

**HE WAHI MO‘OLELO NO NĀ ‘ĀINA
A ME NĀ ‘OHANA O KI‘ILAE A ME
KAULEOLĪ MA KONA HEMA, HAWAI‘I
A Collection of Traditions and Historical
Accounts of the Lands and Families of
Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī, South Kona, Hawai‘i
(TMK 8-5-05 – various parcels)**

PREPARED BY

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

PREPARED FOR

*Robert Rechtman, Ph.D.
Rechtman Consulting
P.O. Box 4149
Kea‘au, Hawai‘i 96749*

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Kumu Pono Associates
*Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Studies · Integrated Cultural
Resources Management Planning · Development of Preservation & Interpretive Plans*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of Robert Rechtman, Ph.D. (Rechtman Consulting), cultural historian and resources specialist, Kepā Maly (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted a detailed study of archival and historical literature, oral history interviews with individuals known to be familiar with the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the vicinity of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī, South Kona District, on the island of Hawai'i. This study was conducted in conjunction with an archaeological inventory survey (Rechtman 2001), as part of a land use planning process being undertaken by the land owners. The study area contains approximately 336 acres situated immediately makai of Māmalahoa Highway (the mauka Government Road), and extends from just above sea level to about the 900 foot elevation.

While the study area of the archaeological inventory survey focuses on the section of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī *makai* of the Māmalahoa Highway, this study looks at the entire *ahupua'a* (an area traditionally extending from sea fisheries to approximately the 6,000 foot elevation on the slopes of Mauna Loa) of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī, and their relationship to neighboring lands of the larger Kona Hema (South Kona) region. Of particular importance to families of the regions is the fact that a portion of the coastal land that fronts Ki'ilae was incorporated into the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, and as such the lands are considered an important neighbor to the royal and ceremonial center of Hōnaunau.

Study Components and Approach

The work conducted as a part of this study included two basic components: (1) research and report findings from archival and historical literature; and (2) conduct oral history interviews and consultation with *kama'āina* (native residents) and others with knowledge of the land. This research was primarily conducted by the author and Onaona Maly in the period between November 5, 2000 to May 20th 2001. Research was conducted in private and public collections, and that documentation, cited herein, includes written narratives that cover the period from 1779 to 1986.

The archival-historical resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, and Bureau of Conveyances; the Bishop Museum Archives; Hawaiian Historical Society; University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; the collection of Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park; private family collections; and in the collection of *Kumu Pono Associates*.

The primary oral historical-consultation component of this study was conducted between January 22nd to May 20th 2001. Among the interviews is an interview conducted in 1996, with a *kupuna*, born at Ki'ilae in 1925 (she has since passed away), and subsequent interview work done with her family and an elder sister. The interviews include important documentation pertaining to the lands and families of the area. A total of sixteen formal recorded interviews were conducted, and further discussions with others connected to the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī vicinity were conducted as well. Most of the interview participants have lived upon, worked on, or are descended from traditional residents of the lands of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī, or know the land from traveling it with their extended family and friends from the 1920s. The interviews provide documentation gained from personal experiences dating

back to 1910, and interviewees express a deep “cultural attachment^Ψ” to the lands, sites, resources, and place names of the area.

Overview of Primary Comments and Recommendations of Interviewees

This study was conducted with the understanding that a portion of Kiʻilae was to be conveyed by the present owners to the National Park Service to be incorporated into the holdings of the Puʻuhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park (communications of October 30th and December 8th 2000). With this proposal in mind, the author contacted potential interviewees and was granted permission to conduct interviews.

The following paraphrased comments are among those recorded with interviewees and consultation program participants regarding land use and site treatment:

It is recognized that in the past, ranching provided families with a way of remaining on the land or in the area, but that in those earlier times, there was less care given (and less that could be done) towards responsible use of the land. Insensitive destruction of cultural resources is not viewed as an acceptable behavior, and any use of the land whether it be in development or as a National Park with interpretive development, should be done in a culturally sensitive manner and in consultation with individuals descended from the traditional and historic period residents of Kiʻilae and Kauleoī.

When interview/consultation participants learned that portions of Kiʻilae would be conveyed to the National Park Service, all of them felt it was a good idea. Nearly all of the families (those based in the South Kona region) expressed interest in participating in some form with the land owner and National Park Service in facilitating site protection programs.

All of the interviewee-consultation participants expressed concern about how the lands would be changed with development.

Care of the trails, field system, residences, *ilina* (burial places), and other features is important to the families. In particular, it is believed that *ilina* should remain in place.

There was also concern expressed about the natural features of the land such as cave systems and habitat for Hawaiian bats (*ʻōpeʻapeʻa*), which at least in earlier times were seen on the land.

^Ψ “Cultural Attachment” embodies the tangible and intangible values of a culture—how a people identify with, and personify the environment around them. It is the intimate relationship (developed over generations of experiences) that people of a particular culture feel for the sites, features, phenomena, and natural resources that surround them—their sense of place. This attachment is deeply rooted in the beliefs, practices, cultural evolution, and identity of a people.

The significance of cultural attachment in a given culture is often overlooked by others whose beliefs and values evolved under a different set of circumstances (cf. James Kent, “Cultural Attachment: Assessment of Impacts to Living Culture.” September 1995).

It was noted that at present there is not a good track record on lands of Ki'īlae-Kauleolī and other neighboring lands in regards to “sensitive” treatment of sites and the land. Bull-dozing is carefully watched and indiscriminant dozing will cause some members of the community to take steps to stop it.

Readers should refer to the section of this study title “Summary of Historical Recollections and Points Raised in Oral History Interviews,” and see the full released interview transcripts to fully understand and appreciate the interviewee’s thoughts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Preparation of this study was made possible because many people agreed to come together and to share in the process of contributing to its completion. The study presents some of the early Hawaiian histories of the land, and glimpses into the personal knowledge and experiences of individuals with genealogical attachments to lands of the Kona Hema Region—including descent from families of the Kiʻilae-Kauleolī Ahupuaʻa. The interviews recorded as a part of this study, bring life to the cultural and natural landscape, and give names and history to those who have come before us.

To all of you who shared your manaʻo, aloha, and history in interviews and in talking story —

Mālia Kama Craver; Taro Fujimori and Iana Fujimori-Godden; Kaneyo Higashi and Gloria Higashi-Okamura; Juliana Hose-Watson; Charles Hua; Leinaʻala and Kauʻilani Keākealani *mā*; Joseph K. Keliʻipaʻakaua; Hannah Kiwaha; Madeline Leslie; Nancietta Lincoln-Haʻalilio; August Loando; Noenoe Marks-Lindsey; Samuel Maunu; Mary Maunu-AhNee; Emily Kawaii Maunu-Kamaka (and Robert Kamaka Sr. and Robert Kamaka III); Mariah Maunu-Yniques (and family); Margaret Maunu-Keākealani; Alfred and Mary Medeiros; Clarence A. (Mokuohai) Medeiros Sr.; Clarence and Nellie Medeiros Jr.; Jimmy and Gina Medeiros; Leihulu Medeiros-Mamac; Billy Paris, and Emil Spencer (and Blossom Spencer-Sapp and Jewett Spencer).

Also, also, to all of you who shared your thoughts, expertise and recommendations, and who helped to ensure that the archival research and interviews could be completed — Mary (Holi) Correa; Mary Keliʻi Kaleohano-Alani; Mili Kawaʻa; Ruby Keanaaina; Geri Kenui-Bell; Bucky Leslie; Weston and Yvonne Leslie; Bob Rechtman and field crew; and staff and collection managers of the Hawaiʻi State Survey and Land Divisions, Hawaiʻi State Archives, and Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library —

We say — Mahalo nui nō, a ke aloha o ke Akua pū me ʻoukou a pau!

We also wish to note here, that while a sincere effort was made, it was impossible to record everything that could be said about the land and traditions of Kiʻilae-Kauleolī and vicinity. But, every effort has been made to present readers with an overview of the rich and varied history of the area, and to accurately relay the recollections, thoughts, and recommendations of the people who contributed to this study.

māua nō me ka haʻahaʻa — Kepā a me Onaona Maly

O ka mea maikaʻi mālama, o ka mea maikaʻi ʻole, kāpae ʻia
(Keep the good, set the bad aside)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	• 1
<i>Study Guidelines</i>	• 1
<i>Archival and Historical Research</i>	• 3
<i>Oral History Interviews and Consultation Records of the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī Study</i>	• 3
KI'ILAE ME KAULEOLĪ, MA KONA HEMA AN OVERVIEW OF THE CULTURAL HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE	• 5
<i>Natural and Cultural Resources in a Hawaiian Context</i>	• 5
<i>An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement</i>	• 5
<i>Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices</i>	• 6
<i>Ahupua'a—A Sustainable Hawaiian Resources Management Unit</i>	• 7
NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF KI'ILAE AND KAULEOLĪ, AND THE LANDS OF SOUTH KONA	• 9
<i>Nā Mo'olelo Hawai'i (Native Traditions and Historical Accounts)</i>	• 9
<i>Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki – The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki (recorded in 1914-1917) Traditions and Place Names of Ki'īlae-Kauleolī and Neighboring Lands of the South Kona Region Recorded in Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki</i>	• 12
<i>Ka-Wai-Ku'i-o-Kekela (1923)</i>	• 16
<i>Story of the Pounded water of Kekela</i>	• 17
<i>Traditions of Ki'īlae and Kauleolī (1933)</i>	• 18
<i>Historical Journals and Letters – Foreign Visitors and Residents Describe South Kona (including Ki'īlae and Kauleolī)</i>	• 20
<i>The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery The Voyage of The Resolution and Discovery (1776-1780)</i>	• 20
<i>Journal of Hiram Bingham (1820-1841)</i>	• 24
<i>The Journal of William Ellis</i>	• 25
<i>Records of the Hawaiian Mission Station – South Kona, Hawai'i Commander Charles Wilkes: The United States Exploring Expedition of 1840-1841</i>	• 26
<i>The Journal of Chester S. Lyman (1846-1847)</i>	• 32
<i>George Bowser's "Directory and Tourists Guide" (1880)</i>	• 35
<i>H.W. Kinney's "Visitor's Guide" (1913)</i>	• 36
KI'ILAE-KAULEOLĪ (AND NEIGHBORING LANDS OF SOUTH KONA): HISTORIC LAND TENURE AND TRANSITIONS IN LAND USE PRACTICES	• 39
<i>Claims and Awards of the Māhele 'Āina (1848-1855) Lands of Ki'īlae and Kauleolī and Vicinity Hōnaunau and Keōkea on the North and Keālia and Kauhakō on the South</i>	• 42

<i>Ki'īlae-Kauleolī and Vicinity: Residency and Land Use Practices Reported in Māhele Records</i>	• 43
<i>Glossary of Hawaiian Words and Abbreviation Terms Cited in Māhele Claims</i>	• 46
<i>Ki'īlae: Residency and Land Use Through the 1900s</i>	• 65
<i>Kauleolī: Residency and Land Use Through the 1900s</i>	• 70
KI'ILAE AND KAULEOLĪ VICINITY: A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE LAND AND PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS	• 74
<i>Trails and Roads of the Kona Hema Region</i>	• 74
<i>Travel in the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī Vicinity</i>	• 76
<i>Overview of the Hawaiian Schools in the Hōnaunau-Ho'okena Section (with Ki'īlae) South Kona</i>	• 82
<i>Records of the Department of Public Instruction</i>	• 82
<i>Hawaiian Government Survey Records</i>	• 90
<i>Kona Land Agent Communications</i>	• 90
<i>Proceedings of the Boundary Commission in South Kona (1873-1876)</i>	• 96
<i>Testimonies for Lands of the Hōnaunau (Ki'īlae-Kauleolī) Keālia Vicinity</i>	• 97
<i>The Ahupuaa of Kealia</i>	• 97
<i>The Ahupuaa of Honaunau</i>	• 98
<i>The Ahupuaa of Kiilae</i>	• 100
<i>The Ahupuaa of Keokea</i>	• 101
<i>Certificate of the Boundaries of Kealia 1st</i>	• 102
<i>Certificate of the Boundaries of Honaunau</i>	• 103
<i>Certificate of the Boundaries of Keokea</i>	• 104
<i>The Ahupuaa of Honaunau (Continued)</i>	• 105
<i>Surveyor Field Notebooks and Correspondence (South Kona Region)</i>	• 107
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES IN THE HŌNAUNAU-KAULEOLĪ VICINITY	• 114
<i>Excerpts from "Survey of Hawaiian Remains, Honaunau to Ka'u Line" (J. Reinecke ms. 1930)</i>	• 114
<i>Field Work and Informant Recollections in the 1950s-1960s</i>	• 116
<i>Comparative Analysis of Site Documentation (1955-1957, 1966 & 2001)</i>	• 117
NĀ MO'OLELO 'OHANA: THE KI'ILAE-KAULEOLĪ VICINITY ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM (2001)	• 122
<i>Interview Methodology: Approach to Conducting the Study</i>	• 123
<i>Review and Release of Interview Records</i>	• 125
<i>Overview of Historical Recollections and Family Connections</i>	• 125
<i>Ka Piliina 'Ohana (Family Relations)</i>	• 126
<i>'Ohana—Extended Families of the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī Vicinity</i>	• 126
<i>Summary of Points Raised in Oral History Interviews</i>	• 129

REFERENCES CITED

• 131

APPENDIX A.

KI'ILAE-KAULEOLĪ ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW PROGRAM (2001)

• A-1

TABLES

Table 1.	<i>Summary of Land Use Practices Documented in the Māhele (Ki'ilae and Kauleolī)</i>	• 44
Table 2.	<i>Individuals Documented as having Residency or Land Tenure Rights in the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī Vicinity at the Time of the Māhele 'Āina</i>	• 45
Table 3.	<i>Place names of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī Recorded in Māhele Testimonies</i>	• 45
Table 4-a.	<i>Ahupua'a of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī</i>	• 47-52
Table 4-b.	<i>Ahupua'a of Keōkea and Hōnaunau (lying to the north of Ki'ilae)</i>	• 53-55
Table 4-c.	<i>Ahupua'a of Keālia and Kauhakō (lying to the south of Kauleolī)</i>	• 56-57
Table 5.	<i>Overview of Extended Family Relationships in the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī Vicinity</i>	• 127-128

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1.	<i>Study Area in the Ahupua'a of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī (TMK 8-5-05), South Kona, Island of Hawai'i</i>	• 2
Figure 2.	<i>Annotated Interview Map (Showing Approximate Locations of Sites Identified in Oral Interviews)</i>	• at end
Figure 3.	<i>Survey of Land Commission Awards 9459 & 10405</i>	• 58
Figure 4.	<i>Survey of Land Commission Award 9463</i>	• 59
Figure 5.	<i>Survey of Land Commission Award 9464</i>	• 60
Figure 6.	<i>Survey of Land Commission Award 8507</i>	• 61
Figure 7.	<i>Survey of Land Commission Award 7702</i>	• 62
Figure 8.	<i>Survey of Land Commission Award 7702-C</i>	• 63
Figure 9.	<i>Survey of Land Commission Award 7574</i>	• 64
Figure 10.	<i>Annotated Map of Ki'ilae (Jackson, compiled 1965)</i>	• 69
Figure 11.	<i>Register Map No. 1445 (Kahauloa to Ki'ilae)</i>	• at end
Figure 12.	<i>Register Map No. 1745 (Ki'ilae to Kalahiki)</i>	• at end
Figure 13.	<i>Historic Residence Complex at Kauleolī (Site No. T-564)</i>	• 72
Figure 14.	<i>Alahaka on the Alanui Aupuni (Makai Government Road)</i>	• 75
Figure 15.	<i>Survey – Hale Kula ma Ki'ilae (Ki'ilae School Lot)</i>	• 84
Figure 16.	<i>Survey of Royal Patent Grant 1575 (Kauleolī)</i>	• 92
Figure 17.	<i>Survey of Royal Patent Grant 3051 (Kauleolī)</i>	• 93
Figure 18.	<i>Survey of Royal Patent Grant 3708 (Kauleolī)</i>	• 95
Figure 19.	<i>Portion of Register map 1281 – Depicting lands of the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī Vicinity (1891)</i>	• 108

<i>Figure 20. J.S. Emerson Field Book Sketch; Book 256:49</i>	• 110
<i>Figure 21. J.S. Emerson Field Book Sketch; Book 256:71</i>	• 111
<i>Figure 22. J.S. Emerson Field Book Sketch; Book 256:129</i>	• 112
<i>Figure 23. Portion of Ki'ilae Village (makai) (Emory, Bishop Museum - 1957)</i>	• 118
<i>Figure 24. Portion of Makai Section - Ki'ilae-Keōkea Village (Jackson 1966)</i>	• 119
<i>Figure 25. Oral History Interview Questionnaire (designed to provide general guidance during the interview process)</i>	• 124

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

INTRODUCTION

At the request of Robert Rechtman, Ph.D. (Rechtman Consulting), cultural historian-resources specialist, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a detailed study of: (1) archival and historical literature; and (2) conducted oral history interviews with descendants of the native Hawaiian families and others who are known to be familiar with the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the vicinity of Ki'īlae and Kauleolī, South Kona District, on the island of Hawai'i (TMK overview sheet 8-5-05) (*Figure 1*). This study was conducted in conjunction with an archaeological inventory survey (Rechtman 2001), as part of a land use planning process being undertaken by the land owners. The archaeological study area contains approximately 336 acres situated immediately *makai* of Māmalahoa Highway (the *mauka* Government Road), and extends from just above sea level to the 900 foot elevation.

While the study area of the archaeological inventory survey focuses on the section of Ki'īlae-Kauleolī *makai* of the Māmalahoa Highway, this study looks at the entire *ahupua'a* (an area traditionally extending from sea fisheries to approximately the 6,000 foot elevation on the slopes of Mauna Loa) of Ki'īlae and Kauleolī, and their relationship to neighboring lands of the larger South Kona region.

The *ahupua'a* of Ki'īlae and Kauleolī are two native land divisions (*ahupua'a*) of some 55 traditional *ahupua'a* that make up the district of Kona Hema (South Kona). Ki'īlae extends from seashore to the 6,000 foot elevation on the slopes of Mauna Loa, and contains approximately 4,000 acres. Kauleolī also rises from the shore and extends to the uplands, but it only reaches the 1,600 foot elevation, where it is cut off by Ki'īlae and Keālia. Kauleolī contains approximately 460.5 acres.

Some work has been previously reported in the general vicinity of Ki'īlae-Kauleolī (primarily as a part of research conducted for the National Park Service – Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau). This study does not repeat all that has been previously written about the area. The study does bring forth new documentary materials that have not been previously, or widely reported, and the authors sought out every source of archival-historical information for Ki'īlae and Kauleolī that could be located. It is the goal of this study to provide the land owners, agencies, and interested parties with detailed and important historical documentation pertaining to some of the significant traditions, and the cultural and natural features of the landscape of the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī *ahupua'a*.

Study Guidelines

The archival-historical research and oral history interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the pertinent laws and guidelines are the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "*Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review*" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "*Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria,

standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:274-4,5,6; 275:6 – Draft of December 1996); and guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (November 1997).

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

Archival and Historical Research

In the period between November 2000 and March 2001, Maly and Maly conducted an extensive review of archival-historical literature in Hawaiian and English texts. The references that were reviewed included, but were not limited to — land use records, including an extensive review of Hawaiian Land Commission Award (LCA) records from the *Māhele ʻĀina* (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawaiʻi; and historical texts authored or compiled by—D. Malo (1951); J.P. Iʻi (1959); S. M. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); The Journals of Captain James Cook (Beaglehole 1967); Bingham (1969); Wm. Ellis (1963); A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996); G. Bowser (1880); T. Thrum (1908); J.F.G. Stokes and T. Dye (1991); Reinecke (ms. 1930); Jackson (1966); Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972); Bryan and Emory et al. (1986); and Greene (1993).

Importantly, this study also includes several native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by the author), and historical records authored by eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors to the region, and records of the South Kona Mission Station. This information is generally cited within categories by chronological order of the date of publication.

The archival-historical resources were located in the collections of the Hawaiʻi State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, and Bureau of Conveyances; the Bishop Museum Archives; Hawaiian Historical Society; University of Hawaiʻi-Hilo Moʻokini Library; the collection of Puʻuhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park; private family collections; and in the collection of the author.

Oral History Interviews and Consultation Records of the Kiʻilae-Kauleolī Study

The primary oral historical–consultation component of this study was conducted between January 22nd to May 20th 2001. Among the interviews is an interview conducted in 1996, with a *kūpuna*, born at Kiʻilae in 1925 (she has since passed away), but further interview work was done with her family and an elder sister, and includes important documentation pertaining to the lands and families of the area. A total of sixteen formal recorded interviews were conducted, and further discussions with others connected to the Kiʻilae-Kauleolī

vicinity were conducted as well. Interviewees ranged in age from around 45 to 90 year old, and most of them have lived upon, worked on, or are descended from traditional residents of the lands of Ki'ilae and Kauleoli, or know the land from traveling it with their extended family and friends from ca. 1915. The interviews provide documentation gained from personal experiences covering the period from ca. 1915 to the present.

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

During the interviews and other communications, several historic maps were referenced, and when appropriate, the general locations of sites referenced were marked on the maps. That information was in turn compiled on one map, which is cited as *Figure 2*, an annotated interview map at the end of this study. Also during the interviews and informal communications, participants were asked to share their thoughts about use of and care for the cultural and natural landscape. Their thoughts and recommendations are given in their entirety in this study.

In reading through this study, it will be seen that there is continuity and a number of similarities shared between the archival-historical documentation and the oral history interviews. This continuity suggests that there is time-depth (or continuity over a long period of time) in aspects of the cultural knowledge as expressed by, and practiced by members of the present generation.

KI'ILAE ME KAULEOLĪ, MA KONA HEMA

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CULTURAL HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE

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

Natural and Cultural Resources in a Hawaiian Context

In Hawaiian culture, natural and cultural resources are one and the same. Native traditions describe the formation (literally the birth) of the Hawaiian Islands and the presence of life on and around them, in the context of genealogical accounts. All forms of the natural environment, from the skies and mountain peaks, to the watered valleys and lava plains, and to the shore line and ocean depths were believed to be embodiments of Hawaiian gods and deities. One Hawaiian genealogical account, records that Wākea (the expanse of the sky—father) and Papa-hānau-moku (Papa—Earth-mother who gave birth to the islands)—also called Haumea-nui-hānau-wā-wā (Great Haumea—Woman-earth born time and time again)—and various gods and creative forces of nature, gave birth to the islands. Hawai'i, the largest of the islands, was the first-born of these island children. As the Hawaiian genealogical account continues, we find that these same god-beings, or creative forces of nature who gave birth to the islands, were also the parents of the first man (Hāloa), and from this ancestor, all Hawaiian people are descended (cf. David Malo 1951:3; Beckwith 1970; Pukui and Korn 1973). It was in this context of kinship, that the ancient Hawaiians addressed their environment and it is the basis of the Hawaiian system of land use.

An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement

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

For generations following initial settlement, communities were clustered along the watered, windward (*ko'olau*) shores of the Hawaiian Islands. Along the *ko'olau* shores, streams flowed and rainfall was abundant, and agricultural production became established. The *ko'olau* region also offered sheltered bays from which deep sea fisheries could be easily accessed, and near shore fisheries, enriched by nutrients carried in the fresh water, could be maintained in fishponds and coastal fisheries. It was around these bays that clusters of houses where families lived, could be found (McEldowney ms. 1979:15). In these early times, the residents generally engaged in subsistence practices in the forms of agriculture and fishing (Handy and Handy 1972:287).

Over the period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and by ca. 900 to 1100 AD, the population began expanding to the *kona* (leeward side) and more remote regions of the island (Cordy 2000:130). In Kona, communities were initially established along sheltered bays with access to fresh water and rich marine fisheries. The primary “chiefly” centers were established at

several locations — the Kailua (Kaiakeakua) vicinity, Kahalu'u-Keauhou, Ka'awaloa-Kealakekua, and Hōnaunau. The communities shared extended familial relations, and there was an occupational focus on collection of marine resources. By the fourteenth century, inland elevations to around the 4,000 foot level were being turned into a complex and rich system of dryland agricultural fields (contemporarily called the Kona Field System). By the fifteenth century, residency in the uplands was becoming permanent, and there was an increasing separation of chiefly class from commoners. In the sixteenth century the population stabilized and the *ahupua'a* land management system was established as a socio-economic unit (see Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; Handy, Handy & Pukui 1972; Kelly 1983; and Tomonari-Tuggle 1985).

In Kona, where no streams flowed regularly to the coast, access to potable water (*wai*), was of great importance and played a role in determining the areas of settlement. The waters of Kona were found in springs and water caves (found from shore to the mountain lands), or procured from rain catchment and dew fall. Traditional and historic narratives abound with descriptions and names of water sources, and also record that the forests were more extensive and extended much further seaward than they do today. These forests not only attracted rains from the clouds and provided shelter for cultivated crops, but also in dry times drew the *kēhau* and *kēwai* (mists and dew) from the upper mountain slopes to the low lands (see also traditional-historical narratives and oral history interviews in this study).

In the 1920s-1930s, Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972) conducted extensive research and field interviews with elder native Hawaiians. In lands of North and South Kona, they recorded native traditions describing agricultural practices and rituals associated with rains and water catchment. Primary in these rituals and practices was the lore of Lono — a god of agriculture, fertility, and the rituals for inducing rain fall. Handy et al., observed:

The sweet potato and gourd were suitable for cultivation in the drier areas of the islands. The cult of Lono was important in those areas, particularly in Kona on Hawai'i...there were temples dedicated to Lono. The sweet potato was particularly the food of the common people. The festival in honor of Lono, preceding and during the rainy season, was essentially a festival for the whole people, in contrast to the war rite in honor of Ku which was a ritual identified with Ku as god of battle (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:14).

Handy et al. (1972) noted that the worship of Lono was centered in Kona. Indeed, it was while Lono was dwelling at Keauhou, that he is said to have introduced taro, sweet potatoes, yams, sugar cane, bananas, and 'awa to Hawaiian farmers (Handy et al. 1972:14). The rituals of Lono "The father of waters" and the annual *Makahiki* festival, which honored Lono and which began before the coming of the *kona* (southerly) storms and lasted through the rainy season (the summer months), were of great importance to the native residents of this region (Handy et al. 1972: 523). The significance of rituals and ceremonial observances in cultivation and indeed in all aspects of life was of great importance to the well-being of the ancient Hawaiians, and cannot be over-emphasized, or overlooked when viewing traditional sites of the cultural landscape.

Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices

Over the generations, the ancient Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land- and resources -management. By the time 'Umi-a-Līloa rose to rule the island of Hawai'i in ca. 1525, the island (*moku-puni*) was divided into six districts or *moku-o-loko* (cf. Fornander

1973—Vol. II:100-102). On Hawai‘i, the district of Kona is one of six major *moku-o-loko* within the island. The district of Kona itself, extends from the shore across the entire volcanic mountain of Hualālai, and continues to the summit of Mauna Loa, where Kona is joined by the districts of Ka‘ū, Hilo, and Hāmākua. One traditional reference to the northern and southern-most coastal boundaries of Kona tells us that the district extended:

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

Kona, like other large districts on Hawai‘i, was subdivided into ‘*okana* or *kalana* (regions of land smaller than the *moku-o-loko*, yet comprising a number of smaller units of land). The lands of Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī, situated in an area now known as Kona Hema (South Kona), are part of an ancient sub-region generally known as “*Ka-pali-lua*” (The-two-cliffs; describing the topographic features of the *kula* or lands of the mountain slope).

Ahupua‘a—A Sustainable Hawaiian Resources Management Unit

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

The *ahupua‘a* were also divided into smaller manageable parcels of land (such as the ‘*ili*, *kō‘ele*, *māla*, and *kīhāpai*, etc.), generally running in a *mauka-makai* orientation, and often marked by stone wall alignments. In these smaller land parcels the native tenants tended fields and cultivated crops necessary to sustain their families, and the chiefly communities they were associated with. As long as sufficient tribute was offered and *kapu* (restrictions) were observed, the common people, who lived in a given *ahupua‘a* had access to most of the resources from mountain slopes to the ocean. These access rights were almost uniformly tied to residency on a particular land, and earned as a result of taking responsibility for stewardship of the natural environment, and supplying the needs of ones’ *ali‘i* (see Malo 1951:63-67 and Kamakau 1961:372-377).

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

and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources. Also, in communities with long-term royal residents (like Hōnaunau just north of Kiʻilae and Kauleolī), divisions of labor (with specialists in various occupations on land and in procurement of marine resources) came to be strictly adhered to. It is in the cultural setting described above, that we find the *ahupuaʻa* of Kiʻilae and Kauleolī.

NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF KI'ILAE AND KAULEOLĪ, AND THE LANDS OF SOUTH KONA

Over the last 25 years, the author has compiled an extensive index of native articles published in Hawaiian language newspapers (covering the period from 1841 to 1948); the articles are a valuable source of traditional and historical accounts pertaining to lands, customs, and *mo'olelo* (traditions). Unfortunately, to date, no traditions specifically pertaining to Ki'ilae and Kauleolī have been found that predate the early 1900s. The earliest records for the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī vicinity are those cited in the sections of this study that address land and roads communications of the Hawaiian government, and date back to ca. 1847.

While there is only a limited amount of documentation in historical narratives for Ki'ilae and Kauleolī, the larger body of texts which speak of neighboring lands such as Hōnaunau (an important royal and ceremonial community), and the larger Kapalilua region help us understand something of the history of the area. In the larger collection of *mo'olelo* that have been found, are descriptions of the land and through those descriptions we begin to understand how the land shaped the lives and practices of the native population in ancient times. It is appropriate to note here, that the apparent dearth of early native accounts for Ki'ilae and Kauleolī is not surprising when one takes into account the dramatic changes that began in the region by ca. 1820. Early in the nineteenth century, the native population began to decline (some times at alarming rates), and the decline continued through out the 1800s. The decline was primarily the result of foreign diseases, periods of drought followed by famine, and changes in land tenure (see citations in this study). Thus, many of the native residents who could have told the *mo'olelo* were gone before detailed written accounts could be recorded.

Of the *mo'olelo* that have been found for Ki'ilae, Kauleolī and neighboring lands in the Kapalilua region, we find specific references to cultural sites (such as villages, *heiau*, family sites, trails, and other features) and events spanning several centuries (into the historic period). This part of the study presents readers with a collection of *mo'olelo* — native traditions and historical accounts — (some translated from the original Hawaiian for the first time, by the author) which span many centuries.

The narratives below are presented in several categories, generally chronological in sequence by date of first publication and by the period being described by the historians and authors. The primary sources being native Hawaiian historians, and visitors or foreign residents to the area in the period between ca. 1800 to 1930.

Nā Mo'olelo Hawai'i (Native Traditions and Historical Accounts)

In "*Na Hunahuna no ka Moolelo Hawaii*" (Fragments of Hawaiian History), native historian and member of the Kamehameha household, John Papa I'i wrote about the death of King Kalani'ōpu'u in ca. 1782. The king died at Ka'ū, and his remains were taken to Kapalilua. Kiwala'ō (Kalani'ōpu'u's heir) and his cousin Kamehameha met at Hōnaunau, and disagreements over the division of lands arose. The events that unfolded led to a battle that brought Kamehameha to gain control over part of the island of Hawai'i; It is very likely that the families of the lands in the Ki'ilae-Keālia vicinity were participants in the events, I'i (1959) wrote about:

When the company from Kau reached Kapalilua in Kona with the corpse of Kalaniopuu, they heard that Kamehameha had arrived at Keei. That was probably the reason why the corpse was not taken to Kailua but to Honaunau, as they had originally agreed...

After the Kau chiefs had been at Honaunau a while, Kamehameha and his canoe paddlers arrived in his single canoe, named *Noiku*. They landed back of Akahipapa, a lava flat extending into the sea. No sooner had his foot touched land than those on shore were ready to hurl spears of *hau* wood at him, a custom observed upon the landing of a high chief. This they did, and those on land watched with admiration as Kamehameha thrust them aside. A person remained near the chief with a container of water for his bath; and after the spear throwers had finished and had seated themselves, Kamehameha bathed and donned a dry *malo*. He went up to see his cousin Kiwalao, and when they met food was made ready. Thus they met graciously. As Kamehameha went there to see Kiwalao, so did his cousin visit him at Keei, spending the night time and again. It was said that Kamehameha served his cousin as steward during these visits. As Kiwalao was in no hurry to return to Honaunau, his uncle, Keawemauhili, came for him. He left at Keawemauhili's insistence, which caused Kiwalao to remark to Kamehameha that his uncle seemed to be disturbed over their friendly association. "Because of this, trouble may brew between us," he said. It happened so... [i 1959:13]

...That night, overseers sent a proclamation to all the men of the chiefs to go to the upland of Honaunau for some taro. That same night the great warrior taught Keoua all the things that he was to do on the morrow on the sands of Hauiki in Mokuohai. When day came, all the men had gone to the upland, having started while it was still dark because of the long distance they had to travel to and-fro. This gave Keoua and his companions a chance to do their work. After eating, they went to the beach to bathe or dive (*lele kawa*). They went along the shore diving until they reached Hauiki in Mokuohai. There coconut trees were hewn down, houses burned, and men killed. After this act of war, they turned about and went home. The work was then taken up by others, for the news had reached the chiefs of both sides. They prepared for war and the war canoes were made ready...

Kiwalao was the first to arrive on the battlefield, with the men who were to fight with him. Kamehameha was getting ready, and was preceded to the battlefield by Keeaumoku Papaiahiahi, his uncle. Kalaimamahu, Kamehameha's younger brother, was in charge on Kamehameha's side. They went to the place where they were to encamp, for the purpose of asking the will of the gods. While they were encamped there, a report came that Keeaumoku had been taken captive by his opponents and was to be stabbed. Kiwalao, who was standing close by, said, "Be careful of the *niho palaoa* on Keeaumoku's neck," and at these words Keeaumoku thought, "The chief has no regard for the life of a *hulu makua* (an older relative)." This news of Keeaumoku's peril caused Kamehameha to hasten to the battlefield. Kaahumanu, later the wife of Kamehameha, and daughter of Keeaumoku, was borne thither on the back of Pahia, a man who was an expert in stone

throwing. When they drew near to Kiwalao, Pahia let Kaahumanu down and took some stones into his hand which he flung with such force that Kiwalao fell when they struck his temple. Kiwalao landed on Keeaumoku, who took him by the throat and slashed it with a *lei o mano*, or shark-tooth knife, killing him... [thus] Kamehameha gained the victory in this battle at Mokuohai... [I'i 1959:13]

In the late 1860s, writing under the title "*Ka Moololo o Kamehameha I*" (The History of Kamehameha I), and later under the title "*Ka Mo'olelo o na Kamehameha*" (The History of the Kamehamehas), Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, provided readers with some background information pertaining to the ali'i of the Kapalilua region in the late 1700s. From his writing (Kamakau 1961), come the following narratives:

During the war between Ka-lani-'opu'u and Ka-hekili, the parents of Ka-'ahumanu went to Hawaii with their whole household and company of attendants and followed in the rear of Ka-lani-'opu'u's army, together with the twin half brothers of Ke'e-au-moku. [These were] Ka-me'e-ia-moku and Ka-manawa, who had the same father (Keawe-poepoe) but different mothers... Keawe-a-heulu also belonged to their company. His estates were the lands of Kapalilua, Ka'awaloa, and Kealakekua; those of Ka-me'e-ia-moku and his brother under Ka-lani-'opu'u were Kekaha and the lands of that section... [Kamakau 1961:310]

Kamakau (1961) also spoke of Keālia, the *ahupua'a* that joins Kauleolī on the south, telling readers that it was the place where sacred chiefess Kapi'olani (chiefess who in 1824, helped form the Ka'awaloa-Kealakekua Mission Station of which Ki'ilae-Kauleolī were a part) was reared from ca. 1790. The circumstances that brought her to Keālia were a continuation of events that unfolded as Kamehameha I rose to power. It will be seen that several of the key figures are those already mentioned above by I'i Kamakau:

When Keawe-ma'u-hili died in battle with Keoua Kuahu-'ula, the chiefs of Hilo joined forces with Kamehameha. Ka-pi'o-lani and her brothers, sons of Keawe-ma'u-hili, went to live with Kamehameha. Ke-kiki-pa'a was a cousin of Kamehameha, and Ka-me'e-ia-moku and Ka-manawa were her fathers (*makua kane* [implying uncles]). Therefore when Keawe-ma'u-hili was killed by Keoua Kuahu-'ula at 'Alae in Hilo-pali-ku...Ke-kiki-pa'a and her daughter Ka-pi'o-lani followed Kamehameha. Ka-pi'o-lani was reared at Kealia in South Kona. When she grew up several heiaus were erected for the gods of Ka-pi'o-lani, and she went to impose the *tabu* for them according to her royal rank. The very sacred part of the *heiau* was *tabu* to chiefesses, and no woman, royal or otherwise, escaped death when she drew near to it. Only the sacred chiefesses, whose *tabu* equaled that of a god, went into the Hale-o-Papa and ate the dedicated foods of the heiaus. So was Ka-pi'o-lani's *tabu* in ancient times. Chiefesses had various husbands, but when she was wedded to Haiha Na-ihe she remained with him up to the time when the chiefs departed for Oahu with the *peleleu* fleet [ca. 1795]...

When Kamehameha and the chiefs of Hawaii returned home on the royal journey called Ni'au-kani [ca. 1811], she was among those returning to Hawaii, after which she made her home at Ka'awaloa... [Kamakau 1961:380]

***Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki –
The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki (recorded in 1914-1917)***

It is not until the early twentieth century, that we find a detailed native account pertaining to the lands of Ki'īlae, Kauleolī and vicinity. “*Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki*” (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki) is a long and complex account that was published over a period of four years (1914-1917) in the weekly Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*. The narratives were primarily recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe¹ (translators of the work of A. Fornander) with contributions from others of their peers.

Through the tradition of Ka-Miki, readers learn about the origins of place names, areas of ceremonial significance, how resources were managed and accessed, and the practices of those native families who made the area their home. While “Ka-Miki” is not an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of local traditions, tales, and family histories in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations. Also, while the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely “ancient,” such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian traditions. The narratives include documentation on approximately 800 named locations, and document site and community histories, local and regional practices, ceremonial sites and practices, and *mele* (chant) texts.

The English translations below (translated by Maly), are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events and areas being discussed. The author has added diacritical marks, hyphenation, and underlining to selected names to help readers with pronunciation and identify locational references.

This *mo'olelo* is set in the 1300s (by association with the chief Pili-a-Ka'aiaea), and is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Maka-'iole (Rat [squinting] eyes). The narratives describe the birth of the brothers, their upbringing, and their journey around the island of Hawai'i along the ancient *alaloa* and *alalele* (trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, and in famed *kahua* (contest fields) and royal courts, against *'ōlohe* (experts skilled in fighting or in other competitions, such as running, fishing, debating, or solving riddles, that were practiced by the ancient Hawaiians). They also challenged priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai'i. Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole were empowered by their ancestress Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands), who was one of the myriad of body forms of the goddess Haumea, the earth-mother, creative force of nature who was also called Papa or Hina. Among her many nature-form attributes were manifestations that caused her to be called upon as a goddess of priests and competitors.

¹ J.W.H.I. Kihe was born in 1853, and John Wise was born in ca. 1865

**Traditions and Place Names of Ki'īlae-Kauleolī
and Neighboring Lands of the South Kona Region
Recorded in Ka'ao Ho'onuia Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki —**

...Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole departed from Nā'ulu-o-Weli and 'Ālanapō at Ke'eī, and arrived at an area with a large *hālau*, which had no equal; it was the *hālau* of the chief Hōnaunau-ihi-kapu-maka-o-ka-lani. The high priest of Hōnaunau was Nā-hale-o-Keawe, and at the time that Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole arrived, the *kapu* period of *Akua* (the full moon) had been called for the '*Aha'ula* (chief's council). At that time, the temple drums were also heard ringing throughout the area. Seeing Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole approaching, the guardians of the *heiau* commanded that they prostrate themselves. Ka-Miki told the guardians that if they prostrated themselves, that he and Maka-'iole would do the same.

One of the *kia'i* (guardians) leapt to attack Ka-Miki with a *lā'au pālau* (war club), and was beaten, and the others who tried to attack were beaten as well. Word of the events were carried to the chief Hōnaunau, his priest and companion chiefs. Hōnaunau commanded that Ka-Miki *mā* be brought before him. Uia, an *ilāmuku* (chief officer and war leader) and others attempted to capture Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole, but they leapt into the *heiau*, at the place where the priest was offering his prayers. The brothers lay before the priest claiming the *pu'uhonua* (sanctuary) status.

The warrior-guardians of Hōnaunau demanded that Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole be turned over to them, but Nāhaleokeawe told them, "*He pu'uhonua kēia, a ua kapu ho'i no nā po'e wale no e 'imi 'ana i pakele ko lākou ola*" (This is a sanctuary sacred for those who seek to save their lives. Any who attempted to kill them would suffer reprisal from the gods). Nāhaleokeawe offered the ceremonies of releasing, calling upon the male and female deities of the *pu'uhonua* in a *mele pule* (prayer chant) —

Kāne-hekili, Kāne-wāwāhi-lani,

*Kāne-i-ka-pualena,
Kāne-i-ka-mālamalama,
Kāne-i-kolihana-a-ka-lā,
Kāne-i-ka-mōlehulehu,
Kāne-i-ka-wana'ao,
Kāne-i-ka-pule,
Kāne-i-ka-mākaukau...*

*O Kanaloa, o Kū,
O Lono-honua-mea,
O Pele ka wahine 'ai lā'au,
O Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele ,
O Meheanu, o Wahine-lua-nu'u,*

*Ka-wahine-i-ka'e-o-kapuahi,
O Wa-'ula-ke-ahi,
O Luahinekaikapū,
O Kahina-a-ola...
Ua kapu i ka lani,*

Kāne the thunderer, Kāne who breaks
the heavens,

Kāne in the glowing dawn light,
Kāne in the light,
Kāne who works in the heat of the sun,
Kāne in the dusk,
Kāne in the dawn,
Kāne in the prayers,
Kāne in readiness...

O Kanaloa, O Kū,
O Lono of the sacred earth,
O Pele the woman who devours the forest,
O Hi'iaka in the bosom of Pele,
O goddess Meheanu, O goddess
Wahine-lua-nu'u,

The woman at the edge of the fire pit,
O Wa-'ula-ke-ahi- goddess of flames,
O goddess Luahinekaikapū,
O goddess Ka-hina-a-ola...
Sacred are the heavens,

*Ua kapu i ka papa ka honua,
Ua wela ua moe ka pāpāi-a-oa,
Kapu o! Ua moe!
Moe i ke kapu!
A lele wale ke kapu
‘Āmama - noa!*

Sacred are the strata of the earth,
Fire sacredness, prostrate sacredness,
Everlasting sacredness! Prostrate!
Prostrate before the sacredness!
The sacredness flies away,
It is finished, it is freed!

Uia, went to his chief and asked if he could be permitted to kill Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole when they came before him, but Hōnaunau-ihi-kapu-maka-o-ka-lani urged Uia to be patient.

That evening, Hōnaunau-ihi-kapu-maka-o-ka-lani, his retainers, and priests gathered at the royal compound. After discussing the events with his counselors, the chief agreed that it would not be wise to tempt the wrath of the gods, by allowing Uia to fight with the brothers once they departed from the pu‘uhonua. Uia was upset at this and determined to go to his grandaunt, Ala-haka-lewa-i-ke-kai (Alahaka) who was a skilled ‘ōlohe. Together they devised a plan by which he might kill Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole.

In the early morning when the *kapu* period of the *pu‘uhonua* was completed, Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole arose and gave their thanks to the gods and Nā-hale-o-Keawe and then departed from Hōnaunau. The brothers then walked the trail towards Alahaka, at Keōkea.

Now Alahaka was a mysterious, skilled ‘ōlohe, and the grandaunt of Uia. The lands of Alahaka, Ki‘ilae, Kauleolī, and various locations on those lands, such as Wai-ku‘i-a-Kekela and Lū‘ia-i-kāmoe have all been named for members of this family. Alahaka was greatly feared by those who lived in the surrounding communities and those who traveled along the ocean path near her dwelling.

Seeing the brothers, Alahaka called to them —

E pi‘i, e pi‘i mai e nā keiki a kau iluna, i ‘ai ‘olua i ka limu līpahe‘e a me ka ‘a‘ama pai‘ea, i ke ‘ālinalina, i ka pūhelo, ka ‘ōpihi makaiauli, ka pipipi a me ka he‘e pūlōloa o ku‘u ‘āina... (Say! You two ascend, climb to the top of the cliff and join me. Eat the līpahe‘e sea weed, the ‘a‘ama pai‘ea crab, the ‘ālinalina seaweed, the shrimp and coconut sauce, the dark eyed (bluish fleshed) limpets, the pipipi (sea snails) and long headed octopus of my land...)

Knowing her true nature, Ka-Miki replied, “We can not pass by the (rope) trail you have let down for us. It is an old rope, tattered beyond its usefulness. Maybe if you come down and carry us up, then we might stay to enjoy your food and be adorned with the garlands made by your cherished ward, Waiku‘iakekela — garlands made from *ka pua hala onaona ho‘i o Lū‘ia-i-Kāmoe* (The exceedingly fragrant pandanus blossoms *Lū‘ia-i-Kāmoe*). Alahaka told the brothers, “The upland trails are all *kapu*, thus you must pass by the coastal path.” Along this path of Pali Alahaka, Alahaka kept an *olonā* rope on the sea cliff. This rope was used by those who climbed the cliff and it was Alahaka’s practice to attack people as they ascended the rope. The

travelers were dashed upon the stones and eaten by her shark gods ‘Ūkanipō² and ‘Ūkaniau.

When Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole ascended half of the *ala nui kaula* (rope trail), Alahaka dislodged the rope, causing them to fall towards the rocks, thinking they would become the food of her shark gods ‘Ūkanipō and ‘Ūkaniau. Alahaka thought she had defeated the strangers, but Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole had prepared themselves and called upon the aid of their ancestress ‘Ōhi‘a-nui-moe-awakea, who in the form of an ‘ōhi‘a tree, carried them to Alahaka’s house. Returning to her house, Alahaka saw the brothers and attacked them. A fierce battle ensued, but in a short while, Alahaka was defeated, and securely bound in the cordage of *Kanikawī* and *Kanikawā*, and placed in the supernatural net, *Makali‘i*.

Alahaka was greatly impressed with the strength and skills of Ka-Miki, for this was the first time that she had ever been defeated. Alahaka thought that in order to gain her freedom, she might offer her ward Wai-ku‘i-a-Kekela to be Ka-Miki’s wife. But Ka-Miki told Alahaka that her freedom could only be gained by giving up her treacherous practices and honoring the gods. Angered, Alahaka thought that perhaps her ward, and other family members who had joined together in support of Uia would kill Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole instead. With these thoughts in mind, Alahaka refused to surrender, and Ka-Miki left her bound in the net *Makali‘i*, tucked away like the *‘ōpae* (shrimp) in the high cliffs at Kōkī o Wailau.

The priest-seer Ki‘ilae-nui-a-‘eho (Ki‘ilae) was Alahaka's older brother, and he guarded the lands over looking the agricultural fields of Ka-ulu‘ulu. The land of Ki‘ilae was named for Ki‘ilae-nui-a-‘eho, a powerful *‘ōlohe* priest and reader of omens. Ki‘ilae’s wife was Kauleolī-a-Hina-iki, and the land of Kauleolī now bears her name. Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī were the parents of Ka-hau-o-‘ōhala-ke‘e (The dew of *‘ōhala-ke‘e*) and Wai-ku‘i-a-Kekela (The spring opened by Kekela); and Ka-hau-o-‘ōhala-ke‘e was the mother of Uia.

Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī lived above a cliff overlooking the *kula* (flatlands) from which they could look upon their planted fields. At the base the cliff called Ka-ulu‘ulu was an extremely large breadfruit tree. Their grandson, Uia, had hidden himself in this tree in the manner of a *kīmopō* (robber and thief), thinking that he could drop upon Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole as they passed by on the trail. Ka-Miki knew of this tactic, and as he departed from Alahaka’s residence and approached the cliff, he grabbed a *pōhaku pāhoa nui* (large stone dagger) and hurled it at Uia. This dagger struck Uia, and killed him. Uia³ was left here and buried at this site. Seeing that Uia had been killed, Wai-ku‘i-a-Kekela and her mother, Kauleolī, leapt to attack the brothers, and they were quickly defeated.

As Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole drew near to Ki‘ilae, he discerned their true nature and made peace with the brothers, vowing that the family would give up its’

² ‘Ūkanipō is also a *heiau* dedicated to a shark god of Kona; the *heiau* is situated on a bluff above the old coastal trail (now the *Alanui Aupuni*), in Lehu‘ula.

³ *Uia* is a native variety of taro, known to the district of South Kona xx source

evil practices. In this way, the trails which passed through the lands of Hōnaunau, Keōkea, Kī'īlae, and Kauleolī became safe to travel. Having been freed, Waiku'iakekela, Alahaka and Kauleolī prepared a feast and 'awa ceremony for the brothers.

Now, the chiefess Waiku'iakekela (Kekela) lived at Kī'īlae below the *hala* (pandanus) grove called Lū'iaikāmoe, and above the residence of her guardian, Alahaka. Kekela's beauty was compared to the beautiful, fragrant *hala* blossoms of Lū'iaikāmoe — *ka pua hala onaona ho'i o Lū'iaikāmoe*. And the symbolism of stringing a pandanus garland (*lei hala*) was used to invite Ka-Miki to stay with her as her husband — *E lei 'ana i ka pua o ka hala o Lū'iaikāmoe, ke 'oki i nā pua onaona o Lū'ia, ki'i 'ana o ka mānai, e kui ai i nā pua hala onaona...* To wear a garland made of the pandanus flowers of Lū'ia-i-Kāmoe, cut the fragrant flower of Lū'ia, then fetch a needle with which to string the fragrant pandanus blossoms...

Ka-Miki explained that he could not stay at Kī'īlae, and after spending a few days with Kī'īlae *mā*, the brothers departed. On the way, the brothers offered their *aloha* to the people who dwelt in the lands of Keālia, and then traveled on until reaching the lands of Ho'okena and Kauhakō.

Ka-Miki and Maka'iole arrived at the *hale auolo ali'i* (royal compound) of the chief Kauhakō, and his daughter Ho'okena-hai-lipo-i-ka-wao. Houses were built on both the *mauka* and *makai* sides of the trail. In these houses, the children were kept and taught all manner of skills which boys and girls needed to know. Even travelers were kept and not permitted to leave until they mastered certain skills. Any one unable to complete a task, was bound and led to the chief, and required to carry him upon his litter. Kauhakō commanded that he be borne from uplands to shore, border to border, for no purpose but to belittle the people.

The people became embittered with the chief for his careless nature and one day, they killed him by releasing his litter (*mānele*) along a cliff, thus his intestines were dragged along the cliff. This is how the place came to be called Kauhakō... [October 1 – November 15, 1914]

Ka-Wai-Ku'i-o-Kekela (1923)

In 1986, E.H. Bryan Jr., and Kenneth Emory prepared a study of "The Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau, Kona, Hawaii" (Bishop Museum – Departmental Report Series 86-2, 1986). Among the contributors to the study was Dorothy Barrère, who had translated a hand written account prepared for the museum in 1923 by noted Kona historian, Kalokuokamaile. The account describes how the freshwater well "Ka-wai-ku'i-o-Kekela" (The-pounded-water-of-Kekela) came to be found and opened at Kī'īlae. While the narrative has been reported in it's entirety by both Jackson (1966) and Bryan et al. (1986), portions of it are cited below. The excerpts include descriptions of — the *kula* (flat lands) as an area of sweet potato cultivation; the occurrence of a cave "Ke ana o ka Ilio", extending approximately one mile from the uplands to the shore; and how the stone flats *mauka* of the *Alanui Aupuni* at Kī'īlae were prepared and "*ku'i*" (pounded) open to make the famous water hole of Kī'īlae:

We cross now into Kiilae, a village which owed its importance to Kiilae Bay and to the well, Wai-ku'i-o-Kekela, Pounded-well-of-Kekela, over which a windmill was erected in recent times.

Chiefess Kekela-o-ka-lani was the mother of Queen Emma, the wife of Kamehameha IV. She resided at Kiilae on the beautiful house platform overlooking the well in the early and middle 1800's. Kalokuokamaile of Nāpō'opo'o wrote out for the Bishop Museum in 1923 this story concerning the well.

Story of the Pounded Water of Kekela

An elderly man and his wife were living in the middle of the cultivable (*kula*) lands of Kiilae, South Kona, Hawaii. The work of these two was the cultivation of sweet potatoes. Also with these two old people was a dog. While they cultivated this land, and the days were very long, they could not understand the doings of their dog. While they cultivated near the mouth of a certain cave their dog appeared from inside of it, and came out wet with water.

The old man said to the old woman, "Do you see anything unusual?" Answered the old woman, "No, I don't." Said the old man "Let's wait until tomorrow, then you will see and we will both see it." The old woman did not understand the words of her husband. They lay down that night with their dog. The old man observed their dog more closely and he noticed when the dog went out. He did not neglect to notice the time of his going. He watched closely until the time the dog left. At the time the dog went , he followed quickly. The dog entered the cave. He noticed when he went in and when he came out again.

The two cultivated their sweet potato garden; and near to the time the dog was to return to them , the husband said to the wife, "Let's go to the opening of the cave and there do our work." They went to the opening of the cave to cultivate. Said the man to his wife, "I have an unusual thing to show you." "What unusual thing?" "Do you see our dog?" "Not in the least." Said the man, "Let's stay here until he returns. We are going to receive riches and benefits from our dog..." While they were talking the dog came, and his fur was wet with water..." "...Yes indeed, there is water perhaps inside this cave. Tomorrow we will go with the dog into the cave. Maybe the water inside will be lucky for us, who live in this land without water..."

The narrative describes how the old couple followed their dog into the cave, and came to a place where the opening was too narrow for them to enter. They returned from the cave and reported their findings to the "overseer of the land." Confirming the story of the old couple, they, "made this known to the *alii* who was living at Kiilae." The chiefess Kekela then inquired of her *kahuna*, what might be done, and a plan was laid out:

This water was near the seashore. It was a mile from the entrance of the cave to the seashore where the spring was. That cave has been called the Cave of the Dog [Ke ana o ka Ilio] to this day and forevermore. The kahunas

pointed out the place to hammer a certain rock with another rock. The work of the men was to go upland to fetch fire wood to be lighted on top of the rock of the spring.

It was lighted to burn red hot, then a rock hammered onto the rock set on fire, then the rock that was lighted burst open. The strange thing was that the travelling company coming from Ka-'u to go to Kohala could not go, they were stopped there and sent upland for shoulder loads of firewood. Truly this spring was made here beside the road that goes to Ka-'u, Hilo, and around the island of Hawaii. Therefore, no one who passed by could escape. The alii's work was continued right on top of this hard rock mound, without knowing there was water underneath this mound. But she listened to the words of her kahunas. The men fetched firewood and it was a long time that they hammered with patience at the rock until the water was obtained... Eight feet were pounded through that rock mound before the water was found. And here is this spring that lies here by the road. It was called after the name of the *alii* whose work it was. That was Kekela. The name of this spring to this day and forever, and a famous deed it is indeed, "The Pounded Water of Kekela." [Barrère translation - In BPBM DRS 86-2:246-247]

The reference to Kekela, is Fanny Kekela, daughter of Ka'ohana'eha and John Young. Kekela was born in 1806, and died in 1880. John Young (Olohana) and Isaac Davis (Aikake) were the *haole* (foreign) advisors and favorites of Kamehameha I. Following Aikake's death in ca. 1810, Olohana took the Davis children, including George Davis Hū'eu (born ca. 1800) as his own. He was also trustee of the Davis children lands till his death in December 1835. Thus, it is possible that Kekela's residence at Ki'ilae may have coincided with her father's stewardship of the lands, and the event described in Kalokuokamaile's *mo'olelo* would have occurred in the late 1820s. This chronology is plausible based on the facts that: (1) by 1835, Kekela was on O'ahu, with her husband, Geo. Na'ea, where she tended to her father's death bed; and (2) that in 1836, Kekela was residing on O'ahu where she gave birth to her daughter, Emma⁴. Emma went on to become Queen Emma Kaleleonalani, wife of Alexander Liholiho, Kamehameha IV.

Also included with the *mo'olelo* above, in the 1986 report, is a *mele* (chant) for Malia Ka'onana'eha Davis, the ninth child of Geo. Davis Hū'eu and his wife Kaha'anapilo. The *mele* is a poem of affection for a loved one (presumably a companion of Malia K. Davis'), and in it are several references to Ki'ilae, the cliffs of Alahaka, and the sweet waters of Waiku'iakekela. Geo. Davis Hū'eu died in January 1874, his daughter, Malia Ka'onana'eha Davis, had died prior to that date, thus the *mele* would predate 1874 (ref. Probate 41, 1874).

Traditions of Ki'ilae and Kauleoli (1933)

In 1933, Theodore Kelsey, an ethnographer who sometimes worked with the Bishop Museum, conducted interviews with elder Hawaiians in South Kona. One of his informants was the famed Kalokuokamaile of Nāpo'opo'o. The following excerpts come from hand written notes of Kelsey, viewed in the collection of the late June Gutmanis (Kelsey Collection Curator). The narratives collected in Hawaiian, were translated by Maly:

⁴ For date chronology, see "*Funeral Obsequies of the Late Queen Dowager, Emma Kaleleonalani...*" (J.M. Oats Jr. & Co., 1885).

Names of the Lands of South Kona
Written by Theo. Kelsey, Feb. 15, 1933
From Kalokuokamaile, Napoopoo, So. Kona.

32. Keokea (There is a *kupua* – supernatural – dog in the sea here, it is of white stone), a large land. There is a spring at the shore, named Keokea.
33. Alahaka (It is a *pali*, there was a ramp made there on which travelers climbed up). Alahaka is the name of the *pali*. There is no spring.
34. Kiilae (There were many wooden images made there which were set up on that point. The fish of that land is the *uhu*. Alahaka is the name of the sea and the upland area there. The images were set up there so that the people who were passing by on canoes would see them and mistake them for real people, guarding the fish. The images were only set up in the dark. They were removed in the day. During the day, the place was restricted to only those who had the right to be there.
Wai-ku'i-a-Kekela is the spring. (Kekela was a chiefess. The stone flats were struck there [to open up the well]).
35. Ka-ule-o-Li. There was an elder brother and a younger brother, Li was the elder. The younger brother had power, and living was his only task. The younger sibling gave the genitals of a dog to his elder brother, the genitals of a dog were the genitals of Li. That spring of Kekela is there, between Ka-ule-o-Li and Kiilae...

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Kelsey and his partner, Henry Kekahuna, continued their research in Kona, and recorded traditions with the Kahalu'u historian, Nāluahine Ka'ōpua. On June 2nd 1950, the three took a boat trip from Keauhou to Ka'apuna, and an additional note pertaining to Kauleolī was recorded:

...Piapia, is a *heiau* near the shore at Ka-ule-o-Li. A white man made salt at this place... [Kelsey and Kekahuna notes in the Collection of June Gutmanis]

Historical Journals and Letters – Foreign Visitors and Residents ***Describe South Kona (including Kiʻilae and Kauleolī)***

The narratives cited in this section of the study, include some of the earliest written accounts for the South Kona region of Hawaiʻi (including lands around Kiʻilae and Kauleolī), and span the period from 1779 to 1913. It will be seen that the lands of Kiʻilae and Kauleolī are specifically named in only a few citations, and that the larger body of narratives are of a regional nature. The historical narratives are important though, as their descriptions fit with some of what is still to be seen in the lands of Kiʻilae and Kauleolī. Some of the writers also recorded traditions and their observations of traditional practices in their journals and letters. The authors were explorers, missionaries, and travelers, and their observations often include important descriptions of features that make up the cultural landscape (e.g., villages, *heiau*, trails, and agricultural fields), the nature of land use, and transitions in the Hawaiian community.

The excerpts from the historic journals and letters are generally presented chronological in sequence by date of first publication, and source of the communications. Underlining used in the quoted material draws the reader's attention to specific place names, site references, and individuals mentioned.

The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery ***The Voyage of The Resolution and Discovery (1776-1780)***

Captain James Cook first saw the Hawaiian Islands of Oʻahu and Kauaʻi on January 18, 1778. On January 17, 1779, Cook and his ships arrived at Kealahou Bay, where he was entertained as the returning god Lono. As described in the native accounts and foreign journals cited in this study, suspicions concerning Cook's divinity arose, and following an attempted "kidnapping" of King Kalaniʻōpuʻu, Cook was killed on the flats of Kaʻawaloa on February 14, 1779.

The following narratives were recorded by Commander Charles Clerke and Lieutenant James King (Beaglehole 1967) who accompanied and survived Cook. King and Clerke provide readers with the earliest recorded descriptions of life in the South Kona region. Among the features they described, was the occurrence of extensive plantations (some of which were more than 6 or 7 miles inland), and among the crops seen were the taro, sweet potatoes, breadfruit, plantains (cooking bananas), and *wauke* (the "cloth" plant). The narratives are of direct importance to the Kiʻilae-Kauleolī study area, as features of the plantation are evident on the ground in these lands. The plantation system was formally laid out, and in many instances bounded by walls. A similar garden system (though modified by historic residency and land use activities) has been mapped and reported by R. Rechtman, Ph.D. (2001).

Also, as a result of excursions to the mountain lands, Cook's crew reported that most residences were situated near the shores, and that only few good houses were observed inland. While in the forests, various activities and features were observed as well — among them were canoe making, bird catching, and the occurrence of trails. They also noted that the Hawaiians demonstrated a knowledge of upland resources and travel to the mountain lands.

January 26, 1779 – King identifies members of party who set out on a journey to Mauna Loa from Kealahou (the goal was not achieved):

[At Kealakekua] ...a free leave was given to trade at our desire, & the bay in a short time became crowded with Canoes, leave was ask'd & granted for a party to go into the country & to attempt reaching the Snowy Mountain;

This Party consisted of the Resolutions Gunner, Mr Vancouver, a young gentleman of the Discovery, Mr Nelson sent out by Mr [page 513] Banks to botanize; the Corporal we had on Shore, & three other men, they carried no arms of any kind, & set out at ½ past 3 this Afternoon with 4 of the Natives... [Beaglehole 1967:514]

February 1779 – Having departed from Kealakekua, King took the opportunity to write up an account of excursions to the lands behind Kealakekua-Nāpo'opo'o, and of the trip begun on January 26, 1779 to the mountain lands from Kealakekua.

...As we have now left Karakooa [Kealakekua] bay, I shall before we go any farther, give a description of what was seen in the Country about it; (in the doing of which I am oblig'd to those who took the excursion up towards the Mountain) & leave any occurrences or Observations that may give an insight into their Arts & Manners, till we have bid a final Adieu to the Group of Islands; that also will be the best time to give in one View the dimensions of the different Island, &c.

I was never myself above 3 miles into the body of the Country; for [page 520] the first 2 ½ miles it is compos'd of burnt loose stones, & yet almost the whole surface beginning a little at the back of the town, is made to yield Sweet potatoes & the Cloth plant. One then comes to breadfruit trees which flourish amazingly. The ground was very uneven & although there was a tolerable Soil about the trees, yet there was constant breaks in the land & large bare, burnt rocks; in the bottoms that these made were planted the Sweet Potatoe roots with earth collected about them; my occupation at the Observatory hinderd me always proceeding farther. If I had I should have come to the extensive cultivated spots that are visible at the Ships beyond the grove of bread fruit trees: I shall therefore relate the Journey of the party of seven & 4 guides who set out on the afternoon of the 26th.

They travell'd 3 or 4 miles & found the Country as above represented, after which were the regular & very extensive plantations. The Plantain trees are mixed amongst the breadfruit trees & did not compose any part of the plantation except some in the Walls: these walls seperate their property & are made of the Stones got on clearing the Ground; but they are hid by the sugar cane being planted on each side, whose leaves or stalk make a beautiful looking edge. The Tarrow or Eddy root & the sweet Potatoe with a few cloth plants are what grow in these cultivated spots. The party stopt for the Night at the 2d hut they met on this ground, they then judged themselves 5 miles from our Village, or at the top of the first hill as seen at the Ship. The Prospect was delightful: they saw the Ships in the bay: to the NW a continuation of Villages by the Sea shore & to the left a thick wood, to the right cultivated ground as far as they could see, & a thick wood on their back. The Potatoes & Tarrow are planted 4 feet from each other, the former is

cover'd except the tops with about a bushel of light Mould, the latter is left bare to the roots, & the mould surrounding made in the form of a bason, in order to preserve the rain as this root is fond of & requires much humidity, it should be noted that the Tarro of these Islands is the best we have ever tasted. They foresaw, from the few Cottages scattered about & the poverty of the one they took their residence in, that their trade would not be able to ensure them provisions... [page 521]

On the 27th in the Morning they set out & filld their Calabashes at an excellent well about ½ a mile from their hut & enter'd the wood by a foot path, made, as they understood, by those who fetch wild or horse Plantans, & who go to Catch birds; it was either Swampy or else Stoney, also narrow, & made still worse by large trunks of trees laying across it, there was no proceeding on either side of the path for underwood; as far as the Wild plantains grew, intermixt amongst the trees, were at Certain distances white flags secur'd to poles, which they took for divisions of Property...

The 28th they march'd along the [page 522] Skirt of the Wood for 6 or 7 miles, & then enterd again, by a path that went away to the Eastward. For the first 3 miles they passd thro a wood compos'd of high trees, interspers'd with Plantations of Plantains, for the next three miles were dwarfish trees, much underwood, & growing amongst broken burnt Stones. They then came again to a pleasant wood... In this wood they pass'd many Canoes, half finishd, & a hut also, but since their first entering of the different Woods could find no water, of which they began to feel the want, they proceeded on about 3 miles in this last Wood, when coming to two huts that was convenient for holding their whole party, they stopped; heartily fatigued with their day's Journey, having walkd as they thought 20 miles this day, but they were obligd to seperate into parties in search of water, & at last found some rain water in the bottom of a Canoe, which although the Colour of red wine, was to them a very agreeable sight... [page 523]

March 1779. Clerke's notes of the Kealakekua region — describing agricultural development and native "towns," and practices observed from near shore to the upper mountain slopes — concur with those of King and add some additional site and resource descriptions:

...this being the Lee side of the Isle the Natives have been at infinite pains to clear away the Cindars to make their plantations; the fertility of the Soil however when they do come at it very well repays them for their trouble; for nothing in nature can be more abundantly prolific, being a fine rich Loom, tho' in many places they have been obligd to remove 4, 5, or 6 feet depth of Cindars, and the soil when they come to it probably does not exceed two or at most three feet, but what there is of it is excellent beyond comparison; two or three miles up the Country the soil becomes deeper and is luxurious to the last degree. All the Shores on the Southern and Western sides are formed by burnt Rocks, and in many places where they break off in Clifs there are numberless Caverns blown in the sides.

The Towns of the Natives are built along the Sea side. At Cari'ca'coo'ah [Kealakekua] Bay there were three, one [Kealakekua-Napoopoo] on the SE-tern side of the Bay which was very large extending near two miles along the shore, another [Kaawaloa] upon the NWtern side which was not so large, and a small Village [Palemano] in the cod or bottom of the Bay. At the back of the villages upon the Brow of the Hill are their plantations of Plantains, Potatoes, Tarrow, Sugar Canes &c, each mans particular property is fenced in with a stone wall; they have a method of making the Sugar Cane grow about the walls so that the stones are not conspicuous at any distance, but the whole has the appearance of fine green fences. These Plantations in many places they carry six or seven miles up the side of the hill, when the woods begin to take place which diffuse themselves from hence to the heights of the eminences and extend over a prodigious track of ground; in these woods are some paths of the Natives and here and there a temporary house or hut, the use of [page 592] which is this; when a man wants a Canoe he repairs to the wood and looks about him till he has found a tree fit for his purpose and a convenient spot for his work; having succeeded thus far, he runs up a house for his present accommodation and goes to work upon his Canoe, which they in general compleatly finish before it's moved from the spot where its materials had birth. Our people who made excursions about the Country saw many of these Canoes in different states of forwardness, but what is somewhat singular, if one of their vessels want repairing she is immediately removed into the woods though at the distance of 5 or 6 miles. These woods abound with wild Plantains which though not equal to the cultivated, are far from being a bad fruit. The poorer sort of People here make a very general use of them. Upon the highest hills our people could ascend, the burnt rocks were in many places bare or only covered with a little moss with numberless Chasms blown in them by the violence of the volcano, though just by, there would be soil enough to hold large trees very firm... [page 593]

All their Towns are built along the Sea shore, up the Country there is not a house to be seen except such temporary Huts as has been before described and here and there one by a large plantation where the peasants sometimes lodge who look after it... [page 599]

March 1779. To King's previous descriptions of the Kealakekua region he added additional notes, and described the area as "highly cultivated & populous" (Beaglehole 1967:607):

...We now come to the West side, where are the districts of A-kona & Koharra. The part of A-kona joining to Koa partakes of its nature. Its N part is highly cultivated & very populous... [page 607]

...Before they enter'd the first Wood, they also observ'd Arms or branches, stretch towards the Sea side, in a direction at right Angles to the Main wood, & that these reach within a Mile or two of the beach, these Arms seperated the great Plantations which has been observ'd to be 4 or 5 miles broad, & which are again divided into Small fields by stone hedges. The Soil was good, the Space that seperated these Plantations from the entire Lava, or

burnt Cindery surface, which extends two or three miles inland from the beach, is Planted with Breadfruit trees & Plantains; Wild or horse Plantains grow some distance into the first Wood. The prevailing productions of the above Plantations is Tarro (Eddy) & which in all other Islands is only plant'd in very wet ground, & where a great part is always covered with water. These can only be water'd from the heavens, the Earth about them is so contriv'd as to retain about their roots whatever moisture falls; they are the best tasted tarrow we have seen. The Sweet Potatoe grows any where, a great part of the ground about the Villages yield them... Four Leagues to the N of Karakacooa bay, is [Keauhou] another which they represent as equally good, & thereabouts the Country is less hurt by the Lava. The King has here another Residence... [page 608]

Journal of Hiram Bingham (1820-1841)

Hiram Bingham was a member of the first party of missionaries sent to the “Sandwich Islands” (Hawai‘i), by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), arriving in April 1820. Bingham worked earnestly in his capacity as a missionary, but also took the time to speak with surviving *ali‘i*, and people of the land who had been eye-witnesses to many of the events that followed the arrival of foreigners in the islands. His historical accounts were first published in 1847, and subsequently edited and republished in 1855 (the source of the 1969 reprint cited herein). Bingham’s texts were regularly referenced by authors and historians throughout the nineteenth century, and his descriptions of Hawaiian history provide readers with important details. While Bingham does not specifically reference Ki‘ilae or Kauleolī, he does speak of Hōnaunau, and in his narratives he addresses native beliefs pertaining to *ilina* (burials). Bingham (1969) reported:

Burials of Ali‘i Revered – Relocation of Remains from Hōnaunau to the Pali of Ka‘awaloa and Kealakekua (1829)

A species of superstition once existed at the islands analogous to the *grave-worship* of the Chinese, and the worship of relics in other countries. This was supposed to have nearly ceased before the attempt to introduce Romanism. It was, however obvious that the tendency still existed in the nation to revive that superstition. The zeal of Kaahumanu led her as early as 1829 to visit the *Hale o Keawe at Honaunau*, a cemetery associated with dark superstitions, and surrounded with horrid wooden images of former generations. The regent visited the place not to mingle her adorations with her early contemporaries and predecessors to the relics of departed mortals, but for the purpose of removing the bones of twenty-four deified kings and princes of the Hawaiian race, and consigning them to oblivion. But at that time she thought Naihe was wavering in respect to their removal, and Kekauluohi, whose father’s bones were there, she thought still cherished an undue veneration for them; and Boki she feared would treat her with abuse and violence if she should disturb the house or remove its mass of relics. But when she saw it *ought* to be done, she determined it *should* be done: and in company with Mr. Ruggles and Kapiolani, she went to the sacred deposit, and caused the bones to be placed in large coffins and entombed in a cave in the precipice at the head of Kealakekua Bay. In doing this she found an expensive article of foreign manufacture, comparatively new, placed near the bones of the father of Kekauluohi, and which appeared to have been

presented as an offering since the date of the prohibition of the worship of idols... [Bingham 1969:426]

While Bingham implies that such reverence for *ilina* “once existed,” we find in modern practice and oral history interviews conducted as a part of this study, that respect for *ilina* remains important among the families of the region.

The Journal of William Ellis (Descriptions of Hōnaunau and Vicinity)

Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the Hawaiian religious and political systems began undergoing radical changes. Just moments after his death, Ka‘ahumanu proclaimed herself “*Kuhina nui*” (Prime Minister), and approximately six months later, the ancient *kapu* system was overthrown in chiefly centers. Less than a year after Kamehameha’s death, Protestant missionaries arrived from America (see I‘i 1959, Kamakau 1961, and Fornander 1973). In 1823, British missionary William Ellis and members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) toured the island of Hawai‘i seeking out communities in which to further work of the growing Calvinist mission. Ellis’ writings (1963), generally the earliest detailed accounts (written in 1825) of settlements around the island of Hawai‘i, offer readers important glimpses into the nature of native residency and history at the time.

During the visit, Ellis and his traveling companions visited Hōnaunau and lands south. While Ki‘ilae or Kauleolī are not specifically referenced in the journal, members of the tour did walk the *alaloa* (coastal trail – later modified into the *Alanui Aupuni*) through Keōkea, Ki‘ilae, and on to lands in the south. On the journey, it was reported that they “passed through two villages, containing between three and four hundred inhabitants” (Ellis 1963:118). The following excerpts from Ellis’ journal—with descriptions of land use and customs in *ahupua‘a* neighboring Ki‘ilae-Kauleolī—describe the landscape extending from sea to the upland field systems and areas of residence. Selected narratives are cited here as they relate to our general understanding of the cultural-historical landscape of the period.

Ellis reported that the “town” of Hōnaunau contained “147 houses” (Ellis 1963:109). During the visit, Asa Thurston and Joseph Goodrich made an excursion to the uplands, where they found that:

...after proceeding about two miles from the sea, that the ground was generally cultivated.

They passed through considerable groves of breadfruit trees, saw many cocoa-nuts, and number of the prickly pear (*cactus ficus inidicus*), growing very large, and loaded with fruit. They also found many people residing at the distance of from two to four miles from the beach, in the midst of the plantations, who seemed to enjoy an abundance of provisions, seldom possessed by those of the sea shore... (Ellis 1963:109)

Ellis’ journal includes detailed descriptions of Hale o Keawe and the larger area of the Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau. Those texts, cited in several historical publications (e.g., Stokes and Dye 1991, and Bryan and Emory et al., 1986), are not repeated here as they exceed

the scope of the present study. Departing from Hōnaunau, the party traveled “nearly half a mile, to a place called Keokea” (Ellis 1963:115), and the next day, Ellis and party explored the cliff of Keanae and the area near the Keōkea-Ki’īlae boundary. Ellis reported:

After travelling half a mile, a singular appearance of the lava, at a small distance from the shore, attracted our attention, and, on examination, presented a curious phenomenon. it consisted of a covered avenue of considerable extent, from fifty to sixty feet in height, formed by the flowing of the lava, in some recent eruption, over the edge of a perpendicular pile of ancient volcanic rocks, from sixty to seventy feet high... [page 116] As we passed along this vaulted avenue, called by the native Keanaee, we beheld a number of caverns and tunnels, from some of which streams of lava flowed. The mouths of others being walled up with stones, we supposed were used as sepulchers [page 117].

Mats, spread upon the slabs of lava, calabashes, &c. indicated some of them to be the habitations of men; others, near the openings, were used as workshops, where women were weaving mats, or beating cloth.

In many places the water filtered through the lava, and, around the spots where it had dropped on the ground, we observed a quantity of fine white spear-shaped crystals of a sharp nitrous taste.

Having walked a considerable distance along the covered way, and collected as many specimens of the lava as we could conveniently carry, we returned to the sea-shore. Mr. Harwood being indisposed, and unable to travel, and being myself but weak, we proceeded in the canoe to Kalahiti, where we landed about 2 p.m. and waited the arrival of our companions. The rest of the party travelled along the shore, by a path often tedious and difficult... They passed through two villages, containing between three and four hundred inhabitants, and reached Kalahiti about four in the afternoon... [Ellis 1963:118]

Records of the Hawaiian Mission Station – South Kona, Hawai‘i

In April 1824, the year following Ellis’ visit, the first South Kona Mission Station was established on the flats of Ka’awaloa by Reverend James Ely. The station was situated on land provided for that purpose by chiefess Kapi’olani and her husband, Haihā Nāihe (see references to these important *ali‘i* of Kona earlier in this study). It was from the Ka’awaloa Station, and later the Kealakekua Station (to which the Ka’awaloa branch was relocated), that activities of the South Kona churches were directed.

Four years after his arrival, James Ely departed from Ka’awaloa (October 15, 1828), and was replaced by Samuel Ruggles (who transferred from the Kailua Station). On May 17, 1832, Cochran Forbes arrived in Hawai‘i to take up residence at the Ka’awaloa (South Kona) Mission. Mark Ives also settled in the South Kona Station with Forbes, and in 1835, they established the Keālia-Kapalilua out-station of South Kona. Under Forbes’ tenure, the Ka’awaloa Station relocated to the Kepulu vicinity of Nāpo’opo’o (location of the present-day Kāhikolu Church), in 1839, and became known as the Kealakekua Station. Forbes remained in Kona until 1845, and Ives remained until 1847.

In 1848, J.F. Pogue took up residency in the Kealakekua station and remained there till 1851, when he was transferred to Lahaina Luna. In 1852, John D. Paris relocated from Wai'ōhinu, Ka'ū, to the Kealakekua Station. During Paris' tenure, the station evolved and assumed the basic configuration (i.e., location of churches and meeting areas) recalled by Hawaiian families in interviews conducted as a part of the present study. Reverend J.D. Paris remained in his Kona parish until he passed away in 1892. The elder Paris, and his descendants were very active in Kona matters, and one of his great grandchildren are among the interviewees cited in the present study.

It is from the writings of the missionaries mentioned above, that we find several important descriptions of the native communities and population in the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī vicinity and the larger region of Kapalilua. Selected excerpts from letters and station reports are cited here which document some of the history of the region, and transitions in residency. The communications were viewed in the collection of the *Hawaiian Mission Children's Library*. Underlining of place names and emphasis given in selected narratives are used by the author of this study to draw attention to specific narratives —

1833 - C. Forbes, at Ka'awaloa:

Probably no Station on the islands is worse situated for access to the people than is Kaawaloa. There is no way of getting from village to village south of the bay, but in canoes, unless we climb over vast shaggy beds of lava, and the people mostly coming under our charge are strewed along a shore probably 40 miles in length, besides some 5,000 who live on the south point of the Island... [only] a small portion of the people allotted to Kaawaloa station has hitherto come directly under the Missionary influence. Probably 1000 may be said to come directly under Missionary influence which leaves 9 or 10,000 destitute as the whole district includes 10 or 12,000 souls... [C. Forbes ms. 1833:3]

November 8, 1835 – C. Forbes, writing from Kuapehu, reported that Keālia has been chosen as an out station (Vol. 8:2310).

November 8, 1835 – C. Forbes, writing from Kuapehu, reported:

...Our station embraces the coast delineated on the map from Kainaliu on the north west, to Puna on the southwest; a coast of nearly 90 miles⁵. Two weeks is the very least in which the whole field can be hastily visited by simply preaching at the more important villages... [Vol. 8:2317]

July 23, 1836 – C. Forbes, writing from Kaawaloa, reported:

Last fall I had every house numbered and its inhabitants from the borders of the Kailua Station [being at Kainaliu], southward & round to the borders of this station on the southeast, and found the whole population of my field to be as follows. This part of Kona 3,536 adults; 1473 children...total 5,009... Kau adults 3,365...children 1,401...total in Kau 4,766... [Vol. 8:2330; MHM – 266.858 M69; Missionary Letters 1830-1836; Vol.'s 4 & 8]

October-November 1836 – Among the letters of Cochran Forbes, is a “Journal of occurrences showing my manner of spending my time” (October 10-26, 1836); the original

⁵ Map is not available in collection.

handwritten letters are in the collection of the ABFCM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard (a photocopy was viewed in the collection of Hawaiian Mission Children's Library).

On October 10, 1836, Forbes sailed from Ka'awaloa, beginning his tour of the southern portion of his mission station. His journal offers readers a description of the villages he visited, the conditions of the schools, churches, and circumstances of the people, and he specifically discussed Ki'ilae Village, Hōnaunau, and conditions in the region. While Forbes at times wrote with a prejudice, his first hand accounts are of value in understanding the historic landscape of the period.

Forbes wrote that he first "arrived at Honaunau," where he "preached to a congregation in the school room." (Forbes Ms. 1836:2). He then reported:

Then we left for Kealia where we have just arrived. Alas for there [sic] poor souls. There are perhaps 50 children growing up in ignorance. No one to teach them; and their Chief [chiefess] (Akahi) does not encourage schools. She has placed two canoes in the school house, thus making it a store house! Instead of having her people collected for instruction as she ought, she collects her canoes in the school house & has no school. Her coming to reside among them has manifestly altered things for the worse. Formerly they had a school and showed some signs of improvement. Now they are more the heathens than they were 7 years ago!! Still she does not openly oppose.

9 o'clock at night. Have just closed a little meeting with all who assembled at the blowing of the shell. The headman has just now presented us baked hog weighing perhaps 80 lbs... [Forbes Ms. 1836:2-3]

Forbes' journal entry of October 13th, provides readers with a general overview of the villages between Hōnaunau and "Opihale" (or 'Ōpihihale):

I ought to say that all these villages are destitute of regular schools, tho I found in all of them a number who can read & in some cases almost the whole village could read. The teachers who had taught them that much, have deserted their posts and gone, many of them, after chiefs. They being the most capable men of their villages, in many cases, have been greedily courted by the chiefs, for headmen or for men to wait about their persons, and a prospect of earthly gain is as attractive to these poor heathens as any... nor indeed can I blame them. But we must now have better teachers to supply their place. I found the people in all of the villages remarkably kind & docil & believe they would generally be glad to have schools if they had competent teachers. The above remarks apply to most every village from Honaunau, 10 miles south of us to Kau... [Forbes Ms. 1836:9-10]

On the journey from Ka'ū, returning to Ka'awaloa, Forbes visited Kilai (Ki'ilae) Village, and recorded the following observations:

October 14, 1836 ...we came to Kealia about 11 o'clock and collected the people. Preached and distributed some tracts. After taking some refreshments we left for Honaunau, and on our way stopped Kilai, which as

many other villages is perched upon high rocks, almost inaccessible from the sea unless when smooth. In attempting to spring on the rocks, I unhappily stepped just as a surge raised the canoe some four or five feet from its position and of course, missed my calculations, when having to descend instead of stepping up. I fell prostrate on the rocks and should have rolled into the sea had not one of the natives caught me & supported me till I recovered enough to sit erect. The shock was so great as to quite deprive me of all power for a time, tho no bones were broken. The kind sympathy of one or two who rowed the canoe...will I think never be forgotten.

Recovered a little, we ascended to the village and the people soon collected in the headman's house, to whom I preached, distributed some tracts and left them amid many a sympathy (*aloha*) for my bruised bones. ...Most of those present could read. The man's Daughter formerly taught a school in this village. Her husband accompanied Mr. Ruggles to America and has not yet returned. She too has forsaken her school and wandered off to Kauai. O how my heart aches for these poor villages!

Leaving Kilai we arrived at Honaunau about 3 o'clock. Here found the children collected in school. After school the people were assembled, to whom I preached. This closed the labors of the day... [Forbes Ms. 1836:14-17]

May 6, 1841 – Mark Ives described general activities and events of the last year, noting: ...My spare time during the week has been employed in schools. I have spent my Sabbaths at Kealia, about five miles from this place; where we have had our house of worship filled both forenoon & afternoon; & it holds from five to six hundred people... My only means of getting to this place, is either to go in a canoe, or walk by land without a foot path; over uneven rocks & huge points of lava... [M. Ives Ms. 1841:2]

Ives also observed that in the district, “the condition of the schools has fluctuated...the chiefs have had the teachers and students out working the *koele* (planting fields)...” (ibid.:4); and that there was a total of “34 schools with 1,837 students” found in the district (including South Kona and Kau) (ibid.:5a).

April 1, 1842 – C. Forbes reported on activities and events during 1841-1842, describing the fields of Kau and South Kona fields (which had been divided into three sections); and also noted the passing of Chiefess Kapi'olani:

...II) I come now to the part of this field in which Bro. Ives has spent most of his labors the past year, which by itself forms a field of labor large enough for any one man. It commences at Kealia and extends to the borders of Kau & is 15 or 20 miles in extent. The population is near 2000.

In this district which is called Kapalilua there are 10 schools containing 400 scholars all which are now in an interesting condition. There are 450 church members in Kapalilua including Kealia. They have lately been set off from this chh. to form a separated church by themselves... Kealia is about 8 miles by water and ten or 12 by land over a bad road from this place....

III) It remains to report the district of which Kealakekua is the station and which has been the principal field of my labors the past year. The limits of this district are from Kiilai to the borders of Bro. Thurston's field, about six miles away from Kealakekua [on the coast at Kāināliu]. The whole population is about 2600. There are 11 schools in a prosperous condition. Whole number of scholars in school 553... This district has seriously felt the loss of Kapiolani who was indeed a mother to us & to the people & a nursing mother to the chh. here. Never did we know how much the cause was indebted to here example & her prayers till the lord deprived us of her. There is at present no probability that her place will ever be filled... [Report of the Mission Station at Kealakekua – MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua. Forbes 1842:6-7]

April 4, 1842 – M. Ives added a section to the Report of the Mission Station at Kealakekua; commenting on activities and events in the Kapalilua field, which had a population of some 2000 individuals:

The field at Kapalilua extends 20 miles along the sea coast, and extends 4 to 8 miles inland. The villages can only be reached by canoe... Kealia, at the northern extremity of the field is the best location for the meeting house and landing... There are no roads in Kealia for a horse to go... [Ives Ms. 1842:2-3; MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua]

May 9, 1846 – M. Ives' report from the Mission Station at Kealakekua for 1845-1846 includes descriptions of events at Kealakekua, Kealia, and Kapalilua. He also described the devastating impacts of a drought, fires, and then heavy rains upon the native population and landscape of South Kona. In the period between February 15th to December 18th, 1845, there was no rainfall, then on December 18th, there was "a terrific conflagration."

The drought aforementioned was followed by the epidemic common to all the island & by a scarcity of provisions scarcely before known even at Kealakekua. The consequence was that numbers flocked to Kau & other places where they found sustenance...

It is now impossible for many of the natives to get taro & potatoe tops to start their plantations; such has been the devastation. A spark of fire dropped into the leaves would immediately kindle & the consequence was that the country from Onouli to Kapua & onwards a distance of 30 miles including all our arable land except here and there a small patch where the owner with uncommon vigor defended it, was burnt over & the food thoroughly baked. Often the man after watching his plantation a whole night would leave it supposing it past danger when some sudden turn of the wind would change the direction of the fire, & before he could again reach it, his whole plantation be consumed.

There has been a decrease of children in our field the last 5 years, upwards of 250... The population in our field is diminishing. There is no place probably among us where it is on the increase. Kaawaloa which in 1835 numbered 460 inhabitants has now only 160 either on the land or considered as belonging to it... The famines too are thinning off our inhabitants.

There are two or three vessels constantly plying between our place & Oahu & every vessel that left for several weeks was loaded down with passengers so as scarcely to afford a foot room for the captain. But a part of these will ever get back.

They are trusted for their fare to Oahu & when they return they are required to pay the fare for both ways. Their lands in the mean time, lying uncultivated, they will have nothing to eat should the return... [M. Ives Ms. 1846:2-5; MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua]

1848-1849 – J.F. Pogue and family arrived at the Kealakekua Station in 1848, landing at Nāpo‘opo‘o. At the time of Pogue’s arrival at the South Kona Station, the King embarked upon a program of public improvements—causing the *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Road) system, like that at Alahaka and through Ki‘īlae-Kauleolī to be improved—and caused the Hawaiian system of land tenure to be radically altered. The latter was instituted through the *Māhele ‘Āina* of 1848.

Describing the improvements to the roads and highways of the Kingdom, Pogue reported:

The road which commences at Kailua & which is thought may some day girdle the island has been extended south of us ^[6] some 13 miles – So that we have easier access to certain parts of our field & may thus have more frequent intercourse with the people. Another road has been commenced, extending from the Bay to the interior, this is a cart road ^[7]. This road may soon be completed & when finished will be a great improvement, as well as a convenience to persons doing business in the Bay [Kealakekua]. As there has not been heretofore a cart road from the interior to the Bay... [Pogue Ms. 1851:1-2]

1852 – Upon the departure of J.F. Pogue, Reverend John D. Paris and family settled at “the old Station, chosen & occupied by the first Missionaries” (Paris Ms. 1852:2). In the Station Report for 1852, Paris reported that he had conducted regular tours of the Kealakekua

Station, where he preached “every other Sab. at Kealakekua, & divided the remainder between Nawawa, Honaunau & Kealia” (Paris ms. 1852:3).

In the 1852 report, under the heading “Advance in Civilization &c” Paris penned narratives are likely also a reflection of the condition of land tenure which resulted among some of the native tenants as a result of the *Māhele* of 1848:

South Kona embraces a large extent of the richest, most fertile land, with the best climate on Hawaii. A little back from the sea shore, vegetables of all kinds, & fruit in great variety, can be produced with as little labor & in as great perfection as in any portion of the Hawaiian Islands... there are signs of improvement & progress among our people. A number are purchasing farms & fencing them, & seem to be inspired with new life in putting in order & cultivating them. Orange & other fruit trees are being planted extensively & are beginning to adorn the hills & vallies. A little better class of houses, with

⁶ They being situated at Kepulu – Nāpo‘opo‘o.

⁷ The Nāpo‘opo‘o Cart Road, completed ca. 1853.

enclosed yards ornamented with flowers, * a variety of fruit & shade trees begin to appear... [Paris Ms. 1852:7-8]

1855 – J.D. Paris (Station Report). Paris described the reorganization of the South Kona Mission Station, giving the boundaries of each out-station, and the population, beginning at Hōkūkano and extending to Miloli'i-Kapu'a. Paris reported:

Since our last Annual Report our Church in S. Kona has reorganized and divided into six branches... ...The 3d [branch] is the Hoonounau Church. This church embraces 169 members... This Chh. & people have a rude Stone Meeting House which they have improved a good deal. It has a thatched roof – is not plastered or floored. But it is well covered with *Lauhala* mats & partly seated...

...The health of the native population & foreign residents in South Kona has been during the past year unusually good... Our hills & valleys have been watered abundantly with the showers of heaven. The Earth has yielded its increase & the ocean abounded with fish... More patches have been cultivated – more fields fenced – more trees planted – more houses built & repaired, & more roads & paths made than in years past. In some of our villages there is a very marked improvement about the houses & yards everything wearing a more cheerful aspect.

We have no field waving with golden harvests (as on some other islands) but our people are multiplying their Coffee patches & the number of Orange trees loaded with golden fruit, are rapidly increasing.

Some of the “thousand hills” are dotted over with cattle & horses; and vast fields of barren lava, fertilized with streams of living goats... ...I would remark that the materials collected & gratuitous labour on three houses of worship at Kealia, Naapoopoo & Nawa [Nāwāwā], would amount to more than a Thousand dollars over & above the sum paid in cash... [Paris Ms. 1855:7-8]

1858 – In the Station Report of 1858, J.D. Paris observed that his labors had been much the same as those previously described. The coast line of South Kona covered some 50 or 60 miles, and that “the people live for the most part along the shores & inland from two to four or five miles” (Paris ms. 1858:1). Paris also reported that he regularly preached at two places on each Sabbath, generally three to five miles to either side of the station (being Honaunau and Nawawa) (Paris ms. 1858:3).

Commander Charles Wilkes:

The United States Exploring Expedition of 1840-1841

In 1840 and 1841, Commander Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, toured the Hawaiian Islands (Wilkes 1845, Vol. IV). In November 1840, Wilkes and party toured South Kona, and Wilkes' narratives provide readers with important documentation of the landscape and practices of the natives living in the region. Again, no specific reference was made to the lands of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī, but descriptions of Hawaiian dryland agricultural practices and larger community at the time of value to understanding the area.

Lands of South Kona

On the 14th (Saturday), they landed at Napolo [Napoopoo], and were kindly received by Mr. Forbes, the resident missionary for the district of Kealakekua. They were greatly disappointed when they found it would be impossible to proceed on their tour that day, and that their departure would have to be deferred until Monday, as it would be impossible to prepare the food necessary for the journey in a day, [page 90] and the next being Sunday, no natives could be persuaded to travel until Monday. On the nights of their stay with Mr. Forbes, they distinctly saw the heavens lighted up by the fires of the volcano of Kilauea Pele, although at the distance of forty miles. This mission station is on the west side of Hawaii, and on the south side of the bay of Kealakekua.

Almost the whole coast of this district, extending forty miles, is one line of lava. This frequently lies in large masses for miles in extent, and is in other places partially broken, exhibiting perpendicular cliffs, against which the sea dashes with fury. This formation extends half a mile into the interior, and as the distance from the sea increases, the soil becomes richer and more productive. The face of the country, even within this rocky barrier, is rough and covered with blocks and beds of lava, more or less decomposed. The land in places reaches the altitude of two thousand feet, and at a distance of two miles from the coast begins to be well covered with woods of various kinds of trees, which are rendered almost impassable by an undergrowth of vines and ferns. In these woods there are many cleared spots, which have the appearance of having been formerly cultivated, or having been burnt by the descending streams of lava. In some places, these strips of wood descend to within a mile of the shore, having escaped destruction. These are in no place parallel to the shore, but lie always in the direction which the streams of lava would take in descending from the mountains.

Cultivation is carried on in many places where it would be deemed almost impracticable in any other country. There are, indeed, few places where a plough could be used in this district, although there is a strip of good land from three to five miles wide, having the barren lava-coast on one side and the forest on the other. This strip produces, luxuriantly, whatever is planted on it, the soil being formed of decomposed lava, mixed with vegetable matter. The natives, during the rainy season, also plant, in excavations among the lava rocks, sweet-potatoes, melons, and pine-apples, all of which produce a crop...

The only staple commodities are sweet-potatoes, upland taro, and yams. The latter are almost entirely raised for ships. Sugar-cane, bananas, pine-apples, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and melons, are also cultivated. [page 91] The Irish potato, Indian corn, beans, coffee, cotton, figs, oranges, quavas, and grapes, have been introduced, and might be successfully cultivated, if there was any demand for them.

The climate is mild throughout the district. The thermometer ranges between 62° and 76° in the winter, and from 70° to 86° in the summer, and seldom above 86° or below 62°; this, it will be remembered, is on the lee side of the

island. They seldom have strong winds; and in the day they enjoy a cool sea-breeze, which changes to the land-breeze at night.

From May to September is the wet or rainy season, when they experience a good deal of rain; and this is also the growing season.

In December, January, and February, they have usually very dry weather, and the winds prevail from the north, from which quarter it sometimes blows fresh...

Good paths for horses have been made throughout the district, with much labour. An evident improvement has taken place in the habits of the females, who have been taught the use of the needle, and other feminine employments. Kapiolani has been very assiduous in introducing improvements... [page 92]

...The inhabitants of this district are nine thousand. The marriages are about one hundred yearly. The population is thought to be decreasing, but this is assuming as correct the former census, which I [page 93] have before said is not to be relied on. The grounds on which this decrease has been supposed to exist were, that it was found that of fifty-six mothers, taking old and young promiscuously, were born two hundred and sixty-seven children, of whom one hundred and twenty-nine are living, one hundred and twenty-five died very young, mostly under the age of two years, and thirteen at ages beyond ten years. It is thought by Mr. Forbes, that this proportion of deaths would hold good through the district. One thing seems certain however, that they do not all die from hereditary diseases; many are carried off by diarrhea, occasioned by improper diet, and a few are stillborn. There has also been much emigration from this district to others, and many have embarked as sailors on board whale-ships...

There are twenty-three schools, one of which is kept by the missionaries, and the others by natives, some of whom have been educated at the high-school at Lahaina. The number of scholars is between seven and eight hundred... [page 94]

Nature of the Kona Uplands Described

...On their way from the coast, they in a short time came to a very [page 98] fertile district, with luxuriant sugar-cane, taro, &c., and good houses. The taro here is cultivated without water; but in order to retain the moisture and protect the plant from the sun, it was observed that they used fern-leaves to secure and shield the roots. The taro, thus cultivated, attains a much larger size and is superior to that which is grown in water, being more dry and mealy. The houses of this district are much better also, although the natives, for the most part, reside at the sea-shore, to enjoy fishing and bathing.

In their day's jaunt they passed some wooded land, the trees of which consisted of *koa* (*Acacia*), *Edwardsia chrysophylla* (which is used for fuel), *Dodonaea*, &c. Plants of wild raspberry and strawberry were seen,—the fruits of both now out of season; the former, however, yet showed some of its

blossoms, like small roses. The most remarkable plant was a species of dock, with large clusters of crimson flowers, which runs up the branches of dead trees to the height of twenty or thirty feet. These woods abounded with birds, several of which Mr. Peale shot; among them a crow, called by the natives *Alala*, and a *muscipala* called *Elepaio*,—formerly worshipped as the god of canoe-makers... [Wilkes 1845:99]

The Journal of Chester S. Lyman (1846-1847)

In 1846, Chester S. Lyman, “a sometime professor” at Yale University visited the island of Hawai‘i. His narratives provide readers with important documentation pertaining to — the native villages in Kona; decline of the native population in the region; and offers specific descriptions of roads and trails (both along the coast and in the uplands) between Kealakekua and Keauhou. The original type-written manuscript (919.69 L 98), was viewed in the collection of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library.

Traveling from Wai‘ōhinu, Ka‘ū to South Kona, Lyman stopped at Kapu-a, where he hired a canoe to take him on to Kealakekua. While sailing in the canoe, Lyman recorded the following observations of the area from Kalahiki to Kealakekua (though not named, Ki‘ilae-Kauleolī are considered in the narratives):

(September 4, 1846) At 3 h. 45 m., we passed Kalahiki, a long straggling village with a beautiful sand beach and extensive coconut groves.

Hookena, Kealia, Keokea and other villages of some size, we passed before reaching Honaunau, which is an extensive and populous place about 6 miles from Kealakekua, and celebrated for containing in idolatrous times the chief temple for human sacrifices and affording a city of refuge to fleeing criminals or warriors... [Lyman Ms. 1846:21]

Describing the church, Kāhikolu, at Kepulu, Lyman noted that it had been built to hold “a congregation of 2000, tho’ the ordinary congregation at present I am told has dwindled down to 100” (Lyman Ms. 1846:23). Lyman explains this in the context of a drought and famine which affected the entire Kapalilua region:

One reason for the smallness of the congregation appears to have been the dispersion of the people in consequence of the great famine which prevailed on this side of the island for a year past. There has been a continual drought during that time, reducing every vegetable substance to tinder, in consequence of which the whole country was overrun by fire, presenting a most sublime spectacle by night and destroying many habitations.

The natives have suffered exceedingly for want of food and have been obliged to subsist on a species or two of roots, scarcely fit for food, and the few fish they could get from the sea... [Lyman Ms. 1846:23]

On December 2nd 1846, Lyman and Ives traveled to Hōnaunau, where they visited the *pu‘uhonua* (place of sanctuary) (Lyman, Book V; October 10-December 21, 1846), and Lyman recorded a detailed account of the visit and features seen (including a sketch). Apparently, he did not again venture further south into the Ki‘ilae-Kauleolī vicinity.

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

George Bowser, editor of "The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourists Guide" (1880) wrote about various statistics and places of interest around the Hawaiian Islands. In the following excerpts from "An Itinerary of the Hawaiian Islands..." (Chapter IV Hawai'i), Bowser described the communities and various attractions of the Kealakekua-Ho'okena section of Kona. Bowser's narratives are written from the perspective of traveling the *makai* alignment of the *Alanui Aupuni* (while he passed Alahaka and the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī area, he did not specifically mention them):

...Kona coffee is reckoned equal to that grown in Java, as a marketable article. It was first planted in the district in 1854, during the reign of Kamehameha III... [page 550]

...From Kealakekua I went to Hoonau, a village situated on a small inlet of the sea. The road to it is very rough, over nothing but lava – very slow traveling. there are here about fifteen native houses and a Roman Catholic Church. Here the traveler can get water for his horse, and important matter during the journey... Here are the remains of an old *heiau*, or native temple, and also of the other of those cities of refuge, one of which, at the other extremity of the island... In olden days the native who had committed a crime would run for one of these cities of refuge, and, if he succeeded in reaching it, was free from all attempts at capture...

The next village on my route was Kealia, a small place four miles from Hoonau. Here there are about twenty native houses, a church and a school. It is close to the sea, and the tourist may spend a day or two at the place to great advantage. There is a good bathing found, also plenty of water for one's horses. Messrs. A.S. Cleghorn & Co. have a store here under the management of Mr. W.C. King. [page 553] Mr. Neal, who resides here also, is always happy to accommodate strangers, having at all times a good bed at disposal. A short distance from Kealia is the landing place called Hookena, where there is another small village. The Post Office is here, and travelers can get accommodation for the night at D.H. Nahinu's, with plenty of water for horses. Up to this place the road is chiefly near the sea, and enlivened by many groves of cocoa palms, which love the neighborhood of salt water. The track is, all along, rough and stony. The whole district is unsurpassed in the matter of the pineapples and oranges it produces.

As you leave Hookena the road turns away from the sea beach. Soon afterwards—say about 500 yards from Hookena—you come to a junction of roads. I took that to the right, which brought me, in a mile and a half, to the village of Waiea. This village is not exactly on the road, but on the sea beach about a quarter of a mile from it. This is a village of about twenty-five houses, with groves of cocoanut trees and plenty of pineapple plantations. It is prettily situated, and I was favorably impressed with the appearance of the people, who look cleaner and are neater in all their ways than those of many native villages I have passed through. Here we are still bordering on the forest land, which runs for eight or ten miles up the slopes of Hualalai northward. Higher up, the potato (the Irish potato, as they call it to distinguish it from the sweet

potato) can be grown, the average temperature falling materially with every two or three miles as you ascend from the sea coast... [Bowser 1881:554]

H.W. Kinney's "Visitor's Guide" (1913)

In 1913, H.W. Kinney published a visitor's guide to the island of Hawai'i. In it, he included descriptions of the land at the time, historical accounts of events, and descriptions of sites and practices that might be observed by the visitor. Describing lands of the Ke'ei-Ho'okena section of Kona, Kinney paid particular attention to *heiau* and certain traditions associated with places of importance. Kinney walked the coastal alignment of the *Alanui Aupuni* on his journey, and speaks of the land from that perspective.

The Island of Hawaii

...KEEI village is a pretty spot on the beach, about a mile south of Napoopoo. Here are several *papa konane* (chess boards), but most of them are poorly preserved. Directly south thereof, on the lava, between this village and Kepu [Kipu], where there is a cocoanut grove, was the great battle of MOKUOHAI, in about 1782, where a chief, named Kiwalao, was killed after a great fight. His remains were taken to Napoopoo and baked (a last indignity) at Paokalani, where the oven is still shown.

HONAUNAU, the next village south, lies by a great bay, but the village has become non-important. It is entirely Hawaiian. Here stands the famous HALE O KEAWE, the best known of Hawaiian places of refuge and temples. It is a solid mass of stones ten feet high and 128 x 64 feet in area. The stone enclosure measures 715 x 404, its walls being 15 feet thick and 12 feet high. The first cocoanut tree *mauka* of the *heiau* is named Kaahumanu. The stone terrace *mauka* thereof was the site of the house of the priests, named Hale o Lono. *Makai* of the tree was the Hale o Keawe proper, where the high chiefs lived. Traces can still be seen of a vault under the stone floor, where were deposited the bones of high chiefs. *Makai* thereof was a sacred place for prayers, which was very *tabu*. The place of refuge proper, Alealea, is the great structure south. On the north side of its wall is Keoua's Stone, a gigantic, long rock, which is said to have been the measure of the stature of that famous chief. On the south side is Kaahumanu's Stone, a large rock, set on some smaller ones. It is related that this queen was at Kailua, when she heard that her husband, Kamehameha, was visiting a woman who lived in the village by the great cliff south of Honaunau. She swam from Kailua to Kaawaloa, where she rested, then swimming on to Honaunau, where she arrived at dark with a single retainer. She hid under this rock, and the following morning, when her absence was noted, a search was made for her, in the course of which 500 houses were burned. Finally a dog located the two women under the stone, and there was great rejoicing. Behind this rock is a stairway leading to the top of the *puuhonua*. South of the stone is a good *papa konane*.

A fair trail leads through KEALIA, a pretty village which is practically a suburb to HOOKENA, a steamer landing place, which was once a village of much importance, but which is now being abandoned by the population, which is Hawaiian. Near the wharf was a place famous in ancient days for the playing of a game with *pupu* shells. In the great cliff south of the village are several

caves, some of them still floored with sand, where *tapa* makers piled their trade. A very poor trail leads *makai* of this cliff to the KALAHIKI village, a small settlement on the south side of the bay, which may also be reached by a better trail on top of the bluff. Here are traces of a four terrace *heiau*. Beyond this there is no practicable trail leading south. There are a few very small fishing villages, Alae, Alike and Papa, which are reached by poor trails from the *mauka* road. It is necessary to travel from Hookena *mauka* to the main road, to Papa, and thence by either road or trail to HOOPULOA, the last steamship landing in Kona... [Kinney 1913:65]

KI'ILAE-KAULEOLĪ (AND NEIGHBORING LANDS OF SOUTH KONA): HISTORIC LAND TENURE AND TRANSITIONS IN LAND USE PRACTICES

The best source of documentation pertaining to native Hawaiian residency and land use practices — identifying specific residents, types of land use, crops cultivated, and features on the landscape — is found in the records of the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division) which the King entered into with the chiefs and people in 1848. The “Land Division” gave native tenants an opportunity to acquire land (in fee-simple) which they lived on and actively cultivated.

In pre-western contact Hawai'i, all land and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (*ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* or *ali'i 'ai moku*). The use of lands and resources were given to the *hoa'āina* (native tenants), at the prerogative of the *ali'i* and their representatives or land agents (*konohiki*), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. In 1848, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was radically altered by the *Māhele 'Āina*. This change in land tenure was promoted by the missionaries and the growing Western population and business interests in the island kingdom. Generally these individuals were hesitant to enter business deals on lease-hold land.

The *Māhele* (division) defined the land interests of Kamehameha III (the King), the high-ranking chiefs, and the *konohiki*. As a result of the *Māhele*, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands (Chinen 1958:vii and Chinen 1961:13).

The “Enabling” or “Kuleana Act” (December 21, 1849) laid out the frame work by which native tenants could apply for, and be granted fee-simple interest in “*Kuleana*” lands, and their rights to access and collection of resources necessary to their life upon the land in their given *ahupua'a*. The Act reads:

August 6, 1850

An Act confirming certain resolutions of the King and Privy Council passed on the 21st day of December 1849, granting to the common people allodial titles for their own lands and house lots, and certain other privileges.

Be it enacted by the Nobles and Representatives of the People of the Hawaiian Islands in Legislative Council assembled;

That the following sections which were passed by the King in Privy Council on the 21st day of December A.D. 1849 when the Legislature was not in session, be, and are hereby confirmed, and that certain other provisions be inserted, as follows:

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

house lots and other lands, in which the Government have an interest, in the Districts of Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Done and passed at the Council House, Honolulu this 6th day of August 1850. [copied from original hand written "Enabling Act"⁸ – State Archives DLNR 2-4]

⁸ See also *Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina* (Penal Code) 1850.

The lands awarded to the *hoa'āina* (native tenants) became known as “*Kuleana* Lands.” All of the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards or LCA) were numbered, and the LCA numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai'i.

The work of the Land Commission was brought to a close on March 31, 1855. The program, directed by principles adopted on August 20, 1846, met with mixed results. In its' statement to the King, the Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles (George M. Robertson, March 31, 1855) summarized events that had transpired during the life of the Commission:

...The first award made by the Commission was that of John Voss on the 31st March 1847.

The time originally granted to the Board for the hearing and settlement of all the land claims in the kingdom was two years, ending the fourteenth day of February, 1848.

Before the expiration of that term it became evident that a longer time would be required to perform a work... Accordingly, the Legislature on the 26th day of August 1847, passed an Act to extend the duration of the Board to the 14th of February, 1849, adding one year to the term first prescribed, not however, for the purpose of admitting fresh claims, but for the purposes of hearing, adjudicating and surveying those claims that should be presented by the 14th February, 1848. It became apparent to the Legislature of 1848 that the labors of the Land Commission had never been fully understood, nor the magnitude of the work assigned to them properly appreciated, and that it was necessary again to extend the duration of the Board. An act was accordingly passed, wisely extending the powers of the Commissioners “for such a period of time from the 14th day of February 1849, as shall be necessary for the full and faithful examination, settlement and award upon all such claims as may have been presented to said Board.” ...[T]he Board appointed a number of Sub-Commissioners in various parts of the kingdom, chiefly gentlemen connected with the American Mission, who from their intelligence, knowledge of the Hawaiian language, and well-known desire to forward any work which they believed to be for the good of the people, were better calculated than any other class of men on the islands to be useful auxiliaries to the Board at Honolulu...

...During the ten months that elapsed between the constitution of the Board and the end of the year 1846, only 371 claims were received at the office; during the year 1847 only 2,460, while 8,478 came in after the first day of January 1848. To these are to be added 2,100 claims, bearing supplementary numbers, chiefly consisting of claims which had been forwarded to the Board, but lost or destroyed on the way. In the year 1851, 105 new claims were admitted, for Kuleanas in the Fort Lands of Honolulu, by order of the Legislature. The total number of claims therefore, amounts to 13,514, of which 209 belonged to foreigners and their descendants. The original papers, as they were received at the office, were numbered and copied into the Registers of the Commission, which highly necessary part of the work entailed no small amount of labor...

...The whole number of Awards perfected by the Board up to its dissolution is 9,337, leaving an apparent balance of claims not awarded of say 4,200. Of these, at least 1,500 may be ranked as duplicates, and of the remaining 2,700 perhaps 1,500 have been rejected as bad, while of the balance some have not been prosecuted by the parties interested; many have been relinquished and given up to the Konohikis, even after surveys were procured by the Board, and hundreds of claimants have died, leaving no legal representatives. It is probable also that on account of the dilatoriness of some claimants in prosecuting their rights before the Commission, there are even now, after the great length of time which has been afforded, some perfectly good claims on the Registers of the Board, the owners of which have never taken the trouble to prove them. If there are any such, they deserve no commiseration, for every pains has been taken by the Commissioners and their agents, by means of oft repeated public notices and renewed visits to the different districts of the Islands, to afford all and every of the claimants an opportunity of securing their rights... [Minister of Interior Report, 1856:10-17]

It is reported that the total amount of land awarded to *hoa'āina* equaled approximately 28,658 acres (cf. Kame'eiehiwa 1992:295).

Claims and Awards of the Māhele 'Āina (1848-1855)

Lands of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī and Vicinity

Hōnaunau and Keōkea on the North and Keālia and Kauhakō on the South

As a result of a detailed review of the Hawaiian language records of the *Māhele*, important documentation regarding residency and land use practices in the lands of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī, and lands immediately to their north and south was located. The Indices of Awards (1929), which is the standard reference used to search out awardees of *kuleana* in the *Māhele*, report that only one claim each was recorded for the *ahupua'a* of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī. This apparent dearth of claims is particularly puzzling when considering the extensive cultural remains—including a wide range of agricultural features—that are seen when walking upon the land of Ki'ilae (and to a lesser extent Kauleolī) between the shore and the present-day Māmalahoa Highway at an elevation of approximately 900 feet above sea level (see Rechtman et al. 2001).

The review of the original Hawaiian Language records of the *Māhele*, conducted by the author as a part of the present study, revealed that a number of claims were actually made for *kuleana* in both Ki'ilae and Kauleolī. Rather than only the two claims, one awarded to George Davis Hū'eu (the *Ali'i-Konohiki* awardee of Ki'ilae), and the other, to Nika, the sole native tenant awardee in Kauleolī (the entire *ahupua'a* of Kauleolī was retained as Government Land), a total of eighteen (18) additional claims were located (making a total of 20 known claims). The author notes here, that while a detailed review of the *Māhele* records was conducted as a part of the present study, it is possible that additional records of claims may be located in future searches of the *Māhele* books.

Upon realizing that many more claims for *kuleana* were made than were awarded, one naturally might wonder "why?" Aside from the fact that the concept of private land ownership was completely foreign to the native Hawaiian mind, some other factors were at play.

Regardless, the records show that many native tenants did step forward in the process of application for private land rights. Two problems in perfecting claims stand out, one was the occurrence of epidemics, the other was fear. The records show that in some cases an applicant registered a claim, and within a year, was reported as having died. In the matter of fear, several communications written by John Fuller, who surveyed most of the *Māhele* claims in Kona, provides use with some insights into what else was occurring. Fuller observed that some Konohiki were preventing “quite a number” of residents from presenting claims (see communications in this study).

One communication from Fuller to Keoni Ana (John Young), the Minister of the Interior, specifically tells of circumstances at Kiʻilae:

Kealakekua

August 17, 1853

J. Fuller (Kona Land Agent, Surveyor),

to J. H. Smith (Secretary, Board of Land Commissioners):

...I send you enclosed the surveys of Kapaakea’s Claims and wish you would show them to His Highness Mr. Young, that he may know how they are located. I sent you by Mr. Kitterege a package of 242 surveys with letter. Please inform me whether they came safe to hand...

Have I any thing to do with Kuleanas where the claimants refuse to show their claims? On some lands the Konohiki have Kapu’d the kuleanas and the natives are afraid to show them. Kiilae is one land so situated... [Interior Department Land Files]

As a part of this study, to help fill out the records of nineteenth century residency and land use practices in the Kiʻilae-Kauleolī vicinity, selected records from neighboring lands (Keōkea and Hōnaunau on the north, and Keālia-Ho’okena-Kauhakō on the south) were also reviewed. The additional information recorded in those claims describes residency and land use in a regional context for this section of South Kona. Also, because a number of claims for neighboring lands were awarded, survey records were compiled, which provide an indication of the elevational ranges of residency and land use.

Kiʻilae-Kauleolī and Vicinity:

Residency Land Use Practices Reported in Māhele Records

Claimants for several of the *kuleana* in Kiʻilae-Kauleolī indicated that their rights of residency and land use dated back to at least 1819, and were handed down from their parents and grandparents. Other claimants stated that their rights were granted by pre-*Māhele* Konohiki, generally dating from the 1830s to the early 1840s. *Table 1* is a further summary of land use records reported in the claims for Kiʻilae and Kauleolī.

In the *Māhele* records for Kiʻilae, Kauleolī and neighboring lands, we find documentation of the following land use:

Residency both near shore, and in the uplands.

Development of formal planting fields (including those outlined by walls).

Cultivation of Crops: *kalo* (taro), *‘uala* (sweet potatoes), *‘ulu* (breadfruit), *mai‘a* (bananas), *kō* (sugarcane), *pia* (arrowroot), *niu* (coconuts), *kou* (*Cordia*) trees, *loulu* (*Pritchardia* palms), *‘alani* (orange trees), and *kope* (coffee trees).

Umu (stone mounds) built near shore to catch *‘ōhua* (fish fry).

Pā kao (pens built as goat corrals).

Table 1. Summary of Land Use Practices Documented in the Māhele (Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī)

<i>Ahupua‘a</i>	<i>Number of Kīhāpai Kalo (Formal Taro Gardens)</i>	<i>Number of Kīhāpai Uala (Formal Sweet Potato Gardens)</i>	<i>Number of “Kīhāpai i Mahi‘ia” (cultivated fields “Kope” and crops not specified)</i>	<i>Number of Houses</i>
Ki‘ilae	97	87	2 <i>kope</i> 24 (others) <i>loulu</i> <i>mai‘a</i> <i>kou</i> <i>niu</i>	13 (historical records also document that Hū‘eu and his heirs maintained at least two houses at Ki‘ilae, one near the shore and another, <i>mauka</i> of the present-day highway.)
Kauleolī	4	9	(others unidentified)	3 (others likely based on claimant records, but not specifically identified)

Tables 4-a, 4-b & 4-c (pages 47-58) is a compilation of all the *Māhele* records located for the lands of Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī⁹, and selected records from the neighboring lands of Hōnaunau-Keōkea and Keālia-Kauhakō. All of the original Hawaiian records were translated by Maly, and native terms are used in the translated texts. The glossary below provides readers with translations of various words and terms used in the *Māhele* Records.

In addition to the native terms cited in the following *Māhele* records, names of more than 50 individuals are given, including 34 individuals listed as being residents of, or associated with the lands of Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī (Table 2). There are also more than 30 place names for *‘ili*, other than the primary *ahupua‘a* names cited in the selected narratives. Table 3 is a list of place names recorded for the lands of Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī. When possible (based on current use of the Hawaiian language) diacritical marks, and literal (lit.) or interpretive (int.) translations for the names are also suggested.

⁹ All available Native Register and Native Testimony for the Ki‘ilae-Kauleolī claims are shown in the table.

Table 2. Individuals Documented as having Residency or Land Tenure Rights in the Kī'ilae-Kauleolī Vicinity at the Time of the Māhele 'Āina

Ahupua'a	Individual Claimants (family names)
<i>Kī'ilae</i>	Ahu (Oahu), Davida, Haupenu, Holoua, Hueu (Davis), Imakua, Kahaolekeokeo, Kahaupuu, Kahinawe, Kalapawai, Kalei, Kaolulo, Kapahunui, Kauinui, Kaula, Kaulukou, Kaupai, Kiko, Kuaana, Kukapu, Kupa, Meaalii, Mee, Namakelua, Nika, Paila, Palila, Polani, Puhipau.
<i>Kauleolī</i>	Ahu (Oahu), Kekualoa, Naihe, Namilimili, Nika, Kalapawai.

Table 3. Place names of Kī'ilae and Kauleolī Recorded in Māhele Testimonies

Place Name	Translation
<i>Kii-lae</i>	lit. Image point; <i>Ahupua'a</i> . (int. Image on the Point)
<i>Ka-lehua</i>	lit. The <i>metrosideros</i> blossom; 'ili.
<i>Ka-lua-iki</i>	lit. The little pit (or crater); 'ili.
<i>Ka-'ohe</i>	lit. The 'ohe taro (or bamboo); 'ili.
<i>Ka-'ōhi'a</i>	lit. The <i>metrosideros</i> tree; 'ili.
<i>Pā-pua'a</i>	lit. Pig enclosure; 'ili.
<i>Pia-hulihuli</i>	lit. Overturned arrowroot; 'ili.
<i>Pahu-kauila</i>	lit. <i>Kauila</i> (<i>Alphitonia</i> wood) drum; 'ili (also written in text as Kapahukauila and Paukauila)
<i>Ka-ule-o-Lī</i>	lit. The penis of Lī; <i>Ahupua'a</i> .
<i>Hale-o-Lono</i>	lit. House of Lono (an agricultural shrine); 'ili.
<i>Ka-pia</i>	lit. The <i>pia</i> (arrowroot); 'ili.

Glossary of Hawaiian Words and Abbreviation Terms Cited in Māhele Claims:

Alani – orange trees.

FR – Foreign Register

Ili – land sections of varying sizes and configurations, part of the land management system within the larger *ahupuaʻa*.

Kalo – taro.

Kihapai – dry land planting field (e.g., *kihapai kalo* and *kihapai uala* — a dry land taro and sweet potato fields; in the larger system of “plantations,” the planting areas are often marked by walls, clearings, stone mounds, and planting pits etc...)

Ko – sugar cane.

Konohiki – land overseer, chief or owner of the larger land division.

Kope – coffee trees.

Kou – Cordia trees.

Kula – an open dry land cultivating field (later, also used to describe pasture land).

Loulu – native *Pritchardia* palms.

MA – Mahele Award Book

Maia – bananas.

Mala - a dry land cultivating field (e.g., *mala kalo* - taro field).

Moo aina – a cultivated strip of land, often marked with stone alignments, running *mauka-makai*.

Niu – coconut trees.

NR – Native Register

NT – Native Testimony

Pa hale – house lot.

Pia – arrow root.

RP – Royal Patent

Uala – sweet potatoes.

Ulu – breadfruit trees.

Table 4-a. Ahupua‘a of Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī (some Ki‘ilae/Kauleolī Claims Combined with Neighboring Lands)

Ahupua‘a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Source of Claim – Usage and Features	Book Source MA Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kiilae	8521-B	G.D. Hueu	<p>Kiilae <i>Ahupuaa</i>, Kona. Issue the land title. Feb. 12, 1848</p> <p>G.D. Hueu Part 3 He has claimed his <i>Ahupuaa</i>, Kiilae, Island of Hawaii, as he received this place from the King, Kamehameha III in the land division in the year 1848. He has possessed it without opposition to this time.</p> <p>Thus, we confirm the property rights of G.D. Hueu... But, the rights of the people therein, are retained... 17, June 1852.</p>	<p>Buke Mahele p. 165 NR 3:709</p> <p>MA 10:394</p>
Kiilae	8674	Kahinawe	<p>Here is Kahinawe, who has a property right upon which he lives permanently, he lives at Kiilae, Island of Hawaii; 1 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, and 6 <i>kihapai uala</i>.</p>	NR 8:537
Kiilae	8675	Kupa	<p>Here is Kupa, who has a property right; 6 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, and 7 <i>kihapai uala</i>; gotten from Kamahiai. Kiilae, Island of Hawaii.</p> <p>He has no property. Polani denied that he had any property.</p>	<p>NR 8:537</p> <p>NT 8:557</p>
Kiilae	10121	Meaalii (deceased) Heir Kaula	<p>I have two <i>pahale</i> at Kiilae, Island of Hawaii. Also 33 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, 12 <i>mala uala</i>, 1 <i>mala kope</i>, and 1 <i>alani</i> tree.</p> <p>Imakua and Oahu Sworn: We know his parcel, the <i>ili</i> of Kaohe at Kiilae <i>Ahupuaa</i>, gotten from his father (or uncle), Kuaana, and inherited by him in the year 1819.</p> <p>Imakua and Oahu Sworn: We know his <i>ili</i>, Kaluaiki, at Kiilae <i>Ahupuaa</i>, from Hueu in the year 1819. No one has objected. The boundaries on all sides are not known.</p>	<p>NR 8:583</p> <p>NT 8:522</p>

Table 4-a. Ahupua‘a of Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī (some Ki‘ilae/Kauleolī Claims Combined with Neighboring Lands)

Kiilae	9461 replaced by No. 9472	Polani	<p>(for Polani) There is a permanent dwelling right in the lot of Paila. From Kiko, came 5 <i>kihapai kalo</i>; and 5 <i>kihapai uala</i> from Polani. In the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa there is 1 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, gotten from Opunui.</p> <p>In the land of Kiilae, in the <i>ili</i> of Piahulihuli there is 1 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Puhipau.</p> <p>For Kiko. In the property of Polani, land of Keokea, in Papuaa <i>ili</i>, there are 4 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, and 20 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Uhai. There is 1 <i>pa hale</i> (house lot), 1920 feet in circumference.</p> <p>Kupa Sworn: I know his land. Parcel 1, 7 <i>kihapai uala</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Kaohe, Kiilae Ahupuaa. Gotten from Polani’s father in the year 1819, Parcel 2, a <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Paukauila, at Kiilae, in the year 1819.</p>	NR 8:554 NT 8:566
Kiilae	9877-B	Puhipau	<p>In the <i>ili</i> of Piahulihuli, there are 4 cultivated <i>kihapai</i>.</p> <p>Deceased, inherited by Kahaupuu (f.) Not previously made known [referencing Puhipau’s original claim, No. 9749, for lands in the <i>ahupuaa</i> of Kalahiki and vicinity]. There is a parcel in the <i>ili</i> of Piahulihuli at Kiilae Ahupuaa. From his parents in the year 1819. No one has opposed him. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>.</p>	NR 8:641 NT 8:523
Kiilae	9878	Kauinui	In the <i>ili</i> of Kaohia, 7 cultivated <i>kihapai</i> .	NR 8:641
Kiilae	9879	Mee	<p>In the <i>ili</i> of Kapahukauila there are 7 cultivated <i>kihapai</i>, and one <i>mala kope</i>.</p> <p>Meaalii and Haupenu Sworn: We know his land in the <i>ili</i> of Kapahukauila at Kiilae Ahupuaa, gotten from his parents in 1819.</p>	NR 8:641-642 NT 8:571

Table 4-a. Ahupua‘a of Ki‘ilae and Kauleoli (some Ki‘ilae/Kauleoli Claims Combined with Neighboring Lands)

Kiilae	9880 & 7287	Davida	<p>10 <i>kihapai</i>, 2 cultivated, the land is Kiilae.</p> <p>Here is my house lot, 131 and a half feet long, by 72 and a half feet wide.</p> <p>Kauinui [&] Puhipau; house lot is 99 and one half feet long, by 68 and a half feet wide. The land is Kilae [Kiilae].</p> <p>Mea’lii and Haupenu Sworn: We know, that in the <i>ili</i> of Kaohe, <i>ahupuaa</i> of Kiilae, an enclosed house lot.</p>	<p>NR 8:642</p> <p>NR 8:256</p> <p>NT 8:571</p>
Kiilae & Keokea	7045	Kaolulo	<p>A house <i>pa Hale</i> (enclosed house lot), 20 fathoms long by 15 fathoms wide. My claim for cultivated land is 2 <i>mala kalo</i>, 2 <i>mala uala</i>, 2 <i>alani</i> trees, 5 <i>loulou</i> trees, and at Papuaa there are 3 <i>mala kalo</i> and 2 <i>mala uala</i>.</p> <p>Paila and Imakua Sworn: We know his lands; Parcel 1 in the <i>ili</i> of Kaohe at Kiilae <i>ahupuaa</i>, gotten from Puhipau in the year 1819. Parcel 2 is 4 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and <i>uala</i> in an <i>ili</i> of Keokea <i>Ahupuaa</i>, gotten from Polani in the year 1840. Parcel 3, a <i>pa hale</i>. No one has objected. The boundaries are surround by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>.</p>	<p>NR 8:105</p> <p>NT 8:522</p>
Kiilae Kauleoli & Keokea	9460	Kalapawai	<p>Property rights of Kalapawai: Kiilae is the land, Kalehua is the <i>ili</i>, gotten from Haolekeokeo. In the <i>ili</i> of Kaohe there are 2 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, and 3 <i>kihapai uala</i>; received from Kuaana. In the <i>ili</i> of Kapahukauila, there is 1 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, gotten from Kauinui; also in the <i>ili</i> of Kaohia, there is 1 <i>kihapai kalo</i>. In the land of Kauleoli, in the <i>ili</i> of Kapia, there are 2 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Nika; in the <i>ili</i> of Haleolono there are 3 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, gotten from Kaulukou. In the land of Keokea, in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa, there is 1 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, gotten from Makaikae.</p>	NR 8:554

Table 4-a. Ahupua‘a of Ki‘ilae and Kauleoli (some Ki‘ilae/Kauleoli Claims Combined with Neighboring Lands)

Kiilae Kauleoli & Keokea	9460 (continued)	Kalapawai	Oahu and Kapahunui Sworn: We know his land. Parcel 1, is in the <i>ili</i> of Kalehua at Kiilae <i>Ahupuaa</i> , gotten from his in-laws in the year 1839. Parcel 2, 4 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and <i>uala</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Kaohe at Kiilae <i>Ahupuaa</i> , gotten from Kuaana in the year 1828. Parcel three, 2 <i>kihapai kalo</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa at Keokea <i>Ahupuaa</i> , from Makaika in the year 1847. Parcel 4 a <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Kaohe at Kiilae <i>ahupuaa</i> , from Kaulukou in the year 1847. No one has opposed him.	NT 8:523
Kiilae & Keokea	7013	Kukapu	<p>A house lot, 20 fathoms by 15 fathoms. My claim is also for <i>kihapai</i> at Papuaa; there are 5 <i>mala kalo</i>, 3 <i>mala uala</i>, 1 <i>mala kobe</i>; also at Kapahukauila, there is 1 <i>alani</i> tree, 3 <i>niu</i> trees, 4 <i>kou</i> trees, and 1 <i>mala maia</i>.</p> <p>Nika and Paila Sworn: we know his land, he died, and Kamipili is his son (heir). Parcel 1 is 3 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and coffee, in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa at Keokea; given to him by Kalaikuiha in the year 1836.</p> <p>Parcel 2 is a <i>pa hale</i> at Kiilae <i>Ahupuaa</i>. It was enclosed with a wall in 1819, with one house on the lot. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>.</p>	NR 8:104 NT 8:521
(Keokea-Kiilae)	10379	Namakelua	<p>This is an explanation to you land commissioners. Kealaehu¹⁰ is the name of this place. To the uplands 4,200 feet; on the East adjoining Kiilae, on the west adjoining Honaunau, and the <i>aki</i> [place where <i>aki</i> grass grows] is the division at the shore, this is for you the commissioners of land and house lots.</p> <p>Uhai Sworn: knows the land claimed by Namakelua, but he lives under me.</p>	NR 8:592 NT 8:575

¹⁰ Kealaehu is the name of the ancient trail that crosses the uplands of South and North Kona, and descends to Kīholo from the ‘Akahipu‘u vicinity. The name Kealaehu is given as a reference point in many *Māhele* claims of North and South Kona. The trail is near the Māmalahoa Highway alignment.

Table 4-a. Ahupua‘a of Ki‘ilae and Kauleoli (some Ki‘ilae/Kauleoli Claims Combined with Neighboring Lands)

Kauleoli	10405	Naihe	<p>Here is my claim at Kauleoli 2, on the south is Kealia 1, on the north is Kauleoli 1. My land was from Namilimili, as well as my <i>pahale</i>. Namilimili died on Kauai, and I am the only one who dwells upon this land and in the house. Namilimili received it from Kamehameha I, and I received it from Namilimili. I have held it for 13 years.</p> <p>Nika and Paila Sworn: We know his parcel of land in the <i>Ahupuaa</i> of Kauleoli, it was given him by Namilimili in the year, 1831. No one has opposed him. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>. (see <i>Figure 3</i> at end of this section)</p>	NR 8:595 NT 8:521
Kauleoli Kiilae & Keokea	7299	Kahaolekeokeo (for Ahu and Kaupai)	<p>The property rights of Ahu at Kona, six <i>kihapai uala</i>. Kauleoli is the <i>ahupuaa</i>. In the <i>ahupuaa</i> of Kiilae, six <i>kihapai uala</i> and 4 <i>kihapai kalo</i>; from Kahaolekeokeo. The house is 126 long and 126 wide.</p> <p>House lot and land of Kaupai at Kona, Keokea Ahupuaa, in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa; 8 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, and 6 <i>kihapai uala</i>; gotten from Imakua. The house is 43 wide and 61 long.</p>	NR 8:257
Kiilae & Keokea	9462	Paila	<p>(for Paila) His <i>ili</i> is the land of Kiilae was gotten from Palila. In the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa; there are 6 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, and 4 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Kahaolekeokeo. In the <i>ili</i> of Kaohe there are 3 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 3 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Kuaana. In the <i>ili</i> of Kapahukauila there are 3 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 2 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Mee.</p> <p>In the land of Keokea, in the <i>ili</i> of Kamuku there are 2 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, gotten from Mee. In the <i>ili</i> of Keakea there is 1 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, gotten from Kalei. There is 1 <i>pa hale</i>, 432 feet in circumference.</p>	NR 8:554- 555

Table 4-a. Ahupua‘a of Ki‘ilae and Kauleoli (some Ki‘ilae/Kauleoli Claims Combined with Neighboring Lands)

Kiilae & Keokea	9462 (continued)	Paila	Imakua and Oahu Sworn: We know his land Parcel 1, is 6 <i>kihapai kalo</i> , and 4 <i>kihapai uala</i> , in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa at Kiilae <i>Ahupuaa</i> . Parcel 2, 3 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 3 <i>kihapai uala</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Kaohe, at Kiilae. Given to him by Kuaana in the year 1845. Parcel 3 is 3 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 3 <i>kihapai uala</i> at Paukauila, gotten from Mee in the year 1845, Parcel 4, a <i>kihapai kalo</i> from Kalei in the year 1845. The <i>pa hale</i> has two houses in it at Paukauila, Kiilae <i>Ahupuaa</i> . The boundaries on all sides are not clear. No one has objected.	NT 8:522
Kauleoli & Keokea	9459	Nika	<p>Nika’s property right is in the land of Kauleoli; 1 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 1 <i>kihapai uala</i>, received from Kekualoa.</p> <p>In the land of Keokea, at Papuaa, there are 4 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 1 <i>kihapai uala</i>, received from Kaleikuiha. 1 <i>pa hale</i>, 192 feet in circumference.</p> <p>Naihe and Oahu Sworn: We know parcel 1 in the <i>ahupuaa</i> of Kauleoli, it was by Kekualoa to his parents in the year 1819. It was inherited by Nika from his parents in the year 1843.</p> <p>Parcel 2 is 5 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and <i>uala</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa, in the <i>ahupuaa</i> of Keokea, given him by Kalaikuiha in the year 1847. No one has objected. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>. (see <i>Figure 3</i> at end of section)</p>	<p>NR 8:554</p> <p>NT 8:521</p> <p>(MA 7:526 & RP 3865, 16:489)</p>
Kiilae & Keokea	9463	Holoua	<p>Holoua’s <i>pa hale</i> is 960 feet in circumference. The property rights of Holoua are in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa, 7 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 10 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Polani. In the land of Kiilae, in the <i>ili</i> of Piahulihuli are 8 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 5 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Puhipau; in the <i>ili</i> of Pahukauila there are 8 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 5 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Mee.</p> <p>In the land of Keokea, <i>ili</i> of Kaulukaa, there is 1 <i>kihapai uala</i> gotten from Kaawa; in the <i>ili</i> of Pailima, there is 1 <i>kihapai uala</i> gotten from Muki. Niau is the <i>ili</i> gotten from Nika. (see <i>Figure 4</i> at end of section)</p> <p>Paila and Kupa Sworn: We know his land. Parcel 1 is in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa at Keokea <i>Ahupuaa</i>. From Polani in the year 1840. Parcel 2, a <i>kihapai kalo</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Piahulihuli at Kiilae, was from Puhipau in the year 1840.</p> <p>Parcel 3, a <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaaiki at Keokea <i>Ahupuaa</i>, was from his parents in the year 1819.</p>	<p>NR 8:555</p> <p>NT 8:557 (MA 3:512-513)</p>

Table 4-b. Ahupua‘a of Keōkea and Hōnaunau (lying to the north of Ki‘īlae)

Keokea	7712	M. Kekuanaoa	He has claimed his <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Keokea, at Kona, Hawaii, because he received this land from the King, Kamehameha III at the time of the Land Division in the land division in the year 1848. He has possessed it without opposition to this time. Thus, we confirm the property rights of G.D. Hueu... But, the property rights of the people therein, are retained... 19, June 1852.	MA 9:253 (RP 6852, 25:55)
Keokea	9465	Kawelo	Here is my <i>ili</i> land at Keokea, gotten from Uhai, there are 25 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 13 <i>kihapai uala</i> ; I also have 1 <i>pa hale</i> , 1306 feet in circumference. Uhai Sworn: I know his land. Parcel 1, <i>ili</i> of Keakea at Keokea <i>Ahupuaa</i> , I gave it to him in the year 1840. Parcel 2, a <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Kahalau, at Keokea, gotten from his parents in the year 1819.	NR 8:555 NT 8:535 (MA 3:510 & RP 3311, 14:415)
Keokea	9464	Makaike	I have a <i>pa hale</i> claim, it is 1212 feet in circumference. There is a property right in the land of Keokea, <i>ili</i> of Papuaa with 19 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 9 <i>kihapai uala</i> , gotten from Polani. In the <i>ili</i> of Ulukaakaa there are 6 <i>kihapai uala</i> , gotten from Kaawa. <u>We are the people</u> who claim this property and the <i>pa hale</i> . To you the Commissioners with love. Keawe and Kaumaka Sworn: We know: Parcel 1 is 19 <i>kihapai kalo</i> & 9 <i>kihapai uala</i> , in the <i>ili</i> of Papuaa at Keokea. Gotten from Polani in the year 1839. Parcel 2 is 6 <i>kihapai uala</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Ulukaa at Keokea <i>Ahupuaa</i> . Gotten from Kaawa in the year 1840. Parcel 3, a <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Pailima, Keokea <i>Ahupuaa</i> . Gotten from his parents in the year 1819. Surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i> . (see <i>Figure 5</i> at end of section)	NR 8:555 NT 8:558 (MA 3:513 & RP 6254, 23:675)

Table 4-b. Ahupua‘a of Keōkea and Hōnaunau (lying to the north of Ki‘īlae)

Keokea	9467	Manuia	<p>Here is my <i>ili</i> land at Kamuku, there are 19 <i>kihapai kalo</i> and 14 <i>kihapai uala</i>; I have 1 <i>pa hale</i>, 543 feet in circumference.</p> <p>Uhai Sworn: I know his land. A parcel in the <i>ili</i> of Kamuku at Keokea <i>Ahupuaa</i>. I gave it to him in the year 1840. Parcel 2, a <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Alakai, from his parents in the year 1819. No one has objected. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>.</p>	<p>NR 8:552</p> <p>NT 8:554</p> <p>(MA 3:511 & RP 3372, 14:537)</p>
Keokea	9469	Mukoi	<p>Here is my <i>ili</i> parcel, Paikapahu, gotten from Uhai, 6 <i>kihapai uala</i>, 1 <i>kihapai kope</i>, 1 <i>kihapai pia</i>, and 1 <i>pa hale</i>, 426 feet in circumference.</p> <p>Uhai Sworn: I know his land, a parcel in the <i>ili</i> of Paikapahu at Keokea. I gave it to him in the year 1840. Parcel 2, a <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Alakai, gotten from his parents in the year 1819.</p>	<p>NR 8:556</p> <p>NT 8:554</p> <p>(MA 3:514 & RP 3308, 14:409)</p>
Keokea	9470	Muki	<p>Here are my <i>ili</i> parcels, there are two <i>ili</i> lands, Pailima and Alakai, there are 50 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, 17 <i>kihapai uala</i>, gotten from Uhai; and 1 <i>pa hale</i>, 522 feet in circumference.</p> <p>Uhai Sworn: I know his land. A parcel in the <i>ili</i> of Pailima at Keokea; I gave it to him in the year 1840. No one has objected. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>.</p>	<p>NR 8:556</p> <p>NT 8:554</p> <p>(MA 3:511)</p>
Keokea	9476	Kaio	<p>Kaio’s permanent property right in the <i>ili</i> of Kalalau, there are 20 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, 40 <i>kihapai uala</i>, 1 <i>kihapai kope</i>, 2 <i>kihapai maia</i>, and 1 <i>kihapai ko</i>.</p> <p>Uhai and Kapiioho Sworn: We know his land, in the <i>ili</i> of Kalalau, at Keokea <i>Ahupuaa</i>. Gotten from his parents in the year 1819, It is at peace, there is no one who has opposed him. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>.</p>	<p>NR 8:557</p> <p>NT 8:535</p> <p>(MA 3:512 & RP 3202, 14:197)</p>
Honaunau	216-B	Kanehailua	<p>Honaunau, Kona, Hawaii.</p> <p>31 <i>kihapai kalo</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Honiuli, gotten from Koni; (he is) living in the lot of Kaumaumanui.</p> <p>Kahehuna and Mōii Sworn: We know his <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Ohiki, at Honaunau. It was from his parents in 1819. No one has objected. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>.</p>	<p>NR 8:571</p> <p>NT 8:547</p> <p>(MA 7:318 & RP 3188, 14:169)</p>

Table 4-c. Ahupua‘a of Keālia and Kauhakō (lying to the south of Kauleoli)

Kealia 1	7702 & 10382	Kooka (Nakooka)	Greetings to you the commissioners who quiet land titles, I am Nakooka, I petition to you for my property, my own <i>pa hale</i> ; it is a <i>pa hale</i> 17 <i>anana</i> (fathoms) long and 16 wide; there are many trees planted, some planted by my own hands, a <i>niu</i> (coconut tree), a <i>loulou</i> (<i>Pritchardia</i> palm), some <i>alani</i> (orange trees) there in the uplands; there are also some <i>umu ohua</i> (stone mounds for trapping <i>ohua</i> fish) made by my own hands, and a goat corral; that is all of by personal claim. Nawaa and Makaokalani Sworn: We know his land. Parcel 1 in the <i>ili</i> of Ilikahi, at Hookena <i>Ahupuaa</i> , from Manuhaaipo in the year 1839. Parcel 2, a <i>pa hale</i> at Kealia 1, from his grandparents in the year 1819. No one has opposed him. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i> . (see <i>Figure 7</i> at end of section)	NR 8:506 NT 8:527 (MA 3:525 & RP 2636, 12:141)
Kealia 1	7702-C	Nawaa	Makaokalani and Kakau Sworn: We saw Kalama write his claim, and we know his land parcels. Parcel 1 is 8 <i>kihapai kalo</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Kaiko at Kealia 1, gotten from Kanehaku in the year 1839. Parcel 2, a <i>kihapai</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Palianiki at Kealia 2, gotten from Keliiaukai in the year 1839. No one has objected. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i> . (see <i>Figure 8</i> at end of section)	NT 8:527 (MA 3:531 & RP 6482, 24:335)
Kealia 1	7703	Kanuha	Commissioners to quiet land titles. I am Kanuha, and I petition you for my personal property, an <i>alani</i> tree, a <i>mala kope</i> (coffee field), some <i>niu</i> trees; that is my own property. Pihalani and Kaumaka Sworn: We know his land. A <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Niulii at Kealia 1 <i>Ahupuaa</i> . Gotten from Kaumaka in the Year 1839. No one has objected.	NR 8:506 NT 8:540
Kealia 1	7704	Kaumaka	Commissioners to quiet land titles. I, Kaumaka, petition you for my own property, a <i>moo aina</i> , planted trees, 5 <i>loulou</i> , 3 <i>alani</i> trees, a goat corral (<i>pa kao</i>), many <i>niu</i> trees, and a <i>kou</i> tree; that is my own claim.	NR 8:506-507

Table 4-c. Ahupua‘a of Keālia and Kauhakō (lying to the south of Kauleolī)

Kauhako	7574	Holi	<p>Petition for a <i>moo aina</i> at Kahuako [sic], not a <i>pa hale</i>; there are 2 <i>mala kalo</i> in my <i>moo aina</i> and 1 <i>mala uala</i> at Haleolono, from Kaoono. The <i>moo aina</i> is from Kamaino.</p> <p>Petition for a [house] lot and <i>moo aina</i> at Kahuako [sic], 1 <i>kihapai kalo</i>, 1 <i>kihapai uala</i>, and a <i>kou</i> tree at Hookena. This lot and <i>moo aina</i> is for Holi. There are some <i>ulu</i> (breadfruit trees) on my <i>moo aina</i>, 1 <i>kula mahiai ia</i> (cultivated field), it is for you to hear, commissioners who quiet land titles.</p> <p>Kauwe and Kealoha Sworn: We know his land. Parcel 1, an <i>ili</i> in Kauhako, Pohue is the name of the <i>ili</i>. It was gotten from his parents in olden times, from Kaholowaa. Parcel 2, a <i>pa hale</i> at Kauhako, from the parents. No one has objected. (see <i>Figure 9</i> at end of section)</p>	<p>NR 8:505</p> <p>NT 8:532 (MA 3:545 & RP 7497, 28:41)</p>
Kauhako	7574-B	Kamaino	<p>Puhipau and Kuoha Sworn: We know his <i>ili</i>, it is Puhau in the land of Kauhako. It was given him by Nuole in the year 1833. No one has objected.</p>	<p>NT 8:520 (MA 3:546 & RP 8037, 34:321)</p>
Kauhako & Hookena	7720	Kahanaukama	<p>Greetings to you Commissioners who quiet land titles. I am one who has a property right, and petition before you. Here is my property, a <i>pa hale</i> at Kauhako, at Kona Hawaii, 43 yards (<i>iwilei</i>) long, by 23 yards wide. That is my only property, a dwelling at the shore. In the uplands there is a <i>kihapai</i> at Hookena, a <i>kihapai kalo</i>. That is it... January 25, 1848.</p> <p>Kauwe and Keawepo Sworn: We know his land. Parcel 1 a <i>pa hale</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Haleolono at Kauhako <i>Ahupuaa</i>, gotten from Kaholoaa in the year 1819. Parcel 2, 2 <i>kihapai kalo</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Puulena, Hookena <i>Ahupuaa</i>. Parcel 3, a <i>kihapai kalo</i> in the <i>ili</i> of Kahookiwikiwi, gotten from Pahupu in the year 1819. No one has objected to him.</p>	<p>NR 8:507</p> <p>NT 8:529 (MA 3:591)</p>

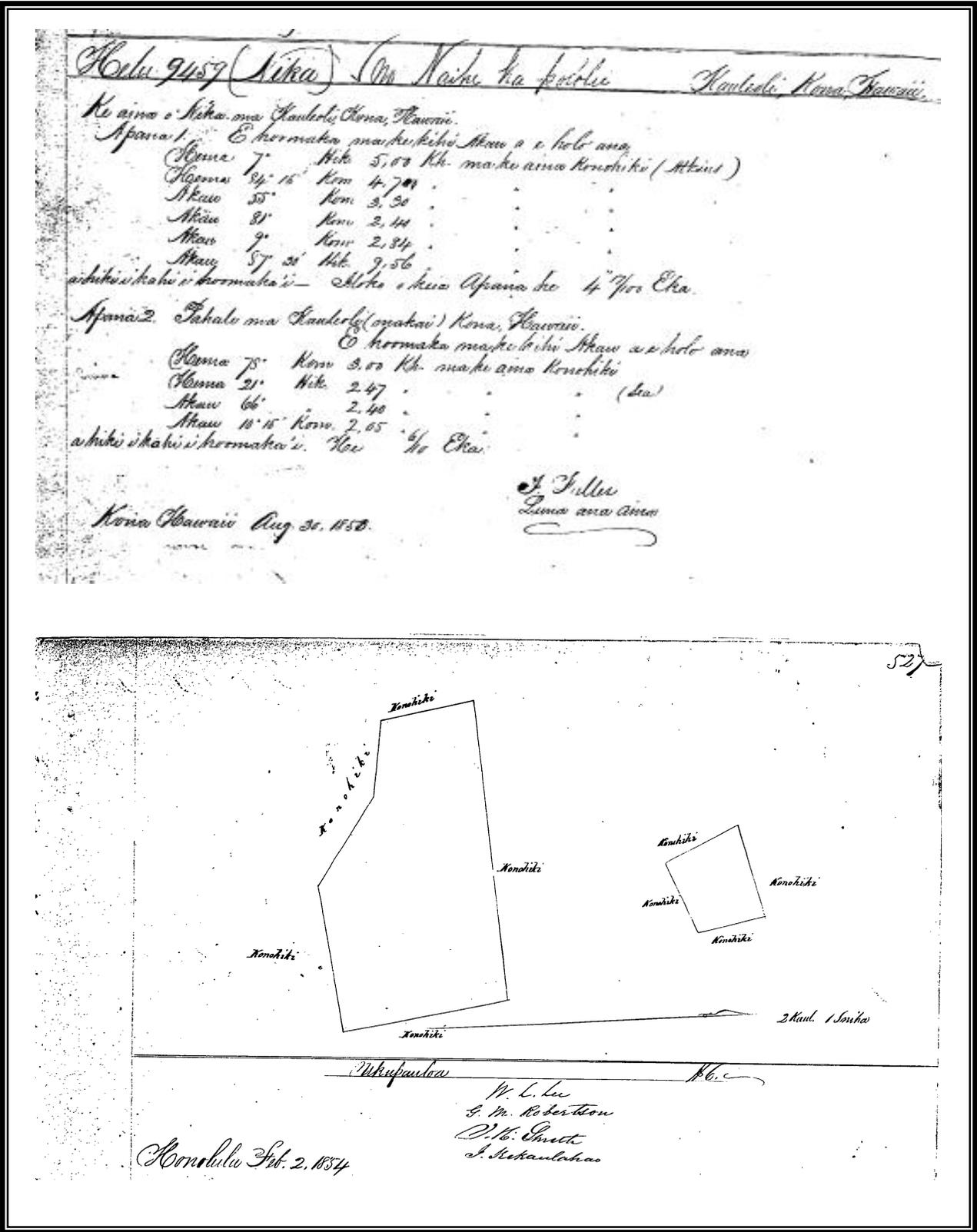


Figure 3. Survey of Land Commission Awards 9459 & 10405; Nika and Naihe (Apana 1 & 2), at Kaulaoli (Mahele Award Book 7:526-527)

Honolulu Sepatemaka 9. 1853.

Heleu 9463. Holoua Keōkea, Kona, Hawaii.

Ma Pahale o Holoua ma Keōkea, Kona, Hawaii.

Chomvaka ma ke kiki Kimoehana a e holo.

Hema 15° Kikina 3.10 Ili ma ke Akamai Oupuni.

Maaw 71°30' " 2.77 " " " aima o Poala

" 16° Kimoehana 3.20 " " " Kimoehana.

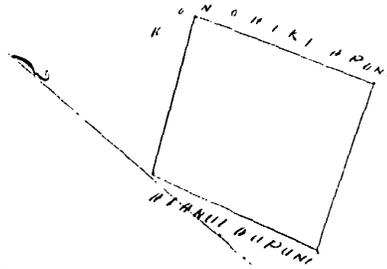
Hema 70°30' " 2.65 " " " " " a kiki

i kahi i hōmāka'i. = He $\frac{85}{100}$ Ewa.

Kona Hawaii Mei 12. 1853

J. Fuller
Lunamānia.

513



2 Kilauea Ima.

Akupa'auka

1853

W. L. Lee
G. M. Robertson
J. Keoaulaha
J. H. Smith

Figure 4. Survey of Land Commission Award 9463; to Holoua (Holowaa), 'Ili of Papuaa, at Keōkea (Mahele Award Book 3:512-513)

Honolulu September 9. 1863.

Kele 9464 Makaike. Keokea 'Ili of Pailima.

Apana 1. Ika Pahale Makaike, ma Keokea. Ili of Pailima, Hawaii.

Chomaka ma ke kahi Akau a e holo.

Hema 31° Hikinā 380 Ili. ma ke āhau.

" 80°30' Hikinā 2,114 " " " Kai.

Akau 27°45' " 2,96 " " " āina o Kōhōkiki.

" 57°30' Hikinā 1,97 " " " " āhiki

āhiki i kahi āhauakāi = He 2 1/4 Aka.

Apana 2. āina maika, Makaike, ma Keokea Ili of Pailima.

Chomaka ma ke kahi Hikinā a e holo.

Akau 36° Hikinā 237 Ili. ma ke āina o Kōhōkiki.

Hema 70° " 385 " " " āhau.

" 74°15' " 397 " " " āina o Pailima.

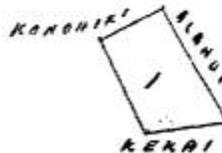
" 20°30' Hikinā 118 " " " āina o Pailima.

Akau 79°30' " 855 " " " āhiki

āhiki i kahi āhauakāi = He 1 2/10 Aka.

Ili of Pailima Mei 12. 1863.

J. Fuller
Luna ana.



Ap. I. L. K. ma Kōhōkiki

Ukupauna

4:00

W. L. Lee

G. M. Robertson

J. Kōhōkiki

J. H. Smith

Honolulu September 9. 1863

Figure 5. Survey of Land Commission Award 9464; to Makaike, 'Ili of Pailima, at Keokea (Mahele Award Book 3:513)

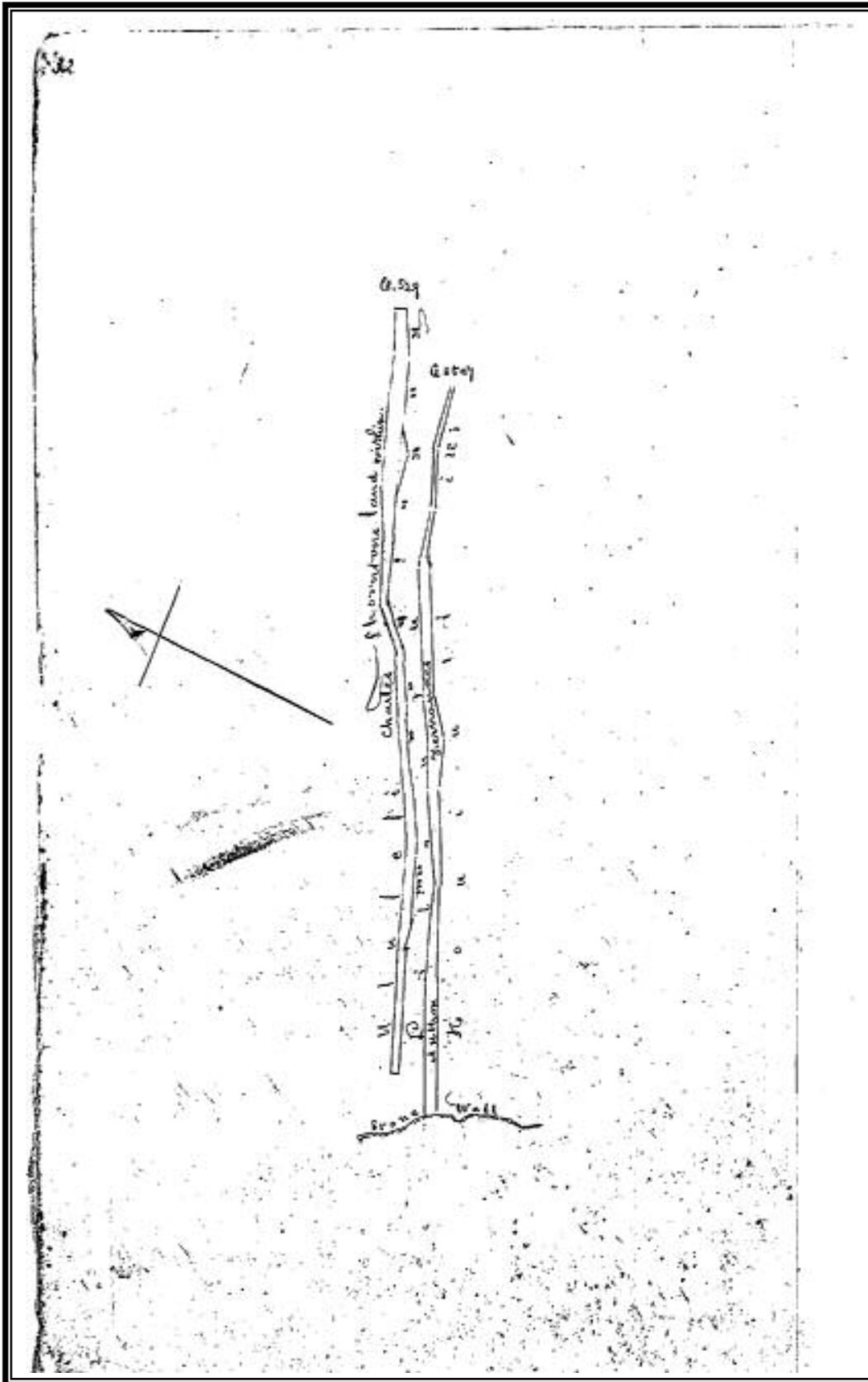


Figure 6. Survey of Land Commission Award 8507; to A. Fernandes, 'Ili of Honiuli nui, at Hōnaunau (Mahele Award Book 3:32)

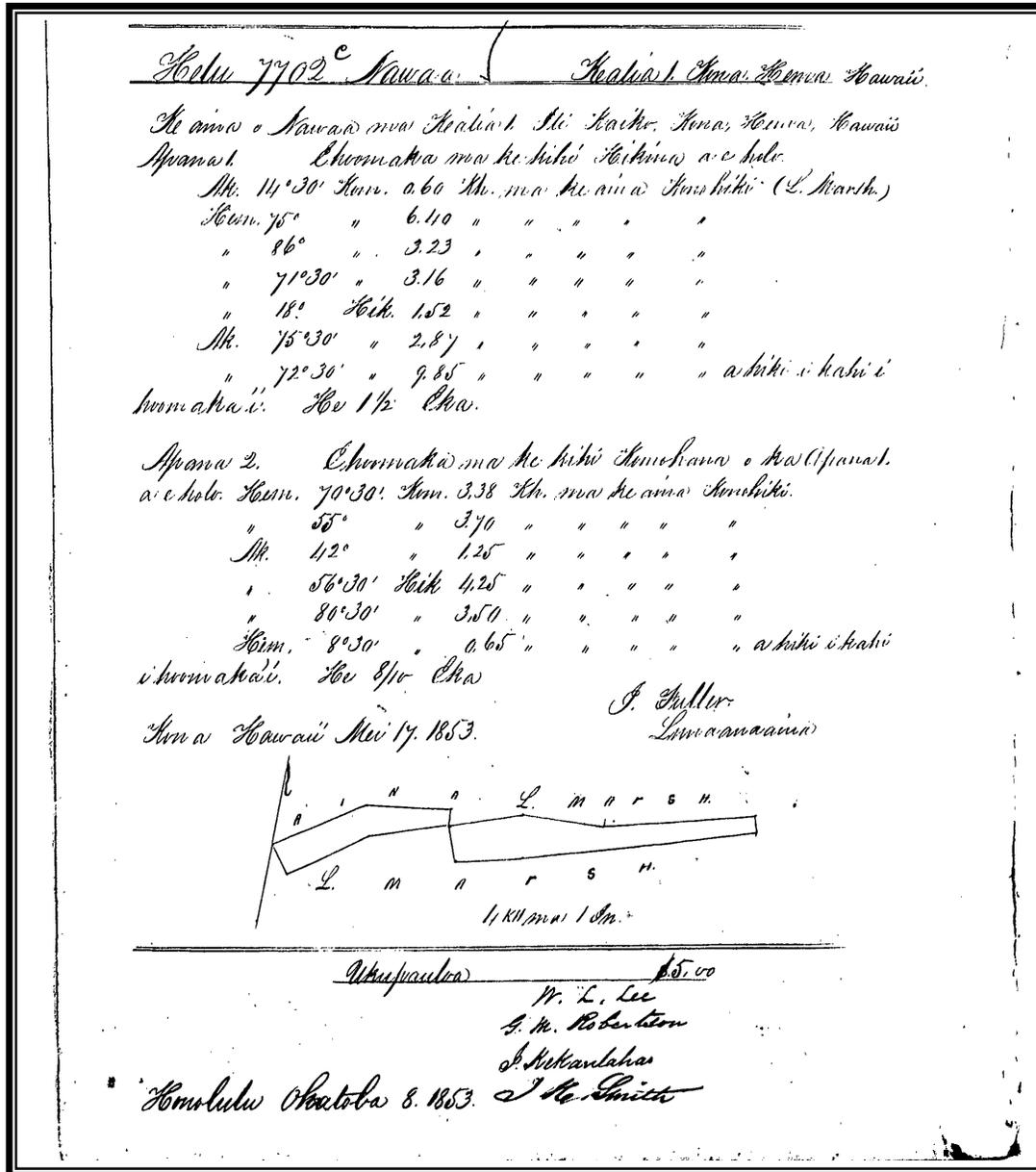


Figure 8. Survey of Land Commission Award 7702-C; Nawaa in 'Ili of Kaiko, at Keālia 1 (Mahele Award Book 3:531)

Ki'īlae: Residency and Land Use Through the 1900s

All but one of the claims submitted to the Board of Commissioners by native tenants for their *kuleana* parcels went unawarded. Archival and oral historical research reported in the following sections of this study, provide us with documentation that many of the claimants and their descendants remained on their “*kuleana*” lands at Ki'īlae and Kauleolī as tenants under the *Konohiki* (living much as their ancestors had prior to the *Māhele*). In the case of Ki'īlae, where G.D. Hū'eu, and his heirs were part-time resident *Konohiki* (from at least the 1820s to the 1920s), their sustenance and support, required the presence of a resident population. Thus, the native tenants continued their varied land use practices (e.g., cultivation of various crops, field development, *mauka-makai* residency and travel, access to shore and fisheries, and various practices associated with daily life). As noted in the historical record, G.D. Hū'eu's *Māhele* Award specified that “the rights of the people therein, are retained” (Mahele Award Book 10:394 June 17, 1852). This acknowledgement of the “rights” of the native tenants under Hū'eu (and his heirs), was also reaffirmed in a lease executed between the Hū'eu heirs and the native tenants, covering the period between 1890 to 1910 (Liber 150:162-165), translated by Maly. The agreement (cited below with underlining for emphasis) granted leasehold rights of the entire *ahupua'a* to the families residing upon the land, with the exception of the lot called “Kapulani,” the historic (late 1800s – early 1900s) residence of the Hū'eu-Davis heirs —

Lease

Bureau of Conveyances Liber 150:162-165

L. Peabody et al. To J. Ahu et al.

This agreement made on this ____ day of January, Yr. 1890, between Lucy Peabody, Laanui (k) and Kahoiwai (w) of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, The Hawaiian Islands, Elizabeth Davis and H. Kailihiwa Davis of Holualoa, North Kona, Island of Hawaii, of the aforementioned Hawaiian Islands, and William K. Davis of Kawaihae, Kohala, Island of Hawaii, afore mentioned, party of the first part, and John Ahu Hoopii (k), Lilia Kamaka, Kauinui (k), Keohokii (k), Luaehu (k), Olopana (k), Pawai (k), Moonohu (w) wife f Paila (k), Kahikina (k), Makainai (k), Kaanaana (k), Malie Kimeona wife Kimiona (k), H. Dreyzhner, Keamio and Kaainoa of Kiilae, South Kona, Island of Hawaii, aforementioned, party of the second part, bear witness. By this instrument, the party of the first part does lease to the party of the second part, that tract of land at South Kona, called and named the *Ahupuaa* of Kiilae, and given to G.D. Hueu in Kuleana Claim Number 8521 B, Royal Patent Number 5671, retaining the rights of the natives, and retaining the house lot at the shore called Kapulani for the party of the first part.

This place, aforementioned, is granted to and to be held by the party of the second part, and their executors and administrators for the period of twenty (20) years, beginning on the first day of March Yr. 1890. By the payment of the lease in the amount of two hundred fifty dollars (\$250) per year, to be paid each half of a year, One hundred twenty five dollars (\$125) at the aforementioned Honolulu, on the first day of March and September of each year.

The party of the second part, on their own, and their executors, do swear with the party of the first part and their heirs, executors and administrators that they will pay the lease rental aforementioned, and also, all the taxes upon said land for the period aforesaid; they shall also weed out and clean the lantana, mimosa and other noxious plants growing upon the land. They shall not agree to the doing of anything damaging to the place or anything contrary to the laws, anything improper on the aforementioned place. They shall not assign this lease to any other party without approval from the party of the first part or their heirs and assigns, in writing. And at the time of the close of the lease, said place shall be returned in good condition and peaceably to the aforementioned party of the first part, their heirs and executors, along with the houses, walls, and such benefits there on...

[continues with conditions of how lease between the parties may be terminated for good cause, and states that in witness of the truth of this lease agreement the parties sign below].

L.K. Peabody	William Davis	
Kahoiwai	J.D. Laanui	
Elizabeth Kahaanapilo	H. Kailihiwa Davis	
Lilia Kamaka	H. Dreyzhner	
J. Ahu	A.W. Kahikina	
Malie Kimiona	Moonohu Paila	
Kauinui	Pawai	
Kaainoa	Hoopii	
Makainai	H.P. Kaanaana	
Olopana	Keohokii	Luaehu

Four of the lessees named above — Ahu, Kauinui, Paila, and Pawai (also identified as Kalapawai) — were also *Māhele* applicants for *kuleana* at Kiʻilae and Kauleoli. Most all of the remaining lessees were related to one another, or descendants of other *Māhele* claimants (see oral history interviews in this study).

Five months after John Ahu et al., entered into their leasehold agreement with the Hūʻeu-Davis heirs, they entered into a sub-leasehold agreement for the upper mountain lands of Kiʻilae, with brothers and ranchers, W.H. and J.D. Johnson (who worked out of a ranching base extending from Māʻihi to Hōnaunau). Interestingly, the Johnson brothers themselves were also descendants of a branch of the Davis line. The lease agreement Below (translated by Maly), recorded in Bureau of Conveyances Liber 150:488, reads:

Lease
Bureau of Conveyances Liber 150:488

J. Ahu et al. To W.H. & J.D. Johnson
This is an agreement made between John Ahu (k), Hoopii, Lilia Kamaka, Kauinui (k), Keohokii, Luaehu (k), Olopana (k), Pawai, Moonohu wife of Paila, Kahikina, Makainai, Kaanaana (k), Malie Kimeona wife of Kimeona, H. Dreyzhner, Keamio and Kaainoa of Kiilae, South Kona, party of the first part, and W.H. Johnson and J.D. Johnson of Kainaliu, North Kona, Hawaii, party of the second part. By this instrument, the aforementioned party of the first

part, grants lease to the party of the second part, all of that portion of land situated 3 miles above the government road, being the upland of Kiilae Ahupuaa at South Kona, Hawaii, aforementioned; being that land obtained by the party of the first part by lease, in an instrument executed on the ____ day of January Yr. 1890.

That place aforementioned, with all the rights and benefits pertaining to it are granted to the party of the second part, aforementioned, their heirs and assigns for the period of one year from the first day of June Yr. 1890, at twenty dollars for one year, to be paid on June 1, of the year mentioned. At the time when the aforementioned one year is ended, both parties may again enter into a lease of the aforementioned place for twenty dollars a year, and thus, until the lease belonging to the party of the first part, aforementioned is ended. They shall not lease it to any other person, it is only between the aforementioned parties until they vacate said place,

The party of the first part swears and agrees with the party of the second part to fulfill the words set forth in this instrument. In witness of the truth, the parties of the two parts do sign their names and affix their seal on this ____ day of May Yr. 1890.

Keoni Ahu	Kaainoa
Kauinui	H.K. Kaanaana
H.M. Simeona	S.W. Kahikina
D. Makainai	S.K.P. Pawai
Olopana	Kamakahoohie (w)
H. Keamio	Keohokii
Luaehu	Paila
W.H. Johnson	J.D. Johnson

At the time of their lease, the Johnson brothers were hunting wild goats, and subsequently wild cattle. A review of Bureau of Conveyances records from 1890 to the 1920s revealed that by the late 1890s various members of the original group of lessees began to relinquish or sell their interests in the Ki'ilae lease. Among those relinquishing interest was S.W.C.H. Kalapawai, who in December 1897, conveyed his interest in the "*Hui Hoolimalima Aina*" (Lessee's Organization) to William Hooper of Kauleoli (Liber 206:371).

In 1902 H. John Ahu, John Kaainoa, Sam Kahikina, Charles Pawai, Kaai, Moonohu Paila, Keohokii, D. Makainai, J.D. Paris (of the Paris-Johnson family), Rose Kaimi (sole heir of Malie Simeona), H.P. Kaanaana, and Luaehu (sole heir of Luaehu Sr.) surrendered their lease-hold agreement with the Hū'eu-Davis heirs (Liber 240:328). In 1903, a lease for 1,000 acres at Ki'ilae was renewed between the Hū'eu-Davis heirs (Lucy Peabody et al.) and J.D. Paris for ranching privileges in the *mauka* lands, through 1923 (Liber 246:355).

Lucy K. Peabody (granddaughter of G.D. Hū'eu), died in 1928, and the estate of the Hū'eu-Davis heirs leased a 3,000 acre parcel of Ki'ilae to L.L. McCandless, who had begun his own ranching operation in South Kona in ca. 1919. In 1932, John Young Olohana Davis Jr. and George Hū'eu Davis III sold their interest in Ki'ilae to L. McCandless (Liber 1183:482). That same year Lucy Davis-Henriques died, and under her estate McCandless continued

his lease of the larger portion of Ki'ilae. Finally, in 1936, the estate of the Hū'eū-Davis heirs sold their entire interest in Ki'ilae to McCandless (Liber 1331:290).

At least from 1890 to the 1930s, portions of Ki'ilae, extending from about one-half mile above the *mauka* government road (Māmalahoa Highway) to the shore was used by the Hawaiian families (lessees; and several descendants of the original *Māhele* Award applicants) for residence and agriculture, much as had been reported in the claims for *kuleana* cited above. The families maintained homes near Māmalahoa Highway and near the shore, and cultivated fields near the *mauka* residences and on the *kula* to about the 500 foot elevation. Oral history interviews (Jackson 1966, and in this study) record that there was regular travel between the *mauka* lands and the near-shore residences. Subsistence agriculture and fishing were the means of life upon the land.

In 1955, McCandless Ranch entered into a process of sub-dividing a portion of the land in Ki'ilae (sections both *mauka* and *makai* of Māmalahoa Highway) into the Kiilae Land Company's, Kiilae Coffee Lots. The *makai* lots were surveyed (with dozer lines cut for surveyor access), and the process of assigning separate Tax Map Key numbers (TMK 8-5-05:24, 25, 28, 29) was initiated. These lots took in the area of several historic homestead residences (including parcels of *Māhele* applicants and 1890 lessees). While the process of surveying and initial sub-dividing was initiated, the plan was never completed and the TMK numbers were dropped (ref. Real Property Tax Office History Sheets – 1933-1957; and oral history interview with Emil Spencer, in this study).

Jackson (1966) conducted a historical study for the National Park Service (*Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau*) and based on recollections of interviewees, she compiled an annotated map (*Figure 10*) for the Ki'ilae area. Jackson's map includes important locational references for various features on the landscape, and identifies a number of the native families who resided on the land. It should be noted that not all that is depicted on the map (*Figure 10*) is contemporaneous (of the same time period). The residences and fields on the map appear to range from prior to 1890 to around 1960. During the course of conducting interviews for the present study, a copy of the map was referenced, and it facilitated bringing forth recollections of the interviewees. It was also found through interviews and further research, that there are several locational errors made in placing features such as the old Ki'ilae School site, and various homes of historic residents on the map.

It is interesting to note that except for the original lease issued by the Hū'eū-Davis heirs in 1890 to the native Hawaiian families of Ki'ilae, no formal written agreements have been located which granted residency to the families. But the records cited in Jackson (1966) and recorded in oral history interviews as a part of the present study tell us that the families maintained an ongoing relationship of residency under the "*Konohiki*" owners of Ki'ilae. It was not until the 1930s, that the last of the native families relocated to other areas in South Kona and other parts of the islands. The final abandonment of Ki'ilae by the native families probably resulted from several factors. One being the passing away, or failing health of older family members (for example Mrs. Becky Kahikina-Maunu and a daughter were forced to relocate to Kalaupapa, Moloka'i). Other factors being that economic conditions made continued residency difficult in this portion of South Kona; and finally, the McCandless' lease (after ca. 1928) and subsequent purchase of Ki'ilae, led to restrictions in access to the *mauka-makai* resources of the land. As noted above, the Johnson lease at Ki'ilae was

limited to *mauka* lands; the area extending from three miles above the government road to the top of Ki'ilae. In 1903, Paris' lease took in the entire *ahupua'a*, but the Hawaiian families (agriculturalists and fishermen, as well as those who worked in ranching operations), continued to live on the lands much as they had in the preceding century.

Some modifications in the historic landscape and land use practices have been attributed to the Paris lease-hold period (ca. 1903-1928). One change is that ranching operations spanned the entire length of the *ahupua'a*. During this period, the cattle were herded off of the mountain lands to the lowlands and driven onto the Ki'ilae trail (below Māmalahoa Highway). On the *kula* lands where such crops as sweet potatoes, coffee, and watermelons were cultivated in formal fields, the Ki'ilae trail (continuing *makai*) was walled on both sides to keep cattle out of the fields. Another of the historic modifications of the Paris period, was that the "Paris Pen" (corral) was made on the *makai* side of the *Alanui Aupuni*, below Waiku'iakekela. A windmill facilitated getting water from Waiku'iakekela to the cattle pen, and in the following day or two, the cattle were shipped from Ki'ilae. This process was described to Taro Fujimori by Willie Thompson as — the cowboys dragging the cattle down the stony, Ki'ilae canoe landing (the area still used to ca. 1935 by the native fishermen in residence at Ki'ilae), into the water, where they were then taken with rowboats out to a ship for transportation (see interviews with Taro Fujimori and Margaret Maunu- Keākealani).

Interviews conducted by Frances Jackson (1966), report that Ben Kahikina, the last Hawaiian resident of the Ki'ilae shore line, moved away in the 1930s (this has been clarified in the present interviews). Also by the 1930s, the McCandless Ranch maintained several houses near the Māmalahoa Highway where ranch hands and families—apparently under "unrecorded" leases—lived. Among the residents of that period was Pipi Kau'inui, son of a *Māhele* applicant at Ki'ilae. His home was situated near the Ki'ilae-Keōkea boundary, just *makai* of the Māmalahoa Highway.

The interviews conducted as a part of this study (including interviews and site visits with descendants of the Kahikina-Maunu line, Madeline Leslie, and Taro Fujimori) add further documentation to transitions in residency at Ki'ilae. It was recorded that after the 1930s, Ben Kahikina (a descendant of the Kahikina-Paila-Kahinawe lines of Ki'ilae-Kauleolī), lived in the Ke'ei vicinity (where his paternal grandfather was a *Māhele* awardee), and still maintained an old house on the shore of Ki'ilae until the early 1950s, where he and other members of families with generational ties to Ki'ilae visited periodically while on fishing trips. One of the Ki'ilae reference points cited by surveyor, J.S. Emerson in ca. 1888, on Register Map No. 1445 (*Figure 11 at end*), is Kahikina's House. The 1888 location coincides with the area of the early *makai* home known to elder members of the Kahikina-Maunu family.

Kauleolī: Residency and Land Use Through the 1900s

The *ahupua'a* of Kauleolī was retained as Government Land during the *Māhele*. While conducting the present study, a total of four claims were identified that specifically mentioned Kauleolī. By the close of the *Māhele*, two *kuleana* parcels¹¹: one of 4-17/100^{ths}

¹¹ Historic records generally report that one *kuleana* (L.C.A. Helu 9459), awarded to Nika in two parcels – was awarded at Kauleolī. A careful review of the *Māhele* records and subsequent land transactions reveals that this is not the case. Nika and his younger brother Naihe (L.C.A. Helu 10405) each claimed and received one parcel (*apana*) each at Kauleolī. Apparently an error in transcribing the claims in *Mahele Award Book* (Volume 7:526-527) occurred, and was subsequently caught by the Land Commission; as a note "*no Naihe ka pololei*" (it is correctly for Naihe) is written on the page 526 of Volume 7 (see *Figure 3* in this study).

acres of agricultural land just *makai* of the upland Government Road (Māmalahoa Highway); and the second, a house lot of 6/10^{ths} of an acre, situated near the shore, *makai* of the coastal *Alanui Aupuni* (see *Figure 12 at end*).

Both Nika (L.C.A. 9459) and Naihe (L.C.A. 10405) held private property rights at Kauleolī. Ahu, and Kalapawai (sometimes written Pawai), also filed *Māhele* claims at Kauleolī and Ki'ilae, and their claims were not awarded. The historic record does list them and their descendants as residents at Ki'ilae. Namilimili and Kekualoa were cited as ones who had granted property rights to the claimants, but they did not file claims themselves (in the case of Namilimili, the testimony states he died on Kaua'i some years prior to the *Māhele*).

Nika died intestate and his younger brother, Naihe, inherited his land at Kauleolī (Liber 533:303-304). Naihe's children, Moses Manunu and Malie Kimeona, in turn inherited the parcels (recorded as totaling approximately 4.76 acres) described in L.C.A. 9456 and L.C.A. 10405, both situated at Kauleolī (written Kauloli). In 1908, Moses Manunu, Naihe's son (the younger brother of Malie Kimeona¹², deceased), sold to John Gaspar, his own 2.38 acre interest in the two lots which he and his late sister had inherited (Liber 305:399-400) (members of the Gaspar-Kiwaha family lived on the lot until ca. 1930). The remaining 2.38 acres were retained by the children of Malie Kimeona – Kawahinepaimoku (w), Halemaumau (w), and Willie Kimeona (k) (Liber 533:303-304), and subsequently their descendants. At this writing, final disposition of the *makai* house lot (apparently incorrectly identified as L.C.A. 9459:2) is unclear. Title research reports that some Naihe descendants sold their undivided interests in the land to members of the McCandless family. Other Naihe descendants still hold their interests in the property and share ownership with descendants of L.L. McCandless.

All of the remaining land in the small *ahupua'a* of Kauleolī was sold in three Royal Patent Grants (No.'s 1575, 3051, and 3708). Grant 1575, containing 364 acres, and taking in almost all of the land extending from the *mauka* Government Road (Māmalahoa Highway) to the sea, was sold to James Atkins. Atkins was a English resident of Hawai'i, who arrived in Kona in 1827 (ref. *Māhele* testimony in L.C.A. 925). He and his wife, a Hawaiian woman by the name of Kaloa (also written Kahalaa) had land interests at several locations in Kona. Atkins business interests included logging and ranching, and it is assumed that his residency at Kauleolī centered around ranching endeavors.

A historic stone wall enclosed residence complex (*Figure 13*) about mid-way between the upper Government Road and the shore, and near the Kauleolī-Ki'ilae boundary wall, includes a house platform, planting areas, and two mortar-lined cisterns (Site T-564; Rechtman in prep), may have been Atkins' residence, and subsequently used by other historic land owners.

As described in the actual claims submitted by Nika and Naihe (see *Table-b1*); Nika's claim in Kauleoli was for a taro and sweet potato parcel (of 4-17/100^{ths} acres), and his house was at Keōkea. Naihe's sole claim was a house lot (of 6/10^{ths} an acre) at Kauleolī, where he had resided for 13 years at the time of confirmation of his claim.

¹² In 1890, Malie (Naihe) Kimeona was one of the native lessees of Ki'ilae (Liber 150:162-165 above); by 1902, Malie Kimeona had passed away, Rose Kaimi signed as her "sole heir" (see notes from Liber 240:328, above).



**Figure 13. Historic Residence Complex at Kauleoli (Site No. T-564)
(KPA Photo No. 1110)**

In July 1857, Atkins and Kaloa sold all their interest in Grant 1575 to Henry Clark (also written Clarke) of Kauhakō (Liber 9:641-642). Clark has an interesting and unfortunate place in the history of South Kona. He was pure English, but the Hawaiians called him by the name Elemakule or Kaelemakule, thus records pertaining to him identify him as Clark, Clarke, and Elemakule. Clark owned a store at Kauhakō, and had interest in ranching as well. In November 1866, Clark was killed at Kauhakō, murdered and burned in his store by two natives who were angry with him; various reasons are given by descendants as to the cause of the anger (see *Ku Okoa*, December 1, 1866:3). The Reverend J.D. Paris, who officiated over the memorial services observed:

It is a shameful and sad thing to remember that *haole* monk (H.C.) at Kauhako! And he died at the hand of a Church member. He was excommunicated... [J.D. Paris – Kona Mission Station Report for 1867; *Hawaiian Mission Children's Library*]

On March 26th 1867, Pa'akaula and Kahauliko were convicted of the murder and sentenced to be hung (*Ku Okoa*, March 30, 1867:2; and State Archives F.O. & Ex. Doc. 81). On April 5th 1867, the sentence was carried out (*Ku Okoa*, April 6, 1867:2). The reference to Pa'akaula is one that has some additional relevance to Ki'ilae. In between 1863 to 1866, D.H. Pa'akaula was the resident teacher at Ki'ilae School. In April 1866, parents of the Ho'okena section school (Kauhako vicinity) suggested that Pa'akaula be assigned as teacher at Ho'okena. It is uncertain as to whether or not the move actually occurred, as no further reports on the matter were seen while conducting this study. What we do know is that Ki'ilae School was closed by late 1866, and the teacher at Ho'okena was not Pa'akaula (see section of study titled "Overview of the Hawaiian Schools In South Kona").

J. Waterhouse, executor of Clark's estate, including Grant 1575 of his Kauleolī holdings, disposed of Clark's assets. In March 1869, the land of Kauleolī was transferred to William Clarke and Ann Hessing (or Herring) et al., the "lawful" brothers and sisters of Henry Clark (Liber 27:270). They conveyed interest in Grant 1575 to J.H. Hamlin, who also held a lease on the Government portions of Kauleolī (Liber 27:266 & 270). J.D. Paris and W. King also shared leasehold interests in Kauleolī (Liber 84:301), and in 1884, during the regional survey work conducted by J.S. Emerson, a reference point of "Kings grass house...Kauloli" (Field Book 256:137 in this study), was given. W.C. King and A.S. Cleghorn were proprietors of a store at Keālia in the 1880s (see Bowser 1880 in this study).

Henry Clark's brothers and sister retained their interest in Kauleolī until 1888, when it was sold to Geo. Snider (Liber 109:410). By 1918, L.L. McCandless and A.C. Dowsett began acquiring the various land parcels of Kauleolī, and the land was primarily dedicated to McCandless Ranch activities.

An issue regarding disposition of Clark's estate has existed between members of the Moku'ōhai-Medeiros family and those of the McCandless family for a number of years. Land records cited in this study, for March 10, 1873 and June 14, 1876, identify Hamlin as owner or lessee of a portion of Kauleolī, as well. The issue raised between the Moku'ōhai-Medeiros (Clark heirs) and L.L. McCandless heirs is that in 1867, the executors of Clark's estate failed to address the rights of inheritance belonging to the widow and children in this matter (oral history interviews with Clarence Medeiros Sr., 1996; and Clarence Medeiros Jr., 2001). This issue remains unresolved at the time of this writing.

Grant 3501, containing 79.2 acres, situated *mauka* of Māmalahoa Highway, was granted to Palaualelo in 1863. To date, no record of how Palaualelo used the land has been seen. Palaualelo's Grant was sold to Charles Hooper, and subsequently inherited by his grandson John Hooper Lani; land use in 1919 was described as the "Hooper Homestead," with the family having interests in coffee cultivation and ranching. John Hooper Lani was a minor in 1919, and the estate executor, George Barker, was authorized to dispose of various Hooper lands in South Kona. As a result, L.L. McCandless and A.C. Dowsett, partners in a ranching venture in South Kona, acquired Grant 3051 (see Liber 521:426 & 525:85). In ca. 1960, the parcel was sold to Francis Foo et al., of Kona.

Grant 3708, containing 15 and 3/10^{ths} acres, situated along the *makai* boundary of Māmalahoa Highway, was purchased by William J. Wright in July 1894. As with Grant 3051, L.L. McCandless purchased the parcel and added it to his McCandless Ranch holdings. By ca. 1925, a couple of acres of this parcel (from the highway to a wall at the *makai* boundary of the lot) was planted with citrus trees and other vegetable crops. Except for the orchard and the Hooper Homestead, all the land of Kauleolī was used for development of cattle pens and traps from this time.

Taro Fujimori lived with his grandfather, Sataro Fujimori, at the Kauleolī "citrus orchard" from ca. 1932-1946. Among his recollections from that period, are his descriptions of the citrus orchard lot and house, the Kauleolī cattle pen (on the *makai* side of Māmalahoa Highway (noted for its good white mountain apple tree), and the old Kauleolī trail which ran along the northern wall of the cattle pen, passing the former Kiwaha (*kuleana* of Nika and Naihe) lot, and continued down to the *makai Alanui Aupuni*. Fujimori often traveled the *mauka-makai* trail (which after the 1950s was dozed and widened), to go out to Kahikina's house and on to Hōnaunau (see interview with Taro Fujimori).

KI'ILAE AND KAULEOLĪ VICINITY: A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE LAND AND PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS

In addition to the collection of Government records – pertaining to land tenure – cited in the preceding section, several other important agency collections provide documentation pertaining to the South Kona community of which Ki'ilae and Kauleolī are a part. By the middle 1840s several divisions of government in the Hawaiian Kingdom had been established, and charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the people could contribute to and benefit from public resources. This section of the study provides readers with several important sources of communications from two primary Government Offices — the Interior Department (which bore responsibility for such functions as the land grant and survey programs, road improvements, and public works); and the Department of Public Instruction (Schools). The records cited herein were viewed in the collections of the Hawaii State Archives, State Survey Division, and State Land Division. The information is generally presented in chronological order (spanning the period ca. 1847 to 1900, by sub-categories, and communications translated by the author (Maly) are noted¹³.

Trails and Roads of the Kona Hema Region

Alahele (trails) and *alaloa* (regional thoroughfares) are an integral part of the cultural landscape of South Kona and all Hawai'i. The *alahele* provided access for local and regional travel, subsistence activities, cultural and religious purposes, and for communication between extended families and communities. Trails were, and still remain important features of the cultural landscape.

Historical accounts (cited in this study) describe at least two primary trails of regional importance in the South Kona region. One trail crossed the *makai* (near shore) lands, linking coastal communities and resources together. The other major trail of this region is “*Kealaehu*” (The path of Ehu), which passes through the uplands (in the vicinity of the Māmalahoa Highway). This trail comes out of Ka'ū, passes into North Kona, and continues on to Ka'ūpūlehu, where it then cuts *makai* to Kīhōlo (meeting with the *makai* alignment of the *alaloa*). The *alaloa* then continues into Kohala, passing through Kawaihae and beyond. This route provided travelers with a zone for cooler travel, and access to inland communities and resources. The trail also allowed for more direct travel between North and South Kona (see Malo 1951; I'i 1959; Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; and *Māhele* and Boundary Commission Testimonies in this study).

In addition to the *alahele* and *alaloa*, running laterally with the shore, there are another set of trails that run from the shore to the uplands (*makai* to *mauka*). By nature of traditional land use and residency practices, every *ahupua'a* also includes one or more *mauka-makai* trail. In native terminology, these trails were generally known as — *ala pi'i uka* or *ala pi'i mauna* (trails which ascend to the uplands or mountain).

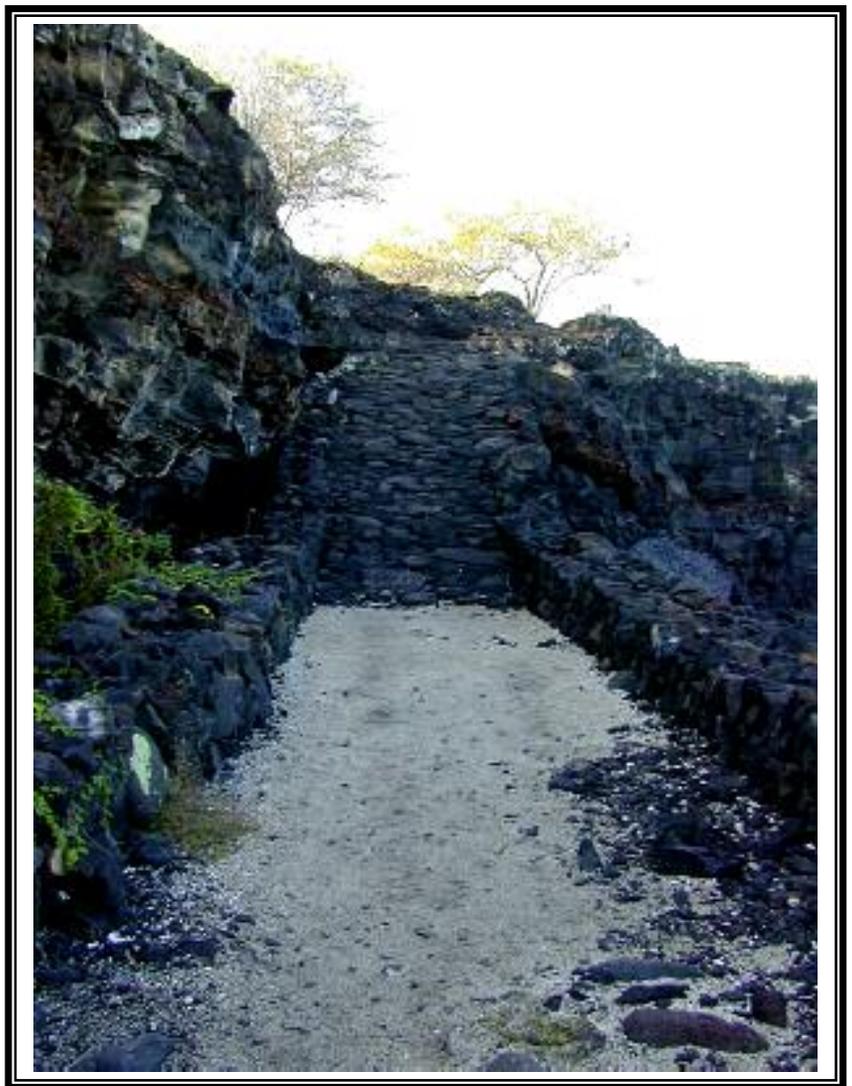
Along these trails which pass through Ki'ilae-Kauleolī and the larger South Kona region are found a wide variety of cultural resources, including, but are not limited to residences (both permanent and temporary), enclosures and exclosures, wall alignments, agricultural complexes, resting places, resource collection sites, ceremonial features, *ilina* (burial sites), petroglyphs, subsidiary trails, and other sites of significance to the families who once lived in

¹³ Italics and underlining emphasis, and the use of square brackets to enclose text are this author's.

the vicinity of the trails. The trails themselves also exhibit a variety of construction methods, generally determined by the environmental zone and natural topography of the land. “Ancient” trail construction methods included the making of worn paths on *pāhoehoe* or ‘a‘ā lava surfaces, curbstone and coral-cobble lined trails, or cobble stepping stone pavements, and trails across sandy shores and dry rocky soils.

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

By the 1840s, the modified alignments became a part of a system of “roads” called the “*Ala Nui Aupuni*” or Government Roads. Work on the roads was funded in part by government appropriations, and through the labor or financial contributions of area residents and prisoners working off penalties (see Government communications in this study). In the Ki‘ilae-Kauleolī section of the South Kona region, portions of the *Alanui Aupuni* are lined with curbstones; elevated; and/or made with stone filled “bridges” in areas that level out the contour of the roadway. The section of the roadway was surveyed and laid out in ca. 1847 (see Gov. Kapeau to Keoni Ana, Aug. 13, 1847 in this study). The *Pali Alahaka* road (Figure 14) that ascends the *pali* from Keōkea into Ki‘ilae is one of the significant road construction of this period.



**Figure 14. Alahaka on the Alanui Aupuni (Makai Government Road)
(KPA Photo No. 1179)**

While the *alahaka* (ramp or bridge) has been restored as a part of the National Park Service's preservation program, "old-timers" interviewed as a part of the present oral history have stated that the Alahaka looks much as it did in the 1930s-1940s.

In September 1856, the Pacific Commercial Advertiser published an article which now provides readers with a historic overview of road development in the Hawaiian Islands:

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

In addition to the communications cited below, historical descriptions of travel in the area are recorded in the accounts cited earlier in this study as a part of the Mission Station reports and journals of visitors.

Travel in the Ki'ilae-Kauleoli Vicinity:

June 26, 1847

George L. Kapeau to Keoni Ana

I have received your instructions, that I should explain to you about the *alaloa* (roadways), *alahaka* (bridges), light houses, markets, and animal pounds. I have not yet done all of these things. I have thought about where the *alanui heleloa* (highways) should be made, from Kailua to Kaawaloa and from Kailua to Ooma, where our King was cared for^[14]. And then afterwards around the island. It will be a thing of great value, for the roads to be completed. Please instruct me which is the proper thing for me to do about the *alaloa*, *alahaka*, and the laying out of the *alaloa*... [State Archive – Interior Department Misc., Box 142; Maly, translator)

August 13, 1847

George L. Kapeau to Keoni Ana

...I have a few questions which I wish to ask you. Will the police officers be required to pay, when they do not attend the Tuesday (*Poalua*) labor days?

¹⁴ For the first five years of his life (till ca. 1818), Kauikeaouli was raised at 'O'oma, by Ka-iki-o-'ewa and Keawe-amahi mā (see Kamakau 1960:264).

How about parents who have several children? What about school teachers and school agents? Are they not required to work like all other people when there is Government work on the roads and highways?

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

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

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

March 29, 1848

George L. Kapeau to Keoni Ana:

...I received your letter, at the instruction of the Minister of the Interior inquiring as to the amount of work done on the Government Roads, on the island of Hawaii. I do not know fully, though know of some work, and tell you here, what I do know...

The *alaloa* (highway) from Kealakekua to Honaunau has been worked on, but it is not completed, it is a rocky place. The work done is from Kealakekua to upper Keei, and from Honaunau to Keomo, place of the great battle of Kamehameha and Keeaumoku with Kiwalao, the battle called Mokuohai. The place covered with dirt is from Kealakekua to Keei. The *alaloa* at Kau has been made as well, not in it's entirety, but in sections... [Interior Department - Misc. Box 142; translation revised by Maly]

South Kona, Hawaii,

December 22, 1854.

Geo. B. Kalaau (South Kona Road Supervisor),
to Keoni Ana (Minister of the Interior):

...I report to you the matters pertaining to the Road Tax of this District during this year, as follows:

1. The number of persons subject to Road Tax in this District. When I counted the persons from 16 years up to forty years and over, there were six hundred and forty-one persons, including foreigners and native Hawaiians.

2. The number of days worked by these persons, under the law of 1853, six days work by each, that being the full payment for the one year ending on the last day of December, 1854; and if these six days are multiplied with the six hundred and forty-one persons, the result will be three thousand eight hundred and forty-six, the number of days. But, I divided the work up in the nine divisions, as follows:

Division 1, from Puuhau to Onouli 1; Division 2, from Onouli 2 to Kealakekua; Div. 3, from Kiloa to Keei 1; Div. 4, Keei 2 to Honaunau; Div. 5, Keokea to Kealia 2; Div. 6, Hookena to Waiea; Div 7, Honokua to Kaohe; Div. 8, Kukuioape to Hoopuloa; Div. 9, Milolii to Kapua.

If the count of the days is by districts, it will be fifty-four days, because, I have given six days to each division, the same to all the sections.

3. The amount of money received from Road Tax in this year. I received the sum of eight dollars, as follows: From David Barrett, \$2.00; Mr. Schulze, \$2.00, Kanakaole, \$2.00, H. Clark, 2.00, these are the names of those who paid properly, according to law...
5. Balance of money from the former year. No balance was given me by the Road Supervisor in 1853.
6. Money disbursed and the balance. I paid out the sum of eight dollars, of the road tax, for a part between Hoopuloa and Milolii. A very bad place, plenty of rocks, therefore, I gave that money in order to fix up that place. There is no money balance.
7. The tools and implements with me now. I received from Charles Hall, the former Government Official, two hammers, two crowbars, and four shovels. These tools and implements were not in a damaged condition, and these things are now in my hands.
8. The number of days worked by me, in this position during this year. Here it is, sixty, as follows: Nine districts, six days of each district, being fifty-four days, which together with the six days worked by me, makes in all sixty days...

The total number of people who required to contribute to the Road Tax in the District of South Kona:

From Puuhau to Onouli 1, the people in this division, 99.

From Onouli 2 to Kealakekua, the people in this division, 106.

From Kiloa 1 to Keei 1, the people in this division, 109.

From Keei 2 to Honaunau, the people in this division, 111.

From Keokea to Kealia 2, the people in this division, 50.

From Hookena to Waiea, the people in this division, 62.

From Honokua to Kaohe, the people in this division, 94.

From Kukuioape to Hoopuloa, the people in this division, 65.

From Milolii to Kapua, the people in this division, 44.

The total is 641 ... [Interior Department Misc. Box146]

March 6, 1856

R.A. Wood (Superintendent, Bureau of Public Improvements),
to R.C. Wyllie (Minister of Foreign Relations, Minister at War);
Reporting on Road Supervisors, Island of Hawaii (District of Kona):

...North Kona G.W. Waiau
South Kona D. Nahinu [Interior Department – Roads]

February 4, 1868

Geo. Hardy (Road Supervisor), to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of Interior):

...According to your instructions I hereby inform you what work I have done in the different districts under my charge. In South Kona I have repaired a very bad place known by the name of Alahaka in the village of Kiilae, a place of great danger, where several horses had been killed, and where people went in danger of falling down on the way up. I have made it wide and a substantial road.

I have also put the road going down to Kaawaloa in first rate order. In north Kona, I have opened a very convenient road, going down to Keauhou, and also given my attention to repairing the worst places through the districts, and made roads as good as possible... [Interior Department Roads – Hawaii Folder 4; translation modified by Maly]

1869 [see also letter of October 4, 1869]

Petition of J.W. Maele and 97 native residents of South Kona,
to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of Interior):

...We, the people whose names are below, petition to you about the Road Supervisor of Kona. We desire that S.W. Papaula be made the Road Supervisor of South Kona. That a straight road be opened from Kaulanamauna to Kealakekua, and that the places which are bad and in disrepair be made good, like the work (by Thomas Martin) on the road of Kau.

Please kindly consider our request to you. In truth of this request, we sign our names below... [Interior Department, Roads Hawaii Folder 6; translated by Maly]

Keopuka

August 1, 1871

Henry Cooper (Kona Road Supervisor),
to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of the Interior):

...I beg to inform you in regards to the roads in South Kona.

I have worked the roads for about 18 miles from North to South, say from your Highness' place to Kukuioepae, the roads thus far are in fairly good order.

I have remade two miles of road on the beach across the lands of Keei & Honaunau, this improvement was much required as the road had become almost impassable. From Kukuioepae to Kapua there is some 12 miles of bad

road... I would also say that on the newly made piece of road before mentioned, then natives allow their goats to run at large thereby doing more damage in one month than would be done by ordinary travel in a year. I have posted notices without effect, and would ask your Excellency's instructions upon the subject... [Interior Department, Roads Hawaii Folder 8]

December 11, 1871

List of Road Supervisors to whom Circulars and Blanks were sent December 11th 1871.

<u>Name</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Island</u>
Henry Cooper	South Kona	Hawaii
Jas. Smith	North Kona	Hawaii

[Interior Department Book 10:589]

December 25, 1871

Petition of D.H. Nahinu et al. (signed by 66 individuals), to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of the Interior):

...The names of the people below, are natives dwelling in the district of South Kona, from Kealia, Hookena, Kauhako, Kalahiki, Waiea, Honokua, and Pahoehoe, and to Kaohe, And also up to Honaunau.

We humbly ask you that a new road be built from Hookena to Pahoehoe, because it has been a very long time since any work was done on the road, therefore it is in very bad shape, difficult for our animals to travel upon, and also for the visitors who travel there.

We have asked the Road Supervisor to make this road, but he has refused, saying there is no money left in his account. The road from Kealakekua to Hookena is finished and everything is good, only this area remains in bad shape... [State Archives – Interior Department Roads, Hawaii Folder 8 – translated by Maly]

March 31, 1886

Minister of the Interior Reports

Appendix L.

...North Kona District. The roads of North Kona are now in fair repair. We have recently cut the lantana which, to a certain extent, had encroached upon and obstructed them. No large work has been attempted, as the requirements of the District are light. Cost of repairs to the roads in this District for the period has been \$898.

Requirements— [described work to be done in Northern section of the district]...

South Kona District. The roads through this District are in good repair at the present time. They have been worked upon from time to time, as they required it. A new road was constructed, six miles long, from Pahoehoe to Hookena. Cost of new road and general repairs in this District has been \$2,882.

Requirements—The wants of this District for the coming period will be light. No new work is required, and an appropriation of \$1,000, in additions to the receipts from road taxes, will be sufficient to maintain the roads in good order... [Report of 1886:cvi]

Kailua

November 16, 1889

W.E. Rowell, to L.A. Thurston (Minister of the Interior);

Reporting on road work to be done by Kalanipoo in South Kona, and observed:

...They have had a tremendous crop of coffee this season, and every man, woman & child in South Kona is busy picking and cleaning coffee. It is out of the question getting a gang of natives now for the road, the coffee run will last through December... [Interior Department Roads Box 40]

December 3, 1890

G.W.R. King (Department of Public Works), to

H.W. McIntosh (Superintendent of Public Works):

...I herewith present my report of the work intrusted to my care while acting under your letter of instructions dated Nov. 12/90, relating to the new roads in North and South Kona...

As regards the Hookena Road, I will say that I consider it a fine piece of work and Mr. Kalanipoo deserves the credit of being a very competent man for the work he has in charge... ...The makai road from Hookena to Napoopoo is in bad shape and needs some attention from the local road board. Mr. Nahinu, will however, attend to the matter... [Interior Department Roads Box 40]

December 31, 1897

T.H. Wright (South Kona Road Supervisor), to J.A. King (Minister of Interior):

...Napoopoo Road badly washed out by heavy rain...it will cost about \$400 – to put it in proper repair if not more.

Napoopoo to Hookena beach road in a fearful condition, it needs repair of the worst kind. The Walahaka [Alahaka] pali very dangerous. This road is used every day for the convenience of the public, going and back to these places. It will cost a big lot of money to put it in shape... [Interior Department Roads Box 42]

December 31, 1898

T.H. Wright (South Kona Road Supervisor), to J.A. King (Minister of Interior):

...The condition of our roads is fair from Kuaimoku [the Pahoehoe vicinity] to the North boundary [at Kainaliu], with the exception in want of new top dressing... Beach Trail from Napoopoo to Hookena in a very bad condition. The last legislature has appropriated the sum of \$400.00 for repair of the said trail, but the board has not been able to draw the same. How can the board draw this amount from the treasury?... [Interior Department Roads Box 42]

Overview of the Hawaiian Schools in the Hōnaunau-Ho'okena Section (with Ki'ilae) South Kona

As reported earlier, the instruction of students in schools (most of whom were adults in the early years), in reading, writing and other skills initially fell to the missionaries. In a short time native teachers were trained, and by 1831, eleven hundred schools were in operation throughout the islands, with more than thirty thousand students enrolled (Kuykendall and Day 1970:79). The schools generally served as both native churches and meeting houses, and were established in most populated *ahupua'a* around the island of Hawai'i; native teachers and lay-ministers were appointed to oversee their daily activities.

By ca. 1840, most of the native residents of the Hawaiian Islands could read and write, and interest in the schools began to diminish. On October 15, 1840, Kamehameha III enacted a law that required the maintenance and local support of the native schools (the Constitution of 1840). The Constitution provided a "Statute for the Regulation of Schools," which required that in a village with 15 or more students, the parents were to organize and secure a teacher. They could then apply to the local school agent for funds to pay the teacher and for land on which a school could be built and classes held. The statute also allowed for the use of proceeds and work of the "*Poalua*" (King's Labor Days) to be used in support of the schools (cf. Constitution of 1840 and Kuykendall and Day 1970). The early records were kept by the mission stations, but by 1847, more detailed records were kept by government representatives and appointed officials, including — teachers, school inspectors, superintendents, and surveyors. In these records are also found important lists identifying the native tenants of various lands in South Kona (including the Ki'ilae vicinity).

In 1847, the records list a school at Ki'ilae, with neighboring schools at Hōnaunau and Kealia. Following a review of all available documentation, it was found that the school of Ki'ilae remained open until 1866, after which, the students either went to Hōnaunau or Ho'okena for school. D.H. Pa'akaula¹⁵, the last teacher at Ki'ilae participated in an event that led to his removal and left the school with no teacher.

Records of the Department of Public Instruction (viewed in the collection of the Hawaii State Archives)

August 13, 1847

George L. Kapeau to Keoni Ana

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

I believe that school agents, school teachers and parents who have several children, should only go and work on the weeks of the public, and not on the *konohiki* days... [Interior Departments Roads Hawaii; translation revised by Maly]

¹⁵ D.H. Pa'akaula may have been the "Kaula" referenced as heir of Meaalii, a *Māhele* applicant for a *kuleana* at Ki'ilae (L.C.A. 10121).

1847 School Report, District 3, Hawaii
(by Superintendent, G.W. Lilikalani)

<u>Ahupuaa (Land)</u>	<u>Kumu (Teacher)</u>
Honaunau	Kainapau, Kapiioho, Holoaa
Kiilae	Kapawai
Kealia	Makuaaloha...

Teachers who have been released:
Ahupuaa Kumu
Honaunau Nawaalooa
Kiilae Kanakaokai...
[Public Instruction, Series 261 Box 1]

Kealakekua

January 22, 1848

G.W. Lilikalani (South Kona School Inspector), to Keoni Ana (Assistant Minister of Public Instruction); Reporting on numbers of families, children, and construction of schools:

...Families of Hawaiian Ancestry	1033
Number of children, from 4 to 14 years of age	778...
...New school houses that have been constructed in this District:	5
<u>These were merely grass-houses, with stone walls along the bottom...</u> [Public Instruction Series 261 Box 1]	

November 1848

Journal of a tour around the windward islands, Hawaii, Maui & Molokai in the months of September, October & November 1848:

...Oct. 2. As we passed along the coast of Kona, I visited the schools in several villages, & as in Kau, found the teachers doing but little.

Met the teachers & trustees of this district in a convention; also examined several schools. There are 29 Protestant schools in this district, embracing about 964 children; and 4 Catholic schools embracing about 80 children... Many of the children & youth appeared well on examination & reflected much credit upon their teachers, while others appeared to have made little or no improvement.

The qualifications of teachers need to be raised every where. I am more & more impelled with this necessity. The superintendent of this district is very inefficient... [Public Instruction Series 261 –Box 1:12-13]

October-December 1852

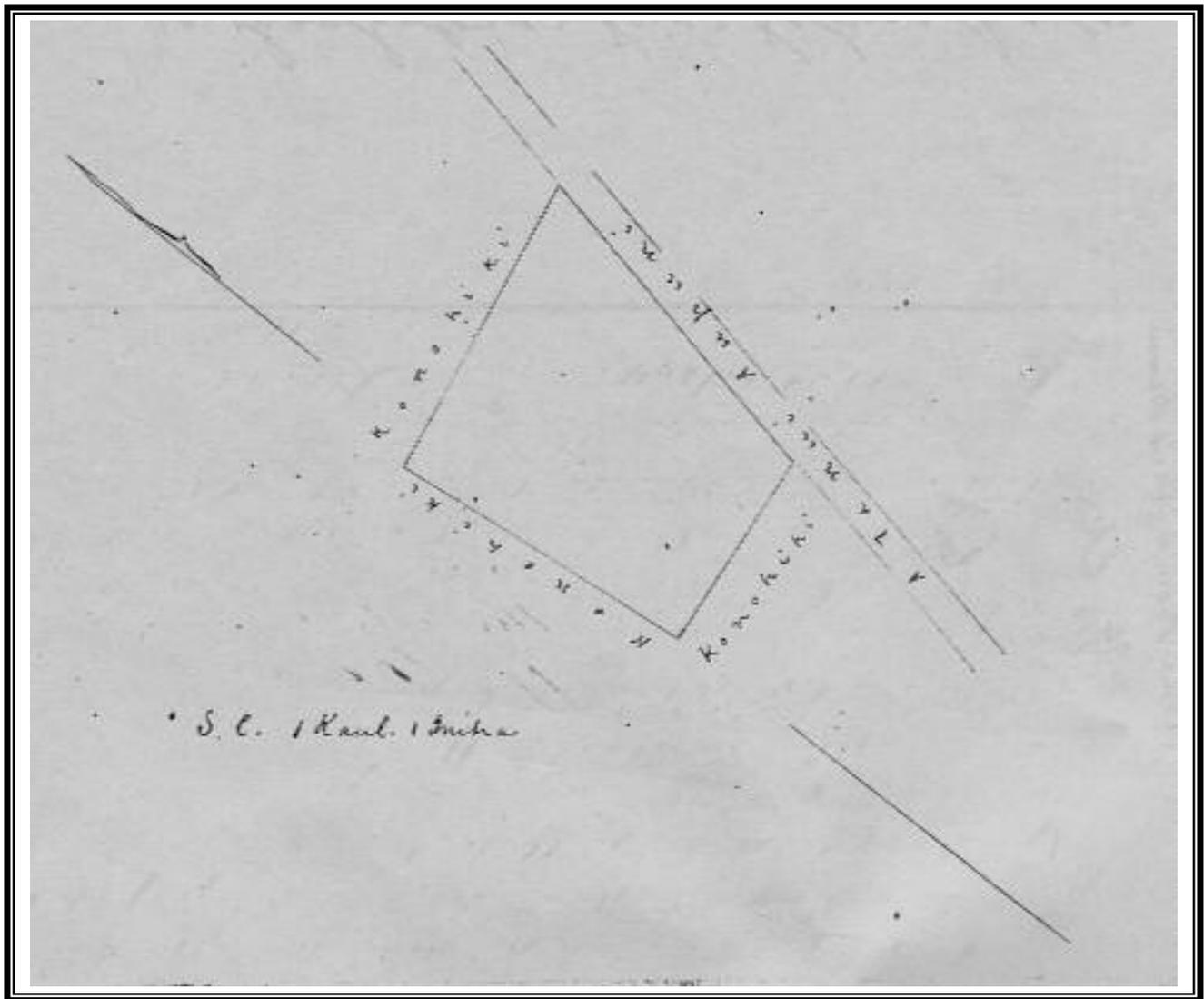
South Kona School Report (S.W. Papaula):

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Students</u>
Napahi	Honaunau	47
Kaipo	Kiilae	36
Mokualoha	Kealia	38
Kealoha	Hookena	31...

[Public Instruction Series 262]

November 14, 1854
Survey of School Lot at Kiilae Ahupuaa (Grant 7:6), South Kona, Hawaii
[Figure 15]:

...Beginning at the southern corner towards the sea, adjoining the Western corner of the Stone wall (Goat pen) stone marked X, running –
North 5°00' West 200 links to the Coconut Tree
North 81°30' East 226 links to the Government Road
South 6°00' East 200 links to the Konohiki's land
South 83°00' West 185 links to the point of commencement
There being 34/100ths Acre.



**Figure 15. Survey of School Lot at Kiilae Ahupuaa,
South Kona, Hawaii (November 14, 1854)**

October-December 1855

South Kona School Report (D.H. Nahinu):

Teacher	School	Students
Napahi	Honaunau	43
Kumukahi	Kiilae	20

Orange Hill

August 11, 1856

J.D. Paris, to R. Armstrong (Minister of Public Education):

...Nahinu informs me that the people of Hokena wish to erect a new School House *mauka*, but he is informed by the Konohiki that he, Halelea who has the management of the land objects to their having a spot to build on. The land on which the house now stands near the sea shore would of course return to him.

Perhaps you can say a word to him or Ruta & write to me or Nahinu. It is very desirable to be able to get locations for school houses back from the sea when the people are willing to go back. This is a trouble at Hoonauunau & here at Kaawaloa. We can't get an inch of land to set a house on... I hope you will write us & let us know whether we must keep our school houses on the barren shore or not.

Nahinu says he wrote or spoke to you about his pay for superintending roads. Please inform him whether anything is to be obtained from the treasury & forward it to him. This is his request... Again (*hoomanawanui*) Please ask the Governess of Hawaii if she will set a few acres of land to Nahinu at Hookena, say 10, 15, or 20, he wishes to purchase a spot to build on. His influence is better than gold... [Public Instruction – Series 261, Box 81]

January-May 1858

South Kona School Report (D.H. Nahinu):

Teacher	School	Students
D.H. Nahinu	Hookena	40
Mokualoha	Kealia	54
Kumukahi	Kiilae	30
Napahi	Honaunau	37

[Public Instruction Series 262]

October 1858-January 1859

South Kona School Report (D.H. Nahinu):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
Mokualoha	Kealia	53	A good school, and the teacher is prepared.
Waiau	Kiilae	32	The school is in poor condition; the teacher is good.
Kaauhaukini	Honaunau	35	The school is a lean-to (<i>lanai</i>), The teacher is good.

[Public Instruction Series 262]

1862 [prior to June 11, 1862; see letter of that date below]

Pila et al. (Parents of school age children),

to Mathew Kekuanaoa President of the Board of Education):

...We are the parents of children residing in the *ahupuaa* of Honaunau and Keokea, in the district of South Kona, Hawaii.

We humbly request that you agree to the building of a school house for these ahupuaa, and that a school teacher be supplied to instruct our children, who now have to travel to Kiilae. It is a place far away, not good for the small children to travel to. There is a cliff and very dangerous trail there.

It would be right for you to instruct the School Inspector and the treasurer to begin construction of the school house soon...

(Signed)

Pila (k); Makaimoku (w); Manua (k); Halena (k); Hupoole (w); Halena (w); Keo (k); Kaumakaole (w); Anae (k); Ikepoo (w); Kema (k); Nawaliwali (w); Kaneaiole (k); Kaliiae (k); Leonui (w); Hilo (k); J.W. Namakeha (k); Kunewa (w); [& one name illegible]

Napoopoo, South Kona

June 11, 1862

S.W. Papaula (South Kona School Inspector),

to J. Fuller (Clerk of the Department of Public Instruction):

...I received the decree of the Board of Education concerning the petition of the parents of Honaunau and Keokea for a school for their children. Your servant humbly submits this report before the Board.

Rev. J.D. Paris and I discussed with great consideration whether this district should have a school or not, and this is the reason substantiating our thoughts why there isn't a school there. The main cause being that the people are living in an unsettled state at Honaunau. The people's properties were auctioned away because of improper action of the land overseer, L. Haalelea. Some people needed a place to live so they picked up and left for other places with their children. A small part of them are still living here, but there aren't enough children, totaling 18 as required by law. The parents of Keokea entered their children in the school at Kiilae, where they now attend. The journey to Kiilae for the children of Keokea is pleasant. That is how it is for the children of Honaunau as well, it is alright for them to go to the school at Kiilae. There aren't any problems. Therefore, it is better for the children of Honaunau and Keokea to continue going to Kiilae. The teacher is qualified and there's a school house at Kiilae. At Honaunau there is not school house or teacher. The building became worthless and the teacher went somewhere else. The parents of Honaunau and Keokea did not come to speak with me about a school for their children, or say that the journey to Kiilae was not good for their children. Therefore, we did not refuse their request for a school at Honaunau, but because of the confusion about the land, and because of the cruelty of L. Haalelea to the people, we did not agree... [Public Instruction - Series 261 Box 7; translation revised by Maly]

October 1862-January 1863

South Kona School Report (S.W. Papaula):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
Iosepa O	Kealia	26	A good School House
Paakaula	Kiilae	37	The School House is broken down

[Public Instruction – Series 262]

October 1864-January 1865

South Kona School Report (S.W. Papaula):

Teacher	School	Students
Waiau	Kealia	28
Paakaula	Kiilae	47

[Public Instruction – Series 262]

April-July 1865

South Kona School Report (S.W. Papaula):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
Paakaula	Kiilae	46	[this is the last teacher's report from Kiilae]
Waiau	Kealia	28	

[Public Instruction – Series 262]

July-September 1865

Chas. Gulick (School Inspector's Report, Island of Hawaii: Inspector's tour conducted between July 19th to September 1st, 1865; reporting that 85 out of 94 common schools were visited), to Board of Education:

...Kiilae. Another stone coffin without a lid, standing on strange land, the original school lot lying elsewhere. The proficiency of the scholars, some thirty in number, was rather better than the foregoing [Kalahiki], in fact reading and writing were good, but arithmetic and geography were not so good.

Honaunau. 35 scholars. School kept in the Catholic Chapel standing on the original school lot. The reading of the school was good, but its proficiency in the other branches of study was on a par with the majority of the Kona Schools, i.e. defective. There is a large unoccupied school lot, south of the village, makai of the road, where I intend to build a new school house and also one at the other end of the plain near Keokea, and, when done, I will divide the Kiilae and Honaunau schools by the sexes, if a competent mistress can be obtained... [page 30] [Public Instruction – Series 262 Reports, Hawaii 1865]

Hookena

April 24, 1866

Petition of Nuhi et al. (parents of students at Hookena),
to Abraham Fornander (Superintendent of Schools):

...We, the people whose names appear below, are parents of some of the students in the School at Hookena which is under the teacher, G. Waiau. We are complaining to you about him because his work is in violation of the

School laws and regulations concerning that important job... He should be suspended from this job... Here is our thought, that you would be favorable with us, and set D.H. Paakaula, the teacher at Kiilae, as the teacher of this place, as it would be much better... [Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 9]

Hookena, South Kona

July 7, 1868

D.H. Nahinu (Assistant School Agent), to A. Fornander (Board of Education):

...I went to examine the schools of South Kona...

...School at Hookena. D.H. Nahinu is the teacher. There are 38 students, 30 boys and 8 girls. There are 11 in reading, 27 in mental arithmetic, 11 in general arithmetic, 27 in penmanship, and 38 in geography... ...School House of Hookena. This is a good stone, well built, its roof is native *pili* thatch, but at present most of it is rotten. It is good in the times when there is no rain. It would be good for the government to help with the thatching and rafters, lest it fall and the rains come in...I have urged the parents to contribute some monies, but there is a famine on the land at this time. The building is 24 feet long by 22 feet wide, the ridge posts are 7 feet and the rafters are 13 feet. That is what I have to report...

School at Honaunau. Kahalewai is the teacher. There are 29 students, 21 boys and 8 girls... ...School House of Honaunau. The sides are stone walls and there is a shade roof over it. It is good for the sunny times, but not good for rainy times. The school house is in very poor condition... [Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 10; translation revised by Maly]

October 1873 – January 1874

South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
D.H. Nahinu	Hookena	54	(<i>Kokua kumu</i> , John Keawe)
J.W.P. Kahalewai	Honaunau	52	(<i>Kokua kumu</i> , Kilo)

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 3]

October 1875 – January 1876

South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students
Keawe	Hookena	49
Manase	Honaunau	50
Kawaaihoole	Nawawa	22

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

October 1876 – January 1877 (H.N. Greenwell):

South Kona School Report:

Teacher	School	Students
Kawaaihoole	Nawawa	23
H. Manase	Honaunau	50
John Keawe	Hookena	55

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

South Kona

April 28, 1877

H.R. Hitchcock (Inspector of Schools),
to C. R. Bishop (Pres. Board of Education):

...The five schools strung along the upper road in the southern extremity of South Kona, are, as formerly, rather poorly taught. The school houses are in good conditions, but need some furniture. The neglect of the parents to supply their children with books is a great source of inefficiency of the schools. The pupils have cultivated the school lots, and made a little money; but as a general thing, they find no sale for their produce, and therefore consume it themselves. The Schools of Kalahiki, Hookena, Holualoa and Napoopoo are well taught. The schools at Hookena and Holualoa numbering over fifty pupils each, with prospect of increase... [Public Instruction – Series 262]

October 1877 – January 1878

South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
S.W. Makaike	Nawawa	20	Wooden School House
H. Manase	Honaunau	50	Wooden School House
D.H. Nahinu	Hookena	51	Stone School House

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

October 1878 – January 1879

South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
S.W. Makaike	Nawawa	14	Good School House
H. Manase	Honaunau	50	Good School House
D.H. Nahinu	Hookena	55	Good School House

[Public Instruction – Series 262]

October 1879 – January 1880

South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
S.W. Makaike	Nawawa	22	Wooden School House
H. Manase	Honaunau	53	Wooden School House
D.H. Nahinu	Hookena	55	J. Kanae (Kokua) Wooden & Stone School House. J.E. Keawe (Kokua)

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

October 1880 – January 1881

South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
S.W. Makaike	Nawawa	19	
H. Manase	Honaunau	31	
J.E. Keawe	Hookena	11	

Mr. &

Mrs. Roberts Hookena 76 English School

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

October 1882 – January 1883

South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
Makaike	Nawawa	14	[last reference to school at Nawawa]
Kailianu	Honaunau	27	
Makaehu	Hookena	33	

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

October 1883 – January 1884

South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
Kailianu	Honaunau	36	
Apela	Hookena	31	

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

Hawaiian Government Survey Records

Among the records of the government collections are documents pertaining to the surveying of lands and applications for leases and fee-simple interests in land. Records found in the collections of the Hawaii State Archives, Survey Division and Land Division, add important documentation to the history of land tenure, and nature of the lands and access to resources in the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī vicinity. The documentation cited below generally post-dates the *Māhele*, and focuses on: (1) records of surveyors (those working on individual parcels and the larger South Kona regions); (2) the disposition of lands; and (3) testimonies of native tenants pertaining to land boundaries and practices relating to land use and access to resources, presented before the Boundary Commission.

Kona Land Agent Communications

Kona Hawaii

August 5, 1853

J. Fuller (Kona Land Agent, Surveyor),

to J. H. Smith (Secretary, Board of Land Commissioners):

... I am happy to inform you that I have completed the surveys of Kuleanas in this District so far as I have been able to find them. There are however, quite a number scattered through the District which have not been pointed out to me, and a few in the neighborhood of Kailua which the Konohiki, Kaheana, prevented the people showing me. I am now making a tour through the whole district as Land Agent, and shall survey all the scattering claims which are pointed out to me...

In Kealia five persons voluntarily paid the costs on their claims, the Konohiki having persuaded them not to have the claims surveyed...

Quit Claims in Kealia

No. 7548 Kakaukapule

No. 7546 M. Kakau

No. 7020 B Kailikakio

No. 1603 Kuhaulua

No. 7020 C Kaumaka I...

[Interior Department Land Files]

August 31, 1853

Royal Patent Grant 1575 (to James Atkins) [Figure 16]:

A part of Kauleoli sold to James Atkins situated in the District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii and bounded as follows: Beginning at the sea at the N.W. corner of this land adjoining Kiilae and running

1. N 73° E 8.50 chains along the boundary of Kiilae (to the road)... [all coordinates follow then follow the boundary between Ki'ilae and Kauleoli to:]
24. S 82°30' E 2.80 chains to *ohia* m'd. X on old road *mauka*.
25. S 16°30' E 6.15 chains along old road to corner.
26. S 56°45' W 33.70 chains along the boundary of Kealia.
27. S 74°45' W 34.00 chains along the boundary of Kealia.
28. S 80°30' W 51.70 chains along the boundary of Kealia to road *makai*.
29. S 85°15' W 28.80 chains along the boundary of Kealia to the sea shore.
30. N 18° 30' E 35.25 chains along the sea shores to point of beginning and containing 364 acres. Surveyed by J. Fuller.

May 19, 1863

Royal Patent Grant 3051 (to Palaualelo) [Figure 17]:

Notes of a Survey of the *mauka* end of the Government Land "Kauleoli" in South Kona Hawaii.

Beginning at a pile of rocks on the *mauka* side of the Govt. Road, on the boundary between this land, and the Konohiki land "Kilae".

Thence up along this boundary N 74 ½ ° e 17.00 Chains, N 67° E 51.00 chas. to a *koa* mk. X. the *mauka* corner of this land at its intersection with the Konohiki land "Kalia".

Thence down along said land S 32° W 5.00 chas. S 56° W 25.60 chas. S 55 ¾ ° W 44.00 ch. to a pile of Rocks on the *mauka* side of the Govt. Road.

Thence along the Road N 1° W 4.50 chas. N 21° W 6.40 chas. N 16.30° W 16.50 chas. N 1 ½ ° W 3.10 chas. to the place of beginning. Containing 79.2/10 Acres.

Surveyed May 19th 1863 for Palaualelo
by S.C. Wiltse.

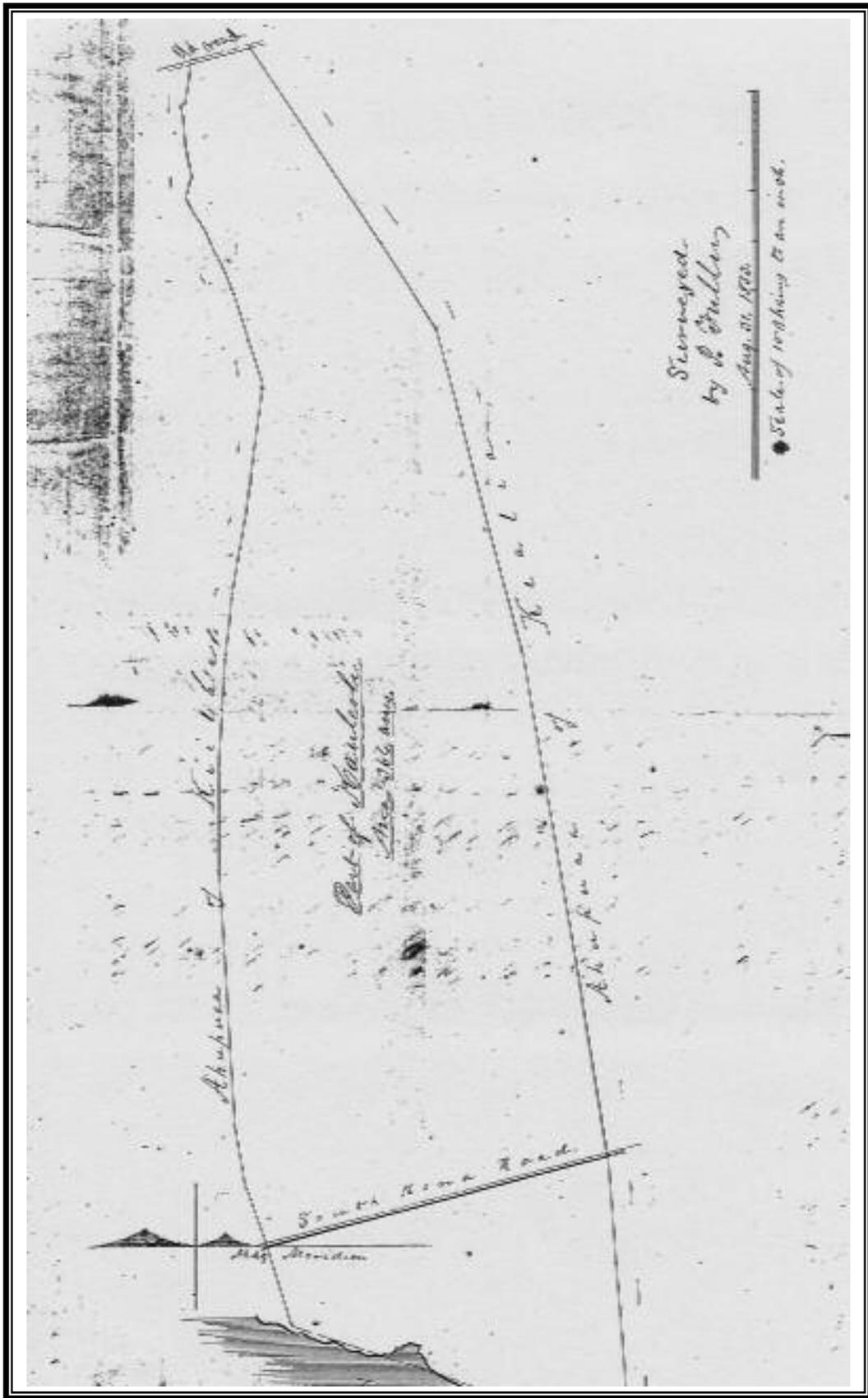


Figure 16. Survey of Royal Patent Grant 1575; to James Atkins at Kauleoli (not to scale), August 31, 1853 (State Land Division)

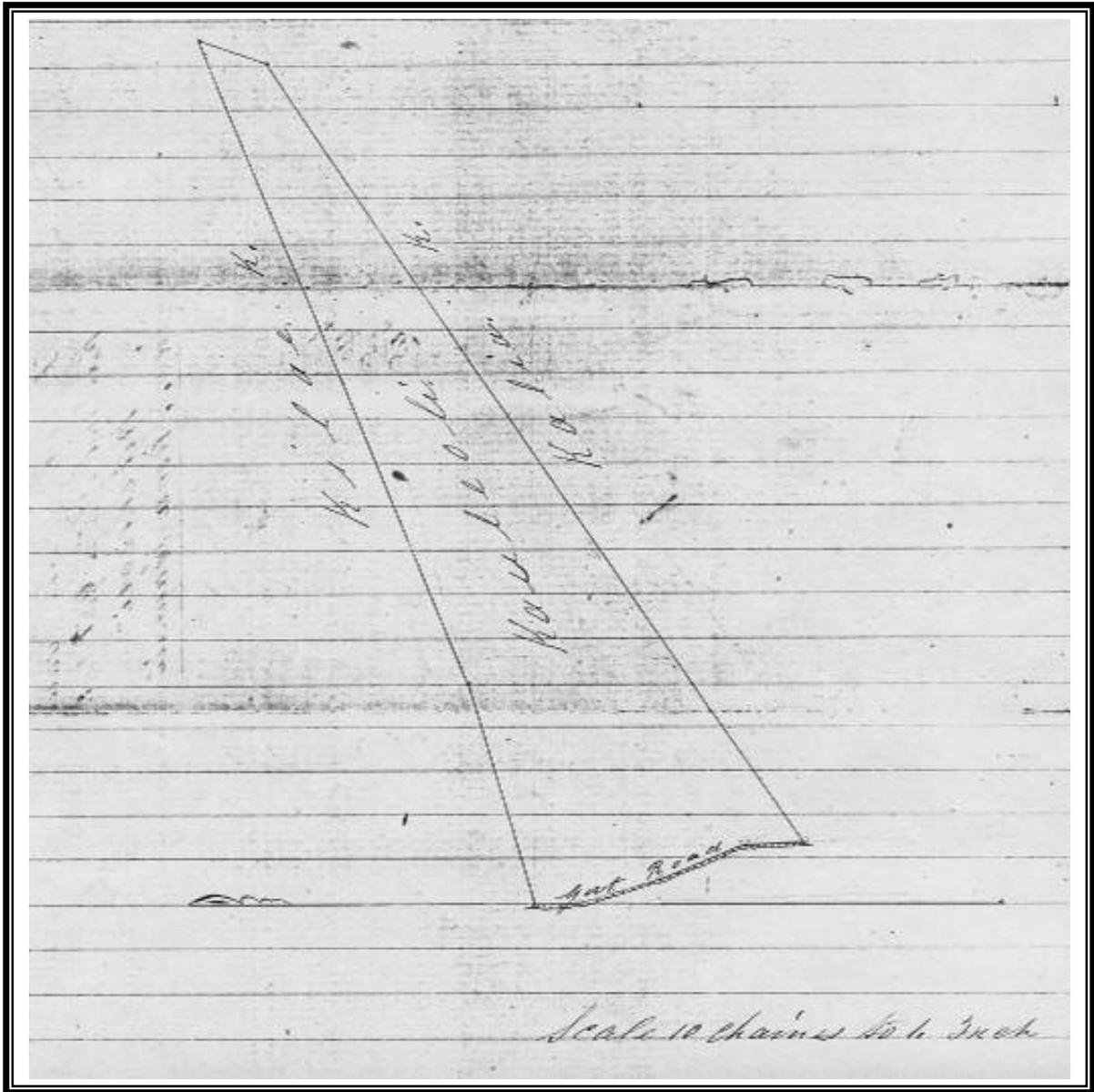


Figure 17. Survey of Royal Patent Grant 3051 to Palaualelo (Kauleoli), May 19th 1863

September 5, 1865

S.C. Wiltse (Surveyor – Government Land Agent), to Minister of the Interior;
 Kona Hawaii. Government Lands in this District not sold, Also those Sold and not
 Patented:

...“Kauleoli” *mauka* part of this land containing about 70 Ac. Sold by Sheldon
 to “Palaualelo,” who says he has paid for it in full, but got no receipt. He
 wishes to buy it again. It is a poor rocky piece worth about 50 cts. pr. Acre...
 [Interior Department Land Files – Hawaii]

April 25, 1866

J.H. Kalaiheana (Land Inventory Agent), to Minister of Interior:

Lands of the King and the Government

Name of Land *Ahupuaa* of South Kona

...Honaunau An *Ahupuaa* of Haalelea;

Keokea An *Ahupuaa* of Keelikolani;

Kiilae An *Ahupuaa* of Hueu;

Kauleoli 1 An *Ahupuaa* of the government, *makai* disposed of;

Kauleoli 2 An *Ahupuaa* of the government, disposed of;

Kealia 1 An *Ahupuaa* of Akahi...

...These lands set forth above, are the *Ahupuaa* and the *Ili* of South Kona, Island of Hawaii. These are the lands which were pointed out to me by the old residents when I made the count... [Interior Department – Land Files; translation modified by Maly]

March 10, 1873

C.T. Gulick (Interior Department),

to H.N. Greenwell (Government Land Agent, Kona):

...By direction of His Excellency the Minister of the Interior I have to inform you with regard to J.H. Hamlin's application for the lease of "Kauleoli" that a land sale of 79.20 acres in Kauleoli, Kona for \$40. – to Palauolelo under that date of May 10th 1867 is on record in this office, also a land sale of 35.20 acres of Kapalaalaea 2, to the same person for \$18. – same date as above; the patents for both these sales are still on file in this office showing that nothing has been received here for them. The total amount due is \$68. — \$5. – for each patent.

As the subject of irregular land sales in Kona was investigated and settled some years since by the Circuit and Supreme Courts as well as by a personal visit of the then Minister of the Interior to Kona, it is not deemed advisable to open up the matter again.

Be good enough to inform Palauolelo that if he desires to secure the sales above alluded to he can do so by remitting the amounts state above...

Should Palauolelo not see fit to avail himself of this opportunity you are hereby authorized to lease the whole of the Govt. interest in "Kauleoli" to Mr. Hamlin for the term of 10 to 15 years, according to agreement between you, at a rental of about 10 cents an acre pr. year, but should Palauolelo take out his patent you can then rent the balance of the land to Mr. Hamlin at the above rent... [Interior Department Letter Book 12:165]

July 2, 1894

Patent Grant 3708 (to William J. Wright) [Figure 18]:

...All that piece of land situate at Kauleoli – South Kona – in the Island of Hawaii – described as follows:

Begin at a point on the west side of the upper Government Road, 20 feet west of a pile of stone at the south west corner of Grant 3051 to Palaualelo, and run by magnetic Meridian, as follows, viz. –

N. 1°00' W. 297 feet along *makai* side of Gov't. Road and parallel to the line of Grant 3051.

N. 21°00' W 420 feet along the same to the south line of Grant 1575 to J. Atkins.

S. 56° 45' W 2204 feet along Grant 1575 to the North line of Kealia I.

N. 76° 00' E 2066 feet along Kealia I as per Bdry. Cert. No. 96 to the Initial point. – Area 15 ³/₁₀ Acres.

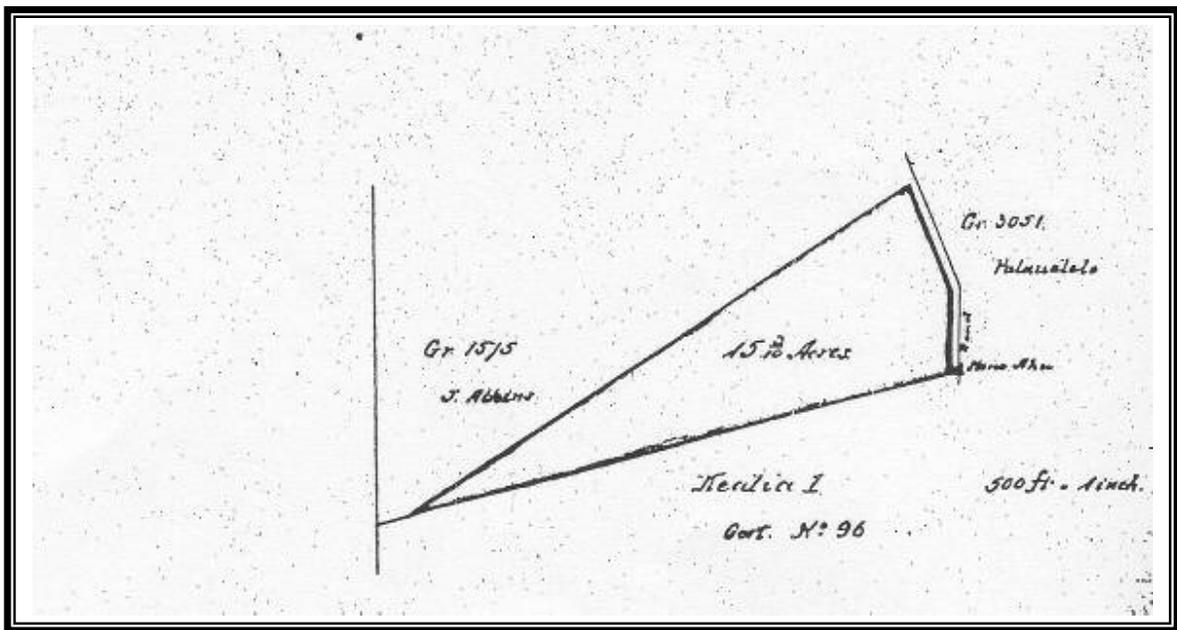


Figure 18. Map of Kauleoli –Patent Grant 3708, to Wm. Wright (not to scale); July 2, 1894 (State Bureau of Conveyances)

Proceedings of the Boundary Commission in South Kona (ca. 1873-1876)

The *Māhele* and Land Grant programs of the Kingdom were accompanied by rapid growth in land-based business interests. In an address before the Annual Meeting of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society (1857), J.F.B. Marshall spoke of the growing business ventures in the islands which included —the cultivation of sugar and coffee; harvesting *pulu* for mattresses and pillows, and *kukui* for oil; ranching and export of hides, tallow and wool; farming for trade and export, and salt manufacture (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 5, 1857). Large land owners (including *Konohiki* and foreign residents) also pursued the establishment of formal boundaries on their land holdings, in order to protect their private property “rights.”

In 1862, a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i to legally set the boundaries of all the *ahupua‘a* that had been awarded as a part of the *Māhele*. Subsequently, in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries were authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118). Rufus A. Lyman served as the Commissioner of Boundaries for the Third Judicial Circuit—the island of Hawai‘i.

The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the area being discussed. For lands in the region of which Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī are a part, many of the informants stated that they were either born on one of the lands being described, or that they had lived there most of their lives. All of the witnesses had learned of the boundaries from elder residents, and they described the landscape by the nature of the terrain, the presence of resources, land use, and features which were of significance to the residents of the land.

The oldest informants were born around 1795, by association with events described at the time of their birth, and the youngest, born around 1820. The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Readers here will note that there are often inconsistencies in spelling of particular words such as place names, people names and natural or man-made features.

The narratives below were excerpted from the testimonies for Hōnaunau, Keōkea, Ki‘ilae and Keālia (underlining is used by this author to emphasize selected references). As a Government held land, the boundaries of Kauleolī were not settled by this process, but they are described in association with the lands which bound it north and south. Not all of the documentation provided by each witness is repeated here, though primary documentation regarding the *ahupua‘a* boundaries, and narratives regarding native customs, practices, and cultural features are cited ¹⁶. Underlining and square bracketing are used by this author to highlight particular points of historical interest in the narratives.

Register Map No.’s 1445 (J.S. Emerson, ca. 1888) and 1796 (W.A. Wall, 1896) identify the boundaries of the lands, including some of the locations (natural and manmade) described in the testimonies (*Figures 11 & 12*). Unfortunately, the maps of surveys made as a part of the proceedings of the Boundary Commission, could not be located in public collections.

¹⁶ Measurements of degrees and chains etc., recorded as a part of the metes and bounds in surveys for the various lands are not reproduced in the Boundary Commission records cited in this study; Volumes from which documentation was excerpted is indicated at beginning of each land record; and page numbers as recorded in the original “Folio” of recordation are cited in parenthesis at top of each cited page.

Testimonies for Lands of the Hōnaunau (Ki'īlae-Kauleoli) Keālia Vicinity
(page 273)
Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A

The Ahupuaa of Kealia District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii... On this fifth day of August A.D. 1873...met at Keopuka South Kona for hearing the application of C.R. Bishop for the settlement of the boundaries of Kealia... Present J.G. Hoapili for Hawaiian Government, applicant and Her Excellency R. Keelikolani.

Patent for part of Kauleoli filed No. 1575.

Kekuhaulua ^K. Sworn

I was born at Keei in South Kona, Hawaii, at the time of Kamehameha I, at Ulukaa Oahu [ca. 1809], at the time of Umikaua. I now live at Kealia 1st and know the boundaries. Kahaukapule and Kaumaka bird catchers, pointed them out to me. I have been up after sandal wood.

Kuiuāla is the boundary at shore between Kealia and Kauleoli, a place at the *mauka* Government road called Ahupuaa is on the boundary between these two lands, at the end of Hamilins land. Thence *mauka* to Puuawawa then into the edge of the woods to Puukii a *puu ahua* [stone hillock], thence to Kawahine, a *pali* where the land of Kiilae joins Kealia, and cuts Kauleoli off, thence along Kiilae to Kamuahiku a large *koa* tree; there is a Kualapa [ridge] and awaawa [valley or grotto] along the boundary, all through the woods. thence to Kalaemamani Kuakai, above the woods where Keauhou cuts Kealia off, at the *poha* [soft hollow *pāhoehoe* flow] and *aa*, I do not know whether Kiilae extends clear to Keauhou or not. Thence along Keauhou to Kaulupa, a water hole on the boundary of Keauhou and Kealia 1st and Kealia 2nd. I went there with Kaelemakule and two kamaainas named Kailikakio and Kaaipuaa... (page 274) ...I also went with Wiltse, we surveyed into the edge of the fern, and then sighted the woods. Thence the boundary turns *makai* along Kealia 2nd until you come to Kualapa or ridge called Nakii in the *koa* woods, thence down along the end of the ridge to Kala a water hole, thence *makai* to Kumukaua, another water hole, thence to Puuhinahina, an old *kauhale* [dwelling place] below the woods, thence along the *iwi aina* [boundary wall] to Kapohokinikini, thence to Kahope Kaluakii, a water hole. Thence to Niho, at the *mauka* Government road. Thence the boundary runs to Haliipalala, and along the *iwi aina* to Naulu, an *oioina* [trail side resting place], thence *makai* to Kananaka, a cave; thence to Minoi, there the boundary turns towards Kau and runs to Kapiipaa, a cave and from thence to Paapuiula [?], thence to Kahikilaniakea, where Akahi's houses are, then the boundary turns toward Kona, to Keawa o Kini the *makai* boundary at Sea shore.

Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. CX'd
August 6, 1873

Kaai^K. Sworn

I was born at Kauhako, South Kona, Hawaii after the first Missionaries arrived [ca. 1820] now live at Kauhako, my wife is from Kealia and I am *kamaaina* of that land.

The boundary at shore is a *Puu pahoehoe* [*pāhoehoe* mound or hill], between Kealia 1st and Kealia 2nd. *Puu o Kealia* is the name of the *Puu pahoehoe* at shore and is rather on the North side of the landing in front of the Pa hale o Akahi [Akahi's residence], the boundary then runs South to the end of the coconut trees, and there turns *mauka* and follows up a wall, that the *kamaaina* told me was on the boundary of Kealia, to below where the breadfruit trees are growing. I do not know the boundaries above there. CX'd...

Note: Map and Notes of Survey filed by D.H. Hitchcock June 14, 1876...

(page 279)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A

The Ahupuaa of Honaunau South Kona... Fifth day of August 1873...for the hearing of the application of C.R. Bishop, for the settlement of the boundaries of Honaunau... Present J.G. Hoapili for applicant, for Mrs. C.R. Bishop, Her Excellency R. Keelikolani, and Madam Akahi.

Kawaha^K. Sworn

I was born at Honaunau South Kona Hawaii at the time of Peleleu [ca. 1795 - the making sailing of the great canoe fleet to Oahu]. I lived on said land until after it was sold, then moved to Keei. The land of Keokea bounds Honaunau on the South side, my *kupuna* told me the boundary between these two lands, at shore, is at a place called Keakuaaniwale a *papa konane* (sort of checker board) on the *pahoehoe*, where the natives used to play a game with pebbles called *konane*. Thence the boundary runs *mauka* to Pohakuloa, a place near the *makai* Government road; a large rock. I do not know the points between these places. Do not know the boundaries on this side above this point. Keei is on the North side of Honaunau the boundary between these two lands at the sea shore is at a cave called Kapukalua, said cave has two entrances and is on the North side of a point called Kanoni. Thence *mauka* along Keei to Kaahu o Keawe, a very large pile of stones, now overturned near the Government road at shore. Thence the boundary runs *mauka* passing on the Southern side of Lepo-ula (which is on Keei) to *Ahupuaa*, a large pile... (page 280) ...of rocks at the *mauka* Government road.

Thence *mauka* to Kalonowai a water hole in *awaawa*, thence *mauka* to where *koa* trees are growing and to the *pahoehoe* where *ohia* trees are growing, this my *kupuna* told me was the *mauka* boundary. Keaweohiki, Lunaiholani and Kumukoa (all now dead) told me boundaries. Keauhou cuts Honaunau off. Have not heard whether Keei reaches up to Keauhou or not. CX'd

Kalalahua^{K[17]}. Sworn

I was born at Keei South Kona Hawaii, at time of Liholiho's leaving the Islands [ca. 1823]. I have always lived on Keei and know the boundaries between said land and Honaunau, but not between Keokea and Honaunau.

The *ana* [cave] Pukalua is the boundary at seashore between Honaunau and Keei, thence the boundary runs *mauka* to Ahu a Keawe a pile of stones, now overturned; by the *makai* Government road, thence to *Ahupuaa* a pile of stones, at the *mauka* Government road thence to Kalonowai, on the edge of the woods, in the ferns. This is as far as I know the boundaries of the lands, and Kawaha^K (the last witness) is the one who told them to me. CX'd...

Umi^K. Sworn

I was born at Keei 1st at the time of Kamehameha I [ca. 1811-1819]. Lived at Keei till I married my second wife, and then moved to Honaunau, am a *kamaaina* and know the boundaries. My wife now dead pointed them out to me, and her *kupuna* Moana^K an old fisherman and *kamaaina* told them to her. Keei nui bounds Honaunau on... (page 281) ...the north side. The *awa* [landing] Uanakua is the boundary at shore, between Honaunau and Keei, thence the boundary between these lands runs *mauka* to Ahu a Keawe, a pile of stones at the *makai* Government road. Thence to *Ahupuaa* at *Mauka* Government road, thence *mauka* to Punawai Kalonowai, in the woods, there is an *awaawa* near a spring called Keahiolo; said spring being on the south side of the *awaawa*. I have heard that Pupuewai is the *mauka* boundary of Honaunau, that Keauhou and Kahuku cuts it off at Pupuewai. Kuikanai Keakaokawai's brother, told me this when we went up in Kealaehu after cattle (Kuikanai is now dead). Keokea bounds Honaunau on the South side, I do not know the points of the boundary do not know where Keei ends. Used to live with Kamehameha I and Liholiho and so do not know the boundaries of Keei. CX'd

Kapuwahelani^K. Sworn

I was born at Keokea South Kona Hawaii at the time of *Peleleu* [ca. 1795 - the making & sailing of the great canoe fleet to Oahu], am a *kamaaina* of Honaunau; Uanakua a canoe landing is the boundary at the seashore between Keei nui and Honaunau thence *mauka* to Ahu Keawe thence to *Ahupuaa*, *mauka* Government road, thence to Kalonowai *punawai* [spring], there is Keahiolo on the top of the Southern bank of Honaunau, where stone rolls down Keei. This is as far as I know the boundaries.

The old *kamaaina* told me that the *awaawa* Ahiolo runs clear through the woods on the boundary of Keei, and *mauka* of *Lae mamani* to the foot of the mountain, where it is cut off by Keauhou. I have never been there, have only heard this; Pupuewai is on Honaunau and that Keauhou is *mauka*.

The boundary at shore between Honaunau and Keokea is a Kaheka, a pool of water called Haliipalala. Thence the boundary runs *mauka* to Pohakuloa, along rock, above the houses thence to Kahuahakamo a *kukui* grove; a

¹⁷ Kalalahua was the grandfather of Mr. Charles Hua, and great grandfather of Clarence A. Mederios Jr. (and siblings); participants in the oral history/consultation program conducted as a part of this study.

place called Keakuaaniwale is the boundary on the sea beach, a sort of *iwi aina* [boundary wall] along here from the shore, from Kahuahakamoa the boundary... (page 282) ...runs along Keokea to Ke Ahupuaa, a pile of stones, on the *mauka* Government road. Thence to the edge of the woods. I do not know the points on the boundary, on where Keokea ends. I do not know of any one living who knows the boundaries in the woods. CX'd...

Kila^k. Sworn (Same witness as on Kiilae)

I have lived on Honaunau a long time and am a *kamaaina* of said land, used to go onto the mountain with kamaainas catching birds. I do not know the boundaries between Keei and Honaunau, but between Keokea and Honaunau. The boundary at sea shore is the point on the South side of Puaike *awa* [landing] thence *mauka* to Pohakuloa, a place *mauka* of the *makai* Government road thence to Ahuakanakou a large pile of rocks thence; to Kahuahakamoa, thence to Puuokakai a hill in *kukui* trees, thence to Ke Ahupuaa, *mauka* of the Government road, thence to Waiopokii, a water hole, thence to Ahuakukailimoku a place where canoe makers used to kill their pigs. (The old road for the canoe makers used to run up the boundary) Thence to Kalaewale, small water holes in the *koa* woods, thence to Waihaka, a large pond of water several fathoms long, thence to Paliohikihi, where we used to let the canoes down with ropes. (these boundaries are all in the old road) Thence follow up the road to Keaha which is out of the woods, in scant *ohia* and *mamani*, a place where bird catchers used to catch a bird called Kapiopio thence to Kamanu at which place the lands are all narrow. Alohi is on Keauhou 2. I do not know the boundaries between Keei and Honaunau, have heard that Puuloa is on Honaunau, it is a Palinui in the middle of the woods; know Pupuewai, it is *mauka* of a large cave called Ana o Umi, and is where Honaunau ends and Keokea and other lands end near there. CX'd

Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea...

(page 292)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A

The Ahupuaa of Kiilae District of South Kona Hawaii... On this sixth day of August A.D. 1873 the Commission of Boundaries for the 3rd J.C. met at Keopuka South Kona Hawaii, for the hearing of the application of G.H. Davis for the settlement of the boundaries of the *ahupuaa* of Kiilae South Kona.

Notice of the hearing of applications for the settlement of the boundaries of lands in North and South Kona...Present G.H. Davis, for self, J.G. Hoapili for the Hawaiian Government, her Excellency R. Keelikolani and Akahi

Note: For boundaries of Kauleoli see Royal Patent of J. Atkins and Palauolelo

Testimony

Kila^K. Sworn

I was born at Kailua North Kona Hawaii, at the time of Peleleu [ca. 1795 - the sailing of the great canoe fleet to Oahu], lived at Honaunau over twenty years, and used to go into the woods with my kupuna, bird catching, and it was then that the boundaries were pointed out to me. I know the land of Kiilae and its boundaries, Kuwaia a water spring, under the pali, at the sea shore, is the boundary between Kiilae and Keokea; The land has ancient fishing rights extending out, as far as you can see bottom. Commencing at the spring at the sea shore, the boundary runs *mauka* along Keokea to a kahawai (gulch) called Keokea thence follow up an iwi aina [boundary wall] to kahawai Kiilae [Kiilae gulch] the boundary being on the South side of the kahawai, thence follow up to opposite Ke Ahupuaa on Keokea, where the *kahawai* turns onto Keokea and the boundary runs *mauka* to Kaapali hookaa, a *pali* in the woods where *koa* is growing and where you can see the shore... (page 293) ...and the *pali* Manuahi at Kaawaloa; thence *mauka* to Kanuukolea, a grove of Kolea trees where bird catchers used to live. Thence out of the woods, to Kanuku, a pile of stones which was built on the *pahoehoe* in olden times, thence through Kaanunu to Alohi. The Alohi, is on Keauhou thence along a *Lae mamani* [a *māmane* forest grove] called Mamani nui to a place called Kuakai, said place being in the middle of Kealia. Kiilae runs to the edge of Mamani nui, which is on Kealia. Thence the boundary between Kealia and Kiilae runs *makai*. I do not know the boundaries *makai* from Mamani [nui]. CX'd

No more witnesses on hand...

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A

[George Davis Hū'eu died on January 1, 1874; and the continuance of the Boundary Commission hearings on Ki'ilae were left incomplete.]

(page 294)

The Ahupuaa of Keokea District of South Kona Hawaii...

August 6, 1873...for the hearing of the application of J.O. Dominis, Administrator of the Estate of the late M. Kekuanaoa for settlement of the boundaries of Keokea 1st...

Testimony

Kila^K. Sworn (Same witness as on Kiilae)

Keokea ends at Kanunu at the lower edge of Kealohi; the *a poha* [thin crusted lava flow]. Kuluahi father of Keakaokawai, told me, that Keauhou and Kahuku were the two lands owning the *kuahiwi* [the mountain zone]; that Kahuku was on the top of the mountain, on the steep point and that Keauhou was at the foot, and flat part of the mountain, on this side. Kuluahi was a *makuakane* [uncle] of mine, and told me this at Kainaliu, I never went into the mountain with him. CX'd

Case continued till the 8th instant...

Keopuka August 8th 1873

Manuia ^{K.} Sworn (rather an old man)

I was born at Olelomoana Kona Hawaii but do not know when. My *kupuna* moved to Keokea when I was quite young.

At the time I desired lands a few years [back]... (page 295) ...I went to Kekuanaoa and asked him the boundaries. He said he was born at Keokea and knew the boundaries. He said Kiilae is on the south side of Keokea and that Kuaaia is the boundary between them at the sea shore; said place is at the foot of a *pali* on Keokea but the *pali* and land beyond is on Kiilae. Thence *mauka* along Kiilae to Ke Ahupuaa, a high pile of stones the boundary following an old *iwi aina* [boundary wall] from the shore to the *mauka* Government road. This is as far as I have seen boundary between Keokea and Kiilae have not heard where Keokea ends on what lands cut it off.

Haliipalala and Keakuaaniwale are on Keokea and the boundary between Honaunau and Keokea at the sea shore is at an open place among the coconut trees, mostly sand and *pahoehoe* called Papa Konane, on the south side of Keakuaaniwale; there are two large stones there from this place the boundary to Keahuakamakau, a very high pile of stones; thence to Kahuamo a cave, thence to Puu Kahakai a hill surrounded by *kukui* trees; thence to Ke Ahupuaa, a large pile of stones at the *makai* side of the *mauka* Government road. This is as far as I know the boundaries of the land.

The *kamaaina* are all dead and gone. CX'd

The Kaheka is on Keokea. Pohakuloa is on Keokea. Kahuahakamo a is another name for Kahuamo a...

Keauhou, Kona Aug. 9, 1873

Hamu ^{K.} Sworn

I know Makoi's *kuleana* [property] on Keokea, it is on the South side of Papa Konane, a place called Keakuaaniwale is on the side of the *kuleana*. Makoi, my father (now dead told me that the boundary between Honaunau and Keokea ran on the North side of this *kuleana*, said *kuleana* is a short distance below the *makai* Government road and same distance from shore. I do not know the boundaries *mauka*. CX'd

(page 220) Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3

Certificate No. 96

Certificate of the Boundaries of Kealia 1st District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii, Third Judiciary Circuit. [Includes southern boundary of Kauleoli.]

Upon the application of Chas R. Bishop for Madam Akahi, and by virtue of the Authority vested in me by law as Sole Commissioner of Land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3rd J.C.

I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of the *Ahupuaa* of Kealia 1st, Situated in the District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii, to be as hereinafter set forth... This fourteenth day of June, A.D. 1876...

Boundaries of Kealia 1st

Commence at rock marked "X" on the Sea coast at boundary of Kauleoli and running along the coast to Kealia 2nd as follows:

South...West... South...East... (page 221) ...to large rock on Sand Beach. North...East... to center of old *Kahua Hale* [house site]... North...East... to top of *Pali* line of Kealia 2nd...North...West along *pali* line of Kealia 2nd...North...West...to corner of goat pen... North...East... to Stone wall. North...East... along Stone wall. North...East... along Stone wall to upper Corner. North...East... to upper Govt. Road. North...East...to woods. North...East... to "Komakawai" Waterhole. North...East...to South East corner of this land bearing North from "Keanahaluh" [?]... North... thence along Kahuku to Kiilae Thence along boundary of Kiilae as follows.

South...West... along Kiilae to point opposite Komakawai. South...West... to Kauleoli & *Koa* marked "X". South...West... along Palauolelo's land. South...West... along Palauolelo's land... South...West... along Palauolelo's land to *ahu mauka* of road. Thence along Hamblin's [Hamlin] land and land of Kauleoli Royal Patent 1575. South...West... to Commencement of Hamblin's land. South...West... to *ahu* on lower Road. South...West... to Sea coast & points of Commencement and Containing an area of 7300 acres more or less...

(page 251) Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3

Certificate No. 109 (for correct description of this Ahp. See R.P. 7874)

Certificate of the Boundaries of Honaunau, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii...

Upon the application of C.R. Bishop and by virtue of the Authority vested in me by law as Sole Commissioner of Land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3rd J.C.

I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of the *Ahupuaa* of Honaunau Situated in the District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii, to be as hereinafter set forth. Given under my hand at Hilo, Hawaii. This twenty seventh day of June A.D. 1876.

R.A. Lyman

Boundaries of Honaunau

Commencing at the sea coast on the boundary of Keokea rock marked "H" and running along the coast as follows... North...West... (page 252) ...North...East... North...West... to spouting Hole & well. North...West... to

place called Keanapukalua on boundary of Keei 2nd; Thence along said boundary, as follows.

North...East... to *ahu* on lower Govt Road. North...East... to *ahu* on upper Govt Road. North...East... to water hole on *Pali* called Pokii. North...East... through woods to boundary of Keauhou 2nd and large *ahu* on said corner; Thence along said boundary outside boundary of Heavy Forest. South...East... to *ahu*. South...East... to *ahu* on large rock. South...East... to boundary of Keokea. Two *ahu*'s one on each side of *Awaawa* [valley or gulch] line runs half way between. South...West... down boundary of Keokea to water hole called Pokii on *pali*. South...West... to *ahu* in Govt. Road. South...West... to *ahu*. South...West... to *ahu* near lower Govt. road and Rock marked "H". South...West... to rock called Pohakuloa. South...West... to sea coast & point of commencement, and containing an area of 6123 acres, More or less.

(page 253) Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3

Certificate No. 110

Certificate of the Boundaries of Keokea, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii... [Includes the north boundary of Ki'ilae.]

Upon the application of J.P. Dominis administrator of the Estate of H.R.H. M. Kekuanaoa, and H.R.H. V. Kamamalu per T.H. Harris atty at Law, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, as sole commissioner of Land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii, 3rd J.C. I hereby decide and certify the Boundaries of the *Ahupuaa* of Keokea Situated in the District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii to be as herein after set forth... This twenty seventh day of June, A.D. 1876.

R.A. Lyman...

Boundaries of Keokea

Commencing at rock on coast marked "K + K" on boundary of Kiilae, and running along boundary of Kiilae... (page 254) N...E... to *ahu*. North...East... to *ahu* near breadfruit tree. North...East... to upper Govt road and *ahu*. North...East... to top of *Pali*. North...East... to upper edge of forest, on boundary of Keauhou 2nd. North...West... to *awaawa* [gulch or valley] (large *ahu* each side *awaawa*). South...West...chains along boundary of Honaunau to water hole on *pali* called Pokii. South...West...chains to *ahu* on upper Govt road. South...West... to *ahu*. South...West... to *ahu* & rock marked H on lower Government road. South...West... to rock called Pohakuloa. South...West... to sea coast rock marked H. South...East... along coast... to commencement and containing an acre of 2,375 Acres, More or less.

(page 221)

Boundary Commission — Volume B

The Ahupuaa of Honaunau, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii...
Continued from August 6th, 1873...

Notes from Commissioners Journal taken June 5th 1874:

Went with Kila, Umi and others, and looked at Haliipalala and *awa pai waa* [canoe landing] near the boundary of Keokea. Kila pointed out a point South side of the canoe landing as the boundary of Keokea, and thence to old *Halau* [canoe house] and to west *makai* corner of *Kuleana*, and along the North boundary of said *kuleana* and passing to North of Pohakuloa, a rock at the Government road. Thence to an *ahu* Kamakau, thence to the wall, running straight *makai* from *Kukui* grove making it nearly straight. Umi, and the woman witness pointed out boundary as from Halipalala, a few rods towards Kau of Kila's boundary thence to Keakuaaniwale on sand, and to near South corner of *Kuleana*; thence to Pohakuloa large rock at the Government road, thence as given in their testimony and to wall *mauka* that Kila points out.

The place in dispute has a few cocconut trees on it, otherwise it is almost worthless. The line Kila points out goes just to the South of the place pointed out by all as the *papa konane* [checker board]. The *kuleana* award says this [is] on Keokea.

Testimony taken at Honaunau, South Kona Island of Hawaii. June 5th, 1874

(page 222)

Kuiline^K Sworn (A blind man)

I was born in Kohala at the time of Peleleu [ca. 1795] I now live here, moved here during the life time of Kamehameha I and have lived here ever since, and know a part of the boundaries of Honaunau. Makaluhi the *konohiki* of Keokea told me the boundaries. The boundary at shore between Honaunau and Keokea is at a place called Haliipalala a *Kaheka* [tidal pool], thence to a large rock on the sand. I do not know whether the rock is there now or not, as I have been blind since 1838. The *Kaheka* called Keakuaaniwale is on the North side of Haliipalala, from thence the place on that boundary that I remember is called Kipikipi, a *kihapai* [dryland garden]. Hikili is in the *koa* woods. Heard that Keauhou takes most of the mountain. Kahawai is a water spring on Keokea. The bird right of Honaunau in olden times extended to Alohi and Puepuewai. Have heard that Keauhou cuts this land off. Kahuku and Kau bird catchers used to fight on the mountain, but I do not know the boundary between those two lands. If Kona people went too far over Kau people used to fight them and drive them back and visa versa. I know the boundaries between Honaunau and Keei. Anakua, I think is on the boundary at shore, thence to a pile of stones at Mahana, thence to a pile of stones on the Kau side of Kalepowila. Thence to Ke Ahupuaa at the *mauka* Government road.

Note. On being asked how he knew where the *mauka* Government road was, when he had been blind so many years he replied. That he was told that it was at the same place where the ancient trail [Kealaehu] to Kau used to be.

Thence to Pohakupakahi a pile of stones, thence passing on the Kona on North side of Kalonowai to Keahiolo. I do not know the points on the boundaries beyond here and I do not know how far Keei extends but have heard that Honaunau extends to Puepuewai. CX'd

(page 223)

Know a place called Anapuka, it is way on Honaunau. The boundary as it was told to me runs from Anapuka to Puulehu and then to Mahana. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing sights extending out to sea.

Note:

Then went to look at the point in dispute with Kalalahua and Umi.

The place in dispute is quite a wide strip of *pahoehoe*, nearly worthless. The witnesses all agree as to points when the boundary reaches good land *mauka*...

R.A. Lyman.

Hilo June 27, 1876

The Commission of Boundaries for the 3rd J.C. met at the office of Com. D.H. Hitchcock filed notes of survey of Honaunau and map, and being sworn says.

I found a dispute about the boundary between Honaunau and Keokea, whether a *kaheka* belonged to Keokea or Honaunau. I put the *Kaheka* into Honaunau, as both parties agreed as to boundary at *makai* Govt. road. I think that there are only a few cocoanut trees on this strip, and it is about 2 acres in area, rocks and sand. On the North side I found that the *kamaaina* carried the boundary at shore 4 or 5 chains into Keei, but there were no old *ahu* on their boundary, and so I put the boundary where they claimed. Mr. Bishop left it to me to straighten the boundary. I surveyed each side of the land as far as the *mauka* edge of woods and then made a straight line through the woods to the place that Keakaikawai pointed out as the boundary between Keauhou and this land. I am Mr. Bishop's Agent to look after his interests. I requested the *kamaaina* from this land to point out the *mauka* boundary and they said that they could not point it out and refused to go any further. They said that the land went further *mauka* but could not point it out. They said there were two *ahu* on the boundary. Keakaikawai pointed out two *ahu*, and said those were the ones.

CX'd The *kamaaina* from this land seemed to be lost above the woods. Testimony closed.

The boundaries of Honaunau are decided to be as given in the notes of survey filed by Mr. Hitchcock...see Folio 251, Liber I... [see Certificate No. 109]

Surveyor Field Notebooks and Correspondence (South Kona Region)

Among the historic Government records for lands in the vicinity of the study area are the communications and field notebooks of Kingdom Surveyor, Joseph S. Emerson. Born on O‘ahu, J.S. Emerson (like his brother, Nathaniel Emerson, a compiler of Hawaiian history) had the ability to converse in Hawaiian, and he was greatly interested in Hawaiian beliefs, traditions, and customs. As a result of this interest, his letters and field books record more than coordinates for developing maps. While in the field, Emerson also sought out knowledgeable native residents of the lands he surveyed, as guides. Thus, while he was in the field he often recorded traditions of place names, residences, trails, and various features of the cultural and natural landscape. Among the lands that Emerson worked in was the greater South Kona region, including the lands of Ki‘ilae and Kauleolī.

One of the unique facets of the Emerson field note books is that one of his assistants, J. Perryman, was a talented artist. While in the field, Perryman prepared detailed sketches that bring the landscape of the period to life. In a letter to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General, Emerson described his methods and wrote that he took readings off of:

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

Discussing the field books, Emerson also wrote to Alexander, reporting “I must compliment my comrade, Perryman, for his very artistic sketches in the field book of the grand mountain scenery...” (State Archives, HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; Apr. 5, 1882). Later he noted, “Perryman is just laying himself out in the matter of topography. His sketches deserve the highest praise...” (ibid. May 5, 1882). Field book sketches and the Register Maps which resulted from the field work provide us with a glimpse of the country side of more than 110 years ago.

The following notes are excerpted from the Field Book No. 256, “KONA HAWAII Primary Triangulation, 1883-4. VOL. VI” (viewed in the collection of the State Survey Division). The numbered sites and place names cited from the field book coincide with the locational references in sketches prepared by Perryman. Because the original books are in poor condition—highly acidic paper that has darkened, making the pencil written and drawn records difficult to read—some of the notations have been carefully traced to enhance readability. *Figure 19* is a portion of Register Map No. 1281 (Registered in 1891), depicting the Ki‘ilae-Kauleolī vicinity, was produced by Emerson as a result of the surveys which he conducted between 1884 and 1888; it provides viewers with the larger regional context of the field book sketches (*Figures 20, 21, and 22*).

Field Book No. 256
KONA HAWAII (1883-1884)
Feb. 25, 1884 (p. 57, 59)

Palianihi Station (Overlooking Kauhakō-Ho'okena Bay)

Ref.	Location	Feature	Ahupuaa
b6	Laina Maui	Top of Pole	Kauhako
c6	Alaihi	Top of pole	Kalahiki
d6	Kepaka	Top of pole	Kealia 1
e6	sharp rock in sea	Top of pole rock by Lae Mamo	Kealia 1
f6	Pukaana Ch.	Top of steeple	Hookena
g6	Kukaheka Pt.	surface of sea	Kukuiopae 1
h6	Lae o Kapilo	Surface of sea Waiea	
v6	Limu Koko reef	Covered by surf	Kalahiki
j6	Kanekaukii	Covered by surf	Kalahiki
k6	Laina Maui Pt	Division line between	Kauhako & Kalahiki
l6	Tang Hd Kealia Bay	Jagged Bay	Kealia 2
m6	Poomaka Pt		Kealia 2
n6	Lae Mamo No. 3		Kealia 1
o6	Lae o Kauhi Nohonakauhi		Kealia 1
n3	Lae Kanoni	Extremity	Honaunau
o2	Keawekaheka Pt.		Kaawaloa...

Field Book 256
Feb 29, 1884 (p. 79)
Lae o Kanoni Station

Ref.	Location	Feature	Ahupuaa
q4	Lae Loa Cape extremity		Kealia 1
v6	Limukoko No. 2		Honaunau
i4	Palemano		Keeki
o2	Keawekaheka Cape		
w6	Tang hd. Alahaka Bay		Keokea
v6	Limu Koko Cape Extremity		Honaunau
m4	Tang hd. Honaunau Bay		Honaunau
x6	Hale o Keawe	South side of Honaunau Bay	Honaunau
y6	Tang hd. Mokuohai B.	South Side of Palemano Cape	Keeki 2...
w4	Honaunau Cath. Ch.	Top of Spire	Honaunau
x4	Honaunau Prot. Ch.	Top of spire (Ponomau)	Honaunau
f6	Pukaana Prot. Ch.	Top of Spire	Hookena...
z6	Kekuewa's large house		Honaunau
a7	Wainoni frame school house		Honaunau
b7	Polani's frame house	Just above Laai Landing	Keokea
q6	Robert's frame house		Kauhako...

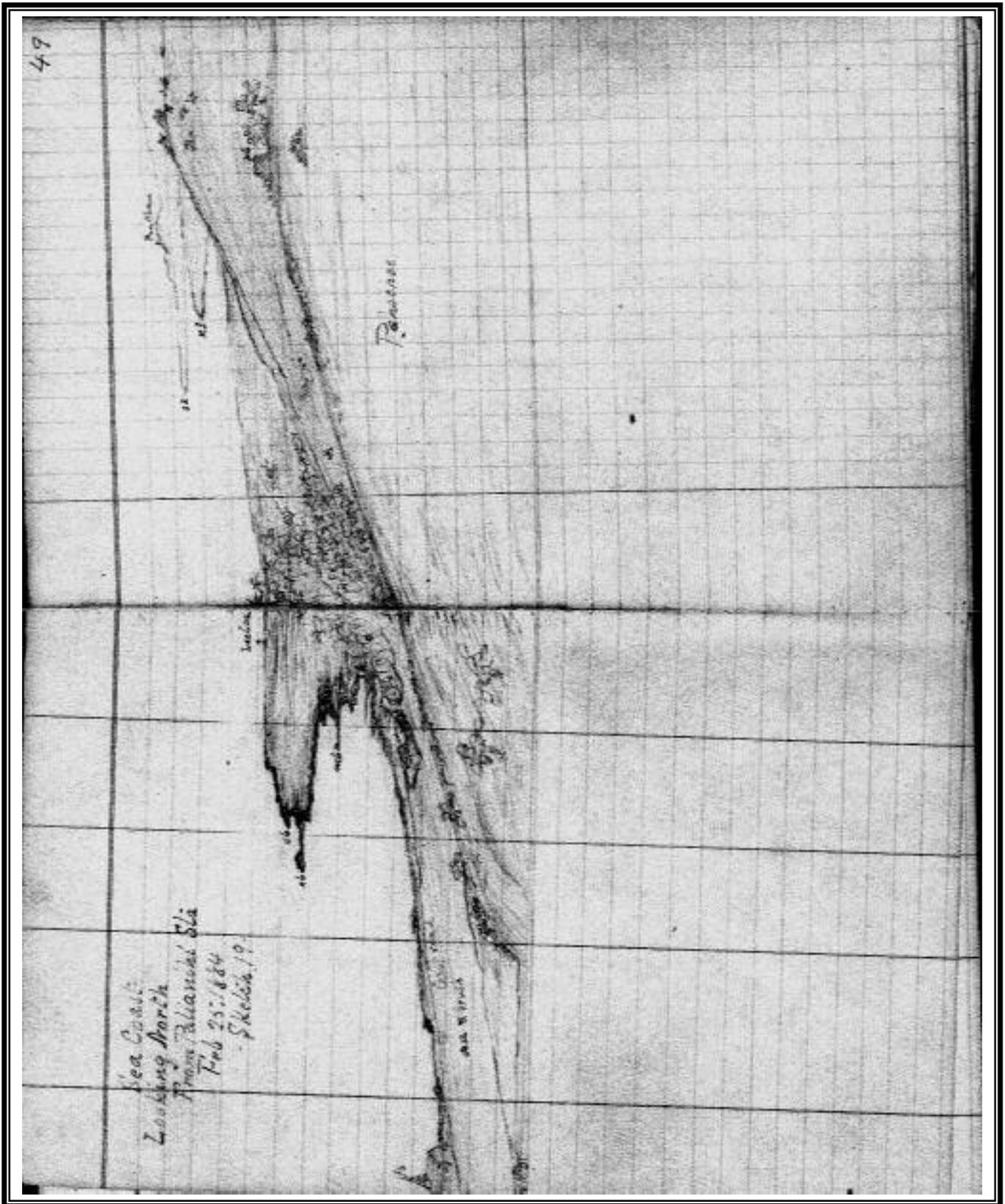


Figure 20. J.S. Emerson Field Book Sketch; Book 256:49 (State Survey Division)

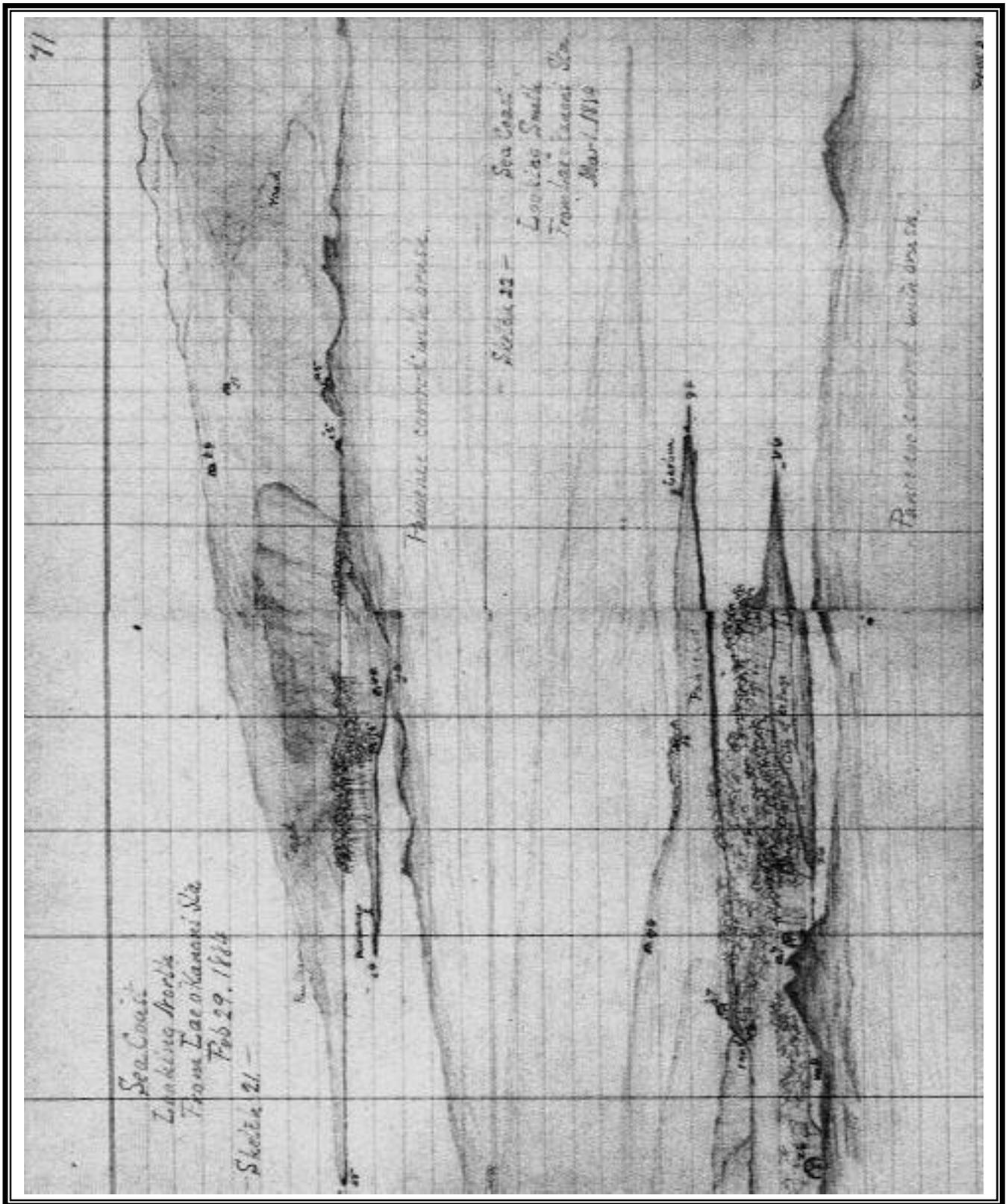


Figure 21. J.S. Emerson Field Book Sketch; Book 256:71 (State Survey Division)

Field Book 256
Mar. 14, 1884 (p. 137)
Lae o Kanoni Station

Ref.	Location	Feature	Ahupuaa
...l7	Pukakio Cape south of Alahaka B.	Just north of Polani's frame house	Keokea
m7	Kiilae Bay tang at hd.		Kiilae
n7	Papakolea Pt. No. 1	part of the large cape Lae loa	Kealia
o7	Small bay tang hd. of	just north of Lae Loa	Kealia
g4	Lae Loa Cape		Kealia...
p7	King's thatched house		Kauloli
q7	C. Hooper's frame house		Kauloli...

Hookena

February 1, 1891

J.S. Emerson (Government Surveyor), to W.D. Alexander (Surveyor General);
 Describes great difficulty in getting fresh water in the South Kona Region,
 and also reported —

...Every where in Kona the natives show me marked consideration and kindness. I never met a more generous and kind hearted people any where... [State Archives – DAGS 6 HGS]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES IN THE HŌNAUNAU-KAULEOLĪ VICINITY

The first documentation of Hawaiian sites in Ki'īlae and Kauleolī was compiled by John Reinecke (ms. 1930). In 1929-1930, Bishop Museum contracted John Reinecke to conduct a survey of Hawaiian sites in West Hawai'i. One of Reinecke's survey fields included the area extending south from Hōnaunau to Kapu-a. His work being the first attempt at a survey of sites of varying function, ranging from ceremonial to residency and resource collection.

In the early 1900s, Thrum (1908) and Stokes (Stokes and Dye 1991), conducted literature and field research to identify and record *heiau* (ceremonial sites) and associated features on Hawai'i. Neither Thrum or Stokes mentioned Ki'īlae or Kauleolī. As a result of the cultural-historical significance of the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau and associated resources, many archaeological and ethnographic studies have been conducted. As the scope of the National Historical Park was being developed, it was determined to also acquire the *makai* lands of Keōkea and a portion of the coastal village at Ki'īlae. As a result, some detailed field studies and ethnographic research has been compiled for the *makai* lands (with Jackson's 1966 study also covering uplands residency and land use practices). The 1993 report prepared by Linda Wedel Greene of the National Park Service provide readers with a detailed assessment of the various studies conducted in the area from ca. 1919 to 1990.

For the purposes of the present study, only excerpts from Reinecke (ms. 1930) and notes from annotated maps prepared by Kekahuna and Kelsey (June 30, 1956), Emory (1957), and Jackson (1966) are cited. The more detailed work summary prepared by Greene (1993), and report of field work by Rechtman Consulting (2001) should be referenced for further information.

Excerpts from "Survey of Hawaiian Remains, Honaunau to Ka'u Line" (J. Reinecke ms. 1930)

In 1929-1930, Bishop Museum contracted John Reinecke to conduct a study of sites in the district of Kona (Reinecke ms. 1930). While Reinecke relied on the work of Thrum (1908) and Stokes (1991), he also met with elderly native informants and other individuals who were knowledgeable about various sites in the district. Though Reinecke's work has not been formally published, it has been referenced over the years, and today, it gives us insight into certain sites and features for which no other early information is available. In some respects, Reinecke's work went further than Stokes in that he documented the occurrence of a greater variety of cultural features he came across, rather than limiting himself to "ceremonial" sites. Features and sites described by Reinecke include *heiau*, house sites, caves, burials, trails (*mauka-makai* and coastal), canoe landings, walls (e.g., *ahupua'a* boundaries and enclosures etc.), platforms, agricultural features (i.e. mounds, pits, terraces), and many other sites of undetermined use.

Describing the area around Hōnaunau, and south beyond Ki'īlae-Kauleolī, Reinecke reported:

It is to be taken for granted that at the villages of Honaunau, Kealia, and Hookena, the older sites will have been for the most part erased by later erections, making these places interesting chiefly as exemplified of the decay within recent years of the Kona coast villages. The post office at Hookena (for example) was closed in April 1930, the wharf receives shipments of

freight only twice a month, a deserted building bears the name of the last store, even the churches plainly show their deserted condition. Over one-half of the dwellings marked on the maps (1924-25) are entirely deserted or only temporarily occupied.

The trail from Honaunau to Kealia, forming a continuation of the "Puuhonua Road," is about ten feet wide and paved in several places with large flat stones. The effect at the ascent of the *pali* is especially striking and pleasing (Reinecke ms. 1930:160).

Selected descriptions of sites between Keōkea, Ki'ilae and Kauleolī provide insight into residency and land use practices of the area:

Keōkea Section:

Site 5. Most of the passageway at the foot of the *pali* is untouched. At the north end however, one part is walled in. When Ellis visited in 1823 some of the tunnels and caves of Keanaee were inhabited (p. 132). It is still an imposing sight. Several of the caves have been used for burials, even up to the time of the great influenza epidemic, and hence are generally known as "the *make* caves..."

Site 6. *Heiau* Walahaka. A large platform now crumbled badly about the edges, but built with walls of carefully fitted *pahoehoe* blocks, with the vitreous side out. The intact parts of the N.E. side are 8' high... The surface of the platform is remarkable for its fine example of hollow-work construction... North of the *heiau* is a rudimentary platform, south a few rough platforms and a space marked off by a quadrangle of stones on the *pahoehoe*.

Site 7. At the very foot of the *pali* where the path makes its fine paved ascent, there is a rather large, very old platform. All the area between this plot and [Site] # 3, and the *pali*, contains a scattered lot of small platforms like *puoa* and spaces marked off by stones. The most prominent, in the shade of the *pali*, is a platform c. 19x15x3 ½. ...

Site 10. Excellent walled yard about the house on the point in south Keokea.

There are no ruins at the top of the *pali*.

Ki'ilae Section:

Site 11. High modern house platform and old house platform on *makai* side of trail; remains of house platform on *mauka* side; apparently another house site, broken up, on *makai* side.

Site 12. Two house sites on *makai* and one on *mauka* side of trail; remains of site by palms; remains of platform just *makai* of northern windmill.

[Waiku'iakekela].

Site 13. The usual row of boulders between the bare *pahoehoe* of the beach and the algaroba; I thought I could make out three platforms in the tangle.

The remains of a small platform on a slight knoll, it's use unknown. The area ends with a *puoa*...

Kauleolī Section:

Site 14. Behind the *puoa* and running toward the lone palm at Aaalii Rock are more scattered stones indicating, perhaps, former platforms. One smaller platform of *pahoehoe* fragments is plain. There are traces of an attempt to build an elaborate beach path for a few yards.

Site 15. Back of Aaalii rock (I heard it pronounced, however, with only two a's), are a small yard with a modern house platform; part of a wall about an area containing a few coco palms, a modern house platform in two levels; a pen; and a dry well; part of another wall, with house site. Following this are scattered stones, indications of another platform and some small square pens.

Site 16. A grave, consisting of a heavily walled pen 9x8x4 inside and a platform of slightly larger dimensions. It joins a set of recent salt pans, in front of which is an irregular platform 6' high on the steepest side, probably another *puoa*. A small, high-walled pen stands a little apart.

Keālia Section:

Site 17. Several disconnected ruins; a low line of all running parallel to the shore; a sort of pen against a lava slope; a small platform or large *ahu* on a knoll; remains of a very large, old, platform. In additions, the usual traces of platforms, with many rows and heaps of lava fragments. These extend over a quarter of a mile past Lae Loa.

Site 18. By the Lae Loa monument [survey station] is a small square platform, a fishing *heiau*¹⁸, the only name given was Lae Loa... [Reinecke ms. 1930:160-162]

Field Work and Informant Recollections in the 1950s-1960s

In the 1950s, Henry Kekahuna and Theodore Kelsey undertook a study of traditions and sites in the lands of Hōnauanu, Keōkea and Ki'ilae. A part of their work, resulted in the drafting of an annotated (interpretive) map of Ki'ilae Village. As noted earlier in this study, Kelsey, in 1933, had recorded traditions of the Ki'ilae vicinity. Kekahuna identified many sites in Ki'ilae as *heiau* or chiefly residences, and also reported on various practices associated with the sites. Sources of some of the information are

uncertain, and have been discussed at length in various studies conducted for the Park Service (see Greene 1993).

The locations of several sites referenced during interviews for this study, are identified on the Kekahuna map (June 30, 1956). Among them are:

1. The *mauka-makai* trail in Ki'ilae;

¹⁸ This is perhaps the *heiau*, Piapia, as named by Nāluahine Ka'ōpua in 1950 (see page 19).

2. Keawe Maunu's house, *mauka* of the *Alanui Aupuni*, and north of the *mauka-makai* trail. Keawe Maunu, who died in 1911, was the grandfather of two participants in the oral history interviews cited in this study;
3. Pawai's house, *makai* of the *Alanui Aupuni*, and a short distance north of Waikuiakekela. It may be recalled that Kalapawai/Kapawai/Pawai was also the name of the first recorded named of the teacher at Ki'ilae (in the 1847-1848 period); a descendant was also an 1890 lessee. Kekahuna does not record the Ki'ilae School Lot, but reports that land between Pawai's residence and a *heiau*, Ka'akapua, was the residence of chiefs and priests in ancient times;
4. Chiefess Kekela's house site;
5. Wai-ku'i-a-Kekela well; and
6. The various entrances to the lava tube/cave system (Ke ana o ka Ilio or Cave of the Dog), through which the dog spoken of in the tradition of Wai-ku'i-a-Kekela entered to reach the water source.

In 1957, Kenneth Emory conducted archaeological survey work as a part of the program to develop the National Historical Park (Emory, Bishop Museum 1957 & 1986). Emory used Kekahuna's 1956 map as a base and refined site boundary alignments. *Figure 23* is a reduction of Map 7 of the Map series produced as a result of the 1957 field work, and includes the sites and features described above. Also, the 1965 interviews reported by Jackson (1966), referenced the Kekahuna map and annotated it further, linking some of the sites to families in residence during the historic period (*Figure 24*). The residences of Polani, Ahu, Kahikina, Kau'inui, Manunu—all discussed by interviewees of the Jackson study (1966), and in interviews of the present study—are identified on *Figure 24*.

Comparative Analysis Documentation (ca. 1955-1957, 1966 & 2001)

Comparing the locations marked on the Kekahuna-Emory-Jackson maps with records and maps of the *Māhele* award *kuleana*, and the Ki'ilae School Lot reveals some important information pertaining to residency and land use in relation to the sites (ref. Survey Division – C.S.F. 13,297 map; June 2, 1960). Two parcels overlooking Ki'ilae Bay, one on the north bluff of 'Ala'ihi Cove (L.C.A. 9464 – Maka'ike; *Figure 5*); and the other (L.C.A. 9463 – Holoua; *Figure 4*) on the *mauka* side of the *Alanui Aupuni*, bounded on the south by the Keōkea-Ki'ilae boundary wall (inland of Waha'ula Cove. A third lot, on Halakāhi Point, including the early Kahikina home, and a portion of the Ki'ilae School Lot, are cited (in some form on the Kekahuna-Emory-Jackson maps) (see *Figure 24*).

The house site overlooking 'Ala'ihi Cove, is identified as the historic residence of Polani¹⁹, Ahu, and Kahikina. In the *Māhele*, this lot was awarded to Maka'ike (L.C.A. 9464); who reported receiving it from Polani. The location of the house lot was given as being in the *'ili* of Pā'ilima, Keōkea. Maka'ike served the South Kona community in several capacities. He was a school teacher, school inspector, road supervisor, and minister. Records in the Interior Department-Lands, Public Instruction, and Road Department files, report that by

¹⁹ Polani was a *Māhele* applicant at Ki'ilae (L.C.A. 9461, not awarded), and possibly an area *Konohiki*, by reference to his having granted others the right to certain properties prior to the *Māhele*.

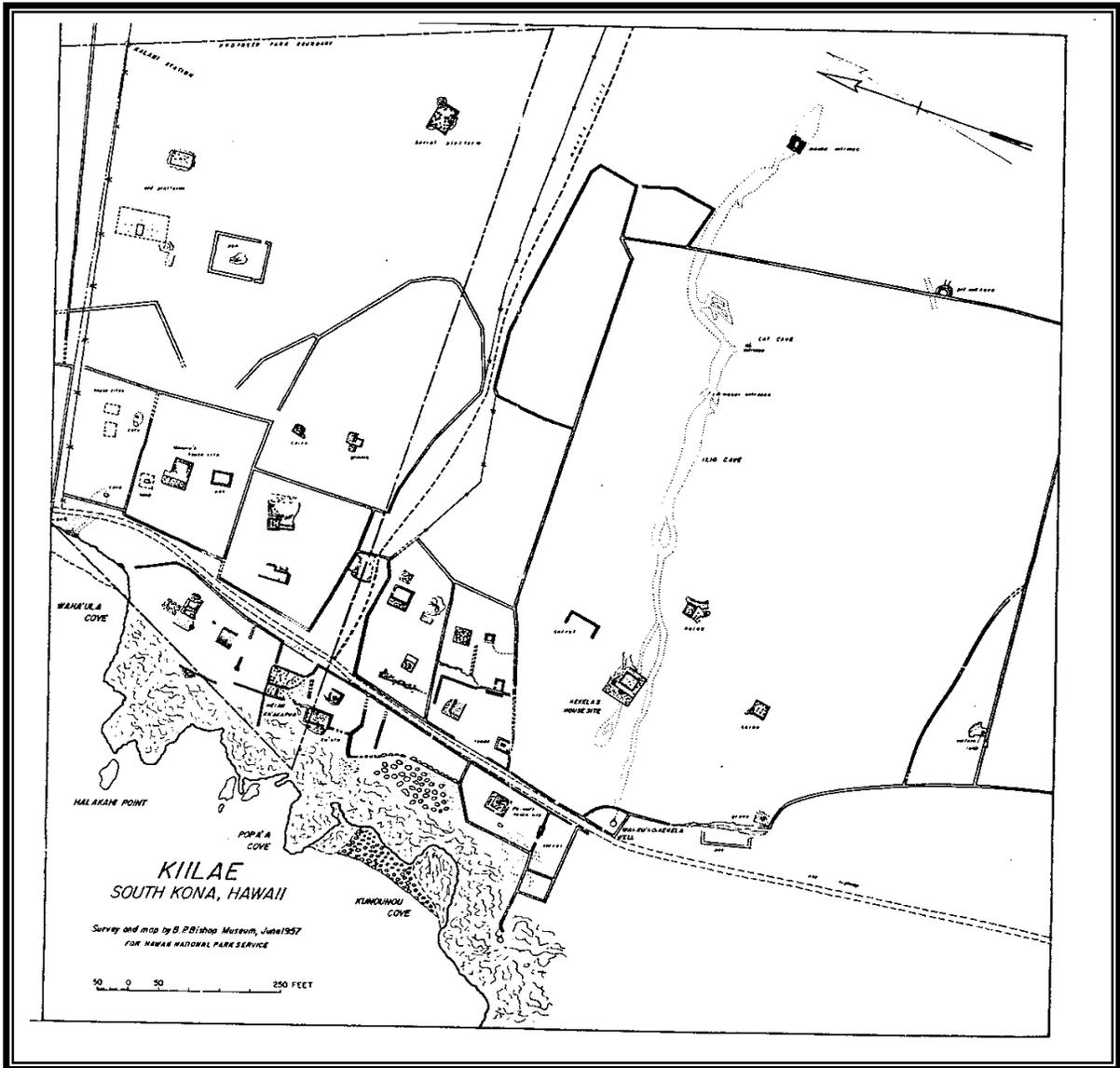


Figure 23. Portion of Ki'ila'e Village (makai) (Emory, Bishop Museum - 1957)

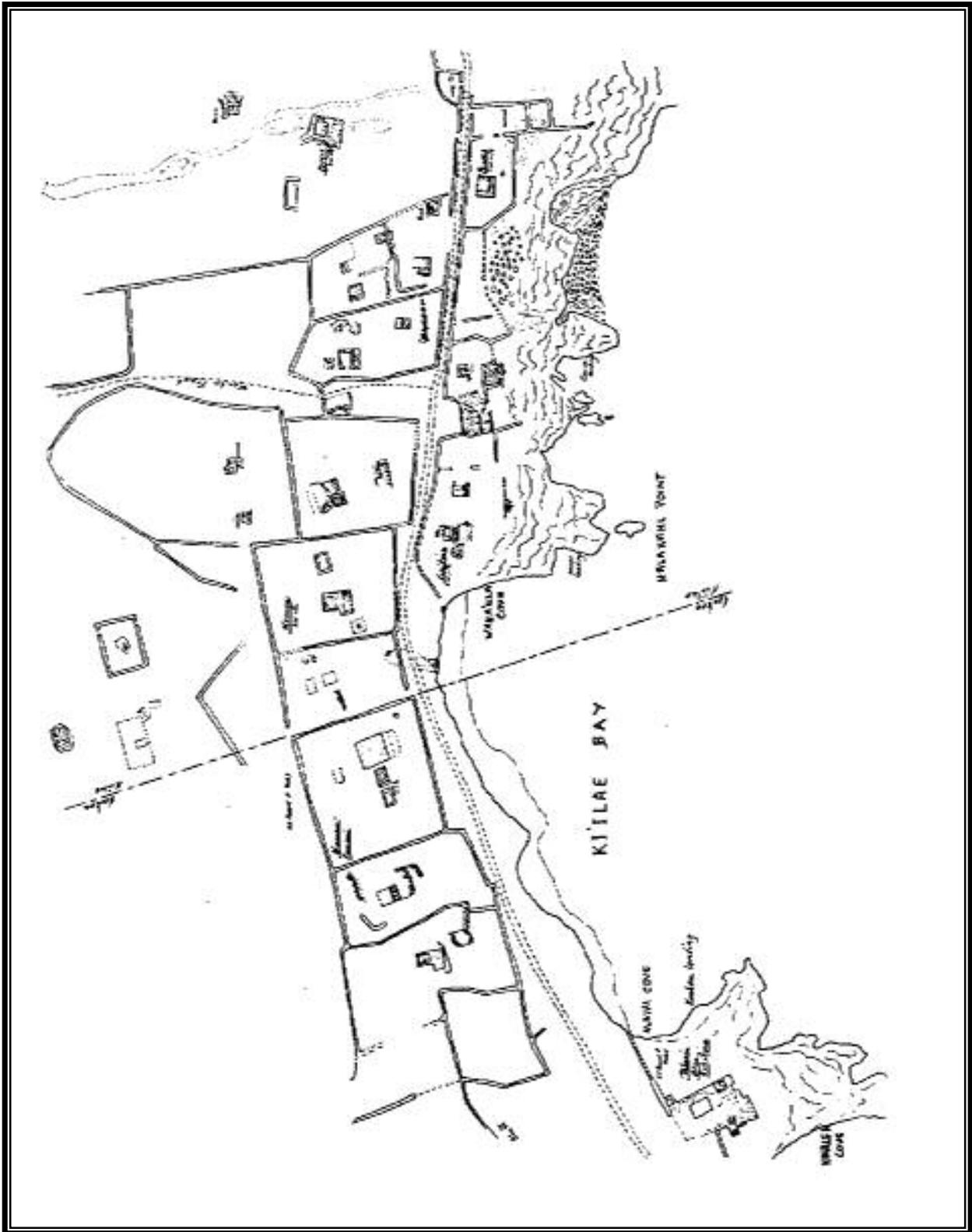


Figure 24. Portion of Ki'īlae-Keōkea Village (makai) (Jackson 1966)

1851 (around the time that the survey for the Royal Patent to Maka'ike was conducted), he had relocated, or was in the process of relocating. Maka'ike's residence for a short while was listed as Nāpo'opo'o, and then at Honua'ino 3, where in 1852, he received a Land Grant of 137 acres (a few years later, he received a second grant as well). Maka'ike was the school teacher at Kāināliu at that time.

Emerson's field book (1884), cited in this study, identifies the point of 'Ala'ihī as the residence of Polani, with a canoe landing below it to the south. Thus, it might be assumed, that when Polani did not receive his house lot in Ki'ilae (a portion of his *kuleana* application – L.C.A. 9461), and when Maka'ike relocated, Polani took up residency on the 'Ala'ihī Bluff.

The lot historically identified as Kau'inui and/or Manunu's house, was the *Māhele* Award of Holoua or Holowaa (L.C.A. 9463), who claimed *kula* land in Ki'ilae for agriculture, and a house lot in the 'ili of Pāpua'a iki, in Keōkea. Holoua's right to the house lot descended to him from his parents in 1819 (and the Ki'ilae parcel, from Polani). Kau'inui was a *Māhele* applicant for *kuleana* in Ki'ilae (L.C.A. 9878). Registration of his claim only identified garden plots, with no residence given. Though the claim was not awarded, Kau'inui and his descendents remained in Ki'ilae until ca. 1940s. Kau'inui had tenants rights on several parcels in Ki'ilae (a part of the 1890 lease agreement between native families and the Hū'eu-Davis heirs). One of Kau'inui's (Pipi's) Ki'ilae house and agricultural field lots was near the Ki'ilae-Keōkea boundary wall, immediately *makai* of the Māmalahoa Highway; and adjoining Manunu's upland parcel in Ki'ilae-Keōkea. The other parcels extended down the *kula*, and included a house lot near the shore (see interviews with Joseph Keli'ipa'akaua and Taro Fujimori in this study).

Manunu's name does not appear in the *Māhele*, but Joseph Manunu (grandfather of interview participant Joseph Keli'ipa'akaua) had a home and agricultural fields in area of Ki'ilae- Keōkea, bounding Māmalahoa Highway. Thus, there is a linear connection between the *mauka* home-agricultural lot and the *makai* home (formerly Holoua's *pā hale*). Mr. Keli'ipa'akaua's maternal line descends from Manunu, while his paternal line descends from Kupa a pre-*Māhele* resident and applicant for *kuleana* at Ki'ilae (L.C.A. 8675; not awarded) Kupa Keli'ipa'akua remained at Ki'ilae with taro fields approximately one-half mile *mauka* of Māmalahoa Highway (south of the *mauka-makai* trail), and in residence on the shore until ca. 1920.

The Kahikina's (and Maunu family – who's *kūpuna* include Ki'ilae *Māhele* claimants Kahinawe and Paila, and Kauleolī resident Hamu²⁰) had property interests at several locations in Ki'ilae. Their main residence and primary taro lands were situated approximately one-half mile *mauka* of Māmalahoa Highway, along the *mauka-makai* trail. Other parcels (held by the lease of 1890) extend *makai* across the *kula*, to a home overlooking Waha'ula Cove and Halakāhi Point (in 1996 and 2001 interviews with Margaret Maunu-Keākealani, Mary Maunu-AhNee, and family members). The *makai* house includes a portion of, or is immediately adjacent to, the former Ki'ilae School Lot (School Grant 7:6; *Figure 15*). Kekahuna's map (and subsequently the maps of Emory and Jackson) identified the school lot as a *heiau*, the name given Ka'akapua (none of them identify the school site). The Kahikina home at the shore, was immediately *makai* of the intersection of the *Alanui Aupuni* and the Ki'ilae *mauka-makai* trail (in linear alignment with the *mauka* house), overlooking

²⁰ Hamu moved to Kauleolī during Atkin's tenure, his daughter, Kamaka'ena'ena married Keawe Maunu, grandfather of interviewees, Margaret Keākealani (1996), and Mary AhNee (2001).

Po'opa'a Cove. Emerson's Register Map No. 1445 (*Figure 10*), identifies the same location as Kahikina's house in 1888. Mrs. Keākealani and her daughters visited Ki'ilae in the 1980s, and Mrs. Keākealani was surprised to learn that her family home was a "heiau." (pers. comm. Ki'ilae site visit, March 3, 2001). In the last years of their residency (ca. 1927-1935) at Ki'ilae, the Maunu-Kahikina descendants resided at the 'Ala'ihī Point house site described above. The latter, noted for its large cistern and a mortar lined *pū'o'a* (crypt). Around 1969, the *pū'o'a* was pointed out by Herbert Maunu (son of Samuel Maunu and Becky Kahikina), to his son and grandson (Samuel Maunu and Robert Kamaka III) as the grave of Herbert Maunu's grandfather — this would be Keawe Maunu, who died in 1911 (pers. comm. Feb. 23rd and Mar. 3rd, 2001).

Further information regarding the near shore Kahikina residence was provided by interview participants Mrs. Kaneyo Higashi and her daughter, Gloria Higashi-Okamura, and Mr. Taro Fujimori. The Higashi's ran a *poi* factory at Keōkea, and they recalled that until the 1950s, Mr. Higashi (who has passed away), regularly delivered *poi* to Beni Kahikina. Mr. Kahikina would walk up the old Ki'ilae trail to get his *poi*, and then go back to the shore. Mr. Taro Fujimori (raised by his grandfather at Kauleolī), shared fond recollections of walking down the Kauleolī trail to the *Alanui Aupuni*, and out to Beni Kahikina's house. It was from Kahikina (around 1932 to 1939), that Fujimori learned Hawaiian *lūhe'e* (octopus lure) fishing from canoe, off of the Keōkea-Ki'ilae fisheries (see interviews in this study). It may also be recalled that in the mo'olelo of Ka-Miki, *he'e* were among the prized fish of the area.

NĀ MO'OLELO 'OHANA: THE KI'ILAE-KAULEOLĪ VICINITY ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM (2001)

Recording oral history interviews is an important component in the process of documenting the history of a community's landscape. Oral history interviews help to demonstrate how certain knowledge is handed down through time, from generation to generation. Often, because the experiences conveyed are personal, the narratives are richer and more animated than those that may be typically found in reports that are purely academic or archival in nature. Through the process of conducting oral history interviews valuable information can be learned that is at times overlooked in other forms of studies. Also, with the passing of time, knowledge and personal recollections undergo changes. Sometimes, that which was once important is forgotten, or assigned a lesser value (though the reverse may occur as well).

Today, when individuals (particularly those from outside the culture which originally assigned the cultural values to places, practices, and customs) are charged with evaluation of the cultural-natural landscape, cultural practices, and history (as required in laws and guidelines of historic preservation), their importance can be diminished. Thus, oral historical narratives provide both present and future generations with an opportunity to understand the cultural attachment—relationship—shared between people and their natural and cultural environments.

Readers are asked here, to keep in mind that while the oral history interview component of the study records a depth of cultural and historical knowledge for Ki'ilae, Kauleolī and neighboring lands of the Hōnaunau-Ho'okena section of South Kona, the documentation is only an introduction to the history of the families and lands. In the process of conducting interviews, it is impossible to record all the knowledge or information that the interviewees possess. The records provide readers with only glimpses into the stories being told, and of the lives of the interview participants. The author/interviewer has made every effort to accurately relay the recollections, thoughts and recommendations of the people who shared their personal histories in this study.

As would be expected, participants in oral history interviews sometimes have different recollections of history, or for the same location or events of a particular period. There are a number of reasons that differences are recorded in oral history interviews, among them are that:

1. recollections result from varying values assigned to an area or occurrences during an interviewees formative years;
2. they reflect localized or familial interpretations of the particular history being conveyed;
3. with the passing of many years, sometimes that which was heard from elders during one's childhood 70 or more years ago, may transform into that which the interviewee recalls having actually experienced;
4. in some cases it can be the result of the introduction of information into traditions that is of more recent historical origin; and
5. some aspects of an interviewee's recollections may also be shaped by a broader world view. In the face of continual change to one's cultural and natural landscapes, there can evolve a sense of urgency in caring for what once was.

In general, it will be seen that the few differences of history and recollections in the cited interviews are minor. If anything, they help direct us to questions which may be answered through additional research, or in some cases, pose questions which may never be answered. Diversity in the stories told, should be seen as something that will enhance interpretation, and preservation of the resources within the lands of Ki'ilae and Kauleoli.

Interview Methodology: Approach to Conducting the Study

The oral historical research conducted for this study was performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the referenced laws and guidelines were the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992; the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statute (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of ongoing cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:274-4,5,6; 275:6 – Dec. 12, 1996); and guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (November 1997).

Between January 22nd to May 20th 2001, Maly conducted fifteen (15) oral history interviews, including site visits and follow up discussions with twenty-four (24) participants. Additionally, an interview conducted in 1996 with Mrs. Margaret Maunu-Keākealani (born at Ki'ilae in 1925) is also included in the study. Informal (non-recorded) consultation interviews were also conducted with four individuals with ties to the lands and families of the study area.

While preparing to initiate the oral history interview program Maly developed a general questionnaire outline to help give direction to the process of conducting the oral history interviews. While this questionnaire outline (*Figure 25*) set the general direction of the interviews, it did not limit interviewees to those topics. Various aspects of the general and personal family histories and personal experiences which stood out as important to the interview participants were recorded as well. Also, during the interviews several historic maps were referenced, and when appropriate, the approximate locations of sites discussed were marked on one or more of the maps. Depending on the location being discussed, and the nature of the resources or features being described, maps dating from 1888 (Register Map No. 1445) to 1965 (the Jackson sketch map) were referenced. *Figure 2* (at the end of this study), is an annotated map, depicting various sites and features referenced during the interviews.

General Question Outline for Oral History Interviews

Ki'īlae and Kauleolī Vicinity, South Kona, Island of Hawai'i

This oral history interview program is being conducted in conjunction with a detailed study of archival and historical literature, and in conjunction with an archaeological survey of a portion of the lands of Ki'īlae and Kauleolī (TMK Overview Sheet 8-5-05). The interviews (in conjunction with the archival-historical research) will help document the history of residency and land use in the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī vicinity, and help identify traditional and customary practices and places of importance to the families of the land. With your permission, portions of the interview will be included in a report documenting the history of the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī vicinity, and used to help determine the best actions for future land use.

The following questions are meant to set a basic foundation for discussion during the oral history interview. Your personal knowledge and experiences will provide direction for the formulation of other detailed questions, determine the need for site visits, and/or other forms of documentation which may be necessary.

Interviewee—Family Background:

Name: _____ Phone #: _____

Address: _____

Interview Date: _____ Time: _____ to _____ Location: _____ Interviewer: _____

When were you born? _____ Where were you born? _____

Parents? (father) _____ (mother) _____

Grew up where? _____ Also lived at? _____

- Additional family background pertinent to the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī vicinity — Such as generations of family residency in area... (time period)?
- Kinds of information learned/activities participated in, and how learned...?
- Naming of the *ahupua'a* or sections of the land that are of particular significance in the history of the land and to native practices...?
- Knowledge of agricultural fields and practices, and areas of residency (water resources, types of crops, how used...)?
- Knowledge of villages or house sites – church, stores, community activities.
- Names of native- and resident- families and where did they live?
Ah Leong, Ahu, Davis (Peabody), Hose, Kaai, Kaainoa, Kahikina, Kailianu, Keliipaakaua, Kim, Makainai, Maunu, Paele, Palauolelo, Pi... others
- Who were/are the other families that came and/or come to collect area resources, and protocol?
- Gathering practices (who and what)? Shore line and *mauka-makai* trail accesses?
- Knowledge of *heiau* (or other ceremonial sites), other cultural resources (for example – *kū'ula*, *ilina*...), and families or practices associated with those sites? Burial sites, practices, beliefs, and areas or sites of concern (ancient unmarked, historic marked / unmarked, family)...? Representing who and when interred...?
- Fishing — describe practices (i.e., where occurred/occurring, types of fish; names of fishermen; and what protocols were observed...? (such as: permission granted, practices and methods of collection...?) land based *ko'a* (cross *ahupua'a*) — ocean based *ko'a*; *kilo i'a* (fish spotting stations) locations and types of fish? Names of *heiau* and *ko'a* etc.?
- Historic and Current Practices — What was growing on the land during youth (planted and wild)? How was water obtained (i.e. wells, caves, springs, catchment)? Changes observed in life time?
- Relationships with neighboring *ahupua'a* and residence locations?
- Historic Land Use: Agricultural and Ranching Activities...?
(for example – paddock naming and rotation; fencing; planting activities; hunting and other practices... size of herd; relationship with other ranches; shipping; routes traveled...)
- Personal family histories of travel upon the trail ...?
- Do you have any early photographs of the area?
- Are there particular sites or locations that are of cultural significance or concern to you?
- Recommendations on how best to care for the natural and cultural resources in and neighboring the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī vicinity...?
- Do you have recommendations — such as cultural resource- and site-protection needs in the Ki'īlae-Kauleolī vicinity ...? Describe sites and define boundaries of those sites/locations and of the area of access via the trail/road...

Figure 25. Oral History Interview Questionnaire (designed to provide general guidance during the interview process)

Review and Release of Interview Records

All of the recorded interviews were transcribed and returned (with the recordings) to the interviewees, and follow up discussions were conducted in review of the typed draft-transcripts. The latter process sometimes resulted in the recording of additional narratives with the interviewees. Following completion of the interview process, all of the participants in the tape recorded interviews gave Maly their permission to include the interviews in this study (*Appendix A*). This permission was granted for the present study of archival-historical literature and cultural-archaeological resources, and for possible future reference by Maly. Readers are asked here, to respect the interviewees and their families, and not quote the information without permission from the interviewees or their descendants.

Overview of Historical Recollections and Family Connections

During the process of conducting the oral history interviews, it was learned that nearly all of the historic residents of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī shared familial relationships with one another. Some by marriage and others by direct lineal descent. Furthermore, interview participants, who come under the surnames of AhNee, Hose-Watson, Hua, Kahikina, Keākealani, Keli'ipa'akaua, Loando, Maunu, and Medeiros; all share family connections in some form with — Ahu, Kahinawe, Kau'inui, Kupa, Naihe (Nika), Paila, and Polani — each of whom registered claims in the *Māhele* for *kuleana* at Ki'ilae and Kauleolī. Other families (primarily Hawaiians) lived upon the land, worked the ranch, traveled across it, or had frequent interactions with families of Ki'ilae-Kauleolī.

Specific residency and site locational information for Ki'ilae-Kauleolī (in the vicinity of Māmalahoa Highway) and the larger Keōkea-Ho'okena community in the period between 1925 to 1960, was recorded in interviews with Madeline Leslie, Kaneyo Higashi (and her daughter Gloria Okamura), Hannah Kiwaha, Taro Fujimori, Alfred Medeiros, and August Loando. Through their interviews, we are able to associate various historical remains identified on the ground, with the former residences and agricultural fields of families who resided upon the land.

On page 66-75 of this study (see sections discussing *Residency and Land Use Through the 1900s*), the on-going residency relationship of a number of Hawaiian families to the lands of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī is detailed. It may be added here, that little is remembered or known about Henry Dreyzhner, a member of the 1890 lessee's association (this may be Hanele who is reported in Jackson's 1966 study as having made salt on the flats at Kauleolī). Mrs. Mary Maunu-AhNee, thought that he may have been a close friend of the family, and possibly married to a grandaunt, but she was uncertain²¹. Another non-Hawaiian resident, Daniel McKay, is remembered as having been a good friend of the Maunu-Kahikina families. In the period prior to McCandless' acquisition of the land, McKay had a lease (it appears to have been informal), for a portion of the *kula* land at Ki'ilae. His house, and watermelon and sweet potato gardens were enclosed in a large walled lot, which around 1950 was modified into a cattle trap (see interviews with Mrs. Margaret Maunu-Keākealani, Mr. Charles Hua, Mr. Alfred Medeiros, and others).

All of the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī residents mentioned above, along with other families of the area — like Keli'ipī, Pi (Pi Manunu), Kailianu, Ka'ai, Ka'ainoa, Makainai, Gaspar and Kiwaha — all practiced subsistence agriculture and fishing. Several of the elder Hawaiian interviewees

²¹ Family members and others from the community noted that there was also a "Kelamania" (German) look to some of the Maunu children.

share detailed descriptions of farming and fishing customs practiced on these lands. All of them also spoke with great *aloha* for the land. When asked, a couple of elders recalled hearing, and shared their recollections regarding the naming of Kauleolī. But only one interviewee, a native Hawaiian speaker spoke about possible meanings of Kiʻilae.

Kupuna Mālia Kama Craver (a native of Hoʻokena), who grew up with children of the Maunu family, noted that in the years when she was between eight years old and her early teens, she heard her elders speaking about Kiʻilae. On several occasions, she heard *tūtū* Puʻunoni Kaʻupu, a noted historian of the region, speak to her aunt (Annie Kama Kauwē) about there being certain dark nights of the moon, when the sound of drums and chanting could be heard from Kiʻilae. She also heard *tūtū* Keliʻipī Manunu speak of chanting and *huakaʻi pō*, or night marchers, who would regularly walk the trails to the *makai* lands of Kiʻilae. These processions would descend to the coast and follow the old trail past Alahaka and continue on to the Puʻuhonua at Hōnaunau. Tūtū Keliʻipī noted that not everyone could hear these things, but many people did. Similar accounts of *huakaʻi pō* were also shared by the Maunu sisters of Kiʻilae, such events were a regular occurrence into the 1920s-1930s. It is *kupuna* Mālia’s belief that because of Kiʻilae’s proximity to the *Puʻuhonua*, it was a special place that was *kapu* in earlier times. Mr. Keliʻipaʻakaua expressed similar thoughts about there being a special relationship between the families of Kiʻilae and Hōnaunau, in that those of Kiʻilae contributed to the support of the *aliʻi* community at Hōnaunau

Ka Pilina ‘Ohana (Family Relations)

During the process of conducting the interviews for this study, one recurrent theme — that of familial relationship — was shared by many interviewees. Several of the interviewees could trace their genealogies back to one or more of the historical residents of Kiʻilae-Kauleolī. This relationship also extends beyond the boundaries of Kiʻilae-Kauleolī to the larger Hōnaunau-Hoʻokena region and beyond. It is appropriate to acknowledge here, that Clarence A. Medeiros Jr. (who for years worked on genealogical research and land matters with his father, the late Clarence A. Medeiros Sr.), graciously shared information from his collection, that helped the author tie together pieces of genealogical history shared by various interview participants in this study.

‘Ohana–Extended Families of the Kiʻilae-Kauleolī Vicinity

Table 5 below, provides readers with a summary of a few key relationships shared between interviewees in this study and historical residents of the lands of Kiʻilae and Kauleolī. Readers are asked to keep in mind that the focus of this study was not to compile complete genealogical accounts for the referenced families. The information below is in no way complete. The primary names cited in *Table 5* are those of applicants for *kuleana* lands at Kiʻilae and Kauleolī in the *Māhele* of 1848. Further details on familial relationships are found in the oral history interviews and historical documents cited in this study.

Table 5. Overview of Extended Family Relationships in the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī Vicinity

Kupuna	‘Āina – Ka Pilina ‘Ohana
Ahu	<p>A <i>Māhele</i> applicant for land at Ki'ilae and Kauleolī:</p> <p>Ahu and Uweloā were the parents of Ahu Pelio Kalalahua; Ahu Pelio Kalalahua and Loika Palaha were the parents of Hua Kalalahua Pelio; Hua Kalalahua Pelio and Wiwo'ole Keohoki'i (daughter of Paila Keohoki'i) were the parents of Charles Hua Sr.;</p> <p>Charles Hua Sr. and Annie Zen Man Sing were the parents of Charles Hua Jr. (interviewee) and Pansy Wiwo'ole Hua-Medeiros (wife of the late Clarence A. Medeiros Sr. The Medeiros line is also directly descended from the Clark/Clarke line, a historic owner of Kauleolī Grant Parcel No. 1575, containing c. 364 acres).</p> <p>Ahu and Keohoki'i descendants resided at Ki'ilae through ca. 1920.</p>
Kupa & Keli'ipa'akaua	<p>A <i>Māhele</i> applicant for land at Ki'ilae and Kauleolī:</p> <p>Kupa Keli'ipa'akaua and Luisa Manunu were the parents of Joseph K. Keli'ipa'akaua Sr.;</p> <p>Joseph K. Keli'ipa'akaua Sr. was the father of interviewee, Joseph K. Keli'ipa'akaua Jr.</p>
Manunu	<p>Joseph Manunu, the maternal grandfather of Joseph K. Keli'ipa'akaua Jr. Manunu resided at Keōkea (the <i>mauka</i> residence was situated on, and crossed over the Keōkea-Ki'ilae boundary) and was a historic resident/lessee of land at Ki'ilae. Family genealogical records tie Joseph Manunu to Pī Manunu and</p>
Pī / Keli'ipī	<p>Keli'ipī. Historical land records identify Moses Manunu (and Malie Manunu</p>
Naihe	<p>Naihe-Kimeona) as the children of Naihe. Naihe and his brother Nika were</p>
& Nika	<p>recipients of <i>kuleana</i> at Kauleolī during the <i>Māhele</i>.</p> <p>Historical records also identify Pī Manunu, Ben Pī, and Keli'ipī as tenant-farmers at Ki'ilae.</p>
Nika & Naihe	<p><i>Māhele</i> awardees of <i>kuleana</i> at Kauleolī:</p> <p>Historical records report that Nika died intestate, and that his brother Naihe, was his sole heir. The children of Naihe, Moses Manunu and Malie Kimeona, inherited their father's combined <i>kuleana</i> at Kauleolī. In 1908, Moses Manunu sold his interest in the Kauleolī <i>kuleana</i> (the agricultural parcel near Māmalahoa Highway, and just below the electrical sub-station) to John Gaspar. Gaspar's daughter Mary, and her husband, John Kiwaha resided on the parcel through the 1920s. Herbert Gaspar Kiwaha, adopted son of John and Mary Kiwaha, married interviewee Hannah Min Kiwaha.</p>
Paila	<p>A <i>Māhele</i> applicant for land at Ki'ilae:</p> <p>Paila Keohoki'i (Paila) was the father of Wiwo'ole Keohoki'i. Wiwo'ole Keohoki'i married Hua Kalalahua Pelio (see Ahu above).</p>

Table 5. Overview of Extended Family Relationships in the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī Vicinity

Kupuna	‘Āina – Ka Pilina ‘Ohana
Paila (continued)	<p>Paila Keohoki‘is’ descendants resided at Ki’ilae through ca. 1920.</p> <p>Paila Keohoki‘is’ parents were Puolu (k) and Kamaunu (w). Kamaunu, also known as Maunu, is the source of the Keawe-Maunu line which ties to Hamu (1850s residents at Kauleolī – tenants under James Atkins), and by marriage in ca. 1900 to the Kahikina line.</p> <p>Descendants of the Maunu-Kahikina line resided at Ki’ilae through ca. 1935.</p>
Kau‘inui	<p>A <i>Māhele</i> applicant for land at Ki’ilae:</p> <p>Kau‘inui’s descendants maintained <i>kula</i> and coastal residences, and agricultural parcels at Ki’ilae through the 1950s. The primary residence was near the Ki’ilae-Keōkea boundary, on the <i>makai</i> side of Māmalahoa Highway. Among Kau‘inuis’ children were Solomon “Pipi” Kau‘inui and Annie Ka‘imi Kau‘inui-Kāne.</p> <p>Pipi Kau‘inui resided at Ki’ilae on the land previously maintained by his father and his son-in-law Joe “Gang” Kaōpūiki, who lived on the same land through ca. 1950. Annie Kau‘inui-Kāne and her husband (Sam Kane) lived <i>makai</i> of Māmalahoa Highway, a short distance south of her birth place. The Kāne house was situated on the north side of the Ki’ilae <i>mauka-makai</i> trail.</p> <p>Pipi Kau‘inui, Joe “Gang” Kaōpūiki, and Sam Kāne also worked as cowboys in the Ki’ilae-Kauleolī vicinity.</p> <p>Continuing south, along Māmalahoa Highway, resided the Smith Kaleohano and Henry Hose families (both of whom were tenants of Ki’ilae under various ranching interests). The Hose and Kaleohano lines share familial relationships with the Kau‘inui and Kāne lines.</p>
Kahikina & Maunu	<p>Kahikina was a resident of Ki’ilae as early as 1888 (his house near the shore,</p> <p>was a survey point referenced by J.S. Emerson). Kahikina was also a member of the 1890 Ki’ilae Lessees’ Association, and maintained residences and agricultural fields <i>mauka</i> of Māmalahoa Highway; on the <i>kula</i>, below the highway, and on the shore. Beni Kahikina resided at Ki’ilae permanently till ca. 1935, and continued part-time residency near the shore till ca. 1950. Beni’s sister Elizabeth (Becky), married Samuel Maunu. Interviewees, Margaret Maunu Keākealani and Mary Maunu-AhNee (both of whom were born at Ki’ilae), are among the children of Becky and Samuel Maunu.</p>

Summary of Points Raised in Oral History Interviews

When interview/consultation participants learned that a portion of Ki'ilae would be conveyed to the National Park Service, all of them felt it was a good idea. Nearly all of the families (those based in the South Kona region) expressed interest in participating in some form with the land owner and National Park Service in facilitating site protection programs. All of the program participants expressed concern about how the lands would be changed with development. Care of the trails, field system, residences, *ilina* (burial places), and other features is important to the families. In particular, it is believed that *ilina* should remain in place.

There was also concern expressed about the natural features of the land such as cave systems and habitat for Hawaiian bats (*'ōpe'ape'a*), which at least in earlier times were seen on the land. It was noted that at present there is not a good track record on lands of Ki'ilae-Kauleolī and other neighboring lands in regards to “sensitive” treatment of sites and the land. Bull-dozing is now carefully watched and indiscriminant dozing will cause some members of the community to take steps to stop it (pers. comm. Jimmy Medeiros, Nancietta Lincoln-Ha'alilio and families).

It was recognized that in the past ranching provided families with a way of remaining on the land or in the area, but that in those earlier times, there was less care given (and less that could be done) towards responsible use of the land. Insensitive destruction of cultural resources is not viewed as an acceptable behavior, and any use of the land whether it be in development or as a National Park with interpretive development, should be done in a culturally sensitive manner and in consultation with individuals descended from the traditional and historic period residents of Ki'ilae and Kauleolī.

Three former McCandless Ranch employees — Alfred Medeiros, August Loando, and Emil Spencer — participated in the interview program, and from them is recorded detailed descriptions of ranching operations in South Kona. Because the early ranches primarily focused on the wild cattle (*pipi 'āhiu*) that roamed from the mountain to the shore, ranching in the region was very different than those ranches of North Hawai'i. The primary uses on the *kula* lands of Ki'ilae-Kauleolī, below Māmalahoa Highway, were as cattle traps and rotating feed pastures (the *kula* lands of Ki'ilae were known as good fattening pastures). No bulldozing occurred on any of the lands until the early 1950s, and at that time, it is recorded that the primary dozer paths followed old trails or *ahupua'a* boundaries for stone wall and later fence work. Little dozing occurred in Ki'ilae, as the land was a better natural pasturage than Kauleolī. There being more soil and grass lands. Kauleolī was more rocky and supported less pasturage (see interviews with Alfred Medeiros, August Loando, and Emil Spencer in this study).

During the interviews, there were eight primary ranching activities described in Ki'ilae-Kauleolī. Extending from Māmalahoa Highway to the shore, they were —

Māmalahoa Vicinity:

1. Ranch hand residences at Ki'ilae-Kauleolī (approximately six or seven houses);
2. Citrus orchard and residence at Kauleolī;
3. Development of small holding pens and traps at Ki'ilae-Kauleolī;

4. Widening of existing trails, or development of ranch trails to the *kula* lands and *kahakai* (shore lands). There was at least one trail each near the boundary walls of – Ki'ilae-Keōkea, Ki'ilae-Kauleolī, and Kauleolī-Keālia);

Kula Lands:

5. Development of a large trap (ca. 1946) in the area marked as Daniel McKay's Kula Farm on Jackson's 1965 annotated site map of Ki'ilae (Figure 10);
6. General use as pasturage. It was noted that the Kona rains used to be more steady (seasons of rainfall were generally predictable). In those earlier years of the McCandless Ranch, the *kula* lands of Ki'ilae served as a fattening pasture.

Water could not be easily transported to the *kula* lands until the late 1940s, when a catchment basin was developed and pipes laid in, from the boggy lands (around the 2000 foot elevation) which feed the intermittent Ki'ilae Stream. In ca. 1884, the water source was named *Kahawai o Ki'o* by Emerson informant, Manunu (grandfather of J. Keli'ipa'akaua and elder of other interview program participants). With water, came the development of formal traps on the *kula* lands;

Kahakai Lands:

7. Development of two traps along the *Alanui Aupuni*; (1) one at the Kauleolī well site (near the Kauleolī-Ki'ilae boundary), on the *mauka* side of the *alanui* (developed in the early 1940s); and one on the *makai* side of the *alanui*, a little south of the former Ki'ilae School lot. The trap was watered from Waiku'iakakela. Interviewee recollections date this trap, "Paris Pen," to the early 1900s; and
8. Herding of cattle from the Ki'ilae-Kauleolī uplands to the coastal *Alanui Aupuni*, down Alahaka (at Keōkea), and to a holding pen for transport from Hōnaunau.

It was not until very recently that bull dozing was used to open up larger areas in Ki'ilae-Kauleolī, thus causing some community members to become more vigilant and vocal about proposed land use in the area (see various interviewee/consultation program records).

Pīpī a holo ka'ao!

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