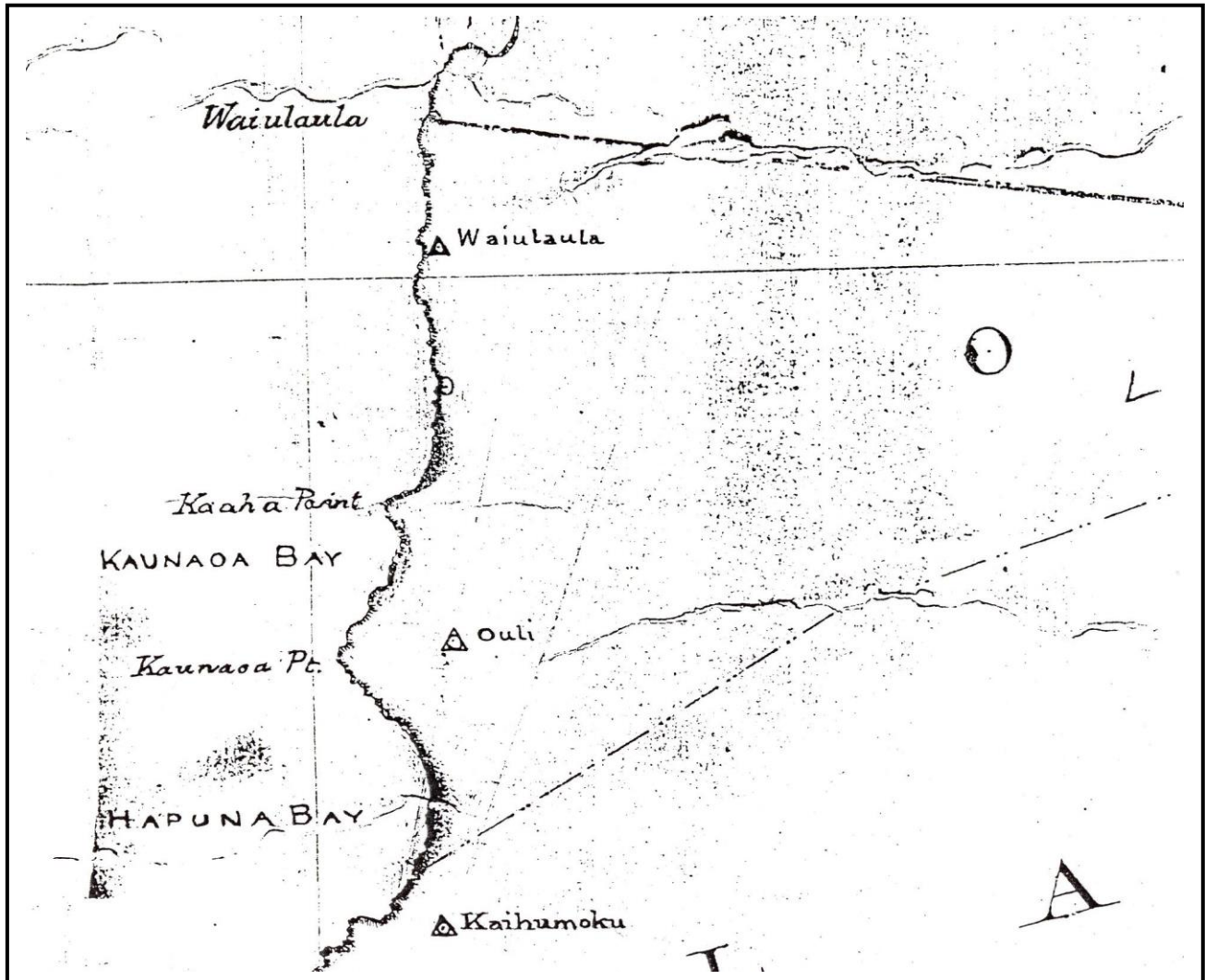


HE WAHI MO'OLELO NO 'ŌULI MA KOHALA, HAWAI'I— A COLLECTION OF TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS FOR 'ŌULI, KOHALA, ISLAND OF HAWAI'I



Coastal Lands of Ōuli, at Kohala, Hawaii'
(Portion of Register Map No. 1080; C.J. Lyons, Surveyor, 1885)



Kumu Pono Associates

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

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A COLLECTION OF TRADITIONS
AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS FOR
'ŌULI, KOHALA – ISLAND OF HAWAI'I
(TMK 6-2-02:24)**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of Ken Russell, *Kumu Pono Associates* conducted a review of archival and historical literature for the land of 'Ōuli, in the district of South Kohala, Island of Hawai'i. The primary objective of this study is to provide readers with a collection of traditional and historical narratives describing native Hawaiian traditions, customs and practices, and historic events associated with the land division of 'Ōuli, neighboring lands in the Kohala District. While conducting the archival-historical documentary research for this study, the authors reviewed both published and manuscript references in English and Hawaiian, and also reviewed historical survey records for 'Ōuli and the neighboring lands. This study also includes excerpts of oral historical documentation recorded by several individuals who are "*kama'āina*" (native to, or familiar with) 'Ōuli and the South Kohala region.

Traditions for 'Ōuli and vicinity date back to at least the 1300s, and include specific references to Kauna'oa and other sites along the coastal lands of 'Ōuli. The native accounts and historical documentation also describe the area, and travel across the land in the period from the 1790s to the 1890s, and subsequently from the early to middle twentieth century. Sources of documentation include native traditions (*mo'olelo*) which describe residency and fishing in 'Ōuli and neighboring lands, and the accounts of early foreign visitors and residents. Communications from various departments of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the period between 1860 to 1893 are cited as well. These records contain some of the most detailed historical documentation pertaining to place names and travel in the region, found to date.

Maly has also conducted oral history interviews with several individuals descended from native Hawaiian families of the land, and others who have resided at, or participated in ranching activities that have occurred in the area from Kawaihae, across 'Ōuli, and to 'Anaeho'omalu. The recollections of elder *kama'āina*, cited in this study date back to ca. 1915, and document personal experiences of the interviewees.

In the interview record, we find that no one recalls anyone living along the shore of 'Ōuli in the early part of the twentieth century. All interviewees were familiar with Kauna'oa and Wai'ula'ula as place names, and traveled the near shore trails for fishing. They also traveled the *Alanui Aupuni* while traveling between Kawaihae and other communities situated south of 'Ōuli. With the outbreak of World War II, interviewees document that travel through, and use of the coastal lands in 'Ōuli changed. They record that during the war years, military gun stations and fortifications were situated at Mau'umae, Kauna'oa and at the Wai'ula'ula Trig Station. As such, some traditional features were modified, and other new, but simple stone features, mounds, trenches, and access ways (for example foot trails and jeep roads) were built.

Overall, the historical documentation indicates that residency patterns in coastal 'Ōuli and vicinity was limited, and often associated with seasonal residency patterns. Residency appears to have been tied to important fishing seasons, with selected areas used over successive generations by native tenants who resided in the uplands of the Waimea region.

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INTRODUCTION

At the request of Ken Russell, *Kumu Pono Associates* conducted a review of archival and historical literature for the land of 'Ōuli, in the District of South Kohala, Island of Hawai'i (Figure 1). The results of the literature review, are reported in the following sections of this study, and provide readers with access to a wide range of narratives—spanning the period from the 1300s to the 1950s—describing 'Ōuli and neighboring lands.

Sources of documentation researched included: land use records such as Land Commission Award (L.C.A.) records from the *Māhele* (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i (ca. 1865-1903); and historical texts authored or compiled by—D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996); G. Bowser (1880); T. Thrum (1908); J.F.G. Stokes and T. Dye (1991); J. W. Coulter (1931); E. Doyle (1953); M. Beckwith (1970); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). The documentation cited in this study is presented in primary categories and generally in chronological order, by date or period of events being described.

'Ōuli ma Kohala Waho

'Ōuli is one of some twenty traditional land management divisions attached to the Waimea region of Kohala waho (now called South Kohala). We find that in native accounts, 'Ōuli and other neighboring lands to the south, were not classed as *ahupua'a*¹, as was the general case in the ancient land system. Instead, 'Ōuli was called an *'ili*, and as such was classed as a parcel of land within, and generally subordinate to the larger division of Waimea. Because 'Ōuli belonged to Waimea, its political affiliation and access to a range of resources and environmental zones were tied to the larger Waimea region, and the native residents of 'Ōuli also had residency and land use privileges in other lands of Waimea.

Native witnesses in early historic testimonies described Waimea as a "*Kalana*" or "*Okana*," a land division which in ancient times was treated as a sub-district, smaller than the *moku o loko*, or one of the six major districts that make up the island of Hawai'i, yet comprised of a number of smaller lands that contributed to its wealth (see Boundary Commission Testimonies in this study). The lands and resources subject to the *Kalana* of Waimea included, but were not limited to, 'Ōuli, Wai'aka, Lālānilo, Puakō, Kalāhuipua'a, 'Anaeho'omalū, Kananaka, Ala'ōhi'a, Paulama, Pu'ukalani (Pukalani), Pauahi, Pu'ukapu, Waikōloa nui, and Waikōloa iki.

In the 1840s and 1860s, elder native witnesses described 'Ōuli and the other lands as "*'ili*," also observing that the lands fell under the jurisdiction of the chiefs of Waimea. Understanding this difference in the status of the land divisions of the Waimea region helps explain why lands such as 'Anaeho'omalū and Kalāhuipua'a have no upland agricultural resources; and why Waikōloa and all the other lands extending north from it, except for Lālānilo and 'Ōuli, have no ocean frontage. Interestingly, in this unique system of

¹ *Ahu-pua'a* is a traditional term used to describe an ancient Hawaiian land unit, generally extending from the offshore fishery fronting the land, to a mountain ridge or upland zone. The native *ahupua'a* – land division remains the primary land unit of the modern land classification system.

land management under which Waimea fell, the *‘ili* of ‘Ōuli had a large range of resources, extending from the ocean fisheries, across the *kula* (plains land), and into the upland forests (Figure 2 – Register Map No. 47; J. Brown, Surveyor, 1873).

Curtis Lyons, a Kingdom Surveyor who had surveyed lands in the Waimea region in 1852, wrote to Crown Lands Commissioner, C.P. Iaukea in 1893, and described this land system, and some of the confusion associated with its political status:

...Waimea, Hawaii, was an *Ahupuaa* which partook largely of the qualities of a *Moku* or division that was however assigned as an *Ahupuaa* in the *Mahele*. That is to say to His Majesty K. III, becoming by the Act of 1865, a Crown Land. It would therefore be assumed that all within its boundaries would be Crown Land excepting such *Ilis* or subordinate *ahupuaas* as some might call them as were recognized within the *Mahele* or in the Land Commission Records, as separate in title; this distinction in title corresponding to the status known as that of an *ili kupono*. All not so recognized would be technically spoken of as a part of the *Ahupuaa*. [HSA – DAGS 6 Box 22; Nov. 1893]

The land of ‘Ōuli is situated on the leeward (southwestern) facing slope of the Kohala mountain range, and sits in the shadow of the Kohala-Hāmākua mountain lands that block the predominant rain-bearing tradewinds which approach Hawai‘i from the northeast. As a result, the *kula* (plains) and coastal lands of ‘Ōuli are quite dry, and in ancient times, were known as the *‘āina kaha* (arid shore lands). The coastal region of South Kohala averages approximately ten inches of rain annually, while the upper, forested elevations (in the Kohala Mountain rain belt) receive as much as 75 inches annually (Carlquist 1980:77).

The near shore and deep-sea fisheries of ‘Ōuli and the larger South Kohala region were of great importance, but because supplies of fresh water along the coast were limited, the growth of long-term permanent settlements along the coastal lands of ‘Ōuli was limited. Traditional and historical narratives indicate that the primary near-shore settlements and residences of South Kohala were on the lands around Kawaihae Bay, Puakō-Lālāmilo and Kalāhuipua‘a-‘Anaeho‘omalū; areas which contained fresh water springs, ponds. By the early historic period (ca. 1820) Kawaihae supported the largest population (in part a function of Kawaihae being a port of call for foreign vessels), while the other primary settlements of the southern shore—Puakō and Kapalaoa—supported less than 150 residents (cf. Vancouver 1798, Arago 1823, Freycinet, 1978, Ellis 1963, and Lyons in Doyle 1953).

Historical documentation and past archaeological surveys indicate that residency patterns in coastal ‘Ōuli and vicinity were generally associated with seasonal residency patterns. Long-term seasonal residency along the shores of ‘Ōuli was in part supported by the Wai‘ula‘ula Stream, and was connected with important fishing seasons. Such habitation sites were used over successive generations by native tenants who resided in the uplands of ‘Ōuli and in the larger *kalana* of Waimea; an area which supported a sizable community and extensive dryland agricultural field system (cf. Rosendahl 1969, Rosendahl and Silva 1981, Kaschko and Rosendahl 1982, Clark and Kirch 1983, and Graves 1993).

It is within this setting, that we find the parcel identified by TMK 6-2-02:24, near Wai‘ula‘ula, and on which a residence has been built, and named *Honua La‘i a Wai‘ula‘ula*, which may be translated as “Tranquil Earth at the Red Rivers” (the name given by Anna Akaka, as a

gift to the owners). It is the purpose of this collection of traditions and historical narratives to provide those who call *Honua La'i a Wai'ula'ula* home, or who visit the land, with a glimpse into the past history of traditions of the land.

As a result of the environmental conditions and the rapid decline of the native population following western contact with the Hawaiians, little site specific traditional and historical documentation for 'Ōuli has been located. This study includes several primary narratives for 'Ōuli, and also includes excerpts from narratives of the neighboring lands of the South Kohala region. The latter narratives help describe the general practices and traditions associated with the region and help us better understand the fragmented cultural landscape of coastal 'Ōuli.

“O ‘imi‘imi o nalowale, o loa‘a la e!”
(Seek that which has been lost, and it will be found!)

NĀ MO'OLELO 'ĀINA (TRADITIONS OF THE LAND)

The primary traditional narratives (those describing the pre-contact period and shortly thereafter) which describe events and the occurrence of place names, throughout the region of South Kohala, date from around the middle 1600s when Lono-i-ka-makahiki—grandson of 'Umi-a-Līloa—ruled the island of Hawai'i (cf. Kamakau 1961; Fornander 1916-1917 Vol. 4-2:342-344, Vol. 5-2:446-451, and 1996; Barrerè 1971; and NPS 1997). The tradition of Lono-i-ka-makahiki is significant in this study, as it specifically mentions the land of Kauna'oa within the 'Ōuli study area, and describes events of regional and island-wide importance. One additional *mo'olelo*, published in a Hawaiian language newspaper between 1914 to 1917 (translated by Maly), is set in the 1300s, and describes several near-shore locations in 'Ōuli. This section of the study provides readers with excerpts from the native traditions identified to-date which tell us of 'Ōuli and vicinity.

Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai No Ka-Miki (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki)

Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki is the most detailed native tradition found to-date, that includes rich narratives of place names, and practices of the coastal lands between Kawaihae and 'Anaeho'omalu. *Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki* (Ka-Miki) was published in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* from 1914 to 1917. It is a long and complex account, that was recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians, John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe—with contributions by local informants. 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 history that had been handed down over the generations.

The story of Ka-Miki is about two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept one) and Maka-'iole (Rat [squinting] eyes) who traveled along the ancient *ala hele* and *Alaloa* (trails and byways) that encircled the island of Hawai'i to ensure that those who traveled the trails would be safe from oppression. Born in 'e'epa (mysterious) forms, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole were raised by their great grandmother, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands), the brothers were instructed in the uses of their supernatural powers. Following completion of their training, Ka-uluhe sent Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole on a journey around the island of Hawai'i to challenge disreputable 'ōlohe (experts, skilled in all manner of fighting techniques and competing in riddling, running, leaping, fishing and debating contests, etc.) and priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai'i. The narratives are set in the time when Hikapōloa and Kapa'au-iki-a-Kalana were the two primary chiefs of Kohala (ca. thirteenth century).

The complete narratives include historical accounts for approximately 800 named localities (many personified, commemorating particular individuals) of the island of Hawai'i. While the personification of all the identified individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely "ancient," the site documentation within the "story of Ka-Miki" is of significant cultural and historical value. The narratives below (translated by Maly), are excerpted from various parts of the tradition, and provide readers with descriptions of the land, resources, areas of

residence, and practices of the native residents, as handed down by *kama'āina* (those familiar with the land).

...Kanakanaka was an expert *lawai'a hī-ahi* (deep sea tuna lure fisherman) and his wife Pili-a-mo'o was a powerful priestess and 'ōlohe. Kanakanaka's sister was the wind goddess Waikōloa. Kanakanaka and Piliamo'o were the parents of Nē'ula (a fishing goddess), and she married Pu'u Hīna'i a chief of the inlands. Nē'ula and Pu'u Hīna'i were the parents of Lālāmilo, and like his grandfather, Lālāmilo was skilled as a *lawai'a* (fisherman). Because of Lālāmilo's fame as an expert 'ōlohe and fisherman, Lālāmilo gained Puakō as his wife, and it was through Puakō that Lālāmilo obtained the supernatural *leho* (cowry shell octopus fishing lure) which came to be called Kalokunu.

The *leho* (octopus fishing lure) was so powerful that if it was only shown to the *he'e* (octopus), they would climb upon the canoe and be caught. Lālāmilo carefully guarded this lure and even slept with it. When Lālāmilo did leave the lure, he stored it in the *hōkeo aho hī-ahi* (tuna lure and *olonā* line storage gourd) of his grandfather Kanakanaka, and this was hidden, tied to the ridge pole of his house.

Lālāmilo's grandmother Piliamo'o, discerned the nature of the lure, and instructed Lālāmilo to kill all people who inquired about the lure, or sought to see it. Because the fame of this lure spread around Hawai'i, and because people were curious about it, many people were killed.

Pili-a-Ka'aiea the chief of Kona greatly loved octopus fishing, and had sent several messengers to inquire of Lālāmilo how he might acquire the lure. All of the messengers were killed by Lālāmilo and Piliamo'o. While at the contest field called Hinakahua in Puapua'a, Ka-Miki agreed to fetch the lure for Pili as one of the conditions he needed to fulfill in order to become the foremost favorite of Pili. Now as these events at the court of Pili were unfolding, Lālāmilo decided to visit his father Pu'u Hīna'i; his sister Pu'u 'Iwa'iwa; and his grand aunt Waikōloa, who was Pu'u 'Iwa'iwa's guardian. To this day, places are named in Kohala for all of these people.

Lālāmilo arose and told his wife Puakō, and his mother Nē'ula that he was going to the uplands to visit his father, sister, and the people who worked the upland plantations. Lālāmilo desired to eat the sugar cane and bananas, and drink the 'awa which grew on the hill of Po'opo'o. Po'opo'o was also the name of a seer (*makāula*) who saw to the continued peaceful dwelling of the people. Lālāmilo placed the lure in Kanakanaka's gourd and secured it near the ridge pole of his house. Lālāmilo then asked Puakō and Nē'ula to go and look after the gourd in which the cherished lure was kept.

Lālāmilo then departed and traveled up towards the residences and agricultural lands of Pu'u Hīna'i *mā*, as he drew near his destination, his thoughts returned to the lure. Lālāmilo looked towards the ocean, and his desire to see the lure was very great (July 5, 1917). At the same time, Lālāmilo also had a premonition, so he returned to the shore without visiting his father and sister. During the time when Lālāmilo was gone, Ka-Miki had traveled to Lālāmilo's land and met with a man of the area named Nīheu. Ka-Miki inquired, "Where is the chief Lālāmilo's

house?” Nīheu said, “It is there above the canoe landing.” Ka-Miki then asked, “And where is the chief?” Nīheu responded by saying, “I don’t know, perhaps he is in the house.” Ka-Miki then went to Lālāmilo’s house, peering in he saw the gourd container and he lowered it, removing the cordage. Ka-Miki then took out the lure and departed from Lālāmilo without incident... (July 19, 1917)

...Because of his premonition that something was amiss with the lure, Lālāmilo returned to his home from the uplands and found that the *leho* had indeed been stolen. Lālāmilo went empty handed to Pili-a-mo’o’s home at Kauna’oa (‘Ōuli), and she ignored him, thinking he had forgotten to bring her the offering of the first caught *he’e*. Lālāmilo called in a chant (*mele kahea*) to Pili-a-mo’o lamenting the loss of the prized possession of Ha’alaea —

*E ala e ka Ho’olua,
E ke Kiu ho’ohae a ka Nāulu,
Ulu a ka moana ke lele ‘ino nei ke ao,
Ua kaiko’o ka ‘āina
Ku ka puna kea i ka pōhuehue,
Ua he’e, ua hu’e ‘ia ka ‘ōnohi maka o Ha’alaea la,
Ua lilo minamina wale au e,
O wau nei o Lālāmilo
O ke kama a Kanakanaka,
lāua o Piliamo’o
Ku’u kupuna wahine aīwaiwa e,
moe nei la
E ala mai!*

Arise o *Ho’olua* [the strong wind of the region]
O lashing gusts of the *Kiu* [northern winds]
of the *Nāulu* [southern rain storms]
The sea is agitated and the clouds fly by
The waves rise to the land
Throwing pieces of coral upon the *pōhuehue* growth
[The lure] has fled [vanished], that which was prized
in the sight of Ha’alaea has been removed
I am overcome with grief
It is I, Lālāmilo
The offspring of Kanakanaka and my mysterious
ancestress Piliamo’o who sleeps here,
Arise!

Thus, learning of the theft, Pili-a-mo’o commanded that Lālāmilo seek out a black pig; a white cock; ‘awa from Po’opo’o — *ka ‘awa kīpulu a Po’opo’o* (the mulched ‘awa growth of Po’opo’o); an *‘āhuluhulu* (red fish); and a red *malo* before the setting of the sun.

Lālāmilo acquired all of the items and returned to the house of Pili-a-mo’o overlooking the shore of Kauna’oa. Pili-a-mo’o told Lālāmilo to release the pig and chicken, and both of them entered the canoe which Pili-a-mo’o had prepared as the path on which Lālāmilo would travel to Kaua’i-o-Kamāwaelalani, where he would find ‘Iwa at Makaīwa, Kapa’a.

Pili-a-mo'ō called to Lālāmilo saying, "The gods have approved your offerings, and here is your path (the canoe) to present the offerings to 'Iwa, the mysterious rascal of the land which snares the sun, 'Iwa the sacred ward of Halulu-ko'ak'oa." With the offerings set in the canoe, and the sail raised, Pili-a-mo'ō then prepared, an 'awa ceremony.

The pig was at the mast, the 'awa and fish were set on the platform, the rooster sat on the outrigger end, and the *malo* was placed at the stern of the canoe. After Pili-a-mo'ō and Lālāmilo drank 'awa they slept and when half the night passed the rooster crowed. Pili-a-mo'ō arose and went out of the house where she saw the navigators' star high above. Pili-a-mo'ō then called to Lālāmilo, "Arise great shark of the sea, o offspring of Huluhia-ka-lani, o flippers of the turtle Kamilo-holuo-Waiākea. Awaken for the light of the star Hiki'i-maka-o-Unulau, the *Kualau* (shower bearing wind) blows and the traveler will touch Kaua'i." Lālāmilo arose, entered the canoe and prepared to sail to Kaua'i. (August 2, 1917)

Before departing, Pili-a-mo'ō told Lālāmilo, "Go and journey to Kaua'i, to the curling waves of Makaīwa. And when you land on the shore, do not turn the nose of the canoe shore ward, leave it facing to the uplands. A young child will grasp the canoe and say; For whom is the canoe?" Pili-a-mo'ō told Lālāmilo that he must tell the little boy, "The canoe is Lālāmilo's." The boy will then ask where is the canoe going, and you must tell him, "The canoe is going to fetch 'Iwa-nui-kīlou-moku." The boy will then ask why you want 'Iwa, to which you must respond, "I seek 'Iwa as a companion to travel with."

When you take the canoe to the dry shore, tell the boy that the items in the canoe are offerings to 'Iwa, and then gird the *malo* on the boy and place the offerings at the house. Taking these words in, Lālāmilo departed with the wind, flying like a *mālolo* (flying fish) leaping over the waves. In a short time Hawai'i was lost from view, and as the early sun light appeared, Lālāmilo landed the canoe upon the shore of Kaua'i. He met with the young boy as Pili-a-mo'ō had instructed, and Lālāmilo presented the offerings to Halulu-ko'ako'a ('Iwas' grandfather; a god of winds who controlled the ocean waves). All things were fulfilled as Pili-a-mo'ō had described them.

After a feast and 'awa, 'Iwa fell asleep, but still listened to his grandfather. Halulu-ko'ako'a asked Lālāmilo the nature of his journey, and Lālāmilo explained about the *Ieho*. Halulu-ko'ako'a called to 'Iwa, arise great island catching 'Iwa of Kahiki-kū, favorite of Halulu-ko'ako'a and Maluaka. 'Iwa awoke and they drank 'awa again, 'Iwa then went out and prepared the canoe. 'Iwa then called to Halulu-ko'ako'a that everything was prepared. Halulu-ko'ako'a agreed that it was time to depart and he brought out the paddle Lapakūkalani. Now this was a large paddle and Lālāmilo doubted if 'Iwa could handle it. (August 6, 1917)

When Lālāmilo and 'Iwa went to the canoe, 'Iwa told Lālāmilo to take the front seat, saying that Lālāmilo had exhibited his skills in arriving at Kaua'i. 'Iwa said he would steer the canoe back to Hawai'i. With one push, the canoe passed the *ko'a hīahi* of 'Āwini at Wailua. 'Iwa called to Halulu-ko'ako'a, "Here is our

cherished paddle Lapakūkalani” and thrust it into the sea which raged all around Kaua‘i. It is because of this event that the sea of Kaua‘i is always rough.

The canoe leapt forward and they reached the point of Nānu‘alele, at Ka‘uiki along the shore of Punahoa, Maui. Then passing Maui, ‘Iwa thrust the paddle once again into the ocean, waves arose to Maui’s shore, and Kohala rose before them. The ‘Āpa‘apa‘a wind carried them past Hā‘ena, Awalua, and Kapa‘a, lands of Kohala. ‘Iwa asked Lālāmilo, “What land is this which rises above?”, and Lālāmilo told him it was Kohala. The ‘Āpa‘apa‘a then carried them past Kawaihae of the whispering sea to the sandy shore of Kauna‘oa where they landed and went to Piliamo‘o’s house. Pili-a-mo‘o had prepared food and ‘awa, and when they had eaten, the two friends fell asleep. When they awakened, Lālāmilo and ‘Iwa swam in the ocean and then went to meet with Nē‘ula and Puakō... (August 16, 1917).

...‘Iwa then told Lālāmilo *mā*, “tomorrow we will retrieve the *leho* from Kona, and on the following day I will return to Kaua‘i.” Though Lālāmilo and Pili-a-mo‘o asked ‘Iwa to stay for a while and visit Hawai‘i, ‘Iwa told them that he had a vision that he must return to Kaua‘i quickly.

On the following morning, ‘Iwa awakened Lālāmilo, calling to him —

*E ala ua ao e, ua mālamalama ,
Ua ‘ohi ka pili o Makali‘i,
Ua li‘ili‘i ka pō,
Ka hauli ka lani lele ka hōkū
ke pi‘i nei ka ‘ula wena o ke ao ia!*

Arise the light shines,
The Makali‘i has passed,
The night lessens,
The heavens recede and the stars fly,
as the red glow arises, it is light!

‘Iwa then said, “Let us go fetch the pride of our grandmother...” (August 23, 1917)

Lālāmilo and ‘Iwa departed from Kohala and traveled to the shore of Pālau‘eka at Hōlualoa. There, arrangements were made for the two companions to join the chief and his fishermen.

...Lālāmilo, ‘Iwa, and Pili's head fishermen traveled beyond the ‘ōpelu, hand line, and *kāhala* fishing *ko‘a* (grounds), and ‘Iwa said here is where we will try to catch the *he‘e o kai uli*. ‘Iwa took his cowry lure "*Mulali-nui-makaka*", bound with a hook and ‘ōahi stone sinker and tossed it into the sea. ‘Iwa then chanted to his grandmother Ha‘alua —

*E ala e ka he‘e pali,
E ala e ka he‘e pu‘u‘ai
E ala e ka he‘e pūloa
E ala e ka he‘e pūko‘a
E ala e ka he‘e pāki‘i*

*E ala e ka he'e pālaha
E ala e ka he'e pu-ō ka lau
O ka nui la mōhala ka lau
O ka na'ena'e mā'ele ka
Ka he'e o kai uli la...*

Arise o cliff octopus
Arise o round headed octopus
Arise o long headed octopus
Arise of octopus of the reef
Arise o flattened octopus
Arise o octopus spread upon the ocean floor
Arise o octopus which bends like the coconut palm leaves
O great unfurling leaf
O fragrant one which sets numbing fear
The octopus of the deep sea...

When 'Iwa finished his prayer, a *he'e* like none other pulled at the lure and rose to the canoe. 'Iwa killed the *he'e*, and the head fishermen, Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha were astounded. 'Iwa then told them "this is not the biggest octopus yet."

'Iwa cast his lure again, and this time the lure was held firmly in the ocean as though stuck in the coral. Pili's double hulled canoe drew near, and 'Iwa suggested that Kapakapaka *mā* ask Pili to use his lure at this site, so he could secure the largest octopus. Pili's lure was set into the water and 'Iwa called to Ha'aluea -

*E Ha'aluea e,
Eia mai ka leho a kāua,
Pa'a 'ia a pa'a,
A o ko 'awe
Kāpae la o kolo 'ia i uka...*

O Ha'aluea
Here is our lure
Hold it tightly
And let your tentacles
Reach to cling upon that which is above... (August 30, 1917)

A large *he'e* rose and embraced Pili's canoe, this *he'e* was killed and Pili set the lure into the ocean again. This time the goddess *Ha'aluea* rose in her octopus form and held tight to the canoe and lure. 'Iwa dove into the ocean and swam along Ha'aluea's tentacles, he found the lure and secured it in the folds of his *malo*. 'Iwa then tied the chiefs' line to a coral outcropping and returned to the surface where he joined Lālāmilo. Ha'aluea let go of Pili's canoe, and 'Iwa told Lālāmilo to paddle the canoe towards Maui. In a short time, they arrived along the shore of Waimea at Kauna'oa, where they were greeted by Pili-a-mo'o.

Lālāmilo and 'Iwa ate and drank 'awa, and 'Iwa then returned to Kaua'i. Thus Lālāmilo reclaimed his lure (September 6, 1917). Puakō's brother Pū'āla'a arrived from Puna and

Lālāmilo divided the *Ieho* with him. Because the divided shells looked like portions of baked taro, the lure came to be called *Kalo-kunu* (broiled taro). And so told is the story of Lālāmilo and Kalokunu in the wind *Kuehulepo* of Puakō (September 13, 1917).

‘Ōuli and Vicinity in the time of Lono-i-ka-makahiki

During the reign of Lono-i-ka-makahiki (Lono), his elder brother Kanaloa-kua‘ana attempted to rebel and take control of Hawai‘i. One of the battles occurred at the Kauna‘oa section of ‘Ōuli. In the middle 1800s, Abraham Fornander (1996) collected accounts from this period in the history of Kohala and Hawai‘i. Fornander wrote that the rebel forces were situated at:

...the land called Anaehoomalu, near the boundaries of Kohala and Kona. The rebel chiefs were encamped seaward of this along the shore. The next day Lono marched down and met the rebels at the place called Wailea, not far from Wainanalii, where in those days a watercourse appears to have been flowing. Lono won the battle, and the rebel chiefs fled northward with their forces. At Kaunooa [Kauna‘oa, ‘Ōuli], between Puako and Kawaihae, they made another stand, but were again routed by Lono, and retreated to Nakikiaianihau, where they fell in with reinforcements from Kohala and Hamakua. Two other engagements were fought at Puupa and Puukohola, near the *Heiau* of that name, in both of which Lono was victorious... (Fornander 1996:120-121)

The relationship between Lono and Kanaloakua‘ana was restored, and we find them mentioned once again in traditions of the area, that occurred a few years later.

Native historian, Samuel Kamakau (1961) also recorded that during the reign of Lono-i-ka-makahiki, Kamalālāwalu (the king of Maui), made plans to invade the island of Hawai‘i. Kamalālāwalu (Kama) sent spies to determine how many people lived on the island. The spies “landed at Kawaihae,” and one of them, Ka-uhi-o-ka-lani, traveled the trail between Kawaihae to Kanikū (the lava plain behind ‘Anaeho‘omalū), thus passing through the land of ‘Ōuli (Kamakau 1961:56). Returning to his companions, Ka-uhi-o-ka-lani reported “I went visiting from here to the lava bed and pond that lies along the length of the land...” (Kamakau 1961:56). When the spies completed their circuit around the island, they reported back to Maui and told Kama:

...“We went all around Hawaii. There were many houses, but few men. We went to Kohala and found the men only on the shores...Bare of inhabitants is Kohala, for the men are at the coast.” The spies had seen the land of Kohala [but had failed to see the people] for on all of the fields where sports were held from inner Kohala to outer Kohala, from Kohala of the coastal cliffs to Kohala of the inland, a crowd of people gathered every day from morning to night to play. Kohala was known as a thickly-populated land. The spies thought that if Kohala was conquered, Kona, Ka-‘u, and Puna would be easily taken, and they felt that Hilo and Hamakua would lend no assistance. This was true, for the chiefs of these districts were cousins of the chiefs of Maui... (Kamakau 1961:56-57)

Kamakau reports that Kama and his warriors traveled on a great fleet of canoes and landed in the district of Kohala:

At that time a high chief of Hawaii, Kanaloa-kua‘ana, the son of Keawe-nui-a-‘Umi [an older brother of Lono-i-ka-makahiki’s], was taken and cruelly treated.

His whole skin was tattooed, his eyelids turned inside out and tattooed. Kanaloa-kua'ana was renamed Ka-maka-hiwa (Blackened-eyes) and Ka-maka-paweo (Shamed-eyes)... Kama-lala-walu set forth for Kawaihae, and found no one there. The people had gone up to Waimea, for all observed the services held at the *heiau* of Mailekini. Only those of lower Kawaihae and Puako remained. (Kamakau 1961:58)

Fornander (1996) elaborated on one point in the account of Kanaloa-kua'ana—who became known as Kamakahiwa—that is of particular interest for those who travel along the coastal trail between Kauna'oa and Puakō. Kanaloa-kua'ana marched to meet the forces of Kamalālāwalu:

At Kauna'oa he met Kamalalawalu, who was marching inland. A battle ensued. The Maui forces greatly outnumbered those of Kanaloakuaana, who was utterly defeated and himself taken prisoner at [what is now called] Kamakahiwa in Puako, where his eyes were put out, and then he was slain (Fornander 1996:13).

Having gained the victory at Puakō, Kamalālāwalu prepared to march to Waimea and enter into battle. Kamalālāwalu's counselors told him:

Waimea is not a good battle site for strangers because the plain is long, and there is no water. Should defeat be met with by the warring strangers, they will all be slaughtered... (Kamakau 1961:58)

Kama ignored the advice of his counselors, and instead listened to the advise of two old men of Kawaihae. These old men purposefully misled Kama, and as a result, the king of Maui chose to stage his battle on the lowlands, and he was killed in the battle (Kamakau 1961:58).

Kohala waho in the Time of Kamehameha I (ca. 1790-1796)

In ca. 1790 Kamehameha I and his chiefs were living at Kawaihae. Following the advice of a priest from Kaua'i, Kamehameha undertook the reconstruction of the *heiau* Pu'u Koholā, to dedicate it as a house for his god, Kūkā'ilimoku (Kamakau 1961:154) During this time, "thousands of people were encamped on the neighboring hillsides" (Fornander 1996:328). Then, between 1792 and 1796, after the dedication of Pu'u Koholā, Kamehameha lived at Kawaihae and worked the lands of the Waimea-Waikōloa Region. In 1796, Kamehameha initiated work on the great *peleleu* canoe fleet for the invasion of Kaua'i. During those years, Kamehameha worked on the *heiau* of the land and ensured the safety of those who traveled the trails of Kohala waho.

Among the *heiau* restored, was one dedicated to Uli, a sorcery goddess, for whom the land of 'Ōuli is thought to have been named. While no specific location of the *heiau* is given, the narratives tell that it was in the uplands, and it is possible that it was within the land which bears the name of the goddess.

In order to construct the *heiau* of Pu'u Koholā, Kamehameha summoned all of the residents of lands surrounding Kawaihae, and as far away as Pu'u Wa'awa'a were called into the service. Kamehameha:

...summoned his counselors and younger brothers, chiefs of the family and chiefs of the guard, all the chiefs, lesser chiefs, and commoners of the whole district. Not one was allowed to be absent except for the women, because it was *tabu* to offer a woman upon the altar; a man alone could furnish such a sacrifice. The building of the *heiau* of Pu'u-koholā was, as in ancient times, directed by an expert—not in oratory, politics, genealogy, or the prophetic art, but by a member of the class called *hulihonua* who knew the configuration of the earth (called *kuhikuhi pu'uone*). Their knowledge was like that of the navigator who knows the latitude and longitude of each land, where the rocks are, the deep places, and the shallow, where it is cold and where warm, and can tell without mistake the degrees, east or west, north or south...

When it came to the building of Pu'u-koholā no one, not even a *tabu* chief was excused from the work of carrying stone. Kamehameha himself labored with the rest. The only exception was the high *tabu* chief Ke-ali'i-maika'i [Kamehameha's younger brother]... Thus Kamehameha and the chiefs labored until the *heiau* was completed, with its fence of images (*paehumu*) and oracle tower (*anu'unu'u*), with all its walls outside and the hole for the bones of sacrifice. He brought down the 'ohi'a tree (*'ohi'ako*) for the *haku 'ohi'a* and erected the shelter house (*hale malu*) of 'ohi'a wood for Ku-ka'ili-moku according to the rule laid down by the *kahuna* class of Pa'ao. Had the class been that of the Nalu'ulu the god's house would have been made of *lama* wood.

As soon as the *heiau* was completed, just before it was declared free, Kamehameha's two counselors, Keawe-a-heulu and Ka-manawa, were sent to fetch Keoua, ruling chief of the eastern end of the island of Hawaii... "We have come to fetch you, the son of our lord's older brother, and to take you with us to Kona to meet your younger cousin, and you two to be our chiefs and we to be your uncles. So then let war cease between you." [Kamakau 1961:154-155].

Keōua agreed to accompany his uncles, the two messengers sent by Kamehameha. Some of the party traveled by foot overland, while Keōua and some of his trusted counselors and guards traveled with the messengers by canoe. Along the way, Keōua stopped at Luahinewai, on the shore of Pu'u Wa'awa'a to bathe in the waters there and perform a purification ceremony. The canoe fleet then sailed to Puakō, and once near 'Ōuli, Keōua saw the *heiau* Pu'u Koholā rising above the shore line of Kawaihae (Kamakau 1961:156). Kamakau offers the following description of this scene and the events that followed:

...The fleet of canoes grouped in crescent formation like canoes out for flying fish. Keoua remarked to Keawe-a-heulu, "It looks stormy ashore; the storm clouds are flying!" The chief replied, "From whence can a storm come on such a pleasant day?" Again Keoua repeated, "It looks stormy ashore; the storm clouds are flying." They kept on their course until near Mailekini, when Ke'e-au-moku and some others carrying spears, muskets, and other weapons broke through the formation of the fleet, surrounded the canoes of Keoua, separating them from those of Keawe-a-heulu and his followers and calling to Ka-manawa to paddle ahead. Keoua arose and called to Kamehameha, "Here I am!" Kamehameha called back, "Stand up and come forward that we may greet each other." Keoua rose again, intending to spring ashore, when Ke'e-au-moku thrust

a spear at him which Keoua dodged, snatched, and thrust back at Ke'e-au-moku, who snatched it away. Kua-kahela, who was an eyewitness, said that if there had been weapons aboard Keoua's canoes some [of Kamehameha's warriors] would have been killed. Muskets were then fired from the shores, and a great commotion took place among the people, during which Kua-kahela, Keoua's *kahuna*, jumped overboard and, disappearing under the eyes of thousands, hid in the *tabu* house of Ke-ku'i-apo-iwa where he lay concealed in a roll of mats... This man and one other were the only ones saved of those who came in the canoe with Keoua. La'anui jumped overboard secretly while off Puakò. Keoua and all those who were with him on the canoe were killed... [Kamakau 1961:157]

While restoring the *heiau* of Uli, and preparing the *peleleu* canoe fleet Kamehameha lived in Waimea and the Kohala waho region. Kamakau reported the following incidents:

Kamehameha saw an old man with his grandson on his way home across the plain of Kawaihae. He was gasping under a heavy load of *ti* root. Pitying him, Kamehameha drew near to help him. When the load was taken from him the old man, supposing Kamehameha to be a robber, exclaimed, "What are you doing! These plains are under the *tabu* of Pai'ea [Kamehameha]." "Is Pai'ea a good chief?" "Yes, Pai'ea is a good chief. He makes the old man and the old woman to sleep [without fear] by the roadside. He is a good chief; it is his favorites who are bad and rob others." Bad indeed!" said Kamehameha, and he carried the old man's load until they came to the beach close to Kawaihae. Then he said, "If some men overtake you, do not tell them that I carried your load for you thus far." Some time later the old man was overtaken by Kamehameha's favorites who asked him, "Have you seen the chief, Kamehameha?" The old man was terrified, believing that he would die for letting the chief carry his load; but Kamehameha was a kindly chief and a patient one.

While Kamehameha was living with the chiefs at Waimea [he was] engaged in restoring the old heiaus. When the fence of images (*paehumu*), the oracle tower (*anu'unu'u*), and the pavement (*kipapa*) of the *heiau* of Uli had been restored, all the people had to go down to Puako after coconuts. When each had taken up his load to return there remained still 480 nuts unhusked. All had gone except Kamehameha and one other to whom the chief was unknown. Kamehameha turned to him and said, "It looks as if there would not be enough coconuts for the dedication in the morning." It is possible that the man recognized the chief for he replied, "They will all be there." The two put the nuts into nets and fastened them together into a huge load that stood taller than either of them. The road from Puako to Waimea is close to twenty miles in length. Occasionally when the man seemed tired Kamehameha took a turn at the load. At dusk as they neared their destination, and it came time for evening prayer, Kamehameha left the man saying, 'When you get to the *heiau* spend the night with people of the place, but do not tell them that Kamehameha helped carry the load on his back.' Because of this feat of strength and another later, when he took up two hogs each more than a fathom long and carried them without help, this Kuihelani, as his name was, became a great favorite with the chief and held an important office under him. He was allowed to have ten wives, an honor allowed to no other chief

besides, and there was no home happier than his, no governor of a district is to be compared with Kuihelani. [Kamakau 1961:182-183]

One famous *mele* (chant) from this period of Kamehameha's rise to power, also mentions 'Ōuli. What is unclear in the *mele* is whether the reference is specifically pertaining to the land of 'Ōuli, or to the goddess of sorcery, Uli, for which the land may have been named. This *mele*, "*Hole Waimea i ka ihe a ka makani...*" is said to commemorate the period in which the warriors of Kamehameha trained on the Waimea plains. The warriors are likened to various attributes of the land and weather—such as the tough *koai'e* forests that are buffeted by the *kīpu'upu'u*, or pelting rains which stab at ones skin like a spear; and call upon the *mana* (supernatural power) of the *ōhāwai* blossoms of Uli, the sorcery goddess for whom the land is named...

*Hole Waimea i ka ihe a ka makani,
Hao mai na 'ale a ke kīpu'upu'u.
He lā'au kala'ihī ia na ke anu,
'O'o i ka nahele o Māhiki.
Ku aku la i ka malana a ke Kīpu'upu'u.*

Holu ka maka o ka ōhāwai o Uli,

*Niniau 'eha i ka pua o ke koai'e,
'Eha i ke anu ka nahele o Waikā...*

(cf. Roberts, 1967; Maly, translator)

Waimea is stripped by the winds,
The buffeting waves of the *kīpu'upu'u*.
The forest is hardened in the cold,
Matured in the forests of Māhiki.
Rising and spreading out before the
kīpu'upu'u.

The centers of the *ōhāwai* blossoms
of Uli sway,
The *koai'e* blossoms droop in pain,
The forest of Waikā is pained by
the cold...

SOUTH KOHALA DESCRIBED IN THE JOURNALS AND LOGS OF HISTORIC VISITORS (1778-1859)

This section of the study provides readers with selected narratives from several journals recorded by early visitors—explorers, missionaries, and travelers—who described the coastal region of South Kohala. While the land of ‘Ōuli is not specifically named (in most cases the visitors knew nothing of place names other than locations they visited), it is clear from the area being described, that ‘Ōuli is among the lands commented upon. One of the themes common to most of the narratives is that the land was little inhabited by the time of recording these various accounts.

Observations by Captain James Cook and Crew

The earliest foreign description of lands in South Kohala—specifically lands in the Kawaihae vicinity—is found in the Journals of Captain James Cook (Beaglehole 1967). The journal entry of February 6, 1779, penned by Captain James King, describes the journey along the Kohala coast (north to south) and describes Kawaihae (spelled Toe-yah-ya):

Although the Neern part of the bay which (the whole or part) is call'd Toe-yah-ya looks green & pleasant, yet as it is neither wooded or hardly any signs of culture, & a few houses, It has certainly some defect, & does not answer the purposes of what the natives cultivate. The s part appeared rocky & black, & partkes more of the nature of the land about Karakakooa. (Beaglehole 1967:525)

In March 1779, while sailing north from Kealakekua, the ships passed the South Kohala shoreline and King compared the southern section of Kohala to the arid shore of Ka'ū, and reported that there appeared to be few residents in the area around Kawaihae —

We now come to Ko-Harra the NW & last district. It is bounded by two tolerable high hills, & the Coast forms a very extensive bay call'd Toe Yah-Yah, in the bottom of which is foul Corally ground, & there was no approaching it; In the head of the bay as far as we could judge distant the Country lookd tolerably, but the s side is partook of the same nature as Kao, & along the NE side of the bay close to which we Saild, It is very little Cultivated, & we saw but few houses; the Peoples appearance shewd that they were the lowest Class that inhabited them. (Beaglehole 1967:608)

The Journal of Captain George Vancouver

Captain George Vancouver accompanied James Cook on his visits to Hawai'i in 1778-1779. Vancouver returned to the Hawaiian Islands in 1793 and 1794, in command of his own exploring expedition (Vancouver 1967). In February 1793 and 1794, Vancouver visited Kawaihae (written Toeaigh). In 1793, Vancouver approached Kawaihae from the North, and in 1794, he approached it from the south. His observations include descriptions of — Kawaihae Village and environs (in 1793 Ke'eaumoku was the chief in residence at Kawaihae); a detailed account of salt making; it also appears that the *morai* or *heiau* of Pu'u Koholā was in use (on the second visit Kamehameha was with Vancouver); and he noted that the lands to the south of Kawaihae appeared unpopulated.

Selected excerpts from Vancouver's journal are cited below (note that the letter f is often used in place of s in the original texts):

February 13, 1793

...we hauled into Toeaigh bay, and at feven o'clock anchored about feven miles to the fouth of the point above mentioned, in 41 fathoms of water, brown fandy bottom, with fmall pieces of coral...

February 14, 1793

The adjacent fhores, forming the north-weftern part of the Bay, feemed to be very fruitful, whilft the number of habitations indicated them to be well peopled... [Volume II:112]

...The name of the village Toeaigh was by us extended to the Bay, (which is the fame that had been called by Captain King Toeayahha bay,) fince the native give no diftinctive name to any part of the ocean that wafhes the fhores of their iflands. Such bays, coves, &c. as are fo diftinguifhed, having been named by their European vifitors from the contiguous villages or diftricts.

Toeaigh is fituated in a grove of cocoa-nut trees, juft behind a fandy beach. A reef of coral rocks, extending thence about three quarters of a mile into the fea, rendered it inacceffible to our boats in a direct line, but we landed very commodioufly in a narrow channel, between the reef and the fhore, near the morai, to the S.E. of the beach, from whence we had about two miles to walk to the habitation of Kahowmotoo... The village confifted only of fraggling houfes, of two claffes; thofe appropriated to the refidence of the inhabitants were fmall, mean, miferable huts; but the others, allotted to the purpofes of fhading, building, and repairing their canoes, were excellent in their kind; in thefe occupations feveral people were bufily employed, who feemed to execute their work with great neatnefs and ingenuity. In about the middle of the village is a refervoir of falt water, nearly n the centre of a large inclofure, made by walls of mud and ftones. Between thefe walls and the refervoir the whole fpace is occupied by fhallow earthen pans, of no regular fize or fhape, nor place in any order or degree of elevation. The refervoir is feparated by a bank or fmall portion of the fandy beach from the ocean, and had no vifible communication with it, but [Volume II:116] was apparently a ftagnated ftanding pool, covered with a muddy fcum, of yellowifh green colour. This, the natives fay, it always bears, and without being replenifhed by them from the fea conftantly affords a fufficient quantity of exceffively falt water, for fupplying the numerous pans; the expofure of which to the influence of the fun, foon caufes evaporation and cryftallization... They have large quantities, equal in colour and in quality to any made in Europe, but the cryftals are much larger... [Volume II:117]

Vancouver and his ship departed from Kawaihae on February 18, 1793, sailing for Kaiakeakua (Kailua) and a meeting with Kamehameha. In February 1794, Vancouver once again visited the region of South Kohala, landing at Kawaihae. Sailing north from Kealakekua, he recorded:

In the forenoon of the 27th, we had a light breeze from the weftward; with this we fteered for the anchorage at Toeaigh...the adjacent fhores were uninterefting,

being chiefly composed of volcanic matter, and producing only a few detached groves of cocoa nut trees, with the appearance of little cultivation and very few inhabitants. The deficiency of the population on shore was amply compensated by the number of our friends that accompanied us afloat in canoes of all descriptions...

As this evening was to be devoted to an appointed *taboo* that would continue until the morning of the 1st of march, the king and the rest of our friends went on shore for the purpose of attending their religious duties... [Volume III:62]

Narratives of a Visit in 1819 by de Freycinet and Arago

Louis Claude de Saulces de Freycinet (1798) conducted a voyage around the world on the French ships *L'Uranie* and *L'Physicienne*. While on the voyage de Freycinet visited Hawai'i in 1819 and recorded his observations. Arriving at Kailua in August 1819, de Freycinet met Governor John Adams Kuakini, and learned that Liholiho (Riorio), Kamehameha II was at Kohala. Among his narratives is a description of Kohaihai (Kawaihae) and vicinity:

Kohaihai. Less spread-out and more irregular than Kayakakoua, Kohaihai is surrounded by even sadder, even drier grounds, if that is possible. Here in fact, not an atom of greenery appeared before our eyes. One could have said that it had been ravaged by fire. On an elevation near the southern section of the village, a *morai* surrounded by a rock wall had the appearance of a European fort. Mr. Young's house, built in European style, could be seen farther off on the shore to the north. (de Freycinet 1798:41)

Jacques Arago (1823), who traveled with de Freycinet, also recorded his observations and descriptions of the South Kohala landscape, the difficulty of traveling the trails across the lava flows, the residence of Liholiho (Riouriou) at Kawaihae, and the *morai* or *heiau* of Pu'u Koholā and Mailekini. Traveling from Kailua towards Kawaihae, Arago reported:

Not a tree nor a bush, not a single stripe of verdure, not a beast nor a bird, and scarcely an insect give life to this desolate scene...the whole coast is indented with crooked and deep ravines, and broken into little cones and petty eminences, once the craters of volcanoes long extinguished. Immense deposits of lava, which the waves break over with violence; massy rocks, suspended like arches, from the precipices between which dart the rays of a burning sun; half-formed paths, which makes us shudder as we tread them, and which at intervals are lost on the rocky shore, or in the distance, which we dare not attempt to reach; such are the terrific objects, which in this [page 87] inhospitable country shock our view, and depress our imagination. The misery of the people is to be deplored, who are frequently obliged rapidly to traverse these frightful deserts, without finding a small spring, or a single rivulet, in which they may have the gratification of quenching their thirst; or a single bush under which they may repose from their fatigues... [Arago 1823:88]

The Journal of William Ellis

In 1823 English missionary, William Ellis, toured the island of Hawai'i with members of the American mission party, seeking out population centers at which to establish missions. The Journal of William Ellis (1963) provides readers with often detailed accounts of the villages

he visited. In this case, Ellis and party describe Kawaihae, Puakō, and Kapalaoa, with no residences being described in the 'Ōuli vicinity. His descriptions of the coastal environs and areas of habitation provide readers with a general sense of the cultural and natural landscape between Kawaihae and Kīholo. Members of the Ellis party traveled a portion of the *Alaloa*, walking from Puakō to Kawaihae, and apparently found no reason to walk further south towards Kalāhuipua'a or 'Anaeho'omalu.

Ellis' first visit to the Kawaihae (Towaihae) vicinity was made while sailing from Lāhainā, Maui to the island of Hawai'i. He noted that Kawaihae was a "considerable village," which presented good opportunity for the establishment of a mission (Ellis 1963:x). Ellis observed:

At four o'clock p.m. a light air sprung up from the southward, and carried us slowly on towards Tawaihae, a district in the division of Kohala, about four miles long, containing a spacious bay, and good anchorage...

The north side of the bay affords much the best anchorage for shipping, especially for those that wish to lie near the shore. It is the best holding ground, and is also screened by the *kuhiva* (high land) of Kohala from those sudden and violent gusts of wind, called by the natives *mumuku*, which come down between the mountains with almost irresistible fury, on the southern part of Towaihae, and the adjacent districts. (Ellis 1963:55)

The next day, Ellis walked about a "mile" to the south and arrived at the house of John Young (Olohana), "an aged Englishman, who had resided thirty-six years on the island, and rendered the most important services to the late king" (Ellis 1963:55). Ellis gave a sermon at Young's house to approximately 60 individuals, and he then departed by ship for Kailua (Ellis 1963:57).

Ellis and party made a second visit to Kawaihae, approaching from the north, while finishing his circuit of the island. While traveling by canoe from Māhukona, Ellis estimated that he saw about 600 houses, though only about 400 people had been counted (Ellis 1963:286). Ellis and party arrived at Kawaihae where they were hosted again by John Young. Ellis reported:

Before daylight on the 22d we were roused by vast multitudes of people passing through the district from Waimea with sandal wood, which had been cut in the adjacent mountains for Karaimoku, by the people of Waimea, and which the people of Kohala, as far as the north point, had been ordered to bring down to his store house on the beach, for the purpose of its being shipped to Oahu.

There were between two and three thousand men, carrying each from one to six pieces of sandal wood, according to their size and weight. It was generally tied on their backs by bands made of *ti* leaves, passed over the shoulders and under the arms, and fastened across their breast. When they had deposited the wood at the store house, they departed to their respective homes.

Between seven and eight in the morning, we walked to the warm springs, a short distance to the southward of the large heiaus, and enjoyed a refreshing bathe.

These springs rise on the beach a little below high-water mark, of course they are overflowed by every tide; but at low tide, the warm water bubbles up through the sand, fills a small kind of cistern, made with stones piled close together on the side towards the sea, and affords a very agreeable bathing place.

The water is comfortably warm, and is probably impregnated with sulphur; various medicinal qualities are ascribed to it by those who have used it. (Ellis 1963:286-287)

Ellis himself, did not travel the coastal trail much beyond 'Ōhai'ula Bay, but his journal includes excerpts of notes from Asa Thurston's visit to Puakō. The visit was made by walking from Pu'ukapu in the uplands of Waimea to Puakō, and then returning to Kawaihae along the trail:

From Puukapu he directed his steps towards the sea-shore, and in the twilight of the evening reached Puako, a considerable village, four or five miles to the southward of Towaihae, where he took up his lodging for the night. After addressing the people on the morning of the 27th, Mr. Thurston returned to Towaihae... (Ellis 1963:289)

In the section of his journal titled "*Visiting Villages Between Kawaihae and Kailua*" Ellis notes that he traveled by canoe along the southern coast of Kohala and northern coast of Kona. By the journal entry, it appears that Ellis saw no reason to stop at 'Ōuli, or again at Puakō, and he did not land again until he reached Kapalaoa (Kaparaoa), North Kona (Ellis 1963:294).

The Journal of Lorenzo Lyons (ca. 1832-1859)

On July 16 1832, Lorenzo Lyons (*Makua Laiana*), one of the most famed and beloved missionaries of all those who came to Hawai'i, replaced Reverend Dwight Baldwin as minister at Waimea, Hawai'i. Lyons' "Church Field" was centered in Waimea, at what is now the historic church 'Imiola and included both Kohala and Hāmākua (Doyle 1953:40 & 57). One of Lyons' churches was *Hōkū Loa* (Evening star), situated at the village of Puakō (Doyle 1953:167). This was the only church situated on the coast between Kawaihae and the Kohala-Kona boundary.

Lyons kept a journal describing his journeys and activities throughout the "field," and in 1835 he briefly mentioned his journey from Kawaihae to Puakō. He also noted that the livelihood of the people was based in fishing and making salt, the product of which they traded for vegetable goods with those people living in the cooler uplands.

Wednesday: Rose at four o'clock and walked to Puako, five or six miles distant. When it was light I gathered a few shells. I walked along the shore — alone. On one hand was the ocean; on the other a dreary, desolate waste — rocks, lava, coral. I thot of home as I often do. I wonder what my friends would think if they knew just where I am... I reached Puako at an early hour. As I was alone carrying my own calabash, the natives mistook me for some wandering foreigner, and when I spoke to them in their own language how startled they were! But some knew me. They expressed a great deal of pity for me because I had to carry my own baggage... I excited a great deal of curiosity, I then had

breakfast — that is I sat on a stone and ate a biscuit. No water could be found but salt water. As soon as the people could be collected together I talked to them; examined their school, after which I took a look at their salt works, took dinner, drank some coconut water, and started for home, my horse having come after me.

Puako is a village on the shore, very like Kawaihae, but larger. It has a small harbor in which native vessels anchor. Coconut groves give it a verdant aspect. No food grows in the place. The people make salt and catch fish. These they exchange for vegetables grown elsewhere. (Doyle 1953:84-85).

Another entry from Lyons journal between the years of 1839-1846 offers the following narrative:

Not infrequently at Kawaihae and Puako there is no food to be had. The people live without food for days, except a little fish which prevents starvation. Nor is this to be had everyday, the ocean being so rough they cannot fish, or a government working day interferes, when the sailing of a canoe is *tabu* — unless the owner chooses to pay a fine. The water too at these places is such that I cannot drink it. I would as soon drink a dose of Epsom salts... On the way to Puako, all is barren and still more desolate. After an hour's walk from my house, not a human dwelling is to be seen till you reach the shore, which requires a walk of about five hours (Doyle 1945:108-109).

Around this time period, Lyons estimated the total population of at Kawaihae and Puakō to be 734 persons, with almost no one in between (Doyle 1953:122).

During the time that Lyons was tending to his mission in South Kohala, one of his fellow missionaries visited him and reports having walked the trail from Wainānāli'i to Puakō, and then continued on the old trail to Kawaihae. The account, written by Cochran Forbes (1984) in 1841 provides the following observations:

Jany. 1. On the 29th left home for Kohala... [On Dec. 31] ...had a long & tedious journey by land to Kiholo. Arrived there at dark. Our canoe with baggage had not got along bad sea & head wind, *mumuku* & *hoolua* blowing, Spent the night at Kiholo & preached. Next morning our canoe got along as far as Wainanalii where we took breakfast and leaving the canoe, a strong *mumuku* blowing, we came by land over the lava to Puako arrived there about 3 oclock and encamped with Daniela (Loli) one of Bro Lyons' deacons. Here we spent the night and early this mornng. the men returned for the baggage & brought it By land as the sea is rough & strong winds blowing.

Monday Jany. 3. Spent the Sab. at Kawaihae. Preached twice to a few who assembled. Puna² was kind to us. Gave us the sole use of his house... (Forbes 1984:91)

² In the *Māhele*, Puna was recipient of L.C.A. No.'s 4522-4523; Puna was a *Konohiki* overseer of Kawaihae and companion of Ka'oaana'eha, the last wife of the late John Young.

Kailua to Kawaihae (1840)

J.J. Jarves, editor of the Polynesian, traveled around the island of Hawai'i with members of the United States Exploring Expedition (under the command of Captain Charles Wilkes). On July 25, 1840, he provided his readers with the following brief description of his journey from Kailua to Kawaihae:

At midnight, having rejoined the brig, she got underweigh, and taking the land breeze stood for Kawaihae bay, where we arrived late the following morning. The coast presented nothing but a dreary aspect of extinct craters, and blackened streams of lava, without vegetation. Mauna Hualalai, with its craggy peaks rose abruptly in the background, and occasionally Mauna Kea gleamed its snowy tops from out the surrounding mist. Kawaihae is a barren, cheerless place, containing but few houses and a store, as a depot for goods for the interior. A tolerable cart road leads to Waimea; distance fourteen miles. (The Polynesian July 25, 1840:26) (pp. 37-49)

‘ŌULI: AN OVERVIEW OF LAND TENURE AND ACCESS

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

As the *Māhele* evolved, it defined the land interests of Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III), some 252 high-ranking *Ali‘i* and *Konohiki*, and the Government. As a result of the *Māhele*, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands (Indices of Awards 1929). The “Enabling” or “*Kuleana* Act” of the *Māhele* (December 21, 1849) further defined the frame work by which *hoa‘āina* could apply for, and be granted fee-simple interest in “*Kuleana*” lands (cf. Kamakau in *Ke Au Okoa* July 8 & 15, 1869; 1961:403-403). The *Kuleana* Act also reconfirmed the rights of *hoa‘āina* to access, subsistence and collection of resources necessary to their life upon the land in their given *ahupua‘a* or land divisions. The *Kuleana* Act, which remains the foundation of law pertaining to native tenant rights, sets forth several important rights and criteria for those rights, among them are:

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...;

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 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"³ – HSA, DLNR 2-4]

The most important source of documentation that describes native Hawaiian residency and land use practices—identifying specific residents, types of land use, crops cultivated, and features on the landscape—is found in the records of the *Māhele ʻĀina*. The "Land Division" gave the *hoaʻāina* an opportunity to acquire fee-simple property interest (*kuleana*) on land which they lived and actively cultivated, but the process required them to provide personal testimonies regarding their residency and land use practices. As a result, records of the *Māhele ʻĀina* present readers with first-hand accounts from native tenants generally spanning the period from ca. 1819 to 1855. The lands awarded to the *hoaʻāina* were issued *Helu* (Numbers) by the Land Commission, and the Land Commission Award numbers (L.C.A.) remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Disposition of ʻŌuli

The entire land of ʻŌuli was awarded to James Young Kānehōa, son of Namokuelua (a Hawaiian chiefess connected to the Kamehameha line), and John Young (Olohana), one of two "*punahēle*" (favored) foreign advisors who served Kamehameha I in his battles to unite the Hawaiian Kingdom. Olohana's status in Kamehameha's court provided his children with inheritance rights to the lands which Kamehameha I had bestowed upon Olohana himself (Privy Council August 29, 1850). In South Kohala, ʻŌuli was among those lands, as was Kawaihae Hikina (2nd), which was awarded to Kānehōa's elder brother, Keoni Ana. Kānehōa's title to the land of ʻŌuli was confirmed in Land Commission Award No. 8518-B:1, which was later surveyed and determined to contain 3,632 acres. ʻŌuli extended from the

³ See also "*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina*" (Penal Code) 1850.

fishery fronting the land to approximately the 5,000 foot elevation (cf. Boundary Commission Book Volume 1, No. 3:120-123).

While preparing this study, the authors reviewed all of the records from the various volumes of the Māhele to identify claims in 'Ōuli. Thus, in addition to the title granted to Kānehoa, it was recorded that six *hoa'āina* also made claims for *kuleana* in 'Ōuli, though it appears that only two claims totaling approximately nine acres were actually awarded. The other claimants were either disallowed or gave up their claims in 'Ōuli. The results of the research is given below, and includes records from the original claims and testimonies of all applicants for *kuleana* identified in the volumes of the Land Commission's Native Register and Native Testimonies (digitized copies of the original Hawaiian communications are given in this study⁴).

Apparently, no native tenants claimed house lots or residency rights on the near-shore lands of 'Ōuli during the Māhele. All of the native tenant claimants, did describe residency and agricultural uses in the *mauka* (upland) section of 'Ōuli, and some also identified land use practices in neighboring land divisions or *ili* which were a part of the *kalana* of Waimea. While the texts document upland uses, they are silent regarding coastal residency and fisheries. Based on Hawaiian patterns of residency and land use practices, it can be assumed that at one time, the native tenants cared for and made use of resources on the shore and out on the ocean fisheries in conjunction with their upland activities.

Māhele Claims and Awards in 'Ōuli and Vicinity

Helu 3833 for Pae

Native Register Vol. 8:49

| | | |
|-----------|------------|---|
| 3833 | <i>Pae</i> | <i>Waimea Hawaii Januani 13. 1848</i> |
| | | <i>Aloha oukou ma Iuna Iroua Aina,</i> |
| <i>10</i> | | <i>Eia Koi pa kahi o anana ka lwa, 40 ana</i> |
| | | <i>ma ka lualua, aia ma Ouli Waimea</i> |
| | | <i>Hawaii, mai a Kaikai ke Konohiki ma</i> |
| | | <i>malalo ae o Kaoanaeha.</i> |
| | | <i>Ka Pae.</i> |

Waimea Hawaii January 12, 1848

Greetings to you Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles. Here is my house lot, 50 fathoms long by 40 fathoms wide, situated there in Ouli, Waimea, Hawaii; gotten from Kaikai the *Konohiki*, under Kaoanaeha.

By Pae.

[Maly, translator]

⁴ In the year 2000, *Kumu Pono Associates* digitized the entire collection of records for the *Māhele 'Āina* (that is, all volumes of the Register, Testimony, Mahele Award Books and Royal Patent Books); as a result, a complete index of all claims has been developed, thus improving upon the identification of native residents and land use in given areas.

Helu 3833 for Pae
Native Testimony Vol. 4:10 (Not Awarded)

3833 Pae
 12 Sepatem 1848
 Kōhōhikīia, Kāikāi. Aolelo maile
 Ua ike au i ka pahale o Pae i ke ʻili
 aina i Ouli ma Waimea Hawaii, ko-
 kahi Apana, aole ona hale malalo, ua
 paa i ka paa hoʻokahi ka paa, no ka-
 oanaeha ka hale malalo penei ma pa-
 lona, ma uka, ko Kaohimaunu aino
 ana Waho no ke Konohiki, makai no ke
 Konohiki no, pua no ma Kohala, moe
 aku kona, ua haawi au i ka M. 1846
 Aole au ka kea hou aku i aia

September 12, 1848

Kaikai sworn and stated: I know the house lot of Pae in the *Ili* land of Ouli, at Waimea, Hawaii. It is one parcel, he does not have a house in it; it is half way enclosed with a wall. The house belongs to Kaoanaeaha. The boundaries are thus: *Mauka*, the land of Kaohimaunu; *Waho* [South], land of the *Konohiki*; *Makai*, also the *Konohiki*; *Kohala*, the same. I gave it to him in the year 1866. I do not oppose his claim. [Maly, translator]

Helu 3903 for Naoho
Native Register Vol. 8:50

3903 Naoho
 A
 Aha oukou ma Luna Aona
 Kuleana Aina. Eia kei pahale, 50 anana
 ka loa, 10 anana ka lāua, aia ma
 Ouli Waimea Hawaii, maia a Kāikāi ke
 Konohiki maia, malalo a ka Kaoanae-
 ha a pāna, ka apana malalo o
 Kaonaeaha aolia. Na Naoho.

Greetings to you Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles. Here is my house lot claim, it is 50 fathoms long by 40 fathoms wide; situated there at Ouli, Waimea, Hawaii. Gotten from Kaikai, the *Konohiki*, below Kanehailua's parcel, and below Kaoanaeha.

By Naaho.
[Maly, translator]

Helu 3903 for Naaho (Naaho)
Native Testimony Vol. 4:7-8 (Parcel in Ouli not Awarded;
Award situated in Moumoualoha)

| | |
|------|---|
| 3903 | <p style="text-align: right;">13 Ipatimaha 1848</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Arohihiia, Kanehailua. Aolelo mai Ua ike no au i Kahi o Naaho ma Mau- mauahua i Waimea Hawaii. E lua Apiana ho Kahi apana Koluahale, ho Kahi Apiana</p> |
| 8 | <p>Aina, he noho hale wale no ko Naaho, no Kananakaha ka hale malalo, no Kai- kai mai ko Naaho, no Kananakaha mai ko Kaikai loa ia Kaikai 1846. Apana a lua he Aina, mauka ko Kananakaha aina, a paha no ona Situa, makai o Mo- moulaha he aina, oia no ona Kohala, he aina kauoha Kaha no Kona ma mauka, mai a Kananakaha mai, a make kona mau mauhala i Naaho, 1838 mauhala, o hiki i Keia la, kona Kaikaina malalo mai ona, he kule ana no kona Aolelo ma Kealea a hiki i Keia la.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Arohihiia o Kaikai Aolelo maia Ua like loa Poin ike me ka Kanehailua i hoi ae nei, aole me Kealea.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Arohihiia o Naaho. Aolelo maia Ua haalele au i Koi Kuleana pahale i hoopi ai, ke hoihoi nei au no Kananakaha, nona ka hale a me ka Poin he noho wale iho no Kuu, e hoi no au ma ka Apiana Aina</p> |

Kanehailua sworn and stated: I know the place of Naaho at Moumoualoo, Waimea, Hawaii. It is two parcels of land, Naaho only lives in a house that belongs to Kaoanaeha. Kaikai gave it to Naaho, and Kaoanaeha, gave it to Kaikai in 1846... [no reference to land in Ouli] [Maly, translator]

**Helu 4143 for Kamahakaua
Native Register Vol. 8:63**

| | | |
|------|-------------------|--|
| | | 63 |
| 4143 | <u>Kamahakaua</u> | Waimea Hawaii Jan 13, 1848 |
| | | Aloha na Lina Hoona Aina. |
| U | | He pa hale kahiko loa kōn aia ma Ouli Waimea Hawaii, 60 ananā ka loa, 40 anana ka laula, ka paa i ka papohaku mai a Kaoanaeha mai, Mahealani die e paa keia wahi idu. Na Kamahakaua. |

Waimea, Hawaii. Jan. 13, 1848

Greetings to you Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles. I have an old house lot at Ouli, Waimea, Hawaii. It is 60 fathoms long, and 40 fathoms wide, and it is surrounded by a stone wall. Gotten from Kaoanaeha. I desire to secure this place for myself.

By Kamahakaua.
[Maly, translator]

Helu 4143 for Kamahakaua
Native Testimony Vol. 4:14-15 (Not Awarded)

14th Kamahakaua 13 Sept. 1848
Aroshikiia o Kaikai A-
olelo maila Ua ike no au aia i ka
ili aena i Ouli W.W. Aroshikii Apana
Pahale, ua paa i ka hale, he hale hale
no Kamahakaua i ka hale, a o ana ha
wale no na palena o pua, nona aia
15th
Kona loa 1848 Aole me a ka aia ahiki
i kaia la.
Aroshikiia o Kanehailua Aolelo
maila. Ua like loa no ke ike me ka
Kaikai i ka aena, pelu ka mana-
wa i loa i

September 12, 1848

Kaikai sworn and stated: I know, that in the *ili* land of Ouli, W.W., there is one house lot parcel, surrounded by a wall, with one house for Kamahakaua, the boundaries are surrounded by Kaoanaeha. I gave it to him in 1848. No one has objected to this day.

Kanehailua sworn and stated: My knowledge is the same as spoken by Kaikai; that was the time it was gotten.

[Maly, translator]

LCA 4152 for Kaohimaunu
Native Register Vol. 8:62

| | |
|------|--|
| 62 | |
| 4152 | <u>Kaohimaunu</u> Waimea Hawaii Jan. 12. |
| JK | Na mea hounoano na Luna houna Aina. Aloha oukou. Eia kuu pa kaula, 50 anana ka loa, 40 anana ka lauda, mai a Kaikahi mai a ia hui ke Konohiki malalo o Kaonaha, Ouli ka lina mo Waimea Hawaii. Iki Kaohimaunu. |

Your Excellencies, Commissioners who Quiet Land titles. Greetings to you. Here is my house lot, 50 fathoms long, by 40 fathoms wide; gotten from Kaikai, the *Konohiki* below Kaoanaeha. Ouli is the land, at Waimea, Hawaii.

By Kaohimaunu
[Maly, translator]

4152

Kaohimaunu

13 Epatoa 1848

Hohokikiia o Kaitai, Ale-

lo maila Ua ike no au aia i ka ili
 i Ouli W. 4. he Pahale malaila, ma ka
 ili aia i Lanikepu. he mau kihapai
 kalo elua, Akolu Apana, Apana mea
 Pahale, Ale i paa i ka paa, ua malakau
 nae, elua hale malako no Kaohimaun-
 u no iu mau hale, mauka o Ke Ka-
 anailia, ma Waho o Kuonailia no, ma
 Kahi o Ke Pae aia, ma Hohala o Ke Ka-
 anailia no, noiu aku kona pahale, loa
 1839 Ale au heakea i aia, Apana elua,
 malakalo, mauka o Ke Kaanaana aia
 ma Waho o Ke Konoiki, pela no makai
 pela no ma Hohala, Apana Akolu, elua
 me Kame, mauka o Ke Kahi aia, ma
 Waho no Ke Konoiki C. Kanaia, makai
 o Ke Koolani aia, ma Hohala o Ke Ka-
 anailia aia, no Kahi aku kona
 loa Kahi wahi aia 1846 Ale mea
 heakea a hiki i Kahi la

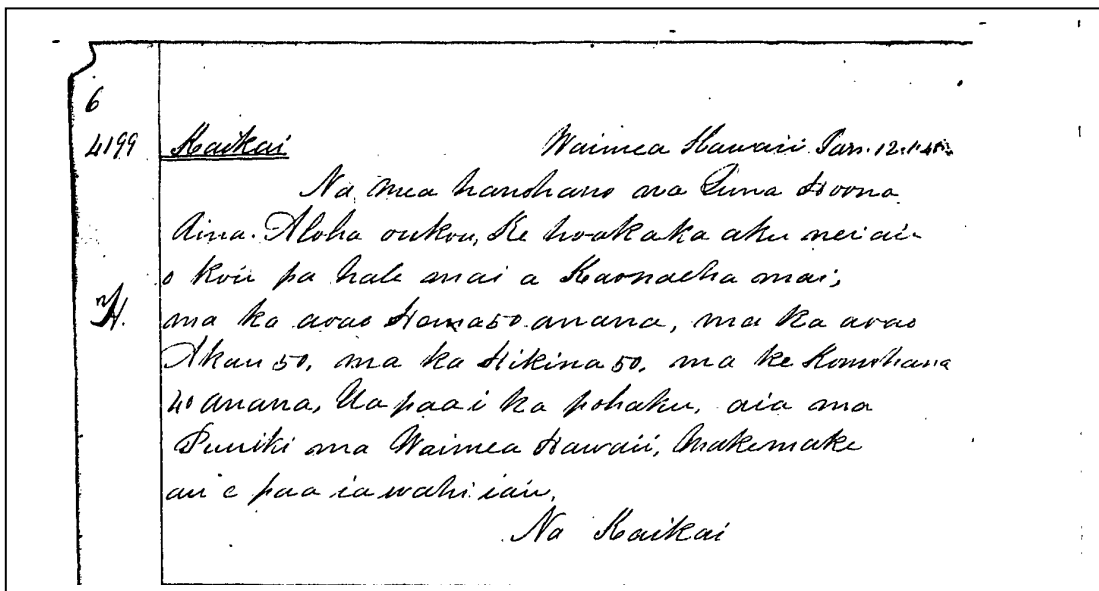
Hohokikiia o Kahi Alelo maila
 Ua like loa Kahi me ka Kaitai

172

Kahi au nei Noiu aku ma Apana aia
 elua, ua haawi aku au aia 1846
 Ale mea heakea a hiki i Kahi la

Kaikai sworn and stated: I know, there in the *ili* of Ouli, W.H., he has a house lot; and in the *ili* land of Lanikepu are two taro gardens (*kihapai kalo*). Three parcels in all. The first section is the house lot, it is not enclosed with a wall, but preparations are being made. There are two houses there for Kaohimaunu. Kaoanaeha is *mauka*; Kaoanaeha is Waho [south] *Makai* is Pae's land; towards Kohala is Kaoanaeha's land. He received his house lot from me in 1839. I do not object to him. The second section [in Lanikepu], is a taro garden (*mala kalo*); to the uplands is Kaanaana's land, and on all other sides is land of the *Konohiki*. Section three, planted: to the uplands is the land of Nuhi; on the Waho [south- is the *Konohiki*, C. Kanaina; towards the shore is Koalani; and towards Kohala is the land of Kanehailua. He received this place from Kiai in 1846. No one has objected to him to this day... [Maly, translator]

LCA 4199 for Kaikai
Native Register Vol. 8:6



Your Excellencies, the Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles. Greetings to you. I hereby describe my house lot to you; it was gotten from Kaoanaeha. On the South side it is 50 fathoms; on the North it is 50 fathoms; on the East, it is 50; and on the West, it is 40 fathoms. It is enclosed with a stone wall. There at Puuiki [in 'Ouli] in Waimea, Hawaii. I desire to secure this place for me.

By Kaikai.
 [Maly, translator]

Helu 4199 for Kaikai
Native Testimony Vol. 4:6 (Awarded)

4199 Kaikai 11 Sept 1848
 Arohikiia o Puna Aolelo ma-
 ila. Ua ike au i keia aina o Kai-
 kai ma Puuiki i Waimea Hawaii
 hookahi Ahana, dua hale maloko
 ua paa i ka paa a puni me na me
 kanu oloko, mauka he wahi no ke
 Ahupuaa, ma Wailoa he kahawai
 o Puuiki. ka inoa, makai he Ahu-
 puaa no, ma Kohala he kahawai
 o Mananea, no mana kei Kona
 1841 Aole o mana keakea inia a
 hiki i keia la

Puna sworn and stated: I know this land of Kaikais' at Puuiki in Waimea, Hawaii. It is in one section, with two houses within it. It is entirely enclosed with a wall, and *mea kanu* (plants cultivated) within. *Mauka* is a place of the *ahupuaa*; towards Wailoa, is a stream, by the name of Puuiki; *makai* is the *ahupuaa*; and towards Kohala is the stream of Mananea. We two [Puna and Kaoanaeha] gave it to him in 1841, and do not object to him to this day.

[Maly, translator]

Helu 595 – T.C. B. Rooke for James Young Kanehoa
Native Register Vol. 3:573 (Awarded)

595 T.C.B. Rooke See Page 708
 Na aina o ma hosiilina o Oloheana
 Ua mahale like ia
 Ko J.Y. Kanehoa 1 Ouli Waimea Hawaii
 2 Ulaia Maui
 3 Ii i Kohala Kona Hawaii
 Ko Heani Ana 4 Kanihika Kohala
 5 Kanihika Kohala
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The lands of the heirs of Olohana, are divided as:

- Belonging to J.Y. Kanehoa 1 Ouli, Waimea, Hawaii
 2 Ulaino, Maui
 3 *Ili* at Kahaluu, Kona, Hawaii...
 [Maly, translator]

**Helu 8518-B to James Young Kanehoa
 Native Register Vol. 3:709**

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>8518 B. Ko James Y. Kanehoa</i> | | | |
| <i>Ima o ka Aina</i> | <i>Ahupuaa</i> | <i>Kalana</i> | <i>Mokupuni</i> |
| <i>Lawai</i> | ~ | <i>Kona</i> | <i>Kauai</i> |
| ✓ <i>Ouli</i> | <i>Ahupuaa mo Waimea</i> | <i>Kohala</i> | <i>Hawaii</i> |
| <i>Several ili malowale i Kahaluu</i> | ~ | ~ | ~ |
| ✓ <i>Ulaino</i> | <i>Ahupuaa</i> | <i>Koolau</i> | <i>Maui</i> |

Belonging to James Y. Kanehoa

| Name of the Land | Ahupuaa | District | Island |
|------------------------------------|--|----------|--------|
| Lawai | ~ | Kona | Kauai |
| Ouli | Birthright lands Ahupuaa for Waimea | Kohala | Hawaii |
| Several <i>ili</i> lost at Kahaluu | ~ | ~ | ~ |
| Ulaino | ~ | Koolau | Maui. |
| [Maly, translator] | | | |

‘Ōuli and Vicinity Described in Proceedings of the Boundary Commission (1873)

In 1862, a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i to legally set the boundaries of all the *ahupua‘a* and lands that had been awarded as a part of the *Māhele*. Subsequently, in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries was authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118). Rufus A. Lyman served as the Commissioner of Boundaries for the Third Judicial Circuit. The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the areas being described. The informants were generally born between the 1790s to 1820s, they spoke in Hawaiian, and their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. Register Map No. 47 (*Figure 2*), surveyed by J. Brown in 1873, accompanies the confirmed boundaries of the land of ‘Ōuli.

The narratives below include all of the records of application, native testimonies, and the certificate of boundaries for the *‘ili* of ‘Ōuli; and also include excerpts from testimonies for neighboring lands. The narratives describe land features and documentation of native customs, practices, and cultural features of ‘Ōuli. Underlining and square bracketing are used by in this study to highlight particular points of historical interest in the narratives.

Ouli Ili, Waimea Ahupuaa

District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii

Boundary Commission, Hawaii, Volume A, No. 1:452

Petition...

Waimea, South Kohala, Hawaii, August 18th 1873

To the Honorable Rufus A. Lyman, Commissioner of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii, Hawaiian Islands

The undersigned respectfully represents, that he is the owner of that Ahp. of the land named Ouli, situated in this district, South Kohala, Hawaii, Hawaiian Islands aforesaid, formerly granted in the fee simple by its ancient boundaries to His Late Highness, John Young, from the Heirs of whom the undersigned applicant inherited the same to wit—

The *Ahupuaa* of Ouli according to the annexed Ancient Boundaries is bounded upon the *mauka* side by Lanikapu [Lanikepu], a Government land, and upon the *makai* side by a Crown Land named Momouloa. The *Ahupuaa* of Waimea cuts both of the above named lands off, and runs side by side with Ouli to the sea. Said *Ahupuaa* of Waimea is a Crown Land, the great part of which is leased to Dr. McKibbin of Honolulu. There are one or more kuleanas on Lanikapu.

The *Ahupuaa* of Ouli, being granted by its ancient boundaries only. Therefore the Petitioner respectfully requests that the said boundaries may be legally defined and settled by Your Honorable Commission and to that end makes this application, to have the same decided and certified by you as Commissioner of Boundaries as aforesaid Pursuant to the requirements of the Statute.

Very Respectfully,
(Signed) Francis Spencer

***Ouli, an Ili Aina of Waimea Ahupuaa
District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii, 3d Judicial Circuit
(Boundary Commission, Hawaii – Volume B:64-67)***

On this, the 14th day of November A.D. 1873 the Commission of Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii, 3d Judicial Circuit, met at the Court House in Waimea, South Kohala, according to notice by publication in the Hawaiian Gazette of _____ and Kuokoa of _____ 1873. On the application of F. Spencer for the settlement of the boundaries of Ouli, south Kohala, Island of Hawaii. Due notice personally served on owners or Agents of adjoining lands as far as known.

Present: F. Spencer, applicant and G.W.D. Halemanu on the part of the Crown and Queen Emma.

For Petition see Folio 452, Book A.

Testimony:

Pupuka^k. Sworn.

I was born on Ouli, and was quite large at the building of Kiholo [1811], but do not know the date of my birth. I have lived on Ouli and adjoining lands. I know all the boundaries of said land, used to mahiai [farm] on the makai portion of it. Ouli is bounded makai by the sea, and has ancient fishing rights, it is bounded on the Kona side by Waimea.

The boundary at sea shore is Kaihumoku, a point of stones in the sea, or the middle of the sand beach, thence direct to Ahuahaloo, the boundary following an old trail to the place, thence to Akalanapahu, thence to Kaaweueu, where the boundary runs into a gulch called Waiulaula. (at the shore this is an ahu [cairn – altar] in the gulch)

Thence along the gulch to Puuiki close to the side of the Government road from Waimea to Kawaihae, from thence to Liloapoho, a *punawai* [spring] in the gulch, thence to Paipai the *makai* corner of Ohia, formerly Ku's land, and now owned by John Parker, Patent from No. _____, thence along Ohia to Kawaluna at the road to North Kohala. [page 64]

Thence along Makaluhi's Land Patent No. _____ to Haumea, a hill, thence along Kiai's *kula* land, now owned by Lindsay, No. 1070, along this land to Ainapu, a hill by the boundary. Kahekalua's land No. 1070 ends near this place. There is a small remnant of the land of Lanikapu [Lanikepu] near the road to Kawaihae.

From the *mauka* corner of Kahekalua's land the boundary runs along Lanikepu, thence to Ohia o Keawe, a resting place on the road, which we used to go up and catch birds. Thence up to Lua Meki Halukuwailani, a deep hole with some small ones near to it, thence to the gulch Keanui o manu where Ouli is cut off by the land of Puukapu. There is a deep water hole and ancient crossing at the corner of Momoualua and Ouli and boundary of Puukapu, this point is marked X. Thence the boundary between Ouli and Momoualua runs *makai* to Kinoiki,

thence to Kekualoa a cultivating ground, belonging to Ouli, thence to Kekuaninau, between Kekualoa and Kekuaninau the boundary runs in the gulch, thence leaving said gulch the boundary runs to Keahupuaa, a pile of stones, passing around the base of a large hill called Kamoā (said hill is on the *mauka* side of the road to Kohala) thence Hookeke, a *koele* [agricultural field worked for the chief], thence to a gulch on the Kohala side of Puuiki, to a place called Keahukauina on the road to Kawaihae. *Mauka* of Puuiki Momoualoha ceases to join Ouli; and Pauahi joins to Keahukauina. Thence along the land of Kapia, an *ili* of Waimea to a hill called Kuanuanu (Keahukauina is a resting place in the road). Thence along the land of Napuukawaiwai (an *ili* of Waimea) to Palinui, a resting place and hill on the Kona side of Kawaihae road. Thence along the land of Kawaihae to Owaakahoalii, an ancient pile of stones, thence to gulch, thence along the gulch to Waiulaula at the shore. My parents (now dead) showed me the boundaries. I went with the surveyor last month built piles of stones and marked X on them, on the boundaries as I pointed them out. Kalua K. a *kamaaina* of said lands, also went with us.

CX.d.

The boundary between Ouli and Puukapu [page 65] is the gulch Keanui o Manu. I know the boundaries of Puukapu, where I used to go after birds. [page 66]

Kalua^K. Sworn.

I was born in Waimea South Kohala Hawaii at the time of the plague [1804], and have lived in Waimea, and Kapia, a land near Ouli. I am a *kamaaina* and know the boundaries of Ouli. Kauhine^K a *konohiki* (now dead) showed them to me. The sea bounds it *makai* and the land has ancient fishing rights. Bounded on the Kona side by Waimea. (The land Ouli is an *ili* of Waimea).

Commencing at the sea shore at a place called Kaihumoku thence direct *mauka* to Ahuahalo, thence to Kulanapahu, thence to Kaaweueu, a place where the trail from shore crosses a gulch, thence up the gulch to Puuiki, a place by the road from Waimea to Kawaihae, thence along the gulch to Waiachua, a pool of water in the gulch, Thence to Liloapoho, thence across the road in the gulch to Paipai, where Lanikapu joins Ouli; thence along land sold on Lanikapu to Kumukawau, the *mauka* corner of my land, thence along the Government land to Ohia o Keawe. Thence to Luameki Halukuwailani, thence to gulch Keanuiomano where Ouli is cut off by Puukapu, there is a *pahoehoe* rock in the gulch towards Kohala, to an ancient crossing place marked X thence to Kini a hill running along on the land Moumoualoha thence to Kekualoa, and from thence down the gulch to Kekuaninau, there the boundary leaves the gulch and runs along on the South side of said gulch. Thence around the west base of a hill, called Kamoā to a rock marked X called Keahupuaa. Thence to Hokeke thence to Pauahi gulch. Thence along Kawaihae road and land of Pauahi to Keahu Kaoina, thence along the land of Kapia and Panaulukia, to Palinui. Thence along the *ili aina* of Kapukawaiwai to Kaopapa, a resting place *mauka* of Puuainako. Thence to Puuainako, thence along the land of Kawaihae to Oahuakahoalii, thence direct down to the gulch called [page 66] Waiulaula, thence down said gulch to Kalepeamoā, where it is marked by the seashore. I went with the surveyor Mr. Brown, and pointed out the boundaries to him. Pupuka, Samuela, Kalalaluhi and Kanealii and others went

with us. The boundaries I testify to today are the ones that were told to me by former *Konohiki* and are the same as I pointed out to the surveyor.

CXd.

Kauhine was a *kamaaina*, and I learned from him the boundaries of the *makai* portion of Ouli. The upper portion I heard from bird catchers. I went with Kamau and Kanehailua, and lived with them two months catching birds and they told me the *mauka* boundaries.

Moaluhi, ^k, Sworn.

I was born at Puukapu, at the same time of Kamehameha III [ca. 1813]; and have always lived in Waimea. Am a *kamaaina* of Puukapu. Niahe, a cousin of my mothers, who was a bird catcher told me the boundaries.

Puukapu cuts off all lands to Kawaihae, but I have not heard the points where the different lands are cut off.

The *mamo* and *olona* grounds belonged to Puukapu. Ouli as surveyed does not come into Puukapu. I have heard where it has been surveyed from the two last witnesses.

CXd.

All the witnesses not being on hand, the case is continued until further notice to all interested parties.

R.A. Lyman, Commissioner of Boundaries, 3d Judicial Circuit

Decision

After due notice to interested parties, the Certificate of Boundaries is issued in accordance with corrected notes of survey filed by C.J. Lyons... [page 67]

No. 63

(Volume 1, No. 3:120-123)

Certificate of the Boundaries of Ouli,

District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii, 3rd Judicial Circuit.

Upon the Application of Francis Spencer and by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, as sole Commissioner of Land Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii, 3rd J. C.; I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of the *Ahupuaa* of Ouli, situated in the District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii, to be as hereinafter set forth.

Given under my hand at Hilo, Hawaii, This Twenty-first day of January, A.D. 1875.

R.A. Lyman, Commissioner of Boundaries, 3d J.C.

Boundaries of Ouli

Beginning at a pile of stones at the point on the Kawaihae road known as Puuainako and running as follows, by magnetic meridian, the [page 120] variation being understood to be 8' East excepting where otherwise indicated by natural boundary marks:

1. South 44° 00' West 4650 feet along Kawaihae to pile of stones Lawai;
2. South 53° 30' west 5000 feet to Paliuli;
3. Thence down the Waiulaula gulch along Kawaihae to mouth of said gulch bearing
South 70° 00' West from initial point, and distant thence 17500 feet;
4. Thence along the sea shore at high water mark to Kaihumoku the direct course and distance being;
South 2° 30' East 8500 feet;
5. North 53° 00' East 5800 feet along Lalamilo or *Ahupuaa* of Waimea to Ahuahalo;
6. North 63° 30' East 2900 feet along the same;
7. North 63° 45' East 6040 feet along the same
8. North 61° 30' East 6417 feet along the same;
9. South 77° 00' East 1084 feet into bed of gulch;
10. North 65° 00' East 705 feet still along the *Ahupuaa* of Waimea and the middle of gulch;
11. North 33° 45' East 2777 feet along middle of gulch;
12. North 76° 30' East 3750 feet along middle of gulch;
13. North 75° 30' East 3635 feet along middle of gulch;
14. North 48° 30' East 1079 feet along middle of gulch;
15. North 47° 00' East 2584 feet along middle of gulch;
16. North 73° 45' East 5060 feet along the middle of gulch to the South corner of Royal Patent No. 1283 (Grant) at the old road;
17. North 2° 30' East 935 feet along Royal Patent 1283; [page 121]
18. North 9° 30' East 1330 feet along Royal Patent 1283
19. North 1° 30 East 2800 feet along Royal Patent 1282 (to Makaluhi);
20. North 27° 00' East 300 feet along Lanikepu to *puu* Pali o Haumea
21. North 13° 00' west 2460 feet along Kiai's land, Land Commission Award 4207 and Royal Patent (grant) 1070;
22. North 14° 00' East 750 feet along the same to an *ohia* tree at its West angle;
23. Due North 7500 feet along Government land in Lanikepu to the Keanuiomano Gulch;
24. About Due West 1200 feet along said gulch and line of Puukapu;

25. South 6° 30' East 9000 feet along Momonaloa [Momoualoo] to where the gulch takes a sudden turn above hill at rock marked X;
26. South 26° 30' East 975 feet around hill;
27. South 7° 30' East 500 feet around hill;
28. South 25° 00' West 245 feet around hill;
29. South 56° 00' West 500 feet around hill;
30. North 49° 15' West 150 feet around hill;
31. South 6° 00' West 260 feet around hill;
32. South 54° 30' West 214 feet around hill;
33. South 7° 00' West 635 feet to *mauka* side of Kohala road;
34. South 3° 30' West 258 feet along Momonaloa;
35. South 10° 15' West 2070 feet along [page 122] Momonaloa to large rock;
36. South 3° 15' West 2150 feet to pile rocks;
37. North 85° 45' West 1050 feet along Momonaloa;
38. South 47° 30' West 3850 feet along Pauahi;
39. South 68° 30' West 1400 feet along Kapia;
40. South 86° 45' West 4311119 feet along Kapia & Puu Kawaiwai
41. South 81° 15' West 4560 feet along Puu Kawaiwai;
42. South 75° 30' West 2750 feet along Puu Kawaiwai;
43. South 83° 00' West 2548 feet to top of Puuainako, the point of commencement.

Containing an Area of 3632 Acres.

R.A. Lyman, Commissioner of Boundaries, 3d Judicial Circuit

Surveyed by J.F. Brown... [page 123]

Waikoloa nui Ili of Waimea – Hawaii

Volume A – 1, No. 2

Rex vs. George Davis

Boundary Dispute

Testimony taken August 8th and 9th 1865 at Waimea-Hawaii.

Davis' Witnesses: Rex Witnesses:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| 1. Mi 1 st | 1. Kaolulu |
| 2. Ehu | 2. Kuupele |
| 3. Kuehu | 3. Kanakaole |
| 4. Kalua | 4. Moluhi |
| 5. Moolau | 5. Kanehailua |
| 6. Kuahine | 6. Kahakauwila |
| 7. Wahahee | 7. Kualehelehe |

George Davis claims that Waikoloa, as he had heard, begins at Puaapilau, thence down the road from Hamakua to Waimea, to Puu Ohikona, thence to Paakai nui, thence to Ouli, the land of Keoniana, and along the boundary of Ouli to the sea shore at Kaihumoku, thence along the shore to Lalamilo; thence to Keaha [Keahaaha], thence to Keakolono [i.e., Keahuolono], on the boundary of Kona; then along the boundary of Kona to Kaohe, then along the boundary of Kaohe to Kemoli [Kemole], thence to Kupaha... [p. 6]

The Ahupuaa of Kawaihae 2nd

District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii 3d. J.C.

Volume B

November 15, 1873.

Kalualukela^K. Sworn

I was born at Kawaihae uka two years before the building of Kiholo [ca. 1808]. I have always lived there, and know all the boundaries.

Kuhelani my father, and his brother, bird catchers, when they were growing old showed me the boundaries as was the custom in olden times, I also went with them when I was young, as they were lunas [boss-men] under the *konohiki* of Kawaihae hikina [eastern Kawaihae].

Kawaihae is bounded *makai* by the sea, and has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea; bounded, on the Kona side by the *ahupuaa* of Waimea. In Kamehameha Is time, I heard from my parents that he gave the land adjoining Kawaihae at the sea shore to Ouli there by making that land extend to the sea. Before that time Ouli stopped at Puuiki. Davis and John Young were great favorites of Kamehameha I and he gave them the land, thereby making Ouli (ili of Waimea) bound Kawaihae at the sea shore, instead of [page 73] the ahupuaa. A place called Kalepemoa [on the shore] a pile of stones near Waiulaula gulch is the boundary. Beginning here the boundary runs up the gulch to Paliuli, an old cultivating ground near the gulch, there the boundary runs to the left of the gulch to Lawai [Lauwai] and from thence to Puainako, where Kawaihae ceases to join Ouli, and is bounded by Napukawaiwai [Napuukawaiwai], an *ili* of Waimea. Thence along this land to Kalualepo yellow soil on the Kawaihae side of Waihoolana, this swamp has *piipiiwai* and *kalokaloha* growing in it and is the South East corner of Kawaihae, and at the place where that land is cut off by Waipio and Waimanu. The slope towards Kawaihae belonging to Kawaihae and the slope towards Waipio belonging to that land. No swamp belonging to Kawaihae.

(Note: This boundary has already been decided by Judge G.M. Robertson.)... [p. 74]

GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS DESCRIBING THE COASTAL LANDS OF 'ŌULI AND VICINITY

The authors have conducted detailed studies of Hawaiian Kingdom and Government records for the South Kohala-North Kona region. From that research and collection of documents are several accounts that provide readers with nineteenth century descriptions of 'Ōuli and the larger South Kohala District. Perhaps not surprisingly—in light of the nature of earlier historical documentation cited above—the historical records contribute little information on residency or land use on the near-shore lands of 'Ōuli. This silence may be interpreted as meaning that little or no near shore residency, other than temporary or seasonal habitation, was occurring on the shore of 'Ōuli throughout most of the nineteenth century.

In the records and communications of the Hawaiian Government, housed in the collection of the Hawai'i State Archives (HAS), some of the most interesting documentation found to date, is that which is associated with the ancient *Alaloa* (the primary native trail system), which in this case was near the shore of 'Ōuli, crossing the lower Wai'ula'ula Gulch. Portions of the *Alaloa* were later modified and incorporated into the *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Road) system of the Hawaiian Kingdom. While 'Ōuli is not specifically named (generally only 'Anaeho'omalu, Puakō and Kawaihae are named), the trail or "road system described in the communications cited below passed across Hāpuna Beach, the Kauna'oa Bluff, and Kauna'oa Beach, to ascend the Ka'aha bluff and continue on to Kawaihae.

Selected communications from the HAS Government Road Files are cited below, and the section following this one, includes important survey documentation and sketches from 1882 showing various locations along the South Kohala coast, including the *Alaloa* and Government Road system.

Roads of Coastal South Kohala and North Kona (ca. 1847-1893)

By 1847, Kamehameha III initiated a program on the island of Hawai'i to improve the means of travel around the island. Indeed, by this time, such work on the older *Alaloa* (the main ancient trail which encircled the island), was being planned to straighten and realign the route in locations, and improve existing alignments where feasible; this in part to facilitate travel by visitors (see Kapeau, 1847, below). Based on the historical record, it seems that in the case of the Kawaihae-Puakō route, little work was undertaken, as the route was deemed the best one available based on the limited travel which occurred in the area.

The following communications document government expenditures and community involvement in work on the *Alaloa-Alanui Aupuni*, extending from Kawaihae to Kīholo:

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, are now being surveyed. When I find a suitable day, I will go to Napoopoo immediately, to confer with the old timers of that place, in order to decide upon the proper place to build the highway from Napoopoo to Honaunau, and Kauhako, and thence continue on to meet the road from Kau. The road is close to the shore of Kapalilua...

The width of the highways 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, the steep gulches at Waipio and Pololu, but this place can be left to the very last... [HAS - Subject File, Roads Hawaii]

March 30, 1866

**Geo. Hardey, Road Supervisor for Kohala, Hamakua, and Kona; to
F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of Interior:**

...I have now 7 prisoners and 9 hired men at work upon the Kiholo Road (the lava flow) and I would beg to inquire if I am to make a separate Quarterly Return of moneys expended of the appropriations or include in my Yearly act. merely. If there should be any money left to be expended upon the Kiholo Road I should feel obliged if you would forward to me said amt. I expect the Kiholo Road will take me about 2 months from the time of commencement (the 20th of last month). I also need 12 stone crowbars for this work... (Subject File – Roads, Hawaii)

The individuals who worked on the road between April 1st to June 30th, 1866 included:

Kailihonua, Kahele, Welewele, Keliihanapule, Kailikini, Puukala, Maluo, Kahaolehokano, Kimo, Poliahu, Moehau, Kiaihili, Paapu, and Papa... (Subject File – Roads, Hawaii; March 30, 1866)

September 20, 1871

**Samuel F. Chillingworth, Road Supervisor, South Kohala; to
F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior:**

Herewith I have the honor to hand your Excellency, a/c current vouchers etc. for work on Kawaihae & Kiholo road, also for money expended in the repairs of the Waimea road, in the part damaged by the recent storm.

I have now made about two thirds of the road from the boundary where Mr. Smith commenced, leaving about one third more to finish the road over the "Clinkers." The portion I have worked, I have succeeded in making into quite a good road and have carefully gone over the remaining portion, which will take about two Hundred Dollars to complete. I find however that I have exceeded the limits of your Excellency's first instructions viz. (to expend \$500)... I now await your Excellency's instructions as to continuing the work... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

December 28, 1871

**Samuel F. Chillingworth, Road Supervisor; to
F.W. Hutchison, Minister of Interior:**

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 16th Inst. (which reached my hands by "Kilauea" on last evening.) In reply I would beg to say that your informant in the matter of the road over the lava flow has taken the course usually adopted by parties who complain to satisfy some private pique, he has flavored a large quantity of false statements by a few facts. The men employed by me on the road at present, are exactly the same body of men that recently completed the "Waimea & Kawaihae road". I selected these from the fact that they were experienced hands at road making. I employed them at 75 cents per day, this being the lowest terms I could get men to go there for. I did not consent to pay this price until I had tried thoroughly to get some men to work cheaper. What Mr. Smith pays his men I do not know (I have heard it was 50 cents and food) but after I had tried hard to get the men to work for 50 cents, and found that they would not I was compelled to give them the 75 cents, but if your Excellency will refer to my letter, which accompanied the first pay list in connection with the road you will find that in that letter I called your Excellency's attention to the charge per day, asking you if you considered that amount too much, to let me know, and at the same time informing you that I could not get men here to go over for less. The men are employed by the day are liable to discharge at the termination of any days work. The work has been all done under my supervision, and under the immediate charge of the native Luna "Epa", I have made what I consider a very good road, and I am not alone in that opinion as I have from time to time been complimented by the many travellers. However I would most respectfully suggest that your Excellency should appoint some outside party to examine the road and report on the present condition and quality of work done. I have not measured exactly the quantity of road completed, but have about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile more to work, when the road will be completed from the commencement of the lava flow to the district boundary which is the largest half of the whole flow. The men in my employment as road Supervisor I have always worked to the fullest extent either on start work or otherwise as I thought most beneficial to the work in hand.

With respect to the men working for me on steamer days, if your Excellency will kindly refer to my pay lists forwarded to the department, you will find that the men have just asked five days payment for the government. The sixth day they work for me on the steamer for which I pay them \$1.00 per man. The men are not in my pay only as the work for us here, and are paid by me just in accordance with the number of days they work for us... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

December 29, 1871

**R.A. Lyman, Governor of Hawaii; to
F.W. Hutchison, Minister of the Interior:**

...I notice in your favor of the 18th inst., that you speak of the new flow of lava on the Kiholo and Kawaihae road. The only New flow of lava on that road, is the flow of 1859, on the north side of Kiholo, and is several miles south of the boundary of south Kohala and north Kona.

Mr. Smith I am told commenced to work the road in Kona at the boundary of south Kohala and is working towards the New Lava flow at Kiholo. He has not yet got to it. Mr. C. [Chillingworth] commenced work at the boundary of his District, and is working towards Kawaihae. Judge Hoapili says that he has almost completed his portion of the road, and that you can canter a horse the whole length of it... (Subject File – 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... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

December 19, 1892

Wm. Hookuanui (Kawaihae resident); to G.N. Wilcox, Minister of the Interior:
Applies to Wilcox for the position of Road Supervisor, South Kohala, and notes:

...Here in my district there is great trouble on the roads, and there are many dangerous places to travel. (Subject File – Roads Hawaii; translated by K. Maly)

March 2, 1893

Jas. E. Laau (Kawaihae resident); to J.A. King, Minister of the Interior:

Please look over this letter thoroughly. We, the men that worked on the Road between Kawaihae and Kona, ask your Excellency to carefully look over this, as follows.

We were hired to work on said Road for \$140.00 – Contract work. After we completed our work we went to Wm. Hookuanui, Chairman of the Road Board for our money, he had drawn the money but he put it off from one week to another, and we nearly had a "row" to it. Last week he paid us \$100.00, with an IOU for the balance of \$40.00. The time has passed for payment. Therefore we humbly ask that this matter be worked out and that we be paid our money in full. (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 23, 1893

Judge S.H. Mahuka, District of South Kohala; to

J.A. King, Minister of the Interior:

...I have learned that a petition has been sent to His Excellency asking for the removal of the Road Board of this District:

John Maguire, Esq.
Wm. Hookuanui, Esq.
Willie K. Davis

This Road Board was elected by a popular vote of the people of this district. Wm. Hookuanui was elected by the Board Chairman. Willie Davis has been absent from the District on the account of ill health and he has since returned.

In my capacity as District Judge, I wish to say that I have implicit confidence in the Road Board. Wm. Hookuanui personally supervised the working of the roads of this District with capability and at a small cost.

1. The road from Kalahuipuaa to Keahualono has been repaired at a cost of \$90.00.
2. The road from Puako to Kawaihae has been repaired at a cost of \$50.00. The first work that has been done on the same for the last 20 years.

These roads are now thoroughly repaired and in first class condition, the public is witness to this statement... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

Travel Across the Kawaihae-Kīholo Road in 1902

In 1902, Charles Baldwin penned a series of articles in the magazine, Hawaii's Young People, describing the "Geography of Hawaii." In his discussion about the roads on the island of Hawai'i, he presented readers with a good description of travel between Kohala and Kona. Baldwin wrote:

In traveling around the other islands of the group, we usually follow the seashore, but with Hawaii the case is different, for, to avoid waste regions and to accommodate the inhabitants, the road goes far inland in places. As the government could not always afford to build more than one road around the "big" island, that one was put where it would be of the most use to the greatest number of people.

During my first tour around Hawaii I met a gentleman who said that he had *driven* around the island. I had always supposed that this was impossible, as there was only a trail between Kohala and Kona, but there was his buggy and horse which he had purchased in Hilo. Later, I discovered what he had done—and others like him, who claim that they have driven around Hawaii. Putting his horse and wagon on the little steamer Upolu, he had sailed around to Kailua; but as the Upolu has since been wrecked, you cannot now "*drive*" around Hawaii.

In a year or two the wagon road which is now building over the lava between Waimea and Kona [under the supervision of Eben Low] will have been completed and then one can drive around the island. But this section now being

constructed, as well as that portion over the lava between Kona and Kau, will be rough traveling.

Travelers from Kohala to Kona usually take the trail over the lava from Kawaihae. Most people speak of this as a journey to be avoided, but, with a horse that is used to traveling over lava, the ride is not an unpleasant one, particularly if we make an early start from Kawaihae, thus reaching Kiholo before the lava has had time to get thoroughly heated. Twenty miles of the trail is over lava; the first portion, that between Kawaihae and Kiholo, being the worst. Nowhere else in the world may one see so many recent lava flows as are gathered in this region. Most of them are *aa* flows. The ride is certainly a unique one, and consequently interesting... (Baldwin 1902:46)

Kawaihae-Puakō Road Survey and House Lots Surveys (1949-1950)

It appears that after the 1890s, little archival documentation regarding travel along the government trails and roads in the 'Ōuli vicinity was recorded. The primary source of documentation has been historical recollection recorded in oral history interviews (see excerpts from interviews later in this study). One of the interesting developments to occur in the region during the middle twentieth century, was the opening of Government lands for sale as grant lots, with the primary coastal lots being situated at Waile'a (sometimes written "Waialea") and Lālāmilo-Puakō.

As interest in the beach lots grew, so too did the need for improved access to the beaches. Up to the out break of World War II all travel between Kawaihae and 'Anaeho'omalū was done by trail or boat. The war brought with it a need for military vehicles to access likely invasion-force landing sites, and rough roads were bulldozed in the early 1940s. After the war, more and more people began acquiring beach lots. The trend was to build beach houses which could be visited on vacations and weekends, and improved roads would make access much easier. In July 1950 Chas. Murray completed his survey of the Kawaihae-Puako Road (Register Map No. 4030), and also plotted out more than 165 lots for the "Puako Beach House Lots" (Register Map 4027). The map lays out the primary road alignment (also secondary road alignments), identifies primary place names (including bays, gulches, and points), provide the locations of privately owned parcels, and also provide the coordinates of the "Old Trail" along the shoreline (Kawaihae to the Waimā-Kalāhuipua'a boundary). Because Register Map 4030 is 26 inches wide by 18.8 feet long, and Register Map 4027 is 36 inches wide by thirteen feet long, it is not feasible to reproduce them here.

In September 1950, the Territorial Survey Department prepared C.S.F. Map 11,081 to 11,087 (incl.), which includes many of the details (but not all) recorded on Register Map No. 4030. *Figure 3* is a portion of the C.S.F. map, depicting the Kawaihae-'Ōuli boundary at Wai'ula'ula and Kalepeamoā; and also depicting the alignment of the *Alaloa-Alanui Aupuni* crossing Wai'ula'ula; also depicting the 1950 Kawaihae-Puakō Road.

Hawaiian Government Survey Records (1882)

Among the most interesting historical records of the study area, are the 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 and traditions) 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 survey 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. Among the lands that Emerson worked in was the region of South Kohala and North Kona.

Another unique facet of the Emerson field note books is that his assistant J. Perryman, was a talented artist. Perryman’s sketches bring the landscape of the period to life. In a letter to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General, Emerson described his methods and wrote that he took readings off of:

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

The narratives and sketches below, from Emerson’s field books of 1882 (found in the collection of the Hawai‘i State Survey Division), include detailed records of the coastal region of which ‘Ouli is a part. In the records are found trails and prominent features (both natural and manmade), as well as documentation on places named in traditional and historical accounts cited earlier in this study.

J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 1 Reg. No. 251 West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District Sea Coast from Ahumoa; April 6 & 7, 1882 (see Figure 4 for locations discussed below)

Site # and Comment:

- 8 – Kapalaoa School House
- 1 – Lae o Kaiwi. [Book 251:125]
- 2 – Parker’s House. In Lahuipuaa. [Book 251:127]
- 3 – Puako Church ruins.
- 4 – Lae o Puako.
- 5 – Lae o Kawaihae
- 6 – Lae o Honokoa
- 7 – Lae o Waiakailio
- 8 – Lae o Puulaula
- 9-13 Bay [various points south to north]. [Book 251:129]

J.S. Emerson
Field Notebook Vol. II Reg. No. 252
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Sea Coast from Puu Anahulu; April 25, 1882
(see Figure 5 for locations discussed below)

Site # and Comment:

- 1 – Lae o Iliilinaehehe.
- 2 – Pohakuloa. Boundary between Anaehoomalu & Lahuipuaa.
- 3 – Iliilinaehehe bay [the northern side of Honoka'ope].
- 4 – Parker's house in Lahuipuaa. Sight on center.
- 5 – Lae o Kapaniau. Tangent to cape.
- 6 – Bay.
- 7 – Lae o Pohakupuka.
- 8 – Bay.
- 9 – Puako Ch. ruins. Sight on center.
- 10 – Lae o Piliamoo. Hidden by cocoanut trees.
- 11 – Piliamoo bay.
- 12 – Bay.
- 13 – Lae o Kanekanaka. Hidden by cocoanut trees.
- 14 – Hapuna Bay.
- 15 – Lae o Kaunaoa.
- 16 – Kaunaoa bay.
- 17 – Lae o Kaaha. Extreme.
- 18 – Small bays.
- 19 – Lae o Kaaha. Tangent to head.
- 20 – Bay.
- 21 – Kawaihae Ch. [Book 252:73]

KA'AMA'ĀINA RECOLLECTIONS

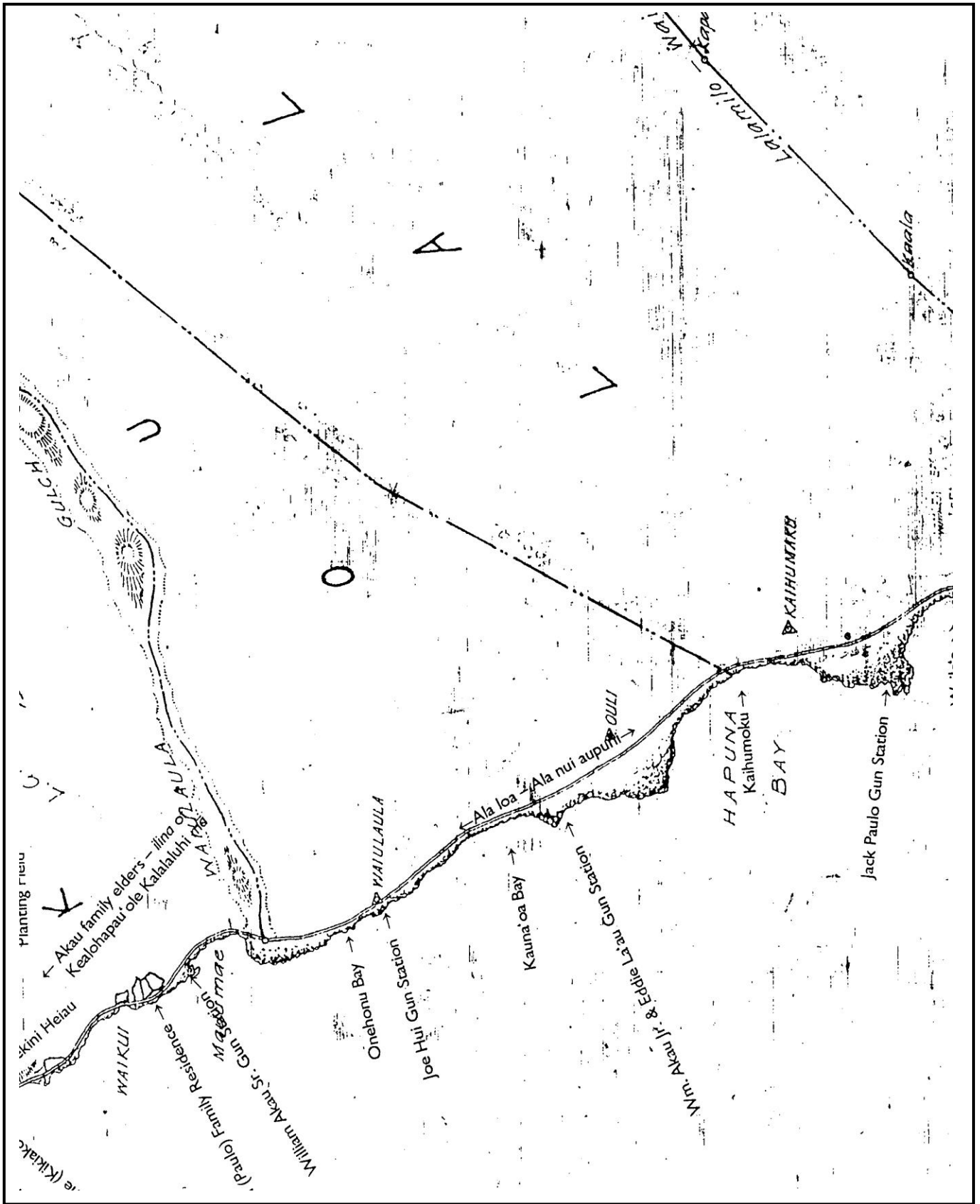
Kepā Maly has conducted several oral history interviews with individuals who are *kama'āina* (natives of, or long-term residents) of the coastal lands of South Kohala. Interviews have been conducted with individuals descended from native Hawaiian families of the land, and others who have resided at, or participated in ranching activities which have occurred in the area from Kawaihae—across 'Ōuli—to 'Anaeho'omalu (cf. Maly 1999). Interview recollections date back to ca. 1915, and document personal experiences of the interviewees. In general, we find that no one recalls that anyone lived near the shores of 'Ōuli by the early part of the twentieth century. All interviewees were familiar with Kauna'oa, Hāpuna, Kaihumoku and Wai'ula'ula as place names, and traveled the near shore *Alaloa-Alanui Aupuni* trails to go fishing, or while traveling between Kawaihae and other communities situated south of 'Ōuli. With the outbreak of World War II, interviewees document that travel through, and use of the coastal lands in 'Ōuli changed. During the war years, military gun stations and fortifications were situated at Kauna'oa, Wai'ula'ula, and other locations along the coast. As a result of the war efforts, some traditional features were modified, and other new, but simple stone features, mounds, trenches, and access ways (for example foot trails and jeep roads) were built. Also, a more direct route of travel between Kawaihae, 'Ōuli and lands south, was developed inland of the older trail system. Portions of this route were later adapted into the 1950 Kawaihae-Puakō Road.

Selected Narratives from Oral History Interviews

Below are limited excerpts from selected interviews, released for historical purposes by some of the families who are *kama'āina* to the lands of the Kawaihae-Kapalaoa region. For these historical recollections, the authors and readers of this study, are indebted to the interviewees and their families. And from these accounts, readers are given unique glimpses into the lives and practices of those people who have called the “*kaha*” (arid shore) lands of South Kohala and North Kohala home. *Figure 6* is a portion of an annotated copy of Register Map No. 2786, showing selected locations of the 'Ōuli (Kauna'oa) shoreline, described during the oral history interviews.

Recorded at Kapalaoa, 1980. Robert Keākealani Sr. (1914-1991), with Leina'ala Keākealani—speaks of catching and drying 'ōpelu to take to market at Kawaihae; describes travel from Kapalaoa to Kawaihae via the old *Alaloa-Ala nui Aupuni* in the 1920s. There were no houses between Puakō and Kawaihae at the time, the first house in Kawaihae, along the shore, being Jack Paulo's home, near Waiku'i Bay:

RK: Yeah. Us, we make...some we *kāpī* [salt], *pau*, put in the tub. Early in the morning, four-'o-clock, *ala* [get up]. Sometimes, three-'o-clock, wake up, *kaha* [cut open] the 'ōpelu, *kaka* [rinse] everything. *Kaula'i* [sun dry them], some stay *kaka*, some stay *kaula'i*. By the time everything *pau*, go home, *inu kope*. *Pau*, jump on the canoe again, go, go and bum-by, I come home with that one, *tita* Nancy them stay hold that 'ōpelu, put inside the bucket. That one went first, then the other one, the next morning, *kaula'i* that one. When *malo'o* [dry], put all in the bag, sew 'um up, *pau*, put 'um on top the mule, go Kawaihae [ca. 1925]. Leave home here, sometimes five-'o-clock, six-'o-clock, go by where Maunalani is now, past 70 [mile marker], past Kalāhuipua'a, Paniau. All that place by Jack



**Figure 6. Annotated Interview Map – Portion of Register Map No. 2786
 (Showing Approximate locations of Sites of the 'Ōuli Vicinity,
 Referenced during Oral History interviews)**

Paulo's, by the house there. Pass over there, no more those houses before. Only the old man Jack Paulo's house and the old man from down Ke'ei. Oliva, the old man Oliva [La'au]. That's only the people that was over there. Then Ichiro Goto. We go, go, go, past white sand, Waimā, Hāpuna, all that place, and go down. Kawaihae, no more that gas tank, *mamua* [before]. No more those tanks, only the... Doi Store no had. No more that store. Only down, by the shipping pen, where you folks *holo* [go].

LK: Yeah. What kind store?

RK: Well, one old store. Kimo, the name of that store. And the old post office was over there, where they go get their mail eh. And the shipping pen was right over there. Parker Ranch cowboys came over there, and us, we go from Puakō. Shipping.

LK: What about the '*ōpelu*?

RK: We take over here on the mule. Take to Kimo [store at Kawaihae].

LK: To sell?

RK: Him, he buy. We sell our '*ōpelu*, then we buy rice, flour, salt, coffee.

LK: All you folks go on the pack mule?

RK: Sometimes, uncle Kiliona tell only about two, three boys go. The rest got to go make '*ōpelu* [chuckles]. Every time, me and uncle George, and uncle Kamu.

LK: Ohh, that's his favorite, uncle George?

RK: Three guys go. We go, they wild... [inaudible] Us we go Kawaihae *holoholo* eh.

LK: [chuckling] Play.

RK: Oh yeah, we go Kawaihae, we eat ice cream [laughing]... We go Kawaihae, we eat and uncle, he suck 'um up eh. *Pau*, we come home. We leave Kawaihae, I think about 2-'o'clock, come home. We reach home here about 6:30 p.m.. When come home, the animal like come home eh.

LK: Yeah, *ho'i* [returning]...

Recorded July 6th and April 10th 1999. William Ah You Akau (1927), and sister, Annie Kahikiklani Akau (1937), with Kepā Maly — Speaking of various locations and place names recalled, along the Kawaihae-'Ōuli shore. Describes travel along the coastal trail; care for native Hawaiian sites and resources; and changes brought about by World War II:

KM: 'Ae. Could we mark a couple of place names along here, just so that I can make sure to know? This is again Register Map 2786; Waiku'i so you have 'Ōhai'ula is here, Mau'umae, Wai'ula'ula, now you know the one thing that's interesting though, is that on the side where the stream comes down there's, if you look today and you're on this side of the stream across has a house yeah? There's a house that was built right on the side overlooking right where Wai'ula'ula comes down, is that right?

WA: Yes.

KM: On this [the north] side of the gulch, there's what looks like a small platform a stone platform overlooking the ocean. Do you remember any *heiau* or *ko'a* or anything along here that were ever pointed out to you?



***Stone lined, dirt filled platform on bluff overlooking Wai'ula'ula
(KPA Photo HiAla17, 1999)***

WA: No, no, not around there. But people used to go. Before there was nothing there but people used to camp there.

KM: Make small camp areas, fishermen like that?

WA: Yes, to fish. I know some of those people, but they're already gone.

KM: All gone?

WA: Yes, so they used to fish in that area, where Mrs. Roth's home is.

KM: Roth, yeah?

WA: Yes, good fishing. So they usually do that. I guess they build a little camp.

KM: Yes... [earlier you mentioned Onehonu] Where would you put Onehonu, again if we look at this map? [pointing out locations] Here's Hāpuna, Mau'umae. This is the trig station for Wai'ula'ula but this is the stream.

WA: Onehonu supposed to be in here someplace [pointing to location on map].

KM: Okay, so you think in here [marking location on map]?

WA: Yes.

KM: Now see there's a little cove in here too. Onehonu, and you said this was the birthing of ...the kind where they lay eggs, you think?

WA: Yes, turtles.

KM: The *honu* come to lay eggs, yeah?
WA: Maybe on this side, I think, yeah.
KM: Okay, yeah...Kauna'oa is here.
WA: [looking at map] Eh, this map is different, Hāpuna Bay is over here, I think this maybe is... Oh, Puakō is over here.
KM: Here's 'Ōhai Point, Puakō Bay, here's a little cove here.
WA: Puakō, Hāpuna...
KM: Actually this should be Kauna'oa, yeah, here is that right?
WA: Right here, Wai'ula'ula, this map is...?
KM: Maybe this map is...
WA: Kauna'oa has a big bay you know?
KM: Yes.
WA: Well anyway, put Kauna'oa right around here.
KM: Okay. Because from Wai'ula'ula Stream, the next big bay over is Kauna'oa?
WA: Oh this is some kind of point.
KM: That's a point only. These are boundaries.
WA: Oh, okay, okay.
KM: This is the gulch where the stream comes down.
WA: Oh this is Wai'ula'ula. So it has to be around here, Onehonu.
KM: Oh, okay. So past [south of] Wai'ula'ula?
WA: Yes, yes. [looking at the map] Mau'umae, okay.
KM: So then this would become?
WA: Kauna'oa.
KM: Kauna'oa. And that's an old name?
WA: That's the name of the place that I remember.
KM: What about Mauna Kea?
WA: Mauna Kea, there's no such thing as Mauna Kea down here.
KM: Like Kānekanaka, Kanakanaka?
WA: Kanakanaka.
KM: And Piliamo'o, did you hear the name Piliamo'o?
WA: No. All this place get names before.
KM: This is Kanakanaka on this side?
WA: Kanakanaka, [looking at map] 'Ōhai Point, this is Puakō...
KM: Here's Waimā, down here.
WA: There's a lot of more names inside here.

KM: Yes, I think I have, there maybe, there's another old map that has some of those names on it...

[Discussing trips made to Kauna'oa and further south to Puakō and beyond, along the *Ala nui Aupuni-Alaloa* prior to 1941]:

KM: ...So you were walking this trail through, up to World War II time, or even after?

WA: Before that.

KM: Before, because after World War II...?

WA: Because when we were young we were going to school. Every so often we used to go as a group, walk and go on picnics and swimming. We used to go down when everything was just you know... [pauses]

KM: Where would you go swim, and go for picnic?

WA: Down at Kauna'oa, or go down to Waile'a.

KM: So, from your school here?

WA: Yes.

KM: At Kawaihae School?

WA: Yes, Kawaihae School. Hattie Saffrey, she was a Saffrey. She used to take care of the aunty and the grandma, they used to stay *makai* here. So we used to go to school here, we were young then. Then, we used to hike down, walk the trail, you know how the same way that we go. It was clean, that trail was clean, you know.

KM: Had all the *kiawe*, like that when you were young?

WA: No. You see, because someone always maintained the trail. So you go from Pelekāne from over here you start walking because guys from Puakō coming back and forth, eh?

KM: Yes, yes.

WA: You see.

KM: Even Kapalaoa people would come down like that?

WA: Yes. But most times they come on a canoe or...later eh, only thing that they used the trail was when the ocean was rough. That's when they used the trail, that's a long hike for them especially from Kapalaoa. But other than that, when normal time, they get canoes and they used to come up...

[Notes that while he walked the trails, that he and his family did not speak of old Hawaiian sites in the area. Suggests that old Hawaiian places be "left alone."]:

KM: But in general by your time, do you remember having any old house sites or *heiau*, or *ko'a* pointed out to you?

WA: On the trail?

KM: Yes, along the trail here, this *ala hele*?

WA: [thinking] Let me see.

KM: Because you know like when you get up to this side here, this area what I understand where Kauna'oa Bay ends somewhere in here, they call this Piliamo'o.

WA: Piliamo'o?

KM: It's from an old name and then Kanakanaka is over at this side, here. And there are series of old house sites; in fact that's where they are developing what they call Mauna Kea Bluffs, they are trying to make that new subdivision. Have you seen that?

WA: No.

KM: It's a new subdivision over on the side. Mauna Kea Hotel is over here, and they've made Mauna Kea Bluffs.

WA: Yes, I think they did do some work in here.

KM: Yes, Rosendahl and Hammatt.

WA: Yes, but what they found, I really don't know.

KM: Oh, so you folks mainly would walk the trail and you folks didn't bother things, yeah, along the side then? If it had an old wall or something, you just left it?

WA: We just...the old people tell you that you leave things alone, because they're not bothering you.

KM: So that's the...today the bottom line would be leave it alone then?

WA: Yes.

KM: You use the trail, walk, enjoy but don't *hana 'ino* [desecrate] the old things.

WA: I mean, what are you going to do that for, turn one rock, what for, you see it doesn't make sense? If it belongs there, let it stay there...
[Describes events along the Kawaihae-Puakō section of the trail during World War II, and changes in travel from foot traffic to army vehicles]:

WA: ...During the war, had all the big kind of guns along side the shoreline.

KM: So there were gun embankments and outposts all along here?

WA: Yes.

KM: Were you folks under *kapu*, couldn't walk along the ocean or could you not go fish, throw net?

WA: No, no they put us with the home guard. We were responsible for the guns. Certain families were assigned to gun posts along the coast.

KM: So you folks were actually posted out there, you were manning the guns?

WA: Right.

KM: Oh, home guard.

WA: Not staying there twenty-four hours a day. It's there, but when they need the men to work on it we would go out.

LA: They knew exactly which gun nest they were supposed to go to. There's one gun nest, behind here, it's still out there.

KM: *Mauka* here still yet, of your home here?
WA: Yes, that was the Marine engineer's gun post.
KM: Did they bulldoze any roadways along here or something during that time?
WA: The Puakō Road that they started with the old trail, you know. They started bulldozing making a road, that's how the Puakō road got started.
LA: Those gun nests are still intact, had one here, up the *heiau* had one...
WA: Mine was at Kauna'oa [pointing to the southern point marking Kauna'oa Bay].
KM: Kauna'oa. Is the gun embankment still there?
WA: The wall is.
KM: The wall, so the embankment, the wall is still there.
WA: Yes. There's lots of places like that you see all these high walls and you see the remains.
KM: That's what I was wondering about some of these areas here.
WA: Yes, so my place was Kauna'oa, right on this point [the southern promontory of the bay, Kauna'oa Pt.]
KM: So on this point here? [marking map]
WA: Yes.
KM: Okay.
WA: And the next one is supposed to be on this point [pointing to location].
KM: So that's Kanakanaka side, north of Waile'a.
WA: Yes, this was Jack Paulos' gun before.
KM: Jack Paulo? [marking map]
WA: Yes.
KM: [pointing to map] So this is you, William Akau. You, and you said someone else was with you?
WA: Yes, Eddie Lā'au. Okay and right above Mau'umae, at Waiku'i on the point over here has one [pointing to location on map].
KM: Okay, at Waiku'i.
WA: Yes, Waiku'i okay on the point over there.
KM: Hmm. There are some walled enclosure's behind the shore here, on the *mauka* side of the trail, was the gun there?
WA: No, the gun was right on the shoreline.
KM: Okay.
WA: *Makai* side of the trail.
KM: Okay, who's gun was that?
WA: This one was, my dad.

KM: Oh, so this is William Akau Sr. [marking map]

WA: Yes...

LA: Where's Joseph Hu'i's one?

WA: Joe Hu'i? [thinking] ...Supposed to be five you know, we get four over there now. Joe Hu'i's gun, I think it was over here, near Onehonu [pointing to location], where Mauna Kea Hotel is now.

KM: Hmm. How did they make these gun embankments here? Did they drive it in, did you haul it in or horse?

WA: No, the engineer's did that, they made the roads and they set it up, they came.

KM: Did they barb wire any of this coast line?

LA: Yes, the whole coast line.

WA: They did.

KM: So were you folks allowed to go out to fish during that time or were you?

WA: It was restricted. Sometime afterwards, then they opened it up.

KM: After the attack on Pearl Harbor within a short time, everything blocked down yeah?

WA: There was nothing, no access...
[Discusses land of 'Ōuli in relationship to other lands of South Kohala, and importance of sharing information with people who travel the land, so that they can understand some of the history of the area]:

WA: [the signs are up along the highway] ...But, what's the sign, it says "Shore Access" eh. So you get the sign, but where is the shore? But if we take that sign and we say "This is it right here, going in that direction," you see, so at least you put the information. When the people walk, "oh this is the shoreline trail."

KM: Yes, where the trail is?

WA: Right.

KM: So then it's important to interpret, you know to tell some of the story. How the trail may have been used, what land you're in, the customs of the people when you can, and if there are stories, that way it preserves something.

WA: Like for instance, everybody goes to Hāpuna, if you kept the trail from Hāpuna to Waile'a, okay at the beginning you put the sign over there. This point goes south, so you get to Waile'a Bay, so you mark it. So they say, "Oh, it goes to Waile'a. So Waile'a is the next bay, and this is the trail that takes you there." And maybe you say it takes you, if you walk a certain pace, it takes you maybe fifteen, twenty minutes.

KM: So they know what they're going to be doing?

WA: Yes. So, they get an idea and that becomes a very interesting part, because you can tell them well, you walk in the evening when it's nice and cool, but when it's from 10 o'clock up to 3 o'clock, it's too hot. Things like that, so people can appreciate that.

KM: That's right, and if you share some of the history a little bit, like what Waile'a means, or Hāpuna?

WA: That's right.

KM: Some of the traditions, the stories.

WA: So you are kind of giving them a history, a background.

KM: Yes, that way they will take care.

WA: Yes. So each point, maybe point down an interesting point oh Keawewai, Keawewai is *makai* of Hāpuna, what Keawewai is all about. So you know?

KM: Is there a Keawewai at Hāpuna?

WA: Yes. Hāpuna, *makai* side. Yes, Keawewai.

KM: Oh, you know speaking of that, is at Hāpuna there's an interesting alignment of stone in the water, in the ocean, is that right? You know like there's the black alignment of stones?

WA: In the center of the beach?

KM: Yes.

WA: Okay, that's the boundary line of the land. Let's see now, there's a mark on it, the division is Parker Ranch.

KM: Oh, yes.

WA: One is 'Ōuli, 'Ōuli runs from there to Wai'ula'ula, I think. 'Ōuli has a narrow strip line runs all the way *mauka*.

KM: 'Ae.

WA: That portion is sold, I think. So I don't know if Parker Ranch still owns it.

KM: So that stone in the ocean is...?

WA: Is the dividing line. [Uncle's discussion of the stone (named Kaihumoku) and boundaries of 'Ōuli match those recorded by the Boundary Commission in the 1870s.]

KM: The dividing line. You know it's so interesting to see, I just knew that it has to be symbolic of something, because you look at the alignment of that natural stone in the water there almost like *pūhi* [an eel] or something, you know.

WA: [chuckles] You try look on it...if it's covered up, but if you look *mauka* there's supposed to be the mark, chiseled in the rock, you know.

KM: Oh, so that's the boundary between 'Ōuli and Lālāmilo.

WA: Lālāmilo.

KM: Is Lālāmilo, the old name or was it Puakō and Lālāmilo was within do you remember hearing about that?

WA: I think Lālāmilo is that *ahupua'a*. You have five *ahupua'a* in South Kohala. You get...well this is one Kawaihae, then Queen Emma has one Kawaihae, then you get 'Ōuli, you get Lālāmilo, and you get Waikōloa.

KM: 'Ae.

WA: So five.
KM: So Kawaihae 1, Kawaihae 2 which is Queen Emma's land, then 'Ōuli, Lālāmilo and Waikōloa?
WA: Yes. So that's it.
KM: So that's what makes up South Kohala?
WA: That's right...

Recorded September 30, 1998. Florence "Coco" La'ikealohaokamāmalu Vredenburg-Hind (1923-2002) with Kepā Maly — Describes travel along the old trail to Kauna'oa in the 1930s:

KM: Okay. Did you spend any time at all at Puakō?
CH: No, because by that time when I came along we were in Waimea.
KM: Sure.
CH: And that was when the Doi's were in that area and I remember they raised watermelons and stuff down there. It was perfect, hot and perfect for... And there was no road of course, we had to hike, you went by trail to...
KM: So you did take this trail sometimes from Kawaihae [pointing to the coastal trail on Reg. Map 2786]?
CH: Oh, yes, we used to hike from...well this was when we'd go down and camp at Kawaihae, we'd hike over to Kauna'oa, where the Mauna Kea [Hotel] is now.
KM: Kauna'oa.
CH: Yes, Kauna'oa Beach.
KM: I think what we're looking at right now is a portion of Register Map 2786.
CH: [looking at map] Let's see, where is it...yes.
KM: And so it shows Kawaihae Village... [discuss various activities at Kawaihae]
KM: ...So you folks did go along this old trail though?
CH: We used to camp at Kawaihae during the summers. Sometimes my mother would take us and a bunch of ladies with their kids. We'd all camp, in fact Billy Paris' wife, Bertha Hermann, she and her sisters and her mother, the Arioli's and Queenie and her kids, and... I'm trying to think, who else was down there, anyway all these ladies. And we would camp down there, and the father's would all come down for the weekend. And then we'd hike over.
KM: Where did you folks camp in relationship to the *heiau*?
CH: Oh you know where Spencer Park is?
KM: Yes.
CH: We camped right there.
KM: Oh, so you camped right in there.
CH: And old Lā'au, old man Lā'au was the park keeper at the time, he and his wife, such a handsome old Hawaiian couple. When I look back now, nice looking Hawaiian man and his wife was so nice. And they had good looking kids. In fact Lucy Lā'au married a Grace boy from Kona.

KM: Oh.

CH: And I used to see her when I grew up in Kona. Yeah, we'd camp at Spencer Beach and then one day we'd hike...you know we're always doing something, keeping busy.

KM: Yes.

CH: So we hiked to Kauna'oa Beach.

KM: Yes, that's roughly this area, here on the map.

CH: We'd stop and we'd swim all the way, we'd get hot and have to swim and then keep on going. There was another beach somewhere along here, I'm trying to think where was it, was where Hartwell Carter later built a house. There was a Watson's Beach where we would stop and swim, the swimming was good there.

KM: Okay.

CH: We'd cool off and keep on going to... We didn't go to Hāpuna, we went to Kauna'oa, once we got there, there was no point in going Hāpuna.

KM: That's right, because the beach was so beautiful at Kauna'oa.

CH: Yeah, we didn't have to go any further.

KM: Yeah. You know out of curiosity when you were down walking along this trail, and of course, I know you guys were young and so you know things were different, did anyone ever, do you remember ever hearing any stories even like about the *heiau* or about?

CH: Just that one *heiau* was in the water, I know that. One *heiau* was below, there were three, I think. There was the top one and another one, and then one was in the water.

KM: Yes, Haleokapuni.

CH: And I remember they used to tell us, "Don't swim there, don't go swimming there because there's shark's...that's where the..." I don't know where the shark slept or not, but vaguely in my mind, I know we kids were always told, unless they were just trying to scare us.

KM: No.

CH: "Don't go swimming in there, you mustn't disturb it, that's where all the sharks come in and sleep" or whatever [chuckles] so, they don't sleep, or they just gather and then rest so, it was where the *heiau* was...

Recorded March 26, 1999. Elizabeth "Tita" Kauikeōlani Ruddle-Spielman (1924) and son, JK Spielman, with Kepā Maly — Describes travel between Paniau and Kawaihae, following World War II:

KM: ...So, in your time really there may have been just localized use of the trails?

TR-S: Uh-hmm.

KM: There wasn't a great deal of traffic it seems, by the 1930s and 1940s like that?

TR-S: No.

KM: And by the time the war, just shortly after the war broke out they had opened up the road so your heavy four drive wheel vehicles like you were showing me the big military trucks?

TR-S: Uh-hmm.

KM: And then your papa brought some after the war?

TR-S: We had three of them which we used. The command car, big weapons carrier, and a jeep.

KM: How long was the drive out here?

TR-S: It was long. It was very, very rough. You had to go by Kauna'oa Beach Hotel, and where the river comes to the ocean.

KM: Oh, at Wai'ula'ula, where the river comes down?

TR-S: Right. There were times when we couldn't cross.

KM: Is that right?

TR-S: The road went right through that river.

KM: Yes, yes. In fact you can still see it, you know.

TR-S: It was high. I know my brother, Billy and I were at Paniau and I had some visitors coming up from Honolulu. So we were going to pick them up. Happy Cockett flew them into Waimea. We got there and there was no way we were going to cross that stream. I said, "We've got to get up there Billy because they'll be waiting." And he said you know what we'll go up through the pastures. I said, "What about that stone wall that goes all the way across?"

KM: Yes, yes.

TR-S: He said, "There is a gate." He said, "I'm not quite sure where it is but we'll find it." We went, we just hit it absolutely straight, right straight the gate.

KM: So you were able to find, there were little like...?

TR-S: No, there was no road, we made our own.

KM: You made your own. Wow.

TR-S: We made our own road and got up by the airport and picked them up. And they said, "Where have you been?"

KM: That's amazing.

TR-S: We said, "You don't want to know" [chuckles]. And then we had to come back the same way.

[Describes travel from Kawaihae to Paniau]:

KM: ...Even from Kawaihae, I would imagine almost two hours or something?

TR-S: Yeah. And we had to go...the road didn't go all in the back. We went through Kauna'oa Beach we had to go on the beach there was no road and got stuck a couple of times. It went on Kauna'oa.

KM: Here's Kauna'oa [pointing at the map] in fact you can see it right back of the beach there.

TR-S: Right. Well you had to go through the beach, go right on the beach.

JK: And then come back up.

TR-S: And Hāpuna was the same way.

KM: Yes, yes right on the sand?

TR-S: Right on the sand. So you wanted to go when it was nice and damp.

KM: And you were able to get a vehicle up the side of...? Like on the other side of Hāpuna it goes up?

JK: It's all *pali*.

KM: *Pali*.

TR-S: We had to go up and then over. But it was a long, long trip. But once we got here of course, it was well worth all the dust.

JK: I was just going to mention, you were talking about the trails and asking about people using it. In my humble opinion I would assume that being in an area like this where it was so dry, hot and desolate that not many people would have used the trail in later years as opposed to earlier years out of necessity when they had to use it. Because once there were roads and so forth and alternatives to fishing and so forth. This was a rugged coastline, you did have the brackish ponds to cool off and a lot of fish and so forth but it was so hot and not very many trees. I think that it was probably a trail that wasn't used as much, what they're calling the *Ala Kahakai*.

KM: Yes. That's what they're calling it today, *Ala Kahakai* today. You're right, and it's very interesting, this section here...the older name is *Alaloa*.

JK: So does *Alaloa* turn in to the same trail as the Māmalahoa?

KM: 'Ae. That's what's interesting.

JK: There are the two? There's the beach...

KM: Yes, you have this one here [pointing to section on Reg. Map 824.

TR-S: Uh-hmm.

KM: This is the *Alaloa*, *Alanui Aupuni* became the Government Road. They were working on this Government Road in the 1860's already...This was established in the 16th century during the battles between Lono-i-ka-makahiki, here, and Kamalālāwalu of Maui. This is a very old alignment.

JK: Right.

KM: And then, just like you said, the smaller trails along the shore here for the local fisherman. Uncle Robert Keākealani does talk about traveling by trail but you see what they did is, they went and see this trail, comes up to here [pointing to site on Reg. Map 1278]?

TR-S: Yes.

JK: Uh-hmm.

KM: They would cut from Kapalaoa go all the way to Kawaihae.

TR-S: Uh-hmm.

KM: But they would come *mauka*, along this section of the trail here connect with...

TR-S: This one [pointing to the Government Road]

KM: Yes, the *Alaloa* and then go across.

TR-S: Uh-hmm...

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