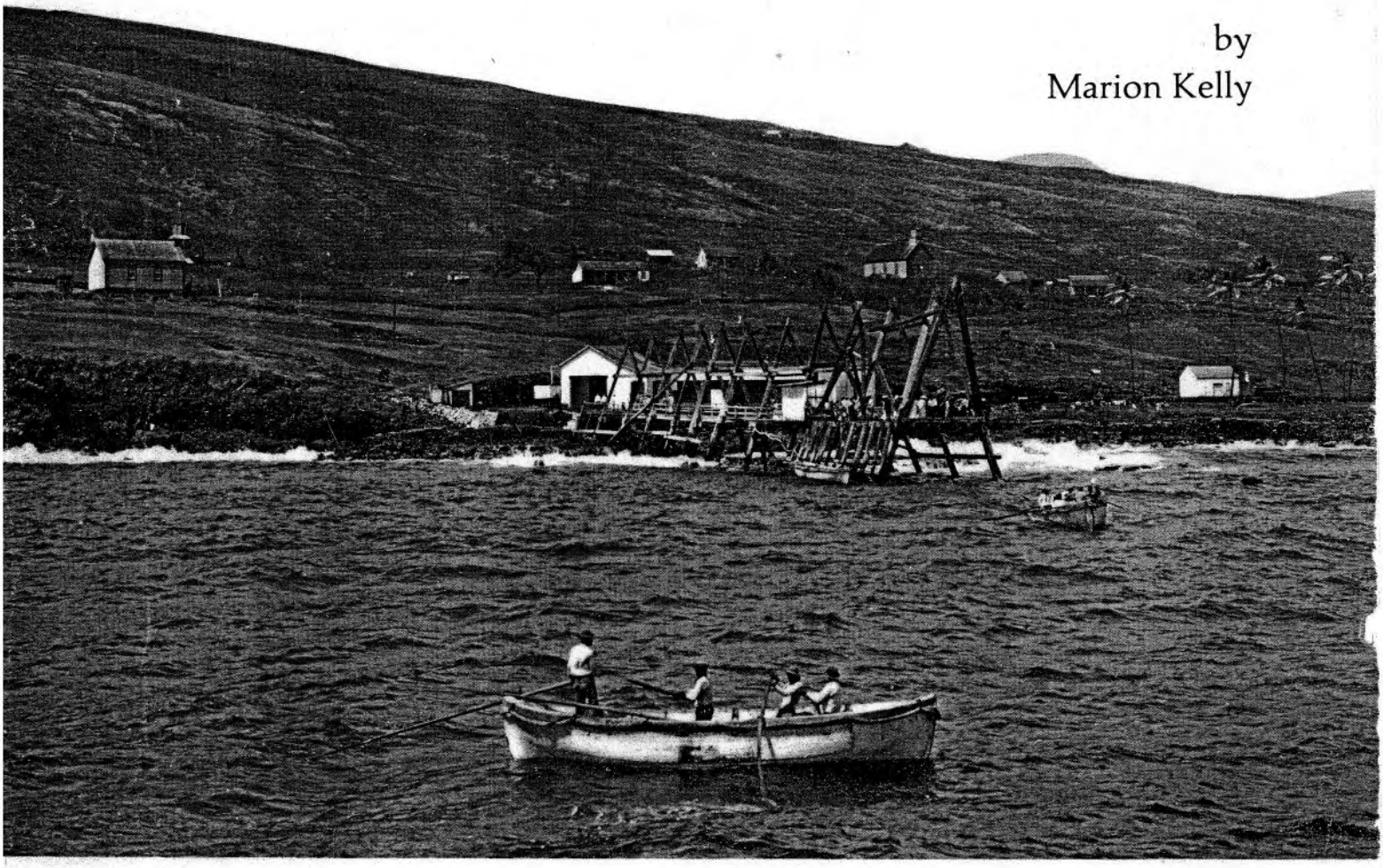


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REPORT 80-2

Majestic Ka'ū: MO'OLELO OF NINE AHUPUA'A



by
Marion Kelly

PREPARED FOR KA'Ū HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May 1980

Department of Anthropology
BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM
Honolulu, Hawai'i

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Department of Anthropology
Bernice P. Bishop Museum
Honolulu, Hawai'i

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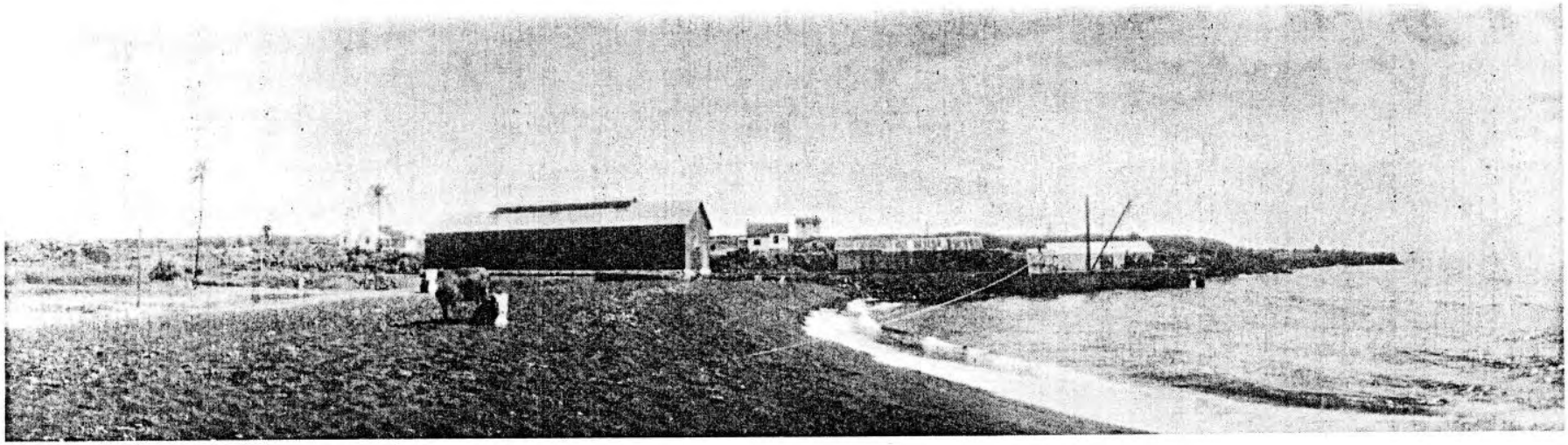
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Frontispiece. PUNALU'U HARBOR, KA'Ū, HAWAI'I. Territory of Hawai'i, 1905, Hawai'i Report Labor Committee, Album B, arranged by L. E. Pinkham. Photograph 358. Photo Album 20, Hawai'i State Archives.

Ki'eki'e Ka'ū, kua makani,
He umauma pā'ia e ke 'A'eloa.

Majestic Ka'ū, of the windswept back,
Whose chest is raised to meet the 'A'eloa wind.*

PREFACE

This historical sketch is concerned mainly with nine land divisions in Ka'ū District -- the *ahupua'a* of Honu-'apo, Hi'ona-'ā, Hōkū-kano, Ka-'alā-iki, Hīlea Nui, Hīlea Iki, Nīnole, Wai-lau, and Puna-lu'u.** These *ahupua'a* lie within an area of prime concern to C. Brewer & Company, Ltd. in its plans for development. This report was written to provide the Ka'ū Historical Society with a general historical background for the District. Some of the materials presented cover more than just the nine *ahupua'a*, but an attempt has been made to restrict the material as much as possible to these lands (Fig. 1).

Ahupua'a are large sub-district land divisions. They are oriented *mauka-makai*, "from the mountains to the sea," and under the Hawaiian system of land-use rights the people living within each *ahupua'a* had access to all the necessities of life. Thus the system guaranteed its tenants a degree of economic independence, their needs being supplied by forest land, taro and sweet potato areas, and fishing grounds. As Lyons wrote: "Hawaiian life vibrated from *uka*, mountain, whence came wood, *kapa* for clothing, *olonā* for fishline, *ti*-leaf for wrapping paper, *'ie* for rattan lashing, wild birds for food, to the *kai*, sea, whence came *ia*, fish, and all connected therewith" [1875:111].

---

*Taken from an old chant of Ka'ū chiefs; translated by Mary Kawena Puku'i [H.E.N.].

**The first time a place name appears it will be divided with hyphens (as in Wai-lau) in order to indicate individual words that make up many of the names. Other diacritical marks, such as the glottal stop (as in Puna-lu'u) and the macron (as in Hōkū-kano) will be used throughout this report. All place names follow usage in Puku'i, Elbert and Mo'okini (1974). References quoted are not altered.

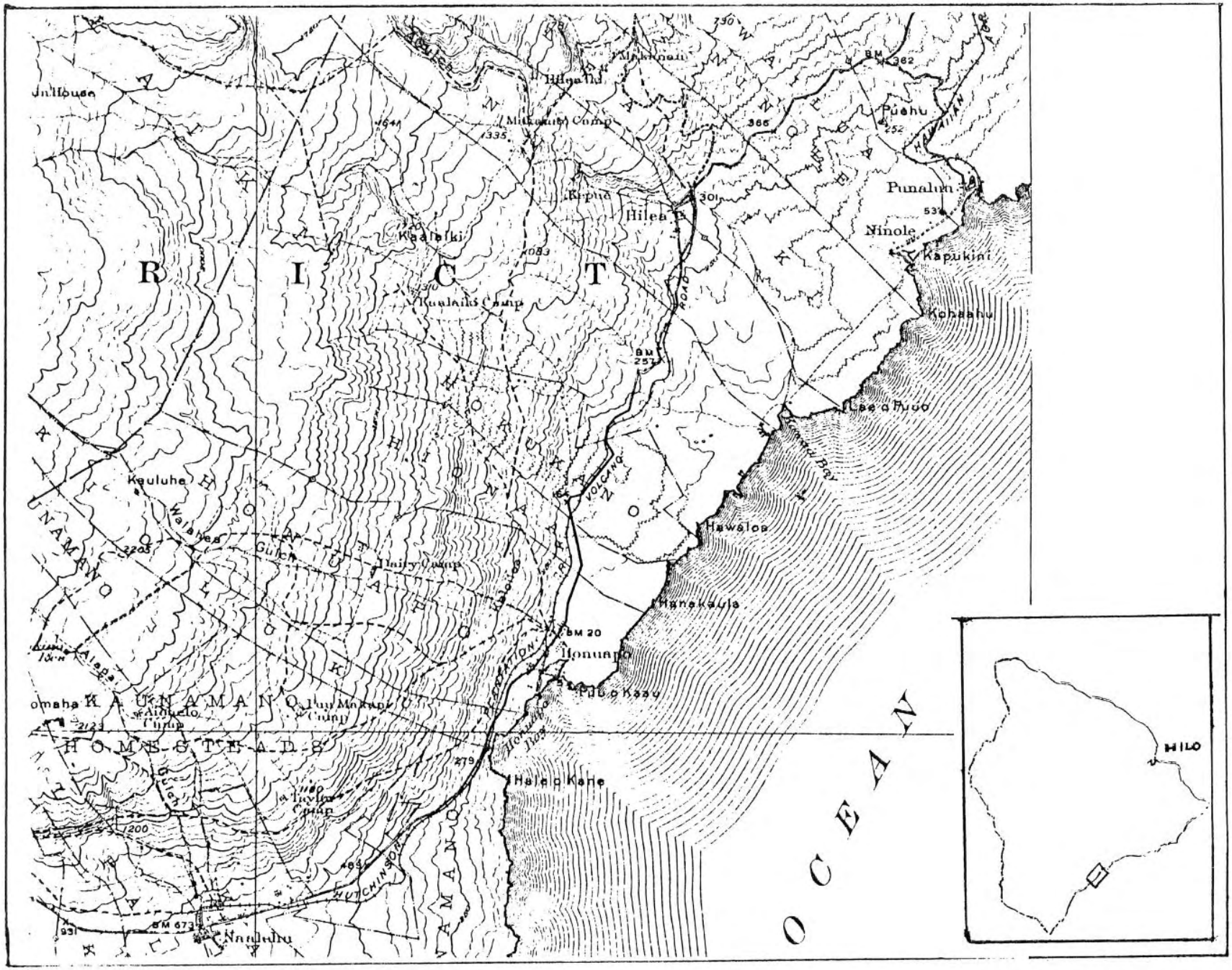


Figure 1. Portion of Ka'ū District coastline between Honu'apo Bay and Punalu'u, Island of Hawai'i. U.S.G.S., Honu'apo Quadrangle, Edition of 1924. Scale 1:62500, contour interval 50 ft.

Because of the restrictions written into the Kuleana Act of 1850, settlement patterns of *kuleana* lands that emerged are probably only fragments of former Hawaiian settlement patterns. Other circumstances may have further modified ancient settlement patterns--commoners were encouraged to exchange pieces of land with each other before the surveyors arrived "...so that each may have his land all in one place" [Lee 1850:157], and only about twelve percent of the Hawaiian population received *kuleana* lands. In spite of these factors, some of the outlines of the Hawaiian system should have survived in the locations of *kuleana* lands that were awarded by the Board of Land Commissioners. A much clearer picture for Hawaiian settlement patterns would probably be revealed through archaeological surveys of entire *ahupua'a* from the sea to the mountains. In most *ahupua'a*, people lived at the seashore and inland, and even though many of these habitation and agricultural sites were not awarded, their ruins, where they have not since been destroyed, are still visible.

In the Mahele of 1848, the *ahupua'a* in the islands were divided among 245 chiefs and the king, with few exceptions. The king then divided his lands between the government and himself. In the District of Ka'ū, six landlord chiefs (*konohiki*) received 20 *ahupua'a*, and two additonal parcels (*'ili 'aina*) went to one of them (V. Kamamalu). Some of these *ahupua'a* were turned over to the Hawaiian Government in lieu of commutation fees; Nīnole was one of these [Indices... 1929:52]. Other *ahupua'a* were designated government lands by the king; Hōkūkano, Ka'alāiki, Hi'ona'ā, and Wailau were four of these [Indices... 1929:30, 37]. *Konohiki* rights to the *ahupua'a* did not include *kuleana* lands awarded to commoners within the *ahupua'a*, but they included nearly everything else. Boat landing areas were retained by the government.

Kuleana claims were permitted only for house lots (not to exceed ¼ acre) and such garden lands as the claimant had under cultivation at that time to feed his own family. Commoners were not permitted to claim *kula* land that they may have been using for grazing cattle, horses, or goats, nor were they permitted to claim any land they had cultivated for the purpose of selling the crop. Such claims were permitted only to the *konohiki* and foreigners.

The approximate acreage awarded to the *konohiki* in the nine *ahupua'a* between Honu'apo and Punalu'u was 13,975 acres, and to the government, 24,720. The acreage awarded to the *kuleana* claimants was only about 557. About 4,270 acres from government lands were sold to grantees.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For my introduction to Ka'ū District, its people, places, history, and legends, I am indebted to Dr. Edward S. Craighill Handy and Dr. Mary Kawena Puku'i. Twenty years ago, as a part-time researcher for Dr. Handy, I sat once a week with Dr. Puku'i in her office at the Museum, talking with her about names of places in Ka'ū, and the things she remembered about them. I recorded information she provided and located each place as accurately as possible on topographic quadrangle maps. It was from her that I first heard many of the stories about Ka'ū and the people who lived there. Dr. Puku'i's infinite knowledge of Ka'ū culture and history, and her faithful translations of Hawaiian materials over the past fifty years, have provided succeeding generations with a broad spectrum of basic data for an important time period.

Innumerable field trips, dating back to 1954, provided first-hand acquaintance with places I had only heard of or read about. At the time of my first visit to Ka'ū, William Meinecke had just retired from the University of Hawai'i and returned to live in his family home at Wai-'ōhinu. He shepherded us to many of these far-away places and introduced us to well-informed, long-time residents of Ka'ū. Interviews with George Kawaha, Peke Bob, and Martin Martinson, and visits to Nīnole, Kō-loa, Puhi-'ula, Wai-ka-puna, Wai-pouli, Māhana, Ka Lae, Wai-'Ahukini, Pu'u Lohe-nā, and Kā'ili-ki'i gave substance to what had previously been only mental images. "Uncle Willie," as he is called by many, continues to be one of the most faithful informants on matters concerning Ka'ū. In addition, he is an inveterate hiker and has probably walked over more of Ka'ū land than any other living person.

As familiarity with many places, their history and inhabitants grew over the years, I developed a strong *aloha* for Ka'ū and its people. For this special experience, I wish to express my gratitude to these three unusual teachers.

I would also like to express my appreciation to Violet Hansen for her meticulous renderings of sites she has surveyed and her excellent photographs, which are invaluable to researchers of Ka'ū District. Thanks are also extended to the staff members of the Hawai'i State Archives, the Mission Children's Society Library, the Hawaiian Room of the State Library, the state Surveyor's Office, and Bishop Museum Library and Photo Archives for assistance received.

Appreciation goes also to Janet Gordon for her editorial assistance, to Peter Gilpin for his photography, to Reiko Hall and Kathleen Kelly for their art work, and to John C. Wright for the article about the Monster Mill.

Marion Kelly
Honolulu
May 1980

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PROLOGUE

KA'Ū MĀKAHA (FIERCE KA'Ū)

In ancient times the people of Ka'ū, while they labored willingly for their chiefs (*ali'i*), nevertheless took pride in their independence and dignity and never permitted themselves to be abused for long. There are several stories about oppressive chiefs against whom the Ka'ū people rebelled. Three chiefs were named by Malo, who said that they died violent deaths because they abused their people:

> Koihala was put to death in Kau, for which reason the district of Kau was called The Weir (Makaha).*
>
> Koha-i-ka-lani was an *alii* who was violently put to death in Kau.
>
> Halaea was a king who was killed in Kau [Malo 1951:195].

Along with the names of these three abusive chiefs there are three popular stories that are still told today by some of the old-timers. One story involves the abusive use of power over people who served the chief and provided him with food. The second concerns a chief who abused his rights to a share of the fishermen's catch. The third deals with a chief who abused his right to demand labor for construction of a large community project, although in this case it appears the temple (*heiau*) constructed was for his self-adulation. There seems to be some confusion about which of the chiefs named by Malo was responsible for which of these acts of oppression, but the stories are given below.

ABUSE OF SERVANTS

> A travelling chief set out ahead of his food bearers, leaving them instructions to prepare the food, cook it in earth ovens, and then carry it to a specified place where he would await them and where everyone would then feast. When the food was cooked

---

*This is an incorrect translation of *makaha*. A weir or gate of a fishpond is a *mākāhā*, but the word here should be *mākaha*, meaning fierce.

> the bearers set out. Upon arriving at the designated place they received word to go on several miles farther to another place where the chief would wait for them. Upon reaching the second place, they found that word had been left for them to continue to another place where the same thing happened again. Finally, having decided that they had been abused with the thoughtless conduct of this chief, they sat down and ate the food themselves. Then, after filling the food baskets and calabashes with stones, they set out again. When they at last met the chief, he called to them to serve the food, which request they fulfilled by stoning the chief to death [Kelly 1956:37].

There are several versions of this story. One tells of the Ka'ū chief travelling to Kāpu'a in South Kona and then back to Wai'Ahukini, Ka Lae and Ka-'alu'alu [Kinney 1913:71]. Another version has the chief coming from South Kona and going to Ka'ū: first Kaha-kaha-kai, then Wai'Ahukini, Ka Lae, Ka-'alu'alu (where the servants ate the food) and finally to a spot in a *kīpuka** located between Ka'alu'alu and Wai'ōhinu. There the chief was met. He called out, "*Hō mai ka 'ai!*" (Throw the food!), at which the weary food bearers threw the stones wrapped as food bundles and stoned the chief to death. Within that *kīpuka* a small rise bears the name Pu'u-o-Koihala.** It is said that the *pu'u* (hill) was named for the chief who died there; thus, it would be Koihala who was the abusing chief of this story.

Emerson, who translated Malo, added some notes to Malo's information. In one note he attributed the oppression of the food bearers to Koha-i-ka-lani. Emerson's version of the story is slightly different from those given above.

> In the account I have of this king [Koha-i-ka-lani], he kept his people ground down by hard work. It is said that he would start his people off on a long tramp into the mountains to cut *ohia* timber for images, and before the work was done, order them at the work of carving stone images in some other direction. But no sooner had they settled to the new job than he sent them back to finish their uncompleted work in the mountains. Finally, he set off on a tour with all his wives and retinue, and ordered the serfs, his common people, to meet him at a specified place with a supply of food. When the people came to the appointed place with their burdens of food, the king and his party had moved on and the king had

---

* *Kīpuka*, a clear place or kind of oasis, around which lava has flowed (Puku'i & Elbert 1971:143).

** Pu'u-o-Koihala, Hill-of-Koihala, from the story told to this writer by William Meinecke.

> left word directing the people to carry the food to a place many miles distant. On arriving at the next place, the people, who had been smarting under the affliction, found themselves again ordered to bear their heavy loads to a place many hours' journey distant. Their patience exhausted, they consumed the food, filled the bundles with stones and, on arriving at length in the presence of the king, laid the bundles at the king's feet with feigned humility. But when the bundles were opened the man that was in them broke forth. The king and his court were killed and covered with the stones [Malo 1951:202-203, note 16].

ABUSE OF FISHERMEN

A greedy chief, whenever he saw the fishermen in their canoes off the coast of Ka'ū, would rush out in his canoe and demand of them that they give him whatever they had caught.

On the fateful day, the fishermen were ready for him. According to one version, they had gone to fish early so they would have an extra large catch in their canoes.

> When the greedy chief's canoe approached them, the fishermen separated so their canoes were on both sides of the chief's canoe. The chief called out, "*He 'i'a no?*" [Do you have fish?]. The fishermen replied, "*Ae*" [Yes]. When the chief demanded, "*Hō mai ka 'i'a!*" [Throw the fish here!], from both sides the fishermen threw so many fish into his canoe so quickly that it swamped before the chief realized what was happening. The fishermen quickly paddled away, not stopping to look back. The chief, alone in the swamped canoe, was swept away on the swift current that carries his name, Hala'ea. This is the inside current that sweeps past South Point and there is no land from there on.*

Presumably, the name of this current identifies the name of the abusing chief, Hala'ea. However, Emerson attributed the fish-greedy behavior to the chief Koihala,** and his version of the story is as follows:

---

* The legend of Hala'ea and the name of the current was given to this writer by William Meinecke, who heard it from his life-long friend, Peke Bob, an old-time expert Hawaiian fisherman who lived in Kamā'oa and fished at South Point.

** Koihala may have been, according to one tradition, "the successor to Keoua, in Kau, who was the opponent of Kamehameha I," or "a king of ancient times," according to another account. In addition, he "made the people of Kau sweat and groan" when he had them "building heavy stone walls about several fishponds" [Malo 1951:202, see this paper, pp. 22, 26-27].

> He [Koihala] also robbed the fishermen of their fish. The story is that he compelled his canoe men to paddle him about here and there where the fleets of fishing canoes were. The wind was bleak and his men suffered from the wet and cold, he being snugly housed in the *pola.** One day he had his men take his canoe out towards the south cape where there was a fleet of fishing canoes. His own canoe, being filled with the spoils of his robbery, began to sink; and he called out for help. The fishermen declined all assistance; his own men left him and swam to the canoes of the fishers, leaving him entirely in the lurch. He was drowned [Malo 1951:202, note 15].

ABUSE OF LABORERS

This story has to do with the building of a *heiau* at the top of Maka-nau hill, which can be seen directly inland from Nīnole. Usually there is agreement that the oppressive chief was Kohā-i-ka-lani (resounding-in-the-sky), who worked his people too long and needlessly hard.

> A chief living in the district of Ka'ū directed that a large temple be built and dedicated to the gods to increase his mana. It was built on the top of a high promontory, Makanao, about three miles from the shore. All the men in the district were conscripted to transport stones from Koloa beach at Ninole. They formed a human chain and passed the stones up to the site in baskets. The taboo for building such a structure was strict. Not a word could be spoken. If a stone dropped, it could not be picked up. This work took several weeks. When the structure was completed, without giving the men time to tend to their food crops, the chief insisted on erecting a wooden image to be carved from the biggest tree in the forest several miles away. The men became angry but they cut down the tree and dragged it from the forest to the temple site. Instead of allowing it to be brought up the low sloping side of the hill, the chief insisted it be brought up the steepest side.
>
> This last demand was too unreasonable. Together with the priest in charge of the construction, the people planned a course of action. Placing the great log heading up the steep incline and securing ropes on it so that the people at the top of the hill might pull it up, the priest then asked the chief to stand under the bottom end of the log and place his hands on it so his great mana as a powerful chief would flow into the log and make it easy for the tired people to pull it to the top.
>
> Blinded by his own ego, the chief took the fatal position. The log was hauled up a few feet. The priest giving the signal, the ropes were cut. The thoughtless chief came to his end [Kelly 1956:37].

---

*The *pola* is the raised platform between the hulls of a double canoe on which a shelter was sometimes built for the comfort of the travelers.

In one version of this story the priest rationalized his request that the chief place himself at the base of the log as it was being drawn up the face of the hill by saying, "The god will never come to the top of the pali if the chief continues to walk before him; the god should go first by right of power, and the chief below, following, to push the lower end; otherwise we shall never overcome his resistance" [Stokes Ms. a:573; see Appendix A:72]. In this version two names are mentioned as having built this *heiau*--one was Kohāikalani and the other Kaiawa. Stokes suggested that Kaiawa was the priest who joined the people in their plan to rid themselves of an oppressive chief.

In his list of *heiau* for the island of Hawai'i, Thrum associated with this same *heiau* the name of "Kuakini, a very ill-tempered chief" who lived before Kamehameha's time, and identified the source of the pebbles for the *heiau* pavement as the seashore of Kāwā [Thrum 1909:42]. In another reference, Thrum said that this *heiau* was "said to have been a luakini* class, of which Kahoapuaku, a relative of Keoua, was its priest" [Thrum 1908:78]. The names given by Thrum as being associated with this *heiau* are probably from more recent times than are those given by Stokes (see Appendix A:69-79).

Another source states that the chief who was killed at this *heiau* site was "the grandfather of chiefs mentioned in the 'Umi story." It also goes on to say that the "*heiau* was later destroyed when sugar cane was planted there" [Puku'i et al. 1974:141].

The following story about building a *heiau* on Makanau hill was written by Z. P. Kalokuokamaile and then translated by M. K. Puku'i.**

> The Story of Koha, a Famous Chief of the District of Ka'u
>
> Hilea, in Ka'u was the birthplace of Koha-i-ka-lani. As it was the custom in the olden days to worship fishes, birds, stones or wood, Koha wished to have a wooden god to worship. Koha was living in the upland of Hilea. There were many houses in this place and life there, in olden times, was pleasant.
>
> The houses stood on ground composed only of earth. The chief desired much to have (his god) made of a big log and have it erected on Makanau hill, close to the village of upper Hilea. He ordered his kahuna to ascend with the men to cut the wood and the size of log that he desired was four fathoms in length and girded by three men. Because the kahuna heard his words,

---

*Luakini = that class of *heiau* at which human sacrifices were offered.

**Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes, Vol. 2:147-148, Bishop Museum Library.

they replied, "O Chief, if that is your wish here is a large tree near by that only requires cutting. It has a hardwood like the kauila which would not rot when buried in the earth." Koha asked, "What kind of a tree is it?"

"Here is a breadfruit tree with the size desired by the chief." The chief approved of this, "Yes, that is good." Then a large breadfruit tree, five fathoms long and could be girded by three men, was cut down, a tree the size desired by the chief.

The breadfruit log was hauled up to the foot of Makanau hill and there it was left. There was one thing that needed doing and that was to carve one end of the breadfruit into an image of a man. Orders were given to the wood carvers and they made it look like a man. After the carvers had finished their work, then it was ready to pull up to the top of Makanau hill where it was to be erected. Many men climbed to the top of the hill to pull it upward.

Many of the men struggled to lift up the lower end of the log, the chief was among them. This they did all day long and all week. It took a very long time, but it did not budge to move upward. The people were tired and bored with the needless task of the chief's. They had no time to do their own work, for they were occupied with this wearisome useless work. Therefore, the men who worked below at lifting the log and some of those on the hill met and plotted to put an end to this wearisome task. "Tomorrow we shall tell the chief to go directly below the log so that he could plead with his image." This was agreed to by those at the foot and at the top of the hill. "When you pull the image upward till it gets above the heads of all of those who are lifting, just as it does everyday as we work, then you let go. We will tell the chief to get directly under the log." In the morning the men gathered where the wooden image was. Those at the top of the hill assembled there and those at the bottom of the hill went there. Then the man who gave the orders to pull, called out to pull the log upward.

The men on the hill pulled and those below lifted, but it did not rise any higher; it was just as it was before. Some of the men at the foot of the hill said, "O chief, today you go directly under the other end of your god and lift it up. It is strange that it would not move. What do you think of this idea?" "It is good." The chief went under the end of the log. The people above pulled and those below lifted. Every person below was eager to have the log higher than their heads. Then the call came, "*Mokua ke kaula*" [Cut the rope]. This was the signal to pull the log up and let it go. The log was pulled up and then it was released. So it was that Koha met his death. This deed of the men of Ka'u earned for them the name of Makaha (destroyers). This district, Ka'u, became renowned as Ka'u Makaha.

Additional legends, generally associated with Ka'ū, are presented in Appendix B.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE HONU'APO-PUNALU'U AREA OF KA'Ū

DESCRIPTION

The Nīnole-Punalu'u area, geologically one of the oldest areas on the Island of Hawai'i, includes Hīlea, Nīnole, and Punalu'u valleys. The ridges are composed of the Nīnole volcanic series, which probably dates from before the late Pliocene or earliest Pleistocene era, after which the earliest epoch of faulting occurred along the Honu'apo fault system. Subsequently, the Nīnole lavas were partly covered by lavas from the Ka-huku and Ka'ū volcanic series (Fig. 2), and by Pāhala ash, which has been radiocarbon-dated to between 10,000 and 17,000 years ago. Pāhala ash was partly deposited by local eruptions, but much of it is in secondary deposits, having been carried throughout much of the Ka'ū District by strong winds in the years following eruptions. Most of it has been buried under more recent lava flows; where the ash is on the surface and of sufficient depth, however, it provides excellent soil, and most of the sugarcane in Ka'ū is grown on it [Stearns and MacDonald 1946:97; Stearns 1966:110-117].

The beaches of this area are popularly called "black sand" beaches because of their dark color. They consist, not of coral as do most sand beaches in the Hawaiian Islands, but of volcanic-glass particles produced by hot lava exploding on contact with seawater. In the areas where the lava flows were rich in olivine phenocrysts, the beach takes on a greenish hue, such as the famous "green sand beach" at Pu'u Māhana [Stearns and MacDonald 1946:53].

Kamakau seemed to indicate that the black sand beach of Punalu'u was created in historic times. He wrote that, after the explosive eruption of Kī-lau-ea, in November 1790, when part of the army of Keōua Kuahu'ula was killed while marching past the crater, "a cinder heap moved from Apua to the beach at Punaluu" where it was barred [trapped] by the highlands of Punalu'u, Wai-lau, and Nīnole [Kamakau 1961:152]. In this way, according to Kamakau, the black sand was laid down from Punalu'u to Nīnole (Fig. 3). The explosive volcanic action of Kīlauea in 1790, Kamakau wrote, was caused by Hi'iaka, Pele's sister, who was angry with Keōua for having left Hilo where she was enjoying the fat mullet of Wai-ākea [Kamakau 1961:152-153].

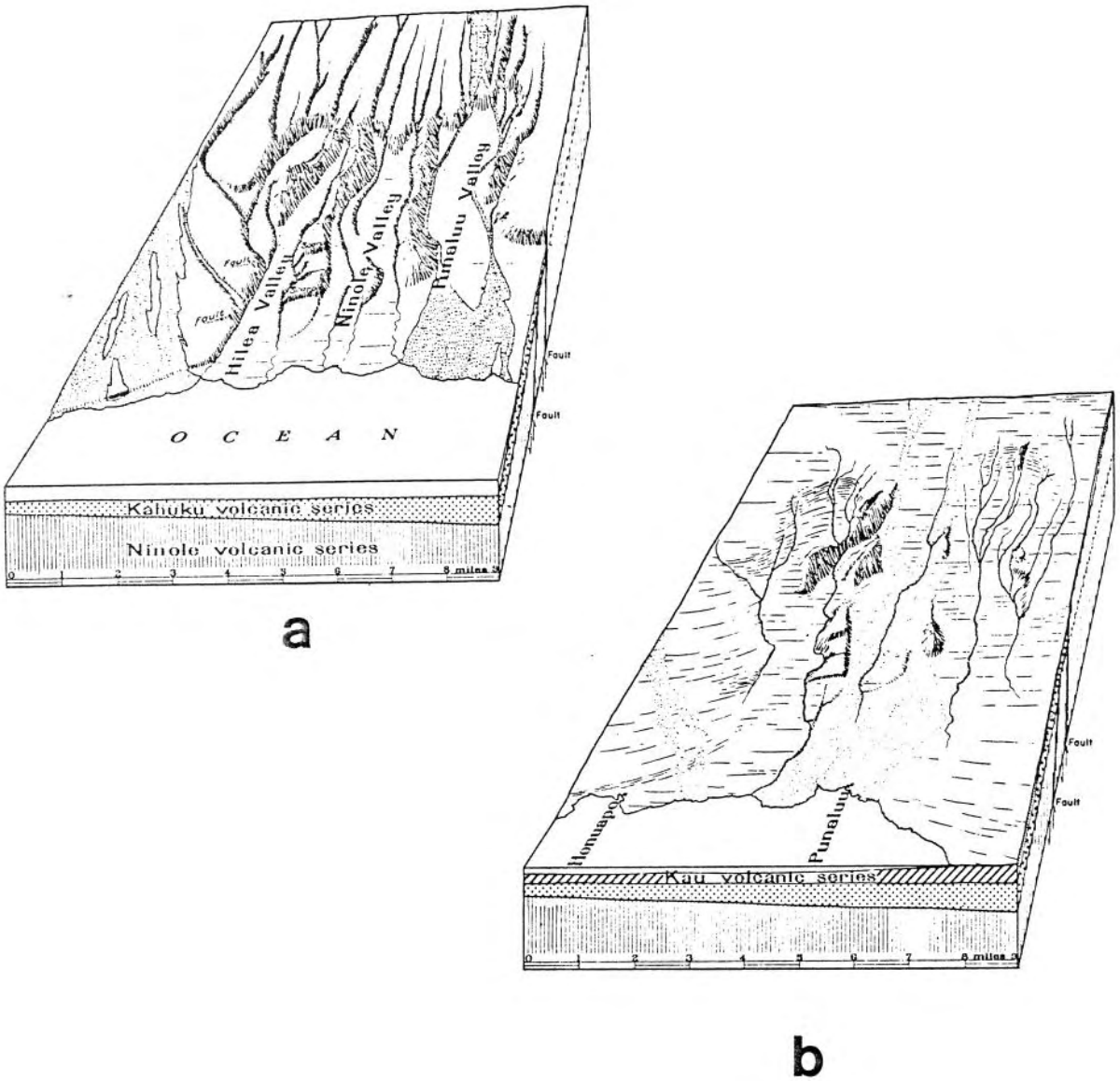


Fig. 2. DRAWINGS OF THE GEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NĪNOLE VOLCANIC SERIES INTO ITS PRESENT FORM: *a*. Early stage, showing the ancient canyons of the Nīnole volcanic series when they were partly filled by the Kahuku volcanic series; *b*. present stage, showing the valleys further filled with lava of the Kahuku and Ka'ū volcanic series (after Stearns and Macdonald, [1946]).

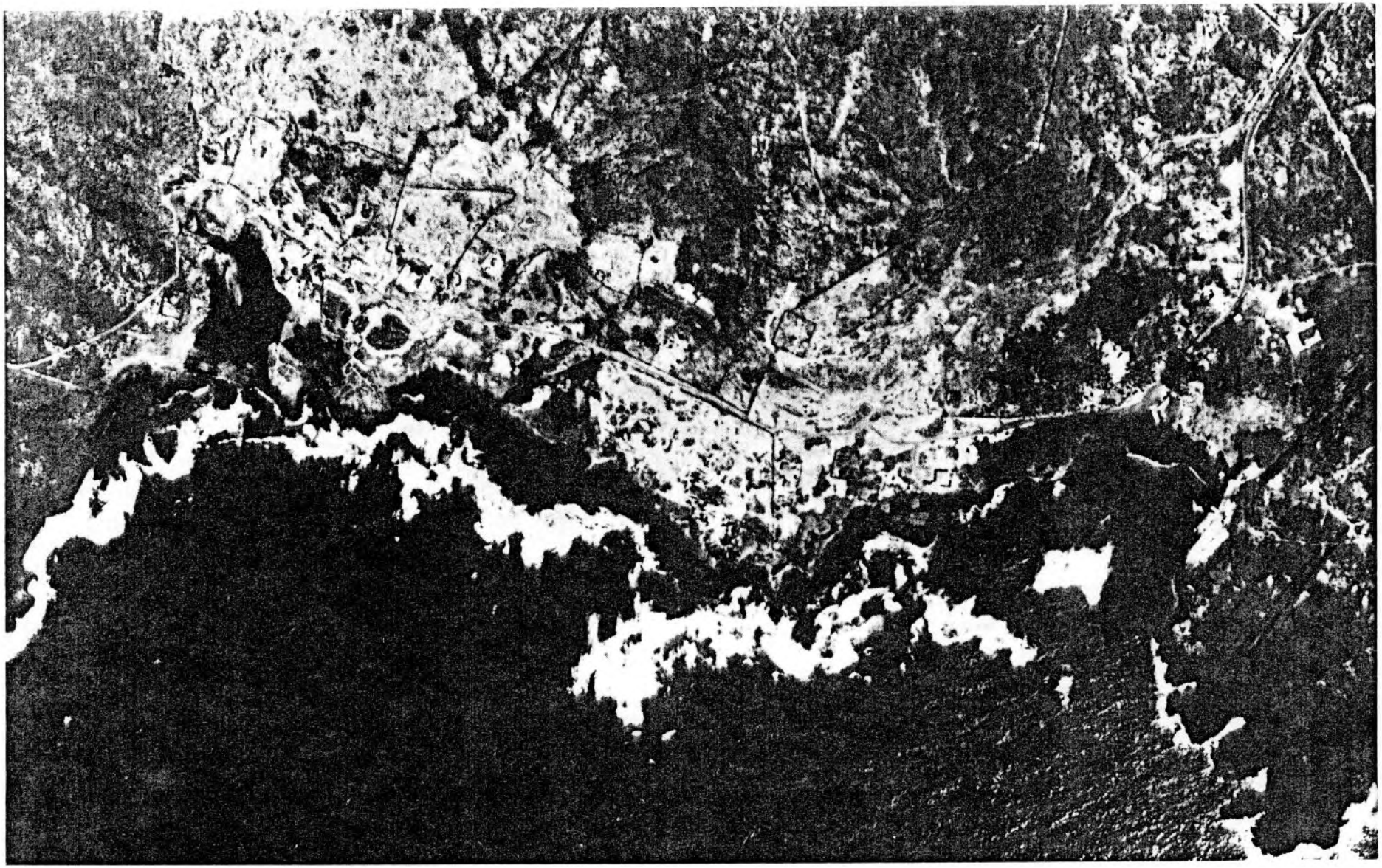


Fig. 3. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE COASTLINE FROM NĪNOLE TO PUNALU'U, KA'Ū DISTRICT, WITH WHITE SURF BREAKING ON THE BLACK SAND BEACHES. BM Neg. D-161.

WATER RESOURCES

In the area between Honu'apo and Punalu'u (about 4.5 miles) there are many freshwater springs along the shore and some of them well up under the ocean. Anyone who has snorkled at Punalu'u will have experienced blurred vision when looking through water where fresh and salt mix. Diving to the bottom and submerging fingers or toes in the sand between the rocks in some places will reveal freshwater sources, recognizable by a sharp drop in temperature felt under the sand. The literal translation of Wailau, which is the name of the land section between Nīnole and Punalu'u, is "many waters."

The Punalu'u and Kāwā areas are famous for the springs that bubble up underneath the surface of the sea. It is said that Hawaiians living in these areas were expert in diving to the bottom of the ocean and filling empty gourd bottles with fresh water at the undersea springs off shore [Kamakau 1961:110].

Because there were no permanent streams in the lands of this area, most taro grown was dry-land taro, with the exception of a few *lo'i* (wet-taro gardens) located near freshwater springs. Most of Ka'ū was better suited for sweet-potato growing. With the importation of cattle, horses, and goats, sweet-potato cultivation declined, and ranching and commercial growing of sugarcane gradually took over. Sugarcane is still the main agricultural crop, and has been for about a hundred years (see pp. 15-17). Many acres of Macadamia (*Macadamia tegrifolia*) trees have been planted recently and the nuts sold commercially.

Hawaiians often utilized the low-lying land near the shoreline, wherever fresh water seeped out or springs were located, as areas for fishponds, and sometimes for growing wet-garden taro when fresh water was sufficient.

Springs at Honu'apo, Ka'alā-iki-Hīlea, Nīnole,* and Punalu'u probably permitted a limited amount of wet-garden taro to be cultivated as well as mullet to be nurtured in the brackish ponds at each of these places. Even with all this fresh water escaping along the coastline, Ka'ū has experienced drought in the past, as it does from time to time today.

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*The name of the Nīnole spring is Pūhau: *pu* = *puna*, meaning "spring," and *hau* = "cool" or "icy" [Pukuʻi et al. 1974:192].

DROUGHT AND FAMINE

Ka'ū has suffered over the years from drought and, when the population was dependent on subsistence crops, drought was usually followed by famine. In 1848, Rev. Paris wrote:

> Since the year 1845 the work of depopulation of Kau has gone on with fearful rapidity...distressing famine in 1845-6--a fire which overran the country...graves multiply.... The old and gray headed are seldom seen in our borders. They sleep beneath the clods of the valley. Contributions to the Church are goats and goatskins, olona--* [Station Report, Ms. (1848)].

In commenting on the 1845 fire in Ka'ū, Lyman described it as having begun at Honu'apo and "spread quickly westward by the trade winds.... It consumed houses, taro & potato patches & produced a famine." He also wrote that another fire was said to have occurred in 1830 or 1831 which "burnt nearly the whole district.... The natives speak of four such burnings as having taken place within the memory of their aged men" [Lyman Ms.:14].

One author mentioned "branchless and lifeless" trees burned in the 1846 fire [Sailor 1849:126, 130]. Pertinent portions of his lengthy impressions are reproduced as Appendix C, this paper, pp. 87-89.

In 1851 Rev. Kinney wrote about the problem of lack of food: "a year after the ravages of the measles there has been a scarcity of the common food of the natives--many were compelled to resort to wild food" [Station Report, Ms. (1851)].

In 1863 Rev. Gulick wrote:

> For two years famine has raged in Kau--that is to say, taro & poi have been scarce. This has been owing, firstly to the drought, secondly to the free range of cattle and horses over lands once devoted to cultivation, and lastly to the pulu trade [**]. The effect of the famine has been to send many of our

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* Contributions usually included large quantities of food. Paris' statement indicates that there was a lack of Hawaiian food available and the people captured goats, which foraged for themselves, and picked *olonā*, which grew wild in the forest and from which cordage fiber was made.

** *Pulu* is the brown, silky fiber covering the bases of the fronds on the Hawaiian tree fern and on the frond buds at the growing tip of the trunk. It was gathered by Hawaiians under contract for local traders who shipped it to California where it was used to fill pillows and mattresses.

> people to Hilo, Puna, Kona, and Oahu to sojourn. Still there is but little suffering from the famine, as the mountains contain a bountiful supply of pala fern and ti-root which afford a tolerable substitute for the taro [Station Report, Ms. (1863)].

What Rev. Gulick failed to say was that these famine foods are known to be strong purgatives when eaten in substantial amounts and therefore cause considerable distress. Among the elderly and very young, famine foods may cause debilitating illness and death if continued as a diet for any length of time.

Wīwī-Ka-Niho (Gnashing-The-Teeth)

From the above it is clear that drought was only one reason for the cause of famine, and that in later times (1845-1865) drought was coupled with additional problems that deepened the severity of the resulting famine and depopulation. From the point of view of the viable Hawaiian village community the downward spiral--reduced subsistence crops, increased dependence on selling *pulu* to the traders, further reductions in subsistence crops, depopulation, etc.--devastated the people of Ka'ū.

A letter appearing in a newspaper in 1869 gives poignant evidence of the process and the despair experienced by the people:

> *Wī o Ka'ū Nei* (There is a Famine here in Ka'ū)*
>
> Because I have seen it and heard about it, that is why I am telling the public why there is famine in Ka'u. This is it. All the people have gone to gather pulu and because they signed contracts to work for the Whites and then owed them.** These are the major causes which we see, because the Whites take them and work them according to their wishes. The employers of these people are the admirable deputy sheriff L. E. Swain, N. C. Haley, Thomas Martin and N. George. These are the white men who hired many people by contract for one or two years. Some contracted by the thousand pounds of *pulu*.
>
> It is done in this way: for one thousand pounds, three dollars. Some white men paid four dollars per thousand pounds and some five dollars.† This payment of the haoles†† pleased

---

* *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 24, 1869. Translated by Mary Kawena Puku'i [H.E.N.].

** Contract labor was subject to the Masters and Servants Act of 1850; for some interesting results, see Appendix D, which documents the relationship between one trader and some of the Hawaiians who worked for him.

† Traders sold *pulu* for about $105 per thousand pounds [Thrum 1876:58].

†† *Haole* is a white person (Caucasian); formerly, any foreigner.

the natives so that they go to gather *pulu*, and desert their farming. Some people still stick to their farming and these are the ones that furnish a few bundles of poi, reaching up to eighteen pounds for the sale price of 6½ cents. If the weight goes up to twenty pounds, it sells for seventy-five cents. How heartless the farmers are. Look, you farmers of other places and remember that money is considered [left] here in Ka'u. I remember that food ran away from the face of money.

Perhaps Maui can bring us some bundles of poi that weigh thirty pounds to be paid for with fifty cents. Perhaps Molokai will, for this land is almost on the battle field of "Wiwikaniho" (gnashing-the-teeth) and the general is Kupōloli (dire hunger). In looking at the situation and understanding it, this is the worst of the big famines suffered by Ka'u which scorch with heat as far as the windy cape of Hokekona.

Regards to the editor and printers. I am your obediant servant.

Gratefully,
R. P. Huia
Waiohinu, Ka'u, Hawaii

TRADERS

The largest annual export of *pulu*, 738,064 pounds, occurred in the year 1862. Over 620,000 pounds were recorded for each of the years 1860, 1864, and 1869. By 1879 it had dropped to a low of 137,000 pounds [Thrum 1880:18; 1881:21].

Rev. Shipman wrote that the people had tried to grow cash crops and had been successful with wheat, but the Hawaiian Flour Company paid the farmer so little that people could make more money by gathering *pulu* for the traders. Agricultural pursuits ceased for all practical purposes. "Even the cultivation of taro, the staff of life to Hawaiians, is greatly neglected," wrote Shipman. "The greater part of our people are now engaged in gathering *pulu*." Shipman wrote in considerable detail about some of the effects of the *pulu* trade on the people of Ka'ū:

> . . .The effect--on them--is not good; not that the pulu is not a source from which they might secure comfort to themselves and families, but the actual result is the reverse. They are offered goods to almost any amount, to be paid for in pulu; this to a native is a stong temptation to go into debt. Consequently many of them are deeply in debt and almost all to some extent. The policy of the traders is to get them in debt and to keep them

there so long as possible. By this means they are induced to purchase many things entirely useless to them as a means of comfort and blessing to their families, they also purchase much which could be dispensed with. When once in this condition they are almost entirely under the control of their creditors, and are compelled to live in the pulu regions, at the peril of losing their houses and lots, and whatever other property they may possess. Thus their homes are almost in reality deserted, ground uncultivated [Station Report, Ms. (1860)].

Ten months since, there was not a retail store in the District, now there are seven and a good amount of trade; one store on an average sells over $1000 worth of goods per month [Ibid. (1860): 5].

Relations between the Hawaiians and the resident traders were often not good. Court records provide a rich source of information on the problems (see Appendix D).

The conditions described by Huia and Shipman were not unique to Ka'ū, as a letter written by a person living in Hamakua testifies:

The Value of Pulu (*Ka Waiwai o ka Pulupulu*)*

A remover of trouble, an elimination of poverty, a supplier of the needs of men, women and on to the children, is this valuable thing mentioned above.

This is a new sight to me, this thing I see here in Hamakua. Perhaps it is so with all of these islands of Hawaii. In the olden days the value of pulu was unknown but the value of the trunk (of the treefern) was known in time of famine. It is (as common as) rubbish.

Now here in Hamakua, men and women go to cut pulu and only a few remain at home. The doors are lonely with hardly any one passing. The lands that were bought and the kuleana are left to the mouths of horses, cattle, mules and donkeys to clear and patches of weeds. The hoofs of the same animals push the plants into the earth and the stalks enter the ground again. The saying has gone to the rounds, "Don't mind if your taro stalks are stepped on and crushed." So it is with other plants.

Farming is useless because it takes so long to bring results, therefore strength is concentrated on the cutting of pulu and continued without rest "to the sea of Iloli" [painful weariness]. The pulu brings so much wealth that in the third week (the pickers) after spending two in the forest, drop in at Mr. Sweeney's store. There can be found articles of many colors to attract the mind, things one can buy with money and remove the need for

*From *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 12, 1862. Translated by M. K. Puku'i[H.E.N.].

them. Because want is not satisfied, desire goes on to obtain horses, cattle, and other things. Then back to work for pulu.

One would think that satisfaction would come when bodily needs are acquired, when the oxen carrying food arrives from Waipio and go along together to the store mentioned, the food is sold at once, each bundle of hard poi selling for a quarter of a dollar. If there are more bundles, there is more money, which is up to the money-maker and the food producer.

When you think of Honolulu and food without seeing smoke, remember there is smokeless food in Hamakua too. The curling of the smoke is seen in Waipio, and all Hamakua does is to raise the nose to the breeze. Ahuhoa here is prosperous during pulu season, at four cents a pound. If one has 500 pounds, he will get $20.00, wealth, indeed if this trading continues in the future.

The son of Rose Mountain returns home, for the last rays of the sun rest over Lehua. It is evening.

W. E. K.

PLANTERS

As a result of the reciprocity treaty signed with the United States in 1876, the number of sugar mills and sugarcane planters multiplied after that date. By 1880, Ka'ū District had three mills, one of which (Pāhala) was the largest in the islands, and a fourth (Hīlea) was being built. In addition, there were five "plantations" without mills and 18 people identified as "sugar planters." Of the latter, seven rented land, seven planted on shares, and four owned their own land in addition to growing cane on rented land or planting on shares [Bowser 1880:334-351; 421-425; Table 1].

By the 1880s Ka'ū sugar plantations depended heavily on imported labor. "Here may be seen a curious mixture of labor, comprising, as it does, natives of European countries," China, Philippines, Chile, India, the Azores, and "the American Negro" [McKenney 1884:264]. Independent or contributory planters, as they were called, at various mills also included people with Chinese, Hawaiian, and American surnames: Akai at Honu'apo (also owner of a general merchandise store); Aiona and D. Bipi at Wai'ōhinu; Aleona, Apeo, Awa, Horner, Peu Ching, and Stone at Pāhala; Burchardt Brothers at Wai'ōhinu (Fern Hill Sugar Plantation at Ha'ao); N. C. Haley and William H. Lewis at Hīlea; M. Hao, Kula, Kapahu, Meheula, W. K. Moi, J. K. Naeole, and Lewis Turner at Wai'ōhinu. Of the

Table 1. STATISTICAL DIRECTORY OF KA'Ū, 1880*

NAME	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS	ACRES	ACRES CULTI-VATED	OWNER OR RENTOR
Aiohelo Plantation	sugar planters	Aiohelu	300	210	renter
Aiona, P. H.	" "	Waiohinu	100	60	"
Akai	" "	Waiohinu	200	180	"
Apiki	landowner	Hilea	10	P**	owner
Bipi, D.	sugar planter	Waiohinu	60	60	renter
Fern Hill Plantation	" "	Haao	160	120	renters
Haley, Capt. N.	" "	Kaalaiki	80	80	planter on shares
Haw'n. Ag. Sugar Plant.†	" "	Pahala	30,000	2,000	owner
Hilea Sug. Plant. & Mill	" "	Hilea	5,000	--	owners
Hilea Plant. & Sug. Mill	" "	Hilea	20,000	500	renters
Kaili	" "	Waiohinu	8	8	owners
Kaili	" "	"	8	8	planter on shares
Kalauli	" "	"	300	130	renter
Kamali	landowner	"	400	P	leased
Kanakanui	landowner	Punaluu	17	"	owner
Kauhane, J.	sugar planter	Pahala	218	45	owner
Kauhane, J.	" "	"	200	45	renter
Kauhane & Kiniakua	" "	"	70	70	planter on shares
Kaumu	landowner	Kiolakaa	12	P	owner
Keauakapu	sugar planter	Waiohinu	40	40	renter
Kukahiko	landowner	"	1,000	P	owner
Martin, Wm. T.	stock raiser	"	4,000	"	"
Martin, Wm. T.	grazier	Manuka	25,000	P&W**	renter
Martin, Wm. T.	sugar planter	Honuapo	225	50	renter
Meinecke, C.	landowner	Waiohinu	5	½	owner
Meyers, H. C.	sugar planter	Pahala	50	50	planter on shares
Moi, W. K.	" "	Naalehu	18	--	owner
Moi, W. K.	" "	Naalehu	164	30	planter on shares
Monroe, D.	" "	Pahala	50	50	" " "
Mt. Abundance Sug. Plant.	" "	Haao	300	100	renter
Naalehu Sug. Mill & Plant.	" "	Naalehu	4,000	--	owners
Naalehu Plant.	" "	Naalehu	50 mi.^{2}	600	renter
Peu Chung & Co.	gen. store & sug. plant.	Pahala	210	210	renter
Stone, W. J. & Co.	sugar planter	Pahala	150	150	planter on shares
Thompson, William	" "	Naalehu	160	60	renter
Thompson, William	" "	Naalehu	373¾	140	owner
Turner, L. F.††	" "	Honuapo	125	85	renter
Walker, E. N.	" "	Pahala	60	60	planters
Wall, C. & P.	" "	Pahala	150	150	planters

*Extracted from Bowser 1880:334-351.
**P = pasture; P&W = pasture & woodland.
†Mill at Pahala.
††Clover Hill Plantation.

companies that had connections with a sugar factory, most were represented by W. G. Irwin & Co., which was taken over by C. Brewer & Co. in a 1910 merger.

In the early days of growing cane, some of the plantations raised large numbers of goats, mostly for their hides. Cattle ranches in Ka-pāpala, Ka'alu'alu, and Kahuku also became part of the way of life in Ka'ū.

The elevation of cane fields near Ka'ū sugar mills and the abundance of mountain spring water* permitted fluming of cane to the mills. From the lower fields cane was hand-cut and hauled to the mill in ox carts. Later, trains were used and a track connected the mills at Nā-'ā-lehu and Hīlea with Honu-'apo Harbor. In 1884 Nā'ālehu mill was shipping its first grade sugar in kegs, which were brought to the plantation knocked down, and then coopered at the mill. Other grades were shipped in bags [Baldwin Ms.:8; McKenney 1884:264].

In 1880 sugar plantations with mills had the largest cultivated acreage, and the three mills ground sugarcane from a total of approximately 4,000 cultivated acres (Appendix E). In 1973, nearly a hundred years later, Ka'ū had only one mill (Pāhala) and approximately 18,500 acres in cultivation.

HARBORS AND ROADS

As early as 1851 and 1852 the need for more ships to carry cargo, for better harbors, and for improved roads in Ka'ū, was discussed:

> Cattle, horses and goats are becoming numerous: the latter afford them the principal article of export--hundreds of goats salted and dried might be exported monthly, if a vessel would come for them at a set time. We see nothing but a bad report of the safety of our harbours, to prevent them from coming and doing a fair business. Now all the produce must be carried to Hilo on the backs of men or animals--....for a few months past, the people have been unusually active in planting taro, potatoes and onions, having been encouraged that vessels will come bye and bye for their produce.

*Groundwater is Hawai'i's most valuable mineral resource. The largest user of water is the sugar industry. It takes approximately one ton of water to make one pound of sugar; the islands produce more than 1,000,000 tons of sugar a year [Stearns 1966:234].

> There has been considerable improvement in roads, in the past two years--they have worked nearly the whole extent of the district--This year the people have made a horse road to the borders of Kona, over the far famed lava district, never forgotten by those who have travelled over it--We have an excellent horse road near the station [in Wai'ōhinu] [Station Report, Ms. (1851)].

In those days the main village of Ka'ū was Wai'ōhinu and the nearest port for small vessels was Ka'alu'alu. A "new cart road" was built in 1852 to "the tillable lands over 7 miles distant," connecting Ka'alu'alu with the Wai'ōhinu area [Ibid. (1852):3].

Honu'apo Bay was deepened in the 1870s to replace distant Ka'alu'alu as a harbor. Any goods or people debarked at Honu'apo still had to be landed on the rocky coastline. Dangerous conditions there are highlighted by an incident that occurred on May 10, 1879. The Masters and Servants Act of 1850 bound contract laborers to their employers until released at the end of their contract, and Hutchinson, owner of two mills in Ka'ū, personally took part in a hunt on that day for workers who had left. In a small boat he went out to the steamer *Likelike*, which was standing off shore, to search for two men. On returning, heavy seas caused his boat to hit the rocks and capsize. Several people were injured, one person drowned, and Hutchinson died five days later from head injuries [Baldwin Ms.:9-10; *Hawaiian Gazette* 5/15/1879].

Nā'ālehu Mill was built in 1870. Hutchinson had purchased Wai'ōhinu Plantation in 1877, and with three other partners started the Hīlea Mill in 1878. Honu'apo Mill was built in 1881. To facilitate transportation of mill machinery and equipment and laborers into the area, and raw sugar, goat hides, and cattle out of the area, Honu'apo wharf was completed in 1883. After that, Honu'apo harbor (Figs. 4 & 5) served the communities of Wai'ōhinu, Nā'ālehu, Hīlea, and Honu'apo.

Punalu'u harbor (Fig. 6) was called the "port town for the district" in 1880 [Bowser 1880:555]. It mainly served the communities of Nīnole, Punalu'u, and the sugar plantation at Pāhala. It also served for a while as a landing for visitors going to the volcano area. A warehouse at the site stored cargo between steamers, which stopped about every two weeks.

The importance of Ka'alu'alu Bay as a port decreased after Honu'apo was improved. Recently there has been a revived interest in Ka'alu'alu as a

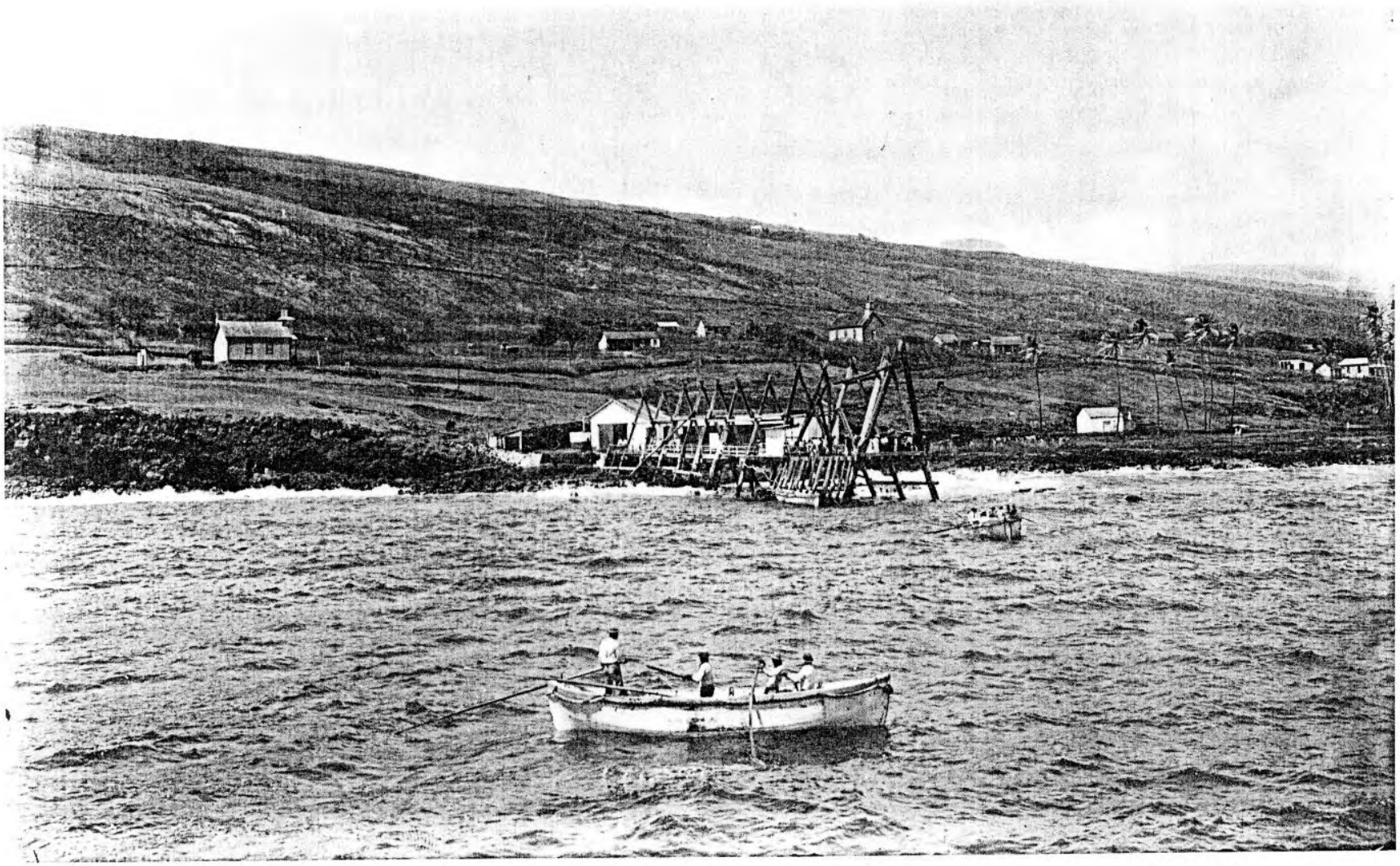


Fig. 4. HONU'APO LANDING (*c.* 1890), SHOWING WHARF AND WAREHOUSE DIRECTLY BEHIND IT. Small boats transport passengers and baggage to a ship waiting off shore. Two churches in background are (left Mormon Church, and (center) Roman Catholic Church. Photo in R. J. Baker Collection, BM Neg. 31917.

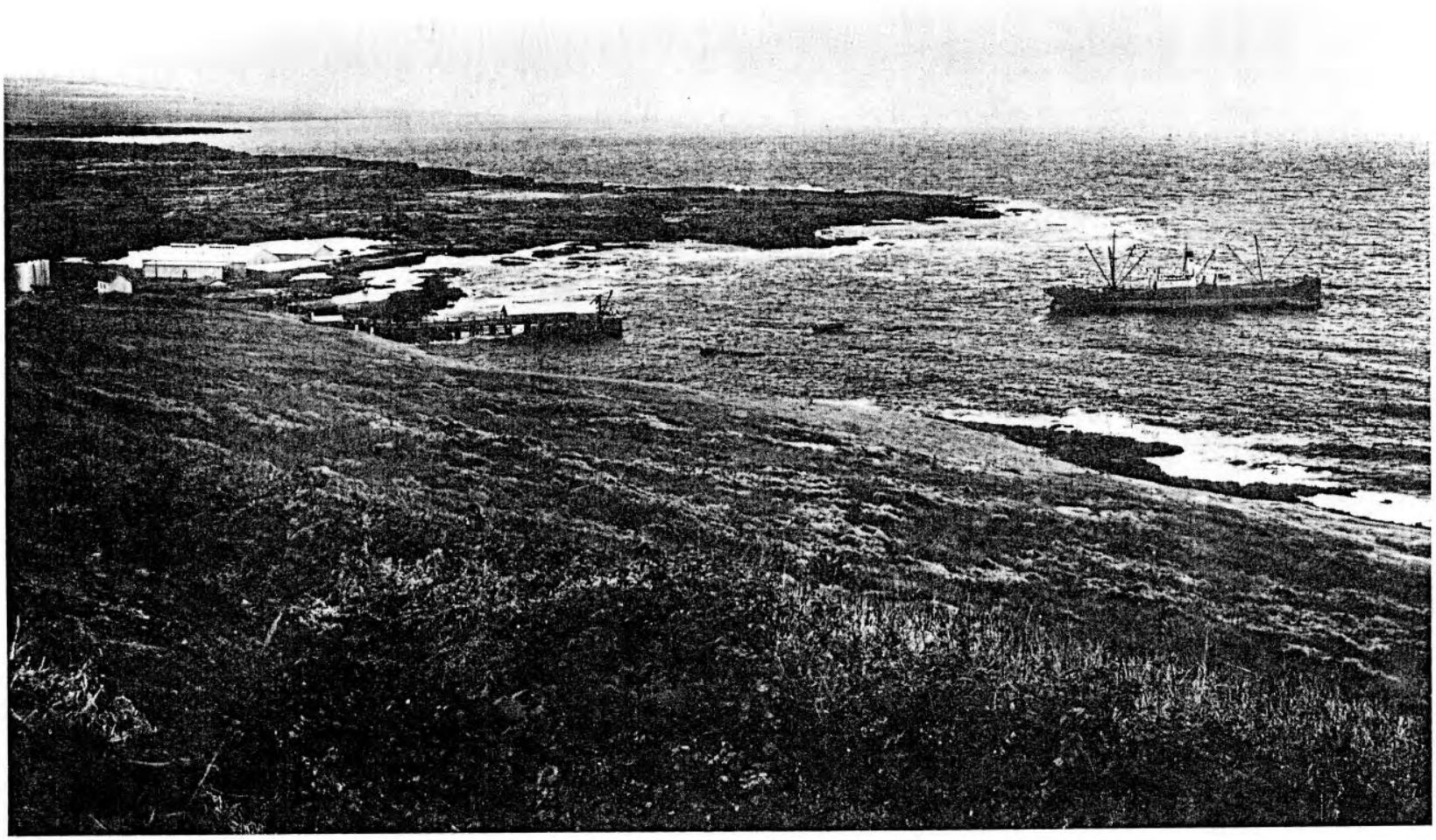


Fig. 5. HONU'APO LANDING (*c.* 1920), SHOWING STEAMSHIP WAITING OFF SHORE AND SMALL BOATS PLYING BETWEEN WHARF AND SHIP. Extensive wharehouse facilities and fuel storage tanks provide backup services for the harbor. Portion of Honu'apo fishpond is visible behind the warehouses. Photo in R. J. Baker Collection, Bishop Museum Neg. 32094.



Fig. 6. PUNALU'U LANDING (*c.* 1880), SHOWING PORTION OF VILLAGE. Protestant Church (center background), warehouse (left), cart road (foreground), and interior of Punalu'u fishpond (center). Hawai'i State Archives Photograph, Neg. 16,787.

harbor--not as a port of trade, but as a yacht harbor to service resorts planned for the area.

FISHPONDS

The fishponds of Honu'apo, Hīlea, Nīnole, and Punalu'u are famous. David Malo wrote about the Ka'ū chief, Koihala, who was killed because of his cruel exactions of his people [Malo 1951:195]. Emerson, who translated and notated Malo's original text, reported that a chief by the name of Koihala had exploited the people with heavy work when he

> ...made the people of Kau sweat and groan...[with] the building of the heavy stone walls about several fishponds, of which are mentioned those at the coast of Hilea, at Honuapo, and Ninole [Malo 1951:202, note 15].

It hardly seems possible that the mere building of fishpond walls, such as the present wall at Honu'apo (Fig. 7) or the modest wall of the Nīnole pond as it appeared in 1954 (Fig. 8a), would have caused the onerous burdens implied by Emerson. However, it is possible that the original Nīnole Fishpond wall was much larger than was indicated by the remains in 1954 (see Appendix C, pp. 89-91; Appendix F, pp. 107-110). It is also possible that Koihala kept the men working, and thus away from growing food or catching fish, for an inordinately long period of time. Still another possibility is that Koihala made the task very difficult by requiring that the ponds be made larger and deeper by excavating the pahoehoe lava in and around them. Recent observations at the Honu'apo, Ka'alāiki, and Nīnole (Fig. 9) sites leave the author with the impression that this may have been the case, and evidence from Ellis seems to support this for the Ka'alāiki site (see footnote, p. 3). If this were the task set by Koihala, it would have indeed been burdensome and sufficient cause for "the people of Kau to sweat and groan."

Ellis mentioned the fishponds near Hīlea Village, which he said belonged to Governor Kuakini:

> As we approached it [Hīlea Village], we observed a number of artificial fishponds, formed by excavating the earth to the depth of two or three feet, and banking up the sides. The sea is let into them occasionally, and they are generally well stocked with excellent fish of the mullet kind [Ellis 1963:142].

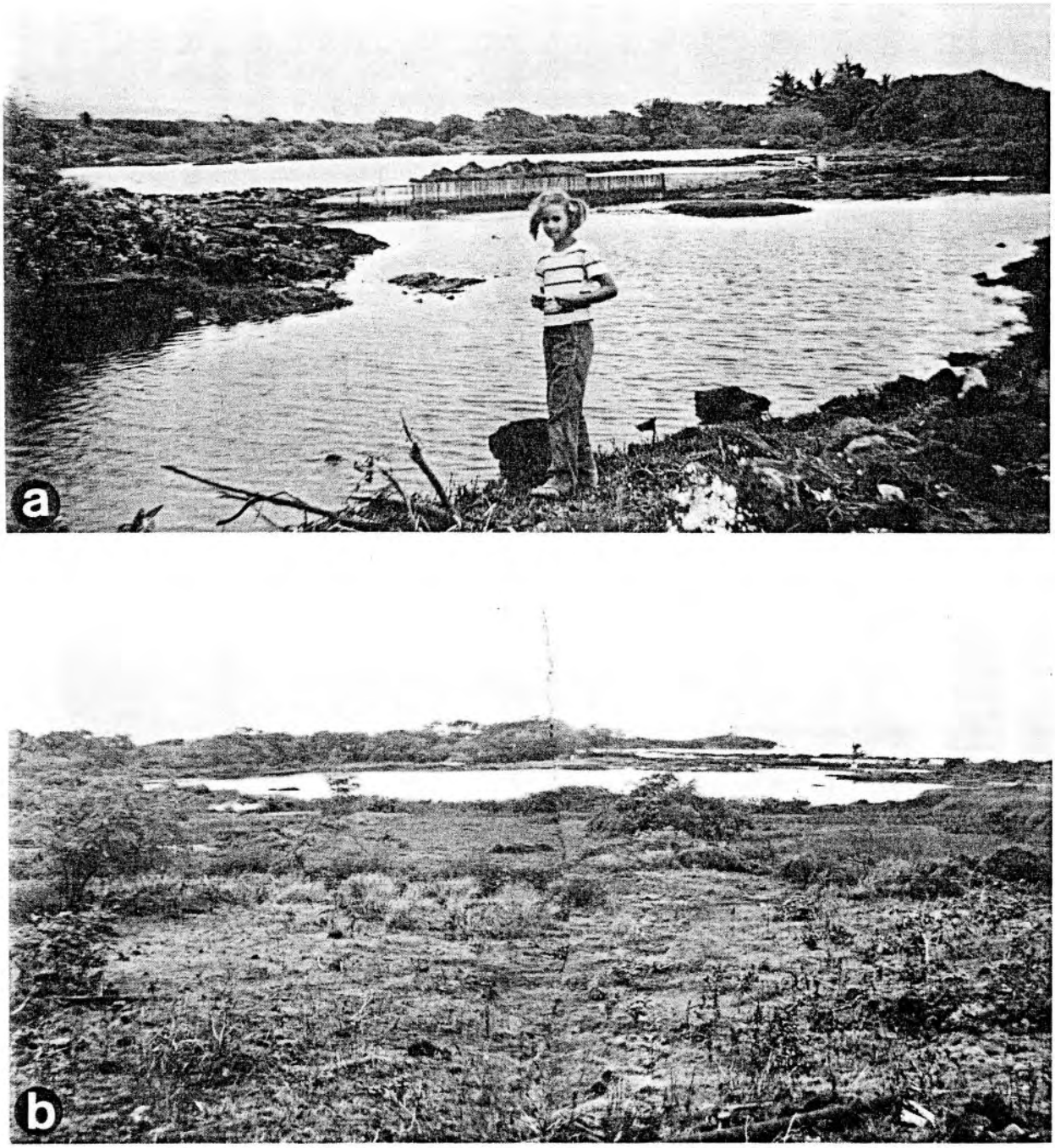


Fig. 7. HONU'APO FISHPOND: *a.* the *mākāhā* in 1954 (Neg. H842); *b.* the inner portion, looking toward the sea, 1954 (Negs. H840-841).

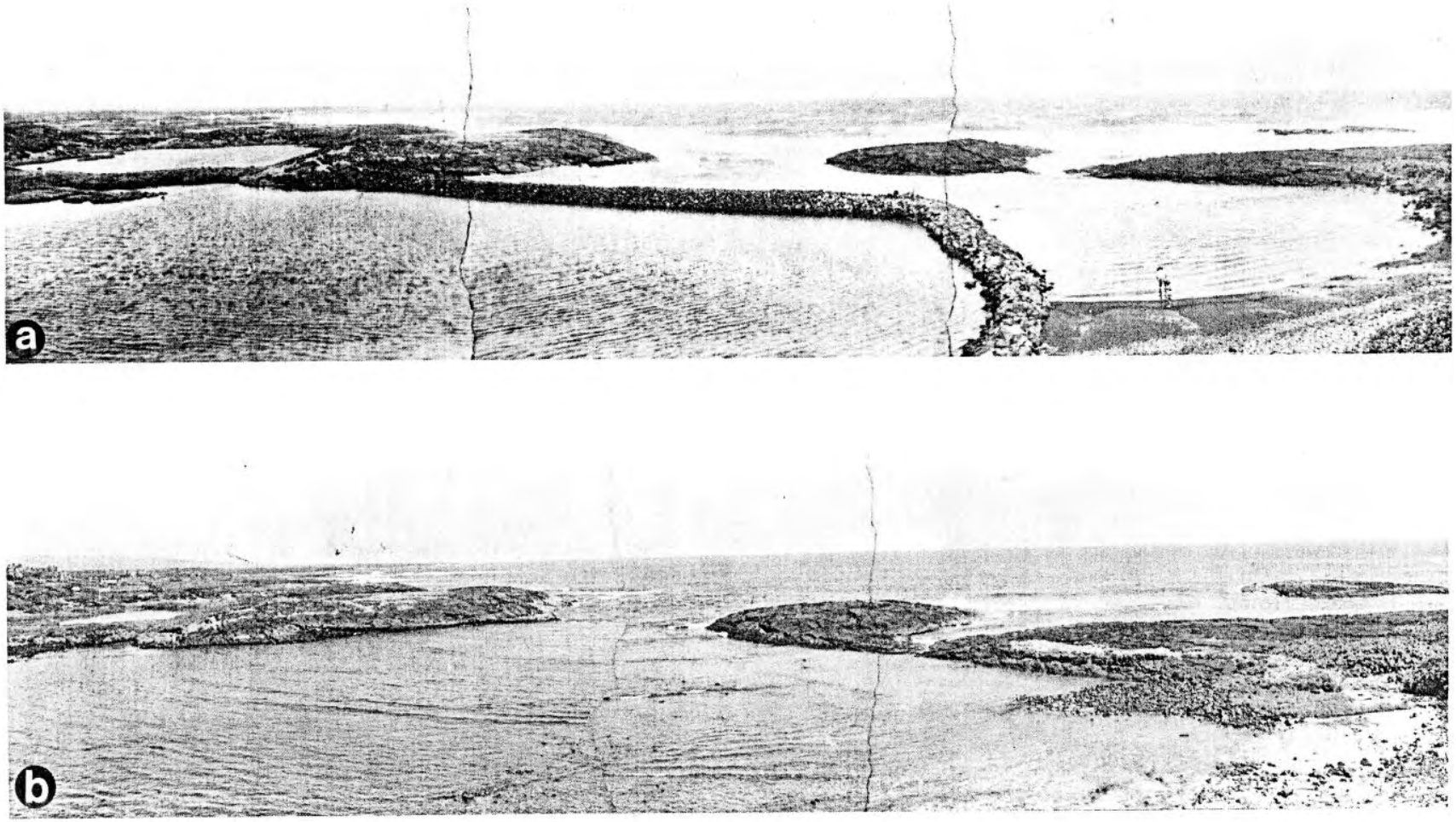


Fig. 8. NĪNOLE FISHPOND: *a.* the wall, looking eastward from the *pali* above the pond, August 21, 1954 (Negs. H843-844-845); *b.* the remains of the wall after tsunami and high surf destroyed it. Photo by Neal Crozier, March 14, 1972 (Neg. HA(a) 127-5,-6,-7).

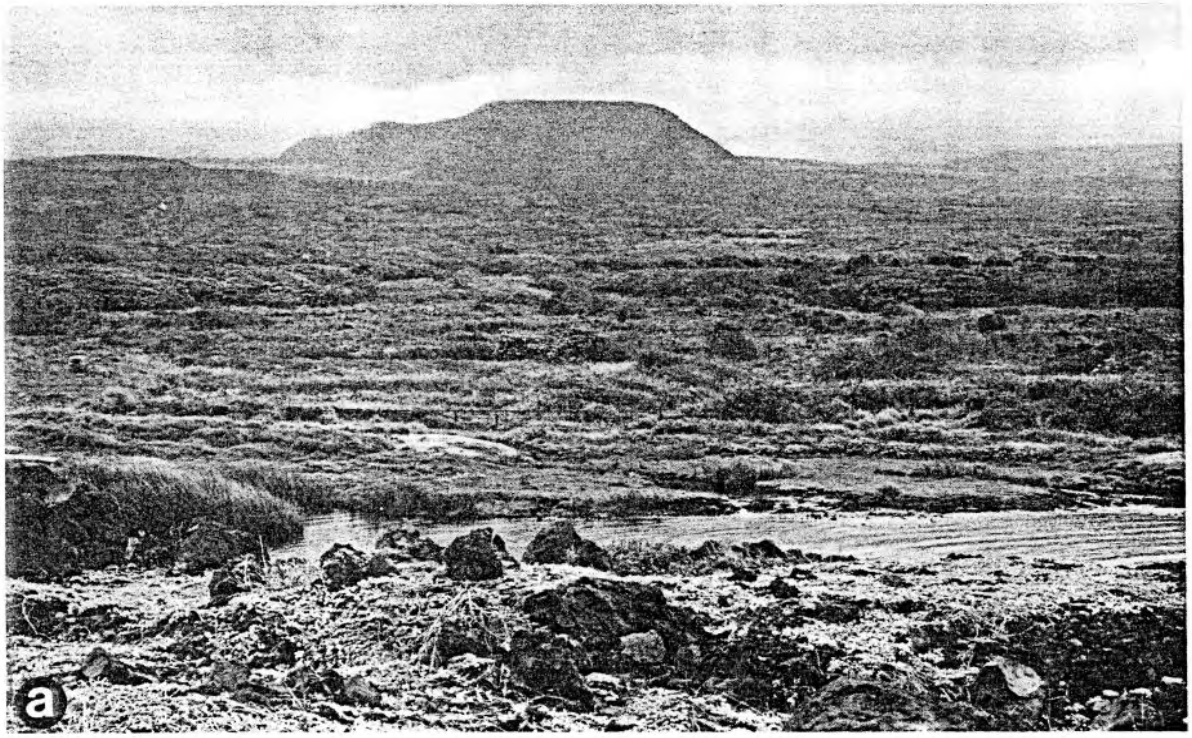




Fig. 9. NĪNOLE COVE, 1970: *a.* looking toward Makanau hill across the *mauka* end of the cove; *b.* looking *makai* from the famous Nīnole Springs, Pūhau.

As Ellis notes that the Hīlea ponds were artificially excavated, perhaps it was their construction that caused the Hawaiians to resent their chief.

There is a fishpond today in the land of Ka'alāiki, next to Hīlea (see Fig. 10). Springs there empty into a tidal inlet that extends inland for over 500 ft (Fig. 11). It is said that there is a large red stone, the *kū-ula* or fish god, in the middle of the pond. Today much of the pond is filled with rushes (*'aka'akai*); the west end was once planted in taro [Emory 1970:6].

When the Hawaiian government began selling land about 1850, the Privy Council refused to permit any fishponds attached to government lands to be sold. They were all reserved for the government [Privy Council minutes, Nov. 20, 1850, Hawai'i State Archives]. Letters from A. G. Thurston, Interior Department of the Hawaiian Kingdom, to D. B. Lyman stated clearly the government's position on selling fishponds and "landing places" (harbors):

> The applications enclosed in yours of Jan. 12, arrived... [and] were all granted, exclusive of fishponds, of which, we are informed there is quite a number at Ninole, and the lands on the seaboard. They are unquestionably of a much greater value than 25¢ or 50¢ per acre, and we were quite surprised that surveys should have been made including them without anything being said about them. They are not to be sold, at present... [Inter. Dept., Feb. 10, 1853, Hawai'i State Archives].
>
> No fishponds are to be sold, neither any landing places [Inter. Dept., Feb. 23, 1852, Hawai'i State Archives].

But the government did, by 1851, lease at auction some of the fishponds located on its land, for periods of one to five years [Inter. Dept., Land File, Sept. 12, 1851, Hawai'i State Archives]. As late as 1935, government tax maps still identified Nīnole pond as a government fishpond* (Fig. 12).

In 1852, a letter written by H. M. Lyman, a land surveyor for *kuleana* claimants, had this to say about the fishponds at Nīnole:

> The only lot that I have surveyed in Kau containing fishponds is Holoua's in Ninole, which has one pond (but no fish) near the Southern corner as you will see by referring to the survey. There is also a slime pool misnamed a "pond" below the road, but it contains no fish except the hogs of

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*Other problems connected with the shoreline along Nīnole pond were the result of the road having been washed away during the tsunami of 1868 (see Appendix F).

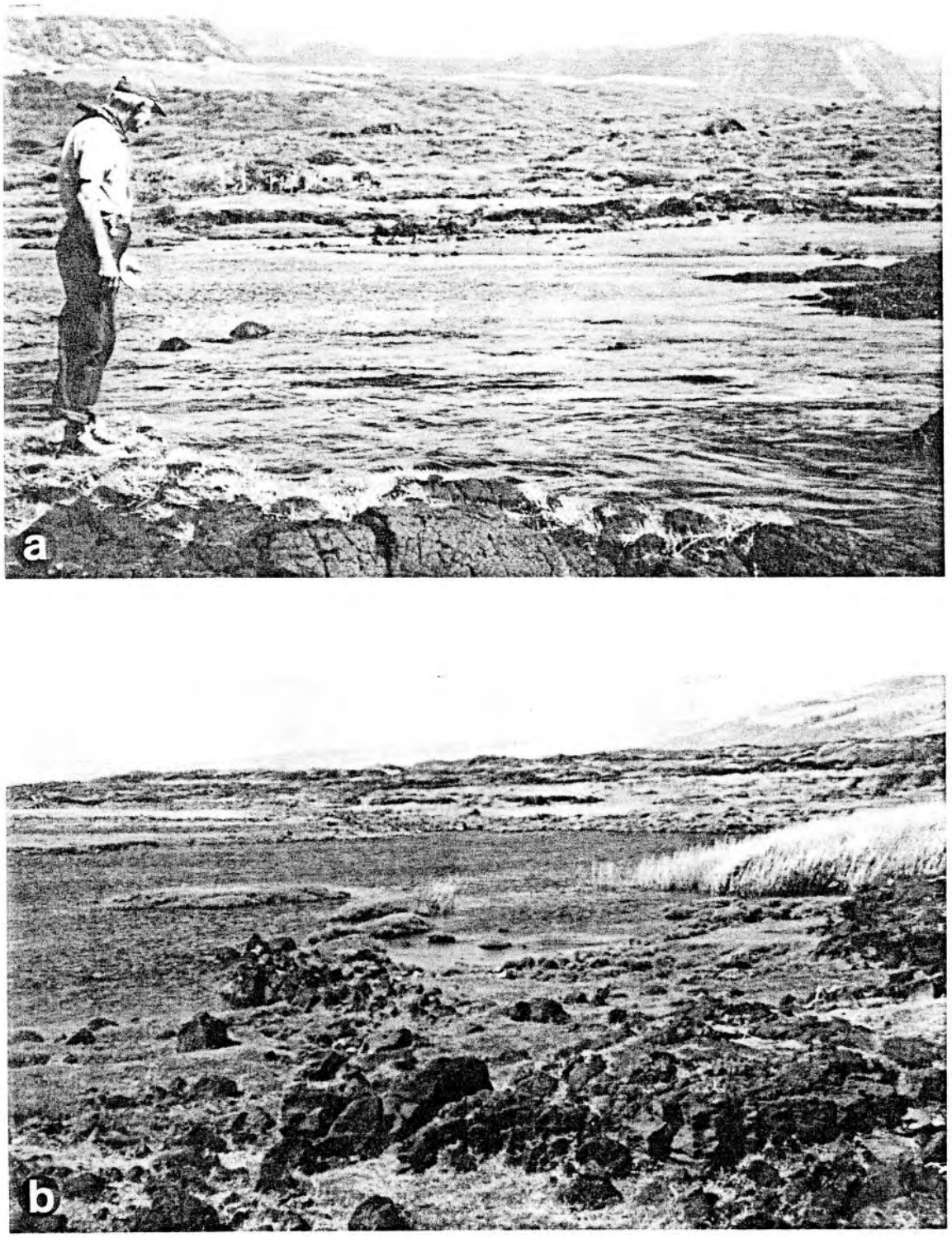


Fig. 10. KA'ALĀIKI FISHPOND: *a*. William Meinecke standing at *mākāhā* site with spring water flowing into the ocean at low tide, August 26, 1977. *b*. inland portion of the pond with scattered stones which may be remnants of former pond walls, August 26, 1977.

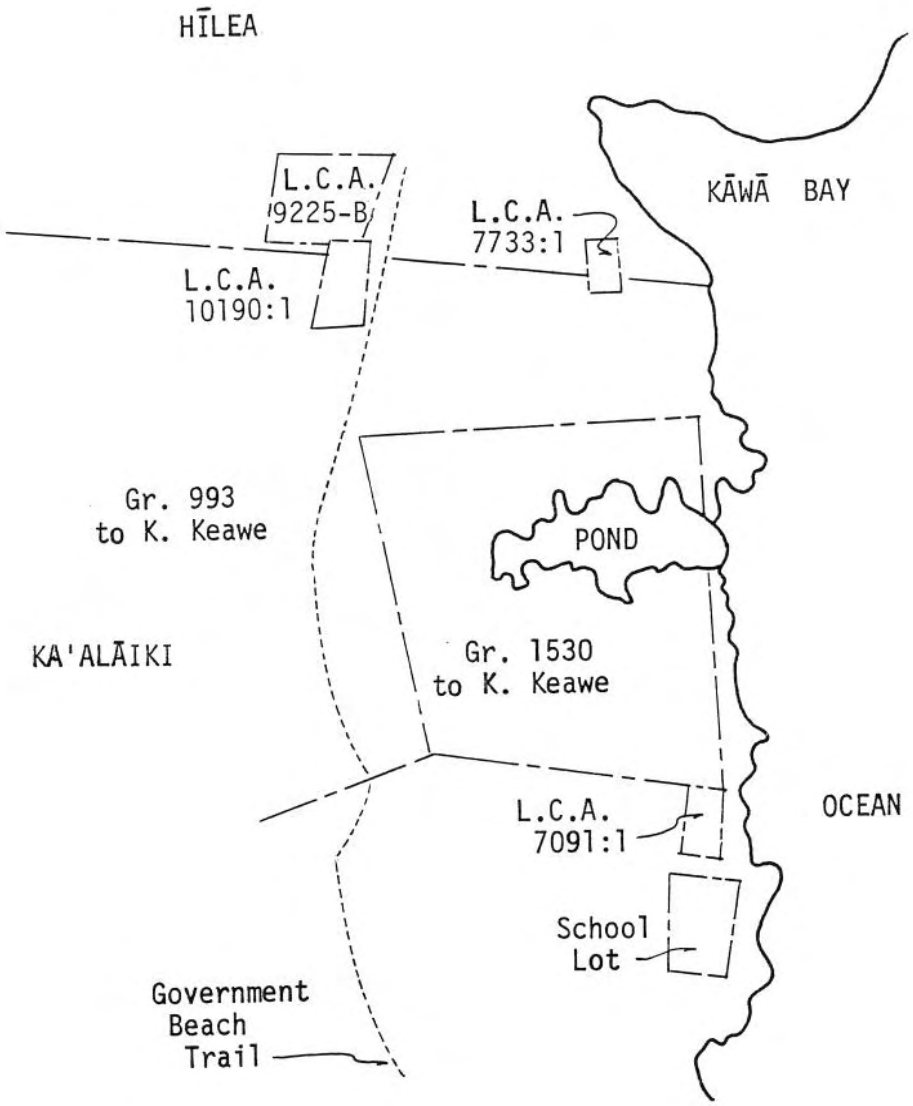


Fig. 11. MAP OF PORTION OF COASTLINE OF KA'ALĀIKI AND HĪLEA SHOWING FISHPOND, *KULEANA* AWARDS (L.C.A.), AND GOVERNMENT LAND SALES (GR). (Source: Tax Key Map, 1935).

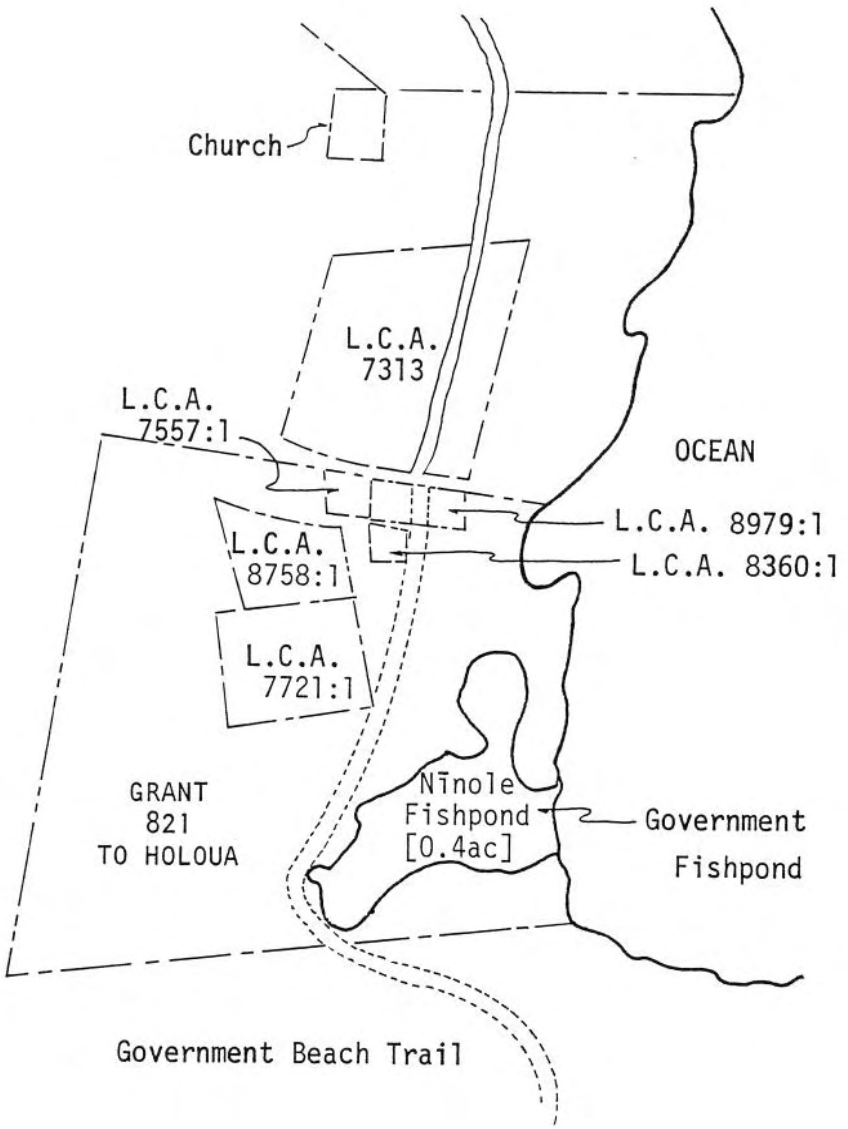


Fig. 12. PORTION OF TAX MAP, 1935, SHOWING NĪNOLE POND AS A GOVERNMENT POND, LOCATION OF *KULEANA* AWARDS (L.C.A.), AND GOVERNMENT LAND SALE (Grant 821) TO HOLOUA AT NĪNOLE.

> Ninole who spend most of their time in its odoriferous waters. In the contract made with Holoua the ponds were particularly reserved for the Aupuni [government], and because of the privilege of fresh water, the land, which is miserable, was valued at 25¢ per acre without deducting anything for kuleanas or ponds reserved. Holoua wished to pay for the land, and then he was desirous of purchasing the pond, for which he would give $20.00 per acre [Inter. Dept., Land File, Feb. 28, 1852].

It is interesting to note that one of the *kuleana* awards included a claim to a portion of the fishpond at Honu'apo (Fig. 13). That award was made to a person named Lilikalani (LCA 9955-B), in two parcels; the smaller one included a portion of the Honu'apo Fishpond. Lilikalani was a person of some consequence; he was mentioned by Rev. Paris as Job Lilikalani, the headman or chief who met Paris at Ka'alu'alu landing on September 10, 1841. It was Lilikalani who guided Paris to Wai'ōhinu and saw to his needs while he negotiated for a piece of land on which to build a church and mission headquarters. Later, when Paris returned with his wife, they stopped on their way to Wai'ōhinu at the house of Job Lilikalani [Paris 1926:13, 19; Kelly 1969:31].

In 1852 an application from Timoteo [Kimokeo] Keawe for 15.7 acres of land at the coast in Ka'alāiki was granted at a price of $1.50 per acre. While the survey included the fishpond, the Land Commission specifically reserved the fishpond as belonging to the government [Ltr., A. G. Thurston to D. B. Lyman, Hilo, March 9, 1852].

The fishponds at Punalu'u are located in an area in which the numerous springs are cut off from the sea by a wide black sand beach, for which the area is famous. A map made about 1875 reveals that there was once a canal dug from the bay into the ponds and a wharf located along the side of the canal (Fig. 14). According to a news item published in the *Hawaiian Gazette* in 1878 (Nov. 13), this canal was dug to provide a safe, quiet place where cargo discharged from a ship in the harbor could be landed safely and smoothly by barge. This article told about landing heavy machinery for the Kapāpala (Pāhala) Sugar Mill:

> The Monster Mill. --By the return of the schooner Haunani, from Punaluu, we learn that the parts of the machinery which she took up for the Kapapala Sugar Mill, were all successfully landed at that port. They consisted in part of two large boilers, a heavy bed-plate, and three mill rollers, each weighing eleven tons. They were hoisted from the schooner into a scow, then towed in to the landing through the new canal, and then alongside the company's new storehouse, where they were hoisted into that

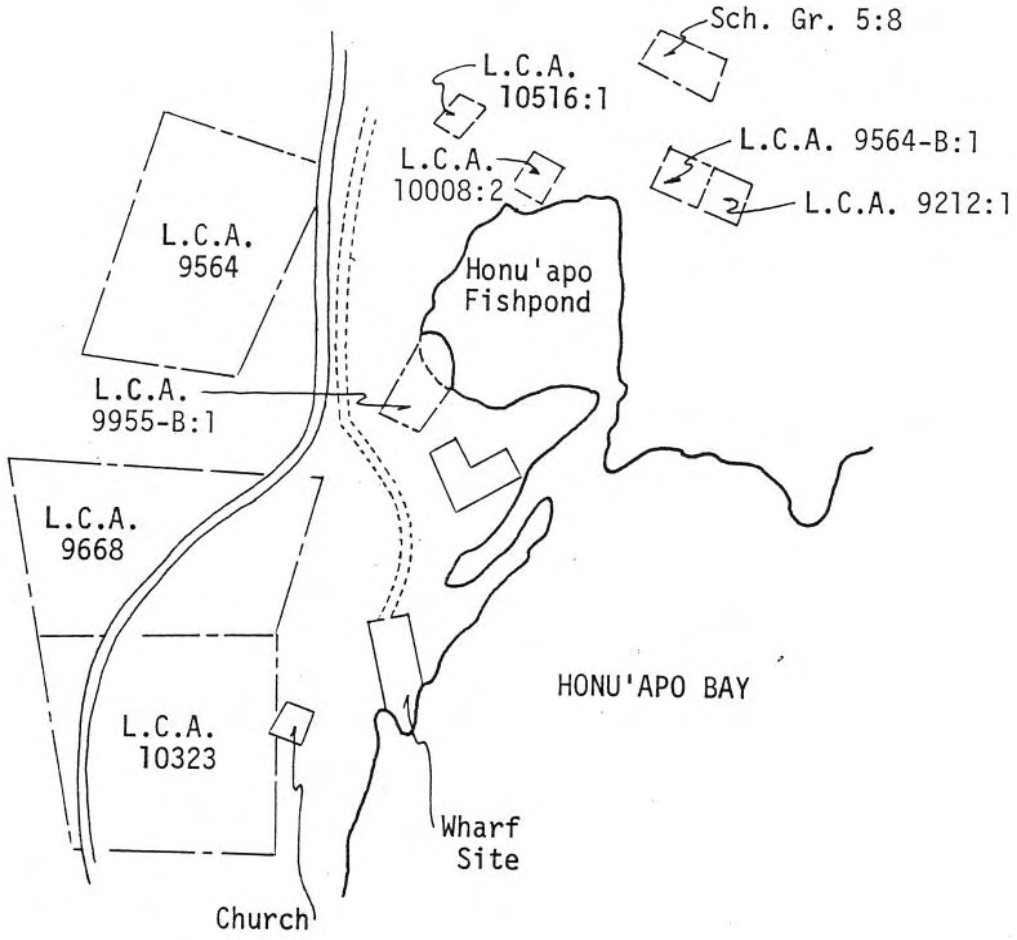


Fig. 13. MAP OF PORTION OF HONU'APO BAY SHOWING THE FISHPOND AND SOME OF THE *KULEANA* AWARDS NEARBY. (Source: Tax Key Map, 1935).

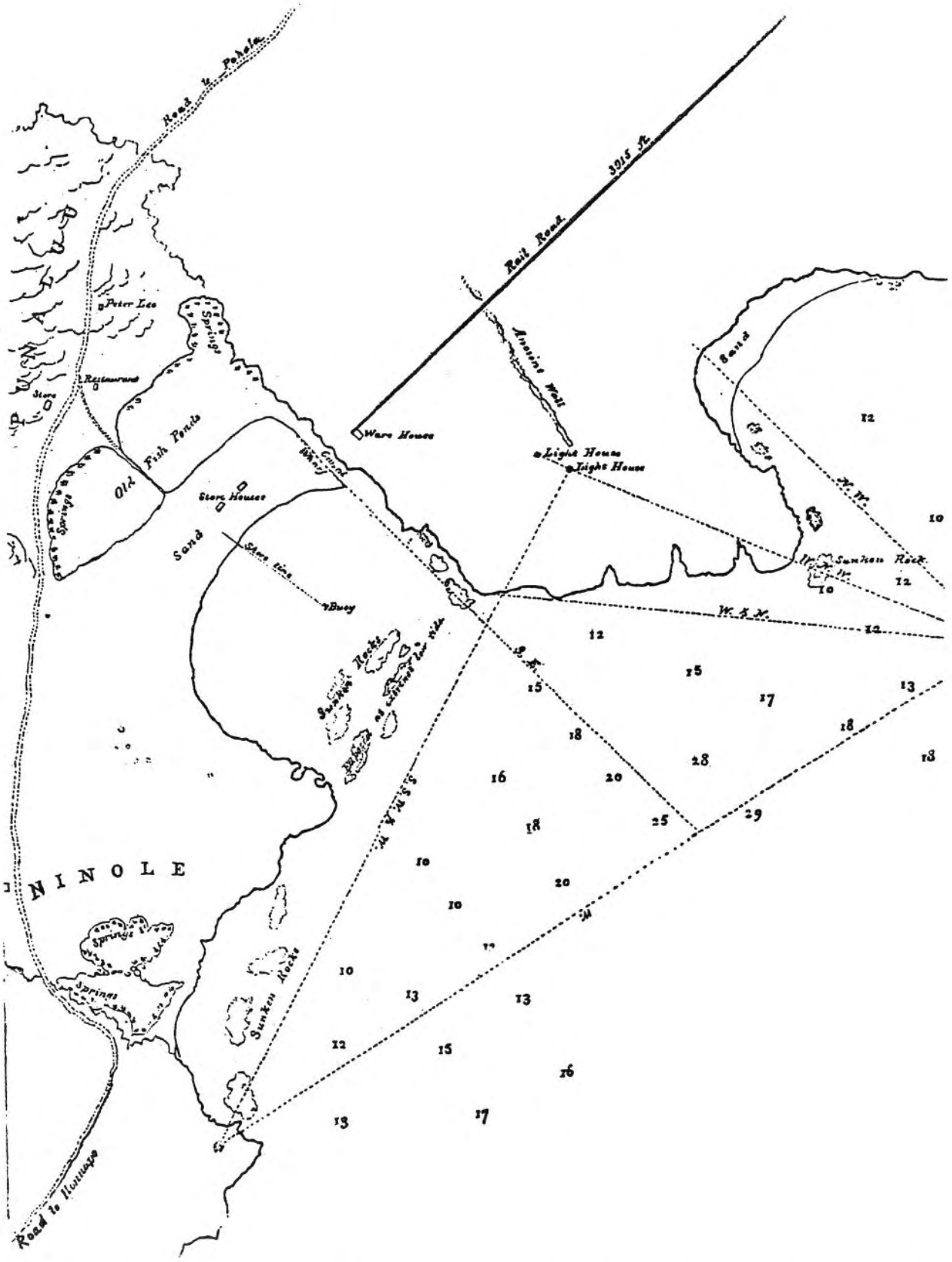


FIG. 14. PORTION OF A MAP OF PUNALU'U BAY BY CAPT. G. W. WILLFONG, DRAWN BY R. W. ANDREWS, APPROXIMATELY 1875. Note old fish ponds and canal. (Reg. Map 433, State Surveyor's Office, Honolulu).

> building. Not the slightest mishap occurred in handling what are probably the heaviest pieces of sugar mill machinery ever brought into the kingdom or conveyed by schooner. The improvements which have been made at the port of Punaluu, render it one of the safest places to discharge and take off freight. Passengers and merchandise are conveyed through a canal, and landed in a smooth fresh water basin, alongside a wharf, without so much as a drop of water touching them. This is the second or third cargo of machinery successfully discharged by the Haunani at Punaluu [*Hawaiian Gazette* 1878].

MISSION AT PUNALU'U

In 1843, Rev. Paris reported that a stone meeting house (church) had been built at Punalu'u and that the school's average attendance there was 140. At that time Paris preached three Sundays each month at Wai'ōhinu and one Sunday at Punalu'u. By 1844, he reported the Sabbath school at Punalu'u averaged 75 to 100 students--men, women, and children. The average Sunday congregation at Punalu'u was reported to be 350 [Station Report, Ms. (1843, 1844)]. The Rev. T. D. Hunt, who had first gone to live in Wai'ōhinu in 1844, moved to Punalu'u in February 1845. An increase from 70 to 150 and to 180 in the congregation there was reported at that time. Also mentioned was that "The Papists had located in a small inland settlement" [Hīlea?] [Station Report, Ms. (1846)] (see Appendix C).

'Ili'ili Hānau O Kōloa (Birthstones of Kōloa)

These stones appear today on what Rev. William Ellis described as a "short pebbly beach, called Koroa, the stones of which were reported to possess very singular properties, among others that of propagating their species" [Ellis 1963: 145]. He described the stones, saying "The black ones appeared to be pieces of trap, or compact lava. The white ones were branches of white coral common to all islands of the Pacific. The angles of both were worn away, and a considerable polish gaven [*sic*], by the attrition occasioned by the continual rolling of the surf on the beach" [1963:146] (Fig. 15). Residents told Ellis that Kōloa was:

> ...a *wahi pana* (place famous) for supplying the black and white *konane* stone; and also the stones for making small adzes and hatchets, before they were acquainted with the use of iron;



Fig. 15. WILLIAM MEINECKE AND FRIENDS EXAMINING *'ILI'ILI HĀNAU O KŌLOA*, OR BIRTHSTONES OF KŌLOA, 1954 (BM Neg H849).

but particularly for supplying the stones of which the gods were made, that presided over most of the games of Hawaii. Some powers of discrimination, they told us, were necessary to discover the stones, which would answer to be deified. When selected, they were taken to the heiau, and there several ceremonies were performed over them.

Afterwards, when dressed and taken to the place where the games were practiced, if the party to whom they belonged were successful, their fame was established; but, if unsuccessful for several times together, they were either broken to pieces or thrown contemptuously away. When any were removed for the purpose of being transformed into gods, one of each sex was generally selected, and were always wrapped up very carefully together in a piece of cloth. After a certain time, a small stone would be found with them, which, when grown to the size of its parents, was taken to the heiau, and made afterwards to preside at the games [1963:145-146].

The birth stones (*'ili'ili hānau*) collected by Emerson at Kōloa are shown in Figure 16. In his catalogue Emerson wrote the following about these stones:

Iliili Koloa or breeding stones which abound on the beach of Koloa, Kau, Hawaii. These are simply beach worn pebbles.

> The interest attaching to them is derived from the curious belief still held by many natives with whom I have conversed that they are of different sexes and beget off spring which increase in size and in turn beget others of their kind. The males are of a smooth surface without noticeable indentations or pits. The females have these little pits in which their young are developed and in due time separate from their mothers to begin independent existence [Summers, Ms.:200] (see Fig. 16).

For those who doubt the veracity of this report, the following article, which appeared in 1911, is offered:

> *Na'ili'ili Hānau o Kōloa* (Breeding Pebbles of Kōloa)
>
> Very famous are the breeding pebbles of Koloa, Ka'u, because of their breeding. It is declared to be true by many Hawaiians that the pebbles breed, but it is puzzling and hard for the *haole* to believe, unless they see them with their own eyes--like Thomas.
>
> A few days ago Paul Ke-a came into this office with some of the breeding pebbles of Koloa, perhaps not the very pebbles that gained fame for their peculiarities, but certainly their descendants, the fifth or sixth generation, perhaps, or even many generations since these pebbles began to multiply.

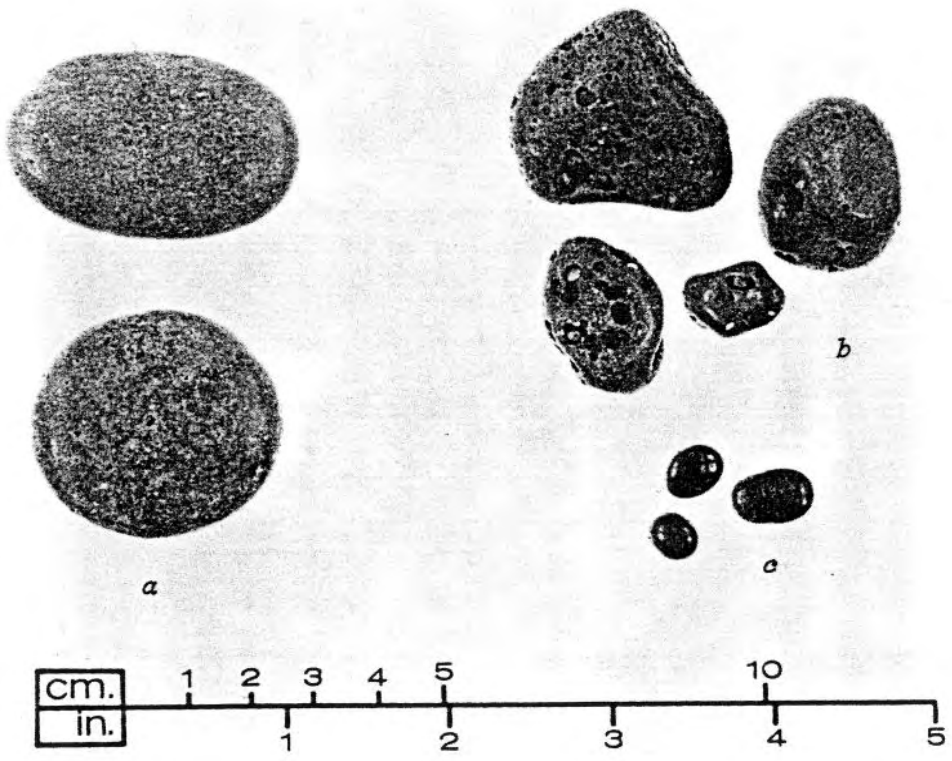


Fig. 16. *'ILI'ILI HĀNAU O KŌLOA* COLLECTED BY J.S. EMERSON AT KŌLOA BEACH, PRESENTLY IN BISHOP MUSEUM COLLECTIONS: *a*. male stones; *b*. female stones; *c*. children stones (BM Neg. 41397-17).

He said that he got his pebbles for Prince Kalanianaole's place at Waikiki--pebbles that had bred from the famous stones of Koloa in Kau, Hawaii. He left them in a tub with sand for two years, and they overflowed the tub. When he went to pick them up, there were a great number from big ones to small ones the size of a grain of sand.

Another peculiarity was that the original pebbles increased in size from the time he had put them in the tub.

The breeding pebbles of Koloa are on exhibition in the window of the newspaper company, The Hawaiian Gazette, and they are objects of amazement to the *haole*, when they see and read the account of these peculiar pebbles.

Six months ago, one of Paul Ke-a's daughters, Mrs. Tom Price took these small pebbles and put them in a coconut shell and a few days ago, when she went to look, there were thirteen little pebbles besides the original ones. Many people have come to this office and declared it is true that they had seen pebbles breed like those shown by Ke-a. These pebbles are being much visited by *haole*.

The appearance of these pebbles is that some are smooth and some full of holes. The little pebbles come from those with holes and it is believed that these are the females and the smooth ones, males.

* * *

One small pebble was seen almost ready to give birth to its young and it is being constantly watched these days for the time of birth. Perhaps it will put an end to the mistaken idea and skepticism of some people who declare that pebbles do not breed.

Paul Ke-a first went with his pebbles to see Mayor Fern,* and the Mayor assured him that it was so. He has some pebbles at home and he knew that they bred. Because he was urged to, Ke-a came to the office of the *Kuokoa* to show the whole public, not only in the newspaper, but by putting the pebbles on display for the public to go and see for themselves [*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* Feb. 10, 1911. Translation by Mary Kawena Puku'i, H.E.N.].

KŌNANE STONES

Kōloa beach is renowned not only for the presence of the *'ili'ili hānau*; it is also known as a source of the small black stones used in playing the Hawaiian checker game called *kōnane* [Ellis 1963:146]. Ellis described a

---

*Joseph James Fern was Mayor of Honolulu from 1909 to 1915 and 1917 to 1920.

kōnane "board" (it was often chipped into the pahoehoe lava) as being "generally two feet long, and containing upwards of two hundred squares, usually fourteen in a row" (Fig. 17). Ellis went on to say:

> It is a favourite amusement with the old men; and we have known one game, commenced early in the morning, hardly concluded on the same day (1963:146).

Ellis also reported that Kōloa was a place of importance in time of war, as it furnished the best sling stones (Ibid.).

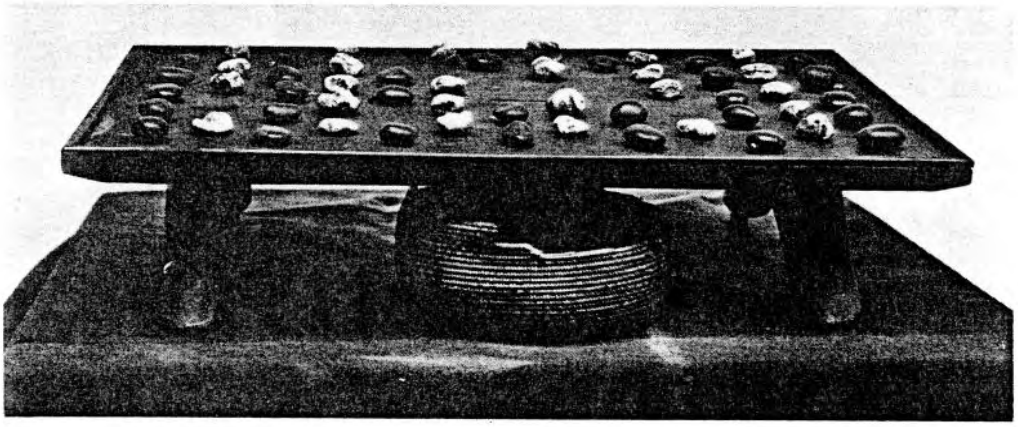


Fig. 17. *KŌNANE* GAME BOARD MADE OF WOOD WITH BLACK AND WHITE PLAYING STONES IN POSITION. Bishop Museum Collection, No. 866 (BM Neg. 1463).

VOLCANIC ACTIVITY

Ka'ū is Pele's domain; she has chosen it as her home. As the many lava flows testify, this portion of Ka'ū has seen a considerable amount of Pele's action, most of it in prehistoric times (before 1778). However, the most disruptive and best recorded of the early historic volcanic disturbances occurred in 1868. While there was no lava flow between Punalu'u and Honu'apo, the associated tsunami was devastating along this coastline. And not far away a great avalanche triggered by numerous and forceful earthquakes claimed 30 lives.

Portions of two letters written by Rev. Titus Coan in 1868 describe the disastrous events in Ka'ū.

But our sorrows are light when compared with those of Kau. There, all is wreck, ruin, and death. On the day of our awful crash in Hilo, the earth rent between Reed and Richardson's ranch, at Kapapala, and Mr. F. S. Lyman's at Keaiwa, and a volume of rocks, mud, and earth was projected, two to three miles long and as many wide, burying a village and thirty people, with goats, pigs, fowls, and from 500 to 600 head of cattle and horses. This was as sudden as the springing of a mine, and there was no escape for those in its range. The explosion was attended with terrific noise, and the whole atmosphere was filled with dust. What is marvelous is, that the projected earth was not heated. The depth of the flow is from 4 to 15 feet. At this moment the houses of Reed and Co., of Mr. Lyman, of the native pastor, Kauhane, and of others, were shaken down, or so racked and damaged as to be uninhabitable. All rushed out of their shattered and falling dwellings; but the ground rocked and heaved and jerked, with such violence that no one could keep his feet. Even horses were thrown down. The noise from the explosion and the earthy eruption, and from the breaking of the earth's strata, was as if the rocky ribs and the mural walls and pillars of creation were being riven.

Looking seaward, all was fear and consternation. The great shock had prostrated the stone church at Punaluu, some six miles distant, on the shore, and all the houses for six or eight miles along the coast; and a tidal wave came in, some twenty feet high, sweeping off the wreck of all. Thus in a few moments that shore was desolated, and all its substance destroyed. Many persons, however, escaped from the waves and reported the disaster but so great was the confusion, that up to this day we have not the full statistics of the loss of life. I have seen a list of 47 persons who perished in the earth eruption and in the sea, but numbers more remain to be reported. Mr. Lyman and family, the pastor and family, and many others, collected on a hill, and spent that dreadful night in prayer and praise, under the open canopy of heaven, and with the earth rocking and quaking under them. On the next day, the 3d, they, and nearly all Eastern Kau, started for Hilo, where they arrived on Saturday, the 4th. The people in central and western Kau, or from Waiohinu on to Kahuku, hearing of the eruption on this side, have feared to come this way, so that we lack full and reliable information from that quarter; but it is affirmed, that the churches of Waiohinu and Kahuku (both of stone) are down, and that Brother Pogue and family are in a native hut near the station.

The quaking still continues; but at wider intervals and with diminished force. I have been sent out of my study since commencing this letter.

Two Hilo gentlemen, who have ventured over to Kau to look after their cattle, were driven immediately back by the shakings of the earth. They state that a great lava stream is now flowing into the sea near Waiohinu, and filling all that region with a glare of light...[Coan 1868*b* July: 219-221; letter dated April 9, 1868].

...From Kapapala onward to Waiohinu the flanking hills and spurs of Mauna Loa were torn and scarred and striated and grooved by

landslides of greater or less extent. Avalanches of rocks and patches of soil, with trees, shrubs and grass had been sent down from the steep hills everywhere. Some of the steeps had the appearance of having been plowed in deep and broad furrows, leaving wide belts of green between them, which resembled rows of cane or hedge....

While at Keaiwa I made a careful examination of what has been, erroneously, called "The Mud Eruption" and "The Mud Flow." I went entirely around it, crossed it in three places, and measured it. The length is just three miles, the breadth, in the center, half a mile, and at the head, where the cleavage took place, one mile. The depth is various, averaging about six feet on the grass plains, but deepening to twenty, thirty and forty feet in some of the gorges and depressions. It is nothing more or less than a landslide, having none of the characteristics of a mud eruption. You are aware, that the hills lying back of Kapapala and Keaiwa, and sweeping around to Waiohinu and beyond, are very steep, sending down lofty and beautiful spurs upon the grassy plains below, and buttressed by bold cones and headlands. Between these hills and the shore there is a gently inclined belt of land, four to six miles in width. On the steep highland, above these precipitous hills, between Kapapala and Keaiwa, and in the forests of trees, ferns and jungle, the earth was terribly rent, on a line parallel to the shore, or northeast and southwest, and the face of the hills was shaken off, leaving a bold precipice, or wall, twenty to sixty feet high. The whole mass, below this wall,--earth, water, boulders, rocks, lavas long buried, trees, logs, etc.,--slid, rolled, pitched and tumbled down a steep incline--an upper terrace--until coming to a pali about 1,000 feet high, and on an angle varying from thirty to seventy degrees, it plunged down this fearful steep, and constantly gathering momentum, it rushed across the plains below by its own gravity, at the rate of more than a mile per minute. It was not mud, though there was much water in the caverns of these hills; and where this became mixed with the soils in the descent, it formed mud of course, as earth and water mixed always do. But the mass was the superincumbent strata of the hills, as the earthquake shook them off; and by sliding, rolling and plunging, under the force of gravity, all these materials were mixed up in one vast conglomerate mass. That this mass was not all mud is evident from the fact, that the whole atmosphere above and near it was filled with dry dust; and that it was not exploded by steam or gases, appears probable, not to say certain, from the fact, that no steam was seen, and no heat was evolved. The whole mass was in a natural cold state. From reports, I had supposed the eruption to have been projected from the hills by some explosive force; but a careful personal observation satisfies me, that this was an error, and that gravitation alone was the motor which propelled it, after the earthquake had rent and detached it from the parent hills. It now looks like a great plowed and harrowed field, and the taro, banana, fern and grasses are shooting up on its surface, while the natives are beginning to plant upon it.

From Keaiwa I went down to Punaluu, and thence along the shore to Honuapu. All is wreck and ruin along this coast.

> Churches, dwellings, yards, causeways, roads, fish-ponds, canoes, fish-nets, tackle, gear, furniture, and all things movable, were destroyed. In many places the road is sunk, or so obliterated with debris, that, without a guide, I could not have threaded my way along a shore and through villages once so familiar to me.
>
> At Punaluu and Honuapu, I took correct measurements, on palms, and on the ridges of *aa*, of the height of the earthquake waves of April 2d. The greatest height was twenty feet. The sandbeach at Punaluu was swept out to sea by the receding waves, and the beautiful pond of cold water filled with the ocean and apparently blotted out forever. At length, however, the sea brought back her spoils and formed another sand barrier, more than 100 feet within the old line, leaving a few pools of water inside, and protecting them from the ocean surges. But the great, deep, cool and beautiful fish-pond is not there in its normal state.
>
> The same is true at Honuapu and all along the coast.
>
> I spent a Sabbath at Waiohinu, and surveyed the sad ruins of the place. Landslides, rents, scars and evidences of terrible disturbances were everywhere visible [Coan 1869:89-94; taken from a letter to J. D. Dana, dated Sept. 1, 1868].

One of the most famous stories to come out of the 1868 disasters in Ka'ū is the story of Holoua:

> I have just been told an incident that occurred at Ninole, during the inundation of that place. At the time of the shock on Thursday, a man named Holoua, and his wife, ran out of the house and started for the hills above, but remembering the money he had in the house, the man left his wife and returned to bring it away. Just as he had entered the house the sea broke on the shore, and, enveloping the building, first washed it several yards inland, and then, as the wave receded, swept it off to sea, with him in it. Being a powerful man, and one of the most expert swimmers in that region, he succeeded in wrenching off a board or a rafter, and with this as a *papa hoo-nalu*, (surfboard), he boldly struck out for the shore, and landed safely with the return wave. When we consider the prodigious height of the breaker on which he rode to the shore (50, perhaps 60, feet) the feat seems almost incredible, were it not that he is now alive to attest it, as well as the people on the hillside who saw him.
>
> At Punaluu, at the moment of the shock, it seemed as if an immense quantity of lava had been discharged into the sea some distance from the shore, for almost instantly a terrible commotion arose, the water boiling and tossing furiously. Shortly afterwards a tremendous wave was sweeping up on the shore, and when it receded there was nothing left of Punaluu! Every house, the big stone church, even the cocoanut trees--all but two--were washed away. The number of lives lost is not yet ascertained. All who were out fishing at the time perished, and many of those ashore. A big chasm opened, running from the sea up into the

mountain, down which it is said lava, mud, trees, ferns and rocks were rushing out into the sea.

The same wave that swept away Punaluu, also destroyed the villages of Ninole, Kawaa and Honuapo. Not a house remains to mark the site of these places, except at Honuapo, where a small "hale halawai," on the brow of the hill, above the village, still stood on Friday last. The large cocoanut grove at Honuapo, was washed away, as well as that at Punaluu. A part of the big pali at Honuapo, on the road to Waiohinu, had tumbled into the sea, and people coming from thence are now obliged to take the mountain road through Hiilea-uka [Portion of a letter written by the School Inspector-General (A. Fornander?) dated April 7, 1868, and published in the *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 29, 1868, p. 4, col. 2-5].

Two additional reports made about a month after the disasters of April, 1868, give some idea of the suffering of the people. Dr. William Hillebrand wrote:

...From the upper road from Kapapala to Waiohinu (the lower road has been rendered impassable by the encroachments of the sea), several minor land slides were observed on the hills; most houses were injured more or less; no stonewall remained anywhere. All the people from near the beach had taken refuge on higher lands near the upper road. My professional services were called for by many people who had been injured by the great oceanic earthquake waves. The great wave rose to a height of 25 feet, and according to reliable information, portions of the coast-line have subsided considerably. In some places cocoanut trees formerly out of water are now a foot deep in the sea. Every village along the coast of Kau and part of Puna has been swept away. The whole population of Waiohinu I found encamped on a high hill to the east among the ferns. From two to three hundred people had lived there for two weeks under the scanty shelter of huts made of mats, fern and ki-leaves, and could not find it in their hearts to return to their houses and field. Their crops, which before had already suffered from long continued drought, were being invaded by the cattle, no fences remaining to protect them. It is much to be feared that the calamity of a famine will visit the smitten district in addition to the disaster suffered already [Taken from the *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 6, 1868].

A news item related to the April disasters appeared in the same issue:

Food for Kau.--The appeal of Her Majesty Queen Emma, for the destitute people of the Kau district, has met with a generous response. A fund of over $3,000 has been collected, which will be expended for food, clothing and house materials. The collection at St. Andrew's Cathedral last Sunday amounted to $100, to be added to the relief fund. The Kawaihao Choir will give a concert next Saturday evening in aid of the fund, and the Kaumakapili Choir will also give a concert soon for the same object. The exercise of a noble charity enriches the giver as well as the distressed.

It is very probable that a scarcity of food will be felt all over Southern Hawaii. In Kona, the drought and heat are killing the taro rapidly, and unless rain makes its appearance soon, the whole crop will be cut off [*Hawaiian Gazette*, May 6, 1868].

EARLY VISITORS TO KA'Ū

ARCHIBALD MENZIES, 1794

One of the earliest foreigners to visit Ka'ū was Archibald Menzies, the surgeon and naturalist on Vancouver's voyage. Menzies had been in the Hawaiian Islands previously as surgeon on the furtrader *Prince of Wales* under Captain Colnett in the years 1787 and 1788, but he had not kept a journal of that visit. Vancouver's ships were in the Islands three times--1792, 1793, and 1794. On the 1794 trip Menzies was able to get to the top of Hualālai and of Mauna Loa. His successful ascent of Mauna Loa was on a trail that leads up from Kapāpala. The approach to this trail from Kona, where Vancouver's ships were anchored, was by canoe to Kā'ili-ki'i, or Wai-'Ahukini in Pā-kini, Ka'ū, and then overland on foot to Kapāpala.

The canoe trip from Kona ended, Menzies wrote, at a "small village called Pākini* near the south point of the island." He said the village belonged to Nā-māhana, Ke'eaumoku's wife,** and that he stayed in a house belonging to Keawe-a-Heulu.† The overland journey began on February 10, 1794, as the party headed inland where they passed close by a "fine plantation belonging to Kamehameha, called Kahuku." Their inland journey turned northeastward about 5 or 6 miles from the shore. The path was narrow, winding, and in some places very rugged, seldom allowing passage of "more than one person at a time.... Towards evening we descended into a fine fertile valley and put up for the night at a village called Kī'olokū, on a rich plantation belonging to Keawe-a-heulu" [Menzies 1920:184].

Menzies' description of this valley (Kī'olokū††) sounds much like Ellis' description of Wai'ōhinu (see p. 47).

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* Pākini Village was probably Wai'Ahukini in Pākini Nui [Kelly 1969:15].

** Nāmāhana and Ke'eaumoku were the parents of Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha's favorite and politically powerful wife.

† Keawe-a-Heulu, uncle of Keōua, one of Kamehameha's four secret advisors and father of Haiha Na-ihe, was given land by Kamehameha for helping him conquer the Island of Hawai'i [Kamakau 1961:120, 126, 155, 221].

†† Menzies was probably in Kiola-ka'a, the land section just to the west of Wai'ōhinu Valley, and he confused this name with Kī'olokū.

> When we stopped in the evening we were surrounded by such a concourse of people who pressed so close to us that we could scarcely stir.
>
> ...This was by far the most populous village we had yet met with since we left Kealakekua. Towards the dusk of the evening, there fell some showers of rain which gave a gay and refreshing look to the most enchanting scenes of rural industry with which we were surrounded. The economy with which these people laid out and managed their ground and the neatness with which they cultivated their little fields made the whole valley appear more like a rich garden than a plantation. A stream of water which fell from the mountain through the middle of it was ingeniously branched off on each side to flood and fertilize the most distant fields at pleasure [Menzies 1920:185].

Upon leaving this well-cultivated valley, Menzies described climbing the "steep verdant hill on the eastern side of the valley from the summit of which we had a charming prospect of the country for a long way before us, presenting extensive and rich plantations industriously cultivated" [Ibid.].

Because Menzies' objective was the summit of Mauna Loa, he was taken on an inland trail some 4 to 5 miles from the sea, thus the need to climb the hill on the eastern side of Wai'ōhinu Valley.* It was among these plantations, east of Wai'ōhinu, that Kualelo, a young Hawaiian chief, was given a plantation for his support by Kamehameha [Ibid.].**

Menzies described the upland area between Wai'ōhinu and Honu'apo as follows:

> We found the people everywhere busily employed in their little fields, many of which were here cropped with plantains and bananas that had a ragged appearance from having little or no shelter, yet they bore fruit tolerably well. We seldom observed these vegetables cultivated so low down on the western side of the island, where they generally occupy the verge of the forest, a situation which for shelter seems more congenial to their tender feelings. We observed here that they suffer many of their fields here and there to lay fallow, and these in general were cropped with fine grass, which they cut down for the purpose of covering their new planted fields of taro or yams to preserve them from the powerful heat of the sun [Ibid.:185-186].

---

* Ellis, whose purpose was to visit populous areas on the island, took the trail leading toward the sea at Honu'apo after leaving Wai'ōhinu Valley.

** Kualelo was one of two Hawaiians to first travel to England. They were picked up by Capt. Charles Duncan on the *Princess Royal* in 1788, and Kualelo was returned to his homeland with Vancouver's expedition. Nothing is known of the fate of his partner [Ibid.:2, 16].

Menzies recorded the rough lava fields between Honu'apo and Nīnole "without even a hut or the least arable land for a considerable distance, and so arid that we could get no water to quench our thirst or refresh ourselves... by the time we got through this dreary tract, we were ready to drop with thirst, hunger and fatigue" [Ibid.:186].

That evening, still some 4 to 5 miles from the sea, they stopped "at a plantation belonging to Kamehameha called Punaluu" [Ibid.]. Unfortunately, Menzies said nothing else about this plantation. He did mention another plantation nearby that belonged to a chief by the name of Ka-lai-kukali'i.* The steward at the plantation offered the travellers food and water as he was directed by his chief to do so. Menzies wrote:

> The steward executed his master's mandate in the most friendly manner, and even pressed us with tears of gratitude in his eyes to accept of something, otherwise his master would think he had not done his duty. This induced us to take a few things from him, after which we assured him that if we should stand in need of further supply we would send back to him for it, with which he appeared to be quite satisfied. Little acts of hospitality and kindness are acceptable in all places and on all occasions, but nowhere more particularly so than to the wayworn travellers in remote regions and amongst uncivilized tribes where those little civilities may be considered the spontaneous offerings of the heart, and cannot fail to touch the feelings of those on whom they are conferred with a more than common sense of gratitude and admiration [Ibid.:187].

In the afternoon they reached a plantation called Kapāpala, which belonged to Kamehameha. The next morning, February 13, 1794, they began the ascent up the southeast side of Mauna Loa.

One of the persons with Menzies was Mr. Heddington, the artist. He became ill and had to return to Kapāpala plantation where he waited for Menzies to descend the mountain. It was probably during this wait that he made his famous drawing of the "Village of Macacoupah" (Fig. 18), undoubtedly a village in the land of Makā-kupu, which borders Kapāpala and is under the shadow of Ipu'u Hill.

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*Kalaikukali'i was a young chief who "suffered a wound when he fired a musket which split in his hand and divided the thumb of the left hand from the forefinger, the whole length of the metacarpal bones, and carried away the ends of the two middle fingers." The Hawaiians had traded for firearms from some ships and found them defective--they exploded when fired. Menzies had dressed the wound for him on board the ship at Ke-ala-ke-kua Bay [Ibid.:72, 174].

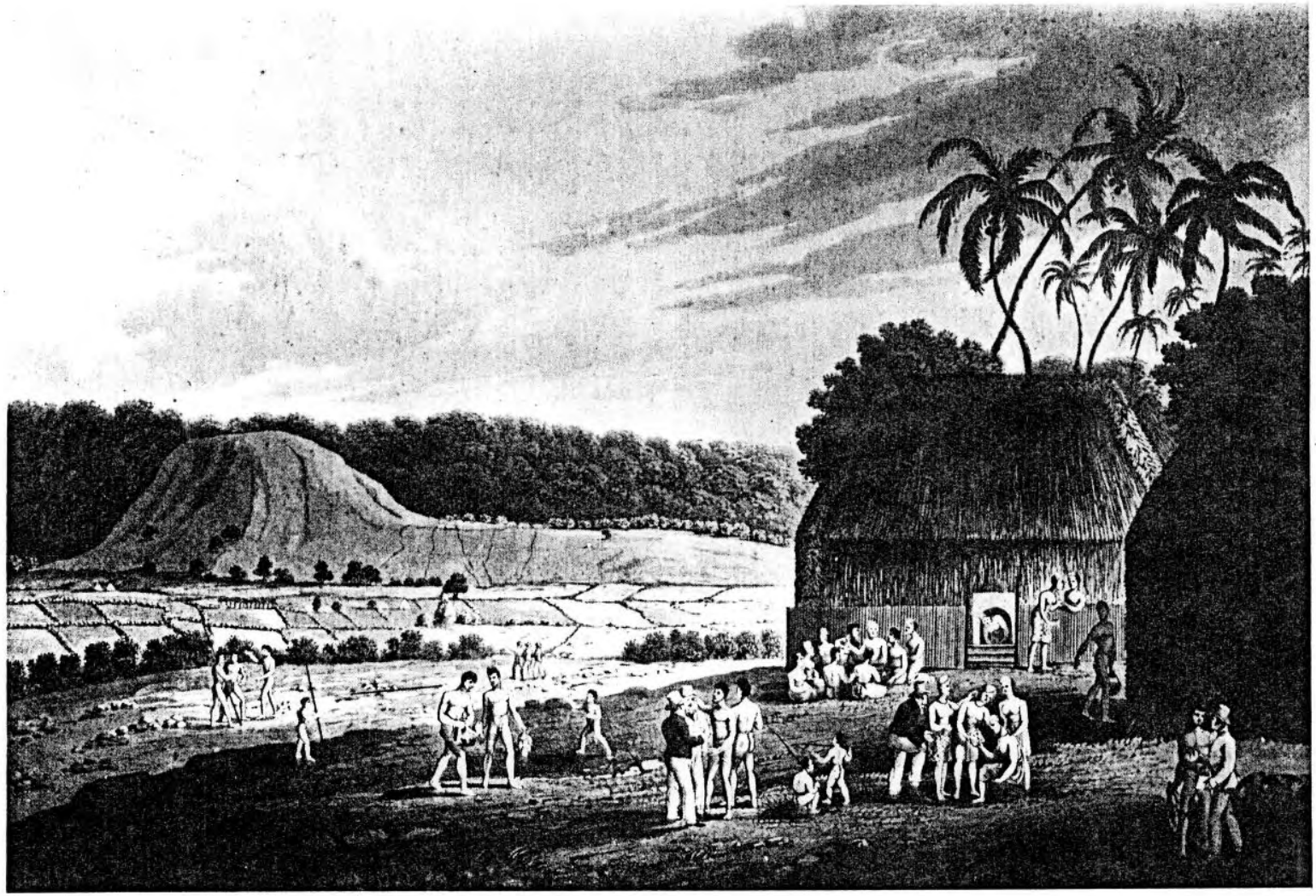


Fig. 18. "VILLAGE OF MACACOUPAH, OWHYEE," BY THOMAS HEDDINGTON, ARTIST WITH CAPT. GEORGE VANCOUVER IN 1794. (BM Neg. 23684).

With his portable barometer Menzies measured the height of Mauna Loa to be 13,634 ft, which is only 41 ft from the 1885 Hawaiian Government Survey measurement of 13,675 ft, and 43 ft from the U.S.G.S. figure of 13,677 ft, used today.

REV. WILLIAM ELLIS, 1823

Ellis' trip from Kona to Ka'ū followed much the same route as Archibald Menzies' trip 29 years earlier. Ellis landed at Ka'iliki'i in Pākini and headed inland toward Wai'ōhinu. His description of Wai'ōhinu is similar to Menzies' (see pp. 43-45):

> ...a most enchanting valley, clothed with verdure and ornamented with clumps of kukui and kou trees. On the southeast it was open towards the sea, and on both sides adorned with gardens, and interspersed with cottages, even to the summits of the hills.
>
> A fine stream of fresh water, the first we had seen on the island, ran along the centre of the valley, while several smaller ones issued from the rocks on the opposite side, and watered the plantations below [Ellis 1963:133].

Upon leaving the valley that afternoon, Ellis wrote:

> Our road, for a considerable distance, lay through the cultivated parts of this beautiful valley: the mountain taro, bordered by sugar-cane and bananas, was planted in fields six or eight acres in extent, on the sides of the hills, and seemed to thrive luxuriantly [Ibid.:133-134].

They proceeded along "the foot of the mountains, in a line parallel with the sea, and about a mile and a half from it" [Ibid.:134].

Ellis' journal of his walk from Wai'ōhinu to Punalu'u described the scenery and the people he met along the way. Shortly after leaving Wai'ōhinu, Ellis came upon a place (*kahua pahe'e*) along the path where people were playing a game with highly polished wooden darts (*pahe'e*). The darts varied in length from 2 to 5 ft, were thickest about 6 in. from the point, and tapered gradually to the other end (Fig. 19*a*). The object was to throw them along a prepared field of level ground for distance or for accuracy.

> Sometimes the excellence of the play consists in the dexterity with which the pahe is thrown. On these occasions two darts are laid down at a certain distance, three or four inches apart, and he who, in a given number of times, throws his dart most frequntly between these two, without striking either of them wins the game.

> At other times it is a mere trial of strength; and those win who, in a certain number of times, throw their darts farthest. A mark is made in the ground, to designate the spot from which they are to throw it. The players, balancing the pahe in their right hand, retreat a few yards from this spot, and then springing forward to the mark, dart it along the ground with great velocity. The darts remain wherever they stop till all are thrown, when the whole party run to the other end of the floor, to see whose have been the most successful throws [Ibid.:134].

Ellis also mentioned that the game of *maika* or *'ulu maika* is played on the same kind of field, but with polished stone disks (Fig. 19*b*).

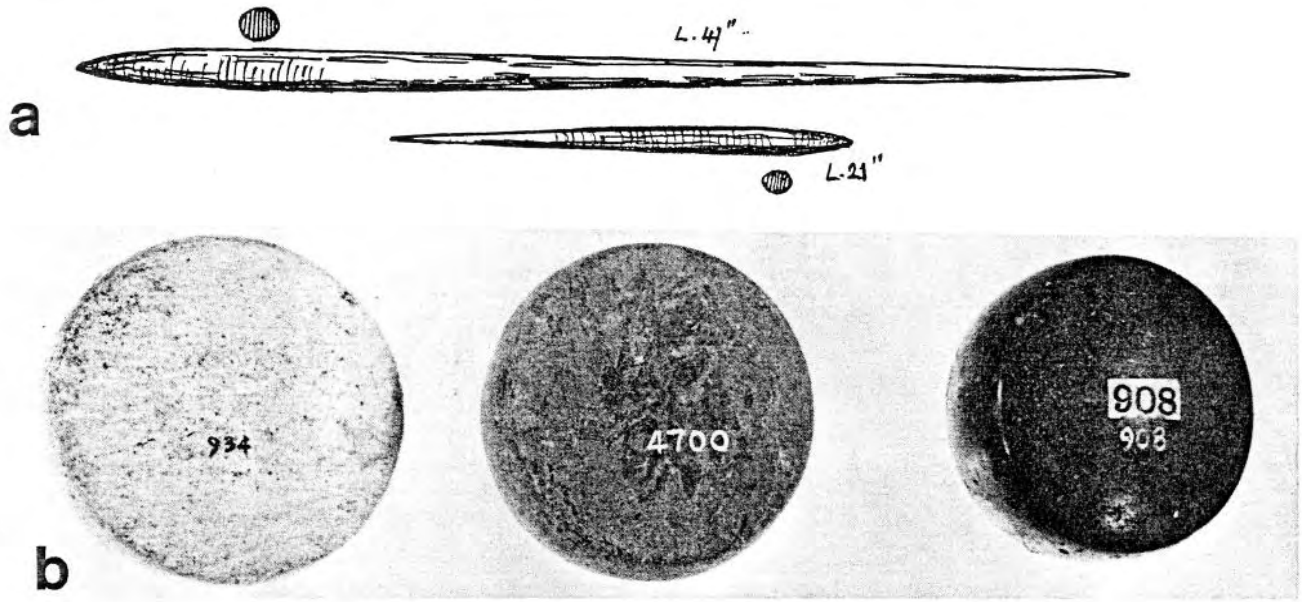


Fig. 19. GAME IMPLEMENTS DESCRIBED BY ELLIS: *a. pahe'e* from Edge-Partington (1890:1:56); *b. 'ulu maika* game stones from Bishop Museum Collection (BM Neg. 41378-34).

About an hour's walk from Wai'ōhinu brought Ellis to the small village of Kapauku, which belonged to Chief Naihe.* On both sides of the path grew "tall rows of sugar cane." Half an hour out of Kapauku village they arrived at the "extensive and populous village" of Honu'apo. Ellis observed that this part of the country between Wai'ōhinu and Punalu'u "appeared more thickly

*Between Menzies' and Ellis' visits, Keawe-a-Heulu had died and his son, Haiha Naihe, had inherited his lands.

inhabited than that over which we had travelled in the morning. The villages, along the sea shore, were near together, and some of them extensive" [Ellis 1963:136].

The sea cliffs just south of Honu'apo, Pali Pohina, have a sad story connected with them. Ellis related this as the Legend of Kawelo-hea. A jealous husband, who lived nearby, murdered his wife and threw her body over the cliff. She landed on a large rock in the sea below. While he stood there considering what he had done, she "called out to him in the most affectionate and lamentable strains, attesting her innocence of the crime for which she had been murdered" [Ellis 1963:137]. The rock was known in Ellis' day by her name, Kawelohea, and her voice was "often heard calling to her husband, and her form was sometimes seen." Whenever her voice was heard by someone, it was considered an omen of a disaster about to occur--"war, or famine, or the death of a distinguished chief" [Ellis 1963:137]. An old Hawaiian saying about Kawelohea was supplied by W. Meinecke: *"Ke lohe ia ka leo o Kawelohea, he hoailona pilikia"* (To hear the voice of Kawelohea, prophesies trouble).

At Honu'apo the community greeted the missionaries with great enthusiasm, as they might have greeted a group of visiting Hawaiian musicians and hula dancers who from time to time toured the island. The residence of the "head man" was situated on the farthest point toward the sea, probably on the northeastern point of the bay. More than 200 adults and children were present for the evening sermon.

One of the remarkable things about the people who lived in Honu'apo was that a number of them had one lip tattooed. Ellis likened this custom to that of the New Zealand Maori. Ellis also mentioned visiting the ruins of a *heiau* located on a point of lava near the house in which they stayed. It was said to have been dedicated to a god named Kā'ili and abandoned at the time the images were destroyed (c. 1819).

The next stop was the village of Hōkūkano, some distance across a wide tract of rugged lava. There Ellis found an excellent spring of fresh water where they stopped to drink, rest, and talk to the residents of the area. They then crossed another stretch of very rugged lava, using a path built of large waterworn stones spaced two or three feet apart. Another hour or more of travelling brought them to Hīlea, a pleasant village belonging to the governor

of Hawai'i (Kuakini). Ellis reported a number of artificial fishponds here (see pp. 22-26).

At Hīlea the head man begged them to stay long enough for him to prepare a meal for them, saying he had "hogs, fish, taro, potatoes, and bananas in abundance." He expressed the fear that the governor would be displeased if he heard that the people did not feed and entertain his friends when they passed through his village.

As they passed through Hīlea, they could see the hill called Makanau (see pp. 4-6), and it was pointed out as the place where "Keoua, the last rival of Tamehameha, surrendered himself up" [Ellis 1963:143].* Shortly after leaving Hīlea, they reached Nīnole and the beach called Kōloa (see p. 33 ff).

Another mile or so of travel brought Ellis to the coastal village of Punalu'u.** From there Ellis and the party of missionaries turned their paths inland and headed toward Kīlauea volcano.

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*It has been pointed out by W. Meinecke (personal conversation) that Keōua did not "surrender himself up" as Ellis puts it, but was offered by his uncles, Keawe-a-Heulu and Kamanawa, a chance to negotiate with Kamehameha the terms of a peace between the two of them. Trusting these older chiefs, he went willingly with them to Kawaihae where he was murdered by Ke'eaumoku, one of Kamehameha's most powerful supporters and the father of Ka'ahumanu [Kelly 1974:7].

**Had the surf been up when Ellis visited Punalu'u or Hīlea villages, he would probably have experienced the exodus of villagers into the sea, for Punalu'u and Kāwā Bay at Hīlea were famous surfing sites [Finney & Houston 1966:26-27]. "Sometimes the greater part of the inhabitants of a village go out to this sport, when the wind blows fresh towards the shore, and spend the greater part of the day in the water. All ranks and ages appear equally fond of it" [Ellis 1963:267].

LANDOWNERS, 1848-1864

THE MAHELE LAND AWARDS, 1848

Three chiefs and the Hawaiian Government were the recipients of the nine *ahupua'a* lands under consideration in this paper. They were awarded as shown in Table 2 below (*Indices*...1929:6, 11, 13; Boundary Certificate No. 113).

Table 2. Recipients of Nine *Ahupua'a*.

Ahupua'a	Owner	Acres
Honu'apo	LCA 8559 to Luna-lilo	2,200
Hiona'ā	Government	Not given
Hōkūkano	Government	Not given
Ka'alāiki	Government	Not given
Hīlea Nui	LCA 9971 to Lele-io-hoku	4,400
Hīlea Iki	LCA 7715 to Lot Kamehameha	2,015
Nīnole	Government (from Lunalilo)	Not given
Wailau	Government	Not given
Punalu'u	LCA 7715 to Lot Kamehameha	5,360

Although the chiefs were given ownership of the *ahupua'a*, with the exception of the *kuleana* lands to be awarded within their boundaries, they seldom were residents. Instead, they appointed agents, sometimes called *konohiki*, to attend to their lands and to people living on them.

Ellis reported that the land of Hīlea was the domain of the governnor of Hawai'i, Kuakini, who had inherited lands from his parents, Nāmāhana and Ke'eaumoku. In the Mahele, when lands were being divided among the King and 245 chiefs, W. P. Leleiohoku, son of Kalanimoku and grandson of Kamanawa and Kekuamanoha, was made the legal heir of Kuakini. Thus, Hīlea Nui, which formerly belonged to Kuakini, was assigned to Leleiohoku in the Mahele awards (Fig. 20).

Menzies reported that within Punalu'u there was a plantation that belonged to Kamehameha I. Perhaps this was sufficient claim on the entire *ahupua'a* so that it was given to one of his grandchildren, Lot Kapuaiwa Kamehameha (Fig. 21) along with Hīlea Iki.

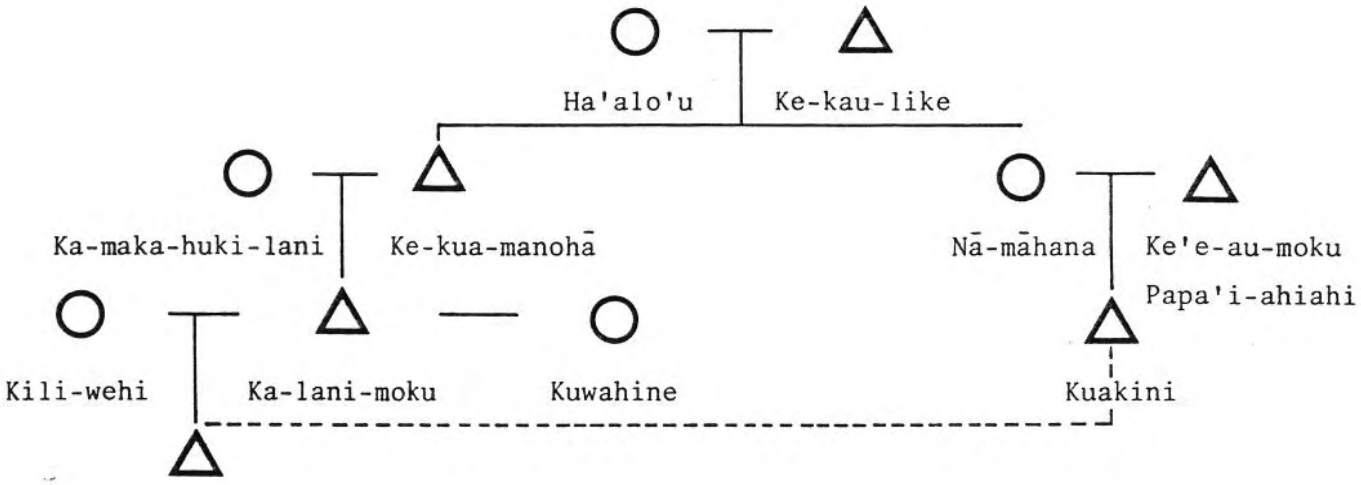


Fig. 20. GENEALOGICAL CHART SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LELE-IO-HOKU AND KUAKINI.

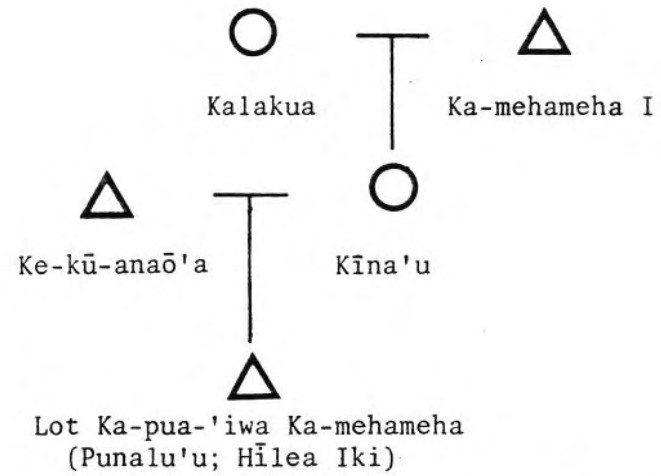


Fig. 21. GENEALOGICAL CHART SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOT KAMEHAMEHA AND KAMEHAMEHA I.

LEGEND FOR FIGS. 20 AND 21.

O = FEMALE	⊤ = MARRIAGE WITH OFFSPRING
△ = MALE	--- = LEGAL HEIR
— = MARRIAGE	

Honu'apo was given to William Charles Lunalilo, the son of Ka-na'ina and Ke-kā-ulu-ohi, a very highborn chiefess who was brought up in seclusion and cared for by Kamehameha and Liholiho. It was Liholiho who gave Kekāuluohi to Kana'ina for a wife. She was the daughter of Kalakua and Ka-lai-mamahu, a half-brother of Kamehameha I (Fig. 22).

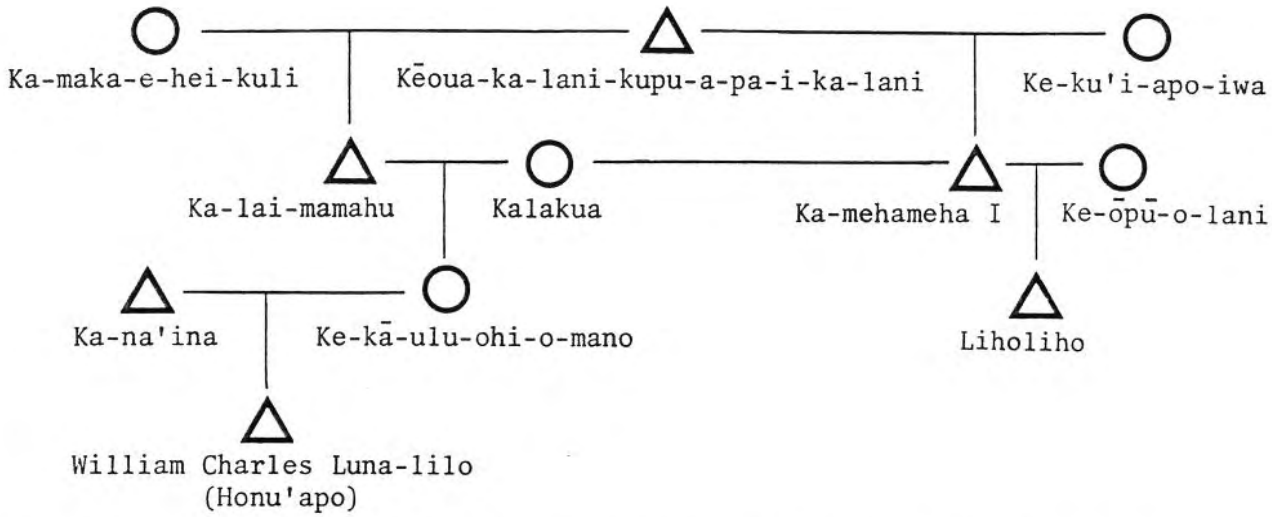


Fig. 22. GENEALOGICAL CHART SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WILLIAM CHARLES LUNALILO AND KAMEHAMEHA I.

THE KULEANA LAND AWARDS, 1850-1853

A summary of the *kuleana* awards made in each of these nine lands is presented in Table 3.

In each of the *konohiki* awards, the acreage included the entire *ahupua'a* with the exception of the *kuleana* claims, awards which would be made by the Land Commission at a later date. The *konohiki* awards were made in 1848 at the time of the Mahele, or division of lands among the King and 245 chiefs.

Although the *kuleana* awards (Appendix G) were not made until after 1850, the claims had to be in the hands of the Board of Land Commissioners in Honolulu by February 14, 1848. This requirement for early filing reduced the number of

Table 3. Summary of *Kuleana* Awards in Nine *Ahupua'a*.

Ahupua'a	No. of Awardees	Acreage		
		Total	Range	Median
Honu'apo	19	95.27	11.00 - 0.30	4.10
Hi'ona'ā	4	16.50	5.60 - 3.00	3.95
Hōkūkano	6	18.85	4.00 - 2.00	3.175
Ka'alāiki	6	37.51	11.30 - 1.34	5.70
Hīlea Nui	15	92.87	12.40 - 1.65	4.43
Hīlea Iki	6	50.55	11.80 - 4.32	8.715
Nīnole	18	136.18	11.30 - 1.38	6.12
Wailau	8	41.16	8.10 - 2.30	5.275
Punalu'u	9	39.69	15.20 - 0.25	1.48
Total	91	528.58		

actual awards because some claimants died before 1850 without leaving heirs. However, something less than half of the adult males received land in the nine *ahupua'a* listed above.

CENSUS RECORDS

Very few census records by *ahupua'a* remain. A notable one is the 1835 census taken by the missionaries throughout Ka'ū. This census provides data on the numbers of Hawaiians living in the nine *ahupua'a* (Table 4). At that time, the total population of Ka'ū was 4,766 persons.

During 1845 and 1846, Ka'ū experienced a drought of disastrous proportions, resulting in a famine, and many people were forced to move away. Rev. John Paris, the missionary at Wai'ōhinu, wrote: "We have never had such a dry time in Kau. Everything burnt up. No food to be found & none growing. Many of our people are really suffering for want of something to eat" [Schmitt 1970:114]. Paris wrote about people starving because of famine and attempting to live on *hāpu'u* (fern). In February 1846 he added: "We have famine more pinching than has ever been known in Kau by the present generation. Yesterday we had the first rain of any consequence in six or seven months. A large proportion of our people have left for other places where food is to be had on some terms" [Ibid.]. Depopulation resulted both from deaths and from outmigration and continued even after the return of normal rainfall [Ibid.].

Table 4. Population Distribution in Nine *Ahupua'a* of Ka'ū in 1835 (based on Missionary Census).*

Ahupua'a	Adults		Children		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Honu'apo, Hi'ona'ā	141	140	82	60	423
Hōkūkano	44	44	16	20	124
Ka'alāiki, Hīlea Nui	85	86	31	36	238
Hīlea Iki, Nīnole, Wailau	112	120	41	57	330
Punalu'u	34	33	12	12	91
Total	416	423	182	185	1206

*Schmitt 1973:30

By 1847, when the first official government census was taken, Ka'ū District was one of the few counts completed, and the district population was down to 3,010. It continued to lose and, in the census of 1853, which was one of the more reliable census counts, it totalled only 2,210 persons. Assuming that the nine *ahupua'a* of the district maintained the same percentages of the population of Ka'ū as they had in 1835, an approximate reconstruction of the populations of these nine lands can be made for the years 1847 and 1853, as given in Table 5.

Table 5. Estimated Population Distribution of Nine *Ahupua'a* for 1847 and 1853.

Ahupua'a	Population in 1847					Population in 1853				
	Adults		Children		Total	Adults		Children		Total
	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F	
Honu'apo, Hi'ona'ā	88	87	51	37	263	65	64	37	27	193
Hōkūkano	27	27	10	14	78	20	20	7	10	57
Ka'alāiki, Hīlea Nui	54	55	19	22	150	39	40	14	17	110
Hīlea Iki, Nīnole, Wailau	71	76	25	36	208	52	55	19	26	152
Punalu'u	21	20	8	8	57	16	15	5	5	41
Totals	261	265	113	117	756	192	194	82	85	553

The largest purchase of government land in Ka'ū up to 1893 was made by C. C. Harris in 1861. He bought the entire *ahupua'a* of Kahuku, some 184,298 acres [*Index*... 1916:146]. Very few purchases of government land in Ka'ū were over 1,000 acres, and only one of them (Gr. No. 3536) went to a person with a Hawaiian surname [*Index*... 1916:146, 149].

Grant Nos.	Year	Grantee	Area
2791	1861	C. C. Harris	184,298
3533	1891	Bishop, Est. B. P.	2,974
2787	1861	W. W. Shipman	1,557.33
3210	1879	W. T. Martin	1,290
3536	1893	Kealohaai	1,262.50

Land purchased from the government could be bought by anyone and everyone who had the cash--that was the primary requirement. And once the *kuleana* claims were awarded, they too could be purchased by those with the necessary cash. There are instances of foreigners purchasing thousands of acres of land from the government--sometimes for as little as 10¢ per acre, but usually for 25¢ to 50¢ per acre--or leasing the land for very little. A visitor going through Ka'ū in 1861 wrote:

> ...A Mr. Richardson* an American who has a lease from the King of land to the amount of (at the lowest estimate) 70,000 acres, at a rental of only about $300.... His limits are not very well defined, and he considers that he has much more than that number of acres for his rent. He is keeping stock and goats, which last are very valuable.... He has a source of almost unlimited wealth at the paltry price of £80 a year!
>
> ...Mr. Lyman [**] is another instance of successful arrangement, not to say bargaining: he has some thousand or two of acres, which he bought of the government at half a dollar (2s 2d.) an

---

* Korn told us that this was probably "Charles Richardson (1817-1879) who with his cousin, Julius Richardson, and a partner, W. H. Reed, owned an extensive tract of land called Kapāpala Ranch (between Pāhala and the Volcano)" [Korn 1958:316, note 25].

** Lyman was Frederick S. Lyman (1837-1918) who was the son of the Lymans who founded "the Hilo Boarding School in 1836." Lyman was "a government land surveyor for Hilo, Puna, and Kau from 1854-1901 and later, independent surveyor, 1862-1914. He raised stock in Kau from 1860-1868; served as circuit judge for East Hawaii, 1869-1893; held various government offices under the monarchy; served as a member of the Hawaiian Senate, Republic of Hawaii, 1898" [Korn 1958:317]. F. S. Lyman made three purchases of government lands in Ka'ū--one in 1859 of 6,652 acres, another in 1860 of 755.33 acres, and a third in 1864 of 330 acres [*Index*... 1916:145, 146, 148].

> acre! There is, however, some scandal attached to this transaction, as Mr. Lyman was formerly a government surveyor and surveyed this land. Moreover, serious mistakes with regard to private property were made by him (how he has ever learned surveying is a mystery--or, rather, it is believed that he never did, or could have learned it). And though in one instance restitution on a large scale has had to be made, he retains land which could not rightfully be sold... [Korn 1958:58].

In a letter written to Lot Kamehameha in January 1860, from S. La'anui, there appeared the names of 25 Hawaiians who wanted to lease the *ahupua'a* of Punalu'u for one year, offering to pay $150. Their names were: Mahi, Kekapa, Waiwaiole, Iopa, Nakahuna, Mahoe, Malia Kuwahine, Napela, Kumaaiku, L. Keo, Kalama, J. G. Kekaula, Kaapuu, Lukeia, Oau, Kamai, Laakea, Puana, Okepaole, Kupele, Hoomano, Mai, Helu, Aleaku, and Malae [Land File, Jan. 1860, Hawai'i State Archives].

Some of these names are familiar in Ka'ū history. Kekaula, for example, contributed a long story to Ka'ū history (see Appendix D, pp. 93-103). Eight of these names appear as *kuleana* awardees, and most of them were awarded lands between Honu'apo and Punalu'u; only three were awarded lands in other *ahupua'a* (Moaula and Poupouwela).

SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN 1850

The placement of the awarded *kuleana* provides an insight into the population distribution at the time of the awards (1850-1855). In most of these nine *ahupua'a* three area groupings occur: *makai* (near the sea), *mawaena* (between the sea and the mountains), and *mauka* (toward the mountains). These groupings are a mere skeleton of ancient Hawaiian land-use patterns. A complete list of *kuleana* awards in the nine *ahupua'a* is provided in Appendix G (pp. 111-112), and of Government sales (Grants) in Appendix H (p. 113).

HONU'APO

Only four *kuleana* awardees in Honu'apo Ahupua'a received more than one parcel (*apana*) of land: Hoolapa, Lilikalani, Kalaukoa, and Nahakuelua. Three of them received two parcels within the same *ahupua'a*, one near the sea and the other along or near the middle (*mawaena*) trail, and one of them (Kalaukoa) received a second parcel along the upland (*mauka*) trail. Two of the awardees received a second (Lepoloa) or a third (Kalaukoa) parcel of land located in another *ahupua'a*. In both cases they were in Hi'ona'ā, which is next to Honu-'apo (Fig. 23).

Several *kuleana* parcels were clustered around the large fishpond at Honu'apo. Two school lots were also located nearby.

HI'ONA'Ā

Much of the *makai* land of Hi'ona'ā Ahupua'a fronts on a low cliff and consists mainly of aa lava. The *kuleana* awarded were located only in the *mauka* area, where they were grouped together (Fig. 24).

HŌKŪKANO

In Hōkūkano the *kuleana* were awarded in the *mawaena* and *mauka* areas only, without any specific access to the sea in the form of *makai* land parcels (see Fig. 24).

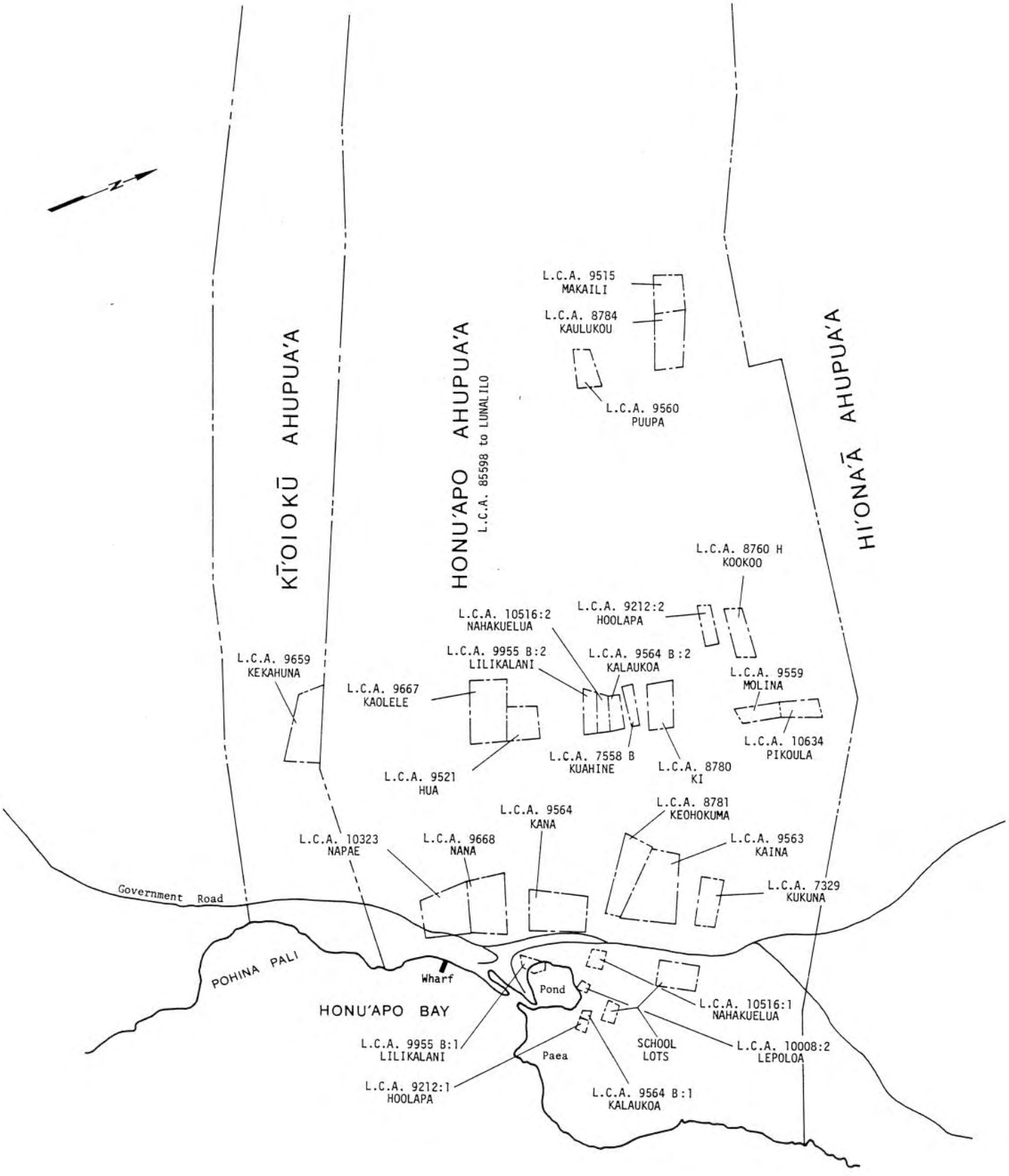


Fig. 23. MAP SHOWING *KULEANA* AWARDS (L.C.A.) IN HONU'APO AHUPUA'A, KA'Ū, HAWAI"I.

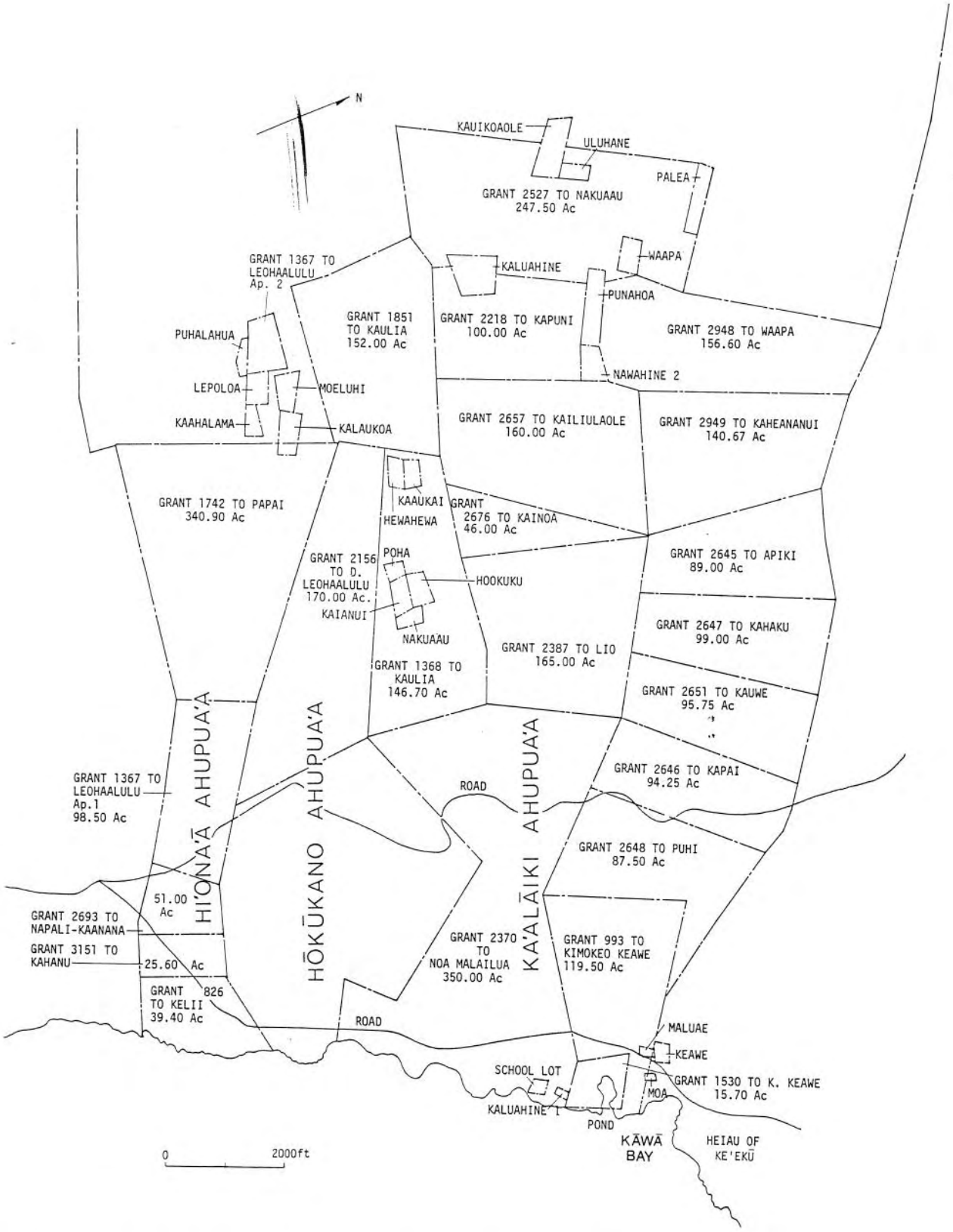


Fig. 24. MAP SHOWING *KULEANA* AWARDS (L.C.A.) AND GOVERNMENT LAND SALES (GRANTS) IN THE *AHUPUA'A* OF HI'ONA'Ā, HŌKŪKANO, AND KA'ALĀIKI (FOR L.C.A. NUMBERS, SEE APPENDIX G, pp 111-112).

KA'ALĀIKI

With the exception of three tiny parcels of land in the *makai* area, all the other *kuleana* parcels were awarded in the *mauka* area of Ka'alāiki. They appear somewhat more scattered than those of the other *ahupua'a*, only four sharing borders in two separate clusters of two each. Only one awardee received two parcels within the *ahupua'a*, one near the sea and the other *mauka* (see Fig. 24).

As at Honu'apo, there was a fishpond at Kāwā Bay; there was also a school lot. Three of the *kuleana* appear to have been located right on the border between Ka'alāiki and Hīlea Nui. Moa received a second parcel of land in the *mawaena* area of Hīlea Iki, not far from the site of the old Hīlea sugar mill, and a third parcel attached to Maluae's in the *mauka* section of the *ahupua'a* of Hīlea Nui.

HĪLEA IKI AND HĪLEA NUI

With the exception of Moa, Maluae, and Keawe, whose *kuleana* are located on the border between Ka'alāiki and Hīlea Nui, all the rest of the *kuleana* within the two Hīlea *ahupua'a* were grouped around the site of what later became the old Hīlea mill (1878), along the *mauka* road, or around the base and on the top of Makanau hill. Most of the seaward portion of the two Hīlea consisted of a large aa lava flow, which stretched from Kāwā Bay to Nīnole at the coastline (Fig. 25, also see Fig. 24).

NĪNOLE AND WAILAU

With the exception of six parcels along the beach trail, all the others (23) were more than a mile inland, and most of them between two to four miles inland, where the land was apparently very productive (Fig. 26).

PUNALU'U

Punalu'u seems to be an exception in that only six of the 17 *kuleana* parcels are located more than a half mile from the sea (Fig. 27). All the rest are clustered around the beach trail and the ponds (Fig. 28). One awardee (Nakahuna)

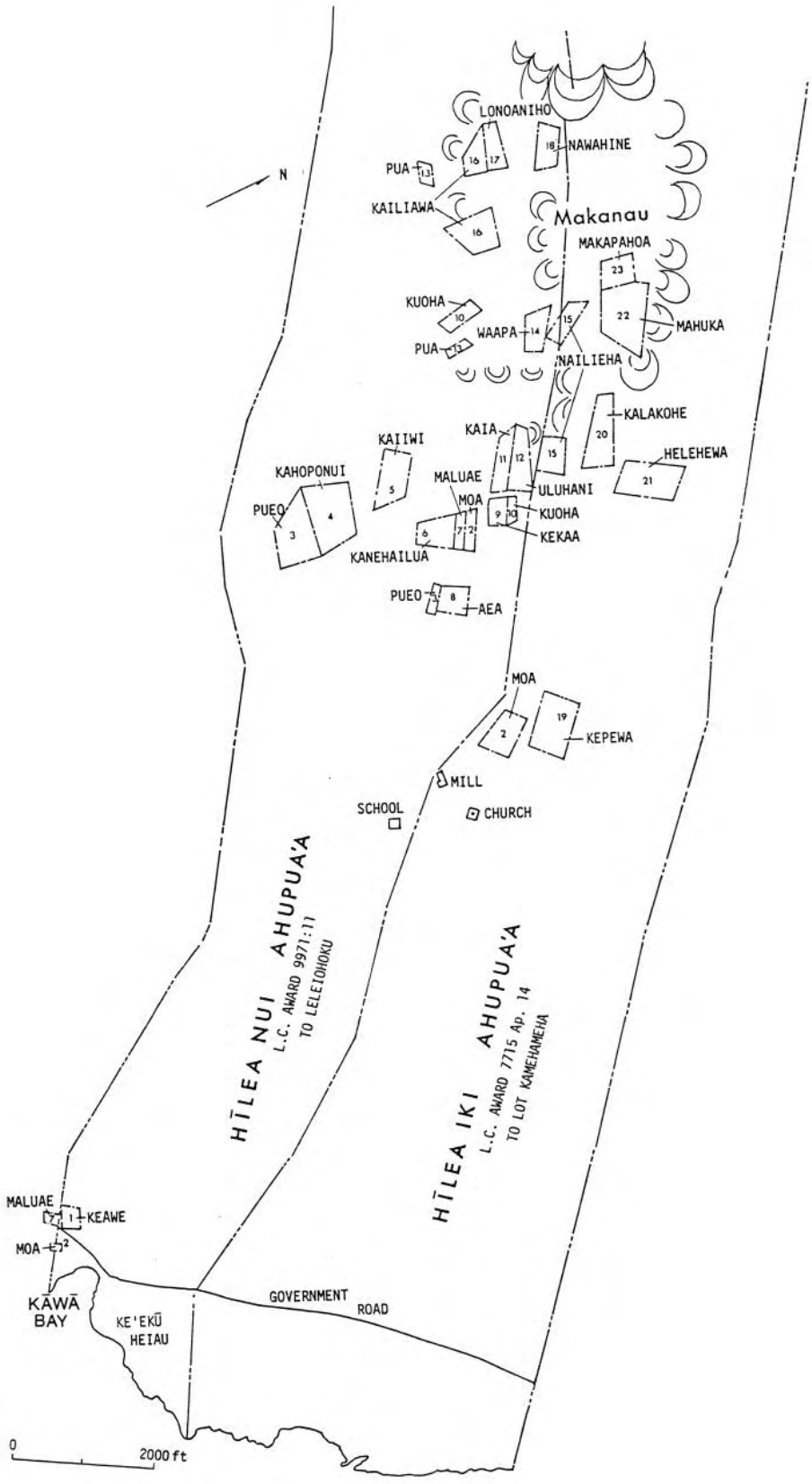


Fig. 25. MAP SHOWING *KULEANA* AWARDS (L.C.A.) IN THE *AHUPUA'A* OF HĪLEA NUI NUI AND HĪLEA IKI (FOR AWARD NUMBERS, SEE APPENDIX G, pp. 111-112).

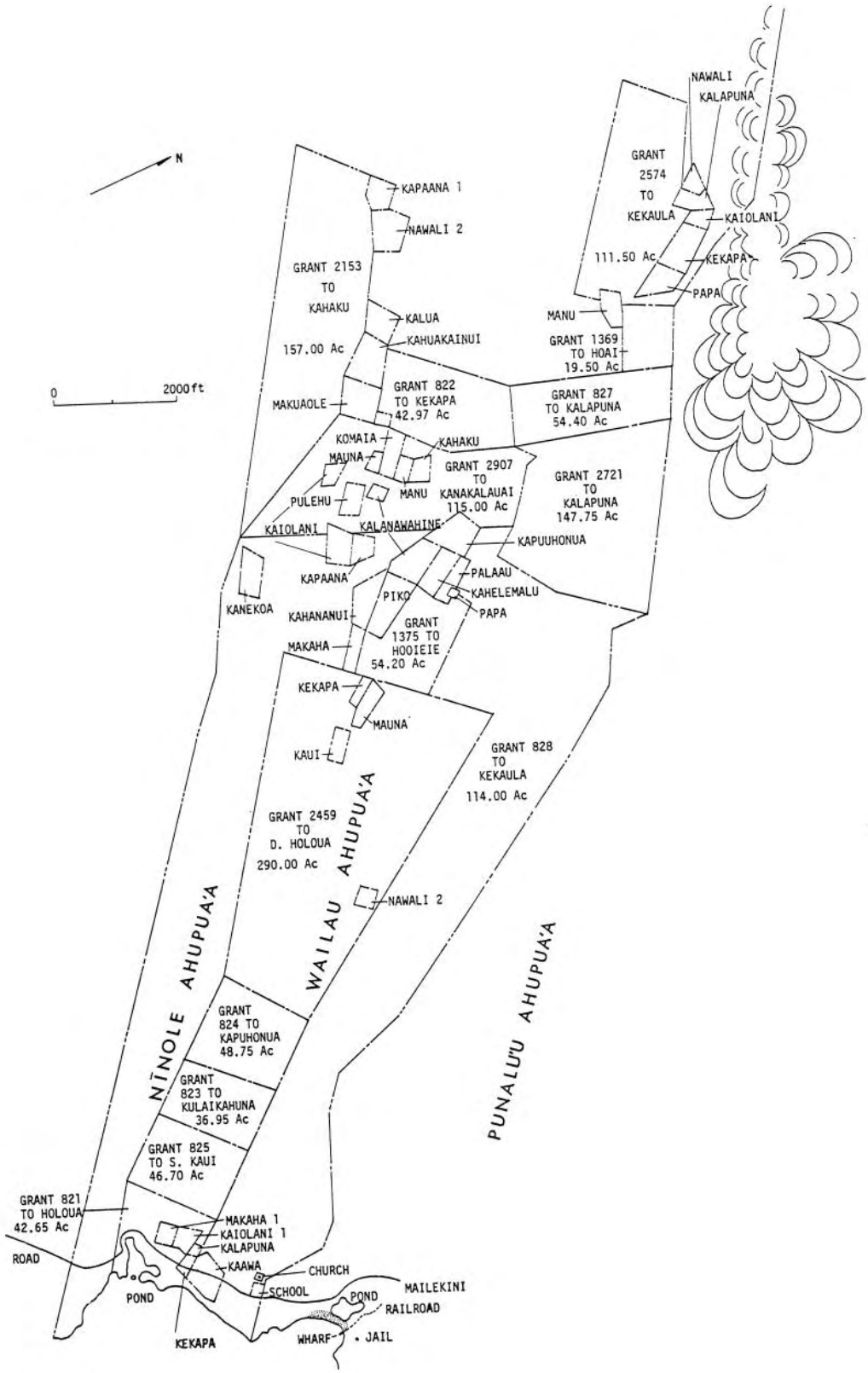


Fig. 26. MAP SHOWING *KULEANA* AWARDS (L.C.A.)_AND GOVERNMENT SALES (GRANTS) IN THE *AHUPUA'A* OF NĪNOLE AND WAILAU (FOR L.C.A. NUMBERS, SEE APPENDIX G, pp. 111-112).

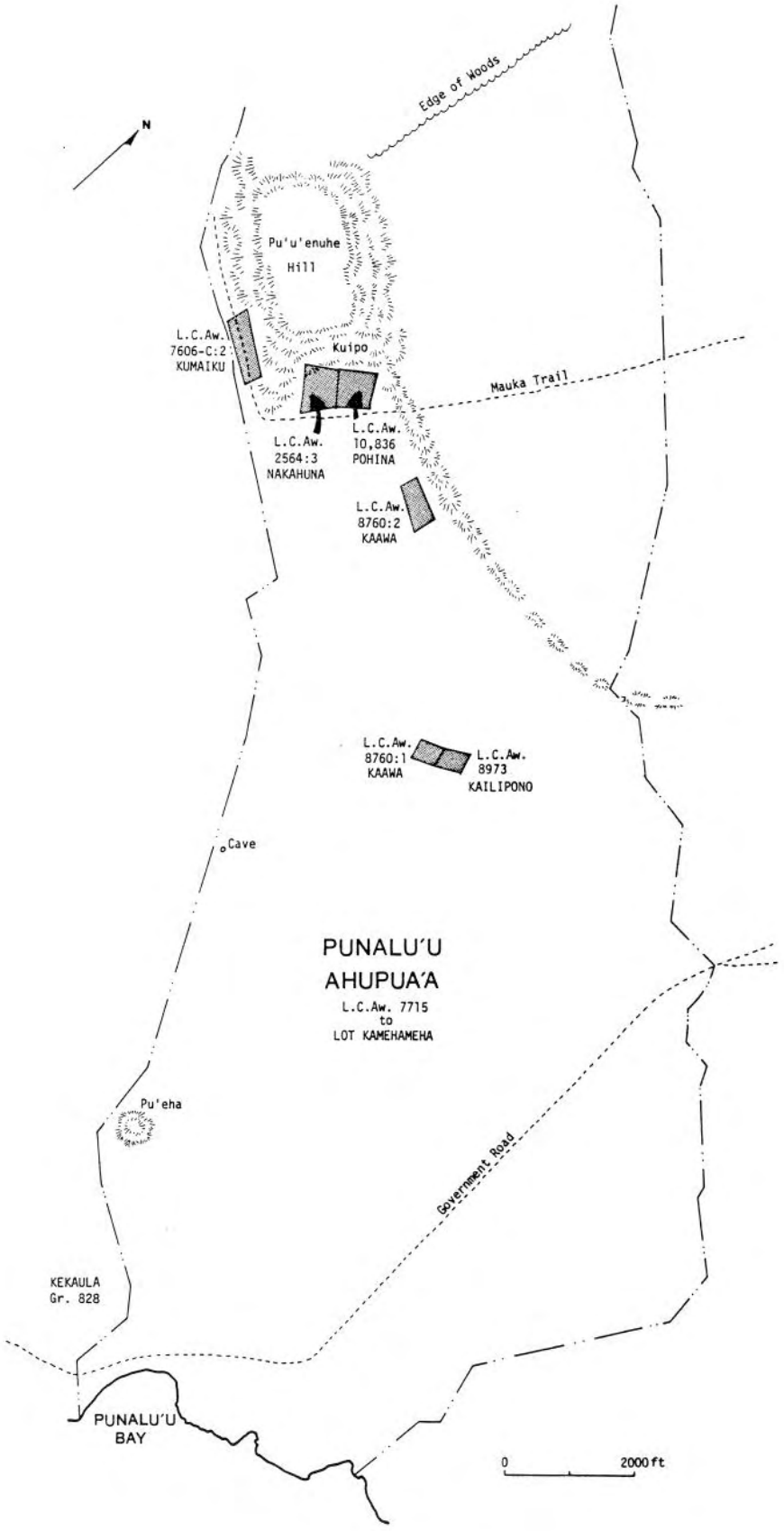


Fig. 27. MAP SHOWING *KULEANA* AWARDS, INLAND PUNALU'U AHUPUA'A. *KULEANA* OF KAAWA AND KAILIPONI MAY BE LOCATED ON UNRECORDED *MAWAENA* TRAIL.

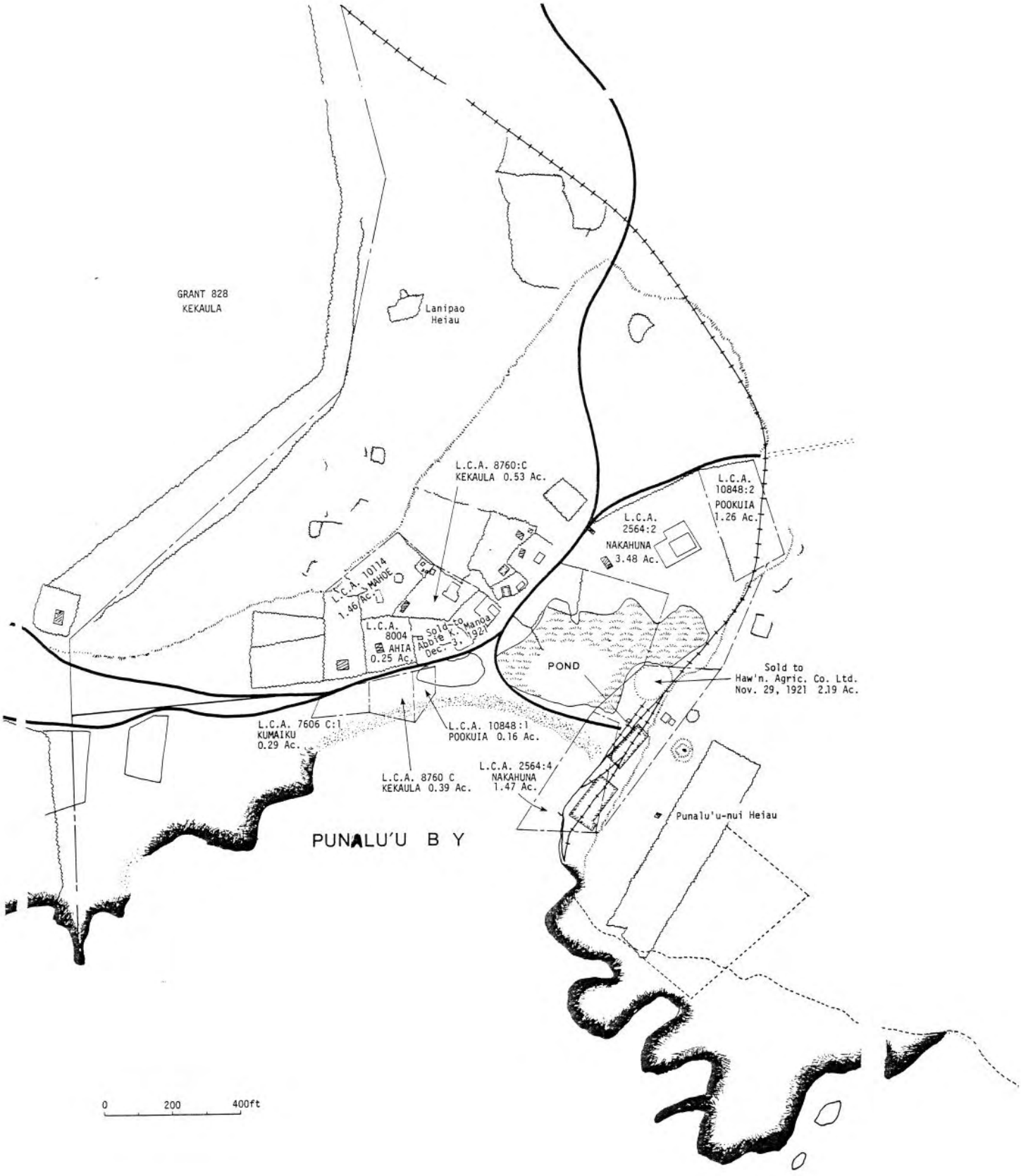


Fig. 28. MAP SHOWING *KULEANA* AWARDS, COASTAL PUNALU'U AHUPUA'A.

had four parcels and four others had two each. The location of two *kuleana* parcels (Nakahuna and Pohina) at the foot of Pu'u-'enuhe in an area called Kuipo, and another (Kumaiku) alongside the hill next to Wailau, undoubtedly made the most of any runoff from the hill. The *mauka* trail went through the center of Kumaiku's parcel and along the *makai* edge of the two Kuipo parcels. Three other parcels (Kaawa had two, and Kailiponi one) are located *makai* from those around the base of Pu'u'enuhe (see Fig. 27).

A village site that was found recently does not appear on the maps, nor are there any *kuleana* awards in its vicinity. It is located about half a mile *makai* of Kuipo, near the southern border of the *ahupua'a*. It is possible that this village was the one mentioned by Menzies as a "plantation belonging to Kamehameha called Punaluu" (see p. 45).

SUMMARY

Because only a small portion of the population of Ka'ū received *kuleana* awards, the locations of the parcels awarded were not necessarily representative of the settlement patterns existing at that time. Indeed, the qualifications for awards were such that many people could not obtain the piece of land on which they were living. There are archaeological remains that testify to the existence of villages, particularly along the shore, where no awards were made. While some of the distress over finding themselves landless was somewhat relieved through government land sales, only 30 different persons in Ka'ū made purchases, and of these, four also appeared as *kuleana* awardees.

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APPENDIX A. Heiau from Honu'apo to Punalu'u, Ka'ū*

by John F. G. Stokes [Ms.*a*:570-576]

Heiau of Kamalai, land of Honuapo, Kau.

Entirely destroyed. Site on the point north-east of Honuapo harbor. It was said to have been a sacrificial heiau for human beings, and to have been an enclosure. Was thought to have been dedicated to Kane and Lono.

There had also been a ko'a between Kamalai and the harbor. My informant had put fish there for luck, placed them on the walls on the east side, without prayer. The destruction of these places had been by tidal waves.

Heiau of Auolele, near the boundary of Honuapo and Hionaa.

Said to have been for human sacrifice. Not seen.

Heiau of Imakakaloa, land of Kaalaiki, Kau [Site Ha-B11-98] [Fig. 29].

On slopes of the open country, a mile from the sea; Puu Enuhe bears 194°50, 18,326.5 ft. Plan H. 34. A series of enclosures with walls sometimes widened into platforms. The ground declines to the south-east, but the earth floors of the enclosures have been approximately levelled as though by cutting and filling. In Thrum's catalogue the larger enclosure was "said to have been devoted to hula."

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*John F. G. Stokes (1892-1960) conducted studies of *heiau* remains in the Hawaiian Islands between the years 1901 and 1919. His report was incorporated into Brigham's manuscript on Hawaiian religion (Stokes Ms.*b*: Chapter 17) with footnotes added by Brigham. The whole treatise was completed in 1921 (Gregory 1922:5).

In the introductory remarks to his chapter, Stokes commented that his Hawaiian informants

> could generally be relied upon to point out accurately the site of a temple and to furnish its name, but that other information had been almost entirely lost (Ms.*b*: 496).

In a footnote in Stokes' introduction, Brigham wrote:

> Mr. Stokes has accumulated in his more than twenty years in the Bishop Museum, a knowledge of Hawaiian matters greater than any other man I know (Ms.*b*:503).

The text presented here is taken from Stokes' report and includes only those *heiau* remains reported for the *ahupua'a* from Honu'apo to Punalu'u. Diacritical marks for Hawaiian words are not used in this text.

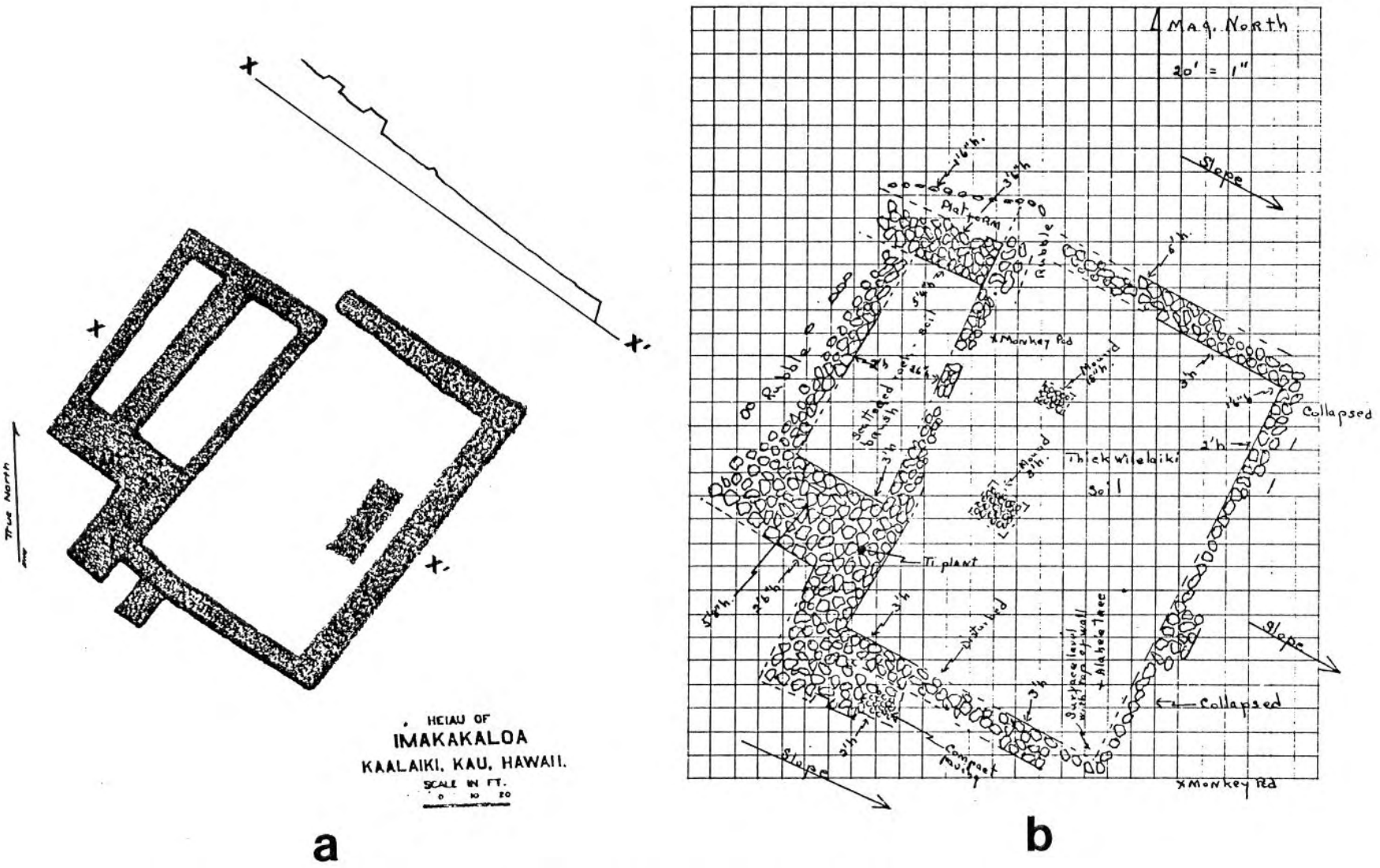


Fig. 29. PLANS OF IMAKAKALOA [I-MAKA-KŌLOA] HEIAU, KA'ALĀIKI, KA'Ū: *a*. plan by J. F. G. Stokes, 1906 (H. 34); *b*. plan by V. Hansen, 1970.

The large enclosure on the south-east is said to have been for the chiefs and kahuna, the stone pavement shown being the kuaha. Outside and adjoining the wall of this enclosure, on the west is a platform, 1 foot above the ground. To the north of the latter is another platform, 4.5 ft. high, and extension of the walls. This last is said to have been the Hale Papa. The second largest enclosure is said to have been for the Hale hula. There was no information regarding the smallest enclosure [see Fig. 29].

Heiau of Keeku, land of Hilea 1, Kau [Site Ha-B10-1] [Fig. 30]

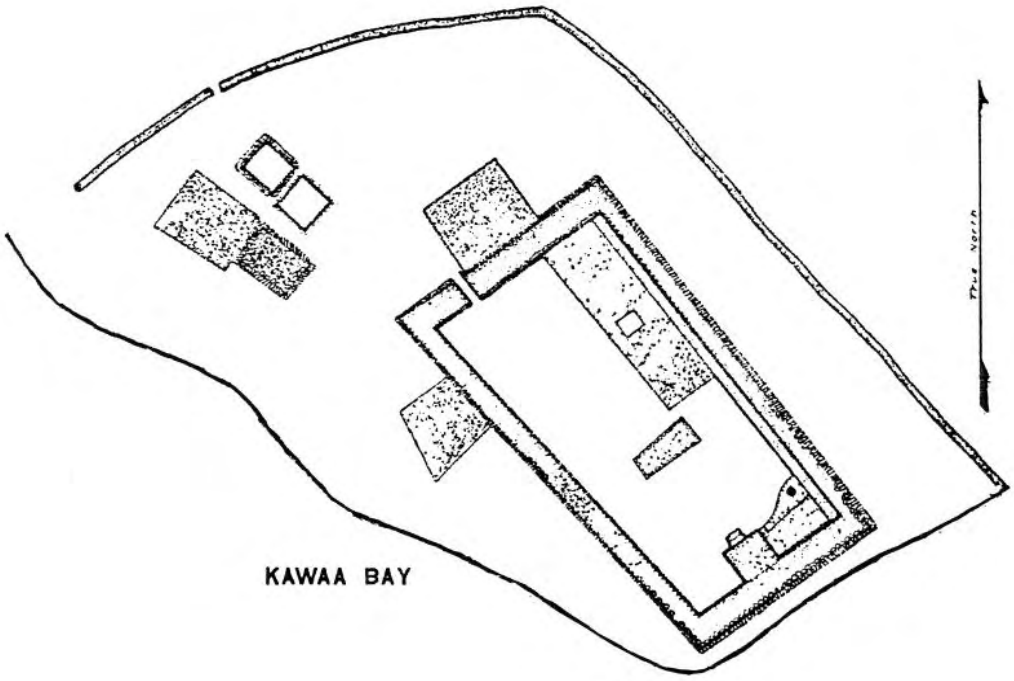
On the point at the north-east side of Kawaa bay. Puu Enuhe bears 168°47', 30", 23,402 ft. Plan H.35. A very heavy-walled enclosure, with several platforms, and bounded on the land side with a light wall. The sea-cliff at the point is about 30 ft high, yet the south-west wall of the heiau has been almost entirely destroyed by the sea. It has been shown in place on the plan [Fig. 30a].

One of the interesting features of the heiau is the floor, almost level, paved with beach-worn stones about five inches in diameter, and contrasting strongly with the rough, broken stones of the walls and platforms. The floor has been raised 2.5 ft. above the level of the ground outside. On the inside the walls are 6 ft. high, and on the outside from 7 to 9 ft.

The inner portion of the north-east wall has been built as a bench 4 ft. higher than the floor and 4.5 ft. wide. In the north corner of the enclosure is a long platform, 2 feet high, with a square pit, 1.5 ft. deep in the middle. This platform is said to have supported the "King's house." South of the last is a smaller platform, 1 foot high. Adjoining the south-east wall is a small square platform 5 ft. high, approached by two broad steps each 1.5 ft. high. This platform is said to be the kuaha. In the east corner and adjoining the kuaha or altar of sacrifice, is a pavement of beach pebbles, 1 foot lower than the floor level. Two feet higher than the last and adjoining it on the north-west is a platform with its outer wall curved; it contains a stone-curbed pit, 7 ft. deep and 4 wide. The curved platform is 1 foot higher than the main floor. The lele is said to have been in the eastern corner.

The platform adjoining the wall on the outside near the entrance is 2.5 ft. high, and that on the south-west 2 ft. high. There was, it is said, a kahua hoomaha (platform for resting) in this vicinity.

To the west of the temple proper and inside the sacred boundary are two other platforms, the larger in area 1.5 ft high and the smaller 6 ft high. They seem to have been joined by a wall to the west corner of the temple proper, but the lines were too indefinite to plot. North of the high and low platform, and near the entrance in the outer boundary, are two square pits, 4 ft deep, that nearer the entrance being partly enclosed with a low wall. These are said to have been for the hookupu (contributions). The ground to the north-west of the temple proper, while now much disturbed, seems to have been levelled off formerly. This has not been done, however, between the boundary wall and the temple proper on the north-east, the ground here being low and much broken [Fig. 30*b*].



a



b

Fig. 30. KE'EKŪ HEIAU, KAWAA BAY, HILEA, KA'Ū, 1906: *a*. plan by J. F. G. Stokes (H.35) (BM Neg. 3365*b*); *b*. photo by Stokes (BM Neg. 1135).

Heiau of Kohaikalani, land of Hilea 1, Kau [Site Ha-B10-9] [Figs. 31 & 32]

On the southern brow of Makanau plateau, Puu Enuhe bears 205°36, 11,448 ft. Plan H.36. An enclosure with walls from 4.5 to 5.5 ft. high inside, and averaging 6.5 ft. on the outside. All the interior fittings have gone, taken to raise cane. The entrance is now the southern corner. The names of two men are given who are supposed to have built this heiau; one Kaiawa, and other Kohaikalani, more commonly known as Koha. The latter was the Kau king who was killed at this heiau, (which he is said to have been building), through a conspiracy of the common people in which the priest joined. It is a well known story locally, and is still being related in Kau, but it may prove not out of place to give here a version of it translated from Jules Remy (Recis d'un Vieux Sauvage, Chalons-sur-Marne, 1859) and privately printed (W.T.B.)[*] 1868 p. 31. "Kohaokalani was, according to tradition, the most important chief on the island, and reigned in royal state at Hilea. He it was who built the heiau situated on the great plain of Makanau. The sea-worn pebbles may still be seen, which Kohaokalani had his people carry up to the height, about two leagues from the shore. These pebbles were intended for the interior pavement of the temple. The people, worn out by the great difficulty of transportation, tired of the yoke of royalty, and incited by disloyal priests, began to let their discontent and discouragement show itself. A conspiracy was soon formed by these two classes leagued against the chief, and a religious ceremony offered on occasion to rid themselves of the despot.

"The temple was completed, and it only remained to carry a god up there. The divinity was nothing but an ohia tree of enormous size, which had been cut down in the forest of Ninole. At the appointed day, the chief priests and people set to work to draw the god to his residence. In order to reach the height of Makanau, there was a very steep pali to be ascended. They had to carry up the god on the side towards Ninole, which

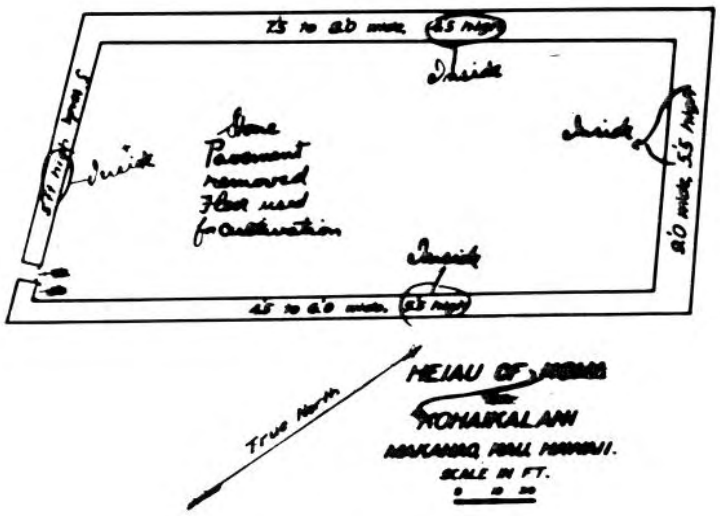


Fig. 31. PLAN OF *HEIAU* OF KOHAIKALANI, MAKANAU, KA'Ū, HAWAI'I (H.36) (BM Neg. 3376).



Fig. 32. RUINS OF *HEIAU* ON MAKANAU HILL: *a.* inside facing of southeast wall (Neg. HA(a)29-4); *b. 'ili'ili* on the ground interior of *heiau* (HA(a)29-6) (photos by V. Hansen 1968).

was all the better for the execution of their premeditated plan. Arrived at the base of the precipice all pulled at the rope; but the god either by the contrivance of the priests, or owing to the obstacles which the roughness of the rock presented, ascended only with great difficulty. 'The god will never come to the top of the pali,' said the kahuna, 'if the chief continues to walk before him; the god should go first by right of power, and the chief below, following, to push the lower end; otherwise we shall never overcome his resistance.' The high chief Kohaokalani, complied with the advice of the priests, placed himself beneath the god, and pushed the end from below. Instantly priests and people let go the cord, and the enormous god rolling upon the chief, crushed him at once. The death of Kohaokalani is attributed chiefly to the kahuna." Kaiawa perhaps. It was a heiau for human sacrifices [Figs. 31 and 32].

Heiau of Kaieie, Land of Ninole, Kau [Site Ha-B9-1] [Fig. 33].

At the edge of the aa flow on the west side of Ninole Bay. Puu Ehu bears 170°50', 5476 ft. All that was found was a cleared level stretch of aa paved with beach pebbles. On the east it overhung the sea, the rough aa forming the other boundaries. On account of these natural limits, it is probable that the place was never enclosed with walls [see Fig. 33].

Heiau of Mokini, land of Ninole, Ka'u.

Perhaps identical with the last. It was a name heard in Waiohinu and Honuapo, but the single resident of Ninole met with, knew only of the Kaieie above referred to.

Heiau of Lanipao, land of Punaluu, Kau [Site Ha-B8-2].

Near the south-west boundary of Punaluu and 1600 ft. from the sea. Puehu bears 131°56, 2804 ft. Plan H. 37. A small L-shaped enclosure with walls 6 ft. high and from 6 to 7.5 ft. thick. The southern portion is occupied by three terraces, each rising 1 ft. Outside and adjoining the western wall is an enclosure with small walls, 3 ft. high and thick. This heiau is said to have been built by Laka, of Kauai [Fig. 34].

Heiau of Kaneeleele, Halelau, Punaluu-nui or Mailekini, land of Punaluu, Kau [Site Ha-B8-1].

East of an adjoining Punaluu wharf and warehouses, which are probably built on the heiau premises. Puehu bears 122°37, 4532 ft. This heiau probably extended to near the edge of the cliff bordering Punaluu Bay, and its western boundary was destroyed when the face of the cliff was graded for the wharf and the first warehouse built before 1906. Since that date another and larger warehouse has been erected, and the man in charge of the work has informed me that he had dug into a high bank of artificially laid stones, and during the work came across a pit about 10 ft. deep and "full of bones". The site of the bone-pit is now occupied by the concrete base of the warehouse engine, at the south-east corner of the building, a mark which will no doubt remain for some time.

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*W.T.B., initials of William T. Brigham, who edited and added notes to Stokes' manuscript.

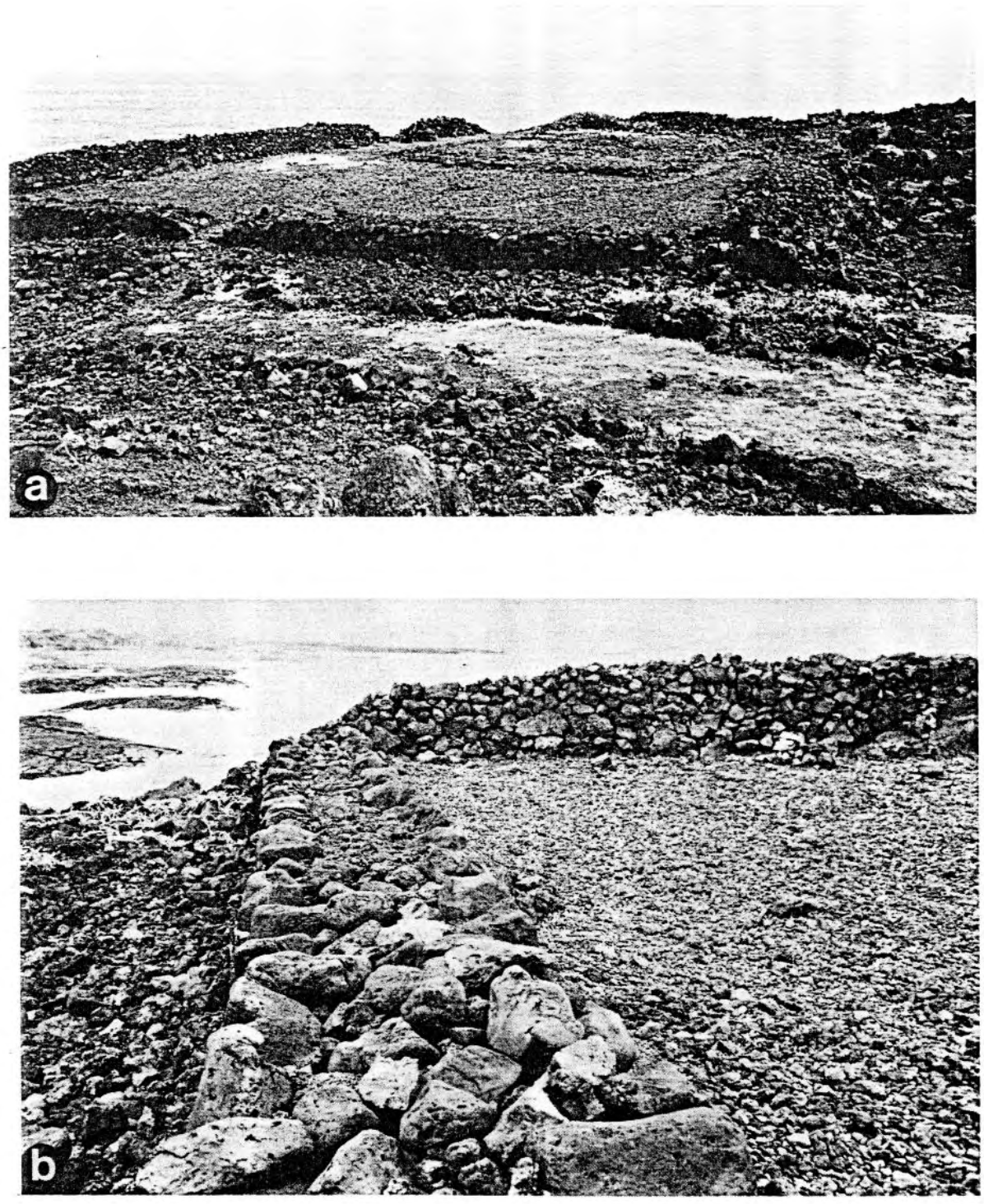


Fig. 33. KA'IE'IE HEIAU, NĪNOLE, KA'Ū: *a*. looking E at Ka'ie'ie Heiau, across old government road along lower half of photo (BM Neg. H3057-19); *b*. looking NE along *heiau* wall beside old government road; in distance at left of photo are rocks to which shoreline may have extended before 1868 tsunami (see Appendix F) (BM Neg. H3058-0) (photos by V. Hansen).

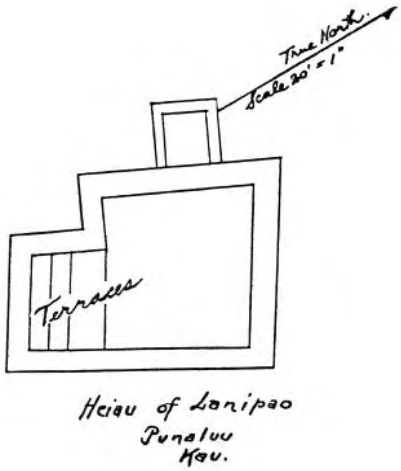


Fig. 34. PLAN OF LANIPAO HEIAU BY J. F. G. STOKES (H.37).

As seen in 1906, the heiau site consisted of a large level area of aa, about 700 by 500 ft., which had been leveled off and partly paved with beach pebbles. The only definite feature remaining was a large wall on the eastern side, 8.5 ft. high and 9 ft. thick; it ran N 18°30 W., 648 ft. From either extreme, broken walls continued at right angles towards the west for about 230 ft. Outside the southern wall was a large flat stone, called locally "the sacrificial stone" [Fig. 35]. East of and adjoining the large wall was another paved area, measuring about 500 ft. each way. It was not enclosed, and was better and more evenly paved with beach pebbles than the first portion described.

The immensity of the place for a heiau would denote a temple of great importance, and it was a matter of keen regret that no features of the internal arrangement were definite enough to plot [Fig. 36]. The name Kaneeleele has been selected on Thrum's authority. It was on the list furnished me by Mr. Thrum, but was not known in Punaluu. The first name heard locally was Maile-kini, and later another native stated that there were two heiau, that on the south being known as Halelau, and that on the north as Punaluu-nui [Fig. 37].[*]

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*During his journeys to the *luakini heiau*, Liholiho visited "Wahaula in Puna and Punaluu in Kau " (Ii 1959:137). Thrum (1908:78) reported that Kane'ele'ele Heiau was "...said to have had affiliations with Wahaula in Puna..." but did not describe them. It is probable that each district had one "national" *heiau* that was visited by the Island's high chief: Waha'ula for Puna, Kane'ele'ele for Ka'ū, Hale o Keawe for Kona, Pu'ukoholā for Kohala, and Kanoa in Hilo (Ii 1959:137).



Fig. 35. THE SO-CALLED "SACRIFICIAL STONE" NEAR PUNALU'U-NUI HEIAU. (Photo by T. Kelsey, before 1920; loaned by A. Hall) (BM Neg. H1277).

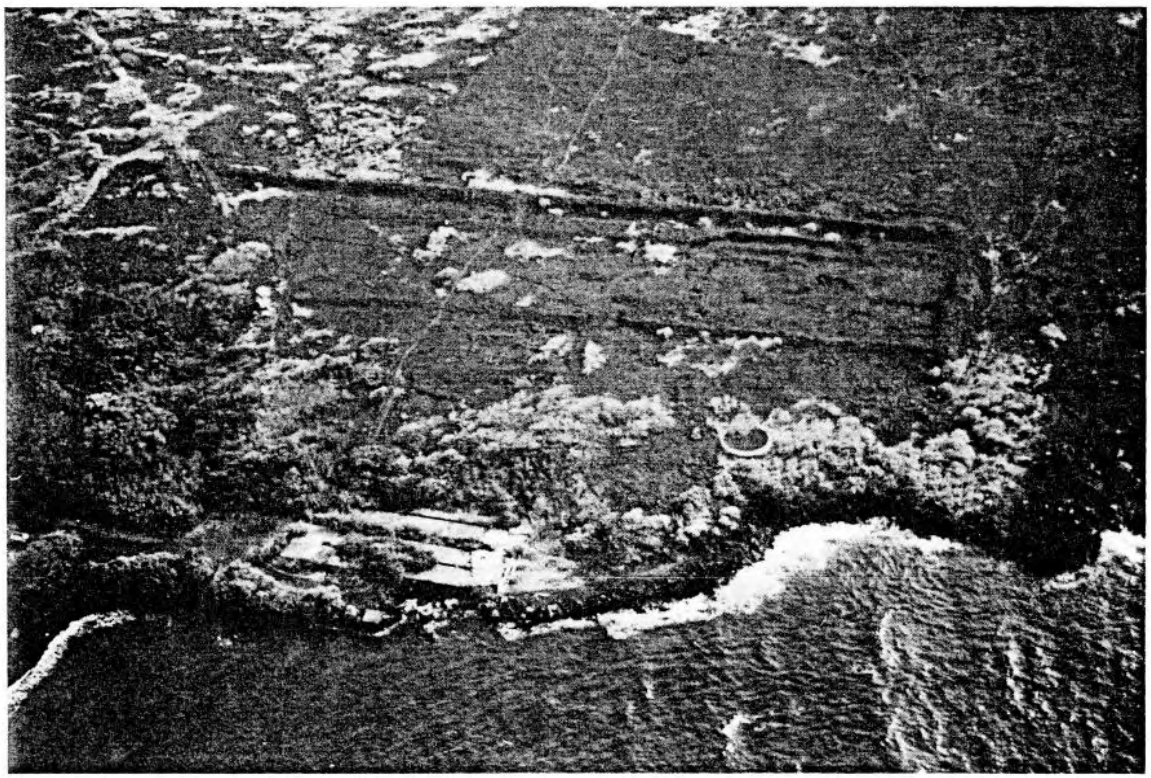


Fig. 36. AERIAL VIEW OF PUNALU'U-NUI HEIAU. (Photo by Glen Kaye, 1974) (BM Neg. HA(a)323-16).



Fig. 37. PUNALU'U-NUI HEIAU, LOOKING SOUTH TOWARD PUNALU'U VILLAGE AND BAY. Note Lanipao Heiau, center background of photo. 1954.

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APPENDIX B. Some Additional Legends of Ka'ū

The Woman Who Married a Caterpillar*

A good many stories have grown up in the district of Ka'u, on Hawaii, which emphasize the awe felt for the little caterpillars, called in Hawaiian *unuhi*** or *peelua*.**

It was in this way that the worship of *peelua*, or cut-worms began in Hawaii.

Kumuhea, son of the god Ku, fell in love with a certain young woman and took her to wife. No one knew that he could change himself into a huge caterpillar, they only thought of him as a handsome young man.

After his marriage, Kumuhea spent his nights as a worm eating potato leaves and returned home in the morning. Being soft and flabby like a worm, he did not know how to work to support his wife, but expected her to pick up whatever she could for food.

As she grew thinner and thinner through starvation, she reported her distress to her father and he inquired where her husband went at night. In order to track her husband, she tied a hemp string to him (attached to the appendage found on the back of a caterpillar) which uncoiled as he went out.

But the string tangled on a bush and he discovered the trick. This made him so angry that he returned home to attack all the potato patches in the vicinity, after first taking his unfortunate wife to the hill in Ka'u district called Hill of the caterpillar, Puu-e-nuhe,† where he made his home.

So destructive was he that the people appealed to Kane to save them. Kane discovered the god near the hill-cave and cut him up into tiny bits, in which size the cut-worm remains to this day.

So the Hawaiians feel that the leaves of their potato patches belong to the old god Kumuhea, who appears to-day in the form of a little worm.

Kiilani††

In a small place between Koloa and Kawā in Ka'u lives a very beautiful woman named Kiilani. Kiilani's favorite occupation was to bathe in the sea pools every day. The sea gods admired her whenever she went bathing. They desired to have her [with them] because she was

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*Green [1923:44-45].

**_unuhi_ should be _'enuhe_; _peelua_ should be _pe'elua_.

†_Puu-e-nuhe_ should be _pu'u-enuhe_.

††H.E.N. [Ms. I:1437], translated by M.K. Pukui.

so happy in her sea bathing. One day as Kiilani was absorbed in her happy bathing in the sea pool, a great wave rose up and washed her out to sea. She turned into a shark. When she was seen, she was easily recognized by the way she swam hither and thither as though full of joy.

Mo'o

A story tells about a cannibalistic *mo'o* named Kaikapū (hag) who lived in a cave at Nīnole. She had a pretty granddaughter named Ninole whom she used to decoy travellers to her cave, whereupon she took them one by one, killed them and devoured them raw. She ate her own grandson, Ninole's brother, before she discovered who he was Kaikapū was finally killed by Laka and his helpers [Beckwith 1940: 263,264].

Stories About Sharks

Shark stories are told about both good and bad sharks. The good ones help man and the bad ones eat man. Named sharks included both kinds.

One of the most famous of the named sharks of Ka'ū was Kealiʻikaua o Ka'ū. He was born at Nīnole, was a friend of man and served man by killing those sharks that ate human flesh. His last caretaker (*kahu*) was a man named ʻAi who died in 1878 at Nīnole.

Shark Gods: Kuamuamu's Account of the Shark Gods of Ka-ū*

> Though himself a shark living in the sea, his spirit would at times dwell in a man walking the earth, through whom, as his agent, he conversed with men. His usual formula before killing a shark was to ask him what food he ate. If he replied "men," he was killed, but if the reply was otherwise, the shark was spared.

Kealiʻikaua and another shark, Kalani, travelled to Maui, Molokaʻi and Oʻahu. Kalani got caught in a net at ʻEwa, Oʻahu, and was cut up and baked in an earth oven. When Kealiʻikaua o Ka'ū discovered his friend Kalani had been caught and baked he was furious.

> ...he raised a great tidal wave. All the flesh of Kalani had been baked except two pieces. Two men seized these and ran inland; the tidal wave pursued them, but they escaped. The rest of the slain shark was washed out into the sea and he was restored, except those two pieces, which formed a spouting horn of Kealae at Kamilo.

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*The story from which this was taken was dictated by J. S. Emerson to H.E.M. Alexander in March, 1888. Copied in Honolulu, Feb. 1906, Kahuna Wisdom. B. P. Bishop Mus. Collection.

Kealiʻikaua o Kaʻū and Kalani traveled with three other sharks, Kua, Kane, and Kaholiakane, the latter two of which were so large that they could not enter Pearl Harbor's Ewa locks where Kua, Kealiʻikaua o Kaʻū and Kalani went "to make war against a female shark, Kaahupahau, who lived in a cave guarded by a large *honu* (turtle)." They finally defeated her, but not until after a fierce battle.

The five friends went on to tour Kauai where they met "Kupiopio, the child of Kuheimoana, the greatest of all sharks, at Keamoku, Hāʻena. Kupiopio, being seven fathoms long, and Kuheimoana, thirty."

They engaged him in conversation. When it appeared that he ate human flesh, they told him that it was wrong, to which he replied that it was nice and that they must defeat him before he would stop doing so.

Keali'ikaua o Ka'u entered into battle with him and slew him after a desperate conflict, throwing him upon the shore. The people at Hāʻena rejoiced that their great foe was slain and cut him up after which they cooked and ate him.

The five sharks then proceeded to Kaʻula, where they met the great Kuheimoana. She asked them where they came from, being fearful for her son's safety. They answered that they had been exploring. It leaked out that the great shark of Kauaʻi, Kupi'opi'o, had been slain. Kuheimoana then prepared for battle, but the sharks, being afraid of her, retreated into shoal water.

After consultation, Keali'ikaua o Kaʻū decided to fight the monster, whereupon he entered her mouth and assumed the form of a boulder (*pōhaku ʻalā*), which was his custom on such occasions. He then kept Kuheimoana's jaws apart while the others bit and rubbed against her mouth until she was almost dead, when she begged for mercy. This request was granted and she asked them their names. It appeared that Keali'ikaua o Kaʻū was her grandson, being the son of Kupi'opi'o, who had frequented the Kaʻū coast. She then joined them as a friend and they proceed to Kahiki to search for man-eating sharks. They failed to find any and returned to Kaʻula.

Then they went to the ʻAlenuihāhā Channel. Keali'ikaua o Kaʻū was not pleased with the idea of a man-eating shark accompanying them to Kaʻū. He went into the shoal water where Kuheimoana was stranded and on learning that it was no deeper for the rest of the journey, Kuheimoana returned to Kauaʻi. The others returned to Kaʻū.

It was found that Kalani's back was not yet healed and the hole may still be seen in the spouting horn at Kealae at Kamilo. His blood in the water gives the tint to the rainbow about the spouting horn.

Sharks of Kaʻū

There were many named sharks who were either supernatural (*kupua*) or family gods (*ʻaumakua*) in the district of Kaʻū. Following is a partial list:

*Na manō kupua o Hawai'i i noho ma Ka'ū.**
[The supernatural sharks of Hawai'i living at Ka'u]

Keliikauahi
Kua
Kalani
Mikalolou**
Koleakane
Keliikaua-o-Ka'u

Some of the *'aumakua* sharks of Ka'ū families.

Kuhauhia
Pakaiea

A story about a supernatural shark is reproduced below to illustrate the relationship of these sharks with men.

Puhi†

Puhi was a native of Kamilo of Ka'ū and keeper to the guardian shark Kalani. He used to go up to his food patches and gather potatoes, bananas, taro, and sugar cane and bringing them home, he would cook the taro and potatoes and put them into calabashes which he slung in nets to either end of a carrying stick, together with the sugar cane and bananas, and, carrying them down to the sea, he would call to Kalani to come and eat.

After Kalani had eaten, the shark would rise to the surface close to shore and Puhi would step on to his back and break off the barnacles that clung there. Sometimes there were small squid and shellfish among the barnacles. After his back was cleaned, the shark would roll over so that his belly could also be cleaned. Then Puhi would rest and eat while Kalani drove in *manini* fish into pools where they could easily be caught.

Puhi was a kindly man, hospitable and affable. Everyone like him well and mourned him sincerely when he died.

'Aumakua Stories

Hawaiians do not care to discuss their *'aumakua* (family gods) with strangers, nor do they mention the names of their *'aumakua* often, even with members of their own families. The belief however in *'aumakua* persists even to this day.

Pakaiea I

The ancestress of a Ka'ū family had the great shark god Ke-lii-ka'u-a-o-Ka-ū for a lover and gave birth to a little male shark. Her father took the shark child, wrapped it in *pa-ka'i-e'a* seaweed, and placed it in

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*H.E.N. [Ms. II:109]

**Mikalolou lived in Puna and Ka'ū.

†H.E.N. [Ms. I:1386-1387]

the sea, calling upon the shark's father to come and take it. After a time, the spirit of the child spoke to the mother and immediate relatives through a *haka*, or medium. It told them that it was named Pakaiea after the seaweed in which it was wrapped and hence no member of the family was to eat that kind of seaweed. The spirit was not to be called upon or worshipped except in extreme need (H.E.N. I:1440).

Pakaiea II

This *tapu* (taboo) descended to the mother's descendants. One of these named Kahikina was once out fishing when an enemy shark attacked his canoe and tried to overturn it. He saw another shark approach, drive away the enemy shark, and then conduct the canoe to shore on its back. When he stepped ashore, he recognized his protector by its green and reddish markings as the shark Pakaiea, and hurried home to bring bananas and *'awa* (*kawa*)* as an offering. He and his younger brother were successful as fishermen because this shark used to drive the fish in shore where the two had hung their nets. They always set aside a few fishes for Pakaiea (H.E.N. I:1441).

Pakaiea III

A girl from Ka'ū who was a grandchild of the shark *'aumakua* called Pakaiea came to 'Ewa on O'ahu to visit her older sister who had married a man of that place. As the shark meat was not *tapu* in the husband's family, it was served dried and broiled for supper one evening, and the visitor, not recognizing it, ate heartily. That night she was taken with vomiting and swelling of the abdomen and she found no relief until her mother, who was living with relatives at Kapālama, carried her to the seashore and prayed to the *'aumakua* to pardon her child. Two bright eyes approached from the sea. The mother took sea water and sprinkled her child as a sign of purification. The appearance of the shark's eyes were a mark of forgiveness, and within a week the girl was as well as ever (H.E.N. I:1445).

Kuhauhia

A shark named Kuhauhia was the *'aumakua* of a certain family of Ka'ū. He was to be seen swimming in the vicinity of Ka'alu'alu and Ka-mi-lo off the coast of Ka'ū, and was easily to be recognized by a loin cloth that hung down below his body. Sometimes kind and helpful to fisherfolk, he was often capricious, tearing their nets, biting their legs, pulling at their oars, hence he was avoided whenever possible. Kuhauhio had formerly possessed the power of living either as a man or as a shark, but on land

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* *'awa* or *kawa* [*Piper methysticum*] is a plant, the root of which was chewed and the resulting bolus mixed with water and strained to form a kind of narcotic drink much used by Hawaiian chiefs and priests in Hawaiian times and often mentioned in connection with feeding of *'aumakua* sharks.

he caused so much trouble by torturing men whom he met in lonely places that the men of the place prayed to the shark god, Kamohoali'i, to deprive him of his human body. Once when he had gone swimming in his shark body, he found to his dismay that he could not resume his human form (H.E.N. I:1442-1443).

Two women of Ka'ū were once out in a canoe with some men a long distance from shore when the canoe suddenly capsized and the women were left struggling in the water. One of them called upon her shark *'aumakua*. The shark came to her and she clung to it, but when her companion tried to do the same, it slapped her with its tail. Thus abandoned, the woman remembered a story of a family *'aumakua* which her grandfather had related to her, and she too called upon her *'aumakua* if it were really true that she had any *'aumakua* in the sea. Soon she felt a body rise beneath her. A huge red cowry shell--*leho-'ula*--turned upside down, held her with a firm grip, and sailed boat-like toward the shore. She reached land before her companion with the shark. Afterward it was revealed to a relative in a dream that the shark was a wicked *'aumakua* and would have returned and killed her had not the *'aumakua* of her own family come to her aid (H.E.N. I:1444).

The Chief Who Loved to Travel

Told by Keliihue Alakaihu, a relative.

Ka-lo'a-umi was a chief of Kona, but desiring to travel incognito as a commoner, he ran away from his older brother and walked all the way to Ka'ū, where he met some hospitable people, lived with them, and later married a daughter of a neighboring chief. After some years a famine came upon the land. Kaloaumi made no effort to seek food with the other men and his relatives-in-law grumbled at him as a lazy commoner. His pride was hurt and picking up his adz and calling upon his wife to follow him, he led her mountainward. After a long walk, they came to a place where tree ferns grew plentifully. "Here is food," said his wife. "No, we will go farther," said the man. At each clump of tree ferns which they passed along the wife urged that they stop and cut some, but he insisted upon going farther.

At length, Kona lay before them. He hastened forward to his own village and was recognized by his people as their chief who had disappeared. He was welcomed with a feast and the people rejoiced that he had married a woman of chief's blood. Of his two sons born some years later, one was named Ke-li'i-puni-ka-i-lani, or "The-chief-who-loves-to-travel" (H.E.N. I:1473).

The Short Story of Large and Small Taro*

In years that have gone by there grew these varieties of taro at South Kona, Hawaii, by a certain farmer of that time named Laka, who lived in his small house at Lanipae, his cultivating field. When the time arrived for the ripening of these taros Laka gathered firewood

*_Kuokoa_, 12/28/1867.

for their baking, which he took and broke upon a noted large stone of his farm. Large taro and small taro both hear the sound of wood breaking by this Laka, and large taro said to small taro: "Say, small-taro, Laka of Lanipae is breaking firewood, shortly will be our death." Small-taro replied to him: "you of us is the one to die, not me. I will be pulled but for my unripeness I will be replanted under the low place; you will be pulled, and for your plumpness you will be taken and baked in the oven by Laka, you will die."

Large-taro was sad at Small-taro's application of death signs to himself, so they consulted together to fly away from that place where they had grown (there above Keei is the place spoken of). In their flight they reached Punalu'u in Ka'ū, Hawai'i, where they landed, and those small patches called Large-taro and Small-taro remain to this day. Laka chased after them till he reached there. When I left Laka had just finished eating, and girding on his malo he returned, if it was by horse-back faster than on foot (H.E.N., Thrum 64).

He Koauka a he Koakai*

Those of the Upland; Those of the Shore.

The places lived in by this race were divided into two divisions, the places between mountain and sea, and the places on the shores all around the island, called a *mokupuni*. As those of the upland were called *koa-uka* and those of the shores, *koa-kai*.

There were recognizable signs that told where a man had come from by his appearance and by what he had in his hand or on his back. What he did made it better known.

These things made a better understanding between the two walks of life. When a *koauka* longed for some fish, he prepared some bundles of poi, wrapped them in ti leaves, put them in a *lauhala* bag and outside of the whole a carrying net (*koko*). Then it was carried slung over the shoulder to the shore with the idea of meeting with a *koakai* and making him a friendly present of these bundles of food. Not for sale, Oh no! Although it might resemble it. The thought back of it was hidden in the mind of the man for it was a matter of shame among the people of this sacred land to sell to each other. That is, to wait until you were given something before giving anything. Selling is but a modern thing.

In the life of this race of people from the beginning of the days of our ancestors, it was the custom to give first and not wait until given before giving. The *koa-kai* also observed this custom. When he lacked poi, he made enough strings of fish and went to the upland to seek a friend.

Because of the way of living in the olden days, giving away became a fixed custom with the people. Their deeds made this race famous for hospitality and lovableness.

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*_Kuokoa_, 6/8/1922.

We older folks have often heard it said, "Don't wait to be asked, give;" and the other, "Call the stranger in to eat." These were words that we never failed to hear among all the families in this land. The ears were so accustomed to hearing them and no one could deny the truth of this statement. If he denies it, then we know that he came from a stingy family.

So the customs of the people are vanishing today, there is selling, back and forth. Would it be possible to revive them among ourselves? The writer of the article says, Yes, it could be revived, but not outside of the lands of rehabilitation, and among the families who dwell and re-habilitate in the future.

Lack of poi and fish was unusual in those days. When a *koa-uka* lacked fish, a *koa-kai* relieved his need and when a *koa-kai* needed poi a *koa-uka* provided him with some.

Many good things would come out of this re-habilitation, not new things, Oh no, but the old fixed customs among this race that live again....

Appendix C. EXCERPTS FROM "TOUR OF THE ISLANDS"*

Part of our company reached the station at Wai'ōhinu, in Ka'ū, at midnight, the rest at breakfast time Thursday morning and received a welcome from our friends there such as leaves a refreshing remembrance in the heart's recesses....

This was the last station occupied on Hawai'i. It was taken in 1841 by the Rev. J. D. Paris, and consequently has enjoyed less missionary labor than the other parts of the island. This is seen in the appearance of the natives, and accounts for the fact that there are more Roman Catholics, in proportion to the number of inhabitants in this field than in any other district on the island. The house at Wai'ōhinu is the most convenient one on Hawai'i. It is of two stories and has four large convenient, well arranged rooms on each floor, with abundant cupboard and pantry rooms. A clear stream of water runs through the premises. The garden is neatly terraced and produces a greater variety of fruit than we had elsewhere seen. We counted of fruits and flowers fifty varieties....

While at this station we visited a cave five miles from Wai'ōhinu and penetrated it more than half a mile. At the entrance it formed a beautiful arch with a span of fifty or sixty feet and a height of at least thirty. The bottom was very rough, consisting of large pieces of lava which had fallen down. In some places the cave would contract, and these pieces almost fill up the passage, at others the cave would swell out and become very large, so that our lights would scarcely throw a ray across the chambers....While on the way to this cave, we noticed many a tall, stately trunk, branchless and lifeless standing monument-like, all over the country. On enquiry we ascertained that they were the remains of a noble forest, which, with the whole surrounding country, were burnt in 1846. In that year a severe drouth visited the Island, the streams dried up, the grass withered, and fire swept over the whole district, and it was only by the greatest exertions on the part of the natives and their pastor, that the church and mission premises were saved. On our return, we ascended the hills back of the mission, and when we had reached an elevation of about 5,000 feet were repaid with one of the richest scenes it was our privilege to look upon. Below us lay, fashioned by the hand of nature, within a range of ten miles, six lovely terraces, on whch one thousand dwellings might be placed, each of which should have a prospect of the sea, the rocky shore, the lava and the verdant upland. To each of these farms might be attached, of from 100 to 1500 acres of land, now lying utterly waste, that would repay bountifully the labor of the husbandman. The grass, with which most of the land was covered, grows luxuriantly and attains the height of two or three feet. On this land we saw some noble upland kalo, and a number of very large banana trees. Several crystal springs take their rise on the summit, and might send, if rightly directed, a portion of their treasures through every man's fields. Behind this noble series of hills, timber abounds. So that there is to be found

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*Published in *The Polynesian* [Sailor 1849:126,130] in 13 installments by an anonymous author who signed himself SAILOR. He related the experiences on a trip mainly around the Island of Hawai'i beginning in Hilo on August 15, 1849, and ending back there on September 14, 1849, having journeyed 358 miles--280 miles on foot, 25 on horseback, and 53 by canoe.

every thing desirable to make a rich farming country, and in a circuit of some fifteen miles, might be abundantly grown the best products of the temperate, with the rich and varied fruits of the tropic zones. But alas the farmers are wanting, the land lies in all the wild luxuriance of nature desolate, there are no passable roads, except foot paths, to it, and no harbor at which vessels could lie in safety, is found within many miles.

The congregation of the Sabbath here amounts to about six hundred. The church is a very neat edifice of stone--the best piece of native masonry I ever saw.[*] The floor is made of large square blocks of stone laid in mortar, and the inside, so far as finished, is very handsomely plastered and whitewashed. The natives were at work finishing it, and they bade fair to have a house to worship in when completed, equal to any on the Island for comfort and good taste.

In this delightful place we remained till the following Tuesday, and loth were we to leave it even then, but we must needs go when necessity drives, and this was our case exactly. Laden with lots of good things for the inward man on the journey, as well as good wishes not a few, we started for the volcano and hilo... [*Ibid.*:126].

...On leaving Wai'ōhinu, our route ran along the side hill. The path was good, and might with a little labor be turned into a carriage road for several miles. We were descending continually till after a walk of seven miles we reached the sea. On the way we had another fine view of the natural terraces, but in an opposite direction from that in which we saw them before, and seen from the path they appeared if possible even more lovely and extensive than they did when we looked down on them.

On reaching the sea we struck a stream of rough lava, but found a good smooth path over it to our great delight, as most of the company had their very last pair of shoes on their feet, and there was still four days travel before them, besides the descent into the volcano.

Crossing this, we came to a large pond of almost fresh water. At one end of the pond, the water bubbles up very fast from beneath the lava and were it not that the sea water gets in also, it would be very fine. In this part we bathed, and were greatly refreshed. Soon after we went over the great wall built by Kamehameha the 1st across the mouth of a bay to enclose it and to make a fishpond. This wall is perhaps seven feet high, eighteen or twenty wide, and half a mile long, and it makes a pond of one and a half or two miles square. [**] Passing this, we left the shore and entered on a fine fertile country, with here and there large patches of the mountain kalo growing luxuriantly. At 5 p.m. reached the house of Jakoba [†], a deacon in the church, who prepared us an excellent supper and placed one of his houses, with lots of clean mats and kapas at our disposal....

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*The church was destroyed in the 1868 earthquakes (Fig. 38).

**The description of the pond is similar to those by Rev. William Ellis and Lorenzo Lyons of Kamehameha I's fishpond at Kiholo:

At early dawn we roused out....The day was fine...the sea was visible, but a good ways off, while landward of us towered Mauna Loa... far above the clouds [*Ibid.*:130].

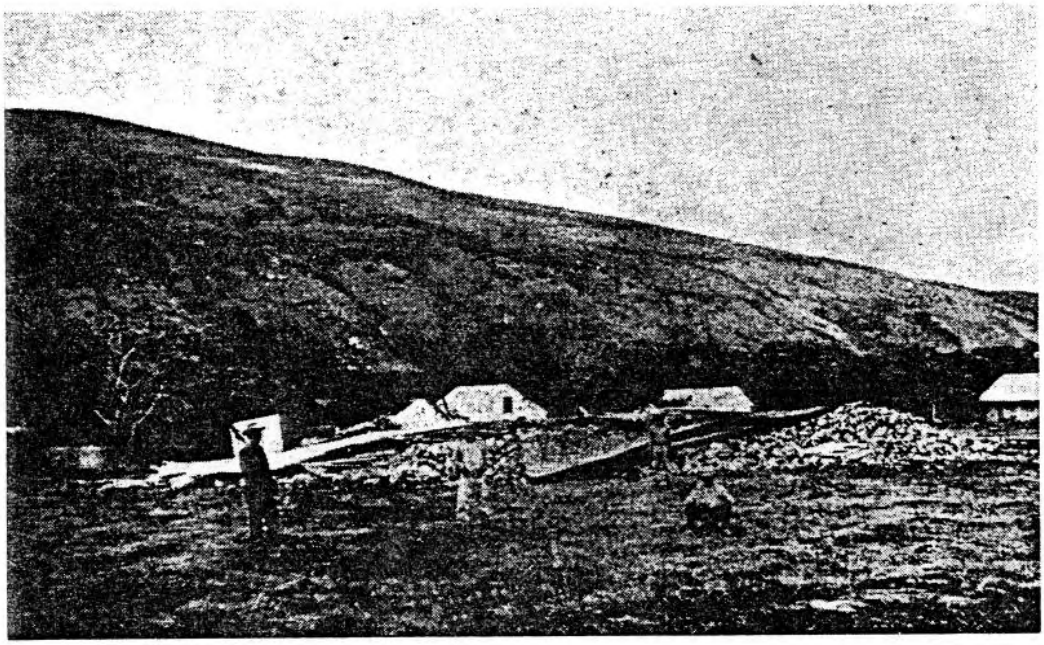


Fig. 38. RUINS OF CHURCH AT WAI'OHINU AFTER EARTHQUAKE, APRIL 2, 1868.

**continued

> ...A small bay, perhaps half a mile across, runs inland a considerable distance. From one side to the other of this bay, Tamehameha built a strong 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 [Ellis 1963:295].
>
> ...one of the artificial wonders of Hawaii; an immense work! A prodigious wall runs through a portion of the ocean, a channel for the water, etc. Half of Hawaii worked on it in the days of Kamehameha [Doyle 1953:136-137].

Ellis' trip to Kiholo was in 1824 and Lyons' trip in 1859, when the fishpond was filled in by a large lava flow in 1859 [Kelly 1973:92-95].

It is difficult to imagine a fishpond of this size in Ka'ū, while the ponds at Honu'apo, Hīlea, and Punalu'u are large, certainly no one would say that any one of them is "...one and a half or two miles square" (see this paper, pp. 22-32). Thus it appears that the writer has probably confused his notes, or remembered incorrectly where he had seen Kamehameha I's large fishpond and its great wall. Punalu'u's pond was, however, deep and cool (see this paper, pp. 30,32).

†This person may have been Jakobo Kaonohi, who put in a grant application to purchase "government land called Kaalaala in Kau...reserving, however, the rights of the natives in this tract and the right of the government over the people" [Land file, May 24, 1849, State Archives].

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APPENDIX D. Portrait of a Trader in Wai'ōhinu, 1864-1874*

In January 1864, Nicholas George** requested of the local land agent the privilege of picking *pulu* on government land of Hi'ona'ā for a period of six months. He didn't wish to purchase or lease the land, but only to have the people who worked for him collect *pulu* from tree-ferns growing on it. W. Thomas Martin,† local land agent, made the arrangements at the nominal charge of $1.00 a month (Inter. Dept. Land file, 5/7/1864).

C. N. Spencer,‡ a competitor of George in Wai'ōhinu, requested in February 1864, the exclusive privilege of gathering *pulu* on unsold portions of several government lands, including Hi'ona'ā. His request was granted as a lease upon payment by him of $250 (Inter. Dept. Bk. 7b: 525).†† George took Spencer to court, demanding that the documents be revealed. He then sued F. S. Lyman, land agent on Hawai'i for the Minister of Interior, C. G. Hopkins. In court the land agent declared that any such privilege contracted to George was automatically nullified by the government's leasing or selling the land involved. George's contract, it was claimed, was a *komo kino* (personal contract) and did not involve any tenure claims on the land--merely use rights, which, in this case, were limited to *pulu* collecting.

Between the years 1867 and 1874, Nicholas George took at least ten persons to court for allegedly breaking labor contracts‡‡ (Third Circuit Criminal Court, cases 45, 155, and 1284) and four persons

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*From Kelly and Crozier (1972:39-49).

**Nicholas George, storekeeper, trader, and sugar planter, purchased the *kuleana* of D. Pipi (LCA 10,683) in 1864.

†W. Thomas Martin was "the son of a West Indian and Hawaiian, married to a Hawaiian of some rank, distantly related to Mr. Kalakaua. He is a magistrate..." (Korn 1958:60).

‡C. N. Spencer's brother, Thomas, held *pulu*-collecting leases on several lands in the Hilo area (Inter. Dept. Bk. 7b:520). Both Charles N. and Thomas traded in *pulu* and became involved in the sugar industry in its early stages. Another brother, Obed Spencer, captained a ship that picked up *pulu* from the outlying harbors and transported it to Hilo (Thrum 1924:122-123).

††All Inter. Dept. Books, Land files, and Third Circuit Court Civil and Criminal cases are in Hawaii State Archives.

‡‡To support labor requirements of sugar planters, the Masters and Servants Act was passed in 1850. "Contract-breaking was...defined in Hawaiian law as criminal, and penalties were provided for two types of violations, *haalele hana*, or desertion, and *hoole hana*, refusal to obey orders" (Lind 1938:212). Originally designed to protect the sugar planters' investments in transportation costs on imported contract labor, this Act was also used by traders to bind Hawaiians to labor contracts.

for alleged debts (Third Circuit Civil Court, cases 506, 524, and 416). George was taken to court three times (Third Circuit Civil Court cases 298, 300, and 301). In one (301, 6/17/1871) Kailioha claimed that George owed him $57 for 114 goats* he had delivered to George. Five witnesses (Kapuoni, Uli, Kaiwahine, Kanehailua, and Capt. Hamlin) testified to the validity of the claim and George was ordered to pay for the goats.

In the other case, Aea Opio had delivered 53,089 pounds of *pulu* to George, but was only credited with 50,000 pounds. He was suing for the remainder. George claimed that Opio had run up a debt at his Kaʻalāiki store in the amount of $252 in groceries, other supplies and cash advances. Included in the store debt George had such items as "Aug. 10, 1871, cost of court before Judge Kupakee $4.00; cash paid Koi, $45.00; 16 bags cotton in the bush through not repairing the road acc. to agreement $16." And on Feb. 20, 1872, "cash paid Opio $25; remaining with Mr. N. George to cover the expense of pending law suit and except for the advance given to Aea Opio, $35."

In addition, George claimed that Opio had broken his "agreement" (contract) and as punishment, George had confiscated 3,089 pounds of *pulu*. Therefore, Opio still owed George $2 on the store bill. Judge Puamana (300, 3/11/1872) ruled against Opio and ordered him to pay the rest of the debt as well as court charges.

In another case George brought W. J. Kaulia to court for debt (3rd Circuit Civil Court, case 416, June 27, 1871). A note had been signed by Kaulia on November 15, 1864, but he claimed he had paid it, partly in cash and partly by a friend, Malailua, who worked off a debt to Kaulia by going to work for George. The judge ruled against Kaulia and he was directed to pay the principal ($84.50) plus the interest ($67.00), minus the amount paid in cash ($31.00) plus court costs of $4.95.

In an earlier case (3rd Circuit Civil Court, case 45) George filed a suit against a woman, Palikika, on June 7, 1865 for breach of contract. She had been working for him as a nurse and housekeeper. After she married, her husband disapproved of her continuing her employment and refused to let her work. George sued for breach of labor contract (3rd Circuit Criminal Court, cases 1419 and 1420).

Other cases were filed by George for desertion (*haalele i ka hana o ko laua haku*). In each case the defendants were required to return to work and pay the court charges (3rd Circuit Criminal Court, cases 155 and 1284).

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*The goatskins were a profitable trade item. In 1850, 26,519 skins were exported at a value of $3,977 (Marques 1906:51). Between 1872-1874, 192,255 skins were exported (Thrum 1876:58). Many Hawaiians used the dry, lava-covered lands to raise goat herds as a source of cash.

One of the most famous of the suits filed by George concerned the government road between Honuʻapo and Punaluʻu. At the time of the tsunami of 1868, the portion of the coastal road at Nīnole and Wailau suffered considerable damage. In some places it was completely destroyed. W. T. Martin, road supervisor, was provided with $200 for repairs to this section of the road (Inter. Dept. Bk. 10:103-104). Apparently a replacement road was built on private land somewhat inland from the original coastal road (Fig. 39).

Petitions from landowners revealed that no reimbursement was made to them for taking their land for the road. Responding to a complaint by J. W. D. Kekaula in January 1871, Minister of Interior, Ferdinand W. Hutchinson, appointed a committee of three to look into the situation. They were N. C. Haley, L. E. Swain, and J. W. Kupakeʻe* and their assignment was to assess the value (if any) of Kekaula's land and report back (Dept. Inter. Bk. 10:350).

Kekaula made a trip to Honolulu early in 1871 to look into his rights and apparently was advised to "close his land which was entered by the road, at Punaluu" (Ltr. from W. T. Martin to Dept.Interior, April 4, 1971).

On June 17, 1871, Kupakeʻe, at that time the district judge, made a decision on charges brought against Kekaula by Nicholas George for $95.00 in damages for closing the road. After examining witnesses and the laws, Kupakeʻe ruled that the road was not a government road because it was closed and "it was a man's right to close the road. For that reason I have released Kekaula and the plaintiff [N. George] has contested my decision and is appealing."

A Civil action suit in the Third Circuit Court (case 438) was instituted and a summons (*palapala kena*) was issued to Kekaula on June 28, 1871.

Testimony was given by Mr. Cross, a teamster for George, to the effect that the Government road had been there [on Kekaula's land] ever since A.D. 1868, and that no damage can be claimed by Kekaula because his "land is only rocks and worth nothing."

The story unfolded during the trial, revealing how Nicholas George, the *pulu* trader, was involved. Kaululaʻau testified that he was a teamster for George, and that, while driving a cart loaded with *pulu* down the road toward Punaluʻu, he discovered too late a stone wall built across the road. The cart crashed into it and was broken. "We are in the habit of bringing *pulu* on the cart to ship on the schooner; the cart being broken, we could not bring *pulu*," he stated.

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*The name Kupakeʻe is famous in Kaʻū. Kamehameha once suspected a Kaʻū chief by the name of Kupakeʻe of dissension so he went to Kaʻaluʻalu and sent a messenger to tell Kupakeʻe, who lived at Kiao in Kamāʻoa, that Kamehameha wished to see him. "O wai oia? If he wants to see Kupakee, he is here at Kiao," was the reply [Kamakau 1961:205].

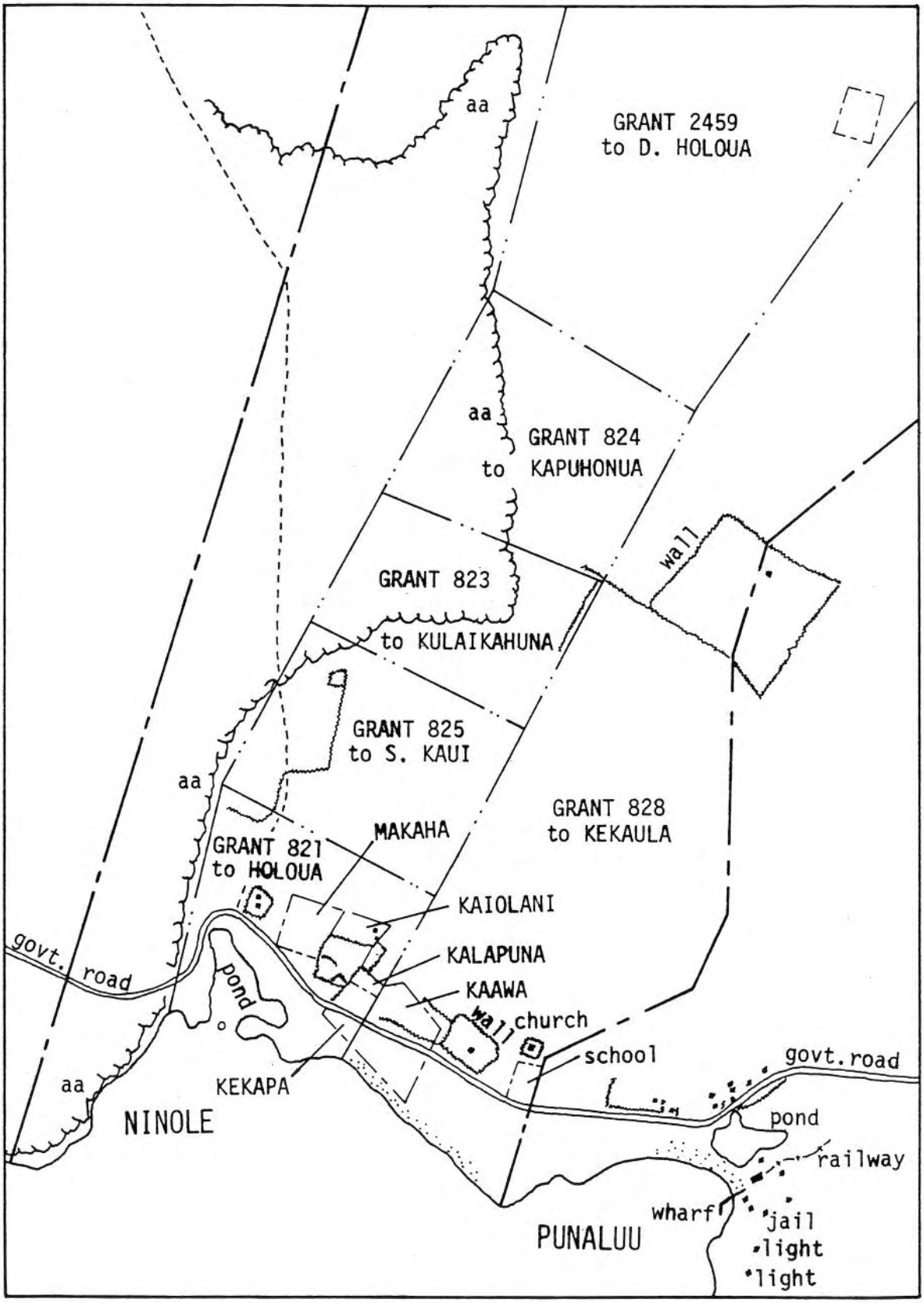


Fig. 39. MAP OF LAND HOLDINGS AND COASTAL ROAD IN NĪNOLE-PUNALU'U AREA. (After Monserrat, 1887)

Namauu testified that on May 27, 1871, Kekaula was making a stone wall across the road. George at that time "threatened to sue him...The road is stopped to this day."

N. C. Haley testified, "I am in the pulu business. We take pulu to Honolulu. Nicholas George is also in pulu business at Keaiwa and Kaalaiki. Our custom is to send it [pulu] right away--pulu has advanced in price some lately*--a good ox cart is worth from $150 to $120. The road to Nicholas George's land is bad and it needs a good cart to go on it. If my pulu is kept back a month, I would be injured in two ways: by not getting any pulu to market; and by injuring my credit on my contract..."

A letter to George from merchants in Honolulu was introduced into the evidence to show that the *pulu* he had promised didn't come in time.

W. T. Martin testified that "from 1868 till lately closed, the road has been a government road. The land through which the road runs belongs to Kekaula."

Kupakeʻe also testified that the road was a government road and that he had been appointed as one of the commissioners "to look at that road and assess the damage to the land, where the road had been made--we looked, and decided that the land was worthless, where the road had been made. I think we did nothing else about it, but the appraisement."

The case ended with Kekaula being ordered to pay George $95 damages and court costs of $15.25, which included a $1 fee for appealing the decision.

The road, however, continued to be closed. On December 5, 1871, a letter to L. E. Swain, Deputy Sheriff in Kaʻū, indicates that the Minister of Interior had received a petition for the appointment of a jury to open the public road of Punaluʻu to Hōkūkano and keep it clear for public used. However, according to the letter, the Minister felt that the "road was opened and set apart for the uses of the public in a proper and legal manner in the latter part of last year, and he hereby authorized you to tear down and remove any and all obstructions [stone walls] on said road and abate the nuisance keeping the road clear; and should there be any action against you [by Kekaula] for so doing, he will take the whole responsibility and defend the action" (Inter. Dept. Bk. 10:587).

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*_Pulu_ was an important export during the 1860s and 70s.

1872 - 421,227 pounds
1873 - 412,823 pounds
1874 - 418,320 pounds

By 1874 the selling price in California, New Zealand, Australia, and British Columbia was about 10.5 cents per pound, or about $200 per ton (Thrum 1876:58).

On January 2, 1872, another letter went out to the new road supervisor, Charles E. Richardson:*

> I am directed by the Minister of Interior to say that a man in your District, Kekaula by name, has built a wall across the government road at the seashore between Waiohinu and Ninole, and you are hereby authorized to abate the nuisance and keep it abated, and the Minister will be responsible for any action that may be brought against you. The man has been brought up for nuisance before but for some unaccountable reason was acquitted, and if he persits the only remedy will be the Supreme Court.

A second letter on this same date, this one to Rufus Lyman, discusses the case and suggests initiating an investigation into the legality of Kekaula's claim to the land:

> I do not see what can be done with "Kekaula" in the District of Kau, (I have given the Deputy Sheriff and Road Supervisor orders to abait [sic] the nuisance and I will be responsible for damages) but bring him before the Supreme Court, that can only be done at its next sitting; in the meantime, give me all the information you can in the matter, more especially as to his Proprietorship of the land and we shall require some witnesses of course to the nuisance and other matters... (Inter. Dept. Bk. 10:604).

Early in 1872 the government took the case to the Supreme Court where Kekaula's rights were upheld. The basis for the decision was that regulations for building roads had not been followed in this case--50 or more taxpayers of the area should have first requested the Minister of Interior to build a road, and the Minister should have then appointed a jury of 12 persons to hear evidence and decide whether or not it should be built (Sup. Ct. Vol. 3:378).**

The story of Kekaula's stone wall across the road is still told by a few old timers. And while it may have some humor appeal today, assuredly it was serious business in its day. Kekaula was undoubtedly a man of strong character--single minded in his pursuit of justice. He could be said to have carried forward the tradition of Ka'ū as a land of strong-willed people who resist oppression. His story is a modern version of those related about the Ka'ū people's rebellions against oppressive chiefs, Koihala and Kohaikalani [Kinney 1913:7; Malo 1951: 195, 202; Kelly 1956:36-37; this paper pp. 1-6].

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*W. T. Martin was dismissed as Superintendent of Roads in January 1872 for (1) failure to construct good roads, and (2) releasing certain persons from performing their road labor taxes (Inter. Dept. Bk. 10:600). In 1872, he was appointed "Noble of the Kingdom" (Bk. 12:404). Martin had been a Representative to the Legislature in 1870 (Inter. Dept. Bk. 10:177).

**In April 1874 an appointed jury approved the building of the road from Hokukano to Wailau on the land of Kekaula [Inter. Dept. Bk. 12:496]. This might suggest that Kekaula was going to be paid for the land taken but a series of letters and requests indicates that the government permitted only an exchange lease on land in upper Nīnole [Inter. Dept. 3/5/1875].

Apparently as a consequence of Kekaula's success in court S. Kekapa came forward late in 1873, asking $100 for a piece of land taken from him by the government at Nīnole for a road in 1868. The reply written to W. T. Martin said:

> In my opinion, if he has permitted it to be used during the past years, without bringing any action and has not opposed it, then, the time for bringing action is gone. And as the matter has been left alone for a long time, his request cannot be taken up at the present time. The time is past... (Inter. Dept. Bk. 12:409).

Earlier evidence indicates that Kekapa had an arrangement with the government permitting him to cultivate Government land for 2 years (about 11 acres of *mauka* land) in return for the value of his *makai* land taken by the Government for a road (Inter. Dept. Bk. 10:407, 3/9/1871).

At one time Nicholas George requested permission to purchase an acre of land in Wai'ōhinu as a site for the Catholic Mission (Inter. Dept. Land File 1/2/1866, 1/29/1866, 3/13/1866). The government had leased all unsold lands in the Ahupua'a of Wai'ōhinu to a group of people (a *hui*), probably for pasture and agriculture.* The group included W. T. Martin, W. J. Kaulia, Kipa, Namalo, and S. Kawaa.** Their lease cost $100 per year (Inter. Dept. Land File 5/21/1862). George was refused land for the church site until the leasehold to the *hui* had expired. Besides, he was told, the persons holding the lease "object to building a church in Waiohinu" [Dept. Inter. Land File 4/3/1866]. What the letter failed to say was that the already strong Protestant group in Wai'ōhinu was against permitting a Catholic church to settle so close. Many of the reports of the Protestant mission at Wai'ōhinu indicate a strong disapproval of the Catholic missionaries in Ka'ū and an intensely competitive attitude toward them. Eventually, however, the Catholic church did get land in Wai'ōhinu.

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*The stockholders of the Waiohinu Agricultural and Grazing Company of Hawaii with a capital stock of $15,000 and par value of $100 per share were listed for 1893 as follows [Thrum 1894:1123]:

Stockholders	Nationality	Shares	Value
J. Kauhane	Hawaiian	20	$2,000
J.H.S. Martin	Hawaiian	29	2,900
J.T. Baker	Hawaiian	15	1,500
C.P. Iaukea	Hawaiian	9	900
W.G. Irwin	British	5	500
J.K. Kekaula	Hawaiian	14	1,400
J.D. Paris, Jr.	Hawaiian-born American	34	3,400
J.M. Monsarrat	Hawaiian-born British	24	2,400

**S. Kawa'a was appointed Commissioner of Fences for Ka'ū District (Inter. Dept. Bk. 8, 10/25/1867).

By 1868 the leasing *hui* was in trouble. Three members, S. Kawa'a, Aua, and Lupenui, asked to be relieved of the lease payment for that year because of the devastation from the volcano and tsunami. Some members of the *hui* who were "parties in said government land, have died by being covered with earth,* some have gone away, some have been made destitute, and some portions of this place of the government which we have leased here have been covered with this volcanic dust, being the place where we did a lot of our cultivation for food, and some are living in distress from famine..." [Dept. Inter. Land File 8/12/1868].

Land needs of the developing agricultural industry expanded and laws were passed making Government lands more readily available for lease or purchase. This placed more Hawaiians living on the land under the domination of foreign traders who had leases. Residents of Ka'alāiki and Hi'ona'ā objected to the treatment they were given by Nicholas George, who had leased these lands. In a letter to the Minister of the Interior, Mr. J. Kauhane of Wai'ōhinu [Inter. Dept. Ltr. File Jan. 27, 1869] raised the question of whether or not N. George still had the lease on lands of Ka'alāiki and Hi'ona'ā for the year 1869 (he had had it for 1868), as "The old residents living on the land complained because they were being ill-treated by him" and were "prohibited in everything." Kauhane expressed the thought that the residents should be given the lease of the lands for 1869 instead of George.

Control of the land through long-term leases gave traders control not only of the people but also of the resources of the land.

> Kawala, Aemalo, Popouwela, Kaunamano, Papaikou 1, 2, 3 -- all leased to O. B. Spencer; 15 years $150/yr. Therefore, whatever privileges the natives may wish on these lands, must be arranged with him, and that they make payments to him, the same as they have been in the habit of paying to you for the Government.
>
> I believe, this is a very kind man to the natives, and they will not be troubled by him.
>
> The Government remnants are the only places given [leased] and not the holdings of the natives [Inter. Dept. Bk. 12:371].

Evidence that Capt. Spencer may not have been as kindly a landlord as the previous writer hoped is found in a letter from R. A. Lyman to J. O. Dominis, Agent for the Crown Lands. Lyman wrote on Jan. 7, 1870:

> The natives of Pu'ueo [in Ka'ū] have just been here [Hilo] to complain that Capt. Spencer is cutting down all of the bread fruit trees on Pu'ueo and to ask if it was allowable to do so.
>
> I quieted them by telling them that I would ask you about it. He is cutting down the trees for fire wood and posts for trash houses. He claims that he has a right to cut them all if he wishes to. Has he that right to do so

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*This is a reference to the land slide in Hīlea which buried about 30 people [Coan 1868*a*:108; Kelly 1969:34-36].

> or not? He always says, when I have spoken to him about anything on the land. "Well if any question is raised about the land I will pay the $2500 and they will have to give me a deed for the land and that will settle it." So I shall not say anything to him until I hear from you what to do. It seems too bad to cut off all these trees.

Who should be given a lease--trader or Hawaiian--was often a contentious subject. Over the years dozens of requests were made by Hawaiians for government land leases. Some of them were honored and other denied for many reasons:

> As to the application of Kamaunu and others, for the land taken by the foreigner, it is useless to make a reply to it, because, the lease has been made out, and half of the rent has been collected. They are too late. As to the application, of the 1st of Nov., it bears no signature, just merely "The Association" [*Ka poe Hui*] (Inter. Dept. Bk. 12:395).

One petition by K. Kapaʻakea reads:

> I desire to purchase some Government land in Kau, on the Island of Hawaii, half of Puueo, I want to buy six hundred acres, and I will pay three-eights [38 cents] for each acre, the same as the price paid by the natives there.
>
> Because I fear that this land might be sold by the Government to others, and my animals, goats, would be greatly troubled if they go there. Because this Government land ajoins my land, that is why I wish to buy...(Ltr. to Minister of Interior and Privy Council, Sept. 20, 1851).

In 1851 there was a rush to purchase lands by those who didn't get *kuleana* land. The rules were that the lands must be surveyed, and that a fee of $4 for the Royal Patent would be added to the purchase price of the land. At first no more than 50 acres were permitted to be sold to any one and the purchaser would have to pay the surveyor (Inter. Dept. Land file 9/25/1851).

Petitions to purchase land flowed into the office of the Minister of Interior, some with as many as 10 names wanting between 15 and 50 acres of land. One request was for 100 acres. William Lee observed the land in Kaʻū:

> A great portion of the lands are nothing more than aa and pahoehoe fit only for goats. I would not survey it for it; and yet it is valuable to the natives of Kau in the raising of their goats. No other animal could live on it... (Ltr. to Keoni Ana, Min. of Interior, Sept. 1851).

The prices offered for these Kaʻū lands varied between $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents an acre to 25 and 50 cents per acre. Many of the names on these petitions are already mentioned earlier in this paper: Kupake'e, Kawaha, Kekapa, Lupinui, Ae, and others.

Some documents indicate that purchases of Government land which Hawaiian people had been cultivating previously through arrangements with the Government carried with them the right to remove any such people or have them remove their crops (Inter. Dept. Land file, 5/15/1862).

Any economic activities on unassigned land were not permitted, as in the case where Hawaiians were stripping bark from *koa* trees to supply tanners. "Makaainanas, whose rights,...are confined in the produce of the *kuahiwi* to what is required for their own particular use. They have no right to take anything for sale" (Inter. Dept. Bk. 7b:536, 3/16/1864).

This policy follows the Kuleana Act of August 6, 1850 which prevented Hawaiians from developing any commercial activities based on their rights to the products of the land.

* * *

> 6. In granting to the people their cultivated grounds, or kalo lands, they shall only be entitled to what they have really cultivated, and which lie in the form of cultivated lands; and not such as the people may have cultivated in different spots, with the seeming intention of enlarging their lots; nor shall they be entitled to the waste lands.
>
> 7. When the landlords have taken allodial titles to their lands, the people on each of their lands, shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, house timber, aho cord, thatch, or ti leaf, from the land on which they live, for their own private use, should they need them, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. They shall also inform the landlord or his agent, and proceed with his consent. The people also shall have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way. The springs of water, and running water, and roads shall be free to all, should they need them, on all lands granted in fee-simple: Provided, that this shall not be applicable to wells and water courses which individuals have made for their own use (Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1925, Vol. 2: 2142).

* * *

In 1873, A. Hutchinson applied for a lease of Hi'ona'ā, above Honu'apo and Kiola-ka'a [Inter. Dept. Bk. 12:406]. The government's reply by Edwin O. Hall to J. Kauhane's inquiry said:

> If these remnants are lying idle, without bringing in any revenue to the Government, it is best to lease same, in order that the Government may have an income [Inter. Dept. Bk. 12:429].

Also that same year we have the first lease inquiry by persons of Chinese origin. Chung Peu and Akana desired to lease Government lands of Pā-pōhaku Pu'u-o-ehu and Kiolaka'a for three years at a cost of $210 per year [Inter. Dept. Bk. 12:427].

Nicholas George died in Honolulu (either Dec. 31, 1875, or Jan. 1, 1876) at 60 years of age. He was reported to have been a resident of Hawai'i for 20 years [*Friend* 1876:Feb. 1, p. 13, c. 3].

His real estate in Waikīkī, O'ahu and in Ka'ū, Hawai'i, was valued at $800, and his goods and chattels at $4448.29. He left his material wealth to a widow, Kukuli George and legitimate children, Alexander, Ellen, and George-li'ili'i (small George, alias Nicholas George Jr.), as well as natural and adopted children, Keaweopi'o (alias Kawai George), Keamopohaku, Pehu, Kaeo, and Alexander 2, who was a child of Palikika (*w*) and Kukuli'ili'i, an adopted child.

Nicholas George died blind and "could not see to write his own will. Mr. Jones wrote it for him. He talked but was very low and died the next day, or day after. He signed his name by resting his hand on his daughter's hand. His face and head were so swollen he could not see." Guardianship of the 9 children went to W. C. Jones. The estate in Ka'ū consisted of two acres of *kuleana* land in Kawelo valued at $250. On the advice of Jones, the widow and children sold the land and house in April 1877. A total of $8,000.51 was received from all accounts. The bills and fees amounted to $3,916.90. The family received the remainder in cash [Hawai'i State Archives, Probate #296].

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APPENDIX E

Sugar Plantations in Ka'ū, Hawaii, 1880*

W. K. Moi, sugar planter, Waiohinu. Owns 18 acres, rents 164 acres, cultivates 30 acres.

The Fern Hill Plantation, Honuapo. E. A. and A. G. Burchardt, proprietors. Rents 160 acres, cultivates 120 acres, employs 10 men; agent is W. G. Irwin & Co.

The Clover Hill Plantation, Honuapo. O. G. Rose, proprietor. Rents 800 acres, cultivates 150 acres, employs 15 men; agent is W. G. Irwin & Co.

Turner's Plantation, Honuapo-mauka. Lewis F. Turner, proprietor. Rents 125 acres, cultivates 85 acres, employs 8 men; agent is A. S. Cleghorn & Co.

Honuapo Sugar Plantation, Honuapo. Richard Oliver, M. D. Proprietor. Rents 50 square miles, cultivates 600 acres, available for planting 3,000 acres, employs 60 men; agent is W. G. Irwin & Co. Owns 10,000 to 12,000 goats, 50 yoke oxen, 30 mules, 50 asses.

The Mount Abundance Plantation, Haao. A. A. B. Eliott, proprietor. Rents 300 acres, cultivates 100 acres, employs 12 men; agent is W. G. Irwin & Co.

Wm. Thomas Martin, sugar planter, Naalehu and Honuapo. Rents 225 acres, cultivates 100 acres; agent is W. G. Irwin & Co.

Wm. Thompson, sugar planter, Naalehu. Rents 160 acres, owns 373¾ acres, cultivates 200 acres, employs 12 men; agent is W. G. Irwin & Co.

Aiohelo Plantation, Aiohelo. A. Sunter, proprietor. Rents 300 acres, cultivates 210 acres; agent is W. G. Irwin & Co.

Naalehu Sugar Mill and Plantation, Naalehu. Executors of the estate of Alexander Hutchinson, owners; C. N. Spencer, manager. Owns 4,000 acres, leases 15,000 acres, cultivates 700 acres, available for cultivation 8,000 acres, employs 187 men; agent is W. G. Irwin & Co. Owns 150 yoke oxen, 20 mules. "This is a very valuable plantation, and there are several persons planting cane on shares, for which, see tabular statement" (Bowser 1880:423).

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*Excerpted from Bowser 1880:421-425.

The Hilea Sugar Mill and Plantation, Hilea. J. S. Walker, C. M. Spencer, and W. G. Irwin, proprietors; manager, Capt. O. B. Spencer. Owns 500 acres, rents 20,000 acres, available for cultivation 3,000 acres, employs 110 men; agent is W. G. Irwin & Co. Owns 40 yoke oxen, 16 horses and mules, 50 jackasses and 2,000 goats. "A large mill is in the course of erection, with all modern improvements...will be ready about next October [1881]."

The Hawaiian Agricultural Sugar Mill and Plantation Company, Inc., Pahala. Manager, W. Goodale. "There are about twelve individuals and companies, planters, who plant cane on shares with the company" (Bowser 1880:424). Land controlled by company unknown, but probably about 100,000 acres. "Mill is largest in the known world..."

APPENDIX F. *Alanui Aupuni* at Nīnole*

by Marion Kelly

A comparison of the 1852 map (Fig. 40) with the 1907 map (Fig. 41) of the coastline at Nīnole indicates that the old Alanui Aupuni probably followed a route seaward of Nīnole Pond after it left the high aa lava that is S of Nīnole Pond. After coming off the aa lava, the old road took a northeasterly direction across a small river** at the southern edge of Nīnole Pond, along sand dunes on the pahoehoe flats at the eastern end (*makai*) of the pond, then a northern turn around the back (*mauka*) of a smaller pond (see Fig. 40), and finally off in a northeasterly direction toward Kōloa beach, which is the home of the famous legendary multiplying stones ('Ili'ili-o-Kōloa) that can still be seen today (see p. 33-36; Figs. 15, 16, this paper).

In an interview on January 31, 1972, Mr. William Meinecke, a long-time resident of Ka'ū, stated that it was traditional knowledge that there had been a road *makai* of Nīnole Pond and that it had disappeared in 1868 at the time of the volcanic and tsunami action in the area. He further stated that, as far as he knew, there had always been a Nīnole spring at the place where the spring is presently located, and that there had always been a pond area just *makai* of the spring. However, he said there was once more land along the shoreline. It was there that the old road came down off the aa lava flow onto the Nīnole plain and along the coast (Fig. 40). After the 1868 volcanic and tsunami disaster the road was gone and its disappearance has been laid to subsidence of the land.

If it can be presumed that the present Kōloa beach is the same as that reported by Ellis in 1824, any subsidence would have been restricted only to the portion of the road *makai* of Nīnole Pond. Dr. Gordon Macdonald confirmed (in a telephone interview) that he knows of no literature that describes any subsidence at Nīnole; however, he also said that it is entirely possible that such action took place and would now be known only through traditional knowledge carried on by people living in the area.

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* This appendix is reprinted from Bishop Museum Department of Anthropology Report 72-1 (Barrera and Hommon 1972).

** This river is mentioned in the surveyor's notes, which give the measurements for Grant No. 821 to Holoua and are dated July 19, 1852. The surveyor's notes read:

> Beginning at mouth of stream at seashore, 1 ch [chain] makai of road, run N. 31 1/4 E. 13.74 ch, 906.9 ft along sea shore; N 11 E, 4.86 ch, 320.8 ft to S. corner of Kekaula's; N 42 W, 16.50 ch, 1089.0 ft along boundary of Kekaula's to pile of stones in aa at makai corner of Kaui's; then S 48 1/4 W, 23.48 ch, 1549.7 ft along boundary of Kaui's to aa; S 57 1/2 E, 24.50 ch, 1617.0 ft along inside aa to place of beginning. July 19, 1852, Area 42.65 acres (Kau Grant Book, p. 133).

The map in Fig. 40 is a copy of the one drawn by the surveyor from his notes.

The river was probably created by the outflow from Nīnole Pond, which was and still is fed by the famous Nīnole fresh-water springs (*Pūhau*, icy spring).

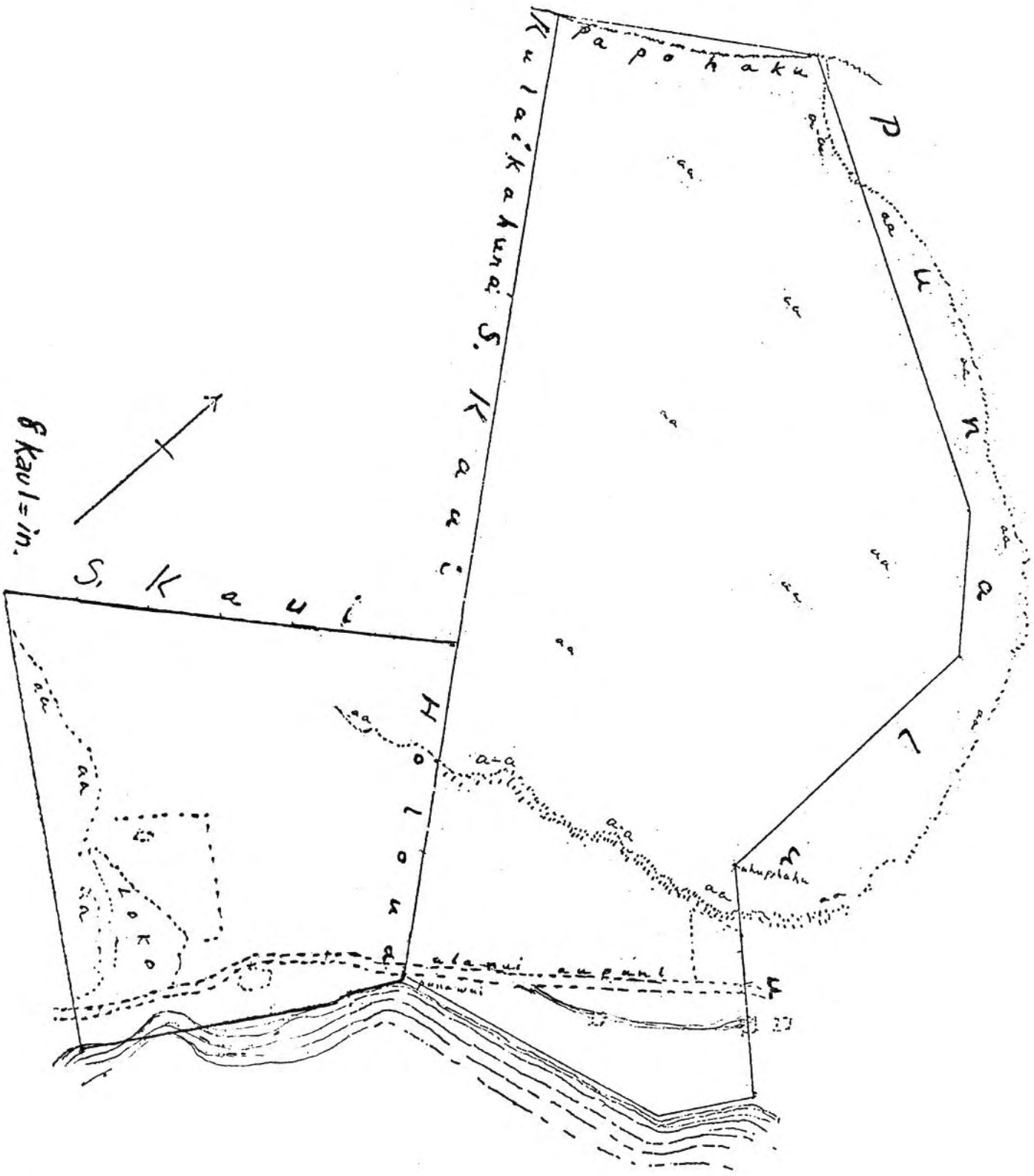


Fig. 40. MAP OF THE NĪNOLE-WAILAU COASTAL AREA SHOWING THE OLD ROUTE OF THE GOVERNMENT ROAD (*ALANUI AUPUNI*), *MAKAI* OF THE NĪNOLE FISHPOND (*LOKO*). Surveyed July 19, 1852.

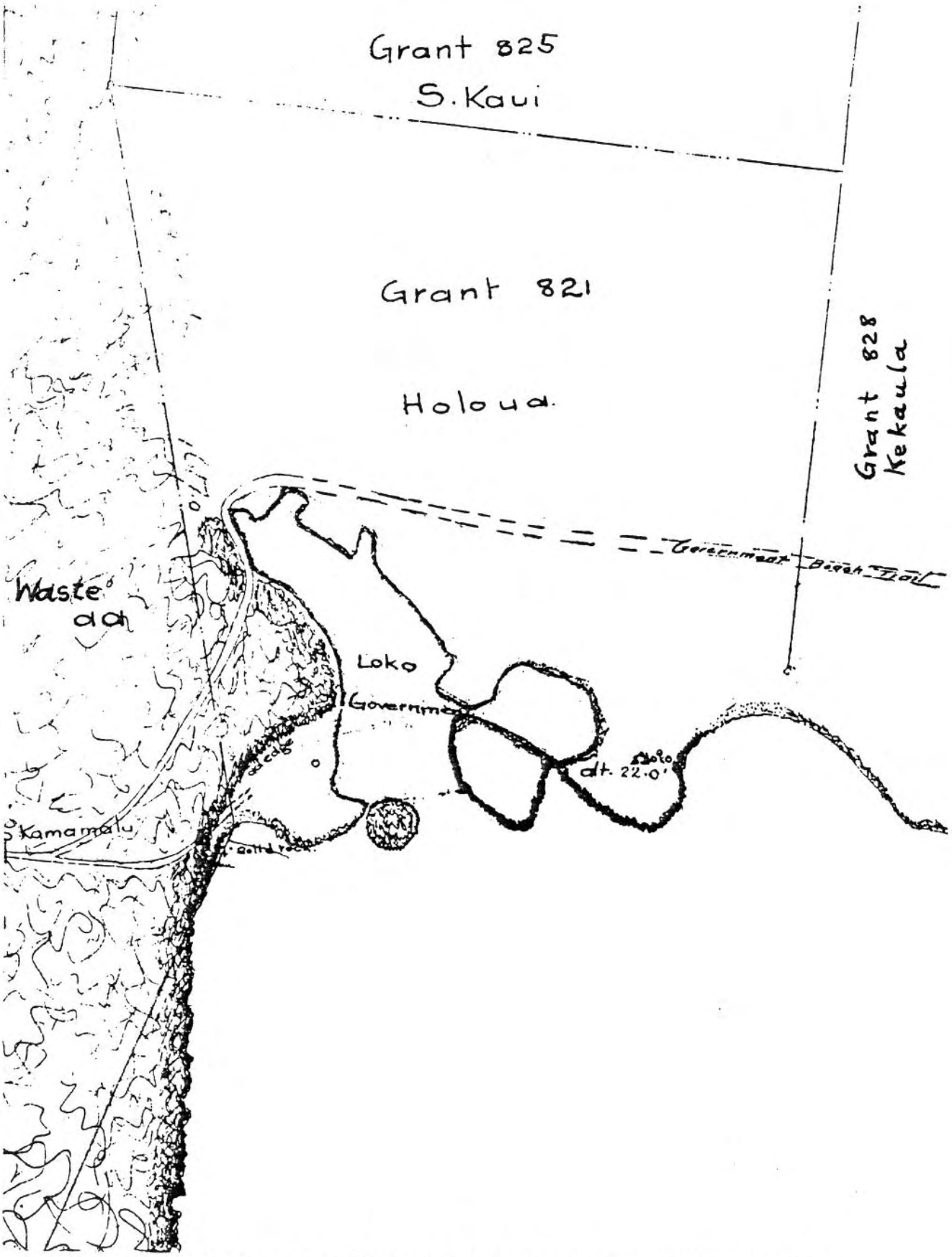


Fig. 41. MAP OF THE NĪNOLE-WAILAU COASTAL AREA SHOWING THE NEW ROUTE OF THE GOVERNMENT ROAD, *MAUKA* OF THE NĪNOLE FISHPOND AND ACROSS THE LAND OF GRANTS 821 AND 828. Surveyed by G. F. Wright, March 1907.

From the evidence available at this late date, it would seem that there would be no need for subsidence to account for a change in the shoreline at this point, although it is still possible that subsidence occurred. The change described as having taken place in 1868 could have been entirely effected by tsunami action alone. If subsidence occurred, it would have been extremely restricted to the one area *makai* of Nīnole Pond, and while such restriction would not be impossible, it would seem highly unlikely. It is more reasonable to assume that sand dunes did cover the pahoehoe flats *makai* of the pond and that tsunami wave action into and back out of Nīnole Pond scoured the sand off the pahoehoe, taking with it the original road *makai* of the pond.*

Brigham (1909:103-104) quotes a report by a passenger on board the schooner *Oddfellow*, which was cruising along the coast of Ka'ū shortly after the disaster. Arriving at Punalu'u on Monday, April 6, 1868, the passenger wrote:

> Too rough to attempt a landing. The stone church and all other buildings near the sea gone. At Ninole but three houses were left. Smoke or steam is issuing from the hills back of Hilea.

The story of legal problems encountered over the road that was built inland of the fishpond is told in Appendix D, and has to do with court action taken against landowner Kekaula whose land was taken without compensation to him (see pp. 93-97).

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*In the journal written by Sailor (1849:126, 130; and Appendix C:88), mention is made of a large wall built across the mouth of a bay to enclose a fishpond. The wall was described as having been about seven feet high, eighteen or twenty feet wide, and half a mile long. It is possible that this massive wall was built across the outer edge of Ninole Bay on the lava outcrops that are now surrounded by the sea (see Figs. 8 and 40) to form a fishpond, and that it was also used as a roadway.

Although Sailor reported that the building of the fishpond wall was attributed to Kamehameha I, no such tradition is known in Ka'ū today.

APPENDIX G. List of Awardees of *Kuleana* Lands in Nine *Ahupua'a* in Ka'u†

Honu'apo Ahupua'a

L.C.A.	Name	Acres	L.C.A.	Name	Acres
9563	Kaina	11.00	9560	Puupa	3.30
9668	Nana	8.75	8760-H	Kookoo	3.25
10323	Napae	8.10	9559	Molina	2.50
9564	Kana	8.00	9212	Hoolapa	2.45
9667	Kaolele	7.80	10634	Pikoula	2.30
8781	Keohokuma	6.25	10516	Nahakuelua	2.10
8784	Kaulukou	5.86	7558-B	Kuahine	1.50
9955-B	Lilikalani	5.07	9564-B	Kalaukoa*	0.44
9515	Makaili	4.50	10008	Lepoloa*	0.30
9521	Hua	4.40			
8780	Ki	4.10	Total		93.97
7329	Kukuna	3.30			

Hi'ona'ā Ahupua'a

L.C.A.	Name	Acres
9564-B	Kalaukoa*	5.60
10008	Lepoloa*	4.30
10084	Moeluhi	3.60
7310	Kaahalama	3.00
Total		16.50

Hōkūkano Ahupua'a

L.C.A.	Name	Acres
9856	Hookuku	4.00
9857	Kaianui	4.00
9854	Hewahewa	3.25
9855	Kaaukai	3.10
9853	Nakuaau	2.50
9858	Poha	2.00
Total		18.85

Ka'alāiki Ahupua'a

L.C.A.	Name	Acres
7093	Kauikoaole	11.30
7091	Kaluahine	11.10
10652	Punahoa	6.90
10952	Waapa*	4.50
10914	Uluhani*	2.37
10554	Aea	1.34
Total		37.51

Hīlea-iki Ahupua'a

L.C.A.	Name	Acres
10073	Mahuka	11.80
9088	Kepewa	9.90
9212-B	Helehewa	9.40
9212-C	Nailieha	8.03
8760-F	Kalakohe	7.10
10094	Makapahoa	4.32
Total		50.55

†Information from Indices of Awards, 1929:445-453. See maps, Figs. 11-13.

*Duplicate names, counted only once:

Kalaukoa and Lepoloa counted in Hi'ona'ā Ahupua'a.
Waapa and Uluhani counted in Ka'alāiki Ahupua'a.

Appendix G. - continued

Hīlea-nui Ahupua'a

L.C.A.	Name	Acres	L.C.A.	Name	Acres
9086	Kahoponui	12.40	10952	Waapa*	4.12
10654	Pueo	10.50	9214-B	Lonoaniho	3.65
9286	Kailiawa	9.80	9091	Kekaa	3.60
7733	Moa	8.90	9172	Kuoha	3.60
8532	Kaiiwi	7.20	11070	Aea	3.56
9195	Kanehailua	5.90	10685	Pua	2.30
10914	Uluhani	4.96	9225-B	Keawe	1.80
9125	Kaia	4.50	10190	Maluae	1.65
10371	Nawahine	4.43			
			Total		92.87

Nīnole Ahupua'a

L.C.A.	Name	Acres	L.C.A.	Name	Acres
8792	Kapuuhonua	11.30	8782	Kalua	5.75
8758	Kaiolani*	11.22	8790	Kahananui	5.70
10607	Piko	9.70	7606-D	Kalaikahuna	5.56
8760-DD	Kahuakainui	9.25	8793-B	Kahelenalu	5.38
8793	Kalanawahine	9.10	9167	Komaia	4.75
10115	Makuaole	9.00	10847	Pulehu	3.70
8853-B	Nawali	8.00	8760-E	Kaui	3.25
9204	Kapaana	7.86	8794	Kahaku	2.90
8360	Kanekoa	6.80	8979	Kekapa*	2.80
10093	Manu	6.66	10112	Mauna*	1.38
7721	Makaha	6.12			
			Total		136.18

Wailau Ahupua'a

L.C.A.	Name	Acres
8979	Kekapa*	8.10
7313	Kaawa	7.20
7557	Kalapuna	6.63
10844	Papa	6.25
10510	Nawali	4.30
10846	Palau	3.25
10112	Mauna*	3.13
8758	Kaiolani*	2.30
Total		71.16

Punalu'u Ahupua'a

L.C.A.	Name	Acres
8760	Kaawa	15.20
2564	Nakahuna	10.25
7606-C	Kumaiku	4.97
10836	Poohina	4.48
10848	Pookuia	1.48
10114	Mahoe	1.46
8973	Kailiponi	0.80
8760-C	Kekaula	0.80
8004	Ahia	0.25
Total		39.69

*Duplicates, counted only once:

Kekapa, Mauna, and Kaiolani counted in Wailau Ahupua'a.

APPENDIX H. List of Purchasers of Government Lands, 1852-1864.†

Ahupua'a	Grant	Purchaser	Acres	Year
Hi'ona'ā	826	Kelii	39.40	1852
	1367	Leohaalulu*	98.50	1854
	1742	Papai	340.90	1855
	2693	Napali-Kaanaana	51.00	1860
	3151	Kahanu	25.60	1875
Hōkūkano - Ka'alāiki				
	993	Kimokeo Keawe*	119.50	1852
	1368	Kaulia*	146.70	1854
	1851	Kaulia*	152.00	1855
	2156	D. Leohaalulu*	170.00	1856
	1530	Kimokeo Keawe*	15.70	1855
	2370	Noa Malailua	350.00	1857
	2387	Lio	165.00	1857
	2218	Kapuni	100.00	1857
	2527	Nakuaau	247.50	1858
	2645	Apiki	89.00	1859
	2646	Kapai	94.25	1859
	2647**	Kahaku*	99.00	1859
	2648	Puhi	87.50	1859
	2651	Kauwe	195.75	1859
	2657	Kailiulaole	160.00	1859
	2676	Kainoa	46.00	1859
	2943	Kaheananui	140.67	1864
	2948**	Waapa	156.60	1864
Nīnole - Wailau				
	821	Holoua*	42.65	1852
	822**	Kekapa	42.97	1852
	823**	Kalaikahuna	36.95	1852
	824	Kapuhonua	48.75	1852
	825	S. Kaui	46.70	1852
	827	Kalapuna*	54.40	1852
	828	Kekaula*	114.00	1852
	1369	Hoai	19.50	1854
	1375	Hooieie	54.20	1854
	2153**	Kahaku*	157.00	1856
	2459	D. Holoua*	290.00	1858
	2574	Kekaula*	111.50	1859
	2721	Kalapuna*	147.75	1860
	2907	Kanakalauai	115.00	1863
Total			4,270.77	

†Information taken from Index of Land Grants, 1916: 145-149. Maps in Figs. 31 and 33.

*Purchasers made at least two purchases.

**Purchaser also received *kuleana* awards: Kahaku, LCA 8794; Waapa, LCA 10,952; Kekapa, LCA 8979; Kalaikahuna, 7606-D.

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