HE WAHI MOʻOLELO NO NĀ KEʻEI MA KONA HEMA, HAWAIʻI

A COLLECTION OF TRADITIONS HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS AND KAMA'ĀINA RECOLLECTIONS OF KE'EI, SOUTH KONA, HAWAI'I



Kumu Pono Associates

Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies Researching and Preparing Studies from Hawaiian Language Documents · Māhele 'Āina, Boundary Commission, & Land History Records · Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning · Preservation & Interpretive Program Development

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following collection of archival and oral historical records was compiled by Kumu Pono Associates, at the request of Mr. Jeffrey Melrose, of Kamehameha Schools. The present research focused on two primary sources of information—historical literature, and oral history interviews with several elder kama'āina, known to be familiar with the history of the lands in the Ke'ei vicinity of South Kona, Hawai'i. The research brings a wide range (though not exhaustive) of historical references into one manuscript—written accounts dating from 1779 and oral historical accounts dating from ca. 1920. This compilation of narratives is meant to be of assistance in the development of educational and preservation programs of the Kamehameha Schools and South Kona community.

The work undertaken as a part of this study, was first discussed between Lurline Naone-Salvador of Kamehameha Schools in 1994. Subsequent discussions with Robert Lindsey, Jeffrey Melrose and other staff members led to the undertaking of this work. The goal here was to bring forward old sources of information that in most cases had had only minimal, or no exposure in reports prepared in recent years. Knowing that such work needed to be done, Maly began researching and recording oral history interviews with area kama'āina several years ago. Many kūpuna and kama'āina graciously shared some of their recollections of the land, its' families, practices and traditions, desiring to pass on such information.

The voices of our kūpuna are among the most precious resources handed down to us from our past. While the historical and archival records help us understand how we came to be where we are today, the voices of the elders give life to the stories, and demonstrate how history is handed down and made. To each of the kūpuna and kama'āina, we extend our sincerest appreciation and aloha—

(in alphabetical order)

Howard and Harriet Ackerman, Joseph Keanini Gaspar, Katie Keli'i Kalā-Andrade, Mona Kapule-Kahele, Joseph K. Keli'ipa'akaua, Maile Keohohou-Mitchell, Fred Kaimalino Leslie, Weston Leslie, Daniel and Margaret (& Nerita) Machado, William Kalikolehua and Nāmāhana Pānui.

Also, for their foresight and support, to—Kahu Wendell Davis, Robert Lindsey, Jeffrey Melrose, Lurline Nāone-Salvador, Joanne Williamson, Ulalia Woodside, Janet Zisk; the Trustees of Kamehameha Schools; and Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, we say mahalo nui!

A'ohe hana nui ke alu 'ia!

māua no me ke aloha kau palena 'ole — 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

The documentation cited in this study is divided into two primary categories, and focuses on accounts which have had little or no exposure over the last 80 years. The first part of the study includes references to, and excerpts from selected native accounts (traditions and historical observations); the journals and letters of foreign visitors and residents; land tenure records from the period of the Māhele 'Āina (ca. 1848-1855), and selected references to lease-hold agreements in the late 1800s and early 1900s; and historic survey records and descriptions of the land by native residents and surveyors. The documentation covers the period from antiquity to the 1950s. The second part of the study (Appendix A) includes selected oral history interviews conducted by Maly with elder kama'āina descendants of families who have lived in the Ke'ei vicinity for many generations. Their mo'olelo (historical accounts) include traditions as handed down in their families, and descriptions of practices and customs of their families, and cover the period from ca. 1920 to the present-day.

The documentation from historical literature, was research in collections of the Hawaii State Archives, the State Survey Division, Kamehameha Schools, the Hawaiian Mission Houses Library, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, University of Hawai'i-Hilo, Mo'okini Library, and private collections. The records represent findings from research conducted by Maly specifically for this study, as well as materials collected by Maly over the last 28 years. While in no way complete (the study was not meant to be exhaustive), this document includes many references not previously cited, and in some cases not previously translated from their original Hawaiian texts, until the present time.

The oral history interviews, reflect the recollections and thoughts of several elder kama'āina, and demonstrate continuity in knowledge over time. The interviewees describe the landscape from mountain to shore, and express a deep cultural attachment with the landscape which sustained them those who came before them.

The Lands of Ke'ei

The lands of Ke'ei comprise two native ahupua'a or land divisions in South Kona on the island of Hawai'i (Figure 1). Ke'ei Iki (1st), contains approximately 1,106 acres extending from the shore to 2,750 foot elevation, where it is cut off by Kahauloa. Ke'ei Nui (2nd), contains approximately 5,478 acres, and extends from the shore to the 5,500 foot elevation. In traditional times, both ahupua'a also had protected fisheries extending out into the sea (see Boundary Commission testimonies in this study).

The ocean resources fronting Ke'ei were integral to life upon the land. On the kula kahakai or shoreward flats, were found potable water sources (caves, wells and springs), several village clusters and many residents, groves of coconut trees, and low land agricultural fields. The kula uka or upland plains, extending up to an area above the mauka alaloa, Keala'ehu (near the present day Māmalahoa Highway) was highly valued for it's fertile lands which were extensively cultivated. The lands extending from around the 2,000 to 5,000 foot elevation were cultivated in area, and a significant resource of woods, fibers, birds, and other materials of value and importance to native life. The traditional accounts, claims for kuleana to the Land Commission (ca. 1848-1855), Boundary Commission Testimonies (ca. 1873-1878), survey records, and oral historical descriptions of the landscape of Ke'ei, describe a wide range of knowledge of, and uses of resources throughout the ahupua'a of Ke'ei.

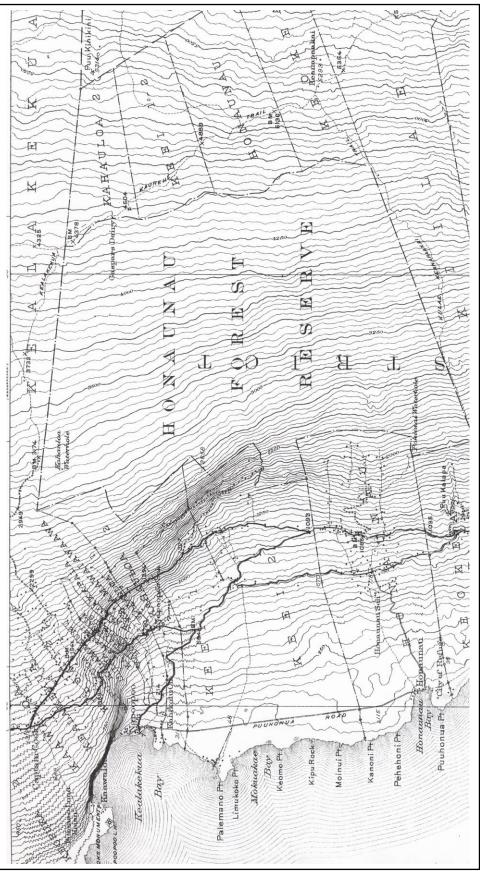


Figure 1. Ke'ei 1st and Ke'ei 2nd, and neighboring lands, South Kona, Island of Hawai'i (portion of USGS Quad, 1928)

NĀ MO'OLEO MAOLI: NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF KE'EI, SOUTH KONA

This section of the study incorporates traditions and historical accounts of Ke'ei and vicinity, that have been recorded by native and foreign historians in from ca, 1860 to 1920. Some of the narratives have been widely read, and others have been recently translated by Maly from Hawaiian to English.

"Na Hunahuna no ka Moolelo Hawaii"

In between 1868 to 1870, writing under the title "Na Hunahuna no ka Moolelo 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 events that took place at Ke'ei and in neighboring lands. His narratives include site references to heiau, trails, battles and the larger community.

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. <u>Kalaniopuu heard of this and moved on to either Honaunau or Keei.</u> 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]

Also among l'i's narratives is an account of the death of King Kalani'ōpu'u in ca. 1782. The king died at Ka'ū, and his remains were taken to Kapalilua. Kiwala'ō (Kalani'ōpu'u's heir) and his cousin Kamehameha met at Hōnaunau, and disagreements over the division of lands arose. The events that unfolded led to the battle of Moku'ōhai, fought on the kula lands of Ke'ei. The results of that battle led to Kamehameha gaining control over part of the island of Hawai'i. Describing the procession bearing Kalani'ōpu'u's body, l'i reported:

When the company from Kau reached Kapalilua in Kona with the corpse of Kalaniopuu, they heard that Kamehameha had arrived at Keei. That was probably the reason why the corpse was not taken to Kailua but to Honaunau, as they had originally agreed... After the Kau chiefs had been at Honaunau a while, Kamehameha and his canoe paddlers arrived in his single canoe, named Noiku. They landed back of Akahipapa, a lava flat extending into the sea. No sooner had his foot touched land than those on shore were ready to hurl spears of hau wood at him, a custom observed upon the landing of a high chief. This they did, and those on land watched with admiration as Kamehameha thrust them aside. A person remained near the chief with a container of water for his bath; and after the spear throwers had finished and had seated themselves, Kamehameha bathed and donned a dry malo. He went up to see his cousin Kiwalao, and when they met food was made ready. Thus they met graciously. As Kamehameha went there to see Kiwalao, so did his cousin visit him at Keei, spending the night time and again. It was said that Kamehameha served his

cousin as steward during these visits. As Kiwalao was in no hurry to return to Honaunau, his uncle, Keawemauhili, came for him. He left at Keawemauhili's insistence, which caused Kiwalao to remark to Kamehameha that his uncle seemed to be disturbed over their friendly association. "Because of this, trouble may brew between us," he said. It happened so...

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

Kiwalao was the first to arrive on the battlefield, with the men who were to fight with him. Kamehameha was getting ready, and was preceded to the battlefield by Keeaumoku Papaiahiahi, his uncle. Kalaimamahu, Kamehameha's younger brother, was in charge on Kamehameha's side. They went to the place where they were to encamp, for the purpose of asking the will of the gods. While they were encamped there, a report came that Keeaumoku had been taken captive by his opponents and was to he stabbed. Kiwalao, who was standing close by, said, "Be careful of the niho palaoa on Keeaumoku's neck," and at these words Keeaumoku thought, "The chief has no regard for the life of a hulu makua (an older relative)." This news of Keeaumoku's peril caused Kamehameha to hasten to the battlefield. Kaahumanu, later the wife of Kamehameha, and daughter of Keeaumoku, was borne thither on the back of Pahia, a man who was an expert in stone throwing. When they drew near to Kiwalao, Pahia let Kaahumanu down and took some stones into his hand which he flung with such force that Kiwalao fell when they struck his temple. Kiwalao landed on Keeaumoku, who took him by the throat and slashed it with a lei o mano, or sharktooth knife, killing him... [thus] Kamehameha gained the victory in this battle at Mokuohai... [I'i 1959:13]

Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I

Writing under the title "Ka Moolelo 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 in the Ka'awaloa-Ke'ei region. From his writing come the following narratives (underlining inserted by the present author).

One of the most widely known events in the history of the region 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 <u>Ka'awaloa</u> Bay. <u>Ka-lani-'opu'u</u> was fighting Kahekili 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 <u>Kealakekua</u> 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... <u>Hikiau</u> was the name of Lono's heiau at <u>Kealakekua</u>, 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'ikohà [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-'oni'o)..."

...When Captain Cook went ashore at <u>Kealakekua</u> the kahuna, believing him to be a god, led him to the <u>heiau</u> [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 <u>'Awili in Ka'awaloa</u> and stayed in <u>Hanamua</u> at the home of Keawea-heulu, who had been with them on Maui fighting with Ka-hekili... <u>Ka-lani-'opu'u</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 Kalani-'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 continued 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). Kekūhaupi'o and Kalimu, chiefs of Ke'ei, were among those who met with Cook and his crew. A fight resulted, and led to Cook's death:

...<u>Palea</u> 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 <u>Onouli</u>, 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 <u>Ka'awaloa</u> to inquire about the boat of <u>Ka-lani-'opu'u</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 <u>Ka'awaloa</u> between Ka-lani-'opu'u's place at <u>'Awili</u> and Keawe-a-heulu's at <u>Hanamua</u>. 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. <u>Ke-ku-hau-pi'o</u>, 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 <u>Ka-limu</u> 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 <u>Ka-lola</u> 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-mano-o-ka-ho'owaha stuck his club in the way, and Ka-lani-'opu'u was borne away by his chiefs and warriors to <u>Maunaloia</u>, and the fight began. Captain Cook struck <u>Ka-lani-mano-o-ka-ho'owaha</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 <u>Moa</u> 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 <u>Maunaloia</u>, 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. 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 <u>Kainaliu</u> near <u>Honua'ino</u> and, after some months, to <u>Keauhou</u> where he could surf in the waves of <u>Kahalu'u</u> and <u>Holualoa</u>... [Kamakau1961:105]

Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki –

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

"Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki" (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki) is a long and complex account that was published over a period of four years (1914-1917) in the weekly Hawaiian language newspaper Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i. The narratives were primarily recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe¹ (translators of the work of A. Fornander) with contributions from others of their peers.

Through the tradition of Ka-Miki, readers learn about — the origins of place names; areas of ceremonial significance' places of agricultural importance; how resources were managed and accessed; and the practices of those native families who made Ke'ei and vicinity their home. While "Ka-Miki" is not an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of local traditions, tales, and family histories in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations. Also, while the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely "ancient," such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian traditions.

The complex narratives include documentation on approximately 800 named locations, and document site and community histories, local and regional practices, ceremonial sites and practices, and mele (chant) texts. The English translations below (translated by Maly), are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events and areas being discussed. The author has added diacritical marks, hyphenation, and underlining to selected names to help readers with pronunciation and identify locational references.

This mo'olelo is set in the 1300s (by association with the chief Pili-a-Ka'aiaea), and is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Maka-'iole (Rat [squinting] eyes). The narratives describe the birth of the brothers, their upbringing, and their journey around the island of Hawai'i along the ancient alaloa and alahele (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.

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

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

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 'õ'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 this chiefess. The spring Hāli'ilua there at the base of the cliff was named for the old woman, who was an attendant to the chiefess.

...From atop the cliff of Manuahi, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole saw spirits or god-beings (akua) playing at the temple Hikiau. These gods were beating the temple drum of Hikiau, diving from the cliffs, and playing all manner of games along the dunes of Heakeakua, and their voices were heard calling out. It was the regular practice of these ghosts to travel the steep cliff of Manuahi from their home in 'Ālanapō (Ke'ei), as they descended to the sea. And because of this practice, the name, Kealakekua (the path of the gods) came about. There was also a grove of fragrant 'ili-ahi (sandalwood trees) that once grew along the cliffs, above Kealakekua, and the 'awa of this region was famed for its sandal wood fragrance... Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole arrived at Pali-poko-o-Manuahi (Palipoko) at sunrise — 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 eye lashes (rays) of Kā-'ōnohi-o-ka-lā (Kāne eyeball of the sun), the sacred child of Ke'ālohilani and Nu'umealani... (April 2, 1914).

Having begun their journey around the island , the brothers first competed on kahua, in the Kailua and Keauhou vicinity. They then went on to Lehu'ula, and finishing their tasks there, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole then —

...Traveled down the trail at Pali-poko-o-Manuahi, and descended towards Nāpo'opo'o. On the way, they met with a man by the name of Kukui, who was on his way to the uplands. Kukui was an expert farmer, and he was on his way to Ke'omo, the plantation lands situated above Ke'ei, that he oversaw. Now Kukui is also the name of the famous surf of Nāpo'opo'o, and where this surf lands at the shore, is near the kahua and compound of the chief Kapahukapu, which may still be pointed out to this day.

Upon seeing Ka-Miki mā, Kukui greeted them and asked them several questions. Ka-Miki answered each of Kukui's questions with questions of his own. Thus Kukui understood that Ka-Miki mā were keiki ho'opāpā (competitors). He then told Ka-Miki about the ali'i, lands, communities of the Nāpo'opo'o and Ke'ei region, and the practices of those who dwelt there. Ka-Miki asked Kukui to take them to the fishermen of the chief, and promised that in return, Maka-'iole and he would help him plant all his crops on the following day. Kukui agreed, and they descended to the shore.

Ka-Miki and his brother were introduced to the people along the shore, and invited to accompany them fishing for the day. One method of fishing along this coast line was by laying nets from canoes to encircle schools of fish. Paddlers would strike the sides of the canoes, and divers would help draw in the nets. It was in this method that Ka-Miki mā helped Kepulu, the head fisherman and his people secure their catch. The catch that day was described with the saying —

Ua make ka 'upena, ua kāpa'i ka i'a mawaho o ka 'upena, eia la ke miko nei a ho'olili mawaho o nā pāloa. (The net was filled to capacity, with fish slapping the net sides, here indeed was the right seasoning [everything done well], for the pāloa fish were so numerous that they were forced out of the net).

Now this fish, the pāloa, was one of the cherished delicacies of the land. And upon arriving at the hālau, the people were filled with great joy at the fishermen's success, and they wondered at the nature of Kukui's companions.

Kapahukapu was the chief of lands in the Nāpo'opo'o vicinity, and his wife was Kalamakowali. Their hālau ali'i (royal compound) was south of where the surf of Kukui rises to the shore. The long houses and compound of Kapahukapu were filled with people on the evening that Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole visited. The people were gathered for hula festivities and contests in athletic skills. Ka-Miki mā were invited to participate, and once again, as they had been earlier in the day after fishing, the people of Nāpo'opo'o were surprised at the skills of these two youths...

After festivities at the compound of Kapahukapu, Ka-Miki mā went to the house of Kukui and his wife. Kukui asked Ka-Miki mā to join their family in a feast and 'awa ceremony, and at this feast the daughters of Kukui, Kaiha'akūlou and Kaianuākea were present. These sisters were compared to the beautiful 'iwa (frigate birds) which soar along the cliffs of Manuahi, like the 'ō-ahi fire brands thrown from the cliffs). The chiefesses had been kept under kapu by their grandparents, 'Ole and Kauakoko (w), who agreed with Kukui that it would be good to have Ka-Miki mā stay at Nāpo'opo'o. Ka-Miki declined, explaining the nature of their journey and the kapu of Ka-uluhe.

The next morning, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole departed from the home of Kukui, and traveled a short distance till they met with Nā-'ulu-o-weli who was tending his gardens (in mid Ke'ei). Nā'uluoweli was an old man, but a troublesome 'ōlohe, who often attacked unwary travelers in this district. Ka-Miki knew the nature of this 'ōlohe and he began to mischievously test Nā'uluoweli. Ka-Miki called to Nā'uluoweli asking for kō (sugarcane), mai'a (bananas), and kalo (taro), to which Nā'uluoweli said, "except for that which has been gnawed by the rat, all the items are kapu, there is nothing here but for the strongest spear and club fighters."

Continuing his mischievous game with Nā'uluoweli, Ka-Miki told Nā'uluoweli that since the kō, mai'a, and kalo are restricted, the 'awa which is rat eaten must be free for the taking, so bring on the 'awa and let us drink. As the two continued speaking, Nā'uluoweli saw that he had no choice but to allow Ka-Miki mā to drink his 'awa.

Nā'uluoweli thought that he might get Ka-Miki mā intoxicated and then kill them, so he invited them into his house and then securely bound the door way so no one could get out. Nā'uluoweli kept his pīkoi, a cordage-bound tripping club concealed inside as well, and planned to use it at the first opportunity. After drinking some 'awa, Maka-'iole and Nā'uluoweli slept, and Ka-Miki went out to gather some sugar cane, bananas and more 'awa. Preparing the items, Ka-Miki then called to Maka-'iole and Nā'uluoweli to arise. Surprised, Nā'uluoweli asked, "did you collect the these things?" Ka-Miki said he had only taken the items which the rats had chewed upon. Nā'uluoweli then asked who had opened cordage (net) of Loli-o-nahua-kalo with which he had left the house bound.

Ka-Miki responded, saying that the task had been accomplished by the mysterious descendant of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka; and he then chanted her name chant, calling upon Ka-uluhe's nature attributes......When Ka-Miki finished his chant, the wind roared,

the crashing of waves could be heard from the shore. Kāne-Wahilani the thunderer roared, and Kauwila-nui-mākēhā-i-ka-lani flashed in the heavens till darkness fell. Nā'uluoweli was startled and asked from where Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole came. They responded, "From north to south, from east to west, from the very top to the very bottom, we have gathered this day to meet with you Nā'uluoweli." Nā'uluoweli then told Ka-Miki mā, "Now I understand that you are competitors come to me to challenge the master 'ōlohe lua of this region, and to take my fame from me." Nā'uluoweli was angered that his practice of killing those who slept at his house had been exposed, and for being told that he had angered the gods.

Ka-Miki told Nā'uluoweli that if he wished to compete against him now was the time, but that he should call some one to be the official of the battle. Ka-Miki then said that Nā'uluoweli would be like the bread fruit tree thrown down by the Kona wind. Outraged, Nā'uluoweli agreed to the battle. He called his sister 'Ālanapō and Ke'ekū, the high priest of this region to join him (Ke'ekū discerned the nature of the brothers an did not agree to participate).

'Ālanapō and Maka-'iole were to serve as the alternates should a competitor be killed. Thus the fight between Nā'uluoweli the strong and mischievous one of the forests of Ke'ei and Ka-Miki the exceptional one from Nā-pu'u-pū'alu at Hikuhia and Kaukahōkū. Now because no one had ever beaten Nā'uluoweli, the saying — "Pupuhi ka 'ulu o Ke'ei, he 'ino!" (When the winds blow down the bread fruit of Ke'ei, it is indeed stormy!) Implying that only a great storm could knock down the breadfruit of Ke'ei.

The fight was to take place within the compound of Nā'uluoweli, and as the fight was about to begin, Ka-Miki called to Nā'uluoweli, "I do not understand why Nā'uluoweli is so greatly feared," and compared him to — Ke kumu 'ulu hina wale i ka makani Kona, nāna e ho'oluli i nā lālā a pā makani ka hua o ka 'ulu, a 'oia ano 'ulu he kiola wale ia, a'ohe hiki ke 'ai ia, he pu'epu'e 'awa'awa, he 'ulu 'a'aiole, helele'i wale ilalo – A bread fruit tree easily knocked over by the Kona winds, the wind which causes the branches and fruit to sway to and fro, a tree upon which lumpy bitter fruit grow, an inferior bread fruit which is simply discarded.

Filled with bitterness, Nā'uluoweli leapt to attack Ka-Miki, but he was thwarted in each attempt and defeated. Nā'uluoweli called to 'Ālanapō for assistance, and she stood to join the fight, thinking perhaps she could bind Ka-Miki. While standing near 'Ālanapō, Maka-'iole saw beneath the fold of her pā'ūpā'ū 'aeokahaloa (fine tapa skirt) that her mo'o (lizard) form feet were exposed.

Maka-'iole told 'Ālanapō that Nā'uluoweli could not be saved and indeed, he already was defeated by Ka-Miki. Maka-'iole then challenged 'Ālanapō to compete with him as they both possessed dual body forms. Maka-'iole told 'Ālanapō that if she refused, he would call upon his ancestress Lani-nui-ku'i-a-maomao to give him the magical net Kanikawī me Kanikawā, from which she would find no escape. This net would push her down into a size so small that she could then be put into the gourd Laumāniania of the multitudinous nights.

'Ālanapō considered Maka-'iole's challenge and asked that the contests be ended, and agreed that the victory belonged to Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole, she then asked that Nā'uluoweli be released and that they be allowed to host Ka-Miki mā. 'Ālanpō also offered all of her rights from mountain to sea to Ka-Miki mā. Nā'uluoweli and 'Ālanapō agreed

never to return to their evil practices, and became guardians of the mauka and makai paths and forests of Ke'ei. Thus came about the saying — "Ke'ei a ka lalo lilo" Ke'ei is far below; of little consequence.

The land which bears the name of 'Ālanapō was named for the wahine kino pāpālua (dual body-form woman) 'Ālanapō, sister of Nā'uluoweli. She possessed both a human form and that of a mo'o, (lizard or water form), and was a fierce fighter. 'Ālanapō dwelt along the mountain slopes in upper Ke'ei at a high point which was surrounded by 'ōhi'a kūmakua lehua (large upright, tree lehua), the profuse green growth of 'ie'ie, palai, 'āma'uma'u, 'awapuhi, hāpu'u, and the many plants which grow in the verdant cool forest. While in her mo'o form, 'Ālanapō dwelt in a spring which was situated in the high forested area.

'Ālanapō regularly caused torrential rains and clouds to fall on travelers as they passed through the region of Nā'uluoweli. Unsuspecting travelers would seek refuge at Nā'uluoweli's house, only to be killed while they were sleeping. Ka-Miki agreed to spare their lives if they would cease their waylaying of those who traveled along the trails in their region. 'Ālanapō and Nā'uluoweli both surrendered and became guardians of the forest and byways, and are remembered in the mele² —

Lupea 'ōpe'a 'ia o Kona e ka lā.	Pleasing (lupea) is Kona in the sun.
Ua kāhinu 'ia ke kai i ka la'i a 'Ehu.	The sea of 'Ehu glisten in the calm.
Hānini a'e la mauka o 'Ālanapō	[The sun light seems to] Pour over the uplands of 'Ālanapō,
Poa'e la Nā'uluoweli	And undulates above Nā'uluoweli
[September 3-24, 1914]	

...Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole departed from Nā'uluoweli and 'Ālanapō at Ke'ei, and arrived at an area with a large hālau, which had no equal; it was the hālau of the chief <u>Hōnaunauihi-kapu-maka-o-ka-lani</u>. Now the high priest of Hōnaunau was <u>Nā-hale-o-Keawe</u>, and at the time that Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole arrived, the kapu period of Akua (the full moon) had been called for the 'Aha'ula (chief's council). At that time, the temple drums were also heard ringing throughout the area.

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

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

² Another version of this *mele*, is given in "Kamehameha and his Warrior Kekūhaupi'o" (Frazier, translator; 2000:149-150).

Kāne the thunderer, Kāne who breaks Kāne-hekili, Kāne-wāwāhi-lani, the heavens, Kāne-i-ka-pualena. Kane in the glowing dawn light, Kāne-i-ka-mālamalama, Kane in the light, Kāne-i-kolihana-a-ka-lā. Kane who works in the heat of the sun. Kāne-i-ka-molehulehu. Kāne in the dusk. Kāne-i-ka-wana'ao, Kāne in the dawn, Kāne-i-ka-pule, Kane in the prayers, Kāne-i-ka-mākaukau... Kāne in readiness... O Kanaloa, o Kū, O Kanaloa, O Kū, O Lono-honua-mea, O Lono of the sacred earth, O Pele ka wahine 'ai lā'au, O Pele the woman who devours the forest. O Hi'iaka in the bosom of Pele, O Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, O Meheanu, o Wahine-lua-nu'u. O goddess Meheanu. O goddess Wahine-lua-nu'u. The woman at the edge of the fire pit, Ka-wahine-i-ka'e-o-kapuahi, O Wa-'ula-ke-ahi. O Wa-'ula-ke-ahi- goddess of flames, O goddess Luahinekaikapū, O Luahinekaikapū. O Kahina-a-ola... O goddess Ka-hina-a-ola... Sacred are the heavens. Ua kapu i ka lani. Ua kapu i ka papa ka honua, Sacred are the strata of the earth, Ua wela ua moe ka pāpāi-a-oa, Fire sacredness, prostrate sacredness, Kapu o! Ua moe! Everlasting sacredness! Prostrate! Moe i ke kapu! Prostrate before the sacredness! A lele wale ke kapu The sacredness flies away, 'Āmama - noa! It is finished, it is freed!

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

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

In the early morning when the kapu period of the pu'uhonua was completed, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole arose and gave their thanks to the gods and Nā-hale-o-Keawe and then departed from Hōnaunau. The brothers then walked the trail towards <u>Alahaka</u>, at Keōkea... [October 1 – November 15, 1914]

As the account continues, readers learn of various places along the alaloa, and contests between Ka-Miki and 'ōlohe experts who had forsaken the ways of the gods. When the journey is completed, the alaloa and kahua are once again safe, and people may travel freely, without fear of attack.

Kekūhaupi'o and Kamaiko in Historical Accounts

There are a number of historical accounts published in native language newspapers, that reference Ke'ei and neighboring lands. In addition to those cited above, are several which were previously identified by the author, and are of importance to the present collection. One of the most significant accounts was published in Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i, between December 16, 1920 to September 11, 1924,

was titled "He Moolelo Kaao no Kekuhaupio, Ke Koa Kaulana o ke Au o Kamehameha ka Nui" (A Tradition of Kekuhaupio, the Famous Warrior in the time of Kamehameha the Great). This mo'olelo commemorates Kekūhaupi'o, perhaps the most famous of the warriors who mentored and stood beside Kamehameha I, during his early rise to power.

Reverend Steven L. Desha, editor of Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i, along with several of his peers (such as J.W.H.I. Kihe, John Wise and Julia Keonaona), prepared the rich native text, embellished by many localized accounts, not available elsewhere. The narratives were translated by Frances Frazier, and published by Kamehameha Schools and Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in 2000³.

Through the narratives we learn that Kekūhaupi'o was born of royal blood at Ke'ei. His father Kohapi'olani was a Ke'ei chief and his mother was of Nāpo'opo'o. By his eighth or ninth year, his fearless nature was known to those in the community, and La'amea, a priest of Hikiau took him as a student in the arts of warfare (December 16, 1920). Kekūhaupi'o was adept, and by the time he was twelve, he was learning "kākā lā'au" spear fencing, and at fifteen, he surpassed his teacher, and La'amea turned him over to Koa'ia an old master in "lua ha'iha'i kanaka," who dwelt at Kapalilua, South Kona (December 23, 1920). As the mo'olelo unfolds, references to Ke'ei, as those cited above, and the one that follows below, are retold.

An article published in Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i in 1908, and not previously translated, tells readers of Kekūhaupi'o's loyalty to Kamehameha, his role in the battle of Moku'ōhai, and his subsequent death (in 1784). The following translation was prepared by Maly as a part of the present study:

Ka Make Ana o Kekuhaupio ke Koa Kaulana o Kamehameha (The Death of Kekuhaupio, the Famous Warrior of Kamehameha)

At the time that Kamehameha set his mind to make war and rebel against his cousin, Kiwalao, the battle took place at Mokuohai, next to Keei. Among the warriors of Kamehameha was a chief of low rank (kaukaualii o ka papa haahaa), whose name was Kekuhaupio. The place of birth of this lower chief was Keei.

By the outcome of that first battle of Kamehameha, it was seen that Kamehameha was truly a fearless warrior, and it is also said by some of the elders that Kekuhaupio, swiftly chased down the men, giving the honor to Kamehameha, by calling him, "E ka lani e, eia mai ke kanaka." (Oh chief, here are the men.) As a result of Kekuhaupio's fearlessness and strength, he came to be known as "Ko Kamehameha koa a waele makaihe" (Kamehameha's warrior who weeds through men with a spear).

Kekuhaupio and the chief he served were victorious, and in this way these lands went to Kamehameha; and Kekuhaupio, became the most cherished companion of Kamehameha, outside of his own uncles.

When the battle was ended, and peace returned to the land, Kekuhaupio returned to dwell at Keei, the place of his birth. He appeared before Kamehameha, the chief he served, whenever Kamehameha desired to see him. The presence of the chief was free to Kekuhaupio as well, and when ever he desired, he was able to meet with his chief.

³ As a part of our research in Hawaiian language newspapers, Maly began translating portions of the Kekūhaupi'o tradition in 1991. In 1992, he learned that Frances Frazier had all but completed her work on the series, except for a section missing from the microfilms. The missing section covered the period between May to September 1923, which Maly located in print at the Hilo Public Library. Maly informed Ms. Holly McEldowney of the State Historic Preservation Division of their existence, and she in turn forwarded copies to Ms. Frazier, enabling her to complete her work.

Now the favorite and regular pastime of Kekuhaupio was "oo ihe" (the sport of throwing spears), near <u>the place called Waipiele⁴</u>, which remains near Napoopoo to this day. It was there that he would pass the time teaching youth the art of spear throwing. And the spears with which they would practice were the ihe hau (hau wood spears).

One day, he stood up on the side to deflect the spears, and on the other side were people who were to thrust at him with their hau spears. With the thrust of one of the commoners—perhaps Kekuhaupio was indifferent or not paying attention—the spear struck him in the side of his stomach. Because of the strength of the thrust, the life of Kekuhaupio, the famous warrior of Kamehameha, was ended.

On the battle fields, and before many famous warriors of various chiefs, not one blemish from a battle had been upon Kekuhaupio's body. And he had protected Kamehameha from death at the hands of assassins. But in the sport of spear fighting, Kekuhaupio, the famous warrior of Kamehameha lost his life. [Ka Hoku o Hawaii, Sept. 10, 1908]

Descendants of the Kekūhaupi'o line were among the Māhele awardees at Ke'ei (see Māhele records in this study), and remain in the South Kona region to the present day.

Two additional articles of interest, describe the heiau of Kamaiko, situated on Palemanō Point. The article published in Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i on April 9th 1908, also alerts Kamehameha Schools and family members to burial matters which may yet need resolution:

Loaa na lwi lloko o ka Heiau (Bones Gotten in the Heiau)

Upon the return of Mr. A. Gartley and C.H. Cook from their sightseeing journey to South Kona, Hawaii, they told us of their visit to look at the heiau of Kamaiko at Keei. There were found many human bones in the heiau.

The reason comes to mind as to why there are so many skulls and other bones there, it is because their lives were sacrificed in the heiau at the time the dwelling and eating restrictions of the people of that time were ended.

The heiau is at a place near the shore, on the ocean-side of the government road (alanui aupuni). The foundation of this heiau is wide, something like 200 by 120 feet. The shoreward and southern sides of the heiau are broken down, but the interior and other sides are in good condition. Upon looking inside, one can see three small compartments.

This heiau is situated between Napoopoo and Honaunau, and while these gentlemen were sightseeing at the heiau, Mr. Gartley saw a stone that was loose, and when he opened it he saw the skulls and bones.

The story told by the native residents about the reason that the bones were there, is that they were of the followers of Kekuaokalani. The ones who rose up in rebellion against Liholiho with the kapu were overthrown. Some those people were captured when they were routed in the battle of Kuamoo. The story goes on to say that the people were taken to, and killed at this heiau, with shots to their heads. And from the looks of the skulls, many of the heads have holes in them, so perhaps it is true... [Ku Okoa, March 27, 1908]

⁴ Some historical accounts, in 1950s interviews with L. Kaua Pānui (in this study), and interviews with his son, William K. Pānui, and Mona Kapule-Kahele, place this bathing place at Kapahukapu, Wai'āma'u, near the boundary of Kahauloa and Kalamawai'awa'awa (see accounts in this study).

An article published in Ka Hoku o Hawaii on April 9, 1908, under the title "Na Poo Kanaka me na Iwi ma ka Heiau o Keei," further described the circumstances associated with Kamaiko, as reported in the Ku Okoa article above:

"Na Poo Kanaka me na lwi ma ka Heiau o Keei"

In the rebellion of Kekuaokalani, against the abolition of the eating kapu, he took the battle to Kuamoo. Upon the death of Kekuaokalani, there were seized several priests who helped bring up the rebellion of Kekuaokalani against the kingdom of Liholiho, Kamehameha II. They were taken to this heiau, and shot by those on the side of Liholiho. The reason for this is, is that it was at this heiau, that the priests and their assistants, worked their final tasks of the ancient ways. At the place where the lele was set, as the punishment of old, they were punished with death, shot with the muskets and gun powder of the foreigners, and at this place where hidden their corpses.

There were five skulls that Mr. Gartley took to Honolulu, with gun shot holes in the them. Also, a captain, prior to that had taken some human skulls from the sacred pit (lua kapu) of Hoaiku, situated on the Pali kapu o Keoua, at Kaawaloa. When he arrived in Honolulu, his horse bucked, and he fell and died. [Ka Hoku o Hawaii April 9, 1908]

Kūlou ma Ke'ei

One of the lesser known traditions of the Ke'ei vicinity, is one that documents the origin of the naming of Kūlou, the white sandy beach on the north side of Palemanō Point. The account centers on the arrival, in the 1500s, of a Spanish ship that wrecked on the rocks fronting Ke'ei. While there is only limited historical reference to the specifics of the shipwreck, the story is still told by elder native kama'āina, who tell us that Kūlou mean to kneel down. Kūpuna Kahele and Pānui, were told by their kūpuna that two youth, a boy and a girl survived the shipwreck, and upon dragging themselves to the sandy shore, they kneeled down in prayer. Witnessing this event, the natives called the place, Kūlou (see interviews with kūpuna Mona Kapule-Kahele and William Kalikolehua Pānui). Kupuna Kahele named the ship Laaka or Layasa, and gave the date of 1525, for the arrival (see interview with Kupuna Kahele). Kupuna Pānui, also pointed out a petroglyph at the awa pae wa'a (canoe landing), fronting Pauahi Bishop's former residence, which as a youth, was pointed out to him as being representative of person in Spanish garb, commemorating this history (see interview with kupuna Pānui).

The arrival of Spanish ship wreck survivors along the Kona Coast, was mentioned as early as 1823, by Reverend William Ellis (1963). Ellis reported that several traditions on the island of Hawai'i, spoke of the arrival white men in the Ka'awaloa vicinity. Ellis observed:

The different parties that subsequently arrived were probably, if any inference may be drawn from the accounts of the natives, survivors of the crew of some Spanish ship wrecked in the neighbourhood, perhaps on the numerous reefs to the north-west... It is possible that one or other of the islands might have been seen by some Spanish ship passing between Acapulco and Manila... These accounts, but particularly the latter, are generally known, and have been related by different persons at distant places. All agree respecting the boat, clothing, sword, &C. of the party who arrived at Kealake'kua... [Ellis 1963:320]

In 1899, W.D. Alexander, who had served as Surveyor General of the Kingdom and Republic of Hawai'i, published a study of Hawaiian history. In the matter of the naming of Kūlou, and the arrival of a Spanish ship at Ke'ei, he offered the following narratives:

Discovery of the Islands by the Spaniards.—Umi was succeeded by his eldest son Kealiiokaloa, who was succeeded in turn by his youngest brother Keawe-nui-a-Umi.

During the reign of the former, a foreign vessel was wrecked at Keei, in South Kona, Hawaii. The tradition relates that only the captain and his sister reached the shore in safety, and that they knelt down on the beach, remaining a long time in that posture, whence the place was called Kulou, as it is at this day.

Unlike the Fijians, the people received them kindly and set food before them. The strangers intermarried [page 98] with the natives, and became the progenitors of certain well-known families of chiefs, such as that of Kaikioewa, former governor of Kauai.

In reckoning by generations, and allowing thirty years on an average to a generation, we find that Kealiiokaloa was born about A.D. 1500, and probably came to the throne about A.D. 1525-30.

Now we learn from Spanish historians that Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, fitted out several exploring expeditions on the western coast about this time. The first squadron, consisting of three vessels, commanded by Alvarado de Saavedra, sailed from Zacatula for the Moluccas or Spice Islands, October 31, 1527. These ships sailed in company, but when they were a thousand leagues from port they were scattered by a severe storm. The two smaller vessels were never heard from, but Saavedra pursued the voyage alone in the "Florida" to the Moluccas, touching at the Ladrone Islands on the way.

No white people except the Spaniards were navigating the Pacific Ocean at that early period, and it seems to be certain that the foreign vessel which was wrecked about this time on the Kona coast must have been one of Saavedra's missing ships.

There is also little doubt that these islands were discovered by the Spanish navigator Juan Gaetano, in the year 1555. *

* He had previously crossed the Pacific Ocean as pilot for Buy Lopez de Villalobo in 1542, on which voyage they discovered the Caroline Islands (Islas del Rey). The account of his second voyage has never been published, but there is an ancient manuscript chart in the Spanish archives on which a group of islands is laid down in the same latitude as the Hawaiian Islands, but over ten degrees of longitude too far east, with a note stating the name of the discoverer and the date of the discovery. [page 99]

The southernmost and largest island was named La Mesa, "the table," which points to Hawaii, with its high table-land. North of it was La Desgraciada, "the unfortunate," or Maui, and three small islands called Los Monjes, "the monks," which were probably Kahoolawe, Lanai, and Molokai.

In June, 1743, the British ship of war "Centurion," under Lord Anson, after a bloody engagement captured the Spanish galleon from Acapulco near the Philippine Islands, on her way to Manila. A manuscript chart was found on board, containing all the discoveries which had been made in the navigation between Mexico and the Philippine Islands. In this chart the above-mentioned group of islands is laid down in the same position as in the old chart in the Spanish archives. A copy of it is to be seen in the account of Lord Anson's voyage which was published in London in 1748. These islands did not I lie in the track of the Spanish galleons, for on leaving Acapulco they steered southwesterly so as to pass far to the south of them, and on their return voyage they sailed northward till they reached thirty degrees of latitude and then ran before the westerly winds till they approached the coast of North

America. This was fortunate for the Hawaiians, who thus escaped the sad fate of the natives of the Ladrone or Marianne Islands.

The error in longitude need not surprise us when we consider that chronometers were not yet invented, and that Spanish navigators depended entirely on "dead reckoning" for their longitude. [W.D. Alexander 1899:100]

MĀHELE 'ĀINA (LAND TENURE DEFINED)

In pre-western contact Hawai'i, all land, ocean and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (ali'i 'ai ahupua'a or ali'i 'ai moku). The use of land, fisheries and other resources were given to the hoa'āina (native tenants) at the prerogative of the ali'i and their representatives or land agents (konohiki), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. By 1845, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was being radically altered, and the foundation for implementing the Māhele 'Āina (a fee-simple right of ownership), was set in place.

As the Māhele evolved, it defined the land interests of Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III), some 252 high-ranking Ali'i and Konohiki, and the Government. 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 (cf. Indices of Awards 1929). The "Enabling" or "Kuleana Act" of the Māhele (December 21, 1849) further defined the frame work by which hoa'āina could apply for, and be granted fee-simple interest in "Kuleana" lands (cf. Kamakau in Ke Au Okoa July 8 & 15, 1869; 1961:403-403). The Kuleana Act also reconfirmed the rights of hoa'āina to access, subsistence and collection of resources necessary to their life upon the land in their given ahupua'a. The Kuleana Act, which remains the foundation of law pertaining to native tenant rights, sets forth the following:

August 6, 1850

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

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

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

Section 1. <u>Resolved. That fee simple titles, free of commutation, be and are hereby</u> 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 <u>be recognized as genuine by the Land Commission</u>; 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 <u>a certain portion of the Government lands in each Island</u> 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^{th} day of August 1850. [copied from original hand written "Enabling Act"⁵ – HSA, DLNR 2-4]

The most important source of documentation that describes 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). The "Land Division" gave the hoa'āina an opportunity to acquire fee-simple property interest (kuleana) on land which they lived and actively cultivated, but the process required them to provide personal testimonies regarding their residency and land use practices. As a result, records of the Māhele 'Āina present readers with first-hand accounts from native tenants generally spanning the period from ca. 1819 to 1855. The lands awarded to the hoa'āina became known as "Kuleana Lands" and all the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards or LCA) were numbered ("Helu"). The LCA numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai'i.

Disposition of Ke'ei nui and Ke'ei lki

On January 28, 1848, King Kauikeaouli and chiefess Konia agreed to their division of land. In their division, Konia—wife of A. Pākī, and mother of Bernice Pauahi (Bishop)—received the Ahupua'a of Ke'ei Nui (Buke Mahele, January 1848:16). In the same process, under the same date, Ke'ei Iki was given to chiefess 'Akahi, a cousin of L. Konia's (Buke Mahele, January 1848:36). Ke'ei Nui of Konia is covered under Land Commission Award No. 5524 (Royal Patent No. 1663), and Ke'ei Iki of 'Akahi is covered under Land Commission Award No. 5368 (Royal Patent No. 7733).

The genealogies of both Konia and 'Akahi stem from the Keaweikekāhiali'iokamoku line, the same line from which Kamehameha I descended on his paternal side. They also shared the same grandmother, Ka'ilipakalua (one of the lines through which the Keaweikekāhiali'iokamoku line descended). A summary of the genealogies, compiled from various sources was published by Dorothy Barrere in 1994, and reads:

⁵ See also *"Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina"* (Penal Code) 1850.

Konia (w) Hao (k) Ka'ōleiokū (k) Pākī (k)	& & &	Kaʻilipakalua (w) Kahaʻiliʻōpua (Luahine) (w) Konia (w)	Kahailiopua (Luahine) (w) Konia (w) Bernice Pauahi… (w) (Barrere 1994:372)
ʻ Akahi II (w) Keōuakupuapāikalani (k) Kalaiwohi (k) Pauʻelua (k)	& & &	ʻAkahi I (w) Kaʻilipakalua (w) Kaluai (w)	Kalaiwohi (k) Pauʻelua (k) ʻAkahi II (w) (Barrere 1994:3)

In addition to the two Ali'i awardees, a number of hoa'āina also made claims for kuleana in the two Ke'ei. While the Indices of Awards (1929) identifies 34 awards being made for kuleana in Ke'ei 1st and 2nd. We find that in the original records contain at least 70 being filed for kuleana in Ke'ei 1st and Ke'ei 2nd. The difference in numbers between those claims filed and those awarded reflects several factors, that have been described in historical communications of the period (see Appendix B for a list of Helu, Claimants, Disposition, and Ahupua'a Claimed). The following records are among those which describe the final disposition of Ke'ei 1st and Ke'ei 2nd in the Māhele. The records include Ali'i and Konohiki awards, and claims and awards of the hoa'āina. The documentation cited below include two primary sources— (1) the original claims and testimonies of all applicants for kuleana identified in the volumes of the Land Commission's Native Register and Native Testimonies (digitized copies of the original Hawaiian communications are given in this study⁶); and (2) selected letter communications from the period of the Māhele that describe the application process and resulting events. Image files of the original Native Register and Native Testimony records are found on pages 21 to 73.

<u>Most of the claimants described several uses of their kuleana</u>, these included house lots, and cultivation extending from areas near shore to the forest zone. <u>Crops identified in the testimonies included</u> — kalo, 'uala, mai'a, 'ohe, wauke, hau, lauhala, niu, kope, and 'alani; and one claim was made for a "pa kao" or goat enclosure. <u>Place names</u> ('ili) identified as being within the two Ke'ei included — Mahioni, Pulehuino, Puuhale, Kapia, Kaieie, Hauiki (Kahauiki), Kaawili, Koheloa, Pahoa, Kaaia, Kapukalua, Haleolono, Ililoa, Keomo, Kalukalii Uluwela, Apuakohau, Kaulepia, Kaluaokailio, Kaakuli, Kamuku, Lelepeke, and Ulukukahi.

The kuleana awarded as a part of the Māhele 'Āina are identified on Bishop Estate Map No. 824. Locations of many named areas and kuleana not awarded to claimants, can be identified by the reference points cited in awarded claims. Interviews cited in Appendix A of this study also provide locational information for some of the places identified in the following testimonies.

⁶ In the year 2000, *Kumu Pono Associates* digitized the entire collection of records for the *Māhele 'Āina* (that is, all volumes of the Register, Testimony, Mahele Award Books and Royal Patent Books); as a result, a complete index of all claims has been developed, thus improving upon the identification of native residents and land use in given areas.

Claims and Testimonies for Kuleana in Ke'ei (Nui & Iki)

Ke'ei Native Register

Mahinealii Sheei Hawaii Apano 8 Mala Sealo, 2 Kumu alani, 1 Mala muca Mahinealii 4523

Helu 4523 - Wahinealii (Native Register Vol. 8:574) Not Awarded.

tel 2-3'68 Akali <u>Siles Skaki</u> Konolulu 29 Januari 1848. Na na Luna Hoona Humu Hule ana Aina ma Hale Kauila Honolulu Aloha ouk ou me ka mahalo E like me ka mea i hoohdoin Kondulu

ווכוע ששטט - התמווו נוזמנוצב ווכצושנבו צטו. ש. דטן

44 ma ha makele aina i waena on , a me kin Haku ka moi, na al mai ora non keia man anna i kukan ia malalo, ae hiki no raine the laws mai i mua o outon e like me ia hooholo ana. Un pan kein man aina i ke kaka n ia ana ka Buke mahele aina, ana kan ia na mou à keia la · Eia kou man ama Kealia - Aluepucia - Roma - Flawaii Makalawana " " Keeiki . " Princepo Kohulu " Ulupaalua dei o Vintii Kohala Hawaii 0.3.16. " Waikiki Kona Haarme " chain no keia man aina, ao na pralena a me ka woutho ana. ade i mashoopo ma keia pepa i keia wa. O wan no me ka mahalo Akahi Honolulu Oahu Febelian 2. 1848. 2 Aloha oukou e na Luna Horna. He hookom ake nei an i kon man kuleana pa Hale aia i Keorlia i Kona Hawaii o Habikilanakea Kainoa , ua Panei , Paahuula kekohi, o kou wahi no kuja i ka wa hahiko, a he kuleana Kaluko loa no ia nou, a cia no rai e waiho nei, i ka mahele and iho nei o ka lina, va pili, na hili mai kela ama idu a man loa aku, a me kera man ha eluar ara no s' luma via aina kahi i ku ai, aka, no ko kue ana mai o ke Kanaka na na enchola, ndaila, ke horkono

48. he aku nei no au ia oukou e horponopono mai, i macpoopo koin kuloana. a one koma kuleana. O wan me ka Brahalo. Ka Hkahi

(continuation) Helu 5368 - Akahi (Native Register Vol. 5:48)

Heli 5524 L. Hernia 1 ka Beredidena o na boona In William I. See .)) ol me kou poe Juna Hooma. Lawe ike me ke Kanawai a me hana. na delo hoolaha i kan haras oukou; noluila ke hoopii aku nei an in oukou i kon man Kule ana neka machooko loa o ke kuo-

Helu 5524 – L. Konia (Native Register Vol. 5:64) Awarded.

65 noono a me ka hohome nui ana o ka via io o keia man kuleana, no ka mea, via ke ko. ena okai mahele ana, ana kanha ia mai hai aku in oukou. Eia malalo nei an hupman - Kalelea - Ranai Raha- Romohana- Ewa - Onhu ili, 1, 2, 3. - Ahupuaa Kaanapali - Mani 2 Howkeana, 1, 2, ii . 11 ň M. J.K. oa 1.2. 2 Å als . Mai Reci Rona man makaainana no kon ma keia man Aina, he kuleana no ko lakow? mana mea liilii. Via kou man aina e Kuleana ai. me ka mahale. Na L. Ronia

(continuation) Helu 5524 - L. Konia (Native Register Vol. 5:65)

Reci Rona Hawain Sanciani 24, 1848. Jushine 5377 Na avas elua ma ka Akan a me ke Romo-10 hana, na puni i ke toai Kina 270 (16a Yoe Pahale ma Roalama Warawaawa Śπ Heme 684 Hapman 189 Theto ۴., He pahale ma keei 199 Chah 183 Freet Via kan man wahi kule ang ana a ma Balama waiawa awa. Junking Aa 1.1.1. . Autors

------Walcokalani 6939 ta anana i huira na kihi cha Ona duvilei 118. na Kapuai 354 Bia ke kuleana aina o Reei' ke ahupiraa ahioni ka ili. hookahi kihapai kalo and a second and the second second

Helu 6939 - Kaleokalani (Native Register Vol. 8:190) Not Awarded.

191 horkahi kihapai wala. I Pulehuins ka ili stika-pai uwala. I Puuhale ka ili skihapai uwala. Aa Itoaleokalani Nona Hawan Jan. Q1. 1978.

(continuation) Helu 6939 - Kaleokalani (Native Register Vol. 8:191)

Rekuhanpis 6940 He kuleana aina keia ma Keer ke ahupusa Ho , Haieie ka ili: he mor aina iho kon mai ka lac la an, a hiki i ke kula, sia ka palena o na kiha. par i pono i na mea kann. & Hiliapai tope, 6 kihapai kalo, 1maia skihapai alani. No Kamahi. mai kan ma kekahi moo aina e al i lako ai no sia ili, 5 Kihapai 1 Kihapai Kape, no Kawaipimaka mai kon ma kekahi moo aina e ac. maloko no ora ili. 1 Kehapai he lope. 1 Ski he Take no, a me kon hale i laila no. Aa Ina O Huiki ka ili 3 tihapai kalo mai kon. no kahiki mi kan. I keer he ahuhuaa Kapia 3 Ka ili. 1 Kihapai wala, no Kamahiai kon, lia na wahi kuleana ia ol la c ka Hoona Kuleana Ona anana o na Huina halva elua 80×12=160×3=480 (Capuai. O ka lanla '130 anana 780 Hapiran. Nam na Kekuhanpio Hooi Kana Hawaii Januari 20, 1828 <u>51.193.3.19</u>

Keohoul Ka Mokupuni o Hawaii Apana 3; he ili aina nae ena Reei 3. ke ahupuaa o Kawili ka aina, hookahi kihapai kalo, elua Rohe, a Roheloa ka aina hihapai

Helu 6943 – Keohouli (Native Register Vol. 8:192) Not Awarded.

6 Rihapai kalo. 6 Easia 2 Kihapai uala ma Heei he kihapai wala: he Kihapai uala Pahoa ka ama, Huiki ka aina 198ihapai kalu. Aan na Recharli

(continuation) Helu 6943 - Keohouli (Native Register Vol. 8:193)

6944 Rekoa He kuleana aina no keia ma Reei s Tei-Ho hapai kalo. O Koheloa ka aina, he kihapai wala O Toaaia ka ili. He kihapai horkahi ma Toailie Rihajiai wala horkahi o Houiki ka ili. An Rekoa Keei Hawaii

Helu 6944 - Kekoa (Native Register Vol. 8:193) Awrded.

Haleokalani 6945 bia kekahi o kon man kihapai i ma hia can, he man kihapai wala dima, hookahi kihapai kalo, sia koio man kuleana ma quei 2 He Pahale Keel Hawaii \$ 1 Januar 1848 Nan na Galesterlani Naiconaiani (native negister voi. 0. 190/ Not Awa

6982 , Karrekade Gia de ana o koin Fahace. To sine indie les los to viza te role bia na kuleana Binapai. O dealolo 2 Milapai halo, Istihapai ko. O Fosteriono & tishapai kalo, 1.40hapai tope. Maprikalica, I himpori Kope, 3 Hilia par uala. An Hanakaole

194 , Halawaia 6983 . He pahale keia eia ma Reei emkin. He 93 ke anahumi Pahale He dli aina o Reapolei aro Reci unŝ hen. O Ililoa 20 m Reci mui. Oia kon man kuleaaina na ma Reci nei Elua ili aina, hooka-· pahale Na Halawaia

Helu 6983 - Kalawaia (Native Register Vol. 8:194) Not Awarded.

Ho. a olopana 7009 138 Hapman 90 Mach Coma 120 Hapina 15; Ma ka Muhupuni o Hawaii apana 3 " Recie ke ahupuaa, o Gaicie ka ili 12 mal uala "6 keomo ka ili 1 mala mala, 3 mala kalo to Kaslopana. Reci Hawaii anuan 24, 1848.

Hahic 7016 Ruleana aina ma ka Mokupuni . Hava

Helu 7010 - Kahue (Native Register Vol. 8:201) Awarded.

202 ii Apana 3 Ahupuaa o Reci 2 6 Hamikos ka ili 2 Mala kope, 1 Mala kalo, o Kapia ka ili 5 Mala umala, o Koaulepia ka ili 1 Mala kope 2 Mala kalo No Frahue keia ha, a me keia man mala. 130 Hapmai 150 Geaturai Na Mahue Reci Hawaii

(continuation) Helu 7010 - Kahue (Native Register Vol. 8:202)

7011 Halepo He kuleana aina keia ma ka H Makinpuni o Hawaii apana 3 6 quei 2 has aa o \mathcal{O} le ka inva kai Kohor ma a hik Ma Mai Roci a Hema ka ili o Mahiani. sia na halena " kon eli aina. na mea kann 6 Rihapai kalo, 5 Rihahai nala 6 Hapukalua ka ili 1 Rihapai nhi, 3 Rihapai Rohe. OPulehuino 3 Kihapai kalo. ka Kaaia Ø kahi ka aí That Racie 6 Ma hahai tos Haluakali 0 hea is Eihahai kalo. Ulunda ka ili 0 1 Kchapai ka kon wahi kuleana hia habalia kchapai Mahale na. ana elu a. <u>_</u>† Non no Hamakea . 対点 . · · ·

Helu 7011 - Kalepo (Native Register Vol. 8:202) Awarded.

8 . J. A. I 203 Human Kula He kuleana aina ma keer ke ahupuna " Pumpale ka ili 3 Kihapai kalo 3 Rihapai nala 6 Reei's ke ahupuaa, o Apuaokohan ka ili i Hika pai alami, sia kon wahi kulerna kikapai. tain no Halcho 153 X 2 == 306 X 3 = 918 Prapuni ha anance a pan a ke ana : Whe man halemaloks pusi 132 × 2 = 265 × 3 = 795 Hapmai Chima hale maloko lia ma anama o ke anapuni

Kahunanun Ale Hahale Hikina 189 Hapman Kulcana aina ma ka kokuhuni o Haahupuaa i Geei. . Haapana 3 se wan 2 Rihapai kalo, o Raulepia muku ka ili 19 ihapai kalo, o Hanki ka ili Kaicie ka ili 0 kinapai uala. Hahuna nu ani 34, 1848.

Helu 7012 - Kahunanui (Native Register Vol. 8:203) Awarded.

204 Recharli 7014 Ma ka Mokupuni o Hawaii apana 3 ke ahupuaa. Bia kon wahi kuleana he man ili aina elua "haawili" 0 aina na mea kann ma o laila 6 ia aro Huihu Jeshi e a ku hooka ma man kihahai he v. a ake clima, a he man L Qua kon kuleana la Una. Na Richouli Keci Hawaii January 31, 1928.

Helu 7014 - Keohouli (Native Register Vol. 8:204) Awarded.

ÿ

Kupo 7016 B. Eia kan kuleana, o diloa ka ili 4 Riha pai i mahia, & Rihapai wala, 1 Rihapai kalo, aia ma Realamoho ka ili i ke ahupuaa i ke ahupuaa o Healamahuma. No Rupo ma Kona Hawaii 2 Keane bia kois kule ana o Makialo karili ma Kaa. walva ke ahupuaa, 5 Kihapai kalo ma Kukuiolo ka ili v Reopuka he ahupuna. Na Reave Haranston Hawan be'a kon kuleana 2 Kihapai kalo ma 4 Reci ke ahupuaa No Lilikalami Koahukula

Helu 7016 B – Lilikalani (at Keei) with Kupo & Keawe (Native Register Vol. 8:205) Not Awarded.

7025 Hami He kulcana ama keia ma ka Choku humi o Hawaii apana 3. Reei 2 ke ahu-puaa, o Heaceie ka ili ma ka mor aina the, he man kehajiai kon, na mahiana clima kihapai kalo, no Kamahiai mai O Punhale ka ili, hookahi on kihahai mala, no Ramakainhai kon, sia kahi kulcana la ia oce lea Hoona Mulcana. Anie an Hoanie Geni Hawain Vanuari 23. 1828. I IEIU / VZJ - MAUI (MALIVE NEGISIEI VUI. U.ZVU) AWAI UEU.

------7030 Hahu bia kon man kuleana ma keei mii, he Ili aina o Viaaia ka inva, cono kihapai kalo cono kehapai kalo ma keia ili no. cono kiha nala malaila no. eia kein man kuleana ma keer Na Rapu Reci Gena Hawaii Januan' 24, 1828.

Helu 7030 – Kapu (Native Register Vol. 8:209) Awarded.

105 1054 <u>Kauhi</u> Kona Hawaii, Apana 3 Eia Kon wahi Kuleana Uina Kihapai Mahioni Ka ili, 3 Kihapai Kalo, 2 Mala wala, Puluhuino Ka ili, 1 Mala Kalo, 1 Mala wala, Puuhale Ka ili, 1 Mala Kalo, 1 Mala wala, Ha Mauhi

Helu /054 - Kauni (Native Register Vol. 8:105) Not Awarded.

7055 Pahoa 1 Ili aina o Pahoa ina Reci unkin.

Helu 7055 - Pahoa Kekaune (Native Register Vol. 8:235)

236 kahi enin kanu, hookahi mala hala sia kon man kuleana ma Iteei. Ikekanne Theei Plawaii.

(continuation) Helu 7055 – Pahoa Kekaune (Native Register Vol. 8:236)

Kahiakua 7058 ahranna bia kon wahi kuleana aina o keei ahupuaa, o Mahioni ka ili. I Kihapai lo 1 mala nala. O Steomo ka ili Rapukalua ka ili 1 mala kalo, o 2 mala hmala nala: Punhakohe. 1 mala nala. Kahiakua

Helu 7058 – Kahiakua (Native Register Vol. 8:236) Not Awarded.

Kukahimano bia kon wahi kuleana aina ma upuaa o keer ma ka ili o Capu cono khapai kalo, hookahi mala Kuleshimana

Helu 7059 - Kukahimano (Native Register Vol. 8:236) Awarded.

7098 Mahaia Rona Stawaii Elna o'u Dale o Moin pa, cia Keana. & Kon pa, 66 ka loa, Eia na Kuleana" Kihahou o Ibalolo, 1 Rihapui Kalo, 2 Kihapai Irala. Frakolono, I Kihapai Mala, Ma ban keia manan Na Hahaia.

Helu 7098 – Kahaia (Native Register Vol. 8:101) Awarded.

····· " 2.00 11 her Ruleana aina ma ticei 1 ma ka di aine o Wahancaloha o Ulukukahi 3 mala talo 16. 2 maria na a'. I tihapai alani. Ohia

Helu 7200 - Ohia (Native Register Vol. 8:249) Not Awarded.

and a second 7202 laanaana H Hulcana aina mokupuni o Hawaii apanas keer's Aluwela di unten loa, clima kihapai kalo ekola mala tiche hookahi mala main ke Tonanaana . O ka poe kanaka palupalu cono mala kalo, koo kali mala maia i 1 Pahale 20 Tha ana ana Reci Hawaii No Teaanagina Samuari 17, 1848.

Helu 7202 - Kaanaana (Native Register Vol. 8:249) Awarded.

. He Russichoa We pahale ticia oro Kumahoa ma ka mokupuni o Hawaii apana 3 ahupuaa o Reev. Perrei bioma ten 44 Pahale Ekolu hale maloko He ili aina no kekahi an cia na kihapai i mahiia, ekolu kihapai nala cha kihapai kalo, hoskahi kihapai, sia kan man kuleana to Kumahoa 1218 Hancahua o keel; malada kahi i kee ai keia fra Pahale Ho Koak He pahale keia ma Reei unku Kona man kihapai ke anapuni 421 oia kona man kapuai a pan he huia neiu 7210 - Kaneapua (Native Register Vol. 6:252) Awarded.

353 Horokahi ili aina o Mahioni ka inoa o ka ili ma Teei mi, hookahi mala kape ma keomo oras kaj ili, o kecimie ke alupuaa sia kan man Kui kuliana ena nei. No Kaneahua Reei Roma Hawaii Januari 20, 187,8

(continuation) Helu 7218 - Kaneapua (Native Register Vol. 8:253)

The aire a pohea Hee pahale keia ma ka mokupuni Hawaii apana s. Proir no Kampolua keia Pahale Hoc ili aina kekahi i kan puia noi no O na kihapai i mahiia. 1 Kihapai kalo, 1 Kiha. pai kape 1 malandla. 1 alani No Kanholua Reen Horwain J. anuari 18, 1848.

Helu 7220 - Kaupolua (Native Register Vol. 8:253) Awarded.

Hearicie 7.277 Ruleana aina Mokupuni o Hawaii apana 3 Reci 2 bono mala kalo; 2 min, 5 opu hala, 2 mala nala. 2 mala kalo, 1 alani lia ma Voakalen 1 maila kalo, 1 Coleo o Toa 2 mala kalo in ma Koakala Pakani ohia. Kuleana aina mokupuni , Clawaii Heri 2. Her 10 mala Kalo, 2 mial Ahana 3 anhala, Min, 3 apri ahe (Kaina, 1 april kihapai kekahi aia Sector Allection 2,54 à Asaicie. Pulehuino 2 mala nala Kaspuka. hera 3 mala vala 2 mala kato ma traccie. Hamuku 2 mala kalo Kaluaikade I mala kope imaia maia imailie wanke Hamulen & main kalo Baiere ame Hakae (continuation) Helu 7277 - Kaieie and Hakae (Native Register Vol. 8:254)

7280 Hahumann Ao Roahumanus Kein patrale ma H Reci & Apana & Brokenpuni - Rawan He Cahale to Rechansen Reel Hawaii Camuani 18. PERS. Helu 7280 – Kahunanui (Native Register Vol. 8:254) Not Awarded.

and the same results and the Canaina 7288 Mokupuni . Hawan apana 3. H He kuleana aina ma ke Ahupuaa Honannam : Waipahochoe . Healachu hookahi kihapai kalo, no bili mai kin i Healachur clima kihapai kalo Cahinawe mai how. ho O teci a ke abuhuaa o Kaluaka ilio ka ili 4 Kihapai nala no haca mai kon. " Kaakuli ka ili, hooka... hi kihapai wala, o Uluela ka ili. hookahi kihapai wala Non no Kanaina Haelemakule

Cia kon wahi kuleana aina ma Reei unku he ili aina o Ahuakohan

Helu 7294 - Kaelemakule (Native Register Vol. 8:256) Awarded.

357 ka moa no keer unku. Ekolu kihahai kan linna é hamai, hockatir kihapai sia ma Maluani , keer hookahi kihapai ma Keomo Reei dua kihapai sialo ma Cahaniki Reci, ma Raicie he mala nala. As Hallimakule Mairie Korra Hawain January 28, 1828.

(continuation) Helu 7294 - Kaelemakule (Native Register Vol. 8:257)

Hoe 8173 H Rulann ains mohupuni Hawaii Apana 3. Seci 2 he alupuar Kaniki ka ili, 3 Mala kale, I mala nale, Kanie, ba ili, I mala kale, Kamuku ka ili 2 Mala kalo, Uluwila 3 Mala kato Kaloh ka ili Na Hie. mala kalo.

Helu 8173 - Hoe (Native Register Vol. 8:527) Not Awarded.

Jamas 8242 ini ka ili, Keei hut he ahupuas ?? 16 3 hihabai kalo o Mah li . Keci unku ke ah na Reci mikew, a me na kik Jama rihapai nula 3. Reci Kona Hawan Samaro 24, 1818

Helu 8242 – Iama (Native Register Vol. 8:529) Not Awarded.

532 Ravier 849 ilans aina Mohupuni . Hawai Afana 3, Sui 2. Hauleukulos, Kaakuli ili uuku lis, 8 mala kike, 9 ma bai alani, 2 mala maia, Ara hele mala Kahi'l Kahia, Marin amuten wyton los, 10 Mala kalo, 1 Pm e, 1 kumu alami, 1 hau, 4 hale, 4 c Kalo, Mala. kulana aina Mai 2, Ana ela kalo, laile kow kitupai, 2 Mala Kalo, Kaa ili ama 5 Mala kalo - Marini . ka mun mon a ka emana i ke kii ma ka

8498 <u>Samuale</u> Mokupuni Hawaii. Il 156 Kap. No Manule a me 50 Kapuai Maawa a me Malawaina Keio Fisk 181 Rahuai Hamuku, 1 Mala Kalo, ili aina & Alapaiki, 1 mala wala 1 mala inu. Na Kanwale

Helu 8498 – Kauwale, Kaawa, and Kalawaia (Native Register Vol. 8:112)

na aina ma bici 2 ke ahupuan, o Kaukuli ka ili, Kalea apai kalo, I kikapai kopo. Kamuku ko ili Ikihapai ma ka 10, o Kaluaaka ilio ka ili 1 kihapai kalo, 1 kiha Maea mui kon Seleapche vapai kalo. No Kumai kino, oria kahi kuleano 20 mons tenlianas ic v Now no heaka

Helu 8574 - Keaka (Native Register Vol. 8:536) Awarded.

Kunika The hand have home kuleans, he wake to Kei, he wahi p na is ve, ais i Hawaii i he kanaka mo e Siai ana, to, he hale m rau, g how, mai kin man makua ma

neiu 0510 - nanina (ivalive negislei vui. 0.330) Awarueu.

He. Soc F Sechohii Joo K He pahale ma Maine 1161 kapuai kanapuni a panaine Mohupum' o Hawai Hai 2, Apana 3. Iaan is Mohushai, T Sanie, 2 Punhale, 3 Ha Ruleana annia, ili unter low, Rece 2 Mala 1

Helu 9652 - M. Loe & Keohokii (Native Register Vol. 8:635) Not Awarded.

pahale 501, kapuai ke ana pumi, Oio kon kuleana, aina . te ea ili 1 kihapai kalo, ais ma seci nui ke Anupuan y kikapai malo

Helu 9674 - Hoope (Native Register Vol. 8:563) Not Awarded.

awahine Cia hiu kukane o Kawiki ka ili maloko o Teci mii ke ahupuaa 3 ki-bapai balo, 1 kihapai kope, 9 kihapai uala, 1 kihapai uhi: Cia hou o Kapuleatua ka ili , 3 kihapai uala, 1, kihapai ipu Nawahine

Helu 9675 - Nawahine (Native Register Vol. 8:563) Not Awarded.

Namochai bis kin huleans Hullo ka ili L kihufai kale, " kihapai wala, o Koheloa ka ili 2 kihapai kalo. Kamoakai;

Helu 9676 - Kamoekai (Native Register Vol. 8:563) Not Awarded.

9680 Taile Vare Opeopekan Eia ko mana wahi kulvana Maleolono ku ili ona Hui mui ke Ahupuan 10 kihapai kale 5 kihapai wala, I kihapai wala, I Mala mini. Na Paelo one Opeopekan 1681

Helu 9680 – Paele (Native Register Vol. 8:564) Not Awarded. & Helu 9681 – Opeopekau (Native Register Vol. 8:564) Not Awarded.

1682 Napanaia Oupanuu Oin kois kuleana o Halorhno ka ili, 4 kihapai kalo. Kihapai nala, ain kaki ma Kalua kadis, 2 la kapai kalo Hufamaia

Helu 9682 - Kapanaia (Native Register Vol. 8:564) Not Awarded.

Hum Gin kin man kuleana, ! Mala wala ara ma so Mala wala, aia i Waipun aula 1 Mala wala how, aia na kukahu Waipun aula, 2 Mala kalo, aia malaila aio ma Kilva.

Helu 9722 - Keoni (Native Register Vol. 8:566) Awarded.

Kahahol Ein kin huleana ma Lela jan Ekale & kake pai wale, 1 Mala Wara, 1 Mala Jeals

Helu 9773 - Kapahola (Native Register Vol. 8:573) Not Awarded.

bia kin huliana ma Siliapuhe ka ili 11 kuhapai kali, 4 kulapa pala, 1Mala mari, 1 Mala kipo, 2 Mala kali huu. Na Su 1

Helu 9774 - Ku (Native Register Vol. 8:573) Not Awarded.

Eva horo kulvana ona Selvapeke ka'di 12 kihapai kalo, 2 Mala wala, 1 Mala kato how, Mala maia

Helu 9775 – Luhe (Native Register Vol. 8:573) Not Awarded.

4776 Hetera uleano to hohelva ka ili 5 Malo kalo, ara kahi ma aieie, 2 Mala nala, Ma Kaaia 2 Mala nala, Ma mon 1 Mala vala, ma Hauiki 1 Mala vala, 1. baka anana a buni kin . 14 543

Helu 9776 - Kekoa (Native Register Vol. 8:573) Not Awarded.

Walawawa Mei Hawaii Apana 3. Ipahale he 120 Mapuai ka In, be kapusi ta lacela, 360 Kapuni Kamapuni Mula an anin, Haleslono y Mula Kate. 1 Mala ko Mala muia, 1 Mala ohe, 1 Kumu alami, Kalawawa.

Helu 9778 - Kalauaua (Native Register Vol. 8:574) Not Awarded.

Kabiki Mohupuni , Hawai Abando. pahale 399 kapuai a pumi He ili aina Sein me See k Kahiki .

Helu 9783 - Kahiki (Native Register Vol. 8:575) Awarded.

Akupuan, a me na muo anne matoko 5, Ona hikapui i ma-hiia a ulu na me a kami 2 kitoafai uala; Tope 2, Statof, Wauka 2, Ora kahi kulana la,

(continued) Helu 9783 - Kahiki (Native Register Vol. 8:576)

Soe balvale no Loc ma Keer Apana I Mona hima . Make kalmai ke awa pum bala Humu 5 bana 3, al ma deci awaii, 2220 kapuai ke anapuni Humu kau kai

Helu 9943 – Loe (Not Awarded). & Makaiahai (Native Register Vol. 8:581) Awarded (see 9652 C).

586 ano 22. 1848 10.210 Main 2. Maluar Suliana aine Merini H. 4 Mala un

Helu 10210 - Naea (Native Register Vol. 8:586) Awarded.

Maniii 102 Kuleana aine Mokupuni + Hawaii , Mui 2 ke ahupuan, ko ili 2 Mala wala, 3 Mate kate, Malusakai lio ka ili. 1 Inalı kalo, Murela 3 Mala kulo.

Helu 10211 - Manini (Native Register Vol. 8:586) Not Awarded.

Kee Harrail Mahiole ahale 530 kapuai ke anapuni, Ili ama . In kalo, 1 min Pulehuino ili ama . Hesho Sulana la, Hamiki ile Mala us ance o Inhill I Mala nala,

Helu 10254 – Mahiole (Native Register Vol. 8:587) Not Awarded.

588 Reas

(continuation) Helu 10254 – Mahiole (Native Register Vol. 8:588)

bahale kua ma ka Mohufumi , Hawaii Apuna 3, Mui ke waa , 23 y kapuai a fumi - Nuco huhuna,

Helu 10376 - Naea (Native Register Vol. 8:592) Awarded.

594 10,385 Napahi. He pahale kin ona 516 kapuai a pum. Theor, i Sonn i ka Borke fumi . Hawaii, Napahi hamu kala -

Helu 10385 - Napahi (Native Register Vol. 8:594) Not Awarded.

Hai' - Kine Hawan hai kale ma Habelom ka ile, Steei sui la ahupuar, 1 mala wale Keei unken de aluchuse, 19males nala when the abufuar, I'd' aime o blukukahi hoa kaili 18 ahale ma kahukai so Jahine alo en bau

Helu 10987 – Wahinealoha (Native Register Vol. 8:607) Awarded.

Veci Stona Hawai Wahawai 10,988 iapuai a puni ma ka Mohupuni o Hawaii upuan , Civi sea kuleana aina Pahon ke am ka uua takapai'ualah, he kikapai kope

Helu 10988 - Wahiawai (Native Register Vol. 8:607) Awarded.

Thei Time Hourail Main 10.989 kou man kuleans pahale 324 kapuai ke anapuni o kun ili une no steer untio, oci teri man habana ma tee ele, a he ilíanio .

Helu 10989 - Waiu (wahine) (Native Register Vol. 8:607) Awarded.

Ke'ei – Native Testimony

Hinduly Mar. 4, 1854 5368. ahahi Paukunshing Horhiking hearthe an i have man aine ma Kina Hawan Muluar . Healies Ponai na ficline manter he kee chini. Kan o Keslie Hakai he kevanalu Hohale aine " Haulestin. . The funce makalawanes Pori na fealine, Manka 1 he kushim, Han, ahupuse o makande, maker hinansles, Hohste ahufuras . Awaker, Ahufman Kaik, Ponis na pelus, manka kushur, Then Keit he ahufuas makai tinanale, Kohala he ahufura o Hahautre Some li Korhikis, Purepa Aberfuras. Ma marfisho ián kira aina 2 lika me tia olelo a Akating ma kana palapala Kuleana ana ma Kohala Hausa Maukes ala la mai Hohale loko a hili i mahu kena, Kone Punpa I makai kuanaly

Helu 5368 – Akahi (Native Testimony Vol. 3:740) Awarded.

741. 777 Hamakue. alupuae . Hukisaa I higunater Muliting herite an i have and me ili . Ulupastus Minti, Penie na falure mauka His Aslofer, Roma Sli . Katahorkat Materi Stio Waitcani, Hamakua . Farmile while uni on makahile inoho ai me maning we ike an i kona cima ke ili ha inva iloko i mama juhana 62 v Kosilu Ponei na fealma untina & I ahana kule, i. Waina 10 M Lo Kanalaus M. aina , Haalilio . Kalaki un love in in this · kawa oke Trance makele anei ka m H. ann atka ia kua an mai ka mois Kameha a kunaka ilok ka kulo ama malu Lee 19TV10

(Comunueu) Held 3300 - Akam (Native Testimony Vol. 3.741)

du 53 17 Sualine riis Wa the mana paria Tas rest No Mittanowski mai M. N 1823, Pahoa ma Kee Uhupuaa, Un lova me Keaker. 11.1

Helu 5377 - Luahine (Native Testimony Vol. 8:591)

 $\sim \lambda$ Heler Sopolo . (Avao532. B. 8.) ana Hoohikiia Marike mana e o Manufice ma feer thuy varral 1839. ale mia heatra Ka

Helu 6609-B - Popolo (Native Testimony Vol. 8:604) (see Nat. Reg. Helu 8497)

1. Hele 6940 Methuhaupio hikina Ma ike mawa Upan Mainie Mei 2 110 Marnahis ramas Kihapaikalo ili o Ha 47. Aparia & Kikapaitbals mo: H, Pahale mai. Apana 5 Mr. Kamahiai 1. La ma de me haka H(

Helu 7014 56943. Kerohouli Ma ike man i Nahu ai i Ka M. H. 1819; Apana 2. 6 Kinapaistale ina mai Na Mikoa mai Me. H. 1839, A uala ma Maaia, no Mapu mai Mr.H. 181. H. ache Kentie · · · · · · · r (

Heru / 014 & 0943 - Keonoun (Native Testimony vol. 8:002)

V Hele 6944 Hection you Pale & Mahaia Hoolichico Ma ike mana i Rina Mohelva ina Meei 2 abuifinan, No finahine mais H: 1819, Apana 2 Minapainala ma Kauia na no, H. 1844, Apana 3. 4 Mitrahaund Rima i Ria Ma awili no Merhouti mai ny 14. 1839, Mairie elaina habinala ili Hirac No Alpapariate ana mai i Ra Mo. H. 1840. Cale nica Reakca

Helu 6944 - Kekoa (Native Testimony Vol. 8:603)

Hele Jorg Mailopaina nak Jani hi gora Medi ahupua nal Abana 2. Kiliahaitta 10. Ka Me 2 mai i if ma 1 4. Mili na Aufuna M. N. 1819

Helu 7009 - Kaolopana (Native Testimony Vol. 8:604)

Hele yoro Mahue mana i kona shan Cole & Ma nina Mauiki Mui 2 1847, Apa 3 Mihapaikale ohe via mai a Tea mai Rona Mr. H 1844 ihapainala ma Kafia Kei Uhufmaa, Mo 4 1844. // 8 1

Helu 7010 - Kahue (Native Testimony Vol. 8:601)

Helin 7011 Kralips <u>_</u>`- · ÷... Avolitica lla ita o recala ili o Sunhale Thahaika mpiñas, No Makaichai mai M. Rihapai alani ili o Apua Owalawahie mai i hana lo

Helu 7011 - Kalepo (Native Testimony Vol. 8:592)

601 1 Houle 7012 \$7280 He alimminu ahaia H Aira Ita ike Rihaparkalo Mannu Abana aina mai v ha M. H. 1840, Spana 2. Silvapa no Ma mai Mr. H. 1844 Apana 3. nna Naulehia wala me ha ili ? Ľ Fac mai 1844. Aparral Fahalo aa, Ma no is stiana the male lole mea maria i heater, anc

 π eiu τ υτz α τ zου – κάπαπάπαι (ινατίνε restimony voi. ο.ουτ)

1. Alla 7016 B. Murpo Palan & Kawaha Hookikiia Uba ike mana i kono. Plilva ili noa Kulama I Abuspicaa, No Keuwepanittanata mai i Ha Mo H. 1840 Apana 2. Mihapailtalo ili o Kealamaho No Pauchea mai i Ka Mo. H. 1847. Unte mai treatera na pratera i ka aisra o he Moss

Helu 7016 B – Kupo (Keawe & Lilikalani) (Native Testimony Vol. 8:595) (Lilikalani's claim dropped)

Heli yo 25 Main apus Maia Hrohikiia Ita Her maun Pauku Uina ma Maicie ili ina Mr. H. 1840. Apa Kina, himala Mamakine ?

Helu 7025 - Kaui (Native Testimony Vol. 8:603)

V Helii 7030 Mapu <u>Annaliva & Meliva</u> Hoohikiia Wa ike maia i kina Aparia, Ili o Kauia ma Meci 2 No Kaneafina mai i ka Mi, H. 1844, toole mea Maka

Helu 7030 - Kapu (Native Testimony Vol. 8:602)

. Hele yes 5 Kellaune Historia Usa ite c Pahra ma Mee No Sure Apana 2. Pahale ma Mice 2 2.2.2 al Juchine Kiakic n

Helu 7055 - Kekaune (Native Testimony Vol. 8:605)

V Hele 7059 Ruhahimune hikia Ma ike main 10 & Mala ili aina Kihapain o Kapatralica ma ahiatin Role mi 844

Helu 7059 - Kukahimano (Native Testimony Vol. 8:597)

Vilu 7098 Kahais Æ. \$ king Ma the mana i N & inala ili o Kalolo ma Keei Rhup, Ma ha M. H. 1844; Ahana 2 . c. Apama 3. Vai Kana wahine mai no i ha mainy

Helu 7098 - Kahaia (Native Testimony Vol. 8:598)

Hele 9200 Ohia lòn. ahaikalo & wale & Mari Shi o haanin me ha ili o d ralopia aī miai va va i raaw malutio acle Celu 7202 Araanaana Σ ia Ura ike mana o Ulurvela Keei 2, 14 a Mahailiopua Mr. H. 1844, Apana 2. 2 Sihapai Cope Alo Maca mai i Ma Mo. Laoliau e Mapia ma Keis alhung mai & Ra Mo H 1819, Juhale Mu 2, Kong. Ke. ve. M. Kalawia ralina. lia enei

, Helu 7202 – Kaanaana (Native Testimony Vol. 8:602)

~ Heli 7213 Kuniahora a stookitaina Wa iku manu spanat a me Muis No Lai mai M. 1840. Anamaz Mapioli Neei 2. No Naupina Aparas - Pahale ma ka.

Helu 7213 – Kumahoa (Native Testimony Vol. 8:601)

I die 721 Kam ۰. ma Kei 2 ahickings, Ma 1844 Apana 2. : Mihapai toope n Mr. HIBAL Jahoa ma Meei, no Suchrine mine 40, Wa notio me tia male, ade me puri na halen ha airia o he ß 1

Helu 7218 – Kaneapua (Native Testimony Vol. 8:601)

Heler 7220 Man Rapolus Wahimealin Haspitica Ili , Kapia & Mapia 3, ma hei No Mahune La M. H. 1819, Aparen 2. Pahale ili o Pahora Mana 1 mai i Ma · ack inca heather Mai na Makua mac

Helu 7220 - Kaukapolua (Kaupolua) (Native Testimony Vol. 8:605)

He eli y2 7 Hakae Hoohikina Wa ike maria i he a) & Kihapaikalo & viala ili & Pulikuisis Kuiz ai mai i ha Mr. H. 1840, Apana 2. 3 Kihap o Kaputialua no Ketua mai i tià M. 14. 1844 2Kihapaikalo & & Kihapauala ma Kaice H. 1840, Apana 3. Kihapaimai Me. Maia ma Kalwackailio Mo.H. 1840.

Helu 7277 B – Hakae (Native Testimony Vol. 8:600) Awarded.

elu)277 Mairro S. S. S. - 5 sapaikalo & wala m Ra I

Helu 7277 E - Naina (Native Testimony Vol. 8:600) Not Awarded.

6 de 7277 Vaakai (lv as 254) Keei Usa the mana i ho Cantrala mia Putehnina May 14. 1844, Apagnos Kilia i ha Me alani ma Maka . Ma Ka mai ti date mere heathe val la la.

Helu 7277 G - Paakai (Native Testimony Vol. 8:600)

li or . Hole 7012 \$7280 No aliminin inia Iba i Rihapaikals, ili o Kam Ahana ha M. aina mai . 184.0, ana M.a_ mai 1a 3. ha di i Fahale Aparral in Na mi 4.1 vana 1110 lole malu ma

Helu 7012 & 7280 – Kahunanui (Native Ťestimony Vol. 8:601)

Heler 7288 Mariaina umaile Hochikina Ma ike mana i Kom Heabachu ma Homannan No bili mai DL dele me 11 . In 1 1

Helu 7288 – Kanaina (Native Testimony Vol. 8:605) (Keei dropped, Honaunau claimed)

529 Hele 7285 Manan Valaihi A Arte Kuleano neiu / 200 - Kanaina (Native festimony voi. 0.529)

Helu 7294 Machiniakule aneakus Hospikina Wa ike mana i kona Aluiakohan Kei 2 ahupuan, Ma Morrian Mannas Bli mai i ha Mo H. 1840, Apanez, 5 Mikapaikalo haiawi rioni ili ma Meiz, No Marriapua mai i ha Apranas, Hiliafraikalo ma Mormo No Mai-16-Mi A 1840, Aparra 4, Kiliapaikale ha í Caniti Apanas Rihapainala ma ha Maieie, Na Waipimaka mai Mo. N. 1840,

Helu 7294 - Kaelemakule (Native Testimony Vol. 8:600)

Helu 8173 Hoe The itre ahaitalo & wala ma uhiaa, Kahi . 202a Nam e mai . 1840 . mai innin

Helu 8173 – Hoe (Native Testimony Vol. 8:598)

Heli 8242 Jama Rumahva & Momeapina Horhikita The mana & Hom Ura Apanas 3 Kitrupai Halo ili a ahioni no Miliapai ili o Mo K. 1844 Aparia mai Huntapolica mai i tha Mask 1844, Apana No - Marpapa niai wa Matua mai M Na prini i ka aina o ke tonie, la halina,

Helu 8242 – Iama (Native Testimony Vol. 8:603)

Helin \$497 Mainin 11 Lal 2 ra 2 .15 annas oneli

Helu 8497 - Kaoiwi (Native Testimony Vol. 8:604)

Nettora 8197 B (avar 532) elì, Rica Wa the mana i hora · Maulepia ina Meer 4. 1844. Apano 2. T.M. Mun admaiana mai. M. · 18/1.

Helu 8497 B – Kekoa (Native Testimony Vol. 8:604)

Helu 55 74 Keaka n. 11.à Naakuli 10 ohe Ana 112. 122 elea

Helu 8574 - Keaka (Native Testimony Vol. 8:604)

V Heler 85 98 Marika amaile Hoopiking Ua ike mana i Mo Apania Pahale ma Kapia ili ma Meei ahupuan Mai na Materia mai i ka Mort. 1819, and keaken Perui na palena. Mo. Kon, Han Naina, M. Loc. Ko Kaamaana,

Helu 8578 - Kanika (Native Testimony Vol. 8:602)

Heln 9943 89652 See Mia maria i hone Vanie ma Rei's ahun Juahine lana 1 2/819. Ahana 2 3 Milvahainala & loop Upupuar, no Kumahoa mai 2 Kilrahaikalo ma Medlachu, vai Ar ka 14 1814, Apasia Nihas 2 Ripatrai bohe Mamie 1823 Apanale Jahale ma Manar. apiluian. aliale o Berin ui 1 ma Mein Mai ma na aprana Sahale i ha Mo H 1819 arte mea heatra la palena, Ma perini i Ra aina o ke Koriohiki n /. A. 1. 1. *

Helu 9652 C - Makaiahai (Native Testimony Vol. 8:591)

592 aliti Hospikija than the many na Pahale ana Punchale ili ma Mei 2 de Inahine mai i ha Mr. H. 1823 Mole son

(continued) Helu 9652 C - Makaiahai (Native Testimony Vol. 8:592)

Hele 9680 89 681 Parle & Opespettan maya i konas haikato & yala allow ili ala 1834. 0 Neri is. 14.0 5.

Helu 9680 & 9681 – Paele & Opeopekau (Native Testimony Vol. 8:598)

V Sto elu go 82 Ma hànaia uv 11A.a.a. ana 2. 1/U liah ma Ro Nala arral ana o Re min a w 117]] nn 1 112

Helu 9682 – Kapanaia (Native Testimony Vol. 8:599)

Keond M: 9922. X_{ij} Moohihing Jevoning Jayo he kirous Kickarica of belt in Waipunaula, sists of several culturated y Ìt im i patches forming one piece u make beauded, marka - by Goit also on the other sides piece marika is planted u not is bounded on all sides The land has not been Gont Land . ted by the labor of the Konshi used the land from his pare is and has ever held it with Palain, Sworn, Says This testion the list N. 1. 201 Second and the second second 1. . . .

Helu 9722 - Keoni (Native Testimony Vol. 8:668)

Heligyss Mahihi piatina Hoohikiia Uba iku mana i Mi c Hawiki ma Reci's Uhuhuaa Ma Tank hana 1 haan mai i ha Mo. H. 1830, Ahana the wahie Kali & Cope & Cauhala & maia ma ia iliama no usla Pahal ma Vicepuino ili màs Kui Uhupina Mai na makua mai i ha M. H. 1819, ande mea Rea. la pissie i Ba ama a Re honohille 110a halina, 1

Helu 9783 - Kahiki (Native Testimony Vol. 8:597)

1 Hiln 9943 89652 See Maria Makainhais Howho king Alia ike maria i hone mai no Apana I Ili a Mairie ma Reei 2 april Jurahine M. H. 1819, Shana 2 3 Rihappiciala & Cope ma in Uhupuar no Rumahoa miai e hana's 2 Kilrapaikalo ma healachu, Apasia le ai tooke ha 2 14 18/4. Kiha i Massa. hapai bohi ia Camiet 1823; Aparra & Jahale mi hard Spana 7. d Kei 2 ahichucan. aliale o Beritania ili ma their mai na makua mai ku ahana Pahale i ha Mo H 1819 ade mea Heaken Ma palena, Ma permi i Ka aina o ke Koriohiki

Helu 9943 & 9652 - Loe (Native Testimony Vol. 8:591)

lu 10376 \$ 10210 Maia ramar terí 122 lessa, Noa

Helu 10376 & 10210 - Naea (Native Testimony Vol. 8:597)

6 0 🖌 1 Helu 10211 Man in the ike mana i home of hapaikalo ili o Hawiki, na. Mahiki mai'i 1840, Aparia 2, 4 Mikapaikalo ma Ulurvela, no mai i ka My, 14. 1839, a Spana 3, Kihicha We was i ha Mr di 1840, ache mee treaken

Helu 10211 - Manini (Native Testimony Vol. 8:605)

Hele 10254 Mahide ÷. Palihuir maii Rechokii Ma alinitin

Helu 10254 - Mahiole (Native Testimony Vol. 8:597)

598 anas Kihapai ma Kapia ili ma Apuakohan atide mais Apariais Patias, Aparias Mika Mationina ma Kancapus M. H. 1819, Pahale iti o Pahoa ma Seei no hana wai ha Mo. H. 1819, ask mea heatrea in in une mai Na ha ana o he Konotiki, halence, Illa puno

(continued) Helu 10254 Mahiole (Native Testimony Vol. 8:598)

Hele 19 987 Walinealora, Make, Horitino Kailino W; alia Hor a Wa ite mana i Roma Inahine mai InAnhahi ili ma Keei 1819, Aparra 2, 3 Mikapaikale ma Haledon no Kamakuono mai Mr. 14. 1844, 1 ma Kahole & Pahon ili 112a Apane ahale alar Mai na makun

Helu 10987 Wahinealoha, Make, Hooilina Kailiino, W. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:599)

Holu 10988 Maliawai, Make Horiting Kahulu & Chia Hoopikiia Ma ike mana i kona aina Spana ; Sti o Papoa ma Mee's ahup, no Munimu ma ha Mr. 14. 1844, Aparra 2, Juhale ili o Pahon mathei no Michau mai mi H. 1844. aste mier Muchue in in,

Helu 10988 Wahiawai, Make, Hooilina Kahuhu (Native Testimony Vol. 8:599)

Helu 10 989 Maine La & Ka Avolikina Ula ite au i kona Apaira ili o Mapolei ma Meei Aburpiran, Na Mondamo mai MA 1840 Marraz. Pahale ili o Palina Neu's Uhurpurae, Mici ha ma Hane mai My H. 1840, Aole mea Kenkea,

Helu 10989 Waiu (Native Testimony Vol. 8:603)

Helu 11251 Haumu <u> Mari Kana Hawaji</u> Ka Tahaly , Houmid no Steer 2 Hone, Hawaii. Bonno 40° 15° Hikina 140 Mite marke ana Konshiki Akaw 71º 15' Hikino 2.10 Kalua Man 37 Komohana 1.70 Clema 61 16 Komohana 2.10 Konshiki Konshiki a hiki i kahi i hoomaka'i 10 Eka Aloko o keia pahalo he

Helu 11251 Kaumu at Keei nui (as recorded in Mahele Award Book Vol. 7:678 & RP 6689 Vol. 24:751) No Native Register or Testimony found for claim.

Communications Regarding Lands and Resources in Ke'ei (Nui & Iki) January 14, 1852

A. Paki; to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

As in the law, it is necessary for each Konohiki to make known the Protected Fish of their lands, the Fish set apart by Law for them, so I set them forth before you that you may complete your work.

On Hawaii <u>Keei – Ahupuaa Ohua is the Fish...</u> [HSA - Interior Department Land Files]

January 24, 1853

Akahi; to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

...Pursuant to law, I report my lands and the forbidden fish, so that your work will be expedited.

Hawaii:	
Kealia, Ahupuaa	Opelu is the fish.
Keei, Ahupuaa	Kala is the fish.
Makalawena, Ahupuaa	lao is the fish.
Puuepa, Ahupuaa	Uhu is the fish.

These are my lands and the prohibited fish according to the law. It shall be unlawful for people from other places to go on these lands as provided by law... [HSA - Interior Department Land Files]

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.

All these claims are correct as far as I can judge ad 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. <u>I have also surveyed the claims in Keei, and followed the directions of H.E. Paki — enclosed pahales makai and cultivated land mauka, giving the natives all they desired except in few cases where I tho't they were unreasonable. His agents were present.</u>

Please present my acknowledgements to Paki for the assistance he rendered me by his judicious instructions to myself and his own agents... [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):

 $\dots \underline{I}$ send you an additional package of 62 survey of claims in Keei and Honaunau, also one in Kalama which may have been forwarded before... It's No. "8530 – Kawaiki."

I have not quite finished Honaunau, but shall go on Monday and hope to complete the outdoor work in two months.

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 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]

Keei, South Kona

August 21, 1854

J.K. Kahookaumaha; to the Honorable, Mr. Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

An inquiry is hereby made by your humble and lowly servant who resides here in the country concerning a piece of land which is supposed to have been taken over by the government, <u>that ili - small district of land which is known as Haleolono and also</u> known as Kipu according to Law and in the Ahupuaa of Keei, No. 2.

By reason of the uncertainty as to the condition of this land, I hereby make this inquiry, "has the land which is known as Haleolono been taken over by the government?" If it has been taken over, I wish to purchase it and such purchasing may be made through the Surveyor if he happens to come over. This is all what I wish to say on such matter.

Furthermore, please detail a good and reliable man to take up that particular profession, at least a Surveyor who can talk to us with a spirit of kindness and not in a spirit which seems to be provoking like the way which that man Mr. Fuller, the first Surveyor presents himself.

You have known and are familiar with the many past complaints which were made against him (Mr. Fuller). He is really a vicious man and his words especially in responding are very bad indeed and it is not good for my people to hear such language. This may be a sort of a real complaint which I am writing so as to inform you my Majesty... [HSA – Interior Department Land Files]

January 24, 1854

J.W.P. Kamealoha, Clerk for A. Paki; to Ka Elele (Public Notice):

...I am directed by the Honorable A. Paki, to name the prohibited fish of A. Paki's own lands:

...Keei, Hawaii. Ohua is the fish... [HSA - Interior Department Land Files]

Nov. 29th, 1855

C.R. Bishop; to His Excellency Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior

...As one of the administrators upon the Estate of the late A. Paki, I have to make the following representations which you will have the kindness to bring before the Privy Council at the earliest opportunity, as it is important for the interests of said Estate that the matter be acted upon at once.

From the facts that the chiefs generally had by resolution of the Privy Council been entitled to Royal Patents for their lands and that Paki has received such titles to two of his lands, the administrators concluded that he was entitled to Patents for all of his large lands and with that understanding the lands have been appraised and the widow's dower has been set off. Several lands have been sold with the understanding that the administrators deed should be based upon a Royal Patent to Paki, accordingly I applied at the Home Office for the Patents, which I was informed by the Chief Clerk that he could find no resolution of the Privy Council granting such titles to Paki that in August 1850, resolutions were passed granting to Madam Konia, and several of the other Chiefs, Patents for all their lands without any division or commutation other than that of the "Mahele" of 1848, and that if a resolution had been passed in Paki's favor it has not been recorded and was mislaid.

Mr. Thurston, the former clerk in the Interior Dept., who made out the Royal Patent to Paki for two of his lands, is confident that there was on file in that office, a resolution entitling Paki to Patents to his lands, the same as those to Madam Konia and others.

As the resolution in question is not on record in the Home Office and cannot be found there, I would respectfully request that such an one may be passed, to which, it would seem, His late Excellency was entitled.

The proceeds from the lands sold and only waiting the proper deeds to convey, are to be applied to the payment of claims against the Estate, which are running at high interest, and unless the deeds can be passed soon, it may be made by the purchasers, grounds for annulling their bargains; therefore, and for other reasons, you will allow me to add, that I hope there will be as little delay as possible.

If it should be required by the Privy Council that some further commutation should be made before the Patents can be granted. I would state that there are two lli's of land on Molokai. "Naili" and "Haleokama" and a half of an Ahupuaa in Hilo "Pueopaku II", which were willed to Paki by Kaloloa and Kekoa, and to which his right has not been disputed, but which, for want of surveys or proper attention on his part were not awarded by the Land Commission, - that a considerable portion of the land at Hilo has been sold by the Govt. that in the land called Kaluaaha on Molokai, sold by Govt. to Rev. H. Hitchcock, were several lots that equitably belonged to Paki, which he allowed to pass and for which the Govt. recv'd. pay - also that at the time of the "Mahele" in 1848, an Ahupuaa "Koaie" in Kohala, Hawaii, was accidentally omitted, and no title has ever been granted therefore, tho his right to it, subject to the usual division, was never questioned; and I would propose on the part of the estate to relinquish to the Government all claim upon all, or as many as may be deemed just and proper of the above named places, in commutation for the Govt. rights in the lands awarded to Paki, and for which Royal Patents are desired; and if any further commutation is demanded for the lot in Nuuanu called "Niolopa", containing 2 1/2 acres I have to request that the same may be named, so that the title may be completed. In addition to the lands, there are three small lots in Lahaina and two in Honolulu for which there are awards of the Land Commission, but no Patents...

P.S. The lands for which Patents are requested are five in number, one on Maui, three on Oahu, and one on Kauai. C.R.B. [HSA – DLNR 2-4]

Napoopoo, October 6, 1858

J.M. Kanele; to His Highness, L. Kamehameha (regarding restriction of fishery permitting only those of Kahauloa to take fish from the waters fronting said land):

Your letter has been received by me, and I understand your thoughts therein. Like the money spoken of as according to law, therefore, said money is enclosed in this letter.

Here is this, I wish to set restriction on the sea (fishery) of my land [Māhele Award No. 32 & Helu 5239], for the people from other places, that only those who belong to my land to have the right of taking the other fish therein. That is what I think, and if I am mistaken about this, you let me know, or, if it is right, let me know... [HSA Interior Department Land Files]

April 25, 1866

J.H. Kalaiheana, Land Enumerator; to Interior Department

Lands of the King and Government. Names of the lands of South Kona...: <u>Keei 1, an Ahupuaa of Akahi.</u> <u>Keei 2, an Ahupuaa of Pauahi.</u> Honaunau, an Ahupuaa of Haalelea. Keokea, an Ahupuaa of Keelikolani... [HSA – Interior Department Land Files]

April 11, 1878

Bernice Pauahi Bishop and Charles R. Bishop; to Henry Cooper;

Lease of the Ahupuaa of Keei 1st, lately the property of A. Akahi (w) deceased, situate in the said district of South Kona, with all the rights and privileges to the said ahupuaa – belonging, excepting and reserving as follows:

The enclosure near the sea in which is situated the house at times occupied by the said Akahi and her husband Kapaa, as a dwelling, with said house and all other houses and everything else within said enclosure; three kihapai mauka in a place called Mahioni, which have been cultivated in kalo by or for said Akahi and her husband; one acre of suitable land for cultivation of sweet potatoes; all of the cocoanut trees on said Ahupuaa, and the fruit thereof; free pasture for eight animals – horses and or mules on said land, and fish for the use of the said lessors and all persons who may occupy any part of said reserves premises. All of the timber and wood on said Ahupuaa is also reserves by the said lessors, excepting such as may be required by those who may live on said land as fuel to cook their food and the kuleanas which were awarded to tenants by the Board of Commissioners...

For the full term of twenty years... Henry Cooper will... protect all breadfruit, orange and other fruit trees growing on said premises or that may be planted thereon; that he will make and maintain at his and their own cost and expense all fences which the owners of the said land would be obliged or liable to make were they at the time in possession of the land... [KS Collection, Lease No. 171]

January 1st, 1882

Bernice Pauahi Bishop and Charles R. Bishop; to Keanu and Pelio:

Lease of the Ahupuaa of Keei 2, and the fishing rights of the Konohiki, associated with the said ahupuaa. For the period of five years... ... The coconut, orange, breadfruit, coffee and other fruit trees that are, or will be planted upon the lands are to be protected... [KS Collection, Lease No. 180 B]

May 14, 1883

Bernice Pauahi Bishop and Charles R. Bishop; to Keanu and Pelio:

Lease of the Ahupuaa of Keei I (belonging to the late Akahi), and the fishing rights of the Konohiki, associated with the said land; for the period of ten years from April 1st 1883. ... With held from the lease is the house lot at the shore, where sometimes, Akahi and her husband, Kapaa lived, and the houses and other things associated with the house lot... [KS Collection, Lease No. 183 B]

A CHONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF COMMUNICATIONS DESCRIBING RESIDENCY, LAND USE AND PUBLIC RESOURCES IN THE KE'EI VICINITY (CA. 1848-1900)

This section of the study provides readers with detailed descriptions of land use—including: the South Kona Mission Station and native school system; travel; industry; government and private survey; and livelihood—as documented through communications between residents, land- and public-agents, Konohiki land owners, and government officials. The documentation is presented in several subcategories by the kind of records being reported.

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. 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. Reverend J.D. Paris remained in his Kona parish until he passed away in 1892.

Early in the mission history, it became the goal to have a school (for both formal education and spread the Christian word) in each native village. Nearly every ahupua'a had a school with a native teacher. In Ke'ei, the school lot and meeting house was situated near the shore, along the alaloa – old Ala nui Aupuni, near the boundary of Ke'ei 1st and 2nd. The school lot was surveyed by the Government for transfer to the Board of Education in November 1854. The mission station and school records provide us with important information about the families and community of the Ke'ei vicinity.

Selected excerpts from missionary letters and station reports (viewed in the collection of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Library), and selected government records pertaining to affairs of the Minister of Education, are cited below. The narratives provide readers with insight into the history of the region, and transitions in residency. Underlining of place names and emphasis given in selected narratives are used by the author of this study to draw attention to specific narratives —

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... (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 <u>Napopo & Kei [Napoopoo and Keei]</u> as I wish. <u>I suppose there are, something like 2000 inhabitants on that side of the bay in the villages of Kealakekua</u>,

<u>Napopo–Keii [Napoopoo & Keei]</u> & 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)

<u>1855</u> – 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. Of particular interest to the Ke'ei vicinity, are the narratives describing the Ka'awaloa-Ke'ei Station and the Hōnaunau Station It will also be seen that by this time, the functions of church were being separated from those of the schools, the latter being placed under the Office of Public Instruction. Paris wrote:

Mr. Paris' Report 1855

Since our last Annual Report our Church in S. Kona has been reorganized or divided into six branches. Perhaps not in strikt (!) accordance with the Ratio Discipline or Confession of Faith. We hope the Hawaiian Association will see to us on that point.

...The first of these Churches extends Geographically from Hokukano on the North to Onouli on the South... <u>The second Church extends from Kaawaloa to Keei. Its centre</u> <u>is Naapoopoo the old Mission Station.</u> This is the largest of the six churches. It embraces 280 members. With an average congregation of from three to five hundred. Sabbath School & Bible class of about 150 children & adults. This church has three Deacons. Three adults have been admitted during the year on profession of their faith & one who had been Excommunicated restored. With this Chh. & people I spend every other Sab. at least a portion of every other Sab. when not absent on my tours. Here I have a weekly lecture, & have regular meetings with Lunas & Deacons. We also meet here all the Deacons & lunas from the several districts once a month for the transaction of business, consultation & prayer. In these meetings we have reports sometimes verbal & sometimes written, & this keeps each other informed of what is going on.

We are sorry to say that a portion of this Chh. Mostly residing in <u>Keei & Kaawaloa</u> give but little if any evidence of spiritual life & love to Christ. We have many fears that not a few of them are destitute of faith in Christ & are strangers to the new birth. These are dead weights. But we have many good people in this Parish, active Christians. Who love the "gates of Zion – take pleasure in her stones & favour the dust thereof."

...<u>The 3d is the Hoonaunau Church</u>. This Church embraces 169 members. There have been 10 additions to chh. During the year on profession of their faith & one Excommunicated member restores. Three individuals stand propounded for admission at some future time. – 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... [page 3]

...Nahinu a graduate of Lahaina Luna Sem. A Licentiate. He is a native of Kealia S.K. & married his wife at Hoonaunau. He was afterwards called to be a tutor in the Seminary, but owing to the feeble health of his wife & sickness & death of an infant, he has spent a considerable portion of the year in Hoonaunau. He is we think a young man of an excellent spirit, sincere piety & gives promise of extensive usefulness. I have been exceedingly gratified & bless the Lord for his example & influence both over the members of the Chh. & over the children & youth...

Many of the Papists are in the habit of attending our meetings at this Station & we hope some of them have not heard the truth of God in vain...

...The Chh has promised to build a house for Nahinu & we hope his labors & influence will be blest to their spiritual good...

...In reviewing the past we would acknowledge with gratitude & humility, the multiplied mercies of the Great Head of the Church. Loving kindness & tender mercies have crowned us. The health of the native population & foreign residents in South Kona has been during the past year unusually (!) good. We have had no Epidemics & but little sickness of any kind & comparatively but few deaths. It has been a year of peace & plenty. Our hills & valleys have been watered abundantly with the showers of heaven. The Earth has yielded its increase & the ocean abounded with fish. Some of our people we think are more diligent & industrious than in years past. 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 every thing 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 <u>streams</u> of <u>living goats</u>.

The year has been one of progress. Progress in things temporal, & progress in things spiritual. We have had clouds & some dark shadows. But the light has prevailed; & even the clouds have been tinged with light...

...I would remark that the materials collected & gratuitous labour on three houses of worship at Kealia, Naapoopoo & Nawawa, would amount to more than a Thousand dollars over & above the sum paid in cash... [Report of the Mission Station at Kealakekua – MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua. Paris 1855]

<u>1858</u> – 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).

Government Schools and Public Instruction at Ke'ei

In the early years of the Hawaiian Mission, schools and public instruction generally fell under regional mission stations. By the late 1840s, this was changing, the result of several factors — (1) the diminishing native population; (2) the cost of maintaining the schools; and (3) establishment of the Department of Public Instruction as a branch of the Kingdom. Early records of the Minister and Department of Public Instruction, include important documentation pertaining to population and residency.

One of the earliest reports describing schools in Ke'ei was written in 1847. Titled "Papa Hoike Kula Ap. 3 Hawaii," school overseer, G.W. Lilikalani, named the teachers and described the financial resources of the schools:

<u>Ahupuaa</u>	Kumu Ao	Dala Waiwai	
Keei	10 Kuhaupio	Funds	17.50
	-	3 Work days	
Keei	11 Makaiahai	Funds	12.12
		3 Paila	
		4 Work days…	
		[HSA Series 262, General Reports]	

In 1848, Mataio Kekuanāo'a, the Minister of Public Instruction, ordered an inspection of schools on Molokai, Maui, and Hawaii. The inspector (not identified in the original journal) recorded the following report on schools of Ka'ū and Kona —

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

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

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

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

February 15, 1854

S.W. Papaula, School Supervisor; to R. Armstrong, Minister of Education (regarding whether it s appropriate for teachers to be required to work Konohiki labor days):

...The Konohiki persist in requiring the teachers and assistant teachers to work, being a great hardship on them... This is as nothing to the Konohiki. <u>This Konohiki is I.W.</u> <u>Aumai, the one who has the land of A. Paki and Konia, the land is Keei</u>. It is up to you to make known your thoughts on this... [HSA – Series 261, Pub. Inst. Lands]

November 13, 1854

School Lot at Keei Ahupuaa, South Kona, District 4, Hawaii.

Beginning at the Southern, shoreward corner of this lot, adjoining that of Kaanaana. North 76° 30' East 160 links on Kaanaana's land. North 4° 00' West 55 links along the Konohiki's land. South 85° 00' West 150 links along the Konohiki's land. South 4° 00' East 90 links to the point of commencement. Therein being 12/100 Acres. [Figure 2]

South Kona School Report for the period of Oct. 1, 1858 to January 1, 1859: loane Keei 54 Students 32 boys 22 girls

Keei 54 Students 32 boys 22 girls School house not good. Teacher is somewhat careless... [HSA – Public Instruction Series 262 – Hawaii]

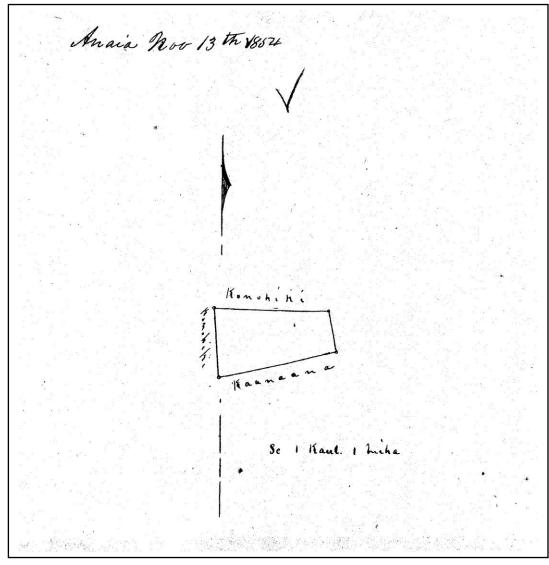


Figure 2. Keei School Lot. J.W. Makalena, Surveyor (Approved May 15, 1855) [Land Division School Grant Packet 4]

July 13, 1864

S.W. Papaula; to J.S. Low:

... 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. Some schools are lacking though, being unsatisfactory. Perhaps later they'll improve.

The schools are on vacation for the entire month of July until August, when the schools will commence again... [HSA Series 261, Box 8]

School Inspector's Report, Island of Hawaii; Inspector's tour beginning on July 19, 1865:

<u>Keei.</u> Kept in a good wooden house near the entrance to Kealakekua bay. 50 scholars. Examined them and the scholars of Napoopoo together. Their study were marked with haste and carelessness and great want in discipline.

<u>Napoopoo.</u> A stone house well built. Shingled roof, plastered floor, standing on its own & on Government land, but unfenced and neglected. The school reports 64 children. Being unable to procure a suitable mistress to take full charge of a female school in the locality including <u>Keei</u>, I appointed an assistant woman at Napoopoo to teach the girls sowing and housework, while the boys were at work with the teacher... [HSA - Series 262 PI Reports 1841-1900 fldr. 1865 (Hawaii)]

July 7, 1868

D.H. Nahinu, Assistant School Agent;

to A. Fornander, Inspector General of Schools:

Examination of Keei School, July 3.

<u>School at Keei.</u> Mahanahana is the teacher. There are 29 students, 17 boys and 12 girls. There are 12 in reading, 11 in arithmetic, 29 in geography, 11 in handwriting. The reading, arithmetic and penmanship were good. The geography was better prepared. This was better than the other schools today. The parents were pleased and many of them came.

<u>School House at Keei.</u> This is a good stone house with wood shingles, flooring, chairs. The glass in the windows is lacking. The wind and rain comes inside. This should be fixed soon. That's the only problem... [HSA – Series 261 Box 10]

In 1877, S.P. Napahi was the teacher at Ke'ei, twenty students were enrolled, and the school was described as a "Hale pohaku" (Stone house) in good condition (Series 262, Agent Reports, 1877). That same year, a field inspection was conducted, and the following observations were reported:

South Kona

April 28, 1877

H.R. Hitchcock (Inspector of Schools),

to C. R. Bishop (Pres. Board of Education):

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

Population and economic considerations, led to the closure of hundreds of schools around Hawai'i. Among the closures was the school at Ke'ei, it's students combining with those of Nāpo'opo'o (near Kepulu), and Hōnaunau (originally on the shore). It appears that the school at Ke'ei was closed by 1882. at that time, S.P. Napahi was still the teacher, though enrollment had dropped to 16 students (HSA – Series 262, School Agent Reports); less than the number required to support a school.

Trails (Ala Hele) and Government Roads (Alanui Aupuni) of the Kealakekua -Ke'ei- Hōnaunau Region

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

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

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

Along these trails which pass through Ke'ei and the larger South Kona region are found a wide variety of cultural resources, including, but are not limited to residences (both permanent and temporary), enclosures and exclosures, wall alignments, agricultural complexes, resting places, resource collection sites, ceremonial features, ilina (burial sites), petroglyphs, subsidiary trails, and other sites of significance to the families who once lived in 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. Portions of both the near shore and upland alahelealaloa 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 some of the routes were moved far enough inland so as to make a straight route, thus, taking travel away from the shoreline.

By the 1840s, the modified alignments became a part of a system of "roads" called the "Ala Nui Aupuni" or Government Roads. Work on the roads was funded in part by government appropriations, and through the labor or financial contributions of area residents—adults working the "Poalua" tax days, and prisoners working off penalties (see Government communications in this study).

Generally, the mauka-makai trails in individual ahupua'a were maintained by the residents for their use (as protected by the Kingdom through Kuleana Act of 1850). And only selected mauka-makai trails were made into formal government roads. This does not imply that the right of access for native tenants (as provided for in the Kuleana Act of 1850) in given ahupua'a were not protected, it simply means that the Kingdom chose to expend funds on primary routes of benefit to the larger public.

The following communications are a part of a collection of records from native residents and government officials regarding travel through the Kealakekua -(Ke'ei)- Hōnaunau region. The letters identify residents of given lands, the nature of trails and roads, and the evolution of travel in the region through 1900. Underlining of place names and emphasis given in selected narratives are used by the author of this study to draw attention to specific narratives —

August 13, 1847

Governor Kapeau (Governor of Hawaii); to Keoni Ana (Minister of the Interior):

...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......<u>The roads from Kailua and down the pali of Kealakekua</u>, and from Kailua to Honokohau, Kaloko, Ooma, the place where our King was cared for, and from thence to Kaelehuluhulu [at Kaulana], are now being surveyed. <u>When I find a suitable day, I will go to Napoopoo immediately, to confer with the old timers of that place, in order to decide upon the proper place to build the highway from Napoopoo to Honaunau, and Kauhako, and thence continue on to meet the road from Kau.... The 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... [HSA Int. Dpt., Roads; translation revised by Maly]</u>

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. <u>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]</u>

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 Puuohau to Onouli 1; Division 2, from Onouli 2 to Kealakekua; <u>Div. 3, from Kiloa to Keei 1; Div. 4, Keei 2 to Honaunau;</u> Div. 5, Keokea to Kealia 2: Div. 6, Hookena to Waiea; Div. 7, Honokua to Kaohe; Div. 8, Kukuiopae 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...

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

...From Kiloa 1 to Keei 1, 119 persons;

From Keei 2 to Honaunau, 111 persons... [Interior Department Misc. Box 146]

Keopuka

August 1, 1871 Henry Cooper (Kona Road Supervisor),

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

...I beg to inform you in regards to the roads in South Kona. I have worked the roads for about 18 miles from North to South, say from your Highness' place to Kukuiopae, the roads thus far are in fairly good order.

I have remade two miles of road on the beach across the lands of Keei & Honaunau, this improvement was much required as the road had become almost impassable. From Kukuiopae to Kapua there is some 12 miles of bad road... I would also say that on the newly made piece of road before mentioned, then natives allow their goats to run at large thereby doing more damage in one month than would be done by ordinary travel in a year. I have posted notices without effect, and would ask your Excellency's instructions upon the subject... [Interior Department, Roads Hawaii Folder 8]

Hookena

November 8, 1890

D.H. Nahinu (South Kona Road Board), to C.N. Spencer (Interior Department) (Reports that Road Board has appointed Cantoniers for South Kona):

...With your permission, I state to you that Mr. Kalanipoo can not do the work appointed him with tools that are broken. This is my description in compliance with the Law.

Here also is list of the size and different sections of the roads, their mileage and the people who are responsible to work them, and the pay that is considered right. There only remains the road that descends to the shore at Kaawaloa. If it is determined that the work should be done, it will be started immediately.

The Divisions are thus:

...Section 2. From J.D. Paris to Napoopoo, 2 ³/₄ miles. The road is set, no changes. Kaiopua, cantonier. \$25.00 per month.

Section 3. Napoopoo to Honaunau, 3 ½ miles. It is not in good condition. S.W. Kino, cantonier. \$20.00 per month...

...Section 9. Upland road from Honokua to Kiilae, not set, 5 miles. S.K. Kauwe, cantonier. \$25.00 per month.

Section 10. Upland road from Kiilae to Kahauloa, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Mokulehua, cantonier. $\$25.00\ \text{per month}.$

Section 11. Upland road from Kahauloa to Kaawaloa, 2 ¹/₂ miles. Kualau, cantonier. \$20.00 per month.

Here also is a diagram which I have drawn of the road. It is perhaps not exactly right, but by it you and see the length of the road is 43 ½ miles... [HSA Interior Department Roads, Box 41; Maly Translator]

December 3rd, 1890

Geo. W.R. King; to H.W. McIntosh Esq., Supt. of Public Works (Report on findings of Inspection on Roads, Island of Hawaii):

...I herewith present my report of the work entrusted 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 makai road from Hookena to Napoopoo is in bad shape and needs some attention from the local board. Mr. Nahinu will however, attend to the matter.

At Napoopoo a wharf is asked for but as no steamer stops there except for cattle, it is perhaps not really needed now. 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... [HSA Interior Department Roads, Box 41]

December 31, 1897

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

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

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

Road Report of the South Kona Road Board for the Quarter ending March 31st, 1898

Thos. H. Wright, Chairman, South Kona Road Board:

Feby. Repair Napoopoo to boundary Brunner & Gasper	106.50
March Repair Napoopoo to boundary Brunner & Gasper	104.00
Paid in April by Chm. THW work for quarter \$477.80	

Condition of Roads Viz.: Gaspar Road. Lantana crowding need repair. Brunner Road good, needs a little repair.

Napoopoo Road badly washed out by heavy rain needs at least 2 culverts to run the water off from there on to the boundary Halekii it will cost about \$400.00 to put it in proper repair if not more.

Napoopoo to Hookena beach was in an fearful condition its need repair of the worst kind the Walahaka Pali very dangerous. This road its used every day for the convenient of the public going and back to these places, it will cost a big lot of money to put it in shape.

The old mauka Govt. road leading from Honaunau to the Napoopoo new road now under repair it is done so for the convenient of getting to Napoopoo. The new Govt. Road being so far out away, no convenient pass Roads to get either to the two landings. This road and the beach road its the most needful to the community... [HSA Interior Department Roads, Box 42]

Report

Road Board South Kona, Hawaii Quarter ending Dec. 31, 1898 Thos. H. Wright, Kona Road Board Chairman; to James A. King, Minister of Interior:

...The condition of our roads is fair from Kuaimoku to the north boundary, with the exception in want of new top dressing which it will be an heavy expense to the board. We are trying to let it out by contract in sections.

Beach Trail from Napoopoo to Hookena in a very bad condition. The last Legislature has appropriated the sum of \$400.00 for repair of the said trail, but the board has not been able to draw the sum. How can the board draw this amount from the treasury?

Culvert on the mauka road "by J.G. Machado" let out on contract for \$190.00. Where this culvert will be the road will widen about 8 or 10 ft., its done so to avoid the heavy fall of the water, the whole work will cost about \$250.00.

Other sundry expenses Accident by freshet Napoopoo Road Cement & Lime for three half culverts on the	\$5.00
Napoopoo Road. Accident by freshet in May 1898	45.50
One of the above half culverts, totally destroyed by another freshet.	
Slight repair on Lazaro road	3.55
2 Bbls Cement for repairing Culvert above Gaspars.	\$14.00
Labor on same \$12.25	26.25
Repairing road from Hookena to Kiilae	86.85
Repairing road from Kiilae to Paris	39.00
Making a big turn at the Junction "by Miss Paris"	
of Napoopoo & Mauka Road	106.75
Repairing road from Napopoo Landing to the	
North Boundary	71.60
[HSA Interior Department Roads, Box 42]	

Ke'ei and Vicinity Boundary Commission Proceedings– Kama'āina Testimony on Boundaries, Practices, and Features

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

The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the area being discussed. For lands in the Kealakekua-Hōnaunau vicinity, including Ke'ei, many of the informants stated that they were either born on one of the lands being described, or that they had lived there most of their lives. All of the witnesses had learned of the boundaries from elder residents, and they described the landscape by the nature of the terrain, the presence of resources, land use, and features which were of significance to the residents of the land.

The oldest informants were born around 1795, by association with events described at the time of their birth, and the youngest, born around 1812. The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Readers here will note that there are often inconsistencies in spelling of particular words such as place names, people names and natural or man-made features. Register Maps — No. 1282 (J.S. Emerson, ca. 1892); No. 1445 (J.S. Emerson, 1888); and No. 1457 (D.H. Hitchcock, 1875; Bishop Estate Map No. 45) identify the boundaries of the two Ke'ei and neighboring lands, including some of the locations (natural and manmade) described in the testimonies. The following narratives are the testimonies of native tenants and others familiar with the lands of Ke'ei as given before the Commission⁷. Underlining and square brackets are used by this author to highlight particular points of historical interest in the narratives.

Boundary Commission Volume B - Hawaii

The Ahupuaa of Keei 1st District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii, 3rd J.C.

On the 6th day of June 1874 the Commissioner of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3d J.C. met at the house of K. Kamauoha, Kealakekua, South Kona on the application of C.R. Bishop agent fro Madam Akahi, fro the settlement of the boundaries of Keei 1st...

Petition Honolulu January 14th, 1873 R.A. Lyman, Esq. Power of Boundaries Hilo, Hawaii

Dear Sir:

You are hereby respectfully requested to define and settle the boundaries of the following named lands on Hawaii belonging to Madam Akahi.

Kealia Ahupuaa S. Kona bounded: North by Kauleoli belonging to Hanalii Palauolelo; South by Kealia belonging to R. Keelikolani; Mauka by Keauhou belonging to Est. of Kamehameha; Makai by the Sea.

Keei 1st Ahupuaa in S. Kona bounded: North by Kahauloa owned by C.R. Bishop; South by Keei 2nd belonging to Mrs. C.R. Bishop; Mauka by Keauhou belonging to Est. of Kamehameha; Makai by the sea...

Makalawena Ahupuaa in N. Kona bounded both north and south I think by lands belonging to the Government mauka by _____ and makai by the sea.

Ulupaalua IIi in several pieces in Niulii Kohala, bounded. The surveys of the above made by Kaelemakule and the notes of the survey are in the hands of S.C. Wiltse.

⁷ 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 (measurements will be found in original records). Volumes from which documentation was excerpted is indicated at beginning of each land record, and page numbers as recorded in the original "Folio" of recordation are cited in brackets.

Testimony

Kaluna Sworn:

I was born at Kohala, Hawaii in 1824, have lived on Keei 1st for over twenty one years and am a kamaaina of the land, as I have been with old kamaaina and had the boundaries pointed out to me. Kahula showed me the boundaries between Keei 1st and Kahauloa. Kumahoa (now dead) showed me the boundaries between Keei and Kahauloa. Mokuape a rock in the sea, is the boundary at shore between Keei 1st and Kahauloa, it is on the north side of a place called Kaneahuea. Thence up awaawa [a gulch or grotto] to Mahana on the South side of the lauhala grove, there are some lauhala on Keei. Thence to Kaahuamoa a lauhala grove. The iwi aina [division wall] can be seen along here. Thence to awaawa at the mauka Government road, I think the name is Kaulukahi. This is as far as I know the boundaries on that side. I have heard that the land runs up to Palinui where it is cut off by Kahauloa and Keei 2nd. Bounded makai by the sea; ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. The boundary at shore between Keei 1st and Keei 2nd is a large rock in the sea, called Pohakuloa. Thence to Pelekane, a house; thence to Umiwai a water hole, there is an ili aina there: thence to Kakalaioa, a place on the Government road: thence to Puukaliu a resting place on the old trail; thence to Kuokala a lauhala grove; thence to Kuaeleele breadfruit trees; thence passing on the north side of Paapuaa, thence to Nauluawele [Nauluoweli]; thence to Kuainui, bread fruit trees. I saw Kaelemakule survey from shore to the Government road. Kahula and Kumahoa were his kamaaina. I do not know what he sighted to on the pali. He did not survey above the road, but merely sighted to the pali, mauka loa. I do not know boundaries above the road. CX'd

Note:

Kapa^{K.} on the part of applicant and J.G. Hoapili; admits that testimony given by witnesses in relation to boundaries between Keei 1st and Keei 2nd as given in evidence for Keei 2nd August 5th, 1873 and for boundaries between Keei 1st and Kahauloa as given in evidence for Kahauloa August 5th and 7th, 1873 is the same as would be given if witnesses were again examined on Keei 1st iki. And Kapa asks to have it recorded as evidence as to boundaries of Keei 1st as he has no more witnesses to bring forward. Kamaaina being all dead.

Evidence on the Boundaries of Keei 2nd adjoining Keei 1st taken the 5th day of August A.D. 1873 at Keopuka, South Kona, Hawaii.

Kalalahua ^{K.} Sworn:

The boundary at shore between the two Keei's is at Pelekane a kauhale [house site], the boundary line is at a place called Umiwai mauka of Pelekane; thence mauka along Keei 1st to Kakalaioa, on the pahoehoe on the Government road; thence to Puuokapu, thence to Kuaeleele. (The boundary follows an iwi aina all the way from the shore to the mauka end.)

Thence to the north side of Paapuaa, to the mauka Government road, to a place called Nauluawale, thence to Kuainui, a grove of bread fruit trees. This is as far as I know the boundaries.

K. Kamauoha ^{K.} Sworn:

A place at the shore called Halama is said to be the boundary between the Keei's said place being on Keei 1st iki. Umiwai is a spring near the boundary. Pelekane is a pahale on the boundary makai of Umiwai; from thence the boundary runs to the South side of a place called Kakalaioa, to Puuokapu, a hill mauka of the Government road. I do not know the boundaries mauka of this point... Evidence on the Boundaries of Kahauloa adjoining Keei 1st taken at Keopuka South Kona, Hawaii.

Kalalahua Sworn:

The boundary at shore between Keei 1st and Kahauloa 2nd is at a place called Kaneahuea a rock in the sea outside of the cove is called Pohakuloa thence the boundary runs mauka, to Kaahuamoa, thence along the iwi aina and crossing the Government road into the Lauhala. Thence to Kahoopulu at the mauka Government road. That is as far as Kaelemakule went, when he surveyed the land. Kahula was the kamaaina, and Kaluna and another man (now dead) went with them. I have been told that Keei 2nd Nui joins Kahauloa in the woods, cutting off Keei 1st Iki.

South Kona, August 6th, A.D. 1873

Kahula Sworn:

I live at Kahauloa, and my parents who are now dead showed me the boundaries of that land. Keei 1st iki bounds it on the South side, but I did not see Kaelemakule survey Keei, and I do not know the boundaries at the shore. Palinui is the mauka corner of Keei 1st iki (of Akahi) and Kahauloa. Kaneaa is a pile of stones, makai of the mauka Government road. Kahoopuula is an awaawa on the boundary at the Government road. From Kaneaa the boundary runs makai along an iwi aina to Kahuamoa a pile of stones thence makai to Mahana a pile of stones thence to Kaneohuea, the pahoehoe at the foot of the pali being on Keei 1st iki and the pali on Kahauloa. Fishing rights in shallow water only.

Keopuka, South Kona

August 7th, A.D. 1873

Kamauoha Sworn:

I was born at Keei, Kona, Hawaii in 1839, know the land of Kahauloa 2nd Nui having lived there a good while; and know a part of the boundaries. The boundary at shore between Keei 1st iki is at a place called Kaopapa, a rock in the sea near Kaneahuea and on Keei. From thence I have been told the boundary runs up on aa to Kauaa, a ridge and awaawa, thence to Kumakalehu, a grove of trees on the middle road. I have heard that the awaawa called Kulukahi is the boundary; Kahoopulu is the kukui grove near the boundary and the awaawa runs through this grove. These are the boundaries that I have seen. I have heard that it runs to Palinui, in the woods, and that Keei 1st iki ends there.

Testimony Closed.

Decision

Boundaries of Keei 1st iki are decided to be given as evidence.

Notes of Survey to be filed, previous to issuing Certificate of Boundaries R.A. Lyman, Commissioner of Boundaries

Maps and Notes of survey filed by D.H. Hitchcock June 27th, 1876 [Bishop Estate Map No. 45] [Volume B pages 224-228]

Boundary Commission Volume 1. No. 3 – Hawaii In evidence see Folio 224 Book B. or No. 2. Land Boundary Commission No. 107 – Hawaii, 3 of J.C.

Certificate of the boundaries of Keei 1st. District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii. Third Judicial Circuit.

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

I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of the Ahupuaa of Keei 1st situated in the District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii to be as here in after set forth.

Giver under my hand at Hilo, Hawaii. This Twenty Seventh day of June, A.D. 1876.

R.A. Lyman, Commissioners of Land Boundaries Third Judiciary Circuit.

Boundaries of Keei 1st

Commencing at Pelekane on boundary of Keei 2nd at sea coast and running along the coast as follows: Magnetic Variation 8° 30' East.

- 1. North 20.14° East 34.77 chains to boundary of Kahauloa to rock marked K. Thence along boundary at Kahauloa as follows: [page 246]
- 2. North...East... chains to ahu on aa mauka of Govt. rd.;
- 3. North...East... chains;
- 4. North...East... chains to ahu in aa;
- 5. North...East... chains to ohia tree in sides of ravine;
- 6. North...East... chains to ahu;
- 7. North...East... chains to upper Govt. road;
- 8. North...East... chains to mauka corner of the land;
- 9. South...East... chains across upper end to Keei 2nd. Thence along boundary of Keei 2nd as follows:
- 10. South...West... chains;
- 11. South...West... chains to upper Govt. Road;
- 12. South...West... chains along stone wall;
- 13. South...West... chains along stone wall to ahu;
- 14. South...West... chains;
- 15. South...West... chains to ahu at lower Govt. Road;
- South...West... chains; 17. South...West... chains;
 South...West... chains; 19. North...West... chains;
- 20. North...West... chains; 21. North...West... chains;
- 22. North...West... chains to rock marked X, and continuing an area of 1,106 acres more of less.

R.A. Lyman, Commissioner of Land Boundaries

Third Judicial Circuit... Surveyed by D.H. Hitchcock \$21.25 paid by applicant. [page 247]

Boundary Commission Volume 1 A – Hawaii. The Ahupuaa of Keei 2nd District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii (For Petition see Folio 225)

Testimony

Kalalahua^{K.} Sworn:

(Same witness as on Honaunau)

The boundary at shore between the two Keeis is at Pelekane a kauhale, the boundary line is at a place called Umiwai, mauka of Pelekane; thence mauka along Keei 1st to Kakalaioa, at the Government road on the pahoehoe; thence to Puuokapu; thence to Kuokala a Lauhala grove; thence to Kuaeleele (the boundary follows an iwi aina all the way from the shore to the mauka end). Thence to the North side of Papuaa to mauka Government road, to a place called Nauluawele; thence to Kuainui, a grove of bread fruit trees, this is as far as I know on the boundaries.

The boundary at shore between Keei 1st and Kahauloa 2nd is at a place called Kaneahuea a rock in the sea; outside of the cove is called Pohakuloa; thence the boundary runs mauka to Kahuamoa; thence along the iwi aina, and crossing the Government road into the lauhala thence to mauka Government road to Kahoopulu. That is as far as Kaelemakule went when he surveyed [page 283] the land. Kahula was the kamaaina and Kaluna and another man (now dead) went with them. I have been told that Kahauloa cuts this land off and joins Kuainui in the woods. CX'd.

No Witnesses being present the case is continued till further notice.

R.A. Lyman Commissioner of Boundaries

Keopuka August 7th, 1873 The Boundary Commission met and the case was opened according to adjournment.

K. Kamauoha Sworn:

A place at the shore called Halama is said to be the boundary between the Keei's, said place being on Keei iki. Umiwai is a spring near the boundary. Pelekane is a pahale on the boundary, makai of Umiwai; from thence the land boundary runs to the south side of a place called Kakalaioa to Puu o Kapu, a hill mauka of the Government road.

I do not know the boundaries mauka of this point. CX'd.

No more witnesses being present the case is continued till further notice to all parties interested.

R.A. Lyman Commissioner of Boundaries

Hilo, June 27, 1876

D. H. Hitchcock sworn says:

The map and notes of survey I file, I made out from my field notes that I made when I surveyed the land. Kapa was present when I surveyed the hills between the two Keei. Kapa acted for Madam Akahi, and I for Mrs. Bishop. There is no dispute as to boundaries between these lands.

Testimony Closed.

Decision

The boundaries of Keei 2nd are decided to be as set forth in notes for No. 108. For certificate of Boundaries see Folio 248. Liber I... [page 284]

Boundary Commission Volume 1. No. 3 – Hawaii Land Boundary Commission No. 108 Hawaii 3rd, J.C.

Certificate of the boundaries of Keei 2nd, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii, Third Judicial Circuit.

Upon the application of C.R. Bishop and by virtue of the Authority vested in me by law as sole Commissioner of Land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii, 3rd J.C. I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of the Ahupuaa of Keei 2nd Situated in the District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii to be as here in after Set Forth:

Given under my hand at Hilo, Hawaii. This Twenty-Seventh day of June, A.D. 1876.

R.A. Lyman, Commissioners of Land Boundaries Third Judicial Circuit.

Boundaries of Keei 2nd

Commencing at S.W. corner at place called Keanapukalua on boundary of Honaunau, and running along sea coast as follows:

- 1. North 31.00° West 15.50 chains;
- 2. Due North... chains [page 248];
- North...West... chains; 4. North...West... chains; 5. North...West... chains; 6. North...West... chains; 7. North...West... chains; 8. North...West... chains; 9. North...West... chains; 10. North...East... chains
- 11. North...East... chains to rock on coast at boundary of Keei 1st as follows:
- 12. South...East... chains to place called Pelekane;
- South...East... chains; 14. South...East... chains;
 South...East... chains; 16. North...East... chains;
 North...East... chains;
- 18. North...East... chains to ahu mauka of lower Govt. road;
- 19. North...East... chains;
- 20. North...East... chains to ahu;
- 21. North...East... chains;
- 22. North...East... chains along stone wall to upper Govt. road, thence:
- 23. North...East... chains;
- 24. North...East... chains to upper North East corner of Keei 1st to boundary of Kahauloa 2;
- 25. North...East... chains to ahu on boundary of Keauhou 2nd;
- 26. South...East... chains along boundary of Keauhou 2nd to koa marked X [page 249];

- 27. South...East... chains along boundary of Keauhou 2nd to koa marked X & + 1875;
- 28. South...East... chains along boundary of Keauhou to koa marked X;
- 29. South...East... chains to large ahu on boundary of Honaunau. Thence down said boundary.
- 30. South...West... chains to water hole on pali called Pokii;
- 31. South...West... chains to upper Govt. road;
- 32. South...West... chains to ahu on lower Govt. road;
- 33. South...West... chains;
- 34. South...West... chains to sea coast & point of commencement and containing an acre of 5,478 acres.

R.A. Lyman, Commissioner of Land Boundaries - Third Judiciary Circuit Survey by D.H. Hitchcock... [page 250]

The ahupua'a of Honaunau shares a common boundary and history with Ke'ei, and several of the Ke'ei witnesses also testified for Honaunau. Their testimonies follow:

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A

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

Kawaha ^{K.} Sworn

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

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

Kalalahua ^{K.} Sworn

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

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

Umi ^{K.} Sworn

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

Kapuwahelani ^{K.} Sworn

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

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

The boundary at shore between Honaunau and Keokea is a Kaheka, a pool of water called Haliipalala. Thence the boundary runs mauka to Pohakuloa, along rock, above the houses thence to Kahuahakamoa a kukui grove; a place called Keakuaaniwale is the boundary on the sea beach, a sort of iwi aina [boundary wall] along here from the shore, from Kahuahakamoa the boundary runs along Keokea to Ke Ahupuaa, a pile of stones, on the mauka Government road. Thence to the edge of the woods. I do not know the points on the boundary, on where Keokea ends. I do not know of any one living who knows the boundaries in the woods. CX'd...

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

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

Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume 1-A:279-282]

Boundary Commission — Volume 1-A Certificate No. 109 (for correct description of this Ahp. See R.P. 7874)

<u>Certificate of the Boundaries of Honaunau</u>, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii...

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

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

R.A. Lyman

Boundaries of Honaunau

Commencing at the sea coast on the boundary of Keokea rock marked "H" and running along the coast as follows... North...West... (page 252) ...North...East... North...West... to spouting Hole & well. North...West... to place called Keanapukalua on boundary of Keei 2nd; Thence along said boundary, as follows.

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

Boundary Commission — Volume 1 No. 3

<u>The Ahupuaa of Honaunau</u>, District of South Kona, Island of Hawaii... **Continued** from August 6th, 1873...

Notes from Commissioners Journal taken June 5th 1874:

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

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

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

Kuiline ^{K.} Sworn (A blind man)

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

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

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

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

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

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

R.A. Lyman. Hilo June 27, 1876 The Commission of Boundaries for the 3rd J.C. met at the office of Com. D.H. Hitchcock filed notes of survey of Honaunau and map, and being sworn says.

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

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

The boundaries of Honaunau are decided to be as given in the notes of survey filed by Mr. Hitchcock...see Folio 251, Liber I... [see Certificate No. 109] [Volume 1 No. 3, pages 222-223]

Ka'awaloa –(Ke'ei)- Hōnaunau

Described in Hawaiian Government Survey Records

Among the historic Government records for lands in the vicinity of the Ke'ei vicinity are the communications and field notebooks of Kingdom Surveyor, Joseph S. Emerson. Born on O'ahu, J.S. Emerson (like his brother, Nathaniel Emerson, a compiler of Hawaiian history) had the ability to converse in Hawaiian, and he was greatly interested in Hawaiian beliefs, traditions, and customs. As a result of this interest, his letters and field books record more than coordinates for developing maps. While in the field, Emerson also sought out knowledgeable native residents of the lands he surveyed as guides and informants. Thus, while he was in the field he often recorded traditions of place names, residences, trails, and various features of the cultural and natural landscape. Among the lands that Emerson worked in were those of Ke'ei and neighboring lands between Ka'awaloa and Hōnaunau.

Emerson's field books contain detailed sketches with annotations, 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..." (Emerson to Alexander, May 21, 1882; Hawai'i State Archives – DAGS 6, Box 1). Thus, the field book sketches and the Register Maps (No.'s 1281 and 1445) which resulted from the field work provide us with a glimpse of the country side of more than 110 years ago.

The following notes are excerpted from Field Book No.'s 255 and 256, "KONA HAWAII Primary Triangulation, 1883-1884 (viewed in the collection of the State Survey Division). The numbered sites and place names cited from the field books coincide with the locational references in the annotated sketches. The sketches were prepared by W. McDougall, an assistant to Emerson, during this part of the Kona field work.

Field Book No. 256 [see Figures 3, 4, 5, & 6 to identify locations described] KONA HAWAII (1883-1884)

Palianihi Station - Dec. 11, 1883 (p. 7, 59)

Ref. Location	Feature	Ahupuaa		
g4	Extremity of small Cape	Keei		
h4	Tang. Hd. of Bay at sandy beach	Keei		
i4	Extremity of Palemano Cape	Keei		
j4	Extremity of small cape, Keomo Pt.	Keei		
k4	Extremity of small cape	Keei		
14	Rock in sea – Kipu Rock	Keei		
u4	Kaaipohaku's Frame house	Keei 1		
v4	Kalua's frame house	Keei 2		
		[page 7]		
Palemano – Feb. 15, 1884				
…h4	Tang. Hd. Keei Bay	Keei 1		
i4	Pale [mano] Cape. Extremity	Keei 1		
c5	Pale [mano] Cape. Nearest pt. of sea	Keei 1		
d5	Old Heiau. Kamaiko. Nearest pt. of sea	Keei 1		
e5	Tang. Hd. of Bay. Mokuohai Bay	Keei 2		

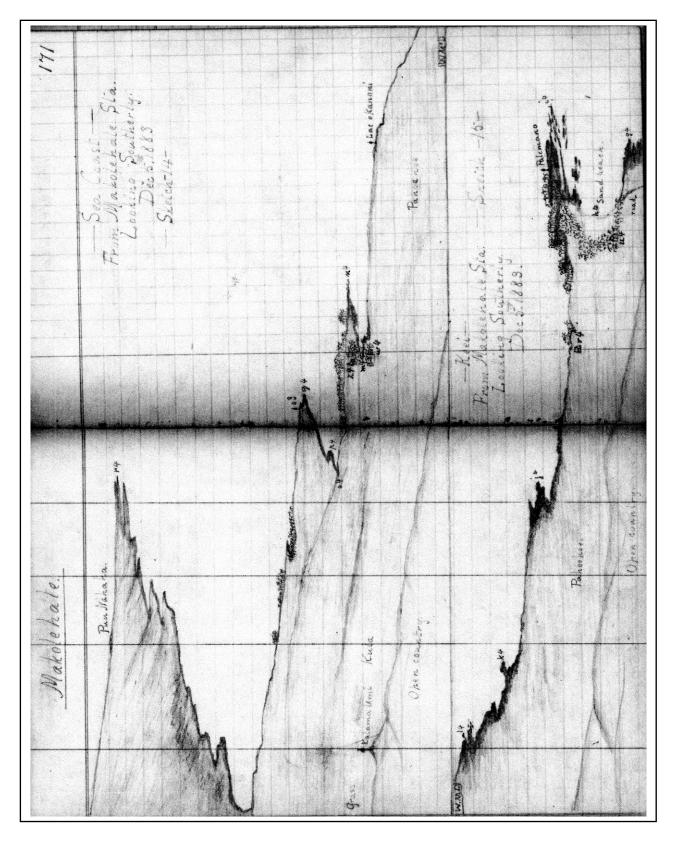


Figure 3. Keei from Makolehale Station (Field Book 255:171; 1883)

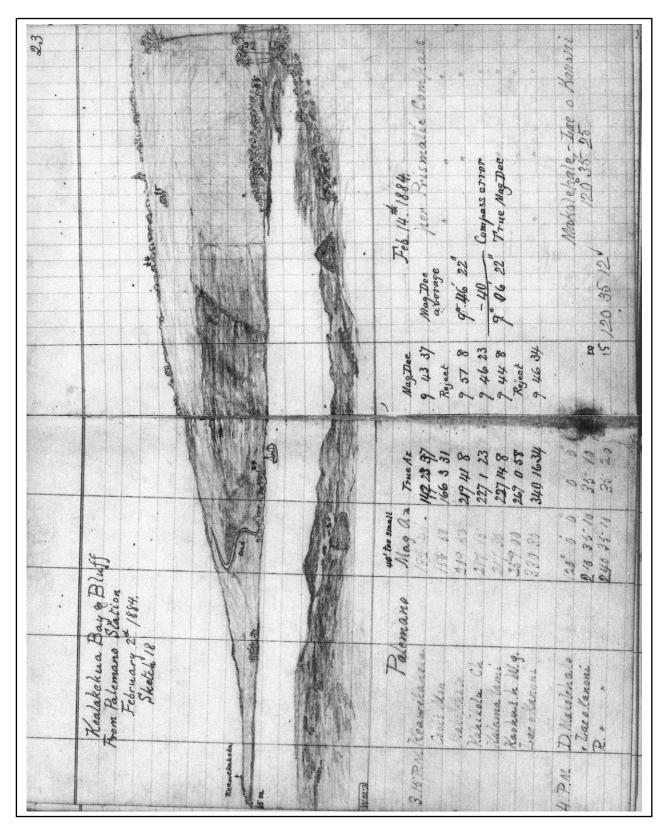


Figure 4. Kealakekua Bay from Palemano Station (Field Book 256:23; 1884)

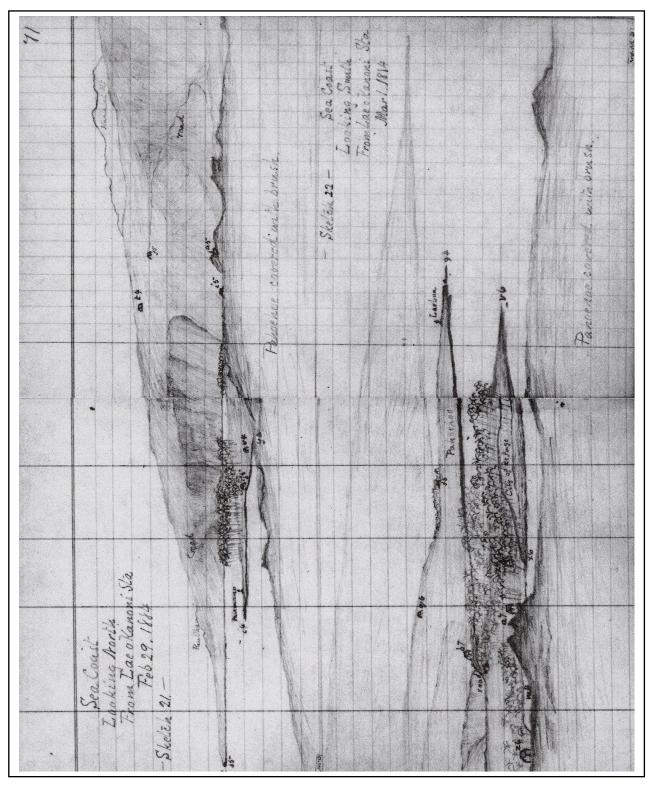


Figure 5. Looking North from Lae o Kanoni (Field Book 256:71; 1884)

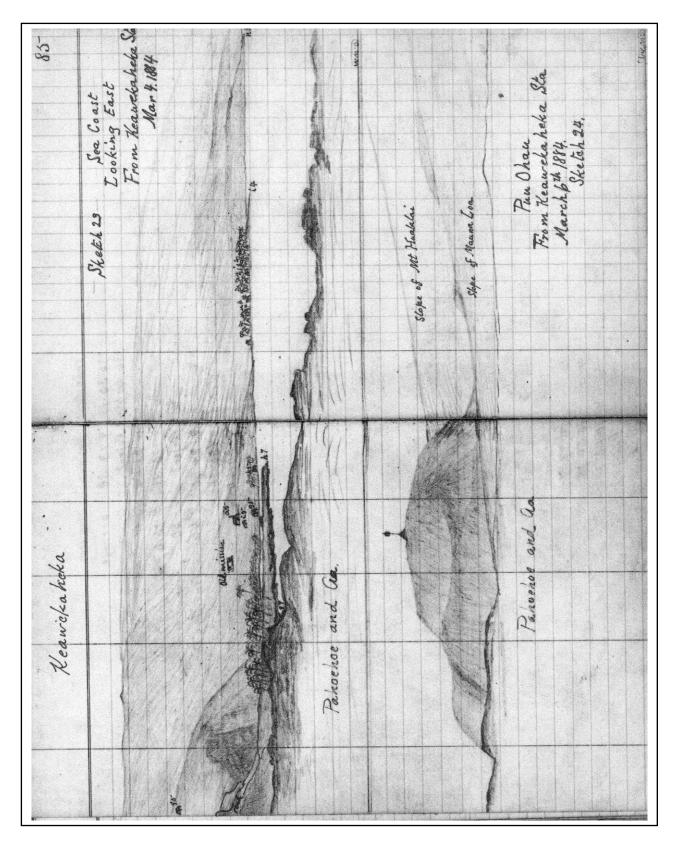


Figure 6. Sea Coast from Keawekaheka (Field Book 256:85; 1884)

g5	Simerson's frame house	Hauloa
h5	Sala's grass house - Chapel. Cross	Hauloa
i5	Gov't. stone school house.	Hauloa
j5	Kaohu's frame house	Keei 2
-		[page 25]

Station Mark Conspicuous + out in flat surface of pahoehoe rock.

This station is the same as Capt. Jackson's Station A. I have named it Palemano after the cape of that name just north of this station which serves as a protection or "pale" to the Oneula landing from the west wind which blows in here in the evening [page 25].

Lae o Kanoni - Feb. 29, 1884

y6	Tang. hd. Mokuohai Bay,	
-	South side of Palemano Cape	Keei 2
i4	Palemano Cape	Keei 1
		[page 79]

Field Letters

In addition to the field books, Emerson was in regular correspondence with W.D. Alexander, the Surveyor general of the Kingdom. In those letters we find several important references to field work and the heiau (Kamaiko) at Palemanō.

January 27, 1884 (In Camp, Keei)

J.S. Emerson; to W.D. Alexander:

...Pulling into this place we camped and had time to do a good afternoon's work with transit at Capt. Jackson's station, "Palemano." Mr. Coleman has done a good job, and the instrument now for the first time works to my entire satisfaction.

The + cut in the rock by Capt. J. remains intact, while the puloulou & boulders placed over it by my orders, have been swept away by the fury of the late storm... [HSA – DAGS 6]

February 17, 1884 (In Camp, Honaunau)

J.S. Emerson, Surveyor; to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General:

...Friday morning Feb. 15, I finished up the triangulation of Palemano and came to this place in the P.M. Saturday I went by boat to Lae o Kanoni to the north of this place and to Lae Loa, to the south and determined their respective elevations above the mean tide... [HSA – DAGS 6]

March 8, 1884

J.S. Emerson, Surveyor; to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General:

...Since my last letter, my operations have been as follows:

<u>Tues. Feb. 26.</u> Set up puloulou at Palianihi, the observations at that point being completed. At 9:30 A.M. started in boat for Lae o Kanoni, which we reached at noon after a good pull. 4:30 P.M. began observations at Lae o Kanoni.

<u>Wed. Feb. 27.</u> Sent F. Whiting and 3 natives in boat to Keauhou. They returned next day. Palemano signal down again. McDougall sent by land to put it up.

<u>Sat. Mar. 1.</u> Finished up observing at Lae o Kanoni; set up a new puloulou and started by boat for Lae Loa, reaching that place at noon, but on account of the surf, found it impracticable to land. Put the boat about and at 3 P.M. landed and set up camp at a sheltered spot in Kaawaloa.

Mon. Mar. 3. Began observations at Keawekaheka station.

<u>Wed. Mar. 5.</u> Found the signal at Palemano down and sent a party to put it up. They report that it was broken off by the natives who complain that it was the cause of the high surf which has continued to trouble them so long at that place, preventing them from fishing. They say that the spot where the signal stood is kapu, and that the akuas are greatly offended at my putting it there.

<u>Thurs. Mar. 6.</u> Finished up at Keawekaheka and started for Keauhou... [HSA – DAGS 6]

May 30, 1888

J.S. Emerson, Surveyor; to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General:

...I have settled the boundary between Keei & Honaunau and found the line to be that claimed by Keanu, the head man of Keei. I think I have satisfied the Honaunau people of the correctness of my decision so that they will accept it cheerfully and thus abandon the idea of a law suit. Today I have to mark out the line for the proposed boundary wall. After that I must connect my points with the trig. stations so as to locate them on the map. I consider this one cot he finest portions of the Kona district. No better coffee lands is to be found... [HSA – DAGS 6]

HISTORICAL JOURNALS AND LETTERS-VISITORS AND RESIDENTS DESCRIBE KE'EI AND VICINITY

The following narratives provides readers with some of the earliest and most detailed descriptions of lands in the Kealakekua-Hōnaunau section (including Ke'ei) of South Kona, and cover the period between 1778 to the 1930s. 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 native practices in their journals and letters. They include important descriptions of features that make up the cultural landscape (e.g., villages, heiau, trails, and agricultural fields), the nature of land use, and transitions in the Hawaiian communities. The authors include early explorers, missionaries, adventures, and archaeologists; and also a brief account of a visit by Chiefess Pauahi to the Kealakekua-Ke'ei vicinity, with a friend in 1864.

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 (see Kamakau's recounting of the event earlier in this study).

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 above the Kealakekua-Hōnaunau region, 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. Figure 7 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.

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, <u>Mr. Vancouver</u>, 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]

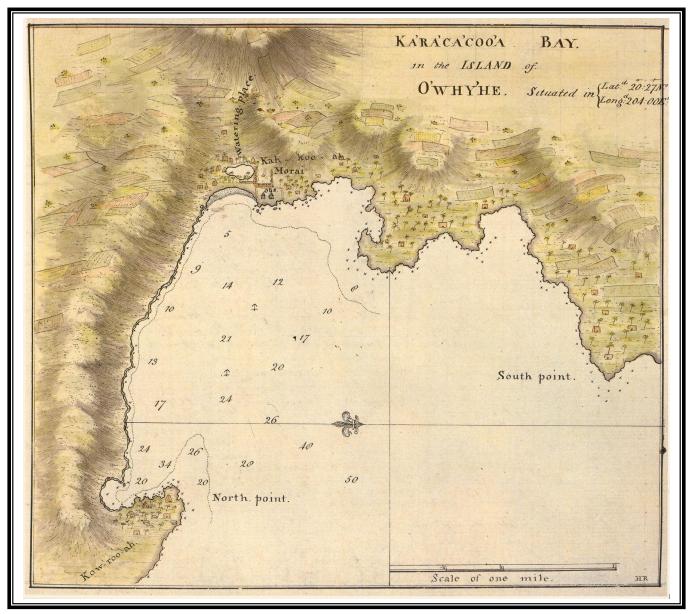


Figure 7. Map of the Kealakekua Vicinity Palemanō to Keawekaheka (depicting villages and agricultural fields extending to the uplands above Kealakekua Pali); Henry Roberts Survey (1779) (Fitzpatrick 1986)

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 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles it is compos'd of burnt loose stones, & yet almost the whole surface

beginning a little at the back of the town, is made to yield Sweet potatoes & the Cloth plant. One then comes to breadfruit trees which flourish amazingly. The ground was very uneven & although there was a tolerable Soil about the trees, yet there was constant breaks in the land & large bare, burnt rocks; in the bottoms that these made were planted the Sweet Potatoe roots with earth collected about them; my occupation at the Observatory hinderd me always proceeding farther. If I had I should have come to the extensive cultivated spots that are visible at the Ships beyond the grove of bread fruit trees: I shall therefore relate the Journey of the party of seven & 4 guides who set out on the afternoon of the 26th.

They 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's⁸ 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 & the Indians not at all, but kept coughing all Night.

On the 27th in the Morning they set out & <u>filld their Calabashes at an excellent well</u> <u>about ½ a mile from their hut & enter'd the wood by a foot path, made, as they</u> <u>understood, by those who fetch wild or horse Plantans, & who go to Catch birds;</u> 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

⁸ Kao is identified as being the Kahuna nui (High Priest) Holoae, who officiated over ceremonies at Hikiau Heiau (Beaglehole 1967:510)

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 28th 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 aot 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 prevaild 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 coverd 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.

30th 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 feet⁹ 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 <u>the Natives have been at infinite pains to clear</u> 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.

The Towns of the Natives are built along the Sea side. At Cari'ca'coo'ah [Kealakekua] Bay there were three, one [Kealakekua-Nāpo'opo'o] 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 - Ke'ei] 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

⁹ It is believed that fathoms rather than feet was meant here (Beaglehole 1967:591).

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]

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. Describing the villages between Kealakekua and Hōnaunau, including Ke'ei, and he also recounted events around the battle of Moku'ōhai.

Preaching Along The Kona Coast

Landing on the southern shore of Kearake'kua, Mr. Bishop and I passed through the villages of Kiloa, Waipunaula, and Kalama, inviting [pg. 89] the people, as we went along, to attend a religious exercise. At the latter place we entered a large house, built by Karaimoku's mother, Kamauokalani, but at present belonging to Kekauonohi, his niece. It was the largest in the place, and was ninety-three feet by thirty in the inside. Here about three hundred people collected...

Experiences at Keei

After leaving Kalama, we walked to Keei, a considerable village on the south point [Palemanō] of Kearake'kua bay.

As we approached it, we passed over the ground where, about forty years ago, Tamehameha encamped with his warriors, previous to his decisive battles with Kivaraao, the son of Taraiopu.

On reaching the head man's house, about one hundred people soon collected before the door, and I preached to them...[pg. 90]

Mokuohai, Site of Kamehameha's Decisive Battle

At nine a.m. we were joined by our companions from Kaavaroa, and shortly after set out again on our tour.

Mr. Bishop went in the canoe, the rest of us walked on towards Honaunau, a considerable village about five miles distant.

Leaving Keei, we passed on Mokuohai, a spot celebrated as the place where, in the year 1780 or 1781, the great battle was fought between Kauikeouli, (called also as Kivaraao,) eldest son and successor of Taraiopu, and his cousin, Tamehameha, by which the latter though [pg. 93] before only possessed of two districts, became sovereign of the whole island.

This battle is considered by most of Tamehameha's friends (who frequently allude to it in talking of him) as the foundation of all his subsequent power and greatness in the Sandwich Islands.

An Eight-Day Battle

During seven successive days, a severe conflict was maintained, with doubtful success. On the morning of the eighth day, it was renewed with augmented fury on both sides, and continued raging until noon, when the death of Kauikeouli terminated the struggle in favour of his rival.

The circumstances attending his death were singular.

Keeaumoku, (the father of Kaahumanu, Piia, and Kuakini, present governor Hawaii), Tamehameha's principal general, with a few of his companions, had advanced a considerable distance beyond the main body of his warriors, and was completely surrounded by Kauikeouli's men.

After defending themselves for some time against superior numbers, all the associates of Keeaumoku were slain, he himself was dangerously wounded by a number of stabs with the pahoa, (the pahoa is a dagger, from eighteen inches to two feet long, made of wood or iron,) and fell in the midst of his foes. His enemies thought him mortally wounded, and were proceeding to despoil him of his ornaments, &c.

How the Battle was Won

Kauikeouli approached, and called out to them to take care of the paraoa, a finely polished ornament, made of a whale's tooth, highly valued by the natives, and worn on the breast suspended by a necklace of curiously braided human hair, stooping down himself at the same time to untie it.

Keeaumoku, recovering from a swoon, and seeing Kauikeouli bending over him, made a sudden spring, and grasped him around his neck, or (as some of the natives say) by his long flowing hair, and being a man of uncommon stature and strength, held him down. Kauikeouli endeavoured, but in vain, to extricate himself from his grasp.

At this instant, Tamehameha and his attendants, having heard that Keeaumoku had fallen, hastened to the spot, and one of them, Narimaerua, perceiving the situation of Kauikeouli, rushed forward, and ran a spear through his body; another stabbed him with a pahoa. He fell upon the body of Keeaumoku, and instantly expired.

Keoua, his uncle, who fought near him, was about the same time wounded in the thigh by a spear, and obliged to quit the field. [pg. 94]

As soon the [sic] the death of Kauikeouli was known, a panic spread through his men, and they quickly fled in every direction. Many jumped into the sea, and swam to some canoes lying off the place, and the rest fled to the mountains or the adjoining puhonua (place of refuge) at Honaunau, about four miles distant. Among these was Karaimoku, then a youth, now principal chief in the Sandwich Islands.

Looking one day at the drawing I had made of the puhonua, he pointed with his finger to the place by which he entered when fleeing thither for protection.

Tamehameha now remained master of the field, and before evening reached Honaunau, the former residence of the vanquished chiefs.

The scene of this sanguinary engagement was a large tract of rugged lava, the whole superficies of which had been broken up by an earthquake.

Scenes of the Conflict

Since leaving Keei, we had seen several heaps of stones raised over the bones of the slain, but they now became much more numerous.

As we passed along, our guide pointed out the place where Tairi, Tamehameha's war-god, stood, surrounded by the priests, and, a little further on, he shewed us the place where Tamehameha himself, his sisters, and friends, fought during the early part of the eighth day.

A few minutes after we had left it, we reached a large heap of stones overgrown with moss, which marks the spot where Kauikeouli was slain.

The numerous piles of stones which we saw in every direction, convinced us that the number of those who fell on both sides must have been considerable... [Ellis 1963:95]

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 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... On the 14th (Saturday), they landed at Napolo [Napoopoo], and were kindly received by Mr. Forbes, the resident missionary for the district of Kealakekua... 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 pineapples, 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.

<u>Good paths for horses have been made throughout the district,</u> 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. <u>Kapiolani has been very assiduous in introducing improvements, and she has caused to be erected a sugar-mill,</u> to introduce the manufacture of sugar, and make it an object for the people to raise the cane... [page 92]

...<u>The inhabitants of this district are nine thousand</u>. 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...

<u>There are twenty-three schools</u>, 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... [Wilkes 1845:99]

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

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

Traveling from Wai'ōhinu, Ka'ū to South Kona, Lyman stopped at Kapu-a, where he hired a canoe to take him on to Kealakekua. While sailing in the canoe, Lyman recorded the following observations of the area from Kalahiki to Kealakekua:

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

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

Just before sunset we entered the beautiful bay of Kealakekua, 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 [Ke'ei at Palemanō]. 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 December 2nd 1846, Lyman and Ives traveled to Hōnaunau, where they visited the pu'uhonua (place of sanctuary) (Lyman, Book V; October 10-December 21, 1846). Lyman's trip took him via the mountain route, and then makai to Hōnaunau, thus he apparently did not pass the coastal lands of Ke'ei and Moku'ōhai.

Chiefess Pauahi's Visit in 1864

Another source of information which might be researched in the collections of Kamehameha Schools are the notes and possibly journals or diaries of Chiefess Pauahi and others among her family and friends. It is known that the chiefess visited lands of the Ke'ei vicinity during her life, and oral history interviews in this study document that she stayed at Ke'ei in the vicinity of the present-day Machado home (see interviews with William K. Pānui). One description of a visit in 1864, by Chiefess Pauahi to Ke'ei, was found in school records by school librarian, Janet Zisk. The short account, penned by Mrs. W.F. Allen (cousin S.R. Bishop), who accompanied "Cousin" Pauahi on the trip, describes Pauahi's welcome by her grandmother, Luahine, and the scene around her beach home (see Luahine's Māhele Award Claim No. 5377, above, depicting location of home). Traveling on horseback from Ka'ū, and approaching Kee'i, Mrs. Allen observed:

It was a tiresome ride for a haole to Kealakekua Bay and we were glad to see our stopping place in the distance, a pretty grass house on the beach. Very soon we saw natives, who were evidently on the lookout for us, coming out to meet us, and presently there was a most startling shriek, and I asked what it was. Mrs. Bishop answered, 'Oh, that is my grandmother wailing.' 'But,' I said, 'I thought they only wailed for the dead.' She explained that they wailed for joy, and this was a greeting for her. [A Reminiscence of Mrs. Bishop by Mrs. W. F. Allen, in Blue and White Founder's Day Edition, December 19, 1904]

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 Kona communities, and points of interest in the history of various localities:

...My journey now brought me to the historical neighborhood of <u>Kealakekua</u> Bay, where Captain Cook lost his life. I arrived first at <u>Kalukalu</u> about four miles from the port. Here the official and business premises of the Kealakekua district are situated. <u>Mr. Greenwell</u>, who is the Postmaster, and holds several other official positions, has a large general store here, and <u>Mrs. Mary Yates</u> 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 <u>Kaawaloa</u>. 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...

...<u>Kealakekua Bay</u> 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. <u>Some twenty or thirty native houses</u> 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 <u>Hoonaunau</u>, 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 <u>heiau</u>, 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]

"Nu Hou ma Keei, Kona" (News at Keei, Kona)

One of the interesting letters published in the Hawaiian newspapers, was written by a native of Nāpo'opo'o vicinity, who went exploring in the uplands of Ke'ei. Apparently there had been some geological disturbance, and as reported, a flow of water appeared for a while, at Wailapa in the uplands of Ke'ei. This led to J. Polianu and J.K. Kuakini, taking an excursion into the uplands, and their story was published in Ko Hawaii Pae Aina in September 1883:

Perhaps an Eruption may again arrive at South Kona? ...

Will you please tell everyone of this new thing... Here at Keei, South Kona, Hawaii, there is a large kahawai (gulch) here at this time. On September 11th, there was a great flow of water at the pali called Wailapa. There the natives and those familiar with Keei can see this amazing thing upon the cheeks of the land (papalina o ka aina). Because I desired to see the source this thing, on Saturday, September 15th, my friend, John K. Kuakini and I ascended the upland forests on horseback, searching all about for the source of the mysterious kahawai. While we were going up, we met with Mr. Kaili, one of the people who knows that place. He inquired of us "Where are you two going? We replied, "We are on a journey to see the new kahawai." He responded, "It is here below. Look at what has been done, the aa and the trees are all strewn about in heaps." We then continued our ascent in fear as we drew to the deep ravine. We had traveled about a third of the way along the gulch and stopped to cook some bananas. The two of us then traveled a little further and we saw burst of steam (punohu uwahi). We quickly called "Kaili, Kaili, here is this new thing." We three went up, but the steam had stopped. We then climbed further up and found the end of a trench, not the source of it, for it came from below the Akolea and thick undergrowth, and spread out. The length of this kahawai as we measured it, is one mile or more, and in the place we measured, it is fifteen fathoms [wide]. It is in a place where there are maia, kalo and coffee cultivated... Here is the problem the water does not flow therein. [J. Polianu, in Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, September 28, 1883:2; Maly, translator]

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

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

The Island of Hawaii

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

<u>Kaawaloa is also noted as a very famous burial place</u>, 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.

<u>NAPOOPOO</u> 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 <u>the heiau</u> <u>Hikiau</u>, where Captain Cook participated in the ceremonies. Mauka of this is <u>a smaller</u> <u>heiau</u>, <u>Helehelekalani</u>, 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.

HONAUNAU, the next village south, lies by a great bay, but the village has become non-important. It is entirely Hawaiian. Here stands the famous HALE O KEAWE, the best known of Hawaiian places of refuge and temples. It is a solid mass of stones ten feet high and 128 x 64 feet in area. The stone enclosure measures 715 x 404, its walls being 15 feet thick and 12 feet high. The first cocoanut tree mauka of the heiau is named Kaahumanu. The stone terrace mauka thereof was the site of the house of the priests, named Hale o Lono. Makai of the tree was the Hale o Keawe proper, where the high chiefs lived... [page 63]

Archaeological Studies

and Informant Interviews (ca. 1906-1950)

By the late 1800s and around the turn of the century, a growing number of island residents, Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian alike, were growing concerned about the destruction of traditional Hawaiian sites and the rapid decline of native knowledge about those sites. Heiau (temples) and ceremonial sites were an area of particular interest for several writers around the islands. Thomas Thrum, historian and editor of The Hawaiian Annual and Almanac compiled a substantial list of heiau and short descriptions of them, which was published 1908.

The first detailed "archaeological" documentation of Hawaiian heiau on Hawai'i 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 Ka'awaloa and Hōnaunau 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.

Thrum's Hawaiian Annual and Almanac (1908)

...Helehelekalani.

Situate not far from the above; said to be the temple where Opukahaia was being trained for the priesthood by Lepeamoa his uncle. A small insignificant platform heiau 25x35 ft. in size, now in ruins.

Kamaiko.

Keei 2, a platform heiau 200x120 ft. in size, the south and makai end gone; the upper part in fair order, showing two or three inner divisions.

Kaaia or Kaieie.

Keei 2, some distance inland of the above; about 150x50 ft. in size, now in a crumbled condition in a tangle of lantana.

Alealea.

Honaunau, the prominent heiau in the famous city of refuge, a solid mass of stones ten ft. high, 128x64 ft. in size. The walls of the enclosure runs 715x404 ft; are 15 ft. thick and stand 12 ft. high.

Akahipapa.

Is a small heiau in the same refuge enclosure, termed "Heiau no na Wahine" (women's heiau), 24x28 ft. No other such has been met with throughout the islands... [Thrum 1908:46]

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. At Ke'ei, stokes recorded the occurrence of only two heiau, one in the uplands, and the other near the shore at Palemanō:

Ka'aia Heiau, or Kaeaea Heiau

Heiau of Ka'aia or Kaeaea, land of Ke'ei 2, South Kona. Located near the boundary of Ke'ei I, nearly two miles from the sea. This is a long pen, I 14 by 51 feet in measurement, with walls 4 feet high and from 3.6 to 6 feet wide. The long axis runs east-west. No history.

Kamaiko Heiau

Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-C2-2 State of Hawaii Catalogue: 3725 Heiau of Kamaiko, land of Ke'ei 2, South Kona. Located on Palemano Point, 200 feet from sea. Palemano benchmark bears 80°01', 190 feet.

This is a platform heiau for human sacrifices. The western and southern lines have been destroyed by the sea, from which other portions of the heiau have also suffered greatly. The pāhoehoe flat on which the heiau was built is only 3 feet above sea level. While no local history was obtainable, the presence of a pit near the eastern end containing human skulls and other animal bones served to place the heiau in the luakini class. Although the site was only about a mile from where Cook's ships anchored, it is not mentioned in his narrative. It is possible that it was not in operation at that time. The condition of the bones in the open pit, exposed to the air, makes it difficult to believe that they were placed there more than a hundred years ago¹⁰. [When the place was visited in 1888, the wall of the pit had evidently been recently broken in, and the roof was still entire. W. T. B.] [Stokes and Dye, 1991:103]

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. The following notes cover the lands of Ke'ei 1st and 2nd.

¹⁰ See the articles cited earlier in this study from two native news papers (1908), and translated by Maly, regarding this *heiau* and the presence of human remains.

Survey of Coast from Honaunau to Kaawaloa (Reinecke ms. 1930)

...It would be very interesting could one ascertain the number of houses standing in Keei or Napoopoo of a century ago, and compare them as on cane do the Honaunau of 1823... It appears to be rather a matter of chance whether or not remains of the past habitation survive. Almost certainly the a-a flow between Keei and Napoopoo of the present day was thickly inhabited along the coast. Few sites are found there now, and some of those are unmistakably recent.

The pahoehoe coast may have been more thickly inhabited than the present remains seem to show, as there is the usual tangle of loose stone along the shore, where storms may have destroyed the faint house sites. There is also that puzzling tangle always found in pahoehoe regions, of stone so arranged as to form shallow pits or very small pens, perhaps for purposes of cultivating trees or other plants. About the battlefield of Mokuohai are some puoa, but not so many as one would expect from the old accounts. One must remember that this district has probably been under pasturage for three quarters of a century... [Reinecke ms. 1930:151-152]

Site 4. Remains of small terraced platform. Rough remains of three platforms, two small, the middle one large and complex. Then the ruins of four platforms in succession, the second quite large. It would be hard to be sure of all of these.

The stone wall dividing Honaunau from Keei. Past this for a considerable distance there are practically no ruins except the usual uncertain tangle, more pronounced in some places than others.

- Site 5. Very doubtful site of small fragments.
- Site 6. Modern shelter. Hut site.
- Site 7. Modern pen. Hollow between two little ridges walled in. On the southern ridge is a house site with wall around it. On the northern side the ridge is built up into a house platform with a small paved pen adjacent; the makai end bears another house platform. Farther N.W. is a very small platform, apparently a grave. There are two fine basin stones, one almost a mortar. At the base of the lone palm are four compartments marked off by very low walls, and three rude, low, small platforms.

Back of these remains runs the ruin of a wall, with sketchy platforms beside it. Farther north are some little enclosures and shelters about a dome of pahoehoe. A few small rows of stones and platforms perhaps mark graves. The grove of cocopalms contains lines of stones which indicate ruins of doubtful nature.

- Site 8. At north end of grove are house platforms; smaller platform; pen; a second pen enclosing a house platform; a tiny platform in front. Farther back is a cattle pen with a wall makai of it.
- Site 9. More tangled ruins; small pen back of Kipu Rock; very rough little platform just north.

- Site 10. Knoll with rough little platforms at back and sides; house platform adjacent; small pen; a second house platform; wall and shelter; traces of ruins in sand in front. Large modern house platform with smaller rough platform on the north side of the path which runs thru the pen surrounding it continuing to the government road. Another house platform and part of yard walls adjacent on N.W. traces of ruins on sand in front.
- Site 11. Large cattle pen mauka. Yard wall enclosing house platform. Tiny platform like a piece of wall; two little pens against lava ridge; yard wall and house platform. Shelter 100' makai, with sand covered house site in front of it.
- Site 12. Small, high walled cattle pen.
- Site 13. Ditto #12. About it various fills and cultivation pits.
- Site 14. Two small rude platforms on knob, followed by two sites outlined on the lava surface; rough platform; two little platform mounds. Back of these is an area with several "cultivation pits."
- Site 15. Rough platform, the front part of which may have been a house site. A series of three small platforms, and four or five others, of a size to be puoa; a wall partly encircles them. Large platform, partly natural, small one on part of it.
- Site 16. Small platform in hollow. Sites outlined on pahoehoe. A great number of small enclosures and pits of rough stone mauka.
- Site 17. Near the road: Small platform, probably puoa, on a mass of loose, large stones. There a few other such masses, which may be partly artificial, hereabouts. The masses of stone and pits which I have called for lack of a better guess, "cultivation pits," maybe found scattered almost everywhere on the pahoehoe.
- Site 18. Heap of small fragments; small, low pen; two small low platforms; several leveled platform-like areas of small stones; house platform in small pen; large yard with house platform and one other platform; another small platform just makai; various small puoa platforms to north.
- Site 19. Extensive area of tangled, nondescript ruins. Two ahu on coast.
- Site 20. Long, winding modern pen wall, with two ruinous platforms in front.
- Site 21. Modern house platform in lot; old, small platform in front. Grassgrown house platform in next lot with ruined walls.
- Site 22. Modern house site. A small platform which may be a house site.
- Site 23. Remains of small platform of large stones.
- Site 24. Modern house platform.

- Site 25. Modern house site; what appear to be two more house sites.
- Site 26. Modern house platform.
- Site 27. Modern house platform.
- Site 28. Old house platform. Perhaps a house site near.
- Site 29. Sandy area with signs of perhaps a dozen platforms buried in the sand.
- Site 30. KAMAIKO HEIAU, on which the government tower is erected. It is a platform oriented roughly east and west with Palemano Point, divided into two or three terraces, the central one being about two feet higher; and with a small, high platform at the east end. The dimensions are taken very roughly because of the ruinous condition of the heiau. The S.W. corner especially has suffered.

The length of the central, highest platform is about 109'. At the west end the remaining part of the high platform is c. 25' wide, and the north platform is c. 33' wide. At the east end of the north platform is still c. 32' wide; the central platform is only c. 21' wide; and a platform of uncertain original extent, which merges with the low eastern platform, is c. 21' across past it is a great mass of boulders rolled up by the waves. The low eastern platform is c. 70x22, with an uneven sloping surface.

The height of the main structure varies with the platforms and the contour of the base. At the S.W. it is about 8', on the north about 4'. The small, high platform on the east seems to have been planned with a shelf c.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide encircling it, the platform itself being c. 24x24, with the south part (24x14) heaped rather roughly until it is two feet higher than the other part. The three successive steps are each about two feet high on the inside of the heiau. In front is a platform a little higher than the part of the low platform adjoining, c. 30x21-24x4. A sort of porch on the north is about 24x16x3.

There appears to have been a house of some sort on the heiau before the present government tower was erected on the same spot, as the area is strewn with coral and elevated above the rest of the platform. A very little of the surface has been torn up. There is not much evidence of hollow structure.

From the size of the heiau it must have been of considerable importance. There are indications of two platforms and other remains in the sand to the N.E.

The tide-washed flat pahoehoe islet Kulou is the traditional place of landing of the shipwrecked Spanish captain and his sister.

Onelua was where Kamehameha left his canoes before the battle of Mokuohai.

- Site 31. Hale o Lono islet is said to have born a large house in past days. It may have been a residence of Lonoikamakahiki. The houses along this section of Keei beach are mostly new residences.
- Site 32. Old, rough platform behind tool shed. Another old, rough platform, about 4' high, beside the cattle pen. Another pen or high platform was seen from the road near here, but not distinguished.
- Site 33. A stone wall marks the boundary between Keei and Kahauloa 2, at the edge of the a-a flow. On the Keei side are a puoa and a shelter. On the Kahauloa side, between the two stone walls shown on the topographic map, are the following remains: old pen; fragments of wall; puoa and platform (probably of dwelling); walled house site; other puoa on a very old platform; large house site on a-a; small aa platform below it. A little mauka are remains of a pen with a smooth floor. Over looking the canoe landing is a pen enclosing a house site. Two paths across the a-a, one with a border of stones and the other with stepping stones... [Reinecke, ms. 1930:153-156]

Theo. Kelsey and Henry 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 (kupuna of interviewees Mona Kapule-Kahele and Maile Keohohou-Mitchell) of Nāpo'opo'o, Nāluahine Ka'ōpua (Naluahine) of Kahalu'u, and Kaua Pānui (the father of interviewee, William Kaliko Pānui) of Ke'ei. 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.

The Names of Waves of Kona, Hawaii From Kalokuokamaile of Napoopoo, S. Kona. By Theodore Kelsey, Feb. 2, 1933

... Pale-mano are the waves of Keei. Women do not go on the waves of the men...

The Names of Lands of South Kona, Hawaii From Kalokuokamaile of Napoopoo, S. Kona. By Theodore Kelsey, Feb. 15, 1933

...Kane-ia-huea. This is a man that prepared food, sugarcane, bananas, taro, and sweet potatoes. He went with the fishermen to sell them at Ka-ele-huluhulu and Mahai'ula. When the sun set this man began to sail on the canoes with his produce. The wife and parents-in-law, makuahonowai, returned to the house, and they though that that men went. They all returned to the house. Some other people came, and here was this man that loaded luggage. There he would paddle the canoe. It was a narrow place and he paddled to one side and landed the nose of the canoe, and paddled to the other side. Some other people came by the road and saw this work. These people called, "Land Kane-ia-Huea!" These people left and told their families, "There is Kane-ia-huea paddling his canoe." "no, no, he passed way a long time ago." These people were obstinate. "No, there he is." They again returned to their houses, and returned the freight to the house. (Hu'ea pertaining to deity. Like the blowing {hu} of the wind. So was the coming of the deity. 'Ea, the coming {'ea}. It is a short land. The spring is at the seashore of Kāne-ia-huea.

Poupou-poo. A little le'ale'a (good time), bathing ('au'au), jumping in water feet first (lele kawa), and luu-poo (pulling the head into the shoulders to stiffen the neck for

diving in the sea). This land is not long. There is no spring. Poupou-poo is the name of the hill were one leaped into the sea.

Keei-iki. Keei, for the going of men with nets. If fishing in the night with upena kuu, say to the kapeku [one who splashes the water] "I" for him to come, because calling was tabu, and shortly bad weather would commence. Or call "E" for the fisherman to come. Or give a short whistling noise (hoopio). No trouble in the day. (Keei or Kiei, to peep; to gird your loin cloth.)

This is the place where began the war between Kiwala-'o and Ka-mehameha. It was a wide land that went to the plain and stopped. (kula, place between seaward and upland.) The place between is a plain seaward of the place, Mokuohai is the shore. Kiwala-'o was killed and his body was taken onto that island in the sea, a island named because of the sacrificing of Kiwala-'o there. Kiwala-'o was killed on the land of the battle and taken onto that island. Moku-'ohai was the name of the battle.

Ki-pu, a land of fishing and a cave where fishermen lived. Ki-pu, your garment (kapa aahu) on your four sides. There is a spring by the seashore named Kipu...

Theo. Kelsey Notes (1950)

Ke'ei I ("Ke'ei po'o kulou" Keei of the bowed head), so called from ancient shipwrecked Spaniards.

Awa-lua, where Kiwala-'o died.

Ke'ei II ("Ke'ei lalo lilo" Ke'ei way down low), so called from the story of one person's reflection showing lower in the water than another's.

Moku-'ohai. famous battlefield.

Maka-leho, where a fleet of Kamehameha's canoes came to the shore.

Ke-'omo (Ke-'omo-wai-lua-iki), where Kekuhaupi'o lived. There are two springs here... (Naluahine with Kelsey, June 2, 1950)

Honaunau to Keei

Notes from a walking trip by Mr. Henry E.P,. Kekahuna and Mr. Theo. Kelsey, Nov. 7, 1952; to see Kaua Panui

- ...4. Boundary of Honaunau and Keei sea-arch below.
- 5. More heiau rocks.
- 6. Moi-nui Pt.
- 7. More stones of heiau, for fitting, to N. of a covered sea-tunnel.
- 8. Kipu Rock and a curve where the sea comes in.
- 9. Wall and boundary, with sea-arch below. (Kea & Napukalua were written on the survey mark.)
- 10. First point from which you can view Kaawaloa.
- 11. Heiau or pen mauka, and a stone wall behind, near a single cocoanut tree, and a Kuula. There is a grave near the sea.
- 12. Sea-arch.
- 13. Four successive places of rock islets. The last two together are Moku-'ohai proper. Kiwala-'o was laid on the flat one, and the pointed one represents Kamehameha.
- 14. Sand beach and walled enclosure mauka.
- 15. Beach by green building near Kaua's.

From Kaua Panui

Kipu-Ke'omo.

Kekuhaupi'o. Malolo ke kupunawahine ai lu'au, hanai kapu ia. Umi kapuai ka puka o ka hale o Kekuhaupui'o. Ka lae o ka Noni, ka palena o Keei II. Ke-'omo – puna wai kai... Wa-'ale'ale, a place. Kekuhaupi'o died at Wai'ama'u Spring.

Theo. Kelsey Notes (per Kaua Panui)

- ...10. <u>Wai-'ama'u, a spring near the sea. (According to Kaua Pa-nui, an old man of Keei, Kekuhaupi'o was killed while drinking at this spring, by a man named Ka-moho-'ula.)</u>
- 11. <u>Puu-kapu (also got the name Pahu-kapu) a land near Wai-'ama'u</u> Spring, facing Ka'awaloa, where chiefs of Napoopoo lived.

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Helu	Claimant	Disposition	Ahupuaa
4523	Wahinealii	NA	Keei
5368	Akahi	A	Keei iki (1)
5377	Luahine	NA	Keei iki & Kalamawaiawaawa
			(Kalamawaiawaawa awarded)
5524	Konia	А	Keei nui (2)
6609 B	Popolo	A	Keei nui
6939	Kaleokalani	NA	Keei nui
6940	Kekuhaupio	A	Keei nui
6943	Keohouli	NA	Keei nui
6944	Kekoa	A	Keei nui
6945	Kaleokalani	NA	Keei nui
6980	Kanakaole	NA	Keei
6982	Kanakaole	NA	Keei
6983	Kalawaia	NA	Keei iki
7009	Kaolopana	A	Keei nui
7010	Kahue	A	Keei nui
7011	Kalepo	A	Keei nui
7012	Kahunanui	A	Keei nui
7012	Keohouli	A	Keei nui
7014 7016 B	Lilikalani	NA	Keei iki (with Kupo & Keawe)
7025	Kaui	A	Keei nui
7025		A	Keei nui
	Kapu	NA	
7054	Kauhi Rabaa Kakauna	NA	Keei nui & Keei iki
7055 7055 B	Pahoa Kekaune		Keei iki
	Kekaune	A NA	Keei iki
7058	Kahiakua		Keei iki
7059	Kukahimano	A	Keei nui
7098	Kahaia	A	Keei nui
7200	Ohia	NA	Keei nui
7202	Kaanaana	A	Keei iki
7213	Kumahoa	A	Keei iki
7218	Kaneapua	A	Keei nui & Keei iki
7220	Kaupolua	A	Keei iki
7277	Kaieie	NA	Keei nui
7277 B	Hakae	A	Keei nui
7277 E or H	Naina	NA	Keei nui
7277 G	Paakai	NA	Keei nui
7280 (7012)	Kahunanui	A	Keei nui
7288	Kanaina	NA	Keei nui
7294	Kaelemakule	A	Keei nui
8173	Hoe	NA	Keei nui
8242	lama	NA	Keei nui
8497	Kaoiwi (with Popolo,		
	Keaka, Kekoa & Manini)	A	Keei iki & Keei nui
8497 B	Kekoa	NA	Keei nui
8498	Kauwale (with Kaawa & Kalawaia) NA	Keei nui
8574	Keaka	A	Keei nui
8578	Kanika	А	Keei iki

APPENDIX B – LOCATION AND DISPOSITION OF MĀHELE CLAIMS

<u>Helu</u>	Claimant	Disposition	Ahupuaa
9652	Loe & Keohokii	NA	Keei nui
9652 C	Makaiahai	A	Keei nui
		NA	Keei nui
9674	Hoope		
9675	Nawahine	NA	Keei nui
9676	Kamoekai	NA	Keei nui
9680	Paele	NA	Keei nui
9681	Opeopekau	NA	Keei nui
9682	Kapanaia	NA	Keei nui
9722	Keoni	NA	Keei iki
			(land in Waipunaula awarded)
9773	Kapahola	NA	Keei
9774	Ku	NA	Keei
9775	Luhe	NA	Keei
9776	Kekoa	Α	Keei nui
9778	Kalauaua	NA	Keei nui
9783	Kahiki	А	Keei nui
9943	Loe & Makaiahai	NA	Keei nui
10210	Naea	А	Keei nui
10211	Manini	Α	Keei nui
10254	Mahiole	NA	Keei nui
10376	Naea	А	Keei nui
10385	Napahi	NA	Keei
10987	Wahinealoha	А	Keei nui & Keei iki
10988	Wahiawai	А	Keei iki
10989	Waiu	A	Keei iki
11251	Kaumu	A	Keei nui