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**NĀ HONOKŌHAU – NĀ HONO I NĀ HAU ‘ELUA
(HONOKŌHAU – BAYS OF THE TWO WIND-BORN DEWS)**

**VOLUME I:
A REPORT ON ARCHIVAL-HISTORICAL DOCUMENTARY
RESEARCH, AND ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS FOR THE
AHUPUA‘A OF HONOKŌHAU NUI & IKI**



*Honokōhau Village (ca. 1915) at Kekaha, North Kona, Hawai‘i; Rev. Albert S. Baker Collection, No. N-B121
(Courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Mission Houses Museum)*

Kumu Pono Associates

*Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Studies · Partnerships in
Cultural Resources Management · Developing Preservation Plans and Interpretive Programs*

**NĀ HONOKŌHAU – NĀ HONO I NĀ HAU ‘ELUA
(HONOKŌHAU – BAYS OF THE TWO WIND-BORN DEWS):
HONOKŌHAU AT KEKAHA,
NORTH KONA, HAWAI‘I**

**VOLUME I: A REPORT ON ARCHIVAL-HISTORICAL
DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH, AND
ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS
FOR THE AHUPUA‘A OF HONOKŌHAU NUI & IKI**

*Prepared In Conjunction with an
Environmental Impact Statement –
Land Use Boundary Amendment Application
(TMK 7-4-08: por. 13 and 30)*

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of Lanihau Partners, L.P., cultural resources specialist, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a study of archival documents and historical literature for the lands of Honokōhau nui and Honokōhau iki in the district of North Kona, on the island of Hawai'i (TMK overview sheet 7-4). As a part of the study, Maly also conducted oral history interviews (reported in *Volume II* of this study) with descendants of the native Hawaiian families and others who are known to be familiar with the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in Honokōhau and the neighboring lands of the larger Kekaha region of which the Honokōhau lands are a part. This study was conducted in conjunction with preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement - Land Use Boundary Amendment Application.

The application study area contains approximately 336 acres (TMK 7-4-08: por. 13 and 30), and is situated on the lower mid-plain lands (*ko kula kai*) of Honokōhau nui & iki, immediately *mauka* of the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway. The elevational range of the study area extends from approximately the 40 foot to 360 feet above sea level.

A portion of Honokōhau nui, *makai* of the Ka'ahumanu Highway, which fronts the project area, has been incorporated into the Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park. The park land was once owned by the Greenwell family (historic and current owners of the project area and other lands *mauka* of the study area). Because of cultural-historical interest in the Honokōhau lands, and their context in the larger *ahupua'a* (native land unit) and region of Kekaha, the study includes documentation that places Honokōhau in a regional context.

Study Methodology

The work conducted as a part of this study included three basic components: (1) research and report findings from archival and historical literature; (2) conduct oral history interviews and consultation with *kama'āina* (native residents) and others with knowledge of the land; and (3) document primary comments and recommendations for site treatment made by interview- and consultation- program participants (also incorporating an overview of findings reported in an archaeological inventory study {Robbins et al. 1998} prepared for the project area).

In the period between August 15th to October 8th, 1999, Maly and Smith conducted research of archival-historical literature housed in private and public collections. Documentation cited in this study include nineteenth century records of the Hawaiian Kingdom—such as government records of land tenure, roadways, public lands and public facilities—and native and foreign accounts authored in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of which have not received broad exposure in the past.

The oral historical and consultation components of this study were conducted between September 28th 1999 to February 28, 2000, and are reported in *Volume II* of the study. *Volume II* includes interviews and consultation records with 19 individuals in 15 interviews (including four historic interviews conducted in 1962). All of the interview participants have lived upon or worked the lands of Honokōhau nui and iki, and provide documentation gained

from personal experiences dating back to the 1890s. Several of the interview participants are descended from families who lived at Honokōhau since at least the 1840s.

Study Organization

This study is divided into two Volumes, each with several primary sections by subject matter, and accompanying sub-sections. The primary sections of the study include:

Volume I:

- An introduction to the study methodology and general overview of Hawaiian settlement and land use practices.
- Detailed documentation found as a result of the archival and historical literature research; including important historical documentation written by native and non-Hawaiian authors.
- An overview of historical studies and archaeological research conducted in the Honokōhau-Kekaha region between 1907 to 1998.

Volume II:

- Introduction to study methodology.
- An overview of oral historical interviews and consultation records of the Honokōhau study area.
- An overview of primary site treatment recommendations (including site interpretation) for sites and within the Honokōhau study area.
- Released oral history interview transcripts.

Overview of Documentation Recorded

In the Oral History Interviews and Consultation Program

Oral history-consultation program participants included the following individuals (in alphabetical order): Valentine K. Ako, Geraldine K. Bell, Stanley Bond, James M. Greenwell, L. R. "Rally" Greenwell and Patricia Gilman-Greenwell, J. Kinoulu Kahananui, John H. Kailiwai, Norman Keanaaina, Malaea Keanaaina-Tolentino, Agnes Puakalehua Nihi Harp (with Isaac Harp), Violet Leimomi Nihi-Quiddaen, Robert K. Punihaole, D. Kahelemauna "Mauna" Roy, and Al Kaleio'umiwai Simmons.

Also, historical interviews, conducted by Mary Kawena Pukui of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, were recorded in 1962 (in the Oral History Collection of the Bishop Museum). Among the interview participants were Lowell Keli'iahonui Punihaole and his wife Mary Peahi-Punihaole; Joseph Kahananui; Makapini Simeona (Kanakamaika'i); and Mahone Ka'eo; all of whom lived on, and/or worked the lands of Honokōhau in the early part of the twentieth century. Excerpts from these interviews (translated by Kepā Maly), in which traditional and historical information regarding Honokōhau is discussed, are cited in *Volume II*.

Participants in the oral history interview and consultation program (herein after interviewees) conducted as a part of this study were asked to share recollections of the history of the land and practices of the residents (their elder family members). They were also asked if they had

concerns, thoughts, and recommendations, regarding the proposed development of the study area parcel in Honokōhau nui. Responses regarding traditional cultural sites in the project area parcel were of a general nature. With the exception of the *Alanui Aupuni* (Old Government Road), no one shared knowledge of specific sites in the project area.

All interviewees recorded that in the early twentieth century, residency and life in the two Honokōhau focused on activities that took place on the shore, or in the uplands, with little activity on the lower *kula* (flatlands or plains extending to the mountain). Activities of area residents ranged from working the fishponds and off-shore fisheries with families living on the shore at the small village in Honokōhau Iki; and in the uplands, where *kalo* (taro), *'ulu* (breadfruit), *'uala* (sweet potatoes), coffee and other crops were grown; and where ranching operations were centered. The latter activities generally occurred in the area extending *mauka* from the Palani Road – Māmalahoa Highway vicinity.

Two sisters (V. Leimomi Nihi-Quiddaon and A. Puakalehua Nihi-Harp), descendants of the Kalua-Kuakahela-Kimona (Kanakamaika'i) line, shared that in their youth (ca. 1930), they went with their *mākua-kūpuna* (parent-grandparent) generation to some areas, which they believe to be above the present-day Ka'ahumanu Highway (in line with the Kaloko Industrial Park), to cultivate *'uala* (sweet potatoes) and other crops which could be grown in pockets of soil and mulched planting areas on the lava flats of the lower *kula* (flatlands). Because the families from whom these sisters are descended, resided in Honokōhau iki, and the families maintained residences in the uplands of Honokōhau iki (on Grant 3022) and on the shore, between 'Ai'opio Fishpond and the *pā ilina* (family cemetery) on the *'a'ā* near the Honokōhau nui & iki boundary, it is believed that the *kula* planting fields were in Honokōhau iki.

The Greenwell brothers and others who resided in the Honokōhau vicinity, all recorded that except for occasional excursions into the lowland *kula* (generally undertaken as a part of the ranch operations), little or no travel occurred via trails in Honokōhau nui for as long as the interviewees can remember (dating to ca. 1915). Travel via *mauka-makai* trails in Honokōhau iki-Kealakehe; lateral shore line travel between Honokōhau and Kailua; and *mauka-makai* travel between Honokōhau to upland Kohanaiki (the trail crossed through Kaloko) did take place.

While interviewees were not able to share site specific documentation for resources within the 336 acre study area parcel, many of them expressed concern for the sites which may have been found as a result of archaeological work in the field. The interviewees concurred with the preservation of sites with *ilina* (human remains), sections of the old *mauka-makai* trail, and other sites as recommended as a result of the field work. It was also suggested that some of the sites within the study area may receive some level of interpretation (tying in with the interpretation of Kaloko-Honokōhau). An agreement is also being worked on to curate any artifacts which may be discovered on the parcel in the Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park collection (thus remaining on the land of origin).

Two primary concerns regarding the proposed development were raised by National Park Service staff and David Kahelemauna Roy (of *Nā Kōkua*); (1) ensuring that the development would not adversely impact water quality of the Kaloko-Honokōhau Fishponds and anchialine pond resources; and (2) that the development not appear to be looming over the park resources.

Upon learning of these concerns, the author notified William Moore (project planner), and Mr. Moore initiated dialog with the interested parties.

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INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

At the request of Lanihau Partners, L.P., cultural resources specialist, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a study of archival documentation and historical literature for the lands of Honokōhau nui (1st) and Honokōhau iki (2nd); and conducted oral history interviews with descendants of the native Hawaiian families and others who are known to be familiar with the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the Honokōhau-Kekaha region of the North Kona District, on the island of Hawai'i (TMK 7-04-8 por. 13 and 30) (*Figure 1*). This study was conducted in conjunction with preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement - Land Use Boundary Amendment Application. The application study area contains approximately 336 acres, and is situated on the lower mid-plain lands (*ko kula kai*) of Honokōhau nui & iki, immediately *mauka* of the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway. The study area elevations extend from approximately the 40 foot contour to 360 feet above sea level.

The entire *ahupua'a*¹ (native Hawaiian land unit) of Honokōhau nui (2653 acres) including the fishponds and marine fisheries, was purchased by the Greenwell family in 1876 with all but a few small parcels—primarily *kuleana* properties belonging to a few native Hawaiian residents—being owned by the family through the 1980s. Because of the unique cultural and historical resources near the shore of Honokōhau, members of the island community worked with the National Park Service and the Greenwells, and in the 1980s Congress enacted legislation authorizing purchase of the *makai* lands of Honokōhau nui & iki and Kaloko, which were subsequently incorporated into the Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park (Greene 1993). In Honokōhau nui, the park's *mauka* boundary is the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway, which is also the *makai* boundary of the present study area (a property still owned by Greenwell family interests).

While the present study seeks to provide readers with a detailed historical overview of the Honokōhau *ahupua'a* (an area traditionally extending from sea fisheries to approximately the 6000 foot elevation on the slopes of Hualālai); the area situated between the 40 to 360 foot elevation, is the area of particular interest to the present study and application process. This study does not repeat all that has been previously written about the Honokōhau vicinity. It does however, provide the owners, agencies, and interested parties with important historical documentation pertaining to some of the significant traditions and cultural and natural features of the landscape of the Honokōhau *ahupua'a*. The information also looks at Honokōhau in the context of the larger *kalana* (region) of North Kona known as Ke-kaha (the-arid-shore).

Study Guidelines

The research and interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the referenced laws and

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

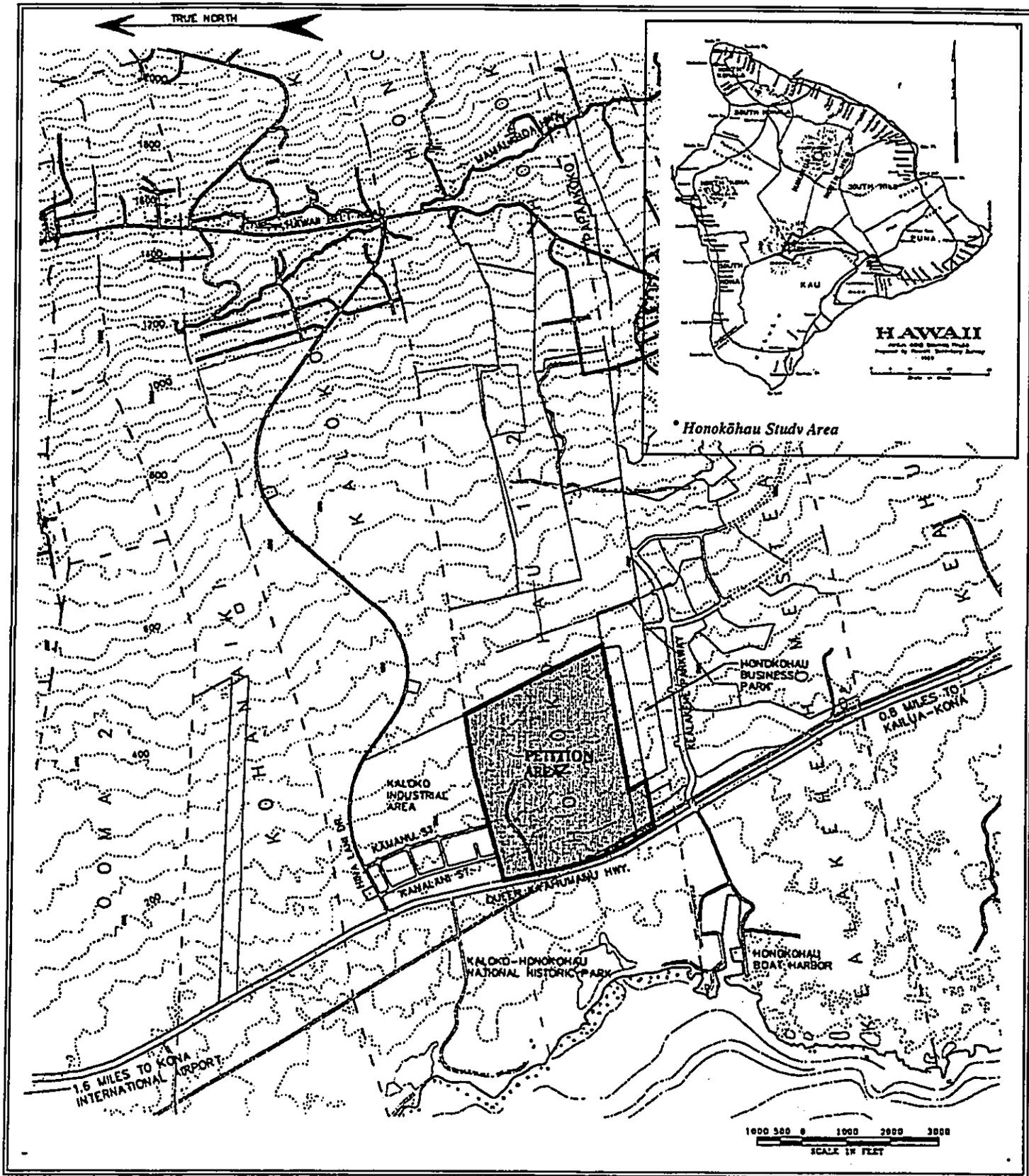


Figure 1. Coastal and Kula lands of Honokōhau Nui and Honokōhau Iki (and vicinity); North Kona, Island of Hawai'i - Showing Project Application Area

guidelines were the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of ongoing cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:274-4,5,6; 275:6 – Draft of December 1996); and guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (November 1997).

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

Archival and Historical Research

Over the last nine years, the author has researched and prepared several detailed studies — in the form of review of Hawaiian language newspapers, historical accounts, land use records, and oral history interviews — for the Kekaha region of which Honokōhau is a part. In the period between August 15th to October 8th, 1999, Maly and Wong Smith conducted additional research of archival-historical literature. References included, but were not limited to — land use records, including Hawaiian Land Commission Award (LCA) records from the *Māhele* (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i; and historical texts authored or compiled by — D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. M. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); 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); M. Beckwith (1970); Reinecke (ms. 1930); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972); Emory and Soehren 1971; Kelly, 1971; Soehren 1975 and 1976; Roy and Nahale ms. 1975; and Robins et al. 1998.

Importantly, the study also includes several native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by the author), historical records authored by eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors to the region, and excerpts from the journals of Henry N. and Frank R. Greenwell. This information is generally cited within categories by chronological order of the date of publication.

The archival-historical resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, and Bureau of Conveyances; the

Bishop Museum Archives; Hawaiian Historical Society; University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; the collection of Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park; private family collections; and in the collection of the author.

*Oral History Interviews and
Consultation Records of the Honokōhau Study*

The primary oral historical – consultation component of this study was conducted between September 28th 1999 to February 28, 2000. *Volume II* of this study includes interviews and consultation records with 19 individuals in 15 interviews (including three historic interviews conducted in 1962), all of whom have generational ties to Honokōhau and neighboring lands. All of the interview participants have lived upon or worked the lands of Honokōhau nui and iki, and provide documentation gained from personal experiences dating back to the 1890s. Several of the interview participants are descended from families who lived at Honokōhau since at least the 1840s.

The recorded interviews were transcribed and returned to each of the interviewees and follow up discussions were conducted to review each of the typed draft-transcripts. The latter process resulted in the recording of additional narratives with several interviewees. Following completion of the interview process, all of the participants in the tape recorded oral history interviews gave their written permission for inclusion of portions of their transcripts in this study. Because of the review and follow-up discussions with interviewees, the final transcripts cited in this study, at times differ from the original recorded interview. The final released transcripts supercede the original documentation. During the interviews and other communications, several historic maps were referenced, and when appropriate, the general locations of sites referenced were marked on the maps. That information was in turn compiled on one map, which is cited as *Figure 2*, an annotated interview map at the end of this study.

As a result of the above referenced approaches to the study and compilation of historical narratives, this study presents readers with an overview of written documentation that spans more than 220 years—covering many centuries of traditions—and oral historical accounts that span more than 100 years. It will be seen that there is continuity and a number of similarities shared between both forms of documentation. The continuity in the written and oral historical accounts, suggests that there is time-depth (or continuity over a long period of time) in aspects of the cultural knowledge as expressed by, and practiced by members of the present generation.

Thus, the historical-archival research and oral history interviews provides a detailed overview of practices and customs of native residents of the Honokōhau-Kekaha region. This information in turn, provides resource managers, land owners, and interested individuals with foundational documentation for the development of programs for the long-term care, management, and interpretation of resources in Honokōhau.

NĀ HONOKŌHAU - NĀ HONO I NĀ HAU 'ELUA
AN OVERVIEW OF THE CULTURAL HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE

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

Natural and Cultural Resources

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

An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices

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

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

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

Ahupua'a—A Sustainable Hawaiian Resources Management Unit

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

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

Entire *ahupua'a*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konohiki* or lesser chief-landlords, who answered to an *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* (chief who controlled the *ahupua'a* resources). The *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* in turn answered to an *ali'i 'ai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupua'a* resources supported not only the *maka'āinana* and *'ohana* who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms. This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and was the product of strictly adhered to resources management planning. In this system, the land provided fruits and vegetables and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources. Also, in communities with long-term royal residents, divisions of labor (with specialists in various occupations on land and in procurement of marine resources) came to be strictly adhered to. It is in this setting that we find Honokōhau and the present study area.

Nā Hono i nā Hau 'Elua: The Ahupua'a of Honokōhau nui & iki

The Honokōhau *ahupua'a* are two of twenty-three ancient *ahupua'a* within the *'okana* of Kekaha-wai-'ole². The place name Hono-kō-hau may be literally translated as Bay-of-wind-born-dew. Traditional accounts cited in this study, written by J.W.H.I. Kihe, a native of the Honokōhau-Kaloko *ahupua'a*, imply that the name is descriptive of the *hau* (dew) which seasonally seems to flow down the mountain. The dew carried with it moisture by which native residents successfully grew dry land crops, was life giving. Kihe (translated in this study) affectionately referred to the land of his ancestors as "*Nā hono i nā hau 'elua*" (Bays of the two wind-born dews) (Kihe IN *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, September 13, 1917).

² Use of the terms "*nui*" (big) and "*iki*" (little) in association with the *ahupua'a* name (i.e., Honokōhau nui and Honokōhau iki), describe the two historic land divisions of the Honokōhau lands. One being larger and extending further upland into the forest region than the other.

Traditional and historic literature, and oral historical accounts describe Honokōhau as among the favored lands of Kekaha. The fresh watered shores of Honokōhau; the fishponds of 'Aimakapā, 'Ai'ōpio and ponds like Kahinihini'ula; salt making locations and the rich ocean and near-shore fisheries; the inland agricultural field systems; and diverse forest and mountain resources, attracted native residents to the area, and sustained them on the land.

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

The *kula* region of Honokōhau and the greater Kekaha is now likened to a volcanic desert, though native and historic accounts describe or reference groves of native hard wood shrubs and trees such as 'ūlei (*Osteomeles anthyllidifolia*), ēlama (*Diospyros ferrea*), uhiuhi (*Caesalpinia kavaiensis*), and ohe (*Reynoldsia sandwicensis*) extending across the land and growing some distance shoreward. A few rare and endangered plants found in Honokōhau nui & iki, and small remnant communities of native dryland forest neighboring Honokōhau (cf. Char 1991) give us an indication that there was a significant diversity of plants growing upon the *kula* lands prior to the introduction of ungulates —

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

Continuing along the *kula uka* (inland slopes), the environment changes as elevation increases. In the *wao kanaka* (region of man) and *wao nahele* (forest region) rainfall increased to 30 or 40 inches annually, and taller forest growth occurred —

This region provided native residents with shelter for residential and agricultural uses, and a wide range of natural resources which were of importance for religious, domestic, and economic purposes. In Honokōhau, this region is generally between the 1200 to 2400 foot elevation, and is crossed by the present-day Māmalahoa Highway (which is situated not far below the ancient *ala loa*, or foot trail that was part of a regional trail system).

Continuing further inland, Honokōhau nui ends near Pu'u Hinakapo'ula, at about the 6000 foot elevation where it is cut off by Kaloko on the north and by Kealakehe and Honua'ula on the south.

In the upper reaches of Honokōhau nui, we find the *wao ma'ukele* (a rain forest-like environment) and the *wao akua*, literally translated as the "region or zone of deities" —

The *wao akua* is so named because of the pattern of cloud cover and precipitation which settles upon the mountain slope—this covering was interpreted as concealing from view the activities of the deity and gods who were believed to walk the land under the cover of the mist and clouds (cf. David Malo 1959:16-18; and M.K. Pukui, pers. comm. 1975).

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

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

It appears that the practice of traveling between upland and coastal communities in the Honokōhau *ahupua'a* greatly decreased by the middle nineteenth century. This was in part due to a decline in the Hawaiian population and changes that were occurring in Hawaiian land tenure (see discussions cited in this study). In the middle to later nineteenth century, Hawaiian Government survey records and journals kept by *ahupua'a* owner H.N. Greenwell, identified three native residences on the shore between the ponds of 'Aimakapā and 'Ai'ōpio.

In the early part of the twentieth century, the shore near the Honokōhau iki Honokōhau nui boundary was home to several families, and even supported a Hawaiian Church for a short while (cf. Hawaiian Evangelical Association Annual Reports, Kinney 1913, and Hawaiian Church records in this study). Working under informal agreements, families were harvesting fish from the Honokōhau fishponds and transporting the fish to Kailua for market or in exchange for supplies by which they could live (cf. Oral History Interviews in this study, and Kelly 1973 and Roy ms. 1975). Though the number of residents dwindled and the Honokōhau Church was closed by ca. 1928, a few individuals remained on the shore until the 1960s. Intermittent camping-residency occurred up into the period of the National Park Service's ownership of the coastal lands of Honokōhau. Throughout this time, little, if any regular *mauka-makai* travel in Honokōhau nui & iki occurred. The primary use of the property which is the subject of the land use application was periodic grazing of cattle—subject to seasonal variations of rainfall feed availability (see oral history interviews with Rally and James Greenwell in this study).

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

Overview

This part of the study presents readers with a collection of *mo'olelo* — native traditions and historical accounts — (some translated from the original Hawaiian for the first time, by the author) which span many centuries. The *mo'olelo* which reference Honokōhau, also describe the neighboring lands of the Kekaha region which share some of the traditions in common. Some of the narratives make specific references to sites, events and residents of Honokōhau, while other accounts are part of larger traditions which are associated with regional and island-wide events.

The native traditions cited below, describe some of the customs and practices of the native people who resided on these lands. Through the narrative readers learn of those who worked the land, developed and maintained the fishponds and marine fisheries, walked the trails, and who were sustained by the wealth of the land and adjacent marine fisheries. Many of the traditions cited in this section of the study are presented in association with place names of land divisions, cultural sites, features of the landscape, and events in the history of these lands. Such traditions are an expression of the cultural-historical value of the Honokōhau-Kekaha region.

There are only a few early (nineteenth century) historical accounts that specifically name Honokōhau, most of the accounts describe the area in the context of the larger Kekaha region. As noted earlier in this study, initial settlement of Kona appears to have occurred first along the sheltered and watered bays in the region extending south from Kailua. Only after the population increased and there developed a need to inhabit more arid lands, did the people begin establishing permanent settlements in Kekaha. In many of the accounts below, it will be seen that one of the recurring themes of the native and early historic narratives of Kekaha, is the wealth of the fisheries—those of the deep sea, near-shore, and inland fishponds—of the region.

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

Punia: A Tale of Sharks and Ghosts of Kekaha

Punia was born in the district of Kohala, and was one of the children of Hina. One day, Punia desired to get lobster for his mother to eat, but she warned him of Kai'ale'ale and his hoards of sharks who guarded the caves in which lobster were found. These sharks were greatly feared by all who lived along, and fished the shores of Kohala for many people had been killed by the sharks. Heeding his mother's warning, Punia observed the habits of the sharks and devised a plan by which to kill each of the sharks. Setting his plan in motion, Punia brought about the deaths of all the subordinate sharks, leaving only Kai'ale'ale behind. Punia tricked Kai'ale'ale into swallowing him whole. Once inside Kai'ale'ale, Punia rubbed two sticks together to make a fire to

cook the sweet potatoes he had brought with him. He also scraped the insides of Kai'ale'ale, causing great pain to the shark. In his weakened state, Kai'ale'ale swam along the coast of Kekaha, and finally beached himself at Alula, near the point of Maliu in the land of Kealakehe. The people of Alula, cut open the shark and Punia was released.

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

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

Elua wale no maua lawaia o keia wahi.

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

*O kala, o ka uhu, o ka palani,
O ka ia ku o ua wahi nei la,
Ua hele wale ia no e maua keia kai la!
Pau na kuuna, na lua, na puka ia.
Make ko'u makuakane, koe au.*

Alas, O my father of these coasts!

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

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

The *kala*, the *uhu*, the *palani*,
The transient fish of this place.

We have traveled over all these seas,
All the different place, the holes, the runs.
Since you are dead, father, I am the
only one left.

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

Traditions of the Kekaha Region (with Kaloko-Honokōhau)

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

'Umi-a-Liloa did two things with his own hands, farming and fishing...and farming was done on all the lands. Much of this was done in Kona. He was noted for his skill in fishing and was called *Pu'ipu'i a ka lawai'a* (a stalwart fisherman). *Aku* fishing was his favorite occupation, and it often took him to the beaches (Ke-kaha) from Kalahuipua'a to Makaula³. He also fished for *'ahi* and *kala*. He was accompanied by famed fishermen such as Pae, Kahuna, and all of the chiefs of his kingdom. He set apart fishing, farming and other practices... (Kamakau 1961:19-20)

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

The presence of working fishponds in the Honokōhau-Kaloko vicinity dates back to at least the early seventeenth century. In Kamakau's description of events that occurred in the life time of Lono-i-ka-Makahiki, 'Umi's grandson, the ponds are mentioned as well.

During the reign of Lono-i-ka-Makahiki, Kamalālāwalu (the king of Maui), made plans to invade the island of Hawai'i. In preparation for the invasion, 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 (Kauhi), traveled the coastal trail between Kawaihae and Kailua, and upon returning to Kawaihae, he described what he saw to his companions. The "keepers of the gods at Mailekini were servants of Kama" and they named the places described by Kauhi (Kamakau 1961:56). Kauhi reported and was told:

...I went on to the long stretch of sand, to the small bay with a point on that side and one on this side. There are large inland ponds." "The sandy stretch is 'Ohiki, and the walled-in ponds are Kaloko and Honokohau..." (Kamakau 1961:56)

History records that a great battle was entered into by the chief of Maui, but that he was killed by Lono-i-ka-makahiki in the end (cf. Kamakau 1961).

Historic Narratives of Kekaha (with Kaloko and Honokōhau) ca. 1812 to 1819

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

³ Kalāhuipua'a is situated in the district of Kohala, bounding the northern side of Pu'uanahulu in Kekaha. Maka'ula is situated a few *ahupua'a* north of Honokōhau-Kaloko.

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

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

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

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

I'i also mentions (though not giving its name) that the surf of Honokōhau was one of the famous surfs of the region. He also stated that in the days of his youth board-body-, and canoe-surfing were still popular pastimes. (I'i 1959:135)

In 1819, as the life of Kamehameha I drew to an end, the king gave orders that his remains should be carefully hidden. In his account of the events that took place, Kamakau (1961) mentions the lands of Kaloko and Honokōhau, and by nature of the journey from Ahu'ena (Kailua), the lands of Keahuolu and Kealakehe. When Kamehameha died, his bones were prepared for interment, and —

Ulu-maheihei prepared to carry out the command of Kamehameha given before his death, at the time that he gave to Ulu-maheihei the name of Hoapili, to secrete his bones in a place where they could not be found... Kamehameha entrusted his bones to Ulu-maheihei Hoapili with instructions to pit them in a place where they would never be pointed out to anyone. At midnight, therefore, when black darkness had fallen and no one was likely to be out on the road and the rough lava plains of Pu'uokalua [in the land of Keahuolu] lay hushed, Hoapili sent his man Ho'olulu, to bring the container of wicker work in which the bones of Kamehameha were kept to Kaloko in Kekaha. Ho'olulu, carrying the receptacle on his back and a gun in his hand, had reached the road over the lava of Pu'uokalua when he mistook a rock for a man and shot at it. Some people at Kailua and Honokohau heard the report of the gun and surmised that the bones of Kamehameha were being carried away. The next morning Hoa-pili and Ke-opu-o-lani took canoe to Kaloko where Hoa-pili met the man who had charge of the secret cave and together they placed the bones there. "The morning star alone knows where Kamehameha's bones are guarded" ["*O ka Hoku o ka malamā ke ike ia Kamehameha*"]. It is said that the bones of Hono-ka-wai-lani's daughter, Kalola Pupuka, and those of Ka-

hekili-nui 'Ahu-manu were secreted in the same cavern by Ka-me'e-ia-moku and Ka-manawa... (Kamakau 1961:215; and *Ku Okoa* September 28, 1867)

In 1870, while writing about places of interment, Kamakau (1964) added further documentation to the nature of, and presence of an *ana huna* (secret burial cave) at Kaloko:

Kaloko [pond] is another famous burial pit; it is at Kaloko, in Kekaha, Hawaii. [In a cave that opens into the side of the pond] where laid Kahekili, the ruler of Maui, his sister Kalola, and her daughter, Kekuiapoiwa Liliha, the grandmother of Kamehameha III. This is the burial cave, *ana huna*, where Kame'eiamoku and Hoapili hid the bones of Kamehameha I so that they would never be found. (Kamakau 1964:41)

Following the period of mourning and purification, Liholiho (Kamehameha II), who retreated to Kawaihae upon the death of his father, began his return to the Kailua area. Kamakau (1961) reports that on the way, Liholiho stopped at Honokōhau and dedicated a *heiau* to his god and prepared for his return to Kailua. The events that unfolded at Honokōhau also set in motion, the "*ai noa*" (free eating), or breaking of the *kapu* (restrictions) of the gods that heralded the end of the ancient religious system. Excerpts from Kamakau's Hawaiian texts⁴ (published in *Ku Okoa* on November 2, 1867) and are included :

A pau ka noho ana a na alii ma Kawaihae, a laila, hoi akula o Liholiho a me Kekuaokalani a me na alii i Kona, a pae ma Honokohau, a kapu ihola o Liholiho i ka heiau o ke akua a noa aela. I ka noa ana o ke kapu haiiau a ka moi, hoouna maila o Kaahumanu i ke kanaka mai Kailua mai, a halawai ke kanaka me ka moi. Olelo akula ka moi, "Heaha kau olelo i holo mai nei?" "I hoouna mai nei ko kahu iau, e pale laui ke kapu o ko akua ke hiki i Kailua." A laila, kulou iho ka moi i lalo, a noonoo ihola i ke kumu o ka pale laui o ke kapu o ke akua, a maopopo ihola ia ia ke ano, a liuliu ke kulou ana, alaila, ea ae iluna, a ae akula, "Ae." O ke ano o ka pale laui, e hoi no ke kapu i ke akua; ua noa o Kailua, aole e komo hou i ke kapu, aole mana o ke kapu akua ke hookapu hou aku.

I ka maopopo ana i ka moi o na manao e hiki aku ai i Kailua, alaila, hoouna akula ka moi i mau elele e kii i ka rama i Kailua. A hoouna maila o Kaahumanu i ka rama ma ka waa, a loa ke alii ma Honokohau... (Ku Okoa November 2, 1867)

The chiefs ended their stay at Kawaihae, then Liholiho and Kekuaokalani and the chiefs returned to Kona, on the way, they landed at Honokōhau. Liholiho dedicated the *heiau* of the god there, freeing it. Having freed the restrictions of the *haiiau* of the king, Kaahumanu then sent a man from Kailua, this man met with the king. The king said, "What is the word that you bring here?" "Your guardian has sent me (to say) that the protection of the ti leaf, the restriction of your god is in place for the arrival in Kailua. The king then bent his head down and thought about the reason for declaring the protection of the ti leaf

⁴ The translation of the Hawaiian texts was prepared by Maly.

for the restrictions of the god, he then understood the reason. The king then stood up and agreed, "Yes." Now the nature of the protection of the ti leaf, was to return the restrictions to the gods; Kailua would be free, the restrictions would not again be set in place, the restrictions of the gods would not again be called upon.

The king then understood what was to take place when he arrived at Kailua. He then sent some of his messengers to get rum from Kailua. Kaahumanu sent rum on a canoe to the chiefs at Honokohau... (*Ku Okoa* November 2, 1867)

As translated in 1961, Kamakau then wrote:

...for two days he and his chiefs sailed about the Kona waters in his two-masted canoe, sending every little while for more rum and cooked dog and pork. During this time at Kailua the women prepared all the *tabu* foods without the chief's knowledge. When the wind died down and the canoe could no longer move the *kahu* sent a double canoe and paddlers and towed the boat [of Liholiho] to Kailua... (Kamakau 1961:225)

History further records that after the death of Kamehameha I in May 1819, his consort, Ka'ahumanu, took on the role of *kuhina nui* (regent), guiding Liholiho (Kamehameha II) through his rule. By November 1819, the time described above, when Liholiho visited Honokōhau and made preparations at the *heiau*, Ka'ahumanu was setting in motion her plans to overthrow the religious *kapu* system. A part of the ancient religious and *kapu* system which for generations had been employed to honor the gods also restricted men and women from eating together. The demise of the ancient system was consummated when Liholiho sat down to eat freely or openly (*'ai noa*) with his mother, Keōpūolani and Ka'ahumanu. Shortly thereafter, Ka'ahumanu issued an order that the *heiau* and images be destroyed (Kamakau 1961:223, 226-227).

Prior to Kamehameha's death, Liholiho's cousin Kekuaokalani, was named the keeper of the religion and the war god Kūkā'ilimoku (Kamakau 1961:209). Angered at the breaking of the ancient *kapu*, Kekuaokalani raised a rebellion against Liholiho. Seeking a peaceful resolution to the differences, Keōpūolani approached Kekuaokalani seeking to avert bloodshed. The efforts failed, and on or around December 21st 1819, Kekuaokalani, his wife Manono, and many of their followers were killed on the battle field at Kuamo'o. The old gods having been overthrown (Kamakau 1961:226-228). Within six months, Christian missionaries arrived at Hawai'i, and undertook their work of converting the Hawaiian population (cf. Bingham 1969).

*Nā Mo'olelo 'Ōiwi — Native Traditions of
Honokōhau and Kekaha (compiled 1914 - 1923)*

It is not until the early twentieth century, that we find detailed native accounts of the lands of Honokōhau and vicinity being recorded in native language newspapers. Through the work of a native son of Kekaha (recently translated from the original Hawaiian texts), we are given the opportunity to share in the history of the land and sense the depth of attachment that

native residents felt for Honokōhau and the larger Kekaha-wai-'ole-o-nā-Kona. This native author was John Whalley Hermosa Isaac Kihe (a.k.a. Ka-'ohu-ha'aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-'ekolu)—

Kihe was born in 1853, his parents were native residents of Honokōhau and Kaloko. During his life, Kihe taught at various schools in the Kekaha region, served as legal counsel to native residents applying for homestead lands, worked as a translator on the Hawaiian Antiquities collections of A. Fornander, and was a prolific writer himself. In the later years of his life, Kihe lived at Pu'u Anahulu, and he is fondly remembered by elder members of the Pu'u Anahulu-Ka'ūpūlehu area. Kihe, who died in 1929, was also one of the primary informants to Eliza Maguire, who translated some of the writings of Kihe, publishing them in abbreviated form in her book "Kona Legends" (1926).

Writers today have varying opinions and theories pertaining to the history of Kekaha, residency patterns, and practices of the people who called Kekaha-wai-'ole-o-nā-Kona home. For the most part, our interpretations are limited by the fragmented nature of the physical remains and historical records, and by a lack of familiarity with the diverse qualities of the land. As a result, most of us only see the shadows of what once was, and it is difficult at times, to comprehend how anyone could have carried on a satisfactory existence in such a rugged land. Kihe and his co-authors in several accounts cited in this section of the study, provide modern readers with significant accounts of Honokōhau and the larger Kekaha region. Through the narratives, we learn of place name origins, areas of ceremonial significance, how resources were managed and accessed, and the practices of those native families who made the area their home.

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

One example of the rich materials recorded by native writers, is found in "Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki" (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki). This tradition is a long and complex account, that was published over a period of four years (1914-1917) in the weekly Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*. The narratives were primarily recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe (translators of the work of A. Fornander) with contributions from others of their peers. As noted above, Kihe himself, was a descendant of native families of Honokōhau and Kaloko, and was born in the area in 1853.

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. Also, while the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely "ancient," such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian traditions. The narratives include documentation on more than 790 named locations, and documents site and community histories, local and regional practices, and ceremonial and *mele* (chant) texts.

The English translations below, are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events and areas being discussed. The translator (Maly) has added diacritical marks, hyphenation, and underling to selected names to help readers with pronunciation and identify locational references (selected place names are also called out in the left side-bar).

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

*Traditions and Place Names of Honokōhau-Kaloko
and Neighboring Lands of the Kekaha Region of North Kona
recorded in Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki —*

Places Named

Kūmua
Kohanaiki

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

Wailoa

Kapa'ihī

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

Pipipi'apo'o
Haleolono
Nānāwale
Nāwahi'ahu

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

Pipipi'apo'o's skill was that of weaving pandanus mats, and there are growing many pandanus trees there, even now. The grove of pandanus trees and a nearby

Places Named

Kohanaiki

Kapukalua

'O'oma

'Apo'ula

cave, is called Pipipi'apo'o to this day, and you may ask the natives of Kohanaiki to point it out to you.

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

'Elepaio
(an 'ili on the
boundary of
Honokōhau
nui & iki)

Honokōhau

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

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

*O Kaulu-i-ka-malama-i-ke-kihi-
o-ka-mahina-nui o —
Kaulua ka lā,
Kaulua ka ua,
Kaulua ka makani,
Kaulua ke kai,
Kaulua ka mālie,
Kaulua ka Hōkū e kau nei,
E Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka e,
E-ō mai i kou ino-a.*

His ancestress answered —

*E-ō. Heaha ia e ka'u Kama?
Kā'elo 'elo ka malama,
Kā'elo 'elo ka lā,
Kā'elo 'elo ka ua,
Kā'elo 'elo ka makani,
Kā'elo 'elo ke kai,
Kā'elo 'elo ka mālie,*

Hail Kaulu-in-the-light-at-the
corner-of-the-moon —
The sun of Kaulua,
The rain of Kaulua,
The wind of Kaulua,
The sea of Kaulua,
The calm of Kaulua,
The stars of Kaulua placed above,
O Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka,
Respond to your names.

I respond. What is it my child?
Kā'elo of the moon,
Kā'elo of the sun,
Kā'elo of the rain,
Kā'elo of the wind,
Kā'elo of the sea,
Kā'elo of the calm,

Places Named

*Kā'elo 'elo, ka Hōkū e kau nei,
E Kahu'eloku i ke kihi o Kā'elo e.
E-ō mai i kou inoa - ai.*

The stars of Kā'elo placed above,
O Kahu'elo-kū-in-the-corner of Kā'elo.
Answer to your names.

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

Kalama'ula

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

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

*O Kaulu-i-ka-malama-i-ke-kihi-
o-ka-mahina-nui o —
Kaulua ka lā,
Kaulua ka ua,
Kaulua ka makani,
Kaulua ka mālie,
Kaulua ka Hōkū e kau nei,
Kaulua ka manu e pōhai nei,
Ua pō, kanahale pō i ka lehua.*

*Wala'au ka manu he i'a ko lalo.
E Kauluhenuihihikolo- e,
Hōmai ia alanui no'u e iho ai
aku na kāua,
O ke Aku mua kāu
A ku'u Kaikuana haku
A Ma-Ka'iole,
A ka makuakāne ali'i o māua,
A Kapuka-kapu ka hale,*

*A'ole e noho 'ia ka hale kapu,
O Kapukalua-e!*

Hail Kaulu-in-the-light-at-the
corner-of-the-moon —
The sun of Kaulua,
The rain of Kaulua,
The wind of Kaulua
The calm of Kaulua,
The stars of Kaulua placed above,
Kaulua when the birds circle overhead,
Darkened, the forest is darkened by the
growth of *lehua*.

The birds call out, there are fish below.
O Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka,
Set down the path by which I
may descend and get *aku* for us.
The first caught *aku*,
Of my elder-lord,
Ma-Ka'iole,
From the royal uncle of us two,
(It is) Kapuka-of the scared house,

None have lived within the sacred house,
O Kapukalua!
(January 8, 1914)

Beginning this section, the editor asked the readers to pardon a mistake that was made last week, noting that the preceding issue had been printed, leaving some of the narratives out. The additions are made below:

Places Named

Pōhaku-a-Kāne
Pōnahanaha
Pohokinikini
Pu'uwalea

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

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

Kauki'eki'e
Kaukeano

It was agreed, and they traveled to the uplands where the child's ancestress dwelt, it was there that his umbilical cord would be safe in the bosom of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. They traveled to the uplands, passing Ahalua, the priest of the high chief, and passing the *heiau* enclosure of the sacred *pahu* (drums), Kauki'eki'e and Kaukeano, and near the house of the chief, Pōhaku-o-Kāne, who was also the father of Ka-Miki. It was he who had taken the mysterious formed child and set him in the forest.

'Iwa'awa'a
Ki'ikahala
Kaloko

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

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

Hearing the call, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka called to him in a name chant, and told him to come into the house. As they entered the house the old woman immediately embraced and kissed them. When she finished greeting them, the

Places Named

Pohokinikini

Kaukahōkū

old woman asked them what the nature of their journey in the early morning was. Pohokinikini explained everything to her. This is how Ka-Miki came to be cared for by his ancestress. She built him a house thatched with the leaves of the 'ie'ie, and the house was called Kaukahōkū. It is so known to this day. It is a very famous place, known to the natives of Kohanaiki.

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

Pōnahanaha

'Elepaio

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

When 'Elepaio arrived, he looked upon the chiefess and discerned that illness was the result of the loss of her child. He explained, "Through the sight of Papa-iā-Laka, which gives me the skills of my practice, I see that there was a mysterious formed child and another child born to the chiefess, two children in all. The chiefesses' love for these children, and her unsettled thoughts for the child who was discarded because of his misshapen form, is the source of the illness. Now Pōhaku-o-Kāne had done this, only to keep his wife from seeing the misshapen child."

Pōnahanaha

Kaiwiopēle

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

Pōhaku-o-Kāne told the *kahuna* what had happened, that he had been unable to find the child, and that there was now a spring filled with water where the child had been left. Pōhaku-o-Kāne then inquired, "Where is this child that was born misshapen, the child that I took and left there? The child that was discarded on the 'a'ā, the 'ilima covered flats where the 'elama grows in the heat of the sun." The *kahuna* answered, "The child was gotten by a woman who is presently caring for him. He lives and is growing, he exceptionally skilled and powerful. The one who is caring for him is an old woman, an interpreter of omens, and one

Places Named

who discerns the nature of the land, she is a priestess of mysterious knowledge. The child is there, in her bosom." (January 15, 1914)

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

*Kaulua ka lā,
Kaulua ka ua,
Kaulua ka makani,
Kaulua ke kai,
Kaulua ka mālie,
Kaulua ka Hōkū e kau nei,
E Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka e,
E—ō mai i kou ino—a.*

The sun of Kaulua,
The rain of Kaulua,
The wind of Kaulua,
The sea of Kaulua,
The calm of Kaulua,
The stars of Kaulua placed above,
O Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka,
Respond to your names.

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

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

'Ikuwā, voice of the thunder,
'Ikuwā, voice of the sea,
'Ikuwā, voice of the bird,
'Ikuwā, voice of the wind,
'Ikuwā, voice of the God.
The sun is the God of Kona,
'Ikuwā when the storms break forth,
Answer to your names
O Kapa'ihilani-darkened-in-the-
corner of the moon.

Kapa'ihilani answered, "E—ō! 'Ano'ai—a. Aloha nō e!—"

'Elepaio

When this was done, the chiefess was healed, and all thoughts of confusion and concern which the parents and family members had were ended. The priest, 'Elepaio then instructed Pōhaku-o-Kāne to have a royal compound made for his children, and that *malo*, *kapa*, and finely woven mats, should all be made ready for the boys. All of these things were to be restricted, and that no one would be allowed to enter the compound until the boys themselves made it free. He also ordered 'awa, sugarcane, and sweet potatoes to be planted in a garden, restricted to the boys, not to be taken until they freed it. These were the words of the *kahuna*, 'Elepaio.

Places Named

Ka'aipua'a

Kohanaiki

Pōhaku-o-Kāne had all these things done. A sacred house was built, and the garden planted. The sacred house was called Ka'aipua'a, is the name place to this day. The name of the garden is Kohanaiki, and it is the low the old government road that goes to Kohala. This name was given because of the restrictions that were placed on the sugar cane, bananas, 'awa, and the other things that were planted there. The guardians of the garden regularly offered the sugar cane, bananas and 'awa, and so the name Ka'aipua'a was given.

Here now, we now come to the remainder of the story which came out in the first account which you read. It is understood that Ka-Miki was there in the bosom of his guardians, and that he then when to his great grandmother, the priestess and asked her about the trail that would take him down to Kohanaiki. His ancestress answered from within the house, "Say, what is this that you ask me of?" She then chanted to him calling on his various nature forms, and calling upon her nature forms, and in this way, she directed him to the path on which he should travel.

When Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka finished her chant, one of the great mature 'ōhi'a trees of the forest lay down before him. Ka-Miki got onto the tree and it began to take him shoreward. While the child was being taken down, his ancestress called upon one of her mysterious body forms, that of Ka-'ohu-kolo-mai-luna-o-ka-lā'au, and Ka-Miki was surrounded and hidden by a heavy fog. In this way he traveled from the upland forest to the shore. It was 'Ōhi'a-moe-awakea upon which Ka-Miki was born the flat lands where he met with his elder mysterious formed brother, Ma-Ka'iole. So the two brothers traveled upon their wondrous path and arrived at the sandy shore. On the shore, there were a number of children playing and swimming in the ocean.

Kapukalua

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

Kauhola

Pohokinikini

Kalama'ula

Kaukahōkū

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

Places Named

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

*Ke ho'i ala i ke kula 'ilima,
Nopu wela i ka lā e,
Ka lā e kau nei iluna.
Aloha wale 'olua e a'u kama,*

*Kamalei a Kapa'ihilani,
O Kapa'ihilani-pō'ele-i-ke-
kihi-o-ka-Malama o —
'Ikuwā ka leo o ka hekili,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ke kai,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ka manu,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ka makani,
'Ikuwā ka leo o ke Akua,
Akua ka lā o Kona,
O 'Ikuwā ka Pōhā-kō'ele'ele.*

The path returns along the
'ilima cover plain,
Made hot in the sun,
The sun is set overhead.
Love goes to you two,
my children (nephews),
The offspring of Kapa'ihilani,
O Kapa'ihilani-darkened-in-the-
corner of the moon.
'Ikuwā, voice of the thunder,
'Ikuwā, voice of the sea,
'Ikuwā, voice of the bird,
'Ikuwā, voice of the wind,
'Ikuwā, voice of the God.
The sun is the God of Kona,
'Ikuwā when the storms break forth.

Pu'ukīlea

She then instructed Eia to care for the boys and be sure to deliver them to the door of their homes. Then you are to take some fish to our chiefesses, Kapa'ihilani and Pipipi'apo'o. The party then began their journey to the uplands, and when they reached Pu'ukīlea, the body form of their ancestress, Ka'ohu-kolo-mai-luna-o-ka-lā'au, covered them with a thick fog.

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

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

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

*E noho ana no
E walea ana i ka hī aku
I ka pua a ka lehua i ke kai
Kai kōpīpī i ka welelau lima*

(He is) Dwelling there
Enjoying the bonito lure fishing
The *lehua* flower of the sea
In the ocean which salts the finger tips

<u>Places Named</u>	<i>Ke hi'i ala i ke Aku-mua-kau</i>	Holding the first caught bonito
	<i>Kaukāhi ka lima o Hale'ohi'u ke ko'a</i>	Fish set in the hand at the fishing station of Hale'ohi'u
Hale'ohi'u	<i>I ka lā puka mauka a napo'o makai</i>	Where the sun is seen to rise from the uplands, and set in the sea
'Apo'ula	<i>I ka nalu wili mai o Apo'ula</i> <i>'Ale mai mauka a ho'i hou no i kai</i>	In the twisting waves of Apo'ula Waves which crest on the shore and return to the sea.
<p>She then inquired, "Where is your older brother Ma-Ka'iole?" She then chanted to Ma-Ka'iole, describing his nature attributes — Kahuelo-ku-i-ke-kihi-o-Kaelo... (January 22, 1914)</p> <p>Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka's chant was carried to the low lands, and Ma-Ka'iole responded to her —</p>		
Pohokinikini	<i>E walea a'e ana au i ka noho,</i> <i>I ka hele i uka, i ke kai,</i>	I am comfortable in my dwelling, And traveling from the uplands to the shore,
	<i>I ke kula 'ilima wela nopu i ka lā — e.</i>	On the 'ilima covered plains which are made hot by the sun.
	<i>Lā hulilī 'anapa i ka pāhoehoe,</i>	Sun which quivers and glistens upon the pāhoehoe.
	<i>Pāhoehoe 'a'ā ma ka 'ūlilī</i> <i>o Pohokinikini.</i>	Pāhoehoe and 'a'ā on the steep rise of Pohokinikini.
	<i>I pō i ka ua Lei malo e pō'ai nei</i>	Darkened by the rains, like the adorning loin cloth which encircles (the mountain).
	<i>Pō'ai a puni a —</i> <i>Mai ke kai a ke kuahiwi, kualono.</i>	It is completely surrounded — From the sea to the mountain peaks and mountain slopes.
	<i>Lono aku la ke kupunawahine,</i> <i>O ka 'Ohukolomailunaokalā'au,</i> <i>O 'Ōhi'a-moe-awakea,</i>	The ancestress has heard, It is the Mist-which-crawls-atop-the forest, 'Ōhi'a-which-is-stretched-out-in-the-mid-day,
	<i>O Kumakua-moe-awakea,</i>	The tall-parent-'ōhi'a- which-is-stretched-out-the-mid-day,
	<i>O nā wahine moe awakea,</i> <i>O Kahuli'elipapahonuamea—e</i>	The Women-who-sleep-in-the-mid-day, O Kahuli-who-overturns-the-strata-of-the-earth
	<i>O Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka,</i> <i>O Hihi kau-manamana i ka nahelehele.</i>	O Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka, O Hihi-who-is-set-upon-the-branches-of-the-forest.
	<i>E-ō mai-a; 'ano'ai ho'i au.</i>	Respond; I greet you.
Kohanaiki	My readers of this account of Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole, let us leave our two rascals of Kohanaiki, and look again at the messenger of the chief, Kapukalua,	

Places Named

Pu'ukīlea

that is Eia. Earlier, while they were ascending the uplands, and when they reached the high point of Pu'u Kīlea, the messenger looked about and could not find the two boys. They were lost to him. Eia thought that perhaps the boys had returned to their uncle in the lowlands, or that they had perhaps gone back down to the shore to play with the children on the beach.

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

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

Pohokinikini

With great speed, Eia went to the uplands and arrived at the house of Pohokinikini. He called out to her and she answered, "Oh it is you, who have finally arrived." Eia answered, "Yes, it is I." Pohokinikini, then said, "The boy told me that you would be coming and that you were bringing *aku* for us, and here, you have arrived." Eia then asked, "Where is the child of Kapa'ihilani, the ward of Pohokinikini and Pu'uwalea?" Pohokinikini said, "He is sleeping here in the house."

Pu'uwalea

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

*Eia au la o Kiei, o Hālō,
Eia au la o Ho'olono
Eia au la o Ho'olohelohe—
Eia au la o Pāiwa, o Hikilele,
Eia au la o Makahia,
Eia au la o Ho'opahulu
Eia au la o ke kūkini, e holo i uka,*

Eia au la o ke kūkini, e holo i kai,

*Eia au la o ke kūkini māmā,
Kūkini a Kapu-kapu,*

I am Eia, peering and peaking,
I am Eia, listening,
I am Eia, paying attention,
I am Eia of Pāiwa, of Hikilele,
I am Eia of Makahia,
I am Eia of Ho'opahulu,
I am Eia, the messenger who runs to the
uplands,
I am Eia, the messenger who runs to the
shore,
I am Eia, the swift runner,
Messenger of Kapu-kapu,

Places Named

A puka-kapu o ka hale.
Eia au la o, E-i-a, 'oia ho'i,
Kūkini a Kapukalua e —

Of the sacred entry to the house.
I am Eia, indeed, it is Eia.
Messenger of Kapukalua —

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

Eia answered, "I have carefully searched for the child of Kapa'ihilani and Pōhaku-o-Kāne, the ward of Kaulu-i-ke-kihi-o-ka-malama... Here I am. The messenger is here to bring you the *aku* fish, and then I shall return to the lowlands."

'Apo'ula

Pohokinikini

Kaukahōkū

Nāwahi'ahu

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

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

The brothers were instructed in many techniques of competitions and fighting. When Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka had taught them all that she new, she prepared them for a ceremony (*'ai lolo*), to end their training.

Kauahia

Kaloko

...Following the *'ai-lolo* and *'awa* ceremony, commemorating the completion of one phase of the brother's training, Ma-Ka'iole and Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka fell into a deep sleep brought on by the *'awa*. Ka-Miki rose and went to the shore of Kauahia at Kaloko, to gather *'anae* (mullet) from the fishponds there. In those days, the fishponds were controlled by the chief Ahauhale and his young brother Owela-a-Lu'ukia.

Kalama'ula

When Ka-Miki set his net into the pond, it was filled with multitudes of *'anae*. Taking the net, filled with fish, Ka-Miki went to share fish with Pohokinikini mā (the foster parents who had cared for Ma-Ka'iole. Ka-Miki then returned to Kalama'ula, where he further divided the catch, setting some aside for his mother, Kapa'ihilani, and his aunt, Pipipi'apo'o, and their households. Ka-Miki then prepared the fish in by broiling them wrapped in ti leafs (*lāwalu*). When the

Places Named

fish were cooked, he called to awaken Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka and Ma-Ka'iole—

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

Ka'aipua'a

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

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

Kaloko

Mai'aloa

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

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

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

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

Kaloko

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

Places Named

Kaloko

Pākōlea

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

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

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

Kalama'ula

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

In the vicinity of Honokōhau, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka told the brothers about the region —

Honokōhau iki
Kealakehe
Papa'akoko
Waipi'o
Pu'ulua
Māhoepali
Honokōhau nui
Waihā
Waikulu
Paehala

Within the district of Honokōhau-iki, on the boundary of Kealakehe, is an 'ili (unit of land) named Papa'akoko. Papa'akoko has a sheltered ravine upon it which is called Waipi'o (Arching water). Waipi'o was named for one of daughters (or nieces) of Pu'ulua and Māhoepali, who were the chiefesses that oversaw the lands of Honokōhau-iki and Honokōhau-nui. Pu'ulua and Māhoepali were the elder sisters of Kamahu'ialani, the chief who controlled the district and divisions of all these Kona lands. Waipi'o's young sisters and cousins were Waihā, Waikulu, and Paehala (all commemorated as named place in Honokōhau). Though all of these young chiefesses were beautiful, Paehala was the most beautiful. Her skin glowed like the mature red-yellow fruit of the *hala*. Paehala was the sacred chiefess-ward of Pili-a-Ka'aiea, and dwelt in a separate enclosure built of *lama* (*Diospyros*) wood (*pā lama*)... (April 9, 1914)

Places Named

Honokōhau

Kape'a

Pu'uwalea

Pohokinikini

Kahinihini'ula

Kukuikomo

Ka'aipapa'a

Ki'ikahala
Kohanaiki
Kaloko
Kiki
Kukuiha'a

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

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

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

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

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

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

Places Named
Kalama'ula
Kaukahōkū

Pōhākea
'Ōhiki
Kaukeano
O'ūnui
Honua'iwa
Pu'uho'olele-
lupe
Kauki'eki'e
Haleolono

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

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

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

Kaloko

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

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

'Ōhiki
Kauahia

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

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

Places Named

Kaloko

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

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

*Hulihia kulia mai Tahiti-kū
O Ho'āli-kū i ke kumu
o ke ahi Hulinu'u
Lalapa 'ōlapa e mai ke ahi o ka pō
Ke'eke'ehi wale i ka maka
o Lanipipili...
Hina mai kūkulu o Tahiti-moe...*

*...I lono mai 'oe e Pele Honuamea...
E Hi'i e - E Hi'iaka
E Hi'iaka-i-ka'ale-'i, moe a imua la*

*I ke po'o o ka moku o
Hawai'i nui Ākea...
He makana na māua iā 'oe e ke akua,*

*Eia ka 'ai, ka mōhai, ka 'ālana-e.
E moku i ka piko o ka hale,
'Ōkia la - Amama, ua noa!*

Overtaken rising from Tahiti-kū
O Ho'āli-kū at the source of the
flames of Hulinu'u
The flames rise flickering at the night
Treading upon the front of the
cloud filled sky [Lanipipili]...
O Hina from the foundation of
Tahiti-moe...
Hear [the prayer] o Pele Honuamea...
O Hi'i - o Hi'iaka
O Hi'iaka of the rising billows
which recede before [us]
At the peak of the great island
Hawai'i of Ākea (Wākea)...
Here is the gift of us two to you,
o goddess,
Here is the food, the offering, the sacrifice.
Sever the umbilical cord of the house,
It is cut - It is released and freed!

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

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

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

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

Places Named

'Elepaio
Pūhili
Kalua'ōlapa
Kalua'ōlapa-uwila
Honokōhau iki
Honokōhau nui

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

'Elepaio was the high priest of Honokōhau. The place where he dwelt bears the name 'Elepaio (an 'ili on the boundary of Honokōhau nui & iki). It is in the great grove of 'ulu (*kaulu 'ulu*) on the boundary between Honokōhau-nui and Honokōhau-iki... (April 23, 1914)

'O'oma
Kohanaiki
Pūhili

Pūhili was the high priest of 'O'oma and Kohanaiki, the place where he lived is on the plain of Kohanaiki, at the shore, and bears his name to this day. It is on the boundary between Kohanaiki and 'O'oma.

Hale'ohi'u

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

Kalaoa

Maulukua

Kalua'ōlapa-uwila

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

Kealakehe

Ke'ohu'olu
(Keahuolu)
Kaiwi

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

Kalama'ula

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

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

Alula (at the
shore of Keala-
kehe)
Makakou

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

Places Named

and Lōpā-iki to come to this dedication of the house which has been built for us.

Kealakehe
Ke'ohu'olu
Kalua'ōlapa-
uwila

Kaiwi

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

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

Judgement has been passed, it is you who transgressed, and that it is a transgression that brings death. You have offended both those of the heavens and those of the earth, and the goddess of fire. And as you have tried to mislead all of the people in their following the unwavering laws, setting aside the laws of the gods and 'aumākua which were established in antiquity, your death shall be by the fire. You will be thrown into the flaming *imu*.

Kepuhikanaka

Kalua'ōlapa-
uwila

Ki'ikahala

'Ōhiki

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

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

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

Word went out that all was ready for the brothers to enter the house, and that the food was all ready. Ka-Miki then called out in a chant dedicating the house and

Places Named

all of the gardens and resources that went with it. When he finished his chants, the winds roared and the house shook. The leaves danced on the trees and the sun shone brightly. Then all of the people who had gathered, saw several elderly women in the distance descending from the uplands. Their hair was completely gray and they positioned themselves upon the peak of the house. One woman was straining the 'awa, another was pouring the 'awa into a cup, another was holding the 'awa drinking cup, and the fourth one was giving the 'awa to Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole to drink. The elderly women were all adorned with garlands of *maile*, *pālai* fern, and blossoms of the 'ie'ie, *lehua*, *kupali'i*, *na'ena'e*, and *kūpaoa*. And the entire house was filled with a sweet fragrance beyond all compare.

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

'Īwa'awa'a

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

Kalaoa

Honokōhau
iki

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

Honokōhau
nui

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

Kalama'ula

*Wāwā ka leo o ke kai e,
O Papaloa i Kahiki-nui,
I Tahiti no ka po'ina a ke kai,*

The voice of the sea roars,
It is from Papaloa at Kahiki-nui,
The welling of the sea comes
from Tahiti,

Places Named

*Mai ka lani a ka honua,
O ka hanehane kūpina'i a ka manu,*

From the heavens and the earth,
The murmuring of the
bird resounds,

*O ka 'Io nui ho'ānoāno,
Nana e popo'i ke aewa o ka lani,*

It is the great sacred hawk,
Which circles overhead in
the heavens,

*Mai ka lani a ka honua,
O Halulu ka manu nana
e pani ka lā.
E Nana-i-ke-kihi-o-Kamalama*

From the heavens and earth,
Halulu is the bird which blocks
the sun.

Ho'oku'u 'ia i pau ko 'ike nui...

O Nana at the star-point of light
(i.e. knowledge) of Kamalama,
Release (make known) the great extent of
your knowledge...

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

'Io e, 'Io la, 'io-'io ka manu,

O hawk, hail hawk, the bird
calls out,

*Ka manu a ku'u kūpuna wahine,
Nana e pani ka 'ōnohi a ka lā,*

It is the bird of my ancestress,
Who has blocked the eye of
the sun,

*Ka lā pa'ani o ka le'ale'a,
Le'ale'a ka manu ke ho'onanana nei,*

On the day of the contests,
The bird plays fluttering here
and there,

*Ke ho'opūnana ala i ka lā'au,
He lā'au lālā 'ole o 'Ōhi'a-o-ka-lani,*

Perching in the trees,
On the branchless tree of
'Ōhi'a-o-ka-lani,

*He Kauila, he Koai'e,
he Koa-kamahele,
I ulu i ka hei i ka manomanowai,*

On the Kauila, the Koai'e, the
strong branching Koa,
Grown adept in the multitudinous
waters [all manner of
knowledge],

He manō, he niuhi haehae 'ale...

Like a shark, the great man eating
shark which tears apart
the waves...

Kalua'ōlapa-
uwila
Ka'aipua'a

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

Honokōhau nui

Ke'ohu'olu
Lanihau

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

Places Named

Hinakahua

Ke'ohu'olu

Lanihau

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

Kalama'ula

Kānoa

Just as it appeared the events were to end Kūlepe-a-Pu'uko'i a chief and master at *kākā lā'au* and *wala lā'au* (spear and club fighting), jumped on to the *kahua* to challenge Ka-Miki. The two contestants exchanged challenges, and it was agreed that they would compete with war clubs (*lā'au*). Ka-Miki chanted, calling to Ma-Ka'iole to go to Kalama'ula to fetch his war club *'Ōlapa-Kahuila-o-kalani*. Ma-Ka'iole awakened and traveled to the uplands. He called to Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka asking her for the club. She threw the club to him, and where it landed, a bowl-like hollow (*kānoa*) was formed and a spring appeared. This place, in the forest *'ōhi'a, kōlea, kukui* and other trees is now called Kānoa...

'Īwa'awa'a

Ho'okēkē

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

Kalua'ōlapa-uwila
Kaiwi
'Ōhiki
Kepuhikanaka
Kalihi

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

E ala e Mihakalani, Mihakahonua,

E ala e Pele Honuamea,

E ala e ke kumu o ke ahi Hulinu'u

Arise o silent ones of the heavens,
silent ones of the earth,

Arise o Pele Honuamea

[of the red or sacred earth],

Arise o source of the highest sacred fires...

Places Named

*O Hulinu'u ke ali'i 'ā loa
naeue Tahiti...
...E Hi'i e, E Hi'iaka,
E Hi'iaka-i-ka-'ale-'i,
E Hi'iaka-i-ka-'ale-moe,
Moea i kai la,
I ka heiau o Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila,
I ka i'a kino akua, kino kanaka,*

Kalua'ōlapa-uwila

I ka manō nahu 'imi hala e,

Kaiwi

*O Kaiwi ka inoa la...
... 'Eli'eli kau mai e - E-ō i kou inoa,*

O Pele-ke-ahi-'ā-loa la e noa!

O highest chiefess of the long burning
fires which quake in Tahiti...
Hail Hi'i, O Hi'iaka,
Hail Hi'iaka of the giant waves
Hail Hi'iaka of the low-lying waves
Press towards the sea
To the temple of Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila
To the fish that has both a god's body and
a human's body
To the gnashing shark who has been
found guilty,
Kaiwi is his name...
Awe possesses me - Respond to
your name
O Pele of the long burning fire, it is freed!

Mauna Loa

Kalua'ōlapa-uwila

Kaiwi

Hi'iakanoholae

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

The narratives continue in describing the next phase of instruction which Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole undertook. When their training was completed, the brothers traveled around the island of Hawai'i, participating in many activities in the districts of Kona, Ka'ū, Puna, Hilo, Hāmākua, and Kohala. The journey around Hawai'i-kua-uli was completed and the *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) were safe. The evil 'ōlohe had either repented or been killed. When the brothers returned to Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka at Kalama'ula or Kaukahōkū, the district of Kona and the nature of life upon the lands was described with the following saying —

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

Shortly after returning to Kona, Ka-Miki set in motion his plans to become the foremost champion of the high chief Pili-a-Ka'aiea (Pili). Following a series of events and contests

which occurred in the region between Lanihau and Puapua'a, Ka-Miki gained status as the adopted son of Pili, and it was at this time, that the narratives return once again to descriptions of events that also include descriptions of sites at Honokōhau —

<u>Places Named</u>	...Ka-Miki accomplished all the tasks set out for him, and Pili gave Ka-Miki control of all the <i>konohiki</i> (headmen) who supervised land and fishing rights from Ke-ahu-a-Lono (the Kona-Kohala boundary) to Kaulanamauna (the Kona-Ka'ū boundary). (September 20, 1917).
Keahualono Kaulanamauna	
Niumalu	One day while at Niumalu, Pili, Ka-Miki, and some of their companions were drinking 'awa with the chief's cup, named <i>Hanehane-ka-lani</i> . This was a coconut cup brought by the priest Pā'ao from <i>Tahiti</i> , just as he also brought the schools of 'ōpelu and aku fish to Hawai'i.
Paehala Honokōhau	Ka-Miki prepared the <i>pūpū 'awa</i> ('awa drink condiment) which was mixed with <i>hīnālea</i> (wrasse fish), and because the 'awa was so potent, Pili was quite intoxicated. While Pili and Ka-Miki spoke, Kapakapaka (Pili's fisherman) entered and told the chief that his ward, the <i>kapu pālama</i> (isolation restriction) chiefess, Paehala of <i>Nā Hono i nā hau 'elua</i> (The bays of the two dews, that is Honokōhau), desired to eat the <i>aku mua kau</i> (first caught aku) of Hale'ohi'u. Pili told Kapakapaka to prepare the <i>wa'a kialoa</i> (long hulled canoes) for an expedition which would occur on the following day. Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha prepared the canoes of Niumalu. (September 13, 1917)
Hale'ohi'u	
Ka'aha'aha	
Honokōhau	Ka-Miki asked Pili, "Where is this sacred chiefess who desired the famous fish of the land?" Pili explained that the sacred chiefess dwelt with her guardians and family at Honokōhau. Now few people ever saw Paehala, for she was under Pili's <i>kapu pālama</i> (a form of protection under which a chiefess was kept isolated until marriage, to ensure the purest rank of a descendant. An enclosure of <i>lama</i> { <i>Diospyros sandwicensis</i> } the Hawaiian ebony was constructed for this <i>kapu</i> period). Ka-Miki then asked Pili if he would allow him to marry the chiefess, Paehala. Pili told Ka-Miki that if her parents and family approved, he could indeed marry Paehala. (September 20, 1917)
	Pili put all rights and power at Ka-Miki's disposal in his efforts at securing Paehala, the foremost beauty of Kona as his wife. Ka-Miki planned to fish with Pili's fishermen, in order to secure the <i>aku</i> of Paehala's desire. Pili told Ka-Miki that he did not need to accompany the fishermen, but Ka-Miki said that the chiefess desired a great <i>aku mua kau</i> , and securing this fish would exhibit the fishing skills Ka-Miki had learned from his teachers.
	Ka-Miki then told Pili that a special lure would be needed in order to catch <i>Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani</i> , the lead <i>aku</i> of the deep (the chief of all the schools of <i>aku</i> that accompanied Pā'ao on his journey from <i>Kahiki</i>). Pili gave Ka-Miki his lure container, but Ka-Miki told Pili that the right lure was not in the container. Pili called for all of the lure containers to be brought before them, but the hook which Ka-Miki desired was not to be found.

Places Named

Kaiakeakua

Ku'eho'opi'okalā called to Pili and told him that not all the lures had been seen, one remained. This lure, Kaiakeakua had been placed in Ku'eho'opi'okalā's keeping until Pili had need of it; a time when no other lure would do. The lure had been given to Ku'eho'opi'okalā by his grandparents. It had been taken from the mouth of a great *aku* by the chief Olōlo and passed down to Puamau, Maweke, Paumakua, (Iki'ia), Kinikuapu'u-o-Paumakua, and now to Pili. Pili was in the 31st generation from *Wākea*, preceded by Paumakua (30th) and Maweke, the (29th)...

Pili commanded that Ku'eho'opi'okalā fetch the lure Kaiakeakua and bring it before him, and Ku'eho'opi'okalā presented the lure to Pili and Ka-Miki. Kaiakeakua contained the color qualities of all manner of *pa-hi-aku* – mother of pearl bonito lures. (September 27, 1917)

Pili told Ka-Miki, "My beloved son here is the *pā-kauoha* (lure inheritance) of my ancestors, which I had no knowledge of to this day." Ka-Miki looked at the lure and told Pili, "This is the lure that will catch *Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani*." Pili then sent Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha to prepare a canoe for Ka-Miki who planned to fish at the *ko'a* of Pāo'o-a-Kanukuhale (between Hale'ohi'u and Ho'onā). Unaware of Ka-Miki's fishing skills, Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha thought that Ka-Miki would be unable to handle the canoe and fishing. Pili's lead paddlers were Ko'o and Lou, but as a trick, Pili's court chanters Uhalalā and Uhalalē were selected to fish with Ka-Miki. Neither Uhalalā or Uhalalē had ever paddled a canoe before.

Ka-Miki arose when the star *Kau'ōpae* (Sirius) appeared [3 am], for this was the time when canoe fleets made ready to depart for the fishing grounds. Ka-Miki went to the canoe sheds of Niupalu and found that Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha had done nothing to prepare the *wa'a kialoa* so he returned to the *hālau ali'i* – chief's compound. Later Ka-Miki heard canoe preparations being made so he went again to the shore where he found Uhalalē and Uhalalā, Pili's favored chanters waiting. The canoe fleet had departed and Ka-Miki commented —

O moe loa ke kāne, o nānā wale ka wahine, o ki'ei wale ke keiki.
(When the husband sleeps long, the wife is left looking on, and the child peers about.)

[That is - When a lazy man does not care for his family, they are left looking for a means of survival.]

Learning that Uhalalē *mā* were chanters and unskilled in canoeing, Ka-Miki then understood the deception of Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha. Ka-Miki commanded that Uhalalē and Uhalalā board the canoe, and told them not sit on the seat lest they fall from the canoe. (October 4, 1917)

Kaiwi

With one push, Ka-Miki had the canoe beyond the shore ward waves, with two dips of the paddle, they passed Kaiwi (at Ke'ohu'olu). When they were near

Places Named

Ahuloa

Ahuloa, Ka-Miki paused and took out the lure Kaiakeakua and commanded that Uhalalē mā paddle. Though these two paddled with all their might, the canoe only moved a little. Ka-Miki then chanted out to his shark 'aumakua, Niho'elekī, calling —

*I Tahiti ka pō e Niho'elekī,
I hana ka pō e Niho'elekī,
Lawalawa ka pō e Niho'elekī,
Mākaukau ka wa'a la e Niho'elekī,
O ke kā o ka wa'a 'ia e Niho'elekī,
O nā hoe a Ka-Miki,
O Uhalalē a me Uhalalē,
O ka pā hi aku o Kaiakeakua,
Akua nā hana a ke Aku i kēia lā,*

He 'ilio nahumaka 'ai kepakepa,

*'Ai humuhumu, 'ai kukukū,
Ku'i ka pihe, he pihe aku,
O ke aku mua kau,
'Ō'ili kāhi, pālua, pākolu,*

O ke aku ho'olili la,

*O ke aku ka'awili,
O ke kumu o ke aku la,
O Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani,
Ke au kāhuli nei, kāhuli aku,
A ku ka imu puhi i ke ko'a,*

A wala'au ka manu he i'a o lalo,

*E ala e ka ho'olili,
E ala e ke Kāhuli,
E ala e Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani,
O ka 'ōnohi o ko maka 'āina la,
Lele mai ho'okāhi,
I pili mai ka lua,
Kāmau mai ke kolu,
A pau kauna i ka wa ho'okāhi,
'Oia, a lele ka'u pā o Kaiakeakua.*

Niho'elekī is from ancient Kahiki,
Niho'elekī is founded in antiquity,
Niho'elekī is bound in antiquity,
Niho'elekī has made the canoe ready,
The canoe bailer is Niho'elekī's,
The paddlers are Ka-Miki's,
They are Uhalalē and Uhalalē,
The aku lure is Kaiakeakua,
It is a gods work of securing the aku
on this day,
[Fish] Like a fattened dog to be chewed
to pieces,
Consumed voraciously – noisily,
The din of voices spread, carried about,
It is the first caught aku,
Which appears once, twice, three times
greater than the rest,
The aku which ripples across the
ocean's surface,
The aku which twists in the water,
It is the lead aku,
Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani,
[Aku] of the changing times⁵,
It looks as if steam from the imu rises
above the fishing station,
And the birds announce that the
fish is below,
Arise one who stirs up the waters,
Arise o Kāhuli (one of change),
Arise o Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani,
Cherished one of the land
One leaps forth,
The second is close at hand,
The third follows,
All are in place at one time,
And so it is that my lure flies,
it is Kaiakeakua.

When Ka-Miki finished his chant, the aku began to strike at the canoe, and Ka-Miki told Uhalalē mā to take the first caught and place it in a gourd container. After this the

⁵ Symbolizing the arrival of Pā'ao and Pili mā from Kahiki, and the changes which followed their settlement.

Places Named

Kāka'i

Kanāhāhā

Kahawai

Pāo'o

Hale'ohi'u

Keaukā

Keaukāna'i

Keaumiki

Mākālei

Honokōhau

Kape'a

Paehala

aku rose like biting dogs, tearing at the water, and Ka-Miki moved like a swift wind. In no time the canoe was filled with more than 400 *aku*. An amazing thing is that though Pili's fishermen and all the fishermen of the region were fishing at Kāka'i, Kanāhāhā (at Hale'ohi'u), and all the way from the fort (at Ahu'ena) to Kahawai (the fishery of Ka'ūpūlehu) — none of them caught any fish at all.

The *aku* school was before Pāo'o, between Hale'ohi'u and Ho'onā, fronting Keāhole, which is the source of the [supernatural] currents *Keaukā*, *Keaukāna'i* and *Keaumiki*. These are the currents of that land where fish are cherished like the *lei hala* (pandanus *lei*) worn close to the breast, the fish cherished by Mākālei [Mākālei is native of the Kekaha region who was empowered by his ancestress, and a skilled fisherman].

Ka-Miki then turned the canoe and landed at *Nā Hono 'Elua* (Honokōhau). Ka-Miki took the largest, first-caught *aku* and went towards the chiefess's house, where her family saw him drawing near. Standing at the outer wall of the house, Ka-Miki called, "Is this the house of Pili's sacred chiefess?" A man answered that it was. Ka-Miki then asked, "Where are her parents and guardians?" "They are within the house," was the answer. Ka-Miki then said, "Tell them that one of Pili's fishermen is here with the first caught *aku* for the chiefess, and after she has her fish, there are more for all the people to eat."

Upon hearing that Ka-Miki had brought *aku* for the chiefess and people of Honokōhau, they all went to the shore scattering the *aku* in their delight. Ka-Miki then asked Paehala's parents, how is the chiefess, well, with no ailments? To which they said "yes." (October 11, 1917)

Ka-Miki then said he had noticed one mysterious thing, "A mourning of spirits echoing from the dunes of Kape'a." The parents said, "Is that so? Perhaps this is why the chiefess continually sleeps, maybe it is because her spirit is wandering." This caused Paehala's parents and guardians to worry, and they asked Ka-Miki, "What can we do about this?" Ka-Miki told them "Do not to worry, I can cure Paehala of the spiritual ailment caused by the continuous wondering of her spirit, and thus return the chiefess' spirit to her body, putting an end the problem."

Ka-Miki then told her family, "Tomorrow forbid all people from coming close to the chiefess' house, not one person should be allowed near the house." Ka-Miki then explained the manner by which he would restore her spirit to her body —

*Kau ana o ka lā i ka piko a ku i ka lolo*⁶ (When the sun sits at its zenith and stands upon the brain {that is, on top of the head}), that is the time when the

⁶ A traditional saying — *Kau ka lā i ka lolo a ho'i ke aka i ke kino* (When the sun sits upon the brain and the shadow (spirit) returns to the body). describes a significant time in the Hawaiian day. When the shadow returns to the body the spiritual power is greatest, and the noon time was a period when important ceremonies and activities were undertaken. (Kawena Pukui, pers. comm. 1976)

Places Named

spirit returns to the instep of the feet, and Paehala's spirit will be closest to the entry of the house.

Paehala

Ka-Miki went on to tell Paehala's family and attendants to place the chiefesses feet at the door of the house, with her head inside, and when her spirit heard his call, it would return to her body. Having completed his instructions, Ka-Miki returned to the canoe and paddled with his companions to Oneō bay (fronting the land of Pua'a).

Oneō

Niumalu

Seeing the canoe approach, the people at Niumalu thought it was one of the chief's fishing canoes returning, and were surprised to see Ka-Miki. The canoe was carried up to the royal canoe shed, and Ka-Miki commanded that the fish be divided among the people, and what ever was left be given to the dogs and pigs.

Ka-Miki took the first *aku* from the container and went to Pili and told him of the great number of fish caught and that fish had been left for Paehala and her people. Pili's *aku* was prepared in several ways, and during the feast, Pili asked Ka-Miki about Paehala. Describing Paehala's beauty, Ka-Miki likened her beauty to that of the mountain, Wai'ale'ale, on Kaua'i.

Because Paehala was under the strict *kapu pālama* and *kapu Lono Makahiki* [period of silence; cf. S.M. Kamakau 1964:21], Pili was surprised that Ka-Miki had seen her. Not knowing of Paehala's spirit ailment, Pili assumed that Paehala's parents had released her from the *kapu*. Pili told Ka-Miki that if he married Paehala —

Kaloko
Honokōhau
Pa'aiea
Hikūhia
Nāpu'u
Keahualono
Kanoenoe
Kanikū
Pu'uokaloa
Ke'ohu'olu

You will oversee — the royal fishponds [i.e., Kaloko-Honokōhau and Pa'aiea]; the schools of *kala*, *uhu*, and *palani*; and all the lands of Kekaha which extend from Hikuhia which is in the uplands of Nāpu'u (Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a), and include all the lands between Ke-ahu-a-Lono at Kanikū to the plain of Kanoenoe, marked by the hill of Pu'uokaloa at Ke'ohu'olu. You are indeed a clever one, perhaps this is why you are called Ka-Miki.

Honokōhau

Ka-Miki told Pili, Tomorrow, when the sun sits upon the top of the head (*kau ana o ka lā i ka piko a ku i ka lolo*) I will enter into the chiefess' house and see her. Pili planned to go to Honokōhau to witness the releasing of Paehala's from her *kapu*. With the discussions completed, Pili *mā* all drank 'awa. (October 18, 1917)

Niumalu

The next morning Ka-Miki went to the canoe sheds of Niumalu. Finding his paddlers Uhalalē *mā* sleeping, Ka-Miki picked up the canoe and carried it to the shore. He then prepared the canoe for sailing and fishing. Ka-Miki then chanted — *mele*:

*E ala e nā lawai'a o ka lā loa,
E ala e Uhalalī ka lawai'a i ka*

Arise o fishermen of the long day,
Arise o Uhalalī, fisherman on the

Places Named

*muku o ka wa'a,
E ala e Uhalalē ka lawai'a i
ke kuamakani,
E ala e liuliu e mākaukau ke
kia o ka wa'a,
E ala e lawelawe,
E ho'omākaukau ke kā,
Ka hoe wa'a,
E ala ua ao,
Ua mālamalama kāhuli ka lani,
E ala ku lele ka hōkū pi'i
ka 'ula wena,
Ua ao la, ua ao 'ia,
E ala e nā lawai'a,
A Ka-Miki lāua o Pili-a-Ka'aiea.*

starboard side of the canoe,
Arise o Uhalalē, fisherman on wind blown
side of the canoe [port],
Arise make ready, prepare the mast of
the canoe,
Arise and attend to duty,
Prepare the bailer,
Prepare the paddles,
Arise it is light,
Light transforms the heavens,
Arise, the stars flee and the red
light of morning appears,
It is light, indeed it is so,
Arise o fishermen,
Of Ka-Miki and Pili-a-Ka'aiea.

Kaiakeakua

Uhalalī mā did not awaken from their 'awa induced sleep, so Ka-Miki prepared the canoe setting the paddles, bailers, *lauhala* sail, the 'ohe hī aku (bamboo poles on which aku lure lines were attached) into the canoe. He then carried Uhalalē and Uhalalī and placed them in the canoe as well. Ka-Miki then fetched the container in which Kaiakeakua was kept and returned to the shore. Ka-Miki found Pili's lead paddlers Ko'o and Lou waiting for him at the canoe. Ka-Miki told them to board the canoe and hold on, with one push the canoe was past the near shore waves of Niumalu. Ka-Miki then chanted to Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka calling her to cause the ocean to rise up against the shores —

*Ho'onanana ke po'i a ka nalu,
A ka nalu kākala mai Tahiti,
Ho'onanana ke kai hūhū kai-make loa,

O ku'u kūpuna wahine i ka po'ina
a [ka] nalu la,
O Hā'uke'uke o Uhalula, o Hailimoa
O Wana-nui-po'ohina,
Hāwa'e-nui-noho-koke,
O 'Ina-uli mā lāua o 'Ina-kea,
Na lākou e ko'o ka nalu,
A hālana mālie ke kai...*

Cause the waves to rise up and crash,
The jagged waves from Kahiki,
Cause the ocean to rise in anger,
a sea that kills,
My ancestress in the crashing of the
waves,
O urchins – Hā'uke'uke and Uhalula,
Hailimoa, Wana-nui,
Great Hāwa'e which dwells close by,
Dark 'ina and light 'ina
These urchins who stir up the shore waves
And cause the ocean to remain calm...

Kahawai
Ka'ūpūlehu

Thus Ka-Miki called upon the various ocean and shore urchin body forms of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka to stir up near shore waves, and calm the open sea. The waves then rose and kept the canoe fleets shore bound, yet the open sea was calm. With a dip of the paddle Ka-Miki mā arrived at the ko'a of Kahawai, Ka'ūpūlehu when it was still dark. Ka-Miki chanted to Uhalalē and Uhalalī who awoke, startled to find themselves on the ocean (October 25, 1917).

Places Named Fishing with Kaiakeakua, the *aku* struck at the canoe and Uhalalī took the first caught fish and placed it in the container. Before sunrise, the canoe was filled with *aku*, and they turned and drew near the point of Keāhole. Ka-Miki leapt from the canoe and told Uhalalī, Uhalalē, Ko'o and Lou to go to Honokōhau and wait off shore for him to join them. Ka-Miki then took 40 *aku* and journeyed towards Kalama'ula. He stopped and gave *aku* to his elder, Pohokinikini, and then continued up to the *hālau ali'i* of Kaukahōkū. Ka-Miki greeted Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka, Maka-'iole, and Keahialaka, and offered the first caught *aku* to Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka chanted to Kapa'ihilani, and they shared the fish with the *ali'i* of Kohanaiki. Kapa'ihī's runners Ki'ei and Hālō fetched the fish from Kalama'ula for his *ali'i*...

Honokōhau ...Ka-Miki Then went to the shore of Honokōhau and met his paddlers. He divided the remaining fish as before, between the paddlers and those who helped hold the canoe, with the portion from the *'iako* to the stern for the sacred chiefess and her family (November 1, 1917). Ka-Miki then went up to the sacred *lama* enclosure of the royal compound, where he saw the chiefess laying down by the door of the house. At the time when the sun rose directly overhead, Ka-Miki encircled the house, chanting to call the spirit of Paehala back into her body —

Kape'a	<p><i>O ka 'uhane kino aka, Kino wailua, Hele 'auana, Ho'opahulu a'e, A hele i uka, i kai,</i></p> <p><i>I ka 'au'au i kai o Kape'a... ...E ho'i ka 'uhane, E ho'i a noho i ke kino, E ho'i ka 'uhane, E ho'i a komo i ke kino!</i></p>	<p>O shadowy spirit form, O spirit body form, Gone wandering, In a ghostly manner, Traveling to the uplands, and to the lowlands, To swim in the sea of Kape'a, ...Let the spirit return, Return and dwell in the body, Let the spirit return, Return and enter the body!</p>
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Honokōhau Thus Ka-Miki called the ghosts of Kape'a to return the spirit of *Pae-hala-kula-Kalani* to its body. Paehala stood up and understood the nature of the one who called her back to life. Ka-Miki then leapt to the chief's canoe and withdrew the hook *Mānaiakalani*, the sacred fishhook which hooked the mouth of *Pīmoe* the great *ulua* of the ocean depths; and thus caught Paehala who was likened — *Ke 'ahi nui mālaialena o nā Hono i nā hau 'elua i ka la'i o Papa'a-i-ka-hau-o-Lono* (The great *mālaialena 'ahi* of the two bays in the dew which settles in the calm of Papa'a in the abundant dew of Lono).

Lanihau Ahu'ena The chief, Pili-a-Ka'aiea, had witnessed all that took place, and he then released Paehala from her *kapu pālama* (a restriction which had kept her confined, forbidding anyone but her immediate family and guardians to see her). Paehala was free to marry Ka-Miki, and in this way, Ka-Miki became the *ali'i 'ai 'okana* (the chief who controlled the district) from "*Nā lani 'elua i ke kula o Ahu'ena, a*

Places Named

Ka'enaokāne
Kanikū

hiki i nā wai 'ekolu o ka pūkolu o Ka'ena-o-Kāne" (The two royal lands upon the plain of Ahu'ena {Lanihau} to the three springs of Ka'ena-o-Kāne {at Kanikū}). Ka-Miki was in a position of authority, only under the supreme chief Pili-a-Ka'aiea... (November 8, 1917)

Kihe also penned a series of individual articles and native traditions. In those writings, we find important descriptions of agricultural practices on the lowland *kula* (plains) of the Honokōhau vicinity, and a traditional account of the importance of the pond "Kahinihini'ula" to the people of Honokōhau and Kaloko.

Pu'uokaloa (Hill of Kaloa)

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

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

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

mature, the *'uala* (sweet potatoes) were taken and baked in the *imu*. When they were cooked, the people of the household had life.

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

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

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

If the answer was —
I Kona nei no! (In Kona!)

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

But, if the answer was —
"I Kohala au a ho'i mai la!" (In Kohala, and I have just returned!)"

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

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

Ka Wai o Kahinihini'ula (The Pond of Kahinihini'ula)

This is a bathing pool of the chiefs of days gone by. It is a beautiful pond, with cool water that causes the skin of the sweetheart that bathes there to tingle. The pool is on the shore in the middle of a lava flow, entirely surround by stone. It is there on the boundary of the *ahupua'a* of Kaloko and Honokōhau-Nui. It is there that one will find this famous swimming pond of the chiefs of days gone by.

Here is the tradition of this pond —

In ancient times, the chiefs would regularly live along the shore, that is, the chiefs of Kaloko and Honokōhau. At the place called Ahauhale, is where the chiefs of Kaloko lived. The place called Waihalulu, is where the chiefs of Honokōhau lived.

In the times when all was still and the sun glistened above the 'a'ā and the sands, that is when they would go swim in the this cool pond (*ki'owai*), Kahinihini'ula, which caused the skin to tingle. When they were finished bathing, they would go to the enclosure (*pā*) that was near the pond. Then the one who had been bathing would say, "What is it about the pond of Kahinihini'ula? It is cold and pinches the skin, like a sweetheart one holds close to the breast."

The pond is still there to this day, at the place of the chiefs of past time. They have returned to the earth, but the pond is still there today. This pond is an unforgettable monument for those ancient people who have gone. Those works of old and the pond may be seen by travelers of this generation. (J.W.H.I. Kihe IN "Na Hoonanea o ka Manawa." *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, September 13, 1923; translated by Maly)

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

Narratives cited in this section of the study, provide readers with descriptions of the cultural and natural landscapes of Kekaha in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the land of Honokōhau is specifically mentioned in several citations, the larger body of narratives are of a regional nature. This is because references to Honokōhau are limited—most likely a result of the great changes in the regional population that occurred in the early 1900s. As such the regional narratives for Kekaha, of which Honokōhau was an important part in ancient times, help us gain a fuller picture of many facets of life, including residency, travel, and collection of resources, in the Honokōhau vicinity.

The Journal of William Ellis (1823)

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

In his general description of the Kailua region to Keauhou, Ellis counted 610 houses and 19 *heiau*, and estimated the uplands contained another 100 houses. Allowing five persons to a house, Ellis and his companions estimated that there were 3,550 persons in the area (Ellis 1963:76). The excerpted narrative below, provides a general description of the coastal lands and inland agricultural field systems of the Kailua region:

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

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

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

Here they enjoyed the agreeable shade of bread-fruit and *ohia* trees... ..The path now lay through a beautiful part of the country, quite a garden compared with that through which they had passed on first leaving town. It was generally divided into small fields, about fifteen rods square, fenced with low stone walls, built with fragments of lava gathered from the surface of the enclosures. These fields were planted with bananas, sweet potatoes, mountain taro, paper mulberry plants, melons, and sugar cane, which flourished luxuriantly in every direction (Ellis 1963:31-32).

The Wilkes Expedition (1840-1841)

In 1840-41, Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition traveled through North Kona (the Kailua end of Kekaha) and the South Kona districts. Speaking of an area spanning 40 miles of Kona coast line, Wilkes (IN Coulter 1933:26) described agricultural practices and regional trade of resources —

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

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

In 1875, a native resident of the Kailua vicinity wrote a letter to the editor of the Hawaiian newspaper, *Kū 'Ōko'a*, responding to a letter which had been previously published in the paper (written by a visitor to Kona), describing the plight of the people of the Kekaha region. It had been reported that a drought on Hawai'i was causing difficulty for crop production, and a "famine" was occurring. In the following letter, the writer, J.P. Pu'uokupa, responded to the account and described the situation as he knew from living upon the land —

...The people who live in the area around Kailua are not bothered by the famine. They all have food. There are sweet potatoes and taro. These are the foods of these lands. There are at this time, breadfruit bearing fruit at Honokohau on the side of Kailua, and at Kaloko, Kohanaiki, Ooma and the Kalaoas where lives J.P. [the author]. All of these lands are cultivated. There is land on which coffee is cultivated, where taro and sweet potatoes are cultivated, and land livestock is raised. All of us living from Kailua to Kalaoa are not in a famine, there is nothing we lack for the well being of our bodies.

Mokuola⁷ is seen clearly upon the ocean, like the featherless back of the 'ukeke (shore bird). So it is in the uplands where one may wander gathering what is needed, as far as Kiholo which opens like the mouth of a long house into the wind. It is there that the bow of the boats may safely land upon the shore. The livelihood of the people there is fishing and the raising of livestock. The people of at the uplands of Napuu are farmers, and as is the custom of those people of the backlands, they all eat in the morning and then go to work. So it is with all of the native people of these lands, they are a people that are well off...

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

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

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

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

...From Kiholo the road southwards is rough and laborious. Perpetual travelling over lava is very hard upon our horses, and it is impossible to travel

⁷ Moku-ola — literally: Island of life — is a poetic reference to a small island in Hilo Bay which was known as a place of sanctuary, healing, and life. By poetic inference, the Kekaha region was described as a place of life and well-being.

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

I was astonished to see in this district how bananas, mangoes, oranges, pineapples, in short all the fruits belonging to these islands, grow in profusion... At Kohanaike, a place about six miles short of my destination, I came upon a store kept by a Chinaman, who has Hawaiianized his name to Akao... I finished my day's journey at Kailua, passing on the way a small place called Kaloko, where there is a blacksmith shop kept by Mr. Philip Ryan... Mr. Ryan will provide...water fit to drink, which is a scarce commodity on the route... (Bowser 1880:547-549)

Charles Baldwin's "Geography of Hawaii" (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)

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

In 1913, H.W. Kinney published a visitor's guide to the island of Hawai'i. In it, he included descriptions of the land at the time, historical accounts of events, and descriptions of sites and practices that might be observed by the visitor. Describing the journey into Kona from Kohala, traveling along the coastal trail, Kinney reported on the land of Honokōhau (written Honokahau), and its' coastal settlement and neighbors. Also, in his discussion of Kailua Town, he also learned of the traditions of Kamehameha Is' death and interment:

Makai of the [Kailua] wharf are extensive remains of an old Hawaiian fort, with immensely thick walls... Between this and the wharf is pointed out the site of the house where the great Kamehameha died in 1819. A Hawaiian story has it that when he was dying he sent for a retainer, asking him where he would conceal his remains. The retainer mentioned Kaloko, but the king objected. Another retainer, from Kohala, named Hoolulu, was sent for. He named the Luahinewai pond near Kiholo, where a cave moth opened under the water. Kamehameha ordered him to take his body there (though it is more commonly said that he was buried near Kaloko)... [Kinney 1913:55]

North of Kailua.

From the trail running north towards Makalawena a side trail runs *makai* to the HONOKAHAU village which consists of about a dozen houses by the beach. Here is a large cement pan, formerly used for the manufacture of salt from sea water, north of which are some rock drawings. *Makai* thereof, by a couple of cocoanut stumps, are the scant remains of a *heiau*, "Hale o Kane." Directly in front of the houses are some excellent specimens of the *papa konane*, or checker boards used by the ancient Hawaiians. This was quite a complicated game, played with black and white pebbles on a board carved on flat *pahoehoe* rocks.

Still further north lies Kaloko, a great fishpond, where there is only one house. Near here, according to some stories, Kamehameha is buried.

From the point where the Honokahau trail leaves Kailua a poor trail leads *makai* over the lava to the lighthouse. Hence it continues along the beach for a couple of miles. After passing several old stone mausoleums, the trail passes an abandoned grass house where is a stone wall, the remnants of the *heiau* Keohuulu [Keahuolu]. Still further north is a cocoanut grove, where there were several *heiau*, notably that of Palihirole [Palihiolo]. There were several *kuulas* here, one particularly powerful one, the idol of which is still remembered as having been in a fair state of preservation, only one arm missing, when a Christian priest took it from the cave where it was kept. Since then, say the inhabitants, the fishing became comparatively poor. In the grove are two cocoanut stumps which served as gallows for the first execution conducted by hanging in Hawaii. A chief, Kekuaokahaku, was the victim⁸. Beyond the main grove are a few isolated trees near the edge of the flow. Here was the *heiau* Pauai [Pawai], and here the trail ends... [Kinney 1913:57,59]

While describing the *mauka* "belt road," Kinney observed:

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

⁸ While conducting a survey of *Heiau* on the island of Hawai'i in 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes (1991) was told that the individual hung in the coconut grove at Pawai was the grandfather of King David Kalākaua (Stokes and Dye 1991:42). Kamanawa (by Kamokuiki) was the father of Kapa'akea, who by Keohokalole fathered the king and his siblings. Historical records document that the hanging took place in 1840, in Honolulu, not Kona. (cf. Hawaii State Archives - FO & Ex., October 5, 1840)

**HONOKŌHAU AND THE KEKAHA LANDS:
HISTORIC LAND TENURE AND
TRANSITIONS IN LAND USE PRACTICES**

This section of the study provides readers with detailed records pertaining to Honokōhau and the neighboring lands of Kekaha, North Kona in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The primary repositories of the original documentation cited below included the Hawai'i State Archives, State Survey Division, Land Management Division, the Bureau of Conveyances, Hawaiian language newspapers, and the family collection of James S. Greenwell. The information is generally presented in chronological order, and communications translated by the author (Maly) are noted⁹.

The following communications are organized by the following categories — the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division); Census and Taxation Records; Schools and Churches; Grant Lands of Honokōhau and Acquisition by H.N. Greenwell; Trails and Roads; Boundary Commission; and Government Survey Communication. The records include letters to and from the Hawaiian Government, district officials, and area residents, documenting the development of community centers, public-works and public-facilities, roadways, and changes in the community during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (from ca. 1810 to 1900). It will be noted in the following documentation, that by ca. 1830, residency in Honokōhau nui and Honokōhau iki focused in the mid-upland region of the two *ahupua'a* where agricultural resources could be developed.

The Māhele 'Āina (Land Division) of 1848

The best source of documentation pertaining to residency and land use practices is found in the records of the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division) which the King entered into with the chiefs and people in 1848. The "Land Division" gave native tenants an opportunity to acquire (in fee-simple) land on which they lived and actively cultivated.

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

The *Māhele* (division) defined the land interests of Kamehameha III (the King), the high-ranking chiefs, and the *konohiki*. As a result of the *Māhele*, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands (Chinen 1958:vii and Chinen 1961:13). Laws in the period of the *Māhele* record that ownership rights to all lands in the kingdom were "*subject to the rights of the native tenants*;" those individuals who lived on the land and worked it for their subsistence and the welfare of the chiefs (*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima... [Penal Code] 1850:22*). The 1850 resolutions in "*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no*

⁹ Italics and underlining emphasis, and the use of square brackets to enclose text are this author's.

ko Hawaii Pae Aina," authorized the newly formed Land Commission to award fee-simple title to all native tenants who occupied and improved any portion of Crown, Government, or Konohiki lands. These awards were to be free of commutation except for house lots located in the districts of Honolulu, Lāhainā, and Hilo (cf. Penal Code, 1850:123-124; and Chinen 1958:29). After native Hawaiian commoners were granted the opportunity to acquire their own parcels of land through the Māhele, foreigners were also granted the right to own land in 1850, provided they had sworn an oath of loyalty to the Hawaiian Monarch (Kame'eleihiwa 1992:300).

In order to receive their awards from the Land Commission, the *hoa'āina* were required to prove that they cultivated the land for a living. They were not permitted to acquire "wastelands" (e.g. fishponds) or lands which they cultivated "with the seeming intention of enlarging their lots." Once a claim was confirmed, a survey was required before the Land Commission was authorized to issue any award (Penal Code, 1850). The lands awarded to the *hoa'āina* became known as "Kuleana Lands." All of the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards or LCA) were numbered, and the LCA numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai'i.

By the time of its closure on March 31, 1855, the Land Commission issued only 8,421 *kuleana* claims, equaling only 28,658 acres of land to the native tenants (Kame'eleihiwa 1992:295). The Register and Testimony books of the Māhele provide documentation on the following Land Commission Awards (LCA) for the *ahupua'a* of Honokōhau nui and Honokōhau iki. The awards below include *ali'i* and *konohiki* awards (usually entire *ahupua'a* or *'ili*) and a few small *kuleana* awarded to native tenants:

Honokōhau - Māhele Claims and Awards (1848-1850)
(Figure 3 depicts *kuleana* that could be located on available maps)

Honokōhau Nui (1st)

No. 11216 - (Ali'i Awardee)

Miriam Kekauonohi (granddaughter of Kamehameha I). *Ahupuaa* of Honokohau 1 (2653 acres).

No. 9114 -

Kapulehu (January 28, 1848)

Greetings to you Kaauwai; I hereby petition you for my land claims in Honokohau, Kailua, Hawaii. Okoa, an *ili* of Kaloko is on the north, on the east is Kumupalala, on the south is Maloiki, on the west is the road. Huhi [Huhie] is the *Konohiki*. That is the description of my land for your information. KAPULEHU (Native Register Vol. 8:541)

Kapulehu (January 12, 1850)

Pamaiaulu and Kaneai sworn; they have seen his parcel in the *ili* of Kanakahikale, *ahupuaa* of Honokohau 1, gotten from Nahu in 1820. No one objected. Boundaries are surrounded by land of the Konohiki. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:657)

No. 9158 -

Keoki. Honokohau (January 28, 1850)

Greetings to you John Li, I hereby petition you all for my *moo* [a dryland parcel] claim, bounded on the east Pohakupalahalaha, on the south by Waiha, on the north by Kepoko, and on the west by Mokuaweoweo. That is my *moo*. KEOKI (Native Register Vol. 8:542)

Keoki (January 12, 1850)

Kamohai and Polapola sworn, they have seen a parcel in Onea 1 and Onea 2, at Paehala in Honokohau, from Malo in 1840. No one objected. Boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:652)

No. 9236 -

Kahaulewahine. Honokohau (January 28, 1848)

Greetings to you, Namauu and all the Land Commissioners; I hereby petition for my land claim, Kaeo 2. Bounded by Pohakupalahalaha 1 on the north, by Waiha on the south, and by Puukukaeke on the west. KAHAULEWAHINE (Native Register Vol. 8:544)

Kahaulewahine (January 12, 1850)

Kamohai and Polapola sworn, they have seen his section of Kaeo 2 *ili* of Honokohau nui *ahupuaa*, [obtained] from Kau in 1844. No one objected. Boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:651)

No. 9240 - Kuawaa (deceased), Napohaku, Heir (January 12, 1850)

Polapola and Kailiino sworn, they have seen his section in the *ili* of Onea 2, Honokohau *ahupuaa*, gotten from Nuhi in 1839. No one has objected. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:652)

No. 10521 B -

Puhihale

Greetings to you, Z. Kaauwai; I hereby petition you for my claims for land at Honokohau 1 in Kailua, Hawaii. It is an entire *ili*. On the north is Ukanoni, on the east is Kealaehu, on the south is Onea, on the west is Kaeo. Those are the boundaries of my land claim for you, the Commissioners, to consider. Also, I have some *kihapai* which are only cultivated at another place. The name of that *ili* is Halemahuka. The name of the Konohiki is Nuhi. PUHIHALE (Native Register Vol. 8:596)

Puhihale (January 12, 1850)

Kahaulewahine and Haaheo sworn, they have seen the parcel in the *ili* of Halemahuka, in the *ahupuaa* of Honokohau 1, gotten from Malo in 1839. No one has objected. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:653)

No. 10559 B – Nuhi (deceased)

Kelea (w) and Nuhi Jr., Heirs (January 12, 1850)

Kailiino and S. Polapola sworn, they have seen his house lot parcel in the *ili* of Nuuhiwa, Honokohau 1, gotten from Malo in 1839. No one has objected to him. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:653)

In Claim No. 10322, Nuhi also claimed a portion of the '*ili* Makakiloi'a in Kealakehe. He described the '*ili* as including a banana patch in the mountain zone, and land on the kula (flat lands), and at the shore (Native Register Vol. 8:478-479). In Claim No. 10694, Nuhi also claimed a parcel in the *ili* of Kiki, land of Kaloko [near the Honokōhau-Kaloko Boundary] (Native Testimony Vol. 8:656).

No. 10699 (awarded under *No. 11064*) – Kapuni (January 12, 1850)

Pamaiaulu and Kaneai sworn; they have seen his parcel, a *pauku* [dryland parcel] in the *ili* of Makaiki, *ahupuaa* of Honokohau 1, gotten from Malo in 1839. There are no disputes. Boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:657)

No. 10762 – Ahu (January 12, 1850)

Haaheo and Pamaiaulu sworn, they have seen his section of 4 taro garden in the *ili* of Nuuhiwa, *ahupuaa* of Honokohau 2 [award was for Honokōhau nui], received from Hao in 1844. No one objected. Boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:657)

Honokōhau Nui and Honokōhau Iki

No.'s 7490 and 10775 –

Solomona Polapola. Honokohau (January 22, 1848)

Greetings to you John Ii and the Land Commissioners; I hereby petitions you and the commissioners for my *kihapai* [garden] claims in the land of Leleiohoku in Honokohau 2. There, with a circumference of 213 yards, are 3 *loulou* palms and 2 breadfruit trees. A place planted with taro is 262 fathoms in circumference. At Honokohau 1 I have some gardens. a place planted in sweet potatoes is 60 fathoms in circumference, and the place which is planted with taro has a circumference of 144 fathoms. I received these places from four persons: Kaupokii, Kanae, Keoki, and Kuawaa. SOLOMONA POLAPOLA (Native Register Vol. 8:501)

No. 10775 – S. Polapola. Honokohau

Greetings to you, John Ii, and Land Commissioners; I hereby petition for my house lot claim which is 117 yards in circumference. There are 2 coconut trees within my claim. [It is] in Leleiohoku's land at Honokohau 2 [under Konohiki] Hao. I received a right to a house from Malo when he had the land. My witnesses are Wili, Peleleu, Kaupokii, Makaena, and Kailiino. They are the ones who know of my house lot claim which I have occupied up to the present time. SOLOMONA POLAPOLA (Native Register Vol. 8:602)

No. 7490 – S. Polapola (January 12, 1850)
[including house lot claim of L.C.A. 10775]
Makaena and Kailiino sworn, the have seen:

Section 1 – 4 taro gardens [*kihapai*] in the *ili* of Waipio of Honokohau 2, from Kapela in 1839.

Section 2 – 5 taro and potato gardens in the *ili* of Onea, Honokohau 1, from Keoki in 1839.

Section 3 – A potato garden in the *ili* of Pukalani, in Honokohau 2 *ahupuaa*, gotten from Kanae in 1844.

Section 4 – A house lot *ili* in the land of Honokohau 2, gotten from Maiola in 1824. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:651-652)

Honokōhau Iki (2nd)

No. 9971 – (*Ali'i Awardee*)

William Pitt Leleiōhōkū (was closely tied to the house of Kamehameha I, and his name translates as "Departed-on-the-night-of-Hōkū," commemorating the death of Kamehameha.). *Ahupua'a* of Honokohau iki (480 acres). Leleiōhōkū died in 1848 prior to the closing of the Māhele. His wife and heir was Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani, and their son John Pitt Kīna'u.

No. 6026 – Ikaaka Lanai. Kahalu (January 10, 1848)

Greetings to all of you Land Commissioners; my land claims are as follows. Hanapouli is my *ili* in the *ahupuaa* of Honokohau iki. The right is as follows: From Kamehameha I to Piia. from Piia to Kuakini, and I was the occupant of the land... IKAACA LANAI (Native Register Vol. 8:407)¹⁰

No. 7396 – Kekipi (January 25, 1848)

Greetings to you Kaauwai; I hereby petition you for my land at Honokohau 2, Kailua, Hawaii. Half of the *ili* named Puukou is mine. Honokohau 2 is the name of the *ahupuaa*. The *makai* boundary of my half is Kealakauila, the *mauka* boundary is Waiha. On the south is Hulipia. on the west is Kepaupili. That is it, for your information. KEKIPI. (Native Register Vol. 8:264)

No. 7867 [repeated in Claim No. 7870] –

Kamohai. Kaloko (January 26, 1848)

[Kamohai was also a witness in the 1873 Boundary Commission proceedings]
Greetings to the Land Commissioners; I hereby petition for my lands claim. I have 2 *kihapai* at Honokohau iki. Kona, District 1, Island of Hawaii. I cultivate my 2 *kihapai* under my *kaikuahine* [older sister]. The name of this place is Waipio, and I also have 2 *loulou* [*Pritchardia* palm] trees. KOMOHAI (Native Register Vol. 8:510)

¹⁰ Ikaaka Lāna'i was a confidant of the *ali'i* and of a royal priestly line. It does not appear that his claim for land at Honokōhau was acknowledged, though he was awarded a parcel, neighboring the *heiau* complex at Kahalu'u. Lāna'i's relationship with Governor Kuakini was apparently a very close one, as it was he who prepared Kuakini's remains for burial at Kahalu'u in 1844.

Kamohai (January 12, 1850)

Kanae and Kailiino sworn, they have seen his section of 2 taro gardens [*kihapai*] in the *ili* of Waipio, Honokohau iki, from Kapehe in 1847. No one objected. Boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:651)

No. 7890 –

Kukona (Kealakehe, February 1848)

Greetings to the Land Commissioners; I hereby petition you for my land claims. They are in the *ahupuaa* of Honokohau, District 1, Hawaii. The name of my *ili* is Hanapouli, it is between Puukou and Hanapouli 1. Those are the boundaries on the north and south, Haleolono is on the west and Hulihuli is the boundary on the east. KUKONA. (Native Register Vol. 8:450)

Kukona (January 2, 1849)

Kanae sworn [it was an error to have claimed a whole *ili*], he has seen the place Kukona had cultivated at Kalualu 1, at Kaaki 2. He is not sure about the boundaries. The land of Hanpouli *ili* in Honokohau *ahupuaa* has been cultivated. Where there is a house which had been for Kukona and upon his death on the 22nd day of November [1848]. the land was bequested to his wife Kaeha. They are old-timers, residents since Kamehameha II. No one objected to Kukona.

Kukalohe sworn, they both have known alike. (Native Testimony Vol. 4:541-542)

No. 8218 – Ikeiki. Honokohau 2 (January 25, 1848)

Greetings to your, W.L. Lee. I hereby state my land claim to you in Honokohau 2, Kailua, Hawaii. The name of the *ili* is Waipio. My *pauku* [section – generally a dryland planting area] is 90 fathoms by 50 fathoms.

The one from whom I received my claim is Kaohekanu. He is dead but his wife is still living. IKEIKI (Native Register Vol. 8:528-529)

No. 8256 – Huhie¹¹ (January 24, 1848)

Greetings to you, Z. Kaauwai; I hereby petition for my land claim in Honokohau 2, Kailua, Hawaii, an entire *ili* bounded on the north by Elepaio, on the east by Haleolono, on the south by Kepaupili, on the west by Pukaolai. The *Konohiki* is Hao. That is it for your information. HUHIE (Native Register Vol. 8:530)

No. 9061 –

Kanae. Honokohau (February 2, 1848)

Greetings to you Z. Kaauwai; I hereby petitions you for my land claim in the *ahupuaa* of Honokohau 2 in Kailua, Hawaii. I have two one-thirds from

¹¹ Huhie, also written Hoohia, was a witness in the 1873 Boundary Commission proceedings

Waiha, and the *ala loa* [main trail]. On the east is Waiha, on the west is the *ala loa*, on the south is Puukou, and the north is Haliu. My second one-third is bounded on the east by Elepaio, on the west by Umiulaikaahumanu, on the south by Mokuaweoweo, and on the south by Poaiaahu. The Konohiki of the land is Hao. KANAE (Native Register Vol. 8:540-541)

Kanae (January 12, 1850)

Napuupahee 2 and Napuupahee 1 sworn, they have seen his parcels, with 2 dry land fields (*pauku*) in the *ili* of Pukalani, Honokohau 2 *ahupuaa*, gotten from his grandparents in 1819. No one has objected. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konohiki. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:657)

No. 9161 – Kailiino (January 12, 1850)

Kamohai and Polapola sworn, they have seen his parcel in the *ili* of Waiha, Honokohau 2, gotten from Kaupokii in 1840. No one has objected. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:652)

No. 9231 – Kukalohe (January 2, 1849)

Kanae sworn [error in claiming a whole *ili*], he has seen the *ili* Kukalohe had cultivated in Hulipia of Honokohau *ahupuaa*. Taro land sections have been cultivated but the boundaries are not known. The surveyor will do this work. The land had been cultivated, there is one house for Kukalohe and there is no wall.

Kukalohe's interest is from Hao in the year 1843, now one has objected to him.

Mioi sworn, they have both known similarly on Kukalohe's interest. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:542)

No. 10319 – Nahina (January 27, 1848)

Greetings, Z. Kaauwai; I hereby petition you for my land claim at Honokohau 2, in Kailua, Hawaii. It is an *'ili* at Honokohau named Haleolono. It extends from Elepaio to Hanapouli, on the east is Hanapouli, on the west is Elepaio, on the south is Puukou, on the west is Ahulua. The Konohiki is Hao. That is it, for your information. NAHINA (Native Register Vol. 8:478)

No. 10949 – Wili Koki (January 12, 1850)

Keoki and Polapola sworn, they have seen his parcel in the *ili* of Honopouli 2, *ahupuaa* of Honokohau 2, gotten from Kaleo in 1840. No one has objected to him. (Native Testimony Vol. 8:653)

In reviewing Taxation Maps (TMK 7-4-02, 06, & 08) of the Real Property Tax Office for the land of Honokōhau nui (1st), the locations of LCA No.'s 10521-B (Puhihale), 9236 (Kahaulewahine), 10762 (Ahu), 11064 (Kapuni), and 7490 (Polapola) were plotted. LCA No.'s 9114 (Kapulehu), 9158 (Keoki), 9240 (Kuawaa), and 10559-B (Nuhi) were not located. This may be explained by notations in some archival records which indicated that

the claims were not awarded (cf. Hawaii State Archives; Series 294), or title was not perfected. The survey notes and maps for LCA No.'s 10762, 10521-B, 7490, 11064, and 9236 were located in Hawaii State Archives and Land Division files. Based on the surveys, we find that the *kuleana* were all situated in the area extending from a little below the present-day Palani Road Māmalahoa Highway junction (including two parcels at the junction), and two others in the vicinity of the old Kealaehu (Kona-Kohala trail/roadway), a short distance *mauka* of the present-day Māmalahoa Highway (Figure 3). *Kuleana* in Honokōhau iki were generally located in the same elevational ranges as those in Honokōhau nui.

Taxation and Census Records

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

The *Auhau Pō'alu*a was paid by native tenants in labor services, goods, or financial compensation. On January 1, 1849, Samuela Ha'anio, Tax Assessor (District II, Island of Hawai'i) submitted a report titled "*Inoa o na kanaka auhau/poalua ma Kona Akau mai Puuanahulu a Honuaino—483 kanaka*" (Names of people who come under the Poalua Tax Laws in North Kona, from Puuanahulu to Honuaino—483 people). The records identify a total of 12 tax paying resident in Honokōhau nui and Honokōhau iki. Because of the close relationship between these families, *Table 1* also includes the names of individuals from Kaloko and Kealakehe. It will be seen that several of those individuals identified, subsequently applied for Māhele land awards and/or testified before the Boundary Commission proceedings.

*Table 1. Auhaus Poalua
Ahupuaa Name of Tax Paying Residents*

Kaloko	Paele, Kanui, Kihe, Nawahine, Naheeholua, Kahiona, Kaenaku, Puhi, Kaiama, Kamaole, Kalaikoa, Kaeka, Nahuina, Nakiaha.
Honokohau 1	Kaumauma, Kuike, Nuhi, Pulehu [Kapulehu], Apuni [Kapuni], Mauiolono.
Honokohau 2	Maa, Ikiiki, Kanuha, Kailiino, Nuhi, Kamohai.
Kealakehe	Kauhai, Nahaalualu, Kaulaula, Kahuanui, Kealakai, Keawe, Kailewalewa, Papaula. (Hawai'i State Archives; Series 262, Hawaii - 1849)

Based on missionary calculations (partially a result of the Ellis Tour cited above), the population on the island of Hawai'i was estimated at 85,000 individuals in 1823 (Schmitt 1973:8). In 1835, population records for the region of Kekaha (Kapalaoa to Kealakehe—the present study area included), placed the population at 1,233 individuals. The total population of Kona in 1831 was 6,649, and in 1835, it was 5,957 individuals; a four year decline of 692 persons (Schmitt 1973:31). Historical accounts throughout most of the nineteenth century report on the continued decline of the native population.

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

The Hawaiian Church and School System

In the 1820s, around the Hawaiian Islands, important communities (generally near ports and *ali'i* residences) were selected as "stations" for the regional church and school centers. On Hawai'i such locations as Hilo Town; Pū'ula and 'Ōpihikao, Puna; Wai'ōhinu, Ka'ū; Ka'awaloa and Kailua, Kona; Waimea and 'Iole, Kohala; and Kukuihaele, Hāmākua; served as the bases for outreach work on the island. From these "mission stations" — all under the jurisdiction of foreign missionaries — outlying churches and schools were subsequently established. The instruction of students (most of whom were adults in the early years), in reading, writing and other skills also fell to the missionaries and trained native teachers. By 1831, eleven hundred schools were in operation throughout the islands, with more than thirty thousand students (Kuykendall and Day 1970:79). These schools, usually associated with native churches or meeting houses, were organized in most populated *ahupua'a* around the island of Hawai'i, and native teachers and lay-ministers were appointed to oversee their daily activities.

In the Kailua station report of June 1, 1832, Asa Thurston reported that there were 50 schools in the Kailua Station with a total of 3,450 scholars. There were 1,469 adult males, 1478 adult females, and 125 children registered on the school roles (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society; Mss 2-a H31 Kailua).

By ca. 1840, most of the native residents of the Hawaiian Islands could read and write, and interest in the schools began to diminish. On October 15, 1840, Kamehameha III enacted a law that required the maintenance and local support (through Tuesday or "*Poalua*" taxation revenues) of the native schools in all populated areas (cf. Kuykendall and Day 1970:80 and records cited below).

While no records of operation for a school (or schools) at Honokōhau in the period between 1830 to 1846 were located during this study, the School Taxation Revenue Report of 1847, reports that the positions of two teachers at Honokōhau had been terminated ("*hoopauia*"). G.W. Lilikalani's report identifies the teachers and lists the community contributions to support of the teachers—

Kumu a'o (teacher) – Kekaula:

Donation	Value	
5 chickens	\$1.25	
2 goat hides	.25	
9 yards of cloth	3.00	
3 goats	3.00	
4 fish	.50	\$8.00

Kumu a'o (teacher) – Kekipi¹²:

Donation	Value	
2 Papale	\$2.00	
9 yards of cloth	3.00	
1 shirt	1.00	
4 goats	4.00	
3 chickens	.75	\$10.75

(Series 262 – Box 1; 1847)

The Public Instruction Report for 1848 identifies ten church-school meeting houses in the Kekaha region. At the time, there were ten church-school meeting houses and native teachers at the following locations:

School and Teacher—

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

The following year (1848), the School Taxation Revenue Report for Kona, submitted by Ha'anio, reported that Kekipi and Mama taught at Honokōhau¹³. The following taxation revenues had been collected in support of the school and teachers:

Kumu a'o (teacher) – Kekipi:

Donation	Value	
10 tuna fishes	\$2.50	
6 yards of cloth	1.75	
2 goat hides	.25	
cash	.50	
1 handkerchief	.50	\$5.50

¹² Kekipi was the applicant for LCA No. 7396 in the land of Honokōhau iki.

¹³ While title to school lots in Honokōhau nui & iki was not perfected in this time period, records cited in this part of the study, place one school each in Honokōhau nui and Honokōhau iki. Survey documentation as well as testimonies provided during Boundary Commission proceedings in the 1870s, place the school at Honokōhau nui in the uplands, below the old Government Road (located *mauka* of the present-day Māmalahoa Highway); and the school at Honokōhau iki was near the shore, below the lower government road from Kailua through Honokōhau (see testimonies of Kekoanui, Kamohai, and Hitchcock; and maps in this study).

Kumu a'o (teacher) – Mama:

Donation	Value	
1 goat	\$1.00	
9 yards of cloth	3.00	
2 bundles of salt	.50	
2 tuna fishes	.50	
cash	.25	
1 tapa cloth	.25	
1 hat	1.00	\$6.50

(Hawaii State Archives, Series 261, Box 1)

The 1848 School Report submitted by Mama noted that school had been taught 130 days and that a total of 59 students had attended the classes (Hawaii State Archives; Series 262, Box 2; Reports 1848).

In 1851, Thurston reported that the total number of schools in North Kona was 12 — this represents a closure of 38 of the 50 schools reported by Thurston in the station report of 1831 (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society; Mss 2-a H31 Kailua). Public Instruction files for 1851 do report that the school of Honokōhau was still in operation—school days in the district had increased from two to three—and that Kanu'u, assisted by Ipunui were the teachers at Honokōhau. (Hawaii State Archives, Series 261, Box 2; 1851)

Honokōhau and the Kekaha Church Station

The following citations provide readers with an overview of student enrollment in the Honokōhau School between ca.1860 to 1911:

- In 1861, Kanakaole was the teacher at Honokōhau. There were 39 students, twenty boys and nineteen girls. The school house was with stone, and thatched overhead. (Hawaii State Archives, Series 262, Box 2 – 1861)
- In 1865, Chas. Gulick, School Inspector conducted a detailed survey of 85 of the 94 "common schools" on the island of Hawai'i, traveling to each district, and reporting back to the Department of Public Instruction. While important documentation was reported by Gulick, for the Kekaha region schools he wrote —

The schools at Honokohau, Kaloko, Kalaoa, and Kiholo I did not visit this time, but I joined the two former schools into one, both being situated on the same land with no greater number of children than one teach at present can manage until I am prepared to divide them by sexes. (Hawai'i State Archives Series 262 – Folder Hawaii - 1865:32)

- In 1873 Kanakaole was still the teacher at Honokōhau. There were 65 students enrolled in the school; 33 boys and 32 girls. (Hawaii State Archives, Series 262, Box 2 – 1873)

- In 1893 S.L. Olohia was the teacher at Honokōhau *mauka*. There were 12 students enrolled in the school; 4 boys and 8 girls. (Hawaii State Archives, Series 262, Box 2 – 1873)
- By 1898, the schools and churches in the Kekaha region had dwindled to only few. An 1898 report on the schools omits any reference to the Honokōhau school, indicating that it may not have been in operation at the time. In his October 6th, 1898 communication, E.H. Gibson made the following report to Dr. C.T. Rodgers of the Department of Public Instruction —

I have visited all the schools in this District – N. Kona... Holualoa and Kailua are the most important schools. Holualoa is as good as we have.

At Kalaoa there is no school house, a native house is rented... (State Archives, Series 261, Box 82; Public Instruction Files, October 6, 1898)

- In 1899, Reverend Lyons Kakani, had been stationed in the Kekaha Church field at Kohanaiki. On July 6th 1899 he wrote to O.P. Emerson of the Secretary of the Hawaiian Board, regarding churches and difficulties of travel in the Kekaha District. His letter also included a map depicting the two coastal churches of the region, one being at Honokōhau, the other at Makalawena [Figure 4]. Kakani wrote.

... I commenced to work in this field of mission by this month, a field of many difficulties... I found out also, in looking all about this blood field, it is very hard to walk through, therefore the following diagrams [Figure 4] would help you understand the difficulty. Nearly the entire natives living in and about Kohanaiki are in want of two or more horses at least, not because of their poverty, but because of the small parcel of lands which they have possessed; of this difficulty, they couldn't lend me a horse, and I can hardly walk on the Lava stones miles upon miles, and hottest than ever.

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

I would say, Mr. Kakani is not a man of that kind...

There were upward of fifty souls in my service on Sunday last, and there were also two new members added in the Roll by Confession of faith. The membership of the church are mostly young people, and are seemed to be happy with their young preacher. I thing this is an age of young people membership in this visible church... [Kakani 1899; Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library]

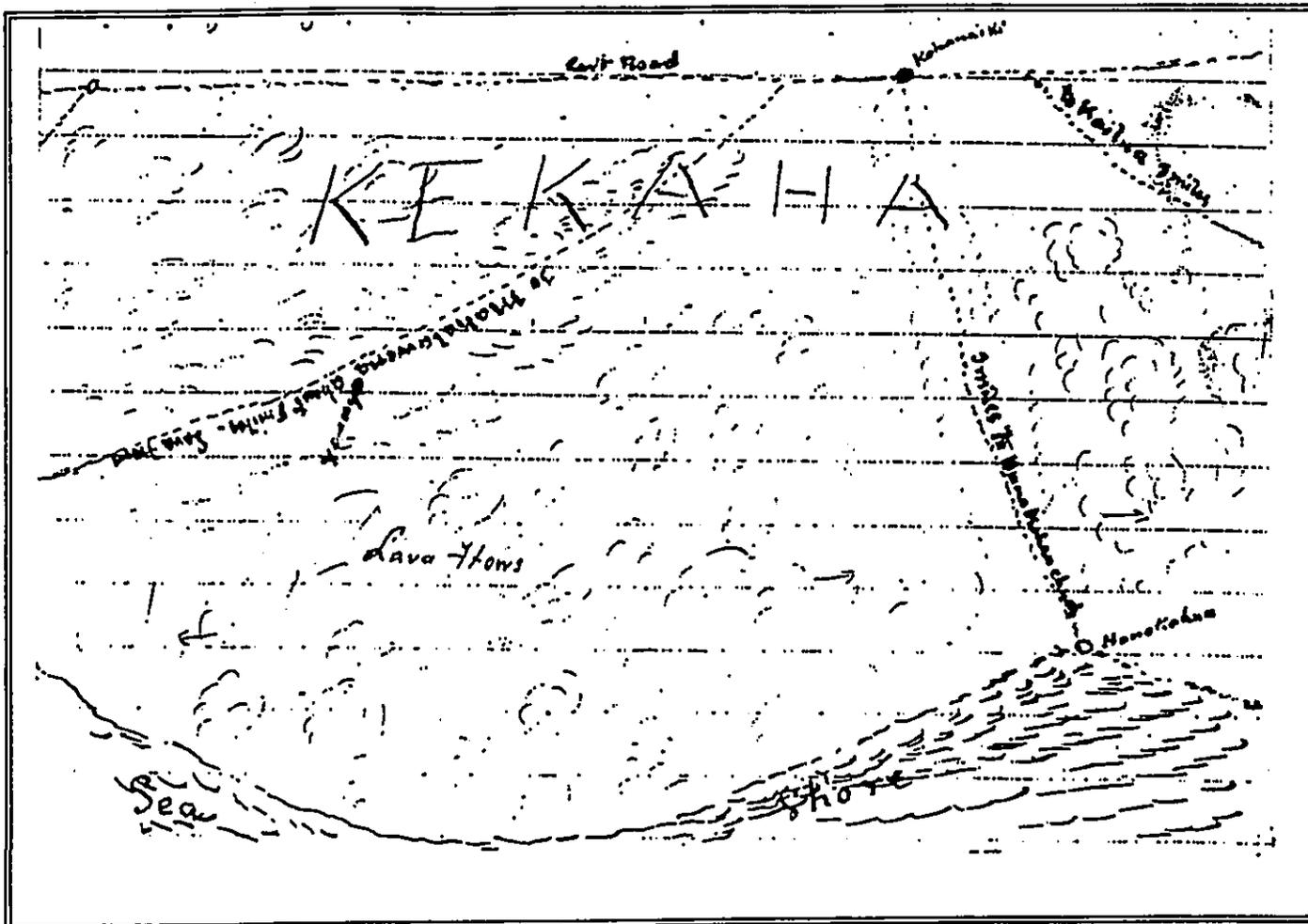


Figure 4. L. Kakani's Diagram of Trails Traveled Between Kohanaiki Church and the Churches at Honokōhau and Makalawena in 1899. (Courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library; L. Kakani, July 6, 1899)

- Reverend Albert S. Baker, administered the Kona Evangelical Station between 1905 to 1919. He reported that the church at Honokōhau *makai* was built in 1896. Though only limited records for the church could be located in the Hawaiian Evangelical Association Annual Reports, Baker's notes indicate that services were held regularly through ca. 1910 (Baker Collection, The Mission Houses Museum). Figure 5 is a photograph (ca. 1918) from the Baker Collection of the Honokōhau *makai* church, shortly before it was taken apart and moved to the Kailua area, where it became a residence.
- In 1905, Reverend Albert Baker conducted a survey of church and school lands and investigated the status of land title for those churches in the Kona District. Writing to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Baker noted that there was a "chapel at Honokahau *makai*," though no school carried on there. (Hawaii State Archives, Series 262, Box 82)

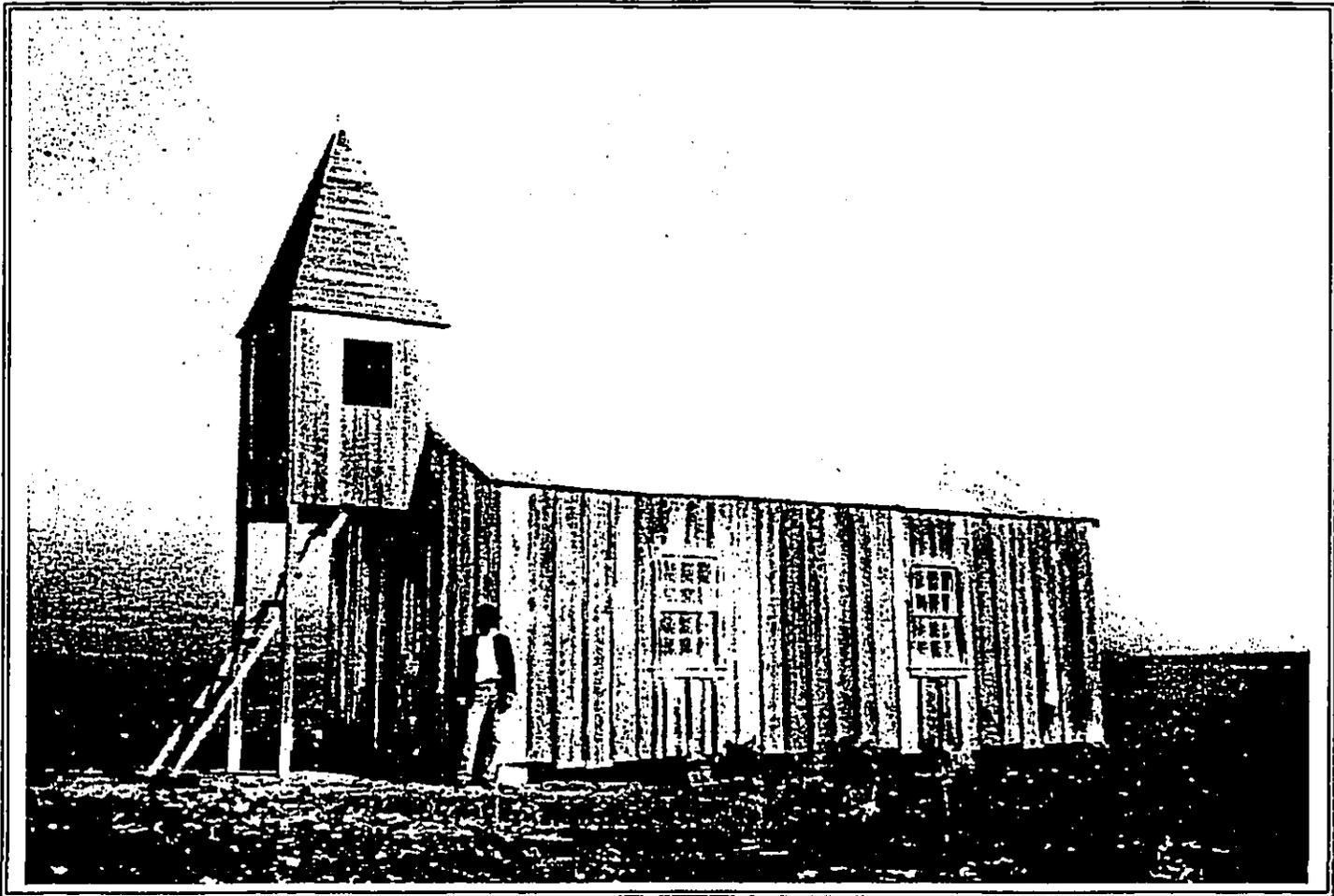


Figure 5. *The Hawaiian Church at Honokōhau iki (makai), ca. 1918;*
Rev. Albert S. Baker Collection No. N-B13 (Courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission
Children's Society Library, Mission Houses Museum)

- In the 1916 Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA), Reverend Baker reported, "The Chapel at Honokohau *makai*, a branch of the Kekaha Hawaiian Church, has also been relocated on Board land and repaired this year..." (HEA Report 1916:36)
- In regards to the school situated in the *mauka* Government lands at Honokōhau iki (2nd), in the 'ili of Papa'akoko, the 1911 Inventory and Valuation of School properties in Kona, reported — the school was a tongue & groove frame building with a shingle roof; the teachers cottage was a tongue & groove frame building with an iron roof; and that there were two out-buildings. (State Archives, Series 261—Inventory 1909-1911; see also C.S.F. 16,445 in the collection of the State Survey Division)
- On October 23rd, 1918 Baker visited the small village at Honokōhau *makai*. The visit was the basis of his 1919 article on petroglyphs of Honokōhau (cited later in this study). Baker's field book notes, cited below add to the description of the Honokōhau-Kaloko vicinity, with

references to the *heiau*, residences, fishponds, and other features of the area:

[at Kailua] ...Put my saddle on Judge Baker's horse and went by trail to Honokohau *makai* in about an hour. I inspected the relocated neat little chapel, called nearby, and with a small boy saw the sights, and took 7 photos. West, a little *makai* of the cement salt pans, and either side of the stone wall to the sea are petroglyphs; the usual human figures, and a number of guns [drew one gun] a circle etc., 3 *konane* stones and some apparent stone pipe hats etc. There are English letters to as at Puuanahulu but rather few of each thing.

A little more *makai* is a large *heiau*, by a fish pond, a stones throw south of the chapel are a few figures, one [draws figure in book] and one twice as far from the chapel in a line to the tombs N.E. and again half a dozen guns and a figure nearby at the tombs. In front of the village houses are 3 more *konane* stones. I went on a half hour inland of the mass of fish ponds north of the village to Kaloko fish pond for lunch, returning along the beach and fording the fish pond entrance at Honokohau. As I returned to Keauhou *mauka* south, I went down the hole (down s. side) "Anakii" by the road, where was an ancient place of Hawaiian idol worship, and went up the cave 1/3 mile past the freely dropping water to an upper and lower division... [Baker 1918; Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library]

While conducting this study, no formal land grant documentation for the Honokōhau School Lot(s) or church lots in Honokōhau nui & iki was located (records of the State in the Survey Division, Land Division, Bureau of Conveyances, and Archives, as well as the Mission Station reports in the Hawaii Mission Children's Society Museum were reviewed). As noted above, Public Instruction records clearly document the presence of at least one school at Honokōhau in the 1840s-1850s. But at the time church and school lots were being surveyed and granted to their respective administrations (in 1853, 1854, and 1860), no school lot was dedicated in Honokōhau (cf. Survey Book of School and Church Lots; Hawaii State Archives, DAGS 6, Volume 36). Additionally, Boundary Commission proceedings recorded and surveyed in the 1870s-1880s (cited later in this study), identify school houses in both Honokōhau nui and Honokōhau iki. All of these records place the school(s) in the *mauka* region of the Honokōhau lands, near the lower (Kailua to Kalaoa) government road, which is also in close proximity to the *kuleana* (fee-simple lands) awarded during the *Māhele*.

Government survey maps also place a school in Honokōhau nui, near the Honokōhau-Kaloko boundary (cf. Figure 6, J.F. Brown ca. 1876; Figure 7, Register Map 1106 (at end of study); and Figure 8, Register Map No. 1280), while Department of Accounting and General Services (DAGS) and Survey Division records place the identified school lot in 'ili of Papa'akoko, in the *ahupua'a* of Honokōhau iki (cf. C.S.F. 16,445 and General Lease S-4566).

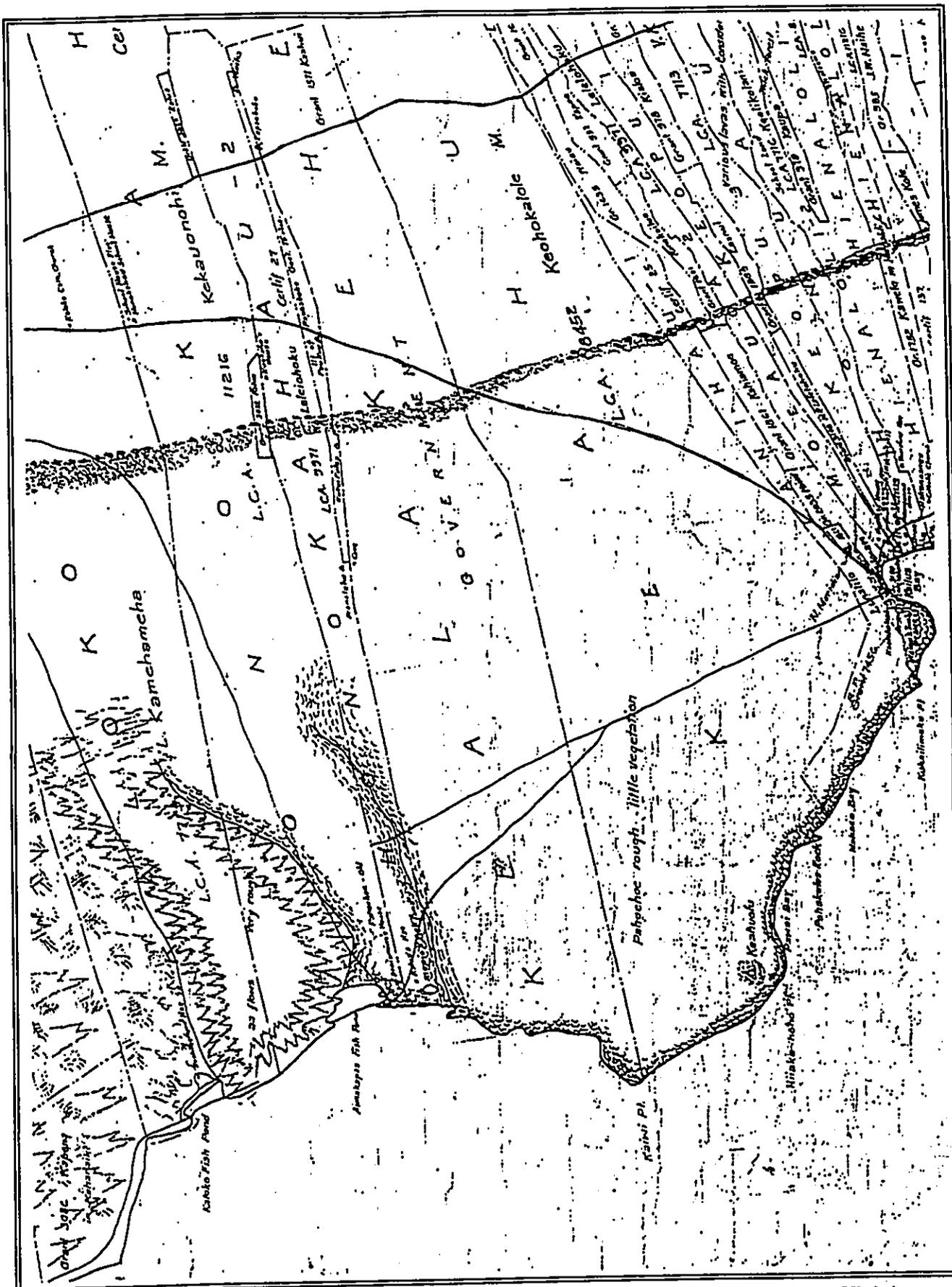


Figure 8. Portion of Register Map No. 1280 (J.S. Emerson, 1888) – Detail of Honokōhau Vicinity (State Survey Division – Tracing 1952)

Nā Ho'omana'o o ka Manawa (Reflections of Past Times)

Below, are two narratives documenting some of the history of the Kekaha schools and churches, written by a native of Honokōhau and one of the Hawaiian ministers on Hawai'i. In 1924, while *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* was publishing a variety of traditional accounts of Kekaha, penned by J.W.H.I. Kihe, Kihe also submitted articles reflecting on the changes he'd seen in the days of his life. The following excerpts (translated by the author), offer insight into the historic community of Kekaha (ca. 1860 to 1924). In the two part series, he shared his personal feelings about the changes which had occurred in this area, including the demise of the families and the abandonment of the coastal lands of Kekaha. Kihe tells us who the families were, that lived at Honokōhau, Kaloko, and throughout the region of Kekaha.

*Selected References to
Places, Practices and Events:*

Narrative:

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

• Honokōhau

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

• Hawaiian language spoken in the schools of Kekaha

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

• Kīholo
• Makalawena

• Kalaoa

• Kaloko

• Honokōhau

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

• When the schools were required to stop teaching in Hawaiian, and start teaching in English, Hawaiian families and education began to deteriorate

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

• Honokōhau

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

**Selected References to
Places, Practices and Events:**

- Most of the people of Kekaha are now dead

Narrative:

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

- Families lived in all the lands of Kekaha, from Honokōhau to Pu'uwa'awa'a

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

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

- Honokōhau

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

- Kaloko

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

- Kohanaiki

At Kohanaiki, there were many people on this land between 1870 and 1878. These were happy years with the families there. In those years Kaiakoili was the *haku 'āina* (land overseer)...

- Kaloko

Now the land is desolate, there are no people, the houses are quiet. Only the houses remain standing, places simply to be counted. I dwelt here with the families of these homes. Indeed it was here that I dwelt with my *kahu hānai* (guardian), the one who raised me. All these families were closely related to me by blood. On my fathers' side, I was tied to the families of Kaloko [J.W.H.I. Kihe's father was Kihe, his grandfather was Kuapāhoa, a noted *kahuna* of Kaloko]. I am a native of these lands.

- 'O'oma, Kalaoa, Kaulana and Mahai'ula
- Mahai'ula noted for it's great fishermen (families named)

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

- Ka'elemakule family members buried near their home
- Makalawena also noted for great fishermen

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

*Selected References to
Places, Practices and Events:*

Narrative:

- Families of Makalawena-Awake'e named
Those who have passed away are Kaha'iali'i mā, Mama'e mā, Kapehe mā, Kauaionu'uaniu mā, Hopulā'au mā, Kaihemakawalu mā, Kaomi, Keoni Aihaole mā, and Pahukula mā. They are all gone, there only remains the son-in-law of Kauaionu'uaniu, J.H. Mahikō, and Jack Punihaole, along with their children, living in the place where Kauaionu'uaniu and Ahu once lived.
- Kūki'o and Ka'ūpūlehu, now without people
At Kūki'o, not one person remains alive on that land, all are gone, only the 'a'ā remains. It is the same at Ka'ūpūlehu, the old people are all gone, and it is all quiet... [June 12, 1924]

Two years later, in 1926, Hawaiian minister, Steven Desha wrote about Reverend George P. Ka'ōnohimaka's pastorship of the Kekaha church field (*kihāpai*) which covered the years from 1864 until Ka'ōnohimaka's death 1889. Through Ka'ōnohimaka's efforts, six churches in the Kekaha region were operated. The churches were in the uplands of Kohanaiki, Kalaoa, and Pu'u Anahulu, and on the shore of Kapalaoa, Kīholo, and Ka'elehuluhulu (the latter was moved to Makalawena in ca. 1868) (cf. Annual Reports of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association and *Ka Nupepa Ku 'Oko'a*).

The following excerpts, translated by the author, are excerpted from the August 17, 1926 issue of *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, and describe primary settlements and travel in the Kekaha region in the late nineteenth century.

During the tenure of Rev. G.P. Kaonohimaka, as Minister of the Churches of Kekaha, he worked with true patience. He traveled the "*kihāpai laula*" (broad field or expansive parish) on his donkey, keeping his work in the various sections of the *kihāpai laula*. There were times when he would begin his journey by going to the section of Nāpu'u (The Hills), that is Puuanahulu and Puuwaawaa. Then when he was done there, he would go down to Kapalaoa, at the place known as Anaehoomalu. When he was finished there, he would travel to the various places, being Keawaiki, Kīholo, Kaupulehu, Kukio, Makalawena, Mahaiula, and Honokohau and Kaloko. Kaonohimaka would then return to the uplands of Kohanaiki and Kalaoa. He would be gone for several weeks at a time till he returned once again to his home. He would sleep as a guest in the homes of the brethren.

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

It was the custom of the people he visited to give him gifts of various kinds... One time, while on one of his journeys to Nāpu'u to hold a meeting, when the gathering was over, he was given a chicken. He took the chicken, held it in his hand, and then secured it to the saddle of his very patient donkey. This was a good and patient donkey who took him everywhere. Holding on to his umbrella, Ka'ōnohimaka departed, to go down to Kapalaoa, and hold a meeting with the families of the shore... (Desha in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, August 17, 1926:3)

Grant Lands of Honokōhau and Acquisition by H.N. Greenwell

Following the *Māhele*, many native tenants of lands on which they lived and cultivated, remained without personal property. The Kingdom initiated a land grant program, through which individuals interested in acquiring land could apply for and receive Royal Patents. This land grant process applied only to lands still held by the Government. Two parcels of prime agricultural land had been withheld from the *ahupua'a* awards given to Miriam Kekau'ōnohi and Wm. Leleiōhōkū. In Honokōhau nui (on the boundary between the two Honokōhau), the *'ili* of 'Elepaio was retained. In Honokōhau iki (on the boundary between Honokōhau iki and Kealakehe), the *'ili* of Papa'akoko was retained.

In 1865, Kalua and his daughter Kamaa, applied for the Government *'ili* of 'Elepaio. On September 5, 1865, S.C. Wiltse, working as a surveyor and government land agent, prepared an inventory of Government Lands in the district of Kona not yet sold, and those sold but not yet patented. Wiltse informed the Minister of the Interior:

...*Ili* - "Elepaio"

Two pieces of this land con. 30 8/10 Ac. belongs to Gov't. This land was sold by Sheldon to "Kamaa" (w) for \$1. per Acre. She says that she paid him in full, but has nothing to show for it. She wishes now to buy it of Gov't. I think \$1. per Acre would be a fair price... (Hawaii State Archives; Interior Department - Land File)

On February 20, 1866, Wiltse forwarded the 1863 survey of 'Elepaio (originally called "Waiha" by Wiltse, but corrected on the survey map) to the Minister of the Interior, and a Royal Patent was issued to Kalua in Grant No. 3022. The portion of Elepaio sold to Kalua contained 30.80 acres and was divided into two parcels. One parcel was *mauka* of the old Kealaeahu trail and government road, and the other *makai* of the old Kailua-Kalaoa Road. Figure 9, is a copy of the survey notes and map. One of the interesting features depicted on the map of the lower parcel is the "Road to the beach" which marked the southern boundary of the parcel.

Register Map No. 203 (J.F. Brown ca. 1874) depicts two houses on the shore at Honokōhau iki. Register Map No. 1280 (dated 1888), surveyed by J.S. Emerson, identifies a house near the shore of Honokōhau iki as "Kalua's Hse." (see Figures 10 & 8)

In 1876, Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani (widow and heir of Māhele awardee, Leleiōhōkū), represented by her ward, Wm. P. Leleiōhōkū (namesake of the older Leleiōhōkū, and brother of King David Kalākaua), leased the *ahupua'a* of Honokōhau iki to George McDougall (a rancher and coffee farmer) for a period of ten years with a right to extend the lease for another five years (Bureau of Conveyances, Liber 46:151-153). On August 16th 1889, McDougall purchased the *'ili* of Papa'akoko (the sole remaining government interest in land in Honokōhau iki); recorded in Royal Patent Grant No. 3456¹⁴; metes and bounds are described in Register Map No. 1513 (J.S. Emerson, 1889).

¹⁴ The notes of survey and supporting documentation could not be located in the files of the State Land Division (pers. comm. October 7, 1999); but a microfilm copy of the Grant was located at the Bureau of Conveyances and Register Map No. 1513 was found in the collection of the State Survey Division.

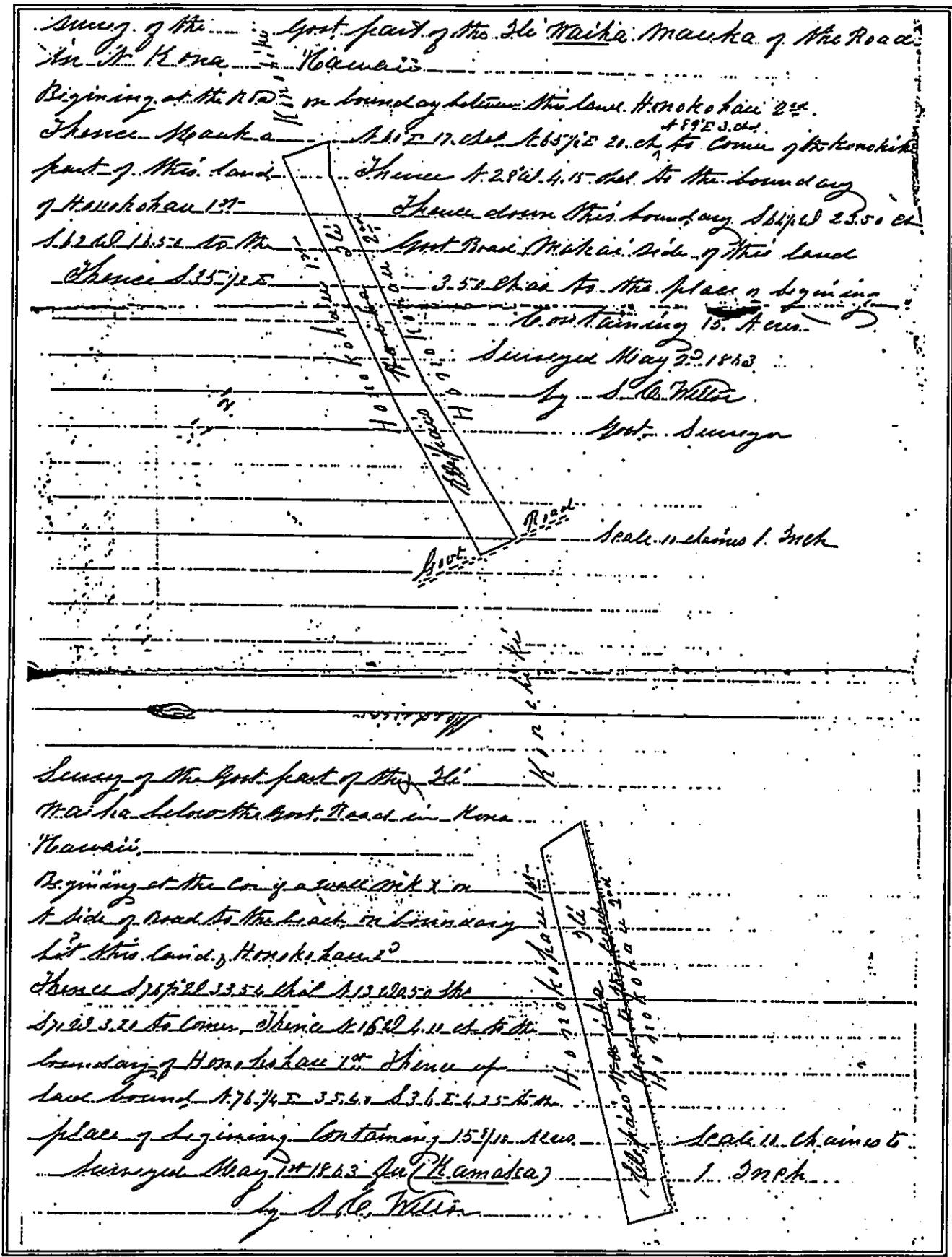


Figure 9. Map of Grant No. 3022 to Kalua, Ili of Elepaio (corrected from Waiha) (S.C. Wiltse, May 1863); Noting Location of "Road to beach" (State Land Division) (not to scale)

Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani conveyed Honokōhau iki to Wm. P. Leleiōhōkū, who died in 1877. Leleiōhōkū's heirs were his siblings, including King Kalākaua, and in 1879, they sold Honokōhau iki to Richard Bickerton, subject to conditions of the lease between Ke'elikolani and McDougall (Bureau of Conveyances, Liber 90:466-467). Richard Bickerton was the husband of Frances Tasmania Spencer (daughter of Waimea-Kona Rancher, Francis Spencer), and in 1892, Bickerton sold his interest in Honokōhau iki to his brother-in-law, Frank Spencer (Bureau of Conveyances, Liber 136:69-71). The descendants of Frank M. Spencer have maintained an interest in Honokōhau iki through the present time, with ½ interest conveyed to Frank R. Greenwell (Palani Ranch) on July 20, 1940 (Bureau of Conveyances, Liber 1578:473-474).

H.N. Greenwell at Honokōhau nui and Land Use Records

On August 23rd and 24th 1876, Henry Nicholas Greenwell purchased the *ahupua'a* of Honokōhau nui from Charles Kana'ina and the estate of George M. Robertson (respectively). (cf. Bureau of Conveyances Liber 46:341 and Liber 47:129-131) The sale included —

All that said *Ahupuaa* of Honokohau according to its ancient boundaries; together with all buildings and improvements thereon and all the rights, easements, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining or therewith usually held and enjoyed... (Bureau of Conveyances Liber 47:130)

H.N. Greenwell's initial activities on the Honokōhau lands included coffee cultivation, raising of livestock, and hunting goats and sheep. His primary area of operation were the *mauka* lands—those lands extending from the vicinity of the Government Road to Kailua and the slopes of Hualālai where rains could be counted on and cattle could be kept. Shortly after Greenwell's purchase of Honokōhau, he hired Kekoanui (formerly a teacher in the school at Lanihau) to manage the North Kona lands of the Greenwell operation. Kekoanui lived at Honokōhau nui, and his area of responsibility included Honokōhau, Lanihau, and other privately owned lands in North Kona, and also included supervision of the Greenwell leasehold lands which extended as far north as Ka'ūpūlehu (leased from B.P. Bishop). The relationship between Kekoanui and Greenwell was a close one, and Greenwell granted Kekoanui a life interest in a residence and use of the 'Aimakapā fishpond on the shore of Honokōhau nui (cf. excerpts of Greenwell Journal entries in this study).

In 1882, H.N. Greenwell set George Clark up in business to manage cattle operations and other related activities under "Honokohau Farm." Honokōhau provided pasturage for animals rotated between other Greenwell properties, including the mountain ranch lands of North and South Kona. Greenwell's Journals (for the period between 1880-1890) document that little activity, other than goat hunting and very limited residential lease use of land on the shore of Honokōhau took place on the arid *kula* (plains and flatlands) of Honokōhau nui.

H.N. Greenwell kept a series of journals in which he recorded daily activities. The journal entries document both business operations and personal observations of events happening within the larger Kona District and island nation. As a part of the present study, the Greenwell journals were viewed in the collection James S. Greenwell (Lanīhau Partners). Selected excerpts from the Journals of H.N. Greenwell, which provide important historical

documentation of land use, access, fisheries, and tenure are cited below. Some of the narratives are verbatim from a type written copy of the journals, others are paraphrased (and so noted) —

Henry N. Greenwell Journals

(Journals Viewed – Years of 1868-69, 1880-86, 1888-91)

Jan. 17, 1881 (paraphrased). Kekoanui and Keliihanapule prepared 600 goatskins at Kaupulehu – prepared for shipping. Grass land *makai* so dry that goats are dying, sheep are pushing way *mauka*...

Apr. 16, 1881 (paraphrased). Kekoanui turned in money from coffee at Honokohau.

June 28, 1881 (paraphrased). Kekoanui reported that some of Punihaole's goats [Pu'u Wa'awa'a] had been killed by men at Kaupulehu. Wrote to Punihaole to inform him.

April 18, 1882. Memoranda.

Kekoanui tells me that he and Keoki Mao have a dispute respecting the "Koa Opelu." Kaohe (w) and Kailioha (k) pointed out the boundary of Honokohau *makai* to Hitchcock, and by the line in the plan, the "Koa Opelu" belongs to Honokohau. Latterly the people of Kaloko have taken the *opelu*, but formerly the *Koa Opelu* belonged to Honokohau, but two brothers owning the said lands, viz. the elder Honokohau, and the younger Kaloko, the elder gave the *opelu* to Kaloko. One man only at present lease the privilege of taking the *opelu*, for which he pays yearly \$15 to Keoki Mao. It is not advisable that I should make trouble with Luka and Kaai [Ruth Ke'elikolani and Simeon Ka'ai, her agent] on account of so small a matter, but here after it may be proper to assert my right, which is now trespassed upon...

Friday – April 21, 1882. ...Also arrived the Royal Patent of Honokohau nui. For some five or six years have I been at work to get the boundaries of the land certified to, and a Royal Patent granted. There are _____ acres in the *ahupuaa*, its length being about 7 ½ miles, and its breadth something over ½ a mile, the widest part is at the beach, but the width is pretty uniform all through.

June 16, 1882 (paraphrased). Mr. Emerson, the surveyor, and a companion, called at my house to see the map of the land of Honokohau 1; they spent some two or three hours in conversation etc...

July 1, 1882 (paraphrased). H.N.G. noted that Kamaka was a relative of Kekoanui's.

1882 (paraphrased). H.N.G. started Clark with cattle farm at Honokohau.

April 21, 1884 (paraphrased). Kekoanui brought money and coffee from Honokohau to me...both falling short of expected, but expected since starting Clark in cattle farm...

Oct. 5, 1884 (paraphrased). H.N.G. proposes to make fence along the road, *mauka* side of boundary between Honokohau iki and Kealakehe...

Sunday – Dec. 7, 1884. ...Yesterday G. Clark came to see H.N.G regarding Lanihau. He wishes to lease a portion for the use of Honokohau [Farm].

Monday – 8th. Kekoanui and Kaulainamoku came to see H.N.G. H.N.G. gave to Kekoanui a paper constituting him *luna* of Lanihau... He complains of Clark's turning his cattle and pigs onto the land.

Wednesday. Dec. 17th 1884. H.N.G. with Henry rode to Kailua to meet G. Clark and Kekoanui respecting Lanihau. Leased to Kaea for one year from Dec. 1 for \$25. the privilege of the land and pen for goats. There are three or four fishponds near Kailua, behind the old fort premises, small but no doubt very good and convenient – and a larger pond near the sea whence we started a large flock of wild ducks. The land may pay a low rate of interest on the purchase, but H.N.G. does not regret his having bought it. Probably Mr. Ena, who wanted a place for residential purposes, ran it up. Mr. Clark is very anxious that H.N.G. should go to Honolulu to attend to the sale in person. He also says that the Keelikolani lands are to be sold, and would like H.N.G to get Kaloko; he said that he (on Honokohau [Farm] account) would pay \$300 per annum for Kaloko. I said that I would note his remark, but that I was in no way bound.

May 22, 1884. G. Clark (for Honokohau Farm) agreed to pay H.N.G. for the lower part of Kaupulehu for raising stock the sum of \$100 per annum; beginning on June 1, 1884, all goats running on any part of the land being H.N.G.'s sole property, the sheep on the land may be used by G. Clark on account of Honokohau Farm. Honokohau [Farm] will buy mares, and raise mules on Kaupulehu. H.N.G. sold some mares etc. to Honokohau Farm of which Hui at \$40 but if she has a foal in three months then she and the foal at \$50. Haluapo at \$20 but the foal now running with her to be H.N.G.'s own property...

Monday. Jan. 18, 1885. H.N.G. in Honolulu. The sale of the Kona Lands took place at Adam's Auction Room. Honokohau iki sold for \$3300., bought by Bickerton for Frank Spencer...

Monday. Mar. 30 1885. H.N.G. at Kalukalu. Mr. Clark came over to see H.N.G. His horses and mares are at Kaupulehu, but all his horned stock are at Honokohau. He is milking 36 cows only, but he obtains about 90 lbs. of butter 10 days. He informed H.N.G. that Bickerton bought Honokohau iki for F. Spencer of Waimea and that Spencer is going to reside at Kailua.

Wednesday. April 15, 1885. Kekoanui brought \$276 on account of receipts from Honokohau of which \$125 were for shrimps and \$50 were for fish from the pond. There is a great falling off in cash for land use from natives, and for animals; and also in the quantity of coffee which he brought some from Honokohau, Honuaula, and Koai. Something should be done with Honuaula _____ and Koai neither of which return me interest for the money paid for them.

April 30, 1885. Dreadfully foggy and rainy weather ceased yesterday, but it damp and no sun is visible. H.N.G.'s health has not come back, though the weather is very trying. Heard today from Honolulu of the death of Queen Emma. Within the last eighteen months the three leading women of the Hawaiian race, viz. Keelikolani (Luka), Mrs. Pauahi Bishop, and Queen Emma, have passed away. The only people of high chief blood now left are the King and his two sisters.

Sunday. May 17, 1885. Clark came to see me in consequence of my letter of last Thursday. He is very anxious that I should buy Kaloko, saying that \$500 per annum could be made from it, that it is worth \$5000. - And Honokohau would make a valuable cattle ranch.

Monday. May 18, 1885. H.N.G. sent letters to S.M. Damon, asking him to name a price for Kaloko, Holualoa 1, Holualoa 2, Keopu 3...and to Damon, Spreckles, and to Cecil Brown, asking for a loan of \$6000...

Thursday. June 18, 1885. Heard from Honolulu that the King had bought Kaloko for \$6600 and that Holualoa had been sold by private sale to a lot of natives. H.N.G. had instructed H. Waterhouse to bid as high as \$4500 for Holualoa 1 & 2. H.N.G. heard that by private sale, they were sold for \$3500. H.N.G. also instructed H. Waterhouse to go as high as \$6500 for Kaloko.

Friday. June 26, 1885. H.N.G. and Arthur returned to Kalukalu the lands (Bishop) sold at auction as follows:

1. The *ahupuaa* of Kaloko to King for \$6600.
2. The *ahupuaa* of Keopu 3 the King for \$900...

Monday. Oct. 5, 1885. H.N.G. at Kalukalu. Kekoanui came for the money for the natives, they have sent over 1100 skins from Kaupulehu. Kekoanui seemed to feel that by Honuaula being given to the Portuguese, there was the possibility of his having no land to plant on. He asked me to lease him the remaining part of Auhaukeae; on account of my regard for him and appreciation of his past services, and to show him that I am not unmindful of them, I agreed to let him have it for fifteen years or during his life time for \$30 per annum. There are nearly 100 acres.

Wednesday. June 16, 1886. H.N.G. has great reason to be dissatisfied with these missionary children surveyors. Regarding the Honokohau, the Puapuaa nui, and now regarding the Keauhou boundary, their action has always been

adverse to H.N.G.'s interest. At Honokohau they reported to Mr. Bishop that I had obtained either 150 or 500 acres (I forget which) more than I was entitled to, whereas all the land in dispute did not exceed five acres of worthless lava. At Puapuaa nui, owing to the negligence of Emerson I was at much trouble, and \$100 expense, and now at Keauhou Alexander would have given a large track [from] Kaumalumu.

Sunday, July 11, 1886. H.N.G. at Kalukalu. Clark arrived at 5:30 a.m. and at 8:00 a.m. Captain DeClare of the *Liholiho* walked up from Nawawa where the schooner is at anchor, having come for the wool. Clark I find, sensible as usual, I showed him my proposition to Mr. Cooper. He said that the work was more than one man could attend to, and seemed to think that I was giving too much. He recommended me to sell Honokohau, if I could get a fair price, which I found, after some pressing, meant \$25- or \$30,000. He does not seem so well satisfied with Kaupulehu as before, the weather being much more uncertain (and drier) there than at Honokohau. I was glad to however learn that there were plenty of goats on the land...

October 12, 1888. Memoranda.

H.N.G. and Mr. G. Clark agreed as to the lease of Lanihau as from January 1, 1889 for 15 years to Honokohau Farm at a rental rate of \$100 per annum and taxes paid by Honokohau – payable half yearly in advance.

November 10, 1888. Under date of November 7th, Mr. G. Clark wrote to H.N.G. "I agree to take it (Honokohau *makai*) on behalf of Honokohau [Farm] when ever you can arrange everything satisfactorily with Kekoanui." The figure I had named to him was \$260 a year net; the farm paying the taxes.

Dec. 6, 1888. Respecting Honokohau *makai*, I informed Mr. Clark that I should offer Kekoanui the use of the house *makai*, pasturage for four horses, and fish for his own use out of the pond. "Honokohau [Farm] will pay me \$260 per annum and the taxes."

June 12, 1889 (paraphrased). H.N.G. notes that he and McDougall discussed differences over purchase of Honokohau iki. McDougall was upset.

June 1889 (paraphrased). McDougall purchased Government land in Honokohau.

Tuesday, Jan. 7, 1890. H.N.G. at Kalukalu. Mr. Clark arrived before 6:00 a.m. and remained until nearly 2:00 p.m. I agreed to lease to Greenwell and Clark as part of Honokohau Farm, the remainder of the land of Honokohau, excepting the ponds, sea, and all the rights pertaining thereto, with free access to them. The house at the beach, the cocoanut trees, and free pasturage for Kekoanui's; and after his death the right of his successor to pasture three horses on the land. Also made an agreement for sale of 100 head of steers 2 ½ years old and upwards for \$14 ½ each...

Trails and Roads of Kekaha and Honokōhau

Ala hele (trails) and *ala loa* (regional thoroughfares) are an integral part of the cultural landscape of Kekaha and all Hawai'i. The *ala hele* provided accesses for local and regional travel, subsistence activities, cultural and religious purposes, and for communication between extended families and communities. Trails were, and remain important features of the cultural landscape.

Historical accounts describe at least two trails of regional importance— *ala loa* —in the Kekaha region. One *ala loa* crossed the *makai* (near shore) lands, linking coastal communities and resources together. By the middle nineteenth century, sections of this trail were incorporated into the *Ala nui Aupuni* (Government Road), referred to as "Māmalahoa Trail" or the "King's Highway." The other major trail through this region was called "Kealaehu" (The path of Ehu), and was situated in the uplands. This trail provided travelers with a cooler *mauka* access to inland communities and resources, and allowed for more direct travel between North and South Kona and both the coastal and upland regions of South Kohala (cf. Malo 1951; I'i 1959; Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; Māhele and Boundary Commission Testimonies; and J.S. Emerson survey letters in this study).

In the Honokōhau area, the ancient Kealaehu alignment is situated a couple of thousand feet inland from the present-day Māmalahoa Highway (Hawaii Belt Road). For descriptions of travel via the *mauka* road which passes through Honokōhau, and at the Pālani Junction, intersects with the Kailua-Waimea Road, see pages 49-54 in this study.

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

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

Following the early nineteenth century, western contact brought about changes in the methods of travel (horses and other hoofed animals were introduced). By the mid nineteenth century, wheeled carts were being used on some of the trails. In Honokōhau-Kekaha, portions of both the near shore and upland *ala hele-ala loa* were realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, while other sections were simply abandoned for newer more direct routes. In establishing modified trail- and early road-systems, portions of the routes

were moved far enough inland so as to make a straight route, thus, taking travel away from the shoreline.

Māmalahoa or the King's Trail at Honokōhau Nui

By the 1840s, the modified alignments became a part of a system of "roads" called the "*Ala Nui Aupuni*" or Government Roads. Work on the roads was funded in part by government appropriations, and through the labor or financial contributions of area residents and prisoners working off penalties (see Government communications in this study). In the Honokōhau section of the Kekaha region, portions of the *Ala nui Aupuni* – Māmalahoa (King's) Trail are lined with curbstones; elevated; and/or made with stone filled "bridges" in areas that level out the contour of the roadway. The section of the roadway was surveyed and laid out in ca. 1847 (cf. Gov. Kapeau to Keoni Ana, Aug. 13, 1847 in this study).

At one time, the King's Trail passed across the *makai* edge of the present study area. Development of the Ka'ahumanu Highway in the 1970s and road-side utility work has impacted most of the alignment in the study area. In 1971, the State of Hawai'i extinguished its interest in the trail alignment through the present Honokōhau study area (cf. ¹⁵C.S.F. No.'s 16103 and 16104). *Makai* of Ka'ahumanu Highway, in the lands of Honokōhau and Kaloko, the National Park Service has restored the Māmalahoa (King's) Trail.

Ala pi'i uka (mauka-makai) Trails in Honokōhau

The occurrence of *ala pi'i uka* in the *ahupua'a* of Honokōhau nui is reported in historical documentation recorded as a part of the land surveys conducted by S.C. Wiltse (1863), J.F. Brown (ca. 1876), and J.S. Emerson (1882 and 1891). In the survey of Grant No. 3022 to Kalua, Wiltse noted that the lower grant parcel was bounded on the south side by the "Road to the beach." Based on that survey, the "road" would be situated on or near the boundary of Honokōhau nui & iki. This coincides with the occurrence of a house identified as Kalua's, near the 'Ai'ōpio Fishpond in Honokōhau iki. In Honokōhau nui, J.S. Emerson's field books (cited later in this study) and his Register Map (*Figure 8*) identify a trail that crosses into Honokōhau nui and through the present project area. The trail begins in Kohanaiki, intersecting the *mauka* Government Road, passes through Kaloko, enters Honokōhau nui and stops at the sea on the south side of 'Aimakapā Fishpond. The trail appears to intersect the coastal trail which also intersects with the extension of the *Ala nui Aupuni* (Government Road) that was traveled from Honokōhau to Kailua up through the 1950s-1960s.

Trails and Roads of Kekaha (Government Communications)

The following communications are those which provide readers with descriptions of the *ala nui aupuni* and some of the subsidiary trails which pass through the Kekaha region. The documentation includes important descriptions of the lands traveled through, how work was completed and paid for, and efforts at promoting broader access. The communications focus on two alignments of the Government Road, the *makai* road, generally known as the Māmalahoa (King's) Trail and the upland Kailua-Waimea Road (*Ala nui Aupuni*). (Underlining emphasis, italics and square brackets have been added to selected texts by the author.)

¹⁵ C.S.F. (Copy of Survey Furnished) is the designation that has been historically used by the Survey Division to identify government surveys recording government parcels and transactions.

*Overview of Road Laws and Development
in the Kingdom of Hawai'i (1840 to 1857):*

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

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 *konoiki* days...

...The roads from Kailua and down the *pali* of Kealakekua, and from Kailua to Honokohau, Kaloko, Ooma, at the places that were told our King, and from thence to Kaelehuluhulu [at Kaulana in Kekaha], are now being surveyed. 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...
(Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 29, 1848

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

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

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

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

The highway from Kealakekua to Honaunau has been laid, but is not all finished, and are only small sections... (Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

1861

**J.P. Travis, Road Supervisor, North Kona; to
Prince Lot Kamehameha, Minister of the Interior**

...I beg most respectfully to submit to your Royal Highness my report as Road supervisor of North Kona Hawaii for the year of 1860. *The new lava flow at Kiholo has been made passable for travel* also the upper road as far as Honuaula... (Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads, Hawaii)

July 9, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior.

Notifies Minister that *the road from Kiholo to Kailua needs repairing.* (Interior Department – Lands)

August 14, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior:

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

This is the main road around the island and is in very bad condition. Hardly anyone lives there, and there are several miles of road across the lava there,

that can only be worked by hiring men to do it. There is also a road across a strip of Aa a mile & a half or 2 in length in the south end of S. Kohala next to the boundary of N. Kona, that needs working, and then the road from here [Kawaihae] to Kona will be quite passable... (Hawaii State Archives 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)

Kailua Nov. 19th, 1880

Geo. McDougall; to

A.P. Carter, Minister of the Interior —

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

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

March 21st, 1885

C.N. Arnold, Road Superintendent-in-Chief, Hawaii; to

Charles Gulick, Minister of Interior:

...In accordance with your instructions I beg to hand you the following list of names as being those I would select for Supervisors in the different Road Districts under my charge:

... Judge J.K. Hoapili, North Kona District...

Hoping these parties may meet with your approval... (Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 1886

Petition to Charles Gulick, Minister of the Interior:

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

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

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

Your people have confidence that as so explained, you will kindly grant our request, and end this trouble in our District... [Signed by 53 residents]
(Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii, translated by K. Maly)

March 9th, 1887

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

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

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

From the preliminary survey made, I estimate that a wagon road 12 feet wide will cost from Kailua to the *mauka* Govt. road at Hokohauiki [sic] \$6000. the length of the road is 5 ¾ miles. The elevation of highest point (*mauka* Road) is 1600 feet above tide at Kailua. Mr. Smith Supt. of Public Works has all the notes of the survey, and can give you full information in regard to this matter... (Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

July 14th, 1887

C.N. Arnold, Road Superintendent-in-Chief, Hawaii; to

L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:

...In obedience to your request I beg to hand you the following list of the District Supervisors under my jurisdiction:

...North Kona – Hon. J.K. Nahale; Native... (Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

March 8, 1888

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

L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior.

Ka'elemakule provides Thurston with an overview of work on the roads of North Kona, and describes the Government roads (*Ala nui Aupuni* or *Ala loa*) which pass both the coastal and upland sections of Honokōhau:

...2. The road that runs from Kailua to Kohanaiki, on the north of Kailua, perhaps 6 miles. It is covered with 'a'ā stone, and is perhaps one of the worst road here. The Road Board of North Kona has appropriated \$200 for work in the worst areas, and that work has been undertaken and the road improved. The work continues at this time. This is one of the important roads of this district, and it is one of the first roads that should be worked on.

...3. The government road or *ala loa* from upland Kainaliu (that is the boundary between this district of South Kona) [Kealaehu], runs straight down to Kiholo and reaches the boundary of the district adjoining South Kohala, its length is 20 and 30 miles. With a troubled heart I explain to your Excellency that from the place called Kapalaoa next to South Kohala until Kiholo – this is a very bad section of about 8 miles; This place is always damaged by the animals of the people who travel along this road. The *pahoehoe* to the north of Kiholo called Ke A. hou, is a place that it is justified to work quickly without waiting. Schedule A, attached, will tell you what is proposed to care for these bad places...

Schedule A: [Appropriations needed]

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

The upland Road from Kainaliu to the boundary adjoining S. Kohala – \$1,500.00. (Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii; translated by K. Maly)

September 30, 1889

Thos. Aiu, Secretary, North Kona Road Board (for J. Kaelemakule); to

L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior.

Provides Thurston with an over view of work on the road of North Kona, and identifies individuals who are responsible for road maintenance (cantoniers) in various portions of the district. In the region of the Kiholo Road, the following was reported:

1. The section of the road which proceeds from the shore at Kailua to Kohanaiki, Mano is the caretaker...
4. That section of road from Kailua to the shore of Honokohau, Keaweiwi is the caretaker...
6. That section of road from Kukuioohiwai to Lanihau along the upland road, Isaac Kihe is the caretaker.

The work done along these sections is the cutting of brush – guava, lantana and such – which trouble the road, and the removal of bothersome stones... (Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii; translated by K. Maly)

December 22, 1890

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

...I forward to you the list of names of the cantoniers who have been hired to work on the roads of this district, totalling 15 sections; showing the alignment of the road and the length of each of the sections. The monthly pay is \$4.00 per month, at one day of work each week. The board wanted to increase it to two days a week, but if that was done, there would not have been enough money as our road tax is only \$700.00 for this district....

You will receive here the diagram [Figure 11] of the roads of North Kona. (Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii; translated by K. Maly)

December 1892

Petition to Geo. N. Wilcox, Minister of the Interior:

Signed by 160 residents of Kona. The petitioners note that the Kanikū (Kohala-Kona road) was built in 1871, and ask that S.B. Kaomea be appointed to position of Road Supervisor for unfinished work on Kealakehe Road:

We the undersigned residents of Kona, Hawaii humbly present this petition before your Excellency.

We have known that S.B. Kaomea is a native of great experience in road making, and has been proved by the well constructed roads which he had taken, known as the Kaniku Road, near South Kohala, made in A.D. 1871, which is now in perfect and solid condition... (Hawaii State Archives Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

Twentieth Century Travel in Honokōhau

For further documentation regarding travel in the Honokōhau-Kekaha region in the early twentieth century, see the narratives cited earlier in this study under the heading of "A Visit to the Kekaha Region..." for 1902 and 1913. Oral history interviews cited later in this study report that almost no *mauka-makai* travel in Honokōhau nui & iki occurred in this century, and that travel was primarily associated with ranching operations. In the neighboring land of Kaloko, Hu'hu'e Ranch bulldozed a jeep road to the shore at Kaloko. This jeep road was used by ranch and some individuals who went to the shore either for leisure or for use of the Kaloko fishponds. This jeep road also provided individuals with shore line access to Honokōhau nui & iki. The old *ala nui aupuni* and modifications to the access made following World War II, from Honokōhau to Kailua (*Figure 8*) remained in use through the 1970s.

It was not until 1970s when Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway opened up, that travel across the *kula kai* (shoreward plains) of Honokōhau was once again possible to the larger public. The present study area is bounded on the *makai* side of the property, by the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway.

***Proceedings of the Boundary Commission (1873-1882):
Lands of Honokōhau Nui (1st) and Honokōhau Iki (2nd)***

The *Māhele* and Land Grant program of the Kingdom of Hawai'i saw a rapid growth of business interests. In an address before the Annual Meeting of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society (1857), J.F.B. Marshall spoke of the growing business ventures in the islands which included—the cultivation of sugar and coffee; harvesting *pulu* for mattresses and pillows, and *kukui* for oil; ranching and export of hides, tallow and wool; farming for trade and export, and salt manufacture (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*; November 5, 1857). As a part of growing business interests, large land owners pursued the establishment of formal boundaries on their land holding, in order to protect their private property "rights."

In 1862, a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom of Hawai'i to legally set the boundaries of all the *ahupua'a* that had been awarded as a part of the *Māhele*. Subsequently, in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries were authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (cf. W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118). Rufus A. Lyman served as the Commissioner of Boundaries for the Third Judicial Circuit—the island of Hawai'i. The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the area being discussed. For the lands of Honokōhau, the informants state that they were either born in the Kaloko-Honokōhau-Kealakehe vicinity, or that they had lived there since their youth. All of the witnesses had learned of the boundaries from their elders, and described the landscape by the nature of the terrain, presence of resources, land use, and features which were of significance to the residents of the land.

The oldest of the informants (Hoohia) appears to have been born in ca. 1791, by association with events described at the time of his birth. The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred.

Readers here will note that there are often inconsistencies in spelling of particular words such as place names, people names and natural or man-made features. Of particular importance, it will be noted that Honokohau is sometimes written as "Honokahau." Also, over several years of researching the Boundary Commission testimonies, the author has observed that often, when two of the same vowels were written by the original translator/transcriber, it indicated that he heard a lengthened pronunciation of a particular vowel. This emphasis of pronunciation is now indicated by a macron mark—for example, the place name "Kahiihia" (where the two Honokōhau and Kealakehe meet one another) would now be written "Kāhīhīa."

The narratives below are excerpted from the testimonies for the Kaloko-Honokōhau-Kealakehe vicinity (underlining is used by this author to emphasize selected references). Not all of the documentation provided by each witness is repeated here, though primary documentation regarding the *ahupua'a* boundaries, and narratives regarding native customs, practices, and cultural features are cited. Underlining and square bracketing are used by this author to highlight particular points of historical interest in the narratives. Register Map No. 203 (J.F. Brown, ca. 1874) and Register Map No. 1106 (D.H. Hitchcock, October

1880) (Figures 10 and 7 respectively) at the end of this study, identify many of the locations (natural and manmade) described in the testimonies. Following the maps, while reviewing the testimonies enables the reader to identify most of the named locations (both those that served as formal mapping sites as well as those named by the native informants).

The Ahupuaa of Honokohau District of N. Kona

Volume A – No. 1

Island of Hawaii 3rd J.C.

On the 12th day of August A.D. 1873 the Commission of Boundaries met at Kailua North Kona, Hawaii 3rd J.C. for the hearing of the application of G. Judd Administrator of the Estate of the late G.M. Robertson, for the settlement of the boundaries of Honokohau in North Kona Hawaii, belonging to said Estate...

Testimony

Kahuanui K. Sworn. (Same witness as in Honokohauiki and Kaloko).

Honokohau and Kealakehe join at Kahiihia in the woods. Thence the boundary runs mauka to Ohiawela a pali [cliff] on Honokohau where olona [Touchardia latifolia, an endemic plant, the fibers of which were used for making strong cordage] grows. Honokohau is on the top and south side of said pali and it slopes towards the land of Honokohau. Thence to Naumu on the north side of a punawai [spring]; there Kaloko and Lanihau unite and cut this land off.

CX'd.

Note 1st

For further testimony see evidence of Kaloko and Honokohauiki... No more witnesses to be found at present.

R.A. Lyman

Commissioner of Boundaries [page 369]

Volume B.

*Land Boundary Commission – Third Judicial District,
Hawaiian Islands – Island of Hawaii*

Land of Honokahau 1st

North Kona – Hawaii

October 14th, 1881...

The Petition of H.N. Greenwell, the present owner of the land, read in court, asking for a settlement of the boundaries; also Notice in the Hawaiian Gazette.

Evidence

Kekoanui Sworn

I am a kamaaina of Honokahau, and live there. I went with Mr. Hitchcock to survey the land. We commenced at the corner marked by Brown, at the sea

shore, Kaloko, said to be Keelikolani's land, is on the North side of the land. Kaohi [Kaohe] w. and Kailioha k. were our kamaaianas in the survey; they pointed out the boundaries, a large rock in the sea, over which the waves break; it is quite a little distance off from the shore. There is a "Koa Opelu" [a dedicated 'ōpelu fishing grounds] in the sea, the kamaainas say it belongs to this land. Kaohi is a very old woman, and is feeble, so is the man; they said that the people of Kaloko fish in the *Koa Opelu*, as formerly the *konohiki* [land lord – overseer] of Honokahau was a woman, who married a man who was the *konohiki* of Kaloko, and allowed him to fish on her grounds.

Kaohi said that Puuiki, a hill in the aa, is on the boundary line, on the North side of the land, going up from the sea shore, then up to a large rocky mound, then on to the stone wall, which wall was never completed, then on to the School house, then along the iwiaina [boundary wall] to the Government road.

I do not know the boundary above that, but have always understood that the aa belonged to Kaloko, and the wooded land to Honokahau. Kaaupulehu bounds the land *mauka*, it is a land belonging to Keelikolani. *Mauka*, on the South side, Lanihau¹⁶, a Gov't. land joins Honokahau. I have heard, do not know the boundary, only where we surveyed. Honokahauiki bounds it *makai*. Honokahaunui has fishing right in the sea. [page 452]

D.H. Hitchcock Sworn

I marked the North *mauka* corner, by the *aa*, as near as I could tell from what the natives told me of the boundary; the other *mauka* corner is an arbitrary corner, at an *awawa* [grotto], giving the land about the same width as below. We could not find any one who could point out the boundaries up there. According to the boundaries of Honokahau the "Koa Opelu" is entirely within the land, as the old woman said it belonged. By the evidence taken before R.A. Lyman, an old man said this land did not go through the woods. I took the land up through the heavy *koa* trees to about twenty or thirty chains below the *mauka* edge of the small trees.

From the beach up the North side of the land, the boundary line strikes up on to the aa to an *ahu* [cairn], and on to a stone wall said to be the boundary. The south side was surveyed by J.F. Brown, as far up as Honokahau iki extends, and we found his corner. Above that I made the boundary a straight line up to the *mauka* corner, measuring it by triangulation from *mauka*, and also measured from the North boundary, at midway of the land, to my road to the mountain. The only disputed point was about the "Koa Opelu", which the Kaloko people claim. Keakaokawai [a guide to surveyors for the land of Keauhou and vicinity] formally told me that this land and some other lands did not go up through the woods. I always found him to be a very correct *kamaaina*. The *mauka* part of the land is the meanest kind of Kona land; old

¹⁶ As finalized in district survey sheets. Lanihau does not join with Honokōhau. Kelakehe and Honua'ula meet Honokōhau nui in the uplands and Kealakehe bounds Honokōhau iki along the entirety of its southern boundary.

aa covered by scrub *Koa* trees. The old road up was on Lanihau, not on this land.

Testimony closed.

The boundaries are decided to be as given in the notes of survey. November 8th, 1881.

F.S. Lyman
Boundary Commissioner. [page 453]

No. 138

[see Figure 7 – Register Map No. 1106; D.H. Hitchcock, October 1880]

Volume 1 – No. 3

*Certificate of Boundaries of the Land of Honokahau 1st,
District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii. L.C. Award No. 11216...*

Judgement.

An application to decide and certify the Boundaries of the Land of Honokahau 1st, District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii having been filed with me on the 16th day of August 1881, by H.N. Greenwell Esq., the present owner of the land, in accordance with the provisions of an Act to facilitate the settlement of Boundaries, &c. approved on the 22nd day of June 1868; now therefor, having duly received and heard all the testimony offered in reference to the said boundaries and having endeavored otherwise to obtain all information possible to enable me to arrive at a just-decision, which will more fully appear by reference to the records of this matter by me kept in Book No. 2, B. page 452, and it appearing to my satisfaction that the true, lawful and equitable boundaries, are as follows, viz:

Commencing at large rock in the Sea, on the line of land of Kaloko and running along said line N. 70 ½ E. 104.00 ch. to "ahu" on aa Flow at a place called "Puwiki." Thence angling across the flow to ahu on a Puu Pahoehoe N. 72° E. 90.00 chains. Thence [page 348] following most of the way along line of old stone wall not entirely finished, A. 77 E. 50 chains to point above, a kukui Grove where a stone wall across this land meets the first Wall. Thence still along line of wall to point just on the Hamakua side of School House N. 66 E. 51 chains; Thence along road mauka N. 68 E. 35.40 chains to upper Gov't Road; Thence in a straight line through the woods to ahu on Kona side of an old aa Flow N. 63 E. 287.00 chains: Thence S. 38 ½ E. 38.00 chains to Koa marked X at the head of a small awawa [grotto or hollow]; Thence in a straight line through the woods to an ahu at the head of Honokahau 2nd along supposed line of Honuaua N. 60 E. 234.00 chains: Thence down said line of Honokahau 2nd as per survey of Brown as follows. – S. 86.30 W. 995 feet: to a water hole called Kapiopio .26 feet South East of Kukui tree marked "X." S. 68, 15 W. 856 feet; S. 67.30 W. 237 feet; S. 64.15 W. 220 feet: S. 57.45 W. 250 feet; S. 58.30 W. 300 feet. –S. 61.30 W. 480 feet to stone marked "X" on

mauka side of Govt. Road. Thence along kuleana No. 5247, S. 65 W. 124 feet; Thence along iwi aina [boundary wall] between Honokahau nui and this land. – A. 55 W. 258 feet; S. 33°, 15 W. 190 feet; S. 60, 45 W. 830 feet, S. 69°, 30 W. 247 feet; S. 55.45 W. 544 feet: to breadfruit tree marked "X" at place called "Mumuku."

S. 72, 15 W. 157 feet; S. 76 W. 320 feet, S. 69.15 W. 188 feet: S. 76, 15 W. 156 feet: to grove of Ohia [mountain apple] trees called Kuakahela S. 69 W. 146 feet; S. 64.30 W. 188 feet; S. 68 W. 189 feet; S. 73.15 W. 158 feet; S. 8245 W. 300 feet: to *mauka* corner of Royal Patent No. 3022, marked "X" on Rock. Thence along said Patent S. 76 $\frac{3}{4}$ W. 2336 feet to *makai* corner of said Patent. Thence S. 68. 30 W. 325 feet; S. 64 W. 595 feet; to a grove of *Puhala* trees, to a place called Puukaalani; S. 60 W. [page 349] 563 feet; S. 80 W. 300 feet, to *ahu Pohaku* [stone mound] marked "H" at place called "Ulukukahi." S. 70.15 W. 1,000 feet; S 65.45 W. 1,892 feet to *ahu pohaku* marked "X" S. 69.45 W. 9,350 feet (at 7,920 feet, crossing lower Gov't. road) to ledge of Rocks at Shore marked "H" and called "Puuwai"; Thence along the coast line to point of commencement, and containing an area of 2,653 acres more or less.

(Surveyed by D.H. Hitchcock.)

It is therefore adjudged and I do hereby decide and Certify that the boundaries of the said land, are, and hereafter shall be as herein before set forth. Given under my hand at Hilo, Island of Hawaii, the eighth day of November A.D. One thousand eight hundred and eighty one.

F.S. Lyman
Commissioner of Boundaries. [page 350]
[see also Hawaii State Archives – Series 294, Royal Patent No. 4587]

*The Ahupuaa of Honokohauiki, District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii. 3rd J.C.
Boundary Commission
Volume A - No. 1*

August 12, 1873

Hoohia^K Sworn

I was born at Kohala Hawaii, came to Honokohauiki before I could walk and have always lived there since that time. Know the boundaries of the land. They were pointed out to me by my cousin, Nuole, who is now dead.

Commencing at the sea shore on the boundary between Honokohaunui and Honokohauiki is at a place called Kuanawai, said place is in the water, thence up the sand beach to a place called Pohakuhaiku a heiau [temple] on the pahoehoe. From thence the boundary runs to Puumau an oiaina [trailside resting place] or ahua [hillock], an old resting place, where a koa tree used to stand at a crook on the road. Thence up the iwi aina [boundary wall] to

Keanakaluapuaa a cave. Thence to Ulukukahi, a breadfruit tree, thence to an ohia tree called Ohiakaumaia [page 363]. Thence up the iwi aina [boundary wall] to Kuakahela a lae ohia fruit trees [describing a section of 'ōhi'a 'ai growth that extents out into an area of other growth or onto the plain]. Thence to Mumuku a breadfruit tree on the north side. From Kuakahela the trail runs mauka along the boundary. From Mumuku through Ikuana an old kulanakauhale [residential area], and along the road mauka to Kapiopio punawai [the spring of Kapiopio], thence the boundary runs up mauka along the iwi [wall] to Kumumamaki, a water hole, and bathing place. The Government road is mauka of Mumuku. From Kumumamaki, the boundary runs to Malaiula, a banana grove in the edge of the ohia woods, where Honokohaunui and Kealakehe unite, thereby cutting Honokohauiki off. There, turning makai along Kealakehe to Waiha, a punawai [spring] at the old kulanakauhale [residential area] below the woods. Thence makai along the iwi aina [boundary wall] to Waiopapa, a punawai [spring] and ahua [hillock] above the government road, where you can look out to sea. Thence makai to Kaneopua, an oiaina [trailside resting place] on the boundary below the Gov't. road at the junction of road and boundary of Kealakehe and Honokohauiki. Thence makai to Kukanoonoo, an old kulanakauhale [residential area] almost to kula [open flat land – agricultural fields]; thence makai to Kukuipulua an ahua pohaku [stone mound] (resting place) coming to the aa.

Thence to Kahawaiaina, a mahina ai [cultivating field] in aa, thence makai to Puunoho on the pahoehoe, said place is an ahua [hillock]. Thence to Pahoehoea, still on pahoehoe, thence makai to Maliu, a lae [point]. The sea bounds the land makai, and there is a very small fishing right cut off by the sea of Kealakehe and Honokohaunui. CX.d [page 364]

Kahuanui^K. Sworn

I was born at Kailua at the time of the death of Kamehameha I [1819]; now live at Kealakehe. The boundary at the seashore between that land and Honokohauiki is a pohaku [stone] named Maliu. Thence the line runs mauka to Kukuipulua in the kula mahiai [flat land agricultural fields] and goat ground. Thence to Kukanoonoo, thence along the iwi aina [boundary wall] to Waiha. There is a punawai [spring] on the south side of this place. Thence mauka to the end of Honokohauiki, and the junction of Honokohaunui and Kealakehe, at a place in the woods called Kahiihia. CX.d [page 364]

Kamohai^K. Sworn

I was born at Honokohau on Kealakehe, Kona, Hawaii, at the time of Palakee. I now live at Kailua and am a kamaaina of the land of Honokohau. My makua [father] (now dead) showed me the boundaries.

Commencing at the sea shore the boundary between Honokohaunui and Honokohauiki is a lae pohaku [stone point] called Kuanawai; on the north side of the point. Thence mauka to Halekuo, a wall above the School house, thence

mauka to Puumau, a *puu pohaku* [stone mound or hill], above the *makai* Government road. Thence to Ulukukahi, a *lae kukui* [a section of *kukui* tree growth] on Honokohaunui. Thence to Pukaalani, a grove of *puhala* [pandanus] trees. Thence to Ohiakaumaia, *ohia* [mountain apple] fruit trees, thence to Kuakahela. Thence *mauka* to Mumuku, thence to Iakahale kihapai [Iakahale cultivating field], the boundary passing on the north side and crossing the road. Thence *mauka* passing to the south side of Ikuana, an *oioina* [trail side resting place]. Thence to Kapiopio, a *punawai* [spring] in the fern.

Thence to Kumumamaki on the edge of the woods. The waterhole is above here. This land does not reach to Kahiihiia. Honokohauiki is cut off at Kumumamaki by Honokohaunui and Kealakehe. Thence along Kealakehe to Malaiula, a banana grove in the woods. The thick woods are on Honokohaunui and Kealakehe. Thence *makai* passing to the south side of Kaaiakuli [probably Ka-'ai-akule], and the *mauka* corner of my land, also a *kuleana* [Māhele award land] *mauka* of my land. Thence to a place called Ahupuuaa, a *puu pohaku* [stone mound] at the Government road, and at the *makai* corner of my land. Thence the boundary runs *makai* to the south side of Waiha, thence to Kukanoonoo, passing to the south of this place on an *iwi aina* [boundary wall], and thence *makai* to Kukuipuloo, an old resting place under a *kukui* tree. Thence *makai* to Kahawaiaina, an *ahua pohaku* [stone mound]. Thence *makai* to Maluhia, a *kula mahiai*, *ahua*, and *iwi aina* [dryland cultivation field, mound, and boundary wall]; thence *makai* to the *lae aa* [section of 'a'ā] on *pahoehoe*, Ka Lae a, *makai* of the Government road. Thence to a *heiau* [temple] named Halekuo. Thence to Maliu, a *lae* [point] in the sea, on the north side of the point.

Ancient fishing rights extend from Maliu to Kananaka, a ledge of rocks in the sea, which looks red from the water is next to Honokohaunui. CX.d [page 365]

I have been *luna* [overseer] of the land a great many years, and do no know of place called Pohakuohaiku.

DECISION

Boundaries decided to be as in the evidence of Witnesses, and as hereinafter set forth in the Certificate. This fourth day of March AD 1874... [page 366]

Land Boundary Commission

No. 27. Hawaii 3rd J.C. [see Figure 10 – Register Map No. 203, J.F. Brown, ca. 1874]

Certificate of the Boundaries of Honokohauiki

District of North Kona, island of Hawaii.

Upon the application of J.O. Dominis, acting for Her Ex. R. Keelikolani, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, as soul Commissioner of Land

Boundaries for the Island of Hawaii 3rd J.C., I hereby decide and certify the boundaries of the *Ahupuaa* Honokohauiki, situated in the District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii, to be as hereinafter set forth.
Given under my hand at Hilo, Hawaii, this Fifth day of March A.D. 1874.

R.A. Lyman
Commissioner of Boundaries 3rd J.C.

Boundaries of Honokohauiki.

Commencing at the shore at a point of rocks marked X near place called Maliu, Thence along the boundary between this land and Kealakehe North 78.° 30' East 375 feet, North 71.° 45' East 3234 feet to a heap of rocks marked X; North 71.° 30' East 3134 feet to a rock marked X at a place called Kukuioahulani, North 71.° East 4015 feet to Ihala a point 23 feet South West of a tree marked X. [page 366] North 75.° 15' East 649 feet, North 74.° East 660 feet, North 73.° 30' East 1536 feet to a *Kukui* tree marked X at a place called Hulipia, South 84.° 30' East 350 feet, North 82.° 30' East 168 feet; North 83.° East 647 feet to stone wall marked X, at place called Kukuipulua, North 68.° 45' East 572 feet, North 73.° East 169 feet to a large *Kukui* tree marked X, North 75.° 30' East 935 feet to a point marked X on the *pahoehoe*, North 71.° 45' East 1006 feet, North 72.° 30' East 314 feet, North 78.° 30' East 632 feet, North 24.° East 138 feet, North 65.° 15' East 442 feet, North 71.° 15' East 589 feet to an *ahupohaku* [stone mound] marked X, North 63.° 30' East 1010 feet, North 51.° East 528 feet, North 62.° East 900 feet North 69.° 45' East 372 feet to a stone marked X on the *mauka* side of Govt. road from Kona to Kawaihae, at the corner of land on Kealakehe patented; Royal Patent No. 1571. Thence along said Patent North 63.° East 42 feet (6.43 chains) North 64.° East 1544 feet, North 65.° ¼ East 720 feet to an *ahupohaku* marked X at the *mauka* corner of this Patent, Thence North 44.° East 747 feet to *ahupohaku* marked X at place called Malaiula, North 28.° 30' West 550 feet to pile of stones marked H at place called Kumumamaki; Thence towards the sea along the boundary between Honokohaunui and this land South 86.° 30' West 995 feet to a water hole called Kapiopio 26 feet South East of *Kukui* tree marked X, South 68.° 15' West 856 feet, South 67.° 30' West 237 feet, South 64.° 15' West 22 feet, South 57.° 45' West 234 feet, South 54.° West 250 feet, South 58.° 30' West 300 feet, South 61.° 30' West 480 feet to a stone marked X on the *mauka* side of Government road, Thence along *Kuleana* No. 5247. South 56.° 30' West 365 feet, South 64.° West 308 feet, South 61.° 30' West 102 feet South 65.° West 124 feet, Thence along *ivi aina* [boundary wall] between Honokohaunui and this land South 55.° West 258 feet, South 33.° 15' West 190 feet, South 60.° 45' West 830 feet, South 69.° 30' West 247 feet, South 55.° 45' West 544 feet to Breadfruit tree marked _ at place called Mumuku, South 72.° 15' West 157 feet, South 76.° West 320 feet, South 69.° 15' West 188 feet, South 76.° 15' West 156 feet to grove of *ohia* at place called Kuakahela, South 69.° West 146 feet, South 64.° 30' West 188 feet, South 68.° West 189 feet, South 73.° 15' West 158 feet, South 82.° 45' West 300 feet to *mauka* corner of Patent No. 3022 marked X on a rock. Thence

along said Patent South 76.° ¾ 2336 feet to the *makai* corner of said Patent, Thence South 68.° 30' West 325 feet, South 64.° West 595 feet to a grove of *Puhala* trees, [page 367] at a place called Pukaalani, South 60.° West 563 feet, South 80.° West 300 feet to *ahupohaku* marked H at place Ulukukahi, South 70.° 15' West 1000 feet, South 65.° 45' West 1892 feet to *ahupohaku* marked X, South 69.° 45' West 9350 feet (at 7920 feet crossing lower road) to ledge of rocks at shore marked H, and called Puanawai or Kuanawai, Thence along the shore to the place of commencement.

Area 480 acres.

R.A. Lyman
Commissioner of Boundaries 3rd J.C.

Note surveyed by J.F. Brown... [page 368]
[see also Hawaii State Archives – Series 294, Royal Patent 6855]

Hawaiian Government Survey Records

Among the most interesting historic Government records of the study area—in the later nineteenth century—are the communications and field notebooks of Kingdom Surveyor, Joseph S. Emerson. Born on O'ahu, J.S. Emerson (like his brother, Nathaniel Emerson, a compiler of Hawaiian history) had the ability to converse in Hawaiian, and he was greatly interested in Hawaiian beliefs, traditions, and customs. As a result of this interest, his letters field notebooks record more than coordinates for developing maps. While in the field, Emerson also sought out knowledgeable native residents of the lands he surveyed, as guides. Thus, while he was in the field he also recorded their traditions of place names, residences, trails, and various features of the cultural and natural landscape (including the extent of the forest and areas impacted by grazing). Among the lands that Emerson worked in was the greater Kekaha region of North Kona, including the lands of Honokōhau and Kaloko.

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

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

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

Field Notebooks and Correspondence from the Kekaha Region

The following documentation is excerpted from the Field Note Books and field communications of J.S. Emerson. The numbered sites and place names cited from the field books coincide with sketches prepared by Perryman. Because the original books are in poor condition—highly acidic paper that has darkened, making the pencil written and drawn records difficult to read—the copies have been carefully darkened to enhance readability. *Figure 8* (a portion of Register Map No. 1280), depicting the Honokōhau-Kaloko vicinity, was produced by Emerson as a result of the surveys which he conducted between ca. 1882 to 1888.

February 15, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(In Camp - Honokohau nui):

...There are two ahupuaas of the name of Honokohau. H. - nui is bounded on the North by the valuable *ahupuaa*, for fishing, of Kaloko, owned by R. Keelikolani. On the South it is bounded by the less valuable *ahupuaa* of Honokohau iki, also owned by R. Keelikolani

H. - nui contains 3 kuleanas:

- (1) Oahu [Ahu] - present owner Opiopio (w)
- (2) Bolabola [Polapola] - present owner Solomona (k)
- (3) Apuni [Kapuni] - present owner Kamohai (k)

These kuleanas are inland on the Gov't. road and are cultivated with coffee & oranges. H. - nui. is a large land and contains a fine fish pond, well stocked with fish.

Honokohau iki contains the two Gov't. ilis of Elepaio & Papaakoko of which you speak.

H. - iki is bounded on the South by the *ahupuaa* of Kealakehe of comparatively small value, owned by Gov't. & rented to S. Kaai. H. - iki has a good fish pond in it & contains coffee & orange land. The *ili* of Elepaio in this *ahupuaa* is situated on the Gov't. road & joins H. - nui. It was sold by Gov't. to Kalua (k) deceased, present owner, Makainaina (w). Part of it is good coffee land.

The *ili* of Papaakoko is on the south side of the *ahupuaa* of H. - iki, adjoining Kealakehe. It is of small value & belongs to the Gov't. (?) (or Crown?)

For these statements I am indebted to Koanui, who lives in H. - nui and takes care of the land for Mr. Greenwell. The *kamaaina* of this land is Kaohe (w) who lives not far from Koanui.

Another *Kamaaina* is Kailioha (k) who lives in Kaloko. I can easily locate Hitchcock's ahus on the sea coast at the N. & S. corners of H. - nui when I come this way again with the transit. I have now fully matured my plans for the triangulation of this district and with two exceptions set all the new signals required from Puako to the Lae o Hiiaka noho lae, three miles North of Kailua... (Hawaii State Archives; HGS DAGS 6, Box 1)

Emerson's letter of June 7, 1882, provides readers with an indication of the rich, fertile nature of the upland region of Kekaha. He also reports on inaccuracies of the earlier surveys of the Honokohau-Kaloko vicinity —

June 7, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(In Camp - Lae o Keahole - Kalaoa 4):

...Our animals enjoyed the richest pasture, such as they will not see again during this campaign. The country about there appears to be in its primitive freshness without the curse of cattle, horses, and goats. Pohas were very abundant and luscious. We had all we wanted and brought a quantity with us which have been a great treat ever since. We left Akahipuu with our caravan Friday morning, just in time to escape a heavy storm which burst upon us the same night and has lasted pretty much ever since... Flags have been set on every boundary by the coast as far South as Kaloko, and on nine points on the mauka Govt. Road, and are nearly all located by good intersections. I have been examining Hitchcock's survey of Honokohau and find that he never went through even the form of running the line on the South side, but simply copied it from the survey of the adjoining land by Brown. (What Brown?) [J.F. Brown]

The Kamaainas of Kaloko claim that his boundary between their *ahupuaa* & Honokohau on the coast is all wrong, too far North. But that is none of my present concern... (HGS DAGS 6 Box 1)

The following letter of June 25th, describes the evolution of land use from Hawaiian subsistence farming to commercial crops in uplands Honokōhau —

June 25, 1882

J.S. Emerson to W.D. Alexander

(In Camp - Keahuolu sea coast 2 m. W. of Kailua):

...The survey of the district from Kailua on is a more difficult matter than what has preceded. The coast is simple enough, but the interior remains a problem for future study & solution. Kona is now such a wet district that a rubber suit is quite as needful as in Hilo. Clouds & thick darkness rest continually over the mountainous districts, and forbid any exploration in that direction for the present.

Since Wednesday last, I have set all the secondary signals needed for the location of the *Ili* of Papaakoko. It took me well up into the woods and gave me a practical acquaintance with Kona rains wet. This *Ili* is a strip about 200 or 300 feet wide and two or three miles long, containing 90 acres more or less. It is good coffee lands, well wooded and pleasantly situated. Mr. McDougall, under the impression that it was a part of the *Ahupuaa* of Honokohau iki, leased by him of R. Keelikolani, has planted upon it some two thousand coffee trees. He appears to be a worthy, hard working man, and if the land is leased or sold, I trust the Gov't. will consider that his improvements are entitled to consideration. Perryman has in my absence nearly finished up the observations required here. Topographical work only remains. Will leave for Kailua soon.

Our programme is as follows...

...Brief occupation of the various secondary stations for location of *Ili* of Papaakoko & Ahupuaas of Honokohau nui & iki... (Hawaii State Archives; HGS DAGS 6, Box 1)

On July 14th 1882, Emerson notified W.D. Alexander that the survey of Papaakoko had be satisfactorily completed. (Hawaii State Archives; HGS DAGS 6, Box 1)

Several sketches in the Emerson field books provide readers with details of features (for example, residences, locations and origins of some place names, fishponds, coconut groves, and trails) for the Honokōhau-Kaloko vicinity. Selected texts and sketches are cited below —

J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 111 Reg. No. 253¹⁷
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District
Akahipuu; May 27, 1882 [see Figures 12 and 13 for locations discussed below]

Site # and Comment:

- 1 – Lae Noio. In Honokohau iki. Extremity.
- 2 – Alula Bay. In Honokohau iki. Head.
- 3 – Lae o Kaiwi. In Kealakehe. Extremity.
- 4 – Rock in Sea off cape. In Kealakehe. Base.
- 5 – Aimakapaa Bay. In Honokohau. Canoe Landing.
Noio named from the “Noio” Bird.
The pond of “Aimakapaa” at head of this bay.
- 6 – Koanui’s frame house. E.G. In Honokohau – nui.
- 7 – Aimakapaa Cape. Extremity. In Honokohau-nui.
- 8 – Bay inside Aimakapaa. Head. In Honokohau-nui.
- 9 – Aimakapaa fish-pond. *Mauka* tangent. In Honokohau-nui.
- 10 – Aimakapaa fish-pond. *Makai* tangent. In Honokohau-nui.
- 11 – Beniamina’s house (frame). N.G. In Aiopio. In Honokohau-nui.
- 12 – Beniamina’s house No. 2. E.G. In Honokohau-nui.
- 13 – Aiopio fish-pond. Tang. S. end of pond. In Honokohau-nui.
- 14 – Cape in fish-pond. In Honokohau-nui.
- 15 – Cape in fish-pond. In Honokohau-nui.
- 16 – Neck of land dividing pond. In Honokohau-nui.
- 17 – Aiopio pond. Tang. N. End. In Honokohau-nui.
- 18 – Lae o Palaha. Between Kaloko and Honokohau-nui.
- 19 – Awanuka Bay (Haven of rest) Retreat during storms in this dist.

¹⁷ Emerson’s Field Book No.’s 253, 254, and 294 contain further details for the upland region of Honokōhau-Kaloko and vicinity.

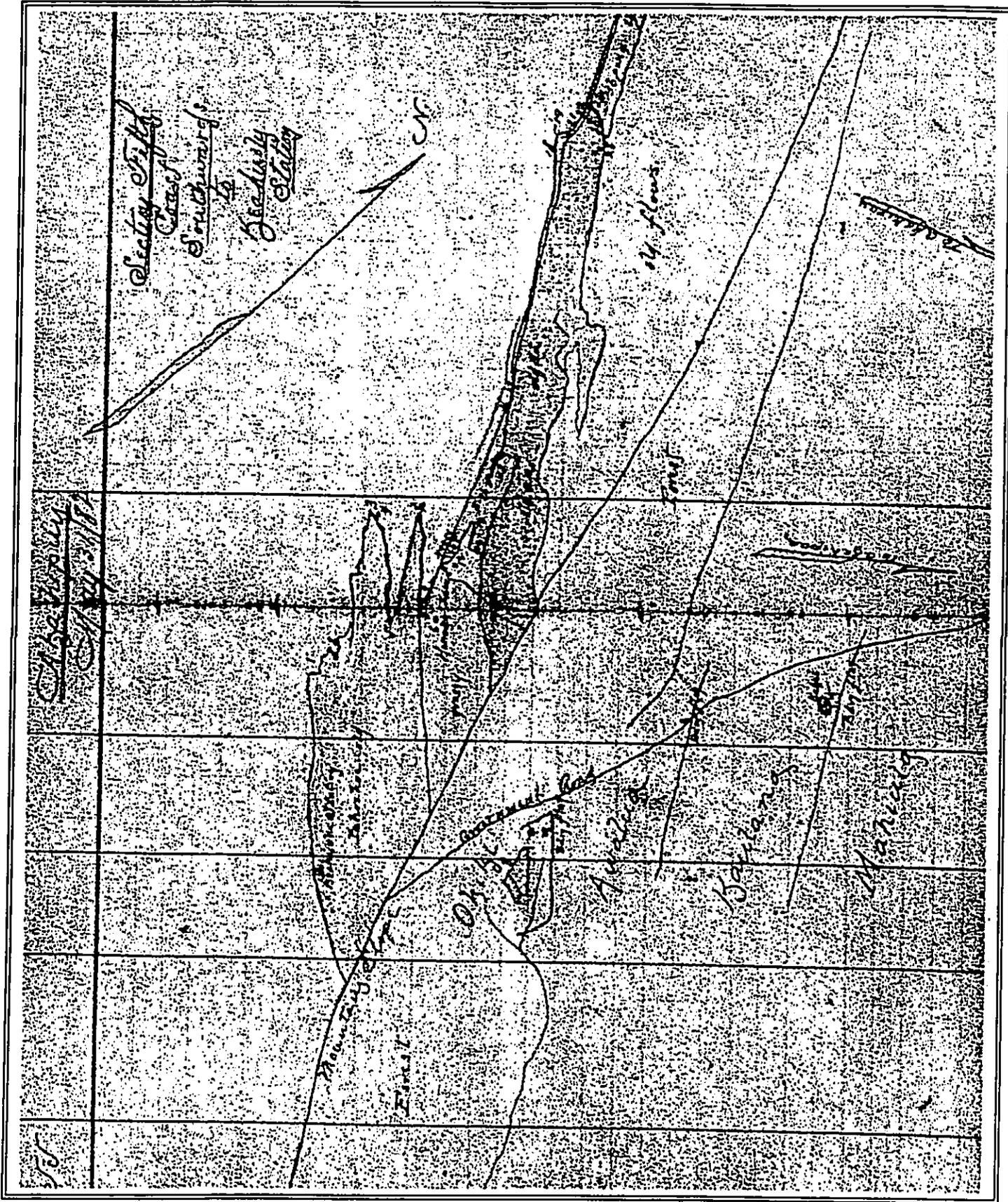


Figure 12. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:55 (State Survey Division)

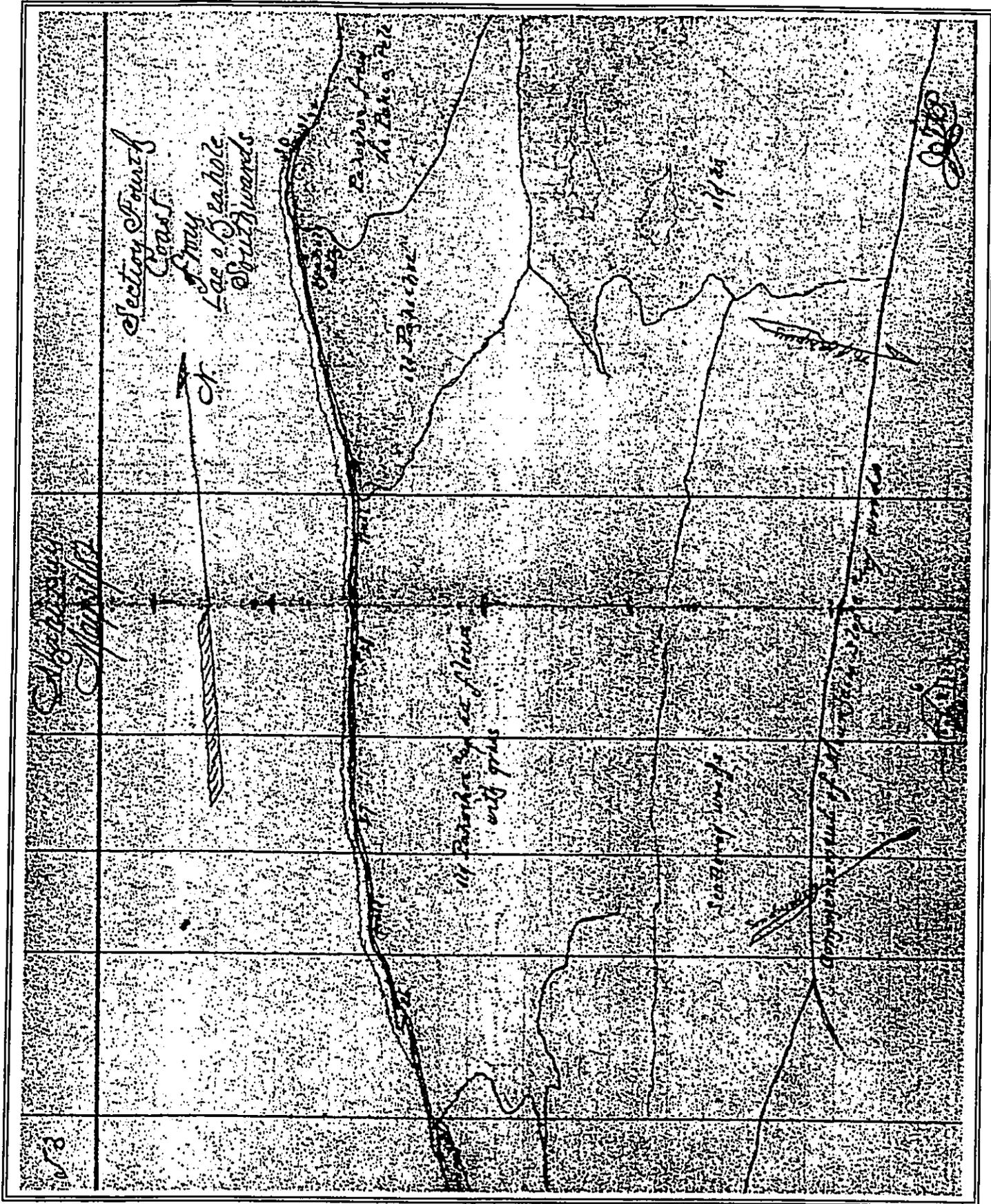


Figure 13. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:53 (State Survey Division)

- 20 – Kealiihelepo's (frame house). N.G. In Kaloko.
- 21 – Lae Maneo. From the "Maneo" fish in Kaloko..
- 22 – Kohanaiki Bay. By sea wall of fish pond.
- 23 – Kaloko-nui fish pond. Tang. S. end by Nuuanu's grass house.
- 24 – Wall between fish pond of Kaloko nui and iki.
- 25 – Kaloko iki fish pond. Tang. N. extremity.
Kaloko nui was originally a bay, shut off from the sea by a wall by Kamehameha 1st order.
- 26 – Kawaimaka's frame house. In Kohanaiki
- 27 – Lae o Wawahiwaa. Rock cape. In Kohanaiki.
- 28 – Keoki Mao's grass house. In Ooma.
- 29 – Pahohoe hill. Between Ooma and Kalaoa 5.
- 30 – Lae o Keahole. Extremity. In Kalaoa 5... [Book 253:33,35]

Field Book No. 253 (page 69), also provides readers with a sketch view of the Hualālai uplands, including Kohanaiki Village. Dated June 4, 1882, the sketch is of importance as it also depicts the main trail to the coastal region of Honokōhau, which by that time had been established from the mauka Government Road at Kohanaiki Village, running down through Kaloko and on to the shore of Honokōhau (*Figure 14*). This trail is recorded on Emerson's Register Map No. 1280, and portions of it may still be seen on the ground in the coastal region of Honokōhau.

In August 1882 (Field Book No. 254), Emerson and his survey crew occupied the West Hualālai Station and vicinity. Perryman's sketches include a scene of the coastal lands between Keahuolu and Keāhole. The view (*Figure 15*) includes the locations of residences, trails, and the fishponds in the *ahupua'a* of Honokōhau and Kaloko.

Field Book 253:113...Keahuolu Survey, June 26, 1882 – reference point Honokohau School House 281°22'18". Referenced in Hitchcock's Survey of Honokohau-nui.

Field Book 254:11... Honokohau iki – Kukuipulua Survey July 11, 1882; and Puu Kou Survey July 12, 1882.

An 1888 map worksheet (Register Map No. 1443) prepared by J.S. Emerson, and an 1875 survey map by J.F. Brown, extends from the boundary of Honokōhau iki (2nd) to Hōlualoa. Some details of the coastal section of Honokōhau iki and vicinity are provided. Sites referenced included Koanui's (Kekoanui's) house near the boundary of Honokōhau nui & iki, the 'Aiopio fishpond (including the *kuapā* or wall), Maliu Point, the triangulation station called "Puoina"¹⁸, Alula Bay, and neighboring sites in Kealakehe. *Figure 16* is a portion of Register Map No. 1443 depicting the sites referenced above.

¹⁸ See pages 114 & 116 for further discussion about the Puoina station and a *heiau* in the vicinity of Maliu Point.

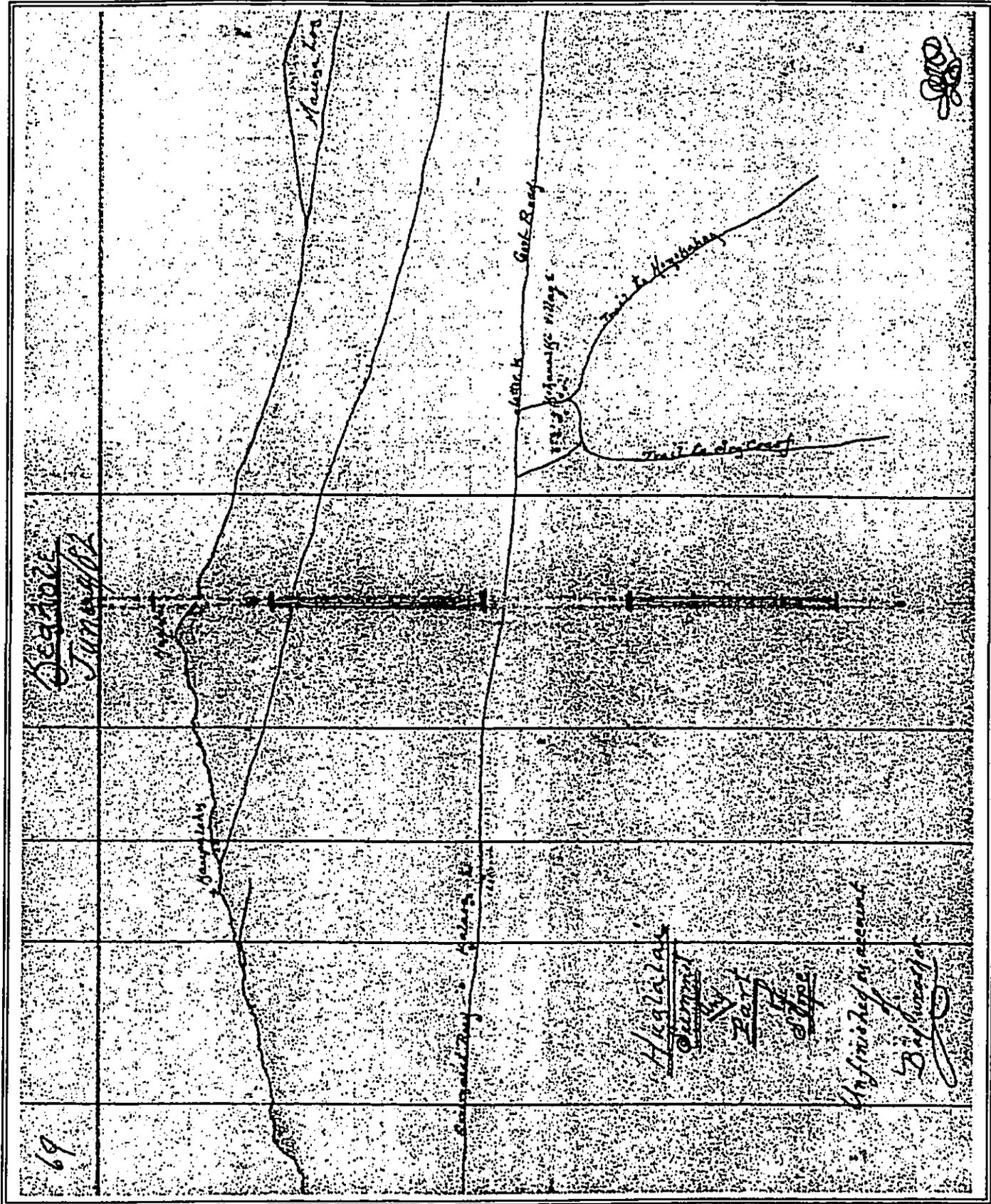


Figure 14. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:69 (State Survey Division)

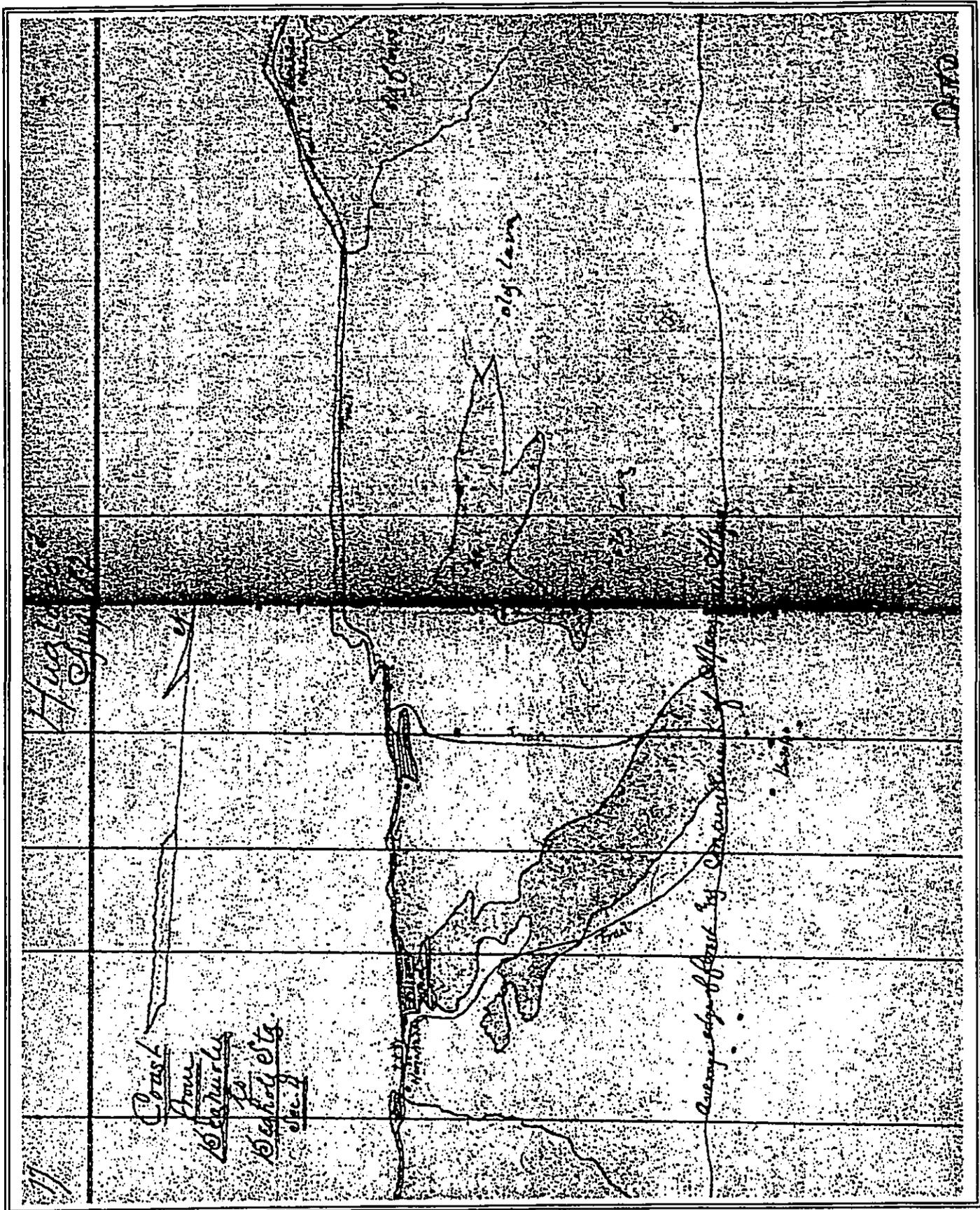


Figure 15. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 254:77 (State Survey Division)

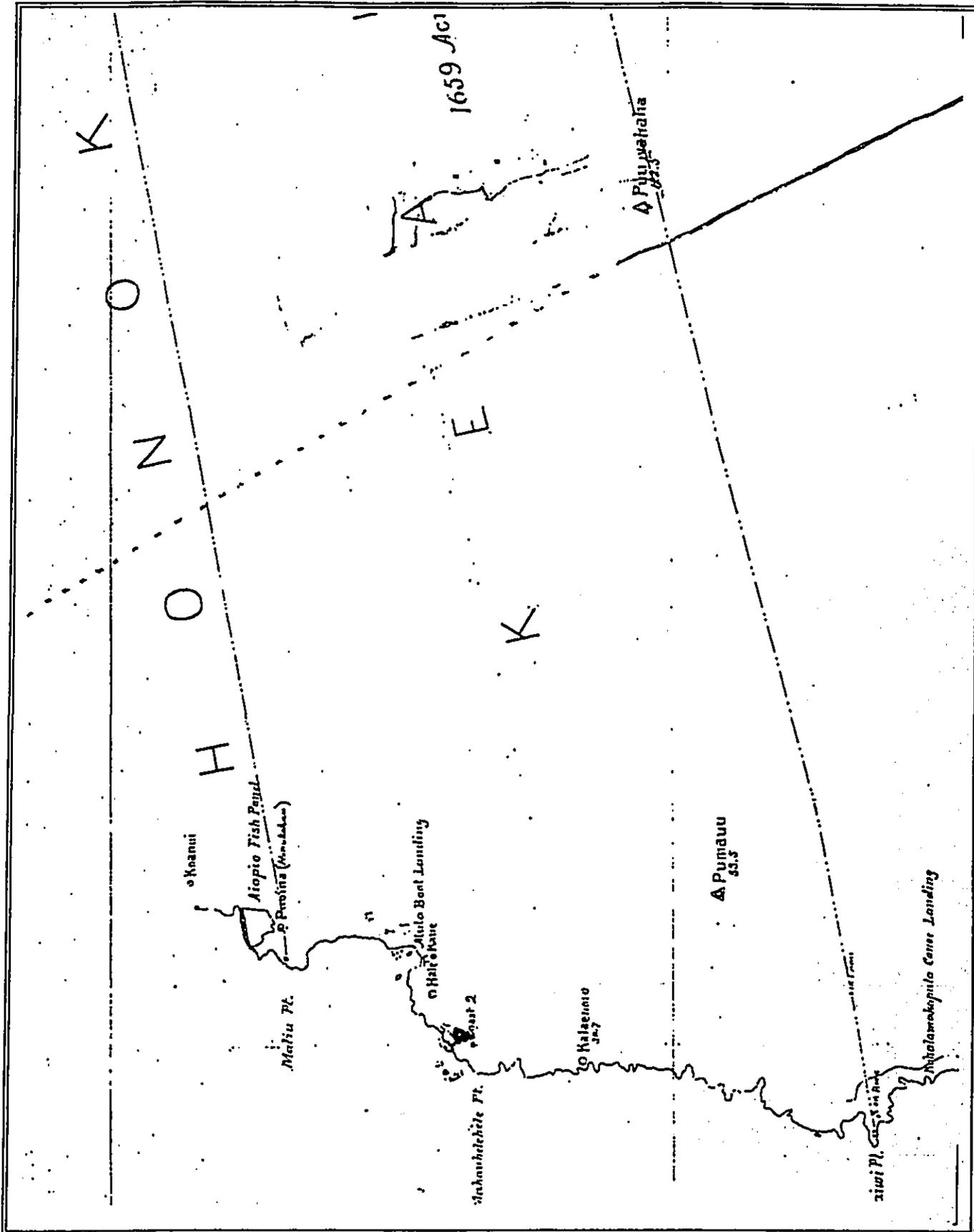


Figure 16. Portion of Register Map No. 1443 (J.S. Emerson, 1888);
Showing Coastal Section of Honokōhau iki and Kealakehe (State Survey Division)

Frank Greenwell (Palani) Ranch

As noted above, the Frank Greenwell or Palani Ranch lands of Honokōhau nui were purchased by Frank Greenwell's father, H.N. Greenwell, in 1876. Early operation of the lands included agricultural and ranching activities, which for the latter years of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century focused on dairy operations (on the cool upper mountain slopes of Honokōhau nui). The primary dairy product was butter, and the dairy operation was generally run by Portuguese dairymen. In the early part of the twentieth century dairy operations began to be phased out and cattle were raised for transfer and sale in Honolulu for beef (cf. oral history interviews with James M. Greenwell and Rally Greenwell). When H.N. Greenwell died in 1891, his wife, Elizabeth Caroline, received a life interest in the estate (sole use during her natural life all property, excepting sale of land). H.N. Greenwell's three eldest sons, William Henry, Arthur, and Frank, each inherited and managed one section each of the ranch. In this way, Frank Greenwell received the northern lands which included Honokōhau nui. Following the death of William Henry Greenwell, Elizabeth Caroline Greenwell finalized the division of interests, and in 1927, Frank Greenwell became the sole owner of Honokōhau (pers. comm. J.S. Greenwell, Oct. 15, 1999; cf. Will of H.N. Greenwell, May 11, 1891, in family collection).

Like his father, Frank Greenwell also kept daily journals of ranch operations and community events. The Frank Greenwell Journals were viewed in the collection of James S. Greenwell, and selected summaries of documentation, or journal excerpts which described land use in Honokōhau nui, are cited below —

Francis "Frank" Radcliffe Greenwell Journal Excerpts (Journals Viewed - Years of 1914-15, 1922-26, to 1932)

F.R.G. — Ranch operations regularly involved the movement of cattle between Puapua'a and Honokōhau, and *mauka* lands.

F.R.G. — Describes on-going tree planting operations on *mauka* lands — Honokōhau, Honua'ula and Keauhou etc.

F.R.G. — cultivated more than 60 varieties of native *kalo* in the "Taro lot," *mauka* at Honokōhau (1923); records making *poi* almost weekly. (among varieties Naioea, Uahiapele, Ha'a...) recorded that mound/hilling technique of planting used.

Individuals working with F.R.G. included: William, John, and Peter Keka; Kapae; Kaomi; John Kamaka; Joe Pa'ahana; William Kahalepō; Mahone; William Keanaaina (1924)...

Journal entries name various Honokōhau and neighboring paddocks (e.g., Honokohau 1, 2, 3; Honokohau middle, Honokohau *mauka*; and Mahulani).

The only journal references to going *makai* for a swim are at "Kailua" and further south. For example, F.R.G. regularly wrote, "Went to Kailua for a sea bath."

F.R.G. made no references for trips to the ponds or sea at Honokōhau.

Dec. 9, 1914 (paraphrased). Kealoha (w) *ma* built house and moved onto supposed *kuleana*, *makai* of Honokōhau. Some of Eugene Aiu's work.

Jan. 23, 1923 (paraphrased). Breadfruit gathered from *makai* of Honokohau house.

1932 (paraphrased). Notes that Manuel Gomes cattle found roaming in lantana on *makai* lands in Kealakehe, Honokōhau, and Kaloko.

April 6, 1932 (paraphrased). Wall being worked on between Honokohau and Kaloko up to pipeline.

April 15, 1932 (paraphrased). Wall length of 2,988 feet or 498 fathoms built at .80 cents per fathom = \$398.40.

In 1929, L.A. Henke of the University of Hawaii published a report on the history of livestock in the Hawaiian Islands. Henke (1929) provides further historical overview of the Greenwell ranches of Kona:

Greenwell Ranch [Various Lands Extending from Honokōhau to Kealakekua]

The Greenwell Ranch is located in the Districts of North and South Kona... Among this early interest in the cattle business in Kona, were the Reverend John Paris, William H. Johnson, A.A. Todd and later Dr. Trousseau. The Johnson and Trousseau herds were of Shorthorn strain, the Todd herd was Devon. H.N. Greenwell became interested in the cattle industry about the year 1875 and shortly after purchased the Trousseau herd and bought cattle from Todd and others. With these as a nucleus Greenwell embarked in the dairy business...until his death in 1891. These activities were in the main carried on under partnership agreements with others and were profitable. Little was done in the sale of beef, as production far exceeded demand, but business in the sale of hides and tallow was good... Shortly after Greenwell's death the entire ranch came under the management of his oldest son, William H... In 1898 came annexation, the price of beef rose; the price of butter declined. In 1910 butter making on the ranch was stopped and the raising of beef cattle was taken up in earnest...

Frank Greenwell Ranch

This lies entirely within North Kona and is also known as Honokohau Ranch and Hualalai Ranch. The total area is about 20,000 acres, one-half of which is suitable for grazing; it stretches from the seas to an elevation of 5400 feet. Four thousand acres of this area are fee simple, the remainder is leased land.

The herd on this ranch is approximately 1500 head. Between 300-350 cattle averaging three to four years of age with an average weight of 525 pounds are

marketed annually in Honolulu. In addition ninety head are annually slaughtered locally. The cattle for Honolulu are loaded at Napoopoo.

The ranch is well fenced into fifteen paddocks by 20 miles of stone wall and 12 miles of wire fencing... Cattle are bred from June to February. From November to April only about one-half of the paddocks are used, the others being too dry over these months. September is perhaps the wettest month in Kona. Only enough horses for use on the ranch are raised. (Henke 1929:26-27)

Under the ownership and management of Frank R. Greenwell, and subsequent generations of family ownership, ranching operations have continued in Honokōhau. The carrying capacity of cattle on the *makai* lands has always been, and remains determined by seasonal weather patterns and availability of feed and water. Until the development of the Ka'ahumanu Highway, cattle ranged all the way to the shore of Honokōhau, where the cattle had access to brackish water pools.

Palani Ranch Company, Inc. was formed in 1967 as a business entity with the intent of continuing the F.R. Greenwell cattle operations on lands which were both family-owned and leased from others. The ranch has continued the use of most of the *makai* lands of Honokōhau (including sections covered by TMK 7-4-08:05, 13, 57, and 60) to the present-day, with the exception of areas actively used as a part of leases to West Hawaii Concrete, Grace Pacific Corp., Jas. Glover, Ltd., and Hawaii PreCast. The remaining lands are grazed and managed in conjunction with Palani Ranch's cow-calf operation which also uses *mauka* lands of Honokōhau and other Kona lands, both family owned and leased. The pasture areas are seasonal and their carrying capacity ranges widely (pers. comm. J.S. Greenwell October 19, 1999).

In regards to the relationship between Lanihau Partners L.P. and Palani Ranch, James S. Greenwell commented:

In the same year the ranch corporation was formed (1967), Lanihau Corporation was incorporated and our various family-owned lands including those of Honokōhau *makai* were transferred to the new family-held entity. Lanihau Corporation (which became Lanihau Partners L.P. in 1986) thereafter leased most of the *makai* land which could be grazed to the family-owned affiliate, Palani Ranch, excepting that portion of the property which was licensed in 1966 to J.M. Tanaka Construction, Inc. for quarry and quarry related uses.

While the quarrying activity has involved various operators and related users over the years, the original Conservation District Use Permit which was approved on July 8, 1966 continues in effect to this date. (pers. comm. James S. Greenwell, November 1, 1999)

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS:

AN OVERVIEW OF SITE AND PRACTICE DOCUMENTATION RECORDED IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Earlier in this study, readers were provided information pertaining to native traditions, history, and practices of the residents of Honokōhau and vicinity. The narratives also provide readers with an overview of the changing patterns of residency in the region through the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. As seen in the writings of a number of non-Hawaiian residents of the islands, by the middle to late 1800s, there was a growing awareness of the rapid decline in knowledge of native customs, practices, and familiarity with features of the cultural landscape. This section of the study provides readers with an overview of, and excerpts from selected historical studies and archaeological investigations into the lands, sites, and practices of the Honokōhau-Kekaha region.

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

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

In 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes conducted a detailed field survey of *heiau* on the island of Hawai'i for the B.P. Pauahi Bishop Museum (Stokes and Dye 1991). Like Thrum, Stokes' survey stopped short of doing a comprehensive work in the Honokōhau vicinity. Under the heading of "Miscellaneous structures," Stokes recorded a *heiau* in Honokōhau 2 —

Pu'uoina Heiau [Puoina]

Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D12-1. State of Hawaii Catalogue: 1901

Heiau of Pu'uoina, described as in Honokōhau 2 *ahupua'a*, near the shore.
(Stokes and Dye 1991:43)

Stokes use of the name "Pu'uoina" coincides with a triangulation station identified as "Puoina" on J.S. Emerson's Register Map No. 1443 (in this study). In 1873, Kamohai, a native witness (born at Honokōhau), gave testimony before the Boundary Commission regarding the name of the *heiau* above Maliu Point; the name he gave for the *heiau* was "Halekuo," with a coinciding feature also on the boundary of Honokōhau iki & nui (see pages 97-98 in this study). The name Puoina does not appear in any of the Boundary Commission proceedings for the lands of Honokōhau. Further discussion of this *heiau* and its possible name(s) is referenced in the section of the study titled "Archaeology of Kona (Reinecke 1930), below.

Petroglyphs of Honokōhau (Albert S. Baker 1919)

In the Hawaiian Annual and Almanac of 1919, Albert S. Baker (of the Hawaiian Evangelical Society) reported to readers about a collection of petroglyphs he'd viewed near the shore of Honokōhau (Figure 17). Baker's description also sheds some light on components of the

little shore side community at the time (see also Bakers field book notes for 1918 cited earlier in this study).—

An entirely new group, or rather several groups, of very unusual petroglyphs was found on a recent visit to Honokohau *makai*, some three or four miles by trail from Kailua. These were found just west of a cement salt-pan, on either side of a stone fence leading into the sea, and note far east of the *heiau* at the side of the fish pond. Here were a number of the Kahaluu type of human figures again, and guns in excellent imitation. There were also three *konane* stones, as there are also three more in front of the village houses, a circle or so, some English letters, and various unknown figures. Again, a stone's throw south of the chapel are a few human figures, one elongated in a very peculiar manner, and a single figure twice as far from the chapel in a line toward the tombs north-east. Then there are also a half dozen guns and a human figure nearly at the tombs, in the same line from the chapel. So far as I know these have never been described, and the guns are certainly unusual, as well as a peculiar type of what looks something like a tall hat... (Baker 1919:134-135)



Figure 17. Petroglyphs at Honokōhau (ca. 1918, Village & Ponds in background); Rev. Albert S. Baker Collection, No. N-87b (Courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Mission Houses Museum)

Archaeology of Kona, Hawaii (Reinecke ms. 1930)

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

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

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

When the economy of Hawaii was based on fishing...this was a fairly desirable coast; the fishing is good; there is a fairly abundant water supply of brackish water, some of it nearly fresh and very pleasant to the taste; and while there was no opportunity for agriculture on the beach, the more energetic Hawaiians could do some cultivation at a considerable distance *mauka*... [Reinecke ms. 1930:1-2]

Reinecke also observed that he recorded only a limited number of sites in the region; his study field was generally within site of the shore (*ibid.*:2), and he wrote:

The coast is for the most part low and storm-swept, so that the most desirable building locations, on the coral beaches, have been repeatedly swept over and covered with loose coral and lava fragments, which have obscured hundreds of platforms and no doubt destroyed hundreds more...many of the dwellings must have been built directly on the sand, as are those of the family at Kaupulehu, and when the posts have been pulled up, leave no trace after a very few years... [*ibid.*]

The following site descriptions are quoted from Reinecke's draft manuscript of field work conducted between the boundary between Kealakehe-Honokōhau iki and Honokōhau nui-Kaloko (*Figure 18*). Reinecke references the occurrence of at least 13 "old" and "modern" house sites between the two Honokōhau, and also mentions a "school house" in Honokōhau iki. While Reinecke does not mention that anyone is still living in any of the houses, nor does he mention that he spoke with anyone who could tell him functions or nature of sites he saw, he did comment that a *heiau* feature near the Kealakehe-Honokōhau iki boundary (Maliu Point) was used as a "canoe platform" (*Figure 19* – ca. 1915). It is uncertain from his narratives whether or not anyone was resident on the shore of Honokōhau at the time of his survey.

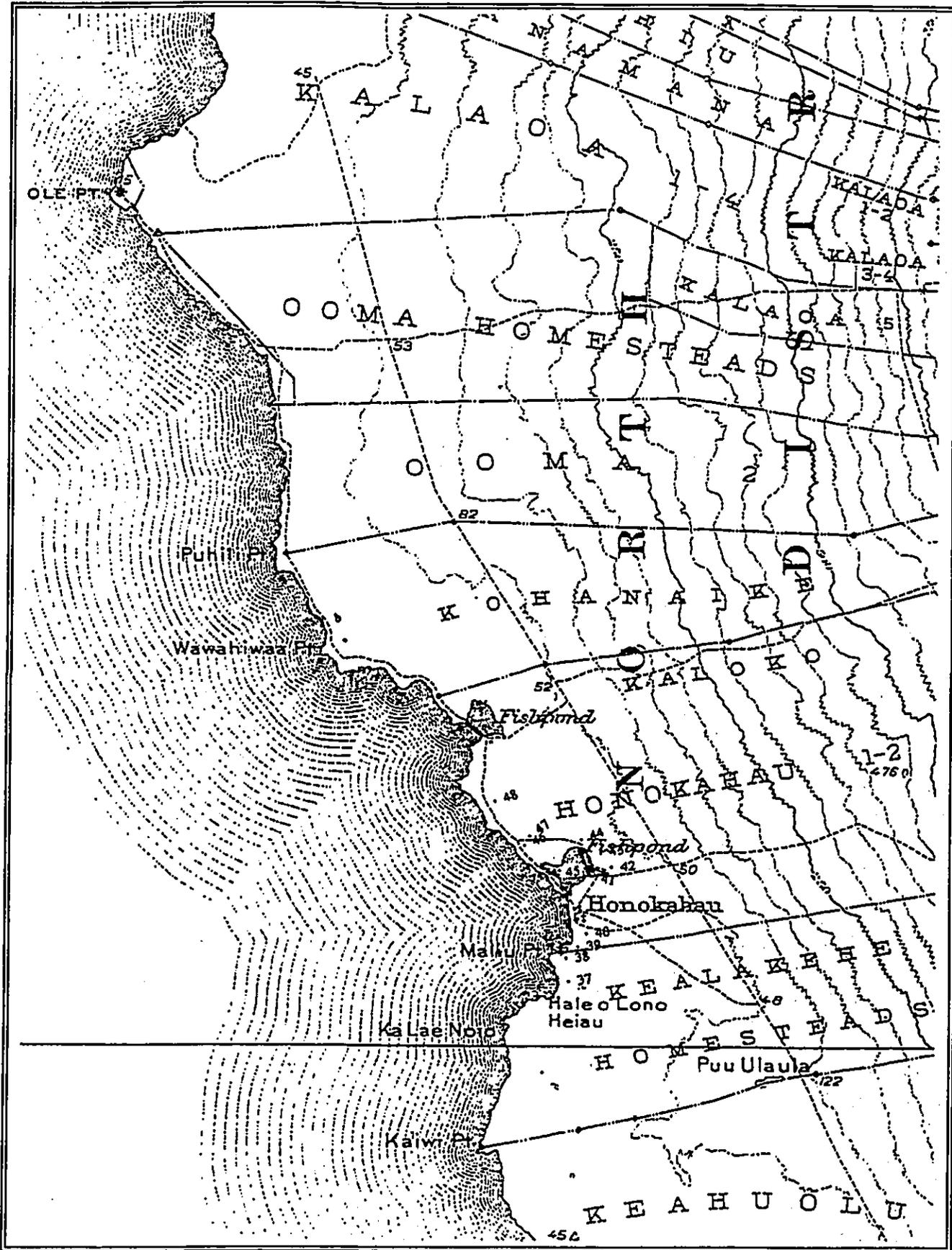


Figure 18. Map after Reinecke (Bishop Museum - Ms. 1930:3) Showing Approximate Locations of Sites and Features Described in the Coastal Region of Honokōhau and Vicinity



Figure 19. Honokōhau Village (ca. 1915) at Kekaha, North Kona, Hawai'i (Heiau in foreground); Rev. Albert S. Baker Collection, No. N-B121 (Courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Mission Houses Museum)

Sites and Features Described in the Coastal Region of Honokōhau

Site 38. Between a group of brackish water pools and Aiopio Fishpond is a HEIAU, name unknown¹⁹, now used as canoe platform. It bears three house sites of coral... [Figure 19]

Its walls are built chiefly of rounded, oblong, sea-worn boulders, some of them are as large as 5x2x1 ¼ in size; its careful construction is remarkable; but even here the Hawaiian builders did not interlock the tiers, but piled the stones in vertical tiers.

The platform varies in height 3 to 10', on the west end because its slopes and is broken, elsewhere because of the contour of the base. The walls slope only about one in six. In the *mauka* wall, at the base, a pool of water has been

¹⁹ As noted earlier, Halekuo (Halekūō) was given as the name of the *heiau* in 1873. In a 1962 oral history interview with Mary Makapini Simeona (in this study), a former resident of Honokōhau iki (*makai*), said she heard the name Halekūō (as pronounced) for a *heiau* that was a short distance above her former residence. Citing Stokes 1906-07 survey. Emory and Soehren gave the probable name of the *heiau* as "Puuoina" (Emory et al. 1961:15). Emory et al. noted that Puuoina was one of the stations referenced in J.S. Emerson's field notes (ibid.). This author conducted a review of all of Emerson's field books and found no mention of a *heiau* by the name of Puuoina, although a "Puuoina" survey station was located on the upland slopes of Honokōhau (cf. Field Book 291:64.71.74... and Book 294:61. 151; and Register Map No. 1443, Figure 16 in this study).

spanned by a large flat boulder, making a little water cave c. 10', long and 2' high.

The coral house site at the east end is well built and elevated about one foot. The other two are flat and rougher. There is a depression between the first two, 3 ft on the east side and only 2' on the west. The surface is tough except for the house sites and the fine paving of great flat stones in front of two of them.

To the east end is a series of platforms, old and fallen to ruin, which may have borne some sort of shelters. A breakwater now half submerged formed the fishpond Aiopio. There is a rather rough rectangular platform at the west end; at the east end is a platform overgrown with grass and a small paddock, almost isolated by the fishpond and dried-up marsh. On a little island is a platform c. 18x18, uncertain.

Site 39. Near the great concrete salt pans is a platform, recent, of small lava fragments; a *papamu* [checker board] 11x11, another 11x10, two more shipped to pieces; petroglyphs representing a fill-rigged ship and two foot prints. (I did not look carefully, and so missed most of the petroglyphs illustrated by Baker in Thrum's Annual for 1920...

Site 40. Section under *kiawe* running into Honokahau hamlet; small broken pens; possible dwelling sites. A broken house wall, said to be that of the old schoolhouse; with a fine trough carved into the *pahoehoe* floor of the adjoining pigpen.

Very dim *papamu* by the first house, 13x11.; another in front of the last house to the north, 18x12.

Site 41. Ruins about the south side of the Honokahau fishpond, the name of which was given as Aimakapa. There are brackish pools at the S.E. corner which receive the seepage from the a-a flow, but they are very few compared with those on the north side.

Several indistinct ruins fringe the pond. On a little peninsula is a platform with a wall around it, and two old platforms. Close to the modern paddock at the S.E. corner are three house sites, at least one of them modern. Nearby are the ruined walls of another [Reinecke ms. 1930:11] paddock. Back of these is a large modern house platform in a pen. There are many other traces of sites. At the head of the pond is a very old ruin, which seems to be a small pen.

There are many *papamu*, almost all ruined. Those which could be checked were (?) 12x10, (?) 12x10, and 9x8. Also mortars in the lava, and parallel hollows 6x2x1" gouged like a line of units. IIIIII.

Site 42. Running across the a-a to a group of modern graves is a _____ which looks like the tail end of a *holua* [sled track]. Its dimensions are c. 150'

to the summit plus c. 90' to the end, width is 15-125', height is 4-5'. There are old graves at the *makai* end, one on the road itself.

Site 43. An area containing on the *a-a* numerous *puoa* [stone mounds – generally thought to be graves] and a few cleared spaces, one of them c. 75x30.

Site 44. On the *a-a* along the north shore of the pond, three or more house sites with cleared *a-a* yard and remains of the pen walls.

Site 45. An area of brackish seepage into many waterholes, in the clearing of which much labor was expended. There are several small platforms, including one with a pit in the middle. In the pond stands a platform of small fragments which I guessed to be c. 60x35x3, It may be a fishing *heiau*.

Site 46. A strong, clear, cold spring of slightly brackish water. In front of the beach, a pen and house platform. Behind it a wall which ends in a platform and pen and shelters another platform.

Site 47. A remarkable series of cairns, seven in number arranged in an L, and progressively smaller in size. They resemble truncated cones with very steep side. The largest is 10' high and 14x10, [Reinecke ms. 1930:12] at the top. There are some smaller cairns farther on the *a-a*.

A path cuts across the flow direct to Kaloko... [Reinecke ms. 1930:12]

Archaeological Reconnaissance and Inventory Surveys (1961 to 1998)

Following Reinecke's study, little or no archaeological field work was conducted in the Honokōhau vicinity. In 1961, Kenneth Emory and Lloyd Soehren of the Bishop Museum conducted and reported on an "Archaeological and Historical Survey" of the Honokōhau area. Like Reinecke, the Emory and Soehren report (1961, reprint 1971) focused on the resources of the coastal (near-shore) zone. The Emory-Soehren report (1961) expanded upon the site descriptions and history of the area initially described by Reinecke (see above).

Summarizing their findings in the coastal lands of Honokōhau, Emory and Soehren (1971) reported:

The Honokohau coastal area, because of its ideal landing places for canoes and its fishponds was important to the early Hawaiians. Its fifty ancient house sites, for heiau, and holua (toboggan) slide, constructed for the use of chiefs, would reveal this to an archaeologist... [W]e know that in the Great Mahele, the Hawaiian chiefs reserved for themselves the important ahupua'a.... Honokohau 1 (Honokohau Nui), with its large fishpond, went to Kekauonohi, a cousin of Kamehameha V and granddaughter of Kamehameha I. Honokohau 2 (Honokohau Iki), with its small fishpond, went to Leleiohoku, the husband of Princess Ruth Keelikolani, great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I... (Emory and Soehren 1971:1)

A total of 32 sites with numerous features were identified during the 1961 survey (Emory et al. 1971:3).

It was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s, that archaeological work in Honokōhau began extending inland; this work was in part the result of the proposed development of the Ka'ahumanu Highway (cf. Ching and Rosendahl 1968, and Soehren 1975 & 1976). During the Ching and Rosendahl reconnaissance survey of the proposed Ka'ahumanu Highway corridor, two sites were identified. These included a possible terrace and platform, and a foot trail (Ching and Rosendahl 1968).

Extensive research in the coastal zone of Honokōhau and Kaloko was conducted as a part of the proposal to develop the National Historical Park. Marion Kelly's, "*Kekaha: 'Aina Malo'o*" (1971), and follow up work by 'A'alaonaona Roy et al. (ms. 1975), provide important cultural historical documentation on the traditions, families, and practices of those families at Kaloko and Honokōhau — with emphasis on the coastal (near-shore) lands.

Kelly (1971) reports that in the period around the 1920s, the "Simiona" family lived near the Honokōhau fishpond, and prior to that, through ca. 1915 the Kahale family also lived there and operated the fishpond (Kelly 1971:31; see also oral history interview documentation cited in *Volume II* of this study). Emory and Soehren (1971) reported that near Site D12-26 (described as a *hōlua* sled track), some modern graves occur. One of the graves is marked "W.P. Kahale. Born in Dec. 31, 1857. Died in Oct. 15, 1915." (Emory and Soehren 1971:27). Kelly also reported that in the period of ca. 1934-1940, William Keana'aina, Sr. held the lease on Kaloko fishpond, and subsequently between ca. 1943 to 1961, Francis Foo held the lease (Kelly 1971:31-32, 35). While Kelly does not provide detailed documentation of use of the Honokōhau fishpond(s), her work as well as interviews reported as a part of this study, describe travel to and from Kaloko-Kailua, via the government road and later a bulldozed jeep road to transport fish and supplies.

In 1975 and 1976 Soehren conducted further field work in Honokōhau I & II, on the *mauka* side of the Ka'ahumanu Highway. As a result, he documented the occurrence of nineteen sites, including the *ala hele* (trail) that runs from near 'Aimakapā Fishpond to the uplands, the Māmalahoa (King's) Trail, habitation features, modified lava tubes, stone walls, cairns, and platforms (Soehren 1975 & 1976).

In 1992, Archaeologists from Cultural Surveys Hawaii conducted an inventory survey of an 803 acre parcel of land in Honokōhau I & II for Lanihau Partners L.P. (Robins et al. 1998). The survey area (TMK 7-4-08: por. 5, 13, 30, & 60) included the present study area (approximately 336 acres) which is being considered in the proposed Land Use Application. During the 1992 inventory survey, a total of 284 sites were identified in the 803 acre study area. Sixty-five (65) of the 284 sites are found within the c. 336 acre parcel, which extends from the *mauka* side of the Ka'ahumanu Highway to approximately the 360 foot elevation (*Figure 20*).

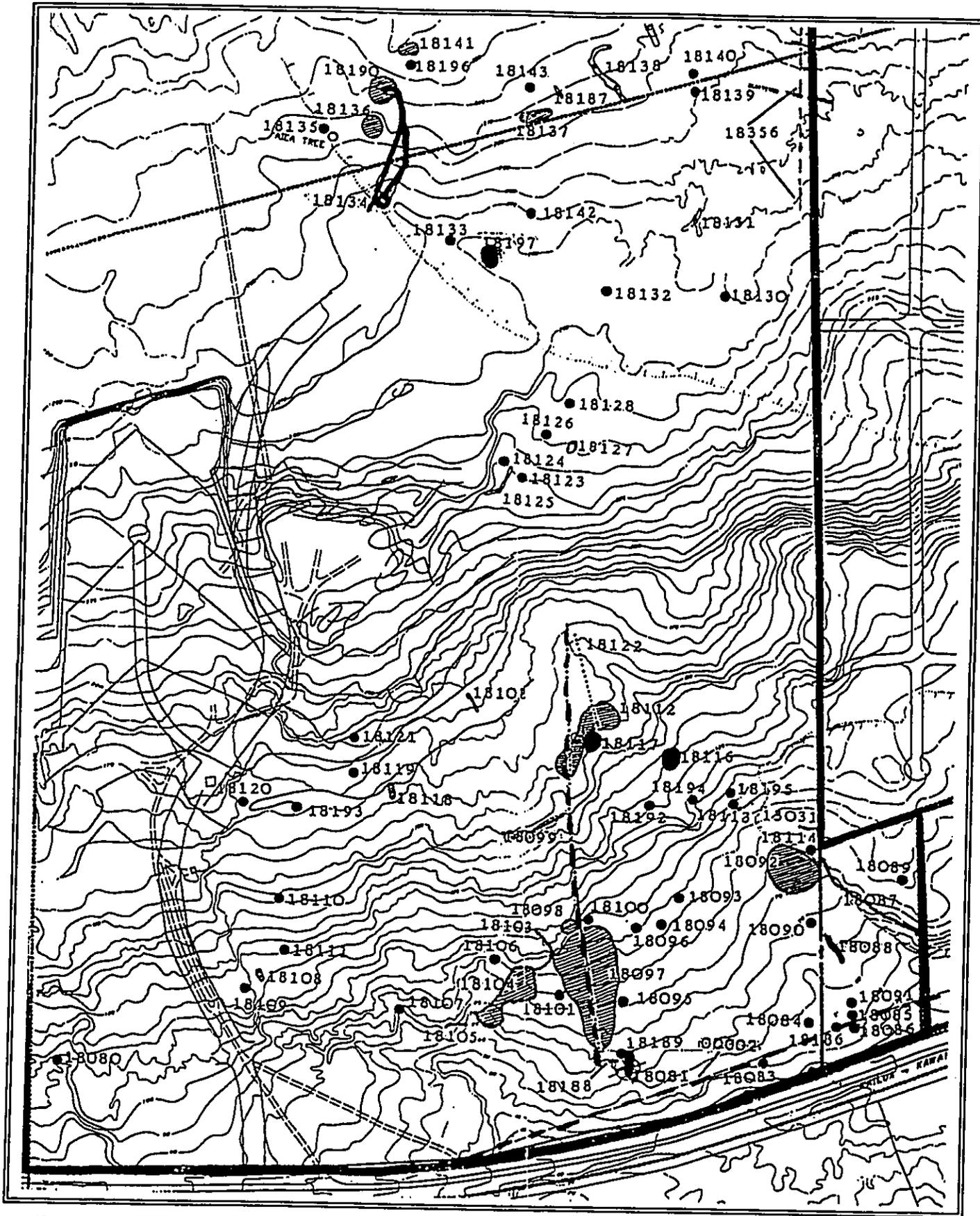


Figure 20. Cultural-Historical Sites Identified Within the Approximately 336 Acre Honokōhau Study Area. (Site Numbers Coincide with Robbins et al., 1998)

The sites include several feature and function types, ranging from prehistoric uses to recent modifications. Site types identified within the 336 acre parcel (TMK 7-4-08: por. 13, 30) include —

Trails; shelters; wall sections (including but not limited to *ahupua'a* boundary walls, dryland garden features, and ranching walls); modified lava outcrops, fissures, flow channels, and lava tubes; permanent and temporary dwelling sites; burials; petroglyphs; and features of undetermined functions.

The archaeological-historical sites identified during the survey were assessed for significance based on the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, as outlined in the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR Title 36, Part 60). The Department of Land and Natural Resources - State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) uses these criteria for evaluating cultural resources. In the State of Hawai'i, to be assessed as significant a site must possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and must be characterized by one or more of the following criterion:

- (A) Be associated with events that have made an important contribution to the broad patterns of our history;
- (B) Be associated with the lives of persons important in our past;
- (C) Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; or possess high artistic value;
- (D) Have yielded, or is likely to yield, information important for research on prehistory or history; or.
- (E) Have an important value to the native Hawaiian people or to another ethnic group of the State due to associations with cultural practices once carried out, or still carried out, at the property or due to associations with traditional beliefs, events or oral accounts—these associations being important to the group's history and cultural identity. (DLNR-SHPD Draft Rules and Regulations 1998, §13-275-6)

(Examples of sites that could be evaluated as significant under Criterion E include *heiau*, cemeteries, burials, and trails.)

Of the 65 sites identified, Cultural Surveys recommended, and the State Historic Preservation Division (SHPD) concurred, that eight (8) sites were significant and are to be preserved. The eight sites include Site No.'s — 00002, a portion of the Māmalahoa Trail/*Alanui Aupuni*; No. 18081, Petroglyphs; No. 18088, a Lava Tube representative of Habitation and Burial functions; No. 18099, a Trail; and No.'s 18116, 18117, 18134, and 18197, Lava Tube Complexes representative of Habitation and Burial functions. The sites were considered significant under one or more criterion of the historic preservation review process .

Where possible, other features not recommended for preservation, will be preserved in-situ, and Lanihau Partners is presently investigating various opportunities for site interpretation to interface with the programs of Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park.

***SUMMARY AND ASSESSMENT OF ARCHIVAL-HISTORICAL
DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH AND ORAL HISTORICAL INTERVIEWS***

The traditions cited in this study tell us that the lands of Honokōhau nui & iki, were among the favored lands of the North Kona District. This is particularly so in the portion of the district known as Kekaha-wai-'ole o nā Kona (The-waterless-shore-lands of Kona), where water, one of the most important natural resources needed for sustaining life, was often difficult to come by. The highly valued, and carefully managed resources of the two Honokōhau extended from the sea to the forested mountain slopes on Hualālai. The diverse resources available to the native residents included — rich deep sea and near shore fisheries (*ko'a*), and highly developed *loko i'a* (fishponds and fish traps); sheltered shores and canoe landings (*awa pae wa'a*); fresh water springs (*punawai*) which provided potable water to sustain the native residents, as well as supporting the unique balance required for long-term propagation and collection of fish from the *loko i'a*; and a wide range of environmental zones (*wao*), extending from near shore to upland forests, which supported the natural resources and provided the materials necessary for the development of a sophisticated social, religious, political, agricultural field systems. These resources allowed the native residents of the lands to meet their immediate community needs as well as contribute to the overall support of the larger Hawaiian social, economic, and political system of Kona (cf. Kihe 1914-1917 in this study; Maly translator).

The *kama'āina* (natives) of Honokōhau and the neighboring lands of the larger Kekaha region shared a deep cultural attachment with their environment—their customs, beliefs, practices, and history was place based. The ancient Hawaiians saw (as do many Hawaiians today) all things within their environment as being interrelated. That which was in the uplands shared a relationship with that which was in the lowlands, coastal region, and even in the sea. This relationship and identity with place worked in reverse as well, and the *ahupua'a* as a land unit was the thread which bound all things together in Hawaiian life.

In his writings, J.W.H.I. Kihe, a native Hawaiian historian of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — and a descendant of native families of Kaloko and Honokōhau — provided readers with insight into the dynamic relationship shared between the people of this land and their resources. One of the famous traditions shared by Kihe in his writings describes the sense of attachment that the native families share with their land, and is memorialized in one of the traditional sayings of the land —

Ola aku la ka 'āina kaha, ua pua ka lehua i ke kai — The natives of the Kaha lands have life, the *lehua* blossoms are upon the sea!
(J.W.H.I. Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, February 21, 1928; Maly translator)

This saying describes the seasonal practice of natives of Kekaha, who during the winter planting season, lived in the uplands, where they cultivated their crops under the shelter of the *lehua* trees. Then when the fishing season arrived with the warmer weather and favorable seas, the natives would travel to the shore, where the fishing canoe fleets could be seen floating upon the ocean like *lehua* blossoms.

It was as a result of this knowledge of seasons, and the relationship between land, ocean, and community, that the residents of Honokōhau and greater Kekaha were sustained by the land.

In an earlier account written by Kihe (In *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, 1914-1917), with contributions by John Wise and Steven Desha Sr., the significance of the dry season in Kekaha and the custom of the people departing from the uplands for the coastal region is further described. Of the dry season, Kihe et al., wrote:

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

By the 1840s and early 1850s, we begin finding communications from various departments of the Hawaiian Government and the Hawaiian Evangelical Society documenting the names of residents, areas of residency and land tenure, and enumerating the population. Documentation in archival and historical collections describe the dividing of and sale of parcels of land in Honokōhau, and contain detailed historic land survey records documenting important sites and features of the land and practices of the native residents. Additionally, records of the school and church system, public works projects, and taxation ledgers all provide modern readers with important glimpses into life in Honokōhau, and events in the transitional period (the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) of history, that led to changes in residency, land use, and land tenure in Honokōhau and neighboring lands (see historical literature cited on pages 54-111 in this study).

Direct lineal descendants of several of the families identified in historical records, remain connected to the lands of Honokōhau. And several participants in the oral history interviews conducted as a part of this study trace their genealogies back to nineteenth century residents of Honokōhau. Importantly, interview documentation recorded as a part of the present study also demonstrates the continuity of aspects of traditions, beliefs, and practices from generation to generation. There is a similarity of record documented by present-day interviewees with interviewees of forty years ago, and the combined interview documentation shares common connections with various aspects of the historic and traditional records reported in earlier sections of this study.

Perhaps most significant of the practices (and those which were continued for the longest period of time) are those associated with sustaining one's self and family on the land. The patterns of *mauka-makai* residency, seasonal cultivation of upland fields, and seasonal care and propagation of fish in the ponds and excursions to the deep sea *ko'a* remained in practice by individuals descended from the early residents of the land, through ca. 1941. The primary practitioners (for which documentation is available) are those families descended from Kalua, who in 1866 was formally granted the upland *ili 'āina* of 'Elepaio on the Honokōhau iki-nui boundary, and who maintained "tenants" rights of residency on the coast of

Honokōhau iki. Kalua's direct descendants, individuals tied by marriage to, and parentage of Kalua descendants include the families of Pua Kalua (w) and Kau'i-a (k); Heneleaka (w) and Kimona Kuakahela; and Jos. Kanakamaika'i Kuakahela Kimona (Simeona) and his siblings, among whom was Violet Keaweamahi Kuakahela (Kimona)-Nihi. Kanakamaika'i Kimona and several of his relatives maintained coastal residences at Honokōhau iki until ca. 1941 (see interviews in *Volume II*). Even after 1940-1941, which saw consolidation of land ownership between Honokōhau nui & iki (a transaction recorded between the *ahupua'a* owners, the Greenwells and Spencers), and the outbreak of World War II which radically altered coastal access for a time, individuals descended from the native residents of the Honokōhau continued short-term seasonal visits to the shore.

It is important to note here, that from the ca. 1870s through the middle twentieth century, the area of primary residency at the coast of Honokōhau was on the shore of Honokōhau iki, with one or two residences south of (or between) 'Aimakapā Fishpond and the Honokōhau nui & iki boundary (the latter, such as the residence of Kekoanui, by agreement with H.N. Greenwell and later, his son, Franck Greenwell). During this period of time, residents traveled to coastal Honokōhau via four primary accesses — the *mauka-makai* trails from *kuleana* and grant parcels in the uplands of Honokōhau nui & iki, and the Kaloko-Kohanaiki vicinity to the coast; by canoe from Kailua; or via the *Alanui Aupuni* (old Government Road) from Kailua, north, with a spur cutting down to Honokōhau iki (see Figures 8, 9, 10, 11, 14 & 15). After ca. 1946, portions of the *Alanui Aupuni* were modified into a jeep trail that remained in use until the Ka'ahumanu Highway was opened in the 1970s.

Following H.N. Greenwells' purchase of the *ahupua'a* of Honokōhau nui in 1876, the primary use of the land focused on ranching (the grazing of animals), with limited agricultural use, and collection of fish from 'Aimakapā Fishpond. Because of environmental conditions, ranching activities focused on the lands generally *mauka* of the lower edge of the dryland forest in the vicinity of the old Kailua-Kohanaiki Road (see *Figure 8*). Seasonal grazing occurred on the lowlands (dependent upon rainfall), and at times extended down to the coastal ponds and waterholes. Also, in the late 1800s and early 1900s native gardens (*māla 'ai*) of *kalo* (taro), 'ulu (breadfruit), 'uala (sweet potatoes), as well as extensive fields of coffee and other crops were grown coffee were planted in the vicinity of the Kailua-Kohanaiki Road (later Palani Road) and Māmalahoa Highway. In this period, only minimal attention was paid to the lowlands of Honokōhau nui, in which the present study area is situated.

Based on the general pattern of traditional Hawaiian land use, it is understood that the *kula kahakai* (shoreward plains lands) of Honokōhau were used in the exercise of various cultural practices. Archaeological field work (Robbins et al. 1998) confirms the presence of several feature types, including trails, caves, *ilina* (burials), walls, planting areas, temporary habitation and shelter areas, and other sites. One of the most significant historical records which helps readers understand some of the traditional uses and elevational zones in which activities occurred, are the Boundary Commission proceedings of 1873. In particular, the testimony provided for Honokōhau nui & iki (see pages 92-100 in this study), and Register Maps No.'s 1106 and 203 (*Figures 7 and 10*). *Figure 21*, is an annotated portion of Register Map No. 203 (for Honokōhau iki), showing the details of the survey points recorded by elder natives of the land in 1873. It will be noted that primary reference points include two named

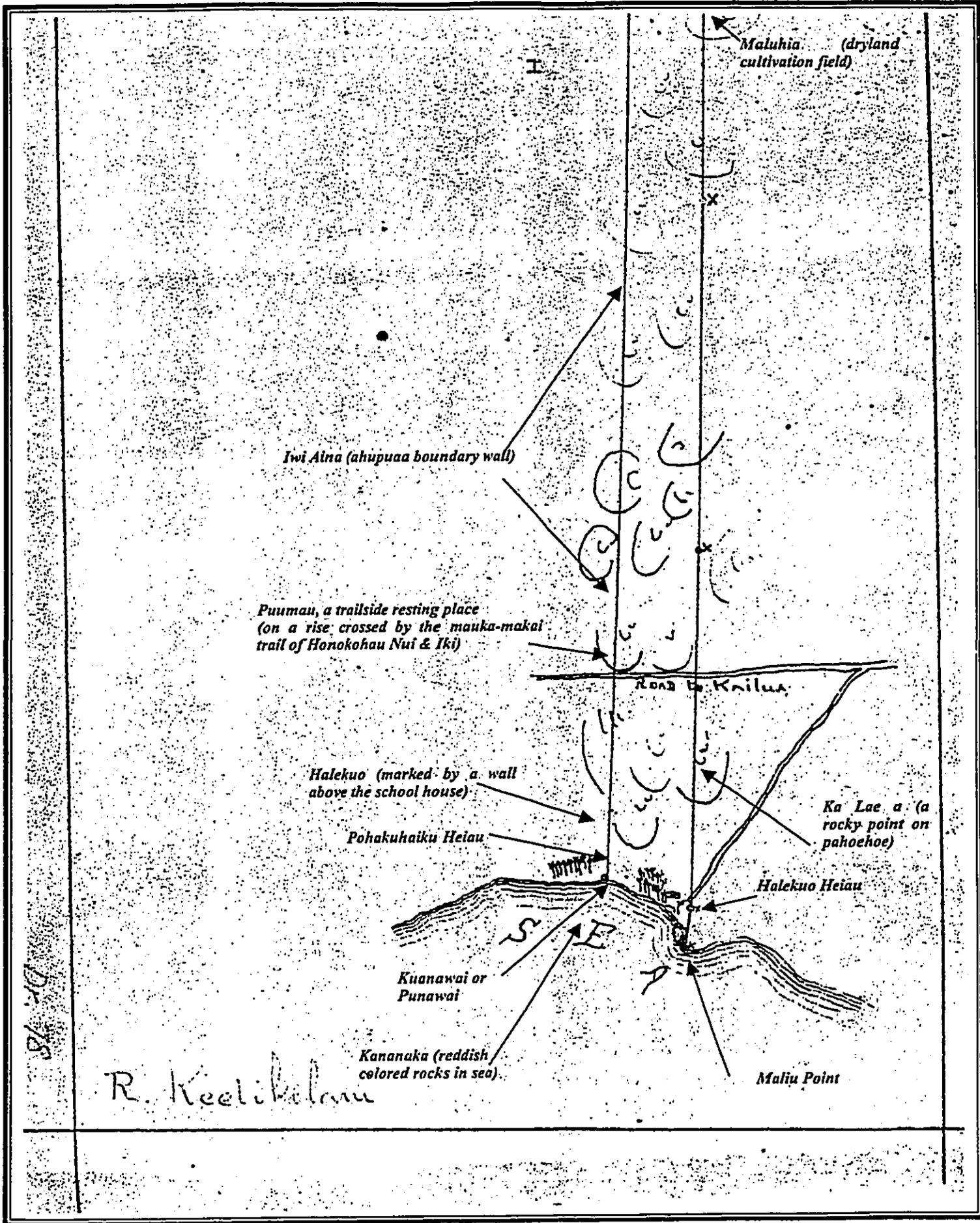


Figure 21. Annotated Portion of Register Map No. 203, Ahupuaa of Honokohau Iki; J.F. Brown, Surveyor (1874). Showing Sites and Features Referenced in the Boundary Commission Testimonies of 1873. (on preceding page)

[Though not specifically identified in the Boundary Commission testimonies (not being a boundary feature), the house site next to the coconut grove, and near the end of the road into Honokohau Iki, coincides with "Kalua's House" as identified on Register Map No. 1280 (Figure 8).]

heiau near the shore (Pohakuhaiku on the Honokohau nui-iki boundary and Halekuo on the Honokohau iki-Kealakehe boundary), as well as various geographic features; and then continue *mauka* (passing the present study area), reaching the upper *kula* lands, below the old *mauka* government road, where we see references being made to agricultural field and various resource up to the *mauka* boundaries of the Honokohau lands (see full Boundary Commission Testimonies in this study).

In the process of conducting this study, very little documentation, readily identifiable as describing the land, sites, or practices associated with the present 336 acre study area was found. The primary documentation which can be directly associated with the immediate study area was found in passing references to the *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Road) system which superceded the older *ala loa* (ancient circle island trail system) by which travel occurred through lower Kekaha. Subsequently limited Boundary Commission records, and personal notes from the journals of H.N. Greenwell and his son Frank (Palani) Greenwell (covering the period from ca. 1881 to 1932), offer limited land use references in association with ranching operations. Interview documentation shared by the Greenwell brothers (Rally and James), sons of Frank Greenwell (born 1913 and 1915 respectively), describe land use functions that are in concurrence with earlier historic records. (see interviews of September 28th and November 2nd, 1999)

Two additional interviewees, Violet Leimomi Nihi-Quiddaoen and Agnes Puakalehua Nihi-Harp, great great grand children of Kalua, resident of 'Elepaio at Honokohau iki, share recollections of family residency both at the shore and in the uplands of Honokohau iki (see interview of November 18th, 1999). Their recollections date back to the late 1920s (after the closing of the Honokohau iki Protestant Church), and are filled with details of life at Honokohau. The sisters describe family sites (including *pā ilina* or burials), the importance of the near shore and deep sea fisheries, and travel between the coastal lands and uplands as a part of the routine of life and subsistence on the land. While visiting Honokohau and discussing the proposed project area, Agnes Puakalehua Harp, noted that in her youth, she had traveled with some of her elders to an area which she estimated to be in alignment with the present-day Kaloko Industrial Complex (though within Honokohau) to tend to limited dryland agricultural plots which were tended by families when at the shore. This was later concurred with by the elder, Violet Leimomi Quiddaoen as well. The occurrence of some form of lowland agricultural practices in the Honokohau-Kealakehe-Keahulou vicinity is also confirmed in various native traditions (for example see the tradition of Pu'uokaloa in this study), and in sites identified during the archaeological survey of the study area (Robins et al. 1998).

One additional point of information raised as a part of the interview/consultation program was shared by David Kahelemauna Roy (pers comm. December 2, 1999). A native of Keauhou, Kona, Mr. Roy is one of the original members of the committee that worked for the establishment of the Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park, and he has remained active in planning and implementation of various aspects of the preservation and interpretive programming associated with the park. Mr. Roy is presently the chairman of Nā Kōkua, a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation and interpretation of resources of the Kaloko-Honokōhau park, and Chairman of the Congressionally authorized Kaloko-Honokōhau Advisory Commission. While discussing the study area and proposed project, Mr. Roy, expressed concern about a lava tube cave complex in, or near, the project area. Mr. Roy stated that the cave houses *ilina*. He also stated that in ca. 1978, he accompanied Dr. Sinoto of Bishop Museum, in the return of a *ki'i* (carved wooden image) which had formerly been taken from the same cave. The cave mouth is significantly built up with several courses of stone (presenting almost a "fortified" entrance), and near the cave are several mounds and filled areas (modified lava flows). Based on mapping and aerial photographs, the cave is Site 18134, and it is dedicated to preservation in place.

One additional concern was raised by Mr. Roy, that being the potential impacts of run off from the development and contamination of the important water and fishery resources of the Kaloko-Honokōhau park. Of particular concern were potential impacts to the 'Aimakapā and 'Ai'opio Fishponds. The vision of the park has been the restoration of the *loko i'a* (fishponds) and *wai 'ōpae* (bait shrimp ponds), to a working and sustainable system, by which to demonstrate the skills and technology of the traditional Hawaiian resource managers. Upon learning of these concerns, the author notified William Moore (project planner), and Mr. Moore initiated dialog with the interested parties.

The archival-historical literature and oral historical documentation cited in this study provide readers with important documentation on the lands of Honokōhau nui & iki, and neighboring lands of the Kekaha region. A substantial amount of the cited information has not been previously available to most readers. While the study is detailed, and also includes important personal accounts from interview participants, the history is in no way completely told. Just as this author has built upon the foundation set by earlier researchers (e.g. Kelly 1971, Roy and Nahale 1975, and Greene 1993), it is likely that subsequent researchers will come across new archival literature, and that additional interviews with descendants of the native families of Honokōhau may provide further documentation of the sites, practices, and history of the lands and families of *Nā Honokōhau – Nā Hono i nā hau 'Elua*.

A'ohē pau ka 'ike i ka hālau ho'okāhi!

"O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia."

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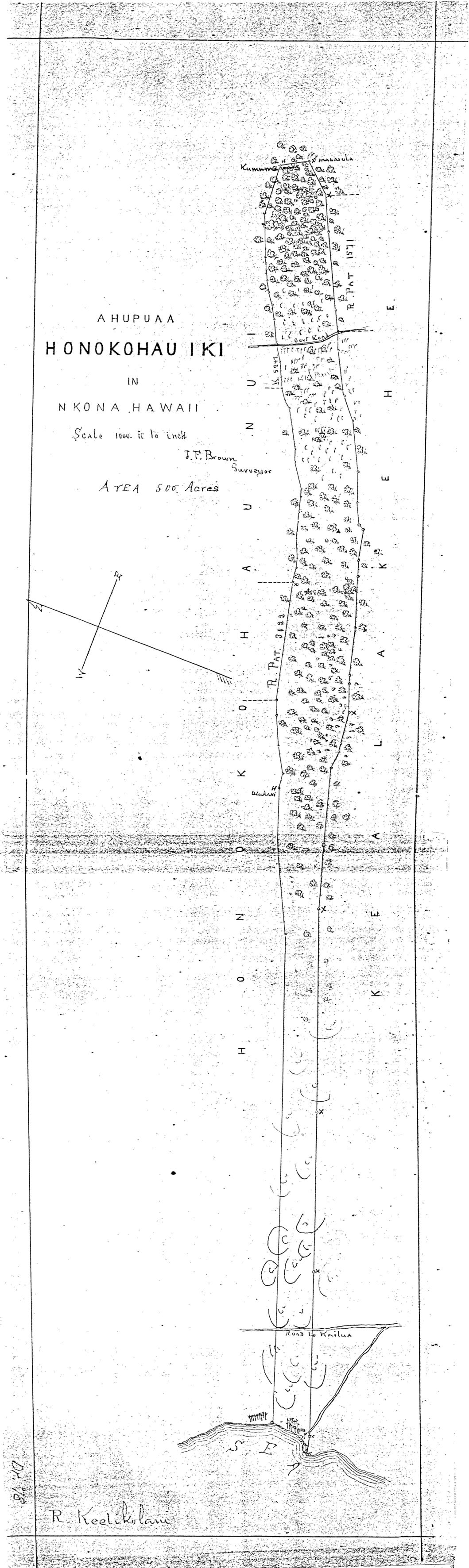
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Figure 10. Land of Honokohau Iki Register Map No. 203

Surveyed by J.F. Brown; 1874

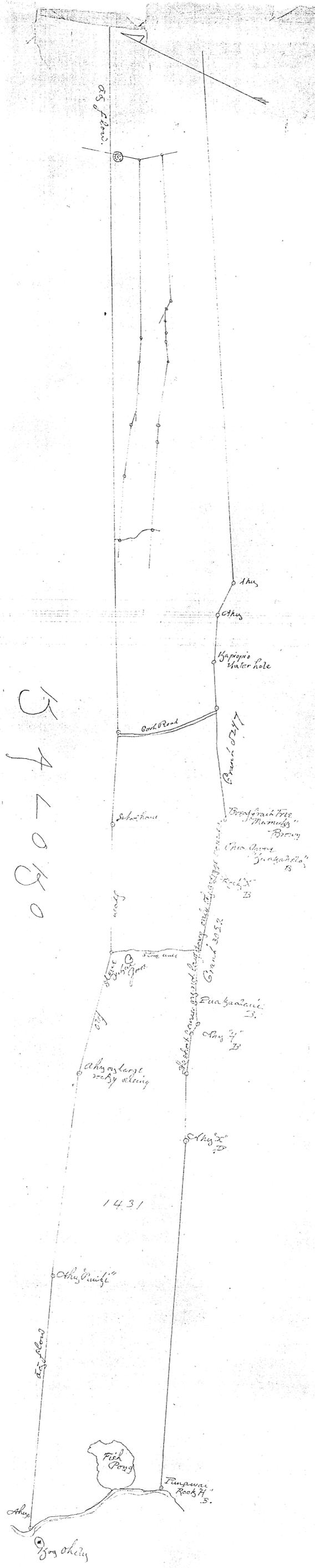
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Kumu Pono Associates Report No. HHHono33 (030100)



ESTATE OF B. P. BISHOP.
Honokohau Iki
N. Kona, Hawaii
 Drawer *# 20 78*
 Number *1000*

1106-1-1-021, 08



Map by Survey
 of
 Honolulu
 South Young District
 Scale Hawaii
 1 inch = 200 ft.

Copy
 By D. H. Hitchcock
 October 1850
 2.653 Acres

Copied from Map by Possessor
 Mr. Greenwell June 16/82
 By John C. ...

Honolulu
 South Young
 Hawaii

HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT SURVEY
 Register No. 1106

Scale = 1 inch = 200 ft.