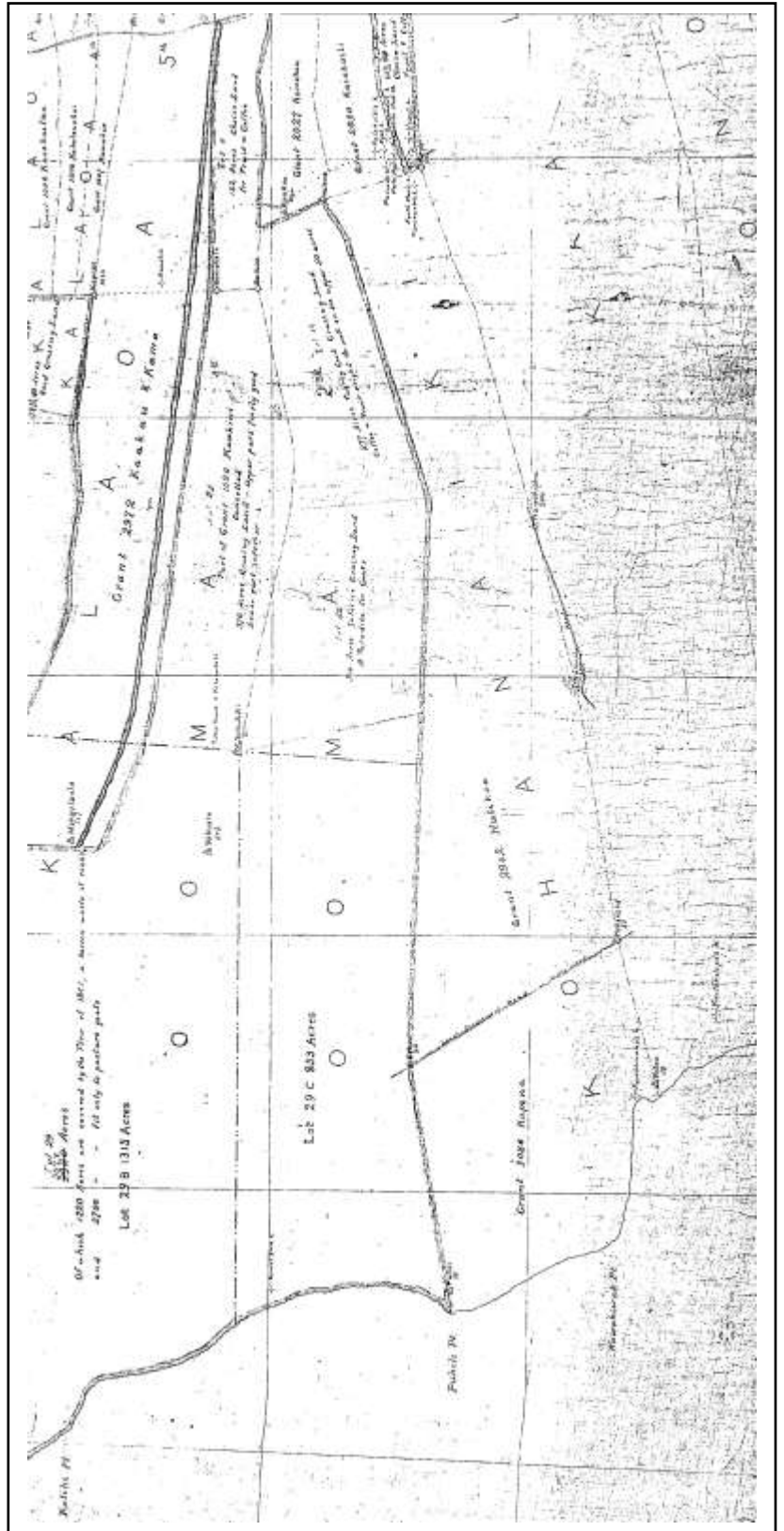


**KOHANAIKI MA KEKAHA
WAI 'OLE O NĀ KONA
(KOHANAIKI ON THE
ARID SHORES OF KONA)
A Report on Archival and
Historical Documentary Research,
and Oral History Interviews
for the Ahupua'a of Kohanaiki,
District of Kona, Island of Hawai'i**



*Kohanaiki and Vicinity –
Kekaha, North Kona, Island of Hawai'i
J.S. Emerson, Surveyor – Portion of
Register Map No. 1449 (1888)*



Kumu Pono Associates

KOHANAIKI MA KEKAHA WAI 'OLE O NĀ KONA (KOHANAIKI ON THE ARID SHORES OF KONA)

***A Report on Archival and Historical Documentary Research,
and Oral History Interviews for the Ahupua'a of Kohanaiki,
District of Kona, Island of Hawai'i***

(TMK 7-3-09:3,14)

By

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June 30, 2003

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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*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of Paul H. Rosendahl, Ph.D., *Kumu Pono Associates* conducted archival-historical documentary research, and oral history interviews (including follow up work with several individuals previously interviewed by Maly), for the land of Kohanaiki, and the larger Kekaha Region of North Kona, on the island of Hawai'i. This study was developed in conjunction with an archaeological survey and cultural impact assessment study by Paul H. Rosendahl, Ph.D., Inc. (PHRI) of an approximately 500 acre parcel of land on the *kula* (plains or flat lands) of Kohanaiki. The study area is bounded on the upland (*mauka*) side by the 1847 *Alanui Aupuni* (Old Government Beach Road)—just shoreward (*makai*) of the present-day Ka'ahumanu Highway—and extends *makai* to the shore; on the north, it is bounded by the land of 'O'oma 2nd; and on the south, it is bounded by the land of Kaloko.

The primary objective of the present study was to research and report on documentation that would help readers better understand native Hawaiian customs and historic events associated with the land of Kohanaiki and neighboring lands of the larger Kekaha region in which it is situated. In preparing the archival-historical documentary report for this study, the authors reviewed both published and manuscript accounts in English and Hawaiian—referencing documentation for lands of the immediate study area as well as those for neighboring lands. Research was conducted in both private and public collections, and focuses on several archival resources which have not received much exposure in past studies.

Over the last eleven years, Kepā Maly (the primary author), has researched and prepared several detailed studies—in the form of review and translation of accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers, and historical accounts recorded by native Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians. Maly has also conducted a number of detailed oral history interviews with elder *kama'āina* documenting their knowledge of the Kekaha region, including the lands and fisheries of Kohanaiki; and herein has undertaken additional interviews and further consultation as a part of the present study. Interview participants in past and present studies of the Kohanaiki-Kekaha region, born between 1908 to 1940, have shared their personal knowledge of the land and practices of the families who lived on the land. From their interviews we learned that most activities and knowledge of sites on the land focused on the near shore region, and areas in grant and homestead lands extending from around the 1000 to 2000 foot elevation in Kohanaiki.

Elder *kama'āina* who have participated in oral history interviews have shared descriptions of several sites in the Kohanaiki study area and neighboring lands. These sites include, but are not limited to the following:

- The 1847 *Alanui Aupuni* (Government, or Kamehameha Trail) crossing the *kula* lands of Kohanaiki;
- Ahu (stone cairns) marking land boundaries;
- Shelter and storage caves;
- *Loko kai and Wai 'ōpae* (anchialine ponds in which native shrimps and fish were propagated);
- The old *ala hele* or *ala loa* (near shore beach trail). (Note: by the late 1940s, sections of the old *ala hele* were being modified into what is now the jeep trail);

- *Ala hele* or *ala pi'i uka* (*mauka-makai* trails that connect the uplands to the coast);
- *Kahua hale* (house sites — both ancient and historic);
- *Kahua* (platforms);
- *Pā holoholona* (animal pens);
- *Pūnāwai* (springs from which drinking water was collected);
- *Heiau* or *ko'a* (ceremonial sites);
- *Iliina* (burial sites);
- *Kahua Hale Pule* (a site identified by some *kama'āina* as being associated with the old Kohanaiki Church);
- *Ki'i pōhaku* (petroglyphs);
- Historic survey markers;
- *Poho pa'akai* and/or *poho palu* (salt and/or bait basins) on the near-shore *pāhoehoe* flats;
- *Awa pae wa'a* and *paena wa'a* (canoe landings);
- *Ko'a kai* (near, and off-shore fisheries); and
- World War II machine gun emplacements at locations near the shore.

When asked about the proposed development Kohanaiki and in other locations of Kekaha, all of the interviewees spoke with hesitancy. It is difficult for them to see the landscape which they have known all their lives change. All interviewees believe that *iliina* (burial sites) should be preserved in place; likewise, should any *heiau*, or other important site be located, they should be protected. It is also believed that the *Alanui Aupuni* and *mauka-makai* trails should be preserved. Whenever possible all sites, such as shelters, house sites, petroglyphs, walls, and other features should be protected, and when appropriate educational information made available as well.

The elder *kama'āina* also urge and support development of the community park along the Kohanaiki shore line; restoration of the Wailoa (anchialine) pond complex; and interpretive-educational programs that will foster care and wise use of the cultural and natural resources of Kohanaiki.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Reading historic narratives provides us with glimpses into the past, and if we are fortunate, with an understanding of how things were and how they came to be. But through the words of our elders (*kūpuna*), we are able to touch and be touched by our past, and find that there is continuity in that which we read, and that which is lived.

Over the years a number of elder *kama'āina* have graciously shared their recollections and thoughts about the history of Kohanaiki and the larger lands of the Kekaha region, to them (in alphabetical order) —

Valentine K. Ako, Josephine Ako-Freitas, Annie Coelho, Geo. Kinoulu Kahananui, Francis Keanaaina and Mrs. Anna Keanaaina, Samuel Keanaaina and Mrs. Claudia Keanaaina, Malaea Keanaaina-Tolentino (and Cynthia Torres), Peter Keka, Peter Keikua'ana and Mrs. Anna Kamaka-Park, and Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole (and family); we humbly extend our sincerest appreciation and *aloha*.

Also to—Kaleo Kualii'i, Paul Rosendahl, Dave Eadie, Mary Ricks, and Randy Vitousek for their assistance in preparation of this study, we offer our sincere appreciation.

Māua no ke ka ha'aha'a a me ke aloha kau palena 'ole — Kepā me Onaona.

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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APPENDIX A – ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

INTRODUCTION

Background

At the request of Paul H. Rosendahl, Ph.D., *Kumu Pono Associates* conducted archival-historical documentary research, and oral history interviews (including follow up work with several individuals previously interviewed by Maly), for the land of Kohanaiki, and the larger Kekaha Region of North Kona, on the island of Hawai'i (*Figure 1*). The present research was conducted in conjunction with site preservation and interpretive planning, as a part of the proposed development of an approximately 500 acre parcel of land on the *kula* (plain or flat lands) of Kohanaiki (Rosendahl in prep). The study area is bounded on the upland (*mauka*) side by the 1847 *Alanui Aupuni* (Old Government Beach Road), generally referred to by elder kama'āina as the "Kamehameha Trail" or the "King's Highway," and is just shoreward (*makai*) of the present-day Ka'ahumanu Highway. The parcel extends *makai* to the shore, and is bounded on the north by the land of 'O'oma 2nd, and on the south by the land of Kaloko.

Approach to Conducting the Study

The archival-historical research and oral history interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the pertinent laws and guidelines are the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:275-8; 276:5 – Draft Dec. 21, 2001); and the November 1997 guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (which also facilitate the standardized approach to compliance with Act 50 amending HRS Chapter 343; April 26, 2000).

A primary objective of the present study was to research and report on documentation that would help readers better understand native Hawaiian customs and practices, and historic events in the *ahupua'a*¹ of Kohanaiki, and it's relationship with lands of the larger Kekaha region of Kona. In preparing the archival-historical documentary report for this study, the author reviewed both published and manuscript references in English and Hawaiian—referencing documentation for lands of the immediate study area as well as those for neighboring lands.

In an effort to further our understanding of the cultural-historical resources, the author conducted research in several areas which have not received much exposure in past studies. Thus, this study along with other previously conducted studies, provides readers

¹ *Ahupua'a* is a traditional Hawaiian term used to describe an ancient land unit extending from sea to mountain; and remains the primary land unit of the modern land classification system.

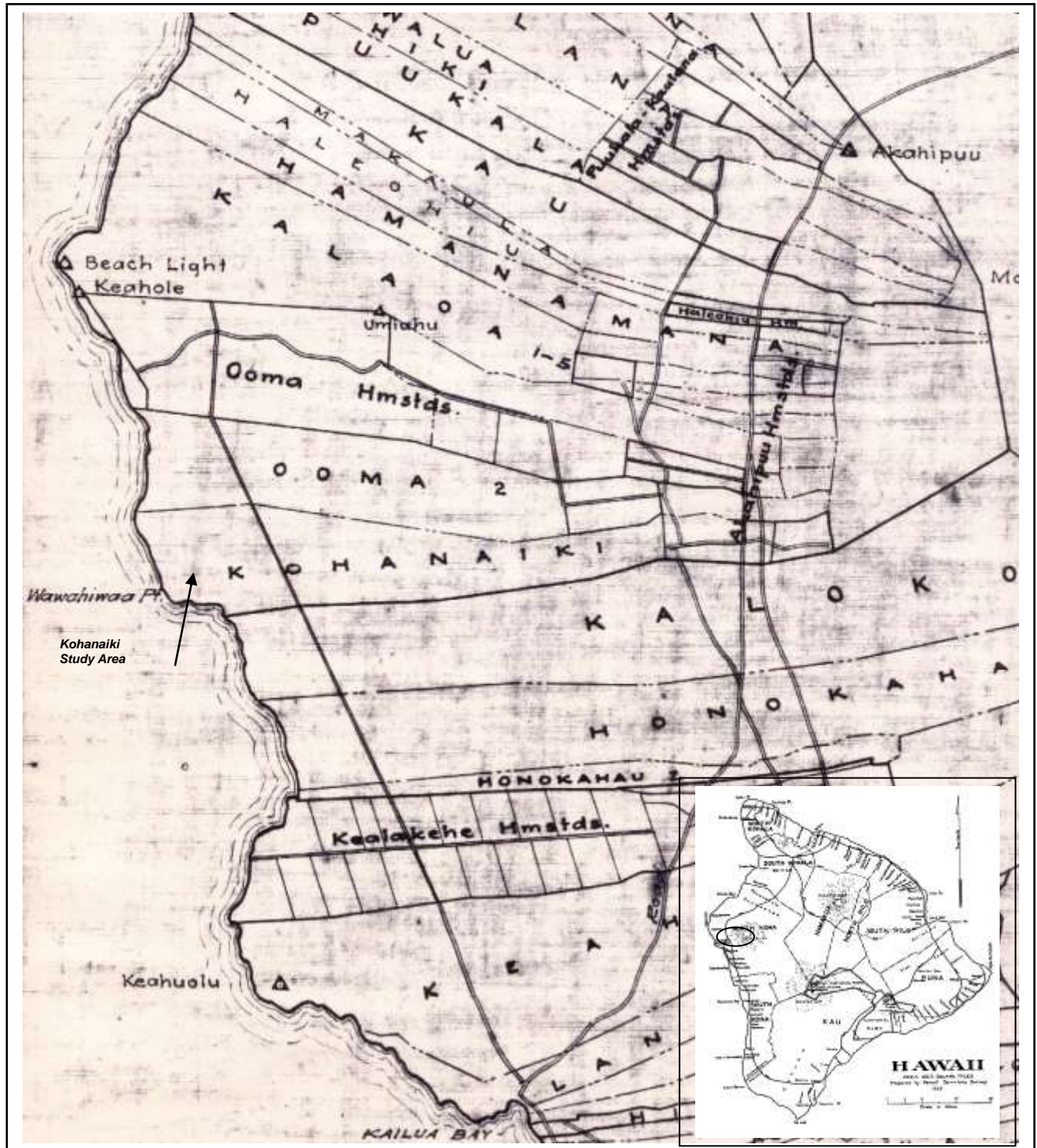


Figure 1. Kohanaiki Study Area and Neighboring Lands of Kekaha, North Kona District Sheet (Bureau of Taxes, 1923), Island of Hawai'i (1929)

with a detailed overview of native traditions of the land, traditional and historic residency, travel, and land use practices in the study area and neighboring lands.

Archival-Historical Research and Oral History Interviews

Over the last eleven years, Kepā Maly of Kumu Pono Associates has researched and prepared several detailed studies—in the form of review and translation of accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers, historical accounts recorded by Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian residents, and government land use records—for lands in the Kekaha region of which Kohanaiki is a part. Maly has also conducted a number of detailed oral history interviews with elder *kama'āina* documenting their knowledge of the Kekaha region (including Kohanaiki); and herein has undertaken new interviews and further consultation as a part of the present study. All of the interview participants (both past and present), have shared their personal knowledge of the land and practices of the families who lived in Kohanaiki and vicinity.

References cited in this study include, but are not limited to — land use records, including Hawaiian Land Commission Award (L.C.A.) records from the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division) of 1848; Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i; and historical texts authored or compiled by — D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. M. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996); T. Thrum (1908); J.F.G. Stokes and T. Dye (1991); Reinecke (ms. 1930); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). Importantly, the study also includes several native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by Maly), and historical narratives authored by eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors to the region. This information is generally cited within categories by chronological order of occurrence, and the date of publication.

The archival-historical resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives (HSA), Land Division (LD), Survey Division (SD), and Bureau of Conveyances (BoC); the Bishop Museum Archives (BPBM); Hawaiian Historical Society (HHS); University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; private family collections; and in the collection of *Kumu Pono Associates*. The compilation of records and conducting of new interviews reported herein was undertaken between January to April 2003.

The Land of Kohanaiki—A Historic Overview

The *ahupua'a* Kohanaiki contains approximately 2,100 acres, extending from the sea to approximately the 3,475 foot elevation on the slopes of Hualālai. Kohanaiki is one of some twenty-four traditional *ahupua'a* which make up the region of Kona known as Kekaha (The-arid-place). Kekaha, also known as Kekaha wai 'ole, is a dry region of Kona, noted for it's rich fisheries and for it's upland agricultural fields, which were spread out under the shelter of the forest canopy. The general practice of residency in this region included near shore (*kahakai*) dwellings from which fisheries and water could be accessed, and upland residences extending from around the 1,500 to 2,000 foot elevation. In the upland region, extensive planting grounds (*māla 'ai* and *kīhāpai*) were cultivated, and a wide range of resources could be tended or collected. In between the uplands and *kahakai* region, were the more arid *kula* lands. Upon the *kula*, various resources such as plants, wood, stone, and birds were collected. Each *ahupua'a* contained one or more trail by which native tenants traveled between the shore lands and uplands, and along these trails have been found—*heiau* (ceremonial sites); residences and shelters; caves; petroglyphs; burials; and a wide

range of other features. Also, many place names have been recorded, which further document traditional knowledge of the landscape and use of all regions of land from shore to mountain.

In the *Māhele ʻĀina* of 1848, Kohanaiki was placed in the land inventory of the Hawaiian Kingdom (termed Government Lands), and no *kuleana* (private property rights) were awarded to native tenants. As a result of its status and the land programs of both the kingdom and subsequent Government land agencies, most of Kohanaiki was later sold in land grants and homesteading programs. The oldest grant in Kohanaiki, was conveyed by Royal Patent Grant No. 2030, in 1856, to Kaiakoili, identified by native historian J.W.H.I. Kihe, as the “*haku aina*” (land over seer) of Kohanaiki in the middle to late 1800s (see Kihe in this study). Kaiakoili’s grant included some of the best land in Kohanaiki, and was situated between the 1,100 to 1,700 foot elevation.

Kaiakoili’s wife was Maiau, and one of their children was a daughter, Kawaimaka. In addition to Kaiakoili’s own residences, two locations in Kohanaiki are identified in J.S. Emerson’s surveys as being houses of Kawaimaka; one in Kohanaiki village; the other near the shore (situated on the southern-most cove in Kohanaiki), and being the only house identified (see Register Map No. 1449). Kawaimaka married Ha’o, and their descendants remain on lands handed down by the family on the Kalaoa and Pu’u Anahulu lands (pers comm. D. Ka’iliwai-Ray—great, great granddaughter of Kawaimaka Ha’o; February 18, 2000).

Subsequent grants for the remainder of Kohanaiki from the 1,100 foot elevation to the shore were issued to Huliko’a in Grant No. 2962 for 929.75 acres, in 1864; and to Kapena in Grant No. 3086 for 154 acres (as patented) in 1871. Huliko’a was a resident at Kohanaiki during the time of the *Māhele*, and is credited with having given land to one applicant in the *Māhele*, on which to live and cultivate, in 1845 (see Helu 7987, in this study).

In 1871, Kapena received Grant No. 3086 from the Government for the portion of Kohanaiki extending from the ocean to the *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Beach Road). A deed issued in August 1894, identifies Kalihi’ole Kahiewalu² (then a resident of Niuli’i Kohala), as the heir of Kapena (and his wife, Naukiukiu) for the land at “Kohanaiki kai.” By the deed, Kalihi’ole conveyed her third interest (51 1/3 of 154 acres) in Grant 3086 to her children, Pua Ho’ohuli and Keka’a Kahiewalu, and grandson Kanalua Kahape’a (Liber 148:265-266). Two other children of Kapena, a son named Kahape’a, and a daughter, Keka’a inherited the other two-thirds of the grant acreage. Apparently, Keka’a died, and her interest transferred to Kalihi’ole and Kahape’a. The interest of Keka’a Kahiewalu, daughter of Kalihi’ole, descended by deed to Henry Akona³; and the interests of the other heirs were conveyed to various parties (for example, see deed of May 6, 1898 between S.W. Kahape’a and C.C. Eakin), then leading to Nansay and subsequently Rutter Development (see Civil No. 90-316K).

The Kapena parcel, Grant No. 3086, is the land for which PHRI is preparing historic preservation documents, and the area which this historical study seeks to provide documentation for. This parcel, as originally patented, contained 154 acres; its boundaries

² The 1888 survey field book of J.S. Emerson, identifies Kapena’s daughter, Kalihi’ole, as a resident of Kohanaiki Village (*mauka*), during his surveys (see documents in this study).

³ Henry Akona, and his various activities are discussed by the interviewees cited in this study.

being the ocean (west), Kaloko (south), 'O'oma 2nd (north), and the *Alanui Aupuni* of 1847, also called the "Old Beach Road" (east)⁴. In 1958, Henry Akona, then owner of the parcel, drew attention of the Commissioner of Public Lands that the survey and actual size of the property did not correspond. Following a review of the records, the Commissioner of Public Lands determined that the actual area within Grant 3086 was closer to 500 acres, rather than the described 154 (see Packet for Grant 3086 in the collection of the Hawaii State Survey Division).

The Kapena grant parcel and study area within Kohanaiki is comprised of *kula* (plain lands) of *pāhoehoe* and *'a'ā*; and an important complex of *loko kai* (anchialine ponds) and *pūnāwai* (springs). In its traditional context, the land of Kohanaiki would also have included the adjoining *kai lawai'a* (fisheries).

Native plants still found on the *kula*, and *kahakai* (shore) lands in Kohanaiki include, but are not limited to — *'a'ali'i* (*Dodonea* spp.), *'auhuhu* (*Tephrosia purpurea*), *hau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), *hinahina* (*Heliotropium anomalum*) *'ihi* (*Portulaca oleracea*), *'ilima* (*Sida fallax*), *kou* (*Cordia subcordata*), *maiapilo* or *puapilo* (*Capparis sandwichiana*) *milo* (*Thespesia populnea*), *naio* (*Myoporum sandwicense*), *naupaka* (*Scaevola*), *nohu* (*Tribulus cistoides*), *noni* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *pā'ū-o-Hi'iaka* (*Jacquemontia sandwicensis*), *pili* (*Heteropogon contortus*), *pōhuehue* (*Ipomoea pes-caprae*), and *uhaloa* or *hi'aloa* (*Waltheria americana*). Unfortunately, today, the land is overrun by alien fountain grass, Christmas berry, heliotrope, and *kiawe* trees; and the pond complex is being destroyed by growth of the alien mangrove.

⁴ See Grant No. 3086 and other survey records in this study.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CULTURAL HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE

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

Natural and Cultural Resources

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

An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement

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

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

Over the period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and the residents began expanding out into the *kona* (leeward) and more remote regions of the island (by ca. 750 to 1000 AD). In a historical

assessment of the Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park, Greene (1993) references studies that place establishment of small coastal settlements at various areas along the western shore line of Hawai'i (the Kekaha region) in the 1200s (Greene, 1993:350). Along sheltered bays of Kona, which also provided potable water, such as at Honokōhau, Kaloko and Kohanaiki, Hawaiians found most of the resources necessary to sustain viable populations (cf. Kirch 1979 and Green 1993).

As a general summary of lowland residency and cultivation of food resources in the Kekaha region, Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972) reported that:

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

Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices

Over the generations, the ancient Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land- and resources -management. By the time 'Umi-a-Līloa rose to rule the island of Hawai'i in ca. 1525, the island (*moku-puni*) was divided into six districts or *moku-o-loko* (cf. Fornander 1973–Vol. II:100-102). The district of Kona is one of six major *moku-o-loko* on the island of Hawai'i. The district of Kona itself, extends from the shore across the entire volcanic mountain of Hualālai, and continues to the summit of Mauna Loa, where Kona is joined by the districts of Ka'ū, Hilo, and Hāmākua. One traditional reference to the northern and southern-most coastal boundaries of Kona tells us that the district extended:

Mai Ke-ahu-a-Lono i ke 'ā o Kani-kū, a hō'ea i ka 'ūlei kolo o Manukā i Kaulanamauna e pili aku i Ka'ū! — From Keahualono [the Kona-Kohala boundary] on the rocky flats of Kanikū, to Kaulanamauna next to the crawling (tangled growth of) 'ūlei bushes at Manukā, where Kona clings to Ka'ū! (“Kaoo Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki” in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, September 13, 1917; Maly translator).

Kona, like other large districts on Hawai'i, was further divided into 'okana or kalana (regions of land smaller than the *moku-o-loko*, yet comprising a number of smaller units of land). In the region now known as Kona 'akau (North Kona), there are several ancient regions (*kalana*) as well. The southern portion of North Kona was known as “Kona kai 'ōpua” (interpretively translated as: Kona of the distant horizon clouds above the ocean), and included the area extending from Lanihau (the present-day vicinity of Kailua Town) to Pu'uohau (now known as Red Hill). The northern-most portion of North Kona was called “Kekaha” (descriptive of an arid coastal place). Native residents of the region affectionately referred to their home as “Kekaha-wai-ole o nā Kona” (Waterless Kekaha of the Kona districts), or simply as the “āina kaha.” It is within this region of Kekaha, that the land of Kohanaiki is found.

Ahupua‘a—A Sustainable Hawaiian Resources Management Unit

The large districts (*moku-o-loko*) and sub-regions (*‘okana* and *kalana*) were further divided into manageable units of land, and were tended to by the *maka‘āinana* (people of the land) (Malo 1951:63-67). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant management unit was the *ahupua‘a*. *Ahupua‘a* are subdivisions of land that were usually marked by an altar (*ahu*) with an image or representation of a pig (*pua‘a*) placed upon it, thus the name *ahupua‘a* or pig-altar. *Ahupua‘a* may be generally compared to pie-shaped wedges of land that extended from the ocean fisheries (the wide section) fronting the land unit, to the mountains (the narrow section) or some other feature of geological significance such as a valley, hill or crater. The boundaries of the *ahupua‘a* were generally defined by the topography and cycles and patterns of natural resources occurring within the lands (cf. Lyons, 1875; in “The Islander”).

The *ahupua‘a* were also divided into smaller manageable parcels of land (such as the *‘ili*, *kō‘ele*, *māla*, and *kīhāpai*, etc.) in which cultivated resources could be grown and natural resources harvested. As long as sufficient tribute was offered and *kapu* (restrictions) were observed, the common people, who lived in a given *ahupua‘a* had access to most of the resources from the mountain slopes to the ocean. These access rights were almost uniformly tied to residency on a particular land, and earned as a result of taking responsibility for stewardship of the natural environment, and supplying the needs of ones’ *ali‘i* (cf. Malo 1951:63-67; Kamakau 1961:372-377; and Boundary Commission Testimonies – ca. 1865-1891).

Entire *ahupua‘a*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konoiki* or lesser chief-landlords, who answered to an *ali‘i-‘ai-ahupua‘a* (chief who controlled the *ahupua‘a* resources). The *ali‘i-‘ai-ahupua‘a* in turn answered to an *ali‘i ‘ai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupua‘a* resources supported not only the *maka‘āinana* who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms.

This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and was the product of strictly adhered to resources management planning. In this system, the land provided fruits and vegetables and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources. Also, in communities with long-term royal residents, divisions of labor (with specialists in various occupations on land and in procurement of marine resources) came to be strictly adhered to. It is in this cultural setting that we find Kohanaiki and the present study area.

The Ahupua‘a of Kohanaiki

The *ahupua‘a* of Kohanaiki crosses several environmental zones that are generally called “*wao*” in the Hawaiian language. These environmental zones include the near-shore fisheries and shoreline strand (*kahakai*) and the *kula kai-kula uka* (shoreward and inland plains). These regional zones were greatly desired as places of residence by the natives of the land.

While the *kula* lands of Kohanaiki and the greater Kekaha region are now likened to a volcanic desert, native and historic accounts describe or reference groves of native hard wood shrubs and trees such as *‘ūlei* (*Osteomeles anthyllidifolia*), *ēlama* (*Diospyros ferrea*), *uhiuhi* (*Caesalpinia kavaiensis*), and *ohe* (*Reynoldsia sandwicensis*) extending across the land and growing some distance shoreward. A few rare and endangered plants are also

found on the land, and small remnant communities of native dryland forest in the area give us an indication that there was a significant diversity of plants growing upon the *kula* lands prior to the introduction of ungulates —

The lower *kula* lands receive only about 20 inches of rainfall annually, and it is because of their dryness, the larger region of which Kohanaiki is a part, is known as “Kekaha.” While on the surface, there appears to be little or no potable water to be found, the very lava flows which cover the land contain many underground streams that are channeled through subterranean lava tubes which feed the *pūnāwai* (springs) and *loko kai* (fishponds and anchialine ponds) on the *kula kahakai* (coastal flats).

Also in this region, on the flat lands, about a three-fourths of a mile from the shore, is the famed *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Trail), built in 1847, at the order of Kamehameha III. This trail or government roadway, was built to meet the needs of changing transportation in the Hawaiian Kingdom, and in some places (though apparently not in Kohanaiki), it overlays the older near shore *ala loa* (ancient foot trail that encircled the island).

Continuing along the *kula uka* (inland slopes), the environment changes as elevation increases. Based on historic surveys, it appears that Kohanaiki ends at a survey station named “Pulehu,” 3,475 feet above sea level (see Register Map No. 1449). This zone is called the *wao kanaka* (region of man) and *wao nahele* (forest region). Rainfall increases to 30 or 40 inches annually, and taller forest growth occurred —

This region provided native residents with shelter for residential and agricultural uses, and a wide range of natural resources which were of importance for religious, domestic, and economic purposes. In Kohanaiki, this region is generally between the 1,200 to 2,200 foot elevation, and is crossed by the present-day Māmalahoa Highway. The highway is situated not far below the ancient *ala loa*, or foot trail, also known as Ke-ala’ehu, and was part of a regional trail system passing through Kona from Ka’ū and Kohala.

The ancient Hawaiians saw (as do many Hawaiians today) all things within their environment as being interrelated. That which was in the uplands shared a relationship with that which was in the lowlands, coastal region, and even in the sea. This relationship and identity with place worked in reverse as well, and the *ahupua’a* as a land unit was the thread which bound all things together in Hawaiian life. In an early account written by Kihe (in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, 1914-1917), with contributions by John Wise and Steven Desha Sr., the significance of the dry season in Kekaha and the custom of the people departing from the uplands for the coastal region is further described. Of the dry season, Kihe et al., wrote —

...‘Oia ka wā e ne‘e ana ka lā iā Kona, hele a malo‘o ka ‘āina i ka ‘ai kupakupa ‘ia e ka lā, a o nā kākāka, nā li‘i o Kona, pūhe‘e aku la a noho i kahakai kāhi o ka wai e ola ai nā kākāka. – It was during the season, when the sun moved over Kona, drying and devouring the land, that the chiefs and people fled from the uplands to dwell along the shore where water could be found to give life to the people. (April 5, 1917; Maly, translator)

It appears that the practice of traveling between upland and coastal residences in the Kohanaiki Ahupua'a greatly decreased by the middle nineteenth century. Indeed, during the *Māhele 'Āina* of 1848—when native tenants were allowed to lay claim to lands on which they lived and cultivated—only two claims were made for property in Kohanaiki (see discussion of *Māhele* claims in this study). This is perhaps explained by the fact that at time of the *Māhele* there was a significant decline in the Hawaiian population, and changes in Hawaiian land tenure led to the relocation of many individuals from various lands.

NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF KOHANAIKI AND THE KEKAHA REGION OF NORTH KONA

This section of the study introduces readers to a few *mo'olelo*—native traditions and historical accounts (some translated from the original Hawaiian by Maly)—of the Kekaha region, and span several centuries. There are very few accounts that have been found to date, that specifically mention Kohanaiki. Though the major tradition of Kohanaiki cited in this study, provides detailed descriptions of sites and practices in the area, and was penned by a native resident of the land.

Kekaha Wai 'Ole o nā Kona

The native account of Punia (also written Puniaiki – cf. Kamakau 1968), is perhaps among the earliest accounts of *Kekaha Wai 'Ole o nā Kona* (The Waterless Lands of the Kona Districts), and in it is found a native explanation for the late settlement of Kekaha. The following narratives are paraphrased from Fornander's "*Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore*" (Fornander 1959):

Punia: A Tale of Sharks and Ghosts of Kekaha

Punia was born in the district of Kohala, and was one of the children of Hina. One day, Punia desired to get lobster for his mother to eat, but she warned him of Kai'ale'ale and his hoards of sharks who guarded the caves in which lobster were found. These sharks were greatly feared by all who lived along, and fished the shores of Kohala for many people had been killed by the sharks. Heeding his mother's warning, Punia observed the habits of the sharks and devised a plan by which to kill each of the sharks. Setting his plan in motion, Punia brought about the deaths of all the subordinate sharks, leaving only Kai'ale'ale behind. Punia tricked Kai'ale'ale into swallowing him whole. Once inside Kai'ale'ale, Punia rubbed two sticks together to make a fire to cook the sweet potatoes he had brought with him. He also scraped the insides of Kai'ale'ale, causing great pain to the shark. In his weakened state, Kai'ale'ale swam along the coast of Kekaha, and finally beached himself at Alula, near the point of Maliu in the land of Kealakehe. The people of Alula, cut open the shark and Punia was released.

At that time Alula was the only place in all of Kekaha where people could live, for all the rest of the area was inhabited by ghosts. When Punia was released from the shark, he began walking along the trail, to return to Kohala. While on this walk, he saw several ghosts with nets all busy tying stones for sinkers to the bottom of the nets, and Punia called out in a chant trying to deceive the ghosts and save himself —

*Auwe no hoi kuu makuakane
o keia kaha e!*

Elua wale no maua lawaia o keia wahi.

*Owau no o ko'u makuakane,
E hoowili aku ai maua i ka ia o ianei,*

O kala, o ka uhu, o ka palani,

Alas, O my father of these coasts!

We were the only two fishermen of
this place (*kaha*).

Myself and my father,
Where we used to twist the fish up
in the nets,

The *kala*, the *uhu*, the *palani*,

*O ka ia ku o ua wahi nei la,
Ua hele wale ia no e maua keia kai la!
Pau na kuuna, na lua, na puka ia.*

Make ko‘u makuakane, koe au.

The transient fish of this place.
We have traveled over all these seas,
All the different place, the holes,
the runs.

Since you are dead, father, I am the
only one left.

Hearing Punia’s wailing, the ghosts said among themselves, “Our nets will be of some use now, since here comes a man who is acquainted with this place and we will not be letting down our nets in the wrong place.” They then called out to Punia, “Come here.” When Punia went to the ghosts, he explained to them, the reason for his lamenting; “I am crying because of my father, this is the place where we used to fish. When I saw the lava rocks, I thought of him.” Thinking to trick Punia and learn where all the *ku‘una* (net fishing grounds) were, the ghosts told Punia that they would work under him. Punia went into the ocean, and one-by-one and two-by-two, he called the ghosts into the water with him, instructing them to dive below the surface. As each ghost dove into the water, Punia twisted the net entangling the ghosts. This was done until all but one of the ghosts had been killed. That ghost fled and Kekaha became safe for human habitation (Fornander 1959:9-17).

One of the earliest datable accounts that describes the importance of the Kekaha region fisheries, comes from the mid sixteenth century, following ‘Umi-a-Līloa’s unification of the island of Hawai‘i under his rule. Writing in the 1860s, native historian, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1961) told readers about the reign of ‘Umi, and his visits to Kekaha:

‘Umi-a-Liloa did two things with his own hands, farming and fishing...and farming was done on all the lands. Much of this was done in Kona. He was noted for his skill in fishing and was called *Pu‘ipu‘i a ka lawai‘a* (a stalwart fisherman). *Aku* fishing was his favorite occupation, and it often took him to the beaches (Kekaha) from Kalahuipua‘a to Makaula⁵. He also fished for *‘ahi* and *kala*. He was accompanied by famed fishermen such as Pae, Kahuna, and all of the chiefs of his kingdom. He set apart fishing, farming and other practices... (Kamakau 1961:19-20)

In his accounts of events at the end of ‘Umi’s life, Kamakau (1961) references Kekaha once again. He records that Ko‘i, one of the faithful supporters and a foster son of ‘Umi, sailed to Kekaha, where he killed a man who resembled ‘Umi. Ko‘i then took the body and sailed to Maka‘eo in the *ahupua‘a* of Keahuolu. Landing at Maka‘eo in the night, Ko‘i took the body to the cave where ‘Umi’s body lay. Replacing ‘Umi’s body with that of the other man, Ko‘i then crossed the lava beds, returning to his canoe at Maka‘eo. From there, ‘Umi’s body was taken to its’ final resting place... (Kamakau 1961:32-33)

As a child in ca. 1812, Hawaiian historian John Papa I‘i passed along the shores of Kekaha in a sailing ship, as a part of the procession by which Kamehameha I, returned to Kailua, Kona from his residency on O‘ahu. In his narratives, I‘i described the shiny lava flows and fishing canoe fleets of the “Kaha” (Kekaha) lands:

⁵ Kalāhuipua‘a is situated in the district of Kohala, bounding the northern side of Pu‘uanahulu in Kekaha. Maka‘ula is situated a few ahupua‘a north of Kohanaiki.

The ship arrived outside of Kaeleluluhulu, where the fleet for *aku* fishing had been since the early morning hours. The sustenance of those lands was fish.

When the sun was rather high, the boy [I'i] exclaimed, "How beautiful that flowing water is!" Those who recognized it, however, said, "That is not water, but *pahoehoe*. When the sun strikes it, it glistens, and you mistake it for water..."

Soon the fishing canoes from Kawaihae, the Kaha lands, and Ooma drew close to the ship to trade for the *pa'i'ai* (hard *poi*) carried on board, and shortly a great quantity of *aku* lay silvery-hued on the deck. The fishes were cut into pieces and mashed; and all those aboard fell to and ate, the women by themselves.

The gentle *Eka* sea breeze of the land was blowing when the ship sailed past the lands of the Mahaiulas, Awalua, Haleohiu, Kalaoas, Hoona, on to Oomas, Kohanaiki, Kaloko, Honokohaus, and Kealakehe, then around the cape of Hiiakanoholae... (I'i 1959:109-110)

In ca. 1813, Ka-lani Kau-i-ke-aouli, who grew up to become Kamehameha III, was born. S.M. Kamakau (1961) tells us that the baby appeared to be still-born, but that shortly after birth, he was revived. Upon the revival of the baby, he was given to the care of Ka-iki-o-'ewa, who with Keawe-a-mahi and family, raised the child in seclusion at 'O'oma, neighboring Kohanaiki. The first five years of the young king's life were spent there, and it is likely that the resources and people of the 'O'oma-Kohanaiki vicinity and neighboring lands, contributed to the young chief's from well-being, with resources from the uplands to marine fisheries (Kamakau 1961:264).

Mo'olelo o nā Kama'āina ***(Traditions of those who are of the Land)***

It is not until the early nineteen-hundreds, that we find a few detailed native accounts which tell us of traditional features and residents of Kohanaiki and vicinity. The writings of John Whalley Hermosa Isaac Kihe, a native son of Kekaha (and one time resident of Kohanaiki), in Hawaiian language newspapers (recently translated by Maly from the original Hawaiian texts), share the history of the land and sense the depth of attachment that native residents felt for Kohanaiki and the larger Kekaha-wai-'ole-o-nā-Kona—

Kihe (who also wrote under the name of Ka-'ohu-ha'aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-'ekolu) was born in 1853, his parents were native residents of Honokōhau and Kaloko (his grandfather, Kuapāhoa, was a famed *kahuna* of the Kekaha lands). During his life, Kihe taught at various schools in the Kekaha region; served as legal counsel to native residents applying for homestead lands in Kohanaiki and vicinity; worked as a translator on the Hawaiian Antiquities collections of A. Fornander; and was a prolific writer himself. In the later years of his life, Kihe lived at Pu'u Anahulu and Kalaoa, and he is fondly remembered by elder *kama'āina* of the Kekaha region. Kihe, who died in 1929, was also one of the primary informants to Eliza Maguire, who translated some of the writings of Kihe, publishing them in abbreviated form in her book "Kona Legends" (1926).

Writers today have varying opinions and theories pertaining to the history of Kekaha, residency patterns, and practices of the people who called *Kekaha Wai 'Ole o nā Kona* home. For the most part, our interpretations are limited by the fragmented nature of the physical remains and historical records, and by a lack of familiarity with the diverse qualities of the land. As a result, most of us see only the shadows of what once was, and it is difficult at times, to comprehend how anyone could have carried on a satisfactory existence in such a rugged land.

Kihe and his co-authors provide readers with several references to places and events in the history of Kohanaiki and neighboring lands of the larger Kekaha region. Through the narratives, we learn of place name origins, areas of ceremonial significance, how resources were managed and accessed, and the practices of those native families who made the area their home.

One example of the rich materials recorded by native writers, is found in "*Kao Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki*" (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki). This tradition is a long and complex account, that was published over a period of four years (1914-1917) in the weekly Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*. The narratives were primarily recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe.

While "Ka-Miki" is not an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of local stories, tales, and family traditions in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific histories 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 (and Polynesian) traditions. The English translations below, are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events and areas being discussed. Maly has inserted diacritical marks and hyphenation to help readers with pronunciation of certain words; and also uses underlining to draw readers attention to specific narratives of interest.

"Kao Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki" (The Heart stirring Story of Ka-Miki)

This *mo'olelo* (tradition) is set in the 1300s (by association with the chief Pili-a-Ka'aiea), and is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Ma-Ka'iole (Rat [squinting] eyes). The narratives describe the birth of the brothers, their upbringing, and their journey around the island of Hawai'i along the ancient *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, on famed *kahua* (contest fields) and in the royal courts, against *'olohe*—experts skilled in fighting or in other competitions, such as running, fishing, debating, or solving riddles, that were practiced by the ancient Hawaiians. They also challenged priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai'i.

Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole were empowered by their ancestress Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The-great-entangled-growth-of-uluhe-fern-which-spreads-across-the-uplands), who was one of the myriad of body forms of the goddess Haumea, the creative force of nature who was also called Papa or Hina, and to whom the islands were born. Among her many nature-form attributes were manifestations and powers that caused her to be called upon as a goddess of priests and competitors. This native tradition opens in Kohanaiki, and from there, the history unfolds—

Section I.

Kūmua was the husband of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. The place that is named for Kūmua is in the high uplands of Kohanaiki, a elevated rise from where one can look towards the lowlands. The shore and deep sea are all clearly visible from this place. The reason that Kūmua dwelt there was so that he could see the children and grandchildren of he and his wife.

Wailoa, a daughter, was the mother of Kapa'ihilani, also called Kapa'ihī. There is a place in the uplands of Kohanaiki, below Kūmua, to the northwest, a hidden water hole, that is called Kapa'ihī. Wailoa resided by some ponds there on the shore of Kohanaiki. Because Wailoa married Kahunakalehu, a native of the area, she lived and worked there. Thus the name of the ponds is Wailoa, and it remains so to this day.

Pipipi'apo'o was another daughter of Kūmua and Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. She married Haleolono, one who cultivated sweet potatoes upon the *'ilima* covered flat lands of Nānāwale, also called Nāhiahū (Nāwahiahū), as it has been called from before and up to the present time. Cultivating the land was the skill of this youth Haleolono, and because he was so good at it, he was able to marry the beauty, Pipipi'apo'o.

Pipipi'apo'o skill was that of weaving pandanus mats, and there grow there many pandanus trees to this day. The grove of pandanus trees and a nearby cave, is called Pipipi'apo'o to this day, and you may ask the natives of Kohanaiki to point it out to you.

Kapukalua was a son. He was an expert at *aku* lure fishing, and all other methods of fishing of those days gone by. He married Kauhi'onohua a beauty with skin as soft as the blossoms of the *hīmano*, found in the pandanus grove of 'O'oma. This girl was pleasingly beautiful, and because of her fame, Kapukalua, the exceptionally skilled son of the sea spray of 'Apo'ula at Kohanaiki, secured her as his wife. Here, we shall stop speaking of the elders of Ka-Miki. Let us go to the backbone of this story, a pleasant passing of time.

The chiefess, Kapa'ihilani's first child (Ma-Ka'iole) was born in an *'ē'ēpa* or premature and mysterious form, though he lived and was taken to be cared for by his elder relatives who lived in the uplands. When the chiefess' second child was born, he too was in an *'ē'ēpa* form, and given up as still born. Following the birth of this child, Kapa'ihilani took ill. The priest 'Elepaio (of Honokōhau) was called to try and help her. When speaking with Kapa'ihilani, 'Elepaio learned about the nature of the elder members of her family.

Now 'Elepaio was a priest who worked for the chief Kamahu'ialani who dwelt at Honokōhau. He was a famous priest, known for his knowledge and his power, he was the one who secured (kept safe) the lands of the chief. At the time that 'Elepaio went to Kapa'ihilani, the child, Ma-Ka'iole, discerned by spirit, that 'Elepaio's knowledge was not as great as that of his ancestress, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. Because of this , Ma-Ka'iole chanted a name chant to his ancestress, calling to her —

O Kaulu-i-ka-malama-i-ke-kihi-o-
ka-mahina-nui o —
Kaulua ka lā,
Kaulua ka ua,
Kaulua ka makani,
Kaulua ke kai,
Kaulua ka mālie,
Kaulua ka hōkū e kau nei,
E Kauluhenuihikoloiuka e,
E-ō mai i kou ino—a.

Say Kaulu-i-ka-malama-i-ke-kihi-o-
ka-mahina-nui o —
Kaulua⁶ of the sun,
Kaulua of the rain,
Kaulua of the wind,
Kaulua of the sea,
Kaulua in the calm,
Kaulua, is the star set above,
Say Kauluhenuihikoloiuka.
Respond to your name.

Ka-uluhe answered —

E-ō. Heaha ia e ka'u kama?
Kā'elo 'elo ka malama,
Kā'elo 'elo ka lā,
Kā'elo 'elo ka ua,
Kā'elo 'elo ka makani,
Kā'elo 'elo ke kai,
Kā'elo 'elo ka mālie,
Kā'elo 'elo, ka hōkū e kau nei,
E Kahu'eloku i ke kihi o Kā'elo e.
E-ō mai i kou inoa — ai.

Here I am. What is it my child?
Kā'elo⁷, the damp month,
Kā'elo, the damp day,
Kā'elo, dampened by the rain,
Kā'elo, the moist wind,
Kā'elo dampens the sea,
Kā'elo dampens the calm,
Kā'elo, the star set above,
Say Kahu'eloku i ke kihi o Kā'elo
Respond to your name.

Ma-Ka'iole responded, "I am here, greetings to you!"

When Kapa'ihilani heard the call of her son, and the response of her grandmother, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka, who replied from the distant uplands of Kalama'ula — situated in the moist dark forest with the tangled growth of the 'ie'ie and uluhe fern — it filled her with awe. The kahuna did not hear these mysterious voices, and she then knew that 'Elepaio did not have a anything but a superficial knowledge...

...Readers, let us now leave this part of the story here and discuss the guardians of Ma-Ka'iole. Let us turn to the uplands of the damp and darkened forest where the birds sing upon the lehua blossoms. You perhaps understand that Ka-Miki was there in the bosom of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka, the wondrous ancestress of these two lads of which we speak. He was growing up there in the care of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka, and as he grew, so too did his mischievous nature. One day, he went out of the uluhe covered house that he shared with his guardian and he looked upon the red lehua blossoms, and heard the voices of the birds circling above the lehua trees. Ka-Miki then called out to his ancestress in a chant —

O Kaulu-i-ka-malama-i-ke-
kihi-oka-mahina-nui o —

Say Kaulu-i-ka-malama-i-ke-
kihi-oka-mahina-nui —

⁶ Kaulua — a name for the star Sirius; and a month associated with the star (cf. Pukui & Elbert 1971).

⁷ Kā'elo, s star, perhaps Betelgeuse; and a damp month associated with the star (cf. Pukui & Elbert 1971).

*Kaulua ka lā,
Kaulua ka ua,
Kaulua ka makani,
Kaulua ka mālie,
Kaulua ka Hōkū e kau nei,
Kaulua ka manu e pōhai nei,
Ua pō, kanahēle pō i ka lehua.*

Wala'au ka manu he i'a ko lalo.

*E Kauluhenuihikolo— e,
Hōmai ia alanui no'u e iho ai
aku na kāua,
O ke aku mua kāu.
A ku'u kaikuana haku,
A Ma-Ka'iole,
A ka makuakāne ali'i o māua,
A Kapuka—kapu ka hale,
A'ole e noho 'ia ka hale kapu,
O Kapukalua—e!
[January 8, 1914]*

*Kaulua of the sun,
Kaulua of the rain,
Kaulua of the wind,
Kaulua in the calm,
Kaulua, is the star set above,
Kaulua when the circle
It is dark, the forest is darkened
by the lehua.
The birds say that there are
fish below.
Say Kauluhenuihikolo,
Prepare a path by which I may
descend to fetch aku for us.
The first caught aku.
And my elder brother and lord,
Ma-Ka'iole,
And the royal father of us two,
Kapuka—the sacred house.
A sacred house not yet lived in,
O Kapukalua!*

At the beginning of the next article in the series, the editor asked the readers to pardon a mistake that was made the previous week. Desha noted that the preceding issue had been printed, leaving out additional descriptions of the key players in the tradition, and descriptions of places of importance in the account (January 15, 1914).

...Following Ka-Miki's premature birth, his father, Pōhaku-a-Kāne, secretly took the misshapen child to the uplands of Pōnahanaha. Thinking that no one had seen him, he did not know that this mysteriously formed child which had been cast aside, had been taken and cared for by Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. At the time that Pōhaku-a-Kāne took Ka-Miki and left him at Pōnahanaha, Ma-Ka'iole, the ward of Pohokinikini (w) and Pu'uwalea (k), had watched Pōhaku-a-Kāne. They then fetched Ka-Miki and took him to the uplands of Kalama'ula to be cared for by Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka.

One night, Ma-Ka'iole called out to his guardians, he asked Pohokinikini if she was sleeping. Pohokinikini responded that she was not. The child then asked if the two of them might "go to the mountain slopes and mountain top, to the damp forest, the forest where there is no man; for it is there that we can leave my umbilical cord so that it will not be eaten by the rat with many teeth." It was also at this time, that Pohokinikini, took the misshapen form of Ka-Miki from Pōnahanaha to be cared for by his ancestress.

Pohokinikini and Ma-Ka'iole traveled to the uplands where the ancestress dwelt, it was there that his umbilical cord would be safe in the bosom of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. They traveled to the uplands of Kohanaiki, passing Ahalua, the priest of the high chief, and passing the heiau enclosure of the sacred pahu (drums), Kauki'eki'e and Kaukeano, and near the house of the chief, Pōhaku-o-

Kāne, who was also the father of Ka-Miki. It was he who had taken the mysterious formed child and set him in the forest.

Passing behind the house of the chief, they came to the trailside resting place called Pū'āinakō. They rested there, because of the weakness that resulted from the ascent. But in no time, the youth rose up to continue the ascent. Just as light was appearing, they passed the rear of the contest house of the chief, 'Īwa'awa'a. This was a large house, a place where the offerings and the supplies of the elders were kept. It was called Ki'ikahala [in Kaloko, near the boundary between Kohanaiki and Kaloko] and it was at this place, that wood was cut for the construction of the fishpond of Kaloko, the wood used for the *hā* (channels or gates) of the kuapā (walled fishponds) of Kaloko-nui and Kaloko-iki.

It was just at daylight that they reach the house of the old woman (Ka-uluhe), who was still asleep. The mysterious thing is that the stars remained visible in the sky, they did not fade, the glittering of the stars could still be seen in the depths of the sky. Ka-Miki then called out in a name chant to his elder — *E ala e Kaulu-o-ka-malama...*

...Hearing the call, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka called to him in a name chant, and told him to come into the house. As they entered the house the old woman immediately embraced and kissed them. When she finished greeting them, the old woman asked them what the nature of their journey in the early morning was. Pohokinikini explained everything to her, and this is how Ka-Miki came to be cared for by his ancestress. She built him a house thatched with the leaves of the *'ie'ie*, and the house was called Kaukahōkū. It is so known to this day. It is a very famous place, known to the natives of Kohanaiki.

Here, we now leave our conversation of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka and her great grandson, and we return to the boys father, Pōhaku-o-Kāne and his chiefess wife, Wailoa.

On the day following Pōhaku-o-Kāne's secretly taking the child to the forest, in the uplands at Pōnahanaha, he went and explained to his wife what he had done. Hearing it, Kapa'ihilani, immediately had a funny feeling, and she soon became ill, almost dying, while thinking of this misshapen child. As the chiefesses' illness became greater, the priest Ahalua was called. When the priest arrived, he looked upon her, and tried to discern the nature of her illness by touching her. Because he could not discern the nature of the illness, he ordered that 'Elepaio be called. 'Elepaio was the priest who secured the land of Kamahu'ialani, the high chief of the district, *ahupua'a*, and sub-regions of Kona, on the island of Hawai'i, which was the island child, first born of Wākea and Papa.

When 'Elepaio arrived, he looked upon the chiefess and discerned that illness was the result of the loss of her child. He explained, "Through the sight of *Papa-iā-Laka*, which gives me the skills of my practice, I see that there was a mysterious formed child and another child born to the chiefess, two children in all. The chiefesses' love for these children, and her unsettled thoughts for the

child who was discarded because of his misshapen form, is the source of the illness.” Now Pōhaku-o-Kāne had done this, only to keep his wife from seeing the misshapen child.

‘Elepaio then asked Pōhaku-o-Kāne, “Where is that child?” “There upon the mountain, in the cave of Pōnahanaha, below Kaiwiopole.” ‘Elepaio told him, “Go get the child, do not delay, for that is the reason that the chiefess is so ill. You will also find that the child is alive.” With great speed, for Pōhaku-o-Kāne was a chief known as a swift runner, he arrived at the cave of Pōnahanaha, where he had left the child. Upon arriving at the cave, he saw that the child was gone, there was only a pool of water there. He looked all around, but could not find the child. He then returned to the *kahuna* who was waiting for him.

Pōhaku-o-Kāne told the *kahuna* what had happened, that he had been unable to find the child, and that there was now a spring filled with water where the child had been left. Pōhaku-o-Kāne then inquired of the priest, “Where is this child that was born misshapen, the child that I took and left there? The child that was discarded on the ‘a‘ā, the ‘*ilima* covered flats where the ‘*elama* grows in the heat of the sun.” The *kahuna* answered, “The child was taken by a woman who is presently caring for him. He lives and is growing, he exceptionally skilled and powerful. The one who is caring for him is an old woman, one who reads of omens and who discerns the nature of the land, a priestess of mysterious knowledge. The child is there, in her bosom.” [January 15, 1914]

Kapa‘ihilani then responded, saying, “That is my own grandmother, the mother of my mother, Wailoa. Her name is Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka, another one of her names is Kaulu-o-ka-lama-i-ke-kihi-o-ka-mahina-nui o — (she then called in a name chant):

*Kaulua ka lā,
Kaulua ka ua,
Kaulua ka makani,
Kaulua ke kai,
Kaulua ka mālie,
Kaulua ka Hōkū e kau nei,
E Kauluhenuihikoloiuka e,
E—ō mai i kou inoa — a.*

*Kaulua of the sun,
Kaulua of the rain,
Kaulua of the wind,
Kaulua of the sea,
Kaulua in the calm,
Kaulua, is the star set above,
Say Kauluhenuihikoloiuka.
Respond to your name.*

A wind then roared, causing the houses to shake. The branches of the ‘*ōhi‘a* and ‘*ōpiko* were broken, as were the clumps of *kāmanomano* grass. The leaves were blown and scattered all about. They then heard calling out “E—ō, what is this, my child who has wondrously sprouted forth? This is the astonishing voice of my child, my adornment, descended from my line. O Kapa‘ihilani-pō‘ele-i-ke-kihi-o-ka-Malama o — (she then called in a name chant):

*‘Ikuwā ka leo o ka hekili,
‘Ikuwā ka leo o ke kai,*

*‘Ikuwā⁸, voice of the thunder,
‘Ikuwā, voice of the sea,*

⁸ ‘*Ikuwā*, a month in the Hawaiian calendar associated with storms, thunder, and the roaring of the sea (cf. Pukui & Elbert 1971).

*'Ikuwā ka leo o ka manu,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ka makani,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ke Akua,
Akua ka lā o Kona,
O 'Ikuwā ka Pōhā kō'ele'ele,
E—ō mai i kou inoa a —
O Kapa'ihilani-pō'ele-i-ke-
kihi-o-ka-Malama.*

*'Ikuwā, voice of the birds,
'Ikuwā, voice of the wind,
'Ikuwā, voice of the gods,
The sun is the god of Kona,
Say 'Ikuwā-ka-pōhā-kō'ele'ele
Respond to your name—
Kapa'ihilani-pō'ele-i-ke-
kihi-o-ka-Malama.*

Kapa'ihilani answered, “E—ō! 'Ano'ai—a! Aloha nō e!—”

When these things passed, the chiefess Kapa'ihī was healed, and all thoughts of confusion of the parents and family members ended. The priest, 'Elepaio then instructed Pōhaku-o-Kāne to have a royal compound made for his children, and that malo, kapa, and finely woven mats, should all be made ready for the boys. All of these things were to be restricted, and that no one would be allowed to enter the compound until the boys themselves made it free. He also ordered 'awa (*Piper methysticum*) kō (sugarcanes), mai'a (bananas), kalo (taro), and 'uala (sweet potatoes) to be planted in a garden. These too were restricted to the boys, not to be taken until they freed it. These were the words of the *kahuna*, 'Elepaio.

Pōhaku-o-Kāne had all these thing done. A sacred house was built, and the garden planted. The sacred house was called Ka'aipua'a, and is the name of this place to till today. The place named Ka'aipua'a is in Kohanaiki, below the old *Alanui Aupuni* (government road) that goes to Kohala. This name was given because of the restrictions that were placed on the sugar cane, bananas, 'awa, and the other things that were planted there. The guardians of the garden regularly offered the sugar cane, bananas and 'awa, and so the name Ka'aipua'a⁹ was given.

Here now, we now come to the remainder of the story which came out in the first account which you read [see January 8, 1914].

It is understood that Ka-Miki was there in the bosom of his guardian, and that he then when to his great grandmother, the priestess. One day, he asked her about the trail that would take him down to the lowlands of Kohanaiki. Ka-uluhe answered from within the house, “Say, what is this that you ask me of?” She then chanted to him calling on his various nature forms, and calling upon her nature forms, and in this way, she directed him to the path on which he should travel.

When Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka finished her chant, one of the great mature 'ōhi'a trees of the forest lay down before him. Ka-Miki got onto the tree and it began to take him shoreward. While the child was being taken down, his ancestress called upon one of her mysterious body forms, that of Ka'ohu-kolo-mai-luna-o-ka-lā'au (The-mist-which-crawls-over-the-forest), and Ka-Miki was

⁹ Ka-'ai-pua'a or Ka-'ai-ahu-pua'a implies “the one who eats (controls) the wealth of the *ahupua'a*.”

surrounded and hidden by a heavy fog. In this way he traveled from the upland forest to the shore. It was 'Ōhi'a-moe-awakea ('ōhi'a-that-lays-down-in-the-midday) upon which Ka-Miki was born to the flat lands where he met with his elder, mysterious formed brother, Ma-Ka'iole. So the two brothers traveled upon their wondrous path and arrived at the sandy shore of Kohanaiki. On the shore, there were a number of children playing and swimming in the ocean.

The two brothers met with the native children and played with them. The children called out in loud voices, praising the skills of the brothers in surfing and diving. While the children were calling out, the *aku* fishing canoe of the chief Kapukalua drew near to the shore. At the same time, Ka-Miki took up one of the *aku* and chanted his name chant... When Kapukalua heard this chant of the child, he took up the youth and hugged him, crying over him, and they exchanged kisses. Kapukalua then asked, "Where is your ancestress?"

Ka-Miki answered, "She is there in our house." Does she know that you have come down here?" Ka-Miki answered, "Yes." Kapukalua then asked, "Where is your older brother?" Ka-Miki then pointed him out, "It is he that is standing at the bow of the canoe. The uncle then hugged the other boy and greeted him as well. They then picked up the canoe and carried it to the canoe shed (*hālau wa'a*). Kapukalua then ordered his retainer to call his *kūkini* (runner and messenger), who was named Eia, so that *aku* could be taken to Kauhola, which is also known as Pohokinikini, and to Kalama'ula, which is also called Kaukahōkū.

When all things were made ready by the messenger, and the boys had finished eating, Kapukalua and Kauhi'onohua kissed the boys. Kauhi'onohua then chanted —

*Ke ho'i ala i ke kula 'ilima,
Nopu wela i ka lā e,
Ka lā e kau nei iluna,
Aloha wale 'olua e a'u kama,
Kamalei a Kapa'ihilani,
O Kapa'ihilani-pō'ele-i-ke-
kihi-o-ka-Malama o —
'Ikuwā ka leo o ka hekili,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ke kai,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ka manu,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ka makani,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ke Akua,
Akua ka lā o Kona,
O 'Ikuwā ka Pōhā-kō'ele'ele.*

Return by the path along the
'ilima covered plains,
That throb in the heat of the sun,
The sun which sits there above,
Love to you too, my children,
Child-adornments of Kapa'ihilani,
Kapa'ihilani-pō'ele-i-ke-
kihi-o-ka-Malama o —
'Ikuwā, voice of the thunder,
'Ikuwā, voice of the sea,
'Ikuwā, voice of the birds,
'Ikuwā, voice of the wind,
'Ikuwā, voice of the god,
The sun is the god of Kona,
Say 'Ikuwā-ka-pōhā-kō'ele'ele
(Ikuwā of the noisy dark storms).

She then instructed Eia to care for the boys and be sure to deliver them to the door of their homes. Then you are to take some fish to our chiefesses, Kapa'ihilani and Pipipi'apo'o. The party then began their journey to the uplands,

and when they reached Pu'u Kīlea, the body form of their ancestress, Ka'ohu-kolo-mai-luna-o-ka-lā'au, covered them with a thick fog.

Thus covered, they were protected from the heat of the sun, and a rain began to fall from the shore to the mountain. The branches of 'Ōhi'a-moe-awakea, the body form of their ancestress, then descended and embraced the boys, and carried them to their residences.

Ma-Ka'iole resided at the house on the 'ilima covered plains with his guardians (Pohokinikini and Pu'uwalea). He explained to his (foster) mother how he came to return to her, and he also told them that his uncle's messenger would be bringing *aku* fish for them.

When 'Ōhi'a-moe-awakea set Ka-Miki at the entrance of his house, he looked in and saw that his ancestress was sleeping. He called out in a chant to awaken her. She awoke and in turn chanted a name chat for Ka-Miki... Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka then asked Ka-Miki, "What is your uncle, Kapukalua doing?" Ka-Miki responded with a chant —

<i>E noho ana no</i>	(He is) Dwelling there
<i>E walea ana i ka hī aku</i>	Enjoying the bonito lure fishing
<i>I ka pua a ka lehua i ke kai</i>	The lehua flower of the sea
<i>Kai kōpīpī i ka welelau lima</i>	In the ocean which salts the finger tips
<i>Ke hi'i ala i ke Aku-mua-kau</i>	Holding the first caught bonito
<i>Kaukāhi ka lima o Hale'ohi'u ke ko'a</i>	Fish set in the hand at the fishing station of Hale'ohi'u
<i>I ka lā puka mauka a napo'o makai</i>	Where the sun is seen to rise from the uplands, and set in the sea
<i>I ka nalu wili mai o Apo'ula</i>	In the twisting waves of Apo'ula
<i>'Ale mai mauka a ho'i hou no i kai</i>	Waves which crest on the shore and return to the sea.

She then inquired, "Where is your older brother Ma-Ka'iole?" Ka-Miki told her, and she then chanted to Ma-Ka'iole, describing his nature attributes, and calling him by the name Ka-huelo-ku-i-ke-kihi-o-Kā'elo... [January 22, 1914]

Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka's chant was carried to the low lands, and Ma-Ka'iole responded to her —

<i>E walea a'e ana au i ka noho,</i>	I am comfortable in my dwelling,
<i>I ka hele i uka, i ke kai,</i>	And traveling from the uplands to the shore,
<i>I ke kula 'ilima wela nopu i ka lā — e.</i>	On the 'ilima covered plains which are made hot by the sun.
<i>Lā huli'i 'anapa i ka pāhoehoe,</i>	Sun which quivers and glistens upon the pāhoehoe.
<i>Pāhoehoe 'a'ā ma ka 'ūllili o Pohokinikini.</i>	Pāhoehoe and 'a'ā on the steep rise of Pohokinikini.

I pō i ka ua Lei malo e pō'ai nei

*Pō'ai a puni a —
Mai ke kai a ke kuahiwi, kualono.*

*Lono aku la ke kupunawahine,
O ka 'Ohukolomailunaokalā'au,*

O 'Ōhi'a-moe-awakea,

O Kumakua-moe-awakea,

*O nā wahine moe awakea,
O Kahuli'elipapahonuamea—e*

*O Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka,
O Hihi kau-manamana i ka nahelehele.*

E—ō mai—a; 'ano'ai ho'i au!

Darkened by the rains, like the adorning
loin cloth which encircles
(the mountain).

It is completely surrounded —
From the sea to the mountain peaks
and mountain slopes.

The ancestress has heard,
It is the Mist-which-crawls-atop-
the forest,

'Ōhi'a-which-is-stretched-out-in-
the-mid-day,

The tall-parent-'ōhi'a- which-is-
stretched-out-the-mid-day,

The Women-who-sleep-in-the-mid-day,
O Kahuli-who-overturns-the-strata-
of-the-earth

O Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka,

O Hihi-who-is-set-upon-the-branches-
of-the-forest.

Respond; I greet you!

My readers of this account of Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole, let now us leave our two rascals of Kohanaiki, and look again at the messenger of the chief, Kapukalua, that is Eia. Earlier, while they were ascending the uplands, and when they reached a the high point of Pu'u Kīlea, the messenger looked about and could not find the two boys. They were lost to him. Eia thought that perhaps the boys had returned to their uncle in the lowlands, or that they had perhaps gone back down to the shore to play with the children on the beach.

Eia then turned and went back to the shore. When the chief, Kapukalua, saw the messenger returning, he called out to him. "What do you have to say, my swift runner who has returned? Have you left the children along the friendless trail (*alalehe makamaka 'ole*)? Along the path (*ala nui*), without their parents to care for them? Where are my nephews that you have abandoned upon the 'a'ā (jagged rocks)?" Eia answered, "That is the reason that I returned here. While we were going to the uplands, climbing Pu'u Kīlea, the children disappeared from my sight, and I thought that perhaps they had returned here. That is why I have returned to you my chief, to find if it was so."

Kapukalua then asked, "When were the children lost?" "It was at the time that the thick mist covered the land, and a fine rain began to fall. That is when the boys were lost to me. I looked before me, I looked behind me, and they were not to be found. That is when I heard the voices of the children from the shore, and I thought that perhaps the boys had come back down here to play." Kapukalua then instructed Eia to return to the uplands, to Pohokinikini.

With great speed, Eia went to the uplands and arrived at the house of Pohokinikini. He called out to him, and Pohokinikini, answered, "Oh it is you, who have finally arrived." Eia answered, "Yes, it is I." Pohokinikini, then said, "The boy

told me that you would be coming and that you were bringing *aku* for us, and here, you have arrived.” Eia then asked, “Where is the child of Kapa’ihilani, the ward of Pohokinikini and Pu’uwalea?” Pohokinikini said, “He is sleeping here in the house.”

Eia then left the fish for Pohokinikini, and then swiftly ran up the mountain to the house of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. Arriving at the house, he called out —

*Eia au la o Kiej, o Hālō,
Eia au la o Ho’olono
Eia au la o Ho’olohelohe—
Eia au la o Pāiwa, o Hikilele.*

Here I am, peering and peeking,
Here I am, having heard,
Here I am, having listened
Here I am, with the speed of nine,
startling those around.

*Eia au la o Makahia,
Eia au la o Ho’opahulu
Eia au la o ke kūkini, e holo i uka,
Eia au la o ke kūkini, e holo i kai,
Eia au la o ke kūkini māmā.
Kūkini a Kapu-kapu,
A puka-kapu o ka hale.
Eia au la o, E-i-a, ‘oia ho’i,
Kūkini a Kapukalua e —!*

Here I am, restless,
Here I am, unlucky,
Here I am, the runner to the uplands,
Here I am, the runner to the lowlands,
Here I am, the swift runner.
Messenger of Kapu-kapu,
Of the sacred entry to the house.
Here I am, Eia, indeed it is so,
The messenger of Kapukalua!

The old woman answered, “You are indeed fast, as you have ascended the *pāhoehoe* slopes which glisten in the sun, and through the tangled growth of the forest, darkened by the tall *lehua* trees, where the birds circle overhead, and the shadow passes across the earth.”

Eia answered, “I have carefully searched for the child of Kapa’ihilani and Pōhaku-o-Kāne, the ward of Kaulu-i-ke-kihi-o-ka-malama... Say Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka, this messenger is here to bring you the *aku* fish, and then I shall return to the lowlands.”

Eia then went to the places where Kapa’ihilani and Pipipi’apo’o, the elder royal sisters of Kapukalua, lived (giving them their fish). He then returned to the chief, Kapukalua, who was there on the shore at Kohanaiki. The messenger completed this circuit — traveling from the pebble covered point of ‘Apo’ula; ascending to the plain covered with the growth of *ēlama*, where Pohokinikini dwelt; and to the uplands of Kaukahōkū, where are heard the voices of the birds; he then descended to the place of the chiefess on the plain of Nānāwale, or Nāhi’ahu (Nāwahi’ahu) as it is called today; and he then returned to the shore where the chief Kapukalua lived — all before the fish of the chief had been cooked... The messenger told Kapukalua what had happened, and the chief then recalled all that he had known of his many body-formed ancestress of his family...

Here now, let us finish our story about Kapukalua and the messenger, Eia, and return to the ones about whom this story is told.

Section II

The steady work of the ancestress, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka, was the teaching of her great grandson, Ka-Miki, the skills of leaping, fencing, dodging sling stones, boxing and wrestling, running, spear fighting, *aku* lure fishing, and other various forms of fishing. The day then arrived, when she also called to Ma-Ka'iole to depart from his guardians, and come to her in the uplands... [January 29, 1914]

When Ma-Ka'iole heard his ancestresses' voice, he called to his mother and Pohokinikini, "I am going to the uplands, to Kalama'ula, to the royal compound of my brother with whom I shared the womb. Our ancestress has called me, and I will go..." ...Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka instructed the brothers in all the skills, as those previously mentioned. All of the knowledge of their ancestress was taught to the brothers. They learned to leap in attack from all heights. They learned spear fighting, and the technique called "*Ka-make-loa*." They learned the art of fending off sling stones, spears, darts, and protecting them selves from the various hold in hand-to-hand combat. These two children were unsurpassed in their skills and abilities in these arts.

One day, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka called to her great grandsons, "You two have learned all that I can teach you, it is time for you to graduate and complete your training. You Ma-Ka'iole, you are to go and get the *'awa 'ili lena* (yellow barked *'awa*) which the gods drink till they intoxicated and their eyes cast about. It is there on the cliff side of Waipi'o, at Ha'iwahine, the glistening plain of 'Āpua. My grandchild, you will need all of your speed and skill as you travel upon this trail..."

...Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka then called to Ka-Miki, who stood tall and unbending, like the sword fish in pursuit of its' prey. She told him, "Ka-Miki, you are to fetch the water of Kāne, that is kept at the summit of the mountain, the royal compound of Poli'ahu and Lilinoe, and their ward, Ka-piko-o-Waiau. There on the cliff side, from the platform of Pōhaku-a-Kāne, which looks down upon Pōhakuloa—these two are the relatives of your father—is where you shall fetch the water with which the *'awa* will be mixed..." [February 5, 1914]

Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole successfully completed their assignments, and returned to Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka at Kalama'ula, where further events took place in Kohanaiki and neighboring lands (February 5–March 12, 1914):

...Ka-uluhe prepared, and performed the *'awa* and *'ailolo* ceremonies, marking the completion of their *'ōlohe* training, at Kaukahōkū... [March 19, 1914] ...Following the *'ai-lolo* and *'awa* ceremony, Ma-Ka'iole and Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka fell into a deep sleep brought on by the *'awa*. Ka-Miki rose and went to the shore of Kauahia at Kaloko, to gather *'anae* (mullet) from the fishponds there. In those days, the fishponds were controlled by the chief Ahauhale and his young brother Owela-a-Lu'ukia.

When Ka-Miki set his net into the pond, it was filled with multitudes of ‘anae. Taking the net filled with fish, Ka-Miki went to share fish with Pohokinikini mā¹⁰, who had cared for Ma-Ka’iole. Ka-Miki then returned to Kalama’ula, where he further divided the catch, setting some aside for his mother, Kapa’ihilani, and his aunt, Pipipi’apo’o, and their households. Ka-Miki then prepared the fish in by broiling them wrapped in ti leaves (*lāwalu*). When the fish were cooked, he called to awaken Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka and Ma-Ka’iole—

Awaken, here is the fish of the chief who controls the resources of the district, the fish of the chiefs and overseers, who control the all things from the mountain to the sea.

Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka and Ma-Ka’iole did not rouse, so Ka-Miki departed and went to the dryland gardens of the royal compound, Ka’aipua’a at Kohanaiki. He grabbed a large clump of ‘awa from the dryland planting mound. Before returning to his ancestress in the uplands, Ka-Miki also took a portion of the root he picked, and returned it to the planting pit so it would grow once again.

Ka-Miki then returned to the uplands, and began preparing the foods. Then Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka woke up. When she saw the fire burning and the fish from the pond spread all over, as well as the clump of ‘awa, she asked Ka-Miki where they had come from—

The ‘anae came from the fishpond of the chief ‘Ahauhale, his wife Pūkakī, and his young brother ‘Owela-a-Lu’ukia. And the ‘awa came from the dryland gardens below here at Mai’aloa—near the Alanui Aupuni, close to the Kohanaiki-Kaloko boundary—that are planted with sweet potatoes, taro, sugar cane, and bananas, and below which grows the large mounds of ‘awa. The ‘awa grows so thickly there, that moss covers the ground. Also, the guards were sleeping and did not see me. So I picked the ‘awa from the middle of the garden and returned here without awaking the guards.

Ka-uluhe then instructed him to call upon his ancestress Ka-’ohu-kolo-mai-luna-o-ka-lā’au to cause the ‘awa to grow abundantly, filling the planting holes so that the guards would not be able to tell that any had been picked. Ka-Miki then chanted to her —

<p><i>E Ka-’ohu-kolo-mai-luna-o-ka-lā’au,</i></p> <p><i>E ho’oūlu ‘oe i ke aka o ka ‘awa,</i> <i>E ho’olaupa’i a’e ‘oe i ka lau o ka ‘awa,</i> <i>E ho’opiha a’e ‘oe a piha ka mākālua,</i> <i>I ka ‘awa hiwa a ka ‘iole i ‘ai ai,</i></p> <p><i>I ka ‘awa lau a ka manu i lawe ai...</i></p>	<p>Hail Ka-’ohu-mist-which-crawls-atop-the-forest, Cause the joints of the ‘awa to grow, Cause the leaves of the ‘awa to fill out, Fill the planting pits to they are full, With the black ‘awa which the ‘iole likes to eat, The branching ‘awa which the birds take...</p>
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¹⁰ mā – a Hawaiian word meaning and company, or associates.

This mist formed ancestress then covered the land and caused the 'awa to grow abundantly.

Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka then asked, "How is it that the guards at the fishpond did not see you?" Ka-Miki explained that there were no people there, and that he had only seen "A stout bulging eyed man sleeping along the edge of the pond." She then told him —

That man is Kūmakapu'u. He is the guardian of the pond, the one secures the abundance of the fish. He enforces the restrictions of the ponds and is the one that causes the numbers of fish to increase. It is he who ensures that the fingerlings (*pua*) are plentiful, and that the small holding ponds (*ki'o*) and sluice gates (*hā*) are secure. He is not a man, but is a spirit. It is he who takes the offerings that are made, to the chiefess-deities of the fishpond — they are 'O'opu-po'owai-nui-a-niho, Ka-lama-i-nu'u-nui-a-noho, and Kiha-wahine-iki-a-nanea. They are the *ali'i kapu Lono i'a* (royal ones who keep the fish of Lono class restrictions) in that pond. And the small island in the middle of the fishpond, the fish-gourd (*ipu-kai'a*), is their royal compound (*hālau ali'i*), called Pākōlea.

At the times when people desire to journey and see the sites of the land, it is these goddesses who hide the fish in the ponds, so that it appears there are no fish. Now if the goddesses are gone, the water of the pond is green, but if they are present, the water is red, like the color of blood. In that way, it is known whether or not the goddesses are at their royal compound. When the water is no longer red, they have gone, and that is time that fish are caught in the *mākāhā* of the fishpond.

These things which Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka told Ka-Miki about the signs of the fishpond are true, and will be attested to by the natives of the area to this day (editor's note)... [March 26, 1914]

Having eaten and once again drunken some 'awa, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka went to sleep, and the brothers left her to go visit the lowlands of Kona... ..When they returned to Kalama'ula, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka asked them to tell here where they had been and what they had seen. She then told them the names of the lands and various sites they had visited... [April 2 & 9, 1914]

...A short while later, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka sent Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole down to the shore to take a ceremonial bath (*kapu kai*). The brothers went to the beach at Honokōhau, where they bathed at the place called Kape'a. When they finished their ceremonial bath, they went to swim in the cold fresh water pond called Kahinihini'ula, which is a famous bathing place of the *ali'i*. The water may still be found in the pool to this day, and can be pointed out by the natives of this land. Following their fresh water bath, the brothers dried themselves off, and then with great speed traveled to the upland plains and met with Ma-Ka'iole's foster mother Pohokinikini, and his foster father, Pu'uwalea, who were broiling 'ulu.

Upon seeing Ma-Ka'iole, Pohokinikini called out to her ward and affectionately greeted him and Ka-Miki. She then asked "What is the nature of this journey that brings you out on this day when the when the heat rises off of the barren plain, and the sun of *Makali'i* moves overhead like a fire drying out the earth? And you find us here, waiting patiently here for the cool mists of the night to bring water once again to us." Ma-Ka'iole responded —

We went to the shore take a ceremonial bath, and then swam in the cool fresh waters of Kahinihini'ula. And now, my young brother and lord, and I have arrived here before you, my mother and father, who cared for me in my early days here on the 'ilima covered plains of Kukuikomo. We have just finished the days required for observing the Lono restrictions set upon us by our great grandmother, who instructed us in all of her knowledge. We have completed the *'ai lolo* (graduation) ceremony in preparation for the sacred day of Lono Makahiki. That is the day called Kealamuku, when the rainbow arches in the sky on the night of Kāne, when the god is made ready for the journey to the royal compound (*hālau ali'i*) which our father (Pōhaku-o-Kāne) built for us.

The hālau ali'i is there in the uplands of Kohanaiki, at the place called Ka'aipapa'a, and on that day, the dedication ceremonies for the house shall be conducted. Then the *kalo* (taro), *kō* (sugarcane), and *mai'a* (bananas) may be eaten, and the *'awa* will be prepared for drinking. The pigs to be cooked, will come from one boundary of the land to the other boundary of the land — coming from the land of Ki'ikahala and the land divisions of Kohanaiki and Kaloko, from Kiki to Kukuiha'a, and from the parcel of the chiefess 'Ulawini, daughter of Ahauhale and his wife Pūkakī.

It will be a great day, a day of entering the house prepared for us by our father Pōhaku-o-Kāne. We wish you and all of our family to join us in the celebration of entering this sacred compound of ours...

Pohokinikini and Pu'uwalea, both agreed to attend the event, and the brothers departed. In the mean time down in the lowlands, Pōhaku-o-Kāne and Kapa'ihilani sent out their runners calling all people to help in the preparations for the dedication of the compound and the arrival of Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole...

...Let's look once again to our experts of the uplands of Kalama'ula, their residence set in the mists of the upland forests at Kaukahōkū. When the night of Kāne arrived, the brothers, the wards of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka were under their *kapu* (restriction). On that night, the voices of the *heiau* drums were heard calling out from the heiau of Pōhākea, 'Ōhiki, Kaukeano, O'ūnui, Honua'iwa, Pu'uho'olelelupe, Kauki'eki'e, and Haleolono.

Now the chiefs and priests were all quietly in their houses observing the *kapu*, as was the custom on such sacred nights. When the people heard the sound of the drums coming from the *heiau*, they were all greatly startled, and thought that the gods had come down to the *heiau*. In those ancient times, our ancestors believed in the power of their gods who had power over life and death. [April 16, 1914]

Now, while these two mysterious brothers were sleeping, they heard the beating of the large drums and sacred small drums of the *heiau*, (the drums named) Laukapalili and Hikiaupe'a... The brothers rose and went to the door of their house and saw their great grandmother dressed in her ceremonial clothes and holding the sacred net Ku'uku'u. From the net, she gave Ka-Miki the sacred 'awa bowl of Lono Makahiki, called *Hōkū'ula*. She also gave him the strainer of the Lono Mālama restrictions, called *Ka-lau-o-ke-Kāhuli*. She gave Ma-Ka'iole the great *moena* (mat) upon which the 'awa bowl and other items were to be set. Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka then instructed them to go with all speed to the house [on the *kula* of Kohanaiki] which had been prepared for them. They were to make an offering of the 'awa which grew under their tree-form of the ancestress 'Ōhi'a-nui-moe-awakea. She told them —

Do not enter from the front of the house, and do not enter from the rear. You must enter from the rafters upon the roof so that the priests and guards will not see you. Do this, for I have discerned that there are some of the priests who do not believe that you have learned all that I have taught you and they seek to test you. These priests have grumbled against you for all that has been required of them. This has been done in secret by the priests and chiefs of Kaloko...

...Ka-uluhe-hui-hihi-kolo-i-uka then called in a chant to Ka-Miki addressing his various skills in competition and his nature attributes—

When you two enter the house, chew the 'awa and squeeze it into the cup. Then your two are to offer your prayer to the goddess of fire. Free the prayer, then cut the *piko* (ceremonial umbilical cord) of the house and then drink the 'awa, then the *kapu* of the house will be ended. The chiefs and priests will see you and then understand that they falsely accused you.

Ma-Ka'iole, you are then to take the 'awa bowl (*kānoa*), the 'awa cup (*pūniu*) and the strainer (*mau'u*) to the shore at 'Ōhiki and Kauahia and wash them.

And it is true that to this day, the water of those places is bitter. That is why the place is called Ka-loko-wai-'awa'awa. It is because the 'awa containers of Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole were washed there in the springs.

When Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka finished her instructions, the brothers leapt and arrived at the top of the house and entered it. They then covered over the thatching so that it looked as it had before they entered. Ka-Miki prepared the 'awa and the prayers were chanted —

*Hulihia kulia mai Tahiti-kū
O Ho'āli-kū i ke kumu o ke ahi Hulinu'u*

*Lalapa 'ōlapa e mai ke ahi o ka pō
Ke'eke'ehi wale i ka maka o Lanipipili...*

Overtaken rising from Tahiti-kū
O Ho'āli-kū at the source of the flames
of Hulinu'u

The flames rise flickering at the night
Treading upon the front of the cloud
filled sky [Lanipipili]...

Hina mai kūkulu o Tahiti-moe...

...I lono mai 'oe e Pele Honuamea...

E Hi'i e - E Hi'iaka

E Hi'iaka-i-ka'ale-ī, moe a imua la

I ke po'o o ka moku o Hawai'i nui Ākea...

He makana na māua iā 'oe e ke akua,

Eia ka 'ai, ka mōhai, ka 'ālana-e.

E moku i ka piko o ka hale,

'Ōkia la — Amama, ua noa!

O Hina from the foundation of
Tahiti-moe...

Hear [the prayer] o Pele Honuamea...

O Hi'i - o Hi'iaka

O Hi'iaka of the rising billows which
recede before [us]

At the peak of the great island
Hawai'i of Ākea (Wākea)...

It is a gift to you the god, from us two,
Here is the food, the sacrifice, the
offering.

Sever the umbilical cord of the house,
It is cut - It is released and freed!

All things were accomplished as Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka had instructed.

Just as the chant was finished, the thunder resounded and the lightning flashed. The area was entirely covered with a thick mist rain. The brothers drank the 'awa, and then Ma-Ka'iole, under the cover of the mist, went to the shore to wash the 'awa bowls and strainer. He then returned to the house.

The guards and priests saw what had occurred and became greatly frightened by these signs. Startled also, that they had not seen the two boys enter the house which had been prepared for them by their father as instructed by the priest 'Elepaio. They had thought that if they could have captured the boys, they would have secured the right of their chiefs to control the wealth of the district.

The sun then broke forth and the voices of the roosters and the 'elepaio of the forests were heard resonating and rising upon the mountain slopes. The day became clear, with no clouds to be seen, it was calm. So too, the ocean was calm and the shore of *La'i a 'Ehu* (Kona) was calm. The flowers of the upland forest reddened and unfolded, and nodded gently in the *kēhau* breezes.

The priests gathered together to discuss these events and prepared to apologize to the children of the chief, asking for their forgiveness. They selected 'Elepaio, Pūhili, Kalua'ōlapa, and Kalua'ōlapa-uwila to go before the brothers for this purpose.

'Elepaio was the high priest of Honokōhau. The place where he dwelt bears the name 'Elepaio (an 'ili in Honokōhau-nui). It is in the great grove of 'ulu (kaulu 'ulu) on the boundary between Honokōhau-nui and Honokōhau-iki. [April 23, 1914] Pūhili was the high priest of 'O'oma and Kohanaiki, the place where he lived is on the plain of Kohanaiki, at the shore, and bears his name to this day. It is on the boundary between Kohanaiki and 'O'oma.

Kalua'ōlapa was the high priest of Hale'ōhi'u and Kamāhoe, that is the waterless land of Kalaoa (Kalaoa wai 'ole). The place where he lived was in the uplands of Maulukua on the plain covered with 'ilima growth. This place bears his name to this day.

Kalua-‘ōlapa-uwila was the high priest of Kealakehe and Ke‘ohu‘olu (Keahuolu), and it was he who built the heiau named Kalua-‘ōlapa-uwila, which is there along the shore of Kealakehe, next to the road that goes to Kailua. The nature of this priest was that of a shark and a man. The shark form was named Kaiwi, and there is a stone form of the shark that can be seen near the heiau to this day.

These priests all went to the door of the house and presented the offerings of the black pig, the red fish, the black ‘awa, the white rooster, the *malo* (loin clothes), and all things that had been required of their class of priests. They also offered their prayers and asked forgiveness for their misspoken words. They then called for their prayers to be freed and the *kapu* ended.

Ka-Miki leapt to the door of the house like of flash of lightening, the house and environs shook until everything almost fell to the ground. The priests were greatly afraid and they prostrated themselves. Ka-Miki then called to his ancestress Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka asking what the price should be for the one who caused this offence. She responded from the uplands of Kalama‘ula, saying, “The price is death for the one who did this, but all the other priests and their descendants shall be saved.”

Ka-Miki then called to the guardians of the house, Lena and Lohe —

Go to the chief Pōhaku-o-Kāne, and call all the priests and those who worked on this house that was consecrated to the gods. And you, Loli and Leho, call all of our relatives together. And you, Leina and Lele, travel to the shore and invite all of the chiefs of this coast, from ‘Alula to Makakou to come, Then go to the uplands and call the ‘Ī, the Mahi the Palena, the Hū, and the Lōpā-nui and Lōpā-iki to come to this dedication of the house which has been built for us.

All of the guardians of the chiefs and the messengers followed the instructions of the children of Pōhaku-o-Kāne and Kapa‘ihilani and called everyone together. All the others who remained behind began the preparations of roasting the pigs, dog, and chickens, the taro, sweet potatoes and all things were prepared in a short time. Now before all the preparations were completed, the council of chiefs was called. The brothers asked that all of the priests be called together, and it was discerned that the source of the fault was Kalua-‘ōlapa-uwila’s, the high priest of Kealakehe and Ke‘ohu‘olu. It was he who had two body forms, that of a man, and that of a shark. The judgment that followed, was for that of the man. His shark form was still there in the sea fronting Kealakehe and Ke‘ohu‘olu, at the place that is to this day called “Ka lae o Kaiwi.”

Upon hearing the explanations of events given by those who had gathered, the judgment was passed, and Ka-Miki looked upon Kalua-‘ōlapa-uwila, saying —

Judgment has been passed, that you transgressed, and that it is a transgression that brings death. You have offended both those of the heavens and those of the earth, and the goddess of fire. And as you have tried to mislead all of the people in their following the unwavering laws,

setting aside the laws of the gods and *'aumāku*a which were established in antiquity, your death shall be by the fire. You will be thrown into the flaming *imu*.

All who were gathered were greatly afraid of this judgment that had been spoken, and none had expected the penalty for this priest to be so severe. But as was ordered, the *imu* fire was lit, and it was like no other fire before seen. The priest was taken and thrown upon the fire and the place where this occurred is called Ke-puhi-kanaka, to this day. It is below the place called Ka'aipāpa'i. It is so named because that is where the body of Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila was burned. Also, the reason that the place in the *ahupua'a* of Kaloko, which to this day is called Ki'ikahala, is because it was here that all of those priests who had offended the gods, were brought together at the house of the children of Kapa'ihilani and Pōhaku-o-Kāne. The original name of this land division was 'Ōhiki, and that is why the *heiau* and spring of this place, situated along the shore, still bear the name 'Ōhiki.

It is also from this spring that in the dry, parched seasons, the natives of this land fetched water, and it is still know to the natives of this place.

Here my readers, let us leave the account of the body of this man being turned to ashes, and the story of his shark-body which was dwelling in the sea, and look at the preparations for contests that were underway. [April 30, 1914]

Word went out that all was ready for the brothers to enter the house, and that the food was all ready. Ka-Miki then called out in a chant dedicating the house and all of the gardens and resources that went with it. When he finished his chants, the winds roared and the house shook. The leaves danced on the trees and the sun shone brightly.

When the mist lifted, those gathered at Ka'aipua'a saw four old women (*Ka-uluhe*, *Lani-ku'i-a-mamao*, *Ka'ohu-kolo*, and *Kāmeha'ikana*) with flowing gray hair sitting upon the house top. One woman was straining the *'awa*, another was pouring *'awa* into the cup, while one was holding the bowl, and the fourth was giving the *'awa* to Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole to drink—

O kēia po'e luahine ua 'ohu i ka maile, ka palai, ka 'ie'ie a me ka lehua, ke kupali'i, ka na'ena'e a me ke kūpaoa, a ua pū'ia pū o loko o ka hale i ke kūpaoa onaona, a'ole i kana mai – These elderly women were adorned with: *maile*, *palai*, *'ie'ie*, *lehua*, *kupali'i*, *na'ena'e*, and *kūpaoa*, and the fragrance filled the house with a sweet scent which was beyond compare.

Ka-Miki then called out, "*Ua noa, 'Oia, e 'ai e ke kini, a kinikini e ka mano, a manomano... Mai kēlā pe'a a kēia pe'a, mai uka a kai, ka pa'a iluna...*" (It is freed, so it is. Let all the multitudes from that border to this border, from the uplands to the shore, from the very top, to the very bottom [let every one] eat...) Thus the sacred compound of Ka'aipua'a at Kohanaiki, and its extensive gardens were dedicated.

Ka-Miki called out that the *kapu* was free, that the gathered multitudes who came from the uplands and shore, from one boundary to the other, could now partake in the food. Everyone ate until no more could be eaten, and everyone drank until no more could be drunken. The *'awa* caused all who were gathered to fall asleep. But Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka had taken the potency out of the *'awa* which Ka-Miki drank, so he remained awake. Ka-Miki made preparations to leave the gathering, and the old women too, mysteriously departed, returning to the uplands...

...A little further upland, at the contest arena of Īwa'awa'a, people had gathered for the contests and demonstrations of skill and strength. The competitors were experts in all manner of fighting. When the contest began, the first two competitors were the young chiefs Kahōkūkahī and Kanahā, the children of Kahouhale and Malumaluiki, the *ali'i* of Kalaoa; and Pu'unāhāhā and Kamakaioiki, a young chief of Honokōhau-iki.

The *kahua* (contest arena) was covered with a spreading of *'āma'uma'u* ferns, *kukui*, *la'i* (ti leaves), and banana leaves so that one would not be hurt should some one be thrown down. Kahōkūkahī and Kanahā had oiled their bodies with *kukui* and *niu* (coconut) oils, and cut their hair so during their contest neither competitor could gain a hold on the other, and the contest ended in a tie. A great roar rose from the crowd, and it was this roar that Ka-Miki heard and caused him to go to Īwa'awa'a. Once at the *kahua*, he called out in a chant, describing the skills he had been taught... [May 7, 1914]

When Ka-Miki asked if he could join in the contests, some of the contestants looked at the youth and spoke disparagingly about him. Ka-Miki retorted and after an exchange of challenges, it was agreed that Hālawai'ohu of Honokōhau-nui would compete with him. When the contest began, a great roar rose the mountain slope to Kalama'ula, and Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. discerning what was taking place chanted to Ka-Miki.

<i>Wāwā ka leo o ke kai e</i>	The voice of the sea roars
<i>O Papaloa i Kahiki-nui</i>	It is from Papaloa at Kahiki-nui
<i>I Tahiti no ka po'ina a ke kai</i>	The welling of the sea comes from Tahiti
<i>Mai ka lani a ka honua</i>	Filling the heavens and earth
<i>O ka hanehane kūpina'i a ka manu</i>	The murmuring of the bird resounds
<i>O ka 'lo nui ho'ānoāno</i>	It is the great sacred hawk
<i>Nana e popo'i ke aewa o ka lani</i>	Which circles overhead in the heavens
<i>Mai ka lani a ka honua</i>	Filling the heavens and earth
<i>O Halulu ka manu nana e pani ka lā</i>	Halulu is the bird which blocks the sun
<i>E Nana-i-ke-kihi-o-Kamalama</i>	Say Nana at the star-point of light [knowledge] Kamalama
<i>Ho'oku'u 'ia i pau ko 'ike nui...</i>	Release [make known] the great extent of your knowledge...

Ka-Miki then offered a *mele* in response to Ka-uluhe:

<i>'Io e, 'Io la, 'io-'io ka manu</i>	O hawk, hail hawk, the bird calls out
<i>Ka manu a ku'u kūpuna wahine Nana e pani ka 'ōnohi a ka lā</i>	It is the bird of my ancestress Who has blocked the eye of the sun
<i>Ka lā pa'ani o ka le'ale'a Le'ale'a ka manu ke ho'onanana nei</i>	On the day of the contests The bird plays fluttering here and there
<i>Ke ho'opūnana ala i ka lā'au He lā'au lālā 'ole o 'Ōhi'a-o-ka-lani</i>	Perching in the trees On the branchless tree of 'Ōhi'a-o-ka-lani
<i>He Kauila, he Koi'e, he Koa-kamahele</i>	On the Kauila, the Koi'e, the strong branching Koa
<i>I ulu i ka hei i ka manomanowai</i>	Grown adept in the multitudinous waters [all manner of knowledge]
<i>He manō, he niuhi haehae 'ale...</i>	Like a shark, the great man eating shark which tears apart the waves...

Hālawai'ohu was the foremost warrior and champion who maintained peace under the chief Kamahu'ialani. Now Hālawai'ohu was also a relative of the priest Kalua-ōlapa-uwila, whose treacherous ways had been exposed by Ka-Miki during the dedication ceremonies of Ka'aipua'a. Thus, Hālawai'ohu also sought out revenge against Ka-Miki for the death of his relative. Though Hālawai'ohu was a regular competitor at Lanīhau which served as the *kahua* of Honokōhau-nui, he was easily defeated by Ka-Miki.

Ka-Miki called out asking who the next contestant would be, and Papaumauma, the *koa kaulana i pa'a 'āina* (famous warrior who secured, or maintained peace upon the land) for the chief of Ke'ohu'olu and the sub-district of Lanīhau was next to compete.

The competition between Ka-Miki and Papaumauma took several forms, and Ka-Miki won each contest. Papaumauma was greatly embarrassed, for he had competed at the great arena of Hinakahua (at Puapua'a) and never been so humiliated. Papaumauma acknowledged that Ka-Miki was a true expert and said, "I am not worthy of my position as the *kaulana pa'a 'āina* of Ke'ohu'olu and the '*okana* of Lanīhau 1st and 2nd," thus, I surrender my position to you." Ka-Miki declined, telling Papaumauma to keep his rights, and maintain the laws of his gods. [May 14, 1914]

Just as it appeared the events were to end Kūlepe-a-Pu'uko'i a chief and master at *kākā lā'au* and *wala lā'au* (spear and club fighting), jumped on to the *kahua* to challenge Ka-Miki. The two contestants exchanged challenges, and it was agreed that they would compete with war clubs (*lā'au*). Ka-Miki chanted, calling to Ma-Ka'iole to go to Kalama'ula to fetch his war club *'Ōlapa-Kahuila-o-ka-lani*.

Ma-Ka'iole awakened and traveled to the uplands. He called to Ka-uluhe-nui-hihikolo-i-uka asking her for the club. She threw the club to him, and where it landed, a bowl-like hollow (*kānoa*) was formed and a spring appeared. This place, in the forest 'ōhi'a, kōlea, kukui and other trees is now called Kānoa...

Ma-Ka'iole returned to the *kahua* and gave the club to Ka-Miki. Kūlepe-a-Pu'uko'i and Ka-Miki competed in a number of contests, each of which Ka-Miki won. Embarrassed by his defeats, Kūlepe-a-Pu'uko'i tried to cheat, but Ka-Miki thwarted his efforts. The contests were so animated that many, many people gathered at 'Iwa'awa'a to watch. Because the crowd was so large, people were pushing to get closer to the *kahua*. As a result of the pushing and shoving, the contest field came to be called Ho'okēkē (Shoving)... Several other contestants entered the *kahua* to compete against Ka-Miki, but all were unable to gain a victory... [May 14th to June 11th, 1914]

Here my readers, let us now speak of the shark-body of Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila, that is Kaiwi. At the time that the body of Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila was being burned, inland at 'Ōhiki, at the place called Ke-puhi-kanaka, Kaiwi was sleeping in an underwater cavern fronting the point. He was startled by the heat of his body, and he realized that his human form was being burned. Kaiwi determined to save Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila by getting to the heiau of Kalihi (also called Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila). Once there, the priest would be restored, and they would destroy those responsible for trying to kill them. When Kaiwi reached the shore, the winds became wild, the seas rose, the sky darkened and rains fell. Ka-uluhe-nui-hihikolo-i-uka understood the nature of these signs, and she chanted to Ka-Miki, warning him about Kaiwi's actions. Ka-Miki then chanted to Ka-uluhe-nui-hihikolo-i-uka, Haumea and Pele Honuamea for assistance in defeating Kaiwi—

<i>E ala e Mihakalani, Mihakahonua</i>	Arise o silent ones of the heavens, silent ones of the earth
<i>E ala e Pele Honuamea</i>	Arise o Pele Honuamea [of the red or sacred earth]
<i>E ala e ke kumu o ke ahi Hulinu'u</i>	Arise o source of the highest sacred fires...
<i>O Hulinu'u ke ali'i 'ā loa naueue Tahiti...</i>	O highest chiefess of the long burning fires which quake in Tahiti...
<i>...E Hi'i e, E Hi'iaka</i>	Hail Hi'i, O Hi'iaka
<i>E Hi'iaka-i-ka-'ale-ī</i>	Hail Hi'iaka of the giant waves
<i>E Hi'iaka-i-ka-'ale-moe</i>	Hail Hi'iaka of the low-lying waves
<i>Moea i kai la</i>	Press towards the sea
<i>I ka heiau o Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila</i>	To the temple of Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila
<i>I ka i'a kino akua, kino kanaka</i>	To the fish with a god's body and a human's body
<i>I ka manō nahu 'imi hala e</i>	To the gnashing shark who has been found guilty
<i>O Kaiwi ka inoa la...</i>	Kaiwi is his name...
<i>...'Eli'eli kau mai e - E-ō i kou inoa</i>	Awe possesses me - Respond to your name
<i>O Pele-ke-ahi-'ā-loa la e noa!</i>	O Pele of the long burning fire, it is freed!

The earth shook, the broad stones (thunder) of Kāne-wāwāhilani descended, the eyes (lightning) of Lani-‘ōaka flashed, and a mysterious thing occurred, Pele sent a great flash of white light flying from Mauna Loa, which fell upon the heiau of Kalua-‘ōlapa-uwila. A *pāhoehoe* mound formed and Pele devoured the shark Kaiwi. Kaiwi was turned to stone where he remains to this day on the south side of the *heiau*. Also, a great fire river flowed from there to where it swam in the sea, and it was there that Hi‘iaka dwelt for a period of time (... *Ua kahe ‘ā-wai aku la kekāhi wai ahi nui mai laila aku a au iloko o ke kai, a malaila i noho ai o Hi‘iaka-noho-lae*). Because Hi‘iaka (the beloved sister of Pele) enjoyed this place, it was named Hi‘iaka-noho-lae. This place is sacred, and the lava of Pele-Honuamea will never flow on this point again... [June 11, 1914]

Shortly after the events described above, Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka‘iole completed their training and began their journey around the island of Hawai‘i, they participating in many activities in the districts of Kona, Ka‘ū, Puna, Hilo, Hāmākua, and Kohala. The journey around Hawai‘i-kua-uli was completed and the *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) were safe. The evil *‘ōlohe* had either repented or been killed. When the brothers returned to Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uaka at Kaukahōkū, the district and nature of life upon the lands was described with the following saying—

...*‘Oia ka wā e ne‘e ana ka lā iā Kona, hele a malo‘o ka ‘āina i ka ‘ai kupakupa ‘ia e ka lā, a o nā kānaka nā li‘i o Kona pūhe‘e aku la a noho i kahakai kāhi o ka wai e ola ai nā kānaka* – (It was the season when the sun moved slowly over Kona, drying the lands; was the time when the chiefs and people moved and dwelt along the shores where water could be found to give life to the people). [April 5, 1917]

Up until the time of his death in 1929, J.W.H.I. Kihe continued to submit articles on traditions of the land, and commentary on the changing times to the paper, *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*. A number of the traditional accounts penned by Kihe formed the basis of Eliza Maguire’s “*Kona Legends*” (1926). Selections from Kihe’s writings are cited here as they help us understand the nature of residency in Kekaha, and the relationship of the people with the land.

Pu‘uokaloa (Hill of Kaloa)

One of the traditions recorded by Kihe (1914), includes important descriptions of agricultural practices on the lowland *kula* (plains) of Kekaha. The tradition (translated by Maly) is set in Keahuolu, just four *ahupua‘a* south of Kohanaiki, and it may be assumed that similar agricultural pursuits occurred in Kohanaiki and other lands of Kekaha.

Pu‘u-o-kaloa is a hill in the *ahupua‘a* of Keahuolu, near the shore close, to Kaiwi and Hi‘iakanoholae. It is a hill by which one can discern whether or not rain will come to the land. In the days when the sun moves slowly overhead, the plants dry out, and the grasses which grow from the *kula* (flatlands) to the zone where the *‘āma‘uma‘u* grows are dried, even the springs dry out and are waterless. When the natives saw that the *li‘hau* (dew) traveled down to, and settled atop Pu‘uokaloa, the natives of this land knew that the life giving rains were on their way.

At that time, the planting fields were made ready. The mulch fires were burned, and the shoots of the sweet potatoes were made ready for planting. When one saw the *lehua* settling once again upon this little hill, the natives knew surely that the rain showers would come soon.

When the rain showers fell, one waited again for the shoots to sprout. When the farmer saw that the shoots were growing, he then planted them, and covered them with mulch to keep them moist. The farmers then waited again for the rain showers to come. When the next rains came, the grass shoots sprouted forth and when the rain showers fell once again, the leaves of the sweet potatoes will have grown, covering and encircling the *pu'e* (planting mounds). Then the women and children, those people of the household had thoughts of prosperity. When mature, the *'uala* (sweet potatoes) were taken and baked in the *imu*. When they were cooked, the people of the household had life.

At the time when the *'uala* were cooked and taken out, was also the time when lazy people (*palaualelo*) came around. At the time when the *imu* was uncovered and the family was sitting down to eat their *'uala*.

Here is the question that was asked by those who cultivates the land and cooked the *'uala* in the *imu* —

Ua ka ua i Pu'uokaloa, ihea 'oe? (When rains fell at Pu'uokaloa, where were you?)

If the answer was —

I Kona nei no! (In Kona!)

The response was —

"A'ohē loa'a ka 'uala iā 'oe!" (There are no sweet potatoes for you!)

But, if the answer was —

"I Kohala au a ho'i mai la!" (In Kohala, and I have just returned!)"

Then, there would be *'uala* for that person. And that is how this little hill, Pu'uokaloa came to be famous.

These signs (the settling of the dew) remain on this hill until this day, and it is very well known. It is an astounding thing to know, and recall the ways of our ancestors. Remembering that by work, they prospered. It is a good thing for the new generation — those of you who read this — to remember as well. [J.W.H.I. Kihe "*Kekahi mau Wahi Pana o Kekaha ma Kona.*" *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, March 19, 1914. Maly, translator]

“Ka Loko o Paaiea” (The fishpond of Pā’aiea)

The tradition of “Ka Loko o Paaiea” (The fishpond of Pā’aiea) was written by J.W.H.I. Kihe, and printed in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* in 1914 and 1924. The narratives describe traditional life and practices in various *ahupua’a* of Kekaha, and specifically describes the ancient fishpond Pā’aiea. The following excerpts from Kihe’s *mo’olelo*, include references to Wawaloli, on the shore of ‘O’oma (neighboring Kohanaiki on the north), the impacts of the Hualālai lava flows of 1801, which reportedly occurred as a result of the pond overseer’s refusal to give the goddess Pele—who was traveling in human form—any fish from the pond:

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

In the correct and true story of this pond, we see that its boundaries extended from Ka’elehuluhulu on the north, and on the south, to the place called Wawaloli (between ‘O’oma and Kalaoa). The pond was more than three miles long and one and a half miles wide, and today, within these boundaries, one can still see many water holes.

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

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

It was at Ho’onā that Kēpa’alani dwelt, that is where the houses in which the chiefs valuables (*hale papa’a*) were kept. It was also one the canoe landings of the place. Today, it is where the light house of America is situated. Pelekāne (in

Pu'ukala) is where the houses of Kamehameha were located, near a stone mound that is partially covered by the *pāhoehoe* of Pele. If this fishpond had not been covered by the lava flows, it would surely be a thing of great wealth to the government today... [J.W.H.I. Kihe in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*; compiled and translated by Maly, from the narratives written February 5-26, 1914 and May 1-15, 1924].

“Na Hoomanao o ka Manawa” – The Recollections of a Native Son

In 1924, Kihe, described the changes which had occurred in the Kekaha region since his youth. In the following article, titled “*Na Hoomanao o ka Manawa*” (in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* June 5th & 12th 1924), Kihe wrote about the villages that were once inhabited throughout Kekaha, identifying families, practices, and schools of the historic period (ca. 1860-1924). In the two part series (translated by Maly), he also shared his personal feelings about the changes which had occurred, including the demise of the families and the abandonment of the coastal lands of Kekaha.

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

In the year 1870, when I was a young man at the age of 17 years old, I went to serve as the substitute teacher at the school of Honokōhau. I was teaching under William G. Kanaka'ole who had suffered an illness (*ma'i-lolo*, a stroke).

In those days at the Hawaiian Government Schools, the teachers were all Hawaiian and taught in the Hawaiian language. In those days, the students were all Hawaiian as well, and the books were in Hawaiian. The students were all Hawaiian... There were many, many Hawaiian students in the schools, no Japanese, Portuguese, or people of other nationalities. Everyone was Hawaiian or part Hawaiian, and there were only a few part Hawaiians.

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

It was when they stopped teaching in Hawaiian, and began instructing in English, that significant changes took place among our children. Some of them became puffed up and stopped listening to their parents. The children spoke gibberish (*nā keiki namu*) and the parents couldn't understand (English). Before that time, the Hawaiians weren't marrying too many people of other races. The children and their parents dwelt together in peace with the children and parents speaking together... [June 5, 1924]

...Now perhaps there are some who will not agree with what I am saying, but these are my true thoughts. Things which I have seen with my own eyes, and know to be true...In the year 1870 when I was substitute teaching at Honokōhau for W.G. Kanaka'ole, I taught more than 80 students. There were both boys and girls, and this school had the highest enrollment of students studying in Hawaiian at that time [in Kekaha]. And the students then were all knowledgeable, all knew how to read and write.

Now the majority of those people are all dead. Of those things remembered and thought of by the people who yet remain from that time in 1870; those who are here 53 years later, we cannot forget the many families who lived in the various 'āpana (land sections) of Kekaha.

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

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

The lands of Honokōhau were filled with people in those days, there were many women and children with whom I traveled with joy in the days of my youth. Those families are all gone, and the land is quiet. There are no people, only the rocks remain, and a few scattered trees growing, and only occasionally does one meet with a man today [1924]. One man and his children are all that remain.

Kaloko was the same in those days, but now, it is a land without people. The men, the women, and the children are all gone, they have passed away. Only one man, J.W. Ha'au, remains. He is the only native child (*keiki kupa*) besides this author, who remains.

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

The lands of 'O'oma, and Kalaoa, and all the way to Kaulana and Mahai'ula were also places of many people in those days, but today there are no people. At Mahai'ula is where the great fishermen of that day dwelt. Among the fishermen were Po'oko'ai mā, Pā'ao'ao senior, Ka'ao mā, Kai'a mā, Ka'ā'īkaula mā, Pāhia mā, and John Ka'elemakule Sr., who now dwells at Kailua.

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

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

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

**“Ko Keoni Kaelemakule Moololo Ponoī – Kakau ponoī ia mai no e ia”
(The True Story of John Ka'elemakule – Actually written by him¹¹)**

In a two year period between 1928 to 1930, John Ka'elemakule Sr., who was a native of Kekaha, living at Mahai'ula, Kaulana and Kohanaiki, wrote a series of articles that were published in serial form in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*. The story is a rich account of life in Kekaha between 1854 to 1900. Ka'elemakule's texts introduce us to the native residents of Kekaha, and include descriptions of the practices and customs of the families who resided there. In the following excerpts from Ka'elemakule's narratives (translated by Maly), we find an explanation of the naming of *Kekaha wai 'ole o nā Kona*, and reference to the practices associated with procuring water in this region:

“Kekaha Wai Ole o na Kona” (Waterless Kekaha of Kona)

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

The water for bathing, washing one's hands or feet, was the water of the banana stump (*wai pūma'ia*). The *pūma'ia* was grated and squeezed into balls to get the juice. The problem with this water is that it makes one itchy, and one does not

¹¹ This account was published in serial form in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, from May 29, 1928 to March 18, 1930. The translated excerpts in this section include narratives that describe Mahai'ula and nearby lands in Kekaha with references to families, customs, practices, ceremonial observances, and sites identified in text. The larger narratives also include further detailed accounts of Ka'elemakule's life, and business ventures. A portion of the narratives pertaining to fishing customs (November 13, 1928 to March 12, 1929), and canoeing practices (March 19 to May 21, 1929) were translated by M. Kawena Pukui, and may be viewed in the Bishop Museum-Hawaiian Ethnological Notes (BPBM Archives).

really get clean. There were not many water holes, and the water that accumulated from rain dried up quickly. Also there would be weeks in which no rain fell... The water which the people who lived in the uplands of Kekaha drank, was found in caves. There are many caves from which the people of the uplands got water... [September 17, 1929:3]

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

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

E Kane i uka, e Kane i kai,

*E Kane i ka wai, eia ka puua,
Eia ka awa, eia ka luau,*

Eia ka ia kea.

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

O Kane in the water, here is the pig,
Here is the 'awa, here are the
taro greens,
Here is the white fish.

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

*He mohai noi keia ia oe e Kane,
E kala i ka hewa o ke kanaka i hana ai,
A e hoomaemae i ka hale wai,
A e hoonui mai i ka wai o ka hale,*

*I ola na kanaka,
Na ohua o keia aina wai ole.*

Amama!

[October 1, 1929:3; Maly, translator]

This is a request offering to you o Kāne,
Forgive the transgression done by man,
Clean the water house (source),
Cause the water to increase in
the house,
That the people may live,
Those who are dependent on
this waterless land.
It is finished...!

It is not surprising today, when we hear of caves in which cultural materials are found. Along trails, near residences, and in once remote areas, a wide range of uses occurred. Caves in the Kekaha lands were used to store items, keep planting shoots cool and fresh for the next season, to hide in or take shelter in, to catch water in, and as burial sites.

KOHANAIKI AND THE KEKAHA REGION DESCRIBED IN JOURNALS AND ARTICLES (ca. 1823 – 1913)

Narratives cited in this section of the study, provide readers with descriptions of the cultural and natural landscapes of Kekaha in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the land of Kohanaiki is specifically mentioned in only a few accounts, the larger body of narratives are of a regional nature. The regional narratives for Kekaha, of which Kohanaiki was an important part, , help us gain a fuller picture of many facets of life, including residency, travel, and collection of resources in the vicinity.

The Journal of William Ellis (1823)

The journal of William Ellis (Ellis 1963), an English missionary who visited Hawai'i in 1823, contains some important and detailed descriptions of the communities around the island of Hawai'i. Ellis and members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) toured the island of Hawai'i seeking out community centers in which to establish churches and schools for the growing Calvinist mission. Unfortunately, Ellis' discussions on travel between Kailua and the Kohala District does not include accounts of visits to the Honokōhau vicinity, as he passed the area by canoe, making no reference to the land. Ellis' discussion of activities and travel around Kailua, including descriptions of the communities and agricultural field systems through which he passed are insightful. By association with Kailua Village, we know that Ellis was at least in the land of Lanihau, three *ahupua'a* south of Honokōhau, and it is likely that some discourse with natives of Honokōhau occurred during the visit.

In his general description of the Kailua region, neighboring the Kekaha lands (Ellis 1963) observed:

The houses, which are neat, are generally built on the sea-shore, shaded with cocoa-nut and *kou* trees, which greatly enliven the scene.

The environs were cultivated to a considerable extent; small gardens were seen among the barren rocks on which the houses are built, wherever soil could be found sufficient to nourish the sweet potato, the watermelon, or even a few plants of tobacco, and in many places these seemed to be growing literally in the fragments of lava, collected in small heaps around their roots.

...[W]alked towards the mountains, to visit the high and cultivated parts of the district. After traveling over the lava for about a mile, the hollows in the rocks began to be filled with a light brown soil; about half a mile further, the surface was entirely covered with a rich mould, formed by decayed vegetable matter and decomposed lava.

Here they enjoyed the agreeable shade of bread-fruit and *ohia* trees... ...The path now lay through a beautiful part of the country, quite a garden compared with that through which they had passed on first leaving town. It was generally divided into small fields, about fifteen rods square, fenced with low stone walls, built with fragments of lava gathered from the surface of the enclosures. These

fields were planted with bananas, sweet potatoes, mountain taro, paper mulberry plants, melons, and sugar cane, which flourished luxuriantly in every direction (Ellis 1963:31-32).

The Wilkes Expedition (1840-1841)

In 1840-41, Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition traveled through North Kona (the Kailua end of Kekaha) and the South Kona districts. Speaking of an area spanning 40 miles of Kona coast line, Wilkes (1845) described agricultural practices and regional trade of resources —

The natives during the rainy season...plant, in excavations among the lava rocks, sweet potatoes, melon, and pineapples...The...staple commodities are sweet potatoes, upland taro, and yams. Sugar cane, bananas, ...bread-fruit, cocoanuts, and melons are also cultivated. The Irish potato, Indian corn, beans, coffee, cotton, figs, oranges, guavas, and grapes have been introduced... Two miles back of the coast...in a belt half a mile wide, the bread fruit is met with an abundance, and above this the taro is cultivated with success. At an elevation of between two and three thousand feet, and at a distance of five miles, the forest is first met with... A considerable trade is kept up between the south and north end of this district. The inhabitants of the barren portion of the latter [Kekaha] are principally occupied in fishing and the manufacture of salt, which articles are bartered with those who live in the more fertile regions of the south, for food and clothing. (Wilkes 1845 Part 4:91, 94-96)

Kekaha Church of Kohanaiki-The Kekaha Mission Station (ca. 1863-1920)

Following the arrival of the Calvinist missionaries in 1820, important community centers around the Hawaiian Islands (generally near ports and *ali'i* residences) were selected as “stations” for the regional church and school centers. In the Kona District of Hawai'i, Kailua and Ka'awaloa served as the bases for outreach work throughout the district. From these “mission stations” — all under the jurisdiction of foreign missionaries — outlying churches and schools were subsequently established.

A report from 1848, identifies ten church-school meeting houses in the Kekaha region. At the time, there were ten church-school meeting houses and native teachers at the following locations:

School and Teacher—

Lanihau (Uhuhuhu, Kekoanui); Kealakehe (Kauhai); Honokohau 1 (Mama); Honokohau 2 (Kekipi); Kaloko (KaaoaoHEMA); Kalaoa (Nawahie); Puukala (Manuhua and Kukahiko); Kaulana (Kapunohu); Kiholo-Puuwaawaa (Palaualelo and Punihaole); Wainanalii-Puuanahulu (Kalua). [Hawaii State Archives, Series 262, Box 1, 1848]

No facility or teacher was identified for the land of Kohanaiki.

In the subsequent years, as the population decreased and residents moved away, the school-meeting houses were consolidated. There was also a separation of the school and church system, though in many instances the church meetings were held in the government school houses, and teachers and lay-pastors were the same individuals. In 1864, the aging

Asa Thurston, required assistance in ministering to the Kekaha region, and the native minister, George P. Ka'ōnohimaka, was appointed to the newly formed Kekaha Mission Station (MSH HEA Archives – G.P. Kaonohimaka, 1864). Initially, the station worked out of the Haleola meeting house in Kalaoa. In June 1st, 1865, Ka'ōnohimaka reported that he had purchased a 62 acre grant parcel for church and pastor's house at Puuhonua, Kalaoa 4. The parcel had originally been granted to Kapaiki (Grant No. 990), who, when he died, left it to Ka'ōnohimaka (MSH HEA Archives – G.P. Kaonohimaka, 1865).

The record is unclear, but problems arose regarding the title of the Kalaoa property, and the needs of the Kekaha Station were growing, so in the early 1870s, reverend Ka'ōnohimaka, moved to Kohanaiki, and built the mother church, which was called "Kekaha," there. The history of the Kekaha Church at Kohanaiki was partially told by Reverend S.L. Desha Sr., in the newspapers *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* (1926) and *The Friend* (1929). It is an intriguing history of a trip to Honolulu, purchase of lumber, it's transport to Kona, and Ka'ōnohimaka's faith that the lumber set off from the ship in rough seas, would be landed safely and transported to upper Kohanaiki for construction.

It is at this point in the history, that some confusion arises. All of the church records, and historical articles reviewed over the years on this matter¹², place the Kekaha Church in Kohanaiki Village, at approximately the 1,300 foot elevation (see maps and figures cited later in this study). While there is no record that we have located to date, that references another Hawaiian Congregational Church in Kohanaiki, either prior to, or after 1870, there is a tradition among some elder *kama'āina* that there is a "*Pā Hale Pule*" (Church Lot), on the shore of Kohanaiki Bay (the southern most bay in Kohanaiki, just north of the Kaloko boundary). The ruins of which are still pointed out to this day by some *kama'āina* (Figure 2).

Interestingly, the ruins of the "*Pā Hale Pule*" appear to coincide with the area marked as "Kawaimaka's hs." on survey maps of the 1880s (see Register Map No. 1449, and additional discussions on sites, later in this study). Kawaimaka was the daughter of Kaiakoili, who received Grant No. 2030 in 1856, for the land around which the Kohanaiki Village was established. Kaiakoili was also referred to by J.W.H.I. Kihe as the former "*haku aina*" (land lord) of Kohanaiki Kihe, 1924 in this study). The Kekaha Church was also situated on land which had been granted to Kaiakoili, portions of which were later turned over to development of the village. The above said, one can see that the story has yet to be completed. We can see that there was possibly a connection between the *makai* parcel, and the Kekaha Church.

On October 7, 1889, J. Kukapu, Kekaha Church Clerk, reported that Reverend Ka'ōnohimaka retired, and subsequently on November 26, 1889, the elder reverend died. Below, reverend and Hawaiian historian, S.L. Desha Sr., recalls some of the history of Reverend Ka'ōnohimaka and the Kekaha Church:

During the tenure of Rev. G.P. Kaonohimaka, as Minister of the Churches of Kekaha, he worked with true patience. He traveled the "*kihapai laula*" (broad field or expansive parish) on his donkey, keeping his work in the various sections of

¹² Reference: MSH HEA Archives – Churches–Hawaii–Kekaha, N. Kona; 1863-1890 & G.P. Kaonohimaka, letters sent 1865-1889.



Figure 2. Northern Side of Outer “Yard Wall” to Interior Platform of Site Identified in Interviews as “Pā Hale Pule.” (KPA Photo No. 3074; April 2, 2002)

the *kihapai laula*. There were times when he would begin his journey by going to the section of Nāpu‘u (The Hills), that is Puuanahulu and Puuwaawaa. Then when he was done there, he would go down to Kapalaoa, at the place known as Anaehoomalu. When he was finished there, he would travel to the various places, being Keawaiki, Kiholo, Kaupulehu, Kukio, Makalawena, Mahaiula, and Honokohau and Kaloko. Kaonohimaka would then return to the uplands of Kohanaiki and Kalaoa. He would be gone for several weeks at a time till he returned once again to his home. He would sleep as a guest in the homes of the brethren.

There were many Church Elders (*Luna Ekalasia*) in these places where the people dwelt. In these various places, there were many residents, and the prayer services would be held in the homes of some of the people, if there was no school house or meeting house at certain places.

It was the custom of the people he visited to give him gifts of various kinds... One time, while on one of his journeys to Nāpu‘u to hold a meeting, when the gathering was over, he was given a chicken. He took the chicken, held it in his hand, and then secured it to the saddle of his very patient donkey. This was a good and patient donkey who took him everywhere. Holding on to his umbrella, Ka’ōnohimaka departed, to go down to Kapalaoa, and hold a meeting with the families of the shore.

Shortly after he passed the place called “Puu Anahulu,” the chicken began fluttering all around, which greatly startled the donkey, and caused him turn around. So the favorite donkey of Reverend Ka’ōnohimaka, threw off him off with his umbrella, which broke in the fall. Fortunately Reverend Ka’ōnohimaka was not hurt in the fall, and the donkey did not run away, leaving him in the middle of the *pāhoehoe* fields. Instead the donkey came back and with a smile, Reverend Ka’ōnohimaka got back on and continued his journey... [Desha in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, August 17, 1926:3; Maly, translator]

On August 24, 1926, Desha continued his series, and described construction of one of the “meeting houses” or churches in the Kekaha parish, during Ka’ōnohimaka’s tenure. This series was later translated by Desha, and published in *The Friend* in 1929. It is in this article of August 24th, that we find the roots of and account that has been associated with Kohanaiki. It is believed that the article refers to construction of the Kekaha Church in Kohanaiki in the 1870s. The church being situated in the uplands of Kohanaiki, near the old homesteads.

Reverend Desha’s account, as translated and published in 1929, also provides us with conflicting descriptions of the land in which the church was situated. Though Marion Kelly (1971) cites an informant as giving the location in Kohanaiki, and occurring in the 1870s (Kelly 1971: 14).

...The members and deacons of the Kekaha Church had decided to build a meeting house at Kaloko, and Kaonohimaka went to the annual meeting in Honolulu with money for the material for the new church. After the annual meeting was over in Kawaihāo Church, the lumber was bought and loaded on the schooner, “Princess,” the captain of which was the foster father of Captain Elena, who became the most famous kipper of Kona. A few days on the ocean and then they arrived at the place where the lumber was to be unloaded. Coming opposite the place the people on the ship saw that it was rough and that the lumber could not be landed at the spot agreed upon in Honolulu because of the great surf breaking. His fellow ministers on board with him said that the captain was right and it was not wise to land the lumber at that place just then, and that it would be better to bring it on to Kailua, unload it and carry it off in canoes and thence to Kaloko. Rev. G.P. Kaonohimaka strongly opposed the idea of his companions and the captain and compelled the captain to unload the bundle of lumber outside on the breaking surf. He turned and spoke to his fellow ministers—Rev. S.W. Papaula, Rev. Ioane of Napoopoo, and Rev. S. Makaike of Central Kona—these famous words: “These boards belong to God and are for the building of his house. He will open an easy way to land this lumber on shore.” He also said, “My fellow workers, our faith is tried. Why do we pray to God? Surely now is the time when He will help us.”

The minister spoke to the captain and asked him to fasten securely the lumber and collect it in one place and then unload it into the sea. He would get on the lumber, and God would land him safely on the shore. The captain finally gave his consent and state that he would assume no blame for any loss of the lumber and that he was very doubtful in giving his consent for the minister to mount the lumber. The minister said to the captain: “Captain, no blame will be attached to you and my associates here, but upon myself and God whom I trust, because

the Lord ruled the surging waves of the Sea of Galilee, why can He not rule also these mighty waves? Here I am trusting in his help. Ask with trust in the wonderful power of His love...I trust Him." The captain fulfilled the wish of the minister, the lumber was bound together securely and cast into the sea. Kaonohimaka mounted the lumber, his fellow ministers, passengers and the captain all keeping their eyes on him. The last they saw of this servant of God he was kneeling on the lumber and praying earnestly. At the end of his prayer he waved his hand to those on the schooner, and then they saw the swift movement of the bundle of lumber—"the ark of the servant of God." To the complete surprise of everybody on board a great wave raised up and lifted the bundle along in the violence of the spray and the minister was seen standing on the lumber without any trouble, and shortly afterwards helping hands from the shore reached out and brought in the lumber safely without any trouble whatsoever. This "raft of the meeting house of God" was used for the church building in that place. [Desha July 1929:162]

Following Reverend Ka'ōnohimaka's retirement and death in 1889, activities of the Kekaha Church continued much as they had for a while. Though it was apparently difficult to find someone with the same stamina for travel throughout Kekaha.

In 1899, Reverend Lyons Kakani, had been stationed in the Kekaha Church field at Kohanaiki. On July 6th 1899 he wrote to O.P. Emerson of the Secretary of the Hawaiian Board, regarding churches and difficulties of travel in the Kekaha District. His letter also included a map depicting the two remaining coastal churches of the region, one being at Honokōhau, the other at Makalawena (*Figure 3*). Kakani wrote:

...I commenced to work in this field of mission by this month, a field of many difficulties... I found out also, in looking all about this blood field, it is very hard to walk through, therefore the following diagram would help you understand the difficulty. Nearly the entire natives living in and about Kohanaiki are in want of two or more horses at least, not because of their poverty, but because of the small parcel of lands which they have possessed; of this difficulty, they couldn't lend me a horse, and I can hardly walk on the Lava stones miles upon miles, and hottest than ever.

Perhaps you would say that Rev. Kaonohimaka and Rev. L. Ahi walked on foot throughout Kekaha from one station to the other, why not a young man like Mr. Kakani do the same?

I would say, Mr. Kakani is not a man of that kind... There were upward of fifty souls in my service on Sunday last, and there were also two new members added in the Roll by Confession of faith. The membership of the churches are mostly young people, and are seemed to be happy with their young preacher. I think this is an age of young people membership in this visible church... [Kakani 1899; Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library]

By the ca. 1915, Reverend Upchurch and Kane were at Kekaha Church, the population was shifting, and in the early 1920s Reverend Upchurch relocated to Kalaoa (the parcel originally purchased by Ka'ōnohimaka), building Mauna Ziona, with lumber from the closed churches at Kohanaiki and Makalawena (see oral history interviews in this study).

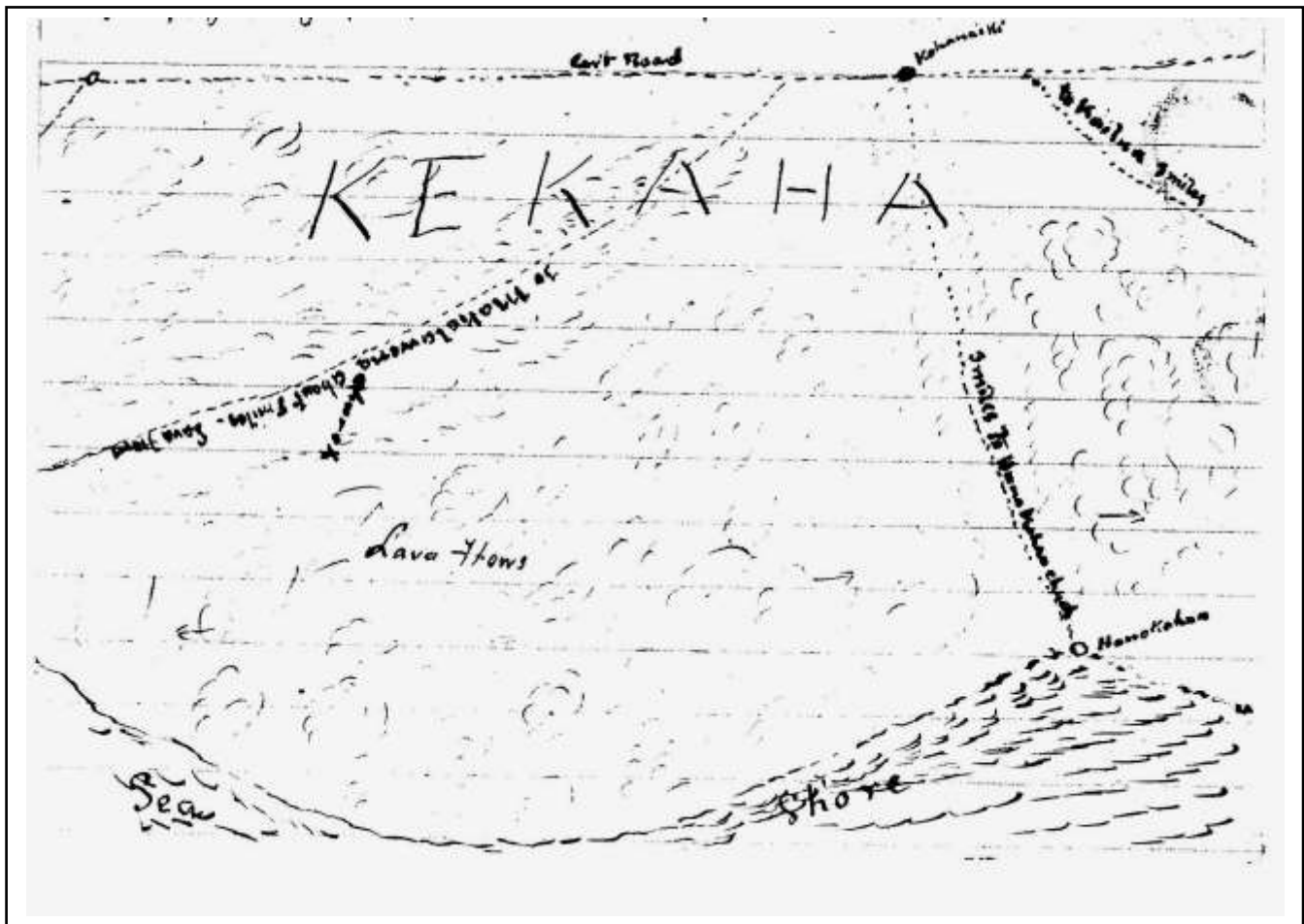


Figure 3. L. Kakani's Diagram of Trails Traveled Between Kohonaiki Church and the Churches at Honokōhau and Makalawena in 1899. (Courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library; L. Kakani, July 6, 1899)

Ka 'Āina Kaha—A Native's Perspective (1875)

In 1875, J.P Puuokupa, a native resident of Kalaoa wrote a letter to the editor of the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ku Okoa*, responding to a letter which had been previously published in the paper (written by a visitor to Kona). The first account apparently described the Kekaha region as a hard land that presented many difficulties to the residents. It was also reported that a drought on Hawai'i had significantly impacted crop production, and that a "famine" was occurring. Puuokupa, responded to the account and described the situation as he knew it, from living upon the land. His letter is important as it provides us with an explanation as to why people of the region—including Kohonaiki—lived mostly in the uplands, for it was there that the rich soils enabled residents to cultivate the land and sustain themselves—

***Mai Kailua a hiki i Kiholo –
From Kailua to Kiholo (1875)***

...The people who live in the area around Kailua are not bothered by the famine. They all have food. There are sweet potatoes and taro. These are the foods of these lands. There are at this time, breadfruit bearing fruit at Honokohau on the side of Kailua, and at Kaloko, Kohonaiki, Ooma and the Kalaoas where lives J.P. [the author]. All of these lands are cultivated. There is land on which coffee is

cultivated, where taro and sweet potatoes are cultivated, and land livestock is raised. All of us living from Kailua to Kalaoa are not in a famine, there is nothing we lack for the well being of our bodies.

Mokuola¹³ is seen clearly upon the ocean, like the featherless back of the *'ukeke* (shore bird). So it is in the uplands where one may wander gathering what is needed, as far as Kiholo which opens like the mouth of a long house into the wind. It is there that the bow of the boats may safely land upon the shore. The livelihood of the people there is fishing and the raising of livestock. The people in the uplands of Napuu are farmers, and as is the custom of those people of the backlands, they all eat in the morning and then go to work. So it is with all of the native people of these lands, they are a people that are well off.

...As was said earlier, coffee is the plant of value on these lands, and so, is the raising of livestock. From the payments for those products, the people are well off, and they have built wooden houses. If you come here you shall see that it is true. Fish are also something which benefits the people. The people who make the *pai ai* on Maui bring it to Kona and trade it. Some people also trade their *poi* for the coffee of the natives here... [J.P. Puuokupa, in *Ku Okoa* November 27, 1875; Maly, translator]

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

George Bowser, editor of "*The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourists Guide*" (1880) wrote about various statistics and places of interest around the Hawaiian Islands. In his narratives about the island of Hawai'i, Bowser described the Kekaha region, visited while traveling on portions of both the coastal trail system and upland government roads. Excerpts from the section of Bowser's narratives which cover Kiholo to Kohanaiki and Kailua are cited below:

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

¹³ Moku-ola — literally: Island of life — is a poetic reference to a small island in Hilo Bay which was known as a place of sanctuary, healing, and life. By poetic inference, the Kekaha region was described as a place of life and well-being.

...From Kiholo the road southwards is rough and laborious. Perpetual travelling over lava is very hard upon our horses, and it is impossible to travel faster than the slowest walk... Some twelve miles from Kiholo we began to cross the western shoulder of Mauna Hualalai, and the aspect of things changed, although the condition of the road did not. Here all around, for miles and miles, trees are growing thickly, on the otherwise almost bare surface of the lava. In numberless instances these trees, which are numerous enough in places to form a dense forest, grow out of lava pure and simple, without a semblance of soil of any kind to support them... Pursuing my way through this forest land, I enjoyed, in spite of the roughness of the road, one of the most delightful days experienced throughout my journey.... In this woodland I heard for the first time since I landed on the islands the notes of a pretty little bird about the size of a lark, called by the natives *akakane*. Its song is very sweet; nor is it the only songster of the woods. One especially I noticed, called *iwi*, from its note. During the ride we saw numbers of native geese and sundry herds of goats skipping from ledge to ledge on the lava beds. Presently I reached the ridge of the mountain and had a fine view of the surrounding country...Fronting the sea...in North Kona there is a rich tract of bottom land which might be turned to good account. Large areas of the mountain land might also be cultivated for coffee...

I was astonished to see in this district how bananas, mangoes, oranges, pineapples, in short all the fruits belonging to these islands, grow in profusion... At Kohanaike, a place about six miles short of my destination, I came upon a store kept by a Chinaman, who has Hawaiianized his name to Akao. Here the tourist, if he has no supplies with him, can get anything he wants, in the way of canned fish, milk, crackers, etc., and if night should overtake him, a bed can always be had. I finished my day's journey at Kailua, passing on the way a small place called Kaloko, where there is a blacksmith shop kept by Mr. Philip Ryan... [Bowser 1880:547-549]

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 the journey into Kona from Kohala, traveling along the *mauka* Government Road, Kinney referenced Kohanaiki Village in passing:

From Huehue southward the road passes through fertile lands, dotted with prosperous homes of Hawaiians, and some Japanese, planters of coffee and other crops. The first road on the *makai* side, bending northward, leads to the KOHANAIKI village, an inland settlement without much interest. Further South the road passes through the upper HONOKAHAU village (throughout the district many villages on the beach and on the upper road have the same name)... [Kinney 1913:53]

By the time of Kinney's visit, the village was already in decline, and several years later, the Kekaha Church in Kohanaiki was closed in favor of Mauna Ziona at Kalaoa.

KOHANAIKI AND VICINITY—LAND TENURE: MĀHELE ‘ĀINA, LAND GRANTS, RESIDENCY AND HOMESTEADS

Through the traditions and early historical accounts cited above, we see that there are rich descriptions of early residences and practices of the native families on the lands of Kohanaiki and the larger Kekaha region. Among the earliest government records documenting residency in Kohanaiki and vicinity are those of the *Māhele ‘Āina* (Land Division), Interior & Taxation Departments, Roads and Public Works, and the Government Survey Division. This section of the study provides readers with important descriptions of land tenure (residency and land use), and the identities of families associated with Kohanaiki and its neighboring lands. The documentation is generally presented in chronological order, by sub-categories such as — 1. *Māhele ‘Āina*; 2. Taxation and Census Records; 3. Land Grants; and other classes of information.

1. Māhele ‘Āina (1848) – Land Tenure

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

August 6, 1850

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

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

That the following sections which were passed by the King in Privy Council on the 21st day of December A.D. 1849 when the Legislature was not in session, be,

and are hereby confirmed, and that certain other provisions be inserted, as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

free to all should they need them, on all lands granted in fee simple. Provided, that this shall not be applicable to wells and water courses which individuals have made for their own use.

Done and passed at the Council House, Honolulu this 6th day of August 1850.
[copied from original hand written "Enabling Act"¹⁴ – DLNR 2-4]

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

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

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

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

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

...During the ten months that elapsed between the constitution of the Board and the end of the year 1846, only 371 claims were received at the office; during the year 1847 only 2,460, while 8,478 came in after the first day of January 1848. To these are to be added 2,100 claims, bearing supplementary numbers, chiefly

¹⁴ See also Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina (Penal Code) 1850.

consisting of claims which had been forwarded to the Board, but lost or destroyed on the way. In the year 1851, 105 new claims were admitted, for Kuleanas in the Fort Lands of Honolulu, by order of the Legislature. The total number of claims therefore, amounts to 13,514, of which 209 belonged to foreigners and their descendants. The original papers, as they were received at the office, were numbered and copied into the Registers of the Commission, which highly necessary part of the work entailed no small amount of labor...

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

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

Disposition of Land and Residency in Kohanaiki

In the "*Buke Kakau Paa no ka Mahele Aina*" (Land Division Book of 1848), between Kamehameha III and his supporters, we learn that on February 1, 1848, Asa Kaeo, a *Konohiki* Awardee, relinquished his claim for the *ahupua'a* of Kohanaiki and other *ahupua'a*, in commutation for the lands he retained. Thus, by this action, Kohanaiki belonged to Kamehameha III (1848:41-42 [copy of 1864]). Subsequently on March 8, 1848, Kamehameha III conveyed Kohanaiki to the Government land inventory (1848:179 [copy of 1864]). In this way, parcels of Kohanaiki became available for sale, at the discretion of the Minister of the Interior, to support government land programs and operations.

In the year 2000, *Kumu Pono Associates* digitized the entire collection of handwritten records from the *Māhele 'Āina*. Most of the records are in the Hawaiian language, and to-date have not been accurately indexed or completely translated. Maly and Maly have conducted an extensive review, and prepared an index of all the records from four primary record sources associated with the *Māhele 'Āina*, and found only three claims by two native tenants for *kuleana* in Kohanaiki during the *Māhele*. The claims — Helu 7987, by Paawela and Helu 10336 & 10346, by Naheeholua — were not awarded; the reasons of which are not documented in the records. Below, are a copies of the original Hawaiian texts from the volumes of the Native Register and Testimony, translated by Maly.

7987 Paawela Kohanaiki February 14, 1848
 Ho Aloha oukou e maluna hona, ke hiki aku nei au ia ou-
 kou i koe mau ili aia, eia, ilia ili aia, Haleolono
 hiki, mai ka uka a ke kai, Piiwahine hiki mai ke
 kai a ka uka. Ma Paawela

Helu 7987 (Native Register Vol. 8:455)

Paawela

Kohanaiki. February 14, 1848

Greetings to you land commissioners, I hereby describe to you my ili lands, there are two ili lands here, Haleolono is one, from the uplands to the sea, Piiwahine is one, from the sea to the uplands.

By, Paawela.

7995 Paawela 2 Jan. 1849
 Kulaikoua Konehiki ka ike wai i kua
 wai i mahi ai, aia au i ike ke ili aia a ka hona, a
 kana ili i mahi ai, aia i Haleolono aia i Piiwahine
 aia i kaha.
 1 Ma ka wai waike wai. Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha
 hiki, Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.
 2 Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.
 3 Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.
 4 Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.
 5 Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.
 6 Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.
 7 Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.
 8 Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.
 9 Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.
 10 Ma ka Konehiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki, aia i kaha hiki.

Helu 7987 (Native Testimony Vol. 4:539 – Not Awarded)

Paawela

Kalaiheana Sworn: I know about the place that he cultivates, but do not know about his other ili land; his ili that he cultivates is in Haleolono, Ahupuaa of Kohanaiki, 8 kihapai.

1. *Mauka*, an untended place; *Kau*, the *Konohiki*; *Makai*, the *Konohiki*; *Kohala*, the *Konohiki*. 2 cultivated *kihapai*.
2. *Mauka*, *Konohiki*; and surrounded thus. 2 cultivated *kihapai*.
3. *Mauka*, *Konohiki*; *Kau*, *Kama's* land; *Makai*, *Konohiki*; *Kohala*, *Kahananui*. 2 cultivated *kihapai*.
4. *Mauka*, *Nahulanui's* land; *Kau*, *Piimoku's* land; *Makai*, *Konohiki*; *Kohala*, *Kauhai's* land. 2 cultivated *kihapai*.

There is a house for him. Gotten from Hulikoa in the year 1845. No one has objected.

Continued until another (new) witness is gotten.

10,336	<i>Naheeholua</i>	<i>Kaloko Kona Hawaii</i>
H	<i>Aloha oukou e ka poe hoona kuleana aina, wa ana iho nei au i ka loa, a me ka lualua o keia wahi pahale, 875 kaupuni loa loa, 420 kaupuni ka lualua -</i>	
		<i>Na I. Naheeholua</i>

Helu 10336 (Native Register Vol. 8:590)

Naheeholua

Kaloko Kona Hawaii

Greetings to you commissioners who quiet land titles, I have surveyed the length and the width of my house lot, it 875 feet long and 420 feet wide.

By, I. Naheeholua

10,336	<i>Naheeholua</i>	<i>Ahupuaa Kaloko Kona Hawaii</i>
H	<i>Aloha oukou e ka poe hoona kuleana aina, wa lawai ae nei au 8 kaupuni ma ka lualua o keia pahale, o Kaloko hoi ke Ahupuaa 4 ki- hapuni hoi ma ka lualua o keia Ahupuaa, oia ka hoi apana ma ma wa oukou e ka poe hoona.</i>	
		<i>Naheeholua</i>

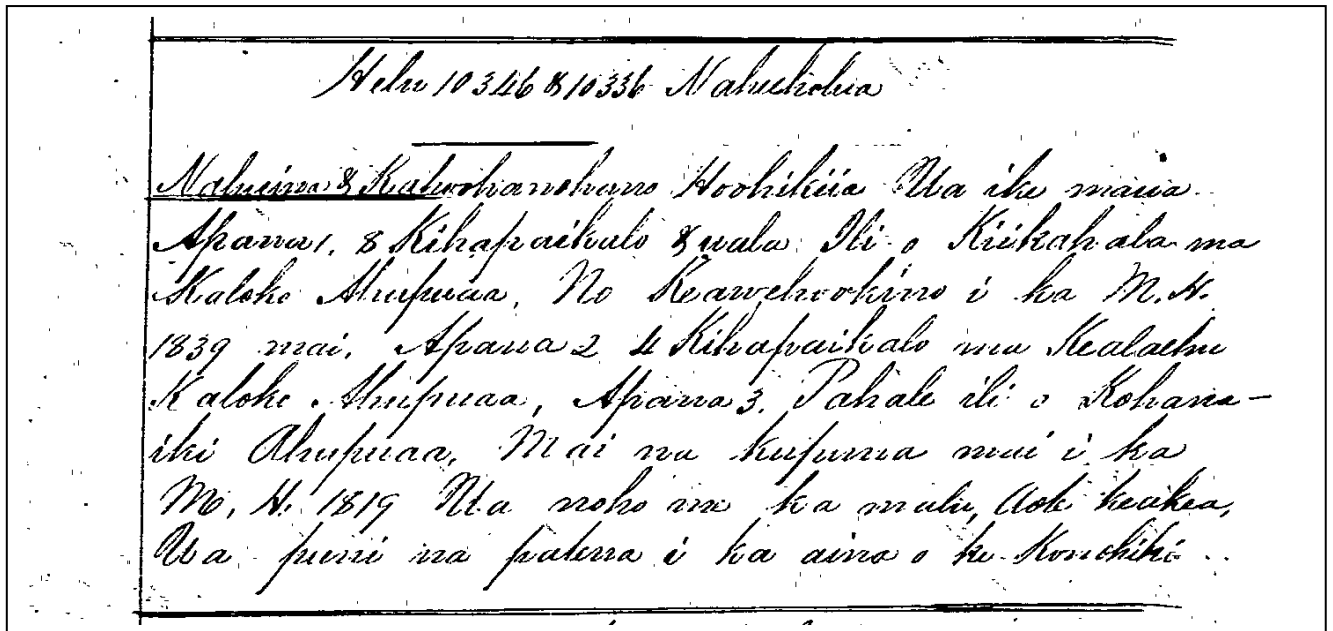
Helu 10346 (Native Register Vol. 8:591)

Naheeholua

Ahupuaa of Kaloko Kona Hawaii

Listen to me you commissioner who quiet land titles, I have taken 8 *kihapai* in the *ili* of Kiikahala, Kaloko is the Ahupuaa. Also 4 *kihapai* in the *ili* of Kealaehu of this Ahupuaa, this is part of the thought to you, the intelligent people.

Naheeholua.



Helu 10346 & 10336 (Native Testimony Vol. 8:654 – Not Awarded)

Naheeholua

Nahuina & Kahoohanohano Sworn: We know Parcel 1. 8 *kihapai* *kalo* and *uala* in the *ili* of Kiikahala in Kaloko Ahupuaa. Gotten from Keawehookino in the Year 1839. Parcel 2. 4 *kihapai* *kalo* at Kealaehu, Kaloko Ahupuaa. Parcel 3. a House lot *ili* in Kohanaiki Ahupuaa, gotten from his *kupuna* in the Year 1819. Has dwelled in peace. No one objected. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki.

Because the claims of Paawela and Nahe'ehōlua were not awarded, and because specific reference points are not given in the verbal testimonies, the location of these claims cannot be identified. Based on regional patterns of residency described in claims that were awarded, it is likely that the *kīhāpai kalo* (taro gardens) were situated in the area extending from around 1,000 feet above sea level (near the Māmalahoa Highway), to around the 2,500 foot elevation. It is also likely that the residences were near the shore, where access to water, particularly in dry periods; and access to fisheries, could be gotten with ease. Interestingly, Pa'awela also received a portion of his interest in a *kuleana* at Kohanaiki from Huliko'a, who in 1864, received Grant No. 2942 for 929.75 acres of land in Kohanaiki. That grant parcel extends from below Kohanaiki Village (and Māmalahoa Highway) to the *mauka*

boundary of Grant No. 3086 (the present study area). It is possible that Pa'awela's claim may have been imbedded in the larger parcel which was later granted to Huliko'a.

One additional claim is cited here, though apparently not claiming land in Kohanaiki at the time of the *Māhele*, Nahuina (*Helu* 10327), a resident of Kaloko, did apply for the coastal land of Kohanaiki in 1863. While the survey for his application was completed, the land was subsequently sold to Kapena under the same survey and grant number (Grant No. 3086), as that applied for by Nahuina. Nahuina's witnesses in the following *Māhele* claim included Nahe'ehōlua, a resident and applicant for land in Kohanaiki; and provides the following description of residency and land use in neighboring, Kaloko:

10.327 Nahuina
Aloha oukou e kapena kōma kōleawa oua, ua laue ai oua'ou

590
*i kekahi ili o keia Ahupuaa, o Haleape he ika o kua ili i lauaia
 a e nei, mo ke maopopo ole o ka loke, he maia heia laue ana, he
 ili puka, he paupau puka, he kihapai puka, oia la i loke oukou e
 he pua kōma kōleawa oua. Nāi na Nahuina -*

Helu 10327 (Native Register Vol. 8:589-590)

Nahuina

Greetings to you Land Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles. I have an *ili* that has been taken (from me) in this *Ahupuaa*, Haleape is the name of this *ili* that was taken; because the length is not known, this taking is incomplete; it is perhaps an *ili*, perhaps a *pauku*, perhaps a *kihapai*; that is what you commissioners to quiet land titles have to hear.

It is for me, Nahuina.

Helu 10327 Nahuina January 12, 1850.
*Kahawaihanui & Kahachohua Hoolikua. Ua ika oua
 Ahupuaa Ili o Haleape Kaloko Ahupuaa, 700
 Kekoahele oua No. 4, 1819. Ua oua heia.*

January 12, 1850

Helu 10327 (Native Testimony Vol. 8:654 – Awarded)

Nahuina

Kahoochanohano & Naheeholua Sworn: We know the Parcel, in the *ili* of Haleape, Kaloko Ahupuaa. Gotten from Kekukahiko in the Year 1819. No one objects.

2. Taxation and Early Census Records (1830s-1840s)

Another group of early records which tell us who the historic residents were and where they lived are found in kingdom taxation journals and missionary and kingdom census records. The “*Auhau Poalua*” (Tuesday Tax) was collected to help pay for government services—for example public service projects such as roads and the school system.

The *Auhau Pō’alua* was paid by native tenants in labor services, goods, or through direct financial compensation. On January 1, 1849, Samuela Ha’anio, Tax Assessor (District II, Island of Hawai’i) submitted a report titled “*Inoa o na kanaka auhau/poalua ma Kona Akau mai Puuanahulu a Honuaino—483 kanaka*” (Names of people who come under the Poalua Tax Laws in North Kona, from Puuanahulu to Honuaino—483 people). The records identify a total of four tax paying resident in Kohanaiki, none of whom apparently registered a claim for kuleana in the *Māhele*. Because of the close relationship between families in neighboring lands of Kekaha, excerpts from Ha’anio’s list include the names of individuals from Kalaoa to Kaloko.

Kalaoa: 1. Kila, 2. Piena, 3. Nakuala, 4. Kupono, 5. Loa, 6. Kaeha, 7. Keliipui, 8. Kapuolokai, 9. Kaainoa, 10. Paina, 11. Kalimaonaona, 12. Kaikeleaukai, 13. Kanahale, 14. Kukaani, 15. Kupuai, and 16. Helekahi.

Ooma: 1. Kalua, 2. Kamaka and 3. Mamali.

Kohanaiki: 1. Hulikoa, 2. Kaoeno, 3. Honolii and 4. Awa.

Kaloko: 1. Paele, 2. Kanui, 3. Kihe, 4. Nawahine, 5. Naheeholua, 6. Kahiona, 7. Kaenaku, 8. Puhi, 9. Kaiama, 10. Kamaole, 11. Kalaikoa, 12. Kaeka, 13. Nahuina, 14. Nakiha. [HSA – Series 262, Hawaii 1849]

It will be noted that Huliko’a, named above, was also resident of Kohanaiki at the time of the *Māhele* (see claim of Pa’awela, Helu 7987). In 1864, Huliko’a subsequently received the largest single grant land issued in Kohanaiki (Grant No. 2942). Also, Nahe’ehōlua, who applied for L.C.A. Helu 10346 & 10336 in Kohanaiki, paid taxes in Kaloko in 1849; and Nahuina, who later applied for a grant on the present study area land, was also resident in Kaloko (L.C.A. Helu 10327) at the time.

A detailed review of all documents of claims from the *Māhele*, provided no further reference to Huliko’a Kaoeno, Honoli’i, or Awa in association with Kohanaiki. Based on traditional patterns of residency in the region, it is likely that they had primary residences in the uplands, near sheltered *māla ‘ai* (agricultural fields), and kept near shore residences for seasonal fishing, collection of salt, access to water in dry periods, and for access to other resources of the coastal zone.

Based on missionary calculations (partially a result of the Ellis Tour cited above), the population on the island of Hawai’i was estimated at 85,000 individuals in 1823 (Schmitt

1973:8). In 1835, population records for the region of Kekaha (Kapalaoa to Kealahou, the present study area included), placed the population at 1,233 individuals. The total population of Kona in 1831 was 6,649, and in 1835, it was 5,957 individuals; a four year decline of 692 persons (Schmitt 1973:31). Historical accounts throughout most of the nineteenth century report on the continued decline of the native population.

The decline of remote area populations is partially explained by the missionary's efforts at converting the Hawaiian people to Christianity, and encouraging them to leave remote areas (cf. Ellis 1963:296). Logically, churches were placed first in the areas of larger native communities (for example, the Kailua Station), and where chiefly support could be easily maintained. In this way, the missionaries got the most out of the limited number of ministers, and large groups of natives could live under the watchful eyes of church leaders, close to churches, and in "civilized" villages and towns. Overall, the historic record documents the significant effect that western settlement practices had on Hawaiians throughout the islands. Drawing people from isolated native communities into selected village parishes and Hawaiian ports-of-call had a dramatic, and perhaps unforeseen impact on native residency patterns, health, and social and political affairs (cf. I'i 1959, Kamakau 1961, Doyle 1953, and McEldowney 1979).

3. Land Grants in Kohanaiki and Vicinity (ca. 1863-1871)

Following the *Māhele*, many native tenants remained without personal property though they lived upon and cultivated lands. The shortcomings of the *Māhele* were recognized as that program was underway, and the King authorized, as the *Māhele* was being processed, the issuance of Royal Patent Grants to applicants for tracts of land they might apply for. The parcels were generally larger than those generally available to native tenants through the Land Commission Awards. Lands available for purchase in this program were limited to those lands which comprised the Government land inventory. Kohanaiki, in this case, being among that class of land.

As in the *Māhele*, the process for applications for Royal Patent Grants was set forth by the "Enabling Act" of August 6, 1850, which set aside portions of government lands for that purpose. Section 4., of the Act resolved—

...that a certain portion of the Government lands in each Island shall be set apart, and placed in the hands of special agents to be disposed of in lots of from one to fifty acres in fee simple to such natives as may not be otherwise furnished with sufficient lands at a minimum price of fifty cents per acre. [HSA – "Enabling Act" Series DLNR 2-4]

The Kingdoms' policy of providing land grants to native tenants was further clarified in a communication from Interior Department Clerk, A. G. Thurston, on behalf of Keoni Ana (John Young), Minister of the Interior; to J. Fuller, Government Land Agent-Kona:

February 23, 1852

...His Highness the Minister of the Interior instructs me to inform you that he has and does hereby appoint you to be Land Agent for the District of Kona, Hawaii. You will entertain no application for the purchase of any lands, without first receiving some part, say a fourth or fifth of the price; then the terms of sale being agreed upon between yourself and the applicant you will survey the land, and send the survey, with your report upon the same to this office, for the Approval of

the Board of Finance, when your sales have been approved you will collect the balance due of the price; upon the receipt of which at this office, the Patent will be forwarded to you.

Natives who have no claims before the Land Commission have no Legal rights in the soil.

They are therefore to be allowed the first chance to purchase their homesteads. Those who neglect or refuse to do this, must remain dependant upon the mercy of whoever purchases the land: as those natives now are who having no kuleanas are living on lands already Patented, or belonging to Konohikis.

Where lands have been granted, but not yet Patented, the natives living on the land are to have the option of buying their homesteads, and then the grant be located, provided this can be done so as not to interfere with them.

No Fish Ponds are to be sold, neither any landing places.

As a general thing you will charge the natives but 50 cents pr. acre, not exceeding 50 acres to any one individual.

Whenever about to survey land adjoining that of private individuals, notice must be given them or their agents to be present and point out their boundaries...
[Interior Department Letter Book 3:210-211]

In between 1863 to 1871, at least four applications were made for three parcels of land in the *ahupua'a* of Kohanaiki. The earliest application seen in the collections of the Hawai'i State Survey Divisions and Archives, was made by Nahuina, a native resident and Māhele awardee in Kaloko. The lot as described, being a portion of the present study area, and now known as Grant No. 3086, was later sold to Kapena. It was originally surveyed by S.C. Wiltse and recorded on May 30, 1863. The notes of survey and map depicting metes and bounds (*Figure 4*) describe the parcel in the following manner:

***Survey of the makai part of the Govt. Land,
"Kohanehiki" in N. Kona, Hawaii.***

Beginning at a large rock marked X at the beach, corner to the lands "Koloko" and "Kohanehiki"

Thence *mauka* along the boundary between these lands, N 67° E 34 Cha's. to a rock marked X on the lower side of the old Beach Road.

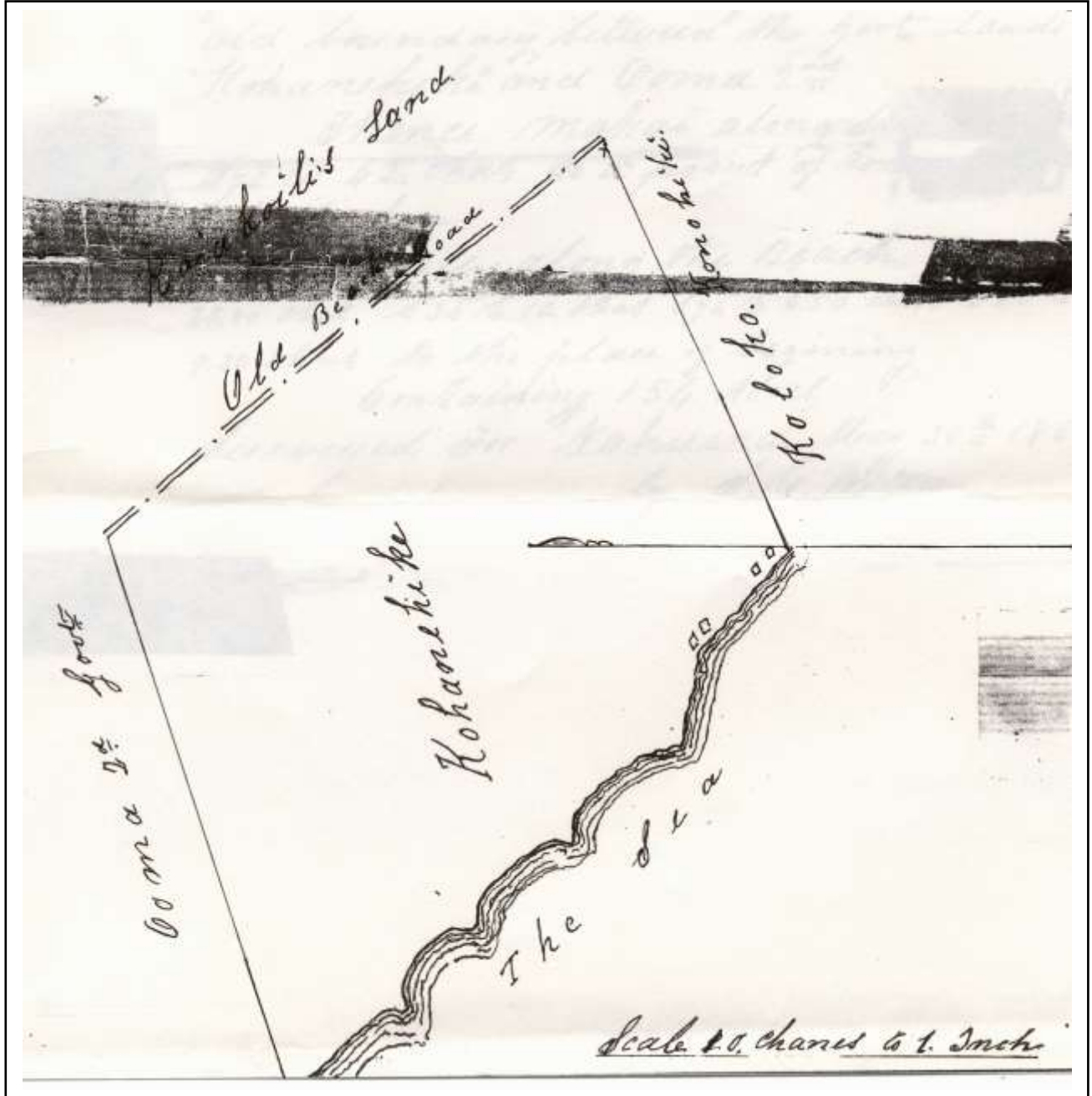
Thence along said Road, crossing this land, N 41° ½ W 46.20 Cha's. to a pile of rocks on *makai* side of road, on the old boundary between the Govt. lands of "Kohanehiki" and Ooma 2nd.

Thence *makai* along said boundary S 72° 42 Cha's. to a point of rocks MK. X at the sea.

Thence along the Beach, S 42 ½° 25.80 Cha's. S 34 ° E 12 Cha's. S 74° E 6.50 Cha's. S 50° E 9.30 Cha's. to the place of beginning.

Containing 154 Acres.

Surveyed for Nahuina. May 30th, 1863.
by S.C. Wiltse



**Figure 4. Map of Makai Portion of Government Land of Kohanaiki
Nahuina's Grant Application – Survey by S.C. Wiltse, May 30, 1863
(Grant Packet No. 3086; in collection of the State Survey Division)**

The notes and map from the grant application of Nahuina, contain several important points of reference on the land and/or features, and also contain at least one discrepancy when compared to the current understanding of the size of the grant parcel. Among these points are:

- (1) Boundary marks are indicated by an X etched into the stone surface, or by a pile of rocks (*ahu*);
- (2) The total land area given in the survey is 154 acres, approximately a third of the total today given under Royal Patent Grant 3086;
- (3) The map includes reference to four houses or enclosed lots on the southern-most cove of Kohanaiki, near the Kaloko boundary; and
- (4) The lot boundary follows the alignment of the “Old Beach Road.” This road being the *Alanui Aupuni* (called the “Kamehameha Trail” by elder *kama’āina*), which was laid out in 1847-1848.

Confusion regarding the size of Grant 3086, and it’s ownership apparently date back to the 1860s. In 1865, S.C. Wiltse, Government Surveyor and Land Agent, prepared descriptions of the Government lands in the Kona District, including Kohanaiki. For reasons unclear—though based on Wiltse’s letter, the problem was rooted in incomplete transactions on the part of H.L. Sheldon (the former land agent)—the application of Nahuina was not patented. The following excerpts from Wiltse’s letter include the comments on Kohanaiki and neighboring lands of the Kekaha region, as they give us an overview of the nature of the land and tenure at the time.

September 5, 1865

**S.C. Wiltse, Government Surveyor and Land Agent;
to F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior.**

Kona Hawaii. Government Lands in this District not Sold;
also those Sold and Not Patented:

...“Kalaoa 5th”

Not in the *Mahele* book but believed to be Gov’t. land. This land above the Govt. Road has been sold and Patented. Below the road I have surveyed 515 acres which was sold by Sheldon to “Kaakau” & “Kama” who payed him \$165.00. As no valuation was made of this land per acre by Sheldon I afterwards valued it myself as follows, 300 Ac. at 50 cts. per acre, 215 at 25 cts. per Ac. The balance due according to this valuation including Patent was \$42.75 which was payed to me in March 1864 and forwarded by me to your office. The survey of this land is in your office. If the payments made are satisfactory, these men would be very glad to get their Patent.

This is a piece of 3rd rate land, used only as goat pasture, no improvements on it. *Makai* of this survey is about 400 Ac. remaining to the Govt., but of very little value.

“Ooma 1st & 2nd”

The best part of these lands have been sold, there remains to the Govt. the forest part, 2 or 300 Ac., and the *makai* part some 1500 Ac., about 500 of which is 3rd rate land, the balance rocks.

“Kohanaiki”

The forest part of this land is all that remains to the Gov't., this is extensive, extending to the *mauka* side of the forest. It may contain 1500 to 2000 Ac.

The *makai* part of this land containing 220 Ac. has been sold both by Sheldon and myself. In April 1863 I was surveying in Kona when “Nahuina” (who lives on the adjoining land of “Kaloko”) applied to me to survey the *makai* part of the Gov't. land Kohanaiki which he wished to purchase. I inquired whether he had applied to Sheldon for this lands (Sheldon was then in Honolulu) he told me that he had not, but would do so immediately, if it was necessary he would go to Honolulu for that purpose. I told him that I was then writing to Sheldon and I would make the application for him which I did, but never got an answer. I wrote several times to him about that time, for information about Gov't. lands, but he declined to answer my letters.

On the 30th of May following, I surveyed said piece of land for “Nahuina.” When I was making this survey “Kapena” (who bought this land from Sheldon) was present, and afterwards went to Honolulu and payed Sheldon for this land.

“Nahuina” had the money then to pay for this land, and I told him to keep it until he knew who he was paying it to. I was perfectly satisfied then that Sheldon's transaction as Gov't. land Agt. was not honest. Mr. Sheldon had then been away from Kona nearly three months, he had previous to this resigned his office as Judge and taken up his residence permanently in Honolulu. Afterwards when requested by Mr. S. Spencer to act as land Agt. for Kona, “Nahuina” payed me for this land at 25 cents per Acre. Its only value is for a place for a residence on the beach.

I have been thus particular in giving you the history of this affair, so that you might be able to decide which of the parties were intitled to said land... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

The matter of Grant No. 3086 was not resolved until 1871, when the Royal Patent on Grant No. 3086 was issued to Kapena. The following notes of survey were copied from a typescript manuscript in the Grant Packet of the State Survey Division, and it will be noted that apparently one full course of the survey was omitted from the notes; though the *mauka* boundary still follows the “old government road.”

Royal Patent Grant No. 3086

Kamehameha IV., By the grace of God, King of the Hawaiian Islands, by His Royal Patent, makes known unto all men, that he has, for himself and his successors in office, this day granted and given, absolutely, in Fee Simple, unto KAPENA his faithful and loyally disposed subject, for the consideration of the sum of Seventy Five \$75.00 paid into the Royal Exchequer, all that piece of Land situated at Kohanaiki North Kona in the Island of Hawaii; and described as follows:

Commencing at a certain large rock at seashore and marked X at the corner of the land of “Kaloko” and Kohanaiki thence running *mauka* along the boundary of this land North 67° East 34. Chains and reaching X marked on rock on lower side of the old government road *makai*; thence along this road and cutting through this land;

North 41 ½° West 46.20 Chains to the Pile of rocks on the seaside, at the old boundary of the government land of “Kohanaiki”, and Ooma 2nd, thence seaside along said boundary;

South 72° West 42. Chains and reaching the X marked on the rock at the sea. Thence along the seashore.

South 50° East 9.30 Chains and reaching the commencement.

The total 154 Acres.

Reserving however the right of the Natives.

Containing – 154 – Acres, more or less; excepting and reserving to the Hawaiian Government, all mineral or metallic Mines of every description.

TO have and to hold the above granted Land in Fee Simple, unto the said KAPENA, his Heirs and Assigns forever, subject to the taxes to be from time to time imposed by the Legislative Council equally, upon all landed Property held in Fee Simple.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand, and caused the Great Seal of the Hawaiian Islands to be affixed, at Honolulu, this 24th day of August, 1871.

Kamehameha R

By the King
The Minister of the Interior
Ferd. W. Hutchinson.

Two other grant parcels were sold in Kohanaiki. One in 1856, sold to Kaiakoili (Grant No. 2030), included 102 acres. The other sold in 1864 to Huliko‘a (Grant No. 2942), included 929.75 acres. Kaiakoili’s parcel was the furthest *mauka*, extending to the uplands from the Kohanaiki Village. Huliko‘a’s parcel was situated on the mid *kula* lands, extending from below the Kohanaiki Village to the boundary of Grant No. 3086. Unfortunately, the original notes of survey and map accompanying Grants 2030 and 2942, are missing from the state collection, so the corresponding maps and surveys, and their relationship to Kapena’s parcel could not be compared with the original records.

J.S. Emerson’s Register Map No. 1449 (1888) depicts the location of the three grants in Kohanaiki as described above (*Figure 5*). It will be seen, that the map depicts the Kapena-Huliko‘a boundaries as described in the original notes of survey for Grant No. 3086—following the *Alanui Aupuni*.

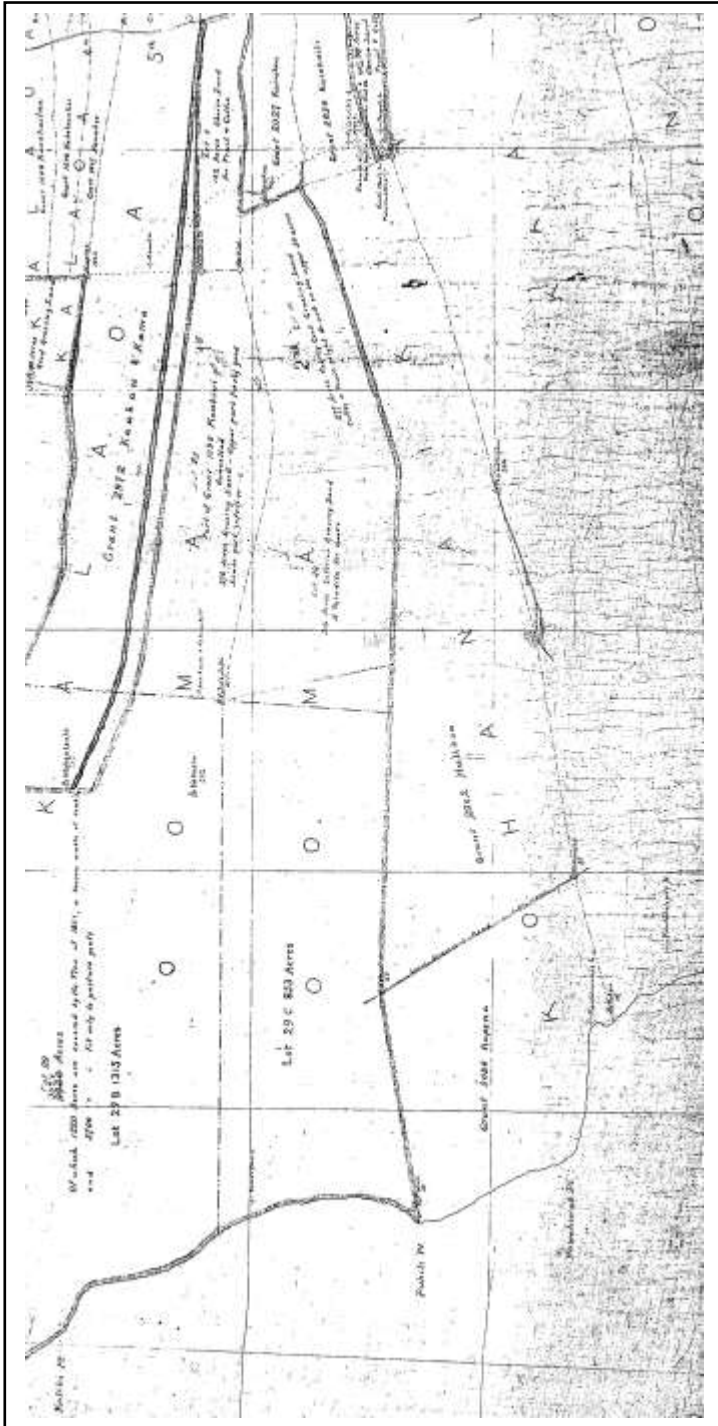


Figure 5.
Portion of Register Map No. 1449, J.S. Emerson,
Surveyor (1888). Section showing location of Grants
to Kapena, Huliko'a and Kaiakoili in Kohanaiki.

system of *loko kai* (anchialine ponds) and *pūnāwai* (springs) behind the shore were important for *ōpae ʻula* (*Crangon ventrosus*) and for potable water resources (see oral history interviews in this study).

Interestingly, when Nahuina’s grant application was surveyed, four sites—houses or enclosed lots—near the shore and towards the Kohanaiki-Kaloko boundary were indicated. No records were located that indicated who may have resided in the houses at the time, nor was the location of a house or houses in which Kapena may have lived within Grant 3086 located.

Twenty-five years later, while surveying the region and the upper Kohanaiki Homestead lots. J.S. Emerson found only one house occupied on the shore of Kohanaiki. The location of the residence is given by Emerson on Register Map No. 1449 (Figure 5), and in the field note books from the survey (see notes later in this study). The map to the left, identifies “Kawaimaka Hs.” on the southern-most bay of Kohanaiki, adjoining Kaloko, in an area that seems to coincide with one of the features identified by Wiltse in 1863.

Historical records and oral history interviews with elder *kamaʻāina*, document that the primary use of the *kula* lands covered by Grants 3086 and 2942, as well as lands of the larger Kekaha region was for goat ranching, with limited cattle ranching. Throughout the 1800s, most of the cattle ranching was kept on the *mauka* slopes above the old government road.

The near-shore lands of Kohanaiki were important to the native tenants as an access to marine resources. Elder *kamaʻāina* recall that the small bay of Kohanaiki, adjoining Kaloko, was a noted canoe landing; and the

4. The Government Homesteading Program in Kekaha

Following the *Māhele* and Grant programs of the middle 1800s, it was found that many native tenants still remained on lands for which they had no title. In 1884, the Hawaiian Kingdom initiated a program to create Homestead lots on Government lands—a primary goal being to get more Hawaiian tenants in possession of fee-simple property (Homestead Act of 1884). The Homestead Act allowed applicants to apply for lots of up to 20 acres in size, and required that they own no other land.

On Hawai'i, several lands in the Kekaha region of North Kona, were selected and a surveying program was authorized to sub-divide the lands. Initially, those lands extended from Kohanaiki to Kūki'o. Because it was the intent of the Homestead Act to provide residents with land upon which they could cultivate crops or graze animals, most of the lots were situated near the *mauka* road (near the present-day Māmalahoa Highway) that ran between Kailua and 'Akāhipu'u.

Early in the process, native residents of Kekaha soon began writing letters to the Minister of the Interior, observing that 20 acre parcels were insufficient “to live on in every respect.” They noted that because of the rocky nature of the land, goats were the only animals which they could raise, and thus, try to make their living (cf. State Archives—Land File, December 26, 1888, and Land Matters Document No. 255; and communications below).

During the first years of the Homestead Program, all of the remaining government lands in the Kekaha region, from Kohanaiki to Kūki'o 2nd, had been leased to King David Kalākaua for grazing purposes. The following lease was issued, with the notation that should portions of the land be desired for Homesteading purposes, the King would relinquish his lease:

August 2nd 1886

General Lease 364

**Between His Majesty Kalakaua;
and Walter M. Gibson, Minister of the Interior**

[Lease of unencumbered government lands between Kealakehe to Kukio 2nd]:

...Kahanaiki [Kohanaiki] yearly rent Ten dollars...

Each and every of the above mentioned lands are let subject to the express condition that at any time during the term of this lease, the Minister of the Interior may at his discretion peaceably enter upon, take possession, and dispose of such piece or pieces of land included in the lands hereby demised, as may be required for the purposes of carrying out the terms and intent of the Homestead Laws now in force, or that may be hereafter be enacted during the term of this lease... [State Land Division Lease Files]

By 1889, the demand for homestead lots in Kohanaiki and other neighboring lands was so great that King Kalākaua gave up his interest in the lands:

January 22, 1889

J.W. Robertson, Acting Chamberlain;

to J.A. Hassinger, Chief Clerk, Interior Department

[Regarding termination of Lease No. 364 for lands from Kohanaiki to Kūki'o]:

...I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, of the 17th, instant, informing me that you are directed, by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior, to say, that he desires to take possession of the lands, described in Government Lease No. 364, for Homestead purposes, and requests the surrender of the lease.

His Majesty the King, is willing, for the purpose of assisting in carrying out the Homestead Act, to accede to the terms of the lease, so far as to give up only such portions of the lands, as are suitable to be apportioned off for Homestead purposes.

It has come to the knowledge of His Majesty, that several of the applicants for portions of the above lands, are already in possession of lands elsewhere, and living in comfortable homes. They are not poor people, nor are they entitled to the privilege of obtaining lands under the Homestead Act, but are desirous of obtaining more of such property, for the purpose of selling or leasing to the Chinese, which class is beginning to outnumber the natives in nearly every district...

...His Majesty is desirous of retaining the balance of lands, that may be left after the apportionment has been completed; and also desires to lease remnants of other Government lands in that section of the Island...

Reply attached – Dated January 22, 1889:

The lands of Kohanaiki* and Kalaoa* and Makaula* have been divided up into Homestead lots, and taken up.

Lands marked * are in Emerson's List of lands to be sold. Emerson's List attached.

His Majesty has paid rent to Aug. 22, 1889. Another rent is due in adv. from this date...

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| * Kukio 2 | * Maniniowali |
| * Mahaiula | * Kaulana |
| * Awalua | Puukala |
| * Makaula | * Kalaoa 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 |
| * Oma 1 & 2 | * Kohanaiki |

Lease cancelled by order – Minister of Int. August 2, 1889 [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

Homestead Communications

There are a number of letters between native residents and applicants for Homestead lands, and government agents, documenting the development of the homesteading program and residency in Kekaha. Tracts of land in Kohanaiki and neighboring *ahupua'a* were let out to native residents, and eventually to non-native residents as well. Those lands which were not sold to native tenants were sold or leased to ranching interests—most of which came under John A. Maguire of Huehue ranch.

One requirement of the Homestead Program, was that lots which were to be sold as homesteads to the applicants, needed to be surveyed. J.S. Emerson, one of the most knowledgeable and best informed surveyors to work in Kona, began surveying the Kekaha region homestead lots in 1888. Emerson's letters to Surveyor General, W.D. Alexander, provide us with valuable historical documentation about the community and land. Writing from 'O'oma in April 1888, Emerson spoke highly of the Hawaiian families living on the land; he also described land conditions and weather at the time. In the same letter, we also find that questions regarding the status of several lands in Kona had arisen, and that John A. Maguire was planning to "settle" in Kona (see communications in Part 5 of this section of the study). Emerson's letters along with those below from the native tenants of the land, provide us with first hand accounts of the land development of the communities in Kekaha, and also introduce us to some of the native residents of Kohanaiki and neighboring lands.

The following communications are among those found in the collection of the Hawaii State Archives (HSA) pertaining to the Homesteads of Kohanaiki and vicinity.

May 1888

J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, Jr., et al.; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior

[Petition with 71 signatures, regarding discrepancy in land grant to Kauhini in Kalaoa and Ooma; and desires that said land be divided into Homestead Lots for applicants]:

...We, the undersigned, subjects residing within the boundaries of Kekaha, from Kohanaiki to Makalawena, and Whereas, the land said to belong to Kauhini is within the boundaries above set forth; Whereas, some doubt and hesitancy has come into our minds concerning the things relating to said land of Kauhini, and that it is proper that a very careful investigation be made, because, we have never known said Kauhini to have lands in the Kalaoas and Ooma 1, and because of such doubt, the Government sold some pieces in said land of 687 acres to Kama, Kaakau and Hueu, and they have been living with all the rights for 20 years and over, on pieces that were acquired by them. Therefore, we leave this request before your Excellency, the honorable one, with the grounds of this request... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

December 26, 1888

***Petition of G. Kaleohano and 32 others;
to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General***

[Applying to purchase remnant government lands as a native Hui; and that land not be sold to outsiders.]

...We the undersigned, old residents who reside from "Makaula" to "Ooma 2," joining "Kohanaiki," hereby petition and we also file this petition with you, and for you to consider and conferring with the Minister of the Interior, whether to consent or refuse the petition which we humbly file, and at the same time setting forth the nature of the land and the boundaries desired.

We ask that all be sold to us as a Hui, that the remnants of all the Government lands from "Hamanamana" to "Ooma 2 (two)," that is from the Government remnant of "Hamanamana, Kalaoa 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Ooma 1 & 2" running until it meets the sea. Being the remnants remaining from the "Homesteads" lately, and

remaining after the sale of the lands formerly sold by the Government, these are the remnants which we wish to buy as a "HUI." If you consent, and also the "Minister of the Interior," for these reasons:

1. The "remnants of Government lands" aforesaid, join our land kuleanas and were lately surveyed, and for that reason we believe it proper that they be sold to us.
2. The "kuleanas" that were surveyed for us are not sufficient to live on in every respect, they are too small, and are not in accordance with the law, that is one hundred acres, (Laws 1888).
3. Because of our belonging to, and being old residents of said places, is why we ask that consent be granted us for the sale to us and not to any one from other places, or we may be put to trouble in the future.

With these reasons, we leave this with you, and for you to approve, and we also adhere to our first offer per acre, and the explanations in regards to said offer.

FIRST: The price per acre to be 10 cents per acre.

SECOND: The nature of the land is rocky and lava stones in all from one and to the other, and there is only one kind of animal which can roam thereon, and it is goats, and that is the only thing to make anything out of, and to benefit us if we acquire it.

THIRD: If this land is acquired by others, they will probably cause us trouble, because the kuleanas which we have got are very small and not enough, not 20 acres of the land were acquired by us; very few of the lots reach 20 acres or more.

And because of these reasons and the explanations herein, we leave before your Excellency for the granting of the consent or not... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

ca. February 1889

Interior Department – Land Matters, Document No. 226

I. Kihe et al., to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior

[Identifying Homestead applicants and location of desired lots in Kohanaiki]:

...This Schedule hereto attached shows in full the circumstances of each person, and is called Schedule B...

2. J. Mokuaiikai (k), bid for Kaukahoku, Lot 2 A & 2 H. He has only a small house lot 25/100 Acres, that is all his real property known in this Kingdom.
3. Kapa (k), bid for Kaukahoku, Lot 2 D & 2 J. He has a small house lot, 1 acre and over, that is all the real property that he has known, nothing else, that is not sufficient for this man.
4. D. Kaninau (k), bid at Kaukahoku, Lot 2 E & 2 J. He has a house lot 61/100 acre only, that is all his real property known, no other piece. Because he knew that this would not bar him from bidding, that is why he bid.

- 5 J.W. Haau (k), bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 M. He has a piece of a house lot that he purchased from Kaiakoili (k), and that is the premises which the Government surveyed and took it 3 72/100 Acres; that is all the real property of his known. That is the reason why he went and worked together with J.S. Emerson, and bid again for that piece above.
- 6 Kiaha Nakaahiki (k), bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 D. He has a small house lot, 68/100 Acres, that is all, and has no other real property known. And for that reason he made the bid.
7. Geo. Mao (k), bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 H. He has only a house lot, 63/1—Acre, and it is not sufficient. for that reason he bid on that piece, and he was one of those who helped J.S. Emerson.
8. S.B. Kaalawamaka (k), bid for Kohanaiki, a house lot of 1 68/100 Acres. He has a piece of land at Auhaueake, nearly 100 acres. I bid for him...
13. S. Kaumuloa 2 (k), no real property, bid for Kohanaiki at place called Kaukahoku, Lot 2 C & 2 F.
14. M. Kaloa (k), no real property, bid for Kohanaiki at place called Kaukahoku, Lot 2 B & 2 G.
15. Kaukaliinea (k), no real property, bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 A.
16. Sam Kahananui (k), no real property of any kind, bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 B.
17. Kamahiai (w), and she has no land or other real property, is a widow. Bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 C, for planting and as her home.
18. Keawehawaii (k), no real property, is poor, &c. Bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 G. No real property in the district.
19. J. Piki (k), bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 G. Has no real property in this district.
20. J. Pule (k), no real property, and bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 I.
21. P. Kanuha (k), no real property, and bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 J.
22. J. Nuuanu (k), no real property, and bid for Kohanaiki, Lot 3 L. Poor &c...
[HSA Interior Department, Lands; translation modified by Maly]

ca. February 1889

***Petition of J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, Jr. and 21 others;
to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior***

[Transmitting first payment for Homestead Land from Makaula to Kohanaiki]:

...We, the ones whose names are below, persons who but for the pieces of "Homestead" lands from Makaula to Kohanaiki, present to you documents of proof and money as first payment of ten (\$10.00) dollars in the hands of J. Kaelemakule, the Agent appointed for the "Homestead" lands in North Kona, Hawaii.

We ask that the Agreements be sent up, with the Government for five years to J. Kaelemakule, the Agent here, in number the same as there are names below...

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, Jr. | 9. P. Nahulanui | 17. Keawehawaii |
| 2. S. Mahauluae | 10. Kaukaliinea | 18. D. Kaninau |
| 3. D.P. Manuia | 11. Kamahiai (w) | 19. Mokuaikai |
| 4. S.M. Kaawa | 12. C.K. Kapa | 20. Nuuanu |
| 5. H.P. Ku | 13. P.K. Kanuha | 21. S. Kaumuloa |
| 6. W.N. Kailiino | 14. J. Haau | 22. J. Kaloa |
| 7. Z. Kawainui | 15. G. Mao | |
| 8. Kikane | 16. J. Pule | |

[HSA – Interior Department Document No. 227; Maly, translator]

February 18, 1889

J. Kaelemakule, Land Agent; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior

[List of applicants for homestead lots in Kohanaiki and neighboring lands]:

...I am sending the correct report of the applicants for homestead lands here in North Kona, and their respective names, and the amount they have paid for their initial deposits in order that the agreements will be made correctly...

Pule	\$10.	Keoki Mao	\$10.	Mahuluae	\$10.	Haau	\$10.
Nuuanu	\$10.	Manuia	\$10.	Kaukaliinea	\$10.	Kamahiai (w)	\$10.
Kaawa	\$10.	Kaninau	\$10.	J. Kaelemakule	\$10.	Kawainui	\$10.
Mokuaikai	\$10.	Keawehawaii	\$10.	Nahulanui	\$10.	Kaloa	\$10.
Haiha	\$10.	Kapa	\$10.	Kaumuloa	\$10.	Isaac Kihe	\$10.
Kailiino	\$10.	Kanuha	\$10.	Ku	\$10.	Kikane	\$10.

[HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

February 28, 1889

J. Kaelemakule, Land Agent; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior

[Regarding lots in Kohanaiki Village]:

...About the matters concerning the applicants for land whether they have already any real property, therefore, these are the names of those who have already acquired lands:

...Mokuaikai	25/100 Acres in Kohanaiki;
Kapa	73/100 “
Kaninau	54/100 “

These are the ones who had real property before and which have gone back to the Government according to the late survey of J.S. Emerson:

Haau	3 22/100 Acres in that place surveyed (Kohanaiki);
K. Nakaahiki	68/100 “
Geo. Mao	63/100 “
S.B. Kaalawamaka	1 68/100... “

[HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

No date; Received July 29, 1889
Petition of 57 residents (I. Kihe, et al.);
to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:

[Regarding members of the Fence Commission; trespass of animals on their homestead and kuleana lands; enforcement of fencing requirement on large land owners and others with livestock]:

...We the undersigned, residing at Napuu up to Kainaliu, within the boundaries of the District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii, respectfully file this petition before Your Excellency, that Samuel Bnj. Kaalawamaka, Esq., David Alawa, and Samuel Willie Kaumuloa, be appointed as Fence Commissioners for North Kona, Island of Hawaii.

We also file this petition with the proper reasons:

1. Because of the many and constant disputes during the present time regarding the fences between the native Hawaiians (“*kanaka maoli*”), the Portuguese, and the Chinese, disputing one from the other.
2. Because of the disputes growing out of the trespass of animals and other stock on to the land of another, and the crops, and denying that they are legal fences...
5. There is in the District of North Kona here now coming on to be built a lot of fences adjoining the Homestead lots, grazing lands, and agricultural lands of the natives, Portuguese and foreigners, and it is right that a Fence Commission be appointed in North Kona.

Your Excellency, we file this humble petition with you, upon the grounds above set forth, and we recommend the above described names as members for the Fence Commission, because, they are wise men and capable, independent, and we have confidence in the names placed before you...

1. S.B. Kaalawamaka, Esq., he is District Magistrate for North Kona, and he is well liked.
2. D. Alawa, Esq., is a Sunday School Superintendent fro West Hawaii, is an Agent to take Acknowledgements to Instruments for recording, and is an Agent to Grant Marriage Licenses for North Kona, and we have confidence in him.
3. S.W. Kaumuloa, is a straightforward Church official, and is greatly praised by the religious bodies of Kailua – Helani; and is a Sunday School teacher for the Church of Kekaha at Kohanaiki... [HSA Box 11, Interior Department Commissioners of Fences; Fldr. 2]

December 31, 1890
J.W.H.I. Kihe, Jr.; to C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior:

We, the undersigned, who are without homes, and are destitute and have no place to live on, and whereas, the government has permitted all the people who have no lands, and that they receive homesteads, and for that reason, your humble servants make application that our application may be speedily granted

which we now place before Your Excellency, that the Government land which was divided and surveyed by Joseph S. Emerson, be immediately sub-divided , the same being portions of Kalaoa 5 and Ooma, on the *mauka* side of Kama (k), Koanui (k), to the junction with Ooma of Kaakau (k), containing an area of one hundred and fifteen acres (115), and it is those acres which your applicants are applying for before Your Excellency, and where as your applicants are native Hawaiians by birth, residing at Kalaoa, North Kona, Island of Hawaii. And the minds of your servants hope and desire to have a place to live on in the future, and to have a home for all time, and Your Excellency, your servants humbly place their petition with the hope that you will grant this application...

M.E. Kuluwaimaka (k)
H. Hanawahine (k)
D.W. Kanui (k)
Mr. Kahumoku (k)
[HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

July 3, 1890

***Petition of Kaihemakawalu and 63 native residents of Kekaha;
to C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior***

[Requesting that lands available for Homesteading be sub-divided and granted to native Hawaiian applicants]:

...We, the undersigned, old-timers living from Kealakehe to Kapalaoa, who are subject to taxes, and who have the right to vote in the District of Kona, Hawaii, and ones who are really without lands, and who wish to place this application before Your Excellency, that all of these Government lands here in North Kona, be given to the native Hawaiians who are destitute and poor, being the lots which were sub-divided by the Government which are lying idle and for which no Agreements have been given out, and also the lots which were granted Agreements and issued in the time when Lorrin A. Thurston was Minister of the Interior, and also the lots which still remain undivided. All of these Government lands are what we are now again asking that the dividing and sub-dividing be continued in these remnants of Government lands, until all of the poor and needy ones are provided for.

Your Excellency, we ask that no consent whatever be given to permitting lands to be acquired by the rich through sale at auction, or by lease, and if there is to be any lease, then to be leased to the poor ones, if they are supplied with homes...

...And now, Your Excellency, we also ask that all of the pieces of Government land lying idle outside of these lands which have been sub-divided, and lands which are to be sub-divided, applied for above, to be allowed to be leased to use for five cents per acre, because, they are rocky and pahoehoe lands only left, and the number of acres being about three thousand and over, thereby giving the Government some income from these which have been lying idle and without any value... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

The homestead issue in Kohanaiki was generally resolved by 1889, and most of the available land in the *ahupua'a* was disposed of. Kingdom surveyor, J.S. Emerson's Register Map No. 1512 (1898), depicts the *kula* and upper section of lands from Kohanaiki to Hale'ohi'u, including the homestead lots, grant parcels, and house lots. The map was reproduced as Map No. 6 of the Homestead Lots – Akahipuu Section in 1905. *Figure 6* is a detail of the Kohanaiki Homesteads, also showing the older Kohanaiki Village, naming residents and identifying locations of their properties, and giving the upper alignment of the *mauka-makai* Kohanaiki-Kaloko Trail.

Residents of Kohanaiki in 1889 included the following individuals:

Kohanaiki Village and Kekaha Church (makai to mauka):

Kalihiole, Pahuole, Keokiaha, Punihaole, Kapa
Kaholi, Hulimai, Mao
Paiwa, Kaninau, Kaiakoili, Kaalawamaka, Haau
Noa, Protestant Church (Kekaha), Kuhia
Mokuaikai, Hoomana, Kapalu, Kiaha

Kohanaiki Homestead Lots (makai to mauka):

Haau (Lot 11)
Nuuanu (Lot 12)
Kaelemakule (Lot 13)
Kanuha (Lot 14)
Pule (Lot 15)
Mao (Lot 16)
Pipi (Lot 17)
Kikaha (Lot 18)
Keawehawaii (Lot 19)
— (Lot 20)
J. Boyd (Lot 21)
S. Kahanui (Lot 22)
Kamahiai (Lot 23)
Kaumuloa (Lots 24 & 31)
Kaloa (Lots 25 & 32)
Mokuaikai (Lots 26 & 33)
Kainoakahu (Lots 27 & 30)
D. Kaninau (Lots 28 & 29)

The forested portion of Kohanaiki, *mauka* of Homestead Lots 30 and 33, was retained by the government, and leased out for grazing by Huehue Ranch (see General Lease No.'s 590 and 604).

During this time, the neighboring government land of 'O'oma 2nd was also divided into homestead parcels, but only six lots were made in the subdivision (see Register Map No. 2123). The two *makai* lots consisted of approximately 1,333 acres—the first lot extended from the shore to the 1847 *Alanui Aupuni* (an extension of the boundary originally surveyed for Grant No. 3086 in Kohanaiki), and contained approximately 302 acres; the second lot extended from the *mauka* boundary of the *Alanui Aupuni*, to about the 800 foot elevation, and contained approximately 1,031 acres. The southern boundary of both parcels being Kohanaiki.

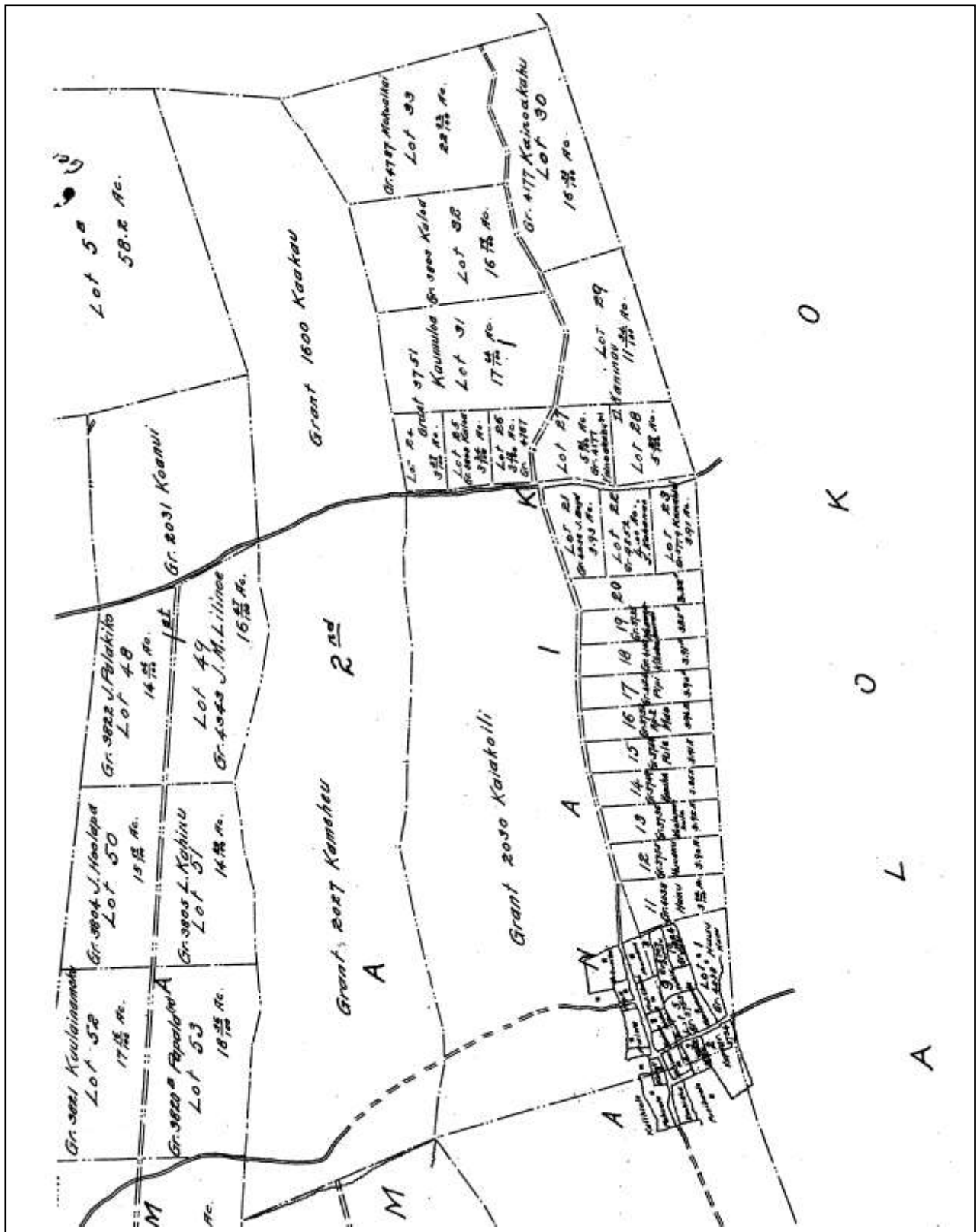


Figure 6. Homestead Map No. 6 – Akahipuu Section
 Detail of Kohanaiki Village and Homesteads (tracing of Register Map No. 1512; 1905)
 (State Survey Division, not to scale)

In 1899, John A. Maguire, founder of Huehue Ranch applied for a Patent Grant on both of the above described lots in 'O'oma 2nd, but he only secured Grant No. 4536, for the lower parcel of 302 acres. Maguire's Huehue Ranch did secure General Lease No.'s 1001 and 590 for grazing purposes on the remaining government lands in the Kohanaiki and 'O'oma vicinity. Thus, by the turn of the century, Huehue Ranch, utilized both the upper forest lands and lower *kula* lands to the shore for ranching purposes. Oral history interviews with elder former ranch hands record that this use extended across the Kapena and Huliko'a grant lands of Kohanaiki, from the fee and leasehold lands of Kaloko and 'O'oma. Nineteenth century goat drives, gave way to formalized cattle drives and round ups on these lands.

The notes of survey from Maguire's Grant No. 4536 describe the near shore parcel in 'O'oma 2nd. Of particular interest, it also references one of the prominent cultural-historical features on the boundary between 'O'oma 2nd and Kohanaiki, an "old '*Kahua hale*' on white sand..." The "*kahua hale*" being an old house site. The notes of survey read (see *Figure 7*):

Grant No. 4536

To J.A. Maguire

Purchase Price \$351.00

A Portion of Ooma 2nd, N. Kona, Hawaii Applied for by J.C. Lenhart, June 8, 1899.

Beginning at Puhili Gov't. trig. St. on the boundary between Kohanaiki and Ooma marked by a drill hole in stone 9 feet South of the South corner of an old "*Kahua hale*" on white sand at a point from which Akahipuu Gov't. trig. Sta. is

N 55° 27' 39" E true 32634.7 feet;

Keahole Gov't. Trig. Sta. is

N 21° 52' 36" W true 9310.5 ft.;

Keahuolu Gov't Trig. Sta. is

S 22° 24' 36" E true 20,141.8 ft., and running —

1. S. 79° 26' W. true 298.0 feet along Gr. 3086 Kapena, to a large [mark] on solid pahoehoe by the sea at Puhili Point, thence continuing the same line to the sea shore and along the sea shore to a point whose direct bearing and distance is:
2. N. 4° 54' W. true 4192.0 feet;
3. Due east true 2920.0 feet along Ooma 1st;
4. S. 31° 30' E. true 3920.0 feet along reservation for Gov't. Road 30 feet wide;
5. S 79° 45' W. true 4387.0 feet along Grant 3086 Kapena, to initial point and including an area of 302 acres.

J.S. Emerson, Surveyor

Oct. 10, 1901.

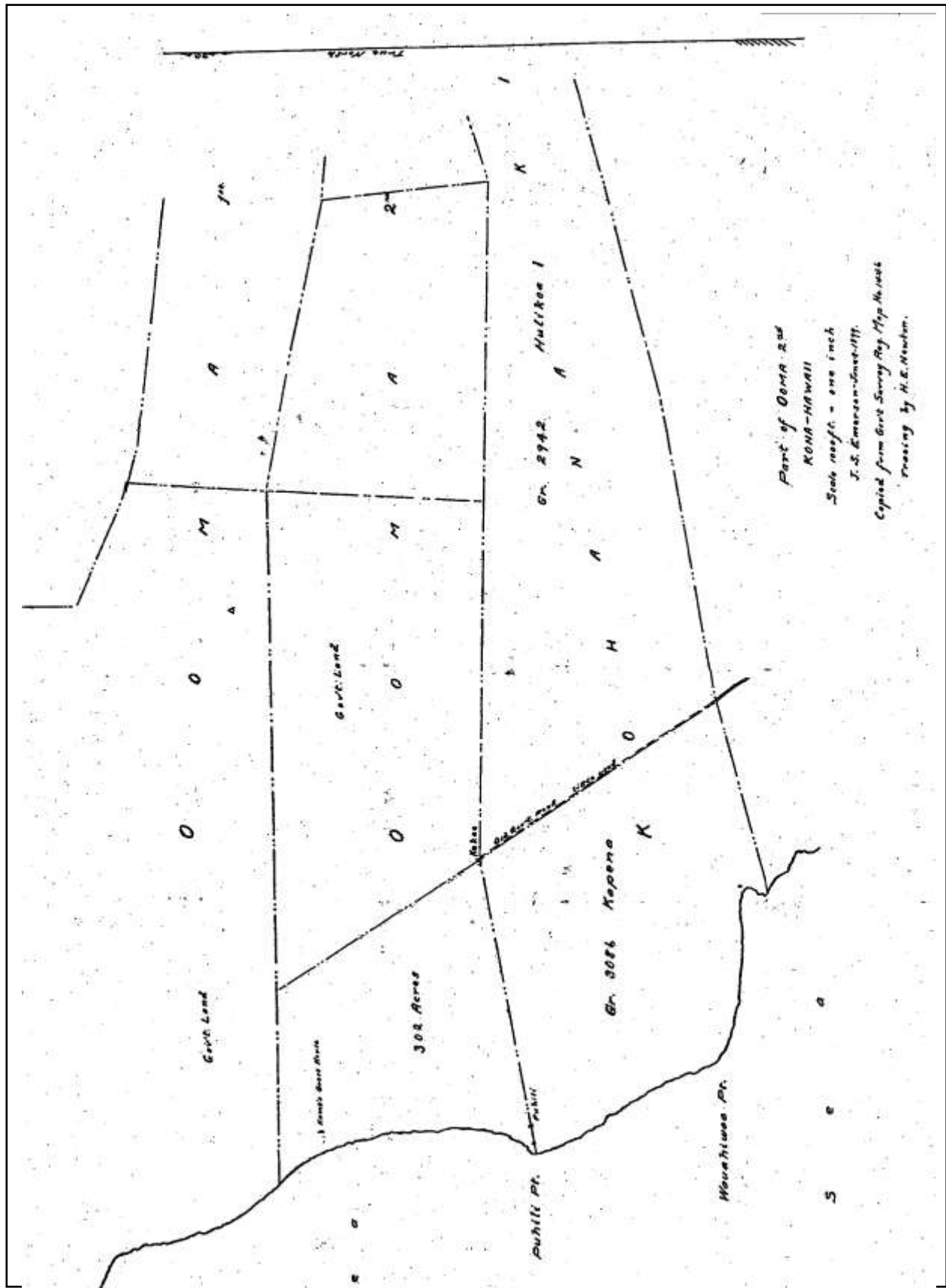


Figure 7. Map for Grant No. 4536 – Depicting makai land of ‘O’oma 2nd and Kohanaiki (1899) (State Survey Division)

5. Field Surveys of J.S. Emerson (1882-1889)

Among the most interesting historic Government records of the study area—in the later nineteenth century—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 notebooks record more than coordinates for developing maps. While in the field, Emerson also sought out knowledgeable native residents of the lands he surveyed, as guides. Thus, while he was in the field he also recorded their traditions of place names, residences, trails, and various features of the cultural and natural landscape (including the extent of the forest and areas impacted by grazing). Among the lands that Emerson worked in was the greater Kekaha region of North Kona, including the lands of Kohanaiki and vicinity.

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

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

Discussing the field books, Emerson also wrote to Alexander, reporting “I must compliment my comrade, Perryman, for his very artistic sketches in the field book of the grand mountain scenery...” (HSA – HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; Apr. 5, 1882). Later he noted, “Perryman is just laying himself out in the matter of topography. His sketches deserve the highest praise...” (ibid. May 5, 1882). Field book sketches and the Register Maps which resulted from the field work provide us with a glimpse of the country side of more than 100 years ago.

Field Notebooks and Correspondence from the Kekaha Region

The following documentation (given in chronological order by date written) is excerpted from the Field Note Books and field communications of J.S. Emerson. Emerson undertook his original surveys of lands in the Kekaha region in 1882-1883 (producing Register Maps No. 1278 and 1280). Subsequently, in 1888-1889, Emerson returned to Kekaha to survey out the lots to be developed into Homesteads for native residents of ‘O‘oma and vicinity (see section titled “The Government Homesteading Program in Kekaha,” above). Through Emerson’s letters and notes taken while surveying, we learn about the people who lived on the land—some of them identified in preceding parts of the study—and about places on the landscape. The numbered sites and place names cited from the field books coincide with sketches prepared by Perryman, and called for as figures in this study.

**J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 111 Reg. No. 253
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Akahipuu; May 27, 1882**

[see Figures 8 & 9 for locations discussed below]

Site # and Comment:

- ...6 – Koanui’s frame house. E.G. In Honokohau – nui.
- 7 – Aimakapaa Cape. Extremity. In Honokohau-nui...
- 11 – Beniamina’s house (frame). N.G. In Aiopio. In Honokohau-nui.
- 12 – Beniamina’s house No. 2. E.G. In Honokohau-nui...
- 18 – Lae o Palaha. Between Kaloko and Honokohau-nui.
- 19 – Awanuka Bay (Haven of rest) Retreat during storms in this dist.
- 20 – Kealiihelepo’s (frame house). N.G. In Kaloko.
- 21 – Lae Maneo. From the “Maneo” fish in Kaloko..
- 22 – Kohanaiki Bay. By sea wall of fish pond.
- 23 – Kaloko-nui fish pond. Tang. S. end by Nuuanu’s grass house.
- 24 – Wall between fish pond of Kaloko nui and iki.
- 25 – Kaloko iki fish pond. Tang. N. extremity.
Kaloko nui was originally a bay, shut off from the sea by a wall by
Kamehameha 1st order.
- 26 – Kawaimaka’s frame house. In Kohanaiki.
- 27 – Lae o Wawahiwaa. Rock cape. In Kohanaiki.
- 28 – Keoki Mao’s grass house. In Ooma.
- 29 – Pahoehoe hill. Between Ooma and Kalaoa 5.
- 30 – Lae o Keahole. Extremity. In Kalaoa 5
- 31 – Lae o Kukaenui. Resting place for boats
- 32 – Makolea Bay.
- 33 – Lae o Unualoha.
- 34 – Pohaku Pelekane.
- 35 – Lae o Kahekaiao. Kahe-ka-iao – place of the “iao” which abound there.
[Book 253:33,35]
...Keahole Bay.
Lae o Kalihi in Kalaoa 5.
Wawaloli Bay in Kalaoa 5.
Lae o Kekaaiiki.
Limu Koko in Ooma 1.
Lae o Puhili in Kohanaiki.
Lae o Kealakehe in Kealakehe.
Hueu’s frame house in Kalaoa 4, *makai* side of Gov’t. Road.
[Book 253:65]

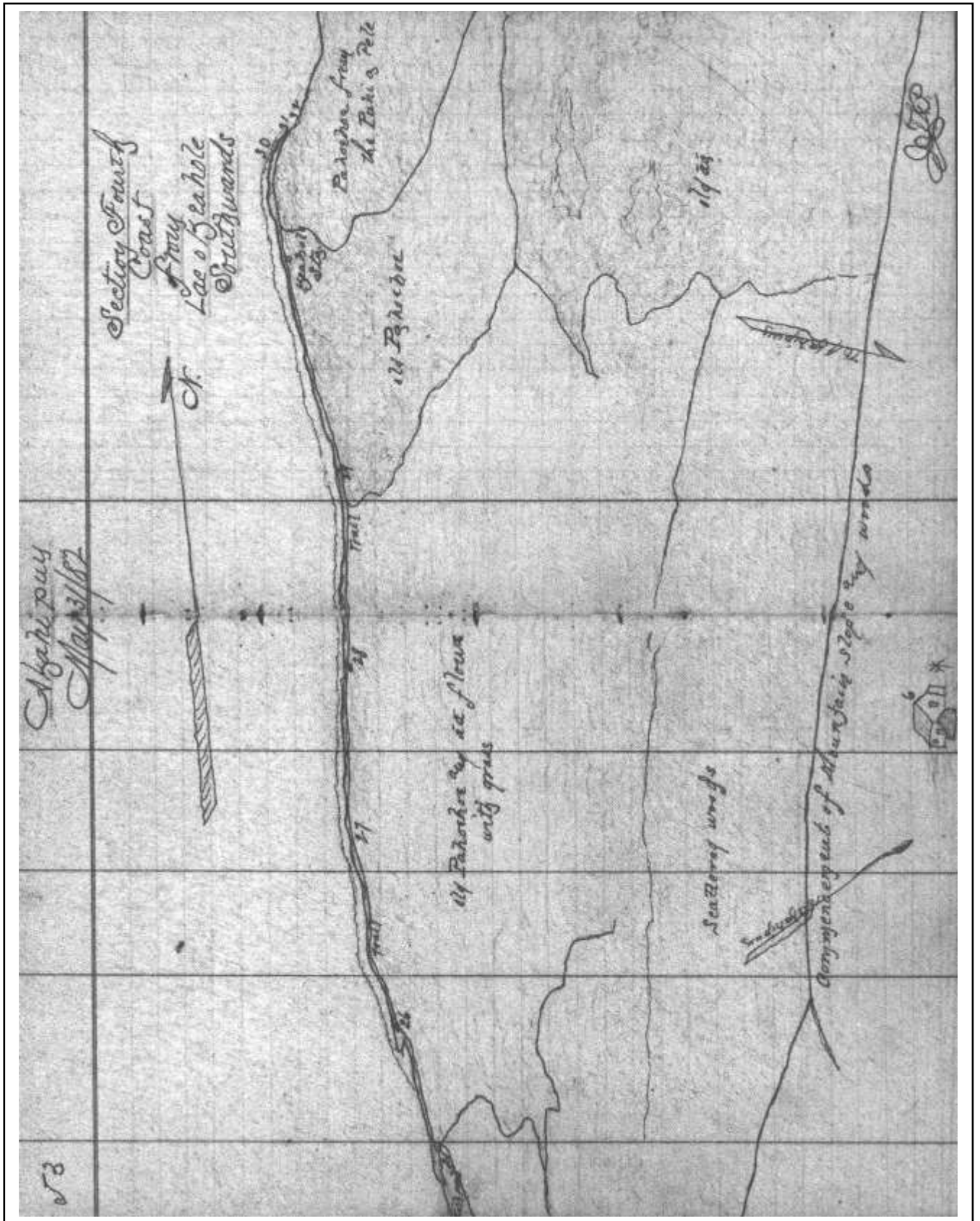


Figure 8. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:53 (State Survey Division)

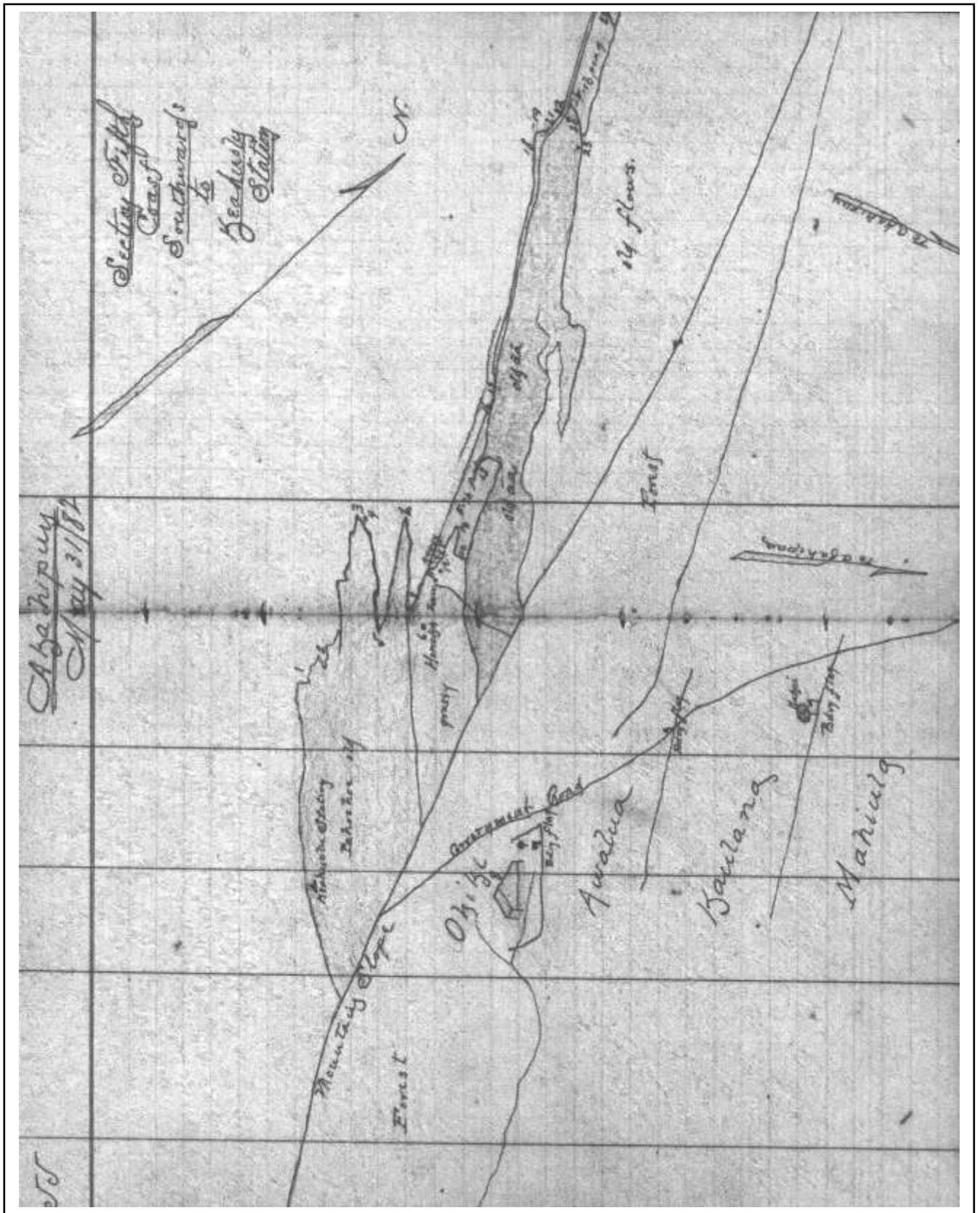


Figure 9. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:55 (State Survey Division)

**J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 111 Reg. No. 253 (continued)
Keahole [sightings]; June 5, 1882**

Site # and Comment:

Kuakahela's frame house in Kalaoa 5.

Protestant Church Steeple in Kalaoa 5.

Kama's frame house, N. gable in Ooma 1.

Kohanaiki Church Steeple in Kohanaiki... [Book 253:65]

While taking sightings from Keāhole, Perryman prepared additional sketches of the landscape. One sketch on page 69 of the field book (*Figure 10*) depicts the view up the slope of Hualālai. Dated June 4, 1882, the sketch is of importance as it also depicts Kalaoa Village and church; the upper Government road; Kohanaiki Village; and two trails to the sea coast from *mauka* Kohanaiki, one trail to Honokōhau, and the other near the Kaloko-Kohanaiki boundary. Use of these trails continued through the 1950s.

The other sketch on page 73 of the field book (dated June 8, 1882), depicts the coast line south from Keāhole, to an area beyond Keauhou (*Figure 11*). Of interest, we see only the near-shore "Trail" in the foreground, with no trail on the *kula* lands. Then a short distance south, a house is depicted on the shore, in the 'O'oma vicinity (identified as the house of Kama or Keoki Mao on Emerson's Register Maps). And a little further beyond (south) the house, two trails are indicated—presumably the *Alanui Aupuni* on the *kula* lands through Kohanaiki, and the shore line trail, seen coming out from Honokōhau.

While surveying the uplands on Hualālai in August 1882, Perryman drew a sketch of the Keāhole-Honokōhauiki *kula* and coastal lands. This sketch (*Figure 12*) from field Book No. 254, provides us with the reverse view of *Figure 10*. Of interest, the map depicts the fishponds of Honokōhau and Kaloko; the near-shore alignment of the *ala loa* (or main trail); and the trails extending out of upper Honokōhau and Kohanaiki to the shore.

While surveying the 'O'oma and Kohanaiki vicinity homestead lots in 1888-1889, Emerson camped near Kama's house in 'O'oma 1st. The following communications were sent by Emerson to W.D. Alexander, and tell us more about the people of the land, their beliefs, and commentary on then current events in the Kingdom. Of interest, we also find that J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, whose writings—as a native historian and representative of the people of Kekaha—have been cited extensively in this study, is also mentioned in Emerson's narratives.

April 8, 1888

...Our tent is pitched in Ooma on the *mauka* Govt. road at a convenient distance from Kama's fine cistern which supplies us with the water we need. The pasturage is excellent and fire wood abundant. As I write 4:45 P.M. the thermometer is 71°, barometer 28.78. The entire sky is overcast with black storm clouds over the mountains. The rainy season comes late to Kona this year and has apparently just begun. We have had about three soaking rains with a good deal of cloud & drizzle. We are now having a gentle rain which gladdens the residents with water for their cisterns... We have set a large number of survey signals and identified many important corners of Gov't. lands etc. from Puhiapele on the boundary of Kaupulehu to the boundary line of Kaloko. The natives

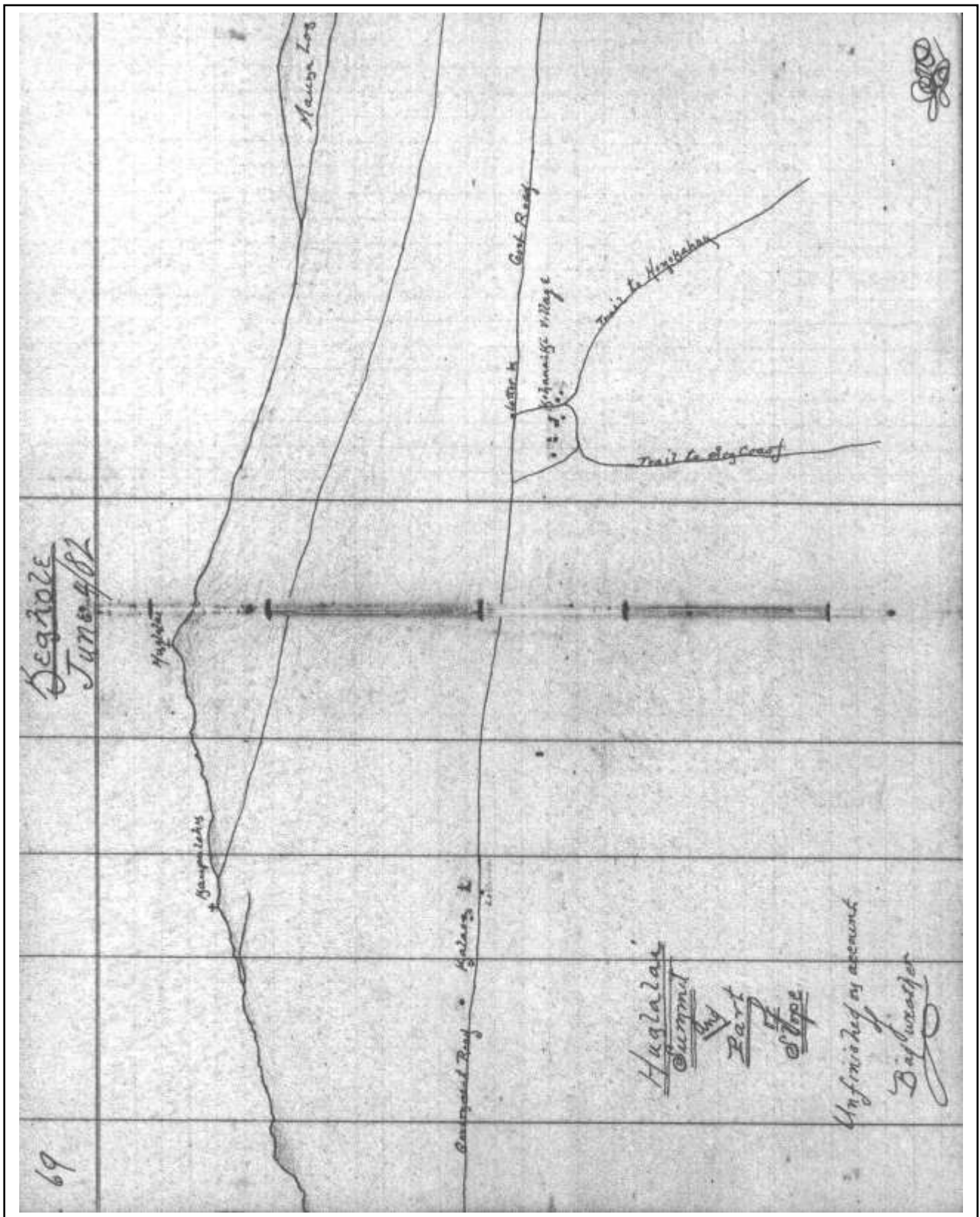


Figure 10. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:69 (State Survey Division)

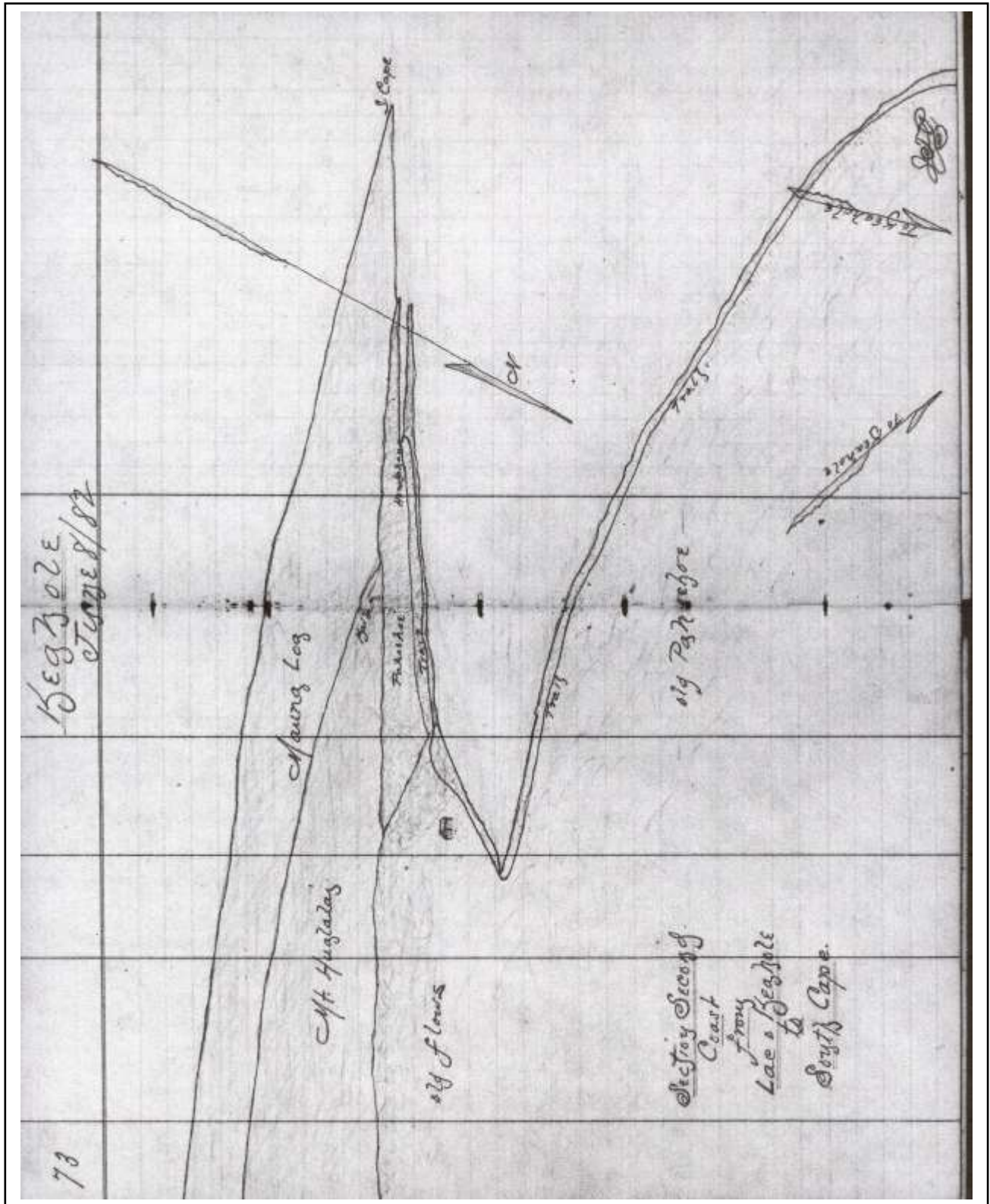


Figure 11. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:73 (State Survey Division)

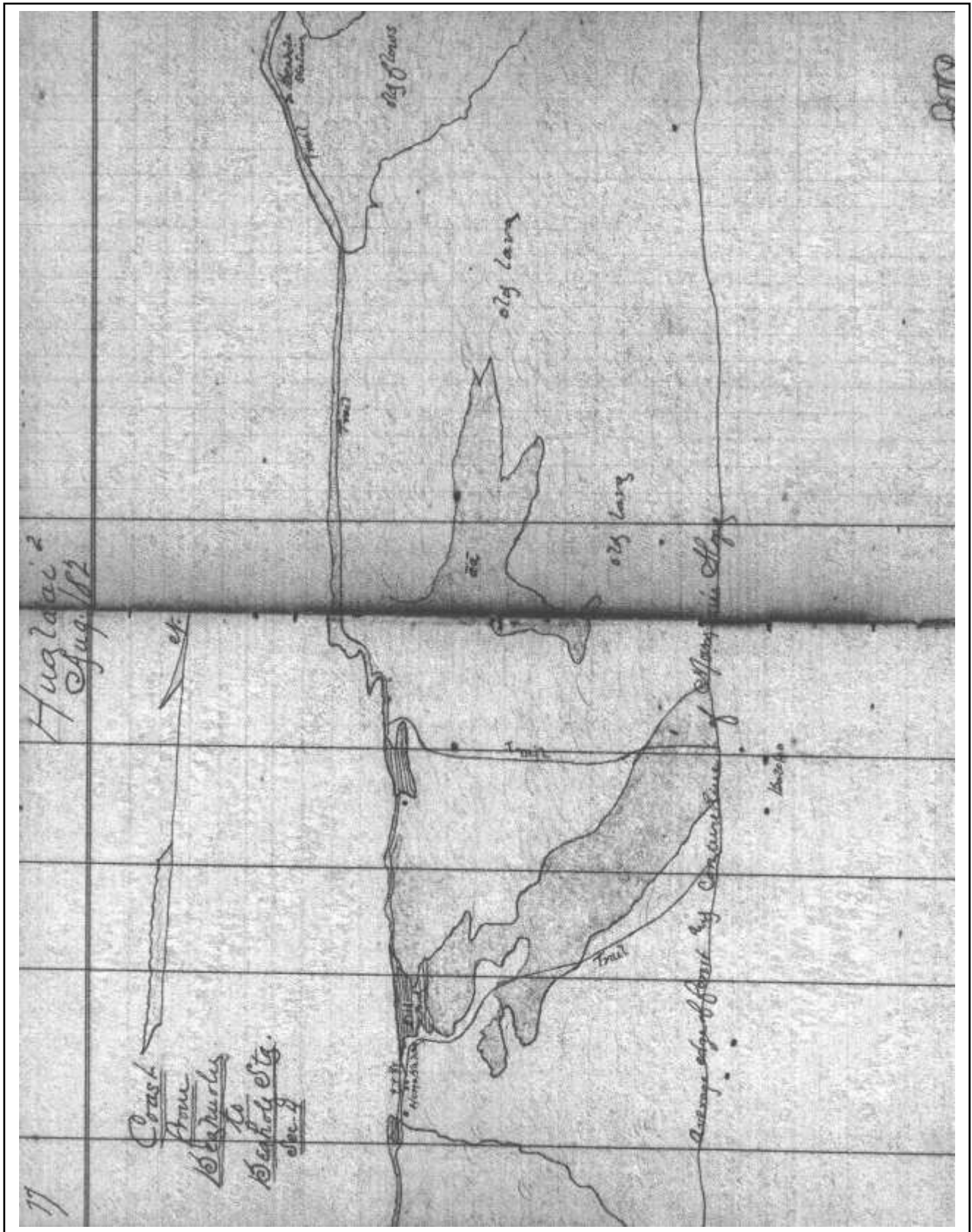


Figure 12. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 254:77 (State Survey Division)

welcome us and do a great deal to help the work along. Tomorrow I expect to go to Kuili station with a transit and make a few observations & reset the old signal... The Kamaainas tell me that Awakee belongs to the Gov't. though I see it put down as LCA 10474 Namauu no Kekuanaoa.

They also tell me that the heirs of Kanaina estate still receive rent for the *Ahupuaa* of Kaulana, though I have recorded as follows in my book, Kaulana ½ Gov't. per civil Code 379, ½ J. Malo per Mahele Bk. Title not perfected; all Gov't. Please examine into the facts about Kaulana and instruct me as to what I shall do about it. Kealoha Hopulaau rents it and if it is Gov't. land the Gov't. should receive the rent or sell it off as homesteads. It is a desirable piece of land, a part of it at least... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6, Box 2]

April 17, 1888

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

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

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

It is said that Chas. Achi has written to the natives that Grant 1590, Kauhine, has been cancelled. Will you learn the true state of the case and be so kind as to inform me... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6, box 2 Jan.-Apr. 1888]

Emerson's Field Note Book No. 291 includes the points of reference from surveys of the Akahipuu Section Homestead Lots and detailed notes of Kohanaiki Village and the larger *ahupua'a*. Among the notes are the following references to sites, features, and residents. It will also be noted that the *mauka* boundary of Kapena's Grant No. 3086, is clearly identified as being the Lower Government Road or *Alanui Aupuni* of 1847; and Emerson's note on Register Map No. 1449 (1888), describes the route as "*Lower Government Road. Little Used.*"

April 24, 1888. Kalamanamana, [mark, square with plus sign through it] on large boulder, by *ahu* at N.E. corner Gr. 2030, Kaiakoili. [Field Book 291:61-62]

April 25, 1888. Kapá – Na wahi ahu:	
Punihaole's h. W.g.	in Kohanaiki.
Keoki Mao's h. S.g.	in Kohanaiki.
Hale hui N.g.	in Kohanaiki.
Noa's h. N.g.	in Kohanaiki.
Kohanaiki Prot. Ch. spire.	in Kohanaiki.
Mokuaikai's h. N.g.	in Kohanaiki.
Kaalawamaka's h. N.g. old hui store.	in Kohanaiki.
Haau's h. N.g...	in Kohanaiki.
Kawaimaka's h. N.g.	in Kohanaiki...

Station mark an old [plus sign] on solid rock in *makai* edge of a stone wall, 28.5 feet N.w. from corner by a road. S.W. corner Gr. 2030, Kaiakoili. [Field Book 291:69-70]

April 25, 1888: Na wahi ahu. Point in road to shore... Station mark [a square with plus sign through it], cut by J.S.E., on solid rock, on site of two old ahus, on boundary of Kaloko & Kohanaiki, a little S of a very straight road leading from Kohanaiki to the sea. [Field Book 291:71-72]

April 28, 1888: Kananaka. New [mark, a plus sign] on *ohe* tree... *ahu* on *aa* flow bet. Kaloko & Kohanaiki. [mark, plus sign] and *ahu* by J.S.E.. Pt in path... This irregular path is a continuation of the road, located from Na wahi ahu. Pt. on *makai* end of *aa* flow. [Field Book 291:77-78]

April 28, 1888: Kananaka – Na wahi ahu. Station mark [two connecting triangles with a plus sign through them] on solid rock on *mauka* edge of Lower Gov't. road, on boundary of Kaloko and Kohanaiki. Old mark [two connecting triangles] was changed to the above by J.S.E. It is at the it is at the S.E. corner Gr. 3086, Kapena. [Field Book 291:79-80]

May 21, 1888. Pt. in Lower Gov't. road... Station mark [square with plus sign through it] on *pahoehoe* rock on *mauka* side of Lower Gov't. road at N.W. corner 2942, Hulikoa, at N.E. corner Gr. 3086, Kapena. Mark placed by J.S.E. on site of old *ahu*. [Field Book 291:141-142]

May 21, 1888. Halau. Station mark [square with plus sign through it] on large stone at W. corner of an old "*kahuahale*" near the sea, on the bound. bet. Kohanaiki & Kaloko. [Field Book 291:143-144]

May 23, 1888: Puhili. Large [mark, a square with plus sign through it] on solid *pahoehoe*, on bound. bet. Kohanaiki and Ooma, by the sea, near the end of a cape... Station mark, drill hole in stone, 9 ft. S. of the S. corner of an old "*kahuahale*" on white sand..." [Field Book 291:151-152].

On September 28, 1888, Emerson recorded the location of houses lots and features in Kohanaiki Village, and the names of the individuals living in the village. The sketch map documentation (*Figure 13*) coincides with references found in Field Book No. 291, cited above, and the list of residents given early in this study on page 76. Little reference is made

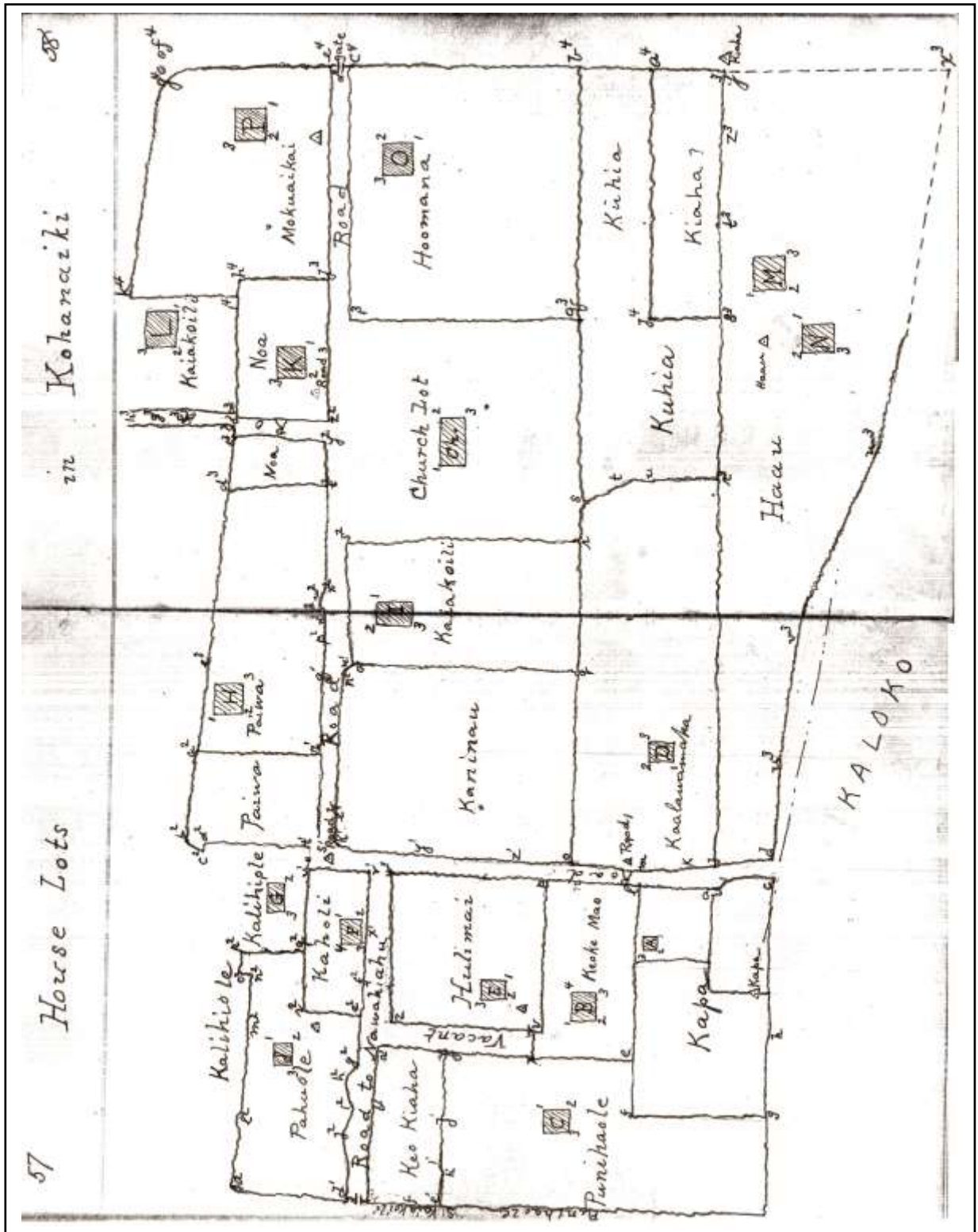


Figure 13. House Lots in Kohanaiki. Sketch by J.S. Emerson, September 28, 1888
 (Field Book No. 292:57-58; in collection of state Survey Division)

to other aspects of Kohanaiki Village at the time, though Emerson did record that Pahuole's house (J), and Kiaha's house (N) were "grass" houses; and the road alignment running north from the Church lot past Kaiakoili's and into 'O'oma, was called Alanui Kauwila (Field Book 292:67, 71, 73).

On October 14th 1888, Emerson wrote to Alexander, briefing him on conversations he'd been having with J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, his "encyclopedia," "the son of a famous sorcerer." Later, Emerson used many of the notes taken during his conversations with Kihe, to develop his paper on Hawaiian religion (Emerson 1892). J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, was the son of Kihe, who was the son of Kuapahoa, of Kaloko (notes of J.S. Emerson, September 25, 1915; in collection of the Hawaiian Historical Society). While surveying the 'O'oma-Kohanaiki vicinity homesteads, Kihe described the various nature forms taken by the deceased, and their role in the spiritual practices. On October 14th Kihe named for Emerson some of the gods called upon by those who practiced the arts of the *Kahuna Kuni*—

Ooma

October 14, 1888

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

...I have just been having a chat with a son of a famous sorcerer, with the following for a summary of what he said.

There are four gods worshipped by murders and sorcerers viz:

- (1). Kui-a-Lua, the god of the Lua, Mokomoko, Haihai and other forms of violence.
- (2). Uli, the god of the Anaana, Kuni, Hoopiopio and Lawe Maunu.
- (3). Kalaipahoa, god of the Hoounauna, Hookomokomo and Hooleilei.
- (4). Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, the goddess of the Poi uhane, Apo leo, Pahiuhui and Hoonoho uhane... [J.S. Emerson, in collection of the Hawaiian Historical Society]

On August 25, 1889, returned to submitted the following report on the status of the homestead surveys to W.D. Alexander; he also provided commentary on political events, and Hawaiian reactions to the same:

August 25th, 1889

...I have to report that the very intricate and irregular remainder of Gov't. land situated in Kealakehe is cut up into homesteads, ready for the committee to estimate its values. The job has been made unusually long & tedious by the absurd arrangement of the old kuleanas scattered around at random. I have also run out the boundaries of Papaakoko, ready for fencing. Thursday P.M. I made my way through a heavy rain to this place ['O'oma] and set up tent in the storm. It rained a good deal every day since and is raining now. In spite of the weather the work of cutting up Ooma 1st goes bravely on. I have a huge umbrella to camp under while it rains. I propose to finish up Ooma 1st & return to Honolulu by the next trip of the *Hall*.

Kailua beach is the great rendezvous for men & asses from all parts of the country when the steamer arrives from Honolulu. It has in consequence become

the natural place to tell and hear gossip & news. Here, the sand-lot orator, mounted on a packing box, can address the largest crowd. T.N. Simeona, who stole the church money, keeps the pound and takes care of the court house wanting to make a speech, repaired to the beach last Wednesday morning and is reported to have made a windy harangue to the effect that the King was *hewa* and that the Ministers were *pono!* Up to that time he had always been the contemptible tool of the King's party and was loud in his denunciation of the Government. I explain this change in his talk by his wish to retain his Gov't. billets & his desire to avoid arrest as a rebel.

A native man told me the other day (Wednesday) that the Cabinet was *hewa* in two things viz.

1st They taxed chickens, banana trees and many other things that had not been heretofore taxed.

2nd They arrested and sent to Molokai many who were not lepers. For these reasons many justified Wilcox for trying to out the ministers.

There is a sturdy old native living at Kaloko named Kealiihelepo, whom I greatly respect. Said he to me "When King Kalakaua returned from his foreign trip he made a speech at Kailua and said that "in foreign lands the foreign God was losing his power. His former worshippers were deserting him. That the old Hawaiian Gods were still *mana* and them he would worship." But said Kealiihelepo "The King was mistaken. Our old Gods were once mighty, but the coming of the foreigner with his Gods has robbed them of their strength. Therefore the King has made the mistake to oppose the God who is now in power, and Jehovah is opposing him. Hence the King's *pilikia*."

You are entirely justified in calling Kona "that heathen district..." [HSA – HGS DAGS 6, box 2]

6. Trails and Roads of Kekaha (Government Communications)

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

Traditional and historical accounts (cited in this study) describe at least two ancient trails that were of regional importance which pass through the lands of Kohanaiki. One trail is the *alaloa*—a trail that facilitated district and island wide travel—which crosses the *makai* or near shore lands, linking royal centers, coastal communities, and resources together. The other major thoroughfare (*alaloa*) of this region is "*Kealaehu*" (The path of Ehu), which passes through the uplands, generally a little above the *mauka* Government Road or old Māmalahoa Highway, out to the 'Akāhipu'u vicinity, and then cuts down to Kīhōlo in Pu'u Wa'awa'a. From Kīhōlo, the *makai alaloa* and Kealaehu join together and continue to Kawaihae and beyond. The *mauka* route provided travelers with a zone for cooler traveling, and access to inland communities and resources. It also allowed for more direct travel

between the extremities of North and South Kona (cf. Malo 1951; I'i 1959; Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; and *Māhele* and Boundary Commission Testimonies).

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. Thus, a third trail of island-wide importance was built, the *Alanui Aupuni*, or the Lower Government Road, which crossed the *kula* lands from Kailua Village to Kalaoa. The *Alanui Aupuni* (called the “Kamehameha Trail” by elder *kama'āina*) was made under the rule of Kamehameha III, with orders for its construction being given in 1847. This route was surveyed in a fairly straight manner, moving travel from the near-shore to an area some 400 to 1000 feet inland as it passes through Kohanaiki. This route was built and maintained at the kingdom's expense (through taxation and appropriations) from 1847 through the 1890s. It is also the road alignment which is cited in the descriptions of metes and bounds for the Kohanaiki grant land of Kapena (Grant No. 3086) in all early descriptions of the parcel.

In addition to the *alaloa* and *Alanui Aupuni*, which run laterally with the shore, there is another set of trails that run from the shore to the uplands. By nature of traditional land use and residency practices, every *ahupua'a* also included one or more of these *mauka-makai* trails. 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). Several of the trails and routes of access are described in native accounts and oral history interviews cited in this study.

Along the trails of the Kekaha region of which Kohanaiki is a part, are found a wide variety of cultural resources, including, but not limited to residences (both permanent and temporary), enclosures and exclosures, wall alignments, agricultural complexes, resting places, resource collection sites, ceremonial features, *ilina* (burial sites), petroglyphs, subsidiary trails, and other sites of significance to the families who once lived in the vicinity of the trails. The trails themselves also exhibit a variety of construction methods, generally determined by the environmental zone and natural topography of the land. “Ancient” trail construction methods included the making of worn paths on *pāhoehoe* or *'a'ā* lava surfaces, curbstone and coral-cobble lined trails, or cobble stepping stone pavements, and trails across sandy shores and dry rocky soils.

It is not until 1847, that detailed communications regarding road construction on Hawai'i began to be written and preserved. It was also at that time that the ancient trail system began to be modified and the alignments became a part of a system of “roads” called the “*Alanui Aupuni*” or Government Roads. Work on the roads was funded in part by government appropriations, and through the labor or financial contributions of area residents and prisoners working off penalties (see communications below). Where the *Alanui Aupuni* crosses the lands of Kohanaiki, the alignment includes several construction methods, such as being lined with curbstones; elevated; and with stone filled “bridges” in areas that level out the contour of the roadway.

The following letters provide readers with a historical overview of the *Alanui Aupuni*, and travel through Kohanaiki and the larger Kekaha region. Underlining, italics and square brackets have been added to selected texts by the present author.

June 26, 1847

George L. Kapeau to Keoni Ana

I have received your instructions, that I should explain to you about the *alaloa* (roadways), *alahaka* (bridges), lighthouses, markets, and animal pounds. I have not yet done all of these things. I have thought about where the *alanui heleloa* (highways) should be made, from Kailua to Kaawaloa and from Kailua to Ooma, where our King was cared for ^[15], and then afterwards around the island. It will be a thing of great value, for the roads to be completed. Please instruct me which is the proper thing for me to do about the *alaloa*, *alahaka*, and the laying out of the *alaloa*... [HSA – Interior Department Misc., Box 142; Maly, translator]

August 13, 1847

**Governor of Hawaii, George L. Kapeau; to
Premier and Minister of Interior, Keoni Ana**

Aloha oe e ka mea Hanohano –

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...

...The roads from Kailua and down the *pali* of Kealakekua, and from Kailua to Honokohau, Kaloko, Ooma, at the places that were told our King, and from thence to Kaelehuluhulu [at Kaulana in Kekaha], are now being surveyed [Figure 14]. When I find a suitable day, I will go to Napoopoo immediately, to confer with the old timers of that place, in order to decide upon the proper place to build the highway from Napoopoo to Honaunau, and Kauhako, and thence continue on to meet the road from Kau. The road is close to the shore of Kapalilua...

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

There is only one trouble to prevent the building of a highway all around, it is the steep gulches at Waipio and Pololu, but this place can be left to the very last... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

¹⁵ For the first five years of his life (till ca. 1818), Kaulikeaouli was raised at 'O'oma, by Ka-iki-o-'ewa and Keawe-amahi *mā* (see Kamakau 1960).



Figure 14. Portion of the Alanui Aupuni, Crossing the Kula Lands of Kohanaiki; and Mauka Boundary of Grant 3086 (KPA Photo No. S-646; April 16, 2003)

March 29, 1848

Governor Kapeau; to Minister of the Interior, Keoni Ana:

[Acknowledging receipt of communication and answering questions regarding construction methods used in building the roads.]

...I do not know just what amount of work has been done, but, I can only let you know what has come under my notice.

The highway has been laid from Kailua to Kaloko, and running to the North West, about four miles long, but it is not completely finished with dirt. The place laid with dirt and in good condition is only 310 fathoms.

The highway from Kealakekua to Honaunau has been laid, but is not all finished, and are only small sections... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

July 9, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior.

Notifies Minister that *the road from Kiholo to Kailua needs repairing.* [HSA – Interior Department – Land Files]

August 14, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior:

I have just reached here [Kawaihae] from Kona. I have seen most of the roads in N. Kona, and they are being improved near where the people live. If there is any money to be expended on the roads in N. Kona, I would say that the place where it is most needed is from Kiholo to Makalawena, or the Notch on Hualalai.

This is the main road around the island and is in very bad condition. Hardly anyone lives there, and there are several miles of road across the lava there, that can only be worked by hiring men to do it. There is also a road across a strip of Aa a mile & a half or 2 in length in the south end of S. Kohala next to the boundary of N. Kona, that needs working, and then the road from here [Kawaihae] to Kona will be quite passable... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

November 4, 1880

J.W. Smith, Road Supervisor, North Kona; to

A.P. Carter, Minister of the Interior:

...Heretofore I have been paying one dollar per day, but few natives will work for that, they want \$1.50 per day. Thus far I have refused to pay more than \$1.00 and have been getting men for that sum.

The most urgent repairs are needed on the main road from Kaupulehu to Kiholo, and north of Kiholo to the Kohala boundary, a distance of about 20 miles... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

Kailua Nov. 19th, 1880

Geo. McDougall; to

A.P. Carter, Minister of the Interior —

...I noticed among the appropriation passed by the last Legislature, an item of \$5000 for Roads in North Kona Hawaii — as I am very much interested about roads in this neighbourhood, I take the liberty to express my opinions what is wanted to put the roads in good repair and give the most satisfaction to all concerned.

The Road from Kailua going north for about eight miles to where it joins the upper Road, has never been made, it is only a mule track winding through the lava. It could cost to make it a good cart road, fully two thousand dollars. And from Kailua to where it joins the South Kona road, about 12 miles was made by Gov. Adams, and is in pretty much the same state as he left it, only a little worse of the wear of 20 years or more, it could cost to make it in good repair about 15 hundred dollars. Then we could have 20 miles of good road... [HSA – Interior Department Letters]

March 1886

Petition to Charles Gulick, Minister of the Interior:

[Signed by 53 residents of North Kona, asking that the appropriated funds be expended for the Kailua-Kohanaiki Road]:

We the people whose names are below, subjects of the King, residing in North Kona, Island of Hawaii:

The funds have been appropriated by the Legislature for the opening of the road from Kailua to Kohanaiki, therefore, we humbly request that the road be made there. The length of this road being thought of is about five miles more or less. The road that is there at the present time is not fit for either man nor beast.

Your people have confidence that as so explained, you will kindly grant our request, and end this trouble in our District...

[those signing included names of individuals known to have ties to the 'O'oma vicinity]: ...J. Kamaka, Kuakahela, Kahulanui, & Palakiko... [HSA – Roads Hawaii; Maly, translator]

March 9th, 1887

**C.N. Arnold, Road Superintendent-in-Chief, Hawaii; to
Chas. Gulick, Minister of the Interior:**

[Arnold provides documentation of the early native trail from Kailua to the upper Kohanaiki region, and its' ongoing use at the time. He also notes that McDougall (resident at Honokōhau) and others are presently in the business of dairy ranching]:

...The enclosed petition [cited above] has just come to hand from North Kona. The petitioners are mistaken when they say that any special appropriation has been made for this road as there has never been a Government road in this part of the District. There is however an old native trail which has always been used as a short cut, from the lower part of the district between Keahou [sic] and Kailua, by persons who were traveling to Kawaihae and Waimea. The opening of a good road here would be a great convenience to the traveling public and also a great accommodation to a great many people who live on, or nearly on the line of it. I may mention among the number, Messrs. McDougall and Clark who are engaged in dairy ranching near the head of the proposed line. I may also mention that I, with Mr. Smith, made a preliminary survey of it, at the request of His Majesty the King, who is also interested in the opening of this road, as it opens up all of His Kailua lands for settlement. I regard the road as necessary for the above reasons.

From the preliminary survey made, I estimate that a wagon road 12 feet wide will cost from Kailua to the *mauka* Govt. road at Kohanaiki \$6000. The length of the road is 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles. The elevation of highest point (*mauka* Road) is 1600 feet above tide at Kailua. Mr. Smith Supt. of Public Works has all the notes of the survey, and can give you full information in regard to this matter... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

March 8, 1888

**J. Kaelemakule; Supervisor, North Kona Road Board; to
L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior.**

[Ka'elemakule provides Thurston with an overview of work on the roads of North Kona, and describes the Government roads (*Ala nui Aupuni* or *Ala loa*) which pass through the Kekaha region]:

- ...2. The road that runs from Kailua to Kohanaiki, on the north of Kailua, perhaps 6 miles. It is covered with *aa* stone, and is perhaps one of the worst roads here. The Road Board of North Kona has appropriated \$200 for work in the worst areas, and that work has been undertaken and the road improved. The work continues at this time. This is one of the important roads of this district, and it is one of the first roads that should be worked on.
- ...3. The government road or *ala loa* [Kealaehu] from upland Kainaliu (that is the boundary between this district of South Kona), runs straight down to Kiholo [passing through Kohanaiki] and reaches the boundary of the district adjoining South Kohala, its length is 20 and 30 miles. With a troubled heart I explain to your Excellency that from the place called Kapalaoa next to South Kohala until Kiholo – this is a very bad section of about 8 miles; This place is always damaged by the animals of the people who travel along this road. The *pahoehoe* to the north of Kiholo called Ke A. hou, is a place that it is justified to work quickly without waiting. Schedule A, attached, will tell you what is proposed to care for these bad places...

Schedule A: [Appropriations needed]

The road from Kailua to Kohanaiki, and then joining with the inland Government Road – \$500.

The upland Road from Kainaliu to the boundary adjoining S. Kohala – \$1,500.00.
[HSA – Roads Hawaii; Maly, translator]

September 30, 1889

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

[Provides Thurston with an overview of work on the roads of North Kona, and identifies individuals who are responsible for road maintenance (cantoniers) in various portions of the district; several of the individuals named were also old residents and applicants for Homestead lots. Of interest, Kaelemakule's report indicates that maintenance of the Alanui Aupuni which crossed into the kula lands of 'O'oma, had not been assigned to anyone. (see report of Dec. 22, 1890)]:

1. In that section of the road which proceeds from Kailua near the shore to Kohanaiki, Mano is the cantonier.
2. That section of the road from Kukuioohiwai to Keahuolono, Paiwa¹⁶ is the cantonier...
4. That section of road from Kailua to the shore of Honokohau, Keaweiwi is the cantonier ...
6. That section of road from Kukuioohiwai to Lanihau along the upland road, Isaac Kihe is the caretaker...

¹⁶ Paiwa is identified in the records above, as a resident of Kohanaiki Village (see Figure 13).

The work done along these sections is the cutting of brush – guava, lantana and such – which trouble the road, and the removal of bothersome stones... [HSA – Roads Hawaii; Maly, translator]

December 22, 1890

**J. Kaelemkule; Supervisor, North Kona Road Board; to
C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior**

[Reports on the cantoniers assigned to road work in various sections of North Kona. As in 1889, apparently no one was assigned to the lower *Alanui Aupuni* through the Kohanaiki *kula* lands. Though Kaelemakule did include the road section on the land, extending through Kalaoa, on his attached diagram]:

...I forward to you the list of names of the cantoniers who have been hired to work on the roads of this district, totaling 15 sections; showing the alignment of the road and the length of each of the sections. The monthly pay is \$4.00 per month, at one day of work each week. The board wanted to increase it to two days a week, but if that was done, there would not have been enough money as our road tax is only \$700.00 for this district... You will receive here the diagram [Figure 15] of the roads of North Kona. [HSA – Roads Hawaii; Maly, translator]

Twentieth Century Travel in Kohanaiki and Neighboring lands of Kekaha

Elder *kama'āina* who have participated in oral history interviews with Maly, describe on-going travel between the uplands and coastal lands of Kohanaiki and other *ahupua'a* in Kekaha through the 1960s (see interviews in this study). The primary method of travel between 1900 and 1947, was by foot or on horse or donkey, and those who traveled the land, were almost always native residents of Kalaoa, 'O'oma, Kohanaiki, Kaloko and Honokōhau. When World War II broke out, the military restricted access to the coastal lands and fortified the shore line. This included, grading and widening the near-shore *alaloa*, portions of the *Alanui Aupuni*, and certain *mauka-makai* trails.

After World War II, surplus military vehicles became available to the public, and the routes of access that had been modified during the war remained in use by area residents. Those who traveled in this new method were almost always native, or old-time residents of the land. And since Kohanaiki and much of the neighboring land was privately owned or held under government lease, those who most frequently accessed the near shore lands were employees of the two primary ranches (Huehue and Honokohau) who controlled the lands. Thus, the nature and extent of access remained much as it had prior to the war.

The primary routes of travel through the 1960s, descended from Kohanaiki and Kaloko, or came out of Kailua. In ca. 1955, Huehue Ranch bulldozed a jeep road to the shore at Kaloko (as a part of the Kailua pier reconstruction). This jeep road was used by the ranch and some individuals who went to the shore either as a part of their ranch duties or for leisure fishing along the coast line in Kaloko, Kohanaiki, and 'O'oma. The modified *Alanui Aupuni* out of Kailua, to at least as far as Honokōhau and Kaloko remained in use through the 1970s.

It was not until the 1970s when the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway was opened, that travel across the *kula kai* (shoreward plains) of Kohanaiki was made possible for the general public. Even following the opening of the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway, access to the shore of Kohanaiki remained limited to those who were *kama'aina*. It was not until the late 1980s that the beach and near-shore section of Kohanaiki was made accessible to the larger general public. This access being facilitated by the grading of a rough jeep trail from Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway (the *mauka* boundary of the present study area), in 'O'oma 2nd, near the Kohanaiki boundary; or by the near-shore jeep trail from the Wawaloli section of 'O'oma 1st.

KOHANAIKI AND VICINITY: AN OVERVIEW OF SITE DOCUMENTATION RECORDED AFTER 1900 AND SUMMARY OF ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Earlier in this study, readers were provided information pertaining to native traditions, history, and practices of the residents of Kohanaiki and neighboring lands in the Kekaha region. The narratives also provide readers with an overview of the changing patterns of residency in the region through the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. As seen in the writings of native Hawaiian residents and other non-Hawaiian residents of the islands, by the middle to late 1800s, there was a growing awareness of the rapid decline in knowledge of native customs, practices, and familiarity with features of the cultural landscape. This section of the study provides readers with an overview of, and excerpts from early historic archaeological investigations into sites and practices of the 'O'oma-Kekaha region; and introduces readers to kama'āina residents and their recollections of life upon the land.

Thos. Thrum (1908) and J.F.G. Stokes (1906-1909)

The earliest systematic report on archaeological features—*heiau* or ceremonial sites—on the island of Hawai'i, was compiled by Thos. Thrum (1908). Thrum's work was the result of literature review and field visits spanning several decades. Unfortunately, Thrum's work did not take him into Kohanaiki, and his documentation on *heiau* ends at Lanihau, south of the study area; and picks up to the north, in the Pu'u Anahulu vicinity.

In 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes conducted a detailed field survey of *heiau* on the island of Hawai'i for the B.P. Pauahi Bishop Museum (Stokes and Dye 1991). Like Thrum, Stokes' survey stopped short of doing a comprehensive work in the Kekaha region, and no sites were recorded in Kohanaiki.

Archaeology of Kona, Hawaii (Reinecke ms. 1930)

In 1929-1930, Bishop Museum contracted John Reinecke to conduct a survey of Hawaiian sites in West Hawai'i, thus including Kohanaiki and the Kekaha region (Reinecke ms. 1930). A portion of Reinecke's survey field extended north from Kailua as far as to Kalāhuipua'a. His work being the first attempt at a survey of sites of varying function, ranging from ceremonial to residency and resource collection.

During his study, Reinecke traveled along the shore of Kekaha, documenting near-shore sites. Where he could, he spoke with the few native residents he encountered. Among his general descriptions of the Kekaha region, Reinecke observed:

This coast formerly was the seat of a large population. Only a few years ago Keawaiki, now the permanent residence of one couple, was inhabited by about thirty-five Hawaiians. Kawaihae and Puako were the seat of several thousands, and smaller places numbered their inhabitants by the hundreds. Now there are perhaps fifty permanent inhabitants between Kailua and Kawaihae—certainly not over seventy-five.

When the economy of Hawaii was based on fishing this was a fairly desirable coast; the fishing is good; there is a fairly abundant water supply of brackish water, some of it nearly fresh and very pleasant to the taste; and while there was no opportunity for agriculture on the beach, the more energetic Hawaiians could do some cultivation at a considerable distance *mauka*.

The scarcity of remains is therefore disappointing. This I attribute to four reasons: (1) those simply over looked, especially those a short distance *mauka*, must have been numerous; (2) a number must have been destroyed, as everywhere, by man and by cattle grazing; (3) the coast is for the most part low and storm-swept, so that the most desirable building locations, on the coral beaches, have been repeatedly swept over and covered with loose coral and lava fragments, which have obscured hundreds of platforms and no doubt destroyed hundreds more; (4) many of the dwellings must have been built directly on the sand, as are those of the family at Kaupulehu, and when the posts have been pulled up, leave no trace after a very few years.

The remains on this strip of coast have some special characteristics differentiating them from the rest in Kona. First, there is an unusual number of petroglyphs and *papamu*, especially about Kailua and at Kapalaoa. Second, probably because of the strong winds, there are many walled sites, both of houses and especially of temporary shelters... [Reinecke ms. 1930:1-2]

The following site descriptions are quoted from Reinecke's draft manuscript of field work conducted between the Kaloko-Kohanaiki boundary and Pūhili Point on the Kohanaiki-'O'oma 2nd boundary (*Figure 16*). In the site descriptions below, Reinecke references the occurrence of at least—10-house sites; 3-enclosures and pens; 5-platforms (one of which he felt was a "*heiau*"); 1-possible grave site; 1-shelter on shore; and 1-waterhole. Apparently, no one was residing in the area at the time of his field survey. Reinecke's site descriptions, south to north, across Kohanaiki included:

[Kaloko side of the Kaloko-Kohanaiki boundary]

Site 57. Three fairly recent house platforms on a flat elevation, surrounded by a wall. Another platform *makai*.

[Kohanaiki]

Site 58. Two very small enclosures on the beach; a very small platform a little *mauka*.

Site 59. A series of house platforms, all modern and in good condition, and all in yards, indicating a considerable settlement about this small bay within recent years.¹⁷

- a. Modern house platform in large yard.
- b. Small paddock at head of a marsh.
- c. Modern house platform in yard.
- d. Modern house platform in yard. – no *mauka* wall.
- e. Modern house platform in yard.
- f. Modern house platform in yard, at interval of several yards.

¹⁷ Note: this area coincides with the location of Kawaimaka's House & the *Pā Hale Pule* described in interviews.

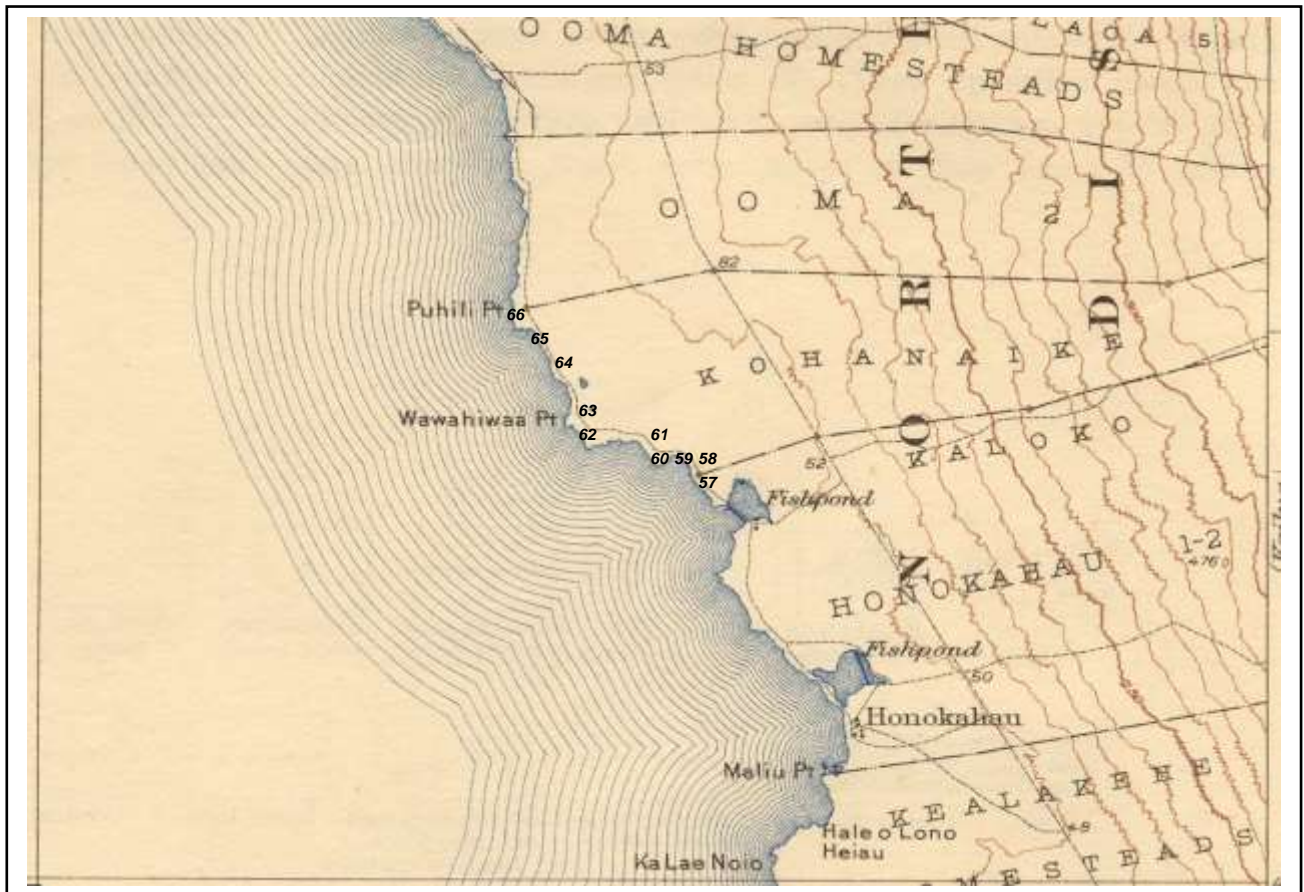


Figure 16. Approximate Location of Numbered Sites Described by J. Reinecke (ms. 1930:37-38) (base map – Keahole Qaud, 1928; not to scale)

- Site 60. Walls on a point of lava; small platform that appears to be a recent, well preserved grave.
- Site 61. Broken cattle pen.
- Site 62. Government survey stand on a platform, c. 25x13x3, with shelter at one end, Is it a fishing *heiau* as appearances indicate?
- Site 63. Two house sites and one other platform.
- Site 64. Two small indistinct platforms.
- Site 65. Waterhole and pond. Shelter on shore pond.
- Site 66. Very doubtful dwelling site. Then a row of sand-covered platforms at the border of the sand and the beach lava, enough for 6-10 homes. Remains of an old, large pen. [Reinecke ms. 1930:14-15]

Archaeological field work conducted by PHRI includes detailed site descriptions and site maps depicting the sites known to be within the Kohanaiki study area (Rosendahl 1986, 1989 & 1990); and provides an overview of subsequent archaeological field work conducted in the vicinity since the 1970s.

Summary of Documentation from Oral History Interviews (1996-2003)

Over the years, Maly has interviewed a number of elder *kama'āina* in the larger Kekaha region, all of whom were very familiar with the lands of the Kealakehe-Honokōhau-Kaloko-Kohanaiki-'O'oma-Kalaoa vicinity. Interviewees have included (in alphabetical order): Valentine K. Ako (born in 1926), Josephine Ako-Freitas (born in 1908), Geo. Kinoulu Kahananui (born in 1925), Francis Keanaaina (born in 1929), Samuel Keanaaina (born in 1926), Malaea Keanaaina-Tolentino (born in 1927), Peter Keka (born in 1940), Peter Keikua'ana Park (born in 1918), and Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole (born in 1923).

These elder *kama'āina* of the Kekaha region, tell much the same story as that described in the communications from the period of homestead development, and in the accounts given by J. Puuokupa (1875), J.W.H. Isaac Kihe (1924), and J. Kaelemakule (1929), cited earlier in this study. By the 1870s, only a few people maintained residences on Kohanaiki Bay, just north of the Kaloko-Kohanaiki boundary. Likewise through out most of Kekaha, only a few homes could be found along the coastal lands of Kekaha. Primary residences were in the uplands, in the vicinity *mauka* of the old Māmalahoa Highway, and down to around the 900 foot elevation. In that region, people were able to cultivate a wide range of crops—both native staples and new introductions—with which to sustain themselves, and in some case even as cash crops.

By the middle to late 1800s, the *kula* lands from around the 900 foot elevation to sea shore were primarily used for goat, cattle, and donkey pasturage. The families of the uplands regularly traveled to the coast via foot trails. This was usually done to go fishing or to round up the animals. Though during periods of extreme dry weather, when water resources dried out in the *mauka* lands, the families relied on the brackish water ponds of the near-shore lands. In Kohanaiki, two places were pointed out by interviewees as being sources of water. On the northern point of Kohanaiki Bay, is a small spring above the canoe landing, where there was also a “fisherman’s house.” This house was last used by Filipino employees of Henry Akona until around 1960. Then further north, near Pūhili Point and the Kohanaiki-'O'oma boundary, there was a spring and “*pāpā'i*” (stone shelter house) used by the Kahananui family. This spring and *pāpā'i* also fronts a fishery, that has been used for generations by the family.

Interviewees, Peter K. Park (born in and raised in 'O'oma 2nd; now living in Kalaoa 5th), Geo. Kinoulu Kahananui (raised from infancy in, and still living in 'O'oma 2nd), members of the Keanaaina family (residing between Honokōhau to Kalaoa), Peter Keka (raised in Kohanaiki and Kalaoa; and Robert Punihaole (residing between Honokōhau to Kūiki'o) all describe *mauka-makai* travel via several trails, depending on their destination across the *kula* lands between the uplands and shore, across the Kalaoa, Kohanaiki, Kaloko and through Honokōhau. From the 1920s through the 1940s, the native families of Kohanaiki and neighboring lands regularly traveled to the shore of Kohanaiki via the old Kohanaiki foot trail, which crossed into Kaloko, and from other *mauka-makai* or shore line trails, depending on their point of origin.

When asked about knowledge of sites or storied places on the lower *kula* lands of Kohanaiki—the area from the present-day Ka'ahumanu Highway to the back of the shore lands—the interviewees knew of very few. The primary features described on the *kula*, were the *mauka-makai* trails and the *Alanui Aupuni* or Kamehameha Trail; boundary *ahu* (cairns);

and walls. Nearer the shore, old *kahua hale* (house sites); *hale pāpa'i* (shelter sites); a possible church lot (*kahua hale pule*); the *loko kai* and *pūnāwai* (anchialine and potable water ponds); *ki'i* (petroglyphs); *ko'a* (fishing shrines and markers); *poho* (salt and/or bait bowls); noted sites for particular fish and marine resources; and other types of features are known to elder *kama'āina*.

One of the most interesting features on the *kula* lands behind the ponds, are the *ahu* (cairns), some seventeen of which cross Kohanaiki, roughly north to south. None of the elder interviewees recalled ever hearing anything about them, or even seeing them while they were in the field working cattle or traveling *mauka-makai*. The native tradition of Ka-Miki, cited earlier in this study, may provide us with an explanation of them, as boundaries marking the area set aside for the *ali'i* of the legendary period. Traditional names of features on the cultural landscape, documented in the early 1900s, by native resident-writers of Kekaha—such as 'Apo'ula (a point, surf, and *kū'ula* of Kohanaiki); and Wailoa, the anchialine ponds, were not remembered by the interviewees.

It has been recorded by the *kūpuna*, that in earlier times, at some locations near the *mauka-makai* trails, a distance back from the shore, families would store “beach goods” for their return visits. These caches were usually small caves that could be concealed. None of the *kūpuna* recalled ever seeing any old sites or items in the caves on the *kula* lands, though none doubted that sites unknown to them, exist. They also recorded that as youth, they were always warned away from being “*maha'oi*” or nosy and poking around such sites that were previously known, or found by them.

The *kūpuna* also recorded that their primary interest while traveling *makai*, was to get to the fishing grounds, and in reverse, to get back home. In the area from the lower Kohanaiki Homestead lots and extending *mauka*, interviewees have all described the occurrence of caves, walls and various features, including burials. Occasionally, when working the range, rounding up cattle in the 1940s-1950s, *huaka'i pō* or night marchers have been heard or seen. The explanation being that the spirits of the people of old, who once lived on the land were traveling in one direction or the other to attend to some ceremony or on fishing journeys, or to attend to some other activity.

When asked about proposed development on the Kohanaiki lands and in other locations of Kekaha, the interviewees all spoke with hesitancy. It is difficult for them to see the landscape which they have known all their lives, and for which traditions were handed down, change. All interviewees believe that *ilina* (burial sites) should be preserved in place; likewise, should any *heiau*, or other important site be located, they should be protected. It is also believed that the *Alanui Aupuni* (Old Government Road – “Kamehameha Trail”) and *mauka-makai* trails should be preserved. Whenever possible all sites, such as shelters, house sites, petroglyphs, walls, and other features should be protected as well.

Restoration of the Wailoa pond complex (the Kohanaiki anchialine ponds), is an important matter with the interviewees. The ponds were an integral part of the cultural landscape, and their stabilization will be of cultural and interpretive value. Also, development of the proposed coastal park and preservation areas are viewed as important and good for the community.

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