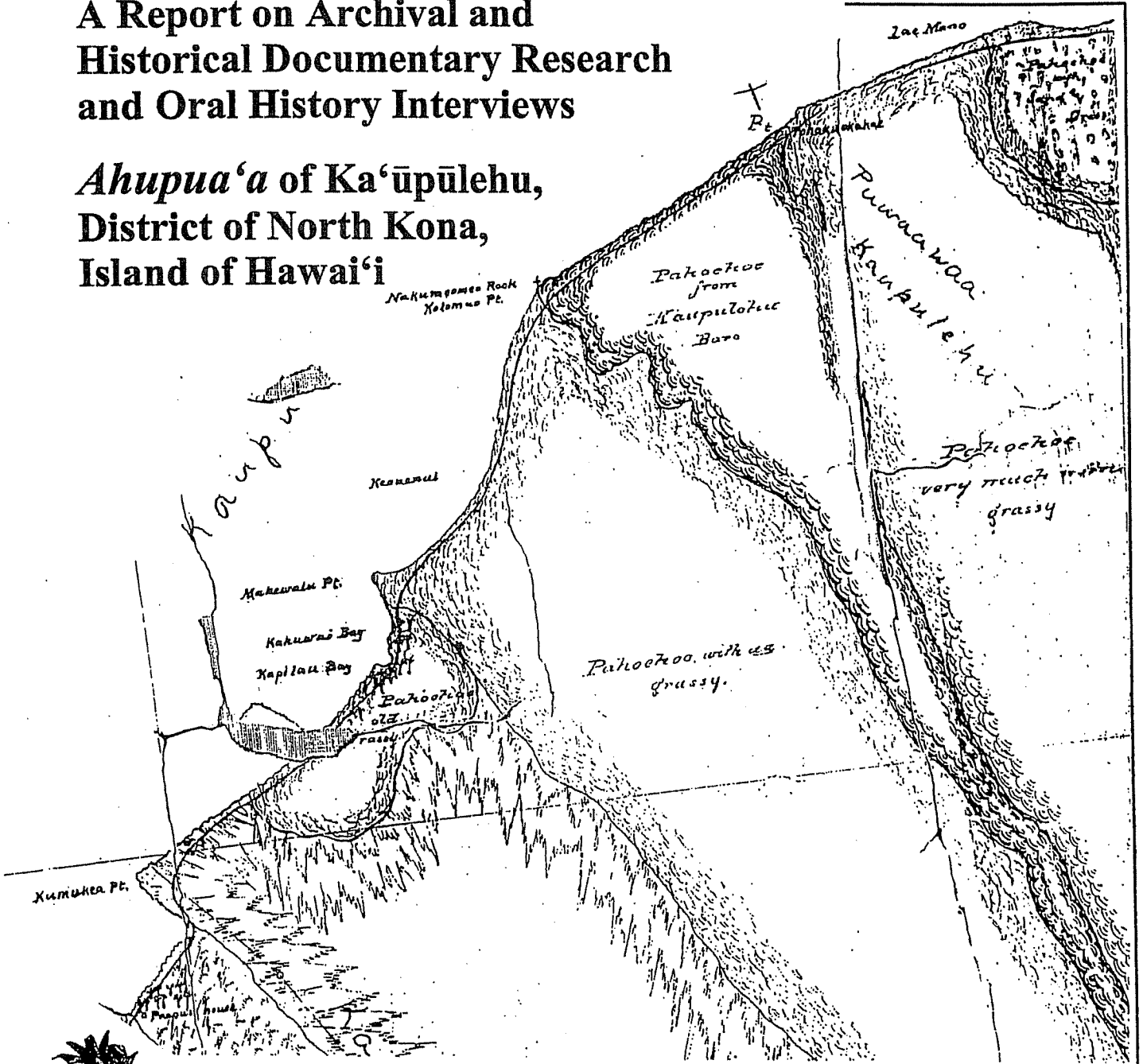


# APPENDIX A – VOLUME I

## “KA ‘ŪPŪLEHU MA KA ‘ĀINA KAHA”

### A Report on Archival and Historical Documentary Research and Oral History Interviews

### Ahupua‘a of Ka‘ūpūlehu, District of North Kona, Island of Hawai‘i



Coastal Portion of Ka'ūpūlehu (J.S. Emerson Survey of 1882)  
Register Map 1278 (Hawai'i State Survey Division)

Kumu Pono Associates

Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Studies · Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning · Development of Preservation & Interpretive Plans



**APPENDIX A – VOLUME I**

**“KA ‘ŪPŪLEHU MA KA ‘ĀINA KAHA”**  
***A Report on Archival and Historical***  
***Documentary Research and***  
***Oral History Interviews***

***Ahupua‘a of Ka‘ūpūlehu***  
***District of North Kona, Island of Hawai‘i***  
***(TMK 7-2-03)***

**BY**

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***Kepā Maly • Cultural Resources Specialist***

**PREPARED FOR**

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***Kaupulehu Developments***  
***1100 Alakea Street***  
***Honolulu, Hawai‘i 96813***

**MAY 20, 1998**

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**Kumu Pono Associates**  
**Kepā Maly, Consultant**  
***Historical & Archival Documentary Research • Oral History Studies • Integrated Cultural***  
***Resources Management Planning • Development of Preservation & Interpretive Plans***

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

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### **Overview**

At the request of Alexander C. Kinzler (Kaupulehu Developments), Kepā Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted historical and archival documentary research and an oral history study in conjunction with the development of an integrated resources management plan (IRMP). The overall project area consists of approximately 1,120 acres in the northern, *makai* (seaward) portion of Ka'ūpūlehu in the region traditionally known as Kekaha, on the northwestern facing shore of North Kona, on the island of Hawai'i (TMK 7-2-03). The land of Ka'ūpūlehu is a part of the holdings of the Kamehameha Schools-Bishop Estate (KSBE), established as a trust in 1887, to benefit Hawaiian youth through the will of Chiefess Bernice Pauahi Bishop. As such, the land has been leased by KSBE to Kaupulehu Developments, and KSBE maintains its oversight responsibilities in the project development, including input and review of the present study.

### **Archival and Oral Historical Research**

The historical and archival documentary research reported in this study is the result of more than six years of background work, some of which has been previously reported by the author. Importantly, this study also includes recently identified archival resources (including land documents, survey and cartographic records, native Hawaiian texts, and oral historical interviews) that have not been previously cited or translated. The collection of additional historical documentation and compilation of previous archival research was conducted primarily between December 1997 to April 1998.

As a part of the present study, the author also conducted oral history interviews with Hawaiian *kūpuna* (elders) and representatives of native families with generational residency ties to the land of Ka'ūpūlehu and neighboring *ahupua'a*. The oral history section of the study also includes interviews from several oral history studies previously conducted by, or transcribed by the author. As a result, the interview records in this study cover the period from c. 1980 to 1998. Thus, this study includes documentation from 17 interviews with 15 participants. Oral history interviews conducted specifically as a part of this study were recorded between February 19<sup>th</sup> to May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1998. The interviews add important documentation to the historical record, and specifically describe the continuing relationship shared between native residents of the land, and the natural landscape and resources of Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region.

It is noted here that this study does not duplicate all that has been previously written in archaeological and ethnographic studies about the Ka'ūpūlehu vicinity. Instead, pertinent references are cited, and the primary texts focus on historical records which have been recently identified as valuable sources of information for the study area.

### **Findings and Recommendations**

As a result of the literature research and oral historical interviews, readers are given access to rich legendary and historical narratives. Some of the documentation is site specific (recorded for the immediate study area), while the larger body of documentation provides *ahupua'a*-specific documentation of sites, practices, and customs associated with the families and lands of Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region. The interviews cited in the study also clearly demonstrate the continuation of certain aspects of traditional knowledge and practices associated with the land, as handed down over the generations.

As a result of the combined records of archival and oral historical accounts, eight resources of cultural significance were identified within the project area. These resources fall into several categories, including but not limited to: (a) the cultural-geographic landscape (e.g. Kalaemanō—an area described as the coastal *pāhoehoe* lava shelf extending between two lobes of the 1800

Ka'ūpūlehu lava flow, which includes the northern portion of the Ka'ūpūlehu coastline and southern portion of the Pu'uwa'awa'a coastline; and numerous topographic features extending from the shore to the mountains); (b) sites associated with native Hawaiian religious and ceremonial practices (e.g., the *ko'a* at Kolomu'o, and the birthing place of sharks—family deity); (c) *ala loa* and *ala hele* (regional and inner *ahupua'a* trail systems); (d) sites associated with temporary and long-term habitation activities; (e) *kāheka* and *loko pa'akai* (natural and modified salt making ponds); (f) boundary markers; (g) near shore and ocean fisheries and marine resources collection areas; and (h) *ilina 'ohana* or family burial sites (those for which interviewees had knowledge, are situated on the south side of the 1800 lava flow, inland of Mahewalu Point and further south). It is noted here, that additional “archaeological” sites (physical features) were identified in the Archaeological Inventory Survey conducted by PHRI (cf. Head et al. 1995).

Throughout the interviews, the interviewees all expressed a deep “cultural attachment”<sup>4</sup> to the lands, sites, resources, and place names of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha. As recorded in the historic accounts of elder natives of Kekaha, the love of the landscape, the importance of the history, and the continuation of native practices—whether occurring physically on the land, or being orally taught to successive generations—are integral to the lifeways of the families of Kekaha. Furthermore, during the course of conducting both the interviews and the follow-up work with the interviewees, several concerns and/or recommendations were shared in common by the interviewees. At the request of the interviewees, primary recommendations regarding protection and interpretation within the Ka'ūpūlehu study area are included here:

- 1 - Protect the Kalaemanō area. Kalaemanō is identified by interviewees as the *pāhoehoe* and sandy shelf fronting the ocean, extending across the older Ka'ūpūlehu lava flows in the lands of Ka'ūpūlehu and Pu'uwa'awa'a (between branches of the 1800 Ka'ūpūlehu flow). The area includes the “house” and “birthing” place of deified sharks; a cave and spring site; the ancient salt works; temporary and long-term habitation features; and other cultural-historic sites.  
Of particular importance to the members of the Keākealani and Maka'ai families was the birthing place and home of the family shark deity—that location was sacred to the *po'e kahiko* (ancient people) of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha, and it remains so today.
- 2 - Interpret the cultural and natural resources of Kalaemanō to help ensure respectful use and visitation to the area, and make the information from the archival and oral historical interviews available to those who visit the land;
- 3 - Ensure that the quality of the *kāheka* and *loko pa'akai* (salt works) is protected from pollution and runoff development inland;
- 4 - Ensure that the near-shore fisheries of Ka'ūpūlehu are managed and preserved for future generations;
- 5 - Develop a plan for restoration and management of the salt works and *ko'a* (dedicated off-shore fishing grounds) and larger fisheries of Ka'ūpūlehu;
- 6 - Respect the *'ilina* (burials), *kahua hale* (residential features), *ala hele* (trails), *kaha pōhaku* (petroglyphs), and other sites within the Ka'ūpūlehu project area;
- 7 - Work with the families who are descended from the *po'e kahiko* (ancient people) of Ka'ūpūlehu in determining proper treatment of *'ilina* and other cultural sites and resources;

<sup>4</sup> “Cultural Attachment” embodies the tangible and intangible values of a culture—how a people identify with, and personify the environment around them. It is the intimate relationship (developed over generations of experiences) that people of a particular culture feel for the sites, features, phenomena, and natural resources etc., that surround them—their sense of place. This attachment is deeply rooted in the beliefs, practices, cultural evolution, and identity of a people. The significance of cultural attachment in a given culture is often overlooked by others whose beliefs and values evolved under a different set of circumstances (cf. James Kent, “Cultural Attachment: Assessment of Impacts to Living Culture.” September 1995).



- 8 - Develop interpretive and educational programs (e.g., caring for and making *pa'akai*; fishing customs and fisheries management; and historical tours etc.) for Hawai'i's youth and other visitors to Ka'ūpūlehu;
- 9 - Interpret the broader relationship of coastal resources to inland resources and their importance to native residents of the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu; and
- 10 - Encourage cultural stewardship and "wise use" on behalf of all who visit Ka'ūpūlehu and use its resources.

## **Ahupua'a o Ka'ūpūlehu:**

### **Integrated Resources Management Planning**

Aside from the goal of identifying and incorporating important historical documentation (both archival and interviews) into a detailed ethnographic study, this document also seeks to provide KSBE, their lessee, project planners, and property managers with cultural historical background information that can be used to help with the development of an Integrated Resources Management Plan (IRMP). *A well designed IRMP, includes background work in the applicable environmental, cultural, and sociological fields, and presents a plan of action that applies an "ecosystem approach" to designing long-term management goals for care of the diverse resources of the study area. In the case of this study, the "ecosystem" is an interconnected community of living things, including humans, and the physical environment in which they interact in the ahupua'a of Ka'ūpūlehu.*

In the IRMP (BCH May 1998), it will be seen that the factors influencing resource management extend beyond the immediate study area—c. 1,120 acres of Ka'ūpūlehu—to include the surrounding natural and cultural environment, or the larger "ecosystem" of which the project area is a part. This "ecosystem" approach to resources management closely mirrors the holistic approach of *ahupua'a* management by which native tenants of the land lived within the wealth and limitations of their resources.

The *ahupua'a*, or traditional land unit within which the native Hawaiians lived, represented a land division that was a complete ecological and economic production system. The boundaries of the *ahupua'a* were generally defined by cycles and patterns of natural resources that extended from the mountainous zone, or peaks, to the ocean fisheries. The natural cycles within the *ahupua'a* were also the foundation of the Hawaiian family, social, political and religious structure, and it can be said that the Hawaiian culture itself, is rooted in the land. This concept is demonstrated in the Hawaiian saying – "*He kalo kanu o ka 'āina*," which translates literally as "A taro planted on the land." The saying has been used for generations, to describe someone who is a native of a particular land (Pukui 1986:157, No. 1447).

Today, aspects of this mountain-to-sea land management system remain as important factors in the lives of many native Hawaiians and other residents of the Hawaiian Islands. The challenge that faces us all, is the continuing need to care for our past, while also allowing for continued use of and protection of our natural and cultural resources in the face of increasing population pressure, transportation technologies (e.g., four-wheel drive vehicles provide direct access to areas that were previously only accessible to pedestrians), and conflicting cultural values.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Preparation of this study was made possible because many people—some with generational relationships to the land of Ka'ūpūlehu, and others who appreciate the unique qualities that are a part of the land—agreed to share their *manana 'o* (thoughts and opinions) regarding the history and future of Ka'ūpūlehu. The words of the *kūpuna*—both written and recorded in interviews—impart to us the importance of the land to its native people, and give us guidance in planning for the future of Ka'ūpūlehu. Some of the *kūpuna* who shared their personal experiences and knowledge in interviews documented in this study have departed from this life. Thus, the information recorded herein is even more valuable to the families of the land, and to those who will call Ka'ūpūlehu home in the future.

In reading this collection of archival documentation and oral histories, I wish to ask you to think of a saying taught to me by *Tūtū papa* Daniel and *Tūtū mama* Hattie Kaōpūiki, my *kūpuna hānai* (adoptive grandparents) on Lāna'i — “*O ka mea maika 'i mālama, o ka mea maika 'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia*” (Keep that which is good and set that which is not good aside). *Tūtū mā* used this saying to ask forgiveness if something was said or done that gave another offense. Thus, I too ask you to keep the good and set the bad aside, for no offense has been meant.

Also, as *Tūtū Kawena* Pukui taught me, I can only “*speak from the door of my own house,*” from that which I have experienced, or that which was shared with me, by natives of the land. I do not profess to have recorded all that could or should be said about Ka'ūpūlehu, the Kekaha region, or the study matter. But, a sincere effort has been made to present readers with an overview of the rich and varied history of the area, and to accurately relay the thoughts and recommendations of the people who contributed to this study.

To all of you who shared your *mana 'o, aloha,* and history—

Valentine K. Ako; Karin K. Haleama; Randy Hashimoto (and staff—the Hawai'i State Survey Division); George K. Kahananui; Margie Kaholo-Kailianu *mā*; David Ka'ōnohi Keākealani *mā*; Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Perreira; Leina'ala and Shirley Keākealani (Robert Keākealani Sr.); Robert Keākealani Jr. and Ku'ulei Keākealani; Robert Lindsey; Arthur M. and Teresa Mahi; Joseph Pu'ipu'i “Wainuke” Maka'ai; Tom McAuliffe; Rose Pilipi-Maeda (and Shoigi Maeda); Wm. “Billy” Johnson Paris; Kamakaonaona Pomroy-Maly; Daniel Pries xxx; Robert K. Punihaole and Cindy Punihaole *mā*; Lurline Nāone-Salvador; Hannah Kihalani Springer; “Lefty” Yatsuoka; the staff of the Hawai'i State Land Management Division and Archives, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, and Belt Collins Hawai'i; and also, to the many people unnamed here, who provided logistical support, and helped to ensure that the archival research and interviews could be completed—

— *Mahalo nui nō, ke aloha o ke Akua pū me 'oukou a pau!*

*'o wau nō me ka ha'aha'a* — Kepā Maly

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## I. INTRODUCTION

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### Background

At the request of Alexander C. Kinzler (Kaupulehu Developments), Kepā Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted historical and archival documentary research and an oral history study in conjunction with the development of an integrated resources management plan (IRMP) for a parcel of land within the *ahupua'a* (native land unit) of Ka'ūpūlehu (also called "Ka'ulupūlehu" by elderly native residents of Kona District). The overall project area consists of approximately 1,009 acres in Ka'ūpūlehu. It is located within the northern, *makai* (seaward) portion of a parcel totaling approximately 2,181 acres (TMK 7-2-03), in the region traditionally known as Kekaha, on the northwestern facing shore of North Kona, on the island of Hawai'i (*Figure 1*). The proposed development (hereinafter "the project") includes the construction of a residential/recreational community and related infrastructure.

This study was conducted to comply with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such work (i.e., the National Historic Preservation Act {NHPA} of 1966, as amended {16 U.S.C. 470 [cf. Sections 106, 110, 111, 112, and 402]}; the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" {ACHP 1985}; National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" {Parker and King 1990}; the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of ongoing cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:274-4,5,6; 275:6); and guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (November 1997).

The land of Ka'ūpūlehu has been retained by Hawaiian royalty for centuries. Today, it is a part of the holdings of the Kamehameha Schools-Bishop Estate (KSBE), established as a trust in 1887, to benefit Hawaiian youth through the will of Chiefess Bernice Pauahi Bishop. While, KSBE has leased the project area to Kaupulehu Developments, KSBE still maintains its stewardship responsibilities for Ka'ūpūlehu. Thus, as the *Ali'i* (royal) title holder, KSBE has provided input and direction into the present study.

### Approach to Conducting the Study

The primary objectives of this study were to — (1) identify native Hawaiian cultural sites or other historic properties within the project area; (2) describe the historical context of those sites in the larger *ahupua'a* (land division) of Ka'ūpūlehu and within the Kekaha region; (3) describe the Hawaiian cultural or historic significance of those sites, based on archival and oral historical documentation; (4) assess the effect of the project on the significant sites; and (5) recommend a resource management strategy.

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<sup>1</sup> Ka-'ulu-pūlehu (literally: The broiled or roasted breadfruit). Among *kūpuna* who are of the land, there is general agreement that the "proper" name of the *ahupua'a* is Ka'ulupūlehu, not Ka'ūpūlehu. Both names have been similarly translated, the latter pronunciation being a contraction of the original name. Some people attribute the change in pronunciation to land surveys done in the 1880s, but it will be seen in this study, that as early as 1848, land records of the Hawaiian Kingdom, have the name written as "Kaupulehu." There are also references cited in *Section III* of this study, written by an elderly natives of Kekaha, that identify specific places being identified with each use of the name.

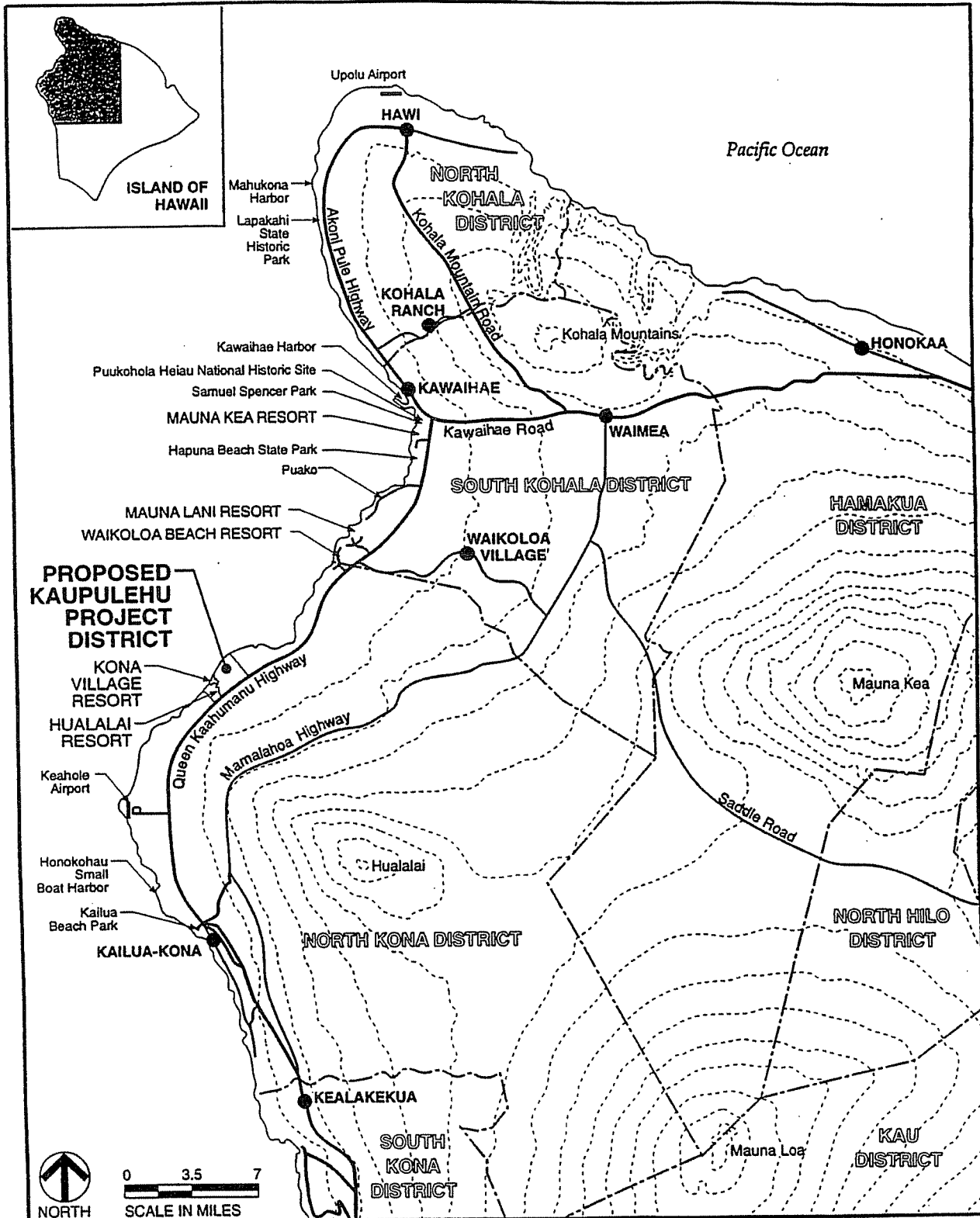


Figure 1. The Proposed Kaupulehu Project District, North Kona, Island of Hawaii (Belt Collins Hawaii)

The combined information, will in turn, be used to help formulate long-term plans for preservation, protection, and interpretation of resources in the Ka'ūpūlehu study area, and serve as a resource for planning similar (preservation-interpretation planning) actions in the larger *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu by the Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate and their lessees. Presently, KSBE is working on the formulation of an "Ahupua'a Management Plan" for Ka'ūpūlehu, and on drafting the organizational structure of the "Ka'ūpūlehu Foundation." The foundation, made up of representatives of native families with generational ties to Ka'ūpūlehu, KSBE, and Ka'ūpūlehu lessees will be dedicated to long-term management, protection, and interpretation of the natural and cultural resources of Ka'ūpūlehu.

A number of archaeological and ethnographic studies in Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region have been previously published. Those studies (cf. selected references cited in text), provide us with a foundation for understanding the natural and cultural landscapes of the land and lifeways of the people. Rather than duplicate those volumes, the author includes an overview of selected ethnographic records, and focuses on recently identified historical accounts that have had only minimal exposure.

Over the period of twenty years, the author has been reviewing Hawaiian language newspapers, and translating native historical accounts. Also, in the last five years, the author has compiled a variety of ethnographic and oral historical records for the Ka'ūpūlehu-Kekaha area. Many of the narratives cited in this study, were either written by, or spoken by, individuals who lived in Ka'ūpūlehu or a neighboring land in the Kekaha region. Also, as a part of this study, valuable historical survey records from the 1880s were located for the land in Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha. Thus, the historical-archival documentary research reported in is study will supplement the records of earlier ethnographic studies and the archaeological work previously conducted in the study area.

The historical records cited in this study provide readers with detailed narratives that describe the cultural landscape (which in this context, also includes the natural environment) of the Ka'ūpūlehu study area. By way of the traditional-Hawaiian system of land management by *ahupua'a* (a native land division based on traditional knowledge of the landscape and ecosystems management practices) the study also provides readers with an overview of native accounts that describe the relationship between coastal Ka'ūpūlehu (the study area) and the larger *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu.

### **Archival Research**

The historical and archival documentary research reported in this study is the result of more than five years of background work. Literary resources included both published and manuscript Hawaiian accounts (both in Hawaiian and English); land use records, including Hawaiian Land Commission Award (LCA) records from the *Māhele* (Land Division) of 1848 (Indices of Awards, 1929); and Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i (c. 1873-1905); D. Malo (1951); John Papa I'i (1959); S. Kamakau (1961, 1968, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); A. Fornander (1917-1919 and 1973); Stokes and Dye (1991); E. Maguire 1926; Henke (1929); Reinecke (ms. 1930); J. W. Counter (1931); M. Beckwith (1919, 1970); Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972); Kelly (1971 & 1983); Springer (1989 and 1992); and various archaeological studies. The study also incorporates native Hawaiian accounts and historical records authored by J. Ka'elemakule, J.W.H.I. Kihe, and J. Wise, compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by the author.

Archival resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, and Bureau of Conveyances; the Kamehameha Schools-Bishop Estate; Bishop Museum; University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; and private collections. The documentation cited here-in was compiled primarily between December 1997 to April 1998.



### **Oral Historical Research**

As a part of the present study, the author conducted oral history interviews—including a site visit and interview in the vicinity of Pōhakuokahae-Kalaemanō. The interviewees included *kāpuna* (elders) and representatives of native families with generational residency ties to the land of Ka'ūpūlehu and the Kekaha region. Oral history interviews conducted specifically as a part of this study were recorded between February 19<sup>th</sup> to May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1998. The oral history section of the study also includes interviews from several oral history studies conducted or transcribed by the author (interview records in this study cover the period from c. 1980 to 1998). As a result, this study includes documentation from 17 interviews with 15 participants.

The primary focus of the interviews was to elicit information from knowledgeable individuals regarding traditional Hawaiian lore and practices (both past and those that are on-going), spiritual beliefs, the presence of traditional sites, land and resource use, and on-going subsistence practices in the study area. Interviewees were also encouraged to offer recommendations for long-term protection and interpretation of the cultural and natural resources of Ka'ūpūlehu Ahupua'a, including the immediate study area.

### **Study Organization**

As noted above, this study includes documentation that has been collected from two primary resources. *Volume I*—the first chapters of the study report on documentation gathered from literature and archival resources. This information is generally cited in the chronological order of original publication. Subsequent chapters introduce the oral history study, present an overview of the methodology of the oral history interview process, and provide a summary of the documentation collected as a result of the oral history interviews. *Volume II*—presents the complete interview transcripts, as released by interview participants, including the personal release of interview record forms. The interviews are the result of both formal, tape recorded interviews and informal interviews for which hand written notes were taken and later expanded. All interview narratives (recorded and written) were reviewed by the interviewees for accuracy and context.

## II. KA'ŪPŪLEHU MA KA 'ĀINA KAHA — KA'ŪPŪLEHU, LAND IN THE ARID COASTAL REGION

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The information presented in this section of the study provides readers with a general overview of Hawaiian colonization, population expansion, and land management practice on Hawai'i, and includes site-specific discussions for Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region. A more detailed discussion on settlement, based on archaeological evidence is presented in the final report on the "Archaeological Inventory Survey, Ka'ūpūlehu Makai – Lot 4; Land of Ka'ūpūlehu, North Kona District, Island of Hawai'i" (Head et al., 1995). That report should be read for further site-specific details.

### **An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement and Land Management Practices**

It is generally believed that Polynesian settlement voyages between Hawai'i and Kahiki (the ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian gods and people) occurred in two major periods, AD 300 to 600 and AD 1100 to 1250. The ancestors of the indigenous Hawaiian population are believed to have come primarily from the Marquesas and Society Islands (Emory in Tatar 1982:16-18). For generations following initial settlement, communities were clustered along the windward (*ko'olau*) shores of the Hawaiian Islands, where fresh water was available, agricultural production could become established, and fishing was good. Small bays generally had clusters of houses where families lived and engaged in agricultural and fishing practices (Handy and Handy 1972:287). Only after the best areas became populated and perhaps crowded (ca. 800 to 1000 AD), did the Hawaiians begin settling the more remote *kona* (leeward) sides of the islands.

Based on historical accounts and archaeological studies (cf. Ellis 1963, Fornander 1973, Stokes and Dye 1991, Reinecke Ms. 1930, Handy and Handy with Pukui 1972, Kelly 1971 and 1983, and Tomonari-Tuggle 1985), a general model characterizing major land use and settlement expansion to the leeward region of Hawai'i Island in the prehistoric period can be proposed. This model extends from c. AD 1000 to AD 1778, when Captain James Cook arrived in Hawaiian waters—

- 1 - In the period from pre-AD 1000 to the 1300s, the sheltered bays of Kona (which were also supplied by fresh water sources) were settled. The early settlers brought with them many things which were necessary for their survival. These included dry- and wet-land taros, sweet potatoes, yams, gourds, breadfruit, coconuts, 'awa, sugar cane, and *wauke* etc. Also, as a result of the Hawaiian place- and environment-based religious system, the ancient settlers also brought with them their gods and goddesses, as "they were in their minds and souls..." (M.K. Pukui Ms.:2). In this early time, the primary livelihood focused near-residence agriculture, and on the collection of marine resources.
- 2 - In the second period from around the 14<sup>th</sup> century selected areas in the uplands to around the 3000 foot elevation were being cultivated, and an *'ohana* (extended family) system of social, religious, political, and economic values linked coastal and inland inhabitants.
- 3 - In the third period, generally the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, there evolved a greater separation between the *ali'i*, or chiefly class and the *maka'āinana* (commoners). Concurrently, as the Hawaiian population grew, land use practices expanded and became further formalized. In Kona and the leeward districts of the Hawaiian Islands, residences began expanding away from sheltered and watered bays. There was developed in the uplands, an extensive and formalized dryland agricultural field system. With the continued growth of the native population, there also developed a

need to inhabit more arid lands, thus, the people begin establishing permanent settlements in the region that came to be known as Kekaha—within which Ka'ūpūlehu is situated. Also, in this time, the native system of land management by district, smaller land divisions, and land units became formalized.

The land provided the fruits and vegetables for the diet, and the ocean provided most of the protein. This system of land management also set the basis of Hawaiian land use and distribution through the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

As the ancient Hawaiian population grew, land use and resource management practices evolved as well. The *moku puni* or islands were subdivided into land units of varying sizes. The largest division was the *moku-o-loko* (district—literally: interior island). It is recorded by the ca. 16<sup>th</sup> century, in the time of the chief 'Umi-a-Liloa, the island of Hawai'i was formally divided into six major districts (Fornander 1973—Vol. II:100-102). On Hawai'i, the district of Kona is one of six major *moku-o-loko* within the island. The district of Kona itself, extends from the shore across the entire volcanic mountain of Hualālai, and continues to the summit of Mauna Loa, where Kona is joined by the districts of Ka'ū, Hilo, and Hāmākua (Figure 2). One traditional reference to the northern and southern-most coastal boundaries of Kona tells us that the district extended:

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

Kona, like other large districts on Hawai'i, was further divided into 'okana or kalana (regions smaller than the *moku-o-loko*, yet comprising several other units of land). In the region now known as Kona 'akau (North Kona), there were at least two ancient regions (*kalana*) as well. The southern portion of North Kona was known as "*Kona kai 'ōpua*" (interpretively translated as: Kona of the distant horizon clouds above the ocean), and included the area extending from Lanihau (the present-day vicinity of Kailua Town) to Pu'uohau. The northern-most portion of North Kona was called "Kekaha" (descriptive of an arid coastal place). Native residents of the region affectionately referred to their home as "Kekaha-wai-'ole o nā Kona" (Waterless Kekaha of the Kona district), or simply as the "*āina kaha*." The boundaries of Kekaha (see Figure 2), within which we find Ka'ūpūlehu, are described by the following saying:

*O Hikuhia i ka uka o Nā-pu'u a me Kekahawai'ole, mai Ke-ahu-a-Lono i ke 'ā o Kanikū a hō'ea i ke kula o Kanoenoe i ka pu'u o Pu'u-o-Kaloa.* — [Kekaha extends from] the uplands of Hikuhia, which is in the uplands of Nāpu'u<sup>2</sup> and the waterless Kekaha; and extend from Keahualono on the rocky plain of Kanikū, to the hill of Pu'uokaloa [at Keahuolu]. (*Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki* in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, October 18, 1917; Maly translator).

### **Ahupua'a—A Hawaiian Resources Management Unit**

The sub-districts of Kona, like Kekaha (described above) were further divided into manageable units of land, that were tended to by the *maka'āinana* (people of the land). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant land division was the *ahupua'a*. These are subdivisions of land that were usually marked by an altar with an image or representation of a pig placed upon it (thus the name *ahu-pua'a* or pig altar). *Ahupua'a* may be compared to pie-shaped wedges of land that extended from the mountain peaks to the ocean fisheries fronting the land unit; and their boundaries were generally defined by cycles and patterns of natural resources occurring within the lands (cf. Lyons, 1875).

<sup>2</sup> Nāpu'u is a general name for the hills and region between Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'uwa'awa'a, is also called Nāpu'u-pū'alu or Nāpu'u-pū'alu-kinikini.

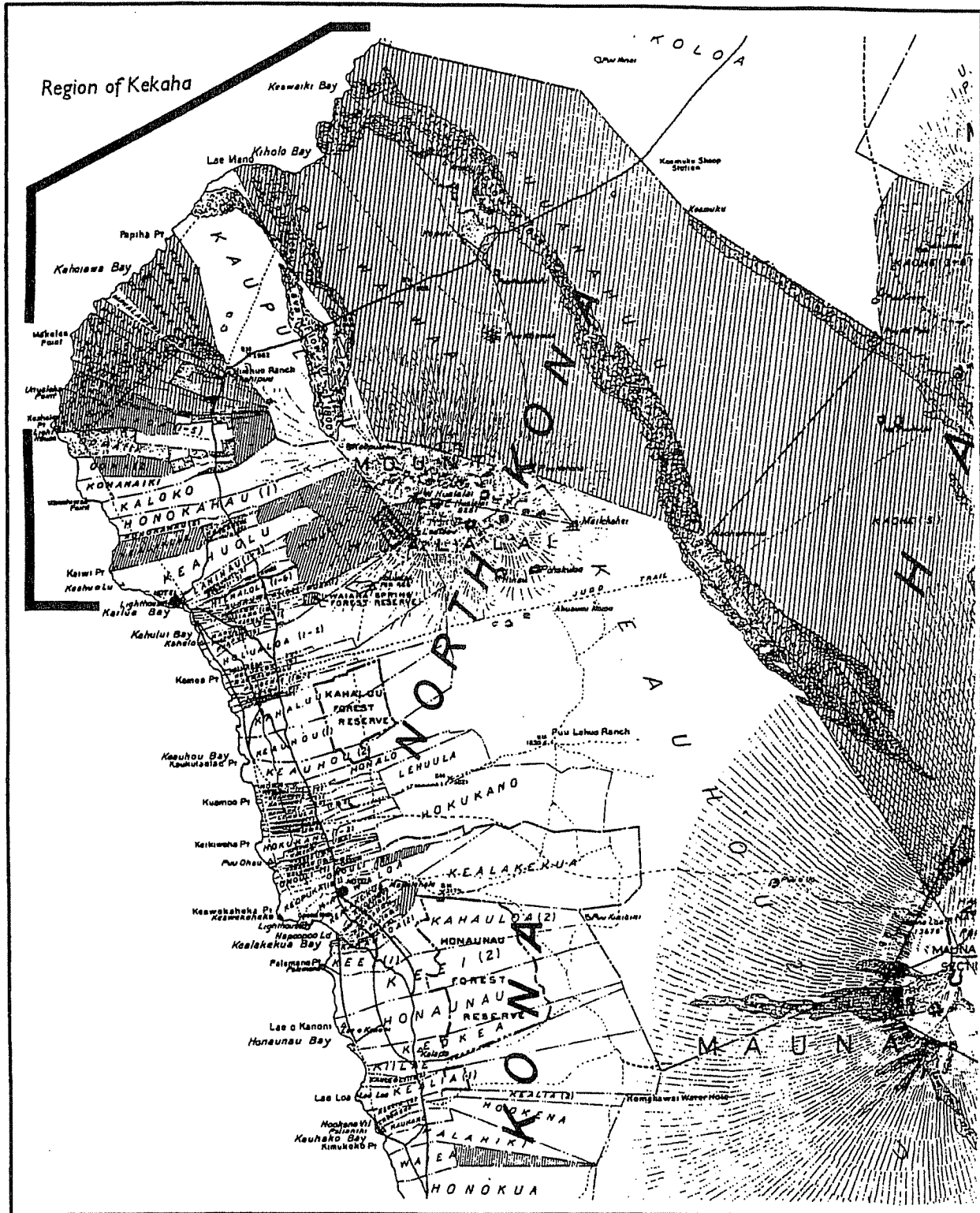


Figure 2. Portion of the Island of Hawai'i; Detail of North Kona and Region of Kekaha (State Survey Division; 1928)

Like the larger district, the *ahupua'a* were also divided into smaller, manageable parcels in which cultivated resources could be grown and natural resources harvested. As long as sufficient tribute was offered to the *ali'i*, *kapu* (restrictions) were observed, and responsibility for the care and use of the resources was exercised, the common people, who lived in a given *ahupua'a* had access to most of the resources from mountain slopes to the ocean.

Entire *ahupua'a*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konohiki* or lesser chief-landlords, who answered to an *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* (chief who controlled the *ahupua'a* resources). The *ali'i-'ai-ahupua'a* in turn answered to an *ali'i 'ai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupua'a* resources supported not only the *maka'ainana* and *'ohana* who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms. This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and was the product of strictly adhered to resources management planning. It is in this setting of *Kekaha wai 'ole o na Kona* that we find the project area in the *ahupua'a* of Ka'upulehu.

### **The Ahupua'a of Ka'upulehu**

It is worthy to mention that Ka'upulehu is one of twenty-three ancient *ahupua'a* within the *'okana* of Kekaha-wai-'ole. And as described by the Boundary Commission of the Kingdom of Hawai'i (c. 1874-1885), Ka'upulehu includes approximately 23,545 acres of land (*Figure 3. "Ahupuaa of Kaupulehu"* J.M. Alexander, Surveyor, 1885 - at end of study). Legendary and historic literature, and oral historical accounts tell us that the *ahupua'a* of Ka'upulehu was one of the favored lands in Kekaha. The protected bay at Kahuwai<sup>3</sup>; numerous springs and water caves; the sheltered canoe landings, rich ocean and near-shore fisheries; a clustering of small fishponds near the shore; an important salt making resource; the inland agricultural field systems; and diverse forest and mountain resources, attracted native residents to the area, and sustained them on the land.

The *ahupua'a* of Ka'upulehu crosses a wide range of environmental zones that are generally called "wao" in the Hawaiian language. These environmental zones include the near-shore fisheries and shoreline strand (*kahakai*) and the *kula kai-kula uka* (shoreward and inland plains). The *kula* region of Ka'upulehu-Kekaha is now likened to a volcanic desert —

The lower *kula* lands receive only about 15-20 inches of rainfall annually, and it is because of their dryness, the larger region of which Ka'upulehu is a part, is known as "Kekaha." While on the surface, there appears to be little or no potable water to be found, the very lava flows which cover the land contain many underground streams that are channeled through subterranean lava tubes. It will be seen later in this study (cf. *Sections III, IV & V* in this study), that lava and water are two significant factors in the histories of Ka'upulehu and the larger Kekaha region.

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

This region provided native residents with shelter for residential and agricultural uses, and a wide range of natural resources which were of importance for religious, domestic, and economic purposes. In Ka'upulehu, this region is generally above the present-day Māmalahoa Highway (also the basic alignment of an ancient *ala loa*, or foot trail that was part of a regional trail system) at the c. 2,000 foot elevation.

Continuing further inland, Ka'upulehu ascends and encompasses the slopes and peaks of the volcanic mountain, Hualālai, which reaches an elevation 8,271 feet. On this inland slope between the c. 4,000 to 7000 foot elevation, we find the *wao ma'ukele* (a rain forest-like environment) and the *wao akua*,

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that another sheltered cove or two, may have existed along the Ka'upulehu shoreline prior to the 1800-1801 lava flows of Hualālai.

literally translated as the “region or zone of deities.”

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

Once passing the summit of Hualālai, the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu continues inland, descending to the *pu'u* (hill) Mailehahei at the 5,631 foot elevation. It is there, that the land of Ka'ūpūlehu is cut off by the *ahupua'a* of Keauhou (also a part of the *Ali'i* trust lands of Bishop Estate).

Early native historians and old *kama'āina* to the lands of Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region shared a deep cultural attachment with their environment—their customs, beliefs, practices, and history was place based. The ancient Hawaiians saw (as do many Hawaiians today) all things within their environment as being interrelated. That which was in the uplands shared a relationship with that which was in the lowlands, coastal region, and even in the sea. This relationship and identity with place worked in reverse as well, and the *ahupua'a* as a land unit was the thread which bound all things together in Hawaiian life.

One of the famous sayings of this land describes the sense of attachment that the native residents of the Ka'ūpūlehu-Kekaha region shared with the land. While the saying may seem simple to those who are unfamiliar with the natural environment of the land, its depth touches the heart of the Hawaiian relationship with the natural environment —

*Ola aku la ka 'āina kaha, ua pua ka lehua i ke kai* — The natives of the Kaha lands have life, the *lehua* blossoms are upon the sea! (John Whalley Hermosa Isaac Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, February 21, 1928)

This saying describes the seasonal practice of natives of the Kekaha region, who during the winter planting season, lived in the uplands, where they cultivated their crops under the shelter of the *lehua* trees. Then when the fishing season arrived with the warmer weather, the natives would travel to the shore, where the fishing canoe fleets could be seen floating upon the sea like *lehua* blossoms.

It was as a result of this knowledge of seasons, and the relationship between land, ocean, and community, that the residents of Ka'ūpūlehu and greater Kekaha were sustained by the land.

In an earlier account written by Kihe (In *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, 1914-1917); with contributions by John Wise and Steven Desha Sr., the significance of the dry season in Kekaha and the custom of the people departing from the uplands for the coastal region is further described. Of the dry season, Kihe et al., wrote:

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

As recorded in oral history interviews in this study, the custom of traveling between the *mauka* and *makai* regions remained important in the lives of the families of Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. While life upon the land has changed dramatically since the 1930s, the interviews demonstrate that the native families of Ka'ūpūlehu-Kekaha are still very “place based.” Place names, native traditions, and historic accounts of the land—connecting the uplands to the shore—are intricately bound together with the features of the landscape and environment of

Ka'ūpūlehu (see native legendary accounts below and the oral history section of this study for detailed narratives on this place based, cultural attachment).

### ***Inoa 'Āina (Place Names)***

There are many place names in Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha which demonstrate the broad relationship of natural landscape to the culture and practices of the people. Coulter (1935) observed that Hawaiians had place names for all manner of feature, ranging from "outstanding cliffs" to what he described as "trivial land marks" (Coulter 1935:10). History tells us that named locations were significant in past times, and it has been observed that "Names would not have been given to [or remembered if they were] mere worthless pieces of topography" (Handy and Handy with Pukui, 1972:412). In ancient times, named localities served a variety of functions, including — (1) triangulation points such as *ko'a* (land markers for fishing grounds and specific offshore fishing localities); (2) residences; areas of planting; (3) water sources; (4) trails and trail side resting places (*o'io'ina*), such as a rock shelter or tree shaded spot; (5) *heiau* or other features of ceremonial importance; (6) may have been the source of a particular natural resource or any number of other features; or (7) the names may record a particular event that occurred in a given area.

In 1902, W.D. Alexander, former Surveyor General of the Kingdom (and later Government) of Hawai'i, wrote an account of "Hawaiian Geographic Names" (1902). Under the heading "Meaning of Hawaiian Geographic Names" he observed:

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to translate most of these names, on account of their great antiquity and the changes of which many of them have evidently undergone. It often happens that a word may be translated in different ways by dividing it differently. Many names of places in these islands are common to other groups of islands in the South Pacific, and were probably brought here with the earliest colonists. They have been used for centuries without any thought of their original meaning... (Alexander 1902:395)

*Table 1* is a list of selected place names that have been recorded for sites and features in the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu, between sea level and the 3200 foot elevation (also including selected Hualālai summit names). Most locations referenced in *Table 1* are shown on *Figure 4*<sup>4</sup> (at end of study); additionally, many of the locations referenced in traditional accounts and cited in the study may be located on *Figure 4* as well. Where possible, the author has included either literal or interpretive translations for place names that lend themselves to such interpretations. It is noted here, that some place names are easily translated, being either a single word, or a compound of two or more words that remain in common usage. Such names are generally descriptive of a landscape or event. Between 1975-1977, the author discussed place names and their interpretations with *kāpuna*, Dr. Mary Kawena Pukui (Tūtū Kawena). In those conversations, Tūtū Kawena shared with the author her opinion that where obvious translations could be made—ones for which traditional interpretations existed, or which were made up of words that remained in common use in the language—place names could be given "literal" translations. For other names, generally, a compound of two or more words that lent themselves to various translations, "interpretive translations" might be given. In such cases, it is important to make it clear that the translations are "interpretive." And for some names, it is inappropriate to offer translations, as the possible meaning is too obscure (pers comm. M.K. Pukui).

<sup>4</sup> *Figure 4* is a compilation of historical documentation recorded Reg. Map 1278; BE Maps 116 and 2212; and recorded in oral testimonies and interviews (annotated map prepared by Belt Collins Hawaii)

**Table 1. Selected Place Names of Ka'ūpūlehu  
(fishery to approximately 3,200 foot elevation)**

<i>Place Name</i>	<i>Meaning (L=Literal; I=Interpretive) and Source</i>	<i>Location (Coastal Zone)</i>
Ke-awa-iki	The-small-landing (L); Boundary Commission.	Canoe landing at boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kūki'o.
Wai-ulu	Rising-water (L); Oral History.	Shoreline waterhole, southern Ka'ūpūlehu.
Kumu-kea	White-source (I), descriptive of surf; Archival.	Point and surf, southern Ka'ūpūlehu.
Wai-a-Kauhi	Water [pond]-made by-(of)-Kauhi (L); Oral History.	Brackish water fishpond, on southern end of Kahuwai Bay.
Ka-pilau	The-stench (L); Informant in 1882 Survey.	Southern portion of Kahuwai Bay.
Wai-puna-lei	Garland-[of]-springs (I), descriptive of a series of small ponds near the shore, and extending towards Waiakauhi; Oral History.	Line of small ponds running south from near the present-day boundary of Kona Village and Hualālai resorts; on the shore, it is the site of <i>kū'ula</i> cared for by Mahikō.
Ka-imu-a-Kāne	The-oven-of-Kāne (L); Archival	Near shore, behind Kawaiakāne.
Ka-wai-a-Kāne	The-water-made-by-Kāne (L); Archival & Oral History (also called Waiokāne, Kawaihūakāne, and Waiawili).	A spring, situated just off-shore in Kahuwai Bay.
Kahu-wai	Water-guardian (L); Survey & Oral History (also pronounced "Kahuawai").	Northern portion of bay, fronting old Ka'ūpūlehu village.
Mumuku	Broken (L); Oral History (also the name of a strong wind of the Kekaha region).	The canoe landing on the northern side of Kahuwai Bay, between the old village and lava flow that forms Mahewalu Point.
Mahewalu	Unknown; Survey & Oral History (Also pronounced "Maheawalu").	Northern point forming Kahuwai Bay. Marker of an ancient <i>ko'a 'ōpelu</i> (dedicated <i>ōpelu</i> fishery).
Ke-one-nui	The-big-sandy-area (big beach) (L); Survey & Oral History. (also called One-'ele'ele)	Black-sand beach between Mahewalu and Pōhakuokahae, formed by the 1800 lava flow.
Kolo-mu'o	Creeping-leaf-bud (I); Survey, Boundary Commission, & Archival.	Three areas in the <i>ahu-pua'a</i> of Ka'ūpūlehu: 1 – a deep-sea fishing station ( <i>ko'a</i> ); 2 – a point and <i>ko'a</i> shore based triangulation point on the 1800 lava flow; and (continued on next page)



Table 1. (continued)

<i>Place Name</i>	<i>Meaning (L=Literal; I=Interpretive) and Source</i>	<i>Location (Coastal Zone)</i>
Kolomu'o (cont'd.)		3 – a place just below Puhi-a-Pele. All locations named for the sister who's breadfruit was not offered to Pele (see Pāhinahina).
Nuku-me'ome'o	Swollen-point (L); Survey.	A crevice on the ocean front of the 1800 lava flow; next to Kolomu'o.
Pōhaku-o-ka-hae ("Pohakuokahai")	Stone-of-the-banner (or flag) (L); Boundary Commission & Survey.	Shoreward boundary between Ka'ūpūlehu and Pu'uwa'awa'a
Ka-lae-manō	The-point-[of the]-shark (L), interpretively meaning The-house-of-the-shark; Boundary Commission, Survey & Oral History.	An open <i>pāhoehoe</i> and sandy area in southern Pu'uwa'awa'a. Valued as a salt making area and associated with a family deity. Also an important off-shore <i>ko'a 'ōpelu</i> .

*Location (Inland Northern Boundary)*

Ke-ahu-kau-pua'a	The-altar-on-which-a pig-is-placed (L); Boundary Commission & Survey.	At approximately the 500 foot elevation, <i>makai</i> of the old <i>mauka-makai</i> trail, Kealaehu.
Paaniau (Pani-au)	Closed-current (L); perhaps descriptive of a feature in the lava flow. Boundary Commission.	The area in which the <i>ahu</i> called Keahukau-pua'a is located.
'Owē'owē	Rustling (L); perhaps descriptive of a breeze blowing through the plant growth. Boundary Commission & Survey.	Near the 1800 foot elevation, <i>makai</i> of the Māmalahoa Highway; an old cultivating area.
Hikuhia	Unknown. Thought to be associated with Hiku-i-kanahale, grandson of Kū and Hina; who was raised on the summit slopes of Hualālai. Survey & Archival.	A dryland forest and agricultural area near the Ka'ūpūlehu and Pu'uwa'awa'a boundary, at approximately the 3000 foot elevation.
Ka-iwi-o-Pele	The-ridge-of-Pele (L); descriptive of the lava flow line, also compared to the bones ( <i>iwi</i> ) of Pele.  The name is also written as "Na-iwi-o-Pele." Boundary Commission, Survey & Archival.	Line of 1800 lava flow from source to area near 'Owē'owē (Alexander 1885). Also identified as an area on the southern boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu, <i>mauka</i> of Moanuaieha.

*Location (Inland Southern Boundary)*

Pu'u-po'opo'o-mino	Hill-[with]-dimpled-hollows (I); descriptive of the hill's topography. Boundary Commission, Survey & Archival.	At approximately the 400 foot elevation, on the boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kūki'o-iki
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Table 1. (continued)

Place Name	Meaning (L=Literal; I=Interpretive) and Source	Location (Inland Southern Boundary)
Pu'u-o-kai	Shoreward-hill (L); Boundary Commission & Survey.	At approximately the 600 foot elevation, on the boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kūki'o-iki; the top of Pupule's Grant No. 2121.
Pu'u-mau'u	Grassy-hill (L); Boundary Commission, Survey, Archival & Oral History.	At approximately the 1100 foot elevation, to south of Pu'ukolekole. The <i>pu'u</i> was a source of " <i>lepo</i> " used for ' <i>ōpelu</i> bait balls.
Pu'unāhāhā	Broken open-hill (L); Boundary Commission, Survey, Archival & Oral History.	At approximately the 1400 foot elevation, to south of Pu'umau'u. The <i>pu'u</i> was a source of " <i>lepo</i> " used for ' <i>ōpelu</i> bait balls.
Ka-pipā	The-trail-side (L); Survey & Archival. One particular area of this trail side was noted for its' den of robbers; and is the site of many remains.	The den of robbers was between the Pu'umau'u and Pu'u-nāhāhā area on the Ka'ūpūlehu-Kūki'o side of the <i>ahupua'a</i> .
Pā-hinahina	<i>Hinahina</i> -enclosure (I); Archival.	An area just below Puhiapele, former residence of Pāhinahina, the young girl who offered her breadfruit to Pele.
Kolomu'o	(see coastal place name description)	The lava flow-covered area next to Pāhinahina; named for Kolomu'o who was killed by Pele.
Puhi-a-Pele	Spouting (or spewing)-made-by-Pele (L); descriptive of the lava cone. Boundary Commission, Survey & Archival.	At approximately the 1550 foot elevation; the crater is on the boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kūki'o.
Kāmeha'ikana	Named for the earth-goddess, who also took the form of the ' <i>ulu</i> (breadfruit) tree. Archival.	An ancient ' <i>ulu</i> grove, on the <i>mauka</i> side of Puhi-a-Pele.
Mauna-kilo-wa'a	Mountain-for observing-canoes (L); Boundary Commission.	At approximately the 2000 foot elevation, situated just <i>mauka</i> of the old government road.
Kīleo	Interpretive – Round-opening, as of a basket; perhaps descriptive of the crater opening	At approximately the 2200 foot elevation.
Pu'u-ka-'ai-alalauā	Hill-[where]-the- <i>alalauā</i> -[fish]-were-eaten (L); Survey.	At approximately the 2500 foot elevation in Ka'ūpūlehu.
Pahulu	Named for a deity who became associated with nightmares; Boundary Commission, Survey & Archival.	At approximately the 2500-3000 foot elevation in Ka'ūpūlehu, near the southern boundary.

Table 1. (continued)

<i>Place Name</i>	<i>Meaning (L=Literal; I=Interpretive) and Source</i>	<i>Location (Inland (Southern Boundary)</i>
Pu'u-moa-nui-a-hea	Hill-[of-the]-great-rooster-of-Hea (I). Noted as "a hill where they [natives] used to worship." Boundary Commission, Survey, Archival & Oral History.	At approximately the 3100 foot elevation.
'Akahi-pu'u	One-hill (L); Boundary Commission, Survey, Archival & Oral History.  Though not within the land of Ka'ūpūlehu, 'Akahipu'u is near the boundary of the land, and some testimony to the Boundary Commission placed the <i>pu'u</i> on the southern boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu.	At the 2237 foot elevation. A prominent <i>pu'u</i> of legendary and cultural landscape significance to the people of coastal Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha.
Mākālei	Named for the finder of the <i>ana wai</i> (water cave); Boundary Commission, Archival & Oral History.	On the Ka'ūpūlehu boundary—side of 'Akahipu'u.

### III. KA'ŪPŪLEHU A ME KEKAHA —HE WAHI MO'OLELO 'ĀINA (KA'ŪPŪLEHU AND KEKAHA—SELECTED TRADITIONS OF THE LAND)

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This section of the study provides readers with a review of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Hawaiian historical records (narratives written by both native and foreign historians) that document some of the site specific history and customs of the land and people of Ka'ūpūlehu. Because there are limitations to the extent of site specific historic narratives, the cited documentation also extends beyond the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu to describe the environmental and cultural context of Ka'ūpūlehu in the larger region of Kekaha. From such narratives we begin to understand how this land shaped the lives and practices of the native inhabitants of Ka'ūpūlehu and vicinity in ancient times.

When one ponders the dramatic changes in the natural landscape—a result of the 1800 and 1801 lava flows of Hualālai—it is significant that any native accounts survived. The lava flows not only covered large tracts of land in Kekaha, but they also erased significant features in the natural and cultural landscapes. Another factor that contributed to diminishing historical records is the fact that by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the native population was also in decline. As a result, many of the people who could tell the stories were gone before detailed written accounts could be recorded. Given the lack of historical narratives in many other places, the survival of early native accounts in this region is a testimony to the depth of attachment that the native residents felt for their land.

#### **A: Mo'olelo – Traditional and Early Historic Accounts** (written or collected between ca. 1860 to 1885)

The Hawaiian traditions cited in this section of the study, come from written accounts written in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. The narratives are generally set in chronological order, by time period of occurrence.

As noted earlier in this study, initial settlement of Kona appears to have occurred first along the sheltered and watered bays in the region extending south from Kailua. Only after the population increased and there developed a need to inhabit more arid lands, did the people begin establishing permanent settlements in Kekaha. One of the recurring themes of the native and early historic narratives of Kekaha, is the wealth of the fisheries—those of the deep sea, near-shore, and inland fishponds—of the region.

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

#### ***Punia: A Tale of Sharks and Ghosts of Kekaha***

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

state, Kai'ale'ale swam south along the coast of Kekaha, and finally beached himself at Alula, north of Lae-o-Kaiwi in the land of Kealakehe. Hearing Punia call out from within the shark, the people of Alula, cut open Kai'ale'ale, thus releasing Punia.

At that time Alula was the only place in all of Kekaha where people could live, for all the rest of the area was inhabited by ghosts. When Punia was released from the shark, he began walking along the shore line trail, to return to Kohala. While on this walk, he saw several ghosts with nets all busy tying stones for sinkers to the bottom of the nets. It was the custom of these ghosts (*akua*) to kill any people who attempted traveling through Kekaha, so Punia devised a plan to trick the *akua*. Punia called out in a chant —

*Auwe no hoi kuu makuakane o keia kaha e!  
Elua wale no maua lawaia o keia wahi.*

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

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

Alas, O my father of these coasts!  
We were the only two fishermen of  
this place (*kaha*).

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

The *kala*, the *uhu*, the *palani*,  
The transient fish of this place.  
We have traveled over all these seas,  
All the different place, the holes, the runs.  
Since you are dead, father, I am the only  
one left.

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

The place where the *akua* were disposed of, is generally believed to have been the place now called "Ku'una-a-ke-akua," on the shore of Makalawena, a short distance south of Ka'upulehu (see *Figure 2*).

### ***Kekaha in the Time of 'Umi-a-Liloa (ca. 16<sup>th</sup> century)***

One of the earliest narratives that mentions the Kekaha region (and by reference to the fishery includes the ocean fronting Ka'upulehu), for which a time period may be set, comes from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century after the chief 'Umi-a-Liloa unified the island of Hawai'i under his rule. Writing in the 1860s, native historian, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1961) tells us:

'Umi-a-Liloa did two things with his own hands, farming and fishing...and farming was done on all the lands. Much of this was done in Kona. He was noted for his skill in fishing and was called *Pu'ipu'i a ka lawai'a* (a stalwart fisherman). *Aku* fishing was his favorite occupation, and it often took him to the beaches (Kekaha) from

Kalāhuipua'a to Makaula<sup>5</sup>. He also fished for 'ahi and kala. He was accompanied by famed fishermen such as Pae, Kahuna, and all of the chiefs of his kingdom. He set apart fishing, farming and other practices... (Kamakau 1961:19-20)

### **Kekaha: ca. 1740 to 1801**

From the time of 'Umi until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there appear to be only a few other early written accounts of the larger Kekaha region, and none which mention Ka'ūpūlehu have been located. When Kamakau (1961) writes once again about the lands of Kekaha, we find ourselves in the middle 18<sup>th</sup> century. His narrative tells us that Alapa'i-nui, who had secured all of Hawai'i under his rule, was attacked by the forces of Kekaulike from Maui. The circumstances of the battle, and their impact on the native residents of Kekaha are recorded thus:

...Ke-kau-like so delighted in war that he sailed to attack Hawaii. The fighting began with Alapa'i at Kona. Both side threw all their forces into the fight. Ke-kau-like cut down all of the coconut trees throughout the land of Kona. Obligated to flee by canoe before Alapa'i, Kekaulike shamefully treated the commoners of Kekaha. At Kawaihae, he also cut down all the coconut trees. He slaughtered the commoners of Kohala, seized their possessions and returned to Maui (Kamakau - *Kū 'Ōko'a* October 20, 1866; and 1961:66).

Kamakau tells us that Alapa'i-nui died in 1754, and his son Keawe'ōpala was chosen as his successor (Kamakau 1961:78). Leading up to that time, the young chief Kalani'ōpu'u, had been challenging Alapa'i's rule, and after a short reign, Keawe'ōpala was killed and Kalani'ōpu'u secured his rule over Hawai'i. Kamakau also reports that in ca. 1780, as a result of their valor and counsel Kalani'ōpu'u granted "estate lands" in Kekaha to the twin chiefs (uncles of Kamehameha) Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa (ibid.:310). Kamakau also records, that at the time of Kalani'ōpu'u's death, Kame'eiamoku was living at Ka'ūpūlehu, and his twin, Kamanawa was living at Kīholo, Pu'uwa'awa'a (ibid.:118). Later, while in residence at Ka'ūpūlehu, Kame'eiamoku initiated an action that is one of the most famous in early events between Hawaiians and foreigners. In 1790, Kame'eiamoku captured the ship, *Fair American* as it sailed off of Ka'ūpūlehu. As a result of the capture, Kame'eiamoku and his followers acquired foreign arms, including a cannon which came to be called "*Lopaka*," and the ship's Captain, Isaac Davis. Taken before Kamehameha, Davis and another "captured" foreigner, John Young, became friends and advisors of Kamehameha I (ibid.:147).

By 1797, Kamehameha I fully secured his kingdom on the island of Hawai'i. In return for their loyal service and continued council, these uncles of Kamehameha's retained their estate lands in Kekaha. As such, Kame'eiamoku retained the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu (ibid.:175). Kamakau also reports that "the land of Kekaha was held by the *kahuna* class of Ka-uahi and Nahulu" (ibid. 231); to which the twin chiefs are believed to have belonged.

### **Ka Huaka'i Pele (The Journey of Pele)**

In 1800 and 1801, two events which were perhaps the most significant in the native history of Kekaha occurred: the eruption of c. 1800 that was the source of the Ka'ūpūlehu lava flow the inundated the project area; and the Puhi-a-Pele eruption, that was the source of the c. 1801 lava flow that inundated the southern portion of Ka'ūpūlehu at its boundary with Kūki'o. As viewed today, these lava flows seem to embrace the land of Ka'ūpūlehu. As the *pele* (eruption) poured across the land, it consumed native settlements, agricultural field systems, sheltered coves, fresh water sources, and numerous sites of significance in the cultural and natural landscapes of Kekaha (for further native descriptions of this event {written in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century}, see additional historic narratives cited

<sup>5</sup> Kalāhuipua'a is situated in the district of Kohala, bounding the northern side of Pu'u Anahulu in Kekaha. Maka'ula is situated several *ahupua'a* south of Ka'ūpūlehu, to the north of Kalaoa.

later in this section of the study). Among the most significant of the resources covered by the lava flow was an extensive complex of fishponds. These fishponds included those between Ka'upulehu and Kūiki'o, and the great pond Pa'aiea (*ka loko o Pa'aiea*) which extended from Ka'elehuluhulu in Kaulana, to at least as far as Keāhole in the land of Kalaoa (see *Figure 2*). Indeed, the *loko o Pa'aiea* was famous for its vast expanse, and is recalled in the Hawaiian proverb:

*O na hōkū o ka lani luna, o Pa'aiea ko lalo* — The stars are above, Pa'aiea is below.

Referring to: "Kamehameha's great fishpond Pa'aiea, in Kona... Its great size led to this saying—the small islets that dotted its interior were compared to the stars that dot the sky..." (Pukui 1986:275 – 2515)

In his accounts, Kamakau (1961) provides readers with an early written description of the eruptions and their impact on the people of Ka'upulehu and the larger Kekaha region —

One of the amazing things that happened after the battle called Kaipalaoa, in the fourth year of Kamehameha's rule, was the lava flow which started at Hu'ehu'e in North Kona and flowed to Mahai'ula, Ka'upulehu, and Kiholo. The people believed that this earth-consuming flame came because of Pele's desire for *awa* fish from the fishponds of Kiholo and Ka'upulehu and *aku* fish from Ka'elehuluhulu; or because of her jealousy of Kamehameha's assuming wealth and honor for himself and giving her only those things which were worthless; or because of his refusing her the tabu breadfruit (*'ulu*) of Kameha'ikana<sup>6</sup> which grew in the uplands of Hu'ehu'e where the flow started... Kamehameha was in distress over the destruction of his land and the threatened wiping-out of his fishponds. None of the *kahuna*, orators, or diviners were able to check the fire with all their skill. Everything they did was in vain. Kamehameha finally sent for Pele's seer (*kaula*), named Ka-maka-o-ke-akua, and asked what he must do to appease her anger. "You must offer the proper sacrifices," said the seer. "Take and offer them," replied the chief. "Not so! Troubles and afflictions which befall the nation require that the ruling chief himself offer the propitiatory sacrifice, not a seer or a *kahuna*." "But I am afraid lest Pele kill me." "You will not be killed," the seer promised. Kamehameha made ready the sacrifice and set sail for Kekaha at Mahai'ula.

When Ka'ahu-manu and Ka-heihei-malie heard that the chief was going to appease Pele they resolved to accompany him... Ulu-lani also went with them because some of the seers had said, "That consuming fire is a person; it is the child of Ulu-lani, Keawe-o-kahikona, who has caused the flow," and she was sent for to accompany them to Kekaha.<sup>†</sup> Other chiefs also took the trip to see the flow extinguished. From Keahole Point the lava was to be seen flowing down like a river in a stream of fire extending from the northern edge of Hualalai westward straight toward Ka'elehuluhulu and the sweet-tasting *aku* fish of Hale'ohi'u. There was one stream whose flames shot up the highest and which was the most brilliant in the bubbling mass as it ran from place to place. "Who is that brightest flame?" Asked Ulu-lani of the seer. "That is your son," he answered. Then Ulu-lani recited a love chant composed in honor of her first-born child as his form was seen to stand before her... The flow had been destroying houses, toppling over coconut trees, filling fishponds, and causing devastation everywhere. Upon the arrival of Kamehameha and the seer and their offering of sacrifices and gifts, the flow ceased; the goddess had accepted the offering. The reasons given for the flow may be summed up as:

<sup>6</sup> Kāmeha'ikana, one of the many name used for the earth-mother, goddess Haumea; symbolic of her many descendants. In her form as Kāmeha'ikana, Haumea is associated with the *'ulu* (breadfruit), also a form she took to save her husband Ku from his captors (cf. Kamakau 1991:11-13)

<sup>†</sup> John Wise (personal communication) says, "The Hawaiians believe that the fires of Pele are dead persons who have worshipped the goddess and become transformed into the likeness of her body."

first, Pele's wanting the *aku* of Hale'ohi'u and the *awa* fish of Kiholo; second, her anger at being denied the 'ulu (breadfruit) of Kameha'ikana in upper Hu'ehu'e; third, her wrath because Kamehameha was devoting himself to Ka-heihei-malie and neglecting Ka-'ahu-manu. It was said that Pele herself was seen in the body of a woman leading a procession composed of a multitude of goddesses in human form dancing the *hula* and chanting... (Kamakau in *Kū 'Ōko 'a*, July 13-20, 1867 and 1961:184-186)

John Papa I'i, a native historian and companion of the Kamehamehas, adds to the historical record of the fishpond Pa'aiea which was destroyed by the 1801 lava flows. I'i reports that because of his exceptional abilities at canoe racing, Kepa'alani "became a favorite of the king, and it was thus that he received [stewardship of] the whole of Puuwaawaa and the fishponds Paaiea in Makaula and Kaulana in Kekaha" (I'i 1959:132).

### **Kekaha: 1812 to 1841**

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

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

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

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

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

Kamakau also wrote that in the last years of Kamehameha's life (ca. 1812 to 1819), "fishing was his occupation" (Kamakau 1961:203):

...[Kamehameha] would often go out with his fishermen to Kekaha off Ka'eleluluhulu and when there had been a great catch of *aku* or *'ahi* fish he would give it away to the chiefs and people, the cultivators and canoe makers (ibid.:203).

### **19<sup>th</sup> Century Accounts of Foreign Visitors**

#### **The Journal of William Ellis (1823)**

Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the Hawaiian religious and political systems began undergoing radical change. Just moments after his death, Ka'ahumanu proclaimed herself "*Kuhina nui*" (Prime Minister), and within six months the ancient *kapu* system was overthrown. Less than a year after Kamehameha's death, Protestant missionaries arrived from America (cf. 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 establish church centers for the growing Calvinist mission. Ellis' writings (1963) generally offer readers important glimpses into the nature of native communities and history as spoken at the time. Ellis and his party offer a few specific references to Ka'ūpūlehu, and importantly, they provide us with descriptions residences and practices in the larger Kekaha region (much of which is applicable to Ka'ūpūlehu).



Departing on ship from John Young's residence in Kawaihae, Ellis reports that the sea breeze:

...carried us along a rugged and barren shore of lava towards Kairua, which is distant from Towaihae about thirty miles... In the evening we were opposite Lae Mano (Shark's Point), but strong westerly currents prevented our making much progress (Ellis 1963:58).

While in Kailua, Ellis and his companions learned of an eruption of Hualālai which had occurred about 23 years (c. 1800-1801) before their visit. In describing the eruption, Ellis recorded that the flows —

...inundated several villages, destroyed a number of plantations and extensive fish-ponds, filled up a deep bay twenty [this should perhaps be two] miles in length, and formed the present coast. An Englishman [John Young], who has resided thirty-eight years in the islands, and who witnessed the above eruption, has frequently told us he was astonished at the irresistible impetuosity of the torrent.

Stone walls, trees, and houses, all gave way before it; even large masses or rocks of ancient lava, when surrounded by the fiery stream, soon split into small fragments, and falling into the burning mass, appeared to melt again, as borne by it down the mountain's side.

Numerous offerings were presented, and many hogs thrown alive into the stream, to appease the anger of the gods, by whom they supposed it was directed, and to stay its devastating course.

All seemed unavailing, until one day the king Tamehameha went, attended by a large retinue of chiefs and priests, and, as the most valuable offering he could make, cut off part of his own hair, which was always considered sacred, and threw it into the torrent. A day or two after, the lava ceased to flow. The gods, it was thought, were satisfied... (Ellis 1963:30-31)

Following the tour around the island, members of the Ellis party returned to Kawaihae, and traveled by canoe back to Kailua. On this trip Ellis visited coastal villages between Kapalaoa (near the northern boundary of Kona) and Kailua (see *Figure 2*). At that time, Kapalaoa was a village of approximately 22 houses. Departing Kapalaoa, Ellis boarded his canoe and sailed to Wainānālī'i, a village and fishpond complex at the northern end of Kekaha. Ellis recorded that Kiholo was "a straggling village, inhabited primarily by fishermen" (ibid.:294). Among Ellis' comments on the landscape at Kiholo, is a description of the fishpond of that area. The pond at Kiholo was constructed at the order of Kamehameha I in ca. 1810.

It is likely that at one time, predating the lava flows of 1800-1801, that ponds in the land of Ka'ūpūlehu may have been similarly managed. Thus, Ellis' description of Kiholo is included here:

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

Departing from Kiholo, Ellis passed Ka-Lae-Manō, "a point of land formed by the last eruption of the great crater on Mouna-Huararai" (ibid.). He reports that he landed at the village of Ka'ūpūlehu at night, and that the residents were all asleep. From Ka'ūpūlehu, Ellis sailed directly to Kailua (ibid.).

### **The Wilkes Expedition (1840-41)**

In 1840-41, Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition traveled through the Kekaha region. Wilkes' narratives offer readers a brief description of agricultural activities in coastal communities and also document the continued importance of fishing and salt making to the people who dwelt in Kekaha:

...A considerable trade is kept up between the south and north end of the district. The inhabitants of the barren portion of the latter [i.e., Kekaha] are principally occupied in fishing and the manufacture of salt, which articles are bartered with those who live in the more fertile regions of the south [i.e. Kailua-Keauhou], for food and clothing... (Wilkes 1845:4, 95-97).

The practice of inter-regional trade of salt and other articles described by Wilkes above, was based on traditional customs (cf. Malo 1951 & Kamakau 1961), and remained important to the livelihood of Kekaha through the ca. 1930s (see oral history interview in *Volume II*). The Wilkes account reminds us of the regional interrelationship among *ahupua'a* in both pre- and post-contact eras.

### **The Journal of Cochran Forbes (1841)**

Cochran Forbes was a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), who served at Ka'awaloa and Kealakekua between c. 1832 to 1845. In those years, Forbes traveled to various missions on Hawai'i, and in his journal (Forbes 1984), we find the following reference to Kekaha and Ka'upulehu. Describing the affects of a tidal wave at Kekaha, Forbes observed:

On the 7<sup>th</sup> [November 1837] . about 7oclk at night the sea at this place receded a number of feet, leaving the shore dry far below low water mark. The phenomenon produced great excitement among the natives & fish. The cause was unknown as we had no earthquake nor any sensible cause. The evening was perfectly calm & pleasant. The moon was in her first quarter. At Kekaha where the shore is low the return of the sea, tho' very gentle swelled far above high water mark and swept away some houses, tho' no lives were lost. At Hilo the return of the sea was very violent...and did great damage as many of the people there lived on the shore Eleven or twelve souls were suddenly swept into eternity and multitudes of others carried, by the receding waves far, from land... (Forbes 1984:59)

On January 29, 1841, Forbes and party paid a visit to Ka'upulehu village, and care given them by Kuakahela<sup>7</sup> at a house of the late Governor Kuakini. Having departed from Kawaihae, Forbes wrote:

...Before noon...the wind shifted around and the sea again grew rough before we reached *lae mano*. It was now near noon so we kept on till we reached Kaupulehu. Here we put in and found a kind reception the old head man Kuahahela [sic] led us to a house of the Gov. well furnished with mats where we spent the remainder of the day & that night very comfortably. Poor old man he cannot renounce his tobacco pipe, it seemed almost his idol. He formerly was a priest and one of a vanquished party, by which he came near his death. He escaped only by creeping under the mats in a house while his enemies in pursuit of him passed by. He said he had no hopes for his life.— (ibid.:93; Kamakau 1968:7,15 gives a detailed account of Kuakahela's role as a kahuna, and his narrow escape from Pu'ukoholā; in c. 1793).

In another account (Korn 1958) from 1861, Lady Franklin and Sophia Cracroft from England visited the Hawaiian Kingdom, writing numerous letters home, by which they described their visit. On May

<sup>7</sup> Great, great grandfather of Arthur M. Mahi, who participated in oral history interviews cited in this study.

16, 1861, the party took a canoe trip from Kailua to Kawaihae, and at "About midday we stopped at a very small village, lying on a sandy cove with a few coconuts, named Kapulehu [Kaupulehu]. Here we rested for about an hour and a half while the men sucked up their *poi*, under the stimulus of which they pulled or paddled more vigorously..." (Korn 1958:75).

## **B: Mo'olelo – Traditional and Historic Accounts**

*(collected or written between ca. 1890 to 1930)*

In the region of Kekaha, at places like Ka'upulehu (also at Kiholo, Kūki'o, Makalawena, and Mahai'ula), where natural resources were favorable, families in small communities maintained residence into the later 19<sup>th</sup>- and early 20<sup>th</sup>-centuries. From some of the descendants of these families we are provided a unique historical record—at least two of the "sons" of Kekaha (born in the early 1850s) were prolific writers. In the period from ca. 1907 to 1929, J.W.H. Isaac Kihe (who also wrote under the penname "Ka-'ohu-ha'aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-'ekolu") and John Ka'elemakule, who independently and in partnership with Reverend Steven Desha and John Wise<sup>8</sup>, wrote detailed historical accounts in Hawaiian language newspapers.

The narratives below, provide readers with first hand accounts by native residents, some not previously translated from Hawaiian to English<sup>9</sup>. To the greatest extent possible, all native accounts which make specific reference to the *ahupua'a* of Ka'upulehu have been included here. Other selected narratives which describe the customs, practices and beliefs of native residents of Kekaha-wai-'ole-o-nā-Kona, are included when they can help interpret historic resources of the land and the lifeways of the residents. The historical records are generally presented in sections by date of occurrence—the period of the events described—and generally from the earliest written accounts to the most recent ones.

### **Historical Overview**

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

Through the work of two native residents of Kekaha—J.W.H.I. Kihe and J. Ka'elemakule—(recently translated from the original Hawaiian texts), we are given the opportunity to share in the history of the land and sense the depth of attachment that native residents felt for Ka'upulehu and the larger region of Kekaha-wai-'ole-o-nā-Kona. The primary author of the narratives cited in this section of the study is:

**John Whalley Hermosa Isaac Kihe** (a.k.a. Ka-'ohu-ha'aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-'ekolu). Born in 1853, his parents came from families of Honokōhau and Kaloko. During his life, Kihe: (1) taught at various schools in the Kekaha region; (2) served as legal counsel to native residents applying for homestead lands; (3) worked as a translator on the Hawaiian Antiquities collections of A. Fornander; (4) and was a prolific writer. In the later years of his life, Kihe lived at Pu'u Anahulu, and he is fondly remembered by elder members of the Pu'u Anahulu-Ka'upulehu area. Kihe, who died in 1929, was also one of the primary informants to Eliza Davis Low-Maguire—the second wife of John Maguire, of Hu'ehu'e Ranch—who translated portions of the

<sup>8</sup> Kihe and Wise also worked on the translations of Abraham Fornander's "Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore" (1917-1919).

<sup>9</sup> In preparation of this study, the author had the opportunity to complete further translations of the original texts., As a result, there is documentation here, which has not been previously available in English.

writings of Kihe, publishing them in abbreviated form in her book "Kona Legends" (1926).

The original narratives cited below, were printed in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, published in Hilo between 1906 to 1948. In its columns, the writers, who lived on the land and who were intimately acquainted with its resources, share some of their history—the traditional accounts handed down from their *kūpuna*, and the historic events of their own lifetimes. Several of the articles were published in serial form and ran anywhere from a few weeks at a time, to as long as four years. The selected narratives include descriptions of the ancient and historic communities of Kekaha. The translations, presenting the key documentation and summaries of the full records, were prepared by the author of this study.

**"Ka'ao Ho'oniu Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki"  
(The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki)**

The story of Ka-Miki is a long and complex account, that was published over a period of four years (1914-1917) in the weekly Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*. The narratives were primarily recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe. While "Ka-Miki" is not an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of local stories, tales, and family traditions in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations. While the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be "ancient," the site documentation within the "story of Ka-Miki" is of both cultural and historical value. The English translations below, are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events of the narratives. Also, when the meaning was clear, diacritical marks have been added to help with pronunciation of the Hawaiian.

This *mo'olelo* is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Maka'iole (Rat [squinting] eyes), who traveled 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. The narratives include discussion on approximately 800 place names of the island of Hawai'i. The excerpts below, are presented as associated with specific place names of interest to this study.

**Selected References  
to Places and Events:**

- Kalama'ula
- Hualālai sites

**Narrative:**

Ka-Miki and Maka'iole were reared by their ancestress, Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands) at Kalama'ula on the heights of Hualālai. Ka-uluhe was one incarnation of the goddess Haumea, also known as Papa and Hina (the goddess who gave birth to the islands, a creative force of nature). In this account, Ka-uluhe was also the foremost goddesses called upon by priests and people who experts in fighting and competitions.

Ka-uluhe and Kanakaloa, another elder relative of the brothers, instructed them in them in the uses of their supernatural powers, and all manner of competition skills which they would need to take a journey around the island of Hawai'i. (January 8 to March 12, 1914)...

- Makalawena

Having completed their training, Ka-uluhe was prepared for the *'awa* and *'ailolo* (graduation) ceremonies of Ka-Miki and Maka'iole in the uplands of Kalama'ula. The *'awa* had been taken from the ghost-god king Luanu'u-a-nu'u-pō'ele-ka-pō,

- Pahulu (a land area in Ka'ūpūlehu named for the God Pahulu or Luanu'u

also called Pahulu. Outraged by this, Pahulu and his ghost hordes arrived at Kaukahōkū. Ka-Miki quickly ensnared the ghost god and his companions in the supernatural net called Halekumuka'aha (also called Ku'uku'u). Ka-Miki pulled the net so tightly that Luanu'u's eyes bulged out and were used by Ka-uluhe for the *pūpū 'awa* ('awa drink relish) in the 'ailolo—completion of training ceremonies performed for Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole at Kaukahōkū (March 12, 1914).

- Ku'una-a-ke-akua and shoreline sites at
- Kapu'uali'i
- Kaulu

Following the ceremony, Ka-Miki took the net filled with the bodies of the defeated ghost king and his followers and released them at a place between Kapu'uali'i<sup>10</sup> and Kaulu<sup>11</sup> along the shore of Makalawena. The site at which this occurred is now called Ku'una-a-ke-akua (Releasing, or setting down of the ghosts). Hio, a guardian and messenger of Luanu'u-a-nu'u-pō'ele-ka-pō was one of the few ghosts to escape, thus he wanders Kekaha to this day. Because of this event, there is a *kapu* (restriction) which is observed while fishing along the points of Kekaha—

*A 'oia ke kapu o kēia mau makalae i nā po'e lawai'a 'upena o ka pō, a'ole e kama'ilio e hele ana i ke 'upena ku'u. A pēlā ho'i ka lama o ka pō, a'ole e kama'ilio a koi alu e hele kākou; a ke hele 'oe e ho'i nele ana 'oe i ke kula o Malama, a'ohe mea loa'a iā 'oe, e 'ike ana 'oe i ka weli o ke kai e lalapa ana e la'a no 'oe o ka uwila — This is the restriction to be observed along these shores; the night net fishermen, do not speak of going to set nets, nor do the torch fishermen speak of torching, or urge others to go along, because if you do go, you will return empty handed to the plain of Malama, you will get nothing but the wrath of the sea striking at you like lightning.*

- Malama (the *kula* or plain land) of Inland Makalawena
- Kekaha

- Fishing custom

Those who wish to fish here should say:

*E pī'i kākou i uka i kula pa'a kō-kea, i kula 'uala, i ka leo o ka manu — Let us ascend the plain to which the kō-kea sugar cane is held fast, the plain upon which sweet potatoes are planted, and where the voices of the birds are heard.*

- Pahulu

Perhaps then you will not meet with any strange occurrences when you go net fishing and such. To this day, when someone eats the heads of the 'anae, uoa, weke lāō, and the *palani-maha-ō'ō* (fish which are among the body forms of Luanu'u-a-nu'u-pō'ele-ka-pō and his companions) they see strange things. To prevent this, the bones of the fish should be tossed back and the diner should say—*Eia kāu wahi e Pahulu* (Here is your portion o Pahulu)... (March 19, 1914)

While being instructed in *nou pōhaku* (sling stone fighting techniques), the boys learned about their elder Kanakaloa, and sites in Manini'ōwali, Kūki'o, and Ka'ūpūlehu that were associated with him:

**Selected References to Places and Events:**

- Kanaka-loa
- Mūhe'e-nui

**Narrative:**

Kanaka-loa (Long man) On the hill of Mūhe'enui in Kūki'o.  
Mūhe'e-nui (Large cuttlefish) In the land of Kūki'o, named for the wife of Kanakaloa.

<sup>10</sup> Ka-pu'u-ali'i (The chief's hill or mound; Pu'u-ali'i or One-o-pu'u-ali'i). Kapu'uali'i is a sand dune along the shore of Makalawena.

<sup>11</sup> Ka-ulū (The ledge or plateau) describes a sand dune formation, which is opposite of Kapu'uali'i, with Ku'unaakeakua lying between the dunes; this place name is written as "Kū'ula" in the *Ke Au Hou* version of the legend.

- Ka-ho'owaha                      Ka-ho'owaha (To carry something on one's back; cf. Emerson in this study) In the land of Manini'ōwali.
  
  - Kanakaloa                        The place called Kanakaloa was named for the deified sling stone fighting master, and brother of Kū-mua-a-lau-a-hanahana, husband of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. Near the boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kūki'o, is the hill Mūhe'enui, also called Ka-lā-malo'o-o-Mūhe'enui. On the ridge of the hill is a long stone like no other, which is the form of Kanakaloa. The Kanaka-loa stone is one of the ko'a triangulation stations for deep sea canoe fishermen, who used the ko'a lawai'a kūkaula (deep sea hand line fishing grounds) of Kaho'owaha. Another one of the markers is the hill called Kaho'owaha in Manini'ōwali.
  - Mūhe'enui
  - The ko'a of Kanakaloa
  - The ko'a Kaho'owaha
  
  - Sites in Ka'ūpūlehu  
   – Pu'uhinuhinu, 'Ua'upo'o'ole, and Kapipā etc.
- Kanakaloa was the fierce warrior (fighting bonito) of the Pu'uhinuhinu and 'Ua'upo'o'ole hills in the 'ūlei covered region of Hīkuhia. Kanakaloa was skilled in wrestling, bone breaking and sling stone fighting, no one could compete with him. The region around Hīkuhia, associated with Pu'u-hinuhinu-o-'Ua'u-po'o'ole, a furrowed hill, and the lands named Kapipā (above Pu'unāhāhā and Pu'umau'u) were once famed for *kimopō pōwā* (thieves and robbers) who waylaid travelers along the trail which led to Mauna-kilohana, (towards Mauna Kea) from Ka'ūpūlehu; the bones of many of their victims were left along the trail. Kanakaloa rid the region of these thieves and robbers... (June 18, 1914)

As the account draws near to its conclusion, Ka-Miki has completed his circuit of the island of Hawai'i, returning to Kona, he sets out to secure a place of honor and favor in the court of the chief Pili-a- Ka'aiea. Following a series of events, Ka-Miki became a favorite of the chief Pili-a-Ka'aiea. The narratives include rich descriptions of practices, fisheries, and sites in Kekaha that were important to fishermen of the region (sites referenced include Ka'ūpūlehu, Hale'ohi'u, Awalua, Kaulana, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, and Kūki'o).

**Selected References to Places and Events:**

- *Aku* fishing with the sacred lure Kaiakeakua
- Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani, the sacred *aku* brought from Kahiki by Pā'ao (it is noted here that in other traditions cited below, the southern point of Ka'ūpūlehu is Kumukea. Thus the name could be associated with fishing customs).

**Narrative:**

...Desiring to go fishing, Ka-Miki asked if Pili had a pā (mother of pearl lure) for *aku* fishing. Pili called his priest Ku'eho'opi'okalā (of Ahu'ena) asking for the royal lures. After looking at, and rejecting several of the lures, Ku'eho'opi'okalā brought out the sacred lure Kaiakeakua, which was the inheritance of Pili. The chief then told Ka-Miki, "My beloved son here is the pā-kauoha (lure inheritance) of my ancestors." Ka-Miki looked at the lure and told Pili, "This is the lure that will catch Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani<sup>12</sup>." ...Ka-Miki arose when the star *Kau'ōpae* (Sirius) appeared [3 am], for this was the time when canoe fleets made ready to depart for the fishing grounds of Kekaha. The fishermen of those days were industrious, but if there was one who over slept, that one would be remembered by the saying:

*O moe loa ke kāne, o nānā wale ka wahine, o kī'eī wale ke keiki* — When the husband sleeps long, the wife is left looking on, and the child peers about [When a lazy man does not care for his family, they are left looking for a means of survival] (October 4, 1917).

- Fishing customs of Kekaha                      With his companions seated in the canoe, Ka-Miki gave one push to the canoe and it was beyond the shoreward waves. With two dips of the paddle, they

<sup>12</sup> When the Priest Pā'ao came to Hawai'i, brought with him the schools of *aku* and *'ōpelu* fish (cf. Kamakau; Kū 'Ōko'a –December 29, 1866). In this account, Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani was the name of lead *aku* that came to Hawai'i with Pā'ao.

- Kekaha regional sites and fishing grounds
- Kaiwi Point
- Ahuloa
- The shark god Niho'eleki

passed Kaiwi Point (at Keahuolu). Upon reaching Ahuloa Ka-Miki opened the *hōkeo pā hī aku* (bonito lure container) in which the supernatural lure Kaiakeakua was kept. Ka-Miki then commanded that Uhalalē and Uhalali paddle the canoe. Though these two paddled with all their might, the canoe only moved a little. Ka-Miki then chanted out to his shark 'aumakua Niho'eleki — *mele 'aumakua, mele lawai'a*:

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

He 'ilio nahumaka 'ai kepahepa

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

O ke aku ho'olili la

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

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

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

- Fishing *ko'a* of Kekaha
- Kaka'i
- Kanāhāhā
- Kahawai (Kahuwai)
- Kapapu

When Ka-Miki finished his chant, the *aku* began to strike at the canoe, and Ka-Miki told Uhalalē *mā* to take the first caught and place it in a gourd container. After this the *aku* rose like biting dogs, tearing at the water, and Ka-Miki moved like a swift wind. In no time the canoe was filled with more than 400 *aku*. An amazing thing is that though Pili's fishermen and all the fishermen of Kekaha were fishing at Kaka'i, Kanāhāhā (Hale'ohi'u), the entire ocean from the *ko'a* of Kapapu (Keāhole vicinity) to Kahawai (at Ka'ūpūlehu); none of them caught any fish at all.

- Pāo'o (Pāo'o-a-ka-nuku-hale)
- Kaulana
- Ho'onā
- The supernatural ocean currents of Ho'onā
- Honokōhau

The *aku* school was at the *ko'a* of Pāo'o, also known by the names Ka-nuku-hale and Pāo'o-a-Kanukuhale; the bonito lure fishing grounds which extended from Kaulana to Ho'onā, fronting Keāhole, which is the source of the [supernatural] currents *Keaukā*, *Keaukāna'i* and *Keaumiki*. These are the currents of that land where fish are cherished like the *lei hala* (pandanus *lei*) worn close to the breast, the fish cherished by Mākālei. Ka-Miki then turned the canoe and landed at *Nā Hono 'Elua* (the two bays) also called *Nā Honokōhau* (Honokōhau), Ka-Miki divided the fish between the family of the chiefess Paehala and people of those lands... (October 11, 1917).

### ***Ka Imu a Kāne (The Underground Oven of Kāne)***

The region of Kekaha receives an average annual rainfall of 20 inches. As the ancient names Kekaha or Kekaha-wai-'ole imply, the land was one in which potable water resources were limited. Indeed, many of the traditions of the land that have been preserved through time, are those which speak of water—the lack of it, or the great care that was taken of it. In a series of articles written by J.W.H.I. Kihe, in which he shared the history of Kekaha, readers were told about a spring at the shore of Ka'ūpūlehu, in the bay of Kahuwai.

#### **Selected References to Places and Events:**

- Kumukea-Kalani (chiefess of Ka'ūpūlehu)

A drought in Kekaha

- Kāne (brother of Kumukea and the god of water, healing, life agriculture and light)

- Pu'umau'u

- Kāne instructs the people to build and *imu* (underground oven)

- Kāne is placed in the *imu*, and when it is uncovered it is filled with food

- Kāne rises out of the ocean and the spring "Ka-wai-a-Kāne" is formed; the spring is noted as a place of healing

#### **Narrative:**

In very ancient times, there were many people living upon these lands, in the various *'okana*, *ahupu'a* and agricultural land divisions of Kekaha. The chiefess Kumukea-Kalani, her lesser chiefs and many people lived in the land now called Ka'ūpūlehu, and this chiefess was the sister of the god Kāne. During the rule of this chiefess there was an abundance of food grown upon the land. Then one time, for an unknown reason, a period of drought and famine fell upon the land and people. All of the resources from the mountain ridges to the shore were used, and the people were hungry.

All of the chiefess' prayers had no effect, and Kumukea-Kalani told her people to go and search out someplace else where they might live, "Do not think about me, for I am only one, and if I should die of hunger, that is how it will be. My attendants can conceal my bones." The people told their chiefess that they would not leave her alone, that it was best that they all stayed and died together. It came to pass that the people became so weak that they could not move, and that they only slept each day. One day, Kumukea-Kalani rose and stood at the entrance of her compound. Glancing to the uplands, she saw a man upon the slopes. Calling to one of her attendants, she asked if he too saw a man descending the slopes, there by Pu'u-Mau'u. While they were talking, this man appeared at the chiefess' compound, and she realized that it was her elder brother Kāne [a god of water, healing, life agriculture and light].

Kāne inquired of Kumukea, "How is life upon this land?" Kumukea responded by telling him of the sore condition of her people and the land. Kāne then told Kumukea to have a great *imu* prepared and lit. Though the people could not understand the nature of this command, the *imu* was made ready. Kāne then stood at the edge of the *imu* and told the people to spread a covering of *'ākulikuli*, *pōhuehue*, and *makaloa* upon the hot *imu*. Kāne then laid upon the *imu* and had the people close it. In a short time, the people saw Kāne rise up from the shore and approach the *imu*. He commanded that the *imu* be uncovered, and the people found all manner of foods; taros, sweet potatoes, yams, bread fruit, bananas, pigs, dogs, chickens and such, cooked within the *imu* (this is how a site came to be called *Ka-imu-a-Kāne*). The chiefess, her retainers, and people all ate and regained their health.



At the site where Kāne appeared on the shore, a cool fresh water spring also poured forth. To this day the spring is called Ka-wai-a-Kāne [The water of Kāne<sup>13</sup>]. Because this spring was made by Kāne, it was a place of healing. Sick people who bathed in this water were cured of their ailments<sup>14</sup>. From that time on Kumukea-Kalani and her people lived out their lives in health and abundance.

- The surf of Ka'ūpūlehu is named Kumukea (also identified by informants in 1882 as the point between Ka'ūpūlehu and Kūki'o)

The surf of Ka'ūpūlehu is named Kumukea for the chiefess [this name is also commemorated as the point Kumukea, near the Ka'ūpūlehu-Kūki'o boundary; the name was erroneously written as "Kumukehu" on USGS maps beginning c. 1930]. And because of this event, in which the god Kāne was baked in an *imu*, the district came to be called *Kau-pūlehu-imu-akua* (God placed in an oven and cooked), which was later shortened to Ka'ūpūlehu (J.W.H.I. Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, April 2, 1914).

### ***Ka Loko o Paaiea (The fishpond of Pa'aiea)***

The tradition of "*Ka-loko-o-Pa'aiea*" (The fishpond of Pa'aiea) was written by J.W.H.I. Kihe, and printed in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* in 1914 and 1924. The narratives describe traditional life and practices in various *ahupua'a*, of the Kekaha region including Ka'ūpūlehu, Kaulana, and Mahai'ula. The story specifically describes the ancient fishpond Pa'aiea, and provides details of the villages along the coast and in the uplands. It is important to note that the presence of major fishponds in this region is an indicator of Kekaha's substantial population and its importance in supporting the larger "royal" community around the area now identified as Kailua.

#### **Selected References to Places and Events:**

- The fishponds and fish of Pa'aiea, Kiholo and Wainānāli'i
- Pa'aiea and the King's compounds described
- The fishpond guardian houses were situated at Ka'elehuluhulu and Ho'onā

#### **Narrative:**

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

- Pa'aiea
- Ka'elehuluhulu
- Wawaloli

In the correct and true story of this pond, we see that its boundaries extended from Ka'elehuluhulu on the north, and on the south, to the place called Wawaloli<sup>15</sup> (in the vicinity of 'O'oma). The pond was more than three miles long and one and a half miles wide, and today, within these boundaries, one can still see many water holes.

- Pele visits the region of Kekaha; Meets with Kēpa'alani the

While traveling in the form of an old woman, Pele visited the Kekaha region of Kona, bedecked in garlands of the *ko'oko'olau* (*Bidens* spp.). Upon reaching Pa'aiea

<sup>13</sup> Portions of this account are told in the oral history interviews with *kūpuna* Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Perreira, Robert Ka'iwa Punihale, and Joseph Pu'ipu'i "Wainuke" Maka'ai.

<sup>14</sup> In August 1883, surveyor, J.S. Emerson collected another name for Wai-o-Kāne from the aged Kaua'i, a chief who lived at Kiholo; "Waiawili in Kaupulehu, the kahunas order their sick to bathe there" (Bishop Museum HEN I:473).

<sup>15</sup> Maguire's account of Pa'aiea (1929:14-17), indicates that the pond extended as far as Keāhole. This description fits in with the extent of the 1801 lava flows of Hualālai. It will be noted that the pond would have extended beyond Keāhole if canoes traveling on it were to pass inland of the point (see also Kamakau 1961:184-186).

Overseer of Pa'aiea, at Ho'onā

- Pele departs from Ho'onā and Travels along the *kuapā* to Ka'elehuluhulu

- The people of Ka'elehuluhulu greet Pele and offer her food

at Ho'onā, Pele inquired if she might perhaps have an *'ama'ama*, young *āholehole*, or a few *'ōpae* (shrimp) to take home with her. Kepa'alani, refused, "they are *kapu*, for the King." Pele then stood and walked along the *kuapā* (ocean side wall) of Pa'aiea till she reached Ka'elehuluhulu. There, some fishermen had returned from *aku* fishing, and were carrying their canoes up onto the shore. Pele had now taken the form of a beautiful young woman, and she approached one of the houses at Ka'elehuluhulu, where she was greeted. Because it was seen that she was stranger to the place, one of the natives commented on this, and asked "Where is this journey that has brought you here, taking you?" Pele confirmed that she was indeed a visitor, and that she had come down to the place of the chief, to fetch some *pa'akai* (salt) with which to season their fish. Pele told them, "When I came down here, I went before the *Konohiki*, and was told that the fish, the *palu* (fish relish), the young mullet, the *āhole*, and the *'ōpae* were all *kapu* (restricted). They were only for the King. Thus, I have arrived here before you."

When the natives of the village heard Pele's story, the woman who dwelt in the house that Pele was at, told her "Here, the fish is cooked, it has been steamed (*hāku'i*), let's eat. Then when you've finished eating, you may continue your journey." Pele joined the *kama'āina* of the place, and when she dipped her finger in the bowl, she took and ate all the fish to see if the people would deny her the food. But when she did this, the *kama'āina* set another bowl before her, not refusing her.

- Pele tells the people how to protect Ka'elehuluhulu in the coming night – why Ka'elehuluhulu and Mahai'ula were protected from the lava flows

Pele then stood up, ready to leave and she told the people, "This evening set up *lepa* (flags, boundary markers) at the corners of your land. One doesn't know if perhaps tonight, something good or bad might occur." Then Pele departed from the place, and she disappeared from sight. Startled, it was then that the people said among themselves, "This woman that visited our home must have been Pele-Honuamea (Pele of the red earth)."

- Pele travels to upland Manuahi, Ka'upulehu and meets with Pāhinahina and Kolomu'o – the account of how Ka-'ulu-pūlehu came to be named.

When Pele departed from the shore of Ka'elehuluhulu she arrived at the uplands of Manuahi at Keone'eli, the place that is known today as Kepuhiapele. It is an *'o'ā* hill about 200 feet high, below the place where J.A. Maguire lives. At this place, there was a village (*kūlanakauhale*) of many people. At this quiet village, Pele saw two girls, who were *pūlehu 'ulu ana* (broiling breadfruit); these girls were Pāhinahina and Kolomu'o. All the other people of the village were away performing agricultural service for their chief. Pele approached the two girls and inquired about their tasks. When she asked who would receive the first offerings of this *'ulu*, Kolomu'o said her goddess La'i would receive the offering for she was a powerful deity. Kolomu'o did not acknowledge Pele. Pāhinahina replied that her goddess Pele-Honuamea would receive the first offering. Not knowing that the old woman was Pele, the girls continued responding to Pele's comments about the power of their goddesses.

- The lava flows and eruption described

When their conversation was completed, Pele told Pāhinahina, "Our *'ulu* is cooked; let us eat." Pele then instructed Pāhinahina to mark the boundary between her and her family's dwellings and the dwelling of Kolomu'o with *lepa* (white *kapa* flags). She also told Pāhinahina not to fear the events that would occur that night.

- Mauna Loa
- Hualālai regional sites
- Noted for *ua'u* bird catching
- Lava flow described

Well, that night, a white flash was seen to travel from Mauna Loa to Hualālai, and in a short time a red glow was seen at Ka-iwi-o-Pele [cf. Register Map No. 1263]. The people along the coast thought that it was the fire of the bird catchers at Hono-(manu)-'ua'u. The light dimmed and then appeared at (*pu'u*) Kīleo where the shiny hills of black *pāhoehoe* may be seen. Pele then went

underground and appeared at Keone'eli where she caused deep fissures to open, and the *kahe-ā-wai* (fire rivers) to flow.

- Kolomu'o – marks an 'ōpelu fishermen's ko'a

Some of the houses were destroyed, and Kolomu'o mā were consumed by the lava. As a result, the lava flats below Kepuhiapele and a shoreward 'ōpelu fishermen's ko'a (shrine) bear the name of Kolomu'o [cf. Register Map No. 1278; & Emerson's field note in this study]. The area where Pāhinahina and her family lived was left untouched, and this open space bears the name of Pāhinahina to this day. It is because of this event that the lands of Manuahi came to be called Ka-ulu-pūlehu (The Broiled Breadfruit), and this has been shortened to Ka'ūpūlehu....

- The pond of Pa'aiea is covered by the lava flows
- When sailing south, the ancient canoe fleets traveled in Pa'aiea fishpond
- Ka'elehuluhulu
- Ho'onā, Ua'u'ālohi, and Keāhole

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

- The Keāhole lighthouse marks where some of the chief's supply houses, and Kēpa'alani's residences were
- Pelekāne at Pu'ukala marks the location of Kamehameha's former residence.

It was at Ho'onā that Kēpa'alani dwelt, that is where the houses in which the chiefs valuables (*hale papa'a*) were kept. It was also one the canoe landings of the place. Today, it is where the light house of America is situated. Pelekāne (in Pu'ukala) is where the houses of Kamehameha were located, near a stone mound that is partially covered by the *pāhoehoe* of Pele. If this fishpond had not been covered by the lava flows, it would surely be a thing of great wealth to the government today. (J.W.H.I. Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*; compiled from the narratives written February 5-26, 1914 and May 1-15, 1924).

### **Ka Pu'u o 'Akahipu'u (The Hill of 'Akahipu'u)**

In his series of traditions recorded, Kihe also relayed the account of how the *menehune* attempted to relocate the top of 'Akahipu'u from the uplands to the coast. Portions of 'Akahipu'u are situated in near the southern boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu, where the *ahupua'a* of Awake'e, Makalawena and Mahai'ula, draw together. 'Akahipu'u is an important inland reference point from Ka'ūpūlehu and lands in the northern regions of Kekaha. In relaying the tradition, Kihe observed:

This is a great hill, standing inland of the place of J.A. Maguire. The high point of this hill is called 'Akahipu'u. The ancient story of this hill is that the *menehune* desired to cut the top off and carry it, to set it atop the Kuili, which stands near the shore.

Kihe's story continues, describing how the supernatural rooster, Mōa-nui-a-hea, the pet of Kāne, thwarted the *menehune*'s efforts by crowing out. This causes the *menehune* to stop work as they believed sunrise was approaching. Eventually, the *menehune* killed the rooster, and baked him in the place now called "Ka-īmu-moa," but Kāne brought him back to life with the *wai ola* (water of life) of Kāne. On their last try at relocating the hill, the *menehune* heard the rooster again, and gave up. (Kihe in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* May 22, 1924; see also E. Maguire 1926, for further details)

### **Nā Ho'onanea o ka Manawa (A Pleasant Passing of Time)**

Following his series in which he described some of the "*wahi pana*" or storied places of the *kahakai* (shore zone) and *kula* (plains), Kihe turned to the inland region of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha. On May 29-June 5, 1924, under the heading "*Na Hoonanea o ka Manawa*," Kihe wrote about the region of

Ka'ūpūlehu that extended above Māmalahoa Highway, reaching to the summit of Hualālai. His narratives (translated by the author of this study) describe places of natural and cultural significance on the mountain landscape. In this two article series, Kihe provides readers with specific details for ten of the *pu'u* (hills) and *lua* (craters) which he identified as being some of the "*wahi pana kaulana*" (famous, storied places) of the land. Many of locations which he lists below, are mentioned in other accounts written by Kihe, and cited in this study.

*Nā Ho'onanea o ka Manawa*

...Here, we will list the *wahi pana* (famous and storied places) of these *ahupua'a* (land divisions ) beginning on the shoreward side, and continuing to the summit of the mountain of Hualālai [within the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu]; listed by their names as called by the ancient people:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Ka-pu'u-o-Kileo;                    | 17. Pualala;                                 |
| 2. Ka'ai'alalalauā;                    | 18. Kawahapele;                              |
| 3. Kapu'ukao;                          | 19. Keone'eli;                               |
| 4. Pahulu;                             | 20. Hinakapoula;                             |
| 5. Moanuaiea;                          | 21. Kalulu;                                  |
| 6. Pu'umamaki;                         | 22. Nā-pu'u-o-Māhoe;                         |
| 7. Pu'uiki;                            | 23. Kumu māmane;                             |
| 8. Pu'ukoa;                            | 24. Kaluamakani;                             |
| 9. Kaiwiopēle;                         | 25. Pohokinikini;                            |
| 10. Pu'uhinuhinu;                      | 26. Hopuhopu;                                |
| 11. Kahuaiki;                          | 27. Kīpahe'e;                                |
| 12. Kamawae;                           | 28. Hanakaumalu;                             |
| 13. Hikuhia, in the uplands of Nāpu'u; | 29. Kaunu o Honuaula;                        |
| 14. 'Ua'upo'o'ole;                     | 30. Ka-pu'u-o-Hainoa;                        |
| 15. Nā hale o Kaua;                    | 31. The summit of Hualālai and the pit Milu; |
| 16. Kīpuka of 'Owē'owē;                | 32. Kīpahe'e [repeated];                     |
|  | 33. Mākanikiu Pu'u                           |

*Ka lua o Milu (The pit of Milu)*

It is said that the pit of Milu is the crater from which Hikuikanahēle fetched the chiefess Kawelu, who had been taken below to the stratum (platform) of Milu, king of the darkened nights. It is this round crater at the top of Hualālai, and it remains there to this day. It is truly a deep pit, and if you should throw a stone into the crater, you will not hear its echo when it reached the bottom.

By my estimate, as I am familiar with these mountainous places, the measurement of the mouth of this crater is perhaps about 6 or 7 feet.

*Ka wai o Kīpahe'e (The water of Kīpahe'e)*

The water of Kīpahe'e is found in a crater which one descends to reach the place of the spring. This is not a true spring from which you would gather water, but is a water moss which you scoop up to fill your container with and return to the top.

One will find that in trying to climb straight to the top of this treacherous pit, that it can't be done. Each attempt finds one sliding back down, until one needs to sit down from sheer exhaustion. The way you can easily reach the top is by ascending on a zigzag path, turning right and then left. That is how one can reach the top and end the trouble. [May 29, 1924].

Descending is done quickly, but climbing out is the trouble. But now, about this *limu* (water moss) that you have placed in your container, or cup; when you reach the top, you will see that it has turned completely into water. That water moss is like the

*lipālāwai* (*Pithophora* spp.), a fresh water algae, and when it disappears, it is just like cold fresh water. Amazing eh?...

#### **Hanakaumalu**

Is (named for) the grandmother (ancestress) of Hikuikanahēle, and it is here, in that cave where she cared for him till he became skilled in all things he was instructed in. That cave remains there to this day.

#### **Ka Pu'u o Honua'ula (The hill of Honua'ula)**

This is a great and high hill, which can be seen standing tall with majesty and honor. Behind this hill is— [Ed. note: this is not a typographical error, Kihe used this sentence to introduce the remainder of the narrative]

#### **Ka Pu'u o Hainoa (The hill of Hainoa)**

There at this hill is the house site of Kū and Hina, the parents of Hikuikanahēle, the (stone) paved foundation of this house extends out from there in a beautiful and fine setting. There are many people that have been to this house site, and they have written their names out, placing them in many bottles and old wooden boxes that have been mounded up on the stone pavement.

In the front of this platform, on the right side of Pu'u Honua'ula, is the place where the 'ōhi'a (*Metrosideros polymorpha*) tree, named Kū-ka-'ōhi'a-Laka, grew! It is said that this 'ōhi'a is the body-form of Kū, the husband of Hina. This tree bears 'ōhi'a blossoms that are *lehua 'ula* (red *lehua*), and *lehua kea* (white *lehua*). This 'ōhi'a has one *kino* (body; i.e. trunk), yet, there are indeed two kinds of flowers, the red and white *lehua*.

The 'ōhi'a tree has since dried up, and its body has been taken by those who visited the place. Even the roots have been dug up, so that now, all that remains where this 'ōhi'a form of Kū-ka-'ōhi'a-Laka once stood, are many furrows and pits...

#### **Pohokinikini**

These are many large and deep craters, perhaps 500 feet deep, with a diameter of almost 400 feet. If you should go close to the edge of one of these craters, you will shudder and be filled with fear, that you may fall and lose your life.

One of the amazing things that will cause you to think, is that there is the growth of small 'ōhi'a, 'āma'uma'u (*Sadleria*) and 'akōlea (*Athyrium poiretianum*) ferns, and many other plants of the forest upon the walls of these craters. As far as one can see, from the edge to depths in the earth, the craters are adorned with green and verdant growth. It is some which is truly admired by those who travel along this mountainous region; it causes the visitors to give thanks to the one who created this verdant growth.

#### **Kaluamakani (The wind craters)**

But that is not the only thing that causes the traveler to reflect. There is also the wind. There is a crater that is like a pathway for the wind which rises from the depths to the top, as if playing. If you should cast your hat into that crater, you will see it taken up by the wind. It will not fall to the bottom, but will be carried back up to you, so that you may once again wear your hat. The natives of this land call this crater Kaluamakani, because of the winds in the crater.

O readers of *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, to this day, the crater is called Kaluamakani. And so I've told you about some of the amazing things about these craters which cause one to shudder and stand in fear as one looks upon their features.

Ladies and gentlemen, perhaps you ask, "Where does this wind, in the crater come from?" And it is a good question that you ask. Let us look back once again, for a short while to understand this. The wind does not come from within the crater, it is the wind that blows, and enters the crater from the top. The wind is caught and

trapped at the bottom, and there is no place for the wind to go, but to rise out. So like water in a deep pit, it goes around in a circle rising to the top, and pours out when it is full. That is how the crater came to be called Kaluamakani. It is not always like that, when the winds are calm, they don't blow out. But, when the winds blow wildly, that is when you will see what has been described here.

#### *Hopuhopu, Kipahe'e and Mekanikiu pu'u*

There among these wind craters, is the hill named Hopuhopu, next to Kipahe'e, and then there is the *pu'u kia'i* (guardian hill) of Hualālai, named Mekanikiu Pu'u. It is a hill for watching on Hualālai. It is a long hill, high and wondrous, situated in the front of Hualālai, on the side towards Kohala. There in the line of hills which encircle the mountain and overlook Kekaha wai'ole; the place that is also called "*kaha kaweka*." The meaning of name, as handed down from our *kūpuna* (ancestors), is that it was a "land without water and without food" (*'āina wai 'ole, a 'āina 'ai 'ole*).

So these recollections are made known to the offspring, the youth of Hawai'i. That these memories may be carried forward. If you should be strong and go to look for these famous *wahi pana* of my land; land where I have lived, where I am a native, and where I have traveled, you will know these stories...

...And here the author of these stories, a pleasant passing of time, rests; with great thanks to the editor for his patience... [June 5, 1924:c2]

As demonstrated in oral history interviews and the writings of present-day residents of Kekaha, Kihe's desire for future generations to know the *wahi pana* of their native land has been given life.

#### **"He Mo'olelo no Mākālei" (A Tradition of Mākālei)**

The story of Mākālei describes how one of the most famous *ana wai* (water caves) of the Kekaha region came to be found, and provides readers with another legendary view of life in Ka'ūpūlehu Mahai'ula, Kaulana and the Kekaha Region. Submitted to *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* by J.W.H.I. Kihe in 1928, the story is set around c. 1200 A.D. (by association with 'Olopana's reign on O'ahu). This story was briefly summarized by Eliza Maguire (1926) where it covered a few pages of her publication, Kihe's account actually ran in serial form for eight months of the paper's publication. Through this legend, readers are offered a natives' perspective of settlement-habitation, and practices associated with water catchment, agriculture, and fishing in the Kekaha region (the following narratives are selected excerpts from the lengthy account—an expanded translation is presented in a study prepared by the author in 1998 {Maly 1998a}).

#### **Selected References to Places and Events:**

- The birth and genealogy of Mākālei
- Keawehala

#### **Narrative:**

Ko'a-mokumoku-o-He'eia (Ko'a) was the father and Ka-ua-pō'ai-hala-o-Kahalu'u (Kaua) was the mother. Born to them were the children; two daughters [Ke-kai-ku'i-o-Keawehala and Ke-kai-ha'a-kūlou-o-Kahiki] and a son named Mākālei. The name of Mākālei was given by the command of his goddess-ancestress who was Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo<sup>16</sup> (*Hina* in the season of *Kā'elo*), who was a wife of the god *Kū*.

The fathers' occupation was that of a head fisherman with the lead fisherman for the chief 'Olopana. The lead fisherman's name was Kualoa. When Kualoa died, Ko'a left Ko'olau [O'ahu] and traveled to Hawai'i with his family and all the those

<sup>16</sup> *Kā'elo* (cf. *'elo* - saturated) - a wet month in the Hawaiian calendar, January on Hawai'i; a season associated with short days when the sun is "below," or at its' southern extremity, and a time when a star of that name is seen to rise in the heavens.

- Ka'ulupūlehu & Kekaha

things by which his livelihood as a fisherman was made... After stopping at Moloka'i and Maui, the family reached Kekaha, landing on the shore of Ka'ulupūlehu (Ka'ūpūlehu). Mākālei mā were greeted by Ke'awalena, a chief and skilled diviner of the Kekaha region.

- Kekaha residency patterns  
dependent on weather patterns

Because Ko'a was an excellent fisherman and farmer, and because Ke'awalena sensed Mākālei's supernatural qualities, Ke'awalena mā welcomed the new family and encouraged them to stay and live with them. In time, Ko'a saw that this land was a dry one, without quantities of food crops, though there was good fishing. Because he did not wish to burden the family of Ke'awalena, Ko'a asked that he be allowed to go to the uplands to care for some land and cultivate food so that everyone would have more to eat. Ke'awalena responded by saying that this is the trouble with this land, there is little water. When the sun is above the land in the *lā malo'o*-dry season the crops are dried out, and the people move from the uplands to live along the shore where water is available. . .

- Water catchment practices

Ko'a then asked how the people in the uplands got water. Ke'awalena told him that the water came only from the rains. When it rained the water ways [dry rivers], the small and large water gourds, the stone catchments made by placing stones together, are all filled with water. The *pao wai* or dugout pits are filled with water and these are the places where water is stored. Additionally, some people have *kaulana wai* (places where water rests) or *ana wai* (water caves) which they use when there is no other water. For those people who do not have *kaulana wai*, there is great tribulation, and they are the ones who return in the [dry] season to dwell on the shore. The water in the caves, is a water which *kulu wai* or drips from the rocks. Channels of banana stalks are set in place to direct the water into troughs of *'ōhi'a* and *wiliwili* wood...

: Ka'ulupūlehu

- Kūki'o  
- Makalawena  
- Mahai'ula

Though he heard these words, Ko'a was not discouraged, and he and Ke'awalena traveled to the uplands of Ka'ulupūlehu. In all this area, there was no *kāhāpai* (garden area) or *mo'o 'āina* (arable strip of land) left uncultivated. The two then went to Kūki'o, and there also was no place left uncultivated, and it was the same at Makalawena. They then went to the hill of 'Akāhipu'u, the place where the house of Maguire now stands, that is called Hu'ehu'e Ranch. All the good lands were cultivated and there was only one place left open, this was at Mahai'ula, on the side of 'Akāhipu'u. This place had been left because of its rocky, uneven surface with depressions and rocky mounds. It was here that Ko'a told his companion, "this is a good land for cultivation."

Ke'awalena responded, "This is a rocky uneven land with its depressions and rocky mounds, there is no soil and none of the natives of the area would try to cultivate crops here." Ko'a said, "Though the land is as you described, it is here that I will grow taro, bananas, sugar canes, sweet potatoes, and 'awa (*Piper methysticum*), there will be no end to the growth of these plants. . ." (January 31, 1928).

The two companions then went to the shore of Ka'ūpūlehu to gather things in preparation for their return to the uplands of Mahai'ula. While the work was being done, the family would remain along the shore. When Ko'a returned to the uplands, he took his son Mākālei with him, for the child wished to see [the embodiments of] Ho'olale-a-ka-'ūkiu [another name for Mākālei's ancestress, 'E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo, *pa'a 'ia a pa'a ka i'a a kāua*' (Hail Hina in the season of Kā'elo, secure and hold tight to the fish of ours)].

- Settlement and crop cultivation  
in the dry uplands

The first task was to build their house and enclose it, then they built the *pao wai* (water catchment) for storing the waters which came from rains. The great task

of the companion [Ke'awalena], was to go to the farmers and collect planting stock of the *pōhuli ma'i'a* (banana sprouts), the *lau 'uala* (sweet potato runners), the *pulapula 'awa* ('awa cuttings), seed sprouts of the *ipu 'awa'awa* (bitter gourd), and all manner of cultivated plants.

- Water catchment and crop cultivation

The local people teased Ke'awalena, and ridiculed the stranger [Ko'a] who would dwell upon this rocky land with its uneven surface, depressions, and rocky mounds. They said it would be a waste of time to try cultivating such a place. Ke'awalena responded by saying that you have one knowledge, and this man has another knowledge. It is like the fishermen who have ways different than yours.

Ko'a took up residence and began farming the land; the companion [Ke'awalena] began setting out the *hue wai* (water gourds), the *haona wai* (water bowls), the 'olo (long gourd containers), and preparing the *pao wai* (water catchments). The rains then returned and filled the gourds with water. Ko'a then planted the *kalo* (taro), sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar canes, and bitter gourds etc. And as these plants began to grow, they grew more luxuriously than any plants which had been seen before. The rains also continued to fall filling all of the containers. Wild grasses began to grow around the *mākālua kalo* (taro planting holes), and around all the things which had been planted. This grass was used as the *kipulu* (mulch) for all the other plants, and things grew even better; there was more cultivated food than had ever been available.

- Seasons and agricultural practices

As the seasons changed from the days of the moon (winter) to the days of the sun (summer), the sun dried all the surface growth, but the taro, sweet potatoes, and different plants continued to growing because there was water below the surface in the rocks of the *kihāpai* (cultivated patches). When the sweet potatoes matured and were ready for harvest, the family returned to the uplands for ten days. They baked a pig and offered chants and prayers in *kahukahu* ceremonies of the planter. When the taro, sweet potatoes, and foods were all prepared, Ko'a called to all who passed by to come and eat and to even take food home.

- Ceremonial observances in agriculture

Now the people who had ridiculed Ko'a, withdrew and ceased talking, they did not come forward. Their words and actions had been made as nothing, by the accomplishments of Ko'a. But the work of the farmer continues even as the sun begins its descent, there is no time to rest except for in the night. The taro sent out shoots, the bananas ripened, the sugar canes laid upon the ground [bent over with their weight], and the 'awa was plentiful. Throughout this time, Mākālei was his father's constant companion in cultivating the land.

- The water cave of Mākālei is discovered

One day the child Mākālei went to relieve himself along side a small depression in the field and while excreting, he felt a breeze rising to him from below. Greatly startled, he carefully looked down and saw the opening of a dark hole from which the wind was blowing. Mākālei stood up and went to call his father and told him about the wind blowing from under the ground, thinking that it was a wind cave which extended from the uplands. The father went to look at the opening and saw that the wind was indeed coming out of the cave. This is the place that came to be called *ke ana wai o Mākālei* (the water cave of Mākālei), named for the one that this story is about.

On another day, after having completed his work, Ko'a went to the place of this wind cave. After looking at the opening, he began to remove rocks from the cave mouth and made a round opening large enough for a man to enter. Ko'a then went to his house and took a *kukui* torch and returned to the cave. Upon entering the cave, he saw that it was a very large cavern with a high ceiling and wide expanse, and water was dripping down from the ceiling. When Ko'a



returned to his house, he did not tell his wife or daughters about the cave, he kept his actions hidden and made as if the site of the cave opening was a place for refuse and relieving one's self (February 7, 1928).

So now we see my reading companions that it was the thought of Ko'a to keep this place a secret, known only to Mākālei and himself. This was a *kaulana wai huna* (hidden resting [gathering] place of water), and indeed, no other person ever knew of the existence of the cave. The water cave remained hidden from everyone except Ko'a and his son Mākālei. Even after Mākālei traveled to *Kaua'i-nui-moku-lehua-pane'e-lua-i-ke-kai* (Kaua'i of the great *lehua* forests which appear to travel by twos to the ocean), and when Ko'a died, no one knew about the cave. This water cave remained a secret until Mākālei was near death, then he told his son *Ka-lei-a-Pā'oa-o-Mākālei* (Kalei) about the water cave, before Kalei made a journey from Kaua'i to the island of Hawai'i to visit his relatives. It was Mākālei's command that Kalei reveal the existence of this water cave to his surviving family and their descendants. It was in this same cave that Mr. J.A. Maguire, deceased, built a water tank, and laid pipes to his house from within the cave. A wind mill was then used to pump the water from the cave; perhaps he [Maguire] was one of the last descendants of Mākālei.

- Care for, and location of the water cave of Mākālei

After realizing the nature of the cave, Ko'a then set about at the large task of carving canoes of *'ōhi'a* (*Metrosideros polymorpha*), and *wiliwili* (*Erythrina sandwicensis*), which he did at night without being observed. He then took the *wa'a wai* (water canoes, or troughs) and placed them in the cave till there was no room for anything else. And when it was once again the season of the sun's return to this land, the sun drank all of the water which had been stored from the rains. The sun moved over head and the people once again relied on the *kaulana wai*. For those people who did not have water the sun offered no compassion, and the people moved again to the shore where water was not disputed over. But for them [the family of Ko'a] there was no problem in obtaining water. The *'ōhi'a* and *wiliwili* troughs were filled with water which rippled and overflowed upon the *pili* grass.

- Water catchment in the caves of Kekaha

As Mākālei grew, he matured into a handsome young man and he enjoyed all the favorite pastimes of youths at the time. But, farming was Mākālei's favorite pastime, and as his father did, so did Mākālei. Their produce went to those who lived down by the place of the canoe fleets, to the uplands of Pahulu, and to the community at *Moa-nui-a-hea*.

- Pahulu (in mid-Ka'ūpūlehu)
- Moanuahea

One day Ko'a told Mākālei, "It is now time for us [Ko'a and Ke'awalena] to instruct you the skills of the fishermen. That way you will have no need to wait on the skills of others to provide you with food to eat, and there will be no shame in waiting on others to supply you. You will have your selection of that which you wish to eat." When the day arrived that Mākālei was going to begin learning the skills of the fishermen, they descended to the shore where he was taught about *hi* (lure trolling) for *aku*, *'ahi*, *kāhala*, *ulua*, and fishing for *ō'uku'uku*, *'ōpakapaka*, and *kalekale*, etc. The father also taught his son the techniques of fishing with all manner of nets, and Mākālei embraced the knowledge of all the practices of the fishermen, and the cherished knowledge of the ancestors and parent generation.

- Ko'a and Ke'awalena teach Mākālei different techniques of Fishing.

Now the daughters of Ko'a and Kawa took husbands who were also fishermen. Their husbands were from the shores of Ka'elehuluhulu and Mahai'ula, and the husbands names were Ōhiki and Hainoa. The daughters went to live with their husbands, while the parents lived with their one remaining child, Mākālei. Over the next ten years, Mākālei learned all manner of knowledge pertaining to the

- Ka'elehuluhulu
- Mahai'ula
- Ōhiki
- Hainoa

- Mākālei is trained in various

forms of fighting skills

cultivation of crops and fishing. Mākālei also learned the practices of fighting in the techniques of *lua*, *ho'iha'i*, and *ku'iku'i* etc. [martial arts, bone breaking, and boxing], for these were greatly cherished by our *kūpuna* (ancestors) of those days, and this is how people of the Hawaiian race strengthened their bodies in those times.

• Kekaha called Kekaha-wai-'ole

When the days of the *aku* fishing season arrived in Kekaha which is called Kekaha-wai-'ole (The waterless place) by its' native children, it is said —*Ola aku la ka 'āina kaha, ua pua ka lehua i ke kai* (The natives of Kekaha have life when the *lehua* blossoms are upon the sea). It was in these days that the best trained fishermen of Kekaha-wai-'ole, exhibited their knowledge of *hi-aku* fishing, this famous task of Kekaha and all Kona.

• Saying used to describe residency patterns in Kekaha

• Ka'elehuluhulu

The husbands of Ko'a's daughters were the head fishermen of Ka'elehuluhulu, and when they heard that the fish were running, they went and prepared to fill their canoes with *aku*. Hearing the news that the canoe fleet was being made ready, Mākālei called to his father, asking that he be allowed to go down to the shore of Ka'elehuluhulu to get some *aku* from his sisters.

When Mākālei went to the shore, his sisters saw him, and he was carrying cooked taro and lengths of sugar cane longer than the span of a man's arm. Some taro and sugar cane was given to each sister. Mākālei then said, "O my elder sisters, I have come down here because we have heard that the sea is filled with *aku*, and we desire to eat some *aku*."

• Fishing customs described

The sisters responded, "Wait until your brother-in-laws return with *aku*, for they have never missed in catching the fish; but, perhaps there will be none to ask for." Mākālei responded, "Perhaps this is not a day for the fish to run. Though there have been many *aku*, this is a day in which the fish may be sleeping [in the depths] for this is the time of *Kulu*, when it is said — '*Kulu ka pō, o Welehu ka malamā, he lā 'ia 'ole kēia*' (*Kulu* is the night, *Welehu* is the month, this is a day of no fish).' The sister answered saying, 'Your brother-in-laws will not come back empty handed. How indeed shall the two foremost fishermen of the *kaha* (shore) return empty handed, when fishing is what they are famed for?'

Mākālei then said, 'Look, the canoe fleet is returning, and the sun travels peering upon *ka pae pae kapu o ka hale o Uli* (the sacred platform of the house of Uli; i.e. the sun sits atop of the head, it is midday); there are not even ten canoes, and the people return. The canoe fleet does not return when the sun is still rising above. Indeed — *o ka hele la a kūpono ka la i ka lolo, a'ohē no he 'ike 'ia aku o ka wa'a* (when the sun rises and sits directly upon the brain [is directly overhead] the canoes are usually nowhere to be seen).' Mākālei asked, 'Do you see the canoes returning? Perhaps what you have said [about your husbands fishing skills] is not true.'

Mākālei's sisters disagreed with his accounting of the returning canoes, and questioned whether he had an understanding of practices associated with fishing. Mākālei then reminded his sisters that their father had been the lead fisherman under Kualoa in service of the chief 'Olopana at Ko'olau; 'Only after the death of Kualoa did we leave [O'ahu] and come to dwell here at Kona of the dark green mountain which stands in the calm—*Kona mauna hāuliuli kū pōlua i ka pohu*.'

Upon finishing his comments, the sisters agreed that perhaps this brother of theirs was correct, "It may be that our father has taught our brother all manner

of fishing skills.' As the sun began to move away, the canoe fleet was seen to enter the landing. Mākālei then quickly went down and stood at the bow of the canoe of his brother-in-law 'Ōhiki, who was one of the lead fishermen of Ka'elehuluhulu (February 14, 1928). Seeing that Mākālei held fast to the canoe bow, 'Ōhiki spoke harshly, 'What is it that this child of the dangling genitals wants [a derogatory term used to describe a youngster who doesn't even wear a *malo*], that he should hold so fast to the bow of the canoe with one eye [desire]; you are not ours you little lazy child.'

- Mākālei ridiculed by 'Ōhiki

Though he heard the spiteful words of his brother-in-law, Mākālei still took up the *lona wiliwili* (*wiliwili* wood canoe rollers) and placed it below the canoe, so that the canoe could be taken up the shore. Mākālei then departed and went back to his sister home, and she asked, 'Are there many *aku*?' Mākālei responded that there were only a few. The sister then asked, 'Were there no fish for the one who helped to take the canoe up on the shore?' Mākālei responded, 'No, I told you this was the day of Kulu when the fish remained in the depths...'

- Canoes laded at Ka'elehuluhulu

Now when the other brother-in-law, Hainoa landed his canoe, Mākālei went quickly to the shore and secured the *lona* and carried the canoe up to the canoe stalls. Hainoa called to Mākālei, chose three fish for you, but Mākālei took up only one fish and Hainoa encouraged Mākālei to take more, but Mākālei declined saying this one was enough. Hainoa then went and greeted Mākālei with a kiss, and inquired about his parents who were living in the uplands. . .

- 'Akahipu'u

Upon returning to the uplands a little below the hill of 'Akahipu'u, Kaua inquired of Mākālei how his sisters were. Mākālei also described the circumstances of how he came to have the one large *aku*. Now when this fish had been consumed, Mākālei returned to the coast, and like before, he took taro and sugar cane with him. When he arrived before his sisters, they inquired how their parents were and asked if there was water to be had in the uplands. The sisters thought that perhaps there would be no water for their parents and Mākālei in the uplands. But Mākālei told them, "We have no problem with the water, it is fish that we lack." The sisters responded that they only had dried *aku* in the storage houses.

- Fishing customs

Mākālei then told his sisters, "The canoe fleet will returning, but there will be no *aku*, for this is the day of *Kāloa-kulua*, a day when there is much traveling done to follow the swift moving *aku*, indeed, the canoes have traveled so far that the shoulders of the paddlers are weary with their task. Of days like this it is said, *Ke pi o ke aku, a'ohē po'e o ka pā* (The *aku* are stingy, the lure attracts no people [fish]). This is a day when the *aku* take off, they do not stay at the *ko'a* (fishing stations) for the sword-fish of the depths chases after them" (February 21, 1928).

- Ka'elehuluhulu  
- Mahai'ula  
- Makalawena  
- Ka'ūpūlehu

When it was afternoon, the canoe fleets returned to Ka'elehuluhulu, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Ka'ūpūlehu and beyond. Of all the canoes, only the canoe of Hainoa, the husband of Mākālei's sister Ke-kai-ku'i-o-Keawehala (The striking [rough] seas of Keawehala) had any fish. Taking up his five fish, Hainoa went up to his home where he found that many people had gathered together. These people were the natives from the surrounding lands, but foremost among them was the stranger [Mākālei], who had brought and prepared large quantities of taro, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and bananas, for them to eat, and 'awa for them to drink. Hainoa then gave them four of the *aku*. In this way, Hainoa and Mākālei *mā* became benefactors of those same people who had ridiculed Ko'a-mokumoku-o-He'eia for selecting the land on which he was cultivating these great quantities of food.

- Practices of dryland cultivation
- Agriculturists valued in society

There were great quantities of food cultivated by Ko'a and Mākālei, there was no end to the growth and nothing lacked for water. The plants grew as if they were in a dirt field and they grew wildly. In the *mākālua* (dug out mulched planting holes) the grasses were used as the *kipulu* (mulch), and the fields looked like the *lo'i* (wet pond fields) of the watered lands. Great were the cultivating skills of the father and his son, indeed it is said—*ola nā iwi o nā mākua* [the bones of the

parents (ancestors) have life; said in praise of an accomplished descendant]—through the skills of Mākālei...

- Fishing fleets kept inshore during stormy season

...When the time of the storms of the Kaha arrived, the winds rose up and the canoes could no longer put out to sea, and the coral was tossed upon the shore by the waves. The ocean was whipped up and the *Ho'olua* wind raged, turning towards the uplands. 'Ōhiki spoke to his wife Ke-kai-ha'a-kūlou-o-Kahiki (Kekai), 'Perhaps you can go to the uplands and ask for some food for us that we may live.' Kekai went to the uplands and upon arriving at her mother's house, the greeted one another with chants. When the greetings were offered, Kaua then asked, 'Why is it that you travel alone, where is your husband?' Kekai answered, 'I have come to ask for some food for us, we have nothing and we are troubled.' Kaua told her daughter that she would go speak to her father and young brother [Ko'a and Mākālei] who were working in the plantation and bring back vegetables to prepare food for her. Upon reaching the plantation, Mākālei inquired of his mother, 'Who has arrived at our home that you have greeted with a chant?' Kaua responded, 'It is your elder sister Kekai, and she is asking for some food to relieve her family of its' trouble' (February 28, 1928).

- Ka'elehuluhulu

Mākālei said, 'We will give no food to my sister, tell her there is nothing for her but the *kālina* (sweet potato vine runners).' That evening when Kekai had returned to the coast at Ka'elehuluhulu, Mākālei explained to his parents about the way 'Ōhiki had shamed, ridiculed, and treated him in front of the paddlers and fishermen; and this was why he denied his sister's request. Mākālei did this to teach 'Ōhiki a lesson. Mākālei then said, 'I have only one brother-in-law, Hainoa, he is a good man and for him there will be all the taro, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, bananas, and 'awa that he would like.'

- Because of the difficulty of life in Kekaha, the land was also known as "Kaha-ka-weka"

Many long days passed and the storms continued striking at Kekaha which is also called *Kaha-ka-weka* [The hard (stingy) place], for this is a *kaha 'ai 'ole* (place without vegetable foods) and a *kaha wai 'ole* (waterless place). One day both of Mākālei's sister traveled to the uplands to ask for food for their families. Mākālei inquired, 'And where are your strong husbands? They must come up to get the food for there is so much, that you two could only take a small portion.'

- Kekaha also know as "kaha 'ai 'ole" (place without vegetable foods).

Kaua prepared the 'uala greens for her daughters, who ate and then returned to the shore with some of the greens for their husbands. Keaweala told her husband Hainoa that he would need to go and get the sugar cane, bananas, and such for it would require great strength to carry all of the items. Several days passed, and as was the custom of the people along the shore, they ate only fish, for this was a place without vegetable foods (*kaha 'ai 'ole*).

The two brother-in-laws then went to the uplands, the house of their parent-in-laws and Mākālei. When Mākālei saw 'Ōhiki and Hainoa, he knew that they were coming to ask for vegetable foods. Mākālei told his mother and father to let him do the speaking and that it would be him who would give them their food. The parents agreed to this and Mākālei then went to the plantation. Upon arriving at the house of his in-laws, Hainoa asked for Mākālei. Hainoa was told, "He is there in the field, throughout the whole day he cultivates the crops until the setting of

the sun.

• Agricultural resources described

Some people perhaps work only half the day, but Mākālei works until dark covers the land, then he is done. All that is grown here is cultivated by your young brother-in-law; the taro, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, bananas, and the 'awa are all grown by him. Indeed your small brother is the foremost farmer – *hewa i ka wai ka 'ai* [growth of the vegetables foods is as great as a body of water (vast or multitudinous)] – *Moe ke kō a ala mai palakū ka mai'a iluna, ke kalo hele maka'ole a 'ulu ka limu, o ka 'uala kohu a'a hele a iluna ka 'uala, o ka 'awa ua hele a hua iluna* – The sugar cane lays upon the ground with its weight, the bananas are perfectly ripened upon the trees, the taro is without protuberances [unblemished] with mosses growing around it, The sweet potato rootlets resemble the sweet potatoes above, and the 'awa bulges above."

Kaua then said, 'I will go and fetch Mākālei.' When Kaua reached her son, Mākālei already had two large nets ready, one was filled with vegetables; the net for the disrespectful 'Ōhiki was a large *po'a'aha* (*wauke* woven) net which was filled with taro, sweet potatoes, banana fruit stalks, sugar canes, and 'awa roots. While Hainoa's net was left for him to fill as he desired, and by what he would be able to carry. Mākālei did this so that 'Ōhiki would see that he was more than just a little boy. 'Ōhiki and Hainoa were then led up to Mākālei, and 'Ōhiki was shown his filled net. Mākālei told 'Ōhiki, 'Here is the net filled with all manner of foods grown by me. if you can not carry this on your own, you will never get food again from Mākālei who you mistakenly compared to a little child' (March 6, 1928).

'Ōhiki then remembered all the mean things he had spoken to this child whom he had not known was his brother-in-law. 'Ōhiki took the net and departed with great difficulty for he could not get a good grasp upon the net and it was exceedingly heavy. Mākālei then went to Hainoa and explained that he could fill his net however he would like so that he could carry it home. Hainoa went to the *waena* (cultivated fields) and saw the great extent of all that was grown there, and he then filled the net as he wanted.

• How Ahu-a-Lūpua came to be named

When Hainoa departed from the uplands, in a short time he reached the *kula* (flat lands) and came upon 'Ōhiki at the place called Ahu-a-Lūpua. 'Ōhiki was laying on the ground with his face up, exhausted because of the great weight of his net. Hainoa then spoke to 'Ōhiki suggesting that he leave the large portion of the food where it was so that the people of the coast could come and get what they had need of. 'Ōhiki agreed and left most of the food and then continued down to the shore where he told the people to go and get the food divide it evenly between the households.

The place where 'Ōhiki left the food is one of the famed places of this land. It is a cliff area from which one can look out to the shore of Mahai'ula and Ka'elehuluhulu. A stone mound was build along the trail there for the chiefess Lūpua and so the site came to be called Ahu-a-Lūpua. Now because so many people went gather up the foods which 'Ōhiki had left behind, the fame of the cultivated crops of Mākālei and Ko'a spread throughout the area. Because 'Ōhiki had promised that he would not go to the uplands and ask for food if he couldn't take the net Mākālei had given him, he remained on the shore; only his wife went to get vegetable foods. As time passed Mākālei's extraordinary nature became known and his body matured. When the calm returned to this place, it was once again the time for fishing, and as was their custom, the fishermen returned to their fishing practices...

[The account provides readers with a lengthy description of fishing customs of Kekaha; some of the information is similar to other narratives cited here, and is not repeated. (cf. Maly 1998a for full texts).]

- Prayers offered to fishing deity

Each time Mākālei fished, he would call out in prayer to his ancestress, Hina-i-kamalama-o-Kā'elo. Closing the prayer, he called — *E ho'ōulu i ka i'a a piha ka wa'a o kākou i ke aku* (Cause the fish to rise and fill our canoe). When he finished speaking these words, the *aku* began quivering about the canoe and Mākālei began taking the *aku*. When he was finished fishing, the fish stopped gathering in their school and Mākālei mā returned to the shore of Ka'elehuluhulu. Landing on the shore, Mākālei took one *aku* and told his *kāohi* "Divide the fish equally among yourselves, don't one of you be greedy, but divide them equally. And if there are fish left over, give them to the people dwelling in the houses as has been done before, and this is how it should always be done.

- Customs of sharing the catch

Do not mutter, or grumble within yourselves, nor should you speak boisterously (loudly), stating that you are giving fish to those people who have none. Listen and heed my words, for the '*aumākua lawai'a*' have all hearing ears, they hear our muttering and the grumbling. And it is them [the '*aumākua*'] who honor the head fishermen and the chief fisherman. Do not speak of these things to the women or those who do not observe these things. For the '*aumākua*' have departed from them and that is why they have fish sometimes, and at other times they have none. Now wash our canoe and clean it so that it is not left dirty, because it is upon the canoe which the '*aumākua lawai'a*' dwells; and as the house is clean so shall the fish fill the canoe. It is like our own homes — *ke ma'ema'e no ka hale, nui ka po'e kipa mai a nui ka māhalo 'ia 'oia hale no ka ma'ema'e* (when the house is clean there are many who come and visit, and that house is greatly honored for its cleanness)."

- '*Aumākua*' present, customs of caring for fishing equipment

Mākālei then departed and went up to the cave at which he regularly left his *pūniu pā* (lure and line container) and where he dried his fishing line. Mākālei's fishing lure was called Kolomikimiki, and to this day, the cave in which Mākālei dried his line and stored his lure is called Kolomikimiki — *He ana waiho kānaka 'ia no na po'e a pau o kēia wahi i kēia manawa* (Kolomikimiki is a burial cave, used by the people of this place [Kekaha], at this time).

- How the cave in Kaulana, came to be called Kolomikimiki

When Mākālei arrived at the home of his parents, he told them about the great catch of *aku*, and told them that he had given the *aku* to his *kāohi*. 'Indeed it is good to give without muttering and grumbling, in that way your canoe will be exceedingly lucky. This is the way to care for the people who work for you, and this is how you come to get fish and good paddlers.' Now as the days passed, the season of fishing ended and the stormy days of Kekaha returned. The waves were stirred up by the wind and storms upon the ocean, and the canoes could no longer depart from the shore. This was the time when one's face turned to the uplands for the livelihood [agricultural pursuits]... (March 27, 1928<sup>17</sup>)

- During the stormy seasons, the people went to the uplands to cultivate crops

As the legend continues, readers are provide with descriptions of '*ahi*' fishing in Kekaha, and then told of a journey that Mākālei took to Kekaha, Kaua'i. Mākālei's journey took him to through the district of Kohala, to the islands of Lāna'i and O'ahu, and on to Kaua'i, where he and Pālāwai arrive at Ke-kaha-o-Mānā. Mākālei's fame grows through his actions on Kaua'i, and he marries the

<sup>17</sup> The paper published on March 27, 1928 was not available during the microfilming of other issues of the paper carrying this legend. Following a search of various collections, the paper published on March 27<sup>th</sup> was located in a box at the Hawai'i Historical Society. A copy of this paper was provided through the courtesy of Barbara Dunn, Head Librarian.

chiefess, Ka-wai-li'ulā-o-Mānā (The mirage forming waters of Mānā). From this union one son is born, who is named Ka-lei-a-Pā'oa-o-Mākālei (Kalei). As Kalei grew up, he learned all of the farming and fishing skills at which his father excelled. He was also taught fighting skills such as *lua* and *ha'ihā'i* etc. *Lua* fighting is one of the things for which Kaua'i was famous, it was unsurpassed in the fighting technique called '*palupalu a lima iki*' (June 19, 1928).

Rejoining the narratives, we learn of Kalei's trip to Kekaha, Kona, and how the *ana wai* [water cave] Mākālei was revealed to the people of Kekaha.

- Kekaha-wai-'ole
- Ka'ulupūlehu

- 'Akāhipu'u
- Hu'ehu'e

... Kalei told his father, "I want to go and travel to Hawai'i, for you have told me about my grandparents, aunts, and their families and I desire to see them at the land of the *kaha wai 'ole*' (waterless shore)." Mākālei then told his son about the various places which he must visit, and people who he should meet while on his journey. Mākālei told Kalei, "When you reach Kekaha-wai-'ole and land at the place called Ka'ulu-pūlehu, ask for Ke'awalena. He is a native of those shores, and he is also an elder of yours. He is the '*aikāne*' (companion) of your grandfather Ko'a-mokumoku-o-He'eia. At his house, you will find food, shelter, a place to rest, and a place for the paddle of Kapa'a-i-luna. From there, you will then ascend to the uplands where you will come to a hill above the *alahele* (pathway). 'Akāhipu'u is the name of this hill. Ascending from the north side of Hu'ehu'e, turn and you will see Kona, and to the other side will be Kohala (June 26, 1928).

When you arrive at the hill, on the Kona side, there you will see the house of your grandfather and grandmother. It is the house at which I was a native before coming to Kaua'i where I took your mother as my beloved wife. When you stand before your grandmother, tell her that your name is Kaleiapā'oa, and tell her that you are the son of Mākālei, born on Kaua'i; also tell them of my great love for them. Now if you arrive and your grandfather has passed away, but the family remains dwelling in the house, tell them you are the son of Mākālei and they will welcome you.

- How to find the water cave of Mākālei

Now if they are dwelling in the uplands and you see that there is trouble with the family because it is a waterless place and all the other native residents have departed to live along the shore, you are not to depart as well. For there is water within the cave which is named Mākālei, it is filled with water and no other person has knowledge of it. Your grandfather and myself kept it hidden; we two, and now you are the only ones who know about this water cave (*ana wai*). It is for you to make this place famous for all the generations to come.

- Mākālei water cave described

It [the water cave] is in a place where there is a depression which we made look as if it was a refuse pit. On the opposite side of the refuse is a large stone which covers the opening, remove it and you may then enter the cave. Because we discarded our plant waste there, no one knew that at this site was a water cave. There are three *wa'a wai* (water troughs; logs hollowed like canoes) stored in the cave; a *wa'a koa* (*koa* wood trough), *wa'a 'ōhi'a* (*'ōhi'a* wood trough), a *wa'a wiliwili* (*wiliwili* wood trough), and *haona* (water scoopers). This is a hidden cave, it is wide and high enough so that you may enter it and stand tall. The water flows to those three water troughs and probably overflows onto the surrounding area.

- Kekaha-wai-'ole

If you learn that your grandfather has died and the sun has remained upon the land (symbolic of a dry period) of Kekaha-wai-'ole, and the families are dwelling in difficulty, you may get the water [reveal it] so that all of the people of Kekaha may know about it.

Now here is Hale'uki, the *hōkeo aho hi aku* (bonito fishing line gourd) of your grandfather, it is an inheritance from your ancestress Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo and 'Ākani-a-kōlea-i-Kahiti, the cordage is for you. And this *pā hi aku* (mother of pearl bonito lure) named Kolo-mikimiki is also an inheritance for you, for you are my only son and you have taken up the practices and skills of the fisherman... (July 3, 1928).

• Kaleiapā'oa travels to Kekaha

...On his journey from Kaua'i to Hawai'i, Kaleiapā'oa stopped at Lāna'i, Hane'o'o and Hāna, Maui—places previously visited by his father. Landing at Kohala, Kalei was welcomed by the chief Hā'ena (who had also hosted his father, Mākālei, when he made his journey to Kaua'i). After spending three months with Hā'ena, Kalei prepared to continue his journey to Kekaha-wai'ole. Hā'ena asked, "Where in Kekaha will you land your canoe?" Kalei answered, "At Ka'ulupūlehu." Hā'ena then asked, "Who is the native that will welcome you there?" Kalei answered, "Keawalena, the companion of my grandfather, Ko'amokumoku-o-He'eia. Hā'ena said, "Yes he is a good native, I have seen him, and he is skilled at discerning omens (*kilokilo 'ōuli*), and determining the success of various undertakings...

• Ka-'ulu-pūlehu

Departing from Hā'ena, Kalei then traveled past Kai'ōpae, and the sea opened up before him as he passed Kawaihae, and rippling sands of Kauna'oa. Passing Kauna'oa, he met the 'ōlauniu breezes of Puakō, which carried his canoe past Waimā and Kalāhuipua'a. He then passed 'Anaeho'omalua and Kapalaoa, and went down to Kīholo, where he arrived at Ka-lae-o-ka-manō. There, he met with two 'ōpelu fishermen, who were fishing at the *ko'a 'ōpelu o Mahewalu* (the 'ōpelu fishing grounds of Mahewalu). Kalei asked them, "What is this place?" They answered, "This is Ka'ūpūlehu." Then natives then observed, "So you are perhaps a stranger here?" To which Kalei answered, "Yes." they then inquired, "From where?" And Kalei answered, "From Kaua'i, Lāna'i, Hane'o'o, Hāna, and Hā'ena, Kohala. From Kohala, I have come to Ka'ūpūlehu and met with the two of you. It is here that my father on Kaua'i, directed me to seek out a native of this land."

• Kīholo  
• Ka-lae-o-ka-manō  
• Ko'a 'ōpelu of Mahewalu

The fishermen asked, "What is the name of the native?" Kalei said, "Keawalena." The fishermen exclaimed, "He is our father-in-law, for his daughters are our wives. (August 7, 1928)

• Ke-ana-wai-o-Mākālei is revealed to the people of Kekaha

...The 'ōpelu fishermen took Ka-lei-a-Pā'oa-a-Mākālei to see his foster grandfather, Ke'awalena, who greeted him warmly. Kalei learned that his grandfather Ko'a-mokumoku-o-He'eia had died, but was told that his grandmother Ka-ua-pō'ai-hala-o-Kahalu'u still lived at their residence in the uplands. Indeed, life for his grandmother and family was difficult because of the lack of water, and it was at that time, as instructed by his father, that Kalei revealed the water cave of Mākālei (*Ke ana wai o Mākālei*) to the people of Kekaha. (August 21, 1928)



## IV. KA'ŪPŪLEHU: LAND TENURE

### Overview

In pre-western contact Hawai'i, all land and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (*ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* or *ali'i 'ai moku*). The use of these lands and resources were given to the *hoa'āina* (native tenants), at the prerogative of the *ali'i* and their representatives or land agents (*konohiki*), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. This practice of land division is demonstrated at Ka'ūpūlehu, and was carried through the period of 1848, when Hawaiian land tenure was radically altered by the *Māhele 'Aina* (Division of Land). The *Māhele* defined the land interests of Kamehameha III (the King), the high-ranking chiefs, and the *konohiki*. As a result of the *Māhele*, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands (Chinen 1958:vii and Chinen 1961:13).

As noted earlier, in c. 1780, Kalani'ōpu'u gave Kame'eiamoku the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu (Kamakau 1961:147, 307). When Kamehameha rose to power with the help of his "Kona uncles" of whom Kame'eiamoku was one, Kame'eiamoku's right to the land Ka'ūpūlehu was retained (ibid.:175). Subsequently, in c. 1803, Kame'eiamoku's son, Ulumaheiehi Hoapili, inherited both Ka'ūpūlehu and his father's role as counselor to the King (ibid.:188, 190). When Ulumaheiehi Hoapili died in 1840, his lands (including Ka'ūpūlehu) were inherited by his *hānai* (adopted son), Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V) (Kame'eleihiwa 1992:100). In 1848, when Kamehameha III entered into the *Māhele* (a division of land between the King, chiefs, government and people), Lota Kapuāiwa's ownership of the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu was confirmed in Land Commission Award 7715, Portion 10 (Foreign and Native Testimony Book 10:622). When Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V) died on December 11, 1872, his half-sister, Ruth Ke'elikōlani, inherited his lands (including Ka'ūpūlehu) (cf. Probate No. 2412). Upon Ruth Ke'elikōlani's passing in 1883, her cousin, Bernice Pauahi Bishop, inherited all of the lands that Ke'elikōlani had been awarded or acquired (cf. Probate No. 2009). The passing of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a year and a half later, saw the placing of all her lands (including Ka'ūpūlehu) in a trust to support education of Hawaiian youth—now, the Kamehameha Schools Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate (cf. MacKenzie 1991 and Kame'eleihiwa 1992).

### The Māhele of 1848

Laws in the period of the *Māhele* record that ownership rights to all lands in the kingdom were "subject to the rights of the native tenants;" those who lived on the land and worked it for their subsistence and the welfare of the chiefs (*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima... {Penal Code} 1850:22*). The 1850 resolutions in "*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina*," authorized the newly formed Land Commission to award fee-simple title to all native tenants who occupied and improved any portion of Crown, Government, or *Konohiki* lands. These awards were to be free of commutation except for house lots located in the districts of Honolulu, Lāhainā, and Hilo (cf. Penal Code, 1850:123-124; and Chinen 1958:29).

In order to receive their awards from the Land Commission, the *hoa'āina* (native tenants) were required to prove that they cultivated the land for a living. They were not permitted to acquire "wastelands" (e.g. fishponds) or lands which they cultivated "with the seeming intention of enlarging their lots." Once a claim was confirmed, a survey was required before the Land Commission was authorized to issue any award. The lands awarded to the *hoa'āina* became known as "*Kuleana* Lands." All of the claims and awards were numbered (Land Commission Awards or LCA), and the LCA numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai'i. By the time of its closure on March 31, 1855, the Land Commission issued only 8,421 *kuleana* claims, equaling only 28,658 acres of land to the native tenants (Kame'eleihiwa 1992:295).

Because the *hoa'āina* were required to present documentation of their residency and cultivation of

the parcels they claimed, a series of books which “register” the claims and subsequently record “testimony” supporting the claims were compiled. The documentation collected between 1848-1855, can be a valuable source of historic land use and residency records. Today, the primary reference to *kuleana* claims and awards of the Māhele is the “Indices of Awards...,” published in 1929 by the office of the Commissioner of Public Lands. Unfortunately, a review of the Indices lists only one claim in the *ahupua‘a* of Ka‘ūpūlehu (that of Lota Kapuāiwa, LCA 7715, Portion 10). Over the years, the author has been conducting a review of the original Māhele records, but to-date, no unawarded claims for land in Ka‘ūpūlehu have been located. Thus, no documentation regarding native tenants, residency, and subsistence practices appears to be available for this period.

Another requirement of the establishment of the Māhele property rights was that *Konohiki* such as L. Kapuāiwa were required to declare the “*i‘a ho‘omalū*” (protected, or *kapu* fish) of lands they received (Law of 1851). This was done in order to allow the *Konohiki* to receive benefits of the fisheries, and protect native tenants who were otherwise allowed gain sustenance from the fisheries fronting *ahupua‘a* in which they lived<sup>18</sup> (cf. Kosaki, Legislative Report No. 1; 1954). To-date, the author has been unable to locate any document that identifies the “*i‘a ho‘omalū*” of Ka‘ūpūlehu, but communications by Princess Ruth Ke‘elikōlani and in the Boundary Commission proceedings record that the Ka‘ūpūlehu fishery extended out into the sea (cf. *Sections IV & V* in this study).

### **Land of Ka‘ūpūlehu: Described before the Boundary Commission (ca. 1874-1886)**

In 1862, a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i to legally set the boundaries of all the *ahupua‘a* that had been awarded as a part of the Māhele. Subsequently, in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries was authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118). The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the area being discussed. The boundary testimonies for the *ahupua‘a* of Ka‘ūpūlehu were collected between ca. 1873 to 1885. The native witnesses generally spoke in Hawaiian, which was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred (thus, the texts at times are difficult to follow). In 1885, J.M. Alexander conducted the survey that certified the boundaries and produced a map for the estate of B. Pauahi Bishop (*Figure 3*).

The narratives below are excerpts from the testimonies either given by native residents of Pu‘uwa‘awa‘a, Ka‘ūpūlehu and neighboring lands of Kekaha, or the individuals who conducted the surveys for the said lands. It will be seen that not all of the witnesses provided the same descriptions of the boundaries—most notably, there are discrepancies in the location of the shoreline boundary on the northern side of Ka‘ūpūlehu. Thus, depending on the witness, both Pōhakuokahae and Kalaemanō were referenced as the boundary between Ka‘ūpūlehu and Pu‘uwa‘awa‘a (it appears that all elder witnesses used Pōhakuokahae as the reference point). Final disposition of the boundary settled on Pōhakuokahae as the coastal, northern boundary (see Boundary Certificate No. 160; June 1886).

Not all of the documentation provided by each witness, is repeated below, as it is covered by other cited testimonies, or is survey coordinates. References to place names, features, practices, and who the informants were are all cited in at least their first usage. Underlining and square bracketing of selected references in the texts below, are the authors, and draw attention to points of interest:

<sup>18</sup> Bishop Estate Leases 268, 292, 763, 763A, and 4746 record that the Ka‘ūpūlehu fishery was maintained as a traditional “*Konohiki*” fishery through Sept. 6, 1940, when the Supreme Court ruled against Bishop Estate in its case to adjudicate the fisheries of Ka‘ūpūlehu and Makalawena (cf. 35 Haw. 608 [1940]).

**Testimony for the Ahupua'a of Puawaa [Pu'uwa'awa'a]; at Kiholo  
Aoa k. Sworn: (Vol. A:253)**

I was born at Puawaa North Kona Hawaii, at the time of Keoua 1<sup>st</sup> [c. 1793]. Lived there till a few months ago when I moved to the adjoining land Puuanahulu... The land of Puawaa is bounded on the south side by Kaupulehu and *mauka* by the same. On the north side by the land of Puuanahulu, and *makai* by the sea. The ancient fishing rights of the land extend out to the sea.

The boundary at the sea shore between Puawaa and Kaupulehu is Pohakuokahai [Pōhakuokahae], a rocky point in the aa, on the lava flow of 1801; the flow from Hualalai to the sea. I think it is the third point from Kiholo, in the flows as you go towards Kona. Thence the boundary between these lands runs mauka on aa to Keahupuaa [Keahukaupuaa] a pile of stones a short distance makai of the Government Road, on a spot of old lava in the new flow, thence mauka to Oweowe, hill covered with trees, said hill being surrounded by the flow. The *kipuka pili* [area of *pili* grass growth] to the south is on Kaupulehu. Thence mauka to Mawae an a narrow strip of aa, in the middle of the flow, with wider branches of the flow on each side of this strip thence mauka where the aa turns towards Kona as you go up Hualalai. Then the boundary follows up the east side of the flow to Puuakowai, a water hole in the *pukesawe* trees, on the old trail from Kainaliu to Puanahulu, above the woods. There the boundary of these lands turns towards Kohala, along the old trail to Waikulukulu, a cave with water dripping from the sides, a little above the woods. Thence along the trail to Puunahaha, a hill with cracks running along the top, this is above the large hill at the base of Hualalai, mauka of here. It can be seen from here [Kiholo] when the mountain is clear. This hill is the corner of Puawaa where Kaupulehu and Puanahulu unite and cut it off...

**Keliihanapule<sup>k</sup> Sworn**

**Testimony for the Ahupuaa of Kaupulehu; at Henry Cooper's Store, Kailua  
(Rather a young man) (Vol. B:247-249)**

I was born at Kiholo, do not know when. I now live at Kohanaiki and know the land of Kaupulehu and its *makai* [shoreward] boundaries. My *Kupuna* told them to me. Bounded on the north side by Puawaa [Puuwaawaa], Kalaemano is the boundary at sea shore<sup>19</sup> between these two lands; a place where they make salt. Thence passing through the middle of Kalaemano to a *mawae* [fracture or fissure] called Paaniau at the Government road. There is a pile of stones just mauka [upland] of the *alanui* [road]. Thence to a *kihapai* [usually a small cultivated area of land] called Hikuhia thence to Puuki, a hill where Kaupulehu joins Puanahulu [Puuanahulu]. Thence along the land of Puanahulu to Puualala. Puawaa bounds it to Puuakowai, thence along Puanahulu to Ahuakamalii, a spot on the lava flow of 1859. This is as far as I know on that side. Bounded on the South side by Kukio owned by Pupule; the boundary at shore is in the middle of a place called Keawaiki. The land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. From Keawaiki to Papaomino [Puupoopoomino] a pile of stones at the corner of Pupule's land, thence along said land to Keonehehee,

<sup>19</sup> Ka-lae-manō (the-shark-point) — It will be seen that the testimony of older natives of the region placed the boundary at Pōhakuokahae ("Pohakuokahai"), south of Kalaemanō. It is also worthy to note that the tradition of salt making in the vicinity has remained important over the generations. Oral history interviews cited in this study identify the Kalaemanō area as one of the primary salt making places in the Kekaha region.

Also, as the name indicates, *manō* or shark(s) were associated with the area, and as recorded in interviews in this study, the *manō* was both god and family member. A note recorded by J.S. Emerson, and found in the Hawaiian Ethnological Notes (HEN) of the Bishop Museum, tells us: "Kolo-pulepule (spotted creeper) is the shark of the coast between Lae Mano in Puuwaawaa and Kalaoa, North Kona. February 20, 1888" (HEN 1:584).

a *kihapai*. Thence to Puukai the *mauka* corner of Pupule's land. Thence along the Government portion of Kukio turning towards Kona and running *makai* side of Puhiapele, a large *Ahu aa* [rock cairn], *makai* of this hill, the boundary turns and runs *mauka* over this hill, thence to Maunakilowaa, a [trail side] resting place where you look towards Kona and Kohala, thence *mauka* to Kauakahiapaoa. This is the *mauka* corner of Kukio; and there is a large hole there. Thence along the land of Mahaiula to Pahulu, *mauka* corner of Mahaiula. One half of this place belongs to Kaupulehu. Thence along the land of Kaulana to a *kihapai* called Kauaiiki. This is an old *kihapai* belonging to Kaupulehu. Thence along Kaulana 2<sup>nd</sup> to Moanuihea, a hill where they used to worship, where the land called Kau joins Kaupulehu. Thence along Kau to Kaimuki, a place where they used to catch *uwau* [petrels], below the Koa woods. Thence along the land of Kaloko to Puualala a *punawai* [spring]. This is as far as I have been told the boundary of Kaupulehu. I do not know where Kaupulehu joins Keauhou. C.X.d

I do not know a place called Pohakuokahai. The place where they make salt at the sea shore, is on the Puna side of the lava flow; the place I call Mawae is at the Government road. The place called Puuoweoweo is on Kaupulehu, and not on the boundary at the point where the *aa* turns towards Kona, as you go up the mountain. The boundary runs straight up. I do not know a place along here called Waikulukulu or Puuhaha. Puuhaha is an *Ahua aa* [stone cairn or mound] in the middle of Kaupulehu. I do not know where Puulehu is.

#### **Kahueai Sworn. (Vol. B:249-250)**

I was born here at Kailua at the time of building the *heiau* [perhaps a reference to Keikipu'ipu'i c. 1812]. Am a *kamaaina* of Kona and now live at Puawaa. Know the land of Kaupulehu, my *kupuna* (now dead) told me the boundaries, he was an old bird catcher. The boundary on the Kohala side at shore is a spot of sand called Kalomo<sup>20</sup> on the south side of Kalaemano, thence to Keanaowaea at the Government road, way towards the *aa*. Thence to Hikuha, crossing at the *aa*, thence to Oweowe a cave. Thence to Pualala [Puualala] a *koa* grove, thence to Pualalaiki [Puualalaiki] a second *koa* grove, there the boundary tuning towards Kona runs to a crater called Pohokinikini, thence to Kalulu, a cave. Thence to Puuakowai, a water hole. There the boundary turns towards Mauna Kea, and runs to Kolekole. Thence to Puuiki, thence to a strip of *aa* opposite a hill called Mailehahei where Keauhou cuts Kaupulehu off. The sand on the *mauka* side of the *aa* is Keauhou. Thence to Ihuanu, a place on Keauhou. The boundary is below here running along the foot of the *pali* [cliff]. Thence to Napuumahoe, the boundary running between these two hills. Thence to Kipahee a crater and water hole, thence to a hill called Hualalai on the mountain. The boundary passing on the Kau side of this hill. Thence to Kaluamakani. I do not know whether Keauhou joins Kaupulehu here or not, but this is the boundary of Kaupulehu. There are two craters at Kaluamakani belonging to Kaupulehu. Thence along Lanihau to Kumumamani, a cave on the *mauka* corner of Kaloko a little towards the woods. Thence to the top of Hina-a-kapoula a hill with a crater on top. Kaloko is on the side of this hill. Thence along to *aa* where the boundary leaves Kaloko. Thence along the heads of the Kalaoas to Kaiwiopole, thence to Moanuihea, a hill, thence to Makalei an *anawai* [water cave]. (Pahulu is in the middle of Kaupulehu.) Thence to the further slope of Akahi (hill) [Akahipuu] where the boundary turns toward Kohala. Thence *makai* along Kukio to Maunakilowaa, at the Government road. Thence to Puhiapele, thence to some hills *makai*. I do not

<sup>20</sup> Kalomo – as noted throughout these texts, the transcriber had difficulty with the spelling of place names; Kalomo may actually have been the name “Kolomu’o” which is one of the “*wahi pana*” or storied places of Ka’upulehu.

know the names. Thence along Pupule's land to shore. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. C.X.d

The mountain used to be called Hainoa but is now called Hualalai. The top is called Kalalakaukolu. I can go *mauka* and point out all these boundaries.

***Nahinalii k. Sworn (Witness on Puawaa [Pu'uwa'awa'a]) (Vol. B:251)***

I was born here at the time of the building of Kiholo [reconstruction of Kiholo occurred in c. 1810]. I lived here till 1865 when I moved to Kawaihae. Keopu, an old *kamaaina* (now dead) told me some of the boundaries and afterwards I went and saw them. Pohakukahai is the boundary at shore between Puawaa and Kaupulehu, from this point the boundaries between these two lands run *mauka* to Keahukaupuaa. Paniau is the name of the place where the *Ahu* stands. Thence *mauka* to Oweowe, which is as far as I know...

***D.H. Hitchcock<sup>k</sup> Sworn (Witness on Puawaa) (Vol. B:428 - June 14, 1876)***

I surveyed Puawaa taking Aoa for my *kamaaina*. I found no dispute as to boundary between Puawaa and Puanahulu. On the boundary between Kaupulehu and Puawaa there is a dispute. The witness Kahueai of Kaupulehu, I found was dead. Commencing on the beach at a place called Laemano, old salt works, I took it at an old wall with sand each side, and olds salt works on the south side, and salt works some distance off on the north side. Thence we surveyed to Ahu at Mawae a short distance below road, as Aoa pointed out to me. The other *kamaaina* pointed out towards Kona taking old cultivating ground Oweowe, that Aoa said always belonged to Kaupulehu. The Ahu Aoa pointed out is near a cave. Thence I ran *mauka* to a point of *aa* running down into a *kipuka*, thence I ran a straight line to Puuakowai. I found the witness of Puawaa & Kaupulehu all meet at Puuakowai, but Keliihanapule's evidence cropped the land of Puawaa to Puuiki and then back to Puuakowai...

Punihaole was with me when I surveyed Puawaa on the Puanahulu side, and said he was satisfied with the survey. He is the lessee of Puawaa. Cxd...

***J.M. Alexander - Sworn (Vol. D No. 5:30; June 15, 1886)***

During the year 1885, I surveyed the land of Kaupulehu, *mauka* it joins Puwaawaa. The *Kamaainas*, Luahine and others, shewed me the boundaries. Ikaaka of Kaupulehu kai was the guide, *makai*. Mr. Hitchcock had surveyed this land formerly, but never made a map. On our surveying tour, we often came to piles of stones which the guides said were put up by Mr. Hitchcock; one celebrated place, "Keahukaupuaa," below the Government Road, was a pile of stones, and Hitchcock's flag pole. Above that to Oweowe, Ikaaka and Luahine were the guides, and to Puluohia; they told me the boundaries went on to "Puakowai" water hole. Punihaole and Keanini sent Keanini a guide who went with Hitchcock to point out the places, Puakowai, Puupohaku etc.

We found the water hole as was said. Keanini, Kalamakini, and some other old men at Kaupulehu kai described the *mauka* boundary to me, and sent Aalona to show me the boundary at "Mailehahee" Where we found the pile and mark that Aalona said Hitchcock put up when surveying.

Kalamakini told me the boundary from Mailehahee to East of Hualalai, and we went there, to the Government Trig. Station. At Puunahaha Keauhou 2<sup>d</sup> joins Kaupulehu

and they run along together to the top of Honuaua, the West Trig. Station, where is an Iron pin in the ground, and marks on rocks. Then on to a *koa* grove, and on in woods, adjoining sundry lands. We marked all the corners of this land with large piles of stones and marked rocks. Kalamakini also went on, adjoining Kaloko, to place near Palahalaha, then to Kawaiokalaepuni, and to Pulehu. Hopulaau and son showed the rest of the boundary on to Moanuihea, and on to "Puhiapele," and on to head of Kukio 1<sup>st</sup>, survey by J. Fuller, Grant 2121 to Kukulii [sic - Pupule]. I took the boundaries as per, said Grant, from there to the sea. This is the Map [Figure 3] and notes of survey I made. I surveyed along the sea shore, but do not give the bearings as the sea is the boundary. Some of the witnesses are too far off, or too feeble to come here today. The land is much of it lava. ... I have brought Aalona and Kalamakini as witnesses.

Kalamakini – S. I now live at Kahaluu, have lived formerly at Kaupulehu, and know that land well to Puuwaawaa. At Puakowai, I began to shew the boundary to Alexander...

**No. 160 Certificate of Boundaries of the land of Kaupulehu. District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii. Third Judicial Circuit, F.L. Lyman Esq. Commissioner; In the matter of the boundaries of the land of Kaupulehu...**

#### Judgement

An application to decide and certify the Boundaries of the land of Kaupulehu, District of North Kona, Island of Hawaii having been filed with me on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of May, A.D. 1886, by J.M. Alexander, for and in behalf of Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop's Estate, in accordance with the provisions of an Act to facilitate the settlement of Boundaries etc., approved on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of June, A.D. 1886; now therefore, having duly received and heard all the testimony offered in reference to the said boundaries, and having endeavored otherwise to obtain all information possible to enable me to arrive at a just decision, which will more fully appear by reference to the records of this matter by me kept in Book No. 5, page 30, and it appearing to my satisfaction that the true and lawful and equitable boundaries, are as follows, viz.

Beginning at the S.W. corner of Puu Waawaa at the seaward extremity of the ledge called Pohakuokahae, whence the Gov't. trig. Station on Akahipuu is S. 2°31'43"W (True) 36137 feet; thence the boundaries run by the true meridian to corners marked by ahus over rectangles cut in rock with crosses cut on the surrounding rocks as follows....Area 23545 Acres...

Alexander's Field Book, Register No. 559 was viewed in the collection of the State Survey Division. His is description of the northern boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu, contains a few comments of interest and is given here:

#### **Reg. No. 559:77-78 (March 25, 1885)**

The Boundary of Kaupulehu begins on the N. side at a high rock rifted along the top & jutting into the ocean, called Pohakuokahai; & is marked on the top of this rock by a rectangle with a hole in the center, cutting through the rock, & by +s on the rocks near by. Thence it runs to the ahu a little below the public road called Keahukaupuaa, passing two ahus in this line marked like the boundary corners. Thence to a point on the W. side of a lava flow on an elevated spot in the region called Oweowe; thence to a point in the lave flow of very friable lava, the furthest East of the lava flows in the region called Puluohia; thence to the NW side of a waterhole, N of Kalulu, called Puakowai. Thence to a small knoll a little SE of the forest called Pohakuloa; thence

to a similar knoll, similarly situated, called Mawae. Thence to a hill far distant on the edge of the forest, a hill riven through the center called Puu Nahaha. Thence to the last rim of the third crater of a hill called Mailehahei on the Mauna Loa side of the mountain called Hainoa, & named by J.S.E., E. Hualalai. Thence to the Govt. Trig. Station on Honuaula called by J.S.E. W. Hualalai. Thence to a knoll of rocks a little above the woods there.

## V. RESIDENCY AND LAND USE (CA. 1850 TO 1930)

### **Historic Land Documents in Archival Collections**

The records below, provide readers with general overview of several aspects of land history, as recorded by government and church agents, land owners and lessees, and native tenants. The topics visited include: who the native residents were and where they lived; descriptions of land use practices; transitions in ownership; and historic features—primarily recorded through the efforts of native residents and government surveyors. Because almost all of the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu has been held by a single owner since the inception of private land ownership in Hawai'i, the Government records are limited. Some documentation pertaining to 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century leasehold agreement for Ka'ūpūlehu have been located, and are cited below. Additionally, a few references to neighboring lands are included below, as they help describe the general pattern of land use in the region, or make specific reference to families or features of Ka'ūpūlehu, in association with other locations.

### **Ka'ūpūlehu and Vicinity:**

#### **Residency Records**

Based on missionary calculations (partially a result of the Ellis Tour cited above), the population on the island of Hawai'i was estimated at 85,000 individuals in 1823 (Schmitt 1973:8). By 1850, the population on the island had dropped down to 25,864 (ibid.). In 1835, population records for the region of Kekaha (Kapalaoa to Kealakehe—the present study area included), placed the population at 1,233 individuals. The total population of Kona in 1831 was 6,649, and in 1835, it was 5,957 individuals, a four year decline of 692 persons (ibid.:31). Historical accounts recording the continued decline of the native population in the period from ca. 1850 to 1920, as written by native writers, are cited later, in this section of the study.

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

The earliest records identified during this study, that give us names of native residents at Ka'ūpūlehu come from Government taxation journals. The "*Auhau Poalua*" (Tuesday Tax) was collected to help pay for government services—e.g. public service projects and the educational program. The *Auhau Pō'ahua* was paid by native tenants in labor services, goods, or financial compensation. On January 1, 1849, Samuela Ha'ano, Tax Assessor (District II, Island of Hawai'i) submitted a report titled "*Inoa o na kanaka auhau/poalua ma Kona Akau mai Puuanahulu a Honuaino—483 kanaka*" (Names of people who come under the Poalua Tax Laws in North Kona, from Puuanahulu to Honuaino—483 people). The records identify seven residents of Ka'ūpūlehu, and name residents of neighboring lands. Because of the close relationship between these families, *Table 2* includes the names of individuals from Pu'u Anahulu to Kaulana. Several of the individuals cited below, are recalled today in this study, by their descendants (see interviews in this study).

In 1848, Kingdom records also tells about schools in the Kekaha region. Interestingly, there is no record of there ever having been a school at Ka'ūpūlehu. What we do find is that there were schools



<b>Table 2.</b> <b>Ahupuaa</b>	<b>Auhau Poalua</b> <b>Name of Tax Paying Residents</b>
Puuanahulu	Kepookoaioku, Kua'iwa, Paka, Kaiwehena, Kuakahela, Kalawaia
Puuwaawaa	Pinamu, Palaualelo, Kauo, Napunielua, Kainoa, Kauai, Kanaina, Na'iohelo, Paaluhi
Kaupulehu	Kaihumanumanu, Kalaehoa, Wainee, Aea, Kanaina, Nauha, Wahapuu
Kukio:	Kau, Nakulua, Makaakau
Makalawena:	Koaliiole, Kahaialii, Kapehe, Mamae, Kauaonuanu, Kanaina, Kaiakoili, Kauhalu, Nauale
Mahaiula:	Pahia, Kahewahewaulu, Kailieleele, Namahiai, Kapela, Kahanu, Kaikaula, Noai, Mana
Kaulana:	Paa'ao, Puluole, Napala, Kialoa, Naopii (Hawai'i State Archives; Series 262, Hawaii - 1849)

at the following locations: Wainānālī'i (Pu'u Anahulu)—Kalua was the teacher, and there were 18 students; at Kīholo (Pu'u Anahulu)—Punihaole was the teacher and there were 21 students; at Ka'elehuluhulu (Kaulana)—Punohu was the teacher and there were 27 students. (Hawai'i State Archives Series 262-box 2, General Reports, January-December 1848).

By 1861 The Wainānālī'i school was no longer in existence (presumably a result of the 1859 Mauna Loa lava flow to the shore at Pu'u Anahulu<sup>21</sup>), and the Kīholo School had a total of 23 students and Punihaole was still the instructor. The school at Ka'elehuluhulu had 21 students, then under the instruction of Kauaii (Hawai'i State Archives Series 262-box 2, 1861 Reports). By 1873, the school at Ka'elehuluhulu had been moved to Makalawena, where 16 students were under the instruction of Kahao (Hawai'i State Archives Series 262, 1873:2-3 Reports); and by 1881, the school at Kīholo had 11 students under the instruction of Kaonohi (ibid. Reports 1881). Records through the 1890s document the continued decline of students and eventual closing of the school at Kīholo by c. 1900 (State Archives, Pub. Inst. Files, June 1905). This was also the case at the Makalawena School, though it remained in use till c. 1919 (Bureau of Conveyances and oral history interviews).

Of interest to this brief discussion of native residents in the north Kekaha region, we see that the population of Ka'ūpūlehu must already have experienced a significant decline—perhaps even prior to Ellis' visit in 1823. As such, individuals may have made claims to the Land Commission for *kuleana* in other locations. Also, based on the customs of families in the early 1900s (as recorded in oral history interviews in this study), it safe to suggest that in the period following 1848, any student from the Ka'ūpūlehu area most likely went to school either in the Kīholo vicinity or at Ka'elehuluhulu-Makalawena.

#### **Tenancy and Land Use Records of the Bishop Estate**

For the period between ca. 1884 to 1915, historical records in the collection of the Kamehameha Schools-Bishop Estate provide us with some of the most important sources of documentation of native residents and land use at Ka'ūpūlehu. The following documentation, provided through the

<sup>21</sup> Wainānālī'i — On March 11, 1859, Isaac Y. Davis wrote (to the Minister of Interior) from Waimea, he reported:

...There is nothing new, but, your *Wahine makaulaula* (red eyed woman; i.e., Pele) is flowing once again, causing damage to the land of the King. It is here at the uplands above Puuwaawaa, descending perhaps to damage the places that remain (undamaged), like at Wainanalii. Won't you command your woman, Pele, not to come again, and not to damage the land of my King, or your two might be fetched here... (Hawaii State Archives, Interior Department Letters Mar. 11, 1859; Maly translator).

historical facts. In the documentation is found the names of families who resided at the Kahuwai Village; the rights of tenancy which Chiefess Bernice Pauahi Bishop (and subsequently Chas. R. Bishop and the Trustees of Bishop Estate) granted to native Hawaiian families of Ka'ūpūlehu; and that the *ali'i* set up a mechanism for the protection of resources necessary for sustaining the native inhabitants<sup>22</sup>. Many of the native tenant named below, are referenced in other sections of this study and are the *kūpuna* of several of the individuals interviewed in this study.

**LEASE No. 268**

This Indenture of Lease made and entered into this ninth day of August, A.D. Eighteen Hundred and Eighty four.

WITNESSETH: That B. Pauahi Bishop and Chas. R. Bishop her husband of Honolulu... do hereby demise and let unto Henry N. Greenwell of Kalukalu, S. Kona, Hawaii, that certain tract of land known as the *ahupuaa* of Kaupulehu in North Kona, Island of Hawaii.

According to its ancient boundaries, excepting the Sea-fishery, and the sand beach where the natives live, together with the *lauhala* and cocoanut trees growing thereon.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said *Ahupuaa* of Kaupulehu, for the term of twenty (20) years from the 1<sup>st</sup> day of June, A.D. 1884 the said H.N. Greenwell yielding and paying therefor the rent of Three hundred & fifty Dollars, per annum...

...And, further more, that he will not himself, or allow others to cut any of the timber now growing upon said land without the written consent of the parties of the first part, excepting such as may be necessary for the purpose of fencing upon said land or for domestic use...

Signed      Bernice Pauahi Bishop  
                 Chas. R. Bishop  
                 H.N. Greenwell

(Permission is granted to assign this lease to John McGuire of Kohala on the same terms and conditions – Honolulu Feby. 8, 1888.)

**BISHOP ESTATE LEASE 292**

Charles R. Bishop et al.  
Trustees  
To  
D.P. Keoahu et al  
Dated Sept. 1<sup>st</sup> 1885

(TRANSLATION)

THIS INDENTURE OF LEASE made this first day of September, A.D. 1885, between Charles R. Bishop, Charles M. Hyde and Samuel M. Damon of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Trustees under the Will of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, of the first part, and D.P. Keoahu, D.R. Lonoakai, W. Kamuoha, Kaolelo, G. Palapala, O. Paapu, Luahine, W. Maihui, Kahele, Pahukula and Kaailuwale, of North Kona, Island of Hawaii, of the second part:

WITNESSETH: That the parties of the first part hereby give and grant by way of

<sup>22</sup> Archival records document that Princess Ke'elikōlani set a precedent for protection of coastal and fishery resources at Ka'ūpūlehu as early as 1873 (cf. Interior Department Land File Letter, May 12, 1873 – below).

lease unto the parties of the second part that piece of land situate at Kaupulehu, in said North Kona, being that portion of the Ahupuaa of Kaupulehu adjoining the seashore where the houses of the tenants now stand and which portion is not comprised in the lease from the parties of the first part to H.N. Greenwell executed on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of August, M.H. 1885, together with the sea fishery of the Ahupuaa of said Kaupulehu.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD this land together with the hala and cocoanut trees thereon and all the right and interest thereto appertaining unto the parties of the second part and their executors, administrators and assigns for the term of ten (10) years from the first day of September, A.D. 1885, at a rental of Fifty Dollars per annum, payable on the first day of September of each and every year without demand...

And the parties of the second part for themselves, and for their executors, hereby covenant and agree with the parties of the first part and their heirs and assigns, to duly pay the first part and their heirs and assigns, to duly pay the rent in aforesaid; to pay all taxes and assessments of every nature that may properly be imposed upon this property; to build and maintain at their own expense all fences; not to sell or assign this lease nor to underlet said premises or a portion thereof for any term without the consent in writing to the parties of the first part or their representatives; to live peaceably and not to impound the animals of those leasing the Ahupuaa of Kaupulehu when trespassing upon the premises hereby demised...

Witness T.W. Simeona      Signed Chas. R. Bishop  
C.M. Hyde  
Sml. Damon  
D.P. Keoahu<sup>23</sup>  
D.R. Lonoakai  
W. Kamauoha  
Kaolelo x  
G. Palapala  
O. Paapu x  
Luahine x  
W. Maihui  
Kahele x  
Pahukula  
J. Kaailuwale

<sup>23</sup> **Family Documentation Regarding Selected Residents:**

(documentation from archival- and Keākealani family genealogical-resources)

*D.P. Keoahu* (written as "Kaoahu" by Hawaiian Government Surveyor, J.S. Emerson in 1882) was recorded as having a residence at "Kaupulehu Village" in 1882;

*Paapu* - an Interior Department letter identifies "Papu" as a resident-rancher with a registered brand, at Ka'ūpūlehu (Oct. 16, 1855); survey records of 1882 identify a house on the beach at Kūki'o 1, as belonging to Paapu;

*Luahine* was one of the informants for the survey of boundaries for Ka'ūpūlehu conducted by J.M. Alexander.

*Kamauoha* descended from Kamauoha wahine, sister of Ka'iliihiwa-nui, grandfather of the elder members of the Keākealani family;

*Kaailuwale* (also written Kauluwale), was one of the husbands of Kahiko, from them are descended Maka'ai-nui, and Uncle J. Pu'ipu'i Maka'ai. Native records report that in the ca. 1860s-1870s, Ka'ailuwale was also a teacher at Kiholo. Following Kauluwale's death, Kahiko married two or three times again, her last husband was Mahikō, and together, they raised Robert K. Keākealani Sr., J.P. Maka'ai, and Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani. (Keola Na'aho, who later married Keākealani, was born at Kahuwai in 1894, her son Robert K. Keākealani was also born at Kahuwai in 1914).

(Sept. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1895 – Lease extended for ten years to Sept. 1, 1905. Sept. 1, 1905 Lease Expired. From Dec. 1, 1906 to Dec. 1, 1909 Tenancy to John A. Maguire; thence see Lease 763a)

**Bishop Estate Lease 763**

THIS INDENTURE OF LEASE made this 28<sup>th</sup> day of 1899 by and between JOSEPH O. CARTER, WILLIAM F. ALLEN, WILLIAM O. SMITH and SAMUEL M. DAMON all of Honolulu Island of Oahu Hawaiian Islands Trustees under the will of B.P. Bishop late of Honolulu deceased hereinafter called the "Lessors" of the first part and JOHN A. MAGUIRE of Huehue North Kona Island of Hawaii hereinafter called the "Lessee" of the second part

WITNESSETH: That the Lessors in consideration of the rent hereinafter reserved and of the covenants herein contained and on the part of the Lessee to be observed and performed do hereby demise and lease unto the Lessee.

ALL that tract or parcel of land situate in North Kona Island of Hawaii and known as the *ahupuaa* of Kaupulehu excepting the sea fishery the sand beach where the natives live and the *lauhala* and cocoanut trees growing upon the said tract or parcel of land

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD together with all rights and privileges and appurtenances unto the Lessee from the 1<sup>st</sup> day of December 1899 for the term of Ten (10) Years...

**Bishop Estate Lease 763a**

May 14, 1907

THIS INDENTURE OF LEASE, made this 14<sup>th</sup> day of May 1907, by and between JOSEPH O. CARTER, WILLIAM O. SMITH, SAMUEL M. DAMON, ALFRED W. CARTER and E. FAXON BISHOP, all of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, territory of Hawaii, Trustees under the Will and of the Estate of Bernice P. Bishop, deceased, hereinafter called the "Lessors", of the first part, and JOHN A. MAGUIRE, of Huehue, North Kona, Island and Territory of Hawaii, hereinafter called the "lessee", of the second part...

All of the *Ahupuaa* of Kaupulehu, containing an area of 23,545 acres, more or less, situate in North Kona aforesaid, being *Apana* 10 of the land mentioned or described in Royal Patent No. 7843, Land Commission Award 7715 issued to Lot Kamehameha, together with the Sea-fishery and fishing rights appurtenant to said premises;

EXCEPT, HOWEVER, the lot sold and conveyed by the Lessors to Matthewman by deed dated February, 17, 1906; all kuleanas within the boundaries of the said *Ahupuaa* not the property of the Lessors; all rights and easements appurtenant to such kuleanas; and

EXCEPT ALSO and always reserving to the Lessors: such portions of the said *Ahupuaa* as the Lessors may require or in their discretion think necessary for roads and/or trails on, over or across the said *Ahupuaa*...

[including] ...All antiquities, including specimens of Hawaiian or other ancient art, manufacture or handicraft to be found on the said *Ahupuaa*...

(extended to Feb. 1932; incorporated into Lease 4746 on March 1, 1932)

### ***Ka Hana Pa'akai ma Kalaemanō***

#### **(Salt Making at Kalaemanō): Familial Associations**

The record of family names—in conjunction with oral historical records cited later in this study—perhaps explains some sense of the long-term relationship certain families maintained with the *loko pa'akai* (salt ponds) and *kāheka* (natural tidal pool-salt beds), in the area called Kalaemanō. It is noted here, that the place name, Kalaemanō, is a traditional locality in Pu'uwa'awa'a (cf. *Section IV*), near the Pu'uwa'awa'a-Ka'ūpūlehu boundary. Today, the name is used by elder native residents of the region to identify the salt works between branches of the Ka'ūpūlehu flow of 1800, thus use of the name, Kalaemanō indicates an area situated within the *ahupua'a* of Pu'uwa'awa'a and Ka'ūpūlehu.

It is likely that the childhood salt making experiences—that *kūpuna* today recall with such fondness—are rooted in earlier practices and residency patterns of their *kūpuna*. Several interviewees speak of the journeys regularly made by members of the Punihaole family to work the salt pans and harvest the *pa'akai* (salt) made there. The above cited records note that (Iosepa) Punihaole was teaching at Kiholo as early as 1847. We know that he eventually moved to Kohanaiki, and that his *hānai* (adopted) son, Jack Punihaole, moved to Makalawena where he married Kapahukela, the daughter of Kauaonu'uanu<sup>24</sup> and Ka'ahu'ula. While there were salt making resources in the Makalawena-Ka'ūpūlehu vicinity, it is conceivable that the family's continued custom of returning to the Kalaemanō area for *pa'akai*, was rooted in their elder's former residence at Kiholo. Interview records document that families of the Kiholo vicinity regularly traveled to Kalaemanō to make and harvest salt. Descendants of those families still visit the area for salt to this day.

Also, ethnographic and oral historical records (e.g., Kelly 1971 and Springer 1985, 1989, 1992) document that in the larger Kekaha region, it was at Ka'ūpūlehu, Makalawena, Mahai'ula, Kūki'o, and Kiholo, where natural resources were favorable, that a few families in small communities, were able to maintain residences into the later 19<sup>th</sup>- and early 20<sup>th</sup>-centuries (cf. Maly 1998a and in this study). Thus, areas that were familiar, continued to be visited, even after families had relocated.

As noted in *Section IV*, and above, the *kāheka* and *loko pa'akai* have been, and for some families, still remain, resources of great importance (used either for the actual practice of salt making, or in the traditions of families and their relationship to the land). The following brief description of the importance of *pa'akai*, or sea salt in the Hawaiian diet, and how it was made was recorded in the 1840s, by native historian, David Malo (1951):

Salt was one of the necessities and was a condiment used with fish and meat, also as a relish with fresh food. Salt was manufactured only in certain places. The women brought sea water in calabashes or conducted it in ditches to natural holes, hollows, and shallow ponds (*kaheka*) on the sea coast, where it soon became strong brine from evaporation. Thence it was transferred to another hollow, or shallow vat, where crystallization into salt was completed. [Malo 1951:123]

Oral historical accounts cited later in this study describe the customs and practices of families who processed and gathered *pa'akai* at Kalaemanō up to c. 50 years ago.

#### ***Historic Ranching Operations***

Cattle, goats, and sheep had been introduced to the islands in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and had grown at alarming rates. Handy, Handy, and Pukui (1972) observe that after their introduction, the cattle rapidly multiplied and invaded the uplands. In dry seasons, these animals even "browsed on

<sup>24</sup> 'Auhau Pō'alua records cited above, identify Kauaonu'uanu mā as residents of Makalawena as early as 1848.

the grass-thatched houses of the natives" (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:18; see also Kelly 1983, and Clark and Kirch 1983). It is also reported that goats came to be "the most destructive of all introduced grazing animals (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:18). Indeed, by 1815, shortly after his return to Kona from O'ahu, Kamehameha hired a few people to shoot cattle. The reproductive capacity of the cattle was alarming, and it is estimated that by 1851 there were c. 20,000 cattle on the island of Hawai'i, approximately 12,000 of them wild (Henke 1929:22).

In 1855, the King signed a law requiring all livestock owners on Hawai'i to register their brands between April 1-September 30, 1855, or else the animals would be considered government property. By October 16, 1855, thirteen individuals had complied. One of the respondents was from the Kekaha region, Papu<sup>25</sup> of Ka'upulehu; his brand recorded on October 12, 1855 (Oct. 16, 1855; State Archive, Interior Department files). Evidence of some form of early ranching in the vicinity of the study area is found in a letter dated May 28, 1861. In the letter, J.H. Kapaiki, Maiiai, and Kanaina (residents of Ka'upulehu), wrote to Lot Kapuāiwa (later, Kamehameha V), owner of Ka'upulehu reporting that the population of goats in Ka'upulehu, which had been formerly tended, had increased and moved into the uplands. The residents wrote:

...The opportunity has come to your servant living on the land of Kaupulehu, to write to you about the trouble that has come to us now.

As follows: We have some goats living on your land of Kaupulehu, the number of these goats are hundreds in number. We have lived together with the goats about five years. But, thereafter, the goat herder was found guilty of some crime done by him, then the goats went and lived in the mountain of Kaupulehu, they were one year staying in the mountain.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of April, the agent who had charge of the Government remnants, with others, quite a number, went up to the mountain sightseeing. And they saw these hundreds of goats running on the mountain of Kaupulehu, then said luna directed that they go after the goats and slaughter them, and one hundred or more were killed. When the natives were catching the goats, they noticed that they were goats which had been marked, and one of them told the agent that these were domesticated goats, and that they were all marked.

The agent said, "those goats belong to the Government," because these goats are on the Government's portion...what is right in regard to this taking of our property running on the mountain belonging to Kaupulehu, and not on the outside land...? (Hawai'i Sate Archives-Interior Department files May 28, 1861)

Facilitated by the privatization of land ownership, the economic opportunities of ranching drew great interest from a number of the Konohiki class and a larger group of foreign businessmen. In the Kekaha region, cattle ranching primarily took place in the uplands and on the *kula* (open plain lands), while goats roamed the entire district from sea to mountains. As noted in historic records cited in this section of the study, Hawaiian residents of the Kekaha region relied on goats for some of their income and subsistence. But, the formal staking out of ranch land boundaries led to access problems for the native tenants who remained on the land. By the 1840s upland agricultural fields that had been of particular importance to residents of Kekaha were being impacted by grazing cattle. Many such fields were eventually abandoned as a result of cattle depredation (cf. Morgan 1948:128). Thus, residency that had been supported by seasonal subsistence agriculture and fishing was becoming dependent upon ranching and a western monetary system.

<sup>25</sup> J.S. Emerson's survey records from 1882, place a house belonging to "Paapu" in Kūki'o 1; on the shore of Uluweuweu Bay.

As ranching operations became established, leases on government and private lands were also entered into. In the 1870s and 1880s, a number of individuals, including John Broad, H. Cooper, H.N. Greenwell, J. Dowsett, A.S. Cleghorn, J. Maguire, and King Kalākaua applied for leases on large tracts of land in Kekaha (including portions of the Ka'ūpūlehu study area). As a result, large portions of the private- and leased-lands were dedicated to ranching operations.

The land file records of the Hawaii State Archives also contain a few correspondence records pertaining to Ka'ūpūlehu. Among those communications are:

INT. DEPT. MATTERS Oct. 10, 1861

R. Keelikolani to Lot Kamehameha, informing him of the receipt of Birds of Kaupulehu from Mai'ai<sup>(6)</sup>, his *hoaina*, forty in number, that 20 went to his younger brother (Alexander Liholiho—Kamehameha IV), 5 to herself, and the remaining 15 are his.

INT DEPT. Dec. 18, 1867

In letter by Charles Wall stating that he has heard that some natives have gone to Honolulu for the purpose of leasing the above land—Desires that the same be leased to him.

INT. DEPT. May 3, 1873

In letter from John Broad (a dairyman rancher) to John Dominis (administrator of Ke'elikōlani's properties) applying to lease the *ahupuaa* of Kaupulehu at \$200 a year, for a term of 10 years.

In the matter of this lease, Princess R. Ke'elikōlani, who had inherited Ka'ūpūlehu from the estate of her half-brother, L. Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V), wrote to J. Dominis and his wife "Lidia" (Lili'uokalani) on May 12, 1873:

*Ua loa mai nei ia'u ka olua palapala, a ua ike au i ko olua manao e pili ana no ka hoolimalima ana 'ku ia Kaupulehu & Keauhou, ua pono no ia. Aka, he mau mea ka'u i manao ai e waiho ae ma waho o ka hoolimalima ana o Kaupulehu, oia kēia, o ka lauhala a pau e ulu nei ma Kaupulehu, a me na pono lawaia, oia ke kai a pau, a me ka ulu niu, a me ka honua malalo a o kahakai no a pau o Kaupulehu... [Land File, Kaupulehu May 12, 1873]*

I received your letter, and I understand your thoughts regarding the leasing of Kaupulehu & Keauhou, it is all right. But, there are several things which I have a mind to withhold from the leasing of Kaupulehu; they are, all of the pandanus that is growing at Kaupulehu; and the fishing rights, that is the entire ocean [fronting the land]; the coconut grove; and the flats below, on the entire shore of Kaupulehu... [translated by the author]

The above excerpts from Ke'elikōlani's letter give us insight into historic values associated with the land of Ka'ūpūlehu. In the letter, we learn of — Ke'elikōlani's specific interest in the fishing rights of Ka'ūpūlehu; and of the presence of coastal resources, including the groves of *niu* and *hala* (coconut and pandanus trees). As indicated, the fishing rights are those of the entire land (from Kumukea Point to Pōhakuokahae). As reported in oral history interviews describing the Ka'ūpūlehu environment early this century, it is likely that the *niu*, *hala*, and flat land resources, mentioned above, are those in the vicinity of Kahuwai Bay (generally from Mahewalu Point to the area fronting Waiakauhi Pond).

The lease between Broad and Ke'elikōlani was entered into, and on April 6 & 12, 1875, Broad, addressed letters from his residence in Ka'ūpūlehu, to the Minister of Interior, asking for the lease on Government's lands situated between Ka'ūpūlehu to Honua'ula (Interior Dept. communications). By ca. 1886, John A. Maguire founded Hu'ehu'e, or Maguire Ranch, which extended "from sea level to about 6,000 feet, with most of the lands above 1,600 feet elevation" (Henke 1929:28). The early ranch was founded on land in the *ahupua'a* of Kūki'o (Grant 2121 to Pupule), which had been handed down through the genealogy of Luka Hopulā'au, Maguire's wife (pers. comm. V. Ako and H. Springer).

As noted earlier in this section of the study ("*Land Tenure*"), H.N. Greenwell secured a lease on the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu for ranching, in 1884 (Bishop Lease No. 268). In 1888, the lease was transferred to John Maguire of Hu'ehu'e; subsequent Bishop Estate Leases No.'s 763, 763a, and 4746, granted to Maguire and/or his estate, extended the lease through ca. 1960. Maguire also added lands in the Manini'ōwali-Kaulana area lands further south, to the Hu'ehu'e Ranch operations, by lease and purchase in succeeding years. Henke (1929) reports that at one time, Hu'ehu'e had almost:

...40,000 acres, only about 12,000 of which have any great value as grazing lands. Fifteen thousand acres are held in fee simple and the balance is leased from private owners. Huehue Ranch has no government lands. The ranch carries about 2,000 grade Herefords, twenty purebred cows and some twenty purebred Hereford bulls. About 350-400 head are marketed annually...

The ranch has seven miles of pipe line which lead from tanks near a natural spring to various parts of the ranch. Huehue Ranch is fairly well supplied with fences and paddocks. Large areas of the ranch are overgrown with ferns and lantana and lava flows have rendered much of the land useless... [Henke 1929:28]

By the turn of the century, the impact of goats on Hawaiian forests and lands valued by ranchers for economic purposes was causing alarm among land officials. On October 12, 1922, Charles Judd, Superintendent of Forestry in the Territory of Hawaii forwarded a communication to Governor Farrington describing conditions in the Ka'ūpūlehu-Kīhōlo region. He observed:

Not only are thousands of acres robbed of valuable forage grasses which should properly go to cattle for the meat supply of this Territory but the undergrowth of bushes, ferns, and herbaceous plants which form valuable ground cover is being consumed or destroyed by goats and the trees which form the complement in the scheme of water conservation are being barked and killed by this voracious pest. At Kīhōlo in North Kona almost every algaroba tree, established in this dry region with great difficulty and most valuable here for the production of forage beans has been girdled by the wild goats... Senator R. Hind of Puuwaawaa, North Kona, Hawaii, is one who has felt, probably the most seriously, losses from an over-population of wild goats and in addition has suffered much loss of forage for cattle from wild sheep... He has, therefore, undertaken, on his own initiative, active measures to relieve his ranch of this pest and on June 26 and 27, 1922 conducted a drive which resulted in ridding his ranch of 7,000 wild goats... [Hawaii State Archives Territorial Fish and Game Commission; Com-2, Box 15]

It was estimated at that time, that there was one goat on every five acres of land, and Judd reported that at Pu'uwa'awa'a and Pu'u Anahulu, which comprised 105,000 acres, that there were 21,000 wild goats. The lands of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kealakekua were combined, totaling 40,000 acres, meaning the goat population was estimated at 8,000 head (ibid.). The presence of goats through out Ka'ūpūlehu and the large goat drives, are among the recollections shared by *kūpuna* in oral history interviews cited later in this study.



## **Hawaiian Government Survey Records (ca. 1882-1889)**

One of the most significant collections of historic records of the later 19<sup>th</sup> century, in regards to documentation of Hawaiian history and the cultural landscape of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha, are the Field Note Books of government surveyor, Joseph Swift Emerson. These fragile notebooks are housed in the collection of the DLNR-Survey Division. The Emerson field books contain maps (showing residences, trails, and various features of the cultural and natural landscape of the study area), place name locations, and accounts collected by Emerson from native residents he met while in the field. Emerson was born in Hawai'i and had the ability to converse in Hawaiian as well, thus his notebooks are culturally richer than those of many other surveyors. Another unique facet of the Emerson field note books is that his assistant, J. Perryman was a good artist; his work helps bring to life much of the history recorded by Emerson.

In a letter to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General, Emerson (brother of historian, N.B. Emerson), described his methods and wrote that he took readings off of:

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

In his field communications (letter series to W.D. Alexander), Emerson comments on, and identifies some of his native informants and field guides. While describing the process of setting up triangulation stations from Puakō to Kaloko, Emerson reported that the "two native men are extra good. I could not have found two better men by searching the island a year." (State Archives, HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; February 15, 1882). We learn later, that the primary native guides for the Pu'u Anahulu-Ka'ūpūlehu region were Iakopa and Ka'ilihewa—*kūpuna* of the Keākealani family (State Archives, HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; May 5, and August 30, 1882). Discussing the field books Emerson also commented that "Perryman is just laying himself out in the matter of topography. His sketches deserve the highest praise..." (ibid.:May 5, 1882).

While describing the inland region of Ka'ūpūlehu, in the vicinity of the 'Akahipu'u station, Emerson also commented:

Our animals enjoyed the richest pasture, such as they will not see again during this campaign. The country about there appears to be in its primitive freshness without the curse of cattle, horses, and goats. Pohas were very abundant and luscious...  
(ibid.:June 7, 1882)

### **Field Notebooks**

The following documentation is excerpted from the Field Note Books of J.S. Emerson. The numbered sites and place names coincide with maps that are cited as figures in text (some documentation on sites or features outside of the study area is also included here). Because the original books are in poor condition—highly acidic paper that has darkened, making the pencil written and drawn records hard to read—the copies have been carefully darkened to enhance readability. *Figure 5*, and previously cited *Figures 3 and 4* identify the locations of many of the place names discussed in the texts below.



Figure 5. Portion of Register Map 1278; J.S. Emerson, ca. 1882 (State Survey Division)

**J.S. Emerson 1882 Vol. II Reg. No. 252**  
**West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District**  
**Puu Anahulu Station**

April 24, 1882 (Puu Waawaa points spotted from Puu Anahulu Station)

...Lae o Mano; tangent to extreme point of small cape which is situated in the *ahupuaa* of Puu Waawaa.

Kapaniau; Hitchcock's boundary point on Gov't. Road between *ahupuaa* of P. Waawaa & Kaupulehu. [Reg. No. 252:33]

**Site # and Comment: (see Figure 6 for locations discussed below)**

- 1- Lae o Kawili
- 2 - Lae o Awakee...
- 3 - Bay this side of cape
- 4 - Lae o Kukio iki...
- 5 - Larger rock in sea
- 6 - Kukio iki Bay
- 7 - Lae o Kukio nui...
- 8 - End of reef
- 9 - Kukio nui Bay
- 10 - Kaoahu's house in Kaupulehu Village...
- 11 - this side of house
- 12 - Bay; tangent to head
- 13 - Lae o Kolomuo (extremity in Kaupulehu)
- 14 - Nukumeomeo rock (opposite cape)
- 15 - Pohakuokahae. By authority of Kailihiwa - Boundary point between the ilis of Kaupulehu and Kiholo.
- 16 - small inlet
- 17 - small cape
- 18 - small bay
- 19 - Lae o Nawaikulua
- 20 - Small inlet
- 21 - Keawawamano
- 22 - Waiaelepi
- 23 - *Lauhala* Grove... [Book 252:67-69]

**Kuili Station; May 19, 1882 (see Figure 7 for locations discussed below)**

**Site # and Comment:**

- 29 - Paapu's new *Lauhala* house; in Kukio Village, Kukio nui
- 30 - Uluweuweu bay, in Kukio nui
- 31 - Kumukea; from the white surf [boundary of] Kukio nui
- 32 - Kapilau bay; head of bay, Kaupulehu
- 33 - Lae o Mahewalu
- 34 - Keonenui Bay; long black sand beach
- 35 - Lae o Nukumeomeo
- 36 - Kiholo Bay... [Book 252:131]

**May 20, 1882**

Kapipa. In Kaupulehu. A former den of robbers; they attacked a chief of Kamehameha's, named Kuhaupio who slaughtered them. The road was transferred further up the mountain. [ibid.:135]



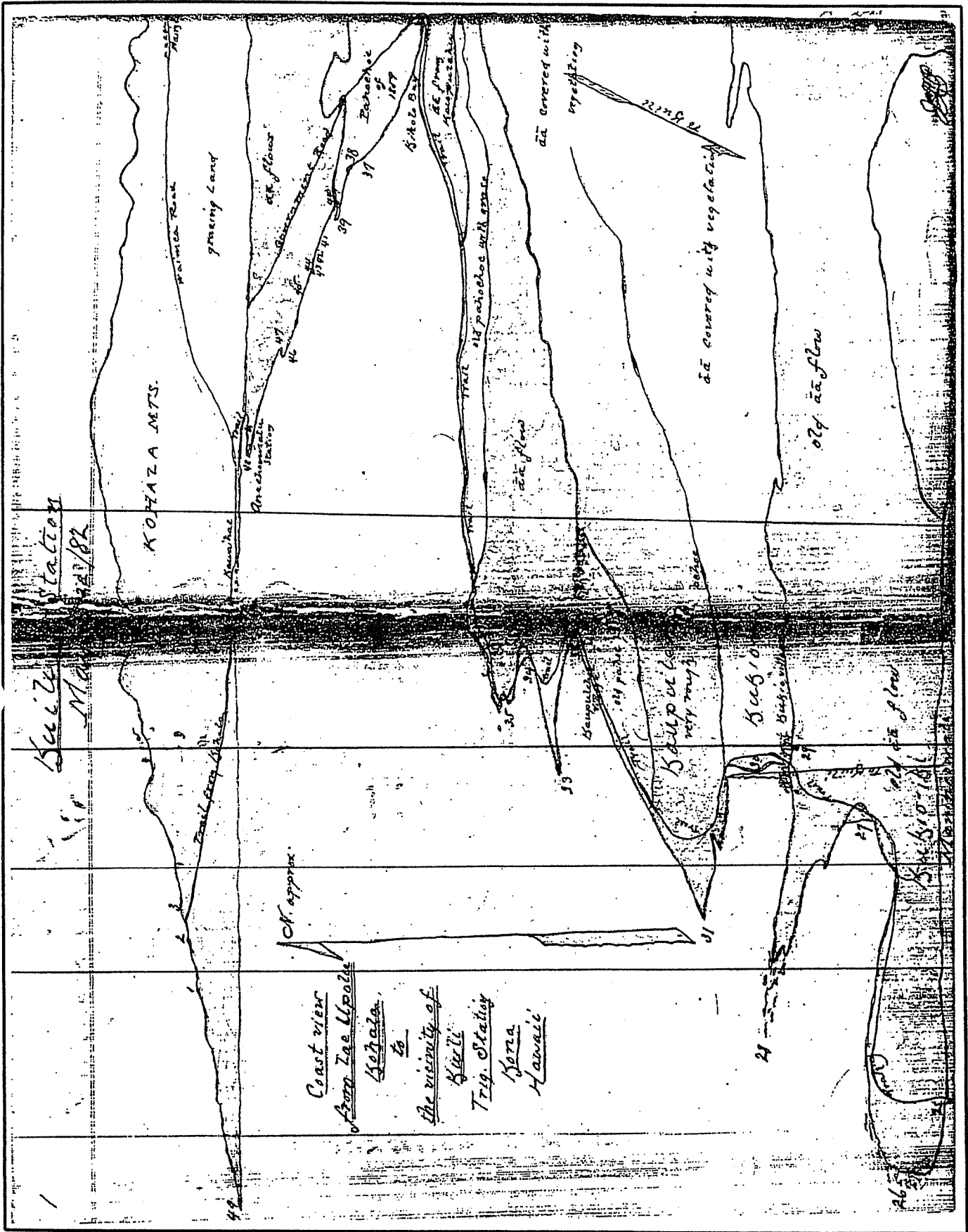


Figure 7. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 251:1 (State Survey Division)

**Kaaiialalaua.** Place where the *alalau* fish were eaten in great quantities, it being the "koele" of "Kalaekueiwa" the chief of Kaupulehu under Kamehameha.

**Moanulahea,** from the rooster "ahea" that was probably the one that came from Auwaiakeakua on the slope of Mauna Kea. A rock resembling a rooster is to be found there.

**Pohakuokahae.** Between Puu Waawaa and Kaupulehu... [ibid.:137]

**J.S. Emerson 1882 Vol. III Reg. No. 253  
West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District  
Kuli Station (Sighting on Hualalai)**

*(May 24-25, 1882; see Figure 8 for locations discussed below)*

**Site # and Comment:**

- 1 – Hualalai Peak. Highest point
- 2 – No Name
- 3 – Kalua Makani
- 4 – Hinakapoula
- 5 – No Name... [253:13-15]  
[also shown: 'Akahipu'u and Puhi-a-Pele]

**May 29, 1882**

**Site # and Comment: (see Figure 9 for locations discussed below)**

- 66 – Pohakuokeawe, in Kukio nui
- 67 – Lae o Kumukea, near boundary
- 68 – Kahuwai Bay, in Kaupulehu
- 69 – Mahewalu Cape, in Kaupulehu
- 70 – Inlet cape
- 71 – Keonenui
- 72 – Lae o Nukumeomeo
- 1 – Kiholo meeting house, Waawaa... [ibid.:39]

**May 30, 1882**

**Puhi a Pele**

- 1 – Kahoowahapuu in Maniniowali
- 2 – Puu Papapa in Kukio
- 3 – Muheenui in Kukio
- 4 – Puu Nahaha in Kaupulehu  
Puu Mauu
- 5 – Poopoomino in Kaupulehu  
Kaaiialalaua Puu in Kaupulehu  
Kileo Crater  
Puu Kau
- 6 – Kahaunaele's Frame House, in Kaulana. The owner is a Leper under the treatment of an old heathen "Kahuna" in Kona – name of Kalua, now at Kainaliu
- 7 – Puu Io, in Kaulana

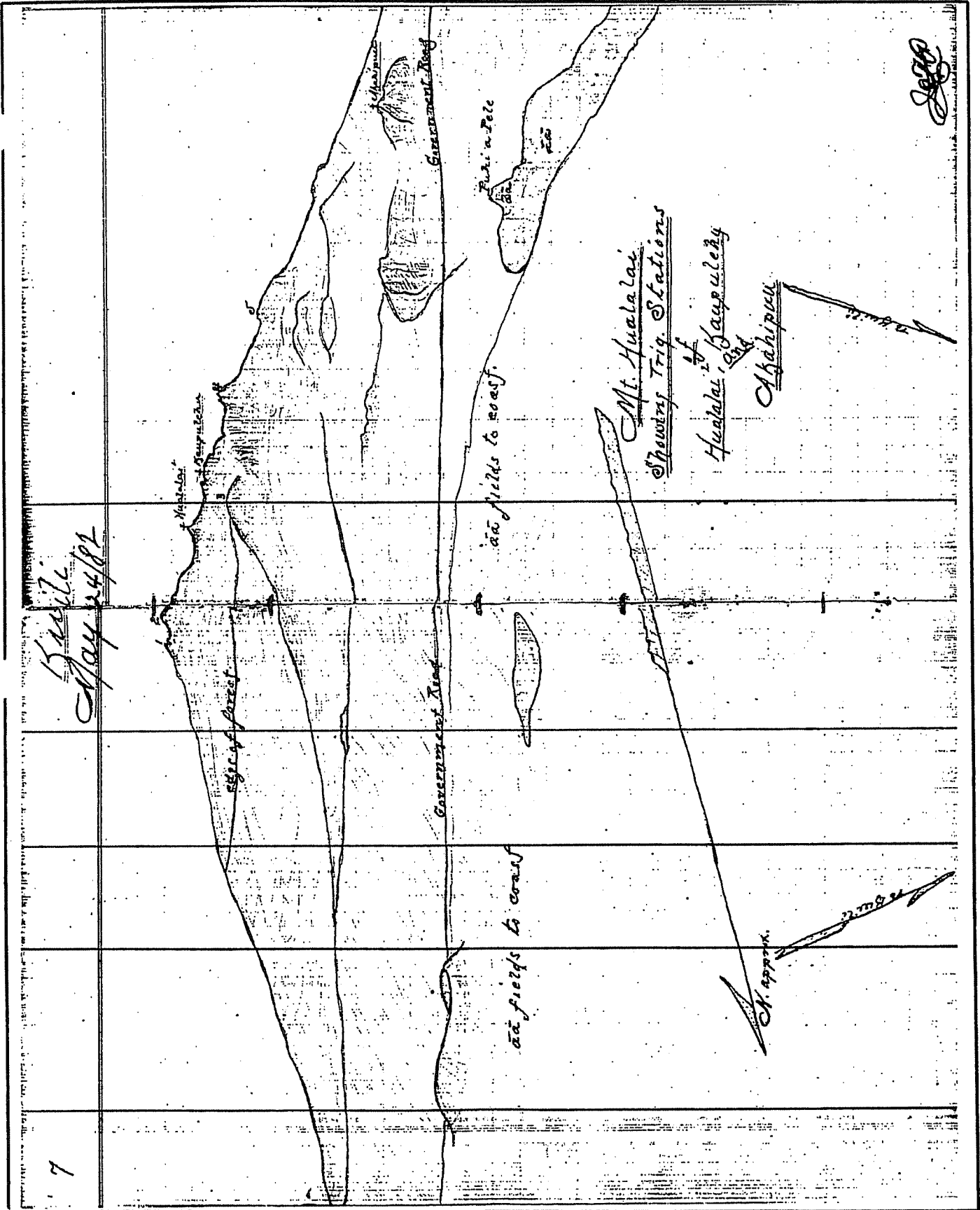


Figure 8. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:7 (State Survey Division)

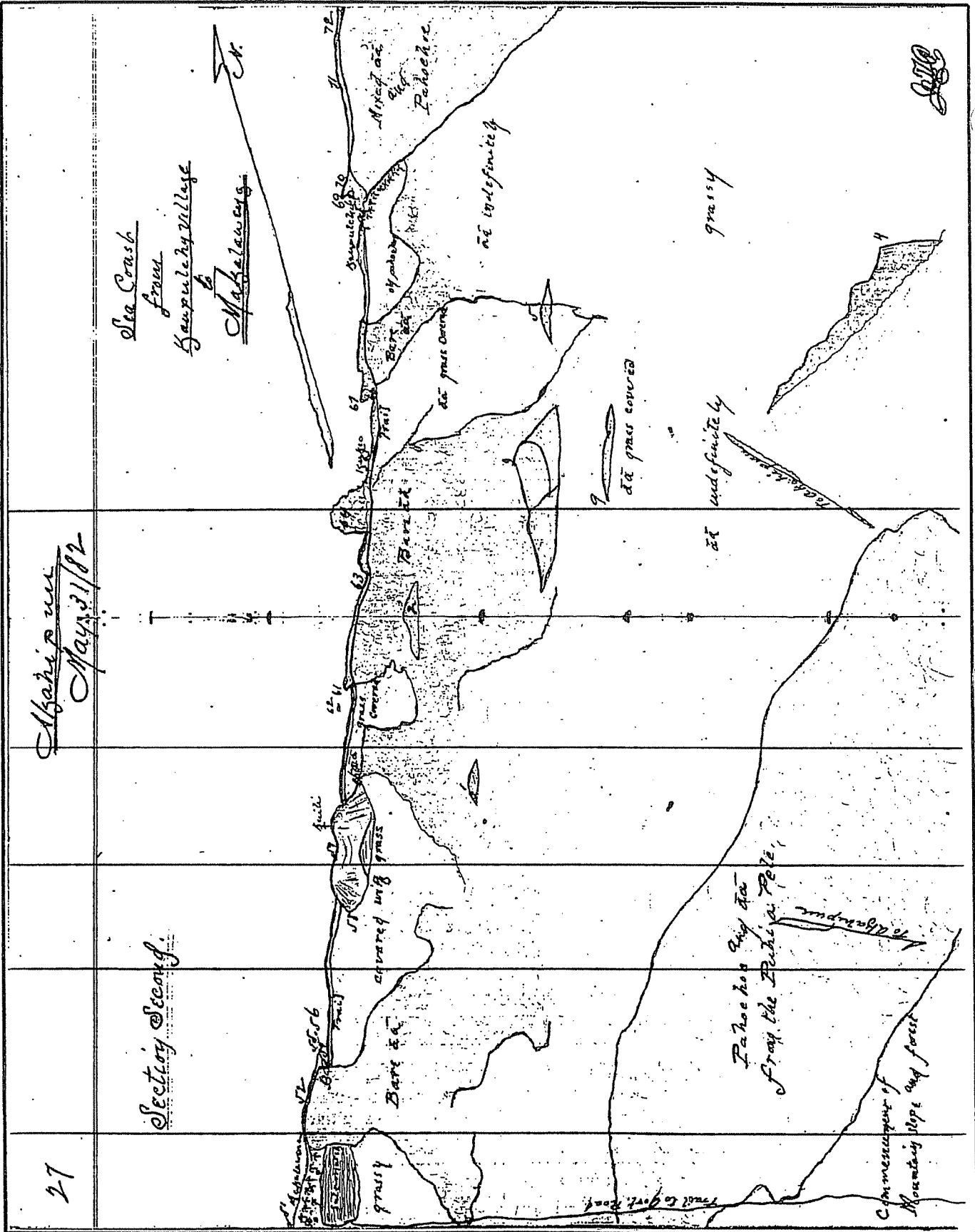


Figure 9. J.S. Emerson, Field Note Book Map – Book 253:27 (State Survey Division)



8 – Puu Kala Grass Sch. House. Not used in Puukala

Puu Kala, covered with Ohia trees

Moanuaiea, in Awalua

Palaha hill, in Kaupulehu

Puuki. Below this hill is the Palaha spring, near which are two ahus on the road.

They are on the division between Kaupulehu & Kaloko.

Puuki, in Kaupulehu

Kaiwi o Pele, in Kaupulehu

Puu Alala, in Kaupulehu

Kalulu Peak, in Kaupulehu

Puu Mahoe, in Kaupulehu

Hinakapoula, in Kaupulehu

Kalua Makani, in Kaupulehu

Puu Kolikoli [Kolekole], in Kaupulehu

Puu o Kai, in Kaupulehu... [Book 253: 39-41]

Papawai (goat pen). 5 – Entrance to goat pen on boundary between Kaupulehu and Kukio-nui

1 – The N. slope of Papamilo is on the boundary between Kaupulehu and Kukio-nui.

2 – The S. base of Puu o Kai is also on the boundary between Kaupulehu and Kukio-nui;

Kolomuo. an “*ahu*” – *makai* of which is a pile of stones;

3 – also on boundary between Kaupulehu and Kukio-nui  
[near Puhi-a-pele]

Boundary Pt. Sharp peak at “*makai*” end of the

4 – “Puhi a Pele” ridge

Hale ahi. N.E. Corner – between Kaupulehu and Kukio-nui... [ibid.:43]

## **Kekaha—Ka‘ūpūlehu and Makalawena:**

### **An Extended Community**

As evidenced in this study, historic records and oral history interviews with *kāpuna*, document that the families of Ka‘ūpūlehu shared an intimate relationship with the *‘ohana* (families) of the neighboring lands—e.g., Kapalaoa, Nāpu‘u, Kīholo, Kūki‘o, and Makalawena. It was perhaps the nature of the landscape of Kekaha-wai-‘ole, that brought the families together; not only within individual *ahupua‘a*, but on a regional level as well. By living and working within the *‘ohana*, or extended family units, a wide variety of skills could be brought together, and resources—those purposefully cultivated and those collected from the natural environment—from the uplands to the fisheries, could be pooled together to support the extended communities.

Early in this study, there was a brief description of the *ahupua‘a* management system; one which defined access to natural resources—and their management—within specific land divisions. In well watered districts with rich soils, it appears that that system remained generally intact through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Ka‘ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region, historic documentation indicates that the strengths and limitations of the natural environment served as a catalyst that drew families from various *ahupua‘a* together. Most of the historic documentation describes a system of caring for and sharing regional resources, rather than simply relying on the resources of single *ahupua‘a*. It may never be known if this pattern of regional access to resources (as described in historic texts and interviews), was ancient, or a reflection of changing times and diminishing populations.

Whatever the reason, we see that following the formalization of ownership of Ka‘ūpūlehu under one royal owner, that no large community was documented at Ka‘ūpūlehu. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the

coastal community of Ka'ūpūlehu was made up of only a few households. Thus, depending on family ties and weather conditions, by ca. 1868, families relied on the larger communities of Makalawena, Kīholo, or Pu'u Anahulu for schooling, church, and other functions. As recorded in interviews with *kūpuna* cited later in this study, we see that Makalawena was the last large coastal community in this region (see also Kelly 1971 and Springer 1985, 1989, 1992).

Historic narratives record that by the 1870s, Reverend George P. Ka'ōnohimaka assumed pastorship for the field of Kekaha, and through his efforts, at least six churches in the Kekaha region were established. The "Statistical Table of the Hawaiian Churches for 1877" identified G.P. Ka'ōnohimaka as the Pastor of the Kekaha Church, with a total of 174 members in good standing (Hawaii State Archives, Lyons' Collection; M-96). Writing in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, in 1926, Reverend Steven Desha, told readers about the churches of Kekaha and work Reverend Ka'ōnohimaka did in various communities—including Ka'ūpūlehu—in the region. Desha noted that the period he was writing about was ca. 1889, when he was the minister of the churches at Kealakekua and Lanakila. The following excerpts, translated by the author come from the August 17, 1926 issue of *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*.

During the tenure of Rev. G.P. Kaonohimaka, as Minister of the Churches of Kekaha, he worked with true patience. He traveled the "*kihapai laula*" (broad field or expansive parish) on his donkey, keeping his work in the various sections of the *kihapai laula*. There were times when he would begin his journey by going to the section of the "Hills", that is Puuanahulu and Puuwaawaa. Then when he was done there, he would go down to Kapalaoa, at the place known as Anaehoomalu. When he was finished there, he would travel to the various places, being Keawaiki, Kīholo, Kaupulehu, Kukio, Makalawena, Mahaiula, and Honokohau and Kaloko. Kaonohimaka would then return to the uplands of Kohanaiki and Kalaoa. He would be gone for several weeks at a time till he returned once again to his home. He would sleep as a guest in the homes of the brethren. There were many Church Elders (*Luna Ekalasia*) in these places where the people dwelt. In these various places, there were many residents, and the Prayer services would be held in the homes of some of the people, if there was no school house or meeting house at certain places... (Desha in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, August 17, 1926:3)

By the turn of the century, we find records that describe conditions of the Kekaha schools and churches. In one account, E.H. Gibson wrote to Dr. C.T. Rodgers of the Department of Public Instruction reporting:

I have visited all the schools in this District – N. Kona. Two of them, Kīholo and Makalawena, are reached by a ride of three hours over *aa* and *pahoehoe*... Makalawena has 9 houses and 32 children. In both places school is held in the church... At Makalawena the church is a bare wooden shanty, 16 x 24, with a few old pews. Both teachers do as good work as could be expected of them... (State Archives, Public Instruction File; October 6, 1898)

In June 1905, Reverend A. S. Baker wrote to Mr. Davis, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Baker reveals that a decline in the population had caused the abandonment of some of Kekaha churches and communities:

...at Makalawena and Puuanahulu the public school is held in the chapels. All these were built for chapels, and have services at state intervals... In the past we also had stations at Kīholo and Kapalaoa, but as the inhabitants moved away, we abandoned these locations... (State Archives, Public Instruction File)

On May 10, 1906, the Superintendent of Public Instruction wrote the trustees of Bishop Estate asking

that they deed the present school lot and teacher's lot at Makalawena, an area of .97 acres, to the Department (State Archives, Public Instruction File). On July 7, 1907, the trustees of the Bishop Estate conveyed a 0.97 acre school lot at Makalawena to the Hawaii Department of Public Instruction (Liber 280:391-393). Government records from a file dated 1907-1911, reporting on the inventory of school lands on Hawai'i described the Makalawena school as:

One building – Church and school building, T&G shingled roof; new 1 room N.W. iron roof, frame bldg. in process of erection (Series 261–All Islands 1907-1911:3)

On November 18, 1908, the trustees of the Bishop Estate conveyed a 10,000 square foot lot at Makalawena to the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (Liber 311:205-207), and on December 11, 1909, Reverend A.S. Baker dedicated the new church, Kaikalala, at Makalawena. The church and school remained in use for approximately ten years. In c. 1919-1920, both the Makalawena school and church were damaged by a waterspout, blown off of the ocean (pers comm. R. Ka'iwa Punihaole; Apr. 1, and May 9, 1998). In 1920, as a result of the damage caused by the waterspout and the steady departure of families from the coastal settlements of Makalawena and Ka'ūpūlehu, the Makalawena School and Kaikalala Church were not rebuilt. Lumber from both the school and church was carried *mauka* to Kalaoa by donkey. The school house lumber was used to make one of the *mauka* homes of the Punihaole family (on the land of Grant 1607), and the lumber from the church was combined with lumber from the Kekaha Church of Kohanaiki, to make Mauna Ziona Protestant Church (ibid.).

### **Kekaha and Ka'ūpūlehu:**

#### **Native Accounts of Transitions in the Community**

In the columns of *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, J.W.H.I. Kihe and J. Ka'elemakule presented readers with powerful and moving descriptions of their community—how it was and how it had changed—between ca. 1860 to 1930. Excerpts from the narratives are presented below; some of the narratives are general to Kekaha and various sites in the region, while others make specific references to the lands and/or families of Ka'ūpūlehu.

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

In 1924, while *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* was publishing a variety of traditional accounts of Kekaha, penned by J.W.H.I. Kihe, he also submitted an article reflecting on the changes he'd seen in the days of his life. The following excerpts (translated by the author), insight into the historic community of Kekaha (ca. 1860 to 1924). In the two part series, he shared his gut feelings about the changes which had occurred in this area—the demise of the families, and the abandonment of the coastal lands of Kekaha. Kihe tells us who the families were, that lived in Kaulana, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Awake'e, and Kūki'o. And it will be seen that a number of the names he mentions, are those that have been mentioned in other historical documents cited in this study.

#### **Selected References to Places and Events:**

• Honokōhau

• Hawaiian language spoken in the schools of Kekaha

#### **Narrative:**

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

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

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

part Hawaiian, and there were only a few part Hawaiians.

- Kīholo
- Makalawena
- Kalaoa
- Kaloko
- Honokōhau

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

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

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

- Honokōhau
- Most of the people of Kekaha are now dead

...Now perhaps there are some who will not agree with what I am saying, but these are my true thoughts. Things which I have seen with my own eyes, and know to be true...In the year 1870 when I was substitute teaching at Honokōhau for W.G. Kanaka'ole, I taught more than 80 students. There were both boys and girls, and this school had the highest enrollment of students studying in Hawaiian at that time [in Kekaha]. And the students then were all knowledgeable, all knew how to read and write. Now the majority of those people are all dead. Of those things remembered and thought of by the people who yet remain from that time in 1870; those who are here 53 years later, we can not forget the many families who lived in the various (*āpana*) land sections of Kekaha.

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

From the lands of Honokōhau, Kaloko, Kohanaiki, the lands of 'O'oma, Kalaoa, Hale'ohi'u, Maka'ula, Kaū, Pu'ukala-'Ōhiki, Awalua, the lands of Kaulana, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Awake'e, the lands of Kūki'o, Ka'ūpūlehu, Kīholo, Keawaiki, Kapalaoa, Pu'uanahulu, and Pu'uwa'awa'a. These many lands were filled with people in those days. There were men, women, and children, the houses were filled with large families. Truly there were many people [in Kekaha]. I would travel around with the young men and women in those days, and we would stay together, travel together, eat together, and spend the nights in homes filled with *aloha*.

- Honokōhau
- Kaloko
- Kohanaiki

The lands of Honokōhau were filled with people in those days, there were many women and children... Today [1924], the families are lost, the land is quiet. There are no people, only the rocks and trees remain, and only occasionally does one meet with a man today. Kaloko is like that place mentioned above, it is a land without people at this time. The men, women, and children have all passed away. The only one who remains is J.W. Ha'au, he is the only native descendant upon the land.

At Kohanaiki, there were many people on this land between 1870 and 1878. These were happy years with the families there. In those years Kaiakoili was the *haku 'āina* (land overseer)... Now the land is desolate, there are no people, the houses are quiet. Only the houses remain standing, places simply to be counted. I dwelt here with the families of these homes. Indeed it was here that I dwelt with my *kahu hānai* (guardian), the one who raised me. All these families were closely

related to me by blood, while on my fathers' side, I was tied to the families of Kaloko. I am a native of these lands.

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

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

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

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

- Families of Makalawena-Awake'e named

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

- Kūki'o and Ka'ūpūlehu, now without people

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

### **Ko Keoni Ka'elemakule Mo'olelo Pono'i —John Ka'elemakule's Own Story (Kākau pono'i 'ia mai no e ia — Actually written by him<sup>26</sup>)**

In a two year period between 1928 to 1930, John Ka'elemakule Sr., a native resident of Kaulana-Mahai'ula, wrote a series of article that were published in serial form in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*. Ka'elemakule's story provides readers with rich accounts of life in the Kekaha region, focusing on the area from Kaulana to Ka'ūpūlehu in the period from ca. 1854 to 1900. Ka'elemakule's texts introduce us to the native residents of Kekaha, and include descriptions of the practices and customs of the families who resided there. His narratives also provide us with important documentation of the *aloha* that people had for their 'āina kaha, and specific discussions on sites of traditional and historic importance there-in.

#### **Selected References to Places and Events:**

- Family background of John Ka'elemakule

#### **Narrative:**

I (Ka'elemakule) was born in the uplands of Kaumalumu, at the place called "Makapiko." It is rather high up on the land, and from there, one can turn and look out across *ke kai mā'ok'ioke o nā Kona* (the streaked sea of Kona). My mother was Keaka (Ke-aka-o-nā-Ali'i), who was a close relative of the chief Kinimaka. It was he who attempted to construct the road that runs straight behind, the road that runs between the three mountains of Hawai'i, to reach Hilo. At that time, my mother lived and ate in the presence of the chief Kinimaka... I was born in the month of January, in the year 1854, shortly after the end of the restriction on the island of Hawaii, that had been in place as a result of the small-pox (*ma'i hebera*) epidemic; the epidemic was perhaps around

- Born in 1854, just after an epidemic had killed many Hawaiians

<sup>26</sup> This account was published in serial form in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, from May 29, 1928 to March 18, 1930. The translated excerpts in this section of the study include narratives that reference the land, resources, or families of Ka'ūpūlehu, or which include important documentation on regional customs, practices, and ceremonial observances. Most of the article has been translated, and has been published in an ethnographic study for the Kekaha Kai State Park Master Plan and EIS (Maly 1998).

1852 to 1853. In 1854, the restriction of travel between the islands was ended, and this great tribulation that had been upon the Hawaiian nation passed. In the height of this epidemic, thousands of Hawaiians were killed. I arrived just as this passed over our people, and the days of hope returned to our Hawaiian people and land. [May 29, 1928:4]

- Given to Kaaikaula and Poke, to be raised at Mahai'ula
- Kekaha
- Makalawena
- Fishing the main work of those who lived at Kekaha wai 'ole

Six months after my birth, I was given in adoption to Kaaikaula and his wife Poke, and they took me to their home at Maha'iula, one of the villages [or hamlets] of Kekaha. It was fishing village next to Makalawena, about 12 miles distant from Kailua, North Kona. There are several fishing villages along the length of shore of *Kekaha wai ole 'o na Kona* [the waterless Kekaha of the Kona lands]. And the main work of the residents of this "aina Kaha" (arid coastal land) was fishing, all manner of fishing.

- Goods and supplies exchanged between residents of the coast and uplands. (goods traded from as far as Kohala, Waimanu and Maui)

It was from these various practices of fishing that the natives of these villages of the shores of Kekaha gained their livelihood. The residents of these shores lived by fishing and drying the fish. Then when people from the mountain came, they traded the fish for bundles of *pa'i 'ai* (partially pounded *poi*), trading also with those who came from Maui, Waipi'o, Waimanu, and sometimes with those who came from North Kohala.

- *Pa'i 'ai* traded for dried 'ōpelu, 'ahi, aku, and other fish

This is indeed a land of hunger, and only with patience could one survive. In good times, boats and sail ships would arrive, bringing the bundles of *pa'i 'ai* to trade for dried fish. The dried *aku*, 'ōpelu, and diced 'ahi were good to dry. There were also the different fish of the sea, like the *ulaula*, the 'ōpakapaka, the *kāhala*, and the various other fish like that.

- Fishing canoes couldn't put out to sea during the stormy season

In the time when the storms returned to the "Aina Kaha," the boats could not bring the *pa'i 'ai*, and the fishermen of Kekaha could not go out to the sea. It was then that there were times of desperate hunger while dwelling on this land... At the time when the storms returned to the coastal lands of Kekaha, the winds blew with great strength and the ocean was whitened by the waves. Great waves covered the points along shoreline of that land that was beloved by the elders...

- During the stormy season, provisions were furnished from the uplands

In those stormy days, when the ocean was whitened by the strong gales, and the waves covered the coastal points of Kekaha, the fishermen no longer looked to the sea, for they knew that the storm was upon the land. We hungry children, would climb up the great *kou* trees and turn our eyes to the uplands desiring to see the friends from inland, descending with bundles of 'uwala (sweet potatoes), *kō* (sugar cane), *mai'a* (bananas), and other things which we hungry people of the beloved coast could eat. These *kou* trees, were from the time of the ancient people, and in the days of my youth when I traveled around Mahai'ula, there were 19 great *kou* trees growing. Two people could not encircle the trunk of one of those trees that had perhaps been planted in the ancient times of the chiefs of our land... [June 5, 1928:4]

- Large *kou* tree once grew at Mahai'ula

- Kekaha
  - Mahai'ula – it was the custom of the families to share food
- ...Upon the arrival of those friends of the uplands, from various places inland of Kekaha, they would visit the houses of their companions, bringing bundles of pounded *uwala* (sweet potato) wrapped in "omao-lai" (bundles of ti leaves), and other times they brought bundles of partially pounded *poi*. When those goods reached one of the houses at Mahai'ula, as was the custom of those who lived on the coast in days gone by, the goods were divided up among the various households. They were not greedy ('ānunu), the provisions were divided among the households of the native fishermen of the waterless shore of Kona...

- When he was a youth there were many children along the coast
- Reverend Thurston had the meeting house built
- Ka'elehuluhulu was the landing
- Po'oko'ai hosted Thurston, and was the church leader
- Families came to Kaulana from Ka'ūpūlehu, Kūki'o, and Makalawena to attend services

- Makaloa obtained from remnant of the Pa'aiea pond, a portion is still seen at Ka'elehuluhulu

- Hualālai
- 'Ōlauniu was the evening breeze
- Residences and temporary houses of Mahai'ula-Kaulana described

- Mahai'ula and all of Kekaha known for fishing
- Names fish which are caught

- Kekaha, a land without rain
- Brackish water used for drinking
- Visitors to Kekaha had difficulty drinking the brackish water

When I grew older and it was time to go to school, I entered the Hawaiian school. Indeed, in those days there were many boys and girls who dwelt along this coast, and the school room was filled with students. It was in a meeting house built by the Father Thurston (Makua Kakina). The missionary had the meeting house built and it also served as the school...It was at that time in my youth when I was living with my foster parents, that I first saw Mr. Thurston. He traveled on a canoe on Saturday and landed at Ka'elehuluhulu and stayed at the place of Pookoai, who was the church leader of this place...Following the arrival of Mr. Thurston, many people came on canoes the next morning, they were our relatives from Ka'ūpūlehu, Kūki'o, and Makalawena...In the church where Mr. Thurston held the prayer service, long *koa* benches were placed along the walls, and in the center of the church, the *makaloa* sedge had been spread on the floor. The *makaloa* was obtained from what remained of the famous pond that was covered by the eruption. It was the pond Pa'aiea, a portion of which remains at Ka'elehuluhulu to this day. That is what remains of the great pond that was several miles long, but is now covered by the stone plain that spreads across Kekaha... [June 12, 1928:4]

[Describing the community at Mahai'ula and in the larger region of Kekaha]:  
The majestic mountain, Hualālai was inland, and the vast expanse of the sea was in front. The sun appeared in the east and set in the west. In the evening the 'Ōlauniu breeze blew from inland, gently across the land. (There were many breezes which made living at Kekaha comfortable.) The fishermen of this land made temporary houses on stone platforms under the kou trees (*pāpa'i kou hale*). These were often very close to the shore along the white sands of the canoe landing... [August 20, 1929:3]

Mahai'ula, is a land of fish. Not only Mahai'ula, but all of the lands of Kekaha. That is perhaps the reason that the ancient people called this land "Kekaha." If one wants fish quickly, the fire is lit first, then the fish come together in a school. There are many *ku'una upena* (net fishing stations) right in front of the village. The *manini*, *weke lā'ō*, and *'anae*, are the fish which are found in these net fishing stations. The fire does not burn long before the fish quiver on the flame. It was also along these seaward points, that in our youth, we found much pleasure in *kāmākoi* (pole fishing), getting many fish. And if you like the *po'opa'a* fish, there among the little inlets and fissures, the *po'opa'a* can be found. [August 22, 1929:3]

There are multitudes of fish that can be caught with the pole along the shores of this land. Among them are the *moi*, *moana*, *'a'awa*, *kūpipi*, *weke*, and all manner of fish. If you desire the *wana*, they can be gotten from the depths to the shallow waters. If you like the *ina*, they too can be gotten to fulfill your desire....

Kekaha is a land without rain, there are perhaps no more than ten times in one year that it rains. The reason for this is that there are not many trees growing on the land of Kekaha. The trees are the thing that pull the rain from the clouds. The drinking water of this land, the water in which to bathe, and the water for doing various tasks, is the water that is partially salty. It is called by the name *wai kai* (brackish water), and it is a water that causes trouble for the visitors to this land.

It is perhaps appropriate for me to describe the name given to this problem, "*ka wai ōpū nui*" (the water of the big stomach). *Ka wai ōpū nui* is the name that is given to the visitors. They come to the land of Kekaha and are invited in to eat, by the natives of the villages. And because of the deliciousness of fish of this land, the visitors eat large quantities. Then after this, they ask for water to drink.

Upon drinking the water, the visitor's thirst is not satisfied, and shortly there after, more water is asked for. And because of the continuous drinking, the stomach is filled. That's why the visitors to Kekaha are called *ka wai ʻōpū nui*. So this is a description of the fisherman's land, in which I was reared by my foster parents. [September 3, 1929:3]

- When running the fish business, the fish were taken to Kawaihae and then shipped to Honolulu
- Villages of Kekaha mentioned

While we dwelt in the shelter of our house, Kalāhikiola, fishing was the occupation undertaken. I also continued selling the fish of the fishermen, taking them to Kawaihae and sending them to Honolulu. So every Friday, I would go to Kawaihae. Then I met with Nawahie, who dwelt in the uplands of Kawaihae with whom I went into the business of selling *pa'i 'ai* (partially pounded *poi*), from Maui. On Saturdays, I took the *pa'i ai* along the coast of Kekaha to the fishermen of Ka'ūpūlehu, Kūki'o, Makalawena, and Mahai'ula. The fishermen paid in fish, which we in turn took back to Kawaihae, for delivery to the market at Kai'ōpihi, Kohala. We carried on this partnership for some time, and it was this which caused me to think of making my own store.

#### Kekaha Wai Ole o nā Kona (Waterless Kekaha of Kona)

- Importance of water  
Legend of Mākālei
- Explains how the name  
Kekaha-wai-'ole came about
- Kaulana
- 'O'oma
- Water sources

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

The water for bathing, washing one's hands or feet, was the water of the banana stump (*wai pūma'ia*). The *pūma'ia* was grated and squeezed into balls to get the juice. The problem with this water is that it makes one itchy, and one does not get really clean. There were not many water holes, and the water the accumulated from rain dried up quickly. Also there would be weeks in which no rain fell...The water which the people who lived in the uplands of Kekaha drank, was found in caves. There are many caves from which the people of the uplands got water... [September 17, 1929:3]

- Strict *kapu* observed for  
water sources
- Kāne was god of water
- *Kia'i* watched over water caves

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

- Ceremonies observed if *kapu*  
of water sources broken

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



E Kāne i uka, e Kāne i kai,  
E Kāne i ka wai, eia ka pua'a,  
Eia ka 'awa, eia ka lū'au,  
Eia ka i'a kea.

O Kāne in the uplands, O Kāne at the shore,  
O Kāne in the water, here is the pig,  
Here is the *awa*, here are the taro greens,  
Here is the white fish.

• Prayer to Kāne for purification  
of water sources

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

*He mōhai noi kēia iā 'oe e Kāne, e kala i ka hewa o ke kanaka i hana ai, a e hooma'ema'e i ka hale wai, a e ho'onui mai i ka wai o ka hale, i ola nā kānaka, nā 'ōhua o kēia 'āina wai 'ole. Amama. — This is a request offering to you o Kāne, forgive the transgression done by man, clean the water house, cause the water to increase in the house, that the people may live, those who are dependent on this waterless land. It is finished... [October 1, 1929:3]*

In closing his story, the elder, John Ka'elemakule notes that he that he was 77 years old. In bidding the readers *aloha* he said:

• Ka'elemakule says farewell

I have written this story of my life, and I am now ready to take my own journey...Before going, I wish to give my great *aloha* and thanks to all of you, who have read this little story in the newspaper, *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, and to the editors—*Aloha 'oukou a pau loa* (love to all of you). In ending my time with you, I have prepared a small song, an adornment for *Kona kai 'ōpua*, the land of my birth...

...E Kona, ku'u 'āina hānau, 'āina maika'i.  
Nou kēia wehiwehi,  
A'ohe nō he mea like me  
Kona Kai 'Ōpua,  
Ka u'i, ka nani, a me ka maika'i.  
Ka Hopena

O Kona, land of my birth, a good land.  
This adornment (song) is for you,  
There is none other like  
Kona with its billowy clouds on the horizon,  
So beautiful, splendid, and fine.  
(the end) [March 18, 1930:3]

## VI. KA'ŪPŪLEHU AND VICINITY — AN OVERVIEW OF SELECTED HISTORICAL STUDIES (From ca. 1926 to present)

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### Overview

By 1900, a growing interest in recording information on the presence, features, and history of Hawaiian sites had developed. The earliest of these studies was printed by Thomas Thrum (1908), who provided readers with an annotated list of *heiau* on the island of Hawai'i. Unfortunately, Thrum did not provide documentation of any sites between the lands of 'Ōuli (Kohala), to Keahuolu (Kona). In 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes conducted a detailed survey of *heiau* on the island of Hawai'i (Stokes and Dye 1991). Stokes recorded the presence of two sites in the land of Pu'u Anahulu, and then proceeded south to Kealakehe. Thus, he too passed Ka'ūpūlehu without any mention of *heiau* or possible ceremonial sites.

In 1926, Eliza Davis Low-Maguire (wife of John Maguire, of Hu'ehu'e Ranch) published "Kona Legends" (1926)<sup>27</sup>, providing readers with some of the earliest documentation of Hawaiian sites in Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region. Kekaha was Maguires' home, and as she wrote in her introduction, the writings of Kihe, along with her own interest in other stories she had heard, caused her to put some of the accounts in English so they would not be lost (Maguire 1926:3-4). The narratives, like those of Kihe, include general documentation of Hawaiian cultural sites and practices. Since its publication in 1926, Kona Legends has been the primary source that many researchers used in citing traditional accounts of the region.

### Archaeology of Kona, Hawaii (Reinecke ms. 1930)

The first detailed recording of Hawaiian sites in Ka'ūpūlehu was done by John Reinecke (ms. 1930). During his study, Reinecke traveled along the shore of Kekaha, documenting near-shore sites. Where he could, he spoke with the few native residents he encountered. Among his general descriptions of sites and Kekaha, Reinecke observed:

This coast formerly was the seat of a large population. Only a few years ago Keawaiki, now the permanent residence of one couple, was inhabited by about thirty-five Hawaiians. Kawaihae and Puako were the seat of several thousands, and smaller places numbered their inhabitants by the hundreds. Now there are perhaps fifty permanent inhabitants between Kailua and Kawaihae—certainly not over seventy-five. When the economy of Hawaii was based on fishing...this was a fairly desirable coast; the fishing is good; there is a fairly abundant water supply of brackish water, some of it nearly fresh and very pleasant to the taste; and while there was no opportunity for agriculture on the beach, the more energetic Hawaiians could do some cultivation at a considerable distance *mauka*... [Reinecke ms. 1930:1-2]

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

The coast is for the most part low and storm-swept, so that the most desirable building locations, on the coral beaches, have been repeatedly swept over and covered with loose coral and lava fragments, which have obscured hundreds of platforms and no doubt destroyed hundreds more...many of the dwellings must have been built directly on the sand, as are those of the family at Kaupulehu, and when the

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<sup>27</sup> Knowledge of the existence of the full Hawaiian texts, presented in the preceding sections of this study, was limited.

posts have been pulled up, leave no trace after a very few years... [ibid.]

Reinecke recorded the following information for sites of Ka'ūpūlehu (the locational information has been added by the author of this study):

**[Ka'ūpūlehu-Kūki'o lava flow]**

Site 118. Walled hut site; the stones about a caved-in lava bubble may mark another hut site. Walled shelter, pen. Large pen adjoining the *a-a* flow on Kaupulehu land. Dwelling site on *a-a* above it. A few graves on the edge of *a-a* flow.

**[Waiakauhi]**

Site 119. At Waiakauhi [Waiakauhi] a reef makes practically a fishpond in front of the sand dune. There is *kiawe* growth here and a sizable marsh.

**[Waipunalei vicinity, near boundary between Kona Village and the Four Seasons]**

Site 120. Very small pen on sand.

**[Kahuwai residences]**

Site 121. Remains at Kaupulehu hamlet. There is a belt of *kiawe* which probably hides some house sites. At the south end are some low uselessly-walled enclosures. One contains four house platforms, all but one paved with *ilili*. Two more house sites hard by. Under the *kiawe* farther north is a lot with a large house platform. There seem to be others, perhaps four or five.

I regret not having followed up the extension of the *kiawe* inland behind the *a-a*, which should contain several sites and perhaps wells of brackish water.

I did not see the famous Ka Wai Hue a Kane, [legend cited in appendix]. . .

On the lava beach north is a very small platform.

**[Pōhakuokahae to Kalaemanō]**

Site 122. After crossing the abominable Kaupulehu Flow, west branch, one reaches a *pahoehoe* flat about 1 ½ x ½ mile in extent. I have divided it, for purposes of description, into seven areas, but it should be understood that the ruins are practically continuous, if sometimes buried under the sand.

The whole area is the most interesting on this coast, for several reasons:

1. The great number and continuity of the remains.
2. The apparent considerable age of many of the ruins.
3. The apparent lack of a water supply even barely adequate.
4. The large number of a localized form of storage cupboard, a well-built box-like form at the back of walled sites, due no doubt to the very hard, solid *pahoehoe* offering no handy little caves.
5. The large number of native salt pans. These were sometimes built directly on the *pahoehoe* as a floor; sometimes the base was built of carefully arranged flat rocks. As the sun's rays had to strike the pan directly, the walls were usually about 8-12" high, built of carefully selected stones. Sometimes the pan was rectangular, but oftener rounded or circular, about 8 to 10 feet across. The floor and the case of the wall were cemented with a hard native cement of good quality, which still clings to scattered stones and to patches of *pahoehoe* floor where there are now no walls. Salt is still gathered here, but from natural pockets.

At the western end of the flat: (a) remains of pen; (b) remains of walled dwelling site with "cupboard"; (c) shelter site, walls and cupboard; (d) remains of three shelters; (e) pebble covered ruins of about six platforms—a usual feature of these coarse sand beaches; (f) shelter, walls and cupboard; (g) sundry traces of old enclosures; (h) sand-drifted walled shelter.

Site 123. (a) Ruins of a walled site; (b) at an interval of some 500', the remains of an enclosure, two shelters, and a cave. At this spot are several petroglyphs of unusual type...

Site 124. (a) Platform c. 30x6x4, like part of a wall. Shelter attached and recent *ahu* on it. May possibly be a fishing *heiau*. (b) Two good *papamu*, 13x10, 11x10. (c) Trace of large platform adjacent to a. (d) First of salt pans: a group of three about a heap of stones. Four other pans near. (e) Walls of yard and trace of house platform; traces of walls and platform north of it. (f) Two modern shelters by *kiawe mauka*. (g) A spring with faintly brackish water; traces of ruins in hollow to north. (This is the only water supply noted.) (h) A large platform on the beach; remains of two smaller ones and an enclosure past it. (i) *Mauka* of it, a shelter pen with cupboard and four more salt pans, with traces of cement on *pahoehoe*. (j) Walled site, cupboard, cairn in front. (k) Pen and three shelters, apparently. (l) Several small areas marked off by rows of stones in the sand. (m) Whitened patches on *pahoehoe* marking sites of salt pans. A salt pan with walls 2' high; four others with very well-built walls 1-3' high - unusual. (n) Two modern shelter pens.

Site 125. (a) Isolated shelter pen. (b) Three shelter pens together. (c) Shelter pen with piece of wall. All these are about a prominent site on a knoll (d) which may be taken as the starting point for #125: It consists of a house site and two carefully walled enclosures, all used for dwelling; cupboard. (e) Usual traces along the beach. (f) A number of salt pans. (g) Ruins of walled site on beach. (h) Ruins of several house sites on coast. . . [Reinecke Ms. 1930:22-24]

It was not until 1963, that a more detailed survey of Hawaiian sites was conducted in Ka'ūpūlehu. That study, conducted for Bishop Estate, by Lloyd Soehren of B.P. Bishop Museum, focused on the area of Kahawai Bay, the present location of the Kona Village Resort. Other than identifying the coastal trail from Kahawai t Kiholo, Soehrens' work did not include the present study area (1963:5).

### ***Pa'akai—The Ka'ūpūlehu Salt Works***

Since Soehrens' study was conducted in 1963, several archaeological and ethnographic studies have been conducted in Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger, neighboring Kekaha region. Among the most culturally detailed studies are those done by Marion Kelly (1971) and Hannah Kihalani Springer 1989. Both authors offer readers insightful documentation on the significance of the natural landscape to the living culture of the native residents of the land, and H. Kihalani Springer is herself, *kama'āina* (native to the land).

Of particular importance to the present study area, Springer (1989:26-27) includes discussions on the practices associated with making *pa'akai* (salt) in the area now generally referred to as Kalaemanō. As documented by Springer and in oral history interviews in this study, the modified and natural-formed salt making ponds (*loko pa'akai* and *kāheka*) were resources of regional importance.

In the preceding sections of this study, it has been found that the specific point called Kalaemanō is situated in the *ahupua'a* of Pu'uwa'awa'a. But, as recorded in oral history interviews with native residents of Ka'ūpūlehu and other neighboring *ahupua'a* (e.g., David Keākealani, Joseph Maka'ai, Caroline Keākealani-Perreira, Rose Pilipi-Maeda, Marjorie Kaholo-Kailianu, Robert Punihaole, and

Valentine Ako); we find that since at least the early 1900s, the name Kalaemanō has been used to describe the larger area of the shoreline between the two branches of the Ka'ūpūlehu flow (c. 1800). This area of open *pāhoehoe* includes: (1) numerous archaeological features (e.g., *hale*-residential features, walls, platforms, enclosures, caves, salt beds, and mounds etc.); (2) a sand dune between the shore and inland lava flows; and extends from Kolomu'o, to Pōhakuokahae (the boundary of Ka'ūpūlehu and Pu'uwa'awa'a), and beyond Ka'ūpūlehu, past the point called Lae Manō in Pu'uwa'awa'a (Figure 5). Thus today, when interviewees speak of the significance of Kalaemanō (both as a salt making resource and as a place of personal family ceremonial importance), they are describing an area that includes portions of the shore line of both Ka'ūpūlehu and Pu'uwa'awa'a.

Interviewees speak of Kalaemanō (the coastal region described above) as being important in the history of the families of the land. And specifically, the birthing place of the deified shark(s) was "*kapu*," a sacred place for which restrictions were observed. Key topics of discussion include, but are not limited to:

First—the area was the home of a *manō* (shark) who according to some interviewees was a *kūpua* (deity capable of changing its body form; in this case from that of a shark to a human). In some accounts, the *manō* is also a guardian of the coastal region, and a deified family member. Some of the *kūpuna* were carefully instructed about not walking over a particular place—a cave which the shark entered from the sea—as it was *kapu* to walk over the head of the shark. Because the landscape has changed so much in the last 70 years (believed to be a result of the *tsunami* of c. 1946 and 1960; as discussed on a site visit on April 1, 1998), the exact location of the sharks' cave may not be relocated.

Kūpuna Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Perreira was careful to point out to the author, that some of the stories she'd repeated about the *manō*—its ability to change body forms, and coming on land at Kalaemanō to give birth—are things that she learned from her *kahu hānai* (guardians) Kahiko and Mahikō. They occurred before her time, and were not things that she had seen personally (pers comm. April 1, 1998 and interview of same date).

Second—based on a site visit with *kūpuna* Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Perreira, Rose Pilipi-Maeda, and Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1998, it is believed that the formal salt works which were used by the interviewees and their elders up to 60 to 70 years ago, are along the Ka'ūpūlehu shoreline, between Pōhakuokahae and the southern branch of the Ka'ūpūlehu lava flow (Figure 10).

Detailed accounts of the salt making process and importance of the salt—generally made and harvested between December to April, each year—to the families of the Kekaha region are recorded in the oral history interviews in this study. The April 1<sup>st</sup> site visit, also recorded that when the *kūpuna* were children (ca. 1920s-1930s), the shoreward *pāhoehoe* flats in which the *loko pa'akai* and *kāheka* were situated, were clear and kept clean. The loose rocks and sand which now cover the area were not previously there. The *kūpuna* believe that their elders cleaned the salt making area, resetting stones on earlier features, and keeping the sand from building up in the salt making area. The *pa'akai* was graded with the pure white ("white as snow") salt being kept for table use, and the slightly discolored salt being used for preserving *ōpelu* and other fish and meats (see oral history interviews in this study).

Also, all of the elder interviewees note that by their life times, there were no permanent residents in the Kalaemanō area. By the 1920s, families would travel to the salt works and stay for extended periods of up to three weeks, but no one remained there year-round.

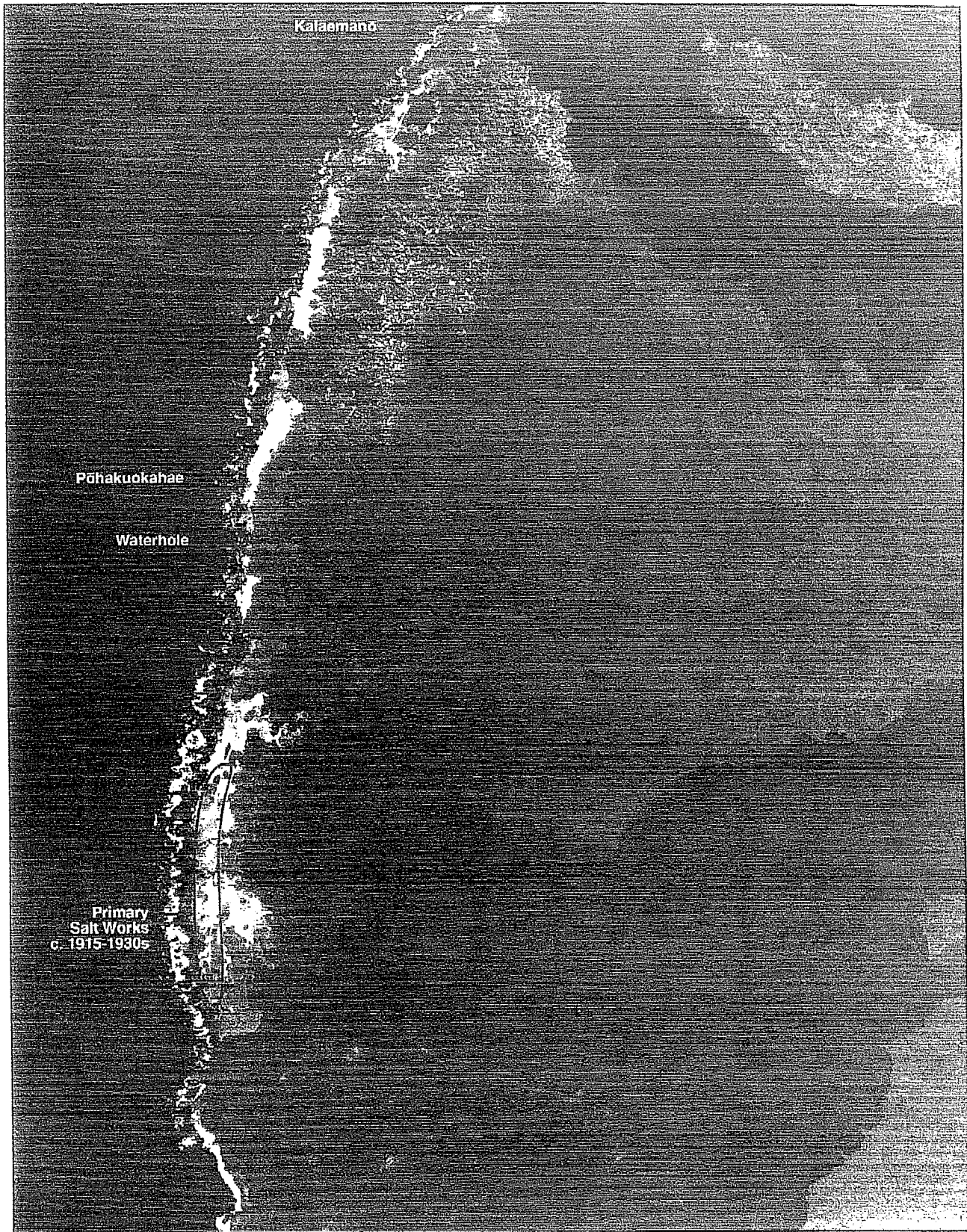
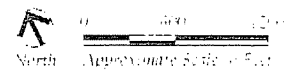


Figure 10. Kalaemanō-Pōhakuokahae and the Ka'ūpūlehu Salt Works (Loko Pa'akai)

Photo Credit: Air Survey Hawaii, March 2, 1994

Ka'ūpūlehu Development  
HiKaupu-16 (052098)



Kumu Pono Associates  
May 1998

Today, the practices and customs of making and collecting *pa'akai* from the Kalaemanō area remain important to descendants of the families of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha. Just as their *kūpuna* did, (cf. Wilkes 1845; Boundary Commission Vol. B:247-249, 428; and Reinecke, 1930: Sites 122, 124, 125) members of the Ka'iliihiwa Kuehu-Keākealani and Stillman-Springer families regularly make pilgrimages to Kalaemanō.

The oral historical accounts recorded in the following section of this study, provide readers with insight into the significance of the Ka'ūpūlehu salt works to the natives of Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger region of Kekaha. Without the *pa'akai*, life would have been very difficult and many foods which could only be gathered seasonally would have been in short supply. One native saying about the use of salt, demonstrates not only the importance of *pa'akai* as a preservative, but also its value in wise use of resources:

***E 'ai kekāhi, e kāpi kekāhi.***

Eat some, salt some.

Said to young people: eat some now and save some for another time.

(Pukui 1983:31, No. 252)

### ***Archaeological Inventory Survey (1995)***

The most recent work in the present study area was conducted in 1993, and reported by Jim Head, then with Paul H. Rosendahl, Ph.D., Inc. (1995). The field work identified 193 sites with 660 features (Head et al. 1995:41). Functional interpretations for the sites include, but are not limited to: possible permanent-and temporary-habitation sites; land and fishery markers; agricultural features; burials features; ceremonial features; and trails. Of the 193 identified sites, the report concluded by identifying 56 sites that are "no longer significant;" 69 sites that are "significant for their information content;" and 68 sites that are "significant under multiple criteria of the Hawaii Register of Historic Places (for detailed information on study finding, see Head et al., 1995). The 1995 survey work was reviewed by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD), which agreed with the significance evaluations, and concluded that 64 of the total number of sites would "undergo preservation" (DLNR-SHPD letter, Hibbard to Rosendahl; February 2, 1996).



## VII. HE WAHI MO'OLELO MAI NĀ KUPA O KA 'ĀINA— HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS FROM THE NATIVES OF THE LAND (Oral History Interviews, ca. 1980-1998)

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### Overview

Through oral history interviews one seeks to record information from individuals who possess personal knowledge about particular aspects of history. This knowledge may cover a wide variety of topics, including, but not limited to: documenting land-use practices; who early native families and area residents were; the locations and uses of traditional and historic sites; the customs and practices of families associated with a particular landscape; and to record traditional values, experiences, and events in the lives of both native Hawaiian residents and other individuals who are familiar with an area being investigated. Such personal, land-based knowledge is often overlooked when doing strictly academic studies. As a result, important knowledge about natural resources, sites, practices, and the significance of the land to its residents—people who have benefited from generations of familiarity with the land—frequently goes unrecorded.

This section of the study presents readers with an introduction to interview participants and overview of documentation found in oral history interviews. The interviewees have all lived upon the land of Ka'ūpūlehu or in neighboring lands of Kekaha, and include individuals who have frequented Ka'ūpūlehu from ca. 1914 to the present-day. The interviews demonstrate that traditions of the land have been handed down through time, from generation to generation. They also provide both present and future generations with an opportunity to understand the relationships—cultural attachment—shared between people and their natural and cultural environments. In the course of conducting the interviews, the author also sought to document examples of the relationship of the coastal resources to the practices, beliefs, and customs of native residents (both former and present) and natural resources of the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region. The interviewees were also asked to record their concerns and recommendations for long-term protection of the cultural and natural resources of Ka'ūpūlehu.

Readers are asked to keep in mind, that while this component of the study records a depth of cultural and historical knowledge of Ka'ūpūlehu *ahupua'a* and Kekaha, this record is incomplete. In the process of conducting oral history interviews, it is impossible to record all the knowledge or information that the interviewees possess. Regretfully, some historical knowledge has also been lost with the passing away of older members of generations of native residents. Thus, the oral historical records provide us only with glimpses into the stories being told, and of the lives of the interview participants. The author/interviewer has made every effort to accurately relay the recollections, thoughts and recommendations of the people who shared their *mo'olelo pono'i* (personal histories) in this study.

As would be expected, participants in oral history interviews sometimes have different recollections for the same location or events of a particular period. The differences may be the result of varying values assigned to an area or occurrence during an interviewees formative years, or they may reflect localized or familial interpretations of the particular history being conveyed. Also, with the passing of many years, sometimes that which was heard from elders during one's childhood 70 or more years ago, may transform into that which the interviewee recalls having actually experienced. It is noted here, that the few differences of recollections raised in the cited interviews are minor. If anything, they help direct us to questions which may be answered through additional archival research, or in some cases, pose questions which may never be answered. The diversity in the stories told, should be seen as something which will enhance preservation and interpretive opportunities at Ka'ūpūlehu.



## **Interview Methodology**

The primary oral history documentation reported in this study comes from two periods: the first, from 1996 to late 1997 as a part of various work completed by the author for Ka'upulehu and the larger Kekaha region; and the second, from February 19<sup>th</sup> to May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1998, conducted specifically for the present study. Additionally, the interview records include excerpts from interviews conducted with Robert K. Keakealani Sr. (from the personal collections of Leina'ala and Shirley Keakealani), between ca. 1980 to 1987, and transcribed by the author.

In preparing to conduct the various oral history interviews that are cited in this study, the author followed several standard criteria for selection of who would be most knowledgeable about the study area. Among the criteria were:

- a. The potential interviewee's genealogical ties to lands of the study area (i.e., descent from families awarded land in the Māhele of 1848, or from recipients of Land Grants from the Kingdom or Territory of Hawai'i);
- b. Age—the older the informant, the more likely the individual is to have had personal communications or first-hand experiences with even older, now deceased Hawaiians and area residents;
- c. An individual's identity in the community as being someone possessing specific knowledge of lore or historical wisdom pertaining to the lands, families, practices, and land use and subsistence activities in the study area; and
- d. Recommendations from community members.

The primary focus of the interviews was to elicit traditional information (i.e. knowledge handed down in families from generation to generation), and to document traditional values and practices that are still retained in the lives of Hawaiian families associated with the land of the Ka'upulehu study area. The interviews were also to seek out information on other sites or features identified by the interviewees as being associated with families and cultural practices, and to collect information so as to form an overview of community concerns and recommendations for long-term protection of the various resources of Ka'upulehu. During the course of conducting the interviews, several historical maps were referred to (figures cited in the preceding sections of the study), and when appropriate, site names or locations were marked on the maps. *Figure 4* (at the end of this study) is an annotated interview map, including approximate locations of many of the place names, natural features, and trails as recorded in the oral history interviews and other historical documentation.

In order to facilitate collection of oral historical data, lists of basic interview questions were developed in conjunction with studies being conducted (*Figure 11—is the basic questionnaire format followed in all the interviews*). As various potential interviewees were contacted, they were told about the nature of the studies being undertaken, and asked if they had knowledge of traditional sites or practices associated with Ka'upulehu, and if they would be willing to share their knowledge. In total, interview narratives from 15 individuals (aged 46 to 83) in 17 interviews, are included in this study.

Interviews conducted by the author, were recorded on a Sony TCM-R3 cassette recorder, using TDK D90 High Output standard cassette tapes. Copies of draft interview transcripts were returned to the interviewees, for their review and input on corrections, modifications, and additions. Follow up discussions were then held with all of the interviewees. This process resulted in the recording of additional hand written narratives with several interviewees. The hand written notes were expanded, and requested modification made to the original interview transcripts. The modified transcripts were then returned to the interviewees for their review and approval.

**General Question Outline for Oral History Interviews  
Land of Ka'ūpūlehu and Neighboring Region of Kekaha**

The following questions are meant to provide a basic format for the oral history interviews. The interviewee's personal knowledge and experiences will provide direction for the formulation of other detailed questions, determine the need for site visits, and/or other forms of documentation which maybe be necessary. Also, for discussion, would be the time period in which various events and/or customs occurred.

**Interviewee-Family Background:**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ and other family background information...:

- Additional family background pertinent to the Ka'ūpūlehu-Kekaha study area — e.g., generations of family residency in area...?
- Kinds of information learned/activities participated in, and how learned...?

**Detailed Information:**

- Naming of the *ahupua'a*, and features (e.g., *pu'u*, *'āina pele*, *kīpuka*, *lua wai*, *kahakai*, *ko'a kai*...) that are of particular significance in the history of the land and native residents ...?
  - Ka'ūpūlehu – Ka'ulupūlehu
  - Kalaemanō (Pōhakuokahae)
  - Kolomu'o
  - Kumukea etc.
- Relationship of sites (e.g., *pu'u*, *kīpuka*, *lae* etc.) to one another on the landscape — *mauka-makai* viewplanes...?
- *Heiau*—Ceremonial sites or practices? — land based *ko'a* (cross *ahupua'a*) — ocean based *ko'a*; locations and types of fish? (e.g., *kū'ula*, *'ilina*...)? Names of *heiau* and *ko'a* etc.?
- Burial sites, practices, beliefs, and areas or sites of concern (ancient unmarked, historic marked/unmarked, family)...?
- Fishing, fishponds, and salt making resources — describe practices, where occurred, and types of fish...?
- Practices and customs associated with salt making at Kalaemanō ...?
- Village or house sites – church – stores – community activities — Names of native and resident families...?
- Who were the other families that came to Ka'ūpūlehu-kai, and protocols observed in the care of, and collection of *pa'akai*, fish, and other coastal resources...?
- Gathering plant materials or traditional accesses? (what was growing in coastal region during youth? was the *kiawe* present?)

**Figure 11. Ka'ūpūlehu Oral History Interview Questionnaire Outline**

- Shore line and *mauka-makai* trail accesses?  
Trails on the 1800-1801 lava flows?
- Agricultural activities – sites and practices (where and what kind of crops)...?
- Water resources?
- Relationships with neighboring *ahupua'a* and residence locations (e.g., Pu'u Anahulu, Pu'uwa'awa'a, Kūki'o to Makalawena, and Mahai'ula...)?
- Ranching activities...?
- Comments and recommendations on long-term management and care for Hawaiian cultural resources and changes to the cultural and natural landscapes...?
- Do you have some particular areas of concern or recommendations—cultural resources and site protection needs—regarding development at Ka'ūpūlehu?

**Figure 11. Ka'ūpūlehu Oral History Interview Questionnaire Outline (cont'd.)**

Following completion of the interview and consultation process, draft interview transcripts were typed out and the interviewees were given their transcripts to review. The interviewees were asked to make notes, comments, and/or corrections as they found necessary. Follow-up meetings between the interviewees and the author then took place, during which time interviewees made generally minor clarifications, or added further details to particular narratives. Upon completion of the transcript review process, all of the primary interview participants signed a "Personal Release of Interview Records" form, or otherwise granted the author permission to share their narratives with the public (*Volume II*). It is noted here, that only the final released transcripts from the interviews may be made available for public review. Also, readers are asked to respect the interviewees—Reference oral history narratives in their context as spoken, not selectively so as to make a point that was not the interviewee's intention.

### **Data Repository and Access**

Each of the interviewees received copies of their individual transcripts and when completed, they will be provided a copy of the full historical-archival and oral historical study for the Ka'ūpūlehu study area. With the exception of those interview records with restrictions (see Personal Release of Interview Records in *Volume II of this study*), the released interview, copies of the tapes, and photographs will be curated for reference use in the collections of Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*, Hilo), KSBE, Kaupulehu Developments, and the Kona Historical Society.

### **Overview of Selected Information and Recommendations Recorded in Oral History Interviews**

The documentation in this section of the study provides readers with an introduction to each of the interviewees and an overview of selected information shared during the interviews. Pertinent excerpts from previously released transcripts (reported in Maly and Rosendahl 1997) and full transcripts from recently recorded and released interviews are presented in *Volume II* of this study.

As expected, the records from the combined interviews provide readers with a rich and varied picture of life upon the lands of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha. The interviewees also discussed a number of areas of cultural significance within the project area and larger *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu. These resources fall into several categories, including but not limited to: (a) the cultural-geographic landscape (e.g. Kalaemanō—an area described as the coastal *pāhoehoe* lava shelf extending between two lobes of the 1800 Ka'ūpūlehu lava flow, which includes the northern portion of the Ka'ūpūlehu coastline and southern portion of the Pu'uwa'awa'a coastline; and numerous topographic features extending from the shore to the mountains); (b) sites associated with native Hawaiian religious and ceremonial practices (e.g., the *ko'a* at Kolomu'o, and the birthing place of sharks—family deity); (c) *ala loa* and *ala hele* (regional and inner *ahupua'a* trail systems); (d) sites associated with temporary and long-term habitation activities; (e) *kāheka* and *loko pa'akai* (natural and modified salt making ponds); (f) boundary markers; (g) near shore and ocean fisheries and marine resources collection areas; and (h) *ilina 'ohana* or family burial sites (those for which interviewees had knowledge, are situated on the south side of the 1800 lava flow, inland of Mahewalu Point and further south).

As noted at the beginning of this study, the interviewees discussed several areas of concern and recommendations for *long-term protection and management* of cultural and natural resources in the Ka'ūpūlehu study area. The recommendations, compiled from all interview participants may help set the foundation for further preservation and interpretive planning to be done in subsequent phases of work as a part of the Kaupulehu Developments' project. Specific details of long-term management planning should be developed in consultation with members of native families with generational ties to Ka'ūpūlehu, KSBE, and Ka'ūpūlehu lessees. Primary comments and recommendations by interviewees included the following topics:

- 1 - Protect the Kalaemanō area. Kalaemanō is identified by interviewees as the *pāhoehoe* and sandy shelf fronting the ocean, extending across the older Ka'ūpūlehu lava flows in the lands of Ka'ūpūlehu and Pu'uwa'awa'a (between branches of the 1800 Ka'ūpūlehu flow). The area includes the "house" and "birthing" place of deified sharks; a cave and spring site; the ancient salt works; temporary and long-term habitation features; and other cultural-historic sites.  
Of particular importance to the members of the Keākealani and Maka'ai families was the birthing place and home of the family shark deity—that location was sacred to the *po'e kahiko* (ancient people) of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha, and it remains so today.
- 2 - Interpret the cultural and natural resources of Kalaemanō to help ensure respectful use and visitation to the area, and make the information from the archival and oral historical interviews available to those who visit the land;
- 3 - Ensure that the quality of the *kāheka* and *loko pa'akai* (salt works) is protected from pollution and runoff development inland;
- 4 - Ensure that the near-shore fisheries of Ka'ūpūlehu are managed and preserved for future generations;
- 5 - Develop a plan for restoration and management of the salt works and *ko'a* (dedicated off-shore fishing grounds) and larger fisheries of Ka'ūpūlehu;
- 6 - Respect the *'ilina* (burials), *kahua hale* (residential features), *ala hele* (trails), *kaha pōhaku* (petroglyphs), and other sites within the Ka'ūpūlehu project area;
- 7 - Work with the families who are descended from the *po'e kahiko* (ancient people) of Ka'ūpūlehu in determining proper treatment of *'ilina* and other cultural sites and resources;
- 8 - Develop interpretive and educational programs (e.g., caring for and making *pa'akai*; fishing customs and fisheries management; and historical tours etc.) for Hawai'i's youth and other visitors to Ka'ūpūlehu;
- 9 - Interpret the broader relationship of coastal resources to inland resources and their importance to native residents of the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu; and
- 10 - Encourage cultural stewardship and "wise use" on behalf of all who visit Ka'ūpūlehu and use its resources.

*Table 3* below, provides readers with a quick reference to selected general topics of cultural and historical importance recorded by individual interviewees (the interviewees are listed in alphabetical order). The cited documentation focuses on that information for which interviewees have personal knowledge—i.e., have either personally experienced, or learned from their *kūpuna* when the interviewees themselves were young.

**Table 3. Overview of Selected References to Sites, Practices, and Recommendation made by Interviewees**

Interviewee:	V A	K H	G K	M K	D K	RK K	CK P	R K	L/S K	A M	J M	B P	RP M	RK P	H S
<b>Sites and/or Practices:</b>															
Expresses deep <i>aloha</i> —cultural attachment for the land and place names of Ka'ūpūlehu and the Kekaha region	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Has knowledge of pre-20 <sup>th</sup> century traditions and customs of the land	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Describes the relationship between coastal and upland families and the exchange of resources	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Has working knowledge of management customs associated with <i>ko'a</i> (offshore fishing grounds) of Ka'ūpūlehu	✓	✓	✓	□	✓	✓	□	✓	□	✓	✓	□	□	✓	□
Associates fisheries with on-land <i>ko'a</i> or triangulation references	✓	✓	✓	□	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	□	□	✓	✓
Has personal knowledge of general fishery resources, and practices associated with collection of marine resources	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Has knowledge of personal family burial sites at Ka'ūpūlehu	□	□	□	□	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	□	✓	□	□	□	□
Has knowledge of personal family deity (ceremonial significance) along the Kalaemanō coastal zone	✓	◦	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	◦	✓	◦	◦	◦	◦
Has personal knowledge practices associated with the Kalaemanō salt works	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Has knowledge of ancient and/or historic residences along coastal Ka'ūpūlehu (uses including both long-term and temporary)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Has personal knowledge of historic residents and regional cross- <i>ahupua'a</i> travel	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Places high value on respectful use of natural and cultural resources, and long-term protection of those resources	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Recommends protection of the Kalaemanō salt works and associated features	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n/a	✓	✓	✓	✓	n/a	✓	✓	✓	✓
Supports efforts to restore the <i>ko'a 'ōpelu</i> of Ka'ūpūlehu	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n/a	✓	✓	✓	✓	n/a	✓	✓	✓	✓
Recommends development of long-term preservation and interpretive/educational programs in consultation with native families of the land	✓	✓	✓	n/a	n/a	n/a	✓	✓	✓	✓	n/a	✓	✓	✓	✓

**Initial and**

**Symbol Key:** VA=Valentine Ako; KH=Karin Haleama; GK=George Kahananui; MK=Marjorie Kaholo-Kailianu; DK=David Keākealani; RKK=Robert K. Keākealani Sr.; CKP=Caroline Keākealani-Perreira; RK=Robert "Sonny" Keākealani; L/SK=Leina'ala and Shirley Keākealani; AM=Arthur Mahi; JM=Joseph Maka'ai; RPM=Rose Pilipi-Maeda; RKP=Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole; HS=Hannah Kihalani Springer; ✓ = Yes; □ = Not applicable; ◦ = Knows of the shark association with Kalaemanō; n/a = Not asked (interviewee deceased or otherwise unavailable).

Robert K. Keākealani Sr.  
April 3, 1980 to March 1986  
Excerpts from Conversational Interviews  
Recorded by Shirley Kau'i Keākealani and Leina'ala Keākealani-Lightner  
(transcribed by Kepā Maly)

Robert K. Keākealani (Tūtū Lopaka) was born at Kahuwai Village on the shore of Ka'ūpūlehu in 1916<sup>28</sup>. Family traditions of shark deity and events leading up to his birth, caused his parents to leave him under the protection of Kūkū Kahiko and Mahikō at Kahuwai. Tūtū Lopaka did not leave Ka'ūpūlehu-kai to rejoin his parents and siblings (two of whom were born after his own birth) until he was around six years old. For many generations, Tūtū Lopaka's family has lived in the Kekaha region, with residency extending from Ka'ūpūlehu (Kahuwai) to Pu'u Anahulu (Kapalaoa). In the mid to late 1800s, *kūpuna* (elders) on the Ka'iliihiwa-Keākealani side of the family were among the primary informants to early surveyors who recorded the boundaries and topography of the lands from Ka'ūpūlehu to Pu'u Anahulu. Archival records (cited earlier in this study) also record that these native informants provided surveyors with important historical data about sites and features of the natural and cultural landscapes.

Tūtū Lopaka's mother, Keola Na'aho, was herself born at Kahuwai in 1894. Though the Na'aho line resided primarily at Kahalu'u, as a *mo'opuna* of Kahiko's line, she had ties to both Kahalu'u and Ka'ūpūlehu. As a result Keola Na'aho was also raised at Ka'ūpūlehu for a part of her life. In 1913, Keola Na'aho married Keākealani (who had been born at Kiholo) and they resided at Pu'u Anahulu-uka, with seasonal residences at Kahuwai, Kiholo, Keawaiki, and Kapalaoa until their passing away (1925 and 1931 respectively).

As a youth, Tūtū Lopaka traveled the lands of Ka'ūpūlehu-Pu'u Anahulu and the larger Kekaha region with his *kūpuna*, Ka'iliihiwa-nui and others. His travels took him from the shore to the mountains, and along the way significant natural resource and cultural features (including many family sites) were pointed out to him. Later, as a cowboy working with his father Keākealani, and other elders and cousins (among whom were Ikaaka, Alapa'i, Kapehe, Nāluahine, and Kiliona), he traveled the land from Kawaihae (Kohala) to Kahuku (Ka'ū). It was in this way that he learned about the histories and native sites of the land.

Today, the tradition and attachment to residency upon the ancestral lands remains strong among the Keākealani children. From their earliest days, their papa instilled in them a deep *aloha*, respect, and sense of stewardship for their native lands and the heritage of their family upon those lands. As a result of his instruction, his daughters Kau'i and Leina'ala recorded a number of their historical conversations with their father. Their foresight is fortunate, as Tūtū Lopaka passed away in 1990. The Keākealani family generously allowed the author to transcribe several of the tapes they'd recorded with their father. Thus, through those recordings, we are able to share some of the history of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha that would have otherwise been lost. The narratives are in Tūtū Lopaka's own words, and document that which he personally experienced or was told by his elders.

Of particular interest to the immediate study area, Tūtū Lopaka discusses the use of the Kalaemanō salt works, and the continued practice of making salt beds when he was a youth. He also speaks of the significance of the salt making resource to the families of Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region. On a more personal level, Tūtū also shares stories of the family's shark associations. His discussion, along with those of his brother and sister (David K. Keākealani and Caroline K. Keākealani-Perreira) and his cousin (Joseph P. Maka'ai), are of significant cultural and spiritual importance.

<sup>28</sup> An older brother David Ka'ōnohi Keākealani, and a younger sister, Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Perreira have also participated in oral history interviews cited in this study.

**Joseph Pu'ipu'i "Wainuke" Maka'ai**  
**ca. 1985—limited interview for the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts**  
**and Interview with elder family members at Ka'ūpūlehu-kai**  
**December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996 with Kepā Maly**

Joseph Pu'ipu'i Maka'ai, affectionately called "Wainuke" by his Tūtū Mahikō and cousins, was born in 1917 at Pu'u Anahulu. Shortly after his birth he was given to his *kūpuna* Kahiko<sup>(w)</sup>, and her husband Mahikō<sup>(s)</sup>, as a *keiki hānai* (adopted child). For about the first eleven years of his life, Uncle Joe was raised at Kahuwai, Ka'ūpūlehu. It was from his *kūpuna* that he learned about the customs and practices of the native families of Kekaha. The limited interview recorded by the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts (transcribed from tape by the author of this study) provides readers with an overview of Uncle Joe's recollections of life and practices at Ka'ūpūlehu in his early years. The subsequent interview conducted with Uncle Joe and several of his elder cousins on December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996, adds significant details to the ca. 1985 interview.

Of particular interest to the present study, Uncle Joe's discussion with his cousins, David K. Keākealani, Caroline K. Keākealani-Perreira, and Rose Pilipi-Maeda (see the interview record of December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996), adds rich documentation to the accounts of residency at Kahuwai, salt making at Kalaemanō, and 'ōpēlu fishing at Ka'ūpūlehu. Uncle's narratives also include significant accounts of the family's shark deity and the importance of Kalaemanō as a place of cultural and family ceremonial observances. Uncle urges that places like Kalaemanō, the 'ilina 'ohana (family burial sites), and other places of the *po'e kahiko* (ancient people) be respected. He also feels strongly that it is important to share the history of the land with people so that they can respect and appreciate that land.

**Valentine K. Ako**

**Oral History Interviews of January 8<sup>th</sup>, December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996, November 8<sup>th</sup>, 1997,**  
**and April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1998 —with Kepā Maly**

Valentine K. Ako (Uncle Val) was born at Hōlualoa, North Kona, Hawai'i in 1926. His family has lived in North Kona for many generations. On his father's side of the family (from James Ako Sr.), Uncle Val is descended from the Ka'iliauua-Nāpu'upāhe'e lines. His mother's line (Lily Keahi'āloa Kanoholani) is descended from the Kanoholani-Kaiamakini lines, which is also descended from the line of Kame'eiamoku. Through that connection, Uncle Val's family is directly tied to the ancient residents of Ka'ulupūlehu (Ka'ūpūlehu).

As a child and teenager, Uncle Val spent a great deal of time with his *kūpuna*, away from his parents and siblings. In those years, he learned many of the customs and practices of his *kūpuna*. With his elders, he fished from Keauhou to Kīholo—with many visits to Ka'ulupūlehu—fishing the deep-sea *ko'a*; protected inshore waters; and gathered 'ōpae 'ula from ponds like Maka'eo at Keahuolu; Kaulana, in the land of Kaulana; and Waiakauhi at Ka'ulupūlehu. He was taught about the *ko'a* (fishing stations and triangulation marks), and various resources of the land that were, and remain important, to the natives of Kona. With *kūpuna* in the late 1930s-1940s, Uncle also traveled to the coastal lava flats of Kalaemanō, where he gathered and dried *pa'akai* (sea salt) for salting their fish and home use.

The personal interview documentation shared by Uncle Val, was recorded over the period of three years. Released excerpts (permission granted April 28, 1998) from those interviews are included in *Volume II* of this study. Of particular interest to the present study—the Kalaemanō area—Uncle Val shared that like the *kūpuna* of the Keākealani and Maka'ai families, his *kūpuna* taught him that Kalaemanō (as the house of the shark) was sacred. His family respected the *manō* (shark) guardian of the region. His family tradition holds that the shark is of the *niuhi* (great white shark) type. His *kūpuna* told him



that the *niuhi* was the guardian of the *ko'a 'ōpelu* ('ōpelu fishery) of Kalaemanō, and that when enough 'ōpelu had been taken in a particular day the *niuhi* would draw near the canoe. Uncle Val also gathered *pa'akai* from Kalaemanō, which he describes as the finest quality salt to be obtained. Uncle expresses the hope that:

The people that will be working at, and living on the land there need to respect of the salt making area and fishery of Kalaemanō. There should be no development in the salt works area, and people who visit the Kalaemanō area need to know how sacred the place was to our *kāipuna*, and how important it is to us today.

I would like to see the *ko'a 'ōpelu* of Kalaemanō and other fisheries of Ka'ūpūlehu restored. If the families of the land learn about the *ko'a* once again, and begin to take care of them, the 'ōpelu will return. It is the same for the salt works, if the families can return to the area and care for the *kāheka*, the *pa'akai* will become abundant. In order to do this, the people who develop above the salt works will need to ensure that they are not putting things into the land that can contaminate the *pa'akai* and the fishery of Ka'ūpūlehu (pers comm. April 28, 1998).

### **William Johnson Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahahe Paris**

#### **April 24, 1996—Interview with Kepā Maly**

William Johnson Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahahe Paris (Uncle Billy) was born in 1922, at the Honolulu, O'ahu home of his maternal grandfather, Robert Hind. When he was three weeks old he was brought home to the Paris homestead at Ka'awaloa, South Kona. Uncle Billy is descended from several prominent Hawaiian and Caucasian families that have generations of residency in Kona and Kohala, and spent some of his youth in the lands of Pu'u Anahulu, Pu'uwa'awa'a, and Ka'ūpūlehu. Various lines of his family have been active in ranching in Hawai'i since at least the 1830s. Uncle Billy himself has been ranching his entire life, and worked the lands of the Pu'u Anahulu-Ka'ūpūlehu and greater Kekaha region. As a result, Uncle Billy is quite familiar with various features on the landscape and history of the area.

In discussing Ka'ūpūlehu, Uncle Billy first points out that while he has traveled the land, he is not a *kama'āina* (native descendant) of Ka'ūpūlehu, and he defers to the families with generational ties to the land. Of interest to the present study, Uncle Billy discusses family outings to fish along the shores of Ka'ūpūlehu (Kahuwai to Kalaemanō), salt gathering at Kalaemanō, and the old families of Robert Keākealani Sr. and Joe Maka'ai mā residing at Kahuwai. Uncle's narratives also describe travel along the coastal and *mauka-makai* trails, and his recollections of having seen one of the sharks of Kalaemanō. He feels that it is very important to preserve significant aspects of the Hawaiian cultural landscape.

### **Arthur "Aka" M. Mahi**

#### **Interviews of April 23<sup>rd</sup>, and December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996—with Kepā Maly**

Arthur Mahi (Uncle Aka) was born at Laupāhoehoe, North Hilo, on July 5, 1933. His father, Mikeele Mahi, a descendant of the royal line of Mahi, was a native of Waipi'o. His mother, Lily Kahuawai<sup>29</sup> Keau Kuakahela, was a native of North Kona, who had been raised at Hale'ohi'u and Ka-lā-'oa (Uncle Arthur says that "Ka-lā-'oa" is how the place name Kalaoa should be pronounced). Uncle Aka's maternal great, great grandfather was Kuakahela, who served as the *konohiki* of the *ahupua'a* of Ka'ūpūlehu during the governorship of Kuakini (c. 1830-1840; cf. page 21 in this study). Shortly after birth, Uncle Aka was given to his maternal grandfather, Keau Kuakahela, in the Hawaiian custom of *hānai*. Keau Kuakahela, born around 1870, was deeply committed to his Hawaiian way of

<sup>29</sup> Uncle Aka's mother's name, Kahuawai commemorates the family's tie to the bay of Kahuawai (now written Kahawai or Kahuwai), that fronts Ka'ūpūlehu.

life, and he passed his knowledge of cultural practices, beliefs, and customs on to his *mo'opuna*, Aka. Uncle's first language was Hawaiian, and for most of his youth he lived with his *kupuna* and lived a Hawaiian way of life that was quickly disappearing in other parts of Hawai'i.

As a *keiki punahele* (chosen child) Uncle Aka was afforded an opportunity to learn much about the land of Kekaha that he dearly loves. This interview was conducted because there of a growing concern in the Hawaiian community about the proposed development of swimming ponds on the reef flats fronting the Four Seasons development at Ka'upulehu—the topic of which was discussed in detail in the interview. The recorded narratives also include further discussion about other areas—both *makai* and *mauka*—in Ka'upulehu and the interactions between families of the larger Kekaha region and Ka'upulehu.

Of interest to the present study, the interview with Uncle Arthur includes discussions on salt making at Kalaemanō; the association of a *manō* with the Kalaemanō area; the Ka'upulehu fisheries; and the importance of caring for and respecting the cultural and natural resources of Hawai'i. On December 7, 1996, Uncle Arthur also joined together with descendents of the Keākealani, Maka'ai, Kinoulu-Pilipi, and Ako families for an interview at Ka'upulehu-kai (see the interview of that date for further documentation).

Uncle Aka is active in the Kona Hawaiian Civic Club, and has been an active participant in efforts to ensure protection of the cultural and natural resources of Ka'upulehu.

**Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Perreira**

**Interviews of November 7<sup>th</sup> and December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996; November 8, 1997,  
and April 1, 1998—with Kepā Maly**

Tūtū Kiniha'a was born at Pu'u Anahulu in 1919. Her father was Keākealani (descended from the Ka'ilihewa and Kuehu lines – Tūtū records that her part of the family took Keākealani as its last name), and her mother was Keola Na'aho (see the introduction to interviews with Robert Keākealani Sr. for further details). Around 1923, Tūtū Kiniha'a was taken to live with her *kūpuna*, Kahiko (w) and Mahikō (k), and her cousin Wainuke (Joe Maka'ai), at Kahuwai on the shore of Ka'upulehu. It is Tūtū's recollection that she resided until about 1928. Upon reviewing the following interview, Tūtū recalled:

When cousin Joe and I were discussing the time we moved away from the beach at Ka'upulehu, we figured it out by when Tūtū Mahikō passed away; I was nine years old [1928], I know I wasn't eight. *'Eiwa makahiki o'u i ka'u ha'alele ana iā Ka'upulehu, 'o wau pū me Wainuke. Hā'ule 'o Mahikō, a kanu 'ia iloko o ke ana, a ho'i mākou me Kahiko i uka* [I was nine years old when I left Ka'upulehu, Wainuke, and I. Mahikō died, and was buried in the cave, and we returned with Kahiko to the uplands]. (Pers comm., February 20, 1997)

In the interviews, Tūtū expresses a deep *aloha* for the land of Ka'upulehu. She tells stories of residing on the shore, family activities, traveling the land, fishing, gathering *'ōpae* at Waiakauhi, gathering salt at Kalaemanō, and of the occasional processions of night marchers that marched from the uplands to the shore near Waiakauhi. Respect of the land and ocean were instilled in her from her elders. Tūtū Mahikō still cared for a *kū'ula* at Waipunalei, near the present-day boundary of the Kona Village and Four Seasons. As a child, she was taught to always respect the fresh water ponds and shoreline, and to take care when traveling at Waiakauhi, Waipunalei, and Kalaemanō, where there were certain places that one had to walk around, not over. Tūtū observed:

When we were young, living at the beach at Ka'upulehu, we were always told to respect the burial places, and about how *kapu* Kalaemanō was." Especially Tūtū Mahikō, he said, "*Mai hele 'oukou maluna o ka 'ilina, kapu kēlā wahi...* [Don't you

walk on top of the burials, those places are taboo]. (Pers comm., February 20, 1997)

In each of her interviews, Tūtū Kiniha'a speaks of the great value of Kalaemanō, and observes that the birth place of the shark was sacred to her *kūpuna*, and remains so to her family. The salt making resources also gave her family and other families of Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region life by the production of the *pa'akai* (see the interviews of the above referenced dates for further narratives of Tūtū Kiniha'a's recollections and recommendations regarding development at Ka'ūpūlehu).

Tūtū Kiniha'a's niece, Leina'ala Keākealani-Lightner, helped to make the initial arrangements for these interviews.

**David Ka'ōnohi Keākealani**

**Interviews of November 17<sup>th</sup> and December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996—with Kepā Maly**

David Ka'ōnohi Keākealani was born at Pu'u Anahulu in 1914. He is the son of Keākealani and Keola Na'aho (he is the older brother of Tūtū Lopaka and Tūtū Kiniha'a). During his youth, he lived at both Pu'u Anahulu and Kahuwai, Ka'ūpūlehu. In his younger years, Tūtū Ka'ōnohi worked as a *paiolo* (cowboy) with Pu'uwa'awa'a Ranch. His work area covered several of the lands of Kekaha and the area between Kailua and Kahalu'u-Keauhou. Later, he worked as a cantoneer with the Territorial road crew, working in the road section between Kalaoa to Waimea.

In this interview (and in the group interview of December 7, 1996, with his sister and cousins), Tūtū Ka'ōnohi shares some of his recollections of the Ka'ūpūlehu-Kahuwai community, its families, the houses and other structures, and the customs of the residents. His *mo'olelo* (history) is like that of the other *kūpuna*—former residents of Kahuwai. He expresses a great love for the land and ocean of Ka'ūpūlehu and the larger Kekaha region. His narratives speak of the Kalaemanō area as important for its association with the shark deity and salt works, and like his elder relatives, he looks upon the changes that have occurred to the land with tears in his eyes.

Tūtū Ka'ōnohi's niece, Leina'ala Keākealani-Lightner, helped to make the initial arrangements for these interviews.

**Marjorie (Margie) U'ilani Kaholo-Kailianu**

**(with daughters Raynett and Zelda)**

**December 2<sup>nd</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996—Interview with Kepā Maly**

Aunty Marjorie (Margie) was born at Pu'u Anahulu in 1926. Her mother, Lizzie Alapa'i, was a native of the land of Pu'u Anahulu. Her father, Joseph "Sonny" Kaholo, was born at Kamā'oa, Ka'ū, and moved to Pu'u Anahulu to work for the ranch. As a child, Aunty Margie and her siblings lived with several of their *kūpuna*, and it was with the elders and their parents, that they regularly traveled along the coast between Kapalaoa and Ka'ūpūlehu. In the interview, Aunty tells stories of how the family made salt beds and gathered salt at Kalaemanō, how they gathered *lau hala* at Ka'ūpūlehu. She also observes that resources were shared between the families of the shore and the families of the uplands. In her youth, she witnessed some of her *kūpuna* feed and care for the sharks of Kiholo and Kalaemanō, and she was taught how important it was to respect both the land and ocean.

When speaking of the changes to the land of Ka'ūpūlehu, Aunty Margie recalled When that her Tūtū Kaniho and Makahuki had told her, "*Hiki mai ana ka lā, e loli ana ka 'āina*" (The day is coming that the land will be changed), and in those early years the *kūpuna* continually instructed the children in how important it was to care for the land. Aunty recommends that the shoreline be left alone, she even suggests that hotels shouldn't be built along the shore, but that they be built inland, so that the shore and

ocean and access to the resources can be preserved.

On December 7, 1996, Aunt Margie participated in the group interview at Ka'upulehu with other elder members (cousins) of her family. The interview adds further details and site documentation for Ka'upulehu and the larger Kekaha region.

**Val K. Ako, Margie Kaholo-Kailianu, David Keākealani<sup>30</sup>, Rose Pilipi-Maeda, Arthur "Aka" Mahi, Joseph Pu'ipu'i Maka'ai, Caroline Keākealani-Perreira, and family members at Ka'upulehu**  
**(Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly December 7, 1996)**

This interview was conducted at Ka'upulehu-kai, near Kumukea, overlooking the pond of Waiakauhi pond. The interview was conducted as a part of an ethnographic study to identify traditional cultural properties along the coast of Ka'upulehu—specifically for the area fronting Waiakauhi Pond and extending towards the old Kahuwai Village site (presently the area of the Four Seasons and Kona Village resorts) (Maly and Rosendahl 1997). Six of the seven interview participants have been introduced above, the seventh, Aunt Rose "Loke" Pilipi-Maeda, is introduced here:

**Rose "Loke" Pilipi-Maeda**  
**Interviews of December 7, 1996 and April 1, 1998**

Rose Pilipi-Maeda (Tūtū Loke) was born in 1919, in Kohala. Her father was a native of Kohala, and her mother was a native of the Pu'ukala area of Kekaha, North Kona. When she was about two years old, Tūtū Loke was given, in the custom of *hānai*, to her maternal great grandparents to be raised at Pu'ukala. Within a few years *Kūkū wahine* passed away, but Tūtū Loke remained with her great grandfather Daniel Kinoulu and other elder members of her mother's family. Tūtū Kinoulu was a native Hawaiian planter and fisherman, and it was while with him, that Tūtū Loke learned the customs and practices of her *kāpuna*. In those early years, Tūtū Loke regularly visited Kahuwai Village, and lived at the home of Kahiko and Mahikō, and their *hānai* "Wainuke" (Joseph Maka'ai). (The December 7<sup>th</sup> interview marked the first reunion between Tūtū Loke and Tūtū Wainuke in nearly 70 years.)

Tūtū Kinoulu and Tūtū Mahikō were *ōpelu* fishing partners, thus some of Tūtū Loke's most outstanding memories of their trips to Ka'upulehu-kai are those associated with fishing for *ōpelu*, making *pa'akai* at Kalaemanō, preparing and salting the *ōpelu* for market, and the frequent journeys made between the uplands and shore. On April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1998 Tūtū Loke visited Kalaemanō with Tūtū Kiniha'a, Tūtū Robert Ka'iwa Punihaoale, and participated in a detailed interview, further documenting the customs of salt making at Kalaemanō, and other practices of the families who lived at, and visited Ka'upulehu (see the interview of that date later in this study).

Together, all of the participants in the December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996 interview shared personal memories of past events, family relations, and practices of the early residents of Ka'upulehu. The interview records the uniform consensus of the *kāpuna*, that the shoreline should be left as it is naturally; as they said "*waiho mālie*" (leave it be). As children, the elder interviewees who resided at Ka'upulehu were instilled with a sense of awe for the land and ocean, with areas at Waiakauhi, Waipunalei, and Kalaemanō being called *kapu*. There is also a common concern about the protection of Hawaiian sites, history and practices, and they all lament the changes to the land.

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<sup>30</sup> Uncle David's daughters Lehua Kihe, Lanihau Akau, Keala Tagavilla, and Maile Rapoza accompanied him to the interview. Additionally, his niece Shirley Keākealani and grand-niece Ku'u lei sat in on the interview.

### **Hannah Kihalani Springer**

**Interviews of January 20, 1997, February 3, 1998 & May 20, 1998 — with Kepā Maly**

Born in 1952, Hannah Kihalani Springer is a native resident of upland Ka'ūpūlehu, residing at her family home, Kukui'ohiwai, on the shoreward facing slope of Pu'u 'Alalauwā. In historic times, the relationship of Hannah's family to Ka'ūpūlehu can be traced back to 1888, when her great grandfather John Avery Maguire leased the entire *ahupua'a* (except for a 15 acre parcel on the coast—Kahuwai Village—which was retained for native tenants of the land) from the estate of Bernice Pauahi Bishop (Lease No. 268). Purchase of the Kukui'ohiwai parcel of Ka'ūpūlehu, totaling c. 32 acres in fee simple, was begun around 1906. Also, John A. Maguire's first wife, Luka Hopulā'au, was a native of Kūki'o and Kaulana, with a genealogical connection to Kame'eiamoku, and is thus tied to the land of Ka'ūpūlehu.

In recounting her relationship to the lands of Kekaha, Hannah observes she was born at Ka'ūpūlehu, and she is "*he kama o ka 'āina*" (a child of the land). In the years that she was raised at Ka'ūpūlehu, she was reminded each day, of this relationship, noting that her deep love of this land was instilled in her from her mother. She recalls that from an early age, looking from the heights of Kukui'ohiwai, down the lava plains to the shore and out to the sea, she was filled awe and respect for the land and who she is, as a result of her heritage. Hannah shares that the history and native accounts of the land embody the power of the creative forces of nature, and the place of these natural forces in the lives of the people of the land.

During the May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1998 interview which was conducted to specifically discuss the proposed Kaupulehu Developments project, Hannah shared a number of specific comments and recommendations for interim and long-term management of the natural and cultural resources of Ka'ūpūlehu. A paraphrased summary of several of Hannah's comments and recommendations is presented here (see the complete interview transcript for full details and context of the discussion):

#### *Lava flows and Landscape*

In discussing the Ka'ūpūlehu lava flows that demarcate the region of Kalaemanō, Hannah shares that — All of the landscapes of the *pae 'āina Hawai'i nei* (the Hawaiian Archipelago) are cultural landscapes. The absence of our ancestor's signature upon the landscape speaks as clearly as the presence of their signature upon the land—thus likening the flows to a place of the gods. There may be different expressions of culture and greater or lesser values in those all encompassing landscapes, but that is an important thing to recognize. Not only in landscapes, but in seascapes as well; that the world view is all encompassing.

#### *Culture is Alive and Value of Resources is On-going*

There are still those of us who came to Kalaemanō in our youth, and who continue to do so in our maturity, the culture is on-going, not in the past tense. The practice of salt making, being prayerful, and being responsible for traveling upon that land is not just something that our parents and elders practiced, but it is something that is being actively practiced today and taught to our children as well.

#### *Monitor Water Quality and Inland Activities to Ensure Quality of Salt and Fishery Resources*

Hannah urges that the landowner and lessees carefully monitor and establish guidelines for activities on the golf course and in the individual yards so that what is put on them does not move and mix into the waters that are a habitat, and the source salt. Hannah also observed that it is important that the quality of the salt gathered at Kalaemanō, endure. Since the early 1970s, going out to gather *pa'akai*, Hannah *mā* have noticed that there has been an increase in the particulate matter within the salt. There may be a number of

reasons for this, but among them are the increased vehicular and pedestrian traffics. People that are visiting the area don't understand the value of the salt works. Developing a system for respectful access and fostering stewardship and awareness of the resources is very important.

### *Landscape and Visitation Impacts*

Hannah also shared that while the significance of the salt works has been well documented, there are other aspects of the cultural and natural landscapes that are of importance to the well-being of the landscape and culture. The geological features are of significance to the landscape. Of particular beauty are the features known as hornitos—small vent-like features that are formed like lava trees on the surface of the flows. Those which occur on the shoreward side of the flows in the Kalaemanō region have been significantly impacted by people who take the stone for use while camping.

The 'ā'ā flow defines the area of Kalaemanō. It remains profound to us. To get to Kalaemanō, you walk through the 'ā'ā flow. To get to this resource that you are going to harvest, you pass through a zone of distinct transition, that doesn't have the signature of our ancestors upon it, except for that very narrow trail that winds its way through the lava. Even the bare lava flow is imbued with characteristics that are deserving of recognition.

Other specific recommendations include, but are not limited to:

- 1 - Kamehameha Schools-Bishop Estate which claims the *mo'okū'auhau ali'i* and role of *konohiki* (royal genealogy and responsibility) for Ka'ūpūlehu, needs to step forward and demonstrate the responsibility and understanding of how the things of the land and the things of the people—the beneficiaries—are one. That when they look at the land and the future, they look at all of its components—the entire *ahupua'a*—and the relationship of all resources from mountain to sea.
- 2 - Today, the *kiawe* growth along the shore serves a purpose. Treatment of it must be carefully thought out. The plant buffer can help to protect the integrity of place and buffer practitioners from the development that occurs inland.
- 3 - When grading occurs, it would be appropriate to be creative in the dozing—to retain some of the uniqueness of the natural landscape—see the natural topography as an asset. Hannah notes that it is very hurtful to see the levels of impact on the Puhiapele lava flow fringe (on the Four Seasons-Kūki'o side of Ka'ūpūlehu). The development there is being placed on the very edge of the lava flow, looking down on all that is below.
- 4 - It would be appropriate to keep buildings away from the Kalaemanō facing front of the flow, so as not to impact the *mauka* viewplane. Keep the development a respectful distance inland of the trail system that crosses the Ka'ūpūlehu flow.
- 5 - Be considerate in the use of lighting on the coastal flats. Light-free zones could be established to minimize impacts on night fishermen, those who go there for times of prayerfulness, and for star gazing.
- 6 - Consider extension of the proposed fishery management zone to the area of Kalaemanō.
- 7 - Provide the people who will work on the development of the land, and those who will work and/or live within the completed project and community with orientation to the significance of the cultural landscape and history of the area.
- 8 - Now that we have all of this archival and oral historical documentation gathered, what will be done with it? How will KSBE, the lessee and community work to apply what we know so that there will evolve an active management and stewardship of the resources?
- 9 - In closing, she poses the question, "How can we work together to ensure that what needs to be done, will be done?"

**Karin Kawiliau Haleamau**

**Oral History Interview of January 22, 1997—with Kepā Maly**

Karin Haleamau was born in 1940 and raised at Hale‘ōhi‘u. Uncle’s family has many ties to the lands of the Kekaha region. His mother, Ka‘ula Ha‘o was from Pu‘u Anahulu but was also raised by her *kūpuna* at Kohanaiki and later lived at Pu‘ukala. Uncle’s father, Herman Haleamau, was from the Hāmanamana-Hale‘ōhi‘u area. As a youth, Karin was close to his *kūpuna*, often living with them for extended periods of time. It was during those years that the Hawaiian sense of stewardship and caring for the land, ocean, and resources was instilled in him. He was particularly close to his Tūtū Annie Punihaole-Una, and it was while with her that he walked the length of the Kekaha shoreline, visiting the lands of Kohanaiki, Mahai‘ula, Makalawena, Kūki‘o, and Ka‘ūpūlehu.

In the interview, Karin describes a number of the native customs that he observed being practiced by his elders. He describes the stewardship of resources that families practiced. Recalling how they made salt, traded resources between inland and shoreward residents, how they made *imu* (stone mounds) in the shallow waters to trap fish. From the abundance of their catch, his *kūpuna* would let fish go, stocking the brackish ponds with fish for seasons when it was too rough to go out to the ocean. Uncle records that while walking along the entire coast, Tūtū Annie would:

...take care the area, go around, *mālama* [take care], make all the *pōhaku* [stones] right. I watched Tūtū do all that...all the kind [stones] that *hāne‘e* down, fall down, she’d go there and put them all back...!

Karin believes strongly in the need to respect the old Hawaiian places. And states that the coastal resources and marine fisheries are still important to his family and others of the Kekaha region. He and many others regularly fish Ka‘ūpūlehu and vicinity. He urges that the shore be left in its natural state, and observes that:

That’s the *‘āina* of the family...Hey, that’s the *‘āina* going feed people over there. *Lo‘a kaukau* [get food] over there, gee, got to *mālama* [take care]...!

**Valentine Kalaniho‘okaha Ako, George Kinoulu Kahananui,  
Caroline Kiniha‘a Keākealani-Perreira, Leina‘ala Keākealani-Lightner,  
Violet Lei (Ku‘uleikeonaona) Lincoln-Ka‘elemakule Collins, and family members  
November 8, 1997, at Mahai‘ula — with Kepā Maly**

This interview was conducted by the author as a part of a study prepared for the lands of Kaulana, Mahai‘ula, Makalawena, Awake‘e, Manini‘ōwali, and Kūki‘o, in conjunction with preservation and interpretive planning for the Kekaha Kai State Park (Maly 1998a). Several of the interviewees have been previously introduced in this study, Violet Lei Ka‘elemakule-Collins and George Kinoulu Kahananui are introduced here:

**Violet Ku‘uleikeonaona (Lei) Ka‘elemakule-Collins**

Violet Ku‘uleikeonaona (Auntie Lei) Collins was born in 1913, at Ke‘ei, South Kona. Her father George Kawaiho‘olana Lincoln was an heir to the Lincoln family lands at Keawewai-Kawaihae-uka, Kohala. Auntie Lei’s mother was Jane Kalikokalani Hāili-Lincoln, was a descendant of the Keanu-Hāili families of Ke‘ei, South Kona. In the 1920s, Auntie Lei became close with the family of John Ka‘elemakule Sr., and she eventually married Joseph Ka‘elemakule. As a result of the Ka‘elemakule family tie to the lands of Kaulana-Mahai‘ula, Auntie Lei became familiar with some of the families and customs of those families in the Kekaha region. Auntie Lei has been a life-long advocate of education about, and protection of Hawaiian cultural and natural resources. She has been an active

supporter and participant in past actions of the Kona Hawaiian Civic Club in its' efforts to ensure respectful use of the land and resources of Ka'ūpūlehu and other areas of Kona. Though not directly familiar with native families and customs of Ka'ūpūlehu, Auntie Lei's discussions about practices at Kaulana-Mahai'ula led into the discussions of Ka'ūpūlehu by other *kūpuna* in this interview.

### **George Kinoulu Kahananui**

George Kinoulu Kahananui (Uncle Kino) was born in 1925 at Hōlualoa, North Kona. His birth parents were James Ako Sr. and Lily K. Kanoholani-Ako, but at birth, he given in the custom of *hānai* to relatives of his mother's, Joseph Kinoulu Kahananui and Haleaka Kahananui (he is the older brother of Uncle Val Ako). He was raised in the land of Kalaoa, overlooking Kekaha. Being raised by the elder Kahananuis, Uncle Kino's first language was Hawaiian. From his earliest days, he was hearing stories of the lands of Kekaha, and he traveled the entire region from the uplands to the shore. Also, his first job was with Hu'ehu'e Ranch, so even after growing up he continued to travel through Ka'ūpūlehu and the other *kaha* lands.

In the interview, Uncle Kino shared his recollections of salt making at Kalaemanō, and specifically discusses the annual stewardship—cleaning of the salt beds and preparing for the salt harvest—that Annie Punihaole-Una Keala'ula exercised. He also expressed concern about the need to use the appropriate Hawaiian names for land areas. He observed that these names are “sacred,” and they must be preserved. In his discussion of place names, Uncle also shared an account he had heard from Tūtū Palakiko Kamaka, that describes how the boundaries of the various *ahupua'a* of Kona themselves were determined. The perpetuation of these types of *mo'olelo*, and protection of Hawaiian cultural sites is important to Uncle Kino, and he feels that the youth need to have these things protected so that they can know their history.

Uncle Val Ako, Tūtū Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Perreira, and Leina'ala Keākealani-Lightner all add further documentation and support to Uncle Kino's recollections of the lands of Ka'ūpūlehu.

### **Robert “Sonny” Keākealani Jr.**

#### **Interview at Kīholo Bay, Pu'uwa'awa'a**

**February 19, 1998 (with Kepā Maly)**

Robert “Sonny” Keākealani Jr. is the son of Robert K. Keākealani Sr. and Margaret Keanu Maunu-Keākealani. Sonny was born in 1943, and in his early years to his teens, he had the benefit of being with several elder members of his family, traveling the land from Kapalaoa to Kalaemanō and the uplands of Pu'u Anahulu and Pu'uwa'awa'a. Growing up, Sonny saw, heard, and experienced many things, pertaining to the history of the land, areas of cultural significance, and customs and practices of his *kūpuna*. Sonny himself is a good story teller, and he is proud of his family's heritage and relationship to the lands of Pu'u Anahulu, Pu'uwa'awa'a, and Ka'ūpūlehu.

Of particular importance to the present study, Sonny discusses some aspects of the family's association with the shark deity in the ocean from Kalaemanō to Kapalaoa. He also describes the practices of salt making at Kalaemanō and Mula (Waia'elepī, in the *ahupua'a* of Pu'uwa'awa'a), which was continued by some elder members of his family till their passing away in the 1970s-1980s. His discussion also describes the relationship of families between coastal and inland settlements, the use of trails, the importance of the landscape in the native traditions of Kekaha, and he shares insights on historic ranching activities. Sonny's interview, along with those of his elders (cited above), adds significantly to the recordation of the history of Ka'ūpūlehu and the neighboring lands of Kekaha.



**Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Perreira (CK-P)**

**Rose "Loke" Pilipi-Maeda (RP-M)**

**Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole (RP)**

**and family members**

**Interview at Ka'ūpūlehu (Kalaemanō-Pōhakuokahae vicinity)**

**April 1, 1998 (with Kepā Maly)**

This interview was conducted at the area the *kūpuna* identified as Kalaemanō (Figure 10). The three elder interview participants each personally traveled to the area with their elders and gathered *pa'akai* (salt from the extensive *kāheka* (natural tidal pools and salt beds) and *loko pa'akai* (man-modified salt ponds) of Kalaemanō. Tūtū Kiniha'a and Tūtū Loke have both participated in interviews as introduced above, had not been back to Kalaemanō for some 70 years, since the passing away of their *kūpuna*. Uncle Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole had not been back to Kalaemanō for some 50 years. It had been hoped that Tūtū Kiniha'a's cousin, Joseph Pu'ipu'i "Wainuke" Maka'ai—with whom she traveled to Kalaemanō as a child—could also join us in the interview, but he was unable to.

### **Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole**

Uncle Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole was born in 1923 at Kalaoa. His mother was a descendant of the Punihaole line with generations of residency in the lands from Makalawena to Pu'uwa'awa'a since before 1847. His father was a descendant of the Kalolo-Kamalu lines of Hōlualoa. Throughout his childhood, Uncle Robert traveled between uplands Kalaoa and Hu'ehu'e (the Punihaole line tied him to the family of Thelma Stillman-Springer) and the ancestral home of Makalawena-kai. While on the shore of Makalawena, Uncle took many journeys with his elder aunts and uncles and *kūpuna* to Ka'ūpūlehu and the Kalaemanō salt works.

Uncle Robert is an animated story teller, and his memory of the *mo'olelo 'āina* (traditions of the land), place names, and the practices and customs of the *kūpuna*—e.g., fishing, salt making, and care for the land and ocean—is rich. In the interview, he introduces the accounts of Ka-imu-pūlehu-a-ke-akua, and Puhi-a-Pele in the naming of the land of Ka'ūpūlehu, and the significance of the lava flows on the larger Kekaha community. His narratives help bring further life to the accounts of the native families of the land.

In this interview, Uncle Robert, Tūtū Kiniha'a and Tūtū Loke provide in depth descriptions of the salt making practices of families of Kekaha at Kalaemanō. The narratives describe both local and regional care for, and use of the salt ponds. The *pa'akai*, generally made for a three month period from—varying with seasons—from late December to April, was extremely important to the well-being of each of the families who made use of the salt works. Everyone took responsibility for care and maintenance of the Kalaemanō salt works in order to ensure continued access to the *pa'akai*. The *kūpuna* also document that significant changes in the coastal landscape—salt works area—have occurred since their last visits.

In their youth, the shoreward *pāhoehoe* flats in which the *loko pa'akai* and *kāheka* were situated, were clear and kept clean. The loose rocks and sand which now cover the area were not previously there. The *kūpuna* believe that their elders cleaned the salt making area, resetting stones on earlier features, and keeping the sand from building up in the salt making area. The *pa'akai* was graded with the pure white ("white as snow") salt being kept for table use, and the slightly discolored salt being used for preserving 'ōpelu and other fish and meats.

The traditions regarding the sacredness of the shark's house and birthing place at Kalaemanō, and family accounts of the shark deity of the area are further explained as well. Tūtū Kiniha'a, and other elder members of her family were carefully instructed about not walking over a particular place—a cave which the shark entered from the sea—as it was *kapu* to walk over the head of the shark.

The *kūpuna* emphasize the need to be respectful of Kalaemanō and the Hawaiian sites of Ka'ūpūlehu. They also urge that Bishop Estate and the developer work to take care of the salt making area, and that they respect the *kapu* of Kalaemanō and other sites like burials and places made by the *po'e kahiko* (ancient people). They also urge KSBE and the lessees to make the historical records of interviews and archival research available so that the history will be remembered and perpetuated.

## VIII. MANA'O PANI (CLOSING THOUGHTS)

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The archival-historical documentation and oral history interviews cited in this study provide readers with access to detailed descriptions of the natural and cultural landscapes of Ka'ūpūlehu (much of it not previously available). The documentation—particularly the concerns and recommendations of the native families of the land—should be acknowledged and used to help plan for the long-term protection and interpretation of the varied cultural and natural resources of Ka'ūpūlehu.

It has been suggested—and work is already underway—that Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate (in its role as steward of the estate of Chiefess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and Konohiki of those resources), work with its' lessees; representatives of native families of Ka'ūpūlehu (individuals with generational attachments to the land); current residents and those who will become residents of Ka'ūpūlehu; and other individuals and parties interested in the future of the natural and cultural resources of Ka'ūpūlehu, in the development of the long-term site and resource preservation and conservation program. KSBE has initiated work on an *Ahupua'a Plan* that is meant to establish guidelines for an “ecosystems” approach to stewardship and sustainability at Ka'ūpūlehu. KSBE has also committed itself to the establishment of a foundation, made up of a cross-section of participants (such as those referenced above) to provide guidance in accomplishing the goals and objectives of the larger *Ahupua'a Plan* and cultural site preservation and interpretive plans.

The old Hawaiian saying “*I ka lōkāhi ko kākou ola ai!*” (Our well-being is in unity!) provides us with the foundation—*lōkāhi*—with which to succeed at Ka'ūpūlehu. Indeed, the archival and oral historical documentation provides readers with numerous examples of how members of the early community of Ka'ūpūlehu and Kekaha worked to together in stewardship of the natural resources of the land. In recognizing the inter-relatedness (*ho'oku'ikāhi*) of the natural and human resources on an *ahupua'a* and regional level, the families of the land were sustained at Ka'ūpūlehu through the first decades of this century. In taking responsibility for the “wise use” and stewardship of the resources of Ka'ūpūlehu, KSBE, lessees, and the families of the land can ensure the continued viability of the land and sea for future generations.

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

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