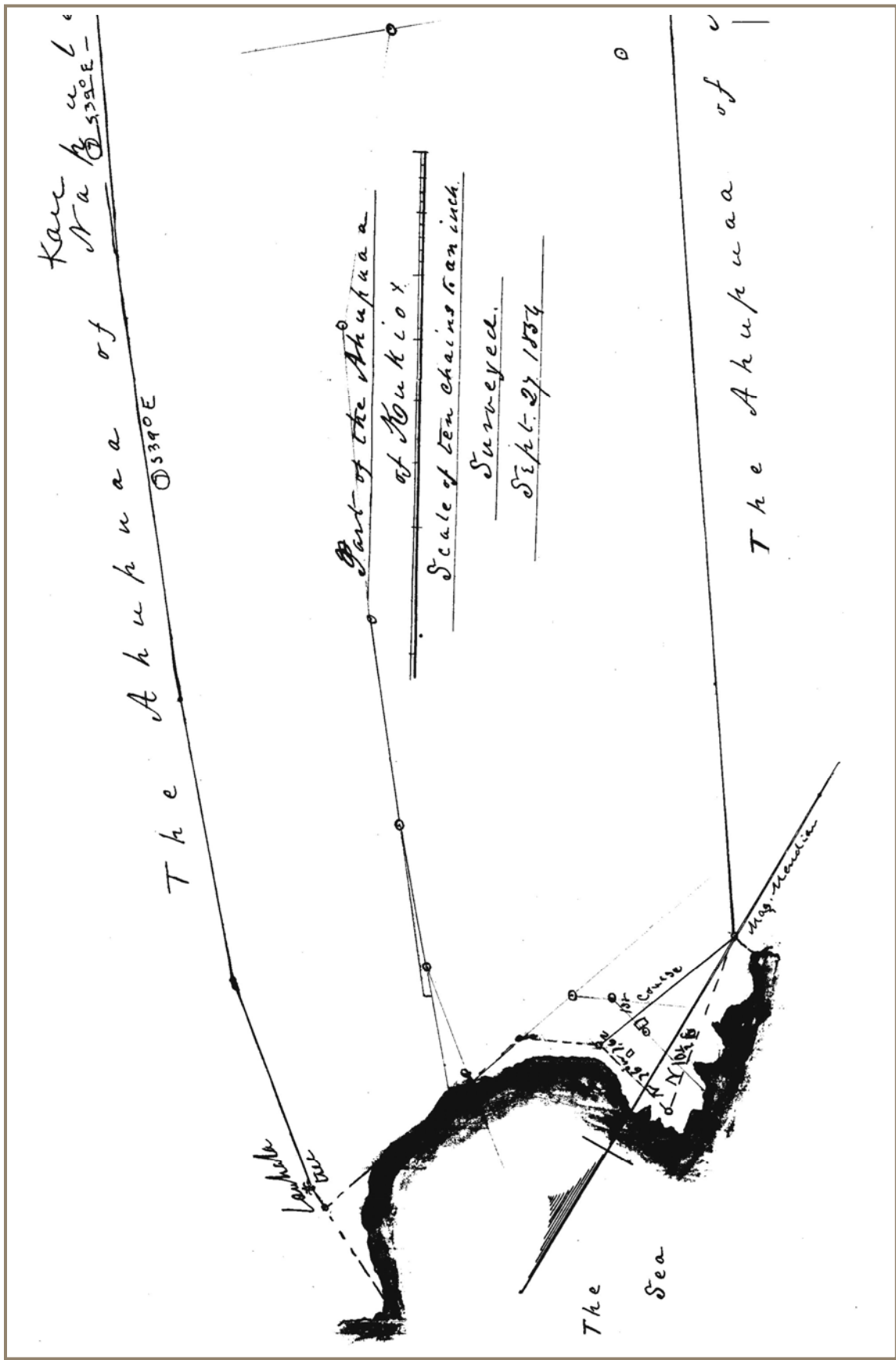


Figure 2. Portion of Survey Map for Grant No. 2121 to Pupule. J. Fuller, September 27, 1854. (State Land Division)

Of particular interest to residency at Kūki'o nui at the time that Pupule's Grant was surveyed is the fact that two features on the Grant Map (*Figure 2*), interpreted as houses, occur just *makai* of the first course of Fuller's survey. The location also coincides with the historic beach lot residence of the Punihaole-Keala'ula family (see interviews with Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole and Kihalani Springer in this study).

Awake'e

- On September 28, 1854, J. Fuller recorded the survey of 401 acres of land in the coastal section of Awake'e, sold to Kaha'iali'i in Grant No. 2023. The parcel boundaries are: South, by Makalawena; West (*makai*), the sea shore; North, Manini'ōwali; East (*mauka*) Government Land, unsold. (Land Management Division)

Kaulana, Awake'e and Kūki'o 1

- In a letter dated May 28 & 29, 1855, J. Fuller wrote to John Young (Keoni Ana), Minister of Interior, in the matter of sales of Government land. Among those lands identified are:

Name of Purchaser	Name of Land	No. of Acres	Price per Acre	Amount	Observations
Hoopulaau	½Kaulana	156 ^{1/3}	0.37 ½	58.62 ½	Middling Quality
Kaiama	" "	75 ^{1/3}	0.37 ½	28.25	" "
Kahaialii	Awakee	401	0.25	100.25	Poor lands, goat pasture
Pupule	Kukio 1	690	0.12 ½	86.25	Very poor " " "

...I would observe that none of these lands are fully paid for, but after the sales are confirmed I shall proceed to collect the balance as soon as possible. Yet it is necessary to give the purchasers considerable time; as they are mostly poor and have but little which they can turn into cash. To encourage them, I have agreed to take goat skins, *Pulu*, wood &c. and pay the cash for them.

Your Excellency will perceive that I have sold this poor land in large tracts for goat runs and pastures, as in small lots it would be perfectly worthless...

J. Fuller Land Agt. Kona Hawaii
(State Archives, Interior Department-Land File; May 28/29, 1855)

Kūki'o

- Letter dated Sept. 5, 1865, to Keoni Ana, Minister of Interior, describing certain Government Lands in Kona. Among those lands are Kukio 1st & 2nd:

These lands extend from the sea to the lower edge of the forest. Distance 5 mls., and contain not far from 1000 acres. Most of this is rocks and of little value.

The *mauka* part of Kukio 1st containing about 100 Ac., sold by Sheldon to Kahaunaale and Pupule⁹, but not Patented. (State Archives, Interior Department-Land Files)

⁹ Pupule was the father of Kahaunaale (cf. Interior Department, Lands; April 12, 1875).

Kūki'o to Kaulana (inclusive)

- On April 25, 1866, J.H. Kaleiheana, Agent to make Inventory of the Lands of the King and Government reported on the disposition of lands in North Kona. Among those lands were:
 - ...Kukio 1 & 2, an *Ahupuaa* of the Government, *mauka* remaining;
 - Maniniowali, an *Ahupuaa* of the Government, *mauka* remaining;
 - Awake'e, an *Ahupuaa* of the Government, *mauka* remaining;
 - Makalawena, an *Ahupuaa* of Akahi;
 - Mahaiula, an *Ahupuaa* of the Government, disposed of center;
 - Kaulana 1, an *Ahupuaa* of the Government, *makai* remaining;
 - Kaulana 2, an *Ahupuaa* of Haalelea... (State Archives, Interior Department Files)

Kaulana, Mahaiula, Awakee, Maniniowali, Kukio 1 and 2 (1875-1879)

- April 6, 12, & 28, 1875; A. Cleghorn and J. Broad apply to the Minister of Interior for a lease of various lands in No. Kona, including Kukio 1 and 2, Maniniowali, Awakee, Mahaiula, Kaulana. Seeking a five year lease, J. Broad (a dairyman rancher) notes that the *makai* portion of Kukio 1, had been acquired by a person named Kahaunaele, whose father Pupule had purchased it. The places acquired by the people shall remain, not to be included within this lease. (J. Broad, April 12, 1875; State Archives)
- Between March 22, to May 19, 1879, Henry Cooper and H.N. Greenwell entered into government leases of grazing lands in Kukio and Pu'ukala. (State Archives)

Boundary Commission Testimonies (1874 and 1886)

In 1862, the Commission of Boundaries (Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom of Hawai'i to legally set the boundaries of all the *ahupua'a* that had been awarded to the *ali'i* as a part of the Māhele. Subsequently, in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries was authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118). The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the land; given in Hawaiian and transcribed to English as the proceedings occurred.

Because Kūki'o was retained as Government land, determination of it's boundaries was not required under these proceedings. Native residents, testifying before the Commissioners of Boundaries described the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu which bounds Kūki'o on the north, thus providing us with some native documentation on the land of Kūki'o from the period (*cf. Bishop Estate Map No. 116. J.M. Alexander, Surveyor, 1885 and Register Map No. 1449. J.S. Emerson, Surveyor, 1888*)

Kaupulehu-Kukio

Volume B:247-250

Keliihanapule^k. Sworn (Rather a young man):

I was born at Kiholo, do not know when. I now live at Kohanaiki and know the land of Kaupulehu and its *makai* [shoreward] boundaries. My *Kupuna* told them to me...Bounded on the South side by Kukio owned by Pupule; the boundary at shore is in the middle of a place called Keawaiki. The land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. From Keawaiki to Papaomino

[Puupoopoomino] a pile of stones at the corner of Pupule's land, thence along said land to Keonehehee, a *kihapai*. Thence to Puuokai the *mauka* corner of Pupule's land. Thence along the Government portion of Kukio turning towards Kona and running *makai* side of Puhiapele, a large *Ahu aa* [rock cairn], *makai* of this hill, the boundary turns and runs *mauka* over this hill, thence to Maunakilowaa, a resting place where you look towards Kona and Kohala, thence *mauka* to Kauakahiapaoa. This is the *mauka* corner of Kukio; and there is a large hole there. Thence along the land of Mahaiula to Pahulu, *mauka* corner of Mahaiula. One half of this place belongs to Kaupulehu. Thence along the land of Kaulana to a *kihapai* called Kauaiki. This is an old *kihapai* belonging to Kaupulehu. Thence along Kaulana 2nd to Moanuihea, a hill where they used to worship, where the land called Kau joins Kaupulehu. Thence along Kau to Kaimuki, a place where they used to catch *uwau* [petrels], below the Koa woods...

Kahueai Sworn:

I was born here at Kailua at the time of building the *heiau* [probably a reference to the construction of Keikipu'ipu'i, in the land of Honua'ula; ca. 1812]. Am a *kamaaina* of Kona and now live at Puawaa [Pu'uwa'awa'a]. Know the land of Kaupulehu, my *kupuna* (now dead) told me the boundaries, he was an old bird catcher... [begins description of boundaries from the sea where Ka'upulehu joins Pu'uwa'awa'a; proceeds upland, and turn, returning along the southern boundary of Ka'upulehu and Kūki'o] ...Thence along the heads of the Kalaoas to Kaiwiopete, thence to Moanuihea, a hill, thence to Makalei an *anawai* [water cave]. (Pahulu is in the middle of Kaupulehu.) Thence to the further slope of Akahi (hill) where the boundary turns toward Kohala. Thence *makai* along Kukio to Maunakilowaa, at the Government road. Thence to Puhiapele, thence to some hills *makai*. I do not know the names. Thence along Pupule's land to shore. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.

J.M. Alexander – Sworn (Vol. D No. 5:30; June 15, 1886)

During the year 1885, I surveyed the land of Kaupulehu, *mauka* it joins Puwaawaa. The *Kamaainas*, Luahine and others, shewed me the boundaries. Ikaaka of Kaupulehu kai was the guide, *makai*. Mr. Hitchcock had surveyed this land formerly, but never made a map. On our surveying tour, we often came to piles of stones which the guides said were put up by Mr. Hitchcock; one celebrated place, "Keahukaupuaa," below the Government Road, was a pile of stones, and Hitchcock's flag pole...

We found the water hole as was said. Keanini, Kalamakini, and some other old men at Kaupulehu kai described the *mauka* boundary to me, and sent Aalona to show me the boundary at "Mailehahee"...

Hopulaau and son showed the rest of the boundary on to Moanuihea, and on to "Puhiapele," and on to head of Kukio 1st, survey by J. Fuller, Grant 2121 to Kukulii [sic – Pupule]. I took the boundaries as per, said Grant, from there to the sea. This is the Map [*Bishop Estate Map No. 116*] and notes of survey I made. I surveyed along the sea shore, but do not give the bearings as the

sea is the boundary. Some of the witnesses are too far off, or too feeble to come here today. The land is much of it lava. ...I have brought Aalona and Kalamakini as witnesses... (Vol. D No. 5:30; June 15, 1886)

Hawaiian Government Field Surveys (1882)

One of the most significant historic records of the later nineteenth century, documenting the cultural landscape of Kekaha, are the field note books Joseph Swift Emerson, of the Hawaiian Government Survey Office. These fragile notebooks are housed in the collection of the State Survey Division. The Emerson field notebooks contain maps (showing residences, trails, and various features of the cultural and natural landscape of the study area), place name locations, and accounts collected by Emerson from native residents he encountered while in the field. Emerson was born in Hawai'i and had the ability to converse in Hawaiian as well, thus his notebooks are culturally richer than those of many other surveyors. Another unique facet of the Emerson field note books is that his assistant, J. Perryman was a good artist; his work helps bring to life much of the history recorded by Emerson.

The following documentation is excerpted from several of Emerson's filed books. The numbered sites and place names coincide with maps that are cited as figures in text. Because the original books are in such poor condition (highly acidic paper that has darkened and made the pencil written and drawn records hard to read) copies are difficult to reproduce. Register Maps No.'s 1278 and 1449 (*Figures 3 and 4* respectively; *Figure 4* at end of study) were prepared from the 1882 and 1888 surveys (respectively), and the maps also include identify many of the locations discussed in the field notebooks cited below.

Field Notebooks

J.S. Emerson 1882 Vol. II Reg. No. 252

West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District

Puu Anahulu Station – April 29, 1882

(see Figure 5 for locations discussed below)

- Site # 1** - Lae o Kawili.
- Site # 2** - Lae o Awakee...
- Site # 4** - Lae o Kukio iki...
- Site # 7** - Lae o Kukio nui...
- Site # 6** - Kukio iki Bay.
- Site # 9** - Kukio nui Bay.
- Site # 10** - Kaoahu's house in Kaupulehu Village...
- Site # 13** - Lae o Kolomuo (extremity in Kaupulehu)... [Book 252:69-71]

Kuili Station – May 19, 1882 (see Figure 6 for locations discussed below)

- ...Site # 6** - Pohaku o Pelekane: Near shore Puukala. This rock is on the ancient site of the fishpond "Paaeea" [Pa'aiea] and in the flow that started from the "Puhi a Pele" on the slope of Hualalai. It covers the land from "Lae o Keahole" to the village of "Makalawena." Kamehameha had a residence there, afterwards the flow occurring about [1801] according to Kamaainas... [Book 252:127-128]
- ...Site # 16** - Kaelemiha Cape, Makalawena.
- Site # 17** - Puualii Bay apparent head Makalawena. This beach an ancient burying ground; skeletons disinterred by the waves at times...
- Site # 18** - Makalawena School House.

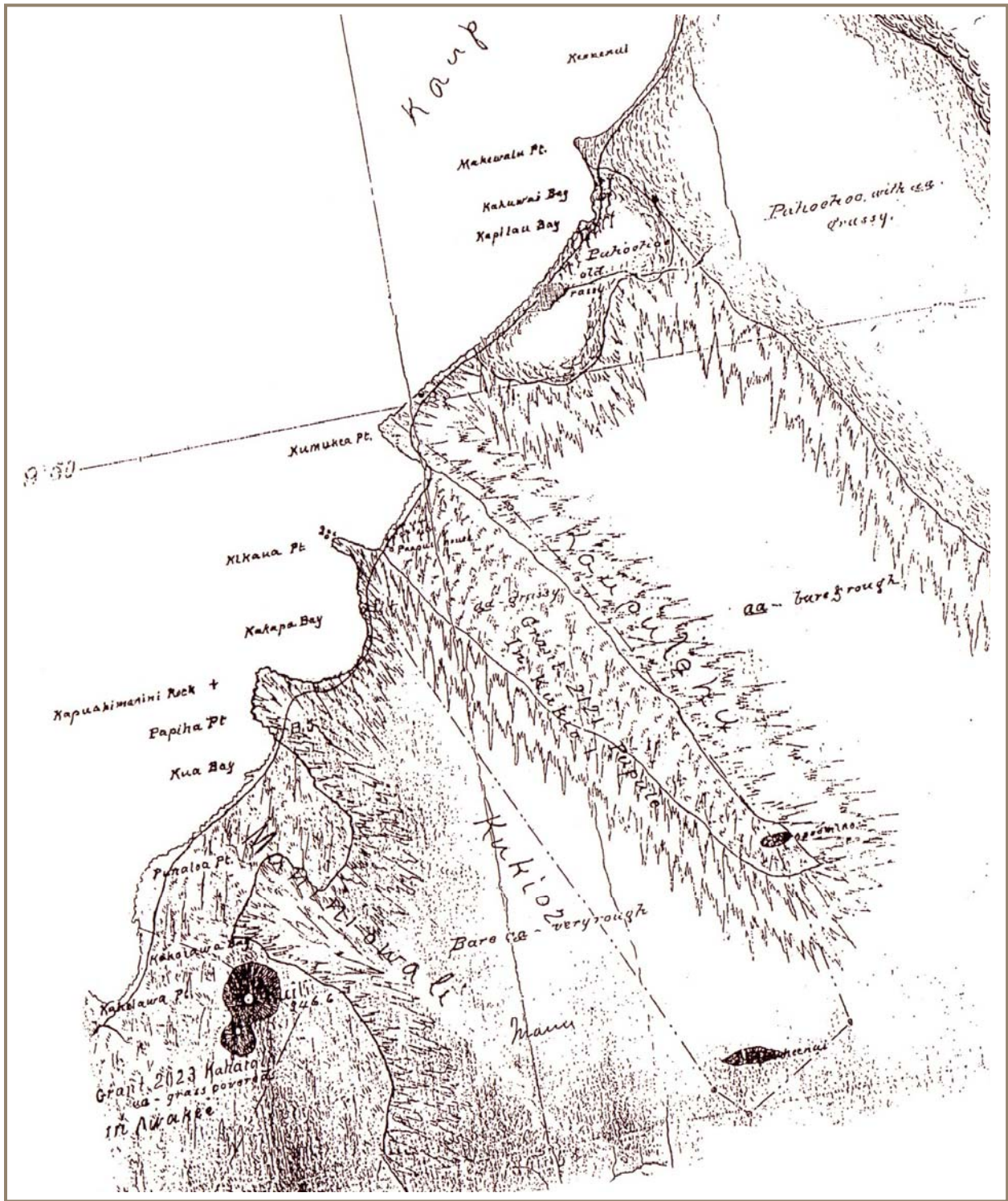


Figure 3. Portion of Register Map No. 1278 (Detail of Kūki'o and Vicinity, Depicting Named Localities, Paapu's house and Trails); J.S. Emerson, 1882 (State Survey Division)

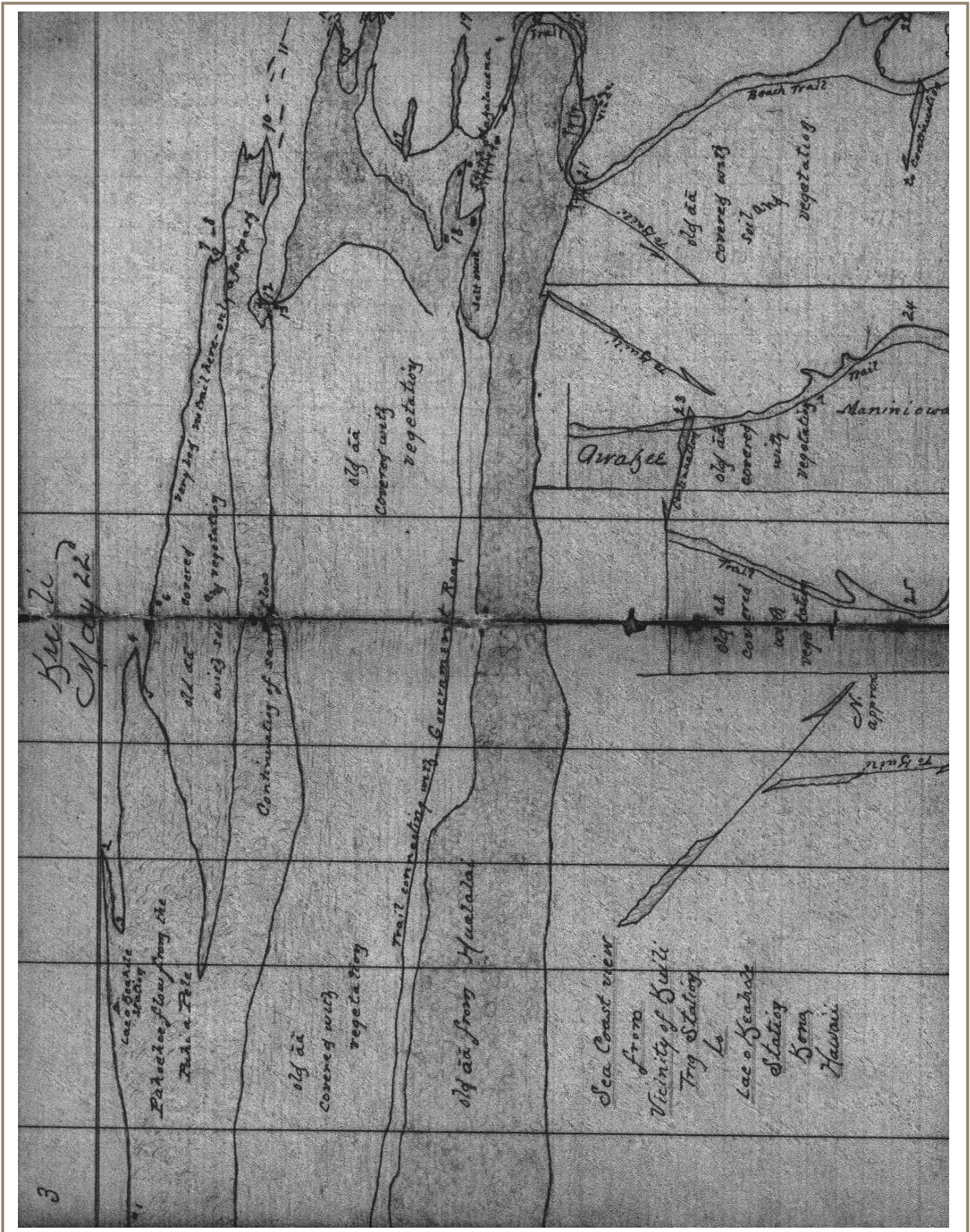


Figure 6 J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:3 (State Survey Division)

- Site # 19** - Chain of rocks in bay.
Site # 20 - Lae o Kaiwikohola. Owes its name to the death of a whale that was unfortunate enough to wedge himself in the rocks while in chase of a canoe.
- Site # 21**- Awakee Bay.
Site # 22 - Kahoiawa Cape, Awakee.
Site # 23 - Kalohuhui, Boundary between Awakee and Maniniowali.
 Kuili Tomb - Grave of Laanui, former owner of this land of Awakee, buried August 1879...
- Site # 24** - Lae o Punaloa, Maniniowali.
Site # 25 - Kua Bay, sand beach Maniniowali.

(see Figure 7 for locations discussed below)

- Site # 26** - Lae o Papiha, rock cape Maniniowali.
Site # 27 - Kakapa Bay, Kukio iki - site of one of Kamehameha's old "heiaus" now destroyed by the sea—D 3°9'0".
- Site # 28** - Lae o Kikaua - Named in honor of Kikaua, the husband of Kahawaliwali, who was slain by Pele for not giving "kapa"... [Book 252:129-130]
- Site # 29** - Paapu's new *lauhala* house in Kukio Village, Kukio nui.
Site # 30 - Uluweuweu Bay in Kukio nui.
Site # 31 - Kumukea - from the white surf, Kukio nui.
Site # 32 - Kapilau Bay - head of bay, Kaupulehu... [Book 252:131-132]
- Poopoomino – very flat and insignificant.
 - Muheenui – in Kukionui "the large cuttle fish".
 - Puu Kolikoli (red; [cf. kolekole]) – in Kaupulehu "hill of red *āā*"
 - Kahoowahapuu – in Maniniowali. Carrying a person whose arms are around the carriers neck.
 - Kalehua — in Makalawena. Named after "Lehua" who was a *kupua* and chief of this place... [Book 252:135-136]
 - Pohakuanaeapuapo – Used as a whetstone for fish hooks from old times. Between Awakee and Makalawena.
 - Nahaleomakaiki — "Ahumakaiki was the Konohiki of Makalawena in Kamehameha's time. Between Makalawena and Mahiula. [Book 252:137-138]

J.S. Emerson, Vol. III Reg. No. 253 (1882)

West Hawaii 1ry Triangulation Kona District

- ...Maniniowali derives its name from the numbers of "Manini" fish... [Book 253:17-18]

Akahipuu Station – May 29, 1882

(see Figure 8 for locations discussed below)

- ...**Site # 53** - Awakee fishpond, lava S. side.
Site # 54 - Awakee fishpond, lava N. side.
Site # 55 - Lae o Mano in Awakee.
Site # 56 - Lae o Mano extremity of reef.

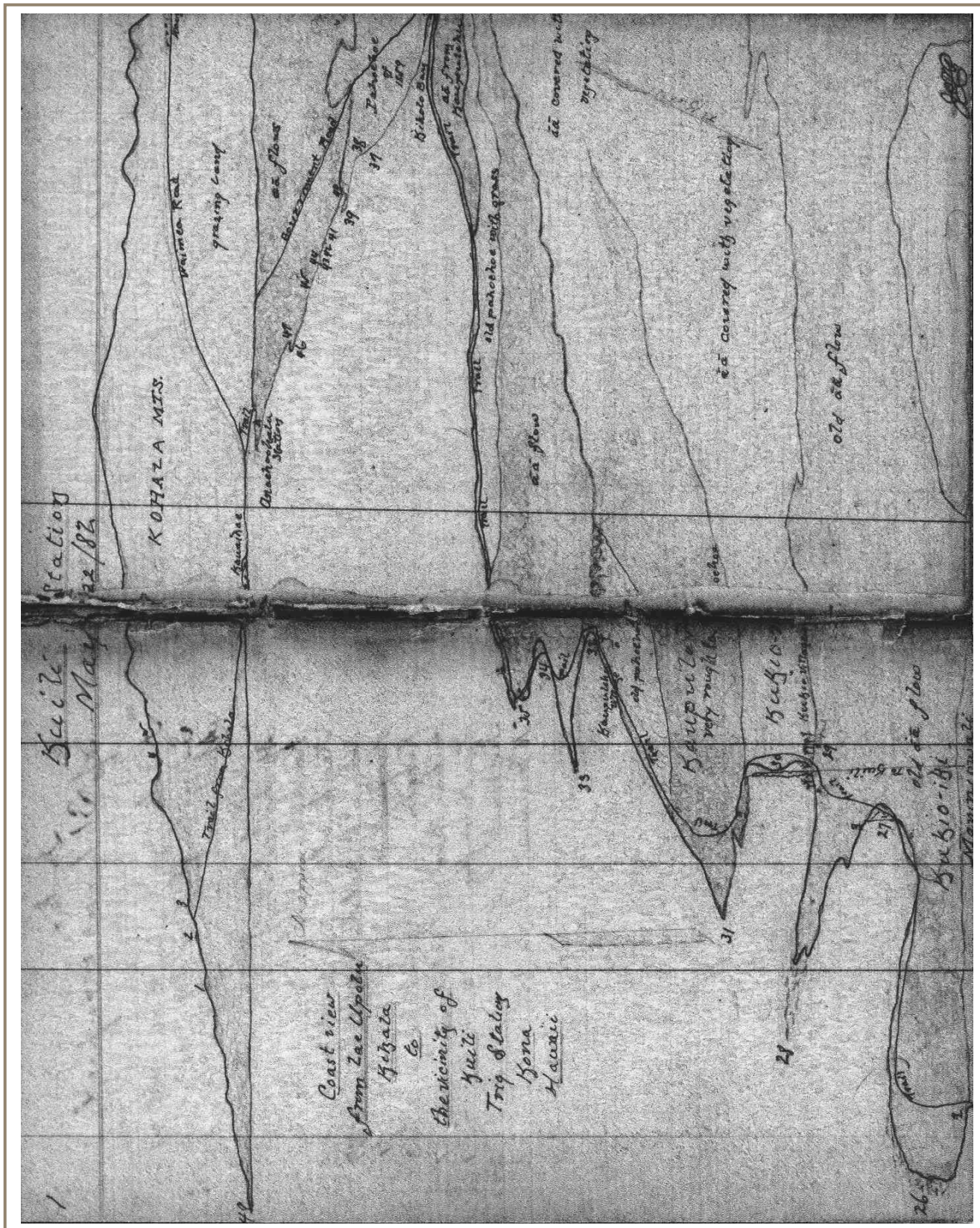


Figure 7. J.S. Emerson Field Note Book Map – Book 251:1 (State Survey Division)

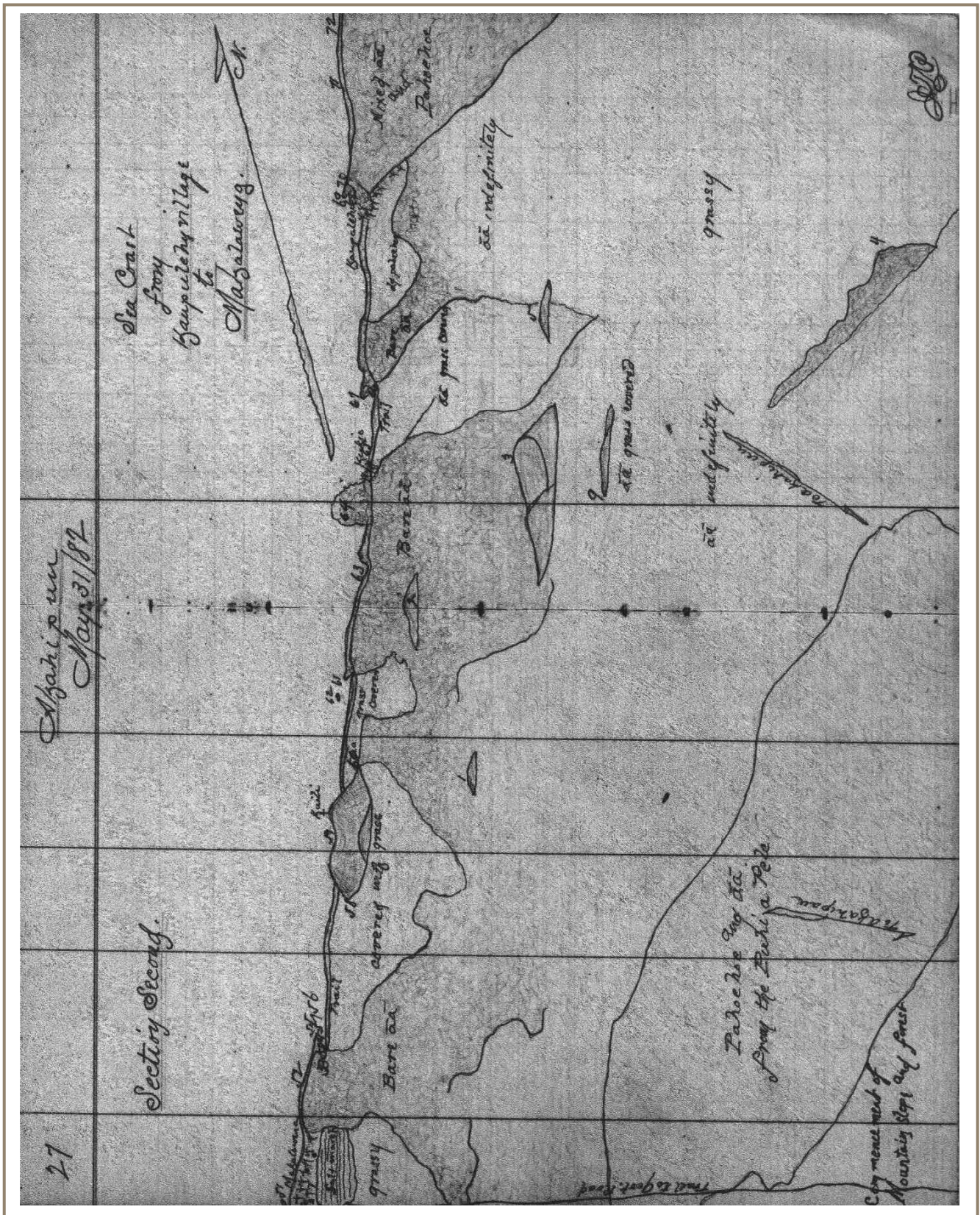


Figure 8. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:27 (State Survey Division)

- Site # 57** - Kepuhi bay.
- Site # 58** - Kuili, S. base.
- Site # 59** - Kuili, bottom of slope.
- Site # 60** - Kuili, N. base.
- Site # 61** - Lae o Papiha in Kukio iki.
- Site # 62** - Kapuahimanini rock in Maniniowali (in sea).
- Site # 63** - Kakapa Bay in Kukio iki.
- Site # 64** - Lae o Kikaua in Kukio iki.
- Site # 65** - Uluweuweu Bay in Kukio nui.
- Site # 66** - Pohakuokeawe in Kukio nui.
- Site # 67** - Lae o Kumukea near boundary.

- Site # 68** - Kahuwai bay in Kaupulehu... May 29, 1882
 - Site # 1** - Kahoowahapuu in Maniniowali.
 - Site # 2** - Puu Papapa in Kukio.
 - Site # 3** - Muheenui in Kukio
 - Site # 4** - Puu Nahaha in Kaupulehu.
 - Site # 5** - Poopoomino in Kaupulehu...
 - Site # 9** - Puu o Kai in Kaupulehu... May 30, 1882 [Book 253:31-39]

Subdivision of Kūki‘o and Vicinity in the Homestead Act of 1884

In the 1880s, the Hawaiian Government undertook a program to form Homestead lots—a primary goal being to get more Hawaiian tenants in possession of fee-simple property (Homestead Act of 1884). Government land throughout Kekaha, including Kūki‘o, was subdivided for this purpose. Because it was the intent of the Homestead Act to provide residents with land upon which they could cultivate crops or graze animals, most of the lots were situated near the *mauka* road that ran through North Kona (*Figure 4. Register Map No. 1449, at end of study*). Between ca. 1887 to 1895, a number of people, most of whom were long-time residents of the lands they sought for homestead purposes, applied for lots. The Homestead Act allowed for lots of up to 20 acres, but throughout Kekaha, native residents observed that their present land holdings are insufficient “to live on in every respect” they note that because of the rocky nature of the land, goats are the only animals which can be raised in an effort to make a living. Thus, the native residents state there was a need for larger parcels that they could use for grazing land (State Archives—Land File, December 26, 1888, and Land Matters Document No. 255).

Another facet of the Homestead program, was the requirement for surveying lots that were leased or granted to the applicants. Returning to Kona in 1888, J.S. Emerson once again provides us with valuable historical documentation in his letters to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. Writing from ‘O‘oma, Emerson speaks highly of the Hawaiian families of Kona, and describes the land and weather conditions. He also addresses questions to Alexander on the status of the lands of Awake‘e and Kaulana, reports the plans of John Maguire (founder of Hu‘ehu‘e Ranch, and husband of Luka Hopula‘au, heir of Pupule’s lands at Kūki‘o nui) to “settle” in Kona, and notes some discrepancies in Maguire’s acquisition of certain parcels of land.

April 8, 1888

Our tent is pitched in Ooma on the *mauka* Govt. road at a convenient distance from Kama’s fine cistern which supplies us with the water we need. The pasturage is excellent and fire wood abundant. As I write 4:45 P.M. the thermometer is 71^o, barometer 28.78. The entire sky is overcast with black storm clouds over the mountains. The rainy season comes late to Kona this

year and has apparently just begun. We have had about three soaking rains with a good deal of cloud & drizzle. We are now having a gentle rain which gladdens the residents with water for their cisterns... The native welcome us and do a great deal to help the work along. Tomorrow I expect to go to Kuili station with a transit and make a few observations & reset the old signal... The Kamaainas tell me that Awakee belongs to Gov't. though I see it put down as LCA 10474 Namauu no Kekuanaoa.

They also tell me that the heirs of Kanaina estate still receive rent for the Ahupuaa of Kaulana, though I have recorded as follows in my book, Kaulana ½Gov't. per civil Code 379, ½J. Malo per Mahele Bk. Title not perfected; all Gov't. Please examine into the facts about Kaulana and instruct me as to what I shall do about it. Kealoha Hopulaaui rents it and if it is Gov't. land the Gov't. should receive the rent or sell it off as homesteads. It is a desirable piece of land, a part of it at least...

J.S. Emerson (signed)

April 17, 1888

...The work is being pushed rapidly and steadily forward. The natives render me most valuable assistance and find all the important corners for me as fast as I can locate them. It is hard getting around on account of the rocks & stones, to say nothing of trees etc., but there is a great deal of really fine land belonging to the Government, admirably adapted to coffee etc. The more I see of it the better it appears.

As to Kaulana, if I hear nothing to the contrary from you, I will leave it all as Gov't. land.

Mr. McGuire [sic] of Kohala, the representative for that district, proposes to settle in Kona. He has bought Grant 1590, Kauhine, in Ooma, Kalaoa etc. and wants the Gov't. to make good to him the amount taken from him by Grants 2972, Kaakau & Kama, and 3027, Hueu, which occupy portions of the same land granted to Kauhine. If his title is good, would it not be just to leave Kaakau & Kama as well as Hueu in possession of their lots where they have lived for over 20 years, and give McGuire an area in adjoining lands equal to that taken from him by these two grants...

Yours truly,

J.S. Emerson (signed)

[State Archives, HGS Jan.-Apr. 1888]

The files of the Hawaiian Government Survey (HGS) in the State Archives are minimally indexed, and it is likely that a detailed search of the files will provide further documentation for the area.

On August 2nd, 1886, King Kalākaua entered into a lease for the Government land of Kūki'o No. 2, Manini'ōwali No. 1, and Mahai'ula, at yearly rental fee of \$5.00 per *ahupua'a*, and Kaulana at a yearly rental fee of \$10.00. The lease specified that:

...the above mentioned lands are let subject to the express condition that at any time during the term of this lease, the Minister of the Interior may at his discretion peaceably enter upon, take possession, and dispose of such piece or pieces of land included in the lands hereby demised, as may be required for the purpose of carrying out the terms and intent of the Homestead Laws... (Government Lease No. 364; Land Management Division)

Additional records from the files of the Hawaii State Archives document the following land transactions for homestead and grant parcels in lands of the study area:

- Interior Department Document No. 184 (ca. 1888); J.W.H. Isaac Kihe and 70 native residents of the Kekaha region petitioned W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General, asking that the Government lands of Kaulana, Mahai'ula, Awake'e, and Kukio 1&2, on the *mauka* side of the Government Road, be cut into homestead lots. The petitioners also ask that the lands be granted to the destitute residents, and not to the rich people (State Archives).
- July 26, 1888; John A. Maguire applied to purchase *mauka* portions of Government land remnants in Maniniowali, Awakee, Kaulana and Mahaiula. Having completed a survey the subject lands on Sept. 8, 1888, Lot 20 in Awake'e (20 acres), and Lot 21 in Kukio 1&2 and Maniniowali (84 acres), were sold to J.A. Maguire in Royal Patent Grant 3438 (Division of Land Management). (*Figure 9*)
- Interior Department records of January 22, 1889; His Majesty David Kalākaua informed the Minister of Interior that he is willing to give up such land as necessary—in Kūki'o 2, Maniniowali, Mahaiula, and Kaulana etc.—pursuant to government interests in developing homestead lots. Kalākaua also informs him, that he desires to retain the balance of said lands (State Archives). On August 2, 1889, Government Lease No. 364, to King Kalākaua was terminated (Land Management Division).
- On March 4, 1889; J.S. Emerson reported that surveys of lots 34A & 34B in Kūki'o and Maniniowali, had been completed, and the lots to be sold at auction. (State Archives)
- On February 11, 1890; H. Waipu'ilani wrote to the Minister of Interior, reporting that several natives have requested that Kūki'o be divided into homestead lots (State Archives).
- February 22, 1890; J.W.H. Isaac Kihe wrote to Minister of Interior, L. Thurston on behalf of J.S. Makini; J.K. Keo Kaia; J. Pakiai; Hanauwaha Solomona; Palapala Joseph; Moeino; and Kekai, stating their interest in acquiring homestead lands in Kaulana 1 & 2, Mahai'ula, Awake'e, and Kūki'o 1 & 2. Interior Department Document No. 308, notifies the applicants that as soon as a surveyor can be located, the lands will be divided, as requested. (State Archives)

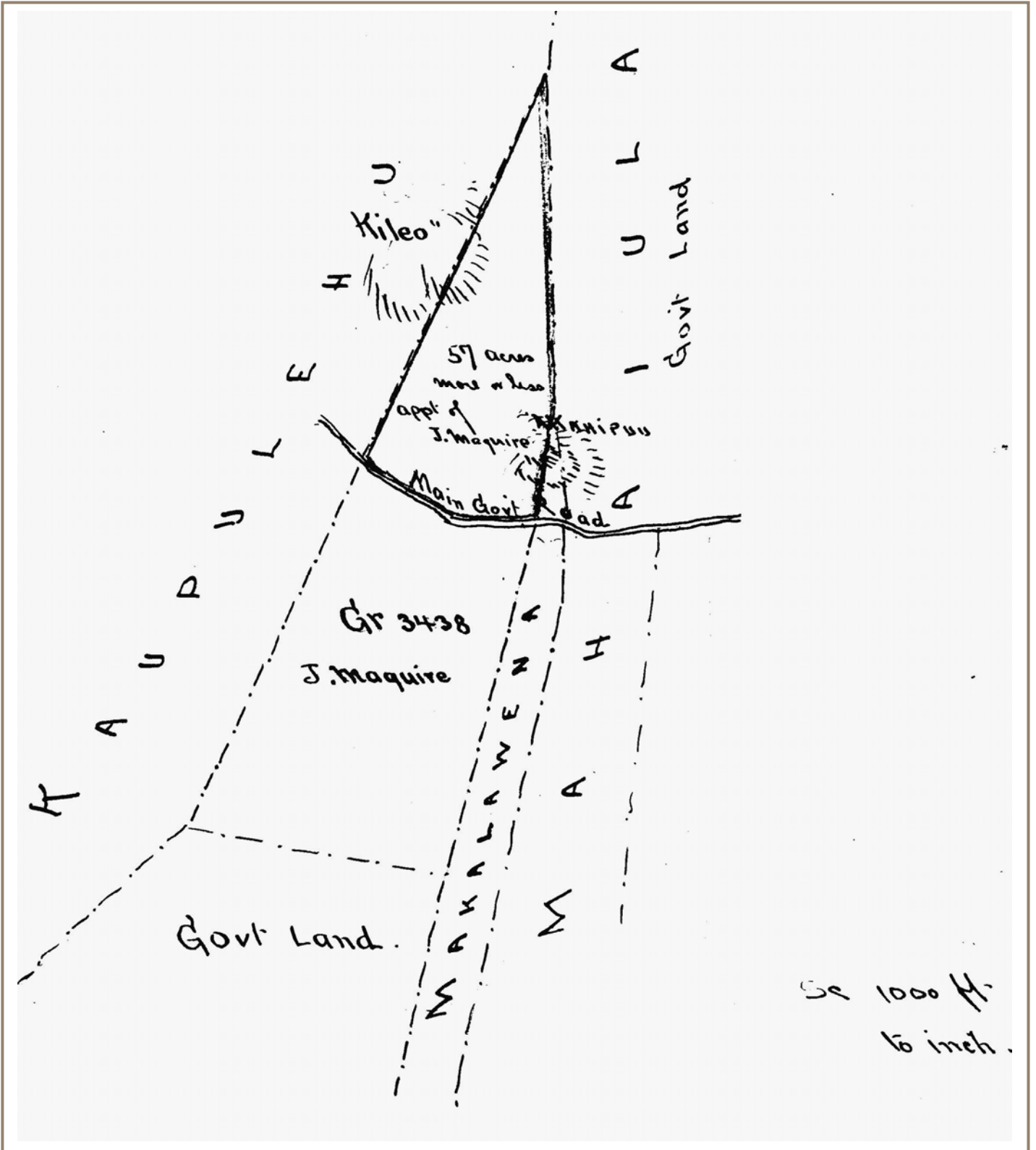


Figure 9. Royal Patent Grant 3438, awarded to J.A. Maguire (1888).
 (Hawaii State Archives)

- July 3, 1890; On behalf of 64 applicants, J.W.H. Isaac Kihe wrote once again to the Minister of Interior, Chas. Spencer:
We are tax payer living on lands lying between Kealakehe and Kapalaoa. We are without lands of our own, and petition you to give all Govt. Lands in this District (No. Kona) to poor natives who have no land. We again ask that these Govt. lands be surveyed & laid out and divided amongst the natives till all the poor are supplied with lands.
We ask that lands be not given to rich persons by way of sale or lease, and if the lands are to be leased we ask that they be leased to the poor natives...We also ask that surveyors be sent up to survey and lay out Govt. lands of Kaulana, Mahaiula, Kukio 1 & 2, *mauka* of the Govt. Road... (State Archives)
- October 3, 1890; John A. Maguire applied to purchase *mauka* portions of Government land remnants in Kaulana, Mahaiula &c... The land can be adapted to grazing. (Division of Land Management)
- December 3, 1894; John A. Maguire applied to the Minister of Interior to purchase various Kona lands, including the remnant Government lands in Kukio and Awakee (Application No. 420). A disagreement over subdivision of the parcels into Homestead Lots occurs, and is resolved by an agreement of July 30, 1896.
In Application No. 420, J.F. Brown, Surveyor reported:
The demand for homesteads in N. Kona has been met to a large extent by lots already laid out and disposed of. I am informed on good authority that the price of \$3.00 per acre is a fair one for upset price at auction, and know of no special objection to the sale. Although a portion of this tract might be made into homesteads, Mr. Waipuilani who is well acquainted with the tract, does not think it would be taken up for that purpose... (Oct. 3, 1890; Division of Land Management)
- July 30, 1896; W.A. Wall recorded the survey of 127 acres of Government land, being a portion of Kukio, Maniniowali, and Mahaiula; sold to J.A. Maguire in Homestead Agreement No. 3953. (Division of Land Management)

An Overview of Ranching in Kekaha

Cattle, goats, and sheep had been introduced to the islands in the latter part of the eighteenth century and had grown at alarming rates. Handy, Handy, and Pukui (1972) observe that after their introduction, the cattle rapidly multiplied and invaded the uplands. In dry seasons, these animals even “browsed on the grass-thatched houses of the natives” (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:18; see also Kelly 1983, and Clark and Kirch 1983). It is also reported that goats came to be “the most destructive of all introduced grazing animals (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:18). Indeed, by 1815, shortly after his return to Kona from O’ahu, Kamehameha hired a few people to shoot cattle. Efforts at control of ungulate populations was negligible, and it is estimated that by 1851 there were approximately 20,000 cattle on the island of Hawai’i, and 12,000 or more of them were wild (Henke 1929:22).

In 1855, the King Kamehameha III signed a law requiring all livestock owners on Hawai’i to register their brands between April 1-September 30, 1855, or else the animals would be

considered government property. By October 16, 1855, thirteen individuals had complied. One of the respondents was from the Kekaha region, Papu¹⁰, recorded as living at Ka'ūpūlehu (though historic records also identify "Paapu" as a resident of Kūki'o 1st). In compliance with the law, "Papu's" brand recorded on October 12, 1855 (Oct. 16, 1855; State Archive, Interior Department files). Evidence of some form of early ranching in the region is found in a letter dated May 28, 1861. In the letter, J.H. Kapaiki, Maiai, and Kanaina (residents of Ka'ūpūlehu), wrote to Lot Kamehameha (Kamehameha V), owner of Ka'ūpūlehu reporting that the population of goats in Ka'ūpūlehu, which had been formerly tended, had increased and moved into the uplands. The writers also reported that on April 23rd, branded goats had been hunted in Ka'ūpūlehu (State Archives, Interior Department Land Files).

Facilitated by the privatization of land ownership, the economic opportunities of ranching drew great interest from the Konohiki land owners and foreign businessmen-landowners and lessees. In the Kekaha region, ranching primarily took place in the uplands and on the *kula* (open plain lands), while goats roamed the entire district from sea to mountains. Many of the native Hawaiian residents of the Kekaha region relied on goats for some of their income and subsistence (cf. Interior Department and Homestead records of the Hawaii State Archives). But, the formal staking out of ranch land boundaries led to access problems for the native tenants who remained on the land. By the 1840s upland agricultural fields that had been of particular importance to residents of Kekaha were being impacted by grazing cattle. Many fields were eventually abandoned as a result of cattle depredation (cf. Morgan 1948:128). Thus, residency that had been supported by seasonal subsistence agriculture and fishing (with unimpaired *mauka-makai* access to resources) was becoming dependent upon ranching activities and a western monetary system.

As ranching operations became established, leases on government and private lands were also entered into. In the 1870s and 1880s, a number of individuals, including John Broad, H. Cooper, H.N. Greenwell, J. Dowsett, A.S. Cleghorn, J. Maguire, and King Kalākaua applied for leases on large tracts of land in Kekaha (including Kūki'o and neighboring lands).

The "Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory..." (1880-1881) lists two native goat ranchers in the lands of the study area— Hopulaau and Makahikuli, both in Kaulana (Bowser 1881:211,241,337). Through marriage to Luka Hopula'au, the Kaulana tract was later incorporated into J. Maguire's Hu'ehu'e Ranch. On August 9th 1884, H.N. Greenwell leased Ka'ūpūlehu from Bernice Pauahi Bishop (Lease No. 268). Greenwell's journals (in the collection of James Greenwell), record that goat hunting was the primary activity undertaken on the land (cf. Journal entries dated January 17, and June 28, 1881 and July 11, 1886).

In 1885, Trustees of Bernice Pauahi Bishop's estate, entered into an agreement with native families of the Pu'u Wa'awa'a-Ka'ūpūlehu-Kūki'o vicinity (Lease No. 292). The lease is of historical interest, as it provides readers with an indication of activities in which the native residents of the coastal lands were involved, and their relationship with ranchers of the *kula* (inland plains) and uplands of Kekaha:

¹⁰ J.S. Emerson's survey records from 1882, place a house belonging to "Paapu" in Kūki'o 1; on the shore of Uluweuweu Bay.

BISHOP ESTATE LEASE 292

Charles R. Bishop et al.
Trustees
To
D.P. Keoahu et al
Dated Sept. 1st 1885

(TRANSLATION)

THIS INDENTURE OF LEASE made this first day of September, A.D. 1885, between Charles R. Bishop, Charles M. Hyde and Samuel M. Damon of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Trustees under the Will of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, of the first part, and D.P. Keoahu, D.R. Lonoakai, W. Kamuoha, Kaolelo, G. Palapala, O. Paapu, Luahine, W. Maihui, Kahele, Pahukula and Kaailuwale, of North Kona, Island of Hawaii, of the second part:

WITNESSETH: That the parties of the first part hereby give and grant by way of lease unto the parties of the second part that piece of land situate at Kaupulehu, in said North Kona, being that portion of the Ahupuaa of Kaupulehu adjoining the seashore where the houses of the tenants now stand and which portion is not comprised in the lease from the parties of the first part to H.N. Greenwell executed on the 9th day of August, M.H. 1885, together with the sea fishery of the Ahupuaa of said Kaupulehu.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD this land together with the *hala* and cocoanut trees thereon and all the right and interest thereto appertaining unto the parties of the second part and their executors, administrators and assigns for the term of ten (10) years from the first day of September, A.D. 1885, at a rental of Fifty Dollars per annum, payable on the first day of September of each and every year without demand... ..to live peaceably and not to impound the animals of those leasing the Ahupuaa of Kaupulehu when trespassing upon the premises hereby demised...

Witness T.W. Simeona Signed Chas. R. Bishop, C.M. Hyde, Sml. Damon

D.P. Keoahu
D.R. Lonoakai
W. Kamauoha
Kaolelo x
G. Palapala
O. Paapu x
Luahine x
W. Maihui
Kahele x
Pahukula
J. Kaailuwale

(Sept. 1st, 1895 – Lease extended for ten years to Sept. 1, 1905. Sept. 1, 1905 Lease Expired. From Dec. 1, 1906 to Dec. 1, 1909 Tenancy to John A. Maguire; thence see Lease 763a)

Hu'ehu'e Ranch (ca. 1886 to 1968)

In ca. 1886, John A. Maguire founded Hu'ehu'e, or Maguire Ranch, which extended "from sea level to about 6,000 feet, with most of the lands above 1,600 feet elevation" (Henke 1929:28). The early ranch was in-part founded on land in the *ahupua'a* of Kūki'o (Grant 2121), which had been handed down through the genealogy of Luka Hopulā'au, Maguire's wife (pers. comm. V. Ako and H.K. Springer). By 1888, Maguire secured a lease on portions of Ka'ūpūlehu from Bishop Estate (Lease No. 268), with lands in the neighboring Manini'ōwali-Kaulana area and lands further south being added by lease and purchase in succeeding years to the ranch operations.

In his description of Hu'ehu'e Ranch, Henke (1929) reported:

The ranch has a total area of about 40,000 acres, only about 12,000 of which have any great value as grazing lands. Fifteen thousand acres are held in fee simple and the balance is leased from private owners. Huehue Ranch has no government lands.

The ranch carries about 2,000 grade Herefords, twenty purebred cows and some twenty purebred Hereford bulls. About 350-400 head are marketed annually...and practically all of them are shipped to the Honolulu market, the cattle being loaded on the steamers at Kailua.

The ranch has seven miles of pipe line which lead from tanks near a natural spring to various parts of the ranch. Huehue Ranch is fairly well supplied with fences and paddocks.

Large areas of the ranch are overgrown with ferns and lantana and lava flows have rendered much of the land useless.

Forage grass includes Hilo grass (*Paspalum conjugatum*), some mesquite (*Holcus lanatus*), at higher elevations, rattail (*Sporobolus elongatus*) and other grasses found in this part of Kona.

Huehue Ranch, also known as the Maguire Ranch, was started about 1885 by John Maguire with native cattle and he was personally manager of the ranch till he died about 1920. Since then the affairs of the ranch have been conducted by a board of directors consisting at present of Robert Hind, John Clarke, Robert Wallace, Franck Greenwell and Walter Ackerman. John Lind was manager from 1920 to 1926 and Arthur Stillman is the present manager. [Henke 1929:28]

Hu'ehu'e ranching operations continued generally as described above, with use of lands extending from Ka'ūpūlehu-Kūki'o to Kaloko through the 1960s. In the later years, Trustees of the Maguire Estate began selling off large tracts of land, particularly those along the shore and on the *kula*, below the Hawai'i Belt Highway. Cattle were removed from the *kula kai* (seaward flatlands) of Kūki'o by the 1970s.

An Overview of Twentieth Century Coastal Land Use at Kūki‘o

As noted earlier, residency and property right in the Kūki‘o vicinity had undergone significant changes by the early twentieth century. Below, is a brief history of residency and land use at Kūki‘o and Manini‘ōwali. The narratives are based upon historic records and interview documentation shared in several interviews, with specific documentation provided by Robert Ka‘iwa Punihaole and Kihalani Springer.

The Kikaua Point Beach Lot and House

In the early 1900s, one primary house was situated on the inland side of Kikaua Point. Based on the map of the land grant to Pupule (Grant No. 2121), this wood-frame house with a corrugated roof, was situated near the 1850s residences of Pupule (see *Figure 2*). A ca. 1915 photograph from the Kukui‘ohiwai collection of Kihalani Springer records this house and the surrounding rock walls and other associated features. It was at this house that Punihaole family members (descendants of Kinolau and Ha‘ilau) lived, and from which they based their fishing, Ka‘ūpūlehu salt gathering journeys, and collection of weaving materials through ca. 1940 (cf. oral history interviews with Robert Ka‘iwa Punihaole and Kihalani Springer).

In speaking of the Kikaua Point beach house, Kihalani Springer recalled that her mother spoke of the house as being Aunties’. When the Stillman family and friends visited Kūki‘o Beach, they camped outside of the walled lot which encircled the old house, and later also encircled the “cook-house” and gathering area.

The Maguire-Stillman descendants, family friends and ranch employees continued their periodic camping trips to Kūki‘o throughout the years of the family’s tenure (through ca. 1968). After Hu‘ehu‘e Ranch was sold, Kihalani and her family, and other families associated with the ranch continued their periodic visits and camping trips to Kūki‘o. A number of important family events, commemorating birthdays and the departing of loved ones (descendants of the old Hawaiian residents of Kūki‘o) have continued to be set at the Kikaua lot.

Kūki‘o 2nd-Manini‘ōwali Beach Lots

In February 1939, A.K. Magoon (owner of the Ka‘elemakule parcel at Mahai‘ula-Kaulana) applied for government beach lot parcels in the lands of Manini‘ōwali and Kūki‘o (R.D. King to C.L. Murray, Feb. 2, 1939; Survey Division, Folder No. 419-A). The Magoon family and friends visiting the Mahai‘ula house, regularly fished and camped at Manini‘ōwali and Kūki‘o (per comm. Tessa Magoon-Dye). On May 9, 30, June 20, and July 11, 1939, legal notices were published announcing the sale of various government general leases on the island of Hawai‘i. Among the available lands were the beach lots at Manini‘ōwali and Kūki‘o 2nd (Tribune Herald). Unfortunately for A.K. Magoon, the Territory entered into an exchange deed with Victor Harrell, who had been required to give up his land next to Hikiau Heiau, at Kealakekua in South Kona (R.D. King to L.M. Whitehouse, Aug. 21, 1939). Records of the exchange note:

C.S.F. 9068 – Lots A, B, C and D, Kukio-Maniniowali Beach Lots – being a portion of Kukio-Maniniowali Government Tract in North Kona, Hawaii, containing an area of 9.00 acres; subject, however, to an easement in favor of the Territory of Hawaii over, across and along the existing trails... (State Survey Division)

On September 18, 1939, Victor Harrell received Land Patent Grant No. 10774, for nine acres along the beach in Kūki'o 2nd-Manini'ōwali (*Figure 10*). Apparently, Harrell never built a house on the Kūki'o-Manini'ōwali beach lots.

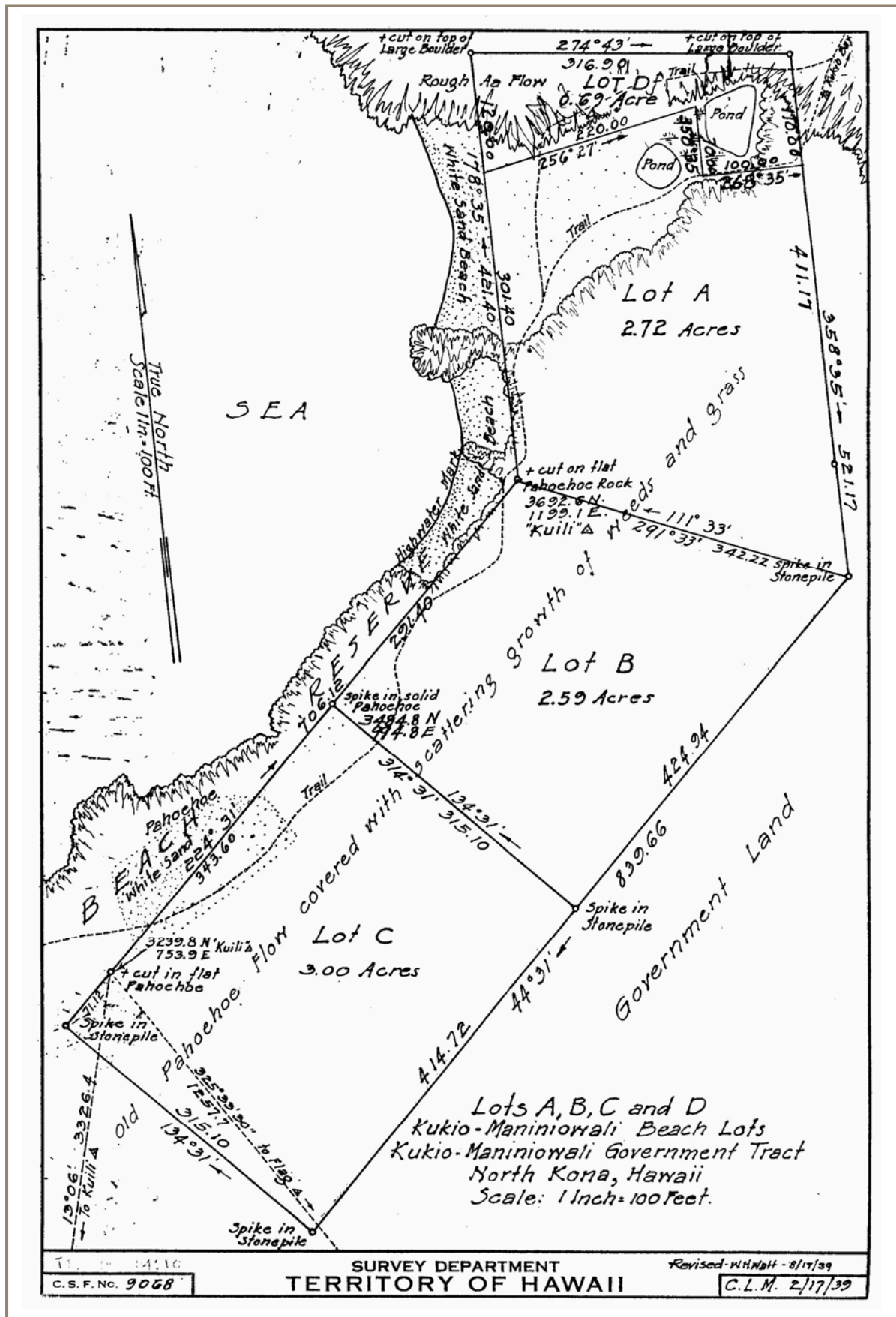


Figure 10. Lots A, D, C, and D Kukio 2nd -Maniniowali Beach Lots; Feb. 2, 1939
(State Survey Division)

KŪKI'Ō AND VICINITY: AN OVERVIEW OF SELECTED HISTORICAL STUDIES (CA. 1930 TO 1992)

Overview

At the time that J.W.H.I. Kihe and John Ka'elemakule Sr. were writing their accounts (cited earlier in this study), another individual had taken interest in her homeland overlooking the shore of Kekaha—Eliza Davis Low-Maguire, the second wife of John Maguire, of Hu'ehu'e Ranch. As she noted, the writings of Kihe, along with her interest in other stories she had heard, caused her to put some of the accounts in English so they would not be lost (Maguire 1926:3-4). We are fortunate that Maguire compiled "Kona Legends," and since its publication in 1926, it has been the primary source that many researchers used in citing traditional accounts of the region (knowledge of the existence of the full Hawaiian texts was limited). This section of the study includes excerpts from a few of the historical and archaeological studies that have been conducted in Kūki'ō and neighboring lands of Kekaha since ca. 1930.

Archaeology of Kona, Hawaii (Reinecke ms. 1930)

Shortly after most of the native families of the Kekaha region left the coastal settlements, Bishop Museum contracted John Reinecke to conduct a survey of sites in the district of Kona (Reinecke Ms. 1930, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum). Reinecke's work in the Kūki'ō vicinity was the first formal survey conducted in the area. During his study, Reinecke traveled along the shore of Kekaha, including the lands of Kūki'ō. The following narratives were recorded by Reinecke (it is noted that some of Reinecke's observations contradict those of the native residents, but generally, his discussion is compatible with the native accounts):

This coast formerly was the seat of a large population. Only a few years ago Keawaiki, now the permanent residence of one couple, was inhabited by about thirty-five Hawaiians... [Reinecke ms. 1930:1]

...The fishing is good; there is a fairly abundant water supply of brackish water, some of it nearly fresh and very pleasant to the taste; and while there was no opportunity for agriculture on the beach, the more energetic Hawaiians could do some cultivation at a considerable distance *mauka*... [ibid.:2]

In discussing the "scarcity" of sites that he recorded in the region, he noted that he may simply have missed them, or that they may have been a little further inland than he traveled" (his study field was generally within site of the shore). He also noted:

The coast is for the most part low and storm-swept, so that the most desirable building locations, on the coral beaches, have been repeatedly swept over and covered with loose coral and lava fragments, which have obscured hundreds of platforms and no doubt destroyed hundreds more...many of the dwellings must have been built directly on the sand, as are those of the family at Kaupulehu, and when the post have been pulled up, leave no trace after a very few years... [ibid.]

Kūki'o and Vicinity - Sites Documented by Reinecke (1930)

[Land of Kūki'o – Figure 11]

- Site 108. Two house sites, small caves adjacent; small pen and house platform.
- Site. 109 Shelter pen a little *mauka*. On the beach, three small square platforms, not large enough or low enough for dwellings. Were they *puaa* [burial platforms]? *heiau*? platforms for drying nets?
- Site 110. At the north end of Kua Beach, two pens and a platform. Inland of the beach is a pool and about it on three sides are shelters, small platforms, graves, in the *a-a*.
- There are many graves in this *a-a*, which is distinguished by its tremendous boulders.
- Site 111. Shelter wall and platform in front.
- Site 112. Pool; platforms probably several graves; brackish well. [ibid. 20]
- Site 113. Large platform at the foot of cliff, several shelters and two modern *ahu* above it, pen *makai*.
- Site 114. Remains on Kakapa Bay:
- a. At the south end of bay, two house sites, one a large single site, the other a fine composite site. A path leads from here to, and doubtless through, a great group of graves. Possibly there have been dwellings of some sort on the part directly overlooking the bay.
 - b. Traces of walls on the beach.
 - c. Composite walled site and small cave shelter overlooking the middle of the beach. Pool beneath.
 - d. The entire beach is a series of ruins, four pens, one platform and traces of several more. On the *a-a* a few feet back are a large shelter, a hut site, and what may have been either. Then a ruined shelter; another shelter at the end of the beach.
 - e. Wall athwart the path at the edge of the *a-a*. A few yards bare of ruins, then remains of a few platforms along the path; back of it a walled house site and two walled hut sites, some rudimentary shelters, a cairn, and a path running probably to more graves. Two attempts at *papamu* one of which had got as far as 12x7 very irregular rows. Also another partly finished *papamu* on the beach, 10x6. A little *mauka* is a shelter apparently used recently for a burial place. Two fine shelters in the lee of the cliff with a platform in front, probably for shelter, resembling a stack of cordwood in shape.

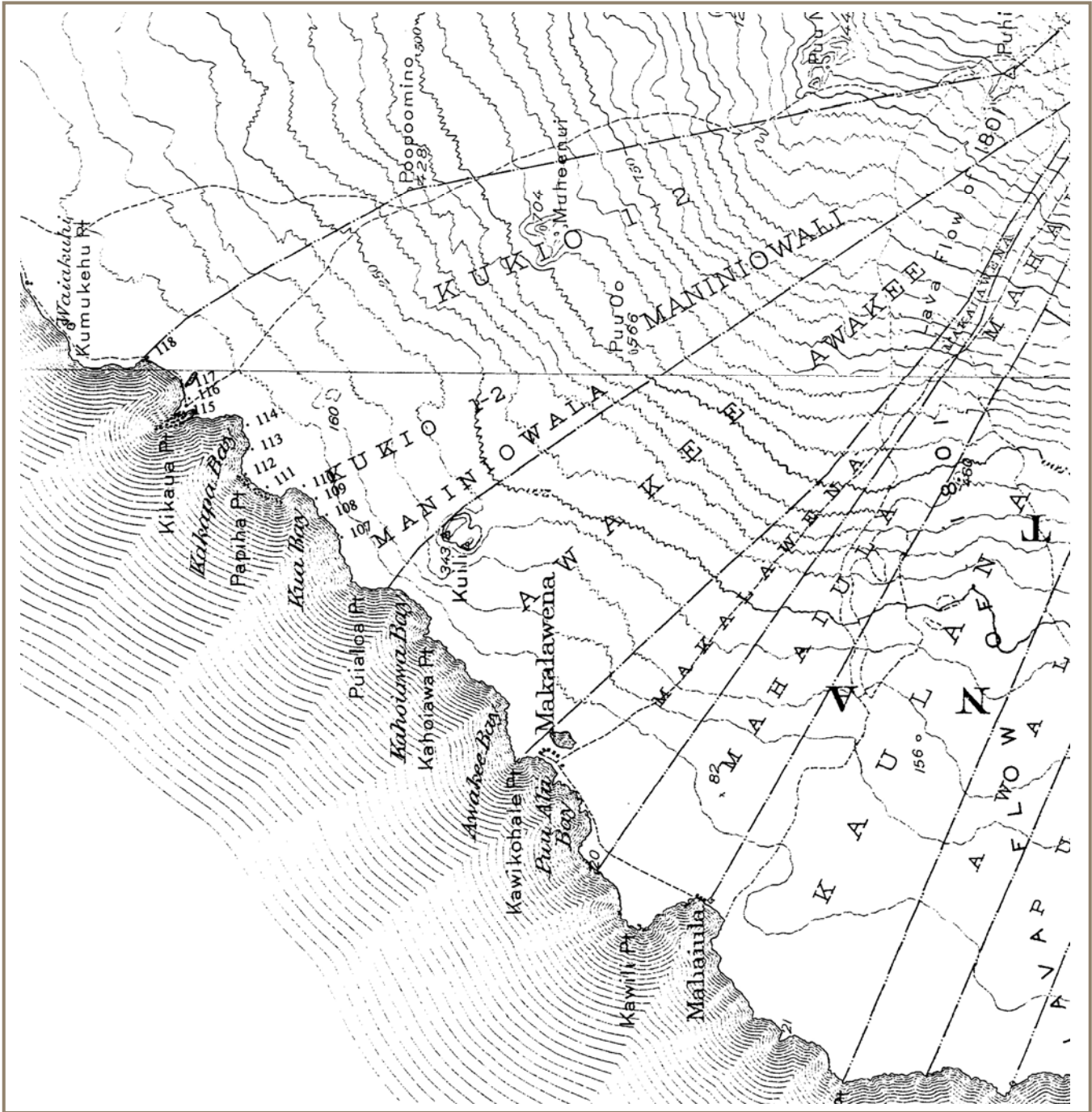


Figure 11. Map after Reinecke (Bishop Museum - Ms. 1930:46,49) Showing Approximate Locations of Sites and Features Described in the Coastal Region of Kūki'o

f. On the crumbling *pahoehoe*, at least two hut sites.

A close examination of this whole area would disclose many sites and traces of sites of all kinds, especially little caves for shelter and storage. Only the obvious ones have been noted.

Site 115. Remains on Kikaua Point; near the house: remains of wall to west of house yard. A high, small platform in an admirable location for a fishing *heiau*. One modern house site in the yard, another just east^[11].

There is a legend connected with two great stones at this point, the outline of which is given elsewhere. I did not see the stones. [ibid.:21]

Site 116. Back of the first beach and clump of cocopalms; Within the enclosure are a pool and a well. Just back of it are five house platforms, one with an incomplete approach form behind. Then a large, rough platform, apparently a house platform; a low house platform in front. A path runs *mauka* to a stone wall about 100 yards distant. ^[12]

Site 117. About the second beach and cocopalms: between the two beaches is a fine platform of small fragments, roughly 50x50x3, with a small house platform behind it. The grove is full of very picturesque pools. Past it about 300' is a rough shelter wall and very crude *papamu* (?) 8x7...

[Ka'ūpūlehu-Kūki'o lava flow]

Site 118. Walled hut site; the stones about a caved-in lava bubble may mark another hut site. Walled shelter, pen. Large pen adjoining the *a-a* flow on Kaupulehu land. Dwelling site on *a-a* above it. A few graves on the edge of *a-a* flow. [ibid.:22]

Stones at Kukio

At Kukio there are two stones, one in the ocean being the *kane* and one on the land the *wahine*. Only part of the *kane* shows above the water. The *wahine* is a great forked stone, about 18' high and 40' in circumference, and three or four men can pass at once between her legs.

The legend connected with the usual one of failing to respond to Pele's begging, and being overtaken by a lava flow and changed to stone. [ibid.:188]

¹¹ These features coincide with Pupule's house site as recorded in 1854 (*Figure 2*) and the Kikaua Point beach house of the twentieth century.

¹² Reinecke's Sites 116 and 117 coincide with "Paapu's h." depicted by Emerson (1882 and 1888), *Figures 4 and 7*; and the complex of features associated with Site D21-12.

Recent Archaeological and Historical Research

Since Reinecke's work at Kūki'o and vicinity, several other archaeological studies have been conducted in the region, mostly as a part of the land use permitting process. The most comprehensive work was conducted in 1985 (Walker and Rosendahl) with follow up work in 1992 (Goodfellow, Jensen, and Bower), and the present mitigation work being prepared by Paul H. Rosendahl (Rosendahl in prep). As a part of the present work, Paul Rosendahl and the author conducted a limited field visit at Kūki'o, and Dr. Rosendahl kindly made reports and collateral material available to the author for use in preparation of this study.

Until recently, the most significant undertaking of historical research in the Kekaha region, with selected site Specific documentation for Kekaha has been the work of Marion Kelly (1971) and H. Kihalani Springer (1985, 1989, 1992). Springer is a native resident of the land of Ka'ūpūlehu (residing at Kukui'ohiwai), and is descended from the Pupule and Hopula'au lines with generational ties to Kūki'o and neighboring lands of Kekaha. Springer's heritage and genealogy give her a unique perspective in recording and perpetuating the history of the land and its native residents. Her writings may be likened to the works of *kūpuna*, J.W.H.I. Kihe, J. Ka'elemakule, and E. Maguire (cited in this study).

Kekaha: 'Aina Malo'o (Marion Kelly 1971)

Speaking of descendants of the traditional residents of Kekaha, Kelly¹³ (1971) discusses Kūki'o, Makalawena, and other historic community centers of the region. Several of the individuals she mentions below have been referenced in preceding chapters of this study (in the writings of historic native residents. Also, several relatives of these *kūpuna*, aged 60 to 85 years, have participated in interviews with this author, and contribute to the overall understanding of the history of the land and its people.

In speaking of Kūki'o and the 'ohana (family) of Kinolau, Kelly (1971) wrote:

The 'Ohana of Kinolau

One informant [Lowell Keli'iahonui Punihaole] stated that Kukio was once owned by his great-grand-father, Kinolau, who obtained it from Hulikoa...Kinolau and his wife, Ha'ilau-wahine, lived at Kukio and were buried there (Kelly 1971:10).

The grandparents, Kinolau and Ha'ilau, raised their family at Kuki'o, and all their children except Ka'ahu'ula were buried there. She was buried at Makalawena because, it was explained, by the time she died, there was no one left to take her remains back to the family burial grounds at Kuki'o. The husband of Ka'ahu'ula was Kaua-i-Nuuanu, a man who was born on Maui but raised in Kohala by foster parents. When the lava flowed at Kiholo [1859] many Kohala people came to Kona to visit and to watch the eruption; some stayed as long as six months. Kaua-i-Nuuanu was one of these, and it was then that he met and married Ka'ahu'ula. They lived at Makalawena where they raised their family, many of whom continued to live there.

¹³ While discussing her work in Kekaha, Marion Kelly told the author that she has previously unpublished research materials and interviews for Makalawena-Kūki'o vicinity in her collection (pers comm. January 30, 1998). This material, collected in the 1970s would likely be of historical value, and add to the interpretation of the area.

One of the daughters of Kaua-i-Nuuanu and Ka'ahu'ula was Kapahukelā, who married Jack Punihaole. Jack had been adopted by his uncle, Joseph Punihaole, who lived near the church at Kohanaiki and who also had a house at Kiholo...Kapahukelā and Jack Punihaole lived at Makalawena with Ka'ahu'ula and raised their family there. One of their children was Lowell Punihaole...Not until he married in 1929 did he move away, to Kealakehe...His mother, Kapahukelā, died at Makalawena and was buried there with his father... (Kelly 1971:42,44)

The 'Ohana of Luka Maguire

The fourth child of Kinolau and Ha'ilau was a daughter Haihā. She was said to have married a man by the name of Kahopula'au [of Kaulana], and their son, Kealoha, married Kamaile Ha'ilauwahine. Kealoha and Kamaile were the parents of Luka [Hopulaau], who was the first wife of John A. Maguire and the mother of Charles Maguire. (Kelly 1971:44-45)

In a footnote about Luka Maguire, Kelly reports that the lands of Pupule, as recorded in Grant 2121 for Kūki'o were transferred to J.A. Maguire following her death in 1898. (Kelly 1971:45; Probate 388, 3rd Circuit Court)

Regional Notes from Kekaha

(H. Kihalani Springer 1985, 1989, 1992)

In reviewing some of the more recent history of land tenure and families associated with Kekaha, Springer (1985, 1989) reported the following for Kūki'o:

Around 1932, the Stillman family, friends, and relative began spending summers at Kūki'o. The group would ride down from Hu'ehu'e on the old trail "by the hills" to Kūki'o. In the manner of the time, the children did not investigate the caves or other features of the area, giving their full attention to the delights of the sea. (Springer 1985:97)

In 1989, Springer wrote:

The most consistent recollection of the Stillman Girls and their cousins of the Ruddle Family regarding their course to the coast, is the horses sliding down "the cinder hill" (Pu'uokai). Initial provisions were brought to the beach on horse or mule back, and in the weeks that followed, subsequent provisions were brought in from Kailua on Mr. Finlaysons's charter fishing boat. (Springer 1989:27)

Springer noted that through the 1960s-1970s, local residents continued using some the foot trails, both *mauka-makai* and along the shoreline in the Kūki'o – Kekaha region (Springer 1989:27-28). As described earlier in this study, by native residents of Kekaha in the historic period, water was a highly valued resource in Kekaha. In her own writings and interviews with the author, Springer records that the spring¹⁴ at Lae o Kikaua (Kikaua Point), "is

¹⁴ The spring, a rock-lined well was noted in *Figure 48* (as a portion of Site 16191 Feature C), though not specifically recorded as a historical feature in the Phase II Archaeological Mitigation Program (Goodfellow et al. 1992:117, 119).

probably the most potable water on the coast of Hualalai” (Stearns and McDonald 1946:270; in Springer 1992:195). Springer also includes excerpts from various interviews with elder residents of Kekaha in her research (cf. Springer 1989, 1992). Those interviews, in conjunction with the interviews conducted by this author, add significant documentation to the historic record of families, practices, and sites of Kūki’o and vicinity.

As a part of the present oral history study, Kihalani Springer shared detailed descriptions of the lands of Kūki’o, Ka’ūpūlehu, and Manini’ōwali, and she spoke of some of the “storied” places of importance to her family and others who lived upon and worked the land (see *Appendix A*). She also contributed copies of several historical photographs from her family collection to the interview. The photographs compliment the interviews of both Springer and Punihaole.

AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL NOTES RECORDED IN ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Oral history interviews record the ongoing residency, native customs, and stewardship responsibilities of various families who visited Kūki'ō and the neighboring lands of Ka'ūpūlehu, Makalawena, and the Manini'ōwali-Mahai'ula vicinity. Of particular interest, the interviews also describe the long-term relationship of Annie Punihaole Una, wife of Jack Una (Kealaula) with the lands from Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Kūki'ō, and Ka'ūpūlehu. Descended from families with generations of residency at Makalawena and Kūki'ō, Annie Punihaole Una frequented the land (seasonally remaining at Kūki'ō through ca. 1940 when unadjudicated fisheries were opened to the public by the Supreme Court¹⁵). Annie Punihaole-Una Kealaula cared for cultural and natural resources of the land, and was in turn sustained by those resources all of her life. While other families gave up permanent residence on the shore, Aunt Annie remained at Makalawena, and also rebuilt her home following the 1946 *tsunami*. She lived at the beach until around 1960 when she passed away (cf. oral history interviews with Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole, Kihalani Springer, Karin Haleamau, and others in *Appendix A*).

Caring for the Places and Things of the Past (Recommendations from Native Families of the Land)

As noted at the beginning of this study, the *kama'āina* participants in oral history interviews (interviews for the larger Kekaha region, and interviews specifically conducted for the Kūki'ō vicinity), bring forth significant descriptions of land use, resources stewardship and collection, and thoughts on site use and protection.

Appendix A of this study contains detailed interview records from personal recollections of interviewees, dating back to ca. 1912. Through these individuals, we find that there is a deep attachment to landscape, and that aspects of the traditional history of the land have been passed down over the generations. The interviews are a part of the legacy, that the families of Kūki'ō and vicinity wish to pass on to future generations of their families, and which they graciously share with those who will touch the land. Below, are several paraphrased thoughts, concerns, and recommendations recorded by those *kama'āina* to Kūki'ō —

- The *ilina* (ancestral burials) and traditional sites of the land are important to the native families. Care must be given to the sites associated with the *ilina*, and family members should be involved in long-term protection planning efforts.

Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole (whose ancestors, on one side of his family, originated at Kūki'ō, and who in the 1920s and 1930s was raised at Kūki'ō) noted that “If all of the traditional places of the land were removed, our spirits would have no place to return.”

- During a site visit, two features were pointed out as being home to *ilina*. The source of the documentation was elder family members in the 1920s, who instructed Robert

¹⁵ Action taken September 6, 1940. (cf. Bishop Estate Lease 4746 between Trustees of Bishop Estate and the Estate of John A. Maguire.)

- Ka'īwa Punihaole that the features contained *ilina*, and that he was to be respectful of the sites. One site (D21-12 Feature A) was previously recorded as a residence (the function of which probably predated the burial use), and the other (not presently given a site number), is a part of the Kikaua Point Complex which fronts the canoe landing, and is bounded by the wall which marks the beach house lot.
- The *pā niu* (coconut grove) fronting Uluweuweu Bay, was an important natural resource to the families of the land. It was carefully tended, and protected from the ocean by an old wall (*pale kai*) on the beach side.
- Also within the *pā niu*, near the *loko wai* (ponds) were the *loulou* (*Pritchardia* palms) and *ulu hala* (pandanus groves) which were carefully tended and regularly harvested for weaving and thatching uses by the *kama'āina*.
- All of these plants (the *niu*, *loulou*, and *hala*) are very important to the families, and it is urged that an active program of stewardship and propagation be undertaken. Robert Ka'īwa Punihaole and his son Kalei (Clayton) are anxious to work on such a stewardship program.
- The *loko wai* (ponds), including the *ki'o pua* and *ki'o 'ōpae 'ula* (fish-fry and shrimp ponds) were an integral part of the life and well being of the families who dwelt at Kūki'o. The ponds were cared for, cleaned, deepened in places, and division walls made in them to promote water circulation and fish propagation.

Family members urge care for the ponds, and suggest that habitat restoration could be beneficial to the resource. Because of the great cultural significance of the *loko wai* and groves of *niu*, *hala* and *loulou*, Kalei Punihaole suggests that a family member (perhaps himself), with some knowledge of the historic landscape be present to help monitor any work that be done in the area.

- The family members concur with selective interpretation and careful, monitored site visitation to those sites at which visitation is appropriate. In general, it is suggested that site stabilization be done. While discussions of "restoration" were cautious, due to the fact that the knowledge of specific site functions and form, is limited. Robert Ka'īwa Punihaole noted, that "In traditional times, as each stone was set in place, words were spoken, and the work done with care. We do not know those words today."

Kihalani Springer also observed that:

The land and resources have a carrying capacity. That capacity must be learned from observations of the impacts that might result from site visitation and use of the resources. It is not necessary, and is even undesirable that every place be visited. *Ilina*, for example are very personal, and visitation by others than family should not be encouraged.

- The native place names are integral to the history of the land. The place names of Kūki'o and vicinity should be used and their associated stories shared with those who visit the land.

- Promote informed use of, and visitation to the cultural and natural resources of Kūkiʻo and vicinity.

REFERENCES CITED

Board of Commissioners

1929 *Indices of Awards Made by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles in the Hawaiian Islands.* Honolulu: Star Bulletin Publishing.

Boundary Commission Testimony

1873-1905 Microfilm Collection of the University of Hawai'i at Hilo, Mo'okini Library.

Bowser, G. (compiler)

1880 *The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourists Guide.* Honolulu: Bowser and Co.

Clark, J.T., and P.V. Kirch (editors)

1983 Archaeological Investigations of the Mudlane-Waimea-Kawaihae Road Corridor, Island of Hawai'i. An Interdisciplinary Study of an Environmental Transect. Departmental Report Series 83-1. Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Prepared for Department of Transportation, State of Hawaii.

Coulter, J.W.

1935 *A Gazetteer of the Territory of Hawaii.* Honolulu.

Ellis, W.

1963 *Journal of William Ellis.* Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd.

Emerson, J.S.

1882 *Field Note Books No. 251, 252, & 253.* Hawai'i State Survey Office.

1882-1888 *Field Letters (Emerson to Alexander).* Hawai'i State Archives.

Fornander, A.

1917-1919 *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore. (9 vols.).* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

1973 *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origin and Migrations.* Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc.

Goodfellow, S.T., P. Jensen, and P. Bower

1992 Archaeological Mitigation Program, Phase II - Archaeological Data Recovery, Regent Kona Coast Resort, Land of Kukio 1st, North Kona District, Island of Hawaii (TMK:3-7-2-04:5,16). PHRI Report 1009-090992. Prepared for PBR Hawaii.

Handy, E.S.C., E.G. Handy, with M.K. Pukui

1972 *Native Planters in Old Hawaii, Their Life, Lore, and Environment.* B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 233. B.P. Bishop Museum Press.

- Henke, L.A.**
1929 A Survey of Livestock in Hawaii. University of Hawaii. Research Publication, No. 5
- I'i, J.P.**
1959 Fragments of Hawaiian History. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kamakau, S.M.**
1961 Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press.
- Kelly, M.**
1971 *Kekaha: 'Aina Malo'o*. A Survey of the Background and History of Kaloko and Kukio, North Kona, Hawaii. Departmental Report Series 71-2. Dept. Anthro., B. P. Bishop Museum.
- 1983 *Na Mala O Kona: Gardens of Kona. A History of Land Use in Kona, Hawai'i*. Departmental Report Series 83-2. Dept. Anthro., B. P. Bishop Museum. Prepared for the Department of Transportation, State of Hawaii.
- Maguire, E.D.**
1926 Kona Legends. Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Press.
- Malo, D.**
1951 Hawaiian Antiquities. Honolulu, B.P. Bishop Museum.
- Maly, Kepā**
1998a "*Kekaha Wai 'Ole o nā Kona*" – A Report on Archival and Historical Documentary Research, and Oral History Interviews for Kekaha Kai State Park. Ahupua'a of Kaulana, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Awake'e, Manini'owali, and Kūki'o, District of North Kona, Island of Hawai'i. Prepared for George Atta, Group 70 International, Honolulu, Hawai'i. *Kumu Pono Associates*, Hilo, Hawai'i (KPA Report HiKe10-030498).
- 1998b "*Ka'ūpūlehu ma ka 'Āina Kaha*" A Report on Archival and Historical Documentary Research and Oral History Interviews. Ahupua'a of Ka'ūpūlehu, District of North Kona, Island of Hawai'i (TMK 7-2-03). Prepared for Kaupulehu Developments. Volume I (KPA Report HiKau16-052098) and Volume II (KPA Report HiKau16-073098). *Kumu Pono Associates*, Hilo, Hawai'i.
- 1999 Volume I: Pu'u Anahulu And Pu'u Wa'awa'a (Nāpu'u), At Kekaha - Kona, Hawai'i Report on Archival-Historical Documentary Research, and Oral History Interviews. Cultural-Historical Documentation for Ahupua'a Based Planning in the Lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a (Nāpu'u); District of Kona, Island of Hawai'i. Prepared for Hui 'Ohana mai Pu'u Anahulu a me Pu'u Wa'awa'a. *Kumu Pono Associates*, Hilo, Hawai'i (KPA Report HiPuu26-070799).

Maly, Kepā (translator)

1992-1999 *Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki* (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki). A translation of a legendary account of people and places of the island of Hawai'i. published in the Hawaiian Newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; January 8, 1914 - December 6, 1917.

Ka Loko o Paaiea (The Pond of Paaiea). A translation of the writings of J.W.H.I Kihe, published in the Hawaiian Newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; February 5- 26, 1914.

Maniniowali. A translation of the writings of J.W.H.I Kihe, published in the Hawaiian Newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; November 8 & 22, 1923.

Na Hoomanao o ka Manawa (Reflections of Past Times). A translation of the writings of J.W.H.I Kihe, published in the Hawaiian Newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; June 5 & 12, 1924.

He Moolelo no Makalei (A Legend about Makalei). A translation of the writings of J.W.H.I Kihe, published in the Hawaiian Newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; January 31 - August 21, 1928.

Ko Keoni Kaelemakule Moolelo Pono (The True Story of John Kaelemakule). A translation of the writings of J. Ka'elemakule, published in the Hawaiian Newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; May 29, 1928 to March 18, 1930.

Additional excerpts of translated articles cited in text.

Morgan, T.

1948 *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change, 1778-1876*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. Press.

Pukui, M.K.

1983 *Olelo Noeau*. B.P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 71. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Reinecke, J.

Ms. 1930 Survey of Hawaiian Sites, 1929-1930. Manuscript in Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Springer, H.K.

1989 Appendix B: Regional Notes from Kekaha: Kūki'o. IN Full Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey, Kukio Resort Development Project Area. Land of Kukio 1st. North Kona, Island of Hawaii. PHRI Report 167-090385. Prepared for Phillips, Brandt, Reddick & Associates and Huehue Ranch. (also 1985 and December 1992)

State of Hawai'i

Ms. Files cited in text from the collections of the:
Hawai'i State Archives
Department of Land and Natural Resources — Bureau of Conveyances
Department of Land and Natural Resources — Division of State Parks
Department of Land and Natural Resources — Land Management Division
Department of Land and Natural Resources — State Survey Division

Walker, A.T., and P.H. Rosendahl

1985 Full Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey, Kukio Resort Development Project Area, Land of Kukio 1st, North Kona District, Island of Hawaii. PHRI Report 167-090385. Prepared for Phillips, Brandt, Reddick & Associates and Huehue Ranch.

Wilkes, C.

1845 *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838-1842, Under the Command of C. Wilkes, U.S.N. Vol. 4.* Philadelphia: Loa and Blanchard.