

**HE MO'OLELO 'ĀINA:
A CULTURAL STUDY OF THE
MANUKĀ NATURAL AREA RESERVE
LANDS OF MANUKĀ, DISTRICT OF KA'Ū,
AND KAULANAMAUNA, DISTRICT OF
KONA, ISLAND OF HAWAI'I**



*Manukā Forest Canopy and Understory
(Photo Courtesy of DLNR-NARS)*



*Moa Ground Cover under 'Ōhi'a of the
Kipāhoehoe-Manukā Region Forest Zone
(Photo Courtesy of DLNR-NARS)*



*Koki'o (Kokia drynarioides) at Manukā
(Photo Courtesy of DLNR-NARS)*

Kumu Pono Associates LLC



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

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ISLAND OF HAWAI'I**

PREPARED BY

*Kepā Maly • Cultural Historian - Resources Specialist
&
Onaona Maly • Researcher*

PREPARED FOR

*Lisa Hadway, Natural Area Specialist
Department of Land and Natural Resources-
Natural Area Reserves
P.O. Box 4849
Hilo, Hawai'i 96720*

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of Ms. Lisa Hadway, Natural Area Specialist for the State of Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources – Division of Forestry and Wildlife (DLNR-DOFAW), *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*, conducted a detailed study of historical and archival literature documenting the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the vicinity of Manukā and Kaulanamauna, in the Districts of Ka'ū and South Kona on the island of Hawai'i. The documentation also includes detailed oral testimonies—describing the lands, traditional and customary practices, and historical land use—from native residents of lands in the Manukā-Kaulanamauna vicinity collected in the 1870s to 1890s. The documentation cited herein is the product of years of research, and includes specific research conducted for the study between October 2003 to April 2004. The research was conducted in private and public collections, and that documentation, cited herein, includes written narratives that cover the period from antiquity to the 1980s.

The historical and archival resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, Bureau of Conveyances and the Natural Areas Reserve System offices; the Hawaiian Historical Society; the University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; private family collections; and in the collection of *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*. The documentation includes rich narratives translated from native Hawaiian accounts; descriptions of lands that make up the South Kona-Ka'ū region, as recorded in historic surveys; a history of land tenure from 1848 to the present; records documenting the establishment of the Ka'ū and South Kona Forest Reserves, and the subsequent designation of the Manukā Natural Area Reserve.

The Natural Area Reserve (NAR) takes its name from the native land division (*ahupua'a*) of Manukā, which may be literally, “Blundering,” so named from a traditional account of one of the ancient residents. The NAR also includes the land of Kaulanamauna, literally, “The-mountain-resting-place,” and extends from sea level to the 5,524 foot elevation. The native traditions and historical accounts associated with the lands of Manukā and Kaulanamauna span many centuries, from Hawaiian antiquity to the later period following western contact. The narratives 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 mountain resources, the *kula* (plain and plateau lands), and the adjacent marine fisheries.

The most detailed descriptions of the Ka'ū-South Kona mountain lands, including documentation of traditional and customary rights, are those found in the Kingdom collections, documenting the history of land tenure, and defining the boundaries of *ahupua'a* in the Ka'ū-Kona Districts. Detailed oral testimonies from elder native tenants that were taken in court proceedings of the mid to late 1800s, document the occurrence of traditional and customary practices, and nature of the resources within the *ahupua'a*. In those records, we learn of the traditional knowledge and occurrence of native practices in the lands which today are a part of, and adjoin the Manukā Natural Area Reserve.

We find in native traditions and beliefs, that Hawaiians shared spiritual and familial relationships with the natural resources around them. Each aspect of nature from the stars in the heavens, to the winds, clouds, rains, growth of the forests and life therein, and everything on the land and in the ocean, was believed to be alive. Indeed, every form of nature was a body-form of some god or lesser deity. In the Hawaiian mind, care for each aspect of nature, the *kino lau* (myriad body-forms) of the elder life forms, was a way of life. This concept is still expressed by Hawaiian *kūpuna* (elders) through the present day, and passed on in many native families. Also, in this cultural context, anything which damages the native nature of the land, forests, ocean, and *kino lau* therein, damages the integrity of the whole. Thus caring for, and protecting the land and ocean resources, is important.

In the traditional context above referenced, we find that the land, the native plants and life-forms, and the intangible components therein, are a part of a sacred Hawaiian landscape. Thus, the landscape itself is a highly valued cultural property. Its protection, and the continued exercise of traditional and customary practices, in a traditional and customary manner, are mandated by native custom, and

State and Federal Laws (as those establishing the Ka'ū and South Kona Forest Reserves, the Manukā Natural Area Reserve; and the Endangered Species Act).

In this discussion, protection does not mean the exclusion, or extinguishing of traditional and customary practices, it simply means that such practices are done in a manner consistent with cultural subsistence, where each form of native life is treasured and protected. *Kūpuna* express this thought in the words, "*Ho'ohana aku, a ho'ōla aku!*" (Use it, and let it live!).

In the early 1900s, the Ka'ū and South Kona mountain and forest lands were determined to be significant resources in the Hawaiian islands, and worthy of protection. In 1911, the mountain lands were dedicated as the South Kona Forest Reserve. As a part of on-going ranching operations, and the mission of the newly formed forestry programs, hunting for pigs and goats, and in earlier times, for wild cattle, has been practiced on lands of the Manukā NAR. Such hunting interests remain of importance to community members and long-term management goals of the Natural Area Reserve System program.

In the late 1970s, certain lands within the South Kona Forest Reserve were again signaled out as being unique and fragile systems, and efforts led to the establishment of the Manukā Natural Area Reserve in 1983. Since that time, agencies and community members have been working together to try and ensure the health and integrity of the natural and cultural resources of the Manukā Natural Area Reserve.

Several points of cultural and historical importance are discussed in the texts cited in this study. These points include, but are not limited to the following facets of the cultural-historical landscape in the Manukā Natural Area Reserve:

- Haliukua and Pu'epu'e were ancient dryland agricultural fields of the South Kona-Ka'ū region, including feature within the forests of Manukā and Kaulanamauna.
- Traditional and historic period residency and agriculture practices are described in the *kīpuka* situated in various forest and *kula* zones of Manukā and Kaulanamauna.
- Goat ranching developed by the late 1840s, and was of particular economic interest in Manukā and Kaulanamauna from the 1860s to 1890s.
- By the 1880s, cattle ranching interests began to emerge as the primary economic uses of the land.
- Native residents maintained houses and agricultural fields in both Manukā and Kaulanamauna through the early 1900s. Areas of last native residency were situated on both the mauka and makai side of what became the Māmalahoa Highway.
- Access to the land was generally controlled by lessees and government forestry programs.

māua nō me ka ha'aha'a — Kepā a me Onaona Maly

"A'ohe hana nui, ke alu 'ia!
(It is no great task when done together by all!)

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INTRODUCTION

Background

As a part of a program designed to protect and restore significant Hawaiian natural resources found within the Manukā Natural Area Reserve, Ms. Lisa Hadway, Natural Area Specialist for the State of Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources—Division of Forestry and Wildlife (DLNR-DOFAW), requested that *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*¹, conduct historical and archival research to document the traditional-cultural and historical setting of *ahupua'a*² that make up the Manukā Natural Area Reserve in the Districts of Ka'ū and South Kona, on the Island of Hawai'i (*Figure 1*).

The Manukā Natural Area Reserve (NAR) is comprised of two *ahupua'a* that bound one another, and that also mark the boundary between the districts of Ka'ū and Kona (South Kona). The upper mountain region of the NAR was once a part of the South Forest Reserve, which was established by Governor's Proclamation in 1911, and included nearly 37,000 acres of unique dry forest. On January 12th, 1983, Governor's Executive Order No. 3164, established the Manukā NAR, consisting of some 25,550 acres. The NAR takes its name from the *ahupua'a* of Manukā, which may be literally translated as "Blundering," so named for one of the ancient residents of the land (see tradition cited in this study). The name, Kaulanamauna, is literally translated as meaning "Mountain-resting-place," and commemorates the practice of traditional residents traveling to the upland forests for canoe logs and other resources.

In the 1992 Manukā NAR Management Plan, DLNR staff describe the lands and resources of the Manukā-Kaulanamauna lands as:

...the **Manuka Natural Area Reserve** was established on the island of Hawaii in **1983** by Executive Order 3164. The reserve protects a diverse range of natural communities including dry and mesic forests, subalpine shrublands and forests, lowland and coastal shrublands and grasslands, anchialine pools, pioneer vegetation on lava flows, and lava tubes. These communities provide habitat to native plants and animals, several of which are considered rare such as the 'io (Hawaiian hawk) and the 'ope'ape'a (Hawaiian hoary bat).

...Manuka Natural Area Reserve occupies **25,550 acres** on the southwest slope of Mauna Loa on the island of Hawaii. Elevations range from near sea level to 5,524 feet near Puu Ohohia at the reserve's apex. Rainfall averages from 30 inches annually in the lower elevation to 40 inches at the reserve's apex. Precipitation is probably higher along a band in the mid-elevations (ca. 1,800 - 3,200 feet) where daily cloud cover results in fog drip. March is the wettest month, averaging 3 - 4 inches, and June the driest with only 1 - 4 inches (Giambelluca, Nullet, and Schroeder 1986). [DLNR-NARS 1992]

The 1992 plan further observes that "The **overall management goal is to protect, maintain, and enhance the reserve's native ecosystems**" (DLNR-NARS 1992).

This study seeks to provide readers with access to primary documentation on native traditions, customs, and practices associated with the lands and resources of Manukā and Kaulanamauna; and to provide readers with a historical overview of the land and activities of people in the region from the early 1900s through the present-day. Such information will be helpful in planning phases and discussions of the South Kona-Ka'ū community and agencies, as efforts to protect the unique natural

¹ *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*: Kepā Maly, Cultural Historian-Resource Specialist and Onaona Maly, Researcher.

² *Ahupua'a* is a traditional term used to describe an ancient Hawaiian land unit (extending from sea to mountain lands), and remains the primary land unit of the modern land classification system.

and cultural landscape of the NAR are undertaken. While a great deal of information has been compiled, and is presented in the following section of this study, we acknowledge that additional information will likely be found through further research. The goal here, is to bring a significant collection of documentation into one study that will help all interested parties plan actions to ensure the well-being of the land for present and future generations.

Historical and Archival Research

The historical and archival research conducted for this study was performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the pertinent laws and guidelines are the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "*Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review*" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "*Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statute (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites and practices, Title 13 Sub-Title 13:275-284 (October 21, 2002); and the November 1997 guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (which also facilitate the standardized approach to compliance with Act 50 amending HRS Chapter 343; April 26, 2000).

While conducting the research, primary references included, but were not limited to—land use records, including an extensive review of Hawaiian Land Commission Award (L.C.A.) records from the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i; and historical texts authored or compiled by—D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. M. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); Chas. Wilkes (1845); C. Lyman (1846); A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996); G. Bowser (1880); T. Thrum (1908); J.F.G. Stokes and T. Dye (1991); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). 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 nineteenth century visitors, and residents of the region.

The historical-archival resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, Natural Area Reserves office, and Bureau of Conveyances; the Bishop Museum Archives; Hawaiian Historical Society; University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; private family collections; and in the collection of *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*. This information is generally cited in categories by chronological order of the period depicted in the narratives.

The historical record—including oral testimonies of elder native residents of the lands of Manukā, Kaulanamauna, and adjoining lands—provide readers with detailed descriptions of traditional and customary practices, the nature of land use, and the types of features to be expected on the landscape. The descriptions of land use and subsistence practices range from antiquity to the middle 1900s, and represent the knowledge of *kama'āina* (natives) of the land.

THE LANDS OF THE MANUKĀ-KAULANAMAUNA REGION: A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Hawaiian Settlement

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

For generations following initial settlement, communities were clustered along the watered, windward (*ko'olau*) shores of the Hawaiian Islands. Along the *ko'olau* shores, in areas such as Waiākea-Pi'ihonua, Waipi'o, Waimanu and Pololū, streams flowed, rainfall was reliable, and agricultural production became established. The *ko'olau* region also offered sheltered bays from which deep sea fisheries could be easily accessed. Also, near-shore fisheries, enriched by nutrients carried in the fresh water flowing from the mountain streams, could be maintained in fishponds and estuarine systems. It was around these bays that clusters of houses where families lived could be found. In these early times, the residents generally engaged in subsistence practices in the forms of agriculture and fishing (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:287).

Over the period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and by ca. 900 to 1100 AD, the population began expanding to the *kona* (leeward side) and more remote regions of the island (Cordy 2000:130). In Kona, communities were initially established along sheltered bays with access to fresh water and rich marine fisheries. The primary “chiefly” centers of Kona were established at several locations—these being in the Kailua (Kaiakeakua) vicinity, Kahalu'u-Keauhou, Ka'awaloa-Kealakekua, and at Hōnaunau. Smaller outlying communities were established further south, in the region traditionally known as Kapalilua, at areas such as Kauhakō-Ho'okena, Ka'ohe, Pāpā, Miloli'i, Kalihi, Honomalino, and Kapu'a, with even smaller communities at areas in between the large *kulana kauhale* (village communities). Similarly in Ka'ū, native communities and important centers also flourished at Wai'ōhinu, Honu'apo, Hilea and Punalu'u.

By the 1400-1500s, upland elevations to around the 4,000 foot elevation were being developed into areas of residence and a system of dry land agricultural fields were being developed (Cordy, 2000). Each of the communities shared extended familial relations, and there was an occupational focus on collection of marine resources and upland agriculture. A sophisticated complex of dryland cultivating grounds were developed over a wide region of the Ka'ū and South Kona uplands, used by residents of various *ahupua'a* to supply their own needs and support the larger royal communities. By the fifteenth century, residency in the uplands was becoming permanent, and there was an increasing separation of chiefly class from commoners. In the sixteenth century the population stabilized and the *ahupua'a* land management system was established as a socio-economic unit (see Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; and Handy, Handy & Pukui 1972).

In Kona and Ka'ū, where no streams flowed regularly to the coast, access to potable water (*wai*), was of great importance and played a role in determining the areas of settlement. The waters of Kona and Ka'ū were found in springs and water caves (found from shore to the mountain lands), or procured from rain catchment and dew-fall. Traditional and historic narratives abound with descriptions and names of water sources, and also record that the forests were more extensive and extended much further seaward than they do today. These forests not only attracted rains from the clouds and provided shelter for cultivated crops, but also in dry times drew the *kēhau* and *kēwai* (mists and dew) from the upper mountain slopes to the low lands.

While native tenants lived upon the lands of Manukā and Kaulanamauna, native traditions and early historical accounts do not describe the lands as large political or community centers. This is perhaps reflective of the isolated nature of the lands, and the fact that other lands in the region were easier to live upon.

Natural Resources and Land Management in the Hawaiian Cultural System

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

In the generations that followed initial settlement, the Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land use and resource management. By the time 'Umi-a-Līloa rose to rule the island of Hawai'i in ca. 1525, the island (*moku-puni*) was divided into six districts or *moku-o-loko*. Ka'ū and Kona, being two of the major districts. The large *moku-o-loko* were further divided into political regions and manageable units of land. These smaller divisions or units of land were tended to by the *maka'āinana* (people of the land) (see Malo 1951:63-67). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant management unit throughout the islands was the *ahupua'a*.

Ahupua'a are subdivisions of land that were usually marked by altars with images or representations of a pig placed upon them, thus the name *ahu-pua'a* or pig altar. In their configuration, the *ahupua'a* may be compared to wedge-shaped pieces of land that generally radiate out from the center of the island, extending to the ocean fisheries fronting the land units. Their boundaries are generally defined by topographic and geological features such as *pu'u* (hills), ridges, gullies, valleys, craters, or areas of a particular vegetation growth (see Boundary Commission testimonies in this study; and Lyons, 1875).

The *ahupua'a* were also divided into smaller manageable parcels of land—such as the *'ili*, *kō'ele*, *mahina 'ai*, *māla*, and *kīhāpai*—that generally run in a *mauka-makai* orientation, and are often marked by stone wall (boundary) alignments. In these smaller land parcels the *maka'āinana* cultivated crops necessary to sustain their families, and supplied the needs of the chiefly communities they were associated with. 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* (see Malo 1951:63-67 and Kamakau 1961:372-377).

Entire *ahupua'a*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konoiki* or subordinate chief-landlords, who answered to an *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* (chief who controlled the *ahupua'a* resources). The *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* in turn answered to an *ali'i 'ai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupua'a* resources supported not only the *maka'āinana* and *'ohana* (families) 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 resource management planning. In this system, the land provided fruits, vegetables and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources.

It is appropriate to observe here, that while isolated, a traditional saying shares with us something of the cultural significance of the lands of Manukā and Kaulanamauna, in the system of Hawaiian land management. In the same breath, the saying also tells us one of the important components of the natural environment in the Natural Area Reserve. As described in the saying, the lands of Manukā and Kaulanamauna mark the boundary between the districts of Ka'ū and Kona:

...*Mai Ke-ahu-a-Lono i ke 'ā o Kanikū, a hō'ea i ka 'ūlei kolo o Manukā i Kaulanamauna e pili aku i Ka'ū!* (from Keahualono [the Kona-Kohala boundary] on the rocky flats of Kanikū, to Kaulanamauna next to the crawling (tangled growth of) 'ūlei³ bushes at Manukā, where Kona clings to Ka'ū! [Kihe, in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, September 13, 1917; Maly translator])

Noted Hawaiian Historian, David Malo, writing in the middle 1800s, described the traditional division of land under the ancient kings; mentioning Manukā and Kaulanamauna, indicating that such boundary lands were among those kept by the kings:

56. The king might well take as his own the *ahupuaa* on the borders of the districts, such, for instance, as Kaulanamauna, on the border of Kona, and Manuka, which lies on the border of Kau. (These were very rocky and rather sterile tracts of country.) When the king had found a suitable man, the king might put the lands in his charge.
57. It would also be a wise thing for the king to keep as his own the *ahupuaa* or districts in which the *kaui*, the *aala*, or the *auau*⁹ is plentiful, together with any rocky and inhospitable tracts of land. He might entrust these lands into the hands of good men to farm them for him. [Malo 1951:193]

Overview of the Cultural Landscape of Manukā and Vicinity

Ethnographers, Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972) provided readers with a description of the lands on the boundary of Ka'ū and Kona, describing their past nature, aspects of their lore, and historic setting up to the 1950s:

MANUKA

This is the first *ahupua'a* in Ka'u as one moves into that land from South Kona. It lies just beyond the well-watered rainy region of inland south-western Ka'u, yet the Manuka State Park, just above the belt road, has verdant grass, owing to cloud that covers the site in the rainy season and to daily showers. The elevation of the park is a little more than 2,000 feet. The massive jungle of 'ohi'a trees now covering widespread evidences of former taro and sweet-potato plantations is testimony enough of the climatically favorable nature of the locality. In prediscovery times there was even more abundant

³ 'Ūlei or 'ū'ūlei (*Osteomeles anthyllidifolia*), a native shrub which produces long branch runners that were still collected by elder Hawaiian fishermen for net making through the 1930s.

⁹ Sect. 57. The *kaui* was a famous wood for spears, its color like that of mahogany. *Aala* is said to be fragrant. Perhaps the *ala-a* is the tree in question. *Auau* was a tree specially useful for the *aho*, or small poles that it furnished, the straight light poles of the *hau*. These were very useful in training men in spear practice. The head of the spear was blunted and wrapped with *tapa* to make its impact harmless. When young soldiers had acquired skill and proficiency with these harmless weapons, they were allowed to try their hand at the heavy, sharp-pointed, *kaui* spears used in battle.

rain; and before Hawaiian settlement and clearing of the forest, yet more. In fact this area was like the wet rain forest that now lies *mauka* of the park. Below the park at the present time the *'Ohi'a* dwindle, get smaller and sparser rapidly, and the seaward slopes of Manuka are dry and barren. Along the coast line and over what is now a lava desert blow the trade winds. This area is drenched with rain during the winter *kona* storms, and in October and November and February and March the uplands echo with Lono's thunder and Kane-hekili (Kane-of-the-lightning) is often seen and felt. From the upland and looking down toward Kauna Point (the ancient canoe landing for sea voyages from Kona northeastward) the striking difference between the wild white waters of the Ka'u coast and the *kai malie* (gentle sea) of Kona is distinctly visible as the two meet.

KAHUKU

Kahuku, a very large *ahupua'a* which for many years has been a ranch, is just beyond the southwest shoulder of Mauna Loa. Over these heights the moisture-laden trade winds, having traversed the wet uplands and forested interior of eastern Ka'u, Hilo, and Hamakua Districts, spread a great roll of cool clouds. These masses of cool water vapor expand and precipitate as rain when they meet the air that rises morning to evening from the ocean, warmed in its passage over the dry lower plains of Kahuku, Manuka, and neighboring Kona. Warmed trade winds also blow in over the southeast coast and Ka Lae, crossing the high rolling plains of Kama'oa and Pakini, there precipitating much moisture as dew where it meets the cooled air blanketing the uplands. Actually, during the months of March through November, the blanket of cool moist air moving over the upland flank of Mauna Loa, and the warm damp flood of wind diverted inland and overland by the high plains of Kama'oa and Pakini, are nothing more nor less than vast eddies of the great southeastward flow of arctic air, which is warmed as it passes over the ocean in these latitudes. These we term the "trades"—the winds so named because the "traders" (sailing vessels) utilized their regular flow from March through November in their voyages.

In the season of southerly (*kona*) cyclonic storms, the wind and rain [page 560] came in upon western Ka'u from oceanward in more violent gusts, sometimes sweeping in with great force. These *kona* storms originate in the equatorial regions, hence their warm winds are heavily laden with moisture. Coming upon the cool uplands their heavy black clouds produce electric storms, with thunder and lightning, and downpours starting with light gentle rain (*hilina*), which gradually increase into deluges, at times veritable cloudbursts. These winter storms drench the whole land, which, whether dry lava, grassland, or forest, soaks it up greedily, and in the uplands stores it beneath the forests. [Handy et al., 1972:561]

In their discussion of history in the Manukā vicinity, Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972), cited the Journal of Wm. Ellis (1825), documenting a trip taken by the missionaries in 1823, across the lands from Kona into Ka'u. The authors also described the changing nature of the land, in part the product of lava flows in the 1800s and early 1900s, and provided us with important descriptions of significant cultural remains in Manukā. Knowledge of such resources, helps those concerned about the care of the cultural landscape plan for management of the land and resources:

As the missionaries journeyed on foot from South Kona along the coastal trail, the first *ahupua'a* they entered in Ka'u was Manuka. Along the coast this is, a desolate area, with almost no soil, no beaches, no springs. Kapua, Okoe, and, behind them in South Kona, Honomalino and Miloli'i, represented the last areas of settlement...

...Manuka has been spared the devastation of later lava flows which have covered much of what was good forest and open pasture prior to the outburst of 1868, that seems to have initiated the recent era of volcanism from Mauna Loa's southwest rift.

After 1868, came massive flows into Kahuku in 1887 and 1907, each slightly westward of the previous flow...

It was interesting to discover that one of the wild sweet-potato varieties that has persisted in the jungle is one peculiar to this area. It has a delicate [page 569] indented leaf form and a peculiar dusky or smoky tinge underlying the green and purple of the foliage and veining. Comparison of specimens collected in 1959 with descriptions of the *Uahi-a-Pele* (Smoke-of-Pele) collected in Kona in 1931 established this identification (see Fig. 16, *f*, in Handy, 1940). The presence of the smoky or dusky pigmentation found only in areas of active volcanism explains the names. But what causes the "smoky" look? The presence of the volcano goddess and her sister, Hawaiians say.

The trail that connects the seacoast with the upland, passing through the park, has along it five water holes. Near the shore, along the seacoast trail which is paved with huge *pahoehoe* (smooth) lava blocks; are a number of stones on which petroglyphs were carved by travelers.

The tumbling surf on the Ka'u shore is described in these lines of a sacred *hula* chant:

*The sun rises over the sea at Unulau,
The billows of Kauna rush pell-mell.*

Unulau is a place on the Manuka shore east of Kauna Point. From there the sunrise may be seen out over the ocean. *Unulau* is also the name of the wind that blows in from the sea there. [Handy, Handy and Pukui, 1972:569-570]

Describing the relationship shared between families of the lands from Kamā'oa, Ka'ū, to Kapu'a, South Kona, Pukui recalled a tradition of a chiefess, a gourd, and her daughters, who were the progenitors of the people living in this region:

There was a local myth which accounted for the origin of the people of the western districts of Ka'u (Pukui, 1933). It tells of a beloved chiefess of Ka'u living in Kama'oa who fell ill and died just before she was to bear a child. Her body was put in a cave and a great stone was placed across its entrance. On the day when the child was due to have been born, a sprout emerged from the navel of the chiefess and grew out through a small opening in the entrance to the cave. It crept along over the country westward until it came to the house of a chief. There a gourd began to grow and to mature. The chief thumped and pinched it every day to see whether it was ready to pick. The spirit of the chiefess appeared to the *kahuna* of her ancestral house, who searched out the distant abode of the *malihini* chief by following the gourd vine. He then led the chief back to the cave in which the body lay, with the vine growing out of the navel. Thus he persuaded the chief to respect the gourd which had ripened on his land. The gourd was carried back to Kama'oa and kept carefully in a fine *tapa* cloth. In time it cracked open and out fell two seeds which developed into identical twin girls. These robust and prolific young women became the ancestress of the Kama'oa plain. The people of Kama'oa and of the districts westward to the border of Kona, over which the vine had spread, regarded themselves as descended from the gourd. Throughout this area gourd vines were never burned when they were dried or blighted, but were buried in a deep hole. Seven *ahupua'a* were crossed by the vine in its westward growth: Kama'oa, Pakini-iki, Pakini-nui, Kahuku, Kiao (a small *ahupua'a* practically enclosed between Pakini and Kahuku), Manuka, and Kapu'a (which is in Kona where the gourd fruited)... [Handy, Handy and Pukui, 1972:582-583]

Since the 1960s, residents of the South Kona-Ka'ū region have frequented the lands of Manukā and Kaulanamauna, for fishing and hunting. Traveling modified trails in jeeps, and on foot across the country. The activities are described by the Natural Area Reserve System program as:

Within Manuka, a jeep trail extends from the highway to the coast where it branches and parallels the shoreline. The jeep trail provides access to the remote coast for recreational fishing, which usually involves overnight camping along the shore. To allow tenting to continue, the *makai* boundary of the natural area reserve would exclude those shore areas where the jeep trail generally parallels and hugs the shoreline. The jeep trail system throughout the...reserve is also excluded... The reserve will continue to be a public hunting area as determined by hunting rules and policies of the Division of Forestry and Wildlife. Goats are normally in the drier region and pigs in the wetter forested parts. Present population estimates are less than 100 goats and from 100 to 200 pigs... [Manuka NAR File, Natural Area Reserve Office]

Prior to the middle 1950s, access in Manukā and Kaulanamauna was much more difficult, and the lands more carefully controlled. Those who had access to Manukā, Kaulanamauna, and neighboring lands such as Kahuku and Kapu'a, were employees of the ranches, or descendants of traditional families of the land—often they were both. With the improved means of access—the advent of jeeps and development of public hunting programs under Territorial-State regimes—people from beyond the immediate lands of the reserve began hunting and fishing in lands that now make up the Manukā NAR.

MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA: NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORIC ACCOUNTS OF THE MANUKĀ-KAULANAMAUNA VICINITY

This section of the study provides readers with access to a small collection of native traditions from the Ka‘ū-Kona region within which we find Manukā, Kaulanamauna, and neighboring lands. The primary traditions cited herein, have been translated from the original Hawaiian language narratives by Maly. The narratives span many centuries, from Hawaiian antiquity to the later period following western contact. Some of the narratives make specific references to places on the lands that make up the Manukā NAR, while other accounts are part of larger traditions that are associated with regional and island-wide events. Such accounts—though not necessarily site-specific—are cited here, as they help us to understand the kinds of traditional and customary practices which have been recorded for such lands, and may answer questions about features which might be encountered on the landscape of the Manukā NAR.

Unfortunately, it appears that only a few traditions have survived the passing of time in this region of Hawai‘i Island. This is perhaps in part a reflection of the remoteness of this part of the island. Importantly, the 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 mountain lands, the *kula* (plains and plateau lands), and the 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 which make up the Manukā NAR—are an indicator of the rich native history of those lands.

“Kaa Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki” (The Heart Stirring Story of Ma-Miki)

Perhaps one of the most detailed native traditions which includes rich accounts of place names and traditional practices associated with the South Kona-Northern Ka‘ū region, is the historical account titled “Kaa Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki” (The Heart Stirring Tale of Ka-Miki). The story of Ka-Miki was published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawai‘i* (1914-1917). It is a long and complex account that was recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe (translators of the work of A. Fornander), with contributions from others of their peers. While “Ka-Miki” is not an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of traditions, 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 narrative include historical accounts of more than 800 place names (many personified, commemorating particular individuals) around the island of Hawai‘i. While the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely “ancient,” such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian and Polynesian traditions. The selected narratives below, are excerpted from various sections 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). Of particular interest, specific documentation is given pertaining to the practice of bird catchers, the nature of weather patterns, and the naming of many places on the mountain landscape.

The English translations below (Kepā Maly, translator), are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis on the main events of the original narratives. Also, when the meaning was clear, diacritical marks have been added to help with pronunciation of the Hawaiian place names and words.

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

(trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, and in famed *kahua* (contest fields) and royal courts, against *‘ōlohe* (experts skilled in fighting or in other competitions, such as running, fishing, debating, or solving riddles, that were practiced by the ancient Hawaiians). They also challenged priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai‘i.

Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole were empowered by their ancestress *Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka* (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands), who was one of the myriad of body forms of the goddess *Haumea*, one of the creative forces of nature—also called *Papa* or *Hina*— who was also a goddess of priests and competitors.

The brothers traveled from North Kona, through the southern lands of the district of Kona, and on into the district of Ka‘ū. In between December 10, 1914 to April 1, 1915, Wise and Kihe et al., provide us with the following descriptions of *wahi pana* (storied places), traditional practices, and events in the history of the lands of southern Kona and northern Ka‘ū . Perhaps of greatest importance in a study of traditional land use practices, the following narratives describe the extensive upland agricultural field by the name of Pu‘epu‘e, which extended from Kaulanamauna and Kapu‘a to Kukuioapa‘e. The narratives also describe numerous upland residences near the *mauka* trail, and the inland fields which sustained the population.

Traditions of Kapu‘a, Kaulanamauna, Manukā, Kahuku and Neighboring Lands

...Bidding *aloha* to the people and lands of Pāhoehoe, Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole departed, and passed through the lands of Kukuioapa‘e, Kolo, ‘Ōlelomoana, ‘Ōpihihali, Ka‘apuna, and ‘Alikā, all of which were named for *ali‘i* who controlled the *ahupua‘a* of those names...

The brothers descended to the shore, and arrived at the *hālau ali‘i* (royal compound) of the chief Pāpaua, which was situated near the canoe landing, in the land now called Pāpā. The chief Pāpaua was famed for his *pā-hī-aku* (mother of pearl, bonito fishing lure), and the place name, Pāpā commemorates Pāpaua. Pāpaua was descended from the family of Pā-ku-huhu-a-Kalino, as told in the story of Kalino⁴, and was the brother-in-law of Hīkāpōloa, a great chief of Kohala...

The land of Pāpā was well populated and there were many fishermen and fishing canoes in Pāpā and neighboring lands. Ka-Miki met with Pūpuhi, the head fisherman of Pāpaua, at the canoe landing, and it was agreed that Ka-Miki would accompany the chief on his fishing expedition in place of Pūpuhi. Once in the canoe, Ka-Miki gave one thrust of the paddle, and the canoe was directed to the *aku* fishing grounds. So great was the strength of Ka-Miki’s thrust, that Pāpaua almost fell out of the canoe. Once at the fishing ground, a great catch of *aku* was made, and it was understood that Ka-Miki was no ordinary person.

Upon returning to the shore, Pūpuhi invited Ka-Miki *mā* to stay at Pāpā, but he declined, explaining the nature of the journey with his brother. Pūpuhi then warned them about the fierce *‘ōlohe*, ***Omoka‘a*** and ***Okoe mā***, who dwelt along the path and waylaid travelers. It was in this way, that Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole learned that those *‘ōlohe* had a special compound along the trail with houses on both sides of it, and in between the two was an *imu* which was always kept glowing hot. It was the practice of *Omoka‘a* and *Okoe mā* to compete in riddling and fighting techniques with everyone who passed by, and they had killed many people. Their victims were baked in an *imu*

⁴ See the account of *Ka-uma-‘ili-‘ula* (in S.M. Kamakau 1991:102-103).

and their bones were used for fishhooks. Pūpuhi also told them about **Manukā** of **Nāpu'uapele**, who was a master in fighting with sling stones, and in all manner of fighting.

Pūpuhi further explained to Ka-Miki that the people who lived in this region, were so afraid of the *'ōlohe* that they traveled bunched up, together in groups, rather than to travel alone. Ka-Miki told Pūpuhi that the purpose of their journey was to meet with *'ōlohe* practitioners of that nature, and make right the ways of such practitioners. The brothers then departed and passed through the lands of **Ho'opūloa** (To cluster together), which were named for a chief who had taken that name.

Likewise, the neighboring lands of **Omoka'a** and **Okoe** were named residents of those places. Omoka'a (k), Okoe (w), and their five children lived along the main trail which passed through the region. The children lived on the *makai* side of the trail, and the parents lived on the *mauka* side of the trail. It was the practice of this family to waylay travelers and bake them in their *imu*, which was kept in the middle of the trail. People of the surrounding communities feared these *'ōlohe* and never traveled individually, they stuck together (*ho'opū*) in groups, and went great distances to avoid using the land trails as long as Omoka'a *mā* continued their evil ways. Most people of this region traveled by canoe whenever they could.

While people feared Omoka'a, Okoe and their children, the land of the Ho'opūloa area was celebrated in the saying —

Ka 'āina i ka wai pū'olo i ka maka o ka 'ōpua hiwahiwa i ke ao lewa i ka lani papanu'u a Haunu'u (The land of water laden horizon clouds, cherished by the banks of clouds which line the sky foundation of *Haunu'u*).

Though all the warnings had been given, Ka-Miki and Maka'iole passed through the Ho'opūloa vicinity uneventfully, and continued their journey until they arrived in the uplands of **Kapu'a**. The area was well populated and there were many houses. There, they met with Nā-niu-a-ō'ū (The-coconut grove of 'Ō'ū), a farmer and *kāula Pele* (priest of the *Pele* class). A section of land at Kapu'a, known as **Niu-ō'ū** was named for this priest.

Nā-niu-a-ō'ū tended an agricultural field in the uplands, but his efforts were often thwarted because of the dry nature of the land. Before the arrival of Ka-Miki and Maka'iole, Nā-niu-a-ō'ū had a premonition of their nature, and saw that they would be followed by a great cleansing of the land. Nā-niu-a-ō'ū went about telling all of the people from the uplands to the shore that they should remain within their houses for a great storm was coming. But because of the *kapu* associated with his priest nature, Nā-niu-a-ō'ū was considered to be *ano 'ōpulepule* (somewhat crazy) by the people of Kapu'a, and they often ridiculed him.

When Ka-Miki and Maka'iole arrived at Nā-niu-a-ō'ū's residence, he happily welcomed them and prepared a feast for them. As Nā-niu-a-ō'ū strained the *'awa* in the *kānoa* (*'awa* bowl), Ka-Miki called upon *Kāhuli-'eli-papa-honua-mea*, and his female and male ancestor deities in a *mele pule* (prayer chant)—

*lā 'Ōhi'a-nui-moe-awakea
lā Kumakua-moe-awakea
lā Nā -wahine-moe-awakea*

*lā Ka-'ohu-kolo-mai-luna-o-ka-lā'au
lā Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka...*

To 'Ōhi'a-nui
To Kumakua
The women (goddesses) who rest
at midday
To Ka-'ohu-kolo
To Ka-uluhe...

<i>E ala e Haumea nui a ke aīwaiwa</i>	Arise great Haumea of mysterious forms
<i>E ho'ohānini a māninini ka wai a Kāne</i>	Let pour and flow forth the waters of Kāne
<i>E ola iā māua i nā pulapula</i>	That we two, your offspring might live
<i>Nā pua kela i ke ao manamana</i>	The foremost flowers of the many faceted light
<i>lā Ka-Miki a me Maka-'iole</i>	It is Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole
<i>'Eli'eli kapu, 'eli'eli noa</i>	Profound sacredness, profound freedom
<i>'Āmama, ua noa</i>	The prayer is finished, it is freed

Thus Ka-Miki called upon the deity which spanned the expanse of the land, the deity of clouds, rain, thunder, winds, earthquakes, lightning, great mysterious *Haumea*, and *Kāne* of the waters of life, to partake of the 'awa and food. All of the nature deity forms manifested themselves, and the people of the land were filled with terror, at seeing the calm broken. Clouds appeared to flow over the cliffs of Kahuku like flowing water —

'Oiai e mau ana kēia mau 'ōuli me ka ho'omaha 'ole, ke hālī'i mau ala ka 'ohu i nā kaka'i pali o Kahuku a me Manukā, a ke 'ike 'ia ala ka hiolo o ka wai o nā pali...Ke kokolo a'e o ka 'ohu i kumu pali a hekau iluna o nā lā'au...a he hō'ike kēia no ka māwehe a'e o ka 'ino.

So it is that these signs remain without fail; if the mist is spread out, along the edges of the cliffs at **Kahuku** and **Manukā**, flowing like water over the cliffs ... and the mist then creeps along the base of the cliffs, while above in the trees all is calm...it is a portend that a storm is about to occur.

The elder female ancestors of *Nu'umealani* descended with the mist form of *Ka-'ohu-kolo-māi-iluna-o-ka-lā'au* covering the land down to the shore with mists. The voices of *Kānehekili* and *Kāne-wāhilani* rumbled and lightning flashed. *Nā-niu-a-ō'ū* then saw a multitude of mysterious formed deity all about his compound and throughout his plantation. Ka-Miki then called with a *mele pule* to *Ka-uluhe (Haumea)* —

<i>Eia ka 'ai e ke akua</i>	Here is your food o gods
<i>E Kāhuli, e Kahele</i>	O Kāhuli, o Kahele
<i>E Kauwila-nui-'eli-papa honuamea...</i>	O Kauwila-nui who digs the red (sacred) stratum of the earth...
<i>Kulukulu ka wai ke pākakahi nei</i>	Let the water flow here and there
<i>A hānini la, a hānini ua</i>	Flowing and pouring forth
<i>Ka ua i ka 'ōnohi o Laniwahine</i>	The cherished rains of Laniwahine,
<i>O Nu'umea-lani-a-lani-nu'u-i-ka-ua</i>	who is of Nu'umealani
<i>I 'eli kapu, i 'eli noa – noa</i>	The sacredness is profound, the freedom is profound the prayer is freed

Thus Ka-Miki called upon the multiple forms of *Ka-uluhe*, *Lani-pipili*, *Lani-nui-ku'i-a-mamao-loa*, the forms of *Haumea*, *Kāmeha'ikana*, *Hina*, *Pele*, and the host of gods and *Kāne* forms. When Ka-Miki ended his prayer, *Lani-papanu'u-i-ka-ua*, *Lani-ka'ahele-i-ka-ua*, *Kāne-nui-ākea*, and *Kāne-i-ka-wai-ola mā* caused the rains to fall. Water flowed from the mountain to the sea, and those who had ridiculed *Nā-niu-a-ō'ū* met with much tribulation, and they repented.

During the time of the storm, Nā-niu-a-‘ō‘ū and Ka-Miki *mā* remained within Nā-niu-a-‘ō‘ū’s house, where they ate and drank ‘*awa*, for there was a period of *kapu* till the night passed. Only the thunder and the winds stirred outside. *Kānehekili-wāhilani-nui-a-nu‘u*, the thunderer, brother of *Hilina[na]* and *Hilinehu-i-ka-maka-o-ka-ua-koko*; and *Ka-‘ōnohi-‘ula-ku-hai-i-ka-moana*, who were the elder spirit-wind body formed brothers of *Haumea-nui-niho-wawaka-a-ke-aīwaiwa*, moved about.

When the calm returned, after this great storm passed, the people of **Kapu‘a** looked to Nā-niu-a-‘ō‘ū with new respect, and followed his suggestions willingly. The lands were cleansed and peace spread across the land. All forms of verdant growth sprouted from mountain to shore, and in this way, the extensive taro plantation of **Pu‘epu‘e** came to be planted, and it remained viable until recent days.

Now this great plantation's full name was *Pu‘epu‘e-ku‘u-kalo-i-amo-‘ia-kiola-‘āina-‘ia-a-koekoena-kiola-‘ia-i-ka-mauna-a-me-ka-moana* (My taro, planted in mounds was carried and spread [thrown] across the land, and what remains was spread [planted] from mountain to sea). The plantation extended across the region, from Kaulanamauna to Kukuiopa‘e.

As Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole prepared to depart, Nā-niu-a-‘ō‘ū warned them about the feared ‘*ōlohe*; **Omoka‘a**, **Okoe**, their children, and **Manukā**. These ‘*ōlohe* waylaid and killed many travelers. Whenever possible, the natives of the surrounding districts avoided traveling the *ala loa*, choosing instead to journey by canoe. Nā-niu-a-‘ō‘ū suggested that Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole might be better off taking a canoe, and returning to land once past Kalae, near Kaumaea. But the brothers told Nā-niu-a-‘ō‘ū that they had come in search of those people who dishonored their gods and practices. They described the depth of their own ‘*ōlohe* training and sling fighting practices, including the techniques of *Kaueleau*, and *Ki‘ilenalena*. They then departed and sought out **Okoe** and **Omoka‘a**.

Okoe was the ‘*ōlohe* wife of **Omoka‘a**, and mother of ‘*Ōpu‘u-ka-honua*, ‘*Ōmu‘o-ka-honua*, ‘*Ōlau-ka-honua*, ‘*Ōlika-ka-honua*, and ‘*Ōmole-ka-honua*, all of whom were notorious ‘*ōlohe*.

Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole arrived at the compound of Omoka‘a and Okoe *mā*, and indeed the famed *imu* in which they baked their victims glowed red hot with its fire. Omoka‘a sat on the *mauka* side and Okoe on the *makai* side of the *imu*, and upon seeing Ka-Miki *mā* they both reached for their tripping clubs. The four competitors exchanged taunts and riddles. And Ka-Miki warned the couple that they would be the ones baked in their own *imu*. Seeing that Ka-Miki *mā* were versed in riddling, Omoka‘a and Okoe started their efforts at defeating Ka-Miki *mā*, in hopes of baking them in the *imu*. Okoe started the riddle contest using a form of riddle chants (*mele nanenane*):

<i>O hānau ka honua</i>	The earth was born
<i>A mole ka honua</i>	The earth's foundation set
<i>O kokolo ke ‘a‘ā</i>	The ‘a‘ā lava creeps along
<i>ka weli o ka honua...</i>	Causing the earth to be afraid...

The riddle contained the names of Okoe’s children, and as the chant ended, Okoe called out, “‘*O wai? ‘O wai lā? ‘O wai ho‘i lā?*” (Who? Who is this? Who indeed is this?) Ka-Miki chanted in response answering correctly, stating that the riddle described the creation of the earth in the account of *Wākea* and *Papa*; The layering of sky and earth strata; and the genealogy of Okoe, Omoka‘a and their family. He chanted —

O hānau ka moku, a kupu, a lau,
 A loa, a mu'o, a 'ike,
 Ka moku iluna o Hawai'i,
 He pūlewa ka 'āina, naka Hawai'i
 E lewa wale ana no i ka lani lewa,
 Hono-ā mai, e Wākea pāhono 'ia,
 Mali o ke a'a o ka moku me
 ka honua,
 Pa'a 'ia lewa e lani, i ka lima akau
 o Hawai'i,
 A pa'a Hawai'i la, a la'a Hawai'i la,
 'ikea he moku
 O ka moku la ho'i auane'i.
 ko lalo nei..

The island was born, sprouting,
 spreading,
 Lengthening, budding, and seen,
 Hawai'i is the island which is above
 The land sways, Hawai'i shakes
 Floating above in the heavens,
 Bound together, bound by Wākea
 The root of the island was tied to
 the earth
 And held fast in the heavens by
 the right hand of Hawai'i
 Hawai'i was set firm and consecrated,
 the island is seen
 Indeed it is the island which
 is below...

Surprised that Ka-Miki answered their riddle, Okoe and Omoka'a told the brothers that they were indeed clever. Omoka'a and Okoe then called upon their riddling god *Kāne-iki-pa'ina* (*Kāne* who assumes the form of a click bug) to assist them.

As the competition continued, comparisons were made to the casting of a net to ensnare one's catch. Ka-Miki warned Okoe *mā* that if they were not careful, they would end up like *Luanu'u-a-nu'u-pō'ele-ka-pō* of the nine fold cliffs of Waipi'o – caught in the supernatural net *Ku'uku'u* which belongs to *Ka-uluhe*. Ka-Miki then chanted a *mele pule kānaenae ho'oūlu mana 'e'ehia* (Prayer chant supplication to increase his supernatural power):

*Iā Ku'uku'u ka 'upena
 Hei mai ka i'a
 O ka pulelehua
 O ka pokipoki
 O ka nananana
 O kini o ke akua
 O ka mano o ke akua
 O ka lehu o ke akua
 O ka puku'i o ke akua...*

Ku'uku'u is the net,
 A snare which catches the fish,
 Binding it like —
 The butterfly,
 The sow bug,
 The spider,
 The 40,000 gods
 The 4,000 gods
 The 400,000 gods,
 The assembly of gods...

Understanding the power of the prayer which Ka-Miki chanted, Okoe *mā* began another form of riddling and asked —

"Aia la! Aia ho'i! Ku'u imu a'ohē ahi , ku'u imu uwahi 'ole, ku'u imu ho'okāhi no pōhaku, ku'u imu 'elua no pe'a kauwawe, ku'u imu e ...!" (Behold, behold indeed! My *imu* has no fire, no smoke, my *imu* has one stone, and two ti leaf bundle covers, yet it is my *imu*...!)

Ka-Miki responded:

"He imu manini ko kai, a'ohē ahi pau no na'e ka manini i ka 'ai 'ia. He imu ma'i'a ko uka ua mo'a pala kāpule iloko o ka lua, a'ohē ahi pau no na'e i ka 'ai 'ia..." (The rock mound an *imu* [also called *umu*] for the *manini* in the sea, has no fire, yet it is consumed. The smokeless *imu* is in the uplands, is an over ripened banana, and it too is consumed...)

Once again, Okoe and Omoka'a agreed that Ka-Miki won the contest. Okoe then presented a riddle about the name of the plantation of Pu'epu'e. The full name of this plantation is *Pu'epu'e-ku'u-kalo-i-amo-'ia-kiola-'āina-'ia-a-koekoena-kiola-ia-i-ka-mauna*

-a-me-ka-moana (My taro planted in mounds was carried and spread [thrown] across the land, and what remained was spread [planted] from mountain to sea). She called out —

[Note: numbers in the following narrative have been inserted at key points by the translator, to indicate where points in the riddle correspond with the answer.]

^[1] *He kalo ku i ka mauna, i pu'epu'e 'ia;* ^[2] *i amo 'ia a* ^[3] *koe,* ^[4] *lino 'ia a pa'a,* ^[5] *ho'ō'ia apau,* ^[6] *kiola 'ia i ka* ^[7] *mauna,* ^[8] *hali 'ia i ka* ^[9] *moana,* ^[10] *ku ka puna i uka,* ^[11] *ua kolo a* ^[12] *pae he kukui ka 'āina.* (The taro placed upon the mountain, planted in mounds, carried to where it remains, securely bound (*lino*), all set in place, thrown to the mountain (by Haumea); carried and spread to the ocean, [reaching] to where the spring is in the uplands, and where the *kukui* cling upon the land.)

Okoe then told Ka-Miki, “Answer the riddle or your eyes shall become the food of our riddling god *Kāne-iki-pa'ina*.” Ka-Miki answered in a riddle of his own, describing many of the lands of the Kapalilua region —

Aia la, aia la, aia la! O ke kalo a ku'u mau kūpunawahine i kanu ai i ka hei, i ka manomano wai, i ka lā'au kala'ihī o'o i kanahēle o Mahiki, i ka mauna anuanu ko'ūa, he ahi ke kapa e mehana ai, e lala ai mākou i uka o 'Ōma'olālā e - 'oia – ^[1] He Helemauna ke kalo i pu'epu'e 'ia; O ^[2] Kapu'a ia - I amo 'ia a koe; O ^[3] Omoka'a ia me ^[4] Okoe - He mau 'okana i pili ana me Kapu'a, 'oia no ho'i ko 'olua mau inoa; Lino 'ia a pa'a; o ^[5] Honomalino ia; Ho'ō'ia apau; o ^[6] Ho'opūloa ia; Kiola 'ia i ka mauna; o ^[7] Kiolaka'a a me ^[8] Kaulana mauna; Hali 'ia i ka moana; o nā ^[9] 'Ōpihiali a me nā ^[10] 'Ōlelomoana; Ku ka puna i uka; o ^[11] Ka'apuna ia. O kolo a pae he kukui ka 'āina; o ^[12] Kolo ia a me ^[13] Kukuiopa'e; he mau ali'i 'ai ahupua'a lākou apau...

Behold! It is the taro which my ancestresses planted with exceptional skill (*hei*), with the multitudinous waters (deep knowledge), at the forest of Mahiki with the rigid trees on the cold damp mountain – where the fire is the only blanket which warms one, indeed we were warmed at 'Ōma'olālā.

^[1] *Helemauna* is the taro which was planted in mounds at ^[2] Kapu'a, so the plantation became called Pu'epu'e; *amo* (carried) is ^[3] Omoka'a; to where it *koe* (remains) is ^[4] Okoe, these are 'okana (land districts) which are near Kapu'a; *lino 'ia* (securely bound) is ^[5] Honomalino (cf. *lino*); *ho'ō'ia* (set in place) is ^[6] Ho'opūloa; *kiola* (tossed or thrown) is ^[7] Kiolaka'a; to the *mauna* (mountain) is ^[8] Kaulanamauna; *hali 'ia* (carried) is ^[9] 'Ōpihiali; to the *moana* (sea) is ^[10] 'Ōlelomoana; [reaching] to where (*ku ka puna i uka*) the spring in the uplands) is ^[11] Ka'apuna; the *kukui* is ^[12] Kukuiopa'e; and *kolo* (cling upon the land) is ^[13] Kolo; and all of these lands are named for the chiefs who control the district resources.

Thus Ka-Miki answered the riddle of Okoe and told her that if she denied the accuracy of his answers; her eyes would be pierced by coconut mid-ribs, and the juices would be used to fill sacred cups *Laukapalili* and *Hikiaupe'a* of *Ka-uluhe*, and be served as the *pūpū 'awa* ('awa drink condiment) for Ka-Miki, *Kahuelo-ku*, and their riddling gods.

Omoka'a told Ka-Miki that he was indeed correct. Ka-Miki then asked Okoe and Omoka'a if they were finished, and stated that if they were, “only their children remained to be bound in the mesh of *Kanikawī* and *Kanikawā*; the mysterious net of our ancestress *Lani-nui-ku'i-a-mamao-loa*, from which there was no escape.” Ka-Miki then chanted about the nature of their riddling god and knowledge – *mele*:

*I Tahiti ka pō e Niho'eleki
I hana ka pō e Niho'eleki
Mākaukau ka pō e Niho'eleki
Lawalawa ka pō a Niho'eleki*

lā 'akāhi ka pō e Niho'eleki

lā 'alua ka pō e Niho'eleki

*lā 'akolu ka pō e Niho'eleki
lā 'ahā ka pō e Niho'eleki*

*lā 'alima ka pō e Niho'eleki
lā 'aōno ka pō e Niho'eleki
Pa'i wale ka pō e Niho'eleki
Pono, a'o wale e Niho'eleki
Aia! Aia ho'i! Aia la!*

Niho'eleki – is in the antiquity of *Tahiti*
– was formed in antiquity
– is prepared in all antiquity
Niho'eleki's understanding is more
than enough
Niho'eleki – understands the first level
of meanings,
– understands the second level
of meanings,
– understands the third level of meanings,
– understands the fourth level
of meanings,
– understands the fifth level of meanings,
– understands the sixth level of meanings,
– understands all levels of meanings,
It is correct, taught only by *Niho'eleki*
Behold! It is so! It is so!

Okoe, Omoka'a and Ka-Miki *mā* then exchanged taunts about the depth and nature of their knowledge. Seeing that they could not win, Okoe and Omoka'a agreed to stop the riddling contest, lest they ended up in their own *imu*. Now this couple kept many weapons in waiting, and they expected their children to return shortly, from fishing at Honomalino. With their help, they planned to kill Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole with other forms of competition, for Omoka'a and Okoe *mā* were knowledgeable in all manner of fighting and were compared to the lofty peaks of Hā'upu, Kaua'i, and the distant leeward islands of Ni'ihau, Ka'ula, and on to *Kahiki*.

Omoka'a met with Ka-Miki in hand to hand combat but his leg was broken, and he was nearly thrown into his own *imu*, but Ka-Miki laid him to the *imu* side, waiting until the contest was finished. Okoe covered her body with *kukui* and coconut oil, and wore a *pā'ū* of the 'eokahaloa variety, worn in a tightly twisted form. This *pā'ū* was tied so as to entangle her opponents. Maka-'iole called to Okoe that she should take heed lest her *pā'ū* be shredded by the fierce *uhu* (parrot fish; himself) the cherished *uhu* of *Ka-uluhe*. Maka-'iole then offered a name chant for *Ka-uluhe* – *mele*:

O Kaulua ka lā

*Kaulua ka ua
Kaulua ka makani
Kaulua ke kai
Kaulua ka 'ino
Kaulua ka hōkū e kau nei
E Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka-e
Eō mai ana i ko inoa*

The assembly of gods...
[the season of *Kaulua* when the star Sirius
is above]
O *Kaulua* of the rains
O *Kaulua* of the winds
O *Kaulua* of the [rough] seas
O *Kaulua* of the storms
O *Kaulua* [when] the star is set above
O *Ka-uluhe-nui*...
Answering to your names

Ka-uluhe responded from Kalama'ula with a greeting chant – *Mele*:

*A'u kama iluna o ka 'Ōhi'a-moe-
awakea
Lehua 'ula i ka wī a ka manu

Manu hulu weoweo i ka uka o
Kalama'ula*

My child who is there upon the deity,
'Ōhi'a which reclines in the midday sun
The red *lehua* blossoms around which
the birds sing
The birds with the red glowing feathers
in the uplands of Kalama'ula

*He 'ula leo kēia e hōlio nei
'Ano'ai no a, 'Ano'ai wale ho'i!*

This is a voice offering to you, the
one who is always in my thoughts
Greetings, greetings indeed!

Upon completing the chant, the wind roared breaking the forest, and Okoe leapt to attack Maka-'iole, though she was exceedingly skilled, she was beaten. Omoka'a leapt to assist Okoe, but both 'ōlohe were bound in the net *Halekumuka'aha* (also called *Ku'uku'u*). Seeing their complete defeat, both Omoka'a and Okoe surrendered to Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole. 'Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole agreed not to bake them in their own *imu* after the couple promised that they would no longer attack people traveling along the *ala hele*. Omoka'a went to fetch 'awa and food items with which to serve Ka-Miki *mā*.

Okoe saw her children returning from Honomalino where they had been fishing. The children were carrying nets filled with *pā'ou'ou*, *hilu*, *weke*, *moano*, *anahulu*, and *maomao uli* (*Thalassoma*) and other fish. Okoe explained the days events and told the children that there was no victory for them, that they must take Ka-Miki *mā* as companions to save their own lives. 'Ōlau, 'Ōliko, and 'Ōmole, the three younger children agreed with their mother that they should not attempt to fight.

'Ōpu'u and 'Ōmu'o refused to listen, and they recounted their 'ōlohe nature and the background of their family (their grandparents lived in *Kahiki* with the chief Ke'e (written Koweia Jan. 28, 1915), ward of Olokea and Olomea, the mysterious *kūpua* of *Kahiki-kū*).

Omoka'a, Okoe and their children returned to the compound where Ka-Miki *mā* awaited. Upon seeing Ka-Miki *mā*, 'Ōpu'u and 'Ōmu'o put their heads down, realizing that they would be no competition for Ka-Miki. Omoka'a prepared the food and 'awa, and all participated in a feast. As the new day arrived, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole prepared to continue their journey, and Okoe told them about Manukā, and his skills...

...**Manukā** (Careless) was named for the 'ōlohe chief who was a foremost expert in *nou pōhaku* (sling stone fighting). There was no dodging his shots, and he could launch three stones at one time. Manukā's house was also built along the *ala nui* (main pathway), and he mercilessly killed travelers.

Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole drew near to Manukā's compound. Ka-Miki had Maka-'iole walk directly behind him so it looked as if only one person was traveling. Manukā observed the approach of this lone traveler, and attacked with his sling stones, which Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole dodged, caught up, and directed back to Manukā, with one stone striking Manukā's left foot. Having lost his sling stones, Manukā understood that Ka-Miki *mā* were exceptionally skilled at this method of fighting, for this was the first time anyone had ever dodged his attacks.

Manukā then rose and took up his club and leapt to attack Ka-Miki *mā*. Ka-Miki called to Manukā, "I have heard much about you, and you are greatly feared, but you do not appear to be much more than a plaything." Manukā and Ka-Miki exchanged riddle taunts, and Manukā warned Ka-Miki that he would become captive of the 'ūlei which crawls over the land. Ka-Miki shrugged off the comments, telling Manukā that he was an old man with shallow knowledge. Manukā then told Ka-Miki that his *hauna lā'au* (war clubs) *Hilihili-a-Pahoa* and *Ku'i-ka-'ole* would become Ka-Miki's teachers.

Ka-Miki dodged Manukā's attacks, and struck Manukā. Ka-Miki then leapt and took Manukā's club from him, and called out, "Manukā you will die at the hands of the mysterious children of *Kapa'ihilani*." He called out in a *mele pule*:

*O Iku-ā ka leo o ka hekili
Iku-ā ka leo o ka uwila
Iku-ā ka leo o ka makani
Iku-ā ka leo o ka 'ino
Iku-ā ka leo o ke kai
Iku-ā ka leo o ka manu
O Iku-ā ka pohā kō'ele'ele*

I nā mo'opuna piha aīwaiwa nui wale

*A Kāhuli-'eli-papa-honua-mea
A 'Ōhi'a-nui-moe-awakea
A Ka-'ohu-kolo-mai-iluna-o-ka-lā'au
A Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka*

The thunder roars
The voices of the lightning crashes
The winds roar
The storm roars
The ocean roars
The birds roar
Ikuwā is the month when dark storms
arise explosively
The time of the greatly mysterious
grandchildren of
Kāhuli-'eli (Pele),
Of 'Ōhi'a-nui,
Of Ka-'ohu-kolo, and
Of Ka-uluhe...

Maka-'iole told Manukā, "We two have come here with the *mana* (power) of our many mysterious ancestresses and contest gods. So Manukā, you did err in attacking us with your sling stones." Manukā did not answer Maka-'iole, and was filled with anger because Ka-Miki had taken his war club. Manukā reached out to grab Ka-Miki, thinking to beat him with the fighting technique of *ha'ihai* (bone breaking combat). But Ka-Miki grabbed Manukā and threw him out of the compound onto the pathway as if Manukā was but a mere pebble. Ka-Miki then told Manukā, "Your deceitful attacks have been thwarted three times, and your knowledge taken from you." Manukā leapt up again to attack Ka-Miki, thinking that he might be able to bind him. Instead, Ka-Miki bound up Manukā and threw him out of his house like a bundle, where he writhed like a bound eel.

Manukā loosened himself with great effort, and compared himself to the fierce *Lau-milo* eel with the jagged teeth, the eel which can not be grasped with the hands. Ka-Miki told Manukā, "At last I see that you are a true expert, but the extent of knowledge as taught by my ancestresses is not finished. Your end will be like that of the fierce eel god *Laumeki*; the eel killed by my ancestress." Manukā fought on, but was unable to defeat or tire Ka-Miki, and when Manukā could go no further, he was bound by Ka-Miki, who called out to him –

Pau ka hana la a ka mo'opuna aīwaiwa a Lani-nui-ku'i-a-mamao-loa a me Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. Pa'a la, pa'a 'ia pōka'a lau hala i ka 'ope'ope a pelupelu, i ka pu'upu'u a lima iki, 'ōpe'a a ha'awe kiloi. Pa'a i ka 'ai a ka lua, i ka huhui a Makali'i, i ka pūnāwelewele a ka Nananana nui ho'omakua, i ka 'alihi o Kanikawī a me Kanikawā, ke kōkō aīwaiwa a ku'u kūpuna wahine e noho mai la i ka lā'au kala'ihī o'o i ka nahele o Mahiki... Pa'a loa ka pūhi Lau-milo... i ka 'upena ku'u a ku'u mau kūpuna wahine aīwaiwa ia Ku'uku'u.

Completed is the task of the mysterious grandchild of *Lani-nui-ku'i* and *Ka-uluhe*. [You are] Bound and secured like a roll of bundled pandanus leaves, bundled and taken up by the hand to be thrown away like refuse. Bound by a superior combat knowledge, [bound] like the cluster of *Makali'i* (Pleiades), [bound] in the web of the great mature spider, [bound] up in the strings of *Kanikawī* and *Kanikawā*, the wonderful net of my ancestress who dwells there in the rigid forest of Mahiki... Securely bound is the *Lau-milo* eel... in the powerful net *Ku'uku'u* which belongs to my ancestresses. Thus, Manukā was defeated by Ka-Miki.

Ka-Miki gave Manukā the choice of life or death and told Manukā that his sisters Kealakahua and Pu'u o Kamā'oa, and Pu'u o Kamā'oa's husband, Kaulanamauna, would also be killed if Manukā chose to die rather than surrender. Ka-Miki also told

Manukā that surrendering required that the family stop attacking travelers along the trail ways. Manukā acknowledged Ka-Miki's superior skills and agreed to Ka-Miki's terms. Ka-Miki prepared a poultice of *kalehuna* (root of the morning glory), *kāko'olani* (medicine to support a chief) and *pa'akai* (salt), mixed with *kamahānau* (urine). Ka-Miki told Manukā that this medicine would heal his broken foot in five days.

Manukā then prepared 'awa from his upland gardens for them to drink. On the next day as Ka-Miki *mā* prepared to continue their journey, Manukā gave Ka-Miki a prized heirloom *kapa* (bark cloth garment) which would serve as a sign to Kealakahua *mā* that Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole could travel the trails freely, and that the family was to end its practice of waylaying travelers. The promise was kept and this section of the trail was safely traveled by all.

Ka-huku (The-protuberance) was named for the chief Kahuku-nui-a-Hala'ea (Great Kahuku [son] of Hala'ea), his wife was (Wai-o) 'Ahukini, and their daughter was Mōlī (lele).

Kahuku was a master riddler, and it was his practice to kill anyone whom he defeated; in this way, many people had been killed by Kahuku while traveling via the upland trails through the region's rich agricultural zone. Having departed from Manukā, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole drew near to Kahuku's upland compound and agricultural fields, and Kahuku challenged their right to travel upon the trail. Calling upon his *akua ho'opāpā* (riddling gods) Kāne-pō-nui and Kāne-pō-iki Kahuku commenced the riddling contest.

Kahuku challenged Ka-Miki with a place name riddle which described the districts of Maui Island. Before answering the riddle, Ka-Miki told Kahuku, "Your nature and meaning is not hidden from us, for our guide and riddling god is Niho'elekī, who dwells in Kahiki-kū." Ka-Miki then responded by interpreting the riddle and describing the lands of Maui...

...Ka-Miki then called to Kahuku, "If you deny that my answer is correct, your eyes will be consumed as the *pūpū 'awa* ('awa drink condiment) of our god." Kahuku responded, acknowledging that Ka-Miki was indeed knowledgeable, and had correctly answered the riddle. Ka-Miki then challenged Kahuku with a riddle of his own.

The face looks to the star (*Ka-malama*) above, a groove is dug out and appears gray, leaping and splashing, fulfilled (rounded out), and it is covered by the ocean...

...Kahuku then answered the riddle, stating it described, "The hull of a canoe which opens to the sky, the paddle dips into the water causing it to well up with white water forming along the surface. The mast is raised and lashed to the bow and the sail unfurled. The bow leaps upon the waves which splash over the canoe."

Ka-Miki told Kahuku that his answer was incorrect, and Kahuku was unable to guess at the riddles' meaning. Ka-Miki then called to Kahuku, answer the riddle lest you be bound, and your eyes dug out. Kahuku then asked Ka-Miki to allow him to call his sister **Kamā'oa-nui-kua-makani** who was also a master riddler and *ha'iha'i* (bone breaker) expert.

Ka-Miki agreed, and Kahuku called his sister Kamā'oa by throwing a taro of the *paua* variety into the winds which carried it to Kamā'oa. The *pā* was a sign to Kamā'oa that a contest was occurring and that Kahuku needed her assistance. The *paua* taro landed on the plain at the place now called **Kiolaka'a** (tossed and rolling), and it is so named because the taro was thrown there.

Kamā'oa arrived before Kahuku and Ka-Miki *mā*, she agreed to the contest arrangements and prepared to answer Ka-Miki's riddle.

Upon hearing the riddle, Kamā'oa stated – "It is an open bowl container in which *poi* is mixed. From this bowl, the *poi* is taken up with one's finger, and placed in the mouth and joyfully swallowed down one's throat..."

Thus Kamā'oa answered Ka-Miki's riddle, and Ka-Miki declared, "Great indeed is your knowledge of riddles Kamā'oa." Ka-Miki and Kamā'oa continued to exchange riddles until they were satisfied with the depth of each other's knowledge. Kamā'oa and Kahuku then challenged Ka-Miki *mā* in hand to hand combat tests. Preceding the fight, Kamā'oa offered a *paha* (spoken chant) describing sites and features of Ka'ū, comparing their knowledge to the forces of nature which would strike at Ka-Miki and Maka'iole. Kahuku leapt to attack and was quickly defeated, Ka-Miki then warned them to be careful lest they end up as castaways on the shores of **Ka-milo-pae-kānaka**...

...During the competition between Ka-Miki, Kahuku and Kamā'oa, cloud omens rose above the hills of **Kamakoa** (The fearless one). These omens informed Kahuku's wife **'Ahukini**, that he was in competition. 'Ahukini sent her daughter **Mōlī(lele)**, to investigate the circumstances of the conflict. **Mōlīlele** arrived at the upland taro plantations, and saw the situation of her father and aunt. Kahuku called out in chant to Mōlīlele relating the circumstances of the contest between himself, Kamā'oa and the strangers:

*He lā makani kēia
Ke lele 'ino nei ke ao
A ke ao 'ōpua e kau nei
Iluna o Kamakoa
Kiu ka 'elele na ka Mālua*

*'Elua ka ho'i mea aloha
O ke A'eloa me ka Moa'e-ku
Ua kala aku ka hālelo
Ku ka unuunu i ka moana
I ke kūpāpā 'ia e ke kai
Ike aku i ke kini o lalo
Ua 'ino o uka
I kai ke ola e, i kai ho'i*

I ō 'Ahukini ho'i

It is indeed a windy day
With clouds speeding by
Billowy clouds touch the peaks
atop Kamakoa
The cold wind *Kiu* is a messenger
of the *Mālua* wind
Though there are two winds which I love
The *A'eloa* and *Moae-ku*
[But now] the jagged cloud ridges speak
The ocean is stirred up
[And as] the ocean [waves] fight one another
The multitudes of the lowlands, understand
That the storm rages above
There is life along the shore indeed by
the sea
Respond o 'Ahukini

Mōlīlele returned to the lowlands and reported on the events to her mother. 'Ahukini and Mōlīlele then returned to the uplands where 'Ahukini confronted Ka-Miki and told him that her older brother was **Ka'alu'alu**, who was the war advisor to the supreme chief Keli'i-kau(a)-o-Ka'ū (The shark formed war chief of Ka'ū). 'Ahukini told Ka-Miki *mā* that Ka'alu'alu would devour them even if no one else could.

'Ahukini was skilled at sling stone fighting and attempted rescuing Kahuku, but was wounded and defeated herself. Mōlīlele carried 'Ahukini to the spring by their shoreward compound. And as Ka-Miki leapt to catch Mōlīlele, she threw 'Ahukini into the spring where 'Ahukini could take her *mo'o* (lizard, or water form). Thus 'Ahukini was transformed into [a stone in] the spring which bears her name to this day; **Wai-o-'Ahukini** (Water of 'Ahukini).

As **Mōlīlele** leapt, trying to escape from Ka-Miki, but he grabbed her and she was transformed into a stone on the cliff which overlooks Wai-o-'Ahukini. To this day, the cliff bears the name of **Mōlīlele**; Ka-Pali-o-Mōlīlele (The cliff of [the] *Mōlī* [Albatross] leap).

Subsequent to the death of both 'Ahukini and Mōlīlele, Kamā'oa and Kahuku surrendered, agreeing to give up their waylaying of travelers. Kamā'oa befriended Ka-Miki mā, but following the contest, **Kahuku** was turned into the hill now called **Pu'u-o-Kahuku** (Hill of Kahuku)⁵. Kahuku's boasting and dishonorable use of his 'aumakua so enraged his gods, that they turned him into the hill which now bear his name. [Wise and Kihe et al., In *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, December 10, 1914-April 1, 1915; Maly, translator]

The Tradition of Koihala, and the Naming of Kapu'a

In 1925, noted Hawaiian historian, Z.P. Kuluwaimaka, who wrote under the pen-name of "Kawaikaumaiikamakaoakaopua", a resident of Nāpo'opo'o, South Kona, submitted traditional accounts to the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ku Okoa*. Among the articles was a series of traditions under the title, "*Hoonanea na ka Manawa. Moolelo No Kekahi Alii Kaulana o Ka Moku o Kau, Hawaii*" (A Pleasant Passing of Time. Traditions of Certain Famous Chiefs of the District of Kau, Hawaii). In one of these traditions, we learn of the naming of Kapu'a, South Kona, and the famous upland planting ground, **Haliukua, situated in the forest lands of Manukā** (see Register Map No. 2469). We are also told that the place name "**Kapu-'ā**" commemorates a restriction that was placed upon the stones gathered from that land, and which were used to stone the chief, Koihala. The account is part of a series in which readers learn that the **people of Ka'ū were intolerant of cruel and foolish chiefs, who wasted resources and made unwise demands of their people.**

NO KOIHALA.

O Koihala ke alii e noho ana ma Kamaoa, Kau, Hawaii. Ua loihi no na la o ka noho ana ma ka aina o Kamaoa, a ulu ae la ka manao e hele i ka pohu la'i a Ehu, a olelo aku la i kona mau aialo o hele hoomaha ma Kona; a ua ku mai la lakou a hele, a haalele aku la i ka aina o Kamaoa; ahiki lakou i Kona, a ua noho lakou ma ka aina o Kapua, Kona Hema, Hawaii. O ka hana no hoi a na kanaka me na kamaaina o Kapua o ka hele i ka lawai'a. Ia lakou e nanea ana i ka ai i ka i'a o Kona, ka i'a pumehana ame ka ai pumehana o ka Haliukua, ka aina iwaenakonu o ka ululaau, hookahi mea ikeia o ka la, o na hoku ame ka mahina; a ua aloha loa na kupa i keia aina uka waokele (Manuka); a o kahi no hoi keia a keia alii e kii ai i kana ai.

Ua loihi no na la o ka noho ana i Kona, ua hoouna aku la oia i kekahi mau elele i Kau, e lawe mai i puua, i ai, i i'a; a ua hiki aku la i ka manao o ke'lii; a i ka lohe ana o na kanaka i keia kauoha, ua hana iho la lakou i na mea apau i

ABOUT KOIHALA.

Koihala was a chief who lived at Kamaoa, Kau, Hawaii. Many were the days that he had lived at Kamaoa, and there arose in his thoughts, the desire to travel to the peace and calm of Ehu (Kona), so he told his retainers, that he would go to rest in Kona; So they all stood to go, departing from Kamaoa; they arrived in Kona, and they stayed at the land of **Kapua**, in South Kona, Hawaii. Now it was the custom of those living at **Kapua to go fishing.** So they enjoyed the food fishes of Kona, the cherished fish, and the cherished **crops of Haliukua, the land situated there in the midst of the forest,** where one can only see the sun, stars, and the moon; and this land was greatly loved by the natives there in the **forested uplands (of Manuka)**; and it was from this place that the chief fetched his cultivated foods.

Many days were spent living in Kona, and then a messenger was sent to Kau, that pigs and more fish should be brought; so the thoughts of the chief were formed. Hearing this command, the people began to prepare all the things

⁵ Pu'u-o-Kahuku - Marks the mauka boundary of Pākini-nui ahupua'a.

kauohaia aku ia lakou; i ka makaukau ana o ka ai, ka i'a, ame ka puaa, ua hele mai la lakou mai Kau mai, ame na kanaka apau o noho ana ma Kamaoa. Ua hele mai la lakou he huakaihele nui maoli; a ike kekahi mau elele ua makaukau ka huakaihele no ka ka hele i Kona ua hoi mua aku la kekahi mau elele no ka hele ana mai, a ua makaukau na mea apau i kauohaia aku ai. Ahiki aku la na elele imua o ke'lii, a ninau aku la ke alii, "Pehea aku nei ka oukou huakai?"

Olelo aku la na elele: "Ua makaukau na mea apau; elike me kau kauoha; ina aku ahiki mai." "A ka poahia e hiki mai ai?" "Apopo hiki mai ka poe o Kau, aia i ka auwina la." A lohe o Koihala i keia olelo a na elele, olelo aku la o Koihala i kona poe aialo apau, e hoomakaukau no ka hoi ana i Kau; a kena aku la i na kanaka hoewaa e hoomakaukau i na waa, no ka hoi ana i Kau; a ua hookoia aku la ia olelo a ke alii Koihala. A makaukau na waa i ka hoi i Kau, oi ai no nae, o ka la no ia e puka mai ai ka poe o Kau; a kau aku la na mea apau maluna o na waa, a hoi aku la i Kau. I ka poe o Kau e hoi la maluna o na waa, puka ae la ka makamua o ka huakai i Kapua, i kahi i noho ai ke alii.

A ninau ka poe o Kau mai: "Auhea ke'lii?" A ha'iia mai la o ka poe kamaaina, ua hoi aku la i Kau iluna o na waa, aia ke hoi la. I nana io aku la ka hana, e hoi ana na auwaa apau; akoakoa mai la ka poe hele *mauka*, mai Kau mai, kukakuka iho la lakou, a hooholo iho la e ai lakou i ka ai apau, ame ka i'a, ame ka puaa i ka lua ia, a e kaluaia na puaa ola apau. Aole mea ai hookahi e hookoeia. Ala no ko lakou hoi i Kau, a pau na meaai i ka aiia e lakou; a kauohaia aku la na kanaka i hele mai ai mai Kau mai, e malama kela kanaka, ame keia kanaka, i kana puolo la'i; ma- mua o ka ai ana, ua kauohaia kela kanaka, ame keia kanaka, e malama i kana puolo la-i, me ke kiola ole. I ka lohe ana o na kanaka apau i ka leo kauoha a ko lakou mau luna, ua hooko lakou ia leo kauoha; a kauoha aku la na luna i na kanaka e hoopihai na puolo la-i me na pohaku. E hana a paa loa, aole e hooleiia hookahi pohaku, ahiki i kahi i makemakeia e kiola ka pohaku.

Ua noho iho la ka poe i hele mai ai mai Kau mai, e ai i ka waiwai a lakou i lawe mai ai mai Kau mai na ke'lii. A pau no hoi i ka ai ka waiwai a lakou i

ordered of them; preparing the vegetable foods, the fish, and the pigs; they then traveled from Kau, along with all those who lived at Kamaoa. All of them traveled in a great procession. Then one of the messengers who had been sent to order that all things be prepared saw that the party was prepared for the journey to Kona, so he ran back to tell the chief, who asked, "How was your journey?"

The messenger responded, "Everything has been made ready, just as you commanded; and they shall arrive shortly." "What day will they arrive?" "The people of Kau shall arrive tomorrow, in the afternoon." Koihala heard these words of the messenger, and he then told all of attendants to prepare for the return to Kau; he commanded the canoe paddlers to prepare the canoes for their return to Kau. The command of the chief, Koihala was fulfilled. The canoes were readied for the return to Kau, and it was now the day appointed for the people from Kau to arrive with all their supplies. Everyone was in the canoes, and just as the people of Kau began their canoe trip, the first of those people in the procession from Kau arrived at *Kapua*, where the chief had resided.

They asked, "Where is the chief?" And the natives of that place answered, "He is there, returning to Kau upon the canoes." Looking out, they saw the entire fleet of canoes sailing. The people on the land, who had come from Kau, gathered together and spoke among themselves, and they decided that they would eat all of the vegetable foods, the fish, and the baked pigs, and even cook the pigs that had been left alive. Not one morsel of food was to be left over. They would then arise and return to Kau, with all of the foods having been eaten by them. The people who had traveled from Kau, were instructed to take care of one another, and that each person should not throw away the ti-leaves from the bundles they had borne. The people heard the words of their leaders, and were prepared to fulfill them. They were then told to fill the ti-leaf bundles with stones, and to make them tight, so that not one stone would fall out.

The people who had traveled from Kau then sat down and ate the wealth of the foods that they had brought from Kau for their chief. When all of

lawe ai, alaila, makaukau lakou no ka hoi i Kau. A i ka hoi ana o ka huakai, ua hoi aku la no ka huakai ma kahakai me na puolo pohaku e auamo ana; a ua hoounaia kekahi poe e kii i na waa e kau ana ma Kailikii, Waioahukini; me ka nana ole aku i ke alii i nana ia malaila kahi i noho ai. I ka hiki ana o na kanaka i Kailikii, Waioahukini, ua hoi loa no o Koihala no uka o Kamaoa, aole hookahi oia poe i hoi ai i noho malaila, koe wale no na kamaaina noho paa i ka lawai'a. Ahiki aku la ka poe i hoounaia, a ninau aku la i na kamaaina. "I ka wa hea i hiki mai ai ke'lili ianei nei?" "I ke ahiahi nei. Pae mai no na waa, a hoi loa no ke alii no uka o Kamaoa." Alaila, o na waa apau loa e kau ana ma Kailikii, Waioahukini, ua pau loa i ka laweia mai e ka poe i hoounaia; a ua loa mai la ka huakai nui e hele aku nei *mauka*; a kau maluna o na waa me na puolo pohaku a lakou. Ahiki ka huakai i Kailikii, Waioahukini, apau ka poe iuka, a kau no hoi na waa, alaila, hoikeia mai la ka lohe i na kanaka apau; mai kekahi mai o na alii i holo mahope o na makaainana; "Ua maopopo no ia oukou ka hana a keia mau puolo pohaku?" Hoole aku la na kanaka. "Aole!" "E hoolohe mai oukou i ka olelo. O keia mau puolo pohaku a kakou apau e hoolei iluna o Koihala. O ia ka mea i papaia ai oukou 'kapu ke-a' (pohaku). Aole e kiolaia a kiola iluna o Koihala, na puolo pohaku a kakou." A lohe ae la na mea apau; pela ka i hanaia ai keia mau puolo pohaku, he mea pepehi no Koihala. A hoomaka aku la ka huakai no ka pii ana iuka a Kamaoa. Oleloia aku la na kanaka e pii like, a e lalani like ka pii ana ahiki i kahi o noho ana ke alii; a o ke kanaka mamua loa hele no oia a hoolei i kana puolo pohaku a ku ia a hele loa, a pela aku no ka lua, a pau na kanaka puolo pohaku. Ua hana aku la na kanaka pela ahiki i ke ku ana o ke ahua pohaku nui e hiki ole ai e hu'e hou ia ae ai ka pohaku, o kona mau hoaloha a make iho la o Koihala; a pela i kapaia ai ka inoa o kela aina "*Kapua*," no ka hookapua ana o ke-a aole e kiola... [Z.P. Kuluwaimaka "Kawaikaumaiika-makaokaopua"; *Ku Okoa* September 10, 1925]

the food was consumed, they then prepared to return to Kau. The procession returned to Kau along the shoreward trail, bearing the bundles filled with stones. One person was sent to go to the canoes that had landed at **Kailikii, Waioahukini**, and to do so without being seen by the chief. When the person arrived at Kailikii, Waioahukini, it was found that Koihala had returned to the uplands of Kamaoa. Not one of the chiefs' party remained there, only the natives who always resided there for fishing. The people who had been sent for, then asked the residents, "When did the chief arrive here?" "In the evening, the canoes landed, and the chief returned to the uplands of Kamaoa." All of the canoes were left on the shore at Kailikii, Waioahukini, and were taken by the people who had been sent for. Then, the great procession which had traveled on land boarded the canoes, also taking the stone bundles with them, and reached Kailikii, Waioahukini, where they then all went back onto the land and all the people went on land. Then one of the chiefs who had traveled behind the common people, called out and asked the people, "Do you know what these stone bundles are for?" The people answered, "No!" "Listen to these words. These stone bundles of ours are to be thrown upon Koihala. That is the reason that we instructed you '*kapu ke-a*' (the stones are restricted). Do not throw them away, until they are thrown upon Koihala, that is the purpose of these stone bundles of ours." The people heard all these things, that is what was to be done with the **stone bundles**, they were to be **used to kill Koihala**. The people then began their procession to the uplands of Kamaoa. The people were told to march together, in a unified line, ascending to the place where the chief was staying; the very first man threw his stone bundle and then moved, then the second, and so were the stone bundles of all the people. This was done by all of the people until there was a great stone mound standing, from under which the stones could not be pushed out from. Thus Koihala and his companions all died; *and that is why the name of that land is Kapua,* because of the restriction being proclaimed that the stones should not be thrown away... [Ku Okoa, September 10, 1925; Maly translator]

Pai'ea – Kamehameha at Manukā and Kaulanamauna

Another brief reference to the lands of Manukā and Kaulanamauna is found in the tradition of Kekūhaupi'o and the youth, Pai'ea, who grew up to be Kamehameha I. Reverend Steven L. Desha, editor of *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, along with several of his peers (such as J.W.H.I. Kihe, John Wise and Julia Keonaona), prepared the rich native text, embellished by many localized accounts, not available elsewhere. The narratives, originally published between 1920 to 1924), were translated by Frances Frazier, and published by Kamehameha Schools and Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in 2000. Through the narratives we learn that as a youth, Kamehameha I was given to Kekūhaupi'o and other "uncles" to be cared for. When traveling from Ka'ū to Kohala, The party with the young Kamehameha, stopped at Manukā, and then traveled up the mountain trail, to elude any pursuers. Desha et al. told us:

...The young chief placed in the hands of Kekūhaupi'o's uncles asked whither they were going as their journey began, and was told they were returning to the land of North Kohala. They proceeded straight from the land of Waio'ahukini to Manukā, a place adjacent to Kaulanamauna, the boundary of Kona and Ka'ū. It was [page 92] said in the story of the famous kingdom conqueror that he was carried on their backs, showing how Kekūhaupi'o and his aforementioned uncles cherished their *alii*. On their arrival at Manukā, they stopped for a breath and set Kamehameha down for a little rest. At this time Kekūhaupi'o prepared some 'awa for his foster son, and at this time Kamehameha questioned his guardians: "Are we the only ones going? Where are all the rest of our people?" Kekūhaupi'o did not reply to this question but continued to prepare the 'awa and when it was ready poured it into the cup, then he turned and said: "*E Kalani ē!* Make offering to your god. Here is the 'awa to offer to your god, Kūkā'ilimoku." Kamehameha immediately agreed, drank from the cup and sprayed the 'awa as an offering, with a prayer to Kūkā'ilimoku, which was participated in by one of his guardians. The prayer was as follows:

*Eia ka 'awa,
E Kūkā'ilimoku,
He 'awa lani wale nō,
He 'ai na ke kamaiki
Inu aku i ka 'awa o 'Oheana,
Pupū aku i nā niu a La'a,
Ua la'a, ua noa ka 'awa,
Noa honua, noa ē.
A ua noa lā.*

Here is the choicest 'awa,
O Kūkā'ilimoku,
'Awa for the heavens only,
Food from the little child
Drink the 'awa of 'Oheana,
Accompany [it] with the coconuts of La'a,
It is consecrated, the 'awa is freed,
Freed, established, freed.
It has been freed.

When Pai'ea had completed the ceremonial offering, Kekūhaupi'o encouraged them to go, as it was not known what secret harm might come after them, as some of the chiefs had treacherous thoughts. Because of this thought by Kekūhaupi'o he directed them to leave the customary pathway, and to travel where they could not be followed. They climbed straight up from that place to a certain part of Mauna Loa and came down seaward at a certain part of Ka'ū named 'Ōhaikea. They spent the rest of that night in a cave called Alanapo. The next morning, after Kamehameha had made [page 93] his ceremonial offering and prayer to Kūkā'ilimoku, they left that place and climbed up another mountain trail till they reached the summit of Mauna Kea. At a place close to Lake Waiau, Kamehameha again made an offering... [Desha et al, in Frazier, 2000:94].

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS: TRAVEL IN THE SOUTH KONA-NORTH KA'Ū REGION (1823-1913)

Because of the remote nature, and the small population base of the South Kona-North Ka'ū lands, there was little opportunity for early historic visitors to travel into the interior lands of the Kaulanamauna-Manukā vicinity. Below, follow historical accounts, describing the lowlands and middle lands in the vicinity of what became the *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Road)—later Māmalahoa Highway, from the early historic period. This section of the study also includes important descriptions of the interior mountain lands, penned by those who were tasked to survey and produce the first maps of the region. The accounts were recorded between the 1820s to 1913. The accounts are important for their description of the cultural landscape and environs of the Manukā NAR and neighboring lands.

The Journal of William Ellis

Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the Hawaiian religious and political systems began undergoing radical changes. Just moments after his death, Ka'ahumanu proclaimed herself “*Kuhina nuu*” (Prime Minister), and approximately six months later, the ancient *kapu* system was overthrown in chiefly centers. Less than a year after Kamehameha's death, Protestant missionaries arrived from America (see I'i 1959, Kamakau 1961, and Fornander 1973). In 1823, British missionary William Ellis and members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) toured the island of Hawai'i seeking out communities in which to further the work of the growing Calvinist mission. Ellis' writings (1963), generally the earliest detailed accounts (written in 1825) of settlements around the island of Hawai'i, offer readers important glimpses into the nature of native residency and history at the time.

During the visit, Ellis and his traveling companions walked through and canoed along the shore from Kapalilua, South Kona to Kapu'a and on into Manukā and Ka'ū. The following excerpts describe the landscape extending from sea to the upland field systems and areas of residence in the lands in the South Kona-North Ka'ū region, as they relate to our general understanding of the cultural-historical landscape of the period. It will be noted that Ellis and his associates, found little good to say about the nature of the land—it was almost impossible for them to procure any water or food. Like the observations made in 1779 by Captain Cook's men (Beaglehole, 1963), Ellis and party observed that it was the custom in these lands, for people to live near the shore, and keep cultivated fields miles above the coast in the forests:

From Kalahiki to Kapua.

About two p.m., we reached Taureonanahoa [Ka'uleonānāhoa or Nāpōhakuololoa at Kipāhoehoe], three large pillars of lava, about twenty feet square, and apparently sixty or eighty high, standing in the water, within a few yards of each other, and adjacent to the shore. Two of them were united at the top, but open at their base. The various coloured strata of black, reddish, and brown lava, being distinctly marked, looked like so many courses of masonry. We sailed between them and the main land; and about five in the afternoon landed at Kapua, a small and desolate-looking village, on the southwest point of Hawaii, and about twenty miles distant from Kalahiti. Here we had the canoe drawn up on the beach until our companions should arrive.

After leaving Kalahiti, Messrs. Thurston, Goodrich, and Bishop, proceeded over a rugged tract of lava, broken up in the wildest confusion, apparently by an earthquake, while it was in a fluid state. About noon they passed a large crater [Kaluaolapauila, on the boundary of Kukuiopa'e and Kolo]. Its rim, on the side towards the sea, was broken down, and the streams of lava issuing thence, marked the place by which its contents were principally discharged. The lava was not so porous as that at Keanaee, but, like much in the immediate vicinity of the craters, was of a dark red, or brown ferruginous colour, and but partially glazed over. It was exceedingly ponderous and compact, many

[pg. 124] fragments had quite a basaltic shape, and contained quantities of olivine of a green and brown colour.

Canoeing Through the Surf

For about a mile along the coast they found it impossible to travel without making a considerable circuit inland; they therefore procured a canoe, and passed along the part of the coast where the sea rolled up against the naked rocks; and about one p.m. landed in a very high surf. To a spectator on the shore their small canoe would have seemed every moment ready to be buried in the waves; yet, by the dexterity of the natives, they were safely landed with no other inconvenience than a slight wetting from the spray of the surf.

Camping at Honomalino

Mr. Thurston preached to the people at the place where they landed. After which they took some refreshment, and kept on their way over the same broken and rugged tract of lava till about six p.m. when they reached Honomalino. Here they were so much fatigued with the laborious travelling of the past day, that they were obliged to put up for the night. They procured a little sour *poē*, and only a small quantity of brackish water. Having conducted family worship with the people of the place, they laid themselves down to rest on their mats spread on the small fragments of lava, of which the floor of the house was composed.

Early the next morning the party at Honomalino proceeded to ***Kapua***, and about eight a.m. joined those who had slept there.

A Barren and Desolate Country

At this place we hired a man to go about seven miles into the mountains for fresh water; but he returned with only one calabash full; a very inadequate supply, as our whole company had suffered much from thirst, and the effects of the brackish water we had frequently drank since leaving Honaunau.

Nothing can exceed the barren and solitary appearance of this part of the island, not only from the want of fresh water, but from the rugged and broken tracts of lava of which it appears to be entirely composed.

Unwilling to spend the Sabbath in the desolate and almost forsaken village of ***Kapua***, we prepared for a long day's journey, as we knew of no village before us containing more than five or six houses for nearly thirty miles' distance.

Before we left ***Kapua***, we were so favoured as to procure water enough to fill our canteens, and about 10 a.m. resumed our journey. Messrs. Thurston, Bishop and Goodrich, walked on by the sea-side. [pg. 125] About noon they reached ***Kaulanamauna***, and shortly after left Kona, and entered Kau.

A General Description of Kona

...The northern part, including Kairua, Kearake'kua, and Honaunau, contains a dense population; and the sides of the mountains are cultivated to a considerable extent; but the south part presents a most inhospitable aspect. The population is thin, consisting principally of fishermen, who cultivate but little land, and that at the distance of from five to seven miles from the shore. [Ellis 1963:126]

Entering the Kau District

The division of Kau commences at ***Kaulanamauna***, runs down to the south point of the island, and stretches about forty miles along the south-east shore. On entering it, the same gloomy and cheerless desert of rugged lava spread itself in every direction from the shore to the mountains. Here and there at distant intervals they passed a lonely

house, or a few wandering fishermen's huts, with a solitary shrub, or species of thistle, struggling for existence among the crevices in the blocks of scoriae and lava. All besides was "one vast desert, dreary, bleak, and wild."

In many places all traces of a path entirely disappeared; for miles together they clambered over huge pieces of vitreous scoriae, or rugged piles of lava, which, like several of the tracts they had passed in Kona, had been tossed in its present confusion by some violent convulsion of the earth.

Volcanic Conditions in Kau

From the state of the lava covering that part of the country through which we have passed, we should be induced to think that eruptions and earthquakes had been, almost without exception, concomitants of each other; and the shocks must have been exceedingly violent, to cause what we everywhere beheld.

Slabs of lava, from nine to twelve inches thick, and from four to twenty or thirty feet in diameter, were frequently piled up edgewise or stood leaning against several others piled up in a similar manner. Some of them were six, ten, or twelve feet above the general surface fixed in the lava below, which appeared to have flowed round their [page 126] base, and filled up the interstices occasioned by the separation of the different pieces.

One side of these rugged slabs generally presented a compact, smooth, glazed, and gently undulated surface, while the other appeared rugged and broken, as if torn with violence from the viscid mass to which it had tenaciously adhered. Probably these slabs were raised by the expansive force of the heated air beneath the sheet of lava. [Ellis 1963:127]

In the following narratives, Ellis mentions the canoe landing of Keawaiki, situated along the eastern shore of Manukā. Though not named, he also references the Kalaehumuhumu and Napu'uapele hills, while passing from Manukā into Kahuku. The strong wind mentioned by Ellis, is named Unulau, and is referenced in the account cited earlier, from the writings of Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972):

Keawaiki—A Port of Refuge

After about eighteen miles of most difficult travelling they reached **Keavaiti**, a small opening among the rocks, where, in case of emergency, a canoe might land in safety. Here they found Mr. Harwood and myself waiting; for, after leaving Kapua, we had sailed along close to the shore, till the wind becoming too strong for us to proceed, we availed ourselves of the opening which Keavaiti afforded, to run the canoe ashore, and wait till the wind should abate, though in so doing we were completely wet with the surf, and spoiled the few provisions we had on board.

The wind was still too strong to allow the canoe to proceed on her voyage; and those who had travelled by land felt too much fatigued to go on without some refreshment and rest. Desirous of spending the Sabbath with the people at **Tairitii**, which was still fourteen or fifteen miles distant, we determined to rest a few hours, and then prosecute our journey by moonlight.

A number of conical hills, from 150 to 200 feet high, rose immediately in our rear, much resembling sand-hills in their appearance. On examination, however, we found them composed of volcanic ashes and cinders; but could not discover any mark of their ever having been craters.

Hard Conditions at Keawaiki

When those of our party who had travelled by land had recovered a little from their fatigue, we partook of such refreshments as remained, and drank the little fresh water we had brought with us in the canoe. Being only about a quart between five persons, it was a very inadequate supply in such a dry and thirsty land, yet we drank it with thankfulness, hoping to procure some at *Tairitii* early on the following morning.

By the time we had finished our frugal meal, the shades of evening began to close around us. We called our little party together, and after committing ourselves, and those who travelled with us, to the watchful care of our merciful Father, we spread our mats on the small pieces of lava, and lay down to rest under the canopy of heaven. A pile of blocks of scoriae and lava, part of which we had built up ourselves, screened our heads from the winds. [page 127]

The thermometer at sun-set stood at 73°, yet during the evening the land wind from the snow-covered top of Mouna Roa blew keenly down upon us. We slept, however, tolerably well till midnight, when the wind from the shore being favourable, and the moon having risen, we resumed our journey.

Travel by Moonlight to Kailikii

I went with Mr. Harwood in the canoe to *Tairitii*, which we reached a short time before daybreak; but the surf rolling high, we were obliged to keep off the shore until daylight enabled us to steer between the rocks to the landing place. Some friendly natives came down to the beach, and pointed out the passage to the steersman, by whose kind aid we landed in safety about half past five in the morning of the 27th. Our first inquiry was for water; Mauae, the governor's man, soon procured a calabash full, fresh and cool, of which we drank most copious draughts, then filled the canteens, and preserved them for those who were travelling along the shore.

Lack of Drinking Water

About half-past eight, Mr. Thurston hastily entered the house; his first salutation was, "Have you got any water?" A full canteen was handed to him, with which he quenched his thirst, exclaiming, as he returned it, that he had never in his life before suffered so much for want of water. When he first discovered the houses, about two miles distant, he felt his thirst so great, that he left his companions and hastened on, running and walking till he reached the place where those who arrived in the canoe were stopping.

After leaving *Keavaiti*, Messrs. Bishop, Goodrich, and Thurston travelled over the rugged lava, till the moon becoming obscured by dark heavy clouds, they were obliged to halt under a high rock of lava, and wait the dawn of day, for they found it impossible to proceed in the dark, without being every moment in danger of stumbling over the sharp projections of the rocks, or falling into some of the deep and wide fissures that intersected the bed of lava in every direction.

After waiting about an hour, they resumed their journey; and Messrs. Bishop and Goodrich reached *Tairitii* nearly half an hour after Mr. Thurston's arrival... [Ellis, 1963:128]

The Journal of Chester S. Lyman

Walking the Upland and Coastal Trails of the Manukā-Kapu'a Region in 1846

In 1846, Chester S. Lyman, "a sometime professor" at Yale University visited the island of Hawai'i. His narratives provide readers with important documentation pertaining to the native villages and landscape in Kona, and decline of the native population in the region. The original type-written manuscript (919.69 L 98), was viewed in the collection of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. The following excerpts penned by Lyman, describe his journey across Manukā, from the uplands, to the shore of Kapu'a, and descriptions of the neighboring lands:

September 3rd, 1846. At 12:30 I stopped to dine under the shelter of a block of lava about 16 miles from Waiohinu. While at dinner a slight shock of an earthquake occurred, there being a momentary jar somewhat as if produced by the falling of a heavy body near by.

Starting on at 1, I passed over a rough and sterile country till I entered a forest of *Ohia* and other trees and shrubs, which continued about 3 miles, to **Manuka**, where I arrived at 3:30 P.M. In the woods I found plenty of ohelos. It being too early to stop for the night, I concluded to push on for **Kapu'a** on the coast. The road most of the way was no road at all, but an exceedingly blind foot path, winding in various directions among the grass and lava, and utterly impossible to follow by any but a native eye. It seemed to grow rougher and rougher, and the path was very little if any "worked" or improved by leveling and laying flat stones to step on. The country generally seemed to be formed of flows of the roughest kind of clinkery lava, the irregularities being of all sizes from pebbles to up to hillocks. The way seemed long and weary, and when the sun had disappeared behind the ocean, and the shades of night were thickening around, we had but just attained a rough eminence from which **Kapua** was visible still some 3 or 4 miles distant. This part of the journey, which seemed uncommonly uneven, I was obliged to travel in darkness – the moon the first part of the evening being concealed by clouds.

The great advantage of traveling over clinkery lava by night is that the darkness makes the path all appear smooth and even, and you are saved the trouble of selecting places for your feet... At 8 o'clock I reached **Kapua**, which is rather pleasantly situated on a cove of the sea. It is on one of the clinkery flows, and the region around is very rough. I proceeded at once to the beach, and enjoyed the luxury of a bath, after which I went to the house where I was to stop near the beach, and took my supper and made preparations for sleeping... I here for a real (12 ½ cents) bought a fine watermelon, which was delicious and refreshing.

The distance of Kapua from Waiohinu by the path which is very crooked, must fully be 30 miles, perhaps more.

Friday, September 4th. Rose a little after 5 – the thermometer being at 78°, the sky clear and the air fresh and balmy... Our path was now over clinkers of the roughest sort, and as I was lame from a sore on my foot, I found walking exceedingly difficult.

A mile from **Kapua** we passed the little village of Koa [**Okoe**] and a mile or two further on, passing **Honomalino**, we came to **Milolii**, where there is an extensive and beautiful sand beach covered by a fine grove of cocoanuts. Here I took breakfast under their shade... ..In one of the villages of this region I noticed a neat Catholic church, built in the native style, with a small cross erected on the front corner of the roof... After two hours and a half of laborious and hot walking, I reached at 11:30 Kipahoehoe, a small village in a rough lava region about 9 or 10 miles from Kapua... [Lyman Ms. 1846:19-21]

One additional observation by Lyman, that is of interest to the present study, are his notes regarding the depopulating of the South Kona-North Ka'ū region, as a result of a severe drought. He raises the issue while describing the diminished congregation of the Kealakekua church —

One reason for the smallness of the congregation appears to have been the dispersion of the people in consequence of the great famine which prevailed on this side of the island for a year past. There has been a continual drought during that time, reducing every vegetable substance to tinder, in consequence of which the whole country was overrun by fire, presenting a most sublime spectacle by night and destroying many habitations.

The natives have suffered exceedingly for want of food and have been obliged to subsist on a species or two of roots, scarcely fit for food, and the few fish they could get from the sea... [Lyman Ms. 1846:23]

Records of the Hawaiian Mission Station – South Kona and Ka‘ū, Hawai‘i

In April 1824, the year following Ellis' visit, the first South Kona Mission Station was established on the flats of Ka‘awaloa by Reverend James Ely. The station was situated on land provided for that purpose by chiefess Kapi‘olani and her husband, Haihā Nāihe. It was from the Ka‘awaloa Station, and later the Kealakekua Station (to which the Ka‘awaloa branch was relocated), that activities of the South Kona, and for a while, the Ka‘ū churches were directed.

Early in the mission history, it was the goal to have a school (for both formal education and to spread the Christian word) in each native village. Every *ahupua‘a* with a population of around 40 inhabitants, had a school with a native teacher. Residents in *ahupua‘a* such as Kaulanamauna and Manukā, with smaller populations, attended facilities in the neighboring lands of Kahuku and Kapu‘a.

It is from the writings of the field missionaries, that we find important descriptions of the native communities and population at and in the lands of the South Kona-North Ka‘ū region. Selected excerpts from missionary letters and station reports (viewed in the collection of the *Hawaiian Mission Children's Library*), and selected government records pertaining to affairs of the Minister of Education, are cited below. The narratives provide readers with insight into the history of the region, and transitions in residency. Underlining of place names and emphasis given in selected narratives are used by the author of this study to draw attention to specific narratives —

Describing the nature of the South Kona-Ka‘ū parish, and difficulty in travelling between villages, Reverend Forbes observed:

1833 - C. Forbes, at Ka‘awaloa:

...At our last general examination in May we visited every school as near as practicable...we found only about 1,300 readers among 36 schools. This examination does not include Kau or the south point of the Island where there are about 5,000 inhabitants, 25 schools & probably 1,200 readers... Probably no Station on the islands is worse situated for access to the people than is Kaawaloa. There is no way of getting from village to village south of the bay, but in canoes, unless we climb over vast shaggy beds of lava, and the people mostly coming under our charge are strewed along a shore probably 40 miles in length, besides some 5,000 who live on the south point of the Island...

Probably 1000 may be said to come directly under Missionary influence which leaves 9 or 10,000 destitute as the whole district includes 10 or 12,000 souls... [C. Forbes Ms. 1833:2-3]

November 8, 1835 – C. Forbes, writing from Kuapehu, reported:

...Our station embraces the coast delineated on the map from Kainaliu on the north west, to Puna on the southwest; a coast of nearly 90 miles^[6]. Two weeks is the very least in which the whole field can be hastily visited by simply preaching at the more important villages... [MHM – 266.858 M69; Missionary Letters 1830-1836; Vol. 8:2317]

July 23, 1836 – C. Forbes, writing from Kaawaloa, reported:

Last fall I had every house numbered and its inhabitants from the borders of the Kailua Station [Kainaliu], southward & round to the borders of this station on the southeast, and found the whole population of my field to be as follows. This part of Kona 3,536

⁶ Map is not available in collection.

adults; 1,473 children...total 5,009... Kau adults 3,365...children 1,401...total in Kau 4,766... [Vol. 8:2330; MHM – 266.858 M69; Missionary Letters 1830-1836; Vol.'s 4 & 8]

Among the letters of Cochran Forbes, is a “Journal of occurrences showing my manner of spending my time” (October 10-26, 1836); the original handwritten letters are in the collection of the ABFCM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard (a photocopy was viewed in the collection of Hawaiian Mission Children’s Library).

On October 10, 1836, Forbes sailed from Ka’awaloa, beginning his tour of the southern portion of his mission station. His journal offers readers a description of the villages he visited, the conditions of the schools, churches, and circumstances of the people, and conditions in the region. While Forbes at times wrote with a prejudice, his first-hand accounts are of value in understanding the historic landscape of the period.

On October 12th, Forbes traveled by canoe from Keālia along the coast of Kapalilua to Kapu’a. He then traveled north by foot and canoe along the coast to various villages back towards Keālia. His journal entries provide readers with descriptions of the region, and nature of the scattered settlements along the way:

This morning we left Kealia before daylight in order to avail ourselves of the land breeze. Had a pleasant sail a fair wind to Kapua, some 20 miles, where we have just arrived. Perhaps there are 40 souls in all in this village, almost as dark as 20 years ago. Their children of 3 to five years old are running as stark naked as they were born. I reproved the head and he said they abused maros when given them! A sufficient excuse with a heathen, for letting his children run naked! While I am writing, I am seated on their door sill as the best seat I can find. Asked the headman, “Have you no school here?” He replied “No.” “You are all living with dark hearts!” “Yes, in that way true!”

Shall now in a few minutes collect them and preach church to them, and press on to the next village... Three o’clock, having preached Christ to the poor sinners at Kapua and distributed some tracts among them and taken the names of about 20 who promise to meet daily to read as a school (they have no teacher) till I shall again visit them.

I came by foot to the next village (Okoe) where I got together about 30 souls and I have just closed my meeting. They are civil but alas do not seem to feel their need of Christ... I have two more villages to visit & preach at tonight... Left for this place (Milolii) where a few collected in the teacher’s house... Oct. 13th Left Milolii this morning by daylight and came on here to Hoopuloa the nearest village. The residents are all absent – gone up in the country for food. But found some forty here from a distant village. They have come here to get kukuis to pay their tax, laid by Gov. Adams, to finish the Kailua church. Collected them & preached to them and have just distributed tracts, they were careful to ask tracts for all their absent friends who are gone back into the country for food...

After preaching and breaking our fast on a roast fish & piece of bread we pursued our course to the next village, but the sea was so rough we could not get ashore and were obliged to pass by that and three other villages when we came to Opihali, where with much difficulty I got ashore and preached Christ to them and distributed tracts... [Forbes Ms. 1836:4-8]

April 1, 1842 – C. Forbes reported on activities and events during 1841-1842, describing the Ka’ū and South Kona fields:

...It will be remembered that heretofore this part of Kona together with Kau has always been reported under one, but...I shall speak of Kau separate, and shall also divide this part of Kona into two divisions.

I. Kau – Contains a population of over 4000 souls all quite accessible. The missionary may ride on horseback to almost every village in Kau. There are about 14 schools, some of which are flourishing and some by poorly managed. There are about 250 church members there who are now set off from this chh. and form a church by themselves, of which I hope Bro. Paris will take the pastoral charge. He has now been laboring there several months, and with great joy to the people who have long desired the gospel...

...II) I come now to the part of this field in which Bro. Ives has spent most of his labors the past year, which by itself forms a field of labor large enough for any one man. It commences at Kealia and extends to the borders of Kau & is 15 or 20 miles in extent. The population is near 2000.

In this district which is called Kapalilua there are 10 schools containing 400 scholars all which are now in an interesting condition. There are 450 church members in Kapalilua including Kealia. They have lately been set off from this chh. to form a separate church by themselves... Kealia is about 8 miles by water and 10 or 12 by land over a bad road from this place... [Report of the Mission Station at Kealakekua – MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua. Forbes 1842:4-5]

April 4, 1842 – M. Ives added a section to the Report of the Mission Station at Kealakekua, describing circumstances in Kapalilua (South Kona):

My labors have been confined mostly to Kapalilua. The population in that district is not quite 2000...The field at Kapalilua extends along a sea coast of 20 miles & sometimes 4 to 8 miles inland up a mountain. The villages there can be reached only by canoe & there is doubtless no place in consequence of bad landing where a meeting house will ever be built except near the two extremities of the field. Kealia lying entirely at this [northern] extremity is the most convenient place where the people may assemble... That is the spot where one would build. I could not think of reaching from that place the people some of whom live 25 miles distant without being from home much of the time... [Ives Ms. 1842:1-3; MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua]

April 1843 – C. Forbes reported:

Here we are with two churches scattered over a country 40 miles in extent, very bad travelling, only a part of it accessible on horseback and only two feeble missionaries for the whole field, where there is work enough to exhaust the energies of 4 hale men... [Ives Ms. 1843:3; MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua]

May 9, 1846 – M. Ives' report from the Mission Station at Kealakekua for 1845-1846 includes a description of the devastating impacts of a drought, fires, and then heavy rains upon the native population and landscape of South Kona, to Kapu'a and beyond. In the period between February 15th to December 18th, 1845, there was no rainfall, then on December 18th, there was "a terrific conflagration." Ives reported—

The drought aforementioned was followed by the epidemic common to all the island & by a scarcity of provisions scarcely before known even at Kealakekua. The consequence was that numbers flocked to Kau & other places where they found sustenance... It is now impossible for many of the natives to get taro & potatoe tops to start their plantations; such has been the devastation. A spark of fire dropped into the leaves would immediately kindle & the consequence was that the country from Onouli

to Kapua & onwards a distance of 30 miles including all our arable land except here and there a small patch where the owner with uncommon vigor defended it, was burnt over & the food thoroughly baked. Often the man after watching his plantation a whole night would leave it supposing it past danger when some sudden turn of the wind would change the direction of the fire, & before he could again reach it, his whole plantation be consumed.

There has been a decrease of children in our field the last 5 years, upwards of 250... The population in our field is diminishing. There is no place probably among us where it is on the increase. Kaawaloa which in 1835 numbered 460 inhabitants has now only 160 either on the land or considered as belonging to it... The famines too are thinning off our inhabitants.

There are two or three vessels constantly plying between our place & Oahu & every vessel that left for several weeks was loaded down with passengers so as scarcely to afford a foot room for the captain. But a part of these will never get back. They are trusted for their fare to Oahu & when they return they are required to pay the fare for both ways. Their lands in the mean time, lying uncultivated, they will have nothing to eat should they return... [M. Ives Ms. 1846:2-5; MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua]

On October 9th, 1848, the Minister of Public Instruction conducted an examination of schools on the island of Hawai'i. From his journal, we see that little attention was paid to land of Northern Ka'ū and Southern Kona, which was passed by canoe, with only a few villages noted on the way:

Oct. 9 Sailed at midnight from Kailikii in a canoe with Lapuwale & 3 other natives. In a dangerous sea, the outrigger gave way & but for the courage & skill of a native who sprang into the waves and seized it, & lashed it fast, we should have been capsized, where there was no possibility of landing. At about 1 o'clock in the morning, God be praised for our deliverance. As we passed along the coast of Kona, I visited the schools in the several villages & as in Kau, found the teachers doing but little... [HSA Public Instruction, Series 261 Box 1]

1855 – J.D. Paris (Station Report). Paris described the reorganization of the South Kona Mission Station, giving the boundaries of each out-station, and the population therein, beginning at Hōkūkano in the north, and extending to Miloli'i-Kapu'a in the south. The following narratives focus on the Miloli'i section of the station, where Paris describes the custom of living near shore, while maintaining upland cultivated lands, some three to five miles above the shore; such was the practice throughout the lands of the Manukā NAR and into neighboring lands of Ka'ū. By this time, places of worship at some areas were shifting upland (accessed by the *mauka* Government Road), while the schools along the coast continued to be used (under the Office of Public Instruction). Paris wrote—

Mr. Paris' Report 1855

Since our last Annual Report our Church in S. Kona has been reorganized or divided into six branches... This arrangement while it greatly augments the labors of the Pastor or Miss. is nevertheless we think, as this people are scattered over a large extent of country, & can never all meet together, greatly beneficial to them.

The first of these Churches extends geographically from Hokukano on the North to Onouli on the South... ..The other two Churches one at Kaohe & the other at Milolii. The former has 101 members the latter 140. Both these Chhs have comfortable houses to worship in. The one at Kaohe is of thatch, the one [at] Milolii is stone.

These Chhs are made up of the poor of this world & of the poor of Hawaii. Most of [the] people get a lively hood (!) principally by fishing – their villages are mostly near the sea

shore on the barren lava. Their food is cultivated back from the sea shore, the distance of from three to five miles, where the land is generally fertile & with proper culture would produce abundantly. During the year we ordained two Deacons at Milolii & one at Kaohe...

At Milolii. We have some good people & some of whom we stand in doubt. A few living epistles known & read of all men – some whose light shines more dimly & through many clouds & others whose light is darkness... The No. of Births in this District has been greater than in the two preceding (!) years & No. of deaths Smaller:

Births	81	—	Deaths	57...
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The health of the native population & foreign residents in South Kona has been during the past year unusually (!) good. We have had no Epidemics & but little sickness of any kind & comparatively but few deaths. It has been a year of peace & plenty. Our hills & valleys have been watered abundantly with the showers of heaven. The Earth has yielded its increase & the ocean abounded with fish. Some of our people we think are more diligent & industrious than in years past. More patches have been cultivated – more fields fenced – more trees planted more houses built & repaired, & more roads & paths made than in years past. In some of our Villages there is a very marked improvement about the houses & yards every thing wearing a more cheerful aspect.

We have no field waving with golden harvests (as on some other islands) but our people are multiplying their Coffee patches, & the number of Orange trees loaded with golden fruit, are rapidly increasing.

Some of the “thousand hills” are dotted over with cattle & horses; - and vast fields of barren lava, fertilized with streams of living goats... [Report of the Mission Station at Kealakekua – MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua. Paris 1855]

1863 – J.D. Paris’ Station Report for 1863, included an overview of the history of the Ka’awaloa-Kealakekua Station. Of interest to lands in the Kapalilua region, are descriptions of the three primary church-school stations at the time, and that mission efforts in the region focused on the coastal region until the improvement and re-opening of the mountain road in 1852-1855:

Milolii & Kapua.

This Chh. has its station & house of worship at *Milolii* on the sea shore about 35 or 40 miles from the Miss. Station at Kaawaloa. They have a rough but good stone meeting house...on the sea shore, & another at *Kapua* 5 miles beyond, & another as far distant inland. These are small. Some of the members of this Chh. live at least 15 miles from the central part at Milolii. Except when the Missionary visits them, they never all meet at the same place.... The Chh. was organized in 1855 with 90 members – it now numbers in good standing 180... [Paris Ms. 1863:1-5]

By 1868, the superintendent of schools conducted an examination of schools on the island of Hawai’i. From his report, we learn of conditions of the schools at Kahuku—no school being present in Manukā or Kaulanamauna—and that the Kapu’a school, had been relocated to Okoe:

Kamaoa. School house of wood in good condition. 45 scholars. House stands on original lot, but unfenced.

Kahuku. Wooden house, thatched, in good condition, on original lot and unfenced. 16 scholars. Examined both these schools together and found their proficiency quite good. Kamaoa rather better than Kahuku... Leaving Kau, I visited the following schools in South Kona:

Arriving too late at **Kapua** to examine the school which is held at Okoe, and passing by Milolii which lies too far out of the way by the shore, I arrived at Papa... [HSA Public Instruction Reports, Series 261]

Forty-five years later, W.H. Kinney, described travel through the South Kona-North Ka'ū region, in a guide prepared for visitors to the island of Hawai'i. Kinney (1913) tells us that few houses were located along the shore, between Kapu'a and Kahuku. At Kapu'a, cattle were shipped, and other residences were used periodically by fisher-people:

A fair trail leads through KEALIA, a pretty village which is practically a suburb of HOOKENA, a streamer landing place, [page 63] which was once a village of much importance, but which is now being abandoned by the population, which is Hawaiian. Near the wharf was a place famous in ancient days for the playing of a game with *pupu* shells. In the great cliff south of the village are several caves, some of them still floored with sand, where tapa makers plied their trade. A very poor trail leads *makai* of this cliff to the KALAHIKI village, a small settlement on the south side of the bay, which may also be reached by a better trail on top of the bluff. Here are traces of a four terrace *heiau*. Beyond this there is no practicable trail leading south. There are a few very small fishing villages, Alae, Alika and Papa, which are reached by poor trails from the *mauka* road. It is necessary to travel from Hookena *mauka* to the main road, to Papa, and thence by either road or trail to HOOPULOA, the last steamship landing in Kona. This is another village which is dwindling in population, only a few Hawaiians and a couple of Chinese storekeepers remaining. A fair road leads across a barren *a-a* flow to MILOLII, the largest and best specimen of an exclusively Hawaiian village on the Island, which is seldom visited. It is splendidly situated by a sand beach, the sea coming right up to the yard walls, and is inhabited by a rather large population of Hawaiians, who prosper through the fishing which is almost phenomenally good. A fair trail leads South to HONOMALINO, where there are no houses, but a splendid sand beach, where turtle abound. The trail leads south, along the beach, to the OKOE landing, where there is only one house, and to KAPUA, used as a cattle shipping point, where there are two houses. Just south of this is AHOLE, where there is a perfect papa holua, about 400 to 500 feet long, appearing as if it had been built but yesterday. A few hundred yards south is KAUPU, where there are a few grass houses, and south of this, until Kau is reached, there are only a few widely scattered houses, used only occasionally for fishing. This region is seldom visited. Its chief points of interest are the remains of a *heiau*, *mauka* of the Catholic church at Milolii, some fine *papa konane* at the south end of the same village, a well preserved *kuula* (still used) where fishermen offer offerings of fruit to insure a good catch, by the beach south of Milolii, where the Honomalino ranch fence crosses the trail; while all along the trail are smaller *kuulas*, and at many points the foundations of villages, where old implements may still be found. [Kinney, 1913:65]

Heiau Reported in Uplands of Manukā (1907)

In 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes, an archaeologist working for the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, conducted a survey of *heiau* (ceremonial sites) on the island of Hawai'i. In his survey (Stokes and Dye, 1991), Stokes reported on one *heiau* in uplands of Manukā, which now make up the NAR. This *heiau* (SIHP No. 3659), was described as:

Heiau of Kaupoku or Kaneikaupoku, land of Manukā, 2 or 3 miles northeast of the Kona-Ka'ū road. The story was that magical bananas grew there. [Stokes and Dye, 1991:113]

Trails and Roads Through the South Kona-North Ka'ū Region

Ala hele (trails) and *ala loa* (regional thoroughfares) are an integral part of the cultural landscape. The system of *ala hele* and *ala loa* provided access for local and regional travel, subsistence activities,

cultural and religious purposes, and for communication between extended families and neighboring communities. Trails were, and still remain important features of the cultural landscape today.

Historical accounts describe at least two primary trails of regional importance in South Kona, which generally merged into one major trail; with smaller trails on the cliff-side of the Kahuku bluff (Pali o Māmalu). The trail which crossed the *makai* (near shore) lands, linked coastal communities and resources together, was the primary route described by early visitors, as above. The other major trail, known as “*Keala’ehu*” (The path of ‘Ehu), passed through the uplands (in the vicinity of the present Māmalahoa Highway). This trail comes out of Ka’ū, passes into North Kona, and continues on to Ka’ūpulehu, where it then cuts *makai* to Kīholo (meeting with the *makai* alignment of the *alaloa*).

The *alaloa* then continues into Kohala, passing through Kawaihae and beyond. This route provided travelers with a zone for cooler travel, and access to inland communities and resources. The trail also allowed for more direct travel between North and South Kona, and Ka’ū (see Malo 1951; I’i 1959; Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963).

In addition to the *ala hele* and *ala loa*, running laterally with the shore, there are another set of trails that run from the shore to the uplands (*makai* to *mauka*). By nature of traditional land use and residency practices, every *ahupua’a* also included one or more *mauka-makai* trail. In native terminology, these trails were generally known as — *ala pi’i uka* or *ala pi’i mauna* (trails which ascend to the uplands or mountain). One such trail identified on historic maps is in Manukā, and passing from *mauka* to the *kīpuka* Kamilo’āina—an ancient dryland cultivating ground—and on to the shore by Nā Pu’u a Pele, where it connects with the main coastal trail (see *Register Map No. 2469*).

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

By the 1830s, the growing missions and business interests, sought the improvement of routes of access around the islands—primarily to facilitate travel by horses and other hooved animals, and wheeled carts. In most cases, the native trails were not safe or even usable for such methods of travel. By the late 1840s, the major thoroughfares (such as the *ala loa* – *Keala’ehu*) became a part of a system of “roads” called the “*Alanui Aupuni*” or Government Roads. Work on the roads was funded in part by government appropriations, and through the labor or financial contributions of area residents and prisoners working off penalties.

It appears that in the Manukā vicinity, the *makai* trail was minimally improved in the 1840s, while the *mauka* trail, *Keala’ehu*, was modified by the 1850s, with improvements continuing throughout the century, until the *makai* route was all but abandoned by the 1860s. Generally, the *mauka-makai* trails in individual *ahupua’a* were maintained by the residents for their use (as protected by the Kingdom through *Kuleana Act of 1850*; and later, the *Highways Act of 1892*). Only selected *mauka-makai* trails were made into formal government roads. No record of such action was found in documents reviewed for lands that make up the Manukā NAR. This does not imply that the right of access for native tenants (as provided for in the *Kuleana Act of 1850*) in *ahupua’a* such as Kapu’a, Kaulanamauna and Manukā were not protected, it simply means that the Kingdom chose to expend funds on primary routes of benefit to the larger public.

The following communications are a part of a collection of records from native residents and government officials regarding travel through the South Kona-North Ka’ū region. The letters identify residents of given lands, the nature of trails and roads, and the evolution of travel in the region

through 1900. Underlining of place names and emphasis given in selected narratives are used by the authors of this study to draw attention to specific narratives.

The following communication from 1847—the earliest one describing “Government” road projects—describes the main route of interest through Kapalilua (South Kona), as being *makai*, where it meets with the route in Ka’ū:

August 13, 1847

**G.L. Kapeau, Governor, Island of Hawaii; to
Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:**

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, the place where our King was cared for, and from thence to Kaelehuluhulu [at Kaulana], 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. Also, the road that is to go *makai* of Kukalaula, below Keauhou [Ka’ū], and then continue to the shore of Puna and Hilo, will probably begin at Keaiwa.

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... [HSA, Interior Department, Roads; translation modified by Maly]

March 29, 1852

Hudsonville (Onouli), Hawaii

T.H. Paris (Road Supervisor, S. Kona) to L. Kamehameha (Minister of Interior):

...I received a letter from your chf. clerk, S. Spencer Esq., requesting me to forward a report respecting the road tax in my district. I hasten a reply and will give you the information referenced so far as I can. The balance of cash in my hands from last year is \$18. The whole amount rec’d. the past year was \$78.

The probable receipts for the next two years will not in my opinion, exceed two hundred dollars, and may be much less. The probable expenditures which should be made, during the next two years would not be less than two thousand dollars but we would be glad to get a less sum. I have been opening a new road, or rather an old one that has been closed for fifteen or twenty years past, which is the only practicable route to Kau. This can be made a good road with a little help from government, but will take a long time if we have to rely entirely on the road tax. I have worked hard the past year I have not depended on native lunas but have been with the men myself. More than this I am still willing to do all in my power to improve the road if you will only encourage us a little

with your help.

The tools that I have are few and in need of repair. I have not enough of money on hand to repair the tools for this years work. Please excuse the freedom I take in begging you to consider the matter and give us a little help... [HSA, Interior Department Roads Hawaii]

In the following communication from Geo. Kalaau, South Kona Road Supervisor, readers learn of road work in the district; with specific reference to Division 9, as the section extending from Milolii to Kapu'a. Kalaau also gives the number of residents in the division eligible to work on the road.

December 22, 1854.

**Geo. B. Kalaau (South Kona Road Supervisor),
to Keoni Ana (Minister of the Interior):**

...I report to you the matters pertaining to the Road Tax of this District during this year, as follows:

1. The number of persons subject to Road Tax in this District. When I counted the persons from 16 years up to forty years and over, there were six hundred and forty-one persons, including foreigners and native Hawaiians.
2. The number of days worked by these persons, under the law of 1853, six days work by each, that being the full payment for the one year ending on the last day of December, 1854; and if these six days are multiplied with the six hundred and forty-one persons, the result will be three thousand eight hundred and forty-six, the number of days. But, I divided the work up in the nine divisions, as follows:

Division 1, from Puuhau to Onouli 1; Division 2, from Onouli 2 to Kealakekua; Div. 3, from Kiloa to Keei 1; Div. 4, Keei 2 to Honaunau; Div. 5, Keokea to Kealia 2; Div. 6, Hookena to Waiea; Div 7, Honokua to Kaohe; Div. 8, Kukuioape to Hoopuloa; Div. 9, **Milolii to Kapua.**

If the count of the days is by districts, it will be fifty-four days, because, I have given six days to each division, the same to all the sections... [describes collection of taxes]

6. Money disbursed and the balance. I paid out the sum of eight dollars, of the road tax, for a part between Hoopuloa and Milolii. A very bad place, plenty of rocks, therefore, I gave that money in order to fix up that place. There is no money balance...

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

From Honokua to Kaohe, the people in this division, 94.

From Kukuioape to Hoopuloa, the people in this division, 65.

From Milolii to Kapua, the people in this division, 44...

[HSA, Interior Department Misc. Box 146]

May 1859

Bureau of Public Works Report on Expenditures:

...For the Road from **Manuka to Kahuku** \$500.

For the Road from Kukuioape to Milolii \$500...

[HSA, Interior Department Roads Hawaii]

1869

Petition of J.W. Maele and 97 native residents of South Kona, to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of Interior):

...We, the people whose names are below, petition to you about the Road Supervisor of Kona. We desire that **S.W. Papaula** be made the Road Supervisor of South Kona. That a straight road be opened from **Kaulanamauna** to Kealakekua, and that the places which are bad and in disrepair be made good, like the work (by Thomas Martin) on the road of Kau.

Please kindly consider our request to you. In truth of this request, we sign our names below... [HSA, Interior Department, Roads Hawaii Folder 6; translated by Maly]

August 3, 1869

W. James Smith; to

F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior

(Regarding the Mauka Road from Kapua to Kahuku, and the Road crossing the 1868 lava flow):

...As requested by your Excellency before leaving Honolulu, I would state for your information that upon arriving at Hawaii, I landed at a place called Kahaluu in N. Kona, and have since ridden through the districts of S. Kona, Kau, Puna, Hilo, a part of Hamakua, and Kohala, and in reference to the roads in the district of Kau, concerning which you wished to be informed, I am now able to say from comparison, that in my opinion the roads in that district, as a whole, are quite as good as those in any other district on this island.

There are many places, as in all the other districts, which should be improved, and which, with a little vigilance on the part of the Road Supervisors, could be much improved.

The road from Kapua, the last land in S. Kona, on the Kau side, which I am informed was constructed under the supervision of the present Supervisor, last year, or the year before, extends a distance of about twelve miles, I should judge, through the most rugged section of the country I have seen on the island, and considering the nature of the country over which it is made, and the material available for the purpose, it cannot be regarded other than a well executed most creditable piece of work. Men were at work extending the line of this road as I passed over it. No regular or well defined road has yet been made over the new lava flow at Kahuku, though considerable labor has doubtless been required to bring it to its present fair condition... [HSA, Interior Department Roads]

August 30, 1869

R.A. Lyman; to F.W. Hutchinson (Minister of the Interior):

...The old road at Kahuku can be reopened for about \$200.00 so as to be a good road. Most of the people go on the old road, some parts of the road in North and South Kona are being well worked. The new road from Kona to Kahuku is almost finished, and is a good road, except that it goes up & down the hills too straight, so that it will wear out quick on the rises... [HSA, Interior Department, Roads Hawaii Folder 5]

August 1, 1871

Henry Cooper (South Kona Road Supervisor),

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

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

I have remade two miles of road on the beach across the lands of Keei & Honaunau, this improvement was much required as the road had become almost impassable. From Kukuiope to **Kapua** there is some 12 miles of bad road which I think can be done for (150) One hundred & fifty dollars p. mile. T. Martin says he will contract for two hundred dollars p. mile, but by shipping men or letting it out by contract it can be done for less. I would also say that on the newly made piece of road before mentioned, the natives allow their goats to run at large thereby doing more damage in one month than would be done by ordinary travel in a year. I have posted notices without effect, and would ask your Excellency's instructions upon the subject... [HSA Interior Department, Roads Hawaii Folder 8]

July 21, 1877

**Henry Cooper (South Kona Road Supervisor),
to J.M. Smith (Minister of the Interior):**

...As you are aware from the report of the Royal Commissioners the roads in South Kona are not very good. From Kealakekua to Kukuiope about 18 miles the *mauka* road is not so bad but beyond that the road is bad until the boundary of T. Martin's road in the district of Kau. Nothing can be done on this road without assistance from the Government appropriation.

I think a good road 5 feet wide may be made for two hundred dollars a mile & I would suggest to your Excellency that one mile of said road be made by contract. The present formation is clinkers & very rough, uneven *pahoehoe* for near 15 miles... [HSA Interior Department, Roads Hawaii Folder 10]

November 1880

**W.T. Martin, Kau Road Supervisor; to
Minister of the Interior**

Explanation of the Roads and the Money Allotted:

1) Road running to Kona from Mamalu, Kahuku and reaching Kaulanamauna, Kona. It is perhaps 13 or 14 miles long. Half of the road is 7 feet wide, and the other half 4 feet wide. Money considered by me, needed to finish it, \$1,200. One section of the road is let out to Keaka and his 8 fellow laborers for \$400... [HSA, Interior Department Roads; Maly, translator]

July 14th 1887

**C.N. Arnold Road Superintendent, Island of Hawaii;
to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:**

...I have the honor to report the following work in progress, and recently completed on Hawaii.

Kau District:

..We are...engaged in this District on a new road across the Lava flow of 1887, the distance across this flow, including the openings is about 3 ½ mile. The estimated cost of this work is \$1800. I am sure I can complete it within that amount. This work was also offered for contract, but the lowest bid being in excess of my estimate, I was directed by the Minister to proceed there and give the work my personal attention. I was engaged at this work when I met with an accident, being bucked from my horse, which has delayed the work. The work is well under way, and three weeks more of labor will complete it. I regard this as an important work as without it the travel between Kau and the Southern Districts of Hawaii is practically suspended...

South Kona:

The road of this District are in good fair condition. A small amount could be spent to advantage in cutting the brush from the sides of the roads and throwing out the loose

rocks, \$400. would be enough for the District... [HSA, Interior Department, Roads, Box 39]

October 28, 1889

**S. Kekumano (South Kona Road Supervisor),
to L.A. Thurston (Interior Department):**

...Work on the road to **Kapua** has ended. If the money is sent I will immediately go over the road to **Kapua**. The road from Pahoehoe to Honaunau has been put in good order, leaving only the section that runs to North Kona to be done.

I received a petition from the people of Papa and Hoopuloa, asking that this Road Board work on the road that runs up from the landing of Hoopuloa to the uplands at Papa; that One hundred dollars be sent to repair the areas that are in the worst condition. This road is the means of their livelihood, and how they transport their goods to the landing. There are 23 names on the petition... [HSA Interior Department Roads – Hawaii; Maly translator]

Hookena

November 8, 1890

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

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

The Divisions are thus:

...Section 6. Pahoehoe to Kaapuna, 5 miles. The roads needs improvement. J.W. Kuaimoku, cantonier. \$25.00 per month.

Section 7. Kaapuna to Honomalino, 5 miles of road in this section. Kalaimoku, cantonier. \$25.00 per month

Section 8. Honomalino to **Kaulanamauna**, adjoining Kau, 6 miles. Kalaimoku, cantonier. \$25.00 per month...

Here also is a diagram [Figure 2] which I have drawn of the road. It is perhaps not exactly right, but by it you can see the length of the road is 43 ½ miles... [HSA Interior Department Roads, Box 41; Maly Translator]

March 31, 1892

**Report of C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior
(Regarding new road being built between Hookena and Kahuku):**

About five miles of this road is completed, and is certainly one of the best in the Kingdom. It will run for about thirty miles towards Kahuku, from which place to the Volcano, a good road will be finished during the present period.

The completion of a road which shall encircle Hawaii is a matter of impossibility as the work of a single period, but by doing a little each two years and not suffering what has been made to go to ruin, we shall have at length, by means of other roads running through the interior of the Island, and serving as it were, as tributaries to the belt road, opened up to cultivation and prosperity large and valuable tracts of land, at present of little use and scarcely known. [HSA, Interior Department Report, 1892:284]

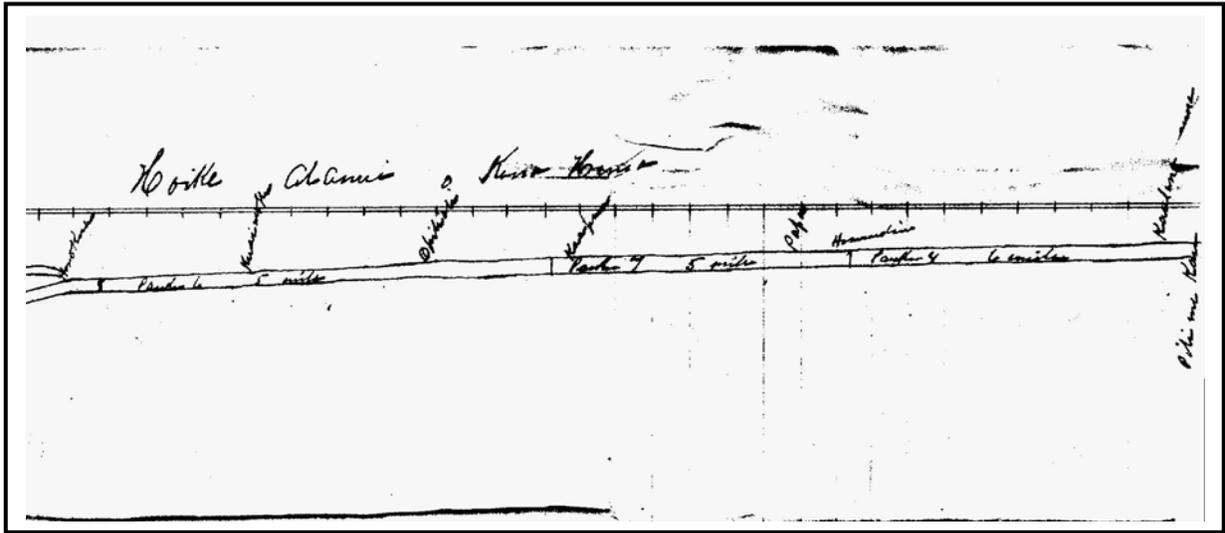


Figure 2. Portion of "Road Exhibit of South Kona" Showing Section between Honokua to Boundary of Ka'ū – Section 8 from Honomalino to Kaulanamauna.

Bureau of Survey

Aug. 10th, 1894

**Frank S. Dodge, Assistant – H.G. Survey;
to Hon. Jas. A. King, Minister of Interior:**

...Having recently returned from a tour of inspection of the Government roads of Hawaii, through the Districts of North and South Kona, Kau, Puna, Hilo, Hamakua and a portion of South Kohala, I would submit my report upon the same, with certain recommendations, and suggestions.

In company with Mr. W.E. Wall of this Bureau, I landed at Kailua, Kona, July 21st and proceeded southward as far as Kaawaloa that day, and thence on to Honomalino on the following day. Mr. Wall took observations for altitude, with a barometer – at many points along the line, and the results are now on file in this office, and will be of considerable value in case a detailed survey is to be made.

From my observations of the needs of the Kona District, and the evident progress now being made in its development, I should recommend that steps be taken at the earliest possible date for the improvement of the main road through the whole district, making it passable for loaded vehicles. A road twelve feet in width, with frequent turnouts would be a vast improvement over the present trail – and assist greatly in opening a large section of country. The general line of the present mauka road should be followed – with a few changes necessary to overcome excessive grades...

At Hookena, I had an opportunity of examining the new road constructed a few years ago from the harbor to the mauka road, and found it in good condition, and needing very slight repairs. It is one of the best roads on Hawaii, and shows conclusively what can be done with the materials close at hand, all through Kona.

At Papa, Hoopuloa and Honomalino there is a very general demand for better facilities for reaching the landing at Hoopuloa, and there is nothing in the way of construction except the elevation to be overcome, which is about seventeen hundred (1700) feet – requiring about four (4) miles of road on an 8% grade.

With the main road completed as a wagon road throughout the district, and the various roads to the steamer landings as above recommended, the two Konas would be far more accessible than at present, and their development much more rapid.

From Honomalino to the Kahuku Ranch the only road is about as bad as it can be, especially where it crosses the lava flows of 1868 and 1887, and it needs reconstruction over its entire length. Most of the land along this section of road is a barren waste and of little value for cultivation, but the main road should be built, as a very important link in the chain around the island... [HSA, Interior Department Roads, Box 41]

December 31, 1897

**T.H. Wright (South Kona Road Supervisor), to J.A. King (Minister of Interior)
(Reports on conditions of roads in South Kona) :**

...Hoopuloa Road in fine condition with an exception of a Rock about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the landing; order has been given to Member Buckholtz to remove same.

Road from Papa I to Honomalino fair.

Road from Honomalino to **Kahiawai** [Manukā] “boundary” very bad, portions overgrown by Lantana, Guavas, etc. etc., dangerous. Needs fixing, but is impossible for the Road Board to do so.

Road from Papa to the termination of S.W. Waiau Road [in Waikakuu vicinity] under repair by Road Board.

S.W. Waiau Road, known to the Konas by the name of Lazaro Road, lately built. It's one of the poorest built roads ever constructed. Banks decaying in some places, hardly any surface dressing. Very sharp turns, large hole on the sides where gravel has been dug... The other day portion of the banks by “Mr. Monsarratt's Plantation” caved, hardly any filling... [HSA Interior Department Roads, Box 41]

January 29, 1900

Waiohinu, Kau

S.M. Kanakanui, Surveyor; to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General:

...I am in Waiohinu now with my traverse on this side of Kahuku Ranch, on line of the new road to Waiohinu now under construction. I have written you from Keei last month concerning the possibility of my continuing this work around, and I have been expecting a reply before this, but none has come.

The road after leaving Puu o Kamaoa in Kahuku to about a mile back of Col. Norris' is worthless. The road was built with light lava of '87, and the heavy wheels of our wagon went down a foot into these loose rocks and it was worse than sand. It takes 6 full horses to travel that stretch of only 3 miles. I will get the traverse down to Honuapo by Saturday... [HSA – DAGS 6, Hawaiian Govt. Survey]

January 12, 1901

Kukuiovae, S. Kona

S.M. Kanakanui, Surveyor; to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General:

My traverse is now at Alike today, and I expect to pass Papa by Tuesday, which time I think to take our supplies to **Kapua**. The condition of the road at this end is pretty poorly laid out and built, there are lots of dirt and loose rocks on the way, obstructing the travel, bends being too sharp that it takes professional drivers to pass with wagon load... [HSA – DAGS 6, Hawaiian Govt. Survey]

Government Survey Records: Interior Lands of the South Kona-North Ka'ū Region Described (1859 to 1891)

Survey records of the Hawaiian Government, provide us with some of the most descriptive accounts of the lands in the South Kona-North Ka'ū region, found to date. Following the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division) of 1848, the Kingdom entered into a program of surveying entire *ahupua'a* and tracts of land. Throughout the middle, to later 1800s, the Hawaiian Survey Department, continued its efforts to improve maps depicting the islands, districts, and other land divisions. This work required intensive field surveys, and produced an amazing record of place names, and descriptions of the land and associated resources. This section of the study, includes descriptions of the land and surveys from letters and field books, and covers the lands of Kahuku and Keauhou, which cut off lands of the Manukā NAR; and also includes specific references to lands of the Manukā NAR, extending from the shore to the upper mountain limits. Among the important locational references in the communications, are Pu'u o Ke'oke'o (Keokeo), situated a distance upslope, above Manukā; Nā Pu'u a Pele, in Manukā (Manukaa); Ohepu'upu'u and Hanakeaumoe, in Kapu'a; and general references to Manukā, Kaulanamauna and Kapu'a. Other references cited from the communications, describe the general nature of the landscape, forest, and lava flows, and identify some of the traditional and historical uses of the resources in the region. The narratives provide modern readers with a sense of the landscape more than 130 years ago, and how it has, in some instances, changed.

The records were found in the collections of the Hawaii State Archives (HSA) and the State Survey Division. Underlining and emphasis is added by the authors, to draw the readers attention to specific references of interest.

Waiohinu, Hawaii

28, June, 1859

Wm. D. Alexander; to Rev. R. Armstrong

(Regarding Survey of Kahuku and other Lands on Mauna Loa):

...As Prof. Haskill is about starting for Hilo, I will send you a line or two by him. We arrived in Kona about three weeks ago. Made an excursion in company with Tom Paris, to the top of Mauna Loa. Explored the eruption of '59 for thirty miles, from where it is a mere crack as wide as your hand, to when it is a lava sea, four miles wide. There is still quite a rim of liquid lava flowing down the mountain in a subterranean tunnel. We had clear dry weather & enjoyed the trip highly. Left Kona last Friday in company with Prof. Haskill & arrived here Saturday night. The Liholiho reached Hilo last Friday, the 21st. I expect Henry & Justin here in a day or two with my theodolite transit, compass & chain. My sextant & chain brought with me. I expect to commence surveying next Friday, the 1st of July. Yesterday, I rode out to **Kahuku** to look at the land & engage kanakas. The old kamaainas agree very nearly in their statements which are as follows.

The boundary begins a little this side of the Kahuku church & runs straight to the sea with some zig zags, then along the shore a mile then up the mountain a few miles, & then it turns north, running parallel with the sea & cutting off all South Kona, till it meets Keauhou somewhere in the valley between Hualalai & M. Loa, & then turns & runs up to the summit crater of Mokuaweoweo.

On the other side the boundary runs up into the forest, & then turns eastward cutting off all the lands of Ka'ū as far on Kaalala beyond Keaiwa more than half way to the Volcano, & then runs up the mountain. I shall not attempt to run the northern boundary, I think. I shall go ahead & survey the arable land, down to the sea, along the shore to **Manukaa** & up to the Gov't. road. My "*manao*" at first is to run the southern boundary to Kaalala by triangulation with the theodolite & sextant, and perhaps to the top of the mountain.

The fact is that **Kahuku** was a region of bird-catchers & was bounded by the limits of their favorite birds. The proportion of good land in it is very small. I doubt whether it is worth \$1500. I shall be very glad to receive any instructions from you. [HSA – Box 81, Series 261 Public Instruction: Re. Land]

Makiki

September 21, 1874

**W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General;
to R.A. Lyman, Boundary Commissioner:**

...In regard to the boundaries of Kahuku in Kau, Hawaii, I can only state what was the testimony of the Ka-u people when I surveyed part of Kahuku in 1859.

I did not survey the line between **Kahuku & Manukaa**. **The old Kamaainas however all agreed that Kahuku cut off all the South Kona lands at the upper edge of the forest. As they express it, wherever the “uwa’us” were found that was Kahuku. They testified that Kahuku extended to Ahu a Umi between Hualalai & Mauna Loa.**

On the other side they testified that Kahuku in like manner cut off all the lands in Kau at the upper edge of the bush, the “*wahi oneanea*” being Kahuku, as far as Makaaka, near Keaiwa. Thence the boundary turned up & ran to Pohaku o Hanalei.

I think, however it was a question whether the summit crater of Mokuaweoweo belonged to Kahuku or Kapapala.

I gave a written statement at that time to Mr. Armstrong together with a map & the notes of survey, but I understand that they were in Mr. Robert Brown’s house at the time of the eruption of ’68 & were burned up. [HSA, Interior Department Survey, Box 22]

Government surveyor, J.S. Emerson and party, conducted initial field work in the South Kona region in 1884 to develop Register Map No. 1282. Letter to W.D. Alexander, regarding his progress in the field, and his field book (Register No. 257), include references to several named locations from Manukā through Kapu’a, with sketches of the landscape. His narratives also identify residents on the near shore lands of those *ahupua’a*. The following excerpts describe lands of the Manukā NAR vicinity.

March 30, 1884

Napohakuloloa Station

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

...On Saturday Mar 22 we left Kukuiopae early in the morning and landed at Lae o Heku at 7:30 A.M. This station we hurried through with all possible expeditions, it is a ragged and jagged mass of *aa*, and finished it up to my entire satisfactions on Wednesday morning, Mar. 26. Thence we came to this ill starved spot, arriving here at noon the same day. Dark clouds and rain have hindered the work at this place. On Friday afternoon the rising surf warned us to move the boat to a place of greater safety. It was accordingly anchored in Alike Bay, where it remained the next day. The last that was seen of it was about 9 or 10 o’clock Saturday night when it seemed to be all right.

This morning early I was awakened by a native who came to tell me that the boat had disappeared... I trusted my *kanaka* sailor that it was all right, and did not attend to it in person. The man whom I had engaged to take charge of the boat at Hookena failed me and I took another man, Keoni Miki, in his place. He is a good sailor and a faithful man and was guided in selecting the anchorage by advice of kamaainas... [HSA – DAGS 6, Hawaiian Govt. Survey]

April 9, 1884

Puu Nahaha, Kona

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

...It is with pleasure that I report the safe return of my runaway whale boat, none the worse for a thirty hours excursion out to sea. About 7 or 8 A.M. on Monday Mar. 31 a fisherman named Kaleimoku, living in **Kaulanamauna**, the last hamlet in S. Kona, was sitting down to his dish of fish & poi, when he noticed a white speck upon the horizon, rising & falling with the waves. Thinking it may be a canoe drifting with the tide, he quickly launched his own canoe, and with his wife & boy started in pursuit. When they had gone so far out to sea that they could no longer see the surf beating against the shore, his wife became very much afraid and tried to turn him back.

But he would hear no such timid proposal & pushed boldly on. As at length they neared what now they saw to be a whale boat, the woman's fears again arose, that there was a corpse on board and that they would be "tapu'd." But the prize was too great even for her superstitious fear, and soon they all sprang aboard & drew in the anchor which was still hanging from the bow and dragging by a long chain...

As I had finished up Napohakuloloa station on the day previous we at once started after breakfast, for Hanamalo reaching there before noon on Friday... [HSA – DAGS 6, Hawaiian Govt. Survey]

J.S. Emerson – 1884

Primary Triangulations

Kona Hawaii Vol. VII (Reg. No. 257) [Figures 3 & 4]

April 17, 1884, from Milolii Station

... **Kahapaakai** point ext.

Kapua

One of two places in S. Kona where salt is made.

The other is in Kaulioli [Kauleolī].

Kahapaakai rock in sea... Boundary bet. Okoe & Kapua.

The boundary of these two lands runs straight from this rock to a pt. 10 fathoms S. of Puu Nahaha trig. station as surveyed by Fuller.

Owea Coconut grove. 12 trees

Kapua

Owea bay tang. hd. of sand beach & boat landing

Kapua

Kahehena's grass h.

Kapua

Haleola pond. Sight on coconut tree by same.

Kapua

Lepeamo cape N. of Owea bay.

Kapua

Nalupai.

Kapua

Ahole Bay tang. hd. of Nalupai bay.

Kapua

Kakio cape.

Kapua

Kamaohe cape.

Kapua

Niu Ou Coconut grove. Over 200 trees.

Kapua

Lae Kamoi Boundary between Kona & Kau... [1884:61]

April 23, 1884, from Wahapele Station

...Kahehena's grass house

Kapu'a

Kakio Cape, extremity

Kapu'a

The *kamaaina* for this station is Makia, an old man... [1882:93]

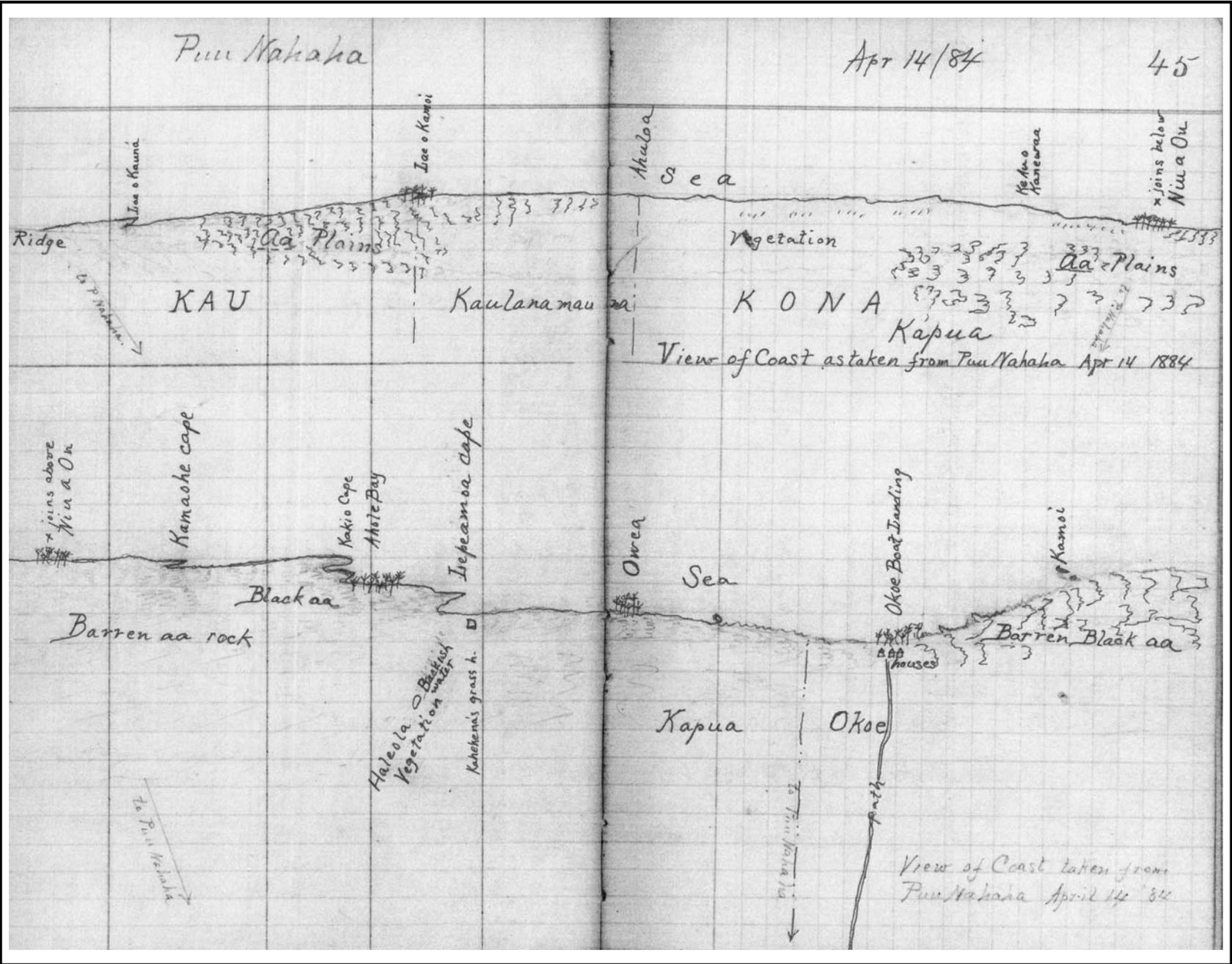


Figure 3. View from Puu Nahaha Trig. Station, South Kona. J.S. Emerson Field Book No. 257, 1884:45 (State Survey Division)

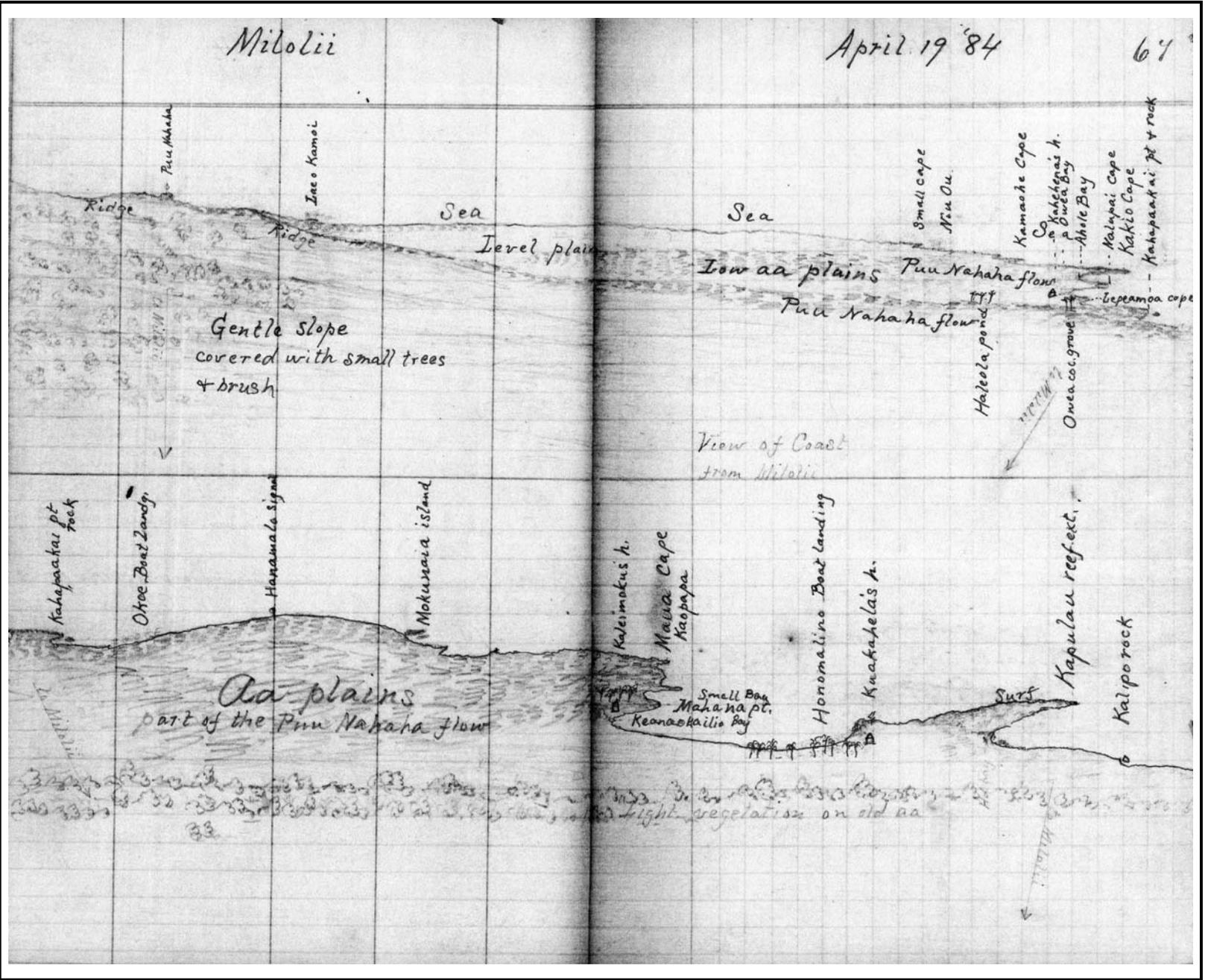


Figure 4. View from Milolii Trig. Station, South Kona.
 J.S. Emerson Field Book No. 257, 1884:67 (State Survey Division)

**About 1900 feet above sea level.
In Camp by Gov't. Road to Kau.
Kaulanamauna, S. Kona, Hawaii
Jan. 30, 1887**

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

...Late Monday P.M. Jan. 24th we started from Pahoehoe and reached Kukuiope 2nd in time to camp for the night. The smoke from the eruption covered the entire country to such an extent that all objects at a distance were quite observed, but not as much so as on the Thursday previous.

On Tuesday we passed through Papa where we bought a supply of pure water which has lasted nearly up to the present time. At Hoopuloa we spent the night at the nicely furnished house of G.L.W. Kealiikuli, with whom we have established our depot of supplies. We found him very short for water, his large cistern being nearly dry. Wednesday we gradually passed out of the smoke covered district and rejoiced once more in the bright clear sunlight. Late in the day we camped on Puu o Kamaoa by the Gov't road in Kahuku overlooking the present flow.

From my Δ station on this hill I observed & recorded the following bearings viz.

Papaakalo Δ	Mag Az.	197° 3'
Road to Kau direction of do.	Mag Az.	282° 55'
Puu Hou formed by eruption of 1868	Mag Az.	333° 40'
Na Puu a Pele	Mag Az.	52° 50'
Smoke column over source of eruption	Mag Az.	191° 10'
Steam columns in sea terminus of same	Mag Az.	0° 30'
(Nearest point in road covered by flow)	Mag Az.	282° 55'
Estimated distance of same		1 ¼ to 1 ½ miles

The first impression on reaching this fine point for observation was somewhat disappointing. A vast amount of smoke was pouring initially off from an unseen source high up on the slope of Mauna Loa whence it was deflated by a strong current of air and carried in a westerly direction forming a huge spreading cloud of darkness. The steam jets arising from the sea seemed dwarfed by the contrast. Before me lay an immense waste of horrid *aa* over which the late flow had so madly rushed to the sea in two streams, leaving its course now marked by black lines of *aa* rock, here and there lit up with patches of glowing red. In places flames burst out from burning trees as Pele slowly "ate up the land." There were long lines of smoke and rising waves of hot air, but very little fire. But this was a view by day. At night the scene was grand. The "cloudy pillar" over the source of the flow was brilliantly illuminated, and with the glowing red of the long lines of the flow, lit up the country in all directions with a light about equal to that from a full moon when slightly obscured by smoke or very thin clouds. The light was so diffused as scarcely to cast a shadow. The slight trace of a Shadow which I detected was cast opposite to the direction of the source of the flow. Thursday evening I visited the late flow at the Gov't road, but saw only a cooling mass of *aa* piled up like a rude stone wall to arrest further progress. The heat was "intense." (Pardon the use of that much shrugged adjective) A strong wind blew directly from the glowing surface and soon drove me back to a respectful distance.

The spot which I then approached had been covered by the flow since the previous evening. So the natives who had previously visited it said. On account of the roughness of the country I could not travel around by night to examine any part of the flow save that close to the road. I came away very much disappointed. The next morning I visited the flow again and was rewarded by a grand view of a fresh and active stream of *aa* just above the road. I managed to keep to the windward of it and study its actions in comfort.

As a whole the advancing column made extremely slow progress but in places the liquid portion showed considerable activity though weighed down by a mass of inert aa above it. The formation of a gully before my eyes explained how some ravines may be formed by Pele without resorting to erosion by water.

The work of the survey progresses satisfactorily. I have set two fine signals which command good views of the district to the Eastward beyond Mr. Jones. They are Papaakalo on a high hill *mauka* of road & Puu o Kamaoa by the road. I have also planned where to set my signals on the coast. On the boundary between Kahuku & **Manuka**. I have also set a good signal to tie up to the coast signals. What I am now after is to set a signal inland on the conspicuous hill Puu Keokeo by which I hope to connect the Kona & Kau systems of triangulation and get over an extended forest. I have the best guide to direct me and hope to start tomorrow. It will bring me near the source of the flow which I hope to visit. Please let Dr. Emerson see this letter & the last one as well. We are in good health in spite of rather rough weather. With *aloha*... [HSA, HGS DAGS 6]

***In Camp, 5950 ft. above sea level,
By Namanuokehau Waterhole
Kahuku, Hawaii
February 17, 1887***

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

...We left our camp on the government road on Tuesday morning and arrived here yesterday noon. On Wednesday the entire day was spent in making the road passable through the *koa* trees. It had not been used for seven years and required considerable cutting. We are now encamped on the upper edge of the forest. All the country above us to the top of Mauna Loa is a barren waste of rugged aa with some *pahoehoe*.

This morning I went to ***Puu o Keokeo*** distant some two miles up the sides of the mountain. As the route lay over aa, impassable for our animals, we went on foot and were repaid by a magnificent view. Mauna Loa was covered with a considerable amount of snow. Near its apparent summit the familiar landmark, Pohaku Hanalei, stood boldly out, bearing North 19° 30' East (magnetic) and just in the rear of it arose a large mass of smoke, evidently volcanic, indicating more activity at that point than at any other further down in the course of the late flow. Commencing a little below and somewhat to the right of Pohaku Hanalei and extending for a considerable distance directly towards me, was a continuous steam crack, said by my native guides to have been there long before the late eruption. Whether that is the case or not it occupies a position directly in line with the late flow.

I have already called your attention to the remarkable line of volcanic cones down the side of Mauna Loa from Puu Ouo through Puu Kinikini towards Napoopoo. The late flow is near the line of another similar series of volcanic cones beginning with Pohaku Hanalei, passing through Puu o Keokeo and a series of other cones in its vicinity and terminating at the sea at ***Na Puu a Pele***. Puu o Keokeo, like Puu Ouo, is composed of exceedingly light material. Its name is a misnomer for its color is decidedly red. I looked in vain for a piece of solid rock in its vicinity and I had to go to a great distance to get anything that I could mark with a cold chisel. The loose, spongy masses of rock which I found on the hill, fell to pieces with the slightest blow. After considerable labor we set up a huge signal commanding an extended view of the coast from Lae o Kamilo in Waiohinu to Hanamalo Point in the *ahupuaa* of that name in South Kona.

The late flow was spread out before me like a map. At about half a mile distance from me, about South 67° 30' East, was the beginning of a line of steam jets extending for over half a mile towards Mr. Jones' residence and marking the course of the late flow previous to its appearance above the surface.

At two P.M. we started to explore the late flow. As we descended we sank to our knees in the loose porous material of which the hill was composed. At the base for a time we passed over the aa on the old road by which Umi used to send his swift messengers to the coast at Kahuku. Leaving this ere long we passed over rugged fields of aa until we arrived at the upper extremity of the line of steam jets. The rocky masses had been terribly shaken and cracked. Through the fissures the steam was forcing its way to the surface loaded with sulphurous gases. I freely passed through the masses of steam without inconvenience, though at times I was forced to hold my breath on account of the irritating character of the gasses.

After descending thus a long distance along the line of the steam cracks, sulphur began to appear on the surface and the quantity increased as we proceeded; the cracks meanwhile grew larger, with here and there rounded shafts, through which poured out streams of hot sulphurous gases but no fresh lava had yet appeared. But at length after reaching the lower end of the steam jets nearly half a mile from their upper extremity, I came to the first view of fresh lava. It was a narrow crack but a few inches wide through which the black liquid mass from beneath had barely reached the surface. As I proceeded the lava stream gradually increased in width. Fragments had been thrown up with great violence and covered the old aa, rocks on either side of the narrow fissure with shining black fragments of the fresh lava which must have been thrown to a considerable height.

The fog was closing in upon us and a horrible stretch of aa must be crossed before I could reach my tent. I was compelled to tear myself away from a scene of the greatest interest. At the point at which I left, the flow might have been about forty feet wide and was intensely black.

My old goat hunters made splendid time over the rocks, and I had to adopt most unusual speed to keep in sight of them.

The country near the flow must have been terribly convulsed by the earthquakes.

Numerous fissures exposed the fresh surface of rocks which had lately been torn asunder. Projecting bluffs and crags had been thrown down and slabs of lava had been upset by earthquakes which in this vicinity must have been terrific.

Tomorrow my work will take me to the vicinity of the flow and I shall probably see more of it at a point lower down. I am very much pleased at the arrangement of the hills and when they are all located on the map I think they will greatly interest Mr. Green and other students of Hawaiian volcanoes... [HSA, HGS DAGS 6]

***Kukuiope, Hawaii
September 14, 1890***

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

...I have mastered the situation. The problem of how to locate Ka Lae and carry the Kona triangulation into Kau is solved. Success has crowned my efforts to get over or through the great forest belt and Δ up ***Puu o Keokeo*** to the Δ stations to the north of Kapalilua. Aided by the best men I knew of, we found a hill in Kaapuna overlooking the great forest and commanding a view of the following stations, viz. Puu Ohau, Keawekaheka, Palemano, Makolehale, W. Hualalai, Kapukawaa, Puu Nahaha, Hanamalo, Hanakeaumoe & the coast south as far as Kawili [at Ka Lae]. This gives me the line joining this Kaapuna station and Hanamalo as a fine base line to carry the triangulation up and on. By three intermediate points, all commanding a view of Hanamalo, and the coast to Hanakeaumoe, I pass from Kaapuna over the forest to ***Puu o Keokeo*** by four triangles revolving about Hanamalo as a pivot, with various

checks from other coast stations. Puu o Keokeo once connected with Hanamalo etc., the triangulation to the south and through Kau follows without difficulty.

Great praise is due my native men who have enabled me to accomplish all that I have attempted. Splendid fellows they are who have done fine work under the greatest difficulties and hardships. Their names are Chas Ka, Lapauila & Solomon Hu besides Kanakanui. The territory over which we have been traveling these three weeks might be called "a petrified section of Hell." You know what Kona rocks are. We have experienced the meanest, roughest and most treacherous portion of Kona. On Thursday, Sept. 4 my mule, Hiiaka, broke through the thin and brittle crust of rock and fell with all her load some three feet into a cave or lava tunnel. The poor creature was badly cut & bruised by the sharp & jagged rock before we could get her out of the hole. The mule Pele lost the shoes off of her hind feet and suffered greatly on the horrid aa over which she was forced to travel. Both she and Hiiaka are about used up for the present, but will probably be ready for duty in a week. My old mules, Kuhaimoana and Kamohoalii, never did me better service. They accomplished the entire trip without a mishap. Noble brutes, may they rest in a mule heaven after all their toil and service for science is ended!

On Sunday, Sept. 7 my admirable native guide, Lapauila, was so miserable and used up with rheumatic pains, that he was obliged to leave me and seek relief at home. We all have had our shoes torn and cut to pieces on the frightful aa. Nearly every one has suffered with sore and bruised feet and Kanakanui has had trouble with sore hands. But all have borne their troubles bravely.

For over two weeks the animals went without drink. In dry weather they would have given out altogether for lack of water, but fortunately or unfortunately, we had rain and mist every day save two or three that we were on the mountain. Our shoes were soaking wet much of the time. Nearly all our drinking water was from the rain caught on the fly. The rain and mist allowed us but a brief portion of each day to study the country. But for the intimate knowledge of the country possessed by my guides, we could have made almost no headway in such weather. Little by little our provisions gave out and we were reduced to very plain fare. The dogs have killed off the goats and have themselves gone in search of food elsewhere. After two days hunt, Chas Ka secured a pig when all our other meat had given out. But in spite of rain, obscurity, short supplies, sore feet and crippled animals, we all agreed to stick to it, to the end, and did.

During the past two days the weather has been beautifully clear. With enough of such weather I will locate South Cape.

My plan is now to hire a boat and reset all the needed coast signals as far as Ka Lae. Then with fresh animals set three signals to the north of Hookena and begin instrumental work at Kaapuna station. From Kaapuna I hope to occupy the stations in & above the woods in order as far as **Puu o Keokeo**. Tomorrow I expect to be in Hookena and read the letters and papers that have accumulated during the past three weeks. With *aloha nui* to yourself and the friends in the office... [HSA, HGS DAGS 6]

***In Camp, Hookena, Hawaii
September 28, 1890***

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

...I reached this place late last night to find your very kind and interesting letter of the 22nd awaiting my return. I have to report a most prosperous and completely successful trip to Ka Lae by boat. By dint of hard work and long hours, aided by the able seamanship of my sailor man and most unusual fortune with the weather, we have

accomplished, to my entire satisfaction, all that we proposed to do by this expedition. The work done was as follows:

1st The selection of a suitable point for a Δ station to connect Hanamalo with Hanakeaumoe. This we found in perfection at *Ohepuupuu* in Kapua on top of a *Kuula* overlooking a large extent of country. A large *ahu* on top of a hill was there ready to my hand, thanks to my *kamaaina*.

2nd The resetting of nine old stations and the establishing of one new one in the following order going South viz. Kapukawaa, Milolii, Hanamalo 2, Puu Nahaha, ***Ohepuupuu, Hanakeaumoe, Na o Puu Pele***, Puu Ki, Puu Hou & Ka Lae.

3rd A careful study of the mountain from the sea to settle certain points hitherto unsettled, as for example the real location of that elusive hill, Puu Eleele.

4th The securing of two hardy mountaineers to replace my former guides whom I thought best to dismiss with thanks.

Hanamalo was all but swept out of existence by the sea in '88. It is impracticable to restore it and Hanamalo 2, distant some 20 feet, now takes its place. It will be a pivot for all my mountain work. Puu Ki & Puu Hou signals (huge ahus) had been badly treated by the goats, or the earthquakes, and had either fallen or were about to fall. The flag pole at Ka Lae was gone. At Kapukawaa, Milolii, Hanamalo 2 and Puu Nahaha I took extra time to build signals that might be seen from Puu Ohau etc.

The preliminary work of planning and setting signals is now all but done. I may set a signal on Puu Eleele if I ever really reach it as I very much desire to do. In that case a signal on Lae Loa will be of great service by shortening the base line connecting with Kapukawaa, Hanamalo etc. I have never been so mystified by a hill's eluding my search as by this Puu Eleele. Now I have actually put a flag on the supposed hill and found that it was situated a mile, or so from the real hill I was in search of. The real Puu Eleele commands a view unsurpassed in extent by any hill in the forest belt in S. Kona, and yet I have never been able to reach it. I will not be balked in this way Puu Eleele must be found and broken in to service. My trip as I expected was a trying one. The kamaainas predicted that one would not reach Ka Lae in safety. But we were wonderfully favored and won quite a triumph. We left S. Cape Friday morning and until Saturday night were in a little boat most of the time, with very little sleep.

Kanakanui finds the work no pleasure trip. He does not stand roughing it as well as I do. He finds the *aa* awfully rough on his shoes and sore feet, and has had a hard time. I am sorry for him and try to make it as easy for him as I can, but I can't accomplish the impossible. Whoever ventures to come with me to S. Kona must of necessity travel over some of the worst *aa* in existence. Poor mules, poor men, I feel sorry for them all. But the work must go ahead and I can stand it if they can. Hiiaka was the most discouraged mule I think I ever saw. When we last saw her two weeks ago she was a most pitiable object, hardly able to rest her weight on her hind feet. The weather is superb, wonderfully clear. I begin my instrumental work at Kaapuna as soon as possible. Am in excellent health and spirits... [HSA, HGS DAGS 6]

***In Camp, Puu o Keokeo, Kau, Hawaii
November 10, 1890***

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

...Since my last to you I have been without intelligence from the outside world and have yet to read a month's mail accumulated during my stay on these mountain solitudes. This enforced lack of intercourse with the world of thought and action is the

necessary result of conditions beyond my control, and will, I hope, come to an end in a few days, when having satisfactorily finished my labors here, I will descend once more to the lower regions. The work has gone steadily and bravely on. The weather, though not the best, has been fairly good, and my observations have come rigidly up to the standard of excellence which I had determined upon. I have occupied the following stations:

Puu Ahinui	primary	Oct. 6 – Oct. 14
Kaapuna	primary	Oct. 15 – Oct. 21
Pualehua	primary	Oct. 22 – Oct. 27
Puu Hoomaha	primary	Oct. 28 – Nov. 1
La Ula	secondary	Oct. 31 P.M.
Namanuikēhau	tertiary	Nov. 3
Puu o Keokeo	primary	Nov. 5 – up to the present time

During the past week the weather has been the poorest for my work, and I am patiently working and waiting for a clearing up of the general obscurity. I propose to stay here until it does clear up and my mountain work is satisfactorily completed. My plan is then to occupy Puu Nahaha. I am glad to report my health as fully restored, and my men all well and contentedly doing their duty. As to the mules, poor creatures, they have had the hardest experience that I hope they will ever have. Poor, lame Hiiaka, by constant care and attention has recovered from a most serious trouble in her foot. Had I not personally looked after her, I fear she would have died of hunger and thirst.

On the morning of Nov. 1st the mule, Pele, was found fallen into a pit and sadly bruised and injured. We did all we could to save her, lifting her out and giving her whiskey and water. But it was too late. Her strength was gone and she died.

The Manuikēhau, or Honomalino, water hole has entirely failed me after the second visit to it. It is now quite dry. My mules have greatly suffered from thirst in consequence. They have had to travel great distances for water, until their shoes, put on Sept. 29, are now nearly worn away. I have also to report one new pack saddle smashed and another somewhat injured.

I am profoundly thankful that we have passed so nearly through this mountain campaign with no more serious disaster. I never again expect to be so long in such a horrible country. I know of nothing like it elsewhere in these islands. Had I not secured the very best men to help me, matters might have been frightfully worse. The great fissure of 1886 is a most interesting study. Near Pohaku o Hanalei great volumes of steam are pouring out continually. In the early morning and after a shower, numerous small steam jets appear all along the course of the fissure, particularly near the sulphur beds a mile and a half or two miles South of this hill. I find considerable heat in places, (Mabez would call it “intense heat” I suppose) where the sulphurous gases are coming freely up from an unknown depth. I was setting the signal here on Sept. 10 and then noticed the steam arising near Pohaku Hanalei, but not in such volumes as at present. My guide states that this steam first appeared at the time of the flow of 1886 and has often been noticed since.

I have carefully looked for the reflection of fire, in the clouds, at night, over Mokuaweoweo, but have thus far seen none. I should add that the summit of Mauna Loa can not be seen from any of the other stations which I have been occupying.

I think perhaps I shall require the aid of a couple of heliotropes when I occupy Puu Ohau, some two months hence. I fear that otherwise I will fail to see my very distant signals to the South. I will refer to the matter again more at length.

Kanakanui sends "aloha to all." With my *aloha nui* to yourself and friends in the office...
[HSA, HGS DAGS 6]

November 29, 1890

In Camp, Ohepuupuu, Kapua, S. Kona

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

...Enclosed please find Bills and Vouchers for Months of Oct. & Nov. T.K.R. Amalu's Bill of \$8.00 for mule shoeing has to go to Hookena to receive his signature. I hope to send it to you by next mail.

Your very interesting letters of Oct. 23rd, Nov. 3rd & Nov. 13th all reached me in a lump, Saturday evening, Nov. 22 from Hookena. All my efforts to get them sooner failed for various reasons. Yours of Nov. 26th reached me late yesterday P.M., as I was moving Camp from Hanamalo to Okoe. Many thanks for all these kind letters and the sympathy you ever show me. Since leaving the mountain I have occupied two very important stations, viz. Puu Nahaha & Hanamalo 2, with the best of results.

The weather is magnificent, the mountain signals clear and distinct and almost free from clouds all day. I never saw finer weather for my work. Puu Ohau & Makolehale signals have been remarkably distinct for such a great distance. Keawekaheka, since leaving Puu Nahaha, has sunk from view. Everything for the future, promises well. I feel rested and refreshed with a supply of proper food after some days of scanty fare. The few natives about here live on fish & a wretched substitute for poi made of wheat flour. I had to live on sweet potatoes, squash & dry fish for a week, while waiting for supplies. It made me nearly sick. There are no decent stores this side of Hookena. It is exceedingly dry weather, so the natives say, and all my fresh water has to be packed long distances from the few water holes up in the woods. May they not give out yet a while!

The following primary stations are yet to be occupied, viz. ***Ohepuupu, Hanakeaumoe***, Kapukawaa, Milolii. Puu Ki, by boat, ***Na Puu a Pele***, by boat, Keawekaheka, Puu Ohau and Makolehale. I expect to finish up my work by the last of January.

The problem yet to be solved is to see the South coast signals from Puu Ohau, etc. An ahu to the South shows only its non illumined side, however much cloth may be wrapped about it. I will, when I am ready, send for two heliotropes as a last resort if all other devices fail me.

I would suggest that my next work on Hawaii be the triangulations from Ka Lae to the Volcano. I have thought a great deal about the matter and would like in due time to tackle the job. I have a guide in view, the right man, his name is Lohiau, now in my employ. Suppose I begin next August. Meanwhile what shall I do with the mules, after I am through with them about February 1st? Three of them are in good order viz. Kuhaimoana, Kamohoalii & Kanaloa, while poor Hiiaka is delicate and hardly fit for use. Pele as you know is dead on the aa on the mountain, a sad fate. Shall I have them all with Mr. McDougall. I am afraid Kanaloa will go off. I would suggest that Notley come up here before I leave and go to work on homesteads in S. Kona. Kanakanui would be pleased to assist him, and Lohiau would be the best guide to all my stations and reference points. I would turn over my two tents, cooking outfit, mules etc. etc. to him as soon as I left, and would go over the ground with him if necessary. I speak of this now so that he may have ample time to get ready if you approve the plan.

The top of the mountain is invisible from here. ***Puu o Keokeo*** is the highest peak to be seen. No earthquakes, nothing unusual to report.

I fear that some of my letters to you, one or two, have gone astray. I wrote very fully and am sorry to have caused unnecessary anxiety. With *aloha nui*... [HSA, HGS DAGS 6]

December 9, 1890

In Camp, Hanakeaumoe, Kapua, S. Kona, Hawaii

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

...Your very kind letter of the 4th with the newspapers came duly to hand. Many thanks for the same. I find it very slow work to get the address of my papers changed from Hookena to Hoopuloa. The result is that I am thus 10 days behind on news save at your very kindly send a paper properly directed.

I am heartily sorry that Notley is to leave the Gov't Survey. I wish there was some one to take up this work of cutting up the Gov't. lands in S. Kona, as I have done a good deal to get things ready for him. I shall hope to start the triangulation in Kau as my next field work on Hawaii.

After two or three dark days the weather is again most beautiful, bright and clear save when the excessive brightness makes it almost painful to look at stations to the South. A most serious defect in the transit is the lack of a brass sheath. Why was it not sent to me with the instrument? What has become of it? I miss it very much these bright days. Please have it sent if possible. While at **Ohepuupuu** I tried in vain to see Puu Ohau & Makolehale signals. The weather was too thick in that direction, save once, for an entire week.

As a practical solution of the problem of rendering distant signals to the South visible, I submit the following [Figure 5]: A 3 x 2 inch pole 16 feet high held in place by a stone ahu. A red and white flag. Red & white strips of cloth tacked to the pole and secured by ropes on each side in a plane at right angles to the line of vision. The stone ahu will appear black, while the red and white cloth will be lighted up by the bright light beyond. The contrast of colors will materially aid in rendering the object visible, I think.

Mr. Lyons made a good suggestion, a white sheet behind a black signal. I think the above will accomplish the same result. All my experiments thus far make me hope for success. I shall use heliotropes only as the last resort after this fails.

By return trip of W.H. Hall please send me 4 pcs. 3x2 in. North West Scanting 16 ft long, for flag pole, let them be rough without planing or paint.

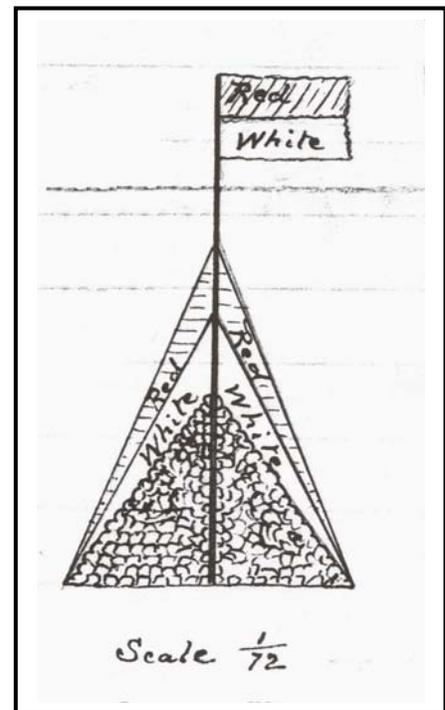
1 pc. 50 yds. more or less, common unbleached cotton cloth for flags etc.

21 yards, or more, of red cloth for flags, etc.

30 fathoms clothes line

4 Papers 8 oz. Carpet tacks.

My reason for troubling you to order these articles is that I don't want to get a lot of very high priced red cloth. Anything red will answer my purpose. Damaged stuff will do. Direct to Gov't Survey Hoopuloa, S. Kona. Please send Heliotropes next trip after.



**Figure 5. Survey Station.
Ahu & Flag. J.S. Emerson,
Dec. 9, 1890**

The cloth on the *ahu* and most of the flag at this station was devoured by a rascally goat whom I repeatedly saw at his tricks from my station at Ohepuupuu. The villain has fled. Only his death can atone for this insult to the flag.

The weather seems unsettled. It thunders and is very hot.

I shall be very glad to get back to civilization once more after finishing my work.

Kanakanui surprised me a few days since by saying "This is a Hell sort of a country." He has reason for his disgust with the everlasting, ever present aa.

With *aloha nui*...[HSA, HGS DAGS 6]

***In Camp, Na Puu a Pele,
Kau, Hawaii
January 7, 1891***

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

...With this I send you my accounts and vouchers in full up to Dec. 31 which I trust you will find satisfactory. The account shows a large balance in my favor, for the reason that since the 30th of September I have had no definite statement from you of the amounts that you have deposited to my credit with Bishop & Co. As soon as convenient please send me such a statement that I may close up my accounts for the year in proper shape. Furthermore, my agent, Mr. Magoon, proposes to invest a few hundred dollars, of my funds in the bank, at interest and for that reason I require to know just how much you have placed for me in the bank.

Kanakanui is a brick. He found the boat man at Hookena last Thursday in a very jolly mood, over the horse racing, drinking etc. But he was *pilikia loa* and could not come. After telling various lies, he finally refused to come at all, and let Kakanui take the boat without him. Saturday evening, Jan. 2 the boat arrived safely at Milolii. Kakanui had brought two or three passengers, giving them their passage for their assistance in managing the craft. Monday we made the passage to this place, arriving just at sun down. Tuesday we set up the transit on the station, but the weather was too dark to do any work. Today the morning was fairly bright and clear, but since noon it has been very dark, and now, 2:30 P.M., is raining. The prospect of good weather here is not very encouraging, but I will do the best with such weather as we have.

I have written to Col. S. Morris of Kahuku to see if he could pasture the mules for me. The tent fly reached me at last all right. It answers my purpose.

The great *pilikia* here is to obtain fresh water. It cannot be bought for money anywhere along the coast short of Hookena, and to get it from the few water holes in the woods requires three days of work with boat and pack animals. We have therefore given up tea and coffee and use brackish water for everything save drinking. Before long we will have to drink it. Meantime I have bought a good supply of cocoanuts. The water from the tent fly is thus far too salty to drink. If the storm continues it will soon become fresh. We are all well and hope to remain here until our work here is done. With *aloha nui* to Mr. Lyons and all the friends in the office, yourself in particular.

P.S. The Hall has just passed by. I will not get my letters from Hoopuloa in time to answer them this trip. [HSA, HGS DAGS 6]

Hookena, Hawaii

February 1, 1891

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

...Since my last to you I have received yours of the 5th, 15th, & 26th of Jan. Many thanks for the financial statement. The tent fly reached me in good season and is all I want for a tent this trip.

The Census enumerator, one of the omnipresent Smith family, found my party of two at Kapukawaa, and so reported. There is or was a great "hoopaapaa" among the natives about the last item in the blank. Did it mean the amt. of property taxed or the amount of the tax paid on that property?

As to fresh water, I started South by boat, Jan. 5th, with 10 gallons. At **Napuu a Pele** I caught 20 gallons of rain water and bought 10 gallons at Milolii sending a boat at great risk to get it. On the 28th I used up the last drop and put to sea with only brackish water in the boat. On the 29th a sudden shower surprised me at Milolii. We hastily put the fly on the tent and caught 20 gallons before the rain ceased. After 25 days of very limited supply and one day of total privation, that 20 gallons of pure fresh water right from Heaven, was one of the most opportune surprises of my life. I was more grateful for it than words can express. For 25 days the dread of being without water was like a protracted night mare. Thank God, that experience is ended. On the night of Jan. 27, at Okoe, I fell quite sick from acute indigestion and passed a night of great pain. There was just one quart of dirty fresh water on hand. It was a most trying time I assure you. You need not send me water this trip I hope not to require it just yet.

I have received a very kind letter from the Duke of Kahuku, per his agent, offering me the use of his pasture in welcome for the four Gov't mules. I will send them there.

We left Puu Ki and its wild goats on Monday Jan. 26 at 1 P.M. with over cast sky and the fear of a coming storm. A passage of 25 hours brought us to Okoe, where we spent two nights. We landed at Okoe with great difficulty in the surf. Nothing but the consummate skill and daring of my brave kanakas saved us from great loss. The 29th was a day of strange adventure. After several hours hard work we got our precious cargo through the surf in safety by repeated trips of a canoe to the boat which was anchored outside. Arriving at Milolii at sun set, the whole village turned out with a long line to help "Emekona ma" [Emerson and companions] to land. It was a most remarkable display of aloha and of sagacity on their part. A canoe came out with the line which I secured to the boat, and men, women and children with willing hands pulled us ashore at the exact moment when it was most safe to do so. I shall never forget that scene as long as I live. They knew better than I the great risk of being caught in the coming storm and darkness, and their wise fore thought saved me from it all.

Kanakanui had the cruel misfortune of running a copper bolt into his leg for about an inch. I got Mr. Doyle, who has studied medicine at Notre Dame, Ill. to examine the wound, and to dress it. But the patient preferred a native woman to dress it with maia pilo root grated up with salt. I let him have his way and the wound seems to be doing well. In the general rush to pull the boat in, one native girl stumbled and fell, hurting her knee badly.

Everywhere in Kona the natives show me marked consideration and kindness. I never met a more generous and kind hearted people any where.

In spite of poor weather, I have made the best possible use of my time and have carried out all my plans fully and successfully. The triangulation thus far is fully up to

my standard and ahead of all my previous work. I stake my reputation with confidence on the result. Tomorrow my faithful comrade goes with me by Steamer to Kealakekua. We expect to occupy Keawekaheka Tuesday morning, and if the weather is decent we expect to see our signals to the South all right, without the use of heliotropes. I have "cuzelled my brains" to make those signals visible. Such signals can't help being seen. More about the result next time. My *aloha nui* to Mr. Lyons and all in the office, yourself in particular. [HSA, HGS DAGS 6]

THE LANDS OF MANUKĀ, KAULANAMAUNA, KAPU‘A AND VICINITY DESCRIBED IN LAND TENURE DOCUMENTS, AND GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS

The most detailed descriptions of traditional residency and land use on the lands of Manukā, Kaulanamauna and Kapu‘a, including documentation of traditional and customary rights, are those found in the Kingdom collections, documenting the history of land tenure, and defining the boundaries of *ahupua‘a* which now make up the Manukā NAR. The following section of the study provides readers with references from the laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom, which established fee-simple land ownership and codified native tenant rights.

Subsequent to the definition of land rights, the Kingdom set about the processes to determine the metes and bounds of the lands which had been granted in fee-simple interest to various parties. As a result, detailed oral testimonies from elder native tenants were taken in court proceedings, which further documented the occurrence of traditional and customary practices, and nature of the resources within given *ahupua‘a*. From those records, which also follow in this section of the study, we learn of the traditional knowledge and occurrence of native practices in the lands which today are a part of, and adjoin the Manukā NAR.

The Māhele ‘Āina (Land Division)

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

Following implementation of the *Māhele*, the King also initiated a land grant program, issuing fee-simple “Royal Patents” on granted land. In addition to the sale of fee-simple interests in land, the Crown and Government lands were also made available for leases and, in some cases, for sale. On December 10th, 1845, King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli), signed into law “Article IV—of The Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles,” a joint resolution defining the responsibilities of the Board of Commissioners. Several actions were implemented by this law, among them:

SECTION I. His Majesty shall appoint through the minister of the interior, and upon consultation with the privy council, five commissioners, one of whom shall be the attorney general of this kingdom, to be a board for the investigation and final ascertainment or rejection of all claims of private individuals, whether natives or foreigners, to any landed property acquired anterior to the passage of this act; the awards of which board, unless appealed from as hereinafter allowed, shall be binding upon the minister of the interior and upon the applicant...

SECTION VII. The decisions of said board shall be in accordance with the principles established by the civil code of this kingdom in regard to prescription, occupancy, fixtures, native usages in regard to landed tenures, water privileges and rights of piscary, the rights of women, the rights of absentees, tenancy and subtenancy, — primogeniture and rights of adoption; which decisions being of a majority in number of said board, shall be only subject to appeal to the supreme court, and when such appeal shall not have been taken, they shall be final...

Section IX. The minister of the interior shall issue patents or leases to the claimants of lands pursuant to the terms in which the said board shall have confirmed their respective claims, upon being paid the fees of patenting or of leasing (as the case may be)... [In the Polynesian; January 3, 1846:140]

As the *Māhele* evolved, it defined the land interests of Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III), some 252 high-ranking *Ali'i* and *Konohiki*, and the Government. As a result of the *Māhele*, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands. The "Enabling" or "*Kuleana* Act" of the *Māhele* (December 21, 1849) further defined the frame work by which *hoa'āina* (native tenants) could apply for, and be granted fee-simple interest in "*Kuleana*" lands (cf. Kamakau in *Ke Au Okoa* July 8 & 15, 1869; 1961:403-403). The *Kuleana* Act also reconfirmed the rights of *hoa'āina* to access on trails, subsistence and collection of resources necessary to their life upon the land in their given *ahupua'a*. The *Kuleana* Act, remains the foundation of law pertaining to native tenant rights. The Act was passed on August 6, 1850, and reads:

An Act confirming certain resolutions of the King and Privy Council passed on the 21st day of December 1849, granting to the common people allodial titles for their own lands and house lots, and certain other privileges... That the following sections which were passed by the King in Privy Council on the 21st day of December A.D. 1849 when the Legislature was not in session, be, and are hereby confirmed, and that certain other provisions be inserted, as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section 7. When the Landlords have taken allodial titles to their lands the people on each of their lands shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, aho cord, thatch, or ti leaf from the land on which they live, for their own private use, should they need them, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. They shall also inform the Landlord or his agent, and proceed with his consent. The people shall also have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way. The springs of water, and running water, and roads shall be free to all should they need them, on all lands granted in fee simple. Provided, that this shall not be applicable to wells and water courses which individuals have made for their own use.
 Done and passed at the Council House, Honolulu this 6th day of August 1850. [copied from original hand written “Enabling Act”⁷ – HSA, DLNR 2-4]

The most important source of documentation that describes native Hawaiian residency and land use practices — identifying specific residents, types of land use, crops cultivated, and features on the landscape — is found in the records of the *Māhele ‘Āina*. While the “Land Division” gave the *hoa‘āina* an opportunity to acquire fee-simple property interest (*kuleana*) on land which they lived and actively cultivated, the process required them to provide personal testimonies regarding their residency and land use practices. As a result, records of the *Māhele ‘Āina* present readers with first-hand accounts from native tenants generally spanning the period from ca. 1819 to 1855. The lands awarded to the *hoa‘āina* became known as “*Kuleana Lands*” and all the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards or L.C.A.) were given *Helu* (numbers). The L.C.A. numbers remain in use today, and identify the original owners of lands in Hawai‘i.

The work of the Land Commission was brought to a close on March 31, 1855. The program met with mixed results, and it has been calculated that the total amount of land awarded to *hoa‘āina* (native tenants – the common people of Hawai‘i) equaled approximately 28,658 acres, of a total four million available acres (see Governor’s report 1902:7).

Disposition of Lands of the Manukā Natural Area Reserve and Vicinity in the Māhele ‘Āina

The lands which make up the Manukā NAR include two *ahupua‘a*, Manukā, in the district of Ka‘ū; and Kaulanamauna, in the district of Kona. In the *Māhele*, the following division of lands was agreed to by the King and participating *ali‘i*:

<i>Kahuku</i>	Retained by Wm. P. Leleiohoku; January 28, 1848 (pp ⁸ . 23-24). Relinquished by Wm. P. Leleiohoku, May 27, 1850, in commutation for other lands retained by him (Native Testimony, Vol. 10:211). Held by the Board of Public Instruction until 1861, when it was sold by Royal Patent Grant No. 2791, to C.C. Harris; 184298 Acres.
<i>Manuka</i>	Relinquished by Wm. Lunalilo to King Kamehameha III; January 28, 1848 (pp. 19-20). Granted by King to Government Land Inventory; March 8, 1848 (p. 183).
<i>Kaulanamauna</i>	Relinquished by Wm. Lunalilo to King Kamehameha III; January 31, 1848 (pp. 49-50). Granted by King to Government Land Inventory; March 8, 1848 (p. 181).

⁷ See also “*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina*” (Penal Code) 1850.

⁸ All page references are to the “*Buke Mahele*” 1848.

Kapua

Retained by William P. Leleiohoku; January 28, 1848 (pp. 23-24). Land Commission Award No. 9971.

Within these lands, *hoa'āina* also made claims for small *kuleana*. Our review of all records of the *Māhele* revealed that the following number of claims were made in these lands⁹:

Ahupuaa	Claims	Awarded	Not Awarded
Kahuku	20	6	14
Manuka	7	0	7
Kaulanamauna	1	0	1
Kapua	11	8	3

From the claims and testimony of the native tenant claimants, we learn that residences were maintained on the lands of the Manukā NAR, and that activities by residents spanned the *ahupua'a*, from the shore, to the *kula* (open plains and dryland cultivating fields), and into the forest zone, where cultivation of crops occurred, and canoe logs were harvested. Cultivated crops included;

<i>Ipu</i>	gourds of various types
<i>Kalo</i>	taro
<i>Ko</i>	sugar cane
<i>Koa</i>	trees for canoes
<i>Kope</i>	coffee
<i>Kou</i>	<i>cordia</i> trees
<i>Lauhala</i>	pandanus
<i>Maia</i>	bananas
<i>Mamaki</i>	<i>Pipturus</i>
<i>Niu</i>	cocoanut trees
<i>Pu</i>	squash
<i>Uala</i>	sweet potatoes
<i>Uhi</i>	yams

Place names, as *'ili* or other localities, in which traditional subsistence activities occurred, at various elevational zones for these lands include the following citations from claims:

Kahuku — Awikahua, Halelehu, Haleohale, Kaluaiki, Kamakoa, Keopuka, Koaekoa, Kukaiokaoha, Kukuinui, Niau, Papalahaiu (Papahaiu), Pualoalo, Puukoa.

Manukā — Elehu, Kaahuaina, Kaiakeakua, Kamilo (*Kamilo'āina kīpuka*), Kononihonua, Kuiki (*kīpuka*), Lamakulua (*kīpuka*).

Kaulanamauna — none recorded.

Kapu'a — Ahole, Awela, Haleola, Kailiohia, Kalihi, Kauleokalani, Kipu, Kole, Niua'o'u, Puhinaki, Puuhinahina.

While the actual Manukā NAR does not include the land of Kapu'a—portions of that ahupua'a make up the older South Kona Forest Reserve—several native tenants of Kapu'a, at the time of the *Māhele 'Āina*, also documented that they maintained residences and cultivating fields in Manukā (this is also reflected in the tradition of Koihala, cited earlier in this study). The combined records from Manukā, Kaulanamauna and Kapu'a are cited from the original books of the *Māhele*, with translations prepared by Maly.

⁹ The on-going research of *Kumu Pono Associates LLC* in the nearly 60,000 records of the *Māhele 'Āina*, may lead to modifications in these numbers at a later date.

Claims and Awards in the Lands of Manukā, Kaulanamauna & Kapu'a (1848-1853)

Kapua & Manuka
Kawaaihoole – Helu 8751
Native Register Volume 4:383
(Not Awarded)

8751 Ke Kawaaihoole
 Auhua oukou e ka poe Hoona
 Kuleana Aina. O lehu he ili Aina, he ili Aina
 he kihapai Ma niuoa, aia ma Kuiki kekahi
 kihapai. Auhua oukou e ka poe Hoona Kuleana
 Aina, aia ma Hoona ma Kapua o kole ka ili
 Aina, o kaulanamauna oukou a ou, he kihapai
 kekahi, he kekahi, Na Kawaaihoole.

Here ye o Commissioners who quiet land titles, Elehu is an *ili* parcel; there is a cultivated *ili* at Awela; there is garden at Kuiki [Manuka]. Here ye o Commissioners who quiet land titles, there in Kona, at Kapua, is the *ili* of Kole, and the grove of coconut trees at Niuaou'u, also a cultivated area and shore fishery.

By Kaawaaihoole.

Note: This claim and the following claim both share the same *Helu* (8751); though different claimant names are give. The *ahupua'a* in the first claim is Kapu'a and Manukā; and the famed coconut grove of Niuaou'u in Kapu'a, is referenced along with three other named *ili*.

Manuka
Kahea – Helu 8751
Native Testimony Volume 8:506
(Not Awarded)

Helu 8751 Kahea
 Kaiovalua, Aeliaimale Kōhikita, Ua iho ma...
 Ili o Aia ma Uanaka, Ma...
 Ma... 1819...
 Na palasa, Ua... he...

Kaiowalu & Keliainaole Sworn. We have seen his *Ili* of Elehu at Manuka Ahupuaa. Given by Puhi in the Year 1819. No one has objected to him. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the *Konohiki*.

Manuka
Kauwe – Helu 8773
Native Register Volume 8:168

8773 #	<u>Kauwe</u>	Manuka Kau Hawaii
JG	<p>ʻAuhia oukou e ka pae ʻo ʻoona Suliana Aina e maʻu ana ma ʻo ʻoona Orou Kahi me a Suliana Aina, i ke ʻili Koa aia ma ka ʻili o Manuka Na Kauwe.</p>	

Hear ye o Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles, sitting there in Honolulu. I am one who has a land claim. I have an *ili*. The *ili* is there in Manuka.

By Kauwe.

Manuka
Kauwe – Helu 8773
Native Testimony Volume 8:503
(Not Awarded)

Helu 8773	Kauwe	Nov 29 1849
<p>Laniu and Kalaikoa Sworn. We have seen his parcel, the <i>Ili</i> of Kaiakekua in Manuka Ahupuaa. Gotten from Puhi in the Year 1819. No one has objected to him. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the <i>Konohiki</i>.</p>		

Laniu and Kalaikoa Sworn. We have seen his parcel, the *Ili* of Kaiakekua in Manuka Ahupuaa. Gotten from Puhi in the Year 1819. No one has objected to him. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the *Konohiki*.

Kapua
 Kama – Helu 7927
 Native Register Volume 8:514

7927 Kama
 70. Eia he ihi oia no Namaielua mai; a mai he kai; a he
 uka kalo, he 10 Mala uala, 4 Mala kalo, 1 Mala puu, Eia
 he mau kihapai lele no Naolulo 6 Mala kalo - He mau
 kuhapala kekahi in, he 58 hea mi a pumi-
 Kapalilua Kona Kona. Nai ma Kama.

Here is my *ili* land, gotten from **Namaielua**, extending from the shore to the upland taro planting area; there are also 10 sweet potato fields, 4 taro field, and 1 field of squash. Here are my detached cultivating grounds (*kihapai lele*), from Naolulo; 6 taro fields. I also have a house lot, it is 58 [fathoms] on all sides.

By me, Kama.
 Kapalilua, South Kona.

Kapua
 Kama – Helu 7927
 Native Testimony Volume 8:504

Helu 7927 Kama
 Ahuole ma Kaolulo Konoehiki. Ua ike mau i he Ii
 Haleola ma Kapua Ahupuaa. Ua Namaielua mai M.H. 1819.
 He palena Melehehe Konoehiki a pumi ma aia

Ahuole and Kaolulo Sworn. We have seen the *ili* of Haleola at Kapua Ahupuaa. Gotten from **Namaielua in the Year 1819**. The boundaries on upland, Kau, sea and Kona sides are all surrounded by the *Konoehiki*.

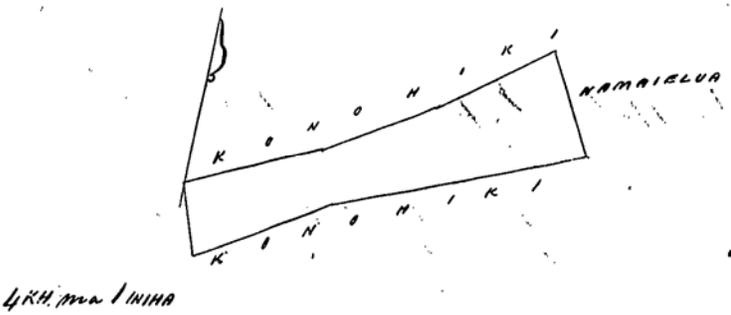
Kapua
 Kama – Helu 7927
 Mahele Award Book 3:541 – Notes of Survey
 (Awarded 3 1/3rd acres)

Helu 7927 Kama. ↓ Kapua, Kama, Kama. 46.

*Ke ana o Kama, ma Kapua, Kama, Kama, Hawaii.
 O kumakua mau ke kiki Kihina a v. kolo ana
 Ak. 29° 15' Kum. 3.60 Ak. ma ke ana o Kamaileu.
 Kum. 53° 15' " 4.55 " " " " " Kamaiki.
 " 58° 15' " 4.30 " " " " " "
 " 64° 45' " 4.88 " " " " " "
 " 19° 45' Hik. 2.30 " " " " " "
 Ak. 58° 30' " 5.10 " " " " " "
 " 67° 45' " 9.10 " " " " " " a kiki i kahi
 i kumakua. He 3 1/3 Eka*

Kama Hawaii June 21. 1853.

*J. Fuller
 Lumaanaama.*



*Ukupaula \$ 5.00
 P. L. Lee
 G. M. Robertson
 J. Kakaunahua
 J. H. Smith*

Honolulu Oatoba 22. 1850.

Kapua
 Kapa – Helu 7934
 Native Register Volume 8:516

576
 7934 Kapua
 76
 Eia kōia iho aia no Namaielua mai, Kailiohia ka moaia,
 eia kōia mau kuhapai i mahi ai, 10 Mula uala, 1 Mula
 keke, 6 Mula ipu, 2 Mula luhala, eia kōia mau kuhai-
 pai hē Aholē ka moaia, 4 Mula uala, 1 Mula keke,
 eia kōia kuhapai hē iho, Haleola 3 Mula uala, Pahale
 22 ka lōa, 16 ka lauhā, ka nui o pane lōa 76-
 Kapua Kapalūa Apana 3. eia Kapua -

Here is my **ili land from Namaielua**, the **land section of Kailiohia**; here are my cultivated gardens, 10 sweet potato fields, 1 taro field, 6 gourd fields, 2 pandanus patches; here are my separate gardens. Aholē is the land section, with 4 sweet potato fields, and 1 taro field; I also have another garden in a separate place, Haleola; there are three sweet potato fields. The House site is 22 long by 16 wide, the total size is 76 [fathoms].

By Kapa

Kapua
 Kapa – Helu 7934
 Native Testimony Volume 8:504

Helu 7934 Kapua
 Aholē me Kaolūo Kooliohia. Eia iho mau aia
 o Kailiohia ma Kapua Ahupuaa, Na Lanai
 i hōia mai i ka 1819. Aole mau heheia ia ia,
 Na palena, Me. Aia o Kailiohia, K. Aia o Namaielua,
 K. Kai, K. Aia o Namaielua.

Aholē and Kaolūo Sworn. We know his **ili**, Kailiohia at Kapua Ahupuaa, Lanai gave it to him in 1819. No one has objected to him. The boundaries: **Upland**, the land of **Namaielua**; **Kau**, the land of **Namaielua**; **Sea**, the shore; **Kona**, the land of **Namaielua**.

Kapua
 Kapa – Helu 7934
 Mahele Award Book 3:540-541 – Notes of Survey
 (Awarded 3 acres)

Helu 7934 Kapua ✓ Kapua, Kona, Kona, Hawaii

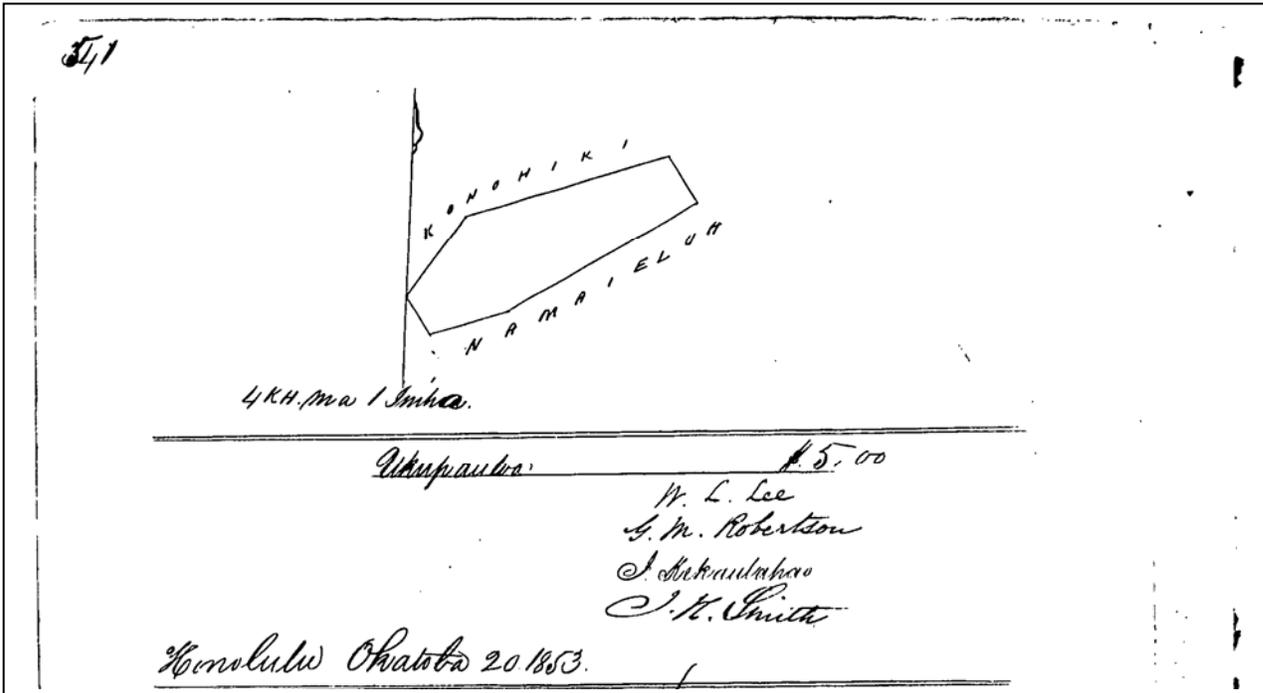
Kapua: Kapa ma Kapua, Kona, Kona, Hawaii.
 E hana ma ke kiki Oka, a i holo.

Kona:	31° 30'	Hiki.	1.74	Ma ka wai, Kahuhihiki & Kona.
"	58° 30'	Kona.	7.40	" " " " Kona.
"	71° 15'	"	2.70	" " " " " "
Kona:	35° 30'	"	1.44	" " " " Kona.
"	38°	Hiki.	3.30	" " " " " "
"	71° 45'	"	7.24	" " " " " "

Kaha i hana ma ke kiki Oka.

Kona, Hawaii, Iune 21, 1853.

J. Fuller
 Linnanaama.



Kapua
 Kaawa (Kaaua) – Helu 7940
 Mahele Award Book 3:542 – Notes of Survey
 (Awarded 2 2/10th acres)

Helu 7940 Kaawa ✓ Kapua, Kaawa, Kaawa, Hawaii 542

Ke ana o Kaawa ma Kapua Ima Ima Hawaii.

Usumaka ma ke kiki Kaawa a u holo.

M. 23° 30' Iam. 4,50 Ith. ma ke ana: Konoiki.

" 73° Iok. 2.85 " " " "

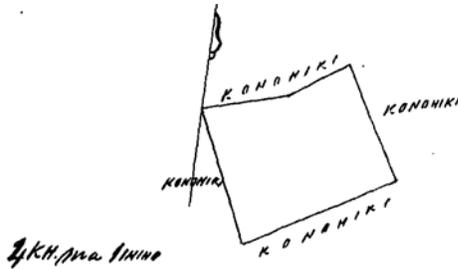
" 54° 30' " 2.24 " " " "

Iama 32° " 4.00 " " " "

" 60° Iam. 5.70 " " " " a kiki i kiki
 i sumaka'i. He 2 2/10 Ith.

Kaawa Hawaii June 21, 1853.

J. Fuller
 Lunalani.

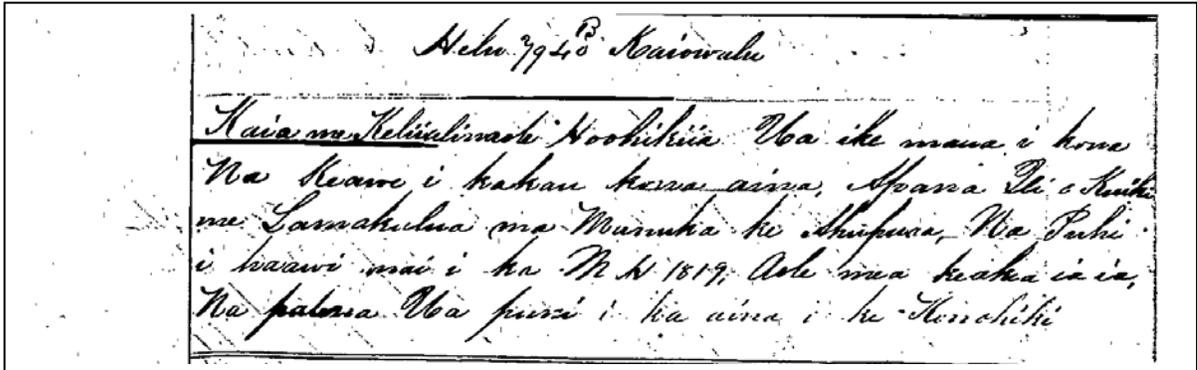


Ukupa'aka \$5.00

W. L. Lee
 G. M. Robertson
 J. A. Kaulahao
 J. B. Smith

Honolulu Oka'aba 20, 1853.

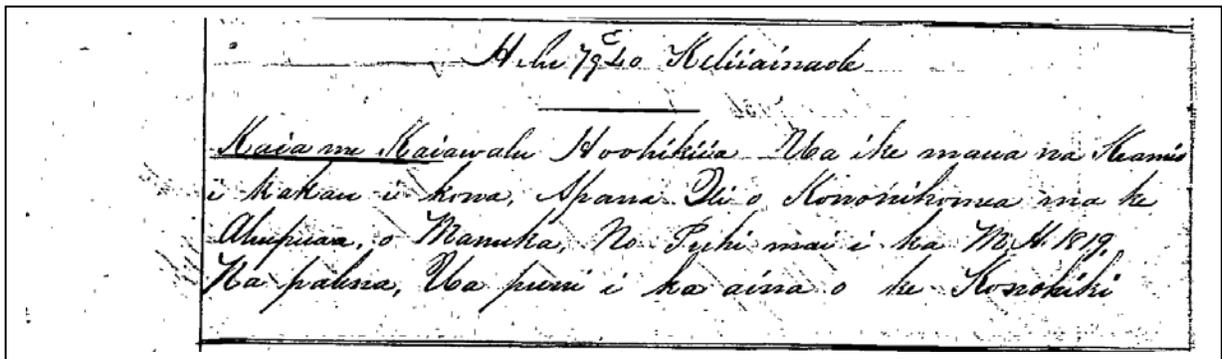
Manuka
Kaiowalu – Helu 7940 B
Native Testimony Volume 8:505
(Not Awarded)



Helu 7940 B Kaiowalu
Kaia ma Keliainaole Nookihikiia. Ua ike mana i kona
Na Keawe i hakanu kama aiaa, Apara Ili o Kuiki
ma Lamakulua ma Manuka ke Ahupuaa, Ua Puhi
i hawai mai i ka M.H. 1819, Aole ma heka ia ia,
Na palena Ua pui i ka aiaa i ke Konoehiki

Kaia and Keliainaole Sworn. We have seen his (land). Keawe wrote for his lands. An *Ili* parcel, Kuiki at Lamakulua in Manuka Ahupuaa. Puhi gave it to him in 1819. No one has objected to him. It is surrounded by the land of the Konoehiki.

Manuka
Keliainaole – Helu 7940 C
Native Testimony Volume 8:505



Helu 7940 C Keliainaole
Kaia ma Kaiowalu Nookihikiia. Ua ike mana ma Keawe
i hakanu i kona, Apara Ili o Kononihonua ma ke
Ahupuaa, o Manuka, Ua Puhi mai i ka M.H. 1819,
Na palena, Ua pui i ka aiaa o ke Konoehiki

Kaia and Kaiowalu Sworn. We saw Keawe write out his claim. An *Ili* parcel, Kononihonua in the Ahupuaa of Manuka, gotten from Puhi in 1819. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Konoehiki.

Kapua
 Keliiainaole - Helu 7940 C
 Mahele Award Book 3:543 - Notes of Survey
 (Awarded 2 9/10th acres)

Helu 7940 C Keliiainaole Kapua, Kona, Kona, Hawaii

Ke ana o Keliiainaole ma Kapua, Kona, Kona, Hawaii
 E hoomaka ma ke kiki Heiki a e holo.

Ak. 20° Kom. 4.00 Ak. ma ke ana Heiki.

Kom. 57° 15' " 6.00 " " " " Heiki.

" 59° 15' " 3.20 " " " " "

" 118° Heik. 3.70 " " " " Heiki.

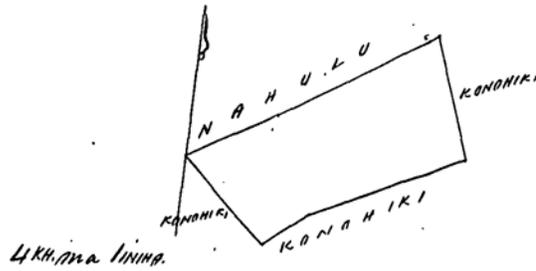
Ak. 52° " 1.85 " " " " "

" 64° 30' " 5.70 " " " " " akiki i akahi

i hoomaka'i. Helu 2 9/10 Ak.

Kona Hawaii June 21. 1853.

J. Fuller
 Linaanaama



Ukupaulea \$ 5.00

W. L. Lee

G. M. Robertson

J. Stewart

C. H. Smith

Honolulu Oatoba 20. 1853.

Manuka
 Kaia – Helu 7940 D
 Native Testimony Volume 8:506
 (Not Awarded)

506
 Helu 7940 Kaia Seku 7, 1829
 Kaiawalu me Keliainaole Kōhōhiki. Ua ike māua i kōna
 mā. Keamia i Manuka, Apama ili i Kamilo, māa Abasuka
 mā Pūhi i ka wai mā i ka M. H. 1819. Uole māua kōna
 mā palena, Ua pūni i ka uina o ke Kōhōhiki.

Kaiowalu and Keliainaole Sworn. We have seen his land. Keamia wrote it out. An ili parcel, Kamilo at Manuka. Pūhi gave it to him in the Year 1819. No one has objected. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Kōhōhiki.

Manuka
 Kalopi – Helu 8789
 Native Testimony Volume 8:513
 (Not Awarded)

Helu 8789 Kalopi Seku 7, 1849
 Palaualelo me Kaanaana Kōhōhiki. Ua ike māua
 i kōna mā. Ihi o Awela 1, Awela 2, mā Kaahu-
 aina mā Manuka Ahup. mā Kau, mā Pūhi mā i
 ka M. H. 1840, Uole māua māua i kahea ia ia,
 mā palena, Ua pūni i ka uina o ke Kōhōhiki.

Palaualelo and Kaanaana Sworn. We have seen his Ili, Awela 1, Awela 2, and Kaahuaina in Manuka Ahup. at Kau. Gotten from Pūhi in the Year 1840. No one has objected to him. The boundaries are surrounded by the land of the Kōhōhiki.

**Kapuakou (Kapua)
Naluhielua – Helu 10380
Native Register Volume 8:593**

593

10:380 Naluhielua Kapuakou Kapalua Hawaii -
 He pahuale hou ki Eo awana ka loai, ki Eo awana ka laula, he
 mau mo'aua heheki iu, 2 mo Lanai mai 4 hikapai kele, 1 Mala
 mo'aua, 3 Mala wala -
 Nāu ma Naluhielua

I have a house lot, 80 fathoms long, 60 fathoms wide, also some land sections are mine, 2 from Lanai; 4 taro fields, one banana field, and 3 sweet potato fields.

By me, Naluhielua.

**Kapua
Naluhielua – Helu 10380
Native Testimony Volume 8:505**

Helu 10380 Naluhielua

Ahuole ma Kaolulo Koonohiki Ua ike mauna i Kona
 He o Māhiole Kapua Ahup. Mai ma Makuaohonawai mai
 Mo Lanai Ma. H. 1819, a hiki i ka Ma. H. 1843 Uole heheke
 Ma pāpāna Makua Koonohiki a pūni ma a'ao

Ahuole and Kaolulo Sworn. We have seen his Ili, Ahole, Kapua Ahup. Gotten from the in-laws who got it from Lanai in the year 1819 to the year 1843. No one has objected. The Boundaries Upland, Kau, Shore and Kona, are surrounded by the Koonohiki on all sides.