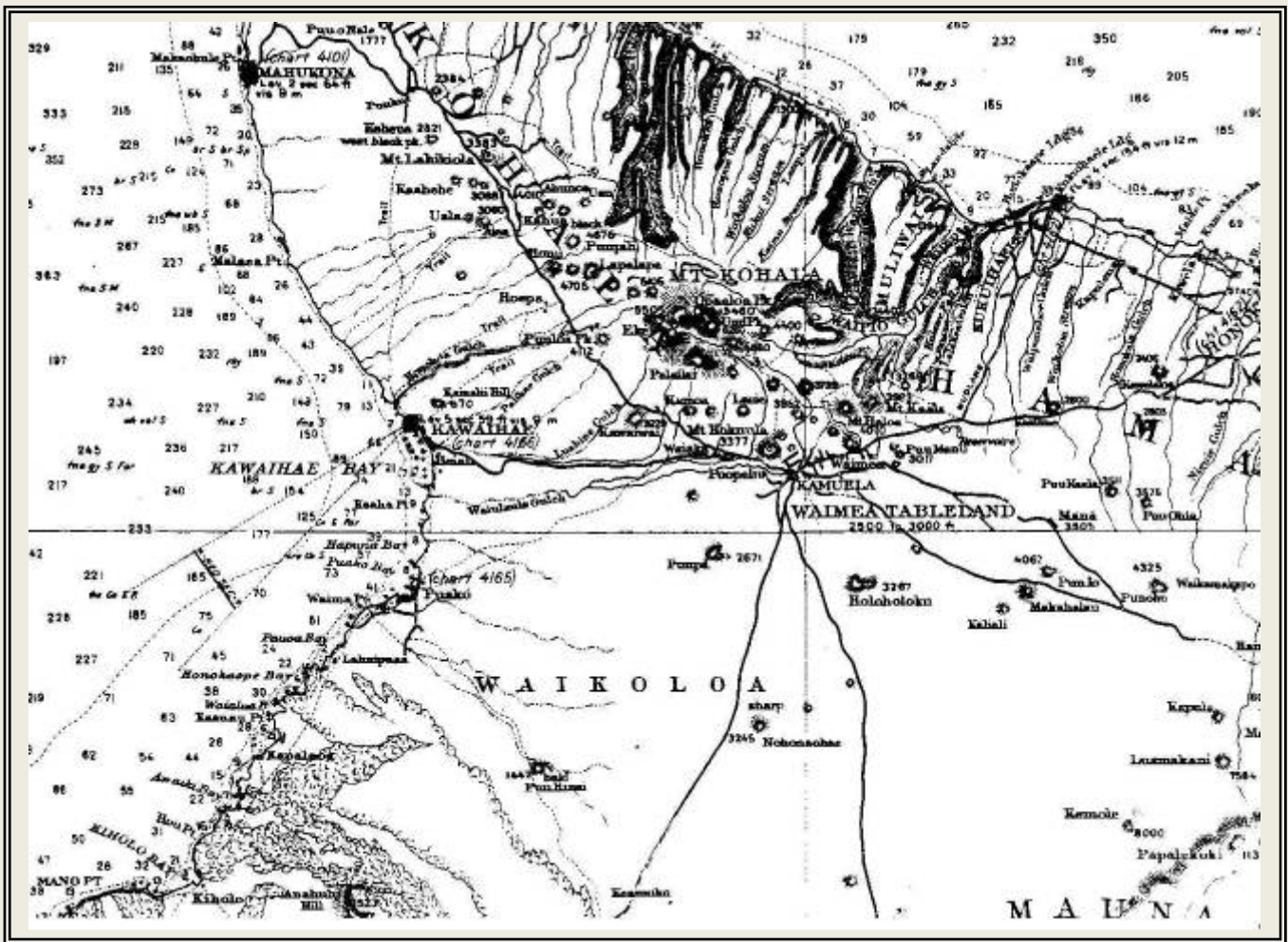


# NĀ ALA HELE MA KAI O KOHALA HEMA (THE COASTAL TRAILS OF SOUTH KOHALA)

**ARCHIVAL-HISTORICAL DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH,  
ORAL HISTORY-CONSULTATION STUDY,  
AND LIMITED SITE PRESERVATION PLAN**

**KAWAIHAE-‘ANAHO‘OMALU TRAIL SECTION:**

*Lands of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, ‘Öuli, Lälänilo, Waiköloa, Puakö, Waimä,  
Kalähuipua‘a, and ‘Anaeho‘omalu;  
District of Kohala, Island of Hawai‘i*



*District of South Kohala, Island of Hawai‘i – Showing the Old Government Road and Trails  
(Portion of U.S. Army map, surveys up to 1932; in Collection of DLNR-DOFAW, Hilo)*



*Kumu Pono Associates*

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

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District of Kohala, Island of Hawai'i  
(TMK Overview Sheets: 6-2, 6-8 & 6-9)***

***BY***

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***PREPARED FOR***

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***April 30, 1999***

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***Kumu Pono Associates  
Kepä Maly, Consultant***

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

## ***DETAILED ABSTRACT***

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At the request of Rodney Oshiro, of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-Division of Forestry and Wildlife, Trails and Access program manager on the island of Hawai'i, cultural resources specialist, Kepä Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a study to research and identify cultural-historical resources of the *ala hele* (trails) — with particular emphasis on the *ala loa* (long path or trail) – *ala nui aupuni* (government road) — of South Kohala (Kawaihae to 'Anaeho'omalū Section), on the Island of Hawai'i (TMK: overview sheets 6-2, 6-8 & 6-9). The study area, approximately eleven and a half (11.5) miles long, includes a portion of the State's Hawai'i Island "Demonstration Trail" system—*Ala Kahakai*— which extends approximately 35 miles, from Kawaihae to Kailua-Kona.

In regards to native and historic terminology used to identify types of Hawaiian trails, it is noted here that the "*Ala Kahakai*" system is made up of two types of native trails. From Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> to middle section of Kalāhuipua'a, the historical alignment identified in native accounts and cartographic resources, generally follows the alignment of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*. The second part of the present-day *Ala Kahakai* alignment, from the middle section of Kalāhuipua'a to the 'Anaeho'omalū-Pu'u Anahulu boundary (marking the boundary between South Kohala and North Kona) follows smaller localized *ala hele* (also known as *ala lihi kai*, or shore line trails) which are of varying ages, ranging from ancient to recent. The more recent sections of the alignment have in part been determined by development activities over the last 25 years. It will be seen in this study that historical documentation places the early alignments of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* from middle Kalāhuipua'a to the South Kohala-North Kona boundary some distance inland, generally following the 'Anaeho'omalū-Waikōloa boundary to North Kona.

This study provides land managers and interested parties with important historical documentation pertaining to some of the significant cultural and natural features of the landscape of the South Kohala coastal trail system, and the relationship of those resources to other resources of the larger *ahupua'a* (native Hawaiian land units) crossed by the trail. While most of the area crossed by the coastal trail system has undergone extensive archaeological study, that work has not been compiled into one comprehensive document (nor does it generally focus on trails). Several key archaeological surveys for the present study area are cited, and those survey reports along with the detailed archival-historical documentation cited in this study provide readers with foundational documentation for implementation of a long-term program of care, management, and interpretation of the *ala hele* (a general Hawaiian term used to identify trails) in the Kawaihae-'Anaeho'omalū region.

### ***Study Methodology***

The work conducted as a part of this study included three basic components: (1) research and report findings of archival and historical literature; (2) conducting oral history interviews and consultation with *kama'āina* (native residents) and others with knowledge of the land; and (3) development of a limited preservation plan with recommendations for protection and interpretation of the trail and cultural-historic resources along the trail so that they can be appropriately managed in the future. The latter phase of work—based on specific recommendations by interviewees and consultation participants and standard practice of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-Historic Preservation Division—sets a foundation for development of long-term protection measures. Further detailed trail and

archaeological site treatment recommendations will also be determined as archaeological site recordation is completed.

In the period between April to December, 1998, the author conducted detailed research of archival-historical literature. The primary documentation cited in this study focuses on government records of roadways, public lands and public facilities which have not received broad exposure in past studies—thus making important historical records available to the interested public. Additionally, a synthesis of previously reported documentation which has bearing on the study is cited as well, with references back to the original studies.

The oral historical component of this study was conducted between February 1998 to April 1999. The study includes interviews with ten individuals in seven interviews, who have generational ties to the lands from Kawaihae to Ka'upulehu—all of whom traveled the trails (from the *ala lihi kai* to the *ala nui aupuni*) with elders in their youth.

### ***Study Organization***

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

- I – an introduction to the study methodology and general overview of Hawaiian trails;
- II & III – detailed documentation found as a result of the archival and historical literature research; including important historical documentation written by native and non-Hawaiian authors;
- IV – an overview of historical studies and archaeological research conducted in the Kawaihae-'Anaeho'omalu region between 1904 to 1997;
- V – an overview of oral historical interviews and consultation records of the Kohala study area;
- VI – a limited site preservation plan (including general recommendations for site interpretation) for the historic trail and its associated resources.

The study provides readers with access to an extensive collection of documentation — including traditional accounts and formal government communications of the nineteenth century about the *ala hele-ala loa* in the region of South Kohala, and the relationship of the rights-of-way to the larger regional and island-wide trail system. The study also includes documentation pertaining to native traditions, customs, and practices that have been handed down over the generations by individuals who have resided in South Kohala and neighboring lands. As such, the documentation will be of use in planning future archaeological investigations, and in interpreting sites.

### ***Overview of Primary Recommendations Made by Interviewees and Consultation Participants***

The following comments and recommendations come from two primary sources — (1) oral history interviews, and (2) consultation with *Nā Ala Hele* and DLNR-SHPD (see *Section VI* for further details on treatment recommendations).

- *Nā Ala Hele* should seek out, and make every effort to work with descendants of the native families of the Kawaihae-Kapalaoa vicinity in the development of formalized site treatment plans, long term management of the historic *ala loa-ala hele* resources, and identifying traditional based protocols for trail use.
- *Nā Ala Hele* should work to facilitate the development of a community based resources management partnership in which native families, land owners, individuals knowledgeable about trails, and stakeholder agencies can coordinate long term management programs for resources of the South Kohala coastal trail system.

A component of such a management plan might include a resident “trail host” or “stewardship” program (similar to that at the Kekaha Kai State Park). It has been suggested that an individual(s) descended from the traditional families of the South Kohala study area be sought out for such a position(s).

- The historic resources need to be respected, people should be informed that entering the sites is inappropriate (exceptions being lineal descendants, cultural practitioners, and those performing preservation tasks).
- All trail users should be informed that damaging the historic resources is inappropriate and punishable by State Law (HRS 6E-11).
- Any restoration to the *ala hele-ala loa-ala nui aupuni* should be done in a manner consistent with the historic and natural qualities of the existing landscape.
- If any work occurs on or near the historic resources, prior approval should be obtained from DLNR-SHPD, a plan developed, and work should be monitored. (Stones should not be harvested from one site for use on another site or in trail repair.)
- Trail use should be limited to non-motorized transportation.
- The trail and adjoining sites should be periodically monitored by *Nā Ala Hele*–DLNR-SHPD to ensure that no activities impact the sites, a regular maintenance schedule should be established to care for sites, grounds, litter, and interpretive needs.
- Interpretive signs should be set in appropriate, unobtrusive locations, to inform the public about: (a) the history and nature of the South Kohala coastal trail system and adjoining sites; and (b) to inform trail users about the responsibilities that each traveler has for use of the trail – such as remaining on trail (not trespassing onto private property), and staying off of cultural and archaeological sites.
- Develop an educational program agreement (including field visits) with the Kohala District schools to help foster awareness and appreciation of the historic trail system and natural resources of South Kohala.

- Sensitive sites (for example–caves, burial features, and ceremonial sites) should be avoided. Sites known to contain, or which may possibly contain burial remains should not be identified on public documents (the privacy of confidential information will be protected).
- If inadvertently discovered, burial remains are to be protected in place (if not immediately threatened with damage from natural or man-made causes). Final disposition of remains should be determined in consultation with DLNR-SHPD, and native Hawaiian descendants of the families of Kawaihae-‘Anaeho‘omalu-Kapalaoa vicinity. If any burial remains should be discovered, they are to be treated on a case-by-case basis in concurrence with Chapter 6E-43 (as amended by Act 306).
- Dogs and other animals should be kept on leashes at all times, and they should be kept away from wildlife such as seals, turtles, and marine bird life which at times haul out or nest on the shore. Likewise, people should stay away from them as well – make no move to approach these animals.
- The *ala hele-ala loa-ala nui aupuni* passes through private property and resort developments. All trail users should be asked to refrain from trespassing (trail signage and other interpretive materials will be developed with the necessary messages).

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*He Leo Ho'omaika'i iā 'Oukou—*

*E nā kupa o ka 'āina o Kohala Hema a me Kekaha ma Kona, me nā makamaka, a me nā  
kāko'o mai Hawai'i a i O'ahu — Mahalo nui iā 'oukou a pau i ka lokomaika'i a me ke kōkua.  
A eia ka hua o ka hana, he mo'olelo no nā mua aku.*

*Me ka ha'aha'a a me ke aloha kau palena 'ole – Kepā Maly*

*O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia*

# I. INTRODUCTION

## BACKGROUND

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At the request of Rodney Oshiro, of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-Division of Forestry and Wildlife, island of Hawai'i program manager for *Nä Ala Hele*<sup>1</sup>, cultural resources specialist, Kepä Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a study to research and identify cultural-historical resources of the *ala loa* (long path or trail), *ala nui aupuni* (government road), and *ala lihi ka*<sup>2</sup> (smaller shoreline trails) of South Kohala (Kawaihae to 'Anaeho'omalua Section), on the Island of Hawai'i (TMK: overview sheets 6-2, 6-8 & 6-9). The South Kohala *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* (trail-road alignment) is part of a circle-island trail system, and though this study focuses on the approximately eleven and a half (11.5) mile long section of trails that extend from Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> to 'Anaeho'omalua (*Figure 1*), readers are also provided with information about the relationship of this section of trail to the larger trail system that extends both north and south of the present study area.

*Ala hele* (a general Hawaiian term for trails and byways) are first, a link between communities and resources, and in ancient times (prior to the nineteenth century), the primary method of travel on these trails was by foot. With changes in land tenure in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—including the disappearance of small coastal communities—the nature of travel and trail use also changed. In South Kohala, sections of the ancient *ala loa*—portions of which were historically modified into the *ala nui aupuni* (government road system)—departed from the coast, bypassing areas where no native communities remained. This is particularly noticeable in the Kalähuihua'a-'Anaeho'omalua vicinity. And today, smaller localized *ala lihi kai* (near shore trails) have become established as the primary thoroughfares, and are now incorporated into the coastal trail system—given a contemporary name "*Ala Kahakai*" or "Trail by the Sea" — (DLNR-DOFAW 1991-II:6-7, and NPS 1997:6).

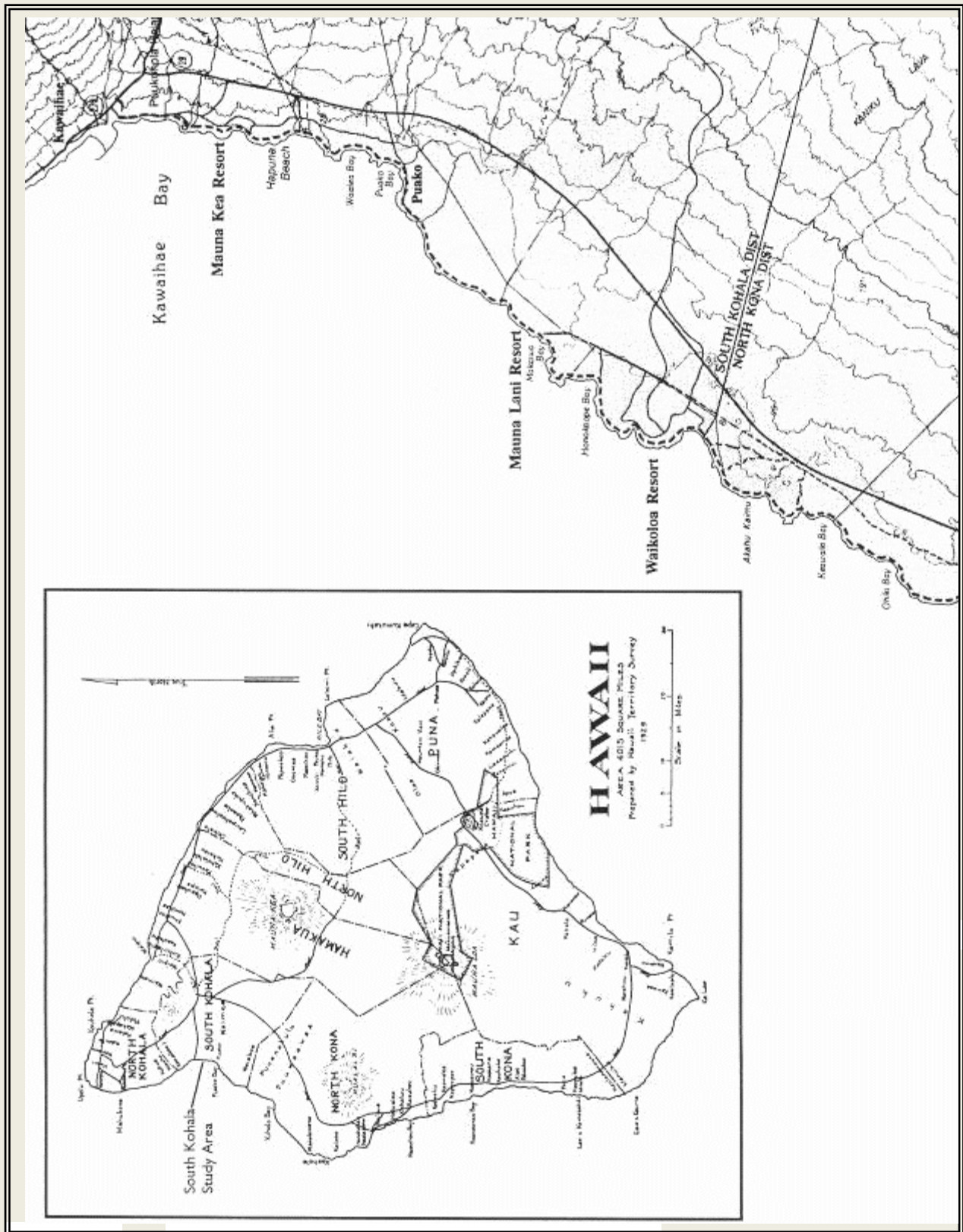
The South Kohala section of the *ala hele* trail system extends for approximately eleven and a half miles along the coast of South Kohala. At areas like—'Öhai'ula, Waiku'i and Mau'umae (in the land of Kawaihae); Kauna'oa (in the land 'Öuli) and Hāpuna (in the lands 'Öuli-Lälāmilo); Waile'a (in the land of Lälāmilo); Puakö Bay and Waimä; and portions of Kalähuihua'a and 'Anaeho'omalua, the trail is situated at sea level (and in some locations can be awash in waves), and follows sandy or rocky shore lines. The other sections of the *ala hele* cross over various topography ranging from *pali* (cliffs) along the shore, ten to fifty feet high, to inland elevations of almost 75 feet above sea level.

This study was conducted to help answer questions and document traditions and practices associated with travel in the *ahupua'a* and *'ili* (native land divisions) of Kawaihae, 'Öuli, Lälāmilo, Waikōloa, Puakö, Waimä, Kalähuihua'a, and 'Anaeho'omalua—specifically the coastal region—and to identify some of the significant features of the landscape, so that

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<sup>1</sup> The Trails and Access Program of the State of Hawai'i.

<sup>2</sup> *Ala lihi kai* (literally – shoreline trail), is a term used by elderly native speakers and early nineteenth century residents of the coastal region between Kona and Kohala (recorded in oral history interviews conducted by the author – cf. Maly 1998).



**Figure 1.** *The Ala Loa – Ala Nui Aupuni (and State of Hawai'i Demonstration Trail – “Ala Kahakai”) South Kohala Section, Island of Hawai'i (from DLNR-DOFAW 1991– II:15)*

they can be protected, preserved, or appropriately managed in the future. Also, the oral history interview component of the study recorded historical accounts of individuals who traveled the trail from the 1920s, and elicited recommendations regarding present and future uses of the South Kohala trail system. As a result of the research and interviews, readers are provided detailed documentation about the history and practices of people who are *kama'āina* (native) to the land, and the relationship of coastal resources and communities to those of the uplands.

Importantly, the information cited herein, presents the Division of Forestry and Wildlife – *Nā Ala Hele*, native Hawaiians, and community organizations with historical information that will be helpful in the creation of a partnership by which to continue learning about the South Kohala trail system and developing a comprehensive integrated resources management program for its varied resources.

### ***Nā Ala Hele – Hawai'i's Trail & Access System***

*Ala hele* are an integral part of the cultural landscape of Hawai'i. There is a long history of using trails and accesses for local and regional travel, subsistence activities, cultural and religious purposes, and for educational and recreational purposes in Hawai'i. In 1988, the State Legislature formalized its position regarding the need for a comprehensive trail and access system in Hawai'i with improved mountain and shoreline trails and accesses. Through Act 236, the Legislature established *Nā Ala Hele*, the Hawai'i Statewide Trail and Access System. A part of *Nā Ala Hele's* program vision is the development of a trail and access network and management system which:

1. provides a broad range of recreational, cultural, religious, and subsistence opportunities for all of Hawaii's people, and
2. helps conserve Hawaii's cultural heritage and environment. (DLNR-DOFAW 1991:II-1)

*Nā Ala Hele* has the front-line responsibility for management of trails and accesses, but because of the diversity of trails and the cultural and natural resources through which they pass, other agencies also share oversight and management responsibilities. Historic trails (e.g. *ala hele* and *ala loa*) and highways and roads (the *ala nui aupuni*), have been defined as historic properties, that is "any building, structure, object, district, area or sites, including *heiau* and underwater site which is over fifty years old," (HRS Chapter 6E-2) and they require special consideration in determining proper care, use and long-term treatment (DLNR-DOFAW 1991:IV-12).

This study and the accompanying framework for a limited preservation plan has been undertaken as a part of the process *Nā Ala Hele* needs to follow to meet some of the basic management responsibilities of the program. Hawaii Revised Statutes, Chapter 198D — the Hawaii Statewide Trail and Access System Legislation — directs *Nā Ala Hele* to ensure proper and respectful management and use of the trails and appreciation of their associated natural and cultural resources. Specifically the law directs *Nā Ala Hele* "To preserve the integrity, condition, naturalness, or beauty of the trails or accesses..." (HRS – Chapter 198D-6).

As a part of the *Nā Ala Hele* program, the State has developed a series of "demonstration

trails" on each of the islands with which to showcase the unique qualities and opportunities that are available through the program. The demonstration trail on the island of Hawai'i extends from Kawaihae to the Old Kona Airport Park (the land of Lanihau); thus including the present study area. The following description of the demonstration trail, prepared by DLNR-DOFAW (1991) provides readers with a general overview of the trail in the study area, and its present condition:

***Ala Kahakai ("Trail by the Sea")***

*Ala Kahakai* would be a shoreline trail extending from Puukohola Heiau National Historic site in Kawaihae to the Old Kona Airport Park at Kailua-Kona. The route consists of about 50 miles of trails along the approximately 35 miles of shoreline. Its elevations range from sea level to 60 feet.

The State is a major landowner along this coast. The State may have a public easement or fee simple interest in the trail itself where it incorporates ancient Hawaiian trails. Federal and county park sites and Honokohau Harbor are along the trail route in addition to several proposed State parks. Major resort developments (existing and proposed) along this coast include Mauna Kea Resort, Mauna Lani Resort, Waikoloa Beach Resort, Kona Village Resort, Kaupulehu Resort, Kukio Beach Resort, and Kohanaiki Resort. The trail route would be seaward of privately owned properties wherever possible, except where an established, ancient trail exists. Other landowners that will be affected include Bishop Estate, Liliuokalani Trust, and various landowners in Puako, Weliweli, Keawaiki, Maniniowali, Awakee, Mahaiula, and Honokohau.

Although large sections of the ancient trail are in good condition, certain segments of it have been destroyed by wave action, four-wheel drive vehicles, and land clearing activities. Actual trail routing may need to follow roads, as in the case of Mauna Kea Beach Hotel and parts of Puako. Some portions of the trail are already developed and maintained as public trails due to Hawaii County ordinances requiring that public shoreline access and related infrastructure be provided by resort developments. Certain parks have developed shoreline trails. By working on *Ala Kahakai* incrementally, as opportunities and resources become available, *Na Ala Hele* intends to eventually complete a continuous pedestrian route along the coast.

Most of the trail traverses arid, sunny areas with little or no vegetation. Some more remote areas have extensive *kiawe* (*algaroba*) growth while manicured landscapes can be seen at resort sites... (DLNR-DOFAW 1991 – II:6)

By 1992, the demonstration trail program had gained national interest and the United States Congress passed legislation to undertake a study and evaluate the potential of including approximately a 175-mile long section of the *ala loa* (generally referred to as the *Ala Kahakai*) into the National Trails System (NPS 1997:v). The study process is presently underway with the draft Environmental Impact Statement having been published in May 1997 (NPS 1997).

## ***Study Guidelines***

The research and interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the referenced laws and guidelines were the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992; 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).

## ***Archival and Historical Resources***

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 coastal lands of Kawaihae, 'Öuli, Lälänilo, Waiköloa, Puakö, Waimä, Kalähuihua'a. 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 and travel in coastal South Kohala.

Archival-historical research was conducted between April to December 1998. References included, but were not limited to — land use records, including Hawaiian Land Commission Award (LCA) records from the *Mähele* (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i (ca. 1873-1903); and historical texts authored or compiled by — D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996); G. Bowser (1880); T. Thrum (1908); J.F.G. Stokes and T. Dye (1991); J. W. Coulter (1931); E. Doyle (1953); M. Beckwith (1970); Reinecke (ms. 1930); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). Importantly, the study also includes several native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by the author), and historical records authored by eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors to the region. This information is generally cited in the chronological order of original publication.

Because large sections of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* from Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> to 'Anaeho'omalu pass through land parcels which have been, or are planned for resort development, much of the land has undergone some level of archaeological study. Thus, there are a number of detailed reports which describe archaeological field work and the findings of historical research published for the study area. Unfortunately, that work has not been compiled into one comprehensive document (nor does it generally focus on trails). Primary archaeological surveys which provide resource managers and other interested readers with an overview of cultural-historical surveys conducted in the present study area are found in the writings of —

Thrum (1908); Stokes (1909); Stokes and Dye (1991); Reinecke (ms. 1930); Barrera and Barrère (1971); Ching (1971); Rosendahl (1972); Kelly (1972, 1974); Kirch (1979); Cordy (1975, 1987); Clark and Kirch, eds. (1983); Graves 1993; Greene (1993); and NPS (1997). Excerpts from, or reference to selected reports are also cited in this study.

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; DLNR-SHPD (Hilo office); the offices of Paul H. Rosendahl, Ph.D., Inc.; private collections; and in the collection of the author.

### ***Oral History Interviews and Consultation Records of the South Kohala Study***

Oral history interviews for this study were conducted between February 1998 to April 1999. A total of seven oral history interviews with ten participants were conducted. 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 (*Appendix A*). 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 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 provide readers a detailed overview of practices and customs of native residents in the area, and of the role of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* (South Kohala section) in the lives of the people of the land. In turn, this information provides resource managers, land owners, and interested individuals with foundational documentation for the development of long-term care, management, and interpretation of the Kawaihae-'Anaeho'omalu trail system.

### ***Kawaihae to 'Anaeho'omalu: An Overview of the Ala Loa and Ala Nui Aupuni In the Cultural-Historical Landscape***

The present-day South Kohala trail evolved from a trail system generally called the "*ala hele*" or "*ala loa*." The trails served not only to provide travelers with access to resources



within a given *ahupua'a*<sup>3</sup>, but also provided travelers with access through the entire district of Kohala. The main trail system—the *ala loa* (which were later likened to highways)—also connected other districts of the island to one another. It is likely that over the centuries, the *ala loa* in Kohala was modified in response to the changing landscape and settlement patterns. But in the period of Hawaiian pre-history (generally the period from settlement to the late eighteenth century), it can be safely posited that the general trail alignments of Kohala—including the smaller connecting trails—remained basically unchanged once established.

In addition to the native terms used to describe trails, cited in the introductory sections of this study, there are a number of other terms used in the native language to describe trails. In the Hawaiian mind, the trails did not end on the land or on readily identifiable landscapes. The ancient trail system included many kinds of trails and employed a variety of methods of travel which were adapted to the natural environment and needs of the travelers. Among the native terms and descriptions of types of trails found in native writings are:

- ala hula'ana* (trails or routes which ended at points on the ocean or at streams that travelers swam to cross to the other side);
- ala 'ūlili* (marked trails on the steep cliffs);
- ala hakalewa* or *ala kaula* (trails along sheer cliffs from which one would at times dangle from rope ladders);
- ala pi'i uka* or *ala pi'i mauna* (trails which ascend to the uplands or mountain; now generally called *mauka-makai* trails);
- ala kai* (ocean trails on which canoes were used to travel from place to place on one island, or between the various Hawaiian Islands<sup>4</sup>. (cf. Malo 1951; I'i 1959; Kamakau 1961; and Māhele and Boundary Commission Testimonies in this study)

While the present study area trail system is primarily land-based (swimming and canoe travel are recorded for the South Kohala section), the larger *ala loa - ala nui aupuni* to which the South Kohala system connects, includes all of these components.

Because ancient trails were established to provide travelers with standardized and relatively safe access to a variety of resources, the trails were (and remain) important features of the cultural landscape. The *ala hele* were the link between individual residences, resource collection sites, agricultural field systems, and larger communities—the religious and political centers of the island of Hawai'i. Along Hawaiian trails are found a wide variety of cultural resources, they include, 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 which range from ancient—for example worn paths on *pāhoehoe* or 'a'ā lava surfaces, trails across sandy shores and dry rocky soils, curbstone and coral-cobble lined trails, or cobble stepping stone pavements—to

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<sup>3</sup> *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.

<sup>4</sup> The *ala kai* were also the link between the Hawaiian Islands and Kahiki (the ancestral homelands). The ocean trail(s) known as Ke-ala-i-Kahiki (the path to Kahiki), crossed the great expanse of the *kai pōpolohua a Kāne* (the deep purple-black ocean of Kāne).

historic curbstone lined roads with elevated stone filled “bridges” that level out the contour of the roadway. *Appendix B* is a collection of several photographs of the study area trail system.

Following the early nineteenth century, western contact brought about changes in the methods of travel (horses and other hooved animals were introduced). By the mid nineteenth century, wheeled carts were being used on some of the trails. In some cases the old *ala hele-ala loa*, were realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, and others 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. 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). This was occurring on the *ala loa* of South Kohala, which by the 1850s, became the main Government road in the *makai* (coastal) lands. By the trail-roadway system, regional residents and visitors gained access to their schools and churches, and people from outside of South Kohala, were provided access through and beyond the remote South Kohala villages and landscape.

Historical documentation cited in this study indicates that the main *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* extending between ‘Anaeho‘omalua to Kawaihae served primarily as a route between North Kona and Kawaihae. The primary stopping places were Kiholo<sup>5</sup> and Kapalaoa (in North Kona), and Puakö and Kawaihae in South Kohala. By the early 1800s, the other coastal areas of the present study area—for example ‘Anaeho‘omalua, Kalähuihua‘a, Waimä, Lälänilo-Waiköloa, and ‘Öuli—were all but abandoned (see *Figure 2*), with individuals from the few remaining communities using the smaller *ala lihi kai* (shoreline trails) primarily for subsistence activities. While access through coastal Waimä, Lälänilo-Waiköloa, and ‘Öuli was maintained by the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* (which passes through those lands), at Kalähuihua‘a and ‘Anaeho‘omalua (southern most of the lands units in South Kohala), were accessed by a smaller system of localized trails. As such, southern portions of the historic *ala nui aupuni* were some distance inland, away from the shore.

The earliest historical accounts (from AD 1823) and a map (from AD 1825) of the region show only a trail between Kawaihae and Puakö (see narratives of Wm. Ellis in this study). Later government communications dating from the 1850s clearly describe a government trail or road passing between North Kona and South Kohala, but it does not appear to have been recorded on maps prior to ca. 1875 (Register Map No. 1182). The most detailed maps showing the contiguous alignment of the *ala nui aupuni*, and also providing details on place names and natural- and manmade-features do not appear to have been drawn until 1882 (J.S. Emerson’s Register Map No. 1278). Several ancient accounts and early historic journals also report that often travel to and from various localities along the South Kohala

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<sup>5</sup> In Kona, native historians record that there were two *ala loa* or main routes which were traveled. The upland route, that extended from South Kona to North Kona—generally the route of the historic Māmalahoa Highway—was known by the name Ke-ala-‘Ehu (the-Path-of-‘Ehu – named for a fifteenth century chief of Kona). Ke-ala-‘Ehu departs from the uplands in the Ka‘ūpūlehu vicinity, and descended to Kiholo where it met with the *ala loa* of the coastal region. This *ala loa* then continued through South Kohala—generally along the alignment of the Kanikū Road or *ala nui aupuni* of the present study area (I‘i, 1959:121-120 and Kamakau, 1961:429).

shoreline and between South Kohala and North Kona took place in part by sea (on canoe or later by boat).

Government records on trails and road development for the present study area are limited, though several important descriptions of development and work on the *ala nui aupuni* were located. The South Kohala road system generally fell under the jurisdiction of the Kohala Road Supervisor, but a number of communications from the North Kona Road Supervisor also document the history of travel in the area. In conducting this study, it was noted that there are only limited government records for the *ala nui aupuni* of South Kohala. Though, other Kohala roadways such as the Kawaihae-Waimea Road, Waimea-Kohala Mountain Road, and Kawaihae-Māhukona Road are regularly mentioned in the annual reports. It appears that by the 1880s, there was only limited interest in the Kawaihae-Kona Road (that is the trail-road system of the present study area), which is also called the Puakö-Kiholo Road or the Kanikū<sup>6</sup> Road.

By the late 1890s, a new upland Kona-Waimea Road was being developed (supervised in part by Eben Low, grandfather of one of the interviewees in this study). There was also steady work undertaken on the Kawaihae-Waimea Road, and work on the new Kohala Mountain road was underway. In this same period, it appears that government work on the South Kohala *ala nui aupuni* ended. By the beginning of the 1900s, the primary use of the Kawaihae-Kona Road was made by the native residents of Kiholo, Kapalaoa, Puakö, and Kawaihae. Oral history interviews with descendants of the native residents of the Kapalaoa-Kawaihae region describe the travel as being undertaken for fishing, exchange of goods, and visitation between families of the remote coastal villages. During this time, the larger landowners tended to go to Kawaihae and travel by boat to their scattered residences along the South Kohala coast.

With the outbreak of World War II, the method of travel changed once again. The U.S. Army, working with local families, bulldozed a rough road from Kawaihae towards Kalāhuipua'a. At a few areas, the new roadway alignment followed the old *ala nui aupuni*, but generally, the alignment was moved inland because of obstructions (such as cliffs and gulches), and to create a more direct route. When this occurred, there were also smaller feeder roadways made, that extended from the new alignment to fortifications on points overlooking the shore. By 1945, the few families who maintained residences between Kawaihae and 'Anaeho'omalu, would sometimes drive to their homes, though boats remained in use as well through the 1970s. By mid 1949, the Territorial Government initiated a project to survey and open a new road from Kawaihae to Puakö, to facilitate the opening of beach lots for interested buyers (cf. Register Map 4030 and CSF Maps No. 11,081 to 11087).

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<sup>6</sup> Kanikū – The name denotes the roads' crossing of the 'a'ā lava flow of Kanikū, behind Kalāhuipua'a and 'Anaeho'omalu.

## **II. MO'OLELO 'ĀINA: NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORIC ACCOUNTS OF SOUTH KOHALA**

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This part of the study is divided into several sections, and provides readers with an overview of — island and district settlement, native Hawaiian land use practices and traditions, and historic narratives written by early visitors and foreign residents. These accounts are important, as they help us understand the cultural landscape and can help encourage responsible and wise use of the trails. When one travels along the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* of South Kohala, one walks the path where great dramas unfolded, and kingdoms were made.

The following documentation includes several native traditions (some translated from the original Hawaiian for the first time, by the author) spanning many centuries, that reference the lands between Kawaihae and Pu'u Anahulu. Some of the narratives make specific references to places through which the ancient *ala hele* and *ala loa* passes, while other accounts are part of larger traditions that are associated with regional and island-wide events. The native traditions describe customs and practices of the native people who resided on these lands, walked the trails, and who were sustained by the wealth of the land and adjacent marine fisheries. It is also appropriate to note here, that the occurrence of these traditions—many in association with place names of land divisions, cultural sites, features of the landscape, and events in the history of the lands through which the study area trail passes—are an indicator of the rich native history of the lands between Kawaihae and Pu'u Anahulu.

### ***An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement***

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 to ca. AD 1250. It has been similarly reported that the early Hawaiian population came primarily from 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 (by ca. 750 to 1000 AD), and the residents began expanding out into the *kona* (leeward) and more remote regions of the island. Based on his own work and that of others, Kirch (1979) reports that by ca. AD 1200, there were small coastal settlements at various areas along the western shore line of Hawai'i—for example: 'Anaeho'omalua, Kalāhuipua'a, Puakō and Kawaihae (Kirch 1979:198).

## ***Hawaiian Land and Resource-Management Practices***

Over the generations, the ancient Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land- and resources -management. By the time 'Umi-a-Liloa came to rule the island of Hawai'i in ca. 1525, the island (*moku-puni*) was divided into six districts (*moku-o-loko*). Kohala is the northern-most of the districts on the island of Hawai'i.

The large districts like Kohala, were further divided into manageable units of land, and were tended to by the *maka'ainana* (people of the land) (cf. Malo 1951:63-67). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant management unit was the *ahupua'a*; these 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 mountains or some other feature of geological significance (e.g., a valley or crater) to the ocean fisheries fronting the land unit. The boundaries of the *ahupua'a* were generally defined by 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*, *kö'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 *konoiki* or lesser chief-landlords, who answered to an *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* (chief who controlled the *ahupua'a* resources). The *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* in turn answered to an *ali'i 'ai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupua'a* resources supported not only the *maka'ainana* and *'ohana* who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms. This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and was the product of strictly adhered to resources management planning. In this system, the land provided the fruits and vegetables for the diet, and the ocean provided most of the protein, and in communities with long-term royal residents, divisions of labor came to be strictly adhered to.

### ***II.a. Kekāhi Mo'olelo Hawai'i (Selected Hawaiian Traditions)***

One native tradition which references Kalāhuipua'a and Puakö is set in distant antiquity, in a time when gods took human form and walked with mankind. In 1837 S.P. Kalama and G. P. Judd collected native traditions of the use of herbs as medicines and how the knowledge was first gained by the Hawaiians. An article series published in the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Hae Hawaii* in 1858, presented some of that information to readers of the paper. The narrative is of great interest because it describes several place names and herb resources between Kalāhuipua'a and Puakö, in association with rituals of healing. The account also alludes to the migrations of the god-form of the *kōlea* (golden plover), in connection with events in the area. A translation of key points of the *mo'olelo* (tradition), translated by the author is included below:

Kamā'oa was the husband and Hinaikamalama was the wife. To them were born the children, Kü, Lono, Kāne, Kanaloa, Kamakaokukoa'e, Ka'alaenui-

ahina, and Kamakanui'aha'ilono. Each of the children were gods and possessed various powers. Kamakanui'aha'ilono's gift was healing. All of the older children departed from their parents and went to reside at various places around the islands. Each of the children were known for their various attributes, some life giving and others taking life. Being the youngest, Kamä'oa and Hinaikamalama assumed that their small son, Kamakanui'aha'ilono (Kamaka) would remain with them, but when he was old enough, he went to his parents and told them that he wished to travel throughout the islands. He visited Ni'ihau, Kaua'i, O'ahu, Moloka'i, Maui, Lāna'i, Kaho'olawe, and then returned to Hawai'i. Along the way, he healed people who were afflicted with various ailments. These ailments were brought about by one of Kamaka's elder brothers, Kamakaokukoa'e, who made people ill wherever he traveled.

Kamaka traveled along the trail (*alanui*) through Kona to Ka'ū. While in the uplands of Ka'ū, he came across the chief Lono, who was tending his extensive agricultural fields. Kamaka distracted Lono, who struck his foot with his 'ō'ō [digging stick]. Immediately, the wound became badly swollen and infected. Kamaka then healed Lono, and from that time he was also known as Lono-pühä (Swollen Lono). Kamaka then set off to continue his journey, heading for Puna and Hilo. Having been healed, Lono followed and asked if he could travel with Kamaka. Kamaka agreed and the two traveled together through Puna, Hilo, and Hämäkua. Along the way, Lono observed as Kamaka healed people of various ailments by using various herbs.

When they reached the heights of Hämäkua Kamaka decided to pass Waipi'o (where Kamakaokukoa'e had settled) for he thought that perhaps his new friend might be killed by Kamakakukoa'e. The two travelers went to the uplands of Waimea, and from there, they descended to the shore of Puakö and went to Kalāhuipua'a. Now at Kalāhuipua'a, Kamaka saw a stranger (he did not know it was one of his younger relatives) who had the form of a bird, the *kōlea* (golden plover), and whose path was a rainbow. Now this stranger was also a healer.

Kamaka called out to him, "Where are you from?" The stranger answered "From Kona." But Kamaka said, "I have been in Kona and there is no person like you there." Kamaka asked several times, and each time received a different reply, until finally the stranger said, "I am from the shore, here." Kamaka then said "Yes, you are indeed of this place." The stranger then said his name was Kōlea-nui-a-Hina, and told him that they were related. The three stayed there for a while and then went further into Kohala to (see) Kamanuiohua. Kamaka then asked where the herbs were and Lono said that they had fallen at Kōleamoku. He was then told to go to Puakö and fetch the herbs. When he went to gather the herbs, he found that they were growing there. Seeing this, Lono pulled up all of the herbs that could be found, and left none behind. Lono then returned to Kamaka, who asked where the herbs were. Lono told that he had found them growing there (at Puakö) and that he had pulled all of them up, leaving none behind. Hearing this, Lono-i-kōlea-moku became angry and he refused to enter the house of Kamaka. Lonoikōleamoku then carved an image and placed it in front of the door of the house of

Kamakanui'aha'ilono. He said that he would not again enter the house up to the time that he returned to Kahiki.

When Lonoiköleamoku returned to Kahiki, Kamakanui'aha'ilono, then went to 'Äwini with his friend, Lonopühä, and taught him about making medicines... (*Ka Hae Hawai'i*, November 24, 1858:136)

Several historians cite various versions of this tradition—with Kamakanui'aha'ilono the god-teacher and Lono-pühä as the student—as the source of how healing arts were originally learned by the Hawaiian people. Lonopühä himself was deified and called upon by various practitioners while treating patients. The god-form of the *kōlea* also played an important role in these practices (cf. Malo 1951; Kamakau 1961 & 1964; Thrum 1907; Beckwith 1970).

Perhaps one of the earliest traditions mentioning 'Anaeho'omalu—which can be placed in a datable context by genealogy—was recorded by Abraham Fornander (1996), who in between the 1860s to 1880s, compiled a large collection of Hawaiian traditions. In his discussion about the genealogies of the chiefs of the islands, Fornander reports that the cruel chief Kama'iole—who lived around the thirteenth century—was killed in a battle at 'Anaeho'omalu by the chief Kalapana (Fornander 1996:40-41). There is no further discussion of events that took place in the area at that time.

### ***Naming of Puakö and the Tradition of Salt Making***

Another account from the collection of Abraham Fornander (1916-1917), titled "*The Legend of Kaulanapoki'i*" mentions Kalähuihua'a and Puakö, and travel upon the trails from the uplands to the shore. The narrative also provides readers with a description of salt making, and how the land of Puakö was named. By association with Hikapöloa, chief of Kohala at the time of the events described in this story, the narrative dates back to around the thirteenth century. The narratives below, are a paraphrased summary of Fornander's texts:

Kaumalumalu was the father and Lanihau was the mother (both of these names are also the names of lands in North Kona) of ten children, five boys and five girls. When the children grew to adulthood, the eldest girl, Mailelauli'i invited her four sisters to go site seeing with her. The girls set out on their journey from the lowlands of Kona, and traveled to Hu'ehu'e. Looking upon the shore from Hu'ehu'e, the girls saw the beaches of Kiholo and Kapalaoa, and desired to see them up close. They then descended to the shore and visited Kiholo and Kapalaoa. From Kapalaoa, the sisters then traveled to Kalähuihua'a where they met Puakö, a handsome man who lived in the area.

Puakö immediately fell in love with Mailelauli'i, and she consented to becoming his wife that day. The next morning, Puakö rose early and began carrying sea water to the salt ponds for making salt. Mailelauli'i's sisters did not like the thought of Puakö being a salt maker and feared that they too would be put to work at carrying water to fill the salt beds. As a result, the sisters encouraged Mailelauli'i to bid farewell to Puakö and continue on their journey further into Kohala... (Fornander 1916-1917 Vol. 4-3:560-568)

The narrative continues by describing how Mailelauli'i married the chief Hikapöloa, who by treachery, killed the brothers of Mailelauli'i. In the end, Hikapöloa was killed himself, the

brothers returned to life, and all the family returned to Kona, never again to sleep with another person of Kohala. (Fornander 1916-1917 Vol. 4-3:560-568)

### ***Puakö—The Cave of Pupualenalena***

In the *'ili* (a native land unit) of Puakö, just inland of Paniau Point, on the *mauka* (inland) side of the *ala loa*, is a cave, identified in 1880 by native informants as being "The Cave of Pupualenalena" (*Figure 3* on following page and at end, Register Map 824). Pupualenalena was a supernatural dog, who in the time of Hakau (the half brother of 'Umi-a-Liloa; ca. AD 1600), lived at Puakö. The cave is still pointed out by the descendants of Na-ko'o-lani-o-Hakau, who purchased the land in 1935 (see interview with Tita Ruddle-Spielman).

The tradition of Pupualenalena was recorded by Abraham Fornander in the 1880s. A paraphrased summary of the narratives recorded by Fornander is presented here:

Pupualenalena, lived with his master, an old fisherman, at Puakö. When the man went fishing, he always took the dog Pupualenalena with him on his canoe. Now it was the dogs' habit to eat his masters' fish whenever they were tossed into the back of the canoe. The master told Pupualenalena, that it was alright for him to eat the fish, but asked Pupualenalena to go and gather *'awa* (*Piper methysticum*) roots for him to make into a drink. Pupualenalena understood the masters' request, and that evening he went to gather *'awa* for his master.

Pupualenalena traveled all the way to Waipi'o, where the king Hakau lived and had his sacred *'awa* garden below Pua'ahuku. Now this *'awa* was restricted for use only by Hakau, and if anyone was caught stealing the *'awa* the thief would be killed. Eventually, Hakau determined that someone was stealing his *'awa*, and he placed his guards around the *'awa* patch. That night, Pupualenalena traveled from Puakö to Waipi'o, and gathered up the *'awa*. The kings' men saw the dog stealing the *'awa*, but because Pupualenalena was so fast, they could not catch him. One of the kings' runners was able to trail behind Pupualenalena, and followed him to Puakö, where it was found that the old man showed signs of drinking large quantities of *'awa* (his skin was red and scaly).

The old fisherman and the dog were taken to Waipi'o, where Hakau asked if the old man had been drinking *'awa*. The man answered yes, but stated that he had not known that Pupualenalena had been traveling all the way to Waipi'o to get the *'awa*. While Hakau was telling the old man and his dog that they would both be put to death, a great noise arose in Waipi'o. This noise was from a conch shell which was blown throughout the night by the spirits that lived in the uplands of Waipi'o. Because of the constant blowing of the conch shell, the people of Waipi'o were unable to get much sleep. Hakau told the old man, that if Pupualenalena could steal the conch, that they both would be spared. Pupualenalena secured the conch shell, and Hakau cared for the old man and the dog from that day on. (Fornander 1916-1917 Vol. 4-3:558, 560)





Figure 3. Portion of Register Map No. 824; Boundary Commission Survey – ‘Anaeho’omalua and Kalāhuipua’a (showing the “Old Alalao,” “Cave of Pupualenalena” and other sites) (State Survey Division)

### *Traditions from the Reign of Lono-i-ka-makahiki*

The primary traditional narratives which describe events and the occurrence of place names, throughout the region of South Kohala date from around the middle 1600s when Lono-i-ka-makahiki—grandson of 'Umi-a-Liloa—ruled the island of Hawai'i (cf. Kamakau 1961; Fornander 1916-1917 Vol. 4-2:342-344, Vol. 5-2:446-451, and 1996; Barrère 1971; and NPS 1997).

During the reign of Lono-i-ka-makahiki (Lono), his elder brother Kanaloa-kua'ana attempted to rebel and take control of Hawai'i. The rebel forces were situated at:

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

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

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

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

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

At that time a high chief of Hawaii, Kanaloa-kua'ana, the son of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi [an older brother of Lono-i-ka-makahiki's], was taken and cruelly treated. His whole skin was tattooed, his eyelids turned inside out and tattooed. Kanaloa-kua'ana was renamed Ka-maka-hiwa (Blackened-eyes) and Ka-maka-paweo (Shamed-eyes)... Kama-lala-walu set forth for Kawaihae, and found no one there. The people had gone up to Waimea, for all observed the services held at the *heiau* of Mailekini. Only those of lower Kawaihae and Puako remained. (Kamakau 1961:58)

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

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

Kamakahiwa is the name of a canoe landing at Puakö, in the vicinity of the 1853 School Lot Grant (cf. Register Map No. 1974).

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

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

Kama ignored the advice of his counselors, and instead listened to the advice of two old men of Kawaihae, one of whom was named Pūhau-kole (commemorated as the name of a stream that passes the north side of Pu'ukoholä and Mailekini). These old men purposefully misled Kama, telling him that the plain below Pu'u 'Oa'oaka (Waimea) would be a good battle field, and that all his canoes should be taken apart so none of the Maui warriors could run back to the canoes and secretly return to Maui (Kamakau 1961:58). The advice of the old men was taken by Kama, and the following events occurred:

After Kama-lala-walu's warriors reached the grassy plain, they looked seaward on the left and beheld the men of Kona advancing toward them. The lava bed of Kaniku [behind 'Anaeho'omalū] and all the land up to Hu'ehu'e was covered with the men of Kona. Those of Ka'u and Puna were coming down from Mauna Kea, and those of Waimea and Kohala were on the level plain of Waimea. The men covered the whole of the grassy plain of Waimea like locusts. Kamalalawalu with his warriors dared to fight. The battlefield of Pu'oa'oaka was outside of the grassy plain of Waimea, but the men of Hawaii were afraid of being taken captive by Kama, so they led [Kamaläläwalu's forces] to the waterless plain lest Maui's warriors find water and hard, waterworn pebbles. The men of Hawaii feared that the Maui warriors would find water to drink and

become stronger for the slinging of stones that would fall like raindrops from the sky. The stones would fall about with a force like lightning, breaking the bones into pieces and causing sudden death as if by bullets...

...The Maui men who were used to slinging shiny, water-worn stones grabbed up the stones of Pu'oa'oaka. A cloud of dust rose to the sky and twisted about like smoke, but the lava rocks were light, and few of the Hawaii men were killed by them. This was one of the things that helped to destroy the warriors of Kama-lala-walu: They went away out on the plain where the strong fighters were unable to find water...The warriors of Maui were put to flight, and the retreat to Kawaihae was long. [Yet] there were many who did reach Kawaihae, but because of the lack of canoes, only a few escaped with their lives... Kama-lala-walu, ruler of Maui, was killed on the grassy plain of Puako, and some of his chiefs were also destroyed. (Kamakau 1961:58-60).

### ***Ke-Ahu-a-Lono (The-Altar-made-by-Lono)***

Abraham Fornander (1916-1917) records that following the events described above, there was a period of peace on Hawai'i. But one further event in the life of Lono-i-ka-makahiki takes readers back to the land of 'Anaeho'omalua. Out of jealousy, some of the Hawai'i Island chiefs slandered Kapaihiahilina (Kapaihi), a trusted advisor and companion of Lono's, who had befriended the king while he was on Kaua'i. For a while, Lono believed the slanderous allegations, and Kapaihi, departed from Lono, to return to Kaua'i. Feeling remorse, Lono set off after Kapaihi, and they met at 'Anaeho'omalua. Fornander described the meeting and how Ke-ahu-a-Lono (The-altar-made-by-Lono) came to be made on the boundary of Kohala and Kona:

When Lonoikamakahiki set sail on his search for his friend, Kapaihiahilina had already arrived at Anaehoomalu and soon afterwards was followed by Lonoikamakahiki and others. Lonoikamakahiki saw Kapaihiahilina sitting on the sand beach when the canoes were being hauled ashore. Lonoikamakahiki immediately began to wail and also described their previous wanderings together. Kapaihiahilina recognizing the king also commenced wailing. When they came together and had ceased weeping and conversing, then Lonoikamakahiki made a covenant between them, that there would be no more strife, nor would he hearken to the voice of slander which surrounds him, and in order that the understanding between them should be made binding, Lonoikamakahiki built a temple of rocks as a place for the offering of their prayers and the making of oaths to Lonoikamakahiki's god to fully seal the covenant.

Kapaihiahilina observed that Lonoikamakahiki was sincere in his desires and at that moment gave his consent to return with Lonoikamakahiki. After their religious observance at this place they returned to Kona and resided at Kaawaloa, in South Kona.

(Tradition says because of the covenant entered into for the erection of the mound of rocks at Anaehoomalu, the boundary between Kohala and Kona was named Keahualono, and that place has been known ever since by that name

signifying the erection of a mound of rocks by Lonoikamakahiki). (Fornander 1917 Volume 4-3:360,362)

Another account describing circumstances around construction of *Ke-Ahu-a-Lono* was published in the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* in 1924. The narrative is part of a series of historical articles, penned by J.W.H.I. Kihe, a native resident of Pu'u Anahulu (a land situated on the boundary of Kona and Kohala). Kihe was a native Hawaiian historian and prolific writer, and was also one of the translators of the Fornander collection. Kihe placed the construction of "*Ke Ahu a Lono*" (The-altar-made-by-Lono) in the period when Lono-i-ka-makahiki and his followers were preparing for their battle against Kama-lā-lā-walu, king of Maui. This native account—excerpts translated by Maly—provides the following historical notes:

This Altar (*Ahu*) is an Altar of the warrior leaders and warriors of Lonoikamakahiki, built at the time he went to battle with Kamalalawalu, the king of Maui. Kamalalawalu and his forces landed at Kawaihae and began their ascent. This stone altar was built then and is called the *Ahu* made by Lono to this time (*Ke-Ahu-a-Lono*)... The Altar is at the boundary between Kona and Kohala, near the road (*alanui*) to Kohala, made by Haanio. (Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* Jan. 31-Feb. 14, 1924).

Ke-ahu-a-Lono is an important feature on the boundary of Kohala and Kona (see descriptions of boundaries later in this report), next to the *ala loa* or *ala nui* that marks the inland boundary of 'Anaeho'omalū (*Figure 3*). (see also Cordy 1987)

#### ***Alapa'inuiakauaua at Kikiako'i, Kawaihae (ca. 1754)***

One of the interesting accounts that references the land of Kawaihae in the vicinity of the *ala loa* below Mailekini Heiau, comes from ca. 1754, in the final days of the reign of Alapa'i-nui-ka-uaua (Alapa'i). Alapa'i was the chief of Hawai'i at the time of Kamehameha's birth (ca. 1758), and he played a role in the upbringing of the young Kamehameha. Kamakau (1961) notes that in the final days of Alapa'i:

...he moved to Kikiako'i in Kawaihae. There his illness became serious, and at Kikiako'i in the *heiau* of Mailekini, Kawaihae, he appointed his son Keawe-ōpala to be ruler over the island. (Kamakau 1961:77)

Kalani'ōpu'u, a nephew of Alapa'i's, was also a hereditary chief of Hawai'i and had challenged Alapa'i's rule. Shortly after Alapa'i's death, Kalani'ōpu'u killed Keawe-ōpala and assumed rule over Hawai'i (Kamakau 1961:78). In those years, Kamehameha was under the guardianship of his uncle, Kalani'ōpu'u, and his path would find him back at Kawaihae, where he secured his own reign.

#### ***Reconstruction and Dedication of Pu'u Koholā (1790-1791)***

In ca. 1790 Kamehameha I and his chiefs were living at Kawaihae. Following the advice of a priest from Kaua'i, Kamehameha undertook the reconstruction of the *heiau* Pu'u Koholā, to dedicate it as a house for his god, Kūkā'ilimoku (Kamakau 1961:154) During this time, "thousands of people were encamped on the neighboring hillsides" (Fornander 1996:328). In ca. 1791, Kamehameha dedicated this *heiau*, and his cousin, Keōuakū'ahu'ula (Keōua)—a rival for supremacy on Hawai'i—was offered as the sacrifice. The narratives below are

excerpted from Kamakau's account of the events that led up to the dedication of the *heiau*, and include references to several places along the coast, between Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Kawaihae. In order to construct the *heiau*, Kamehameha—

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

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

As soon as the *heiau* was completed, just before it was declared free, Kamehameha's two counselors, Keawe-a-heulu and Ka-manawa, were sent to fetch Keoua, ruling chief of the eastern end of the island of Hawaii... Keoua was living in Ka-'u *mauka* in Kahuku with his chiefs and the warriors of his guard. Keawe-a-heulu and his companion landed at Ka'iliki'i and began the ascent to Kahehawahawa... Close to the extreme edge of the *tabu* enclosure of Keoua's place the two...messengers rolled along in the dirt until they came to the place where Keoua was sitting, when they grasped his feet and wept... "We have come to fetch you, the son of our lord's older brother, and to take you with us to Kona to meet your younger cousin, and you two to be our chiefs and we to be your uncles. So then let war cease between you." (Kamakau 1961:154-155).

Keōua agreed to accompany his uncles, the two messengers sent by Kamehameha. Some of the party traveled by foot overland, while Keōua and some of his trusted counselors and guards traveled with the messengers by canoe. Along the way, certain members of his party kept urging Keōua to kill Kamanawa and Keawe-a-heulu, and turn around, but the chief refused:

...They left Kailua and went as far as Luahinewai at Kekaha [in the land of Pu'u Wa'awa'a], where they landed the canoes. Keoua went to bathe, and after bathing he cut off the end of his penis ('*omu'o*), an act which believers in sorcery call "the death of Uli," and which was a certain sign that he knew he was about to die.\* There for the sixth time his counselors urged the killing of the messengers and the return by the mountains to Ka-'u, since to go to Kawaihae meant death. Keoua refused...

When all was ready, Keoua and his followers went aboard the canoes, twenty-seven in all. Keoua, with Uhai carrying the *kahili* and another chief carrying the spittoon, was on the platform (*pola*), and the paddlers took their places. Just outside of Puakō they came in sight of the plain of Kawaihae and Pu'u-koholā standing majestic. The fleet of canoes grouped in crescent formation like canoes out for flying fish. Keoua remarked to Keawe-a-heulu, "It looks stormy ashore; the storm clouds are flying!" The chief replied, "From whence can a storm come on such a pleasant day?" Again Keoua repeated, "It looks stormy ashore; the storm clouds are flying." They kept on their course until near Mailekini, when Ke'e-au-moku and some others carrying spears, muskets, and other weapons broke through the formation of the fleet, surrounded the canoes of Keoua, separating them from those of Keawe-a-heulu and his followers and calling to Ka-manawa to paddle ahead. Keoua arose and called to Kamehameha, "Here I am!" Kamehameha called back, "Stand up and come forward that we may greet each other." Keoua rose again, intending to spring ashore, when Ke'e-au-moku thrust a spear at him which Keoua dodged, snatched, and thrust back at Ke'e-au-moku, who snatched it away. Kua-kahela, who was an eyewitness, said that if there had been weapons aboard Keoua's canoes some [of Kamehameha's warriors] would have been killed. Muskets were then fired from the shores, and a great commotion took place among the people, during which Kua-kahela, Keoua's *kahuna*, jumped overboard and, disappearing under the eyes of thousands, hid in the *tabu* house of Ke-ku'i-apo-iwa where he lay concealed in a roll of mats...This man and one other were the only ones saved of those who came in the canoe with Keoua. La'anui jumped overboard secretly while off Puakō. Keoua and all those who were with him on the canoe were killed...

By the death of Keoua Kuahu-'ula and his placing in the *heiau* of Pu'u-koholā the whole island of Hawaii became Kamehameha's. (Kamakau 1961:156-157)

At various times in between 1792 to 1796, after the dedication of Pu'u Koholā, Kamehameha lived at Kawaihae and worked the lands of South Kohala. While at Kawaihae in 1796, Kamehameha initiated work on the great *peleleu* canoe fleet for the invasion of Kaua'i. In reflecting on the stories of the period, Kamakau observed that Kamehameha worked on the *heiau* of the land and ensured the safety of those who traveled the trails of South Kohala. Kamakau also noted that Puakō was an important source of coconuts which were used in the dedication of the *heiau* of Kamehameha.

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\* "The death of Uli" refers to death caused by the vengeance of the sorcerer, since Uli is the goddess worshipped by Sorcerers. The part cut off is used for the purpose of sorcery so that those who do a man to death may themselves be discovered and punished.

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

While Kamehameha was living with the chiefs at Waimea [he was] engaged in restoring the old heiaus. When the fence of images (*paehumu*), the oracle tower (*anu'unu'u*), and the pavement (*kipapa*) of the *heiau* of Uli had been restored, all the people had to go down to Puako after coconuts. When each had taken up his load to return there remained still 480 nuts unhusked. All had gone except Kamehameha and one other to whom the chief was unknown. Kamehameha turned to him and said, "It looks as if there would not be enough coconuts for the dedication in the morning." It is possible that the man recognized the chief for he replied, "They will all be there. The two put the nuts into nets and fastened them together into a huge load that stood taller than either of them. The road from Puako to Waimea is close to twenty miles in length. Occasionally when the man seemed tired Kamehameha took a turn at the load. At dusk as they neared their destination, and it came time for evening prayer, Kamehameha left the man saying, 'When you get to the *heiau* spend the night with people of the place, but do not tell them that Kamehameha helped carry the load on his back.' Because of this feat of strength and another later, when he took up two hogs each more than a fathom long and carried them without help, this Kuihelani, as his name was, became a great favorite with the chief and held an important office under him. He was allowed to have ten wives, an honor allowed to no other chief besides, and there was no home happier than his, no governor of a district to be compared with Kuihelani. (Kamakau 1961:182-183)

### ***Kawaihae: A Retreat for Liholiho in 1819***

By the time of the dedication of Pu'ukoholā, the number of western ships visiting the islands was beginning to increase. Several detailed descriptions of Kawaihae and the neighboring region (from ca. 1793 to 1890) are cited in the section of this study titled "*South Kohala Described in the Journals Historic Visitors*." One of the important native accounts, that describes the significance of the *heiau* complex, and likely reflects on the value of the South Kohala fisheries, was recorded by Kamakau (1961). Kamakau recorded that following the death of Kamehameha I at his residence of Kamakahonu in what is now called Kailua, in May 1819, it was necessary for Liholiho (Kamehameha II) to remove himself from the area:



At the close of the purification the *kahuna* Hewahewa said, "Where shall the ruling chief stay?" The chiefs responded in unison, "Where indeed" Are not you the one to choose the place?" "Since Kona is unclean, there are but two places for him to stay, Ka-'u and Kohala." So the chiefs chose Kohala because the people there were more loyal to the chief. At dawn of the next day the body was carried to the house of the dead (*hale lua*)... In the meantime when a land was defiled by the corpse of its ruling chief, it was considered in old days the proper thing for his heir to depart to another district for some days until the bones had been cleaned (*ho'oma'ema'e ia*), covered with basket work (*ka'ai ia*), and placed within the tower (*'anu'u*) of the *heiau*, as the corpses of chiefs were prepared in old days for burial. In the early morning therefore Liholiho sailed and touched Kawaihae... (Kamakau 1961:213)

The ten days necessary for the cleaning of Kamehameha's bones had passed, and they had been brought to the tower (*'anu'u*) within the *heiau* built for them where the receptacle (*ka'ai*) was woven in which they were to be deposited. Liholiho, the heir to the kingdom, returned from Kawaihae to Kailua with his company of chiefs, and the days of mourning were ended. On May (*Kaelo*) 21, 1819, in the twenty-first year of his age, Liholiho began to rule over the people... (Kamakau 1961:219)

Shortly after assuming rule over the kingdom, and under the influence of Ka'ahumanu, his sacred mother Keöpuölani, and other chiefs, Liholiho declared the *'ai-noa* (free eating), breaking the ancient kapu system that forbade men and women from eating together and severely limited the kinds of foods which women (even high chiefesses) could eat (Kamakau 1961:222). In December 1819, rebellion arose, and Kekuaokalani, Liholiho's cousin and keeper of the gods, was killed at Kuamo'o in a battle over the breaking of the *kapu* (restrictions and commandments) of the ancient religious system. Shortly thereafter, a small rebellion arose in Hämäkua, and Kamakau tells readers that Hoapili and an army sailed from Kailua to Kawaihae, and then marched up to Waimea where the rebels were dispersed (Kamakau 1961:228).

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

Perhaps one of the most detailed native traditions which includes rich accounts of place names, and practices of the coastal lands—Kawaihae to 'Anaeho'omalu—through which the study area *ala hele-ala loa* passes, is a historical account titled "*Ka'ao Ho'oniuia Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki*" (The Heart Stirring Tale of Ka-Miki), that was published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hökü o Hawai'i* (1914-1917). The story of Ka-Miki is a long and complex account, that was recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe—with contributions by local informants. While "Ka-Miki" is not an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of local stories, tales, and family traditions in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations.

The complete narratives include historical accounts for approximately 800 place names (many personified, commemorating particular individuals) of the island of Hawai'i. While the personification of all the identified individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely "ancient," the site documentation within the "story of Ka-Miki" is of significant cultural

and historical value. The narratives below (translated by Maly), are excerpted from various parts of the tradition, and provide readers with descriptions of the land, resources, areas of residence, and practices of the native residents, as handed down by *kama'āina* (those familiar with the land). While the narratives are lengthy, they are also the most detailed ones for the lands from 'Öuli to 'Anaeho'omalua and Kapalaoa.

### ***Overview: Traditions and Place Names of Kohala Recorded in the Story of Ka-Miki***

The story of Ka-Miki is about two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept one) and Maka-'iole (Rat [squinting] eyes) who traveled along the ancient *ala hele* and *ala loa* (trails and byways) that encircled the island of Hawai'i. Born in *'e'epa* (mysterious-premature) forms, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole were the children of Pöhaku-o-Käne and Kapa'ihilani, *ali'i* of the lands of Kohana-iki and Kaloko. Reared by their great grandmother, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands), the brothers were instructed in the uses of their supernatural powers. Ka-uluhe, who was also one of the manifestations of the earth-mother goddess and creative force of nature, Haumea (also called Papa), who dwelt at Kalama'ula on the heights of Hualälai, was also a goddess of competitors.

Following completion of their training, Ka-uluhe sent Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole on a journey around the island of Hawai'i to challenge disreputable *'ölohe* (experts, skilled in all manner of fighting techniques and competing in riddling, running, leaping, fishing and debating contests, etc.) and priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai'i. The narratives are set in the time when Hikapöloa and Kapa'au-iki-a-Kalana were the two primary chiefs of Kohala (ca. thirteenth century).

During their journey, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole competed along the *ala loa* and *ala hele* and on the *kahua le'ale'a* (contest arenas) associated with the royal courts of the chiefs of the islands' six districts. While in the district of North Kohala, the major events of the story occurred at Pololü, Hala'ula, and Keawewai. Though the primary narratives of the journey around Hawai'i do not include the coastal region between Kawaihae and 'Anaeho'omalua (the brothers traveled the upland trails in this region), the tradition does include detailed accounts of the coastal region at various points in the texts.

The *moku o loko* district (literally: interior island) of Kohala is one of the six major districts on the island of Hawai'i. Just like an island, the larger districts were also divided into sub-districts and regions. In the tradition of Ka-Miki, the boundaries and inner land divisions of Kohala are described with the following traditional saying:

O Kohala nui, o Kohala iki, o Kohala loko, o Kohala waho, o Kohala makani  
'Äpa'apa'a, o Pili o Kalähikiola, o Na-pu'u-haele-lua. 'Oia ho'i! 'Oia la! O nä  
'okina iho la 'ia o ka 'äina ha'aheo i ke kahili a ka makani 'Äpa'apa'a e ho'ola'au  
mai ana me he ipo ala ka nē hone i ka poli o ke aloha —

Large Kohala, little Kohala, inner Kohala, outer Kohala, Kohala of the  
'Äpa'apa'a wind, of Pili and Kalähikiola, the two traveling hills. Indeed! They are  
the combined districts of this proud land brushed by the 'Äpa'apa'a wind,  
maturing like a love nestled fondly in the bosom of love (*Ka Hökü o Hawai'i*,

March 22, 1917).

For generations, sayings like the one above, have been spoken in praise of Kohala and its various land divisions which extend from Honoke‘ä on the Hämäkua boundary to Ke-ahu-a-Lono on the Kona boundary. The lands from Kawaihae to ‘Anaeho‘omalua are within the region called *Kohala waho* (outer Kohala), or *Kohala makani ‘Äpa‘apa‘a* (Kohala of the ‘Äpa‘apa‘a wind).

*Place Name*

*(meaning<sup>7</sup> and location)*

Wai-kö-loa (lit. Water-carried-far; named for a wind goddess)

*Mo‘olelo (Tradition)*

Upon completing their training, Ka-uluhe sent Ka-Miki and Maka‘iole to fetch ‘awa from Waipi‘o water from a sacred spring on Mauna Kea, and other items needed to prepare the ‘awa for drinking. While traveling on the plain of Waiköloa, Ka-Miki and Maka‘iole gathered the sedge *Ka-lau-o-ke-Kähuli* which was to be used for straining the ceremonial ‘awa drink. At Holoholokü, some of the sacred water of Käne which Ka-Miki was carrying in the ‘awa bowl Hökü‘ula was lifted out by the wind, Waiköloa. The water was carried some distance, and where it fell a spring was formed. The deity Pöhaku-a-Käne retrieved some of the water from the spring, and carried it to his companion deity Pöhakuloa at the base of Mauna Kea. The spring from where Pöhakuakäne fetched the water came to be called Waiki‘i (Water fetched)... (March 12, 1914)

While on their journey around the island, the brothers stopped at Kapalilua, South Kona, and Ka-Miki was described as the skilled ‘*ölohe* from the lands of Näpu‘u (the Pu‘u Anahulu – Kekaha region). In describing Näpu‘u, the wind Waiköloa was mentioned:

Näpu‘u (pü) ‘Alu Kinikini i ku‘ia e ke ao-lewa i ka makani i ka ho‘ohae a ka Näulu, i ka hö‘elo ‘ia e ka Waiköloa a me ke Kaumuku kuehu lepo i ke kula pili — The many gullied or folded hills where the wind borne Näulu rain clouds appear, [land] moistened by the Waiköloa wind, with the Kaumuku winds which stir up the dust on the pili grass covered plain... (December 3, 1914)

Native historian Samuel Kamakau also wrote that Waiköloa was one of several winds that came to Hawai‘i from Kahiki when they were sent by Lonopele as he tried to destroy the priest Pä‘ao and his companions (Kamakau 1991:5).

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<sup>7</sup> lit. = literal translation; int. = interpretive translation.

*Place Name*

*(meaning and location)*

*Mo'olelo (Tradition)*

Kohala Makani  
'Āpa'apa'a (Kohala of the  
strong winds)

...After competing on the *kahua* of Hinakahua at Pāpa'alaukanaka, Ka-Miki, Maka-'iole and Keahialaka departed for *Kohala makani 'Āpa'apa'a* (the region of South Kohala – Kawaihae). Crossing the uplands, traveling along the *ala nui* (main trail) towards Kawaihae, they came to a field abundantly planted in *kō* (sugar cane), where Keanahalululu an *'olohe lua* was working in the field of his chiefess.

Ke-ana-halululu (int. The-  
cave-of-roaring; as wind  
traveling through a cave)

It is because of the practice of mulching planting sites with the refuse of sugar cane growth, that the name Pu'u-'āina-kō was given. The name Pu'u-'āina-kō is a regional name for the fields which stretch across Kohala waho towards North Kona, and is also the name of a hill. [The hill Pu'u-'āina-kō is about four and one-half miles above the coast, on the boundary between Kawaihae and 'Ōuli (see Register Map No. 2230)].

Pu'u-'āina-kō (int.  
Mounds-of-sugarcane-  
refuse – mulching)

Keawe-wai (lit. Keawe's-  
water)

Sugarcane was one of Ka-Miki's desires, and he asked Keanahalululu which sugar cane was *kapu* (restricted) and which was *noa* (free)? Keanahalululu told Ka-Miki that all the *kō* was restricted for the chiefess Keawewai. Keawewai was the sacred ward of Ka-ho'opulu and Ka-holoi-wai-a-ka-Nāulu. Keanahalululu asked Ka-Miki and his companions their names, to which Ka-Miki responded; Nana-holoke-i-ke-kihi-o-ka-malama, Kahuelo-ku-i-ke-kihi-o-Ka'elo-ka-malama, and Keahialaka-o-ka-papa-lohi-o-'Āpua. Upon hearing these mysterious names, Keanahalululu understood they were no ordinary travelers, and thought that they were young chief's from Kohala loko (inner Kohala), so he agreed to ask the chiefess if they might have some sugar cane.

Ka-ho'opulu (lit. The-one-  
who-moistens; an upland  
hill in Kawaihae)

Hono-koa (lit. Brave-  
bay); at Kawaihae.

Keanahalululu went to Keawewai's compound and met with her priest guardians. He explained Ka-Miki's request, and spoke their names to Kaholoiwai who discerned the nature of Ka-Miki *mā* (and his companions). Kaholoiwai told Keanahalululu that Ka-Miki *mā* were the descendants of Haumea-nui-a-ka-aiwaiwa and Lani-nui-ku'i-a-mamao-loa and relatives of their chiefess and themselves. Kaholoiwai had Keanahalululu oversee the preparation of the *imu*, food and *'awa* for a feast. Kaholoiwai then sent Honokoa, the chiefess' messenger to call Keawewai.

When everything was prepared, Keanahalululu returned to invite Ka-Miki *mā* to the chiefess' compound. Upon rejoining Ka-Miki *mā*, Keanahalululu saw that they had already eaten great quantities of the *kō*, and he commented on their

Place Name  
(meaning and location)

*Mo'olelo (Tradition)*

mischievous nature, but led Ka-Miki *mā* to the compound and village of Keawewai. Now at this time, there were many people living on these lands from the shore to the *koai'e* (*Acacia koaia*) and *māmane* (*Sophora chrysophylla*) forests. Ka-Miki *mā*, Keawewai, her guardians and the people of the land all gathered for this meeting and feast.

Waimea, the land of  
Lani-maomao

The time with Keawewai was pleurably spent playing *kōnane* and all manner of games which the elders of that time were fond of. Ka-Miki *mā* departed from Keawewai and traveled to the uplands of Waimea, where they were reunited with their female elder Lani-nui-ku'i-a-mamao-loa for whom the lands of Lanimaomao were named... (March 22 & 29, 1917)

Lälä-milo (lit. *Milo* –  
*Thespesia populnea* –  
branch)

The region of Lälänilo was named for the chief Lälänilo. Lälänilo was the grandson of Kanakanaka, an expert *lawai'a hi-'ahi* (deep sea tuna lure fisherman) and Pili-a-mo'o, a powerful priestess and 'ōlohe. Kanakanaka and Piliamo'o were the parents of Nē'ula (a fishing goddess), and she married Pu'u-hina'i a chief of the inlands. Nē'ula and Pu'u-hina'i were the parents of Lälänilo.

Kanaka-naka (int. Man  
with dry or cracked skin;  
also written as  
Kanekanaka). The point  
on the south side of  
Hāpuna Bay, in the 'ili of  
Lälänilo.

Kanakanaka was an expert *lawai'a hi-'ahi* (deep sea tuna lure fisherman), and his sister was the wind goddess Waikōloa. Lälänilo also gained fame as an expert 'ōlohe and fisherman. Through his wife Puakō, Lälänilo came to possess the supernatural *leho* (cowrie octopus lure) which had been an 'ōnohi (cherished) possession of Ha'alua, a goddess with an octopus form... How this octopus lure came to rest on the reefs fronting this land remains a mystery.

Pili-a-mo'o (int. To-cling-  
like-a lizard)

Nē'ula (int. Red-nē-  
seaweed; certain  
seaweeds were used as  
offerings to *Kū'ula* upon  
*ko'a* (fishing shrines) and  
red was sacred to  
*Kū'ula*). Nē'ula is on the  
southern point of Puakō  
Bay, at the location  
known as Kaiakeakua  
(see Reg. Map No.  
1974).

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

Lälänilo's grandmother Piliamo'o, discerned the nature of the lure, and instructed Lälänilo to kill all people who inquired about the lure, or sought to see it. Because the fame of this

*Place Name*  
*(meaning and location)*

*Mo'olelo (Tradition)*

lure spread around Hawai'i and people were curious about it, many people were killed.

Pu'u-hīna'i (lit. Basket-hill; descriptive of the rich dryland agricultural fields of the area).

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

Pu'u-iwa'iwa (lit. Maiden hair-fern-hill).

Pua-kō (lit. Cane-flower or tassel).

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

Po'opo'o (lit. Hollows or depressions; planting holes).

Lälāmilo then departed and traveled up towards the residences and agricultural lands of Pu'uhīna'i mā, as he drew near his destination, his thoughts returned to the lure. Lälāmilo looked towards the ocean, and his desire to see the lure was very great (July 5, 1917). At the same time, Lälāmilo also had a premonition, so he returned to the shore without visiting his father and sister. During the time when Lälāmilo was gone, Ka-Miki had traveled to Lälāmilo's land and met with a man of the area named Niheu. Ka-Miki inquired, "Where is the chief Lälāmilo's house?" Niheu said, "It is there above the canoe landing." Ka-Miki then asked, "And where is the chief?" Niheu responded by saying, "I don't know, perhaps he is in the house." Ka-Miki then went to Lälāmilo's house, peering in he saw the gourd container and he lowered it, removing the cordage. Ka-Miki then took out the lure and departed from Lälāmilo without incident.

Place Name  
(meaning and location)

Mo'olelo (Tradition)

The narrator then proceeds to tell readers about how Puakö and 'Anae-ho'omalū and other places in the regions came to be named:

'Anae-ho'omalū (lit. Protected- mullet fish)

Naming of Pu'u Anahulu, Pu'u Wa'awa'a and other sites of Kekaha.

Puakö was the daughter of Wa'awa'a (k) and Anahulu (w), and the sister of: 'Anaeho'omalū (w); Pü'äla'a (k); and Maui-loa (k). Puakö's great desire was to eat *he'e* (octopus), and Pü'äla'a was kept continually busy acquiring *he'e* for Puakö, and getting *pa'ou'ou* fish for 'Anaeho'omalū. When he could no longer provide sufficient numbers of fish for his sisters they left Puna and set out in search of suitable husbands who could provide for their needs.

Ka-palaoa (lit. The-whale-tooth-pendant); an *'ili* in the land of Pu'u Anahulu.

Because of their great love for 'Anaeho'omalū and Puakö, Anahulu, Wa'awa'a, their relatives and attendants also moved to the Kona - Kohala region and dwelt at sites which now bear their names; only Pü'äla'a remained in Puna. This is how Pu'u-Huluhulu, Pu'u-Iki, and Mauiloa came to be named; and Pu'u Anahulu (Ten day hill [ceremonial period]) was named for Anahulu, the chiefess wife of Wa'awa'a (Pu'u Wa'awa'a).

Wai-mä (lit. discolored water; water that fades as when salt is formed). An *'ili* of Waimea, the coastal area between Puakö and Kalähuipua'a.

Arriving at Kapalaoa in the Kekaha lands of Kona, 'Anaeho'omalū married Näipuakalaulani, son of the chiefess Kuaiwa of Kapalaoa. Puakö went on to Waimä where she met with natives of that area, and was introduced to the chiefess Nē'ula, mother of Lälämilo. When Nē'ula learned that Puakö greatly coveted *he'e*, she told Puakö that her son was the foremost *lawai'a 'ökilo he'e* (octopus fisherman) of the region. And because Puakö was so beautiful, Nē'ula introduced her to Lälämilo. Lälämilo saw Puakö, and compared her to the foremost "*he'e*" which he could catch.

One day after Lälämilo and Puakö were married, Puakö went to the shore to gather fish and seaweeds. It was low tide at Waimä, and she was able to go far out upon the flats where she saw a *he'e* (octopus) spread out upon the reef, which she speared and took it towards the shore. This *he'e* was so heavy she could barely carry it, and Nē'ula saw Puakö and inquired who had given it to her. Puakö told Nē'ula how she found the octopus on the coral out cropping. Nē'ula responded that she was native of this place and had never seen such an octopus at this area. (July 19, 1917)

While Puakö and Nē'ula were talking, Lälämilo returned from octopus fishing and saw Puakö's octopus. Lälämilo asked

*Place Name  
(meaning and location)*

An account of how *lūhe'e*  
(octopus lure) fishing  
originated in Hawai'i.

*Mo'olelo (Tradition)*

Puakö where she had gotten that octopus from and she related the events to him. Lälämilo accused her of lying, and asked how an ocean octopus could be found on the reef. Lälämilo then struck Puakö, thinking that she had gotten her octopus from some other man. He struck her so hard that her skin darkened, and Nē'ula interceded saying that they should go to the place where the octopus came from. Nē'ula told Lälämilo that perhaps what Puakö said was true, and that they should go look upon the reef. Indeed there was an octopus upon the reef, and Lälämilo caught it. Coming before Puakö, Lälämilo apologized for thinking that someone else had taken the – restricted fish of the chief (implying that Puakö was restricted to Lälämilo).

Lälämilo then went to investigate why the *he'e* were attracted to that site on the reef. He looked and found a small hole with something red like an *'ōhi'a* blossom inside it. He realized that it was a beautiful *leho* (cowrie lure) which had attracted the *he'e*, indeed it was the foremost lure of all Hawai'i.

Lälämilo broke the reef and took the cowrie, and from that time, no more *he'e* appeared on the reef. Lälämilo took the *leho* to his house and cleaned the meat from it. He then fastened it with rope, making the lure, and he kept it close to him. Lälämilo placed the lure in a container and went octopus fishing. When he got to the *lūhe'e* (octopus fishing) site, Lälämilo removed the lure from the container and secured it to his hand. At the same time, a *he'e* came up and climbed upon the canoe, but when the lure was covered the *he'e* stopped coming into the canoe. Lälämilo had gotten some 120 *he'e* in a short time, and he returned to show his wife and mother the results. Nē'ula suggested that Lälämilo take the lure and an offering of *he'e* to his grandmother, the seer Pili-a-mo'o.

Lälämilo went to Pili-a-mo'o and showed the lure to her. Pili-a-mo'o discerned the nature of the lure and told Lälämilo that this was not an ordinary cowrie lure, but a god, the *'ōnohi* (favorite or cherished one) of Ha'aluea the mysterious supernatural octopus being of the ocean depths. Ha'aluea and her family came from Käne-hünä-moku (The hidden land of Käne) and settled at Makaiwa in the land of Kapa'a, Kaua'i. Ha'aluea was the wife of the wind and ocean god Halulu-ko'ako'a, and grandmother of 'Iwa-nui-kilou-moku (Great 'Iwa the island catcher).

The shore line of Nē'ula where the octopus lure was found was described with the saying—The shore where salt is gathered at



Place Name  
(meaning and location)

Mo'olelo (Tradition)

Nē'ula who is the *Kū'ula* on which salt grains are placed by the wind *Kuehulepo* which scatters dust, land where the three canoe sailing winds *Haehae*, *Nāulu*, and *Ho'olua* blow.

Pili-a-mo'o consecrated the *leho* and the *he'e* which it attracted. She also told Lälāmilo that the first *he'e* caught must always be brought to her as an offering. Pili-a-mo'o then told Lälāmilo that no one should be allowed to see the *leho*, and that anyone who sought to see it had to be killed. As the fame of the lure spread through the land, people were curious about it, and many people were killed by Lälāmilo. It is at this point, that the narrative returns to Ka-Miki and his successful acquiring of the lure (July 26, 1917).

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

Arise o *Ho'olua* [Piliamo'o, like the strong wind]  
O lashing gusts of the *Kiu* [northern winds]  
of the *Nāulu* [southern rain storms]  
The sea is agitated and the clouds fly by  
The waves rise to the land  
Throwing the coral pieces upon the *pōhuehue* growth  
[The lure] has fled [vanished], the prize of Ha'aluea's  
eye has been removed  
I am overcome with grief  
It is I, Lälāmilo  
The offspring of Kananaka and my mysterious  
ancestress Piliamo'o who sleeps here,  
Arise!

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

Kauna'oa (lit. Dodder-vine); the residence of Piliamo'o, and canoe landing in the land of 'Ōuli

Lälāmilo acquired all of the items and returned to the house of Pili-a-mo'o overlooking the shore of Kauna'oa. Pili-a-mo'o told Lälāmilo to release the pig and chicken, and both of them entered the canoe which Pili-a-mo'o had prepared as the path

Place Name  
(meaning and location)

Lälāmilo prepares to travel to Kaua'i and enlist the aid of 'Iwa, in helping him retrieve the *leho*.

The canoe journey to Kaua'i and back to South Kohala.

Mo'olelo (Tradition)

on which Lälāmilo would travel to Kaua'i-o-Kamāwaelualani, where he would find 'Iwa at Makaiwa, Kapa'a.

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

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

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

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

Place Name  
(meaning and location)

*Mo'olelo (Tradition)*

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

When Lälänilo and 'Iwa went to the canoe, 'Iwa told Lälänilo to take the front seat, saying that Lälänilo had exhibited his skills in arriving at Kaua'i. 'Iwa said he would steer the canoe back to Hawai'i. With one push, the canoe passed the *ko'a hi'ahi* of 'Äwini at Wailua. 'Iwa called to Halulu-ko'ako'a, "Here is our cherished paddle Lapakükalani" and thrust it into the sea which raged all around Kaua'i. It is because of this event that the sea of Kaua'i is always rough.

Passing Kawaihae,  
landing at Kauna'oa.

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

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

On the following morning, 'Iwa awakened Lälänilo, calling to him — E ala ua ao e, ua mälamalama , ua 'ohi ka pili o Makali'i, ua li'ili'i ka pö, ka hauli ka lani lele ka hökü ke pi'i nei ka 'ula wena o ke ao ia (Arise the light shines, the Makali'i has

*Place Name  
(meaning and location)*

*Mo'olelo (Tradition)*

Lälämilo and 'Iwa travel to Hölualoa to fish for *he'e* with the chief Pili, and retrieve the sacred *leho*.

passed, the night lessens, the heavens recede and the stars fly as the red glow arises, it is light).

'Iwa then said, "Let us go fetch the pride of our grandmother." 'Iwa and Lälämilo departed from Lälämilo and quickly arrived at the shore of Pälau'eka (in Hölualoa) where Pili's fishermen Ka'aha'aha and Kapakapaka were preparing for the chiefs' fishing expedition. Kapakapaka greatly admired the alert look of these two youth, so he inquired if they knew how to paddle. 'Iwa said he had some experience in canoeing, righting a canoe, directing a canoe through the waves and landing one upon the shore. Kapakapaka then invited them to board the canoe. 'Iwa inquired what fish the chief was after today, and Kapakapaka said *he'e*.

Fishing for *he'e* described.

'Iwa then described the nature of *he'e* and told them that the largest octopus, *he'e o kai uli*, dwelt in the deep waters. 'Iwa went on to say that this *he'e* was so large that only one arm could fit in the canoe. Kapakapaka did not believe 'Iwa, but Ka'aha'aha said if there were such a *he'e* that it would be worth seeing. 'Iwa then told the fishermen that they should go out before the chief and locate this mysterious octopus (August 23, 1917).

Lälämilo, 'Iwa, and Pili's head fishermen traveled beyond the '*öpelu*, hand line, and *kähala* fishing *ko'a* (grounds), and 'Iwa said here is where we will try to catch the *he'e o kai uli*. 'Iwa took his cowrie lure "*Mulali-nui-makaka*", bound with a hook and '*öahi* stone sinker and tossed it into the sea. 'Iwa then chanted to his grandmother Ha'aluea asking for her assistance

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

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

Place Name  
(meaning and location)

Mo'olelo (Tradition)

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

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

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

Kauna'oa also known as Waimea.

Because of the difficulty Lälämilo had in keeping the *leho*, he divided it with Pü'āla'a, and the lure became known by the name "Kalo-kunu."

Lälämilo and 'Iwa ate and drank *'awa*, and 'Iwa then returned to Kaua'i. Thus Lälämilo reclaimed his lure (September 6, 1917). Puakö's brother Pü'āla'a arrived from Puna and Lälämilo divided the *leho* with him. Because the divided shells looked like portions of baked taro, the lure came to be called *Kalo-kunu* (broiled taro). And so told is the story of Lälämilo and Kalokunu of the wind *Kuehulepo* of Puakö (September 13, 1917).

An account about Kaholoiwaiakanäulu, a priest and rain maker who resided at Kaho'opulu.

One additional narrative, authored by J.W.H.I. Kihe, about Puakö and her family was shared with readers on September 2, 1914. In a series of articles titled "*Pu'uanahulu i ka uka 'lu'iu, Kona mau Luhiehu Hihiu*" (Pu'uanahulu of the Distant Uplands, with its Uncommon Beauty), Kihe reported that:

Ka-holoi-wai-a-ka-Näulu was an elder brother of the Pele priestess, Anahulu, when Anahulu and Wa'awa'a *mā* moved from Puna, to be closer to Anaeho'omalulu and Puakö, Kaholoiwai followed as well. From his dwelling place at Kaho'opulu, a hill above Kawaihae, Kaholoiwai cared for his sister, watching for her needs. When a period of dryness came upon the land, Kaholoiwai would send the *Näulu* showers

across the lands, reaching up to Pu'u Wa'awa'a. Thus, food plants were able to grow upon the land. (*Ka Hökü o Hawai'i* September 2, 1914)

### ***Nä Ho'omana'o o ka Manawa (Reflections of Past Times)***

In 1924, J.W.H.I. Kihe penned another series of articles in *Ka Hökü o Hawai'i*. In this series, Kihe lamented the changes he'd seen in the days of his life. The following excerpts (translated by the author), provide insight into the historic community of Kekaha (ca. 1860 to 1924). Kihe described the demise of the families, and the abandonment of the coastal lands, including the villages of Honoköhau, Kaloko, Kohanaiki, the lands of 'O'oma, Kalaoa, Hale'ohi'u, Maka'ula, Kaü, Pu'ukala-Öhiki, Awalua, Kaulana, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Awake'e, Kuki'o, Ka'üpülehu, Kiholo, Keawaiki, Kapalaoa, Pu'uanahulu, and Pu'uwa'awa'a. In those times the families of the coastal lands traveled the *ala nui aupuni* along the coast by foot and on horseback, and canoes also traveled between the various villages. Kihe noted that:

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*... Today [1924], the families are lost, the land is quiet. There are no people, only the rocks and trees remain, and only occasionally does one meet with a man today... The men, women, and children have all passed away... (J.W.H.I. Kihe – June 5 & 12, 1924)

### ***Ka Huaka'i Lawai'a i Kapalaoa (The Fishing Trip to Kapalaoa)***

In 1926, Reverend Steven L. Desha Sr., editor of the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Hökü o Hawai'i*, penned a series of articles that described Kapalaoa and practices of the native families of the coastal region known as Kekaha, and told readers about the work of Reverend George "Holokahiki" Ka'önohimaka. Ka'önohimaka was the beloved elder leader of the churches of the Kekaha region of North Kona, and Desha reports that it was Ka'önohimaka who founded the school and church at Kapalaoa (in ca. 1880), on the family land of D. Alapa'i Kahinu (Alapa'i) (*Ka Hökü o Hawai'i*, August 10, 1926:3). It was while on visits to Kapalaoa, that Desha himself developed a great love for the area—in 1928 Desha purchased Kapalaoa Homestead Lot No. 39. The following excerpts from Desha's articles provide readers with an overview of traditions of Kapalaoa, a description of the community in the early twentieth century, and introduces readers to several of the families who traveled on the *ala hele* and *ala loa* of the region. Writing in the third party, Desha reported:

Several weeks ago, our editor took a break and went to the shore at a place called Kapalaoa near the boundary of North Kona and South Kohala, close to the place called 'Anaeho'omalua. There are three houses at this place called Kapalaoa, they are the pandanus thatched house of D.A. Kahinu, known by the name of Alapa'i, and the house of his family, and a school house which was gotten from him when he got his 17 acre homestead lot, and the house of the

late Kimo Hale (James Purdy), which his daughters now own. They are Mrs. Maka'ai of Pu'uuanahulu and Mrs. Lindsey of Waimea. It was in their home that the editor, his family, and some guests were hosted...

### ***The Reason That the Name "Kapalaoa" was Given***

Here is a little interesting tale about the name given to this place. At one time in the distant past, there was living along these shores, a chiefess whose name was "Ke Ali'i Wahine o Kuaiwa" (The Chiefess Kuaiwa) and there were multitudes of people dwelling in her presence. There were two kinds of work done by the people who dwelled on this land at that time, that was *ka 'oihana hana pa'akai* (salt making) and *ka 'oihana lawai'a* (fishing).

One day, there drew near to the entrance of the chiefess Kuaiwa's house, an old woman with sagging skin. she was very old and her eyes were smeared with mucus. When the old woman met with the chiefess Kuaiwa, she asked if the chiefess could give her a little fish. Now the fishermen were just returning to the shore and their chiefess, with canoes filled with fish of all different kinds. Now perhaps because of the dirty nature of the old beggar woman, and because of the inflamed nature of her eyes, the chiefess felt no compassion for the old woman. So Kuaiwa answered her haughtily, denying the old beggar woman any fish. She pushed her away from the door and made rude remarks to her.

Not long after the time this old woman was pushed away, the chiefess Kuaiwa was resting in her house with her *ipukai i'a* (bowl of fish) placed before her. There erupted from a place behind where her house was situated a fire. The chiefess tried to run away, while taking up her *ipukai punahele* (cherished fish bowl), and attempted to save her life. Foremost in the chiefess' thoughts about her life, was her *Lei Palaoa* (whale tooth pendant), which she took from her neck and threw outside of the house. Where it fell, it immediately turned to stone. This stone in the shape of a whale tooth pendant is still there to this day. Also, a short distance away, is the body of the chiefess who was consumed by the fire of the old woman who she pushed away without compassion. She was turned to a stone as well. The stone body of the chiefess Kuaiwa may still be seen standing there to this day.

When she was overtaken by the fires of this supernatural old woman, her cherished *ipukai i'a* (fish bowl) also slipped from her hand. And just as the immeasurable wrath of this old woman had turned the *Lei Palaoa* into stone, and just as the chiefess had been turned to stone, so too, was the fish bowl covered by the fires and turned to stone by this supernatural woman. The *ipukai* may still be seen to this day, about 100 feet away from the stone body of the chiefess, Kuaiwa. The fish from within the *ipukai* were perhaps consumed by this supernatural woman of the fire. But only the *ipukai* remains, there are no fish in it.

As a result of the *Lei Palaoa* of the chiefess Kuaiwa being turned to stone, this place came to be called KA-PALAOA [The-Whale-tooth-pendant]. And this place has been the home of many of the fishermen and those who make salt

from ancient times, in this land of ours. There remains at this time, the home of D. Alapa'i Kahinu, on this *kaha* (shore) of Kapalaoa, as well as the family of Kimo Hale, the families of these two women who hosted us at this *kaha mehameha* (lonely shore), and who shared this tradition with us.

At the place where the stone body of the chiefess Kuaiwa is found, the water is shallow. It is at the sandy shore which is where 'Anaeho'omalua begins. At this little shallow place, there live many *he'e o kaiuli* (octopus which come up from the deep sea). In the months of September and October the *he'e* move up from the depths of the sea and dig their holes in this shallow water, and are a great benefit to the natives of this *kaha wai 'ole o na Kona* (waterless shore of the Kona lands). It is not called this because there is no water, but because the water is not sweet. Most of the water of this shore is half salt water (brackish). At the home of Kimo Hale, where his descendants reside, there is a *punawai* (spring) dug into the earth, a spring in the coral stones. The spring was made by the Hawaiians, by cooking some of the coral as in an *imu*, at the instruction of Mr. Spencer, the grandfather of Sam. M. Spencer. The spring is known by the name "Pakana." The spring, made about fifty years ago, remains there to this day. It is from this spring that visitors obtained water while resting at the village of Kapalaoa, and through the graciousness of the family of Kimo Hale, who make the spring known to the visitors.

In the shallow waters of Kapalaoa, there are also many *ku'una 'upena* (net fishing spots), and more than enough fish may be caught in the nets, filling the fish bowls of the natives of this desirable shore. There is a boastful saying, that one "Lights the fire and is filled with joy, before going to catch the fish, which are placed jumping on the flames." These words are not true, but are said in boast of the good fishing. (S.L. Desha Sr. August 3, 1926)

Later in August 1926, Desha wrote that by the 1870s, Reverend George P. Ka'onohipaka assumed pastorship for the field of Kekaha, and through his efforts, at least six churches in the Kekaha region were established. The "Statistical Table of the Hawaiian Churches for 1877" identified G.P. Ka'onohipaka as the Pastor of the Kekaha Church, with a total of 174 members in good standing (Hawaii State Archives, Lyons' Collection; M-96). Desha noted that the period he was writing about was ca. 1889, when he was the minister of the churches at Kealakekua and Lanakila. The following excerpts, translated by the author come from the August 17, 1926 issue of *Ka Hökü o Hawai'i*, and describe travel along the coastal and *mauka-makai* trails of the 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 "*kihapai laula*" (broad field or expansive parish) on his donkey, keeping his work in the various sections of the *kihapai laula*. There were times when he would begin his journey by going to the section of the "Hills", that is Puuanahulu and Puuwaawaa. Then when he was done there, he would go down to Kapalaoa, at the place known as Anaehoomalu. When he was finished there, he would travel to the various places, being Keawaiki, Kiholo, Kaupulehu, Kukio, Makalawena, Mahaiula, and Honokohau and Kaloko. Kaonohimaka would then return to the uplands of Kohanaiki and Kalaoa.



He would be gone for several weeks at a time till he returned once again to his home. He would sleep as a guest in the homes of the brethren. There were many Church Elders (*Luna Ekalasia*) in these places where the people dwelt. In these various places, there were many residents, and the prayer services would be held in the homes of some of the people, if there was no school house or meeting house at certain places... (Desha in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, August 17, 1926:3)

## ***II.b. South Kohala Described in the Journals and Logs of Historic Visitors (1778-1902)***

This section of the study provides readers with selected narratives from several journals recorded by early visitors—explorers, missionaries, and travelers—who described the coastal region of South Kohala. One of the themes common to most of the narratives is that the land was little inhabited by the time of recording the various accounts.

### ***Observations by Captain James Cook and Crew***

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

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

In search of water, a crew went ashore and reported that, "They found no place shlder, & none that would answer our purpose for water, as they were carried inland to it" (Beaglehole 1967:526). The crew also reported their rescue of three individuals whose canoe had been capsized while they were returning to shore (Beaglehole 1967:526). Later, in March 1779, while sailing north from Kealakekua, the ships passed the Kohala shoreline and King compared the southern section of Kohala to the arid shore of Ka'ū, and reported that there appeared to be few residents in the area around Kawaihae —

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

### ***The Journals of Captain George Vancouver***

Captain George Vancouver accompanied James Cook on his visits to Hawai'i in 1778-1779. Vancouver returned to the Hawaiian Islands in 1793 and 1794, in command of his own exploring expedition (Vancouver 1967). In February 1793 and 1794, Vancouver visited

Kawaihae (written Toeaigh). In 1793, Vancouver approached Kawaihae from the North, and in 1794, he approached it from the south. His observations include descriptions of — Kawaihae village and environs (in 1793 Ke'eaumoku was the chief in residence at Kawaihae); a detailed account of salt making; it also appears that the *morai* or *heiau* of Pu'u Koholā was in use (on the second visit Kamehameha was with Vancouver); and he noted that the lands to the south of Kawaihae appeared unpopulated.

Selected excerpts from Vancouver's journal are cited below; it will be noted that in many words, the letter " f " replaces the letter " s ". Also, Vancouver's spelling of Hawaiian words appears to have been phonetic—as he heard them—thus, is very different than present usage.

February 13, 1793

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

February 14, 1793

The adjacent fhores, forming the north-weftern part of the Bay, feemed to be very fruitful, whilft the number of habitations indicated them to be well peopled; yet none of the natives ventured near us. As we confidered the taboo to be at an end, I began to be apprehenfive that the fhynefs of the inhabitants originated from fome more ferious caufe; at about ten o'clock however a canoe was feen paddling towards the fhipe; we immediately brought to, and on her coming alongfide, we were informed by thofe in her that they belonged to Kahowmotoo [Ke'eaumoku<sup>8</sup>], who was then refiding at a village, on an eftate of his, in the bottom of the Bay, named Toeaigh; off which there was a good anchorage, and excellent water eafily procured. Thefe people, without leafthefitation, faid that the reafon of our not having been vifited before was, that the whole of the ifland was under a very frict *taboo*, that prohibited the inhabitants from ufing their canoes, or quitting the fhore by any other means; but that the rank and confequence of their mafter Kahowmotoo, authorized him to difpenfe with the reftrictions on the prefent occafion; as he entertained hopes, that the [Volume II:112] veffel in fight was the fame in which his favorite Fervant Terehooa had embarked; he had therefore fent them to make the neceffary inquiries, and in cafe his expectations fhould be confirmed, a prefent of a hog and fome vegetables was in the canoe for Terehooa...

...Mr. Whidbey, who was in the cutter founding for the beft anchorage, foon made the fignal for an eligible fituation, where, about half paft two, we anchored in 25 fathoms water on a bottom of fine brown fand and mud...the morai [temple], which is alfo confpicuous in pointing out this ftation, N. 67 E.; and the watering place at the diftance of a mile and a quarter, being the neareft fhore... [Volume II:113]

Vancouver continues his narratives describing the hospitality of Ke'eaumoku and remarking

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<sup>8</sup> Ke'eaumoku is the chief who played an important role in the rise of Kamehameha, and was also the chief who killed Keōua in the dedication of Pu'u Koholā. Vancouver records that Ke'eaumoku was with his wife Namahana at Kawaihae (together, they were the parents of Ka'ahumanu, a favorite wife of Kamehameha).

on the condition of the cattle and sheep which he had brought with him to give to Kamehameha.

...The name of the village Toeaigh was by us extended to the Bay, (which is the fame that had been called by Captain King Toeayahha bay,) since the native give no distinctive name to any part of the ocean that washes the shores of their islands. Such bays, coves, &c. as are so distinguished, having been named by their European visitors from the contiguous villages or districts.

Toeaigh is situated in a grove of cocoa-nut trees, just behind a sandy beach. A reef of coral rocks, extending thence about three quarters of a mile into the sea, rendered it inaccessible to our boats in a direct line, but we landed very commodiously in a narrow channel, between the reef and the shore, near the morai, to the S.E. of the beach, from whence we had about two miles to walk to the habitation of Kahowmotoo... The village consisted only of straggling houses, of two classes; those appropriated to the residence of the inhabitants were small, mean, miserable huts; but the others, allotted to the purposes of shading, building, and repairing their canoes, were excellent in their kind; in these occupations several people were busily employed, who seemed to execute their work with great neatness and ingenuity. In about the middle of the village is a reservoir of salt water, nearly in the centre of a large inclosure, made by walls of mud and stones. Between these walls and the reservoir the whole space is occupied by shallow earthen pans, of no regular size or shape, nor placed in any order or degree of elevation. The reservoir is separated by a bank or small portion of the sandy beach from the ocean, and had no visible communication with it, but [Volume II:116] was apparently a stagnated standing pool, covered with a muddy scum, of yellowish green colour. This, the natives say, it always bears, and without being replenished by them from the sea constantly affords a sufficient quantity of excessively salt water, for supplying the numerous pans; the exposure of which to the influence of the sun, soon causes evaporation and crystallization... They have large quantities, equal in colour and in quality to any made in Europe, but the crystals are much larger... [Volume II:117]

Vancouver's description of the salt works at Kawaihae includes further details and is worthy reading to those interested in this native practice. The oral history interview with William and Lani Akau, describe the continuation of the practice through the 1930s (see interview in this study).

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

In the forenoon of the 27<sup>th</sup>, we had a light breeze from the westward; with this we steered for the anchorage at Toeaigh...the adjacent shores were uninteresting, being chiefly composed of volcanic matter, and producing only a few detached groves of cocoa nut trees, with the appearance of little cultivation and very few inhabitants. The deficiency of the population on shore was amply compensated by the number of our friends that accompanied us afloat in

canoes of all descriptions...

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

Vancouver notes that the *morai* (Pu'u Koholā) was one of the reference points for drawing into the landing at Kawaihae. The *morai*:

...is a conspicuous object, and a good leading mark to this anchorage; it is situated on a barren eminence to the southward of the village, and is to be kept in a line with a small faddle hill, on the eastern land descending from the higher parts, over the village of Toeaigh, on the north side of this spacious open bay... [Volume III:62]

February 28, 1794

The only circumstances that seem to render this a desirable stopping place, are the run of water, which however does not constantly flow; and the probability of procuring refreshments, from its contiguity to the fertile, and populous western part of the district of Koarra [Kohala], and the plains of Whymea [Waimea], lying behind the land that constitutes this part of the sea coast.

The country rises rather quickly from the sea side, and, so far as it could be seen on our approach, had no very promising aspect; it forms a kind of glacis, or inclined plane in front of the mountains, immediately behind [Volume III:63] which the plains of Whymea are stated to commence, which are reputed to be very rich and productive...

This day being devoted to their holy rites, the king, with all the provincial chiefs, remained on sacred retirement. The same cause operated to deprive us of the society of our other visitors, particularly the females, who are on no account permitted to be afloat on these occasions.

March 1, 1794

The next morning the king, with all our friends, were again about the vessels. In the course of the day a further proof of the liberality of Tamaahmaah's disposition was given, by his presenting us with near an hundred hogs of the largest size, and as great a quantity of vegetables as both vessels could well dispose of... [Volume III:64]

Vancouver departed from Kawaihae on the following day.

### ***Narratives of a Visit in 1819 by de Freycinet and Arago***

Louis Claude de Saulces de Freycinet (1778) conducted a voyage around the world on the French ships L'Uranie and L'Physicienne. While on the voyage de Freycinet visited Hawai'i in 1819 and recorded his observations. Arriving at Kailua in August 1819, de Freycinet met Governor John Adams Kuakini, and learned that Liholiho (Riorio), Kamehameha II was at Kohala:

This young chief told me that King Riorio had, upon the death of his father, left the town of Kayakakoua [Kealakekua], where were located the principal warehouse, his ships, and dockyards. He had gone and established his residence at the village of Kohaihai [Kawaihae], on the bay of the same name, and there held his court.

Peace, it is true, had not been disturbed by the death of Tamehameha, but several of the principal chiefs of the island had raised claims to which there was still not perfect agreement; there existed a certain vagueness and indecision in the political situation toward which efforts at settlement were being made.

Amongst the persons attached to the court of Riorio were the wives of the late king, the princes and princesses of the royal blood, the principal chiefs of the Sandwich Islands (excepting those of the islands of Atouai and Wahou [Kauai and Oahu]), and the Europeans residing on Owhyhi [Hawaii]. (de Freycinet 1978:5)

On August 12<sup>th</sup>, de Freycinet landed at Kawaihae and was greeted by Liholiho, his relatives, and attendants. The royal compound was situated near the shore, below the *heiau* of Pu'u Koholä and Mailekini, and not far from the trail that continues from Kawaihae through Puakö and on to Kapalaoa. While at Kawaihae, de Freycinet learned about the political difficulties on the island since the death of Kamehameha I, and describes the significant events in Hawaiian history of the time that took place at Kawaihae—such as the division of land between the chiefs, and efforts to bring peace between the king and Kekuaokalani who threatened rebellion as a result of the overthrow of the old religious system (de Freycinet 1978:14-29).

Describing the village at Kawaihae, de Freycinet reported:

Kohaihai. Less spread-out and more irregular than Kayakakoua, Kohaihai is surrounded by even sadder, even drier grounds, if that is possible. Here in fact, not an atom of greenery appeared before our eyes. One could have said that it had been ravaged by fire. On an elevation near the southern section of the village, a *morai* surrounded by a rock wall had the appearance of a European fort. Mr. Young's house, built in European style, could be seen farther off on the shore to the north. (de Freycinet 1978:41)

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

Not a tree nor a bush, not a single stripe of verdure, not a beast nor a bird, and scarcely an insect give life to this desolate scene...the whole coast is indented with crooked and deep ravines, and broken into little cones and petty eminences, once the craters of volcanoes long extinguished. Immense deposits of lava, which the waves break over with violence; massy rocks, suspended like arches, from the precipices between which dart the rays of a

burning sun; half-formed paths, which makes us shudder as we tread them, and which at intervals are lost on the rocky shore, or in the distance, which we dare not attempt to reach; such are the terrific objects, which in this [page 87] inhospitable country shock our view, and depress our imagination. The misery of the people is to be deplored, who are frequently obliged rapidly to traverse these frightful deserts, without finding a small spring, or a single rivulet, in which they may have the gratification of quenching their thirst; or a single bush under which they may repose from their fatigues... [Arago 1823:88]

Arago noted that Kawaihae was the residence of Riouriou at the time of his visit:

Riouriou, Temmeamah's son, has established his residence and his court, since his father's death, near this abode of mourning and sorrow. The reason I have heard assigned for this selection, appear to me insufficient to account for it. One of them would do the prince great honour, the other is too contrary to his interests...we learnt that the motive which induced Riouriou to fix his residence near this frightful spot, was, that this part of the island being so wretchedly poor, he did not feel himself bound to supply his officers with much food, who, moreover, procured the greater part of their subsistence from the bay, which contains great quantities of fish.

But a difficulty on such a supposition suggests itself. The power of Riouriou is not yet so firmly established, as to allow him to risk displeasing his chief officers. One of the conspirators is already at the head of a powerful army; he is encamped a few leagues only from Toyai [Kawaihae]; he is perhaps on the point of some bold enterprise... [Arago 1823:88]

Of the village of Kawaihae and the *heiau* (*mora*) of Pu'u Koholä with its images in place; Mailekini (converted into a fort); and the scene at Kikiako'i, on the inland side of the *ala loa*, Arago reported:

About two hundred huts compose the town of Toyai; they are low, small, and badly covered. Many of them are not more than six or eight feet in length. The people who inhabit them will however bear no comparison with those who we saw at Karakakooa [Kealakekua]... On a hill opposite to that on which the house of Mr. Young is built, there is a very large *mora* enclosed by a stone wall about four feet high. The statues seen here are colossal, and regularly placed; I have counted above forty of them. The earth is covered with pebbles, evidently thrown there by design, although I have not learned the motive. A native who accompanied me related that on the board which was placed in the middle of the enclosure, were exposed the dead bodies of those who had been strangled, or stoned to death; that the place was tabooed for all the inhabitants, except the high [page 101] priest, who repaired thither daily to consult the entrails of the victims. M. Rives afterwards confirmed what I had been told on these subjects, and which I had merely guessed.

Immediately below this monument is a fort [Mailekini], pretty regularly built, and mounting twenty-two guns. It commands the town and the bay; and although surmounted itself by the *mora*, there is no danger of an enemy's attempting to

possess himself of this height, so great is the reverence of the people for the religion of their fathers. Here the name of Temple is given to a small spot enclosed by a hedge of cocoa-nut tree branches; in the middle are two huts; one of these serves as a residence for the priest, in the other are deposited the offerings with which the idols are presented; these are consecrated, and suspended on the branches of a banana-tree planted in the enclosure, or from the top of a high pole. The quantity is sometimes considerable; for I have seen the remains of four or five hogs, and enormous piles of bananas, offered by the piety of the inhabitants, and accepted by the voracity of their gods; who probably may in their turn be generous, and thus repay the blind confidence of their worshippers...

In traversing the pathways which intersect Toyai, in every direction, numerous groups are seen occupied in various sports, by which they endeavor to shorten the lingering hours... [Arago 1823:102]

### ***The Journal of William Ellis***

In 1823 English missionary, William Ellis, toured the island of Hawai'i with members of the American mission party, seeking out population centers at which to establish missions. The Journal of William Ellis (1963) provides readers with often detailed accounts of the villages he visited. In this case, Ellis and party describe Kawaihae, Puakö, and Kapalaoa. His descriptions of the coastal environs and areas of habitation provide readers with a general sense of the cultural and natural landscape between Kawaihae and Kiholo. Members of the Ellis party traveled a portion of the *ala loa*, walking from Puakö to Kawaihae, and apparently found no reason to walk further south towards Kalähuipua'a or 'Anaeho'omalua. The route traveled is shown on a map prepared with Ellis' Journal (*Figure 4*).

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

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

The vessel stood in towards the north side of the bay, and a large *heiau*, (heathen temple), situated on the brow of a hill, to the southward, and heading directly for a deep gully, or water-course, called Honokoa, opposite the mouth of which, about 7 p.m. she came to anchor, in 10 fathoms, with good bottom.

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

The next day, Ellis walked about a "mile" to the south and arrived at the house of John

Young, "an aged Englishman, who had resided thirty-six years on the island, and rendered



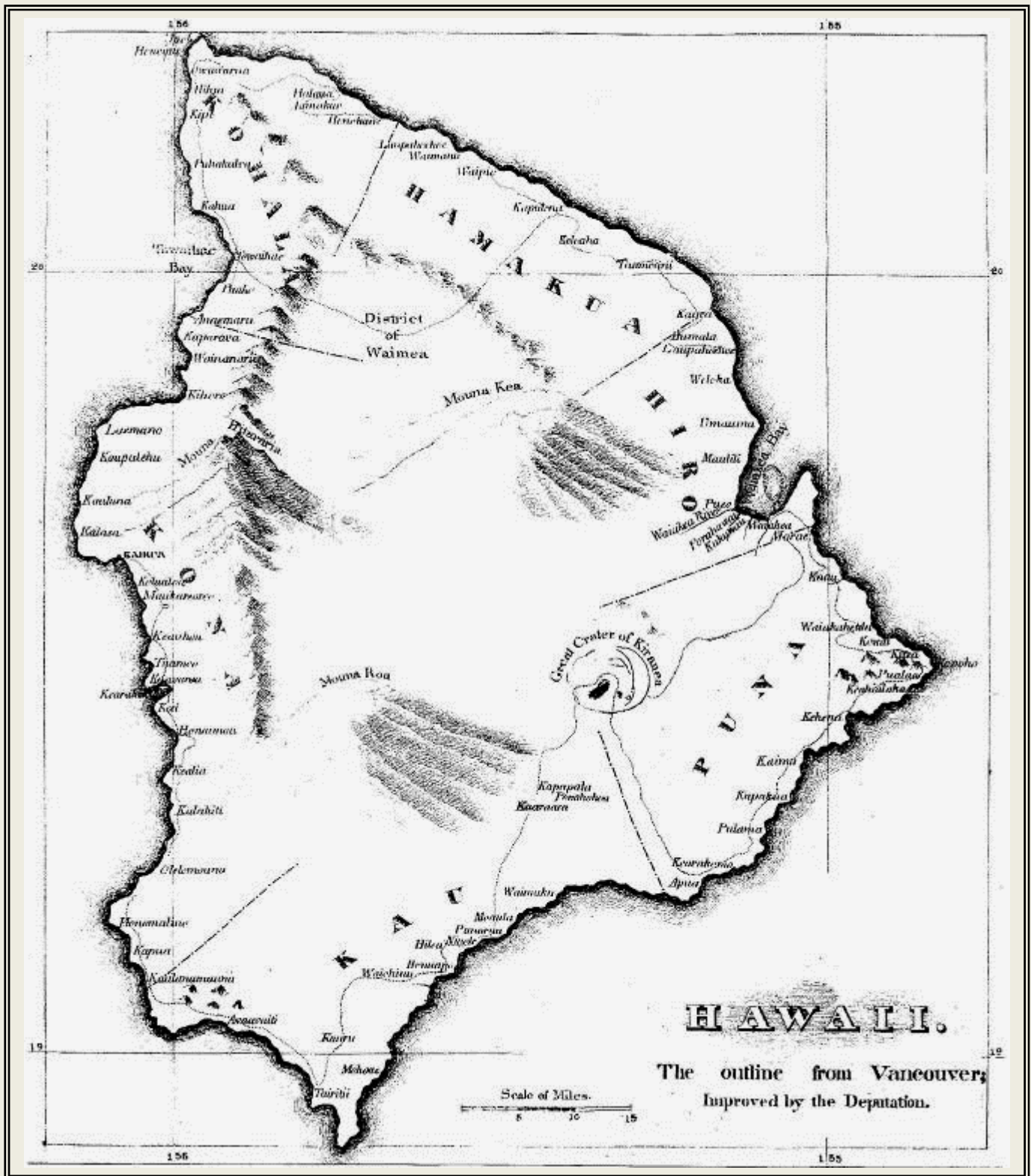


Figure 4. Island of Hawaii Showing the Ala Loa From Kawaihae to Puakö  
 (Ellis' Narrative - American Edition 1825; in Fitzpatrick 1986:87)

the most important services to the late king." (Ellis 1963:55) Ellis then described his visit to, and what he learned of Pu'u Koholä (Bukohola) Heiau. The introductory narrative is cited below, for a full recounting of Ellis' description, see the "Journal of William Ellis" (1963):

...I visited the large *heiau* or temple called Bukohola. It stands on an eminence in the southern part of the district, and was built by Tamehameha about thirty years ago, when he was engaged in conquering Hawaii, and the rest of the Sandwich Islands.

He had subdued Maui, Ranai, and Morokai, and was preparing, from the latter, to invade Oahu, but in consequence of a rebellion in the south and east parts of Hawaii, was obliged to return thither. When he had overcome those who had rebelled, he finished the *heiau*, dedicated it to Tairi, his god of war, and then proceeded to the conquest of Oahu... (Ellis 1963:55)

Ellis records that following his visit to Pu'u Koholä, he gave a sermon at Young's house to approximately 60 individuals, and he then departed by ship for Kailua (Ellis 1963:57).

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the following narratives, Ellis describes salt making practices at Kawaihae. The process he describes, as well as the harvesting of pa'akai (salt) from kähēka (natural ponding areas) occurred at various locations along the shore line of this region.

### ***Salt Ponds at Kawaihae***

The natives of this district manufacture large quantities of salt, by evaporating the sea water. We saw a number of their pans, in the disposition of which they display great ingenuity. They have generally one large pond near the sea, into which the water flows by a channel cut through the rocks, or is carried thither by the natives in large calabashes. After remaining there some time, it is conducted into a number of smaller pans about six or eight inches in depth which are made with great care, and frequently lined with large evergreen leaves in order to prevent absorption. Along the narrow banks or partitions between the different pans, we saw a number of large evergreen leaves placed. They were tied up at each end, so as to resemble a shallow dish [perhaps plaited coconut fronds], and filled with sea water, in which the crystals of salt were abundant... (Ellis 1963:287)

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

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

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

About nine a.m. I stopped at Kaparaoa, a small village on the beach, containing twenty-two house, where I found the people preparing their food for the ensuing day, on which they said the governor [Kuakini] had sent word for them to do no work, neither cook any food. When the people were collected, I addressed them, and after answering a number of inquiries respecting the manner in which they should keep the Sabbath-day, again embarked on board my canoe, and sailed to Wainanarii, where I landed, repaired to the house of Waipo, the chief, who, as soon as the object of my visit was known, directed the people to assemble at his house.

At Kaparaoa I saw a number of curiously carved wooden idols, which formerly belonged to an adjacent temple. I asked the natives if they would part with any? They said, Yes; and I should have purchased on, but had no means of conveying it away, for it was an unwieldy log of heavy wood, twelve or fourteen

feet long, curiously carved, in rude and frightful imitation of the human figure. (Ellis 1963:294)

After remaining there till two p.m. I left them making preparations to keep the Sabbath-day, according to the orders they had received from the governor.

### ***Kamehameha's Fish-Pond at Kiholo***

About four in the afternoon I landed at Kihoro, a straggling village, inhabited principally by fishermen. A number of people collected, to who I addressed a short discourse... (Ellis 1963:294)

...This village exhibits another monument of the genius of Tamehameha. A small bay, perhaps half a mile across, runs inland a considerable distance. From one side of this bay, Tamehameha built a strong stone wall, six feet high in some places, and twenty feet wide, by which he had an excellent fish-pond, not less than two miles in circumference. There were several arches in the wall, which were guarded by strong stakes driven into the ground so far apart as to admit the water of the sea; yet sufficiently close to prevent the fish from escaping. It was well stocked with fish, and water-fowl were seen swimming on its surface... (Ellis 1963:296).

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

On July 16 1832, Lorenzo Lyons (*Makua Laiana*), one of the most famed and beloved missionaries of all those who came to Hawai'i, replaced Reverend Dwight Baldwin as minister at Waimea, Hawai'i. Lyons' "Church Field" was centered in Waimea, at what is now the historic church 'Imiola and included both Kohala and Hämäkua (Doyle 1953:40 & 57). One of Lyons' churches was Hōkū Loa (Evening star) at the village of Puakō, the present structure was completed March 21, 1859 (Doyle 1953:167). Lyons kept a journal describing his journeys and activities throughout the "field," and in 1835 he briefly mentioned his journey from Kawaihae to Puakō.

Wednesday: Rose at four o'clock and walked to Puako, five or six miles distant. When it was light I gathered a few shells. I walked along the shore — alone. On one hand was the ocean; on the other a dreary, desolate waste —rocks, lava, coral. I thot of home as I often do. I wonder what my friends would think if they knew just where I am... I reached Puako at an early hour. As I was alone carrying my own calabash, the natives mistook me for some wandering foreigner, and when I spoke to them in their own language how startled they were! But some knew me. They expressed a great deal of pity for me because I had to carry my own baggage... I excited a great deal of curiosity, I then had breakfast — that is I sat on a stone and ate a biscuit. No water could be found but salt water. As soon as the people could be collected together I talked to them; examined their school, after which I took a look at their salt works, took dinner, drank some coconut water, and started for home, my horse having come after me.

Puako is a village on the shore, very like Kawaihae, but larger. It has a small harbor in which native vessels anchor. Coconut groves give it a verdant aspect. No food grows in the place. The people make salt and catch fish. These they

exchange for vegetables grown elsewhere. (Doyle 1953:84-85).

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

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

Around this time period, Lyons estimated the total population of at Kawaihae and Puakö to be 734 persons (Doyle 1953:122). The presence of a trail from Kohala through Kona is mentioned in passing when Lyons reported:

Aug. 8, 1843. Took the road from Kapalaoa to Kailua on foot. Passed the great fish pond at Kiholo, one of the artificial wonders of Hawaii; an immense work! A prodigious wall run through a portion of the ocean, a channel for the water etc. Half of Hawaii worked on it in the days of Kamehameha. (Doyle 1953:137)

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

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

Monday Jany. 3. Spent the Sab. at Kawaihae. Preached twice to a few who assembled. Puna<sup>9</sup> was kind to us. Gave us the sole use of his house... (Forbes 1984:91)

Lyons journals as reported by his granddaughter, Emma Doyle (1953), offer no further references to Kohala lands beyond Puakö. As noted earlier in this section of the study, the absence of references made by Lyons to lands south of Puakö, is probably the result of

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<sup>9</sup> In the Mähele, Puna was recipient of LCA No.s 4522-4523; Puna was a Konohiki overseer of Kawaihae and companion of Ka'oana'eha, wife of the late John Young.

there being few, if any residents in the remainder of South Kohala during the time. One of the significant events that had an impact on travel and residency in the coastal region of South Kohala and North Kona, was the February 1859 eruption of Mauna Loa. The eruption began at approximately the 10,500 foot elevation, and in eight days it reached the ocean at Pu'u Anahulu, destroying the community of Wainānāli'i and the great fishpond at Kīholo. In his annual Mission report for the year 1859, Lyons records that the affects of the flow also impacted residency in Puakō:

...the heat of the volcanic stream that entered the sea near this place killed or frightened away all their fish. . . There remain the fruit of a few coconut trees, & the *lauhala* from the leaf of which the women busy themselves in making mats. The men can sometimes find a job of work that will bring them in something, i.e. if they can manage to obtain food, all of which comes from a distance. (Lyons IN Barrère 1971:111)

### ***Kailua to Kawaihae (1840)***

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

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

### ***Ports of the Sandwich Islands (1857)***

In 1857, the Pacific Commercial Advertiser published a series of articles describing the primary ports of the Hawaiian Islands. While the article does not describe travel by land, it does provide readers with insight into the extent of business activities at Kawaihae. The description puts into perspective the great interest in road development between Waimea and Kawaihae as referenced in government communications cited in this study. Additionally, the cursory description the neighboring lands leads readers to assume that the outlying areas were little inhabited by that time.

Kawaihae, (pronounced generally Tow-a-high) is a small village on the bay of the same name on the western shore of Hawaii, with scarcely an object to attract a resident. Excepting a few cocoanut trees which line the water's edge, there is hardly any foliage to be seen in the village or on the hills back of it. It derives its importance from being the port of the rich and extensive grazing uplands of Waimea—one of the finest agricultural districts of the islands, which has not yet developed its full resources. Just back of the town there exist the ruins of one of those large heiaus or idol temples. It is the most perfect one now existing on the islands. It was this temple which the young Kamehameha

II, on the death of his father, went up to consecrate, accompanied by his priests; and it was here in the midst of his revelry that he brought the *tabu* system to an end.

...The bay is well sheltered from the trades, but open to the southerly winds, and affords a good anchorage. Vessels bound for Kawaihae from the windward, should keep Kohala point distant about four miles, keep along the land in a southerly direction for about twenty miles till they come in sight of Macy and Low's store, then stand directly in the bay till you open a large gulch on the north east... Forty or fifty whale ships have annually visited this port for the last few years, to procure salted beef and Irish potatoes, which are considered the finest produced on the islands. During 1856, about 1500 barrels of beef and over 5000 barrels of Irish potatoes have been furnished as supplies to vessels touching here. Besides the above the exports of the place have consisted of fresh beef, pork, fowls, beans, some 22,000 lbs. wool, 1200 bullock hides, 5000 goat skins, 35,000 lbs. of tallow, &c., &c. (Pacific Commercial Advertiser January 29, 1857)

### ***Travel Along the Coastal Roads and Trails in 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 travel from Waimea to Puakö—he traveled to Kawaihae and back to Waimea via the Kawaihae-Waimea Road, and then descended to Puakö via a trail through Lälänilo. Describing the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* along the coast Bowser wrote:

I made my start from the house of Mr. Frank Spencer, leaving the Kohala district... Fifteen miles of a miserably rough and stony road brought me to Puako, a small village on the sea-coast, not far from the boundary between the Kohala and Kona districts. There was nothing to be seen on the way after I had got well away from Waimea except clinkers; no vegetation, except where the cactus has secured a scanty foothold. At Puako there is some grief for the eye, in the shape of a grove of cocoa-palms, which are growing quite close to the water's edge. These had been planted right amongst the lava, and where they got their sustenance from I could not imagine. They are not of any great height, running from twenty to sixty feet. There are about a dozen native huts in the place. These buildings are from twenty to forty feet long and about fifteen feet high to the ridge of the roof. They only contain a single room each, and are covered with several layers of matting.

From Puako we had a view of Mauna Hualalai, which is distant about twenty-five miles. The country all round is nothing but lava, although, near the sea, a scarcity of vegetation has established itself. On the shore, which is composed of lava-rock, there is an abundance of mussels and periwinkles, but not of a very large size. All the way from Waimea I had not seen a drop of water, but at Puako I found in fine spring of the excellent water. Is some ten or fifteen feet from the edge of the sea, and is called by the natives Makahima. The land, which gradually slopes up from the shore at Puako to Mauna-Hualalai, is almost devoid of vegetation, and in the whole district there is not a tree to be

seen.

From Puako to Kalahuipuaa is about four miles. The traveler cannot mistake the road in this district, as the paths are always plainly marked. The road to Kalahuipuaa is along the sea beach, and is in good order. A few shrubs are growing along the route, but on my left I had nothing but a sea of lava. At this place [Kalahuipuaa] there are several waterholes into small groves of cocoanut trees. There is a splendid view from here of the south side of the Island of Maui, which is something short of thirty miles away, in a crow line. On the road to this place we passed over the scene of the lava flow of 1859, one of the grandest that has ever been seen in Hawaii. Here the lava is turned and twisted in all directions. This stream of lava reached to the sea from its source on the north flank of Maunaloa (about thirty miles distant in a straight line) in the incredibly short space of three [sic] days. One of the pieces of mischief it did was to destroy a splendid fish pond and its contents. There is still a pool of water left to market place where this fish pond used to be.

From Kalahuipuaa to Kiholo, my next halting place, the road leaves the sea beach and turns inland in a southerly direction. [as seen from the distance] On the way 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.

Kiholo is situated on a small inlet of the sea, and in its neighborhood the lava has, at some time, run right down to the sea... In the foreground the sea of dark grey lava, far off, some patches of grass which are anything but green, but which, nevertheless, supply food for numbers of goats, and in the background the fine mountain Hualalai. Around the village are a few cocoanut groves, but they are small, and the trees are of stunted growth. Accommodation can be had by any one who visits the place at the house of a native named Kauai, who will also find plenty of grass and water for your horse. There is a splendid bathing place, and plenty of fish are to be had, and fishing for those who desire it.

From Kiholo the road southwards is rough and laborious. Perpetual travelling over lava is very hard upon our horses, and it is impossible to travel faster than the slowest walk... (Bowser 1880:546-548)



### ***The Roads of Kohala and Kona (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)

### ***III. A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF RESIDENCY AND TRAVEL IN THE MAKAI LANDS OF KAWAIHAE HIKINA TO 'ANAHO'OMALU***

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This section of the study provides readers with detailed records of governmental communications pertaining to South Kohala (Specifically the lands of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, 'Ōuli, Waikōloa, Lälāmilo, Puakō, Waimā, Kalāhuipua'a, and 'Anaeho'omalū, and the coastal trails (the *ala loa* and *ala nui aupuni*) of South Kohala. The primary repositories of the original documentation cited below included the Hawai'i State Archives, Survey Division, Land Management Division, and Bureau of Conveyances. Unless otherwise noted, communications cited below were viewed in the collection of the State Archives.

Because this document is meant to provide land and resource managers and other interested parties with detailed documentation of the history of travel on the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* of South Kohala, most of the pertinent documentation is cited verbatim. The information is generally presented in chronological order, and communications translated by the author (Maly) are noted. (Italics emphasis is this author's – noting particular sections of text.)

The following communications are organized by categories such as—Land Tenure and the *Māhele 'Āina*; Trails and Roads; Schools and Churches; Boundary Commission; and Government Survey—and include letters to and from the Hawaiian Government, district officials, and area residents that document the development of coastal schools and churches, roadways, public-works and public-facilities, and changes in the community during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (from ca. 1846 to 1900).

#### ***The Māhele 'Āina (Land Division) of 1848***

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* (Division of Land). 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 leasehold 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 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'elehiwa 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 (ibid.). 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'elehiwa 1992:295). The Register and Testimony books of Māhele provide documentation on the following Land Commission Awards (LCA) for the lands of the present study area over which the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* passes. The awards below include *ali'i* and *konohiki* awards (usually entire *ahupua'a* or *'ili*) and a few small *kuleana* awarded to native tenants:

***September 1, 1848***

Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) approved the equal division of lands of John Young (Olohana), between his heirs. In this division, John Young (Keoni Ana) received the *ahupua'a* of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, and George Hü'e'u Davis received the land of Waikōloa. (Privy Council, Vol. 3-A:97-99)

***Ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina (East Kawaihae or Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>)***

***LCA 8515 to Keoni Ana:***

An inheritance land, the *ahupuaa* of Kawaihae Hikina, Kohala (Book 10:333; and Native Register 3:708).

***LCA 4103 to Kahunaaliiole:***

Naniu sworn and stated: I have seen this house-lot at Kahaleuku, Kawaihae, Hawaii. It has been enclosed with four houses in it, three of which are for Kaahunaliiole and one for the government. To the uplands is government *kula* (flat lands); on the Puako side is Koa and Puhaukole stream; on the shore is the sea; and on the Kohala side is Makahuna and Lyon's house... (Native Testimony Vol. 4:2)

***LCA 4522-4523 to Kaoanaeha [chiefess and wife of the late John Young] & Iopa Puna [Figure 5]:***

Keliikaheawa sworn and stated: I know the house lot of Puna folks [*mā*] at Kawaihae, Hawaii. Its name is Pahukanilua. The boundaries are thus: on the inland side is the *kula* [flat land] of the Government; on the Puako side is the stream Makahuna; on the sea side is the ocean; on the Kohala side is Pokiahua. This place had been for Kaoanaeha and Olohana [John Young]. Olohana had received it from Kamehameha I... There are five houses and plants there which belong to Kaoanaeha and Puna at this time... (Native Testimony Vol. 4:6-7)

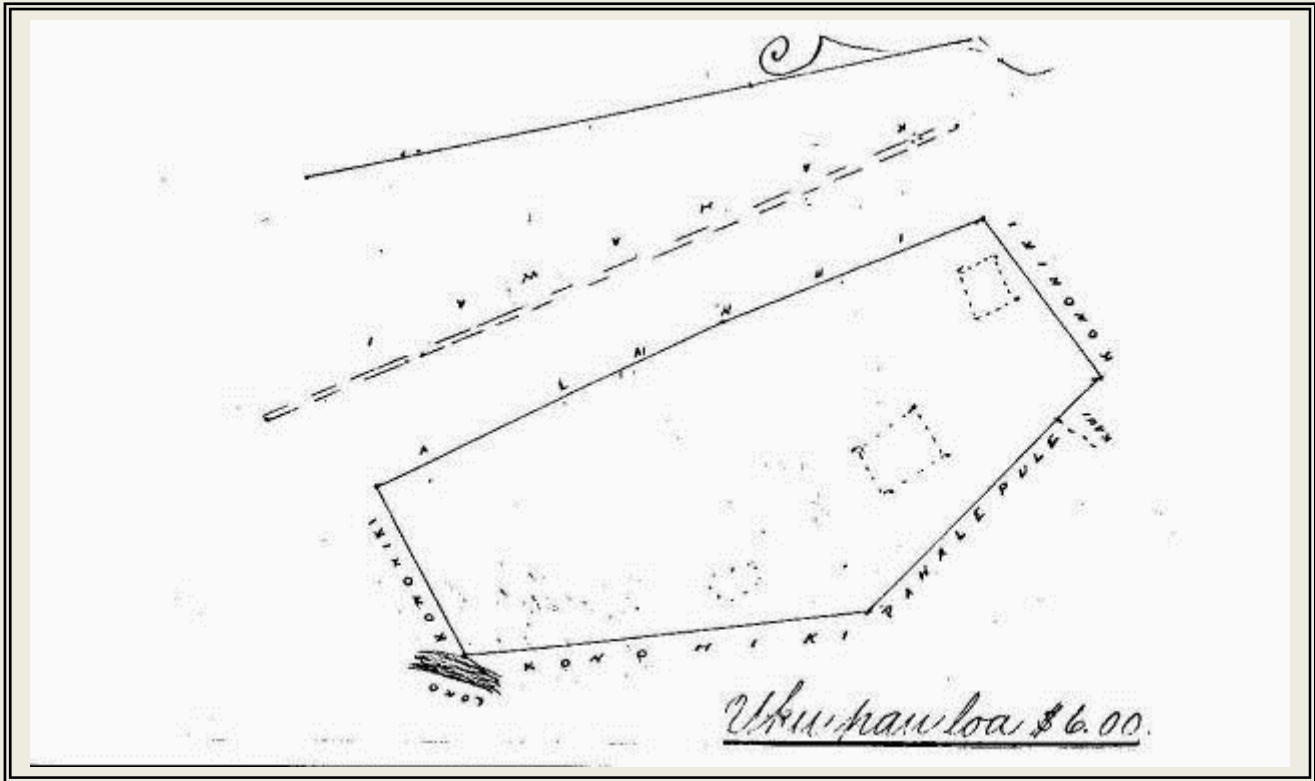


Figure 5. Diagram of LCA 4522-4523, Awarded to Kaoanaeha and Puna at Kawaihae Hikina (Mahele Book 4:626)

***'Ili Kupono of 'Öuli (Kalana of Waimea)***

***LCA 8518-B to James Young Kanehoa:***

An inheritance land, the land of Ouli, *ahupuaa* of Waimea. (Book 10:531, Royal Patent 2237; Native Register 3:708)

While no claims or awards for land in the coastal section of 'Öuli appear to have been recorded, several claims were registered in the *mauka* section of 'Öuli and in neighboring land divisions or *'ili* which were a part of the Waimea Ahupua'a. Excerpts from three claims recorded for 'Öuli are cited below, as they provide readers with a description of residency and land use practices as handed down to that time. These testimonies are important as they document that land use in 'Öuli and the other neighboring *'ili* of Waimea was flexible. Tenants apparently were granted residency and cultivation rights in several of the lands of this region. While the texts document upland uses, they are silent regarding coastal residency and fisheries. It can be assumed that a number of people cared for and made use of resources on the shore and out on the ocean fisheries.

***LCA 4199 to Kaikai***

Puna [the companion of the chiefess Kaoanaeha] sworn: I have knowledge of this land of Kaikai at Puuiki in Waimea, Hawaii. It is in one section, with two houses within it. It is entirely enclosed with a wall, and *mea kanu* (vegetables or cultivated plants) within. To the uplands is a place of the *ahupuaa*; towards Wailoa, is a stream, by the name of Puuiki; towards the coast is the *ahupuaa*; and towards Kohala is the stream of Mananea. We gave it to him in 1841, and

do not object to him [his residency] to this day. (Native Testimony Vol. 4:6)

***LCA 4152 to Kaohimaunu (Bk.5:42); house lot in Ouli and cultivating land in Lanikepu***

Kaikai sworn: I know, that there in the *ili* (land section) of Ouli, he has a house lot; and in the *ili aina* of Lanikepu are two taro gardens (*kihapai kalo*)... The first section is the house lot, it is not enclosed with a wall, but preparations are being made. There are two houses there for Kaohimaunu. To the uplands and outside [Kona] is Kaoanaeaha, towards the shore is Pae's land, and towards Kohala is Kaoanaeaha's land. He received his house lot from me in 1839. No one has objected to him. The second section [in Lanikepu], is a taro garden (*mala kalo*); to the uplands is Kaanaana's land, and on all other sides is land of the Konohiki. Section three, planted: to the uplands is the land of Nuhi; on the outside [Kona] is the Konohiki, C. Kanaina; towards the shore is Koalani; and towards Kohala is the land of Kanehailua... (Native Testimony Vol. 4:16)

***LCA 3833 to Pae***

Kaikai sworn: I know the house lot of Pae in the *ili* (land section) of Ouli. It is one section with no house for him. The lot is half way enclosed with a wall and the house within belongs to Kaoanaeaha. Above him is Kaohimaunu's land; the Konohiki surrounds him on the remaining sides. I gave him the land in 1846... (Native Testimony Vol. 4:10)

***Ahupuaa (or Ili) of Waikoloa (Kalana of Waimea)***

***LCA 8521-B to George Davis Hueu:***

An inheritance land, the *ahupuaa* of Waikoloa, *Kalana* of Waimea. (Book 10:394-395; Royal Patent 5671).

Nine smaller *kuleana* were awarded in the uplands of Waikōloa, most in the vicinity of the present-day Waimea Town (Indices of Awards 1929; cf. Register Map No. 2756 – Waikoloa Water Rights Map). Like those awarded in the uplands of 'Ōuli, it is likely that the upland residents probably made seasonal trips to procure marine resources from the shore of South Kohala—the coastal lands were associated with larger district of Waimea.

***'Ili of Lālāmilo and Puakō (Kalana of Waimea)***

***LCA 8559-B to William Charles Lunalilo:***

*Ili* of Puako and Lalamilo, *Kalana* of Waimea (*Puke Mahele* 1848:17-18; and Foreign Testimony Vol. 16:81)

***LCA 3736 to Petero Wahakane [Wahakane was also the first school teacher at Puako]:***

January 6, 1848 (*Ili* of Lalamilo in Puako)

I have three places to describe: at Puako is a house lot, at Waimea is a house lot, at Waipio are 17 taro pond fields (*lo*), District 6, Hawaii... (Native Register Vol. 8:52)

September 13, 1848

Kamahai sworn and stated: I have seen (his land), there in the land section of

Lalamilo at Puako, Hawaii. It is not enclosed, there are two houses within it, one for Wahakane and one for Kauī who dwells under Wahakane. The boundaries are; inland and Waho [i.e. Kona side] is Uilama Pেকেles [William Beckleys] land, is so on all sides. It was vacant land before Wahakane received it in 1843... (Native Testimony Vol. 4:19)

**LCA 3758 to 'Akahi (w.) [Figure 6]:**

January 12, 1848 (Puako, Waimea)

I have a house lot at Puako, in Waimea, at the shore. It is 16 fathoms long and 16 fathoms wide. It has been surrounded with a stone wall from ancient times. (Native Register Vol. 8:52)

Kamahai sworn and stated: I have seen Akahi's place, it is at Puako in Waimea, Hawaii, in one section. It has been enclosed and there are four house, two of which are for Akahi, and one for Kahenehene<sup>10</sup> (w.) and the other for Napuupuu. On the upland and Waho [i.e. towards Kona] sides is the land of Uilama, the Konohiki; towards the sea is Hueu's land; and towards Kawaihae is Uilama Pেকেle's land. Akahi has a very old claim and no one has objected... (Native Testimony Vol. 4:20)

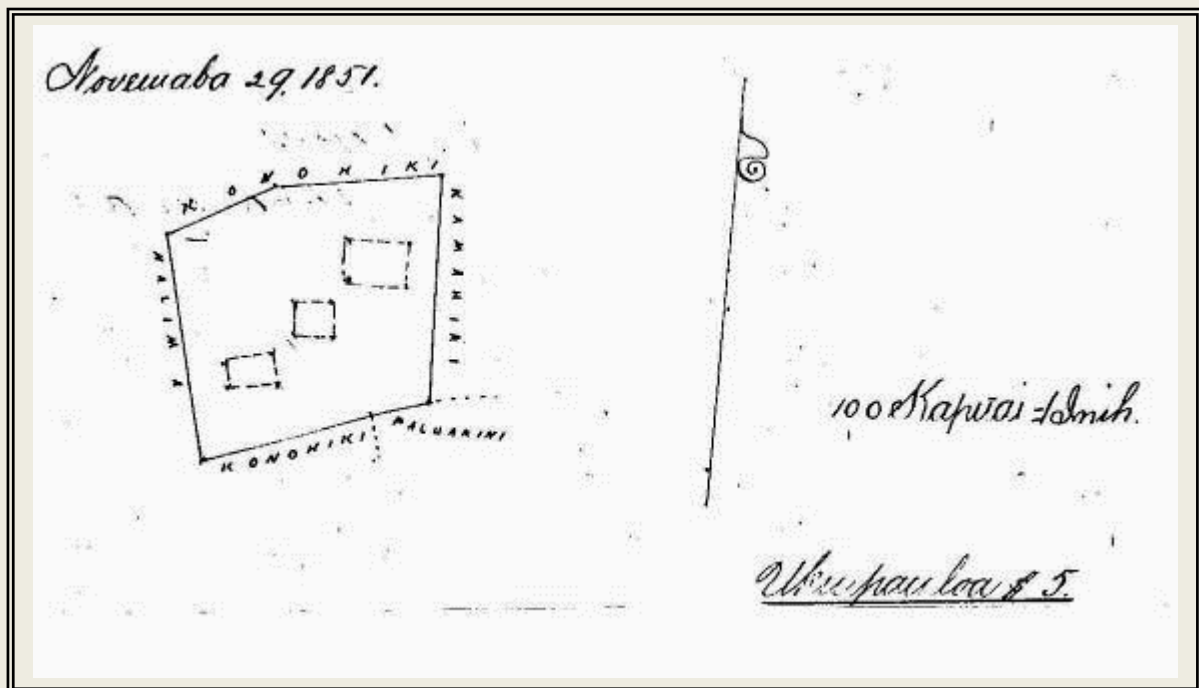


Figure 6. Diagram of LCA 3758 Awarded to Akahi at Puako (Mahele Book Vol. 4:627)

<sup>10</sup> Kahenehene was the sole native tenant applicant who registered a claim for land at 'Anaeho'omalu (not awarded); see LCA No. 4100.

***LCA 4099 to Keawekuloa, Kaholoaa & Kahumoku<sup>11</sup>:***

January 6, 1848 (Puako)

Here is our claim for a lot at Puako, Waimea, Hawaii. It is 40 fathoms by 40 fathoms. Within this lot are 5 houses, 7 coconut trees, 2 hala trees and 5 salt making ponds. (Native Register Vol. 8:384)

Pookulou sworn and stated: I have seen there at the *ili* of Puako, *ahupuaa* of Waimea, the house lot. There are three people who have joined together in this house lot claim. To the uplands is William Beckley's land and on the Kona side is William Beckley; on the seaward side is Hueu's land, and it is the same on the Kohala side. It is enclosed with a wall which they built. There are 3 houses, one each for Keawekuloa, Kaholoaa, and Kahumoku. It is an old place from their parents and grandparents. There are 7 coconut trees, and 2 pandanus trees for Kaholoaa. No one has objected. There is one pond in the lot, the pond is theirs. The second parcel is salt making land (*Aina Paakai*). Above is the *Konohiki*, and it is so on all sides. It is for Kaholoaa, not Kahumoku. Keawekuloa also has two salt making lands. It is good to give this salt making land, it is an old place from the parents. There are also dryland cultivating grounds (*kula mahi*). They grow sweet potatoes at this place. I do not know the boundaries. 2 for Kaholoaa and 2 for Keawekuloa, none for Kahumoku. It is an old place as well.... Awihimakaokalani confirms the testimony.

Pookulou adds that it is old land from before the time of Kamehameha I. (Native Testimony Vol. 4:147-148)

***LCA 4102 to Kamahiai [Figure 7]:***

January 8, 1848 (Puako)

I hereby describe to you my house lot at Puako... The circumference is 80 fathoms, it is for you to affirm. I am your obedient servant. (Native Register Vol. 8:65)

September 13, 1848

Akahi sworn and stated: I have seen there in the land section of Lalamilo, adjoining Puako, a house lot with three houses in it. It is enclosed with a wall. One house is for Kamahiai, one for Naoho, and one for Kahaanapilo. On the upland side is William B.; on the outer Kohala side is William B., on the shoreward side is Akahi's lot, and on the Kohala side is William B. He got it from Hueu in 1842. No one has objected...

Kalala testifies the same as Akahi (Native Testimony Vol. 4:21)

***Ili of Kalahuipuaa (Kalana of Waimea)***

***LCA 4452 to Hakaleleponi Kalama (wife of Kamehameha III):***

Awarded in the Mahele of 1848 (Probate 2410).

***Ili of Anaehoomalu (Kalana of Waimea)***

***LCA 4452 to Hakaleleponi Kalama (wife of Kamehameha III):***

Awarded in the Mahele of 1848 (cf. Probate 2410).

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<sup>11</sup> In Boundary Commission testimony, Kahumoku states that he was born in 1819, and that his elders had lived at Puako (Vol. B:297); Keawekuloa, also served as overseer for the land of Waikoloa (Vol. A-1 No.2:7).

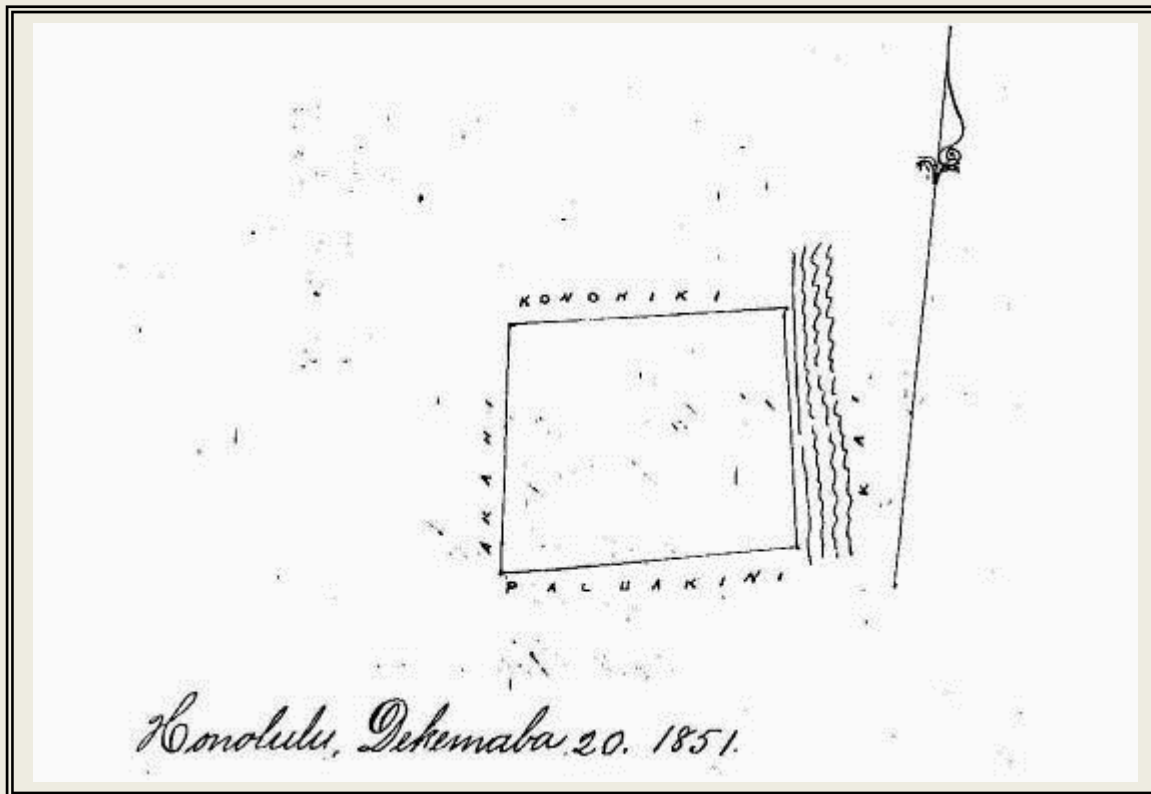


Figure 7. LCA 4102 Awarded to Kamahiai at Puako (Mahele Book Vol. 4:626)

**LCA 4100 Kahenehene (w.):**

Ili of Anaehoomalu:

December 12, 1848

I hereby describe to you the source of my land claim, it is a dependency (land unit) from Mokuohai [battle of ca. 1782], for my father Keliikuheapuu, Keliikuheapuu was one who went with Kamehameha to the battle of Mokuohai where Kiwalao was killed, thus Keliikuheapuu acquired Anaehoomalu, it is an independent land division of Waimea. When he died the chiefs took the land, it was taken at the time that Kamehameha I died; I hereby tell you the character of my elders, that is my father. Here is what I have for you Commissioners, this is my property there, my father also planted 4 kou trees at Anaehoomalu, and they are still growing. I am with appreciation. (NR 8:66)

September 13, 1848

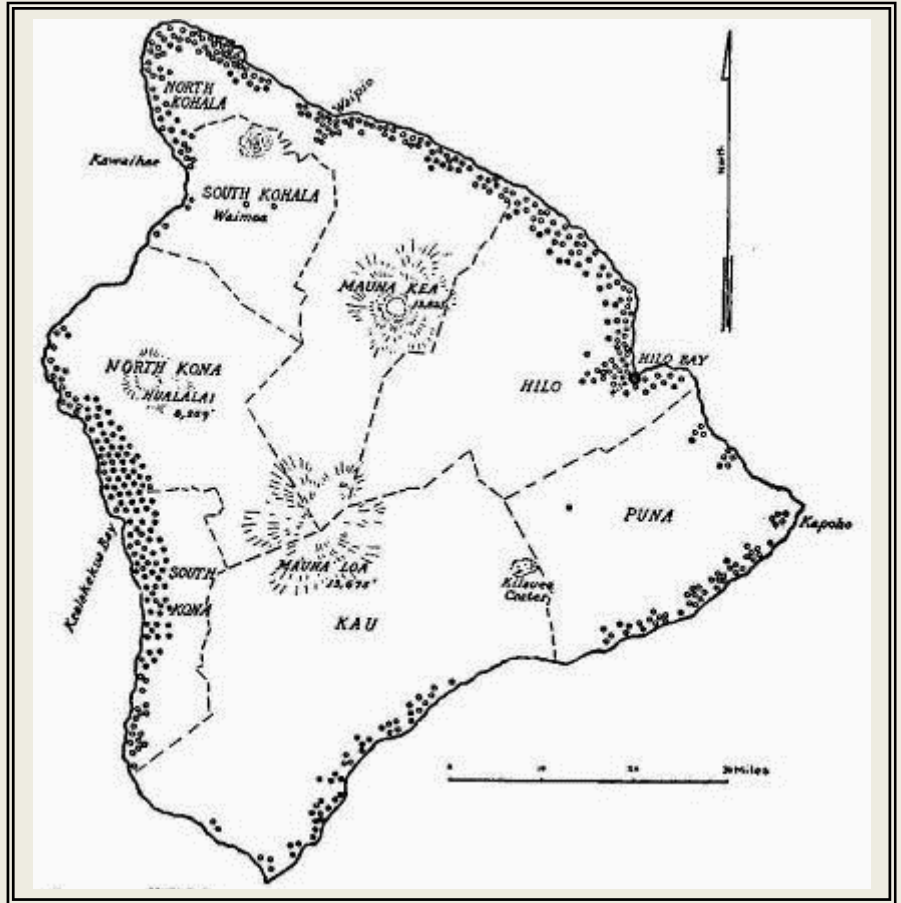
Akahi sworn and stated: I have seen Kahenehene's lot, it is in the ili land at Anaehoomalu in Waimea, Hawaii, in one section. It has been enclosed with four houses in it, two of which are for her relatives who are living there now. The other two houses are for Keliileonui who is only a tenant.

There are four *kou* trees, five coconut tree, three salt making ponds. To the uplands and Kona, is the land of William Beckley, the Konohiki; on the shoreward and Kohala sides is Kanaina. Her elders, father, received this land during the time of Mokuohai, she now has it. No one had objected at that time, but in the year 1847 Keliileonui objected... (Native Testimony Vol. 4:21-22)  
This claim was relinquished prior to confirmation.



### *Residency and Land Use (1853)*

J.W. Coulter (1931) reviewed various records that detailed population statistics and land utilization records in the Hawaiian Islands up to 1853. He chose 1853, as that was the first year that a census report, by district, for each of the islands was undertaken (Coulter 1931:3-4). On the island of Hawai'i, Coulter reports that the native population numbered 24,450 (cf. Armstrong, April 8, 1854). Sources cited by Coulter which referenced the district of Kohala, focused primarily in the northern part of the district—where rainfall was ample to support a larger population—but he noted that:



**Figure 8. Population Distribution, Island of Hawai'i (Coulter 1931:28)**

Kawaihae, a village situated in a semi-arid, unattractive area, owed its existence to being a point of embarkation for other islands and a point of debarkations for this part of the island of Hawaii. (Coulter 1931:30)

Coulter did report that excess taro grown in Waipi'o was taken to Kawaihae (Coulter 1931:30). As a part of his statistical study, Coulter also prepared a map of the island of Hawai'i, which showed the distribution of population in 1853 (*Figure 8*). Each O indicated on the map equals a population of 50 people (O=500 people in Hilo). It will be noted that in Kawaihae (the coastal zone), he indicates a population of at least 200 individuals (this is consistent with historical observations). The next population center appears to be Lälämilopuakö with 100 residents, and the last population center of South Kohala appears to be the Kalähuihua'a-'Anaeho'omalū vicinity with 100 residents. Coulter makes no indication of residents at Kapalaoa, Wainānālī'i, Kiholo, and lands further south until Kalaoa, in North Kona. Government and mission records cited in this study, show these estimates and population areas to be inaccurate, in that by this time, only a few individuals were living at Kalähuihua'a-'Anaeho'omalū, and upwards of 100 people were living in the small communities in the northern-most section of North Kona.

***Impacts upon Native Residency:***

***Report of the Royal Commissioners on Development of Resources (1877)***

In 1876, King David Kalākaua appointed a commission "to aid in the development of resources in the Kingdom" (Act of September 25, 1876). In 1877, the Commissioners toured the Island of Hawai'i, assessing needs, development potentials, and meeting with residents to discuss the general nature of the resources.

While detailed narratives are given for most of the island of Hawai'i, the lower *kula* (flat lands) and coastal region of South Kohala where ignored. The description of the Waimea plateau and forests provide readers with a probable explanation for the oversight—the impacts of grazing animals had overrun residences and agricultural fields, and made the land almost impossible to live on. The Commissioners landed at Māhukona, and visited North Kohala, praising it's resources and potential. Departing from Pu'uuhue, the commission then traveled to Waimea and offered the following report:

The route lies around the slopes of the Kohala mountains through Kawaihae-uka. The forests on the Kohala mountains are dying rapidly. The land is mostly for grazing purposes, though on the mountain potatoes of fine quality can be raised in large quantities. In sheltered places, coffee would doubtless grow, but owing to the sparseness of the population and the superior attractions to other parts of the district, this part will hardly soon be settled. The once fertile and populous plain of Waimea looked sterile and desolate when visited by the Commission—a painful contrast to Kohala loko on the other side of the mountain.

The complaint of the people is well founded. The water they use is fouled in many places by cattle, horses and other animals, and as the stream is sluggish it has no chance to free itself of impurities, and the water used by the people in their houses must be a cause of disease and death, especially to the children... It is little wonder that with his crops trodden out by the sheep or cattle of his stronger neighbors, his family sickened perhaps to death by the polluted waters, that the small holder should yield to despair, and abandoning his homestead seek employment in some other district, usually without making another home...

The plains of Pukapu and Waimea are subject to high winds, aggravated by the loss of the sheltering forests of former days. The soil however is very good in many places for sugar cane and other products. To develop its best resources, efforts must be made to restore the forests and husband the supply of water at their sources to furnish a supply for agricultural purposes...

It would seem that a wise appreciation of the best interests of this district, even of the grazing interests themselves, would lead to the decrease of the immense herds which threaten not only Waimea but even Hamakua with almost irreparable disaster. It is to be feared that they will in time render a large part of the land of little value even for grazing purposes. owing to the increasing frequency and severity of droughts and consequent failure of springs... ..the Government, if it would wish to preserve that part of the island of Hawaii from serious injury, must take some steps for reclaiming the forests.

In this connection we would say that it is unfortunate that large tracts of Crown and Government lands have been lately leased on long terms for grazing purposes, without conditions as to their protection from permanent injury, at rates much lower than their value even as preserves for Government purposes or public protection... [Pacific Commercial Advertiser – May 5, 1877]

### ***Trails and Roads of South Kohala and Vicinity***

As a result of conducting this study, it was found that most of the early government communications pertaining to roads in South Kohala focus on travel from Kawaihae Harbor to Waimea. By the 1880s communications begin documenting efforts of planning for, and working on the Kohala Mountain Road, from Waimea to North Kohala (also known as Brunner's Road). Government communications and historical accounts describe the Kawaihae-Waimea road as the main thoroughfare, even for those who would then travel along the coast to the Puakö vicinity and beyond. Thus, the records of trails and roadways in coastal lands of South Kohala are limited (though it was found that communications from North Kona also include discussions about work on the Kohala-Kanikū section of the trail/road system). As documented in Sections II.a. and II.b. above, the diminishing population—roads communications provide further documentation on residency patterns—in the region was the primary reason that little interest was given to the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*.

***August 13, 1847***

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

Regarding taxation and public work days. Of particular interest are the paragraphs below which describe the development of the Government Road encircling the island of Hawai'i from Kona to Ka'ū, Puna, and Hilo. It will be noted that by the 1840s there was already discussion in the government about the importance of the road system as a means of travel to be used by visitors.

Aloha oe e ka mea Hanohano –

I have a few questions which I wish to ask you. Will the police officers be required to pay, when they do not attend the Tuesday (*Poalua*) labor days? How about parents who have several children? What about school teachers and school agents? Are they not required to work like all other people when there is Government work on the roads and highways?

I believe that school agents, school teachers and parents who have several children, should only go and work on the weeks of the public, and not on the *konohiki* days....

...The roads from Kailua and down the pali of Kealakekua, and from Kailua to Honokohau, Kaloko, Ooma, at the places that were told our King, and from thence to Kaeleheluhulu, 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... (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... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

**March 11, 1859**

**Isaac Y. Davis; to Minister of the Interior, Keoni Ana**

Writing in reference to the progress of the 1859 lava flow which also cut off the Alanui Aupuni between Kawaihae and Kona.

...There is nothing new, but, your red eyed woman is flowing once again, damaging the land of the King. It is here in the uplands of Puuwaawaa, and is perhaps going again to destroy the places that remain, such as Wainanalii.

Won't you command your woman, Pele, not to go once again and destroy the land of my King, or you two shall be cut off from me... (Interior Department letters; Lands)

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

Roads are the most accurate tests of the degree of civilization in every country. Their construction is one of the first indications of the emergence of a people from a savage state, and their improvement keeps pace with the advance of a nation in wealth and science. They are the veins and arteries through which flow the agricultural productions and commercial supplies, which are essential to the prosperity of the state. Agriculture is in a great measure dependent upon good roads for its success and rewards.

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)

**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... (Subject File – Roads, Hawaii)

In 1863, fourteen businessmen (part Hawaiian and foreigners), wrote a letter to Minister of the Interior, Prince Lot Kamehameha, asking for the removal of Francis Spencer, as Road Supervisor of South Kohala:

The undersigned your humble Petitioners, residents and tax payers of the district of South Kohala Hawaii Beg leave to call your Excellency's urgent attention to the present bad and almost impassable condition of the Kawaihae Road making the passage of teams almost impracticable and highly expensive to their owners and generally detrimental to the interest of the community at large. Your petitioners therefore pray that the present supervisor may not be reappointed but that some person competent for the office be appointed in his stead to the end that labour and taxes may be expended to the mutual interest of the District and travelling community. The removal is asked on the following grounds:

1<sup>st</sup> To a general neglect of duty and utter indifference to the Interest of the community. 2<sup>nd</sup> For a total neglect of Personally superintending the expenditure of the Labour upon the roads the whole management being left to incompetent Deputies. 3<sup>rd</sup> For not supplying the men with tools to work and allowing them to come without tools. Some of the having only Pieces of Calabashes and Pieces of shingles to work with. 4<sup>th</sup> For illegally Freeing persons from their proper amount of task work... (Subject File, Roads Hawaii)

**1864**

***Francis Spencer, Road Supervisor, South Kohala; to  
Prince Lot Kamehameha, Minister of the Interior***

I wish to state the facts regarding certain complaints made against me for neglecting my duty and letting off people too easy with their labor tax or task

work as Road Supervisor for this District.

The lower part Kaala of the Kawaihae Road has always been a difficult part to make good inasmuch as all the Supervisors heretofore, made a great mistake in throwing out the stone, thereby forming a Ditch for the heavy rains, instead of raising the road... The New Road Act compelled me to have all labor done before the last of November, which took me rather by surprise, intending not to call the labor until after March, as in that month we have the Kona Storms... (Subject File, Roads Hawaii)

**March 30, 1866**

**Geo. Hardey, Road Supervisor for Kohala, Hamakua, and Kona; to**

**F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of Interior:**

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

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

Kailihonua, Kahele, Welewele, Keliihanapule, Kailikini, Puukala, Maluo, Kahaolehokano, Kimo, Poliahu, Moehau, Kiaihili, Paapu, and Papa... (ibid.)

**September 13, 1871**

**Jas. Smith, Road Supervisor, North Kona; to**

**Chas. Gulick, Chief Clerk, Interior Department:**

Reports that work has been under way on the "aa of Kaniku." (Subject File – Roads, Hawaii)

**September 20, 1871**

**Samuel F. Chillingworth, Road Supervisor, South Kohala; to**

**F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior:**

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

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

**Dec. 18, 1871**

**R.A. Lyman, Lieut. Governor of Hawai'i; to**

**F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior:**

...The last time I was in Waimea, parties who came to Court from Kona, told me that the whole of the road between Kiholo and Kawaihae was being well made. I have written to several parties making inquiries in reference to the road and will send you the result of my inquiries, as soon as I hear from them... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

**December 28, 1871**

**Samuel F. Chillingworth, Road Supervisor; to**

**F.W. Hutchison, Minister of Interior:**

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

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

accordance with the number of days they work for us... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

**December 29, 1871**

**R.A. Lyman, Governor of Hawaii; to**

**F.W. Hutchison, Minister of the Interior:**

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

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

**December 29, 1871**

**S. Aiwohi (Lead Native Minister of the South Kohala Churches); to**

**F.W. Hutchison, Minister of the Interior:**

I have received your communication bearing date of December 17 last, requiring certain questions to be answered in respect to the roads between Kawaihae & Kona Akau. Almost all the questions you have asked are true having obtained information from the very people that worked on the road, and in my opinion a waste of government funds.

As you desired some particulars I will give what have been the prevalent report.

1. On the day of proceeding to work, no work is done on that day. The time allowed for work is from 2, to 2½ hours in the morning. On every steamer day they leave and are made to work for the Luna in Kawaihae. The amount of labor to be performed is one fathom a day, equal to \$5.00 dollars for six fathoms in the week. Where places are made and are incomplete they are made to go over it a second time, adding an additional expense to the government, being \$1.50 for one fathom. I have heard from the very people that work on the roads that during the working days, a portion of the men are detached for fishing, and whatever fish that is caught, it is distributed equally among them, nevertheless those that did not work received their pay equally with those that worked.

I cannot inform you of the condition of the roads, as I have not seen them to give you a description. It is obvious that the Superintendent of the roads in this District have been injudiciously expended by the Luna's without regard of the public good.

As I speak to you in confidence I hope my name will not be mentioned... (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... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

*January 1875*

*Petition to William L. Moehonua, Minister of the Interior:*

Signed by 54 Residents of South Kohala, the petitioners ask that Samuel F. Chillingworth be removed from position as Road Supervisor:

We the people whose names are below humbly ask you to release from duty and terminate Samuel F. Chillingworth from the position of Road Supervisor for the District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii, for the reasons described below:

- First 1. Samuel F. Chillingworth mentioned above has departed from his residence in this district and is at Kahuwa in the district of North Kohala, and is dwelling there at this time.
- Second 2. In the past year he took the Road Funds and for the people who owed him money at his store, if they were strong, even if they were not strong, they worked off their debt, but the people without debt would not agree to this.
- Third 3. One or two days of work was all that was done in six days; and with the decreasing of work pursuant to the law in the year 1874, with only four days for roadwork, the people were happy because they only worked four hours in one day.
- Fourth 4. From the time that Samuel F. Chillingworth got this position until today, he has not once come to look at the work of his Deputies and people that worked on the road.

- Fifth 5. The roads are left in disrepair from Waimea to Puuloa at Kawaihae uka with no work done on it. It was found to be so on the journey of the young Chief William P. Leleiohoku. And it is so with the remainder of the road of Kaniku which adjoins to North Kona. These two places are left in disrepair.
- Sixth 6. At the place close to the store of S.F. Chillingworth, the people have been hired and not a place can be seen in disrepair on the road there.

For these reasons shown above we ask you to select and appoint Samuel H. Mahuka as Road Supervisor for the District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii, translated by K. Maly)

**September 13, 1880**

**J.A. Hassinger, Chief Clerk Interior Department; to  
J.W. Smith, Road Supervisor, North Kona:**

...For your present work of necessity, you can draw as notified by the late Minister of Interior. In regard to the Kiholo Road his Excellency desires that you will not act until the same shall be inspected by the Agent who will visit and inspect all the roads of your district in a few weeks... (Interior Department Book 18:84)

**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)

**March 14, 1883**

**G. Spencer, Chairman, Road Board, South Kohala; to  
L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:**

...In answer to your of the 12 inst. regarding the rate of wages we pay the road laborers – for this district – we could not obtain good working men for less than we pay - \$1.50 per day. My predecessor paid \$2. per day for very indifferent laborers, in fact many were School Boys. The Luna Kanehaku, Road Supervisor, rec'd. \$60.00 per month and did not work at all. You will see at glance the difficulty we had to contend with.

Unfortunately this district is not supplied with Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, or Hawaiian labor like the District you allude to, and the Kawaihae Road has not a dwelling between the port and Eight Miles, and the climate is very hot etc. etc... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

**March 21<sup>st</sup>, 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:

J.K. Kaunamanu, Hamakua District  
James Kaai, North Kohala District  
S.P. Wahinenui, South Kohala District  
Judge J.K. Hoapili, North Kona District  
Hon. D.H. Nahinu, South Kona District  
Hon. J. Kauhane, Kau District  
W.L. Haau, Puna District

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

**July 14<sup>th</sup>, 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 Hilo – D. Kamai; Native  
East Hilo – John Moore; half caste  
Hamakua – W. Lumahaihei; half caste  
North Kohala – Kailimai; Native  
South Kohala – Kanehaku; Native  
North Kona – Hon. J.K. Nahale; Native  
South Kona – Hon. D.H. Nahinu; Native  
Kau – John Kapahu; Native  
Puna – no appointment

Recommendations:

Puna – perhaps Kauwila... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

**March 8, 1888**

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

Provides Thurston with an over view of work on the road of North Kona, and described the Government road (*Ala nui Aupuni* or *Ala loa*) to Kiholo and the South Kohala boundary:

...3. The government road or *ala loa* from upland Kainaliu (that is the boundary between this district of South Kona), 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...:  
The upland Road from Kainaliu to the boundary adjoining S. Kohala – \$1,500.00. (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:

That section of road from Kukuioohiwai [Kaupulehu] to Keahualono. Paiwa is the caretaker. (Subject File – Roads Hawaii; translated by K. Maly)

**December 22, 1890**

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

...I forward to you the list of names of the cantoniers who have been hired to work on the roads of this district, totalling 15 sections; showing the alignment of the road and the length of each of the 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 9*] of the roads of North Kona. (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... (Subject File – Roads Hawaii)

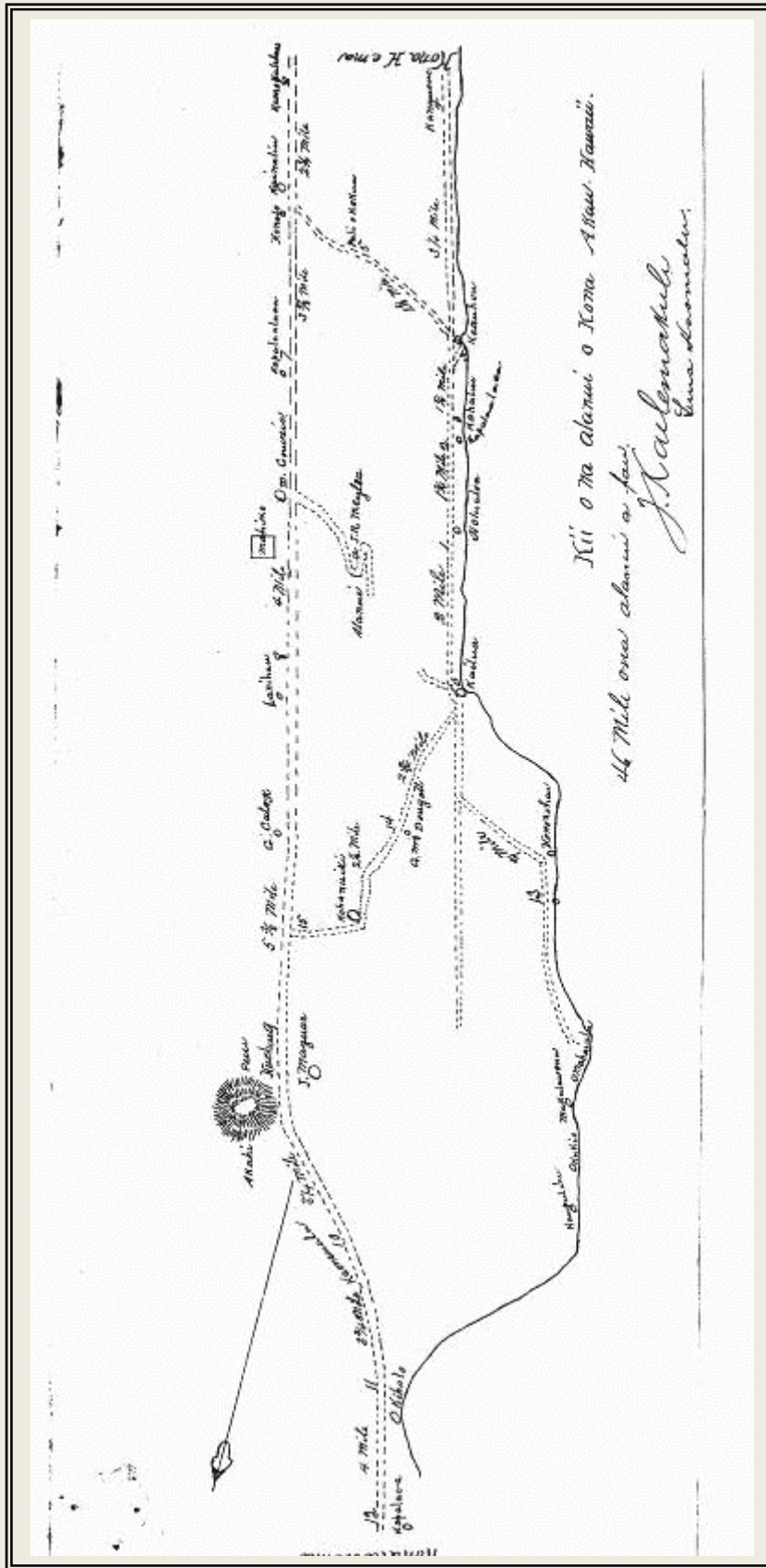


Figure 9. Alanui Aupuni, North Kona to South Kohala; J. Kaelemakule Sr. Road Supervisor (December 22, 1890 – State Archives)

**December 19, 1892**

**Wm. Hookuanui (Kawaihae resident); to G.N. Wilcox, Minister of the Interior:**

Applies to Wilcox for the position of Road Supervisor, South Kohala, and notes:

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

**March 2, 1893**

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

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

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

**March 23, 1893**

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

**J.A. King, Minister of the Interior:**

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

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

This road board was elected by a popular vote of the people of this district. Wm. Hookuanui was elected by the Board Chairman. Willie Davis has been about from the District on the account of ill health and he has since returned. In my capacity as District Judge, I wish to say that I have implicit confidence in the Road Board. Wm. Hookuanui personally supervised the working of the roads of this District with capability and at a small cost.

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

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

## ***Churches and Schools of South Kohala***

Throughout the Hawaiian Islands, important communities (generally near ports and *ali'i* residences) were selected as primary church and school centers. The selection of sites on the island of Hawai'i as described by William Ellis (1963), is discussed earlier in this study. On Hawai'i such locations as Hilo Town; Pū'ula and 'Ōpihikao, Puna; Wai'ōhinu, Ka'ū; Ka'awaloa and Kailua, Kona; Waimea and I'ole, Kohala; and Kukuihele, Hämākua; served as the bases for outreach work on the island. From these centers—all under the jurisdiction of foreign missionaries—outlying churches were being 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—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.

By ca. 1840, most of the native residents of the Hawaiian Islands could read and write, and interest in the schools began to diminish. On October 15, 1840, Kamehameha III enacted a law that required the maintenance and local support of the native schools in all populated areas (Kuykendall and Day 1970:80). By this time, one church and school each were established in Kawaihae and Puakö. By 1851, the lands on which the churches and schools were situated, were formally surveyed and conveyed to their respective administrative organizations.

The following documentation provides readers with an overview of activities undertaken, and statistics recorded in the churches and schools of South Kohala (with emphasis on activities in the coastal lands). Because of the close relationship between the families of the Kekaha (arid shoreline) region of South Kohala and North Kona, reference is made to the schools of Wainānāli'i, Kīholo, and Kapalaoa in the lands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a. Section II.a.: 33-36, also provides readers with important historical documentation in the form of eye witness accounts, regarding the history of schools, churches, and coastal villages—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—which were accessed by the *ala hele* system of coastal South Kohala-North Kona.

### ***1848 School Report (January-December)***

#### ***Public Instruction Files:***

By 1848, surveys of schools, including names of teachers, numbers of students and various limited comments regarding the quality of instruction began being forwarded to the Hawaiian Government. Unfortunately the records for South Kohala could not be located during this study.

Of interest though, on January 10, 1848, Petero Wahakane, the school teacher at Puakö responded to an inquiry about problems in the schools. Through this communication, we learn that a school at Puakö had been established, but because of a lack of payment of teacher's salaries, and a lack of funding for facilities, the program was in great difficulty. (P. Wahakane to Keoni Ana. Series 262 – Hawaii Island; Folder of 1848)

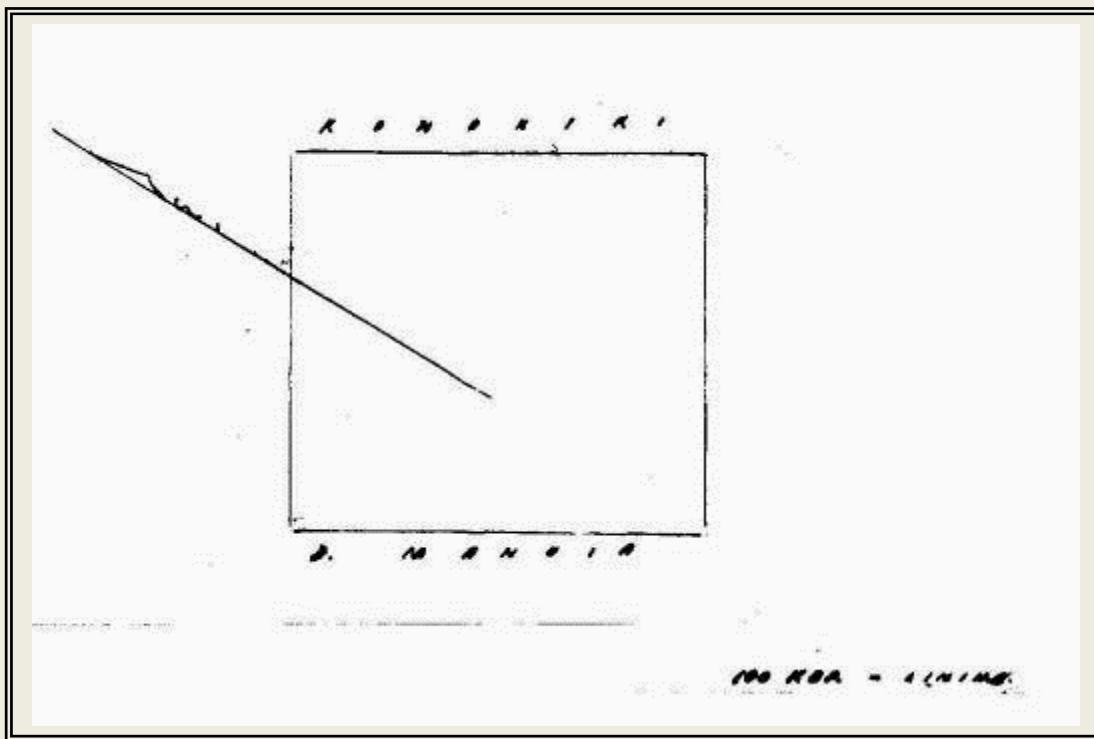
In the same period, the North Kona School District report the names of teachers and number of students at Kīholo and Wainānāli'i as being:

Teacher	Daily Salary	Number of Students	Location of School
—	—	—	Kawaihae kai
—	—	—	Puako
Kalua	1/16	18	Wainanalii
Punihaole	1/8	21	Kiholo

Studies included subjects such as — reading, arithmetic, geography, penmanship, philosophy, science, and religion. (Series 262 – Hawaii Island; Folder of 1848)

*November 23, 1853*

*Kohala Kawaihae, Kohala, Hawaii [Figure 10]:*



*Figure 10. Kahuahale Kula (School Lot at Kawaihae Kai)*

Beginning at the Eastern corner, above the stone wall of Manuia, proceeding North  $57\frac{1}{4}$  East, 200 feet, then North  $82\frac{1}{4}$  West 218 feet, then South  $57\frac{1}{4}$  West 200 feet, then to the wall of Manuia South  $52\frac{1}{4}$  East 218 feet, and reach the point of commencement.

One acre within.

C.J. Lyons, Surveyor  
(Board of Education Grant No. 13:3)



December 6, 1851

School Lot at Puako, Waimea, Hawaii [Figure 11]:

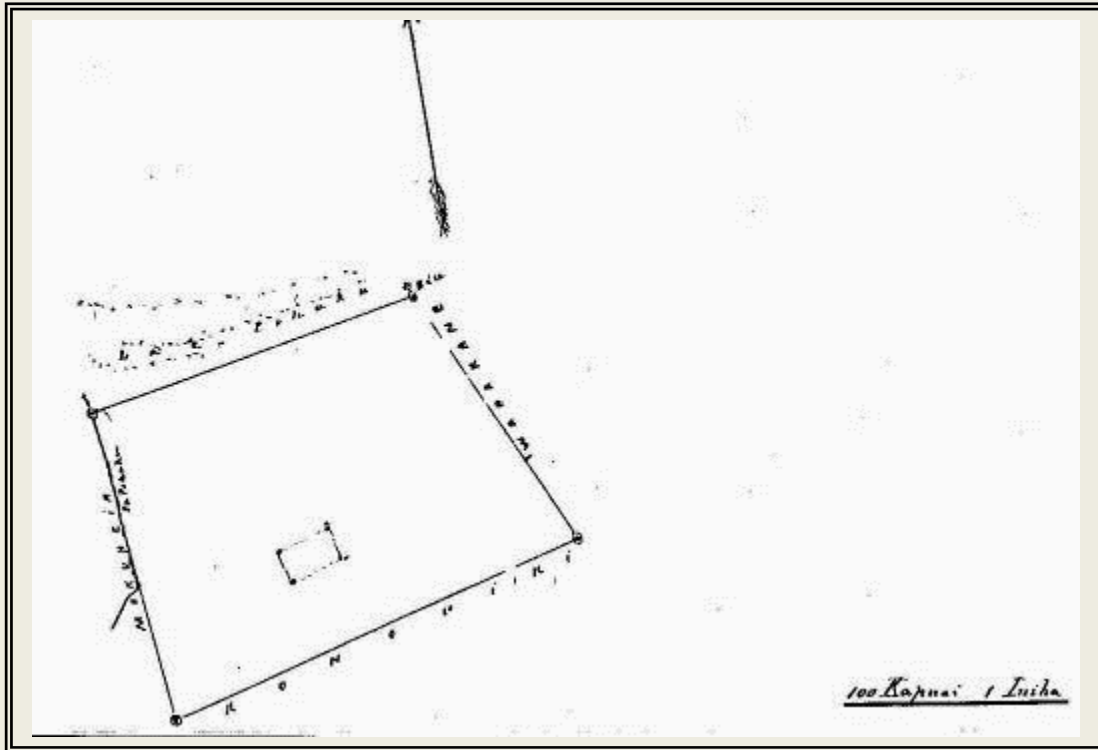


Figure 11. Kahuahale Kula (School Lot at Puako)

School lot at Puako, Waimea, Hawaii. Beginning at a coconut tree on the Northern corner next to the land of Wahakane, proceeding South  $24^{\circ}$  East 184 feet, then along the land of the *Konohiki*, South  $74 \frac{1}{2}$  West 228 feet; then along Mokuheia's land North  $5 \frac{3}{4}$  West 169 feet; then proceeding near the shore North  $78 \frac{1}{2}$  East 177 feet to the place of commencement.

Within this is 903 fathoms.

C.J. Lyons.

(Board of Education Grant No. 13:1)

September 17, 1853

Church Lot at Puako, Waimea, Hawaii [Figure 12]:

Beginning at the northern corner adjoining Kamahiai's lot and proceeding along Kamahiai's lot South  $80 \frac{1}{2}$  West 150 feet; then along Kauhini's lot South  $69 \frac{1}{2}$  West 24 feet; then along the *Konohiki*'s land South  $90^{\circ}$  West 150 feet; North  $80 \frac{1}{2}$  East 200 feet; and North  $19^{\circ}$  West 155 feet to the point of commencement.

800 Fathoms.

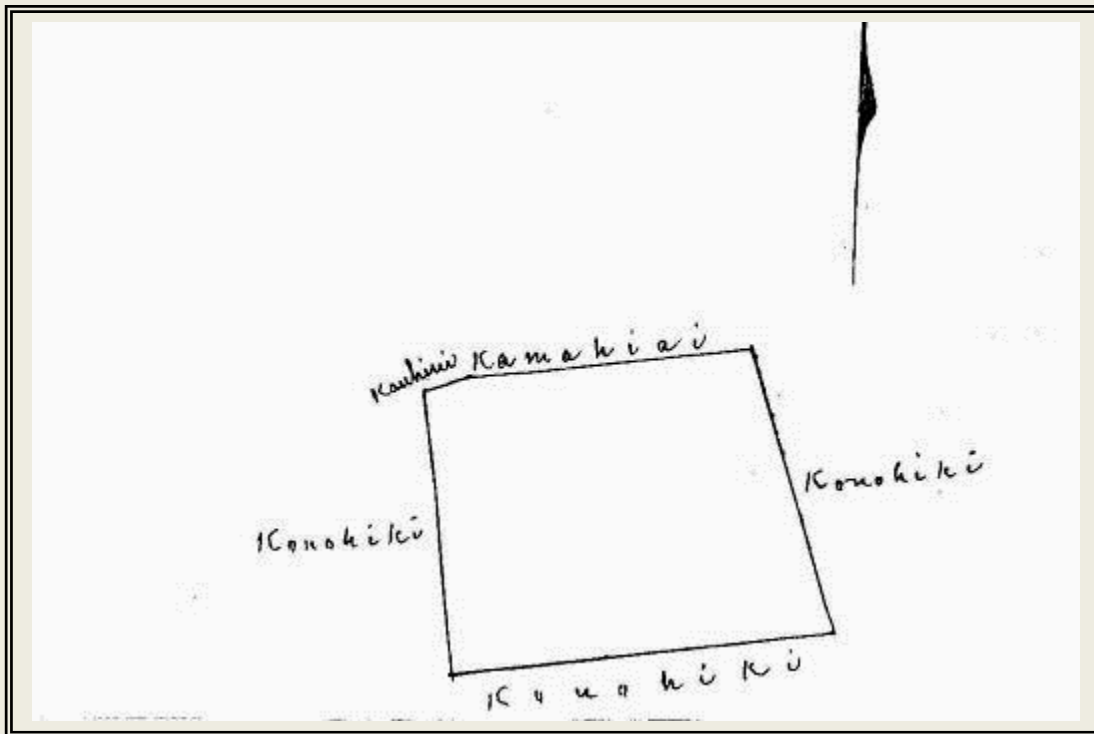


Figure 12. Kahuahale Pule (Church Lot at Puako)

September 8, 1855

G.S.D. Manuia, Kahu Kula (School Master): to  
Ka Elele Hawaii (the Hawaiian Newspaper)

...Here is what I have to explain to you about the schools of this District, District 6, Island of Hawaii, it is the smallest of the Districts of this island, Hawaii. There are only little schools, and far to travel; the roads are bad and there is much rock. It is overrun by animals, and they cause much damage to the roads. The schools are few and there are only few people scattered here and there, but the animals are many...

Teacher	Location	Number of Students
P. Papaua	Makela (Kawaihae uka)	23
D. Malo	Kaalaea (Kawaihae uka)	30
G.B. Kahoohuli	Kawaihae kai	33
D. Kilakau	Puako	18

It is right that roads be made so that one can travel directly, it would be a blessing for the people and the government should be urged to do this. Here are the worst areas: from Waimea to Makela at Kawaihae uka, from there to Kaalaea wai on that side of Kawaihae and Puuhonu, at Kaalaea down to Kawaihae kai and from Kawaihae kai to Puako, this is the worst part of the district, and then from Puako to ascend to Kaupo-hui... (Public Instruction Series 262; Box 1)

***Chas. Gulick, School Inspector; to Department of Public Instruction  
"1865 – Report on Hawaii; Inspector Gulick's Report"***

Hawaii – Kohala Hema [South Kohala]. Having arrived at Kawaihae per steamer Kilauea on July 19, 1865, I proceeded the following day to inspect the schools of the vicinity.

1. Puako: In a S.W. direction from Kawaihae, about 5 miles distance, pleasantly situated amidst cocoon groves, at the foot of the barren hills, along the shore. It is quite a village, with a painted and well kept meeting house and several newly built dwelling houses. The school house is of stone and mortar, substantially built and was once upon a time whitewashed. But time and neglect has laid their hands heavily upon it as evidenced in the dirty and broken walls, the want of floor and benches and its broken door and mud stained windows. Although the school site belonging to it was about an acre large, the house stood pinched up within a narrow enclosure of stone. I ordered the Agent to repair and whitewash the house, put floor and benches in it, enlarge the enclosure in conformity with the original lot, have it cleaned and planted, and to stir up the parents to assist in the work. This school carries 18 children on the register, but only 10 attended on the day I was there. The proficiency of the scholars was not very satisfactory. I am inclined to believe that "the School master is abroad" too much of his time, he living at Kawaihae too far from the school; but none other was to be had.

2<sup>nd</sup>. Kawaihae Kai: A large stone and mortar building, thatched roof, similar to the Puako school house and in much the same dilapidated condition. It has the advantage of benches and forms, but the broken windows, dirty walls and no floor, gave it all most as ancient an appearance as the Heiau of Mailekini, which from its neighboring hill, one might almost fancy, was looking down in derision at the premature decay of this seedling of another faith. The school house now stands on the lot originally given to the Protestant church of Kawaihae; but as the church has been built on another lot, and the original school lot lies empty and can if necessary be exchanged with the church proprietor, I concluded to retain the school where it is, ordering the Agent to have it fenced in according to the proper boundaries, cleaned up and planted. Eighteen scholars attended the examinations. Reading was good, but the other branches not much better than at Puako... (Series 262 – Folder Hawaii - 1865:1-2)

In his report on South Kohala, Gulick also mentions a school at Uhu (which he could not locate while traveling upland to the school at Waikōloa), and he describes the schools and circumstances at Makelā and Ka'alaea in Kawaihae Uka. Completing his circuit, Gulick notes that he did not visit the school at Kīholo.

***1873 School Report; Kohala Hema (South Kohala)  
Public Instruction Files (January 1 – July 1, 1873):***

The following report for South Kohala identifies school locations and gives us the names of teachers who were living in the region. Schools were identified at – Waikōloa (two schools);

Wai'aka; Kapalaoa<sup>12</sup> (actually in North Kona, near the Kohala-Kona boundary); Puakö; Kawaihae (kai); Ka'alaea and Pu'uhonu (Kawaihae uka). Samuel Mahuka was the South Kohala agent:

Teacher	Location of School	Daily Salary	Number of Students	Type of School House
J. Poai	Kapalaoa	\$0.50	12	Wooden
Josepa	Puako	\$0.50	20	Mortar
Matia Kamehaikana	Kawaihae Kai	\$0.50	21	Wooden
—	[Wainanalii destroyed in 1859]	—	—	—

(Series 262 – Hawaii Island)

**1873 – Report of H.R. Hitchcock, Inspector General of Schools:**

Notes that there has been a decrease in attendance of schools in South Kohala, over a two year period of 77 students; enrollment dropping from 175 students to 98 students. In 1873, five schools were in operation in south Kohala, a sixth at Pu'uhonu was closed that year. The remaining schools were at Pu'ukapu, Kekula, Ka'alaea, and Makelä in the uplands, and Kawaihae Kai and Puakö on the coast. (Series 262 – Hawaii Island; Oct. 10 – Nov. 20, 1873)

**1880 School Report; Kohala Hema (South Kohala)**

**Public Instruction Files (Oct. 1 – December 31, 1880):**

The following report for South Kohala identifies school locations and gives us the names of teachers who were living in the region. It will be seen that in this period that the schools at Pu'u Anahulu and Kiholo fell under the jurisdiction of the South Kohala agent:

Teacher	Daily Salary	Number of Students	Location of School	Condition of School
J.B. Kahoohuli	\$1.00	19	Kawaihae kai	Good
[not listed]			Puako	
A. Kekahukula	\$0.75	14	Puuanahulu	Good
J. Kaonohi	\$0.75	11	Kiholo	In the Church

(Series 262, Box 4 – Hawaii Island; Folder of 1880)

Schools at Kawaihae and Puakö were maintained through the early years of the twentieth century. A 1911 report of the Department of Public Instruction described the schools as:

Kawaihae S. Kohala: 1 N.W. [new wood] frame bldg., shingle roof; school house and teacher's cottage combined; 1 old bldg. formerly used as school house; 1 out-building.

<sup>12</sup> This communication appears to be the first reference to a school being established at Kapalaoa. In Section II.a.:33, under the heading "Ka Huaka'i Lawai'a i Kapalaoa" Reverend S.L. Desha Sr., discusses the establishment of this school.

Puako S. Kohala: 1 T & G [tongue and groove] frame bldg., shingle roof; 1 out-house. (Public Instruction Series 261 (1907-1911 Inventory)).

The Kawaihae School remained in use until it was destroyed by the 1946 tidal wave (tsunami). A new school was quickly built on the *mauka* side of the new Kawaihae Road, which remained in use until 1961 (oral history interview with Wm. and Lani Akau – in this study). The school at Puakö was closed in the 1920s. James, La'au, the last teacher at the school relocated to his residence at Waiku'i (Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>), and children from Puakö went to school at Kawaihae. The Kawaihae School went up to 9<sup>th</sup> grade, and any students wishing to go further, went either to Kohala or Honoka'a for the upper grades (interview with Wm. and Lani Akau).

### ***Proceedings of the Boundary Commission (1873-1901): Lands of Kawaihae Hikina (2nd) to 'Anaeho'omalu***

The emergence of fee-simple title for land in Hawai'i saw rapid growth of business interests as well. In 1857 J.F.B. Marshall addressed the Annual Meeting of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, and reported on the increasing development of business in the islands. Ventures included—cultivation of sugar and coffee; harvesting pulu for mattresses and pillows, and kukui for oil; ranching and export of hides, tallow and wool; and salt manufacture (Pacific Commercial Advertiser; November 5, 1857). Fee-simple title growing business interests also heightened the need to establish boundaries of lands so that private property "rights" could be protected.

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 Mähele. Subsequently, in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries was authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118). Rufus A. Lyman served as the Commissioner of Boundaries for the Third Judicial Circuit. The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the areas being discussed; in this case many of the witnesses had been born in one of the lands of the Kawaihae-'Anaeho'omalu study area, in between the 1790s to 1820s.

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 and features. The author has also observed that often, when two of the same vowels were used 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 "Waimaa" would be written "Waimä."

The narratives below are excerpts from the testimonies given by native residents of the area, or that were given by surveyors who recorded the boundaries based on the testimony of native guides. Not all of the documentation provided by each witness, is repeated here, though primary documentation regarding *ahupua'a* boundaries in the study area, 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. 1278 (*Figure 13* at the end of this study) was prepared by J.S. Emerson from surveys conducted between 1880-1882, and depicts a

number of the locations (natural and manmade) in the coastal regions between Kauna'oa Bay and Kiholo, described in the testimonies.

**Volume B**

***The Ahupuaa of Kawaihae 2nd, District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii 3d. J.C.***

**November 15, 1873.**

Kalualukela<sup>k</sup>. Sworn

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

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

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

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

The land of Puukapu does not cut Kawaihae off. It is about one and a half miles from Kahialepo to the boundary of Waipio, at a pool of water called Ulu, at the foot of the water fall, but the boundary runs along on the top of the pali above the falls, leaving the *pali* at the head of Waipio valley. The boundary runs toward Waimanu along the lands of Waipio and Waimanu on the *makai* side of Waihoolana. Kawaihae 2d is cut off on the Kohala side by Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup> so that it does not reach Waimanu, but is a little on the *makai* side of Waihoolana; thence the boundary between Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup> and Kawaihae 2 runs across the swamp to Napoeaumihulamakaikalani, a high hill a little toward Kawaihae of the swamp, from which you can see the corners of Kawaihae. I have seen them from there. The boundary between Waimea and Kawaihae runs on the Mana side of this hill, but a long distance from it. From this hill the boundary between Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup> and Kawaihae 2d runs across the hill and down the

ridge to Kapaliowaiu, thence along the top of said *pali* and down the *pali* into Keawewai gulch, at the foot of a waterfall. Thence down the gulch to Kohala road to Keanakanaha, the pool of water below the bridge there the boundary leaves the gulch [page 74] and runs to the *makai* side of Lincoln's house to the Waimea base of Olopio, a hill on Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup>. Thence the boundary runs to Umelaau, where a stone crossing is built across the gulch. Thence down the gulch to Makahuna and from thence down the center of Makahuna gulch to the sea... [page 75]

Kalualukela<sup>K</sup>. Recalled.

Makahuna Gulch is the boundary at sea shore between Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup> and Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, it lays between John Young's old house and John Parker's house, and is on the Kona side of the latter. Kauhuhu gulch is near the trig [?] works. [page 75]

Kalua<sup>K</sup>. Sworn (Same witness as on Ouli)

I know the place called Kalualepo, it is a hole with yellow soil, it is near the Waihoolana. Puukapu an *ili* of Waimea bound Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> [page 75]. Thence to Waihoolana, a gulch of standing water. This gulch runs to Waipio. I lived there one month. Thence along the gulch to Kaapeape a place where there used to be a settlement. I do not know that the boundary line is on Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, but I do know that the land comes to Kalualepo, which is the only *mauka* boundary of Kawaihae that I know of. This boundary given is the boundary of Puukapu. I know the boundary between Kawaihae and Waimea going towards shore. C.X.d.

Know the hill called Napoeaumehulumakaokalani, but I do not know what land it is on. It is a long way off towards Kohala. [page 76]

### **Volume B**

#### ***The Ahupuaa of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> or Kawaihae Hikina.***

**January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1876.**

Kaneahiku<sup>W</sup>. sworn says: (quite an elderly woman)

I was born at Pahoa, Kohala, Hawaii. I helped carry stones at the building of Kiholo [built ca. 1810]. I was married before the battle near Keauhou in Kona, at which Kekuakalani was killed [the battle of Kuamo'o, Dec. 1819]. I was born the year before Kanihonui died at Oahu [ca. 1807]. I know the land of Kawaihae. I lived here a great many years, my husband Mahi was buried in the pali of Honokoia.

I know the boundaries between Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup> and Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>. Olohana (John Young) put us on Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, and we lived at place called Ailipoa, below where the church now stands. Mahi was *konohiki*, and I heard him telling people the boundaries.

An old *heiau* called Kauhuhu is the boundary at the shore between the two Kawaihae. Thence the boundary between them runs up the gulch to Olopio. Part of this place lays on Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup> and part on Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>. The boundary runs up the *awawa* [valley of gulch] from the shore to the Kona side

of hill called Kanani. Thence up to Keawewai, the boundary at that place being in the water in the gulch. I do not know very much about the boundary there, as in those days we were "*noho like ma na Kawaihae elua*" [shared common rights on the two Kawaihae]. From Keawewai the boundary runs up the gulch. I do not know the boundaries above there. Kamoehau is the *kamaaina* of the land and knows the true boundaries. CX.d

I know the boundaries at shore. I have been away from here 40 or 50 years, and have forgotten the boundaries. John Young was alive when I moved away [John Young (Olohana) died on December 16, 1835]. The beach and sea on the Kona side of Kauhuhu belonged to Kawaihae Hikina. When we came from the other Kawaihae on to this place to fish, we had to give part of our fish to Olohana.

I never heard that place called Makahuna is the boundary between these two lands. I know *ili* called Pohakuloa, it is on this land, and the gulch is on the other side. Keawewai gulch runs *makai* onto Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup>... [page 390] [transcriber notes that witness became confused, and was unwilling to testify further]

Kamoehau <sup>K</sup>. sworn says: (he is quite an old man, and is the one who last witness says knows the true boundaries of the land...)

I was born at Kawaihae uka. I saw the Peleleu [great canoe fleet of Kamehameha I in ca. 1795] and was old enough to cook food at that time. I live on Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup>, Kohala Hawaii, and have always lived there. I am a *kamaaina* of these lands, and know the boundaries between them, from the shore to the *mauka* end. My parents told me the boundaries. Kauaawa my father, and Nakoana my mother were *kamaaina* here. They told me the boundaries because of the killing of Olohana's man by Kawailepolepo. They wanted to kill the man, but Kalaimahu [Kala'imamahu, the half-brother of Kamehameha I] said no, give the land to pay for it, and so the land from Pohakuloa to Waiulaula (Waiulaula is boundary between Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> and Ouli) was given to Olohana, and this place where we are now was left for Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup>. Place called Pokiiahua is the boundary at shore between the two Kawaihae. It is a water hole, thence the boundary runs up the gulch to *makai* of Olopio, there it leaves the gulch and runs between Olopio and Opulehelehe, and thence up *Auwai* [water channel] to Keawewai, thence up gulch to Waiaele, a *powai* [i.e. *po'owai*, a water source] in gulch, thence up hills to the Waikoloa gulch where these lands are cut off by Waimea. CX.d.

(Note: This witness' evidence agrees with G.M. Robertson's Certificate of Boundaries of Waimea, as to the two Kawaihae being cut off by Waimea.)

Know place called Kalualepo, it belongs to both Kawaihae, the Waikoloa gulch is a long way from there. Kalualepo is at the head of where the water runs to Honokane valley. There is yellowish dirt there. I never heard in olden times that the boundary between these two lands was at Kauhuhu. The sea from Pokiiahua to Kauhuhu belonged to Kawaihae Akau [Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup>], and the sea



on the Kona side of Pokiiahua to Kawaihae Hikina. Mahi lived on the tract of land between Pokiiahua and Kauhuhu, but was *Konohiki* under Kalaimahu, and not under Olohana. He used to divide the fish and give part to Olohana. Olohana and Kalaimahu were *noho like* [shared equal rights], so they used to give him part of the fish.

Place called Pohakuloa is on Kawaihae Hikina near boundary. Pulama is the *ili aina* next to Pohakuloa, and is on Kawaihae Akau. They lay side and side to the sea shore. The place where we now are is on Pulama, and Pohakuloa is east of us, where Olohana's (John Young) house used to stand. Part of the *Pohopaakai* [salt ponds] belong to Kawaihae Hikina, but most of them belong to Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup>. The boundary between the two lands is where I stated before. The folks living *mauka* on Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> used to go after salt at the shore to the salt works near Kauhuhu. The *pohopaakai* Pohakuloa, Kaholei, Piipapu [?], Nupaa [?] belong to Kawaihae Hikina, the other *pohopaakai* to Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup>. They are *lele* [detached land units] of Kawaihae Hikina. Kaneloa is on Kawaihae Hikina, and I know of *poho paakai* called Kaneloa. Know of place of Kawaihae Hikina called Makela, but do not know of salt place of that name. [page 391]

Malahuehue is an *ili* of Kawaihae Hikina, and I know of salt place at shore by that name, and it belongs to Kawaihae Hikina. Kukui is an *ili aina* [land parcel] of Kawaihae Hikina, I do not know of any salt place of that name. Kapahukapu is an *ili* of Kawaihae Hikina, I do not know of any *poho paakai* of that name. The places I have mentions are *ili aina* of Kawaihae Hikina, and the *poho paakai* of the same names belong to it also... [page 392]

The boundaries of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> (particularly the upland section) remained in dispute until 1903. On December 29, 1903, Certificate of Boundaries No. 187 was issued. A.B. Loebenstein, Surveyor, acting on behalf of the Queen Emma Estate and Trustees of the Queen's Hospital noted that his survey (represented in Register Map No. 2230) was conducted in conformance with testimony provided by Kalualukela, Kia'inui, Kalua, and Kaneahiku (w.) to R.A. Lyman in the years 1873 to 1876 (Vol. D. No. 5:599).

Following the production of further testimony from native residents and ranchers, to clarify the *mauka* boundaries, a decision on the boundaries was rendered on December 29, 1903.

### ***Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> – Decision***

The boundaries of the land of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, are decided to be as follows. Beginning at the South angle of this land, in the mouth of the Waiulaula gulch, and run up said gulch, along the land of Ouli, Boundary Certificate No. 63, and along the land of [page 612] Waimea, Boundary Certificate No. 4, to, or as far as, the brow of "Summit Hill" of the Kohala range. Thence along the land of Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup>, across Summit Hill and along the ridge to Kapaliowaiu, thence along the top of said *pali* and down the *pali* into the Keawewai stream, and down the middle of said stream to the East angle of L.C. Award No. 8513, to L. Lincoln, thence along the South East boundary of said Award to its *makai* corner, thence following the general course of the old Pohakuloa ditch to pile of stones on Makalii Hill, thence in a direct line to Makahuna gulch where it comes

from the land of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, and turns *makai*, opposite Olopio, near Pulama, thence follow down the center of Makahuna, South branch, to its junction with the North branch and down the centre of Makahuna gulch to the sea, thence along the sea shore to the point of commencement."

Fredrick S. Lyman  
Commissioner of Boundaries.  
December 29, 1903.  
[Volume D. No. 5:613]

**Volume B**

***Ouli an Ili aina of Waimea in the District of South Kohala.***

***Island of Hawaii 3d. J.C.***

***November 14, 1873.***

Pupuka<sup>K</sup>. Sworn.

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

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

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

Thence along Makaluhe's Land Patent No. \_\_\_\_ to Haumea, a hill, thence along Kiai's *kula* land, now owned by Lindsay, No. 1070, along this land to Ainapu, a hill by the boundary. Kahekalua's land No. 1070 ends near this place. There is a small remnant of the land of Lanikapu [Lanikepu] near the road to Kawaihae. From the *mauka* corner of Kahekalua's land the boundary runs along Lanikapu, thence to Ohia o Keawe, a resting place on the road, which we used to go up and catch birds. Thence up to Lua Meki Halukuwailani, a deep hole with some small ones near to it, thence to the gulch Keanui o manu where Ouli is cut off by the land of Puukapu. There is a deep water hole and ancient crossing at the corner of Momoualoha and Ouli and boundary of Puukapu, this point is marked X. Thence the boundary between Ouli and Momoualoha runs *makai* to Kinoiki, thence to Kekualoa a cultivating ground, belonging to Ouli, thence to Kekuaninau, between Kekualoa and Kekuaninau the boundary runs in the gulch, thence leaving said gulch the boundary runs to Keahupuaa, a pile of stones, passing around the base of a large hill called Kamoia (said hill is on the *mauka* side of the road to Kohala) thence Hookeke, a

*koele* [agricultural field worked for the chief], thence to a gulch on the Kohala side of Puuiki, to a place called Keahukauina on the road to Kawaihae. *Mauka* of Puuiki Momoualoha ceases to join Ouli; and Pauahi joins to Keahukauina. Thence along the land of Kapia, an *ili* of Waimea to a hill called Kuanuanu (Keahukaina is a resting place in the road). Thence along the land of Napuukawaiwai (an *ili* of Waimea) to Palinui, a resting place and hill on the Kona side of Kawaihae road. Thence along the land of Kawaihae to Owaakahoalii, an ancient pile of stones, thence to gulch, thence along the gulch to Waiulaula at the shore. My parents (now dead) showed me the boundaries. I went with the surveyor last month built piles of stones and

marked X on them, on the boundaries as I pointed them out. Kalua K. a *kamaaina* of said lands, also went with us. CX.d.

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

Kalua<sup>K</sup>. Sworn.

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

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

Kauhine was a *kamaaina*, and I learned from him the boundaries of the *makai* portion of Ouli. The upper portion I heard from bird catchers. I went with Kamau and Kanehailua, and lived with them two months catching birds and they told me the *mauka* boundaries... [page 67]

**Volume A – 1, No. 2**

**Rex vs. George Davis**

**Boundary Dispute**

**Waikoloa nui Ili of Waimea – Hawaii.**

**Testimony taken August 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 1865 at Waimea-Hawaii.**

Davis' Witnesses:	Rex Witnesses	:
1. Mi 1 <sup>st</sup>	1. Kaolulu	
2. Ehu	2. Kuupele	
3. Kuehu	3. Kanakaole	
4. Kalua	4. Moluhi	
5. Moolau	5. Kanehailua	
6. Kuahine	6. Kahakauwila	
7. Wahahee	7. Kualehelehe	

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

Ehu – sworn: I am *kamaaina* of Puukapu. I was born in Waimea. I know the boundary from my own and my father's knowledge.

Commence at Puaapilau, thence to Napamakani, thence to Paakainui, thence to Kapuulepo, thence to Kapalihalapepe, thence to Puuainako, thence to Kalalako.

I knew Kahanapilo w. wife of George Davis-she was not *konohiki* of the ilis on Waikoloa – nor of Waimea – I was in Kona when she died.

I am *kamaaina* of Puukapu only – Kainea was the *Konohiki* when I lived there. There was no *pili* grass on that land – my father was not a bird catcher, he used to *mahiai* [farm]. Waikoloa was the land that had the birds – the boundary as stated is the boundary from the time of Kamehameha first.

Cross – Kainea was *Konohiki* in the time of Kalaimoku – Kainea is dead. Waikoloa is an *ahupuaa* of Waimea, which is a *Kalana*, with eight divisions. I only know about Waikoloa. – I have been on to Pukalani – Nohoaina and Paulama – they join Waikoloa, but do not run far out. – Pukalani joins Puukapu. Nohoaina joins Pukalani, and Paulama joins Waikoloa. Puukapu is a division of Waimea. – Pukalani belonged to Kamehameha and he gave it to his man Kekoikumoku. Nohoaina belonged to the chiefs of Waimea, Kupapaulu.

Paulama belonged to Kupapaulu. – Puukapu belonged to Kalaimoku. ( I do not know the present owners). I do not know who was the *Konohiki* before Kainea. Wahahee – sworn. – I am *kamaaina* of the King's land Puukapu – I was born there. Commence at Puaapilau, thence to Pooholua, thence to Leohu, thence to Paakainui, thence to Kapuulepo, that is all I know.

Puulepo is close to Pukalani, which land joins Puukapu. – My parents showed me the boundary. – My mother belonged at Puukapu, my father was from Napuu [page 6]. Nohoaina joins Pukalani, Paulama joins Nohoaina, and Waikoloa joins Paulama. Pukalani belonged to Kamehameha fourth. – Nohoaina and Paulama to the same; also Puukapu; and I suppose they descended to Kamehameha V.

Cross. – I do not know the boundary of Paulama and Waikoloa. – I heard that Waikoloa was divided. – there are two Waikoloa's, they lie side by side. I do not know the adjoining lands to Waikoloa, except Paulama on the *mauka* side. – I heard that Waikoloa joins Napuu. – I have not heard that Paulama joins Napuu. – all the *pili* belonged to Waikoloa.

Mi 1<sup>st</sup> – sworn: I live on Waikoloa – I am a *kamaaina* of the lands in dispute. The name of the large land is Waimea – I am a witness for George Davis, and also for the Rex. – Waimea is a *Kalana*. – which is the same as an island divided in to districts. – there are eight *Okana* in Waimea. In those *Okana* are those lands said to extend out (*hele mawaho*). These lands came in to the possession of Kamehameha I who said to Kupapaulu, go and look out to of the large lands running to the sea, for John Young and Isaac Davis. Kupapaulu went to Keawekuloa, the *haku aina*, who said if we give Waikoloa to the foreigners they will get Kalahuipua [Kalahuipuaa] and Anaiomalu [Anaehoomalu] (two lands at the beach) then your master will have no fish. So they kept the sea lands and gave Waikoloa to Isaac Davis. John Young asked my parents if it was a large land they said, the black *aa* was Napuu, and the good land Waimea.

They kept all the valuable part of the lands, and gave the poor land outside to Isaac Davis. They kept Puukapu, Pukalani, Nohoaina, Kukuiula (above the church), and Paulama; and gave Waikoloa to Isaac Davis. The other Waikoloa, this side of the stream dividing them, was the King's. It comes down along the stream by Mr. Lyon's, then along the ditch, then along the wall of Puuloa, to Ahuli on the King's land, to the round hill, Uleiokapihe, and is cut off here by Davis' Waikoloa. – The wall was the boundary below, between Waikoloa of Isaac Davis and the land of the King, Kamehameha I. The latter built it by Kauliakamoa; to keep the cattle off from the King's land. The boundary runs to Liuliu, and the *pili* was all South, on Davis' land; then I know along an old road, Puupa, Waikoloa being South and Waimea North of the road, then to Kaniku. That is all I know.

Cross. – My parents heard the command of Kamehameha I to Kupapaulu, and they told me, and also about John Young's asking about the land. I never heard that Puukapu, Nohoaina, Pukalani, and Paulama extended out to

the *pili*. A road divided the land of the King and that of I. Davis.

Waikoloa. – The wall was built to keep off the cattle, and to mark the land. The church is on the King's land. When Kalama measured Waikoloa he took in the church, I heard. – I went with Kalama some of the time. Kalama said leave the old boundary and make a straight boundary, so I left them, lest Davis' land would go to the King. – The boundary as I know it is from the English school house along a hollow, to the ditch near to Hoomaloo; thence to *puu* Makeokeo; thence to hills outside of Ahuli. The church is on Paulama which joins Waikoloa.

I know the boundary of Paulama it does not reach Napuu.  
I know the *mauka* boundary of Waikoloa and Puukapu. Puukapu extends to Puulepo, then goes in (*maloko*). [page 7]

Kuahine – sworn: I am *kamaaina* at Lihue. I know the boundaries of Waikoloa; viz. from Koananai to Puuokaa, to Kekio, to Pahoa, which are cut off from Waikoloa, and are cut off by it; the are all divisions of the *Okana* Lihue.  
Liuliu is an old road, forms the boundary between Waikoloa and the *ahupuaa* to Puuwaawaa, where the road divides, one goes to the sea shore, and the other goes along the boundary, along the *pili* to Kepani; thence to Keahu a Lono – Waikoloa being *mauka* of the road. – My father, who was *luna* [overseer] of the land Lihue, told me the boundary.

Cross. – Kahanapilo w. was *Konohiki* of Waikoloa – it descended from her parents, and from her husband, Hueu, this is from my knowledge.

I know about the wall built, my father was *luna* at the time. – I was large at the time, and could carry stones. – Kupapaulu and Keawekuloa were the *Konohikis* of the land. – I never saw Kamehameha I. – but I was born before his death. I was a babe when Kiholo was built [built ca. 1810].

I know Waikoloa first, it goes to the mound near Ahuli... [page 8]

Witness, Mo'olau – presented testimony similar to the above; notes that he was born at Kiholo, and that he helped to build the boundary wall referenced by Mi, above (pages 8-9).

**Volume A No. 1 No. 2**  
**For the King**

Kaolulu sworn – I am *kamaaina* of the lands in dispute from one end to the other. I was born on Ouli, and have lived on different parts of the lands.  
Commence at Kohiaina, the head of Waikoloa, thence to Waikalehua, thence to Kapele, thence to Alaanui, thence to Alaohia, thence to Keakualapalapa, thence to Kulanapahu, thence to Kaopapa, thence to Keanakii, thence to Kahoalapiko, the *makai* boundary is from Puupanui to Puuakowai, thence to Kilohana, thence to Puuokaa, thence to Waikoloa, thence to Puuohu, this is the boundary of Waikoloa nui of George Davis.

Cross. – Puupanui is the corner *makai*. – This description begins at Paulama. Puuhuluhulu is the land *makai* of Waikoloa; and also Kaleikumikiau; Puupili; Pahoa; Kekio; 2 Puuokaa; and Waikoloa are King's lands adjoining. I know about the wall; I could carry stones then; in the time of Kamehameha I. I know the boundary of Waimea. – Commence at Puukapu, the head of the land. Waikoloa is an *ili* of the *Ahupuaa* Waimea, as I have heard.

Waikoloa first reaches Napuu at Puupanui. – The two Waikoloas joined *mauka*. The King's Waikoloa reaches Puuokaa, which is cut off by Davis' Waikoloa. Davis' Waikoloa does not reach Puukeekē, nor Waikii.

The land from here down to the sea is Waimea, which has divisions. Paulama is adjoining Napuu; so is Nohoaina. Paulama and Waikoloa meet Napii at Kahooalapiko. Kahanapilo w. was never *Konohiki* of any land but Waiaua. [page 9]

Witness, Kuupele – testified that he was born at Puuanahulu. "I know the wall – it was built to keep off the cattle from the cultivated land. I could carry stones – it was after Kiholo in the time of Kamehameha I..." (pages 9-10)

Kanehailua – sworn — I am *kamaaina* of Waimea. I know the boundary of Waikoloa and the King's land. Paulama joins Waikoloa. Commence at the woods, at Kohiaina, thence to Puakalehua, thence to Kapele, thence to Alaaniu, thence to Alaohia, thence to Kekualapalapa, thence to Kulanapahu, thence to Keanakii, thence to Kahoopapale, thence to Kahooalapiko. Puuanahulu cuts off Paulama here. Nohoaina joins Paulama from the woods to Napuu. That is what I know of the boundary *mauka* of Waikoloa. The *makai* boundary is from Puupaha to Puuakowai, thence to Kilohana, also adjoining Puuokaa and Kamakeokeo, to the settlement of Mr. Lyons *ma* [folks].

Waikoloa of the King joins *makai*; then comes Pahoa first and second. Puupili, Kalaeokumikiau, Puuhuluhulu, Kaleohai, Kokiapuueo, Paaina, Opuokopukini, Kaluaana, Papuaa, Wailoa, and Mahoe, which is the *kahawai* [stream] of Puuiki. All of these are the King's lands. Waikoloa is an *ili* of Waimea *Ahupuaa*; as are also these other lands. Waimea is an *Okana*...

Cross: Puuhinai is the *makai* corner of Waikoloa of George Davis on the boundary of Kona. Puupaha is the corner of the King's Waikoloa. Puupili joins Napuu, so does also Kalaeokumikiau. Kapaakea is the name of the palce where Puupili joins Napuu. The Hooneene gulch is where the land joins Napuu. Puuhuluhulu joins Napuu at Halolo gulch. Kaleohai joins Napuu. Kokiapuueo joins Napuu. These are all the lands that join Kona. [page 10]...

...The boundaries of Waikoloa nui as decided by the Commissioners of Boundaries at Waimea – Hawaii, August tenth 1865.

Commencing at Kohiaina run to Waiakalehua, to Kapele Alaaniu, Alaohia, Keakualapalapa, Kulanapahu, Kaopapa, Keanakii, Kahoopapale, Kahooalapiko, then along Napuu to Puupaha; then along the King's land to

Puakowai, Kilohana, Puuokaa, Makeokeo, Waikoloa, to Puuohu, and to commencement, as given by Kaolulu, Kuupele, Kanehailua, and Kahakauwila.  
P. Cummings  
F.S. Lyman. [page 12]

**Volume A No. 1 - (No. 4)**

***Ahupuaa (or Kalana) of Waimea, Hawaii***

***Boundaries of Waimea – January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1867***

Beginning at a place known as Kilohana, on the south bank of the Waipio Pali, corner of the lands of Waipio and Lalakea, on the Eastern boundary of Waimea; thence along the land Lalakea, South 35° 50' E. 90 58/100 chains, to a large *ohia* tree marked W. at a place known as Kaakolea. Thence along the land Waikoekoe, South 60° E 55 30/100 chains, to Kaimuhonu. Thence South 69 ½ E 118 49/100 chains, South 49° E 10 chains, to a large rock marked W. at Kalapapohaku, *mauka* corner of Waikoekoe. Thence along the track of land known as Kamoku, South 22 chains, to Manuheia at which point stands a large *mamane* post marked Puukapu. Thence South 63° W 30 chains, South 13° W 11 50/100 chains, South 12 ½ E 60 50/100 chains to a tree marked X, at a place known as Kahaleula, M.E. corner of Harry Purdy's land in Waimea. Thence South 16 ½ E 35 chains, cross the road leading from Waimea to Parker's, 45 chains to Makahaluhalu, 79 chains to a pile of rocks, S.E. corner of Harry Purdy's land. Thence South 12° E 128 chains to a large rock marked XIX, at a place known as Kapuaapilau. Thence along J.P. Parker's land, Paauhau, South to E 63 chains, to a pile of rocks on the top of the hill called Puukaliiali. Thence along the [page 16] Western boundary of J.P. Parker's land by the line described in his Royal Patent (No. 2769) to a pile of stones marked "P" at the most South Westerly point of Paauhau. Thence up the gulch known as the Auwaiakeakua, to a large flat rock marked XIV, on the top of a conical hill known as Puulaau, at the South East corner of J.P. Parker's land, Paauhau. Thence to Aiakala on the boundary of the *Ahupuaa* of Kaohe. Thence along Kaohe, South 14° E 70 chains to the gulch of Waikii and Keoneheehee. Thence South 13° E 80 chains to a pile of stones marked X, at Kilohana. Thence South 4° W 31 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence South 6° E 24 50/100 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence South 12° E 131 chains to a pile of stones marked X, at the corner of Kaohe, on the South East side of Puukapele. Thence along the boundary of Puuanahulu in the district of Kona, North 58° W 194 chains to Kaaawa, a resting place, where is a pile of stones. Thence North 62° W 160 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence North 85° W 72 chains to Heawai, where is a pile of stones marked X. Thence North 58° W 160 chains to Keamuku to a large stone marked X. Thence North 65° West 72 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence North 53° W 73 chains to a pile of stones marked X, at Wawaekoa. Thence North 42° W 87 chains to a cave known by the name Hanaialii. Thence North 53° W 136 chains to a pile of stones at Kikiha. Thence North 30° W 65 chains to a pile of stones marked X. Thence North 47° W 84 chains to a cave at Kapukaiki. Thence South 89° W 522 chains by Kapalihookaakaa, Kauakahialaa, Hanamauloo, Palihai, and Puupoe, to Keahuaalono on the side of the road leading to Kona. Thence to Hiiakaikaalei on the sea beach, the extreme boundary of the *III* of Anaehoomalu on the line between Kohala and Kona. Thence along the sea



shore *makai* of Anaehoomalu and Kalahuipuaa to a large pile of rocks on the *mauka* side of the Beach road. Thence along the sea. North 31° E 19 55/100 chains, North 5° E 15 91/100 chains, South 34° E 59 85/100 chains to the houses on Waima. Thence North 80° E 15 chains, North 42° E 68 chains to the extreme point of rocks at Puako. Thence South 15° E 16 chains to the church. North 63° E 20 chains to the South East point of Bay. Thence North 9° E 16 67/100 chains to Piliamoo. Thence North 10 ¼° E 50 31/100 chains, North 3 ¼° E 44 85/100 chains to Kaihumoku. Thence along the sea to the mouth of Waiulaula gulch, at the corner of the lands Waimea and Kawaihae Kai. Thence up along the center of said gulch to a large [page 17] boulder marked X, at a point known as Paliuli, at the corner of the lands Kawaihae Kai and Kawaihae uka, at which point the line leaves the gulch to the right. Thence North 51 ½° E 75 78/100 chains to a pile of rocks at Lawai [Lauwai]. Thence North 44° E 70 45/100 chains to Puuainako, a small hill on the South side of the Waimea and Kawaihae Road. Thence North 53° E 72 72/100 chains to the Luwahine Gulch where it leaves the hills. Thence up along said gulch North 53° E 70/100 chains, North 10° E, 23 50/100 chains, North 48 ¾° E 81 chains, North 21° ¾ E 31 chains, to Puukawaiwai 61 80/100 chains to angle. Thence North 11° E 22 70/100 chains to the Kohala Road thence up and along the general course to the Luwahine Gulch, North 31° E 240 chains to a place known as Kalualepo, at the *mauka* South East corner of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> on the boundary of Waimea. Thence along the *mauka* side of Kawaihae 1<sup>st</sup> and Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> to the head of the Honokane Pali. Thence along the *mauka* ends of the lands of Honokane 1<sup>st</sup> and Honokane 2<sup>nd</sup>, Waimanu, and Waipio 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>, to the place of commencement.

G. M. Robertson  
Commissioner of Boundaries  
8<sup>th</sup> January 1867. [page 18]

### ***Volume B***

#### ***The Ahupuaa of Puako, District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii 3<sup>d</sup> J.C.***

***September 23, 1874.***

Kauwewahine <sup>K</sup>. Sworn. I was born at Waimea South Kohala at the time of building Kiholo [ca. 1810], have lived at Lalamilo since the days of Kamehameha II, am a *kamaaina* there and know the boundaries of the *ili aina* from Kalahuipuaa to Ouli. Know the boundaries of Puako, my parents (now dead) told these boundaries to me.

Lalamilo bounds Puako on the Kawaihae side (or North side) a wall at the dam of a fishing pond at a place called Makeha [i.e., Makaha, the fishpond sluice gate] is the boundary. Thence along the stream from the pond to a place called Keahuakapuaa, a wall at the shore. Thence along shore towards Kona to a large rock on the sand beach called Kapelekaaha. The sea belongs to Lalamilo. Thence *mauka* along Lalamilo to Puapuaa, passing from the Kona side to the *mauka* side of the ponds. Thence towards Kohala hills to Piikoele, an old pond now filled in with sand, on the *mauka* side of the present pond. Thence to the Makaha. These are the boundaries of Puako as told me by my parents.

The land was formerly surveyed by the *haole* who surveyed Kalahuipuaa and Anaehoomalu [Hitchcock – Reg. Map No. 1182]. Palea, now living at Puako,

Kauhine (now dead), and myself were his *kamaaina* and he surveyed the same boundaries that I have testified to. [page 296]

Kahumoku<sup>K.</sup> Sworn.

I was born at Puako at the time of Kauaokekuaokalani [Dec. 1819], and have lived there most of my life. My parents and *kupuna*, now all dead, belonged there and they told me the boundaries. Lalamilo bounds Puako on the North side. Commencing at the *makaha* [fishpond sluice gate] near the pond, the boundary runs *makai* along the stream to a wall at the sea shore called Kaehuakapuaa. Thence along the shore to Kapeleaaka stones at the road. Thence *mauka* along Lalamilo to Puapuaa a pond on Puako. Thence the boundary runs towards Kohala to Piikoele an old pond that is now filled up. Thence to Kamakaha. Ancient fishing rights in the shallow water near shore, the sea outside belongs to Lalamilo.

I have heard that the land has been surveyed. C.X.d [page 297]

### **Volume B**

#### ***The Ili of Lalamilo and Waimaa***

***District of South Kohala, Island of Hawaii 3<sup>rd</sup> J.C.***

***September 23, 1874***

#### ***Lalamilo***

Kauwewahine<sup>K.</sup> continued from Puako.

The boundary at the shore on the North side between the lands of Lalamilo and Ouli is at a place called Kaihumoku, a point of rocks in the sea in the middle of the sand beach. Thence along Ouli way *mauka* to Waimea. Thence along shore towards Kona to Puako and around Puako and along shore to a wall at the shore between this land and Waimaa called Keawaulaula, thence *mauka* a short distance to the boundary of Waikalooa to Kuelua a *kahawai* [stream] and from thence it runs *mauka* towards Waimea.

#### ***Waimaa***

The boundary at the shore between Waimaa and Lalamilo on the North side is at Keawaulaula. Thence it runs *mauka* along Lalamilo to Kaaio an old burying place on the boundary between these lands and Waikoloa. Thence towards Kona along the boundary of Waikoloa to the corner of Kalahuipuaa. Thence *mauka* along Kalahuipuaa to Keahaaha a *lae aa* [an *aa* rock promontory], thence to Pohakupuka. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea C.X.d.

#### ***Lalamilo***

Kahumoku<sup>K.</sup> Continued from Puako.

The boundary at shore between Lalamilo and Ouli is at Kaihumoku, thence along the shore and around Puako and along the shore to Keawaulaula [page 298]... [testimony as given by Kauwewahine above]

**Volume A No. 1**

**Of the Ili of Kalahuipuaa...**

**Of the Ili of Anaehoomalu...**

**Notes of Survey (Dec. 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1858)**

**Anaehoomalu:**

Beginning at the seashore point of junction with Kalahuipuaa, and running thence along the line of Kalahuipuaa S. 72 1/3° E. 34.50 ch. thence along the *alanui aupuni* S 16° W. 83.52 ch. S 24 W. 49.00 ch S 25 W. 34.00 ch thence along the line of Kapalaoa. N 73° W. 30.00 ch to the sea, and thence along the shore N 35° E 13.00 ch N 32° W 56.00 ch N 39 1/4° E 59.40 ch N 39 1/4° E 59.80 to the point of commencement.

Comprising an area of 846 Acres more or less... [page 231]

**Volume A No. 1**

**The Ahupuaa of Kalahuipuaa. District South Kohala,**

**Island of Hawaii 3d J.C.**

**August 14, 1873**

George Kaukuna<sup>K</sup>. Sworn.

I was born on Oahu, moved to Kapalaoa North Kona Hawaii in 1863 and have lived there, and at Kiholo since that time. Know the boundaries of Kalahuipuaa. Kuhelani<sup>K</sup> and others (now dead) pointed them out to me. Commencing at the sea shore the boundary between Kalahuipuaa and Anaehoomalu is at Pohakuloa, a large high rock at the shore, Iiilinaehe. Thence the boundary between these two lands runs mauka to the Government road, Waikoloa is mauka of the road. Thence along the land of Waikoloa to Kepani a puu hoomaha [a resting place; a rock outcropping, mound, or hill], there are two piles of stones there, and the road cuts through the hill. From this point you can see the trees on the shore at Kalahuipuaa. Thence along the land of Waimea kai towards Kohala hills, to a place called Milokukahi; a grove of Milo trees, where the boundary turns makai, along Waimea to sea shore; between the seashore and Milokukahi there is a place on the boundary called Keahaaha on aa. Pohakupuka a rock in the sea is the boundary at shore. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. CX.d [page 384]

It will be noted below, that Na'auhau, states that a new road has been built (this is probably the Kanikū Road discussed in the Government Road files of 1871).

Naauhau<sup>K</sup>. Sworn.

I was born at Lalamilo, *mauka* of Puako, South Kohala, shortly after the building of Kiholo, have lived at Anaehoomalu and Kalahuipuaa and am a *kamaaina* of said lands and know the boundaries. The corner or junction of this land of Kalahuipuaa and Anaehoomalu, is a pile of stones on a hill at the place where the Government road turns towards Kona, and just before you get to the place where you can see the trees on the shore at Kalahuipuaa coming from Kona towards Kawaihae.

Anaehoomalu being on the Kona side, thence along Waikoloa, the boundary running along the Government road to the junction of the new road, thence the boundary runs *makai*, along the line of the old road along Waikoloa to

Milokukahi, thence *makai* along the boundary of Waimea kai to a place called Waimaa, to Keahaaha a cave, *mauka* of the Government road, thence to Pohakupuka a large rock in the sea with holes through it. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. C.X.d...

Decision:

Boundaries decided to be as given... Aug. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1873 [page 385].

**Volume A No. 1**

***The Ahupuaa of Anaehoomalu District South Kohala,  
Island of Hawaii, 3d J.C.***

August 14, 1873

George Kaukuna<sup>k</sup>: Sworn (Same witness as on Kalahuipuaa).

Know the land of Anaehoomalu in South Kohala. Puuanahulu a land in North Kona, bounds it on the South west side, this land used to bound it on the *mauka* side also, but I am told that Waikoloa now bounds it from the South corner. Bounded on the North side by Kalahuipuaa; and by the sea on the *makai* side, the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.

Kuihelani (now dead), a *kamaaina* of the land showed me the boundaries. The boundary at sea shore between Anaehoomalu and Puuanahulu is at Hiiakaikalei, a small *heiau*. The *kamaaina* said the line of sea [fishing] rights runs *makai* to Pohakuloa, a place between two rocks in the seas, a few rods to the north side of a rock called Meko, from this point at the shore, the boundary between these lands runs *mauka* to Ahu o Lono, on the *makai* side of the Government road, which is the corner of Waikoloa [page 386] thence along Waikoloa, along the Government road towards Kawaihae to a place on the Kona side of Kepani, and corner of Kalahuipuaa. Thence *makai* along Kalahuipuaa to a place in the *aa* at shore, covered with gravel, called Iliilineehe. CX.d

Naauhau<sup>k</sup>: Sworn. (Same witness as on Kalahuipuaa)

The boundary at sea shore between Anaehoomalu and Puuanahulu is at Hiakalaihi [Hiiakaikaalei] a small *heiau*, thence *mauka* to Ahu o Lono, thence along the Government road towards Kawaihae. Waikoloa is said to bound Anaehoomalu *mauka* to Kepani; just before you can see the trees at the shore on Kalahuipuaa coming towards Kawaihae. There turn *makai* along Kalahuipuaa to Iliilineehe at Pohakuloa, on the sea shore.

Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. CX.d. [page 387]

**Decision**

The boundaries of Anaehoomalu are decided to be commencing at a small *Heiau* on sea shore called Hiiakaikalei, thence, *mauka* along land of Puanahulu to pile of stones Ahu o Lono *mauka* of Gov't. road, thence along land of Waikoloa as given in Certificate of Boundaries of Waikoloa to a pile of stones on *Aa*, thence *makai* along land of Kalahuipuaa to high rock at shore called Pohakuloa. Bounded *makai* by sea. June 8, 1874. [page 387]

**Volume 1 No. 3**

**No. 131**

***Palapala Hooiaio I Na Palena O Ka Aina O Anaehoomalu Apana  
o Kohala Hema, Mokupuni O Hawaii...***

***F.S. Lyman Esq. Komisina***

...No ka mea, ua waiho ia mai he palapala noi, e hooholo a e hooiaio au i na palena o ka aina o Anaehoomalu Apana, o Kohala Hema Mokupuni o Hawaii ma ka la \_\_\_ o Augate 1873 e C. Kanaina ka mea nona keia aina, ma kona Loio A.F. Judd, e like me ke Kanawai no ka hoopono pono ana i na Palena Aina, i aponoia ma ka la 22 o June, M.H. 1868; nolaila, ua hoolohe pono au i na olelo hoike a pau e pili ana i na palena, a ua imi aku au ma na ano e ae, e hoomaopopo ai a e hooholo pololei ai, e like me ka mea i hoakaka lea ia ma ka moolelo o keia hana, i malama ia e au maloko o ka Buke Helu 1. A. aoao 386 & 387 a ua akaka ia'u, o na palena oiaio ku i ke kanawai a me ke kaulike, oia ano keia:

Beginning at the ancient monument known as Keahualono, on the boundary of Kona and Kohala, about 150 feet *makai* of present Gov't. road, the station point being marked by a steel bolt in rock, whence Nohonaohae trig. sta. bears N. 87° 14' E. line 69170 feet, [page 324] and Puuloa trig. sta. bears N. 37° 49'E feet; the magnetic declination being 8° 40' and Running, N 33° 33' true 5570 feet along Waikoloa to a large rock on East side of Gov't. road called Pohakuloa, (at 4065 feet of this entire *aa* flow).

N. 26° 10'E true 4450 feet along Gov't. road by Waikoloa to a pile of stones at Pohakuhele at the S. E. corner of Lahuipuaa N. 50° 5' W. true 3360 feet along Lahuipuaa to a large and well known rock called Pohakuloa at the sea coast west of Iliilinaehehe bay. Thence along the sea coast at high water mark to a point opposite the ancient monument of Hiiaka i ka elei and up to said monument which bears:

S 21° 30' W. true 10640 feet from the last station  
S. 58° 40' E. " 1719 " along Puuanahulu to initial point.

Area 866 Acres

Including 2 fish ponds of an aggregate area of 4 ½ acres – surveyed by J. S. Emerson [Register Map No. 824 – at end of study]... [page 325]

**No. 132**

***Palapala Hooiaio i na Palena o ka  
Aina o Lahuipuaa Apana o Kohala  
Hema, Mokupuni o Hawaii.***

***F.S. Lyman Esq. Komisina.***

...Begin at a drill hole on a well known rock called Pohakupuka, 200 feet East of the Lae o Panipou and 180 feet West of the Gov't. road from which the [page 326] Puako trig. sta. bears N. 52° 10' E. true 13670 feet and the Kawaihae Light House bears N. 17° 27' E. (true). The magnetic declination being 8° 40';  
Run:

(1<sup>st</sup>) S 71° 14' East (true) 1632 feet along Waima to a drill hole in the *Pahoehoe* rock and pile of stones at Milokukahi

(2<sup>d</sup>) S. 40° 14' W. (true) 5308 feet along the old *alaloa*, dividing the land from Waikoloa, to a point on the North edge of old *aa* flow at Kepani.

(3<sup>d</sup>) S. 21° 40' W. (true) 1259 feet along Govt. road by Waikoloa to a point at Ahuakiei.

(4<sup>th</sup>) S. 25° 15' W. (true) 1330 feet along Govt. road by Waikoloa to a pile of stones, at Pohakuihele at the N.E. corner of Anaehoomalu.

(5<sup>th</sup>) N. 50° 05' W. (true) 3360 feet along Anaehoomalu to a large and well known rock called Pohakuloa at the sea coast W. of Hiilinaehehe [Hiilinaehehe] bay. Thence along the sea coast at high water mark to a point opposite the initial point and up to the initial point which bears

(6) N. 49° 00' E. (true) 7300 feet from the last station.

Area 359 Acres.

Including 7 fishponds of an aggregate area of 10 ½ acres... January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1881  
[page 327]

### ***Hawaiian Government Survey Records (1880-1882)***

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

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

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

In his field communications (letter series to W.D. Alexander), Emerson comments on, and identifies some of his native informants and field guides. While describing the process of setting up triangulation stations from Puakö to Kaloko, Emerson reported that the "two native men are extra good. I could not have found two better men by searching the island a year." (State Archives, HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; February 15, 1882). We learn later, that the primary native guides were Iakopa and Ka'ilihwiwa—*kūpuna* of the Keākealani family (State Archives, HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; May 5, and August 30, 1882). Discussing the field books Emerson

also commented that “Perryman is just laying himself out in the matter of topography. His sketches deserve the highest praise...” (ibid.:May 5, 1882).

### ***Field Notebooks***

The following documentation is excerpted from the Field Note Books of J.S. Emerson. The numbered sites and place names coincide with maps that are cited as figures in text (some documentation on sites or features outside of the study area is also included here). Because the original books are in poor condition—highly acidic paper that has darkened, making the pencil written and drawn records hard to read—the copies have been carefully darkened to enhance readability. *Figure 13* (Register Map No. 1278 – at end of study) was produced by Emerson as a result of the 1880-1882 surveys. The map, along with the Perryman sketches cited below, identify the locations of many of the place names features documented by Emerson in the study area.

#### ***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. II Reg. No. 252***

#### ***West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District***

***Puu Anahulu; April 29-20, 1882 (see Figure 14 for locations discussed below)***

##### ***Site # and Comment:***

- 1– Lae o Kawili. In Makalawena.
- 2 – Lae o Awakee. In Kukio.
- 3 – Bay this side of cape.
- 4 – Lae o Kukio iki.
- 5 – Large rock in sea.
- 6 – Kukio iki Bay.
- 7 – Lae o Kukio nui.
- 8 – End of reef
- 9 – Kukio nui Bay.
- 10 – Kaoahu’s house in Kaupulehu Village.
- 11 –                                  this side of house.
- 12 – Bay; tangent to head.
- 13 – Lae o Kolomuo (extremity in Kaupulehu).
- 14 – Nukumeomeo rock (opposite cape).
- 15 – Pohakuokahae. By authority of Kailihiwa – Boundary point between the ilis of Kaupulehu and Kiholo.
- 16 – small inlet.
- 17 – small cape.
- 18 – small bay.
- 19 – Lae o Nawaikulua.
- 20 – Small inlet.
- 21 – Keawawamano.
- 22 – Waiaelepi.
- 23 – *Lauhala* Grove.
- 24 – Keanini’s Grass house.
- 25 – Kauai’s Grass house.

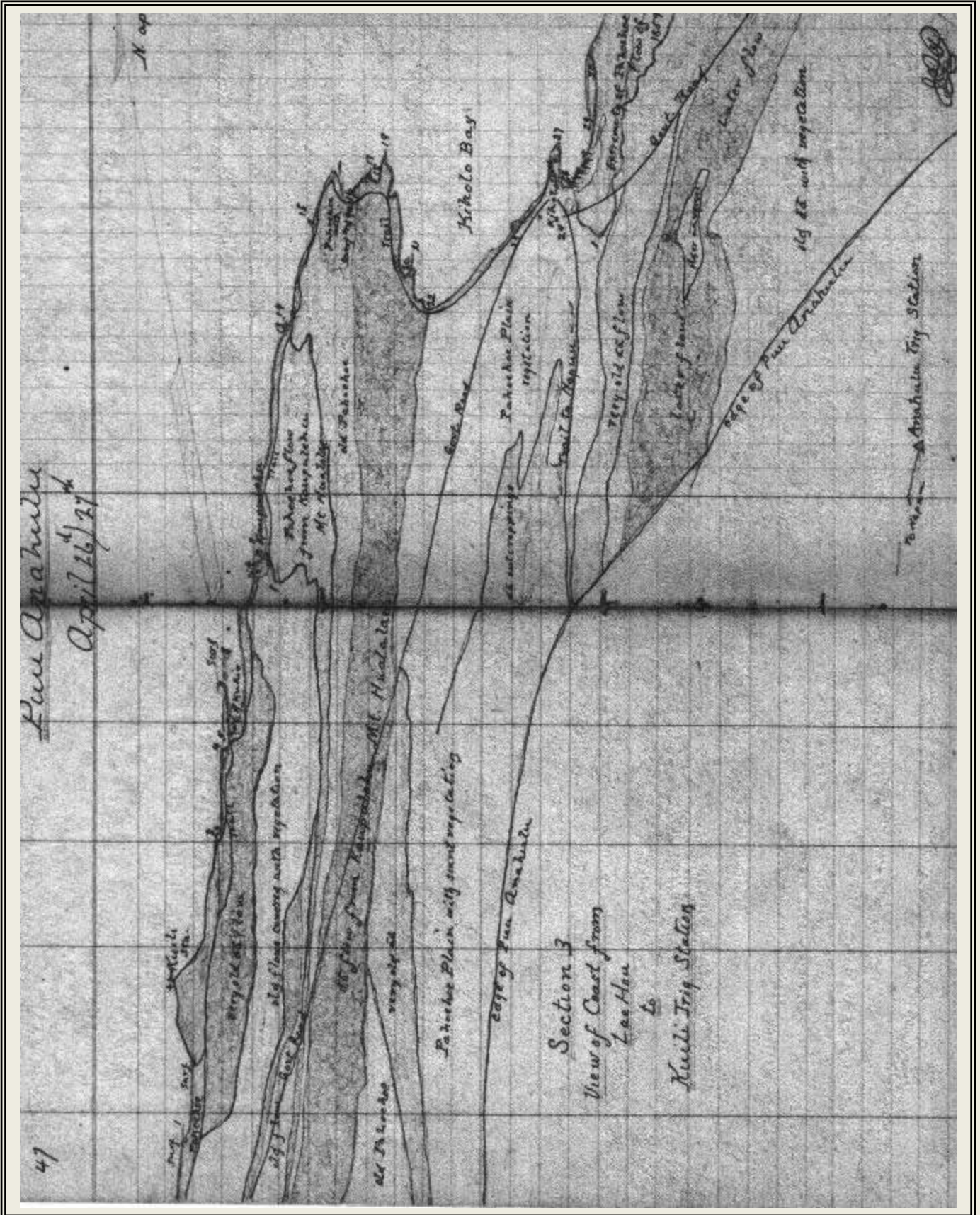


Figure 14. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 252:47 (State Survey Division)



- 26 – Kiholo meeting house.  
Puu Waawaa.
- 27 – Lae o Keawaiki.
- 28 – Honuakaha.
- 29 – Lae Iiili.
- 30 – inside bay [Book 252:69-71]

***Puu Waawaa [Figure 15 for locations discussed below]***

***Site # and Comment:***

- 1 – Lae o Hiki.
- 2 – Bay.
- 3 – Lae Hou.
- 4 – Keawakeekee – tangent, canoe landing.
- 5 – Reef.
- 6 – Lake Keawaiki – fishpond, south side.
- 7 – Lake Keawaiki – fishpond, north side.
- 8 – Akinakahi.
- 9 – Lae o Naubaka.
- 10 – Kapalaoa Sch. house. Site on Center.
- 11 – Anaehoomalu bay.
- 12 – Lae Anae.
- 13 – Lae o ka Auau
- 14 – Waiulua inlet.
- 15 – Lae o Pohakuoakaha.
- 16 – Pohakuoakaha. [Book 252:71]

***May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1882***

***Puu Waawaa***

- 1 – Point on Pahoehoe.
- 2 – Point on Pahoehoe.
- 3 – Point on Pahoehoe.
- 4 – Point on Pahoehoe.
- 5 – Point on Pahoehoe. [Book 252:93]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. II Reg. No. 252***

***West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District***

***Kuili Station; May 19-20, 1882 [see Figure 16 for locations discussed below]***

***Site # and Comment:***

- 25 – Kua bay. Sand beach Maniniowali.
- 26 – Lae o Papiha, rock cape Maniniowali.

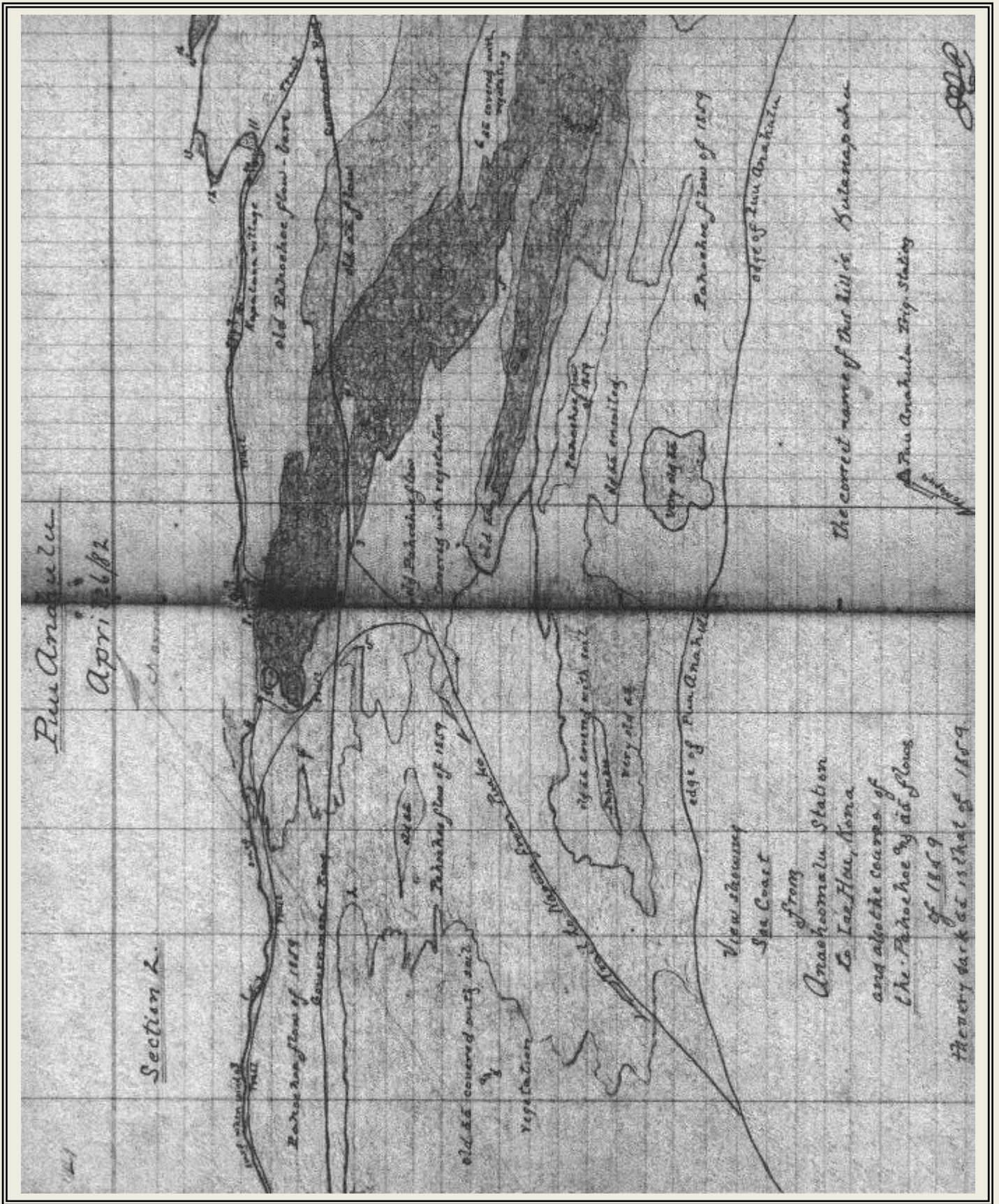


Figure 15. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 252:41 (State Survey Division)

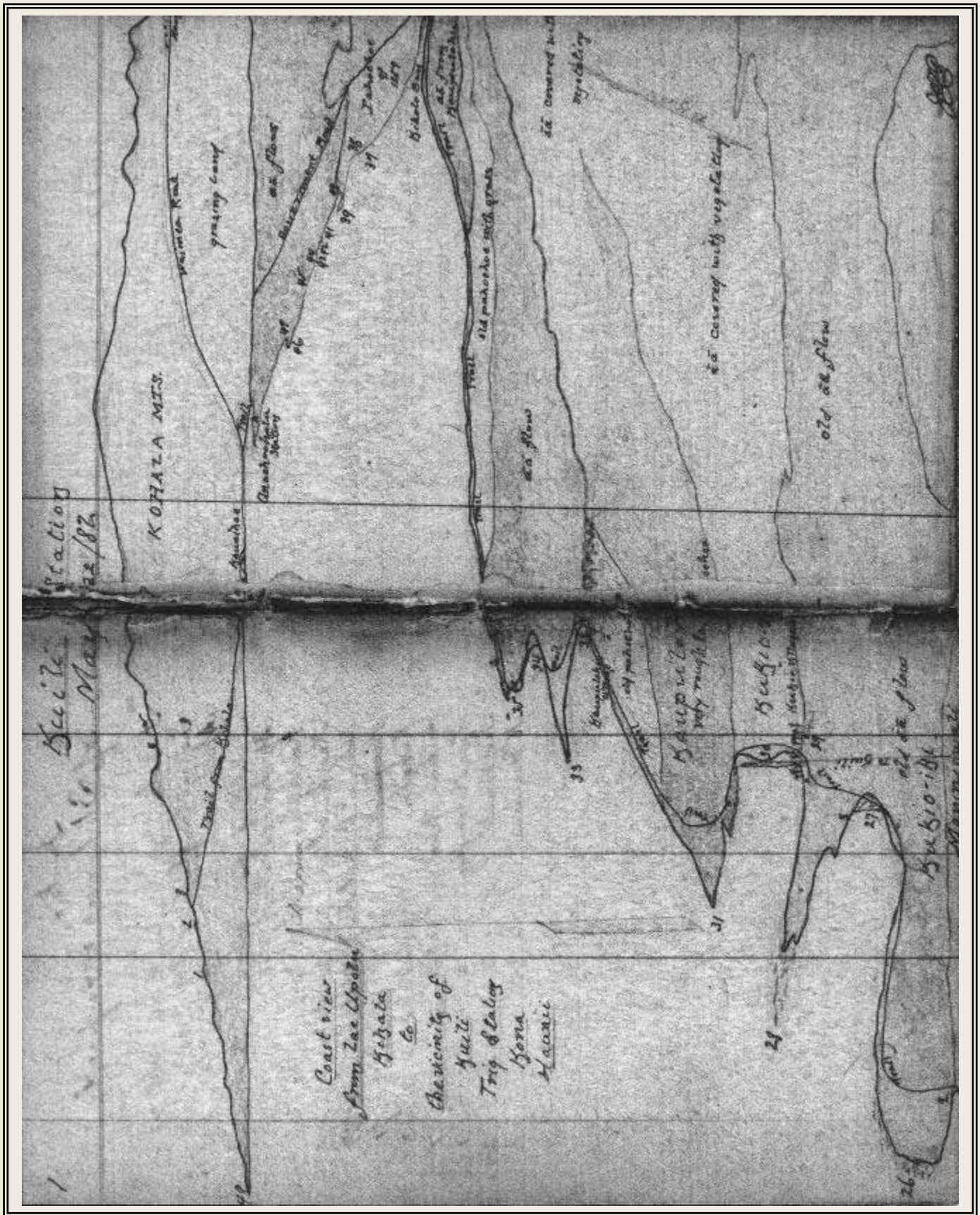


Figure 16. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:1 (State Survey Division)

**Site # and Comment:**

- 27 – Kakapa Bay, Kukio iki - site of one of Kamehameha's old "heiaus" now destroyed by the sea—D 3°9'0".
- 28 – Lae o Kikaua - Named in honor of Kikaua, the husband of Kahawaliwali, who was slain by Pele for not giving "*kapa*"... [Book 252:129-130]
- 29 – Paapu's new *lauhala* house in Kukio Village, Kukio nui.
- 30 – Uluweuweu Bay in Kukio nui.
- 31 – Kumukea – from the white surf, Kukio nui.
- 32 – Kapilau Bay – head of bay, Kaupulehu.
- 33 – Lae o Mahewalu.
- 34 – Keonenui Bay; long black sand beach.
- 35 – Lae o Nukumeomeo.
- 36 – Kiholo Bay; site on surf – indefinite.
- 37 – Lae Hou – extremity.
- 38 – Ohiki Bay.
- 39 – Lae o Kaiwi, needle shaped.
- 40 – Akina kahi Bay.
- 41 – Lae o Naubaka, Puu Anahulu.
- 42 – Kahamoi Bay. "Ha" = outlet to fishpond. "Moi" = a choice fish.
- 43 – Pohakuloa rock. On cape of same name, P. Anahulu.
- 44 – Lae o Pohakuloa.
- 45 – Akahukaumu. Indefinite, head of bay.  
The lighting – "Akahu" of the oven "Kaumu."  
[now written as Akahu Kaimu]
- 46 – Lae o Lelewi, bone cape on a/c of sharpness.
- 47 – Kapalaoa bay.  
Anaehoomalu Station
- 48 – Kuaiwa rock. Name from "Kuaiwa" chief of Anahulu Ahupuaa who in the time of Kaahumanu raised a revolt in favor of heathenism and being bound hand and foot, was thrown into the sea at Kailua.
- Lae Makaha. Outlet of fishpond [Book 252:131-132]
- Hale o Mihi rock. Mihi an ancient demigod or Kupua.
- Koukealii Bay, sight on surf at head.
- Lae o ka Auau. Anaehoomalu.
- Waiulua inlet, abounding in "ulua" fish.
- Waiulua Cape, nearly on level with sea.
- Anaehoomalu Bay. Head of bay.  
[Book 252:131]

*J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 111 Reg. No. 253  
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District  
Akahipuu; May 29, 1882 (see Figure 17 for locations discussed below)*

**Site # and Comment:**

- 1 – Kiholo meeting house. Puu Waawaa.
- 2 – Kauai's frame house. Puu Waawaa, Kiholo village.
- 3 – Keanini's frame house. Puu Waawaa, Kiholo village.
- 4 – Honuakaha Bay. Puu Waawaa.
- 5 – Keawaiki Cape. Puu Waawaa.
- 6 – Kiholo Bay. Puu Waawaa.
- 7 – Lae Iiili. Cape of lava stones.
- 8 – Inside bay.
- 9 – Lae Hou. [Book 253:39]

**Akahipuu – May 31, 1882**

- 10 – Ohiki Bay. In Puu Waawaa.
- 11 – Lae Ohiki. "
- 12 – Koholapilau bay. "
- 13 – Konalimu. "
- 14 – Keawakeekee bay. "
- 15 – Keawakeekee cape. "
- 16 – Keawaiki bay. "
- 17 – Lae Akinakahi. In Puu Waawaa.
- 18 – Akinakahi Bay. [Book 253:49]
- 19 – Lae o Naubaka. In Puu Anahulu.
- 20 – Kaluaouou Bay. "
- 21 – Lae o Namahana. "
- 22 – Parker's new frame house. In Anaehoomalu.
- 23 – Anaehoomalu. "
- 24 – Anaehoomalu fishpond, tang. *makai* side. "
- 25 – Anaehoomalu fishpond, tang. *mauka* side. "
- 26 – Lae o ka Auau. In Anaehoomalu.
- 27 – Waiulua bay. "
- 28 – Pohakuakaha rock. At end of cape Auau.
- 29 – Pohakuakaha Cape. Sight on surf.
- 30 – Honokaape bay.
- 31 – Lae o Waawaa. [Book 253:51]



***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 1 Reg. No. 251  
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District  
Anaehoomalu; March 9-10, 1882 (see Figure 18 for locations discussed below)  
Site # and Comment:***

- 1 – Lae Upolu.
- 2 – Lae Waamauli.
- 3 – Lae Waawaa.
- 4 – Small cape.
- 5 – Lae Iliilinaeheehe.
- 6 – Pohaku Loa. Boundary of Anaehoomalu and Kalahuipuaa.
- 7 – Point on coast.
- 8 – Honokaape bay.
- 9 – Honokaape cape.
- 10 – Part of Honokaape.
- 11 – Submerged rock. Outermost rock of reef.
- 12 – End of reef.
- 13 – Submerged rock.
- 14 – Rock on point.
- 15 – Lae Kaauau.
- 16 – Grove of Coconut trees. This side [north] of Hiiaka o ka Alahii.
- 17 – Grove of Coconut trees. At Kapalaoa, coast sea level.
- 18 – Lae o Lelewi.
- 19 – Lae o Naubaka.
- 20 – Lae Hou.
- 21 – Nuku o Meomeo. [Book 251:33 &39]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 1 Reg. No. 251  
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District  
Nohonaohae; March 23 & 29, 1882 (see Figure 19 for locations discussed below)  
Site # and Comment (Section 2):***

- 1 – Lae o Mano.
- 2 – Kiholo Bay.
- 3 – Lae Hou.
- 4 – Lae o Kaiwi.
- 5 – Keawaiki Bay.
- 6 – Lae o Lelewi.
- 7 – Kapalaoa Sch. H.

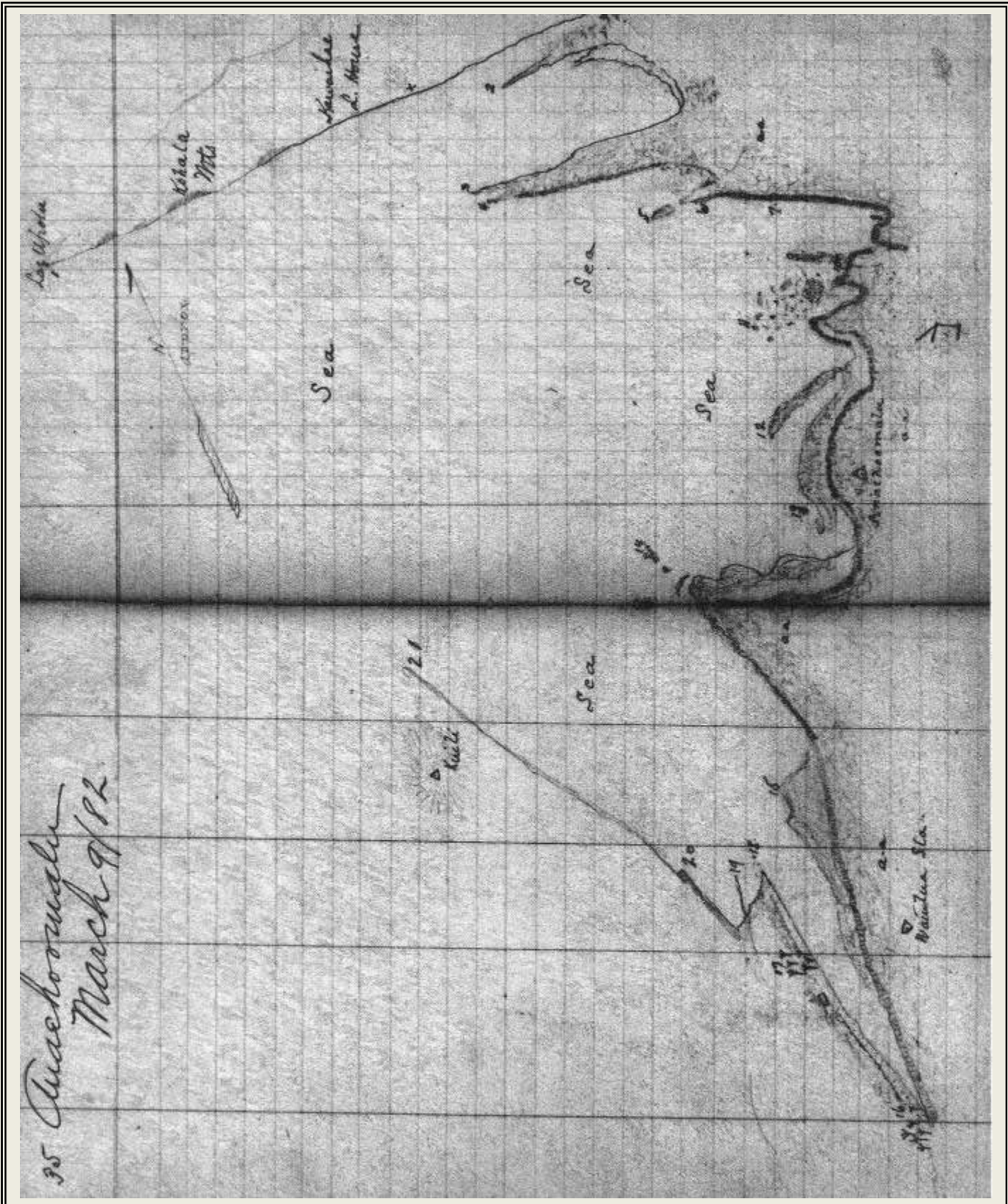


Figure 18. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 251:35 (State Survey Division)



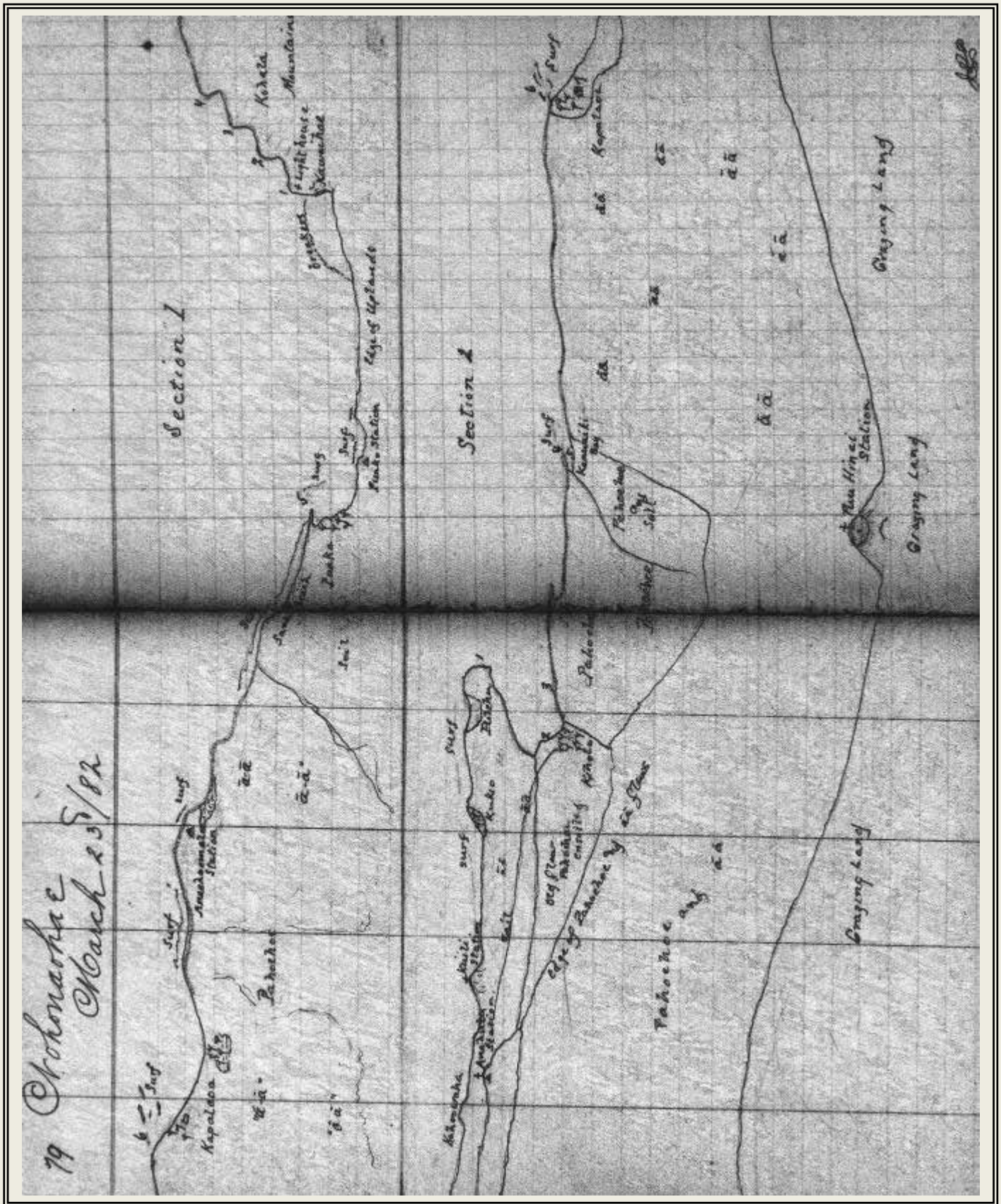


Figure 19. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 251:79 (State Survey Division)

**Site # and Comment (Section 1):**

- 1 – Lae o Kawaihae.
- 2 – Lae o Honokoa.
- 3 – Lae o Waiakailio.
- 4 – Lae o Puulaula.
- 5 – Lae o Waima. [Book 251:93]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 1 Reg. No. 251  
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District  
Sea Coast from Ahumoa; April 6 & 7, 1882  
(see Figure 20 for locations discussed below)***

**Site # and Comment:**

- 8 – Kapalaoa School House
- 1 – Lae o Kaiwi. [Book 251:125]
- 2 – Parker's House. In Lahuipuaa. [Book 251:127]
- 3 – Puako Church ruins.
- 4 – Lae o Puako.
- 5 – Lae o Kawaihae... [Book 251:127]

***J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. II Reg. No. 252  
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District  
Sea Coast from Puu Anahulu; April 25, 1882  
(see Figure 21 for locations discussed below)***

**Site # and Comment:**

- 1 – Lae o Iliilinaehehe.
- 2 – Pohakuloa. Boundary between Anaehoomalu & Lahuipuaa.
- 3 – Iliilinaehehe bay [the northern side of Honoka'ope].
- 4 – Parker's house in Lahuipuaa. Sight on center.
- 5 – Lae o Kapaniau. Tangent to cape.
- 6 – Bay.
- 7 – Lae o Pohakupuka.
- 8 – Bay.
- 9 – Puako Ch. ruins. Sight on center.
- 10 – Lae o Piliamoo. Hidden by coconut trees.
- 11 – Piliamoo bay.
- 12 – Bay.
- 13 – Lae o Kanekanaka. Hidden by coconut trees..

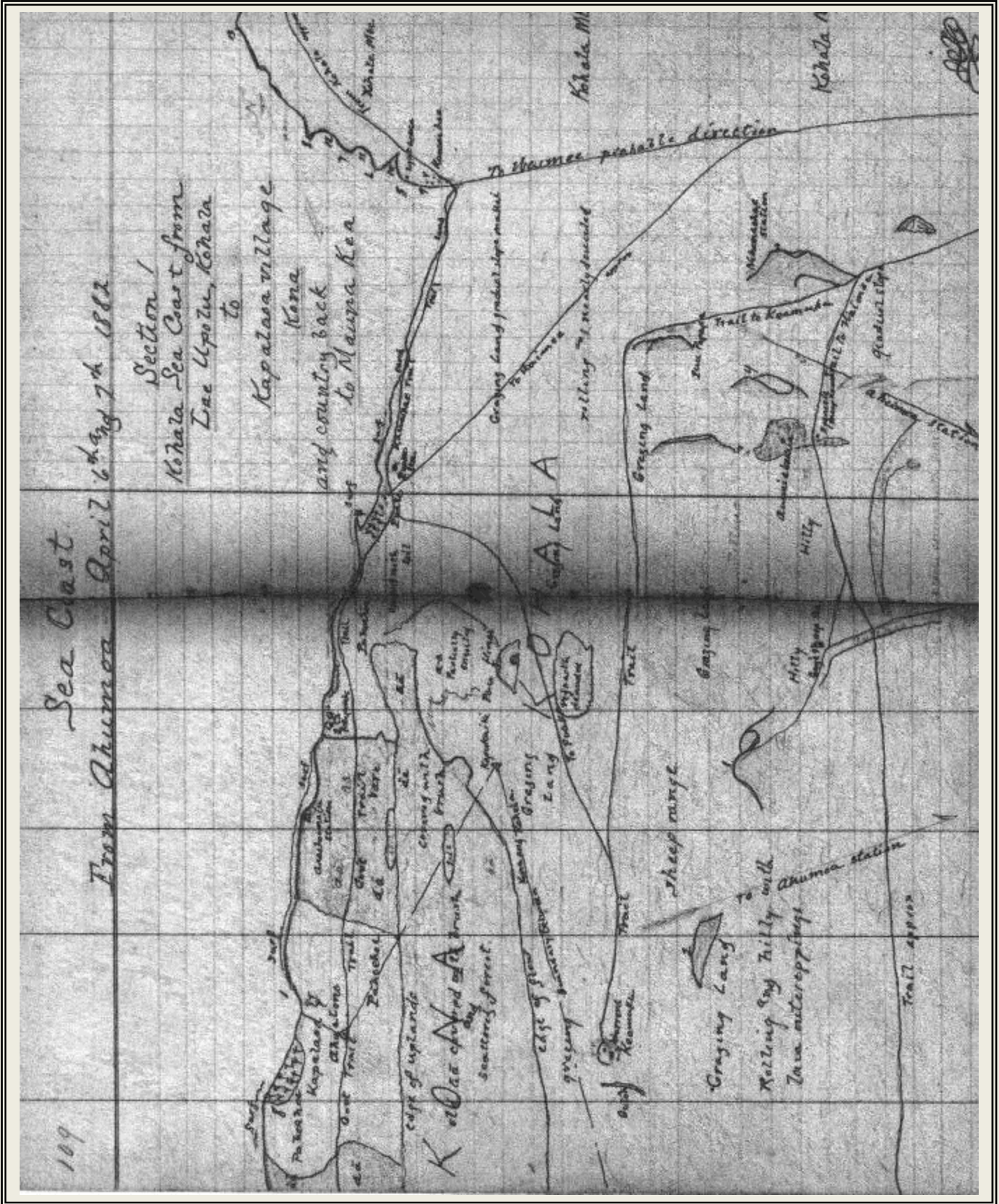


Figure 20. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 251:109 (State Survey Division)

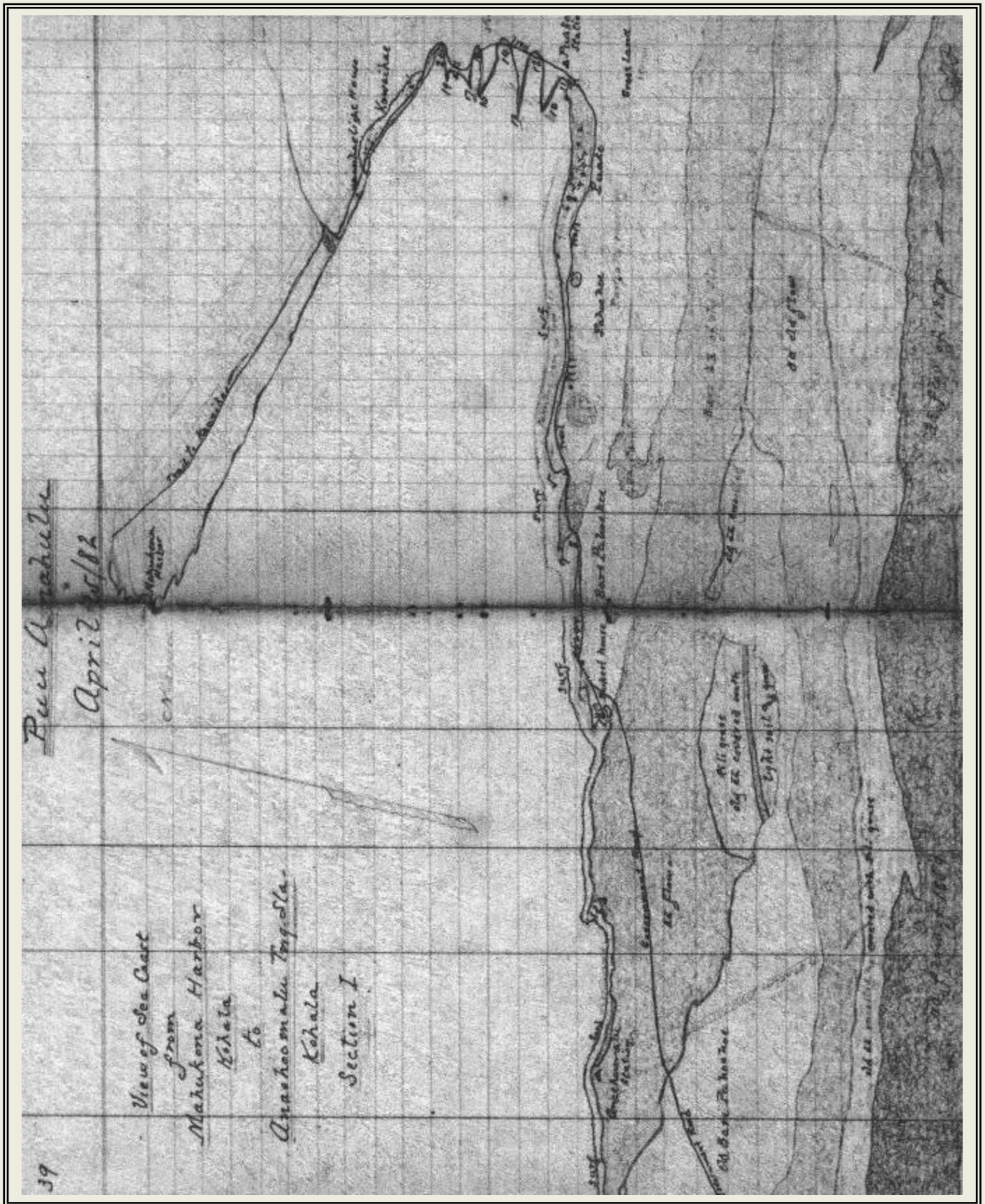


Figure 21. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 252:39 (State Survey Division)

- 14 – Hapuna Bay.
- 15 – Lae o Kaunaoa.
- 16 – Kaunaoa bay.
- 17 – Lae o Kaaha. Extreme.
- 18 – Small bays.
- 19 – Lae o Kaaha. Tangent to head.
- 20 – Bay.
- 21 – Kawaihae Ch. [Book 252:73]

In addition to the field note book descriptions, Emerson was also writing regular status reports to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General of the Kingdom. Those letters—from the collection of the Hawaii State Archives—often provide readers with interesting reading. The communications document field conditions, difficulties with some surveys, and who the informants and field guides were. Among the letters are the following:

***October 16, 1880***

***J.S. Emerson, Surveyor (in Camp at Lahuipuaa); to  
W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General.***

Describes surveying conditions along the Kohala-Hämäkua boundary; also discusses problems with previous surveys of the Lāhuipua'a vicinity:

I am very much surprised to find that Hitchcock's map & description of Lahuipuaa [Reg. Map No. 1182] are so different from what the kamaainas point out to me as the bounds, that I am compelled to regard his work as pretty nearly useless... (HGS DAGS 6, Box 1)

***October 22, 1880***

***J.S. Emerson, Surveyor (in Camp at Lahuipuaa); to  
W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General:***

...Yours of Oct. 19 is at hand. With this I inclose a very rough plot of my survey of Lahuipuaa & Anaehoomalu, scale 20 ch. = 1 in [Figure 22]. You can superpose my tracing of Hitchcock's survey and compare the two.

Full lines represent the boundaries according to Kamaainas. Broken lines represent Hitchcock's boundaries. You will see that according to his survey the only valuable part of Lahuipuaa, which contains the four large fish ponds and nearly all the cocoanut trees, is not included in his map & description of that land, but is called Waimeā (I suppose Waimā is meant.) There is a radical mistake in the location on your tracing of the North edge of the great flow. Its true position is at Kepani near the bend in the Govt. Road and not far from the fish ponds. In your sketch it is placed one mile too far North East, so as to place it on the line between Waima & Lahuipuaa.

This error in a former survey probably led Hitchcock into the mistake about the position of the boundary between these two lands... I have located Ahualono & will finish the fish ponds tomorrow... (HGS DAGS 6, Box 1)

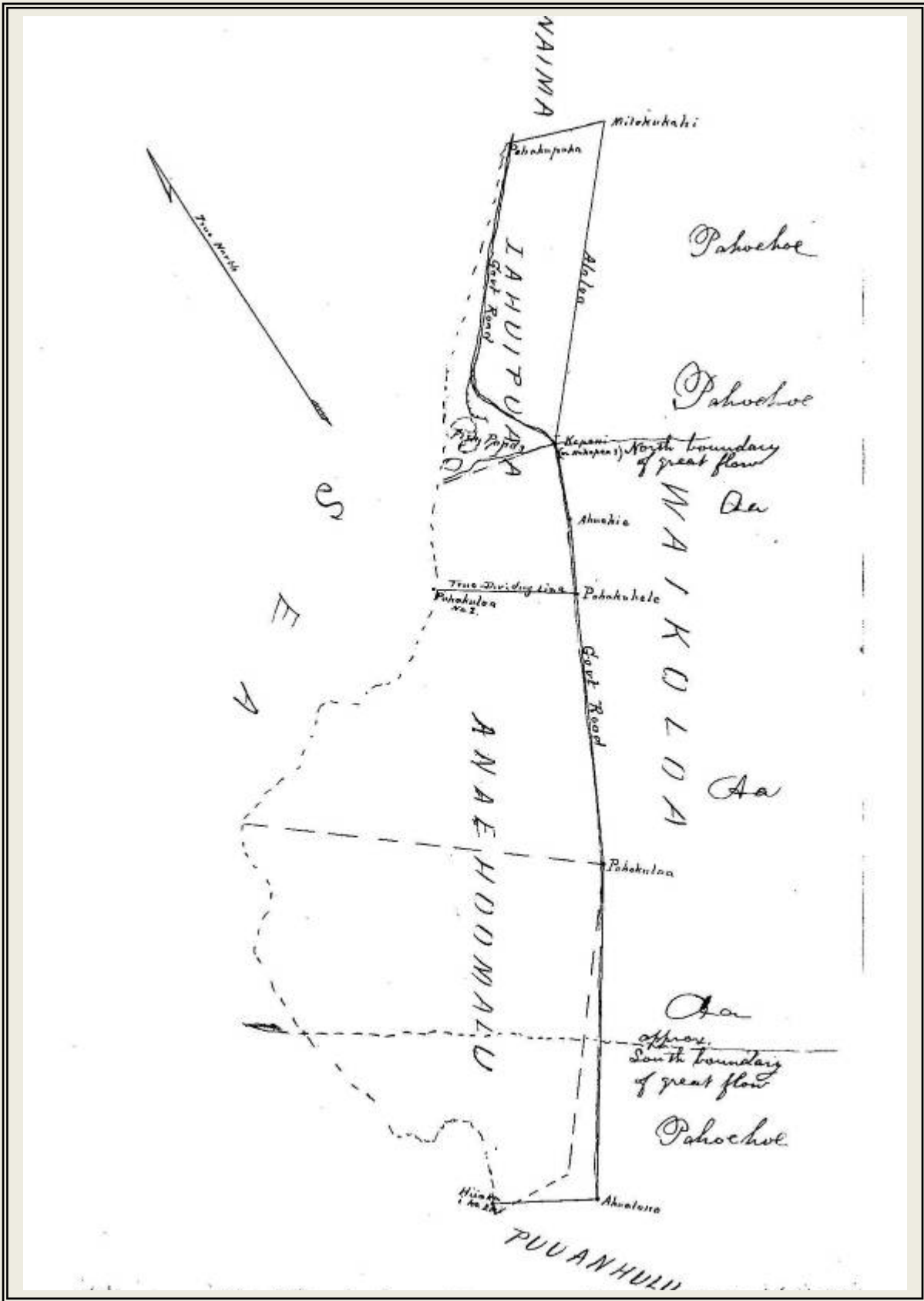


Figure 22. Rough Sketch of 'Anaeho'omalua and Kalāhuipua'a (showing Govt. Road and key survey points). J.S. Emerson October 22, 1880.

Emerson's Field Book entry (Register No. 312) during the October 1880 surveys of "Lahuipuaa" and "Anaehoomalu," include several entries of historical interest regarding the *ala loa*, natural features and information he received from native guides while in the field (Register Map 824 – at end of study – was produced as a result of this survey). Among those notes are the following observations:

Milokukahi is a pt. on the old *alaloa* from Waimea to Kona. It is marked by a hole drilled in the solid *pahoehoe* rock with a  $\Delta$  about the hole thus  $\Delta$  & a large pile of stones beside it. This is the true boundary of Lahuipuaa, Waima & Waikoloa, all other surveys to the contrary... [Reg. No. 312:123-126]  
There is also another pile [of stones] opp. the one on the *makai* side road 3 ft. *makai* of S. Base. This marks the boundary between Lahuipuaa & Anaehoomalu on the line of Waikoloa... [Reg. No. 312:129-130]

Of particular interest to historical documentation of the residency of Kamehameha 1<sup>st</sup> in Kohala, Emerson learned the that at Keawanui in Lāhuipua'a, "Kamehame 1<sup>st</sup> had a village here;" and that Keawanui "was the landing of Kamehameha 1<sup>st</sup>" (Reg. No. 312:143-144 & 159).

Near the alignment of the coastal trail—presently the primary access (*Ala Kahaka*)—through 'Anaeho'omalū, Emerson also recorded the presence of "Kuahu o Hiiaka" (altar of Hiiaka). During his survey, Emerson placed a mark on a stone on the altar and noted:

Kuahu o Hiiaka  $\Delta$  on sandstone on old altar sacred to Hiiaka – a pile of *aa* and coral rock... The Kuahu o Hiiaka is the true / [boundary] between Kohala & Kona & between Puuanahulu & Anaehoomalu. [Reg. No. 312:128-129]

As noted on page 96 above, Emerson's survey, recorded in the Boundary Commission proceedings and on Register Map No. 824 also referenced the old *ala loa*-Government Road in relationship to Ke-ahu-a-Lono (generally following the traditional access route past the Kohala-Kona boundary).

**February 5, 1882**

**J.S. Emerson, Surveyor**

**(in Camp – Kaupulehu, Northwest Slope of Hualalai, about 6000 feet above sea level); to**

**W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General.**

Describes establishment of survey markers along coast between Kuili (at Awake'e, North Kona) to Puakö:

...I regret that Puako signal is so placed as to be invisible from Kuili. A cocoanut grove obstructs the view. A new intermediate station on Cape Waawaa in Lahuipuaa, I hope will enable me to connect the two.  
Puu Anahulu (in Napuu) and Puu Waawaa, will with cape Waawaa as stations fix Kuili... (HGS DAGS 6 box 1)

In 1882, Emerson described surveying of the Kona-Kohala region, and wrote about the field sketches by Perryman, and how he obtained information pertaining to the landscape from native residents:

**May 21, 1882**

**J.S. Emerson, Surveyor**

**(in Camp – Kaupulehu, Northwest Slope of Hualalai, about 6000 feet above sea level); to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General.**

...We left our station at Puu Anahulu Friday morning May 5 in the midst of a furious sand storm accompanied by occasional whirl winds of great force, and after quite a march through the forest over a rough aa trail reached Puu Waawaa about 5 P.M. To protect ourselves from the *Mumuku* [name of the fierce winds of the area], we pitched tent in a jungle of *ulei* shrubs. But to our intense disgust we found the hill, or little mountain on which we were encamped, swarming with myriads of *pokepoke*, or sow-bugs, sole living representative of the fossil trilobite. They covered and got into everything, lined our blankets & pillows, crawled up the sides of the tent & dropped down upon our faces as we slept, or crawled into our ears and hair. We destroyed thousands upon thousands with fire & faggot, but tens of thousands came to their funeral. The scourge lasted as long as we remained on the hill, and when we left May 17, we carried away a large swarm that still covered the tent. During the ten days we occupied the station, we had but little clear weather. We were in the cloud, fog, mist or rain much of the time, and the continued breathing of such an atmosphere was a most trying ordeal...

Every item of local historical, mythological or geological interest has been carefully sought out & 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... [selected sketches cited as figures above in this section of the study] (HGS DAGS 6 box 1)

**August 30, 1883**

**J.S. Emerson, Surveyor (Punihaole's house – Kiholo, Kona, Hawaii); to**

**W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General:**

...I arrived at Kawaihae yesterday P.M. at 5 after an extremely disagreeable voyage on the nasty steamer Likelike. The weather was fair, but the condition of the boat was such as to make all the passengers of the Anglo Saxon race horribly sick. I made formal complaint of the state of things to Capt. King and to Mr. White at Mahukona, and the former gave the steward a severe reprimand for neglecting the sanitary condition of the cabin. I have never seen it so bad before.

This morning at 3 I left Kawaihae in Capt. Kanehaku's<sup>13</sup> clean whale boat, and after a delightful sail along the familiar coast reached this place at 7. Kailihiwa<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Kanehaku also served as the South Kohala Road Supervisor in the period between ca. 1883-1887 (communications cited in this study).

<sup>14</sup> As noted in the interviews with Robert Keäkealani Sr. and his children, Ka'ilihiwa (nui) was the grandfather of R. Keäkealani Sr.—the one from whom he learned much about the land of Kawaihae to Ka'üpulehu—and Iakopa was also a relative of the grandparent's generation.



and the animals will be due here this P.M. So says Iakopa... (HGS DAGS 6 box 2)

### ***Kawaihae-'Anaeho'omalu – Land Tenure (ca. 1900 to 1950)***

The documentation below, provides readers with an overview of selected records pertaining to land ownership in the first half of the twentieth century. Of particular interest are the records of individuals whose descendants and relatives participated in oral history interviews cited in this study (e.g., the families of Akau-Paulo-La'au-Kaono-Kaloa, Vredenburg-Hind, Low-Ruddle, and Brown).

#### ***Overview of Selected Land Records***

June 30, 1902, Lucy K. Peabody conveyed to Wilmot L. Vredenburg, 553 acres at Puakö (Bureau of Conveyance Liber 238:162-163 ) (*Figure 23*). Vredenburg's interest in Puakö was subsequently incorporated into the Puakö Sugar Plantation venture with Robert and John Hind (see below).

As early as 1899, W. Vredenburg and John Hind applied to purchase parcels of land in Puakö. In 1904, John Hind applied for and received the Grant No. 4856, containing 3.91 acres of land at Puako which became the Puako Mill Lot. The *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* runs through this lot (*Figure 24*) (State Land Management Division).

In 1914, Robert Hind acquired General Lease No. 840 for 1,000 acres of land in the coastal region of Lälämilo (the remaining inland portions of Lälämilo were leased by Parker Ranch). By this time, Hind was diversifying his operations—extending his ranching interests (a *kiawe* feed lot and cattle shipping operation), honey making, and making charcoal on the lease land (see oral history interviews with Wm. and Lani Akau, and Tita Ruddle-Spielman). The lease was for a period of 15 years and excluded — L.C. Awards 3736 (to Wahakane), 3758 (to Akahi), 4102 (to Kamahiai), and 8550-B Ap. 6 (to W.C. Lunailo); the Puakö House Lots Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7; and Grants 8821 (to David Kaono), 4856 (to John Hind), School Grant 13:1, and the Church lot. Also excluded from the lease were the “existing Government Road and trails” (C.S.F. 2483) (*Figure 25*). In 1927 the lease was renewed (General Lease No. 1855) and extended to December 1943. The lease was once again renewed (General Lease No. 3083), but in 1952, the trustees of the estate of Robert Hind canceled the lease (cf. Bureau of Conveyances and Land Division files).

#### ***Puako Sugar Plantation***

As noted above, by ca. 1902, John and Robert Hind and W. Vredenburg had entered into a partnership, forming the Puako Sugar Plantation. The plantation consisted of both purchased and leased lands (leases coming from the Government and Parker Ranch – cf. Lease No. 50-A). John Hind's journals (a type written manuscript, ms.) provides readers with a brief history of the Puakö Plantation and other family business interests, with insightful comments on the changing Kohala environment brought on by the diminishing upland forests. Unfortunately, there are few dates accompanying the narratives, and approximate dates can only be assumed at the present time.

Mr. W.L. Vredenburg [sic] one Sunday came to Hawi in a state of considerable excitement, with four or five sticks of fine looking cane strapped to his saddle, which, as he put it, he discovered at Puako the day before while on

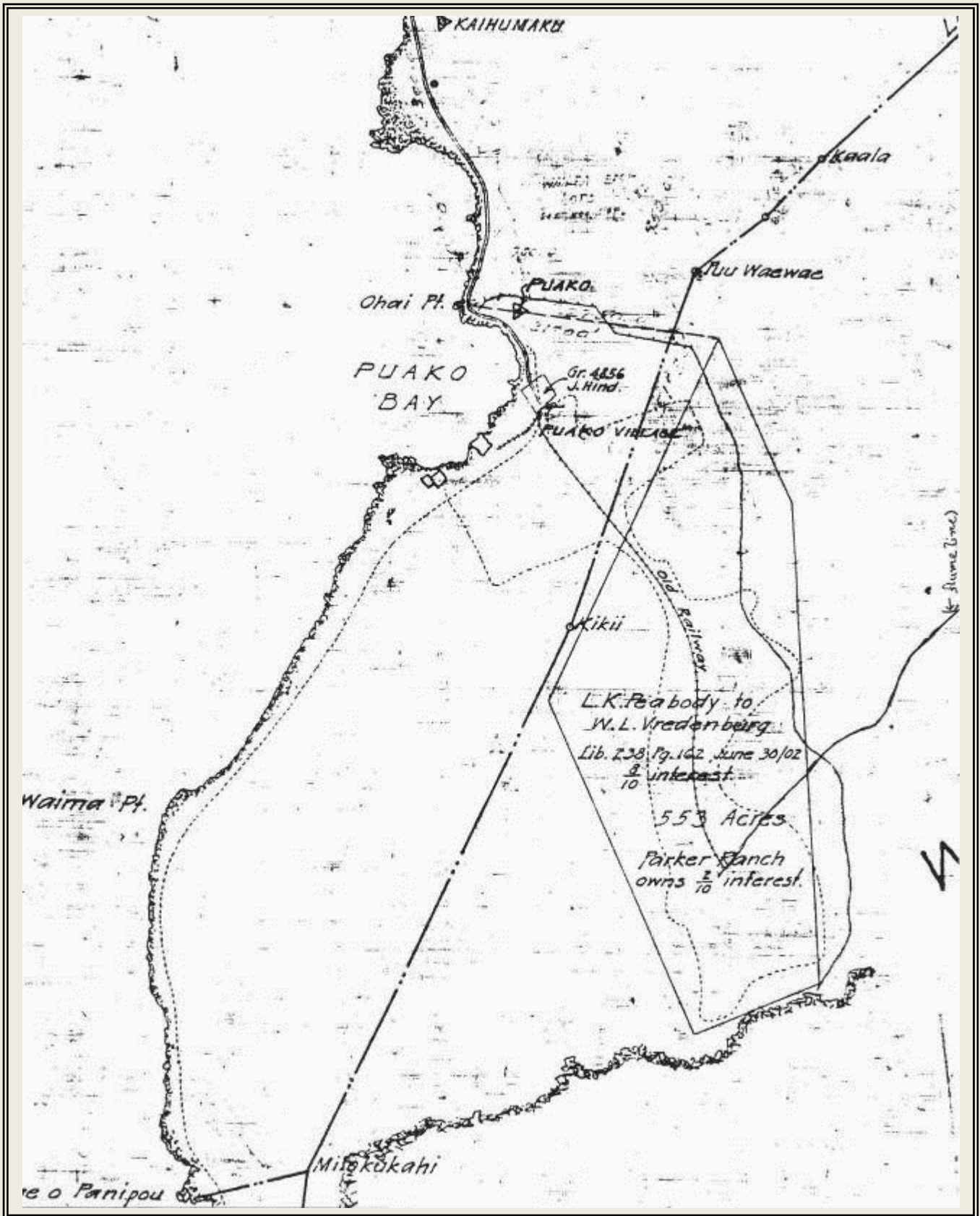


Figure 23. Portion of Reg. Map No. 2786, Puakö Plantation Section

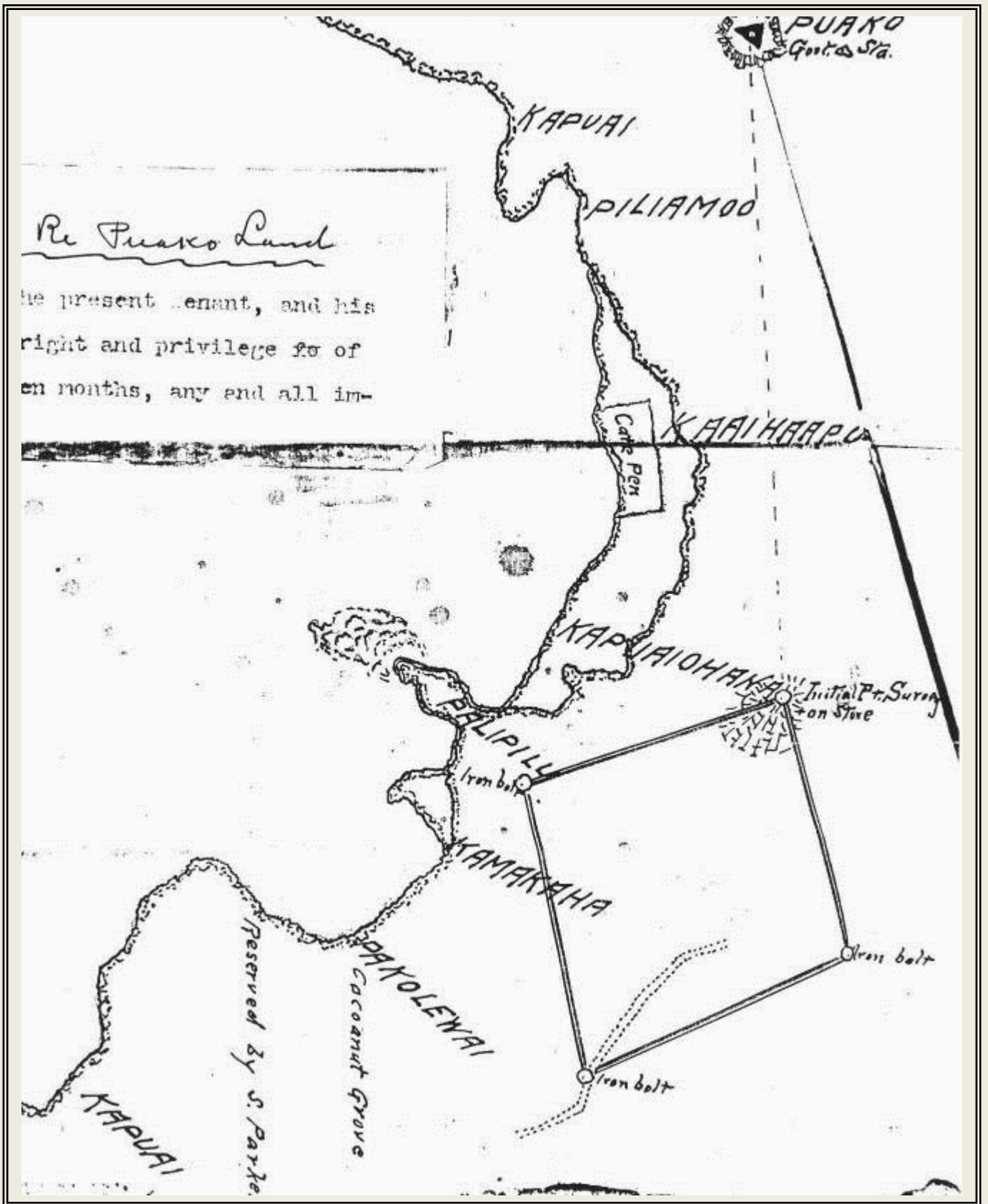


Figure 24. Portion of Map – Grant 4856, the Puako Sugar Mill Lot

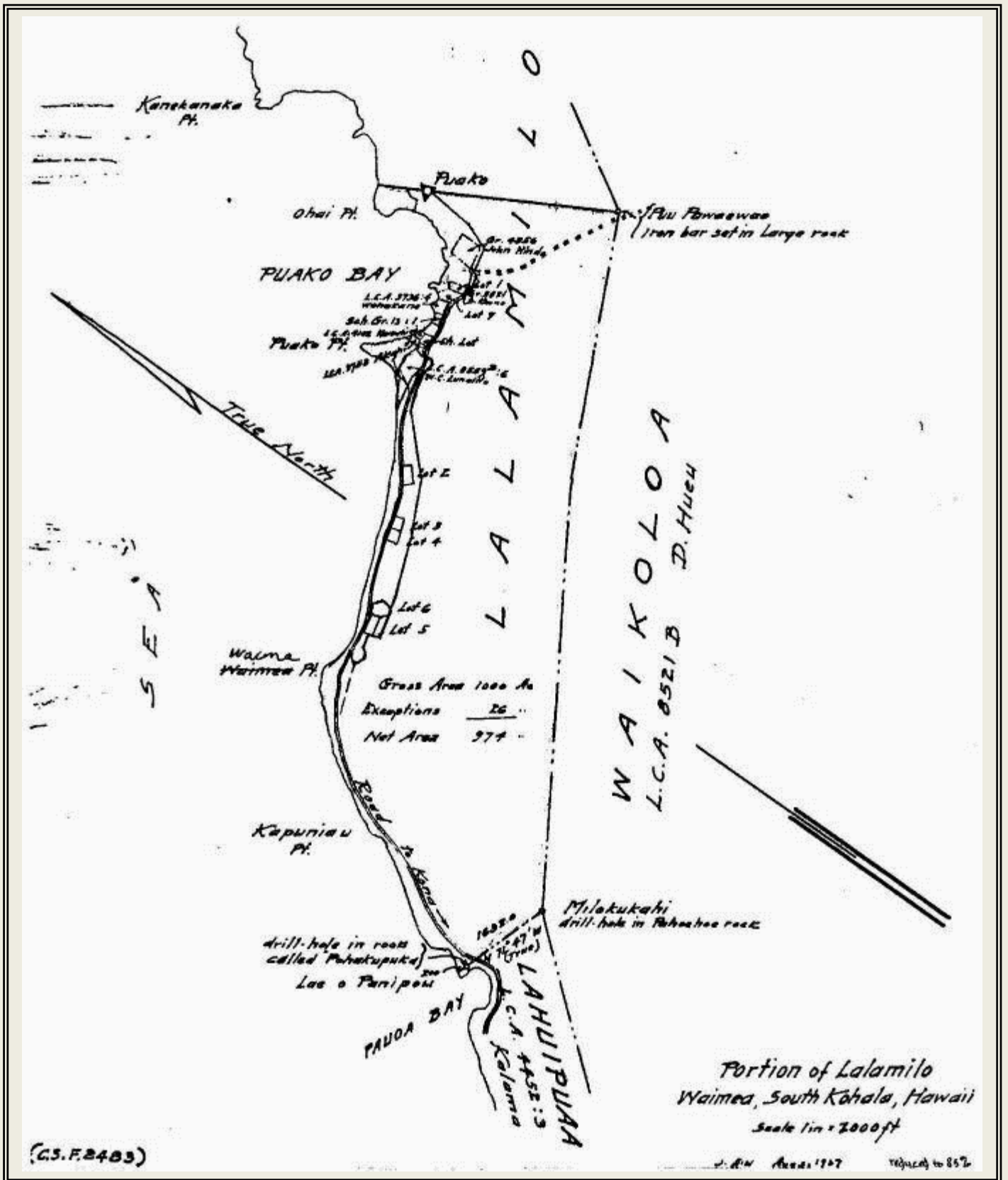


Figure 25. Map of General Lease Nos. 840, 1855, & 3083, Land of Lalamilo (showing exclusions), to Robert Hind. (C.S.F. 2483)

a shooting trip. This cane was grown without irrigation, and he enthusiastically announced, there were large areas of as good land as that on which these particular sticks were grown... [Hind ms.:46]

To make a long story short, conditions appeared extremely favorable for cane growing. Soil was analyzed, and found of unusual fertility, in fact received special mention by Dr. Maxwell the Director of the H.S.P.A. Experimental Station. A well was sunk (about ten feet) water analyzed and found to contain no more salt than water on other plantations, using well water. An experimental plot was planted, which for growth exceeded anything I had ever seen. Negotiations were entered into with Parker Ranch, for the property and as there appeared to be no bidders for our Waipunalei [Hilo] land, an exchange was finally arranged whereby Sam Parker, secured our rights in Waipunalei, for his rights in Puako.

A fine up to date little mill with all the appurtenances which go with a modern plantation [Hind ms.:47] was installed, on an ideal site, a hundred or so yards from the landing... [in ca. 1905]

Shortly after the mill machinery was ordered, and the cane for the first crop looking very wonderful, we suddenly realized there were a couple of very important, vital in fact, elements which had not entered into any of our calculations. Frechets and semityphoons; one of the former caused quite a considerable loss to our first planting, but these frechets, while unwelcome, at the time, were of certain value, and over a series of years prove an asset.

But the high winds proved disastrous. During the first year or two we only had a few severe visitations, but later, while we might be exempt for several months, and everything flourishing, we would have a continuation of storms, which at times would threaten to put us off the map. [Hind ms.:48] And I may say in passing, were it not for these heavy wind storms, and conditions could continue as they were during the first few months of our operations there, Puako would be worth \$35,000.00 to \$50,000.00 a year. I have seen the property more than once, look good for either of these amounts and after a three days blow, look like thirty cents. The principal cause of this sudden deterioration being the thorough drying out of the soil, leaving the salt, which could not be washed out in time, by subsequent irritations. We found a good rain was of very great benefit, and finally as a forlorn hope, after keeping tab, on the Waimea stream for over eighteen months, put in an eight mile flume, but strange as it may seem, the water failed just before the flume was finished. Mr. Carter the Manager of the Parker Ranch [c. 1903<sup>15</sup>] attributed the failure to the unprecedented dry weather in the [Hind ms.:49] mountains, but as the stream, never after that, continued to flow with any degree of regularity, it would appear the shrinkage of forest area in the mountains was having its effect. Puako, as a sugar proposition, I was satisfied, was hopeless, so finally was closed down, and parts gradually sold off at what they would bring [closed by ca. 1914]. The

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<sup>15</sup> By 1903, "a severe reduction in rainfall" brought about discussions which led to the development of the Kohala Ditch. In 1904, John Hind "launched his ditch campaign" (Stephenson 1977:14). The entire ditch alignment is indicated on Register Map 2786.

Mill and some of the tanks removed and installed at Hoesa [North Kohala]...  
[Hind ms.: 50]

As noted above the Puakö sugar venture failed by 1914 (cf. Conde and Best 1973:115). By 1930, additional grants were being awarded the few native families living on the beach, and by 1950, the beach lands had been subdivided into more than 165 Beach House Lots (cf. Register Map 4027; Chas. Murray, July 1950) which at the time were generally "vacation" houses.

In 1919 and 1922, J.B. (David) Kaono applied to the Territory of Hawaii for a Preference Right to Purchase a lot at Puako (Grant No. 8821). The *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* passes the *mauka* boundary of this lot (*Figure 26*). Born at Puakö in 1862, J.B. Kaono wrote the following letter to the Land Commissioner in 1919 (he subsequently obtained the grant):

...I have lived a long time on this land, I was born here and I am now of the age of 57 years, and have had 12 children. And I am still living on government land, because of my love for the land.

And because of the troubles I have had, therefore, I will say to you, the Commissioner of Public Lands, so that you may be able to decide. To the former Commissioner I stated, and he told me that "the land had been passed to Lope Haina [Robert Hind] and would be well for you to see Lope for a place for your house, and when you come to an agreement inform me and I will speedily confirm the same."

And on account of what Lope Haina is doing to me, he has troubled my living. He told me to break down my house again and move away to some other place and his house was to be built where my house stood. He said to me that "You have no business to live on the land, the land belongs to me." Because he found the land was cleared by me, therefore he came and ordered me away. I refused him. "I will not move from this land until the government settles between you and I." He then said to me "If I should tear down your house what would you do?" I told him "That is your privilege. For myself, I will not go." He became quite angry and ordered his men to break down the fence, and the cattle and pigs came in the premises and destroyed my planted trees. My drinking water became the water for the pigs. Destroying all that I have labored for so long on this land and caring for it up to this time.

J.B. Kaono  
Lalamilo Puako, Hawaii.  
(State Land Management Division)

In 1921, Mrs. Annie (Jack) Paulo, applied to the Land Commissioner for Lot No. 7 of the Puako House Lots. In 1931, following the terms of the lease of Puako to John Hind and Parker Ranch, Lot No. 7 was granted to Mrs. Annie Paulo (Patent Grant No. 9967). The lot neighbors the lot of Kaono, and the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* passes its *mauka* side (*Figure 27*).

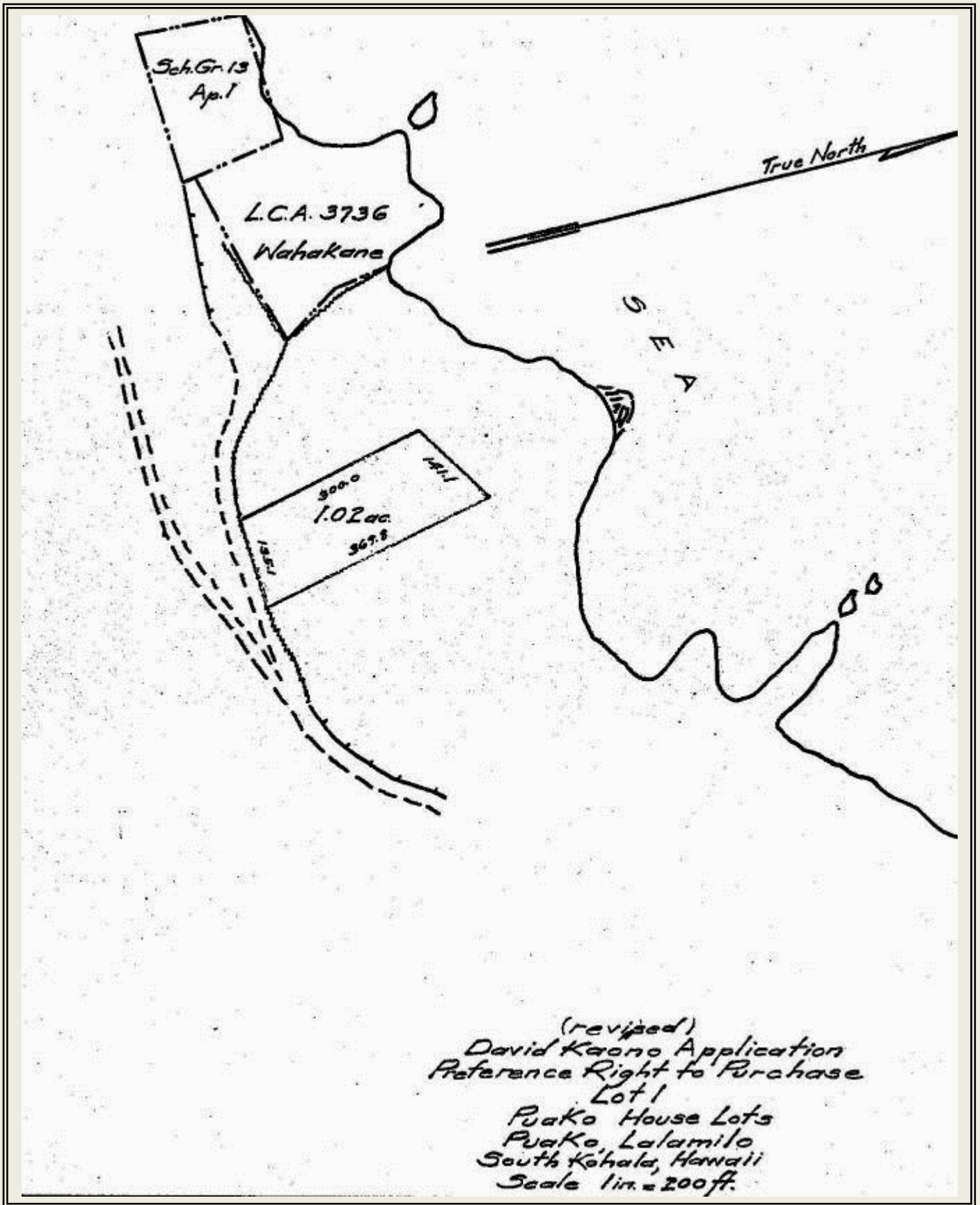


Figure 26. Grant No. 8821, Awarded to David (J.B.) Kaono at Puako

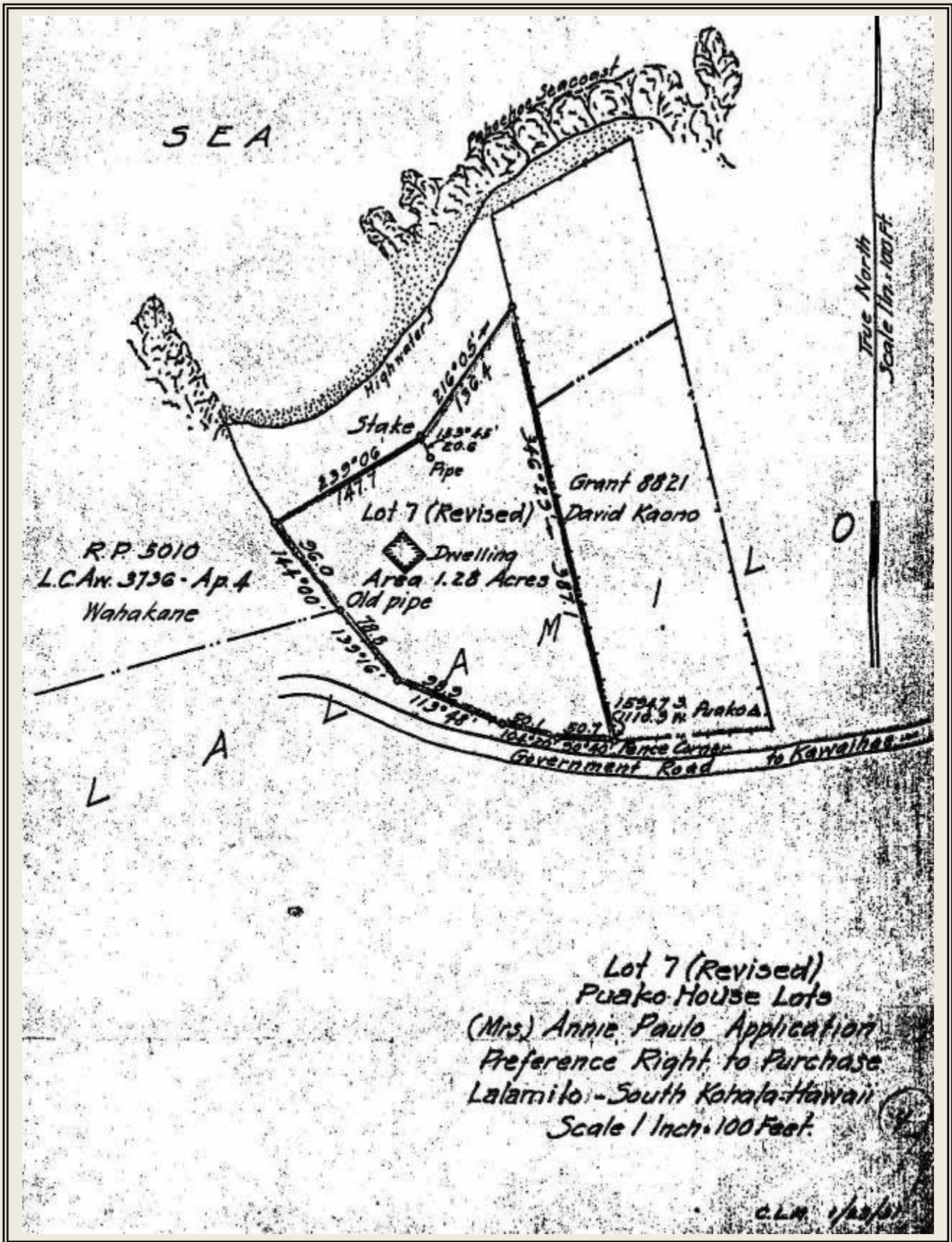


Figure 27. Grant No. 9967, Awarded to Annie Paulo at Puako



It will be noted in the information provided in support of this application, that Mrs. Paulo (a La'au family descendant) was the wife of Jack Paulo, who is spoken of in oral history interviews with Wm. and Lani Akau, and Tita Ruddle-Spielman. He was very knowledgeable about the fisheries from Kawaihae through Ka'üpülehu, and worked for Francis I'i Brown, after Brown acquired Kalāhuipua'a-'Anaeho'omalu and Keawaiki.

Mrs. Paulo herself was born at Waiku'i in 1893 (see *Figure 31* – page 132; depicting the residence of James Laau); her family home being on the *mauka* side of the *ala loa*. The following historical documentation was filed under the Preference Right Claim No. 847 of Annie La'au Paulo:

1. The applicant is 37 years old and was born at Waikui, near Kawaehae [i.e. Kawaihae], on June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1893.
2. The applicant is a native born citizen.
3. The applicant is a married woman, whose husbands name is Jack Paulo.
4. The applicant has one son who will be 20 years old on Dec. 17<sup>th</sup>, 1930. She also has her father, J.E. Laau who is feeble, who is dependant on her, he lives at Waikui near Kawaehae. I believe that this is Kawaehae 2, the Queen Emma land.
5. The applicant has lived on the land at Puako for over 11 years, is at present living with her father at Waikui to care for him as he is quite feeble. She has been at Waikui for about three years caring for him, but goes over to Puako every once in a while, where she has maintained her home, and keeps all of her household effects etc., claiming that she has not given up the place, but is necessarily detained away to care for her father.
6. Prior to her occupancy of the land, a Japanese alien lived there, being a laborer for Mr. Robert Hind when he had the land under general Lease [See General Lease # 50-A]... (Grant 9967 – State Land Management Division)

In 1932<sup>16</sup>, Francis Hyde I'i Brown purchased the lands of 'Anaeho'omalu and Kalāhuipua'a from Elizabeth K. Woods (Parker Ranch heiress). As noted earlier in this study, the lands were originally awarded to Queen Kalama in the Māhele of 1848, and reconfirmed as a part her inheritance from her husband, Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III). Kalama died in 1870, and her uncle, Charles Kana'ina—father of King William Lunalilo—was her heir. When Kana'ina died in 1877, his estate sold the land of 'Anaeho'omalu (as well as Kalāhuipua'a) to Samuel Parker (Interior Department Document No. 250). In 1972, Francis Brown sold 'Anaeho'omalu and Kalāhuipua'a to Mauna Lani Resort.

In the period between 1929 to 1941, members of the Wishard family acquired beach lots at Waile'a. The lots were granted under Patent No.'s 9896, 10134, 10138, 10139, and 10990. The *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* crosses the beach in front of some of the lots, and passes through the southern lots (*Figure 28*) (State Land Management Division).

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<sup>16</sup> cf. Bureau of Conveyances Liber 1150:328, Jan. 8, 1932; and oral history interview with Kenneth Brown.

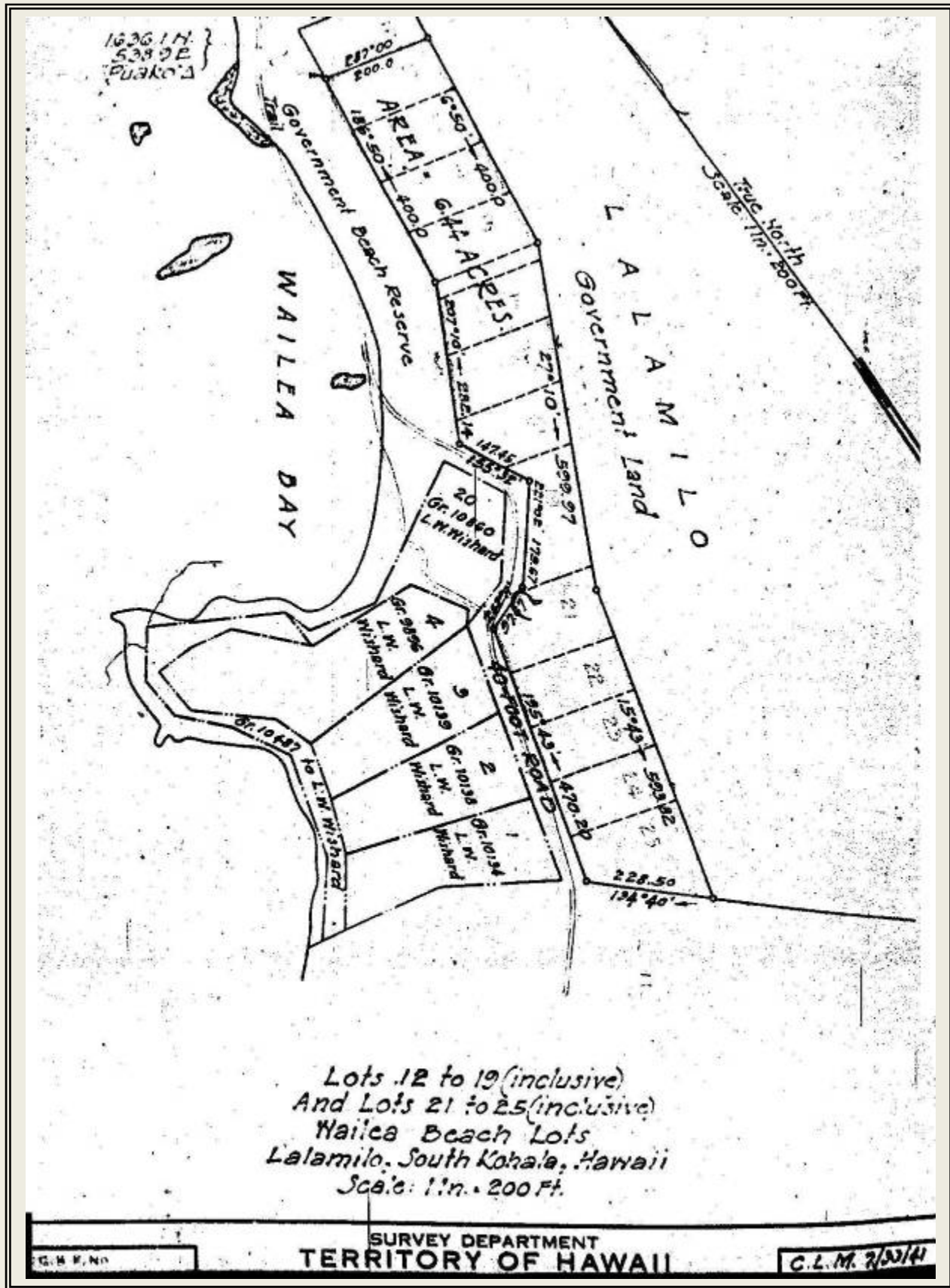


Figure 28. Grant No.'s 9896, 10134, 10138, 10139, and 10990,

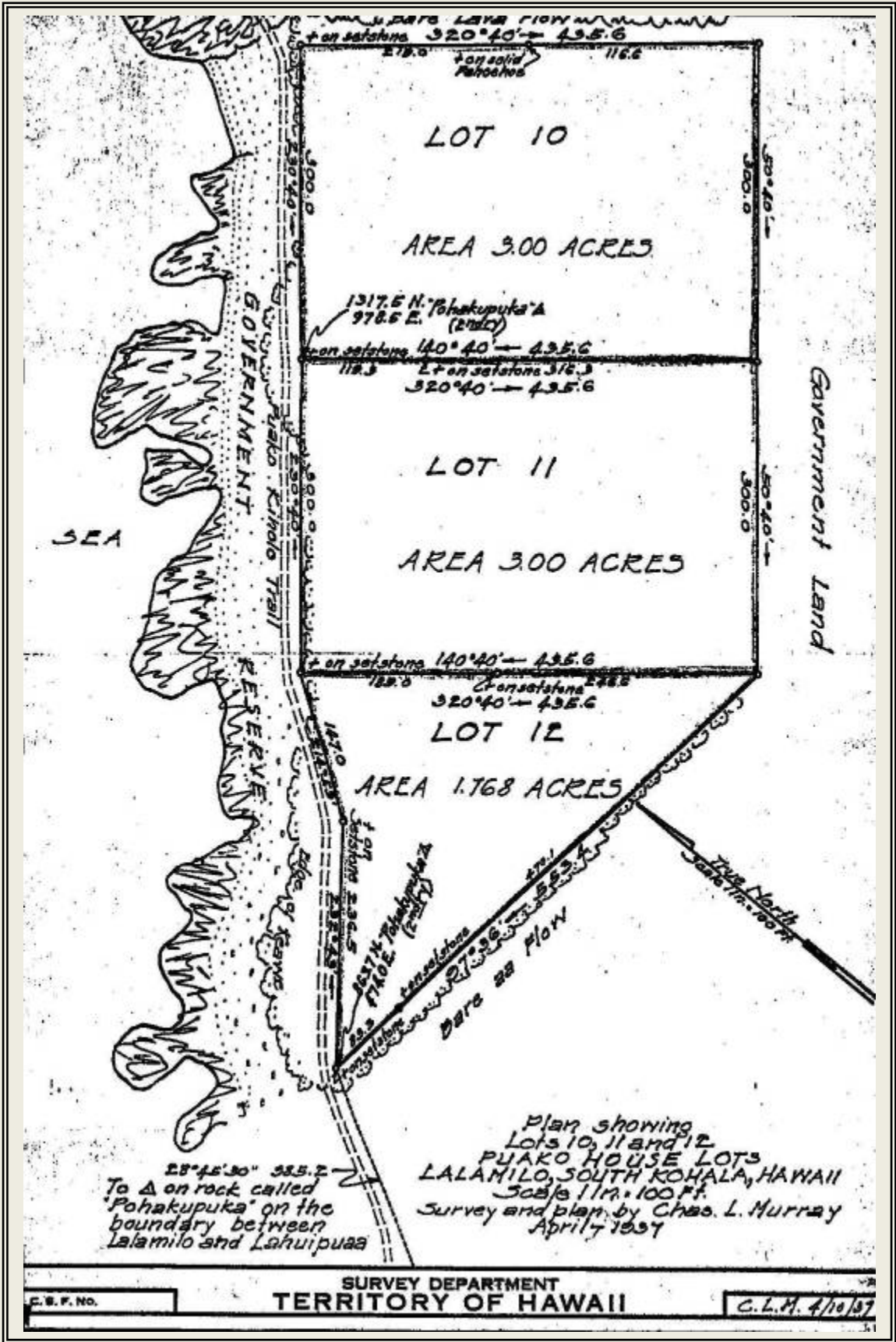


Figure 29. Grant No. 10,559, Sold to Annabelle Nako'olaniohakau Ruddle at Paniau

In 1937 Annabelle Nako'olaniohakau Low-Ruddle purchased 7.428 acres of government land in the *'ili* of Waimā (Puakō House Lots Nos. 10, 11, & 12), but by that time, the land name was recorded as being Lälāmilo. The purchase was confirmed in Grant No. 10,559, and because of the parcel's proximity to "Ka lae o Kapaniau" (Paniau Point), the parcel is known by the name, Paniau (*Figure 29*). For documentation on this grant parcel and family history, see the interview with Tita Ruddle-Spielman and family in this study.

In 1950, Mrs. Rebecca Kaloa Laau (family documentation cited above and in the oral history interview with Wm. and Lani Akau) was issued Land Patent Grant No. 12,005 for 1.82 acres of land at Puako. The parcel was originally Lot No. 6 of the Puako House Lots, with a preference right to purchase granted to Michael Kaloa in 1920. The "Shore Road" passes the *makai* boundary of the lot (*Figure 30*) (Grant No. 12,005 – State Land Management Division).

Portions of the remaining land divisions of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, 'Öuli, and Lälāmilo fall under the jurisdiction of Federal, State, County, and private owners—including estate owners, representing the trusts of several of the *alii* awardees. Sections of these lands have undergone some form of development, and uses include park lands, hotel-resort properties, and multiple and single family dwellings.

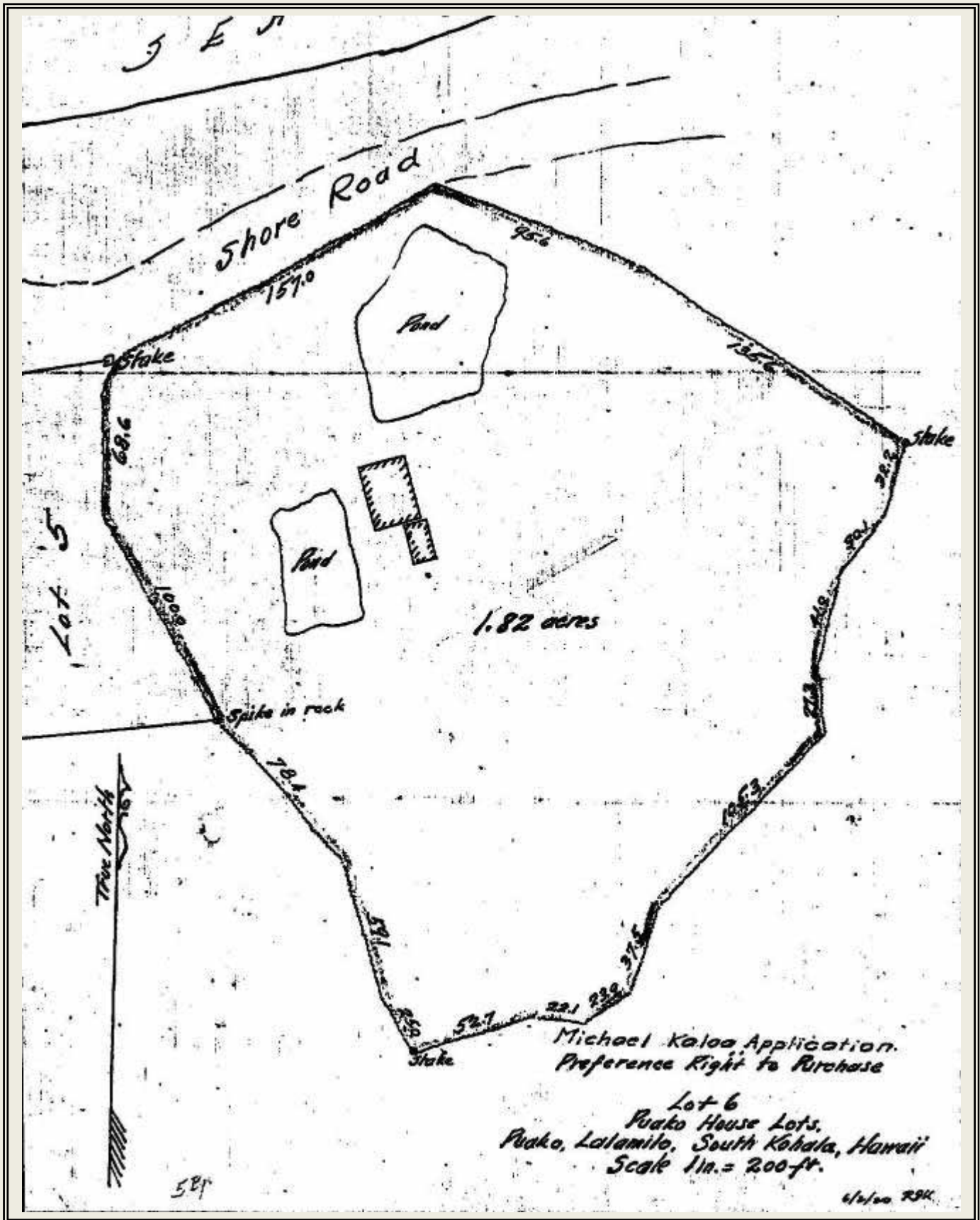


Figure 30. Grant No. 12,005, Awarded to Rebecca Laau at Puako

#### **IV. TWENTIETH CENTURY WRITINGS: SELECTED DOCUMENTATION OF THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF SOUTH KOHALA (THE COASTAL ZONE)**

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The preceding sections of this study provide readers with primary documentation of the native history, traditions, and practices of the Hawaiian residents of the South Kohala region, and document the history of change in residency and travel through the nineteenth century. 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. The documentation cited in this section of the study provides readers with an overview of selected historical studies and archaeological investigations into the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* and resources of the coastal zone of South Kohala.

##### ***Thos. Thrum (1908)***

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 a literature review and field visits, and in the district of Kohala, he provided documentation on thirteen *heiau*. Pu'u Koholā and Mailekini at Kawaihae were the southern-most sites in the district for which he obtained information. No further sites were described for the lands between Kawaihae (South Kohala) to Keahuolu (North Kona)—approximately 33 miles (Thrum 1908:42-43). Thrum provided the following descriptions of Pu'u Koholā and Mailekini:

Puukohola....Kawaihae, a large *heiau* of *pookanaka* [human sacrifice] class 224x1000 ft. in size, walled on the ends and *mauka* side; its seaward side open and terraced: Consecrated by Lono [i-ka-makahiki] about 1580; rebuilt by Kamehameha I, about 1791, and dedicated to his war god Kaili, and the place of sacrifice of Keoua.

Mailekini....Kawaihae, situate a short distance below Puukohola, 270x65 ft. in size; class unknown. Its front is a low perpendicular wall; the *mauka* one much heavier and sloping. Internal features all gone; the interior now occupied by graves. (Thrum 1908:43)

In subsequent articles (1908-1923), Thrum revisits the *heiau* of Pu'u Koholā and Mailekini, citing and interpreting nineteenth century accounts—some of which were referenced earlier in this study.

##### ***J.F.G. Stokes (1906-1909)***

In 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes conducted a field survey of *heiau* on the island of Hawai'i for the B.P. Pauahi Bishop Museum (Stokes and Dye 1991). Stokes recorded information on fourteen (14) *heiau*. He provided detailed descriptions of the condition of "Pu'ukoholā" (SIHP No. 4139) but noted that — "The local information was scanty," and that "Ellis's account was the best published" (Stokes and Dye 1991:169). Stokes also described Mailekini (SIHP No. 4139), and noted:

This *heiau* is supposed to be older than the present *heiau* of Pu'ukoholā and has suffered more internal changes. At one time, in the early part of the

nineteenth century, it was planned to convert Mailekini Heiau into a fort [see Arago 1823 in this study]. Later changes were caused by recent burials, particularly in the northern end. The only interest now pertaining to this *heiau* is the construction of its outer walls, similar in form and material to those of Pu'ukoholā Heiau.

It may be added that an elderly local native stated that Keoua Kuahuula, for whose conquest Kamehameha I built Pu'ukoholā *heiau*, was cooked in an underground oven, the site of which is on the ridge about 50 feet to the west of the northwest corner of Pu'ukoholā. (Stokes and Dye 1991:169, 171).

Stokes visited no other *heiau* in South Kohala, though while in North Kohala, he was told about three *heiau* near the shore of Puakö; he also reported that he could find no old natives at Puakö by which to confirm the information:

...I was given the names of three *heiau* for human sacrifice at Puakö, near the sea. They were Mahikihia Heiau, Kauhuhu Heiau, and Kapo Heiau. The last two are also names of minor deities. It might be mentioned that Kauhuhu is a shark-god said to have lived in a cave on Moloka'i, and Kapo is one of the sorcery gods. I could find no old native residents at Puakö and so recorded no old traditions. (Stokes and Dye 1991:178-179)

It is appropriate to note here, that the name "Kauhuhu," mentioned above by Stokes, was also referenced in the Boundary Commission testimonies for Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup>, by Kalualukela<sup>K</sup>, Kaneahiku<sup>w</sup>, and Kamoehau<sup>K</sup>. (see testimonies in this study). Kauhuhu was identified as being on or near the boundary of Kawaihae 1 and 2, and the site of a *heiau*. While it is common to have duplication of place names around the islands, it is also interesting that Stokes associated the name with a shark deity. Kawaihae Bay was known as a place frequented by sharks. Another *heiau* of Kawaihae, situated in the ocean below Pu'u Koholā and Mailekini has been recorded, though not mentioned by Stokes. That *heiau* is named Hale-o-Kapuni. Since the dredging and construction of the new harbor at Kawaihae (ca. 1968), the shoreline and near shore fishery has undergone significant changes (see interview with Wm. and Lani Akau). Among the casualties have been the *muliwai* and *pu'uone* (estuarine and dune banked pond systems) and the *heiau* dedicated to the sharks of Kawaihae.

Register Map 1323 (Jackson, 1883) and Territorial Survey Map, C.S.F. 5500 (Keala, Oct. 1929) identify the location of Hale-o-Kapuni in relationship to features on the land (*Figure 31*). Of Hale-o-Kapuni, Pukui, Elbert and Mo'okini (1974) stated:

Ka-mehameha I is said to have used this *heiau*, and sharks were fed here. Rocks from here may have been used to build Pu'u-koholā *heiau*. Lit., house of Kapuni (a high priest of the chief Keawe). (Pukui et al. 1974:38)

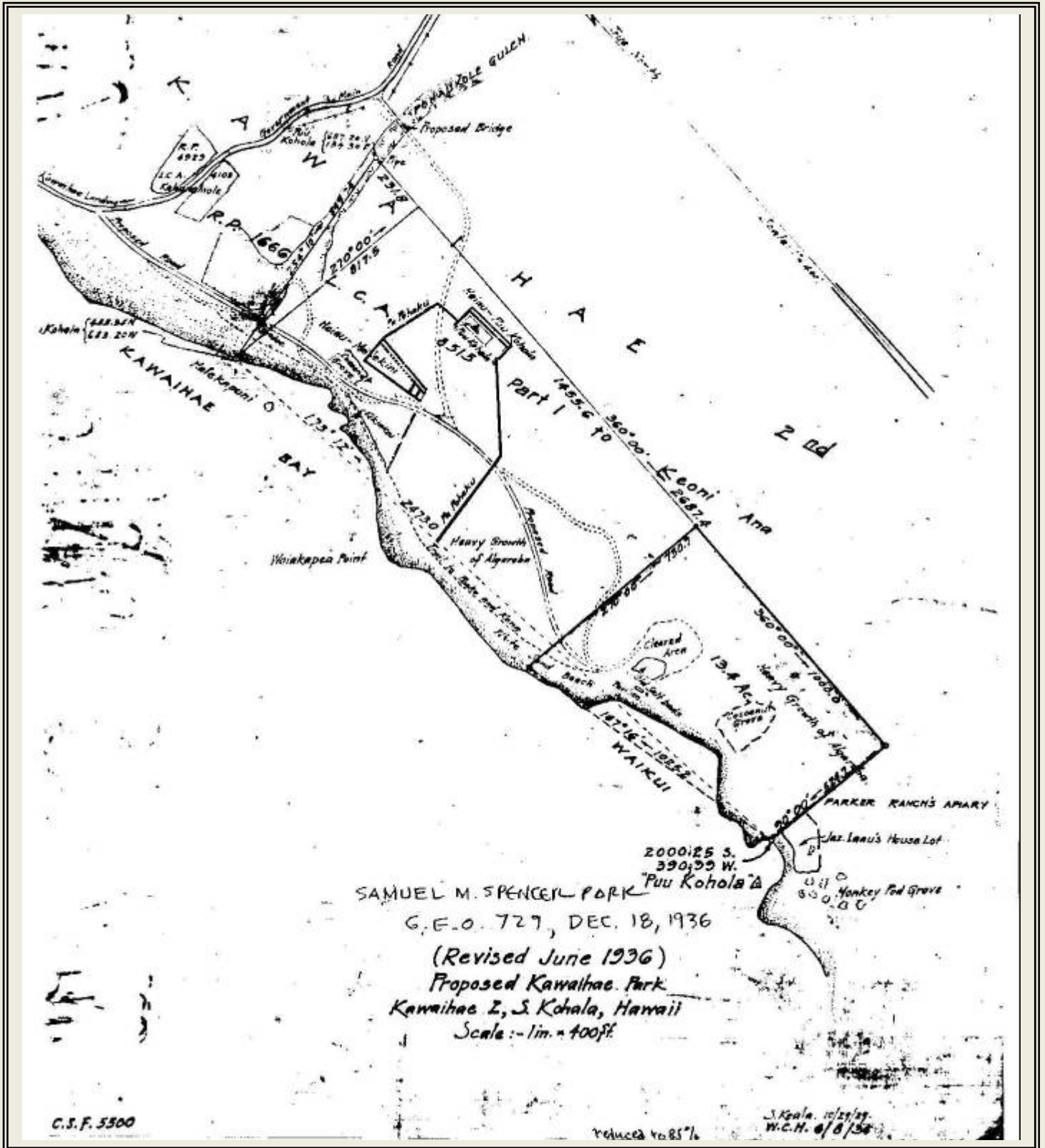


Figure 31. Territorial Survey Map – C.S.F. 5500; Showing locations of Hale-o-Kapuni, Kikiako'i, Mailekini, Pu'u Koholä, the Trail to Puakö and Kona, and other sites in the vicinity of the Ala Loa. (State Survey Division)



In a study prepared for the National Park Service (Greene 1993), titled "Three Traditional Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island" readers are provided with an overview of historical narratives and oral history interviews (up to 1978) that relate the history of this site (Greene 1993:257-262).

In 1972, Public Law 92-388 was signed, establishing Pu'u Koholā Heiau National Historic Site. This section of the district through which the *ala loa-alanui aupuni* passes contains some of the "outstanding cultural resources of great significance to the Hawaiian people" (Green 1993:292). The National Historic Site also includes:

...the Mailekini and submerged Hale-o-Kapuni *heiau*, the royal courtyard of Pelekane, and other evidence of Hawaiian occupation, such as prehistoric and historic house sites and grave sites and standing and buried ruins of other features of human occupancy... (Greene 1993:292)

In 1909, J.F.G. Stokes returned to Hawai'i and traveled portions of the *ala loa-alanui aupuni* in the coast region of North Kona-South Kohala. In doing so he found and described an extensive field of petroglyphs. Confusion arose because Stokes identified the site as being at "Puuanahulu in South Kohala." In 1918, A. Baker set out to locate the petroglyphs which Stokes described in 1909, and he noted that Pu'u Anahulu is in North Kona, not South Kohala. Ten years later, J. Reinecke (ms. 1930) noted that neither Stokes or Baker had the benefit of good maps, and Reinecke placed the site in 'Anaeho'omalū (Reinecke's Site No. 147). Regarding the petroglyph field, Stokes (1910) wrote:

At Puuanahulu in South Kohala, when passing a long a trail late one afternoon, the remarkable sight of a couple of acres of pahoehoe closely covered with petroglyphs was experienced... One striking peculiarity was the use of irregularly circular lines for the inclusion or separation of groups of petroglyphs, perhaps for the purpose of limiting or defining a particular record. There were forms innumerable, forms not suggestive of the human or animal, which from this grouping could leave but little doubt that they told a connected story. They left a strong impression that the Hawaiians had made a decided advance towards a written language... Mostly on the outskirts of this interesting area were many names of Hawaiians, sometimes dates, and more initials. It seemed to have been a time-honored place for recording events. The place had been isolated by the flow of lava in 1859 and is not easy of approach... (Stokes 1910:59-60)

#### **A. Baker (1919 & 1920)**

Baker (1919) elaborates on the field and described his 1918 visit to the site via the Kīholo-Ka'ūpūlehu Trail and then along the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*. It is noted here, that Baker's estimated distance from Kīholo to the Petroglyph field places the field in 'Anaeho'omalū.

...Proceeding by automobile to Huehue, North Kona, we got an early start in the saddle on what proved to be a forty-mile round-trip horseback journey on trails, a portion of which was over the roughest kind of lava. At one time these trails formed the main thoroughfare around the island, but on this occasion we saw but two living souls on the whole trip, tho we were away from the present main road thirteen hours. Reaching Kīholo in less than three hours, we pushed

on toward Kawaihae, thinking that we might find our goal in the section between the flows of 1859, as that was surely "isolated by the flow of 1859", but it was away past both branches of this flow, some six or probably eight miles from Kiholo, and about two miles before the Kohala line. It was here, on some brown or reddish *pahoehoe* just before a high *aa* flow, that we saw the first Hawaiian name, strangely enough with the date of my own birth. Soon we saw other names, and , looking inland, beheld the first circles and marks, which proved to cover more, rather than less, than two acres... It is on the lower trail, a half mile to a mile back from the shore. It might be reached as easily from the Kawaihae side, judging by the way it looks on the map. I have talked with a number of people who have been over the trail without seeing the figures, probably because their attention was taken up by the names until they had ridden past the area...

The rock is unusually soft for *pahoehoe*, the horses having cut a path along the trail across it, while elsewhere it is so hard that no impression has been made by all the years of travel, the way being marked by little piles of lava with a piece of coral or bone to show white in the night. No such variety of lava in form or color has been seen on any other trail, except on the journey to the summit of Mauna Loa....

There are hundreds of circles and thousands of marks of all kinds on this favorite field of ancient Hawaiian records, covering perhaps centuries... (Baker 1919:130-132)

In 1919, Baker returned to Kona, and accompanied John Lynn, Manager of Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch, to Puakö. Lynn had told Baker of more petroglyphs in the field there, and agreed to show them to Baker. Baker and Lynn rode down the Ke'ämuku trail to Puakö. Baker's narratives are of interest, not only for the description of the petroglyphs, but also because he provides readers with a description of the then closing sugar operation which had been started by Robert Hind Jr. of Pu'u Wa'awa'a:

Just before reaching Puako one is surprised by overlooking vivid green irrigated alfalfa fields, the alfalfa being raised for feeding the pigs and a few cattle of this one-time sugar plantation, of which scarcely a suggestion now remains. Algeroba has also grown in marvelously, and the beans well second the alfalfa as feed. Dust is deep and powdery , but this, blown down from the Waimea Plains, or brought by the occasional sudden freshets, is what makes the good soil here.

Mr. Cullen, manager at Puako, said that he had run across the rock marking recently, so he offered to guide us to them, but when we found his patches they proved not to be Mr. Lynn's find at all, but still another set of petroglyphs. We went along the shore trail south from pretty Puako Bay, perhaps about a mile and a half or two miles to a gate which led us through the algeroba an eighth to a quarter of a mile from the sea. We had to tie our horses and walk or crawl to get to the place, and it is almost impossible to describe it so that a stranger could find it, as there are no landmarks for comparison. We turned in not far before what is now a break in the algeroba growth, but it may be filled soon.

The marks are on a couple of fair-sized patches of pahoehoe in open places among the trees just before one reaches a low stone wall, and perhaps half way from the sea to a telephone line. As far again beyond the line, toward Mauna Kea, we would have crossed the line of the other wonderful strip which we started out to see, and which we found the next day.

At this first place the most striking new feature is one row of thirty simple small human figures, one directly above the other, and one other shorter line. There are also, among the conventional forms, a number of triangular-bodied creatures with either three or five straight-lines fingers and toes, like all the other body lines... There are no circles here.

The second morning we started again, finding the first petroglyphs some two miles or so from Puako Bay, to the south but part way inland. To our amazement we followed this narrow strip of rock cuttings in a relatively straight line, and almost continuous, for what we all agreed was at least two and a half miles and perhaps more, for after a break where sand had drifted over we found a few again, just where the before-mentioned shore trail mounted on the big *aa* lava strip of about three miles to Kalinaopelu<sup>17</sup>, the name of the place in Puuanahulu *makai*, South Kona, described in last year's ANNUAL, some half-mile inland from Kapalaoa and another half mile north. A third of the way over this lava to Kalinaopelu, going south, seemed to be the boundary between South Kohala and North Kona. The Puako end of these petroglyphs is some three-fourths of a mile from the shore, with the telephone line about a third of the way to the water. The last, at the southern end are about at the shore, as described, where are the last of the algeroba trees, five miles from Puako bay. This wonderful strip of petroglyphs was along an ancient trail going more inland than the present trail, but of which I could see no trace at the present time. The area is double or three times that at Kalinaopelu, though due to the compact mass of petroglyphs on the two acres or so there, perhaps there are no more actual figures... (Baker 1920:49-52)

### ***J. Reinecke (1929-1930)***

In 1929-1930, Bishop Museum contracted John Reinecke to conduct a survey of Hawaiian sites in West Hawai'i (Reinecke Ms. 1930). A portion of Reinecke's survey extended from Kailua to Kalāhuipua'a, his work being the first attempt at a survey of sites beyond those of ceremonial significance. During his survey, Reinecke made the following observations between Kapalaoa (in Pu'u Anahulu, North Kona) to Kalāhuipua'a (*Figure 32*):

Site 138. Kapalaoa. On the *a-a* where it gives place to the *pahoehoe* are five or more rude shelters. The oasis is bounded at the south with a wall. By the gate is a small pen. On the beach just *makai* is some sort of site. The little headland within the line of the wall is a complex of small enclosures for salt-making. There are two small platforms, one or both being the *kuula* named PUAKO. The oasis as far as Desha's house is cut up by stone walls, within them palms,

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<sup>17</sup> Kalina'ōpelu – In the story of Ka-Miki, Kalina'ōpelu is identified as being on the 'a'ā plain of Kanikū (Feb. 19, 1914). It does not appear that the name has been recorded on historic maps.

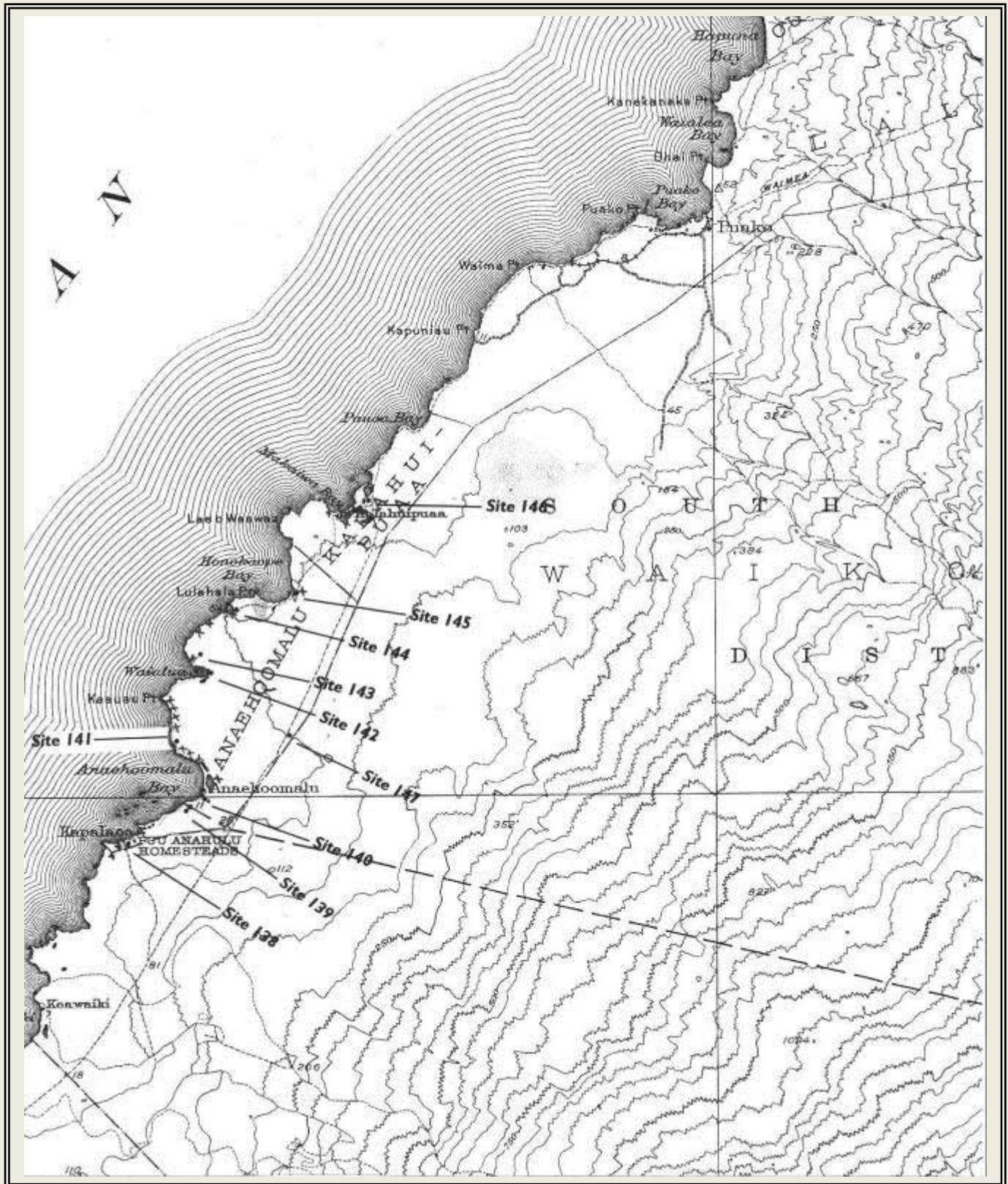


Figure 32. Map after Reinecke (Bishop Museum - Ms. 1930:1) Showing Approximate Locations of Sites and Features described in the vicinity of Kapalaoa-Kalāhuipua'a

a few wells now dry, platforms—at least five modern house platforms—and a shelter. On the brittle, easily chipped pahoehoe by the southern gate are many petroglyphs. From the names found in connection with them and the carvings of sailing ships, one can see that they belong to a period after 1830, but old Alapai, who has lived at Kapalaoa since about 1860, says that they were there when he came... [Reinecke was told the story of Kuaiwa—which he was informed was a chief of the area—and how he lost his life to Pele (see account by Desha, earlier in this study).]

Kapalaoa is inhabited only by the family of Alapai, the stories bout [sic] whom and his family have been secured from Mrs. Yanagi

Site 139. The first stone wall, at the north of Kapalaoa land, has a house platform just south of it. North is a large *papamu*...15 x 15, two others worn smooth, and unfinished *papamu*, and three petroglyphs. A few pools and marshes, one partially surrounded by a wall. A clump of *lauhala* in the a-a 100 yards *mauka* shows a spring there.

Site 140. Anaehoomalu. There are graves on the *a-a* back of the line of *kiawe*. Several yard walls in more or less ruin; two house platforms and one walled house site, perhaps two. Most of Anaehoomalu is comprised in the beach and the two-story house among the cocopalms, with its yard.

Back if the pond are three walled house sites, one partly on the location of an older site. [Reinecke Ms. 1930:26-27]

Site 141. At the north end of the small pond I observed three house sites, but there undoubtedly have been many more. This strip of coast is low and storm-swept, which accounts for the absence of ruins. A line of pools, some with good water, runs northward half a mile along the coast. At one by Kaauau Point are two small shelters.

The approximate location of the *heiau* KAEO was indicated to me, but I did not see it.

Site 142. At Waialua [Waiulua] no ruins are apparent except for one shelter and a few rude hut sites at the Kohala side of the entrance to the shallows.

Site 143. A slightly brackish spring and several shelters, half a dozen of the respectable hut sites, all walled.

Site 144. Along this high coast of rough *a-a*; ten shelters at various intervals.

Site 145. At Honokaope Bay, white sand drifted among the *a-a*; a few *kiawe*; no pool as on the map. There is, however, the pool in the *a-a* a little north, with potable brackish water. One shelter between it and the sea.

A third of the distance towards Kalahuipuaa is a shelter on the path.

Site 146. A few shelters where the path descends from the *a-a* to the masonry breakwater of the chief pond at Kalahuipuaa.

From here the growth of *kiawe* along the shore is so dense that it was useless to attempt any survey of sites unless one had a base near; nor is it likely that a painstaking search would reveal much. [Reinecke Ms. 1930:28]

Of particular interest to travelers along the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* is the petroglyph field of 'Anaeho'omalū-Waikōloa:

Site 147. The area of petroglyphs on the *pahoehoe* about three-quarters of a mile N.E. of Anaehoomalu, S. Kohala, by the trail and mostly on Anaehoomalu land. This area is well described by Stokes in the Bishop Museum Occasional Papers for 1909, and is mentioned by Dr. Albert S. Baker in Thrum's Annual for 1919, pp. 131. Both men, not having exact maps mislocated the area, the former putting it between the branches of the 1856 [i.e. 1859] flow, the latter in Puu Anahulu land.

Mr. Stokes has given the area the only study worthy of the name, and because of a lack of time he did little. When I had exhausted my films I felt that there was no point in my examining the area very thoroughly, as I had not then seen the above mentioned studies, and the number and variety of the petroglyphs really requires a skilled photographer who should carefully photograph the area inclosed within rings, and all other distinct forms in the neighborhood.

...There must be thousands of individual petroglyphs. The predominant feature is the rings, single or several concentric together, with or without a small hole in the center...There were several names, initial, and dates in the locality, but I saw no ships or other modern-appearing figures, such as the "horse" at Lae Mano.

In several places the pahoehoe had been worn to a depth of several inches, say two to five, by the carving of petroglyph on petroglyph, so that the surface presented the appearance of a shallow bowl... [Reinecke Ms. 1930:29]

### ***Theo. Kelsey (1933)***

Theodore Kelsey was a well known, ethnographer of this century. He worked throughout the islands, speaking with elderly native informants and translating many native accounts. A portion of his collection is curated in the Hawaii State Archives, and from his notes come the following accounts.

In 1904 Nathaniel Emerson visited the coastal lands of Kawaihae. While there, he was told about certain important places of the landscape. He wrote:  
Jan. 28, 1904. Lei-makani accompanied me to the *heiau* Hale-o-ka-puni, a pile of rocks laid in a circle in the shallow water. A house at one time stood here. Kiki-a-ko'i.

Hale-o-ka-puni – The House (or temple) of the circuit – was at one time a *heiau*, and from it were taken the rocks to build Puu Kohola'. An old wall about

30 feet square was pointed out to me as Ka Hale o Ka-mehameha. It is now a ruin.

On a lower level than the big *heiau* is a long ruin, once a *heiau* called Mailekini. It is about 300 - 350 ft. long by about 150 ft. wide. The *mauka* wall is higher. At the N.W. end is a round hollow 6 ft. in diameter, said to be an oven, length 90 yards by pace, width 19 yards by pace. The *makai* wall is much lower and not so thick, The hollow space between is partly filled in, and contains some oblong altar-like structures, perhaps graves. Distance up to Puu Kohola' about 200.

Jan. 29, 1904. Ka-wai-hae. At a little place called Poo-pepe I saw a stone said to be the image of Kane. This image was erected to its present position by King Ka-la-kaua about the year 1887. He crowned it with *maile*, *'ie'ie*, *palapalai*, and offered *awa*. This god, if you are in need of fish, will wake you and direct you to the place where they are. You must offer the first fish to him in sacrifice. (Emerson in Kelsey Folder 22 – Hawaii State Archives)

From native historian Ka-loku-o-ka-maile, Kelsey learned about some of the place names of South Kohala:

1. Ka-maka-hiwa. The land of Puako, s. Kohala. For the chief Kanaloa-Kuaana.
2. Pua-ko, a windy land. Pu ka makani a ko, wind borne. Pu a ko a'e la na 'ale. O ka hui ana o na ale a lele ka hu'a kai iluna, he puako kela. The meeting of the waves and the foam flies up. That is a pu-a-ko. [written] Pua-ko means sugar-cane flower (Kelsey).
3. Ka-wai-hae (From Rev. Kalaiwaa). Ka-wai-hae was so named because the subjects of two chiefs squabbled for first chance to get water from a spring that remains. (The spring was covered by the County of Hawaii – Henry Kekahuna). The land of Ka-wai-hae is in two sections, *ekahi* and *elua*. The two chiefs were hostile, though their people contended for first chance to get water from the famous spring (The-water-of-wrath). (Kelsey Folder 22 – Hawaii State Archives)

### ***E.S. C. Handy (1940)***

In *Native Planters* (1940), ethnographer E.S. Craighill Handy presents readers with documentation of agriculture, fishing, and life in the South Kohala region, as he collected it from informants and archival sources. He noted that:

...From Puako to Anaehoomalu at the southern end of Kohala and from Kapalaoa, at the northern extreme of Kona, to Kailua there are no streams whatever, and certainly there were no terraces... South Kohala produced much dry taro in the lower forest zone which formerly extended far down over what is now open pasture... (Handy 1940:119).

The coastal section of Waimea, now called South Kohala, has a number of small bays with sandy shores where fishermen used to live, and where they

probably cultivated potatoes in small patches. Anaehoomalu, Waialua [Waiulua], Honokaope, Kalahuipuaa and Pauoa all have sandy strips along the sea; and there is an area of black cinder in this section where sweet potatoes might be grown in rainy seasons. Puako was a sizable fishing village at one time where there were undoubtedly many sweet potato patches... Between Kawaihae and the upland taro plantations in the vicinity of Waikoloa Stream (below the present town of Waimea) there were many plantations on the *kula* lands from the coast to 2,500 feet as is indicated by the stone walls and dry terraces on the hillsides... (Handy 1940:163).

### ***Kawaihae-Puakö Road Survey and House Lots Surveys (1949-1950)***

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

In September 1950, the Territorial Survey Department prepared C.S.F. Map 11,081 to 11,087 (incl.), which includes many of the details (but not all) recorded on Register Map No. 4030. *Figure 33* (at the end of the study) is the C.S.F. map; please note that "Maume Bay" (i.e. Mau'umae Bay) is inaccurately identified on the C.S.F. Map; the name should be situated at the location identified as "PARCEL 2" on the map. Other places are also misidentified.

### ***Recent Archaeological–Historical Investigations***

A number of archaeological and historical studies have been conducted in the Kawaihae-'Anaeho'omalu vicinity of coastal South Kohala over the last 30 years. While a comprehensive review and compilation of the site descriptions recorded in those studies has yet to be completed, they provide DLNR-DOFAW – *Nā Ala Hele* and other State agencies with the foundational documentation for establishing a plan of site protection, interpretation, and access. *Table 1* presents readers with a list of some of the important studies conducted to date for the region.

Ross Cordy, Ph.D., a staff archaeologist of DLNR-SHPD provides readers with a synthesis of the Kawaihae–Kīholo trail system (Cordy 1997; IN NPS 1997). The narrative is particularly important to this study because the detailed archival documentation cited herein confirms Cordy's field observations and interpretation which places the ancient *ala loa* inland



**Table 1. Limited Overview: Previous Archaeological-Historical Studies**

Year	Author	Land	Type of Study
1969	Rosendahl, P.H.	'Öuli	Archaeological
1972		Lälänilo- 'Anaeho'omalu	
1971	Barrera, Wm. Barrère, D.	'Anaeho'omalu	Archaeological Historical (App. A)
1971	Ching, F.	Lälänilo, So. Kohala to Hämanamana, No. Kona	Archaeological
1975	Kirch, P.	Kalähuihua'a	Archaeological
1979			
1972	Kelly, M.	'Anaeho'omalu, So. Kohala to Kūki'o, No. Kona	Historical Trails Assessment
1974		Kawaihae to Waimea Road Corridor	Historical Assessment
1975,	Cordy, R.	'Anaeho'omalu	Archaeological/Hist orical Assessment
1987		'Anaeho'omalu	Archaeological Assessment
1978	Yent, M., and A. Griffin	Lälänilo	Archaeological
1980	Kennedy, J.	Paniau (Puakö- Waimä)	Archaeological
1981	Rosendahl, P.H., and C. Silva	Kawaihae 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 'Öuli	Archaeological (Trails)  Historical (Trails)
1982	Kaschko, M., and P.H. Rosendahl	Kawaihae 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 'Öuli	Archaeological (Trails)
1982	Tomonari-Tuggle, M.	Puakö	Archaeological

**Table 1. (continued)**

Year	Author	Land	Type of Study
1983	Clark, J., and P. Kirch, (editors)	Kawaihae-Waimea	Archaeological-Historical
1988 a & b,	Jensen, P.	'Anaeho'omalu, Kalāhuipua'a, and Waikōloa	Archaeological
1989,		'Anaeho'omalu-Waikōloa	Archaeological
1994		Lälāmilo	
1990 a & b	Carlson, A., and P.H. Rosendahl	Kawaihae 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Archaeological
1991	Jensen, P. and P.H. Rosendahl	'Öuli	Archaeological
1993	Greene, L.	Kawaihae, So. Kohala (and others in No. and So. Kona)	Archaeological/Historical Assessment
1993	Graves, D.	'Öuli	Archaeological
1993	Boudreau, M., and D. Graves	Lälāmilo (Paniau)	Archaeological
1993	Maly, K., and P.H. Rosendahl	'Öuli	Archaeological Site Preservation Plan and Historical Overview
1994	Landrum, J., and S. Williams	'Anaeho'omalu	Archaeological
1995	Nees, R., and S. Williams	'Anaeho'omalu	Archaeological
1996	OGDEN	'Anaeho'omalu	Archaeological Site Preservation Plan
1999 a & b	Cultural Surveys Hawai'i	'Anaeho'omalu	Archaeological (Trail Assessment)

from the middle section of Kalāhuipua'a through 'Anaeho'omalu, near the present-day *ala nui aupuni*. Cordy observed:

Beyond Kawaihae, in contrast to the soil lands, the rockier lands of South Kohala, Kona, Ka'ū and Puna are present, and here pieces of the prehistoric trail survive as a winding or relatively straight foot-path. In Kalāhuipua'a (today's Mauna Lani Resort), the *ala loa* crosses the rougher Kanikū 'a'ā lava flow. The trail often appears as a winding, crushed lava foot path—two or three feet wide.

It winds in and out and under the late 1800s Māmalohoa [sic] Trail. Upon descending off the Kanikū 'a'ā flow and onto older *pāhoehoe* lands in 'Anaeho'omalu, the straight 1800s trail is clearly apparent running through the Waikoloa petroglyph field. Less apparent is a dark vividly worn path in the lava about two or three feet wide. This worn path is sometimes 20-30 feet away from the more recent trail, sometimes joins that trail and follows its route, and sometimes passes under and to the other side of the recent trail. This is the prehistoric *ala loa*. It continues across the Waikoloa Beach Resort lands of 'Anaeho'omalu, being slightly visible in spots and quite faint in others. Beyond 'Anaeho'omalu to the 1859 lava flow around Kiholo Bay, [the State Historic Preservation Division (SHPD or SHPO) has] no records on the trail... (Cordy IN NPS 1997, Appendix D-1)

In addition to the trails—which are important features of the cultural-historical landscape—there have been many other cultural-historical sites identified along the coastal trails of South Kohala. They include residential sites and complexes (these include habitation features included permanent residences inhabited over the period of generations, temporary shelters which were used on repeat visits for long periods of time, and short-term temporary shelters); wall alignments (straight walls, L-, C-, and U-shaped walls); dry land planting areas and clearing mounds; marine resource propagation and collection sites, including fishpond complexes and salt making sites; *heiau* (temples) and shrines; burial sites; petroglyph fields; quarry sites where various forms of lava were collected and shaped into abraders and other tools; wells and springs; storage sites (cupboards where fishing gear and other items might be kept for use during seasonal visitation to the coast); caves; and historic (early twentieth century) residences.

Areas where fishponds existed and potable water could be easily obtained were the primary areas of settlement—i.e., (south to north) 'Anaeho'omalu, Kalāhuipua'a, Puakö, Hāpuna, Kauna'oa, Wai'ula'ula, Mau'umae, Waiku'i, 'Ōhai'ula, Kikiako'i, and Pelekāne. In general, permanent residences were taken up in the coastal region of South Kohala by ca. AD 600. Between AD 900 to 1500 there was a gradual increase in population, with steady trends in residency through AD 1778. By AD 1800, many of the remote area residences were abandoned, a few residents at 'Anaeho'omalu, several families at Puakö, and the strongest population at Kawaihae (cf. Barrera 1971, Cordy 1975, Kirch 1979 & 1985, Carlson and Rosendahl 1990, Jensen 1991, Graves 1993, and NPS 1997).

## ***V. ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS– SOUTH KOHALA AND PORTIONS OF KEKAHA, NORTH KONA (February 1998-April 1999)***

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### ***Study Background***

This section of the study provides readers with a description of how the oral history study was conducted, and an overview of the accounts recorded through interviews. The full released interview transcripts are presented in Appendix A. As noted in the release of interview record forms (at the end of each interview), the transcripts in this study may supersede the recorded narratives. This is the result of the review process—when interviewees may make corrections or additions to their transcripts, and/or also ask that certain sensitive family information be removed from the public record.

Oral history interviews help to demonstrate how certain knowledge is handed down through time, from generation to generation. Often, because the experiences conveyed are personal, the narratives are richer and more animated than those that are typically found in reports that are purely academic or archival in nature. Thus, through the process of conducting oral history interviews things are learned that are at times overlooked in other forms of studies. Also, with the passing of time, knowledge and personal recollections undergo changes; sometimes, that which was once important is forgotten, or assigned a lesser value. So today, when individuals—particularly those from outside the culture which originally assigned the cultural values—evaluate things such as resources, cultural practices, and history, their importance is diminished. Thus, oral historical narratives provide both present and future generations with an opportunity to understand the cultural attachment—that is, the relationship shared between people and their natural and cultural environments.

Readers are asked to keep in mind, that while this component of the study records cultural and historical knowledge of the South Kohala-North Kona region, the documentation is incomplete. In the process of conducting oral history interviews and consultation, it is impossible to record all the knowledge or information that the interviewees possess. Thus, the records provide readers with only glimpses into the stories being told, and of the lives of the interview participants. The author/interviewer has made every effort to accurately relay the recollections, thoughts and recommendations of the people who shared their personal histories in this study.

As would be expected, participants in oral history interviews sometimes have different recollections of history, or give different accounts for particular locations or events of a particular period. There are a number of reasons that differences are recorded in oral history interviews, among them are:

- (1) they result from varying values assigned to an area or occurrences during an interviewees formative years;
- (2) they may reflect localized or familial interpretations of the particular history being conveyed;
- (3) with the passing of many years, sometimes that which was heard from elders during one's childhood 60 or more years ago, may

transform into that which the interviewee recalls having actually experienced;

- (4) in some cases it can be the result of the introduction of information into traditions that is of more recent historical origin; and
- (5) some aspects of an interviewee's recollections may be shaped by a broader world view. In the face of continual change to one's cultural and natural landscapes, there can evolve a sense of urgency in caring for what has been.

In general, it will be seen that the few differences of history and recollections in the cited interviews are minor. If anything, they help direct us to questions which may be answered through additional research, or in some cases, pose questions which may never be answered. Diversity in the stories told, should be seen as something which will enhance interpretation, preservation, and long-term management programs of the *ala hele - ala loa - ala nui aupuni* of the South Kohala and North Kona (Kekaha) region.

The author also notes here, that reconciliation of information among informants is inappropriate within the interview process, and is inconsistent with the purpose of oral historical research. The main objective of the oral history interview process is to record the ideas and sentiments personally held by the interviewees as accurately and respectfully as possible, without judgement. Adhering to these standards ensures both the quality and quantity of information obtained from individual interviewees, and facilitates the recording of information that will be of benefit to present and future generations. The oral history process also has another value to contemporary issues. It provides a means of initiating a meaningful dialogue and partnership with local communities by communicating on the basis, and in a form that is respectful of cultural values and perspectives of individuals representative of their community.

### ***Development of the Oral History Program and Consultation Discussions***

While preparing to undertake the present study, the author elicited recommendations for possible interviewees from staff of *Nä Ala Hele*, DLNR-SHPD, and native Hawaiian residents of South Kohala-North Kona. Following a format developed in consultation with DLNR-SHPD and *Nä Ala Hele*, the author then developed a general questionnaire outline for the interview process (*Figure 34*). The questionnaire was used to set the general framework for conducting the interviews.

In selecting interviewees, the author/interviewer followed several standard criteria for selection of who might be most knowledgeable about the study area (*Table 2* provides readers with an introduction to interview participants and documentation recorded). Among the criteria were:

- a. The interviewee's genealogical ties to early residents of lands within or adjoining the study area;
- b. Age. The older the informant, the greater the likelihood that the individual had had personal communications or first-hand experiences with even older, now deceased Hawaiians and area residents; and

**General Question Outline for Oral History Interviews—The Kawaihae to ‘Anaeho‘omalu (and Kekaha North Kona) Ala Loa-Ala Nui Aupuni Trail System, Island of Hawai‘i**

The following questions are meant to set a basic foundation for discussion during the oral history interview. Your personal knowledge and experiences will provide direction for the formulation of other detailed questions, determine the need for site visits, and/or other forms of documentation which may be necessary.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ ... When were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_ Parents? (father/mother) \_\_\_\_\_

Grew up where? \_\_\_\_\_ Also lived at? \_\_\_\_\_ Raised by? \_\_\_\_\_

Additional family background pertinent to the Kohala-Kona study area — Such as generations of family residency in area... (time period)?

Kinds of information learned/activities participated in, and how learned...?

Naming of the *ahupua‘a* or sections of the land that are of particular significance in the history of the land and to native practices...?

Knowledge of *heiau* (or other ceremonial sites), other cultural resources (for example – *kū‘ula*, *‘ilina...*), and families or practices associated with those sites?

Knowledge of land based *ko‘a* (cross *ahupua‘a*) — ocean based *ko‘a*; *kilo i‘a* (fish spotting stations) locations and types of fish? Names of *heiau* and *ko‘a* etc.? ... Burial sites, practices, beliefs, and areas or sites of concern (ancient unmarked, historic marked / unmarked, family)...? Representing who and when interred ...?

Villages or house sites – church – stores – community activities — Names of native- and resident- families and where did they live?

Fishing — describe practices (i.e., where occurred/occurring, types of fish; names of fishermen; and what protocols were observed...? (such as: permission granted, practices and methods of collection...?)

Who were/are the other families that came and/or come to collect area resources, and protocol? Gathering practices (who and what)? Shore line and *mauka-makai* trail accesses?

What have you heard about the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*? When built; who used it; its’ relationship to other communities of Kohala and Kona?

Personal family histories of travel upon the trail/road...?

Historic Land Use: Agricultural and Ranching Activities...?

Do you have any early photographs of the area?

Are there particular sites or locations along the South Kohala/North Kona coastline that are of cultural significance or concern to you? Recommendations on how best to care for the natural and cultural resources of the trail system study area...?

Do you have recommendations — such as cultural resource- and site-protection needs — regarding access along the *ala hele - ala loa - ala nui aupuni*?

Describe sites and define boundaries of those sites/locations and of the area of access via the trail/road ...

**Figure 34. South Kohala/North Kona Oral History Study – List of General Questions**

- c. An individuals' identity in the community as being someone possessing specific knowledge of lore or historical wisdom pertaining to the lands, families, practices, and land use and subsistence activities in the study area.

**Table 2. Interviewee Background and overview of Documentation Recorded**

Name of Interviewee, Ethnicity & Place of Residence	Year Born & Location	Comments:
Robert Keäkealani Sr. – Hawaiian; (deceased) formerly of Pu'u Anahulu.	1916 at Kahuwai Village, Ka'üpülehu	A descendant of families with generations of residency in the Kekaha region – lands from Ka'üpülehu to Kawaihae.  Interview Discussions Include Descriptions of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Travel on coastal trails from Kawaihae to Makalawena;</li> <li>· Areas of traditional and historic (early twentieth century residences);</li> <li>· Burial practices;</li> <li>· Traditional practices and beliefs;</li> <li>· Family deity;</li> <li>· Fishing and subsistence practices; and</li> <li>· The relationships between coastal and upland communities.</li> </ul>
Robert Keäkealani Jr. – Hawaiian; living at Waimea.  and  Leina'ala Keäkealani-Lightner – Hawaiian; living at Pu'u Anahulu.	1943 at Kapa'au, Kohala  1953 at Pu'u Anahulu	The children of Robert Keäkealani Sr. (and Margaret Keanu Maunu), their family history ties them to the study area lands with generations of residency and extended family relationships.  Interview Discussions Include Descriptions of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Travel on coastal trails from Kawaihae to Kalaemanö-Ka'üpülehu;</li> <li>· Areas of traditional and historic (early twentieth century residences);</li> <li>· Heiau and other ceremonial sites;</li> <li>· Burial practices;</li> <li>· Traditional practices and beliefs;</li> <li>· Family deity;</li> <li>· Fishing and subsistence practices;</li> <li>· The relationships between coastal and upland communities;</li> <li>· Ranching operations;</li> <li>· The importance of protecting traditional Hawaiian sites; and</li> <li>· The need for monitoring trail uses and interpretation of trail resources.</li> </ul>
Jiro Yamaguchi – Japanese; living at Waimea.	1924 at Waimea	A retired Parker Ranch cowboy; Mr. Yamaguchi worked with old Hawaiian ranch hands, and speaks Hawaiian himself.  Interview Discussions Include Descriptions of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Travel on coastal trails from Kawaihae to Kīholo;</li> <li>· Heiau and other ceremonial sites;</li> <li>· Areas of historic residence;</li> <li>· Fishing and subsistence practices;</li> <li>· Ranching operations; and</li> <li>· The importance of respecting traditional Hawaiian sites and interpretation of trail resources.</li> </ul>

**Table 2. Interviewee Background (continued)**

Name of Interviewee, Ethnicity & Place of Residence	Year Born & Location	Comments:
<p>William A. Akau – Part Hawaiian</p> <p>and</p> <p>A. Kahikilani Akau – Part Hawaiian; both living on Hawaiian Homestead at Kawaihae.</p>	<p>1927 at Wai’emi, Waimea</p> <p>1937 at Kawaihae</p>	<p>Mr. Akau and his sister, Ms. Lani Akau are descended from families who have lived at Kawaihae for many generations (family residency at Kawaihae pre-dates the 1791 dedication of Pu’u Koholā Heiau).</p> <p>Interview Discussions Include Descriptions of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Travel on coastal trails from Kawaihae to Kiholo (with particular emphasis on the region from Kawaihae-’Ōuli to ‘Anaeho’omalū and Kapalaoa);</li> <li>· Areas of traditional and historic (early twentieth century residences);</li> <li>· Heiau and other ceremonial sites;</li> <li>· Burial practices;</li> <li>· Traditional practices and beliefs;</li> <li>· Fishing and subsistence practices;</li> <li>· The relationships between coastal and upland communities;</li> <li>· Changes which have occurred in the region since ca. 1940;</li> <li>· The importance of respecting traditional Hawaiian sites;</li> <li>· The importance of protecting traditional trails and rights of access; and</li> <li>· The need for monitoring trail uses and interpretation of trail resources.</li> </ul>
<p>F. Coco Vredenburg-Hind – Part Hawaiian; living at Hōlualoa.</p>	<p>1923 Honolulu (returned to Waimea with her mother when she was two weeks old)</p>	<p>Mrs. Coco Hind’s Hawaiian family (Keawe’ehu) has resided in Kohala for many generations. The Vredenburg side of her family moved to Kohala in the 1880s, and was involved in ranching and development of the Puakō Sugar Plantation.</p> <p>Interview Discussions Include Descriptions of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Travel on coastal trails in the areas of Kawaihae-’Ōuli and Kiholo;</li> <li>· Heiau and other ceremonial sites;</li> <li>· Areas of historic (early twentieth century residences);</li> <li>· Fishing and subsistence practices;</li> <li>· The relationships between coastal and upland communities;</li> <li>· Changes which have occurred in the region since ca. 1940;</li> <li>· Ranching operations;</li> <li>· The importance of protecting traditional Hawaiian sites; and</li> <li>· The need for monitoring trail use and interpretation of trail resources.</li> </ul>
<p>Kenneth Francis Brown – Part Hawaiian; living in Honolulu.</p>	<p>1919 at Honolulu</p>	<p>Mr. Brown is the nephew of Francis I’i Brown, former owner of Kalāhuipua’a and ‘Anaeho’omalū (the family still maintains an interest in Keawaiki, a short distance south of ‘Anaeho’omalū).</p> <p>Interview Discussions Include Descriptions of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Travel on coastal trails in the areas of Kalāhuipua’a-’Anaeho’omalū and Keawaiki;</li> <li>· Areas of historic (early twentieth century residences);</li> <li>· Fishing and subsistence practices;</li> <li>· The importance of protecting traditional Hawaiian sites;</li> <li>· The need for monitoring trail uses and interpretation of trail resources.</li> </ul>



**Table 2. Interviewee Background (continued)**

Name of Interviewee, Ethnicity & Place of Residence	Year Born & Location	Comments:
E. Tita Ruddle-Spielman – Part Hawaiian;  and  JK Spielman – Part Hawaiian;  both living at 'Öuli, Kohala.	1924, at Waiākea          1953, at Honolulu	Tita Spielman and her son, JK, are descended from the Parker-Low lines (with ties to the Kamehameha genealogy) and their family has resided in the Kohala District for many generations (predating western contact).  Interview Discussions Include Descriptions of: · Travel on coastal trails from Kawaihae to Kiholo (with particular emphasis on the lands of Paniau-Puakö, 'Anaeho'omalua-Kalāhuipua'a, and Keawaiki); · Areas of traditional and historic (early twentieth century residences); · Heiau and other ceremonial sites; · Burial practices; · Traditional practices and beliefs; · Fishing and subsistence practices; · The relationships between coastal and upland communities; · Changes which have occurred in the region since ca. 1940; · The importance of respecting traditional Hawaiian sites; · The importance of protecting traditional trails and rights of access; and · The need for monitoring trail uses and interpretation of trail resources.

### **Interview Methodology**

As noted above, the general list of interview topics was used during the interviews. Also, in the process of initiating contact with potential interviewees and introducing them to the oral history study, each individual was told about the nature of the study—the kinds of information being sought. Everyone was told that the study was being conducted on behalf of *Nā Ala Hele*, to gather information about the South Kohala coastal trail system. When the interviewees indicated their willingness to participate in a formal interview, arrangements were made to meet and conduct the interview.

During the interviews several maps were referenced to identify, and when appropriate, mark various locations being discussed. The maps included — Register Map 1323 (Jackson, 1880) of Kawaihae Harbor; Register Map 824 (Emerson, 1880) of 'Anaeho'omalua and Kalāhuipua'a; Register Map 1278 (Emerson, 1882) of portions of North Kona and South Kohala; Register Map 2230 (Lobenstein, 1903); Register Map 2786 (Wright, 1917); and Register Map 3000 (Lane, 1936). *Figure 2* at the end of the study is an annotated map, with the approximate locations of sites referenced during the interviews marked on it. During each of the interviews clean copies of the maps were used, so that the interviewees would be able to mark locations they discussed, based on their own memory of historic sites and features.

The taped interviews were recorded on a Sony TCS-580V cassette recorder, using TDK D90 High Output standard cassette tapes. The interviews were transcribed and returned to the interviewees and follow up discussions were conducted to review the draft-typed transcripts of each interview. 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.

The primary goals of the oral history study were to record —

- (1) traditional and historic knowledge—as handed down through families—about the coastal region of South Kohala-North Kona (Kekaha), and trails and access;
- (2) information pertaining to land-use; traditional sites; religious and cultural practices; traditional values;
- (3) historic events in the lives of native Hawaiians and other individuals who share first-hand experiences in the study area (resulting from generations of cultural affiliation with the landscape and area resources; or are the result of extensive personal travel upon, or work in the area); and
- (4) record community views regarding activities, including trail access, interpretation and protection of resources.

As a result of the review process, the final released interviews supercede the original tape recorded interview. Because of the personal and sensitive nature of certain information recorded on tape, some of the interviewees withheld release of the interview tapes—the releases provide specific requirements as to the release of tapes and records.

All participants in the interview process have received full copies of this study in order to help perpetuate the history in their respective families, and in the development of community partnerships for stewardship of the resources. Released interview records and other documentation will be curated in the collections of *Nā Ala Hele*, and the University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library.

### ***Overview of Interview Discussions and Recommendations made by Participants***

The narratives below, provide readers with an introduction to, and general summary of the information recorded during the interviews. Please note, that while the information below provides readers with an overview of the cultural-historical documentation that was recorded as a part of the interviews, the full interview transcripts (in *Appendix A*), contain detailed narratives on a wide range of subjects, and should be read to fully understand the context in which the information was discussed.

***Robert K. Keākealani Sr.***

***April 1980 to March 1986***

***Conversational Interviews Recorded by:***

***Shirley Kau'i Keākealani and Leina'ala Keākealani-Lightner  
(transcribed by Kepā Maly)***

Prior to his birth, the parents of Robert K. Keākealani Sr. (Tütü Lopaka) were residing at Kapalaoa, near the South Kohala-North Kona Boundary. But family traditions of shark deity and events leading up to his birth, caused his mother to travel to Kahuwai (Ka'ūpūlehu), where she gave birth to her son, and left him under the protection of Kūkū Kahiko and Mahikō. Tütü Lopaka did not leave Ka'ūpūlehu-kai to rejoin his parents and siblings (two of whom were born after his own birth) until he was around six years old. For many generations, Tütü Lopaka's family has lived in the Kekaha region, with residency extending from Ka'ūpūlehu (Kahuwai) to Pu'u Anahulu (Kapalaoa), with family members living at

isolated villages along the shore all the way to Kawaihae. In the mid to late 1800s, *kūpuna* (elders) on the Ka'iliihiwa-Keākealani side of the family were among the primary informants to early surveyors who recorded the boundaries and topography of the Kekaha lands of North Kona and portions of South Kohala.

Tütü Lopaka's father was Keākealani, who was born at Kīholo, and his mother was Keola Na'aho, who was born at Kahuwai. In 1913, Keākealani and Keola Na'aho married, and together they lived at Pu'u Anahulu-uka, with seasonal residences at Kahuwai, Kīholo, Keawaiki, and Kapalaoa until their passing away (1931 and 1925 respectively).

As a youth, Tütü Lopaka traveled the lands of the Kekaha region (North Kona-South Kohala) with his *kūpuna*, Ka'iliihiwa-nui and others. His travels took him from the shore to the mountains, and along the way significant natural resource and cultural features (including many family sites) were pointed out to him. Even as a teenager, when he was old enough to work for Pu'u Wa'awa'a Ranch as a cowboy, Tütü Lopaka and his relatives (among whom were Ikaaka, Alapa'i, Kapehe, Nāluahine, and Killiona), traveled the coastal trails between Kawaihae and Ka'ūpūlehu. In his interviews, Tütü Lopaka shares his recollections of areas where family members lived, fishing practices, travel upon the trails and on canoe between various locations, and places of importance in native traditions.

Today, the tradition and attachment to residency upon the ancestral lands remains strong among the Keākealani children. From their earliest days, their papa instilled in them a deep *aloha*, respect, and sense of stewardship for their native lands and the heritage of their family upon those lands. As a result of his instruction, his daughters Kau'i and Leina'ala recorded a number of their historical conversations with their father. Their foresight is fortunate, as Tütü Lopaka passed away in 1990.

The Keākealani family generously allowed the author to transcribe several of the tapes they'd recorded with their father. Thus, through those recordings, we are able to share some of the history of travel across the lands from Ka'ūpūlehu to Kawaihae that would have otherwise been lost. These narratives are in Tütü Lopaka's own words, and document that which he personally experienced or was told by his elders.

***Robert "Sonny" Keākealani Jr.,  
Leina'ala Keākealani-Lightner and Ku'ulei Keākealani mā  
February 19, 1998 – Interview at Kīholo Bay, Pu'u Wa'awa'a  
with Kepā Maly***

Robert "Sonny" Keākealani Jr. is the son of Robert K. Keākealani Sr. and Margaret Keanu Maunu-Keākealani. Sonny was born in 1943, and in his early years to his teens, he had the benefit of being with several elder members of his family, traveling the land from Kapalaoa to Puakō and beyond in the north, and from Kapalaoa to Kalaemanō (Ka'ūpūlehu) in the south. Traveling with his relatives, and later working for Pu'u Wa'awa'a ranch, he also traveled through the uplands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'u Wa'awa'a. Growing up, Sonny saw, heard, and experienced many things, pertaining to the history of the land, areas of cultural significance, and customs and practices of his *kūpuna*. Sonny himself is a good story teller, and he is proud of his family's heritage and relationship to the lands of Pu'u Anahulu, Pu'u Wa'awa'a, and Ka'ūpūlehu.

Leina'ala Keākealani-Lightner, Sonny's younger sister, was very close to her father and

spent a great deal of time with him recording his recollections and traveling to various places which are of importance to their family. It is interesting that in their upbringing, Sonny and Leina'ala learned things in common, but they also possess special knowledge which their father shared only with one of them. Thus, when they come together in this interview, their individual stories fill out the history being discussed by the other.

Of particular interest to the present study, Sonny and Leina'ala speak of travel upon trails from Ka'upūlehu to Kawaihae. They speak of traditional sites, practices and beliefs of their family, and help readers understand certain aspects of their father's interviews (cited in this study). As a youth, Sonny learned from his *kūpuna* that they used to travel from Kapalaoa to a place inland of 'Anaeho'omalu (pronounced 'Anaemalu), in Waikōloa. This place, known as Makahonu, was an old dryland planting ground—situated near the present day Waikōloa Road-Ka'ahumanu Highway intersection—which was still used through the turn of the century by native residents of the coast.

The discussions also describe the relationship of families between coastal and inland settlements, the use of trails between Kawaihae and Kiholo, and the importance of the landscape in the native traditions of the region. This interview was conducted with two projects in mind—one, the Kohala trails study, and the second to better understand the significance of the Kalaemanō salt works in the lives of native families of the region.

It is noted here, that Sonny and Leina'ala are both very protective of their history and have a deep attachment to the landscape. They feel strongly that if people are going to travel the trails, they need to respect the land and leave the things of the past alone. They note that they did not intrude on those old places when they were young, and no one else should do so today. Leina'ala is particularly an advocate of interpretation—sharing aspects of the history with people who visit the lands—she believes that understanding the history and importance of the landscape, will help protect the natural and cultural resources.

### ***Jiro Yamaguchi***

#### ***Waimea, Kohala — Parker Ranch Paniolo***

#### ***April 20, 1998 (Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Ku'ulei Keākealani)***

Jiro Yamaguchi was born in 1924 on Parker Ranch. He is a retired *paniolo* (cowboy), and he worked the Parker Ranch lands from coastal Kohala to Humu'ula on the slopes of Mauna Kea. Mr. Yamaguchi worked very closely with the Hawaiian cowboys, and early in his life learned to speak the Hawaiian language. He developed a great love for the history and sites of the lands on which he worked, and is highly respected today for his knowledge of the land.

Of particular interest to the study of trails and history of the coastal lands of South Kohala, Mr. Yamaguchi described noted that he was most familiar with the lands around Kawaihae and the Kapalaoa-'Anaeho'omalu-Puakō region, he walked all of the trails in those areas. He learned that at certain locations there were *Kū'ula* (fishermen's deity stones), and often went fishing from the trail between Kapalaoa and Honoka'ope. Mr. Yamaguchi recalled that Parker Ranch also took care of the 'Anaeho'omalu fishponds, and restocked the ponds with fish from Kawaihae. Mr. Yamaguchi also recalled that the 1946 tidal wave (*tsunami*) had a significant impact on portions of the South Kohala shoreline. Mrs. Kakazu, the wife of the 'Anaeho'omalu caretaker was killed in the *tsunami* when her house was washed away.

Mr. Yamaguchi also discussed burial sites, old residences, and *heiau* near the trails, and expressed his feelings that the old Hawaiian places need to be respected and cared for. He also feels that people who use the trails, must also take responsibility to care for them.

Ku'ulei Keäkealani (whose father, aunt, and grandfather are cited in this study) helped to make arrangements for the interview with Mr. Yamaguchi. During the interview Register Maps No. 1278, 1877, and 2786 were referenced, and areas of interest pointed out by Mr. Yamaguchi.

***William AhYou Akau  
and Annie Kahikilani "Lani" Akau  
Oral History Interview at Kawaihae  
with Kepä Maly (July 6, 1998 with notes from April 10, 1999)***

William A. Akau (retired Kawaihae Harbor Master) and Annie Kahikilani ("Lani") Akau (retired school teacher) are brother and sister, and life-long residents of Kawaihae. Their genealogical line places their family at Pu'u Koholä in 1791 when Kamehameha I dedicated the *heiau* to his god Kükä'ilimoku. Their family traditions also tie them to the lands and families of Kohala (including past residents of Puakö and Kapalaoa), and they walked the *ala hele* and *ala loa* of the region throughout their youth.

In speaking about trails, Uncle Bill noted that "The *ala loa* and *ala hele* were held in trust for the people by Kamehameha III." And in discussing native terminology for trails, he said that "the *ala loa* is the main route around the island, while the *ala hele* are smaller trails along the shore, between houses and resource areas, and that run *mauka-makai*."

In the interview, the Akaus describe traditions of travel along the coastal trails and by sea which they learned from their elders. They also describe the changing nature of travel in their youth, with travel evolving from foot trails to bulldozed roadways opened as a part of the war effort in the 1940s. Uncle Bill feels so strongly about protection of the trails and rights of access, that when the Mauna Kea hotel moved to destroy the *ala hele* (coastal trails) and block the access of native families, he entered into a law-suit in the 1970s-1980s to stop their action. As a result, the right of access has been protected along the Kawaihae-'Öuli shoreline.

Another interesting aspect of the interview, is the description given by the Akaus, of land use on the *kula* (flat lands) above the trail in the Pu'u Koholä vicinity, and the importance of the estuarine and near shore fisheries on the ocean side. The flat lands around Pu'u Koholä were irrigated through a system of *'auwai* (water channels) up to ca. 1940. The *'auwai* system from Hanakalauwai (Lauwai), Keanu'i'omanö-Wai'ula'ula fed productive fields of *'uala* (sweet potatoes) and other crops—grown in close proximity to Pu'u Koholä. The waters Pühaukole-Pelekäne and Makahuna also flowed to the sea and produced a rich *muliwai-pu'u one* (estuarine fishery). When *mauka* land owners blocked the water flow off in the uplands, keeping it from the near shore *kula*, the lands dried up, and the nutrients which enriched the *muliwai-pu'u one* stopped flowing to the shore. That, coupled with the dredging and filling of the harbor all but destroyed the Kawaihae fishery which had supported the native families of the region. The Akaus note that what one sees at Kawaihae today, is nothing like what it was when they were young. It was a productive land with rich fisheries.

While the Akaus support the ongoing efforts of maintaining traditional and customary, and public access, they also feel strongly that those who use the trails must be respectful of the past. They urge development of interpretive material (such as signs and leaflets) to be used by those who use the trails. Interpretation will help create awareness of what is right and wrong to do, while traveling the trails. They also suggest that a monitoring system be established so that the trail can be closely monitored to ensure respect of the old Hawaiian sites and careful use of the resources. Involving the native families of the coastal lands in planning and monitoring, can help ensure success in the *Nä Ala Hele* program.

The Akaus are concerned about contemporary use of the term "*Ala Kahaka*" for the trail. While they understand what it is supposed to mean, they say that it was never used by their *kūpuna* (elders) when they spoke of the Hawaiian trail system. In this region of South Kohala, they traveled either the *ala loa* or the *ala hele*, depending on where they were going and the purpose of their travel. By working with families of the area, things like names and terminology can be worked out.

***Florence "Coco" La'i-ke-aloha-o-Kamāmalu Vredenburg-Hind  
Oral History Interview – South Kohala Region and Mauna Kea  
With Kepā Maly (September 30, 1998)***

Coco Vredenburg-Hind (aunty Coco) was born in 1923 on O'ahu, at the Wai'alaie home of her grandmother. Her father was Theodore Vredenburg, a descendent of the Keawe'ehu line of Kohala, and her mother was Beatrice Irene Makalapua Davison, of Maui. Within a two weeks of her birth, aunty Coco's mother returned with her to Waimea, Hawai'i, where her father worked for Parker Ranch, supervising the ranch's dairy and thoroughbred horse operations.

Aunty Coco's grandfather, Wilmot Vredenburg entered into a business partnership with Robert and John Hind in the 1890s, and by 1902, he purchased portions of Puakō to begin the Puakō Sugar Plantation with the Hinds (the Puakō venture failed prior to aunty Coco's birth). Growing up in Waimea, aunty Coco, her family and friends, often took vacations down to the Kawaihae vicinity. In her youth, she often walked the coastal trail between Kawaihae and Kauna'oa Bay. They also took boat rides to the 'Anaeho'omalu-Kalāhuipua'a vicinity. During their vacations, the families would stay at what is now called Spencer Park (she remembers the elderly Mr. and Mrs. La'au and Jack Paulo living there as well).

Aunty Coco's late husband, Robert "Bobby" Hind (married in 1948), is also a descendant of the partners in the Puakō sugar venture. Like aunty Coco, her husband was descended from a well known part Hawaiian ranching family, with ties to the Parkers, Lows, and various ranching interests in the Hāmākua-Kohala-Kona Districts of Hawai'i. In those early years, her husband's family still maintained ownership interests in Puakō and Kīholo (portions of the Kīholo properties are still held by the family), and she has continued learning about and traveling the lands of Kekaha (North Kona-South Kohala).

As a youth, aunty Coco was told about the *heiau*, Pu'u Koholā and Haleokapuni, and she was instructed that old Hawaiian places were to be left alone and respected. Those instructions have remained with her all of her life. Aunty Coco feels that plans to keep trails open are good. But, she is very concerned about impacts on native Hawaiian sites and

marine resources (she shares her recollections of early fishing practices – noting that today the resources are highly stressed). The lands in the Kīholo vicinity (including their personal lands) have been significantly impacted by careless individuals who have raided burial caves, even broken into their home, and left mountains of rubbish behind. She suggests that some sort of monitoring plan be established, and thinks that making a stewardship or curatorship program for the trails and sites would be helpful.

This interview was conducted as a part of the present study, and part of an oral history study for the summit region of Mauna Kea (Maly 1999a). The Kohala/Kona section of the interview is cited in this study. During the interview Register Maps No. 1278, 2786, and 3000 were referenced.

***Kenneth Francis Kamu'ookalani Brown***  
***Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly***  
***Kalāhuipua'a and 'Anaeho'omalu (March 15, 1999)***

Kenneth Francis Kamu'ookalani Brown was born in 1919, at Ka'alawai, O'ahu. His father was George I'i Brown (brother of Francis Hyde I'i Brown), and his mother was Julia White-Brown. Mr. Brown's great grandfather was the noted Hawaiian historian, John Papa I'i, and was closely associated with the Kamehameha line. Mr. Brown's uncle Francis Hyde I'i Brown, was the former owner of Kalāhuipua'a and 'Anaeho'omalu (the family still maintains an interest in Keawaiki, a short distance south of 'Anaeho'omalu). Francis Brown had a great interest in his Hawaiian history, and when he acquired the 'Anaeho'omalu-Kalāhuipua'a lands, he brought native families of the lands together to work for him, and it was from them, that he learned about the area.

By ca. 1932, Kenneth Brown, began traveling with his uncle to the 'Anaeho'omalu-Kalāhuipua'a and Keawaiki vicinity, and he too learned about some of the history of the region. Kenneth Brown remains attached to the lands to this day, and is often sought out for comment and review of proposed activities in the area.

During the interview, Mr. K. Brown shared his recollections of historic residency, travel in the region between Kawaihae – Keawaiki – Kailua, and fishing. He notes that the old fishermen of the region taught his uncle about the importance of landscape to the fishermen, and that they were keen observers of the skies as well. Mr. Brown noted that by the 1930s, there were only a few families living between 'Anaeho'omalu and Kawaihae (residences were situated at Paniau and Puakö — by that time Kīholo, Kapalaoa and other small communities had been abandoned). He noted that there was frequent travel between Kawaihae and Kalāhuipua'a-'Anaeho'omalu, but most of that was done by boat. Mr. Brown did note that his uncle encouraged native fishermen and others to use the coastal trails—travel was primarily done for subsistence fishing—and he encouraged people to take care of the trails and marine resources.

Mr. Brown feels that access along the trails is fine, but he encouraged the protection of important native sites and the natural resources. He feels that people need to be informed about the history of the area, and that travelers need to be respectful of the land. During the interview, Register Maps No. 824, 2786, and 3000 were referenced, and when appropriate, sites were pointed out during the discussion.

Arrangements for this interview were initiated by Roger Harris (Senior Project Manager – Sea Cliff Development at Honoka’ope Bay). Prior to conducting the interview, Roger Harris had spoken with Mr. Brown, and asked him to share his thoughts regarding how best to restore the *ala hele* – a fisherman’s trail behind Honoka’ope Bay —

Today, the *ala hele* (trail alignment) is perched—approximately 65 feet above sea level—upon a narrow *‘a’ā* (rough lava rock) berm. The berm is an artificial feature, formed in part by quarrying on the *mauka* (inland) side of the trail and wave erosion on the *makai* (seaward) side of the trail. Thus, the historical context of the Honoka’ope trail section has been altered and travel upon it can be hazardous. Based on the current condition of the trail, the Sea Cliff Development proposed that a 650 foot long section of the artificial berm upon which the *ala hele* is perched, be lowered approximately 20 feet to bring the trail into context with the surrounding land and seascape. It was proposed that the existing surface material be gathered prior to lowering the trail, and then returned to the lowered surface, giving it a natural look.

Mr. Brown concurred with the proposed restoration and treatment, but at the time of this writing, the proposed action has been reconsidered, and the proposal withdrawn.

***Elizabeth “Tita” Kauikeōlani Ruddle-Spielman  
John Kurt Spielman (with Joseph Spielman Sr.)  
Oral History Interview at Paniau  
with Kepā and Onaona Maly (March 26, 1999)***

Tita Spielman and her son, JK, are descended from the Parker-Low lines and their family has resided in the Kohala District for many generations (predating western contact). In 1935, at the suggestion of Francis I’i Brown, Tita Spielman’s mother, Annabelle Low-Ruddle, purchased a homestead lot at Paniau, in the Waimā-Puakō vicinity of South Kohala. As a result, Tita came to learn about South Kohala-North Kona lands, extending from Kawaihae to Manini’ōwali.

In the years between the 1930s to 1950s, Tita traveled the lands and fished the ocean with native families, and her elders, learning about various aspects of the natural and cultural landscape. She shares rich descriptions of how the native families of the land relied upon it for life and sustenance. Tita also noted that it was the traditional custom of those who regularly traveled the trail across the lava flows to place white coral along the way, so that when people traveled at night, they could follow the alignment. Her recollections also bring important historical documentation to light, in regards to transitions in travel between Kawaihae and Kalāhuipua’a following the outbreak of World War II.

Tita’s son, JK, has fished all of his life along the South Kohala-North Kona shoreline. During his youth, he began learning about the land and ocean resources from his mother and some of his elders who were still alive when he was a child. Though the family no longer owns Paniau, JK works on the land for the new owner. Thus he and his family, maintain their attachment to the land, and work to continue the stewardship responsibilities which his family exercised for more than 60 years.

In regards to increased access and use of the *ala hele* and *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*, both Tita and JK expressed their feelings that it is important to document the history and sites. Tita



noted that the sites along the trails “should be preserved so that future generations of children may know and understand and appreciate it.”

While walking around Paniau with the Spielmans, Tita and JK pointed out the well known cave which is situated near the *ala nui aupuni*. The cave is an important cultural feature on the landscape, and one which was always respected by the families of Paniau. J.S. Emerson’s 1880 survey of Kalāhuipua’a-‘Anaeho’omalū, identifies the cave as “Cave of Pupualenalena” (see Register Map No. 824). The story about the cave ties back to an account of a supernatural dog (Pupualenalena) who lived in the time of the chief Hakau (ca. 16<sup>th</sup> century) — who is connected to the line of Annabelle *Na-ko’o-lani-o-Hakau* Low-Ruddle.

JK notes that as a result of increased access to the beach lands, people began using the cave as a rubbish dump—he is regularly cleaning it out. Thus, increasing access makes him apprehensive —

Because I’ve seen the abuse when access has been allowed to people. Rubbish, degradation, you’d be amazed at what you see. The petroglyphs, people pouring fiberglass in. So that’s the other side. You allow access and yes, you have a handful that are there to learn, observe and be protective and respectful, then you get the others that come and will abuse. So it’s kind of a catch twenty-two. You want to open it, you want to keep it available, however if it’s not monitored and watched. You’ll have the people like my mom said, “They don’t care.” So it’s really a tough thing to discuss.

**VI. CONSERVATION AND PROTECTION:  
GUIDANCE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF A LIMITED SITE  
PRESERVATION PLAN FOR THE ALA LOA – ALA NUI AUPUNI  
(SOUTH KOHALA SECTION)**

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***Overview***

Access to, and travel on the study area trail system is not a recent phenomena, as documented in historical literature and recorded in oral history interviews, it has been on-going. The legislative mandate of *Nä Ala Hele* requires that the division facilitate, protect, and promote public access upon the public rights-of-way (HRS – Chapter 198D; and DLNR-DOFAW 1991:II-1 and IV-12). Because of past impacts on cultural and natural resources, in part the result of uninformed use of the trails, *Nä Ala Hele* has undertaken the preparation of the present study, and the formulation of the general site preservation and interpretation plan described herein. As a part of this process, *Nä Ala Hele* has entered into consultation regarding trails and access and historic preservation issues with sister agency, the State Historic Preservation Division (SHPD). Letters (1993 to 1997) on file in the Hilo office of *Nä Ala Hele* document these efforts. It is the foundational premise of *Nä Ala Hele* that *informed trail use will help to promote “wise use” of the trails and promote protection of both cultural and natural resources associated with the trails.*

This section of the study provides *Nä Ala Hele* and others interested in management and protection of the historic and natural resources of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* in the coastal region of South Kohala with foundational recommendations for developing and maintaining a “wise use” program for those resources. The recommendations given below, are rooted in standard practice (i.e., Federal and State laws and guidelines), recommendations from past archaeological surveys conducted at various points along the coast (cited in *Section IV*), and those shared by individuals who participated in the oral history and consultation program undertaken as a part of this study. The recommended actions set the framework for implementation of a limited preservation plan, including interpretive mechanisms. Increased awareness and “wise use” of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* in the coastal region of South Kohala will help to ensure that the resources are protected to a time when more detailed integrated resources management- and preservation-planning can be developed.

Over time, as funding becomes available for undertaking detailed archaeological studies, further information on the nature and extent of the cultural-historic resources will be recorded. From that work more site specific treatment recommendations can be formulated so as to enable managers and trail users to care for the trail and resources in a manner that is more respectful of the cultural-historical landscape. Thus, the goal of this limited preservation plan—given the present economic constraints and the nature of on-going use of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* system—is to provide people with information to help trail and resource users approach the resources in a more informed manner. Indeed, one of the important objectives of a preservation plan is to foster an awareness among resource users, so that the users can share in the responsibility for care of the resources. For this reason, a preservation plan generally includes an interpretive plan. It is through interpretation that the agency, landowners, resource managers, and concerned citizens, can enhance the awareness of the public that uses the trail. Awareness can in turn foster appreciation for the unique and sensitive nature of the resources, and appreciation in turn fosters actions that can lead to increased protection of the resources.

It should also be noted here, that while this study and plan focused on the Kawaihae-‘Anaeho‘omalua section of the historic *ala hele* and *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*, portions of the right-of-way are part of a regional trail system. Certain recommendations here can be applied to the larger public trail, and further work on all of the right-of-way can be undertaken to ensure an integrated resources management approach to the historic trail system.

### ***Historic Preservation Guidelines***

Cultural resources management involves a delicate balance between caring for history and the cultural past—the long-term benefits of preservation planning—and the immediate needs of today. Cultural resources, like natural resources, are nonrenewable they are becoming increasingly endangered by activities which impact the resources and modify the landscape (cf. McGimsey and Davis 1977). Federal, state, and local laws require the mitigation of adverse impacts on cultural resources.

There are several approaches that are taken in cultural resources management, this discussion deals with preservation and conservation. *Preservation* is the specific act of protecting a site and its surroundings. *Conservation* is a program of site preservation combined with local community participation and education. Conservation strives to maintain the integrity of a site and the values (cultural, environmental, esthetic, and scientific) which contribute to its significance. In the latter integrated action, the involvement of landowners, Hawaiian community members, area residents, and management agencies in the conservation process and their long-term involvement in the protection and interpretation of the resources, is integral to the success of preservation efforts along the South Kohala section of the *ala hele — ala loa-ala nui aupuni* trail system.

Hawaii Revised Statutes Chapter 6E, the State’s Historic Preservation Law, includes historic trails in the definitions of “historic property” (§6E-2) Historic Preservation (§6E-3) (cf. DLNR-DOFAW 1991:IV-12). Na Ala Hele’s partner agency, the State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) has formulated draft guidelines for the treatment of historic properties and the development of preservation plans—Title 13, Subtitle 13, Chapters 276 and 277 (Draft–December 12, 1996). These guidelines require the following areas of research and documentation of site treatments:

Historical background research; Consultation with individuals knowledgeable about the project area’s history; Preservation of archaeological sites; Buffer zones; Short-term protection measures; Preservation tasks; Considerations for historic properties with cultural significance; Exhibition requirements; and Provision for perpetual preservation (Title 13, subtitle 13, Chapters 276-277, Draft Dec. 12, 1996).

These guidelines along with those of the Legislation and Law that direct *Nā Ala Hele*, set the foundation for a successful plan of long-term resource protection, conservation, and interpretation. This limited preservation plan takes into consideration each of the areas set forth for plan development.

### ***Site Treatment Actions***

An archaeological site preservation plan seeks to set forth guidance and policies for both short-term and long-term preservation and interpretation of cultural sites identified as being significant to a particular landscape. Because large sections of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*

from Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> to 'Anaeho'omalū pass through land parcels which have been, or are planned for resort development, much of the land has undergone some level of archaeological study. While that work has not been compiled into one specific study which focuses on sites along and near the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* trail system, the various reports are a part of the inventory of DLNR-SHPD.

Initial implementation of site preservation guidelines will fall to *Nā Ala Hele* and other state agencies who share management responsibilities for public and historic resources. The following actions to be undertaken by, or facilitated by *Nā Ala Hele* (with the support of DLNR-SHPD and other regulatory agencies, land owners, and native Hawaiian- and community-organizations) will help provide greater protection for, and enjoyment of the cultural-historical resources of the South Kohala *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* trail system.

### ***Site Protection, Trail Use Protocols and Access***

#### Action # 1:

All sites visible along the trail are to be avoided (viewed from the trail), and preserved-as-is, or stabilized as deemed appropriate by DLNR-SHPD.

- All management actions pertaining to the long-term preservation of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* (South Kohala section) will be coordinated by *Nā Ala Hele* in consultation with DLNR-SHPD, land owners, and a community based organization(s) which will share in care for the resources. Any work which would entail trail stabilization will be done in consultation with DLNR-SHPD. DLNR-SHPD will also be notified if any changes occur (the result of either natural or man-made impacts) in site conditions. It is also recommended that periodic site visits be conducted by DLNR-SHPD to monitor trail and associated site conditions.

#### Action # 2:

*Na Ala Hele* will seek to facilitate the development of a community based resources management partnership in which native families of the South Kohala-Kekaha (North Kona) vicinity, land owners, individuals knowledgeable about trails, and stakeholder agencies can coordinate long term management and conservation efforts along the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* in the coastal region of South Kohala.

- In forming this partnership *Na Ala Hele* will seek out, and make every effort to work with descendants of the native families of South Kohala region in the development of formalized site treatment plans, long term management of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* resources, and identifying traditional based protocols for trail use.
- Members of families who participated in the oral history program conducted as a part of this study (have already stated their interest in participating) and descendants of other families identified in historical records cited in this study are likely candidates for the partnership program. A component of such a management plan might include a resident "trail host" or "stewardship" program (similar to that at the Kekaha Kai or Mālaekahana State Parks). It has been suggested that an individual or family descended from the traditional families of the Kawaihae-Kapalaoa vicinity be sought out for such a position.

Action # 3:

Monitoring—It is suggested here, that *Nā Ala Hele* and DLNR-SHPD (perhaps in partnership with community assistance) develop an archival catalogue of existing trail and site conditions. Such a catalogue will serve as the “control” for monitoring reviews to be conducted by *Nā Ala Hele*–DLNR-SHPD, and participants in a trail stewardship program. The catalogue could be housed with *Nā Ala Hele*–DLNR-SHPD, the offices of the Hawai’i County Planning Department, and by the designated community stewardship group.

Action # 4:

Other than the careful removal of intrusive vegetation and stabilization of sections of the trail that are unsafe or in disrepair (under the supervision of DLNR-SHPD), no other site work will occur. Thus, until further archaeological field work is undertaken and issues regarding public access away from the trail system are resolved, all sites other than the trail and those part of existing interpretive preserves are to be avoided. Entering sites (e.g. climbing over walls, removal of stones, and exploring beyond the bounds of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*) will be discouraged.

Action # 5:

Interpretation of the historic trail will include messages requesting that people do not leave the historic trail—public right-of-way—and informing them that the trail and other historic resources viewed from the trail are protected by State Law (cf. Chapter 6E-11).

### ***Interpretation***

As noted above, interpretation can play an important role in the long term protection and conservation of resources.

Action # 6:

Limited interpretive messages have been set in place at several areas (primarily as a part of resort development) It is proposed that further interpretive texts be developed from the documentation (archival and oral historical) presented in this study, and that signs—set at appropriate locations along the trail— and a pamphlet be designed to help ensure that people get the most from their travel along the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni*.

The interpretive messages should include: (a) site descriptions and appropriate graphics; (b) citations of cultural-historic site protection laws; (c) description of the public right-of-way and private property rights of the trail; (d) traditional and historic references; and (e) personal safety statements. A combination of wayside exhibits and interpretive pamphlets could be used along the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* to tie together various component features of the cultural and natural landscape of the Kawaihae-’Anaeho’omalū region. It is suggested that signs be placed at points of entry to the trail, and at selected interior locations along the trail. Signage (to be developed) will provide travelers with the basic information as described in items a, b, c, d, and e above (historical information would be included with each sign to enhance the trail experience).

General samples of wording for two types of signs and/or brochure texts are presented on the following pages (*Figures 35 and 36*). In addition to standard information written up on *Nä Ala Hele* trail signs (e.g., safety and contact information), locational maps and appropriate graphics could be incorporated into the interpretive media to break up paragraphs and coincide with textual descriptions. Wayside exhibit and brochure design could follow the standard formats of the National Park Service and existing *Nä Ala Hele* and State Parks signage.

### ***Trail Maintenance***

As noted in Action # 4 above, part of the maintenance program will include the removal of inappropriate vegetation from the trail alignment. This work will be done by hand clearing and where purposefully set stones (e.g., curbstones, cobblestones, and other pavements) are set in place, roots will not be pulled. Vegetation will be cut to ground level, and an approved herbicide can be applied to the remnant growth to terminate it.

Action # 7: Waste receptacles are situated on both the northern and southern ends of the South Kohala Section of the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* and at other points of public access (these are generally on resort or residential development properties). Travelers should also be encouraged to participate in self-monitoring and maintenance (carrying out what they carry in) while using the trail. Waste receptacles should be placed in such a way so as not to detract from the view plains, yet still be identifiable as waste receptacles.

As new receptacle sites are developed, they should be designed in a manner compatible with the natural surroundings. Bin styles might include, but not be limited to: (1) heavy duty covered metal bins held in place between chain secured cemented pipes. The bins would be painted in a color that blends in with the natural surroundings; (2) similar heavy duty bins set into cemented stone set cairns. The cement could be used in the joints and interior of the hollow cairns, leaving the exterior something like dry stacked stones; or (3) the same bins set into stationary wooden guards. *Nä Ala Hele*, land owners and community-based trail stewardship group(s) can develop a schedule for monitoring and collection of waste, as well as coordinating general trail and signage maintenance.

***Ke Ala Loa-Ala Nui Aupuni o Kohala Hema  
(The Long Trail and Government Road of South Kohala)***

Ahupua'a of Kawaihae 2<sup>nd</sup> to 'Anaeho'omalu  
(SITE Nos. 50-10-10-308 and 50-10-11-334)

This historic trail is a portion of the Old Hawaiian Government Trail and Road system. The trail passes through cultural sites and private property. Please Stay on the Trail.

The present-day South Kohala coastal trail system evolved from a trail system generally called the "*ala hele*" or "*ala loa*." Because ancient trails were established to provide travelers with standardized and relatively safe access to a variety of resources, the trails were (and remain) important features of the cultural landscape. The *ala hele-ala loa* were the link between individual residences, resource collection sites, agricultural field systems, and larger communities—the religious and political centers of the island of Hawai'i. Along Hawaiian trails are found a wide variety of cultural resources, they include, 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 which are of significance to the families who once lived in the vicinity of the trails. The trails themselves, also exhibit a variety of construction methods which range from ancient—for example worn paths on *pāhoehoe* or '*a'ā* lava surfaces, trails across sandy shores and dry rocky soils, or cobble stepping stone pavements—to historic curbstone lined roads with elevated stone filled "bridges" that level out the contour of the roadway.

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 some cases the old *ala hele-ala loa*, were realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, and others 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. By the 1840s, the modified alignments became a part of a system of "roads" called the "*Ala Nui Aupuni*" or Government Roads. By the trail-roadway system, regional residents and visitors gained access to their schools and churches, and people from outside of South Kohala, were provided access to through and beyond the remote South Kohala villages and landscape.

Historical documentation indicates that the main *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* extending between 'Anaeho'omalu to Kawaihae served primarily as a route between North Kona and Kawaihae. The primary stopping places were Kiholo and Kapalaoa (in North Kona), and Puakō and Kawaihae in South Kohala. By the early 1800s, the other coastal areas passed by this trail system—for example 'Anaeho'omalu, Kalāhuipua'a, Waimā, Lālāmilo-Waikōloa, and 'Ōuli—were all but abandoned, with individuals from the few remaining communities using the smaller *ala lihi kai* (shoreline trails) primarily for subsistence activities. While access through coastal Waimā, Lālāmilo-Waikōloa, and 'Ōuli was maintained by the *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* (which passes through those lands), at Kalāhuipua'a and 'Anaeho'omalu (southern most of the lands units in South Kohala) it appears that the shore line was accessed by a smaller system of localized trails. As such, southern portions of the primary *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* were some distance inland, away from the shore.

By the late 1890s, a new upland Kona-Waimea Road was being developed. In this same period, it appears that government work on the South Kohala *ala nui aupuni* ended. By the beginning of the 1900s, the primary use of the Kawaihae-Kona *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* was made by the native residents of Kiholo, Kapalaoa, Puakō, and Kawaihae. Oral history interviews with descendants of the native resident of the Kapalaoa-Kawaihae region describe the travel as being undertaken for fishing, exchange of goods, and visitation between families of the remote coastal villages. During this time, the larger landowners tended to go to Kawaihae and travel by boat to their scattered residences along the South Kohala coast.

**Figure 35. Sample Interpretive Text A - Part 1 of 2**

With the out break of World War II, the method of travel changed once again. The army, working with local families, bulldozed a rough road from Kawaihae towards Kalāhuipua'a. At a few areas, the new roadway alignment followed the old *ala nui aupuni*, but generally, the alignment was moved inland because of obstructions (such as cliffs and gulches), and to create a more direct route. When this occurred, there were also smaller feeder roadways made, that extended from the new alignment to fortifications on points overlooking the shore. By 1945, the few families who maintained residences between Kawaihae and 'Anaeho'omalu, would sometimes drive to their homes, though boats remained in use through the 1970s. By mid 1949, the Territorial Government initiated a project to survey and open a new road from Kawaihae to Puakö. This done, along with growing interest in the coastal lands of the region, led to the formulation of plans for opening a coastal highway system in the 1970s. Today, the old *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* trail system of coastal South Kohala is primarily used by subsistence fishermen and for recreational activities.

Please refrain from walking on adjoining historic sites and do not remove any rocks from walls or other features.

The *ala loa-alanui aupuni* is a historic roadway. Damage to the trail or any archaeological sites along the trail is subject to penalties, as defined in Hawai'i Revised Statutes Chapter §6E-11.

**Figure 35. Sample Interpretive text A - Part 2 of 2**

At areas along the trail where adjoining features are visible, limited information could be provided. An example being:

**SITE 50-10-11-5629**  
**Ahupua'a of 'Öuli, South Kohala**

Kauna'oa Point Complex  
A permanent habitation complex dating from ca. AD 1672.

The complex comprises eleven features located at Kauna'oa Point, overlooking Hāpuna Bay.

Please stay on the historic trail. Damage to this site, the historic trail or any archaeological sites along the trail is subject to penalties, as defined in Hawai'i Revised Statutes Chapter §6E-11.

**Figure 36. Sample Interpretive Sign B**

Action # 8: In order to ensure culturally sensitive, long-term site maintenance and site protection, *Nā Ala Hele* will develop a program that informs program volunteers and staff about the requirements for site preservation. Among the topics to be addressed are the following:



1. Training of individuals in appropriate maintenance techniques and of appropriate uses/visitation at the sites (e.g., no picnicking, camping, or playing on adjoining sites; no removal of sand, dirt, or stones, etc., from the sites). Staff, volunteers, and landowners will be informed of who to call when inappropriate activities are observed;
2. Landscaping maintenance (no planting or use of herbicides, etc., will occur without DLNR-SHPD approval);
3. Waste receptacle locations and maintenance schedules will be established;
4. Development, installation, and maintenance of interpretive exhibits; and
5. Site condition monitoring and notifying *Nā Ala Hele* – DLNR-SHPD of changes in site conditions.

### ***Concerns for Natural Resources and Private Property***

As recorded in oral history interviews conducted as a part of this study, the native families of the land followed an unwritten but natural system of protocols in using the trails and resources between Kawaihae and 'Anaeho'omalū. Paraphrased, it was observed that the right of trail usage carries with it the responsibility of trail care and respect of resources.

To help ensure the protection of special natural resources (life forms), such as native shore birds, *honu* (turtles), *'ilio holo kai* (Hawaiian monk seals), and other forms of marine life, it is suggested that:

- Dogs and other animals should be kept on leashes at all times, and they should be kept away from these unique forms of Hawaiian wildlife. Likewise, people should stay away from them as well – make no move to approach these animals.

It is also noted that the South Kohala *ala hele* and *ala loa-ala nui aupuni* trail system passes through private property — including single family residences and resort developments.

- While often inviting, the grounds around some of these residences and resorts are not public park facilities. All trail users should be asked to refrain from trespassing and asked to respect the private property rights (trail signage and other interpretive materials will be developed with the necessary messages).

While preparing the present study, the author walked the length of the South Kohala trail system with *Nā Ala Hele* Trails Technician, Pat Thiele—walking in two sections, from Kawaihae to Puakō landing, and Puakō to 'Anaeho'omalū. As a result of those field trips, the author learned about on-going *Nā Ala Hele* management programs (components of which are cited above) and observed the diverse cultural and natural resources found along the trail. The two field trips were an important contribution to development of the interviews and treatment actions described above.

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