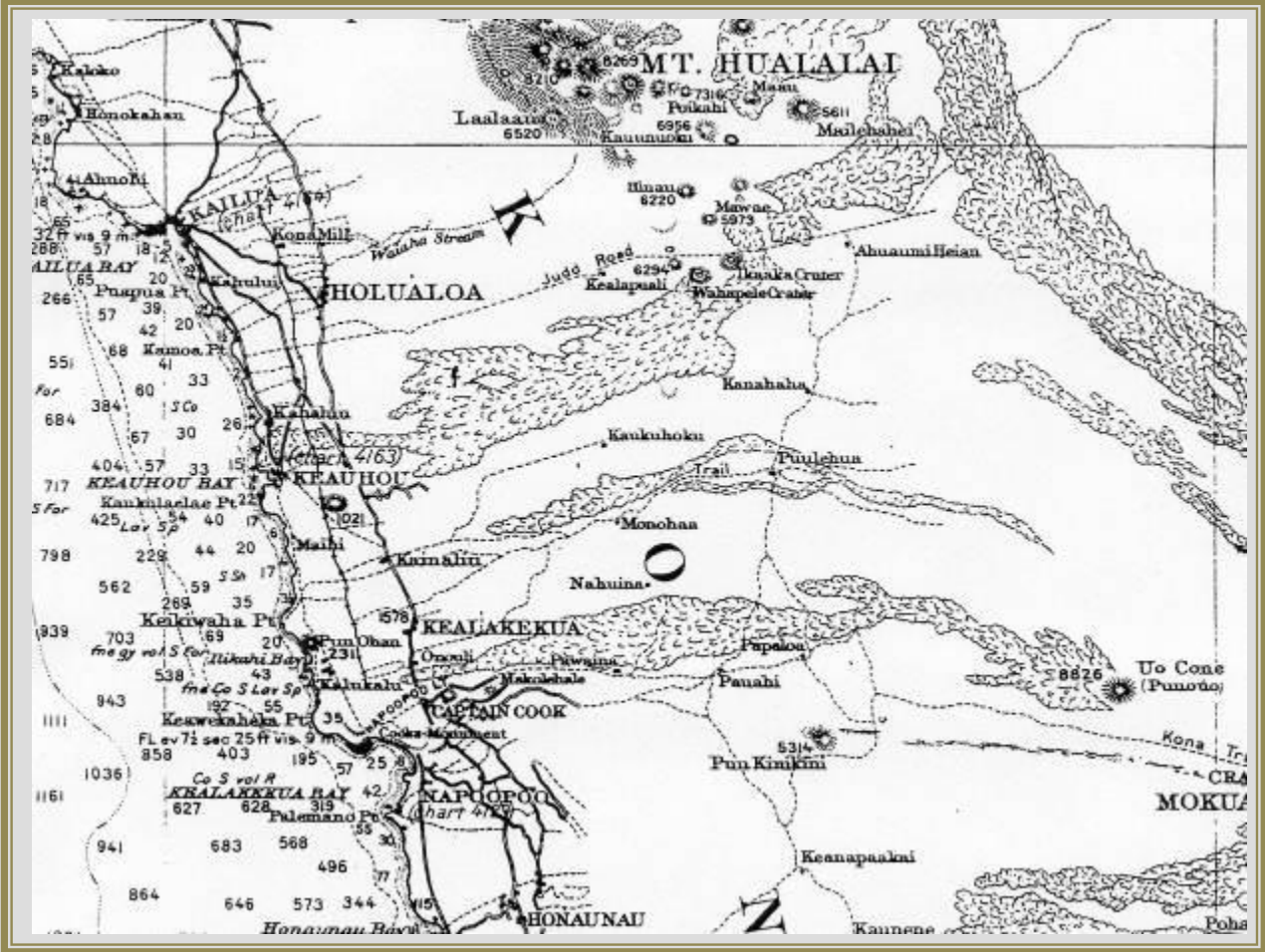


# HE WAHI MO‘OLELO NO NĀ ‘ĀINA, A ME NĀ ALA HELE I HEHI ‘IA, MAI KEAUKOU A I KEALAKEKUA, MA KONA, HAWAI‘I

## A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE LANDS, AND TRAILS TRAVELED, BETWEEN KEAUKOU AND KEALAKEKUA, KONA, HAWAI‘I



The Island of Hawai‘i - Detail of North and South Kona, showing Lands, Trails and Roads of the Keauhou-Kealakekua Vicinity (Compiled by U.S. Army – 1932)



Kumu Pono Associates

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

**HE WAHI MO'OLELO NO NĀ 'ĀINA, A ME  
NĀ ALA HELE I HEHI 'IA, MAI KEAUKOU  
A I KEALAKEKUA, MA KONA, HAWAI'I  
(A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE LANDS, AND  
TRAILS TRAVELED, BETWEEN KEAUKOU AND  
KEALAKEKUA, KONA, HAWAI'I)**

**A Study of Archival-Historical Documentary Literature,  
Oral History – Consultation Interviews, and Kama'āina  
Recommendations on Site Preservation in the Lands  
of Keauhou, Honalo, Māihi, Kuamo'o, Kawanui,  
Lehu'ula, Honua'ino, Hōkūkano, Kanāueue, Haleki'i,  
Ke'eke'e, 'Ilikāhi, Kanakau, Kalukalu, Onouli, Keōpuka,  
Ka'awaloa and Kealakekua, North and South Kona,  
Island of Hawai'i  
(TMK Overview Sheets – 7-9, 8-1, 8-2)**

BY

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Kepā Maly • Cultural Historian - Resources Specialist  
&  
Onaona Maly • Researcher  
(with contributions by Pat Thiele)

PREPARED FOR

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JUNE 15, 2001

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Resources Management Planning · Development of Preservation & Interpretive Plans

## DETAILED ABSTRACT

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At the request of Rodney Oshiro, of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-Division of Forestry and Wildlife, Hawai'i Island program manager of Nā Ala Hele (the Trails and Access Management Program of the State of Hawai'i); cultural historian and resources specialist, Kepā Maly (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted a detailed study of archival and historical literature, and oral history interviews with individuals known to be familiar with the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the lands which extend from Keauhou (North Kona) to Kealakekua (South Kona), on the island of Hawai'i. This study was conducted in conjunction with efforts by Nā Ala Hele to develop cultural resource management and site protection plans (including, when appropriate, interpretive programs) for the Keauhou-Kealakekua Section of the nationally recognized Historic Trail System ("Ala Kahakai"), on the island of Hawai'i. The study area extends approximately eight miles (north to south) from Keauhou to Kealakekua.

While the primary focus of the study was to research and identify cultural-historical resources of the ala hele (trails) — with particular emphasis on the alaloa (long path or trail) and Alanui Aupuni (Government Road) systems — of the Keauhou-Kealakekua section, on the Island of Hawai'i, the study looks at, and reports on traditions, practices, historical land use and resources, found at varying elevations within each ahupua'a crossed by the trails and historic government road ways. The reason for this broad approach to the study is that the function of trails (and later roadways) on the cultural landscape of Hawai'i is to provide families of given land areas with access to the resources they need to sustain themselves, and to provide access between various locations in the region and on the island. Thus trails bind or link the life-ways of families and communities together, and they are an integral part of the larger cultural-historic landscape.

### 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 conducted by the author and Onaona Maly in the period between October 23<sup>rd</sup> 2000 to February 26<sup>th</sup> 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 the Kona Historical Society; private family collections; and in the collection of Kumu Pono Associates.

The primary oral historical-consultation component of this study was conducted between February 9<sup>th</sup> to June 14<sup>th</sup> 2001. Also included with interviews of the present oral history program are several earlier interviews conducted with individuals knowledgeable about the landscape, customs, and historic land use. The interviews include important documentation pertaining to the lands and families of the area. A total of seventeen (17) formal recorded

interviews are cited in the study. Interviewees range in age from 55 to 97 years old, and most of the interviewees have lived upon, worked on, or are descended from traditional residents of the lands in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, or know the land from traveling it with their extended family and friends. The interviewees shared recollections gained from personal experiences dating back to 1910, and in their discussions, all interviewees (Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian alike) express a deep “cultural attachment”<sup>ψ</sup> to the lands, sites, resources, and place names of the area.

Protection of the alaloa, ala hele, Alanui Aupuni, and cultural historical resources of the land is important to the kama‘āina. All of the interviewees have walked the varied trails of the region, and believe that future generations should also be able to walk the trails as well. The interviewees expressed the hope that their recollections would help others gain an appreciation for the history of the land, and foster greater respect for those things that remind us of the past.

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<sup>ψ</sup> “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).

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Preparation of this study was made possible because many people agreed to come together and 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 Keauhou-Kealakekua region of Kona. 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 mana‘o, aloha, and history in interviews and in talking story —

(in alphabetical order)

Joseph Keanini Gaspar, Jean Greenwell, Sherwood Greenwell, Lily Namakaokai‘a Ha‘ani‘o-Kong, Mona Kapule-Kahele, Maile Keohohou-Mitchell, Fred Leslie, Wes and Yvonne Leslie, Billy Paris, Margaret Paris-Schattauer, David Kahelemauna Roy, Frank Silva, Curtis Tyler III, Allen Wall, Kapua Wall-Heuer, and Helen Kina‘u Weeks

---

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 — Charlie ‘Aipia, Ku‘ulani Auld, Barbara DeFranco, E. Bucky Leslie, Wayne Leslie, Harold Manago, Clarence Medeiros Jr., Jimmy and Gina Medeiros, Leihulu Medeiros-Mamac, Peter Mills, ‘Iolani Pule, C. Hanohano Punihaole, Rodney Oshiro, Moana Rowland, Pat Thiele, Myra Tomonari-Tuggle, Ulalia Woodside, Helen Wong Smith, and staff and collection managers of the Hawai‘i State Survey and Land Divisions, Hawai‘i State Archives, and Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library —

We say **Mahalo nui nō, a ke aloha o ke Akua pū me ‘oukou 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 Keauhou-Kealakekua 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 ha‘aha‘a — Kepā a me Onaona Maly

**O ka mea maika‘i mālama, o ka mea maika‘i ‘ole, kāpae ‘ia  
(Keep the good, set the bad aside)**

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## INTRODUCTION

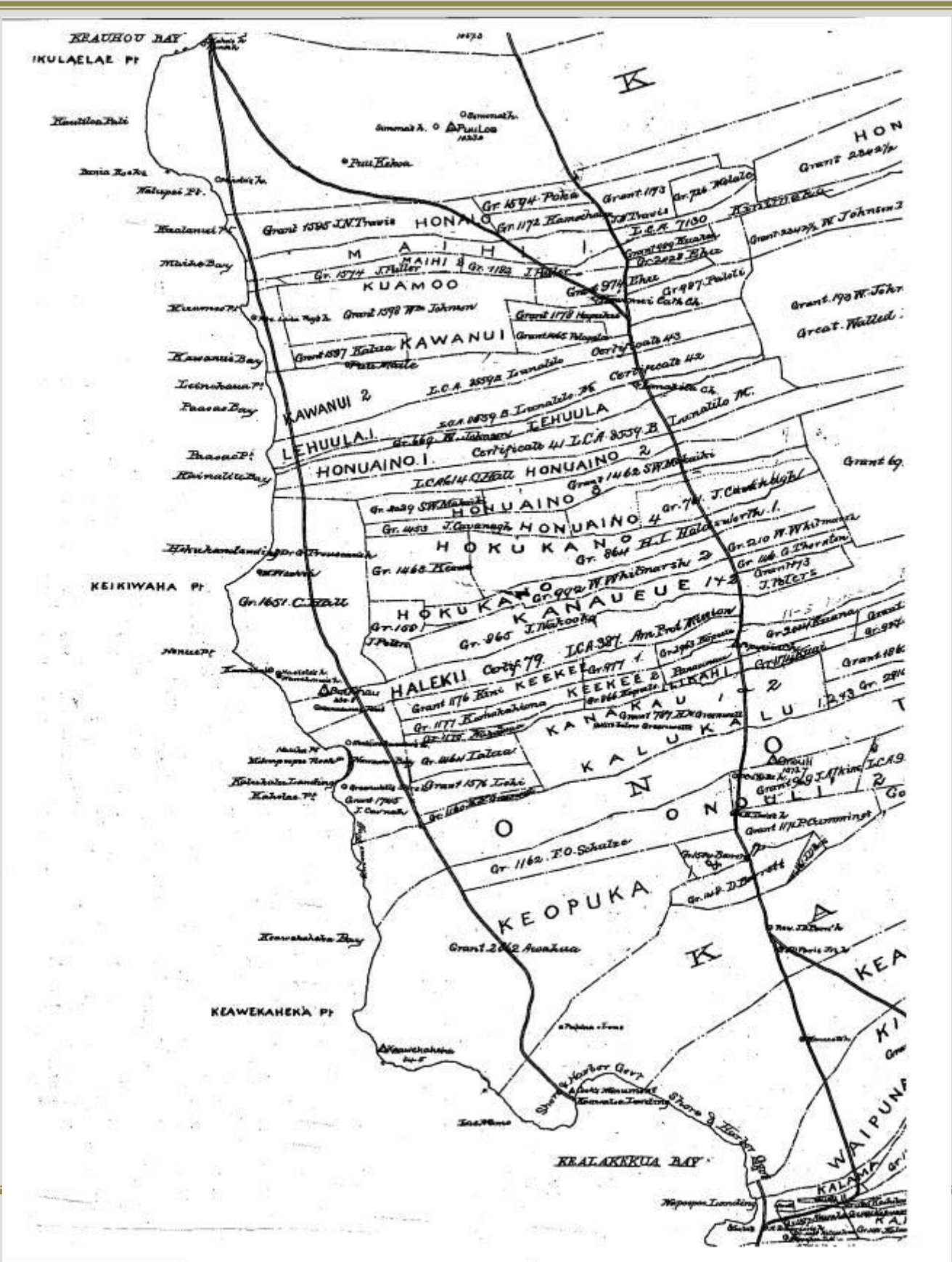
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### Study Overview

At the request of Rodney Oshiro, of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-Division of Forestry and Wildlife, Hawai'i Island program manager of Nā Ala Hele (the Trails and Access Management Program of the State of Hawai'i); cultural historian and resources specialist, Kepā Maly (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted a detailed study of archival and historical literature, and oral history interviews with individuals known to be familiar with the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the lands which extend from Keauhou (North Kona) to Kealakekua (South Kona), on the island of Hawai'i (TMK Overview Sheets 7-9, 8-1, 8-2). This study was conducted in conjunction with efforts by Nā Ala Hele to develop cultural resource management and site protection plans (including, when appropriate, interpretive programs) for the Keauhou-Kealakekua Section of the nationally recognized Historic Trail System ("Ala Kahakai"), on the island of Hawai'i. The study area extends for approximately eight miles (north to south), and crosses eighteen traditional land divisions (ahupua'a), being — Keauhou, Honalo, Mā'ihī, Kuamo'o, Kawanui, Lehu'ula, Honua'ino, Hōkūkano, Kanāueue, Haleki'i, Ke'eke'e, 'Ilikāhi, Kanakau, Kalukalu, Onouli, Keōpuka, Ka'awaloa, and Kealakekua (Figure 1).

While the primary focus of the study was to research and identify cultural-historical resources of the ala hele (trails) — with particular emphasis on the alaloa (long path or trail) and Alanui Aupuni (Government Road) systems — of the Keauhou-Kealakekua section, on the Island of Hawai'i (State Site No.'s 10290, 17189 & 21664) the study looks at, and reports on traditions, practices, historical land use and resources, found at varying elevations within each ahupua'a crossed by the trails and historic government road ways. The reason for this broad approach to the study is that the function of trails (and later roadways) on the cultural landscape of Hawai'i is to provide families of given land areas with access to the resources they need to sustain themselves, and to provide access between various locations in the region and on the island. Thus the trails are that which bind or link the life-ways of families and communities together. They are a part of the larger cultural-historic landscape, and for this reason, the study also includes documentation pertaining to some of the regional and island-wide associations that Keauhou-Kealakekua share with other locations.

The above said, this study does not repeat all that has been previously written about the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. It does draw on many primary (first hand) accounts from native Hawaiian writers (some not previously available in English), foreign visitors and residents, and quotes some lengthy accounts in order to bring a wide range of important narratives into one collection, thereby helping interested parties gain access to information that is otherwise difficult to locate. It is the goal of this study to provide Nā Ala Hele and other land management agencies, and interested parties (including land owners) with important historical documentation pertaining to some of the significant traditions and cultural and natural features of the landscape in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region.



J.S. Emerson, Surveyor (State Survey Division CS. 6-68). It will be noted that the Keopuka-Kaawaloa alignments of the Alanui Aupuni (Kealakekua Pali-Kainaliu Section), does not conform with earlier depictions or the trail alignment on the ground.

## Study Guidelines

The research and interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the referenced laws and guidelines were the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation 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 – 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 Keauhou-Kealakekua region and the larger Kona District. In preparing the archival-historical documentary report for this study, the author reviewed both published and manuscript references in English and Hawaiian—referencing documentation for lands of the immediate study area as well as those for neighboring lands. In an effort to further our understanding of the cultural-historic resources, the author conducted research in several areas which have not received much exposure in past studies. Thus, this study along with other previously conducted studies, provides readers with a well-rounded picture of residency, travel, and land use in the study area.

## Archival and Historical Research

In the period between October 23<sup>rd</sup> 2000 to February 26<sup>th</sup> 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 'Āina (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i; and historical texts authored or compiled by—D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. M. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); 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); Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972); and numerous other authors.

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 Kona Mission Stations. 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 Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, and Bureau of Conveyances; the Bishop Museum Archives; Hawaiian Mission Children's Society; Kona Historical Society University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; the Division of State Parks; private family collections; and in the collection of Kumu Pono Associates.

## **Oral History Interviews and Consultation Records of the Keauhou-Kealakekua Study**

The primary oral historical–consultation component of this study was conducted between February 9<sup>th</sup> to June 14<sup>th</sup> 2001. Also included with interviews of the present oral history program are several earlier interviews conducted in 1996-1997 with individuals knowledgeable about the landscape, customs, and historic land use. As a result, a total of twenty formal recorded interviews are included in this study. The interviews include important documentation pertaining to the lands and families connected to the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. Most of the interview participants have lived upon, worked on, or are descended from traditional residents of the lands in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, or know the land from traveling it with their extended family and friends. Interviewees range in age from 55 to 97, and they share recollections gained from personal experiences dating back to 1910.

During the interviews and discussions, 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 two maps, cited as Figure 2a & 2b, Annotated Interview Maps at the end of this study. Also during the interviews and discussions, participants were asked to share their thoughts about the use of, and care for the cultural and natural landscape. Their thoughts and recommendations are given in their entirety in Appendix A, in which the full released transcripts may be found. In various locations throughout this volume of the study, references to historical recollections and points raised by the interviewees are also cited.

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.

## **KEAUHOU-KEALAKEKUA: AN OVERVIEW OF THE CULTURAL-HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE**

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This section of the study provides readers with a general overview of the Hawaiian landscape—with emphasis on the Keauhou-Kealakekua region—including discussions on Hawaiian settlement; population expansion; and land management practices that are the basis of the sustainable relationship shared between native Hawaiians and the land.

### **Natural and Cultural Resources in Hawaiian Culture**

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 deepsea 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 lowlands (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'onuia 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 the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, situated in portions of what are now known as Kona 'Akau (North Kona) and Kona Hema (South Kona), are part of an ancient sub-region poetically described "Kona kai 'ōpua" (interpretively translated as: Kona of the distant horizon clouds above the ocean).

### 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 ahupua'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'ainana and 'ohana who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms. This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and was the product of strictly adhered to resources management planning. In this system, the land provided fruits and vegetables and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources. Also, in communities with long-term royal residents, divisions of labor (with specialists in various occupations on land and in procurement of marine resources) came to be strictly adhered to.

It is in the cultural setting described above, that we find the ahupua'a of Keauhou, Honalo, Mā'ihī, Kuamo'o, Kawanui, Lehu'ula, Honua'ino, Hōkūkano, Kanāueue, Haleki'i, Ke'eke'e, 'Ilikāhi, Kanakau, Kalukalu, Onouli, Keōpuka, Ka'awaloa, and Kealakekua, of the present study area.

# NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE KEAUHOU-KEALAKEKUA REGION OF KONA

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## Overview

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. Many of the mo'olelo which reference the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, also describe the neighboring lands of Kona which share some of the traditions in common. Some of the narratives make specific references to cultural sites (such as villages, heiau, family sites, trails, and other features) and events spanning several centuries (into the historic period) of Keauhou-Kealakekua; while other accounts are part of larger traditions which are associated with regional localities and events of “national” significance.

The native traditions cited in this section of the study describe some of the customs and practices of the native people who resided on these lands. Through the narratives, readers learn of those who worked the land and marine fisheries, walked the trails, and who were sustained by the wealth of the natural landscape. Most of the cited traditions are presented in association with place names, cultural sites, features of the landscape, and events in the history of these lands. Such traditions are an expression of the cultural-historical importance of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region to its native families.

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 of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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

Several prominent native historians have been widely published, and provide readers with important details of history in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. Among the Hawaiian authors are David Malo (born at Keauhou, Kona in ca. 1793), who was associated with chiefs of the Kamehameha household; John Papa I'i (born in 1800 at Waipi'o, O'ahu), descended from families of Kona, and raised as a member of the Kamehameha household; and Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (born in 1815 at Waialua, O'ahu), who was educated at Lahaina Luna and rose to prominence as an educator; politician; and most importantly, a chronicler of Hawaiian history.

Selected traditions and historical accounts recorded by Malo (1951), I'i (1959), and Kamakau (1961), as well as the writings of lesser known native historians, are cited below. Underlining used in the quoted material draws the reader's attention to specific place names, site references, and individuals mentioned.

## Ka Moololo o Kamehameha I

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), Kamakau referenced traditional accounts and historical events of the Keauhou-Kealakekua Region. From his writings come the following narratives (underlining inserted by the present author).

### **Kaawaloa-Kealakekua (1754 & 1779)**

In passing, while describing events (in ca. 1754) which led up to Kalani'ōpu'u's securing his rule over Hawai'i, Kamakau (1961) recorded that auhuhu (Tephrosia purpurea), a native plant used to stun fish, and as a poison, was gathered on the cliffs of Ka'awaloa (Kamakau 1961:156).

One of the most widely known events in the history of the Ka'awaloa-Kealakekua vicinity concerns the arrival of, and subsequently the death of Captain James Cook. Kamakau recorded the following details of the event:

...on January 17, 1779, he put in at Ka'awaloa Bay. Ka-lani-ōpu'u was fighting Ka-hekili on Maui at the time. Captain Cook arrived during the tabu time of the Makahiki when no man could paddle out to the ship without breaking the law and forfeiting all his possessions. But when Captain Cook appeared they declared that his name must be Lono, for Kealakekua was the home of that deity as a man, and it was a belief of the ancients that he had gone to Kahiki and would return. They were full of joy, all the more so that these were Lono's tabu days. Their happiness knew no bounds; they leaped for joy [shouting]: "Now shall our bones live; our 'aumakua has come back. These are his tabu days and he has returned..."

Hikiau was the name of Lono's heiau at Kealakekua, and it lay close to the beach. The kahunas of the heiau were among the first, together with those who fed the god, to adopt the error of the rest of the people. The men hurried to the ship to see the god with their own eyes. There they saw a fair man with bright eyes, a high-bridged nose, light hair, and handsome features. Good-looking gods they were! They spoke rapidly. Red was the mouth of the god. When they saw the strangers letting out ropes the natives called them Ku-of-the-tree-fern (Ku-pulupulu) and Coverer-of-the-island (Moku-hali'i). These were gods of the canoe builders in the forest. When they saw them painting the ship they said, "There are Ma'ikohā [originator of the wauke plant] and Ehu (Fair-haired) daubing their canoe, and Lanahu (Charcoals) daubing on the black!" When they saw the strangers smoking they said, "There are Lono-pele and his companions [of the volcano] breathing fire from their mouths!" Another sailor who put up a flag at the masthead they called Ku-of-the-colored-ensign (Ku-ka-lepa-ōni'oni'o)..."

...When Captain Cook went ashore at Kealakekua the kahuna, believing him to be a god, led him to the heiau [Hikiau] and seated him above the altar where sacrifices were offered. The kahuna stepped back, and had a soft white tapa wrapped about his loins. Captain Cook was covered with a cloak of red tapa like that about the images. Then the kahuna prayed thus:

Ou mau kino e Lono i ka lani.  
He ao loa, he ao poko, he ao ki'ei,  
He ao halo, he ao ho'opua i ka lani,  
Mai Uliuli, mai Melemele, mai Kahiki,  
Mai Ulunui, Mai Ha'eha'e,  
Mai 'Oma'oku'ululu, mai Hakalau'ai,  
Mai ka aina o Lono i wahi aku ai,  
I ka lewa nuu, i ka lewa lani,  
I ka papaku, i ka papakahui a Laka.  
O lalo hana, o ole puu ka honua.  
E Ku, e Lono, e kane, e Kanaloa,  
E ke akua mai Kahikiku, mai Kahikimoe,  
Eia ka mohai, eia ka alana,

E ola e ke alii, e ola i na pulapula,  
A kau i ke ao malamalama, ia lana honua.  
Amama. Ua noa...

...On Ka-lani-'opu'u's return with his chiefs and warriors from Maui on January 24, 1779, he landed at 'Awili in Ka'awaloa and stayed in Hanamua at the home of Keawe-a-heulu, who had been with them on Maui fighting with Ka-hekili... Ka-lani-'opu'u treated Captain Cook with hospitality, giving him hogs, taro, potatoes, bananas, and other provisions, as well as feather capes, helmets, kahili, feather leis, wooden bowls beautifully shaped, tapa cloths of every variety, finely woven mats of Puna, and some especially fine mats made of pandanus blossoms. In return Captain Cook gave Ka-lani-'opu'u some trifles. It is said that the hat that Cook gave to Ka-lani-'opu'u is in the wrappings of the head of Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku... [Kamakau 1961:98-101; Hawaiian text of Mele pule IN Ka Nupepa Ku Okoa, February 2, 1867]

Kamakau continues his narratives, describing the departure and subsequent return of Cook and his ships to Kealakekua. There, the people became suspicious, and began to question whether or not Cook was a god (Kamakau 1961:102). The resulting interactions led to Cook's death on the flats of Ka'awaloa, and the disposition of his remains:

...Palea no longer believed in the divinity of Lono and he plotted to steal a boat. He and his men secretly took a boat from Lono's ship and, conveying it to Onouli, then broke it up to get the iron in it, also perhaps because they were angry with the white men for striking Palea with a club. It was this theft of the boat by Palea that led to the fight in which Captain Cook was killed. When Captain Cook and the sailors awoke in the morning and found their boat gone they were troubled; so Captain Cook went ashore at Ka'awaloa to inquire about the boat of Ka-lani-'opu'u, the ruling chief. Ka-lani-'opu'u denied any knowledge of the affair... [Cook] returned to the ship, and the officers discussed the affair and resolved to take the high chief Ka-lani-'opu'u on board and hold him there until the boat was found and restored...

Cook landed with his company at Ka'awaloa between Ka-lani-'opu'u's place at 'Awili and Keawe-a-heulu's at Hanamua. As a result of the conference held in the men's eating house before Ka-lani-'opu'u, his older chiefs, and his sons, Ka-lani-'opu'u consented to go on board the ship. Ke-ku-hau-pi'o, meanwhile, seeing Cook on his way to Ka'awaloa, hastily set out from Ke'ei with another chief named Ka-limu. The strangers, seeing a man sitting at the outrigger of the canoe wearing a feather cape, shot at him. The shot struck Ka-limu and killed him. Ke-ku-hau-pi'o then hurriedly turned back and landed at Ka'awaloa. Just then Ka-lani-'opu'u and some of the chiefs dressed in chiefly array and carrying their war-clubs, appeared on the shore, ready to go on board the ship. Ke-ku-hau-pi'o cried, "O heavenly one! stop! it is not safe on the sea; Ka-limu is dead. Go back to the house." When Ka-lola heard that Ka-limu was dead, shot by the strangers, she ran out of the sleeping house, threw her arms about the shoulders of Ka-lani-'opu'u and said, "O heavenly one! let us go back!" Ka-lani-'opu'u turned to go back. Captain Cook tried to grasp him by the hand, but Ka-lani-'opu'u was borne away by his chiefs and warriors to Maunaloia, and the fight began. Captain Cook struck Ka-lani-'opu'u with his sword, slashing one side of his face from temple to cheek. The chief with a powerful blow of his club knocked Captain Cook down against a heap of lava rock. Captain Cook groaned with pain. Then the chief knew that he was a man and not a god, and, that mistake ended, he struck him dead together with four other white men. The rest of the party fled to their boats and shot the gun, and many of the Hawaiians were killed. Some of those who

were skillful with the sling, shot stones after the boat. Of one of these named Moa the strangers said, “Mahi-moa is a bad one. He twists his sling and the stone flies forth. He who flees, dies; he who stands still lives.”

When the strangers on the ship knew that their chief was dead, they shot their guns from the ship while the natives tried to ward off the shots with their sleeping mats. The bodies of Captain Cook and the four men who died with him were carried to Ka-lani-'opu'u at Maunaloa, and the chief sorrowed over the death of the captain. He dedicated the body of Captain Cook, that is, he offered it as a sacrifice to the god with a prayer to grant life to the chief (himself) and to his dominion. Then they stripped the flesh from the bones of Lono [Cook]. The palms of the hands and the intestines were kept; the remains (pela) were consumed with fire<sup>1</sup>. The bones, Ka-lani-'opu'u was kind enough to give to the strangers on board the ship, but some were saved by the kahunas and worshipped... [Kamakau 1961:102-103] ...After the death of Captain Cook and the departure of his ship, Ka-lani-'opu'u moved to Kainaliu near Honua'ino and, after some months, to Keauhou where he could surf in the waves of Kahalu'u and Holualoa... [Kamakau1961:105]

### He Wānana (A Prophecy)

One of the most significant references to the ahupua'a crossed by the alaloa-Alanui Aupuni, (of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region) is found in an account that is of not only local significance, but also of national significance to the Hawaiian people. As early as the 1770s, a kāula (seer or prophet) Kapihe, foretold the rise of Kamehameha I to power, his unification of the islands under one rule, and the overthrow of the ancient religious and kapu system (see Kamakau 1961, Malo 1951). In this prophecy are referenced the lands of Kona, that extend from Kuamo'o to Hōlualoa. Thus, in the context of this prophecy, the ahupua'a of Mā'ihī, Honalo, and Keauhou, are also included. Walking the coastal trail from Kuamo'o (his residence) to Hōlualoa, Kapihe delivered the message of a prophecy to:

...Kamehameha and said, “There shall be a long malo reaching from Kuamo'o to Holualoa. The islands shall come together, the tabus shall fall. The high shall be brought low, and the low shall rise to heaven.” The prophecy was fulfilled when the battle was fought at Kuamo'o for the downfall of the ancient tabus [in 1819]. Holualoa was the long malo uniting the kingdom from Kahiki to Hawaii. The kingdom of the gods fell, and the believers rose to the heavens. Part of the prophecy is still being fulfilled... [Kamakau 1961:223]

In David Malo's “Hawaiian Antiquities” (1951), we find additional details on this prophecy recorded in the notes of Nathaniel Emerson:

Kapihe was a noted kaula of the last century, living in Kona, Hawaii, at the time when Kamehameha was a general under Kalaniopuu. To Kapihe was ascribed the following oracular utterance (wanana) which is of the nature of a prophecy:

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<sup>1</sup> The place (*heiau*) where Captain Cook's body was prepared for burial (cooked in an imu-like oven in order to remove the flesh and clean the bones) is named Puhinaolono or Kapuhiolono (literally: The-burning-of-Lono) (Menzies 1920:68; Lyman Ms. 1846:18; Kamakau 1961:103; Fornander 1996:193-194; and Thrum 1908:43-46). On maps dating back to 1854 (see *Figure 4*), the location is also identified as Cook's Monument. The site is situated along the *mauka-makai* trail in Ka'awaloa (historically, the road to Ka'awaloa Beach), and near the intersection with the *Alanui Aupuni* which runs from the *pali* at Kealakekua to Kāināliu and Keauhou.

E iho ana o luna;	That which is above shall be brought down;
E pii ana o lalo;	That which is below shall be lifted up;
E hui ana na moku;	The islands shall be united;
E ku ana ka paia.	The walls shall stand upright.

[Emerson IN Malo 1951:115]

Another version of this prophesy was published in the Hawaiian newspaper “Ka Hae Hawaii” on May 23, 1860 (ms. Maly, translator). One of the readers, identified only as “S.,” offered the following short history to the editor of the paper:

Perhaps you have heard about the prophesy made by Kapihe, before Kamehameha first. If perhaps you have not, here is the prophesy:

Kamehameha returned to Hawaii with the Niaukani [fleet of canoes and ships in ca. 1811], he dwelt at Holualoa in North Kona. Kapihe was a person who dwelt at Kuamoo, and he was at times considered to be somewhat crazy [a result of his gift of prophesy]. He traveled from Kuamoo to Holualoa with a long malo (loin cloth), prophesizing before the King. This is what he said:

E hui ana na aina,	The lands shall be united;
E iho mai ana ko ka lani,	That which is above shall come down,
E pii aku ana ko lalo nei,	That which is below shall rise above,
E iho mai ana ke Akua ilalo nei,	The God shall come down,
E kamailio pu ana me kanaka,	Speaking with mankind,
E pii mai ana o Wakea iluna,	Wakea shall rise up,
E iho aku ana o Milo ilalo,	Milo shall descend,
E noho pu ana ke akua me kanaka.	The gods shall dwell like men.

Ka Hae Hawaii. Mei 23, 1860:32

As the history of Kamehameha unfolded, he did rise to power, and by 1810, all of the Hawaiian Islands were under his control. Then, within six months following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the religious kapu were overthrown, and the Kaua ‘ai noa (Battle of free eating) was fought at Kuamo‘o, Mā‘ihi, Honalo, and Keauhou (in December of 1819), thus overthrowing the ancient system of honoring the gods and restricting men and women from eating together (Kamakau 1961:223, 226-227).

### **Death of Kamehameha I and events leading to the ‘Ai Noa (Abolition of the Kapu System)**

When Kamehameha died at Kamakahonu (Kailua), Kona in May 1819, he gave his trusted attendants instructions regarding the disposition of his remains. Kamakau (1961), reports that the late king’s father had been buried in the cliffs of Ka‘awaloa (Kamakau 1961:215). Kamakau wrote:

The chiefs bones belonged by right to the family of Keawe-a-heulu and to the hidden burial places of its members from Kiolaka‘a and Waiohinu in Ka-‘u, but Kamehameha doubted whether this family could keep the place secret, for the place where the bones of their father, Keoua, were hidden was pointed out on the cliffs of Ka‘awaloa. Kamehameha had therefore entrusted his bones to Ulu-maheihei Hoa-pili with instruction to put them in a place which would never be pointed out to anyone... [Kamakau 1961:215]



It is also said that a portion of the cliff of Ka'awaloa-Kealakekua, which bears the name "Ka-pali-kapu-o-Keōua" is so named for Keōua-kupu-a-pā-i-ka-lani, father of Kamehameha I (see "Ka Pali Kapu o Keoua" – Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i, March 31, 1910, in this study).

Kamehameha's death set the stage for great changes which were to occur in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Ka'ahumanu proclaimed herself kuhina nui (regent), and she led the young king, Liholiho, to adopt the 'ai noa, or custom of free eating — in which men and women ate from the same food sources; in opposition to the 'ai kapu (restricted eating laws) which formed the basis of the kapu system of ancient Hawai'i. The events which followed the 'ai noa of Liholiho and his household shook the kingdom, and the Kaua 'Ai Noa (Battle of Free Eating) which resulted, took place along the coastal trails of the Ka'awaloa-Keauhou region. Describing these events, Kamakau reported:

When Ke-ao-ua Ke-kua-o-ka-lani, the son of Kamehameha's younger brother and second heir named in Kamehameha's parting commands, heard that the ruling chief Liholiho had been made to practice free-eating, he was angry with Ka'ahumanu and the whole family of chiefs for forcing this upon the young chief and ending the tabu of chiefs. To show his own stand for tabu eating he left Kailua and sailed to Ka'awaloa and lived there shunning free eating. There he was joined by Kuaiwa and Holoi-alena, soldiers of the kahuna line of Ka-uahi and Na-hulu, who stood for tabu eating... [Kamakau 1961:225-226]

Kamakau reported that while Kekuaokalani resided at Ka'awaloa, a number of the chiefs and people supported the old law of 'ai kapu (restricted eating). In Hāmākua, a skirmish took place, and two people loyal to Liholiho were killed (Kamakau 1961:226). Kamakau reported that:

The king and his chiefs held a council of war to determine how they could send assistance to their men in Hamakua. Ka-lani-moku said, "There is no use sending men to Hamakua. The cause of the uprising is in Ka'awaloa in the person of Ke-kua-o-ka-lani. Hew down the trunk and the limb will wither." It was agreed to send Haiha Naihe [2] and Ulu-maheihei Hoapili, his uncles, to go in a friendly way and bring Ke-kua-o-ka-lani to Kailua. If he agreed to come, there would be no need for making war upon him.

Just as the canoe was ready to sail, Ke-opu-o-lani came on board without having previously expressed any intention of so doing. Her action was the cause of the battle at Kuamo'o... The canoe landed in the evening at Ka'awaloa, and Naihe and Ulu-maheihei said, "We have been sent by the chiefs and your child to come here and bring you back to Kailua. You are my sister's son, and they are blaming you for the uprising..." Ke-kua-o-ka-lani consented and said, "I must first go and speak with Manono, my wife, then I will go back with you; but I will never practice free eating." Naihe and Ulu-maheihei returned to Na-ihe's house where Ke-opu-o-lani was staying. "What was Ke-kua-o-ka-lani's answer?" she asked. "He has consented to go with us tomorrow..." [Kamakau 1961:226]

...All that night a man in the high counsel of Ke-kua-o-ka-lani made the rounds calling the people to make ready to return to Kailua to take part in the practice of free eating.

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<sup>2</sup> This is Nāihe (Haihā Nāihe) of Ka'awaloa, who in later years was the last husband of the kapu chiefess, Kapi'olani, and is often referenced in the accounts of native historians, foreign residents and visitors.

[Ulu-maheihēi] Hoapili's party felt that their mission had been successful. In reality it was but a ruse; the plan was to dispose of Hoapili and Ke-opu-o-lani that night. Those active in the plot were the kahunas Kuaiwa and Holoī-a-lena of the priesthood of Ka-uahi and Na-hulu...but to the credit of Ke-kua-o-ka-lani be it said that he refused his men's urging to the deed. Na-ihe was said to have been sympathetic with Ke-kua-o-ka-lani's side, for he left his guns behind. The next morning when Ke-kua-o-ka-lani and his followers went to meet Ke-opu-o-lani and lined up, armed, with torches lighted and sandals on their feet, it was evident that they were prepared for war. "Are we then to start?" asked Hoa-pili. "Yes." "we take the canoe then?" [Ke-kua-o-ka-lani answered] "I go by land with my men<sup>[3]</sup>; they are without food and can supply themselves by land." "You think too much of your men; it is you we came to fetch. Let the men go by land and you come with us" [replied Hoapili]. "I will not go by canoe; I go by land with the rest" [Ke-kua-o-ka-lani declared]. "So you cut the navel cord, my brother, by this act<sup>[4]</sup>," said Ke-opu-o-lani, this ended the talk. Ke-kua-o-ka-lani accompanied his men by land. "There is nothing left but war," said Hoa-pili to himself as they made ready to return to Kailua.

The plan was for Ke-opu-o-lani to go in a double hull canoe and Hoa-pili in a single one. Naihe ordered Hoa-pili to land at Keauhou and wait the coming of Ke-kua-o-ka-lani, but Ke-opu-o-lani heard the order and took canoe with Hoa-pili and came to Kailua. Upon landing she was met by the chief and there was much wailing. Ke-opu-o-lani said "I was to have been killed." "Where is Ke-kua-o-ka-lani?" asked Ka-lani-moku. "He is coming by land." "How did he receive you?" "Friendly means have failed; it is for you to act now," and Ke-opu-o-lani then ordered Ka-lani-moku to prepare for war on Ke-kua-o-ka-lani. Arms and ammunition were given out that evening to everyone who was trained in warfare, and feather capes and helmets distributed. The next morning Ka-lani-moku encouraged his followers to go forward, saying, "Go quietly, be strong, be soldiers, and drink of the bitter waters, O my little brothers? There are lands ahead, honor, wealth. Do not turn back, whether death or life lies ahead." He then placed the carriers of food and water and marched his men to Keauhou, where they camped. Ka-lani-moku then sent Ka-heana, called also Moe-hau, [to Ke-kua-o-ka-lani's men] with the word, "Let your chief come and confer with your chief Liholiho at Kailua, and if he will consent there need be no war." Moe-hau met Ke-kua-o-ka-lani at Kuamo'o and gave the message. "Where is Ka-lani-moku?" "Encamped at Kea[u]hou." "I command you to return to Ka-lani-moku and if he attacks to seize him and await my coming." The two were talking outside the stone wall at Lekeleke. Some of the advance scouts of Ka-lani-moku's following, fired a shot. The kahu kissed Ke-kua-o-ka-lani, jumped into the seas, and swam to meet Ka-lani-moku at Kawanui. Ke-kua-o-ka-lani's scouts fired and killed some of the men and wounded two chiefs on the side of free eating, but not seriously. They were Ka-iki-o-'ewa, wounded in the calf of the leg, and Holua-loa, the friend for Ka-uhi-wawae-ono

<sup>3</sup> Though the specific trail route traveled by Kekuaokalani and his party is not given in Kamakau's original Hawaiian narrative of November 2, 1867 (nor in the 1961 translation), site references from the journey tell us that the route traveled was — across the flats of Ka'awaloa on the *alaloa* (subsequently modified into the Old Cart Road); into the Keōpuka-Onouli lands through Kanāueue, and behind Pu'uohau (where portions of the "stepping stone" and "Hale Kauila" trail" may still be seen; then angling towards the shore in Hōkūkano and Kāināliu; then across Honua'ino and on to Kuamo'o-Mā'ihī and Lekeleke (on the *makai* Honalo-Keauhou boundary), where the opposing sides met in battle. The latter part of the route (Honua'ino to Keauhou) generally follows the *alaloa* alignment which in ca. 1847 was modified into the *Alanui Aupuni* (Old Government Road).

<sup>4</sup> Keōpūolani is recorded as having said "*E wehe no hoi i ka piko*" (Kamakau November 2, 1867). In the Hawaiian context, such an expression tells one that all relationship is cut; that there will be no peace (cf. *moku ka piko*).

and husband of Kaka'e. These were the first casualties, and had they been fatal, the battle would have gone to the tabu eaters. Ka-lani-moku's men retreated, but others, seeing how few in number the shooters were, pressed forward, the two sides met, and at Kuamo'o the battle began in earnest.

Ke-kua-o-ka-lani showed conspicuous courage during the entire battle. He kept on advancing and even when shot in the leg he fought on bravely until afternoon, when he was surrounded and shot in the chest and died facing his enemies. His wife Manono fought at his side. When he was shot she cried out to Ka-lani-moku to spare her, for he and she had the same father. "How is the chief?" he called. "He is dead." "Then it would disgrace me in men's minds for you to live." How pitiful to hear a woman plead for her life! She fell at her husband's side under a volley of shots. Kuaiwa, the kahuna who had urged the revolt, was seized at Kailua and another plotter, named Wahahe'e, who shot Puakau, and they were killed and their bodies dragged along the highway (alaloa). Ku-a-ka-mauna the son Lono-hiwa, Pe'ape'a, and Na-heana fled to the bush. Manono, the son of Ka-nau-kapu and Keawe-haku, went into hiding among the cliffs of Waipi'o; many hid in the bush and some escaped to Maui. All were finally pardoned by Liholiho and their lives spared... [Kamakau 1961:227-228].

In a Journal kept by Toketa, a Tahitian missionary and companion to the ali'i of Hawai'i (ca. 1822-1838), another reference to the battle at Kuamo'o and the proximity of the alaloa to the place where Kekuaokalani and Manono fell is found:

52 – Friday.

We were talking of our journey down to the white man's ship that had anchored at Ka-awa-loa previously. Kuakini went out to it on the row-boat. I followed on his steward's canoe. We proceeded to Ke-au-hou I said to our company, "Let me off on shore, as I wish to visit Kua-moo." So they put me ashore. I went sightseeing to Kua-moo. I came upon Ka-niho sitting down. He showed me where Ke-kua-o-ka-lani was killed. He died in a hollow place by the path. [Toketa; State Archives Manuscript 146:18-19]

### **Ali'i and Events of the Kealakekua-Ka'awaloa Vicinity in the Early Historic Period**

After successfully unifying all of the islands under the rule of his kingdom and establishing peace between ca. 1795 and 1810. Kamehameha I departed from O'ahu (Ka-ni'au-kani of ca. 1811) to return and live out his life on Hawai'i. It was during this time that Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) was born to Kamehameha I and Keōpūolani on the shores of Keauhou Bay on March 17, 1814 (Kamakau 1961:260 & 263).

Kamakau (1961) and John Papa I'i (1959), who was with Kamehameha at the time of his return to Hawai'i recorded that at the time of Kamehameha's return to Hawai'i there was a scarcity of cultivated foods. This was in part due to the fact that the lesser chiefs had ordered people into the forests to collect sandalwood for export, thus leaving the lands uncultivated. In the uplands of Kona, Kamehameha caused an extensive agricultural field system known by the name of Kūāhewa, to be planted. The field is reported to have crossed the uplands from the vicinity of Pua'a in the north to Kāināliu in the south (see I'i 1959, Kamakau 1961, and Desha 1922).

Describing this period and the troubled times, Kamakau (1961) wrote about Kūāhewa and the important upland field system of Kuapehu above Ka'awaloa. Having returned to Hawai'i:

...The chief immediately declared all sandalwood to be the property of the government and ordered the people to devote only part of their time to its cutting and to return to the cultivation of the land.

He himself [Kamehameha I] and those who are with him ('ai-alo) toiled with their own hands to set out a large tract in the uplands of Kailua, known as Kuahewa. When the land had been cleared and the taro tops planted the whole field was covered with fern leaves as mulch. As the taro grew large enough to pull the little ones were left to grow, and it was said that the field was productive for years without wild growth. The chief did not allow his men to help themselves to taro and tops for planting as was the custom for those in power in times of scarcity. He believed in the rights of the common people, even in their right of refusal to sell.

"You can get some over there, says Pahia," became a saying [as a taunt against such refusal]. Petty thieving ('aihue), taking things without leave (lalau wale), robbery (hao wale), oppression (pakaha wale), taking without return (lawe wale), stealing (mokio), taking without the knowledge of the owner (lawe malu), were regarded as wrong in old Hawaii. It is told of Kamehameha that when he went out to find tops for planting his field he went to the place of a chief who owned a large planting of taro in upper Kuapehu. He knew that the chief was not at home but had left a favorite in charge. Landing at Ka'awaloa he walked up to the chief's place, which was not far off, and found the man in charge returned from the god house drunk with 'awa and fast asleep. Kamehameha sat down therefore and began to rub his head. The man started up and asked, "Who is there?" "It is I, Kamehameha, come to ask Naihe for taro tops from Kuapehu." A wonderful ruling chief indeed, who could have taken anything he liked, but was thus kind and humble of heart! [Kamakau 1969:204-205]

Among the prominent figures in the late seventeenth- and early-to-mid eighteenth-century history of the Kealakekua-Ka'awaloa vicinity, were the sacred chiefess Kapi'olani<sup>5</sup> and her last husband Haihā Nāihe. The following narratives provide readers with some of their background and family connections, and help us understand how these two ali'i came to help usher in the missionary presence in South Kona.

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<sup>5</sup> Genealogical notes for *ali'i* of the historic period at the Kealakekua-Haleki'i vicinity:

Keaweaeulu (k) and Ululani-a-moku (w) = Haihā Nāihe (k);  
Haihā Nāihe (k; childless, adopted the son of his sister ) and Keohohiwa (w) by Kepo'okalani = Aikanaka (k);  
Aikanaka (k) and Kamae (aka Kamaekalani or Kamalama\*) (w) = Keohokālole (w);  
Keohokālole (w) and Kapa'akea (k) = Kalākaua mā.

\* Historical survey records report that Kamalama (Kamae) was buried atop Pu'uohau (see Hawaiian Government Survey records in this study).

Ululani Kekikipa'a (w) and Keawemauhili (k) = Kapi'olani (w)  
(Ke-kiki-pa'a was the daughter of Kame'eiamoku, one of the famed uncles and advisors of Kamehameha I; Her father, Keawemauhili was also of sacred lineage and an uncle of Kamehameha I through another line of his genealogy). (cf. I'i 1959 and Kamakau 1961)

Kapi'olani (w) was the last wife of Haihā Nāihe (Haihā Nāihe died 1831 and was buried near his residence on the Ka'awaloa Flat; Kapi'olani died 1841).

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 Kame'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-paliku...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. 1793]...

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]

Following the arrival of the missionaries, and return of Liholiho and the royal court to Honolulu, Kapi'olani also returned to O'ahu. There, she learned to read and write, and eventually, she was moved to Christianity and the furthering of the mission efforts (Kamakau 1961:381). Kamakau also wrote of Kapi'olani's return to Ka'awaloa, reporting:

...After her return to Hawaii she settled on the land belonging to herself and her husband at Ka'awaloa, and established the teaching of reading and writing to those of their households and to the commoners of their lands, Ka'awaloa and Kealakekua... Ka-pi'o-lani encouraged learning and converted her husband Na-ihe to righteousness... The two continued to strive in righteousness, and such prominent people as Kamakau, Ke-po'o-kulou and others, and the lesser chiefs all joined with her... [Kamakau 1961:381]

The presence of burial caves in the cliffs of Kealakekua and Ka'awaloa is recorded in many historic accounts. Kamakau (1961) provides us with important documentation describing how some of the burials came to be on the cliffs:

When Ka'ahu-manu became a Christian she had all the images burned and ordered an end put to the practice of kahunaism. When she heard that some of the chiefs and people had been deifying the bones of chiefs deposited in the Hale-o-Keawe at Honaunau, Kona, and at Waipi'o in Hamakua, she gathered up the bones and deposited them in the cliffs of Ka'awaloa and burned the debris. Her name was heaped with abuse for this deed, but she really did place the bones where they would be undisturbed... [Kamakau 1961:322]

Knowledge of the remains on these 'āina, and respect for them, is testified to by native elders and others familiar with the lands through the present-day (see oral history interviews in this study).

### **Na Hunahuna no ka Moololeo Hawaii**

In between 1868 to 1870, writing under the title "Na Hunahuna no ka Moololeo Hawaii" (Fragments of Hawaiian History), John Papa I'i published a series of articles which included

traditions and practices of the Hawaiian people and recordation of events in the then recent history of Hawai'i. Among his writings are found — descriptions of the events that took place on the lands between Keauhou to Kealakekua; site references to heiau and other features in the region; and a mele (chant) praising the attributes of the Kawanui, Mā'ihī and the mountain lands of Hualālai.

Around 1754, Alapa'inui died. His heir Keawe'ōpala and chief Kalani'ōpu'u soon met in conflict. I'i's account provides important documentation pertaining to Kauluwai, a place in the uplands of Kealakekua, where human sacrifices were offered, and other nearby locations:

Kalaniopuu, hearing of the death of Alapai, went to Waiea, South Kona. When news of his arrival reached Kawaihae, Keaweopala marched with a procession to Kona and remained at Kauluwai in upper Kealakekua, where he encamped with his multitude in warlike display. Kalaniopuu heard of this and moved on to either Honaunau or Keei. The ensuing battle, fought at Kepulu in the upland of Kahauloa at Napoopoo, was won by Keaweopala. All of the victims of the battle were borne up to Kauluwai, where Keaweopala was staying with the young Kamehameha. When all of the dead had been transported, Keaweopala sacrificed the bodies. He did not leave this work to Kamehameha, the person to whom the kingdom properly belonged, hence Kamehameha's mother commanded Kamehameha to go to Kalaniopuu and give him the right to offer human sacrifices. Kalaniopuu had not had the right to do this before. This privilege came through Keakealaniwahine... [I'i 1959:4]

In ca. 1811, when Kamehameha I and his court was preparing to return to Hawai'i, I'i learned a chant from his mother, which spoke of Kawanui, Mā'ihī and the mountain lands of Hualālai. I'i told the following story and gave the chant to his readers:

... On the afternoon of the day before he boarded the ship, to be separated from his mother and his personal attendants, Ii received two glasses of lemu hao ['okolehao] from a friend of his. This was only the second time he had come in contact with this intoxicant, though in later times he grew to be familiar with it. On this occasion, he was tipsy in the presence of his mother and he chanted this chant:

Hiki melemele ka 'opua i ke kai,  
He kai kuehu lani na ka malie,  
Ua kaka'ulae holo a ka la'i,  
'Ikea ke'ele, 'ikea.

He aka maui lani no luna,  
He hauli no na kuahiwi,  
He pane lae no na mauna,  
Ke hele nei i ku'u maka,  
Ua a'a me he 'oloa la.  
Kulu iho nei au i ka po,  
Lulumi ana ka hiamoe.  
Ho'ala mai ana ia'u ke ko'eko'e  
maka hu'ihu'i,  
Make i ke anu, make i ke anu a Kawanui,  
I na hau luma'i wa'a a na Maihi

O ka uka wale i Hainoa la.

The clouds appear yellow over the sea,  
A sea that is the hue of the clear sky,  
The 'ulae fishers sail out in the calm,  
The keel can be seen, can be seen.  
A sky is reflected from above,  
Shadows are cast by the forest,  
Covering the brow of the mountain,  
They move before my eyes,  
The light appears in patches like 'oloa tapa.  
Night descends and I am drowsy,  
I am overcome by sleep.  
A damp coldness rouses me,

I am chilled with the cold of Kawanui,  
With the dew that fills the canoes  
of Maihi  
In the distant upland of Hainoa.

He chanted with his mother until one chant was finished, then began another and another until they had chanted five or six, for the boy had become quite an expert in this art under his mother's tutelage. Chanting was an important custom with the chiefs, and sometimes continued through the night, and different chants were appropriate at midnight, at dawn, and when day had come. Ii's mother went with him or with her kaikamahine from one place to another, to Kaahumanu, and to other chiefesses. The boy's attendants composed chants in his honor until dusk, preliminary to a fond farewell. Unfortunately, the boy was unfamiliar with their chants, hence they are now unknown. The company gathered in the same house to spend the night, and it was the light of day that woke them... [I'i 1959:107-108]

Speaking of the heiau, Hikiau, at Kealakekua, I'i wrote that in ca. 1812-1813, shortly after Kamehameha's return to Hawai'i, the king celebrated the Makahiki and in the course of doing so he rededicated Hikiau, "the most important heiau in the district of Kona" (I'i 1959:115). I'i reported that in the same period some of the chiefs were in residence at Ka'awaloa as well (I'i 1959:115); and he described a canoe race which ended at 'Awili on the shore of Ka'awaloa:

Akalele, a man famous for his paddling strength, is said to have come from Kauai and to have lived with our first king. One night the king left Kawaihae and set forth with his double canoes. Daylight found his company outside of Kekaha, and they rested a little while at Kailua. Akalele was alone on a single canoe about 6 fathoms long and filled with baskets of sweet potatoes, fowls, dogs, and such gifts as people brought who came to see the king on the beach in Kona. When they arrived at Kahaluu, or Keauhou perhaps, the single canoe began to race with the double ones, to see which could first reach their goal, Awili in Kaawaloa. So, they raced, the king with his canoe paddlers, Akalele alone. Although the single canoe was loaded with goods, the king desired this race...After they passed Keopuka and reached Kalaemano [Kalaemamo] at Kaawaloa, they again turned shoreward. Near the harbor of Awili, where there is a narrow channel only large enough for a single canoe, the king called out, "O Akalele, turn your canoe into the narrow entrance! Glide in on a wave!" Akalele did as he was told and was first to arrive at Awili. The others took the longer way around and found him carrying the things ashore. The king helped Akalele because he was a stranger.

Kualii, a paddler from one of the double canoes, is said to have leaped into the sea and found himself barely able to walk because he was out of breath and leg weary. This man was accustomed to such work; but against Akalele, the strength of a multitude was as nothing... [I'i 1959:131-132]

Another of I'i's accounts tells readers that it was Governor Kuakini, who is noted for many public works projects he ordered undertaken on the island, who caused coffee to be planted at Kainaliu; this was in the vicinity of Kahakuwai (I'i 1959:169).

### **Native Writers Describe Places and Historical Events**

In addition to the writings of noted Hawaiian scholars of the nineteenth century—as those above which were published in the Hawaiian language newspapers—native residents and those who went on site seeing journeys, also submitted many letters and articles describing various lands, traditions, communities, and noteworthy events in the region. The following articles (translated by Maly), are among those which were located while conducting this study:

**Ka Hae Hawaii**  
**September 17, 1856 (Part 2)**  
**A Tour Around Hawaii**

[an author, identified as J.P. described some of the schools and current events in portions of North and South Kona]:

...On the 11<sup>th</sup> of July an examination of the schools was held at Kahaluu. There are eight schools in this section, two at Kahaluu, two at Keauhou, one at Honalo, one at Honoino [Honuaino], and one at Hokukano. At the school of Petero, Kahaluu, there are 14 students. The students are not well taught. ...The families there have petitioned to have Petero removed and to have Keliiahue put in his place... At the school of Kanakaokahialii, Keauhou, there are 25 students. They also are not very proficient... [no further report regarding the six remaining schools was given]

...When we finished our examination of the schools at Kahaluu, I went on, and that evening I arrived at Kaawaloa uka where Rev. J.D. Paris resides, he is the school superintendent for South Kona. His is a very fine place at "Puu Alani," a fertile land where many things grow, such as oranges, mangoes, cherimoyas, and such. It is a comfortable abode along the upper alaloa (highway) of Kona; the foreigners and the Hawaiians live peaceably together. Their bodies are strong, and their minds are strong... There are many things cultivated in the uplands, taro, coffee, oranges and such. The foreigners and natives alike have planted many oranges, some have one hundred trees, others have a thousand, and three thousand.

The orange is something of great value—the money that can be earned from one orange tree, in one year is perhaps \$30.00 or \$50.00, and if it is a large orange tree, perhaps \$100.00 or \$200.00.

We spoke with Parika (Paris) about the schools of South Kona, and it is his thought that they have progressed in this district, and are better than they were before. Nahinu is an intelligent man, and he always considers the schools. Because the schools were on break, we did not examine the students during this trip.

On Monday, July 14<sup>th</sup> we examined the English school at Kaawaloa uka, T.H. Paris is the teacher. There are 40 or more students in this school, all taught in the English language... On the evening of the 14<sup>th</sup>, I went by canoe, and arrived in the morning at Milolii. There was a famine in Kona this past year, and it is now in Milolii, there has been no rain in this part of South Kona. Though in North Kona and the northern part of South Kona, there is regular rain, thus the famine is almost done. The sweet potatoes, gourds and other vegetable foods are growing fine. There are many farmers in the district at this time, and they are prepared for a new famine... by J.P.

**Ke Au Okoa**  
**July 24, 1865**

**He Inoa no Kaweawea (A Name Chant for Kaweawea)**

[describing the landscape and beauty of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region]:

Nani Hualalai ke kuahiwi  
o Kona i ka malie...  
Ke pa iki ia mai 'la e  
ka wai o Maihui,  
Pa ka makani o ke Kehau,  
Halawai me na hau o Maihi,  
Huhui aku me na hoa i  
ke kula o Kuamoo,  
Hoomaha aku i ka lino a ka ua,  
Oni ana ka lae o Keawekaheka  
i ke kai,

Hualalai is the beautiful mountain of Kona  
set in the calm...  
The waters of Maihui are gently  
born upon the breezes.  
On the Kehau winds,  
Which meet with the dews of Maihi,  
And mingle with the companions on  
the plain of Kuamoo,  
Resting in the glittering rains,  
The point of Keawekaheka juts  
out into the sea,



Nana ae oe o ka luna  
o Maunaoloia,  
Ke hilinai ae la iluna  
o Puhinaolono,  
Pau ole ko'u makemake  
ia Manuahi,  
Ua ike maka iho nei au  
i ka nani o Hikiau...

From where one can look to the heights  
of Maunaoloia,  
Following there above  
Puhinaolono,  
Never ending is my desire to see  
Manuahi,  
And I have personally seen  
the beauty of Hikiau...

### **Ke Au Okoa**

**March 2, 1871**

#### **Na Mea Hou o ka Lai Malino o Ehu**

##### **(News from the Peace and Calm of Ehu, Kona)**

...There are many houses which have been built along the shores of Kona. The native houses are those made with pili thatching, and there are only a few wooden houses of the foreigners scattered here and there. There are many houses standing along the coast and in the uplands. In some areas, the houses are clustered together, and in other areas, they are spread apart...

The taro, sweet potato, and breadfruit are the native foods, those things which are planted in great quantities by the people. The coffee and oranges are also bearing fruit at this time. When the ringing of the rain stops, there are areas that dry up, and there are no mature fruits. The hapuu (tree fern) and hoi (mountain yams) are the food of the natives in these places when there is drought and famine...

...The Government roads are smoothly laid out in some places, and in other places they are very bad because of the lava rocks (aa). That is what one will see in the uplands and along the shore, for there are two Government roads... There are a number of stores here, at which can be bought various things, as one would desire. There is also one sugar mill here, at Onouli, and the one who owns the sugar mill is Mr. Hughes, a foreigner who previously lived at Ulakoheo...

by S.W.K. Haluapo [a native resident of Keauhou]

### **Ka Hoku o Hawaii**

**March 31, 1910**

#### **Ka Pali Kapu o Keoua (The Sacred Cliff of Keoua)**

[narratives by an unidentified writer, describing some of the sites and history of Ka'awaloa and Kealakekua]:

There are many famous storied places on the land from ancient times, many of their names given for the famous chiefs of the land. On the uplands side of the monument to Captain Cook at Kaawaloa, is found Ka Pali Kapu o Keoua. Some people believe that this cliff is called this because of Keoua Kua Ahuula, that is not correct, his place of residence was not Kona, but Kau... The one for whom the cliff is named, is Keoua Nui, the one who is believed to be the true father of Kamehameha I...

This was a sacred cliff in ancient time. It was not right for the shadow of a commoner to fall upon this cliff. The punishment in ancient times, if a commoner should break this kapu, was death. The only good time for a person to travel at this place was when the sun rested atop the head (noon – midday; when the shadow retreated into the body), then one would be free to travel here.

Near this place are the bathing pool of Haliilua and the pit in which the bones of the chiefs are placed, known by the name, "Ka Lua o Hooaiku" (The pit of Hooaiku). It was above here, at Ka Pali Kapu o Keoua, that Moho mistakenly ate the naau (intestines) of Captain Cook, thinking that it was the naau of a dog...

### **Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki—**

#### **The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki (recorded in 1914-1917)**

One example of the rich materials recorded by native writers, is found in “Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki” (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki). This tradition 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. Kihe<sup>6</sup> (translators of the work of A. Fornander) with contributions from others of their peers.

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 (translated by Maly) include documentation on approximately 800 named locations, and describe site and community histories, local and regional practices, ceremonial sites and practices, and *mele* (chant) texts. The following English translations are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events and areas being discussed. Diacritical marks, hyphenation, and underlining have been added here 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 *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, and in famed *kahua* (contest fields) and royal courts, against *'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.

#### **Traditions and Place Names of Keauhou-Kealakekua and Neighboring Lands of Kona Recorded in Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki —**

In preparation for the completion of the first phase of their training, *Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo* sent *Ka-Miki* and *Maka'iole* to gather some *'awa* for a ceremony. The brothers departed from *Kalama'ula* on *Hualālai*, and went to the cliff of *Manuahi* overlooking *Ka'awaloa* and *Kealakekua*. The *mo'olelo* describes various features of the landscape, and how place names came to be given:

*Ka-Miki* and *Maka'iole* traveled from *Kalama'ula* to the cliff of *Manuahi*, to gather some of the famous *'awa* that grew in the plantation of *Manu'a* at *Ka'awaloa*. The *'awa kapu o Manu'a* (sacred *'awa* [*Piper methysticum*] gardens of *Manu'a*) grew

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<sup>6</sup> J.W.H.I. Kihe was born in 1853 at *Kaloko*, *Kona*; and John Wise was born in *Kohala*, ca. 1865.

amongst a grove of 'iliahi (sandalwood) trees. The variety of 'awa was an 'awa hiwa called mo'i (a black, long stalked 'awa), and the fragrance of the 'iliahi permeated the 'awa and cliffs upon which it grew.

After gathering some of the 'awa, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole descended to Ka-lepe-amoa and looked down to the shore at Ka'awaloa. There, they saw an old woman unfolding a moena makali'i (finely woven mat) and a kapa 'ō'ūholowai [a highly valued kapa from of Puna], which were possessions of her chiefess. This woman, Hāli'ilua, was the attendant of the sacred chiefess Manuahi.

The cliff of Manuahi, also called Ka-pali-poko-o-Manuahi (or Palipoko) was named for the chiefess. The spring Hāli'ilua there at the base of the cliff was named for the old woman, attendant to the chiefess.

From their vantage point they also heard the beating of drums and voices calling aloud. They looked down to the shore of Heakeakua at Kealakekua, where they saw the sacred temple of Hikiau. The ghosts were beating the temple drum, diving from the cliffs and playing all manner of games, and their voices were calling out from Heakeakua. It was the regular practice of these ghosts to travel a trail up the steep cliff of Manuahi from their home in 'Ālanapō as they descended to the sea. Thus the name, Kealakekua (the path of the ghosts or gods) came about. As the 'elepaio birds of the forest began announcing the start of the new day, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole returned to Kalama'ula with the 'awa of Manu'a... [April 2, 1914]

The 'awa of Manu'a was noted for its potency, and is described in a mele pule (prayer chant) offered when Ka-Miki, Maka-'iole and Ka-uluhe drank it:

Eia ka 'ai e Kāhulipapahonua,  
Ke akua i ke alo i ka ōpū o Lono,

E ho'i e Mihakalani,  
E ala e Pele Honuamea,  
E ala e ke kumu o Hulinu'u,

O Hulinu'u Keahiloa i ka lua...

Here is the food of Kāhuli-papa-honua,  
The god in the presence of the 'awa clump  
of Lono,

Return o tranquil heavens,  
Arise o Pele-Honuamea,  
Arise o source of Hulinu'u (the highest  
rank),

Hulinu'u of the long burning fire in the  
pit... [June 18, 1914]

Following the 'awa ceremony, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka fell asleep, and Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole once again departed from Kalama'ula, and visited various localities in Kona. When the brothers returned to Kalama'ula, they described their journey to Ka-uluhe. She in turn, told the brothers the names of the lands they had visited, and described the various features they had seen. These lands were described with the following narratives:

"...We then traveled to a place where there is a deep indentation along the shore, where the sand is made of small pebbles, and the water lapped against them continuously." "That was Keauhou," answered Ka-uluhe. "We then departed from there, and traveled past a large coconut grove to a place where there is a hill that appears to swim on the sea. And below there, there is a deep cove set along the shore. Then further along, rising to the heights, there is rough cliff with hollows in it." Ka-uluhe told them, "The coconut grove is Hōkūkano, the hill that appears to swim in the sea is Pu'uohau, the deep cove set into the cliff is Nāwāwā. and the cliff that rises above is Manuahi, from where you two could look down upon the sacred chiefess. The low land, like a small valley is Nāpo'opo'o, and the heiau is Hikiau."

"Then, we returned through the uplands, and came to a broad flat area, a rich and fertile land. We then came into a great forest of 'ōhi'a that rises and falls, and extends

along a ridge. It is a good land set out among the groves of 'ōhi'a and koa. There we saw a beautiful young girl, but we were unable to call out to her because of the fierce blowing of the kēhau wind at that place. It was like the kūhonua wind which knocks down houses. When we tried to draw near to the girl, she was lost from sight, and we knew that she was a spirit. We then heard the sorrowful wailing coming from a house, and the family of this beautiful girl were all there mourning her death. And because of our compassion for this beautiful girl, we chanted to our powerful, mysterious-formed ancestresses to restore her to life —

Lani-pipili-i-ka-maka-o-ke-akua	O deity Lani-pipili (Uli) in the eye of the god,
Lani-'oaka-i-ka-maka-o-ke-ahi	Heavenly one flashing in the center of the fire,
Lani-papanu'u-i-ka-maka-o-ka uila	O Lani-papanu'u in the eye of the lightning,
Lani-kilo-i-ka-maka-o-Wāwāhi-lani	O Lani-kilo in the eye of the thunder,
Lani-ki'ei-a-hālō-i-ke-kihi-o-Kamalama	O Lani-ki'ei at the corner of the star,
Lani-nui-ku'i-a-mamao,	O Lani-nui-ku'i-a-mamao,
O Lani-uli-wahine-o-Nu'umealani	O Lani-uli-wahine of Nu'umealani,
O Kamehanalani, O Kāmeha'ikana	O Kamehanalani, Kāmeha'ikana,
O ku'i ke Akua i ka mahele nu'u	O assembly of gods in the highest
Nu'umealani-nui-mamao	division of Nu'umealani-nui-mamao
E ho'ihō'i mai i ka 'uhane kino aka	Return the spirit body form of the
wailua o ke kaikamahine...	young girl...

Her spirit was returned to her, and when she had rested, she woke up and we asked her name. She said, Kāināliu. We returned her to her parents, and they embraced us with love, and prepared a great feast for us..."

"We then departed from that place and traveled to a forest of tall 'ōhi'a trees. Continuing our ascent, we came to a grove of trees with large trunks growing upon a hillock. These are the largest trees to be seen on the land. And from there, we went to the base of the cliff and saw a spring from which a stream flowed. There were also many kīhāpai kalo (gardens of taro) planted there, filled with great, mature kalo. Below there we came to a hillock (with coconut trees) and with a great long house filled with many rejoicing people. And from that elevation, we could see the ocean."

Ka-uluhe told them, "That fertile flat land is Kuapehu, and from there extend the lands of Keōpuka, Onouli, and Kalukalu. The land that you crossed, rising above and then descending below, at the base of the cliff is Kanāueue. Kamokulehua is the ridge line. Below there are the lands of Honua'ino, Lehu'ula, and Kawanui. The place below there where you met the strong wind, Nā Hau o Mā'ihī, is the land of Mā'ihī. And the place where you met the young girl, and for whom you called upon your mysterious-formed ancestress to heal, is Honalo. When you reached the great 'ōhi'a forest, that was the land of Keauhou, and the 'ōhi'a forest of Moku'aikaua. And when you reached the hillock with coconut trees, that was Haleopele of Kahalu'u..." [April 9, 1914]

The brothers remained with the goddess elder and completed their training. They then set off on their journey around Hawai'i. At Keauhou, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole met the priest Keahiolo, for whom the heiau Keahiolo (situated on the boundary between Kahalu'u and Keauhou) was named; it is at this part of the mo'olelo, that we find further important accounts pertaining to lands of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region:

...Departing from the kahua (contest arena) of Kāulaokalani (at Hōlualoa), Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole drew near to the house of the priest, Keahiolo<sup>7</sup>. Keahiolo was the kahuna nui, kaulana pa‘a ‘āina (high priest and the one who secured, or maintained peace upon the land) for the chief Pōhakunuiokāne who ruled the lands extending from Keauhou to Mā‘ihi. Having seen Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole compete previously, Keahiolo was jealous of the brothers, and he made a plan to try and kill them.

As the brothers approached him, Keahiolo called out, inviting them to share ‘awa with him. At the same time he picked up his pīkoi (tripping club) which he had hidden in a mat, and prepared to attack them. [June 25, 1914]

Ka-Miki knew the true nature of Keahiolo, and he threw his ‘olohū (an ‘ulu maika tripping stone) called Ka‘aku-a-Mā‘ihi to strike the feet of Keahiolo, and trip him. In this way, Keahiolo was defeated. Keahiolo tried to apologize for his deception, but Ka-Miki told him that his repentance was valueless, as it was made out of fear for his life. Ka-Miki said, “Your god has departed from you and taken our side. And so you see that Uli is a dual natured god, looking for that which is right, and that which is wrong—

O Uli i uka,	Uli of the uplands,
O Uli i kai,	Uli in the lowlands,
O Uli nānā pono,	Uli who looks for that which is correct,
O Uli nānā hewa...	Uli who looks for that which wrong...

Because you leapt first, you erred against your god and your god has left you. You have set aside the unwavering laws of the powerful gods and ‘aumakua which came down from ancient times, from the antiquity of Waiololī and Waiololā. And so Nana-i-ke-kihi-o-Kamalama (Ka-Miki) and Kahuelo-i-ke-kihi-o-Kā‘elo (Maka-‘iole), the descendants of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka and Lani-nui-ku‘i-a-mamao-loa have come before you.”

Maka-‘iole felt compassion for Keahiolo and chanted to Ka-Miki asking him to spare the priest. Ka-Miki agreed, Keahiolo repented and prepared ‘awa and a feast for the brothers. The heiau at Keauhou (near the boundary) was named for the priest Keahiolo.

Keahiolo then took Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole to the kahua of Kahō‘e‘e<sup>8</sup>, in the village of Ka‘awale (Set apart) at Keauhou. Ka‘awale was filled with many people and houses, and the village is so called, because the populace was set apart from the contestants of Kahō‘e‘e. Arriving at the Kahō‘e‘e, Keahiolo presented Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole to the chief and officials, stating they were his mo‘opuna (grandsons), and that they desired to participate in the competition. The brothers were allowed to join in contests with the assembled champions.

The first competitor to challenge Ka-Miki was Haumanomano<sup>9</sup>, a champion warrior and instructor of lua, kākā lā‘au, and many other skills for the chiefs of Honalo. The chiefs of Keauhou offered a lei-o-manō (sharks tooth knife) as a trophy to go to the victor. The lei-o-manō was made by lashing sharks teeth to the wooden handle with olonā [Touchardia latifolia] cordage, and was one of the foremost and most highly coveted weapons of ancient times.

Haumanomano thought he would win easily, and leapt onto the kahua, grabbing Ka-

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<sup>7</sup> Ke-ahi-olo (interpretive translation: The-flickering-flame).

<sup>8</sup> Kahō‘e‘e (interpretive translation: The-rising or welling-up).

<sup>9</sup> Hau-manomano (interpretive translation: Bountiful dew). Haumanomano (generally written Hāmanamana) dwelt in the lands which now bear his name, the ‘ili ‘āina lele muku (detached land parcels) between Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> and Honalo.

Miki (who had been introduced under the name Nana-i-ke-kihi-o-Kamalama). Ka-Miki promptly threw Haumanomano out of the kahua. This occurred ten times, and all the local competitors were angry that Haumanomano had been so easily defeated by this young stranger whom Keahiolo called his grandson. The contest officials called Kuhia, the chiefs' runner to take the lei-o-manō to Ka-Miki as his prize for victory over Haumanomano. 'Ōhi'amukumuku<sup>10</sup> was called as the next contestant.

'Ōhi'amukumuku was very angry that Ka-Miki had defeated Haumanomano, and won the prized lei-o-manō. He determined to defeat Ka-Miki and return the lei-o-manō to the local competitors. When 'Ōhi'amukumuku and Ka-Miki prepared to compete, the chief's offered the pīkoi (tripping club) Lawalawa-ku'i-a-ho'i, as a prize to the victor. This particular club had crosswise cuts across the wood (a serrated edge) and a perforation through which it was bound with cordage. Indeed, it was one of the extraordinary weapons of those people skilled in warfare of past times, and was highly coveted.

The contest between Ka-Miki and 'Ōhi'amukumuku took the forms of kula'i (shoving contests) and 'auamo (lifting one's opponent and throwing him from the arena). 'Ōhi'amukumuku was thrown from the kahua five times, thus the victory and prize went again to Ka-Miki. All those gathered were amazed by the defeat of 'Ōhi'amukumuku. Both 'Ōhi'amukumuku and Haumanomano were outraged at being so humiliated, and made an agreement to kill Ka-Miki, Maka-'iole and Keahiolo.

When the next round of contests began, Haumanomano entered the kahua and challenged Ka-Miki to fighting with hauna lā'au (war clubs). Haumanomano's club was named 'lo, the club was more than three fathoms long and more than three feet in diameter. It was highly polished, and glistened with the oils of coconuts and kukui. Haumanomano then called to Ka-Miki telling him that he would indeed need great wisdom to escape from death dealt by his powerful hauna lā'au. [July 2-9, 1914]

The contest official asked Ka-Miki where his club was, and Ka-Miki explained that it was with his teacher (Ka-uluhe). Ka-Miki then chanted to Maka-'iole, calling his name attributes, and requesting that he go to Kalama'ula and fetch the club 'Ōlapa-kahuila-o-ka-lani —

E Kahuelo-i-ke-kihi-o-Kamalama,	Say Kahuelo at the corner [point] of light (the star Kamalama)
O Kā'elo, 'elo ka malama,	O Kā'elo [star] of the moist season,
O Kā'elo, 'elo ka lā...	O Kā'elo [star] of the moist days...

Like a swift wind which scatters the leaves, Maka-'iole departed and fetched the war club. In no time Maka-'iole returned with the club, and when those gathered at the kahua saw how quickly he had returned, and how great the club he bore was, they knew that these 'ōlohe were true experts. Ka-Miki asked Haumanomano how victory would be determined, and Haumanomano said only by the death of the opponent.

When the contest began, Haumanomano leapt to attack, but Ka-Miki knew Haumanomano's techniques, and dodged the attack. Ka-Miki struck at Haumanomano throwing him from the kahua, and the assembled crowd cried out at this great show of skill. 'Ōhi'amukumuku then leapt to the kahua, challenging Ka-Miki to a kākā lā'au (spear fighting) contest. When the contest began, 'Ōhi'amukumuku thrust at Ka-Miki, aiming for his mid section, but Ka-Miki dodged the attacks, moving with the agility of an 'io (hawk)...

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<sup>10</sup> 'Ōhi'a-mukumuku (literally: Broken or stunted 'ōhi'a tree); is also the name of a heiau near the shore of Kahalu'u.

...Ka-Miki praised 'Ōhi'amukumuku's skills but told him that he could not win. 'Ōhi'amukumuku responded that Ka-Miki could not avoid being killed by his spear 'Ōhi-kapili-a-lo'ulo'u, which was cherished by his 'aumakua. 'Ōhi'amukumuku struck at Ka-Miki, but was thwarted and Ka-Miki scored against him, striking his thigh and throwing him from the kahua. The officials called for a break in the contest and the crowd surged forth to see this young champion. Ka-Miki, Maka-'iole and Keahiolo then took that opportunity to depart from the kahua. Slipping past the crowds, they went to Honalo.

The land of Honalo was named for the chief of that name, husband of Hōkūkano. It was their daughter Kāināliu, who Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole brought back to life.

In the lands of Honalo were a large hālau auolo ali'i (chiefs' compound), and hālau wa'a (canoe long houses). The kālai wa'a (canoe makers) of this region worked under the master Pupukaniaho.

Greeting the companions, Honalo commanded that a feast be prepared to welcome them. All manner of foods were prepared and 'awa from the uplands of Keauhou was served. After the feast and 'awa ceremonies, Ka-Miki, Maka-'iole, and Keahiolo went to the hālau wa'a where numerous ka'ele (hollowed hulls) were being worked on, some nearly finished with the manu (end pieces) ready to be placed on the hulls.

In the meantime, the chiefs of Keauhou greatly desired to meet with Ka-Miki, Maka-'iole, and Keahiolo, for a rumor arose that Ka-Miki and his companions were plotting to overthrow Pōhakunuiokāne and the chiefs of the region. Thus the chiefs sent their runners, Kuhia and 'Ōulu to find Ka-Miki and his companions, and bring them back dead or alive. Kuhia<sup>11</sup> and 'Ōulu went first to Keahiolo's compound, but could not find Ka-Miki mā. Kuhia and 'Ōulu then went to Honalo.

Kuhia and 'Ōulu arrived at Honalo and asked for the brothers and Keahiolo. Ka-Miki told all those assembled in the hālau to stay inside, and that any who tried to go out would be killed. Honalo gave Ka-Miki power over those inside the hālau. Kuhia and 'Ōulu announced that they intended to bring Ka-Miki, Maka-'iole, and Keahiolo before the chiefs and assembly at Keauhou. The chiefs wished to question Ka-Miki mā about rumors that they were rebels. Kuhia and 'Ōulu threatened to kill those within the hālau, if Ka-Miki mā were not turned over to them. As Kuhia and 'Ōulu readied their stones for the attack, Ka-Miki leapt to the entry of the hālau and called to the runners, that they should be careful lest they become the shark bait of his uncle Kapukalua at Apo'ula, Kohana-iki.

Now Kuhia and 'Ōulu were masters at nou 'olohū (fighting with 'ulu maika stone trippers), and Kuhia threw his stone attempting to hit Ka-Miki. But Ka-Miki dodged the 'olohū, and Maka-'iole caught it, 'Ōulu tried with his stone, and Ka-Miki dodged it as well. Ka-Miki then leapt to attack the runners, saying that they would now be laid to rest. Kuhia and 'Ōulu saw that they had no retreat, and were killed.

Thus, Pupukaniaho, the kālai wa'a, priests, and people in the hālau realized, that if Honalo had not given his power to Ka-Miki, they might all have died. Ka-Miki then returned the power to Honalo, but asked that no one say anything about this event to those from Keauhou. Ka-Miki then had Kuhia and 'Ōulu buried in the cave of Keanawai<sup>12</sup>, a cave in the uplands of Honalo, where the tall 'ōhi'a, uluhe, and 'āma'uma'u forest grows.

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<sup>11</sup> Kuhia (literally: To-gesture), a place in the vicinity of Pu'u'loa, Keauhou.

<sup>12</sup> Ke-ana-wai (literally: The-water-cave).

With the setting of night, Honalo ordered a feast and ‘awa ceremony to be held. The ‘awa was so powerful that Honalo and all who drank it fell asleep, and only Ka-Miki, Maka-‘iole and Kāināliu remained awake. The brothers decided to go to Lehu‘ula, and called to Kāināliu, “Kāināliu-ku-kohu-ka-lani, ka pua nenehiwa o Kona kai ‘ōpua” (Kāināliu appears with heavenly beauty, the prized flower of Kona with the billowy horizon clouds), and asked her to join them.

On this night graduation ceremonies were to be held at the hālau of Lehu‘ula<sup>13</sup>, a master ‘ōlohe and instructor. Two of Honalo’s sons, Kahakuwai and Kawanui<sup>14</sup> were participating in the ‘ūniki and ‘ailolo (graduation ceremonies) of the students of Lehu‘ula. Lehu‘ula was an expert in hand-to-hand combat, spear and sling fighting, and the kaulana pa‘a ‘āina (one who secured, or maintained peace upon the land) for the ali‘i Honua‘ino and his wife Kanāueue.

Pu‘uohau was the priest of Honua‘ino, and the hill of that name, was named for him. Pu‘uohau officiated over the ‘ailolo ceremonies presented for the ‘ōlohe students of Lehu‘ula. The ceremonies attended to the traditional requirements of the ‘ailolo, including eating the brain and snout of the pig, a red fish, and ‘awa. Thus, the students completed their hu‘elepo (graduation ceremony), under the guidance of Lehu‘ula and Pu‘uohau.

Also at Lehu‘ula’s compound were the Mā‘ihi twins Kanāhāhā and Ka-alapū‘ali, who were master ‘ōlohe, and guests at the pā a’o lua – enclosure, or school of lua instruction.

Kanāhāhā and his twin brother Ka-alapū‘ali were the grandchildren of the mountain goddess, Ka-lālā-kau-kolo-i-ke-kua-lono<sup>15</sup>. The mother was the wind goddess Mā‘ihi-‘ala-kapu-o-Lono and their father was Lono-a-ipu (a god of agriculture). The twins lived on the upper slopes of Hualālai, at places which bear their names today. These places are below Hainoa and Pu‘ula‘alā‘au, from where they could see Hale-a-‘Umi and the mysterious mound of stones called Ahu-a-‘Umi. It was the practice of the twins to kill and rob travelers on the trails of Hualālai, and their grandmother Ka-lālā-kau-kolo-i-ke-kualono, concealed their actions under a covering of dew and mist. This is the dew-mist for which the land of Mā‘ihi is famous, and because of their practice, the brothers also became known as Nā Hau o Mā‘ihi (The dew mists of Mā‘ihi).

When Kanāhāhā and Ka-alapū‘ali desired the mists of their grandmother to conceal them, they would chant to her, and she would cause the dew-mists to flow down from the summit of Hualālai to the shore of Mā‘ihi at Kāhala-kūkaula —

E ala e nā hau o Mā‘ihi,	Arise o dew mists of Mā‘ihi,
E ala e nā ‘ālapa o ka Ekoa,	Arise o warriors of the Ekoa,
E ala e ka Nāulu, e ala e ka he-Kuawa,	Arise o Nāulu showers, arise o protective cover,
E iho e ke Kūhonua, e iho e ka Mālua,	Descend o Kūhonua wind, descend o Mālua wind,
E iho e ke Kēwai, e iho e ke Kēhau,	Descend o Kēwai mists, descend o Kēhau mists,
E iho e ku‘u kama i kēia hei,	Descend my child into this net of concealment,

<sup>13</sup> Lehu‘ula (literally: Red-ashes).

<sup>14</sup> Kawanui (literally: The-great-leaping-place). This name is often written “Kawainui” in various historical documents, but the oldest records, and traditions of the place name origin, are written “Kawanui.”

<sup>15</sup> Ka-lālā-kau-kolo-i-ke-kualono (literally: The-branch-which-creeps-atop the mountain). The name of this deity is also the name of a summit region crater on Hualālai; also known by the name Kaluamakani.



E a'u kama i ke kualono,  
E a'u kama i ke kuahiwi,  
Kua-mauna la,  
I holohia e ka hau, anuanu ko'ou,  
Pa'i wale la puni!

My child of the mountain peaks,  
My child of the mountain ridges  
and mountain slopes,  
Which are covered with cold, damp dew,  
Completely concealed! [July 23, 1914]

Also, at Mā'ihī, grew the famed kalo uwē o Mā'ihī (weeping taro of Mā'ihī<sup>16</sup>) in the plantation which was called La'ahiwamaikahiki. These cultivated lands were sacred to Kalālākaukolo-kau-kolo-i-ke-kualono, and extended from Mā'ihī to Keauhou. Because La'ahiwamaikahiki was sacred to Kalālākaukolo, the cold hau (dew-mists) of Mā'ihī do not settle on these lands; and so it remains to this day.

Among the others assembled at the hālau of Lehu'ula were, Kahakuwai, Ke'eke'e, and Wai'io, the three lead students of Lehu'ula; and Kuamo'o, and Kumakua. Each of these chiefs and competitors have lands which were named for them. Kahakuwai was one of the sons of Honalo and Hōkūkano. Kahakuwai is in the uplands (above the Lehu'ula-Honua'ino vicinity). At Kahakuwai there is a platform enclosed by a rock wall and several large, cold fresh water springs. Ke'eke'e was the son of Honua'ino (k) and Kanāueue (w), and the brother of Kamokulehua (w). Wai'io was the son of the Kalukalu (k) and Nāwāwā (w). Wai'io is also an area with several cool springs, surrounded by growth of koa, 'ōhi'a, and palapalai, and is frequented by birds of the forest.

The land of Kuamo'o was named for Kuamo'o- a-'alu (Kuamo'o of loosening [the kapu]) an expert warrior-athlete. It was on the lands of Kuamo'o that the Kaua 'ai noa (free eating battle) fought between forces of Ka-lani-nui-kua-Liholiho-i-ke-kapu (Kamehameha II) and Ke-kua-o-ka-lani occurred in 1819.

Kumakua [descriptive of tall 'ōhi'a growth and strength], lived in the forested uplands of Onouli at the place known as Wai-a-ka-'alele<sup>17</sup>.

After the 'ai-lolo ceremonies, Lehu'ula and Pu'uohau opened the hālau and invited spectators in to see demonstrations by various experts and an exhibition of the skills learned by the students. Kanāhāhā and Ka-alapū'ali were also to exhibit their techniques and skills in fighting. Kanāhāhā was the first to enter the kahua, and as he did he boasted of his superior knowledge as he called in chant to his grandmother, Kalālākaukoloikekuahiwi —

E ala e Kalālākaukolo,  
E ho'okolo aku ana i uka,  
I ku'u kūpunawahine la,  
I ke kuahiwi kualono,  
E lono mai e,

Arise o Kalālākaukolo,  
Crawling over the uplands,  
My grandmother,  
Of the mountain peaks and ridges,  
Hear my call,

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<sup>16</sup> The "weeping" perhaps describes the drops of dew, falling like tears from the leaves of the taro.

<sup>17</sup> Wai-a-ka-'alele (Water made or brought by the messenger); also known as Holo-ka-'alele.

O wau kēia o ke kama a  
 Mā'ihī-'ala-kapu-o-Lono,  
 He koa 'ōka'a, 'ōniu lā'au,  
 He aīwaiwa, he hū'eu,  
 He 'eu'eu no ka Ekoa...  
 Owai ka hoa e le'ale'a o kēia pō?

It is I, the child of Mā'ihī-  
 the sacred fragrance of Lono,  
 A club fighting warrior,  
 A mysterious one, a rascal,  
 Rascal of the Ekoa...  
 Who will be the competitor on this  
 night of contests?

Ka-Miki then called out to Kanāhāhā, saying “There is a great hawk that circles above, there is no branch upon which it cannot land...” Thus Ka-Miki challenged Kanāhāhā to compete against him... [July 30, 1914]

Kanāhāhā attacked Ka-Miki and was immediately bound by Ka-Miki in the supernatural net Halekumuka'aha (also called Ku'uku'u). Ka-Miki called out to Kanāhāhā and those assembled —

Pa'a la, pa'a i ka 'ai a ke lua, iā Ka-Pilipili, iā Pilikuapu'u, i ka paihīhī, i ke ala pi'i a ka 'ōpae kau i ka-ulu pali o Hea-ke-koa — Bound and secured by the strike of lua master, vanquished by the strike technique of Ka-Pilipili (to be bound together), and Pilikuapu'u (to be hunched up), and to be tucked away at the stairway the 'ōpae (shrimp) on the cliff ledge of Heakekoa (at Kealakekua) [implying that one is hidden away and difficult to reach]. Lehu'ula and Ka-alapū'ali were astounded that Kanāhāhā had been so easily defeated, and Ka-alapū'ali leapt in to attack Ka-Miki. Maka-'iole chanted —

'Eu e, 'eu la, 'eu'eu ka manu,  
 Ka manu nui aīwaiwa,  
 He aīwaiwa ke kolohe no Kahiki-kū,  
 He 'a'e 'ale no ke kai nui ākea,

He lā manu kēia e Nana-iki pōki'i,

E ku'u pōki'i ku'u haku nei,  
 O 'oe ke koa ka helu 'ai...

Animated, aroused is this mischievous bird,  
 The great mysterious bird,  
 The mysterious rascal of Kahiki-kū,  
 Who steps over the waves of the  
 expansive sea,  
 Say little brother Nana-iki, this is a day  
 of birds [i.e., competitors],  
 O my brother, my lord you are the warrior,  
 the score keeper  
 [the one who keeps tally of others'  
 actions]...

Ka-Miki dodged the attack of Ka-alapū'ali, and immediately bound the warrior placing him next to his brother. Lehu'ula immediately leapt in to attack Ka-Miki who deflected his blows, and Maka-'iole bound him.

The priest Pu'uohau was also an expert in nou pōhaku (sling) and 'olohū ('ulu maika) fighting, and he tried hitting Ka-Miki with his sling stone. Ka-Miki caught the stone, and Maka-'iole caught Pu'uohau, binding him, and placed him next to Lehu'ula in the hālau. Pu'uohau then commanded that the remaining 'ōlohe students leap in and attack Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole, and in this way the brothers trapped all of the students and masters who had been gathered at Lehu'ula as well.

Ka-Miki told them that he would leave them in their bound condition to contemplate the errors of their ways. Pu'uohau challenged Ka-Miki saying his god would kill Ka-Miki. Ka-Miki told Pu'uohau, “It was your god who sent Ka-Miki to teach this lesson to all of you, and this is the reason for our journey around Hawai'i.” Ka-Miki then chanted, comparing his easy victory over them to the actions of birds picking 'ōhelo berries —

Pū'ili 'ai 'ōhelo a ka manu,  
Ke 'ai holoholo i ka uka o Puna,  
I walea ka manu i ka 'ula o ka lehua...

The 'ōhelo berries are snatched as the  
food of the birds,  
Eaten while traveling to the uplands  
of Puna,  
The birds rejoice in the redness of the  
lehua blossoms...

Ka-Miki, Maka-'iole and Kāināliu then left the hālau of Lehu'ula and returned to Honalo. Ka-Miki then sent the priest Keahiolo to stay with his uncle, Kapukalua at Kohanaiki for protection. ...Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole departed from Honalo to continue their journey around Hawai'i. They arrived at Palipoko (Kealakekua) just as the sun rose over the mountain side, and the view was described as —

E wehe a'e ana ke alaula o ke ao a wehe mai nā lihilihi maka 'o'oi a 'oko'oko o Ka-'ōnohi-o-ka-lā, ke keiki ali'i kapu o Ke'ālohilani o Nu'umealani... (The red glowing light spread across the sky with the opening of the eyelashes (rays) of Ka-'ōnohi-o-ka-lā (Kāne eyeball of the sun), the sacred child of Ke'ālohilani and Nu'umealani...)

...Kalālākaukolo discerned the predicament of her grandchildren, and called upon her gods Kūahailo, Kūkeaoloa, Kūkeaopoko, Kūho'one'enu'u, and Kūikamolimolialoha, to provide a path for her to descend to Lehu'ula. The wind Kūhonua was the path upon which she traveled, and thus Kalālākaukolo appeared at Lehu'ula and released her grandchildren, Lehu'ula, Pu'uohau, and those left trapped in the net of Ka-Miki mā.

Kalālākaukolo released Kanāhāhā and Ka-alapū'ali from the net in which Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole left them at Lehu'ula. The twins then set out on a journey from Hawai'i to Ni'ihau in search of teachers who could prepare them to take revenge against Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole... [August 5 & 27, 1914]

### **He Mo'olelo Ka'ao No Kepaka'ili'ula (A Story about Kepaka'ili'ula)**

Like Ka-Miki, the story of Kepaka'ili'ula is about a youth who was born in an 'e'epa (premature - mysterious) form, who was given up for dead by his parents. Kepaka'ili'ula's father was Maka-o-Kū, and his mother was Hina-ai-ka-malama, both of whom were descended from Kū and Hina the akua - ali'i (god-chiefs) who came from Kahiki and established the highest chiefly bloodlines of Hawai'i. At the time of Kepaka'ili'ula's birth, Makaokū and Hina dwelt near Moku-ola (now called Coconut Island) and ruled the district of Hilo.

Kepaka'ili'ula's birth was accompanied by numerous displays of natural phenomena including fragmented rainbows that rested upon the ocean, rains that poured upon the land, and rivers that overflowed upon the land. His maternal uncles, Ki'inoho and Ki'ihele, took these signs as omens of Kepaka'ili'ula's supernatural nature. Without the knowledge of Makaokū or Hina, Ki'inoho and Ki'ihele rescued Kepaka'ili'ula and raised him while instructing him in all manner of fighting techniques, and in the uses of his supernatural powers. When Kepaka'ili'ula came of age, his uncles went in search of a suitably beautiful and highly ranked chiefess to whom Kepaka'ili'ula could be married. The journey took them around Hawai'i, where they met with sacred chiefesses of the various districts on the island. In Kona, the uncles met with the chief Keolonāhihi and his wife Kahalu'u, who were parents of the sacred chiefess Mākole'ā. Mākole'ā was found to be the most suitable chiefess for Kepaka'ili'ula, and a wedding was arranged. When the uncles departed, Keolonāhihi was

approached by Kaikipa'ananea, a chief from Maui, and he broke the betrothal between Kepaka'ili'ula and Mākole'ā. This action set in motion the events of the legend. By association with other figures identified in the tradition, the time period seems to be set around the sixteenth century, shortly before the time of Lono-i-ka-Makahiki.

This version of the mo'olelo was published in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* (March 20, 1919 - December 9, 1920), and it differs substantially from the versions published in the Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore (1917, IV-III:498-517 and 1919, V-II:384-405). The earliest published accounts of Kepaka'ili'ula date back to ca.1863, and this version of the legend is attributed to David Malo (*Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, March 13 and 20, 1919). The following are paraphrased translations of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis on the main places, individuals, and events associated with lands of the present study area.

Following his journey through Hilo, Puna, Ka'ū and into Kona, Ki'ihele found Mākole'ā to be the most beautiful, and best choice for marriage to his ward, Kepaka'ili'ula. Kahalu'u and Keolonāhihi agreed that Kepaka'ili'ula and Mākole'ā should marry. Ki'ihele and Ki'inoho went to fetch Kepaka'ili'ula and bring him to Kahalu'u, Kona [March 20–June 5, 1919]. Ki'ihele, Ki'inoho and Kepaka'ili'ula traveled from Hilo to Kona. Along their journey they visited many places and individuals, and participated in events of historical importance to the lands of Hawai'i.

Once in Kona, Kepaka'ili'ula waited in the uplands of Kahalu'u at the great banana plantation of the chief Kaho'oali'i (which extended from the area of Kaumalumalu-Kāpala'alaea to Ke'ei) while preparations were made for his meeting with Mākole'ā. When all things were made ready, Kepaka'ili'ula and his guardians descended to the shore of Kahalu'u, where they stood not far from the royal house of Mākole'ā.

Standing before them was the priest of Kahalu'u who was named Hāli'ikolomea. Through the priest's divining skills he had seen the true dual nature of Kepaka'ili'ula, and understood that he was descended from the ali'i-akua of antiquity. Hāli'ikolomea presented offerings to Kepaka'ili'ula, and when the observances were completed, Kepaka'ili'ula responded with a mele kānaenae (chant offering) to Mākole'ā and those who were gathered with her:

Kau iluna ka wai a ka Nāulu  
'Alohi 'ula i ka pali o Koholālele e

Lehulehu i ka luna o Koa'ekea a

Pa'a pono mai Kona i ka ehū  
a ke kai a  
Kīpū lua i ke one o Kaiakeakua

He akua ka hoa he 'ike 'ole mai e

'Auwe ka mea aloha 'oia la e ho'i a!

The Nāulu showers which are placed above  
Appear to glow red in the light on the cliff  
of Koholālele

Indeed, the multitudes are gathered at the  
heights of Koa'ekea

But Kona is firmly embraced by the  
sea mists

And there is a two-fold calm upon the  
shores of Kaiakeakua

A god [-chief] is the companion which  
is not seen

But here is one that can indeed be  
cherished!

Hāli'ikolomea then called Kepaka'ili'ula within the compound telling him that he was indeed welcome to know the famous waters of Kahalu'u. Because Mākole'ā desired to be near Kepaka'ili'ula, she beckoned him to join her upon her sacred platform (nu'u kapu) calling to him with her own chant of affection... All things having been fulfilled, the chiefess Kahalu'u could not deny the value of this relationship, thus

Kahalu'u the chiefess of the land famous for the small flowing spring of Helani (ka 'āina kaulana i ka wai puka iki o Helani) gave her blessings to the union between Mākole'ā and Kepaka'ili'ula... [June 19-26, 1919]

Unknown to Kahalu'u, Mākole'ā and the others, Keolonāhihi had broken his agreement allowing Mākole'ā to marry Kepaka'ili'ula, and had instead promised to take the young chiefess to Maui-nui-a-Kama (Maui great island of the chief Kama) where she would wed the high chief Kaikipa'ananea (Kaiki). Having prepared the canoes, Keolonāhihi forced Kahalu'u and Mākole'ā to travel to Maui.

This turn of events greatly angered Kepaka'ili'ula and he challenged Keolonāhihi to a fight. Frightened, Keolonāhihi fled to Maui as well, thus, Keolonāhihi left behind those he loved and his favorite places. Among the favorite places of the Kona chiefs was the spring of Wai-ku'i at Kahalu'u, where the ali'i gathered to relax and play the game of kōnane. [July 3-17, 1919]

Because many of the ali'i of Kona were related to Kahalu'u, Keolonāhihi, and Mākole'ā, they rallied to challenge Kepaka'ili'ula in battle. These chiefs included Kaho'oali'i (k) who controlled the upland plantation called Kaumalumalu which extended from the land of Kaumalumalu to Ke'ei; Kuapehu (k); Kāināliu (k); Hōlualoa (k); Onouli-ākea (k); Hōkūkano (k); and Kailua (k).

When the chief Hōlualoa took up the challenge against Kepaka'ili'ula on behalf of the Kona chiefs, Hōlualoa called upon his god Kālaipāhoa to assist him in his battle. Hōlualoa was the first chief to call upon the god Kālaipāhoa, and this was the beginning of this gods' use by the chiefs of Hawai'i. All of the chiefs were related, and were associated with the lands which now carry their names. [September 18, 1919]

Calling upon his god Kā'ili, Kepaka'ili'ula defeated each of the chiefs in battle, and as a result, he gained control of all Kona, from Kekaha wai 'ole in the north, to Ke'ei in the south. At this time the land was greatly populated, and because Kepaka'ili'ula was found to be a just chief, the people of the land were satisfied with his benevolence, and they accepted him as the ali'i 'ai moku (chief who controls the district). Following the people's acceptance of Kepaka'ili'ula as their chief, tribute from all Kona was presented to him. All of the offerings of the wealth of the land were gathered at one site and presented to Kepaka'ili'ula. The mound of offerings was so great that it looked as if a hill had been formed. To this day, the site where the offerings were gathered is called Pu'u which is above the place named for Keolonāhihi.

Kepaka'ili'ula divided the wealth, offering the first portion to his god, he then provided a portion to the families of his trusted supporters, and returned the rest to the people of the land. To Kepaka'ili'ula is attributed the saying:

O ke ali'i mālama kānaka a ho'omana'o mau i ka mōhai i nā akua, 'oia ana no ke ali'i e kū i ka moku — The chief who cares for his people and remembers to pay tribute to his gods, is the chief who will stand upon (or be supported by) the island [July 24-November 13, 1919].

...Seeing that there was peace in Kona, Kepaka'ili'ula then departed from the district, and traveled to Kohala... and on to Maui, where he defeated Kaiki, and gained Makole'ā as his wife...

## **HISTORICAL JOURNALS AND LETTERS: DESCRIBING LANDS IN THE KEAUHOU-KEALAKEKUA REGION RECORDED BY FOREIGN VISITORS AND RESIDENTS**

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### **Overview**

The narratives cited in this section of the study, include some of the earliest written accounts of the Hawaiian Islands (including the Keauhou-Kealakekua region), and span more than 125 years. The historical narratives describe various lands, practices and events in the history of Hawai'i following the arrival of foreigners. 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 included 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 chronologically, 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 O'ahu and Kaua'i on January 18, 1778. On January 17, 1779, Cook and his ships arrived at Kealakekua 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 Kalani'ōpu'u, Cook was killed on the flats of Ka'awaloa on February 14, 1779.

The following narratives were recorded by Commander Charles Clerke and Lieutenant James King who accompanied and survived Cook. King and Clerke provide readers with the earliest recorded descriptions of life in the South Kona region. They reported on 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 plantation system was formally laid out, and in many instances bounded by walls. As a result of excursions to the mountain lands, they also reported that most residences were situated near the shores, and that only a few good houses were observed inland. While in the forests, various activities and features were observed as well. Among these were canoe making, bird catching, and the occurrence of trails. The Hawaiians also demonstrated a knowledge of upland resources and travel to the mountain lands.

Of further interest to the lands north of Kealakekua-Ka'awaloa, yet within the larger study area, is an account of January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1779. Returning from their unsuccessful attempt at reaching the summit of Mauna Loa, the party left the mountain lands some 9 miles north-east of Kealakekua, and approximately 4 or 5 mile inland of the coast. In that region they came upon populated villages and extensive fields (where almost no part of the land was

left uncultivated); covering the upland communities of the Keauhou-Honua'ino and Kuapehu (Ka'awaloa) area (Beaglehole 1967:524). The party then descended along a trail to the coast, and returned to Kealakekua (possibly down the Kealakekua Pali Trail). Figure 3 is a detailed map of the Kealakekua-Ka'awaloa villages and plantations (extending to the top of the flats overlooking Kealakekua Bay), produced by Henry Roberts (member of the crew) in 1779.



Figure 3. Map of the Kealakekua Vicinity (depicting villages and agricultural fields extending to the uplands and above Kealakekua Pali); Henry Roberts Survey (1779) (Fitzpatrick 1986)

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

[At Kealakekua] ...a free leave was given to trade at our desire, & the bay in a short time became crouded 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... [page 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 26<sup>th</sup>.

They travelld 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 on their Journey, they therefore dispatched one of their guides to the Village to purchase a hog, & it was here they were overtaken by Kao's<sup>18</sup> men with pigs, & as their rout lay thro his grounds their guides were bid to command & take what they liked. Some Iron was offerd these men which they would not [page 521] accept, nor any thing they had: unluckily they had no Thermometer with them, & could only judge of the degrees of heat & cold from their feelings, it was so cold that they Slept but little

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<sup>18</sup> Kao is identified as being the Kahuna nui (High Priest) Holoaē, who officiated over ceremonies at Hikiau Heiau (Beaglehole 1967:510)



& the Indians not at all, but kept coughing all Night.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> 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 trees in this wood were tall well shaped, & from 15 to 20 feet in Circumference, It was of the same kind we called the spice tree at New Holland; they advanced 10 miles in this wood, but finding the path to lead to the sw, in sight of the Sea, & as this was not towards the mountain, which it was their object to reach, & which they could not see from the highest Tree, they returnd & walk'd 6 or 7 miles back to a temporary rude unoccupied hut, & where they had left three of the Indians & two of their party, (with most of the Provisions), to repair the hut for their nights reception. Their intention by this last excursion being to explore the Country, & on the next day to set out all together for the Snowy mountain, it was at this hut which they stopt at in the forenoon, when they were overtaken by the man whom they had sent last night to purchase Provisions, & he drove before him a large hog. This was drest, for the more convenient carriage. The air was very sharp & so little to the liking of the guides that in the morning they were all gone except one.

The 28<sup>th</sup> they were obligd to carry their own Provision, & set out to return out of the wood the same road they entered it; when they got out & into the Plantations, they were soon surrounded with Natives, of whom they purchased plenty of roots, & prevaild upon two to go with them. The Corporal being unwell left them, & returned to the Tents. Their party was 9 in number, 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, of high Spice trees like those of New Holland, the Soil a rich brown mould but not deep. 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. In the Night the Cold was more intense than they had yet found it, for although they purchased in the morning both Matts & Cloth, & had a large fire between the two huts, yet they could Sleep but very little, & were obligd to walk about during the Night.

At day break they set out, intending to make this day their last & utmost effort to reach the Snowy Mountain, but their spirits were dampd by having expended their Water; They had got a very little way before the indian path ended, & which goes no farther than w[h]ere they build their Canoes. They were now oblig'd to push on without one; & every now & then get upon the highest trees to see which way was best: at 11 they got on a high ridge of Burnt stones, & saw the Snowy mountain, as they guessed, about 12 or 14 miles from them. It appeared in regard to height to be very little above where they stood. They now consulted whether they should be satisfied with

this near view of it, & return, or proceed. Their guides told them there was no path on this side the Island to get to it, & that the road both to this & to the other Snowy mountain was on the NW side, they were also much against going any farther, & our people believed that they could not have been prevailed on to proceed & remain out another Cold night. The road they had lately passed, was very bad & growing worse; the hollow Chasms amongst the burnt rocks grew more universal: which by being slightly covered over with moss, they fell at every step, the burnt rocks became more brittle, & broke under their feet like Cindars. The Ground under them seemd hollow, & in the little holes they threw some stones by the noise of which they [page 523] supposed to go a great way down. They agreed to return after taking from the highest trees, which are however of a small size here, a view of the Country. Towards the Sea they could not distinguish in the horizon the Sky from water; they were on all sides surrounded with wood; between them & the Snowy Mountain was a Valley about 7 or 8 miles broad, above which the mount appeared only a Midling sized hill.

30<sup>th</sup> before Noon they got clear of the Woods, & found themselves about 9 miles to the NE of the Ships: they directed their march towards the Sea, through the Plantations; Not the smallest piece of Ground was left uncultivated.

By their accounts it is hardly possible that this Country can be better cultivated or made to yield a greater sustenance for the inhabitants; they passed thro fields of hay, with which they cover the young Tarro Grounds, to prevent the suns drying it up. In their walk through the Villages they met with real hospitality, every one was desirous of entertaining them, & used enticing arts to prevail upon them to stay some time amongst them; these Villages were never found farther than 4 or 5 miles from the sea side; near one of them about 4 miles from the bay, they entered into a Cove [cave], which they say was 40 feet<sup>19</sup> long 3 broad, & the same height, it was open at both ends, the sides were fluted as if wrought with a Chisel & glazed over, which appearance they concluded to be occasion'd by the action of fire:

In the Evening they returned on board the Ships highly pleas'd with the general behaviour of the Natives. Had this party gone under the guidance of some Chief, doubtless they would have reached the Snowy mountain, & not have met with the hardships they did for want of water... [page 524]

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 obliged 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.

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<sup>19</sup> It is believed that fathoms rather than feet was meant here (Beaglehole 1967:591).

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. All our Travellers that Ascended the hills complained heavily of being much pinched with the cold there. These people are exceedingly populous; the day we went first into Care'ca'coo'ah Bay there were counted about the Resolution 500 Canoes and about the Discovery 475, a great many of these were large double Boats carrying ten or twelve Men so that here was a vast concourse of People; however many of these were assembled from various parts of the Isle, and some I know came from the Isle of Mow'wee, but the immense number of Men and women living in the various villages about this Bay surpassed every idea of populousness I could ever form, and the abundant stock of Children promised very fairly a plentiful supply for the next Generation... [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 & Ko-harra. The part of A-kona joining to Koa partakes of its nature. Its N part is highly cultivated & very populous. In the Middle of this district is Karakacooa [Kealakekua] bay; In the General Chart it is represent'd deeper, & the appearance of being a more shelterd harbour than what it really is; but a Sketch which is added will shew sufficiently exact its figure & dimensions. The points that form it bear from each other SEbs & NWbn, variation allow'd, at 1 ½ mile distance, the bay bends about a mile deep. On the N side is a high steep hill rising perpendicularly from the Sea. On the low N barren point is the Village calld Kowrowa [Kaawaloa]. The Sandy beech forms the West side, behind which is a grove of Coco nut trees & a pond of indifferent water; on the

N side of this beach lies a Village, & the Well we waterd at, which is close to the Sea & under the high hill. At the other end of the beach is the Morai, or Oheekew [heiau of Hikiau] A field of Taboo'd ground seperates the Morai from a Village to the s, or rather a continued range of Stragling houses in that direction.

The Journey that was made towards the Snowy Mountain Roa, an account of which has been already given, will be a sufficient description of the Nature of the Inland parts of this side of the Country, which have undergone a great alteration by Volcanos or Earthquakes. I do not know whether the appearances they observ'd are at all singular or very Common, & which are first the parallel direction of the Woods to the Sea, & secondly, the great difference in the Nature of these woods, for when they first enterd the Main [wood], at about 6 or 7 miles from the Sea Shore, they found it for three miles composd of Tall stout trees, growing on a good rich Soil, this was follow'd by an equal extent of dwarfish trees G[r]owing on a very poor Soil, & which was remarkable stoney; they came again to a Wood like the first; & lastly to still smaller trees & poorer Soil. [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.

The high Steep hill which makes the N side of the bay, & which connects with a Wooded Arm, has its rocks of a very different appearance from the other rocks, that are every where scattered; from whence one would conclude that these Arms of Wood, as well as this hill has not been changed by the Volcano, or at least not at the same time, or in an equal degree.

Four Leagues to the N of Karakacooa bay, is [Keauhou] another which they represent as equally good, & there abouts 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—also recording selected traditions—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 history in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region provide readers with important details.

### **Traditions of Lono at Kealakekua and the Arrival and Death of James Cook**

The following legend of one of the Hawaiian gods, professes to show the origin of the boxing-games of the Makahiki festival, and of the worship of Capt. Cook: —

In very ancient time Lono dwelt at Kealakekua with his wahine, Kaikilaniāliiōpuna. They dwelt together under the precipice. A man ascended the pali and called to the woman, “ O Kaikilaniāliiōpuna, may one dare to approach you, – your paramour–Ohea–the soldier? This is to join–That to flee–you and I sleep.” Lono hearing, was angry and smote his wahine, and Kaikilaniāliiōpuna died. He took her up, bore her into the temple and there left her. He lamented over her and travelled round Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Oahu, and Kauai, boxing with those whom he met. The people exclaimed, Behold Lono greatly crazed! Lono replied, “I am crazed for her–I am frantic on account of her love.” He left the islands and went to a foreign land in a triangular canoe, called Paimalau. Kaikilaniāliiōpuna came to life again, and travelled all round the islands searching after her husband. The people demanded of her, “What is your husband’s name?” She replied “Lono.” “Was that crazy husband yours?” “Aye, mine.” Kaikilaniāliiōpuna then sailed by a canoe to a foreign land. On the arrival of ships the people exclaimed, “Lo this is Lono! Here comes Lono!”

When Captain Cook moved on the shore, some of the people bowed down and worshipped him, and others fled from him with fear. A priest approached him and placed a necklace of scarlet bark cloth upon his shoulders, then retreating a little, presented [Bingham 1969:32] to him hogs, and other offerings, and with rapid incantation and prayer, did him homage; then led him to their sacred temple and worshipped him, as one of their long acknowledged deities.

About fifty days after his arrival from the north, the king of Hawaii returned from the war on Maui to Kealakekua. He treated Captain Cook with much respect, but finding the abominable practice on board which had been so unfortunately commenced at Kauai, attempted to restrain their licentiousness by forbidding the women to go on board. But in this he failed, for the measure induced the shipmen to throng the shore so much the more.

Kalaniōpū presented Captain Cook with some of his most valuable articles–brilliant feather mantles, and plumed rods, insignia of rank, of neat workmanship, and imposing form and aspect, for which he is said to have made little return. Priding himself on the honors shown him, and the influence he had acquired over these ignorant barbarians, and trusting to his naval and military skill and power, to resist or punish any aggression from the people, he ventured to assert rights which could not belong to him as a fellow-man. He not only received the religious homage which they ascribed to Lono, but according to Ledyard, who was with him, invaded their rights, both civil and religious, and took away their sacred enclosure, and some of their images, for the purpose of wooding his vessels, offering three hatchets in return. The effect was doubtless to awaken resentment and hostility. He sailed immediately on the 4<sup>th</sup> of Feb. But before he had passed Kawaihae, finding one of his masts defective, he was providentially sent back to Kealakekua bay, where he anchored again, and engaged in the needful repairs. The men of the place were far less friendly than before, and finding that the foreigners had seduced the affections of some of their women, were disposed to oppose them. The shipmen became violent, fired on the people, and seized a canoe belonging to Paalea, a man of some distinction. He resisted, and was struck down by a foreigner with a paddle. Then his people threw stones. Paalea rising, and fearing he might be killed by Lono, the foreign chief, interposed, and quieted and drew off his men. But afterwards he stole one of the boats of the Englishmen... Captain Cook demanded of the king the restoration of the boat. But this was out of his power, for the people had broken it up to secure the iron in it for other purposes. Here was a real difficulty, though not sufficient for war or

hostility of any kind. If Cook had been as ready to award justice to the injured people, and to Paalea who attempted to remunerate himself, as he was to exact restoration or remuneration from the king who had not trespassed on him, this matter might have been settled without the guilt of murder on either side. But disregarding the provocation which Paalea had had, though he mistook the course of duty in seeking redress, Captain Cook undertook to bring the king on board [page 33] with him, that he might compel him to restore the stolen boat. He therefore on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Feb. blockaded the bay or harbor, landed with an armed party on the north side of the bay, made a little circuit, and came to the house of the king. He sent in his lieutenant, who invited and led the king out. The captain endeavored to persuade him to accompany him to the ship. They approached the boat, which was waiting to receive them. A multitude of the people collected around, apparently unwilling that their king should, in that posture of affairs, go off on board lest they should lose him. Some, who apprehended danger, interposed to detain him. Among these was Kekuhaopio, who had hastily crossed the bay in a canoe, having witnessed an attack made by the English on another canoe crossing at the same time, in which Kalimu, a chief and a relative, was shot. The report of this outrage produced excitement in the crowd around the king. Some urged an attack on the Englishmen. The king halted and refused to proceed. The armed marines formed a line on the shore or at the water's edge. A native approached Captain Cook with a dagger. The captain, having a double-barrel gun, fired a charge of small shot at him. Stones were thrown at the marines by the natives. Capt. Cook then fired with ball, and killed one of the foremost natives. Stones were again thrown at the marines, and returned by a discharge of musketry from them and two boats' crews near the shore. The crowd of natives received the fire with firmness, some holding up mats as a shield against the whistling bullets. Their dauntless men exasperated rushed on the marines, killed four and wounded three of them. Kalaimanohoowaha, a chief, seized Captain Cook with a strong hand without striking him, thinking he might perhaps be a god, but concluding from his outcry that he was not, stabbed and slew him. The musketry continued from the boats and cannon-balls from the ships, at length compelled the natives to retire, seventeen being killed and others wounded. Two cannon shots were fired upon the people on the other side of the bay; the effects of one upon the trunk of a cocoanut tree remained till the missionaries arrived there. A skirmish took place between the natives and the English stationed there, in which eight of the natives were killed. Among the slain that day were two chiefs acknowledged to have been friendly to the English.

The king and his people retired to the precipice that rises abruptly from the head of the bay. They carried with them the bodies of Cook and four of his men. On the heights of Kaawaloa, they stripped the flesh from the bones of Cook and burnt it with fire, preserving the bones, palms and entrails for superstitious abominations. There were subsequent skirmishing and bloodshed. The English demanded the body of their commander, burnt down the village of Kealakekua on the south side of the bay, consuming the houses of the priests and their property, including the presents given them by the officers of the squadron. The bones of the com- [page 34] mander were at length restored; and were buried in the deep with martial honors. A reconciliation took place, and the two ships, the Resolution and Discovery, put to sea on the 22d or 23d of Feb., 1779, under the command of Captains Clerke and King... [Bingham 1969:35]

### **The Kaua 'Ainoa – Battle of Free-Eating (1819)**

Binghams' description of the events leading to this battle are of particular importance to the lands of Ka'awaloa-Keauhou vicinity. In the narratives are found specific references to the

near-shore alalua and associated sites or features found along the way. In the court of Liholiho, the 'ai kapu (law of restricted eating) had been abolished, and 'ai noa (free eating) declared —

Multitudes, retaining still their superstition, disapproved of the innovations. Among these were Kekuaokalani, a high chief, and his adherents. He was angry at Kaahumanu and her party that they had encouraged Liholiho to eat unceremonially, and that their royal tabu was abrogated. He desired it might be preserved, or rather restored and perpetuated. He withdrew to Kaawaloa, and some of the priests and some war-counselors, deserting from the king, joined him. These encouraged him to maintain the tabu. They said, "No sin of ungodly rulers, by which they lost their dominions, is like this sin;" implying that Liholiho deserved to be deprived of his kingdom, and all his inheritance, for his unexampled, impious contempt of their religion. They awarded the realm to this chief, whose religion was still unaltered, and whose zeal and faith were rather increased than impaired. The country was in confusion, and the larger part of the plebeians, and some chiefs, concurred with Kekuaokalani; and the minority of the plebeians and chiefs concurred with Liholiho.

The step-mother of Kekuaokalani was sent to him to induce him to return to Kailua to renounce tabu, but he refused. The strong dissatisfaction of the plebeian adherents to tabu, broke out into violence, at Hamakua, and threatened immediate war. An offer being on that account sent thither by Liholiho was [Bingham 1969:74] met by the insurgents, and killed by Kainapau, the leader of the insurrection. The chiefs immediately took counsel at Kailua to send an army to Hamakua. But Kalanimoku objected and said, "It is not good policy to war there, for the cause of war is at Kaawaloa, that is the place to war. The strife at Hamakua is but the leaf of the tree: I go for the trunk. When that falls, the leaf will of itself wither."

Purposing to bring Kekuaokalani to terms, they dispatched to Kaawaloa, an embassy of two high chiefs, Hoapili and Naihe, who were desirous to save him from taking arms against the king, and leading a civil war. They were accompanied by Keopuolani, the queen-mother, on her own responsibility. On meeting the supporter of the tabu, at the place where Captain Cook fell, Hoapili addressed him thus: "You are the son of my own sister, I have come for you. Let us return to Kailua. The plebeians are fighting, and the hostilities of the insurgents are charged to you; and the charge accords with your remaining separated at a different place from the king. Come with me to Kailua and dwell with the king. This evil will not rest on you, if you join him, and have personal intercourse with him. And it is still entirely with you to forsake tabu or not." He assented, but said, "wait a little, till I confer with Manono (his wife), then I will return: but I shall not discard tabu."

In the night the crier of that chief was heard, giving orders for the preparation of canoes to embark for Kailua. But in the morning, Kekuaokalani drew up his men, with guns and long spears in their hands, and sandals on their feet, and with them, appeared before the ambassadors. Hoapili said, "Are we not to go on foot?" "Yes," replied the disaffected chief. "On board the canoes, let us all go," said Hoapili. The other rejoined, "I with my people, who are all hungry, will go by land, where we can bake food and live." "Think not much of the people," said Hoapili, "yourself being on board the canoe, we will sail. Let the people then go by land. It is thou for whom I came." He replied, "I will not go by sea, but I and mine by land." Keopuolani, thinking herself in danger, and unwilling to parley, exclaimed, "Loose the cord, brother."

Thus the parties separated. Naihe advised Hoapili to land half way to Kailua, and meet Kekuaokalani. But Keopuolani advised to hasten to Kailua. On arriving there,

meeting her son, and wishing to see something more effectual than an embassy of peace in the case, she said to him with falling tears, "A little more, and you had never seen me—I was on the point of being killed." This produced a sensation. "Where," demanded Kalanimoku, "is Kekuaokalani?" "Approaching by land," she answered,— "What of your embassy?" he rejoined. She said to him, "Seeking him as a relative is at an end; what you counseled remains," i.e., to fight and crush him. He was ready to put in execution what he had before counseled, and to head a force to [page 75] subdue him. That counsel now prevailed. That evening, arms and ammunition were given out, and the next day, Kalanimoku mustered a regiment, and the succeeding morning advancing to give battle, he gave the following laconic and spirited charge to his warriors, "Be calm—be voiceless—be valiant—drink the bitter waters, my sons,—turn not back—onward unto death—no end for which to retreat." He knew something of the bitterness of the waters of battle, which even victors must drink, and of the use of martial valor, having often taken part with Kamehameha, after the death of Kiwalao; but he made here no allusion to any power but their own, and acknowledged no deity at all. Kekuaokalani sought the help of the idols—offered sacrifices and prayers, and paraded his war-god; though as yet he had fewer soldiers, and fewer arms than his antagonist, and little ammunition. Had it been his determination to make war, and had he drawn off to a distance, and given time for the friends of his cause to rally, his chance of success would probably have been more equal. Now the question of the dominion of the tabus and idols was to be tested speedily, by a savage fight, before the idolatrous party could have time to unite extensively for the support of their leader.

Apprised of the approach of the king's forces, Kekuaokalani, instead of sending proposals of reconciliation or submission, sent a scouting party, who met and fired on Kalanimoku, and killed and wounded several of his men. Taken thus by surprise, he retreated from this effective fire; but soon rallied, and finding the scouting party small, pursued them to Kuamoo, killing some as they retreated, and there joined battle with Kekuaokalani. He and his party courageously maintained their ground, till they were nearly surrounded by the forces of Kalanimoku on the land, and armed canoes, from Kailua, along the shore. Kekuaokalani, having early received a wound, was at length unable to stand, "sat on a fragment of lava, and twice loaded and fired a musket on the advancing party. He now received a ball in his left breast, and, immediately covering his face with his feathered cloak, expired in the midst of his friends. His wife, Manono, during the day, fought by his side, with steady and dauntless courage. A few moments after her husband's death, perceiving Kalanimoku and his sister advancing, she called out for quarter. But the words had scarcely escaped from her lips, when she received a ball in the left temple—fell upon the lifeless body of her husband, and expired. The idolators having lost their chief, made but feeble resistance afterwards; yet the combat, which commenced in the forenoon, continued till near sunset.

Kalanimoku's victory being complete, he immediately returned to Kailua. A pile of stones marks the spot where the rival chief, and his affectionate wife, his heroic and prime counsellor, expired; and near it, a larger pile marks their grave, over which the wild [page 76] convolvulus creeps and blossoms, even on this dreary, lava waste. Around that grave, many piles of stones mark the spots where his friends and supporters were buried, who that day fell in the defense of idolatry, who, deluded and foolhardy as they were, may have been as correct in their principles and motives as their atheistic destroyers... [Bingham 1969:77]

### **Recollections of Kapi'olani, Nāihe and Kamakau of Ka'awaloa (1823)**

Bingham reported that in 1823, a church meeting house was being built on the flats at Ka'awaloa, under the auspices of the ali'i Kapi'olani and Nāihe:



...Kapiolani, Naihe, and their train, have several times come sixteen miles from Kaawaloa to this place [the Kailua Mission], for the sake of hearing the Gospel. Ever since missionaries arrived, Kapiolani has constantly been situated near them, and for nearly two years has listened to the words of eternal life in her own language. In consequence of her being separated from the other chiefs, Kalanimoku asked her, by letter, if she was not lonely. The purport of her reply was, 'Lonely! No. If I am separated from my friends, here is God; and with him I have communion. Besides, [Bingham 1969:200] on these shores, there are two gates of Heaven (alluding to this meeting house and the one they are building at Kaawaloa), in consequence of which blessings will descend.

Kamakau, an elderly chief, residing at the same place, appears in a still more interesting manner. He too, with his wife and train, have several times come to this place on Saturday, that they might have opportunity of enjoying the privileges of the sanctuary. The last time he came he remained through the week and over the next Sabbath, that he might from day to day be favored with instruction. On the morning of the last Sabbath, on hearing the second bell ring for meeting, he started to go; but it was suddenly impressed on his mind with great force, 'Pray, pray, before you go to the place of worship,' and he stopped short, kneeled down, and breathed out the following prayer; 'O Jehovah, here we are, going before thy presence on this sacred day, with the common people; may we meet with the presence of thy Son, Jesus Christ, in thy house of prayer... [Bingham 1969:201]

#### **The Ka'awaloa Mission Station – Arrival of James Ely (1824)**

...The chiefs, Naihe and Kapiolani, were, for more than a year after the arrival of the reinforcement, very solicitous to secure for [Bingham 1969:209] themselves and people, a missionary to reside at their place, at Kaawaloa, on the north side of Kealakekua Bay. It was very difficult to spare a man from the other portions of the field, while it seemed almost indispensable that two families should be located at each of the occupied stations. Kapiolani seemed so deeply interested in this commendable object, that we generally encouraged her to persevere in her efforts, in the hope that she would, at length, succeed, when it should seem good to our Great Director. Having made applications, during a period of six months after the arrival of the reinforcement, she wept when she thought her importunity had failed, and she must remove from Honolulu, where she had been instructed in the best things, to her old heathen home, on Hawaii, without a kumu to lead her, her husband, and her people, in the paths of Christianity. How tardily do the churches of Christendom move to meet the wants of the perishing in heathen lands! She went mourning back to her place—the scene of strife between her predecessors and Captain Cook and his party—and there continued seeking and asking for a missionary, and with uncommon energy preparing the way there for the establishment of the Gospel.

Kamakau, Naihe's head-man, advanced in years, but interesting, inquisitive, and communicative, was ready to aid her. Alapai and Kuhio, stewards of Naihe and Kapiolani, appeared also to espouse the missionary cause. These five persons constituted, at that early period, a sort of mission for the promulgation of the Christian religion, in that region. They not only urged forward instruction in schools, but maintained religious worship on the Sabbath, in two or three different villages, where some of them would lead in prayer, read, sing, and exhort, and tell of the great salvation. In these cases they were heard with attention. Naihe and Kapiolani frequently sent a boat or canoe, on Saturday, to Kailua, some fifteen miles, to bring a missionary to preach to them on the Sabbath, and again on Monday to carry him back. So strong was the desire of these chiefs and their coadjutors to have the Gospel preached to them and their people, that they built a convenient house of worship, sixty feet by thirty, and continued their importunate request, to the mission,

for a preacher. Meantime, the missionary on his visits preached to attentive congregations, under the spreading branches of a large kou tree, within a few paces of the place where Cook fell; and occasionally, to ruder hearers, on the opposite, or Kealakekua side of the bay, in a grove, where the mark of a ball from Cook's ship was still visible in the trunk of a cocoanut tree.

Their new church, built with care and neatness, in the Hawaiian style, being completed, Mr. Thurston, by invitation, preached the dedication sermon, March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1824. Great propriety of demeanor was manifested both by chiefs and people. A large assembly listened attentively to the Word; and the whole scene, as proof of progress, as a new offer of salvation to the multitude, [page 210] and as a promise of the further and rapid advance of Christianity here, was exceedingly interesting. Moving steadily and energetically towards their object, to secure a preacher, Naihe and Kapiolani proceeded to rear, near their own dwelling, a good thatched habitation for the accommodation of a missionary family, whom they proposed to supply with fresh provisions, and water for drink, the latter to be brought two or three miles by hand. They extended a pressing invitation to Mr. Ely, who was yet unsettled, to become their missionary... In April, Mr. and Mrs. Ely were welcomed at this interesting spot. They had spent some time at Honolulu and Kailua in the study of the language, and they now took up their abode at Kaawaloa, in the house so generously provided for them, by those interesting chiefs, and entered into the work with pleasing prospects of an early harvest... [Bingham 1969:211]

#### **The Mountain Trail in the uplands of Kealakekua-Ka'awaloa to Kuapehu (1830)**

Our Waimea friends first moved, and were immediately joined by the others; and we felt our way cautiously along, for an hour and a half, Mr. Ruggles, meantime, meeting us, and leading the way towards his habitation. Benighted in this dark wilderness, our eyes were, at length, all gladdened by several large candle-nut torches which Naihe and his excellent lady had the consideration to send us, when they perceived we did not reach their settlement by daylight. By the light of these torches, gleaning with different degrees of brightness, on the luxuriant vegetation around us, our company, now amounting to a hundred, passed quietly, in Indian file, along a narrow foot-path, amid bananas, high grasses, fern ten or twelve feet in height, shrubs, wild vines, and trees, till just before the closing hour of the year, when we arrived with safety and welcome at Mr. Ruggle's cottage, at Kuapehu, two miles from Kaawaloa landing... [Bingham 1969:398]

#### **Relocation of the Coastal Ka'awaloa Mission Station – Native Residents prefer Living near the Shore (1831)**

On the first day of the new year, I met the assembled chiefs and people at Kaawaloa, and to our mutual joy opened to them the Scriptures.

An attempt was made for the permanent establishment of the Kaawaloa station at Kuapehu. Naihe and Kapiolani removed and built there, and others gathered round them; but the people of the district chiefly preferred the shore station as more convenient to them. But Kaawaloa, at the landing-place on the north side of Kealakekua bay, however conveniently accessible to the people of the district, who live much along the shores, was cramped and rocky, being composed almost exclusively of lava. It was hot, dry, and barren, affording neither brook nor well, nor spring of fresh water, nor field, nor garden-spot for plantation, though a few cocoa-nut trees, so neighborly to the sea, find nourishment there. Kuapehu, about two miles inland, east of the bold and volcanic cliff at the head of the bay, is, in many respects, preferable as a place of residence. It is elevated 1500 feet above the sea; is airy and fertile, fanned agreeably by the land breeze from the cold Mauna Loa by night, and

the sea breeze by day, making the temperature and climate about as agreeable and salubrious as Waimea. Scattered trees around, and the forest a little further in the rear, the banana, sugar-cane, upland kalo, potatoes, squashes, gourds, and melons, which its soil produces; its high grasses, flowering shrubs, and wild vines, all contrasted finely with the dry and sterile shore north of the bay. Besides the ordinary productions of the country, Mr. Ruggles, Naihe, and Kapiolani had a variety of exotics—the grape, fig, guava, pomegranate, orange, coffee, cotton, and mulberry, [Bingham 1969:399] growing on a small scale, which is the most that can be said, as yet, of these articles at the Sandwich Islands [Bingham 1969:400].

### **Schools of South Kona Examined at Ka’awaloa Station (relocated to Kealakekua – Kepulu); Journey made along the Kealakekua Pali Trail (1831)**

During this visitation of the chiefs at Kaawaloa, numerous schools were called before them to show themselves for examination. Their coming together presented a novel scene, exhibiting something of the taste and habits of Hawaiians. Long processions of scholars and teachers, coming in from different quarters, after dark, moved in single file with flaming torches of the candle-nut, and loud-sounding conchs. Some of the schools, with their torches and conchs, came winding along around the head of Kealakekua bay, high on the steep and craggy precipices, which once echoed back the thunder of the guns of Capt. Cook’s ships in hostile strife with the natives. Then near where that navigator fell in the preceding generation, the schools, embracing thousands of men, women, and children, just coming to the light, formed an immense column, still flourishing their fiery banners, and blowing their many shells of various keys, with as much spirit as if they expected the fortifications of darkness were about to fall before them...

It may be proper to say here that the church and mission houses of this station, some time after Mr. Ruggles, through loss of health, left the field, were located on the south side of Kealakekua Bay, a position which was supposed to accommodate the people connected with the station better than the north side, or Kuapehu in the rear.

Having completed their visit at Kaawaloa, the chiefs passed on together to Kailua, where they were welcomed by Gov. Adams... [Bingham 1969:401-402].

### **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 Kekauloahi, 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]

### **Passing of Chiefess Kapi'olani (1841)**

In May, 1841, the nation lost one of its brightest ornaments, and the mission one of its fairest fruits, by the death of Kapiolani, whose precious life, in the midst of her prayers, exhortations, and useful influence, was brought to a close by a cancer. For nearly twenty years, she had befriended the mission, and for fifteen, had greatly adorned the Gospel, and endeared herself to the friends of improvement among the people of her nation. In her opposition to superstition, whether Hawaiian or Roman, and her support of the truth, she was kind, decided, dignified, and triumphant, while she exalted Christ and abased herself and made her adorning that of good works... [Bingham 1969:580]

### **The Journal of William Ellis (1823)**

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 the 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.

### **Descriptions for the Lands from Keauhou to Kealakekua**

Ellis' path took him along the coastal trail (ala loa) between Keauhou and Ka'awaloa. Along the way, he counted "443 houses and eight heiaus" (Ellis 1963:89). The following narratives and site descriptions were recorded by Ellis and party on the journey:

...Our way lay across a rough tract of lava, resembling that which we passed over the preceding afternoon. In many places it seemed as if the surface of the lava had become hard, while a few inches underneath it had remained semifluid, and in that state had been broken up, and left in its present confused and irregular form. This rugged appearance of the external lava was probably produced by the expansive force of the heated air beneath the crust, but that could not have caused the deep chasms or fissures which we saw in several places.

We also observed many large spherical volcanic stones, the surface of which had been fused, and in some places had peeled off like a crust or shell, an inch or two in thickness. The centre of some of these stones, which we broke, was of a dark blue colour and compact texture, and did not appear to have been at all affected by the fire which had calcined the surface.

### **Scene of Battle with Supporters of Idolatry**

After traveling about two miles over this barren waste, we reached where, in the autumn of 1819, the decisive battle was fought between the forces of Rihoriho, the present king, and his cousin, Kekuaokalani, in which the latter was slain, his followers completely overthrown, and the cruel system of idolatry, which he took up arms to support, effectually destroyed.

The natives pointed out to us the place where the king's troops, led on by Karaimoku, were first attacked by the idolatrous party. We saw several small heaps of stones, which our guide informed us were the graves of those who, during the conflict, had fallen there.

We were then shewn the spot on which the king's troops formed a line from the sea-shore towards the mountains, and drove the opposing party before them to a rising ground, where a stone fence, about breast [page 77] high, enabled the enemy to defend themselves for some time, but from which they were at length driven by a party of Karaimoku's warriors.

The small tumuli increased in number as we passed along, until we came to a place called Tuamoo. Here Kekuaokalani made his last stand, rallied his flying forces, and seemed, for a moment, to turn the scale of victory; but being weak with the loss of blood, from a wound he had received in the early part of the engagement, he fainted and fell. However, he soon revived, and, though unable to stand, sat on a fragment of lava, and twice loaded and fired his musket on the advancing party. He now received a ball in his left breast, and immediately covering his face with his feather cloak, expired in the midst of his friends.

#### **Manona [Manono], The Faithful Wife**

His wife Manona during the whole of the day fought by his side with steady and dauntless courage. A few moments after her husband's death, perceiving Karaimoku and his sister advancing, she called out for quarter; but the words had hardly escaped from her lips, when she received a ball in her left temple, fell upon the lifeless body of her husband, and instantly expired.

The idolaters having lost their chief, made but feeble resistance afterwards; yet the combat, which commenced in the forenoon, continued till near sunset, when the king's troops, finding their enemies had all either fled or surrendered, returned to Kairua.

Karaimoku grieved much at the death of Kekuaokalani, who was his own sister's son. He delayed the engagement as long as possible; and, the same morning that the battle took place, sent a messenger, addressing the young chief as his son, and requesting him to refrain from hostilities till they could have an interview, and if possible, effect an accommodation. But the message was rejected, and the messenger obliged to jump into the sea, and swim to save his life. In the moment of victory, also, he acted with humanity; and, contrary to the usual custom, the vanquished were not pursued and murdered in their retreats... [Ellis 1963:78]

Ellis also reveals the location of a refuge cave which is characteristic of the caves found within the vicinity:

A little way south of the spot where the chief fell, was a small cave, into which, in the confusion that followed the death of Kekuaokalani, a woman attached to his party crept, and, drawing a piece of lava over its mouth, remained until night, beneath whose friendly cover she fled to the mountains, not knowing that the victors had returned without pursuing their foes.

The wives of warriors often accompanied their husbands to battle, and were frequently slain. Their practice, in this respect, resembled [page 78] that of the Society islanders on similar occasions. They generally followed in the rear, carrying calabashes of water, or of poë, a little dried fish, or other portable provision, with

which to recruit their husband's strength when weary, or afford a draught of water when thirsty or faint; but they followed, more particularly, to be at hand if their husbands should be wounded.

Some women, more courageous than the rest, or urged on by affection, advanced side by side with their husbands to the front of the battle, bearing a small calabash of water in one hand, and a spear, a dart, or a stone, in the other; and in the event of the husband being killed, they seldom survived.

#### **A Monument to Kekuaokalani and Manona [Manono]**

A pile of stones, somewhat larger than the rest, marked the spot where the rival chief and his affectionate and heroic wife expired. A few yards nearer the sea, an oblong pile of stones, in the form of a tomb, about ten feet long and six wide, was raised over the grave in which they were both interred.

We could not view this rudely constructed tomb without renewed lamentation over the miseries of war, and a strong feeling of regret for the untimely end of the youthful pair, especially for the affectionate Manona, whom even the horrors of savage fight, in which the demon of war wears his most terrific form, could not prevent from following the fortune, and sharing the dangers, that she might administer to the comfort, of her much-loved husband. This feeling was not a little increased by the recollection of the delusion of which they were the ill-fated victims, and in support of which they were prodigal of their blood. Alas! they knew not, till from the fatal field they entered the eternal world, the value of that life which they had lost, and the true nature of that cause in which they had sacrificed it.

The piles of stones rose thick around the spot where they lay; and we were informed that they were the graves of his kahu, (particular friends and companions,) who stood by him to the last, manifesting a steadfastness which even their enemies admired, and a degree of courage worthy of being exercised in a better cause.

#### **The Abolition of Idolatry and the Tabu**

Kekuaokalani was first cousin to Rihoriho. He is represented by some as having been an enterprising and restless young man, aspiring to share the government with his cousin, if not to reign in his stead.

The late king Tamehameha, a short time before his death, left the [page 79] government of the islands to his eldest son Rihoriho, and the care of the gods, their temples, and the support of their worship, to the king and Kekuaokalani, together with the rest of the chiefs.

Almost the first public act of the young king Rihoriho, was the abolition of the national idolatry, and all the restrictions of the tabu system by which it was upheld. This system, with all its superstitious cruelty, had existed, and had exerted its degrading yet almost supernatural influence over the people, from time immemorial; and it required no small degree of courage by one single act to abrogate its inflexible laws, and destroy its dreaded power. But several acts of Rihoriho's reign shew that he possessed a mind well adapted for such undertakings.

#### **Liholiho's Motives For Abolishing Tabu**

His motives for this decisive measure appear to have been, in the first place, a desire to ameliorate the condition of his wives, and the females in general, whom the tabu sunk into a state of extreme wretchedness and degradation, obliging them to subsist only on inferior kinds of food, and not allowing them to cook their provisions, such as they were, at the same fire, or even eat in the same place where the men took theirs.

And in the second place, he seems to have been influenced by a wish to diminish the power of the priests, and avoid that expenditure of labour and property which the support of idolatry required, and which he was anxious to employ for other purposes.

He had also heard what Pomare and the Tahitian chiefs had done in the Society Islands.

### **The High Priest's Advice**

He consulted some of the principal chiefs, particularly Karaimoku, who declared his intention not to keep or observe any more tabus; and though several of the priests said the gods would recompense any neglect with vengeance, Hevaheva, the high priest of his father's war god, said no evil consequences would follow the discontinuance of the worship of the gods.

Soon after this, the king made a feast, to which many chiefs of the different islands were invited. The guests assembled, as usual; the men in one place, the women in another. The food was cut up, and when all were about to begin their meal, the king ordered his attendants to carry some fowls, and such prohibited food, to the place where his wives and other females were assembled; he then went, and, sitting down with them, began to eat, and directed them to do the same.

A shout of surprise burst from the multitude around; several other chiefs followed his example.

The men and women sat promiscuously, and ate the same food, [page 80] which they called ai noa, general or common eating, in opposition to the former ai tabu, restricted or sacred eating.

The ai tabu was one of the perpetual restrictions imposed by their idolatry on all ranks of the people, from their birth until their death.

### **Priesthood Abolished—Idol Worship Ended**

This public violation of it manifested the king's intention to destroy the whole system, which very shortly after was accomplished by the priest Hevaheva's resigning his office, and the king declaring that there should no longer be any priests, or any worship rendered to the gods.

Kekuaokalani, though he had no share in the government, yet had, in common with the other high chiefs, received a charge concerning the gods. Urged on by the priests, who promised him victory by a superstitious reverence for the idols of his ancestors, and perhaps also by a hope of defeating Rihoriho, and securing the government to himself, he took up arms.

### **Effect of Abolition of Tabu**

The abolition of idolatry by Rihoriho was thus the immediate occasion of the war, which terminating in his favour, left him sole monarch of the Sandwich Islands. This was the summit of his ambition, and the consummation of his wishes, though probably the least among the all wise and benevolent purposes of Him, who ruleth all things after the counsel of his own will, and causeth even the wrath of man to praise him.

Little did the pagan chief imagine, when he collected his forces, offered his sacrifices, and, preceded by his war-god, marched to the battle, that he was urging on his way to remove the most formidable barrier that existed to the introduction of a religion

which should finally triumph over every system of idolatry in the world; and as little did the victorious chiefs, when they beheld themselves masters of the field, and returned in triumph to the king, think that success had only prepared the way for their own subjection to a peaceful Prince, whose heralds (then on their way) should soon proclaim his laws in their camp, and demand their allegiance to his crown;—whose divine power should erect among them a kingdom, of which they themselves should delight to become subjects, and commence a reign that should be everlasting.

#### **At Honuaino and Hokukano**

Leaving Tuamoo, we passed on to Honuaino, where, being thirsty and weary, we sat down on the side of a canoe, under the shade of a fine-spreading hibiscus, and begged a little water of the villagers.

We had not remained many minutes before we were surrounded by about 150 people. After explaining to them in a few words our feelings on [page 81] meeting them, we asked them if they would like to hear what we had to say to them. They replied, Ae (yes,) and sat down immediately.

We sung a hymn and prayed, and I addressed them for about half an hour on the first principles of Christianity. They all appeared gratified, said they were *naau po*, (dark hearted,) and should be glad to be instructed in all these things, if any body would teach them.

We now travelled on to Hokukano, where we passed a pahu tabu, (sacred enclosure.) which the natives told us was built by Taraiopu, (Terreoboo in Cook's Voyages,) king of the island at the time it was discovered by Captain Cook.

#### **A Burial Tomb and Shark Heiau**

A little further on we examined a buoa (tomb) of a celebrated priest. It was composed of loose stones, neatly laid, about eight feet square and five high.

In the centre was a small mound of earth, higher than the walls; over this a house had formerly been erected, but it was now fallen to decay; around it were long poles, stuck in the earth, about three or four inches apart, and united together at the top.

We asked why the grave was enclosed with those tall sticks? Some said it was a custom so to inter persons of consequence; others said it was to prevent the spirit from coming out.

On the top of a high mountain, in the neighbourhood, stood the remains of an old heiau, dedicated to Ukanipo<sup>[20]</sup>, a shark, to which, we were informed, all the people along the coast, for a considerable distance, used to repair, at stated times, with abundant offerings.

#### **At Kaawaloa**

Passing on along a rugged road, we reached Kaavaroa soon after 2 p.m. Kamakau received us kindly, spread out a mat for us to sit down on, handed us a calabash of good fresh water, (a great luxury on this side of the island,) and ordered a goat to be

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<sup>20</sup> For well over a century, *kama'āina* of the Kawanui-Honua'ino vicinity have placed the *heiau* 'U'ukanipō or 'Ūkanipō in the land of Lehu'ula, just on the *mauka* side of the old *ala loa* or *Alanui Aupuni* (see interviews in this study). This position is also reflected in Stokes survey of 1906-1907. As has occurred occasionally in other journal entries, it is possible that that Ellis' chronology of sites visited "in the neighbourhood" may have been out of sequence on this point.



prepared for our refreshment. He appeared as zealous in his pursuit of truth, earnest in his desires after his own salvation, and concerned for that of his people, as when some of our party had formerly visited him.

One or two inferior chiefs, from a district belonging to him, in the south part of the island, were sitting in the house when we entered. He afterwards began to talk with them on matters of religion, with a seriousness and intelligence which surprised us.

In the afternoon Mr. Thurston and I climbed the rocks, which rise in a north-east direction from the village, and visited the cave in which the body of Captain Cook was deposited, on being first taken from the [page 82] beach. These rocks, which are entirely composed of lava, are nearly two hundred feet high, and in some parts very steep. A winding path of rather difficult ascent leads to the cave, which is situated on the face of the rocks, about half-way to the top. In front of it is a kind of ledge three or four feet wide, and immediately over it the rocks rise perpendicularly for a yard or two, but afterwards the ascent is gradual to the summit.

The cave itself is of volcanic formation, and appears to have been one of those subterranean tunnels so numerous on the island, by which the volcanoes in the interior sometimes discharge their contents upon the shore. It is five feet high, and the entrance about eight or ten feet wide. The roof and sides within are of obsidian or hard vitreous lava; and along the floor it is evident that in some remote period a stream of the same kind of lava has also flowed.

#### **Interviews with Witnesses of Cook's Death**

There are a number of persons at Kaavaroa, and other places in the islands, who either were present themselves at the unhappy dispute, which in this vicinity terminated the valuable life of the celebrated Captain Cook, or who, from their connection with those who were on the spot, are well acquainted with the particulars of that melancholy event. With many of them we have frequently conversed, and though their narratives differ in a few smaller points, they all agree in the main facts with the account published by Captain King, his successor.

"The foreigner," they say, "was not to blame; for, in the first instance, our people stole his boat, and he, in order to recover it, designed to take our king on board his ship, and detain him there till it should be restored.

"Kapena Kuke" (Captain Cook's name is thus pronounced by the natives) and Taraiopu our king were walking together towards the shore, when our people, conscious of what had been done, thronged around the king, and objected to his going any further. His wife also joined her entreaties that he would not go on board the ships.

"While he was hesitating, a man came running from the other side of the bay, entered the crowd almost breathless, and exclaimed, 'It is war!—the foreigners have commenced hostilities, have fired on a canoe from one of their boats and killed a chief."

#### **Circumstances Incident To Cook's Death**

"This enraged some of our people, and alarmed the chiefs, as they feared Captain Cook would kill the king. The people armed themselves with stones, clubs, and spears. Kanona [Kalola] entreated her husband not to go. All the chiefs did the same. The king sat down." [page 83]

“The captain seemed agitated, and was walking towards his boat, when one of our men attacked him with a spear: he turned, and with his double-barrelled gun shot the man who struck him. Some of our people then threw stones at him, which being seen by his men they fired on us.”

“Captain Cook then endeavoured to stop his men from firing, but could not, on account of the noise. He was turning again to speak to us, when he was stabbed in the back with a pahoā; a spear was at the same time driven through his body; he fell into the water, and spoke no more. We have several times inquired, particularly of the natives acquainted with the circumstances, whether Captain Cook was facing them, or had his back towards them, when he received the fatal thrust; and their answer, in general, has been as here stated, which accords very nearly with Captain King’s account, who say, ‘Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water’s edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing, and pull in.’”

“If it be true, as some of those present have imagined, that the marines and boatmen fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbably, that his humanity, on this occasion, proved fatal to him: for it was remarked, that whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but that having turned about, to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water.” See Captain King’s Continuation of Cook’s Voyages, 4to. vol. iii. pages 45 and 46.

#### **Souvenirs of Cook**

“After he was dead, we all wailed. His bones were separated—the flesh was scraped off and burnt, as was the practice in regard to our own chiefs when they died. We thought he was the god Rono, worshipped him as such, and after his death revered his bones.”

Not only were his bones so treated, but almost every relic left with them. Among other things, a sledge, which, from their description of it, must have come from the north-west coast of America, left at the islands by Captain Cook, or some of his companions, was afterwards worshipped by the people. They called it, probably from its singular shape, *Opaitauarii*, a crab or shrimp, for a chief to rest on; from *opai*, a crab or shrimp, *tau*, to rest or sit, and *arii*, a chief.

Many of the chief’s frequently express the sorrow they feel whenever they think of the Captain; and even the common people usually speak of these facts with apparent regret. Yet they exonerate the king *Taraiopu* from all blame, as nothing was done by his orders. [page 84]

I was once in a house in Oahu with *Karaimoku*, and several other chiefs, looking over the plates in the folio edition of Cook’s Voyages. They were greatly affected with the print which represented his death, and inquired if I knew the names of those who were slain on that occasion.

I perceived *Karaimoku* more than once wipe the tears from his eyes, while conversing about this melancholy event. He said, he recollected Captain Cook’s visit, if not also his person, though he was at Maui at the time of his death.

More than once, when conversing with us on the length of time the missionaries had been in the Society Islands, they have said, Why did you not come here sooner? Was it because we killed Captain Cook?

### **Why Cook's Boat Was Stolen**

We have sometimes asked them what inducement they had to steal the boat, when they possessed so many canoes of their own.

They have generally answered, that they did not take it to transport themselves from one island to another, for their own canoes were more convenient, and they knew better how to manage them; but because they saw it was not sewed together, but fastened with nails. These they wanted,—therefore stole the boat, and broke it to pieces the next day, in order to obtain the nails to make fish-hooks with.

We have every reason to believe that this was the principal, if not the only motive, by which they were actuated in committing the depredation which ultimately led to such unhappy consequences.

They prize nails very highly; and though we do not know that they ever went so far in their endeavours to obtain a more abundant supply, as the Society islanders did, who actually planted them in the ground, hoping they would grow like potatoes, or any other vegetable, yet such is the value they still set on them, that the fishermen would rather receive a wrought nail, to make of it a fish-hook according to their own taste, than the best English-made fish-hook we could give them.

### **Cook Supposed To Be A God**

It has been supposed that the circumstance of Captain Cook's bones being separated, and the flesh taken from them, was evidence of a savage and unrelenting barbarity; but so far from this, it was the result of the highest respect they could shew him. We may also mention here, the reason for which the remains of Captain Cook received, as was the case, the worship of a god.

Among the kings who governed Hawaii during what may in its [page 85] chronology be called the fabulous age, was Rono or Orono; who, on some account, became offended with his wife, and murdered her; but afterwards lamented the act so much, as to induce a state of mental derangement. In this state he travelled through all the islands, boxing and wrestling with every one he met.

He subsequently set sail in a singularly shaped canoe for Tahiti, or a foreign country. After his departure he was defied by his countrymen, and annual games of boxing and wrestling were instituted in his honor.

As soon as Captain Cook arrived, it was supposed, and reported, that the god Rono was returned; the priests clothed him with the sacred cloth worn only by the god, conducted him to their temples, sacrificed animals to propitiate his favour, and hence the people prostrated themselves before him as he walked through the villages.

### **What Undeceived The Natives**

But when, in the attack made upon him, they saw his blood running, and heard his groans, they said, "No, this is not Rono."

Some, however, after his death, still supposed him to be Rono, and expected he would appear again. Some of his bones, his ribs, and breastbone, were considered sacred, as part of Rono, and deposited in a heiau (temple) dedicated to Rono, on the opposite side of the island. Captain King was led to presume that the bones of the trunk were burnt with the flesh. Part of them probably were so disposed of, but not the whole.

It appears that none of them were returned; for, describing those brought to Captain Clarke, which were all they received, he says, "When we arrived at the beach, Eappo

came into the pinnacle, and delivered to the captain the bones wrapped up in a large quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a spotted cloak of black and white feathers.

### **Portions of Cook's Body Returned**

We found in it both the hands of Captain Cook entire, which were well known, from a remarkable scar on one of them, that divided the thumb from the forefinger, the whole length of the metacarpal bone; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting; the scalp, with the hair upon it cut short, and the ears adhering to it; the bones of both arms, with the skin of the fore arms hanging to them. The thigh and leg bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire; and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the flesh left upon them, and were cut in several places, and crammed with salt, apparently with an intention of preserving them. [page 86]

The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, Eappo told us, had been seized by different chiefs, and that Terreeoboo was using every means to recover them.

Speaking of Eappo's first visit after the death of Captain Cook, he says, "We learned from this person, that the flesh of all the bodies of our people, together with the bones of the trunks, had been burnt." –Captain King's Continuation of Cook's Voyages, vol. iii. pages 78, 79, and 80.

There religious homage was paid to them, and from thence they were annually carried in procession to several other heiaus, or borne by the priests round the island, to collect the offerings of the people, for the support of the worship of the god Rono.

The bones were preserved in a small basket of wicker-work, completely covered over with red feathers; which in those days were considered to be the most valuable articles the natives possessed, as being sacred, and a necessary appendage to every idol, and almost every object of religious homage throughout the islands of the Pacific. They were supposed to add much to the power and influence of the idol, or relic, to which they were attached.

### **Vain Search For Cook's Bones**

The missionaries in the Society Islands had, by means of some Sandwich islanders, been long acquainted with the circumstance of some of Captain Cook's bones being preserved in one of their temples, and receiving religious worship; and since the time of my arrival in company with the deputation from the London Missionary Society, in 1822, every endeavour has been made to learn, though without success, whether they were still in existence, and where they were kept.

All those of whom inquiry has been made have uniformly asserted, that they were formerly kept by the priests of Rono, and worshipped, but have never given any satisfactory information as to where they are now.

Whenever we have asked the king, or Hevaheva the chief priest, or any of the chiefs, they have either told us they were under the care of those who had themselves said they knew nothing about them, or that they were now lost.

The best conclusion we may form is, that part of Captain Cook's bones were preserved by the priests, and were considered sacred by the people, probably till the abolition of idolatry in 1819: that, at that period they were committed to the secret care of some chief, or deposited by the priests who had charge of them, in a cave, unknown to all besides themselves. The manner in which they were then disposed of, will, it is presumed, remain a secret, till the knowledge of it is entirely lost. [page 87] The priests and chiefs always appear unwilling to enter into conversation on the subject, and desirous to avoid the recollection of the unhappy circumstance.

### **Cook's Death Unpremeditated**

From the above account, as well as every other statement given by the natives, it is evident that the death of Captain Cook was unpremeditated, and resulted from their dread of his anger; a sense of danger, on the momentary impulse of passion, exciting them to revenge the death of the chief who had been shot.

Few intelligent visitors leave Hawaii without making a pilgrimage to the spot where he fell. We have often visited it, and, though several natives have been our guides on different occasions, they have invariably conducted us to the same place. A number of cocoa-nut trees grow near the shore, and there are perforations through two of them, which the natives say were produced by the balls fired from the boats on the occasion of his death.

We have never walked over these rocks without emotions of melancholy interest. The mind invariably reverts to the circumstances of their discovery; the satisfaction of the visitors; the surprise of the natives; the worship they paid to their discoverer; and the fatal catastrophe which here terminated his days; and, although in every event we acknowledge an overruling Providence, we cannot but lament the untimely end of a man whose discoveries contributed so much to the advancement of science, introduced us to an acquaintance with our antipodes, and led the way for the philosopher in his extended researches, the merchant in his distant commerce, and the missionary in his errand of mercy, to the unenlightened heathen at the ends of the earth.

### **Church and School at Site of Cook's Death**

It will be gratifying to the Christian reader to know, that, under the auspices of the governor of the island, and the friendly influence of the present chief of the place, Naihe, and his wife Kapiolani, who are steady, intelligent, discreet, and one, if not both, it is to be hoped, pious persons, a missionary station has since been formed in this village; and that on the shore of the same bay, and not far from the spot where this murderous affray took place, and where Captain Cook was killed, a school has been opened, and a house erected for Christian worship; and that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are instructed in the elements of learning and the peaceful principles of the Christian religion.

### **Investigations at Kaawaloa**

Towards evening we examined another buoa, similar to the one we had passed at Hokukano. On entering it, we found part of a canoe, [page 88] several calabashes, some mats, tapa, &c., and three small idols, about eighteen inches long, carefully wrapped in cloth.

The man who accompanied us said, "My father lies here, don't disturb him; I have not yet done weeping for him, though he has been dead some years."

We assured him of our sympathy with him in the loss of his father; and having satisfied our curiosity, which he was willing to gratify by allowing us to enter the tomb, we returned to Kamakau's, in conversation with whom we passed the evening.

He made many inquiries; such as, if he should bathe on the Sabbath, or eat fish that was caught or brought to him on that day; whether the same body would rise again at the last day; and if the spirit proceeded into the presence of God immediately on quitting the body.

During our journey today, we have numbered 443 houses and eight heiaus. In the shade the thermometer at sun-rise stood at 71° , at noon 76°, at sun-set 71°.

Much rain fell during the night, but the following morning was bright and serene. It was the Sabbath, and a wide field of usefulness presented its claim to our attention on this holy day, which we felt was to be specially employed in exhibiting to the heathen around the unsearchable riches of Christ.

### **Religious Interest of Kamakau**

The village of Kaavaroa, where we lodged, stretched along the north shore of the bay. A number of villages with a considerable population were scattered on the southern shore, and it appeared our duty to go over and preach to them. Mr. Bishop and myself, having procured a canoe from Kamakau, passed over the bay about nine a. m. Messrs. Thurston, Goodrich, and Harwood, remained at Kaavaroa, where Mr. Thurston preached to attentive congregations, both in the morning and afternoon.

The good chief Kamakau was so anxious that his people might profit by the word spoken, that he could not forbear interrupting the preacher, to request them to be attentive. After the conclusion of the services, he also addressed them, and exhorted them to be in earnest in seeking salvation through Jesus Christ.

The missionaries observed, with great pleasure, that during the day he was frequently engaged in affectionate conversation on religious subjects, with some one or other of his people... [page 89]

## **Chapter V**

### **Geology And Burial Caves of Kealakekua**

In the morning of July the 21<sup>st</sup>, the party at Kamakau's walked through the village of Kaavaroa (Kowrowa in Cook's Voyages) to the sea-side. The water in some places is deep, and, along the whole extent of the north-west shore, a boat may pull in close to the rocks. The rocks which form the beach on this and the opposite side of the bay, are not, as was supposed by those who first described them, of black coral, but composed entirely of lava, porous, hard, and of a very dark colour, occasionally tinged with a ferruginous brown, bearing marks of having been in a state of fusion. Part of it has probably flowed through the cavern in which Captain Cook's body was deposited, as traces of a stream of lava from thence to the plain below are very distinct.

The steep rocks at the head of the bay are of the same kind of substance, but apparently more ancient; and judging from appearances, the lava of which they are composed had issued from its volcano before Kearake'kua existed; as part of the coast seems to have been rent from these rocks, and sunk below the level of the sea, which has filled up the indention thus made, and formed the present bay.

There are still a number of caves in the face of these rocks, which are seldom resorted to for security in a time of danger, but used as places of sepulture. Several were barricaded, to prevent any but the proprietors entering them, or depositing

bodies there. The natives pointed out one in which the remains of Keoua, uncle [the father] of Tamehameha, were laid.

Having accomplished the object of their excursion, which was to procure some fragments of the rock on which Captain Cook had been killed, they prepared to return.

On their return, they exchanged a piece of blue cotton, about three yards in length, for four small idols. They were rudely-carved imitations of the human figure; one of them between three and four feet in length, the others not more than eighteen inches. Having breakfasted with Kamakau and his family, they took their leave, and passed over to the other side of the bay... [Ellis 1963:92]

### **Ka'awaloa and Vicinity Described by Thèodore-Adolphe Barrot (1836)**

Thèodore Barrot, a French Diplomat, visited Hawai'i in 1836, in route to the Philippines. He was quite observant, and on several occasions his writing raised concerns among the resident missionaries, of who he was sometimes critical. The narratives cited below provide readers with glimpses into the scene at Ka'awaloa and Kealakekua at the time of his visit, and also describe how a "good road" came to be built from the Ka'awaloa Flat to the uplands:

...The distance between Lower Kaawaloa and Upper Kaawaloa is about three miles. There is a very good road between the two places, leading up the side of the mountain. This road is due to the missionaries, who resorted to a singular expedient to accomplish the object. They caused a law to be enacted, by which every person, man or woman, convicted of adultery, should pay a fine of fifteen dollars (seventy-five francs), or in case of non-payment, should labor on the roads for four months. The plan of the missionaries has been so much encouraged by the people, that this road was completed in less than two years, and that another road from Kaawaloa to Kailua (large town), a distance of almost twenty-five miles is almost finished; and so, thanks to the amorous propensities of the Hawaiians, we accomplished , very easily, the three miles which we had to pass over.

As we ascended, the appearance of the land changed. All these islands have evidently been formed by successive eruptions of submarine volcanoes... On the table land where the rains are bore abundant, the lava is found changed into fertile soil; and there grows in abundance the kukui (candle-nut tree), from the nut of which is extracted a very clear oil, which is very good to burn. This oil has already become an article of exportation...

About midway between the two villages is the monument erected, in 1825, by Lord Byron...in memory of Cook. It is at the place where had been interred all that could be found of his scattered members; it is a post fixed in the midst of lava rocks, which have been piled up so as to form a tumulus...[Barrott 1978:8-10]

### **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; including site specific documentation for the Kealakekua-Ka'awaloa vicinity, and descriptions of Hawaiian dryland agricultural practices.

## Kealakekua

This bay derives its name (path of the gods) from a slide in the hill, which is still visible, which the gods are said to have used in order to cross the bay quickly. It is of

no great extent, and opens between two low and barren hills, on each of which a town is situated.

Between them a high perpendicular bluff rises directly from the water, in which are seen numerous caves: in these the natives formerly buried their dead, and still use occasionally for the same purpose. These caves appear inaccessible, and are the resort of vast numbers of birds.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> (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. They have little inducement to raise any thing more than for their immediate wants, as there is no market, except one of limited extent at Kailau [Kailua], which is fifteen miles distant. Two or three whale-ships touch here during the year, and take in a few provisions and wood, but this is not a sufficient stimulus to induce exertions on the part of the natives to cultivate the soil, or to produce industrious habits.



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, guavas, 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.

The natives are better off here than could have been expected, and some of their houses are large and airy. The chiefs set a good example in this respect. Kapiolani, one of the chief women, has a very comfortable two-story stone dwelling. They have also built a stone church, one hundred and twenty-five feet long by sixty feet wide.

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, and she has caused to be erected a sugar-mill, to introduce the manufacture of sugar, and make it an object for the people to raise the cane.

Our gentlemen, during their detention, crossed over to the north shore of the bay of Kealakekua, to visit the place where Captain Cook was killed. The natives pointed out the spot where he fell, which was on a rock, the most convenient for landing of any in the vicinity, as it is somewhat protected from the swell by a point of lava rocks. Within a few yards there is a stump of a cocoa-nut tree, at the foot of which he is said to have breathed his last. The top of this tree had been cut off and carried to England by H. B. M. ship Imogene. It is now treasured up in the museum of the Greenwich Hospital, which I cannot but feel was an appropriate disposition of it, calculated to recall his memory to the minds of the thousands who view it, and inspire in them the feeling of proper pride, in finding that the country appreciates so remote an emblem of their distinguished countryman. If any thing is capable of inspiring ambition to exertion in deeds of valour or of usefulness, such things must assuredly have that effect. The drawing of the stump of this tree, is from a sketch made by Mr. Peale, who [page 92] remarks that this monument will last as long as the rock on which Cook stood when first wounded, as every one who visits the place breaks fragments from the latter...

...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. The laws under which they formerly lived, have caused them to be improvident. They have frequently suffered from want of food; and not unfrequently they are obliged to work without either good water or sufficient nutriment.

From all accounts, cases of infanticide are rare, nor, as we have before observed, is it thought that the law prohibiting illicit intercourse has had a tendency to increase it. One of the causes which formerly made it frequent, was the husband leaving his wife for another woman, which invariably led to her destroying the child.

As respects intemperance, there has been no native seen intoxicated for several years.

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 muscicapa called Elepaio,—formerly worshipped as the god of canoe-makers. Before reaching their camping-place, they stopped to fill their calabashes with water, as they did not expect to find any of that necessary article for the next few days. On the edge of the last timber, at the elevation of two thousand feet, they encamped. Here they found excellent pasture for their horses among the ferns, a great abundance of which had been met with on both sides of the path, and were from four to five feet in height.

At night, the temperature fell to 48°, which was thirty degrees less than they had left it on the coast; and it was cold enough to sleep under two blankets.

The next day they arose at sunrise, when Mr. Hall and the natives, as they did regularly every morning during the journey, prayed and sang a hymn, before setting out. They soon passed beyond the woods, and entered a country of barren appearance, composed of hard solid lavas, in the crevices of which were found several shrubby *Geraniums*, *Vacciniums*, *Daphnes*, numerous *Compositae* of a stiff rigid character, and some small ohea bushes,—a kind of sweet whortleberry.

On their route, many deep caverns were observed under the lava. The signs of wild cattle and dogs were frequent: the latter seek shelter in these caves. The cattle are now rapidly on the increase, there being a prohibition against killing them until a certain number of years have passed.

After a day's travel, they reached the site of the ancient temple of Kaili. These ruins lie about equally distant from three mountains, Mauna [page 99] Kea, Mauna Loa, and Hualalai. This temple is said to have been built by Umi, who, with his wife Papa, is supposed to have inhabited it, when he was king of the island. The three northern pyramids forming the front were originally erected by Umi, to represent the districts of the island he then governed. and as he conquered other districts, he obliged each of them to build a pyramid on the side of the temple... [Wilkes 1845:100]

### **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 Kealahou 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 Kealahou. While sailing in the canoe, Lyman recorded the following observations of the area from Kalahiki to Kealahou:

(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 Kealahou, and celebrated for containing in idolatrous times the chief temple for human sacrifices and affording a city of refuge to fleeing criminals or warriors.

Just before sunset we entered the beautiful bay of Kealahou, shut in on the north by a high steep bluff now green with vegetation, and on the south by a low projecting lava flow on which a part of the village is situated. On the east the land rises gradually for a couple of miles as far as the mission houses, and then more abruptly to the high lands beyond. The view of the landscape from the harbor, with the steeply sloping hills covered with the bright green of a recent vegetation, and the white mission houses at their base, half hidden by trees and shrubbery, was very delightful. Farther down the slope, or half way from the beach to the mission houses, stands the neat stone church with its plastered walls, a conspicuous object at sea... (Lyman Ms. 1846:21-22)

Describing the church, 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 with the following comments:

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 September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1846, Lyman traveled by a double hulled canoe, belonging to Bro. Mark Ives, from Nāpo'opo'o to Kailua. Along the way, he visited Ka'awaloa and an unnamed village (probably Keōpuka based on the sequence of travel), as he shortly thereafter passed Pu'uohau. Of the journey, Lyman recorded the following observations:

The two canoes were some 20 or 30 feet long, about 4 feet apart, and connected by cross pieces on which boards were laid and bedding spread... The canoe had a mast and sail, and was manned by four natives; but it being a dead calm, the sail was not spread... We touched at Kaawaroa for Mr. Ives to recall a notice of a meeting, and also at another village a few miles further on where a good woman brought us some watermelons.

I suffered much from seasickness, and lay on my couch hardly opening my eyes the whole distance, except to notice...a few miles further on...a small ancient crater just on the shore.

The precipice which shuts in Kealakekua bay on the North is an abrupt bluff some 500 feet high, formed either by the subsidence of the portion where the bay is or the elevation of the other. Streams of lava have since poured from the top, leaving only a few trees on the face of the bluff – but spreading out below so as to form the point on which Kaawaroa is situated; further east the face of the bluff is buried, so as to produce a more gradual slope and form an extensive lowland between that and the sea...

Kailua and the coast between it and Kealakekua, instead of being barren black lava as I had been led to expect, is now looking quite green with vegetation in consequence of the recent rains, from 1 to 3 inches a month having fallen for several months... (Lyman Ms., 1846:28-29)

Having remained in the Kailua vicinity for about two months, where he regained his health, Lyman set off on donkey to return to Kealakekua. In the following narratives, he describes the journey (traveling the beach trail to Keauhou, and then cutting to the uplands at Honalo and beyond), and sites seen:

(November 26, 1846) Rose and breakfasted at 5, and at 6:15 mounted Dr. A's [S.L. Andrews] donkey and started for Kealakekua alone. The road for the first half of the way is very good, lying not far from the beach. About three miles from Kailua I passed the pleasant village of Holualoa, in the midst of a beautiful coconut grove... Another [3] miles brought me to the large and beautifully situated village of Kahaluu. The cocoanut groves are very dense and extensive, especially on the level point of land forming the south side of the little harbor. At 9 I reached Keauhou...about seven miles from Kailua. Here a small square or oblong bay sets in, forming a beautiful and quiet harbor for canoes.

The country along the shore is all the way rough with lava streams, and has but little soil and a scanty vegetation. The chief flower is the conspicuous white capai<sup>[21]</sup>,

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<sup>21</sup> The *maiapilo* (or *puapilo*), *Capparis sandwichiana*.

about as large as a hollyhock, with numerous long stamens; it grows on a shrub two or three feet high.

Remains of numerous heiaus all along this coast.

At this place I turned to the left thro' an opening in the wall by the roadside, according to the directions given me by Dr. A., from which point three or four paths about equally distant diverged – and which the right one was, I was quite puzzled to know. Inquiring of a native as well as I knew how, I took the one which I thought he pointed out, and rode up a steep hill 30 or 40 rods, bringing up at last against a high stone wall near a burying ground <sup>[22]</sup>; unable to get further in this direction, I turned to the right over the pathless rough lava, and with some difficulty at length came upon what appeared to be the path between two low walls – guessing this to be the right one, I followed on as fast as my slow donkey would carry me, up a tedious hill for nearly a mile or perhaps more. The path is chiefly a made one in the midst of rough broken lava. This path soon brought me to the high land, covered with a good soil and an abundant vegetation, with many kukui and other trees. The region through which I now passed was delightful, and the view of the landscape below and of the ocean apparently rising up beyond was very beautiful. Some four or five miles beyond Keauhou I reached Mr. Hall's place where he has an extensive coffee plantation. His thatched house, or rather houses, is pleasantly situated among beautiful shade trees – among them the Pride of India, kukui, etc. He has many thousand coffee trees, and after five years' labor is beginning to find it profitable. He estimates that coffee may be afforded at 5 cents per pound; the actual price this year is 16 cents, and in past years it has been 20 cents or more. There is abundance of rain in this elevated region (some 2000 or 3000 feet above the sea and about 3 miles inland), and the climate is moderate and bracing. He has a native wife and a family of several children. His wife is a daughter of Mr. Rice of Kailua...

[A]t 12 started for Mr. Ives'. Half a mile on I met Capt. Cummings on his way to Kailua – he had just got drenched in a shower, and as dark clouds were hanging around he predicted that before I got to Mr. Ives' I should "take it sweetly..." The path still lay along the high lands through a country of rich vegetation with Breadfruit and Kukui trees. About 3 miles from Mr. Hall's I came to the little hamlet of Kuapehu, where the missionary formerly resided. It is a charming spot – fertile and commanding an extensive prospect. A handsome stone house with a piazza, on the left, was formerly occupied by the excellent and pious Chiefess Kapiolani. A few rods beyond is Mr. Ives' country residence, whither he sometimes retreats with his family from the heat of the shore. This place is 2 miles up the mountain, and has a much cooler and more bracing atmosphere than Kealakekua. The house is embowered almost among fruit and shade trees, and vegetation around exhibits a wanton luxuriance...

Soon coming into a broad open road leading off to the right apparently in the direction of the village, I took it for granted this must be the right road, and turned my donkey into it accordingly. [Ka'awaloa Trail] The descent was very rapid, and after a while I began to suspect that it might be only a road in which wood is brought down from the mountain, as it seemed to be approaching the verge of the bluff that forms the north side of Kealakekua Bay. Having descended in this way a full mile or more, I came in sight of Mr. Ives' premises far to the left, and found myself at the end of my fine road on the top of an almost perpendicular precipice some 500 or 600 feet above the water. Wood is drawn down the mountain to this point, and here thrown off to slide down the bluff by its own gravity. As there was no proceeding further in this direction without taking a "Sam Patch" leap, I had no other recourse but to turn round my unwilling donkey, and force him by severe stripes to retrace his weary steps up the

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<sup>22</sup> This is Lekeleke, which sits at the base of the *pali* on the south side of Keauhou.

steep road. This was at length accomplished after much ado; and turning into the obscure overgrown path from which I had diverged, I pushed on and soon came in sight of the mission premises from the high hill back of them...

The descent to the plain below is steep and troublesome, especially on a low donkey on account of the tall weeds and plants which have overgrown the path, presenting a serious obstacle to the lower extremities of a long-legged man. About 3 P.M. I reached the hospitable dwelling of Mr. Ives... (Lyman Ms. 1846:13-16)

(Monday November 30, 1846) A.M. with Mr. Ives measured a base line on the E. side of the bay of 803 feet, and took observations with Capt. Cummings' quadrant for the height of the bluff on the N. side of the harbor.

Found the height above the water of a low tree on the top of the Pali to be 625 ft... The top of the slide where the wood is thrown down, 672 ft... The top of the hill near the path to Kailua where Mr. Ives' house is first visible, 1034 ft. – this being 753 above the N-west corner of Mr. Ives' enclosure, that point being 281 above the harbor.

The direct distance from Ives' house to the bay is about 8-tenths of a mile. Across the bay to Kaawaloa, 1.11 miles. From the house to the top of the hill near the path to Kailua. 0.78 miles... (Lyman Ms. 1846:17)

On December 1, 1846, Lyman and Ives returned to Kuapehu, and then took the trail down to Ka'awaloa. He described the journey and sites with the following narratives:

Kuapehu is N.E. of Kealakekua about two miles, being about 1400 feet above the ocean. We stopped a few minutes at Mr. Ives' house here – ate some of the guavas which loaded a number of trees, and then proceeded on our ride. The yard of the house is well supplied with fruit and ornamental trees such as guavas, Cherimoyas, mangoes, Tamarinds, Oranges, Bananas, the Oster vine, Figs, etc., etc. From this place our path was rapidly descending towards the sea at Kaawaloa. On the top of the bluff about half a mile from Kaawaloa and some 500 feet above the bay, we stopped to examine the monument erected on the spot where Capt. Cook's remains were buried, or where his ashes were buried, I know not which [Puhinaolono]. In the centre of a rude stone wall enclosure a few yards square, stands a single post 4 inches square and about 12 or 15 high, supported by a pile of stones at bottom and bearing a small piece of board at the top, on which is nailed a plate of copper containing the inscription –

“In memory of the illustrious Capt. Jas. Cook who discovered these Islands A.D. 1778, this monument is erected by his countrymen.”

As I give this inscription from memory, it may not be perfectly accurate. Both the wooden support and the copper plate are thickly encribed with the names of ambitious visitors.

Descending the hill by a difficult path we reached the village of Kaawaloa, which lies on a spur of lava at the foot of a high and in some places nearly perpendicular bluff... The monument of Capt. Cook is a few rods from the spot at the water's edge where he was killed... (Lyman Ms. 1846:18)

On December 10<sup>th</sup> 1846, Lyman and Reverend Forbes departed from Kepulu, to return to Kailua. In doing so, they turned down a trail (based upon his description, probably the Kalukalu trail), and descended to the shore. In his narrative, Lyman describes a fine “road” along the shore, which passes behind Pu‘uohau. Along the way, he also made mention of the villages of Nāwāwā, Hōkūkano and Kāināliu. Departing from Kuapehu:

We had proceeded 3 or 4 miles...it began to sprinkle; and then in order to escape the water lodged on the tall grass and shrubbery by the path, we immediately turned and took a path leading directly down towards the (shore), which on the whole I was not sorry for, as it gave me an opportunity to pass for a few miles through a new region of country, and especially by the old crater on the coast [Pu‘uohau]. The road, which is most of the way a very fair one for horses, passed just in the rear of this hill, which is apparently 300 feet high, and 60 or 80 rods in diameter. It appears to be formed by sand, slag and small blocks of lava. I did not have time to stop for a particular examination.

Just south of the hill is the village of Nawawa – on the N. side of it, that of Hokukano, and a little beyond Kainaliu, where we saw our vessel, the Keoua, putting in for passengers, this being the Capt's. [Jeremiah Martin's] residence. He is a Deacon of Mr. Thurston's church. About half way between the hill and Keauhou we passed the battle ground where the forces of Liholiho under Kalaimoku obtained the victory over the rebel forces under Kekuaokalani, and decided the fate of idolatry in 1819. Some intelligent lads pointed out the spot where Kekuaokalani was killed and where the bones of the slain were deposited. It is a rough region of lava, and would be a poor place for a battle for any but Hawaiians. Near this in the rough flows of lava I noticed a great number of round masses, varying in size from 1 to 3 or 4 or more feet,, the outside having the appearance of peeling off...formed during the flow of the stream when in a viscid state, by rolling in the manner of a snowball, growing larger and larger as they advance... We reached Keauhou at 11:30... (Lyman Ms. 1846:27-28)

### **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 Keauhou-Kealakekua section of Kona — he paid particular attention to the mauka locations of Kāināliu and Kalukalu villages, and noted that little population was left along the shore at present, as far as Ka'awaloa.

(Kailua to South Kona) ...There are on the hills numbers of old coffee plantations now abandoned, from which young plants may be got in plenty. A plantation may easily be made, for the soil and climate seem to suit the plant admirably... 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]

#### **Keauhou**

...[S]ituated on a small inlet of the sea...It is a romantic spot, with pretty local scenery and a fine view of Mauna Hualalai as a background. All the way from Kailua I found the road good, with cocoanut groves every mile or so, and plenty of pineapples, which are in season all the time, from June to December.

My next halting place was Kainaliu. This village...stands on elevated ground some three miles away from the coast on the North Kona road. There are here several

white residents. Amongst those is Mrs. W.F. Roy, whose residence is a charming one, surrounded by some fine ornamental trees... Mrs. Roy occupies a historical spot, being the enclosure prepared by Kamehameha I, for the cattle that were presented to him by Vancouver. This enclosure has an area of 486 acres, and the huge wall which surrounds it was erected in a single day. The means employed to secure this end, as they were related to me, present a striking picture of the manners of the time, not more than 85 years ago. An order was issued by the King summoning all the people on the island, men, women and children, who were capable of carrying a stone, to attend at the place in readiness on a particular day.

The people were all then employed in the con- [page 550] struction of this wall, some building, some carrying stones, many of which were brought from a distance of four miles. The wall is built entirely of stone without any mortar or earth, and is altogether about four miles long; its average height is not less than seven feet, and varies from five to eight feet in thickness. Whether this huge piece of work were really accomplished in the time stated in the tradition or not, there can be no doubt as to the manner in which the necessary labor was commanded, and as the island was then very populous, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the feat was really accomplished in one day. The cattle for who they prepared this sanctuary these natives gave the name of puaa-pepeiaohao, the meaning of which is "pigs with horns."

There is near this place a large heiau, or native temple. Here, in former days, there were sacrifices even of human beings to the gods of Hawaii. The manner of sacrificing these victims was by choking, and, as in those days of continual warfare there were always plenty available, as many as seven or eight were thus sacrificed at a time on important occasions, such as the death or severe illness of a king.

Accommodations for travelers is to be had here, and they can get their horses shod – a frequent necessity in the journey over the stony roads of the district of Kona, Ka-u and Puna. Mr. Henry Weeks has a large business establishment at Kainaliu, where horse-shoeing is attended to, among other matters. Around here I fell in with the Californian quail in great numbers; thousands of them, I may say, were to be flushed all about the neighborhood... The coffee that is raised in this district is not in any sense of the word cultivated, but grows altogether wild. I feel no doubt if it were properly cultivated it would yield large returns. Here is a fine opening for people who have a little capital and are willing to work.

My journey now brought me to the historical neighborhood of Kealakekua Bay, where Captain Cook lost his life. I arrived first at Kalukalu about four miles from the port. Here the official and business premises of the Kealakekua district are situated. Mr. Greenwell, who is the Postmaster, and holds several other official positions, has a large general store here, and Mrs. Mary Yates has an excellent boarding establishment for tourists. Next to Hilo, this district is a favorite one with visitors to Hawaii... [page 551]

The port town for the district is called Kaawaloa. Here the steamer Likelike calls on her regular fortnightly trips round the island. There is little population about the shores of the bay, the higher ground being more desirable as a place of residence. Kaawaloa is but a group of native huts. Here, however, is one of the great points of interest in this district, the monument to Captain Cook, erected close to the spot where he was killed. This obelisk is of stone, covered with a hard cement, and is at the base about nine feet square. It is, I should judge, about thirty feet high. It is railed in an unique manner, twelve iron guns being used as the pillars from which the chain fencing is suspended... The ground, which has been enclosed by the railing, was presented to the British Government by Her Royal Highness, Princess Miriam Likelike, who is



Governor (or Governess) of the island, and her husband, the hon. A.S. Cleghorn, in November, 1876, and the guns were brought to the spot by H.M.S “Fantome,” and erected under the supervision of her officers, Commander S. Long, and Senior Lieutenant Charles N. Robinson...

...Kealakekua Bay is beautifully situated. The rocks are quite perpendicular, and rise from the sea about a thousand feet and are close to it, sometimes overhanging all the way from the landing at Kaawaloa to the village of Kealakekua. Some twenty or thirty native houses compose this village. There is a large cocoanut grove here, and from the place a fine view of Mauna Hualalai, which from this aspect appears clothed with timber from the sea quite up to the summit, although in point of fact there is an extensive region beyond the upward limit of the forest land. Pineapples here are remarkably plentiful and grow with little care. This is about the half-way house of my contemplated journey, being 139 miles from Hilo via Waimea and the road I have come, and 130 miles via the volcano and the district of Ka-u, which comprised the south side of the island, both tracks being very circuitous because the interior of the island is occupied by the lofty mountains Maunakea, Maunaloa and Mauna Hualalai.

From Kealakekua I went to Hoonounau, 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, an 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... [Bowser 1881:552-553]

### **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 Keauhou-Kealakekua 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 (the Old Kona Government Road – Beach Trail) from Keauhou to Ka’awaloa, describing various sites along the way. He reported that at Kuamo’o, near the site where Kekuakalani, Manono, and their supporters fell, there was still a small village and a windmill. He also observed that at Kāināliu there was a trail that led mauka, and still several native houses near the shore.

### **The Island of Hawaii**

KEAUHOU is the next village south of Kahaluu. It is a steamer landing and is of particular interest. It was the birthplace of Kamehameha the Third, the place of his birth being shown as a big rock immediately mauka of the big monkeypod stump about 200 feet south of the wharf. The king lived, in childhood, where the White house now stands makai of the stone mentioned. It was tabu for the people to walk on the cliff above the house in the morning, when their shadows would fall on the house. Those who wanted to cross, had to swim. Mauka of the village is seen the most famous papa holua in the Islands, a wide road-like stretch, which was laid with grass steeped in kukuinut oil so as to allow the prince and his friends to coast down in their sleighs constructed for the purpose. At the end of the slide was a lanai, where the prince and his friends would don malos and go with their surfboards far out to sea, where the surf would carry them right to the prince’s house. Here are also the remnants of the heiau Puu-o-Kaloe. The Hawaiians still look for a dumbbell-shaped cloud to connect it with the heiau of Keeku (See Kahaluu), which is a certain sign of rain. When it appears it is a good time to plant. In harvest time, when improvident

ones would beg for food, the proverbial answer was “Where were you when the cloud laid its hands on Puu-o-Kaloa and Keeku?” South of Keauhou lies KUAMOO, famous as the site of the great battle where the rebel chief Kekuaokalani, who opposed the abolition of the tabu system, a sanguinary battle, and with him fell his heroic wife, Manono, who had fought by his side. The graves of the slain are still to be seen. On the site stands a small village, with a windmill. Further south still is the KAINALIU village, whence a trail leads mauka to the main road. In 186[8] a fanatic, named Kaona, who claimed to be a prophet, gathered a large following, and at this place he killed the sheriff, Neville, whose grave is here. He was captured by a body of troops. The village is quite pretty and contains several grass houses. On the south point of the bay is the Puu-o-Moha heiau. The trail runs on south to Kaawaloa, where a steep cliff prevents further progress along the beach. A good trail leads to the mauka road.

KAAWALOA is famous in history as the place where Captain Cook met his death. A monument marks the spot near which he fell.

Kaawaloa is also noted as a very famous burial place, the precipitous cliff facing the ocean being honeycombed with caves, in which were deposited the bodies of chiefs, on one side, and of commoners on the other. In spite of the depredations committed recently by visiting sailors, many bodies remain, in a mummified state, wrapped in tapa cloth and with implements laid with them. One of the caves (unknown) is reported to contain numerous bars of gold (according to the natives they looked like bars of soap), supposed to have been deposited there from a pirate ship [page 61] which anchored in the bay after a piratical cruise along the South American coast.

NAPOOPOO is the village on the south side of the bay, which is a large and very deep one, affording a fine anchorage. It is a regular steamer landing, and the village is quite a large and important one, with the largest store in South Kona. At the north end of the village is one of the very finest sand bathing beaches on the island. Just mauka thereof is a pond, at the south end of which stand the remains of the heiau Hikiiau, where Captain Cook participated in the ceremonies. Mauka of this is a smaller heiau, Helehelekalani, where Opukahaia, the first Hawaiian Christian, was trained for the priesthood.

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... [page 63]

## **A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF TRAVEL AND RESIDENCY IN THE AHUPUA‘A FROM KEAUHOU TO KEALAKEKUA, KONA**

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The history of Hawaiian travel and access, residency and land tenure in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region has to date, not been completely researched or described. While some good research has been conducted and reported in the past, much remains undone. This section of the study builds on the foundation of past work, and brings into one collection, a wide range of documentation pertaining to traditional and historic travel, residency and land use practices; and subsequent economic development in the ahupua‘a of Keauhou, Honalo, Mā‘ihi, Kuamo‘o, Kawanui, Lehu‘ula, Honua‘ino, Hōkūkano, Kanāueue, Haleki‘i, Ke‘eke‘e, ‘Ilikāhi, Kanakau, Kalukalu, Onouli, Keōpuka, Ka‘awaloa, and Kealakekua.

The records are generally presented in chronological order, in selected sub-categories that focus on specific descriptions of: (1) travel, and the nature of access to various resources and lands within and outside of the study area; (2) a history of public and private expenditures on trails and road ways; (3) a history of native land tenure and transitions in land use through the historic period; and (4) a history of Public Instruction in the Keauhou-Kealakekua section of Kona (which includes important documentation regarding residency). Because an important emphasis of this study focuses on traditional and historic travel in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, all of the pertinent documentation describing the history of travel on the ala loa, alahele and Alanui Aupuni of North and South Kona, that could be located for these topics is cited herein.

A number of communications cited below, have been translated (in some cases existing translations were revised—using the original Hawaiian texts—to clarify meaning) by the author; such translations are noted in text. (Italics and underline emphasis are this author’s, and are meant to draw the readers attention to particular passages in text.) It is also appropriate to note here that, the oral history interview component of the present study includes interviews with descendants of several of the individuals who authored letters cited here, or who were referenced in the historic communications. It has been found that the interviews demonstrate that there has been continuity in the passing down (over generations), many aspects of the region’s history.

Significantly, important records from native tenants in the period dating from ca. 1800 to 1855, which have not been previously reported have been brought into this volume. This documentation will prove of interest to descendants of the native families of the land, and be of value to others who look to the future of land use and site protection in the region. All of the documentation cited below, was found in the collections of the Hawaii State Archives, State Survey Division, Bureau of Conveyances, and Land Division. The communications represent the records of several departments and offices of the Hawaiian Kingdom and it’s successors for the period of ca. 1830 to 1900. An additional source of information cited in this section are missionary records, in the form of Mission Station Reports and letters from resident missionaries. These records were viewed in the collection of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society.

### **Nā Alahele a me Alanui Aupuni (ca. 1834-1900)**

Alahele (trails) and alaloa (regional thoroughfares) are an integral part of the cultural landscape of 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.

Traditional and historical accounts (cited earlier in this study) describe at least two traditional trails that were of regional importance which pass through the lands of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. One trail is the alaloa (State Site No. 21664) that crossed the makai (near shore) lands, linking royal centers, coastal communities, and resources together. The other major thoroughfare of this region is “Kealaehu” (The path of Ehu), which passes through the uplands (once passing Kuapehu, generally a little above the old Māmalahoa Highway). Kealaehu passes from Ka’ū into South and North Kona, and continues on to Ka’ūpūlehu, where it then cuts makai to Kīholo (meeting with the makai alignment of the alaloa). The trails then continue into Kohala, passing through Kawaihae and beyond. This route provided travelers with a zone for cooler traveling, and access to inland communities and resources. It also allowed for more direct travel between the extremities of 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 alaloha and alaloa, running laterally with the shore, there are another set of trails that run from the shore to the uplands. By nature of traditional land use and residency practices, every ahupua’a also included 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). Some of these trails are described in historical communications cited in this study, and almost every interviewee speaks of them as a feature known to exist within every traditional land unit.

Along the trails of Keauhou-Kealakekua and the Kona region are found a wide variety of cultural resources, including, but not limited to residences (both permanent and temporary), enclosures and exclosures, wall alignments, agricultural complexes, resting places, resource collection sites, ceremonial features, ilina (burial sites), petroglyphs, subsidiary trails, and other sites of significance to the families who once lived in the vicinity of the trails. The trails themselves also exhibit a variety of construction methods, generally determined by the environmental zone and natural topography of the land. “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 Keauhou-Kealakekua region portions of both near shore and upland ala hele-ala loa were realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, while other sections were simply abandoned for newer more direct routes. In establishing modified trail- and early road-systems, portions of the routes were moved far enough inland so as to make a straight route, thus, taking travel away from the shoreline.

It is widely reported that by ca.1825, Governor Kuakini and Chiefess Kapi’olani, instituted a program of public works in which roadways were an important component (see Barrot (1836) 1978 & letter of December 23, 1857 in this study). In 1834, Governor Kuakini caused the trail at Kalukalu to be made into a formal road (see letters of August 30, 1871 &

November 7, 1871 in this study). Another one of the significant projects attributed to Governor Kuakini was the development of a great wall which runs across the kula lands in portions of North and South Kona. This wall called the Pā Kuakini (Kuakini's Wall) or the Great Wall, marks the boundary of a number of the Grant lands in the study area, and is breached by the Alanui Aupuni in the vicinity of the Kalukalu-Onouli boundary (see Figure 4 at end of the study). The Pā Kuakini is generally described as an early buffer between lands on which cattle were allowed to range, and the residences and agricultural fields of the native tenants (see section on the Pā Kuakini and Ranching in this study).

A detailed review of records in the Government Collections of the State Archives, and in Mission Station Reports and missionary letters (in the collection of the Mission Children's Society Library), in which details of the early work on roads and trails (under Governor Kuakini), has shed little light on the matter.

It is not until 1847, that detailed communications regarding road construction on Hawai'i began to be written and preserved. While conducting this study, one letter of interest regarding the apparent dearth of official letters—detailing government projects under Kuakini—was located. Sometime after Governor Kuakini's death (in 1844), a search for papers was undertaken, but little could be found. The letter below describes efforts made by Keoni Ana (Minister of the Interior) and G.L Kapeau (Hawai'i Governor ) in locating such documentation in 1847:

June 23, 1847

Keoni Ana (Minister of the Interior), G. L. Kapeau (Governor, Hawaii):

...I received your letters together with the proceedings had in trial of A. Kaeo and others.

This is my instruction to you, search up all old papers, you probably will come across some amongst documents belonging to J. A. Kuakini, or in closets, letters in foreign language or otherwise, all and any old papers that you may find, & forward here.

A search was made amongst old papers here, few letters found, of no value to the Government. Search – for all old papers there... [Interior Department Letter Book 2-part 1:72]

No reply to the letter, or substantial communications from Kuakini were found in the course of conducting this study. The 1847 communication does help understand why we have yet to find (and may never find) specific documentation for such important work as the widening of the coastal route between Keauhou and Ka'awaloa (particularly the Onouli-Ka'awaloa section of the route, sometimes referred to as the Kaawaloa Cart Road – State Site No. 17189). The route is clearly marked on maps dating back to 1847 & 1854 (see Figure 4; see also Royal Patent 1098, and Grants 1162, 1574, 1595, 1651, 1652, 1745, 1750 & 2862, in this study).

One additional point of interest to the near shore route of the Alanui Aupuni, is that the map accompanying Grant 1750 (subsequently patented as Grant 2862), depicts the northern section of the "Kaawaloa Cart Road" as running mauka between the two Onouli. Such an alignment coincides with the land given to James Atkins in 1838, by Kuakini, in partial payment for his bringing wood down the mountain and making shingles for Kuakini's Kailua residence, Hulihe'e (see testimony in Land Commission Award 925 in this study). Thus

there may be a connection between hauling lumber off of the mountain in the 1830s, and the widening of an earlier ahupua'a trail in Onouli.

By the late 1840s, the modified trail and road alignments became a part of a system of "roads" called the "Alanui 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 communications below). In the Keauhou-Kealakekua 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 roadways from Keauhou to Kealakekua Pali (now know as the Kona Old Government Road), and the mauka Kailua to Kealakekua Road began to be surveyed and laid out in ca. 1847 (see Gov. Kapeau to Keoni Ana, Aug. 13, 1847 in this study).

On January 23, 1856, R.W. Wyllie (Minister of Foreign Relations, Minister at War) wrote to engineer, William Webster, Asking him to prepare guidelines for construction of roads, that could be adopted by the Kingdom (see letter of that date later in this section of the study). On February 22, 1856, Webster submitted the following letter, which became the basis for road making at the time:

...In Reply to your letter of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, January I would state that I consider it scarcely possible to draw up any rules for road making that could be applied generally.

I may say shortly that a road, to be a good road should be laid off as direct as possible between the points desired to be connected, that it should avoid hills where they can be avoided, also the bottom of hollows, – where it is liable to become a mere water course – that it should have at least a foot deep of gravel on the top, laid on a curve to throw off water, and last that it should be thoroughly drained by means of side ditches to be kept always clean and in good order, care being taken to give vent to the water from the ditches as often as practicable.

The surface of the road when once formed ought to receive constant attention, and if from subsidence the water is found to lodge on any part, it should immediately be let off & fresh gravel applied to fill the hollow.

Regarding the latter part of your letter, I believe that each district does make its own roads, if roads they can be called, & applications is only made to government when a heavy piece of work is to be done.

I do not think that our roads will ever give much satisfaction under the present law for various reasons, among others, the road supervisors are elected, not on account of their skill, but rather on account of their electioneering influence which is maintained in many cases at the expense of the roads. The tax also is not sufficient to make the roads even it were religiously applied to that purpose, although at the same time it is abundantly heavy on the poorer people.

I think that a land tax for the purpose of making the roads would be for the benefit of the country, the present tax being about sufficient to keep them in repair when once properly made.

Of course before levying any additional tax on account of the roads, the present law concerning the election of the Road supervisors should be repealed & the power to

appoint those officers given to the Government... [Misc. Public Works – DAGS 7 Box 35; Folder 4]

In September 1856, the Pacific Commercial Advertiser offered the following overview of road development in the Hawaiian Islands, and noted that new guidelines and laws were being enacted that would hopefully improve conditions:

...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)

### **Trails and Roads of Kona in Government Communications:**

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 <sup>[23]</sup>. 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? 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?

...The roads from Kailua and down the pali of Kealakekua, and from Kailua to Honokohau, Kaloko, Ooma...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

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<sup>23</sup> For the first five years of his life (till ca. 1818), Kauikeaouli was raised at 'O'oma, by Ka-iki-o-'ewa and Keawe-a-mahi *mā* (see Kamakau 1960:264).

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 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 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... [Interior Department - Misc. Box 142; translation revised by Maly]

November 1848

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

...Oct. 11. Rode to Kailua by way of Kuapehu, got drenched in rain & much fatigued. Called at Mr. Halls coffee plantation, where there are 16,000 fine coffee trees; was much pleased with this farm... [Public Instruction Series 261 –Box 1:12-13]

Kailua, Hawaii

December 13, 1849

G. L. Kapeau (Governor, Hawaii), to Keoni Ana (Minister of the Interior).

Reporting on problems regarding Kinimaka's use of laborers and resources from the Kona Mountain Road (Judd Trail), for personal purposes; and describes activities in the lands of Onouli-Honua'ino (Kāināliu Beach):

...There are many witness to prove these things, and it is not these prisoners only. Kinimaka spoke to me about building one house, a place to keep the prisoners at Holualoa, but, it now turns out to be a canoe shed for Kinimaka is what he built. It was nearly a month building this house.

This is what Haanio heard about the duties not being done properly:

S. Haanio. When I went to Onouli, at the place of Pananau and others, the person who owned the field of taro which was bought for \$20. in cash. Pananau told me as follows: That the prisoners had come to pull up the field of taro which we sold, and there was much small taro which were left standing in the holes, and the people came and picked the small taro which had been left, and many were loaded. I said to these natives, that they had no right to pick those taro, because, it belonged to the Government. "Why is it wrong?" If the taro belongs to the Government, then we have a right to pick it.



I state truthfully, that I, Haanio, know this conduct of the prisoners, of destroying things, and the overseer who has charge of the cooking of the taro did not do his duty, and I told him to take care of the small taro and the wormy taro, because, the taro that is over-ripe and rotten are what should be discarded, because, there was no place to get taro in the mountain.

Another wrong which I noticed, was the taking of the taro to the beach at Kainaliu to be cooked. These are the wrongs of which I have heard. The great number of women and men who came to peel and clean the taro, and the taro was taken and also the small taro, being hid in the pile of peelings, and in doing this nearly one-third of the taro was lost. I spoke to the prisoners and Kinimaka about this wrong, but it is being continued right along.

There is nothing wanting of the cooking mauka of Kainaliu, because, there is plenty of wood and ti-leaves for covers for the bundles. This would be nearer mauka, but, no attention is paid to this and of having it done right, the distance and the great expense is what is greatly desired.

One of the wrongs which I heard of was, that certain prisoners were put to making poi boards, and surf boards, and canoe paddles for the brother-in-law of Puaniki... [Interior Department Misc. Box 143]

Napoopoo

October 14<sup>th</sup> 1851

P. Cummings to R. Armstrong (Minister of Public Instruction):

...I learn from Makaiki [Makaïke] that there are 8 School Teachers that want from 25 to 50 acres land each, they want Kiloa iki. I had rather they would take their land on the other side Waipunaula iki, a Cart Road can be made to run back to the woods on Kiloa iki at a small expense, the assent being very gradual from the road now made. It would be more expensive to make a road on Kiloa nui. Lilikalani has the grant for 100 of it, and very expensive to make a road on either of the Waipunaulas, besides being hard for a Team, and very expensive to keep in repair – to give them Kiloa iki and Lilikalani to take 100 Acres out of Kiloa nui it would lessen the value of the remainder 50 per cent or less. Kiloa iki is worth much more for Cane or Coffee than either of the Waipunaulas or any thing, where a Team is used. I understood you that they could have 5 Acres each not 25 or 50. I do not think that either of the Teachers ever had 3 Acres under cultivation at one time... [Interior Department Land Files – Hawaii]

Hudsonville (Onouli), Hawaii

March 29, 1852

T.H. Paris (Road Supervisor, S. Kona) to L. Kamehameha (Minister of Interior):

...I received a letter from your chf. clerk, S. Spencer Esq., requesting me to forward a report respecting the road tax in my district.

I hasten a reply and will give you the information referenced so far as I can. The balance of cash in my hands from last year is \$18. The whole amount rec'd. the past year was \$78.

The probable receipts for the next two years will not in my opinion, exceed two hundred dollars, and may be much less. The probable expenditures which should be made, during the next two years would not be less than two thousand dollars but we would be glad to get a less sum. I have been opening a new road, or rather an old

one that has been closed for fifteen or twenty years past, which is the only practicable route to Kau. This can be made a good road with a little help from government, but will take a long time if we have to rely entirely on the road tax. I have worked hard the past year I have not depended on native lunas but have been with the men myself. More than this I am still willing to do all in my power to improve the road if you will only encourage us a little with your help.

The tools that I have are few and in need of repair. I have not enough of money on hand to repair the tools for this years work. Please excuse the freedom I take in begging you to consider the matter and give us a little help... [Interior Department Roads Hawaii]

Napoopoo

October 15, 1852

S.W. Papaula et al. (School Teachers of School District IV, of the Island of Hawaii), to R. Armstrong (Minister of Public Instruction):

...We have made up our mind to write to you about our troubles in travelling to Kailua to the residence of Geo. L. Kapeau, the Treasurer. And, that our journeys to Kailua be terminated for the reasons set forth herein below:

First – We have had real troubles in traveling to Kailua; from hunger, from real fatigue in journeying over land on that long road, which is about 15 miles.

In sailing to there by canoe, it is fatiguing also. Rising at night, it is most fatiguing to the eyes in the cold, and chilliness of the sea.

Second – We are really destitute when it comes to obtaining the necessary means of travel, for a sudden journey over land, or else by sea. Some of the people have canoes, but, the majority of us are really destitute – no boat, no horse to make the journey to Kailua worthwhile, to exchange salary warrants.

And, because of these said troubles, kindly grant your consent to have the money left here, in Napoopoo, so that we may draw upon it, without too much trouble.

The Treasurer that we desire is J. D. Paris. It is agreeable with him for the money of the School Fund to be left here, not with G. L. Kapeau, lest we have too many troubles soon... [Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 3]

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, Kukuioepae 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...
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... [Interior Department Misc. Box146]

#### Item E

January 23, 1856

R.C. Wyllie (Department of War. Bureau of Internal Improvements),  
to Wm. Webster (Land Agent to His Majesty the King; Civil Engineer):

...The Act of 14 June 1855 transfers to this Department the works enumerated under five heads under Section 2 Chapter 111 page 46 of Volume I of our Statute laws.

Under the first year is comprised the construction and improvement of all public roads. I have long been of the opinion that the money and labour expended on public roads have been in a great measure thrown away from the fact that the Supervisors pursue a system of reversing all the common principles of road making.

Knowing, as I do, that you understand those principles both theoretically and practically, and that you are acquainted with the peculiarities of the surface over which every line of road in the Kingdom traverses, I particularly request that, at your earliest convenience you would prepare some simple rules for the construction and improvement of Public Roads, with liberty for one to publish them along with any report, and send them by circular to all the Road Supervisors.

I am persuaded that by doing so, you will render an important service to the nation. In regard to the construction of local roads and bridges, or roads and bridges for private

convenience, it has long been my opinion that such works should be left to the inhabitants of the locality, under a general parish organization.

In reply to this letter, if you can suggest any improvement in our laws, relating to roads or other public improvements, I shall be thankful to receive them... [Misc. Public Works – DAGS 7 Box 35; Folder 4]

(Reply of February 22, 1856 cited earlier in this section of the study)

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:

North Kona G.W. Waiau  
South Kona D. Nahinu

Kailua, Hawaii

December 23, 1857

Petition of Samuela et al. (native residents in lands extending from Holualoa to Kealakekua), to Lot Kamehameha (Minister of the Interior):

...We, the common people of the land, whose names are signed below, petition you, regarding the misdeeds of the Road Supervisor of our district, his breaking [dividing] our kuleana lands and lands which we have purchased, and the things which we have planted thereon; the coffee trees, orange trees, taro, banana trees, sugarcane, and other things, in making the road. Kuakini had the road made, and it was good, two fathoms wide, and the commoners were satisfied with that road, but now, this supervisor has widened the road to 21 feet and more perhaps; explaining that it should be wide enough for two carts to enter on, that it was the right thing.

Where the said supervisor has widened (the road) in places that had been enclosed by walls on one side, he did not widen it on the open land, instead, he widened the places enclosed by walls, and in the best places of the land. Thus, we have been severely injured and burdened, and are very much sorrowed and troubled by the work of this supervisor; this has been done with no form of compensation to us.

Therefore, we humbly ask you that the Kingdom will pay us what is fair for the suffering we have experienced...

(Signed)

Samuela, Ehu, Ioakimo, Pupule, Kanehoa, Kupaka, Lono, Keohuku, Pahu, Kauhikoa, Kaianui, Kapuni, Kamae, Naaimakohi, Kalaikini, Pololi, Kahue, Kapalaui [Interior Department, Roads Hawaii; Folder 1 – translated by Maly]

January 11, 1860

S. Spencer (Interior Department Clerk), to Mr. J.N. Travis:

...Enclosed I beg to hand you a Commission from His Royal Highness the Minister of the Interior appointing you Road Supervisor of the District of North Kona which office His Highness trusts you will be pleased to accept...Mr. Hall your predecessor has been notified of your appointment...

A petition has been received by His Highness asking for a road in Keauhou, running from the Government road mauka, to the road on the beach, will you please endeavor to carry out the views of the petitioners, Mr. Sheldon will no doubt be able to show you what is wanted... [Interior Department Letter Book 7a:244 ½ ]

Keauhou

September 29, 1860

I. Herrick et al., to Prince Lot Kamehameha (Minister of the Interior):

...The undersigned jurors, appointed by your excellency to examine and determine upon a proposed new road at Keauhou, in this District, beg leave respectfully to submit the following Report.

That in our opinion the proposed new road from the old Kaawaloa road to the beach at the harbor of Keauhou, will much conduce to the benefit of the community of this district, & facilitate travel & commerces. We recommend that it commence at the cave called Kanupa on the Kaawaloa Road, thence running seaward over such convenient localities as may be designated by the Road Supervisor, until it joins the old Keauhou road at a place called Leohapuu, thence following the route of the old road, with such slight deviations as may be necessary to clear hills & rocks, to the harbor of Keauhou... [Interior Department Roads Hawaii, Folder 2 – see Figure 5]

1861

J.N. Travis (North Kona Road Supervisor),  
to Prince L. Kamehameha (Minister of the Interior);  
Transmitting Road Report of 1860:

...I beg most respectfully to submit to your Royal Highness my report as Road supervisor of North Kona Hawaii for the year 1860... ...the lower road from Kailua to Laaloa, also at Kainaliu the road was put in good order last spring & needs but little doing to now. I have worked during the year 335 men, 93 of witch [which] was for the tax of 1859 and 242 for the tax of 1860. Leaving me 147 yet to work with their labor & the cash on hand. I hope with your highness' permission to nearly or quite finish the new Road at Keauhou. I have endeavored to reserve as much labor for that road as I could consistently, and I much regret to say that the very unusual Heavy rains last week has done some damage to the road at Kahelo... [Interior Department Roads Hawaii – Folder 2]

1861

Petition of H.L. Sheldon and 55 others,  
to Lot Kamehameha (Minister of the Interior):

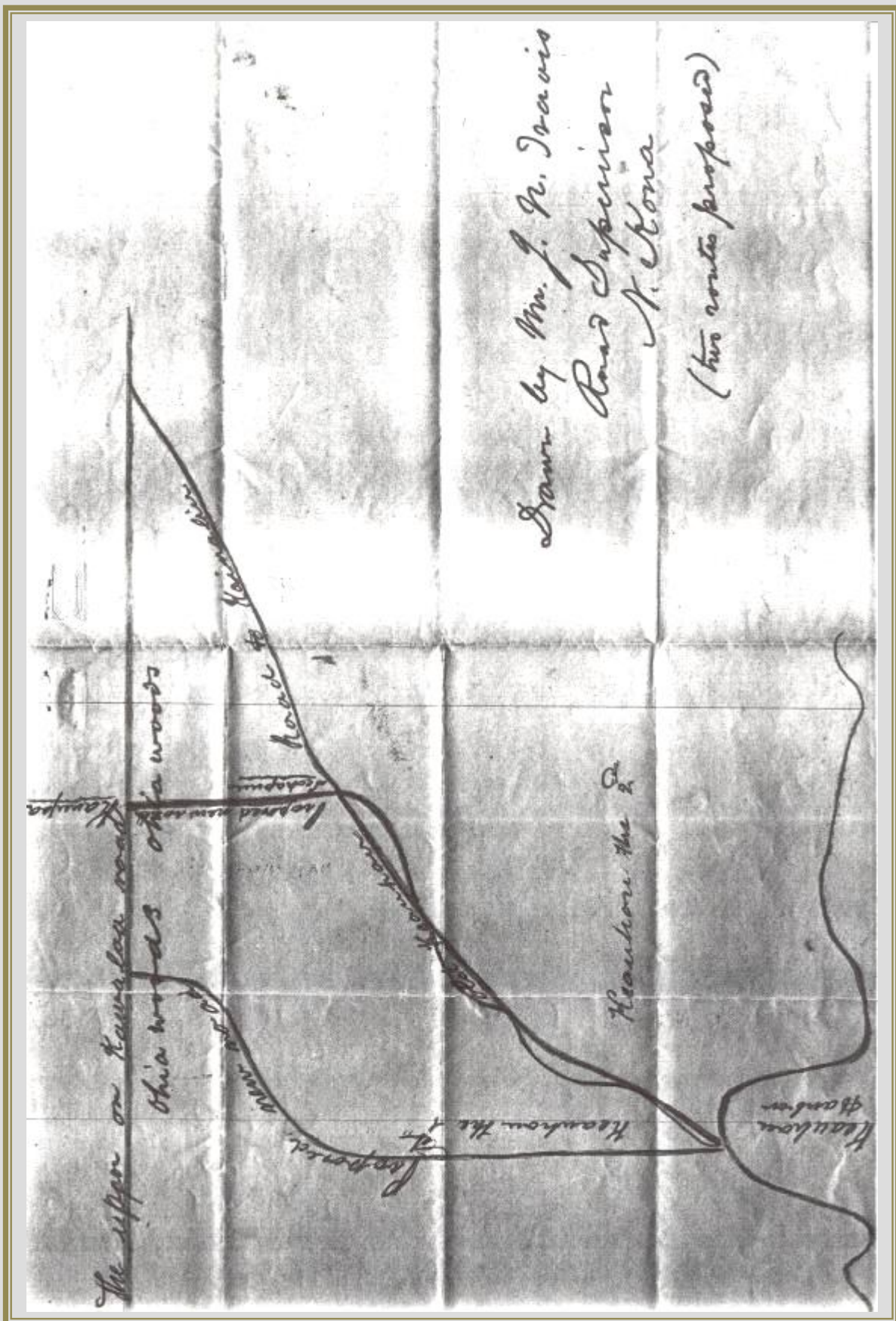
...We, old residents of the District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii, petition to you as follows: We have been thinking, that if a new road was to be made from Keauhou, from the Government Road mauka to meet with the road at the seashore, then it would be a means of helping the public, but it should be a carriage road. Therefore, we petition to you...to proceed according to the law concerning same, Section 184, Civil Laws... [Interior Department, Misc. Documents # 53]

South Kona, Hawaii

October 2, 1861

Petition of H.N. Greenwell et al. (foreign and native residents),  
to Lot Kamehameha (Minister of the Interior):

...May it please your Excellency, we the undersigned petitioners belonging to South Kona Hawaii would respectfully petition your excellency, respecting the propriety of improving the road which has been laid, commencing at Rev. J. Paris's, running from



Drawn by Mr. J. W. Travis  
 Road Supervisor  
 N. Kona  
 (two routes proposed)

Figure 5. Proposed Route of New Road from Kaawaloa Road (mauka) to Harbor at Keauhou (September 29, 1860)

the main road leading through Kona to the beach & terminating at Cook's point on Kawaloa. It has now become the most convenient on account of its locations and easy ascent, but having never been properly made, it has become almost impassable for a loaded team to and from the beach.

The regular trips of the Steamer & other coasters bringing & taking away freight from South Kona renders it a matter of great importance to settlers here to have a good & convenient road & easy of access, if it should meet your appropriation and authority.

Cook's point being the most eligible spot in this vicinity either for discharging or receiving freight the ascent of the land being easy compared with that of any other in this vicinity.

We the undersigned petitioners would humbly pray that your excellency would be pleased to consider our wants in this respect...to give the requisite order for a public good, of so much importance to our industrious community...

(Signed)

H.N. Greenwell	John McNestny	John Norton
J.D. Paris	Moses Barrett	Ialua
T.H. Paris	W.D. Kalena	Samuela (k)
Charles Fredrick Hart	W.H. Kaauhaukini	eo. W. Higgins
John Peter	Kapule	D. Barrett
Charles Hooper	Maka	Kaahu
Henry Weeks	Kini	Kalawaia
Jno. Yates	D. Panaunau	James Atkins
C.W. Davis	W.H. Keliiahue	K.H. Atkins
J.M. Whitten	B. Beniamina	Iosepa
for Wm. Johnson	S.W. Napahi	Mokuanu
M. Batimea	[Interior Department Roads, Hawaii – Folder 2]	

Kailua

December 31, 1861

J.N. Travis (Road Supervisor, North Kona),  
to Prince L. Kamehameha (Minister of the Interior):

...I beg most respectfully to submit to your royal highness my report as road supervisor for North Kona Hawaii for the year 1861.

The new road at Keauhou has been thoroughly made across the clinkers & some distance above & once covered with dirt, but was obliged to stop carting on act. of Wm. Johnson's absence to California. His is the only team that can be got for anything like fair pay at Kainaliu. The road has been well repaired, rocks blasted out & road improved. Other places on the road have been repaired as well as circumstances would admit. I desired to reserve funds to finish the Keauhou road this spring as soon as our heavy rains are over... [Interior Department Roads Hawaii, Folder 2]

Kailua

February 27, 1862

H.L. Sheldon (Land Agent), to Prince Lot Kamehameha (Minister of the Interior):

...Herewith I enclose a petition of sundry tax payers of this District, asking that the old road on Keauhou be closed. There is, in my opinion good reason to grant their request, as the two roads being open would put the people of the neighborhood to

great inconvenience on account of the cattle of the kula. Nor does the necessities of the public at large call for the existence of more than one road at that point.

There is now a good cart road from the beach at Keauhou to the Kaawaloa road... [Interior Department Roads, Hawaii; Folder 2]

#### Petition

By this petition, we explain to you that we agreed to the construction of the new road, beginning at the shore and intersecting the road in the uplands at Keauhou 2, North Kona. But, the old road is still open, and it is troublesome for the people to have these two roads, because the animals frequently enter the dryland fields (kula). It is wrong for there to be two roads in one land. Therefore we ask that the old road be closed, and that the new road, be the one road at Keauhou... February 1862

(Signed)

H.L. Sheldon, G.W. Kinimaka, I Kaaka, Kekauai, Kahananui, Puhi, Kekua, Kolii, Keao, Kahilo, Manuia, Pukui, Kalalakoa, Hinai, Kahuamoa, Aoa, Kaukaneholo, Kiki. [Interior Department Roads, Hawaii, Folder 2; translated by Maly]

#### Kealakekua

April 20, 1863

Daniel Montgomery (Contractor), to W.L. Green (Interior Department):

Transmitting proposal for construction of a new wharf at Ka'awaloa landing (with diagram). The attached diagram [Figure 6] includes reference to a road, 35 feet wide, leading across the Ka'awaloa Flat to the Ka'awaloa landing (Interior Department Subject File; Wharves, Box 57).

#### Kealakekua

May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1865

John D. Paris et al. (petition signed by 20 individuals),  
to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of the Interior):

...We the undersigned Foreign Residents of Kona, Hawaii, beg to lay before your Excellency a few facts respecting the road leading to the steam boat landing at Kaawaloa, and to petition that instructions may be sent to the Road Supervisor of South Kona, (P. Cummings) to employ during the coming season on the improvement of said road those persons subject to road tax residing within a reasonable distance.

The road in question is a branch from the main road leading from Kawaihae to Kau, leaving said road opposite the Rev. J.D. Paris house and running to the beach at Kaawaloa, a distance of about a mile and a half.

The steamer "Kilauea" has a wharf at Kaawaloa and visiting our district weekly causes considerable traffic on the road in question.

Hitherto the road has been kept in repair chiefly by Mr. Daniel Barrett, the public having rendered but little assistance. Mr. Barret furnishes wood to the steamer. The road is used by the whole of your petitioners, and any improvement, however slight, would be a benefit to the public at large... [Interior Department – Roads Hawaii, Folder 3]



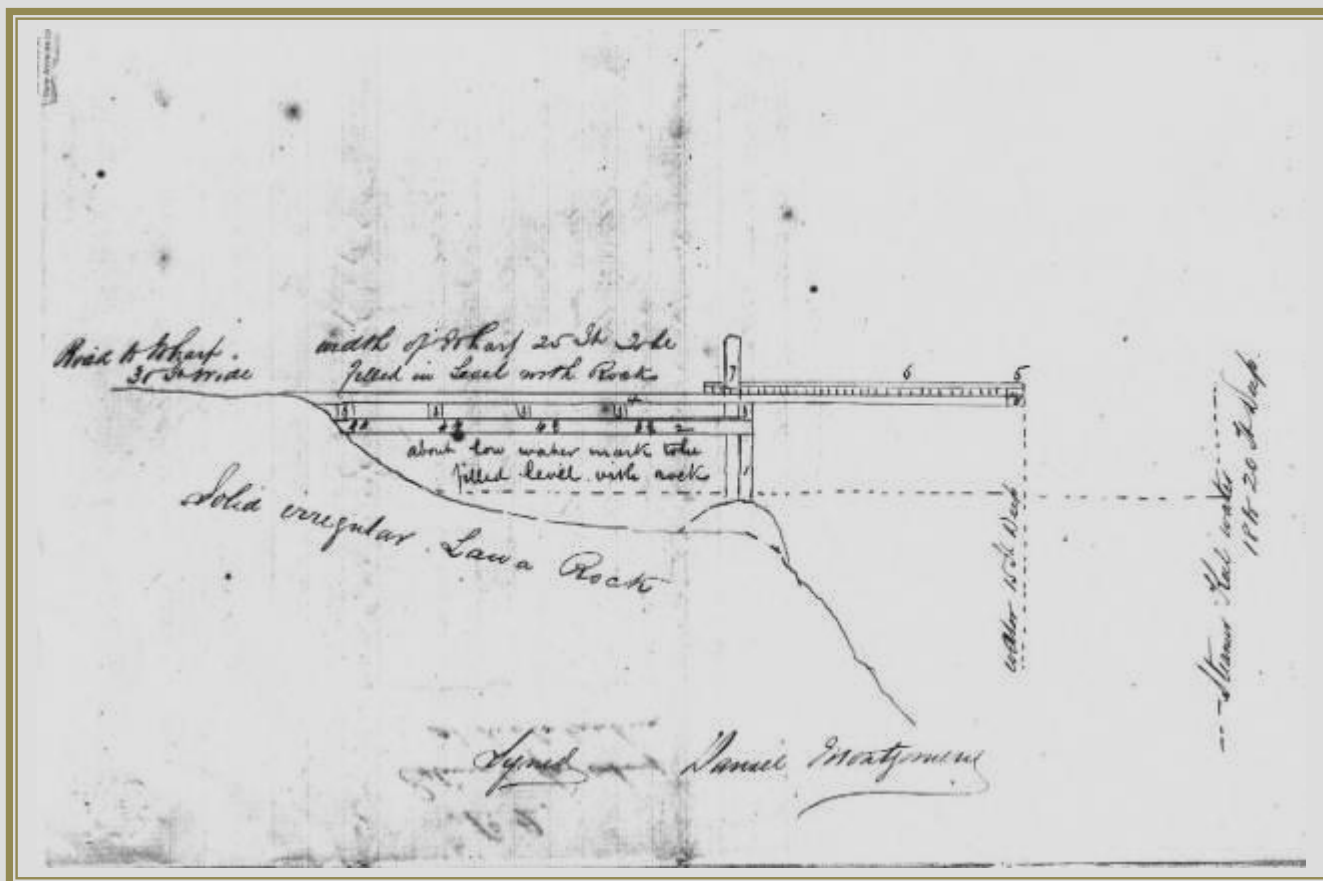


Figure 6. Sketch of Proposed Ka'awaloa Pier (April 20, 1863)

June 5<sup>th</sup> 1865

H.A. Widemann (Clerk), to P. Cummings Esqr. (Road Supervisor, South Kona):

...I am instructed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge receipt of a petition dated May 22d and signed by yourself and others, residents of S. Kona, relating to a road leading to the Steamboat landing at Kaawaloa.

His Excellency desires me to say that he does not understand why you as Road Supervisor should sign such a petition if you consider the road in question useful & necessary for the public & therefore begs that you will give him some information & explanation about this road... [Interior Department Letter Book 7:604]

Keopuka

October 23, 1866

R.B. Neville & D. Barrett, to H.A. Widemann (Interior Department):

...I am perfectly willing to attend to the buoy as soon as Capt. McGregor takes it up... I would also call your attention to the state of the end of the wharf at Kaawaloa, it is giving way & the timely expenditure of thirty or forty dollars may fix it now – when it may take a great deal more in a shore time hence... (note on side of letter states “No appropr.”) [Interior Department, Box 57 (Wharves)]

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...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]

Keopuka

March 19, 1868

Richard B. Neville, to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of the Interior):

...Capt. McGregor & myself have this day, surveyed the present wharf at Kaawaloa, & think that it would only be throwing money away, to attempt to fix it, & as it was never in a proper position, we think it would just be as well to put another one up in the position that we have selected... [Interior Department, Box 57 (Wharves)]

Keopuka

March 19, 1868

Richard B. Neville, to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of the Interior):

...I duly rec'd. yours of the 28<sup>th</sup>, & am satisfied with your propositions, but under the present state of affairs in this place (with respect to earthquakes) I think it would be useless to do anything in the matter, as we do not know how soon the beach of Kaawaloa may change its aspect, as we are still having these confounded earthquakes... [Interior Department, Box 57 (Wharves)]

Kealakekua

September 27, 1869

Alexander Smith (Kona Road Supervisor),

to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of the Interior):

...Having almost finished working the Government labour on the Roads in the District of South Kona, I would most respectfully lay before you one great cause of the destruction of Kawaloa road. It is used as a timber road and the heavy ship building timber is hauled one end on wheels the other on the ground. This is bad for the road, the incline is so great. But the worst is the fire wood trade. This is hauled by means of two logs places a short distance apart on the axle of two wheels one end on the axle the other on the ground, on these the load is placed. Now any deviation from a straight line leaves the end on the ground...and shakes and loosens every thing, and dragging it down hill. This has been going on for years and has caused a great deal of damage to the grading in parts of the road and made it in places dangerous. I have put it in such order as my limited labour allows, but it will soon be as bad as ever...

I must not neglect to state to you that the timber trade is all that is left to this part of Kona Hemma and many things are to be studied about this road and what else it is at present wanted for. Perhaps the wood haulers to keep the road in repair themselves. Such as I leave it might answer.

Considering it my duty to inform you about the wear of this branch road, I take the liberty most respectfully to ask your advise on the matter of allowing them to haul wood in this manner... [Interior Department, Roads Hawaii Folder 5]

October 4, 1869

Chas. T. Gulick (Chief Clerk, Interior Department),

to Alex Smith (Kona Road Supervisor):

...I am directed by his Excellency the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> ult, and to state in answer that the hauling of wood

over the roads as you describe is evidently very detrimental to the roads, but as you say that the wood trade is the only branch of business left to the people in that vicinity it is a question which you as the authorized officer, must decide whether the hauling can be done in any other way less detrimental to the roads, and whether the interdictions of the present method of hauling would destroy the trade altogether. At the same time there can be no doubt but that the mode of hauling you describe can not be upheld in Law. No member of the community is entitled to more than a fair use of the roads, and should you consider it right, you as Road Supervisor can interdict it. There is a petition here to remove you and appoint S.W. Papaula in your place, on a/c of this very road, which is enclosed to you.

Please return it by the next mail together with your observations on it... [Interior Department Letter Book 10:48]

Kealakekua

August 30, 1871

H.N. Greenwell (Kona Land Agent), to C.T. Gulick (Interior Department):

...I shall feel obliged by your bringing under the notice of the Minister of the Interior the state of a certain road in this neighborhood.

The road alluded to runs on the Kalukalu & Onouli boundary in South Kona & crossing at right angles to the main road between Kailua and Kealakekua, giving access to several residences, and leading into the Government forest, being indeed the only public way to the Government mountain land in this neighborhood.

I am informed by James Atkins, who says that he was employed as an overseer at the making of the road, that it was made during the Governorship of John Adams (Kuakini), by his order, and by the prisoners of South Kona, then under the control of Kapiolani.

During my residence here it has always been used as a public road, but I am not aware that any public money or labor has been expended upon it.

Mr. John Yates, who bought Government land abutting on the said road, has several times endeavored to induce the Road Supervisor of South Kona to make some repairs, but without results.

He has likewise frequently applied to me (Why, I don't very clearly understand), and I have recommended him to write to his Excellency.

I take the liberty of suggesting to the Minister of the Interior the propriety of directing the Road Supervisor of South Kona to employ a portion of the road tax levied in this immediate neighborhood in improving the said road during the current year.

I make this suggestion as Land Agent, because, as I have before stated, the said road is the only means of access to the Public Mountain land, comprising a probable area of 3000 or 4000 acres... [Interior Department Roads, Hawaii Box 37-folder 8]

September 4, 1871

C.T. Gulick (Interior Department), to James Smith (Kona Road Supervisor):

...Yours of the 22<sup>nd</sup> August is at hand, and I am directed by the Minister to ask you to inform him how much work you have done on the road you are now working, also

what condition it is in, and how much it will require to carry it to the North Boundary of your district. In fact, everything pertaining to it so that he may form an idea of how much can be expended to advantage from the Appropriation – in the mean time you are authorized to draw for what you may require within the amount first stated.

Herewith enclosed please find a letter from Mr. Greenwell – please investigate the matter thoroughly and report to this office, returning Mr. Greenwell's letter. The Minister of the Interior is willing to expend all, or as much of the Appropriations voted by the Legislature for new roads and improvement of roads on Hawaii as he may be satisfied can be usefully devoted to the contemplated purpose vis – that the new road may be put in good condition for pedestrians and horses... [Interior Department Book 10:536]

South Kona

November 7, 1871

Petition of Geo. E. Sherman et al., to the Minister of the Interior:

...The Memorial of we the undersigned residents of the district of South Kona...Respectfully sheweth —

That in the year 1834 a road was made by the Government, by the order of Governor Adams from the beach at Kalukalu makai, leading into the forests mauka. This road was laid out by James Atkyns and prisoners were employed in the formation of it.

Such road has been and is of the greatest importance to the inhabitants, not only on account of land. timber &c, but as leading to the only watering place for cattle, in times of drought. And has been used for such purposes both by Natives and Foreigners.

We are much concerned at a rumour that is afloat here, that owing to some misunderstanding between Messr's. Yates & Hughes whose property bounds such road, that the mauka end on Onouli is likely to be closed.

We beg to represent that the closing of such road or part of it, will be most injurious to the interests of the inhabitants. We likewise pray that the Government would expend some small amount in repairs to this road, as from time to time may be needed, to keep the road available for the traffic for the purposes aforementioned.

And your Memorialists therefore pray that such road may not be closed, but be as heretofore, a public road for the use of the inhabitants of South Kona... (Signed by 44 native and foreign residents) [Interior Department, Roads Hawaii – Folder 8]

Kealakekua

November 15, 1871 (see also petition of November 7, 1871)

H.N. Greenwell (Kona Land Agent), to Minister of the Interior:

...The Petition which I enclose herewith refers to the road respecting which I wrote to your office in August or September past, and about which I had some conversation with in October.

I did not press the matter then as it might have been represented to you that I did so from purely personal motives.

Others however besides myself are interested in having the road in question kept open.

I have taken no part what ever in originating or furthering the accompanying petition...  
[Interior Department Roads, Hawaii Box 37-folder 8]

November 18, 1871

C.T. Gulick (Interior Department),  
to Henry Cooper (South Kona Road Supervisor):

...I am instructed by His excellency the Minister of the Interior to inform you that a petition has this day been received which expresses some fears that the road in your district leading from Kalu-kalu makai to the forest mauka will be closed owing to a dispute between some private individuals, and asking, also, that money be expended on said road for repairs.

I am further directed to authorize you to keep said road open, and claim the full width allowed by law, viz. Sixty (60) feet, - removing any and all obstructions which may be erected thereon, and prosecute the offenders for public nuisance (See Chap. XXXV. Penal Code Sect. 4) also to expend from the local Road Tax such an amount as may be necessary to put said road in good condition... [Interior Department Book 10:568]

November 18, 1871

C.T. Gulick (Interior Department), to H.N Greenwell:

...Yours of the 15<sup>th</sup> inst. together with petition concerning the Road from Kalu-Kalu makai to the forest mauka in your district is at hand – And I am directed to say that the petition has been answered and the Road Supervisor instructed to keep the road open and repair it from the local road tax... [Interior Department Book 10:568]

November 18, 1871

C.T. Gulick (Interior Department), to Geo. E. Sherman et al.:

...I am directed by His excellency the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge receipt of your petition concerning the road in Kona, Hawaii, leading from Kalu-Kalu makai to the forest mauka, and to say that no dispute between private individuals can have any effect on a Public Road, and that the appropriations made by the Legislature for roads are intended for the purpose of making new roads, building bridges, and making such repairs as the local road tax is insufficient for. In this case His Excellency is of the opinion that whatever repairs are required should be done by the local road tax.

The Road Supervisor of your District is instructed by this mail to keep the road open and make such repairs as may be necessary... [Interior Department Book 10:569]

Keopuka

November 22, 1871

H. Cooper Kona Road Supervisor),  
to C. Gulick (Chief Clerk, Interior Department):

...I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of 18<sup>th</sup> inst. containing instructions regarding the road leading from Kalu-Kalu [Kalukalu] makai to the forest mauka.

In answer to which I beg to say that I have posted Notices on said road to all parties having placed obstructions on said road to remove the same within ten days otherwise I shall prosecute them for placing such obstructions thereon.

With regard to repairing said road, I have not funds on hand at present, but will bear in mind your instructions and appropriate the first monies or labor at my command for the purpose of repairing the said road... [Interior Department, Roads Hawaii Folder 8]

Kealakekua

November 22, 1871

H.N. Greenwell, to S.G. Wilder:

...I attach hereto a side view of a wharf which Henry Weeks would put up at Kaawaloa [Figure 7].

Total length 45 feet  
viz. total of stone 30 feet  
viz. total of wood 15 feet

The present structure, both of wood and stone, to be entirely removed, and an entirely new wharf to be put up.

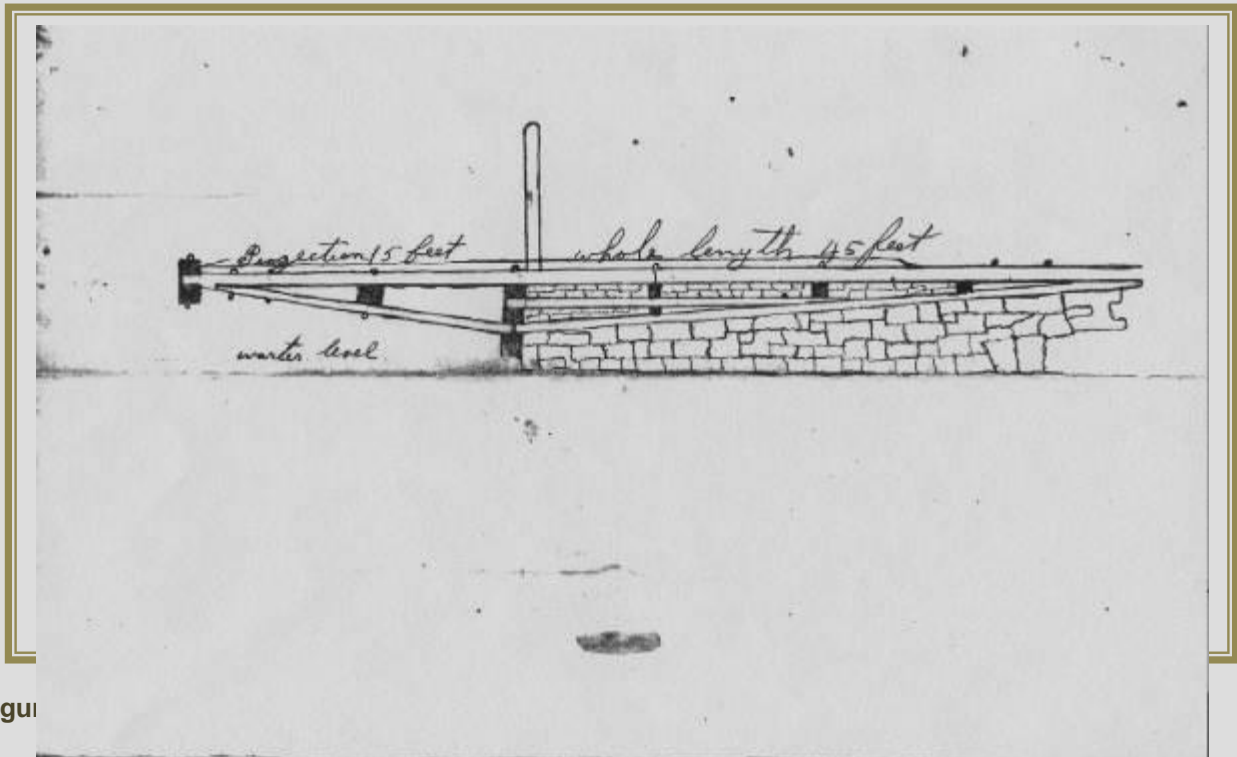
Timbers to be of ohia 10 in x 12 in. Flooring of North West 3 inch. The wharf to be of the same width as the old one.

He offers to find everything and do the work in full for \$600. Should it be thought advisable to make the wharf wider than at present, he would require an increase of pay in proportion. McGregor is the most competent person to form an opinion as to the proper width, and I will see him myself tomorrow,

Mr. Barrett had previously called to see me, and offered to repair the wharf for \$900, he did not go into the particulars.

He also desired me to inform you that when he had firewood on the beach he would let you have it at \$6 per cord.

I noted that you had entered into a business connection with Mr. Dowsett, and I hope we may do a little business, but unfortunately this is neither a rich nor a progressive district... [DAGS 7 Box 36, Folder 4]



Figure

November 27, 1871

C.T. Gulick (Interior Department),  
to Henry Cooper (South Kona Road Supervisor):

...I am directed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to say that your letter of the 22<sup>nd</sup> inst. is at hand, and that you are hereby authorized to draw on this Department for the sum of One Hundred Dollars for the repairs on the Road from Kalu-Kalu to the forest in Kona, if the road can be put in tolerable condition for that sum. The Minister is surprised to find that you have no funds in your hands from the Road Taxes of your District... [Interior Department Book 10:581]

Keopuka

November 30, 1871

H. Cooper (Kona Road Supervisor), to C.T. Gulick (Interior Department):

...I would thank you to inform his Excellency the Minister of the Interior that I have measured the width of the road on Kalukalu from the main road toward the forest mauka and find that in order to carry out his Excellencies instructions "to make the road sixty feet wide" it will necessitate the removal of a large amount of stone wall , say  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile long, also the out buildings of Capt. Yates as well as a part of his dwelling house.

The stone wall on the late D. Herrick's land has been built some nineteen years and before removing it I would thank you to ask his Excellency's instructions regarding it.

Mr. Greenwell is the owner of the land Kalukalu below the Government main road and offers no objections to the road being made 60 feet wide. Mrs. Herrick and Captain Yates argue that the land within their respective fences are theirs by right of Royal Patent and object to the removal of any of their fences or property... [Interior Department Roads, Hawaii Folder 8]

Keopuka

December 1, 1871

H. Cooper (Kona Road Supervisor), to C.T. Gulick (Interior Department):

...I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 27<sup>th</sup> ult. in which I am authorized by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to draw upon the Department of the Interior for the sum of One hundred Dollars for repairs of the road on Kalukalu.

The sum of One hundred dollars will be sufficient to make the road from the upper main road to the forest... [Interior Department Roads, Hawaii Folder 8]

December 11, 1871

List of Road Supervisors to whom Circulars and Blanks  
were sent December 11<sup>th</sup> 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]

Kailua Kona

February 8, 1872

Jas. Smith (North Kona Road Supervisor), to C.T. Gulick (Interior Department);  
Describing the practice of making stone walls (curbing) along the sides of roads:

...With regard to the expenditure of Walls, I would also beg leave to state to His Excellency that in some parts of the road there are some hills rising abruptly which have to be cut through and walls built to prevent the aa from falling down again on the Road, the same with the hollows. I have got to fill them up and build walls to prevent the road from falling down... The walls, or rather what the Native calls iwi, are quite necessary, and cannot be, in my opinion, dispensed with. If done away with the Road would soon become no road at all, for the reason that the stones would fall in on each side... [Interior Department Roads, Hawaii Folder 8]

Keopuka

August 14, 1872

H. Cooper (Kona road Supervisor), to C.T. Gulick (Interior Department):

...I have on hand one hundred dollars received from your department for repairs on the Kalukalu road. Upon investigation I find that the above road is used only in dry weather, for the purposes of obtaining water from the mountain. The road there is good, consequently I have not used the money, and I now wish to ask permission to use said money on the Kaawaloa road leading to the landing, as this road has become almost impassable from effects of recent heavy rains... [Interior Department Roads, Hawaii Folder 8]

Orange Hill

October 9, 1879

J.D. Paris to S.G. Wilder (Minister of the Interior):

...For several years our public roads in South Kona Hawaii have been almost entirely neglected & are in a wretched state for want of work, nothing having been done upon them in the most central portions for business except to cut the tops from the weeds & bushes.

A short time previous to the change of Ministry I wrote to your predecessor in office, informing him of the utter neglect of the public roads in the district. He replied saying there should be a change. But there was a change in the Ministry, & things have remained, so far as our roads are concerned, very much as before...

Mr. J.W. Smith is the road supervisor of N. Kona & has done much for the improvements of the highways in that district. But his residence is in the most central & eligible place in S. Kona, near the steamboat landing at Kaawaloa. In my opinion both districts can be covered by him to great advantage for the interests of the steamer Likelike & the residents in Kona... [Interior Department, Roads Hawaii]

North Kona

November 4, 1880

J.W. Smith (Road Supervisor), to H.A.P. Carter (Minister of the Interior):

...Your favor is at hand, in which you ask what wages I am paying for labor on the roads. Heretofore I have been paying one dollar per day, but few natives will work for that, they want \$1.50 per day, thus far I have refused to pay more than \$1.00 and have been getting men for that sum...

About two miles of the road leading from Kawanui to Keauhou needs repairing very much, will cost from four to five hundred dollars. The main road from Kawanui to the Southern boundary of the District, I have been at work on this year, and require about four hundred (\$400) more to finish it to the Southern Boundary of the district...



[Note of November 22<sup>nd</sup> instructs Smith]:  
Do not pay over \$1. per day. Finish road from Kawanui to southern boundary...  
[Interior Department, Roads Hawaii]

#### Kailua

November 19, 1880

Geo. McDougall, to H.A.P. Carter (Minister of the Interior):

...I noticed among the appropriations passed by the last Legislature, an item of \$5000 for Road in North Kona Hawaii. As I am very interested about roads in this neighborhood, I take the liberty to express my opinion what is wanted to put the roads in good repair... ...from Kailua to where it joins the South Kona road, about 12 miles was made by Gov. Adams, and is in pretty much the same state as he left it, only a little worse of the ware of 20 years or more. It would cost to make it in good repair about 15 hundred dollars... [Interior Department Roads, Hawaii]

#### Kealakekua

November 10, 1884

H.N. Greenwell, to C.T. Gulick (Minister of the Interior):

...As a resident and tax payer (to the amount of \$700 per annum) for the district of North and South Kona, Hawaii, I write for the purpose of calling your attention to the utterly neglected condition of the roads of these districts.

I especially call your attention to the road leading from the Rev. J.D. Paris' home to the beach at Kaawaloa, where there is a wharf and the landing for the Port of Kealakekua. The road goes down the face of a precipice and is unsafe for animals and wagons.

On Mr. Arnold's visit to this district (about one year ago) I pointed out to him the danger to travelers and carriages, and suggested the expenditure of a small sum (say \$300) on the erection of a fence, and a widening of the road, and he said he would attend to it, but nothing has been done... [Interior Department Roads – Box 38]

#### Hilo

December 4, 1884

C.N. Arnold (Road Supervisor Chief), to C.T. Gulick (Minister of Interior):

...I beg to inform you that I have returned from North Kona, South Kona & Kau Districts this morning via Kawaihae. I find the roads in the various Districts in a fair state of repair generally, except for the road mentioned in your favor enclosing the letter of Mr. Greenwell of South Kona. I have visited the same with the road Supervisor D.H. Nahinu and directed him to proceed with the necessary repairs to same which I estimate at \$300. I note what you say in your favor of Dec. 2<sup>nd</sup> in reference to cash advanced to D.H. Nahinu and S.P. Wahinenui and will endeavor to have them make prompt settlement as you suggest... [Interior Department Roads – Box 38]

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

March 8, 1888

J. Kaelemkule (Supervisor, North Kona Road Board),  
to L.A. Thurston (Minister of the Interior):

...I have the honor of setting before your Excellency, items pertaining to the Public roads and trails (na alanui a me alahele o ka Lehulehu), in the district of North Kona, Island of Hawaii.

During the past two months, from this date, the Road Board of North Kona thoroughly inspected the roads and trails within this district. And by this communication report on the roads and trails, and the Items in Schedule A. in regards to this, money expended for the various roads:

1. The main road – from Kailua, along the shore to Keauhou, and ascending to the uplands to Kainaliu, adjoining South Kona; extending 10 miles more or less. I am happy to report that this is the main road, and it is an average of 14 feet wide; most of the road is clean and in good repair – something like 60/100 of the road is fine; and about 40/100 remain to be worked, for the monies reported in Schedule A...
3. The Government Road or alaloe from upland Kainaliu (that is the boundary between this district of South Kona) [Kealaehu], runs straight down to Kiholo and reaches the boundary of the district adjoining South Kohala, its length is 20 and 30 miles. With a troubled heart I explain to your Excellency that from the place called Kapalaoa next to South Kohala until Kiholo – this is a very bad section of about 8 miles; This place is always damaged by the animals of the people who travel along this road. The pahoehoe to the north of Kiholo called Ke A. hou, is a place that it is justified to work quickly without waiting. Schedule A, attached, will tell you what is proposed to care for these bad places...

Schedule A: [Appropriations needed]

The Road from Kailua to Kainaliu, through Keauhou – \$500...

The upland Road from Kainaliu to the boundary adjoining S. Kohala – \$1,500.00...

[Interior Department Roads Box 39; translated by Maly]

Napoopoo

September 5, 1889

S. L. Kekumano (South Kona Road Supervisor),  
to L. Thurston (Minister of the Interior):

...I have been up the Kaawaloa road, and it is in very bad condition, water flows down it, and a cart cannot go on it. By the request of J.D. Paris, the work should be done to bring relief to the people... [Interior Department Roads Box 40; translated by Maly]

Kailua

September 30, 1889

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

...Here, below, are the roads, where they go, and the individuals responsible for their care:

...3. That section of road from Keauhou to Kanaeue, along the shore. Kaha is the caretaker...;

...5. That section of road from Keauhou beach to the upper road. Nakai is the caretaker...

The work done along these sections is the cutting of brush – guava, lantana and such – which trouble the road, and the removal of bothersome stones... [Interior Department Roads Box 40; translated by Maly]

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...

The road across Kainaliu and Kaawaloa is in fair condition but the one that starts from Mr. Paris' house and goes to Kaawaloa is a most unfortunate piece of work, being too steep for practical purposes. From Keauhou to Kailua, there is a fair road... [Interior Department Roads Box 40]

Kailua

December 22, 1890

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

C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior:

...I forward to you the list of names of the cantoniers who have been hired to work on the roads of this district, totalling 15 sections; showing the alignment of the road and the length of each of the various sections [Figure 8].

You will see that the monthly pay is \$4.00 per month, at one day of work each week. The board wanted to increase it to two days a week, but if that was done, there would not have been enough money as our road tax is only \$700.00 for this district...



You will receive here the diagram of the roads of North Kona. J.K. [Interior Department Roads Box 40; translated by Maly]

May 11, 1891

C.N. Spencer (Minister of the Interior),  
to H.N. Greenwell and others (Kaawaloa, Hawaii):

...I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Petition praying that a “New wagon road be laid out and built from the Main Government road to Kaawaloa,” and in reply to the same would say that I fully recognize the fact that such a road stands prominently among the public improvements needed on the Island of Hawaii. You may not be aware that the money required for carrying on new work comes out of Section 3 of the Appropriation Bill and that the funds (Loan) in that section are not in a condition to justify or even admit of any great outlay such as a new road from Government Road to Kaawaloa would involve.

Knowing, as I do, that repairing the present road would be folly on account of the steepness of its grade I have decided to have a new one carefully surveyed and estimates made, and to ask of the next Legislature to appropriate a sum sufficient to construct the same.

I note your remarks in relation to the new roads which have been made in other parts of the Konas, and in reply would say that these roads were being constructed and a large amount of money spent on them before the present Cabinet took office. I regret very much that I am unable to make the road you desire this period, and will only add that I shall do all that lies in my power to have this very necessary work considered and a proper road constructed at the earliest possible moment that funds can be made available for the same... [Interior Department Letter Book 49:186]

## **Native Residency ca. 1800-1855: The Māhele ‘Āina (Land Division) 1848**

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 fee-simple interest on land which they lived 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 hoā‘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 of access and to 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 6<sup>th</sup> day of August 1850. [copied from original hand written "Enabling Act"<sup>24</sup> – DLNR 2-4]

The lands awarded to the hoā'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:

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<sup>24</sup> See also *Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina* (Penal Code) 1850.

...The first award made by the Commission was that of John Voss on the 31<sup>st</sup> 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 26<sup>th</sup> day of August 1847, passed an Act to extend the duration of the Board to the 14<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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'eleihiwa 1992:295).

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

#### **Lands of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>, North Kona to Ka'awaloa, South Kona**

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 extending from, and including Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> to Kealakekua (North and South Kona) was located. The Indices of Awards (1929), which is the standard reference used to search out *hoa'āina* (native tenant) awardees of *kuleana* (private property rights) in the Māhele, documents a total of 147 claims as having been awarded in the study area lands. While conducting a review of the original Hawaiian claims (recorded in the Register and Testimony Books of the Māhele), it was found that at least 270 claims (representing at least 300 individuals) were recorded for the area extending from Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> to Kealakekua. Thus, there were at least 123 more claims registered than were awarded. 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<sup>25</sup>.

Like the records of the *kuleana* that were awarded, the additional claims, provide important documentation pertaining to a wide range of land use activities, spanning elevational zones extending from the shore to the forest lands. In areas where no awards (thus no record of residency and land use) were previously documented, the following records contribute documentation as to why we see cultural-historical features on the landscape. The records tie specific families to *ahupua'a* and sites, and provide us with background information on how the claimants came to be in possession of the properties. Many of the claimants reported that their property rights of residency and land use dated back to 1819 and earlier (handed down from their parents and grandparents). Other claimants also stated that their rights were granted by pre-Māhele *Konohiki*, generally dating from the 1830s to the 1840s. Table 1 provides readers with a breakdown of the number of LCA awarded, versus the numbers claimed.

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 us with some insights into what else was occurring. Fuller observed that some *Konohiki* were preventing "quite a number" of residents from presenting claims (J. Fuller to J. Smith, October 11, 1852; in this study).

One communication from Fuller to J.H. Smith, of the Board of Land Commissioners, specifically tells of circumstances at Kealakekua and Ka'awaloa:

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<sup>25</sup> The author has listed only those claims for which a land area was specifically identified. It has been found that a number of claims (as transcribed into the Register and Testimony Volumes), were separated from their original transmittal packets (during the proceedings of the Commission), without recording who the transmitting sub-agent was, and the lands he was responsible for.

Kealakekua Bay

May 7, 1853

J. Fuller (Kona Land Agent, Surveyor),

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

...I send you an additional package of 62 survey of claims in Keei and Honaunau... I don't know what to do with the claims in Kaawaloa and Kealakekua. Kapaakea has frightened the natives so that not one scarcely dares show his claim. I wish the Board would take the matter in hand...

P.S. Since writing the above I have surveyed the claims in Kaawaloa and Kealakekua, i.e., all the natives would show... [Interior Department Land Files]

**Table 1. Number of Māhele Awards (LCA) Perfected Versus Number of Claims Made**

Ahupua'a	Awards Issued	Claims Registered
Keauhou 2	16 21	
Honalo	11 19	
Mā'ihī 1	None Located	
Kuamo'o	1 2	
Kawanui	11 14	
Lehu'ula	4 9	
Honua'ino	21 40	
Hōkūkano	26 39	
Kanāueue	6 20	
Haleki'i1	1	
Ke'eke'e	9 15	
'Ilikāhi 2	5	
Kanakau-Ke'eke'e	7 9	
Kalukalu	8 11	
Onouli 12	23	
Keōpuka	None 3	
Ka'awaloa	9 21	
Kealakekua	2 18	

Specific types of land use described in the claims by hoā'āina of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region included:

Residency extended across the land, from near shore to the uplands.

Pahale (at least 155 individual houses identified)

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

Kihapai & Mala etc. (at least 1079 cultivated gardens extending from the lowlands to uplands)

Crops Cultivated: kalo (taro), uala (sweet potatoes), ulu (breadfruit), mai'a (bananas), kō (sugarcane), pia (arrowroot), niu (coconuts), kou (Cordia) trees, loulou (Pritchardia palms), hala (pandanus trees), hau (hibiscus trees), wauke (paper

mulberry), olonā (*Touchardia latifolia*), ki (ti plants), ohe (bamboo), ‘alani (orange trees), and kope (coffee trees).

Pā kao (pens built as goat corrals)

Pā pipi (a cattle wall – generally the Kuakini or Great Wall)

Rights to fishery resources.

Over the years, the author has noted that there are a number of inconsistencies in existing translations of the Māhele records (such as types of land use not reported; and people and land names transposed), all of the original Hawaiian language claims submitted to the Land Commission that could be located, were reviewed. Nearly all of the translations have been revised. Table 2 (pages 112-166) is a compilation of all the Māhele claims that have been located for lands of the Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> to Kealakekua<sup>26</sup> region. The author prepared the translations, focusing several classes of documentation cited in the claims. These include — (1) the locations of the parcels; (2) types of usage (e.g., crops cultivated and areas of residency); (3) how the land was obtained, and length of residency; (4) place names associated with the small land division units within the larger ahupua‘a; and (5) any references to sites or features (e.g., trails, walls, and platforms etc.).

### **Trails and Roadways in Records of the Māhele**

In regards to trails, it will be observed that there are few specific references to the native trails or historic “roadways” (e.g. mauka-makai trails, the larger alaloa, Kealaehu, or Alanui Aupuni) in the documentation provided in the registration and testimony for claims. While there is only limited reference to trails, this is explained by the fact that trails were integral to residency patterns and the cultural landscape, and the rights of native tenants to access within their ahupua‘a and to the larger public byways were prescribed in both traditional and historic laws. In the case of the mauka-makai trails, the record of land use tells us that such trails existed in each ahupua‘a. This is substantiated by the descriptions of various kuleana parcels (claimed by individual tenants) that cross several land use and elevational zones. Oral history interviews conducted as a part of the present study also speak of the presence of mauka-makai trails in each ahupua‘a.

Many of the claims that were awarded, and for which formal notes of survey were made in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region (recorded in the volumes of the Mahele Award Books and Royal Patents) do give reference points for trails (e.g. ala, alanui, alanui aupuni), in association with the boundaries of various awarded parcels (see references in Table 2, and selected Figures at the end of this section). Further cartographic documentation on these trails is cited later in this study in the section which includes Royal Patent Grant surveys.

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<sup>26</sup> All primary documentation in Native Register and Native Testimony for lands of the Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>-Kealakekua region is shown in *Table 2*.

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

In the translated texts that follow, native terms are used. The glossary below, provides readers with translations of various words and terms used in the Māhele claims:

Ahupuaa – an important sub-division of land (extending from fishery to an area on the mountains), generally containing varied environmental zones and resources necessary to sustain a community. Such zones and resources were managed in smaller land parcels which were delineated within given ahupuaa.

Alani – orange trees.

Apana – parcels or lots within given kuleana (i.e. Apana 1, Apana 2...).

FR – Foreign Register

Ili – land sections of varying sizes and configurations, part of the land management system within the larger ahupua'a.

Kalo – taro.

Kaluulu – the agricultural zone in which ulu (breadfruit) best planted.

Kihapai – dry land planting field (e.g., kihapai kalo and kihapai uala — dry land taro and sweet potato fields; in the larger Kona Field System, the planting areas are often marked by walls, clearings, stone mounds, and planting pits etc...)

Ko – sugar cane.

Koele – a land division worked for the chief.

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

Kope – coffee trees.

Kou – Cordia trees.

Kula – an open dry land cultivating field (in the later 1800s, also used to describe pasture land).

Kupono – a section of land held independently (an inheritance right), within a larger ahupuaa.

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

Pahale – a house lot (also hale, kahuahale, kauhale).

Pauku – a segment of land; a dryland cultivating parcel.

Pia – arrow root.

RP – Royal Patent

Uala – sweet potatoes.

Ulu – breadfruit trees.

**Table 2. Māhele claims for the Lands of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> to Kealakekua**

<b>Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)</b>	<b>Helu (Award No.)</b>	<b>Claimant/Awardee</b>	<b>Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim</b>	<b>Book Source</b>	<b>MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p</b>
Keauhou 2	5561 D	Kauhihana	Kauhihana's heir is Kumau. Keahualaaumoku & Kewalo Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Kaalakupou at Keauhou 2 Ahupuaa. a parcel, Pahale at Kaalakupou, Keauhou. These parcels were gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:634	MA 8:576 3680 - 16:119
Keauhou 2	5561 E	Keahualaaumoku	(see also 5785 – 2 awards rendered) Kewalo & Kapela Sworn: We know his claim in the Ili of Pakohe, Keauhou 2. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:640	MA 8:574 —
Keauhou 2	5561 F	Kewalo	Kapela & Kahumoku Sworn: We know his claim, it is 3 kihapai kalo & uala & Cope, in the Ili of Kahikia, Keauhou 2 Ahupuaa. From his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:640	MA 5:567 3681 - 16:121
Keauhou 2	5561 H	Kahilo	Kewalo & Kahua Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Halelani, Keauhou 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kaikuahine in 1846. Parcel 2 is 8 kihapai kalo & uala at Ililoa, Keauhou 2. Gotten from Kaikuahine in 1846. Parcel 3 is a Pahale in the ili of Pakohe, Keauhou 2. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:641	MA 5:573 7757 - 30:41
Keauhou 2	5561 I	Ki	Kewalo & Kapela Sworn: We know his claim, it is 4 kihapai kalo & uala in the ili of Puuloa, Keauhou. Given to him by Kalalakoia in 1846.	NR — NT 8:641	
Keauhou 2	5561 K	Kalalakoia	Kewalo & Kapela Sworn: We know his claim, it is 5 kihapai kalo & uala in the ili of Haleokaupaku, Keauhou 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kaikuahine in 1839.	NR — NT 8:641	
Keauhou 2	5728	Kaukaneholo	I claim before you my 6 kihapai, 100 long by 70 wide.  Kukahi & Keohoaee Sworn: We know his claim, a parcel of 16 kihapai kalo & uala in the ili of Leohapuu, Keauhou 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kalehua in 1839... The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki	NR 8:185  NT 8:638	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Keauhou 2	5785	Keahualaaumoku	I have a walled lot and a hale within my land claim.  Kahilo Sworn: I know his claim in the ili of Pakohe, Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2. 2 parcels of land, 2 Pahale. I do not know the boundaries... The land is cultivated, and the pahale are enclosed with a wall. He has 1 house, and there are 4 loulou trees in 1 lot, also 1 niu, and 1 kou, planted by him. It is an old land, from the time of Kamehameha I...  Kapela Sworn: We both know the same.	NR 8:400  NT 4:662	MA 9:408 —
Keauhou 2	5786	Kapela	My claim is a Pahale.  (See Native Testimony documentation under Claim No. 7482.) (Figure 9)	NR 8:400  NT 4:662	MA 8:573 7032 - 26:481
Keauhou 2	5903	Paiki	I have a pahale, and dwell below Kaikuahine, I also have a claim for 12 loulou; also two planted by my father, six planted by my mother, and a puhala. The land on which I live is at Puuki.  My claim is a Pahale and I dwell below Kaikuahine. I also have a kuleana in 12 loulou trees; two from my father, and six from my mother, and a Pahale at Puuki.	NR 8:403  NT 4:653	MA 9:410 & 5:573 6842 - 26:279
Keauhou 2	7319	Naholowaa	I describe to you my many kihapai, which i think I should have in fee simple...I describe to you their length and width:  Kihapai 1. 100 fathoms long, 16 wide. Kihapai 2. 33 fathoms long, 11wide. Kihapai 3. 34 fathoms long, 14wide. Kihapai 4. 73 fathoms long, 14 wide. Kihapai 5. 49 fathoms long, 23 wide. Kihapai 6. 63 fathoms long, 32 wide. Kihapai 7. 60 fathoms long, 11 wide. Kihapai 8. 21 fathoms long, 17 wide.	NR 8:421	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Keauhou 2	7319 (continued)	Naholowaa	<p>Kihapai 9. 40 fathoms long, 30 wide. Kihapai 10. 80 fathoms long, 21 wide. Kihapai 11. 37 fathoms long, 10 wide.</p> <p>I also have a pahale, 63 long, by 40 wide, 103 all together.</p> <p>Moa Sworn: I know his claim in the ili of Kumuniu there are 4 parcels; in the ili of Kamuku 1, there are 2 parcels; in the ili of Maili there is 1 parcel, Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2. The boundaries are not known by me... They are cultivated. There is also another place where an alani tree is planted. It was planted by his mother, her name was Kuekaa, and when she died he inherited it. He got his right from Kupaka in the time of Liholiho...</p> <p>The boundaries of his pahale are thus: Mauka, Konohiki; Kau, Paiki's half lot; Makai, Konohiki; Kohala, Alanui pii. It is enclosed by a wall which they made, there is no house, they are preparing to build it. It was a vacant place, enclosed by them.</p> <p>Kukahi Sworn: our knowledge is the same.</p>	NT 4:660-661	
Keauhou 2	7320	Kahililoa	<p>See here my claim for the kihapai which I want in fee simple; it is those described below, giving the length and the width.</p> <p>Kihapai 1. 47 fathoms long, 10 wide. Kihapai 2. 36 fathoms long, 12 wide. Kihapai 3. 50 fathoms long, 16 wide. Kihapai 4. 54 fathoms long, 12 wide. Kihapai 5. 84 fathoms long, 12 wide. Kihapai 6. 74 fathoms long, 16 wide.</p> <p>Here also is the pahale, 28 long by 78 wide, all together 36, fathoms.</p>	NR 8:421-422	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Keauhou 2	7320 (continued)	Kahililoa	Naholowaa Sworn: I know his claim. There are 3 parcels in the ili of Kamuku 2, Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2. I do not know the boundaries... They are cultivated. There is also a Pahale, it is bounded thus: Mauka, Konohiki; Kau, Alanui pii; Makai, Alanui Aupuni; Kohala, the cliff. It is enclosed with a wall, which he made. There is 1 house there. Kahililoa died in the Yr. 1849, his wife is the one who dwells there, her name is Paiaina. The right came from Makaena in the time of Kamehameha I...	NT 4:661	
Keauhou 2	7321	Keohuhu	See here my claim for the kihapai which I want in fee simple; it is those described below, giving the length and the width.  Kihapai 1. 72 fathoms long, 9 wide. Kihapai 2. 86 fathoms long, 13 wide. Kihapai 3. 76 fathoms long, 10 wide. Kihapai 4. 26 fathoms long, 13 wide. Kihapai 5. 42 fathoms long, 17 wide. Kihapai 6. 63 fathoms long, 5 wide. Kihapai 7. 22 fathoms long, 10 wide.  Lono Sworn: I know his claim, it is in the ili of Opuokaha 2, there are 3 kihapai. In the ili of Paki 2, there are 2 kihapai. The boundaries are not known to me...they are cultivated. He got it from me in 1848.  Kapuhi Sworn: Our knowledge is the same.	NR 8:422  NT 4:648	
Keauhou 2	7482 & 5786	Kapela	I have 5 kihapai, 213 long, by 119 fathoms wide. I also have a different moo aina, Kulanahau is at the top of the Ili, and Ulalena is at the bottom. There are many kihapai within that Ili. (See additional Native Register documentation under Claim No. 5786.)  My [other] kihapai is 1000 fathoms long by 116 fathoms wide, at Keauhou 2...	NR 8:443	— —



Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Keauhou 2	7482  & 5786 (continued)	Kapela	Kahilo Sworn: I know his claim in the ili of Puuloa, Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2. There are 3 parcels. In the ili of Pakohe 1, a lele. 1 parcel is a pahale, I do not know the boundaries... The lele is cultivated, and the Pahale is enclosed with a wall. He made the wall and the house is for him, he dwells there. There are 3 kou trees within the lot. it is an old land, from the time of Kamehameha I...  Keohoeae Sworn: Our knowledge is the same.	NT 4:662	— —
Keauhou 2	7484	Keao	I have 15 kihapai, 1061 long by 168 wide.  Kahilo Sworn: I know his claim in the ili of Puuloa 3, Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2, there are 3 parcels. Near the shore, the thing planted is a loulu tree. He got it from Kaikuahine in the time of Kamehameha I...  Kapela Sworn: Our knowledge is the same.	NR 8:443-444  NT 4:663	MA 5:570 —
Keauhou 2	7365	Keohoeae	Here is my kuleana, it is 910 long from the kula to the uplands; it's width is 5 in some places, 7 in some places, 9 in some, 10 in others, and more. My kuleana Pahale is at the shore, it is 35 long and 23 wide. The kuleana is here on the papa (flats), by the name of Nuuanu. The moo aina [the first part of the claim] is Ililoa.  Kahilo Sworn: I know his claim in the ili of Ililoa, Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2. There are 2 parcels. And in the Ili of Puuloa, 2 parcels. 1 parcel with a pahale...it is enclosed with a wall, which he made, and 1 house where he lives. There are things planted there, 3 loulu trees, 1 kou tree. Gotten in the time of Kamehameha I...  Kapela Sworn: We both know the same.	NR 8:429-430          NT 4:662-663	MA 7:232 & 9:406 7019 - 26:457

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Keauhou 2	7366	Kukahi	<p>Here also, I have some cultivated plants, orange trees and olona in the Ili of Ku. I have a kuleana aina and a Pahale at the shore. The land is 810 long by 262 wide, extending from the kula to the uplands. The Pahale is 40 long by 20 wide. The name of the Ili is Puunoni. I have 20 kihapai there.</p> <p>Kapela Sworn: I know his claim in the ili of Puunoni, Keauhou 2, Ahupuaa. 2 parcels of land. In Kohelemu is 1 parcel. I do not know the boundaries...it is cultivated.</p> <p>A cultivated parcel is in the Ili of Maili, there are alani which he planted, but he does not have it at this time, Kane has it..</p> <p>In the ili of Kohelemu, 1 orange tree, planted by his wife. It is an old land holding from his parents in the time of Kamehameha I.</p> <p>1 parcel is a pahale, in the uplands, it is surrounded by a wall. There is 1 house for him, and he dwells there.</p> <p>Naholowaa Sworn: Our knowledge is the same.</p>	<p>NR 8:430</p> <p>NT 4:653-654</p>	<p>MA 5:578 7044 - 26:505</p>
Keauhou 2	7485	Kapahu	<p>...My claim is an ili. Here is it's head (top) Kaneaa, and Ulalena is its' tail (bottom)...</p> <p>Keohoaee Sworn: I know his claim in the ili of Illiloa, Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2, there are 3 parcels...gotten in 1839.</p> <p>Kahilo Sworn: Our knowledge is the same.</p>	<p>NR 8:444</p> <p>NT 4:663</p>	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Keauhou	7715	L. Kamehameha	Ahupuaa of Keauhou, place where the King was born. Kona, Hawaii. (January 27, 1848	Buke Mahele 1848:8 NR 5:444	MA 10:435 4467 - 18:405
Keauhou 2	7738	Aoao	It is 200 long, by 46 fathoms wide.  Kaleo Sworn: I know his claim in the Ili of Puuloa 3, ahupuaa of Keauhou 2. There are 2 parcels, but I do not know the boundaries...  In the ili of Laulaulahili, Keauhou 1 Ahupuaa, Keamohili's land is mauka; Papalanui's land is towards Kau; an animal pen is towards the shore; and Haleape is towards Kohala. It is partially enclosed with a wall, a Pahale, and a garden. Davida gave it to Aoao in the time of Kamehameha II.  Keohuhu Sworn: Our knowledge is the same.	NR 8:446  NT 4:654-655	MA 5:579 7387 - 27:475
Keauhou 2	10260	Moa	I have a kuleana aina and kuleana Pahale at the shore. The land is 100.088 long by 263, extending from the kula to the uplands. I have 22 kihapai. There is also a Pahale, 30 long by 21 wide. The name of the Ili is Kumunui.  Naholowaa Sworn: I know his claim, in the Ili of Kumunui, Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2. There are 4 parcels. At Kamuku 1, there is 1 parcel, and 1 pahale. I do not know the boundaries...it is cultivated. The pahale came to him from Keohoeaeae, it is enclosed, and there is 1 house. There are also 3 kou trees. Keohoeaeae, gave the pahale to Moa in the time of Kuakini.  Keohoeaeae Sworn. My knowledge is the same as Naholowaa's...	NR 8:476  NT 4:661	MA 5:563 —

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Keauhou 2	10734 & 5903	Paiki	<p>My kuleana aina is in the Ili of Maili, at Keauhou 2, gotten from Maililii, and I am the tenant...I have planted 10 pauku (plots), they are 230 fathoms in circumference, 280 fathoms in circumference, 372 fathoms in circumference, 360 fathoms in circumference, 328 fathoms in circumference, 326 fathoms in circumference, 316 fathoms in circumference, 384 fathoms in circumference, 320 fathoms in circumference, and 392 fathoms in circumference... I also have an enclosed Pahale...it is 103 yards in circumference. I got it from Kaikuahine.</p> <p>Kauhiahawa (f.) Sworn: I know that in the ili of Maili, Keauhou 2, there are 5 parcels. 1 parcel is a kahuahale. 1 parcel is a pahale in the ili of Waipio, Keauhou 1 Ahupuaa. 3 parcels, I do not know the boundaries of. He will point them out when they are surveyed. They are partially cultivated. The pahale is enclosed by a wall, he made the wall, there is one for Hoapili, but Paiki lives there. His right in the ili of Maili was gotten from Kane in 1847. His right in the ili of Waipio 4 was gotten from Kanehoa in 1846...</p> <p>Naholoaa Sworn: our knowledge is the same.</p>	NR 8:486  NT 4:653	
Honalo	3965	Heleaole	<p>A house lot which belonged to my father. He is now deceased, and it was inherited by me (sketch).</p> <p>Waiau Sworn: I know his parcel, a Pahale in the ili of Kamakauakua, Honalo Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1839.</p>	NR 8:170-171  NT 8:646	MA 8:555 —
Honalo	5249	Kuapuu (a widow)	<p>An Ili in the ahupuaa of Honalo, received from my father who had it. When he died, it came to me. I also have a mala kope in another Ili. My right in that Ili came to me from the Konohiki.</p> <p>Kahunanui &amp; Kuanuuanu Sworn: We know her claim, it is in the Ili of Haleape, Honalo Ahupuaa. Gotten from Naaikalani in 1819.</p>	NR 8:176  NT 8:642	MA 8:533 3892 - 16:543

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honalo	5492 (5412)	Umiokalani	A section of land above the pa pipi (cattle enclosure, up to the koa grove used for canoe making (koa waa).  Ehu, Sworn, says, I am a kamaaina of Honalo and have charge of that land at the present time under the Gov't. I know the claim of Umiokalani in Honalo. It is a piece of Kalo and potato land, 5 kihapais. The Konohiki has all of these as Koeles however, Umiokalani having given over this land to the Aupuni in 1848. He was only a Konohiki then & has no title of his own. The land is now worked by others. (Translation from original Native Testimony.)	NR 8:179  NT 8:684	
Honalo	7958	Keliinohokaha	My claim is at Honalo, and extends from the ohia woods in the uplands, to the sea. The name of this moo aina is Kapukanui. That is my land claim, received from my kupuna (grandparents), parents, and to me. Here also is my Pahale, on this land, at the shore. It is 210 feet long by 130 feet wide.  Kaanehe & Poka Sworn: we know his claim. Parcel 1 is the Ili of Kapukanui, Honalo Ahupuaa. Parcel 2 is a Pahale at Kapukalua,. Both of these parcels were gotten from his parents in 1819. (Figure 10)	NR 8:517-518  NT 8:643	MA 8:557 3804 - 16:367
Honalo	7959	Kuanuuanu	I have a claim for a moo aina near along the shore at Honalo, it is named Kamakauahua. I received it from my grandparents and parents. My kuleana extends from the ohia woods to the sea (moana).  Kuapuu & Kahua Sworn: We know his claim, it is the ili of Kamakauakua, Honalo Ahupuaa. Gotten from Umiokalani in 1819.	NR 8:518  NT 8:642	
Honalo	7960	Kahalio	I have a kuleana moo aina at Honalo, it extends from the ohia woods to the kula. The moo aina is named Haleili. It is an old land from my parents, to me.  Poka & Kaanehe Sworn: We know his claim, it is the Ili of Haleili, Honalo Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:518  NT 8:643	MA 8:557 3725 - 16:206

<b>Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)</b>	<b>Helu (Award No.)</b>	<b>Claimant/Awardee</b>	<b>Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim</b>	<b>Book Source</b>	<b>MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p</b>
Honalo	7961	Kaanehe	I have a kuleana moo aina at Honalo, it extends from the koa woods to the apaa (arid plain or flat lands). The moo aina is named Kuluuauuhi. I have had this kuleana for 17 years. I also have a Pahale at the shore of Honalo. It is 283 feet long by 336.  Poka & Keliinohokaha Sworn: We know his claim, the Ili of Kahoauuhi, Honalo Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kahele in 1839.	NR 8:518-519  NT8:643	MA 8:559 3728 - 16:215
Honalo	7962 & 8575	Kaiakahauli	I have a kuleana kihapai uala, there are 19 kihapai planted. That is my claim in Honalo.  Kaiakahauli's heir is Popoki (f). Kaanehe & Poka Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 19 kihapai kalo & uala at Haleili, Honalo Ahupuaa. Gotten from Miimii in 1819. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Kapukanui. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:519  NT 8:643	MA 8:554 3726 - 16:211
Honalo	7963	Kuokoa	I have some kihapai at Honalo. There are 15 kihapai, and it is an old right, from my kupuna and makua, to me.  Kahaialii & Pukui Sworn: We know his claim, it is 35 kihapai kalo and uala in the ili of Kiekie, Honalo Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:519  NT 8:644	MA 8:552 3727 - 16:213
Honalo	7964	Kahaialii	I have a moo aina at Honalo, an Ili that extends from the ohia woods to the ulu grove. It is an old right from my makua, on this Ili aina. There is also a claim at Uhapuaa, some kihapai of mine. And a Pahale at the shore of Honalo.  Kaanehe & Pukui Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Uhapuaa, Honalo Ahupuaa. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Kamakauakua, Honalo Ahupuaa. These parcels were gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:519  NT 8:644	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honalo	7965	Kawahaaiai	I have a claim for some kihapai at Honalo. There are 4 kihapai in the moo aina of Kapukanui, 3 kihapai in the Ili of Haleolono, and 1 kihapai in the moo aina of Kumukou.  Poka & Kahaialii Sworn: We know his claim. parcel 1 is 4 kihapai kalo in the ili of Kapukalua. Parcel 2 is 3 kihapai kalo at Haleolono. Parcel 3 is a kihapai kalo at Kamuku. Keliinohokaha gave it to him in 1844.	NR 8:519-520  NT 8:644-645	MA 8:553 3816 - 16:391
Honalo	7978	Poka	I have a claim in a moo aina, it extends from the kalu ulu to the amaumau in the uplands. My right is from my kupuna and makua, to me. The moo aina is named Kamuku, in this ahupuaa of Honalo. I also have a Pahale at the shore of the ahupuaa of Honalo.  Kaanehe & Keliinohokaha Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Kamuku, Honalo Ahupuaa. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Kapukalua, at Honalo. These parcels were gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:521  NT 8:643	MA 8:556 3805 - 16:369
Honalo	7979	Pinao	I have a claim for a moo aina, which I received from my kupuna and makua. The moo aina is named Haleolono. It extends from the wooded uplands to the kalu ulu. I also have a claim for a Pahale, there are two lots for me, handed down from my kupuna and makua. It is there at the shore.  Pinao deceased, his heir is his son, Imaikalani. Kaanehe & Pukui Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Haleolono at Honalo. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Kiakia at Honalo. These parcels were gotten from his kupuna in 1819. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:521  NT 8:644	MA 8:553 —
Honalo	8578 B	Kaikahuli	I have a Pahale situated at the shore of Honalo. I have kou trees planted within the lot.	NR 8:536 NT —	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honalo	9918 & 9941	Lumihai	It is 84 feet long by 84 feet wide...that is my Pahale.  I have a claim for a moo aina, a kihapai, in the ahupuaa of Honalo. I have 34 kihapai in this ahupuaa.  Pukui & Kahaialii Sworn: we know his claim. Parcel 1 is 34 kihapai kalo & uala at Kamuku, Honalo Ahupuaa. Gotten from Maiola in 1839. Parcel 2 is a Pahale at Kamakauakua. Gotten from Maiola at that time as well.	NR 8:578  NR 8:581  NT 8:641	MA 8:556 3724 - 16:207
Maihi	7130 MA-58	Kinimaka	Ahupuaa of Maihi, Kona, Hawaii (Feb. 9, 1848).  For lands of Kalahiki & Maihi, Hawaii...	Buke Mahele 1848:127 NR 5:283-284	MA 3:336 MA 10:421 8294 - 35:803
Kuamoo	8610 & 703	Kealakai	Here is my land which I got from the King. It is on the Island of Hawaii, Kailua, I have an Ahupuaa there, it's name is Kuamoo. I submit my claim here.  He has applied for his ahupuaa, Kuamoo, at Kona, Island of Hawaii. He received the land from the King, Kamehameha III, in the Mahele Aina of 1848, and has held it unopposed till this time. Therefore, we will issue his allodial title, if he will pay the Government for expense incurred therein... (MA 10:528)	NR 4:367  NT —	MA 10:528 —
Kawanui 2	7332	Keohoaeeae	I have a claim in the Ili named of Haleokane, gotten from Hikiau and Laanui. The upland boundary is Waiomao. The northern boundary is Kaumukulua. The southern boundary is Haleololi, this is my kuleana.  There is also a mala kope in the Ili of Nakaloewalu at Kawanui.  Naaiolohua Sworn: I know his claim in the Ili of Haleokane, Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Paki in 1820.	NR 8:260     NT 8:637	MA 8:550 3738 - 16:235



Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kawanui 2	7347	Apela Kekahunui	I have a Pahale at the shore. It is 129 feet long by 81 feet wide.  Kaiwi & Haleola Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Naha, Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Pukalakala in 1820. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Nakaloewalu, Kawanui Ahupuaa. Gotten from Mahi in 1820.	NR 8:260  NT 8:637	MA 8:549 —
Kawanui 2	7348	Kaiwi	My kuleana is a Pahale, 105 feet long, by 72 feet wide. I also have a moo aina, by the name of Palolo.  Kahinu & Pelapela Sworn: We know his claim, Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Palolo, Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kupuna in 1820. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Nakaloewalu. Gotten from his wife in 1839.	NR 8:261  NT 8:637	MA 8:546 —
Kawanui 2	7349	Keohokalole	My kuleana is an Ili. There is also a kihapai kope at Kamuku, and a kihapai kula on the kula. Kaohia is the name of my kuleana, Ili aina, in the ahupuaa of Kawanui.  Kahaleola & Kahinu Sworn: We know his claim. A parcel in the ili of Kaohia, Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kanekapolei in 1847. Parcel 2, a Pahale in the ili of Nakaloewalu, Kawanui Ahupuaa. Gotten by him in 1819.	NR 8:261  NT 8:636	MA 8:551 —
Kawanui	7399	Kahaleola	My kuleana, a pahale is at the shore. It is 108 feet long by 108 feet wide. I also have a kuleana that extends from the pa pipi to the pa (wall) of Kamehameha. Here are the things which are planted in the sections of land, alani trees, a kihapai kalo, a kihapai uala, and a kihapai kope.  Pelapela & Kahunanui Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Haleololi, Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kahinu in 1847. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Kaumukalua, Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa.	NR 8:265  NT 4:636	MA 8:549 —

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kawanui	7399 (continued)	Kahaleola	Gotten from his wife in 1847. Parcel 3 is a kihapai Cope in the ili of Kaohia. Parcel 4 is a Kihapai at Ikiiki, Kawanui2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kahinu in 1847.	NT 4:636	
Kawanui 2	7495	Ili & Keohokalole	I have a kuleana at the shore. It is 14 fathoms long by 9 fathoms wide. This is the claim of ours, by Ili and Keohokalole, at Kawanui.  [For native testimony, see LCA # 7349.]	NR 8:502  NT 8:636	
Kawanui 2	7496	Ilikualoha	My kuleana is at Poauhauka, an Ili held from olden times, it is at Kawanui.  Pelapela & Kahaleola Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Poauhau at Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Pukalakela in 1819.	NR 8:502  NT 8:636	MA 8:545 5479 - 21:613
Kawanui 1 & 2	10,188  & 10292	Molale & Keohoaeeae  Molale	I have a claim for a lot that is 20 fathoms wide and 57 fathoms long. Within this lot are trees (plants) that I have planted, they are ohe, kope, and alani... My claim is in the uplands in the Ili of Haleoku, at Kawanui 1 ahupuaa.  Here also is a claim for me and Keohoaeeae, there are many kope trees within this lot for me and Keohoaeeae. It is 95 fathoms long by 44 fathoms wide. This is for me and Keohoaeeae, it is at Kawanui 2. This upland lot is along the alaloo.  My claim is for a Pahale at the shore, it is 32 feet long by 90 feet wide. I also have a place where I have planted uala and kalo at Haleoku; also there are 4 kihapai kope, 1 kihapai kalo, and 2 kihapai mahakea, where a house has been built.  Pelapela & Kahaleola Sworn: We know his claim. A parcel in the Ili of Poauhau, Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from the parents of his wife in 1840. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Haleololi, Kawanui. Gotten from Kahaleola in 1847. Parcel 3 is a Pahale in the ili of Kapukalua, Kawanui Ahupuaa. Gotten from Hanapule in 1840.	NR 8:584  NR 8 588  NT 8:635	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kawanui 1	10369	Ninauaiwi	My claim is the Ili of Kapukalua. I also have a lot near the shore. I do not know its measurements. Within this lot are some lauhala trees I planted. Also there are 2 alani trees in the uplands. Keohoeae & Naaiolohua Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Kapukalua & Kamuku, Kawanui. Gotten from Hao in 1829. Parcel 2 is in the Ili of Kamuku, Kawanui. Gotten from Hao in 1823... The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:591  NT 8:638	MA 8:547 3685 - 16:129
Kawanui 1	10723	Pelapela	My claim is a Pahale at the shore, it is 60 feet long by 36 feet wide. There are also two kihapai kalo and 1 kihapai mahakea. Haleola & Kahunanui Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 2 kihapai kalo & kihapai mahakea, in the Ili of Kaumukalua at Kawanui Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1839. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Nakaloewalu, Kawanui Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:600  NT 8:636	MA 8:552 3739 - 16:237
Kawanui	10724	Pololi	My claim is a Pahale at the shore. it is 255 feet long by 207 feet wide. I also have a claim in the ili of Haleolono there are several kihapai kope, and two at Lauipala. I have some alani trees at Lauipala, and at Kapukalua, I have a mala kope. At Haleokana I have two kihapai kalo, and one kihapai at Kaohia.	NR 8:600	
Kawanui 2	10733	Piimoku	I have a claim for a lot at the shore. It is 15 fathoms long by six fathoms wide, My claim is named Ilikii, and it extends from Waiaomao to the shore. There are also 3 kihapai uala for me.  Kahinu & Kahunanui Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the ili of Ilikii at Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Pukalakala in 1819. Parcel 2 is 3 kihapai uala in the ili of Haleolono at Kawanui 1. Gotten from Pololi in 1840. Parcel 3 is a Pahale in the ili of Kaumukulua, Kawanui Ahupuaa. Gotten from Wahahee in 1820.	NR 8:601  NT 8:637	MA 8:548 —

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Lehuulaiki	5485	Nawaiiki	8 kihapai in the moo aina of Hao, 160 feet long by 44 feet wide.	NR 8:179 NT —	
Lehuula 2	5381	J.C. Heleloa	I hereby describe to you the size of my six kihapai, their circumference is 730 long, by 339 wide... Done by Joney Cedeg Heleloa at Lehuulaiki of Hao.  Pepehu Sworn: I know his claim. Parcel 1 is 3 kihapai kalo & Cope, in the Ili of Kamuku at Lehuula 2 Ahupuaa. Parcel 2 is 3 kihapai kalo & Cope & Alani at Haleohelo. These parcels were gotten from Hao in 1819.	NR 8:178  NT 8:633	
Lehuula	5562	Kaholua	I have a Pahale at the shore. That is my claim. It is 15 fathoms long, by 14 fathoms. Keawe & Kamahiai Sworn: We know his claim, a Pahale at Ililoa, Lehuula 1 Ahupuaa. The lot was gotten from Kuhihii in 1840.	NR 8:182 NT 8:635	MA 8:562 —
Lehuula 1 & 2	7986	Pepehu	I have a claim for a Pahale at the shore of Lehuula 2. It is 110 fathoms in circumference. My land claim is there also, there are five kihapai uala, two kihapai kalo, and also two kihapai, to the uplands. I also have two kihapai kalo in the ahupuaa of Lehuula 1.  Kamahiai & Kapuhi Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Kamuku, it is 2 kihapai kalo & 2 Cope, at Lehuula 2. Parcel 2 is a kihapai at Ililoa. Parcel 3 is a kihapai kalo at Kaehahale, these parcels were gotten from Hao in 1819. Parcel 4 is a kihapai kalo in the Ili of Kuaiahuula, at Lehuula. Gotten from Keaka in 1822. Parcel 5 is a Pahale at Ililoa, Lehuula 2, gotten from Hao in 1819. (Figure 11)	NR 8:522  NT 8:633	MA 8:563 4011 - 17:19
Lehuula 1	8064	Hika	I have a claim for a Pahale. It is 16 fathoms on the north, 16 fathoms on the east, 18 fathoms on the west, and 20 fathoms 3 feet on the south. There are also some kihapai which I have a claim to, they are Kaholapale, Kuawaa, Malumalu, Makaula, and Kuaipaakai. All together there are six kihapai. The house is at Lehuula 1, and the kihapai are at Kamokunakua.	NR 8:525  NT —	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Lehuula 1	10817	Paelua	I have several kihapai which I claim. Their names are Haakua, Piilai, Ililoa, kope at Popouea, 2 ai akule [at] Ukui; there are 8 kihapai which I have claimed...there are several kihapai lele, which I have... There is also a kihapai in the Ili of Ulukukahi, at Lehuula 1.	NR 8:603  NT —	
Lehuula nui Kawanui iki Honuaino nui	8559 B	Wm. C. Lunalilo	Ahupuaa of Honuaino nui, Lehuulanui, and Kawanui iki, Kona, Hawaii (January 28, 1848).	Buke Mahele 1848:20 NR 4:348	MA 10:477 7455 - 25:211 7536 - 25:271 MA 10:478 7454 - 25:207 MA 10:476 7534 - 25:269
Lehuulanui & Honuaino	6042	Ahia	My claim is for an aina, surrounded by government land.  Kamahiai & Pepehu Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is at Ililoa, Lehuula. Gotten from Kuakini in 1844. Parcel 2, is a Pahale at Halelani, Honuaino 1 Ahupuaa. This house lot was gotten from Nawahine, and there are two of them within it, he and Kahanaholua.	NR 8:186-187  NT 8:634	MA 5:590 5220 - 21:95
Lehuula & Honuaino	8006	Aa	About the house lot claim at Lehuula 2 (diagram): East, 1 chain, 4 fathoms; South, 2 chains; West, 1 chain, 1 fathom, 1 foot; North, 1 chain, 6 fathoms.  About the land claim at Lehuula 2. The ili is Kaehahale, Aea is the one who has the ili. About the land claim at Honuaino. The ili is Kamuku, Kae is the one who has the ili. And in the ili of Halelani, Keohookahaku is the one who has the ili.  Pepehu & Kamahiai Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Kaehahale at Lehuula 2 Ahupuaa. Parcel 2 is a Pahale at Ililoa, Lehuula Ahupuaa. These parcels were gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 5:475  NT 8:633	MA 8:567 —

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honuaino 2	614 (see also Claim No. 3202)	Chas. Hall	<p>Charles Hall (Counter 3202 Sml. Rice) Gent. I am about to be deprived of a tract of land that I think justly belongs to me; therefore I hasten to lay my claim before you...the facts are as follows. In 1839 I was married to Mr. Samuel Rice's daughter, at the same time Mr. Rice gave me a tract of land in (Kona) by the name of Honuainoiki, which he received from Kamehameha 1<sup>st</sup>. The land was given to me &amp; my wife without any reservation whatever. In 1842, Mr. Rice gave me a deed of Gift of the above mentioned tract of land, a copy of the deed you will find enclosed...</p> <p>At the time Mr. Rice gave me the land there were 11 working men that belonged to it, these I paid to leave, so that I could have it unencumbered. I have since put 10,000 or 12, 000 Coffee trees with a large nursery, and some fruit trees on it...</p> <p>Daniel Barrett sworn, deposed. That in the year 1840, Mr. Rice told him he gave the land of Honuainoiki to his son in law Charles Hall, at the solicitation of his daughter.</p> <p>Francis Johnson sworn, deposed. I was living with Mr. Rice in the year 1839 and know Mr. Rice gave the land to Charles Hall. I do not know that Mr. Rice gave Hall any writings. In the year 1843, Mr. Rice came up from Oahu to make arrangements with Hall to enter into partnership in a coffee plantation. On arriving I was in the house with Hall, Peck and Rice. Mr. Peck wrote a good deal on a sheet of paper, he handed the paper to Rice who read it, and said it was right, that he gave the land all together to Hall. Mr. Peck said he would take the paper to Maui and get the King to sign it...</p>	<p>FR 2:83-86</p> <p>FT 5:58-59, 60-62</p>	<p>MA 3:23 1098 - 3:397</p>

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honuaino 2	614 (continued)	Chas. Hall	Daniel Barrett Sworn, deposed. In the year 1840, Mr. Rice told me that his daughter Hannah, Hall's wife came to him and begged him to give them a place to live on, and he told me he took compassion on them, as how Hannah's husband was out of work & poor, so he gave them the land of Honuainoiki to live on, for says he, I gave it to him, because it is of no use to me, for I have never had any benefit from it since the death of Kamehameha I... (Figure 12)	FT 5:58-59, 60-62	MA 3:23 1098 - 3:397
Honuaino iki	3202	Samuel Rice	(Counter, C. Hall 614) Jany. 18, 1848 A land in the village of Kainaliu [Kainaliu] – it's name is Honuainoiki [Honuainoiki] containing 7 ilis. This land was granted to me for Services Rendered to H.R.M. Kamehameha I. (original in English)	FR 2:166-167  FT/NT —	
Kainaliu (Honuaino)	3659	Jeremiah Martin	Jany. 19, 1848 I send you my claims for the land that was given me by Govr. J. Adams of Hawaii in 1827. It is in the village of Kainaliu, a place that is called Honuaino in the wall that was the King Kamehamehas and likewise my land that was given to me by Mr. Samuel Rice in 1828. Where my house and wall is at the present time. The wall is 360 feet wide and 720 feet long. (original in English)  John G. Munn sworn, says he knows the house lot of Cit. in Kainaliu, Kona. Cit. got it from Mr. Samuel Rice about 1828. It is enclosed with a stone wall. I believe he has held it ever since. He had also a piece of Land inside of the Great Wall. Gov'r. Adams told me that Martin had a piece of land there for cultivation. This was about 15 years ago. I don't know how much land he had or whether he continues to cultivate it or not. (Figure 13)	FR 2:172  NT 8:672	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kainaliu (Honuaino)	3659 (continued)	Jeremiah Martin	Nianiani sworn, says he knows the Lot of clt. mauka of the Great Wall. He got it from Kuakini before the death of Nahienaena. He held it under Kuakini, the same as a common native. Clt. allowed several native to cultivate on the land, and they were his hoainas. The ili was called Opukea. At the time the land was sold to Mr. Wm. Johnson there were two natives living on it, Haa and Kukauai. (original in English)	NT 8:672	
Honuaino 1	5523	Ohelo (Naohelo)	My claim is a moo aina above the Kula. Done by me, Ohelo, at Honuaino.  Kaholua & Keawe Sworn: We know his claim, the Ili of Kapahee at Honuaino. Gotten from Kaholua in 1844.	NR 8:181 NT 8:634	MA 5:583 3909 - 16:577
Honuaino	5561	Kekua	I have another moo aina, the uplands have been overrun by livestock, and the shore has been overrun by livestock. Also, in the Pahale, there are three who have houses within this one lot.  Kamahiai & Pepehu Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is an ili of Honuaino 3 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kaaua in 1840. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in an ili of Honuaino. Gotten from Kaaua in 1840.	NR 8:181 NT 8:634	MA 5:583 6108 - 23:383
Honuaino 3	5561 (BB)	Kukauaili	(See claim of Kaauwaehina below) Maeoho & Mahiki Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is the Ili of Kaohe, Honuaino 3. Gotten from Kaaua, the father of his wife. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Kaohe 2, Honuaino 3 ahupuaa. Gotten from Kaaua in 1845.	NR 8:181-182 NT 8:638	MA 8:571 —
Honuaino 3	5561 B (C)	Kaauwaehina	Puolo and I have four kihapai. Also I end my claim for my two Pahale. They are for Kukauaili and Hookano.  Mahiki & Kukauwaili Sworn: We know his claim, it is a parcel in the ili of Kukuipalaoa, Honuaino 3. Gotten from Halepahu in 1819.	NR 8:181-182 NT 8:639	MA 5:590 4008 - 17:13



Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honuaino 1	5561 G	Kaaoaokapu	Pepehu & Kahunanui Sworn: We know his claim, a Pahale in the Ili of Kapokiwai, Honuaino. Gotten from Kaholua in the year ____ [not given]...	NR — NT 8:641	MA 5:591 4009 - 17:15
Honuaino 3	5561 L	Kahaleko	Kahunanui & Kuapuu Sworn: We know his claim, it is a Pahale in the ili of Kaumukulua, Kawanui 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Paipai in 1847.	NR — NT 8:641-642	MA 5:548 —
Honuaino	5563	Kuula	I have two moo aina and two Pahale. One house is in the uplands in the kalu ulu, and one house is at the shore. The moo aina are below the ulu. There are also six kihapai on the kula and one loulu as well. My residency is from Kanaina. Done by Kuula, at Kainaliu.  Aoaokapu Sworn, says, I know the claim of Kuula. It is in Honuaino, Kona, & consists of 2 house lots, one on the sea beach, and one up inland, – also some kihapais of Kalo, Coffee & Bananas.  No. 1 is a house lot on the sea Beach, bounded by a stone wall.  No. 2 is a House Lot inland, bounded by his kihapais on the mauka; on the Kau side by the Ili of Waipio; Makai by Kanekau's land; Kohala by the Konohiki's land. The coffee patch, kalo patches etc., I can't bound. Clt. rec'd. this land from his ancestors in the days of K. I... (translation recorded in original Native Testimony Volume.)	NR 8:182-183  NT 8:681	MA 5:582 5076 - 20:379
Honuaino	5568	Kaholua	Kaholua, Keo, and Kamae have a Pahale, on the east and west it is 27 fathoms long, on the north and south, it is 25 fathoms wide. The three of them are in this one lot.  Kamahiai & Keawe Sworn: We know his claim, it is a Pahale in the ili of Haliipalala at Honuaino. Gotten from his father, Kama, in 1819.	NR 8:183  NT 8:635	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honuaino	5700	Keakuku	My kuleana is a pahale at the shore. It is 29 fathoms long by 14 fathoms wide.  Pepehu & Kamahiai Sworn: We know his claim, it is a Pahale in the Ili of Halelani, Honuaino Ahupuaa. Gotten from his wife in 1840.	NR 8:184  NT 8:634	
Honuaino	5992 & 5994	Lono	My claim is a kuleana kauhale, it is surrounded by a wall.  Ahiakalani & Maeoho Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Hakulupo at Honuaino 4 Ahupuaa. Given to him by Kamehameha I in 1800. Parcel 2 is a Pahale at Ililoa, Honuaino 4 Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:186  NT 8:639-640	MA 5:584 —
Honuaino – Kainaliu	334	Piinaia	...Here is what I have to say to you about my land at Honuaino, Kona, Hawaii, at Kainaliu. It was gotten by Lonomauki from Kamehameha I; then given to his son, and then to Haae, who died, and to me, as heir of my mother, Nune, whom I was below. When Nune died, I was the heir. I now wonder about my land, has the King taken it? I will be injured if it has been lost... (also includes claim for land at Kuhua iki, Maui).	NR 2:88-89  NT —	
Honuaino – Kainaliu	6084	Makananaia	My claim is an Ili that extends from the shore to the lae laau (edge of the forest).	NR 8:409 NT —	
Honuaino 4	6103	Mahiki	Our claim is a moo aina.  Ahiakalani & Kaauwaehina Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the ili of Ililoa, Honuaino 4 Ahupuaa. It was given to him by Kohi in 1840. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:94  NT 8:640	
Honuaino	6150-C	Puolo	(See Native Register Claim for L.C.A. 5561 B Kaauwaehina.)  Mahiki & Ahiakalani Sworn: We know his claim, a parcel with 10 kihapai kalo & uala at Kukuipalaoa, Honuaino. Gotten from Kaauwaehina in 1840.	NR 8:181-182  NT 8:639	MA 5:591 3910 - 16:579

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honuaino	7190	Keawe	A enclosed Pahale for Keawe, 1 chain, 2 fathoms, 3 feet wide, by 1 chain, 8 fathoms long. Kamahiai & Pepehu Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is the Ili of Kapahee, Honuaino. Gotten from his parents in 1819. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Halelani, Honuaino, gotten from his wife in 1819.	NR 8:246 NT 8:635	MA 5:586 7803 - 30:197
Honuaino	7191	Keaka	Kuleana lot of Keaka, School Teacher (with diagram).	NR 8:246 NT —	
Honuaino	7347-B	Kekahunanui Keohokui	My claim is an Ili that extends from the kula to the shore. Here are the boundaries, on the North, is Kamuku; on the East, is Kaauiowalu; on the South, is Kamakua. This is my kuleana, gotten from Apela. Keawe & Kanakanui Sworn: We know his claim, the Ili of Halelani at Honuaino. Gotten from Kaholua in 1840.	NR 8:260-261 NT 8:637	MA 5:582 7802 - 30:193
Honuaino	7713:10	V. Kamamalu	Ahupuaa of Honuaino, Kona, Hawaii (January 27, 1848). Ahupuaa of Honuaino, Kona, Hawaii.	Buke Mahele 1848:6 NR 5:443	MA 10:435 4467 - 18:405
Honuaino	7901	Kanakaole	My kuleana pahale is at the shore of Honuaino 1, Ahupuaa. It is 73 fathoms long and wide. My kuleana aina is also at Honuaino 1, in the Ili of Waipio. There are also three kihapai kalo at Lehuula 1, and five kihapai uala at Honuaino 1. Kaaoaokapu & Pepehu Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Waipio, Honuaino 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kaholua in 1844. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Haliipalala, Honuaino. Gotten from his parents in 1819. Parcel 3 is 5 kihapai uala in the ili of Kapahee, Honuaino. Gotten from Keawe in 1847.	NR 8:512 NT 8:640-641	MA 5:592 3908 - 16:575
Honuaino	8523 D	Kaoeno	Kapuhi & Pepehu Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kamuku at Honuaino. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:632	MA 5:593 5054 - 20:333
Honuaino 1	8523 E	Keohookahaku	Kapuhi & Pepehu Sworn: We know his claim, a parcel in the Ili of Halelani, Honuaino 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kaholua in 1844.	NR — NT 8:634	MA 5:592 7807 - 30:205

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honuaino 4	8575	Kaekae	A claim for a lot at Honuaino 4, it is 85 feet long by 75 feet wide. Deceased. He has no known claim.	NR 8:536 NT 8:617	MA 8:554 —
Honuaino 3	10138	Maeoho	My claim for kihapai is in the ahupuaa of Honuaino 3. In the moo aina is Kaohe, I have several kihapai, there are 5 kihapai at Kaohe. I also have 3 kihapai in the moo aina of Kukuipalaoa 1; and 4 more kihapai on the pili [grass flats]. Kaauiwaehina & Ahiaokalani Sworn: We know his claim, a parcel with 5 kihapai kalo & uala in the Ili of Kaohe at Honuaino 3 Ahupuaa. Given to him by Nuuanu in 1840.	NR 8:583  NT 8:638	MA 5:593 4046 - 17:89
Honuaino & Hokuano	5564 & 6150-B	Ahiakalani	I have 4 kihapai at Hokuano. I have a lot near the shore at Honuaino 4. It has not been measured. Mahiki & Kukauaili Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 3 kihapai kalo in the ili of Haleoku, at Hokuano. Gotten from Keaweakaapali in 1847. Parcel 2 is 11 kihapai kalo & uala, in the ili of Ililoa, at Honuaino 4. Gotten from Mahiki in 1847. Parcel 3 is a Pahale in the Ili of Ililoa, Honuaino. Gotten from Kamakolu in 1839.	NR 7:183 NR 8:187 NT 8:639	MA 5:595 4129 - 17:255
Honuaino & Hokuano	6150 & 6789 6180	Nohopaa	My claim is an aina in the kaluulu. I have three kihapai at Hokuano, from Akahi. Also there are three kihapai at Honuaino.  Mahiki & Ahiakalani Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 2 kihapai kalo & uala, in the Ili of Kamuku at Hokuano. Gotten from Lono in 1847. Parcel 2 is 10 kihapai kalo & uala at Ililoa, Honuaino 4. Gotten from Mahiki in 1840. Parcel 3 is a Pahale at Ililoa, Honuaino 4 Ahupuaa. Given to him by Kohi in 1840. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:187 NR 8:189 NT 8:639	MA 5:595 4131 - 17:259

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Honuaino & Kuamoo	7192	Mahamaha	A kuleana at Honuaino and Ili in Honuaino. Halelani is the Ili of Keohokui, the Ili is his. Kapahee is the Ili of Keawe. Kuaio has one kihapai at Kuamoo, and Kauakunihi has one kihapai at Kuamoo.	NR 8:246-247  NT —	
Hokukano	1059-B	Paia	Keawe & Kama Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kamuku at Hokukano. He got it from Lupea in the year 1819.	NR — NT 8:626	MA 8:607 3371 - 16:221
Hokukano	5685	Keakakaapoli or Keawekaapali	I describe my pahale claim to you. It is not an ancient lot, it is from the time of Kamehameha I. On two sides it's length is 128 feet, and on two sides, it's width is 96 feet, totaling 224 feet in circumference on the four side.  He has no claim.	NR 8:184  NT 8:638	
Hokukano 1	7277 C	Haho	[See also notes of claim in L.C.A. 8529.]  Kama & Kukele Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Malou at Hokukano Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kaholoaa in 1819. (see page 532)	NR — NT 8:630	MA 8:608 3903 - 16:565
Hokukano 1	7277 D	Lono	Kama & Pa Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kamuku, at Hokukano Ahupuaa. He got it from Lupea in 1840. (see page 532)	NR — NT 8:630	MA 8:608 4801 - 19:475
Hokukano 1	7730 & 7731	Kapohaku  Kalua (Kahikona)	The land claim at Hokukano 1, Kapohaku is the overseer, and Kalua is the Konohiki (land manager). The Ili is Puhele. There is one alani tree and 1 mala maia. Umielua also has 3 mala kalo.  Kama & Kukele Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Puhele & Piiwahine at Hokukano Ahupuaa. Gotten from Pohaku [Kapohaku] and Kahikona in 1830.	NR 8:508  NT 8:631	MA 8:610 3732 - 16:223

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Hokukano 1	7739	Lupea	The land claim is at Hokukano 1, Lupea is over it. The Ili is Kamuku, Paia is the Konohiki. There are 4 mala kalo, 4 mala uala, 2 lau hala trees. Kua also has 3 mala kalo and 7 mala uala. [See also notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.]  Keaweakaapali & Kapaaku Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Kaneanau, Hokukano Ahupuaa. Gotten from Haluapo in 1819. Parcel 2 is a Pahale at Kaneanau, Hokukano. Gotten from his parents in 1819. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:508  NT 8:623	MA 8:609 3902 - 16:563
Hokukano 1	7740	Hikiaoao	The land claim is at Hokukano 1. Hikiaoao is the Konohiki, the Ili is Piilanai. There are 10 mala kalo, 10 mala uala, and 2 alani trees. Leleoni also has 1 alani tree, 1 kou tree, 1 loulu, and 3 hala trees.  Kapaaku & Keaweakaapali Sworn: We know his claim in the Ili of Piilahai, Hokukano 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kanoukapu in 1819.	NR 8:508  NT 8:623	MA 9:400 3760 - 16:279
Hokukano 2	8157 B	Keawe & Kekahunui	Kaaloa & Kauhi Sworn: We know his claim in the Ili of Kamuku, at Hokukano 2, Ahupuaa. It was given him by Keliikapaole in 1844.	NR — NT 8:619	MA 5:557 —
Hokukano 1	8157-F	Kapaaku	[Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.] Poka & Keaweakaapali Sworn: We know his claim, in the Ili of Kainaliu, Hokukano 1. Gotten from Wakia in 1840. [Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.]	NR — NT 8:623	MA 8:607 4013 - 17:23
Hokukano 2	8157 O	Nahuewai	Pa & Kahunui Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the ili of Kamuku, Hokukano Ahupuaa. Gotten from Keliikapaole in 1846. [Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.]	NR — NT 8:625	MA 5:555 7211 - 26:771



Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Hokukano 1 & 2	8529 (continued)  (see also Claims No. 8523 B & 9770 for Kaaua)	Kaaua	<p>Kamalou is the ili, Kapaole [Keliikapaole] is the one who oversees the ahupuaa, <u>Kuaha</u> is the one who claims the ili, and the ili of Puhele. There are 6 mala kalo, 9 mala uala, 4 mala ipu, and 11 kou trees. <u>Keliikapaole</u> has cultivated 3 mala kalo, 1 mala kope, 1 mala uala, and 1 momona [cherimoya] tree.</p> <p>In the ili of Haleolono, Kapaole is the overseer, <u>Kauhimahi</u> is the one who claims the ili. He has 5 mala kalo, 1 mala uala, 1 mala ipu, 1 mala maia, and 2 mala kope.</p> <p><u>Kama</u> has planted 2 mala kalo, and 1 mala kope.</p> <p>In the ili of Kapapa, <u>Kukahi</u> is the one who has a claim. Here are the things which have been planted, 3 mala kalo, 4 lauhala trees, 1 mala uala, and 1 mala ipu.</p> <p>Claims in District 3, Island of Hawaii, Hokukano 1 Ahupuaa. Keaweaeulu is the overseer, Kamalou is the ili, <u>Haho</u> is the one who claims the ili. There are 6 mala kalo, 1 mala uala, 1 mala ipu, and 1 alani tree.</p> <p><u>Kukele</u> has planted gardens, they are 6 mala kalo, 6 mala uala, 1 mala ipu, 1 mala kope, 1 mala ko, 1 mala maia, 4 lauhala trees, 1 loulou tree, and 1 kou tree.</p> <p><u>Kama</u> has planted gardens, they are 3 mala kalo, 3 mala uala, 1 mala ipu, 2 loulou trees, 5 kou trees, 6 puhala, and 2 alani.</p>	NR 8:532-533	



Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Hokukano 2	9413	Kahana	A claim for a pahale.  Kapa & Kahunui Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Makahanaloa, Hokukano 2, Ahupuaa. Parcel 2, is a Pahale at Hokukano 2. He received the parcels from Kalua in 1846	NR 8:548 NT 8:622	MA 5:554 5336 - 21:327
Hokukano 2	9416	Ukaka	A claim for a pahale. [See also notes of claim in L.C.A. 8529.]  Kapa & Kapaaku Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Manawaihaiki, Hokukano 2, Ahupuaa. Gotten from Keliikapaole in 1839. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Polou, gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:548 NT 8:623	MA 5:556 4735 - 19:347
Hokukano	9417	Naumielua	A claim for a pahale.	NR 8:548 NT —	
Hokukano	9418	Ualoko	A claim for a pahale.  Kama & Keaweakaapali Sworn: We know his claim, it is a Pahale in the Ili of Kainaliu, Hokukano Ahupuaa. Gotten from Lupea in 1819.	NR 8:548 NT 8:625-626	MA 5:559 3968 - 16:695
Hokukano 1	9419 9420 9421	Keawe Poka Mamalu	Keawe folks (ma) have a claim for a pahale. (Figure 14) Kanehiwa & Kama Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Piiwahine, Hokukano 1 Ahupuaa. Parcel 2 is a Pahale, in the ili of Kaneanau. These parcels were gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:548 NT 8:625	MA 8:611 3729 - 16:217
Hokukano 1	9420	Poka	(For Native register, see above.)  Keawe & Kama Sworn: We know his claim, a Pahale in the Ili of Kaneanau, Hokukano 1 Ahupuaa. Given to him by his parents before 1819.	NR 8:548 NT 8:626	MA 5:559 3730 - 16:219
Hokukano	9421	Mamalu	(For Native Register, see above.) Keawe & Kama Sworn: We know his claim, a Pahale in the Ili of Kaneanau, Hokukano 1, Ahupuaa. Given him by Lupea in 1819.	NR 8:548 NT 8:626	MA 5:556 —

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Hokukano 1	9423 & 9424	Kukele & Kuahuia  Kukele	[See also notes of claim in L.C.A. 8529.] They have a claim for a pahale.  Pa & Keawe Sworn: we know his claim. Parcel 1 is 15 kihapai kalo & uala in the Ili of Malou, Hokukano 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Haho in 1839. Parcel 2 is a Pahale, in the ili of Malou. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:548  NT 8:629	MA 8:610 3906 - 16:571
Hokukano 2	9424	Kuahuia	(For Native Register, see above.)  Pa & Keawe Sworn: We know is claim, it is in the Ili of Puhele, Hokukano 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Keliikapaole in 1839. Parcel 2 is a Pahale, gotten from Keliikapaole in 1839.	NR 8:548  NT 8:629	MA 5:553 5226 - 21:107
Hokukano	9425	Kaikuahine	A claim for a pahale.  Kuahuia & Kama Sworn: We know his claim, it is a Pahale in the Ili of Malou. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:549  NT 8:629	MA 5:558 4351 - 17:699
Hokukano 2	9427	Kukahi	[See also notes of claim in L.C.A. 8529.] A claim for a pahale.  Kama & Keawe Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kaopapa at Hokukano 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Keliikapaole in 1839.Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Malou, gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:549  NT 8:629	MA 5:556 3900 - 16:559
Hokukano 2	9428	Keliikapaole	[See also notes of claim in L.C.A. 8529.] A claim for a pahale.  Deceased, Kalua is his heir. Kama & Kuahiwa Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kamuku, Hokukano 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Namai in 1840. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Malou, Hokukano 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:549  NT 8:630	MA 5:553 3973 - 16:705
Hokukano 2	9428 C	Kuaha	[See also notes of claim in L.C.A. 8529.] Kama & Kukele Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Malou, Hokukano 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Keliikapaole in 1839.	NR — NT 8:630	MA 5:554 4353 - 17:703

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Hokukano	9428 D	Kama	[See also notes of claim in L.C.A. 8529.] Pa & Kukele Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 10 kihapai kalo & uala & Kope in the Ili of Malou at Hokukano Ahupuaa. Gotten from Haho in 1819. Parcel 2 is in the Ili of Kaopapa at Hokukano, gotten from Kukahi in 1840.	NR — NT 8:630	MA 8:606 3905 - 16:569
Hokukano 2	9428 E	Kauhimahi	[See also notes of claim in L.C.A. 8529.] Kama & Kukele Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Haleolono at Hokukano 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Keliikapaole in 1839.	NR — NT 8:631	MA 5:558 3904 - 16:567
Hokukano 1	9428 F	Kauhikaupali	Poka & Kanehiwa Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Haleoku, Hokukano 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Pikanele in 1819. Parcel two is a Pahale in the Ili of Haleoku, gotten in 1819.	NR — NT 8:631	MA 8:612 3901 - 16:561
Hokukano 1	10444	Napela	My claim is a moo aina with 1 kihapai, and a Pahale at Hokukano.  Aoa & Kaikuahine Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Kamuku, Hokukano 1, Ahupuaa, gotten from Kaumiumi in 1819. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the ili of Kamalou, Hokukano 2, Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:596  NT 8:645	MA 5:560 —
Hokukano 1 & Kainaliu (Honuaino)	6144 & 9414	Naai	I describe my kihapai to you.; 7 mala uala, and 4 mala kalo.  A claim for a pahale.  Deceased, his heir is Kapulani. Kapaaku & Kapa Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 11 kihapai kalo & uala in the Ili of Kainaliu, Piilahi, & Puhale, Hokukano 1, Ahupuaa. Gotten from Nuiha in 1819. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Kainaliu, at Hokukano. From his parents in 1819.	NR 8:187  NR 8:548  NT 8:623	MA 8:609 3974 - 16:707

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Hokukano 2  Kainaliu (Honuaino)  & Kanaeue	7189	Kauhikapaa	<p>[Note this claim is a composite of 16 claims (including that of Kauhikapaa), most of which were subsequently assigned separate numbers in the Native Testimony.]</p> <p>A kuleana in Hokukano 2, in the Ili of Kamuku, <u>Kapaole</u> [Keliikapaole] is the overseer above <u>Nauewaikane</u>, and it is from him that my right came. There are cultivated kihapai, two mala kalo, and four mala uala. The Ili is Kamuku, Keawe has the Ili. There have been 4 mala kalo and 7 mala uala worked there. At Makahanaloa Ili, <u>Lohi</u> is the one who cultivates the kihapai, 4 mala uala. <u>Kaheana</u> has the Ili, there are 4 mala kalo, 4 mala uala and 1 mala ipu.</p> <p>Kuleana at Hokukano. The ahupuaa was <u>Keaweheulu</u>'s, <u>Lupea</u> was below him. The cultivated kihapai are 6 mala kalo, 1 mala uala, 3 kope trees, 2 lauhala trees, 1 mala maia, 1 mala ipu, 1 niu (coconut tree), and 1 hau tree; the kapu (restricted) planted kihapai are 4 mala uala and 1 mala kalo.</p> <p>About the Ili of Kainaliu, the Ili is <u>Kapaaku</u>'s. <u>Pikanene</u> has planted 3 mala kalo and 2 mala uala.</p> <p>The kuleana at Kanaeue 2, in the Ili of Puekahi, <u>Kalahuli</u> is the overseer, the Ili is <u>Kalimakanokano</u>'s. Here is what is cultivated, 8 mala kalo, 3 mala uala. <u>Kaai</u> cultivated the kihapai, 5 mala kalo, 4 mala uala, 2 mala maia, 1 mala ko, and 1 mala ipu. There is a cultivated lot, with two planted mala uala. In the ahupuaa of Kanaeue 1, <u>Kauhi</u> is the overseer, the Ili is Kamuku, and <u>Kaaloakauhi</u> has the Ili. There are 4 kihapai uala, , 1 mala uala, 3 alani trees, and 1 mala ipu. <u>Kane</u> is at the Ili of Kamuku. Here are the planted kihapai – 6 mala kalo, and 2 kihapai uala. Kamuku is the Ili, and that is it about the Ili.</p>	NR 8:244-245	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Hokukano 2 Kainaliu (Honuaino) & Kanaeue	7189 (continued)	Kauhikapaa	There is 1 mala, 3 mala uala, 1 mala ipu, 1 hau tree. <u>Kaawaa</u> cultivated fields, 2 mala kalo, 5 mala uala, 1 mala maia, 1 mala ipu. <u>Kaaiwana</u> cultivated 2 mala uala and 3 mala kalo. Enclosed pahale for Kaheana and Kauhikapaa.	NT —	
Hokukano & Kanaeue	9431	Kahunui	A claim for a pahale. All of the kuleana made above, are at Hokukano and Kanaeue, Kona, Hawaii.	NR 8:549 NT —	
Kanaeue 1	7035 B	Kaaloakauhi	[Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.] Nakookoo & Keawe Sworn: we know his claim, a parcel in the Ili of Kamuku, ahupuaa of Kanaeue 1. Gotten from Kapoo in 1819.	NR — NT 8:616	
Kanaeue 2	8157 G	Kalahuli (Kalahihi)	[Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.] It is his desire that he has no claim.	NR — NT 8:624	
Kanaeue 2	8157 H	Kaai	[Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.] Kapa & Kekahunui Sworn: We know his claim, it is 10 kihapai kalo & uala, in the Ili of Puekahi, Kanaeue 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kalimakano in 1819.	NR — NT 8:624	
Kanaeue	8157-I	Kauhi	[Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.] Kapa & Kalimakano Sworn: We know his claim, a Pahale in the ili of Kioi, at Kanaeue. Gotten from Wahine in 1819.	NR — NT 8:624	MA 5:607 6610 - 24:593
Kanaeue 2	8157 K	Kaaiwana	[Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.] Pa & Kekahunui Sworn: We know his claim, is 3 kihapai kalo & uala, in the Ili of Paepaekaniu, Kioi & Puekahi, Kanaeue 2 Ahupuaa; given to him by Kalimakano in 1819.	NR — NT 8:624	
Kanaeue 2	8157 L	Kahoowaha	Pa & Kahunui Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the ili of Kumuhawane, Kanaeue Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kamae in 1840. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Paepaekaniu, at Kanaeue 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kauhi in 1819.	NR — NT 8:624	
Kanaeue	8157 M	Kaheana	[Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.] Pa & Kahunui Sworn: We know his claim, it is a Pahale in the Ili of Paepaekaniu, Kanaeue 1. Gotten from Kauhi in 1819.	NR — NT 8:625	MA 5:608 —

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kanaeue	8157 N	Pa	(See also claim # 7553 B at Kalukalu.) Kahunui & Haho Sworn: We know his claim, it is 3 kihapai uala in the Ili of Paepaekaniu, Kanaeue 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kauhi in 1845.	NR — NT 8:625	
Kanaeue	8157 P	Lohi	[Notes on claim given in L.C.A. # 7189.] Deceased, his heir is Paahao. Pa & Kahunui Sworn: We know his claim, it is 5 kihapai kalo & uala, in the Ili of Puekahi at Kanaeue 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kalimakano in 1840.	NR — NT 8:625	
Kanaeue & Onouli 2	9277 F (Recorded as Claim No. 9412)	Makaiwi	A claim for a pahale.  Nakookoo & Kaaloakauhi Sworn: We know his claim, it is a Pahale in the Ili of Kioinui, ahupuaa of Kanaeue. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:548 NT 8:616	MA 8:581 —
Kanaeue	9415	Kaaloakauhi	A claim for a pahale. [See also notes on claim for L.C.A. # 7189.]  Nakookoo Sworn: I know his claim, a Pahale in the Ili of Kioi, ahupuaa of Kanaeue. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:548 NT 8:616	MA 7:334 —
Kanaeue	9422	Kahunui Kekahunui)	A claim for a pahale.  Pa & Kalimakano Sworn: We know his claim, 2 parcels, Paaina & Pahale, in the Ili of Kioi at Kanaeue 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kauhi and his parents in 1819.	NR 8:548 NT 8:626	MA 5:607 —
Kanaeue	9426	Kalimakano	A claim for a pahale. [See also notes on claim in L.C.A. # 7189.]  Pa & Kama Sworn: We know his claim. It is in the Ili of Puekahi at Kanaeue, gotten from Kalaluhi in 1839. Parcel 2 is a Pahale at Puekahi, from Kalaluhi in 1819.	NR 8:549 NT 8:629	MA 7:335 —

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kanaeue	9429	Nakookoo	A claim for a pahale.  Kaaloakauhi & Keawe Sworn: We know his claim, it is a Pahale parcel in the Ili of Opuhuluhulu at Kanaeue 2. Kama gave it to him in 1829.	NR 8:549  NT 8:616	
Kanaeue	9430	Kane	A claim for a pahale. [See also notes on claim for L.C.A. # 7189.]  Pa & Kekahunui Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kamuku, Kanaeue 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kauhi in 1819. Parcel 2 is a Pahale at Puekahi. Gotten from Kalimakano in 1840.	NR 8:549  NT 8:624	MA 7:330 —
Kanaeue & Onouli	10749	Pauahilani	A pahale for Pauahilani, 48 feet, by 60 feet, by 48 feet, by 60 feet. Island of Hawaii, parcel at Kumuohia ili. There are 32 mala kalo, 1 mala uala, 2 mala kobe. In the ili of Pohakea, there are 6 mala kalo.  Kaailei & Makaiwi Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kumuohia, Onouli. Gotten from Naihe in 1819. Parcel 2 is 6 kihapai kalo in the Ili of Pohakea at Kanaeue 2. Gotten from Kama in 1840.	NR 8:119  NT 8:632	
Halekii, Kealakekua & Kuapehu	387	A.B.C.F.M.	Kealakekua. Divisions & bounds of the Mission Premises at Kealakekua & Kaawaloa.  At Kealakekua my dwelling house & garden is enclosed by a stone wall: 72 fathoms long & 48 wide; – given by Kanihomauole the owner. The church is also enclosed by a stone wall about 40 by 30 fathoms, given by Kaluahine, the owner.  The Mission house at Kaawaloa is enclosed by a stone wall 60 fathoms long & 40 fathoms wide. This spot was presented by Naihe, who owned the land. There is also one land (ahupuaa) called Halekii, running from the sea coast to the foot of the mountain; bounded on the North by the land called "Kanaeue;" on the south by land called "Keekee."	FR 2:46-47	MA 3:164 1600 - 6:1 1670 - 6:289

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Halekii, Kealakekua & Kuapehu	387 (continued)	A.B.C.F.M.	<p>This land was given by Kaahumanu to the Mission at the time Mr. Ely resided at Kaawaloa. The spot where the Meeting house at Kuapehu stands, was also given for that purpose by Kamakau, the owner, in exchange for the old building spot. Kealakekua Ap. 17, 1843. C. Forbes. _____</p> <p>Mission property situated at Kealakekua, now occupied by me. It lies about <math>\frac{3}{4}</math> of a mile from the sea shore, and north of Mr. Forbes place of residence, from which it is separated by a highway. It extends to a pali or ledge of rocks on the east, to a grove of lauhala on the N.E.; is enclosed by a wall on the West, &amp; partly on the North. It was given by Nihomaule, the owner. Kealakekua. May 8, 1843. Mark Ives.</p> <p>J.P. Judd Sworn: The survey of Kuapehu in Kealakekua describes a lot which was given to the Mission by Kapiolani after Kaahumanus death, with the consent of Gov. Adams. Kapiolani stated she got his consent with difficulty. (continued page 465)</p> <p>Keohokalole sworn, says she knows the several pieces of land belonging to the S.I. Mission at Kealakekua, Hawaii.</p> <p>1<sup>st</sup> The land of Halekii. This land was given to the Missionaries by my Grandfather, Naihe, in the year 1825. (Figure 15)</p> <p>2<sup>nd</sup> The Mission Station at Kepulu, Kahauloa. This was given to them by Kanihomaule in the year 1837.</p> <p>3<sup>rd</sup> A piece of land mauka of the Mission Station in Kahauloa, also. Given to them same as No. 2.</p> <p>4<sup>th</sup> House lot at Kuapehu. This lot was given to Mission by Naihe, in the year 1823, perhaps.</p>	FR 2:46-47  FT 3:385, 465-466	MA 3:164 1600 - 6:1 1670 - 6:289



Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Halekii, Kealakekua & Kuapehu	387 (continued)	A.B.C.F.M.	<p>The Missionaries have occupied the above pieces of land always, without dispute, and I as heir of the Donors of the Land, give my full consent to their having the said pieces of land for ever.</p> <p>Keaweaeheulu sworn, says he knows the 4 pieces of land belonging to the Missionaries, at Kealakekua.</p> <p>The first piece of land, called "Haleki". It is bounded as set forth in the survey now shewn made by Metcalf.</p> <p>The second piece, the Mission Station at Kepulu, is just above the church. Witness approves the survey on file.</p> <p>The third piece, mauka , in Kahauloa is not very clear to me.</p> <p>The fourth piece, the House Lot at "Kuapehu," is near Keohokalole's. The Survey now shown appears to be correct.</p> <p>Confirms the testimony of Keohokalole as to the names of the Grantors and the times of the several Gifts.</p> <p>T. Metcalf sworn, says he surveyed the several pieces of land belonging to the Mission round Kealakekua, in Dec. 1847.</p> <p>The third piece, mauka, in "Kahauloa," is situated just mauka of the Lot at Kepulu. When I surveyed this piece it was planted in potatoes by the Rev. I.W. Ives. (This piece is not to be awarded for want of proof.)</p>	FT 3:385, 465-466	MA 3:164 1600 - 6:1 1670 - 6:289

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Keekee	7210	Kini, G.W.	This Pahale is for G.W. Kini, school teacher at Nawawa, also a place for my mother; 96 feet wide, by 146 feet long. In the Ili of Kukuiula, there are 4 mala uala, 3 mala poaaha, and 3 mala uala.  At Ililoa Ili, Kini has one mala kalo. At Haleolono Ili there are two mala kalo and one mala uwala.  Kaiaino & Puawai Sworn: We know his Pahale parcel in the Ili of Makakaku, ahupuaa of Keekee 2. Gotten from his parents in 1839. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:251  NT 3:615	MA 5:623 3864 - 16:487
Keekee	7211-B	Kapule	Ililoa is the ili aina. There are 4 mala kalo, and 1 mala kobe.	NR 8:99 NT —	
Keekee 1	8157	Kupahu Kuapehu	An enclosed pahale. In the Ahupuaa of Keekee 1. In the Ili of Uo 2, there are 2 mala kalo, 1 mala ipu, and 1 mala uala. In the Ili of Kukuilu there are 2 mala uala and 1 mala kalo. In the Ili of Laukukui there are 2 mala uala and 1 mala lauhala. In the Ili of Pahapahanui there are 2 mala uala. Keohokalole is the Land Lord of these lands.  Kini and Kaiaino Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Uo, Keekee 1 & Hoolae. Parcel 2 is a pahale in the Ili of Mahakea, Keekee 2, ahupuaa. Gotten from the parents in 1819.	NR 8:156-157  NT 8:618	MA 5:624 3866 - 16:491
Keekee	8157 BB	Kalamaia	Kini & Kauenaole Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Halaula, Kanakau 2 Ahupuaa, gotten from Uenaole in 1844. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Makakea, Keekee 2 Ahupuaa, gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:620	MA 7:330 6590 - 24:553
Keekee 2	8157 C	Kamakahiona	Kamaka & Kuluiki Sworn: Kuluiki stated that the claim was written by Kamaka. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Puunoni, Keekee 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kanemaikou in 1819. Parcel 2 is a Pahale, in the Ili of Makakea, Keekee 2 ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:621	MA 5:629 5305 - 21:265

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Keekee	8455 E	Pauole	Kini & Kuawai Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Makakea, Keekee 2 Ahupuaa. Parcel 2 is a Pahale at Keekee. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:620-621	MA 5:625 4034 - 17:65
Keekee	8455 G	Makauwaa	Kamaka & Kauenaole Sworn: We know that Kamaka wrote the claim. Parcel 1 in the Ili of Pohakea, Keekee 2 Ahupuaa. Moku gave it to him in 1819. Parcel 2, is in the Ili of Punanamoia at Kanakau 1 Ahupuaa. Kaawa gave it to him in 1819. Parcel 3 is a Pahale at Makakea , Keekee 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:621	MA 5:630 5308 - 21:271
Keekee	8455 I	Nawai	Kamaka Sworn: I know his claim, a Pahale at Kukuiula, Keekee 1 Ahupuaa.	NR — NT 8:622	MA 5:647 —
Keekee 1	7036	Kahue	An enclosed pahale; 2 mala kalo; 5 mala uala; and 1 mala ipu.  Deceased. His heir is Kamakahema. Kini and Hina Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Uo at Keekee 1. Parcel 2 is a pahale at Keekee. He got them from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:101  NT 8:618	MA 5:624 6322 - 24:15
Keekee 2	9753-B	Paiwa	Makauwaa & Kaleo Sworn: We know his claim. The first part is 3 Ili, Hailua, Haleape & Pohakea, at Keekee 2. Gotten from Haiha in 1844. The second part is a Pahale in the Ili of Punanamoia at Kanakau, gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:615	MA 5:625 3883 - 16:525
Ilikahi	9428 G (9650 & 9651)	Keliwahanuku	At Ilikahi, a Kuponu, there is 1 mala uala, 1 mala ipu, 8 poaaha; in the Ili of Puekahi, 1 mala kalo; at Kahaiku and Kohekahua, 1 mala; and in the Ili of Kamuku, there is 1 mala uala.  Kini & Kalaolelo Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kauaa, ahupuaa of Ilikahi. Gotten from Nakookoo in 1840.	NR 8:114-115  NT 8:631	MA 5:609 4080 - 17:157

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Ilikahi Kanakau Onouli Kaawaloa Kealakekua	8452 MA-2	A. Keohokalole	Ahupuaa of Ilikahi, Kanakau, Onouli, Kaawaloa & Kealakekua, Kona, Hawaii (Jan. 28, 1848).	Buke Mahele 1848:10	MA 3:326 4473 - 18:399
Ilikahi  & Honuaino 3	7071	Kapule	I have a right to an alani (orange tree) at Ilikahi, gotten from Kamanao. Pananau & Kaaua Sworn: We know that he has no right in the Alani. His right is in the Ili of Kamuku & Hualele, Honuaino 3, Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kaaua in 1841.	NR 8:239  NT 8:619	
Kanakau	8455 F	Ialua	Kini & Kuluiki Sworn: We saw Kamaka write the claim. Parcel 1 is 4 kihapai kalo in the Ili of Paukauila, Kanakau 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kuakini in 1840. Parcel 2 is 3 kihapai uala & ipu at Kamuku, gotten in 1840. Parcel 3, is a Pahale in the ili of Pohakea, gotten from Kaaua in 1819. Boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR — NT 8:621	MA 8:589 2001 - 8:289
Kanakau	8455 H	Makole	Ialua & Kamaka Sworn: Ialua state that Kamaka wrote the claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Waipio at Kanakau 2 Ahupuaa. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Pueohale at Kanakau 2. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:621-622	MA 8:588 —
Kanakau	7206	Kahuokamoku	A pahale 54 feet long by 54 feet wide. In the ili of Pahukauila, 1 mala kalo. At Kamuku, 2 mala kalo, Ili of Kekukui, 2 mala uala. Island of Hawaii.  Ialua & Kini Sworn: We know his heir, it is Kailihao, his wife. And we know his claims. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Pahukauila at Kanakau 2, from Kanihoula in 1839. Parcel 2 is a pahale Ili at Kanakau, from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:99  NT 8:618	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kanakau & Keekee	7035	Kaiwaiwa	In the Ili of Waipio, an enclosed pahale; 7 mala kalo; 3 mala uala; and 1 mala ipu ai maka. Makole & lalua Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel one is 11 kihapai kalo & uala in the Ili of Waipio, at Kanakau 2. Gotten from Kapuai in 1839. The second parcel is a Pahale in an Ili at Keekee 1, gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:102  NT 8:617	MA 8:587 2415 - 10:641
Kanakau & Keekee	7197	Kamahele	In the Ili of Kamuku there is 1 mala kalo and 1 mala uala. In the Ili of Kalamaie & Kalaula there is 1 mala uala and 7 mala poaaha. (includes diagram of Pahale). Paiwa & Pauole Sworn: We know his claim, parcel of land in the Ili of Hoolaikukui, ahupuaa of Kanakau, gotten from Naihe in 1819. The second parcel is a Pahale in the Ili of Pohakea, ahupuaa of Keekee 2, gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR:8249  NT 8:615	MA 8:585 —
Kanakau & Keekee	7211 (see also Claim No. 8455 C)	Kuluiki	He has an ili, an enclosed pahale (66 feet, by 121 feet, 71 feet, by 119 feet); there are 6 mala kalo; 4 mala uala; 1 mala ipu; 1 mala kobe; 1 mala hau; 1 mala poaaha; and 1 mala maia.	NR 8:98 NT —	
Kanakau & Keekee	8157 E	Kamaheaiuku	Kamaka & Kuawai Sworn: Kuawai state that Kamaka wrote the claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Hoolaekukui, Kanakau 1, Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kauenaole in 1840. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Makakea, Keekee 2 Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:622	MA 8:585 4048 - 17:93
Kanakau 2 Keekee 2	8455 C (See Claim No. 7211 above.)	Kuluiki	Pa Sworn: Kini wrote his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Pohakea, ahupuaa of Kanakau 2. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Mahailua, ahupuaa of Keekee 2. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:620	MA 8:588 —
Kalukalu	7212	Kaiaino	A pahale & Ili aina; 2 mala kalo at Kulou. Kini & Kuluiki Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is the Ili of Kulou at Kalukalu. Kapoi gave it to him in 1847. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Waipio at Kanakau, gotten from his parents in 1819. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:98  NT 8:601	MA 8:580 —

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kalukalu	7553 B	Pa	Kini Sworn: I did write his claim. Kuawai Sworn: I know his claim in the Ili of Kamuku & Ililoa & Kohekahua, at Kalukalu 2. Gotten from Kahana in 1840. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki. (See also claim # 8157 N at Kanaeue.)	NR — NT 8:620	MA 8:590 4844 - 19:563
Kalukalu	8376	Kaaaka	Kaaaka has an enclosed Pahale in the ahupuaa of Kalukalu. In the Ili of Kohikahua there is 1 mala kalo, 2 mala uala, 1 mala lau hala, and 1 mala ipu. In the Ili of Ililoa there are 3 mala kalo, 1 mala uala, and 1 mala ipu. In the Ili of Kamuku there are 5 mala kalo, 1 mala uala. There is also another mala uala at Ililoa.  He has no claim, he has given it up in it's entirety.	NR 8:534  NT 8:622	
Kalukalu	9428 H (9650 & 9651)	Koikua (with Lohi)	An enclosed pahale for Lohi and Koikua. In the Ili of Kamuku, there are 8 mala kalo, 4 mala uala, and 1 mala ipu. In the Ili of Kamuku 2, there is 1 mala poaaha. In the Ili of Kulou, there is 1 mala kalo and 1 mala ipu; in the Ili of Keino, there is 1 mala uala.  Kini & Kalaolelo Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kamuku, ahupuaa of Kalukalu 2. Gotten from Neneue in 1839.	NR 8:114-115  NT 8:631	MA 8:579 —
Kalukalu	9432 or 10735	Pupule	My claim are kihapai in the Ili of Ililoa, there are 3 mala uala.	NR 8:549 NT —	
Kalukalu 1	9652	M. Loe & Keohokii  Lohi	There is a pahale at Kaieie, 1161 feet in circumference at Kei...  Kini & Pauole Sworn: We know his claim, a parcel in the Ili of Kamuku at Kalukalu 1. Gotten from Ehu in 1839. Parcel 2 is a pahale in the Ili of Kulou, ahupuaa of Kalukalu 1, gotten from his parents in 1819. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:635  NT 8:615	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kalukalu & Keekee	10750	Puki	<p>An enclosed pahale in the Ili of Puunoni, island of Hawaii. There are 11 mala uala and 1 mala ipu in the Ili of Kamuku; in the Ili of Ililoa and Kohekahuhua, there are 2 mala kalo and 2 mala kobe and 2 mala uala; in the Ili of Puekahi, there is 1 mala kalo; and in the Ili of Kioi, there is 1 mala kalo.</p> <p>Deceased. His heir is Kanewahine (f). Kini &amp; Pa Sworn: We know his claim, it is 4 kihapai kalo &amp; Cope at Ililoa in the ahupuaa of Kalukalu. Parcel 2 is in the Ili of Kohekahua, it is 3 kihapai kalo &amp; ki plants, and 2 kihapai kalo &amp; Cope. Given by Pa in 1844. Another parcel is a pahale in the Ili of Makakea, Keekee 2, ahupuaa. Gotten from Makahiona in 1841.</p>	<p>NR 8:116</p> <p>NT 8:619</p>	<p>MA 8:578 4843 - 19:561</p>
Onouli	220 B	<p>Kapule</p> <p>&amp;</p> <p>Kuakini</p>	<p>My claim is in the Ili of Kahonu. Kupeleau is north; Hinaoio is south; Maulua is to the uplands. Kanaina is the overseer.</p> <p>My claim is in the Ili of Kamomona. Paekii is north; Keawaulili is south; Waiamaneo is to the uplands. Kekuanaoa is the overseer. There are 14 mala kalo, and 1 mala kope.</p> <p>Keaweaeheulu &amp; Naihe Sworn: We know his claim, it is 27 kihapai kalo and uala in the Ili of Kahonu at Onouli. Gotten from Kapiolani in 1819</p>	<p>NR 8:572</p> <p>NT 8:582</p>	
Onouli	5561 B	Hiolo	A garden at Onouli 1. It is a coffee garden, 240 feet long by 54 feet wide.	NR 8:181	
Onouli	6985	Kuniola	In the Ili of Ililoa, there are five mala kalo, four mala uwala, four mala ipu. In the Ili of Alapaiki there are six mala kalo, three mala uwala, three mala ipu. In the Ili of Ohiki, there are two mala uwala. In the Ili of Alapaiki there are two hala trees and two clumps of ohe (bamboo).	NR 8:194	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Onouli	6985 (continued)	Kuniola	Pananau & Makaiwi Sworn: We know his claim, a parcel in the Ili of Ililoa, ahupuaa of Onouli 2. Gotten from Puhipuhi in 1839.	NT 8:616	MA 8:637 —
Onouli 1	6991 & 6992	Kokoiai	My claim is for cultivated area, not enclosed, island of Hawaii, District 3. There are 10 mala kalo, 7 mala uala, 1 mala maia, 1 mala kope, and 2 puhala. And a hale.  Kahana & Kaailei Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Pepe, ahupuaa of Onouli 1. Gotten from his parents in 1839.	NR 8:94, 501  NT 8:632	
Onouli iki Nauli uuku	925	J. Atkins	Nauli Hawaii Oct. 20, 1847 Gentlemen, In May 1827 I came on shore from the whale ship Harriet of London, as an Englishman; have resided here ever since, been employed most part of the time making shingles, sawing lumber and farming. I have a native wife and three children. In 1837 I made 100,000 shingles for Governor Adams, for which he was to pay me 500 dollars; 400 of which he paid when the work was done; leaving \$100 unpaid. In 1838 Govr. Adams gave me a tract of or parcel of land (about 60 acres) in payment for the \$100 remaining in his hands. The land is situated in Koho [Kona], and is known by the name of Nauli uuku; the part given to me is known, or called Keleehu [Kealaehu]. At that time 1838, the land was uncultivated. I took possession soon after, lived on & cultivated it since. I send a copy of two certificates from persons present at the time the land was given to me...  (Statements from Samuel Rice and Francis Johnson.) Johnson & Kuniola sworn: We know his claim, a parcel in the Ili of Kealaehu, ahupuaa of Onouli. It was given by Kuakini in 1837. Given in payment for his making shingles for the house of Kuakini. No one has objected.	NR 2:118  NT 8:616	MA 3:101 628 - 2:749



Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Onouli iki Nauli uuku	925 (continued)	J. Atkins	Francis Johnson and Kuniola sworn, deposed. They know the claim of James Atkins to consist of a part of the ili of K[e]jalaehu, Ahupuaa Onouli 2, called Owaiakau. The gift of Kuakini in the year 1838 in part payment for shingles made for stone church in Kailua. Bounded on all sides, by the land of Konohiki...	FT 5:58	MA 3:101 628 - 2:749
Onouli	7094	Kahananui	Kahananui, Konohiki. [diagram] 135 feet, by 216 feet by 201 feet [a c shaped parcel]. Island of Hawaii, District 3. 5 mala kalo. 5 mala uala. 2 mala kobe. 2 alani. 1 mala ipu.  Haawipuu is the name. He has a right to the things planted within the enclosed ili...  Deceased. His heir is Puhipuhi (f). Makaiwi Sworn: His claim is 12 kihapai kalo & uala, Cope, in the Ili of Ililoa & Laulaulahili & Kamalama, at Onouli. From Kuakini in 1839.	NR 8:102  NT 8:618	
Onouli	7095	Kaalei	Kaalei, School Teacher. [diagram] 96 feet, by 84 feet, by 56 feet, by 151 feet. Island of Hawaii, District 3. The ili is Kamuku, there are 8 mala kalo, 1 mala kobe, 10 mala uala, 1 mala wauke.  In the ili of Puuawa, there is 1 mala kalo, 3 mala uala... In the ili of Kukuioi there are 5 mala uala. At Kukuikala there is 1 mala uwala.  Kahana & Makaiwi Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kamuku, ahupuaa of Onouli. Gotten from Pali, his in-law, in 1839.	NR 8:103  NT 8:631	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Onouli 1	7198	Kukahuna	Enclosed pahale; 3 mala kalo; 4 mala uala; 2 mala ipu; 3 mala kobe; 4 puhala; 1 kumu niu.  Also, at Kapuapilau, Naiwiokolea has 9 mala kalo, 11 mala uala, 1 mala kobe; in the Ili of Kukuihaa, there is 1 puhala; in the Ili of Alapaiki, there is 1 mala kalo and 1 mala uala.  Kahana & Kaaua Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 2 kihapai kalo in the Ili of Kapuaawaha, at Onouli 1. Gotten from Pananau in 1844. Parcel 2, kihapai kalo at Kukuikupukupu. Gotten from Pananau in 1844.	NR 8:100  NT 8:619	MA 8:636 4132 - 17:261
Onouli	7203	Kahananui	An enclosed pahale with 2 houses (sketch).  Deceased, his heir is Puhipuhi (f). Nakookoo & Kapoi Sworn: We know his claim, a pahale parcel at Onouli 2, Ahu, From Kuakini in 1839.	NR 8:100 NT 8:617	MA 8:581 —
Onouli 1	7204	Kapoi	Enclosed pahale; in Ili of Kapuaapilau, 2 mala kalo, a mala kobe, and 2 mala uala; in the Ili of Kukuioi, 1 mala uala.  Kalawaia & Kaaua Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Kapuaapilau at Onouli 1. Gotten from his father in 1819. Parcel 2 is a pahale at Ililoa, Onouli 2. Gotten from Kahopuaku in 1844.	NR 8:101 NT 8:617	MA 8:636 —
Onouli	7277 E	Hamu	43 kihapai, gotten from Naeole. 3 kihapai are cultivated, there are also some kihapai kalo within the lot of Kaumiumi.  Makaiwi & Kaaua Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Ohiki, ahupuaa of Onouli. And Kapahukapu at Onouli 2. From his parents in 1819. Pahukapu was from Nanihonui in 1840.	NR 8:572 NT 8:632	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Onouli 2	7277 F	Makaiwi	Hamu & Kaaua Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Keaweloā and Laulaulahili, ahupuaa of Onouli 2. Gotten from Nihonui in 1839. Parcel 2 is a Pahale, in the Ili of Laulaulahili. From Nihonui in 1839.	NR — NT 8:633	
Onouli 1	8157 D	Kalawaiaiki	Kamaka & Kaaua Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Alapaiki, Onouli 1 Ahupuaa. Parcel 2 is in the Ili of Kamuku & the Pahale is in the Ili of Keaweloā, Onouli 1 Ahupuaa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR — NT 8:622	MA 8:638 —
Onouli	8455	Kanapi Kahananui	This kuleana is for the things which have been cultivated, his house has not been enclosed. In the Ili of Ohia, there are 2 mala kalo, 3 mala uala, 2 [mala] ipu, 1 hala tree, and 1 hau tree. In the Ili of Laulaulahili, there are 2 mala kope, and 2 mala uala.  Kahana & Kaaua Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Ohia, at Onouli. It was given him by Alapai in 1840.	NR 8:530  NT 8:620	MA 8:580 6621 - 24:615
Onouli 1 & 2	8523 B	Kaaua	Makaiwi & Hamu Sworn: We know that Kaailei wrote his claim. It is in the Ili of Nohoau & Papuaa, in the Ahupuaa of Onouli 1 & Onouli 2. Gotten from Kahana and Kapaamakahiki in 1839 and 1844. (See further claim documentation in L.C.A. # 8529.)	NR — NT 8:632	MA 8:640 3899 - 16:557
Onouli	8527	Kalawaia	He has a claim for an area he cultivates. His house has not been enclosed. Island of Hawaii, District 3. In the ili of Pepe, there are 13 mala kalo, 9 mala uala, and 3 puhala.  Kapoi & Kapoi [Kapoo] Sworn: We know his claim in the Ili of Pepe 1 & Pepe 2, Onouli, gotten from his parents and Naihe in 1819.	NR 8:532  NT 8:617	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Onouli	9771	Panaunau	My claim is in the Ili of Kalaeloa. Kalealii is on the north; Ulukukahi is on the south; Keohokalole is the overseer. My claim is 1 mala kalo and 1 mala kope. Kapule & Kaaua Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Keaweloa, Onouli Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kaaua in 1839. (Figure 16)	NR 8:573  NT 8:619	MA 8:637 —
Onouli  Kaawaloa  & Kiloanui	9723	Hoolapa  & Mahuna	My kuleana is 1 moo aina at Kiloanui, there are many kihapai, cultivated by me. Hoolapa.  My claim is 1 Ili at Onouli, gotten from Keohokalole; 1 Ili at Kaawaloa, Pahaka is the name of the Ili, gotten from Keohokalole. There are several kihapai there; there is 1 mala uala at Kaahaloaiki; 1 mala uala at Kaahaloanui; 3 mala uala hou [new/foreign potatoes] at Kiloaiki, the Ili; 5 mala kalo at Waipunaula, ahupuaa, gotten from Kalaimoku. Mahuna died, it is his heirs. Papaula & Kaikuaana Sworn: we know his claim, a parcel in the Ili of Papa at Kaawaloa. Gotten from his father, Kapookulou in the year 1819.	NR 8:566  NT 8:585	
Keopuka & Kaawaloa	6750	Awahua	I have a pa (house lot) and some kihapai near the shore at Kaawaloa, under the names of Maieha and <u>Niukukahi</u> . There is also a lot in the uplands of Kaawaloa, at Waipio, under the name of Keekeue. Also at Keopuka, I have some kihapai. The boundaries of all these properties are known.  Ioba & Manoauwaa Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 5 kihapai kalo in the Ili of <u>Kukuna</u> at <u>Kealaehu</u> , Kaawaloa. Gotten from Naihe in 1819. Parcel 2 is 18 kihapai kalo & uala in the Ili of <u>Haleolono</u> at Keopuka Ahupuaa. Gotten from Naihe in the year 1826. Parcel three is a Pahale in the Ili of <u>Waipio</u> at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Kapiolani in 1834. Parcel 4 is the Pahale of Maieha at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Keohokalole in 1841. (Figure 17)	NR 8:189  NT 8:612-613	MA 7:338 3827 - 16:413



Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kaawaloa	9441	Maka	My claim is for 12 kihapai which I have worked with my own hands; 1 mala kalo, 3 mala uala, 1 mala kope, and 1 Pahale. Awahua Sworn: I know his claim. Parcel 1 is 12 kihapai kalo & uala & Cope, in the Ili of Paohia, at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Kaulia in 1840. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Papuaa, Kaawaloa, from Kaulia in 1840.	NR 8:551  NT 8:626	MA 7:336 5314 - 21:283
Kaawaloa	9442	Palau	My claim is in the Ili of <u>Maualili</u> , 3 mala uala. I also have a Pahale.  Keaweaeheulu & loba Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is the Ili of Manuapipi at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Lalona in 1830. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Papuaa at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Kakio in 1844.	NR 8:551  NT 8:613	MA 7:337 4926 - 20:75
Kaawaloa	9443	Apana	My claim is 3 mala uala, 2 mala kalo, and 1 pahale, 30 [fathoms] in circumference.  Keaweaeheulu & loba Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 3 kihapai kalo & uala in the Ili of Kohelao at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Awahua in 1840. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Papuaa at Kaawaloa. Kaimiwale is the one who gave it to him in 1844.	NR 8:551  NT 8:613	MA 7:336 —
Kaawaloa	9444	Makaku or Nahaku	My claim is 2 mala kalo, 3 mala uala, and 1 Pahale; it is 41 [fathoms] 3 [feet] in circumference.  Awahua Sworn: I know his claim. Parcel 1 is 2 kihapai in the Ili of Kohelao at Kaawaloa. Parcel 2 is 2 kihapai kalo at Haleolono, gotten from me in 1840. Parcel three is a Pahale in the Ili of Niukukahi at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Kalua in 1842.	NR 8:551  NT 8:613	MA 7:337 4927 - 20:77
Kaawaloa	9445	Kui	My claim is in the Ili of Papa, there are 2 mala kalo, 5 mala uala, and 1 Pahale; 50 [fathoms] in circumference. Awahua Sworn: I know his claim, it is 7 kihapai kalo & uala in the Ili of Papa at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Kepookulou in 1819.	NR 8:551  NT 8:613	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kaawaloa	9446	Ioba (Iopa)	My claim is 2 mala kalo, 2 mala uala, and 1 Pahale; 50 [fathoms] in circumference.  Awahua Sworn: I know his lands. Parcel 1 is 4 kihapai kalo & uala in the Ili of Haleape at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Kapiolani in 1839. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Papuaa at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Kapiolani in 1834.	NR 8:551  NT 8:613	MA 7:337 5478 - 21:611
Kaawaloa	9447	Palahu	My claim is in the Ili of Manohihi 1, there are 4 mala uala, 1 mala kope, and 1 Pahale; it is 37 [fathoms] in circumference.  Keaweaeheulu & Ioba Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the Ili of Maunapipi at Kaawaloa. It was given by Kaahumanu to the parents of his wife in 1819. Parcel 2 is a pahale at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Naihe in 1830.	NR 8:551  NT 8:614	MA 7:338 —
Kaawaloa	9448	Kapua	My claim is 4 mala uala and 1 Pahale; 41 fathoms in circumference.  Keaweaeheulu & Apana Sworn: We know his claim. 4 kihapai uala in the Ili of Maunapipi at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Awahua in 1841. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in an Ili of Kaawaloa. Gotten from his parents in 1819.	NR 8:552  NT 8:614	
Kaawaloa	9449	Naolu or Naahu	My claim is in the Ili of Halepeu, there are 3 mala uala, and 1 Pahale.  Keaweaeheulu Sworn: I know his claim, it is in the Ili of Halepeu, at Kaawaloa. I gave it to him in 1830.	NR 8:552  NT 8:614	MA 7:338 —
Kaawaloa	9450	Nahina (with Nanea)	My claim is 4 mala uwala, 5 mala kalo, 1 mala kope, and 1 Pahale for the two of us, Nahina and Nanea.  Dead, his heir is Awahua. Apana & Palahu Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is 3 kihapai uala. Parcel 2 is a Pahale in the Ili of Papuaa at Kaawaloa. Gotten from Awahua in 1830.	NR 8:552  NT 8:614	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kaawaloa	9451	Nanea	My claim is 1 ma[la] kalo and 1 Pahale, 58 [fathoms] in circumference.  Dead, his heir is Kaaikiola. Kaaikiola and M. Oponui Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is a Pahale in the Ili of Halapeu at Kaawaloa. Gotten from his kupuna in the time of Kalaiopuu, to the time of Kamehameha I, in 1819. No one has objected. The boundaries are: upland, Nahina; west, alanui; south, Kaio; shore, the ocean.	NR 8:552  NT 8:596	
Kaawaloa	9772	Nanaihe (Naihe)	My claim is the moo aina of Halepeu. Maieha is on the north; Waikoko is on the south; Malaino is to the uplands. Keohokalole is the overseer.  Keaweaeheulu and Milia Sworn: We know his claim, a parcel in the Ili of <u>Halapeu</u> , ahupuaa of Kaawaloa. An inheritance from Kamakau in 1819.	NR 8:573  NT 8:581	
Kaawaloa & Keopuka  Kalama 1	7016 B	Keawe (with Kupo and Lilikalani)  Kupo	My claim is in the Ili of Makialo, ahupuaa of Kaawaloa. There are also five kihapai kalo in the Ili of Kukuiole, in the ahupuaa of Keopuka.  Palau & Kawaha Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1 is in the ili of Ililoa, Kalama 1 Ahupuaa, gotten from Keawepaaikanaka in 1840. Parcel 2 is a kihapai kalo in the ili of Kealamoho, gotten from Paelua in 1847. Boundaries surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:205  NT 8:595	
Kaawaloa	7070	Kaalohuli	A kuleana in the Ili of Paohia, gotten from Waianuheu.	NR 8:239 NT —	
Kaawaloa	7072	Kahoowala	My kuleana is in the Ili of Paohia, there are four mala uala.	NR 8:239	



Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kealakekua	7008	Keaka	My ili was gotten from Awahua, it is named Keanana. Its' size is from the pali to the amaumau. I have cultivated 8 kihapai uala. In the ili of Kohe, I have 2 kihapai uala. In the ili of Haleape, I have 2 kihapai. At Aiopiopio, I have 1 kihapai uala. In the ili of Puukau, I have three kihapai uala, and in the ili of Namuku, I have 1 kihapai kalo.  All of these kihapai and these ili I got from Awahua. Claimant says he has forsaken the place mentioned in this claim, and therefore withdraws it. (Translation from original Native Testimony.)	NR 8:200  NT 8:668	
Kealakekua	7101 (see also Claim No. 9436)	lalua	The circumference of this lot is 1080 . Here is my kuleana at Kaluaopae. Kaluaopae is the Ili, there is 1 mala kalo, 7 mala uala. The right to this kuleana came to me from Kamehameha... (also describes parcel at Kohala) Kalalo, Sworn: says he knows the land claimed by lalua. He has forsaken and given up that part of his claim which consists of land for cultivation. His House Lot is in Kealakekua. It is enclosed. There is one house in it. Clt. derived the Lot a long time ago, and has occupied it ever since. (Translation from original Native Testimony.)	NR 8:241-242  NT 8:669	MA 7:335 5313 - 21:279
Kealakekua	9433	Hale	I have 4 kihapai uala in the ahupuaa of Kealakekua.	NR 8:549 NT —	
Kealakekua	9434	Haweia	I have 4 kihapai uala in the ahupuaa of Kealakekua.	NR 8:549 NT —	
Kealakekua	9435	Keanu	In the ahupuaa of Kealakekua, I have 10 kihapai uala, 4 kihapai kalo, and 1 Pahale.	NR 8:550 NT —	
Kealakekua	9436	lalua	In the Ili of Kaluaopae, ahupuaa of Kealakekua, I have 1 kihapai kalo and 1 kihapai uala. (See also L.C.A. # 7101.)	NR 8:550 NT —	
Kealakekua	9437	Kamakaliili	In the Ili of Waiakekua, ahupuaa of Kealakekua there is 1 kihapai uala, and 1 Pahale, 318 feet in circumference.	NR 8:550 NT —	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kealakekua	9731	Lono	My claim is an ili gotten from Makue. Kaahaloa is the name of the ili. There is 1 mala uala, 1 mala of new (foreign) potatoes at Kiloa, and 1 mala of foreign potatoes at Kalama.  Kaumiumi & Kaimoku Sworn: We know his claim, it is in the Ili of Kaahaloa at Kealakekua. Gotten from his parents in 1819. Parcel 2, a kihapai uala at Keawawa, at Kalama 2. Gotten from Paelua in 1844. Boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:568  NT 8:588	
Kealakekua	9786 (see also Claim No. 9731)	Lono	I have a pahale, it is 213 feet in circumference.	NR 8:576	
Kealakekua	9787	Kaahanui	I have a Pahale, it is 384 feet in circumference.  Pupule Sworn, says he knows the kuleana of Kaahanui in Kealakekua. It consists of a House Lot enclosed by a stone wall. There is but one house in it. Clt. derived it from her ancestors over ten years ago... (Translated in Native Testimony)	NR 8:576  NT 8:668	
Kealakekua	9788	Nuuanu	I have a pahale, it is 885 feet in circumference. (Final claim limited to parcels at Kiloa.)	NR 8:576 NT 8:582-583	
Kealakekua	9789	Kauai	I have a pahale, it is 342 feet in circumference. (Final claim limited to parcel at Waipunaula.)	NR 8:576 NT8:590	
Kealakekua	11183	Lono	Claimant being sworn, says his claim was drawn up by Lilikalani in 1847, and sent to Honolulu.  Kealoha sworn, says he knows the kuleana of Lono in Kealakekua. It is a House Lot enclosed with a stone wall. There are 3 houses in it belonging to Lono. It is bounded on Kau side by Kanehoahana's lot. Makai by land intervening between claimant and the sea. Mauka by the public Road. Clt. derived the lot from his mother in law some five years ago... (Translation from original Native Testimony.)	NT 8:665	

Ahupua'a, Ili (land sections)	Helu (Award No.)	Claimant/Awardee	Type of Usage and Features, and Source of Claim	Book Source	MA /Bk.:p R.P. No./Bk.:p
Kealakekua	11185	Kamauli	Kaaimoku sworn, says he knows the kuleana of Clt. It is a House Lot, partly enclosed, in Kealakekua. It is bounded Mauka by the Konohiki. On Kau side by Gov't. Land. Makai by Poaka's land. Clt. derived the lot from his ancestors... (Translation from original Native Testimony.)	NT 8:669	
Kealakekua & Waipunaula	9453	Papaula	2 Pahale. The first pahale is 978 feet in circumference. The second pahale is 380 feet in circumference. By Papaula, School teacher.  Poaka Moo & Kaikuaana Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1, 2 pahale in the Ili of Kaahaloa at Kealakekua; and in the Ili of Ililoa at Waipunaula. Gotten from his in-laws in 1819, and his mother in 1847. Boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki	NR 8: 568  NT 8:585	
Kiloa & Kealakekua	9727	Laiolii	I have a claim for an ili, gotten from Nalehu, and the ahupuaa of Kiloaiki. Kaluakupua is the name of the ili, there are 2 mala kalo. At Namuku there are 2 mala uala. At Hinakukui there is 1 kou tree. Kealakekua is the boundary of the ahupuaa, it extends from the sea and enters the woods.  (Final claim limited to Pahale at Kiloa.)	NR 8:567  NT 8:587	
Kiloa & Kealakekua	9728	Kualaiki	I have a claim for an ili gotten from Laiolii, named Ililoa. There are 2 mala uala and 1 mala kalo at Kaluakupua. There is 1 mala uala at Kaahaloa.  Nakoo & Kaikuana Sworn: We know his claim. Parcel 1, is 4 kihapai kalo & uala at Ililoa in Kiloa, gotten from Laiolii in 1840; parcel 2, a kihapai kalo in the Ili of Kaluakupua, Kiloa; and parcel 3, a kihapai uala in the Ili of Kaahaloa, at Kealakekua, gotten from Lono in 1840. Surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.	NR 8:567  NT 8:584-585	

Hele 5786.

Kapela.

Keauhou 2. Iona. Hawaii, 573

Kapela ma Keauhou 2. Iona. Hawaii.

Apama 1. Apama aima. Ehuuaka ma ke kiki Iim. Iim. a e helo.  
 Mo. 66° 30' Nih. 9.26 Ii ma ke aima e Iokhoarac.  
 Mo. 74° 25' Nih. 1.58 " " " " ke Iokhoarac.  
 Mo. 72° 15' Nih. 5.23 " " " " " " " "  
 Mo. 21' Iom. 1.42 " " " " " " " "  
 Iom. 73' Iom. 7.34 " " " " " " " "  
 Iom. 69' Iom. 8.63 " " " " " " " "  
 Iom. 16' Nih. 1.35 " " " " " " " " a kiki i kahi i huuakahi.  
 Uuku e kua Apama aima ke 2 3/4 Eka.

Iona Hawaii. Augt 10. 1852.

J. Fuller  
Luna ana aima.

Apama 2. Pahale ma Keauhou, Iona. Hawaii. Ehuuaka ma ke kiki Iim. a kua  
 Pahale. pili ma ke Iepohaku, ma kapa e ke ala. a ma ke aima e Iim. a e helo ana  
 Iim. 59° 25' Iom. 107 Iap. aima. Iim. 25° 18' Nih. 70 Iap. aima. Iim. 79° Nih. 104 Iap. aima.  
 Iim. 21° 25' Iom. 85 Iap. a kiki i kahi i huuakahi.

Ma ia Apama 222 Fathoms  
James Dillon  
1<sup>st</sup> Nov. 1851.

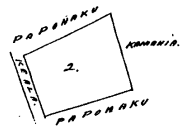
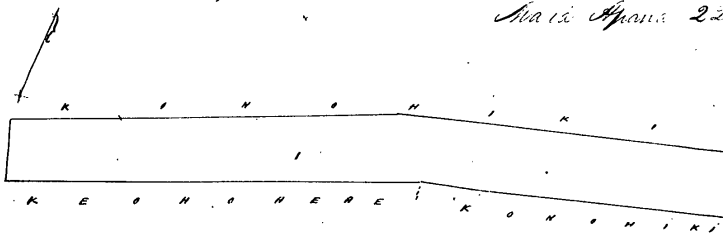


Figure 9. Notes of Survey – L.C.A. 5786 to Kapela at Keauhou 2 (Mahele Award Book 8:573)

Heleu. 17958. Keliinohokaha.

Honalo. Kona. Hawaii.

Ke aina e Keliinohokaha ma Honalo, Kona. Hawaii.

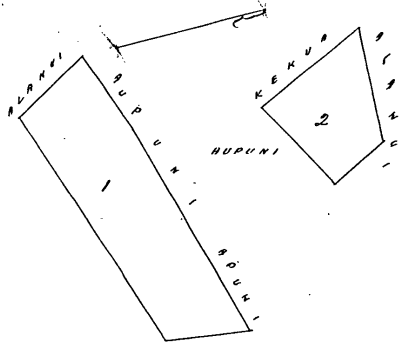
Apurua 1. Ehoomaha ma ke kuli Hono. Heik. a e holo.  
 Mh. 7° 30' Heik. 184 Kk. ma ke aina e ke Apurua.  
 Hono. 74° Hono. 5.00 " " " " " "  
 Hono. 70° 30' Hono. 195 " " " " " "  
 Hono. 30° 30' Heik. 193 " " " " " "  
 Mh. 71° 15' Heik. 5.67 " " " " " " a hiki i haki i  
 hoomatua'i. - Heiko e keia Apurua-aina he 1 13/100 Eka.

Apurua 2. He Pahale ma Honalo. Kona. Hawaii, Ehoomaha ma ke kuli Mh.  
 Heik. a e holo.

Mh. 26° 45' Hono. 1.42 Kk. ma ke Kona.  
 Mh. 87° 30' Hono. 2.52 " " " " " "  
 Hono. 24° 15' Heik. 2.70 " " " " " "  
 Mh. 60° 15' Heik. 2.27 " " " " " " a hiki i haki i  
 hoomatua'i. Heiko e keia Pahale he 46/100 Eka.

Kona Hawaii  
 Augt 8. 1852.

J. Fuller  
 Lama ana aina.



2 KH = 1000 ft.

Figure 10. Notes of Survey – L.C.A. 7958 to Keliinohokaha at Honalo (Mahele Award Book 8:557)

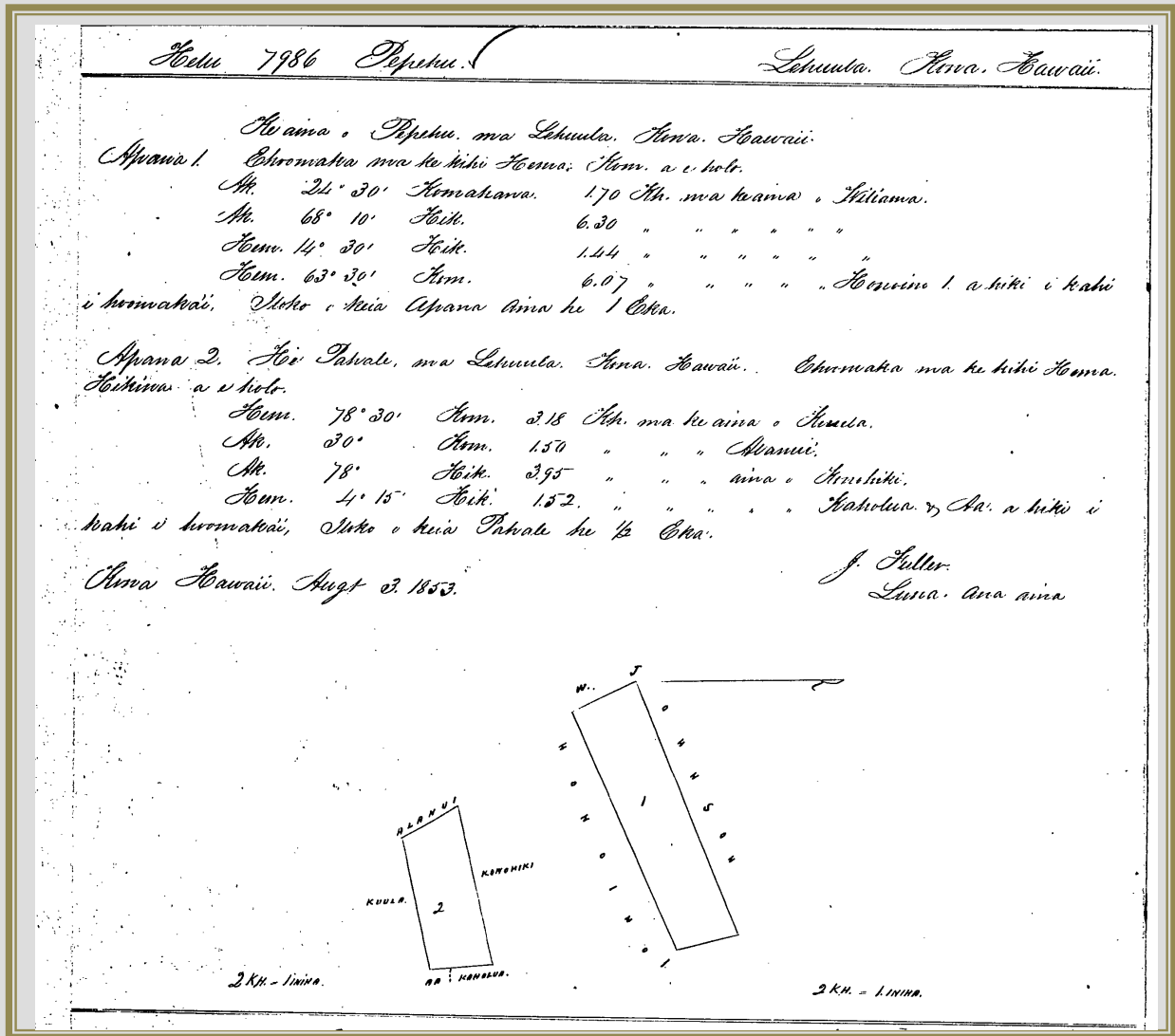
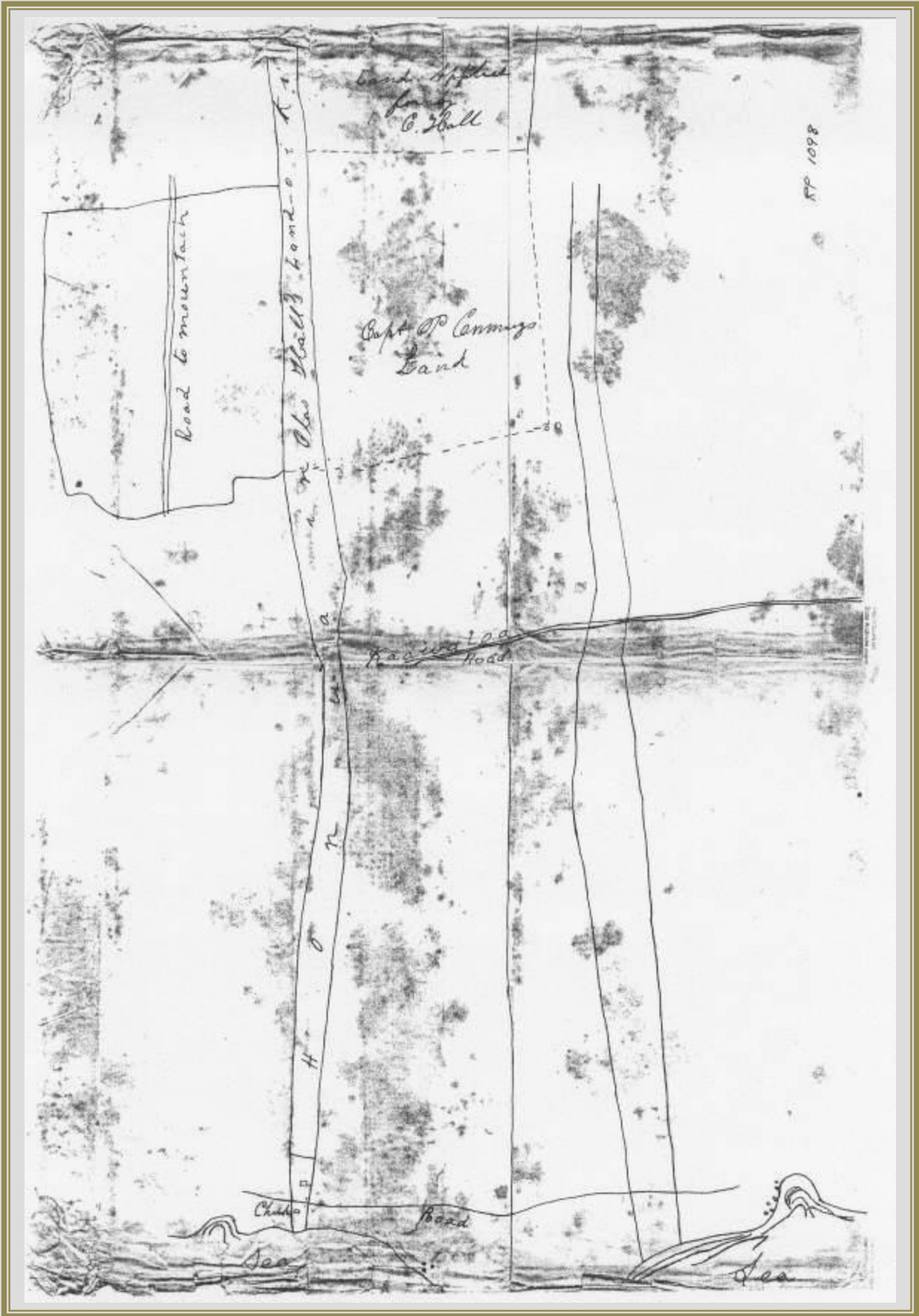


Figure 11. Notes of Survey – L.C.A. 7986 to Pepehu at Lehuula (Mahele Award Book 8:563)

ON FOLLOWING PAGE:  
 Figure 12. Map of L.C.A. 614, R.P. 1098 to C. Hall at Honuaino 2 (December 1, 1847). Depicting parcel in Honua'ino 3 and neighboring lands to Nawawa Village; with makai and mauka alignments of Alanui Aupuni, and a mauka-makai trail in Honuaino 2 (also see reference in L.C.A. 3659 below). (State Archives Series 294 – RP 1098)



*Order 3659 of J. Martin ✓ Honouine Honouaia*

*He aino o J. Martin ma Honouine 2, Kona, Hawaii.  
 E huihuaka ma ke kiki Akau Amehana,  
 a: hele Ma 73' Hele 9, 88 Ma ma ke Maui o C. Hall  
 Hele 12' 15' Hele 5, 47 " " aino o  
 Hele 84' Hele 10, 05 " " Honouine 3  
 Ma 10' 15' Hele 3, 77 " " Alanai Aupuni  
 a hiki i kahi o hoi makai i Hele i kua. (Pana he 4 7/10 Eka). He pua i kua.*

*Kona, Hawaii Aug 3, 1852. J. Fuller  
 Lumanuina*

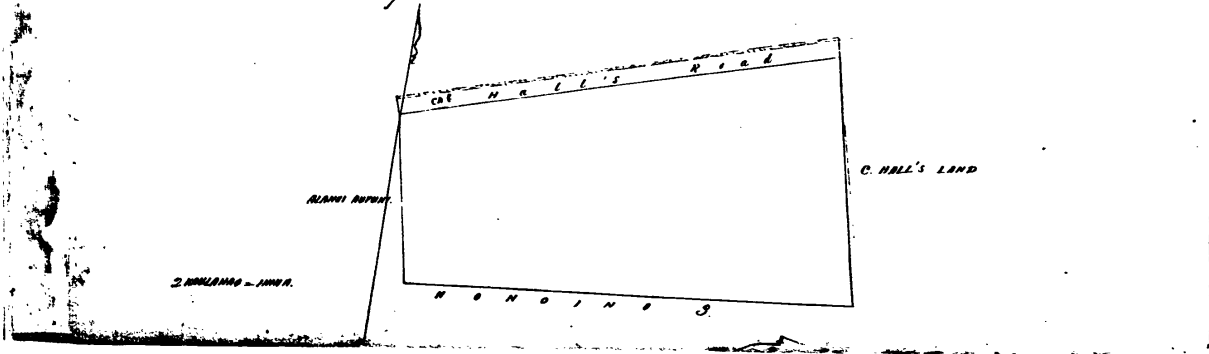
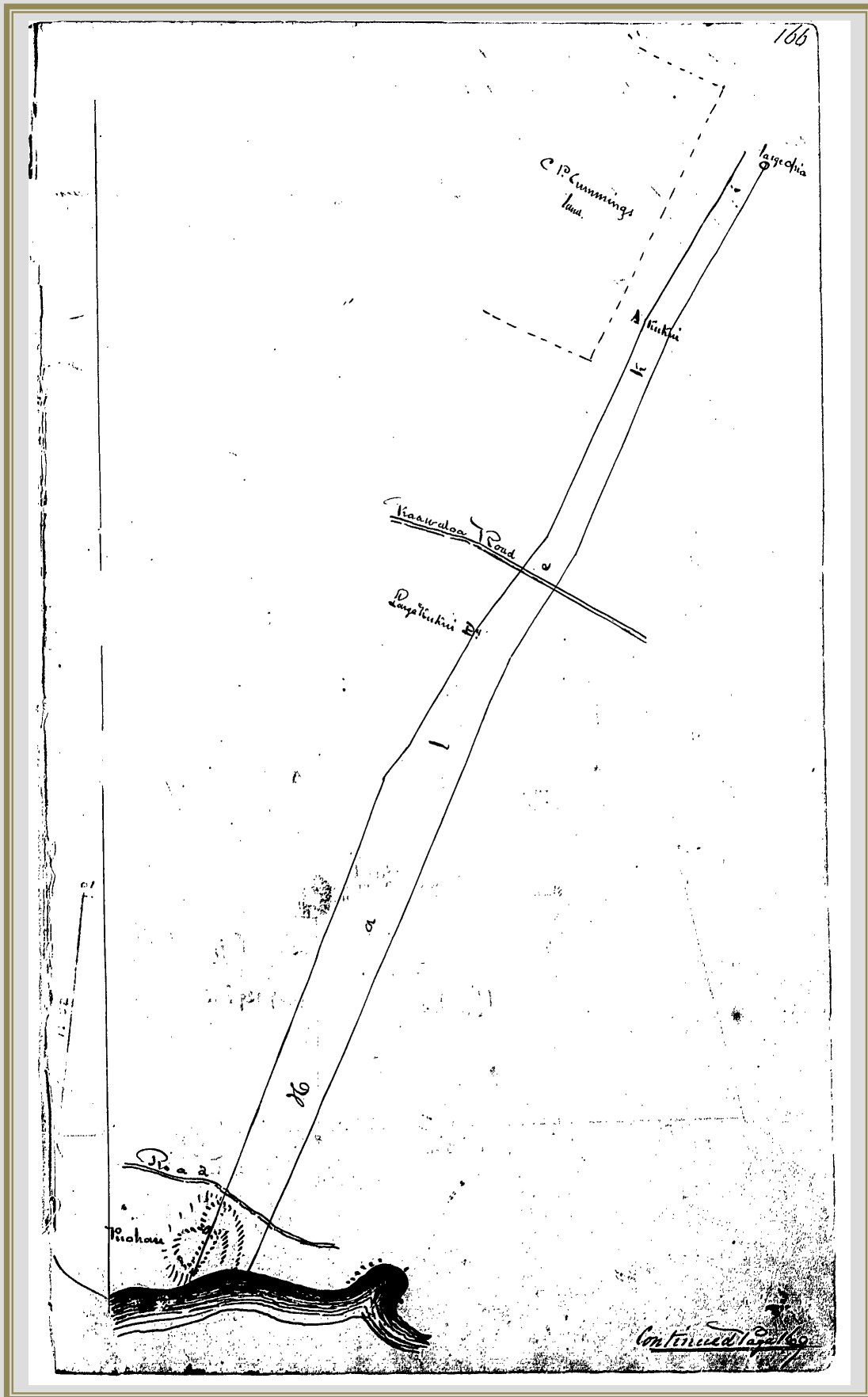


Figure 13. Notes of Survey – L.C.A.3659 to J. Martin at Honouaino 3 (Mahele Award Book 8:581)







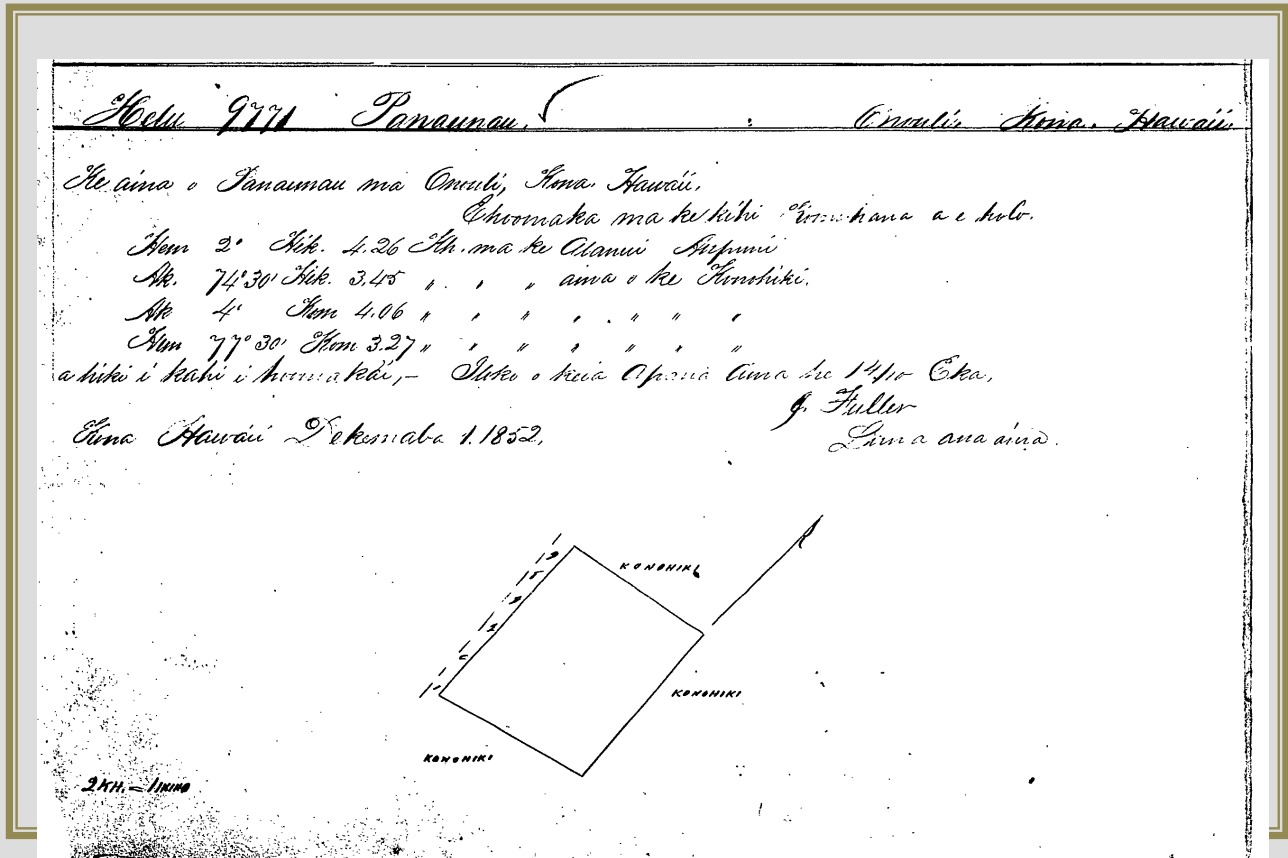


Figure 16. Notes of Survey – L.C.A.9771 to Panaunau at Onouli (Mahele Award Book 8:637)

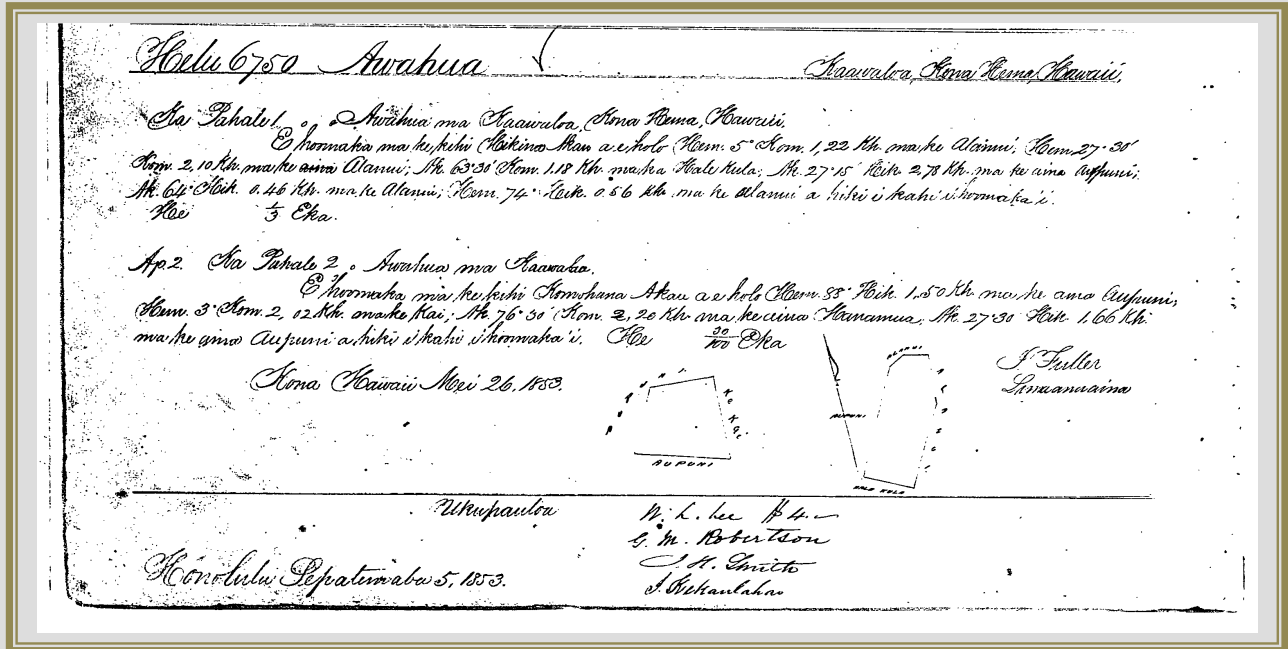


Figure 17. Notes of Survey – L.C.A. 6750 to Awahua at Kaawaloa (Mahele Award Book 7:338) (note: Apana 1 bounds the Alanui Aupuni and old Kaawaloa School Lot)

## **The Kula Lands (and Dryland Agricultural Fields) of the Keauhou-Kealakekua Landscape**

At this point, it is appropriate to briefly discuss the cultural landscape of the kula (the open, arable lands) of Kona, and their importance to the well-being of the hoā'āina (native tenants). As recorded in the preceding Māhele claims (those awarded and not awarded), hundreds of cultivated fields were described as being on the kula—extending from an area behind the shore to the low forest lands—in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. In the Māhele, use of the word kula is synonymous, with an area that was cultivated.

David Malo, earliest of the eminent Hawaiian historians of the nineteenth century, was born on the shores of Keauhou Bay, in ca. 1793. In his writings (“Hawaiian Antiquities” 1951), he provided readers with in-depth accounts of life, customs, beliefs, religion, and practices in Hawai'i prior to the overthrow of the Hawaiian religious and kapu system in 1820. In his discussions on dryland planting practices, the importance of agriculture to the Hawaiian family, and specific practices in Kona, Malo (1951), described the kula as an important zone for residence and residence-associated agricultural fields. Excerpts from his narratives are cited below:

### **AGRICULTURE**

1. Agriculture was a matter of great importance in Hawaii, because by it a man obtained the means of supporting himself and his wife, his children, friends, and domestic animals. It was associated, however, with the worship of idols...
3. On the kula lands, farming was a laborious occupation and called for great patience, being attended by many drawbacks. On some of these were grubs, or caterpillars, or blight, hauoki (frost), or kahe (freshets), or the sun was too scorching; besides which there were many other hindrances...
8. The cultivation of kula lands was quite different from that of irrigable lands. The farmer merely cleared of weeds as much of the land as he thought would suffice. If he was to plant taro (upland taro), he dug holes and enriched them with a mulch of kukui leaves, ashes, or dirt, after which he planted the taro. In some places they simply planted without mulch or fertilizer.
9. Taro was constantly weeded until it had grown to be of good size, when it was fit to be made into poi or used as a food in some other way. It was twelve months before it was mature and ready for pulling to be made into food.
10. If a field of potatoes was desired, the soil was raised into hills, in which the stems were planted; or the stems might merely be thrust into the ground anyhow, and the hilling done after the plants were grown; the vines are also thrown back upon the hill. In six months the potatoes were ripe. Such was the cultivation of kula land.
11. On the kula lands the farms of the alii were called koele, hakuone, or kuakua, those of the people, mahina-ai...
14. There was kula land on parts of...Hawaii. Kona was the part of Hawaii most exposed to the sun, because of the prolonged dryness of the weather. They frequently suffered from famine in that district. In time of famine the people of Kona performed religious ceremonies with great diligence and carefully reckoned the months in which to plant.

15. There were different kinds of farmers. Those who really made a business of it and worked until sunset were called ili-pilo. Those who kept at it for only a short time and did not do much at it were called ili-helo (dry skin)... (Malo 1951:204-206).

The extensive remains identified in the fields between Keauhou and Keōpuka, as a result of archaeological studies (see Robins et al. 1999 and Mills and Irani 2000), conform with the discussion by Malo, the Māhele testimonies, and descriptions of land use recorded in oral history interviews reported in this study.

## Historical Communications Documenting Land Use, Applications for Land and Residency (ca. 1845-1906)

This section of the study includes communications between applicants for land, Government Land Agents, and various departments of the government, which provide readers with important documentation regarding land tenure and use of lands and resources in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region (including lands awarded in the Māhele, Royal Patent Grant lands, and the larger Government land base) between 1845 to 1906. The communications were found in the collection of the Hawaii State Archives and Land Division. The catalogue location at which the original letters may be viewed is indicated at the end of each document cited (in the case of Land Division documents, Land Division is indicated).

In addition to the descriptions of residency and land use recorded as a part of the Māhele, native residents and foreign residents also made applications for Royal Patent Grants on lands in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. The process for applications was set forth by the “Enabling Act” of August 6, 1850, which set aside portions of government lands for grants—

**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. [“Enabling Act” – DLNR 2-4]

The Kingdoms’ policy of providing land grants to native tenants was further clarified in a communication from Interior Department Clerk, A. G. Thurston, on behalf of Keoni Ana (John Young), Minister of the Interior; to J. Fuller, Government Land Agent-Kona:

February 23, 1852

...His Highness the Minister of the Interior instructs me to inform you that he has and does hereby appoint you to be Land Agent for the District of Kona, Hawaii.

You will entertain no application for the purchase of any lands, without first receiving some part, say a fourth or fifth of the price; then the terms of sale being agreed upon between yourself and the applicant you will survey the land, and send the survey, with your report upon the same to this office, for the Approval of the Board of Finance, when your sales have been approved you will collect the balance due of the price; upon the receipt of which at this office, the Patent will be forwarded to you.

Natives who have no claims before the Land Commission have no Legal rights in the soil. They are therefore to be allowed the first chance to purchase their homesteads. Those who neglect or refuse to do this, must remain dependant upon the mercy of whoever purchases the land: as those natives now are who having no kuleanas are living on lands already Patented, or belonging to Konohikis.

Where lands have been granted, but not yet Patented, the natives living on the land are to have the option of buying their homesteads, and then the grant be located, provided this can be done so as not to interfere with them.  
No Fish Ponds are to be sold, neither any landing places.

As a general thing you will charge the natives but 50 cents pr. acre, not exceeding 50 acres to any one individual.

Whenever about to survey land adjoining that of private individuals, notice must be given them or their agents to be present and point out their boundaries... [Interior Department Letter Book 3:210-211]

In between 1849 and 1886 a total of 62 applications were patented as grants on land that was a part of the Government inventory of lands between Honalo to Kealakekua. Of that total, 27 grants were issued to native Hawaiian applicants for 2,348.05 acres of land. Thirty-five grants were issued to foreign residents for 12,630.744 acres of land. Many of the native grantees had also claimed, and in some cases been awarded kuleana in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region during the Māhele. Table 3, below is a list of all grantees (including the Royal Patent Number, location of lands and number of acres) for lands in the study area up to 1886 (underlining of names indicates that the individual had been a native applicant for kuleana in the same, or neighboring ahupua'a).

**Table 3. Royal Patent Grants for Lands of the Keauhou-Kealakekua Region (1850-1886)**

<b>Grant No.</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Grantee</b>	<b>Acres</b>
2342 ½	Honalo	Wm. Johnson	454.5
1172	"	Kamoehalau	53
726	"	<u>Molale</u>	50
1594	"	<u>Poka</u>	40
1173	"	J. Travis	70
1595	"	J. Travis	175
974	Kuamoo	Ehu	50
2028	"	Ehu	44
1598	Kawanui & Kuamoo	Wm. Johnson	280.5
1652	"	Wm. Johnson	49
1178	Kawanui	Hapuku	44
1597	"	<u>Kalua</u>	49
1465	"	<u>Pelapela</u>	40
987	"	<u>Pololi</u>	76
1596	"	<u>Pololi</u>	1.1
193	Kawanui & Honuaino	Wm. Johnson	484.4
1195	"	Wm. Johnson	482
761	Honuaino	J. Cavanagh	98.6
1453	"	J. Cavanagh	64
1462	Honuaino 3	Makaiki	137
2029	"	Makaiki	56.5
69	Honuaino-Hokukano	P. Cummings	464
1170	"	C. Hall	375
1651	"	C. Hall	350
3155	"	H.N. Greenwell	8027

Table 3. (continued)

Grant No.	Location	Grantee	Acres
864	Hokukano	H. Holdsworth	235.24
1463	"	<u>Keawe</u>	133
210	"	W. Whitmarsh	61.3
992	"	W. Whitmarsh	111
1587	" & Kanaeue 2	J. Peters	68.5
173	Kanaeue 2	J. Peters	58.6
865	Kanaeue 1 & 2	<u>J. Nakookoo</u>	150
1174	Ilikahi	Kuai	31
1175	"	<u>Nakauwaa</u> (also written Makauwaa)	31.5
927	"	I. Vanbrackban	35
866	Ilikahi & Keekee	<u>Kapule</u>	50.5
1745	Ilikahi, Keekee, & Kalukalu	J. Cavenagh	118
925	Keekee	<u>Panaunau</u>	60
928	"	J. Antone	37
977	"	<u>Panaunau</u>	60
1177	"	<u>Kamakahiona</u>	57.4
1176	"	<u>Kini</u>	68.75
2004	"	Kuana	61
2963	"	<u>Kapule</u>	36.5
1464	Kanakau	<u>Ialua</u>	61.75
1862	"	<u>Kapule</u>	102
787	Kalukalu & Kanakau	H. N. Greenwell	312.88
2910	"	J. Yates	150
1160	Kalukalu	H. N. Greenwell	18.75
2964	"	H. N. Greenwell	0.32
1576	"	<u>Lohi</u>	64.3
969	Onouli	J. Atkins	94.6
1162	"	F. O. Schulze	189.33
2862	Onouli & Keopuka	<u>Awahua</u>	739.75
148	Keopuka	D. Barrett	83.4
1171	"	P. Cummings	96
1161	"	J. D. Paris	14.5
1584	"	D. Barrett	38.5
1460	Kealakekua	P. Cummings	0.33
1459	"	W. R. Simerson	2
625	Kealakekua & Waipunaula	P. Cummings	0.084
96	"	P. Cummings ["Index of all Grants..." 1887]	0.14

Kailua

September 13, 1845

Samuel Rice to Keoni Ana (Minister of Interior):

...I have in view to purchase a small land of this government if it should meet your approbation the said land from my land in Kainaliu at the head of it, it is run up to fern, and under no cultivation. There is, I should think about ninety acres of it. I wish use it for my cattle to run on should like to pay you yearly until the sum is paid but what ever your Decisions may be I will abide by. Govr. Pitt can give all the information in regard to the land that I speak of. I would like to have you send a line when you have take it in to consideration... [DLNR Box 2-4]

Kainaliu

July 5, 1846

Charles Hall, to John Young (Minister of the Interior):

I have a small piece of land in view that I wish to purchase or rent for some length of time, it lays in the vicinity of Kainaliu where I now reside and hold a small land from Mr. Rice. Joining it is all wild land grown with Brake's and other wild vegetation. It has not been cultivated since my residence here, that is about 8 years. It is back in the country 4 miles from the sea beach it is good for not much else but for pasture. What I want of it for my income is to small for my cattle it cuts off the head of 3 or 4 lands by the wall that Kamehameha I built for to keep the cattle back when they were first landed on the island. If I can get it I should like to know it as soon as possible or if you would give me liberty to feed my cattle thence till other arrangements is made. You will get some information by Gov Pitt how the land is situated better perhaps then I can describe it probably thence is forty to 100 Acres. I have the honor to be your humble servant... [DLNR 2-4]

January 3, 1850

William Johnson, to John Young, Minister of Interior:

...I am desirous of purchasing a strip of land by the name of Lehuulaiki 2 in Kona Hawaii. It runs from the "great walled lot" which the Government has been pleased to grant me, down to the sea. My principal object in obtaining this land is to secure a road to the sea, which would be indispensable to the success of farming.

I am also ambitious to grow every variety of productions that the Islands are capable of, which I cannot do on my present grant on account of its great height above the sea.

This land, I am credibly informed , belongs to Government. It has no improvements whatever on it, I am willing to pay {\$1.00} one dollar per acre, cash down. The extent of it I cannot well judge, probably about 250 acres...

(August 1851 – Royal Patent Grant No. 669 for 94 34/100ths acres at Lehuula issued to Wm. Johnson.)

February 28, 1850

Nakookoo, to Keoni Ana (Minister of the Interior):

...I desire to purchase a parcel of land in fee-simple. It is the remnant of Kanaeue 1 and Kanaeue 2 below the alaloa [the mauka Government Road], that which remains below John Peter and Thomas [illegible].

I would also like to obtain all that remains below to the sea, of these Ahupuaa. The boundary in the ocean is at the Koa Weke [Weke Fishing Ground], named Hoakihala.



If there are 200 acres or more, I would pay twenty-five cents each acre. If there are less than 200 acres, I would pay fifty cents an acre...

March 9, 1850

S. P. Kalama (Interior Department Clerk), to S. Haanio:

...I have the honor to inform you of the decision given by the King and the Chiefs in Privy Council, on your application for 50 acres of land in Honuaino, Kona, Hawaii. Your application for 50 acres in Honuaino, will be granted, upon your agreeing to pay \$2.00 an acre and providing there is sufficient land to make up 50 acres and the 100 acres granted to Cavanah, a foreigner who also made application in same tract with you; then you can have the 50 acres, but in case there is not enough land found to make up the area required, then  $\frac{1}{2}$  of that area is yours,  $\frac{2}{3}$  for Cavanah, to enable the two of you to secure lands, that is, if you agree to the above proposals. In case the land contains more than 150 acres, that portion of it to remain to the Government, as suggested by you.

If this is agreeable to the two of you, then, have the land surveyed, the area to correspond with the amount applied for, forwarding the survey and plan of the land here; It is always usual to respect the rights of the natives. It would be a good thing to have their area taken out first before issuing a Royal Patent.

Write whether you will accept or refuse to take up the land under these conditions... [Interior department Letter Book 2-part 2:270]

November 29, 1850

W. Goodale (Interior Department Clerk), to E. Shrimmer & T. A. Schulze:

...In reply to your application for the Ahupuaa of Hokukano 1 Kona Hawaii, I have to inform you that a grant of 200 Acres has been made you at the price of \$1.50 per Acre: Provided the rights of native tenants are reserved, and no deduction will be made for those rights as they may be defined by the Land Commission.

Please inform this Dept at once, if you wish the land on these terms... [Interior department Letter Book 3:54]

November 29, 1850

W. Goodale (Interior Department Clerk), to H. N. Greenwell:

...Your application for the purchase of Govt in Fee Simple of a tract of land in Kalukalu & Kanakau, Kona Hawaii was duly received, & I have to advise you that 300 Acres in those lands will be granted you at the rate of \$2.00 per acre, Provided they prove to be Govt lands, and that you occupy the same within one year from the date of your Patent.

The rights of native Tenants are reserved and no deduction will be made for those rights as they may be defined by the Land Commission... [Interior department Letter Book 3:55]

Dec 19, 1850

S. P. Kalama (Interior Department Clerk), to Molale:

...Consent is given by the Privy Council to sell you 50 acres in Honalo, Kona, Hawaii, on condition you agree to pay \$1.00 an acre, and to reserve the rights of the native tenants therein, not to be included in the sale, and that the Land Commission may at anytime award those rights, without any deduction or make any payments to you, also

to reserve the school lot, should there happen to be one in that tract, also a place for a landing. If you agree to this, the sale will be confirmed, if not, you must write.

In case you agree to this, then, employ a Surveyor & have the land surveyed, forwarding the description & plan here for the Royal Patent, you will then receive fee simple title to the land... [Interior department Letter Book 3:59]

Dec 28, 1850

S. P. Kalama (Interior Department Clerk) to Nakookoo:

...Action was taken on your application in the Privy Council, they have agreed to sell you that portion just below the land of the foreigners (not sold) in Kanaeue 1 & 2, Kona, 150 acres, on condition you agree to pay 75 cents, an acre & to reserve the rights of the native tenants therein, not to be included in the sale, & not to deduct those areas, the Land Commission may award those rights at anytime without making any payments to you, a sale will then be granted, if not, there will be no sale. In case you agree to this, employ a surveyor to survey the land, & send the description & plan here for the Royal Patent, at the same time made the payment & the fee for the Patent... [Interior Department Letter Book 3:99]

September 17, 1851

[summary] Notes of Survey, Grant 865 to Nakookoo:

Begin at the shoreward edge of the mauka alaloa [Government road between Kaawaloa and Kailua] go south along the edge of the road to the wall between Kanaeue 1 & 2, adjoining the land of John Peters, along the wall to a mound of stones marked S, continue along the section of Kanaeue 2 that belongs to John Peters, to a mound of stones marked H at the pa puua (pig pen) on the boundary with Halekii. Descend towards the shore along the iwi (wall) between Kanaeue 2 and Halekii to a mound of stones at the Ala Kauwila (Kauila Road)...continuing shoreward...to a kukui tree with four branches... continue down to the kukui grove, and a kukui marked X, then down to a dried ulu (breadfruit tree), to an ulu marked X. Then go straight down towards the shore, through the kukui grove, to a stone marked X on the boundary of Kanaeue 2 and Halekii... [following a series of marked stones along the Kanaeue 2- Halekii boundary; then along the makai boundary of the parcel; and then mauka] ... To a stone marked A on the boundary wall between Kanaeue 1 and Hokukano, to the intersection with an ala pii iuka (trail to the uplands)... [continuing up by various points marked on map and land] ...to the shoreward edge of the Alaloa Kaawaloa (Road to Kaawaloa); then along the makai edge of the alaloa to the point of commencement. (Figure 18)

There are 150 acres in this parcel. S.P. Kalama Surveyor. [Land Division; translated by Maly]

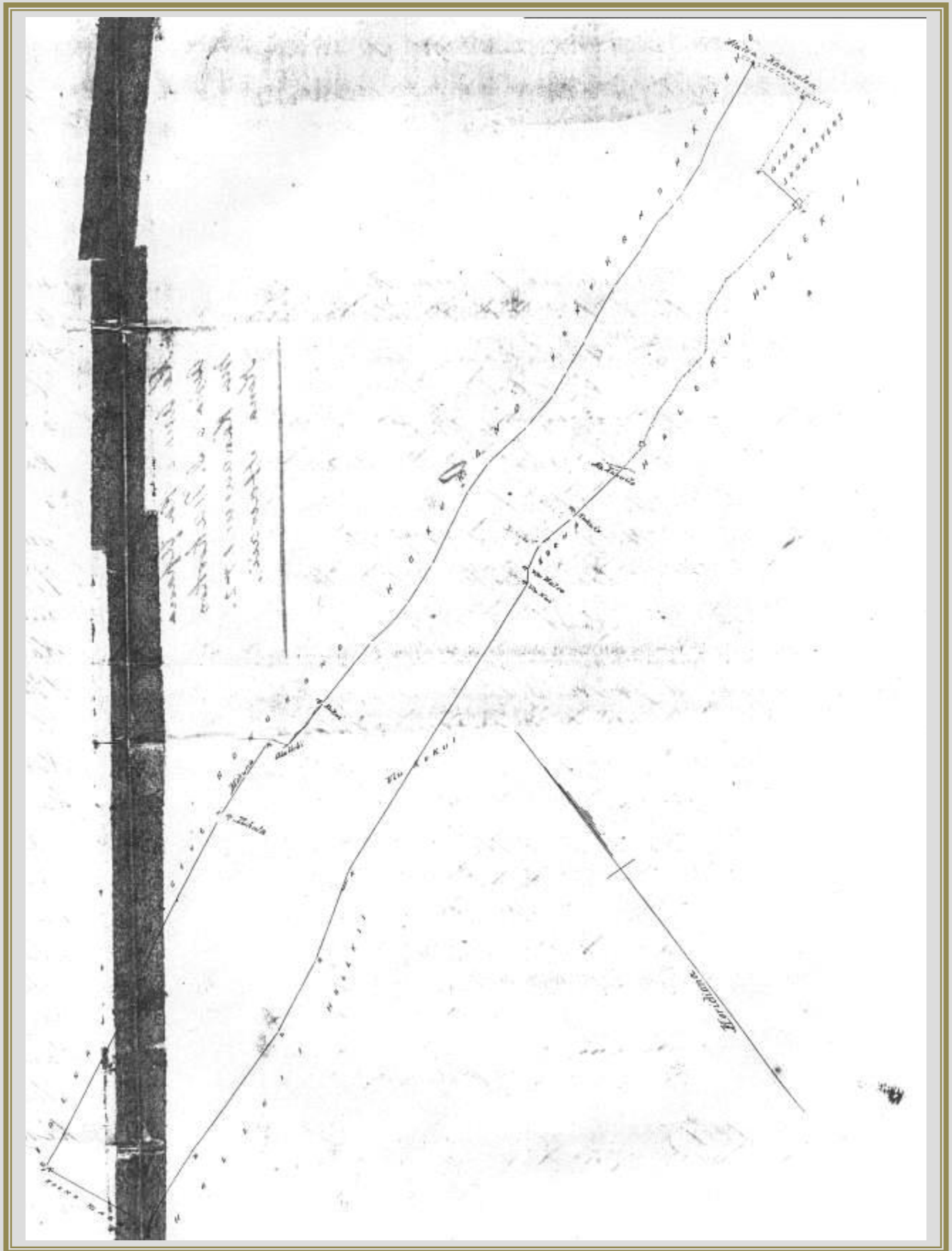


Figure 18. Survey of Grant No. 865 to Nakookoo at Kanaeue 1 & 2

Island of Hawaii

September 25, 1851

Henry Clarke, to Mr. Young (Minister of Interior):

...I wish to settle on this Island and therefore want to purchase some Land for the purpose of Cultivation. The Land is situated in the District of Kona known by the name of Hokukanu [Hokukano] the 2. Bounded on the south by Kanuwewe [Kanaeue] on the North by the Hokukanu the 1<sup>st</sup>, East by Mr. Whitmarsh's land, West by the sea.

For the above named Land I will give the Government \$1.25 per acre for 100 acres or a less quantity if the Government should see proper to demand a higher price.

As I am anxious to secure a place and a home your Excellency will greatly oblige me by an early answer... (Note on side reports, "Sold already.") [Interior Department Land Files – Hawaii; Clarke was subsequently granted a parcel at Kauhakō, South Kona.]

Napoopoo

October 13, 1851

Samuela W. Makaike, to R. Armstrong (Minister of Public Instruction):

...I have a request for you...will you please place the kuleana of Kele [Kukele] before Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior, it is in the land I purchased from the Government at Kainaliu, named Momona. It would be right for you to help with that land by speaking with Keoni Ana. It was Kele's fault that he did not think to make his claim, when the land was sold to the foreigner. Now he regrets it. Therefore it would be good for you to make a separate claim, that the land is for me... [Interior Department Land Files – Hawaii; translation revised by Maly]

Napoopoo

February 10, 1852

P. Cummings, to W. Goodale (Interior Department Clerk):

...I have sent twice to your Office for a Plantation License at length. I have been informed by Mr. Andrews that the Governor grants such licenses, having obtained one myself at your Office and knowing of others obtaining them in the same manner. I supposed it to be the proper way to get one by applying to your Office. The Governor is at Hilo and to send to him would cost \$10 or \$15 and most likely take a month to get an answer. At Kainaliu I am one half owner of 800 Acres of land on the land we have some 20,000 Coffee Trees and 18 men constantly at work, 11 of whom are from China. All the goods used in the Plantation are paid out from this store at Napoopoo. My store stands on the land I lately purchased from Government through Mr. Armstrong which you know something about. I am having land cleared off for the purpose of planting Coffee as soon as the rainy season sets in if the above does not entitle me to a Plantation License please send me a retail License for the year 1852, dated Jan 1<sup>st</sup> if you please... [Interior Department Misc. Box 145]

February 23, 1852

A. G. Thurston (Interior Department Clerk),

to J. Fuller (Surveyor; Government Land Agent-Kona):

...His Highness the Minister of the Interior instructs me to inform you that he has and does hereby appoint you to be Land Agent for the District of Kona, Hawaii.

You will entertain no application for the purchase of any lands, without first receiving some part, say a fourth of fifth of the price; then the terms of sale being agreed upon

between yourself and the applicant you will survey the land, and send the survey, with your report upon the same to this office, for the Approval of the Board of Finance, when your sales have been approved you will collect the balance due of the price; upon the receipt of which at this office, the Patent will be forwarded to you.

Natives who have no claims before the Land Commission have no Legal rights in the soil.

They are therefore to be allowed the first chance to purchase their homesteads. Those who neglect or refuse to do this, must remain dependant upon the mercy of whoever purchases the land: as those natives now are who having no kuleanas are living on lands already Patented, or belonging to Konohikis.

Where lands have been granted, but not yet Patented, the natives living on the land are to have the option of buying their homesteads, and then the grant be located, provided this can be done so as not to interfere with them.

No Fish Ponds are to be sold, neither any landing places.

As a general thing you will charge the natives but 50 cents pr. acre, not exceeding 50 acres to anyone individual. Whenever about to survey land adjoining that of private individuals, notice must be given them or their agents to be present and point out their boundaries.

Ten per cent of the gross amount of money collected will be allowed you as commissions. The pay for Surveying you will collect for yourself from the purchasers; that is no concern of Govt's.

As soon as possible a list of the private and public lands in Kona will be sent you at Kailua, where I presume you will establish your headquarters. If you wish for further instructions upon any point, they will be promptly furnished you...

P.S. The same commissions, viz. 10%, will be allowed you for collecting and remitting the money for the lands already granted of which you have a list, to which you will please add.

<u>S.W. Makaike</u>	100 acres	(all at \$1. pr acre in Honuaino 3d)
<u>Palaau</u>	50 acres	(All previous grants to be located first)
<u>Makahoohie</u>	50 acres ...	[Interior Department Letter Book 3:210-211]

March 2, 1852

Kinimaka (Konohiki), to Keoni Ana (Minister of the Interior):

...As a help towards the proper carrying out of the duties of your office according to the law, therefore, I notify you of my prohibited fish:

Maihi, Kona Opelu is the prohibited fish...

[Interior Department Land Files]

Kainaliu

May 11, 1852

J. Fuller (Government Land Agent & Surveyor),  
to J. Smith (Secretary, Board of the Land Commission):

...Mr. Charles Hall requests me to write to you and ask for the plan of certain lands which belong to him. He wished to use it to adjust his boundaries.

He also desires to know whether his Deed is ready, if it is please forward it by the first opportunity, and I will forward the money immediately or bring it with me when I come down, which will be a month or two. This much on behalf of Mr. Hall.

I arrived at Kealakekua on the 30<sup>th</sup> April. But am obliged to leave the kuleanas until the native have done work upon the roads, which will be next week. In the mean time I am surveying private grants in this vicinity. Please inform me whether I am to exercise any discretion while the evidence states the number of kihapais, as A No. – 7 Kih. in ili... Shall I not measure the 7 Kih. whether cultivated or not... [DLNR s-1 Box 1]

May 18, 1852

Royal Patent Grant 1464 to lalua, at Kanakau:

[summary] Bounded, east by Greenwell's land; south by Kalukalu; west by the Great Wall; and north by Ilikahi. Containing 61  $\frac{3}{4}$  acres. [Land Division]

May 18, 1852

Royal Patent Grant 1576 to Lohi, at Kalukalu:

[summary] Bounded, east by Greenwell's land; south by Greenwell's land; west by the Great Wall; and north by Kanakau. Containing 64  $\frac{3}{10}$  acres. [Land Division]

May 19, 1852

Royal Patent Grant 1177 to Kamakahiona, at Keekee II:

[summary] Bounded, east by open land; south by Ilikahi – Nakauwaa's land; west by the Great Wall; and north by Kini's land in Keekee I. Containing 57  $\frac{4}{10}$  acres. [Land Division]

May 19, 1852

Royal Patent Grant 1175 to Nakauwaa, at Ilikahi:

[summary] Bounded, east by Kapule's land; south by Greenwell and lalua's lands; west by the Great Wall; and north by Kamakahiona's land in Keekee II. Containing 31  $\frac{1}{2}$  acres. [Land Division]

May 25, 1852

Royal Patent Grant 1176 to Kini, at Keekee I:

[summary] Bounded, east by Panaunau's land; south by Kamakahiona's land, Keekee II; west by the Great Wall; and north by Halekii. Containing 68  $\frac{3}{4}$  acres. [Land Division]

May 25, 1852

Royal Patent Grant 1160 to H.N. Greenwell, at Kalukalu:

[summary] Bounded, east by Greenwell's land, Kalukalu; south by Onouli; west by the Great Wall; and north by Lohi's land, Kalukalu. Containing 18  $\frac{3}{4}$  acres. [Land Division]

Kailua

October 11, 1852

J. Fuller (Government Surveyor),

to J. Smith (Secretary, Board of the Land Commission); Describing extent of survey work completed, and also notes that Naheana, Konohiki of several lands in vicinity of Kailua has been "abusive" —

...He says his chiefs have given orders not to allow any Kuleana on their lands... But I should like to know how to proceed with such a villain... He has prevented quite a number from showing their Kuleanas and I leave them until Mr. Robertson or some other of the Commission come up...

Most of the claimants here have taken all their land in one piece, besides their pahale – and I must say their claims are very moderate, generally not more than from 1 to 3 acres, according to what they have planted... [DLNR s-1- Box 1]

Kainaliu

November 10, 1852

J. Fuller (Government Surveyor),

to J. Smith (Secretary, Board of the Land Commission):

...I send you by Cpt. Cummins 110 surveys of Kuleanas in Kona. These surveys were made generally in the presence of the Konohikis and were settled by them. There need therefore be no dispute about them. There are 20 of Dillon's surveys folded with them. I have got on very well thus far. Have had no difficulty with any of the Konohikis except Naheana at Kailua. He needs punishing for his oppression of the natives. He has prevented some 10 or 12 from showing their claims... [DLNR s-1- Box 1]

November 16, 1852

Royal Patent Grant 1463 to Keawe, at Hokukano I:

[summary] Bounded, east by H.I. Holdsworth's land, Hokukano; south by the land of W. Whitmarsh and J. Peters, Hokukano 2; west by the Great Wall; and north by J. Cavanagh's land, Honuaino 3. Containing 133 acres. [Land Division]

November 16, 1852

Royal Patent Grant 1453 to J. Cavanagh, at Honoaino [Honuaino] 4<sup>th</sup>:

[summary] Bounded, east by Cavanagh's land, Honuaino 4<sup>th</sup>; south by Hokukano I; west by the Great Wall; and north by Honuaino 3<sup>rd</sup>, lands of Makaiki. Containing 64 acres. [Land Division]

Orange Hill, S. Kona

January 15, 1853

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

...Will you have the goodness to apply to the Land Agent for some 5 or 10 acres of wood land for us. It is a wood bordering on a piece of land I have got for the Mission Station, called Keopuka. This land I obtained from Mr. D. Barrett a foreigner the area of land lies north of a lot of 30 acres which he let us have in exchange for the Mission land some three miles distant of which was perfectly useless to us. I will be willing to pay the same that Capt. Cummings pays for wood land adjoining us, \$1.00 per acre.

I wish also to purchase 25 or 30 acres of land in Onouli. Mr. Atkins has just purchased a large portion of the best of this land mauka of the road. I wish a piece joining on to his makai of the road & will take all between the two roads running parallel towards Kailua. I believe Mr. A paid \$1.50 per acre.

If you will lay this manao before the Land Agent I will be much obliged... [Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 81]

February 22, 1853

Royal Patent Grant 1162 to F.O. Schulze, at Onouli 2:

[summary] Bounded, east by road from Kealakekua to Kiholo (Alanui Aupuni); south by Keopuka; west by the Alanui makai [the Kealakekua Pali-Keauhou Beach Road]; and north by Onouli 1<sup>st</sup><sup>27</sup>. Containing 189 1/3rd acres. [Land Division]

Kealakekua

March 7, 1853

J. Fuller (Kona Land Agent – Surveyor) to Keoni Ana (Minister of Interior):

...I have the honor to report the following transactions since my last communication. The sales of land which I have made, the surveys of which I enclose, are mostly highly advantageous to the Gov't., particularly those of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Hall, being wild land for which they offer \$1. per acre for considerably large tracts which are of no use to any but themselves, laying mauka of their great pastures and already occupied by their cattle [Grant No.'s 1170 & 1195].

The land sold to Capt. Cummings is valueless except for the wood upon it. It was rented to Mr. Barrett last year for \$8., who cut off most of the wood near the road. It is a remnant of Keopuka with a margin of Onouli left by Mr. Atkins...

The land I have applied for [Grant 1182 at Maihi 2] has about 10 acres next to the mauka road fit for coffee & fruit, the rest is nearly worthless, the only land in the region which natives have not applied for...

...Also in regard to the flat land in Kaawaloa and Kealakekua, Kapaakea claims the whole of it. If these claims are allowed, the Gov't. will lose the sale of house lots which would amount to many hundred dollars, and the whole control of this harbor... [Interior Department Land Files]

Interior Department

March 30<sup>th</sup>, 1853

A.G. Thurston (Clerk, Int. Dept.), to J. Fuller (Kona Land Agent):

...Yours of the 7<sup>th</sup> inst together with the sum of \$1360.25 sent by Capt. Holm was only this morning received.

All the flat land of Kaawaloa and Kealakekua lying near the sea of the property of the Govt. given up by Keohokalole in 1848, "Awa a me kahi honua ikaï" are the words used, Kapaakea has therefore no valid claim to the land, except perhaps for a house lot, which however the Minister of the Interior thinks it is his duty to oppose... [Interior Department Book 6:82]

Kealakekua Bay

April 8, 1853

J. Fuller (Kona Land Agent, Surveyor),

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

...I send you by mail 65 surveys of Kuleana and the pahales of Dillon's survey for which I can find no additional claims.

---

<sup>27</sup> The notes of survey report that there are at least two "native houses" on the *kula*, along the Onouli 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> boundary, above the *makai Alanui*. The occurrence of the houses on this boundary would indicate the presence of a *mauka-makai* trail; as indicated in the survey of Grant 1750 (also 2862). (see *Figure 23*).



All these claims are correct as far as I can judge and there can be no reasonable ground for dispute. Where the owners of the land or their agents were present (which was in most cases) there was no disputes. On Gov't. land I have endeavored to do justice to both parties... — enclosed pahales makai and cultivated land mauka, giving the natives all they desired except in few cases where I tho't they were unreasonable... [DLNR s-1- Box 1]

Kealakekua Bay

May 7, 1853

J. Fuller (Kona Land Agent, Surveyor),

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

...I send you an additional package of 62 survey of claims in Keei and Honaunau... I don't know what to do with the claims in Kaawaloa and Kealakekua. Kapaakea has frightened the natives so that not one scarcely dares show his claim. I wish the Board would take the matter in hand...

P.S. Since writing the above I have surveyed the claims in Kaawaloa and Kealakekua, i.e., all the natives would show... [Interior Department Land Files]

July 9, 1853

S.N. Castle and A.L. Cooke (Agents of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), to John Young (Minister of the Interior Department):

...The undersigned agents of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions...beg respectfully to request that His Majesty the King conformably to the laws of His Kingdom will grant to the said American Board &c free of commutation a fee simple title to the lands now in the possession & occupation of those who are and have been missionaries of the said Board, and which have been awarded to the said Am. Board &c by His Majesty's Board of Land Commissioners, but not in fee simple...

The undersigned beg leave to state that they are encouraged to present this petition, and anticipate a gracious reply from the long residence & labors in His majesty's dominions of the said missionaries...and, also, in view of the fact that many of them are already His naturalized subjects and most if not all with their families expect to continue to reside at the Islands, & likewise the strong probability that the said Am. Board will soon convey their right title & interest in most of the said lands & properties to the said resident missionaries & ex missionaries...

No. 387 Hawaii

...Kealakekua & Kaawaloa

1. a House lot in Kepulu, Kahauloa – Kealakekua
2. a House lot in Kuapehu
3. a Land called Halakii [Halekii]
4. a Land of over 13 acres, maka [mauka] of Mr. Ives dwelling House upon which there is no evidence & no award [the former C. Forbes residence].

[Interior Department Land Files]

August 3, 1853

List of individuals in North Kona who have paid for the  
Royal Patents on their Kuleana:

Number	Awardee	Ahupuaa
3965	Heleaole	Honalo
9918	Lumihai	Honalo
7349	Kekahunanui	Kawanui
10723	Pelapela	Kawanui
5561L	Kaheleko	Kawanui
7349	Keohokalole	Kawanui
7399	Kahaleola	Kawanui
10292	Molale	Kawanui
7332	Keohoeae	Kawanui
5562	Noholua	Lehuula
8006	Aa	Lehuula
5561	Kekua	Honuaino
8523D	Kaoeno	Honuaino
5561G	Kaaoaokapu	Honuaino
5563	Kuula	Honuaino
7901	Kanakaole	Honuaino
5992	Lono	Honuaino
6150C	Puolo	Honuaino
10138	Maeoho	Honuaino
6150	Nohopaa	Honuaino
7190	Keawe	Honuaino
3659	J. Martin	Honuaino
7347B	Keohokui	Honuaino
9428	Keaweakaapali	Hokukano
9428D	Kama	Hokukano
9420	Poka	Hokukano
9425	Kaikuahine	Hokukano
9428C	Kuaha	Hokukano
7277C	Haho	Hokukano
9423	Kukele	Hokukano
9414	Naai	Hokukano
7739	Lupea	Hokukano
9469	Keawe	Hokukano
9421	Mamalua	Hokukano
9428	Keliikapaole	Hokukano
10444	Napele	Hokukano
6059B	Paia	Hokukano
8157E	Kapaaku	Hokukano
7210	Kini	Keekee
8157	Kuapehu	Keekee
8455E	Pauole	Keekee
9753B	Paiwa	Keekee
7553B	Pa	Kalukalu [Interior Department Lands]

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... [Interior Department Land Files]

September 5, 1853

Royal Patent Grant 1597 to Kalua, at Kawanui:

[summary] Bounded, east by land of Wm. Johnson; south by Kawanui 2<sup>nd</sup>; west by the Great Wall; and north by Wm. Johnson's, Kawanui 1<sup>st</sup>. Containing 49 acres. [Land Division]

September 6, 1853

Royal Patent Grant 1595 to J. N. Travis, at Honalo:

[summary] Bounded, east by lands of Kamoehalau and Poka; south by Maihi 1; west by the sea; and north by Keauhou. The road from Keauhou Landing to the Kealakekua-Kailua Road crosses diagonally through the upper portion of the land, and the "Public Road makai" passes through it near the shore. Containing 175 acres [Land Division]. (Figure 19)

September 6, 1853

Royal Patent Grant 1598 to Wm. Johnson, at Kuamoo and Kawanui:

[summary] Bounded, east by lands of Ehu, Hapuku, and Pelapela; south by Kawanui 2<sup>nd</sup> and Kalua's land; west by the Great Wall; and north by Maihi 2. Containing 280 ½ acres. [Land Division]

September 7, 1853

Royal Patent Grant 1574 to J. Fuller, at Maihi 2<sup>nd</sup>:

[summary] Bounded, east by land of J. Fuller's Grant 1182; south by Kuamoo of Wm. Johnson; west by the sea; and north by Maihi 1<sup>st</sup>. The "Road makai" passes through it near the shore. Containing 50 acres [Land Division]. (Figure 20)

September 9, 1853

Royal Patent Grant 1587 to J. Peters, at Hokukano 2<sup>nd</sup>, and Kanaeue 1 & 2:

[summary] Bounded, east by land of W. Whitmarsh and Nakookoo; south by portion of Kanaeue and Halekii; west by the Great Wall; and north by Hokukano 1<sup>st</sup>. Containing 68 ½ acres. [Land Division]

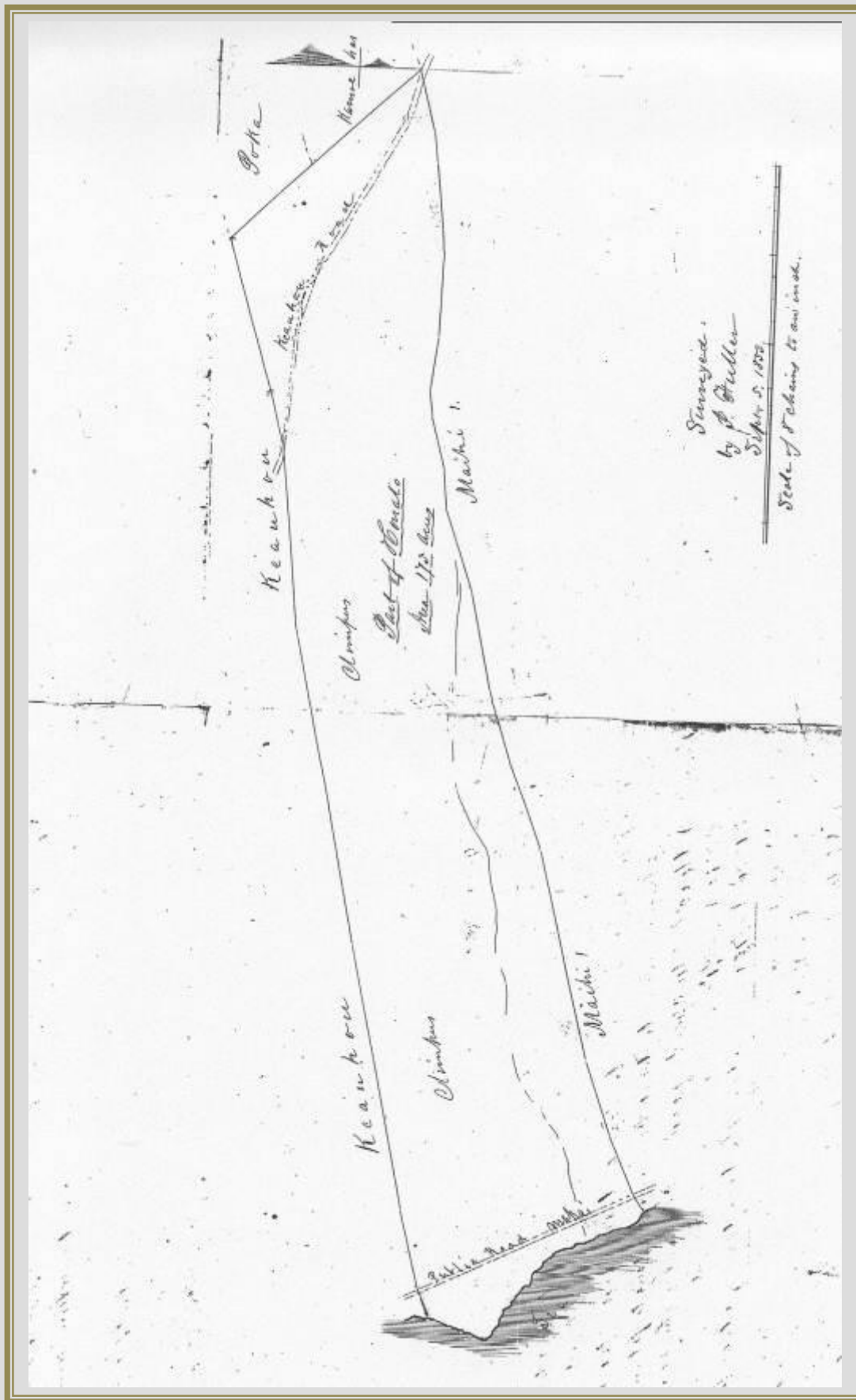


Figure 19. Survey of Grant No. 1595 to J. Travis at Honalo

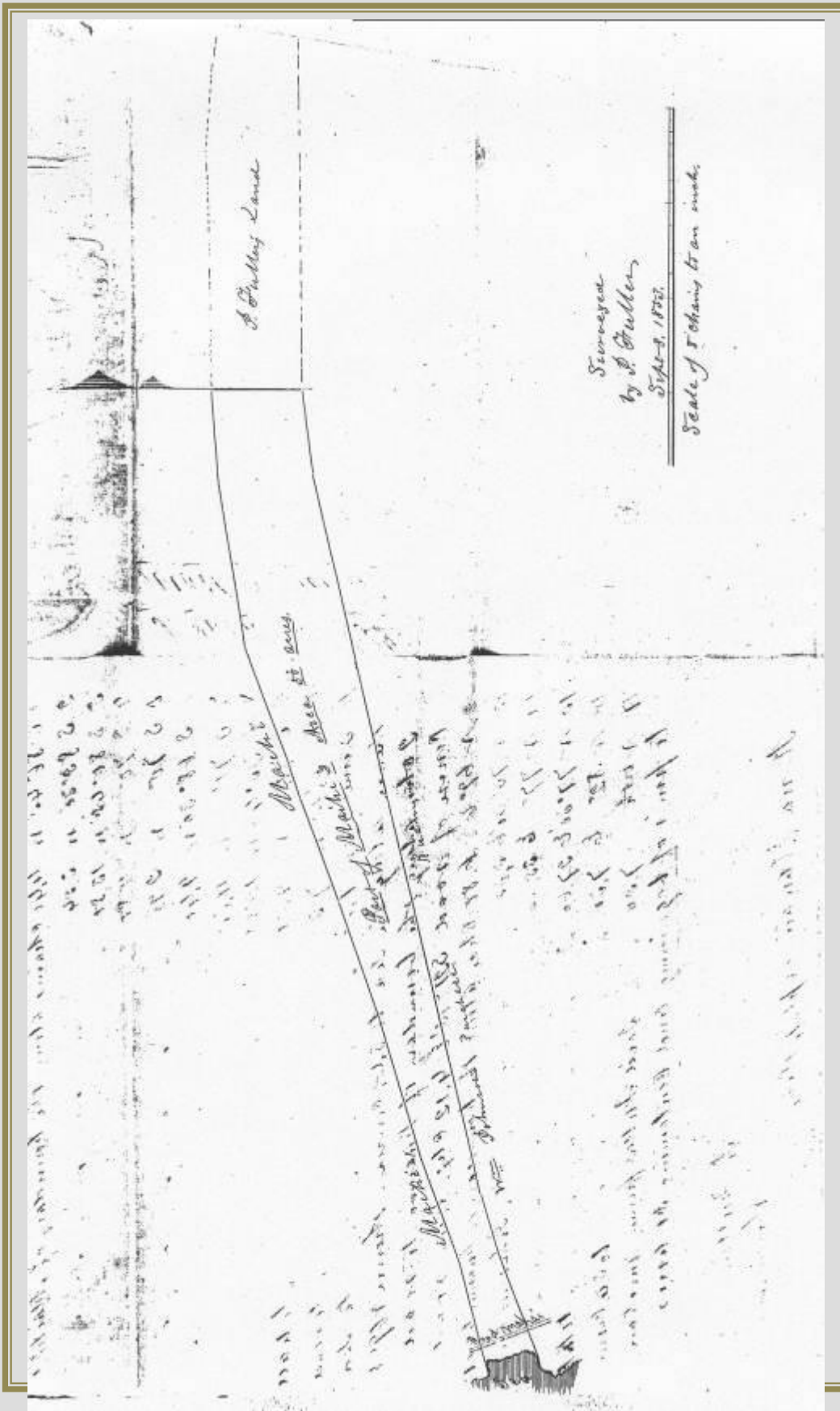


Figure 20. Survey of Grant No. 1574 to J. Fuller at Maihi 2<sup>nd</sup>

October 11, 1854

Royal Patent Grant 2027 to S.W. Makaiki, at Honoino [Honuaino] 3<sup>rd</sup>:

[summary] Bounded, east by land of S.W. Makaiki's Grant 1462; south by Honoino 4<sup>th</sup>, of J. Cavanah; west by the Great Wall; and north by Honoino 2<sup>nd</sup>, of C. Hall. Containing 56 ½ acres. [Land Division]

October 13, 1854

Royal Patent Grant 1651 to C. Hall, at Honoino [Honuaino] 3 & 4, Hokukano 1 & 2, and Kanaeue 1 & 2, below the Great Wall:

[summary] Bounded, east the Great Wall and lands of Makaiki, Cavanagh, Keawe, and Peters; south by Halekii; west by the sea; and north by Honoino 2<sup>nd</sup>, of C. Hall. Containing 350 acres [Land Division]. (Figure 21)

Within the boundaries of Grant 1651 were: (1) the makai alignment of the Alanui Aupuni, or "Public Road" between Keauhou and Kealakekua Pali which crosses through the parcel, to an elevation behind Puuohau; (2) the "Tomb" of Kamalama (Kamae), Keohokalole's mother, situated on Puuohau; and (3) the old Kainaliu School Lot. Excluded from the parcel (by lines of survey) were: (1) the coastal villages of Kainaliu and Hokukano; and (2) several kuleana parcels on the coastal flats of Honuaino-Hokukano-Kanaeue (see also Figure 4).

October 14, 1854

Royal Patent Grant 1745 to J. Cavanagh at Ilikahi, Keekee, Kanakau & Kalukalu, below the Great Wall:

[summary] Bounded, east the Great Wall and lands of Kini, Kamakahiona, Nakauwaa, lalua, Lohi, and Greenwell; south by Onouli 1<sup>st</sup>; west by the sea; and north by Halekii. Containing 350 acres [Land Division]. (Figure 22)

Near the shore, withheld from the lands that made up Grant 1745 was the coastal village of Nawawa, including the original Nawawa school lot, several kuleana parcels, and the Kalukalu landing. Passing through the Grant are several road and trail alignments: (1) the makai alignment of the Alanui Aupuni, or "Public Road" between Keauhou and Kealakekua Pali; (2) the branch of the "Public Road" Road to Nawawa Village, which cuts off of the main alignment behind Puuohau (a "Tomb" marks the intersection of these two roads); (3) a second intersection from the Alanui Aupuni, which connects with the "Kaawaloa Cart Road; and (4) a near-shore trail also continuing towards the villages of Keopuka and Kaawaloa (see also Figure 4).

October 31, 1854

Royal Patent Grant 1750 to J. Fuller – Cancelled and Granted to Awahua in 1862; at Keopuka and Onouli 2<sup>nd</sup>:

[summary] Bounded, east the lands of F.O. Schulze and D. Barrett; south by Kaawaloa; west by the sea; and north by Onouli 1<sup>st</sup> and the land of F.O. Schulze. Containing 739 3/4<sup>th</sup> acres [Land Division]. (Figure 23 at end)

The original survey by J. Fuller (1854) was copied and used as the map for the patented Grant 2862 to Awahua (Figure 23; a copy of the 1854 map is used here as it was in better condition than the copy made in 1862). Among the features depicted in the survey for this Grant were: (1) the near-shore village of Onouli 2<sup>nd</sup>; (2) the Ka'awaloa "Cart Road;" (3) the Alanui Aupuni "road from Kealakekua Pali to Kainaliu;" (4) the Kaawaloa "Pali Road;" and (5) "Cooks Monument" [Puhinaolono] near the intersection of the Kealakekua Pali-Kainaliu alignment of the Alanui Aupuni. (see also Figure 4)

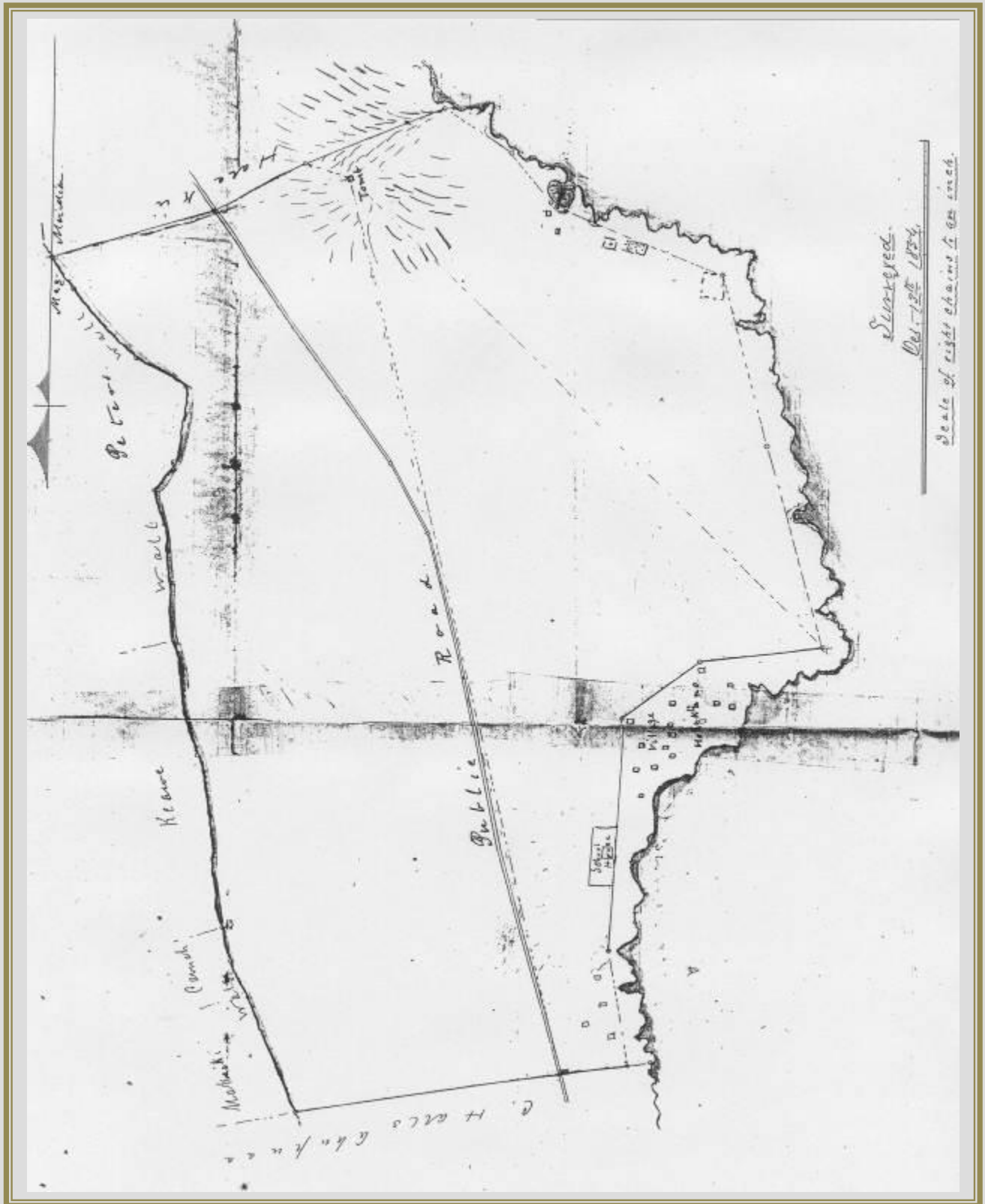


Figure 21. Survey of Grant No. 1651 to C. Hall, at Honoino [Honuaino] 3 & 4, Hokukano 1 & 2, and Kanaeue 1 & 2 (Excluding the Kainaliu-Hokukano Village vicinity)

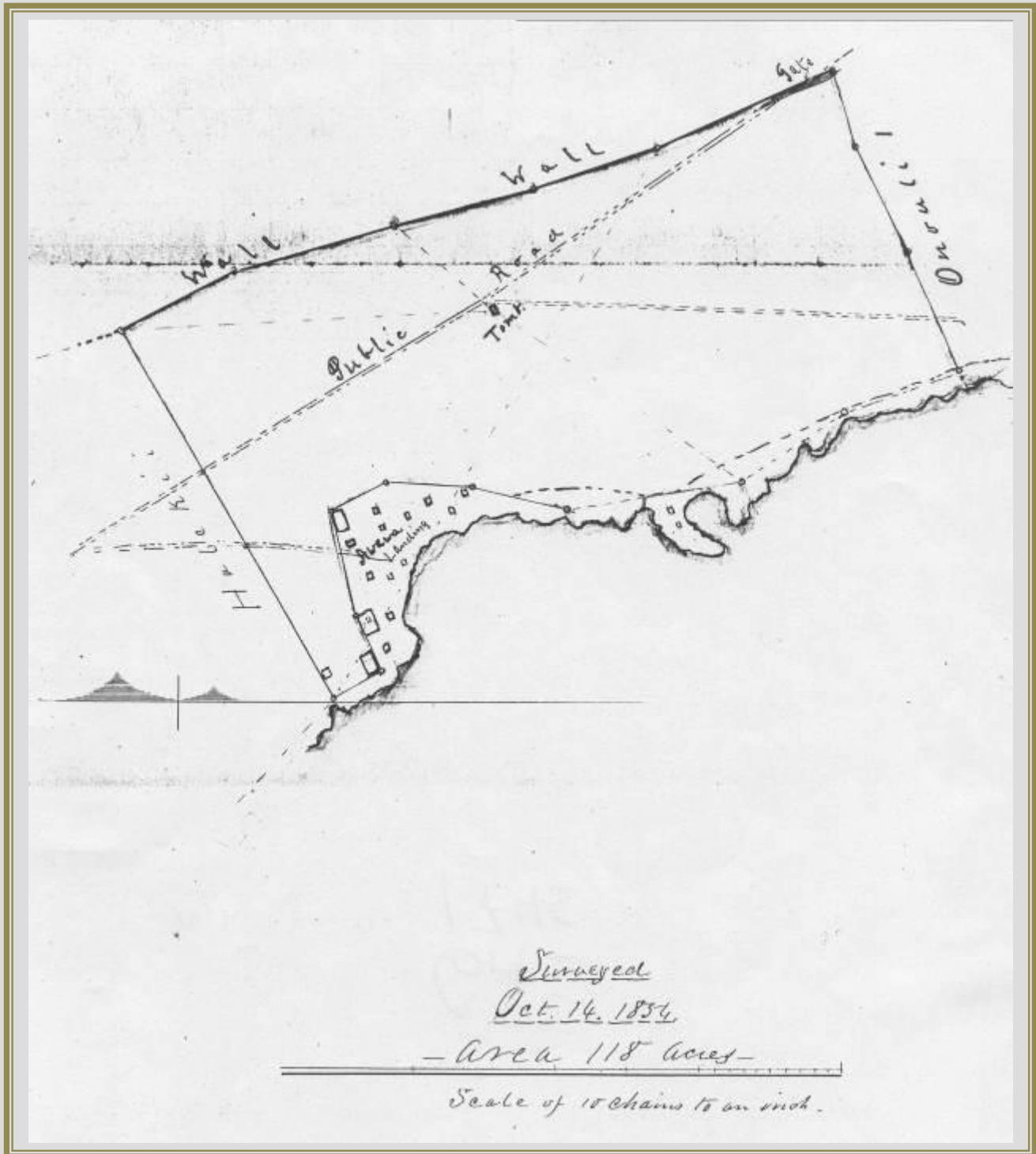


Figure 22. Survey Grant No. 1745 to J. Cavanagh at Ilikahi, Keekee, Kanakau & Kalukalu (excluding the Nawawa Village vicinity)



November 3, 1854

Royal Patent Grant 1652 to Wm. Johnson at Kawanui 1 and Kuamoo, below the Great Wall:

[summary] Bounded, east the Great Wall and lands of Kalua and Wm. Johnson; south by Kawanui 2<sup>nd</sup>; west by the sea; and north by Maihi 2<sup>nd</sup>. Containing 49 acres [Land Division].

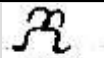


Also depicted on the survey map of Grant 1652, is the village of Kawanui 1 & 2; and the "Public Road" between Keauhou-Kainaliu, and Kealakekua Pali. (Figure 24)

October 16, 1855

S.L. Austin (Secretary for Governness of Hawaii),  
to John Young (Minister of Interior):

...The following are the names of cattle owners on Hawaii & their places of residence, who have entered their Brands according to law, between the first day of April & the 30<sup>th</sup> day of September 1855.

...June 1 & 13, 1855

Applicant	Land		Brand
Aa	Honuainu [Honuaino]	No. Kona	
Kahoouka	Honuainu	" No. Kona	
Pololi [Interior Department Misc. Box 146]	Kauanui [Kawanui]	No. Kona	

Kealakekua

June 8, 1861

H.N. Greenwell, to Wm. Webster (Interior Department):

...You may remember that when I last saw you in Honolulu some months ago, we had some conversation respecting the cultivation of cotton. At that time I rather scoffed at the notion of doing anything towards it, but since then, after thinking the matter over, it appears to me that matters might be arranged as to make cotton raising profitable to myself and to my native neighbors. My idea is to buy a gin and screw press, set them up, and place myself in a position to purchase from the growers; getting the article in a rough state from them, ginning and processing it for market on my own premises... I am of the opinion that if the native felt confident that they could dispose of the article at a certain figure they would commence the cultivation of cotton. The plant thrives very well on this coast, and in former times considerable quantities were raised for Governor Adams (Kuakini), who had people engaged in weaving it into cloth... [Interior Department, Misc., Box 148]

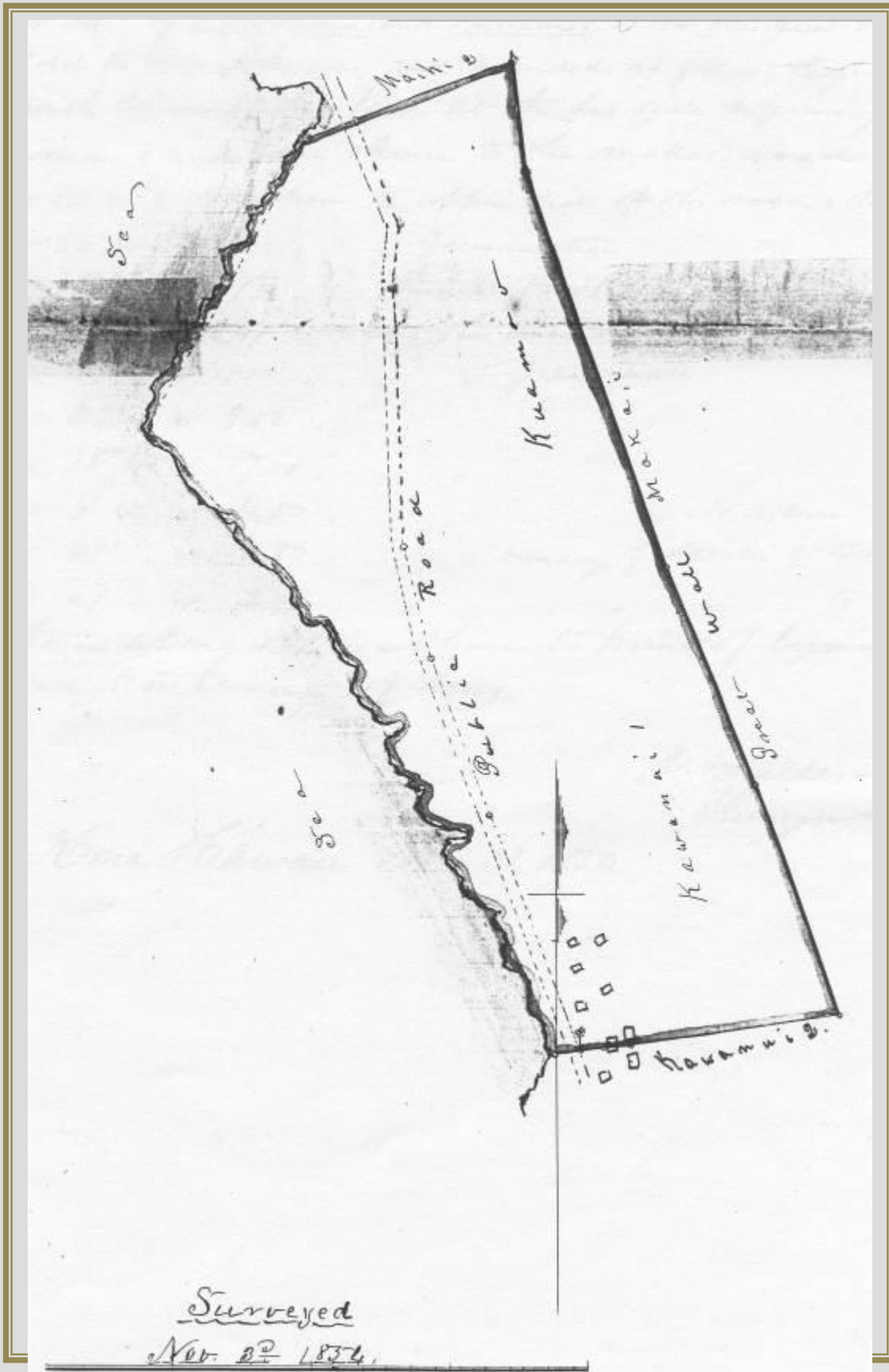


Figure 24. Survey of Grant NO. 1652 to Wm. Johnson at Kawaiū I and Kūāhoo

January 26, 1863  
Lease No. 103  
Prince Lot Kamehameha to Preston Cummings  
[In summary]:

Granting a lease of "all that tract of Government land, lying above those tracts sold to Wm. Johnson, from Honalo to Honuaino inclusive... ..as a run for his Cattle for the term of five years from this date... [DLNR 2 Volume 15]

Honolulu  
March 16, 1864

C.H. Hopkins (Department of the Interior), to J.H. Coney (Sheriff of Hawaii):

...I have received information that in the district of South Kona, the native inhabitants are in the habit of stripping the barks from the lower parts of the trunks of the Koa trees on the Government lands in order to supply it to the tanners. In an economical point of view this practice is very open to objection, for as the tree must die, it would be better to fell it and get all the bark at once, by which system the quantity of bark required could, at all events, be procured at a much smaller sacrifice of timber. From this office, however, no authority has issued for any such proceeding in the part of the makaainanas, whose rights, I need hardly remind you, are confined in the produce of the Kuahiwi to what is required for their own particular use. They have no right to take anything for sale. This destruction of trees to which I have referred, not only goes to reduce the market value of the land but if pursued for any length of time will have the effect of making those parts of the district lying between the woodland & the sea dry in proportion to the bareness of the hills above. I have to request that you will look into this matter, which is one of which the Courts take cognizance. I know of no authorization which they can plead in justification, but if they take any such ground be good enough to let me know the particulars... [Interior Department Letter Book 76:536]

May 30<sup>th</sup>, 1864

S. Spencer (Chief Clerk) to P. Cumings (Dept. Sheriff, Kona Hawaii):

...I am directed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to inform you that he has received a communication from Mr. Coney informing him that you have taken no steps to prevent certain persons from stripping the bark from the Koa trees as they had all produced receipts from Mr. Sheldon for the privilege of getting bark on Government lands.

His Excellency therefore instructs me to state that Mr. Sheldon had no authority what ever from this department to grant any such privilege and to direct you to notify any persons now taking bark and destroying the trees on the Govt. lands that unless they refrain from so doing you will prosecute them as trespassers... [Interior Department Land Files]

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 North Kona
...Keauhou 2	Land of the King;
Honalo	Land of the Government, mauka remaining;
Maihi 1	Completely disposed of;
Maihi 2	Land of Leleo;
Kuamoo 1	Land of the Government, completely disposed of;

Kuamoo 2	An Ahupuaa of the Government, completely disposed of;
Kawainui 1	An Ahupuaa of the Government, completely disposed of;
Kawainui 2	An Ahupuaa of Kanaina;
Lehuula 1	An Ahupuaa of Kanaina;
Lehuula 2	An Ahupuaa of the Government, completely disposed of;
Honuaino 1	An Ahupuaa of the Government, completely disposed of;
Honuaino 2	An Ahupuaa of Kanaina;
Hokukano 1	An Ahupuaa of the Government, mauka disposed of;
Hokukano 2	An Ahupuaa of the Government, mauka disposed of;
Kanaeue 1	An Ahupuaa of the Government, small portion left.

Lands of the King and the Government

Name of Land	Ahupuaa of South Kona
Halekii	An Ahupuaa of the Konohiki;
Keekee 1	An Ahupuaa of the Government, mauka disposed of;
Keekee 2	An Ahupuaa of the Government, mauka disposed of;
Ilikahi	An Ahupuaa of the Government, entirely disposed of;
Kanakau 1	An Ahupuaa of the Government, entirely disposed of;
Kanakau 2	An Ahupuaa of the Government, entirely disposed of;
Kalukalu 1	An Ahupuaa of the Government, makai disposed of;
Kalukalu 2	An Ahupuaa of the Government, makai disposed of;
Kalukalu 3	An Ahupuaa of the Government, makai disposed of;
Onouli	An Ahupuaa of Mikahaka [Mr. ____ ?];
Keopuka 1	An Ahupuaa of the Government, entirely disposed of;
Keopuka 2	An Ahupuaa of the Government, entirely disposed of;
Kaawaloa	An Ahupuaa of Paris (Palika);
Kealakekua	An Ahupuaa of Paris (Palika)...

[Interior Department – Land Files; translation modified by Maly]

Hilo

October 25, 1868

R.A. Lyman (Governor, island of Hawaii),  
to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of the Interior):

...The sad intelligence of Mr. Nevilles murder by Kaona & party, was received here on the evening of the 22<sup>nd</sup> instant. One of the letters was brought via of Kau, & the other via of Kawaihae. Mr. Coney was in Kau, & met the messenger on the evening of the 21<sup>st</sup>. He immediately collected all the firearms &c. that he could, & on the 22<sup>nd</sup> instant left Waiohinu for Kona, with a few foreigners and a large number of natives. Mr. Chillingworth at Kawaihae, collected all the firearms he could and started for Kona on the 22<sup>nd</sup> instant, with quite a company. I trust that Kaona & party are captured ere this. Our accounts from there are very indefinite, and we know nothing as to the arms at the disposal of Kaona's party. He is said to have over 300 persons with him, and that they have taken oath, that they will all be killed before they surrender. I am ready to start from here at any time, with quite a company of men. If we hear that there is need for more help. We are badly off for good firearms here. If the mountain road to Waimea & Kona had been opened, we would have had the news on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and would have been able to have had help there on the 21<sup>st</sup>. Kaona's party have threatened to burn all the houses in Kona & to take life. It may not be as bad as it is represented... [Interior Department Misc. Box 149]

## **“Kaona’s Rebellion” (1868)**

At this point, it is perhaps appropriate to take a few moments to briefly discuss the circumstances leading up to, and following what G.W. Pilipo (at the time, North Kona School Inspector) called “Ka Moololo o na hana kipi a ke kaula wahahee J. Kaona” — The Story of the rebellion of the false prophet, J. Kaona (see *Ka Nupepa Ku Okoa*; November 21 & 28, 1868). The following overview of events in which Ka’ona participated in the Lehu’ula-Honua’ino-Kāināliu vicinity, are paraphrased from the eyewitness accounts of Pilipo (1868; translated by Maly) and J.D. Paris (1926); studies by M. Kodama (ms. 1974), and J. Greenwell (1987); and Government communications (cited in text).

J. Ioela Ka’ona, was educated at Lahaina Luna, and served in various public capacities (e.g., surveyor and magistrate) on Maui, O’ahu, and Hawai’i. By the mid 1860s, Ka’ona claimed to have had divine communications with Elijah, Gabriel, and Jehovah, from whom he’d received divine instructions and prophetic. While on O’ahu, he gained a following of several hundred people, but his mental state came into question when he kept the remains of a deceased neighbor, claiming he would bring him back to life. Ka’ona was hospitalized for a while, and upon his release, he moved to Kona, and settled in the Lehu’ula vicinity where he had relatives.

Ka’ona was received by Rev. J.D. Paris and congregation at Lanakila Church, and he once again drew many people to him with his powerful doctrine. But his claims of prophetic visions (Ka’ona claimed that the end-times were upon the nation), unorthodox methods of teaching, questionable morality, soon caused the larger congregations from Kailua to Kealahou to become suspicious of his intentions. When asked to leave Lanakila Church, Ka’ona and his followers refused, Governess Ke’elikolani was forced to intercede and called upon local sheriff Richard B. Neville. In September 1867, Ka’ona and followers vacated Lanakila, and moved to an area below the church.

In the period leading up to his expulsion from Lanakila, Ka’ona had secured a six month lease on Lehu’ula nui, from Chas. Kana’ina, on behalf of Māhele Awardee (and future King), Wm. Lunalilo. The “Kaonaites” settled on the kula and coastal lands of Lehu’ula, crossed by the Alanui Aupuni (Keauhou-Kāināliu Beach Road). Describing their residence, J.D. Paris wrote:

There they built a number of grass houses, erected a flag, and held their meetings, religious and political...he and his adherents were claiming, cultivating and appropriating to themselves the products of the lands leased and owned by others... [Paris 1926:51]

Ka’ona and his followers (nearly 300, including children), withdrew from the larger community, and also pulled their children out of the larger Kāināliu School (by that time, the school was situated near the upper Alanui Aupuni; not on the coast as it had been originally). In late 1867, R.B. Neville, in his capacity as North Kona School Superintendent, reported that:

...The excitement produced by the religious speculations of Kaona has caused the withdrawal from this school, of about 30 children, for whom the Kaonaites provide a school and teacher themselves... [Pub. Instruction Series 261, Box 10]

In his capacity as sheriff, R.B. Neville bore an order of eviction to Ka’ona, who refused to acknowledge the order, and threatened physical violence in return. Ka’ona was arrested and returned to O’ahu for a short time, but by March 1868, he returned to Kona and took up his residence once again at Lehu’ula. In April 1868, great earthquakes shook the island, causing significant damage and tidal waves, and numerous deaths. Ka’ona described the events as the final days, and his behavior

became more erratic. Pilipo (1868) reported that by middle 1868, Ka'ona's six month lease on Lehu'ula nui had expired, and he applied for a one year lease. At the same time, Wm. F. Roy and his "royal wife," Laika Davis Johnson Roy (the great grandparents of interviewee Roy Allen Wall), also applied for a lease on the land. The Roy-Johnson families already owned Lehu'ula iki, Kuamo'o and other lands, and also leased neighboring lands on which they kept many sheep, cattle, horses and other animals. The Roys hoped to lease the Lehu'ula nui land in order to minimize their efforts at containing the animals and keeping them out of Lehu'ula nui. The lease was granted to Laika mā, and the Kaonaites went onto the Roy (Johnson) properties cutting coconut trees (in ancient times, a declaration of war) and causing other damage. The Roys vacated the near shore home at Kuamo'o, and pursued legal action, but Ka'ona and his followers refused to depart from Lehu'ula nui.

On October 21<sup>st</sup>, Sheriff Neville, his deputy and policemen, approached Ka'ona once again to evict them, and Ka'ona encouraged his followers to rebellion. A riot transpired, and Kama'i and Neville were both brutally killed. As described in R.A. Lyman's letter above (Oct. 25, 1868), Ka'ona's rebellion was met by Government and civilian forces. Ka'ona eventually surrendered. Ka'ona and sixty-six of his followers were arrested, and another 222 were released after a short detention.

Ka'ona was returned to O'ahu, and convicted to ten years of hard labor. But in 1874, shortly after David Kalākaua (who had been appointed one of Ka'ona's defense attorneys in 1868) became King of Hawai'i, he pardoned Ka'ona. By 1878, Ka'ona had once again taken up residence at Kāināliu vicinity, and undertook work with the poor (Kaona's house on the shore at Lehu'ula 1, was survey reference point S3, recorded by J.S. Emerson on June 23, 1882; in this study) . On October 26, 1878, C.T. Gulick, on behalf of the Minister of the Interior, wrote to Ka'ona:

I am directed by his Excellency the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month, in reply would say, that he was very much pleased with you, when he saw in your letter regarding your excellent views, to live peaceably and to strictly observe the provisions of the law, that all men should follow such course. The Minister again thanks you for the love you have towards the poor, and also for the help you have given them. [Interior Department Letter Book 15:333]

Ka'ona died at Kāināliu in 1883 (Paris 1926:54). His actions in the period between 1867 to 1868 had a lasting impact on the Hōkūkano-Honua'ino-Lehu'ula-Kawanui vicinity. During his oral history interview, R. Allen Wall (in this study), described these events as being a significant factor in the depopulation of the region. Many native Hawaiian families, residents in the area, had believed in Ka'ona, and eventually participated in the "rebellion." Wall feels that the shame felt by many of the Hawaiian families for actions taken against their King and the larger community, led them to leave Kona (a factor also reported by Pilipo 1868). As a result, areas which had once been populated, and even which had been serviced by the Alanui Aupuni (Old Beach Trail), were almost deserted; thus, there was also a diminished need for the makai road. Among the features near the old "Beach Trail" still pointed out today by Allen Wall and his cousin Billy Paris, are the empty mortar crypt which had been made at Ka'ona's order, prior to the 1868 rebellion, for his remains; and the old Ka'ona Church (State Site No. 22398).

February 3, 1870

F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of Interior), to H. Todd et al.:

...I have to acknowledge receipt of a letter signed by Mr. Cooper on the part of yourselves, asking that this Department do lease to you the piece of Government Lands in South Kona, known as the Forest part of Kalukalu.

In answer I have to say, that an Application to lease the said Land was made to me, some four years since, but owing to an uncertain state of the boundaries which are in dispute – the applications was not granted – but in case it should finally appear that the land in questions belongs to the Government, I should feel bound to consider the first application before paying attention to subsequent ones... [Interior Department Book 10:97]

May 11, 1870

H.N. Greenwell (Agent for Government Lands - Kona), to Minister of Interior:

Report as to the portion of the Government Land in North Kona Hawaii —  
Honalo Nearly all the open land sold, the front belongs to the Government.  
Maihi The same as Honalo; Kuamoo (The same as Honalo);  
Hokukano (The same as Honalo); Lehuulaiki (The same as Honalo);  
Honuaino (The same as Honalo); Kanaeue (The same as Honalo)  
\$10 per annum has been paid for pasturage by the heirs of Wm. Johnson.

The boundary (mauka) between these lands and Keauhou is unlocated; Keauhou cuts them off, in the same manner as Kaupulehu cuts off the Kekaha lands. A part of the forest land was sold to the late Wm. Johnson, and the cattle belonging to his heirs find pasturage there, and also in the forest land belonging to the Government... [Interior Department Land Files]

May 22, 1871

C.T. Gulick (Interior Department), to H.N. Greenwell:

...Your two letters of the 9<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> inst. are at hand, and have been submitted to His Excellency the Minister of the Interior... His Excellency desired me to lay the subjects before the Attorney General for his opinion, and in a few days he will instruct you fully in regard to them, in the mean time, if you can make satisfactory arrangements with the tanners to rent them the right to take the bark from trees already partially stripped, for the term of one year, you are hereby authorized to do so. It is of course understood that whatever terms you may make, it is a matter of the first importance that the forest should not be permanently injured... [Interior Department Book 10:463]

May 15, 1873

E.O. Hall (Minister of the Interior) to H.N. Greenwell:

...In answer to yours of May 14<sup>th</sup> inst., it is decided that your offer of 75 cts. per acre for 1000 acres, and 37 ½ cts. per acre for the balance of the land bounded by Halakii [Halekii] on the North, Keauhou on the East, and Onouli on the South, be granted.

Also, your offer of 37 ½ cts. per acre for the unsold remnants of Keekee, makai of the Government road is also accepted. Surveys of above lands to be made at your own expense. The yearly privilege for pruning bark for tanning cannot be reduced in price, and the requirement to strip the whole of the bark from the trees selected, must be strictly enforced... [Interior Department Letter Book 12:239]

Kainaliu

June 25, 1873

Jos. Crediford, to E. O. Hall (Interior Department):

...In view of a misunderstanding with Mr. Greenwell, in regard to Koa Bark, I beg the privilege to trouble your Excellency with a few lines, fully confident that your Excellency's good judgment will decide in the right... In May of last year I made

arrangements with Mr. Greenwell for bark for the term of one year, a few days after the first half year was up I met with a misfortune by having copperous put in all my vats of leather and for fear of further damage, I moved everything (vats and leather) down to my house. I then called on Mr. Greenwell and told him I wanted to cancel our agreement for bark, as I was compelled to stop tanning, wishing the privilege of getting a little bark to finish up tanning what leather I had in tan. He offered to cancel it on the terms I proposed but I neglected to do it and he now demands the full amount \$25. according to the contract... [Interior Department Misc. Box 150]

February 5, 1877

J. Mott Smith (Minister of Interior),  
to G. Trousseau, M.D. (at Keauhou Sheep Station):

...Your application for the land of Honalo Kona Hawaii, has been on file in this office for some days, and has been under consideration.

The difficulty in deciding about the Sale or lease of the land is that the Govt. knows nothing whatever about it, and the law makes some requirements of us on that point. As there is no Govt. surveyor in your vicinity – it will help us somewhat to have you describe it yourself. What lands are contiguous? Does the land touch the sea? What is its probable area and is the land good for – pasturage or cultivation? Is it covered with forest &c &c. Is the land worth less or more than \$300. as a purchase? Lastly what terms on a rental of say 15 years, do you offer for it?... [Interior Department Letter Book 14:120]

July 15, 1878

Commissioner of Crown Lands to H.N. Greenwell [In summary]:

Lease # 66 for the land of Onouli iki; terms of ten years. “Containing an area of 367 Acres more or less. The upper portion of the land almost wholly in the woods...” [Series 369 Box 1]

August 12, 1878

C.T. Gulick (Interior Department), to H.N. Greenwell:

...I am directed by His Excellency, the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 31<sup>st</sup> ult., making application for a License for a Store at Kalukalu...Please find the License enclosed herewith... [Interior department Letter Book 15:225]

Orange Hill

May 27, 1880

J.D. Paris to Jos. Emerson (Government Surveyor):

...The two ahupuaa of Kaawaloa & Kealakekua in South Kona Hawaii were surveyed by Mr. Hitchcock, the Govt. surveyor, making an area of 12,260 acres. But the boundary line between the 2 lands has never been run except for a short distance. My son who owned Kealakekua has sold out to H.N. Greenwell Esq. & it becomes necessary before the transaction is complete to have a surveyor to this boundary line. My object in writing is to inquire whether you can come without delay & run it? To make it an object Mr. Greenwell has just sent a note saying – “Respecting a Surveyor, I have some knowledge of Mr. Emerson & think he would be more accurate than any one we have heretofore had in Kona. As a further inducement for him to come to Kona I would give him the surveying of the two ahupuaa of Honokohau & Auhauekeae in North Kona...”



[Note of J.S. Emerson – June 4, 1880 on same letter]:

Professor W.D. Alexander... In answer to the above I suggested the propriety of sending to you for a man, mentioning Rev. S.E. Bishop as a suitable person to act under your instructions, and thus secure unity of plan in all the surveys made in these islands... [DAGS 6 Box 1 # 206]

In 1887, King Kalākaua instructed Luther Aholo, Minister of the Interior to assign guardians as caretakers of certain “Royal Cemetery” on the island of Hawai‘i. In February, three locations were identified, and four individuals assigned the responsibility. One of the locations was the Royal Cemetery at Ka‘awaloa. For reasons which were not disclosed in the Interior Department Letter Books, the formal assignment of “guardianship” responsibilities was terminated on September 30, 1887. The following assignments were given to S. Makue and M. Barrett on February 16, 1887:

February 16, 1887 [same letter sent to Moses Barrett]

J.A. Hassinger (Chief Clerk, Interior Department) to Samuel Makue, Esq., Kaawaloa:

Aloha oe — I have been instructed by his excellency, the Minister of the Interior to inform you that you have been selected as guardian of the Royal Cemetery at Kaawaloa (Ilina Alii ma Kaawaloa). This selection was made the first day of February 1887.

Your monthly salary shall be \$20.00, to be obtained upon your submittal of a bill each month to this office. Please receive this assignment by this communication... [Interior Department Letter Book 31]

February 16, 1887 [same announcement published for Moses Barrett]

Public Announcement by L. Aholo (Minister of the Interior):

Let all men know by this announcement, that I have chosen and appointed S. Makue as Guardian of the Royal Cemetery at Kaawaloa, South Kona, Hawaii, beginning this first day of February 1887... [Interior Department Letter Book 31]

September 15, 1887 [same letter sent to Moses Barrett]

J. H. Boyd (Interior Department Secretary) to S. Makue, Esq., Guardian of the Royal Burial Ground at Kaawaloa, Hawaii (Luna Ilina Kupapau Alii o Kaawaloa):

I have been order by his Excellency, the Minister of the Interior to inform you that your position as Guardian of the Royal Burial Ground at Kaawaloa has been terminated, effective the 30<sup>th</sup> day of this month. I have also been instructed to notify you, that in case you desire to show your devotion to the Chiefs whose bones are deposited within this Burial place, you can continue to act as its keeper without pay... [Interior Department Letter Book 31]

## **Nā Hale Hālāwai a me nā Kula: An Overview of the Hawaiian Meeting Houses (Churches) and School System**

In addition to the important records of the Hawaiian Government pertaining to land tenure (e.g., the Māhele 'Āina and Royal Patent Grants cited above), there are several other valuable sources of written documentation that provide readers with a chronology of events in the Hawaiian communities of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. In the historical records of the Hawaiian churches and schools for the area, writers describe — the health and well-being of the native residents (in some case the diminishing quality of life therein); changes in the community and land tenure; public works programs such as the building of schools and meeting facilities, and roads.

As discussed earlier in the journals of Hiram Bingham and William Ellis, one of the earliest efforts of the missionaries was the identification and selection of important communities (generally near ports and ali'i residences) as “stations” for the regional church and school centers around the Hawaiian Islands. On Hawai'i such locations as Hilo Town; Kailua, Kona (shortly thereafter, Ka'awaloa and later Kealakekua-Kepulu); Waimea and 'Iole, Kohala; and Kukuihaele, Hāmākua; Pū'ula and 'Ōpihikao, Puna; and Wai'ōhinu, Ka'ū; served as the bases for outreach work on the island. From these “mission stations” — all under the jurisdiction of foreign missionaries — outlying churches and schools were subsequently established.

Of particular interest to the present study, are the several narratives which not only speak of transitions in the communities, but those that also describe travel via the various native trails and historic roads. Among these routes are the alaloa (later Alanui Aupuni) near the coast; the Pali Trails of Kealakekua and Ka'awaloa; and the Kealaehu (alaloa), later the mauka South and North Kona Alanui Aupuni.

### **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. 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 his great grand children are among the interviewees cited in the present study.

Selected excerpts from letters and station reports are cited below; these accounts 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.

### **Events in the History of the South Kona Mission Station Keauhou to Ka'awaloa-Kealakekua Vicinity (ca. 1832 to 1890)**

November 1832 – Cochran Forbes from Kaawaloa, reported that “Mr. Ruggles has moved 2 miles to uplands [at Kuapehu] because of health...” (Vol. 8:2305). Forbes also reported on the attack on a church member near Opukahai's former place of residence, and the punishment placed upon the attackers, “The chief, Kapiolani, has put most of the leaders of this base transaction...to work making roads, the common punishment of thieves, adulterers, drunkards, liars &c...” (Vol. 8:2307)

#### 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:

My present labours in preaching are two sermons on the Sabbath, besides our own Sabbath school which is quite as fatiguing to me as a third service, a lecture every Wednesday, a sermon on Friday at either Napopo [Napoopoo] on the south side of the bay, or at Nawawa which lies north west of us some three miles, see map <sup>[27]</sup> – Then I have a monthly concert one day in every month. (MHM – 266.858 M69; Missionary Letters 1830-1836; Vol.'s 4 & 8)

Besides my schools and all the concerns – you see I have but little time to make tours with out neglecting important work... The consequence is I seldom get as far as Honaunau, which I might visit and return the same day, nor do I get so much among the people at Napopo & Kei [Napoopoo and Keei] as I wish. I suppose there are, something like 2000 inhabitants on that side of the bay in the villages of Kealakekua, Napopo–Keii [Napoopoo & Keei] & c... [Vol. 8:2313-2313] ...Our station embraces the coast delineated on the map from Kainaliu on the northwest, to Puna on the southwest; a coast of nearly 90 miles. 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)

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<sup>27</sup> Map is not available in collection.

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 [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; 1,473 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)

April 30, 1839 – In the Station Report of 1838-1839, C. Forbes wrote that the South Kona Mission Station had been relocated from Ka'awaloa to Kealakekua (Kepulu), and detailed the work which had been undertaken in the year on various facilities:

In the report of last year, it was stated that the location of the station had, for particular reasons been changed, and those reasons were then given. The present location therefore is at Kealakekua instead of Kaawaloa...

In the same letter, Forbes also described the work and efforts of parish members in the construction of the new Kepulu Meeting House, and neighboring facilities, the work done on the Nāwāwā church and meeting house, and roads from Kepulu to the Nāpo'opo'o landing and Kuapehu. The people:

... volunteered to procure 22 cubic fathoms of coral for limestone, and burn it, also to work each, one day every week in procuring stone for the building. Then they go about 5 miles to the mountain to draw down with their own hands all the timbers for the building...

...V. Improvements at the Station.

These consist in a stone dwelling house 40x24 on the inside, one story high, which we occupy, with a stone cook house & outhouses for the natives.

2. A frame dwelling house 24x36, one story high, formerly occupied by Bro. Van Duzee. To this are also attached a number of outhouses, and a stone school house 24x60, which was covered during the past year. Each of the dwelling houses is surrounded by a good stone wall which inclosed a good yard. Some of these buildings were erected during the past year & some in the previous year.
3. The walls of a new stone & lime meeting house of one story are nearly complete. It is 120 by 54 feet on the inside.
4. A native building used both as a school and meeting house for the present [at Nāwāwā].
5. A good road from our houses to the sea; also one from our houses up to the former location [Kuapehu] on the hill, which latter may be [2.7] miles... (Forbes Ms. 1839:3 - MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua)

1841 – A. Thurston reported “that 20 miles of passable road exist between Kailua and Kealakekua...” (MHM - Kailua Station Report Mss 2A H-31 Kailua). He did not make specific reference to the location or route of the road, though it is likely that it was the upper route, passing through Kuapehu, and down to Kepulu.

May 6, 1841 – Mark Ives described general activities and events of the last year, noting 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)...” (Ives May 6, 1841:4); 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 (which had been divided into three sections); and also noted the passing of Chiefess Kapi’olani:

...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 her 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)

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 describes 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 15<sup>th</sup> to December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1845, there was no rainfall, then on December 18<sup>th</sup>, there was:

...a terrific conflagration which almost instantly leveled 13 houses to the ground...including our canoe house [at Nāpo’opo’o], canoe, and other property. It was in the part of the village where boats from whale ships generally land... 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...

On Bro. Forbes’ leaving...we moved into his house & we have during the past year finished an additional building, the walls of which had previously been laid up by him. We have also built a cistern at the expense of about \$30 that holds 110 barrels which appears tight & durable... This appears a great luxury as we have been obliged for 20 months in succession the past year to depend upon whale ships for our drinking water, that people who lived 8 miles distant where we were accustomed to send in former dry seasons for water, now came down past our house for the purpose of getting brackish water. Indeed we had but very little rain for seven months.

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.

Never before have the people of Kealakekua experienced such a famine as now, the severities of which they were feeling when I left them...

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. Onouli, a large land adjoining it has experienced about the same diminution. 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 they 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. When he and his family landed at Nāpo‘opo‘o, he reported that they were met at the shore by:

Capt. Cummings, a resident of that place who shewed us all the attention which one stranger could shew to others – soon we were surrounded by a multitude of natives who came to see & say ‘aloha’ to their new teachers, and on whose account some of them the week previous had kept a day of fasting & prayer.... Having thus partaken of the hospitality of Cap. Cummings we prepared to go up to the house which was hereafter to be our home... The next morning found us surrounded by the same kind hearted men who had proposed to keep the day of fasting and prayer for a teacher... During this day we were welcomed by many who came with “taro” potatoes, mellons & to say “aloha.”(Pogue 1849:1)

March 31<sup>st</sup> 1851 – J.F. Pogue reported that there had been few “outward” changes in the field, though there had been improvements. Among them, was that:

The road which commences at Kailua & which is thought may some day girdle the island has been extended south of us <sup>[28]</sup> 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 <sup>[29]</sup>. 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, he reported that the “great meeting house” at Kealakekua had fallen (ibid.). In his first year, 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” (ibid.:3).

<sup>28</sup> They being situated at Kepulu – Nāpo‘opo‘o.

<sup>29</sup> The Nāpo‘opo‘o Cart Road, completed ca. 1853.

In the 1852 report, under the heading “Advance in Civilization &c” Paris penned the following narratives:

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 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. The following narratives cover the region from Hōkūkano to Keālia. It will be seen that by this time, the place of worship for the Kāināliu and Nāwāwā villages, was being shifted to the uplands. While the schools along the coast continued to be in use (under the Office of Public Instruction), the functions of church were being separated from those of the schools. Paris wrote:

Since our last Annual Report our Church in S. Kona has reorganized and divided into six branches... The first of these Churches extends geographically from Hokukano on the North to Onouli on the South. It embraces 140 members... This church has to contend with the opposition of quite a number of foreigners – who have no love to the blessed Saviour... The Chh. is now taking hold in earnest to collect materials for building a comfortable & substantial house of Worship to be located some two miles from the sea shore.

The second Church extends from Kaawaloa to Keei. Its centre is Naapoopoo, the old Mission Station. This is the largest of the six churches. It embraces 280 members...

The 3d is the Hoonanau 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) (ibid.:3).

1863 – J.D. Paris’ Station Report for 1863, included an overview of the history of the Ka’awaloa-Kealakekua Station. Excerpts from that summary are cited below, and provide us with important documentation on the changes in the church and community:

The first Chh. in South Kona Hawaii was organized in the year 1824. The Rev. James Ely Pastor. At the very earnest solicitation of the Chiefs Naihe & Kapiolani, Mr. Ely took up his abode at Kaawaloa in Ap. 1824. The house he occupied was built by these interesting Chiefs & stood near the spot where the Celebrated Cpt. Cook fell. The house erected by the same persons for the worship of Jehovah – stood near by & Kapiolani was the first convert admitted to the communion of the Chh. Soon after Naihe & five or six others all of them interesting characters were admitted to this infant chh.

Mr. Ely was Pastor of this chh. until Octob. 1828 when he with his family returned to the U. States. From the year 1828 to 1832 the chh. was without a pastor. In the year 1832 the Rev. C. Forbes became pastor...his pastorate assisted a part of the time Messrs. Van Duzee & Ives – continued until 1845. During most of this time his field or parish embraced the districts of S. Kona & Kau. The members of his chh. were scattered from Kapuuohau on the border of North Kona to Kapapala – the distance of more than one hundred miles.

After Mr. Forbes left, the chh. was left to the care of Mr. Ives... In 1848 the Rev. J.F. Pogue was made Pastor of this chh. & people... The Church was again left without a pastor in 1851, Mr. Pogue having been removed to fill the important post he now occupies at Lahainaluna...

In the year 1841 a chh. was organized at Waiohinu in Kau... & the writer became its pastor... In 1852 I was located in S. Kona & made pastor of the chh. In the years 1854 & 5 we divided S. Kona into six apanas or districts & organized five chh. branches or off shoots from the Mother Chh. at Kealakekua.

The first Chh. at Nawawa about four miles distant from Kealakekua, was organized on the 30<sup>th</sup> of Ap. 1854 with 86 members, including one ruling elder & 3 deacons. When the chh. was organized we had no house to worship in. Our meetings were held for several years under a beautiful group of Kukuis – when the sun shone it was a charming spot to worship the Lord God of Hosts who dwelleth not in houses made with hands. When it rained we said, it is the Lord. This chh. & congregation now worship in a good substantial stone house; built by themselves or nearly so, & paid for. The house [the Popopi’ia (Kona Central Union) Church] is floored, ceiled, plastered & seated with good Koa pews; and finished in very plain but appropriate style we think... This house is situated on an eminence in the midst of our foreign residents... (Paris Ms. 1863:1-3)

### **Nā Kula Hawai’i – Schools in the Hawaiian Kingdom**

As reported above, 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 native tenants of various lands through out the Keauhou-Kealakekua region.

In 1847, the area between Keauhou and Kealakekua supported eleven (11) schools and thirteen (13) teachers. There were two schools in Keauhou; one school each at Honalo, Mā'ihī, Kawanui, Kāināliu (Honua'ino), Hōkūkano, Kanāueue; two schools in Kanakau; and one school each at Ka'awaloa and Kealakekua. Records indicate that in 1852, one of the schools may have been relocated for a short while to Onouli as well. By 1854, only three lots were formally surveyed and assigned to the Department of Public Instruction — the schools at Ka'awaloa, Nāwāwā and Keauhou. And two years later, in 1856, school agents were asking the Government to relocate schools away from the "barren shores" to the uplands.

Communications of 1865 report that the schools near the shore at Kāināliu and Honalo had been abandoned for locations in the uplands (Kāināliu at the teacher's house, and Honalo in the Catholic Church lot). By 1867, the makai school lot at Nāwāwā was abandoned and schools had been established next door to Popopi'ia Church at Ke'eke'e (though school records still identified the school as "Nawawa"); and at Kalukalu, on land granted by H.N. Greenwell for church and school purposes. By this time, the parents of students living between Ka'awaloa and Kanāueue were sending their children to the mauka schools.

### **Public Instruction Records**

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]

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

Ahupuaa (Land) Kumu (Teacher)

Keauhou	Kaihe
Keauhou	Keliiahue
Honalo	Heleloa
Kawanui	Molale
Kainaliu	Kaaoakapu...
Hokukano	Kanehailua
Kanaeue	Pa
Kanakau	Puki
Kanakau	Kini
Kaawaloa	Lolo...

Teachers who have been released:

<u>Ahupuaa</u>	<u>Kumu</u>
Kealakekua	Holualoa...

[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

These were merely grass-houses, with stone walls along the bottom...[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 the 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.

Oct. 11. Rode to Kailua by way of Kuapehu, got drenched in rain & much fatigued.  
Called at Mr. Halls coffee plantation, where there are 16,000 fine coffee trees; was  
much pleased with this farm.

Oct. 12. Inspected the Protestant schools, some of which appeared very well, especially in arithmetic and geography. The children were all well dressed in foreign clothing, but there was great want of neatness & cleanliness in their persons... [Public Instruction Series 261 –Box 1:12-13]

December 28, 1848

S. Haanio (Kona Tax Collector), to Minister of Public Instruction  
Reports on Teachers (their Schools), and Expenses...:

<u>Location</u>	<u>Teacher</u>
Keauhou	Kaihe, Kaleo, Kinimaka & Kanakaole
Honalo	Kainoa
Maihi	Kahunanui
Kawanui	Molale
Honuaino	Kaaoaokapu & Heleloa...

[Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 1]

1848

North Kona School Report (Kapae):

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Students</u>
Kaihe	Keauhou	54
Kaleo	Keauhou	54
Kahunanui	Maihi	19
Molale	Kawanui	21
Kaaoaokapu	Kainaliu	84
Catholic School		
<u>Teacher</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Students</u>
Kainoa	Honalo	49

[Public Instruction - Series 262 Box 2]

January 1, 1849

S. Haanio (North Kona Tax Assessor), to Keoni Ana;  
List of people of North Kona, from Puuanahulu to Honuaino, who come under the  
“Poalua” Tax Law (residing in lands and owning property):

... <u>Keauhou</u>	
1 Kaluahinui	31 Makaena
2 Ki	32 Ahu
3 Paiki	33 Makaihoa
4 Huai	34 Maikai
5 Keohoeae	35 Kupaka
6 Kukahi	36 Kuhihe
7 Mao	37 Kaoana
8 Kahuamoa	38 Keaka
9 Kalalakoa	39 Kaaiwana
10 Kinimaka	40 Kupaka
11 Nalimu	41 Hawahoa
12 Kewalo	42 Aea
13 Aoa	43 Iku
14 Kaleiohae	44 Koaea
15 Kepahao	45 Waalaa
16 Kauhikoa	46 Lono
17 Oalau	47 Kamano

18 Poopuu  
19 Kapilimakua  
20 Kapahu  
21 Kapiioho  
22 Kamakahiki  
23 Oio  
24 Kanaloa  
25 Kaikuana  
26 Hulu  
27 Puhi  
28 Kaluahinui  
29 Koomoa  
30 Puipui

Honalo

1 Kipi  
2 Poka  
3 Kawaihae  
4 Kaanehe

Maihi

1 Nakapalaau  
2 Kahinawe  
3 Kapukui

Kuamoo

1 Nahale

Kawanui

1 Kahaleko  
2 Kapue  
3 Kini  
4 Pohaku

Lehuula

1 Pele  
2 Ikeole  
3 Keukahi  
4 Puhipau  
5 Kumano  
6 Nika

Honuaino

1 Kupoka  
2 Kaaka  
3 Keo  
4 Lauoho  
5 Keawe  
6 Pahia  
7 Naipuwailama  
8 Kaa  
9 Kaiwe

48 Kama  
49 Kawau  
50 Kameeui  
51 Hilo  
52 Kaalau  
53 Kulani  
54 Kaulumanu  
55 Manua  
56 Kamakahiki  
57 Kaina  
58 Naho  
59 Paokai  
60 Kalaina

5 Kuanuuanu  
6 Haleopunui  
7 Manakamoo

4 Mao  
5 Lolapa  
6 Luau

2 Moo

5 Kahaleola  
6 Luhimakehewa  
7 Hapuku

7 Pepehu  
8 Kuikauai  
9 Haa  
10 Oloe  
11 Keakaikawai

15 Nuuanu  
16 Kukauaili  
17 Kahoomiha  
18 Kekua  
19 Kalua  
20 Kaailau  
21 Mahiki  
22 Kanakaao  
23 Kahelehookahi

10 Keohookahaku  
11 Kanakaole  
12 Puuloa  
13 Apiki  
14 Maia

24 Kanakanui  
25 Kaiama  
26 Auwaawi  
27 Kamakani  
28 Lono

Hokukano

1 Kanuha  
2 Mokole  
3 Keawe  
4 Keawe  
5 Haho  
6 Nuuanu  
7 Kanehiwa  
8 Kapihe  
9 Kaikuahine  
10 Pukui  
11 Ukaka

12 Kukahi  
13 Kukele  
14 Palau  
15 Kuoha  
16 Kahana  
17 Kahaoku  
18 Kualaa  
19 Kapahi  
20 Nakapalau  
21 Molale  
22 Nahuewai

[Public Instruction – Series 262]

October 7, 1851

Kapae (North Kona School Agent), to R. Armstrong (Minister of Public Education); Informing him of the Schools and teachers in his district:

<u>Location</u>	<u>Teacher</u>
Keauhou	Kapela & Haluapo
KainaliuKapunanui & Kapahiupue...	

[Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 2]

Kainaliu

October 9, 1851

Sam W. Makaïke (Kona School Inspector),  
to R. Armstrong (Minister of Public Instruction):

...I have seen your letter, however, it is in error, wherein you state that the School lands have been sold to Kapena... To state the total number sold – that, the four (4) parcels of land were sold to Kapena, together with all improvements thereon [not the six available parcels]...

...It would not be well for me to reside permanently, at the lowlands of Napoopoo. I had begun residence there, but at certain times, I have gone hungry. Perhaps, the best procedure is as follows:

I will reside at Kainaliu for a while, at other times, at Napoopoo. Then, I shall appoint an assistant, a deputy, to myself, and that is Papaula; to be the treasurer will be one of his duties.

That is the request that I am asking you.

However, the Governor has appointed me to be the Superintendent for Kona and Ka'u. I have accepted; because, it is an area in which cattle will survive... [Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 2]

Napoopoo

October 14<sup>th</sup> 1851

P. Cummings to R. Armstrong (Minister of Public Instruction):

...I learn from Makaiki [Makaïke] that there are 8 School Teachers that want from 25 to 50 acres land each, they want Kiloa iki. I had rather they would take their land on the other side Waipunaula iki, a Cart Road can be made to run back to the woods on Kiloa iki at a small expense, the assent being very gradual from the road now made... I understood you that they could have 5 Acres each not 25 or 50. I do not think that either of the Teachers ever had 3 Acres under cultivation at one time... [Interior Department Land Files – Hawaii]

Kealakekua

January 15, 1852

S. W. Papaula (Deputy School Inspector),  
to R. Armstrong (Minister of Public Instruction):

...I have a thought that I wish to state to you pertaining to the Schools, here in South Kona, at the present time:

...Here is an item. Preparation of the Quarterly Report, and the Annual Report for the year 1851, will not be completed soon because I am handicapped by numerous other duties placed upon me.

The major portion of the duties of Makaïke and I, are performed by me, at the present time. This work and that work, and all the duties of the Office of School Inspector.

Makaïke has appointed me his Deputy School Inspector. At the present time, he is residing at Kainaliu – not at Napoopoo. He just comes here to get the reports, then he returns to his home at Kainaliu... [Public Instruction – series 261 Box 3]

October-December 1852

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

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Students</u>
Kini	Nawawa	28
Makauaua	Onouli	32
Kaukaneholo	Kaawaloa	20...

[Public Instruction Series 262]

November 24, 1854

School at Kaawaloa Ahupuaa at South Kona, District 4, Hawaii [Figure 25]:

...Beginning at the southern corner towards the sea, adjoining the Konohiki's lands at the stone marked X, running –  
North 43°00' East 141 links to the Konohiki's land  
North 49°00' West 156 links to the Konohiki's land  
South 45°00' West 123 links to the Konohiki's land  
South 42°30' East 142 links to the point of commencement  
There being 20/100ths Acre. [Land Division Grant 4:2]

November 24, 1854

School at Nawawa Ahupuaa at South Kona, District 4, Hawaii [Figure 26]:

...Beginning at the southern corner towards the sea, at a stone marked X at the place adjoining the lot of Kamakahiona and the Government land, and running north 74°43' east 254 links, to lalua's, North 16°00' West 218 links to the Western corner of

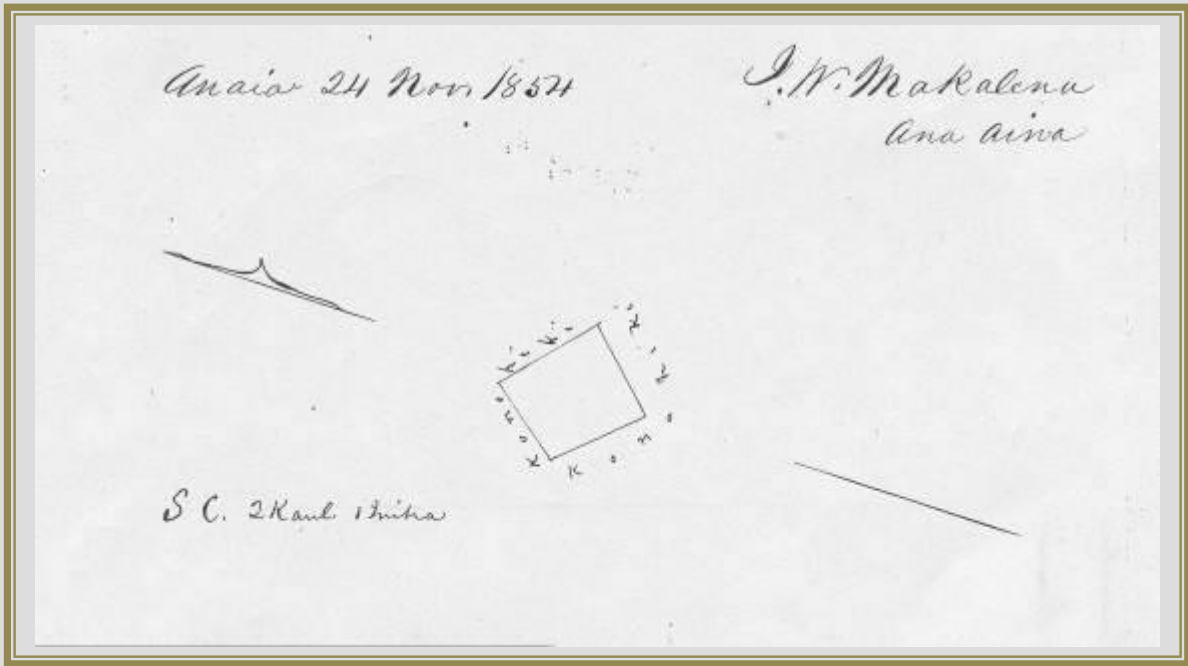


Figure 25. School at Kaawaloa Ahupuaa at South Kona, District 4, Hawaii

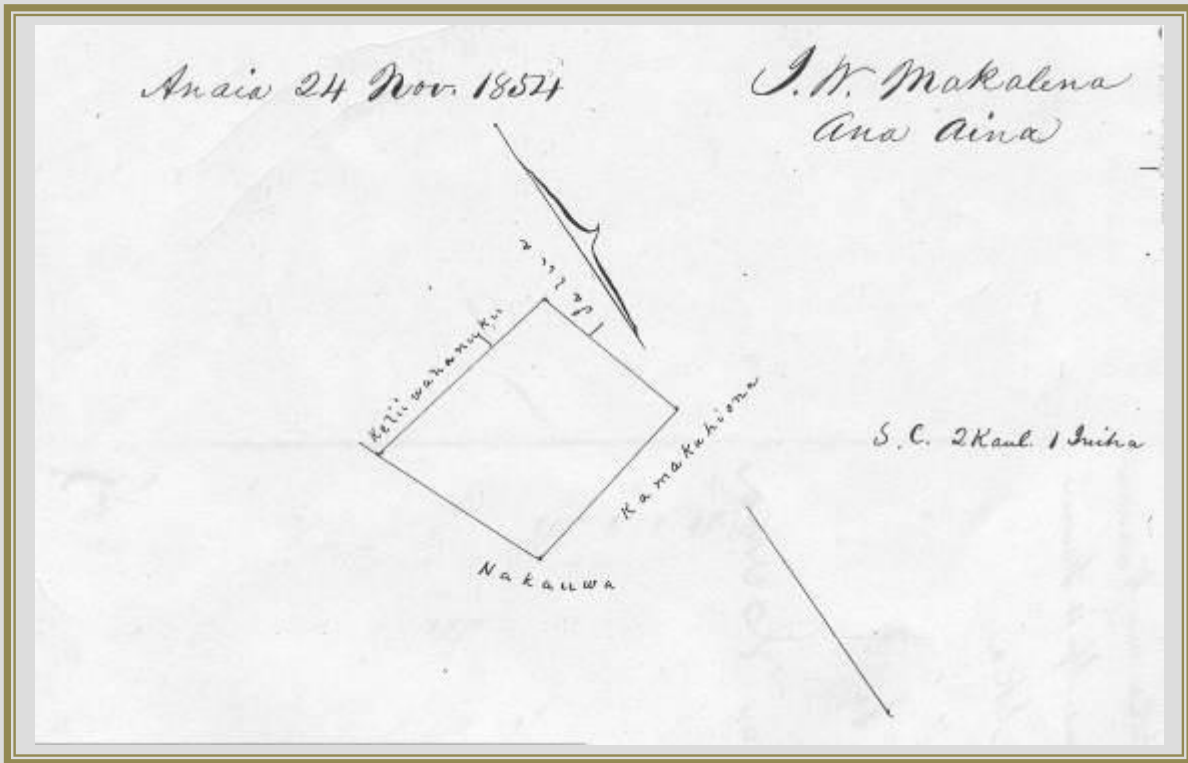


Figure 26. School at Nawawa Ahupuaa at South Kona, District 4, Hawaii

Keliwahanuku's wall. South 78°30' West 290 links, to the Northern Corner of Nakau's [Nakauwaa] wall, South 25°00' East 243 links, then returning to the point of commencement. There being 63/100ths Acre. [Land Division, Grant 4:1]

October-December 1855

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

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Students</u>
Kini	Nawawa	16

Orange Hill

August 11, 1856

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

...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 Hoonounau & here at Kaawaloa. We can't get an inch of land to set a house on.

We want a location also at Nawawa the Govt. has a piece of land there close by our church perhaps you can secure us a piece. I hope you will write us & let us know whether we must keep our school houses on the barren shore or not... [Public Instruction – Series 261, Box 81]

April-July 1857

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

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Students</u>
Kamaka	Nawawa	36 [Public Instruction Series 262]

September 30, 1857

...H.N. Greenwell sells and conveys 1  $\frac{3}{4}$  acres of land in Kalukalu to Amos S. Cooke, described as follows:

“Commencing at the N.E. corner of Thos. Paris' land on main road from Kealakekua to Kawaihae & running along side road 150 feet to a pile of stones, thence westwardly along South side of branch road leading from the above mentioned main road to the beach at Kalukalu to a pile of stones 430 feet, thence southwardly a straight line to the centre of a Kukui tree adjoining T.H. Paris' wall 206 feet, thence Eastwardly along wall to point of commencement.” (Liber 9:602)

The above described land was conveyed to the Board of Education by Amos S. Cooke and Juliette M. Cooke (his wife) April 26, 1861, and recorded in Liber 14 on page 51, and contained the following provisions:

“To have and to hold the same and all appurtenances thereto belonging forever unto the said Board of Education for Educational purposes. provided that the right of the people who contributed to build a house on this lot for religious meetings shall in no way be impaired.” [Public Instruction - Series 261 (Box 82), folder of 1891]

[See also communication of November 15, 1906, regarding the presence of graves on the property.]



January-May 1858  
 South Kona School Report (D.H. Nahinu):

Teacher	School	Students
Kalena	Kaawaloa	21
Kahaleole & Kanakaole	Nawawa	22

[Public Instruction Series 262]

October 1858-January 1859  
 South Kona School Report (D.H. Nahinu):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
D.H. Nahinu	Kaawaloa	39	The school house is not good at this time, but the school is well taught. [Public Instruction Series 262]

January-April 1859  
 South Kona School Report (D.H. Nahinu):

Teacher	School	Students
Nahinu	Nawawa	37 [Public Instruction Series 262]

July-October 1861  
 North Kona School Report (G.W. Pilipo):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
Haluapo	Keauhou	39	School house is stone wall base and wooden walls
Makaike	Kainaliu	44	School house is stone wall base and wooden walls

Catholic School

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
Alapai	Honalo	36...	School house is stone wall base and wooden walls

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 2]

South Kona, Hawaii  
 February 24, 1862

P. Cummings and H.L. Sheldon (Trustees of the English Schools in Kona),  
 to M. Kekuanaoa (President of the Board of Education):

...The undersigned, Trustees of English Schools in Kona, hereby notify you that they have duly executed a perpetual lease to the Hawaiian Government, for school purposes, of a building and lot at Kalukalu, South Kona, reserving only the right to the public of using the same as a house of worship... [T]here is now an English School being kept in the District by Mr. C.F. Hart and sister, but which for the present, for private convenience, is kept in their own house... [Public Instruction Series 261 – Box 82]

October 1862-January 1863  
South Kona School Report (S.W. Papaula):

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Kini	Kaawaloa	40	A good School House

[Public Instruction – Series 262]

Orange Hill  
June 18, 1864

J.D. Paris, to J.S. Low (Board of Education):

...I am now teaching the English School, it necessitated for want of a suitable teacher. Mr. Hart Esq., having resigned. I have a school of 26 pupils most of them the children of foreigners.

I have fitted up the old Kapiolani house at my own expense which I use for the school for the present... [Public Instruction – Series 261, Box 8]

Napoopoo  
July 13, 1864

S.W. Papaula (School Supervisor), to J.S. Low (Board of Education):

...My quarter report is coming. The drafts of the teachers, the Principals and the School Superintendent and all other expenses for the school building at Nawawa have been paid.

Some schools were prepared and others were deficient. The schools were supplied with the necessary material for the teachers to instruct. the school buildings are fine, likewise at Nawawa, Napoopoo, and Keei which are furnished with chairs... [Public Instruction – Series 261, Box 8]

October 1864-January 1865  
South Kona School Report (S.W. Papaula):

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Students</u>
Kini	Nawawa	80

[Public Instruction – Series 262]

April 19, 1865

G.W. Pilipo (Kona School Agent) to A. Fornander (Superintendent of Schools):

...I'm reporting in this quarterly report the amount of money spent on each worker of the teaching profession for this district... I'm telling you the location of the schools and the teachers with schools...

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>Locality</u>	<u>Type of School</u>
Haluapo	Keauhou	Protestant
Kahalau	Honalo	Catholic
Makaike	Kainaliu	Protestant...

From Keauhou to Honalo is 3 miles. From Honalo to Kainaliu is 2 miles... [Public Instruction – Series 261, Box 7]

April-July 1865

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

Teacher	School	Students
Ikaika	Nawawa	65 [Public Instruction – Series 262]

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

...Nawawa. A good substantial wooden house, wanting better care, however, and white washing or painting. It stands near the Prot. Church [Popopiia] on a disputed piece of land, the original lot lying makai unoccupied. It is a large school, numbering over 70 scholars and ought to be divided, could a female teacher be found to keep a girl's school. The proficiency of the scholars was good, in fact, the best in the district and, for so large a school, the children were the most orderly and well behaved in Kona.

On Sept. 1<sup>st</sup> I examined, commissioned and instructed the teachers of this district. I withheld the commissions however from several of them, ordering them to stand another examination at the expiration of a month of date, or at the end of the vacation.

North Kona

The following schools were examined and visited.

Kainaliu. 40 scholars. School kept in the Prot. meeting house. There being no separate land nor house for this school. The original lot at Honuaino lying makai, deserted.

Honalo. 43 scholars. School kept on the Catholic Church premises, the original lot being deserted, makai.

Keauhou. 43 scholars. A large stone building in good repair, half church and half school, standing on the original school lot in the midst of the village... [Public Instruction – Series 262 Reports, Hawaii 1865]

October 1865-January 1866

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

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
Haluapo	Keauhou	40	A good wooden school house
Alapai	Honalo	33	A stone school house with roof
Makaike	Kainaliu	37	A stone school house with roof [Public Instruction – Series 262]

Nawawa

November 6, 1866

G.W. Kini (Teacher), to A. Fornander (Chief School Superintendent):

...Your servant asks you, Father, regarding this work of mine, caring for the School at Nawawa. Please agree to giving me \$.75 cents for each day I work... There are many

children at this time in my school, 71 people come regularly, and 76 are enrolled. Therefore father, your servant asks you for the many children from Hawaii to Kauai.

Here also is this, we and the students have purchased a Clock for our school. We obtained a chiming clock for \$10.00, and the children are so happy that they have gotten this. Our school starts at 9 o'clock and ends at 1½ in the evening (ahiahi).

Here also, let the Kingdom help us to get 50 feet of lumber for our School House for Chairs for the students. The Chairs are all filled with children, and there are 20 children who have no Chairs to sit in.

Therefore, if you agree to this, 50 feet of lumber, you could ship it upon the Kilauea to the Kaawaloa Harbor, printing my initials on the boards, G.W.K., along with your letter to me... [Public Instruction – Series 261, Box 9; translation revised by Maly]

1867

Memorandum of N. Kona Hawaii

R.B. Neville (School Superintendent), to Inspector General (Abraham Fornander):

1. Kainaliu, This school has 13 R.S. [Registered Students] at present, 4 boys and 9 girls. The excitement produced by the religious speculations of Kaona has caused the withdrawal from this school, of about 30 children, for whom the Kaonaites provide a school and teacher themselves. Of the remaining 13 children, only 3 were advanced beyond spelling. These 3 read and wrote well, and a boy has got to Ch. V in ment. Ar. In geog. they were very weak. No school house existing at Kainaliu, the school was kept in the teacher's house.
2. Honalu [Honalo]. This school has 41 Regs. St'd. 25 boys and 16 girls, 37 were present. In reading 19 – 12 good and 7 not very fluent. In writing 12 – fluent but not good... The keeping of this school is commendable, the children orderly, attentive and prompt. The parents had contributed \$81.50 towards building a new school house, and had given a spot of land to place it on, the Bd. of Ed. having neither house nor house lot on that land. I promised them on behalf of the Bd. Ed. from \$90-100 (accounting the cost of lumber) to purchase and put up that school house...

Complaints had been made against the teacher, Alapai, of inattention to his duty. I appointed a special day to hear them. Went there and found them either frivolous or groundless. I talked to the parents, who had assembled en masse, about their duty as parents, instructed the teacher and produced a better feeling among themselves toward the schools... [Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 10]

Kaawaloa

November 2, 1867

Petition of Nakookoo et al.,

to Abraham Fornander (Chief Superintendent of Education):

...We are the parents of children in the Popopiia School Division, South Kona, Hawaii, residing from Kanaeue to Kaawaloa. We are petitioning you regarding our School Teacher (G.W. Kini), that you terminate him immediately, before your arrival on Hawaii, from the position of Teacher, for these reasons.

1. His sending our children to take cinder for the Church bell tower.
2. His sending our children during school time to work on the walls of the Church.

3. His taking our children to work on his personal work.
4. His releasing our children from school at certain times, if Paris comes to hold a meeting in the Church. He quickly ends the teaching and then urges the children to attend the meeting, even if the time for the Government school is not completed.

Therefore, while he was a teacher before, but because of his sending our children to do his personal work, for those reasons we petitioned previously to S.W. Papaula, School Supervisor, that he be terminated. In witness of the truth of these accusations, we sign our names.

(Signed)

Nakookoo, H. Peter (haole), Keliwahanuku, Ha'o, Kekipi, Kaolulo, Halepo, Daniela P., Alohikea, Amala, Kuawa, Auwe, Kekalohe, Kauwale, Kiwai, Mahoahoa, Kamuela, Panaunau, Naele, Puena, Kupele

The teacher that we desire is Nehemia, School Teacher at Napoopoo, and Kamiki, a student at Lahainaluna, residing at Kainaliu, he should be at Napoopoo. [Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 10; translation revised by Maly]

Hookena, South Kona

July 7, 1868

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

Reports on examination of schools on South Kona:

School at Nawawa. Kini is the teacher. There are 36 students, 24 boys and 12 girls. There are 24 in reading, 6 in arithmetic, 25 in geography, 16 in penmanship and 36 in music. Their reading wasn't good and they're slow in arithmetic...

School House of Nawawa. They have a good school house there, there is probably nothing that the Government has to do to improve that school... [Public Instruction – Series 261 Box 10; translation revised by Maly]

January – April 1873

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

Teacher	School	Students
Makahalupa	Kainaliu	12
Alapai	Honalo	30

[Public Instruction Series 262 Box 3]

October 1873 – January 1874

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

Teacher	School	Students
Kini	Nawawa	32 [Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 3]

October 1875 – January 1876

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

Teacher	School	Students
Kawaihoole	Nawawa	22 [Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

October 1876 – January 1877 (H.N. Greenwell):  
South Kona School Report:

Teacher	School	Students
Kawaihoole	Nawawa	23 [Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

October 1877 – January 1878  
South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
S.W. Makaike	Nawawa	20	Wooden 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 [Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

October 1879 – January 1880  
South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students	Comments
S.W. Makaike	Nawawa	22	Wooden School House [Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

October 1880 – January 1881  
South Kona School Report (H.N. Greenwell):

Teacher	School	Students
S.W. Makaike	Nawawa	19 [Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

February 7, 1881  
H.N. Greenwell (Kona School Agent),  
to C.R. Bishop (President of the Board of Education):

...In view of the probable spread of small pox to the other Islands of the group I think it right to inform you that in the districts of North and South Kona Hawaii, owing to there have been no Government or other practicing physician for six or seven years, nearly all the children of seven years and under are unvaccinated.

In these districts in proportion to the total population the children are more numerous than elsewhere. I am not a member of the Board of Health but as School Agent it seems to be my duty to have so serious a matter brought under the notice of the proper authorities... [Public Instruction – Series 261 box 16]

Kealakekua  
March 18, 1881  
H.N. Greenwell (Kona School Agent),  
to W.F. Smith (Secretary of the Board of Education):

...By this mail I have drawn on you in favor of J.T. Waterhouse for \$600. of which

\$350 to be charged against the South Kona, and \$250 against the North Kona, School fund.

Dr. Baker, who was sent up by the Board of Health, has vaccinated nearly two thousand persons, but I am afraid the vaccine was of poor quality as I hear of many failures.

Dr. Baker proposes returning to Honolulu by the “Likelike” (expected today) and will of course report to the Board of Health, but I shall be obliged by your mentioning the subject to the President of the Board of Education as further steps should be taken to protect the children of these districts.

I impute no neglect or inefficiency to Dr. Baker, for I believe he did his work well, but his vaccine was small in quantity, and being exhausted during his first journey through the districts, he has been unable during the last week to revaccinate... [Public Instruction – Series 261 box 16]

Kealakekua

May 2, 1881

H.N. Greenwell (Kona School Agent),

to W.F. Smith (Secretary of the Board of Education):

...Dr. Baker has returned to this district and has been on vaccinating tours in South & North Kona.

When the supply of matter that he brought up is exhausted he will need the points that you will be so kind as to send up.

Owing to one cause or another many failures occur, but as I understand that Dr. Baker will remain here, I hope that eventually there will be but few unprotected persons... [Public Instruction – Series 261 box 16]

October 1882 – January 1883

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

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Makaike	Nawawa	14	[last reference to school at Nawawa]

[Public Instruction – Series 262 Box 4]

Kealakekua

November 15, 1906

Albert S. Baker (Agent of Hawaiian Board),

to Mr. W.H. Babbitt (Dept of Public Instruction):

...I am writing in reference to a conversation between you and Mr. Baldwin, and myself, on Sept. 27 in regard to a piece of land (1 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> acres) perhaps a quarter of a mile south of Kona Waena School. As the church has some rights there, you suggested that when Mr. King reached Kona we might see if we could settle on a satisfactory division.

I crawled into the jungle today, thinking it well to locate boundaries so as to save time when Mr. King gets here. I discovered the graves but a short distance from the street, with stones, separately fenced. As the growth cannot be penetrated far, I

visited Mrs.Greenwell who lives next door, and learned from her that seven or eight graves are near where I located the first one, and all near the site of the burned church. The graves are all, or nearly all of former white residents and have stones with names &c...

It seems very fitting that this land should continue in use for cemetery purposes, and I feel that it could again be opened up for public use... [Public Instruction – Land Files]

The lot referred to above was subsequently converted into the present-day cemetery. The North side boundary wall is situated on the edge of the Kalukalu Government Road (Figure 27).



**Figure 27.** Intersection of the old Kalukalu Road with the Māmalahoa Highway (KPA Photo No. 1644). The wall along left side of pasture (pine tree and telephone poles seen along wall) is the old boundary between Kalukalu Road and the lot that is now the Central Kona Union Church Cemetery (formerly the old church and school lot).



## **Boundary Commission Testimonies for Lands from Keauhou 2nd, North Kona to Kealakekua, South Kona, Island of Hawai'i (ca. 1873-1892)**

The Māhele and Land Grant programs of the Kingdom were accompanied by rapid growth in business interests which required a secure land base. 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 of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, many of the informants stated that they were either born on one of the lands being described, or that they had lived there since their youth. All of the witnesses had learned of the boundaries from their elders, and described the landscape by the nature of the terrain, presence of resources, land use, and features which were of significance to the residents of the land.

The oldest informants were born around 1795, by association with events described at the time of their birth, and the youngest around 1830. The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Transcribers focused on main points of reference, and readers will also note that there are often inconsistencies in spelling of particular words such as place names, people names and natural or man-made features.

The narratives below are excerpted from the testimonies for the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. 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<sup>30</sup>. Underlining and square bracketing are used by this author to highlight particular points of historical interest in the narratives. Register Map No. 1281 and a 1928 Real Property Tax Office Map (Figures 28 and 29 at the end of the study), and Bishop Estate Map No. 42 (Keauhou, 1885-1886), include reference points to many of the features (natural and manmade) described in the testimonies.

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<sup>30</sup> 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; The volume 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.

Referencing Figures 28 & 29, while reviewing the testimonies will help readers identify several of the named locations. An extensive search for maps prepared as a part of the Boundary Commission proceedings was undertaken, but unfortunately, almost none of them could be located in State collections.

### Testimony and Proceedings of the Boundary Commission

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A (page 256)

...The Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2nd, District of North Kona (Island of Hawaii)  
Meeting of August 4, 1873

Boundary Commission... at the House of Moses Barrett at Keopuka, South Kona, for the hearing of the application of Jno. O. Dominis, Administrator of the estate of Kamehameha V for the settlement of the boundaries of Keauhou 2...Present J.G. Hoapili for applicant, Estate of M. Kekuanaoa, C.R. Bishop, Hon. Mrs. C.R. Bishop, Madam Akahi, Her Excellency R. Keelikolani, and Kaopua... Lumaheihei for Mrs. W. Lumaheihei, Rev. J.D. Paris for self.

Keakaokawai [Keakaikawai, or Keaka]<sup>k</sup> Sworn

I was born at Kealakekua a few years before the death of Kamehameha 1<sup>st</sup> (note this is the same witness that was on Kahuku boundaries). I moved at time of Kaua o Kekuaokalani (1820 [occurred Dec. 1819]) to Lehuula, (was grown at that time). I now live at Hookukano [Hokukano], North Kona and am a kamaaina of Kona. I used to go on the mountain with my father collecting sandalwood and catching birds, his name was Kuluahi, an old bird catcher and kamaaina now dead; Honalo bounds Keauhou 2 at sea shore on South side, A pali aa [aa stone cliff] called Lekeleke is the boundary at sea shore between these lands. Thence the boundary runs mauka along lands on Honalo sold to different parties on Honalo, to a place called Nohonoanahoaiku, in the woods on the makai side of pali. Thence along the Government portion of Honalo to Kapapakauheana a round water hole in the woods in the centre of Honalo. Thence the boundary runs mauka to Kaimuhapu, a water hole thence to Kipukauki, most of this plain is on Keauhou and a small portion on Honalo... (page 257) ...said land being overgrown in aa, thence to Komomoku ka pali [the cliff] which is the boundary between Keauhou and Honalo. There Keauhou turns South and cuts Honalo off, nearly through the woods thence to Kaukahoku, junction of Lehuula nui, said place is an ahua pohaku a small hill of pahoehoe covered with scant ohia and mamani [māmane trees]; thence along Lehuula nui to Keanakiha a small cave where natives used to sleep. Thence to an ahua pohaku mauka iki [a little upland] of the ana [cave], built in olden times and now knocked down by the goats, this is an open spot with scant ohia and mamani growing all around thence along Lehuula nui to a place called Kepulu at Govr. Adams road through the woods, scant koa and other trees growing there.

The lands of Hookukano cut off Lehuula nui at Govr. Adams road. Thence along the land of Hookukano this land runs mauka. In older times Keaumokunui [Keeaumoku] the alii nui of Keauhou, claimed all the geese on Hookukano, Kealakekua and other lands, and used to divide the geese. The Uwao [uwa'u] were left for Konohiki of these lands. The land was not the property of the Keauhou chief when my father and I divided the geese with the Keauhou Konohiki; but the Uwao we had to divide with the Konohiki of Hookukano and not with Konohiki of Keauhou, unless we took the uwao on Keauhou. Thence mauka from Kepulu to Kamoiki along Hookukano, the aa on Keauhou, and from thence the boundary runs to Keanaakala a small cave, thence to Kikikiaeae [Kikiaeae] a long hill (puulepo) at mauka corner of Hookukano, trees of all kinds growing all around, thence South again to Kamakaulaula, pahoehoe along mauka end of Hookukano in

woods, thence apaa [a dry open space] called Kainapahoa, thence down on to pahoehoe to a cave called Aahuwela, corner of Kealakekua and Hookukano, said cave used to have water in it. Thence along Kealakekua, running mauka about one half of a mile to Umis road, Kanohoana o Umi; Aa with mamani trees growing both sides of the road. When I used to go up with my father, there were only a few mamani trees growing makai of the wood, now there are a great many both sides of the road. Thence turn south again across aa to Halii... (page 258) ...laukoa (where Umi sat and they spread Koa leaves old tradition). Few koa and ohia trees grow there, they are mostly mamani; thence the boundary runs up an ahua [rise or low hill] to Kanekii a small water hole which dries upon dry weather. Keauhou mauka and Kealakekua makai, thence to Kalulu, Keauhou mauka and Kealakekua makai, pahoehoe there is where we used to catch birds in olden times, the Uwao belonging to both lands at Kanekii, the boundary leaves Umis road and goes makai of it. From Kalulu to a place called Kakai a lae Koa [section of koa growth that extends out like a point onto the landscape], Koa grove on Pahoehoe, the South-East corner. Thence turn makai along Kealakekua, to a large mawae [fissure] called Kawahapele, thence down along said mawae to Puuloa a pali on the mauka corner of land of Honaunau. The woods extend there now. In olden times there were hardly any trees there. I have forgotten the names of the places beyond here, on boundaries of Keauhou and other lands along there. I have not been along there after. Kanupa is the place where Keauhou joins Kaulanamauna, a Kipapaliana [?], junction of Keauhou, Manuka and Kaulanamauna. All kinds of trees grow there also small spots of pahoehoe in the aa. I have only been there once, went with my father before I was fully grown. Do not know, as I could find it now. Thence mauka to Kilohana, on an aa flow where we used to catch birds and where Kahuku joins Keauhou. Thence along Kahuku to Kulauala, on Umi's road. From Puuloa to Kanupa Keauhou used to take the Pahoehoe above the woods, and the Kona lands reached to the mauka edge of the woods from Kilohana along Kapapala to Pohakuhanalei, a hill on the top of the mountain, thence the boundary runs down to Kolekole, a hill where Humuula joins Keauhou and cuts Kapapala off; thence down the side of the mountain to Kaaawa, along Humuula, there Puanahulu [Puanahulu] joins Keauhou and Humuula stops. Kaaawa is pahoehoe with small ohia trees, and also other kinds of trees growing there; thence the boundary runs to a hill called Kalalua, along the land of Puanahulu. A large hill can be seen from Ahua Umi, which is at Hualalai. Thence the boundary runs down to pili [grass] land, to Palahinui, along Puanahulu, thence to Hapukaa, on Umi's road to Waimea... (page 259) ...on the pahoehoe. Thence Kanupa 2, a cave in pili land, now covered with the lava flow of 1859 to Kiholo; thence to Kanupa 3 a cave near the base of Hualalai; where the land of Puuawaa [Puuwaawaa] joins Keauhou. Thence the boundary runs up the mountain to a cave on the side of the mountain, above the woods called Waikulukulu, thence to Puuakawai an old water hole now filled up, by cattle tramping around it – this place is the junction of the land Kaopulehu [Kaupulehu] with Keauhou. Thence the boundary runs to the mauka side of a hill called Haalulu, in a hollow between the hill and an ahua. Thence along to Kaluamakani, a large hole or crater, there Kaopulehu ends and Honuaula joins Keauhou, thence along this land to Puulalaau [Puu laalaau] a hill, where the land of Puuaa [Puuaa] is on the makai side. Honuaula is very narrow at the mauka end. The boundary of Keauhou runs along the mauka edge of woods above Puulalaau, and along to Mawae, there the land of Kaomalumalu [Kaumalumalu] joins Keauhou, thence along to Kamomoku to Judd road, on the mauka edge of the woods thence along what – used to be the edge of the woods (the trees are now all grown along Kaumalumalu) to Aa where Kahaluu joins Keauhou.

I do not know the boundaries between the land of Kahaluu and Keauhou or between the two Keauhous.

CXd By J.D. Paris

I have never heard that the land of Kahauloa extends mauka to Keauhou. I do not know the boundaries of Kahauloa.

CXd By Commissioner

There are two places called Kamomoku one in the boundary of Honalo a pali nui [large cliff] in the Koa, the real boundary is a long crack running most through the woods, the second place of that name is on Kaomalumalu a pali on the road makai of Charley Walls house. Lehuula nui, is a large land in the woods wider than from here to Greenwell's (about one (1) mile).

Hukikee was the konohiki of Keauhou at the time I went with my father and others catching geese. He told us that one half of the geese are caught – belonged to Keauhou...

(page 260) ...and he claimed the geese on all the different lands, but always used to divide them. I was not old enough to catch geese at that time, but only went along with my father. I do not know where Honaunau, Keei and other lands end beyond Kealakekua, or what lands join Keauhou along there. Kukai is makai and towards Kau of a water hole called Pupuewai. I have never seen Puueleele or Ohialele, I have never seen and do not know where the places called Puukeokeo. Hanamauloa, Pohakuloa. Kealohi, Puuhoolia, Hapaimano, Halepohaha or Puulonolono are. I do not know the boundaries between Keauhou and Kahuku near the woods but know them near the top of the mountain. Do not remember the name of the place where Kapapala and Keauhou cut Kahuku off. Know a place called Puukulua, it is at the hill aamoku, but do not know what lands join there. I do not know whether Kaohe of Hamakua extends to Pohakuhanalei or not: I know the boundary between Humuula and Keauhou from Pohakuhanalei to Kolekole and Kaaawa. Kapapala ends at Pohakuhanalei and Humuula joins Kaaawa there and Puanahulu joins Keauhou and bounds it to Kalalua the place where the Puanahulu people tried to kill my Father.

I have made a mistake in saying that Puanahulu bounds Keauhou at Kaaawa. Kaohe of Hamakua is the land that bounds Keauhou at Kaaawa thence the boundary runs to Palahinui along Kaohe and passing the hill of Kalalua; thence to Naelemakule a place covered by a lava flow, thence to Hapukaa where Kaohe ends and Puanahulu joins Keauhou. Kaohe is mauka side of Umi's road to Waimea and Puanahulu is makai of the road from Hapukaa along Puanahulu to Kanupa 2<sup>nd</sup> and Kanupa 3<sup>rd</sup>. I have never heard that Kaupulehu reaches to the top of Hualalai. My father pointed out these boundaries to me...

August 5<sup>th</sup> 1873

(page 261)

Kahilo<sup>k</sup> Sworn

I was born at Keauhou at the time of the building of the first Kiholo [ca. 1811], and have always lived there in Kona Hawai'i.

Honalo bounds it on the South side an awaawa and ilina kupapau (a crack in the rocks where the natives used to put their dead) called Lekeleke, is the boundary. Thence the boundaries between these lands mauka, the Kualapa [ridge] on Honalo and Awaawa [gulch, grotto or valley] on Keauhou to Nawawae Nuuanu at the Government road mauka.

Thence follow up Kualapa and awaawa to Kamomoku a pali surrounded by small trees. Koa, Ohia, mamani, naio &c, the tall woods are makai of this place. There is an ancient pile of stones here, at the mauka corner of Honalo. There the boundary turns toward Kau, to lae aa [an aa point jutting out onto the landscape], along Honalo, to another Ahu [cairn] built-in older times, which is at the corner of Honalo and Lehuula nui, called Kukai aina. The mamani mostly growing mauka of this place. Thence along Lehuula nui to Palihoomana on Honuaino nui thence along Honuaino (called Kamomona) (J.G. Hoapili says it is Makaike's land Honuaino III) thence to a small pali along Honuaino, in scraggy woods to Waio [Wai'io], Gov. Adams road crossing the boundary at the Pali Hoomana (I do not know what the name used to be) where Honuaino ends, and where Hookukano joins Keauhou. Thence along Hookukano to Waio, which place is on Hookukano and Kanauweuwe. I do not know which side of the spring [Wai'io] the boundaries are; pili and trees are growing around there, the mamani trees extend makai of this point. Thence along Kanauweuwe the boundary turning directly mauka to a hill called Kikikiaeae [Kikiaeae]. I do not know the names of the lands that join Keauhou here. From Kikikiaeae, which place is on Keauhou. I do not know the boundaries beyond Waio,... (page 262) ...I have heard that Kealakekua joins Keauhou, and other Kona lands, run up to the mamani and to the poha, Pahohoe that breaks through when trod upon. My parents and grandparents used to go bird catching, for feathers as far as Waiea, and they said that there were only pu-kiawe trees in Keauhou. I have heard that Kahuku of Kau joins Keauhou on Mauna Loa, but have not heard where. Kamauae a cave at the seashore is the boundary between Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> and Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>. Thence the boundaries between these two lands runs mauka to the Poo Hoohia above Keauhou, thence into groves of ohia trees, below the Government Road, to a cave called Kaekuakapuuuaa; thence to a place called Lanaokeliikapu, which is on the Government Road. An ahu used to stand at this place, but was knocked down when the road was built. Thence the boundary runs to Laaunui, a large ohia tree; said tree is in the woods about the end of where people work.

Running from the Government Road mauka, there is a kualapa and Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> is on the low ground, this side, and Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> on high ground. From, Laaunui the boundary runs to a pali called Paakai; Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> at the foot and Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> on top of the pali. Thence along the pali till you come into koa woods and aa, there the pali ends. Thence out of the woods to Pupaa, a cave on Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> the boundary being on the Kau side of the cave. Thence turning toward Kohala the boundary runs to Kawaha o Pele a hill with a crater here. Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> ends and Kahaluu joins Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>. Thence along Kahaluu. There are a great many hills with craters there, tall woods on lands makai and mamani on Keauhou, thence to Kawaha Pele 2<sup>nd</sup>. I do not know what lands join Keauhou there; thence to the Government Road [Judd Road] thence to Hoikekanaka (Kahua hoike kanaka o Umi) thence to Pohakuloa, a large rock by a water hole, on the Kau slope of Ahuami above Hualalai. Thence along aa to Waiakapee, a small water hole on the aa, Keauhou does not extend to the top of Hualalai, but runs along the Kau slope of the mountain, Honuaula takes in the top of Hualalai... (page 263) ...and joins Keauhou at a hill called Kaunuoku which is on Honuaula at Hoikekanaka. From Waiakapee, I have been told the boundary runs to Ka-amoku [Ke'amoku], but I have not been further than Waiakapee. Have heard that Waikoloa, Kaohe, and Humuula, bound Keauhou on the further side. CX'd.

Keakaokawai, is the one who pointed out the boundaries to me when we went after mamake, and he is the only one who pointed out these boundaries, through the woods, to me.

My parents told me some of the boundaries my father Uluhiwa, now dead, who was an old bird catcher; showed me boundaries above the woods to Waiakapee. But did not tell me what lands joined.

Palea<sup>k</sup> Sworn

I was born at Kalahiki, South Kona Hawaii and have always lived there, was born at the time of Kuewai o ka Lae [Ke Ku'i wai o Kalae (attempt at digging a well at Kalae; ca. 1811]. Know the land of Keauhou, Lekeleke is the boundary at sea-shore, between Honalo and Keauhou. I know the boundaries between Kalahiki and Keauhou. My father Kanahuna (now dead) was appointed by Keauhou konohiki to watch the bird catchers on our land and other lands, to see if they did not take the geese and uwao [uwa'u] which belonged to Keauhou, and he told me the boundaries between these lands and Keauhou. He said that Kalahiki ran through the woods; small ohia trees kapiopio and mamani to the pahoehoe, then you come to Keauhou. I do not know where the boundary of Kauhako and Kalahiki on Keauhou is. Thence the boundary runs along the head of Kalahiki to lae aa, in lae aa, Waiea joins Keauhou cutting off Kalahiki thence along above the mamani to Lumia, junction of Honokua (a punawai) water hole on a hill. I do not know the boundaries beyond this point—; Have seen Umi's road, when we were on the mountain gathering sandalwood. Have heard that Kahuku joins Keauhou.

CX'd...

(page 264)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A

Lehuula iki North Kona

Case adjourned from August 5<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1873 and opened after due notice to all agents of parties owning adjoining lands. August 6<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1873. Present J.P. Hoapili and Rev J.D. Paris

Kahulialo<sup>w</sup>. Sworn

I was born at Honalo, North Kona Hawaii on a place called Kealaehu; and at the time of the first Kiholo [ca. 1811], know the land of Keauhou and part of its boundaries, mauka, in the woods and above the woods. My father Kuluahi who was the kamaaina of Kona, on the mountain, showed them to me. Keana o Kiha a cave, with a large pile of stones mauka of it, is the boundary between Keauhou and Lehuula nui and the corner of Honalo. I have not been with my father along the boundary of Honalo and Keauhou, at that time this place was above the woods and you could see from Kiha to Waio [Wai'io], now the trees are all grown up. Thence the boundary of Keauhou runs along Lehuula to Lae aa [a prominent point of aa on the landscape] and to Kepulu a spot where there is soil and no rocks, mauka of Palihoomana, there Lehuula nui ends, and the land of Hookukano joins Keauhou. The boundary between Hookukano and Lehuula is a small stream of aa on the South side of Kepulu; from thence the boundary runs along Hookukano to Kikiaeae an awaawa where my husband used to live. A large kualapa on the left side as you face mauka, is the boundary. Thence to Makaulaula, where we used to live when bird catching. Thence to Kaonohi a cave thence to Ahuwela, a cave with water in it; there Hookukano ends and Kealakekua joins and bounds Keauhou; thence to Haliilaukoa (I do not remember the names of all the points along Kealakekua, Keakaokawai is the one who knows them all. I have not seen the place called Haliilaukoa (an old tradition says Umi used to sit there because he liked... (page 265) ... the koa). Thence to Kalulu. I have been there, this is a water hole there and it used to be a place for catching birds. Kolekole is an ahua with koa on it in the middle of Kealakekua, and the boundary of Keauhou is just mauka of it. The place called Kukai is the further boundary of Kealakekua. I have been there with my father and he told me it was on Kealakekua. Have heard Keauhou turns makai at this place. Honaunau ends in the mauka edge of the woods. I do not know the boundaries. (perhaps Kawahapele is the boundary between Kealakekua and Keauhou going towards the woods[]).

I have been to Pupuewai it is on Keauhou. Honaunau does not reach there (My father told me it was Keauhou), my father also told me that Kapapala, Humuula and Kaohe reached Keauhou on the top of Mauna Loa.

Na Elemakule where the lava flow went that destroyed Kiholo [ca. 1859] is where Kaohe joins Keauhou at Uauakahoa cave. Have not heard where Kahuku joins Keauhou.

Uauakahoa cave is where the Kaohe Elemakule came to at the time of the settlement of lands. These are all the boundaries that I know.

CX'd

Keanaakala is on Hookukano mauka of Waio. Kikikiaeae is along kualapa, puu, aa and lepo. Know Kaneki [Kāneki'i] but do not know whether it is on the boundary or not. I do not know much about the birds except that the Keauhou konohiki took division of the geese...

(page 266)

Keaka <sup>W.</sup> Sworn

(Note, Same witness as on Lehuula)

Lekeleke is the boundary between Honalo and Keauhou, at the sea shore, from this place there is an awaawa running mauka. I do not know the boundaries from this point to the upper edge of the woods. Have heard that there is an awaawa running through the woods on the boundary. Kipuka ohelo is on Hookukano, a good way makai of Kepulu. Kehepo <sup>K.</sup> (now dead) used to have charge of Keauhou said it came to this place, we used to go after mamake there, but there is none above. He did not tell me this was the boundary it is only my manao. I have been to Waio [Wai'io], but have never been told what land it is on. The kamaaina Keheapo told me, when I was young that Waio was on Keauhou. I never went with him, but went with folks after beef.

CX'd

I have not talked with anyone about boundaries.

Note 1: The witness Keaka <sup>W.</sup> is very hard to get any evidence from.

Note 2: Mrs. Johnson has another Patent on Honalo adjoining Keauhou.

Case Continued to Keauhou. R.A. Lyman...

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A

### **Keauhou North Kona Hawaii**

August 8<sup>th</sup> AD 1873 (Evening)

Kakio <sup>K.</sup> Sworn

I was born at Keauhou at the time Kamehameha came from Hilo to Kealakekua and from there to Honolulu, at the time of Okuu [ca. 1804]. I have always lived here and know the lands of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> and its boundaries. I used to go after sandalwood on the mountain, with Kapohakaimokumahi (now dead). He was a kamaaina in the mountain and used to go across to Hilo. Lekeleke is the boundary between Honalo and Keauhou at seashore a kualapa, Keauhou being at the... (page 267) ...foot of the ridge on this side, thence the boundary runs mauka along Honalo to Kukuikomo on the makai side of the Government

road thence along the awaawa to the mauka side of the Government road, place called Leiohapu, thence along awaawa into the woods, I do not know the boundaries. Know a place called Palahinui a cave where people used to live. Honalo ends makai of this cave at the mauka edge of the woods. The mamani and scrub koa being on Keauhou. Have heard that Kealakekua and other lands, only run through the tall koa, have never been there.

The boundary at shore between the two Keauhous is at a place called Kamauae at the beach, thence it runs mauka to the head of Holua (an old sliding place) thence to the South side of Keahialoa the boundary running in a hollow, thence to mauka of the Government road to a place called Lanaokeliikapu, thence mauka in the woods to Kualapa Kahoopulu. This is as far as I know the boundaries in the woods. On the mauka side of the tall koa trees at Nauunuakalupe an oioina [trailside resting place] Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> ends, and the boundary runs towards Kohala, Kahaluu ends at the mauka edge of the tall koa trees. They say in the days of Keauaumoku [Keeaumoku - ca. 1785-1795] the Akule used to belong to Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> and the birds to Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> but the Chief of Keauhou 2 married a chief of Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> and after that all the fish were given to Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> and the birds and land mauka to Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>. Mauna Loa is called the Kuaiwi of Kau. Have been told that Keauhou joins Hilo, and Hamakua, on Mauna Loa, at the edge of the aa flow, from the summit of the mountain, the pili is on Keauhou and the aa on Kaohe, have heard Kaupulehu joins Keauhou, but do not know where.

CX'd

Do not know anything about Keanaokiha, Haliilaukoa or Waio. Waiamala is not in Keauhou, I have seen it. I know Waio is on Keauhou but I do not know where the boundaries are. Kuluahi the father of Keakaokawai told me I was on Keauhou. Did not see water there, saw houses only. (page 268)

August 9, 1873 at Keauhou

Papa<sup>K</sup>. Sworn (a very old man)

I was born at Kahaluu, at the time of Holuanui [the construction of the great hōlua at Keauhou in ca. 1813], and have always lived there. Kaumalumalu ends at Mawae mauka of a hill called Hiinau thence along Kaumalumalu. Kaupulehu joins Keauhou and takes in Hualalai. Keauhou on this side. Kahulinanu is on Napu [side of the mountain facing Nāpu'u]. Kau joins Keauhou at Kalulu, near the top of the mountain, at a grove of mamani and pukeawe Keauhou on this side and Kau above to the top of the mountain. (I used to go into the mountain after sandalwood, but never went after birds[]). Have always heard that Kahuku cut off all South Kona Lands and takes the mountain. Keauhou ends at Puulehua, above Kainaliu above the woods at the front of the mountain. I heard this when I used to go after sandalwood. Do not remember the names of the kamaaina's, who are now all dead. Kau is on the other side of the mountain.

CX'd

August 11, 1873 at Keauhou

Waiiau<sup>K</sup>. Sworn

I was born at Kanauwae [Kanaeue] North Kona Hawaii at the time Kamehameha returned from Honolulu [ca. 1811] at the time of Palakee. Lived at Kainaliu until about eleven years of age when I moved to Kealia South Kona... (page 269) ...know the land



of Keauhou, used to go after birds with my father Nauwe an old bird catcher and he pointed out the boundaries to me as it was kapu to go after birds and not divide them with the Konohiki. Used to go frequently not very far above here. Honalo bounds Keauhou on the South side as you go into the lower edge of the woods. I do not know the boundaries; a place in Akolea [a native tree], in the woods called Kaimuhapu, a water hole is on the boundary between Honalo and Keauhou. Thence mauka to Kipupuike a small spot of soil with scant ohia in the tall woods; the tall ohia being on the aa each side of this place, thence mauka to Kamomoku a small pali, at the upper edge of the woods, thence to Keikinahanu, close to scrub trees of various kinds. There Honalo ends; thence along the head of Honalo to Kaukahoku, a large rock at the corner of the land Lehuula nui, thence along Lehuula to Keanaakiha an ahu pohaku [stone cairn] mauka of a cave, thence to Kepulu where there is soil. When I was young there were no trees there but now the trees have grown up. Governor Adams road is at the end of Lehuula nui, thence along Hookukano. Thence mauka along the Government road, between two aa flows to Kamoomoo, thence to Keanaakala, a cave; thence to Kikikiaeae, where we used to live. The canoe makers of Hookukano also lived there. There is a hill called Puulepo, with a crater on it, there is a water hole makai of said hill. Thence the boundary turns directly towards Kau to a place called Kamakaulaula, a pahoehoe kipuka [an open area of pāhoehoe] in laau [forest], mamani growing all around thence to Aahuwela a cave with water. (I do not know the place called Kainapahoa) There Kealakekua cuts off Hookukano, from thence the boundary runs along Kealakekua to Haliilaukoa a place near Umi's road; Kuluahi said it reached to Umi's road. But this place is only near it, it is on the soil across aa, where bird catchers used to live; thence to Kukai along a grove of koa trees small pahoehoe. I do not know the points between. We did not go beyond there in olden times. We used to fight with Kau people there. Kuluahi and Kalalahu's father were chased by Kau people a little above Pupuewai,... (page 270) ...I do not know the boundaries above that point. Have heard that Waiakea, Humuula and Kaohe run up to the mountain. Kaalaala had a road extending to the top of Mauna Loa. I do not know where Kahuku and Keauhou end. Have not heard whether Honaunau reaches to Pupuewai or not. I have not heard that they reach far above the woods. Do not know the boundaries of Keauhou and North Kona Lands.

CX'd

Know a place called Kanekii it is a water hole on Kealakekua near the boundary. Do not know the place called Kalulu. Kawahapele is makai of Kukai on the north side of Honaunau road for sandal wood, I do not know the boundaries there.

I have not seen Keakaokawai since Saturday before last. Saw Lonohiwa my younger sister last night, also her husband, but I did not talk with them about the boundaries...

August 11, 1873 at Kailua

Note:

Keliikanakaole <sup>K</sup> is the same witness as gave evidence on Holualoa on ascertaining that he was a kamaaina on the mountains. J. G. Hoapili asked to have his testimony taken on Keauhou, which was granted.

Keliikanakaole <sup>K</sup> Sworn

Niihoa, Uncle to my mother is the one who went to look out boundaries of Keauhou. I saw him when I was young and heard him tell what the boundaries were on the North side.

A place called Keakui, a road across the aa made by bird catchers, a puu pahoehoe [pāhoehoe hill or rise] and a mawae [fissure] in the center, is the place where Keauhou

turns North and cuts off Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup>. Niihoa and Kekai the men who made the road which is the boundary between the two told me this. I went with Kekai after sandalwood... (page 271) ...the road runs to the North at Hopea where you come off of the aa, thence Keauhou cuts across the head of Kahaluu, thence along Kahaluu, through pili and mamani to an ana [cave] called Naohuleelua, North corner of Kahaluu. (I can point this place out) thence Keauhou turns makai along Kahaluu to Kepulu, the mauka corner of Kaumalumalu, a pulu lepo [an area of moist soil], at the edge of the forest, thence along the head of Kaumalumalu to Kapukaikae, makai of Walls house on Judd road (Nahuina is one name of this place).

Thence to Huaikaumauma a lae koa on kualapa. Thence along Holualoa to Apiipi thence along the head of Holualoa to Puualala, and thence along Honuaula, to Hualalai, a hill on the North side with a deep crater in it; said hill is the junction of Kaupulehu with Keauhou, and the mauka corner of Honuaula. The brow of the precipice is Honuaula and the land back is Keauhou. Kaupulehu comes to the pahoehoe at the base of Hualalai hill, thence along the head of Kaupulehu to the hills called Napuumahoe, on makai side, the aa being on Kaupulehu, and pukeawe on Keauhou. Thence to makai side of a hill mauka of lae koa, where my makuakane [father] lived. Kaupulehu ends at the koa grove.

I do not know whether Puawaa [Puuwaawaa] joins Keauhou or not. I do not know what lands join along here thence the boundary of Keauhou runs to Kanupa a cave near the new lava flow where the trees are dried up. Thence mauka along the boundary of Napuu on this side of the lava flow to Kahuhiwanui an ahu pohaku built by Hamakua men and now covered by the lava flow on boundary of Kaohe; thence mauka towards Mauna Loa to a place called Keanaokalehuna, where a Hamakua man was killed for stealing food at Keauhou. Thence to Kolekole a hill, a waha pele [crater] on the East side of Kolekole is the boundary, thence up pahoehoe eleele; this is as far as I have been.

CX'd

I have heard Kahuku and Kapapala and Kaalaala join at the top of the mountain Have not heard where Keauhou cuts off South... (page 272) ...Kona Lands and joins Kahuku. I know the place called Kaaawa, it is a grove of naio and alii ['a'ali'i], towards Kealakekua from Kolekole. Kalalua is a cave which was covered up by lava in the flow of 1859. Know a place called Palahinui, it is a large cave on Keauhou. Hapukaa is mauka of Umi's road. Know a cave called Waikulukulu at the base of Hualalai, towards Ahuaumi. The place called Kaluamakau or Kalalakaukolo is on the top of the mountain.

Case continued till further notice, to all parties interested...

Note: Hualalai hill is a hill on top of Mountain of same name. R.A. Lyman...

(page 285)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A

### **The Ahupuaa of Kealakekua & Kaawaloa District of South Kona.**

On this fifth day of August A.D. 1873 the Commissioner of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C. met at the house of Moses Barnett at Keopuka, South Kona for the hearing of the application of Rev. J.D. Paris for the settlement of the boundaries of Kealakekua and Kaawaloa, situated in South Kona Hawaii Notice of the hearing of all applications for the settlement of lands in North and South Kona Hawaii...

Royal Patent No. 148

Daniel Barrett, said to be on Keopuka adjoining Kaawaloa

Commencing at an ohia tree marked L thence North...East...to little Puu...Thence South...East...Thence North...East...Thence North...East...to a scraggy Kukui F...thence North...East...across Kaawaloa road, always along on the edge of the clinkers to a small ohia tree marked A.

Makai of this piece was bought by Awahua and is now owned by Mrs. Likelike Cleghorn and is said to take to the sea.

Mauka of this place was sold to P. Cummings and is now held by A.S. Cleghorn

Testimony

Kahula<sup>K</sup>. Sworn

I was born at Kahauloa South Kona Hawaii at the time of Peleleu [ca. 1795 - the making and sailing of the great canoe fleet to Oahu], and have always lived there. Am a kamaaina of Kona and know the lands of Kealakekua and Kaawaloa... (page 286) ...and part of their boundaries. Cummings land ends at a place called Nahuina, in the edge of the woods where Kealakekua and Kiloa roads meet and Kiloa bounds Kealakekua (and Waipunaula also owned by Cummings) there Kalamakumu bounds Kealakekua; the boundary line being the road into the woods, there is an iwi aina makai mai [boundary wall running from the shoreward side] running into the edge of the woods thence to Kalamakapala, thence to an iwi aina, where Kalamawaiawawa bounds Kealakekua; thence to iwi aina and Kahauloa 1<sup>st</sup> bounds Kealakekua, then to iwi aina and junction of Kahauloa 2, thence turn mauka along the awaawa I called Napali Mahoe, the boundary between these two lands through the woods to the pahoehoe, where the mamani is growing. The koa on Kahauloa, extends further mauka than on Kealakekua. I have been there after sandalwood; have not seen an awaawa above the woods. My father, Kolima (now dead) who was a bird catcher, told me the awaawa extended through the woods and on to the pahoehoe. The woods all belong to Kealakekua and the pahoehoe to Keauhou. There are small trees growing on the pahoehoe, and mamani trees down on the edge of the woods. I do not know the name of the mauka boundary of Kealakekua.

CX'd

Keakaokawai<sup>K</sup>. Sworn (Same witness as on Keauhou)

I am a kamaaina of Kealakekua and Kaawaloa a place called Kalahapohaku is the mauka corner of Onouli nui, a large rock where the Kaawaloa and Onouli nui people used to take their offerings, there Hookukano bounds Kaawaloa. It is rather an open spot in the woods, by the side of an old canoe road. Thence the boundary runs mauka to a water hole, called Waiakaalaea in koa grove – Lae Koa nui. Thence to Pohakuloa, a large rock where Kealakekua joins Kaawaloa and cuts off; thence the two lands run side by side; thence the boundary runs mauka along the edge of aa; the pahoehoe being on Hookukano, passing Kainapahoa, Kaloloa a cave, and thence passing on the North side of Kilohana, (the cave Alex Smith fell into in 1859) a good distance from Kilohana along the edge of aa. Thence mauka to Ahuwela a cave with water in it – at the junction of Keauhou... (page 287) ...and Kealakekua. Thence mauka to Umi's road. Kanohoana o Umi being about one half mile distant; thence along the road to Haliilaukoa thence to Kanekii, a water hole. There the boundary leaves the road and runs to Kalulu where we used to catch uwao [uwau birds], thence to Kukai a lae koa which is the South East

corner of the land. There the boundary turns makai and runs along above the woods cutting into the points of the woods. From Kukai the boundary runs makai to Kawahapele a puu, thence in a mawae [fissure], makai along Keauhou to Puuloa, a pali sloping towards shore.

Keauhou being mauka and I have been told Honaunau joins Kealakekua makai. I do not know the boundaries of Kealakekua in the woods.

CX'd

Waiio is on Hookukano.

Kapoe<sup>K</sup>. Sworn

I was born on Keopuka Kona Hawaii during the wars of Kamehameha I [prior to 1800]. I now live at Nawawa, know the land of Kaawaloa. The high land above the wall by the road is Kaawaloa and the low land on this side is Keopuka. Thence the boundary runs up to a mawae, thence to Nuaeae a sort of awaawa [gulch - valley] where Keopuka ends and Onouli iki joins Kaawaloa. (I do not know the boundaries above this point, have heard the land runs to Pohakuloa. Kalehapohaku is the mauka corner of Onouli iki. The awaawa runs mauka from Nuaeae to Kalehapohaku.

CX'd

Kaolulu<sup>K</sup>. Sworn

I went with the haole oopa [lame foreigner] of Waimea (Wiltse) when he surveyed the line between Kaawaloa and other lands. Kimo (James Atkins) and my father Napela were the kamaaina. I went to help my father as he was very feeble, he used to mahiai [cultivate crops] in the woods, but was not a bird catcher (he is now dead). Kuluahi the father of Keakaokawai was a bird catcher and used to take him with him. Wiltse surveyed up Onouli road to Kalehapohaku. Heard my father say Kaawaloa... (page 288) ...joined Onouli there, but I did not hear him say Kaawaloa ended there.

CX'd

J. Atkins Sworn

I have lived in Kona for forty seven years, and have traveled all through the woods making shingles etc. We paid no attention to the boundaries of lands in those days. I was at work for Gov. Adams, have worked at Kanaueaue [Kanaueue], think it is on Kealakekua opposite Pohakuloa.

The scant mamani runs down in spots among the koa trees and the thick mamani woods are on Keauhou where the mamani used to be but was destroyed by fire before I came into the country. Keakaokawai's father (now dead) was a kamaaina in the mountain, and never was at a loss to know where to go, either by night or day. His two oldest boys used to go into the woods with him; Keakaokawai is a good kamaaina in the mountain, and is the only man that knows much about these boundaries, and as far as my experience goes, his word can be relied upon.

I went with Wiltse when he surveyed the line of Kaawaloa he surveyed from a place called Malokalo, on the boundary of Onouli nui and Kanakau nui, thence up the road to a spring called Hookalele [Holoka'alele], thence to a small patch of grass called Kepulu; where the old man who was the kamaaina got tired, and pointed out what he said was

the boundary between Onouli nui Keauhou and Kaawaloa (Wiltse said the old man lied but that he was obliged to go by him). We then came down to a place where there was a hu [ahu] marked with a cross, here we went in from a place called Hookalele, across Onouli iki to a place where it was rocky which the old man said was the boundary. But I think it was not the boundary I have always been told that the gulch running from the head of my land, and through the woods is the boundary line separating Kaawaloa from Onouli iki and Onouli nui but I cannot say where the lands, or the gulch ends, said gulch is an old canal where the lava used to flow. Wiltse surveys did not go anywhere near this gulch.

There is a three cornered piece of land, belonging to the Government on Keopuka... (page 289) ...above Cummings land, the ridge which is the boundary along Cummings land, being the boundary of the Government land and Kaawaloa. A spot called Kolekole above Kanaueue is in Keauhou, a place where koa trees are growing on the aa. Gov Adams wanted me to go there.

Witness filed his Patent 969 on Land Commissioners Award J. Atkins. Onouli ike [iki]. Commencing at a kukui tree marked B on the edge of the edge of the clinkers at the makai, south corner of this land, thence North...East... to mauka, East corner of this land.

CX'd

Case opened after due notice to all parties concerned; at the house of Moses Barnett South Kona Hawaii. June 5<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1874.

Note.

Onouli nui was supposed to have been patented but I now find that it is not and as Keakaikawai was not examined on that boundary when his testimony was taken on Kealakekua and Kaawaloa, it is now taken from his evidence on Onouli nui.

R.A. Lyman

Commissioner of Boundaries 3 J.G.

Keakaikawai's Testimony

At Waiamala, Hokukano and Kaawaloa join and cut Onouli nui off, thence makai along Kaawaloa to Kalehupohaku, a stone where they used to have offerings this rock is on the kualapa of the aa. Thence makai through fern and trees to Nahuina a place where two canoe roads which come from mauka, meet. Thence down to Kaoiki the mauka corner of Onouli iki.

Continued until further notice

R.A. Lyman

Com. of Bound 3<sup>rd</sup> ...

(page 311)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A

**The Ahupuaa of Maihi 1<sup>st</sup>** District of North Kona Island of Hawaii... On this eighth day of August A.D. 1873. The Commission of Boundaries met at Lehuula-iki for the hearing of the application of D.L. Kinimaka for the settlement of the boundaries of Maihi 1<sup>st</sup> in North Kona Hawaii... Present J.G. Hoapili for the Government and Parker for applicant...

## Testimony

Ehu<sup>K</sup>. Sworn (Very old man)

I was born at Waimea Hawaii at time of Kanekopa (Vancouver) coming back from Tahiti [ca. 1793]. I now live at Kuamoo Kona. Came here during the life of Gov Adams, and am kamaaina of the land of Maihi 1<sup>st</sup>. Honalo bounds it on the North side, Maihi 2<sup>nd</sup> on the South side. Leinakalooa is the boundary at shore between Maihi 1<sup>st</sup> and Maihi 2<sup>nd</sup>. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea, the opelu belonged to Maihi and the ahi to Keauhou; bounded makai by the sea. Mahikua is the boundary between Honalo and Maihi 1<sup>st</sup>, a cave, a bathing place near... (page 312) ...Kailikini's house, is not on the boundary but is on Maihi. The boundary is a little way on the South side from Mahikua, thence runs mauka along Honalo, to a bullock pen, part on one land and part on the other, thence running along a wall to corner of Kahalau's land on Honalo.

Leinakalooa is a point on shore where Umi chased a chief into the sea.

CX'd

Kailikini<sup>K</sup>. Sworn (about 35 years old)

I was born at Kuamoo Kona, but do not know when. Know the land of Maihi which is walled in on both sides, Leinakalooa a canoe landing is the boundary between Maihi 1<sup>st</sup> and Maihi 2<sup>nd</sup>; a pali between Koa Opelu [an 'ōpelu fishing ground marker] belongs to Maihi 1<sup>st</sup>. The sea bounds it makai. The boundary at shore between Maihi 1<sup>st</sup> and Honalo is at Keawakui running along the South side of it Mahikua is on Honalo, my house is on Maihi 1<sup>st</sup>. Thence the boundary runs mauka along Honalo on the Northern side oioina [trail side resting place], Kukuiono middle of land. The bullock pen is on the boundary, thence mauka past the points I have mentioned to the makai corner of Kahalau's land.

CX'd

Case Closed – Decision

The Boundaries decided to be as given in evidence and in Royal Patents...

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A (page 313)

**The Ahupuaa of Honuaino 1** District of North Kona Island of Hawaii

On this 8<sup>th</sup> day of August A.D. 1873 the Commission of Boundaries met at Lehuula iki for the hearing of the application of C.R. Bishop for the settlement of the boundaries of Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> in North Kona Hawaii... Present J.G. Hoapili for applicant.

For Petition see Folder 227

Note

For Boundaries between Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> and Honuaino 2<sup>nd</sup> see award Land Commission of Honuaino 2<sup>nd</sup> – No. 614 Bk. 3 page 23 [see notations for L.C.A. 614 in this study].

For Boundaries between Lehuula iki and Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> see Royal Patent No. 669, 193: and the sea.

Boundaries decided from shore to Royal Patents 669 a portion of Honuaino I is said to run into the big walled lot of W. Johnson Royal Patent No. 669.

Case continued to see if parties wish to claim the parts sold by Government.

R.A. Lyman...  
(page 314)

**The Ahupuaa of Lehuula nui** District of North Kona Island of Hawaii.

On this 8<sup>th</sup> day of August A.D. 1873 the Commission of Boundaries for the 3<sup>rd</sup> J.G. met at Lehuula iki North Kona Hawaii for the hearing of the applications of C. R. Bishop for settlement of the boundaries of Lehuula nui in North Kona... Present J.G. Hoapili for application, Hawaiian Government, and Administrator of the Estate of Kamehameha V.

Note

For boundaries of Lehuula nui from seashore to the great walled lot, sold to W. Johnson, adjoining Lehuula iki, See Royal Patent No. 669. 193 and 2342 filed.

Kauha <sup>W.</sup> Sworn

I was born on Kawanui North Kona, Hawaii during the reign of Kamehameha I, do not know the exact time of my birth, know the land of Lehuula nui and its boundaries.

The boundary at sea shore between Kawanui iki and Lehuula nui is at Paaooa, a pali; there is a wall on the boundary here. Thence along Kawanui iki; thence mauka along a wall or iwi into Kula [dry plains land], thence mauka to a kukui tree, which stands on the makai side of the mauka Government road, the iwi aina being a few fathoms on the South side of the tree, thence to Puuokeanui a pen by the side of the wall. Thence mauka to the great walled lot – I do not know the boundaries in the woods. CX'd

(page 315)

Hapuku <sup>K.</sup> Sworn

I was born at Kawanui Kona, at the time of Kuaokalani [1819], and live there at the present time. I only know the boundaries of Lehuula nui, below the great walled lot. Sea bounds this land on the makai and it has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea, Paaoo [Paaooa] is the boundary at sea shore between Kawanui and Lehuula nui. There is a wall and landing there. I do not know boundaries between Lehuula nui and Lehuula iki. CX'd

Keakaokawai <sup>K.</sup> Sworn

I was born at Kealakekua a few years before the death of Kamehameha 1<sup>st</sup> [ca. 1816]. I now live at Hookukano and know the land of Lehuula nui and part of its boundaries in the forest Cummings land takes a part of Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> in (said to belong to Norton now, Mr. Greenwell has a mortgage) Lehuula nui joins Honuaino in edge of the woods and from thence the boundary of Lehuula nui runs along Honuaino o Makaiki [Honuaino which belongs to Makaike] into the woods, at place called Kanaenaē, a pulu ohia [a moist area of 'ōhi'a growth] &c.

Thence mauka along Honuaino momona [Honua'ino momona is the name of the land which Makaike owned in Honua'ino 3] to the South side Waiakuehau, a water hole on Lehuula nui near the boundary thence to a koa tree opposite... Napueuala, on the Kau side of Government Adams road. Napueuala being on the Kohala side of the road, said place is an old cultivating ground and kauhale [residential area]. The koa trees at the place have been stripped of their bark [see letters regarding the practice of stripping koa bark to be used for tanning leather in this study]. It is not very far from Napueuala to the boundary. Thence to Waiakamau, a water hole on the northern side of Gov Adams road, the spring being on Lehuula nui and the boundary is between the spring and the road.

Thence to Moenaohaa a pali at the mauka corner of Honuaino where Hookukano joins a lae aa; it is on Lehuula, and Gov Adams road is the boundary of Hookukano, thence along the road to Pali Hoomana, thence to Kepulu, he pulu lepo [an area of moist soil]. There Lehuula nui is cut off by Keauhou, thence the boundary turns North along Keauhou to Keana o Kihā, a cave there is an ahu pohaku [stone mound] past a little mauka of the cave... (page 316) ...thence to Kaukahooku a puu pohaku, covered with trees; thence to Kalaninauahi, the corner of Lehuula. (I forgot to tell this point the day I gave testimony on Keauhou) it is at the corner of Lehuula and Honalo, the latter land being very narrow at the mauka end.

Kalaninauahi is an aa bed covered with ahuas, thence makai along Honalo to a pali aa, on a large aa flow, thence the boundary follows down the aa to Kualapa, a high edge opposite to Naunu; Kulanakauhale Kalaiwaa [a canoe maker's compound] is a long distance towards Kau, of this place, thence down to the end of Kualapa and from thence to Kahuluana, a kauhale kaawili manu [bird catcher's shelter]; small ahua at this place, thence up on aa and makai to Puu o Lehuula, lower edge of woods. Honalo leaves Lehuula nui at this hill and Kahuluana and Kawanui joins Lehuula nui the mauka end of Kawanui is very narrow it is Government land. CX'd

Keaka <sup>w</sup>. Sworn (Quite an old woman)

I was born at Kanaueue Kona Hawaii but do not know the year of my birth. Hookuanui <sup>w</sup>. (now dead) was a kamaaina she died in the time of Kamehameha I [prior to May 1819]. I went up on the boundaries with her, my father was konohiki of Keauhou; and used to go after uwao [uwa'u birds]. He said Lehuula ended at Keanaokiha, a cave on a pile of rocks. I have often seen this place. Have heard that Keauhou cut off Honalo and Lehuula at Keanakiha. Lehuula was cut off by Keauhou to Kepulu, there the boundary turns makai along Hookukano, thence down the Government road to Waiakau, water and kualapa at the mauka corner of Honuaino o Momona; thence along Honuaino to the lower edge of the koa, there Honuaino nui corners at Koaneenee, Waiakananu is on Lehuula; and the boundary is near there. Waiakau is a long distance mauka of this place. Waiakananu is a short distance makai of Waiakau. A part of Kaukahoku, is on Honalo and a part on Lehuula. (At Palihuliina[]) Kawanui corners, thence the boundary runs makai along Kawanui to Maiahuna, a lae ohia on aa, the aa being on Lehuula and Kepulu on Kawanui, thence... (page 317) ...to Puu o Lehuula.

CX'd

Note: A portion of this land in Great Walled lot & mauka has been sold by Govt. The witnesses do not know where Johnsons land, sold from Lehuula nui and other lands end...

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A (page 447)

**The Ahupuaa of Kawanui iki** District of North Kona Island of Hawaii...

On this 8<sup>th</sup> day of August A.D. 1873 the Commission of Boundaries for the island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C. met at Lehuula iki, North Kona for the hearing of the application of C.R. Bishop for the settlement of the boundaries of Kawanui iki situated in the District of North Kona Island of Hawaii... Present J.G. Hoapili for the applicant, Hawaiian Government, Mrs. Roy and others...



...Royal Patent No. 1652 filed for boundary at shore between Kawanui 1<sup>st</sup> and Kawanui iki, mauka of that Kalua, and mauka not filed and mauka of that Royal Patents No. 1598, W. Johnson's, and mauka Royal Patent No. 1465 runs mauka.

Commencing at ahua [mound or hillock] on the boundary of Kawanui 2<sup>nd</sup> thence along Kawanui 2<sup>nd</sup>...N...E...to Kukui. (Kalua says that is the corner) N...E...

Thence mauka to Pololi, (owned by Keaka <sup>W.</sup>). It reaches both sides of the road to the mauka side of the great walled lot W. Johnson, No. 193.

There is a kuleana No. 10292 Royal Patent No. 3684 adjoining Pololi, it is on Kawanui 2<sup>nd</sup> below the Government road, this kuleana gives the boundary of Kawanui 2<sup>nd</sup>, running makai North...East...chains to the road.

For testimony see Lehuula nui Folder 314.

Decision for portion makai of Great Walled lot. The boundaries between Lehuula nui and Kawanui iki, decided to be as given in J.H. Sleepers noted of survey, and the other boundaries as given in Royal Patents...

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A (page 448)

**The Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>** District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii

Continued from Folio 272  
Honolulu March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1874

Present S.K. Kaai

Kupakoa <sup>K.</sup> Sworn

I was born at Holualoa North Kona Hawaii at the time of building Kiholo [ca. 1811] lived at Kona until the year 1867 when I moved to Honolulu and I still reside here. Know the land of Keauhou and a part of its boundaries. Puhī <sup>K.</sup> a cousin of Keakaokawai's now living at Kalihi, pointed out the boundaries to me. He was a kamaaina of the mountain having been born and brought up there; (S.K. Kaai says he is old and sick) I do not know the boundaries at shore only on the mountain.

Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> cuts of Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> a little mauka of a place called Nakipapaakalehuna, some koa trees in the woods. Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> does not reach mauka of the koa, but ends where they used to cut canoes. Thence the boundary of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> runs across the head of Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> to Keanaaipu (a cave) at the junction of Kahaluu.

Thence along Kahaluu (in the woods) to Kanoa a point of koa and mamani trees, the place where the fire from Kau, on the mountain went out. Thence along the land of Kaumalumalu to Huaikaumauma, koa trees and mamani, on the Kohala side of Judd road. Keauhou taking the land mauka of the woods and Kaumalumalu the woods. Thence the boundary runs towards the mountain along Holualoa 4<sup>th</sup> to Laenaio (a grove of trees), thence along Holualoa 2<sup>nd</sup> (Laenaio being on that land) along the mauka edge of the woods to a gulch called Waiaha, an awaawa where water flows when it rains. Thence along the land of Puaa, to a hill called Puulalaa, to land of Honuaua, thence along this land to the top of Hualalai mountain to a hill called Honuaua. This hill is on the land of Honuaua, and the boundary... (page 449) ...of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> running along at the foot of the hill. Thence along this land to Kilohana a resting place on the pali where the

mountain slopes towards Waimea, & thence down to Keanapaki, a small cave where bird catchers used to live. The mauka corner of Honuaula and junction of Kaupulehu with Keauhou and with Puaawaa [Puuwaawaa], thence the boundary runs along Puaawaa mauka to Kuhaalele, a cave. Thence to Ohiapapaawai a water hole in among ohia trees. Thence to Kahulinanie a lae aa, where Puawaa ends and Kaohe and Kapapala corner on the boundary of Keauhou. (This is a place where the bird catchers used to quarrel) Thence along aa and land of Kaohe (the aa being on Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>) up Mauna Loa to the [Ke]alohi pahoehoe, thence along the land of Kapapala (pahoehoe on Kapapala) to the Keanakalehuna Akuko, a water hole in a cave, on the side of the mountain, thence up the mountain to Puumau a hill on Keauhou near the boundary, thence to where the snow covers the mountain, where Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> ends. So my informant told me, as there was no waiwai [nothing of value] there, and Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> does not reach to Mokuaweoweo. Thence to Pohakuhanalei, a rock on the southern slope of the mountain thence down to Puulonolona, a hill along Kahuku, where Kapua joins Keauhou. I have been there. Thence towards Kona along the mauka edge of the woods, cutting off South Kona lands, to Honaunau to a place called Ahiakupu, a grove of koa trees that runs mauka, Honaunau takes the koa, thence along mauka edge of woods, the groves of koa mauka, being on Keauhou to Keauhou an old lava flow. Junction of Kealakekua, thence along Kealakekua to a place I do not remember the name of thence along Onouli (it runs out an old aa flow) thence along Kanaueuue [Kanaueue], along the mauka edge of the woods to Uwaukanipo a kualapa mauka of Waio, thence to Kaneeneenui taking in Waio, thence to Anakolekolea, a cave mauka of the boundary of Honalo. I do not know where these lands join Keauhou, the koa from which we used to make canoes, is all on makai lands and Keauhou is mauka. All that I know as... (page 450) ...the boundaries, is what Puhi told me.

Note

Witness rested, reserving the right for parties to examine him if they wish...

Honolulu March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1874

Present L.K. Kaai

Puhi<sup>K</sup>. Sworn (Quite an old man)

I was born in Kona time of the Peleleu [ca. 1795], at Hokukano; Keakaokawai, knows a part of the boundaries. His brother knew them. I have forgotten the names of the places on the boundary. The ones Kupakoa testified too are the right boundaries, he told me the points he testified too yesterday. I cannot remember the places. Keauhou ends in the koa woods, it is cut off by Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> at a place called Mawae where there is a water hole, and a cave where my relations are buried. The boundary is way makai of this place. Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> takes the land where they used to catch uwau, on the mauka side of the woods, cutting off Kahaluu and Kaumalumalu. Do not remember the names of the points Kaumalumalu reaches to Huaikaumauma, junction of Kaumalumalu, Kahaluu and Keauhou it is an ahua in the koa woods where the canoe makers used to have a heiau. Keauhou cuts off Holualoa 2<sup>nd</sup> (do not remember names of places). Thence Honuaula bounds Keauhou and runs into the mountain. I do not remember the name of the point where Honuaula joins Keauhou.

Note:

Witness persists in stating has forgotten boundaries. S.K. Kaai says, that when he saw him yesterday he told him the boundaries and was discussing with the other witness. (page 451) Witness rested to give him an opportunity to have it explained to him, as he seemed to be in fear of getting into trouble if he gives his evidence. To be brought on to the stand again, if there seems to be any chance of getting him to give his evidence.

Kupakoa - States he wishes to correct his evidence given yesterday.

He says that he made a mistake in saying that Puawaa [Puuwaawaa] ran up the mountain, he should have said Puanahulu [Puanahulu], as Puawaa does not join Keauhou at all. He says he can point out the boundaries all around the land without losing his way. He also states that where the stone rolls down the mountain, is the boundary and not the snow. He says he has not had any conversation with Puhi about the boundaries.

On being told that Puhi said, that they had talked together about the boundaries, last night he acknowledged that he had told him the points, that he had testified to.

Puhi persists in saying he has forgotten the boundaries. Case continued until further notice...

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3 (page 32) No. 41

**Certificate of the Boundaries of a portion of Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup>**, District of North Kona Island of Hawaii

Upon the application of Chas R. Bishop and by virtue of the authority vested in me by law as sole Commissioner of land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C. I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of a portion of the Ahupuaa of Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup>, lying makai of the Great Walled Lot – situated in the District of North Kona Island of Hawaii, to be as hereinafter set forth.

Given under my hand at Hilo, Hawaii  
This Nineteenth day of August A.D. 1874

Boundaries of a portion of Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup>  
As surveyed by J.F. Brown

Commencing at the Seashore at a point on the pahoehoe marked H. Thence along Lehuula iki North...East... (page 33) ...to a rock marked X at the lower corner of Royal Patent No. 669. Thence along said Patent North...East... to a point on the wall of Johnson's pasture at corner thence along the wall North...East... South...East... to the South corner of the Great Walled Lot. Thence along Honuaino 2<sup>nd</sup> South...West... (page34) ...to an ahu pohaku. South...West... to a rock marked H on top of the great wall. South...West... to a point marked X on the pahoehoe at the seashore. Thence North...West... along the sea shore to the point of commencement Area 262 Acres.

R.A. Lyman  
Commissioner of Boundaries...

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3 (page 35)  
No. 42

**Certificate of the Boundaries of a portion of Lehuula nui** District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii.

Upon the application of Chas R. Bishop and by virtue of the Authority vested in me by law, as sole Commissioner of land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C. I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of the portion of the Ahupuaa of Lehuula nui lying

makai of the Great Walled Lot situated in the District of North Kona Island of Hawaii to be as hereinafter set forth.

Given under my hand at Hilo, Hawaii  
This Nineteenth day of August AD 1874  
R.A. Lyman...  
Boundaries of a portion of Lehuula nui  
As surveyed by J.F. Brown

Commencing at the South East corner at the seashore, at a point marked X on the pahoehoe. Thence along Lehuula iki Royal Patent No. 669...North...East... to the makai corner of Royal Patent No. 669. Thence along said Patent 2 North...East... (page 36) ...to Johnson's pasture wall (Great Walled Lot). Thence along wall, Royal Patent 193. North...West...to a rock marked L on the wall near large gate. Thence running makai along Kawanui iki (2<sup>nd</sup>) South...West... to the sea shore at a rock marked X on top of bluff. Thence along sea shore. South...East...to... (page 37) ...point of commencement.

Area 290 Acres. R.A. Lyman...  
(page 38)  
Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3

No. 43

**Certificate of the Boundaries of a portion of Kawanui iki** District of North Kona Island of Hawaii.

Upon the application of Chas R. Bishop and by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, as sole Commissioner of Land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C. I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of the portion of the Ahupuaa of Kawanui iki lying makai of the Great Walled Lot situated in the District of North Kona Island of Hawaii to be as hereinafter set forth.

Given under my hand at Hilo, Hawaii  
This Nineteenth day of August AD 1874  
R.A. Lyman

Boundaries of a portion of Kawanui iki  
As surveyed by J.F. Brown

Beginning at a large rock marked X at the seashore on the boundary between Kawanui iki and Lehuula Nui and thence running North...East... (page 39) to a rock on the wall of Johnson's pasture near cattle pen marked X. Thence along the wall of Great Walled Lot. North...West... to point on wall just mauka of Kukui tree marked X. Thence running makai along land of Kawanui. South...West... along Royal Patent No. 987. South...West... across the road. Thence South...West... along Royal Patent No. 1178 Thence South...West... along Royal Patent No. 1465. Thence South...West... along Royal Patent No. 1598. Thence South...West...chains...along Royal Patent No. 1597 to the great wall. Thence South...West... to a rock near the shore marked X thence along the shore South...East... (page 40) ...to the point of commencement.

Area 380 Acres...

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3 (page 161)  
Certificate No. 77

**Certificate of Boundaries of Onouli 1<sup>st</sup>**, District of Kona Island of Hawaii...

Upon the application of H.N. Greenwell, and by virtue of the Authority vested in me by Law as sole Commissioner of land boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> Judicial Circuit... Seventh day of August A.D. 1875

Boundaries

Commencing at the N.W. corner at the sea and running along Greenwell's land (R. Pat. 1745) N...E... to stone wall. Thence along Greenwell's land R. Pat. 1160. N...E... Thence along Greenwell's land R. Pat. 787. N...E... (page 162) ...N...E... Thence along Govt. land N...E... to Holokaalele; N...E... to Koa "B"; N...E... to Koa "Ø". N...E... to Koa "X" the N.E. corner S...E... to ahu on aa of Kaawaloa. Thence along line of Kaawaloa S...W... to rock Kalehapohaku; S...W... to Onouli 2<sup>nd</sup>. Then along Onouli 2<sup>nd</sup> S...W... to Kalapalioli; S...W... to corner of Atkin's land. Thence along Atkin's land S...W... to Govt. Road; Thence along Todd's land...S...W... to lower Road; Then along Awahua's land to sea coast S...W... to commencement and containing an area of 1165 acres.

R.A. Lyman

(page 163)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3  
Certificate No. 78

**Certificate of the boundary of Hookukano, Kalukalu** and the adjoining Government Lands remaining unsold, Dist. of Kona Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J. Circuit.

Upon the application of His Ex. The Minister of the Interior, and by Virtue of the Authority vested in me by Law, as sole Commissioner of Land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> Judiciary Circuit. I hereby Decide and Certify the Boundaries of the Lands above mentioned, District of Kona, Island of Hawaii, to be as hereinafter set Forth...

R.A. Lyman...

Boundaries

Commencing at Large Kukui at Yates' Corner and running along Land of Onouli N...E... to Holokaalele [Holokaalele] a rush pond; N...E... Koa "B"; N...E... to Koa "Ø"; N... (page 164) ...being N...E...corner of Onouli 1<sup>st</sup>; S...E... to Koa "B" & "X" on line of Road, S...E... to ahu on "Aa" line of Kaawaloa; N...E... to large Koa "X": Thence along "aa" & line of Kaawaloa N...E... to line of Kealakekua; S...E... along line of Kealakekua, N...E... to Ahuwela cave and ahu on Aa; Here Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> cuts it off; N...W... along line of Keauhou to Ahu on Aa; N...W... to large ahu. N...E... to point of Crater on Kikiaeae Hill; N...W... along Keauhou; S...W; N...W... to Aa S...W...; ...along Aa to Lehuula & Koa marked "X" on North side of the mountain road; S...W... along Lehuula and line of Road to Johnson's Land; S...E... to Ohia "H"; S...E to S.E. Corner of Johnson's land; S...W... along Hall's land; S...W... to Peter's Land; S...E... along Peter's land; N...E... along Halekii, S...E... to Yates N.E. corner; S...E... to Commencement and containing an Area of 8027 Acres. Surveyed by D.H. Hitchcock

R.A. Lyman...

(page 165)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3  
Certificate No. 79

**Certificate of the boundary of Halekii**, District of Kona Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J. Circuit.

Upon the application of H.N. Greenwell, and by Virtue of the Authority vested in me by Law, as sole Commissioner of Land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> Judicial Circuit;

I hereby Decide and Certify the Boundaries of the land of Halekii dist. of Kona, Island of Hawaii, to be as herein set forth... Seventh day of August, A.D. 1875...

Boundaries

Commencing at Rock marked "X" at Sea coast, on North side of this Land, and running as per R. Pat. 1651. N...E... to lower Road; N...E... to Governor Adams' Wall; N...E... along Peters' land; Thence along Nakookoo's land N...E... (page 166) ...to kukui tree; N...E... to Kukui "X"; N...E... to Ulu "X"...N...E... to rock "X"; N...E... to rock "P"; N...E... to rock "D"; N...E... to rock "B"; N...E... to rock "G"; Thence along Peters' land N...E... to upper Govt. Road; N...E... to Govt Land; Thence along Govt. land N...E... to N.E. Corner; S...E... to Sherman's land. Thence along Sherman's land N...W... S...W... to Govt. Road; Thence along Kapule's Land R. Pat. 2963. S...W... Thence along Panaunau's land S...W... Thence along Nakookoo's land S...W... chains to stone wall; Thence S...W... along Greenwell's land to Sea coast; Thence along Sea coast to commencement N...E... and containing an area of 255 acres.

R.A. Lyman

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3 (page 255)  
Certificate No. 111

**Certificate of the Boundaries of Kealakekua and Kaawaloa**, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii...

Upon the application of J.D. Paris, and by virtue of the Authority vested in me by Law, as Sole Commissioner of Land Boundaries in the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J. Circuit, I hereby Decide and Certify the Boundaries of the Ahupuaa's of Kealakekua and Kaawaloa situate in the district of South Kona Island of Hawaii to be as follows. Given under my hand at Hilo, Hawaii. This twenty second day of August A.D. 1876.

R.A. Lyman...

Boundaries of Kealakekua & Kaawaloa

Commencing at coconut tree at sea coast line of Cummings land on Kiloa running along said land as follows:

N...E... (page 256) N...E... up the Pali. N...E...chains up the Pali. N...E...chains to top of First Slope of Pali.

N...E...chains to top of Road. N...E... to upper Government Road. N...E... to upper corner of Cummings land. S...E... along Kiloa to Kahauloa. N...E... to ahu below Wahapele on Keauhou. N...E... to Koa "X" below line of Keauhou. N...E... to Koa "X" below line of Keauhou... N...W... to ahu at punawai [spring] of Kanekii. N...W... to ahu on old Umi Road on Aa. S...W... to ahu on aa near Aahuwela cave. S...W... along line of Hokukano. S...W... along line of Hokukano. N...W... along line of Hokukano. N...W... along line of Hokukano. S...W... along line of Hokukano. N...W... along line of

Hokukano. S...W... along line of Hokukano. S...W... along line of Hokukano. S...W... along line of Hokukano.

S...W...chains to Onouli 1<sup>st</sup>. S...W...chains along Onouli 1<sup>st</sup>. S...W...chains to Onouli iki or 2<sup>nd</sup>. S...W...chains along Onouli 2<sup>nd</sup>. S...W...chains to Onouli 2<sup>nd</sup> to Kaiholena... (page 257) ...S...W... along Atkins Land... S...W... along Barretts Land... along Barretts Land...this line brings it to Govt. Road. S...W... to corner of wall. S...W... along Awahua's (now Todd's) land. S...W... ...To a cocoanut tree standing alone near the coast. Thence along the coast to commencement and containing an area of 12,260 acres More or Less... [Figure 30. Survey of Kealakekua and Kaawaloa by D.H. Hitchcock, July 29, 1876, at end of study. From the Collection of Sherwood Greenwell.]

(page 277)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3  
Certificate No. 115

**Certificate of the Boundaries of the lands of Onouli iki**, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii.

An application to decide and Certify the Boundaries of the Land of Onouli iki District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii, having been filed with me on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of August 1873 by J.O. Dominis, Crown Land Agent, by F.H. Harris attorney at Law, in accordance with the provisions of an Act to facilitate the settlement of Boundaries, &c., approved on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of June, A.D. 1868; now, therefore, having duly received and heard all the testimony offered in reference to the said boundaries and having endeavored otherwise to obtain all information possible to enable me to arrive at a just decision which will more fully appear by reference to the records of this matter by me kept in Book No. 2. B, page 239, and it appearing to my satisfaction that the two lawful and equitable boundaries, are as follows, viz. —

Commencing on line of Kaawaloa at kukui marked “X” and running North...East... to ahu... (page 278) ...North...East... to “Ahu” at place called “Kaiholena”. North...East... to Ahu. North...East... to Ahu at head of Kawakolo Gulch. North...East... to land of Onouli nui. Thence down said lands. South...West... to Corner of Atkin's land at Ohia marked “A”. Thence to point of Commencement...

Containing an Area of 367 Acres, more or less. This is the upper portion of the land almost wholly in the woods.

Map & Survey by D.H. Hitchcock July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1876

(page 318)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3  
Certificate No. 129

**Certificate of Boundaries of the land of Lehuula nui** District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii.

Commission of Boundaries

Third Judicial Circuit, F.S. Lyman Esq. Commissioner. In the matter of the Boundaries of the Land Lehuula nui mauka portion, District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii.

### Judgment

An application to decide and certify the Boundaries of the Land of Lehuula nui District of North Kona Island of Hawaii having been filed with me on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of July 1873 by Chas. R. Bishop acting for his Majesty the King and for himself in accordance with the provisions of an Act to facilitate the settlement of Boundaries &c. approved on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of June, A.D. 1868... (page 319) ...now, therefore, having duly received and heard all the testimony offered in reference to the said boundaries and having endeavored otherwise to obtain all information possible to enable me to arrive at a just decision, which will more fully appear by reference to the records of this matter by me kept in Book No. 2.B. page 236, and it appearing to my satisfaction that the true, lawful and equitable boundaries are as follows, viz: as surveyed by D.H. Hitchcock.

Notes of Survey of Lehuula nui – Above Johnson’s Purchase. Commencing at S.W. Corner adjoining land of Hokukano H.N. Greenwell and running:

N...E... to Koa xx. Corner of Keauhou & Hokukano and this land. N...W... to Ahu on Pahoehoe, called Keanakiha, along line Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>. N...W... to Koa xx not far from Jacks old Goat Pen. S...W... to corner of Hoonalo. S...W... along Hoonalo to land purchased by Johnson. S...E... N... to Koa xx. ...Thence S...E... Commencement, and containing 2840 Acres more or less.

It is therefore adjudged and I do hereby decide and Certify that the boundaries of the said land, are, and hereafter shall be as hereinbefore set forth.

Given under my hand at Hilo, Island of Hawaii, the 24<sup>th</sup> day of February A.D. one thousand eight hundred and eighty one. F.S. Lyman.  
(page 328)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3  
Certificate No. 133

**Certificate of Boundaries of the land of Kealakekua**, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii.

### Judgment

An application to decide and certify the Boundaries of the Land of Kealakekua, District of South Kona Island of Hawaii having been filed with me on the – day of – A.D. 1873, by J.D. Paris, as owner of the Land Kealakekua, in accordance with the provisions of an Act to facilitate the settlement of Boundaries... Now therefore, having duly received and heard all the testimony offered in reference to the said boundaries and having gone on the said land at the request of J.D. Paris, and having endeavored otherwise to obtain all information possible to enable me to arrive at a just decision, which will more fully appear by reference to the records of this matter by me kept in Book No. 3, I. page 328, and it appearing to my satisfaction that the true, lawful and equitable boundaries are as follows, viz... (page 329) Commencing at Coconut tree on the Sea coast line of Cummings land and following said land as follows...

N...E... up the Pali N...E... to top of first slope of Pali; N...E... to road; N...E... to upper Gov’t road; N...E... to upper corner of Cummings land: Thence along line of Kiloa....to where Kahauloa joins this land; Thence along line of Kahauloa N...E... to ahu below craters called “Wahapele” which are on Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>. N...E... to Koa “X” N...E... to Koa “X”... N...W... to Water hole called Kanekii; N...W...chains to old ahu on “aa” on old Umi



road; Thence S...W... to ahu on "aa" near Aahuwela Cave; S...W... along line of Hokukano; S...W... ...N...W... to upper corner of Kaawaloa. Thence to lower point of "Clinkers"; S...W... to ohia marked "X" on two sides. Thence down the line of clinkers to lowest point to Kolea tree marked "X". S...W... Thence S...W... to old dead Ohia Tree marked L & B; Thence S...W...chains to corner of Logan Wall; Same course along said Wall... to upper Gov't road; Same course along wall to lower Gov't road... S...W... to wall, line between the two lands. S...W... to corner of wall on Bluff (this point bears from the Cook monument N 71 ½ E.) Thence along line of Coast to point of Commencement.

Containing an area of 10,160 acres more or less, as surveyed by D.H. Hitchcock...

(page 330)

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3

Certificate No. 134

**Certificate of Boundaries of the Land of Kaawaloa**, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii...

Judgment

An application to decide and certify the Boundaries of the Land of Kaawaloa, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii, having been filed with me on the — day of — A. D. 1873. by J.D. Paris as owner of the Land of Kaawaloa in accordance with the provisions of an Act to facilitate the settlement of Boundaries... Now therefore, having duly received and heard all the testimony offered in reference to the said boundaries and having gone on the said land at the request of the said owner, and having endeavored otherwise to obtain all information possible to enable me to arrive at a just decision, which will more fully appear by reference to the records of this matter by me kept in Book No. 3: I page 330, and it appearing to my satisfaction that the true, lawful and equitable boundaries, are as follows, viz:

Commencing at Cocoanut on the Sea coast N. West Corner of this land and running along line of Awahua's land. N...E... (page 331) N...E... to Barretts Land. N...E... (to Govt Road) N...E... Thence along Atkins land... N...E... ...N...E... Thence along Onouli 2<sup>nd</sup> ...to Kaiholena; N...E... Thence along Onouli 1<sup>st</sup>. N...E... Thence along Hokukano...N...E... to N. West corner; line of Kealakekua. Thence down said line on the "Aa" to lower point of clinkers — S...W... to Ohia marked X on two sides, near the edge of the clinkers: Thence down the clinkers to lower point to Kolea Tree marked "X" S...W... to old Dead Ohia marked I & B. Thence S...W... to corner of Logan Wall: same course... along said Wall to upper Gov't road — Same course along Wall to lower road... S...W... to Wall line between these two lands; S...W... to corner of Wall on Bluff (This point bears from the Cook Monument N. 71 ½ E.) Thence along line of Coast to point of Commencement. This land contains 2,100 Acres more or less as surveyed by D.H. Hitchcock.

It is therefore adjusted and I do hereby decide and Certify that the Boundaries of the said land, are, and hereafter shall be as hereinbefore set forth.

Given under my hand at Hilo, Island of Hawaii, the 18<sup>th</sup> day of April, A.D. one thousand eight hundred and eighty one...

(page 233)

Boundary Commission — Volume B

**The Ahupuaa of Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup>**, District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii.  
Case continued from August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1873. See Folio 313, Book A.

On this the 6<sup>th</sup> day of June A.D. 1874 the Commission of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C. met at the house of Moses Barrett, South Kona Hawaii, for the examination of witnesses as to the boundaries of Honuaino...

Note:

The witnesses whose testimony was taken on this land before are now examined for a portion of the boundaries above the makai wall, of the Great Walled lot.

Keakaikawai <sup>K.</sup> Sworn

I know the land of Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> and the boundaries of the portion that lies mauka of the makai wall of the Great walled lot. The boundary between this portion Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> and Lehuula iki, is at the makai side of the great walled lot, on the kuaiwi [boundary wall] between the two lands, that runs from shore to this point. Thence mauka across the great walled lot, on the same kuaiwi, thence up the Kau side of an awaawa [gulch], that is on Lehuula iki to a kukui tree; thence Lehuula nui and Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> join; thence along Lehuula nui to Koaneenee where Honuaino 3<sup>rd</sup> and Lehuula nui join and cut Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> off. Thence down along Charley Hall's land on Honuaino 2<sup>nd</sup> (Land Commissioners Award No. [614]) The lands there are about as wide as from here to Todd's house.

CX'd (page 234)

Hapuku <sup>K.</sup> Sworn

There is a kuaiwi from shore to the great walled lot; between Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> and Lehuula iki. Thence mauka along the kuaiwi, across the great walled lot to the mauka end of Lehuula iki, thence along Lehuula nui to Koaneenee where Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> ends, thence makai along Honuaino 2<sup>nd</sup> to makai of the woods, thence down the kuaiwi to the makai end of the Great Walled lot.

CX'd

(page 235)

Boundary Commission — Volume B

**The Ahupuaa of Lehuula nui**, District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii.  
Case Continued from August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1873. See Folio 317. Book A.

On this the 6<sup>th</sup> day of June A.D. 1874 the Commission of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3 J.C., met at the house of Moses Barrett, South Kona, Hawaii for the examination of witnesses as to the boundaries of that portion of Lehuula nui that lies between the makai wall of the Great Walled lot to portion of land in the woods at Koaneenee, said land having been sold and patented to W. Johnson, and now claimed by applicant Notice of hearing served by publication in the Hawaiian Gazette of May 20<sup>th</sup> 1874.

Hapuku <sup>K.</sup> Sworn

Commencing where the kuaiwi between Lehuula nui and Lehuula iki strikes the great walled lot, thence into the walled lot and along the kuaiwi to the mauka wall, which is as far as you can distinguish the kuaiwi thence mauka of the wall and up the kuaiwi to Koaneenee, in the woods. The boundary runs along Lehuula iki and Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> to Koaneenee.

Commencing at the point where the boundary between Lehuula nui and Kawanui iki strikes the Great walled lot; thence mauka along the kuaiwi to above Puulehuula, where the boundary strikes the aa and where Kawanui nui joins Lehuula iki and cuts Kawanui iki off.

CX'd

(page 236)

Keakaikawai<sup>K</sup>. Sworn

Commencing where the kuaiwi between Lehuula nui and Lehuula iki strikes the Great Walled Lot, thence into the lot and across to the mauka wall, thence to the North side of awaawa to some kukui trees at the mauka end of Lehuula iki, thence along Honuaino 1<sup>st</sup> to Koaneenee, mauka side of lands sold.

Commencing at the kuaiwi between Lehuula nui and Kawanui iki at the makai wall of the Great Walled lot thence mauka to the Kohala side of Puulehuula to the aa, where Kawanui iki ends.

CX'd

Decision

The boundaries for this portion of Lehuula nui are decided to be as given in evidence...

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Boundary Commission — Volume B

**The Ahupuaa of Kawanui iki**, District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii... Case Continued from August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1873...

On this the 6<sup>th</sup> day of June A.D. 1874, the Commissioner of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C. met at the house of Moses Barrett South Kona Hawaii for the examination of witnesses as to the boundaries of that portion of Kawanui iki that lies between the makai wall of the Great Walled lot and Puu o Lehuula said portion having been sold and patented by Government and now claimed by applicant ...

Testimony

Keakaikawai<sup>K</sup>. Sworn

Commencing on the kuaiwi between Kawanui iki and Kawanui nui the boundary runs from the makai wall up the kuaiwi to the mauka wall of the Great Walled lot and from thence to the aa at Puu o Lehuula.

Kawanui and Lehuula nui joins at Puu o Lehuula; the mauka end of Kawanui is very narrow, it is Government land... (page 238) ...The boundaries of this portion of Kawanui iki are decided to be as given in evidence...

R.A. Lyman.

(page 239)

Boundary Commission — Volume B

**The Ahupuaa of Onouli iki**, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii...

On this the 6<sup>th</sup> day of June A.D. 1874, the Commission of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C. met at the house of Moses Barrett, South Kona Hawaii, on the application of J.H. Harris attorney at law for J.O. Dominis, Agent for Crown Lands, for the settlement of the boundaries of Onouli iki...

Testimony

Keakaikawai K. Sworn

Kaoiki, a place where the aa branches leaving a spot free of rocks just makai is the mauka corner of Onouli iki thence along to the end of aa, on the North side of this spot. This is opposite Holokaeleele thence to the North edge of the aa, on the South side of this open place, to a place below Puuohoio, this place is on Onouli nui Thence makai to the mauka corner of the pasture above the road at the side of Atkins lot.

From Kaoiki the boundary runs to the Kau corner of Atkins land. The boundary between Kaawaloa and Onouli iki.

CX'd

Holokaelele is on Onouli nui the boundary is on Kohala side of it. From the mauka corner of Atkins lot the boundary of Onouli iki is established by Royal Patent....

The boundaries of a portion of Onouli nui as decided to be as set forth in Notes of Survey filed toady, see Certificate of Boundaries Folio 277. Liber I... or No. 3... R.A. Lyman...

(page 241)

Boundary Commission — Volume B

**The Ahupuaa of Onouli nui**, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii

On this 6<sup>th</sup> day of June A.D. 1874 the Commission of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C. met at the house of Moses Barrett, South Kona Hawaii, on the application of H.N. Greenwell for the settlement of the boundaries of Onouli nui situated in the District of South Kona Island of Hawaii. Notice of hearing served by publication in the Hawaiian Gazette...

Petition read as follows

—Copy—

Kalukalu, South Kona Hawaii

August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1873

Honble. R.A. Lyman...

In compliance with the provisions of an Act approved June 22, 1868, to facilitate the settlement of Boundaries I hereby apply to have the boundaries of Onouli nui decided and certified to by you.

The Ahupuaa of Onouli nui is situated in South Kona Hawaii, and it is bounded on the East by Keauhou, on the North by Kalukalu, on the West by the sea, and on the South by Onouli iki.

The names of owners of adjoining lands are L. Keelikolani for Keauhou, H.N. Greenwell, John Yates (both patented), and the Aupuni [Government] for Kalukalu. Mrs. Cleghorn, A. Todd, Jas. Atkins (all patented) and Royal Domain for Onouli iki; and J.D. Paris for Kaawaloa or Kealakekua in the event of Onouli iki not reaching to the Keauhou line. I remain, Sir. Respectfully yours,

H.N. Greenwell

(page 242)

Testimony

Keakaikawai<sup>K</sup>. Sworn

I live on Hokukano know the land of Onouli nui. Bounded on the North side by the land of Kalukalu, from shore to near the woods. Punawai a water hole near the edge of the woods is the boundary. Kaimuki is the name of the spring; this spring is in the edge of the woods; there the land of Kanakau bounds Onouli nui thence mauka along the Kohala side of the road that runs through the woods to Kaneki [Kanekee]. This boundary is on the point adjoining Hokukano, not of Onouli. Then commencing at Kaimuki the boundary runs to Kumukawau a kauhale kahiko [ancient dwelling place]. We used to know the different boundaries in olden times by the old women who made tapa. They would stay on Onouli till they had used all the mamaki up and they would then move to Kaanakau [Kanakau], paying the different konohiki for the privilege of making kapa on their lands. Above Kumukawau Hokukano cuts Kaanakau off and bounds Onouli nui and thence along to Kahoemiemi, the boundary is a short distance on the Kohala side of Kahoemiemi, about as far as from here to the blacksmith shop, thence to Waiamala where Hokukano and Kaawaloa join and cut Onouli nui off; thence makai along Kaawaloa to Kalehupohaku a stone where they used to have offerings, this rock is on the kualapa [ridge] of the aa. Thence makai through ferns and trees to Nahuina a place where two canoe roads meet. These roads come from mauka. Thence down to Kaoiki mauka corner of Onouli iki a place where the aa branches leaving a spot free from rocks just makai, on Onouli iki; thence along to the end of the aa. On the North side of this spot this, is opposite to Holokaeleele, thence it runs to the Northern edge, on the South side of this open spot to a place on Onouli nui below Puuohoio. Thence makai to the mauka corner of the pasture above the road at the side of Atkins lot.

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CX'd

The place called Holokaeleele is on Onouli nui the boundary being on the Kohala side of it. The place called Pohakuwawahia is on the road. There is a koa tree marked, near Waiamala.

Note:

From the mauka corner of Atkins lot, the boundary is established by Royal Patent along Onouli iki. The boundary on the northern side is established from the shore to the lower edge of the woods.

Decision

Boundaries of Onouli nui are decided to be as given in Royal Patents of adjoining lands, from the shore to the edge of the woods, to the junction of Kaawaloa and Hokukano as given in Keakaikawai's testimony...

(page 253)

**The Ahupuaa of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>** District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii... Case continued from March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1874. See Folio 451 Book A

North Kona June 8, 1874

Case opened at the house of Chas. Hall Honuaino, North Kona on this the 8<sup>th</sup> day of June A.D. 1874. Notice of hearing Served by publication in the Hawaiian Gazette of May 20<sup>th</sup> 1874, and due notice personally served on owners or agents of adjoining lands as far as known. Present J.G. Hoapili for applicant and Hawaiian Government.

Testimony

Chas Hall <sup>K</sup>. Sworn. (Same witness as on Kahuku)

I have lived in Kona thirty seven years, and know the land of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>, am a kamaaina of Kona and know a part of the boundaries of Keauhou. Kahilo, Kuluahi, father of Keakaikawai, and Kini pointed them out to me, at different times. Kahilo is still living and I hear he gave his testimony on this land last year. The other two men are dead. I do not know the makai boundaries. Kahilo went with Capt. Cummins [Preston Cummings] and myself and pointed out the boundaries, when Cummins leased this land. Kahilo and Kuluahi pointed out boundaries at the same place on the South side of Gov. Adam's road but Kini pointed these out as being further mauka but nearly the same place. Kini pointed out the boundary as being a short distance makai of Puulehua on Gov. Adam's road, and running straight to Waiio; Puulehua is a hill. There is a pali on Governor Adam's road on the boundary of Keauhou, and near the pali there is a sandalwood tree. The only one I know of that grows so far down on the road towards Kau. They did not show me boundaries as we went to Kau, way above the woods on the pahoehoe. I cannot say anything about boundaries beyond Waiio. Kuluahi and Kahilo pointed out the boundaries as being about one mile...

(page 254)

...makai of Waiio. Going to Kau with Kini we went from Waiio to Hale o Umi, since destroyed by the lava flow, I cannot give the boundaries from Waiio to Kukuipope as I have not been along there, in the woods.

Keauhou cuts Mauukaa off to the westward of Halepohaha. I know the boundary as I used to drive goats there. I have always heard that Keauhou cuts all South Kona lands off at the mauka edge of the woods. On the North side Kahilo pointed out the boundary as running along the base of Hualalai passing Kohala side of Huaumi (or Ahuaumi) he is the only one who pointed this out to me. I have always heard that Keauhou joins Kaohe of Hamakua, the boundary runs to the kipuka, running past Keamoku, to a point among the hills mauka of these clinkers.

CX'd

I cannot point out the boundaries from Puulehua to Waiio. I put more confidence in what Kuluahi showed me than in what Kini showed me, as he was a much older man and had been living longer in the mountain. I know a spring called Puepuewai it is on the pahoehoe some distance mauka of the woods. I do not know that Kaupulehu reaches to Keauhou. I have never heard that Keauhou takes to the top of Hualalai.

Evidence taken on Kahuku, March 13<sup>th</sup> 1873 for boundaries of Keauhou adjoining Kahuku as Mr. Hall states that he will give his testimony just the same as at that time. See Folder 143 and 144 Book A.

Know the land of Keauhou in Kona. I have often gone onto the plains above the woods and have come across from Kona to Kau twice; above the woods. It was a long time ago, came up through the woods to Hale o Umi and looked at it, it is about eight or ten miles above the woods but was covered up by the lava flow of 1845 or thereabouts. From there I went to Ahuaumi up above here and slept there in a crack of the pahoehoe.

(page 255)

The Father of Keakaikawai was my kamaaina from there we went to the Bay. I think Hale O Umi is mauka of Kipahoehoe the distance between this and Ahu a Umi is about fifteen or eighteen miles. Hale o Umi is on Keauhou. Heard that Ahuaumi is on the boundary of Kau and Kona about nine or ten miles from here. Kini was my kamaaina the second time I came across. Keakaikawai's father piloted me all over Maunaloa and Mauna Kea once. Ahua Umi is near Hualalai (2<sup>nd</sup> Ahua Umi); he told me Kahuku and Keauhou ran straight up Maunaloa following a ridge all the way. I have heard Ahu a Umi, near Hualalai is on Keauhou. Keauhou runs over to Puanahulu and meets Kaohe and Humuula thence runs up the mountain with Humuula on the Hilo slope to Pohakuhanalei. Different kamaaina have pointed out these different places. Kuakini of Puako and others, showed me these places. The father of Keiki and Kini showed me the boundaries on this side. Keakaikawai is the son of one of my kamaaina and he himself is a kamaaina on the mountain. CX'd

I could talk better native when I came across from Kona to Kau than at the present day. Came down here from Ahu a Umi. I have been up from Kapua to Ahu a Umi and understood that Keauhou cuts off Kapua below Ahu a Umi. Also Kaulanamauna is cut off and from there the boundary of Kau and Kona runs direct to the top of the mountain. My opinion of the direction of the line of boundary between the Districts is based on the directions at shore. There is no land in South Kohala running side by side with Kona lands, to the top of Maunaloa; cut off by Hamakua. Kona and Kau run to the top of the mountain Humuula runs up a long way but not to the top. There are two places on the mountain called Pohakuhanalei, one is a rock on the North East slope, the other is a crater on the South slope the latter is not pointed out as a boundary. I have only crossed the boundary they pointed out to me a ridge running up to the top of the mountain and to the other side.

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Said ridge running between the craters of Mokuaweoweo and Pohakuhanalei.

Pohakuhanalei is about South of Mokuaweoweo and I think that it is in Kau.

Have never heard what land Mokuaweoweo is on. Have always heard that Kahuku joins Keauhou mauka and that Kahuku and Kapapala join at Pohakuhanalei on the North East slope of Mauna Loa but I do not know how far this way they join. Have worked in the woods and above Kahuku mauka of Waiohinu catching goats, and heard that Waiohinu cuts off all the lands to Kapapala. I can show pretty nearly the place where Hale o Umi was. Hale o Umi was built of six stones and was so close to the mountain that I could not see far towards Kau, or Kohala. At Ahu a Umi on the boundary of Kona there are four or five piles of stones in a mawae or crack, there are two red hills in an easterly direction from Ahu a Umi, and a water hole near one of them. From this point it is two or three miles directly towards the sea, before you came to the thick woods... (page 257)

Journal of Trip to the summit of Hualalai Mountain taken June 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup>, 1874. Party C. Wall, S.R. Follson, The Commissioner, kamaaina Keakaikawai and Kamakainai.

Left Henry Weeks house at 7 A.M. and went up the road through the great walled lot to the woods and near the upper edge of the woods to a place called Nahuina, to an ohia tree with five large branches and several smaller...

(page 258)

...ones. The branches fork from near the ground and Keakaikawai said, that that was the tree he formerly pointed out to Wall and others as the boundary between Keauhou and the Government lands of Hookukano and that it is the makai boundary of where the used to take the geese of Keauhou, but that the Hookukano chief used to take uwau mauka of this point as I have testified to before. It took three quarters of an hour to go from this point to Waiio.

Waiio is a small round water hole in a kipuka pili [area of pili grass growth] on the makai side of a koa grove. Keakaikawai states that in olden times, there were not many mamani trees makai of this point and also that there were not many koa trees near here. There are a great many koa trees, around there now. Keaka [Keakaikawai] states that the geese on Kealakekua opposite this place and as far makai as Nahuina formerly belonged to Keauhou and the uwau to Kealakekua. We then proceeded towards Mauna Loa, to a place pointed out as Makaulaula, the boundary claimed by Keaka, as the mauka boundary of Hookukano. Nothing particular there to mark the place. Thence towards Kohala to a low hill of scoria (with a small crater in it) called Kikiaeae. This hill is covered with mamani trees and was pointed out as on the boundary between Keauhou and Hookukano. On the way to this point we came to a water hole called Waiapalai on Umi's road. The pahoe is covered with mamani and koa trees so that you cannot see much of the surrounding country as you ride along and the road winds around so that it is impossible to form an idea of the distance from point to point.

Reached Mr. Walls house, on the Judd road at half past four o'clock, in the afternoon. Said house is a short distance mauka from the upper edge of the forest.

June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1874

Proceeded up Hualalai and visited Kipahee it is quite a deep crater with a water hole in one side of it. Napuu Mahoe are a short distance toward Mauna Loa from this... (page 259) ...point and Hualalai hill a short distance makai. Kahueai<sup>K</sup> points out the point – Kipahee as the boundary between Keauhou and Kaupulehu, and as running on the South side of Hualalai hill and along a ridge of hills and passing down the western slope of the mountain. Visited Honuaula hill, on the top of the mountain, on the South West brow of the mountain, a short distance above two deep round pits called Kaluamakau these pits are on the Kohala side of the hill. The weather was so foggy that we could not see into the valley around the foot of the mountain. Returned to Mr. Walls.

June 12<sup>th</sup> 1874

Left Mr. Walls at Sunrise and proceeded to Mana in Hamakua.

As we crossed the lava flow of 1859, Keakaikawai pointed out Mailehahei, and also the boundaries between Keauhou and Kaohe, that he had testified to...

Case continued until further notice...

(page 58)



**Certificated of Boundaries of the Land of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>**, District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii... May 13, 1886...

Judgment

An application to decide and certify the Boundaries of the land of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> District of North Kona...Having been filed with me on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of May A.D. 1886, by J.M. Alexander for and in behalf of the Estate of Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, in accordance with the provisions of an Act to facilitate the settlement of Boundaries &c., approved on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of June, A.D. 1868; now therefore, having duly received and heard all the testimony offered in reference to the said boundaries and having endeavored otherwise to obtain all information possible to enable me to arrive at a just decision...and it appearing to my satisfaction that the true lawful and equitable boundaries, are as follows, viz... (pages 59-61) [describe boundaries from seashore between Keauhou 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> continuing along Kahalu'u; cutting off lands on the slopes of Hualālai; across to Mauna

Loa; cutting off lands of South Kona and portions of North Kona; returning to the boundary between Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> and Honalo]

(page 62)

...N...W...along Honalo to a pile of stones on an "aa" tract at the N.E. corner of Honalo, thence S...W...along Honalo to a pile of stones in a ravine on the lower side of the "mauka road," thence S...W... along Honalo to the end of the ridge Nemonemo, thence S...W... along Honalo to a pile of stones 30 feet below the "makai road" and just mauka of a large rock and on the North edge of the ridge Lekeleke, whence the trig. station Keauhou is N...E...7625 feet, thence along the Ocean to the point of beginning...5195 feet from this point. Area 109600 Acres.

(As surveyed by J.M. Alexander, A.D. 1886).

It is therefore adjudged and I do hereby decide and Certify that the Boundaries of said land, are, and hereafter shall be as hereinbefore set forth...the fifteenth day of June A.D. one thousand eight hundred and eighty six. F.S. Lyman...  
[Testimony of J.M. Alexander recorded in Volume D.5:33-36]

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Boundary Commission — Volume D. 5

In Re Boundaries

**Kealakekua, awa a me kahi Honua ikai**

June 10, 1892

Application for settlement of the Boundaries of a portion of the Land of Kealakekua, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii called "Kealakekua, awa a me kahi Honua ikai," having been filed with the Commissioner of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii, by J.F. Brown, of the Government Survey Office, in behalf of the Hawaiian Government, in April A.D. 1892 and notice of hearing ...

Hawaiian Gov. Survey  
Honolulu, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1892  
Hon. F.S. Lyman

Sir:

By instruction of His Excellency the Minister of Interior, I hereby make application for the settlement of the boundaries of that portion of Kealakekua, Kona, Hawaii, described in Civil Code list of Govt. lands, (p.380) as "Kealakekua, awa a me Kahi Honua i kai."

The accompanying plan shows by the green line, the boundaries of the tract as claimed by the Gov't, the notes of survey herewith conforming to said line.

The adjoining interested parties are, as far as I know the Estate of Mr. Greenwell owning the land of Kealakekua (ahupuaa) and Kauai, living at Napoopoo, who is said to be the present owner of Gr. 867. (Preston Cummings)

If you will set a day for hearing which... (page 65) ...will allow me to be present, or to send a brief of points in favor of the Govt. Claim, you will oblige.

Your obedient servant,  
J.F. Brown  
Govt. Survey Office  
April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1892...

[Letter retransmitted on Nov. 22, 1892]

(page 66)

Kealakekua – South Kona, Hawaii – December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1892 at 2 P.M. after due notice to all parties interested; present, J.D. Paris, Jr., J.W. Smith, L. Lazaro, W.H. Greenwell, A.L. Greenwell, and others. All the above named persons having inspected the premises in question, with the Boundary Commissioner, proceeded to the Parsonage of Kealakekua.

S. Lazaro, Deputy Sheriff, for the Hawaiian Govt.  
W.H. Greenwell  
Arthur L. Greenwell (for the Greenwell Estate)

Evidence

Kuanana Sworn – I am a kamaaina of Kealakekua. I knew the land when held by Keohokalole and Kapaakea – I worked under them, and then the land was sold by them to Atkins, and I still lived on the land, under Atkins – then the land was sold to Paris Senior – then sold to Logan – then to Paris again, and by him sold to Greenwell – I still lived on the land of Kealakekua – my father lalua had a kuleana, at foot of pali; which Greenwell wished, and exchanged with me for a piece of land on the South side of the Heiau... (page 67) ...on Kealakekua: but lately, a Government surveyor, and Kanakanui told me I had no right there, which I referred to Mrs. Greenwell – it was last year.

The old Prison on it was built by prison labor under Capt. Cummings, while Keohokalole held the land. I do not know who gave leave to build the Jail there.

When Kapeau was the Governor [prior to 1860], he came here to see about Jail and Government lands. I heard him dispute with Kapaakea the Government claimed it for the

Gov't. as the Jail was built, and a yard around it; but Kapaakea told him no, they still hold the land as theirs, they let the Government keep the Bay and narrow strip of land at landing only, but what was about the Prison was still their own. I do not know how they settled it but afterwards the land was sold. I heard Kapaakea say that what is below the wall along sand beach at the shore, was for Government, and all above that, was theirs. After the land was sold, the Jail was used, but the land, and fish pond, was held by the Ahupuaa, as formerly the Government Luna never came for the fish. I never heard of any of the land as belonging to the Government, above the beach wall, until lately: only that below the beach wall was set apart for the Government. I was born and brought up here, my parents and ancestors lived here – the first I ever heard of the Gov't. having any claim there, was when Kapeau came and wished it for the Prison. Kapaakea said the Gov't. could only have the spot on which the Prison actually stood, but they still kept the land around it for the ahupuaa. The Jail was not used much after land was sold, when Simon Kaai was here. Simerson cultivated a place at foot of pali – he did not live on it – do not know if he bought it, or not.

J.W. Smith - S. – When I came to Kona in 1859, Atkins owned Kealakekua. I wished to buy some land, but he would not sell any but the whole, which I could not do – he showed me the land, fish pond, and the boundaries – said he bought all that was mauka of the wall along the beach road – that Capt. Cummings, who was Deputy Sheriff, was Leasing the lot where the Jail and Pond were, for the Government Jail... (page 68) ...and about two years after that, the land was sold to Mr. Paris – I presume he sold the Fish Pond and all – Paris sold to J.R. Logan, who hired me as Manager of his Sugar Plantation, and showed me where his boundary was; he thought of putting his Mill near the sea, so inquired of kamaainas, who told him it all belonged to Kealakekua, to the alii, except what was below the beach wall, which belonged to the Government., no one ever disputed Mr. Logan's rights there, and he sold to Thomas Cook, according to that makai boundary. He sold to Paris, and he to Greenwell, by those boundaries – the fish pond was held by them, and they left it stocked with fish, and used it. I never heard of the land being claimed by the Government until Mr. Wall came around lately, except that portion below the wall, as I said.

J.D. Paris Jr. Sworn – I know the whole land of Kealakekua was held by Atkins; as long ago as I can remember, and was purchased of him, by my father in 1862 or 3 –father held the entire land, flats included, undisputed possession of the flats and fish pond, and sold to Mr. Logan, about 1865 who sold to Thomas Cook, and father purchased it back from him, and held several years, and sold to me about 1875. I held the whole land, including what is now claimed by the Government, and the fish pond – then I sold to H.N. Greenwell – I held undisputed possession, and no one ever claimed that this was Government property then. A number of old kamaainas lived on the flat then, who said that the flat and the pond were “konohiki”. – what was below the wall along the sand beach was considered to belong to Government. – I rented the Fish Pond to Kamauoha, the father of G.P. Kamauoha now in Legislature. – I always supposed that Simerson's was a kuleana, like lalua's kuleana. I always understood the land about the Jail as belonging to the main land and not the Gov't. I heard that Cummings tried to get it from Atkins, but lost his case, and lost his lease of it. The Jail was seldom used.

(page 69)

I hold the Royal Patent issued by the Hawaiian Government to A. Keohokalole – produces R.P. #3607, for kuleana #8452 Ap. 9 which says – “no ka mea ua haalele ke aupuni i kona kuleana iloko o keia aina” & “ia A. Keohokalole,” “o Kealakekua he ahupuaa ma Kona.” (Rec'd. Costs 6, Jan. 1870) dated Jan. 12, 1858, signed “Kamehameha,” and “Kaahumanu.”) This Patent came to me with the land.

Henry Haili – S. – I was born on Kealakekua, and know of it from my parents – Wahine was the Konohiki of the land which belonged to Keohokalole and Kapaakea – Wahine told me, when he had charge of the land, that Captain Cummings leased the land from Keohokalole, including the Fish Pond – after that, Keohokalole sold the land, and my grand father, Nunole, had charge of the land, and the people living there; all worked under him as konohiki – all receipts of land, and the cocoanuts near the Jail, Nunole took to Atkins. Atkins contested Cummings right to the Fish Pond, as the Lease had expired, when Kupakee was the Judge, and Nunole had charge again of the Pond, for Atkins – then he sold land to Paris Sen. who had Nunole keep charge, and Leased the Fish Pond to Kamauoha Senior, who was the Jailer then. Paris sold land to Logan, with the flat and all its appurtenances – the tenants were all under him – he sold to deaf man from Molokai, and Nunole had charge for him: he then sold to Paris Nunole was his “Luna aina” – Paris Sen. sold to John Paris, and Nunole still had charge: and I wished to Lease the flat below, and the side of pali – so Wahine and Nunole showed me the boundaries of the land, and I leased all the land on the flat, from the beach wall up onto the pali, and the cocoanut trees, but Paris kept the Fish Pond – and after Greenwell bought the land, I leased it again of him for \$30 – including the Pond, and I still hold it by Lease, through for less rent than before, as the cattle come into it and spoil it. Last year Wall came there and told me that place belongs to the Government, but I told him no it does not my ancestors have always lived there under the chiefs – I showed him the Gov’t. land below the wall on the sand beach, but he was not satisfied with... (page 70) ...that; — he told me, if I would give him a horse, he would try to get it for me. If it had been Government land, we would have taken it up in kuleanas before. I could not consent to his claim. Wahine and Nunole showed me the kuleanas, and William Simerson’s, they are on the chiefs land, obtained in the time of Keohokalole.

S. Kekumano – S. – I am kamaaina here. When Simon Kaai was Sheriff, about 1869, he made me Jailer, so I started in that Jail, caring for the prisoners on short terms – they worked in the Prison yard, planted pineapples, cane, etc. – Logan had gone away, leaving Smith here in charge – S. Kaai told me the land belonged to the foreigner, at the Jail, and by permission, the prisoners could eat what we raised. – Nunole took the cocoanuts for the haole. I leased 5 cocoanut trees there of Nunole – the Fish Pond belonged to the haole also – there was a lot above that, said to have been sold to Simerson.

I saw that Kuanana’s award said it was bordered by aupuni, so I asked Simon Kaai to find out if it was really aupuni land, so we could get it, but he never did. I heard that some land below was sold to Cummings, and Simerson, it was sold by Gov’t.

Amended Petition, dated Nov. 22<sup>nd</sup>, and authorization of the Minister of Interior to act in the matter, received December 7<sup>th</sup> via Hilo: also copy of Grant to W.R. Simerson #1459, and award #7101 to Ialua. Brief of J. F. Brown received December 10<sup>th</sup>. Brief of J.M. Hatch, atty. for Greenwell Estate, received December 15<sup>th</sup>, closing the case.

December 28, 1892 – Decision

It appears from the evidence that the Hawaiian Government never had any right to the land now claimed, except a very small portion, below the road, and that was a right allowed by the owners of the land Kealakekua, which seems to have been renounced when the Royal Patent (No 3607, for award #8452, ap. 9) was issued to A. Keohokalole.

(page 71)

January 12, 1858, for the Ahupuaa of Kealakekua. The Boundaries of the Ahupuaa, or Land of Kealakekua, were settled by the Boundary Commissioners in Certificate of Boundaries No. 133, issued April 18\*, 1881.

It being, at present, a question of title rather than of Boundaries, the Portion is dismissed, with costs.

December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1892  
F.S. Lyman  
Commissioners of Boundaries...

## **Hawaiian Government Survey Records (1882-1884)**

Among the historic records in the Government collections for lands in the vicinity of the study area are the communications and field books 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 notebooks record more than coordinates for developing maps. While in the field, Emerson also sought out knowledgeable native residents of the lands he surveyed, as guides. Thus, while he was in the field he often recorded traditions of place names, residences, trails, and various features of the cultural and natural landscape. Lands of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, are among those that Emerson worked in, and his notes contribute important information to our understanding of the area.

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 and sketches are excerpted from Field Book No.’s 253, 254, 255, & 256, (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. 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 28, a portion of Register Map No. 1281 (Registered in 1891), depicting the Keauhou-Ke‘ei vicinity, was produced by Emerson as a result of the surveys which he conducted between 1882-1884, and it provides viewers with the larger regional context of the field book sketches cited herein.

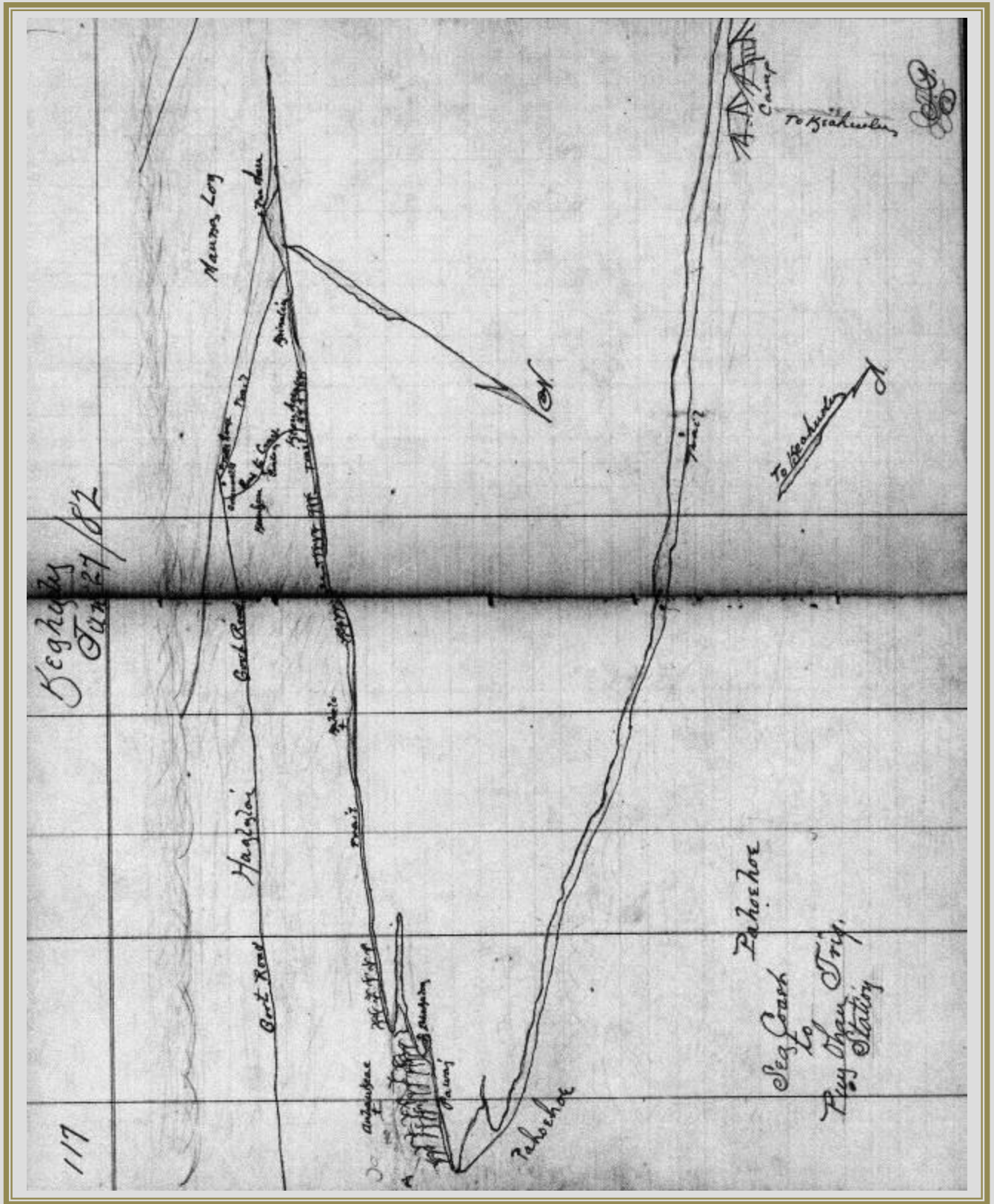


Figure 31. Sea Coast, Keahuolu to Puu Ohau (Field Book 253:117); June 27, 1882

On June 27<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>, 1882, Emerson and party were surveying land in the Kailua vicinity of North Kona. Perryman prepared two sketches of lands south of Keahuolu and Kahelo. Figure 31 provides a view of the “road to Coast” from the mauka Government Road to Keauhou harbor, and depicts the makai alignment of the Alanui Aupuni “Trail” through Kainaliu Village and behind “Puu Ohau.”

Figure 32 (a closer view point), depicts the area from Kahelo (in Kahului) to Kanaeue. Visible are the — coconut grove at the coastal village of Kanaeue; Puu Ohau with the “Tomb” indicated; and the “road to Coast” from the mauka Government Road to Keauhou harbor.

In Emerson’s notes for June 30<sup>th</sup>1882, he also recorded an important note regarding the heiau of Ke’ekū (in Kahalu’u) and the use of caves in the area:

Keauhou 2

Kalaaauakalaikini. Mauka of this cape is the heiau of Keeku. Makai of this heiau is the famous Kii o Kamalalawalu. The King has just ordered Makanoanoa and Hoapili to place it inside of this heiau; about 1/4 of a mile mauka of this heiau is the cave in which the ancient chiefs of Kona up to Kuakini were buried. [Field Book 253:143]

In August 1882 (Field Book No. 254), Emerson and party were on the upper slopes of Hualālai, overlooking the Keauhou-Kalukalu vicinity. Figure 33, Perryman’s sketch of August 5, 1882, references various points on the landscape. In this case, the numbers and alphabet points include only general comments such as “Cape, Jagged Rocks, Bay...” Thus, those points are not given here. Like Figures 31 and 32, the sketch does identify several important features of interest to the study, among them are — the alignments of the lower and upper Government Roads (including the mail route) from Keauhou to Kalukalu; Keauhou Village; the coconut groves of Kāināliu and Kānaeue; and a portion of the Kalukalu Government Trail, running mauka from it’s intersection with the makai “Trail” (Alanui Aupuni), above Nāwāwā.

**Field Book No. 255**

**Vol. 5 KONA HAWAII (1883)**

**Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1883 (pp. 51 & 53)**

Keauhou (see Figures 34, 35, & 36)

Ref.	Location	Feature	Ahupuaa
a	Makai end chain of rocks	Nenu Point	Kanaeue
b	Keikiwaha Pt.		Kanaeue
c	Small Point in ahupuaa		Hokukano
d	Lae Kuamoo	to Head	Kuamoo
e	Lae o Kualanui		Honalo
f	Nalupai Point	Conical Rock	Keauhou 2
g	Pania Rocks in Sea	Near Paheehee Cape	Keauhou 2
h	Base Kauliloa Pali	N. End	Keauhou 2
i	Kaukulaelae Point		Keauhou 2
j	Tang. N.E. pt. of Keauhou Bay	North of Landing	Keauhou 1
k	Halealono Pt.		Keauhou 1...
b1	Puu Maile	Ground at Hala tree	Kawanui 2
c1	Puu Kekoa	Reddish pile of stones	Keauhou 2
d1	Nanihonui’s grass h.		Kanauweuwe 2





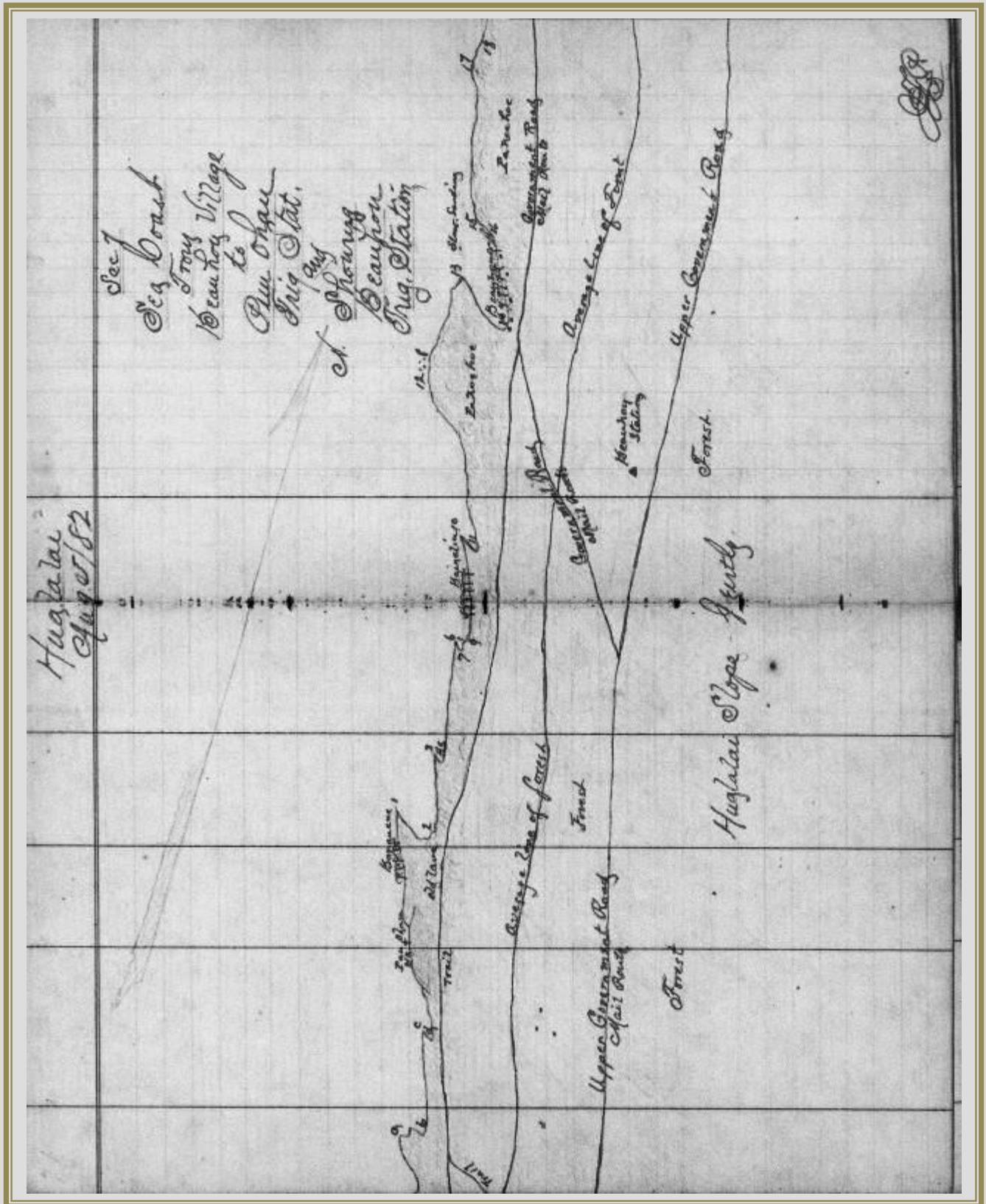


Figure 33. Sea Coast from Keauhou Village to Puu Ohau (Field Book 254:71); Aug. 5, 1883

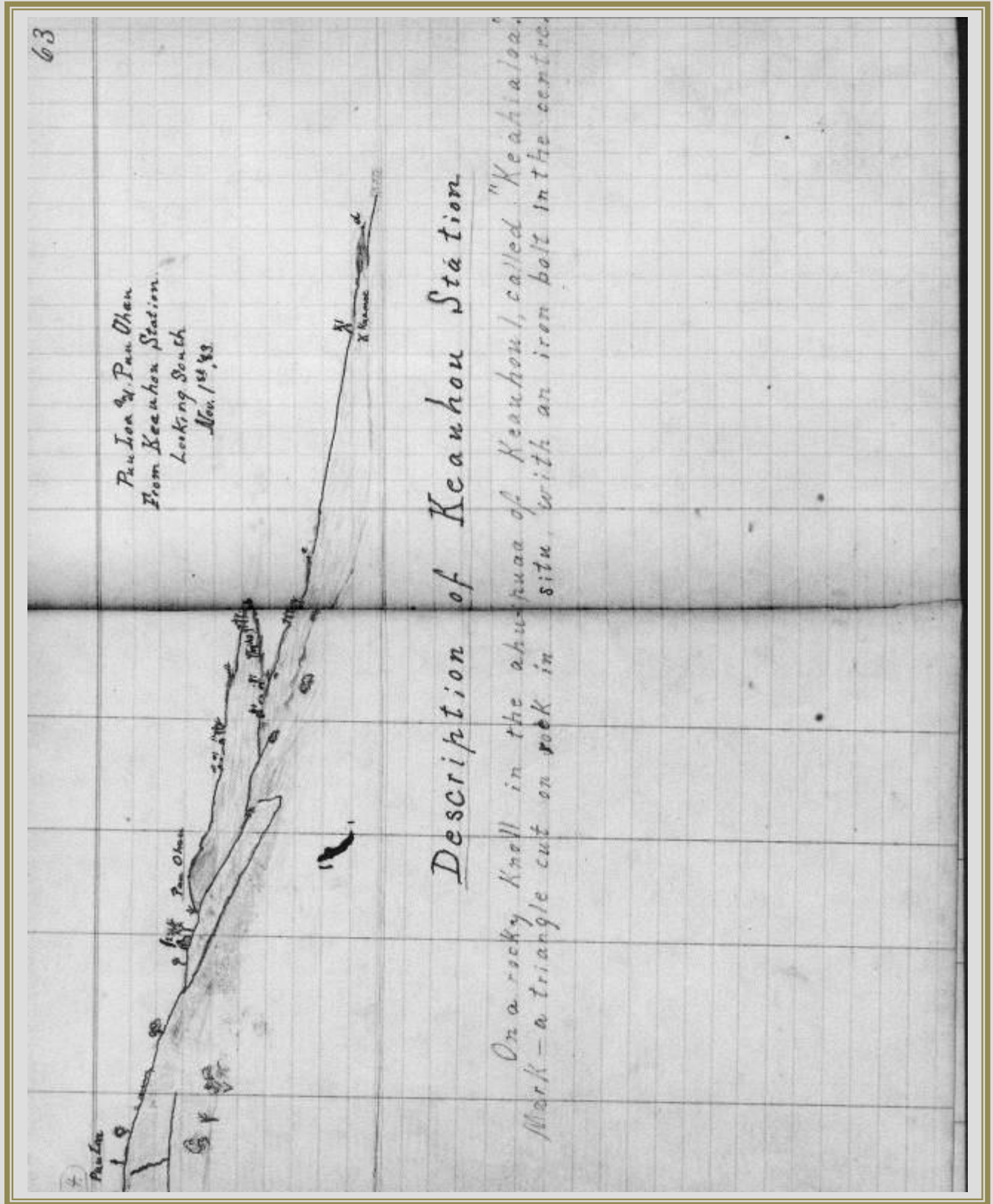


Figure 34. Puu Loa & Puu Ohau from Keauhou Sta. (Field Book 255:63); Nov. 1, 1883

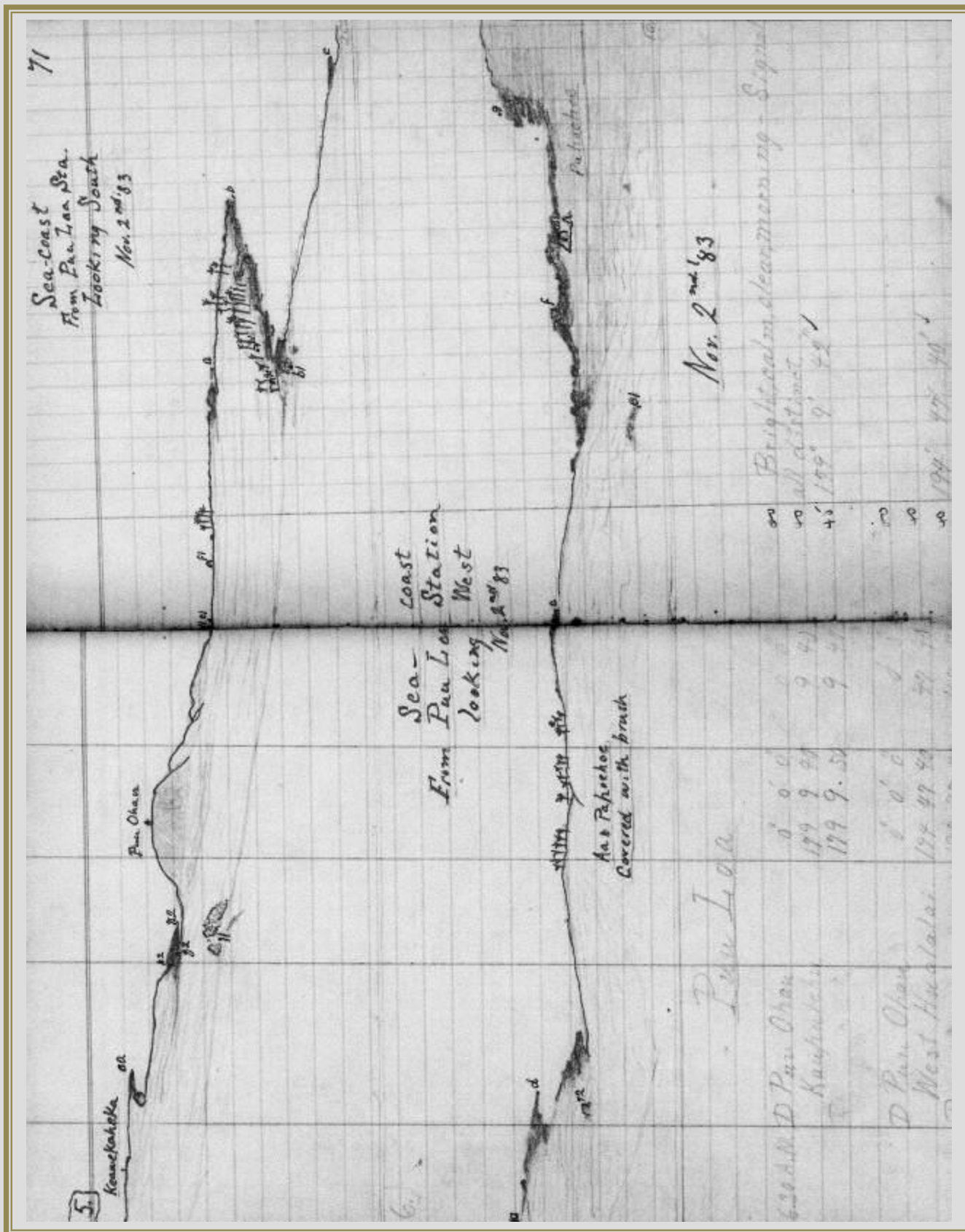


Figure 35. Sea Coast from Puu Loa Sta. (Field Book 255:71); Nov. 2, 1883



**Field Book No. 255**  
**Vol. 5 KONA HAWAII (1883)**  
**Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1883 (pp. 53, 55)**

Keauhou (see Figures 35 & 36)

Ref.	Location	Feature Ahupuaa
e1	Kaelele's grass h.	Kanaeue 2
f1	Kamakani's grass h.	Kanaeue 2
g1	Trousseau's large h.	Hokukano
h1	Henry Week's grass h.	Hokukano
i1	Keala's grass h. E. of Puu Kekoa	Keauhou 2
j1	Kinimaka's grass shanty under hala tree	Keauhou 2
k1	Laika (Mrs. Roy's) grass h.	Kuamoo
	In the celebrated battle of Kuamoo in 1820 Kekuaokalani was shot & died at a point in the present Govt. road a few hundred feet directly mauka of this house of Mrs. Roy's.	
m1	Waiola's grass h.	Keauhou 2
n1	Kane's grass h.	Keauhou 2
o1	Kaha's grass h.	Keauhou 2
p1	G.W. Pilipo's frame h.	Keauhou 1
q1	Sam Haluapo's frame h. on div. line between	Keauhou 1 & 2...

**Field Book No. 255**  
**Vol. 5 KONA HAWAII (1883)**  
**Nov. 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1883 (pp. 81, 83 & 85)**

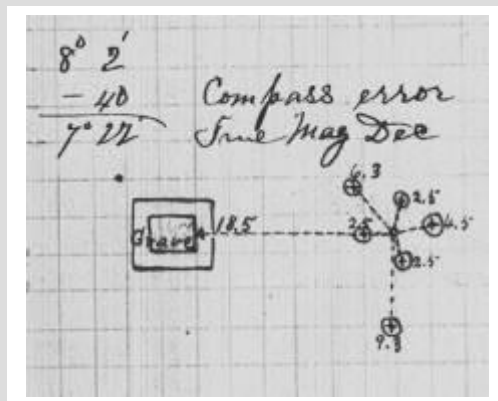
Puu Loa (see Figures 34, 35 & 36)

Ref.	Location	Feature Ahupuaa
a	Nenu Point	Kanaeue
b	Keikiwaha	Kanaeue
c	Small Point	Hokukano
k2	Tang. head of bay Near Trousseau's house	Hokukano
d	Lae o Kuamoo	Kuamoo
e	Kualanui Point	Honalo
f	Nalupai Point Conical Rock	Keauhou 2
g	Pania Rocks in Sea Near Pahee Cape	Keauhou 2
h	Base Kauliloa Point	Keauhou 2...
o2	Keawekaheka...	
b1	Puu Maile Ground at hala tree	Kawanui 2
c1	Puu Kekoa Reddish pile of stones	Keauhou 2
d1	Nanihonui's grass h.	Kanaeue 2
e1	Kaelele's grass h.	Kanaeue 2
f1	Kamakani's large grass h.	Kanaeue 2
g1	Trousseau's large h.	Hokukano
h1	Henry Week's grass h.	Hokukano
k1	Laika (Mrs. Roy's) grass h.	Kuamoo...
t1	Keauhou Stone School h.	Keauhou 1...
h2	Greenwell's Store h...	

**Field Book No. 255**  
**Vol. 5 KONA HAWAII (1883)**  
**Nov. 12<sup>th</sup>, 1883 (pp. 87, 121, 123, 135)**

Puu Loa (see Figures 35, 37, 38 & 39)

Ref.	Location	Feature Ahupuaa
a	Nenu Pt.	Kanaeue
u2	Point on coast Bet. a & b	Hokukano 2
b	Keikiwaha	Division between
k2	Kainaliu Bay	Hokukano 1 & 2
c	Paaaoa Point	Honuaino
z2	Paaaoa bay	Lehuula 1
d	Kuamoo Point	Kuamoo
w2	Maihe bay	
e	Kualanui Pt.	Honalo
a3	Haia [Heeia] Bay	Keauhou 2
b3	Haia " Point	Keauhou 2...
c3	Nauha	Keekee 1
d3	Tang. Hd. Nawawa Bay	Ilikahi
e3	Mokupupu Rock	In middle of Bay
f3	Kalukalu Landing	Kanakau 2
n2	Koholae Pt.	Kalukalu 1
g3	Kamalama's Tomb	Kalukalu 1
	(top of Tomb)	
	Kaalaia Hill	Halekii
	Grave top of hill – E. end	
	Kamae-Kalakaua's grandmother	



h3	Aniani Bluff – Bay	Where wood is shipped	Kalukalu 2
i3	Aniani Bluff- Cape		Kalukalu 2
j3	KaMoa Bluff	Highest point	Kanakau 2
k3	Ka Moa Bluff	Base	Kanakau 2
l3	Onouli Cape		Onouli 2
m3	Keawekaheka Bay		Onouli 2
o2	Keawekaheka Point		Onouli 2...
s2	Catholic Church	Ball on spire	Kawanui 2
p3	Lanakila Prot. Ch.	Ball on spire	Lehuula 1
q3	Popopiia Prot. Ch.	Ball on spire	Keekee 2
p2	Greenwell's Store house		Kalukalu 1

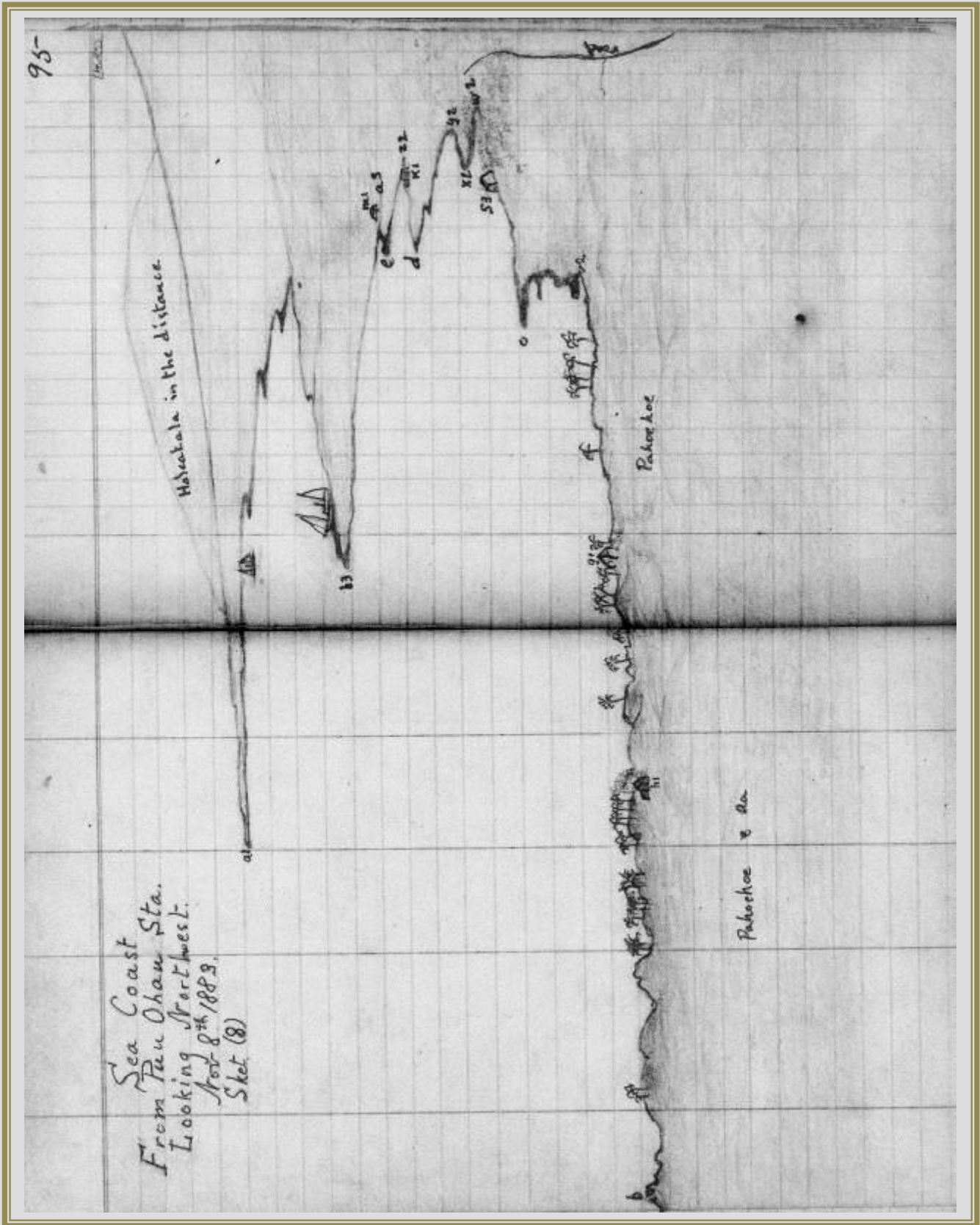


Figure 37. Sea Coast from Puu Ohau Sta. Northwest (Field Book 255:95); Nov. 8, 1883

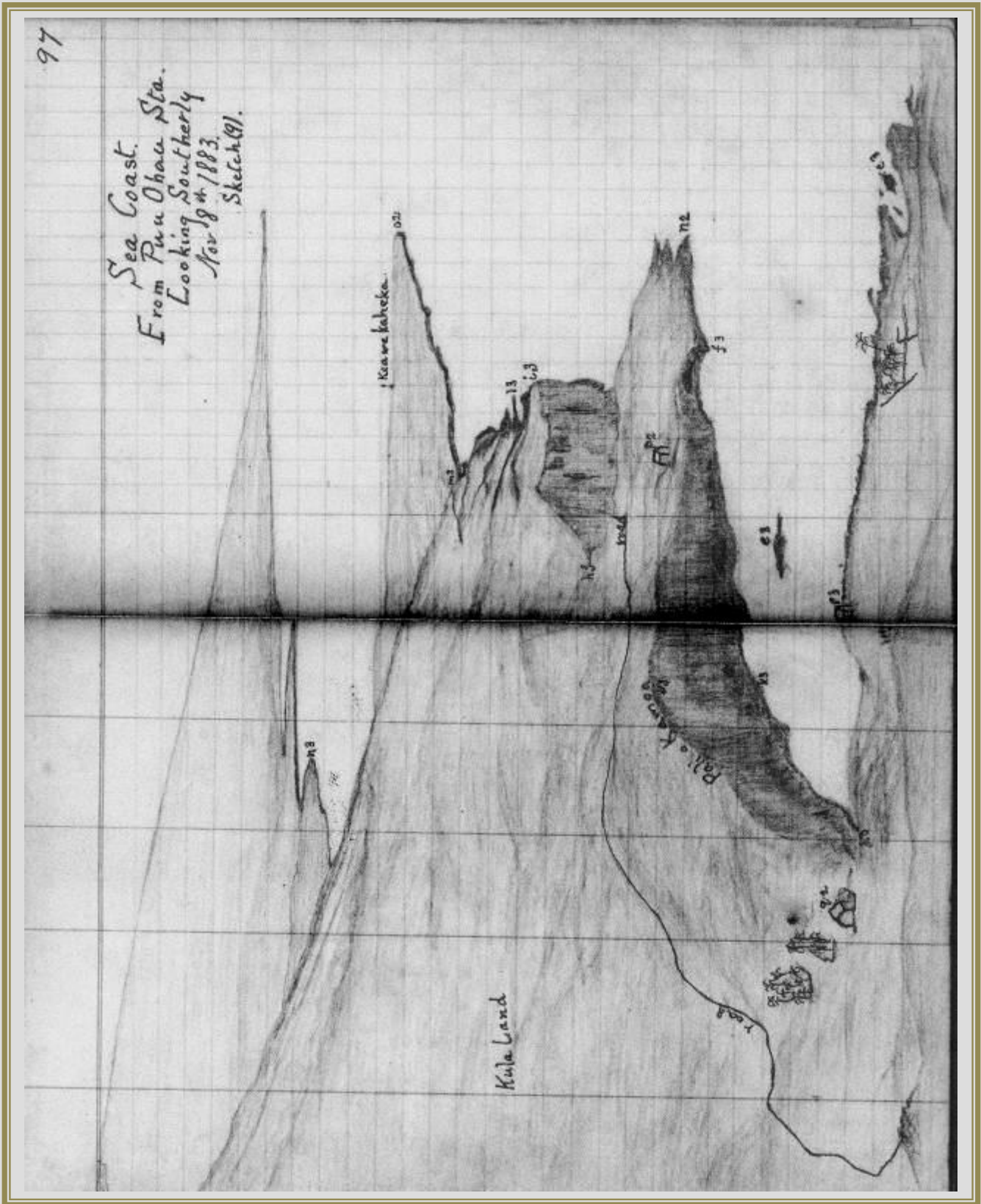


Figure 38. Sea Coast from Puu Ohau Sta. Southerly (Field Book 255:97); Nov. 8, 1883





**Field Book No. 255**  
**Vol. 5 KONA HAWAII (1883)**  
**Nov. 12<sup>th</sup>, 1883 (p. 123)**

Puu Loa (see Figures 35, 37, 38 & 39)

Ref.	Location	Feature Ahupuaa	
q2	Keliwahanuku's house	Near Nawawa landing	Keekee 2
r3	Keliikipi's grass house		Keekee 2
d1	Nanihonui's grass house		Kanaeue 2
e1	Kaelele's grass house	= Kahananui's	Kanaeue 2
f1	Kamakani's grass house		Kanaeue
hi	H. Week's grass house		Hokukano 1
g1	Dr. Trousseau's large house		Hokukano 2
s3	Kaona's frame house		Lehuula 1
k1	Laika (Kahalau's grass h.)		Kuamoo
t3	Ackerman's house	Slate roof	Hokukano
u3	Mrs. Yate's house	Old Boarding House	Onouli 1
v3	Todd's house		Hokukano 2...

**Field Book No. 256**  
**Vol. 6 KONA HAWAII (1884)**  
**Dec. 11<sup>th</sup>, 1883 (p. 9)**

Makolehale Station mark – Ahupuaa Kiloa 1. East of Walealii (King's garden in Kealakekua.

Just makai of Manuel's dairy is a cow pen built of the stone of the ancient "Heiau" Makolehale, for which this station is named.

The name Walepo = waelepo (Clearing land at night).

On the top of Waelepo Hill are the remains of an old "kahua hale," in the middle of which, was the old fireplace (Kapuahi) in which we have placed the station mark.

In oral history interviews and a field tour with Sherwood Greenwell (in this study), he spoke of, and pointed out the location of "Manuel's Dairy." He recalled that it was at the place his father (Arthur Greenwell) had called "The King's Garden." Manuel was Manuel DeGouveia who tended dairy operations under H.N. Greenwell and later Arthur Greenwell. Just in front (mauka) of Manuel's residence was also the old Kealakekua Post Office, which was fronted by the ca. 1853 Pali Poko Road, which provided a more gentle grade-access along Kealakekua Pali, between Nāpo'opo'o and Ka'awaloa.

**Field Book No. 256**  
**Vol. 6 KONA HAWAII (1884)**  
**Feb. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1884 (pp. 25 & 93)**

Palemano (see Figures 40 & 41)

Ref.	Location	Feature Ahupuaa	
b5	Rock in sea		Kaawaloa
o2	Keawekaheka Point	Extremity	Kaawaloa...
t4	J.D. Paris Jr. house		Kaawaloa
f5	Manuel's frame house		Kealakekua
g7	Tang. hd. Bay south of Keawekaheka Pt.		Kaawaloa
h7	Lae Mamo Extremity		Kaawaloa..

(Note also views to – Kaawaloa Pali Road, Kahikolu and the "Old Mission;" and Puu Ohau from Keawekaheka.)

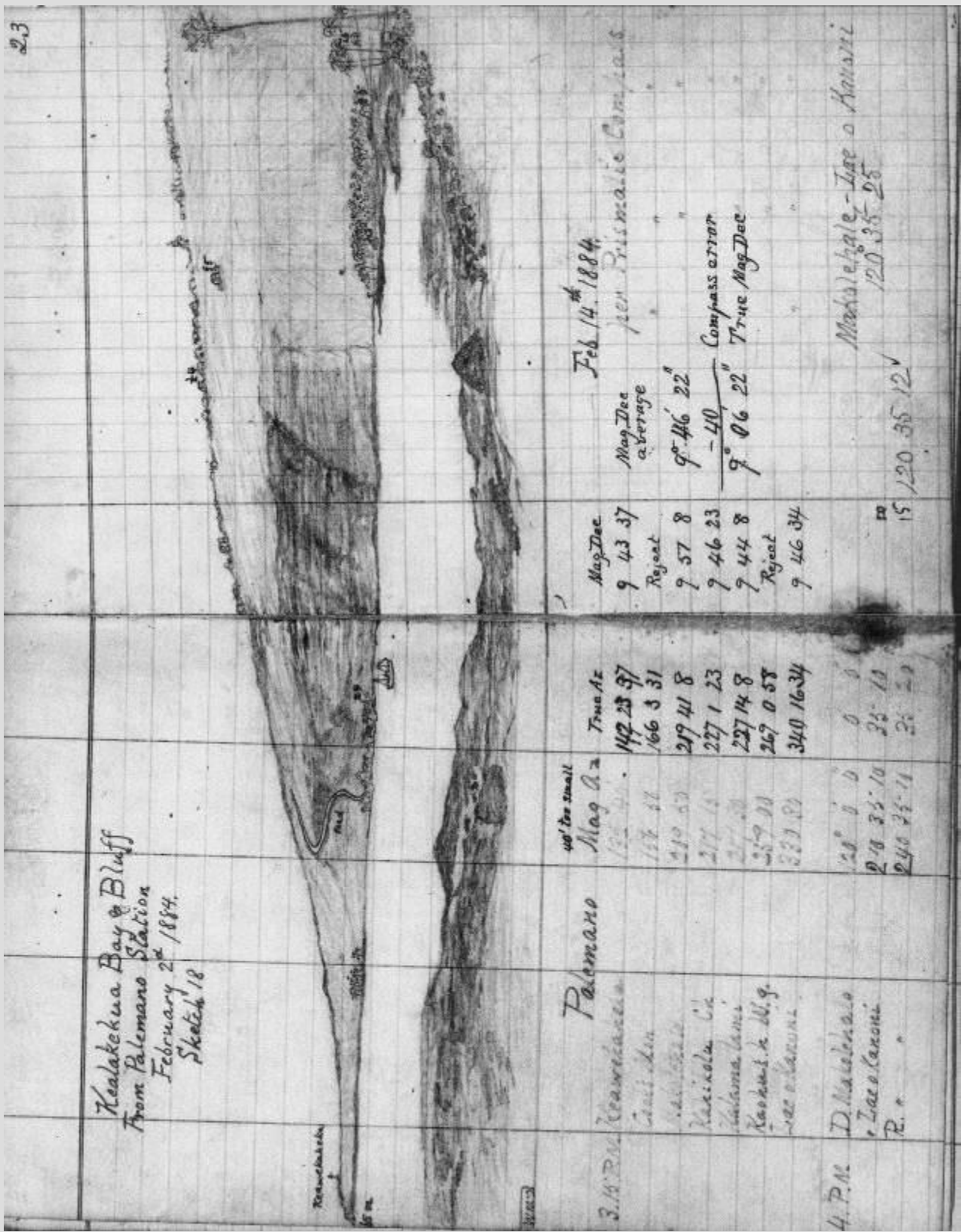


Figure 40. Kealakekua Bay & Bluff (Field Book 256:23); Feb. 2, 1884

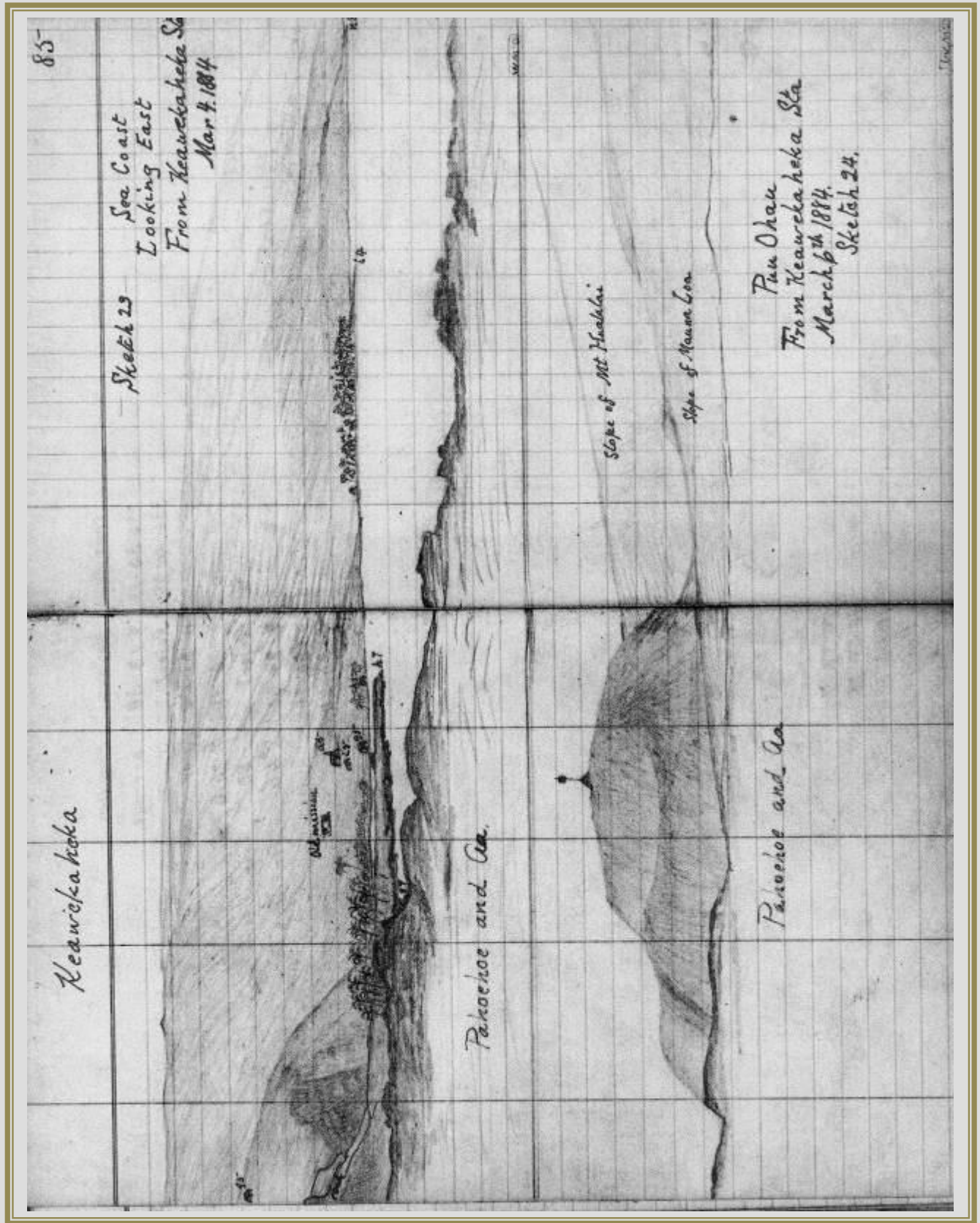


Figure 41. Keawekaheka and Puu Ohau (Field Book 256:85); Mar. 4<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> 1884

## DEVELOPMENT OF RANCHING AND PLANTATION INTERESTS IN KONA

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Following the development of a fee-simple land system in Hawai'i, two business interests came to maturity in Kona, ranching and plantations. The ranching operations primarily focused on cattle for hides, tallow, beef, and dairy products, but goat and sheep ranching operations also played an important role in the early to middle 1800s as well (cf. Marshall in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*; November 5, 1857. The early "plantation-type" interests focused on crops such as coffee and oranges (cf. see Public Instruction Report for November 1848; and Cummings, Feb. 10, 1852 in this study), though by ca. 1870 a sugar plantation venture was also entered into in the land of Onouli (see S. Haluapo, March 2, 1871, in this study). It was not until the later 1890s, that sugar played a significant role in land use—causing large tracts of land from approximately the 600 to 1500 foot elevation, in the vicinity of Keōpū-Wai'aha to Kalukalu-Onouli to be cleared and planted in sugar cane—and community development in Kona. The sugar operations were short lived and the plantation closed in 1926.

The following narratives provide readers with an overview of ranching in Hawai'i, with emphasis on ranches of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region; and also describe the development of plantations in the area. Because ranching operations extended from the coast to the upper forested mountain slopes, and because so many of the native Hawaiian families and other long-time residents of the area were involved in ranching, a fairly detailed overview is presented below. The cultivation of crops such as coffee and sugar have also had a significant role in the history of the region, and today, while ranching operations are in decline, coffee's economic value is growing.

### **Ka Hānai Pua'a Bipi (Cattle Ranching On Hawai'i)**

One of the most significant developments in land use and land tenure during the historic period in the Keauhou-Kealakekua vicinity, was the emergence and formalization of ranching operations. The Hawaiian ecosystem evolved without large hoofed animals—indeed, prior to Polynesian contact, only two mammals recorded as having been on land in the islands, the 'ōpe'ape'a and the 'īlio holo i ka uua (the Hawaiian bat and monk seal) (Carlquist 1980). In the period that the Hawaiian ancestors were colonizing these islands, they brought with them things which were of value to them, among which was the Polynesian pig (pua'a) and dog ('īlio), both of which were important as food items and in ceremonial practices. These holoholona (animals) were generally smaller than their European counterparts, and were kept near places of residence. To facilitate their management in populated areas, the Hawaiians developed pā (walled enclosures) of varying forms that were at times, connected to the pā hale (house lots) of the Hawaiian kauhale (homesteads). Ethnographers Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972) wrote about the care of pigs:

Generally they were allowed to run about the kauhale (homestead) and gardens while they were young pigs, but when they were sizable and ready for fattening they were penned inside enclosures of heaped-up stones. [Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:253]

Descriptions of such pā pua'a (pig enclosures), and later pā pipi and pā kao (cattle and goat enclosures and exclosures), are found in the records of the Māhele cited earlier in this study.

## Introduction of Cattle and other Ungulates to the Hawaiian Environment

The first goats (kao), sheep (hipa), European boar (pua'a), and select seeds of plants that "might be of great service to future Navigators" (in other words, provide a food stock source to passing ships) were introduced to the Hawaiian Islands in 1778 and 1779 by Captain Cook (Beaglehole 1969:276 & 578). On February 19<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> 1793 Captain Vancouver left few sickly cattle and sheep at Kawaihae and Kealahou, in the care of Kamehameha I (Vancouver 1967 Vol. 2:120 & 127). Visiting Kealahou again on January 15, 1794, Vancouver gave additional livestock to Kamehameha, which his people:

...took to the shore <sup>[31]</sup> the live cattle, which I had been more successful in bringing from New Albion than on the former occasion. These consisted of a young bull nearly full grown, two fine cows, and two very fine bull calves, all in high condition; as likewise five rams, and five ewe sheep...and as those I had brought last year had thrived exceedingly well...I had little doubt, by this second importation, of having at length effected the very desirable object of establishing in this island a breed of those valuable animals. [Vancouver 1967 Vol. 3:11]

On February 23, 1794, just days before departing from Kealahou, Vancouver suggested to Kamehameha that he set a restriction on the livestock which he had gifted to the king. In his description of the discussion and agreement Vancouver reported that a taboo of ten years would be set in place, and he also reported on the nature of the 'ai kapu (restricted eating of certain foods), which was observed at the time (for historical accounts pertaining to the 'ai kapu and subsequent 'ai noa of 1819, see pages 13-16, 46-48 and 53-56 in this study):

Anxious lest the object I had so long had in view should hereafter be defeated; namely, that of establishing a breed of sheep, cattle, and other European animals in these islands, which with so much difficulty, trouble, and concern, I had at length succeeded so far as to import in good health and in a thriving condition; I demanded, that they should be tabooed for ten years, with a discretionary power in the king alone to appropriate a certain number of the males of each species, in case that sex became predominant, to the use of his own table; but that in so doing the women should not be precluded partaking of them, as the intention of their being brought to the island was for the general use and benefit of every inhabitant of both sexes, as soon as their numbers should be sufficiently increased to allow of a general distribution amongst the people. This was unanimously approved of, and faithfully promised to be observed with one exception only that with respect to the meat of these several animals, the women were to be put on the same footing as with their dogs and fowls; they were to be allowed to eat of them, but not of the identical animal that men had partaken, or of which they were to partake. [Vancouver 1967 Vol. 3:53]

Hawaiians called the cattle "pua'a bipi," literally "beef pig." The term for the cattle, took the Hawaiian word for pig (pua'a), the largest meat producing land animal known to the Hawaiians, and the English word "beef," which was Hawaiianized as bipi (later as pipi), and used the words to identify the cattle (cf. Kamakau 1961:164). As a result of the kapu that was placed on the pua'a bipi and other animals given by Vancouver to Kamehameha, a great walled lot was built in the uplands of Lehu'ula-Honua'ino at the area generally known as Kahakuwai and Waihou, above Kāināliu (see Bowser 1880:550, and oral history interviews with Billy Paris and Allen Wall in this study). The land on which the pā pipi (cattle

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<sup>31</sup> In Vancouver's journal, the letter " f " sometimes replaces the letter " s ".

enclosure) or pā nui (Great Walled lot) was built, enclosing 486 acres, was later patented in Grant No. 193 (in 1850) to William Johnson (Johnson's descendants still work cattle in the area of the pā nui to this day).

In the years between ca. 1795 to 1811, Kamehameha I and his court were away from the island of Hawai'i most of the time (consolidating the rule of the islands). It is assumed that the kapu placed on killing the introduced animals, was observed, and we find in historical accounts, that the population had multiplied. In the early years of the nineteenth century, new stock was also being added to the collection, and the cattle were becoming a problem to the native population.

Hawaiian minister, newspaper editor and historian Steven Desha Sr., in partnership with several noted Hawaiian scholars, among whom were John Wise, Isaac Kihe, and John Ka'elemakule (all of whom were born between 1854-1869), authored numerous articles on Hawaiian history. Among the historical writings compiled by Desha and his partners was an article series titled "He Moolelo Kaa o Kekuhaupio, Ke Koa Kaulana o ke Au o Kamehameha ka Nui" — A History and Stories of Kekuhaupio, the Famous Warrior of the time of Kamehameha the Great (in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, December 16, 1920-September 11, 1924). In their mo'olelo, they described conditions in Kona at the time of Kamehameha I's return to Hawai'i in ca. 1811. One part of the series specifically discussed the construction of a great wall to protect the cultivated fields on the land:

I ka hoes ana o Kamehameha ma Kona, ua hoomaopopo iho la oia i ka pilikia o ka aina i ka wi, ai hoes mai hoi keia wi o ka aina mamuli o ke ano hoopalaleha o na kanaka i ka mahiai, a aole hoi lakou i hoolohe i kana kauoha ai ia lakou e hawele na lima ma ka honua.

When Kamehameha arrived at Kona, it became clear to him that the land was troubled because of a famine. This famine had come to the land as a result of the people's inattentiveness to the cultivated fields, they had not heeded his command that their hands should remain bound to the earth.

Ike iho la o Kamehameha i keia pilikia o ka aina, nolaila, hoolilo iho la oia iaia iho i kumu hoohalike maikai no na kanaka e nana mai ai. Ua hapai ae la oia i ka oihana mahiai, a oia paha kona lawelawe ana i ka hana mahiai o Kuahewa, oia hoi kela mala nui kuahewa maoli ma Kainaliu, ae waiho nei no hoi keia kihapai mahiai a Kamehameha a hoes wale no i keia la.

Kamehameha saw this trouble on the land, and he made himself a good example by teaching the people as they watched. He took up the task of farming, and this is perhaps how he came to make the plantation of Kuahewa, that great and extensive field at [that extends to] Kainaliu. This great plantation of Kamehameha remains even to this day.

Ua kahea aku la o Kamehameha i na Alii apau, i na makaainana ikaika no hoi o ke kino, a ua hoomaka mua ia ka pa o ka aina, oiai, ua ano mahuahua ae la na bibi ia manawa, a he mea maikai ole ko lakou komo ana iloko o ke kihapai mahiai. Eia no ke waiho nei kela pa a hoes i keia manawa.

Kamehameha called to all of the Chiefs and all the people who were of strong body, and they first began building a wall upon the land, because by this time the cattle had increased, and it was not a good thing to have them entering into the cultivated fields. That wall still remains to this day as well.

I keia manawa a Kamehameha me na Alii me na kanaka pu e pa ana i ke kihapai, a e hoomaka ana hoi ka mahiai i ka aina, ua ili ae la kekahi Moku Rukini ma Waimea, Kauai, a oia paha ka makahiki 1814... (lune 12, 1924).

During this time that Kamehameha, the chiefs, and all the people were making the wall for the fields, and beginning to cultivate the land, a Russian ship landed at Waimea, Kauai. It was perhaps around the year 1814... (June 12, 1924; translated by Maly).

Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972) observe that the cattle rapidly multiplied and invaded the uplands. In dry seasons, they even “browsed on the grass-thatched houses of the natives” (Handy et al., 1972:18). Goats too, had become a significant problem, and have been called “the most destructive of all introduced grazing animals” (Handy et al. 1972:18). Commenting on the many walls across the landscape of Kona, Hawai'i Handy et al. wrote:

...walls (pa aina), seen today in Kona lowlands running across old boundary lines, were built up to keep cattle out of the planting areas after they became a pest early in the 19th century. [Handy and Handy 1972:526]

The most famous of these walls, is a Great Wall that extends across the landscape of Kona (north to south) from Lanihau to Onouli (a distance of some 15 miles). This “Great Wall” is known by several names, among which are the — Pā nui (Great Wall), Pā Kuakini (Kuakini's Wall), Pā 'Āina (Land Division Wall), Pā Pipi (Cattle Wall), and Governor Adam's Wall. On the kula lands of the study area, the Great Wall is an important boundary marker for every major Royal Patent Grant issued between Honalo to the Kalukalu-Onouli boundary (Site 6302 or 7279). By association with the nature of land use described in records of the Māhele for the lands of the Honalo-Kalukalu vicinity, it appears that the Pā Kuakini (by 1848) was used to keep roaming cattle out of the populated near-shore lands of the region. As was reported earlier in regards to other “public works” projects, no specific record in which Governor Kuakini ordered the construction of such a “buffer” wall has been located to date, but numerous historical records attribute the wall to the Governor by name.

### **Ranching in Kona**

The formalization of ranching operations on Hawai'i evolved in response to the growing threat of herds of wild cattle and goats to the Hawaiian environment, and the rise and fall of other business interests leading up to the middle 1800s. In the 1900 edition of the Hawaiian Annual and Almanac, Thrum published an 1898 report by Walter Maxwell, director of the Hawaii Sugar Planter's Association, regarding the destruction of Hawai'i's forests, greatly attributed to the hooves of cattle (and other ungulates), and also as a result of the development of plantations:

The forest areas of the Hawaiian Islands were very considerable, covering the upland plateaus and mountain slopes at altitudes above the lands now devoted to sugar growing and other cultures. Those areas, however, have suffered great reduction, and much of the most valuable forest cover has been devastated and laid bare. The causes given, and to-day seen, of the great destruction that has occurred are the direct removal of forest without any replacement by replanting. Again, in consequence of the wholesale crushing and killing off of forest trees by cattle which have been allowed to traverse the woods and to trample out the brush and undergrowth which protected the roots and trunks of trees, vast breadths of superb forests have dried up, and are now dead and bare. All authorities of the past and of the present agree in ascribing to mountain cattle, which were not confined to ranching areas, but allowed to run wild in the woods, the chief part in the decimation of the forest-covered lands



(Maxwell in Thrum 1900:73).

Indeed the problem with these introduced animals was so great, that by 1815 Kamehameha I began to hire foreigners to help control them. John Palmer Parker (founder Parker Ranch, Waimea) was one of the first men hired to hunt the pipi 'āhiu (wild cattle) for the king. By the 1820s the hides, meat, and tallow of the wild cattle were growing in commercial value. Whaling ships had begun regularly making their way to Kealakekua, Lāhaina, Honolulu, and other island harbors so their ships could be restocked with needed provisions, including fresh and salted beef (cf. Morgan 1948:76 and Kuykendall 1968:313, 317). This was timely for the kingdom because the economy was suffering; one factor influencing the economy was that Kamehameha III and various high ranking island chiefs were purchasing more items than they could generate revenues for, thus the Kingdom found itself in serious debt (cf. The Polynesian, August 1, 1840:1; and Kamakau 1969:251-252).

Toketa, a Tahitian missionary in Hawai'i, who was attached to the household of Kuakini and other ali'i on Hawai'i, described the growing importance placed on cattle and goats by ca. 1822. In his brief notes, he also referenced cattle at Kāināliu:

43 - On Wednesday, June 30. That day, we were greatly in need of fish. We were fortunate to have some goat meat, which was our substitute for fish that sustained life. The following morning they brought our cow meat which Amala butchered at Kaina-liu.

44 - Thursday. These are stormy days. The sea along the Kona coast is raging very high (kai-koo) from one end of the district to the other.

In these days we talked about being able to obtain a slight amount of food when the ocean becomes calm. When the sea is raging very high, we all famished for fish. We got the famine-disease, called pehu. There is however a leaf that cures it. It is that of the Popolo mixed with salt... [Toketa; State Archives Manuscript 146:15]

By ca. 1830 Kamehameha III had vaqueros (Mexican-Spanish cow hands) brought to the islands to teach the Hawaiians, the skills of herding and handling cattle (Kuykendall and Day 1961:96 and Strazar 1987:20). The vaqueros found the Hawaiians to be capable students, and by the 1870s, the Hawaiian cowboys came to be known as the "paniola" for the Espanola (Spanish) vaqueros who had been brought to the islands (though today, the Hawaiian cowboy is more commonly called "paniolo" – pers. comm., Claude Ortiz, May 10 and June 22, 1995; and Records of Kahuku Ranch, 1882, in the collection of William Baldwin Rathburn).

In his discussion on commerce and agriculture in the Hawaiian Kingdom, Kuykendall (1968) offers readers an insightful explanation of how the evolution of ranching in Hawai'i was also tied to the period of harboring whaling ships (ca. 1824-1861):

While the visits of the whale ships were confined to a few ports, the effects were felt in many other parts of the kingdom. Much of the domestic produce, such as potatoes, vegetables, beef, pork, fowls, and firewood, that was supplied to the ships was raised in the back country and had to be taken to the ports for sale. The demand for firewood to supply so many ships over so great a period of time must have had an appreciable effect in reducing the forest areas and helping to create a serious problem for later generations. Cattle for beef were, where possible, driven to the ports on the hoof and slaughtered as needed; at times they were led carelessly through the streets, to the annoyance and danger of the peaceful populace... [Kuykendall

During this period, hunting of cattle was reportedly so extensive, that Kamehameha III placed a new kapu (restriction) on killing the cattle between 1840-1845 (Morgan 1948:168). Morgan reports that through the 1840s, the cattle increased dramatically:

Some were owned and branded by chiefs and haoles, and many were unclaimed, especially on Hawaii. The cattle destroyed lauhala trees...trampled over cultivated land, and ate growing crops... native people were actually driven away from their homes by the depredations of the cattle, and...elsewhere they were discouraged from cultivating the land [as reported in testimonies of the Māhele in 1848] (Morgan 1948:169).

In the years prior to the Māhele of 1848, nearly all of the cattle (as well as goats and sheep) belonged either to the King, the government, other chiefs close to the King, and a few foreigners who had been granted the right to handle the cattle (cf. Henke 1929:19-20). By 1851 there were around 20,000 cattle on the island of Hawai'i, and approximately 12,000 of them were wild (Henke 1929:22).

The issuance of land title through the Māhele 'Āina and Royal Patent Grant program of the Hawaiian Kingdom facilitated the development of large scale ranching activities on Hawai'i. Every ahupua'a in the area between Keauhou to Kealakekua (as well as on lands to the north and south) was put into ranching. The Government communications and land patents (cited earlier in this study), between Samuel Rice, Charles Hall, William Johnson, Henry N. Greenwell, John D. Paris, James Atkins, Preston Cummings, Henry Weeks, George Trousseau and several others all provide documentation pertaining to ranching activities on the lands from Keauhou to Kealakekua.

The ranches of this region were generally situated in the uplands—between the 1,500 to 4,500 foot elevation, and above the lands that in the same period were being turned over to the cultivation of coffee and other crops—where cooler weather and rainfall could be relied upon to support the activity. As reported in several of the communications cited earlier, there were also important mauka-makai trails at various locations in the Keauhou-Kealakekua vicinity (such as Honalo, Kawanui, Lehu'ula, Honua'ino, Kalukalu, Onouli, and Ka'awaloa), where ranchers would drive their cattle to the lowlands for grazing and shipping. Māhele records also tell us that the native Hawaiian land owners in the same region, kept pigs and goats (and probably cattle and horses) on their own lands at lower elevations as well.

By 1855, the King signed a law requiring all cattle owners on Hawai'i to register their brands between April 1<sup>st</sup> to September 30<sup>th</sup> 1855. On October 16<sup>th</sup> 1855, S.L. Austin (secretary to Governor of Hawai'i), reported to John Young (Minister of the Interior), that 13 individuals had submitted the necessary documentation, three of whom were on lands of the study area — two in Honua'ino (Aa and Kahoouka), and one at Kawanui (Pololi)<sup>32</sup> — (Int. Dept. Misc. Box 146).

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<sup>32</sup> Aa was a Māhele awardee at Lehu'ula & Honuaino (L.C.A. 8006). No land record for an individual by the name of Kahoouka was located. Pololi was a Māhele applicant (L.C.A. 10724), not awarded; and recipient of Royal Patent Grant No.'s 987 & 1596 in Kawanui.

In Thrum's Hawaiian Annual and Almanac of 1900, it was reported that while the numbers of cattle in the islands had dropped over the last quarter century (ca. 1875-1900), large independent ranches were able to supply more than an adequate amount of beef for the island market. Thrum also observed that since ca. 1875, the grazing range had been decreasing and cattle were forced into the higher elevations:

...the meat-eating population has increased, while the areas devoted to grazing and the numbers of cattle have gradually diminished... Formerly [cattle]... had wider ranges to rove over and feed upon; they were possessors of the land, and their value consisted chiefly in the labor and hides that they yielded. At that time the plantations, which were of smaller areas than now, were almost wholly worked by bullock labor... In the course of time, and that very recent, the sugar industry has undergone great expansion. The lands, some of which formerly were among the best for meat-making uses, have been absorbed by the plantations, and the cattle have been gradually forced within narrower limits at higher altitudes (Maxwell IN Thrum 1900:75-76).

In 1903, Thrum wrote about the "Development of Hawaii" (Thrum 1903). In his discussion on ranching, he observed that "cattle raising is confined chiefly to the mountainous districts, where natural pasturage is abundant" (Thrum 1903:52). Of interest, he also reported that the "horn fly" had become such a pest to the cattle, that "the keeping of herds" on the lowlands, was "considered practically impossible" (Thrum 1903:52).

### **Ranches of the North and South Kona Study Area**

In 1929, the University of Hawaii published a "Survey of Livestock in Hawaii" by L.A. Henke. Henke provided readers with background information pertaining to the history of livestock and the operation of ranches in the islands. The excerpts below, come from Henke's 1929 research publication, reporting on the "leading beef ranches of the Territory," including documentation on the Greenwell Ranch of the Keauhou-Kealakekua vicinity, and also noting that several other families were pioneers in ranching in the vicinity:

#### **The Leading Beef Ranches of the Territory**

##### **Island of Hawaii**

##### **Greenwell Ranch**

The Greenwell Ranch is located in the Districts of North and South Kona, Island of Hawaii. Among those early interested in the cattle business in Kona, were the Reverend John Paris, William H. Johnson, A. A. Todd and later Dr. Trousseau. The Johnson and Trousseau herds were of Shorthorn strain, the Todd herd was Devon. H. N. Greenwell became interested in the cattle industry about the year 1875 and shortly after purchased the Trousseau herd and bought cattle from Todd and others. With these as a nucleus Greenwell embarked in the dairy business and imported pure bred Jersey bulls from time to time until his death in 1891. These activities were in the main carried on under partnership agreements with others and were profitable. Little was done in the sale of beef, as production far exceeded demand, but business in the sale of hides and tallow was good. In 1889, Greenwell added a Holstein bull (dairy strain) to his herd; this was probably the first Holstein brought to Kona; the purchase was made of Judge McCully, who conducted a dairy near Honolulu. Shortly after Greenwell's death the entire ranch came under the management of his oldest son, William H. No Jersey stock was added to the herd after 1891; two years later Hereford and Shorthorn bulls were added to the herd and later a Devon. In 1898 came annexation, the price of beef rose; the price of butter declined.

In 1910 butter making on the ranch was stopped and the raising of beef cattle was taken up in earnest. The types selected were Shorthorns and Herefords, purchases of purebred bulls being made at frequent intervals, largely from the Parker ranch and abroad. All cattle are range fed.

Water for stock purposes is conserved in tanks from which it is delivered at various parts of the ranch by gravity.

Plant pests abound: lantana (*Lantana camera*), guava (*Psidium guayava*) and the common ivy seem to spring up overnight and as the ground in general is rocky the expense of keeping the same in control is large.

Considerable attention is given to the planting of grass seed and Buffalo Grass (*Stenotaphrum americanum*) and *Paspalum dilatatum* are abundant in certain sections. Bermuda grass (*Cynodon dactylon*), Kentucky blue grass (*Poa pratensis*) and red top (*Tricholaena rosea*) are also found. At present the ranch is divided into three separate parts... [p. 26]

#### **Henry Greenwell Ranch**

This lies in North and South Kona; its area is about 80,000 acres, one-fourth of which is suitable for grazing; it extends from the sea to the top of Mauna Loa. Ten thousand acres are held in fee simple, the remainder is leased land. The herd on this ranch numbers approximately 3500 head. Between 600-700 cattle averaging three to four years of age with an average weight of 525 pounds are marketed in Honolulu annually. In addition about 150 head are annually slaughtered locally. The ranch is divided into paddocks; about 30 purebred Herefords are carried. Mr. Baybrook is the present manager.

#### **Arthur Greenwell Ranch**

This ranch is in South Kona; its total area is about 12,000 acres all fee simple land; about one-half is suitable for grazing. The herd on this ranch numbers approximately 1500 head. Between 300-400 head are annually marketed in Honolulu. This ranch carries 10 purebred Hereford bulls and is well fenced into paddocks. It is managed by Arthur L. Greenwell, its owner... [Henke 1929:27]

### **Ranching the Keauhou-Kealakekua Vicinity Lands (2001)**

Kona Ranching operations are continued to the present day on all the lands from Keauhou to Kealakekua, with most of the activity in the uplands (areas extending from the Māmalahoa Highway vicinity to around the 4, 800 foot elevation) much as it was in the early days of the ranches in Kona. On the kula lands of the Honalo-Honua'ino vicinity, descendants of the Johnson-Paris-Wall-Roy lines or their lessees still have cattle; and on the kula lands of the Onouli-Kealakekua vicinity, Greenwell descendants (part of Palani Ranch) have leasehold interests and maintain pasture operations as well on former Greenwell family lands.

## **Plantations and the Development of Commercial Crops in Kona**

As discussed above, by the time of the Māhele, native Hawaiian practices of residency and land use were being radically altered. By the middle nineteenth century, the mauka and middle kula lands of Kona, which had been important cultivating zones for the native tenants, were being turned over to ranching and large scale agriculture endeavors (see Māhele and Royal Patent Grant records in this study). As early as 1831, we find documentation (primarily in the accounts of foreign residents and visitors) of coffee, oranges, cherimoya, mangoes, figs, melons, squash, Irish potatoes, cotton, and numerous other plants being grown, and the growing trend towards cultivation for economic development, rather than the traditionally based subsistence agriculture (cf. Bingham 1969:399; and communications cited in this study).

In ca. 1842, Charles Hall received Honuaʻino iki. In 1846, Chester Lyman described Hall's "coffee plantation" with "many thousands of coffee trees" (Lyman ms. 1846 in this study), and by 1848, Hall himself reported that he had planted some "12,000 coffee trees" at Honuaʻino (see L.C.A. 614 in this study). By 1852, Preston Cummings had applied for a "plantation license" and had planted "20,000" coffee trees in Kainaliu (the mauka lands of Honuaʻino-Hōkūkano); he also employed eleven men from China and seven local men in the operation (Interior Department Misc. Box 145, in this study). These "plantations" generally extended from the vicinity of the mauka Government Road to an area at about the 2,400 foot elevation.

In the Kealakekua Mission Station Report of 1852, under the heading "Advance in Civilization &c," Reverend J.D. Paris also described the changing face of agriculture and residency in the Kainaliu-Nāpoʻopoʻo region:

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 enclosed yards ornamented with flowers, a variety of fruit & shade trees begin to appear... (Hawaiian Mission Children's Library; Paris Ms. 1852:7-8)

Lands on which the coffee and fruit trees thrived, coincided with the native field system on the upper kula and ʻamaʻu zones—generally extending from a little below Kealaehu (the mauka Alanui Aupuni or Māmalahoa Highway) to about one mile above Kealaehu. Those lands had been used for generations, and formerly supported extensive fields of kalo (taro), wauke (paper mulberry), native kō (sugar canes) and the likes, as well as areas of habitation. As was the case in ranching and dairy ventures, throughout the middle to late nineteenth century, the expansion of the coffee culture in Kona was encouraged by rising prices and the sale of large tracts of Government land.

In 1889, W.E. Rowell (Road Inspector) wrote to L.A. Thurston (Minister of Interior), reporting on a bumper crop of coffee in Kona that year. He also spoke of a newly proposed sugar plantation to be established at Hōlualoa, and reported that there was skepticism in the community whether or not the developers had the necessary money to proceed:

...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... The white people on the upper vicinity of Kaawaloa think the Keauhou road is far more necessary than Holualoa, & the natives think the road should be from Kailua instead of Holualoa. All say Holualoa landing is no good except in very smooth weather... At Keauhou this morning Hoapili seized my arm & said: "E hai aku oe ia Kakina aohe dala o ka poe mahi ko, he makehewa ka hana i alanui no lakou" (You tell Thurston that the sugar planters have no money, it will be a great mistake to make a road for them)... [November 16, 1889; Interior Department Roads Box 40; Maly translator]

In a separate letter of the same date, H.N. Greenwell urged Thurston to defer from any decision regarding development of a road from Hōlualoa mauka to a landing, until the "plantation scheme be carried on" (November 16, 1889; Interior Department Roads Box 40).

In the 1890s following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy and leading up to annexation of the islands to the United States in 1898, sugar plantations began expanding. A large inventory of Government lands became easily available to plantation developers and investors. During this period, coffee prices also fell, and large land owners and growers in Kona, needed to develop a new plantation crop. In Kona, there was only limited land that could support large scale sugar cultivation, for the most part the region was too rocky. But in 1899, the Kona Sugar Company built it's sugar mill in the uplands of Wai'aha, overlooking Kailua. The fields initially extended south from Wai'aha to Hōlualoa-Kaumalumu, on fee and leasehold lands. With the success of the sugar crop, the plantation fields were soon expanded south in favorable localities, including the kula lands between Honalo and Kalukalu-Onouli. On these lands, sugar cane was planted in fields which generally extended from Māmalahoa Highway to about the 700 foot elevation (see Figure 29); the area to the immediate north (Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>) and south (Keōpuka) of these lands was crossed by lava flows with inadequate soil for plantation development.

As a part of the plantation operation, a railroad was installed which ran from Onouli to Wai'aha. In the Honalo-Onouli region, the railroad was situated at the low end of the fields and a pulley and wire system was developed, which hauled harvested sugar cane from the upper fields to the railroad bed for loading and transport to the Wai'aha Sugar Mill. The plantation's rail system included the construction of a substantial stone berm-railroad bed (see Figure 29) which has been assigned State Register Numbers 7214 & 10302 (see Conde and Best 1973:86-91; and oral history interviews with Kapua Heuer and Billy Paris in this study).

A Centenary issue of the Honolulu Star Bulletin described the operation of the plantation and railway in early 1920:

...The cane land of the Kona Development Co. lies amidst fields of coffee. The lands cultivated by small farmers, gives employment to several hundred persons... The Kona plantation [2,500 acres under cultivation in 1919] is favored by the fertility of its soil which does not make replanting at the end of two or three crops necessary. The stools of the cane continue to bear for many years. Under the management of T. Konno the planted area has increased 500 acres... ...The KDC operates a narrow gauge railway throughout its cultivated area for cane hauling. Employees: T.

Uchimura, bookkeeper; T. Kudo, office Assistant; A.N. Smith, chemist; F. Sato, engineer; N. Tokunaga, sugar boiler; C. Suzuki, mill and railroad superintendent; D. Tatsuno, head luna; K. Sasaki, Kainaliu section timekeeper; T. Iseri, Holualoa section timekeeper; Manuel Silva & Frank Mederios, lunas; Henry deAguiar, Holualoa section luna; Y. Hatanaka, private secretary to T. Konno. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin Ltd. Honolulu April 1920:113)

Despite the extensive development work and outlay of funds, the sugar plantation venture in Kona was short lived, and the operation was terminated in 1926. Lands which had been used as a part of the plantation venture were either returned to ranching operations, or used for agricultural purposes.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES IN THE KEAUHOU-KEALAKEKUA VICINITY (CA. 1906-1950)

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The first detailed “archaeological” documentation of Hawaiian sites in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region was compiled by Joseph Stokes in 1906-1907 for Bishop Museum (Stokes and Dye 1991). Stokes’ work focused on heiau (ceremonial) sites, and was generally limited to sites near the coastline. Subsequently, in 1929-1930, John Reinecke (ms. 1930), also under contract to Bishop Museum, conducted a survey of Hawaiian sites in West Hawai‘i. The lands between Keauhou and Kealakekua were among Reinecke’s survey field. Reinecke attempted to relocate heiau described by Stokes, and also included sites of varying functions including residential and resource collection features. In the 1930s and 1950s, Theodore Kelsey and Henry Kekahuna conducted field interviews with elder native Hawaiians and survey work, in which they described traditions and structural features on the ground. Notes from their field work were viewed in the collections of June Gutmanis and the Hawai‘i State Archives.

In 1998, University of Hawai‘i-Hilo anthropology professor, Peter Mills, conducted a “Pedestrian Survey Along the Old Government Beach Road” (the Alanui Aupuni) between Honalo to Honua‘ino 1 & 2 (Mills and Irani 2000). The work was undertaken as a part of a summer field school with students in anthropology, and includes important site documentation (both physical and archival) which updates work reported by Stokes and Reinecke. Further field work in the lands from Honua‘ino 3 & 4 to Kealakekua has been conducted as a part of development activities and State Parks preservation planning programs. Some of these studies are found in the collection of the State Historic Preservation Division Library, indexed by land name.

The following narratives, are excerpted from the historical studies conducted by Stokes, Reinecke, Kelsey and Kekahuna. Figures 2b, 4, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 28, and additional figures called out in the following sections, provide locational information on many features described below.

### **J.F.G. Stokes (Surveys of 1906-1907)**

In 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes conducted a detailed field survey of heiau (ceremonial sites) on the island of Hawai‘i for the B.P. Pauahi Bishop Museum (Stokes and Dye 1991). Stokes work generally focused on near shore lands, with little discussion of cultural features other than heiau. The following narratives by Stokes cover the Keauhou to Kealakekua section:

#### **Kualanui Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D2-6**

**State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3808**

Heiau of Kualanui, land of Honalo, North Kona [fig. 34]. Located south of the bay on the flat between the lower government road and the sea. Pu‘u Ohau benchmark bears 339° 13’, 12,992 feet.

This is a heiau composed of two platforms. The larger, lower platform rises 2 to 3.6 feet high, depending on the contour of the ground. The smaller platform is 2 feet

higher than the main portion. The entrance would seem to be at the southeast corner, where the main platform slopes downward to the ground. No local history.



Stokes Figure 34. Heiau of Kualanui at Honalo, Kona, plan view. Stokes plan H.19. (page 87)

#### **Mā'ihī Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D2-5**

**State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3807**

Heiau of Mā'ihī, land of Mā'ihī I, North Kona. Located 500 feet east of the main government road. The plan [fig. 35] was made with tape measurements only.

The main axis of the heiau is approximately north-south. It is built as an enclosure with heavy sloping walls and with benches on the outside of the east, south, and west walls. There is an inclined path along the slope of the northern wall, beginning at the western corner, and this is the only suggestion of an entrance. The slopes in the walls are indicated in the sectional plans. No local history was obtained on Hawai'i, but in later correspondence, it was ascertained that the heiau was built by Kamehameha and that the god Kūkā'ilimoku was worshipped there. The size and appearance of the place suggest a heiau of importance, but the situation seems unsuitable for human sacrifice, which the worship of Kūkā'ilimoku, the god of war, would demand.

Stokes Figure 35. Heiau of Mā'ihī at Mā'ihī I, Kona, plan and cross-sections. North is the top of the figure. Stokes plan H.20. (page 88)

#### **Kekuaokalani Heiau, or Kekuakalani Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D2-4**

**State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3806**

Heiau of Kekuaokalani, or Kekuakalani, land of Mā'ihī 2, North Kona. Situated west of and adjoining the government beach road, 300 to 500<sup>33</sup> feet from the sea.

This is a small terraced heiau, measuring 47 by 53 feet and facing the sea on the west. On the east, the floor is level with the ground, but the ground rapidly declines so that the floor is 8 feet high on the western side. The place is now used for drying nets. (page 86)

No local history was obtainable. However, it was in this locality that the last battle in support of idolatry was fought and lost. The leader around whom the priests' party rallied was Kekuaokalani, and the heiau may have been hastily built and dedicated to ensure victory to the side of religion. While the natives of the place knew nothing of the heiau except the name, they did know about this battle called "Kuamo'o." It was fought between this heiau and Lonohelema Heiau. Kekuaokalani was killed where he made his last stand, just north of the latter heiau.

#### **Lonohelema Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D2-3**

**State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3805**

Heiau of Lonohelema, land of Kuamo'o I, North Kona [fig. 36]. Located 200 to 300 feet east of the government beach road. Pu'u Ohau benchmark bears 354° 69', 10,684 feet.

This heiau is a small but very neat structure built across a very low ridge. It is made up of several platforms at varying elevations. The middle platform of the western portion is 2 feet lower than those to the north and south, the main level of the heiau.

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<sup>33</sup> The actual distance from the shore should be 30 to 50 feet; thus placing the heiau makai of the "government beach road."

In this middle portion is a depression 4.5 by 9 feet in extent, lined with stones and floored loosely with smaller stones. On the east wing is a small platform 4.6 feet above the main level. The ground is 8 feet below this level at the north-west corner of the heiau and 6 feet below at the southwest corner. In the eastern retaining wall of the north wing, there is a suggestion of an artificial chamber. No history.

Stokes Figure 36. Heiau of Lonohelomoa at Kuamo'o I, Kona, plan and cross-section. Stokes plan H.21. (page 90)

### **Puoa Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D2-2**

**State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3804**

Heiau of Puoa, land of Kawanui I, North Kona [fig. 37]. Located between the government road and the sea, the latter being 250 feet distant. Pu'u Ohau benchmark bears 350° 33', 9676 feet.

The heiau is a series of platforms, the most prominent of which is towards the northwest... This portion might be described as a heavy-walled enclosure, though regarding it as a platform with an internal depression would perhaps be the more correct. Details of this feature will be better understood after glancing at cross-section A - B [in fig. 37]. At the northeast corner, there is a pit in the ground, near which are three terraces, the highest being on the north. The entrance was (page 89) probably along these terraces. To the south of the main structure are two low platforms connected to it by causeway. The use of this feature as a causeway is problematical, as its surface is from 5 to 6 feet below the platform to its north. Of the southern platforms, the northern and higher is paved with small stones and has a possible fireplace near its eastern edge; the platform most to the south is roughly paved with large stones. West of the causeway is another pavement, level with the ground. (Page 90)

Stokes Figure 37. Heiau of Puoa at Kawanui I, Kona, plan and cross-sections. Stokes plan 22.

### **Ukanipō Heiau, or Uukanipo Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D2-1**

**State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3803**

Heiau of Ukanipō, or Uukanipo, land of Lehu'ula I, North Kona [fig. 40]. Located about 300 feet east of the government beach road. Pu'u Ohau benchmark bears 356° 26', 6851 feet.

This is a small heiau with high walls, situated on the northern slope of the valley. For a small heiau, it has a very imposing effect, especially when viewed from the southwest corner. Ellis's statement that it was "on the top of a high mountain" [1825:73] is not correct. In reality, he recorded the effect the heiau had on him on account of its elevated situation...

The surface of the north, east, and south walls is approximately level; the west wall is lower and includes the entrance. A comparison of the wall elevations is given in section A-B [fig. 40]. The only feature inside the walls is a stone platform 2 feet high. Outside the walls, 4.5 feet from the northeast corner, is another platform which probably belonged to the heiau. It is so considered here, although it may be a grave. There are two graves 20 feet to the north, one of which is built up like a gable roof to a height of 7 feet. Another feature is the bench along the west and south walls, built where the ground is lower. As it was not continued along the low portion of the east side, it can be regarded not as a means of strengthening the high walls in these

sections but as a pathway leading to the entrance on the west. No local history was attainable, but Ellis states that it was dedicated to Ukanipō, a shark, to which abundant offerings were made at stated times by the people along the coast [Ellis 1825:73].

Stokes Figure 40. Heiau of Ukanipō at Lehu'ula I, Kona, plan and cross-sections. Stokes plan H.23. (page 94)

#### **Ho'opalahuli Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D1-1**

**State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3800**

Heiau of Ho'opalahuli, land of Hōkūkano I, North Kona [fig. 42]. Situated at Nanaiokauhi Point. Pu'u Ohau benchmark bears 329° 33', 3870 feet. A platform heiau built with large stones. The feature most worthy of note is the retaining wall at the southeast corner, built up 40 feet, from the side of the gulch to the level of the platform. No history.

Stokes Figure 42. Heiau of Ho'opalahuli at Hōkūkano I, Kona, plan and cross-sections. Stokes plan H.24. (page 96)

#### **Heiau in Ka'awaloa ahupua'a**

Searches for heiau in Ka'awaloa have yielded unsatisfactory results. On the list furnished by Mr. Thrum was one named Hopupalali Heiau, a heiau of the human (page 93) sacrifice class, 80 by 60 feet in size, traces of which remained at the time he gathered his information. I could find nothing of it. Mr. Thrum has since learned that it is at the foot of the precipice of Ka'awaloa and that it was known as the heiau of the god Kā'ili.

#### **Kauhi'a'ahu Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-C23-8**

Heiau (?) of Kauhi'a'ahu, on the northern edge of Ka'awaloa village. The small pens and platforms located here do not have the appearance of a heiau.

#### **Pa'ikapahu Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-C23-6**

**State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3735**

Heiau of Pa'ikapahu, land of Kealakekua, South Kona [fig. 43]. Located east of the [Pg. 95] upper government road and 122 feet south of the Ka'awaloa boundary [this would be on the lower Kealakekua plateau, south-east of Puhinaolono]. See figure 43, which was made with tape measurements only. This is a somewhat insignificant structure combining platform and enclosure, with the longer axis running north-south. No history.

Stokes Figure 43. Heiau of Pa'ikapahu at Kealakekua, Kona, plan view. North is to the top of the figure. Stokes plan H.25. (page 97) [Figure 42 in this study]

#### **Hikiau Heiau**

**Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-C23-1**

**State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3732**

Heiau of Hikiau, land of Kealakekua, South Kona [fig. 44]. Located at the juncture of Kealakekua beach with the lava flow on its southern end, the site is washed by the sea. The government secondary benchmark called Hikiau is located on the western edge of the present pile.

All that remains of this heiau that can be called ancient is the east retaining wall, part of the south retaining wall, and a small platform 3 feet higher than the surface of the large pile. The greater part of the heiau had been built on the northern edge of an 'a'ā flow traveling westward. The flow at this place was 9 or more feet higher than the sand adjoining it on the north, so that it was a comparatively easy matter to make a large showing with but little labor and material by building the northern wall up from the sand. The surface of the large platform declines to the west on a 4 or 4.8 percent grade but is level on a north-south direction, so the surface of the platform is only 7 feet above the ground on the south but is 16 above on the north. This upper surface is today divided longitudinally into two sections. The smaller portion on the south is very loosely paved and follows the grade of the ground. The northern portion is divided into three terraces smoothly paved with small stones and bordered on their lower edges with large stones. On the middle terrace is an irregular enclosure, and on the eastern terrace is the small platform referred to above.

The local information was to the effect that the form of the present surface (except the platform) was modern. As the present form did not correspond with the description of Captain King nor with the illustration of Surgeon William Ellis...the account was credited and my measurements were confined to the features said to be old. However, by a later reference to Lisiansky, it was learned that the heiau was again in operation at the time of his visit (about 1801) and had been rearranged in a manner different from that at the time of Cook. In 1782, Kamehameha had war services at Kealakekua, probably at Hikiau Heiau. In Cook's time, the small platform supported lananu'u mamao, as Surgeon Ellis's picture shows, and the lele and idols were in front of it (to the west), in accordance with Malo's description of heiau arrangements. (page 98)

Stokes Figure 44. Heiau of Hikiau at Kealakekua, Kona, plan with details of nearby structures. Stokes plan H.26. (Page 99)

[In 1864, W. T. B. visited the heiau, found it little disturbed except where the road cuts through the western end, and saw on the platform a number of human bones, mostly femora. Again, in 1890 he camped on the point opposite the landing place, made a number of visits to the ruins... At that time, no bones were seen, but a grass house very like those that Ellis depicts was there and occupied. It is...between the beach and the temple pool. Since that date, "restorations" have reduced it to a mere pile of stones of little antiquarian interest. A lumberyard occupies the place of Cook and Vancouver's observatory. W. T. B.]

The western end has been entirely demolished in the last twenty years. The small outline section across the road in the ground plan [fig. 44] represents a portion that had been removed according to my information, but it is more than probable that the entire western end extended more towards the sea. The northern retaining wall has also been demolished, partly to supply stones for other purposes and partly on account of having been laid on unstable sand.

In trying to locate the sites of the Hale o Lono, priest's houses, etc. described by Captain King, I could find only a house platform at the northeast corner of the pool. This was said to have been the house of Hewahewa, the high priest. Another house site, not seen, was added to figure 44 from an old map; this is at the north end of the seawall. One feature which is still in place is a heavy boundary wall on the east and northeast. A broadening of the wall in the middle of the east portion is the site of the hale pe'a or hale o Papa. (page 101)

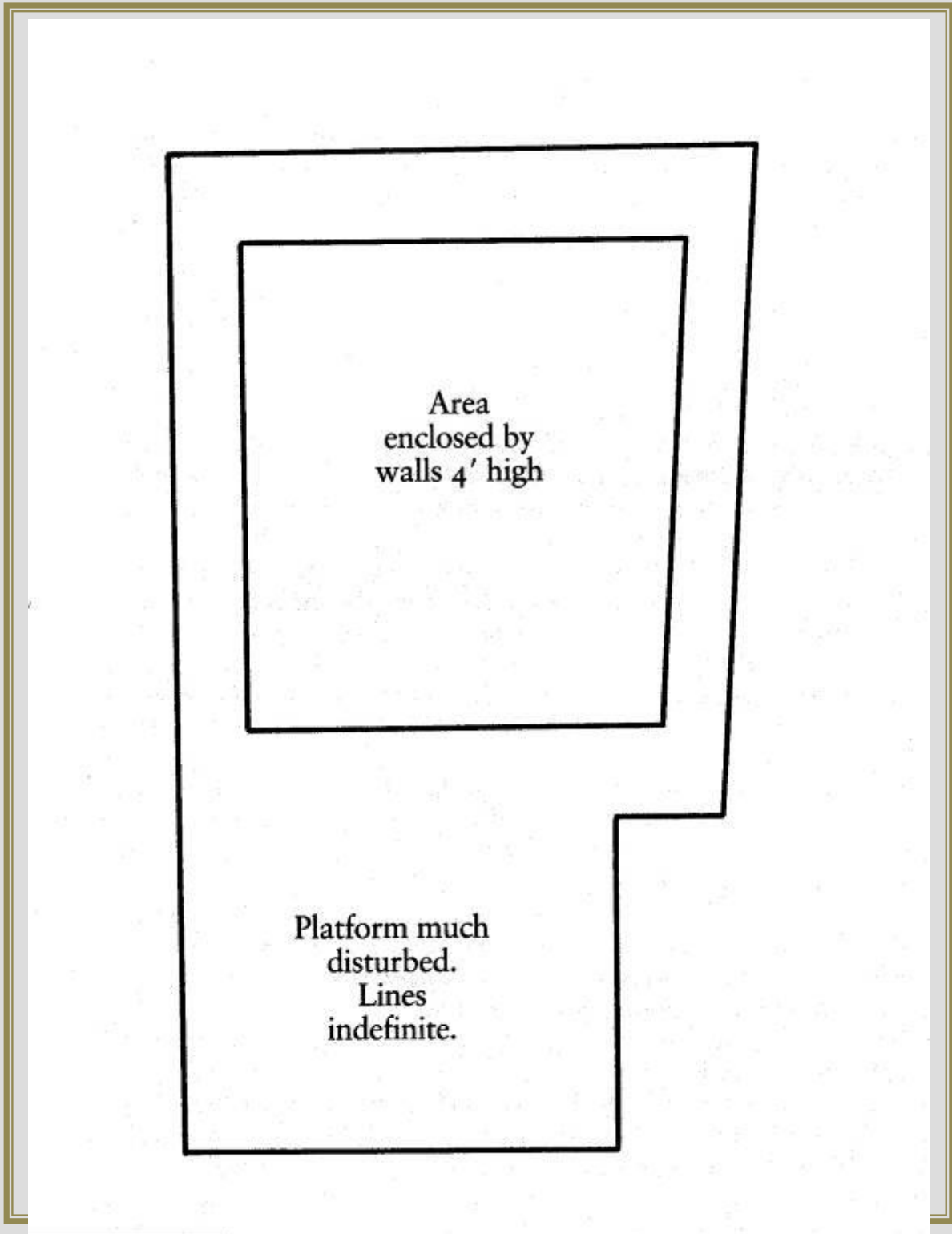


Figure 42. J.F.G. Stokes Figure 43; Heiau of Pa'ikapahu at Kealakekua, Kona, plain view. North is to the top of the figure. Stokes plan H.25. (Stokes and Dye 1991:97)

### **Helehelekalani Heiau**

#### **Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-C23-2**

The heiau of Helehelekalani, so-called, is shown in figure 44. The tradition connected with this place is that Opukahaia [one of the first Hawaiian youths who went to New England for training and later provided the basis of the Mission to the Islands. W. T. B. ] studied for the pagan priesthood here.

### **Unnamed Heiau**

Heiau (?) at Lepeomoa Point, on the south shore of Kealakekua Bay, south Kona. The site is a low platform, 53 feet square, situated on an 'a'ā flow. No particulars were obtainable. It would suggest a house platform except for its large size... (page 103)

## **Archaeology of Kona (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.

As a result of his survey, Reinecke recorded a minimum of 155 sites in the lands from Keauhou 2nd to Onouli (not counting 200-400 sites near the Lehu'ula and Hōkūkano shore line), and more than 250 sites in the lands of Keōpuka and Ka'awaloa. Most of the sites recorded by Reinecke, were situated on the coastal lowlands, though a few sites were located inland.

### **Detailed Survey of Keauhou (including portion of Honalo) (Reinecke ms. 1930:71-78)**

The survey of Keauhou began with the heiau, Kualanui (Site 1), in the land of Honalo, situated near the area marked Kualanui on maps. In his survey of the section of Honalo-Keauhou crossed by the alignment of the Alanui Aupuni (Government Beach Road), Reinecke gave site numbers to some 25 sites, with more than 315 associated features—most of which are burials. Reinecke reported:

The most striking feature of the first section of the Keauhou coast is the great group of burial sites arranged in a sort of hollow theatre at the foot of an abrupt slope of a-a; these platforms are supposed to cover the bones of the warriors who died fighting on Liholiho's side at the battle with Kekuaokalani, champion of idolatry, in 1819... (Reinecke ms. 1930:71)

**Table 4a. Summary of Sites Described by Reinecke in a Portion of Honalo and Keauhou 2nd**

Site / Feature Type	Described
Enclosures	4
Heiau	1 Site 1 – Kualanui Heiau, on flat below the Government Road, on the north side of Honalo
House Sites old	6
Iliina / Pū'o'a (Burial features)	1 (multiple features at Lekeleke and other locations)
Papamū/petroglyphs	1
Platforms and Mounds	24 (multiple features at Lekeleke and other locations)
Sites of Undetermined Function	2
Trails	2
Walls	1

**Sites of Onouli 2 to Honalo (Reinecke ms. 1930:98-110)**

Describing the land of the Onouli-Honalo region, Reinecke observed that sites below the Alanui Aupuni were quite discernable. In the area above the Alanui Aupuni, many sites and ruined remains were still visible, but historic ranching and sugar cultivation extending to the uplands had impacted many sites. Reinecke observed:

It is doubtful if more than half of the remains on the immediate beach, not to speak of those mauka of the government trail, have been noted and mapped... The area mauka of the government trail, as far as the lands once cultivated by the sugar plantation, probably bears few house sites, but is littered with small mounds and platforms, some of them perhaps boundary marks, many of them grave mounds (puoa), and some of no practical use whatever.

Many sites are indicated now only by rocks scattered about the surface, having suffered (1) by larger stone having been used in (page 98) the numerous modern stone walls, (2) from erosion, (3) from the growth of vegetations on them, and (4) especially from the ravages of the livestock grazing about them... (Reinecke ms. 1930: 99)

In describing sites along the shoreward region, north of Nāwāwā (roughly between Kalukalu and Hōkūkano), Reinecke reported that:

The seven lands south of Site 15 are very heavily overgrown; it is probable that not a fourth the old sites within 100 yards of the coast have been noted... (Reinecke ms. 1930:101)

In the vicinity of Honua'ino, Lehu'ula and Kawanui, Reinecke reported:

This entire section...above the government trail, on the coarse lava of the steep slope, is covered with traces of ruins: walls old and new, pens, house platforms, puoa or grave mounds, and nondescript platforms, heaps, and fills in depressions. Probably there are two or three hundred sites here, could one identify them. Unfortunately the slope is very thickly overgrown and entirely impracticable to survey.

A platform heiau on the summit of a hill, presumably in Lehuula 1, may be the same as the Uukanipo of Stokes' notes, but I was unable to approach it because of the hives of bees kept there... (Reinecke ms. 1930:105)

Describing the Kuamo'ō vicinity, Reinecke stated:

That section of Kuamo'ō land mauka of the government Trail and extending somewhere about the 500' contour line is littered with ruins of various sorts, a condition rather surprising because the surface is of pahoehoe, which was not usually chosen by the Hawaiians for building sites. The growth here is more sparse than on the lands southward, and the remains consequently more open to view. The slope is steep, and therefore, whether they be house platforms, fills in crevices, or puoa, the remains present an effect of terracing. Noteworthy, are the patches of rough stone which probably were platforms—platforms of what purpose is uncertain. Locations on the map are approximate, and comprise only some of the more conspicuous ruins. It is safe to allow four times the number of sites noted; none, however, presents any specially interesting feature... (Reinecke ms. 1930:106)

Of particular importance in Kuamo'ō-Keauhou vicinity is the history of the Kaua 'Ainoa (Battle of free-eating), which saw the removal of the ancient kapu system in 1819. The chief Kekuaokalani, his wife, Manono, and many of their people, as well as a number of the warriors of the king, Liholiho, fell in this battle. Fighting is reported to have occurred between Kuamo'ō and the Honalo-Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup> boundary. While describing a heiau known by the name, Kekuaokalani (Site 79) and vicinity, Reinecke observed that:

All the mauka section of Maihi and Honalo, to about the 500' contour line, appears dotted with grave mounds. Many of these are probably the resting-places of warriors killed in Kekuaokalani's great battle... (Reinecke ms. 1930:110)

**Table 4b. Summary of Sites Described by Reinecke in Onouli-Honalo (Reinecke ms. 1930:98-120)**

Site / Feature Type	Approximate Number Described
Caves	4
Canoe landings	3
Enclosures	26
Hale (House sites)	
old	70
modern	23
Heiau	17
	Site 9 – probable fishing heiau
	Site 12 – Heiau in Kanakau
	Site 22 – two heiau on the Hokukano Flat
	Site 34 – probable fishing heiau (north of Nenua Point)



**Table 4b. Summary of Sites Described by Reinecke in Onouli-Honalo  
(Reinecke ms. 1930:98-120)**

<u>Site / Feature Type</u>	<u>Approximate Number Described</u>
	Site 25 – probable fishing heiau
	Site 38 – Hoopalahuli or Pahukapu (inland of Keikiwaha Point vicinity)
	Site 39 – platform, probable heiau
	Site 42 – Hoopalahuli or Pahukapu (inland of Keikiwaha Point vicinity)
	Site 47 – Uukanipo in Lehuula 1 (on hill above house site)
	Site 49 – probable fishing heiau (above Paaaoa Bay)
	Site 57 – a “minor” heiau on the point of a ridge, above the Government trail
	Site 61 – Lonohelema Heiau, land of Kuamo’o
	Site 62 – probable fishing heiau, between Puoa Heiau and Laika Roy’s old house site
	Site 63 – Puoa Heiau, Kawanui
	Site 68 – probable fishing heiau
	Site 74 – probable fishing heiau (between the Kuamo’o-Maihi boundary wall and Waipuhi)
	Site 79 – Kekuaokalani Heiau, Honalo (also many small platforms and mounds around the heiau)
Hōlua	1 (at Honalo)
Ilina / Pū’o’a (Burial features)	28 (with multiple features in the vicinity of Pu’uohau, Kuamo’o-Maihi and other locations)
Papamū/petroglyphs	4
Platforms and Mounds	95
Salt pans	4
Site of undetermined function	10 (multiple sites)
Terraces	8
Trails (primarily the Alanui Aupuni-old Government Trail or Road Keauhou to Kealakekua Section)	12
Walls	26
Water sources	6

A few specific references of note pertaining to sites near the Alanui Aupuni (the Old Kona Government Road–Beach Trail), found in Reinecke’s narratives are cited here below:

### **Māihi-Kuamo‘o**

Site 79. Many graves noted in mauka section of Maihi.

Site 72. “At the gate in the wall between Kuamo‘o and Maihi 1, or very near it, according to Mr. Johnson of Kainaliu, the rebel Kekuaokalani and his wife were killed in the great battle, which terminated about Lonohelema Heiau.

On a pahoehoe knob 1/2 way between Waipuhi and Kuamoo - Maihi wall, a platform 16 x 12, this is a possible fishing heiau.

Site 76. In front of the windmill in Maihi 2 is a mark in the lava, about 125' long, sinuous and bearing a striking resemblance to the tail of an eel. According to Mr. Kahalioumi (of Keauhou), the legend connected with this mark is the obvious one that a man, pursued by his enemies, changed himself into a great eel and wriggled into the sea, leaving this trace behind. Hence the place is called Waipuhi... (Reinecke ms. 1930:109).

### **Lehu‘ula**

Site 70. On the headland 50' S. of Uukanipo cave, remains of a platform, perhaps a fishing heiau. Back of this 2 or 3 nondescript heaps and a puoa... Site 71. A beautiful cave in the shore, which Mr. Kahalioumi of Keauhou says was the haunt of the shark-god Uukanipo (Reinecke ms. 1930:109).

## **Shoreward Flat of Ka‘awaloa to Keōpuka (Reinecke ms. 1930:122-148)**

As in other areas of his survey, in the Ka‘awaloa-Keōpuka region, Reinecke focused on the coastal flats — areas which had been subject to minimal change as a result of historic land use practices in this section of Kona. Reinecke described the Ka‘awaloa-Keōpuka lowlands as:

...basically pahoehoe with several tongues of a-a extending across it. Most of the remains are found upon the pahoehoe. The cracks and small natural pits in the pahoehoe appear to have been utilized and enlarged by the Hawaiians, and pits sunk among fragments of rock, for use in agriculture... In all there must be over 2000...

The dwelling sites and other remains in these two districts may be divided into two groups, that on the Kaawaloa-Keopuka flat, and the small village chiefly on the a-a flow just south of the Onouli stone wall, with a long uneven connecting chain of ruins across Keawekaheka flat. This flat seems to have been used for agriculture much more than for habitation, The larger group in turn divides into two villages, one fronting Kealakekua Bay, towards which most of the houses faced, the other fronting the shoreline which extends northwestward from the Lighthouse; the heiau on the point (so-called “Cook Point”) at the entrance to the bay being the hinge on which the two villages swing.

The village facing the Bay was the last to be inhabited, and many of the house sites are thoroughly modern; the sites past the Lighthouse are not likely to have been inhabited within the past fifty or seventy-five years.

The location of the village facing the Bay shows clearly the attraction of a fairly good water supply on this barren shore; the pool Haliilua was kapu-ed for chiefly use, but the whole share at the foot of the Pali oozes brackish water; about Haliilua were two wells, and one spring on land and several at [the] high tide mark... Facing the Bay, it is easy to launch canoes. along the Kaawaloa-Keopuka stretch the cliff is 15-20' high, and the water rough. The advantages of fishing and the coconut grove which must then have occupied this strip drew a large population; also the chief

doubtless occupied the most desirable land fronting the Bay (Reinecke ms. 1930:122).

The most conspicuous remains in this section are easily the two government roads, the one to Keauhou and the one climbing the cliff to the main highway. Both have been repaired in modern times. The Keauhou Road across the flat varies in width from 12' to 16' besides a retaining layers of 2' to 3' on either side. This layer is capped by a row of large stones, wave-rounded pebbles or large blocks of pahoehoe, which were used as stepping stones. The Captain Cook Trail, where it climbs the Pali, is retained by a well-built bank probably four feet or more in thickness, and as much as 25' high... (Reinecke ms. 1930:123)

In his discussion on sites in the coastal zone around the Keōpuka-Onouli boundary, Reinecke reported:

These sites may be divided into three groups: those forming a scattered line along the pahoehoe flat to the south, continuing Sites 143-160; those on the rising ground just south of the stone wall, where there has been habitation within the past thirty years; and the very old but well preserved ruins on the narrow flow of a-a. For convenience sake these have been lumped under Site 170; they are separable into several groups, most of which are undoubtedly traces of dwellings, although a few may be burial sites (Reinecke ms. 1930:140).

In the region between Kealakekua Bay (the Ka'awaloa Flat) to the Keōpuka-Onouli boundary, Reinecke divided the region into five primary zones — (1) site between the Government Road and the Pali; (2) sites between the Government Road and the Lighthouse facing Kealakekua Bay; (3) site along the Ka'awaloa-Keōpuka shore; (4) sites toward Keawekaheka Point; and (5) Site in Keōpuka, near the Onouli Stone Wall. The list below identifies the approximate number of sites and feature types, described by Reinecke from the combined four zones.

**Table 4c. Summary of Sites Described by Reinecke in Ka'awaloa-Keōpuka (Reinecke ms. 1930:124-142)**

Site / Feature Type	Approximate Number Described
Caves	15
Canoe landings	2
Enclosures & Pens	87
Execution Site	1 (area of blow holes along Ka'awaloa-Keōpuka coast line, north of lighthouse)
Hale (House sites)	
old	91
modern	17
Heiau	4
	Site 20 – unnamed heiau in area between Government Road and Pali
	Site 70 – fishing Heiau near lighthouse
	Site 70a – heiau (destroyed), same vicinity as Site 70

**Table 4c. Summary of Sites Described by Reinecke in Ka‘awaloa-Keōpuka  
(Reinecke ms. 1930:124-142)**

<u>Site / Feature Type</u>	<u>Approximate Number Described</u>
	Site 144 – small heiau (on southern section of Keawekaheka Point)
	Site 160 – heiau (on northern section of Keawekaheka Point)
Imu / Kapuahi (ovens/fire pits)	11
Ilina / Pū‘o‘a (Burial features)	2
Papamū/petroglyphs	1
Platforms and Mounds	86
Salt pans	7
Site of undetermined function	21 (multiple sites)
Trails (Alanui Aupuni – Keauhou to Kealakekua and Ka‘awaloa Sections, and smaller trails)	6
Walls (Ahupua‘a and smaller land unit/ land use boundary markers)	39
Water sources	8

Notes:

Site 105. “The Executions.” Blowholes near the beach, into which, according to local traditions, criminals used to be thrown, to be drowned and battered to death. There are blowholes along the whole half mile of the Keopuka coast nearest Kaawaloa; these probably gave its name, “Sound Hole,” to the ahupuaa. (Reinecke ms. 1930:135)

In his brief discussion on sites of the Kealakekua-Ka‘awaloa section, Reinecke noted that on-going land use practices (such as agriculture), and modern residency had brought about extensive changes on the landscape. He reported that:

The district in Kealakekua and Kaawaloa, lands at the top of the Pali is practically impenetrable. The remains on the south have been in all probability broken up by cultivations – this area was once planted to pineapples and other fruit, and parts of it are now being reclaimed from the lantana for similar cultivations. Toward the north, especially on the old a-a flow, if the lantana could be removed several interesting sites might be found....there are several platforms on the a-a. The area a little mauka of the Pali is remembered by Miss E. Paris as containing several heiau before it was changed by cultivation; it was the presence of these heiau, in fact, which helped give Kealake‘kua its name (Reinecke ms. 1930:152).

While Puhina-o-Lono was referenced on several maps cited by Reinecke, he apparently recorded no information on the site. Though Thrum (1908) recorded that:

Waaomalama.....Kaawaloa, north of “Puhinaolono,” the sacred place where Cook’s body was said to have been burned; probably not a regular heiau (Thrum 1908:46).

## **Kelsey and Kekahuna (ms. 1933-1950)**

In between the 1930s to 1960s Theodore Kelsey and Henry Kekahuna, both of whom did occasional work with Bishop Museum (and much more work on their own), mapped and recorded sites and histories in Kona. Among their primary informants were Kalokuokamaile of Nāpo'opo'o and Nāluahine Ka'ōpua (Nāluahine) of Kahalu'u. The following excerpts come from hand written notes of Kelsey and Kekahuna viewed in the collections of June Gutmanis, the Hawaii State Archives, and archives of the Bishop Museum.

### **Names of the Lands of South Kona**

Written by Theo. Kelsey, Feb. 15, 1933

From Kalokuokamaile, Napoopoo, So. Kona.

(Historical excerpts provided through the courtesy of June Gutmanis – Kelsey Collection Curator)

If you turn your face to the north of the land, and recount the land from ancient times.

1. Hale-kii (a house for images in ancient times), it is the boundary of South Kona and North Kona. It is a desolate place of volcanic cinders. It is there that the buildings of Bishop Bank and Bank of Hawaii are located, and there is a Protestant Church.

Nawawa is the important name from Haleki'i to the sea (because of the long gulch or valley like appearance of the land).

2. Kalukalu, is a land that bounds Nawawa (there the birds are caught). There is a spring there called Kalukalu.
3. Onouli (It is the place where Uli, the grandmother of Kana and Niheu dwelt. Where Kana was fed). It is a land that extends from the sea to the mountain. There is a spring there named Onouli.
4. Ke-o-puka (because it is next to Onouli and Kaawaloa. It is a kipuka, between the long lands of Onouli and Kaawaloa. There is a brackish water pond there, named Keopuka.
5. Kaawaloa (so called because the chiefs who lived there, and they desired the awa. The runners were sent to Puna and Waipio, in ancient times – it the period of Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku, Keawe-nui-a-Umi etc.; and Kamehameha was one who also lived there). It is because a great distance was traveled to fetch the awa.

There are many springs there, one is Haliilua (white pebbles and black pebbles are all spread out around this spring so that the dirt will not be blown into the fresh water. The water bubbles through the pebbles that are spread out about this spring. It is at the base of Pali Kapu o Keoua; and it is the famous spring of the alii.

Awili is a little spring that is next to the sea, shoreward and west of Haliilua. (Called Awili because the fresh water and salt water mix together there.)

6. Ka-lae-mamo, is a point at Kaawaloa, an important land. (The mamo fish reside there. They are a fish something like the manini and the maomao. The color is yellow.) There is a spring there, called Ka-lae-mamo. The land of Ka-lae-mamo is a place of the kauwa (outcasts).

7. Ka-lepe-a-moa, this is a steep cliff on the face of Pali Kapu o Keoua, extending from the sea and ascending to the top of the pali. It looks like the comb of a cock). There was a fast man, a runner from Kohala who came here. He came from Kohala, to Kawaihae, and on to Puako, and many other lands. There was a cave near the upper edge of the cliff, where the man set a section of sugar cane, as a sign that he had been there. He then returned to Kohala. He was a famous runner.
8. Ke-ala-ke-kua (it is a pathway of the gods – the menehune fetched the ala stones below, from the shore, and took them to a large heiau above the pali. The heiau still remains to this day.
9. Loko-alii, it is the place where Lono-i-ka-makahiki lived and where he died. It is on the Kohala side of the heiau, Hikiau. (The heiau and Loko-alii were made by Lono-i-ka-makahiki).
10. Puhi-na-Lono (is the place where the body of Captain Cook was burned), it is on top of the cliff. There are several wooden posts (or planks) set there on which inscriptions have been written. It is entirely walled in... [translated by Maly]

Describing ko‘a, or fishing grounds and their land markers, Kalokuokamaile referenced several important features on the lands crossed by the Alanui Aupuni (the Old Kona Government Road–Beach Trail). Among the sites he gave as reference points were — the pool at Keawekaheka; a heiau pu‘uhonua (place of refuge) at the southern section of the Hōkūkano flat; and the great wall (pā ‘āina) which runs behind Nāwāwā to Onouli:

3. Ke-awe-kaheka (sea pool) An ‘opelu fishing ground. An island in the sea, you go right in front of the stone island, 20 fathoms distant perhaps. On the east side of the cape of Keawe-kaheka. Keawe-nui-a-Umi was born at Ka-‘awa-loa.
4. Ka-lae-mamo, an ‘opelu fishing ground. There are many mamo fish at this place. Mamo is a fish also called mamamo. It is several fathoms out from the cape...
5. The ‘Ahi Fishing Ground of ‘Umi. This fishing ground is directly seaward of Napoopoo, three miles. The signs are the heiau Pu‘u-honua at Kainaliu (liu bilge). That puu-honua, place of refuge is directly at the circular place of sand of Kanaeue, a land, the boundary of South and North Kona. Halekii is upland separating the Konas. The second sign is the cliff of Kii-wai. It is the cliff of the valley of Ke-ala-ke-kua. The opening between Ka Pali Kapu o Keoua at the north and the cliff of Kii-wai, that is the sign.
6. Ka-nahahā. This ko‘a is seaward of ‘Umi, and ‘ahi fishing ground, a stone fence, a land fence (pa ‘āina) is the sign, between Ono-uli and Na-wawa and a sign is the church of Lana-kila at Ka-i-na-liu. Perhaps two miles up from the seashore...

#### **Na Makani o Kona, Hawaii (The winds of Kona, Hawaii)**

Written by Theo. Kelsey, Feb. 1933

From Kalokuokamaile, Napoopoo, So. Kona.

(Historical excerpts provided through the courtesy of June Gutmanis – Kelsey Collection Curator):

8. Pihala. This wind blows from Puhina-o-Lono. The wind comes from the north. It is a gentle breeze, like the Eka, but it is not known throughout Kona. It is a wind that

bears rain. The wind Pihala bears the rain called Haleu-ole. The land called Haleu-ole is directly above Puhina-o-Lono, it is a land the ascends to the uplands.

Pihala – sprinkle your offences with water. The black rain clouds that are above, are the clouds of Haleu-ole. When the Pihala blows, the rain soon follows, and for those who cannot be released from their troubles, the priests will sprinkle the water of this rain upon the sick people, and they are released, the trouble is ended. This is a mysterious rain. [translated by Maly]

### **Boat Trip from Keauhou to Ka'apuna Lava Flow (June 2, 1950) Kelsey and Kekahuna with Naluahine**

...Ka-lae-o-Ka-nāueue. The current of the sea runs in both directions from this point...

Ke Alanui o Lono (The Road of Lono), from Kuapehu to Ka'awaloa. It is on the top of the cliff known as Pali o Manuahi (the part of the cliff on the other side of the rock in the sea named Ka-lepe-a-moa, near Cook's monument, is Ka Pali Kapu o Ke-o-ua...

Ka-lepe-a-moa. the large stone in the sea dividing Ka Pali Kapu o Keoua from Ka Pali o Manuahi.

Ke-ala-ke-kua (The pathway of the Deity). Rocks were carried up this pathway for heiau building. The head of the pathway was at 'Iliahi. Ke-ala-ke-kua runs to the summit (ka piko) of Mauna Loa...

### **Mā'ihī-Kuamo'o: the Pu'uhonua of Kuaiaku (interview in the 1930s)**

In the early 1930s, renowned Hawaiian historian, Mary Kawena Pukui<sup>34</sup> conducted an interview with Ka'aha'āina-a-ka-Haku, an elderly Hawaiian woman and resident of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>. Ka'aha'āina-a-ka-Haku was born at Mā'ihī (c. 1830), and from her grandmother, she learned about the Kaua 'Ainoa (Battle of Free-eating) between the forces of Kekuaokalani and Liholiho at Kuamo'o. Interviewees in the present study remember tūtū Ka'aha'āina, and believe that at the time of her death, she was about 115 years old (cf. interview with Lily Ha'anio-Kong).

Ka'aha'āina-a-ka-Haku's account is particularly interesting as it tells us about an important cultural site on a bluff in Mā'ihī, overlooking the sea. This place was referred to by Ka'aha'āina-a-ka-Haku as a pu'uhonua (place of sanctuary), known by the name Kuaiaku. The pu'uhonua is situated at an inland section of Mā'ihī, on a pu'u (hill) called Pu'u Kuaiaku, and from the pu'u, could be seen the shore of Kuamo'o. The following interview notes were viewed in the collection of Jean Greenwell at the Kona Historical Society. In the narrative, Ka'aha'āina-a-ka-Haku recorded that her mother's name was:

...Papa'ikani'au and her father's was Ka-moku-o-Namakeha, Her grandmother was Ku-aloha, a prophetess, and her grandfather, Ku-ka-lau-o-Kanaloa.

Ku-aloha was living when Kekuaokalani and his wife Manono incited war [upon]

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<sup>34</sup> M.K. Pukui's husband shared familial connections with Ka'aha'āina, and the Kapuku'i-Puku'i family had themselves lived in the lands of Keauhou 2<sup>nd</sup>, Mā'ihī, and Hōkūkano between ca. 1811 to the 1870s (pers. comm. M.K. Pukui 1975; and genealogical records of co-author Onaona Pomroy-Maly, a Kapuku'i-Puku'i descendant) (see also documents cited in this study).

Liholiho's ai noa (free eating) after the ai kapu (tabu eating) ended; [Kekuaokalani and Manono] and the god Kukailimoku were at Kuamo'o, Kona, Hawaii.

There at Ma'ihi is the puuhonua Kuaiaku. From its top can be seen the seashore of Kuamo'o. Kualoha saw the people fleeing in every direction from the battle at the seashore; she went to the top of this Pu'u Kuaiaku and called out to the people coming, "E, don't go to the hills or the forests or you will die; come with me. This is your refuge, and you will escape through me." The people turned back at her (Kualoha's) call...When the people were assembled Kualoha said, "Auhea oukou, get ready food and fish; cook a lot of food—taro, sweet potatoes, yams, [and] kalua many pigs against hunger."

From where Kualoha was, she could see the canoes from everywhere coming up to the seas of Kuamoo and Ma'ihi. In the evening the warriors came up to Ma'ihi and came to where Kualoha was seen...After the death of the chief Kekuaokalani, his body was mistreated. In the darkness of night certain of his own people came and took the body away, and hid it well... The burial place has never been found. He died at Na-hau-o-Ma'ihi (The hau trees of Ma'ihi)... (ms. Pukui)



## **NĀ MO‘OLELO ‘OHANA: THE KEAUFHOU-KEALAKEKUA VICINITY ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM (2001)**

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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 over time, from generation to generation. Often, because the experiences conveyed are personal, the oral history narratives are richer and more animated than those that may be typically found in reports that are purely academic or archival in nature.

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 lands of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region of 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 interviews 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 interviewee's 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 has been.

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 resources in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region.

### **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 February 9<sup>th</sup> to June 14<sup>th</sup> 2001, Maly conducted eleven (11) oral history interviews with ten (10) participants. Interviewees also participated in follow up discussions in which additional information was recorded, and one interview was conducted as a driving tour, in which various locations discussed during the original interview were visited. Additionally, excerpts from six interviews conducted in 1996 and 1997, with participants in the present study, and others knowledgeable about the study area, are cited in this study as they further our understanding of the history and resources of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. Informal (non-recorded) consultation interviews were also conducted with three individuals with ties to the lands and families of the study area.

While preparing to carry out the oral history interview program, Maly (in consultation with staff of Nā Ala Hele) developed a general questionnaire outline that was meant to set the general direction of the interviews (Figure 43). Though the general approach and types of information being sought in the interviews was determined, interviewees were not limited to those topics. Each interview was begun with discussions pertaining to the interviewee's family and personal experiences (how an interviewee came to have knowledge of a particular area). Subsequent discussions covered topics (such as events in history, sites, land use practices, and travel) which stood out as important to the interview participants.

During the interviews a packet of five historic maps (dating from 1891 to 1951) was referenced (and given to the participants). These maps included Register Map No.'s 1281, 1595 & 4034; HTS Plat 205; and a 1928 RPTO Section Map of the Keauhou-Onouli area. When interview discussions turned to routes of travel and access in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, a sixth map was also referenced. This map, an annotated version of Register Map No. 1281<sup>35</sup>, depicting primary Alanui Aupuni (Government Roads) and selected ala hele (trail) alignments in the region, was referenced to help identify the specific routes of travel being described by the interviewees. Depending on the location being

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<sup>35</sup> The annotated Register map 1281 was prepared by DLNR-DOFAW Trails Technician, Pat Thiele and the author (see Figure 2a).

**General Question Outline–  
The Keauhou-Kealakekua Oral History Interview Program**

This oral history interview is being conducted as a part of a detailed study of archival and historical literature, for lands of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region of Kona, Hawai'i. The interviews and archival-historical research, undertaken for the State of Hawai'i DLNR-DOFAW – Nā Ala Hele (Trails and Access) Program, are meant to document the history of residency, travel, and land use in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, and help identify traditional and customary practices and places of importance to the families of the land. With your permission, the interview or portions of it, will be included in an assessment study documenting the history of the Keauhou-Kealakekua vicinity, and used to help Nā Ala Hele determine the best actions for site protection, public access, and interpretation.

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 Keauhou-Kealakekua region — 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 (types of crops, water resources ...)?
- Knowledge of villages or house sites – church, stores, community activities.
- Names of native- and resident- families and where they lived?
- 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?

**Figure 43. Oral History Interview Questionnaire (designed to provide general guidance during the interview process)**

- 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; paddock management and clearing; 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 Keauhou-Kealakekua region...?
- Do you have recommendations — such as cultural resource- and site-protection needs in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region ...? (Describe sites and define boundaries of those sites/locations and of the area of access via alahele, Alanui Aupuni, jeep roads...

**Figure 43. Oral History Interview Questionnaire (designed to provide general guidance during the interview process)**

discussed and the nature of the resources or features being described, locational information was marked on one or more of the historic maps used during the interviews. Figures 2a & 2b (at the end of this study), are annotated maps, representing a compilation of the sites, features and/or locations described during the interviews.

## **Review and Release of Interview Records**

All of the recorded interviews were transcribed and returned (with the recordings) to the interviewees. Follow up discussions were also 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), and for future reference to the documentation by Maly. Copies of the complete study have been given to each of the interview participants, and will also be curated in the collections of Nā Ala Hele, State Parks, DLNR-SHPD, the Kona Historical Society, and community libraries.

Table 5 is list of primary participants in the oral history interviews cited in this study —

**Table 5. Primary Interview Program Participants and Background (alphabetical list)**

Name	Year Born	Birthplace	Residence
Joseph Keanini Gaspar	1905	Nāpo‘opo‘o	Nāpo‘opo‘o
Jean Greenwell	1928	California	Kanakau-Kalukalu
Sherwood Greenwell	1919	Honolulu (for birth only – returned to Kona)	Kealakekua
Lily N. Ha‘anio-Kong	1927	Keauhou	Keauhou
Mona Kapule-Kahele	1921	Kahauloa	Kealakekua
Maile Keohohou-Mitchell	1930	Kahauloa	Kalama ‘elima
Fred Kaimalino Leslie	1918	Nāpo‘opo‘o	Nāpo‘opo‘o
Wm. Billy H. Paris	1922	Honolulu (for birth only – returned to Kona)	Kāināliu
D. Mauna Roy	1925	Honua‘ino	Keauhou
Margaret K. Paris-Schattauer	1927	Honolulu (for birth only – returned to Kona)	Ka‘awaloa
Frank Silva	1924	Hōlualoa	Onouli
J. Curtis Tyler III	1946	Kanāueue	Kalaoa
R. Allan H. Wall	1932	Honolulu (for birth only – returned to Kona)	Lehu‘ula
C. Kapua Wall-Heuer	1912	Lehu‘ula	Pukihae
Helen Kīna‘u Wight-Weeks	1919	Honolulu	Keauhou (deceased)

Readers are humbly asked here, to respect the interviewees and their families. If specific points of information are quoted, it is the responsibility of the individual/organization citing the material to do so in the context as originally spoken by the interviewee. The larger interviews should not be cited without direct permission from the interviewees or their descendants, and proper source documentation should be given.

### **Overview of Selected Historical Recollections and Points Raised in Oral History Interviews**

The following narratives provide readers with a general overview of selected information shared during the oral history interviews. The particular focus below is directed at land use, trails and access, cultural resources, and concerns for protection of cultural-historical properties and private property rights. The released interview transcripts should be read in their entirety to fully understand the context in which the information was recorded.

## **Keauhou-Kealakekua Land Use – Ranching and Plantation Operations**

Oral history interviews with cowboys and descendants of the founders of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region ranches, provide us with important descriptions of ranching operations, land use, treatment of cultural-historical resources, and the changes in ranching from ca. 1915 to the present day. Of particular interest to the study of trails, access, and cultural-historical resources in the present study area, interviewees record that in most areas the land was left as it had been. In certain locations between Lehu'ula and Keauhou, the 'alā stones were set to the side of the trails as the horses would slip on them. Also, after 1948, some dozing occurred — selected mauka-makai routes were either widened or new ones made to provide vehicle improved access between the shore lands and Māmalahoa Highway. Also, in the Hōkūkano-Kalukalu vicinity some paddocks were periodically grubbed to remove pānini cactus and open areas for improvement of feed resources (in alphabetical order, see interviews with Jean Greenwell, Sherwood Greenwell, Billy Paris, Frank Silva, Allen Wall, and Kapua Wall-Heuer).

Cattle continue to be grazed on some of the kula lands of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. In the Honalo-Honua'ino vicinity, descendants of the Johnson-Paris-Wall-Roy lines or their lessees maintain herds. In the Onouli-Kealakekua vicinity, Greenwell descendants (part of Palani Ranch) have leasehold interests and maintain pasture operations as well on former Greenwell family lands.

Sugar cultivation in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, for the most part, was restricted to lands between Honalo and Onouli. The Kona Sugar Company/Kona Development Company held lease-hold interests in lands of the upper kula region (the area extending from about the 700 foot elevation to Māmalahoa Highway). Development of the sugar fields led to the clearing of nearly all surface signs of past Hawaiian land use. The fields were cleared of stones to improve the planting fields. Stone clearing mounds, most of which were carefully made, and faced with set stone have been described as a product of the plantation era. Because ranching operations continued on the lands makai and mauka of the sugar fields, and the same property owners were also leasing portions of their land to the plantation, most of the ahupua'a boundary walls were maintained in the sugar fields. The lands were reclaimed for ranching and in some areas, limited truck-farming of watermelons and vegetable crops (where soil could support the activity) was developed (see interviews with Billy Paris, Allen Wall and Kapua Wall-Heuer).

### **Trails and Access in the Keauhou-Kealakekua Vicinity (ca. 1910 to present)**

In oral history interviews conducted with kama'āina of the study area, it was recorded that mauka-makai access in the Honalo-Ka'awaloa region was limited. A type of "Konohiki" management system of the lands was observed through the 1960s. This meant that access was generally restricted to those individuals who resided in (or had connections to) the ahupua'a in which access was desired. Those who traveled the mauka-makai trails were either descendants of the native tenants of the land, small land owners and lessees, or the families and friends of the large land owners. Until the 1950s, the near shore fisheries (access to which was the primary purpose of traveling makai), were carefully watched by a few elder descendants of the native Hawaiian families of the lands in the area (for example Ka'ilikini, Ho'omanawanui, Keli'i, Kaneao, and Leslie). Most people who wished to travel across the land, or to stay on the shore to fish, asked permission of the large land owners, and it was not uncommon for fish and limu to be given to the "Konohiki" when travelers returned to the uplands (see interviews with Billy Paris and Allen Wall in this study).

Along the shore lands, individuals (primarily fishermen) who lived in Keauhou or further north, or in the Kaʻawaloa-Kealakekua-Nāpoʻopoʻo vicinity continued to make use of portions of the alaloa (State Site No. 21664) and Alanui Aupuni which extended from the Kaʻawaloa Flats to Keauhou (State Site No.'s 17189 & 10290). The general route traveled from Keauhou to Hōkūkano is the Alanui Aupuni (the “Beach Trail,” which remains fairly near the shore – State Site No. 10290); and the section of the old alaloa and “Kaawaloa Cart Road” which extends from the Puʻu Ohau-Kalukalu vicinity to the Kaʻawaloa Flat (see interviews with Fred Leslie, Mona Kahele, and Maile Mitchell).

It appears that the Kealakekua Pali Trail (a portion of the Kealakekua-Kāināliu and Kāināliu-Keauhou route, of ca. 1848) was still used in the early part of the twentieth century (to the 1920s) by residents of the Nāpoʻopoʻo-Kaʻawaloa region (see interview with Joseph Keanini Gaspar). Also the Kaʻawaloa trail, between Kaʻawaloa landing and the mauka Government Road, described as early as the 1790s, has remained in use to the present-day (see interviews with Jean Greenwell, Sherwood Greenwell, Fred Leslie, Billy Paris, and Margaret Paris-Schattauer) (see Figures 2a, 2b and 4).

Until 1948, most access was by foot, horse, or donkey (though some canoes and boats were also used). After World War II, when small bulldozers became available, rough jeep roads began to be made. Some of the dozed routes followed earlier trail alignments, though others were laid out as improved routes of access (see interviews with Greenwell, Paris and Wall family members). In the Hōkūkano-Kalukalu vicinity, it was recorded that special care was taken by Mr. Norman Greenwell to not “improve” existing routes of public access, thus new routes were made for ranch operations (see interviews with Jean Greenwell and Frank Silva in this study). Today, access to the coastal lands of the Keauhou-Kaʻawaloa region is gained by — (1) trails (traveled on foot and horseback); (2) jeep roads, (mauka-makai routes and in some areas, along the shore); and (3) by boat.

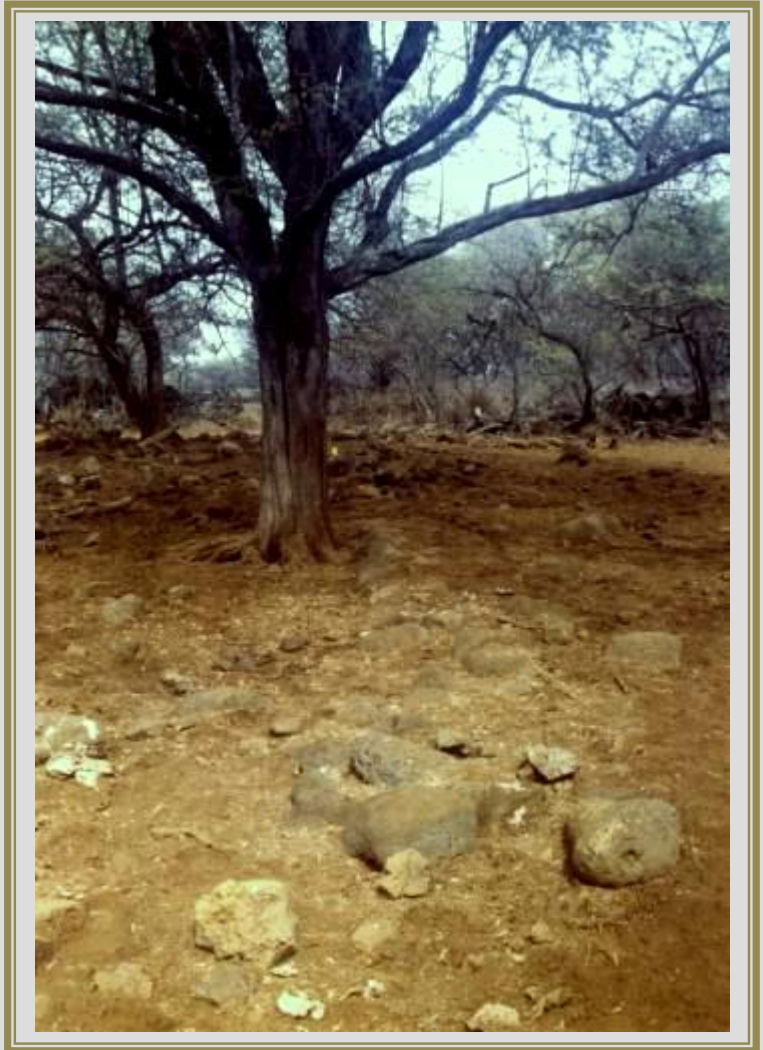
### **Overview of Current and Proposed Site Treatments**

Oral history interviews describe in some detail, changes which have occurred on the land since the 1990s. Feelings about the scope of the alterations vary to some degree between interviewees, but all interview participants feel that preservation of cultural and natural resources is important. The following comments paraphrase sections of lengthy discussions with all interviewees (primarily focusing on trails), and also incorporate notes from field visits or previously proposed treatment actions (Figures 44, 45, 46 & 47 are views of sections of the Alaloa and Alanui Aupuni, and a map of the Alanui Aupuni alignment in the Honuaʻino 3 & 4 – Onouli 1<sup>st</sup> vicinity). The interview collection should be read to understand the context of the comments:

- Recent development activities in the Honuaʻino-Onouli (Hōkūkano) vicinity have altered historic routes of access (including mauka-makai routes, the Alanui Aupuni and alaloa alignments). Development plans have also been proposed for portions of Keōpuka (kula lands to near the shore) and Kealakekua (on the kula lands overlooking the pali). Concerns about the care and protection of the cultural landscape (including natural resources) of lands in the Keauhou-Kealakekua vicinity, and protection of Hawaiian traditional and customary practices have been aggressively brought forward by community members and organizations. And at the time of this writing, issues regarding site preservation in the development areas of Honuaʻino-Onouli are in court, awaiting resolution.

- The Alanui Aupuni (the Keauhou-Kāināliu-Kealakekua Pali route; State Site 10290), portions of which overlay the older alaloa (State Site No. 21664) is to be protected by the State of Hawai'i (Nā Ala Hele), and is included in the Federally designated "Ala Kahakai" (Trail by the Sea) trail system which extends some 175 miles from Kohala to Puna (Figure 44 – Depicts the location where the alaloa intersects the Alanui Aupuni). While protection of the Alanui Aupuni, in some form has been committed to, portions of the alignment of both the Alanui Aupuni and older alaloa have been physically removed as a part of development activity, and are planned for "restoration."

**Figure 44. Portion of Alaloa (mauka of Pu'uohau), at Intersection with Alanui Aupuni. (Exposed 'alā stones of Alaloa in foreground; Alanui Aupuni angling to uplands in background, near kiawe trees.) (Photo Courtesy of Pat Thiele, Nā Ala Hele – January 7, 1999)**



Likewise, the section of the alaloa, known as the "Kaawaloa Cart Road" (State Site No. 17189; Figures 45 & 46), extending from Kalukalu to Ka'awaloa, and modified under Governor Kuakini in the 1830s, is to be preserved through areas proposed for development, and in the Kealakekua Bay State Park.

- Final disposition of important mauka-makai access routes which are known to occur in several ahupua'a of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region, remains to be determined. Also final dispositions of the remaining section of the ancient alaloa—referred to by some parties as the "stepping stone trail"—(Figure 44) remains to be formalized, and is a part of an as yet undecided court action.

Figure 47 includes survey reference points for the Alanui Aupuni, Māhele Award parcels, and other cultural-historical features which were previously identified on the Honua'ino-Onouli landscape. At the time the map (Fig. 47) was surveyed, archaeologists under contract to Oceanside 1250, had apparently been unable to locate the historic alignment of the Alanui Aupuni. Oceanside 1250 proposed to the State that a 200 foot wide corridor be established (depicted on map) which would allow them to create an alignment to take the place of the older route. Nā Ala Hele Trails Technician, Pat Thiele, conducted field inspections and located



substantial portions of the historic alignment, and the proposed 200 foot wide “floating corridor” was dropped (pers comm. P. Thiele).

Figures 1, 2a, 2b and 4 also depict primary trail locations which extend across the Keauhou-Kealakekua study area (connecting with those depicted in Figure 47).



**Figure 45. Makai Wall of Causeway on the Alanui Aupuni–Ka‘awaloa Cart Road; Above Village on Keawekaheka Bay near Keōpuka-Onouli Boundary (tape measure on wall is a one meter scale; KPA Photo No. 440 – August 1, 2000)**



**Figure 46. Portion of Alanui Aupuni–Ka’awaloa Cart Road Near the Keōpuka-Ka’awaloa Boundary. (Nā Ala Hele Trails Technician, Pat Thiele, inspecting section of stone alignment which appears to be an older trail underlying the “Cart Road.” (KPA Photo No. 449 – Aug. 1, 2000)**

- Protection of the alaloa, Alanui Aupuni, and established ala pi’i uka (mauka-makai trails) is of great importance to participants in the interview/consultation program. All of the elder Hawaiian interviewees (those from 80 to 97 years old regularly walked the trails in their youth, and they believe that continued use of the trails can occur. But, they caution that people who use the trails, need to be respectful of the places through which the trails pass. In their interviews, kupuna Mona Kapule Kahele and Maile Keohohou Mitchell shared specific accounts about there being places which people should not travel to. And in their youth, there was a “mana” which kept those who should not travel to certain places, away.
- The coastal villages of Kāināliu, Hōkūkano, Kanāueue, and Nāwāwā (an area of approximately 140 acres, is to be designated “a public ocean front park,” and proposed preservation-interpretive treatments have been outlined (see Tomonari-Tuggle & Tuggle 1999). The Ka’awaloa Village is to be protected as a part of the Kealakekua Bay State Park, and site treatment and interpretive plans are to be developed. These “village” complexes contain many site types, including but not limited to residences (ancient and historical), ceremonial sites, and ilina (burials).
- One consultation participant, a descendant of the Makekau line, spoke with particular concern about proposed development at Keōpuka. She explained that for generations, her family has been caretakers of important high ranking ilina, which remain hidden in cave systems, but which could be impacted by land alteration. Elders of her family regularly walked the trail from Ka’awaloa to Keōpuka on visits to care for family sites, and she continues to do so today.



## **General Actions to be Considered in Planning for Resource Protection and Access**

The following comments and recommendations are based on discussions with interviewees, consultation with staff members of Nā Ala Hele and DLNR-SHPD, and proven management actions in other locations in Hawai'i.

- Nā Ala Hele should seek out, and make every effort to work with descendants of the native families of the Keauhou-Kealakekua vicinity in the development of formalized site treatment plans; long term management of the Alanui Aupuni (the Old Kona Government Road – Beach Trail), alaloha and alahahele; and identifying traditional based protocols for trail use.
- Nā Ala Hele should work to facilitate the development of a community based resource management partnerships in which native families, land owners, individuals knowledgeable about trails and cultural resources, and stakeholder agencies can coordinate long-term management programs for resources of the Keauhou-Kealakekua trail systems.
- A component of such a management plan might include a “trail host” or “resident stewardship” program, in which the “host would serve a function of monitor, interpreter, and maintenance program coordinator. It would be appropriate to identify individuals descended from the traditional families of the Keauhou-Kealakekua study area, who might fill such “stewardship” positions.
- The cultural-historic resources need to be respected. Individuals who travel the trails should be informed that leaving the trails, and entering cultural sites is inappropriate (exceptions being lineal descendants, cultural practitioners, and those performing preservation tasks).
- The “public ocean front park[s]” should be managed in a manner consistent with best management practices to be outlined by the State Historic Preservation Division and State Parks; and park and trails programs should be developed in partnership to ensure continuity in program scope and mission.
- All trail users should be informed that damaging the historic resources is inappropriate and punishable by State Law (HRS 6E-11).
- Any restoration to the Alanui Aupuni (the Old Kona Government Road – Beach Trail), alaloha, and alahahele should be done in a manner consistent with the historic and natural qualities of the existing landscape; and work should be approved by the State Historic Preservation Division.
- If any work occurs on or near the historic resources, prior approval should be obtained from DLNR-SHPD, a plan developed, and work should be monitored. (Stones should not be harvested from one site for use on another site or in trail repair.)
- Trail use should be limited to non-motorized transportation.
- The trail and adjoining sites should be periodically monitored by Nā Ala Hele–DLNR-SHPD to ensure that no activities impact the sites. A regular maintenance and monitoring schedule should be established to care for sites, grounds, litter, and interpretive needs.

- Interpretive signs should be set in appropriate, unobtrusive locations, to inform the public about: (a) the history and nature of the Keauhou-Kealakekua trail system and adjoining sites; and (b) to inform trail users about the responsibilities that each traveler has for use of the trail – such as remaining on trail (not trespassing onto private property), and staying off of and out of cultural-historical sites.
- Educational/interpretive material (wayside exhibits and interpretive handouts), incorporating historical documentation such as that reported in the present study, and from relevant archaeological field work, should be developed.
- Sensitive sites (for example–caves, burial features, and ceremonial sites) should be avoided. Sites known to contain, or which may possibly contain burial remains should not be identified on public documents (the privacy of confidential information should be protected).
- If inadvertently discovered, burial remains should be protected in place (if not immediately threatened with damage from natural or man-made causes). Final disposition of remains should be determined in consultation with DLNR-SHPD, and native Hawaiian descendants of the families of affected ahupua'a or neighboring lands in the Keauhou-Kealakekua region. If any burial remains should be discovered, they should be treated on a case-by-case basis in concurrence with Chapter 6E-43 (as amended by Act 306).
- Dogs and other animals should be kept on leashes at all times, and they should be kept away from wildlife such as seals, turtles, and marine bird life which at times haul out or nest on the shore. Likewise, people should stay away from them as well – make no move to approach these animals.
- The Alanui Aupuni (the Old Kona Government Road – Beach Trail), alaloa, and alahele pass through private property. All trail users should be asked to refrain from trespassing (trail signage and other interpretive materials should be developed with the necessary messages).

**Pīpī a holo ka'ao!**

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