

HE MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA NO KA‘EO ME KĀHI ‘ĀINA E A‘E MA HONU‘ULA O MAUI

**A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL STUDY OF KA‘EO
AND OTHER LANDS IN HONU‘ULA, ISLAND OF MAUI**



***Platform of “Kalani Heiau” (Winslow Walker’s Site 196)
with Historic Wall (Site 5036 A) Running Across Northern Section of Heiau
(under kiawe at back of photo) (Photo KPA-N1734, Aug. 23, 2005)***



Kumu Pono Associates LLC

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

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following collection of archival and oral historical records was compiled by *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*, at the request of Sam Garcia, Jr., and Jon Garcia, owners of a 5.497 acre parcel of land, situated in the *ahupua'a* (native land division) of Ka'eo, in the Honua'ula region of Maui (TMK 2-1-007:067). The Garcia parcel extends from near sea level at the shore to about fifty feet in elevation above sea level, and the family proposes to develop their five-plus acre parcel into a small subdivision, containing eleven single family residences. As a part of the planning process, a preservation plan is needed for a site identified as a *heiau* (temple), that is situated on the property. In addition to the *heiau*, stone walls, habitation features, agricultural mounds, terraces, enclosures, and modified outcrops were also identified, as a part of an archaeological survey conducted by Haun and Associates (Haun et al., 2000 & 2004). The cultural resources are interpreted as dating from the period of pre-history to historic ranching and later residency activities (Haun, 2000 & 2004; and Frampton, 2002, revised, 2004).

The research conducted as a part of this study, focused on two primary sources of information—(1) historical literature, and (2) the results of an oral history interview program with *kūpuna* and *kama'āina*, known to be familiar with the history of lands in the Ka'eo-Makena vicinity. As a result, the research herein, brings a wide range of historical references into one manuscript, with written accounts dating from the 1793 and oral historical accounts dating from ca. 1915. The research focuses on the detailed history of land tenure on the Garcia parcel, and the *heiau* thereon—looking at the history of the larger *ahupua'a* of Ka'eo, and its' relationship with neighboring lands of the Honua'ula region. At the suggestion of the Garcia brothers, and in follow up to discussions with Garcia's planner, Rory Frampton, and with Kahu Kealahou Alike (Minister of the Historic Keawala'i Church), this study is also meant to serve as the foundation piece for development of the site preservation plan—providing the Garcias and community members with recommendations for protection of the *heiau*, and with interpretive-educational components for a long-term stewardship program for the cultural resources that are to be preserved on the property.

As noted above, one site on the Garcia property has been identified as a *heiau*, and has been given the name, "*Kalani Heiau*." The name of the *heiau* results from an archaeological survey of Maui conducted by Winslow Walker in 1929-1930, on behalf of the Bishop Museum (Walker, ms. 1930-1931). Walker did field work in Ka'eo and neighboring lands of the Makena vicinity, and visited a site which he was apparently informed was "*Kalani Heiau*" (Walker's Site No. 196). Except for "*Kalani Heiau*," Walker reported on no other sites in the vicinity of the Garcia property.

Following a detailed review of Walker's field notes, sketch books, and manuscript, and extensive research in collections pre-dating and coinciding with Walker, we were unable to pinpoint how Walker learned the name of the *heiau*. As best as can be determined, Walker's source for the name of the *heiau* at Ka'eo, came from earlier work done by Bishop Museum archaeologist, J.F.G. Stokes, who in 1916, learned of a *heiau* by the name of "*Kalani*," at Ka'eo, but which he did not personally see or map (Stokes, ms. 1916 and 1918). The location of the site today identified as "*Kalani Heiau*," coincides with the location recorded by Walker on an annotated USGS Quadrangle Map of the region (Ulupalakua Quad, 1924, in the collection of the Bishop Museum) (see figures and detailed accounts of "*Kalani Heiau*" and other cultural resources in this study).

Another site (Site No. 5036 AA), a modified knoll, interpreted by Haun to be a temporary habitation feature—part of a modified natural stone outcrop or *āhua*—being part of a larger complex of features (Site 5036); and stone mounds, walls, terraces, enclosures, and a modified lava blister, were identified as a part of the archaeological inventory study done in conjunction with the Garcia's planning process (Haun et al., October 2000; and July 2004). This site was previously recorded as Site 50-Ma-B8-99, and referenced by Rose Schilt (1979) in a survey of the Garcia property. In March

2002, following a site visit to the Garcia property, two members of the *Hui Alanui o Makena* suggested that Site 5036 AA might have ceremonial significance associated with “*Kalani Heiau*” (see Frampton, 2002; revised 2004). The observations were detailed in communications from Ms. Dana Hall and Ms. Theresa Donham, dated November 7, 2002, July 22, 2003, and February 18 & 22, 2005.

Unfortunately, the archival-historical documentation of land and traditional tenure, and oral history interviews with elder native residents of the vicinity, could offer only limited personal information pertaining to “*Kalani Heiau*.” The same sources of archival and *kama’āina* knowledge could offer no information regarding function or history of Site 5036 AA, or whether or not the site shared any co-temporal or ceremonial association with “*Kalani Heiau*.”

Historical documentation describes the area of the Garcia property, and adjoining lands as being a part of at least two *kuleana* (original fee-simple land awards to native residents), and part of a larger land grant issued to Mahoe—the last *Konohiki* (steward of the land on behalf of the chiefs)—by King Kamehameha III in 1852. Based on traditional customs of residency, it is likely that a range of activities, including residency, some level of dry land agriculture, and other activities associated with residency at Ka’eo occurred on the lands held by the native tenants. A detailed review of all records associated with native Hawaiian land tenure was conducted as a part of this study. The original records and translations of the *Māhele ‘Āina* (Land Division) and selected Royal Patent Grants are also cited in this study. Unfortunately, no reference to a *heiau* or other ceremonial features (except the Historic Keawala’i Church) was found in the land records—dating from the 1830s to the 1950s—for the immediate study area, though references to *heiau* and other traditional and historical resources were found for the larger Ka’eo vicinity.

As a part of the oral history study conducted in conjunction with this study, interviewees, born between 1911 to the 1940s were asked to share site specific recollections of the Garcia property, neighboring fee-simple parcels in Ka’eo, and descriptions of the resources, community, and histories of the larger region. Only one interviewee had known of the *heiau* as a child, though the name used by his elders when speaking of the site was not recalled by him. All others had learned of the *heiau*, following the 1950s, and most after the 1980s. The names and functions of the *heiau* and other sites on the Garcia property were not known to the interviewees. This is in part attributed by the interviewees, to the fact that their parents and *kūpuna* generation did not talk to them in detail about many traditional sites—except for those sites that were specifically associated with their families; and also because by the early 1900s, the land above the road, except for where houses were situated, was fairly overgrown with *kiawe* and other introduced plants.

While only limited documentation about the “*Kalani Heiau*” and other features on the Garcia property was recorded in the interviews, detailed descriptions of other Makena region sites, families, traditional and customary practices, transitions in residency and land use, traditions, practices associated with the area fisheries, and descriptions of the ranching era were recorded. The interviewees shared rich and vivid accounts, and add to the community history base. Their accounts, tied with those of the archival documentary resources provide present and future generations with important information that will be of great value in the perpetuation of knowledge of lands and resources in the Ka’eo-Makena vicinity, and larger Honua’ula region.

The voices of *kūpuna* are among the most precious resources handed down to us from our past. While the historical and archival records help us understand how we came to be where we are today, the voices of the elders give life to the history, and demonstrate how practice and history are handed down and made. To each of the *kūpuna* and *kama’āina* who shared their recollections and history in this study, we extend our sincerest appreciation and *aloha*—

(in alphabetical order)

Edward Chang, Jr. (and Laurie Chang); Samuel Ponopake Kana’iaupuni Chang;

C.M. Ka'ōnohiokalā Delima-Lee; Marie Puanani Gomes Olsen; Robert Kalani; James K. Kapohakimohewa (and Judy Kapohakimohewa); and R. “Boogie” Lu'uwai (and Violet Lu'uwai);

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We extend our sincerest — *Mahalo a nui!*

Wahi mai nā kūpuna, “A'ohē hana nui ke alu 'ia!”

Māua no me ke aloha kau palena 'ole — Kepā a me Onaona Maly.

O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia
(Keep the good, set the bad aside)

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INTRODUCTION

Background

At the request of Sam Garcia, Jr., and Jon Garcia, *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*, undertook a detailed study of archival records and oral historical interviews for the land of Ka'eo (Makena vicinity), in the Honua'ula region of Maui (*Figure 1*). The Garcias—descended from a family with generations of residency in the larger Honua'ula region, have owned 5.497 acre parcel of land (TMK 2-1-007:067), near the shore of Ka'eo, since 1956. The parcel was acquired by the late Marjorie Kalehua Cockett-Garcia, through an exchange for other family lands with Ulupalakua Ranch. The Garcia family, proposes to develop their five-plus acre parcel into a small subdivision of eleven single family residences, and as a part of the planning process, will be developing a preservation plan for a site identified as a *heiau* (temple), situated on the property.

The research conducted as a part of the present study, focused on two primary sources of information—historical literature, and the results of an oral historical interview program with *kūpuna* and *kama'āina*, known to be familiar with the history of lands in the Ka'eo-Makena vicinity. As a result, the research herein, brings a wide range of historical references (though not exhaustive) into one manuscript, with written accounts dating from the 1820s and oral historical accounts dating from ca. 1915. The research also focuses on the detailed history of the land comprising the Garcia parcel, and the *heiau* thereon, and also looks at the history of the larger *ahupua'a* of Ka'eo, and its' relationship with neighboring lands of the Honua'ula region. At the suggestion of the Garcia brothers, and in follow up to discussions with the Garcia's planner, Rory Frampton, and with Kahu Alika (Minister of the neighboring Keawala'i Church), this study is also meant to serve as the foundation piece for development of the site preservation plan, and of the interpretive-educational components of a community based stewardship plan for the cultural resources to be preserved on the Garcia property.

A primary objective of the present study was to research and report on documentation that would help readers better understand the history of a cultural site on the Garcia property, known as the "*Kalani Heiau*" (Site No. 196), and to provide readers with detailed accounts describing native Hawaiian customs and practices, and historical events associated with land use and residency in the *ahupua'a*¹ of Ka'eo and neighboring lands. In preparing the archival-historical documentary report for this study, the authors reviewed both published and manuscript references in English and Hawaiian—referencing documentation for Ka'eo, as well as those for neighboring lands.

The above said, the authors point out that *this study does not repeat all that has been previously written about Ka'eo or other lands of the Honua'ula region*. The study does draw on many primary (first hand) accounts from—native Hawaiian writers (some not previously available in English); foreign visitors and residents; and quotes detailed accounts in order to bring a wide range of important narratives into one collection. Thereby interested parties gain access to information that is at times difficult to locate. We note, that rather than "rewriting" accounts of substance which have been authoritatively written, we have chosen to include pertinent quotes (some lengthy), and by short introductions, identify selected topics of interest which will be found within the selected quotations. In this way, readers here, receive the information as the original authors or translators intended it to be.

It is the goal of this study to provide the Garcia family, native families of the Makena vicinity, land and resource management agencies, residents and interested parties with a wide range of important historical documentation pertaining to some of the significant traditions, and cultural and natural

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

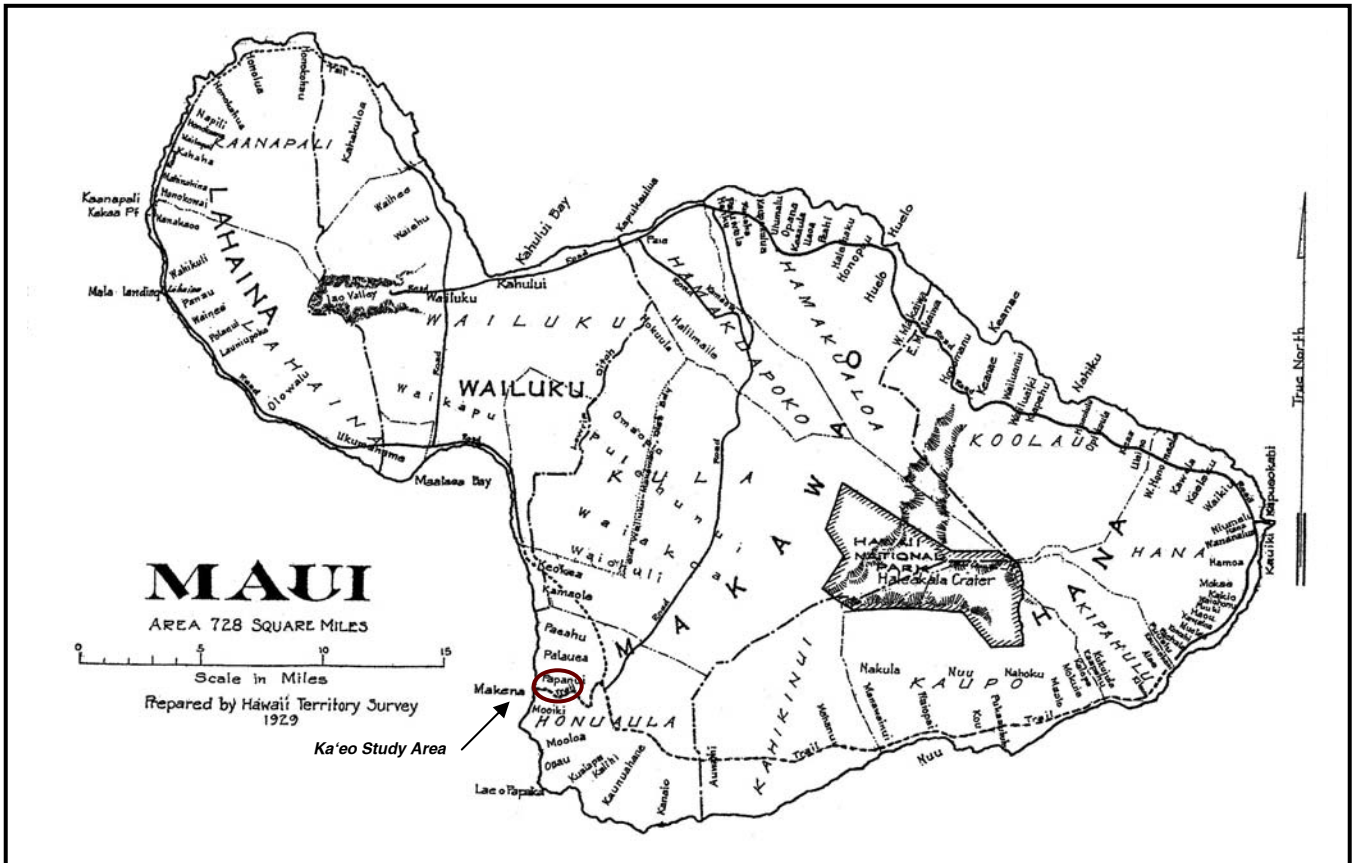


Figure 1. Island of Maui (1929) – Detail of Traditional and Historic Districts
 (Note: Makena Vicinity which includes the Ahupua'a of Ka'eo – trail to 'Ulupalakua marks approximate location of Ka'eo) (Reduction of Territorial Survey Map)

features (e.g. residency, land use, *heiau*, storied places, access and customs) of the landscape in the Honua'ula region of Maui.

Approach to Conducting the Study

The archival-historical research and oral history interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the pertinent laws and guidelines are the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:275-8; 276:5, 2002); and the November 1997 guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (which also facilitate the standardized approach to compliance with Act 50 amending HRS Chapter 343; April 26, 2000).

In an effort to further our understanding of the cultural-historical resources, the authors conducted research in several areas which have not received much exposure in past studies. Thus, this study along with other studies conducted previously in the area, provides readers with a detailed overview of native traditions of the land, traditional and historic residency, travel, and use of resources in the Ka'eo-Honua'ula region.

Historical Documentary Resources

The documentation from historical literature, was researched in collections of the—Hawaii State Archives; State Survey Division; Bureau of Conveyances; Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum; Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library; Maui Historical Society; University of Hawai‘i-Hilo, Mo‘okini Library; and private collections. The records represent findings from research conducted by the authors specifically for this study, as well as materials collected by them over the last 30 years. While in no way exhaustive in scope, this document includes many references not previously cited, and in some cases not previously translated from their original Hawaiian texts, until the present time. Among the historical resources cited, are—the important land documents recorded by native residents from the *Māhele ‘Āina* (Land Division of 1848-1855); letters of the missionaries in Honua‘ula (1830s-early 1900s); records of the Bureau of Conveyances (1854-1956); testimonies and records of the Boundary Commission (1882-1909); and the writings of several Hawaiian scholars and non-native historians.

Oral History Interviews

The oral history interviews conducted as a part of this study, reflect the recollections and thoughts of several native *kama‘āina* families with generational ties to Ka‘eo and neighboring lands of the Honua‘ula region. The interviews (in *Appendix A*) demonstrate continuity in knowledge of the land and practices and beliefs associated with the land, over time. The interviewees describe the Ka‘eo-Makena vicinity, and the relationship of neighboring lands from sea to mountains. They express a deep cultural attachment² with the landscape which sustains them.

The oral historical component of this study was conducted between August to October 2005. In that time, seven interviewees participated in eight formal interviews, with additional follow up discussions to clarify interview content and receive releases of the same. The interviewees ranged in age from their 50s to 90s, and they shared recollections gained from personal experiences dating back to the nineteen-teens. As a result, the interviews include important documentation about the landscape, traditions, customs, historic land use and knowledge of fisheries in the Ka‘eo-Makena vicinity and the larger Honua‘ula region.

“Kalani Heiau” – A Summary of Historical Documentation

We wish to share with readers here, our focus on the sites discussed is not from an archaeological perspective—thus, only limited citations from archaeological field work are given here. Instead, we seek to describe the land, natural resources, traditional and historical residency, and cultural and historical sites, in Hawaiian cultural context, relying on the voices and words of natives descended from the land, and from those who experienced the land, firsthand over the period of the last 180 years. Readers interested in modern interpretations and determinations of significance for Hawaiian sites, should review archaeological studies which address cultural and historical features of the Garcia property and lands of the Makena vicinity (e.g., Bruce, 1973; Schilt, 1979; and Haun, 2000 & 2004).

The above said, there is of particular interest to the present study—and the proposed land use action of the Garcia family—a desire to better understand the history of several cultural sites found on the Garcia property. One of these sites was given the name “*Kalani Heiau*,” as a result of an archaeological survey of Maui in 1929-1930 (Walker, ms. 1930-1931). The survey, conducted by

² “*Cultural Attachment*” embodies the tangible and intangible values of a culture—how a people identify with, and personify the environment around them. It is the intimate relationship (developed over generations of experiences) that people of a particular culture feel for the sites, features, phenomena, and natural resources etc., that surround them—their sense of place. This attachment is deeply rooted in the beliefs, practices, cultural evolution, and identity of a people. The significance of cultural attachment in a given culture is often overlooked by others whose beliefs and values evolved under a different set of circumstances (cf. James Kent, “*Cultural Attachment: Assessment of Impacts to Living Culture*.” September 1995).

Winslow Walker, on behalf of the Bishop Museum, included field work in Ka'eo and neighboring lands of the Makena vicinity. While at Ka'eo, Walker visited a site which he was apparently informed was "Kalani Heiau" (Walker's Site No. 196).

A detailed review of Walker's field notes, sketch books, and manuscripts, and detailed research in earlier collections, was conducted as a part of this study, but we were unable to pinpoint how Walker learned the name of the *heiau*—he did not record the name of his local informant(s), or field assistant at this particular site. We do know that elder members of the Kukahiko family provided Walker with information on other sites between Maluaka and Kanahena, and in the Makena (Papa'anui)-Keauhou vicinity, as informant names are specifically mentioned by him. As best as can be determined, Walker's source for the name of the *heiau* at Ka'eo, came from earlier work done by Bishop Museum archaeologist, J.F.G. Stokes, who in 1916, learned of a *heiau* by the name of "Kalani," at Ka'eo, but which he did not personally see or map (Stokes 1916 and 1918). The location of the site identified by Walker as "Kalani Heiau," coincides with the location recorded by Walker on an annotated USGS Quadrangle Map of the region (Ulupalakua Quad, 1924), but we do not know if it coincides with the site originally referenced by Stokes.

As a part of the oral history study conducted in conjunction with this study, interviewees, born between 1911 to the 1940s were asked to share site specific recollections of the Garcia property, neighboring fee-simple parcels in Ka'eo, and descriptions of the resources, community, and histories of the larger region. Only one interviewee had known of the *heiau* as a child, though he did not recall hearing it named by his elders. One other interviewee had learned of the *heiau* in the 1950s, and others learned of it after 1980. The names and functions of the *heiau* and other sites on the Garcia property were not known to the interviewees. The interviewees attribute this, in part, to the fact that their parents and *kūpuna* generation did not talk to them in detail about many traditional sites, except for those that were specifically associated with their families—some of these sites did include *heiau* at other locations. They also recalled that from the early 1900s, the area of the Garcia property, the land above the Makena-Keone'ō'io Road, except for where houses were situated, was fairly overgrown with *kiawe* and other introduced plants. Thus, travel *mauka*, off trails, was deterred.

Other Cultural-Historical Features Identified During Archaeological Field Work

In addition to "Kalani Heiau," five (5) other sites with thirty (30) associated features, including stone walls, habitation features, agricultural mounds, terraces, enclosures, modified outcrops, a lava blister, and modified knolls were also identified on the Garcia family property. The cultural resources date from the period of pre-history to the era of historic ranching, and later residency activities (Haun, 2000 & 2004; and Frampton, 2002, revised, 2004). Among these cultural-historical features, is Site 5036, Feature AA, a modified knoll, which was described in the archaeological study as being a temporary habitation feature, that had been used for a "limited period of time" (Haun et al. 2004:25). This interpretation was based on the "insubstantial construction" of the site, and the results of test excavations which revealed a "limited range and quantity of cultural remains" (Haun et al., 2004:25).

Site 5036 AA was previously recorded and assigned a Bishop Museum site number (50-Ma-B8-99), and was referenced by Rose Schilt (1979) in a survey of the Garcia property. Schilt observed, and quoted from a manuscript prepared by E.H. Rogers-Jourdane (ms. 1979) that:

Site 50-Ma-B8-99

Previous Research: A small enclosure was reportedly found on the Garcia property by Rogers-Jourdane (Ms.) during a recent survey of Adjacent Seibu Inc. lands:

This site appears to be the remains of a small enclosure and is situated atop a small rise c. 168 meters E of the S. Kihei Road. The enclosure measures c. 3.0 meters in diameter and is badly deteriorated. Maximum height of the alignment is 0.35 meter (1-2 courses), and width averages 0.3 meter.

Scattering of 'ili'ili, which suggest paving, cover the surface both inside and outside of this alignment. Marine midden remains were also noted on the surface.

Vegetation during this survey, which was done in March 1978, was also extremely dense (Rogers-Jourdane Ms.)

Regarding this site, Schilt reported that in her own field work:

Field Findings: We were unable to relocate this enclosure, although its reported location is near Area E (Fig. 1) [Figure 2].

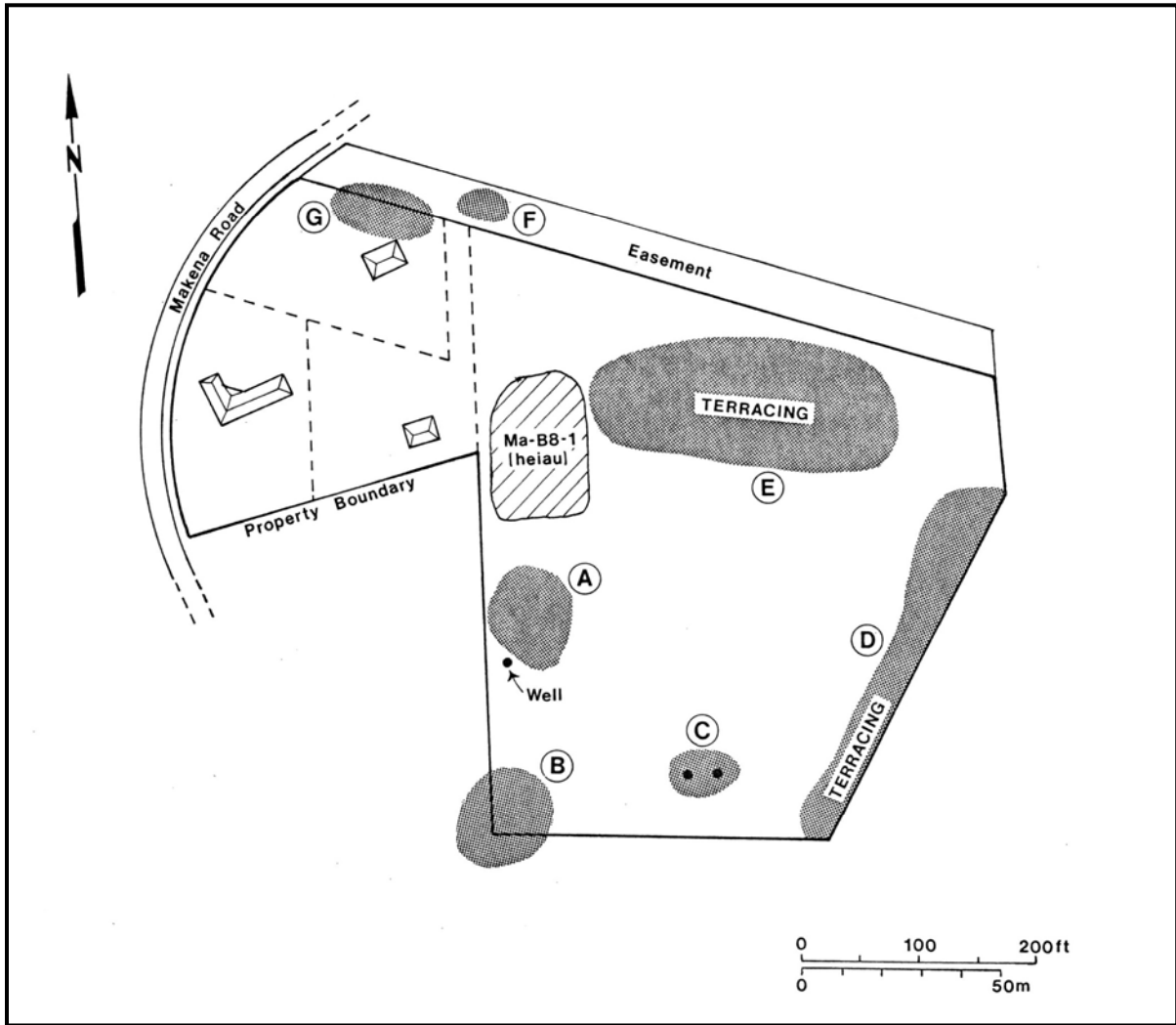


Figure 2. Location of Sites Identified on Garcia Family Property in Archaeological Survey of 1979 (Schilt, Figure 1. 1979:2)

Recommendations: In the next phase of work, another attempt should be made to find this feature. A test pit, not less than 1 by 1 meter, should be excavated in the interior, and one or more small tests should be placed in the exterior midden area. [Schilt, 1979:14]

In March 2002, following a site visit to the Garcia property, two members of the *Hui Alanui o Makena* suggested that rather than being a habitation feature, Site 5036 AA “could have had a ‘ritual or ceremonial function, due to its setting, the spatial association of the site with *Kalani Heiau* and its location on a promontory overlooking the *heiau*” (see Frampton, December 2004:7; and communications in Frampton, 2004). The suggestions of significance, and concerns were detailed in communications from Ms. Dana Hall and Ms. Theresa Donham, dated November 7th, 2002, July 14th & 22nd, 2003, and February 18th & 22nd, 2005. Following the initial site visit and various communications, it was suggested that the feature site might even have been a “*Hale o Papa*” (DLNR-SHPD Log No. 2003.2125. Doc No. 0309MK18, October 23, 2003), being a class of *heiau* belonging to women of chiefly lineage, and associated with the *luakini heiau* of state worship (see Malo, 1951; li, 1959, and Kamakau, 1976).

In conducting the research for this study, the only historical record found, that specifically describes a *heiau* or ceremonial feature, and that is directly associated with the Garcia property, is that of Walker’s, “Site 196–*Kalani Heiau*” (Walker, ms. 1930-1931). While there are references to a “*Kalani Heiau*,” dating from 1916 to the 1930s (e.g., Stokes and Thrum), there is no specific locational information given. There was also no reference found for the feature now identified as Site 5036 AA (Site 50-Ma-B8-99), though native land descriptions and maps dating from the 1840s and 1850s do reference the “*Aupuni Wall*” (Government Wall), apparently the same wall at the back end of the Garcia property (Site 5036 B), indicating some early historical activity on the land. Native tenant land claims of 1848, registered by residents of Ka’eo with tenancy predating 1819, also identify *kuleana* and walled features adjoining the *heiau* in what Haun described as Sites 5037, 5038 5039, and 5040 (Haun et al., 2000 & 2004).

It is widely recognized that prayer and ritual permeated every facet of traditional Hawaiian life, and that each cultural feature—either being a part of the natural landscape or man-made—had spiritual attributes. Because there are apparently no native traditions or historical documentation pertaining to the modified knoll identified as Site 5036 AA (*Figure 3*), it is almost impossible to state with any authenticity, whether or not the feature dates from the time, or is associated with “*Kalani Heiau*,” or if it is associated with the other features that suggest traditional and historical subsistence activities in the vicinity.



Figure 3. View (mauka to makai – towards *Kalani Heiau*) of ruins of platform (Site 5036 AA) on modified *āhua* (corner of stone alignment visible under brush in foreground) (KPA Photo No. S2896; December 27, 2005)

In this regard, one might posit that in the traditional-cultural context, all sites on a given land area share some form of contextual relationship, and contribute to facets of the cultural landscape. It is also clearly documented in native accounts, that with the passing of time, the function, form, and value of cultural features changed, some gaining in prominence, while others diminished.

In an effort to provide readers with details pertaining to the significance of certain classes of *heiau* and associated features, we have included in this study, accounts penned by native historians, describing the various physical forms and functions of chiefly ceremonial sites. There is great significance assigned to ritual sites, and detailed accounts of *heiau*—including what kinds of activities and features were acceptable in close proximity to the higher class of *heiau*, as those where chiefs worshipped and made sacrifices—have been recorded by native historians. The historical narratives, along with the first-hand accounts of residency and land tenure at Ka‘eo, suggest that either the significance of “*Kalani Heiau*” and neighboring features had diminished by the 1830s—and was not maintained in the community memory—or that other kinds of traditional activities, including residential and agricultural functions, and even more personal ceremonial observances—could have occurred at sites such as Site 5036 AA, and as is recorded for the adjoining Sites 5037, 5038, 5039 and 5040.

While only limited documentation about the “*Kalani Heiau*” and other features on the Garcia property was recorded in the interviews, detailed descriptions of other Makena region sites, families, traditional and customary practices, transitions in residency and land use, traditions, practices associated with the area fisheries, and descriptions of the ranching era were recorded. The interviewees shared rich and vivid accounts, and add to the community history base. All of them also expressed support of the Garcia family’s efforts to protect and interpret the “*Kalani Heiau*” and any other significant sites that may be on the property. Members of the Historic Keawala‘i Church—including several interviewees and their families—with Kahu Kealahou Alike, have already discussed plans with the Garcias, for developing a partnership for stewardship of the site, and plan to assist in the long-term management of the *heiau*.

THE HONU‘ULA DISTRICT–KA‘EO-MAKENA VICINITY: A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This section of the study provides readers with a general overview of the Hawaiian landscape—including origin of the islands, settlement and population expansion—and Hawaiian traditions, customs and practices of resource management that are the basis of the sustainable relationship shared between the native Hawaiians, the *akua* (gods), *‘āina* (land), *kai* (ocean), *wai* (water), and their *‘ohana* (families). Several important historical narratives which describe those resources in a cultural-spiritual context are cited in this section of the study, and set a foundation for narratives cited in subsequent sections.

Natural and Cultural Resources in Hawaiian Culture

In Hawaiian culture, natural and cultural resources are one and the same. Native traditions describe the formation (literally the birth) of the Hawaiian Islands and the presence of life on and around them, in the context of genealogical accounts. All forms of the natural environment—from the heavens and mountain peaks, to the valleys, *kula* (flat sloping lands) and lava plains, and to the shoreline and ocean depths; as well as the winds, rains, clouds, stars in the heavens, and all forms of life—animate and inanimate—were believed to be embodiments of Hawaiian gods and deities. One Hawaiian genealogical account, records that Wākea (the expanse of the sky—the father) and Papa-hānau-moku (Papa, who gave birth to the islands—the mother), also called Haumea-nui-hānau-wā-wā (Great Haumea-born time and time again), and various gods and creative forces of nature, gave birth to the islands.

Maui, the second largest of the islands, was the second-born of these island children. As the Hawaiian genealogical account continues, we find that these same god-beings or creative forces of nature (parents of the islands), were also the parents of Hā-loa-naka-lau-kapalili (long stalk, quaking and trembling leaf). This Hāloa was born as a “shapeless mass” and buried outside the door of his parents house (cf. Pukui and Elbert, 1981:382), and from his grave grew the *kalo* (taro). The next child born to these god-parents, was also called Hāloa (the long stalk or breath of life), and he is credited as being the progenitor of the Hawaiian race (David Malo 1951:3, 242-243; Beckwith 1970; Pukui and Korn 1973). It was in this context of kinship, that the ancient Hawaiians addressed their environment and it is the basis of the Hawaiian system of land use.

Ka Ho‘onoho Moku–Hawaiian Settlement of the Islands

Archaeologists and historians describe the inhabiting of these islands in the context of settlement which resulted from voyages taken in canoes, across the open ocean. Archaeologists have proposed that early Polynesian settlement voyages between Kahiki (the ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian gods and people) and Hawai‘i were underway by ca. 400 A.D., with long distance voyages occurring fairly regularly through at least the thirteenth century (cf. Cordy 2000). It has been generally reported that the land-sources of the early Hawaiian population—the Hawaiian “Kahiki”—were the Marquesas and Society Islands (Emory in Tatar 1982:16-18). Indeed, Kahikinui, the district neighboring Honua‘ula to the south, is named because from afar on the ocean, it resembled a larger form of Kahiki, the ancestral homeland (see Kihe et al., 1915, in this study; Maly, translator).

For several generations following initial settlement, communities were clustered along the watered, “*ko‘olau*” (windward) shores of the Hawaiian Islands. Along the *ko‘olau* slopes, streams flowed and rainfall was abundant, and agricultural production became established. The *ko‘olau* region also offered sheltered bays from which deep sea fisheries could be easily accessed, and near shore fisheries, enriched by nutrients carried in the fresh water, could be maintained in fishponds and coastal fisheries. It was around these bays that clusters of houses where families lived, could be

found, and in these early times, the residents generally engaged in subsistence practices in the forms of agriculture and fishing (Handy, Handy and Pukui, 1972:287).

With the passing of time (ca. A.D. 800 to 1000), the *ko'olau* region became more populated and perhaps crowded, and the Hawaiians begin expanding out to, and settling more remote areas, which had not been the first choices for settlement—based primarily on access to water. These “*kona*” (leeward) lands, like those of the Honua'ula District, offered residents sheltered coves, rich fisheries, and access to forested uplands, where agricultural endeavors could be supported, and natural resources could be collected (cf. Haun et al., 2004).

Mokupuni to Ahupua'a— Evolution of Hawaiian Land Management Practices

Over the period of several generations following settlement, the Hawaiians began to develop a sophisticated system of land- and resource-management practices, that were integrated into natural cycles of the environment around them. By ca. 1500, in the time Kāka'e and Kaka'alaneo, the island (*moku-puni*) of Maui was divided into some eleven or twelve major districts or *moku-o-loko*, and smaller subdivisions, which were handed down through time (cf. Malo, 1951:16; Fornander, 1919 Vol. VI-2:313; Beckwith, 1970:383; and King 1942). These (*moku-o-loko* or *moku*) included Honua'ula, Kula, Lāhaina, Kā'anapali, Nāpoko or Wailuku, Hāmākua Poko, Hāmākua Loa, Ko'olau, Hāna, Kīpahulu, Kaupō, and Kahikinui. Some of these large districts were subdivided into smaller '*okana* or *kālana* (regions of land smaller than the *moku-o-loko*) yet comprising a number of smaller units of land (see Lyons, 1875; and Coulter, 1935).

The large districts (*moku-o-loko*) and sub-regions ('*okana* and *kālana*) were further divided into manageable units of land, and were tended to by the *maka'āinana* (people of the land). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant management unit was the *ahupua'a*. *Ahupua'a* are subdivisions of land that were usually marked by an altar with an image or representation of a pig placed upon it (thus the name *ahu-pua'a* or pig-altar). In their configuration, the *ahupua'a* may generally be compared to wedge-shaped pieces of land that radiate out from the center of the island, extending to the ocean fisheries fronting the land unit. Their boundaries are defined by topographic or geological features such as *pu'u* (hills), ridges, gullies, valleys, craters, or areas of a particular vegetation growth (see Malo, 1951:16-18; and Lyons, 1875).

The *ahupua'a* were also divided into smaller, manageable parcels of land (such as the '*ili*, *kō'ele*, *māla*, *kīhāpai*, *mo'o* and *paukū* etc.). Generally small land units that ran in a *mauka-makai* orientation, and that were often marked by stone wall alignments. In these smaller parcels, the native tenants tended fields and cultivated crops necessary to sustain their immediate families and the chiefly communities they were associated with. As long as sufficient tribute was offered, and *kapu* (restrictions) were observed, the common people, who lived in a given *ahupua'a* had access to most of the resources from mountain slopes to the ocean. These access rights were almost uniformly tied to residency on a particular land, and earned as a result of taking responsibility for stewardship of the natural environment, and supplying the needs of ones' *ali'i* (see Malo, 1951:63-67; and Kamakau, 1961:372-377).

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

occupations on land and in procurement of marine resources) came to be strictly adhered to (Malo 1951:63-67).

Traditions and Practices of Hawaiian Residency in Honua‘ula

The system of traditional Hawaiian land use and subsistence practices were extensively researched in the 1920s-1930s, by E.S. Handy, E.G. Handy, and M. Kawena Pukui (1940 and 1972). The authors compiled extensive historical records and conducted field interviews with elder *kama‘āina*— firsthand participants in the old lifeways—to document traditional customs and practices associated with land use and residency throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Among the places visited were the lands of the Honua‘ula region (Handy, 1940; and Handy et al., 1972).

In describing the land use and residency in the Honua‘ula region, Handy also spoke of the Ka‘eo-Makena, and Keone‘ō‘io vicinities, observing that:

...In Honuaua, as in Kaupo and Kahikinui, the forest zone was much lower and rain more abundant before the introduction of cattle. The usual forest- [page 113] zone plants were cultivated in the lower upland above the inhabited area. Despite two recent (geologically speaking) lava flows which erupted from fissures below the crater and only a few miles inland and which covered many square miles of land, the eastern and coastal portion of Honuaua was thickly populated by Hawaiian planters until recent years. A few houses are still standing at Kanaio where the upper road (traveling eastward) ends, but only two are now occupied. A number of Hawaiian families whose men are employed at Ulupalakua Ranch have homes near the ranch house. About these native homes a little dry taro is cultivated. Formerly there was much dry taro in the forest zone... [page 114]

Handy (1940) also described the communities of ancient times, that had been situated along the coastal lands of Honua‘ula—with accounts of Makena, Ka‘eo, and neighboring lands:

...Makena is today a small community of native fishermen who from time to time cultivate small patches of potatoes when rain favors them. Formerly, before deforestation of the uplands, it is said that there was ample rain in favorable seasons for planting the sweet potato, which was the staple here. A large population must have lived at Makena in ancient times for it is an excellent fishing locality, flanked by an extensive area along shore and inland that was formerly very good for sweet potato planting and even now is fairly good, despite frequent droughts.

Between Makena and the lava-covered terrain of Keoneoio (another famous fishing locality) the coastal region includes the small *ahupua‘a* of Onau, Moomuku, Mooloa, Mooiki, Maluaka, and Kaeo. According to an old *kamaaina*, these *ahupua‘a* had in former times a continuous population of fisher folk who cultivated potatoes and exchanged their fish for taro, bananas, and sweet potatoes grown by the upland residents of the Ulupalakua section. A few Hawaiians still live here. One living near Puu Olai has a sizable sweet potato patch in the dusty soil near the shore; another raises fine potatoes in a low flatland of white sand near the abandoned schoolhouse of Makena...³ [page 159]

From...Kahikinui, Honuaua, and Kula the sweet potato was the staple food for a considerable population, supplemented with dry taro grown in the low forest zones. This is the greatest continuous dry planting area in the Hawaiian islands. A few Hawaiians at Ulupalakua have sizable patches of sweet potatoes at the present time, and a few patches are still planted at Kaupo; but beyond this, the ancient subsistence culture has

³ Kupuna Samuel Kana‘iaupuni Ponopake Chang, born in 1911, and a former student of the old Makena School, described the sweet potato gardens at the school, which were worked as a part of the school’s program (see interviews in this study).

completely vanished from these vast *kula* slopes which are now given over wholly to ranching. The fishermen along the coasts of Kahikinui and Honua'ula used to exchange their fish for sweet potatoes and taro grown by those living up on the *kula*; Hawaiian tradition gives ample evidence that the population of this now almost depopulated country was considerable... [Handy, 1940:160]

In 1972, Handy et al., further developed their discussion about residency in the Honua'ula region of Maui, noting again that the sweet potato culture was of great importance to the people, and that a "rain cult" had existed at 'Ulupalakua; it was also observed that the fishing grounds of the region were excellent:

Maui, despite the high mountains forming the west and east sections, had an even more extensive dry area than Hawaii. All the country below the west and south slopes of Haleakala, specifically Kula, Honua'ula, Kahikinui, and Kaupo, in old Hawaiian times depended on the sweet potato. The leeward flanks of Haleakala were not as favorable for dry or upland taro culture as were the lower forest zones on the island of Hawaii. However, some upland taro was grown, up to an altitude of 3,000 feet. A few such small patches belonging to cowboys were visited in 1931. But there never were extensive upland plantations here comparable to those on Hawaii. The prevalence of prayers invoking rain and the existence at 'Ulupalakua of a rain cult evidence a scarcity of enough rain even for the sweet-potato crops. There was excellent deep-water fishing available to the folk of Kula and Honua'ula, but it was very poor along the Kahikinui and Kaupo shores; and there was little shellfish and *limu*. The coast and coast lands of southern Maui are perhaps the poorest in the islands. The sparse population there must have suffered severe famine at times. [Handy et al., 1972:276]

Ka'eo and Vicinity at Honua'ula: An Overview of Environment, Residency And Social-Ecological Systems

Situated on the western slope of Haleakalā, the district of Honua'ula (literally, Red-land or earth) is comprised of some twenty traditional *ahupua'a*, of which Ka'eo is one. In the Honua'ula District, the fisheries—both near shore (including fishponds) and deep sea fisheries—were highly valued. Also, potable water could often be found in ponds and springs near the shore. Named localities such as Waia'ilio, Waiala, Wai'āpuka, Wai 'A'awa, Waipao, and Waile'a, are among those that commemorate places known for their coastal region water resources. It was at such near-shore watered places that natives relied upon when the uplands were dry. When the native forests were of greater scope, and extended further down the mountain slopes—in the centuries prior to the introduction of foreign cattle and other ungulates that destroyed vast forest regions—the *kēhau* (early morning dew), born on breezes from the mountain slopes, could be relied upon on a daily basis to keep native crops in the uplands (generally between the 2,000 to 4,000 foot elevation) supplied with water for regular growth (Handy, 1940).

The place name Ka'eo, has been recorded as being pronounced with only emphasis (a glottal mark) between the vowels "a" and "e." As such the name Ka'eo might be translated as meaning "resentful," or "indignant" (Pukui and Elbert, 1971). Because it doesn't appear that a tradition was recorded as to the original intent or meaning of the name, this translation is interpretive. If written "Kā'eo," with added emphasis on the letter "a," the name may be literally translated as being full, as a food gourd—poetically descriptive of a land with ample food gardens (ibid.).

Near the shore, Ka'eo and neighboring lands receive approximately 20 to 30 inches of rain annually, with the rainfall increasing in the upper reaches of the *ahupua'a*. Based on interviews and field observations, the lowlands were once vegetated with such native and Polynesian introduced plant species as— *'āhinahina*, *hala*, *hau*, *'ilima*, *kou*, *maiapilo*, *milu*, *naupaka*, *niu*, *pili*, *'uhaloa*, and *wiliwili*

(some species being confined to the shores, and others extending some distance inland). It is likely that prior to the introduction of cattle, goats, and other ungulates, and extreme modifications in land use and environmental conditions, that a wide range of native plants once grew at various elevational zones of Ka'eo and the larger Honua'ula region. Presently, the predominant tree growth on the Garcia property, and through much of Ka'eo is the introduced *kiawe*; with scattered *pānini* (an introduced cactus); the introduced, *koa haole*; and ground cover comprised of alien grasses, with scattered *'ilima* and *'uhaloa*. One remnant native *wiliwili* tree (*Erythrina sandwicensis*)—once a predominate component of the Honua'ula landscape—was observed near the *mauka* edge of the “*Kalani Heiau*” (Site No. 196), on the northern side of an old stone wall (Site No. 5036 A), that crosses over the *heiau* on the Garcia property.

The *ahupua'a* of Ka'eo rises from the ocean, taking in the bay of Keawakapu⁴ (literally, The-restricted, or sacred-landing-place). Ka'eo included fisheries and an ancient fishpond on 'Āpuakēhau (literally, Dew-basket, or trap) Point. From the *kahakai* (shoreline), the land rises across the *kula* (open plain lands), and took in the *'ili* (land area) of 'Ulupalakua (literally, Breadfruit-ripened-on-the-back) (see records of *Māhele* claims in this study); and was probably marked at it's upper extremity by the hill, Pu'u Ka'eo (literally, Ka'eo Hill). The latter “traditional” boundary is assumed, based on the place name, which seems to tie it to the land of the same name. This uncertainty of upper traditional boundary results from early historic subdividing of Honua'ula District under the *Aupuni* (Kingdom), which began in the 1840s, as tracts were leased out to foreign residents for the development of plantation and ranching interests. These leasehold actions predated the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division) of 1848, when boundaries began to be formally recorded and defined in a western manner.

On the *kula* (open flat lands) of Ka'eo—and other lands of the Honua'ula region—between the primary near shore and upland areas of residences and subsistence activities, a wide range of traditional activities would have occurred. Thus, on the *kula* lands, in addition to the *ala hele* and *ala pi'i* (*mauka-makai* trails) and trailside resting places (*o'io'ina*) and shelters, there would likely have occurred seasonal residences and scattered agricultural fields; resource collection sites; shrines; storied features on the landscape for which traditions were recorded (e.g., storied hills and lava flows); *ilina* (burial sites); and other cultural resources, associated with generations of residency on the land.

Because spiritual observances and worship were a part of all facets of traditional Hawaiian life—from those of the highest rank to those of the most meager and humble of means—places of worship occurred throughout the land. These sites included those reserved for the highest chiefs and priests, which served as temples of state; personal family shrines found in residence complexes; wayside shrines; temples and shrines associated with fishing, agriculture, and the procurement of rain; temples for women; and places where one prayed to the *kini akua* (myriad gods and goddesses) for inspiration in the many fields of instruction and practice undertaken in traditional times. Unfortunately, following western contact, and the rapid demise of the Hawaiian population, and subsequent missionary work and colonization of the Hawaiian islands and people, the traditions and actual practices associated with many places—place-based knowledge—were lost.

An example of changes in place-based knowledge is found in the name of Ka'eo Ahupua'a. Based on early native land records and missionary accounts, Ka'eo is the traditional name of the land—an account describing the origin of the name has not yet been located. The Garcia family parcel is situated in Ka'eo, in the *'ili* (a small native land subdivision) known as Keawakapu. Keawakapu is also the traditional name of the bay fronting Ka'eo, and is the *'ili* where the historical church (now known as Keawala'i), is situated. In the present day, the place names, Ka'eo and Keawakapu are not

⁴ The name Keawakapu, is almost unknown in this area, to native residents in the present day. This is because the name “Keawala'i” for the Hawaiian Church has been generally in use since sometime in the early 1900s. It will be seen in the native land records and accounts cited in this study, that Keawakapu was the traditional name of the *'ili* on which the Church is situated, and that the name Keawala'i post-dates 1900.

widely used. The traditional name of a neighboring bay, Makena⁵, actually in the *ahupua'a* of Papa'anui, is the locality name most familiar to native residents and others who know the area. The association of the larger area with the name Makena—formerly only a small locality name in a larger *ahupua'a* of the Honua'ula District—dates back to the late 1840s, when the bay of Makena was made the primary landing and coastal economic center of the region. Thus, since that time, the name Makena was frequently used when speaking of the area, and with the passing of time and elder *kama'āina*, other place names fell to general disuse.

Transitions in Residency and Land Tenure

From 1800 to the 1840s (in the period prior to the *Māhele 'Āina*), the land of Ka'eo was managed for members of the Kamehameha household and supporting high chiefs by *konohiki*—lesser chiefs appointed by Kamehameha III and Ulumāheihēi Hoapili. Their names are recorded as having been Ihu, Pahuwai, Pikanele and Mahoe (see land records of the *Māhele* in this study). At the time of the *Māhele 'Āina* (1848), the *ahupua'a* of Ka'eo was divided in two, half being retained by King Kamehameha III, and half being given to the last *Konohiki*, Mahoe (*Buke Mahele*, 1848:75-76). The *Māhele* Award of Ka'eo to Mahoe was not confirmed by the Land Commission, and in 1852, the King issued Mahoe a Royal Patent Grant (No. 835) for his half of Ka'eo Ahupua'a (reportedly an area of some 514 acres). In 1848, the King also granted his interest in the other half of Ka'eo to the *Aupuni* (Government) land inventory, and it was subsequently sold in a grant to a foreign resident and business man, Linton L. Torbert, one of the original founders of what became Ulupalakua Ranch.

Historical documentation describes the area of the Garcia property, and adjoining lands as being a part of at least two *kuleana* (original fee-simple land awards to native residents), and including a part the large land grant issued to Mahoe. Up to the early 1840s, land use, access, and subsistence activities in Ka'eo remained as it had from ancient times. But by the middle 1840s, land use in Ka'eo and in neighboring lands, transitioned from traditional subsistence agriculture to business interests, focused on ranching and plantations (the latter occurring in the cooler uplands). Also, in the 1830s, just prior to the development of fee-simple property rights in the Hawaiian Kingdom, the land of Ka'eo was selected as the center for educational and church work in the Honua'ula District. On the shore of Keawakapu, just across the Makena-Keone'ō'io trail (road), from the present-day Garcia property, the first meeting house (later the church), a government landing and store were built.

By 1849, increasingly large tracts of land in the Honua'ula District, including the government's half of Ka'eo were removed from the traditional Hawaiian land system of access, as a result of sales to Linton Torbert and William Wilcox, and leasehold interests of Michael J. Nowlein. While the primary business activities of the foreign land owners focused on sugar plantation development, Torbert also held extensive lands down to the ocean, including the area around what became the Makena Landing—the landing being developed by Torbert to ship his plantation goods.

In 1855, Mahoe conveyed the upper 100 acres of his land at Ka'eo to Linton L. Torbert. Subsequently in 1868, Mahoe and his wife Pikanele (apparently the daughter of the *Konohiki* of Ka'eo prior to Mahoe) granted the Honua'ula Church fee-simple interest in the land at Keawakapu, on which the meeting house-church had been situated since the 1830s. Pikanele *wahine* died some time after 1868, and in 1872, Mahoe granted his remaining interest in the land of Ka'eo to his three daughters—Kali, Puhupuhi and Hopoe—born him by Pikanele. In 1880, the daughters of Mahoe issued a lease on their land of Ka'eo to J. Kapohakimohewa, who at one time operated a store in the vicinity of the

⁵ Makena: Readers may note that the place name Makena, is sometimes written with a macron over the first letter "a" thus, "Mākena." This indicates that there is added emphasis in the pronunciation of the name. While conducting the present study, we were informed by native residents, and descendants of the traditional families of the Makena area, that as youth, they did not recall hearing the name pronounced with this added emphasis—that the name is "Makena." The word '*makena*' is associated with dieing, or lamenting the passing of someone or something. In several early Hawaiian traditions (cited in this study), we are told that the winds from Kahikinui die upon the plains of Honua'ula, with the inference that the name Makena is rooted in this phenomena. When pronounced. "Mākena" the name may mean that the land area was a place of "abundance."

present-day home of Sam Garcia, Jr. By the early 1900s, the heirs of Mahoe's daughters sold their remaining interests in the land of Ka'eo to 'Ulupalakua Ranch—portions of which were later sold to members of the Kapohakimohewa family. Detailed records dating from 1848 to the 1950s, documenting the transitions in land tenure—including Mahoe's Royal Patent Grant No. 835, and several *kuleana* awarded to other native tenants of Ka'eo—are cited later in this study.

Naleipuleho Describes Native Residency in Honua'ula in 1836

One of the earliest native accounts recorded for the Honua'ula region, describing residency and practices of the natives, was found in the June 8th, 1836 edition of the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (page 48). In the account, native resident, Naleipuleho described the region of Honua'ula as one that was frequented by famines, but where people in the uplands cultivated such crops as sweet potatoes, taro, and sugar cane, and those living on the shore focused primarily on fishing. The residents also traveled between the uplands and coastal lands, to exchange products. Naleipuleho also reported that those people who lived on the shore, had easier access to regular supplies of potable water, than those people who lived in the uplands:

NO KA NOHO ANA O NA KANAKA MA HONUULA MA MAUI.

Ke hai aku nei au ia oe i ke ano o keia aina, i ka noho ana o na kanaka.

Eia ke ano. He aina wi, o Honuula. O ka uwala ko laila ai, a me ka kalo, he ai pau wale no ia. Eia ka ai mau loa, he ko, he ki lau o ke aa, o ke ki lau a me ka muo, o na ai mau loa ia.

Eia ke ano o ka noho ana o na kanaka; elua wahi noho. Ma kahakai, mauka mawaena o ka aina. O ke kii ana o ka ai a na kanaka ma kahakai he loihi loa. He kokoke ka wai o lakou. Pomaikai lakou i ke kokoke o ka wai a me ka ia. Poino ko lakou mau ai i ka loihi o ka ai.

O na kanaka i noho mawaena o ka aina,—pomaikai lakou i ka ai i ke kokoke o ka ai. Poino lakou i ka wai i ka loihi o ke ana o ka wai. Aia no i kahakai ka wai e kii ai. Ina e kii iuka i ka wai, he loihi ke pii aku iluna, he naenae ka pii ana,—aia no i ka lae laau ka wai, i hoi mai he lole ke kuli i ka loihi o ka hoi ana mai, i ke kii ana o ka wai elua ipu nui e ukuhi ai i ka wai, a piha, hoi mai. Hooheehee i na huawai, liilii, a piha, a koe ke koena he wai auau, he wai hoopulu hana wauke, i mea kapa.

Na I. Naleipuleho

RESIDENCY OF THE PEOPLE OF HONUULA, MAUI

I hereby tell you about the nature of this land and the residency of the people.

Here are the characteristics. Honuula is a land of famines. The sweet potato is the food there, and the taro, but they are foods which do not last. Here are the foods which are always available, sugar cane, ti leaf roots, and the budding leaves of the ti are the steady foods.

Here is how the people live; there are two places of residency. Along the shore, and in the mid uplands of the land. The people who live on the shore, must travel a great distance to get vegetable foods. But, the fresh water is close to them. They are blessed to be near the drinking water and fish. Though they are greatly burdened in having to travel far for their other foods.

The people who reside in the middle of the land, are fortunate that their foods are close to them. But they are unfortunate because the fresh water is a great distance from them in the caves. There is water which they can get from the shore. If they travel to the uplands to get water, it is a great ascent, and fatiguing—the water is there in the forest groves; returning causes pain in the knees, for the great distance of the trip, and for only two large water containers in which to pour the water and return. The water gourds hang down, and there is a little that remains for bathing, and moistening the *wauke*, made into *kapa*. [Maly, translator]

Plantations and Ranches Develop— Native Tenants of Honua‘ula Displaced by Roaming Cattle (1845)

Following the arrival of Captain Vancouver in 1793, the visits of foreign ships began to increase. In the early 1790s, only two Caucasians were recorded as being residents in the islands, by 1800, the number of foreigners who jumped ship increased. As the numbers of ships calling on Hawaiian ports increased, there also grew new economic pressures. Hawaiian interest in foreign goods grew, and foreign desires for Hawaiian supplies and safe harbors grew as well. A radically different system of foreign economics progressed almost unchecked in the islands, generally to the disadvantage of the Hawaiians.

In 1820, Calvinist missionaries from America arrived and settled the islands. They brought with them not only their religious beliefs, but also their American values—among which were private property rights. By the middle 1820s, lands were being granted to the American Board of Commissioner for Foreign Christian Missions (A.B.C.F.M.), for church, residency, schools, and the development of businesses with which to support the growing Sandwich Islands Mission. By the 1830s, other foreigners who had provided some service or other asset to the King or his landed chiefs, were also receiving lands for their use. Such property rights led to the development of sugar plantations and ranching interests. The latter, becoming an urgent need, in order to control the growing herds of wild cattle and other ungulates left in the islands by Captain Vancouver and later shippers who sought to develop food supply sources for visiting ships (cf. Kuykendall 1968:40-41).

By the middle 1840s King Kamehameha III, under the tutelage of his missionary teachers, began to organize his Kingdom birth-right under an American system—a system which also incorporated many foreign office holders. From his land inventory, he set up a mechanism to lease out and eventually sell large tracts of land for the development of businesses, which it was hoped, would also benefit the kingdom. Interestingly, the uplands of Honua‘ula were among the early lands leased out to foreigners for plantation and ranching ventures. Two prominent participants in the Honua‘ula venture were Michael J. Nowlein and Linton L. Torbert. Both of whom worked lands in the ‘Ulupalakua vicinity as sugar plantations. Nowlein operated the Kingdom (*Aupuni*) plantation, and Torbert operated a leasehold plantation.

While these developments were occurring in government offices and land use, a number of native residents grew alarmed. In 1845 hundreds of native Hawaiians from Maui and Hawai‘i petitioned the King to—

Permit no naturalized foreigner to hold any office. To allow no foreigners hereafter to become naturalized. To part with no lands to foreigners... [The Polynesian, July 26, 1845:40]

In December 1845 and January 1846, King Kamehameha III, Cabinet Members and Ministers, visited Maui to address the people on these matters. Kamehameha III; J.Y. Kānehoa, Governor of Maui; A. Pākī; and appointed Ministers met with Hawaiians in large gatherings at various locations. The following excerpts from *The Polynesian*, summarize the thoughts of the King and others in his government on these matters, and make specific reference to the “experiment” of dividing and granting fee-simple interest in properties at selected locations in the islands. It will be noted in the comments made below, that the lands of Honua‘ula were specifically referenced, both sugar cane and Irish potatoes were deemed important monetary crops. By this time, wild cattle had already led to the abandonment of two districts on the island as well:

The Polynesian
Honolulu, Saturday, Feb. 14, 1846
His Majesty's Late visit to Maui.

...The royal party left this place on the 18th of December and arrived at Lahaina on the 20th... On the 12th January, His Majesty addressed several thousand of his subjects, at Wailuku, to the following effect:

I have addressed you before with my *KUHINA*, who is gone. I alone am left. I now repeat the same, and urge you to support schools and cultivate the land.

We are seeking the good of the country but the work is not done. We are making laws, but they are not *pohihihi* [bewildering]. If they are so to us they will be so to you. Your hereditary chiefs have been in trouble, and therefore have chosen some to aid them. They are the ministers of white skin, whom you see. This is according to the old system. They know more than we, and I have chosen them for the sake of their knowledge. You have heard of our trouble. I have seen it.

Therefore we have chosen these helpers to help you. We have heard of your petitions. Should we consent to them, trouble would immediately follow— instantly—before night. I ask you therefore to put an end to your wish to promote that petition...

...On the 14th, His Majesty addressed a large concourse of people at Makawao with great effect. A large proportion of the assembly were melted into tears. The Premier followed, urging the people to attend to useful knowledge, agriculture and religion, as the king provided for his own children he provided for theirs. Mr. Judd then spoke of the new arrangement of selling lands in fee simple to the natives in that district, with which they were much gratified. After crossing Mauna Haleakala, sleeping on its summit, and examining the crater, the royal party stopped on the 16th at a romantic place called Mokulau...

...Agriculture on Maui is in a forward state, compared with Oahu. At Honuaua there are 178 acres under cultivation of sugar cane with a good sugar mill managed chiefly by natives. One farm, besides sugar, raises \$5000 worth of Irish potatoes annually. There are 12 foreigners here, one of whom John White, arrived in 1799. On some parts of Maui the cattle have done much mischief by trespassing on the plantations, and driving the owners from their little farms. Two districts have in consequence been deserted...

Interestingly, in the same issue and page of *The Polynesian*, as the above citation, there was a notice that Linton L. Torbert and another worker had been brought to Honolulu from 'Ulupalakua, for the murder of Aki, a native Hawaiian resident of the area. Details of the case were reported in the February 28th, 1846 issue of *The Polynesian*. The "accident" occurred as a result of Aki and others attempting to protect their cultivated lands from the cattle belonging to Torbert and others. The impacts of cattle, were reportedly driving native tenants from the region:

The Polynesian
February 28, 1846:176

Court of Oahu.
His Honor Judge Andrews on the Bench.
Trial of Linton L. Torbert and Benjamin Furbush for shooting Aki, a native of Maui.

This trial occupied two days, the 23^d and 24th inst... The jury, half naturalized subjects and half natives, were impanelled at 10 o'clock on Monday, and the case opened by reading and explaining of the indictment by the Attorney General. The prisoners were

indicted on several accounts under the several sections of the law prohibiting murder, to which they plead "Not guilty." Messrs. E.C. Webster and De Fiennes appeared as their counsel. The examination of the witnesses occupied a day and a half, and was very detailed. From them it appeared that Linton L. Torbert is the proprietor of a plantation at Honuaula on Maui and Benjamin Furbush, a blacksmith, in his employ. Torbert had lived several years in the district, and bore among all classes and excellent character. Furbush was a recent comer, but nothing evil was known of him. Torbert had married a half native woman, and from all accounts had, by his good habits and friendly conduct, won the esteem of the natives.

The lamentable accident by which Aki was deprived of life, originated as follows. *The numerous cattle owned in that region by the foreigners had been in the habit of trespassing more or less on the farms of the natives, and doing them damage. The whites in many instances reimbursed the owners, but perhaps in some, not deeming the injury as done through their fault, omitted to do so. At all events not only here but in other places on the islands, much ill will has mutually resulted between agriculturists and stock raisers, on account of the mischief produced by cattle not properly guarded or that perhaps have been purposely driven where they would do damage, in revenge for some prior injury, real or fancied. Legislation is required to properly define and protect these rival interests. There is not a doubt that the petty farmers have suffered much from the greatly increasing numbers of cattle, which now roam over a large area of the islands, and have in some districts fairly driven the poor natives off, by rendering it impossible for them to cultivate their grounds with any certainty of securing their crops.* Fencing materials are expensive and in most places quite beyond the resources of the mere peasant. At Honuaula it appears from some motive of revenge Torbert had several cattle badly wounded by natives unknown. On Saturday, Jan. 11, several being missing, he with Furbush and a man named Cummins, proceeded to look for them, having first provided themselves with fire-arms, out of fear as alleged that they might themselves be attacked. But from a portion of the testimony, which would seem to be the most to be relied on, the disposition of the natives here as elsewhere through the group, is friendly to foreigners, and arms would be likely, so far from being a protection, to exasperate them.

Under their mistaken apprehension, the parties proceeded on their search until they found a woman who informed them that the cattle had been trespassing upon their grounds the night previous, and a native called Aki had cut them. They applied to Luhi, a constable present, to apprehend Aki. Luhi dispatched a subordinate to bring Aki before him. His messenger returned without him, and then after some conversation with Luhi, the three whites conceiving that there was no real intention of bringing Aki to justice, set out in quest of him themselves, first having obtained the authority from Luhi, as they supposed to apprehend him. This Luhi denied, and the sub-constable before sent, reported that Aki would come as soon as he had done some little matter he was engaged upon... The three whites found Aki on his own premises, alone, and Torbert, first laying down his pistols, proceeded to tie Aki's hands behind him with his handkerchief. Aki resisted, and in the scuffle the two fell into a hole. Aki rose first, and seizing a stick, struck at Torbert without hitting him. Torbert then fired a pistol over his head, which frightened Aki and he ran. Torbert then called out to Furbush who was about thirty fathoms off to shoot Aki in the legs. Furbush fired, but as Aki still ran, he was not sure that he had hit him although he expressed the fear that he had shot too high. The ball entered Aki's back near the spine and came out just beneath his false rib. Aki ran some distance before he fell, and when found by the natives was carried to a house and attended by one of their own doctors. As soon as Torbert knew of the disastrous consequences of the shot, he hastened to the wounded man with Mr. Miner, who had some knowledge of pharmacy, to do all he could for him, and from that time to his death,

both he and Furbush left nothing unturned to save the life of their unintentional victim. He died however on the Tuesday following...

The jury retired at 8 o'clock, p.m., and at 12 brought in the following verdict:

To His Honor the Judge:

This is the unanimous verdict of the jury. We all agree that Linton L. Torbert and Benjamin Furbush are guilty of manslaughter.

Honolulu, Oahu, Feb. 24, 1846.

Kekino (foreman),	C.W. Vincent,
Kahue,	John Beatty,
Kapahi,	Edward Dennis,
Kiha,	T.C.B. Rooke,
J. Kalili,	Zenas Bent,
S.W. Kamakea,	James Austin...

...Their sentence (4 years imprisonment) can, through the defective arrangement of our present penal code, which will soon be rectified to meet the more enlightened condition of the people, be commuted for \$200 fine each—so that the prisoners become free upon payment of this sum...

By action of the Privy Council, Linton Torbert was absolved of his sentence and his properties at Honua'ula restored to him (Privy Council, Minutes, Hawaii State Archives).

Loss of Hawaiian Men to Whale Ships: Impacts the Population of Honua'ula (1846)

In 1846, Jonathan S. Green, resident of Makawao, wrote a letter to the editor of *The Polynesian* in which he described the loss of people from some of the districts of Maui, including Honua'ula. Green, who served the Sandwich Islands Mission between 1828 to 1842, had also spent several years in the Wailuku Station, from where he also worked the Honua'ula out-station, centered at Keawakapu, in Ka'eo (see selected accounts by Green later in this study). Upon resignation in 1842, Green settled permanently in Makawao to run a Hawaiian boarding school. He was a key participant in the growing land "experiment" implemented by King Kamehameha III, in which natives and naturalized foreigners were permitted to gain fee-simple interest in land. And in his position as headmaster, he watched the loss of native youth to the whaling venture:

***The Polynesian
May 23, 1846***

J.S. Green; to Editor, J.J. Jarves:

In speaking of Makawao, and of matters and things at our station, as I proposed doing, I shall first mention some facts which have an unfavorable bearing on the interests of the district—of course, on the prosperity of the nation—which not only threaten to frustrate our hope of seeing the experiment which we are making a successful one, but which fill our bosoms with sad forebodings as to the destiny of the Hawaiian nation. 1. The fact that the number of young men who leave home, and engage their services on board whale ships, is rapidly increasing, is one of the facts, so far as my people are concerned, which fills me with painful apprehension. More or less of the Hawaiian youth, I am aware, have engaged in this business for many years, especially those living in the vicinity of Honolulu, Lahaina, Hilo and Kaawaloa. But of late the number of these has greatly increased—at least in our vicinity—so that the present season not a few of the most promising young men from Kula, Honuaula and Wailuku have gone to sea. During the

three years past we have had an excellent native school at Makawao, taught by a graduate of Lahaina Seminary. Many of these young men had made good proficiency in their studies—had nearly completed their course of education, and some few of them had commenced teaching. Now that these youth were just ready to engage in labors for the good of the nation, they have nearly all gone on board whale ships, and thus our hopes of good to the nation through them is for the present, utterly blighted.

I wish to draw the attention of the King, Chiefs, and Foreign Officers of the Hawaiian Government, and of all the friends of this nation to this subject. I have written the King, suggesting some inquiries...

1. How many natives of your islands are now on board whale ships and merchantmen, as regular seamen?
2. How many of them have families?
3. How are their families supported in the absence of the husband and father? Do they often suffer, and in how many cases do they—the wives of seamen—sell themselves for the means of subsistence?
4. Do many native seamen find the business of going to sea profitable? More so than an industrious method of cultivating the soil, or engaging in other business would be?
5. Are native seamen often ill treated on board foreign ships, flogged, or kicked about the deck?
6. What is generally the character of the influence exerted upon these men when on ship board? Are they allowed to observe the Sabbath, or are they required to work often as on other days? Do native seamen commonly leave a foreign ship as moral as when they went on board—or are they often profane and more skillful in mischief than before they came in contact with foreign seamen...?

Through accounts such as those above, we see that by the middle 1800s, the population of Ka'eo and lands of the Honua'ula District was diminishing, and land tenure, and land use practices were being westernized. In the following sections of this study, readers will find detailed native and foreign accounts—written by participants in the history of the region—that help us understand how the changes occurred, and what effects the shift in population and land tenure had on the native population and resources of Ka'eo and vicinity.

MO‘OLELO ‘ĀINA–NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE LANDS AND PEOPLE OF HONUA‘ULA DISTRICT

This section of the study is organized chronologically, by several sub-topics, and provides readers with access to a collection of traditions and historical accounts recorded by native writers and foreign collectors of Hawaiian history. The various topic-sections include — (1) *Mo‘olelo Maoli–Honua‘ula in History From Antiquity to the Reign of Kamehameha I*; (2) Historical Events in the lives of Native Residents of Honua‘ula; (3) Historical Descriptions of Honua‘ula–Lands, People and Land Use Recorded by Visitors (1793-1959); and (4) Keawakapu at Ka‘eo—Records of the Mission Station at Honua‘ula (1830s-1940s), including records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Christian Missions (A.B.C.F.M.), Sandwich Islands Mission, and Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

The combined documentary resources provide readers with a comprehensive history of—the land, people, and resources of Ka‘eo and the larger Honua‘ula region. There are recorded descriptions of traditional and customary practices, and how residency and subsistence practices were changed with the development of western business and economic interests. The narratives are provided here, as quoted materials, allowing the original writers to convey the traditions, history and events in their original context. Such resources, which are often difficult to access, will provide present and future generations with important resources and documentation for development of interpretive and educational materials (selected Hawaiian language accounts are cited below, or in *Appendix B*, as a resource to further enrich opportunities for educational program development).

1. Mo‘olelo Maoli–Honua‘ula in History From Antiquity to the Reign of Kamehameha I

The Gods Made Fishponds in the Honua‘ula Region

Two early articles on Hawaiian antiquities published in the native language newspaper, *Kuokoa*, of 1865 and 1867, informed readers that the gods Kāne and Kanaloa had opened springs of water and made fishponds at Honua‘ula:

Nupepa Kuokoa

Ianuali 12, 1865

Ka Hoomana Kahiko, Helu II.

***Ua moolelo o Kane, ame kona mana,
ame kana mau hana.***

Eia ka moolelo no keia mau akua, o Kane ke kaikuaana, o Kanaloa kona kaikaina, a o Kaneapua ko laua pokii. Mai Kukulu o Kahiki mai lakou, a noho ma Hawaii nei. A ua hoomanaia e ko Hawaii nei lahuikanaka, i ka wa kahiko i mau akua no lakou. Penei ka lakou hana ana: Kanu mua lakou i ka ai a o-o, ka lua a mo-a, alaila, kaumaha aku la penei. “Eia ka ai e ke akua e Kane e Kanaloa, eia ka ai, eia ka i-a, e ola ia‘u ai ka‘u mau pulapula, a kanikoo a palalauhala, i mahiai, i lawai-a, i kukulu hale nou, i kaumaha ai nau na ke akua.”

January 12, 1865

Ancient Religion, Part II.

The tradition of Kane, his power and his deeds.

Here is the tradition of these gods. Kane the elder, and Kanaloa, his younger sibling, and their younger relative, Kaneapua. They came from the Foundations of Kahiki, and dwelled here in Hawaii. The Hawaiian people worshiped them as their gods in ancient times. These are some of the things they did, they planted the food, and when it was ready, they cooked it, and when ready, they prayed thus. “Here is the food o gods, Kane and Kanaloa. Here are the vegetable foods, here are the fish, that I might have life, and my descendants, till the tapping of the cane is heard, till the skin is like the dried

A ina hoi he wahine, penei kana kaumaha ana, "Eia ka ai e ke akua, eia ka ai, eia ka i-a e Kane e Kanaloa, e ola ia'u ai ka'u mau pulapula, a kanikoo a palalauhala, i mahi ai, i lawai-a, i kuku aahu nou no ke akua, ai kaumaha ai hoi."

NO KONA MANA.

Eia kona mana, ia laua e hele ai i kaapuni ia Hawaii nei, a hiki i kahi wai ole. O aku no o Kane i kona kookoo, a puka mai la ka wai, a ua kapaia ka wai-o a Kane ma laua o Kanaloa.

Eia hoi kekahi mana o laua, he hiki hoi ia laua ke lawe i ke ola o kekahi kanaka, ke au-a i ka laua mea e noi aku ai, ina he awa, ai ole ia, he mea e ae paha, e like me ko laua makemake.

A ua nui wale ka laua hana ana pela, a pela no ko laua wahi ana i kekahi loko i-a ma Honuaula me ko laua mana...

Pela mai ko'u lohe. NAIMU.

Nupepa Kuokoa Ianuari 12, 1867

Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I. (Helu 10)

O ka Moolelo o na Akua.

Ua olelo pinepine ia ma ka moolelo kaa o a ma na pule, a ma na mele a ka poe kahiko a pau, mai Kahiki mai ke akua, a mai ka lewaalani mai, a no ka lani mai.

O ka moolelo o Kane a me Kanaloa, a o laua paha na kahu akua mua i hiki mai i Hawaii nei, a no ko laua mana, ua kapaia laua he mau akua. A ua kapa mua ia o Kahoolawe o Kanaloa ka inoa no ka hiki mua ana mai ma Kealaikahiki. Mai

pandanus leaves, I plant and fish, and build a house (temple) for you, in which I might worship you the gods."

And if it is a woman, she worships in this way, "Here is the food, o god, here is the vegetable food, here is the fish o Kane and Kanaloa, that I and my descendants may live, till the tapping of the cane is heard, and the skin looks like the dried leaves of the pandanus; to cultivate foods and to fish, till things are heaped for you o gods, indeed I worship you."

About his Power.

Here is his power, when they two were traveling about Hawaii, and they reached a place where there was no fresh water, Kāne thrust his staff into the earth, and fresh water poured forth. Such places were called the water thrust forth of Kane and Kanaloa.

Here are some other powers that they had. They could take over the life of a man, one that they led to do that which they desired, such as if they wanted awa or fish, some other thing that they desired.

There were many things that they did at places they traveled to, like making the fishpond at Honuaula, by their power.

So I have heard. Naimu [Maly, translator]

The Tradition of Kamehameha I. (Chapter 10)

The Traditions of the Gods.

It is frequently spoken in traditions, prayers, and chants of the people of old, that the gods came from Kahiki, from the firmament of the heavens, and from the skies.

The tradition of Kane and Kanaloa, and they perhaps are the keepers of the gods, the first to come here, to Hawaii. Because of their power, they were called gods. And Kahoolawe was originally called Kanaloa, because that is where they first came from

Kahoolawe aku laua a hiki i Kahikinui, na laua i wawahi ka loko ia a Kanaloa aia ma Lualailua, na laua ka wai o Kou ma Kaupo...

S.M. Kamakau

Kealaikahiki. From Kahoolawe, they traveled to Kahikinui, and they broke open, made the fishpond of Kanaloa, that is there at Lualailua. The water of Kou, at Kaupo was made by them as well...

S.M. Kamakau [Maly, translator]

Early Chiefly Residents of Honua'ula

Based on genealogical references, the association of ancient chiefs with the lands of Honua'ula pre-date 1000 A.D. Preeminent Hawaiian scholar, David Malo—who in the 1830s, was also tied to the land of Ka'eo and other localities in Honua'ula, recorded events associated with the lives of various chiefs and their genealogies. One such account from Malo (1951), reported that the chief, "Aikanaka...died at Oneuli, Puuloi, Honuaua, and his bones were laid to rest at lao..." (Malou, 1951:246).

Abraham Fornander, who oversaw schools, and served in the courts of the Kingdom, was married to a native woman of chiefly rank from Moloka'i. Fornander took a keen interest in Hawaiian traditions and history, and among the accounts he collected was one which attributed construction of the fishpond at Keone'ō'io to an early chief from the island of Hawai'i (Fornander, 1919):

Kauholanuimahu went to Honuaua, Maui, to reside, and while there he built the *loko* (fish-pond) at Keoneoio. While he was living on Maui his wife remained on Hawaii and took another husband who revolted against Kauhola, who returned to Hawaii, beat his opponent and retook the government. [Fornander Vol. VI-2:320]

Such accounts as those above, though brief, are followed by additional narratives, also cited in this study, of chiefly associations with lands of the Honua'ula region. With these godly and chiefly events in history, we understand that a wide range of traditional sites, such as *heiau*, high status residences, fishponds, and other sites can be expected, and are found in the region. Indeed, in the latter part of traditional Hawaiian history, during the reign of Kahekili, we find events that could be directly associated with the use of *heiau* like the site known as "Kalani Heiau." While "Kalani Heiau" and the land of Ka'eo, are not specifically named, names of localities neighboring the lands of Ka'eo are referenced, and one may assume that sites and people of Ka'eo played some role in these histories.

Kiha-a-Pi'ilani Lives in Hiding at Honua'ula

Native historian, Samuel M. Kamakau, published a lengthy series of articles in the native language newspapers *Kuokoa* and *Ke Au Okoa* in the 1860s and 1870s. Among the traditions he recorded was that of the famous Maui chief, Kiha-a-Pi'ilani, who for a time lived in hiding at various localities, including at Honua'ula (ca. mid 1500s). The following excerpts from Kamakau's texts were translated by M. Kawena Pukui and published in 1961:

The Story of Kiha-a-Pi'i-lani

Pi'i-lani died at Lahaina, Maui, and the kingdom of Maui became Lono-a-Pi'i-lani's. He was Pi'i-lani's oldest son by La'ie-lohelohe-i-ka-wai. Next to him came Pi'i-kea, then Kala-ai-heana and Kiha-a-Pi'i-lani. It was said that there were two heirs to the kingdom, Lono-a-Pi'ilani and Kiha-a-Pi'i-lani, but the latter was not present at their father's death because Oahu was his birthplace, and there he was reared. Therefore the government went to Lono-a-Pi'i-lani. Pi'i-lani had commanded that the kingdom be his, and that Kiha-a-Pi'i-lani dwell under him in peace. In the first years of Lono-a-Pi'i-lani's reign all was well, and the people were content.

Lono-a-Pi'i-lani took care of Kiha-a-Pi'i-lani, and the latter cared for the people by giving them food. Lono-a-Pi'i-lani became angry, for he felt Kiha-a-Pi'i-lani was doing it to seize the kingdom for himself... Lono-a-Pi'i-lani sought to kill Kiha, so he fled in secret to Molokai... [Kamakau, 1961:22]

Kamakau reported that Kiha-a-Pi'ilani later fled to Lāna'i, and:

From Lanai he sailed and landed at Kapoli in Ma'alaea and from thence [page 22] to the upland of Honua'ula. He was seen, and the matter was reported to Lono-a-Pi'i-lani, the enemy who greatly desired his death. When it was heard that he was in Lahaina, swift runners were sent to seek and kill him, but the *mana* of his prayers and the help of the god saved him.

He and his wife descended by the rocky gulch of Kuanu'u and went around to the back. They lived on the charity of others at the boundary of Honua'ula and Kula, at a place named Ke'eke'e. They lived with farmers in the remote country, and because of their poverty-stricken state, neither he nor his wife had any clothing. They had nothing and had no means of making coverings for their bare bodies, and so an idea came to Kiha-a-Pi'i-lani to seek ways of getting them some *tapa* cloth. Kiha-a-Pi'i-lani went to steal an anvil, a *tapa* beater, and beater for finishing, to help in making *tapa*. They had nothing at all. After Kiha-a-Pi'i-lani had stolen the anvil and other implements for *tapa*-making, his wife made some skirts and coarse red malos for him, but they were poorly made. He and his wife were young, handsome, with perfect physique, but they were favorite chiefly children, unaccustomed to such work. They were undergoing a bitter experience in order to appreciate the blessings they were to receive in the future. They lived in poverty, but knew of the blessings to come. Thus it was that the ancestors of chiefs and commoners knew what it was to be without. His *tapa*-beating anvil was called "*puka helelei*" or "hole through which things fell out." The owners of the stolen anvil accused him, and feeling ashamed he and his companion went away in secret and lived close to the boundary of Kula and Makawao... [Kamakau, 1961:23]

The Tradition of Laieikawai

In the generation following Kiha-a-Pi'ilani, there was born a sacred chiefess of godly rank, by the name of Lā'ie-i-ka-wai (ca. early to middle 1500s). Her mother was Pi'ikea, the daughter of Pi'ilani. In 1862, S.N. Haleole published the account of this chiefess, and in it, observed that for a time the chief, 'Aiwohikupua, a suitor of Lā'ie-i-ka-wai resided at Keone'ō'io—waiting for the ocean to calm before the canoe fleet could cross to Hawai'i Island. Of the event, Haleole wrote:

...pae i Mala, ma Lahaina, a haalele lakou ia wahi, hiki lakou i Keoneoio, ma Honuaua, a malaila i noho loihi ai ekolu anahulu. No ka mea, ua nui ka ino ma ka moana, a pau na la ino, alaila, ua ikeia mai ka maikai o ka moana. Ia manawa ko lakou haalele ana ia Honuaua, a holo aku la a hiki ma Kaelehuuluhulu, ma Kona, Hawaii... (Nupepa Kuokoa, Kekemapa 27, 1862:1)

...Having landed at Māla, at Lāhaina, they then departed from that place and arrived at Keone'ō'io, in Honua'ula. There, they resided for a period of three *anahulu* (ten days to each *anahulu*, totaling thirty days). They did this because the sea was extremely rough. When the stormy days ended, they saw the ocean was good, and they then departed from Honua'ula, and sailed on, until they arrived at Ke'elehuuluhulu, in Kona, Hawai'i... (Nupepa Kuokoa, December 27, 1862:1; Maly, translator)

The Tradition of Pikoikaalala

In the tradition of Pikoikaalala (Pikoi-son-of-the-crow), we find once again, a reference to Honua'ula, and the Keone'ō'io vicinity as a resting place for canoes traveling to the island of Hawai'i.

Based on the genealogical references, the events described in this tradition took place sometime in the middle to late 1500s. The tradition was printed in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ku Okoa*, having been submitted to the paper by S.M. Kauai (December 16th, 1865 to March 10th, 1866).

Pikoi-a-ka-‘alalā was born to ‘Alalā and Koukou on the island of Kaua‘i, and his family were *kūpua* (beings with supernatural powers and multiple body-forms). Pikoi-a-ka-‘alalā possessed exceptional sight and excelled in the Hawaiian art of *pana pua* (shooting with bow and arrow). Through the tradition of Pikoi-a-ka-‘alalā (Pikoi), readers learn that many localities throughout the islands are named for places where he competed in matches with archers, shooting ‘*iole* (rats) and birds from great distances. During part of the journey, Pikoi was accompanied by a supernatural dog, by the name of Puapualenalena. In the narratives below, Kauai describes the journey taken by Puapualenalena around the island of Maui, and references various localities in the district of Honua‘ula; also noting that the chiefly canoes sailed from Honua‘ula to Hawai‘i:

...A mawaho ae o Lele, (Lahaina) lele hou no o Puapualenalena iuka, a poai hele ae la ia Maui, a puni o Maui ia la hookahi no, a hui ae la me na waa i ka Laeokaoio i Honuauula, a malaila kahi i ee hou ae ai o Puapualenalena, a he mea mau no hoi i ko luna poe ka ike ole ia no kona lele ana a me kona hoi ana mai... A mai Honuauula aku, holo loa na waa i Hawaii... (Nupepa Kuokoa Pepeluali 24, 1866)

Outside of Lele (Lāhaina), Puapualenalena again leapt from the canoe, so that he could travel around Maui, which he did in one day. He met the canoes at Laeoka‘ō‘io [Keone‘ō‘io (?)] at Honua‘ula, and it was there, that Puapualenalena, again boarded the canoe. This is how it was, the people on the canoe would not know when he was coming or going... And from Honua‘ula, the canoes then sailed to Hawai‘i... (*Nupepa Kuokoa* February 24, 1866; Maly translator)

The Tradition of Laukaieie

“*He Moolelo Kaa Hawaii no Laukaieie...*” (A Hawaiian Tradition of Laukaieie) was published in the native language newspaper, *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, between January 5th 1894 to September 13th 1895. The *mo‘olelo* was submitted to the paper by Moses Manu (whose family was also tied to early residency in the Makena region of Honua‘ula). The story is a rich and complex account with island-wide references to—places; descriptions of place name origins; history and *mele*; interspersed with accounts from other traditions and references to nineteenth century events.

Laukaieie, her supernatural-formed brother, Makanikeo, and their chiefly companions sailed in their canoes to various locations around the Hawaiian islands, referencing various storied places of old. The following narratives are excerpted from the *mo‘olelo*, and include brief references to localities in the Honua‘ula region, and the voyages of chiefly canoes between Maui and Hawai‘i:

Nupepa Ka Oiaio

He Moolelo Kaa Hawaii no Laukaieie

Mei 25, 1894

...la Makanikeoe, malaila e nanea nei, aia na manowaa mawaho ae o Keoneioio ma Honuauula, ke pii pono ala i ke alo makani. A eia no ka maka hope mawaho ae o Puuolai a ua hoomalu aku ka holo ana o na waa no ka moana kaulana o Alenuihaha me ka pii wahi ale ole o ua moana huhu ala on ale ahiu. Aia ke kiei iho la ke kuahiwi kamehai o Haleakala, a ke oni mai la o Maunakea me Maunaloa a me Hualalai, mamua pono me ko lakou kulana kilakila o ka nani...

[Passing between Maui and Kahoolawe]: Makanikeoe had the fleet of canoes rest at Keone‘ō‘io, in Honua‘ula, which rises up in the face of the wind. It is marked by Pu‘u ‘Ōla‘i, where on the side the canoes find shelter, before entering the famous sea of ‘Alenuihāhā, where there is no place that the angry and wild waves of the sea do not rise. From here [Honua‘ula], one may gaze upon the wondrous mountain of Haleakalā, as Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa and Hualālai appear to move before you, in their outstanding beauty...

Novemaba 9, 1894

...He mea oiaio, ua hōea 'ku o Mākanikeoe ma Pōhaku'ea'ea, ka lae ma ke Komohana Hema o Maui ma Honua'ula, a ua hiki loa 'ku oia mawaena of ke—a o Kuanunu ma Puuonole, a ua huli hou aku oia e nana i na mana maloko o keia lua.

Aole no hoi i liuliu iho, ua komo hou oia ma kekahi wahi mana uuku loa me ke ano apuepue o kona hele ana malalo o ka honua, a ua puka koke aku no oia malalo aku o ke—a o Kuanunu he wahi kipuka lepo makai ma Auwahi.

Aia ma kela wahi i hele maoli aku ai o Mākanikeoe maluna o ka aina a hiki i ka palena o Honua'ula a me Kahikinui, oia hoi o Keahuaiea.

A no kona awiwi no ma ka hele ana, ua hiki aku la keia maluna pono o na puu mahoe o Lualailua, a mai laila aku oia no ke kahawai o Waiahualele—a ma o iki aku, aia hoi, ua huli ae la oia a ike i kekahi ana e hamama mai ana makai o ke alanui...

Aperila 26, 1895

...Malaila ka eueu ma Kapapakolea, a halawai oia me kekahi kupua, he Peelua e moe ana, a ma ka nana pono ana o ke Kamaeu i ke ano o keia mea onioni a puni kona kino i kona mau kakau pamo me ke ano malule, aka he mea ko nae i ka makau ke nana aku. A ma kona ano mana nui ua hiki loa ia Mākanikeo ke koho aku i kona wahi i hele mai ai a me kona inoa pono.

E hoakaaka ka mea kakau moololo ma keia wahi. O keia Peelua e moe nei ma Kapapakolea, maluna aku o Huluamanu, o Kumuhea kona inoa. Ka mea i oleloia he kanaka ino. Ua hele mai oia mai Tahiti mai, oia hoi kela aina nui. A o ka lua o ka inoa o keia Peelua, oia o Keli'ikinolua, o kekahi hoi o keia on kanaka ui oi kelakela...a ua noi hoi na wahine maikai o keia Pae Moku i lilo

[Mākanikeoe traveled overland, crossing Honua'ula]:

It is true, Mākanikeoe arrived at Pōhaku'ea'ea, the southwestern point of Maui, at Honua'ula, he then arrived at the lava fields of Kuanunu at Puuonole, and he then turned to look into the divisions of this crater.

In a short time, he entered into a very narrow area, where only with great difficulty was he able to travel below the earth. He came out below the rocky area of Kuanunu, at a soil *kīpuka* below Auwahi.

Then Mākanikeoe was able to travel on the land, to the boundary of Honua'ula and Kahikinui, that is, at Keahuaiea.

Because of his swift travel, he arrived at the top of the twin hills of Lualailua, and from there, he arrived at the gulch of Waiahualele—and a short distance from there, he turned and saw the opening below, where the travel was...

[The naming of certain Pu'u 'Ehuhe at Honua'ula... (cited in an account originating on O'ahu):

This spirited one was at Kapapakolea (above Honolulu), and he met with a *kupua* (supernatural being), a sleeping Caterpillar. As this adept youth looked upon this quivering thing, he saw that his body was entirely surrounded by designs, much like on a shirt, except that it was fearful to look upon. Through his supernatural power, Mākanikeoe detected where this being had come from and what it's name was.

The writer of this story must explain something at this point. This Caterpillar that was sleeping at Kapapakolea, above Huluamanu, was named Kumuhea. It was said that he was an evil man. He came from Tahiti, that great land. And the second of the names of this Caterpillar was Keli'ikinolua, for one body was that of an exceptionally handsome man...and many

*aku i keia Peelua. A ua kamaaina keia
Peelua ma Kau, Hawaii, a nona hoi ka inoa*

*e o ala ma kela puu o Puenuhu. Pela no
ma Kula, Honuaula a me Kahikinui ma
Maui, a ma Kalae i Molokai a ma keia wahi
a Makanikeoe i ike ihola ma Kapapakolea...*

beautiful women of these islands had
asked to marry this Caterpillar-being. This

Caterpillar was known at Ka'ū, Hawai'i,
and the name by which he was known is
there at the hill called Pu'u 'Enuhe. It is the
same at Kula, Honua'ula and Kahikinui, on
Maui, and at Kala'e on Moloka'i, and it was
at this place, Kapapakolea, that
Makanikeoe saw him... [Maly, translator]

“Ke Kumu i Loa ai o ka Inoa Kualapa” (How the Name Kualapa was Gotten)

One of the interesting accounts, describing how place names came to be given in Honua'ula, was published in the native newspaper, *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* in 1908 (Maly, translator). The tradition is important as it describes life in the Honua'ula region, and something of the relationship shared between the people of the land and their gods. Through the account, we also learn how the *ahupua'a* of Kualapa came to be named:

Ka Hoku o Hawaii (Iulai 2, 1908) Ke Kumu i Loa ai o ka Inoa o Kualapa.

*Aia i kela au i o kikilo o na kupuna o kakou
o Hawaii nei, e noho ana i Keoneoio he
wahi kanaka i maopopo ole iaia ka inoa o
ke'kua e kahea aku ai i mea e hoolako ia ai
kona makemake. A oiai hoi, o kana puni,
he ia. I kekahi la, ua lohe iho la ua wahi
kanaka nei i ke kamailio o kekahi poe i ka
moolelo o Makalii, ka mea nana ke koko i
huki ia iluna a nele ko ka honua poe i na
mea a pau. Nolaila, olelo iho la ua wahi
kanaka nei, o Makalii ia ka paha ke 'kua
ana e kahea mau ai i na wa a pau, i mea e
loaa nui mai ai iaia o ka la.*

*Nolaila, i kela a me keia la e kahea mau
ana oia:*

*E Makalii e,
I la na'u.*

*A ua loihi no hoi ua manawa a keia wahi
kanaka o ke kahea mau ana. A i kekahi po
o ka mahina ia Hilo, ua hiki mai la o Makalii
ma ke ano kino kanaka a ku iho la ma ka
puka o ka hale o ua wahi kanaka nei. A i
ka ike ana o ua wahi kanaka nei i keia mea
e ku aku nei ma ka puka, ua puiwa loa ia
oia me ka ninau ana mai:*

O wai oe e ka malihini?

How the Name Kualapa was Gotten.

In the distant past of our Hawaiian
ancestors, there was residing at Keone'ō'io,
a man who did not know the names of the
gods upon whom he called to provide him
with the things he needed. One of his
desires was for fish. One day, this man
heard some people discussing the story of
Makali'i, who pulled the net above in the
skies, thus depriving people on earth of all
things. Therefore, this man said to himself,
perhaps Makali'i is the god upon whom he
should always call in order to get many fish.

So each and every day, he called:

Say Makali'i,
Give me fish.

For a great length of time, this man called
out thus. And one night, on the moon of *Hilo*
(the first night of the new moon), Makali'i
came down in the form of a man and stood
at the door of the house of this man. When
the man saw this person standing at the
door of the house, he was greatly startled,
and asked:

Who are you, stranger?

O Makalii au, ka mea au e kahea mau nei i kela a me keia manawa.

I am Makali'i, the one you have been calling upon all the time.

Auwe no ka hoi e! O oe ka ia e kuu akua.

So indeed! It is you, my god.

Ae, he mea oiaio no, owau io. No ka mea e kahea mau nei ia oe i kela a me keia manawa i la na'u.

Yes, it is true, it is I. Because you have been calling upon me all of the time.

Ua kamailio aku la o Makalii:

Makali'i then said:

Ua kuhihewa loa oe i kou kahea mai ia'u i la nau, oiai o Hina ka mea kuleana ma ia mea. O ko'u kuleana o ka ai, a i na helu oe a Ikuwa, Welehu, Makalii (o Malaki), ma ko Maui helu, a iloko o ia mahina oe e kanu ai i ka lau uala, alaila o ko'u kuleana ia o ka hoohua nui mai.

You have been mistaken in calling upon me to provide you with fish, it is Hina who has the responsibility for that. My responsibility is for the vegetable foods, and if you count (the months of) Ikuwā, Welehu and Makalii (that is March), by the calendar of Maui, and if in those months you plant the shoots of the sweet potato, it is my responsibility to make them bring forth fruit.

I ka pau ana o keia mau olelo a Makalii, o kona nalowale honua iho la no ia me ka maopopo ole o kona wahi o ke hele ana.

When Makali'i finished speaking, he disappeared from the earth, without this man knowing where he had gone.

I ka hiki ana mai o ka manawa a Makalii i kamailio aku ai i kahi kanaka, ua pii aku la ua wahi kanaka i uka pono o Keoneoio, a i ka hiki ana i kahi ana i makemake ai e kanu i ka uala, ua hoomaka koke iho la no ia o ka waele i ka mauu, a hou no ka lau uala iloko o ka lepo, a o kona huli hoi aku la no ia no kauhale.

So when the time about which Makali'i had spoken arrived, this man went directly above Keone'ō'io, and when he arrived at a place he liked, he planted sweet potatoes. He began to weed out the grass, and to push the sweet potato shoots into the soil. He then turned and went back to his house.

I ka hoomaka ana mai o ka uala e hua, aole i kana mai ka nunui o ka hua, oi noke aku ua wahi kanaka nei i ke ka i ka lepo a ku okoa he kualapa nui, aohe he mea a pau mai o ka hua ana, aia no ua kualapa nei ke ku nei iuka pono o Keoneoio a hiki keia la, a i kapaia no kona inoa o "Kualapa."

When the sweet potatoes began to fruit, the fruit were of great size, like no other, and soon this man saw the soil form into a great ridge. There was nothing else like the growth of the potatoes, and the ridge remains there in the uplands, above Keone'ō'io to the present day, and it is called by the name, "Kualapa." [Maly, translator]

"Kao Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki"

And the Naming of Honua'ula and Makena

As observed in some of the preceding accounts, we find that in native *mo'olelo* (traditions), important documentation of land practices and features. The *mo'olelo* also convey values and expressions of the relationship between ancient Hawaiians and their environment. One native tradition, "*Kao Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki*" (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki), published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* from 1914 to 1917, presents readers with two proverbs which are relative to the lands of Honua'ula. One narrative describes the majesty of Haleakalā and the other

describes the major land divisions of Maui. The narratives, translated by Maly, are set in the thirteenth century, and are the account of two brothers who possess supernatural powers, and who are the great-grandchildren of the goddess *Haumea* (also called *Papa*).

In one part of the tradition of Ka-Miki, we find him in a riddling contest with the chief, Kahuku, whose name is commemorated as a land in the district of Ka'ū. Ka-Miki and Kahuku competed in riddles of place names, and thinking that Ka-Miki would be unfamiliar with the island of Maui, Kahuku described Maui in a riddle, and then challenged Ka-Miki to answer it, or forfeit his life:

Ku kuu moku i Kahiki ke po ae la i ka pahulu ke hana ala no maele a koo i ka lau ou mau makua i ka poko i ka loa ke ao aela i ka ula wena a make i ke kula; ke kaa ala i ka pali! A hua a pane!

My district (island) resembles Kahiki; but when darkness falls it brings nightmares [a play on the name of Pahulu, a ghost of nightmares]; which numb the clustered multitudes; my parents are in the short and long of it [with me through all things]; and as the red glow of light first appears; it spreads upon the plain diminishing [the fear]; and continues to where it rolls along the cliffs! Bear forth fruit [understand] and answer!

Ka-Miki responded to the challenge by accurately describing Maui's major districts, of which Honua'ula is one. The account also alludes to the naming of the district of Honua'ula, and the sub-region of Makena, giving the latter as an ancient name for several lands, where the winds of Honua'ula die down:

Ku ka moku i Kahiki; o Kahiki nui ka moku i olelo ia ilaila i poohina ai ka makani.

The district that resembles Kahiki, is to Kahiki-nui, the district which is said to be made silvery by the winds (descriptive of the winds bearing salty sea-spray from the ocean).

Ke po ae i Kipahulu,

Mist darkened is Kipahulu,

Kanaka-makua aku i Kaupo.

Becoming mature, the mists settle densely at Kaupō (set in darkness).

Ke hana ala no a maele, o Hana ka moku i hanau ai ka makani maele, o Honomaele ia, he okana ia aia ilaila ka ulu ohia o Kealakomo;

Where one becomes numb, refers to Honomā'e'ele, Hāna, the district in which the winds are born. And it is there in the combined lands that the 'ōhi'a grove of Kealakomo is located;

Ke koo ala i ka lau; o ke Koolau ia, o ke kai kuapuhi a ka makani.

The clustered multitudes, refers to Ko'olau where the ocean wells up in the wind.

Ou mau makua i ka poko i ka loa; o Hamakua poko a me Hamakua loa, i ka nome a ka la i ka pohu o Maliko.

My parents who are in the short and long of it, refers to Hāmākua poko and Hāmākua loa, where the sun eats away at the calm of Māliko.

Ke ao ae la i ka ula wena, o Makawao ia;

The red glow which lightens, refers to the (sunlight reflecting upon) lands of Makawao.

*O ka ua hoelo a ka Ukiu i ka ulawena, o
Honuaula ia, ilaila i make ai ka makani.*

And where the cold 'Ūkiu wind bears
down, glowing red [driving the dust], is
Honua'ula where the winds begin to die.

*A make i ke kula; o Makena ia he okana
aina a me Kula, o kauwahi moe kokolo
alualu hele a ke kula hoi mai, he aina ua
kaulana mai na lii kahiko loa mai;*

Where the wind dies upon the *kula*
(plains), is the sub-region of Makena and
Kula, where the mists are seen creeping
low, traveling to and fro along the plain.
This is a land famous with the chiefs from
the distant past.

Ke-kaa ala i ka pali; o Kaanapali ia.

Ke-ka'a, rolling (undulating) along the
cliffs is the land of Kā'anapali.

*O ka umi o na moku iloko o Maui-loa ke
keiki a Papa i hanau ai!*

And so these are the ten districts within
Maui-loa, the island child born to Papa!
(Kihe et al., in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, March
11, 1915; Maly, translator)

Also, at a later point in the tradition, the majesty of Haleakalā, rising above Maui, was described with the following saying:

Ka moku o Maui kui a kela i ka lani o Haleakala!

The island of Maui reaches for, and is bound to the heavens by lofty Haleakalā!
[Kihe et al., in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, October 12, 1916; Maly, translator]

It is important to note that Haleakalā played a significant role in the lives of people dwelling within the Honua'ula and Kahikinui region of Maui. Reaching more than 10,000 feet above sea level, the *hoa'āina* (native tenants, cultivators of the land) watched cloud formations upon the slopes and gauged their planting and harvesting seasons by this phenomena. The clouds were a body-form of the god *Lono*, and it is recorded that worship of *Lono* was of great importance in guaranteeing rains, abundant growth, and successful harvests. Additionally, the position of Haleakalā, facing the rising sun, made it an important place in the rituals associated with offering deceased family members to the care of ancestral gods (Handy et al., 1972).

Places of Honua'ula Commemorated in the Tradition of Mākālei

"*He Moolelo no Makalei*" (A Tradition of Mākālei) was published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* (published between January 31 through August 21, 1928). The narratives were submitted by Hawaiian historian and educator J.W.H.I. Kihe (writing under the pen name Hoolaleakaukiu), who was born in Kona, in ca. 1854. Kihe was highly regarded as a knowledgeable and respected historian, and was one of the native historians who translated the Fornander collection (1917-1919). The events are set around 1200 A.D., by association with 'Olopana's reign on O'ahu.

The following narratives, excerpted from the longer accounts (translated by Maly), reference places and resources in the southern section of Honua'ula known to canoe sailors, who were traveling to the island of Hawai'i. Specifically, we find references to the famed stone, Pōhaku 'Ea'ea, and the strong wind of Po'ohina which blows from Kahikinui, and dies down in Honua'ula:

Ka Hoku o Hawaii (Iulai 24, 1928)

He Moolelo No Makalei.

*...Ua haalele aku la oia ia Lanai ma ka
manawa o ka hoku kauopae i puka ae ai
maluna o ke kuahiwi o Haleakala, a au aku*

Tradition of Mākālei.

...He departed from Lāna'i at the time when
the star *Kau'ōpae* rose above the mountain,
Haleakalā, and appeared to swim across

la ka moana. Mawaena o na mokupuni o Maui Komohana, Kahoolawe ame Maui Hikina.

the sea, between the islands of West Maui, Kaho'olawe, and East Maui.

Hala ke kai o Naeheehe ame ke kai o Alalakeiki, a kaalo keia mawaho ae o ka lae o Pohaku-eaea ma Honuaua, e owehewehe mai ana kai ao, a ke ololo mai la ka makani o Papaloa i olelo ia "poohina ka makani i Kahikinui a make aku i Honuaua."

He passed the waters of Naeheehe and the waters of 'Alalakeiki, and he arrived outside of the point of Pōhaku-'ea'ea at Honua'ula, as the light was coming forth, and the variable winds of *Papaloa* blew—of which it is said, "the gray (salt laden) winds form at Kahikinui and die out at Honua'ula."

No ka ike ana o Kaleiapaoa, i ka nee papa o ka makani e nou pono mai ana mamua, ua paa ae la oia i ka hoe ana ia Kukaiapaoa a kahea ae la.

Seeing the moving columns of wind, Kaleiapā'oa, leaned forward, held fast to his paddle, Kūkaiapā'oa, and called out.

E Kukaiapaoa, ka hoe kauoha a kuu kupunakane a Kapaailuna e paa i ka makani, i ka ale po, ale aki, ale kaaloloa, e kulapa i ke kai a ku pali a pohu malino ke alahela nou no Kaleiapaoa e holo ai no Hawaii...

Say Kūkaiapā'oa, the paddle inherited from my grandfather, Kapa'ailuna, hold fast in the wind, in the dark waves, the biting waves, the long rolling waves, the ocean ridges and sea cliffs, make calm the way for me, Kaleiapā'oa, to travel to Hawai'i... [Maly, translator]

Honua'ula and Makena Referenced in the Lifetimes of Kahekili and Kamehameha I (1776-1790)

During the reigns of Kahekili on Maui, and Kalani'ōpu'u on Hawai'i, war broke out between the chiefs and their respective islands. Kamakau wrote that in 1776, Kalani'ōpu'u invaded Maui, landing with the war fleet at Makena, in Honua'ula. The natives were pillaged and routed to the forests. The following narratives are excerpted from Kamakau's original Hawaiian texts of 1866, and followed with a translation by M.K. Pukui (Kamakau, 1961):

Nupepa Kuokoa Kekemapa 8, 1866:1

...I ka M. H. 1776. Holo mai la o Kalaniopuu me na'lii o Hawaii, i ke kua ma Wailuku, me ka Moi Kahekili o Maui, he kua huliamaahi no Hawaii a puni. I ka holo ana o Kalaniopuu me na'lii, a me na Kuhina kua, a me na koa, me na puali, a me na maka kua, a pae iho la ma Keoneoio, a hiki i Makena ma Honuaua, ua nui loa ka auwaa i piha i na koa. O na maaainana o Honuaua, ua hao ia ka waiwai, ua luku wale ia, a ua auhee i ka nahelehele me ka pilikia. I ka lohe ana o Kahekili ua hiki mai ke kua i Honuaua, hoomakaukau iho la o Kahekili i kona mau Alii, a me kona mau koa, ka poe lima hema e maa aku ai i ka lauoho a me ka pua mauu aole e hala...

...In the year 1776 Ka-lani-'opu'u and the chiefs returned to war on Maui, and in the battle with Ka-hekili's forces at Wailuku were completely overthrown. The army landed at Keone'o'io, their double canoes extending to Makena at Honua'ula. There they ravaged the countryside, and many of the people of Honua'ula fled to the bush. When Ka-hekili heard of the fighting at Honua'ula he got his forces together—chiefs, fighting men, and left-handed warriors whose sling-shots missed not a hair of the head or a blade of grass. Ka-lani-'opu'u landed his forces before noon, a great multitude filling the land from Kiheipuko'a at Kealia to Kapa'ahu, all eager with the thought that the Alapa were to drink of the waters of Wailuku... [Kamakau, 1961:85]

The difficulties between Kahekili and Kalani'ōpu'u were eventually settled, and the two kings were left to their respective islands. Later, during the reign of Kahekili, but while he and many of his chiefs were away on O'ahu, one of his own followers rebelled. The chief Kukeawe began to mistreat the people of Honua'ula and neighboring districts, and this led to a rebellion. Warriors loyal to Kahekili, put down the uprising, and Kukeawe was killed near Palauea:

During this period there were disturbances among the country people, not only on Oahu but also on Maui. The trouble arose through one of the lesser chiefs (*kaukauali'i*) named Ku-keawe, a favorite (*aikane*) of Ka-hekili to whom Ka-hekili had given the privilege of letting his pigs run over the land of Kula and roasting them as he needed them. But he seized also the pigs belonging to the country people of Kula, Honua'ula, and Kahikinui, as far as Kaupo, and went with a large party to rob them of their wealth even with violence. This was the cause of the uprising of the country people called the "Battle of the pig-eating of Ku-keawe" (*'Aipua'a-a-Ku-keawe*). When the plundering party reached Kaupo they were surprised by some fighting men of Kahikinui, Honua'ula, Wailuku, and Waihe'e under 'Opu'u, and their retreat was blocked by Ka-wehena, Ka-ho'oluhina, and Ku-heana, each with his company. Hence they climbed the mountain of Haleakala in order to descend to Kamaole in Kula and fortified themselves strongly at Kapuoa, where they would have been safe had they not descended to the sea at Kamaole. Here they were surrounded by Ka-wehena's men, Ku-keawe was killed, and his body stuck up like an image toward the sea of Palauea.

When Ka-hekili and the chiefs who were on Oahu heard of the trouble on Maui they pitied the common people, and Ka-hekili gathered his younger brothers and his sons about him, and Ka-lani-ku-pule was chosen ruling chief to return and rule over Maui, with some of the chiefs to accompany him... [Kamakau, 1961:142]

Kawena Puku'i (1983), discussed the traditional saying that resulted from the above event, and which was subsequently used to warn people about being greedy:

'Ai-pua'a a Kukeawe.
The pork-eating of Kukeawe.

Said of a person who is not satisfied with the number of his own pigs and so robs his neighbors of theirs.

Kukeawe was a friend of Kahekili who was allowed to help himself to any of Kahekili's pigs in Kula, Maui. But Kukeawe also took the pigs belonging to the people of Kula, Honua'ula and Kahikinui, and plundered their possessions. These people rose in rebellion, led by 'Opū, and surprised the followers of Kukeawe while they were ascending Haleakalā on their way to Kula. Kukeawe's party retreated but found their way blocked by other parties led by Kawehena, Kaho'oluhina, and Kuheana. Kukeawe was killed and his body set up at Palauea for all to see. [Puku'i, 1983:12, No. 88]

In 1790, one of the most infamous of events in the history of Maui occurred. Referencing S.M. Kamakau (1961), once again, we find reference to the district of Honua'ula, and events which were associated with the conquest by Kamehameha I, of the Hawaiian Islands. Kamakau reported that the English ship *Eleanora* (Eleanor) arrived in the waters of Honua'ula in February of 1790, under the command of Captain Metcalf (1961:145-146):

...John Young came to Hawaii on this boat. Ka-lola Pupuka-o-Hono-ka-wai-lani, the former wife to Ka-lani-'opu'u, was living at this time at Honua'ula with a new husband by the name of Ka-'opu-iki. When the chiefs and other men of Olowalu and Ukumehame knew of the arrival of the foreign boat, Ka-'opu-iki was glad to go on board to trade for iron, muskets, and red cloth; but muskets were the objects he most desired. The people

brought in exchange, hogs, chickens, potatoes, bananas, and taro. Night fell before they had finished their bargaining, and the next day Ka-'opu-iki and others went out again to trade further; but the strangers were unfriendly and beat them off with ropes. When Ka-'opu-iki heard from the people of Honua'ula about the small boat which it was customary to keep tied to the back of the ship, he determined to steal the boat at night. At midnight when the guard on the skiff and the men of the ship were sound asleep, Ka-'opu-iki and his men cut the rope without being seen from the ship. As they were towing it along, the guard awoke and called out to those on board the ship, but he was too far away to be heard; he was killed and his body thrown into the sea. The boat was taken to Olowalu and broken up, and the iron taken for fishhooks, adzes, drills, daggers, and spear points.

The next morning when the men on the ship awoke and found both skiff and watchman missing and realized that the boat had been stolen and the watchman killed, they shot off the cannon upon Honua'ula and killed some men, among them a peddler from Wailuku, named Ke-aloha, who had come to Honua'ula to peddle his wares. Two men were held on board the ship one from Honua'ula and one from Olowalu, perhaps because these men had given information about the theft or perhaps because the foreigners suspected that Ka-'opu-iki and the others, who had brought out the hogs and said they were from Olowalu, were responsible for the theft. That evening they sailed to Olowalu, and in the morning Ka-lola declared a *tabu* restricting canoes from going out to the ship on pain of being burned to death if they disobeyed. "Withered grass" (*Mau'umae*) was the name of this law. It belonged to Ka-lola alone and to her children and grandchildren; no other chief could declare such a *tabu*. It lasted three days. On the fourth the *tabu* was ended, and canoes in great numbers went out to trade with the foreigners. Many came from Lahaina [page 145] as well as from Ka'anapali, Lanai, and neighboring places. The canoes gathered under the ship's sides, the men eager to procure iron, beads, looking-glasses, scissors, muskets for the constant warring going on at that time, red cloth and other foreign material. Little did they suspect the terrible carnage that was to follow, a carnage without any effort to apprehend and punish the offenders or any pity for the innocent. So these Christians murdered the Hawaiian people without any more mercy than cannibal Nukuhivans show, or people of pagan lands. Canoes that drifted toward bow or stern were compelled by a shower of stones to keep amidships, and when all were clustered together, the captain was pretending to trade, and the people were busily eyeing the objects they desired, just as Aka-kane and another man had climbed upon the deck, the ship opened fire and shot the people down without mercy, just as if they were creatures without souls. Even those who swam away were shot down. John Young was an eyewitness on board the ship and has testified to the great number who were killed at this time. At noon that day the *Eleanor* sailed, and the people went out and brought the dead ashore, some diving down into the sea with ropes and others using hooks; and the dead were heaped on the sands at Olowalu. Because the brains of many were oozing out where they had been shot in the head, this battle with the ship *Eleanor* and her captain was called "The spilled brains" (*Kalolo-pahu*). It was a sickening sight, as Mahulu and others have reported it; the slaughtered dead were heaped upon the sand; wives, children, parents, and friends came to view and mourn over their dead; and the sound of loud wailing arose... [Kamakau, 1961:146]

A short while later, John Young himself was detained from the *Eleanor*, on the island of Hawai'i, and Isaac Davis was captured from the *Fair American*. These two Englishmen, were befriended by Kamehameha I, and went on to help him in his conquest of the islands (see also: Jarves, 1872; and Desha et al., 2000, for detailed narratives from this period of history). Indeed, in the 1840s, John Young Kānehōa—son of John Young from the *Eleanor*, and a Hawaiian chiefess—was the Governor of Maui.

2. Historical Events in the lives of Native Residents of Honua‘ula

In an earlier section of this study, the important letter by I. Naleipuleho, dated in 1836, was cited. It was the earliest native account found as a part of our research, describing residency and subsistence practices in Honua‘ula. Besides Naleipuleho’s account, and the traditional accounts cited above, a number of historical descriptions of Honua‘ula were published by *kama‘āina* residents and visitors to the region. Selections from their writings follow below (see *Appendix B* for detailed Hawaiian texts, excerpts are provided with translations below).

Manō (Sharks) – Worshipped and Feared at Honua‘ula (1840s)

Oral historical accounts document that native residents of the Makena-Keone‘ō‘io vicinity have shared a unique relationship with certain sharks of the region for generations (see interviews in this study). Such sharks are sometimes known as *‘aumakua* (family gods and guardians). Not all sharks were of this class, which was also called *manō kanaka* (sharks of the people). The other class of sharks, called *manō i‘a* (fish sharks), were the wild sharks of the sea, and greatly feared by the Hawaiians. Traditionally, it was the *manō i‘a* that were hunted, and at times made the play things of the fearless warriors and chiefs of old (pers comm. M. Kawena Pukui; Maly notes, 1975).

In our review of historical accounts pertaining to lands of the Honua‘ula District, we found that S.M. Kamakau, who served in various government positions on the island of Maui, wrote about sharks and beliefs associated with them. In Kamakau’s writings are also found an account of shark attacks on fisher-people at Honua‘ula. Interestingly, one of the accounts is referenced in the time that Mahoe (former owner of one-half of Ka‘eo), was a teacher in the district:

...In the country districts of Maui I have often seen persons who had been maimed by a shark—a foot cut off, a hand cut short, one side, or both, of the buttocks gone, the back badly scarred, the face marred, the eye and cheek torn away, and so forth. I saw one woman whom I pitied especially. She lived at Ma‘onakala in Kanahena, Honua‘ula, when Mahoe was the schoolteacher, in this era of writing (*ke au palapala*). She was nearly engulfed by a shark, and I saw the horrible scars made by the teeth of the shark on the back and front of her body. The woman had dived to set a fish trap, and after making it fast in the current, [page 75] she returned to the coral head where her companion was chewing bait, took the bait, and dived again to put it into the trap. When she turned to go back to the coral head she saw a small shark pass in front of her; then she felt the sea warm about her feet and herself being gulped down. Her whole body was inside the mouth of a shark, and its top jaw was just closing over the lower jaw when the small shark crossed and held up the top jaw and pressed the lower jaw down on a rock. Her companion saw her and called out, “So-and-so is being eaten by a shark! *Pau o Mea i ka mano!*” Here was the woman inside the shark, and the little shark circling above the large one. She saw an opening between the rows of sharp teeth and struggled out, with the help of that little shark who splashed and drove the other away. She was badly torn, and lay on the rock and fainted dead away; but she was still living. I first saw this woman at Lahaina in 1845 at the home of Mahoe and his wife Kealoha. Ho‘oikaika was her daughter, and they belonged to the household of the Reverend Mr. Baldwin. I actually saw the marks of the shark’s teeth on her body; it was cut and ridged back and front from her head to her feet... [page 76]

...This is the main reason why the people of Maui worshiped sharks—in order to be saved from being eaten by a shark when they went fishing. At Kaupo, Kipahulu, Hana, Ko‘olau, Hamakuapoko, Ka‘anapali, Lahaina, and Honua‘ula a fisherman was in danger of being devoured by a shark when he was out fishing with a dip net (*‘upena ‘aki‘iki‘i*), or fishing for octopus with a lure (*lawai‘a lu‘uhe‘e*), or setting traps for *hinalea* fish (*ho‘olu‘ulu‘u hinalea*), or diving with a scoop net (*lawai‘a uluulu*), or setting out fishnets (*lawai‘a ‘upena ho‘au‘au*), or whichever kind of fishing a man would be doing alone. It

would be better to stay ashore, but the fisherman craves fish to eat, and so might be devoured by a shark. Hence the people of that island worshiped sharks. Most of the people of that land do not eat shark even to this day; those who do are *malihini*—the *kama'aina* are afraid to eat shark. [Kamakau, 1964:78]

Makena and Operations of Makee Plantation ('Ulupalakua) Described in 1863

The native newspaper, *Kuokoa*, of April 11th and 23rd, 1863, published a letter from a writer who signed his name as “Who do you think?” (dated March 26, 1863). The letter provided readers with details of agricultural developments, residency, and an account of the destruction of the forest resources in Honua'ula and neighboring districts. The author also mentioned the stone church at Makena, and efforts of Reverend Nueku and residents to raise money for the new bell tower that was to be built at the church. Excerpts are translated below, with the full Hawaiian narratives provided in *Appendix B*.

Makena, East Maui.

...I sent to you one of the things I have written of my journey these past days, from Makena to Makawao...

The Wheat Season of the Year 1863.

The appearance of the wheat fields from Kula and Makawao is good. It is not molested by the birds as I would have thought. The harvest for the past year is 27,000 bushels. The Honolulu Mill has processed 22,000 bushels, and the Wailuku Mill has processed 5,000 bushels...

The Sugar Season of East Maui in the Year 1863.

It is estimated that the total crop of sugar from all the plantation of East Maui totals:

Makee's plantation	400 tons.
Brewer's plantation	250 tons.
The Haiku plantation	400 tons.
The East Maui plantation	75 tons.
The Waiehu plantation (new land)	—
The Waihee plantation (new land)	—
The Wailuku plantation	250 tons.
Land of the Waikapu Mill	300 tons.
Land of the Hana Mill	<u>125 tons.</u>

The total being 1800 tons.

And if combined with the Lahaina crop 200 tons.
2000 tons.

That is a total of 4,000,000 pounds, almost 1,000,000 pounds more than the previous year...

The Sugar Plantation of Makee.

Because it was extremely dry, the sugar lands of Makee produced 100 tons less of sugar than the previous year. But it is enough to take care of the poor families there. There is water that has flowed from the hills of Palauea these past months, and the Owner of the place (Capt. Makee) has sent some corrugated metal by which to catch the water. Capt. Makee has begun again, to plant on the lands he owns at Palauea, combining with the sugar lands purchased by Mr. Wilcox. Therefore, there will be adequate cane for milling from these lands, and he (Makee) is building a new mill on a high place, along the

government road to Makawao, at Palauea, and above the house of Judge Saffery and Mr. Wilcox... [Nupepa Kuokoa, April 11, 1863; Maly translator]

Remainder of the letter from Who do you Think?

...Palauea and Makena.

Most of the people who lived near the shore, when Mr. W.H. Rogers was buying firewood from the lands behind, have departed at this time. I cannot express the regret I feel for the failure of their business. But I greatly regret seeing that all the good forest trees have been cut, leaving the land with nothing. There is nothing to shade the land from the heat of the sun, nothing which may again tame the daylight upon the land.

Makena has obtained prominence as a locality, as it is well equipped with a good pier, and in these days, it is filled with the people who follow after the whales, and the fish which supply the needs of the people. A result of the abundance of the oil, the needs of everyone, from the Minister to the children are met. The Church of the Rev. Mr. Nueku is there. It is a fine stone house. And I have heard that there will shortly be built, a new bell tower there, situated near the house of Rev. Mr. Nueku.

If there is to again be a feast for donations for this thing, I will give five dollars, and two more to see the ladies of this place, jumping through the hoops along the road side. Leading the women to the feast, throwing coins to them along the way, and throwing kisses too. In my estimation, we must support Rev. Mr. Nueku in his work, and the failure to secure enough money would be through no fault of his own. Many ministers would do well to follow in his good works... [Nupepa Kuokoa, March 26, 1863; Maly translator]

“Kanikau no J.K. Samuela”

In 1863, a *kanikau* (dirge-chant of lamentation) was contributed by Mele, commemorating the passing of J.K. Samuela. In her lament, she recounts places visited by them. The following excerpts from the *kanikau*, describe the shores of Honua’ula as being destitute of vegetable foods, and the hot plains that rise up to Ulupalakua:

Nupepa Kuokoa

Aukake 29, 1863:1

He Kanikau no J.K Samuela.

Aloha kuu kane mai ke ala paa i ka Ohu o Kahikinui. A me ke kaha ai ole la o Honuaula. Hele aku kua o ke kula wela i ka la o Ulupalakua. Iho aku o kaihona loa la o Kaluailhaloko. Hoi aku ka ihu o ka lio i Kalepolepo. Nana aku o ka piina ikiiki o Aalaloloa. Huli aku nana i na lehua o Liliau. Ka mea kaumaha o ka manao he kane — e.

A Lammentation for J.K. Samuela.

Love to you my husband who has traveled the trail covered by the mist of Kahikinui, and the foodless shores of Honua’ula. We have traveled the open plains of ‘Ulupalakua in the heat of the sun, and descended the slope of Kaluailhaloko, turning the nose of the horse to Kalepolepo. And glanced upon the difficult ascent of ‘A’alaloloa. We have turned and gazed upon the *lehua* of Liliau. These are things which now grief me in thinking of my husband.

Residency in the Ka'eo-'Ulupalakua Vicinity— Progress of James Makee described in 1865

Nupepa Kuokoa
March 30, 1865:3
I KA POE MAHIAI.

Ua lohe wale mai makou i ka olelo a ka poe mahiai i ka nele ka i kanaka hana ole. Aole mea o ia ano i loa ma Oahu nei. Ina e kukulu iho na mea aina, i mau hale maikai no na kanaka kua makahiki, alaila, aohe kumu e nele ai ; aole o ka ho'opukuikui i na ohana iloko o na hale haahaa i kahi e loa ai i na pilikia me ka oluolu ole i ko lakou manao, aka, e hana iho i wahi hale maikai kupono no ka ohana hookahi, i wahi hoi na ka makuahine e manao iho ai aia oia i kona home, me kahi manao hookiekie iki iloko ona, oiai nae he ilihune ia, me ka aapo aku i kana mau keiki a me kana kane. O na kanaka Hawaii, ua like no lakou me na haole ma na mea pili i ka noho ana. Ua makemake no lakou i home, a e pipili no lakou, ina he uuku kahi uku a mahuahua paha, e mau aku no ko lakou noho ana malalo o ka poe nana i hoolako mai lakou...

Ma ka aina o Kapena Ki (Capt Makee), he iwakalua a oi ae kona mau kanaka hana i hanau ma ia wahi, i loa ko lakou mau home maikai. Aohe o lakou manao e haalele, a e noho ana no paha lakou malaila a pau na la o ko lakou ola ana, ina lakou i ike i na luna oluolu e like me na luna e noho mai nei i keia wa. Ke hai hou aku nei makou i na mea a makou i hai mua aku ai. Aole kakou e nele i ka poe hana ke malama pono kakou ia lakou.

To the Farmers.

We have heard it sad that the farmers are without people to work. That is nothing here on O'ahu. If those who own the land will build good houses for the workers, then there will be no reason to be without them. Not in lowly houses where the families are all crowded together, places where there can be no comfort, but in well made houses, that are good for one family. A place where the mother will have thoughts of it as her own home, and that there will be pride within her, she will not feel destitute, and can embrace her children and her husband. The Hawaiians are like the foreigners in their needs for residence. They desire a home, a place to be close to. If there is a little fee to be paid, and it made better perhaps, they shall reside under the one who cares for them...

On the lands of Captain Makee, there are twenty or more of his working people who are born of the place, and who have gotten good homes. They do not think of leaving their work, and they will likely reside there all of their lives; if they know that their overseer, is good as the one now. We again call to them spoken of before. We will not be without people to work, if we take good care of our them. [Author not named; Maly, translator]

The Birth of Ha'eha'e Kukahiko (1865)

Of interest to members of the Kukahiko family of the Makena region—descendents of “John” Kukahiko and Kamaka Kuhaulua (Kekuhaulua) Kukahiko. The elder Kukahiko was a man of chiefly lineage, who in the *Māhele*, received the *'ili* of Ka'alawai, at Waikikī, as his personal land. By some tie to Honua'ula, Kukahiko also received his first fee-simple interest to land at Mo'oiki, in 1854 (Royal Patent Grant No. 1495), situated on the *mauka* (inland) side of Pu'u 'Ōla'i. Kamaka Kuhaulua Kukahiko was a descendant of traditional families of the Honua'ula region, and claimants for *kuleana* at Ka'eo, as a part of the *Māhele 'Āina* (see *Helu* 5275 in this study). In the notice below, John and Kamaka Kukahiko announced that on May 11th, 1865, their daughter, “Haehae,” had been born. Ha'eha'e was the grandmother of interviewee Samuel K. Ponopake Chang, and great grandmother of interviewee Edward Chang Jr. The day and month of birth given for Ha'eha'e corresponds with family

records, but the year is five years later than that recorded in those records, which provide the year as being 1860.

***Nupepa Kuokoa
Iulai 6, 1865:3***

Mei 11, ma Paeahu, Honuaula, hanau o Haehae w., na J. Kukahiko me Kamaka.

May 11th, at Paeahu, Honuaula, Haehae f., was born to J. Kukahiko and Kamaka.
[Maly, translator]

Development of Water Resources at 'Ulupalakua by James Makee (1866)

***Nupepa Kuokoa
Iulai 7, 1866:2***

Hunahuna Mea Hou o Hawaii Nei.

... PAU KA PILIKIA. Ma keia pa hana, ua kukulu ae o J. Makee i na hale laau a me na punawai hohonu ma na hakala o na hale laau. Ua pau ka pilikia o na kanaka a me na wahine ma keia pa hana, ua ulakolako maoli i ka wai. O keia aina i ka wa kahiko, he kula panoa wale no, he a-a, he haoa, aohe wai e loaa. O ka wai o keia aina i ka wa mamua, he pu-maia, he lau kakonakona; a i keia wa, limua ka wai, pau ka pilikia. Me ka mahalo. E wiki oe e ke Kuokoa.

JOHN KELIIKANAKAOLE.
Ulupalakua, Maui, Iune 12, 1866.

Bits of News about Hawai'i.

The trouble has ended. By this work, J. Makee has built a wooden house and deep reservoir on the side of the house. The troubles of the men and women are now ended by this work, they are now truly well supplied with water. This land, in ancient times, was a barren open place, a rocky, scorched land, where water could not be gotten. The water of this land in times before, was from the stumps of the banana trees (*pūmai'a*), and from the leaves of the *kākonakona* grass; but now there is water where moss can grow. The problem is resolved. With thanks. Kuokoa, please be quick. [Maly, translator]

***A Visit to 'Ulupalakua and Makena in 1868:
Hawaiian Riddle of the Kala Fish of Ka'eo and Vicinity***

On November 14th, 1868, the editors of the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Kuokoa*, published a letter from a reader, who simply initialed the letter, "M, of Born Hill, Lahaina." The letter informed readers of the meeting of church elders held in Wailuku, and described the trip made from Lāhaina to various locations on Maui. In the letter, we find descriptions of 'Ulupalakua and Makena. With references to Reverend H. Manase, and an account of a dream the writer had the night he slept at Makena (see *Appendix B* for Hawaiian account). By way of the dream, the author shares a riddle that plays on the name of the *kala* (surgeonfish):

***Ka Naue ana i Wailuku, a Haiku, a Makawao, a Ulupalakua,
i kai o Makena, Huli hoi i Lahaina***

***A Journey to Wailuku, Ha'ikū, Makawao, 'Ulupalakua,
to the shore of Makena, and Returning to Lāhaina.***

On the afternoon of Thursday, Oct. 15th, we departed from Lāhaina, and went to Wailuku to attend the Elder's Meeting for the Island of Maui...

[Having departed following the meeting to visit various locations, the author and party, arrived at 'Ulupalakua.]

...Rose Land 'Ulupalakua.

The nature of this land is like that of a rose garden filled with blossoms. The beautiful home of J. Makee, Esq., has no equal. We arrived there the evening of Tuesday, Oct. 20th. We were astonished by the gracious hospitality received by us from this kind foreigner. He inquired of us our names, what we did, where we resided, and what the purpose of our journey was, and H. Manase interpreted our discussion with him, into the English language. He then took us to visit his arboretum. The things grown there are like nothing else seen, there are beautiful flowers, and trees of all kinds. The road passes through the gardens, and to the large reservoir within the arboretum, it looks like a pond. (The visitors heart and thoughts greatly admire the fragrant upland, where flock together the birds.)

When he finished showing us around the gardens, he took us to meet his lady (his wife), the one about whom visitors say, "She is the queen of the rose garden." We visited at their house, and then departed from them, with *aloha* and appreciation.

J. Makee is a worshipful foreigner. He has built a chapel for his workers, and because the house is a small one, he is considering building even a larger one. The lands are truly good for sugar cane, should the owner be so inclined to mill it. The kingdom will benefit, as will the kingdom of our Lord, Jesus Christ of these Islands.

P.W. Ka'awa remained here, and the three of us went to the shore of Makena. It was dark by the time we reached Makena.

Makena.

We slept there that night, with the next day being Wednesday. During my sleep, I was startled by (dreaming of) the rustling of a fish net. The net being that of the fishermen, Peter and Andrew. It was very early in the morning, and I inquired of them what they were doing. They replied in their ancient place at Galilee, their elders fished with nets.

They set out their net three times, and drew up two fish. Here is the funny thing they said to me. "We two live by fishing, and you, who remains in the house, has nothing." They then spoke to me in a riddle, asking me the name of the fish they had caught. It was thus, "Our fish is found in the sea is dark, where the waves crash on the shore, on the open lands where is grown the sweet potato, and where is heard the voice of the birds. So tell us the name of our fish, you who dwells in the house."

My answer was thus. "*Kala* is the name of the fish. It is the *kala* fish that is there in the dark ocean; it is the *limu kala* that is there where the waves wash in; it is the *puakala* that is there on the plains where the sweet potatoes grow; and it is the '*ākala* that grows where the voices of the birds are heard."

Their laughter resounded for my having understood their riddle, and thus that morning, I learned my lesson. If I were like the paddle makers in the uplands of Pu'ukāpele, or if I were like the those fishermen of ancient times, who went fishing, I would get the fish, and I would then return to dwell in the house..."

When we finished our meal that morning, the thought arose that it was time to depart from Makena, and from our companion, Rev. H. Manase. He dwells in solitude in this place with a heavy heart, and with pain, as he has no companion, but the people of the place. But praise be to God whose power is manifest in all things, "It is his will that it be done, not ours." We departed from Makena on the Katy Lee. We boarded Katy Lee, when the clock struck 12 noon of Wednesday... [M. of Born Hill, Lāhaina; Maly, translator]

“Na Hiohiona o Ulupalakua”–

The Nature of the Land Around Ulupalakua (1872)

One of the most interesting native descriptions of lands in the upper Ka‘eo and ‘Ulupalakua vicinity, was penned by J. Kealohapauole in 1872. In his letter to the editor of the *Kuokoa*, Kealohapauole told readers about several *heiau* and natural features of the lands, as well as about development of the land under the ownership of “Kapena Ki” (Captain James Makee). Of particular interest, is the account of a *heiau* situated on Pu‘u Ke‘eke‘ehia, from which, Kealohapauole says, “You may indeed hear the voices of drums on the nights of Kane and Lono.” This description of the drums being heard, is one that is also a common theme with the *heiau* at that location, called “*Po-kalani*” by Handy’s informants in 1930, and as being associated with the *heiau* by the name of “*Kalani*,” at Ka‘eo, as recorded by Stokes in 1916. Interestingly, both Robert Kalani and Boogie Lu‘uwai, share in their interviews, that on certain nights, when they were young, the sounds of drums could be heard coming from parcels of land neighboring, what is now identified as “*Kalani Heiau*” (see interviews in this study):

Nupepa Kuokoa October 19, 1872:3

Na Hiohiona o Ulupalakua.

Eia no keia kulanaakauhale, mawaena o na kakai pii e hoopuni ana, a huli aku ia kona alo a nana ia Kahoolawe, a ma kona aoao akau ka puu o Keekeehia, aia maluna pono iho he heiau mai ka po mai, a e lohe ana no oe i ka leo o ka pahu i na po i o Kane a me Lono; a ma ke kua mai na puu o Kaeo a me Makakualele, he puu keia i kanuia me na laau haole a puni, a me na alanui kekee ma na aoao a puni, a he wahi makaikai nui ia e na malihini haole; a ma ka aoao hikina akau na puu o Nakalalua a me Puumahoe. Aia maluna o keia puu, na hale loulou a Kane ma; a aia ma ka aoao makai o ua puu nei, o Kukonakahale, he hale kaulana ia ia ka wa o na alii kahiko loa. Ina ka e nana ia mai e Wailuku, he kohu luakini ka ka nui, a he makaikai ia no kona kahie nei i keia wa. A ma ko‘u nana ana, ua eha kaulahao a oi aku ke anapuni o kona kahua.

No ka wai—Aole no he pilikia na ka wai e nohoia nei i keia wa, no ka mea, ua hoolako ia mai e Kapena Ki (James Makee) a ua lako pono, “aohe hua kii Kahiki.”

Na paahana—He oia mau no ka kaikai o ke ola o na kanaka, Pake, lapana a Borabora hoi. He maluhia, aole haunaele.

The Appearance of ‘Ulupalakua.

The village is between the rising cliffs which surround it, and it faces Kaho‘olawe. On the north side is the hill Ke‘eke‘ehia. There is atop that hill, a *heiau* from ancient times, and from which, on the nights of Kāne and Lono, may be heard the voices of the drums. Behind that, on the hills of Ka‘eo and Makakualele, are planted foreign trees, that surround the hills, and border the crooked road on all sides. It is a place visited by many foreigners. On the northeast are the hills of Nakalalua and Pu‘u Māhoe. Atop this hill is a *hale loulou* (temple) of Kāne and companions. On the shoreward side of the hill is Kukonakahale, a famous house in the time of the ancient chiefs. If you have seen the church at Wailuku, it is of similar size. This place is still visited at this time. By my reckoning, the circumference of the platform is four or more chains.

About water—Water is not a problem at this time, for Captain Makee supplied the place abundantly, “the fruit does not need to be brought from afar.”

The workers—The life of the people is the same. There are Chinese, Japanese, and those from Borabora. There is peace, no commotion.

No ka wili-ko—Ke hoomau nei no ka wili ko i ka nau ana i na wahi ko i lukuia ai e kahi makani o ka 9 o Augate aku nei.

Ke Kula Sabati—He ano pipi no ka holomua ana o ke Kula Sabati maanei. I kekahi la Sabati, nui na haumana hoopaanaau i na pauku Baibala, a i kekahi manawa hoi, emi hope mai la...

Oiaio. J. Kealohapauole.
(Okatoba 7, 1872.)

About the sugar mill—The mill remains the same, consuming the cane that was knocked down by the wind of this past August 9th.

The Sunday School—The Sunday School is sort of like moving forward with cattle here. Some Sabbath days there are many students, who have remembered their Bible verses, and at other times, only a few... [Maly, translator]

Famine at Honua‘ula and Events Associated with Keawakapu and the Outlying Churches of Honua‘ula Described in 1879

Nupepa Kuokoa (Mei 17, 1879:4)

Ko Honuaua mau Anoai.

No ka La. Ua nui ka la i keia mau makahiki ekolu, aole wahi mea ua iho, owela ke kula ke nana aku.

No ka Wi. Ma Honuaua nei, he nui ka wi, aia no ke ola i Wailuku, o ka poe mea lio hiki i Wailuku, o ka mea lio ole aole e loa kahi pai ai, o ka uala no ko Honuaua nei ai mau a i keia manawa hoi nei.

No ka la. O ka ia ka mea e loa ai o ke pai, ekolu no manini hapalua.

No ke Kula Sabati. Ekolu Kula Sabati o Honuaua nei, ma Kanaio, Ulupalakua a me Keawakapu, o ka mea e kakau nei oia ke Kahu Kula Sabati, aole no he nui o na haumana.

No ka Ekalesia. O Rev. S. K. Kauwe ke Kahu o keia Ekalesia. He ikaika na hoahanau i ka huli dala e pau ai ko lakou pilikia, ua hiki no i keia Ekalesia ke malama iaia iho, me ke kaukai ole aku ia waho mai, ua lulu dala no ka luakini e paa ai, a ua kuai ia i ke pili laau, a ua lulu dala hou iho nei no, no ka hale noho o ke kahu, a ua loa \$200. aia i Honolulu he hiki mai koe o ka laau...

D. H. AUKAI. (Honuaua, Maui, Aper. 25, 1879.)

Greetings from Honua‘ula.

About the Sun. There has been much sunshine over these past three years, no drop of rain has fallen, the plains look as if they are blistered by the heat.

About the Famine. There is a great famine here at Honua‘ula. Life may be found at Wailuku, for those people who have horses to get to Wailuku. Those who do not have horses cannot get the *pa'i 'ai* (*poi* bundles). The sweet potato is the regular food of the people at Honua‘ula at this time.

About the Fish. By the fish one can get the *pa'i ('ai)*, three *manini* for half.

About the Sabbath School. There are three Sabbath Schools at Honua‘ula, Kanaio, ‘Ulupalakua, and Keawakapu. The author is the overseer of the Sabbath Schools, but there are not many students.

About the Church. Rev. S.K. Kauwe is the minister of this Church. The brethren are strong in securing funds to end their troubles, and the church can take care of him (their *Kahu*), without relying upon others from outside. Donations for the *luakini* (church) have been secured, the wooden shingles have been purchased, and donations have been gotten to make the house for the minister. They got \$200. They are awaiting the arrival of the lumber from Honolulu... [Maly, translator]

Fishing Lore – Customs at Ka‘eo and Honua‘ula

One of the most detailed narratives pertaining to fishing customs, sources of fish and methods of fishing on Maui and neighboring islands was authored for the native newspaper, *Ku Okoa* in 1902. Judge A.D. Kahā‘ulelio, a native fisherman of the Lāhaina region, with familial ties to lands of Honua‘ula, wrote an extensive series titled, “*Ka Oihana Lawaia*” (Practices of the Fisher-people). Kahā‘ulelio provides readers with a vast knowledge of locations, practices, methods and beliefs of native fisher-people of the Maui region waters. The following excerpts come from a translation prepared by Mary Kawena Pukui, and is from the archival manuscript collection of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (a copy obtained by Maly from Dorothy Barrere — historian and partner with Kawena Pukui in the translation of several important Hawaiian publications). In the narratives, we find references to Makena, ‘Ulupalakua, and neighboring lands, and some of the families of the area; we also are told of types of fishing methods practiced by natives of this vicinity. The narratives below, are cited with the kind permission of the Bishop Museum:

Hoauau Fishing.— This was done at night and in the very early morning. The meshes of the net was exactly two fingers width. This was a peculiar method in that the kapus must be strictly observed. When getting ready to go fishing at night it was not well to say, “Let us go fishing.” If one did utter such words then the other will say, “Yes, you have made a catch and that’s all you will get.” It is better to say, “Let us go see how our sugar canes are growing” or “Let us go to the wildwoods.” Then you’ll get some fish, but if you say, “Let us go fishing, you will have your nets interfered with by the devils of the night and not a fish you’ll catch. In the year 1877, I went to Ulupalakua with the Hon. A. Fornander. I was a lawyer for one of the cases tried [page 60] and after it was over I went down to Makena to live at the house of one of my relatives, J. Kapohakimohewa to wait for the steamer *Likelike* to take me back to Lahaina. The *Likelike* came in at dusk and her passengers disembarked, among them was G. B. Kalaukane one of the noted lawyers of that time now passed, and we went to the house together. We had eaten all the salt (fish) before this and so Kalaukane said to Kapohakimohewa, “Have you a bit of net?” “Yes.” “Well then, let us go fishing.” Just then a light flew past like a shooting star in the evening. Kapohakimohewa remarked to me, “There, that is just what the words of our companion got for us.” “There were about five of us, including myself, with Kalaukane and the native of the place to frighten the fish into the net. We let the net down twice. The fish seemed to come in, yet the tongue of our companion licked up salt and we laughed at ourselves when we got home. This may not be the real truth but we were accustomed to remembering it. *Kala*, *palani* and *panuhunuhu* the fish usually caught in this kind of fishing and appear in the evenings and mornings. [page 61]

Hoomoemoe Fishing for Sharks.— It was much practiced by old timers of this *ahupuaa* of Makila, and also by the people of the upland of Kauaula since we were children. They are all gone but my grand folks, uncles and father did not practice it after leaving Honuaula until their bones were buried in the earth at Lahaina. The kinds of sharks caught by the *hoomoemoe* method were the *lalakea* and the hammer-heads. The kind of nets used had meshes of four finger’s width of twisted *wauke* fibers. It took four to five men to lower the net and sometimes it was done from a canoe. The net for sharks was cast in an arc and not like the *hoomoemoe* I had mentioned before in that the net was thrown straight out or in an arc too if desired by the persons working with it... The nets were drawn up very early in the morning and hauled up to the sands on shore. The sharks were laid in heaps like the *kukui* branches tossed to the ground in the storm. Their smell was unpleasant, the bad odors were wafted about... The bodies became greasy as the smoky fires were built near-by, then they were washed clean, cut into pieces, wrung, salted up like the salting of beef in long wooden troughs, then they were set a-slant in order to allow the mal-odorous fluid to drain out. Next day, the shark meat was set [page 63] out to dry and when it was well dried it was delicious. I have heard it said that some of the shark fishers ate the meat raw but I’ve never seen it done... [Kahaulelio, 1902:64]

***Recollections of Ulupalakua—Plantation and Ranch Development,
Lands of the Makena Vicinity, and Storied Places of the Land (1908-1970s)***

In 1941, Inez Ashdown contributed an article to the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, in which she described the history of Ulupalakua, beginning with Nowlein and Torbert's tenure, to the decades of ownership under Makee, Dowsett, Raymond, and Baldwin. Ashdown herself, moved to 'Ulupalakua as a child, in 1908. From her mother, and *kama'āina* of the 'Ulupalakua-Makena (Honua'ula) region, she learned various aspects of the history of the land, storied places, and people. Below, Ashdown, provides readers with details of this history:

***April 30, 1941
Ka Hoku o Hawaii
Ulupalakua Ranch, Maui
(As told by Inez Ashdown)***

There is a feeling, always of mystery and romance at Ulupalakua, the largest ranch on Maui. Perhaps that is due to its remoteness, for it is far from towns, or perhaps to the age of the old houses and the garden shaded by trees brought from far Norfolk Island and Australia and from the adjacent forests, in the long-forgotten past.

Perhaps, too, the mystery comes from the "Rain god", a Janus-like image on a square pedestal, which was found by plowmen in the dim past and placed as a guardian of the garden. Many are the Hawaiians who have placed offerings of flowers at his shrine in time of drought!

Then, there is the King's cottage where royalty was housed while visiting there; the lichen covered mausoleum whose great iron doors are bolted and where once the bodies of its owner and his family were laid to rest; the tall chimney and part of the walls of the old sugar mill, now almost overgrown with mosses and brush.

Finally there are many stories of the "old days" when "the Captain" carried whip by day and drove his workmen to great efforts such as the rapid building of a *punawai* called, because of the terrific labor, "Kukahuelo."

Of Parties met at Makena by *paniolo* with as many as a hundred saddle horses to mount the guests from naval ships, whalers, and island ships from Honolulu. And the luaus under the old double rows of *kukui* trees where upwards of five hundred people ate and drank, danced and sang, sometimes with a king sharing in the celebration.

Whispered too, are tales of "Makee's ghost" returning when the mausoleum doors clanged at midnight on the anniversary of his death, and he was heard coming past the stables, the old mill, into the garden and finally the house itself. How people could sleep for the sound of footsteps and the banging of doors as the "ghost" made his rounds, and how anyone sleeping in the "haunted room" was "choked by a heavy weight on the chest..."

Factually, the place was first known as Honuaula and was leased by Kamehameha III, in 1841, to M.J. Nowlein and S.D. Burrows. In 1845 it was transferred to L.M. Torbert with it growing cane, mill, stock and so on, for a term of six years at \$800.00 per year. At that time it comprised about 2,300 acres.

George W. Macy became a partner of Torbert; they quarreled and Torbert bought Macy out. Then comes a period of silence which is broken when Torbert, financially set back, assigned the property to A.O. Everett, and from Everett the land passed to Makee.

Captain Makee was master of the whaler "Maine" off Lahaina in 1843. He was attacked by an enraged Chinese cook and taken ashore by members of the crew. He remained here, later went to Honolulu and went into the ship-chandler business and sent for his wife in Massachusetts. He was 31 years old and remained here to become a distinguished pioneer builder, first in the whaling industry and later as a sugar planter and cattleman.

There was a company of James & Makee, later M. Anton & Company, in Honolulu. Their ship "Chariot" was used for the Arctic run. On January 23, 1936 [1856] Captain Makee purchased at auction Torbert's plantation at Ulupalakua, Maui. Makee was one of the first to import, on a large scale, purebred stock. He also went in for dairying and his "sweet butter" found a fine market. In 1858 he began the rehabilitation of Torbert's cane and the crop of 1861 was marketed in Honolulu.

He was born in Woburn, Mass., on Nov. 24, 1812, and died Sept. 16, 1879. His heirs were Charles and Parker N. Makee, Mrs. Z.C. Spalding, Mrs. M.L.W. Kitchen, Mrs. D. Noonan, Mrs. George Herbert, Mrs. E.D. Tenney and Mrs. F.P. Hastings.

This is what was learned by Angus MacPhee, Wyoming cattleman, when he took over the management of Ulupalakua in 1908, after he had accompanied Eben Parker Low to Honolulu to participate in the "First Wild West Show" in the Territory in December 1907.

My mother and I accompanied him and we lived at Ulupalakua in the old ranch house. Later Dr. Raymond came to the ranch and still later was joined by Mrs. Raymond and son Harvey, and Mrs. Raymond's daughter, Violet Makee.

Mrs. Raymond was a Dowsett and married Charles Makee and inherited Ulupalakua.

My father remained at Ulupalakua as manager until 1910 when while hunting pheasant on a Sunday with Alika Dowsett, he accidentally shot his left arm. Alika telephoned for Dr. Osmer and for father's friend, Louis von Tempski, manager of Haleakala ranch at Makawao.

Uncle Von almost killed his best cowboy on the twenty five mile race to his friend's bedside. Dr. Osmer amputated the hand there at the ranch and later moved his patient to Malulani hospital in Wailuku to be under the care of the good nursing Sisters who were then at the hospital.

Dr. Raymond feared that a one-armed cowboy could not manage the ranch, so found another manager. Later, in 1921 he begged MacPhee to take over the management again and "pull the ranch out of the hole."

Mr. MacPhee loved Ulupalakua, and he went back with his old *paniola*, Kinau, Hapakuka, and others, and the famous champion roper, Ikua Purdy of Hawaii, again brought in wild mountain cattle and built up a pure-bred herd.

I came home from Dana Hall school in Massachusetts in the summer of 1922 and was not here long until I learned that Dr. Raymond wished to sell the ranch to my father and retire to California. My father felt that he had not the capital at that time to improve the ranch as he wished to do, and he made a proposition to Mr. Frank F. Baldwin.

Mr. Baldwin purchased the ranch, and the transfer was celebrated by an "old time *luau*" on New Year's day, under the old *kukui* trees of Captain Makee's days.

When Edward Baldwin was graduated from college he came to the Ranch and worked with my father and the cowboys while he learned the running of the place and then he took over the management and my father moved to Paia and is now manager of Grove ranch for Mr. H.A. Baldwin.

In the early days it was known as "Rose ranch" because of the beautiful roses and wonderful terraced gardens made by Makee. Mrs. Raymond also saw to it that the garden remained as always, and now that Mr. and Mrs. Edward Baldwin lived there they, too, have kept the place much the same so that it is still a beauty spot of Maui.

One interesting thing in the old house is the fact that the door panels are painted with scenes of the garden and of Maui. The paintings, so I understand, were done by a visiting artist by the name of Strong. He also painted a mural above the altar of the Catholic church there at the ranch.

Today there are few wild cattle, and the *pipi kau-wo* and the ox-carts are no longer necessary because the roads are good. Even in 1907 supplies were brought from Makena landing by bullock wagon, and the *pipi kau-wo* were still used in 1925 for bringing wild cattle from the *mauka* slopes and the *panini*-covered lowlands.

Paniola still wore knee-leggings rather than western chaps and high-heeled boots. Their hats were woven *lauhala* rather than "cowboy Stetsons."

Shipping cattle by swimming them to boats is still done, sometimes at Makena, but that, like other things of the past, is giving way to modern practices.

I have watched and waited at all hours of the night, even at the old Mausoleum, to see "the ghost", but was always disappointed, so cannot vouch for him. I have poured cistern water on the Rain god and given him flowers, and perhaps that did bring the rains we needed.

Like all the past of Hawaii, there is mystery and romance about the old ranch of Ulupalakua.

In the later years of her life, Ms. Ashdown, wrote out her recollections of history in the Honua'ula region. Her memoirs were donated to the collection of the Maui Historical Society (Inez Ashdown Collection, AR-11). The citations include discussions on the origin of place names such as Honua'ula, Makena, Naupaka, Kalua'olapa, Pōhaku *Pa'ea*, and other localities; and notes on *heiau*, traditions, customary practices, and plants; and naming the rain "*Ua pa'ina*", of the 'Ulupalakua-Makena vicinity. While Ms. Ashdown referenced the *mauka heiau* and sites in the vicinity of Pu'u Ke'eke'ehia, but did not write about "*Kalani Heiau*" or other features in it's vicinity, though she did make brief reference to the bay of "Keawala'i."

The following narratives are paraphrased from the handwritten and typeset notes penned by Ms. Ashdown, describing recollections of the region since her childhood at 'Ulupalakua:

MHS Collection, AR-11 Folder. 12-4:

Honua-ula means the sacred, red, earth.

Ku-makena was the older name, meaning that life has its "ups and downs" everywhere. *Kumakena* is in the *moku* or very large land division named Honua'ula.

Makena is derived from the word *ma-ke* which refers to death. Makena means to mourn for that which is taken, or gone, during life [see account of Naupaka Beach, below].

The hidden spring which is named Wai-apuka, means water which flows underground and into the sea... The bay or harbor, is Ke-awa-lai, meaning calm, peaceful...

Puu Keekeehia (Hill of zigzag path) or Mausoleum Hill. *Heiau* of Pueo at Keekeehia was a *pu'u honua* for Honua'ula region.

Ulupalakua – Ripe breadfruit of God.

Honuaua is mentioned as a place where Kane made the first man, Ke-lii-ku-honua. Kane breathed life into him at Honuaua.

About the naming of Naupaka Beach and other locations in Honuaua.

Naming of Naupaka (at Maluaka), and Makena.

The area on the north side of Puu Ola'i (Earthquake hill) is named Naupaka. There is also a tutelary star named Naupaka. Here is the story of how Naupaka was named.

Pele visited the Honua'ula region on Maui, in the form of a beautiful woman. She traveled up to Palani, which is situated above Puu Mahoe, above Ulupalakua ranch house. She tried to lure the handsome *Pa'ea* to her, and away from his wife, Olapa. *Pa'ea* was true to his wife, and in fact stated that she was more beautiful than Pele. Outraged, Pele caused an eruption to occur, and chased the couple towards the sea.

Pa'ea reached the shore and was turned to stone. His form may be seen as Pohaku Pookanaka, which resembles the upper torso and head of a man, standing in the water. [Pōhaku *Pa'ea* is on the shore-boundary between Kanahena and Kanaio.]

While Olapa was fleeing, she was caught by the lava flow, and turned into the hill, Puu Kaluaolapa, situated at the base of Puu Nairo.

During the eruption, the flow covered the rich fishing grounds for which the area was noted, and a blanket of smoke covered the land. The people lamented the loss (Makena), and were forced to crawl about on their hands and knees to find their canoes, as they tried to flee. They called upon their guardian star, Naupaka, to provide light for them. Naupaka lit up the sky, and enraged Pele, who then went to fight with the star. In the fight, one of the golden points of the star was broken off and fell to the sea. Thus the beach near where it fell, is called Naupaka.

Naupaka Bay fronts the land of Maluaka. The southern end of the beach (before Pu'u 'Ōla'i), marked by a lava flow, is where the Baldwin cottage was situated – thus, the location of the *ko'a*, Kilauea. (pers comm., Sam Garcia, Aug. 2, 2005; and interviews in this study).

Medicine and Agriculture.

In Honua'ula can be found the many and varied structures used to teach everything from agriculture and medicine, to making canoes and the tools necessary for good living. Where lava flows have covered the earth, there can be seen deep holes where soil was brought from afar to fill the holes to plant...

Among the plants and ocean resources listed by Ms. Ashdown in connection with her discussion of Honua'ula were the:

<i>Popolo</i>	<i>Niu</i>
<i>Limu</i>	<i>Ko</i>
<i>Koali</i>	<i>Hala</i>

Kamanamana *Halapepe*
Lau-ti *Paakai*
Olena

She also noted that *wiliwili* and *neneleau* also grew thickly at Honua'ula.

The name of the "beautiful rain" of Ulupalakua and Makena is "*Ua Pa'ina*" (Crackling rain).

Kalepolepo was the site of the *koa* house of Capt. Halstead, near his store on the shore.

Recollections and Descriptions of Hawaiian Planting Customs And Residency Recalled by Natives of Honua'ula

In the late 1920s and 1930s, Bishop Museum associates, E.S.C. Handy, L. Green-Handy, and M. Kawena Pukui, worked throughout the Hawaiian Islands, recording histories of elder *kama'āina*, and researching published accounts. The result of their work was two significant publications of the Museum (Handy, 1940; and Handy, Handy and Pukui, 1972), which provide us with important descriptions of the lands, land use, customs and practices, and a history of the native residents in Honua'ula. Handy also reported on the image of a rain god, "Lono ki'i," which was believed to be associated with ceremonies to procure rain in the uplands of the 'Ulupalakua vicinity; and of the *heiau* "*Po-kalani*," in the uplands of the Pu'u Ke'eke'ehia-Pu'u Ka'eo vicinity, from which the sounds of drums and the *huaka'i pō* (night marchers) could be heard.

Excerpts of the 1940 and 1972 publications have been cited earlier in this study, and additional references to the area follow below:

Honuaua

The ancient Hawaiians planted potatoes in mounds (*pu'e*). Where soil is powdery and dry, as at Ulupalakua and Makena on Maui, the earth is heaped up carelessly into low mounds spaced with no particular precision or care. The slips are planted two or three in a mound, being placed vertically in holes made with the digging stick (*palau*). The base of the cutting is stuck 6 to 8 inches into the ground and the earth is pressed down around it. After the entire field is planted, the mounds are covered with mulch to hold the moisture. The potato leaves are not covered. In an old patch where after-growth of old vines and roots is growing, the shoots from old stock are covered with earth, as they bear along with the new slips.

High mounding (*pu'epu'e*), often with careful symmetry, is characteristic of the planting in localities where ample aeration of the root system is needed, either because of heavy rainfall on the windward coasts of the islands or because of continuously damp soil in lowlands (pl. 8, A).

Where potatoes are planted in crumbling lava combined with humus, as on eastern Maui and in Kona, Hawaii, the soil is softened and heaped carelessly in little pockets and patches utilizing favorable spots on slopes. The crumbling porous lava gives ample aeration without much mounding... [page 146]

...Between Kihei and Makena there was probably very little settlement in former times. Today along this dry coast there are a few settlements and houses and a few gardens with sweet potatoes. Makena is today a small community of native fishermen who from time to time cultivate small patches of potatoes when rain favors them. Formerly, before deforestation of the uplands, it is said that there was ample rain in favorable seasons for planting the sweet potato, which was the staple here. A large population must have lived

at Makena in ancient times for it is an excellent fishing locality, flanked by an extensive area along shore and inland that was formerly very good for sweet potato planting and even now is fairly good, despite frequent droughts... [see earlier citation in this study]

...Maui excelled in sweet potato planting on *kula* lands between the moun- [page 159] tains and the sea... [page 160] ... It is said that there were once many *kou* trees on the *kula* land above Makena, Maui. [page 196]

Honua'ula [Handy et al., 1972]

In Honua'ula (Red Earth), as in Kaupo and Kahikinui, the forest zone was formerly much lower and rain more abundant before the introduction of cattle. The usual forest-zone plants were cultivated in the lower uplands above the inhabited area. Despite two recent lava flows which erupted in about 1750 from fissures below the crater and only a few miles inland and which covered many square miles of land, the eastern and coastal portion of Honua'ula was thickly populated by Hawaiian planters until recent years. A number of Hawaiian families whose men are employed at 'Ulupalakua Ranch have [page 508] homes near the ranch house. About these native homes a little dry taro is cultivated. Formerly there was much dry taro in the forest zone.

In the garden of the home of Mr. Edwin Baldwin who operated 'Ulupalakua Ranch there stood in 1934 an interesting stone image with two faces carved on front and back of the figure. Baldwin told us that the image is said to have been found in a spring in the uplands. (A number of springs are shown on the map in upland Honua'ula.) An old Hawaiian lady who was born here told us that the name of the image was given in secrecy to her grandfather, who told it to her but cautioned her never to reveal it^[6]. The image, she said, is ancient, and has long been here. She knew nothing of prayers used in its worship, but had seen it garlanded with *lei* of *palapalai* fern and roses, and sometimes a lighted cigar or cigarette was put in the image's mouth; then it would rain. The two faces must face east and west. A pastor named McKee had at one time kept it before the door of his church. [page 509]

He also had in his house two images, one male and the other female. These he would take up to his garden on top of Pu'u Ka'eo, just beyond 'Ulupalakua, and there he would cook a hog as a feast for the images and rain would come. In McKee's garden was a "fishpond" (pool for goldfish, perhaps). One informant had heard, on "nights of Kane," at the *heiau* nearby named *Po-kalani*, drums beating, and the marching of the Hua-kai-o-ka-po, the ghosts of ancient warriors, who make the circuit of the island in all their regalia.

Keone'o'io lies on the southernmost tip of coastal land in the 'okana of Honua'ula. It is named for the 'o'io fish which are plentiful here. Formerly they were caught throughout the year, by means of a sweep net drawn by a number of canoes. Now the 'o'io come rarely. The native houses were grouped around the shore facing the large bay. There is on one side an ancient fishpond walled with rough lava chunks. This was built in the 15th century by the chief Kauholanui-mahu (Fornander, 1880, Vol. 2, p. 71). This formerly had five inlets. Fish were frightened and driven into the pond by means of a net with large meshes (*maka*): mullet, 'opelu, bonito, tuna, and *akule*. Southwest of this coast, and flowing between the islands of Kahoolawe and Lanai, is the channel named Ke-ala-i-Kahiki (The-way-to-Kahiki).

There are no people living here now. The modern fishing locality is Makena, a few miles beyond Keone'o'io... [page 510]

⁶ Handy reported that the name of the image was Lono Ki'i (1972:29).

...On Maui there were five centers of population... ...On the south coast of East Maui, from Kula to 'Ulupalakua, a consistently dry and lava-strewn country, Makena and Ke'oneo'io were notable for good fishing; this brought many people to live by the shore and inland. There were some patches of upland taro, not irrigated; but this was a notable area for sweet potato, which, combined with the fishing, must have supported a sizable population although it cannot be counted as one of the chief centers... [Handy et al., 1972:272]

3. Historical Descriptions of Honua'ula— Lands, People and Land Use Recorded by Visitors (1793-1959)

Among the historical accounts of lands in the Honua'ula region are those penned by visitors (individuals who passed through or by the Honua'ula region) to the Hawaiian Islands. This section of the study provides readers with selected historical descriptions of the land, residency, people, business interests and transitions in land use in the Ka'eo-Makena region, and larger district of Honua'ula. The accounts cited below date from 1793 to 1959.

Honua'ula Region View from Afar by Captain George Vancouver (1793)

Interestingly, while rich descriptions of the natural resources that sustained life in the Honua'ula region are found in native and historical accounts, and evidenced in the archaeological features of the land, the earliest description of the region by a foreigner is quite different. In 1793, Captain George Vancouver, passed near the shore of Kahikinui and Honua'ula—though he did not land, or visit the region personally. As a result of his cursory visit, Vancouver provided a bleak description of the region (Vancouver, 1798; reprint of 1967), and reported⁷:

1793- March

Sunday 10. By day-light in the morning of the 10th of March we were well in with the eastern shores of Mowee [Maui]... ...This pleasant scene was shortly changed on our advancing a few miles to the westward. The face of the country became totally different, the shores and sides of the hills had no indications of being inhabited, and were almost destitute of vegetable productions. They appeared to be a rude mass of naked barren rocks, broken into many deep gulleys, that extended from the mountains to the water side. Beside these, were many small circular hills, that appeared to be composed either of sand or stones, and had acquired a very smooth surface of light brown colour. Perpendicular veins separated the different strata, and descended down the mountains; these, so far as our glasses enabled us to distinguish, betokened this part of the island to have undergone some violent effects from volcanic eruptions.

We passed the south point before mentioned at the distance of about half a mile; it is formed by rugged craggy rocks, and the sea breaks at a little distance to the north-west of it. On approaching these breakers we gained soundings, and suddenly decreased the depth of water from 25 to 10 fathoms rocky bottom; but, on hauling off shore, we almost instantly reached no bottom with 80 fathoms of line. Whilst in this situation, we were visited by a few of the poor native from a small sandy cove, where they had some miserable habitations. The poverty of these people was apparent, by their bringing only a few small packages of salt to dispose of, and by their canoes being very small and out of repair. Two miles to the northwest of this point we were greatly inconvenienced by light baffling winds and calm weather, whilst without, or to the eastward of us, the trade wind

⁷ Readers please note that Vancouver frequently used the letter "f" in place of the letter "s"; we have adapted his text here, using the "s" instead of the "f" to make reading of the texts easier in the present day.

blew strong. We continued to make a slow progress, and passed between Morokinney [Molokini] and Tahowrowa [Kaho'olawe]... [Vancouver, 1968 Vol. 3:172-173]

August 22, 1861

Pacific Commercial Advertiser

Description of Travel from Ulupalakua to Makawao – lands in region formerly cultivated in potatoes for export:

...The road passes through what was formerly the potato-supplying district for the San Francisco market and the wheat fields of this region... My companion pointed out to me a weed, with some euphonious Hawaiian name, just spreading over the pasturage on these hill sides, and which the cattle will not eat. It has driven away many of the natives who formerly lived here and owned beasts; and my informant told me that, instead of his plantation affording a cattle ranges as of yore, he expected in a few years to have to cultivate feed to supply the working cattle he was obliged to keep for use...

September 19, 1861:3

Pacific Commercial Advertiser

Description and history of Makee's Plantation (Rose Ranch) at Ulupalakua:

Makee's Plantation or Rose Ranch, as it is more generally termed by the proprietor and his friends, is situated on the south eastern part of the Island of Maui, in the district of Honuauia. One of the lands of which it is composed, is called Ulupalakua, and among the natives it is thus commonly designated. The estate contains about 6500 acres, 1200 of which are capable of producing cane. There are 575 acres at present under cultivation, and the proprietor is still planting. This plantation, as I am informed by Mr. L.L. Torbert, the former manager and proprietor, has always been noted for its excellent sugars, and those I have seen turned out here during my stay, warrant such a record. The buildings of the place are situated upon a plateau surrounded by an amphitheatre of rolling hills, and the cane fields wave in their luxuriant magnificence in undulating rows at their feet... Owing to the inclination of many of his fields, the planter, in laying them out, has followed the lay of the land, so as to prevent a large accumulation of water during a heavy fall of rain, and the consequent washing away of his rows, which would otherwise occur... The water used upon the place is caught in cisterns, there being none nearer than at an elevation full 1500 feet higher than that of the works. The heavy dews which fall at night supply in a measure the cane on the more elevated portions with necessary moisture, but that situated lower down, sometimes suffer, as at present, from the long continuance of dry weather. The cattle feeding in the uplands assuage their thirst from this abundant dew. The soil is easy to cultivate, but weeds and grass abound in great luxuriance, and to view the garden-like freedom from both, which the fields exhibit, it is easy to realize the labor and attention bestowed to keep them so. The average yield of an acre of cane, thus far, has been two tons. It requires 24 months after the cane is planted for it to mature, so as to be ready to be gathered for the capacious maw of the rolling mill...

...There is a good road from the mill to the landing on the beach, a little down hill, as it is to be expected on a descent of 2000 feet in 3 miles. When driven by necessity two trips with a loaded team can be made in a day.

For one arriving by the steamer and dumped on the beach or the rocks at the landing, it is a difficult task to comprehend that above the barren waste he looks upon, there is a beautiful and busy scene...awaiting him. Not until he surmounts the last hill and the panorama of cultivated fields, busy works, and easy dwelling, lying before him, does he realize it; and not until he has viewed it from Prospect Hill [Pu'u Ka'eo], can he fully appreciate the value of the picture...

'Ulupalakua and Makena Described in 1873

Isabella Bird (1964), a noted woman and adventurer visited the Hawaiian Islands from England in 1873. On her visit, she traveled from Ma'alaea to 'Ulupalakua, and then to the shore at Makena. The following narratives describe the region and conditions of residency at the time, and also recall the visit of Pele to the region, and the naming of 'Ulupalakua:

...We called at Maaleia [Maalaea], a neck of sandy, scorched, verdureless soil, and at Ulupalakua, or rather at the furnace seven times heated, [page 34] which is the landing of the plantation of that name, on whose breezy slopes cane refreshes the eye at a height of 2,000 feet above the sea. We anchored at both places, and with what seemed to me a needless amount of delay, discharged goods and natives, native mats, and calabashes were embarked. In addition to the essential mat and calabash of *poi*, every native carried some pet, either dog or cat, which was caressed, sung to, and talked to with extreme tenderness; but there were hardly any children, and I noticed that where there were any, the men took charge of them. There were very few fine, manly dogs; the pets in greatest favour are obviously those odious weak-eyed, pink-nosed Maltese terriers.

The aspect of the sea was so completely lazy, that it was a fresh surprise as each indolent undulation touched the shore that it had latent vigour left to throw itself upwards into clouds of spray. We looked through limpid water into cool depths where strange bright fish darted through the submarine chapparal, but the coolness was imaginary, for the water was at 80°. The air above the great black lava flood, which in prehistoric times had flowed into the sea, and had ever since declined the kindly draping offices of nature, vibrated in waves of heat. Even the imperishable cocoanut trees, whose tall, bare, curved trunks rose from the lava or the burnt red earth, were gaunt, tattered, and thirsty-looking, weary of crying for moisture to the pitiless skies. At last the ceaseless ripple of talk ceased, crew and passengers slept on the hot deck, and no sounds were heard but the drowsy flap of the awning, and the drowsier creak of the rudder, as the Kilauea swayed sleepily on the lazy undulations. The flag drooped and fainted with heat. The white sun blazed like a magnesium light on blue water, black lava, and fiery soil, roasting, blinding, scintillating, and flushed the red rocks of Maui into glory. It was a constant marvel that troops of mounted natives, male and female, could gallop on the scorching shore without being melted or shrivelled. It is all glorious, this fierce bright glow of the Tropic of Cancer, yet it was a relief to look up the great rolling featureless slopes above Ulupalakua to a forest belt of perennial green, watered, they say, by perpetual showers, and a little later to see a mountain summit uplifted into a region of endless winter, above a steady cloud-bank as white as snow. This mountain, [page 35] Haleakala, the House of the Sun, is the largest extinct volcano in the world, its terminal crater being nineteen miles in circumference at a height of more than 10,000 feet. It, and its spurs, slopes, and clusters of small craters form East Maui. West Maui is composed mainly of the lofty picturesque group of the Eeka mountains. A desert strip of land, not much above high water mark, unites the twain, which form an island forty-eight miles long and thirty broad, with an area of 620 square miles... [Bird, 1964:36]

Bird then sailed to, and traveled around the island of Hawai'i, also visiting other islands, to again return to Maui, and visit 'Ulupalakua, upon her return from the summit of Haleakalā. Traveling from Makawao, Bird reached 'Ulupalakua, where she learned of a tradition of Pele, and why the coastline of the Honua'ula region is covered with lava:

...After accepting sundry hospitalities I rode over here, skirting the mountain at a height of 2000 feet, a most tedious ride, only enlivened by the blaze of nasturtiums in some of the shallow gulches. It is very pretty here, and I wish all invalids could revel in the sweet changeless air. The name ['Ulu-pala-kua] signifies "ripe bread-fruit of the gods." The plantation is 2000 feet above the sea, and is one of the finest on the islands; and owing

to the slow maturity of the cane at so great a height, the yield is from five to six tons an acre. Water is very scarce; all that is used in the boiling-house and elsewhere has been carefully led into concrete tanks for storage, and even the walks in the proprietor's beautiful garden are laid with cement for the same purpose. He has planted many thousand Australian eucalyptus trees on the hillside in the hope of procuring a larger rainfall, so that the neighbourhood has quite an exotic appearance.

The coast is black and volcanic-looking below, jutting into the sea in naked lava promontories, which nature has done nothing to drape. Concerning a river of specially black lava, which runs into the sea to the south of this house, the following legend is told:—

“A withered old woman stopped to ask for food and hospitality at the house of a dweller on this promontory, noted for his penuriousness. His *kalo* patches flourished, cocoa-nuts and bananas shaded his hut, nature was lavish of her wealth all round him. But the withered hag was sent away unfed, and as she turned her back on the man she said, ‘I will return to-morrow.’

“This was Pele, the goddess of the volcano, and she kept her word, and came back the next day in earthquakes and thunderings, rent the mountain, and blotted out every trace of the man and his dwelling with a flood of fire.” [page 205]

Maui is very “foreign” and civilized, and although it has a native population of over 12,000, the natives are much crowded on plantations, and one encounters little of native life. There is a large society composed of planters' and merchants' families, and the residents are profuse in their hospitality. It is not infrequently taken undue advantage of, and I have heard of planters compelled to feign excuses for leaving their houses, in order to get rid of unintroducted and obnoxious visitors, who have quartered themselves on them for weeks at a time. It is wonderful that their patient hospitality is not worn out, even though, as they say, they sometimes “entertain angels unawares.”

The journey from 'Ulupalakua to the landing at Makena:

My departure from Ulupalakua illustrates some of the uncertainties of island travelling. On Monday night my things were packed, and my trunk sent off to the landing; but at five on Tuesday, Mr. Whipple came to my door to say that the Kilauea was not in Lahaina roads, and was probably laid up for repairs. I was much disappointed, for the mild climate had disagreed with me, and I was longing for the roustering winds and unconventional life of windward Hawaii, and there was not another steamer for three weeks.

However, some time afterwards, I was unpacking, and in the midst of a floor littered with ferns, photographs, books, and clothes, when Mrs. W. rushed in to say that the steamer was just reaching the landing below, and that there was scarcely the barest hope of catching her. Hopeless as the case seemed, we crushed most of my things promiscuously into a carpet bag, Mr. W. rode off with it, a horse was imperfectly saddled for me, and I mounted him, with my bag, straps, spurs, and a package of ferns in one hand, and my plaid over the saddle, while Mrs. W. stuffed the rest of my possessions into a clothes bag, and the Chinaman ran away frantically to catch a horse on which to ride down with them. [page 206]

I galloped off after Mr. W., though people called to me that I could not catch the boat, and that my horse would fall on the steep broken descent. My saddle slipped over his neck, but he still sped down the hill with the rapid “racking” movement of a Narraganset pacer.

First a new veil blew away, next my plaid was missing, then I passed my trunk on the ox-cart which should have been at the landing; but still though the heat was fierce, and the glare from the black lava blinding, I dashed heedlessly down, and in twenty minutes had ridden three miles down a descent of 2,000 feet, to find the *Kilauea* puffing and smoking with her anchor up; but I was in time, for her friendly clerk, knowing that I was coming, detained the scow. You will not wonder at my desperation when I tell you that half-way down, a person called to me, "Mauna Loa is in action!"

While I was slipping off the saddle and bridle, Mr. W. arrived with the carpet-bag, yet more over-heated and shaking with exertion than I was, then the Chinaman with a bag of oddments, next a native who had picked up my plaid and ferns on the road, and another with my trunk, which he had rescued from the ox-cart; so I only lost my veil and two brushes, which are irreplaceable here... [Bird, 1964:207]

Visit of King Kalākaua, Queen Kapi'olani, and Party to Makena and Ulupalakua in 1874

James Makee's estate at 'Ulupalakua, was noted for its hospitality, and it was at times host to the Hawaiian monarchs. One such visit occurred in April 1874, when King Kalākaua, Queen Kapi'olani, and party traveled from Honolulu to Maui, and then landed at Makena. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser of April 18th, 1874, described the welcome of the King and party by natives of the Makena vicinity, who lighted the trail from Makena Landing to Ulupalakua, with torches. The article below, describes the royal visit, and the operations and environs of Makee's plantation:

...Our account closed last week with the arrival of the Royal Party at Makena, on East Maui—the landing place of Cpt. Makee's plantation, on Tuesday April 7th. In ordinary weather, a very good landing may be made here on a wharf built upon the rocks, and the anchorage is within hail from the shore [Figure 4].

Gov. Kapena, who had come round from Lahaina, met the party here, and their Majesties the King and Queen landed at 8 o'clock P.M. and were received with cheers from the people who had assembled from the plantation three miles inland, and from the immediate neighborhood of Makena. Some eighty torch-bearers escorted the King to the residence of Capt. Makee, which was reached at about 10 o'clock. The reception here was quite as enthusiastic as at any point on the journey hitherto, and the peculiarity was that it came from one individual and his immediate family—the worthy proprietor of Ulupalakua.

The main entrance to the grounds surrounding the mansion, was surmounted with an illumination bearing the words—"Welcome to the King,;" in red letters, bordered with sprays of pine-leaves. In every direction, inside and outside the houses, were profuse decorations of flowers, *maile*, ferns, etc. A neat but roomy cottage was set apart for the use of their Majesties, and here the party remained in the enjoyment of the liberal hospitality of Capt. Makee until Friday the 10th...

The Makee Plantation

...Its annual product is about one thousand tons, mostly of No. 1 sugars, and it employs about 150 hands. The boiling works are very costly and extensive, everything being of the latest and most improved patterns.

A great work has been accomplished here in tree planting. Not less than 150,000 trees, mostly eucalyptus of thirty different varieties, and many pines have been set out on the estate. The cyclone which swept over the islands several years ago destroyed many of these trees, but those now growing thriftily will number not far from 120,000, of various

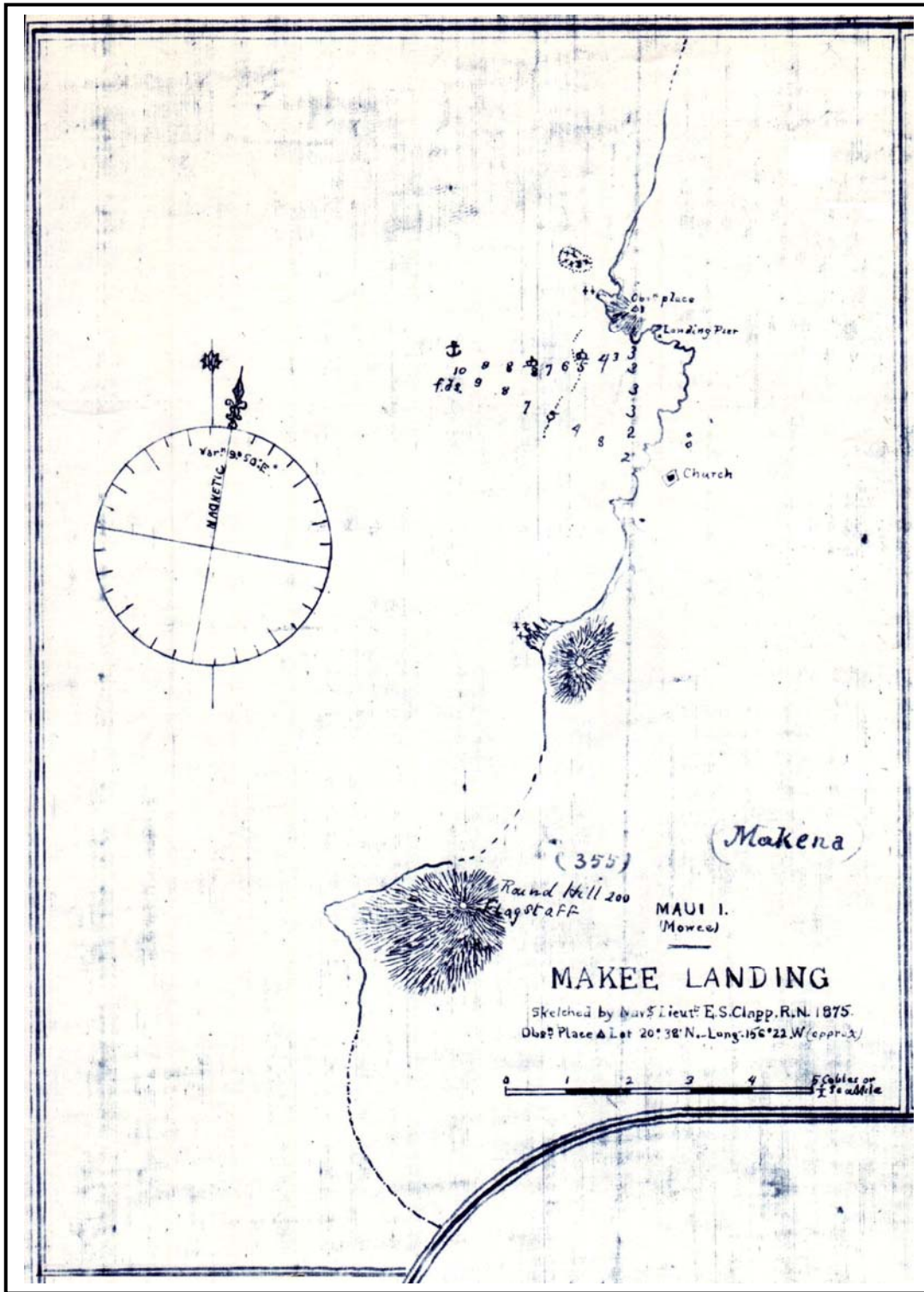


Figure 4. Makena (Makee) Landing and Vicinity. Portion of Register Map No. 796 (Sketch by Lieut. E.S. Clapp, R.N., 1875).

Note Church, Houses, and Landing as they existed in time of King Kalākaua's Visit.

heights, from five to thirty feet. Besides the young forest near the mansion, the tops of the neighboring hills are crowned with groves, that impart a picturesque air to the scenery. One of these hills, perhaps a half mile from the mill, is called Prospect Hill [Pu'u Ka'eo], and affords a fine view of the plantation and the whole broadside of East and West Maui. The carriage road around this hill is constructed with much labor, and winds gradually to the top, a height of probably not far from 500 feet above the surrounding country. The site of the mill itself is some 4,000 feet above the level of the sea.

On the estate is a church building, comfortably furnished with seats for worshipers, and provided with an altar and an organ. And appropriately placed on a hill below the mansion [Pu'u Ke'eke'ehia], surrounded by groves of pine and cypress, stands the family mausoleum, a handsome specimen of architecture. This provision for the end of life would seem to show that the worthy proprietor of Ulupalakua has indeed "driven his stakes" here in Hawaii nei, and looks no where else for an earthly habitation... [Pacific Commercial Advertiser April 18, 1874:4]

'Ulupalakua and the Honua'ula Region in 1880

George Bowser, editor of "*The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourists Guide*" (1880) wrote about various statistics and places of interest around the Hawaiian Islands. In the following excerpts from "*An Account of the Sugar Plantations and the Principal Stock Ranches on the Hawaiian Islands*," Bowser (1880) provided readers with a brief overview of the Makee holdings in Honua'ula, and travel in the region:

The Makee Sugar Plantation.

Ulupalakua, eighteen and one-half miles from Wailuku. Post office address, Ulupalakua, Honuaula Road. Executors and representatives of the late James Makee, proprietors. The author was promised when at the plantation, that full particulars of the area etc. etc., would be forwarded to him. He has written two letters on the subject but received no reply, which accounts for the absence of statistics. This estate is laid out in a most substantial manner. The late James Makee, Esq., spared no trouble or expense in beautifying the estate; and there are several groves of eucalyptus, pine, acacia, etc., spread over various points on the estate, which is seen to good advantage from the deck of the "Likelike" steamer as she steams up to the landing, which she does weekly. The groves are laid out with great taste for landscape effect; and it is one of the most lovely places on the Island of Maui, which again goes to prove what can be done by industrious and painstaking people. The grounds surrounding the residence are very beautifully laid out with very choice imported shrubbery, [page 427] flowers and fruit trees. There is a very extensive dairy business carried on in connection with the plantation, and the cattle are from the choicest breeds. [Bowser, 1880:428]

Travel from Kipahulu to Honuaula

...From this place to the ranch of the late Mr. Makee, for a distance of twenty-five miles, the way is over a wilderness of lava. There is a tolerable road all the way, but the eye has nothing but lava or the blue sea to rest upon for the whole distance. The southwest corner of the great crater of Haleakala is at a considerable distance from here, but there is a practicable track to it, by which one can get over the mountain to Makawao, if so disposed. The bare lava streams, however, over which this part of my road lay, do not seem to have come from the great crater itself, but from at least two, perhaps from many, lateral openings in the mountain. Here and there on the road there may be seen a few stunted trees and some struggling blades of grass, but for the most part it is an arid waste and a strange contrast to the lovely country I had previously been traveling through. In spite of all this the country is not without inhabitants, as I came across at least a dozen native huts scattered through the district.

Emerging from this stony desert, I arrived at Ulupalakua, a place about nineteen miles from Wailuku, at which is the ranch of the late Captain J. Makee. This is a farm and sugar plantation, with a small but pleasantly situated residence and quite a little village of houses, occupied by the workmen on the estate. Captain Makee did some useful planting here about fourteen years ago, the results of which are now to be seen in the shape of groves of fir trees, eucalypti, etc., adding greatly to the natural beauties of the place. At Makena, two or three miles from here, there is a landing place, and the steamer, when bound to Hilo or returning from that port calls regularly. The place is commonly known as Makee's Landing.

From Ulupalakua my ride towards Wailuku was chiefly over the plains... [Bowser, 1880:521]

'Ulupalakua Described in 1890

In 1890, Henry Whitney published a "tourists guide," in which he told readers about 'Ulupalakua, observing that it had passed from James Makee to James Dowsett:

Ulupalakua.

This was formerly the sugar plantation of the late Captain James Makee, and now owned by the Hon. James I. Dowsett, is situated in Honuaula, a district which possesses, at an elevation of about two thousand feet, a soft rich soil, productive as any in the group. It is reached by wagon road from Makawao, and has steam communication with Honolulu. Its elevation above the sea, combines the climates of the temperate and torrid zones, and the name Eden has been aptly applied to the garden adjoining the mansion. Here the northern apple fruits by the side of the date palm and sunny orange. Roses whose name and variety is legend are ever in blossom, and that bloom no diminutive occasional flower, but abundant and plenteous as spring roses, all the year round. From the early commencement of this plantation no pains or expense was spared to secure every flowering plant or tree brought to the islands, and numbers may be found in the garden that have matured nowhere else.

Few private establishments anywhere will rival or compete with the wealth of this at Ulupalakua, in rare valuable flowers, fruit and shade trees. The number of different varieties of flowers cannot be less than two hundred; nor can the varieties of fruit trees be less than fifty. One peculiar feature of Ulupalakua is the entire absence of springs or streams of water. Clouds, rain and dew, in all ordinary seasons, furnish crops, flowers and trees with their needed supply. [page 95]

At this point, the traveler usually takes the steamer to proceed to Hawaii... [Whitney, 1890:96]

Account of Makena, "Ke-a-wa-lai mau" and the Kukahiko Family (1959)

In 1959, Advertiser writer, J.B. Johnson penned an account of Makena and vicinity, making reference to the Kukahiko family, and origins of place names in the Makena-Keawala'i area. The article was associated with the travel section of the Sunday paper, and foretold the development that was to come in the area following statehood:

"Makena Chief Stilled the Sea"

By Jeanne Booth Johnson

Honolulu Advertiser (Hawaiian Holiday), Aug. 2, 1959

There's a lovely little bay on the southwestern portion of Maui, off the beaten track, but full of charm and history for the brave motorist who dares the rough road leading to it.

Long ago, before the whalers came to use its landing, the place was known as Ke-a-wa-lai mau (a little calm bay). Today, it's called Makena, which means “many gathered.”

There are many reefs at Makena, each pointing toward the ocean. Each has a name and its own kind of fish. In ancient times, if the people desired a feast of *akule*, they were directed by their chief to fish at one point; for other fish, there were other locations.

There's a church at Makena which is now 115 years old, constructed of white coral and rock, with a ceiling and roof of *ohia* wood. Construction of the ceiling involved cutting the beams and soaking them in the bay for about two weeks, to season the wood.

When the area was densely populated, all the people were Protestants. The church is still used by members of the Kukahiko family and surrounding residents. Church services are now held about once a month, with the Rev. John Kukahiko, now 69, officiating.

The present minister is the first grandson of an unusual and extraordinary chief, the first John Kukahiko who lived in Makena during the whaling era.

The first John was said to have had *Mana* (power) to calm the ocean water, no matter how rough. Thus he served to guide the whalers into the bay...for when he stepped into the ocean, the rough waters became calm.

John Kukahiko and his family believed in taking care of sharks, and were not afraid of them. They fed the sharks, which, in turn, protected the Kukahikos. Even now, members of the Kukahiko family have no fear of danger in the water.

Today Makena is still a lovely spot which soon may be opened to the rest of the world when developed as a resort.

Property in the nearby area has been purchased for hotel construction. Makena today and the surrounding area still retain the feel and look of old Hawaii.

4. Keawakapu (Keawala'i) at Ka'eo—Records of the Mission Station at Honua'ula (1828-1940s)

As a part of this study, *Kumu Pono Associates LLC* conducted an extensive review of records associated with the Honua'ula Mission Station on Maui, which was centered on the shore of Ka'eo, at the place called Keawakapu. Our research was undertaken with two primary purposes in mind:

One being that by conducting a detailed review of the records, we might find some references to construction of the Honua'ula-Keawakapu Church (later called Keawala'i), perhaps even a reference to stones used in the church coming from an ancient “heathen” temple or other ancient sites, as is documented in some of the church records from other locations in the Hawaiian Islands.

Two being to provide traditional families of the Keawala'i Church, and Kahu Kealahou Alike with a collection of reference materials—many of which have not before been available in one collection—relating to the history of the church and it's people.

Unfortunately, we were unable to find any records pertaining to sources of construction material for the original meeting house at Keawakapu, Ka'eo, built in 1832; nor for the subsequent construction of the stone church in 1857-1858. Also, there was no reference found in the records to any *heiau* in the vicinity of the church. We did find, and present below, detailed accounts of the meeting house and

church at Keawakapu (the mother church of the Honua'ula out-station); names of families associated with the church; population statistics; documentation of how the church secured the land at Ka'eo from Mahoe and his wife, Pikanele (*Konohiki* and grantee of one-half of the *ahupua'a* of Ka'eo); and important accounts of regional activities of the church and schools in Honua'ula; as well as first-hand accounts of the community serviced by the Honua'ula Station, and land use over a 100 year period.

We note here, that the native term *luakini*, which in traditional times (the pre-contact era), described a specific class of temple reserved for the highest form of state worship—also at which human sacrifice was offered—was adapted to use in describing Christian churches. While the term "*Hale Pule*" (literally, House of Prayer), is more commonly used in the present-day, the term "*Luakini*" was in common use for churches from the 1830s to the middle 1900s (cf. Kamakau, 1961:390; and native accounts of Keawala'i from 1924 & 1927 in this study). In the section on land tenure of the *Māhele 'Āina*, it will be found that some native tenants also referred to the church at Keawakapu as a "*Luakini*."

Research for this section of the study was conducted in records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Christian Missions (A.B.C.F.M.), from the Houghton Library Collection of Harvard University, dating from 1820 to the early 1900s; records of the Sandwich Island Mission and Hawaiian Evangelical Association in the collection of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library (Honolulu, O'ahu); and in public collections of historical Hawaiian newspapers dating from 1834 to 1954. The A.B.C.F.M. records of the Houghton Collection, and Hawaiian newspapers have been digitized by *Kumu Pono Associates LLC* and are referenced from our digital collection.

The narratives are cited in chronological order from oldest to most recent. As they all deal with aspects of the church and community history, they are not separated into further categories, so readers should review the section to identify historical narratives that may be of interest to them.

October 15, 1828

L. Andrews, J.S. Green, and Wm. Richards; to J. Evarts, Secretary, A.B.C.F.M.

Regarding Number of Enrollees in Schools of Honuaua:

Tabular View of Schools on the Island of Maui. Sept. 1828

<u>Names of Places</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
...Kahikinui	3	117	116
<i>Honuaua</i>	6	283	313
Kula	6	123	167...

[Reel 795, A.B.C.F.M., Houghton Collection, Harvard]

Makawao, Maui

July 22nd, 1833

J.S. Green; to R. Anderson, Secretary, A.B.C.F.M.

Regarding David Malo's Residency at Honua'ula and Kula:

...I had no claim on David Malo, and thus I told the brethren. He was recommended to settle at Honuaua, an outstation of Wailuku, and he went there to labor. But the pastor of Wailuku thrust him away and treated him rudely, as I think Mr. Alexander will tell you. He told me so, and he wrote to the said pastor. After being forbidden the field at Honuaua, he came over to his land between Honuaua and Keokea finding he was not told to obtain a field of labor, I told him that I would give him a part of mine. He came to Keokea, found the place much like Honuaua, and settled as a Pastor... [Reel 808, A.B.C.F.M., Houghton Collection, Harvard]

1833

J.S. Green, Wm. Richards, and L. Andrews; to R. Anderson

Journal of Tour to Inspect Schools on the Islands of Maui and Molokai.

August 18 to September 29, 1833:

[traveling from Kahikinui to Honuaua] ...Thursday 28th. Rose very early and proceeded by water. The way was somewhat dangerous but the day was favorable. After rowing about ten miles we narrowly escaped sinking. Owing a great measure to the men on board. We bade them to make for the shore without delay. They reluctantly obeyed, as they were extremely mortified, and we landed and walked about 9 miles over a very rough country. There was scarcely a vestige of vegetation through this whole distance. All was lava thrown together in immense piles over which a path had been worn by the feet of the natives. The canoe having passed the place of the greatest danger, had stopped & waited our arrival. We went on board and rowed 5 or 6 miles to Honuaua. Here we examined a large school and staid over night. The country around is rough. No sweet water on this part of the Island.

Friday [August] 29th. At break of day we found the Princess [Nahienaena] and her train in waiting to leave. She invited us to take a seat with her in the large canoe which we regarded as most safe. About 8:06 A.M. we arrived at Kalepolepo [in the *ahupua'a* of Kaonoulu, Kula District], a small village on the stretch of land which united back to West Maui... [A.B.C.F.M., Houghton Collection, Harvard]

December 6, 1833

J.S. Green; to R. Anderson

**Regarding Number of Enrollees in Schools of Honuaua
(Decline in Enrollment from 1828):**

...In August, as I informed you, I made the tour of East Maui for the purpose of examining schools. I will now give you the number reached.

	Males	Fem.	Total
...Kahikinui	26	32	58
Honuaua	140	142	282
Kula	186	172	358...

I almost fear to have another examination. The interest in schools is diminishing, I fear, very rapidly... [A.B.C.F.M., Houghton Collection, Harvard]

Report of J.S. Green (1834)

Conditions at Honua'ula

On August 1st and 8th, 1834, Ka Lama Hawai'i published two letters from John S. Green (Garina), reporting on a visit to the various church stations of East Maui, including Honua'ula. Green wrote to Lorin Andrews reporting that there were few children at the Honua'ula Church (Keawakapu), but that he preached to a gathering of nearly 2,000 people, observing the people of the district were very poor. He also provides us with some insights into the conditions of the roads or trails providing access to Honua'ula (see *Appendix B* for Hawaiian account):

...I hereby forward to you the report of my tour to Honuaua and Kula, and Hamakua loa and Hamakua poko, to preach the word of the Lord and to observe the work of the teachers and their students.

Saturday, May 3, 1834. In the morning, I went to see the people living in the back country... the road to Kawailepolepo is good, needing perhaps just a little work... From Kawailepolepo, I went to Kaluaihakoko, there is no school there, but some people were

gathered together to hear the gospel of Jesus... In the evening, I arrived at Honuaua, and gathered the people there to preach the gospel of Jesus to them (Corinthians II 6:2).

May 4, Sabbath. In the morning, I preached the gospel of God to the children of that place (Ecclesiastes 12:15). There are not many children in the church. Afterwards I preached to the adults, the gospel of God from Corinthians II 5:10. There were perhaps 2,000 people before me. In the evening, I again preached the gospel of Jesus (Luke 8:17).

May 5, Monday. In the morning, they all showed their readiness. Some people also took up some money for their well-being. When the testimony was finished, I preached again to them, from the word of God (John 5:39).

Afterwards, I then went to the uplands, to Kula. The road is a bad one, rocky and overgrown. It can be made good, and it is a good land, but there is not much food grown there at this time, perhaps because of the laziness of the people...

Statistics:

	<i>wahine (female)</i>	<i>kane (male)</i>	<i>a pau loa. (total)</i>
Kawailepo	20	24	44
Honuaua	112	103	215
Kula	62	65	127
Makawao	26	32	58
Haliimaile	31	38	69
Hamakua loa	173	236	409
Hamakua poko	38	50	88
Waikapu	42	47	89
Waiehu	9	4	13
Napoko	9	8	17
Wahikuli	10	15	25
Wailuku	30	134	214 <i>Na makaainana.</i>
	49	40	89 <i>Na haumana o makou.</i>
	661	796	303
	661	1457	1457 <i>a pau loa.</i>

[*Ka Lama Hawaii, Aukake 1, 1834:2; Maly, translator*]

August 8th, 1834

J.S. Green; to L. Andrews:

...I have a thought to tell about the poor people of East Maui, and about the difficulties that will be encountered by the people if they do not have a new missionary. On the last Sabbath, I traveled about the land... ..How I pity the people of Kahikinui. It is a terrible land. Rocky, hot, no sweet water, and the foods may only be grown in the uplands...

Likewise, Honuaua is a dry land. It is rocky and inhospitable along the coast, but there are many people. Perhaps a teacher will be patient and reside there. There are many people dying there, for there is no sustenance for the spirit. Here is what is wrong with East Maui. Pity these people of the back country. How shall they call upon that which they do not believe in? How shall they believe, when they have not heard? And how shall they hear if there is no one there to tell them...? [*Ka Lama Hawaii, Aukake 8, 1834:2; Maly, translator (see Appendix B for Hawaiian account)*]

November 12, 1834

J.S. Green, to R. Anderson, Secretary, A.B.C.F.M.

Regarding Adult Population in Districts, Attending Schools:

...In May last I examined the schools of 5 districts, Honuaua, some 15 miles to the south, Hamakualoa, about the same distance to the east, Kula, between the two former places, Hamakuapoko, which joins Wailuku on the East, and Wailuku with the neighboring villages. I will give you the number reached:

	Women	Men	Total
Honuaua	112	103	215
Hamakualoa	173	236	409
Kula	139	159	298
Hamakuapoko	38	50	88
Wailuku and Neighboring villages	220	268	488

Honuaua the next district we passed in going round the island, is about 15 or 20 miles from Wailuku. It is warm, but populous, and needs imperiously the labor of two men. [A.B.C.F.M., Houghton Collection, Harvard]

I. Naleipuleho Describes Tobacco Growth and use in Honua'ula (1836)

Naleipuleho, a resident of the Honua'ula District, wrote to the missionary newspaper, *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, which was published in the Hawaiian language, telling readers of his observations regarding the cultivation and use of tobacco in the region. He also told readers about the problems with teachers in the district; the main school being that of Keawakapu, in Ka'eo. Interestingly, "Hawaiian" tobacco was still grown in Ka'eo through the 1970s, by a member of the Lono family (see interviews in this study).

Ke Kumu Hawaii (Mei 25, 1836:44)

No Ko Honuaua.

Honuaua, 1836.

...Ua oi aku ke kanu baka o Honuaua mamua o na aina o Maui nei a pau. Kanu no na Konohiki, kanu no na lopa. Ke uhuki nei no na kumu i ka baka, aole e pau, ua nui loa.

Eia ke ano o ka nui ana. Ua olelo lakou, he mea waiwai. - Ua manao no na Konohiki he mea ole ke kanawai puhi baka. Ke hookolokoloia nei na Konohiki. Hui no o ka manao me ka makaainana. — O koonei iho nei enemi nui ka baka. Ua ku e na kanaka o keia aina. Ua haalele ka pono a ke Akua.

Eia kekahi. Ua molowa keia poe kumu ma Honuaua nei. Eia ka mea i akaka ai. Aole hoomalu ia lakou iho, i ka wa i kani ai ka pu, a hele no lakou me ka walaau iloko o

About Honua'ula.

Honuaua, 1836.

The cultivation of tobacco is foremost in Honua'ula of all the lands of Maui. The *Konohiki* plant it, the tenant farmers plant it. While the teachers frequently pull up the tobacco plants, it is not done with, there are many more.

Here is the reason for it's increase. They say that it is a thing of value. The *Konohiki* think nothing of the laws against smoking. The *Konohiki* are brought to trial, but they join their thoughts together with the commoners. The enemy tobacco is rising up. The people of the land are opposed (to the laws). They have abandoned the righteousness of God.

Here also is this. The teachers at Honuaua are lazy. Here is what is explained. They do not observe the quiet time (of prayer), when the conch is blown,

ke kula; kamailio nui ao ma ko lakou makemake. Nana mai no na haumana a hana pu no na haumana. Aole hopohopo mai. Noho iho ke kumu ma kona wahi e noho ai, he wahi papa laau, eono kapuai ka loa, hookahi kapuai ka laula; o kona mau wawae e paa ai. Elua mau pohaku ma kela aoao ma keia aoao...

they go about speaking loudly in the school; speaking about whatever they like. The students see it, and they do likewise. There is no shame. The teacher just sits at his place, a wooden board, six feet long, one foot wide; and his feet are immobile. Like two stones, one on each side... [Maly, translator]

June 8th, 1838

J.S. Green; to the Hawaiian Spectator

Regarding Famines in Honuaula, Residents Required to Leave Honuaula to work on Hoapilikane's Fishponds:

...Hoapilikane is now ordering all the people from Honuaula, one of our out stations, away from home, 20 miles to dig fishponds. They have been here by fifties to request food. For they work for naught and board themselves. They have no food on their own land, it being a time of famine at that place, so they have to get food where they can find it. They carry their food to the place of their labor, leaving their families to seek sustenance as they can. My heart aches for the poor creatures, and God is showing his displeasure. What we ought to do I know not. We should labor to fit the people to die, rather than to live. And I sometimes think that all instruction save theological should be discontinued. Of this I am not sure. Oh that the poor people were but in the walk of safety. Then could they weather the storm which is beating upon them, and which will, I fear, sweep them in multitudes to ruin... [A.B.C.F.M., Houghton Collection, Harvard]

Lahainaluna

February 10th 1852

W.P. Alexander; to R. Anderson, Secretary, A.B.C.F.M., Boston

Regarding agricultural and shipping developments on Maui, and a proposal to divide the Maui Congregation into New Stations:

...Lahaina is probably as large and flourishing as it ever will become. The resources are very small. What are they? It has a good roadstead, good water. But the important agricultural products of Maui will not pass through Lahaina. Those of Makawao and Hamakua will be shipped from Kahului. Those of Kula & Honuaula from Kalepolepo and Keawakapu, as the last two years have proved. Nothing but the whaling interest will keep Lahaina from going back continually. It is reasonable to expect that as the native race diminishes those in Lahaina will also diminish. Why then direct a geographical line to be drawn dividing the congregation...? [A.B.C.F.M., Houghton Collection, Harvard]

March 1, 1856

W.P. Alexander; to son, W.D. Alexander

Regarding move to Torbert's Plantation at Ulupalakua:

...You are aware that my health has been running down in my sedentary employment here in the Seminary. I have with much reluctance resolved to leave this post & engage in active employment which will at once conduce to my own health & that of my family & at the same time yield us a support,—in a place too where I can preach to a good congregation every Sabbath.

I have engaged to remove on or before the 1st of July ensuing, to Ulupalakua, known as the Torbert plantation, on South-East Maui, to take the general supervision of the estate, which is now owned by James Makee & C. Brewer, to manage a dairy, cultivate chickens, pigs &c. There are now on the plantation 400 or 500 cows. They will pay me a salary of \$1300 the first year & \$1000 per annum afterward, together with one fourth of

all the avails of the dairy, etc., which will be better pay than I here received, while the whole family will be improved in vigor & perhaps a good post secured for Samuel or some of his brothers... [Alexander, 1934:380]

...Mr. Torbert had been a sea captain. Out of the wood cut from the impenetrable forest above Ulupalakua he had [page 380] built the schooner Chance. The plans for the boat he had drafted himself, and when it was completed he launched it freighted with the produce of his plantation. The house which he had built for himself in many ways resembled a ship. There was a long dining room with rows of tiny rooms on each side opening into it like a ship's cabin. ...A summer house about two miles back, was "surrounded by nasturtium vines, which run up on the trees and form a gaudy flower bed on the ground..." [Alexander, 1934:381]

"...I have a large field to labor in on the Sabbath. Today I go to Keokea, 6 miles distant in Kula, next Sabbath down to the seaside here, 3 miles distant, & the next to Kanaio on the way towards Hana about 5 miles distant. I shall do preaching as though I were a pastor." [Alexander, 1934:382]

Notice of Alexander's move to 'Ulupalakua was also carried in the Hawaiian language newspapers such as *Ka Hae Hawaii* (March 12, 1856:7), where it was reported that "because of his weakness, he had left the school of Lahainaluna, to reside at Ulupalakua, and tend the animals of 'Hulipahu..." (L.L. Torbert). Alexander remained less than a year at 'Ulupalakua, and relocated to manage the Wailuku Hawaiian Church (Alexander, 1934:382).

Records of the Honua'ula Church at Keawakapu and Outlying Stations (1825-1958)

The following records—unless otherwise noted in text—were viewed in the collection of the Mission Children's Society Library in Honolulu. The narratives document the history of the Keawakapu Church at Ka'eo—which in 1944 was formally renamed Keawala'i. While three letters, dated between 1924 to 1927—and written by members of the Makena community—use the name "Keawalai," this name is used in reference to the Sunday School. Reverend George Kauaulalena, who during the childhood of Kupuna Samuel Ponopake Kana'iaupuni Chang, lived at Keone'ō'io, and minister to churches in the area, wrote a letter in 1944, specifically stating that he had renamed the church, "Keawalai" (see letter below).

The following narratives provide documentation on the *kahu* (ministers), families, work of the church, and important descriptions of residency and land use in the region. The documentation comes from collections of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Christian Missions (A.B.C.F.M.), the Sandwich Islands Mission (S.I.M.), and the Hawaiian Evangelical Society (H.E.A.). Important observations from the letters and reports include, but are not limited to:

- The first place of worship and instruction was established at Keawakapu, Ka'eo, in 1825, as a thatched structure (J. Kapohakimohewa, 1908).
- The Stone Meeting House at Keawakapu (also called Honua'ula or Makena Church, and late, Keawala'i Church), was completed in 1858.
- Honua'ula District was one frequented by droughts and famines. Native residents supported themselves by cultivating in the uplands, and fishing, with some lowlands agriculture when rains fell. They also traded woven goods and other items for *kalo* from Na Wai 'Ehā (Waikapū, Wailuku, Wai'ehu and Waihe'e) (S.W. Nueku, 1861; and H. Manase, 1866).
- The Keawakapu Church was restored, including the stone walls plastered with cement (R.B. Dodge, 1908).

**Summary of Notes on the Church at Honuaula, Maui
(H.E.A. reference cards)**

1842. Drought – people “wander here & there for a precarious subsistence.”

April 19, 1857. Organized as separate church, 298 members (Largest number of members).

1861. Men fish & sell them or trade them for taro at Wailuku. Also weave hats out of rushes to sell or trade for taro. Upland people raise Irish potatoes to sell to ships.

1861. Preaching at 6 places:

Keawakapu
Hoiu
Kanaio
Auwahi
Keoneoio [La Perouse Bay]
Kanhena

1862. Drought .

1863. Drought.

1865. 2 places for main assembly, 1 by sea & 1 inland.

1871. Drought. Sugar mill, potatoes, pumpkins & bananas. (4 Govt. schools: 3 Prot. & one Epis. in Eng. Lang.).

1871. Preached at:

Ulupalakua
Kanaio
Keoneoio
Kanhena
Palauea

1891 (p. 59). “Rev. A.S. Kaholokai,” pastor – 90 names on roll.

1892 (p. 16). Rev. A.S. Kaholokai dismissed from Honuaula, Nov. 4, 1891.

1905 (p. 110). Moses Lutera, pastor, “Makena, Honuaula.”

1905. Church called “Makena, Honuaula.”

1906-1907. Moses Lutera, pastor.

1908. Stone church repaired, re-dedicated on Aug. 16, 1908. Church today?

1909 (p. 130). Churches at:

Makena, Kanaio,
Makena, Keawakapu,
Makena, Ulupalakua,
Clerks noted, no pastor.

Excerpts of Annual Station Reports and Minutes– Hawaiian Evangelical Association

Wailuku Station Report, Apr. 1837.

(Read by Mrs. Armstrong)

...At our other outstation Honuaula we have done something though not very much. Since Pikenini [Pikanele (?)] has been at the head of affairs there, the aspect of things has greatly changed for the better. A new native meeting-house & (I think) 7 stone or doby school-houses have been built, all of which are daily occupied with school. The meeting house is well filled on the Sabbath when there is any one to preach & the Sabbath school is large. Bartimeus has done most of the labour at this place and occasionally also gone to Haiku. His sermons we think are very acceptable to the people & highly useful...

E.W. Clark, Wailuku Station Report, May 1846.

...I have visited 3 times a year the out post of Honuaula & administered the Lord's supper to the church in that part of the field.

Kaili a graduate of the Seminary & a very capable man has been employed as a regular helper at this out post. He now receives \$50 a year as compensation...

Hawaiian Evangelical Association Minutes... 1857 (p. 13.)

...Wailuku [report]...That portion of the parish, which comprises Honuaula (Paeahu thru Kanaio) and Kahikinui (Auwahi thru Manawainui) – [Kaupo is next] now in Hana district, has been organized into a separate church.

W.P. Alexander, Annual report to Evangelical Assn., May 1857 (Wailuku report)

...That portion of the Wailuku parish which comprises Honuaula & Kahikinui has been organized into a distinct church and I hope ere long they will have a pastor living among them to break unto them the bread of life. I shall continue to exercise the pastoral over them until they are thus supplied...

W.P. Alexander, Report, Wailuku, May 1858.

I have visited the church of Honuaula three times during the year & administered the ordinances. They walk orderly & have some warmth of piety among them. *They are struggling to finish their stone meeting house at Keawakapu & they have almost got the roof completed.* They are much attached to Nueku, a licensed preacher who is laboring among them & would be glad to have him ordained as their pastor. I think he gives promise of becoming a very valuable helper in our work. The next mail from Maui will probably bring me Nueku's report, which I had hoped to embody in this. I cannot now tell how much the people have contributed towards his support & for foreign missions & for their meetinghouse. These items together with the church statistics for Honuaula I will add when they come to hand...

Statistics of the Honuaula Church:

Received the past year on profession	1
Received the past year on certificate	0
Dismissed the past year	1
Excluded the past year	2
Now in regular standing	242
Children Baptized past year	6

Contributions the Past Year:

Salary of native preacher	\$134.62
Erecting meetinghouse	246.00
Total Contributions	\$380.62.

Honuaula. – S. W. Nueku.

Hawaiian Evangelical Association Minutes... 1858 (p. 12.)

...Mr. S.W. Nueku has labored, with acceptableness, as preacher and *kahukula*, at Honuaula, for two years past.

He was regularly licensed, in company with three others, by a Clerical Council, at Lahainaluna, on the 12th of May [1858]. It is hoped that he will, ere long, be ordained as pastor of the church at Honuaula.

The people have exerted themselves to complete their stone meeting house. Besides their own personal labor, they have contributed, in cash, during the year, for this object, \$246; and for the support of Nueku, \$134.68.

Honuaula. – S.W. Nueku.

Hawaiian Evangelical Association Minutes... 1861 (pp. 13-14.)

...Preaching has been maintained at six different places, viz., Keawakapu, Hoiu, Kanaio, Auwahi, Keoneoio and Kanahena.

The monthly concert on the first Monday of the month has been revived. So also have the meetings for prayer on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Some of the church are awake and earnest, yet there has been no special revival. Apathy and indifference present the great obstacle to the success of the Gospel. The Mormons and Papists are very few in this field. The people need more constant employment as a preventive of idle habits. *During the mild season they fish, braid hats and those dwelling inland cultivate Irish potatoes. A great evil among them is their readiness to run in debt to the Chinese trading peddlers.*

The schools are kept up a part of the time; but the funds are low, and hence the best teachers cannot be employed. Most of the parents are indifferent to the education of their children.

Contributions:

Pastor's salary	\$135.94
For finishing meeting house	286.25
Monthly concert	4.37
Aid to other churches	4.50
	\$431.06

S.W. Nueku, Assistant Pastor.

Report of Honuaula, Maui. May 1861. (Ms; Trans. by H.P. Judd)

Total members 269...

History of the Honuaula status.

From the month of May 1860 to the last month of 1860, effort was put forth for the work given to serve with the strength obtained. The work of preaching was divided in the places suitable for preaching, with the main idea of transforming the people of this place

which I serve in the work of God into persons believing in the word of the cross. *There are six suitable places where I preach the word of God on Sundays—in the church of Keawakapu, at Hoiu, at Kanaio, at Auahi and at times at Keoneoio and at Kanahena.* In some of these suitable places—the second Sundays are spent at Hoiu, Kanaio, Auahi and at other places on Sunday evenings.

New monthly meetings on the first Monday evenings of the month are revived, likewise the Saturday and Wednesday meetings. This is not just to fill up the time, but with the idea of having the work of the Lord grow strongly with love for their souls here, without stopping the release of ancient customs of Hawaii among some persons of the present time who are not captivated there with the idea of asking the Lord whose is the task of ending their old foolish deeds, their excuse being that they did not know the light of truth which the child of God brought here.

The status of members and residents.

Not alike is the carrying on of spiritual and material good. Some persons are strong in carrying on the spiritual and some are strong in human thought. Some persons are strong in carrying on the truth and some strong in hypocrisy. Some are regular in attending church service and on week-days and some are irregular at meetings and some of the members are indolent.

Some persons are agreeable and others are of an implacable nature; some aid and some do not; some are friendly and some unfriendly. Others are sociable and some are unsociable, but friendly in conversation.

Growth of spirituality.

Spirituality is not growing powerfully at Honuaula. At times the members are aroused and at times laziness is a cover. This is not a comforting thought, but a distressing thought. So I am sad at a lack of reviving, with the idea of separating the lazy-hearted.

Hindrances.

The Mormons are not active here for they are in the minority. The R.Cs. have no church here and they seem to be extinguished.

The chief hindrance is laziness and sloth, not going here and there but staying together.

Drinking has been revived recently. Fermented sweet-potatoes and the fruit of the prickly pear among the unbelievers and the Mormons and others, but some church members are involved.

The custom of the Hawaiians is to work at times and to be lazy at times. To work when it rains, then the hot sun of this land arrives and vegetation dries up. In calm weather men have occupation on the sea; fishing, getting fish and selling for money and obtaining taro at Wailuku & other places. Getting money from weaving hats out of rushes and buying taro therewith. Selling Irish potatoes when the ships arrive and the upland people make some money but the majority are lazy and not thrifty, many being inefficient and poor.

One big trouble in this land is the heavy debt to the Chinese for clothes saying they would pay off in Irish potatoes. The potatoes not being sold, the Chinese changed the terms into cash. Some poor persons owe \$100 and even more and some less and the Chinese bring them to the judge. This is a big difficulty of some persons to the present, affecting members and unbelievers alike. Teaching them to cut the debt is not lacking.

Schools for children.

Knowledge is growing in some schools and the children are prepared. Some teachers are strong in teaching. Last year one pupil entered Lahainaluna. This is a land not desired by Lahainaluna graduates for its smallness of pay and its drought.

We have some teachers of Honuaua, and I and a student who just graduated and lives as a teacher.

Some parents want knowledge and some do not, likewise the children.

This is the record from January 1861 to this month of May, but not of my activities these months.

This is perhaps a correct and satisfactory record, but what I have reported is correct...

Honuaua. – S.W. Nueku. Hawn. Evan. Assn. Minutes...1862 (p. 13.)

...We have not had so much opposition at this station from Mormons and Papist, nor from the *hula* and intemperance, as from unbelief and stupidity.

Some of the church members have been active in good works; very little, however, has been contributed at our monthly concerts.

The most of the people are poor; they live in poor houses with very little furniture. Indolence is the cause of the poverty of some.

The people suffered much from drought the fore part of the year past; but, on account of the recent rains, their wants are now better supplied.

Preaching has been maintained in the different districts on the Sabbath, and meetings have been held during the week when the church-members have been exhorted to be diligent in good works. There are four schools in this field, with good, efficient teachers.

W.P. Alexander. – Wailuku Station Report, June 1863 (MHL, p. 1.)

"...On the 18th of April 1857 the church at Honuaua was organized into a part of the Wailuku church & when organized it consisted of 298 members who were for this purpose dismissed from the church of Wailuku, and Oct. 14, 1860 S.W. Nueku was ordained by the Presbytery of Maui & Molokai as assistant Pastor of the Ch. of Honuaua..."

Honuaua. – S.W. Nueku. Hawn. Evan. Assn. Minutes...1863 (pp. 13-14.)

...Most of the people in this district are poor, both church members and those out of the church. Some are destitute of lands; some are indolent; and all have suffered the year past from drought.

Not many cases of church discipline the past year.

There are four schools in this district, two of which are doing well, and have good and efficient teachers.

The whole number of church members, now in regular standing is 248.

Our cash contributions to various objects this year amount to \$400...

**H. [Hezekiah] Manase. Annual report of the church of Honuaula...
June 1, 1865 to June 1, 1866 (Ms. Trans. by H.P. Judd.)**

The parish of Honuaula in its division of land is parched and of rough lava not pleasing to the eye, the land being dry adjacent to the shore and moist towards the mountains close to the forests. In times of heavy rain, it is possible to plant potatoes and other plants, but the rainy season is short and the time of sun is long, therefore the people are often in difficulty from hunger.

The food of old-timers is from the wet lands, that is "the four waters" [Waikapu, Wailuku, Waiehu, Waihee] and at this time the trouble is greater than that of last year.

Furthermore, the majority of Hawaiians there are poor, but they are fortunate to get some money from fish and from rentals to Capt. J. Makee.

Members.

Some members continue in the goodness of Christ, really being patient in the works of the Spirit. But some are indolent in the things of the spirit. They have been stirred up, exhorted to be wide-awake and to attend church and hear the word of God. They come at times and then sleep again and some are stubborn.

Sunday and Government Schools.

The Sunday School for children has been given up; but a few children came to join in with the elders.

There are only a few students in the government schools, but no R.C. schools in that place.

Benevolences.

\$104.63 for the pastor's salary
8.87 for foreign missions
\$113.50 total

Meetings.

Two places for the main assembly, one by the sea and the other inland, because far-away and bad is the road between the two church buildings. Likewise there are two places where the Lord's Supper is held...

IV. Survey of the Church Lot at Keawakapu, Honuaula, Maui.

A portion of Royal Patent (Grant) 835 to Mahoe conveyed to the A.B.C.F.M. by Mahoe and wife by deed dated December 26, 1868, and recorded in Liber 26, page 486.

Notes of Survey (translated from deed).

Beginning at the Northeast corner

1. S. 4° W. 2.59 chains,
2. S. 88 ½ ° W. 2.34 chains,
3. N. 5 ½° E. 3.00 chains,
4. S. 81° E. 2.22 chains,

containing an area of 59/100 acres.

**1871. L. Kaiwi. Report of the church of God at Honuaula, Maui
(Ms. Trans. by H.P. Judd.)**

By the unchangeable grace of God in His bringing together His servant to associate with the older men, the older brothers of righteousness, greetings.

The parish of Honuaula is a large one. Its northern boundary is Paeahu, its eastern side is Haleakala mountain, its southern side is Kanaio and its western side is the seacoast.

The status of the church.

We are pleased in hearing some things and sad in hearing other things. The members have associated in true spiritual life in these six months; we have not heard of commotion or liquor drinking and similar things. The meetings are well attended every Sunday. *The evening meetings are continued in every district. The preacher visits the districts of Ulupalakua and Kanaio. The seaside districts do not unite because of the long distance there.* The one head carries many heads. Likewise at Keoneoio and Kanahena. The head of the preacher carries many heads.

Likewise at the church of Palauaea. The preacher has gone to these above-mentioned districts on the first Sunday of every month and from those visits several persons have returned to the church on repentance and have joined the church, some have been baptized and some have been restored.

The Sunday Schools.

Sunday Schools have been held at three places—Ulupalakua, Keoneoio and Keawakapu. These schools have progressed in the six months and the preacher is the superintendent and he has some support behind him at Ulupalakua and Keoneoio. One Sunday School has held an exhibition this past month, that is, the school at Keawakapu. That school appointed a delegate to go to Honolulu. The Sunday School contributed \$10.00 to the delegate for his expenses. There is one great deficiency in these schools, the lack of books.

Government schools.

There are four such schools in this district—three Protestant and one Episcopal in the English language...

Sugar mill.

There is one sugar mill in this parish. I am sad to tell about this sugar mill when I went to the evening church service. I saw some persons working on Sunday—hanging out to dry, drawing and collecting lines, etc.; Chinese, Hawaiians and other racial groups working. I ask you fathers and older brothers, “Is this the way with other sugar mills in your parishes?” If it is not in your parishes then it is a great mischief at Ulupalakua.

Famine or drought in the parish.

Honuaula is a land of drought. The sun is very great and the cane is dry and is crawling, likewise the potatoes, pumpkins and bananas of people in the dryness. Our support these days is the nose of the horse and the wheel of the cart, looking at “the four-waters” [Wailuku, etc.].

Cotton planting.

The main job of several persons is planting cotton and some obtain money from it and are carrying on that work.

The houses of the church.

This church is supplied with lands and site for a church building, no lack there. There is one lack however, and that is a place for the preacher to live in. There is no suitable

house. One house is out of repair; it is closed off with mats and full of holes. One house has loosened rafters. If this were a rainy land, then they would ask the preacher. If it were a land of strong gales, then it would turn one way or another. They had thought of repairing it, but it has not been done up to date.

The Lord's Supper.

W.P. Kahale, J.M. Kealoha and W. Kahookaumaha have cared for the church these three quarters...

The Friend

December 1904

Through Kula to Ulupalakua and Makena (by O.P. Emerson).

The Kula road on Maui, like the upper Kona road on Hawaii, runs through a region which invites the homesteader. The soil is fertile and the view unsurpassed. Elevated as it is, about two thousand feet on the lowest slopes of Haleakala, nearly the entire interior plain of Maui, the great sugar belt of the island, is spread out before the eye—beyond rises the western mountain range.

At one end of the Kula road is Makawao, moist and windy; at the other, Ulupalakua, where the air is so still that the chirp of the cricket can be heard; both are regions of rare beauty. Between them the homesteads string along on the upper side of the road, occasionally reaching up the shoulders of the giant mountain.

At Ulupalakua one is struck with the park-like aspect of the country. A line of rounding volcanic hills, which make down from the great crater of Haleakala towards the shore, gives distinction to the place. The summits which are back of Dr. Raymond's residence are tree-crowned and haunt you with their stately beauty. Between them are open pasture lands whose slopes rise and fall in [page 8] pleasing curves. The house itself, where a generous hospitality is dispensed, is embowered in foliage. Tall evergreens mark the spot from afar. Here the pride of India and the eucalyptus have become self-propagating. The lantana is in evidence everywhere on the lower side of the road. In places the black blight is killing it, but the slaughter is not yet great.

In striking contrast to the stately beauty of Ulupalakua is the forbidding aspect of Makena, its nearest steamer landing. Passing from one to the other you go out of a region of coolness and turf to one of heat and rocks. Such as it is, notwithstanding, it is the chosen dwelling place of a group of Hawaiians. They still show where Pikanele, the former chief of the region, had his house on a pile of rocks that juts out into the bay and forms a miniature promontory.

I found the congregation at Makena mostly made up of the children and grandchildren of Mrs. Kamakakukahiko [Kamaka Kukahiko]. I baptized seventeen of them and received five into the church, one of another household also joining. We had one wedding. One of the granddaughters was married to one of the Chinamen of the place.

The mothers of these children were the ones who had attended to their religious education. The fathers were mostly away. Some had deserted their families. One mother in joining the church said, "I consecrate myself for the sake of my children." Though for years without a settled pastor, they had with the aid of two good deacons, kept up some kind of religious service.

Mr. D.U. Oponui, who has lately become their pastor, is a graduate of Lahainaluna. Without training in a theological school he has long wanted to preach. In all his work he is

ably seconded by his wife. Wherever he is found she is found, out of the parish as well as in it, and together they have accomplished much.

I was much impressed at Makena by finding that there is no one within a long day's journey who can issue a marriage license or perform a marriage ceremony. This works badly for the morals of the community. I have good reason to believe that this lack will soon be met.

After five hours work at Makena we took the road to Kanaio, a settlement still more remote, eight miles further on. The road ascends twenty-five hundred feet and then descends towards the shore. As usual Mrs. Opunui took the lead. About half past four in the afternoon we came upon a group of people gathered about Kanaio church. They had been waiting two hours for us, but they had their Sunday-school and were in good spirits. In this distant place ten were received into church fellowship and three infants baptized, making in all that day sixteen received into the church and twenty baptized. Those received at Kanaio were all members of the local Society of Christian Endeavor. At this meeting I noted only one old person, and he was led up to us and introduced as the long-time deacon of the place. Judge George Kunukau is the other deacon and active man of the church.

The memory of this day's service will long remain with me. The comfort of finding a community of young people so interested in the Sunday-school, the Society of Christian Endeavor and the church, was great, and hard as the trip is, I shall take it again and go with gladness... [Oliver P. Emerson, December 1904:9]

R.B. Dodge, Report for Maui, 1907-08. Hawn. Evan. Assn. Report, 1908 (pp. 47-48.)

At Makena, another port of Maui, about \$1,000 have been expended in repairing an old stone house of worship built in 1825. (See Wailuku Station report, Apr. 1837, ms.) [Query date – B.J.] Here the people live largely by fishing, and often after a good haul, they gather in the church and generously give to the Lord's treasury. The Board's Agent once received from this church the sum of over \$400 in small coin, the larger part of which was given at a single offering. A stranger would be astonished at the lavish gifts these poor people bestow upon their church. For half an hour the broad of the old building was filled with Hawaiians passing up and down bringing their offerings to the table to be counted...

August 1908

Keawakapu Church Rededicated:

Keawakapu Church, for many years in sad need of repairs, has been made to look like new during the last few weeks, and last Sunday, August 16th was rededicated with appropriate exercises.

A little over a year ago, the members of the church made the first attempt to raise funds. In two months over \$430.00 was raised to which \$200.00 was added by a generous friend on Maui. All of this money was deposited with the Maui Aid Association, which in October of last year put an entirely new roof, ceiling and bell tower on the church.

For the last two months carpenters and masons have been at work laying a new floor, making benches, trimming up the stone walls inside and out with cement, painting and whitewashing, so that at a total expense of almost \$1,400.00 the church has been put into splendid condition.

Of this \$1,400.00 the Hawaiian people in Makena and vicinity have raised \$1,200.00.

At the services of rededication over 150. people were present. The eldest member of the church, Mr. J. Kapohakimohewa gave an interesting history of the church organization at

Keawakapu since 1825, when the church was first established in a grass house near the present site of the stone structure. Rev. M. Lutera, pastor, of the church, led his people in a dedicatory service, which had been prepared and printed in Hawaiian by Rev. R.B. Dodge. Rev. George M. Kauaulalena, pastor of Honokohau and Kahalukea, offered the dedicatory prayer after the keys had been presented by contractor Poepoe to the pastor of the church. A special hymn for the occasion was written by Mr. David Kapohakimohewa. Rev. Mr. Dodge preached the sermon.

An interesting part of the morning's program was the reception on one new member and the baptism of nine little children.

Keawakapu is the third church that has been repaired or built in Honuaua, Maui, in less than fifteen months time. Kanaio church was first restored at a cost of over \$800.00. Ulupalakua Church has been built, costing up to the present time about \$1,400.00, and Keawakapu repairs amount to the same figure. The first two churches are held by the Hawaiian Board as trustee, while the property of Keawakapu belongs to the American Board of Missions. The total amount of money spent in this one district of Maui for repairs and building is \$3,600.00, all of which, excepting the generous help of \$850.00 from one Maui man, was raised by the Hawaiian people, many of whom have deprived themselves of new clothing and necessary improvements on their houses that these long neglected churches might be repaired.

With the exception of a small sum at Ulupalakua, there is no debt on these three churches...

The Friend

September, 1908

Restoration of Keawakapu and Honuaua Churches in 1908

Maui Jottings.

...Keawakapu Church, for many years in sad need of repairs, has been thoroughly repaired, and on Sunday, Aug. 16th, was rededicated with appropriate exercises.

A little over a year ago over \$630.00 was raised, at which time the Maui Aid Association put on an entirely new roof, a new ceiling and bell tower. During the last few weeks a new floor has been laid, benches made, the walls inside and outside trimmed with cement, painting and whitewashing completed, at a total cost of almost \$1,400. Of this amount the people of Makena and vicinity raised \$1,200, \$200 being contributed by a Maui friend.

Keawakapu is the third church that has been repaired or built in Honuaua, Maui, in less than fifteen months' time. Kanaio was first restored, costing over \$800. Ulupalakua was next built, costing about \$1,400 and Keawakapu repairs amounted to the same figure. The total sum of money spent in this one district of Maui for repairs and building is \$3,600 all of which, except the generous help of \$850 from one Maui friend, was raised by the Hawaiian people, many of whom have deprived themselves of new clothing and necessary improvements on their houses that these long neglected churches might be repaired. With the exception of a small sum on the Ulupalakua Church, there is no debt on these three churches... [The Friend, September 1908:7]

February 27, 1909
R.B. Dodge to W.B. Oleson
Regarding the name of the Honuaula Church,
known as either Makena or Keawakapu:

1. Honuaula was the big Church of the region with 2 “*apana*” or branch churches not separately named until Dodge’s arrival 1906.
2. Honuaula owned by A.B.C.F.M; Kanaio & Ulupalakua deeded to Hawn. Bd.
3. 1909 Dodge says he has dropped “Honuaula” as name for old Makena Church and used names “Makena, Keawakapu” because Makena is the port and post office & Keawakapu is the old historic name for the Mother of all 3 churches. [Above letters filed in HEA work file in folder]

A.B.C.F.M Trustees – Minute Book, 1904-1916:
Keawakapu Owned by Hawaiian Evangelical Association (Manuscript Collection)

Nov. 1912 (p. 104)
Church Lot at Keawakapu, Honuaula, Maui. A portion of Royal Patent (Grant) 835 to Mahoe conveyed to the A.B.C.F.M. by Mahoe and wife by deed dated December 26, 1868 and recorded in Liber 26, page 486... Containing an area of 59/100 acres.

A.B.C.F.M turned land over to Hawn. Evan. Assn. Aug. 31, 1914 or Jan. 28, 1915 (p. 126)
(see pp. 115 et. seq. – note p. 122).

December 28, 1914
W.B. Oleson (?); to Rev. R.B. Dodge
Wailuku, Maui
Regarding diminishing congregations in the Honuaula Churches:

...I have just received the returns from the three Makena churches showing a total shrinkage in membership from the figures of last year of 86, viz., Ulupalakua 14, Keawakapu 29, and Kanaio 43.

These figures are so large that I am inclined to question the correctness of the returns. The blanks were returned in one letter by Mr. J.S. Poepoe.

I believe Kaumeheiwa is on a Committee for the three churches, and I wish you would confer with him please and see whether the figures of membership have been correctly reported. I am inclosing three blanks that could be sent directly to each church, with explanations by Mr. Kaumeheiwa, in the hope that either the reports already in my hands may be confirmed, or the errors involved be corrected.

I give below the membership of each church as reported last year, and for the current year in parallel columns:

1913	<u>Kanaio</u>	1914
28	males	6
<u>30</u>	females	<u>9</u>
58	total	15

	<u>Keawakapu</u>	
24	males	7
<u>28</u>	females	<u>16</u>
52	total	23

	<u>Ulupalakua</u>	
12	males	6
<u>10</u>	females	<u>5</u>
22	total	11
<u>3</u>	added during 1914	
25		

If you or Kaumeheiwa can aid in securing correct figures so that I can have them before Jan. 15, I shall be greatly obliged.

Undoubtedly there has been a gradual shrinkage going on in those churches for some years past, but to lose 86 in one year seems outside the probabilities...

1918.

Report of The Special Committee Appointed at The Lahaina Session of the Maui Evangelical Association for the Purpose of Uniting Weak Churches Of Maui.

...On May 8th at Ulupalakua it was voted to unite Ulupalakua, Kanaio and Makena Churches under one name, Honuaula Church.

At Makena a similar vote was taken to unite with the other churches, and it was agreed that the pastor of the church should go to Keokea once every quarter for the purpose of holding Communion Service. By letter to the Chairman of the Committee the three churches agreed upon the general plan that Rev. J.S. Poepoe should be called as pastor of the three churches...

“He Hoalohaloa no kuu Wahine Heleloa” (1924)

The following lament for a member of the Kukahiko family is one of the earliest references found, that specifically identifies the Honua’ula-Makena Church as Keawala’i – “*ka Luakini o Keawala’i*.”

Nupepa Kuokoa (Okatopa 23, 1924)
He Hoalohaloa no kuu Wahine Heleloa.

E kuu Solomon Hanohano, Aloha kua:— E oluolu mai hoi oe ina he wahi rumi kowa o ka kua moku aukai, mai ke kai o Alenuihaha, ahiki i ke kai o Kaulakahi, ma Niihau, i ike mai ai na kini o kuu mea aloha i haalele mai i keia ola honua ana aloha wale!

Ua haalele mai kuu wahine aloha ia’u, me na keiki a maua, kona mau kaikunane mau kaikuaana, kona makuahine kaikuaana, mau pokii, mau kaikunane, he nui a lehulehu o kona makuahine o ko lakou makuakane, ua hele mua.

A Lamentation for My Wife who has Taken the Long Journey

My Honorable Solomon Hanohano, Aloha—Please, if you might have a little room in the columns of our ship which swims the seas (the newspaper), from the waters of ‘Alenuihāhā, to the waters of Kaulakahi, at Ni’ihau, and that the multitudes might know of the passing of my dearly beloved, from life on this earth!

My beloved wife departed from me and our children, her brothers and sisters, aunt, and younger sibling, of whom there were many from her mother and father who pre-deceased her.

Aloha wale kuu wahine kuu hoa pili a kahi mehameha ke anu me ke koekoe, aloha wale! Ke unu hookahi nei au i ka ukana eha lima ole a ke aloha.

I greatly loved my wife, my companion in the lonely, cold, and damp places, greatly loved! I am stirred up by the burden and pain, born in love.

Aloha kuu wahine mai ka makani kuehu lepo o Kihei, kahi o ko maua mau la mua i paeli mua ai i ko maua kihapai kino, kahi e kahe ano o ka waiu ame ka meli, aloha wale kuu wahine hoomanawanui. Aloha wale ua hala ua nalo.

Love for my wife from the land of the wind that stirs up the dirt of Kihei, the place where we two spent our first day and established the garden of our bodies. Where flowed the milk and honey. Great love for my patient wife. Alas, she has passed, is lost.

Ua hoohuiia maua e ka Makua Rev. J. S Poepoe, ma ka malu o ka Luakini o Keawala'i, Honua'ula.

We were married by Father, Rev. J.S. Poepoe, in the shelter of the Church (*Luakini*) of Keawala'i, Honua'ula.

He wahine oluolu, heahea, puuwai hamama kuu wahine i hele ai i ka loa me ka laula o ka aina e imi ana i ka pono o ke ola kino, pono pu ai maua me na keiki ka makua me ka ohana.

She was a kind woman, inviting, with an open heart, my wife traveled far and wide about the land, seeking out that which is good for the well-being of the body. We two joined together in good for the parents and the family.

Ua hanauia kuu wahine ma ke awa iliili nehe o Makena kahi o kona mau kupuna he kanaka kaulana o keia aina, a ua hiki aku ka heluna nui o keia ohana a Kukahiko i ke kanahiku a oi i keia la, aole i pau ke hua nei no.

My wife was born at the little landing of the rustling stones at Makena, the place of her *kūpuna*, famous people of this land. This family, Kukahiko, numbers seventy or more, and the descendants are not finished.

Ma ka la 4 o keia mahina i haalele mai ai oia ia'u me na keiki a maua, me ko maua hau pu ole ae o keia la 4 e haalele mai ai oia ia'u, oia'i maua noho ana me ka maikai, a i ka hora o kona hoomaka ana e nahunahu hanau, ua kahea au i kona mama, a ua hiki mai, ua hemo ke keiki, ua make no he mau hora i ka hemo ana o ke keiki, a hele pu aku la no ma ia na hookahi no. Aloha wale!

On the fourth day of this month, she departed from me and our children. It came about unexpectedly to us, her departing from me on the fourth. We were living fine, and in the hour that she began to labor in birth, I called her mother. She came and delivered the child, who died, several hours later, she too died, they going together. *Aloha!*

Ma Pukalani o ka apana e Makawao akau i make ai, a hoihoiia i Makena...

It was at Pukalani, in the District of north Makawao that she died, and was then returned to Makena...

O makou o na komite, Komite Ekalesia:
—

Witnessed by the Church Committee: —

MRS. H. KUKAHIKO,
S. PINE POEPOE,
J. S. POEPOE,

MRS. H. KUKAHIKO,
S. PINE POEPOE,
J. S. POEPOE,

Komite Kula Sabati:—
MRS. HATTIE AANA.
JOHN AUWELoa,

Sunday School Committee:—
MRS. HATTIE AANA.
JOHN AUWELoa,

Komite C. E.:—
FRANK. POEPOE
MRS. ISAIA PIHO,
CHAS. KAIO,

Committee C. E.:—
FRANK. POEPOE
MRS. ISAIA PIHO,
CHAS. KAIO,

Makena. Maui.

Makena. Maui. [Maly, translator]

“He Hoomaikai Nui”

On February 27th, 1927, Samuel Anuhu, J. K. Haole, and David Kapohakimohewa submitted a letter of appreciation for publication to the Hawaiian newspaper, Kuokoa (published March 24th, 1927). The letter was written on behalf of the Keōkea Church, which had conducted fundraising to make improvements on the church, and included references to assistance provided by families of the Makena area—members of the “*Kula Sabati of Keawalai*” (Sunday School of Keawalai). Among the other points of historical interest found in the letter, we find references to the Fishing *Hui* of Makena, under the leadership of John Kauwekane (Kukahiko), and learn that sand was taken from Makena for construction at Keōkea. Excerpts from the letter follow (see *Appendix B* for Hawaiian account):

We, the brethren, students, and members of the Sunday School of Keōkea, give our sincerest thanks and *aloha* to all those who helped in the rebuilding of Haleakala, our church (*luakini*)...

Monetary Donations:

Keawalai	\$100.00	
Keoneoio	\$ 10.50	
Kanaio	\$ 5.00	
Ka Hui Lawai‘o Makena		\$115.00
Hapakuka o Ulupalakua	\$ 5.00	
Kauwekane	\$ 10.00...	

Additional Help:

...Geo, Kunukau and Jerry Burns	one cow...
...Mrs. Hapakuka	2 bags of sweet potatoes...
...Willie Afong	who loaned his truck to haul sand from Makena...
...The Sunday Schools of Keawalai and Keoneoio, and the <i>Hui Lawai‘a</i>	2 tins filled with plump <i>pala</i> [<i>lau‘īpala</i>] fish and delicious <i>manini</i> fish...

...Additionally, we again extend our appreciation to our ever patient and kind carpenters, for their work, under the head carpenter, Mr. Kauwekane Kukahiko. They worked for very little pay, and not only that, but they also gave money to help... [Maly, translator]

July 31, 1944

Honuaula, Makena, Maui

George M. Kauaulalena; to Dr. Leslie Dunstan

Naming the Church of Honuaula, Keawalai:

...I received many of your mail come to me, but, I never answer you. Now, I come to me to send this amount of \$4.50 from my daughter to you for the Friend. And if I had a balance for my Friend, let me know so I can remember that. *Now I want if you can send it to Keawalai half dozen Leo Hoonani. This name of Keawalai, is The New Name of the*

first Church of Honuaua, Makena, Maui. And my daughter is the Superintendent of the Sunday School, and the preaching too when I am not there. And I know its very hard for her to do this without any help. That is the way how this Church, and Sunday School keep on going, and hold our side fast. You know, I am out of work if we are looking for our Rule now. If the pastor come to the age of 65, is going to be pension. But for my believe I never look for that, till every body knows for who I am doing. I know the man who running the Hawaiian Board, he never knows I am doing for Jesus Karisto Our Lord and Our Savior...

December 23, 1958

Nelson Drier; to Beatrice Judd over phone

Licentiate, DeLima Oversees Keawalai Church.

Sunday school every Sunday. No regular church service, but family service held in conjunction with Sunday School. Under a licentiate, De Lima.

Communion and other church services held at intervals under an ordained minister, who also has another church or churches. (Did not get name.)

MAHELE 'ĀINA: DISPOSITION OF LAND INTERESTS IN KA'EO AND SELECTED LANDS OF THE HONU'ULA DISTRICT

This section of the study provides readers with a detailed history and laws of fee-simple land ownership and land use in Ka'eo, and neighboring lands of the Honua'ula District. The records come from original documents of the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division, 1845-1855); Royal Patent Grants (1848-1856); and conveyances of title recorded in the Bureau of Conveyances (1854 to 1956). Original Hawaiian texts were translated by Maly as a part of this study.

The Māhele 'Āina (Land Division) of 1848

In pre-western contact Hawai'i, all land and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (*ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* or *ali'i 'ai moku*). The use of lands and resources were given to the *hoa'āina* at the prerogative of the *ali'i* and their representatives or land agents (*kono'hiki*), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. By 1845, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was being radically altered, and the foundation for implementing the *Māhele 'Āina* of 1848, was set in place. This change in land tenure was promoted by the missionaries and the growing Western population and business interests in the island kingdom. Generally, these individuals were hesitant to enter into business deals on lease-hold land.

On December 10th, 1845, the king, Kamehameha III, signed into law, a joint resolution establishing and outlining the responsibilities of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles. The actions called for, and laws to be implemented were as follows:

ARTICLE IV. –OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS TO QUIET LAND TITLES.

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

SECTION II. Said commissioners shall, before acting, take and subscribe an oath to be administered to them by the minister of the interior in the following form:

We and each of us do solemnly swear that we will carefully and impartially investigate all claims to land submitted by private parties against the government of the Hawaiian Islands; and that we will equitably adjudge upon the title, tenure, duration and quantity thereof, according to the terms of article fourth of the seventh chapter of the first part of an act entitled "An act to organize the executive departments of the Hawaiian Island," passed at Honolulu, — day of —, 18—.

Subscribed and sworn to, this — day of —, 18—.

Before me, —

Minister of the Interior.

Which oath, having been sworn to, shall remain on file in the interior department.

SECTION III. It shall be the duty of said board of commissioners to select one of their number as president...

SECTION IV. The president of said board shall, at least once in each month, from the date of their first convention, report their proceedings to the minister of the interior—the number of claims then pending before them—the number to that date confirmed or rejected, and the reasons for confirmation and rejection of any particular claim to land, with all the evidences adduced to and reduced before them.

SECTION V. It shall be the special duty of board to advertise in the Polynesian newspaper, during the continuance of their sessions the following public notice, viz.:

TO ALL CLAIMANTS OF LAND IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.—The undersigned have been appointed by His Majesty the king, a board of commissioners to investigate and confirm or reject all claims to land arising previously to the — day of —, 18— [Dec. 10, 1845]. Patents in fee simple, or leases for terms of years, will be issued to those entitled to the same, upon the report of which we are authorized make, by testimony to be presented to us.

The board holds its stated meetings weekly at —, in Honolulu, island of Oahu, to hear the parties or their counsel, in defense of their claims; and is prepared, every day to receive in writing, the claims and evidences of title which parties may have to offer, at the —, in Honolulu between the hours of 9 o'clock A.M. and 3 o'clock P.M.

All persons are required to file with the board specifications of their claims to land, and to adduce the evidence upon which they claim title to any land in the Hawaiian Islands, before the expiration of two years from this date, or in default of doing so, they will after that time be forever barred of all right to recover same, in the courts of justice.

SECTION VI. The said board shall be in existence for the quieting of land titles during the two years from the first publication of the notice above required, and shall have the power to subpoena and compel the attendance of witnesses by discretionary fine; in like manner, when in session for the hearing of arguments, to punish for contempt; and they shall have the power to administer oaths to witnesses, and to perpetuate testimony in any case depending before them, which, when so perpetuated, shall be valid evidence in any court of justice created by the act to organize the judiciary.

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

SECTION VIII. All claims to land, as against the Hawaiian government, which are not presented to said board within the time, at the place and in the manner prescribed in the notice required to be given in the fifth section of this article, shall be deemed to be invalid, and shall be forever barred in law, unless the claimant be absent from this kingdom, and have no representative therein.

Section IX. The minister of the interior shall issue patents or leases to the claimants of lands pursuant to the terms in which the said board shall have confirmed their respective claims, upon being paid the fees of patenting or of leasing (as the case may be) prescribed in the third part of this act, unless the party entitled to a lease shall prefer to compound with the said minister in the succeeding section allowed.

SECTION X. The minister of the interior shall have power in concurrence with the privy council, and under the sanction of His Majesty, to issue to any lessee or tenant for life of lands so confirmed, being an Hawaiian subject, a patent in fee simple for the same, upon payment of a commutation to be agreed upon by his Majesty in privy council.

SECTION XI. The patents and lease issued in accordance with the award of said commissioners, shall be recorded at the expense of the patentee or lessee, as prescribed in the third part of this act, in a book to be kept for that purpose by the minister of the interior.

SECTION XII. The said board shall not have power to entertain any claims to lands set up by any private person or persons until the claimant shall have deposited with the minister of finance a bond conditioned to defray the costs and expenses incident to the proposed investigation, according to the rates of charge prescribed in the third part of this act; which costs and expenses, shall, after award rendered, be taxed by the president of said board, and a certificate thereof shall be given to the claimant who shall exhibit the same to the minister of finance, whose certificate of full payment, together with the award of the commissioners, shall authorize the delivery of the awarded patent or lease to such confirmed claimant, by the minister of the interior, and not without.

SECTION XIII. The titles of all lands claimed of the Hawaiian government anterior to the passage of this act, upon being confirmed as aforesaid, in whole or in part by the board of commissioners, shall be deemed to be forever settled, as awarded by said board, unless appeal be taken to the supreme court, as already prescribed. And all claims rejected by said board, unless appeal be taken as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be forever barred and foreclosed, from the expiration of the time allowed for such appeal. [In the Polynesian; January 3, 1846:140]

As the *Māhele* evolved, it defined the land interests of Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III), some 252 high-ranking *Ali'i* and *Konohiki*, and the Government. As a result of the *Māhele*, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands (cf. Indices of Awards 1929). The "Enabling" or "*Kuleana Act*" of the *Māhele* (December 21, 1849) further defined the frame work by which *hoa'āina* (native tenants) could apply for, and be granted fee-simple interest in "*Kuleana*" lands (cf. Kamakau in *Ke Au Okoa* July 8 & 15, 1869; 1961:403-403). The *Kuleana Act* also reconfirmed the rights of *hoa'āina* to access, subsistence and collection of resources necessary to their life upon the land in their given *ahupua'a*. The *Kuleana Act*, which remains the foundation of law pertaining to native tenant rights, sets forth the following:

August 6, 1850

An Act confirming certain resolutions of the King and Privy Council passed on the 21st day of December 1849, granting to the common people allodial titles for their own lands and house lots, and certain other privileges.

Be it enacted by the Nobles and Representatives of the People of the Hawaiian Islands in Legislative Council assembled;

That the following sections which were passed by the King in Privy Council on the 21st day of December A.D. 1849 when the Legislature was not in session, be, and are hereby confirmed, and that certain other provisions be inserted, as follows:

Section 1. Resolved. That fee simple titles, free of commutation, be and are hereby granted to all native tenants, who occupy and improve any portion of any Government land, for the land they so occupy and improve, and whose claims to said lands shall be recognized as genuine by the Land Commission;

Provided, however, that the Resolution shall not extend to Konohikis or other persons having the care of Government lands or to the house lots and other lands, in which the Government have an interest, in the Districts of Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo.

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

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

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

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

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

Section 7. When the Landlords have taken allodial titles to their lands the people on each of their lands shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, *aho* cord, thatch, or ti leaf from the land on which they live, for their own private use, should they need them, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. They shall also inform the Landlord or his agent, and proceed with his consent. The people shall also have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way. The springs of water, and running water, and roads shall be free to all should they need them, on all lands granted in fee simple. Provided, that this shall not be applicable to wells and water courses which individuals have made for their own use.

Done and passed at the Council House, Honolulu this 6th day of August 1850. [copied from original hand written "Enabling Act"⁸ – HSA, DLNR 2-4]

The most important source of documentation that describes native Hawaiian residency and land use practices—identifying specific residents, types of land use, crops cultivated, and features on the landscape—is found in the records of the *Māhele ʻĀina* (Land Division). The “Land Division” gave the *hoaʻāina* an opportunity to acquire fee-simple property interest (*kuleana*) on land which they lived and actively cultivated, but the process required them to provide personal testimonies regarding their residency and land use practices. As a result, records of the *Māhele ʻĀina* present readers with first-hand accounts from native tenants generally spanning the period from ca. 1819 to 1855.

⁸ See also *Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina* (Penal Code) 1850.

The lands awarded to the *hoa'āina* became known as “*Kuleana Lands*.” All of the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards or LCA) were numbered, and the LCA numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai'i.

The work of the Land Commission was brought to a close on March 31, 1855. The program, directed by principles adopted on August 20, 1846, met with mixed results. In its' statement to the King, the Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles (George M. Robertson, March 31, 1855) summarized events that had transpired during the life of the Commission:

...The first award made by the Commission was that of John Voss on the 31st March 1847.

The time originally granted to the Board for the hearing and settlement of all the land claims in the kingdom was two years, ending the fourteenth day of February, 1848.

Before the expiration of that term it became evident that a longer time would be required to perform a work... Accordingly, the Legislature on the 26th day of August 1847, passed an Act to extend the duration of the Board to the 14th of February, 1849, adding one year to the term first prescribed, not however, for the purpose of admitting fresh claims, but for the purposes of hearing, adjudicating and surveying those claims that should be presented by the 14th February, 1848. It became apparent to the Legislature of 1848 that the labors of the Land Commission had never been fully understood, nor the magnitude of the work assigned to them properly appreciated, and that it was necessary again to extend the duration of the Board. An act was accordingly passed, wisely extending the powers of the Commissioners “for such a period of time from the 14th day of February 1849, as shall be necessary for the full and faithful examination, settlement and award upon all such claims as may have been presented to said Board.” ...[T]he Board appointed a number of Sub-Commissioners in various parts of the kingdom, chiefly gentlemen connected with the American Mission, who from their intelligence, knowledge of the Hawaiian language, and well-known desire to forward any work which they believed to be for the good of the people, were better calculated than any other class of men on the islands to be useful auxiliaries to the Board at Honolulu...

...During the ten months that elapsed between the constitution of the Board and the end of the year 1846, only 371 claims were received at the office; during the year 1847 only 2,460, while 8,478 came in after the first day of January 1848. To these are to be added 2,100 claims, bearing supplementary numbers, chiefly consisting of claims which had been forwarded to the Board, but lost or destroyed on the way. In the year 1851, 105 new claims were admitted, for Kuleanas in the Fort Lands of Honolulu, by order of the Legislature. The total number of claims therefore, amounts to 13,514, of which 209 belonged to foreigners and their descendants. The original papers, as they were received at the office, were numbered and copied into the Registers of the Commission, which highly necessary part of the work entailed no small amount of labor...

...The whole number of Awards perfected by the Board up to its dissolution is 9,337, leaving an apparent balance of claims not awarded of say 4,200. Of these, at least 1,500 may be ranked as duplicates, and of the remaining 2,700 perhaps 1,500 have been rejected as bad, while of the balance some have not been prosecuted by the parties interested; many have been relinquished and given up to the Konohikis, even after surveys were procured by the Board, and hundreds of claimants have died, leaving no legal representatives. It is probable also that on account of the dilatoriness of some claimants in prosecuting their rights before the Commission, there are even now, after the great length of time which has been afforded, some perfectly good claims on the Registers of the Board, the owners of which have never taken the trouble to prove them.

If there are any such, they deserve no commiseration, for every pains has been taken by the Commissioners and their agents, by means of oft repeated public notices and renewed visits to the different districts of the Islands, to afford all and every of the claimants an opportunity of securing their rights... [Minister of Interior Report, 1856:10-17]

It is reported that the total amount of land—throughout the Hawaiian Islands—awarded to *hoa'āina* equaled approximately 28,658 acres (cf. Kame'eiehiwa 1992:295).

Disposition of Ka'eo

On February 2nd, 1848, the King entered into an agreement with Mahoe, *Konohiki* of Ka'eo, by which Mahoe would receive one-half of the total land area of Ka'eo Ahupua'a, and the King, would retain the other half of the *ahupua'a*. This agreement was recorded along with agreements between other chiefs and *Konohiki*, in the Buke Mahele of 1848:

Ko Kamehameha 3

<u>Ka Aina</u>	<u>Ahupuaa</u>	<u>Kalana</u>	<u>Mokupuni</u>
½ Kaeo	Ahupuaa	Honuaula	Maui [Buke Mahele, 1848:75]

Ko Mahoe

<u>Ka Aina</u>	<u>Ahupuaa</u>	<u>Kalana</u>	<u>Mokupuni</u>
½ Kaeo	Ahupuaa	Honuaula	Maui [Buke Mahele, 1848:76]

On March 8th, 1848, Kamehameha III granted his interest in one-half of the *ahupua'a* of Ka'eo to the *Aupuni* (Government) land inventory (*Buke Mahele*, 1848:202-203).

Mahoe's claim to Ka'eo, was contested by Pikanele (apparently, Mahoe's father-in-law), who was also of a chiefly lineage, and tied to the Kamehameha household. Pikanele, who had been a companion-attendant of Ulumaheihei Hoapili (cf. Kamakau, 1961), had also served for a time, as the *Konohiki* of Ka'eo, prior to Mahoe. During the *Māhele*, Pikanele registered his own claim for the *ahupua'a* of Ka'eo, along with the *ahupua'a* of Mohopilo 1 & 2, and other lands in the Honua'ula District, as well as the island of Molokini (see *Helu* 473 B).

Testimonies recorded during proceedings of the *Māhele*, document that Pikanele's interest dated from prior to 1836, while under the governorship of Hoapili kane (Ulumaheihei), and the *Konohiki* who had previously had charge of the Honua'ula lands. From the time of Kamehameha I, it was reported that Ihu had been the *Konohiki*, and then Pahuwai. It was from Pahuwai that Pikanele's rights were granted. Pikanele lost his right to Ka'eo and the other lands, as a result of his having been brought to trial before Kekāuluohi and Kekūanaō'a *mā*—the crime being based on reports of *moe kolohe* (adultery), and other activities of the chiefess Nahi'ena'ena, which he allowed to occur. In this way, Mahoe became the *Konohiki*.

Apparently, because Mahoe's claim to Ka'eo and other lands of Honua'ula (see *Helu* 6662 and 2525), was contested by Pikanele, the award was not confirmed by the Board of Commissioners. Subsequently, on February 23rd, 1852, Mahoe was granted one-half of Ka'eo (514 acres), including the rights to the fishery⁹, as a Royal Patent Grant from Kamehameha III (see Grant No. 835), at a cost of one dollar. The Governments' interest in the other half of Ka'eo was conveyed to Linton L. Torbert by Royal Patent Grant No. 234.

⁹ The right of the fishery at Ka'eo being included with Royal Patent Grant No. 835, to Mahoe, was somewhat an anomaly. It was the law and practice of the Kingdom, to retain the rights of fisheries from *ahupua'a* that were conveyed as Royal Patent Grants. Records cited later in this study, document that the matter of Mahoe's claim to the fisheries was a point of contention between Mahoe and James Makee.

Claims of Native Tenants for Kuleana (Property Rights) in Ka‘eo and Vicinity

In addition to the claims made by Mahoe and Pikanele at Ka‘eo, at least eighteen (18) *hoa‘āina* (native tenants) also filed claims. The claims included localities along the shore, on the *kula* (mid lands), and in the uplands. Many of the claimants also included *‘āpana* (parcels) in other *ahupua‘a* of the Honua‘ula District. Such a pattern of residency provided the claimants with access to lands and resources that allowed them to sustain themselves through varying seasonal patterns—residing at, and cultivating various locations dependant upon weather conditions and growing seasons.

In describing their claims, claimants and their witnesses who testified in support of the applications, provided reference points to the locations of the various *‘āpana* (parcels). These boundary references were generally described as *Mauka* (inland or upland), *Kula* or *Makawao* (being towards the north), *Makai* (towards the shore), and *Kahikinui* (towards the south). Other references at times included a named individual, whose land bounded the claim being described; the *Konohiki* or Government land (bounding or surrounding the claimed parcel); features, such as a trail, road or wall that bounded the parcel; or named the adjoining *ahupua‘a*. The glossary below, provides readers with meanings of Hawaiian terms cited in the translated claims from Ka‘eo.

Glossary of Hawaiian Terms Used in Land Claims at Ka‘eo

<i>Ahupuaa</i>	A traditional land division, with resources extending from the ocean fisheries to a place on the mountain lands.
<i>Ala / Ala hele</i>	Trail or road.
<i>Ala Aupuni</i>	Government road or trail.
<i>Ala Bipi</i>	Cattle trail.
<i>Ala hele loa</i>	Main trail around the island – portions later incorporated into the <i>Ala Aupuni</i> .
<i>Alanui pii</i>	Trail that ascends to the uplands – a <i>mauka-makai</i> trail.
<i>Alanui pii a iho</i>	Trail between uplands and shore.
<i>Aupuni</i>	Kingdom or government.
<i>Ili</i>	A native land unit within an <i>ahupua‘a</i> , generally an area running <i>mauka-makai</i> within the boundaries of a given <i>ahupua‘a</i> .
<i>Kalo</i>	Taro—in this case the dry land varieties.
<i>Kihapai</i>	Dry land garden or planted field.
<i>Ko</i>	Sugar cane (both native and foreign varieties).
<i>Konohiki</i>	A chiefly land owner, or chief’s representative on a given land.
<i>Kula</i>	Plains or flat lands; lands sloping towards coast; generally a dry land region; parcels of <i>kula</i> land were often described as dry land agricultural fields, worked by claimants.
<i>Makai</i>	Towards the shore, or on the shore, depending on context.
<i>Mala</i>	A dry land cultivating field.
<i>Mauka</i>	Towards the mountains; upland; or in the uplands, depending on context.
<i>Moku mauu</i>	A grass land – dry land cultivating area.
<i>Pa Aupuni</i>	Government wall or lot.
<i>Pa pipi</i>	Cattle pen.
<i>Puhala</i>	Pandanus trees.

<i>Uala</i>	Sweet potatoes.
<i>Uala Kahiki</i>	Foreign potatoes—generally the Irish Potato that was brought to the islands for planting and sale to ships.
<i>Uala Haole</i>	Foreign potatoes.
<i>Uala maoli</i>	Native sweet potatoes.

Place Names in Ka‘eo (Cited in Claims)

Apuakehau	A fishpond and point.
Haleula (Haleola)	An <i>‘ili</i> land area.
Kaiaakoako	An <i>‘ili</i> land area.
Keawakapu	An <i>‘ili</i> land area.
Kuapo	An <i>‘ili</i> land area.
Luapeelua	A named locality.
Oopa	An <i>‘ili</i> land area (also named in neighboring <i>ahupua‘a</i>).
Ulupalakua	An <i>‘ili</i> land area.

Summary of Claims for Kuleana in Ka‘eo and Vicinity

Readers will note that while modern writers generally suggest that Ka‘eo, Maluaka, and other lands of the region were *‘ili* and not independent *ahupua‘a*, that in the documents filed as a part of their claims and awards, the *hoa‘āina* (native tenants) uniformly identified these lands as *ahupua‘a* when land designations were given, and not as *‘ili* of some larger land unit. The following documents provide readers with access to the original records of claims and awards for *kuleana* in the *ahupua‘a* of Ka‘eo. The original Hawaiian texts are given from the volumes of the Register, Testimony, and *Mahele Award Book* of Surveys, with verbatim translations prepared by Maly. Of the total twenty claims registered, only nine (9) were awarded at Ka‘eo. Applicants who claimed traditional residency rights at Ka‘eo (and some in neighboring *ahupua‘a* as well), included (underlining indicates claim not awarded at Ka‘eo):

Makole (No *Helu* given), Pikanele (*Helu* 473 B), Kaili (*Helu* 2395 B), Kaihe (*Helu* 2395), Kaialiiiii (*Helu* 2397), Kalili (*Helu* 2399), Kalama (*Helu* 2400 & 4292 B), Kohilae or Kaohilae (*Helu* 2401), Kanakahou (*Helu* 2427), Moku (w.) (*Helu* 2524 & 2524 B), Nahuaai (*Helu* 2568), Hualii (*Helu* 2581), Honuakaha (w.) (*Helu* 2585), Maaweiki (*Helu* 3676), Kahaleokaia (*Helu* 4157), Kekuhaulua (*Helu* 5275), Nawaiki (*Helu* 5402 B), Mai (*Helu* 5403), Mahoe (*Helu* 6662 & 2525), and Hiapo (*Helu* 8071 & 2579).

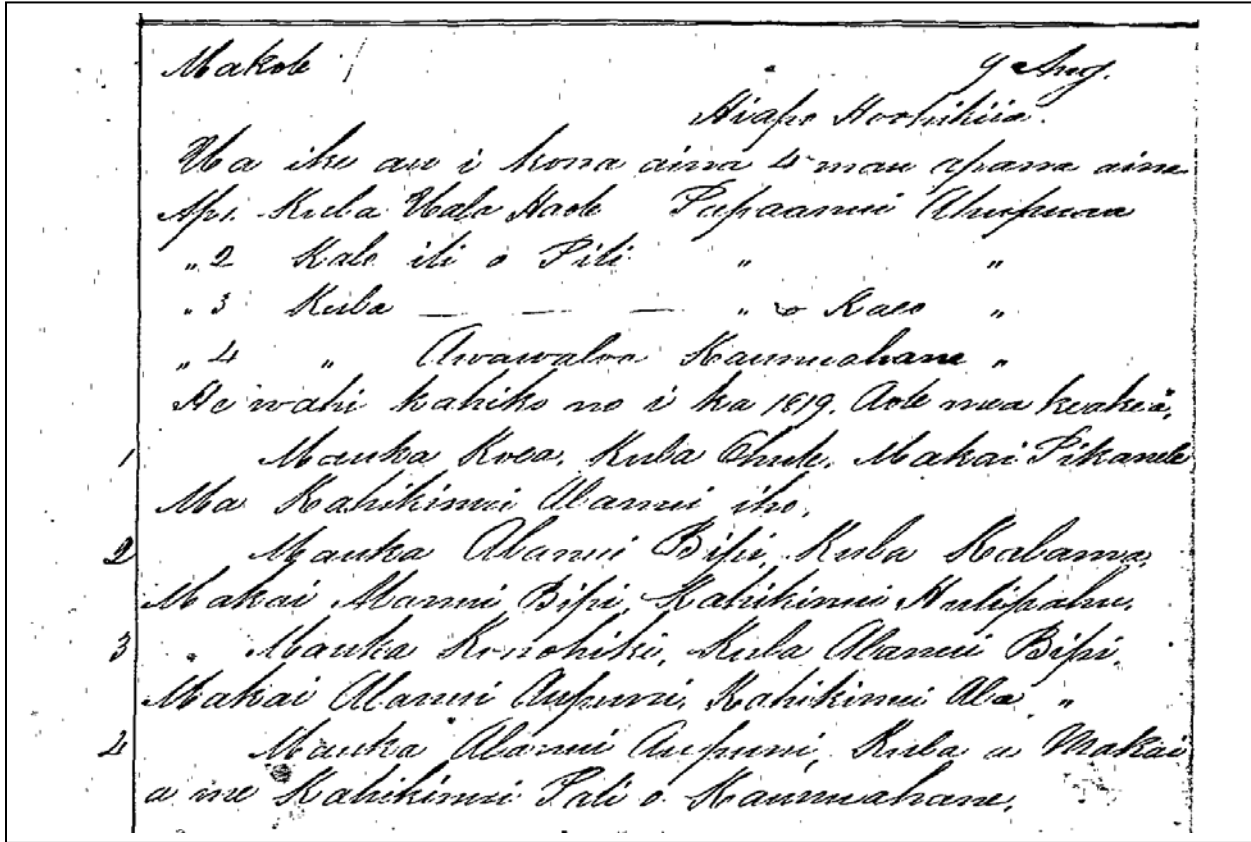
Testimony provided for Mahoe’s half of Ka‘eo, specifically, noted that:

Foreign potatoes and *Kalo* are the things there. It was given by the King in the Land Division. There are three *ili* that are his. Here are the names, Ulupalakua, Haleula and Kuapo. [*Helu* 6662, Native Testimony Vol. 7:128; Maly, translator]

The claims cited below are given in numerical sequence, with reference to the source volume and page numbers, and include all claims from Ka‘eo and Maluaka.

**Documentation for Kuleana in Ka'eo
(some claims also include other locations in Honua'ula)**

Helu (not given)
Native Testimony Volume 7:158
Makole at Ka'eo and Papaanui



Aug. 9.
Hiapo Sworn.
I have seen his land there are 4 parcels of land.

- Par. 1 Field of Uala Haole at Papaanui Ahupuaa.
- Par. 2 Kalo in the ili of Pili, Papaanui Ahupuaa.
- Par. 3 Kula in Papaanui & Ka'eo.
- Par. 4 Kula at Awawaloa, in Kaunuahane.

Old places from 1819. No one objects.

1. Mauka, Koa. Kula, Ohule. Makai, Pikanele. Towards Kahikinui, Alanui iho (trail down slope).
2. Mauka, Cattle trail. Kula, Kalama. Makai, Cattle trail. Kahikinui, Hulipahu.
3. Mauka, Konohiki. Kula, Cattle trail. Makai, Government Road. Kahikinui, Cattle Trail.
4. Mauka, Government Road. Kula, Makai and Kahikinui, Pali of Kaunuahane.

Claim Not Awarded.

Helu 473 B Pikanele
 Hea Lahaina Feb. 15 1847

No ma aia kuleana o o Pikanele nei
 o Waipao a me Papaanui ma Honoula.

1 O Waipao, ua loa mai ia i ka
 M. H. 1840 no Aukea a me ka Mo'i mai.
 O koi kuleana, He ukue ia aia no ma
 aia o i hooheuaia oia hoi (paua) oia
 o Ka'eo, a me na Mohopilo elua. Ma ka
 hooheuaia ana i haawi ia mai ai ia aia
 no i.

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2 O Papaanui. Ua loa mai no ia mahaiki
 no Aukea mai, ma ka wahia. Mahi me (kono)
 Luma. O koi kuleana mai aia. He aia he
 noia, i hawa ia Hoanua, no ka me i ka
 auhan o ka mahaiki, ma i haawi i ka ukue
 o ka mahaiki; ma koi waiwai hono. (1 pu a
 anana 4 lau o ka upuna 2 iako kapa i iako
 pau i aho lawaia, 5 kanaha anana oia; heno
 i hola au i ka M. H. 1846.

II He mau kai 3 ilohe, Potapota ma Lahaina
nei. Ua loa mai iai i paewa i kikipaku ai
i Hoapilitane i na ohi waihi, hooolewale
ia Nahiamaia, no Pualini a me Hamakani
mai, no ke noi ana i ke kipi waihi Hau-
nani. A hui iho nei i ka M.H. 1847.

III O Molokini: Ua loa mai i ka M.H. 1840. O kou
kuleana no Walaimoku mai a ia Hoapilitane
a nona mai kou Ua hui i ho nei M.H. 1846
Oia na aina kuleana ou.

Oia no nae kekahi manao ou. Ina he mea
oluolu i kou manao e ka Makua Hau hui, ke
hoo-manawani ~~mai~~ ka hoo-pou-pou pua mai
i kuu mau pilikia a pua, mai no e hoo-pou-pou-
no kou. No ka mea, i kuu mau pilikia a pua ma-
nuu i hoo-pi aku ai i na lii, aole loa mai ka
oluolu o ka manao e puka mai ana i na lii-
kou mai. I ka kou manao, ua
hoo-pou-pou a ka kou, a me na lii o ke au-
puni i hoo-pou-pou ia pilikia no kou hoo-pi ana
i ka makemake o Hoapilitane kou Haku, ma ke
kikipaku ana i ka poe hoo-olewale i Nahiamaia
Kalaia, manao au, mai no e hoo-pou-pou mai. Ma
ka mea nae i oluolu i kou manao

Kuu mau Pilikia — hoo-pou-pou o kou lima kua.

Feb. 15, 1847.

About my, Pikanele's, land claim at Waipao and Papaanui, at Honuula.

I. Waipao was gotten by me in 1840, from Auhea and the King. It is my right, in compensation for the lands from which I was removed, that is Kaeo and the two Mohopilo. The land was given to me as a result of the judgment.

2. Papanui...

III. Molokini. I got it in 1840. My right was from Kalaimoku to Hoapilikane, and from him to me. I was dispossessed in 1846. Those are the lands I claim.

Here are my thoughts, if it pleases the Honorable Father, to patiently make right all of my problems about which I petitioned to the Chiefs. For I have not received the benefit of the good thoughts of them. It is my thought, that perhaps I have been removed by them and the government, because I tried to fulfill the desires of Hoapilikane, my Lord, by the expulsion of those people who led Nahienaena astray.

Therefore, I think that it is for you to make this right, should you so desire.

By me, Pikanele. Mark set by my hand X.

B
Helu 473 Pikanele

Hookihiki, L. Kaauwai ma ka olelo Kauhale
He aina ko Pikanele ma Honoua'ula, Waipao
ka inoa, o ka lilihi, mai ka M. H. 1841
mai ia wa hookoia ka uina a me ka
pahale ua ma Kaeo ua pa nei, a me
Waipao he aina, ua hookolokolo nui in
me Lahuine, a akaka no Pikanele ia
pahale a me ia aina, he kumu kahi ke
no nae ia no na konohiki; o Ihu ke
konohiki nua nana i hanaia wahi nona
a hemo ia noho iho o Pahuwai; a hemo ia
lilo iho ia Pikanele, M. H. 1836 paha ka
loaa ana ia wahi, a na Pikanele no i
hana hou ka pa, a na ka hookoloke
kahi i hana, a i ka M. H. 1840 hookii
nui mai na konohiki ia Pikanele
a manawa e lawe ke Uupuni ia wahi
a hookolokolo nui ia o Pikanele ia wa, a
haawi o Kekaulaohi i kona aoao ia
M. Kekuanana, a hooko ia no Pikanele,
no kona mau poho ma ka pahale a me
ka aina, oia ko Pikanele kuleana
ma kua wahi ana e hookii mai nei, ua
hookoia e ke kuhinani o ke Uupuni
no Pikanele ia wahi.

Hooihikiia o Nalaipuleho ma ka olelo ke Akua
O ka lilo ana o kela wahi i na Konohiki mua
ia Ihu a me Pahuwai, ua ho ianei mea i
hooihikiia ai, i ka pau ana o ko Pahuwai
noho ana, lilo ia Pikanele ke kulanahale a
me ka aina, ole hoi ke mea eae mahope

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ihu o Pikanele wale no, a lohe no au i
ka olelo ia ua haawi na kuhina a lilo
loa ia Pikanele, ole no hoi ke mea
mana i kakea a hiki i keia wa
Ma mau loa keia e like me ka
Kekauluohi haawi ana

Keppel

Waialeale, Feb. 5, 1847
See Page 228

L. Kaauwai, Sworn on the Holy Bible. Pikanele has land at Honuaula. Waipao is its name, and the length of time has been since the year 1841, when there was also affirmed the land and the house lot there at Kaeo, and Waipao.

It was a court case held in Lahaina, and it was made known that the land and house site was for Pikanele, it was of old origin from the *Konohiki*. Ihu was the first *Konohiki*, who made the place for himself. He was removed from it, and Pahuwai then lived there till he was removed, then Pikanele acquired it, about the year 1836. Pikanele made a new enclosure (wall). Because of the adulterous activities of certain parties in 1840, the *Konohiki* complained against Pikanele. The government then took it, and Pikanele was tried at that time. Kekauluohi gave his side (of the case) to M. Kekaunaoa, and it was confirmed for Pikanele. This application of Pikanele's is for the house lot and land, that he was denied. It was determined by the prime minister of the kingdom that these places were for Pikanele.

Nalaipuleho, Sworn by the Word of God. The place was first obtained by the *Konohiki*, Ihu and Pahuwai, that is how he has it. When Pahuwai's residency was ended, the house and land went to

Pikanele. There was no one else afterwards, only Pikanele. I heard that the minister gave it to Pikanele, and no one has opposed him to this time. It has been the same, just as given by Kekauloahi.

Wailuku. Feb. 5, 1847.

See page 228

[Note: Should be page 229 (see below).]

Helu 473 (473 B)

Native Testimony Volume 2:229 (continued from page 136)

Helu 473 Pikanele From P. 136

*Hooihikiia o Upaihame ma ka olelo a ke Ahua
Ua ike no au ia wahi, na Puulimui i haawi
ia lona nei hola aina, he kaitumakine ia
na Puulimui, oia ka mea i haawi ai
i keia manao i ka lona i ka wa mahope
mai o ka manalo o Lileokohu me Nahi
enaena, oia ka hema ana o Pikanele o
Ukumehame, oia ka ike ana i ka lilo
ana oia aiua ma Ukumehame.*

See Page 232

From P. 136

[Note: Narrative from Volume 2:232 does not pertain to Ka'eo or lands of Honua'ula.]

Helu 2393
Native Register Volume 3:480
Kaili at Kao

2393 Kaili Honuaula 29 Dec 1847 480
 He hoike aku me no au i koe kuleana
 i koe, aia i Honuaula, he wahi paahale. Akua
 kapa o Kalama, hikina ke alahale, hema ke
 kai, komohona ke kai no. Eia no keia he mau
 mala Uala haole eono. (Keia mau me keia e
 mau no au i kuleana iou au
 Ka Kaili

Honuaula. 29, Dec. 1847

I make known my remaining claim. It is there in Honuaula, a house lot. North, the wall of Kalama. East, a trail. South, the sea. West, also the sea. There is also this, six fields of *Uala haole* (Foreign potatoes). These are my thoughts about what should be granted to me.

Helu 2393
Native Testimony Volume 7:136
Kaili at Kao

2393 Kaili ✓ Aug 9
 Kalama Aupuni
 Ua ike au i kua pa Hale, wai no i haani
 aku ia ia i ka 1845, Aole mea Heahea ia ia.
 Mauka Ala Aupuni, Kula Kalama, Makai Kai
 Kahikinui Konohiki.

Aug. 9
Kalama Sworn.

I have seen the house lot, it was I who gave it to him, in 1845. No one has opposed him.

Mauka, the *Ala Aupuni* (Government road). Kula, Kalama. Makai, the sea. Kahikinui, the Konohiki.

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2393 Kaili Aug 9.
 Maaweiki Kooheki
 Ua iho au i koma mau Ahupuaa Uina Ekolu
 1. Kula ili o Keauhou Keauhou Ahupuaa
 "2. " " " " " "
 "3. " " " " " "
 Nāu au i haawi ia Kaili i ka Mā 1843.
 Ua mea hekeia mai ia ia,
 1. Mauka o mau Nawaiki, Makawao Ala Aupuni
 Makai o mau, Kahikinui Konohiki,
 2. Mauka Lito, Makawao Piipii, Makai Kekahuna
 Kahikinui o mau
 3. Mauka Kalili, Makawao Kekahuna, Makai
 Sevini, Kahikinui Konohiki.

Aug. 9
 Maaweiki Sworn.

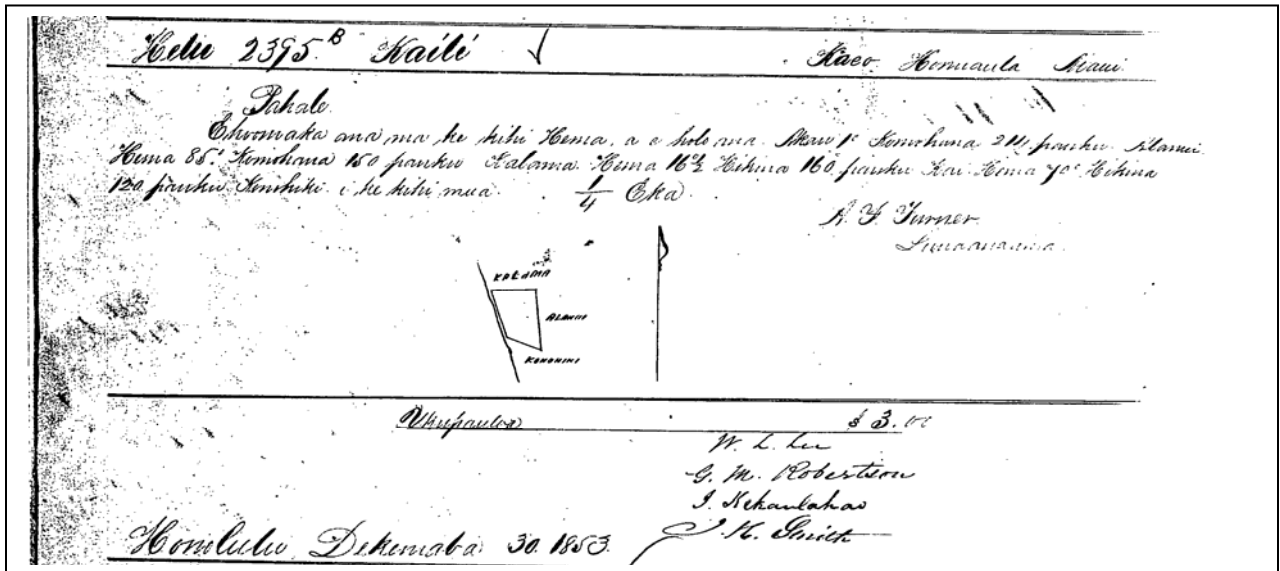
I have seen his pieces of land, there are three.

- Par. 1 Kula parcel in the ili of Keauhou, Ahupuaa of Keauhou.
- Par. 2 Kula parcel in the ili of Keauhou, Ahupuaa of Keauhou.
- Par. 3 Kula parcel in the ili of Keauhou, Ahupuaa of Keauhou.

I gave it to Kaili in the Year 1843. No one has opposed him.

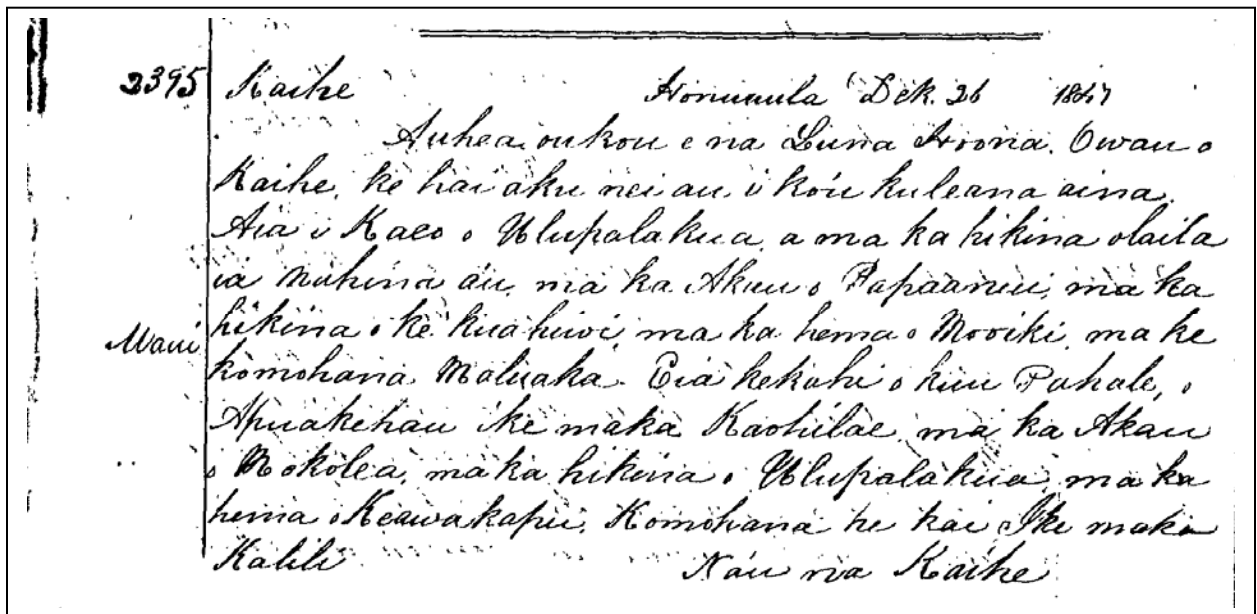
- 1. Mauka, me and Nawaiki. Makawao, Ala Aupuni. Makai, me. Kahikinui, Konohiki.
- 2. Mauka, Lito. Makawao, Piipii. Makai, Kekahuna. Kahikinui, me.
- 3. Mauka, Kalili. Makawao, Kekahuna. Makai, Sevini. Kahikinui, Konohiki.

Helu 2395 B
 Mahele Award Book Volume 7:450
 Kaili at Kao (from Helu 2393)



Awarded — Royal Patent No. 4138.

Helu 2395
 Native Register Volume 3:480
 Kaihe at Kao



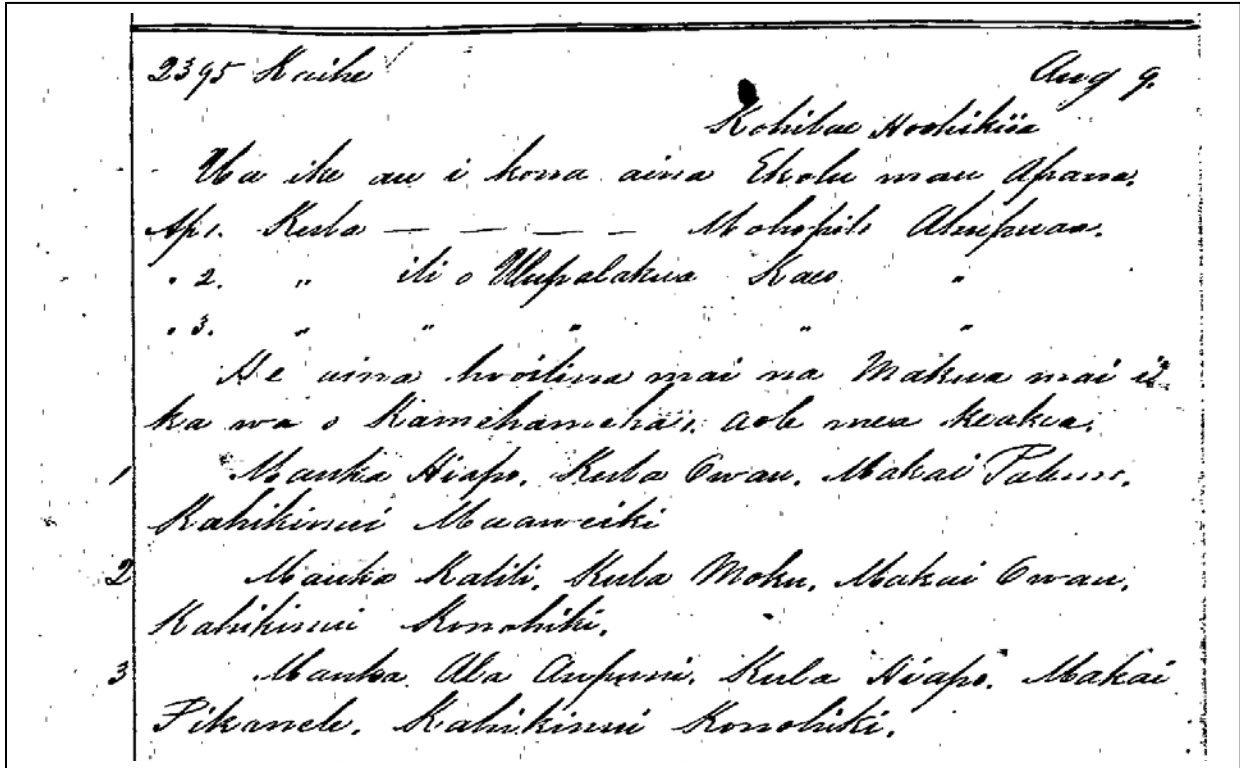
Honuaula, Dec. 26, 1847

Hear ye oh Commissioners who quiet titles. I am Kaihe, and I hereby tell you of my land claim. It is there in Kao, at Ulupalakua, on the east, there is where I cultivate. North is

Papaanui; on the east is the mountain; on the south is Mooiki; and the west is Maluaka. Here also is this, my house lot at Apuakehau. The witness is Kaohilae. On the north is Mokolea; on the east is Ulupalakua; on the south is Keawakapu; West is the sea. Kalili, the witness.

By me, Kaihe.

Helu 2395
Native Testimony Volume 7:138
Kaihe at Kaeo and Mohopilo



Aug. 9
 Kohilae [Kaohilae] Sworn.

I have seen his land. There are three parcels.

- Par. 1 Kula land in Mohopilo Ahupuaa.
- Par. 2 Kula land in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.
- Par. 3 Kula land in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.

It is an inheritance land from the parents in the time of Kamehameha 1. No one objects.

- 1. Mauka, Hiapo. Kula, me. Makai, Palemo. Kahikinui, Maaweiki.
- 2. Mauka, Kalili. Kula, Moku. Makai, me. Kahikinui, Konohiki.
- 3. Mauka, Ala Aupuni. Kula, Hiapo. Makai, Pikanele. Kahikinui, Konohiki.

Helu 2395 Kaihe. ✓ Honou'ula, Maui.

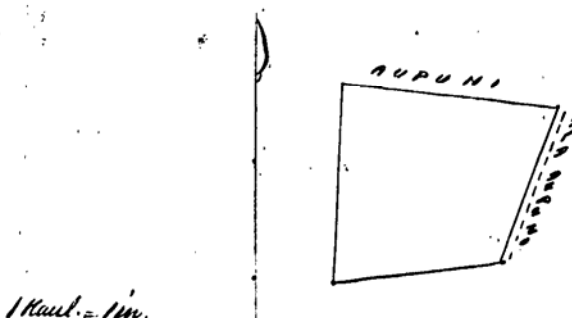
Pahale ma Kao.
Chomaka ma ke kiki Hema, a. e. hole.

<i>Akua</i>	<i>84 1/2</i>	<i>Hikina</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>Kaul. ma ke</i>	<i>Aupuni.</i>
<i>Akua</i>	<i>20°</i>	<i>Hikina</i>	<i>1.27</i>	"	<i>" Ala "</i>
<i>Akua</i>	<i>88 1/2</i>	<i>Komohana</i>	<i>1.43</i>	"	"
<i>Hema</i>	<i>1°</i>	<i>Komohana</i>	<i>1.44</i>	"	" <i>whiko ma ke</i>

kiki ma. 1/8 Eka.

Kailuku Iulai 13. 1854.

*C. S. Kittredge
 Maomahina.*



1 Kaul. = 1 in.

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Ukaupuni

W. L. Lee
G. M. Robertson
S. M. Kaulahau
S. M. Smith

Honolulu August 11. 1854.

p. 3, 110

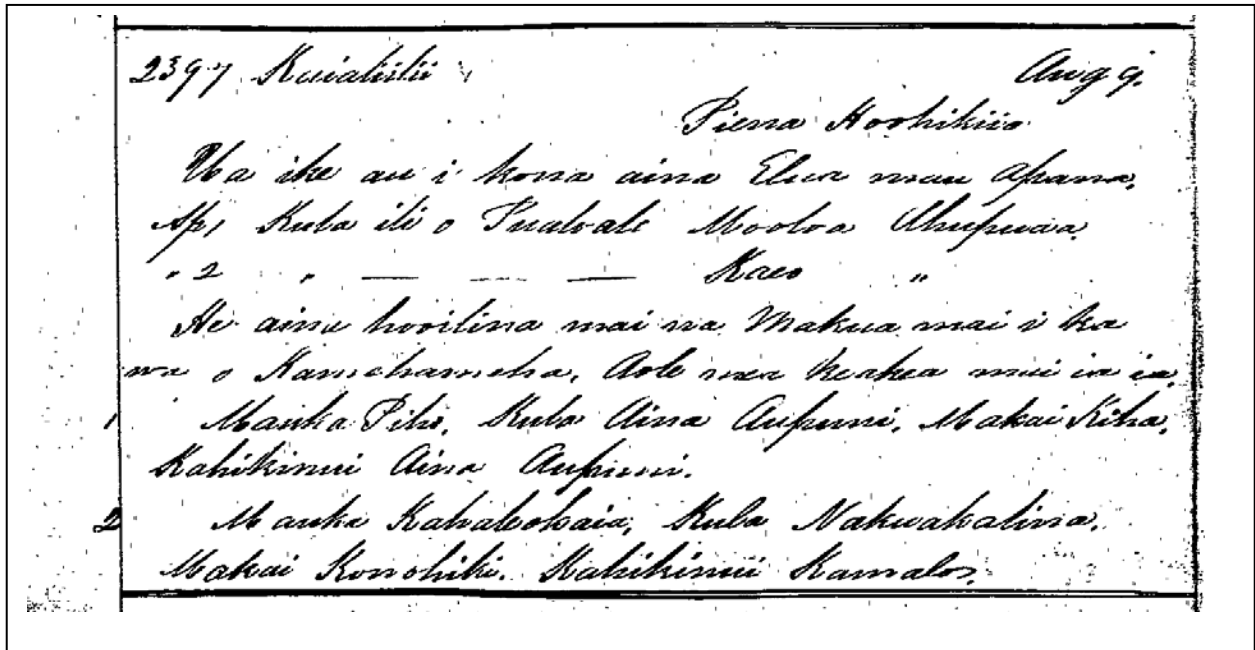
Awarded — no Royal Patent issued.

2397 Kaialiilii Honuaula Dec 27 1847.
 E ha'u aku ana ia nūkou e ma Lūma
 Ahupuaa i kou kuleana, o wau o Kaialiilii, he
 Ahupuaa kai ai o Mooloa, a pau o na Poalima
 ewalu hāu e hāua nei i Mooloa. He ili āina
 nae kēhāhi o Pualoalo 1, Ahau o Pualoalo, alua
 Hēhena o Kamamaki, Hēhena o Moomuku, Ho-
 mōhāna o Haleula alua, hoo, Moku mauu i
 Haleula, aia i Haleula alua hoo, Moku māhi
 hoike Kēhāhi a me Alikā. He mūla. Uala ha-
 ole hōkahu aia i Maluaka. Hea Kualapa
 hōkahu, he wahi kahuahale aia māhāi
 Ahau kāpa o Kinolua, kēhāna Pa ana ho,
 Hēhena Pa o Kēhā, Homōhāna kē ala hēle
 o kēia mau mau hāu e mānāo nei he kule-
 ana mau pūla kou mānāo Aloha oukou
 Paia na Kaialiilii

Honuaula. Dec. 27, 1847.

I hereby tell you, o Commissioners who Quiet Titles, of my claim. I am Kaialiilii, and I have an Ahupuaa, all of Mooloa. There are eight Poalima (lots worked on Fridays of the chiefs – konohiki), which I work at Mooloa. There is an ili land, Pualoalo 1. North, is Pualoalo 2. East, is Kamamaki. South, is Moomuku. West, is Haleula. There is one grass land parcel (moku mauu) at Haleula; and there at Haleula 2, is a cultivated parcel. The witnesses are Kihā and Alikā. There is a field of uala haole (foreign potatoes), at Maluaka. At Kualapa, there is a house, by the shore. North, is the lot (wall) of Kinolua. East, is the land wall. South, is the lot of Kihā. West, is the trail (ala hēle). All of these things are those which I think are my right, that is my thought. Aloha to all of you.

By me, Kaialiilii.



Aug. 9.
Piena, Sworn.

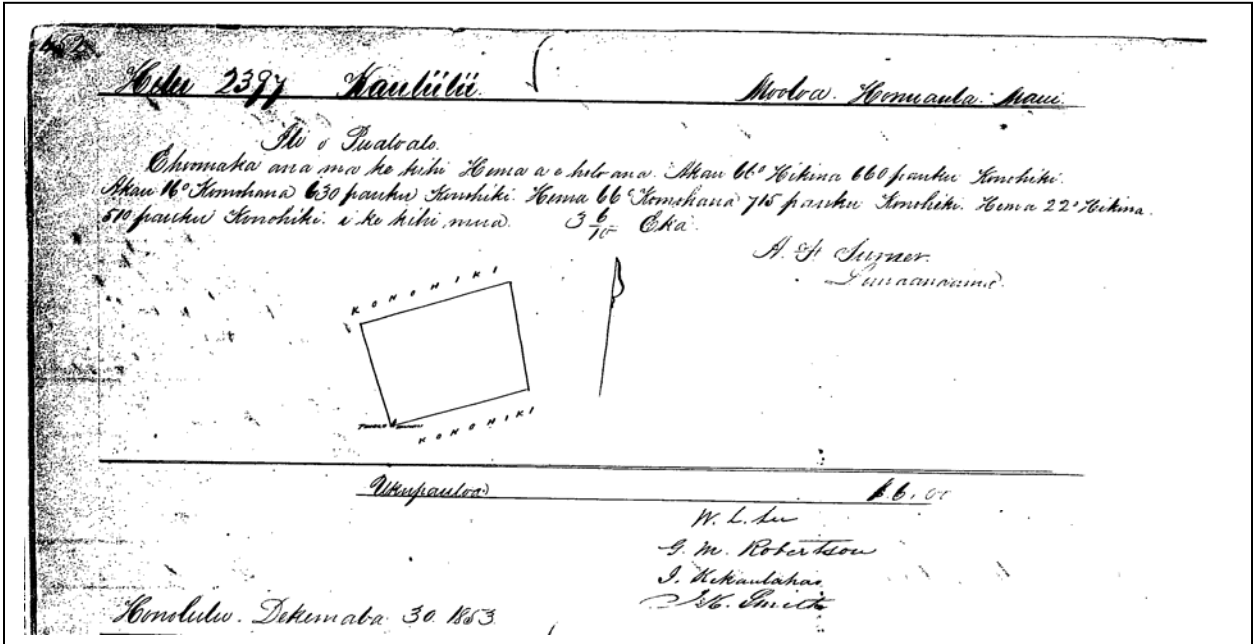
I have seen his land. There are two parcels.

- Par. 1. Kula (dry land parcel) in the ili of Pualoalo, Mooloa Ahupuaa.
Par. 2. Kula at Kaeo Ahupuaa.

This is a land inherited from his parents in the time of Kamehameha. No one has opposed him.

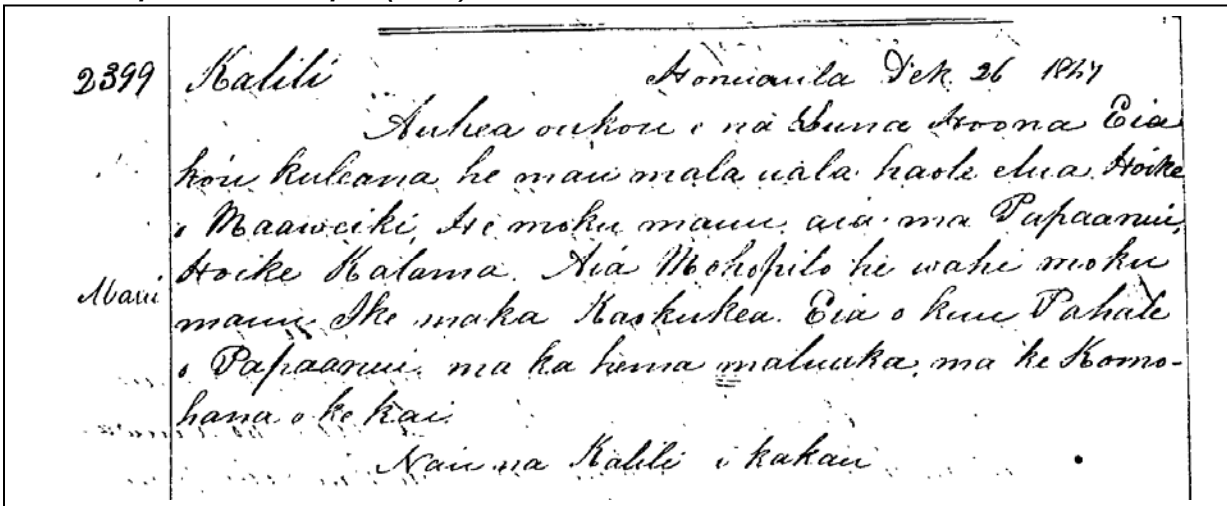
1. Mauka, Piho. Kula, Government land. Makai, Kiha. Kahikinui, Government land.
2. Mauka, Kahaleokaia. Kula, Nakuakalina. Makai, Konohiki. Kahikinui, Kamalo.

Helu 2397
Mahele Award Book Volume 7:452
Kaialilii at Mooloa



Awarded — Royal Patent No. 6232 at Mooloa.

Helu 2399
Native Register Volume 3:482
Kalili at Papaanui & Mohopilo (Kaeo)



Honuaula Dec. 26, 1847.

Hear ye o Commissioners who Quiet title. Here is my claim, two fields of *uala haole*. The witness is Maaweiki. There is a *moku mauu* (dry land parcel) at Papaanui. Kalamā is the witness. There is a *moku mauu* at Mohopilo. Kaohukea is the witness. Here is my house lot, it is at Papaanui. Maluaka is on the south, and the Sea is on the West.

Written by me, Kalili.

2399 Kalili Aug 9
 Maaweiki Koolihiki
 He ike au i kona ike Eima maan Ahupuaa
 1. Kula ma Keauhou Ahupuaa,
 " 2 " " " " "
 " 3 " " Palauea "
 " 4 " " Kaeo "
 " 5 " " Mohopilo "
 Hei ma Mahanaha mai ka lona ana
 o kua maan wahi, M.H. 1843. Hei maan Kaeo,
 1. Mauka Mahilaula, Makawao Kamaka,
 Makai me Kahikinui Owan,
 2. Mauka Makawao Konohiki, Makai Kaili,
 Kahikinui Konohiki,
 3. Mauka Makawao Konohiki, Makai Owan
 Kahikinui Makahanohano,
 4. Mauka Konohiki, Makawao Owan, Makai Hei Ahupuaa, Kahikinui Makai,
 5. Mauka Kaili o Mohopilo, Makawao Hei Ahupuaa, Makai
 Kaili, Kahikinui Alanihi pui

Aug. 9.

Maaweiki Sworn.

I have seen his land. There are five parcels.

- Par. 1. Kula at Keauhou Ahupuaa.
- Par. 2. Kula at Keauhou Ahupuaa.
- Par. 3. Kula at Palauea Ahupuaa.
- Par. 4. Kula at Kaeo Ahupuaa.
- Par. 5. Kula at Mohopilo Ahupuaa.

These parcels were obtained from friends in the year 1843. No one has objected.

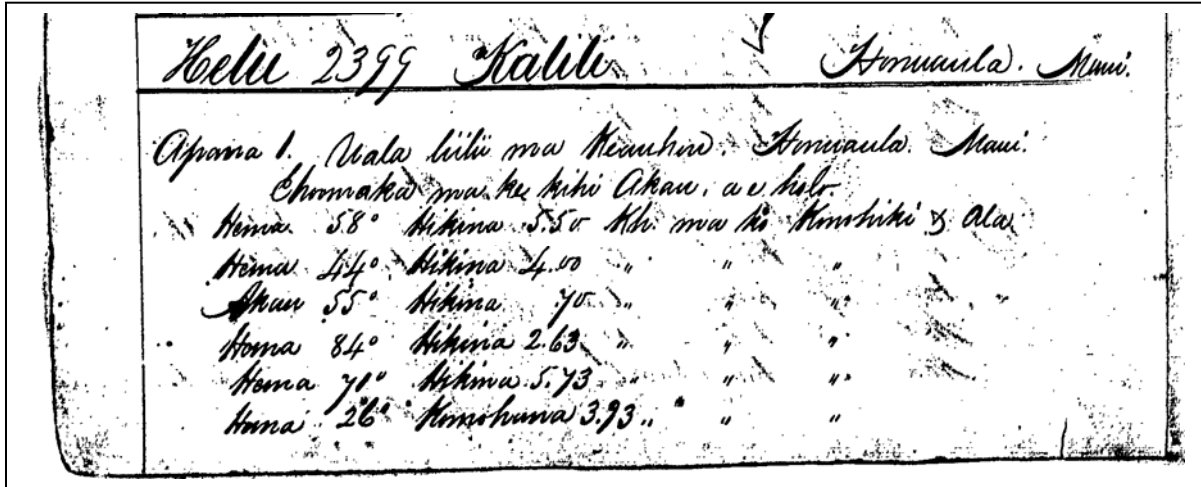
- 1. Mauka, Mahilaula. Makawao, Kamaka. Makai and Kahikinui, me.
- 2. Mauka and Makawao, Konohiki. Makai, Kaili. Kahikinui, Konohiki.
- 3. Mauka and Makawao, Konohiki. Makai, me. Kahikinui, Makahanohano.

4. Mauka, Konohiki. Makawao, me. Makai, Govt. Road. Kahikinui, Mahoe & Kohilae.
5. Mauka, cliff of Mohopilo. Makawao, Government Road. Makai, Kaili & Ohule. Kahikinui, trail ascending the uplands (Alanui pii).

Helu 2399

Mahele Award Book Volume 3:813-814

Kalili at Kaeo, Keauhou & Mohopilo



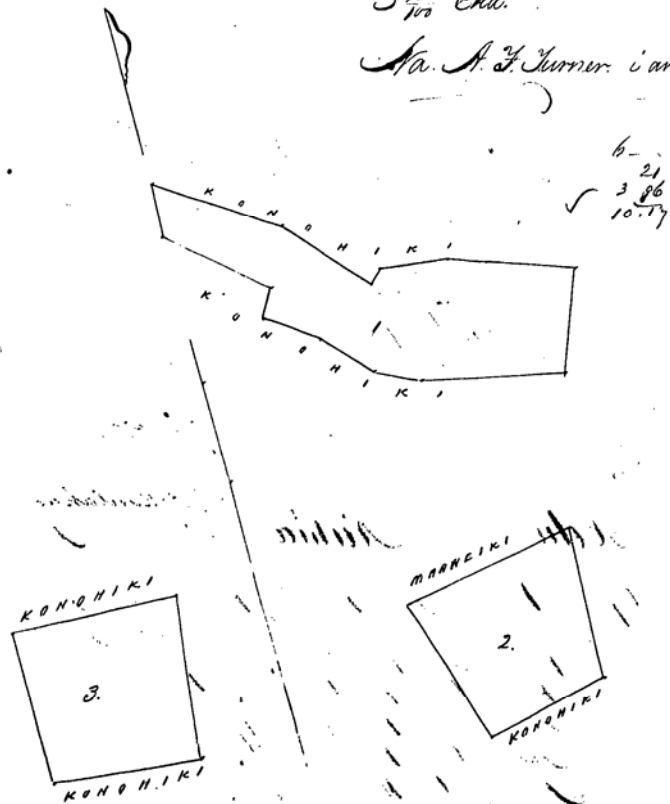
[continued on next page]

Akau 78° Komohana 6.00 Ak. ma ke Komohiki
 Akau 66° Komohana 1.70 " " "
 Akau 45° Komohana 2.57 " " "
 Akau 55° Komohana 2.30 " " "
 Akau 25° Komohana 1.13 " " "
 Akau 52° Komohana 4.63 " " "
 Akau 1° Nihina 2.14 " " " i ke kiki mua
 16 Eka. 111)

Apana 2. Pahale ma Akau - Ekomaka ma ke kiki Ak.
 a i holo. Hema 80½ Komohana 180 Ak. ma ke Komohiki
 Hema 20° Nihina 184 " " Komohiki
 Akau 97° Nihina 1.23 " " "
 Akau 1° Nihina 1.41 " " " i ke kiki
 mua. - 0.21 Eka.

Apana 3. Ma Nohopilo - Ekomaka ma ke kiki
 Hema, a i holo.
 Akau 33° Komohana Ak. ma ke Komohiki
 Akau 1° Komohana " " "
 Hema 87° Nihina " " "
 Hema 8° Komohana " " " i ke kiki mua.
 3 96/100 Eka.

Ma. A. J. Turner. i ana.



Awarded — Royal Patent No. 3653.

Helu 2400 (see Helu 4292 B)
Native Register Volume 3:482
Kalama at Kao and Papaanui

2400 Kalama Honoua'ula Feb. 26. 1847
Aukoa oukou e na Luana Kooma kula
na Owai o Kalama, ke hoike aku nei au ia oukou
i kou kula, Aia ma Papaanui, ke Ili aina
Maui hoike hiapo, ma ka Akau o Mohopilo, ma ka ke-
ma o Papaiki, ma ke Honohana o Kao, Eia
keia aia ma Kao ke mau mahina au i ma-
ai hoike Nahuai. Eia keia ou mau mala uala
eono, hoike Kahaakua, Eia keia o kuu pahala
o Keawakapu, ma ka Akau o Apuakehau, ma ka
hema o Mokuhiwa, ma ke Honohana Kukahipuhi
Nai ma Kalama

Hear ye o Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles. I am Kalama, and I hereby tell you of my claim. It is there at Papaanui, an *ili* land. Hiapo is the witness. On the North is Mohopilo. On the South is Papaiki. On the West is Kao. Here also is this, at Kao, there are some cultivated fields. Nahuai is the witness. I have six *uala* fields. Kahaakua is the witness. Here is this, my house lot is at Keawakapu. Apuakehau is on the north. Mokuhiwa is on the South. Kukahipuhi is on the West.

By me, Kalama.

13^b
 4292 *Kalama* Aug 9.
Kalili Kooihikiia
 Ua ike au i kona iina Eha iina Ahupuaa
 1. Kalo - - - Papaanui Ahupuaa
 2. " iti Ulupalakua Kao " "
 3. Kula - - - Papaanui " "
 4. Pahale Ulupalakua Kao " "
 He iina kooihikiia mai ka wa o Kamehameha
 Ahe mea he ike ma i ia ia.

13^c
 1. Mauka Ala Ahupuaa, Kula Hiapo, Makai
 Hulipahu, Kahikinui Makole.
 2. Mauka Hulipahu, Kula Aina Ahupuaa, Ma-
 kai ma Kahikinui Konohiki.
 3. Mauka Kaaiea, Kula Konohiki, Makai
 Aina Ahupuaa, Kahikinui Mohopilo Ahupuaa.
 4. Mauka Ala Ahupuaa, Kula a Makai Kai
 Kahikinui Kaili

Aug. 9.
 Kalili Sworn.

I have seen his land. There are four parcels.

- Par. 1. Kalo (land) at Papaanui Ahupuaa.
- Par. 2. Kalo (land) in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kao Ahupuaa.
- Par. 3. Kula (land) at Papaanui Ahupuaa.
- Par. 4. House lot at Ulupalakua, Kao Ahupuaa.

They are inheritance lands from the time of Kamehameha. No one has opposed him.

- 1. Mauka, Government Road. Kula, Hiapo. Makai, Hulipahu (Torbert). Kahikinui, Makole.
- 2. Mauka, Hulipahu. Kula, Government Land. Makai and Kahikinui, Konohiki.
- 3. Mauka, Kaaiea. Kula, Konohiki. Makai, Government Land. Kahikinui, Mohopilo Ahupuaa.
- 4. Mauka, Government Road. Kula and Makai, the sea. Kahikinui, Kaili.

791

Ulu-palaka) p. 3, 100
 W. L. Lee
 G. M. Robertson
 J. A. Kaulahau
 J. H. Smith

Honolulu August 11, 1854.

Helu 4292 B, Kalama. Honou'ula, Maui.

Apama 1. Ua mahelohela ia, ma Kao.

Apama 2. He wahi ia, a me uala mule ma Kaili o Ulu-palaka) Kao. E hiamaka ma ke kiki. He mea a e holo.

Akua 13 1/2	Komohana	1.20	Kaul. ma ke Apama.
Akua 58°	Komohana	5.79	" " "
Akua 88°	Komohana	3.90	" " "
He mea 86°	Komohana	6.94	" " "
He mea 14°	Komohana	3.	" " "
He mea 78°	Hikina	18.06	" " Komohiki, a hiki ma
ke kiki maia =	753 1/2	Eka.	

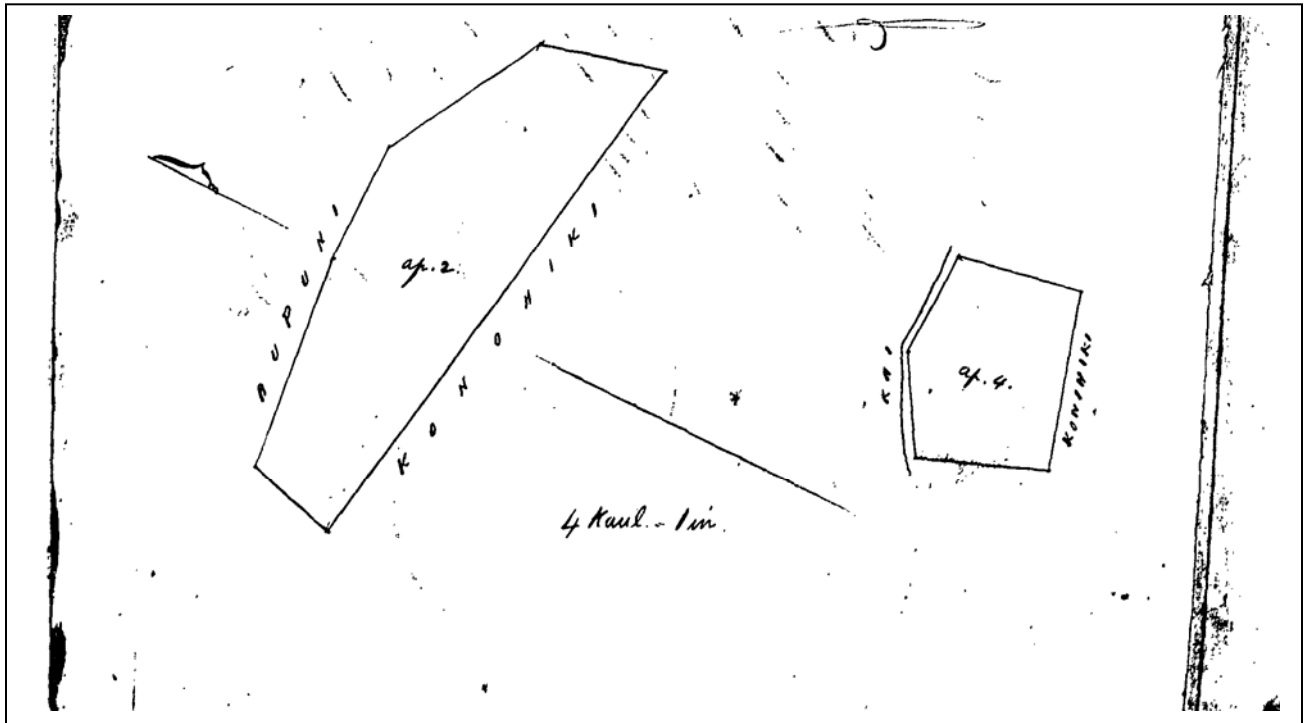
Apama 3. Ua mahelohela ia.

Apama 4. Pahale, ma Kao. E hiamaka ma ke kiki He mea, a e holo.

Akua 74°	Hikina	1.40	Kaul. ma ke Komohiki
Akua 10°	Komohana	1.	" " "
Akua 84°	Komohana	.86	" " Kai
He mea 60°	Komohana	.80	" " "
He mea 19°	Hikina	1.10	" " Komohiki, a hiki
ma ke kiki maia =	17 1/2	Eka.	

Kaili'ku Julai 13, 1854.

He A. G. Surrier 1854
 C. S. Kibredge
 Ana



Awarded — Royal Patent No. 4137 (on *Helu* 4292 B).

Helu 2401
 Native Register Volume 3:482-483
 Kohilae at Kao and Palauea

2401	<p>Kohilae Honuaula Dec. 26 1847 Auhia oukou e na Luna Hoona kuleana Owai o Kohilae, he hai aku nei ai ia oukou i Mauu koia kuleana. Aia ma Kao, he mau moku mauu eono, hiki. Kaoao. Eia keia he mau mala Uala haole aia ma Palauea e hiki o Kaowao. Eia</p>
483	<p>o kuu pahale, ma ka Mau o Kao, ma ka Mau o Maluaka, Koroheana he Kai, hiki Kaowao Nani ma Kohilae</p>

Honuaula Dec. 26, 1847

Hear ye o Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles. I am Kaohilae, and I hereby tell you of my claim. There in Kao are six *moku mauu* (dry land parcels). Kaoao is the witness. Here is this, there are 4 fields of *Uala haole* at Palauea. Kaowao is the witness. Here is my house lot. Kao is on the North. Maluaka is on the South. The sea is on the west. Kaowao is the witness.

By me, Kohilae.

136

2401 Kohilae ✓ Aug 9.

Kalili Koohehikiia

Ua ike au i kona Aina Aina Aina Ahupuaa Aina,
 1. Kula — — — Palauea Ahupuaa
 2. " " " Keauhou "
 3. " ili o Ulupalakua Kaeo "
 4. " " " Mohopilo "
 5. Pa Mak " " Kaeo "

1. Ahi. Maki wale aku 1844, Ahi. 2. Ma Maaweiki.
 i ka wahi maui 1844. Ahi 3, 4, 5 He wahi kahiko mai
 ka iwa o Kamehameha I. Aole oua he akea
 1. Maauka Ala Ahupuaa, Maauka Koohehiki,
 Maauka Makai, Kahikimui Ahupuaa.
 2. Maauka Kiri, Kula Maaweiki, Maauka Aina,
 Ahupuaa Kahikimui Ala Ahupuaa.
 3. Maauka Makai, Kula Kalama, Maauka Makai
 ai, Kahikimui Makai.
 4. Maauka Kiriakua, Kula Kalama, Maauka
 Koohehiki, Kahikimui Koohehiki.
 5. Maauka Pa Aina, Kula Owau, Maauka Ala-
 Ahupuaa, Kahikimui Maauka.

Aug. 9
Kalili, Sworn.

I have seen his land, it is five parcels.

- Par. 1. Kula at Palauea Ahupuaa.
- Par. 2. Kula at Keauhou Ahupuaa.
- Par. 3. Kula in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.
- Par. 4. Kula in the ili of Ulupalakua, Mohopilo Ahupuaa.
- Par. 5. House lot in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.

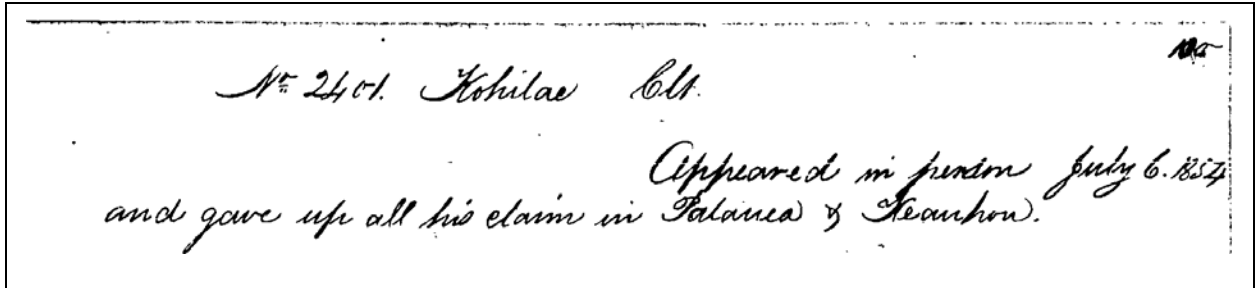
Par. 1 has been cultivated since 1844. Par. 2 was given him by Maaweiki. Par.'s 3,4 & 5, are old holdings from the time of Kamehameha I. No one has objected.

1. *Mauka*, Government Road. Kula, *Konohiki*. *Makai*, Maha. Kahikinui, Hulipahu (Torbert).
2. *Mauka*, Kioi. Kula, Maaweiki. *Makai*, Government land. Kahikinui, Government road.
3. *Mauka*, Moku. Kula, Kalama. *Makai*, Nahuaai. Kahikinui, Kaihe.
4. *Mauka*, Kiniakua. Kula, Kalama. *Makai*, *Konohiki*. Kahikinui, Kaohukea.
5. *Mauka*, *Pa Aina* (land wall). Kula, me. *Makai*, Government Road. Kahikinui, Maluaka.

Helu 2401

Foreign Testimony Volume 16:100

Kohilae – relinquishes claim in lands of Palauea & Keauhou



No 2401. Kohilae C. L.
appeared in person July 6, 1854
and gave up all his claim in Palauea & Keauhou.

Appeared in person July 6, 1854 and gave up all his claim in Palauea & Keauhou.

Helu 2401 Kohilae. ✓ Honou'ula, Maui.

Apana 1. Palani. (Ua hauhele ia.)

Apana 2. Keauhou aole akaka.

Apana 3. Ili o Ulupalakua Ka'eo. Chomaka ana ma ke
 kiki Nema, a e holo ana.

Akau 22° Komohana 10.80 Kaul. ma ke Keuhoi.

Akau 48° Kikina 14.05 " " "

Nema 17° Komohana 9.20 " " Nema

Nema 67³/₄ Komohana 9.94 " " Kaihe a pumi.

10²/₃ Eka.

Apana 4. Mohopilo. Chomaka ma ke kiki Nema, a e

holo. Akau 74° Kikina 12.87 Kaul. ma ke Aupuni.

Akau 25° Komohana 9.22 " " Kualii

Akau 86¹/₂ Komohana 11.35 " " Aupuni

Nema 13° Kikina 13.12 " " Aupuni.

Qwahi wa a me uala mahe. 12⁹/₁₂ Eka.

Apana 5. Pahale ma Ulupalakua Ka'eo. Chomaka ma ke

kiki Akau a e holo ana.

Nema 65¹/₄ Komohana 151 Kaul. ma ke Aupuni

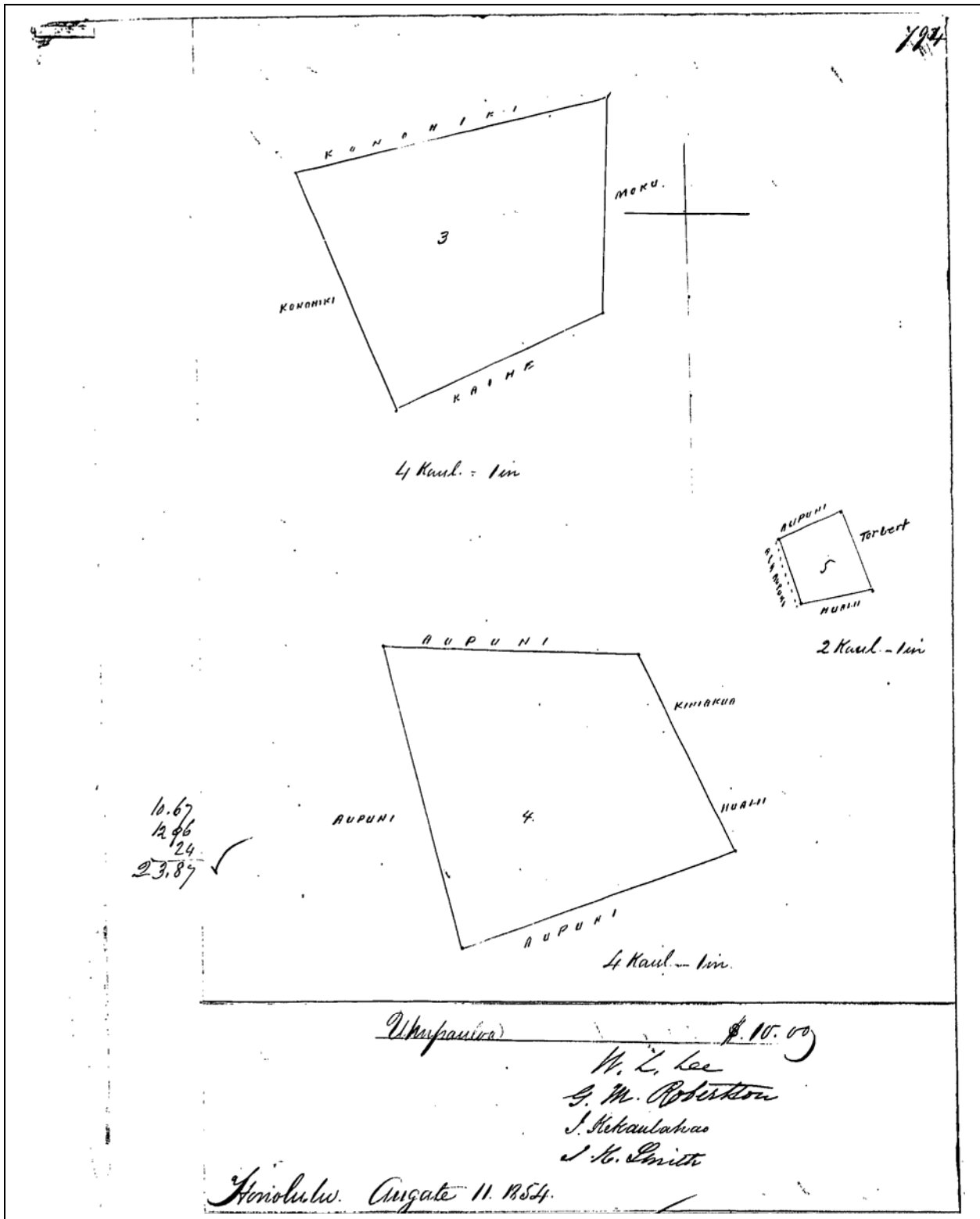
Nema 17¹/₂ Kikina 139 " " Ala

Akau 81³/₄ Kikina 162 " " Kualii

Akau 15¹/₂ Komohana 174 " " Torbert a pumi. 24¹/₁₀₀ Eka.

Kaikua Kilai 13.1154

C. S. Kittredge
 Keauanani



Awarded — Royal Patent No. 5923.

<p>2427</p>	<p>Kanakahou Honuauia Dec. 27 1847 Auhua oukou e na Lina Itona ke haa aku nei no kou kuleana. Owano Ka- nahou, he mau moku mauu eha, aia mau ma Mooiki, Arike, Kaohilae Koea, aia i Mooloa, i hoo Mooka, mauu, Arike, Kalili Eia no keia. He mau mala Uala haole elua aia i Kaeo, Arike Kaohilae, aia no i</p>
<p>495</p>	<p>Palaua hoo kahi Mala Uala kahiki, Arike Kalama. Eia no keia he Papipi ai, aia i Maluaka, Arike Puniehu Eia keia. He wahi kahua hale elua nae, he pahale nae, Arike, Hakaloa. O keia mau mea kae e manas nei, he kuleana ia no. Oia kae e hoike aku nei Aloha oukou a pau Wai na Kanakahou</p>

Honuauia Dec. 27, 1847.

Hear ye o Commissioners who Quiet Titles, I hereby tell you of my claim. I am Kanakahou, there are four *moku mauu* (dry land grass parcels), there in Mooiki. Koea is the witness. There in Mooloa, is one *moku mauu*. Kalili is the witness. Here is this, there are five fields of *Uala haole* in Kaeo. Kaohilae is the witness. There in Palaua, is one field of *Uala kahiki*. Kalama is the witness. Here is this, there is also a *papipi* (cattle pen), in Maluaka. Puniehu is the witness.

Here is this, there are two houses, and a house lot. Hakaloa is the witness. All of these things are what I think should be my property. That is what I describe to you.

Aloha to all of you.

By me, Kanakahou.

2427 Kanakahou		9 Aug. Kohilae Kohilika,
150		
	Ua ike au i kona aina Eha mau Ahupuaa	
1	Kula ili o Kaluaiki Mooiki Ahupuaa	
2	" " Kainahoa " "	
3	" " Iliililoa " "	
4	" " Halepoai " "	
	He aina hoolina au ai ana Ua akua mai i ka	
	wa o Kamehameha, Aole ana keakea mai ia ia,	
1	Maka uo ao a puaa ka aina o ke Konohiki,	
2	Mauka Konohiki, Kula Oer au, Makai o	
	Kalili, Kahikinui Konohiki,	
3	Mauka Konohiki, Kula Pakualani, Makai	
	Pa Aina, Kahikinui Alanui pii,	
4	Mauka Alanui Aupuni, Kula Konohiki, Makai	
	Hakaloa, Kahikinui ka aina o ke Konohiki,	

Aug. 9.
 Kohilae, Sworn.

I have seen his land, there are four parcels.

- Par. 1. Kula in the ili of Kaluaiki, Mooiki Ahupuaa.
- Par. 2. Kula in the ili of Kainahoa, Mooiki Ahupuaa.
- Par. 3. Kula in the ili of Iliililoa, Mooiki Ahupuaa.
- Par. 4. Kula in the ili of Halepoai, Mooiki Ahupuaa.

- 1. On all sides, surrounded by the Konohiki.
- 2. Mauka, Konohiki. Kula, me. Makai, Kalili. Kahikinui, Konohiki.
- 3. Mauka, Konohiki. Kula, Pakualani. Makai, Pa Aina (land wall). Kahikinui, Alanui pii (trail to uplands).
- 4. Mauka, Alanui Aupuni. Kula, Konohiki. Makai, Hakaloa. Kahikinui, the land of the Konohiki.

Mahele Award Book Volume 7:703 [No reference to Ka'eo, found in these records.]
 Awarded — Royal Patent No. 6572, at Mooiki.

Helu 2524 B (see also Helu 2524)
 Native Register Volume 3:536
 Moku at Ka'eo, Maluaka, Keauhou & Palauea; and Paia, Hamakuapoko

B.
 2524 Moku
 Honuaula Dekemaba 27 1847

Maui
 He hoike aku nei au no kou kuleana
 ia oukou i na Luma Isona Ouano Moku
 he wahine au au ma Ka'eo cha Moku mauu
 Kahi au i hana ai kou mau au, hoike ka
 hila. Eia no kia. He papipi ai, au ma Malu-
 aka, mai no i hana, no Paia i Hamakuapoko,
 hoike Nawaiki. Eia no kia he uala Uala
 haole hou, au i Keauhou, hoike ka hila
 au no ma Palauea. Kahi ma Uala hou,
 hoike Nakuia. O kia mau mea au i hana
 ia kahi i mana nei he kuleana ia nei

Aloha oukou a pau
 Nani ma Moku

Honuaula December 27, 1847

I hereby tell you of my claim, o Commissioners who Quiet Titles. I am Moku, a woman. There are four *moku mauu* at Ka'eo, where I work my land. Kaohilae is the witness. Here is this, there is a *papipi* (cattle pen) at Maluaka. I have planted at Paia, Hamakuapoko. Nawaiki is the witness. Here is this, there is one field of *Uala haole*, there at Keauhou. Kaohilae is the witness. There at Palauea, is one field of *Uala haole*. Nakuia is the witness. All of these things I have done, is what I think should be a property for me.

Aloha to all of you.

By me, Moku.

2524 Moku v. Kalili Kōwhiri
 Aug 9
 Ua ike au i kona aiaa 4 mau Ahupuaa, iina,
 1. Mauka Pali o Kaeo, Kula a Makai Ala Aupuni, Kahikinui, Mohopilo.
 2. " " " " " " " " " " " "
 3. " " " " " " " " " " " "
 4. " " " " " " " " " " " "
 He iina Kōwhiri mai na Maluaka mai i ka
 1. Mauka Pali o Kaeo, Kula a Makai Ala Aupuni, Kahikinui, Mohopilo.
 2. Mauka Nawaiki, Kula a Makai Konohiki, Kahikinui, Kohilae.
 3. Mauka Konohiki, Kula Kohilae, Makai Kalama, Kahikinui, Mooiki.
 4. Mauka Pa Aina, Kula a Makai Kohilae, Kahikinui, Maluaka, Ahupuaa.

Aug. 9
 Kalili, Sworn.

I have seen her land, there are four parcels.
 Par. 1. Kula in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.
 Par. 2. Kula in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.
 Par. 3. Kula in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.
 Par. 4. Kula in the ili of Maluaka, Maluaka Ahupuaa.

1. Mauka, Pali (cliff) of Kaeo. Kula and Makai, Ala Aupuni. Kahikinui, the Gulch of Mohopilo.
2. Mauka, Nawaiki. Kula and Makai, Konohiki. Kahikinui, Kohilae.
3. Mauka, Konohiki. Kula Kohilae. Makai, Kalama. Kahikinui, Mooiki.
4. Mauka, Pa Aina (land wall). Kula and Makai, Kohilae. Kahikinui, Maluaka, Ahupuaa.

Helu 2524
Foreign Testimony Volume 16:100
Moku (w.) — relinquishes all claims for land in Honuaua

N^o 2524 Moku Clt. (W)
Appeared in person before E. Bailey July 6, 1854. and relinquished all her land claims in Honuaua.

Moku Clt. (W)
Appeared in person by E. Bailey July 6, 1854 and relinquished all her land claims in Honuaua.

Claim Not Awarded.

Helu 2568
Native Register Volume 3:560
Nahuaai at Kaeo and Mohopilo

2568. *Nahuaai* Honouaula Dec. 26, 1847 ⁵⁶⁰
Auhia oukou e ma Luna noona Kuleana
Owau o Nahuaai he hui aku nei au i kuu kule-
ana ia oukou, Aia ma Kaeo he mau moku
mau eolu. Hoike Kaohilae, aia ma Mohopilo
Moohahi Niohu Mauu, aia ma Kaunuaahane
Maui hekahe. Hoike Kaha. Eia keia o kuu pateale ma
ka Akau o Kaeo, ma ka hema o Maluaka, ma ke
komohana o Paipapa. Hoike o Kaohilae.
Nau ma Nahuaai

Honouaula Dec. 26, 1847.

Hear ye a of Commissioners who Quiet Land Titles. I am Nahuaai, and I hereby tell you of my claim. There at Kaeo are three *moku mauu*. Kaohilae is the witness. There in Mohopilo is one *moku mauu*. There is also one at Kaunuaahane. Kaha is the witness. Here is this, my house lot. On the North is Kaeo, on the south is Maluaka, on the west is Paipapa. Kaohilae is the witness.

By me, Nahuaai.

Claim Not Awarded.

Helu 2581
 Native Register Volume 3:564
 Hualii at Kaeo and Maluaka

2581	<p>Hualii</p> <p> <i>Auhea oukou e ma Suna Honua, ke hai aku nei au. O wai o Hualii, he mau moku maue ekolu aia i Kaeo, hoike Kaohilae, keia mau mea kua e mau maue maue he Kuleana ia ou, no ka mea he Kuleana ia nei, no ka mea o Kahi a Kou lima i haue ai.</i> </p> <p> <i>Eia ma keia. He wahi Kahuahale aia i Maluaka hoike Kaohilae</i> </p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Nai ma Hualii</i></p>	<p>Honua Dec 27 1847</p>
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Dec. 27, 1847.

Hear ye o Commissioners who Quiet Titles, I hereby tell you that I am Hualii, and I have three *moku mau* there in Kaeo. Kaohilae is the witness. This is my thought to have this as my property, for it is a place that I have worked with my own hands.

Here is this, a house lot there in Maluaka. Kaohilae is the witness.

By me, Hualii.

Helu 2581
 Native Testimony Volume 7:136-137
 Hualii at Kaeo

2581	<p>Hualii</p> <p> <i>Ua ike au i kona aiaa Eua mau Apana Ahi. Nula iho o Mupalukua, Kaeo Ahupuaa " " " " " " " "</i> </p>	<p>Aug 4</p> <p> <i>Kaohilae Kaohikina</i> </p>
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[continued on next page.]

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*He aiaa ho'ihiu mai na Makua mai iole
 he mea huahua mai ia ia.
 1. Mauka Konohiki, Kula Ua Aupuni, Makai
 Konohiki, Kahikinui Kamalo
 2. Mauka Kahaakua, Kula Kiniakua, Makai
 Konohiki, Kahikinui Maaweiki.*

Aug. 9.
Kohilae, Sworn.

I have seen his land. There are two parcels.

- Par. 1. Kula in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kaao Ahupuaa.
 Par. 1. Kula in the ili of Ulupalakua, Maluaka Ahupuaa.

It is an inheritance land from the parents, there is no one who has opposed him.

1. Mauka, Konohiki. Kula, Ala Aupuni. Makai, Konohiki. Kahikinui, Kamalo.
2. Mauka, Kauhaakua. Kula, Kiniakua. Makai, Konohiki. Kahikinui, Maaweiki.

Helu 2581
Mahele Award Book Volume 3:794-795
Hualii at Kaao and Mohopilo

Helu 2581 Hualii. Annuaia. Maui.

*Opoma 1. Pahale ma ka ili o Ulupalakua, Kaao
 Oluoia ma ke kahi Akau, a'e holo.
 Hema 81 3/4 Kumuana 162 Kaul. ma ke Kohilae
 Hema 3° Kikina 98 " " Ala Aupuni
 Hema 83 3/4 Kikina 150 " " L. Torbert
 Akau 2° Kumuana 143 " " " a kahi ma
 ke kahi mua. 1/5 Eka*

[continued on next page.]

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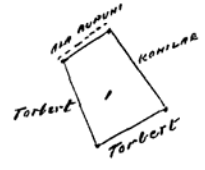
Apana 2. E wahi aia, a mo. uala maoli, maia Mohopilo.
Ehronaka ma ke kikii Nona, a e holo.

Mauu	25°	Komohana	13.13	Kaul ma ke	Aupuni
Heima	82 1/2°	Komohana	13.13	"	"
Nonua	25°	Nikina	1.14	"	"
Heima	84°	Nikina	13.58	"	"

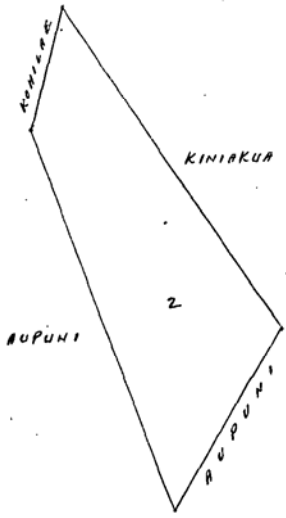
ma ke kikii maui. 9 7/100 Eka.

C. S. Kittredge
Meuanaia

Wailuku Iulai 13. 1854.



2 Kaul. = 1 in



4 Kaul. = 1 in

Ukupaunoi \$ 6.00

W. L. Lee
G. M. Robertson
J. Kekaulahao
H. Smith

Honolulu August 11. 1854.

Awarded — Royal Patent No. 8008.

<p>2585 Mauu</p>	<p>Honuakaha Honuakaha Dec. 27 1847 Auhua oukou i na kumu oona imi kuleana, ke hoike aku nei au ia oukou Pwau o Honuakaha, ke wahine au, he ma- ke ke kane, no au no mae. Ka hoovilina i ka ia-akoako ka inwa; nia ka Akau o Mohopilo, ma ka luhia ke kua kiwi ma ka hema Malu- aka, Komohana ka Luapeelua iho ke Kohilae. Eia keia, he mau moku mauu aia i Mooiki e lua moku mauu iho ke Koea. Eia no keia he mau moku mauu no aia i Kaeo, i kolu o moku mauu, iho ke Kaohilae. Eia no keia, he kaohilae ma Uala haole, aia i Palauea</p>
	<p>566 iho ke Kaohilae, Eia no keia, he wahi pahale ma ka uala hele i ka Akau ka hema i Nahuai, ma ka ala hele iho ke Koea o Maluaka, Komohana ma ka ala hele loa, iho ke Kaohilae. Eia no keia, mau mea kane i mauu nei ke kuleana i mauu Nani ma Honuakaha</p>

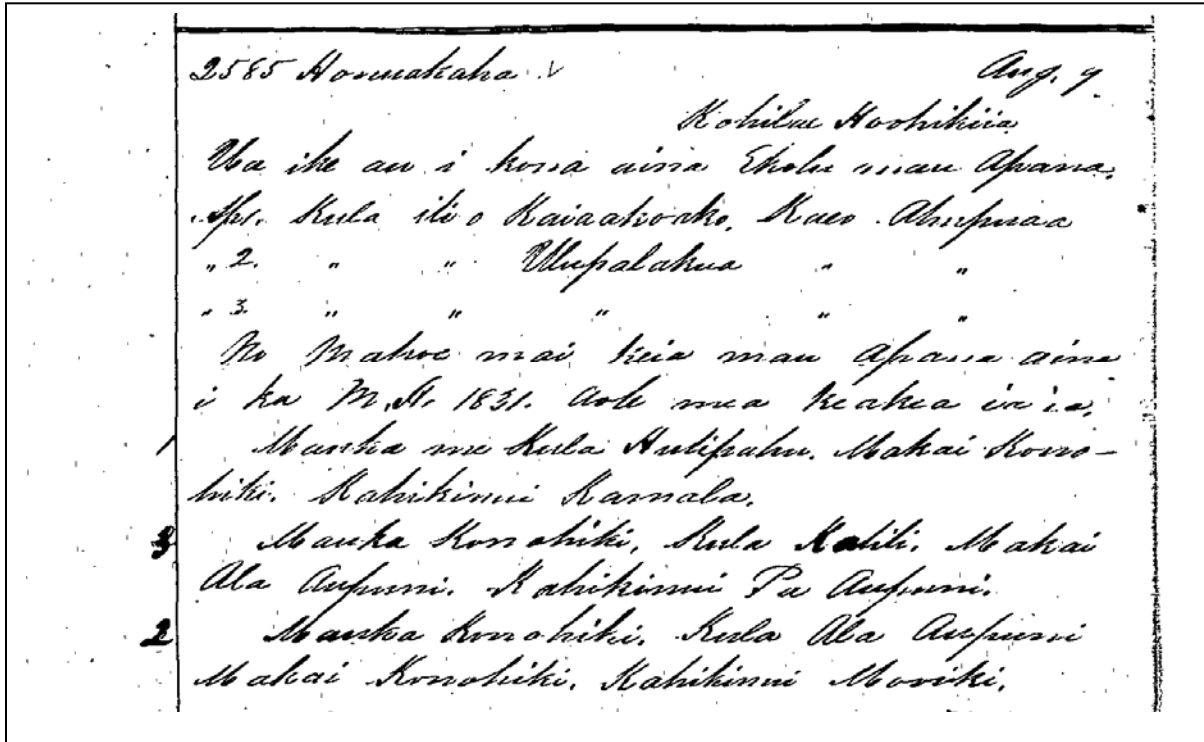
Honuakaha Dec. 27, 1847.

Hear ye o Commissioners who Quiet Titles of those seeking property. I hereby tell you that I am Honuakaha, I am a woman, whose husband had died, and I am the heir. Kaiaakoako is its name. On the North is Mohopilo, on the East is the mountain. On the south is Maluaka, and on the north is Luapeelua. Kohilae is the witness.

Here is this, there are two *moku mauu* there in Mooiki. Koea is the witness. Here is this, there are three *moku mauu* there at Kaeo. Kaohilae is the witness. Here is this, there is one field of *Uala haole*, there at Palauea. Kaohilae is the witness. Here is this, there is a house lot on the shore of Kaeo. North is the house of Nahuai. East is the *ala hele* (trail). South is Maluaka. West is the *ala hele loa* (the long trail). Kaohilae is the witness. These are all the things that I think should be my property.

By me, Honuakaha.

Helu 2585
 Native Testimony Volume 7:133
 Honuakaha (w.) at Kaeo



Aug 9.
 Kohilae, Sworn.

I have seen her land. There are three parcels.

- Par. 1. Kula in the ili of Kaiaakoako, Kaeo Ahupuaa.
- Par. 2. Kula in the Ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.
- Par. 3. Kula in the Ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.

These parcels were gotten from Mahoe in the year 1831. No one has opposed her.

- 1. Mauka and Kula, Hulipahu (Torbert). Makai, Konohiki. Kahikinui, Kamalo.
- 2. Mauka, Konohiki. Kula, Kalili. Makai, Ala Aupuni. Kahikinui, Pa Aupuni (Government wall).
- 3. Mauka, Konohiki. Kula, Ala Aupuni. Makai, Konohiki. Kahikinui, Mooiki.

Claim Not Awarded.

Honououla Januani 10, 1848

3676 Maaweiki

Alaha oukou e wa Luma Ibona
M. Kuleana iina o Mo'i Kamehameha III.
o ke Aupuni Honououli nei. Eia Kou wahi
pahale ma Keouvakapu, Iua pahale

Eia na aoao o Kihakahi, ma ka Akau
ke one a one ke kai, ma ka Hihina ke one,
ma ka Ibona ke one, ma ke Komohana
pahale, ponia

Eia keia pahale ou ma Keouvakapu
ou; pua na aoao, ma ka Akau ke one me
ke alomui, ma ka Hihina hi kula aa, ma
ka Ibona he pahale, ma ke Komohana ke
one, Hoike o Keolama

Eia keia pahale ou ma kea o Muihala-
kua one ke kihapai, o na aoao o ka hale,
ma ka Akau ke ke, ma ka Hihina ke ke
Aupuni, ma ka Ibona he ke, ma ke Kom-
ohana he pali, ponia Hoike o Hiapo.

Eia kekahi kihapai ma Kalihi; pua
nei na aoao, ma ka Akau o Kalihi akolu,
ma ka Hihina he pali, ma ke Komohana
he alomui Pipi, Hoike o Keaku.

[continued on next page.]

Eia kikahi mau kihapai Uala ka-
hiki ma Heaheua ha. Eia ma aoao o
kikahi, ma ka Akau he maloula, ma ka
Hikina he maloula, ma ka Hema, ma
ke Komohana he maloula Pania.

Eia ka lua, ma ka Akau he mala-
ula, ma ka Hikina he maloula, ma ka
Hema he maloula, ma ke komohana he
maloula mo. Pania.

Eia ke kolu, ma ka Akau he ma-
loulou, ma ka Hikina he maloula, ma

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ka Hema he maloula, ma ke ko-
mohana he maloula.

Eia ka ha, ma ka Akau he
Abanui, ma ka Hikina he maloula,
ma ka Hema he maloula, ma ke
Komohana he maloula, Pania
Hiki o Makahamohana.

Eia keia kihapai Pailanua, ma
mauka hila, o ma aoao, ma ka Akau
he auwau, ma ka Hikina, he maloula
ma ka Hema he aluini, ma ke. Eia
keia mau ili aina uloko o ke Kihapai
o Heaheua. Eia ma inoa o Maakioa, o
Hekini, o Hakoaka, Hakaai, o Opa, ma
ma ili aina i Mahi niia, ma Pania
Kau ma Maaweiki.

[continued on next page.]

Honuaula January 10, 1848

Greetings to you Commissioners who Quiet Land titles of the King, Kamehameha III, of the Kingdom of Hawaii. Here is my house lot at Keawakapu, there are two house lots.

Here are the boundaries of one. On the North, the beach and the ocean; on the East, the beach; on the South, the beach; on the west, a house lot. It is done.

Here is this house of mine at Keawakapu. The boundaries are thus, on the north, the sand and the trails; on the east, a *kula aa* (rocky open land); on the South, a house lot; on the west, the beach. The witness is Kalama.

Here is this, a house lot of mine in the uplands of Ulupalakua, and a *kihapai* (cultivated area). The boundaries of the house are, on the North, the *ko* (sugar cane); on the east, the *ko Aupuni* (Government sugar cane); on the South *ko*; on the West, a cliff face (*pali poinia*). Hiapo is the witness.

There is also a cultivated area at Kalihi. The boundaries are thus, on the North, Kalihi three; on the East, a *pali*; on the West, a *alanui Bipi* (Cattle trail). Haku is the witness.

There are also four fields of *Uala kahiki* at Keauhou. Here are the boundaries of one, on the North, a *malauala* (sweet potato field); on the East, a sweet potato field; on the South and West, sweet potato fields. It is done.

Here is the second, on the North, a sweet potato field; on the East, a sweet potato field; on the South, a sweet potato field; on the west, a sweet potato field. It is done.

Here is the third, on the North, a sweet potato field; on the east, a sweet potato field; on the South, a sweet potato field; on the West, a sweet potato field.

Here is the fourth, on the North, the *alanui* (trail); on the East, a sweet potato field; on the South, a sweet potato field; on the West, a sweet potato field. It is done. Makahanohano is the witness.

Here is this, a *kihapai* at Palauea in the distant uplands. The boundaries are, on the North, a gulch; on the East, a sweet potato field; on the South, a trail; on the... [left incomplete] Here is this, some *ili* in the *Ahupuaa* of Keauhou. Here are their names, Waakiona, Hakini, Hakoakoa, Kakae, and Oopa, those are the *ili* lands that are greatly cultivated. It is done.

By me, Maaweiki.

Honuaula Aug. 9th 1849

3676 Maaweiki

1. Kula ili o Mahana, Waakiona, Hakini, Haakoakoa }
 " 2. " " Hakae, Oopa, Keauhou Ahupuaa }
 " 3. " " " " Palauea " }
 " 4. Kahuahale ma " Kaeo " }
 " 5. Kula — — — " Keauhou " }

Na Apana ma Keauhou, Na Ma Mo'i
 i haawi mai i ka 1840. No Hihio mai ka
 Apana 3. Ma 1849, Apana 4 mai ma i haawi
 ma kuu mahe kuu ma ana, 1837, ole ma keke.
 1 Maaka Ala Aupuni, Maakawae, Makai a
 ma Kahikimui Konehiki.
 2 Maaka Kela, Peha, Maakawae, Kauhala Kuli
 pahu, Makai Kahi Nawahi, Kahikimui Kalili,
 Maaka hanoana.
 3 Maaka Kahi, Maakawae Konehiki, Makai
 Oona, Kahikimui Kanaaka.
 4 Maaka Pa Aupuni, Maakawae Luakini
 Makai Missionari, Kahikimui Kalili.
 5 Maaka Kahi, Maakawae Kala, Makai
 Ala Aupuni, Kahikimui, Kaei, Oona Kahuana i kono
 i ka aima o Kuli pahu, ma ke i, ole i kono.

Honuaula Aug. 9th, 1849.

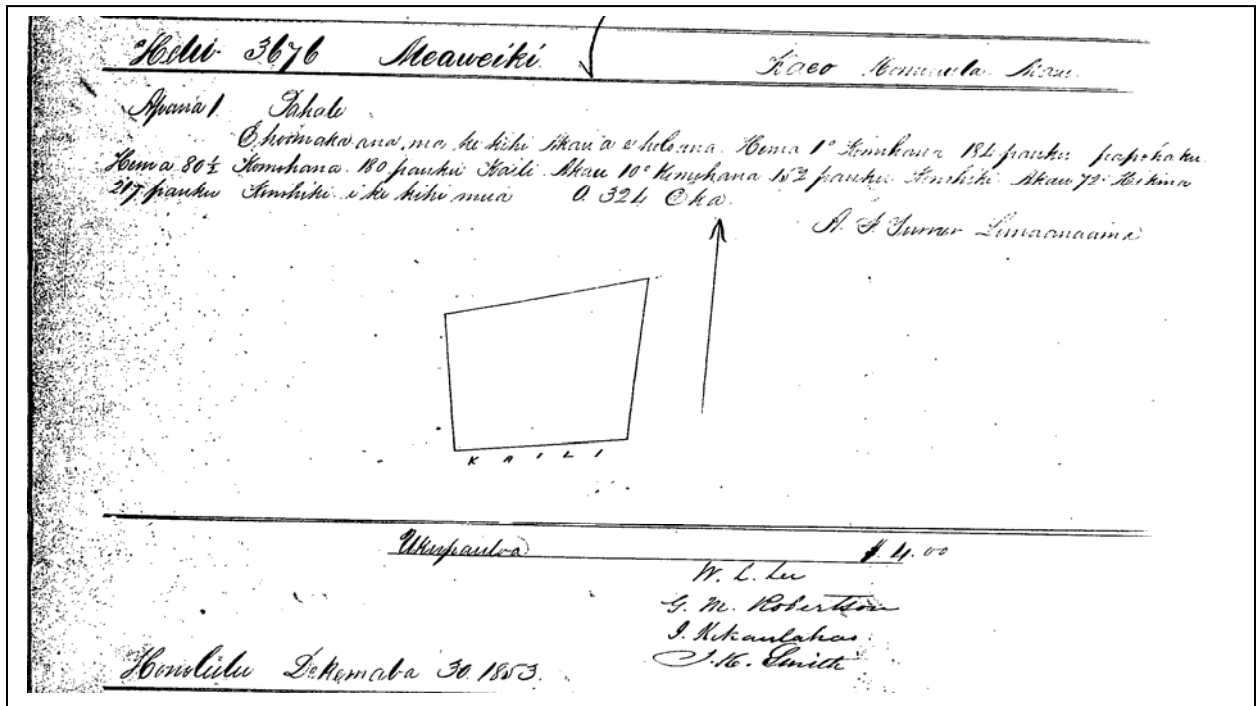
- Par. 1. Kula in the ili of Mahana, Waakiona, Hakini, Haakoakoa.
- Par. 2. Kula in the ili of Hakae and Oopa, all in Keauhou Ahupuaa.
- Par. 3. Kula in the ili of Hakae and Oopa in Palauea Ahupuaa.
- Par. 4. House lot at Oopa, Kaeo Ahupuaa.
- Par. 5. Kula at Oopa, Keauhou Ahupuaa.

The parcels at Keauhou were given by the King in 1840. Hihio gave parcel 3 in 1849. Parcel 4 was given by me, and my right of residency was from 1837. No one has opposed.

1. *Mauka, Ala Aupuni.* Makawao, *Makai* and Kahikinui, *Konohiki.*
2. *Mauka, Keleau, Polena.* Makawao, Kauhola and Hulipahu. *Makai* Kaili and Nawaiki. Kahikinui, Halulu and Makahanohano.
3. *Mauka, Kailii.* Makawao, *Konohiki.* *Makai,* me. Kahikinui, Kanakaole.
4. *Mauka, Pa Aupuni* (Government Wall). Makawao, *Luakini* (Church). *Makai,* Missionary. Kahikinui, Kailii.
5. *Mauka, Kailii.* Makawao, Kala. *Makai, Ala Aupuni.* Kahikinui, Ocean.

The properties that enter in the land of Hulipahu (Torbert), remain. They are not entered here.

Helu 3676
Mahele Award Book Volume 7:450
Maaweiki at Kaeo



Awarded — No Royal Patent issued on Kaeo.

Royal Patent No. 7676 on Keauhou.

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No
Kahaleokaia
Aloha i ike e oia luna
hoona Muleona Aina o ka Mui K III
ke Aupuni Mooloa.
Ke hoike aku aku nei au i
kui Muleona Aina ia outou o Mooloa
ka Aina, i Paliuli ke Pihapai Kalo,
Pihapai Mahalea, Pihapai uala haole,
ma Palauea 6 Mahalea uala haole
eia ke Kahi Muleona, Muleona hale,
Papakahiula, 4 hale. Maui Pihapai ua-
la maoli 6, ma ia wahi aku a ia
wahi aku.
Honuaula Jan. 15, 1848 } Na Kahaleokaia

Greetings to you commissioners who quiet land titles for the king, K III, and the whole nation.

I hereby explain to you, my land claim. Mooloa is the land, Paliuli is the taro field; there is also an untended field, and a field of *uala haole* at Palauea, and 6 untended fields of *uala haole*.

Here is another claim, a house claim, at Papakahiula, with 4 houses. Also 6 fields of *uala maoli* (native sweet potatoes), at various locations.

Honuaula Jan. 15, 1848

By Kahaleokaia.

4157. Kahaleokaia 9 Aug.
 Ma ike au i kama aina Ehitia mau apana
 1. Kula - - - - - Kaeo Ahuefua
 " 2. " - - - - - " "
 " 3. Kalo iti o Pateni Mooloa "
 " 4. Kula " " Mooiki "
 " 5. " " " " "
 " 6. " " " " "
 " 7. Pahala - - - - - Kaeo "
 He aina kooilima mai ma Makua mau
 Aole mau kuahe mau ia ia
 Mauka me Kula Kamaakohou, Makai Piema,
 Ma Kahikimui Korohiki,
 Mauka Maawiki, Kula Kukui, Makai
 Maui, Kahikimui Kamae,
 Mauka Alama Ahuefua, Kula Kaeofifi
 Makai Mahienuia, Kahikimui Kaha,
 Mauka Uwan, Kula Koa, Makai Kom-
 hiki, Kahikimui Katali,
 Mauka Nawaiti, Kula Kaitu, Makai Kai-
 paaku, Kahikimui Kamaakohou.

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6 Mauka me Kula Kamaakohou, Makai
 Pa Aina, Kahikimui Korohiki,
 7 Mauka Korohiki, Ma Kula a Makai
 a me Kahikimui Kai.

Aug. 9
Hakaloa, Sworn.

I have seen his land. There are seven parcels.

- Par. 1. *Kula* in *Kaeo Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 2. *Kula* in *Kaeo Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 3. Taro in the *ili* of Paliuli, *Mooloa Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 4. *Kula* in the *ili* of Paliuli, *Mooiki Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 5. *Kula* in the *ili* of Paliuli, *Mooiki Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 6. *Kula* in the *ili* of Paliuli, *Mooiki Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 7. House lot at *Kaeo Ahupuaa*.

They are inheritance lands from the parents. No one has opposed him.

- 1. *Mauka* and *Kula*, *Kanakahou*. *Makai*, *Piena*. *Kahikinui*, *Konohiki*.
- 2. *Mauka*, *Maaweiki*. *Kula*, *Kukue*. *Makai*, *Mahoe*. *Kahikinui*, *Kamalo*.
- 3. *Mauka*, *Alanui Aupuni*. *Kula*, *Kaiopipi*. *Makai*, *Wahinenika*. *Kahikinui*, *Kiha*.
- 4. *Mauka*, *Uwaa*. *Kula*, *Koea*. *Makai*, *Konohiki*. *Kahaikinui*, *Kalili*.
- 5. *Mauka*, *Nawaiki*. *Kula*, *Kaihe*. *Makai*, *Kaipauku*. *Kahikinui*, *Kanakahou*.
- 6. *Mauka* and *Kula*, *Kanakahou*. *Makai*, *Pa Aina* (land wall). *Kahikinui*, *Konohiki*.
- 7. *Mauka*, *Konohiki*. *Kula*, *Makai* and *Kahikinui*, sea.

Awarded — Royal Patent No. 6234 on *Kaeo*.

Helu 4157 Kahaleokaia. Honua'ula, Maui.

Apana 1. Puhou, ma Ka'eo.

Chomauka, ma ke kiki Maui, a e holo.

Maui	53 1/2	Hikina	1.58	Kaul. ma ke Aupuni	
Maui	22	Komohana	2.56	"	"
Maui	30 3/4	Komohana	.94	"	Kai.
Maui	35 1/2	Komohana	1.82	"	"
Maui	50	Hikina	2.55	"	Aupuni. a kiki
ke kiki maua - 1/2 Eka.					

Apana 2. Ewahi aa, a me uala maua, ma Maui Chomauka ma ke kiki Maui, a e holo.

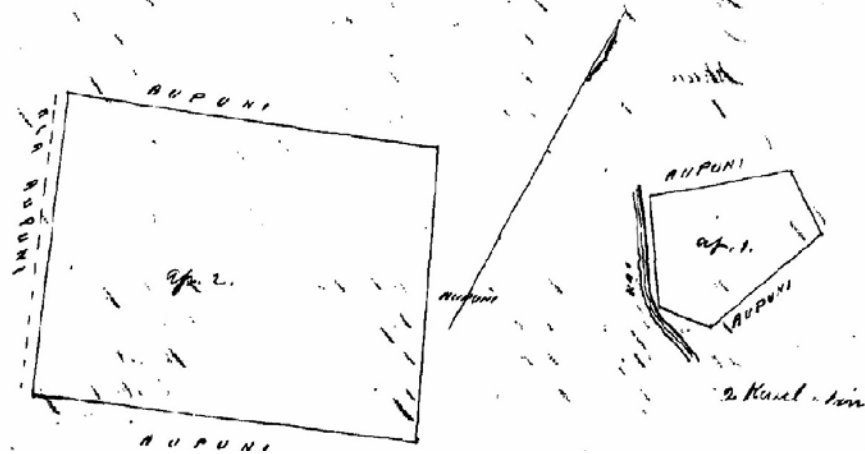
Maui	67	Hikina	13.66	Kaul. ma ke Aupuni	
Maui	25	Komohana	10.05	"	"
Maui	68	Komohana	13.38	"	"
Maui	23	Hikina	10.20	"	a kiki ma
ke kiki maua - 11 1/2 Eka.					

Apana 3. Ewahi aa, a me uala maua, ma Maui Chomauka, ma ke kiki Maui, a e holo.

Maui	88 1/4	Komohana	11.56	Kaul. ma ke Aupuni	50
Maui	22	Komohana	8.39	"	10.20
Maui	82	Hikina	11.61	"	22.10
Maui	19 1/2	Hikina	9.62	"	
ke kiki maua - 10 1/2 Eka.					

C. S. Hittredge
 Hea'ana'ana

Waiuku Iulai 13. 1854.



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5275 Kekuhaulua 9 Aug.
 Mai, Sworn

Ua ike au i kona aina Eima mau Ahupuaa
 Apu. Kalo iti o Apuu Kanaio Ahupuaa
 2 Kula " " " "
 3 " " Kaimalo " "
 4 " " Kuehunui " "
 5 " " Ulupalakua Kaeo "

He aina hoioi ma mai ma. Maheua mai
 i ka 1819. Ma Ahupuaa kee he aina hou i ka
 Ma. 1842. Aole ma he mea mai i e.

1 Maheua Kaimalo, Kula Orou. Maheua
 Kanaio Kaimalo Kaimalo
 2 Maheua ma Kula Kaimalo, Maheua
 Kanaio. Kaimalo Kaimalo
 3 Maheua ma Kula Kaimalo, Maheua
 Orou. Kaimalo Maheua
 4 Maheua ma Kula Kaimalo, Maheua
 Kanaio. Kaimalo Kaimalo
 5 Maheua Kaimalo, Kula Kaimalo,
 Maheua Kaimalo. Kaimalo Kaimalo

Aug. 9.
 Mai, Sworn.

I have seen his land. There are five parcels.

- Par. 1. Kalo in the ili of Apuu, Kanaio Ahupuaa.
- Par. 2. Kula in the ili of Apuu, Kanaio Ahupuaa.
- Par. 3. Kula in the ili of Kaimalo, Kanaio Ahupuaa.
- Par. 4. Kula in the ili of Kuehunui, Kanaio Ahupuaa.
- Par. 5. Kula in the ili of Ulupalakua, Kaeo Ahupuaa.

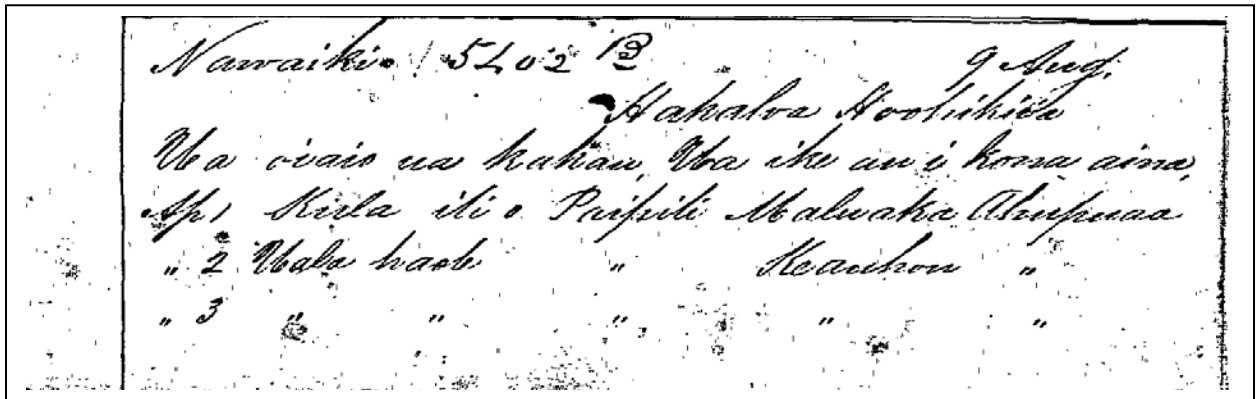
Lands inherited from his parents in 1819. The remaining are new lands from 1842. No one has opposed him.

1. *Mauka*, Keaumiki. *Kula*, me. *Makai*, Kauaua. Kahikinui, Kikane.
2. *Mauka* and *Kula*, *Konohiki*. *Makai*, Kauaua. Kahikinui, *Konohiki*.
3. *Mauka* and *Kula*, *Konohiki*. *Makai*, Ohule. Kahikinui, Waha.
4. *Mauka* and *Kula*, *Konohiki*. *Makai*, Hanapilo. Kahikinui, *Konohiki*.
5. *Mauka*, Hulipahu. *Kula*, Pualinui. *Makai*, Kauhola. Kahikinui, Nawaiki.

Claim Not Awarded on Kaeo.

Royal Patent No. 4327 on Kanaio.

Helu 5402 B
Native Testimony Volume 7:158-159
Nawaiki at Kaeo, Mooiki, Maluaka, and Keauhou



Aug. 9.
 Hakaloa, Sworn.

It is true that it [the claim] was written. I have seen his land.

- Par. 1. *Kula* in the *ili* of Paipili, Maluaka *Ahupuaa*.
 Par. 2. *Uala haole* in Keauhou *Ahupuaa*.
 Par. 3. *Uala haole* in Keauhou *Ahupuaa*.

[see original Hawaiian texts on following page]

- Par. 4. *Uala haole* in Kananelu *Ahupuaa*.
 Par. 5. *Uala haole* in Mooiki *Ahupuaa*.
 Par. 6. *Kalo* in the *ili* of Paipili, Maluaka *Ahupuaa*.
 Par. 7. *Kula* in the *ili* of Laie, Maluaka *Ahupuaa*.
 Par. 8. *Kula* in Mooiki *Ahupuaa*.
 Par. 9. *Kula* in Mooiki *Ahupuaa*.
 Par. 10. *Kula* in Mooiki *Ahupuaa*.
 Par. 11. House lot in Kaeo *Ahupuaa*.

They are lands inherited from his parents in 1819. No one has opposed him.

[continued on following pages]

- Apr 1 Uaba Haab Hamenua Ahupuaa
- " 5 " " Mooki " "
- " 6 Kalo " iti Paipiti Maluaka Ahupuaa
- " 7 Kula iti o Laie " "
- " 8 " " " " Mooki " "
- " 9 " " " " " " "
- " 10 " " " " " " "
- " 11 Pahak " " " Kalo " "

He aina hoitina mai na Maluaka mai
i ka M. N. 1819, Aok mai heahea mai ia ia,
1 Maaka Konoohiki, Kula Kalo Ahupuaa,
Maakai Kai, Mahikimui Mooki Ahupuaa,
2 Maaka mo Kula Mooki, Maakai o
Maahanaohe, Mahikimui Maopala,
3 Maaka mo Kula Mooki Maakai
Kai, Ma Mahikimui Maaihu,
4 Maaka Niho, Kula Alani pui a iho,
Maakai Koa, Mahikimui Konoohiki,
5 Maaka Konoohiki, Kula Kahi, Maakai
Koa, Mahikimui Mahienuka,
6 Maakai mo Kula Ahupuaa, Maakai
Maahana, Mahikimui Alani Ahupuaa,
7 Ma pui ma aao i ka aia o ke Konoohiki
8 Maaka mo Kula Kahi, Maakai Ahupuaa,
Mahikimui Konoohiki,
9 Maaka Mahienuka, Kula Alani pui,
Maakai Ahupuaa, Mahikimui Mahikimui
10 Maaka Konoohiki, Kula Alani pui,
Maakai mo Mahikimui Maahanaohe
11 Maaka Maahanaohe, Kula a Maahanaohe,
Mahikimui Konoohiki.

1. *Mauka, Konohiki. Kula, Kaeo Ahupuaa. Makai, ocean. Kahikinui, Mooiki Ahupuaa.*
2. *Mauka and Kula, Maaweiki. Makai, Makahanohano. Kahikinui, Naopala.*
3. *Mauka and Kula, Maaweiki. Makai, Kaili. Kahikinui, Kaahee.*
4. *Mauka, Hiapo. Kula, Alanui pii a iho (trail between uplands and shore). Makai, Koea. Kahikinui, Konohiki.*
5. *Mauka, Konohiki. Kula, Kalili. Makai, Koea. Kahikinui, Wahinenika.*
6. *Mauka and Kula, Hulipahu (Torbert). Makai, Kauhola. Kahikinui, Alanui Aupuni.*
7. *On all sides, bounded by the Konohiki.*
8. *Mauka and Kula, Kalili. Makai, Ohule. Kahikinui, Konohiki.*
9. *Mauka, Nahualaalau. Kula, Alanui pii. Makai, Upai. Kahikinui, Malihini.*
10. *Mauka, Honuakaha. Kula, Alanui pii. Makai and Kahikinui, Kanakahou.*
11. *Mauka, Kanakahou. Kula and Makai, ocean. Kahikinui, Konohiki.*

Helu 5402 B

Foreign Testimony Volume 16:97-98

Nawaiki at Kaeo, Maluaka, and other lands of Honuaua.

N^o 5402^B Nawaiki — of Maluaka

I have entered a claim, which has been settled by S. M. Kamakau through witnesses, but when J. Richardson to survey there was much disputing and I relinquished my claim and sold all my right to Torbert, and I heard from J. Richardson that he was sent to survey by the Minister of the Interior and not by the Board of Land Commissioners.

798
From that time i. e. in 1848 or 9 I have not done Kimoiki work up to the time when such work ceased on Govt. lands. so also of other men.

Nawaiki hereby relinquishes all claim in Mr. Torbert's land in Honuaua in the 'Umpuaa' of Maluaka, Mooiki, Kaeo, Maakualua & Laieiki, and returns them to L. L. Torbert henceforth & forever, and his title is extinguished by the Board of Land Commissioners. Decided that he has no claim.

Note — This applies only to his claims in the land of Mr. Torbert.

No. 5402 B Nawaiki of Maluaka.

I have entered a claim, which has been settled by S.M. Kamakau through witnesses, but when J. Richardson [went] to survey, there was much disputing and I relinquished my claim and sold all my right to Torbert, and I heard from J. Richardson that he was sent to survey by the minister of the Interior and not the Board of Land Commissioners.

From that time, i.e. in 1848 or 9 I have not done *Konohiki* work up to the time when such work ceased on Govt. lands. So also of other men.

Nawaiki hereby relinquishes all claim in Mr. Torberts land in Honuaula on the *Ahupuaa* of Maluaka, Mooiki, Kaeo, Makaalua & Laieiki, and returns them to L.L. Torbert henceforth & forever, and his title is extinguished by the Board of Land Commissioners. Decided that he has no claim.

Note — This applies only to his claims in the land of Mr. Torbert.

Helu 5402 B
 Mahele Award Book Volume 7:702
 Nawaiki at Kaao, Keauhou, and Mooiki

Helu 5402^B Nawaiki *Kaao &c. Honua'ula, Maui.*

Apana 1. Uala haole (Irish-Planters) ma Keauhou Honua'ula, Maui. E hōmaka ma ke hiki honohonu a waiho

<i>Mau 73 1/2</i>	<i>Pikina</i>	<i>1.21</i>	<i>Kaul. ma ke Kōmohiki</i>	
<i>Mau 81 1/2</i>	<i>Pikina</i>	<i>2.36</i>		
<i>Hema 4'</i>	<i>Kōmohana</i>	<i>1.86</i>		
<i>Hema 77'</i>	<i>Kōmohana</i>	<i>2.80</i>		
<i>Mau 24'</i>	<i>Kōmohana</i>	<i>1.91</i>		<i>a hiki ma ke hiki mua 5 1/10 Eka.</i>

Apana 2. He wahi aa ma uala ma li ma Mooiki. E hōmaka ma ke hiki kaao a waiho

<i>Hema 73 1/2</i>	<i>Kōmohana</i>	<i>13.10</i>	<i>Kaul. ma ke Aupuni</i>	
<i>Hema 14 1/2</i>	<i>Pikina</i>	<i>4.53</i>		
<i>Mau 72'</i>	<i>Pikina</i>	<i>12.00</i>		
<i>Mau 7'</i>	<i>Kōmohana</i>	<i>4.16</i>		<i>a hiki ma ke hiki mua 5 1/10 Eka.</i>

Apana 3. Uala ma li ma Mooiki. E hōmaka ma ke hiki kaao a waiho

<i>Hema 3 1/2</i>	<i>Pikina</i>	<i>3.00</i>	<i>Kaul. ma ke Aupuni</i>	
<i>Mau 77'</i>	<i>Kōmohana</i>	<i>3.96</i>		
<i>Mau 21'</i>	<i>Kōmohana</i>	<i>1.25</i>		
<i>Mau 54 1/2</i>	<i>Pikina</i>	<i>4.77</i>		<i>a hiki ma ke hiki mua 7 1/8 Eka</i>

Apana 4. Pahala ma Kaao i ka ai ia ma ke Kōmohiki. E hōmaka ma ke hiki Hema, a waiho kaao a waiho

<i>Mau 5 1/2</i>	<i>Pikina</i>	<i>1.44</i>	<i>Kaul. ma ke Kōmohiki</i>	
<i>Mau 87'</i>	<i>Kōmohana</i>	<i>1.66</i>		<i>Kau</i>
<i>Hema 2'</i>	<i>Kōmohana</i>	<i>1.00</i>		<i>Ala Aupuni</i>
<i>Hema 75'</i>	<i>Pikina</i>	<i>1.69</i>		<i>Kōmohiki a hiki i ke hiki mua 1/2 Eka.</i>

Na E. Bailey & C. S. Pittbridge i au

Mahele i ka Iulai 25, 1857.

60
5.14
87
30
6.81

Awarded — No Royal Patent issued.

5403 Mai ✓ 9 Aug
 Kaawaapahulu Kooihikiia
 He iho au i kuaa aima Ehihoo mau apuua;
 1 Apu, Kula, Kala, Ke, Uala Apuu Ili no Kanaio Ahupuaa
 2 Pahohoholona Pahala " " " "
 3 Kula — — — — — " " " "
 4 " — — — — — " " " "
 5 " — — — — — " " " "
 6 " — — — — — " " " "
 7 " Uala Kula Kao " " " "
 Apuua 1. He aima hoohoo mau no Makua 1819
 Apuua 2. Na Makua i hoo mau no i ka 1826
 Apuua 3. ma 4. Maahi wale aku no i ka 1845
 Apuua 5. Na Kooihikiia i hoo mau no i ka 1846
 Apuua 6. ma 7. Maahi wale aku no i ka 1848
 He mau kuaa mau ia ia.
 1 Maahi ma Kula Kooihiki, Maahi Kooihiki
 Ma Kooihiki o Makua,
 2 Ma ma aoo a puu ka aima o ke Kooihiki
 3 Maahi Kooihiki. Ma ma aoo i ke Kooihiki
 4 Ma ma aoo a puu ka aima o ke Kooihiki,
 5 Maahi Kooihiki, Maahi Kooihiki,
 Ma Kooihiki Kooihiki,
 6 Maahi Kooihiki, Kula Oua, Maahi Kooihiki,
 Kooihiki Kooihiki,
 7 Ma ma aoo a puu ka aima o ke Kooihiki.

Aug. 9
 Kaawaapahulu, Sworn.

I have seen his land. There are seven parcels.

- Par. 1. Kula planted with kalo, ko and uala in Apuu Ili of Kanaio Ahupuaa.
- Par. 2. Pahohoholona (animal corral) and house lot, in Apuu Ili of Kanaio Ahupuaa.

- Par. 3. *Kula* in *Apuu Ili* of *Kanaio Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 4. *Kula* in *Pepehinui Ili* of *Kanaio Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 5. *Kula* in *Pepehinui Ili* of *Kanaio Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 6. *Kula* in *Pepehinui Ili* of *Kanaio Ahupuaa*.
- Par. 7. *Kula* of *Uala haole* at *Kaeo Ahupuaa*.

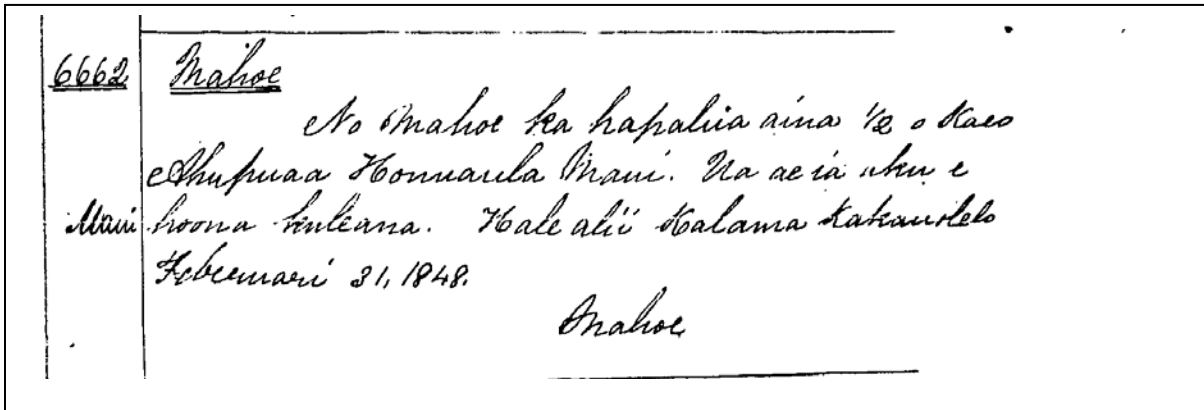
Parcel 1 is an inheritance from his parents in 1819.
 Parcel 2, given him by *Waha* in 1846.
 Parcels 3 and 4, cultivated since 1845.
 Parcel 5, given him by *Kaakahala* in 1846.
 Parcels 6 and 7, cultivated since 1844.

No one has opposed him.

1. *Mauka* and *Kula*, *Konohiki Makai*, *Kuhaulua*, *Kahikinui*, *Waha*.
2. On all sides, surrounded by the *Konohiki*.
3. *Mauka*, *Kauaua*. On the remaining sides, by the *Konohiki*.
4. On all sides, surrounded by the *Konohiki*.
5. *Mauka* and *Kula*, *Konohiki Makai*, *Kapahu*, *Kahikinui*, *Kuhaulua*.
6. *Mauka*, *Kailikole*. *Kula*, *me Makai*, *Kapahu*, *Kahikinui*, *Kuhaulua*.
7. On all sides, surrounded by the *Konohiki*.

Claim Not Awarded on *Kaeo*.
 Royal Patent No. 4328 issued on *Kanaio*.

Helu 6662
Native Register Volume 5:386
Mahoe at Kaeo



For *Mahoe*, the half (1/2) of the land of *Kaeo*, *Ahupuaa* in *Honuaula*, *Maui*. It is agreed to settle the claim. *Palace*, *Kalama*, *Secretary*.
 February 31, 1848.

Mahoe.

Helu 6662
 Native Testimony Volume 7:128
 Mahoe at Kaeo (see also Helu 2525)

6662 Mahoe Aug 9.
 Kohilae Sworn
 Ua ike au i kona aina 1/2 o ke Ahupuaa
 o Kaeo o ka aoao Kihuna, oia kua 1/2
 aina, Uala haole, Kalo, me mea a pau.
 Na ka Mui i haawi mai ma ka Mahale
 Aina, Ekolu iti ia ia, Eia ma inoa, o Ulupa-
 lakua, Haleula, Kuapo.
 Mauka Kanaio Kuaio, Kula 1/2 Aina
 Ahupuaa, Makai Kuaio, Kahikinui Maluaka Ahup.

Aug. 9.

Kohilae Sworn.

I have seen his land, 1/2 of the Ahupuaa of Kaeo. It is the Eastern side, that is his 1/2 of the land. Uala haole and Kalo are the things there. It was given by the King in the Land Division. There are three ili that are his. Here are the names, Ulupalakua, Haleula and Kuapo.

Mauka, is the mountain lands of Kanaio. Kula, is the 1/2 Government Land [Kaeo]. Makai, is Kuaio. Kahikinui, is Maluaka Ahup.

[Note: Mahoe also filed claims for lands in Keauhou, Palauea, Kalihi lillii and Waipao.]

Helu 2525 (from Helu 6662)

Foreign Testimony Volume 16:98

Mahoe – relinquishes land claims and rights in Kalihi and Waipao to L.L. Torbert.

No 2525 Mahoe E.L. From 39 P.
 E.L. appeared in person this day
 and said that all his lands in Kalihi and Waipao in
 Honouliuli — in lands of L.L. Torbert he hereby relinquished
 wholly to Mr. Torbert owner of those lands, giving up all
 claims to them himself and wished them extinguished by the
 Land Commission. Decided that he has no claim, and
 that ever after it belongs to Mr. Torbert.

Clt. Appeared in person this day and said that all his lands in Kalihi and Waipao in Honuaula, in lands of L.L. Torbert he hereby relinquished wholly to Mr. Torbert owner of those lands, giving up all claims to them himself and wished them extinguished by the Land Commission. Decided that he has no claim, and that ever after it belongs to Mr. Torbert.

Claim Not Awarded.

Helu 8071
Native Register Volume 6:455
Hiapo at Kaeo, Mohopilo, and Papanui

455
8071 Hiapo Honuaula Feb 3 1848
Owau o Hiapo He hui aku
mei au i kii mau kule ana i Papanui
e lua moe kalo, a he awaawa kula e piti
ana ma ke Komohana o Ulupalakua.
e lua moe ku laau, ma hooilalaia
oia no mae iwaena o ma moe uala hooile
he pahulu uala ma Kaunuahane a
he mau puhala eha i Kaeo
He kula uala kekahi ma Mo-
hopilo, he kula uala no ka hooilo, alaila,
maahi, oia kii mau kule ana Aloha
ma Luna hoona kule ana
Na Hiapo

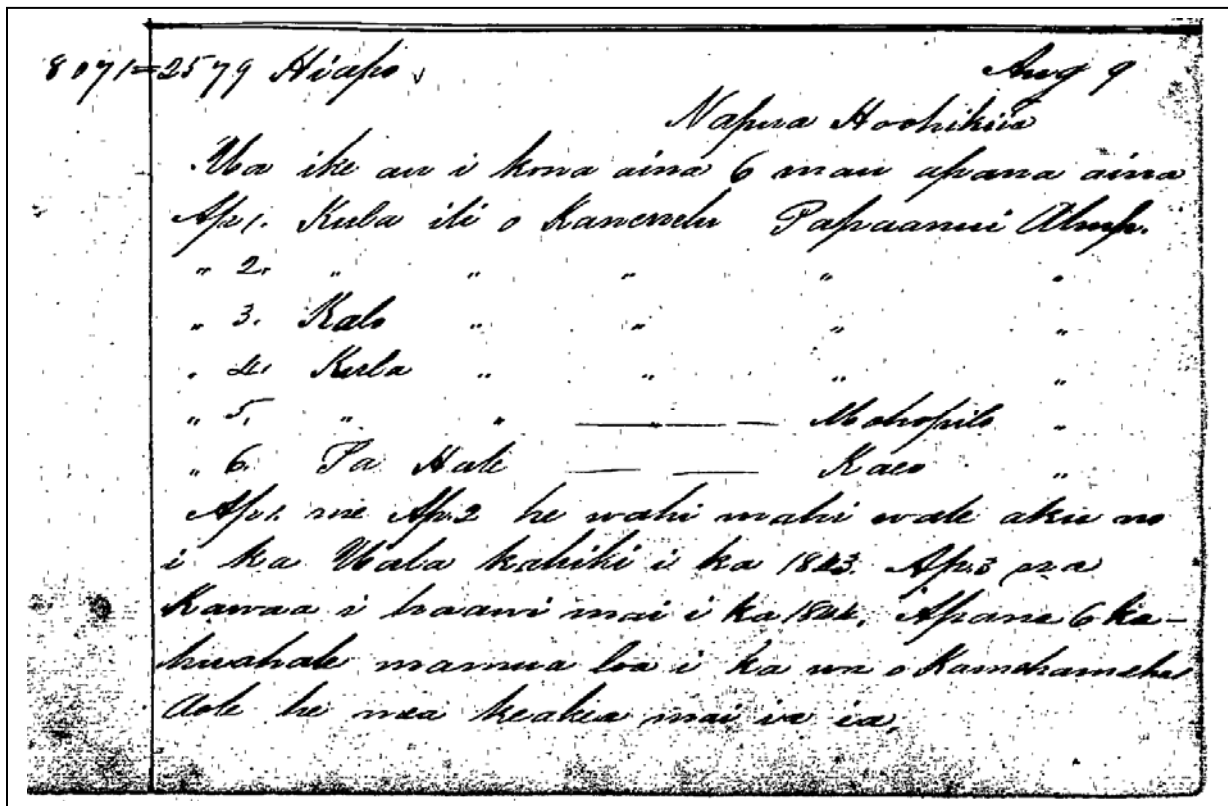
Honuaula, Feb. 3, 1848.

I am Hiapo. I hereby tell you of my claim at Papanui. Two *kalo* fields, and a section of *kula* adjoining the West of Ulupalakua.

There are two wooded sections laid out. There are also sections of untended sweet potato fields between the foreign potato fields at Kaunuahane, and four *puhala* (pandanus trees) at Kaeo.

There is also a sweet potato field at Mohopilo. It is planted there during the winter (*hooilo*). Those are my claims. Aloha to you Commissioners who Quiet Titles.

By Hiapo.



Aug. 9.

Napua Sworn.

I have seen his land, it is 6 parcels of land.

- Par. 1 Kula in ili of Kananelu, Papaanui, Ahup.
- Par. 2 Kula in ili of Kananelu, Papaanui, Ahup.
- Par. 3 Kalo (garden) in ili of Kananelu, Papaanui, Ahup.
- Par. 4 Kula in ili of Kananelu, Papaanui, Ahup.
- Par. 5 Kula at Mohopilo, Ahup.
- Par. 6 House lot at Kaeo.

Par. 1 and Par. 2 are cultivated in Foreign potatoes since 1843. Par. 3, was received from Kawaa in the year 1844. Parcel 6, the house, was gotten long ago in the time of Kamehameha I. No one has objected to him.

Helu 8071 & 2579
 Mahele Award Book Volume 3:796-797
 Hiapo at Ka'eo and Mohopilo

Helu 8071 & 2579 Hiapo (Honua'ula, Maui)

Apana 1 & 2. Ua mahelehele

Apana 3 & 4. Ua haa te'e ia.

Apana 5. He wahi a'au a me uala musle ma Mohopilo.
 Chomaka ma ke kipi Nema, a'au holo.

Maui	74°	Hikina	18.60	Kaula	ma ke Oupuni.
Maui	17°	Hikina	3.	"	"
Maui	81 1/2°	Honohana	1.	"	"
Nema	87 1/2°	Honohana	5.23.	"	"
Nema	65°	Honohana	1.42.	"	"

Parcels 1 & 2. Overgrown.
 Parcels 3 & 4. Abandoned.
 Parcel 5. A rocky place and native sweet potato planted at Mohopilo... [metes and bounds given]
 Parcel 6. House lot at Ka'eo... [metes and bounds given]

796

Hema 7 1/2° Komohana 5.23 Kaul. ma ke Au-puni
Hema 3 1/2° Komohana 5.69 " " " a hiki
ma ke kipi maua. = 9 Eka.

Apana 6. Pihale ma Ka'o. Chuwaka ma ke kipi
Komohana, a e holo

Hema 7 1/2° Hikiina 2. Kaul. ma ke Au-puni.

Hema 11° Hikiina 2.12 " " Ala "

Hema 17 1/2° Komohana 5.50 " " "

Hema 8° Komohana 1.83 " " "

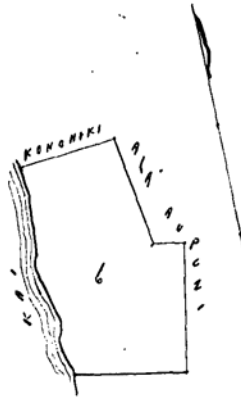
Hema 25° Komohana 1.72 " " Komohiki

Hema 4° Hikiina 3.60 " " Kaul. a hiki ma

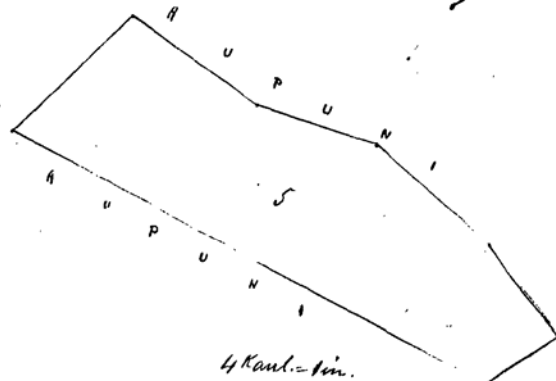
ke kipi maua. = 46/100 Eka.

C. S. Pittredge
Moanuaia

Maui kei Iulai 26. 1854.



2 Kaul. = 1 in



4 Kaul. = 1 in.

Ukupauwa

\$7.00

W. L. Lee
G. M. Robertson
J. Kekaulahao
J. H. Smith

Honolulu Augate 11. 1854.

Awarded — No Royal Patent issued.

Claims at Maluaka

Helu 499

Native Register Volume 2:201-202

Auwae at Maluaka

Helu 499 Auwae. Feb. 13 1847
Ma
Aloha olua i ma luna honua kuleana aiaa
kehai aku nei au i koi mai kuleana mai
a Kanaina mai o Polipoli ana Waiehu, Au-
waiolimu ana Waikapu, Pohakuloa mai a
traha no, ke hale ma Waikapu no, o Maluaka
ana ana Honoula, ua hemo ia Poha aole
203
Kanaina Ua waiho mai no kuu ha-
ku i ka aina a me ka hale ke lawe
nei o Poha i ka ^{traha} ~~luna~~ ^{mai} ~~ana~~ ^{ma} ~~ana~~ ^{ana} olua,
koe hoohehi

Feb. 13, 1847

Greetings to both of you, commissioners who quiet land titles. I hereby tell you of my land claims, received from Kanaina. Polipoli, at Waiehu. Auwaiolimu, at Waikapu. Pohakuloa is on this side, a house at Waikapu. Maluaka, at Honoula. It was removed by Polea, not by Kanaina. My lord left me with these lands and the house. Polea took away two of the lands, leaving only one.

Claim Not Awarded.

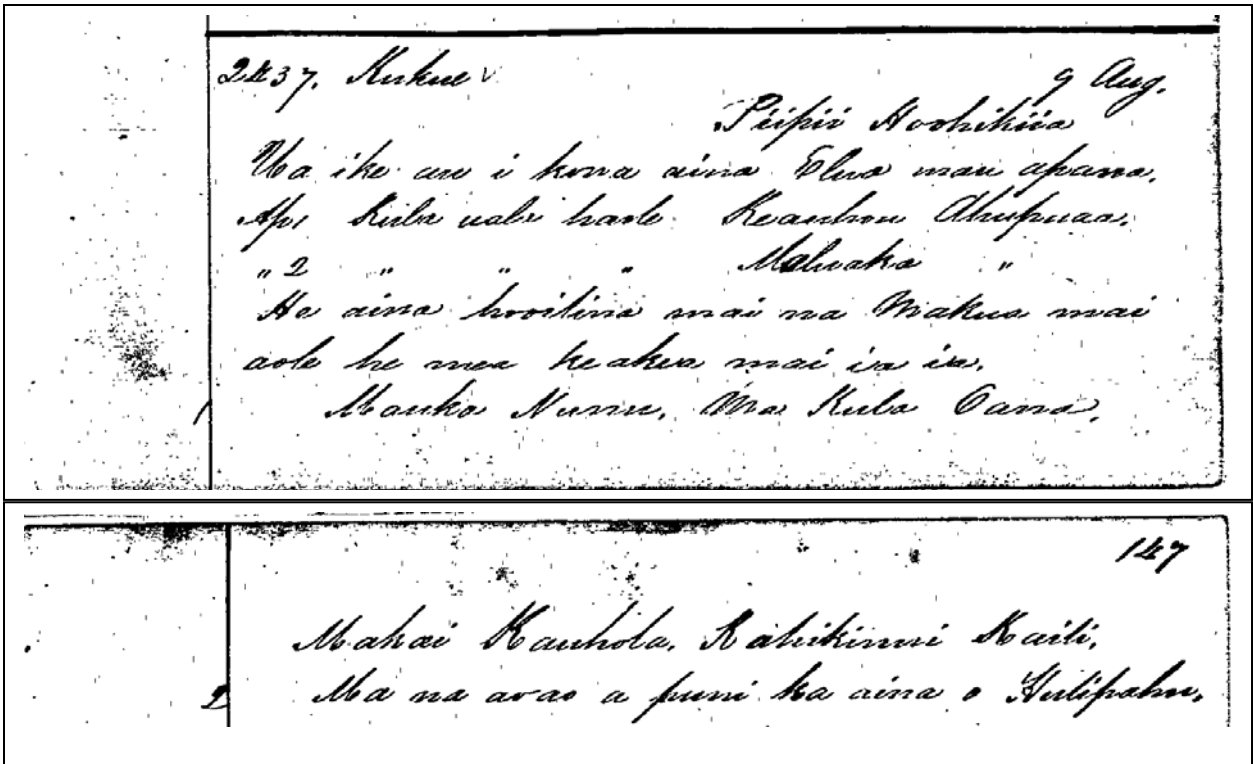
Helu 2437
Native Register Volume 3:499
Kukue, at Maluaka

499 2437 Kukue Honuaula Dec. 26, 1847
Aieha oukou e na luna honua
He hae aku nei au ia oukou. Owano Kukue.
Aia i Maluaka eua ili aima o koe mau
ili aima no nae ia. He pa i ka pa ia hekahe
wahi o na aima nei ou. He kato malo ko o ka
pa e hu nei. Akau o Kaeo. Nihina ka Welau-
chapuu, Kema Mooiki, Komohana he Alaloo
Hoike o Kalama.
Kare na Kukue.

Honuaula. Dec. 26, 1847.

Hear ye o Commissioners who quiet titles. I hereby tell you, that I am Kukue. There in Maluaka are two *ili* lands that are mine. One of these lands of mine is enclosed with a wall (or fence). There is *kalo* cultivated within the lot. North, is Kaeo. East, is the top of the hill (*welau o ka puu*). South, is Mooiki. West, is the *Alaloo*. Kalama is the witness.

By me, Kukue.



Aug. 9.
 Piipii Sworn.
 I have seen his land. Two parcels.

Par. 1. Kula of uala haole (foreign potatoes), Keauhou Ahupuaa
 Par. 2. " " " " Maluaka "

These are lands inherited from the parents, and no one has objected to him.

1. Mauka, Nunu. Towards Kula, Oana. Makai, Kauhola. Kahikinui, Kaili.
2. On all sides, surrounded by the land of Hulipahu.

Claim Not Awarded.

2563 Wawaiki Dec 26, 1847.
Aheka oukou e na Luna Hoona
hulema Aina. Owau o Wawaiki, he hai
aku nei au i kiu hulema, aia ma
Maluaka kiu Ni. Aina, o Pihili ka
ina, ma ka Akau o Kaes, ma kema o
Mooiki, ma he komohana he kai,
Hoike Mahiai. Eia kekahi, he moku
mauu shiku, aia no ia Aina hookahi,
he mala uala haole, aia no ilaila.
Hoike o Kamalo. Eia kekahi, Etohu ou
mau pahale. Ma ka Akau o Kaes,
ma ka kema o Mooiki, ma he komo-
hana he kai. Eia kekahi, he mau moku
mauu ma Mooiki, e tohu, ma he komo-
hana, ma mokuhoi hookahi mahina.
Eia heia, he mau mala Uala, aia
i Keauhau lua, aia i Kanelu. Ma
Hoike o heia mau nei o Kaea o
Waiaua
Na Wawaiki

Dec. 26, 1847.

Hear ye o Commissioners who quiet land claims, I am Wawaiki, and I hereby tell you of my claim. My *ili* land is there at Maluaka, its name is Pihili. Kaeo is on the north, Mooiki is on the south, the ocean on the west. Mahiai is the witness. Here is something else, seven *moku mauu*, in one place; there is also a field of *uala haole* there. Kamalo is the witness. Here also is this, I have three house lots. Kaeo is on the north, Mooiki is on the south, the ocean is on the west. Another thing is that I have three *moku mauu* at Mooiki, in one field. Here is this, there are two *Uala* (sweet potato) fields in Keauhau, at Kanelu. The witness for these things are Koea and Waiaua.

By Wawaiki.
Claim Not Awarded.

4321 B *Maauka* 9 Aug.
Piipii Mookistia
 Ua ike au i kua aima,
 1. *Ap, Kula Uala Haole Palaua Ahupuaa*
 " 2 " " " Keaou " "
 " 3 *Kalo Mala* ma Maluaka "
 Na Apama ma eia he man apama
 ma eia wale aku no i ka 1844, M. H.
 Na Apama hope no Kamalo i Hawaii
 mai i ka M.H. 1847, Aka ma Keaou,
 1. *Maauka, Maaweiki, Kula Aina Ahupuaa;*
Makai Kaili, Kahikinui Maaweiki,
 2. *Maauka Hulipahu, Kula Ahupuaa Ahupuaa;*
Makai Kaili, Kahikinui Maaweiki,
 3. *Ma ma aua a pua i Hulipahu.*

Aug. 9.
 Piipii Sworn.
 I have seen his land.
 Par. 1. Kula land of Uala Haole (Foreign Potatoes). Palaua Ahupuaa.
 Par. 2. " " " " " Keaou "
 Par. 3. Mala (dry land garden) of Kalo at Maluaka. "

The first two parcels are cultivated pieces from the year 1844. The last parcel was given by Kamalo in the year 1847. No one has objected.

1. *Mauka*, Maaweiki. Kula, Government Land. *Makai*, my place. Kahikinui, Maaweiki.
2. *Mauka*, Hulipahu. Kula, Government Road. *Makai*, Kaili. Kahikinui, Maaweiki.
3. On all sides, surrounded by Hulipahu.

Claim Not Awarded.

Palapala Sila Nui (Royal Patent Grants) of Ka'eo and Neighboring Lands

While the *Māhele* was underway, it was found that the process was not adequate to meet the needs of native tenants and foreign residents—often native tenant claims went unawarded, or consisted of inadequate acreage to support the families; and foreigners wanted larger tracts of land with which to develop business interests. Section 4 of the *Kuleana Act of 1850* (cited in the preceding section), set forth the mechanism by which applicants could purchase Royal Patents on lands that had been made a part of the Government land inventory. Several *Palapala Sila Nui* (Royal Patent Grants) were issued on lands in Ka'eo and in adjoining *ahupua'a*. Mahoe and Linton Torbert being the two grantees who received fee-simple interest in Ka'eo Ahupua'a.

The following Royal Patent Grants describe the lands of Mahoe at Ka'eo, and the lands of Linton Torbert and William Wilcox, which also included portions of Ka'eo, Makena, Maluaka, and the Papa'anui-Keauhou section of Honua'ula. The supporting narratives include references to native trails, the Makena-Ulupalakua Road, residences, walls, *heiau*, native tenants, land use, and various facets of the natural landscape.

Royal Patent Grant No. 835 Mahoe at Kaeo, Honuaula, Maui

Feb. 23, 1852

Resolved; That a fee simple Title be granted to Mahoe for the *makai* portion of Kaeo, Honuaula, Maui; for the sum of one dollar at the discretion of the Minister of the Interior.

The upper part of this land was sold to Torbert with the understanding the Mahoe should have the rest free of commutation.

By Order of the Privy Council
Lorin Andrews Secretary. [HSA Privy Council Book Volume 6:594]

Field Notes – Survey of Kaeo for Mahoe [see Figure 5]

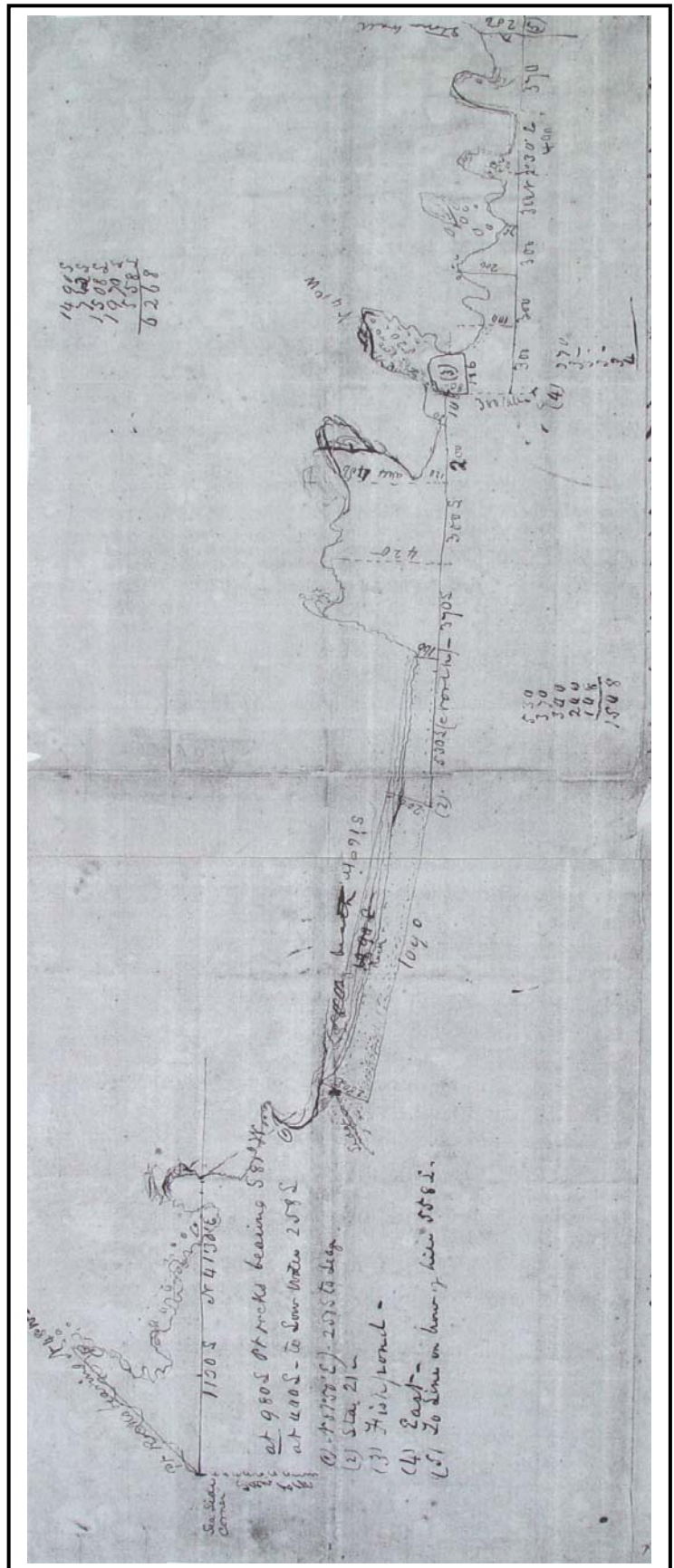
One Dollar.

Course	Distance	
		Commencing at Torberts S.W. Sea Side Prickly pear fence 8 or 10 ch. S. of Plantation Road at Pile of Stones.
1. S 61° 30 W	6.00 L	To Pile of Stones near <i>Kukui</i> tree.
2. S 47° W	10.00 L	To Pile of Stones.
3. S 72 W	9.30 L	To Pile of Stones.
4. N 47 30 W	5.00 L	To Pile of Stones 10 S N of water course.
5. N 88° W	29.00 L	To Pile of Stones in old Road.
6. S 83.00 W	6.80 L	To Prickly Pear Bush.
7. S. 7° W	10.00 L	To Pile of Stones on Brow of hill (crosses stone fence).
8. S 75° 30' W	11.22. L	To Pile of Stones, follows Stone wall East ½ distance. *
9. S 86° W	8.00 L	To <i>Widiwidi</i> [<i>Wiliwili</i>] Tree (360 L. to Prickly Pear & <i>Kukui</i> Tree fence).
10. S 72° W	10.50 L	To Stone Pile, Line on S side of course along water course & stone fence.

* [inserted as foot note in original] S 16° W 480 L. Sto. Heap. Follows stone fence.

Figure 5.

Reduction of Map Accompanying Mahoe's Royal Patent Grant No. 835, Depicting the Coastal Boundary (July 19, 1852) (Hawaii State Archives)



11. N 8° E	6.00 L	To Stone Pile.
12. S 85° W	4.00 L	To Stone Pile near Prickly Pear & Native houses.
13. S 72° W	1608 L	To Stone Pile. <i>Widiwidi</i> Tree at 450 L. Stone pile at 1000 L. Line follows Stony Ridge & fence.
14. S 16° 15 W	300 L	To Pile of Stones near <i>Widiwidi</i> tree. Line follows Stone fence.
15. S 31° W	8.80 L	To <i>Widiwidi</i> Tree. Line follows brow of hill 6.00 L.
16. S 75° 30 W	1966 L	To <i>Widiwidi</i> Tree (Line follows Stone fences 690 L).
17. N 61° W	1880 L	To <i>Widiwidi</i> Tree on rocks, near Stone Pile at 8 ch.
18. N 50° 30' W.	675 L	To <i>Widiwidi</i> Tree on ridge of rocks.
19. N 88° 30' W	2278 L	To Stone Pile (Stone Pile at 1100L) True line meanders a little to South.
20. West	3240 L	To Stone pile on Sand bank. (Wiliwili at 1620 L. crosses stone fence at 2500).
21. S 16° W	1499 L	To Pile of Stones on Rocky ledge.
22. S 42° W	742 L	To pile of stones on Stone Wall.
S3. S 55° 30' W	710 L	To waters edge & following Stone Wall.

Thence Along beach to Torbert's stone wall. Thence:

S 85° W	253 L	From Torberts Stone Wall N of house, along waters edge to stone wall.
N 14° W	366 L	To Rock on brow of hill.
N 74° 30'; E	800 L	To Point on Stone Wall.
S 59° E	448 L	To Pile Stones on Wall.
N 87° E	1810 L	To Rock & Wall.
S 71° 45' E	1828 L	To Pile of Stones.
S 84° E	2872 L	To Pile of Stones.
N 88° E	4295 L	To Pile of Stones on brow of hill.
N 85° 45' E	2285 L	To Pile of Stones.
S 75° E	1154 L	To Pile of Stones.
N 83° E	680 L	To Pile of Stones.
N 34° E	1036 L	To <i>Widiwidi</i> Tree.
S 81° E.	3000 L	To Point South of Plantation Road.
N 80° 30 E	1750 L	To Torberts Prickly Pear fence.
S 40° E	650 L	To Place of beginning.

Containing 514 Acres. [HSA - Royal Patent Grant Packet, No. 835]

Helu 835

Palapala Sila Nui

[notes of survey translated above]

Ma keia palapala Sila Nui ke hoike aku nei o Kamehameha III., ke Alii nui a ke Akua i kona Loko maikai i hoonoho ai maluna o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, i na kanaka a pau, i keia la, nona iho, a no kona mau hope Alii, ua haawi lilo loa aku oia ma ke ano alodio ia Mahoe i kona wahi kanaka i manao pono ia ia, i kela apana aina a pau e waiho la ma Kaeo, Honuaula, ma ka Mokupuni o Maui; a penei hoi ka waiho ana o na Mokuna:

E hoomaka ana ma ka Pa laau kalakala o L.L. Torbert, 10 a 12 paha kaul. i ka Hema o ke Alanui o kona aina kanu a e holo [along the southern boundary of Kaeo towards the sea]:

He. 61° 30 Ko. 6. kaul. i ke ahu pohaku kokoke i kahi laau kukui.
He. 67° Ko. 10 " " " "

He. 72° Ko. 9.30	“	“	“	“	
A. 47° 30' Ko. 5	“	“	“	“	10 pauku i ka Ak. o ka auwai.
A. 88° Ko. 26	“	“	“	“	ma ke alanui kahiko.
He. 83° Ko 6.80	“	“			laau kalakala.
He. 7° Ko. 10.	“	“			ahu pohaku maluna o kahi puu.
He 75° 30' Ko. 11.22	“	“	“	“	e pili ana i ka papohaku.
He 16° Ko 4.80	“	“	“	“	“ “ “ “ “ “ “
He 86° Ko 8.	“	“			laau wiliwili.
He 72° Ko. 10.50	“	“			ahu pohaku e pili ana i ka auwai & papohaku.
A. 8° Hi. 6.	“	“	“	“	
He. 85° Ko. 4.	“	“	“	“	kokoke i na hale o kanaka maoli.
He 72° Ko. 16.08	“	“	“	“	pili ana i ka papohaku.
He. 16° 15' Ko. 3	“	“	“	“	“ “ “ “ “ “ “
He 31° Ko. 8.80	“	“			laau wiliwili ma ka lae o ka puu.
He. 75° 30' Ko. 19.66	“				“ “ e pili ana i ka papohaku.
A. 61° Ko. 18.80	“	“			ahu pohaku kokoke i ka laau wiliwili.
A. 50° 30' Ko. 6.75	“	“			laau wiliwili ma ka iwi pohaku.
A. 88° 30' Ko. 22.78	“	“			ahu pohaku.
Kom. 32.40	“	“			“ “ maluna o ka puu one.
He. 16° Ko. 14.90	“	“			“ “ “ “ “ “ pohaku.
He. 42° Ko. 7.42	“	“			“ “ “ “ “ “ papohaku.
He 55° 30' Ko. 7.10	“	“			kahakai e pili ana i ka papohaku.

Alaila holo ma kahakai a i ko Torbert papohaku. Alaila [Grant Book 4:79]

He 85° Ko. 2.35	kaul. ma				kahakai i ka papohaku.
A. 16° Ko. 3.66	“	“			ka Pa i ka pohaku ma ka lae o ka puu.
A. 74° 30' Hi. 8			“		i ka papohaku.
He 59° Hi. 4.48	“				“ ka ahu pohaku maluna o ka Pa.
A. 87° Hi. 18.10	“				“ ka pohaku ma ka Pa.
He 71° 45' Hi. 18.28	“				“ ke ahu pohaku.
He. 84° Hi. 28.72	“				“ “ “ “
A. 88° Hi. 42.95	“				“ “ “ “ ma ka lae o ka puu.
A. 85° 45' Hi. 22.85	“				“ “ “ “
He. 75° Hi. 11.54	“				“ “ “ “
A. 83° Hi. 6.80	“				“ “ “ “
A. 34° Hi. 10.36	“				“ “ laau wiliwili.
He. 81° Hi. 30	“				“ kahi Hema pono i ke Alanui.
A.80° 30' Hi. 17.50	“				ma ko Torbert Pa laau kalakala.
He. 40° Hi. 6.50	“				“ “ “ “ “ “ “ a hiki

Kahi i hoomaka'i. Nana no hoi ka ia hoomalu ma ke kai e pili ana i keia aina e like hoi me ke Kanawai.

Koe ke Kuleana o na Kanaka.

A maloko o ia Apana 514 eka a oi iki aku, emi iki mai paha.

Eia ke kumu o ka lilo ana; ua haawi mai oia iloko o ka waihona waiwai o ke Aupuni i \$1.00

Aka, ua koe i ke Aupuni na mine minerala a me na mine metala a pau.

No Mahoe, ua aina la i haawiia, nona mau loa aku no, ma ke ano alodio, a no kona mau hoolina, a me kona waihona, ua pili nae ka auhau a ka Poe Ahaolelo e kau like ai ma na aina alodio a pau i kela manawa i keai manawa.

Ai mea e ikeai, ua kau wau i ko'u inoa, a me ka Sila Nui o ko Hawaii Pae Aina ma Honolulu, i keia la 19 o Iulai; 1852.

Inoa / Kamehameha
Inoa / Keoni Ana. [Grant Book 4:80]

Mahoe's I'a Kapu (Restricted Fish)

As a part of rights granted to Mahoe by his Royal Patent Grant, and in compliance with the laws for *Konohiki-Land* Owners, Mahoe, caused to be published, public notices naming his restricted fish. The fish of Ka'eo was the *kala*, a surgeonfish.

Ka Hae Hawaii
Ianuari 14, 1857:184
Olelo Hoolaha

Ke Hoakaaka ia nei ma keia Olelo Hoolaha ka inoa o na IA kapu a na Konohiki i Hoouna mai iloko o ke Keena Kalaiaina, e like ke ka olelo o ke Kanawai.

<u><i>Konohiki</i></u>	<u><i>Ili Aina</i></u>	<u><i>Ia Kapu</i></u>
<i>Mahoe</i>	<i>½ Kaeo, Maui</i>	<i>Kala...</i>

Ma ke kauoha.
S. Spencer, Kakauolelo. [column 1]

There is hereby described by this public notice, the name of the Restricted Fish of the *Konohiki*, as sent to the Office of the Minister of Interior, as required by Law.

Mahoe ½ Kaeo, Maui The *Kala* fish...

Royal Patent Grant No. 120 **Linton L. Torbert [Figure 6]**

September 20th, 1847
His Highness John Young
Minister of the Interior

...I am desirous of purchasing in Fee Simple the several pieces of Land of which I herein enclose the surveys made by Mr. T. Metcalf.

They contain altogether about 340 acres of Land, and I am the only occupant at present, with the exception of one small spot occupied by a native.

All the improvements that have been hitherto made on said land have been made by myself, and I trust that circumstances will be allowed in favor of my application. I offer you for said Land, one Dollar per Acre, payable in 18 months from the date of the Patent.

I am also desirous of purchasing the Government Cane Land at Honuaula, together with the present crop of Sugar Cane. Said Land contains about 50 Acres more or less, for which together with the crop, I offer you the sum of \$600, payable in two installment as follows, say \$300 in 3 months and \$300 in six months from the date of sale.

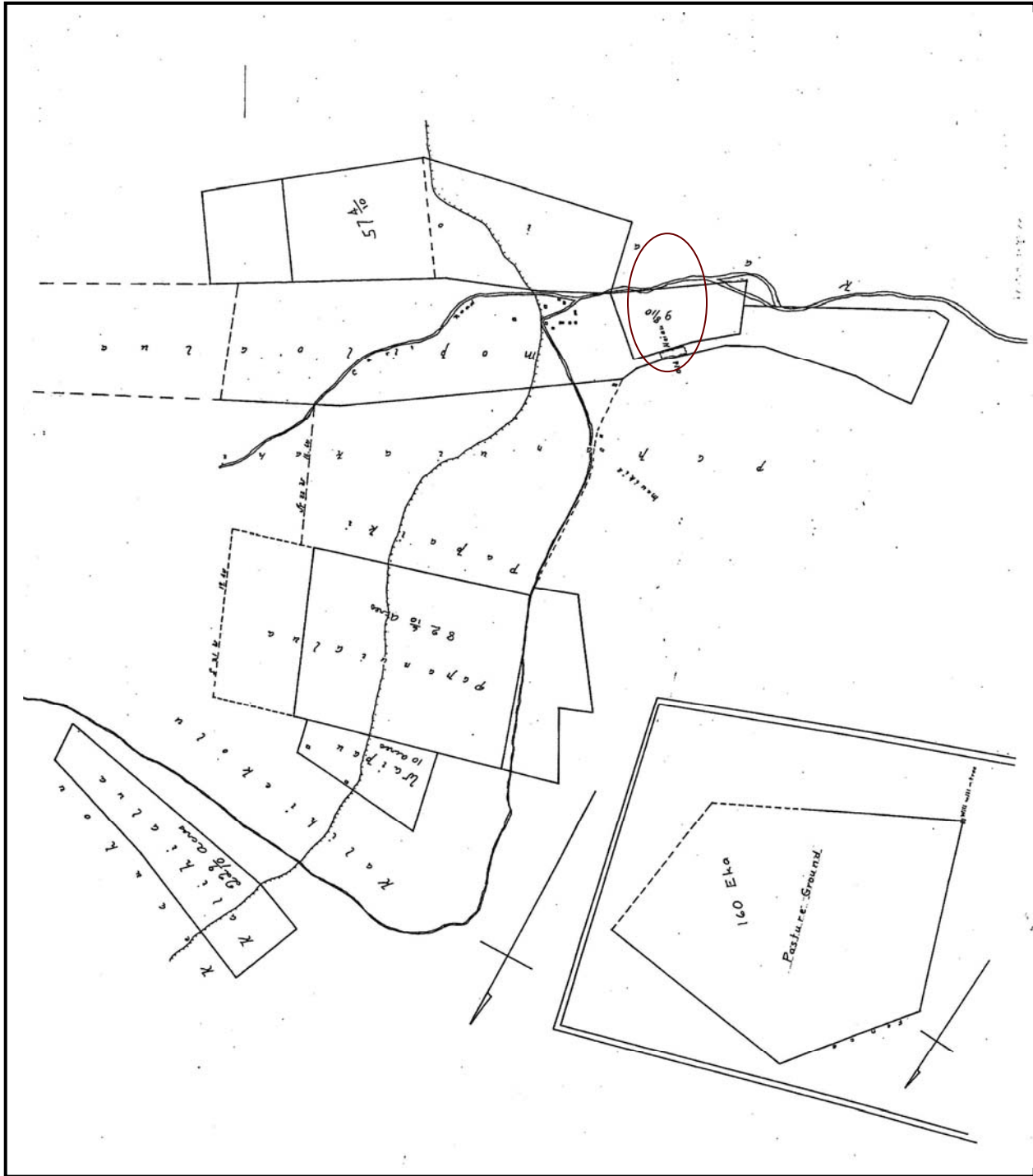


Figure 6. Reduction of Map to Royal Patent Grant No. 120.
Note: Reference to "Old Heiau" at Pu'u Ke'eke'ehia (in circle)
(State Survey Division)

In case the above Applications are not granted, I should like to know whether the Government would sell me the whole tract lying between the old *mauka* Road running from Kula towards Kaupoo [Kaupo], and the forest region, and between Kaloi & Kaupoo inclusive. Said Tract contains about 1000 Acres, Seven lands of which belong to Government without including those already applied for above. No Survey of this tract has yet been made, but in case the Government would like to dispose the whole or part of it, on the terms above mentioned, I will have it surveyed. There are about six native families on said tract, who cultivate about 12 acres, & there are some 4 Acres cultivated by people who live at the Sea side. In case I get the Land, I of course do not mean to disturb their rights, unless they choose to sell out to me.

I am Sir,

Your Obt. Servant,
Linton L. Torbert. [HSA - Royal Patent Grant Packet, No. 120]

September 20th, 1847

Survey of Land at Honuaula, East Maui for Linton L. Torbert. [T. Metcalf, Surveyor]

Commencing on top of hill below old *heiau* and running S. 42° 30' E. 8541 links to *akoko* tree on hill, thence N. 51° 30'; E. 2700 links to highest point of hill to ruins of old *heiau*. Thence s. 47° 40' E. 1308 links to stone on next hill. Thence following along the Top of *Pali* and over three small hills almost in direct line to edge of *Pali* next to upper tract lava to point N. 40° E. from last stone 7538 links. Thence across lava N. 21° E. to bald peak above the lower well 3346 links. Thence N. 43° East 620 links to next Peak above. Thence N. 33° W. by tall *Olapa* tree 7235 links to meet line from Westward.

Commencing again at the first mentioned point and running North 37° W. to stone by old house across Valley 2983 links. Thence North 40' East to Kula side of water gulch 9330 links. Thence following water course on Kula side to the beach and thence in straight line S. 83° 10' E. from first point of contact in water gulch 14114 links to meet line from Eastward, containing an area of 2087 Acres, 8563 links.

L.L. Torbert.

E hoomaka ana maluna o ka puu malalo o ka Heiau Kahiko e holo ana i ka Hema 42° 30' Hikina 8541 Pauku a hiki i ka Laau Akoko ma ka puu. Alaila Akau 51° 30' Hikina 2700 Pauku a hiki i ka piko kiekie loa o ka puu ma ka Heiau kahiko. Alaila Hema 47° 40' Hikina 1308 Pauku a hiki i ka pohaku maluna o kahi puu e ae. Alaila Holo maluna o ka Pali a me na puu liili kokoke pololei a hiki i ke kakai pali kokoke ma ka pahoehoe kiekie ke kahi Akau 40° Hikina ma ka pohaku mahope mai 7538 Pauku. Alaila moku ka pahoehoe Akau 21° Hikina a hiki i ka piko omolemole maluna o ka punawai malalo 3346 Pauku. Alaila Akau 43° Hikina 620 Pauku a hiki i kahi Piko e ae maluna. Alaila Akau 33° Komohana pili me ka laau Olapa kiekie 7235 pauku e halawai ana me ke ana Komohana mai.

E hoomaka hou ma ke kahi mua a e holo ana Akau 37° Komohana a hiki i ka pohaku kokoke me ka Hale Kahiki moku ke awawa 2983 Pauku. Alaila Akau 40° Hikina ma ka aoao Kula o Kahawai 9330 Pauku, Alaila holo ma Kahawai ma ka aoao Kula a hiki i ka Ululaau. Alaila holo pololei Hema 83° 10' Hikina ma kahi pili me Kahawai 14114 Pauku e halawai ana me ke ana Hikina.

Iloko o keia Aina 2,087 Eka.

65, 360 Pauku

T. Metcalf, Surveyor [HSA - Royal Patent Grant Packet, No. 120]

Honuaula
November 6th, 1847
Report on Mr. Torbert's Land.

The Land applied for as a purchase in Fee Simple is all Government Land.

It is situated on the upland above the landing at Honuaula, between the Beach or uncultivable land and the woody region, about 1500 or 2000 feet above the level of the Sea. The majority of the land lies to the N. & E. of Mr. Torbert's dwelling House & Sugar Mill.

All the cultivation at present on the Land is the Sugar Cane & Taro &c. of Mr. Torbert. The 50 acres of Government Sugar under the old agreement with Nowlein and a small patch of some half an acre partly cultivated by an old woman, who is the only native occupant and is for the most part dependent on Mr. Torbert for the comforts of life. The Government Cane is in very bad condition from want of care, in fact, as it appears now, I do not think it would pay any one to manufacture it on shares.

As to the propriety of Granting the above land to Mr. Torbert, on the terms of his applications, of September the 20th, I am able to say that from everything that I have heard or seen with regards to it, I know of nothing against its propriety. As to the small piece occupied by the native woman, it can easily be demarked and secured to her if the Government will give it to her, or Mr. Torbert may be bound to allow her the place as long as she lives.

If the Government are really desirous of encouraging persevering industry among its people, they cannot do better than give Mr. Torbert a chance. His industry is well known, he is a Hawaiian Subject, has a family dependent on him, and gives employment to a number of people. He tells me that should he get the land, he intends to try to locate about 20 native families on different parts of the land as cultivators, offering a small bounty to the one who displays the most skill & industry, and requiring no work of them on Saturdays.

Mr. Torbert pointed out to me the track of the new Road he intended to make for his own use, between the Sugar Mill and the Beach, and for which he wished to procure a Charter. It will take considerable labor to make the Road and a deal of care to keep it in repair.

I think that any man who will make a road in such a place and keep it in repair well deserves to enjoy the exclusive benefit of it, except for foot passengers.

The road on which I rode from the beach to Mr. Torbert's House was made by him, and is used by everybody, for this reason, that the former road made by the *Paahao* [prisoners], is in miserable condition and no one will turn on to repair it.

G.M. Robertson. [HSA - Royal Patent Grant Packet, No. 120]

Ulupalakua
April 19, 1848
Linton L. Torbert; to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior

...I am much rejoiced to hear that the lands for which I made application are the most of them for sale. Since your letter came to hand I have surveyed, pretty accurately, the land I wish to purchase. You find the Chart and Field notes with this. It is a large lot for one

man, but I need it all. There are some parts which I could do without but the boundaries I have chosen are a considerable part good fence. As fence is very expensive in this country we must suit the land some to it. You will find about 350 or 400 acres of good land clear of stone. About 200 fit for cultivation with the hoe & the remainder pasture lands.

I wish to purchase all included in the chart upon the following conditions:

- 1st Whatever natives living upon the land, & owning lots with their houses, let them hold their land & live there.
- 2nd Whoever has spots cultivated upon said tract, I will not molest them.
- 3 The wells & water shall be free to all forever & from times of old.
- 4 The lands held by Nowlein if not sold now, let me purchase them when Nowlein's agreement expires, at the same rate of the rest of the land in the chart.

If I get this land my intention is this. To manufacture sugar as extensively as possible. To accomplish this end I shall get 30 or 40 families of natives to come and live on the farm. I will find them houses and food, school their children & learn them to work.

Also get three or four good mechanics & farmers, (old settlers most of them), to come & live here & plant cane & work.

The fact is I have so much to say that I cannot write it all, & fearing least I should say a good many things not to the purpose, I am troubled.

I am willing to give \$1600. for the lot and wish the government to give me a deed & take security on the land.

There are about 200 acres in all.

You know this region, perhaps as well as I can tell you.

Your respectful humb. Servt.

L.L. Torbert. [HSA - Royal Patent Grant Packet, No. 120]

No. 120

Royal Patent

Kamehameha III, By the Grace of God, King of the Hawaiian Islands, by this his Royal Patent, makes known unto all men, that he has for himself and his successors in office, this day grant and given, absolutely, in Fee Simple unto Linton L. Torbert, his faithful and loyally disposed subject for the consideration of one thousand six hundred dollars, paid unto the Royal Exchequer, all that certain piece of Lands, situated at Honuaula, in the Island of Maui, and described as follows: viz. as set forth in the Survey which is hereunto numbered;

Provided always, that this conveyance shall not preclude any claim which M.J. Nowlein may have to any part of said Land and provided also that the vested rights of Maaweiki, Hiapo and all other native occupants shall be respected, and accurately defined hereafter.

Containing Two Thousand and Eighty Seven 86/100 Acres, more or less: excepting and reserving to the Hawaiian Government, all minerals or metallic Mines of every description.

To have and to hold the above granted Land in Fee Simple, unto the said Linton L. Torbert his Hawaiian _____, _____ Heirs and Assigns forever, subject to the taxes to be from time to time imposed by the Legislative Council equally, upon all landed Property held in Fee Simple.

In Witness whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand, and caused the Great Seal of the Hawaiian Islands to be affixed, at Honolulu, this 23rd day of October 1848. [Grant Book 1:242]

Royal Patent Grant No. 223

February 14, 1850

W. Goodale, Interior Department; to L.L. Torbert

Regarding Sale of Royal Patent Grant 223

The Ulupalakua-Makena Road Tract and area around Makena Landing

Granted to Linton L. Torbert:

...His Highness the Minister of the Interior directs me to reply to your application of Feb. 9th, as follows:

A title in Fee simple will be granted you for a strip of land 3 chains wide, extending from your farm in Ulupalakua in Honuaula, Maui, to the seaside, containing about 68 acres for the consideration of \$68.

A Fee Simple title will be granted to 14 ½ chains on the shore for \$300.

Both pieces of land are granted as described in survey submitted to Privy Council, & are not included in the land sold to Torbert & Wilcox on the 31st of January 1850.

The rights of the natives on the shore in said land are reserved to them in Fee Simple.

The Royal Patent will be executed as soon as possible, upon your assenting to the above conditions... [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

No. 223

Royal Patent

Kamehameha III, By the Grace of God, King of the Hawaiian Islands, by this his Royal Patent, makes known unto all men, that he has for himself and his successors in office, this day grant and given, absolutely, in Fee Simple unto Linton L. Torbert, his faithful and loyally disposed subject for the consideration of Three hundred and sixty eight Dollars (\$368.), paid unto the Royal Exchequer, all that certain piece of Lands, situated at Honuaula, in the Island of Maui, and described as follows:

Commencing 135 links S. 3^o 40' West from a *wiliwili* tree situated about 4 chains S.E. from sheep pen, and running in straight line towards Molokini 383 links S. 70^o 53' W. Thence N. 89^o 5' W. 400 links; N. 86^o 30' W. 464 links. N. 26^o E. 75 links; N. 30^o E. 114 links. N. 28^o W. 157 links. N. 4^o West 157 links; S. 49^o 25' W. 7.25 links; S. 87^o W. 700 links; N. 84^o W. 18539 links to pile of stones 1 chain *mauka* of stone wall on top of the bluff at the sea. This is a strip 3 chains wide half on each side of the line. Thence running S. 16^o 5' W. 787 links to corner of yard; S. 64^o 40' W. 225 links to sea. N. 30^o 30' E. 259 links to turn in shore. Thence following shore at high water mark 1200 links to point of rocks. Thence S. 85^o 40' E. 1530 links to point of commencement.

Rights of native tenants reserved to them in Fee Simple.

Containing 68 Acres more or less: excepting and reserving to the Hawaiian Government, all minerals or metallic Mines of every description.

To have and to hold the above granted Land in Fee Simple, unto the said Linton L. Torbert his Hawaiian _____, _____ Heirs and Assigns forever, subject to the taxes to be from time to time imposed by the Legislative Council equally, upon all landed Property held in Fee Simple.

In Witness whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand, and caused the Great Seal of the Hawaiian Islands to be affixed, at Honolulu, this 19th day of February 1850. [Grant Book 1:30]

Royal Patent Grant No. 234

L.L. Torbert & W. Wilcox

At Papaanui and Neighboring Lands [Figure 7]

Feb. 16th, 1849

***Wm. Jones, for Linton L. Torbert; to John Young, Minister of Interior
Applying to Purchase Government Lands—Papaanui and Vicinity:***

...I am desirous of purchasing from the Government, in Fee Simple, a strip of land running from the place I now occupy, toward the beach, there is nothing planted on it, nor either is it occupied by any one, being Kula Lands, a Diagram with notes of Survey I herewith enclose. I am willing to pay one dollar per acre for it money down... [HSA - Royal Patent Grant Packet, No. 234]

Dec. 24th, 1849

***Linton L. Torbert and Wm. Wilcox;
to His Highness, John Young, Minister of the Interior
Pursues Application to Purchase Government Lands in Honuaua:***

...We are desirous of purchasing of the Government, all of the land between the Plantation of L.L. Torbert and the sea, extending to High water mark and described in the accompanying Survey.

We are willing to pay for this land \$1.00 per acre in 3 months.

The land has not been cultivated within the last five years. It is broken & rocky & dry, but will afford pasturage for Cattle & Goats part of the year... [HSA - Royal Patent Grant Packet, No. 234]

February 1, 1850

***W. Goodale, Interior Department; to L.L. Torbert
Regarding Sale of Royal Patent Grant 234 (excluding area of Landing), to Linton L.
Torbert and William Wilcox:***

...His Highness, the Minister of the Interior directs me to inform you, that a patent in Fee Simple will be executed in favor of yourself & Mr. Wilcox for the land applied for by you at the price of \$1.00 per acre, to be paid down. The sea, the port, and the rights of all natives to be reserved, together with the landing place & sixty fathoms of land from High water mark.

Upon receiving notice of your assent to these conditions, the patent will be made out.

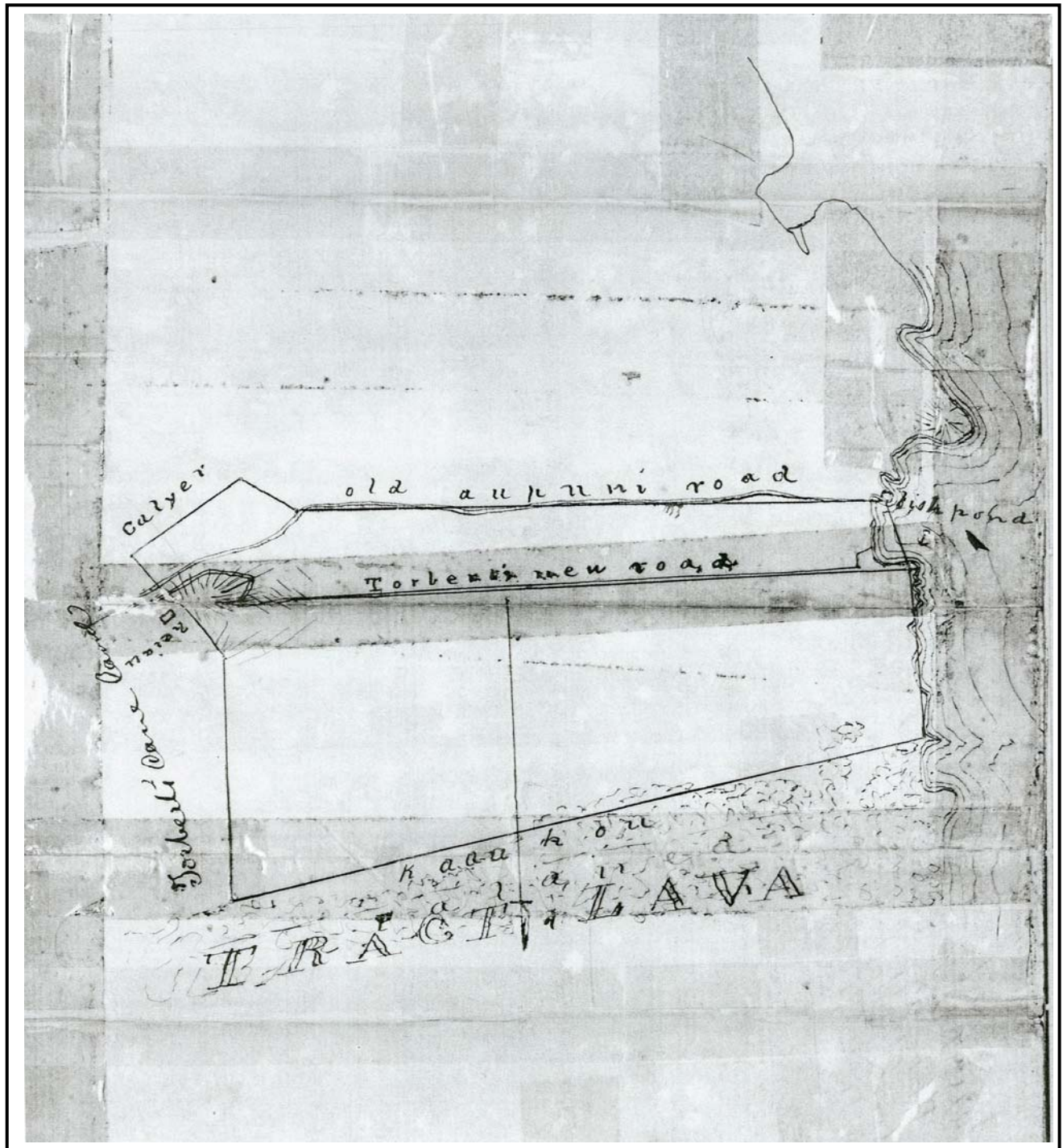


Figure 7. Survey Map of Royal Patent Grant No. 234 – Depicting Boundary of Ka’eo between Mahoe and Torbert, Āpuakēhau Fishpond, Heiau in uplands of Ka’eo (mauka site of Pu’u Ke’eke’ehia), and Coast line, and alignments of ‘Ulupalakua-Makena Roads. (Hawaii State Archives)

The application for the purchase of the Fish pond in Keonioio [sic] is not granted... [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

Helu 234

Palapala Sila Nui.

Ma keia palapala Sila Nui ke hoike aku nei o Kamehameha III., ke Alii nui a ke Akua i kona Loko maikai i hoonoho ai maluna o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, i na kanaka a pau, i keia la, nona iho, a no kona mau hope Alii, ua haawi lilo loa aku oia ma ke ano alodio ia Linton L. Torbert and William Wilcox i kona mau kanaka i manao pono ia ia, i kela apana aina a pau e waiho la ma Honuaua, ma ka Mokupuni o Maui; a penei hoi ka waiho ana o na Mokuna:

E hoomaka ana ma ke kahi Kom. Akau o ka aina o Moo, a e holo ana ma ka aoao makai o ka aina mua o Linton L. Torbert i ka Akau 39^o 20' Kom. 14 20/100 kaul. a hiki iluna o ka puu ma ka pahipa. Alaila holo no ma ka aoao makai o ka aina mua o Linton L. Torbert i ka Akau 37^o Kom. 29 82/100 kaul. a hiki i kahi hale kahiko; Alaila holo no ma ka aoao makai o ka aina mua o L.L. Torbert i ka Akau 40^o 40' Hi. 74 40/100 kaul. a hiki ma ka aoao akau o kahi awawa ma kahi papuaa kahiko; Alaila he. 78^o 40' Kom. e holo pololei ana i kai a hiki i kahi lae pohaku ma kahakai o Poolenalena ka inoa, e kokoke ana i na laau niu e ulu ana, 210 6/100 kaul. Alaila holo ma kahakai i ka Hema 3^o Hi. 56 29/100 kaul. a hiki i ke kahi o kahi lae pohaku ma ke awa o Makena; Alaila he 11^o Hi. 19 [illegible coordinate] kaul. a hiki i ka aoao Akau o kahi loko ia ma Apuakehau. Holo pololei iuka ma ke alanui Aupuni kahiko i ka He. 88^o 20' Hi. 196 35/100 kaul. Alaila He. 11^o Hi. 14 20/100 kaul. a hiki i ke kahi Kom. Hema o ka aina o Daniel Calyer. Alaila Akau 56^o 30' Hi. 35 96/100 kaul. hiki i kahi i hoomaka'i.

Ua koe nae ke kai, ke awa, a me ke kuleana o na kanaka a pau ma ia aina, a me kahi pae iuka o ke awa, a me 60 anana ma ke kai la o ke awa iuka. [Grant Book 3:101]

A maloko o ia Apana 1986 eka a oi iki aku, emi iki mai paha.

Eia ke kumu o ka lilo ana; ua haawi mai oia iloko o ka waihona waiwai o ke Aupuni i na Dala he \$1,986.

Aka, ua koe i ke Aupuni na mine minerala a me na mine metala a pau.

No L.L. Torbert a me W. Wilcox, ua aina la i haawiia, no laua mau loa aku no, ma ke ano alodio, a no ko laua mau hoolina, a me ko laua waihona, ua pili nae ka auhau a ka Poe Ahaolelo e kau like ai ma na aina alodio a pau i kela manawa i keai manawa.

Ai mea e ikeai, ua kau wau i ko'u inoa, a me ka Sila Nui o ko Hawaii Pae Aina ma Honolulu, i keai la 4 o Maraki, 1850.

(Inoa) / Kamehameha

(Inoa) / Keoni Ana. [Grant Book 3:102]

No. 234

Royal Patent.

...Received of Linton L. Torbert and Wm. Wilcox the sum of One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty- Six Dollars for land as per Patent No. 234.

Treasury Office

Aug. 14, 1850.

For Min. Finance, Wm. Jarrett. [Grant Book 3:102]

October 6, 1939
Memorandum Re.: Boundary of Grant 234

James M. Dunn
Principal Cadastral Engineer

When the questions arose as to just where the corner of Grant 234 was situated on Poolenalena Point, I made a careful study of maps on file in the Survey Department and the Land Office before going on the ground.

Registered Map 1763, being a map of Honuaula prepared by Frank S. Dodge in 1881 from earlier surveys made by W.D. Alexander, F.S. Dodge and E.D. Baldwin, shows the boundary at Poolenalena slightly south of the middle of the point.

The U.S.G.S. map of Maui and the H.T.S. map of Maui are on too small a scale to be of much help in this situation.

Registered Map 170, being a plan of Grant 234 prepared by L.L. Torbert, one of the Grantees, shows the boundary as leaving the sea on the south side of the point and not at the extreme point.

Registered Map 1202, which appears to be a tracing of Torbert's map, shows this same condition.

Among the original papers with Grant 234 in the Land Office are the description of survey and map upon which the Grant is based. The survey and map were made by John Richardson and are dated November 29, 1849. The map shows the boundary point as being on the south side of the point and not at its apex. The descriptions states that near the boundary point were a coconut tree and a bread-fruit tree.

On March 25, 1949, I went on the ground with Mr. A.J. Dow of East Maui Irrigation Company, and Mr. Aki Tom, the Sub-Land Agent for the land office on Maui. We inspected the point and the shore line in each direction from the point searching for an old boundary mark or evidence that such a mark had existed. We also looked for traces of the coconut and breadfruit tree mentioned in the Grant but could find nothing¹⁰.

We did find a one inch pipe on the seashore about fifty feet south of a line that would cut the center of the point. This pipe was set to mark the southwest corner of Lot 27 of the Makena Beach Lot Tract, a private subdivision.

We agreed to adopt this pipe as the seaward end of the boundary line and then proceeded to the inland end of the line. This boundary point was fairly easy to determine as all the maps show it to be on the *mauka* side of the Ulupalakua Road at the corner of the stone walls about 300 feet north of the intersection of the Makena and Ulupalakua Roads. The corner of the stone walls was identified without much trouble.

I returned to Honolulu and Mr. Dow did the actual field work of locating the two ends of the boundary. He sent me a sketch of his triangulation and location of each end of the line. His figures were checked and compared with office records and finally a tracing was prepared for signature and acceptance by the interested parties. [HSA – Memo in Royal Patent Grant Packet, No. 234]

¹⁰ Mr. Dunn's translation was in error, as the original Grant texts, cited above, reference only coconut trees growing near the point of Poolenalena.

**Disposition of Mahoe's Land at Ka'eo (1855-1877)
(Royal Patent Grant No. 835)**

The following notes, provide readers with a summary of the disposition of Mahoe's portion of Ka'eo, following his receipt of Royal Patent Grant No. 835, covering the years from 1855 till the time of his death and settlement of his estate in 1877.

December 18th, 1855

Liber 7:400-401

Mahoe, to L.L. Torbert

Warranty Deed

Conveying One Hundred Acres of Royal Patent Grant 835 to L.L. Torbert.

Know all me by these presents, that I, Mahoe of Kaeo, Honuaua of the Island of Maui, for and in consideration of Three Hundred Dollars to me this day paid in hand by Linton L. Torbert of Honuaua, S.E. Maui, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, do grant, bargain, sell, and by these presents convey unto him, the said Linton L. Torbert, and to his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns forever, all that certain lot of land situate in Honuaua, Maui, aforesaid, and described as follows.

Being all of the land formerly belonging to me, as my half of Kaeo, which lies to the north of the wall entering the *makai* pasture land of L.L. Torbert. That is: Commencing at S.P. Chapman's land and following the stone wall *makai* which is below Chapman, Sinclair & Breman on one side & Torbert on the other side, until it cuts the old cart road, & thence in a straight line to the north East corner of the fishpond, north of the church at the Government landing. Also all of the land on Kaeo formerly belonging to me, and which is situated North & East of S.P. Chapman's premises, including about one hundred acres.

To have and to hold the above conveyed premises, and all the interests and hereditaments situate thereon, with this my covenant of warranty, and lawfully seized, unto the said L.L. Torbert and to his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever. In witness whereof the said party Mahoe & Pikanele, wife of said Mahoe, have herewith set their hands, and seals at Honuaua this the 18th day of December A.D. 1855.

Mahoe (signed)

Pikanele (signed)

Personally appeared before me this 18th day of December 1855, Mahoe and Pikanele, his wife, and acknowledged that they had executed the above deed for the said purposes...

Edwin Miner

Agent to take Acknowledgements for East Maui...

Dekemaba 26, 1868

Liber 26:486-487

Mahoe, to E.O. Holo & L.H. Kulika

Deed

**Conveying 59/100 Acres at Keawakapu, Kaeo—the Honuaua Church Lot—
to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions:**

E ike auanei na kanaka a pau ma keia palapala owau o Mahoe no Kaeo, Honuaua, Maui, no na kala he kanawalu i hookaa pono ia mai nei ia'u e ka Ekalesia o Honuaua nolaila ke kuai lilo aku nei au a ke hoolilo loa aku nei ia E.O. Holo a me L.H. Kulika na

Kahu Waiwai o ka Ahahui Misionari o Ameerika ma Bosetona, i kapaia ma ka olelo Beretania – The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions – a i ko laua mau hope a mau loa aku, kela apana aina, ke kahua Luakini e waiho ana ma Keawakapu, Honuaula, Maui – aia no ia iloko o ka Palapala Sila Nui Helu 835, i hanaia Febuari 3, M.H. 1848, a penei na palena – “E hoomaka ana ma ke kahi hikina akau:

1. Hema 6^o komohana 2.59 kaulahao.
2. Hema 88 ½^o komohana 2.34 kaulahao.
3. Akau 5 ½^o hikina 3.00.
4. Hema 81^o hikina 2.22 kaulahao.

O ka nui ka aina he 59/100 Eka.”

Ua hoolilo loa ia keia aina, a me na pono a pau e pili ana ia E.O. Holo a me L.H. Kulika, i olelo ia maluna ma ko laua oihana Kahu Waiwai, a i ko laua mau hope ma ia oihana na laua na pomaikai a pau o ua aina la a mau loa aku.

O wau hoi o Mahoe no'u iho a no ko'u mau hoolina, hooko kauoha, a hooponopono waiwai, ke hohiki aku nei au ia E.O. Holo a me L.H. Kulika, Kahu Waiwai, i olelo ia'i maluna, a he hiki pono ia'u e kuai lilo aku ia E.O. Holo a me L.H. Kulika, Kahu Waiwai ame ko laua mau hope, ma ia oihana, a ke ae nei au no'u no a no ka'u mau hope a pau, ua lilo mau loa ia aina ia E.O. Holo a me L.H. Kulika, Kahu Waiwai, a me ko laua mau hope ma ia oihana. No ka oiaio o keia, ua kakau iho nei au i kuu inoa, a ua kau iho i kuu Sila i keia la 26 o Dekemaba M.H. 1868.

*Mahoe (signed)
Pika X nele (her mark)*

*Hoike
R.O. Forbes
W. Chamberlain.*

Owau hoi o Pikanele, ka wahine mare o Mahoe no ka loa ana mai ia'u o na pomaikai i olelo ia'i maluna, a no na kumu e ae, ke hoolilo a ke hookuu aku nei au ia E.O. Holo a me L.H. Kulika, Kahu Waiwai, i olelo ia ae maluna, a i ko laua mau hope ma ia oihana, a mau loa aku, ka'u hapakolu, oia no ka hapakolu o ka wahine oloko o ka aina i olelo ia'i maluna. No ka oiaio o keia ke kakau nei au i kuu inoa a ke kau nei i kuu sila i keia la 26 o Dekemaba M.H. 1868.

*Pika X nele
Her mark...*

Know all men by these presents, that I, Mahoe, of Kaeo, Honuaula, Maui, for eighty dollars to me paid by the Church of Honuaula, do hereby sell, and convey entirely to E.O. Hall and L.H. Gulick, treasurers of the American Board of Missions at Boston, in English called – The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions – and to their assigns forever, that parcel of lands, the Church lot (*kahua Luakini*) at Keawakapu, Honuaula, Maui – situated there within Royal Patent Number 835, issued on February 3, 1848, and the boundaries being – Beginning at the northeastern corner:

1. South 6^o West 2.59 chains.
2. South 88 ½^o West 2.34 chains.

3. North 5 ½° East 3.00 (chains).

4. South 81° East 2.22 chains.

Totaling 59/100ths, acres.

Conveying entirely, this land and all the rights appertaining to it, to E.O. Hall and L.H. Gulick, aforesaid in their capacity as Treasures, and to their successors in office, for them all the benefits of the said land for all time.

I, Mahoe, for myself, my heirs, administrators and executors, do hereby swear to E.O. Hall and L.H. Gulick, Treasures above mentioned, that it is my right to sell the same unto E.O. Hall and L.H. Gulick, Treasures, and their successors in this office, and I do agree for myself, and my successors, that this land belongs to E.O. Hall and L.H. Gulick, Treasures and their successors in office. In witness of the truth of this, I hereby sign my name and place my seal on this 26th day of December, 1868.

Mahoe (signed)

Witness:

R.O. Forbes

W. Chamberlain.

I, Pikanele, the legal wedded wife of Mahoe, having received the benefits above stated, and for other reason, do hereby convey and release to E.O. Hall and L.H. Gulick, Treasures, aforementioned, and to the successors in office, for all time, my one-third interest as wife, in the land aforementioned. In witness of the truth of this, I hereby sign my name and set my seal on this 26th day of December, 1868.

Pika X nele

Her mark... [Maly, translator]

January 24, 1872

Liber 34:164-165

Mahoe, to Kali, Puhipuhi & Hopoe

Deed

**Conveying interest in Mahoe's land at Kaeo (Royal Patent Grant No. 835),
to his daughters, Kali, Puhipuhi and Hopoe.**

Know all men by these presents that I, Mahoe ^(K) of Kanahena, District of Honuaula, Island of Maui, Hawaiian Islands, for and in consideration of the sum of Four Dollars to me in hand paid by Kali ^(W) of Kapalama, Honolulu, Island of Oahu, and Puhipuhi ^(W) of Waikapu, Island of Maui, and Hopoe ^(W) of Honuaula, Island of Maui aforesaid, and for other good and sufficient reasons (The receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged) do by these presents, give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Kali ^(W), Puhipuhi ^(W), and Hopoe ^(W) and their heirs, executors and assigns forever, for their use and benefit, all my rights, title and interest in and to the balance remaining unsold of a tract of land situated in the *Ahupuaa* of Kaeo in Honuaula, Island of Maui, and granted to me by Royal

Patent No. 835, by His late Majesty Kamehameha III on the 19th day of July A.D. 1852, and which portion remaining unsold is bounded and described as follows:

Ka Mahele ana. E hoomaka ana ma ka lae ma ke Kahuahale maluna ae o kahi loko a e holo ana ma ke Kuapa akau i ka:

*He 88° Hi 43.67 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka Pa;
He 52 ½° Hi 14.92 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka Pa;
He 82 ½° Hi 10.26 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka Pa;
Ak. 84 ¾° Hi 28. 25 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka Pa;
Ak. 89 ¾° Hi 26.50 i kahi i anaia mamua, e pili ana ko Kupa Pa hale, e hele ana i ko He. Kom. Maloko o keia apana 141 57/100 Eka.*

Beginning on the point and at the House site thereon, by the pond, and running along the north of the pond wall (*kuapa*) to:

S. 88° E. 43.67 to the stone mound on the Wall;
S. 52 ½° E. 14.92 to the stone mound on the Wall;
S. 82 ½° E. 10.26 to the stone mound on the Wall;
N. 84 ¾° E. 28. 25 to the stone mound on the Wall;
N. 89 ¾° E. 26.50 to the place first surveyed, and adjoining the house lot of Kupa, running to the south west. [Maly, translator]

With all and singular the rights, privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging, and fishing rights. To have and to hold the aforesaid described premises with the appurtenances, and this my covenant of warranty and lawful seized unto the said Kali^(W), Puhipuhi^(W) and Hopoe^(W), their heirs, executors and assigns for their use and behoof for ever. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this 14th day of January A.D. 1872, at Waikapu, Island of Maui...

Mahoe (signed)...

Settlement of Mahoe's Estate in 1877

At some point between December 1868 to January 1872, Pikanele, the wife of Mahoe, and mother of Kali, Puhipuhi, and Hopoe, died. Mahoe died some time between 1874 and 1875, and prior to doing so, he married a woman by the name of Namakalua (no children were born to Mahoe and Namakalua). The probate filed to settle Mahoe's estate, in 1877, provides the names of Mahoe's own siblings, but is completely silent on his own three daughters, and any interest in land at Ka'eo—he having completely released any interest he had in the lands associated with Royal Patent Grant No. 835, and *Kuleana* of the *Māhele*, at other locations. Probate No. 1146, in the collection of the Hawaii State Archives, follows:

August 6, 1877
Probate No. 1146
Mahoe^(k)

In the matter of the Estate of
Mahoe^(k) of
Wailuku, Maui, Deceased:

To the Honorable Abr. Fornander, Circuit Judge of Maui, Second District, Hawaiian Islands.

The one whose name is below, Namakalua ^(w), the wife of Mahoe ^(k) of Wailuku, Maui, since deceased, residing at Wailuku, Maui, hereby respectfully petitions you to settle the estate of Mahoe ^(k) aforementioned, and which descends to his heir. He had several personal properties which have yet to be settled.

Please set a date for hearing the validity of this request, and advertise it so that all people who have concern about this estate, may know.

Written in Lahaina on this 6th day of August, 1877.

Namakalua ^(w),
By her Attorney, L. Aholo.

Sworn to by Aholo Nov. 21, 1877.
A. Fornander,
Circuit Judge, Maui. [Maly, translator]

Nov. 21, 1877.
In Chambers, Wailuku

Est. Mahoe (k)
Wailuku

Petit. By Namakalua ^(w) for Decree of Heirs.

Publication Shown.
Aholo for Petit.

Hailama (k.) Contest. As relation.

M. Kealoha Sworn. At Honuaua. Knew Mahoe, and Namakalua ^(w). She was the married wife of Mahoe. A fact of general repute. They had no children. Mahoe had a brother, Pelapela, another, Kukalau, the father of Hailama. Kukalau and Mahoe were twins. Kukalau's wife was Opulani. They begat Hailama ^(k), Kaili ^(k). Kaili is dead. Pelapela had a wife, Akau. They had a child called Puleloa ^(k). All I know of. Heard Mahoe had land in Wailuku. Mahoe died not long ago. This year or the last. Puleloa ^(k) is alive.

Hailama ^(k) at Honuaua. Knew Mahoe, saw him dead. Think he died about 1875 or 1874. He had no property. Some houses. No Real Est. that I know of. Know piece of land in Wailuku that was sold by *Pali* of Waikapu to me. I placed Mahoe on the land to live. He being an uncle of mine. I sold the land again to Wilfong (Wailuku Plantation). *Pali* got the *Kuleana* from Makahookolo ^(k), and sold it to me. When I was at Lahainaluna about 1863. *Pali* inherited it from Makahookolo. I bought it fr. *Pali* and sold to Plantation. 1 acre 78/100. Sold the land and the house on it for \$150. I gave Namakalua \$50. out of that for the home. Mahoe had some 3 horses which I left with the widow.

Namakalua ^(w) sworn. Mahoe was my husband. He had property. Real Est. 4 mules, 1 horse. Land in Honuaua and *Kuleana* land in Wailuku. *Kuleana na maua pono* [that was for the two of us], 1 acre. It lies here now. It is planted by the *Haole*. Hailama sold it to Wilfong. He gave 1 horse, 1 mule and \$10 to *Pali* for the land. The land in Honuaua is in our name, the name of Mahoe.

Hailama, recalled. The deed from *Pali* to me is with the plantation owners. I got out of Lahainaluna School at 1861, and it was after that, that I bought the land from *Pali*. I gave

Pali 1 horse, 1 mule and \$10 for the land. ~~The land in Honuaua is 30 acres. The land was bought from Goodale.~~ [preceding two sentences crossed out] Mahoe got no land in Honuaua.

Pelapela died first. There was another brother of Mahoe called Pepeiaunui. Heard there was a sister, but she is dead. Pelapela and Kukalau joined in buying 20 acres of land from Goodale. Mahoe was not in that purchase. Pepeiaunui nui died first, then Pelapela, then Kukalau, and last Mahoe.

M. Kealoha, Recalled. One of the names of Mahoe was Hailama. He was known by that name.

X Don't know that Mahoe was called Hailama.

Court Decree. ½ to widow; ½ to the nephew of Decd.

Costs: \$11.45 pd. [Hawaii State Archives, MFL 55, Box AA-13]

A CHRONOLOGY OF SELECTED CONVEYANCES OF PROPERTY RIGHTS IN KA‘EO AND NEIGHBORING LANDS OF THE HONU‘ULA VICINITY – INCLUDING DEVELOPMENT OF SUGAR PLANTATIONS AND RANCHING INTERESTS

The documents cited in this section of the study provide readers with detailed accounts of land ownership and land use in Ka‘eo, and neighboring lands of Honua‘ula. The records were viewed in the collection of the Bureau of Conveyances, and in some instances are annotated with documentation from other published sources (cited in text). As a part of the present study, a review of the indices of conveyances for Maui, covering the years from 1845 to the 1920s, was conducted. As a result of that review all records which indicated a tie to lands of Ka‘eo, or which named families known to be of Ka‘eo, were viewed, and most are included below¹¹. These records trace transitions in land ownership and land use, and provide us with important documentation pertaining to traditional and historical sites on the land.

Summary of Makee Family Land Tenure in Ka‘eo and Adjoining lands of Honua‘ula (1854-1920)

In 1854, Captain James Makee, acquired his first interest in the holdings of Linton Torbert’s Ulupalakua Plantation, including portions of Ka‘eo (see Liber 6:608-609). By 1858, Torbert’s economic problems led him to convey all his remaining interests in the Honua‘ula lands to Makee, and from that time until his death in 1879, Makee ran the ‘Ulupalakua holdings.

On January 7, 1878, James and Catherine Makee conveyed a portion of their interests in lands of the “Rose Ranch” at ‘Ulupalakua, to their son, Parker Makee (Liber 55:1-9). In September 1879, James Makee, died, and shortly before his death, additional lands of the “Rose Ranch” were conveyed to the Makee children (Liber 61:1 & 232), with additional interests conveyed in 1883 (Liber 82:276), and 1885 (Liber 82:276). Cultivation of sugar on the ‘Ulupalakua lands ended in 1883, and the owners focused on ranching interests. In 1886, James Dowsett acquired interest in the ranch lands from Mrs. F.P. Hastings, a Makee daughter (Liber 101:200), and his own daughter, Phoebe, had married Charles Makee, and gained interest in the Makee holdings. Lands that made up Makee’s “Rose Ranch” remained basically as described in the earlier conveyances to James Makee, including the lands that were a part of Mahoe’s Royal Patent Grant No. 835 at Ka‘eo.

Under Dowsett’s management, the ranch also acquired additional lands in Ka‘eo, and continued to exercise its leasehold interest in lands of the larger Honua‘ula District. One parcel acquired by Dowsett, was the L.C.A. awarded to Kohilae (*Helu* 2401), which was conveyed to Malie Aukai from her adoptive father, Wahinekane, in 1885 (Liber 94:457-458). Malie Aukai sold the *kuleana* to Dowsett on May 16th, 1896 (Liber 159:314). Another parcel that was purchased by Dowsett, was the lot and building at Makena Landing, that G. Akuna purchased from John Kukahiko in 1892 (Liber 176:343-344). Akuna sold the parcel to Dowsett on March 14th, 1898 (Liber 176:343).

James Dowsett died in 1898, his interests in lands of the “Rose Ranch” (Ulupalakua) were consolidated under the interests of his daughter Phoebe, who had married Charles Makee. Upon the death of Charles Makee, Phoebe Dowsett-Makee, married James H. Raymond, and the Raymond interests were established at ‘Ulupalakua (cf. Liber 221:84 and Liber 225:221).

¹¹ We note here, that additional review of the indices will provide researchers with further records of conveyance. We focused on those conveyances which could be readily identified, but found that some conveyances are inaccurately indexed in the Bureau of Conveyances. Thus, it is likely that more records exist for the years we researched.

On October 20, 1882, Palupalu ^(K), son and heir of Kanakahou, conveyed, for \$65.00, his inherited interest L.C.A. *Helu 2427* at Mo'oiki (on the boundary with Maluaka); and Royal Patent Grant No. 1289, situated at Mo'oloa, to Kukahiko. *Helu 2427* containing 10.90 acres, and Royal Patent Grant No. 1289, containing 7.45 acres (Liber 80:98-99).

In 1929, L.A. Henke, of the University of Hawaii, published an account of livestock in Hawaii, in which he included the following summary of history at Ulupalakua Ranch:

Ulupalakua Ranch, extending along the sea for twenty-five miles and up the southwestern slope of Haleakala on Maui, has an area of approximately 63,000 acres, 28,000 of which are held in fee simple and the balance is government leased lands. While the ranch extends to the crater of Haleakala, the elevation of which is 10,000 feet, no good grazing areas are found above 6,000 feet elevation.

Ulupalakua formerly had quite a problem getting enough water and large cisterns were built. Now much of the water is secure through the Kula pipe line.

The ranch carries about 5,000 Hereford cattle at the present time, and some wild cattle are still found on different parts of the ranch. Some 1,500 head, averaging three years of age and dressing out at 500 pounds, are marketed annually; about 500 are slaughtered on Maui for local consumption and the balance are shipped to Honolulu.

The ranch headquarters are beautifully located in the midst of giant trees largely planted about 1865 by Captain John [James] Makee, then owner of the place.

This ranch has some of the finest grazing lands in the Islands. In addition to the imported grasses, cactus (*Opuntia* spp.) and *Koahaole* (*Leucaena glauca*) are widely distributed over the pastures.

Talbot [Torbert] and Wilcox about 1848 started a sugar plantation on part of these lands and this was purchased in 1853 by Captain James Makee, who continued it as a sugar plantation for a time, but sugar growing apparently was not entirely successful in this region under conditions then prevailing, and when J.I. Dowsett acquired these lands in the early eighties, he converted the place into a cattle ranch. According to some reports Shorthorn cattle were found on the ranch at this time. Mr. Dowsett took some Angus cattle there in 1885 but Angus blood never played a big role at Ulupalakua.

Dr. Raymond, a son-in-law of Mr. Dowsett, acquired the ranch in 1900 and continued as owner till 1923, and it is probable that Hereford cattle—the present breed—were first introduced by him. J.H. MacKenzie was manager for Dr. Raymond from 1906-1907, at which time the ranch carried about 4,000 cattle, mostly Shorthorns. He was followed by Angus McPhee, who supervised operation for three years. After this A.C. Dowsett was manager for a time. Mr. McPhee returned as manger in 1921 and in 1923 the ranch was purchased by F.F. Baldwin, the present owner. Mr. McPhee continued as manager of the ranch till 1925, when Edward Baldwin took charge. [Henke, 1929:60]

Conveyances of Land in Ka'eo and Vicinity, Honua'ula District (1850-1956)

June 15, 1850

Liber 4:200-203

L.L. Torbert, to S.N. Castle & A.S. Cook, Agents

Mortgage.

Covering Torbert's Plantation, Road and Landing—lands of Honuaua, described in Royal Patent Grants 120, 223 and 234:

This indenture made the fifteenth day of June A.D. Eighteen hundred & fifty between Linton L. Torbert of Honuaua, Island of Maui, Hawaiian Islands of the one part, and Samuel N. Castle and Amos S. Cook agents of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at the Sandwich Islands, of the other part, Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the sum of Ten thousand dollars to him, the said Linton L. Torbert, paid... he, the said Linton L. Torbert hath given, granted, sold, & conveyed unto the said Samuel N. Castle, and Amos S., Cook, agents of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions... & their successors in office, all that certain tract or parcel of land known as "Torbert Plantation" & situated in Honuaua, Island of Maui. Aforesaid, containing Two thousand & eighty seven 86/100 acres & which is more particularly described in Royal Patent No. 120 [Papaanui & Waipao] and the survey connected therewith on file & record in the Office of the Minister of the Interior for the Hawaiian Islands, and also all that certain other tract or parcel of land Known as "Torbert's Road" and Landing, situated in Honuaua aforesaid, containing sixty eight acres more or less & which is more particularly described in Royal Patent No. 223 [Papaanui], on record in the Office of the Minister of the Interior aforesaid, and also all that certain other tract or parcel of land known as the two Ahupuaas of "Koheo" situated in Kula, Island of Maui aforesaid, Containing eight hundred acres more or less. More particularly described in a warranty Deed of the same executed on the 28th day of December, A.D. 1849 by Kaisara Kapaakea & Keohokalole, to the said Torbert & recorded in Lib. 1 of Warranty Deeds at page 89 & 90, on the 20th day of February A.D. 1850 at 4 o'clock P.M. in the office of the Registrar of Conveyances for the Hawaiian Islands; and also one undivided half of all that certain other tract or parcel of land situated in Honuaua...containing (19) nineteen hundred and eighty six acres, more or less, which was conveyed to the said Torbert & William Wilcox on the 4th day of March A.D. 1850, by Royal Patent No. 234, on record in the Office of the Minister of the Interior... Together with all the mills, buildings, rights, privileges and appurtenances, to the above conveyed lands in anywise appertaining & belonging thereto; and all the working cattle, carts, ploughs, and other implements in anywise appertaining or belonging to either or both of the first two conveyed tracts, namely "Torbert's Plantation" & "Torbert's Road and Landing" more particularly described in the above named Royal Patents No.s 120 & 223.

To have and to hold the above granted lands, mills, buildings, rights, Privileges, and appurtenances, and working Cattle, carts, ploughs, and other implements unto the said Samuel N. Castle & Amos S. Castle [Cook], agents of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions... & their assigns forever.

Provided always & it is hereby agreed by & between the said parties to these presents, that if the said Linton L. Torbert, his heirs, executors, or administrators...shall pay or cause to be paid to the said Samuel N. Castle & Amos S. Cook... the sum of five thousand dollars together with Interest for the same at the rate of twelve percent per annum in one year from the date hereof...

On August 15th, 1851, Torbert again mortgaged the properties described in Liber 4:200-203 to the estate of George W. Richardson (H.N. Crabb and Douglas Macintosh, assignees) (Liber 5:96-97). Two weeks later, on September 2nd, 1851, Torbert reassigned the above mortgages to A.P. Everett (Liber 5:131-138), as well as—lands at Kama'ole, Kula, granted to his wife, Mary Torbert, in Royal Patent No.'s 408 and 518; land at 'Ulupalakua (Papa'anui), described in Grant No. 119 (to D.K. Calyer, assigned to L. Torbert); and land at Kulakahua, Waikiki, O'ahu (Royal Patent No. 290); along with all his:

...personal and mixed estate including goods, wares, merchandise, furniture, horses, cattle, sugar, syrup, molasses, cane, machinery, vessels, boilers...

The terms were from the date of the instrument to June 1st, 1852, after which date, should payments not be made, legal actions could be entered into. Among the parties to the agreement was the firm of Makee and Anthon and Company.

September 11, 1854

Liber 6:608-609

Maaweiki, to I. Kawaa

Warranty Deed – Conveying Maaweiki's Kuleana Land (Helu 3676) at Kaeo, to I. Kawaa:

Know all men by these presents, that I, Maaweiki of Honuaula, Island of Maui, hereby release and convey, and by this instrument release to I. Kawaa and his heirs for all time, all that parcel of land situated at Kaeo, Honuaula, Island of Maui, described thus:

Beginning on the Northern corner and running S. 1^o W. 184 links along stone wall; S. 80^o, W. 180 links, along land of Kaili; N. 10^o, W. 152 links, along land of *Konohiki*; N. 72^o, E. 217 links along land of *Konohiki* to the point of commencement, being 0.324 Acres. Here is the reason for my releasing my land on this day, I. Kawaa did give into my hands, one hundred dollars... therefore, I have conveyed this place to him, along with all the rights and privileges thereto attached... [Maly translator]

The above instrument is the last record of conveyance which specifically identifies the Maaweiki house lot at Ka'eo, that we located while conducting the present study. The parcel is presently occupied by the home of Sam Garcia, Jr. A circa 1940 survey of the proposed "Makena Camp Site," which would have become a part of the church property, included a diagram which depicts the boundaries of the Maaweiki *kuleana*, though the Land Commission Award Number (*Helu* 3676) was dropped by that time. *Figure 8* comes from the collection of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association Archives—note Kalili's L.C.Aw. 2399:2, and adjoining wall alignments coinciding with the original survey of Maaweiki's claim¹².

April 1, 1854

Liber 6:667-668

A.P. Everett, to J. Makee

Assigns Dept covered by Land Described as Torbert's Plantation, and other properties to James Makee:

Whereas I, Alijah P. Everett of Honolulu, am about to leave the Kingdom, and whereas by a Deed of assignment dated on the first [eleventh] day of September, Eighteen Hundred fifty one, and of record in the Office of the Registrar of Conveyances in Liber 5

¹² For original plot plan and survey of *Helu* 3676, see *Mahele Award Book*, Volume 7:450 (Dec. 30, 1853); in this study on page 127.

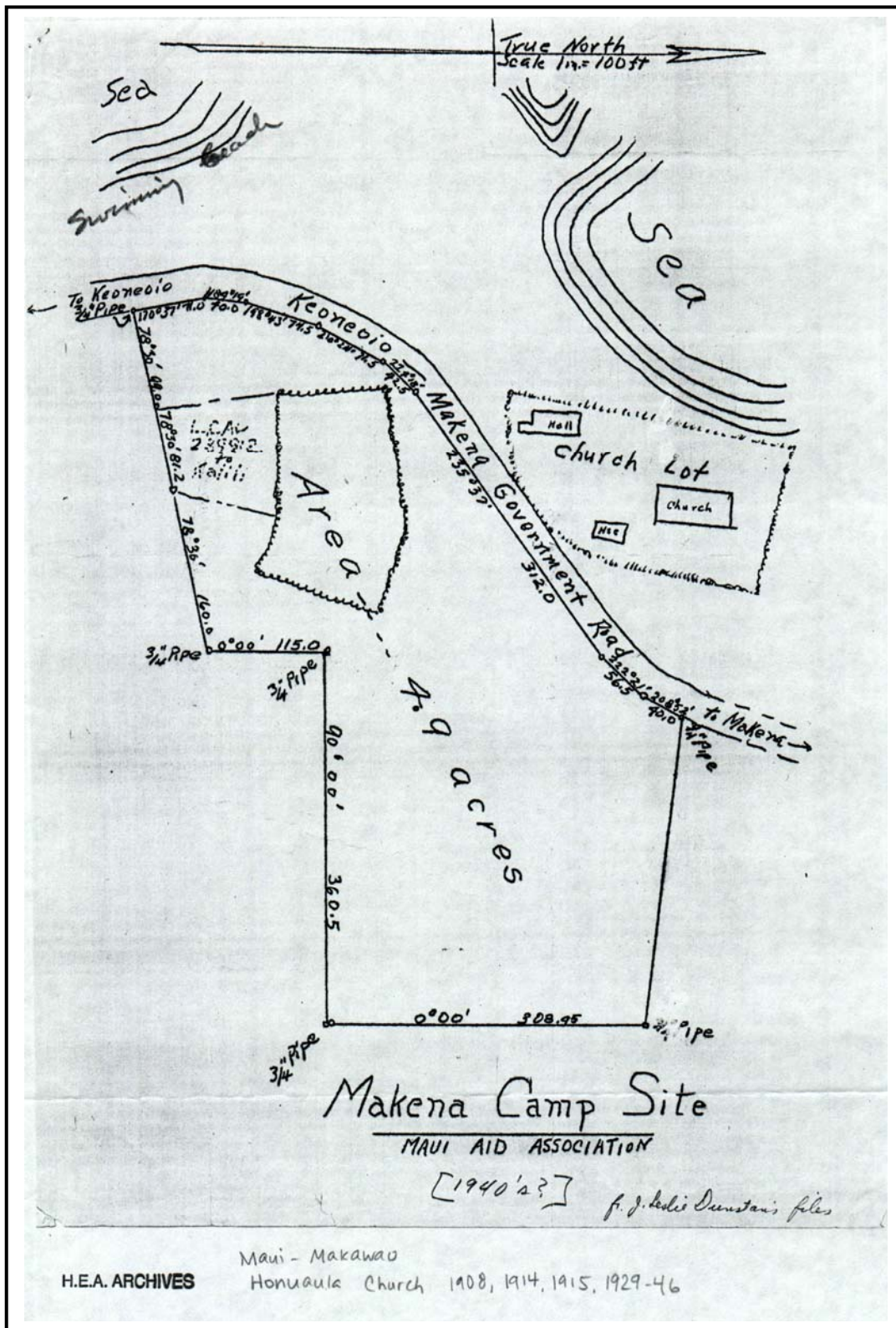


Figure 8. Map Depicting Location of Maaweiki's House Lot at Ka'eo (Helu 3676) – Makena Camp Site Survey (ca. 1940; Collection of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association)

on pages 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137 & 138, Linton L. Torbert assigned to me all of his right, and title in and to the Torbert Plantation, so called and other property more particularly described in said Deed of assignment now of record, in trust for the use and benefit of his creditors, and whereas the said Linton L. Torbert and the creditors who are party to the said deed of assignment, or by this instrument securing their consent, that I may transfer the said property assigned to me, to James Makee of Honolulu in Trust as aforesaid.

Know all men by these presents that I, Alijah P. Everett...in consideration of ten dollars to me paid by James Makee... do hereby assign and transfer to the said James Makee... all of the real estate and personal property secured in a Deed of assignment from the said L.L. Torbert... to James Makee...

January 23rd, 1856

Liber 7:413-414

James Makee to C. Brewer, 2nd.

Deed

Conveying portions of Kaeo and various lands of the Honuauia Region to C. Brewer:

Know all men by these presents, that I, James Makee of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, assignee of the estate of Linton L. Torbert, of the Island of Maui, for and in consideration of the sum of seven thousand six hundred and seventeen dollars to me paid by Charles Brewer 2nd, of the same place, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, has granted, bargained, sold and conveyed, and by these presents, do grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Charles Brewer & Co... all those certain tracts or parcels of land situate on the Island of Maui...and fully described in the following Royal Patents.

Royal Patent No. 120 [Papaanui & Waipao], granted to Linton L. Torbert, and dated the 23rd day of October 1848, and containing about two thousand and sixty seven 86/100 acres; Royal Patent No. 223 [Papaanui], granted to L.L. Torbert and dated the 19th day of February, 1850, and containing about 68 acres. Also, to all that property described in Royal Patent No. 234 [Papaanui], and granted to Linton L. Torbert and William Wilcox, dated the 4th day of March, 1850, and containing about 1986 acres, the right and interest of William Wilcox being since conveyed to the said Linton L. Torbert by a Warranty Deed dated the 18th of December 1855... Also, all that other tract of land described in Royal Patent No. 119 [Papaanui]... granted to D.K. Calyer, and dated the 12th day of April 1849, and since conveyed by the said Calyer to the said Linton L. Torbert by deed bearing date of the third day of October, 1851..., and containing about 76 Eka, 3 Kaul., 104 Anana. Also, all those tracts of land described in Royal Patent No. 1441 [Mooiki], dated the twentieth day of August 1851, granted to Linton L. Torbert, and containing all about 125 62/100 acres. Also, all the certain tract of land and described in Royal Patent No. 1671 [Keauhou], dated the 4th day of April 1855, and containing about nine acres. Also to all that tract of land described in Royal Patent No. 1510 [Mooiki], dated the 20th day of January 1855, and granted to Linton L. Torbert, and containing about 3 73/100 acres, more or less. Also, all that other tract of land described in Royal Patent No. 1469 [Papaanui & Kanaio], granted to Linton L. Torbert *i keia la mua o Novemaba* 1856, and containing about 507.87 eka. Also, to all that other tract of property [Kaeo] containing about 100 acres and fully described in a Warranty Deed made and executed by Mahoe and Pikanele, his wife, and dated the 18th day of December 1855, granted to the said Linton L. Torbert, together with all and singular, the tenements, hereditaments, and appurtenances to the same belonging... And also all the estate, right, title, interest, property, possessions, claims and demands whatsoever, as well in law as in equity of the

said Linton L. Torbert... To have and to hold...the above described premises together with all appurtenances to the said Charles Brewer 2nd, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, to his and their use and behoof for ever...

August 13, 1858

Liber 11:47

Linton L. Torbert, to James Makee

Deed

Conveying lands and livestock of the Torbert Plantation to James Makee:

This indenture made the thirteenth day of August in the year one thousand eight hundred & fifty eight. Between Linton L. Torbert of East Maui of the first part & James Makee of East Maui of the second part. Witnesseth, that the said Linton. L. Torbert for & in consideration of Nine Thousand two hundred & fifty dollars, lawful money to him in hand paid by the said James Makee, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, hath granted, bargained, sold & by these present doth grant, bargain, sell & convey, and confirms unto the said James Makee, his heirs, executors, administrator & assigns...all & singular those certain tract of land situate in Honuaula, East Maui, known as the Torbert Plantation, and fully described & set forth in two Deeds of Conveyances made & executed on the 15th day of December 1856, the one by James Makee & Catherine Makee to Linton L. Torbert, & the other by Chas. Brewer 2nd, & M.H. Brewer to Linton L. Torbert & both duly recorded in the Office of the Registrar of Conveyances in Liber 8 on pages 408, 409, 410, 411 & 412. And also all of the Cattle, Horses, Stock & Property of every nature & kind whatsoever, as described in said Deeds, or belonging to & on the said Plantation on the second day of August 1858. To have and to hold all & singular...forever...

On December 22nd, 1876, J.M. Kapena, Land Agent of Maui, on behalf of the Minister of the Interior, entered into a lease agreement with James Makee, of 'Ulupalakua, granting to Makee a lease of all remnant Government land, lying below the Government Road to the shore, and between the lands of Papaanui to Papaka. Terms of the lease were for twelve years, after which time the lands were to revert to the Government (Liber 47:498-499).

January 8th, 1883

Liber 80:97

Mrs. C. Makee, to J. Kukahiko

Deed

Conveying two parcels of land—one at Makena, Kaeo and Papaanui; the second at Kapuaieka and Pepeiaolepo, Keauhou—to John Kukahiko:

Know all men by these presents that I am Mrs. C. Makee, of Honuaula, Island of Maui, Hawaiian Islands. Having received in my hand, good money in the amount of \$50.00 from J. Kukahiko of Honuaula, Maui. That I do thereby sell several parcels of land at Makena, in the *ili* of Papaanui and Kaeo, called Lot 1, and containing 3 acres. And Lot two, containing 4 acres, situated at Kapuaieka and Pepeiaolepo, in the *ili* of Keauhou, Honuaula, Island of Maui. There being 7 acres of land in total. And that the right to do so, has been obtained by me, through the will approved by the high courts. Therefore, I convey the places aforesaid in this instrument to John Kukahiko, his heirs, assigns, and executors for all time... There also being conveyed all appurtenances and benefits associated with these lands to John Kukahiko... [Maly, translator]

On October 26th, 1885, Wahinekane ^(K), the son and heir of Kohilae, conveyed his interest in L.C.A. Helu 2401—a *kuleana* in Ka'eo, including land and houses—to his *hānai* daughter, Malie Aukai (Liber 94:457-458).

October 25, 1880

Liber 97:463-464

Kali, Puhipuhi and Hopoe, to J. Kapohakimohewa

Lease

Granting a lease of 141 acres and Fishery Rights from Royal Patent Grant No. 835 (of Mahoe), to J. Kapohakimohewa:

This is an agreement of lease, executed this 25th day of October, 1880, between Kali ^(w) of Kapalama, Oahu; Puhipuhi ^(w) and Pala ^(k), her husband, of Waikapu, Maui; and Hopoe ^(w), and her husband Laiki ^(k), of Hilo, Hawaii, parties of the first part; and J. Kapohakimohewa ^(k), of Honuaua, Maui, party of the second part. Here is what is made known. The parties of the first part, hereby lease, and grant by this lease, a leasehold interest to the party of the second part, his heirs and assigns, the total 141 acres, and the *Konohiki* fish in the sea, situated at Honuaua, Maui, that is the said, *Ahupuaa* of Kaeo, being the land described in Royal Patent No. 835. To be held by the party of the second part, in the form of a lease, for himself, his heirs and assigns, for the period of ten years, beginning on the first day of January, 1881, at a rate of \$30.00 per year... [Maly, translator]

On August 17th, 1888, John Kekukahiko (Kukahiko) of Makena, Honuaua, entered into a leasehold agreement with two Chinese men, Apana and Asamu, of Kula, Maui, leasing to them, his wooden house at Makena (31 feet long, by 17 feet wide, with a verandah, and adjoining the house of J. Makee), for a variable rental rate from \$4.00 to \$7.00 per month, over the period of fifteen years. The terms of the lease were to run from September 1, 1888 to the last day of August, 1903. It was further agreed that the lessees would be able to construct a pen for pigs on the land of John Kukahiko... (Liber 112:259-260; Maly, translator).

On September 19th, 1892, John Kukahiko sold a portion of his Makena lands to a Chinese by the name of G. Akuna. The parcel measured 75 feet, by 35 feet, by 48 feet, by 37 feet (Liber 154:452-453). On March 14th, 1898, G. Akuna sold his lot to James Dowsett (Liber 176:343-344).

November 9, 1899

Liber 208:245

Pala, to J.M. Napulou

Deed

Conveying interest in the land of Mahoe (Royal Patent Grant No. 835), to J.M. Napulou:

Know all men, that I, Pala ^(k), of Waikapu, District of Wailuku, Island of Maui, the husband of Puhipuhi ^(w), a true daughter of Mahoe ^(k) deceased, of Honuaua, Maui; for \$20.00 in good money paid to me by J.M. Napulou ^(k), from Honuaua, Maui, aforesaid; by this instrument, I hereby sell, give, release, and by this instrument convey to J.M. Napulou ^(k), his heirs, assigns, and executors for all time, all my rights, as the husband in the property of my wife, Puhipuhi ^(w); it being an undivided interest in the parcel of land confirmed to Mahoe ^(k), aforementioned...

The Maui News reported on July 21st, 1906, that John M. Napulou:

“Postmaster at Makena, died on the 12th inst. and on the following day was buried at Waihee. He was a strong Republican and at one time was District Judge at Honuaua, Maui.”

February 3, 1902

J. Kukahiko & wf.; to Kealokai, et als.

Deed:

Know all men that by this instrument, I, John Kukahiko and Kamaka, my wife, of Makena, Honuaula, Island of Maui, Hawaiian Islands, from good money, in the amount of \$50.00, obtained by us from Kealokai (w.), Mahele (k.), Kaahanui (k.), Kauwekane (k.), Haehae (w.), Moloa (w.), Halelau (k.), Kaaipuni (w.), Ane (w.), Kalehualuuwai (k.), our own children, and from John Kukahiko, Junior, our own grandson, of Makena, Honuaula, Maui, Territory of Hawaii... do hereby sell grant, and forever release unto them, all those pieces of lands which belong to us, situated at Honuaula, Maui, and described as:

Parcel 1, in the *ili* of Papaanui and Kaeo, containing 3 Acres, and there being on this parcel, 1 large wooden house (*halelaau*), and 3 small wooden houses;

Parcel 2, the piece of land situated in the *ili* of Keauhou, containing 4 Acres;

The parcels of land situated at Mooiki, described in Royal Patent, for Land Commission Award Number 2427 [the claim originally awarded to Kanakahou]; there being two parcels, Apana 2 & 3, and containing 6 90/100ths Acres; and

Parcel 4, containing 4 1/25th Acres.

There being conveyed all rights, privileges and everything situated upon the said parcels, to Kealokai (w.), Mahele (k.), Kaahanui (k.), Kauwekane (k.), Haehae (w.), Moloa (w.), Halelau (k.), Kaaipuni (w.), Ane (w.), Kalehualuuwai (k.), our beloved children; and to John Kukahiko, Junior, our beloved grandson.

We also make known, that we two shall continue to reside upon the said parcels of land and in our houses under joint tenancy as long as we shall live. Then upon our death the properties shall be shared in joint tenancy by all of our children and our grandson.

We also make it known here, that no one of them shall have the power to sell their interest in the land or buildings to any other. But if they desire to sell their interest, it must be to another one of them, who are named above... [BoC Liber 238:217-218; Maly, translator]

September 15, 1905

Liber 317:33-34

Makakehau & husband, J.D. Keamokoilani, and Kapakahi Keliikoliola; to J. Kapohakimohewa

Deed

Conveying Land Commission Award Helu 4292 B, situated at Kaeo, to J. Kapohakimohewa:

Know all men by this instrument, that I, Makakehau ^(w), and J.D. Keamokoilani ^(k), my wedded husband, and Kapakahi ^(w), my younger sister, we being born from the loins of Kawaa ^(w) and Kaoao ^(k), who were wedded. Kaoao ^(k) was a true son of Kalama ^(k), deceased. By this instrument we attest that we have truly received \$20.00 in our hands, from J. Kapohakimohewa, and that we hereby sell and convey to J. Kapohakimohewa, of Honuaula, Maui County, and his heirs and successors for all time, the half interest in the house lot and land situated in the *Ahupuaa* of Kaeo, Honuaula, Maui County. It is described in Royal Patent No. 4137, written in the name of Kalama ^(k), our grandfather... (Recorded on April 17th, 1909)

Makakehau Keamokoilani, and Kapakahi Keliikoliola, sisters, were the daughters of Kawaa (w.) and Kaoao (k.). Kaoao was the son of Kalama (k.), recipient of *Helu* 4292 B—perhaps being the same line of Kawaa who purchased *Helu* 3676 from Maaweiki in 1854. Earlier 1898 (recorded in 1909), J. Kapohakimohewa, residing at Keawakapu, Ka'eo, had purchased several parcels of land at Kanahena and Mo'omuku (February 14, 1898; recorded April 17th, 1909; Liber 317:32-33).

August 31, 1908

Liber 305:420-421

Kali Naluai (widow), to Trustee of J.H. Raymond, et al.

Conveying portion of lands described in Royal Patent Grant No. 835, at Kaeo, to Ulupalakua Ranch:

This indenture made this 31st day of August 1908, between Kali Naluai ^(w) of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii (widow), of the first part and the Henry Waterhouse Trust Company, Limited, a Corporation duly created, organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the said Territory of Hawaii, as Trustee for J.H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond of the second part,

Witnesseth: That the said party of the first part, in consideration of the sum of Eighty Dollars (\$80.00) to her paid by the said party of the second part, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, does hereby give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said party of the second part, an undivided five twelfths part of all that certain tract or parcel of land situate at Kaeo, Honuaula, Island of Maui, Territory of Hawaii aforesaid, bounded and described as follows:

E hoomaka ana ma ka lae ma ke Kahuahale maluna ae o kahi loko a e holo ana ma ke Kuapa Akau i ka

He 88^o Hi 43.67 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka Pa;

He 52 ½^o Hi 14.92 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka Pa;

He 82 ½^o Hi 10.26 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka Pa;

Ak. 84 ¾^o Hi 28. 25 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka Pa;

Ak. 89 ¾^o Hi 26.50 i kahi i anaia mamua, e pili ana ko Kupa Pa hale, e hele ana i ko He. Kom.

Beginning on the point and at the House site thereon, by the pond, and running along the north of the pond wall (*kuapa*) to:

S. 88^o E. 43.67 to the stone mound on the Wall;

S. 52 ½^o E. 14.92 to the stone mound on the Wall;

S. 82 ½^o E. 10.26 to the stone mound on the Wall;

N. 84 ¾^o E. 28. 25 to the stone mound on the Wall;

N. 89 ¾^o E. 26.50 to the place first surveyed, and adjoining the house lot of Kupa, running to the south west. [Maly, translator]

Said tract or parcel of land being all that portion of Royal Patent (Grant) No. 835 to Mahoe^(k) lying on the south side of the wall known as "Torbert's Wall" and being the same tract or parcel of land that was conveyed to the said party of the first part and Puhipuhi ^(w) and Hopoe ^(w) her sisters by the said Mahoe ^(k) by deed dated January 24, 1872 and recorded in the office of the Registrar of Conveyances in said Honolulu, in Liber 34 on Folios 164-166.

To have and to hold the afore granted premises with all the easements, privileges, and appurtenances thereto belonging, to the said party of the second part its successors and

assigns forever, upon the trusts nevertheless and to and for the uses, interests and purposes limited described and declared in a certain deed of trust made by the said J.H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond to the said Henry Waterhouse Trust Company, dated January 2, 1905, and recorded in the office of the said Registrar of Conveyances in Liber 264 folio 378 and in a certain trust mortgage made by the said Raymonds to the said Company dated January 2, 1905 and recorded in the office of the Registrar in Liber 268 folio 100...

Kali Naluai...

In 1908, Mary Sniffen-Joseph, the sole surviving daughter of Hopoe Mahoe-Sniffen and Elijah Sniffen, sold a portion of Mahoe's (her grandfather's) of the three daughters of Mahoe (Liber 475:498). Mary Joseph and her husband later sold their interest in Ka'eo (Royal Patent Grant No. 835) to David Kapohakimohewa, as described in the conveyance below:

December 21st, 1908

Liber 317:34-35

**Mary Joseph & Husband, to David Kapohakimohewa
Conveying a portion of Royal Patent Grant No. 835,
land of Kaeo, to D. Kapohakimohewa:**

This indenture made the 21st day of December A.D. 1908, between Mary Joseph and her husband, Levi L. Joseph, of Kipahulu, in the County of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, of the first part, and David Kapohakimohewa of Keokea, Kula, Maui, of the second part.

Witnesseth: that the said parties of the first part, for and in consideration of thirty dollars, lawful money of the United States to me in hand paid by the said party of the second part, hath granted, bargained, and sold... unto the said party of the second part... all and singular, our interest in that certain piece or parcel of land situated at Kaeo, Honuaula, Maui, described in R.P. 835 Grant to Mahoe ^(k), together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments, and appurtenances thereunto belonging... (Recorded on April 17th, 1909)

September 8th, 1909

Liber 317:365-366

**John Sniffen, to Trustee of J.H. Raymond, et al.
Deed**

**Conveying portion of land of Kaeo, in Royal Patent Grant 835,
to J.H. Raymond (Ulupalakua Ranch):**

This indenture made this 8th day of September A.D. 1909, between John Sniffen of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii, bachelor, of the first part and the Henry Waterhouse Trust Company, Limited, a corporation duly created, organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the said Territory of Hawaii, as Trustee for J.H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, of the second part

Witnesseth: That the said party of the first part in consideration of the sum of Twenty five Dollars (\$25.) to him paid by the said party of the second part, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do hereby give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said party of the second part an undivided one twelfth part of all that certain tract or parcel of land situate at Kaeo, Honuaula, Island of Maui... bounded and described as follows:

E hoomaka ana ma ka lae ma ke Kahuahale maluna ae o kahi loko a e holo ana ma ke Kuapa Akau i ka He 88^o Hi 43.67 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka Pa;

*He 52 ½^o Hi 14.92 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka pa;
He 82 ½^o Hi 10.26 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka pa;
Ak. 84 ¾^o Hi 28. 25 a ke Ahuapohaku maluna o ka pa;
Ak. 89 ¾^o Hi 26.50 i kahi i anaia mamua, e pili ana ko Kupa pa hale, e hele ana i ko He.
Kom. [see translation above]*

Said tract or parcel of land being all that portion of Royal Patent (Grant) No. 835 to Mahoe^(k) lying on the South side of the wall known as “Torbert’s Wall” and being the same tract or parcel of land that was conveyed to Hopoe^(w), the mother of said party of the first part, and Kali^(w), and Puhipuhi^(w), her sisters by the said Mahoe^(k), by deed dated January 24, 1872, and recorded in the Office of the Registrar of Conveyances in said Honolulu, in Liber 34 on folios 164-166...

On September 13th, 1909, George Sniffen, brother of John Sniffen, conveyed his one-twelfth interest in his mother’s share of Royal Patent Grant No. 835 to J.H. Raymond (Ulupalakua Ranch) (Liber 317:389-390).

Liber 319:392

October 20th, 1909

Kipola [Sniffen] Kaholokula & husband, Alapai Kaholokula;

to David Kapohakimohewa

Deed

Conveying and interest in Royal Patent Grant 835, land of Mahoe, at Kaeo:

This indenture made the 20th day of October 1909, between Mrs. Kipola Alapai Kaholokula of Hamakuapoko, County of Maui... of the first part and David Kapohakimohewa of Keokea, Kula... of the second part.

Witnesseth, that the said party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of twenty dollars lawful money of the United States, to her duly paid before the delivery hereof, hath bargained and sold, and by these presents doth grant and convey to the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns, forever, all the interest in that piece of land situated at Kaeo, Honuaula, County of Maui, described in Grant 835, together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments, and appurtenances thereunto belonging...

The trusteeship of H. Waterhouse and Company, on behalf of J.H. Raymond, et al., was closed on August 1st, 1910, and the landholdings of the Ulupalakua Ranch—including those lands which made up Royal Patent Grant No. 835—were transferred back to the Raymond family. Several conveyances were filed on August 1st, and recorded the following:

August 1, 1910

Liber 340:62-63

J.H. Raymond, et al., by Trustee, to J.H. Raymond, et al.

Conveying a 2/12th interest in Royal Patent Grant No. 835 at Kaeo (from heirs of Mahoe):

This Deed, made this 1st day of August 1910, by and between the Henry Waterhouse Trust Company, Limited... as trustee for James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, hereinafter throughout this instrument designated as “Grantor,” and James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, of the City and County of Honolulu...hereinafter throughout this instrument designated as “Grantees,” Witnesseth:

That said Grantor, in consideration of One Dollar (\$1.), the receipt whereof is acknowledged, does hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto said Grantee all of its right, title and interest, legal and equitable, in and to the following described properties:

(1) All of its undivided one-twelfth (1/12) right, title, interest and part of and in that certain tract and parcel of land situate at Kaeo, Honuaula, Island and of County of Maui... being the same premises particularly described by metes and bounds in and conveyed by deed from John Sniffen to the Grantor herein named of date September 8, 1909, and of record in Liber 317 on page 365-366;

(2) All of its undivided one-twelfth (1/12) right, title, interest and part of and in that certain tract and parcel of land situate at Kaeo, Honuaula...being the same premises particularly described by metes and bounds in and conveyed by deed from George Sniffen to the Grantor herein named of date September 13, 1909, and of record in Liber 317 on pages 389-390;

(3) All of its right, title and interest in and to that certain piece and parcel of land in the first section situate at Moomuku, District of Honuaula...more particularly described by and in Grant No. 1498 to Manu, and containing an area of 23.15 acres, and being the same premises conveyed by Henry Kaumai (widower), of Honolulu, to the Grantor herein named by deed dated March 2, 1910, and of record in Liber 328 on pages 263-264.

To have and to hold the hereinabove described premises...together with all the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging, unto the said James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond...forever...

August 1, 1910

Liber 340:62-63

J.H. Raymond, et al., by Trustee, to J.H. Raymond, et al.

Conveying a 5/12th interest in Royal Patent Grant No. 835 at Kaeo

(from heirs of Mahoe):

This Deed, made this 1st day of August 1910, by and between the Henry Waterhouse Trust Company, Limited... as trustee for James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, hereinafter throughout this instrument designated as "Grantor," and James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, of the City and County of Honolulu...hereinafter throughout this instrument designated as "Grantees," Witnesseth:

That said Grantor, in consideration of One Dollar (\$1.), the receipt whereof is acknowledged, does hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto said Grantee all of its right, title and interest, legal and equitable, in and to the following described properties:

1. Those certain pieces and parcels of land containing in all, an area of about fifty acres, and being all of the premises conveyed by the deed of W.H. Cornwell to Henry Waterhouse and Arthur B. Wood, trustees for James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, by deed dated September 21, 1903, recorded in Liber 254, page 472.
2. All that certain piece of land situated on the Island of Maui, described in and covered by deed from Kali Naluai (widow) dated August 31, 1908, recorded in Liber 305, page 42, et seq., and conveying an undivided 5/12 of land at Kaeo, Honuaula, Maui, being portion of Grant 835 to Mahoe on the south side of wall known as "Torbert's Wall;" and

3. All that certain piece of land situate on the Island of Maui, described in and covered by deed from Julia I. Oneha and husband, dated August 24, 1909, and recorded in Liber 317, page 318, et seq., and conveying land at Kalihi, Honuaula, as in Grant 1474 to Kaaua, and containing an area of 17.86 acres more or less.

To have and to hold the hereinabove described premises...with all the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging...forever...

Conditions of the agreements, and provisions for future management of the Makee Estate, and holdings, subsequently referred to as the "Raymond Ranch," were detailed in an instrument recorded in Liber 340, on pages 64 to 73, and dated August 1st, 1910.

Having terminated the agreement of trusteeship with H. Waterhouse, on August 1st, 1910, the Raymond interests were assigned to Hawaiian Trust Company, Limited, as trustees of mortgage (BoC Liber 333:276-303). The instrument of transaction is important as it documents chain of title for land holdings of the ranch, including the lands formerly owned by Māhoe and heirs, as a part of Royal Patent Grant No. 835; and also provides us with details on the extent of livestock controlled by the ranch at the time. Excerpts from the instrument are cited below:

August 1, 1910

Liber 333:276-303

**James H., and Phoebe K. Raymond; to Hawaiian Trust Co. Ltd., Trustee
Description of holdings of "Raymond Ranch:"**

This Indenture, made and entered into this first day of August, 1910, by and between James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, his wife, both of the City and County of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, who, among other things, are engaged in conducting and carrying on what is commonly known as and called the "Raymond Ranch," situate on the Island of Maui, said Territory of Hawaii, hereinafter throughout this instrument designated "Grantors;" and the Hawaiian Trust Company, Limited, an Hawaiian corporation, hereinafter throughout this instrument designated as "Trustee;" Witnesseth: that

Whereas, there is at the present time outstanding against said Raymond Ranch properties a bonded indebtedness amounting in the aggregate to the sum of One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Dollars, secured by Deed of Trust to the Henry Waterhouse Trust Company, Limited, as trustee; and

Whereas, there is also, at the present time unsecured indebtedness against said grantors amounting in the aggregate to approximately Fifteen Thousand Dollars; and

Whereas, with a view to providing means to refund and satisfy said existing indebtedness forthwith and simultaneously with the execution of these presents, said grantors propose to make and execute their joint and several bonds amounting in the aggregate to the sum of One Hundred and Thirty-five Thousand Dollars, thereby becoming indebted to such persons as may, from time to time become holders thereof; and, in order to secure the payment thereof, do join in executing and delivering to the Hawaiian Trust Company, Limited, as trustee for said bondholders this deed of trust or first mortgage upon all of the properties now and hereafter comprising said Raymond Ranch.

Now, therefore, in order to properly effectuate the premises, and [page 276]carry out the full intent of all parties hereto in securing the bonded indebtedness last hereinabove referred to, said James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, (grantors aforesaid)

...in consideration of One Dollar to them in hand paid by said Hawaiian Trust Company, Limited, receipt whereof is acknowledged, do hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto said Hawaiian Trust Company, Limited, as Trustee aforesaid, for the uses and purposes in this instrument specified, all of the properties, real, personal or mixed, connected or having to do with or constituting a part of what is commonly known as and called the "Raymond Ranch," situate on the Island of Maui, in the Territory of Hawaii, as well as all properties, real and personal, which from time to time hereafter during the life of this Deed of Trust, may be acquired by purchase or otherwise by or for said grantors, or either of them, and become part and parcel of or in anywise used in connection with said Raymond Ranch properties; portions of said Ranch properties being more particularly described by metes and bounds, and otherwise, as follows:

First: The estate situated on the Island of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, known as the "Rose Ranch," being the same premises described in a deed from Parker M. Makee and others to James I. Dowsett, dated March 3, A.D. 1886, of record in Liber 101, page 200, and in a deed from the James I. Dowsett Estate, Limited, to the Dowsett Company, Limited, dated January 10, A.D. 1900, recorded in Liber 203, page 282, and in deed from J.M. Monsarrat, guardian of the estate of Genevieve Dowsett and Marion C. Dowsett, minors, to The Dowsett Company, Limited, dated the 23rd day of March, A.D. 1900, recorded in Liber 201, page 469, and in a deed from David Dayton, guardian of the estate of Madeline C.K. Dowsett and Annie C.K. Dowsett, minors, to The Dowsett Company, Limited, dated the 23rd day of March, A.D. 1900, recorded in Liber 203, page 491, and having an area, according to the survey and estimate of M.D. Monsarrat, Surveyor, of fifteen thousand eight hundred seventy-six and 65/100 (15,876.65) acres, and being the same premises conveyed in a deed from The Dowsett Company, Limited, to said Phoebe K. Raymond, by deed dated August 13, A.D. 1901, recorded in Liber 225, page 218.

Second: The estate situated on said Island of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, known as the "Kahikinui Ranch," comprising the following pieces or parcels of land: [page 277]

...Third: A certain indenture of Lease from Edward S. Boyd, Commissioner of Public Lands of the Territory of Hawaii, to James H. Raymond, numbered 541, and dated September 20, A.D. 1902, recorded in Liber 240, page 160, for the term of twenty-one (21) years from that date, of the land known as "Kahikinui," on the Island of Maui, as herein described, containing an area of twenty-five thousand (25,000) acres more or less. Intending to assign, transfer and set over the said lease and the premises thereby demised to the Hawaiian Trust Company, Limited, permission having been obtained therefore in accordance with said Lease.

Fourth: A certain license from Edward S. Boyd, Commissioner of Public Lands, to Henry Waterhouse and Company, trustees for James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, dated August 12, A.D. 1901, and numbered 533, of a flowing spring known as "Polipoli" and the waters thereof, situated on the lands known as "Kamaole," and all the rights, privileges, and authority granted by said license, and which said license has been duly assigned to said grantors, and permission to assign the same to the grantors and to the trustee hereof having been granted in accordance with said license;

Also a further license granted by said Edward S. Boyd to the Henry Waterhouse and Company, trustees of said James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond, on the 20th day of September, A.D. 1902, of the Government [page 279] Reservation of Kamaole for the term of twenty (20) years, and duly assigned to the said grantors; said license being for the purposes of entering upon all that tract of land known as the "Government Reservation of Kamaole," being the upper or *mauka* portion of the land of Kamaole, Kula,

Island of Maui, in said Territory, containing an approximate area of six hundred forty (640) acres, and bounded *mauka* by a line running along the top of the mountain ridge from Paeahu to Keokea; *makai* by land described in Grant 388 to Joseph White, Grant 545 Ap. 4 to Kekipi, and Grant 517 Ap. 1 to J. Sniffen; and lying between the lands of Paeahu and Keokea, and to explore, examine and survey the same or any part thereof below a contour line crossing said land at a level one hundred (100) feet below the Polipoli Spring on said land, for the purpose of developing water, conveying out and utilizing the same upon said land or elsewhere, and for these purposes to construct and maintain for the term of this license, reservoirs, dams, ditches, flumes, tunnels, pipe-lines and any and all other works, structures or appliances necessary or convenient for the accomplishment or effectuating of said purposes. Permission to assign which license has been granted in writing by the Commissioner of Public Lands of said Territory... [page 280]

...Sixth: Those certain pieces or parcels of land containing in all an area of about fifty (50) acres, and being all the premises conveyed by the deed of W.H. Cornwell to Henry Waterhouse and Arthur B. Wood, trustees for James H. Raymond and Phoebe K. Raymond by deed dated September 21, A.D. 1903, recorded in Liber 254, page 472.

Seventh: All water rights and rights to water of every nature, character and description arising out of, appurtenant or relating to or connected with any of the lands mentioned or referred to in this deed of trust, and any other water rights or rights to water now or hereafter held or possessed or enjoyed by the said grantors, or either of them, in or on said Island of Maui.

Eighth: Any and all renewals of present leasehold interests in lands of said Raymond Ranch, or any new leases or leasehold interests in lands within the confines of or adjoining said Raymond Ranch property.

Ninth: And also the following lands situate on said Island of Maui and described in the following deeds, to wit:

- (a) Deed from Kali Naluai (widow dated August 31st, 1908, recorded in Liber 305 Page 420 et seq., and conveying an undivided 5/12 of land at Kaeo, Honuaula, Maui, being portion of Grant 835 to Mahoe on the south side of wall known as "Torbert's Wall;"
- (b) Deed from John Sniffen dated September 8th, 1909, and recorded in said Registry in Liber 317 Page 365 et seq., and conveying a 1/12 interest in land at Kaeo, Honuaula, being portion of Grant 835 to Mahoe on the south side of wall known as "Torbert's Wall;"
- (c) Deed from Julia I. Oneha and husband dated August 24, 1909, and recorded in said Registry in Liber 317 Page 318 et seq., and conveying land at Kalihi, Honuaula, as in Grant 1474 to Kaaua, and containing an area of 17.89 acres more or less.
- (d) Deed from Geo. Sniffen dated September 13, 1909, and recorded in said Registry in Liber 317, Page 389 et seq., and conveying an undivided 1/12 interest in land at Kaeo, Honuaula, being portion of Grant 835 to Mahoe on south side of the wall known as Torbert's Wall..." [page 281]

...Eleventh: All the cattle, horses, wagons, harness, tools, pipe lines, troughs, reservoirs, tanks, wire fences, corrals, machinery and buildings, and all other articles, real, personal and mixed, upon or used in connection with and being a part of the said Raymond

Ranch, including hereby, *inter alia*, also all personal property being or used upon or constituting a part of said Rose Ranch and said Kahikinui Ranch, of every name, character or description:

- (1) And including without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing description two stallions and about sixty work horses, of all ages and twenty mules;
- (2) And about 4,500 cattle, included in which are 25 Hereford bulls, 10 Angus bulls and 5 Short Horn bulls;
- (3) And also all the increase from time to time of said livestock;

Together with the registered brand of said Raymond Ranch, including the brands of said Kahikinui and Rose Ranches namely; the Horseshoe brand, the W brand and the R R brand... [page 282]

October 2, 1911

Liber 353:323-325

Mrs. Kealokai Kalaehaeha, Miss Haehae Kukahiko, Mrs. E.N. Pake, Mrs. Kahalekawelu Mahele, Mrs. Moloa Uwelo, Mrs. Annie Foo Sam, J. Kauwekane, Luuwai, Jno. Kukahiko, Jr., and David Kaahanui, to C. Aana and Mrs. Hattie Aana

Conveying a leasehold interest in the store lot at Makena:

This is an agreement of lease, executed this 2nd day of October, 1911, between Mrs. Kealokai Kalaehaeha, Miss Haehae Kukahiko, Mrs. E.N. Pake, Mrs. Kahalekawelu Mahele, Mrs. Moloa Uwelo, Mrs. Annie Foo Sam, J. Kauwekane, Luuwai, and Jno. Kukahiko, Jr., of Makena, Honuaua, County and Island of Maui, and David Kaahanui, of the City of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, parties of the first part, and C. Aana and Mrs. Hattie Aana of Makena, Honuaua, County and Island of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, parties of the second part.

By this instrument, the parties of the first part give and release in the form of a lease, to the parties of the second part, aforementioned, that certain piece of land, where there stands the Store (Tong Lee Store), surround by the Two Alanui *Aupuni* (Government Roads) (Alanui Kahiko and Alanui Hou), containing an area of 2/100 Acres, more or less, as depicted in the diagram attached to this instrument [diagram not made a part of the record in the Bureau of Conveyances collection]; the parcel being a portion of the land situated at Makena, Honuaua, Maui.

It is known as Parcel 1 in the *Ili* of Papaanui and Kaeo, in the Royal Patent Liber 2691¹³.

This section of land, described herein is leased to the parties of the second part for Twenty Years, beginning on the date of this instrument.

The parties of the second part shall pay a leasehold rent of Four \$4.00 for the first year, and shall also pay the Taxes of the County Assessor of Maui, in the name of John Kukahiko for:

Lot (1) Keauhou	4 acres.
Lot (2) Papaanui and Kaeo	3 acres...

¹³ The reference to "*Palapala Sila Nui* Liber 2691" is an apparent transcription error. Royal Patent Grant 2691 was granted to Barenaba, at Mokuoniki, Hilo, Hawaii. Also, Royal Patent 2691 (with a *Mahele* Award) issued to Pehu, was situated at Kawaiahao, Honolulu, Oahu. See Bureau of Conveyances Liber 80:97 (1883), between Catherine Makee and John Kukahiko for description of parcels sold to J. Kukahiko.

There being one large wooden house and three small wooden houses.

Also the *lli* of Mooiki, described in Royal Patent K. Parcels 2, 3, 4, of 11 1/25th Acres, Grant 2427, and the parties of the second part shall pay the Government taxes to the County of Maui each year, for the terms of this agreement.

By this instrument, the parties of the first part also agree that the parties of the second part may take their wooden house and other buildings at the end of this leasehold agreement...

October 9, 1935

Liber 1331:309-324

Exchange Deed between Ulupalakua Ranch, Ltd., and Julia Kapohakimohewa Including portion of Lands comprised in Royal Patent Grant 835, to Mahoe.

This deed of Exchange made this 9th day of October 1935, between Ulupalakua Ranch, Limited, a Hawaiian corporation, party of the first part, and Julia Kapohakimohewa, of Honuaula, Maui, Territory of Hawaii, party of the second part,

Witnesseth:

Whereas, the parties hereto have agreed to make mutual exchanges whereby the party of the second part in return for several parcels of land conveyed by her, will receive three consolidated areas of land.

Now therefore, the party of the first part, in consideration of these presents and of the conveyance hereinafter made to it by the party of the second part, and in exchange therefore, and in consideration of the covenants on the part of the party of the second part hereinafter contained, does hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the party of the second part, her heirs and assigns forever, the following parcels of land:

1. Lot K-1 [see *Figure 9*]. All that portion of Grant 835 to Mahoe (including L.C.A. 4292-B:2 to Kalama and L.C.A. 2395-B to Kaili), situate at Makena, Honuaula, Maui, T.H. having the following descriptions by true azimuth survey:

Beginning at the North-easterly corner of this lot at a point in a stone wall having the coordinates: 4,961.08 feet North, 2,403.51 feet East, referred to Government Survey Trig. Station "Puu Olai" and running:

1. Southerly and easterly along church lot stone wall to a point at the *makai* edge of the Makena – Keoneoio Government Road; direct azimuths and distances between successive point of said course being as follows:
 - (a) 12° 44' 278.7 feet,
 - (b) 266° 43' 42.75 feet,
 - (c) 251° 57' 26.4 feet, thence,
2. 48° 06' 183.2 feet along the *makai* side of said road,
3. 22° 14' 134.2 feet along same,
4. 0° 54' 107.3 feet along same,
5. 95° 11' 93.0 feet along the remaining portion of said grant to the high tide line at the sea, then

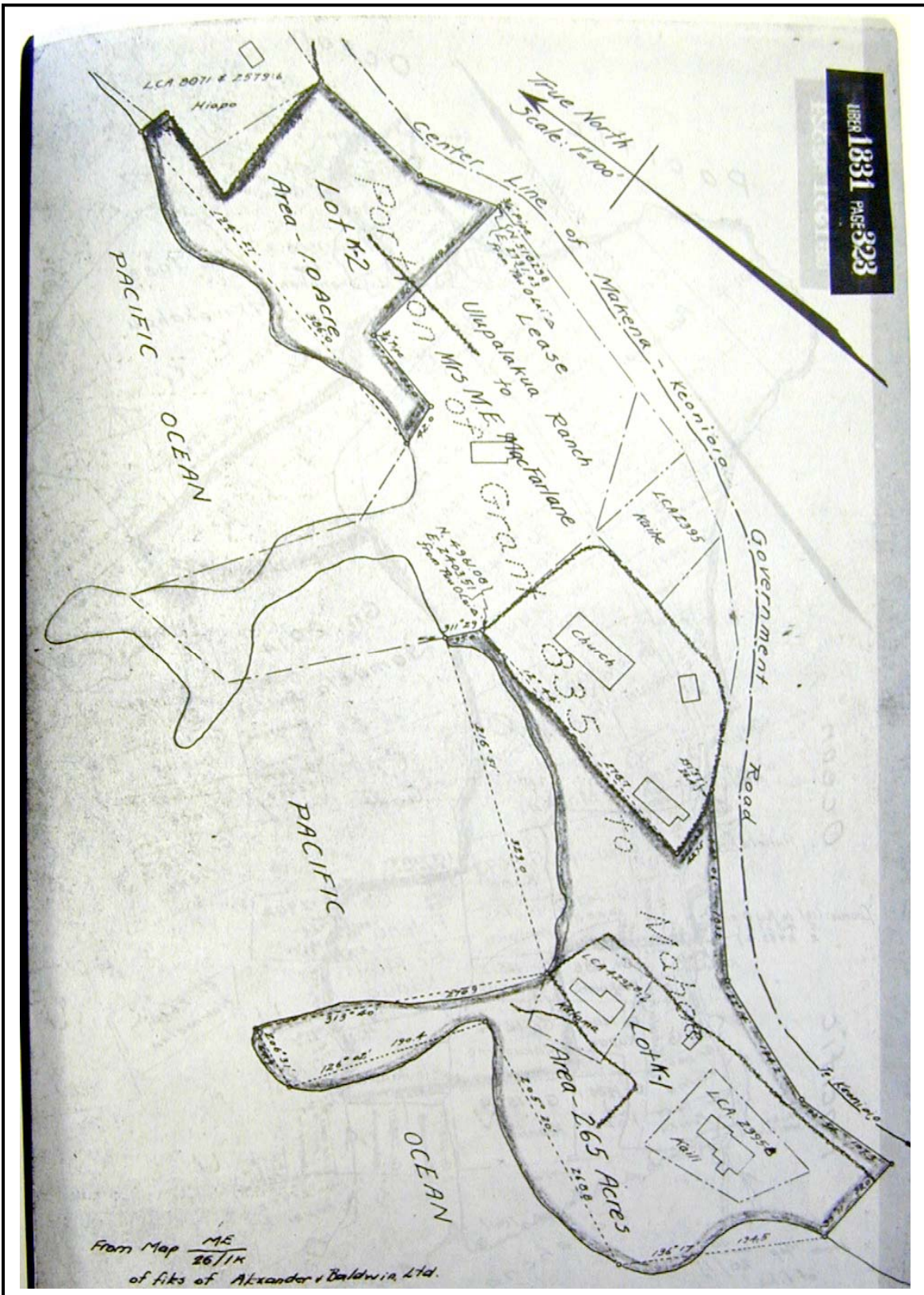


Figure 9. Lots K-1 & K-2 of Exchange Deed Between Julia Kapohakimohewa and Ulupalakua Ranch (including portion of Mahoe's Royal Patent Grant No. 835 at Ka'eo) (1935)

6. In a general north-easterly direction along the high tide line to the initial point of Course 7; between successive point of said high tide line being as follows:
 - (a) 136° 17' 194.5 feet,
 - (b) 205° 20' 268.8 feet,
 - (c) 126° 02' 190.4 feet,
 - (d) 206° 31' 64.9 feet,
 - (e) 313° 40' 270.2 feet,
 - (f) 216° 51' 329.0 feet, thence
7. 311° 29' 35.0 feet along land leased by Ulupalakua Ranch, Ltd. To Mrs. Mary E. MacFarlane, to the point of beginning.

Containing an area of 2.65 Acres

Less, said L.C.A. 4292-B:2 and L.C.A. 2395-B which are owned by Julia Kapohakimohewa. 0.42 Acres.

Net Area Conveyed 2.23 Acres.

2. Lot K-2 [see *Figure 9*]. All that portion of Grant 835 to Mahoe situate at Makena, Honuaula, Maui, T.H. having the following description by true azimuth survey:

Beginning at a ¾ inch driven pipe on the Westerly side of Makena – Keoneoio Government Road at the South-easterly corner of this Lot, which said pipe has the coordinates: 5,182.98 feet North, 2,731.03 feet East, referred to Government Survey Trig. Station “Puu Olai” and running:

 1. 96° 30' 169.25 feet along land leased by Ulupalakua Ranch, Ltd. To Mrs. Mary E. MacFarlane, to a ¾ inch driven pipe;
 2. 14° 14' 85.0 feet along same;
 3. 85° 03' 42.0 feet along same, to the high tide line at the sea; thence
 4. Along the high tide line to a point, the direct azimuth and distance being 194° 27' 386.0 feet;
 5. 287° 04' 28.4 feet along stone wall; thence
 6. Along said stone wall to a point, the direct azimuth and distance being 19° 55' 100.7 feet;
 7. Along said stone wall to a point on *makai* side of said Government Road, the direct azimuth and distance being 271° 15' 140.4 feet;
 8. 8° 28' 128.2 feet along *makai* side of said road;
 9. 344° 43' 76.8 feet along same to the point of beginning.

Containing an area of 1.0 Acre.

All of the portions of Lot K-3 owned by the party of the first part situate in the District of Honuaula, Maui, T.H., said lot K-3 containing an area of 630 acres more or less and being described by true azimuth survey as follows:

Lot K-3 [see *Figure 10*]. Beginning at a point on the beach in Grant 835 near Makena, Honuaula, Maui, T.H., having the coordinates: 3,122.56 feet North, 1,400.94 feet, referred to Government Survey Trig. Station “Puu Olai” and running:

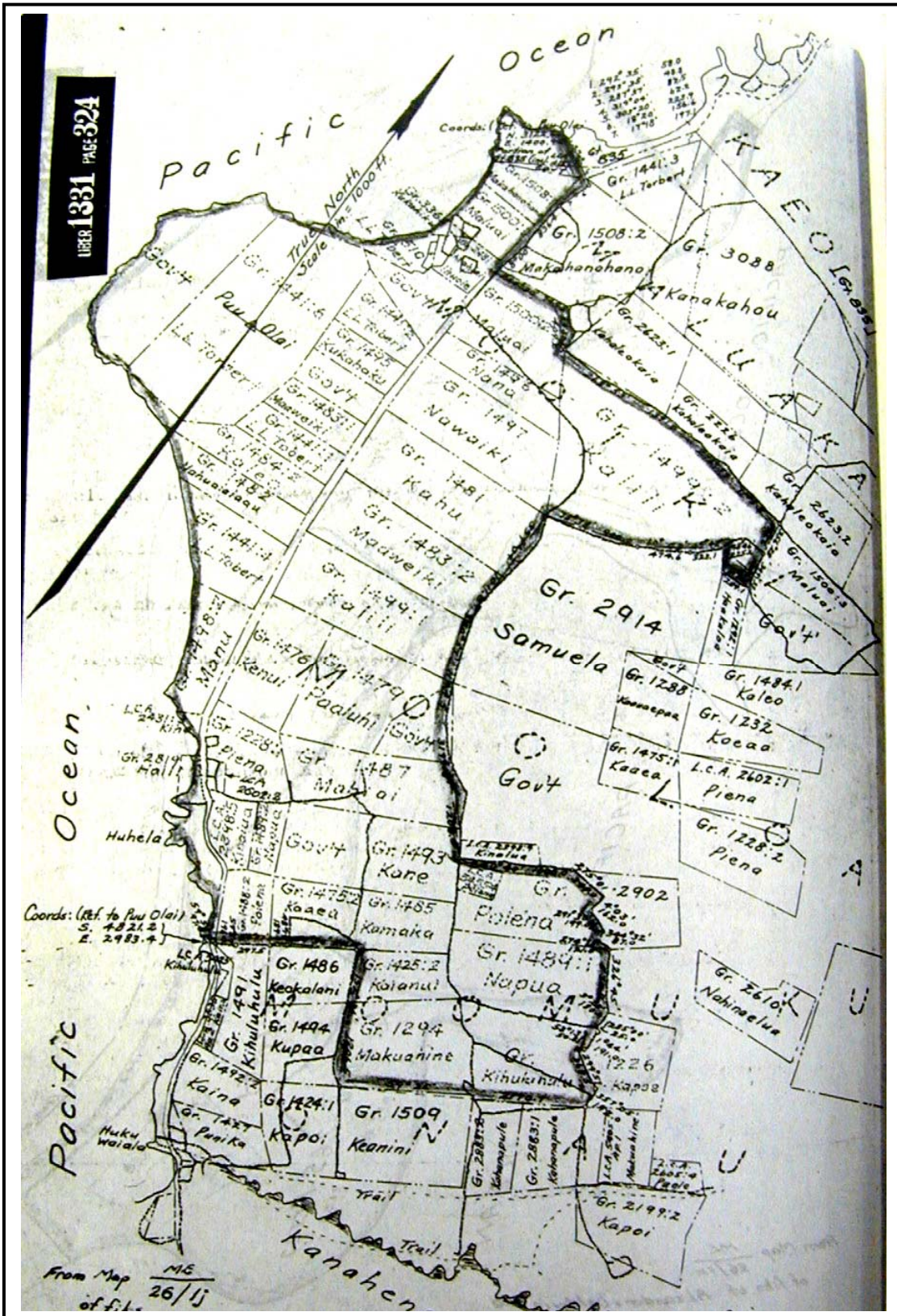


Figure 10. Lot K-3 of Exchange Deed Between Julia Kapohakimohewa and Ulupalakua Ranch (including portion of Mahoe's Royal Patent Grant No. 835 at Ka'e'o, and lands to Pu'u 'Ola'i) (1935)

1. 292° 35' 58.0 feet along remaining portion of Grant 835 to a cross on rock;
2. 292° 35' 48.8 feet along same;
3. Along stone wall along remaining portion of Grant 835 to a point therein, the direct azimuth and distance being 287° 37' 82.5 feet;
4. Along said stone wall to a point therein, the direct azimuth and distance being 319° 04' 62.2 feet;
5. 303° 20' 223.9 feet along said remaining portion of Grant 835 and crossing the Makena – Keoneoio Road to a point the *mauka* side thereof;
6. 18° 20' 156.6 feet along the *mauka* side of said road;
7. 17° 18' 197.1 feet along same;
8. 8° 00' 836.4 feet along same, along Grant 1508:2 to Makahanohano...

[Courses 9 to 43 continue beyond the bounds of Ka'eo taking in lands in the Pu'u 'Ōla'i vicinity.]

...The parcels of land owned by the party of the first part within said Lot K-3 are as follows:

3. The portion of said Grant 835 to Mahoe which is situated within said "Lot K-3" 3.50 Acres...

...Being a portion of the property conveyed to the party of the first part by James H. Raymond, et al., by deed dated December 29, 1922, recorded in Book 673, page 1.

Maps or plans of said Lots K-1, K-2 and K-3 are attached hereto and by reference made a part hereof... [Figures 9 & 10]

...And the party of the second part, in consideration of the conveyances made to her herein by the party of the first part, and in exchange therefore, and in consideration of the covenants on the part of the party of the first part hereinafter contained, does hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the party of the first part, its successors and assigns, all of the following parcels of land:

1. Grant 835 to Mahoe, and undivided interest 19.70 Acres
(being all interest of the Grantor in Grant 835 excepting, however, the portions hereby conveyed to her.)...

That said lands were acquired by the party of the second part in the following manner:

...As to parcels 1, 2, 11, 13, 17 to 20 inclusive, 22 to 28 inclusive: By recorded deeds to the deceased husband of the party of the second part, David J. Kapohakimohewa (whose name is variously given as "David J.", "David", and "D." in said deeds) and by deeds as follows to the party of the second part from David K. Kapohakimohewa, et al., children of said David J. Kapohakimohewa and the party of the second part and sole heirs of said David J. Kapohakimohewa who died intestate¹⁴; deed dated May 2, 1929, recorded in Liber 1014 at page 19; deed dated November 16, 1931, recorded in Liber

¹⁴ Note: by records of conveyance, Keliilawaia was the father of John Kapohakimohewa and John Kalahanohano. John Kapohakimohewa was father of David J. Kapohakimohewa, grandfather of interviewee, James K. Kapohakimohewa.

1138 at page 341; and deed dated June 1, 1935, recoded in Liber 1281 at page 325, which said deeds conveyed to the party of the second part all property owned by said David J. Kapohakimohewa at the time of his death...

July 28th, 1956

Liber 3146:344-347

Exchange Deed between Ulupalakua Ranch, Ltd., and Henry Lono, Nancy L. Kalani, Rebecca L. Bak, Rose L. Awai, Fanny Lono-Kalani, and David Lono – Including portion of Lands comprised in Royal Patent Grant 835, to Mahoe:

...This deed of exchange, made this 28th day of July, 1956, by and between Ulupalakua Ranch, Limited, a Hawaii Corporation, whose principal place of business and post office address is care of Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd. 822 Bishop Street, Honolulu, City and County of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, party of the first part, and Henry Lono, unmarried, Nancy L. Kalani, wife of Charlie Kalani, Rebecca L. Bak, wife of John Bak, Rose L. Awai, wife of Charlie Awai, and Fanny Lono Kalani, wife of Edward Kalani, all of whose residence and post office address is Paia, Island and County of Maui... and David Lono, unmarried, whose residence and post office address is Ulupalakua, Maui...parties of the second part,

Witnesseth:

That the party of the first part, in consideration of the conveyances hereinafter made to it by the parties of the second part, and in exchange therefore, does hereby grant and convey unto the parties of the second part, as tenants in common:

All that certain parcel of land situated at Kaeo, Honuaula, Island and County of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, being a portion of Grant 835 to Mahoe, and more particularly described as follows:

Lot 5: Beginning at a pipe at the northwesterly corner of this tract, the coordinates of said point of beginning being 4331.37 feet north and 2262.46 feet east, referred to Government Survey Triangulation Station "Puu Olai," and running thence by azimuths measured clockwise from true south:

1. 258° 08' 261.72 feet along the joint boundary with lot four of this subdivision to an iron pipe;
2. 2° 23' 331.08 feet along same to an iron pipe;
3. 94° 44' 200.00 feet along a portion of a Government Remnant owned by the Territory of Hawaii and along T.H. Purchase right No. 725 to an iron pipe;
4. 170° 37' 264.00 feet along or near the easterly boundary of the Makena-Keoneoio Road to the point of beginning and containing an area of 1.552 acres, more or less.

To have and to hold the same, together with all improvements thereon and the rights, easements, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining, unto the parties of the second part and their respective heirs and assigns forever.

And the parties of the second part, in consideration of the conveyance hereinbefore made to them by the party of the first part, and in exchange therefore, do hereby grant and convey all their respective right, title and interest in and to the following:

All that certain parcel of land situate at Mooloa, Honuaua, Makawao, Island and County of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, being Grant 1230 to Nunu shown on Second Taxation Division Map, Tax Key 2105-46, containing and area of 5.59 acres.

To have and to hold the same, together with all improvements thereunto belonging or appertaining, unto the party of the first part and its successors and assigns forever.

And the party of the first part and the parties of the second part hereby covenant and agree, each with the other, that they are seized in fee simple of the premises herein respectively conveyed by them; that the same are free and clear of all encumbrances; and that they will, and their respective successors, heirs, executors and administrators shall warrant and defend the same unto the other...

Margaret “Marjorie” Kalehua Cockett-Garcia Acquired Ka’eo Parcel in 1956

In 1956, Margaret “Marjorie” Kalehua Cockett-Garcia, and her husband, entered into an exchange agreement with ‘Ulupalakua Ranch, by which family land, inherited by Marjorie Cockett-Garcia in 1949, and situated at Palauea, Honua’ula, was exchanged for the land at Ka’eo, which is now known as the Garcia family property. Marjorie Kalehua Cockett was born in 1920, to Robert E. and Rose Kahikiwawe-Cockett. At birth, Marjorie Kalehua Cockett was given as a *hānai* to her uncle (father’s brother), Edward H. Ka’auwai and Margaret Pili Makakoa-Cockett. It was from her *hānai* mother, that she received fee-simple interest in a *kuleana* awarded to Kalama (*Helu* 2396) in Palauea. Bureau of Conveyances Liber 759:314-315, recorded in 1925, provide the details of conveyance to Margaret Pili Makakoa-Cockett, which include the following notes and description:

...We, S.L. Kaliko, also known as Kaliko Makakoa, Kealohanui Kaliko, Rebecca Kaholo Kealoha, and Julia P. Kamaka, all of Honolulu... for and in consideration of the sum of One Dollar (\$1.00) to each of us paid by Margaret P. Cockett, of Kahului... and in further consideration of our love and affection for the said Margaret P. Cockett, do hereby give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Margaret P. Cockett and her heirs and assigns forever, all of our right, title, interest and estate in and to all of the following described real property...:

Third: All of those certain pieces or parcels of land situated in Honuaua, Island and County of Maui aforesaid, described in Royal Patent 6339, Land Commission Award 2396, and being all of the lands described as Apanas I, II and III of said Royal Patent and Land Commission Award, Apana I being situated in the *Ili* of Keopu and Apanas II and III being situated at Punakeaokea, all in Palauea, Honuaua... [BoC Liber 759:314]

Following the death of Margaret P. Makakoa-Cockett in 1937, and Edward Kaauwai Cockett in 1949¹⁵, Marjorie Kalehua Cockett-Garcia, inherited the Palauea land. The land was exchanged in 1956 for the five-plus acre parcel at Ka’eo, and described in the following exchange deed:

July 27th, 1956

Liber 3146:344-347

Exchange Deed between Ulupalakua Ranch, Ltd., and Samuel Melvin Garcia and Marjorie May Kalehua Cockett-Garcia Including portion of Lands comprised in Royal Patent Grant 835, to Mahoe.

This deed of exchange, made this 27th day of July, 1956, by and between Ulupalakua Ranch, Limited, a Hawaii Corporation, whose principal place of business and post office address is care of Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd. 822 Bishop Street, Honolulu, City and

¹⁵ Information pertaining to the background of Edward and Margaret Cockett, was kindly furnished from Cockett family records in the collection of Coochie Cayan, niece of the Garcia brothers, and compiled by Aunty Darly Cockett.

County of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, party of the first part, and Samuel Melvin Garcia and Marjorie May Garcia, husband and wife, whose residence and post office address is 2137 Wells Street, Wailuku, Island and County of Maui...parties of the second part,

Witnesseth:

That the party of the first part, in consideration of the conveyance hereinafter made to it by the parties of the second part, and in exchange therefore, does hereby grant and convey unto the parties of the second part, as joint tenants with full rights of survivorship:

First: All those certain parcels of land situate at Kaeo, Honuaula, Island and County of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, being a portion of Grant 835 to Mahoe, and more particularly described as follows:

Lot 2: Beginning at an iron pipe at the southwesterly corner of this tract, the coordinated of said point of beginning being 4657.60 feet north and 2423.92 feet east, referred to Government Triangulation Station "Puu Olai," and running thence by azimuths measured clockwise from true south:

1. 236° 53' 75.00 feet along or near the southeasterly boundary of the Makena-Keoneoio Road to an iron pipe;
2. 290° 00' 270.00 feet along the joint boundary of this subdivision to an iron pipe;
3. 20° 00' 59.99 feet along same to an iron pipe;
4. 110° 00' 315.01 feet along the joint boundary with Lot 3 of this subdivision and containing an area of 0.403 acres, more or less.

Lot 4: Beginning at an iron pipe at the southwesterly corner of this tract, the coordinated of said point of beginning being 4331.337 feet north and 2262.46 feet east, referred to Government Triangulation Station "Puu Olai," and running thence by azimuths measured clockwise from true south:

1. 170° 37' 20.00 feet along or near the easterly boundary of the Makena-Keoneoio Road to an iron pipe;
Thence along or near same along a curve to the right with a radius of 279.00 feet, the azimuth and distance of the long chord being:
2. 203° 45' 305.00 feet to an iron pipe; thence
3. 290° 00' 611.17 feet along the joint boundary with Lot 3 of this subdivision to an iron pipe;
4. 0° 00' 99.77 feet along the remaining portion of Grant 835 to an iron pipe;
5. 30° 40' 337.40 feet along same to an iron pipe;
6. 94° 44' 280.40 feet along a portion of a Government Remnant owned by the Territory of Hawaii to an iron pipe;
7. 182° 23' 331.08 feet along the joint boundary with Lot 5 of this subdivision to an iron pipe;
8. 78° 08' 261.72 feet along same to the point of beginning and containing an area of 5.497 acres, more or less.

Second: A joint but not exclusive easement for ingress and egress to and from a public highway over and across the following parcel of land:

All that certain parcel of land situate at Kaao, Honuaula, Maui aforesaid, being a portion of Grant 835 to Mahoe, and more particularly described as follows:

Lot 3: Beginning at an iron pipe at the northwesterly corner of this tract, the coordinates of said point of beginning being 4657.60 feet north and 2423.92 feet east, referred to Government Triangulation Station "Puu Olai," and running thence by azimuths measured clockwise from true south:

1. 290° 00' 566.60 feet along the joint boundary with Lots 2 and 1 of this subdivision and the remaining portion of Grant 835 to a *keawe* [sic] tree;
2. 0° 00' 42.57 feet along the remaining portion of Grant 835 to an iron pipe;
3. 110° 00' 611.17 feet along the joint boundary with Lot 4 of this subdivision to an iron pipe;
4. 236° 53' 50.01 feet along or near the southeasterly boundary the Makena-Keoneoio Road to the point of beginning and containing an area of 0.541 acres, more or less.

To have and to hold the same, together with all improvements thereon and the rights, easements, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining, unto the parties of the second part and the survivor of them and their assigns and the heirs and assigns of the survivor of them forever.

And the parties of the second part, in consideration of the conveyance hereinbefore made to them by the party of the first part, and in exchange therefore, do hereby grant and convey unto the party of the first part, its successors and assigns:

All those certain parcels of land situate at Palauea, Island and County of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, being all of Apanas 1, 2 and 3 of L. C. Aw. 2396, R.P. 6339 to Kalama, containing 0.228 acres, 13.50 acres, and 2.50 acres respectively.

To have and to hold the same, together with all improvements thereon and the rights, easements, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining, unto the party of the first part and its successors and assigns forever....

It is the recollection of both Sam and Jon Garcia, that their mothers lands were absorbed into the interests of 'Ulupalakua Ranch prior to the date of the exchange deed, and that the locations of the parcels in Palauea were unknown (pers comm. August 2, 2005). *Mahele Award Book*, Volume 3 (pages 816-818), provide the plot plans of the three parcels, and notes of survey, which are repeated in Royal Patent Book, Volume 24 (pages 49-50). Interestingly, TMK 2-1-08, lists *Helu* 2396, Apanas 1-3, as unlocated in Palauea. Thus, much like Maaweiki's *kuleana* in Ka'eo (*Helu* 3676), these parcels in Palauea have been dropped from modern records.

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AT KA‘EO AND IN THE LARGER HONU‘ULA REGION

In the collections of the Hawai‘i State Archives are records from various offices of the Kingdom—for example, Interior Department, Roads, Schools and Survey—which include specific descriptions of lands, resources, and public projects, and that identify native residents in Ka‘eo and vicinity. The following documents include records of: *‘Āina Aupuni*-leasehold interests of Government Lands dating from the middle 1840s; Development of trails and roads (1840s-1900); Schools and Public Instruction (1840s-1915); and Government Survey (1880s). The records are grouped together in the preceding categories, and arranged chronologically.

‘Āina Aupuni (Government Lands) – Leasehold Interests and Applications for Purchase

October 19, 1846

Notes of Survey of Mohopiloalua in Honuauia, Maui

James Nowlien’s Plan

**Identifying sites and features along the Mohopilo-Kaeo Boundary,
including an Old Heiau and the Cart Road to the shore – Government Landing
at Keawakapu, Kaeo (see Royal Patent Grant No. 120 – Figure 6):**

Commencing at Stake in Cart Road leading to beach from Sugar Mill in Palakua, adjoining land called Kaaio [Kaeo] on South and along *makai* side, and running North 62° 30 East 9 chains along boundary line between this land & Kaaio to stake above & north of Bullock-pen. Thence North 69° 30’ East 11 chains 29 feet along nearly parallel with post & rail fence standing on Kaaio to stake 1 chain 45 feet, *makai* corner of cane field in Kaaio (Torbert & Macy). Thence North 60° 15’ East 24 chains along between this & Kaaio to *mauka* side of cane ground on this land. Thence North 16° 30’ West 41 chains 58 feet across this land to the north boundary at Holohua. Thence South 64° 30’ West 10 chains 59 feet along boundary line between this land & Papanui to stake by Cart Road leading to mountain. Thence South 56° 30’ West 36 chains 10 feet along between this & Papanui (Govt. Cane Ground) to stake in path by edge of *Pali*. Thence South 25° West 2 chains 13 feet along edge of *Pali* to stake between two rocks. Thence South 41° West 3 chains along edge of *Pali* to Point at *Mauka* Corner of Old *Heiau* on Miller’s Hill. Then following along down North edge of *Pali*, the boundary line between this land & Papanui to stone buried in an old house foundation and *mauka* side of a portion of Kaaio. By following courses & distances viz. S. 46° W. 3 chains 9 feet; S. 50° W. 4 chains 41 feet; S. 64° W. 4 chains; S. 80° W. 10 chains 49 ½ feet’ West 4 chains 6 feet; S. 88° W. 3 chains 26 ½ feet to buried stone at Kaaio.

Thence S. 3° 30’ West 10 chains 44 feet along Kaaio to old road, the south boundary of this land. Thence South 85° 30’ East 2 ¼ chains along old Road to point. Thence North 65° 30’ East 21 chains 39 ½ feet along Old Road & boundary line between this land & Kaaio to hidden stone. Thence N. 20° 30’ West 4 chains 25 ½ feet up *Pali* (Miller’s Hill) to South edge of it. Thence running along south edge of *Pali* & old *Heiau* 12 chains 39 feet to point 1 chain from “Stake between two Rocks” towards point of commencement of this survey. Thence South 47° 45’ East 8 chains 20 feet along, between this & Kaaio to place of commencement, including an area of Acres 72 2/10.

Note: this land is said to extend 1 ½ miles back into the mountain beyond what is surveyed and about the width, and there converges to a point. The boundaries not being pointed out, it was not surveyed. [HSA – DLNR 2-9, Maui Makawao, 1847-1855]

August 12th, 1848

**Michel J. Nowlien; to John Young (Keoni Ana), Minister of the Interior
Applies to renew lease on uplands of Kaeo, and other lands of Honuaula for
cultivation of sugar:**

...Being desirous of having my Lease renewed for the Land I now hold of government or the privilege of purchasing the same for one of my Children, I beg to state that I will in his behalf, give as much for the same either for a continuance of the Lease, or to purchase it, as any other Person may offer.

The land is situated in Honuaula East Maui and known by the names of

Papaaiki
Mohopilo 1
Mohopilo 2
½ Kaeo
and Maluaka.

All together may be supposed to contain from two to three hundred acres.

Hoping Your Highness will be pleased to give me early answer to my proposition...

[Note from Keoni Ana]

Hoole ia no ka mea ua noi mua mai o Hulipahu.

Keoni Ana.

Refused, because Torbert (Hulipahu) applied first.

John Young. [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

October 27, 1848

**G.M. Robertson, Secretary, Interior Department; to John Richardson, Surveyor
Regarding survey of lands for native residents; within the Torbert lands
of Honuaula:**

...I am informing you that the Honorable Minister of Interior desires that you proceed to Honuaula to survey the lands of Hawaiians residing on the land of Linton L. Torbert, the foreigner who raises sugar cane there.

Survey carefully all of the lands that they occupy, fixing the boundaries and area of each plot, then send to the Minister of Interior the descriptions of the plots.

The said Mr. Torbert will assist you in this survey; he is familiar with land surveys... [HSA – Interior Department Book 2:308]

Waikapu

February 13th, 1849

**Ioane Richardson, surveyor; to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:
Regarding surveys of land for natives and L.L. Torbert at Honuaula:**

...I have received your order directing me to go and survey the land of the natives at Linton L. Torbert's at Honuaula, which letter of direction was signed by G.M. Robertson, 27th, Oct. 1848.

There being no transit, it has been rather slow, but it has all been surveyed now. Some natives have left, presumably they will come to you, therefore I send their documents.

There are others whose I have surveyed, and I am preparing their documents and will forward them to you soon... [HSA – Interior Department Lands]

On February 16th, 1853, Surveyor and Government Land Agent, John Gower, wrote from 'Ulupalakua, to Minister of the Interior, John Young, asking for permission to sell grant parcels in the lands of Mo'oiki, Mo'oloa, and Maluaka to H.O. Bucklin, J. Breman, and Kahalelaau. He observed that:

These lots are all in the clinkers and half the soil is covered with stones, and I would recommend to sell for less than one Dollar if agreeable to your Highness. Very little by Sweet potatoes can be produced upon the lands in the region of these lots... [HSA – Interior Department Lands, Miscellaneous]

On February 28th, 1853, Lorin Andrews wrote to Gower, on behalf of the King and Privy Council, authorizing the sale of the lands to Bucklin, Breman and Kahalelaau. [HSA – Interior Department Lands, Miscellaneous]

May 29, 1877

J. Mott Smith, Minister of Interior; to James, Makee

Regarding Makena Landing and Breakwater:

...On the matter of the Breakwater at Makena, for which the sum of \$1000. was appropriated by the last Legislative Assembly, I have the honor to say to you on behalf of the Government, that the above mentioned sum, will be used for the breakwater—but in as much as this amount is insufficient, they will accept your proposition which as we understand it is as follows:

That you will engage to build the breakwater, and complete it at your own expense, in whatever amount it shall exceed the Appropriation. That the Govt. agrees to support and advocate a Bill of Relief, which you bill bring before the next Assembly, to an amount not to exceed \$1500.

The Govt. are willing on these conditions to pay over the \$1000, but they desire before the work is commenced that you, will have sent in, a petition from the residents of the District, setting forth their desire that it may be built as a matter of public advantage, and if the Assembly shall grant the further sum of \$1500. Thereafter that Makena Landing shall become a public landing... [HSA – Interior Department Book 14:247]

January 22, 1878

J. Mott Smith, Minister of Interior; to James, Makee

Regarding Work being undertaken on Makena Landing and Breakwater:

...Your letter of the 14th inst. informs me that you are commencing work on the landing at Makena, for which \$1000 was appropriated by the last Legislature. And you ask me to forward to you the above amount. You agree to superintend the work and send in bills as vouchers—also that you think the improvement will not amount to the Appropriation. Referring this improvement to Mr. Lishman, he approves of the plan, but says further — “to go on with the understanding that you do the work required to make a good landing, and make up whatever deficiency there may be.” If therefore you will undertake the job, and superintend it, your drafts on this Dept. accompanied with bills as vouchers, will be honored from time to time as the work progresses... [HSA – Interior Department Book 14:473]

Ulupalakua

November 10, 1880

C.B. Makee; to H.A. Carter, Minister of the Interior

Applying for lease of Government lands in Honuaua:

...I hereby make application for the lease of the following lands situated in Maui, viz.:

Kaunuahane, Pabakakai [Papakakai], Pabakauka [Papakauka], Kalihi, Kualapakai, Kualapauka, Kanahena, Nau, Moomuku, Mooloa, Mooiki, Maluaka, Na Mohopilo, 2, & Kaeo... [HSA Series 514, Packet No. 597]

Makena, Honuaua, Maui

February 13th, 1885

John Kapohakimohewa; to W.O. Atwater, Interior Department

Applies for lease of the remnant Government lands of Nau to Maluaka:

...Please receive from me, your humble servant, this letter, asking for your kindness and patience as I explain to you my thoughts, and request that you might explain them to the Minister of the Interior, by way of this communication.

I desire to lease the remnant lands from the government, extending from the *Ahupuaa* of Nau to the *Ahupuaa* of Maluaka, situated at Honuaua, Island of Maui, and containing 500 or more acres. I am a native of these lands.

I ask again for your kindness in asking the fee for such a lease of these 500 or more acres per year.

Please reply soon to John Kapohakimohewa.

Here is something that was forgotten.

I also desire a lease of fifteen years. Might you please ask his Excellency...? [HSA – Series 514, Packet No. 802]

***Nā Ala Hele, Alaloa me Alanui Aupuni –
Traditional Byways, Regional Trails and
The Government Road System***

In regards to roads, very few communications were located in the Kingdom collections, describing road work in the Honua'ula District. A letter from J.S. Green (cited earlier in this study), dating from 1834, indicated that work on main trails and roadways was underway in the Honua'ula region; descriptions of programs undertaken by Governor Hoapilikāne, also describe such work. Of the government records found, most described work on the upper road—from Kalepolepo on the shore, to 'Ulupalakua, and from 'Ulupalakua towards Hāna and Makawao. By the 1850s, the old *ala loa*, or Government (Hoapili) Road, was apparently all but abandoned by the government roads program, in preference of maintaining the *mauka* routes. Native residents of the region continued use of the old *makai* route, even caring for it, through the 1900s.

September 21, 1847

Privy Council Minutes

***Regarding Application of Linton L. Torbert to make a Road
from the sea at Honuaua to his Plantation:***

Linton Torbert applies for a Charter, in accordance with the general provisions of the first part of an act to organize the Executive Departments for liberty to make a road from the Sea at Honuaua to his Plantation, he to keep it in repair; road to be free for foot

passengers and for the transport of all Sugar & Molasses belonging to the Government. Charter to be for a period of 25 years. The road to be a new route.

Mr. Lee questioned whether, under the Constitution, the Premier had power to grant such a Charter. His opinion was that it belonged to the Legislature. Mr. Wyllie was quite of the same opinion and so also in every case where a Mans land is taken away for public use.

Resolved that it be referred to Mr. Lee to report upon the Legal and Constitutional bearings of the question. [HSA – Privy Council Book 4:67]

April 20, 1849

Resolution of Privy Council

Regarding Linton L. Torbert's application for land on which to build a road from his plantation to the shore:

Resolved that Mr. R. Armstrong and John Richardson be appointed to report on the proposition of Linton L. Torbert for buying or chartering a road from his plantation in the direction leading to the sea. [HSA – Privy Council Book 3A:225-226]

February 15, 1850

Resolution of Privy Council

In the matter of "Torbert's Road" and issuance of Royal Patent Grant No. 223:

Torbert's Road.

Mr. Armstrong brought forward Torbert's application of the 9th & 14th of February, for the land on which he has made a road, from his plantation to the sea, with a certain portion of the Sea Coast, for Wharfage and Stores, reserving the rights of the natives, offers \$68 for 68 acres Road & \$300 for less than one acre for wharf lot.

After considerable discussion, the following resolution was passed:

RESOLVED that the Minister of the Interior is authorized to grant to L.L. Torbert a title in fee simple for a strip of land 3 chains wide, extending from his farm in Ulupalakua in Honuaula, Maui to the sea side on which he had made a road at his own expense containing about 68 acres; for the consideration of \$69., to grant also to said Torbert a fee simple title for 14 ½ chains, in the shore extending to said road for a landing for \$300. Both pieces of land are granted as described in Survey submitted to P. Council this day.

The rights of the natives on the shore are reserved to them in fee simple.

The above road and landing is not included in the land sold to Torbert & Wilcox... [HSA – Privy Council Book 3B:508¹⁶]

Ulupalakua

May 2nd, 1853

L.L. Torbert, Road Supervisor, Honuaula, District;

to John Young, Minister of the Interior:

Regarding requirements of residents to work on Aupuni (Government) roads to meet their tax obligations:

...The people of Kamaole have worked out the *Aupuni* on the road for this year. They finished this day. Here is the way they have worked. They have commenced in the morning at 8 or 9 o'clock & worked until 10 or 11 & sometimes as late as 12 & then count one day, three or four. They have assembled together only four days & worked only two or three hours each day & today being the fourth, they got their clearance for this year.

¹⁶ See also further documentation recorded as a part of Royal Patent Grants No. 223 and 234, in this study.

I am road *luna* for Honuaua under John Richardson, & I require the people to work 8 hours each day for 12 days. This is my orders. Consequently almost all of the people have gone out of my district to Kamaole & have got their certificates & there are very few left to work in our district.

I wish to ask two questions.

Can a road *luna* give a man a discharge for 1, 2, 3, or 4 days, when he has only worked 1, 2, 3, or 4 hours?

Can a man go out of the district in which he resides & work out his road tax in another district because he gets off easier by so doing?

I ask these questions seriously for information.

If you say yes to them, then the road tax is very light on the people, & the road lunas make their money very easy.

But if you say No! Then I will take good care that the burden falls alike on all & that one part of the people do not laugh at those who work as the law requires... [HSA – Interior Department, Miscellaneous]

May 13th, 1853

**A.G. Thurston, Chief Clerk, Interior Department; to L.L. Torbert
Replies to letter of May 2nd, 1853 – in regards to requirements
of road work by residents:**

...Yours of the 2nd, inst. is at hand and His Highness directs me to say in reply to your first question, “whether a road *luna* can give a man a discharge for 1, 2, 3, or 4 days when he has only worked that number of hours?” that he cannot lawfully, but there are no means of stopping him in case he chooses so to do; and to your second, that there is no restriction in the laws upon persons going out of their district to do road work in another, if they choose to do so. The New Road Law, now going through the Legislature will, it is hoped, remedy both of these and many other evils... [HSA – Interior Department Book 6:97]

December 31, 1854

**S. Kapihe, Road Supervisor of the District of Makawao, Maui;
to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:**

...Here is my report on Government Roads for the year ending the 31st day of December, 1854.

Money received in cash, five, for office supplies, paper, ink, brush.

Here is the number of persons who came to work, 787 men.

1. Repairing the old Government Road from Koolau to Paeahu, at Honuaua;
2. Repairing the old Government Road from Keawakapu to Kamaole, in Kula, Maui;
3. Repairing the old Government Road from Kalepolepo to Keokea, in Kula, Maui;
4. Repairing the old Government Road from Kalepolepo to Waiohuli, at Kula, Maui;
5. Repairing the old Government Road from Kaheka to Makawao, Maui;
6. Repairing the Kuaihelumoa *pali*, at Hamakualoa;
7. Repairing the two palis at Maliko, in Hamakualoa, Maui;
8. Repairing the two palis at Pauwela, in Hamakualoa, Maui;
9. Repairing the two Government Roads and the two palis at Opuaihaa [Haiku], in Hamakualoa, Maui.

This is the amount of time taken for the above roads, 42 days work... [HSA, Interior Department Misc. Box 146]

Governor Hoapili Causes the Road to be Built through Honua'ula— Road in Disrepair and Seldom Traveled by 1865

Nupepa Kuokoa
Mei 18, 1865:4
Ka Moolelo o William Hoapili k.

**He Wahi Haiolelo keia na Kekahi
Keiki o Lahainaluna, e Pili ana i ka
Hoike Kula, i ka La 5 iho Nei o Mei.**

*O Hoapili k. oia ke kau wahi pua-alii o
keia Pae Moku i ka wa kahiko; no ka
mea, he mau alii kona mau makua, o
Kameeiamoku kona makuakane, a o
kona makuahine; o Keliiokahekili no ia.*

*Ua hanau ia o Hoapili ma Kailua i
Hawaii, i ka makahiki 1775. Eha mau
makahiki ia mamua iho o ko Kapena
Kuke ku mua ana mai ma keia Pae
Moku, a ma ka makahiki 1840 kona
make ana...*

*...Eia hoi kona noho Kiaaina ana no
Maui nei. I ka pau ana o keia mau kaua
eha, noho oia i Kiaaina no Maui nei, a
oia no hoi ka mua o ka noho ana ma ia
oihana. Ia wa nae, aole he
Lunakanawai maoli, e like me keia wa a
kakou e noho nei. Iaia wale no ka mana
hoopai, a hookuu aku paha i ka mea i
hewa a pono paha, ua noho oia ma
kana oihana me ka oluolu.*

*E noho ana ia ma kana oihana nui,
hoomaka oia e hana i ke alanui mai
Honuaula, a hiki i Kaupo, e pili ana ma
kahakai, malalo iho o ke kakai mauna o
Haleakala, ma keia alanui i hanaia, he
nui na a-a-wai, he alanui maikai ia i ko
Hoapili wa e holo ana, ma ia alanui na
kanaka e hele ai, a i keia wa, aole hele
nui na kanaka no ka inoino, kapaia mai
keia "Ko Hoapili alanui." Ko Hoapili
huna ana i na iwi o Kamehameha. I ka
makahiki 1819... W. KEALOHA.*

This is a Little Story from the Youth of
Lahainaluna, from the School Exhibition of
the 5th day of May, Instant.

Hoapili k. was one the royal descendants of
this Island Group of olden times; for his
parents were chiefs, Kame'eiamoku being
his father, and his mother being
Keliiokahekili.

Hoapili was born at Kailua, Hawaii in the
year 1775, four years before the arrival of
Captain Cook at these Islands, and he died
in 1840...

...Here is something about his residency as
Governor on Maui. At the end of the fourth
battle (of Kamehameha), he was established
as Governor of Maui, and this was the first
position of its kind. In that time there was not
a true Judgeship as there is in this time of us
who reside here. Only he had the power to
punish or to free, perhaps, the transgressor.
He held his office with goodness.

It was while he held this position that he had
construction of the road from Honua'ula to
Kaupō begun, running along the shore, and
along the mountain cliffs of Haleakalā. Along
this road was many stony beds, and it was a
good road when Hoapili traveled it. Along
this road, many people traveled, but in this
time, there are not many people who travel it,
for it is in disrepair. It is called, "Hoapili's
Road." It was Hoapili who hid the bones of
Kamehameha in 1819... W. Kealoha [Maly,
translator]

Waikapu

June 9, 1866

**H.W. Daniels, Road Supervisor, Maui; to H.A. Widemann, Interior Department
Reports on having worked on mauka road from Ulupalakua to Hana:**

...I would further say I have worked the road from Capt. Makee's this year to Hana, all but one *Pali* which will be finished next week... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

Waikapu

July 4th, 1867

**H.W. Daniels, Road Supervisor, Maui; to H.A. Widemann, Interior Department
Reports on work on Road to Ulupalakua, and labor by Chinese:**

...By permission of H. Exclly., I have this day drawn a draft on your Dept. for "Ten Dollars" in favor of "Akana" for his services as interpreter with the Chinese Coolies at Ulupalakua... I would say that I have about 40 natives not yet worked and their road Tax for this year which will be available to assist the tradesmen while at work... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

Waikapu

March 29, 1870

**A. Unna, Road Supervisor, Maui, to F.W. Hutchinson, Interior Department
Regarding work on Road from Ulupalakua to Kahikinui vicinity:**

...In regard to improving the old road from Kahikinui to Ulupalakua, I would say, that I intended when I left Honolulu last for Hana to have gone over the ground between Pumahoe [Puu Mahoe] at Ulupalakua & Lualailua (the 2 hills at the entrance to Kahikinui), but I could not find a guide to pilot me through the clinkers. I wished to find out where the new road, talked about by some natives, might be made, whether it would be shorter or longer, than the old road, & what difficulties the making of a new road presented, so as to know, what it would cost & whether it would be feasible before commencing the work... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

Hana

May 11th, 1870

**A. Unna, Road Supervisor, Maui, to F.W. Hutchinson, Interior Department
Regarding work on Road from Ulupalakua to Kahikinui vicinity:**

...I would inform you that I have sent my overseer with all the tools required over to Kahikinui, to commence work on the new road between Ulupalakua & the round hills. He will make written agreements with the men & I have authorized him to get from 10 to 20 men. As there is no food to be had in those parts, I furnished him some cash in advance to buy food for himself & his laborers... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

Hana

March 9th, 1871

**A. Unna, Road Supervisor, Maui, to F.W. Hutchinson, Interior Department
Regarding work on Road from Ulupalakua to Kahikinui vicinity:**

...The undersigned hereby presents to Your Excellency his report of road work performed in 1870 by his direction.

From the round hills at Kahikinui a road has been made in a nearly direct line through the clinkers & lava to the black Lava flow beyond Ulupalakua at an expense of \$351.38. A further outlay of about \$250 I estimate will finish this road, which would meet the Government road at the *Kukui* grove adjoining the hill Puumahoe on Capt. Makees' land. The work done can be seen by following the old road to a place called Puuonole, where the descent to the new road can be made. Were it not for the desolate & unproductive

country to which laborers have to come from a distance, the work would have been finished in 1870.

The road through Kahikinui & Kaupo was put in order last summer, but it has suffered from the heavy rains... [HSA, Interior Dept. Roads, Box 44]

Hana

June 30, 1871

A. Unna, Hana Road Supervisor; to F.W. Hutchison, Minister of Interior:

...The overseer that worked at Ulaino goes to Kahikinui & works the people through Kaupo & Kipahulu. Another overseer is engaging men to finish the Honuaula road... [HSA, Interior Department – Roads, Box 44]

Report of the Condition of Roads and Bridges on East Maui

March 27th, 1880

Submitted to Minister of the Interior by David Taylor, Road Supervisor:

...Lower road that runs past Kalepolepo from Waikapu to Ulupalakua is in very bad order, and is full of loose stones and holes. I do not think it has been worked for about five years. Nine miles of it is in bad condition.

From Ulupalakua to Kaupo, the road is very good except one gulch which is washed out a little...

...The upper road from Makawao through Kula to Ulupalakua has been worked a little way but not all through. Through Kula and towards Ulupalakua it is full of loose stones and holes and wants working very bad, and wants a new bridge at Keahuaiwi... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

Ulupalakua

June 10th, 1887

**James Smyth, Executor of the Estate of John Brown;
to L. Aholo, Minister of the Interior**

Regarding roads between Ulupalakua and Makena:

...As administrator of Estate of late John Brown of this place, I beg to inform Your Excellency that a right of way, part of an old Government Road to the Brown premises has been closed up some 3 months ago by a wire fence erected by Mr. Charles B. Makee, Manager of Rose Ranch (the property of Honorable, J.I. Dowsett). I have asked to have a gate erected but my demand has been refused.

The Road in question is an old Govt. Road of over 60 years in standing, and the entrance to same has never before been closed, but always open, and during the life of late Brown, always used by him as a cart road to and from Makena and Ulupalakua.

On the 3rd, inst. I opened the entrance by cutting the wires but on the 6th, inst., Mr. Makee has again wired it up.

Trusting that Your Excellency will take the matter under investigation and decide upon what is fair and just.

I can, if required, have quite a number of the oldest Hawaiian Residents to confirm what I state relative to the old Road... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

Waikapu, Maui

August 29, 1889

**W.H. Cromwell, Chairman of Road Board; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior
Regarding plans for new road from Makena to Ulupalakua:**

...When ever it would be convenient to you, we would like to have the Engineer come up to lay out the new road from Ulupalakua to Makena. The old road needs repairing, but we would much prefer making a new one... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

Honuaula

December 9, 1888

**William S. Wilcox; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior
Regarding condition of roads in Honuaula; The near-shore road from Makena towards Kamaole was last worked some 35 years earlier:**

...I don't wish to trouble you with our small matter, we have supervisors and we have Road Boards, but we have no Roads. The last time the Beach road was repaired according to the oldest inhabitant was in Mr. L.L. Torbert's time some thirty five years ago from Makena to Kamaole. The road is so bad that carts can hardly get along. Down by the salt pond below Waikapu, Cornwell has got the Road fenced in for a pasture and turned the travel out among the rocks where it is almost impossible to get along. The Roads, or some of them have been farmed out about once a year and scratched a little until in places the dirt has all washed away and left nothing but rocks... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

Wailuku, Maui

August 1st, 1896

**L.A. Andrews, Sheriff; to J.A. King, Minister of the Interior
Regarding new road from Makena to Kula:**

...I have the honor to report in regards to the proposed road from Makena to Kula, for which \$10,000 was appropriated by the last Legislature, and which was staked out by Mr. Brunner, and for which bids for construction were advertised for by yourself, and profile and specification sent to me.

I have been over the route very careful, and am strongly convinced that it will be a serious mistake to build the road on the line as now staked out, and deem it my duty to report the matter to you before any contract for construction is awarded or any money spent on it.

The matter is of such vital importance to the future prosperity of the Kula farmers that I would strongly urge you to investigate the question more fully, with a view to a change of route... ...You will observe that the line runs toward Kula to the point marked "A" and then turns directly away from Kula to point "B", a distance of over 1 ½ mile to the old road from Makena to Ulupalakua, below "Mausoleum Hill" [Pu'u Ke'eke'ehia], this making the road about 3 miles longer than it should be to Kula...

The route laid out is not at all in accordance with the petition sent to the Legislature by the residents of Kula and vicinity for a direct road from Kula to Makena, and for which the Legislature passed the appropriation...

Mr. Dowsett refused to sign the said petition, and now it appears from the route laid out, that Mr. Dowsett had a great deal to do with the selecting of the route, which is apparently for the accommodation of the Ulupalakua Ranch, but diminishing the value of the road to Kula People who asked for the road and who are most sorely in need of it.

I contend that if there is any advantage to be obtained by reaching the point marked "B" below "Mausoleum Hill: that the route from there to Makena should be run towards Kanaio so as to open up the fine Pine Apple lands in that locality instead of running to the point marked "A," which is in a locality practically worthless... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

***Petition [nd. – Following the letter of August 1st, 1896, above]
Residents of Kula and Honuaua; to James, A. King, Minister of the Interior
Requesting the new road be opened between Kula and Makena Landing:***

...We the undersigned residents and tax payers of the District of Kula, Island of Maui, being persons either owning & leasing lands, or being variously engaged in agricultural pursuits, ranching and teaming and hence all being persons materially interested in having produce, swine, poultry &c. transported to Makena Landing over a good, graded road leading through country, the character of which would be such as to make teaming and other modes of conveyance most easy and practicable, and having been credibly informed of the fact that Your Excellency has been importuned to condemn the construction of the proposed New Kula-Makena Road along the line as latest staked out by Mr. W.W. Brunner, we deem it necessary that we furnish you with an expression of our wishes and preferences in regards to the routes proposed.

And therefore we, your petitioners do most respectfully & humbly make request that the New Kula-Makena Road be built according to the Survey made by Mr. W.W. Brunner.

[Signed – by 106 individuals, including those below associated with the Makena vicinity]

Hapakuka	Ranchman & Teamster
Mahele	Ranchman
J. Poepoe	Ranchman
Edward Wilcox	Ranchman & Farmer, Teamster
R.A. Wilcox	Ranchman & Farmer, Teamster
J. Kukahiko	Landowner
Delima	Teamster
John Kauwekane	Landowner
Kalahanoano	Landowner
J. Uwelo	–
J. Kapohakimohewa	–
J.M. Napulou	Landowner & Ranchman
J.M. Kamawae	Landowner & Ranchman
D. Kailua	Landowner & Ranchman
Kaoao	Landowner & Ranchman
G.K. Kunukau...	– [HSA – Interior Department, Roads]

***Makena
October 4, 1896
John Kukahiko; to J.A. King, Minister of the Interior
Regarding compensation owed him for the new road passing through the wall on his property:***

...I am greatly surprised at your not answering me in regards to my wall having been opened for the road. I want to close the wall off, and receive the compensation promised me by the *Haole*. Your clerk Rocky, knows about all that is set forth. Do not forget, to send a letter, perhaps this week. That is it... [HSA – Interior Department, Roads; Maly, translator]

Schools and Public Instruction

The instruction of students in schools (most of whom were adults in the early years), in reading, writing and other skills initially fell to the missionaries (see reports and letters of the Mission Station, cited earlier in this study). In a short time native teachers were trained, and by 1831, eleven hundred schools were in operation throughout the islands, with more than thirty thousand students enrolled (Kuykendall and Day 1970:79). The schools generally served as both native churches and meeting houses—as at Keawakapu in Ka‘eo—and were established in most populated *ahupua‘a* around the island of Maui; native teachers and lay-ministers were appointed to oversee their daily activities.

By ca. 1840, most of the native residents of the Hawaiian Islands could read and write, and interest in the schools began to diminish. On October 15, 1840, Kamehameha III enacted a law that required the maintenance and local support of the native schools (the Constitution of 1840). The Constitution provided a “Statute for the Regulation of Schools,” which required that in a village with 15 or more students, the parents were to organize and secure a teacher. They could then apply to the local school agent for funds to pay the teacher and for land on which a school could be built and classes held. The statute also allowed for the use of proceeds and work of the “*Poalua*” (King’s Labor Days) to be used in support of the schools (cf. Constitution of 1840, and Kuykendall and Day 1970). The early records were kept by the mission stations, but by 1847, more detailed records were kept by Government representatives and appointed officials, including — teachers, school inspectors, superintendents, and surveyors. In these records are also found important lists identifying native tenants of various lands throughout the region.

The meeting house and school at Keawakapu, Ka‘eo, served as the central area of education for the Honua‘ula District, with outlying schools in several other *ahupua‘a*. By 1852, a separate school lot was surveyed in at Keawakapu, from land loaned to the use by Mahoe (a portion o Royal Patent Grant No. 835). A lot was also established in Maluaka Ahupua‘a, being the Makena School Lot in use through the 1920s, and a lot in the uplands near ‘Ulupalakua.

As was the case with Government Roads and Trails, there were only limited records found in our research, which described the schools, and named the teachers and students in Honua‘ula. Those records follow below in chronological order.

Ka Nonanona

April 11, 1843: 18

D. Malo

	<i>Kula</i>	<i>Kumu</i>	<i>Haumana</i>
... <i>Honuaua</i> ,	8	8	229

November 1848

***Journal of Tour Around the Windward Islands, Hawaii, Maui,
& Molokai in the months of September, October, & November 1848
Regarding Inspection of Schools:***

...October 22. [departing from Wailuku] I set out for the tour of E. Maui on a mule, in the morning early in hard rain. Reached ***Honuaua*** about noon & met the teachers of that region who were waiting for me. They had many complaints to make, but I postponed the business until my return to Wailuku.

I reached the house of Makaale, a good deacon, at sunset. [page 4] [HSA Series 261, Box 1]

Honuaula

February 22, 1852

S. Manu, School Inspector; to R. Armstrong, Minister of Public Instruction

Reports on condition of Schools at Kaeo (at the "Keawakapu" Church lot) and Ulupalakua:

...Here is an item, your inquiry to me concerning the sum of \$30.00 which I had applied on the school house at Keawakapu, Honuaula. I did not pay the sum of \$30.00 for the school house at Keawakapu. I gave them a warrant to draw upon the Treasurer, in the sum of \$10.00, for the school house at Keawakapu, Honuaula. The school house has been completed.

Pertaining to the school house at Ulupalakua. I issued a check for \$30.00 upon the Treasurer. Construction is continued, until it is completed. The length of the shingles however, has caused some delay, but it is nearly finished.

Here is another item, there is no suitable location upon which to build a school house at Ulupalakua. At Honuaula [Kaeo], the land upon which the school house is located now, is the private property of a certain native Hawaiian [Mahoe], who has authorized me to build the school house upon his land provided the Government does not claim ownership of the land.

I accepted the offer. There upon, I proceeded to build a school house on the said parcel of land, without title of ownership by the Government to his land. What do you think of it? Perhaps it is proper, perhaps it is not proper?

Later on, I shall inform you of certain other matters that are still remaining pertaining to this matter... [HSA – Series 261 Box 4, Folder 2]

Honuaula

April 26, 1852

L.L. Torbert; to R. Armstrong, Minister of Public Instruction

Reports that the Meeting house (school and church site) was blown down; the desire of native residents to have a new facility built; and of his own problems with creditors in regards to his plantation:

...The meeting house at this place has blown down. The natives wish me to help put it up. I am not disposed to take any trouble about it so long as we have no preacher. When we have a preacher of our own (a white man) then we will have a good house, with a shingle roof & floor & seats. Something in the style of a neat New England village meeting house. We are able & willing, When we get a good preacher, then we will have good schools & magistrate & police & not before.

This place should be cut off from Wailuku in every respect.

If things continue much longer as they are at present I shall stop my [illegible] & shake out for some other place.

I have now in my hands a paper signed by 42 of the most influential men here, requesting me to write to you & others to send them a preacher & to take Manu away from here.

If you cannot do anything for us, why then the French & Mormons will.

We had a case in court last week, a certain native who works for me was caught in bed with another man's wife. They were caught by the husband. He called a constable & another man & they went in & pulled the bed clothes off of them & there they lay naked...

Another bad thing here is an intoxicating drink which the people make out of the wild goose berry & sugar cane juice. They are drunk very often & there are several persons who have no visible means of support except making this & selling it...

I don't know what creditors will do with me the first of June next. I will do everything in my power for them & any course they see fit to take will be seconded by me, although of choice I would keep on until times get better. If I fail in the plantation I feel very much as if I should not begin anything else. But a few weeks rest might make me feel different... [HSA – Series 261, Box 4, Folder 4]

September 17th, 1853

School Grant Church Lot in Kaio [Kaeo], Honuaula, Maui (Occupied?)

Survey of School Lot:

Beginning at the N.W. corner at a rock near the sea and running due South 2.60 chains along the seashore. S. 85° E. 2.87 chains along South of the Church lot. Due North 2.26 chains along School Lot. N. 78 ¼° W. 2.92 chains over high rocks to the sea at the place of beginning.

Area 0.71 Acre. [Figure 11; School Grant File, State Survey Division]

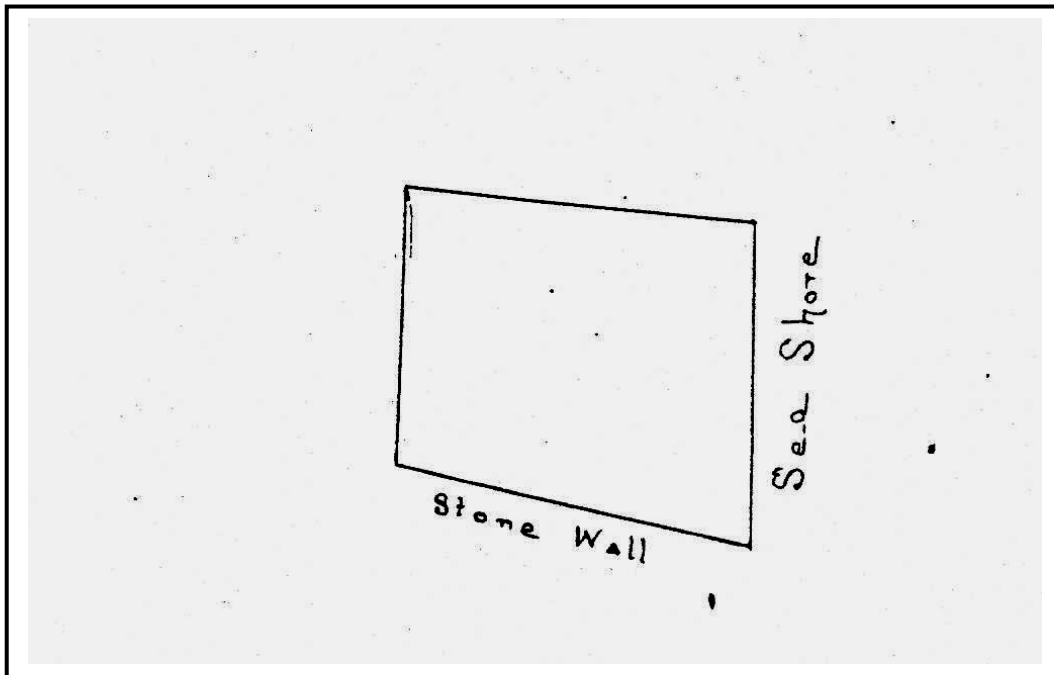


Figure 11. Church Lot Grant at "Kaio" (Kaeo). (September 17th, 1853)

September 17th, 1853
School Grant 17, Apana 7
School Lot at Kaeo, Honuaula, Maui
Mauka of Makena Church

Beginning at the N.E. corner of the Church Lot and running Due:

- South 2.26 chains along the Church Lot;
- S. 85° E. 5.08 chains along kula land to ledge;
- N. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ ° W. 3.10 chains to a rock;
- N. 85 $\frac{1}{4}$ ° W. 4.32 chains along waste land to the place of beginning.

Area 1.25 Acres. [Figure 12; School Grant File, State Survey Division]

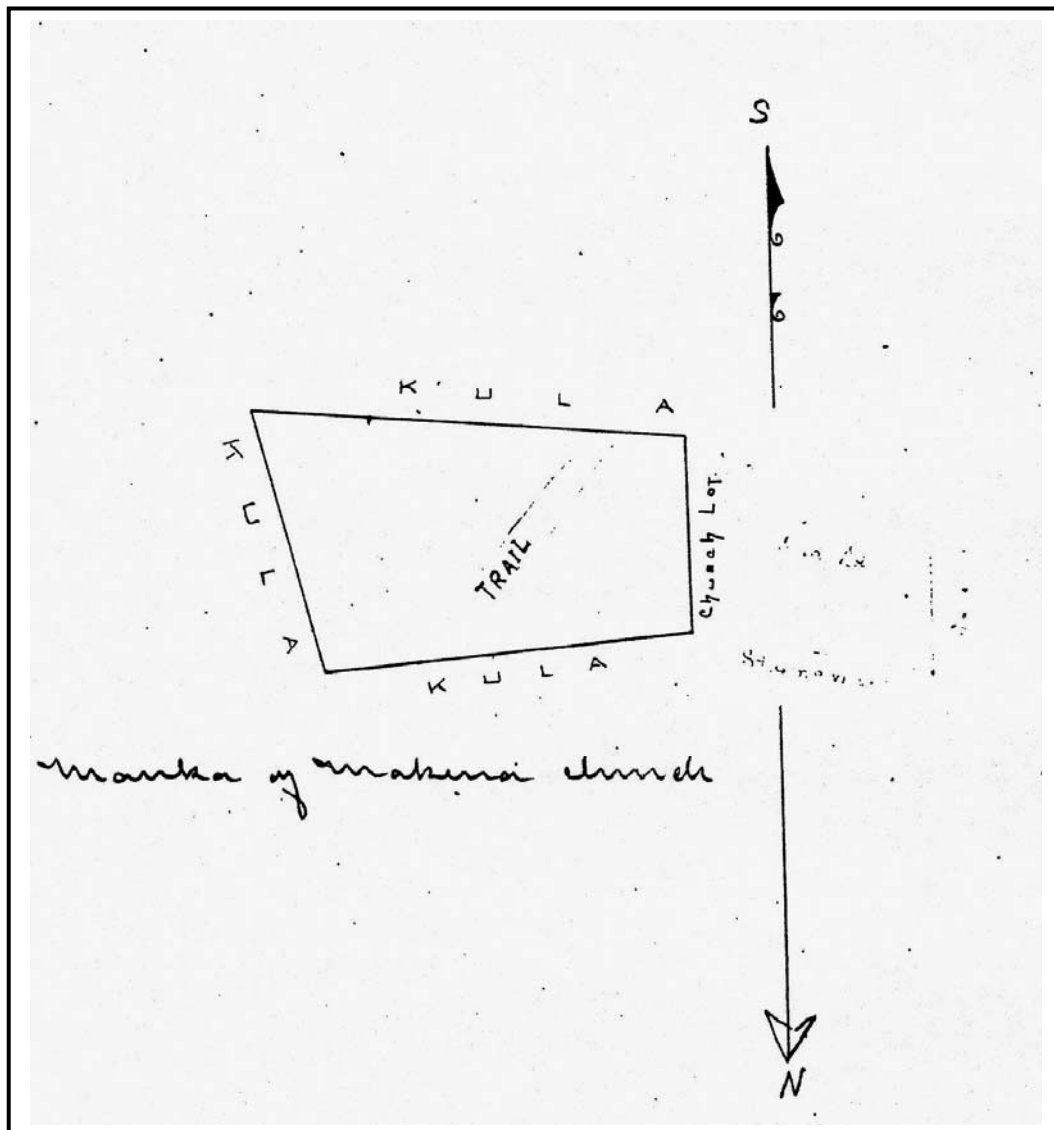


Figure 12. School Grant 17, Apana 7, at Kaeo. (September 17th, 1853)

September 17th, 1853

School Grant 18, Apana 2

School Lot at Maluaka, Honuaula, Maui

This lot is in Gr. 1245, Ap. 2, to Chapman [situated in the uplands, below Pu'u Ke'eke'ehia, and near the Maluaka-Ka'eo boundary].

Commencing at a stone heap (angle of the right hand end of Kahoolawe, and the extreme right hand of the water the head of Malea [Maalaea] Bay $83^{\circ} 39'$ – angle of right & left hand ends of Kahoolawe $31^{\circ} 38'$, and running by compass:

1. S. 11° W. 4.00 chains to a *wiliwili* tree;
2. S. 79° E. 5.00 chains;
3. N. 11° E. 4.00 chains, 16 links beyond a rock;
4. N. 79° W. 55 chains to place of beginning.

Area 2.00 Acres. [Figure 13]

[Note on survey reads:]

Present Makena School Lot was intended for this site. [School Grant File, State Survey Division]

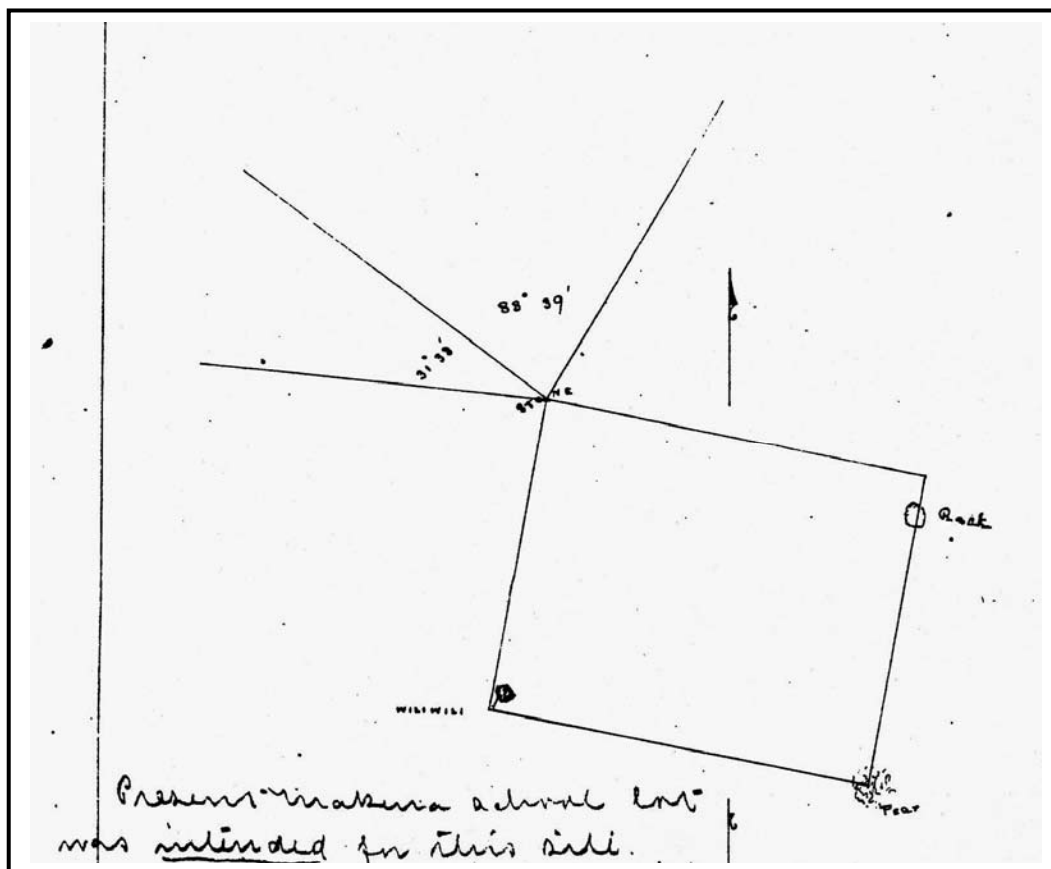


Figure 13. School Grant 18, Apana 2, at Maluaka (September 17th, 1853)

On July 1st, 1909, the Department of Public Instruction filed an Inventory and Valuation of Property, for the Makena School Lot—this being the lot situated in Maluaka, and later described as being in Royal Patent Grant No. 1508, land originally patented to Makahanohano. The school and property was valued at:

Land	2 acres	\$50.00
School House	1 room frame	\$1000.00
Furniture and Fixtures	15 school desks, etc.	\$74.00
Books and Stationary		\$25.00
Tools and Implements		\$20.00
Outhouses		\$100.00
Water System		<u>\$200.00</u>
	Total	\$1469.00

[HSA – Series 261, Box 55, Folder 16]

By the same date, the school lot at Ka'eo (see Figure 12) was listed as being unoccupied—an area of 1.25 acres—and being worth \$12.00 (HSA – Series 261, Box 55, Folder 16).

May 26, 1910

***W.E. Wall, Assistant Surveyor; to A. Lindsey, Attorney General of Hawaii
Regarding location of School Grant No. 18, Honuaua:***

...In compliance with your request D-1841 of the 17th instant, our assistant Mr. S.M. Kananui, has ascertained the location of School Grant 18 and submits a report from which I beg to quote the following, as being the information you desired.

“Re School Grant 18 in Honuaua. To comply with your request of May 17th as to certain informations required by Letter of Deputy Attorney Lymer of the same date, I beg to state, I found after due investigation and study, that the School Grant 18, comprising an area of 2 acres in Maluaka and which has been taken and generally understood to be within the boundary of Grant 1508 to Makahanohano, is not situated within either of the two apanas of the Makahanohano grant, unless it may have been another school grant. This particular school Grant 18 I found to be within Grant 119 to D. Calyer, about 2-1/2 miles inland near the old Ulupalakua-Makena Road.”... [HSA Series 261 – General Correspondence. Makena School Lot, 1910]

September 3, 1910

***A.L.C. Atkinson, Attorney; to W.T. Pope, Superintendent, Public Instruction
Regarding property on which the Makena School was situated, at Maluaka, being
on Royal Patent Grant No. 1508, to Makahanohano (Figure 14):***

...I beg leave to notify you that the school house at Makena is built upon ground belonging to Mr. P.E.R. Strauch. While the ground is not very valuable, it is of some value, especially from the fact that the school house has been built upon it and also a permanent cement water tank. Mr. Strauch would be happy to either rent, sell or exchange the land. I mentioned this matter to Mr. Babbitt over a year ago, and he promised to take the matter up. Probably on account of my absence it has been dropped. I would ask you therefore to consider what should be done under the circumstances.

I have a memorandum of title of Strauch in and to the ground in question, covered by Royal Patent Grant 1508 to Mokuhanohano [sic], which I would be glad to have you examine in case you went into the question of title... [HSA Series 261 – General Correspondence. Makena School Lot, 1910]

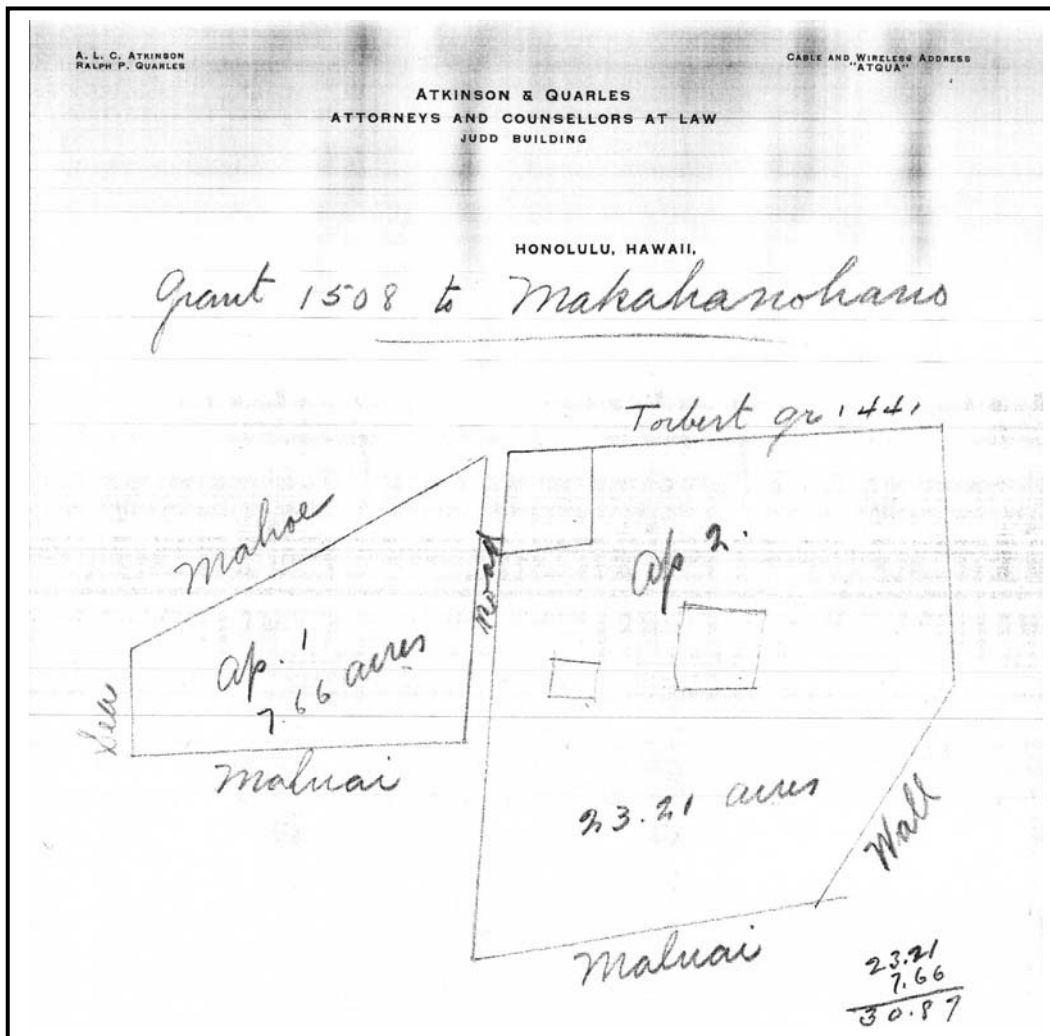


Figure 14. Makena School Lot at Maluaka (September 3, 1910)

September 30, 1910

T.H. Gibson, Normal [School] Inspector;
to W.T. Pope, Superintendent of Public Instruction
Regarding Makena School Lot:

...In regard to the Makena School lot I have to report that after a careful investigation I find that the Department does not own the lot on which the school house is situated, but that the land belongs to or is controlled by Mr. P.E.R. Strauch. The nearest lot owned by the Department is about a half a mile from the present location, where the old school house was.

The only course to pursue by this Department is either to purchase the lot from Mr. Strauch or to lease the same. He asks \$600.00 for the thirty acres, or Grant 1508 to Makahanohano. From information received from the Survey Office my opinion is that the tract is not worth more than \$200.00.

Either an exchange with Mr. Strauch for some other government land that would satisfy him or a lease of the lot, paying him back rent, if necessary, seems to be the only solution of the matter.

Our school building has been on the land since 1904... [HSA Series 261 – General Correspondence, Makena School Lot, 1910]

Government Survey Operations in the Honua‘ula Region

In between the 1860s to 1880s the Hawaiian Kingdom undertook an extensive program of surveying and mapping lands of Hawai‘i. As a part of this program, detailed surveys were conducted in the Honua‘ula region. The result was Register Map No. 1763, which was compiled from surveys by Surveyor General, W.D. Alexander (son of Wm. P. Alexander, who for a short while in 1856, managed Torbert’s Plantation at ‘Ulupalakua, and undertook limited surveys of the region); and from field surveys by F.S. Dodge and E.D. Baldwin. Survey Field Book No. 378, includes an early plan of the Makena vicinity (*Figure 15*), depicting the “new landing,” ‘Āpuakēhau Point and fishpond, and the walled church lot.

E.D. Baldwin, a nephew of W.D. Alexander, also penned several letters of historical value to Alexander, while working the Honua‘ula District. From those letters, cited below, we learn about the nature of the land, including references to the many stone mounds scattered across it, and left over from the days of potato cultivation; and we are also informed that the heirs of Mahoe were disputing their fishing rights at Ka‘eo with the Makees. Baldwin also recorded an account of Pele’s rath on ancient residents of the district, and naming of several places therein.

Kukahiko family history reveals that Ha‘eha‘e Kukahiko, daughter of John and Kamaka Kukahiko, was intimate with E.D. Baldwin, and from that relationship was born Hattie Kukahiko in 1884. Apparently, Ha‘eha‘e Kukahiko and E.D. Baldwin were to get married, but Ha‘eha‘e did not want to move to Hawai‘i Island with Baldwin, who was being sent there to conduct surveys. Hattie Kukahiko grew up, and married Aana Chang, and together, they founded the Chang line of Makena (see oral history interviews in this study).

In February 1883, E.D. Baldwin and F.S. Dodge took up residency in Honua‘ula, and undertook detailed surveys

Makena
Feb. 17th, 1883

Dear Uncle William,

I arrived here safely last Tuesday morning, and went up with Mr. Hastings to ***Ulupalakua***. Mrs. Makee is at present in Honolulu. Arthur and Maunu arrived Friday afternoon, having only succeeded in getting two mules.

Saturday morning we left for Makena but did not get our camp set until towards evening on account of rain. Sunday was rather stormy.

Have had stormy weather every day so far this week. Wednesday a heavy thunder storm passed over us at dusk.

Monday and Tuesday of this week I spent in hunting up the boundaries of Kanahena. Kanahena is a much larger land than I supposed it to be, running clean up into Ulupalakua; the upper half being taken up mostly by Grants and Kuleanas.

We went nearly around the land Monday with two Kamaainas, with these, and information obtained from very old Kamaainas on the way, I think we have got Kanahena pretty well settled.

Tuesday we finished up Kanahena and set up for the first point with the instrument on Puu o Kanaloa. The flag pole on Puu o Kanaloa was knocked down by cattle, but we found the triangle under it and rest it again.

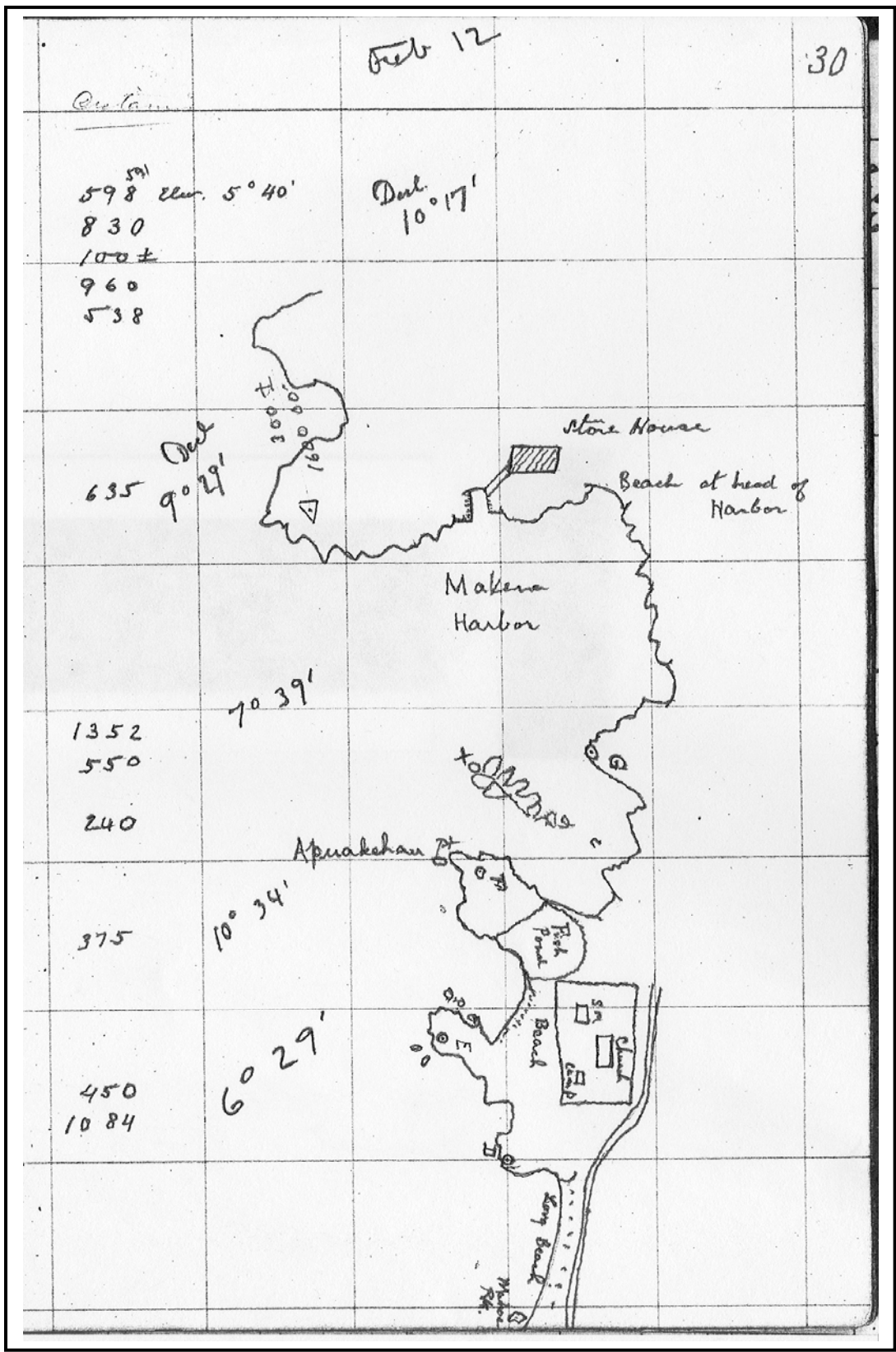


Figure 15. Sketch of Makena Vicinity, February 12, 1883. E.D. Baldwin (Field Book 378:30)

The S. W. L_ [corner] of Kanahena on the sea coast is a well marked rock (Pohaku o Pa'ea) which stands a little ways out from the sea coast. Perhaps you have heard the legend about this rock. It was a goddess who was raising chickens near Puu Naio, and quarreled with Pele. Pele becoming angry, vomited out aa (the present Kalua o Lapa aa flow). Paea fled before Pele's fire out to sea, stood and turned into a rock, then Pele stopped.

The rest of the week I have been looking up the boundaries of Kaeo, and Grants in Maluaka, Mooiki &c. I find that there has been a great deal of trouble about Mahoe's grant of ½ Kaeo.

Mahoe himself is dead. His relatives claim that their boundary runs along the old crooked road to Ulupalakua. While the Makees claim their boundary up to Torbert's wall, which runs along the south side of the road; in places the road approaches quite close to the wall, then runs quite a ways from it; neither road or wall are very straight.

The greatest row has been between both Makee and the natives with Mahoe, who claims the fishing rights of Makena bay. As far as I can find out, so far, the survey of Mahoe's ½ Kaeo includes the whole of Kaeo, running considerably into Torbert & Wilcox (Gr. 234).

Have you any way of finding out what fishery rights Mahoe has, and has he any right to Makena. Charlie Makee seems to be very anxious to find out. He says since Mahoe died they are bringing up their fishery rights again.

I have had many inquiries in regards to the sea coast and fisheries of a Grant from the Gov't. bounding on the sea coast, weather [sic] it goes to that Grant or is reserved for any one who pleases to fish. I have always believed that the Gov't. reserved all their fishing rights for the people at large; am I right in my belief?

While over at Puu o Kanaloa, I inquired some about Keoneoio, which I believe is only a fishing right. It seems that there has been a great many hoopaapaas about this fishing right among the natives. The natives do not seem to know anything about the award of Keoneoio to M. Kekauonohi, but that Ikaka has claimed all the fishing rights off the coast at Puu o Kanaloa, extending along the Kualapa coast to Kanahena, and also along the coast of Kalihi. There are also some fish ponds claimed by him. One on the coast, located on Dodge's maps, and a batch of five ponds quite a ways from the sea in the aa field of Kualapakai. These ponds, the natives say, are worth a great deal, being rented for large sums, especially the five in Kualapa.

Perhaps you can find out some information about these ponds from Ikaka's son, Levi, who they say is at present, living in Honolulu (*pili me ke Alii*). Ikaka is dead; Kaiama was Ikaka's father.

If I am not mistaken, this Levi is the man I had with me comparing [illegible] coppies [sic]. He is at present, or was a short time ago, working for the King.

What is the proper price to pay for the hire of a horse per week or month?

With regards to all,

Your aff. Nephew,

Erdy Baldwin. [HSA DAGS 6 Box 2]

Camp, Makena
Feb. 24th, 1883

Dear Uncle William,

Received yours of the 20 inst., last Wednesday, also the two packages. We are still pegging away at unlocated Grants and L.C.A.s between here and Kanahena, and hope before the end of next week to have them all located. I am afraid we will be much longer at this section of our work than we expected, on account of the scattering pieces, and the great difficulty of locating corners through the great tangle of Prickly Pear; which is getting to be almost impassable in places.

My stations which I set on the boundaries of Kanahena, which I am locating accurately by triangulation, from the base between Puu Olai and Puu o Kanaloa, come in very convenient for locating the Grants this side of Kanahena. I also think I can locate all the Grants in Kualapa and Kalihi from the stations on the other side of Kanahena.

The upper and best part of Kanahena is nearly all taken up by Grants and L.C.A.s, many of these being partly in Nau and Kanahena. Is it necessary to locate the Grants in the upper part of Kanahena so as to make notes of the survey of Kanahena according to the Grants; or would you disregard the Grants &c., and run according to the old boundaries. I have already set stations on the old boundaries of Kanahena so as to locate them up to the plantation's boundary, supposing that to be as far as it is necessary to locate them.

I have not been as far as Puu o Kanaloa since first there, but understood the natives to say the Ikaka owned those fish ponds and also Keoneoio. I feel much wiser in regards to fishing rights since reading your clear explanation. I have not bothered myself about fishing rights, but wished to be posted about them, as I have so many inquiries about them both from whites and natives.

Our mules seem to be doing well so far, though we have been obliged to use them nearly every day. We give them a few oats each morning. Every thing is very green around here now. I have hired a horse for \$2.00 per week.

I have been trying to think what is the best way to mark some of the Kanahena and Auwahi boundaries. A marked rock or pile of stones would be very difficult to find or recognize in such a country, as this district is full of rocks and also piles of rocks. The Mahoe Grant for instance has nearly every corner marked by a pile of rocks, but I have given up all hopes of finding any of them, as the whole country above ~~Mahoe~~ Makena was once used for raising sweet potatoes, and is full of piles of stones. I think that if the corners could be marked by iron pins or at least some of the prominent ones, they could be easily found again. I will mark them just as you think best, if by iron pins, I will need a dozen or more for Kanahena and Auwahi

Can you please send us 2 handles for small ax shaped hatchets. The hatchets are of the same size; a long and short handle would be convenient. We broke our long handle and our short handle is cracked.

We had an opportunity [sic] to go over to Molokini yesterday, and went over in a boat. Arthur and I thought we deserved a holiday as we had worked through all these late numerous holidays.

Yours truly — E.D. Baldwin. [HSA DAGS 6, Box 2]

Camp Makena
March 3rd, 1883

Dear Uncle William,

I enclose my Monthly account.

Spent yesterday looking up land matters around Puu o Kanaloa. I find that those fish ponds are not covered by any Grant, and that Keoneoio is simply a local name to the sand at the foot of Puu o Kanaloa. It seems from what the natives say that Ikaka or his son Levi, claims the whole of Kualapa. I find that there are quite a number of Grants and L.C.A. in Gov't. Keauhou, to be located. Not knowing that there was a Govt. Keauhou when I left. I did not make coppies [sic] of the Keauhou *Kuleana*; can you please send me coppies of them.

Yours Truly,

E.D. Baldwin. [HSA DAGS 6 Box 2]

Makena
March 10th, 1883

Dear Uncle William,

The same *Kamaaina* who told me that Levi claimed the whole of Kualapa, has since told me that it is simply the fish ponds, and sea coast of Kualapa.

Yesterday we shipped down to Molokini in Wilcox's boat, with transit and telemeter, and made a survey of the Island. Arthur has been at work today making a plot of the Island at 500 feet to the inch.

We will move our camp to Kanaio next week Wednesday.

Old man Wilcox is at present in Ulupalakua, and I have obtained a good deal of information from him, especially of Grants under foreign names, some of which the natives seem to know but little about.

I enclose a tracing of Arthur's plot of Molokini [Register Map No. 1276]. Points marked + are the telemeter shots we took. The South side of the Island is mostly a perpendicular *pali*, from which we could not see the sea coast.

Yours Truly,

E.D. Baldwin. [HSA DAGS 6 Box 2]

March 31, 1884
W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General;
to C.T. Gulick, Minister of Interior:

...Maui.

Mr. E.D. Baldwin, who left for Kaupo last February, is now engaged in locating all the Grants & Awards of that district by actual survey on the ground. He had previously surveyed the neighboring district of *Honuauia* from, February 6th till May 1883, and had carefully located every title on the ground.

The land of Kamaole in Kula was next worked up in a similar manner, where 7 claims for lands purchased from the Government in 1857-8, were investigated & surveyed out. Royal patents have since been issued for them... [HSA, DAGS 6]

Geo. Jackson Surveys of Makena Landing and Vicinity (April 1885)

One year after Baldwin finished his work in Honua'ula, Captain George Jackson was employed in preparing surveys of various Kingdom landings throughout the Hawaiian Islands. One such landing was situated at Makena. The result of Jackson's work was the production of a series of detailed maps, which are not only of value in documenting landings, but also in documenting features along the shores surveyed. Jacksons' Register Maps Numbered 1330 and 1337, depict the Makena Landing with features from Pu'u 'Ōla'i to Papa'anui. Jacksons' survey field book (No. 223), also includes detailed sketches of features along the shore, dated April 16th, 1885. *Figures 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23* are reproduced from Jacksons' field book, depicting the area (south to north) from Pu'u 'Ōla'i- Oneuli; across Naupaka Beach at Maluaka; to Keawakapu Bay, including the house lot of Kapohakimohewa, leased from Mahoe; the Keawakapu Church lot; 'Āpuakēhau fish pond; walled house lots to the north of the pond; the Makena Landing vicinity, including the old Sugar House, Kukahiko's house; various features between Nahuna Point and 'A'awa (the vicinity of the Kukahiko cemetery plot). Reference points, given as alphabet (e.g., A. B. C...), and North directional arrows, indicate where one sketch overlaps another sketch.

The figures cited on the following pages also include the detailed survey and coordinates recorded by Jackson, and include such references as:

- Grass House (1)
- Small brown Hs.
- Small White Hs.
- Church
- Large Hs.
- White Cottage
- Stone wall around Church
- Small School Hs.
- Old Fish pond
- Kukahiko's Hs.
- Chinese Store
- Old Sugar Hs.
- Landing

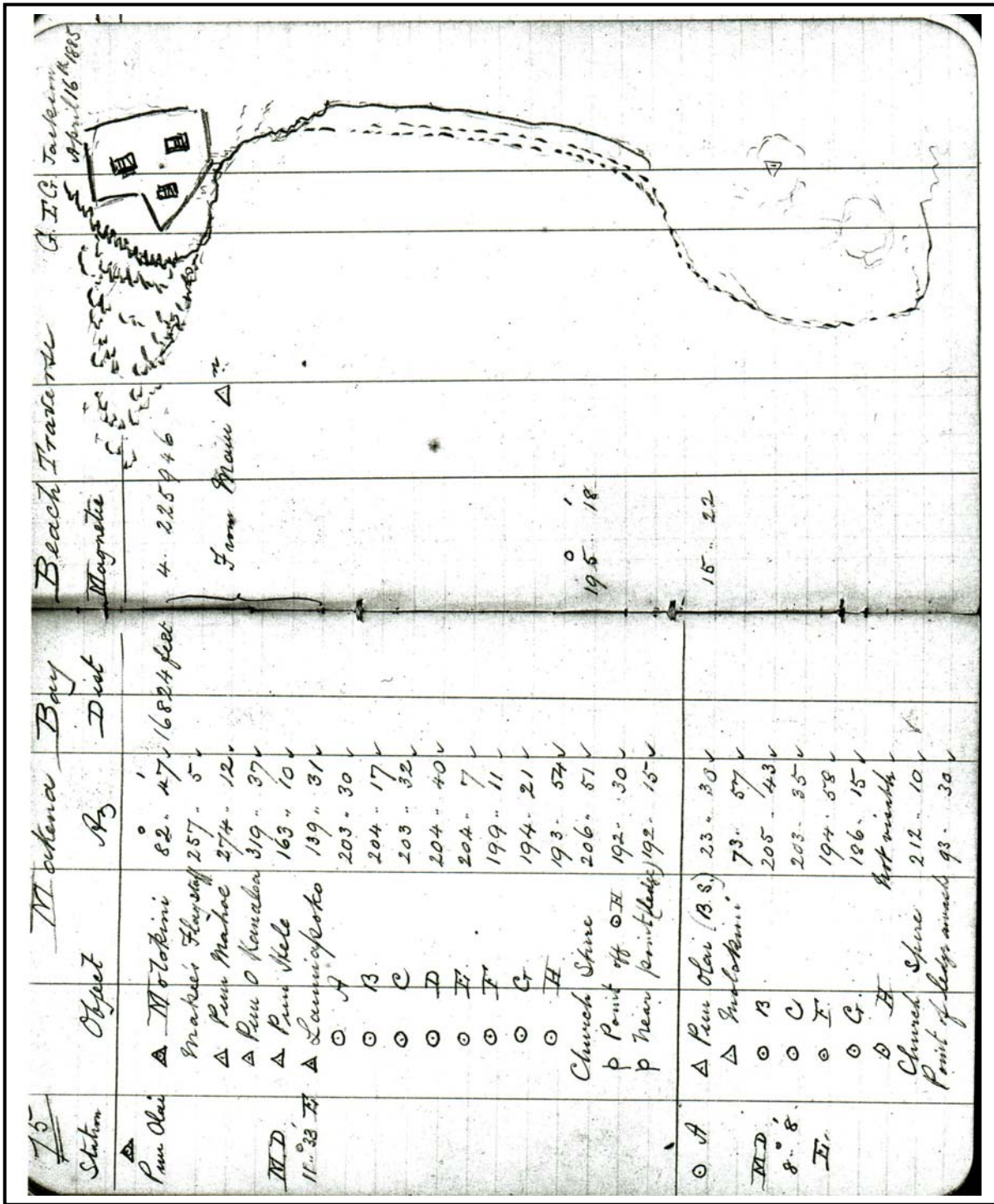


Figure 16. Sketch from Geo. Jackson's Field Book (1885:75)

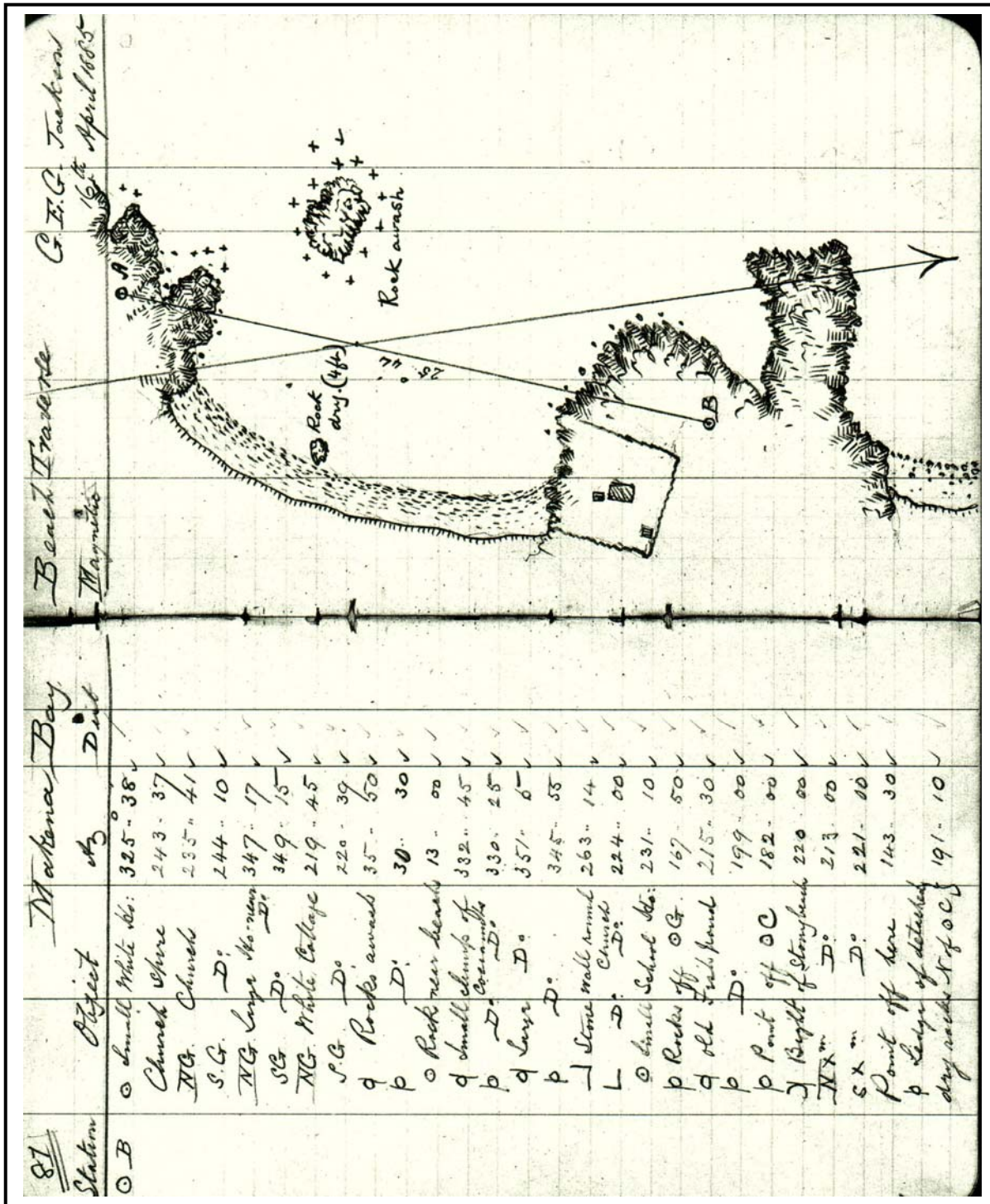


Figure 17. Sketch from Geo. Jackson's Field Book (1885:81)

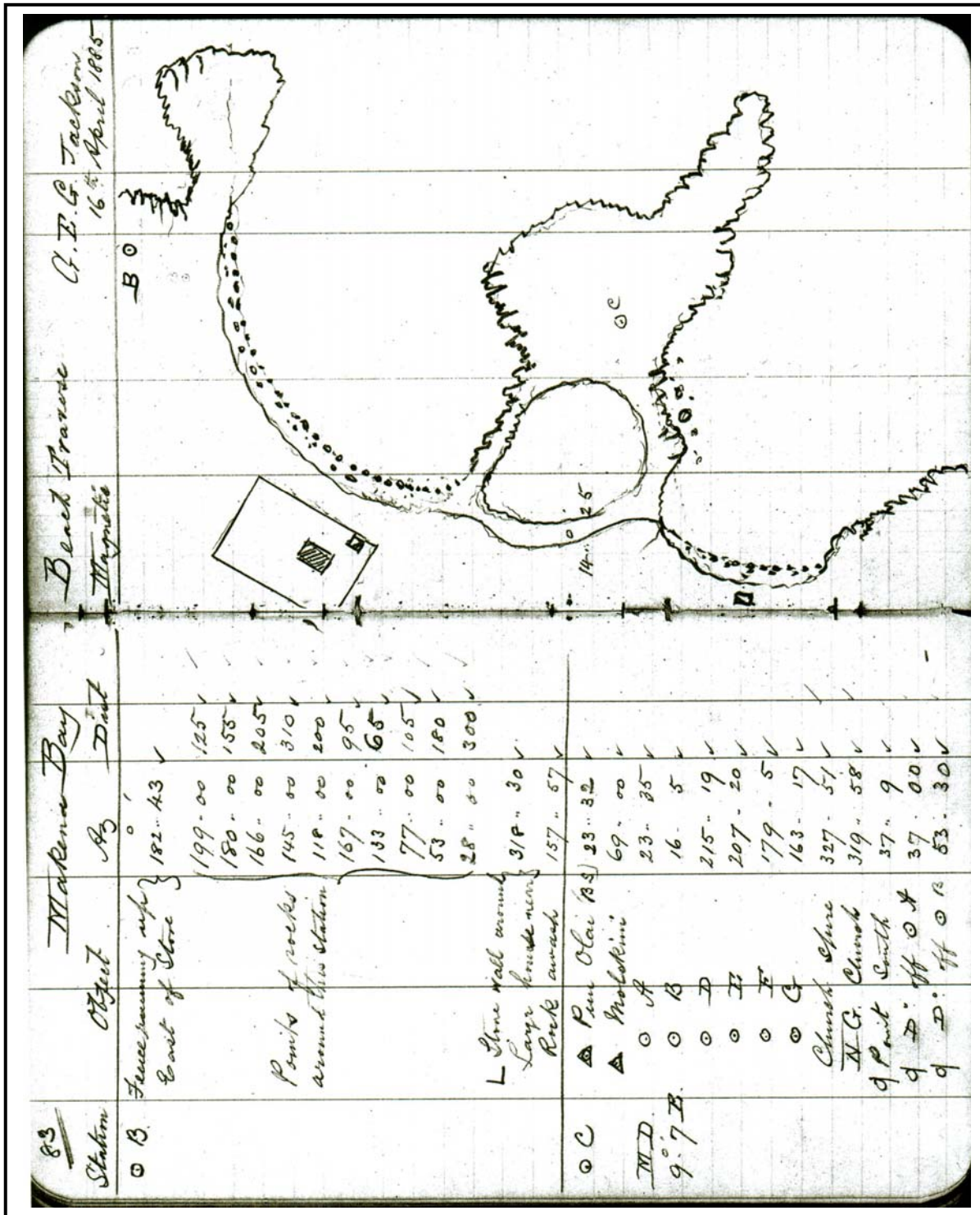


Figure 18. Sketch from Geo. Jackson's Field Book (1885:83)

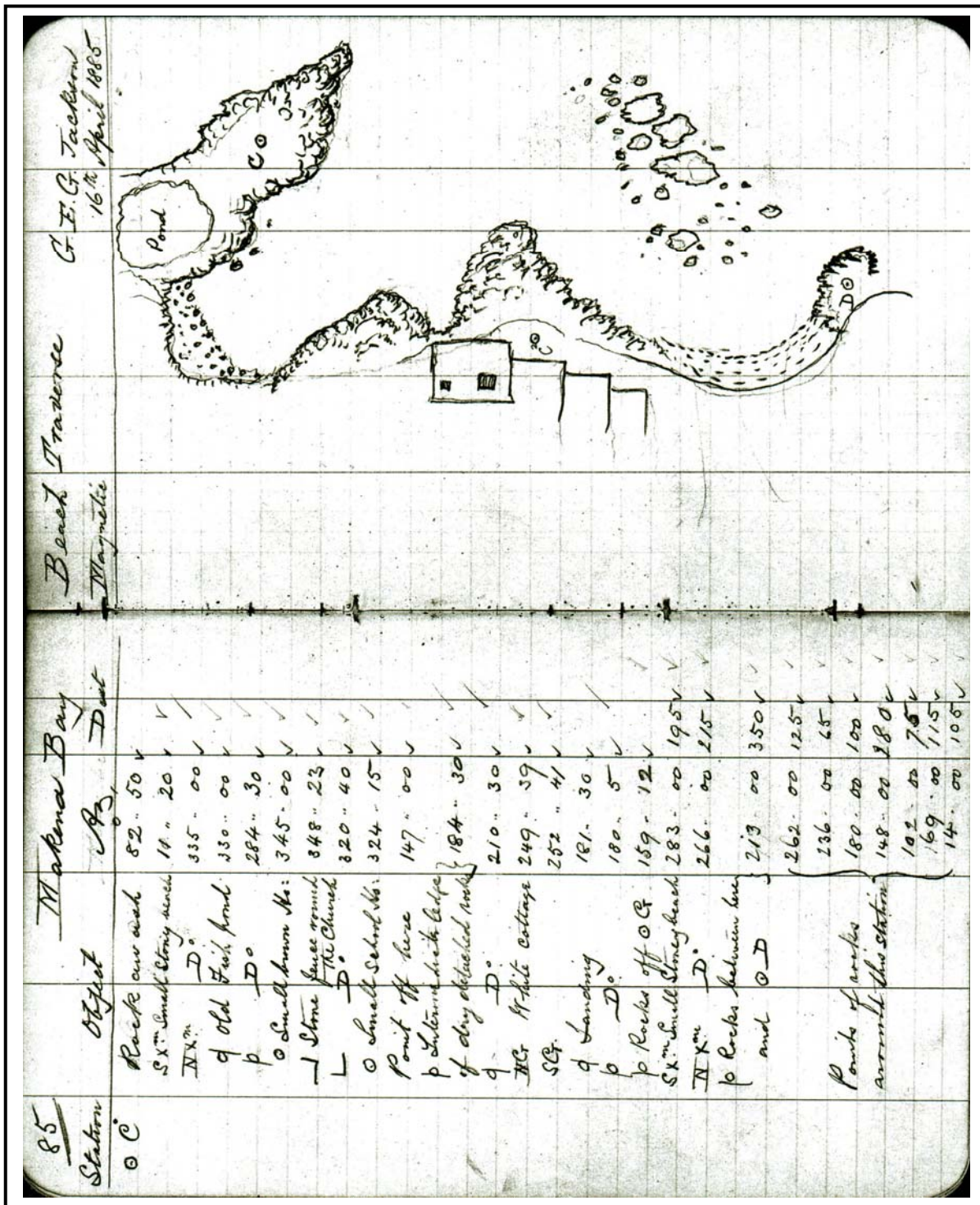


Figure 19. Sketch from Geo. Jackson's Field Book (1885:85)

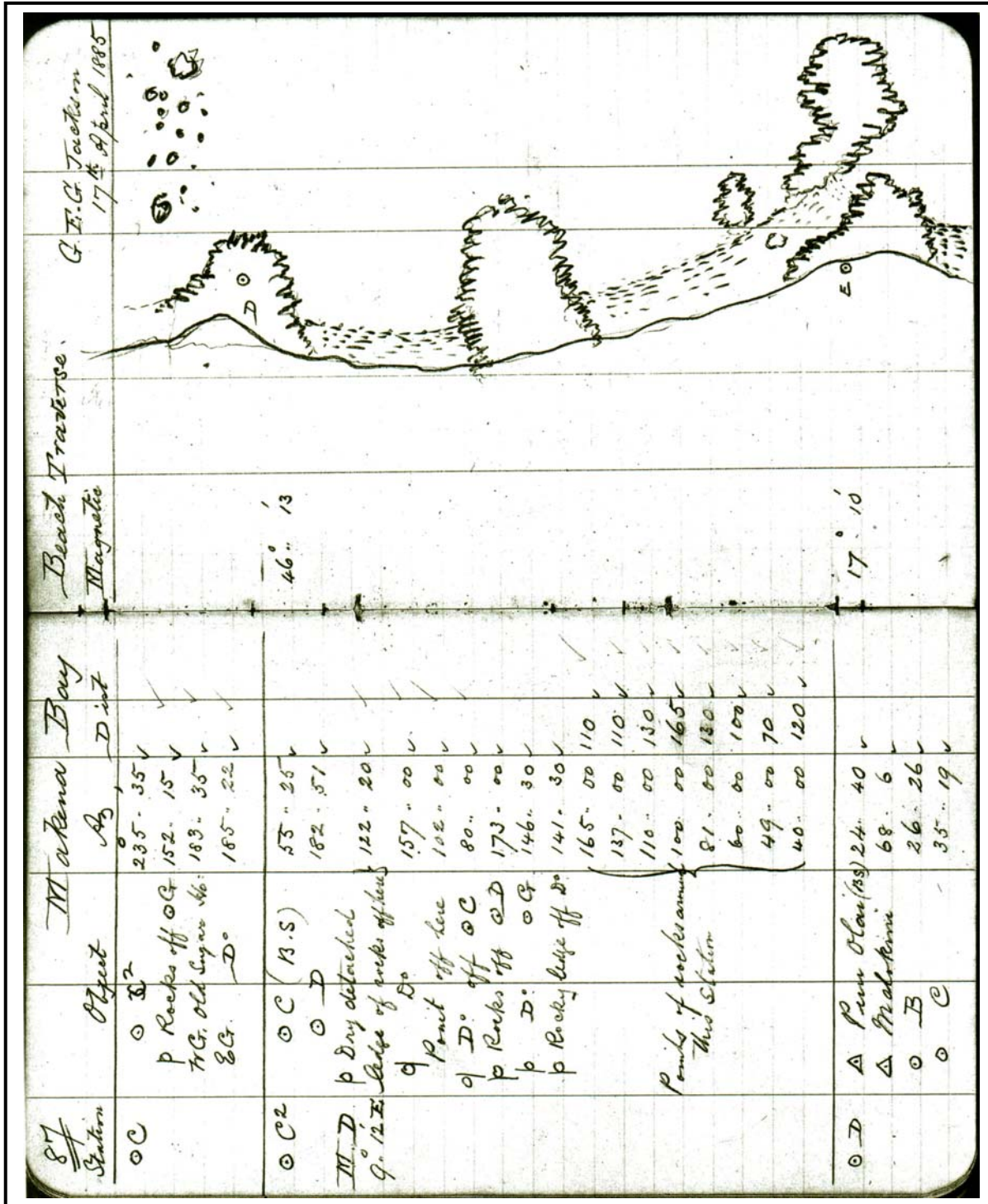


Figure 20. Sketch from Geo. Jackson's Field Book (1885:87)

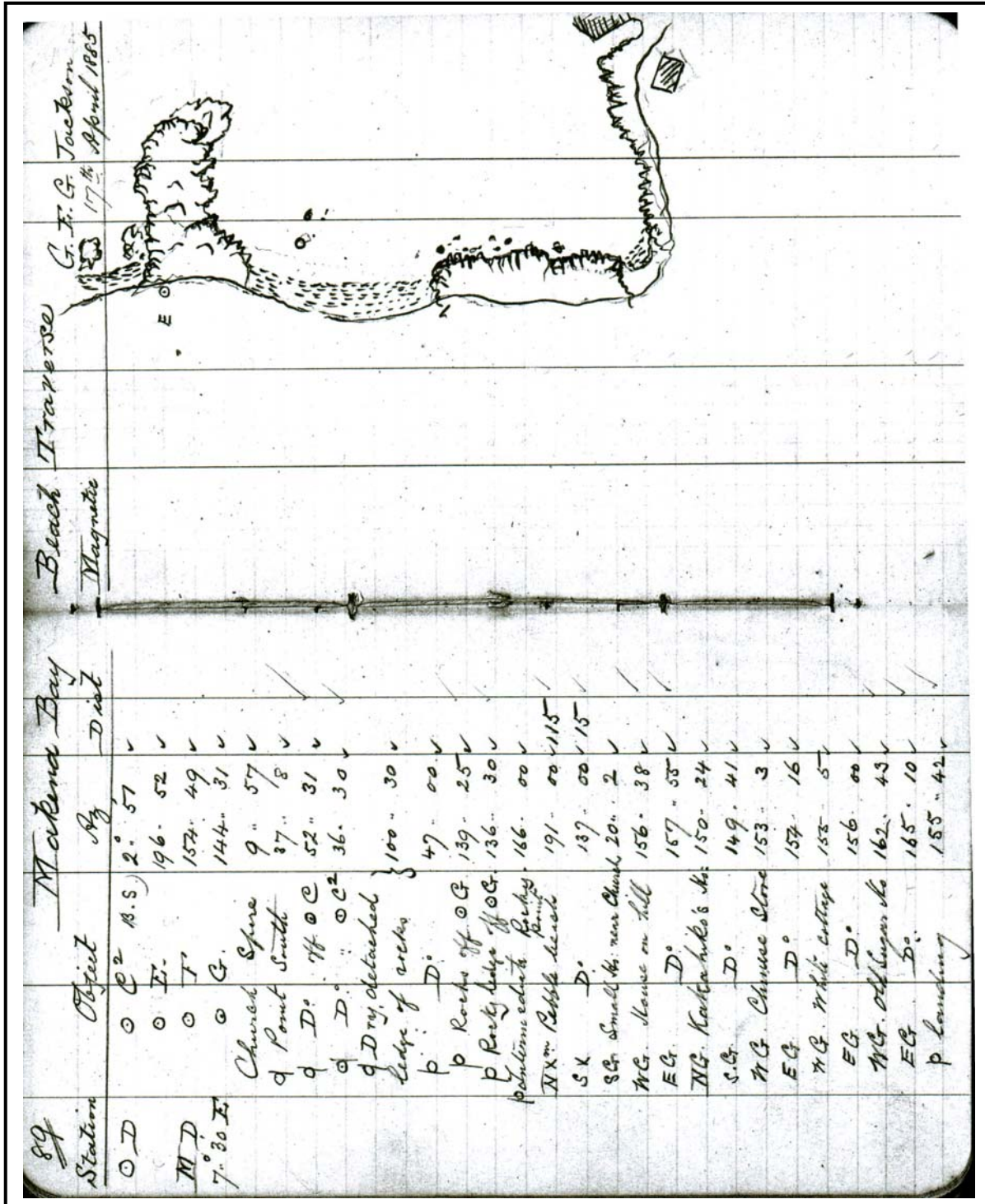


Figure 21. Sketch from Geo. Jackson's Field Book (1885:89)

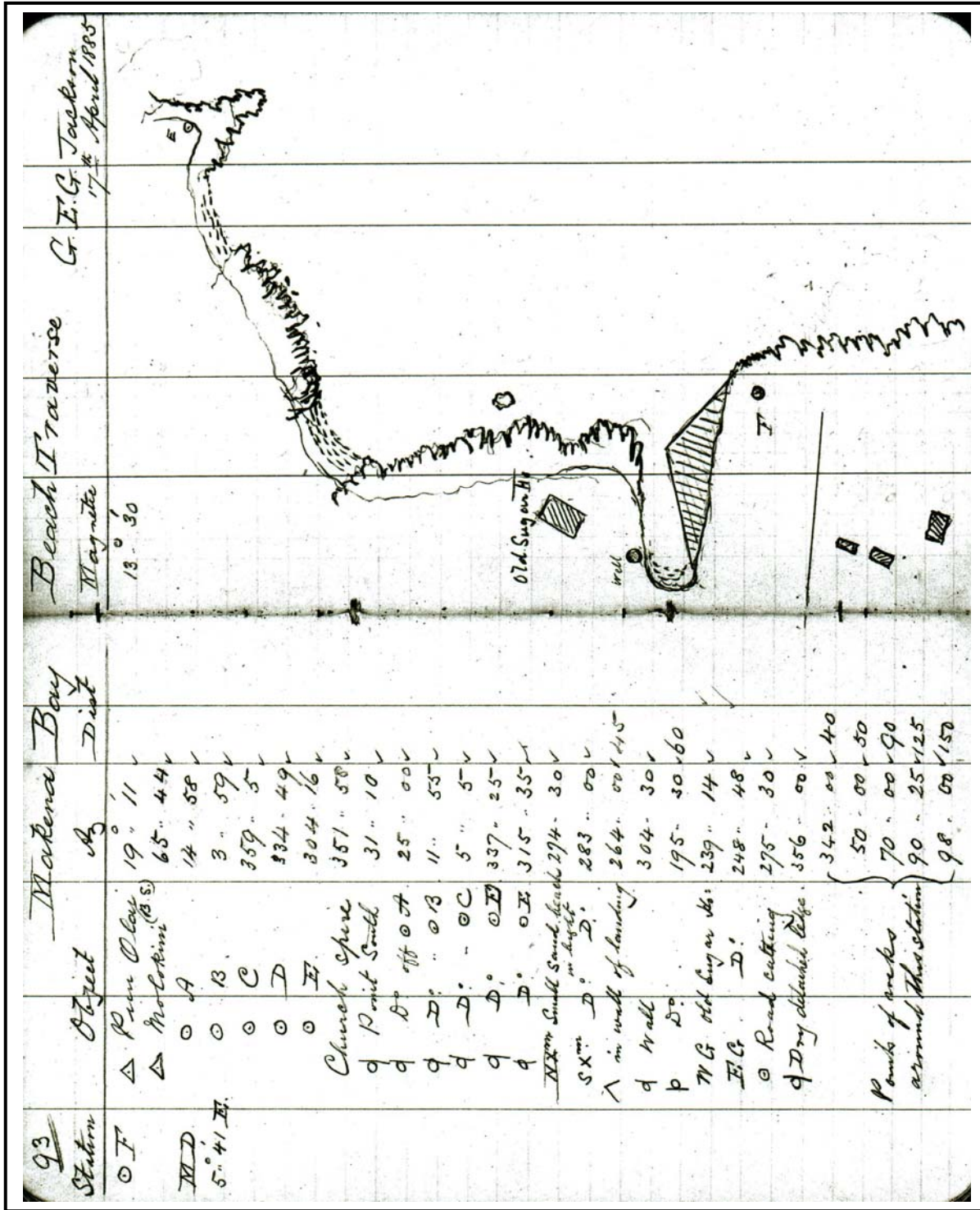


Figure 22. Sketch from Geo. Jackson's Field Book (1885:93)

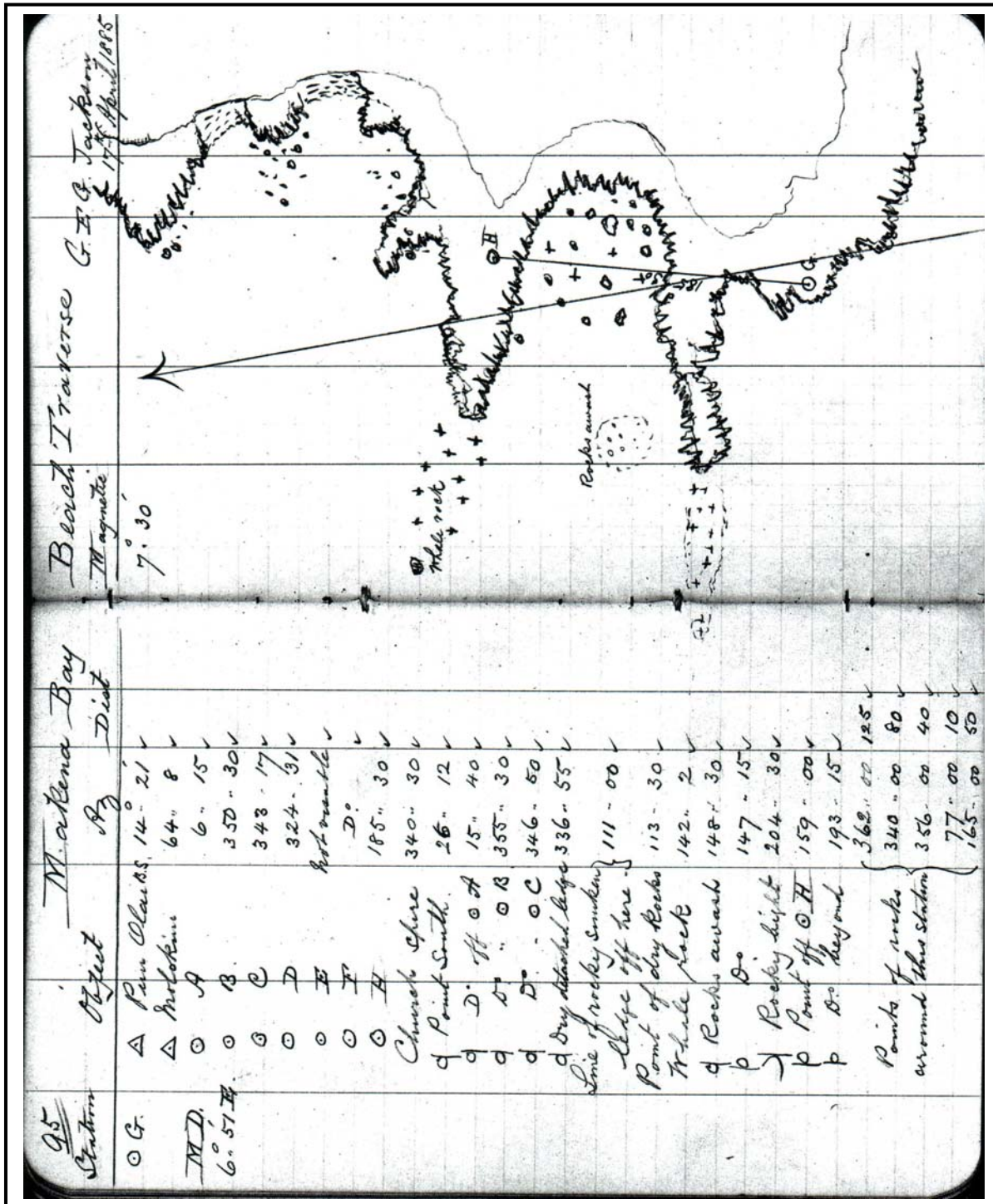


Figure 23. Sketch from Geo. Jackson's Field Book (1885:95)

HEIAU AND NOTED PLACES OF THE MAKENA–KEONE‘Ō‘IO REGION OF HONU‘ULA DESCRIBED IN HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS (1870S-1930S)

This section of the study presents readers with verbatim accounts of *heiau* and other cultural properties as described by researchers in the region of Honua‘ula—with emphasis on the *ahupua‘a* of Ka‘eo—since 1916. Detailed research was conducted in collections of the Bishop Museum, Maui Historical Society, Mission Children’s Society Library-Hawaiian Historical Society, and Hawaii State Archives as a part of this study. While a significant collection of references to traditional-cultural properties and historical sites was found, only limited and inconclusive documentation pertaining to the “*Kalani Heiau*” (Site 196) on the Garcia family property was located. Except for documentation associated with two *kuleana* awarded during the Māhele of 1848, no other information pertaining to sites on the property was located in the historical accounts.

In regards to the “*Kalani Heiau*,” the earliest reference to a *heiau* of that name was made in 1916, though the site was not visited, or the specific location given. It was not until 1929, that a specific location for “*Kalani Heiau*” was recorded by W. Walker (Walker, ms. 1930-31), who conducted an archaeological survey on Maui, for the Bishop Museum. The location of Walker’s “Site No. 196” coincides with that of the “*Kalani Heiau*” on the Garcia property, but it also coincides with the area claimed by *Māhele* Awardee, Maaweiki (*Helu* 3676)—a portion of the claim was awarded as a house lot for Maaweiki.

While only limited information of the *heiau*, and other sites on the property could be located, it is clear that Site No. 196, is a significant feature on the cultural landscape of Ka‘eo. The preservation and stabilization of the site is guaranteed, and involvement of native families of the Ka‘eo-Makena vicinity, and others who are associated with the community, is being planned in partnership at the time of this writing. The following narratives, along with those from preceding sections of the study, are meant to provide present and future generations with interpretive-educational resource materials with which to tell the multi-faceted stories of the land and the cultural resources thereon; and to plan for the long-term protection and maintenance of the site.

Field Work of J.F.G. Stokes (1916) With Notes from Thomas Thrum (1918-1938)

During the months of November and December 1916, Bishop Museum archaeologist, J.F.G. Stokes was on the Island of Maui setting up and attending an exhibit at the Maui County Fair. During that time, Stokes also conducted site visits, and met with several elder *kama‘āina*, who were known to be knowledgeable of *heiau* and other ancient sites on the island. On December 14th, Stokes visited the Makena vicinity, and recorded information on several sites, and identified some of his informants (Ms. SC Stokes, Group 2, Box 3.14):

Page 35.

At Makena, point N. of landing. Low pf. [platform] *heiau* called *Nanahu*, *ilili* & coral, level with land about 20’ [square diagram]. Nothing else worthy of note to be seen. Said to have been a “*heiau* for dead people.”

Land of Kaeo, *Kalani heiau*, sacrifice, beat drum.

Puu Olai. Said to be a *heiau* on top by son of Mawai [Mawae¹⁷].

¹⁷ At one time, Mawae (or Kamawae) was the companion of Ha‘eha‘e Kukahiko, and father of Ha‘eha‘e li‘ili‘i Kaha‘awinui. Ha‘eha‘e Kukahiko, was born in 1860.

Stopped night at Kanahena with J. Kauwekane^[18] & wife. There is a... [page 36] *Heiau* called Koula, *hoouluai*. A pf. Inside enclosure, not seen.

Dec. 14. Went to Keoneoio, La Perouse Bay where we met Keamoo. Latter said 3 *heiau* at that place.

First was a *heiau hoomana*, for a shark. *Heiau called Hala*. It was an indentation, 7 feet long in a large rock by the sea, where was formerly a pit connected by a channel with the sea. Really a shrine. Land (*Ili*) called Kalihi 300 yards to E. *heiau called Paalua, hooulu ua* & fish. Repaired by Kamalii w. & Laemoa k. for rain without success. They died more than 10 years ago. Place above.

Also in Kalihi.

Another in *ili* of Papaka, called Kaulana Koaia, another in Papaka uka called Puunaio, destroyed.

Page 37

At Keoneoio M. found a *pohaku luhee* & returning, Kauwekane gave us another of [illegible] & a *pa hi aku*.

Between Keawakapu and Makena found on house site 2 *pakaa*, & picked up brick [illegible], grindstone & broken pounder found previous day on house site nearer Keawakapu.

In 1918, J.F.G. Stokes wrote a brief paper titled "*Report on the Heiau of Maui*" (B.P. Bishop Museum, MS. SC Stokes Group 3 box 1, Papers). The paper expanded upon those notes kept by Stokes as a result of his site visits in 1916. Regarding the "*Heiau of Kalani*," Stokes elaborated on the notes found in his field book, reporting:

Heiau of Kalani, land of Kaeo, inland. Not seen. Said to have been a *heiau* for human sacrifices, and that the drums are heard at night.

He also elaborated on the description of *Nanahu Heiau*, observing:

Heiau of Nanahu, land of Makena; on the point north of Makena Bay. This was a pavement of *ala* and coral fragments, level with the surrounding ground and rocks, and about 20 feet square. The only information to be gathered was that it was "a *heiau* for dead people." It was not a graveyard, and I do not understand nor could the local people explain to me the meaning of their description.

Based on Stokes' contributions, the 1918 Thrum's Hawaiian Annual and Almanac, repeated the descriptions by Stokes, observing:

Kalani heiau, at Kaeo, a sacrifice temple; drums heard. Not seen. [Thrum 1918:127]

In the same issue, Thrum also quoted Stokes' description of *Nanahu Heiau*, as being situated:

...on point north of Landing at Makena. A pavement of pebbles and some coral, about twenty feet square and level with ground. No other feature. Said by several natives to be a "*heiau* for dead people". Probably only a sacred place without temple structure. [Thrum, 1918:127-128]

¹⁸ This was John Kauwekane Kukahiko and his wife, Lepeka. Kauwekane was born in 1857 and died in 1942.

In 1938, Thrum's Hawaiian Annual published a "Complete list of Heiaus (Temples) and Sites", condensed from the Annuals of 1909, 1917, 1918, and 1921 (Thrum, 1938:128). In the list, the following *heiau* were recorded for the Ka'eo-Makena-Ulupalakua region of Honua'ula, with a note that "Names with an asterisk (*) indicate known temples of human sacrifice" (Thrum, 1938:121); "*Kalani Heiau*" and the *heiau* of Pueo at 'Ulupalakua, being among the *heiau* so indicated:

Kalailani & 3 others....Ulupalakua, reported all gone, class unknown.

*Kalani** Kaeo, no particulars...

Kanaio Honuaula, all destroyed, no particulars...

Kaunaakaeha Hulapapa, Kanaio, on mountain slope.

KaunanakaeaKanaio, small *heiau* of doubtful class, all destroyed... [page 129]

Koula Kanahena, no particulars... [page 130]

Nanalu [Nanahu]..... Makena, small, probably only a sacred place...

Paalua Kalihi, an L-shaped enclosure, for rain and fish, shows late repairs...

Papanuiokane Hulapapa, Kanaio, small platform type... [page 131]

*Pueo** Ulupalakua, of platform type, long since destroyed...

Puunaio Papaka-uka, all destroyed... [Thrum, 1938:132]

Winslow Walker's Archaeological Investigations on Maui (1929-1930)

It was apparently not until 1929, that another archaeologist from the Bishop Museum visited the Makena region of Honua'ula, and reported on several native sites in the vicinity. The archaeologist, Winslow Walker, undertook field visits, documenting a wide range of sites around the island of Maui. Unfortunately, his manuscript has not been formally published in its entirety, though for years it has been cited, and in 1998, a compendium of references to the island of Maui—including extensive excerpts from Walker's manuscript—was published under the title, "*Sites of Maui*" (E.P. Sterling, 1998). Walker's work is important—particularly with the passing of time, and significant changes that have occurred on the landscape of Maui—but Bishop Museum directors and staff hesitated to publish it, as it was found that information was at times "incorrectly" presented (see B.P Bishop Museum staff letter, Emory to Gregory; May 13, 1933).

During the course of conducting the present study, Winslow Walker's original field books, original handwritten notes and typed manuscript were reviewed at Bishop Museum; and copies of the manuscript and handwritten notes were also viewed in the collection of the Maui Historical Society (they being reportedly copied from the Bishop Museum collection). The hope being to identify further documentation pertaining to the sources of information collected by Walker while in the field—particularly in regards to "*Kalani Heiau*." It was wondered how Walker had learned of the site he identified in what became the Garcia property—and hoped that he might of clearly recorded the name of an elder informant, or perhaps recorded that he may have been taken to the site, by a member of the Kalani-Lono family?

Unfortunately, Walker did not specify who his informant(s) was for "*Kalani Heiau*," though once again, we find that John Kauwekane Kukahiko, was among those who told him about certain sites in the Makena region. It appears that other than the brief description of the *heiau*, recorded in his original

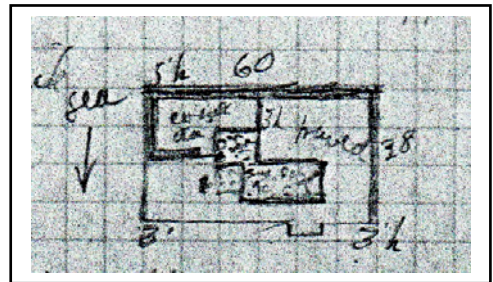
field work, Walker relied on the earlier notes of Stokes and Thrum in identifying what he called “*Kalani Heiau*.” It may be recalled that neither Stokes nor Thrum saw the *heiau*, and that Stokes simply identified it as being “inland.” It is not until Walker’s field book that we found a reference to the *heiau* as being “not far from shore.” And then later, in the typed manuscript, a reference to it as being “not far from the Church” (see citations below).

Walker’s field books (B.P. Bishop Museum collection, MS. SC Walker, Box 1.4; and Box 2, Maps & Sketches), contain the following references to “*Kalani Heiau*,” Walker’s Site 196, and other sites in neighboring lands:

Page 15

Heiau of Nanahu on point north of Makena Bay, a platform 21 x 23 said to be for fish. Coral and pebbles in pavement. No information about a *heiau* for dead people. More likely a *koa*.

Heiau Pohakunahaha. Back of Makena store at the bottom of the hill beyond the pig pen. A small structure of walls and platforms built of basalt blocks with pebbles and coral. 38 x 60 outside. Highest 27 x 18. Front open to sea. 3’ high wall at back 5’ x 3’ thick. W. side of wall 4 ½’. Small platform in corner of large one latter 3 ½’ wide and 2 ½’ high. [Diagram in Field Book]



Small *Heiau* formerly on point of rocks where Baldwin’s Cottage now is, at Kilauea, Kaeo.

Page 16

Heiau Koula, at Kanahena, a platform with low walls open at the front toward the sea, ¼ mile away... Said to be agricultural in purpose. J. Kauwekane. Informant.

Small Fishpond formerly at Makena, destroyed.

Page 17

...*Koa at Onouli*. The shore, below the school; a platform 13 x 14 5’ high at front with a 2’ low wall at back and sides. *Aa* blocks, *ilili*, few pebbles and coral.

Heiau Kalani. At Kaeo, not far from the shore [Figure 24]. A large *heiau* said to be of sacrificial class but reduced largely to a shapeless pile of rock. Rough *Aa* construction; some pebble and coral. No walls apparently, and 98’ x 126’ x 55’, 8’ high.

Page 18

...*Heiau platform above Ulupalakua*. Partially destroyed at edge of corn fields in mango grove. 95’ x 48’ x 3’ high. Used late as house...

Additional handwritten and typeset manuscripts in the collections of the Bishop Museum and the Maui Historical Society (MHS), contain further references to “*Kalani Heiau*” and other sites of the region. We also find modifications to the notes as originally recorded in the field books—including the *heiau* being located “not far from Church,” and a question mark added to the reference “for sacrifice?” (Maui Historical Society, AR-7, Winslow Walker, Collection, Folder 2-13 and Folder 2-24).

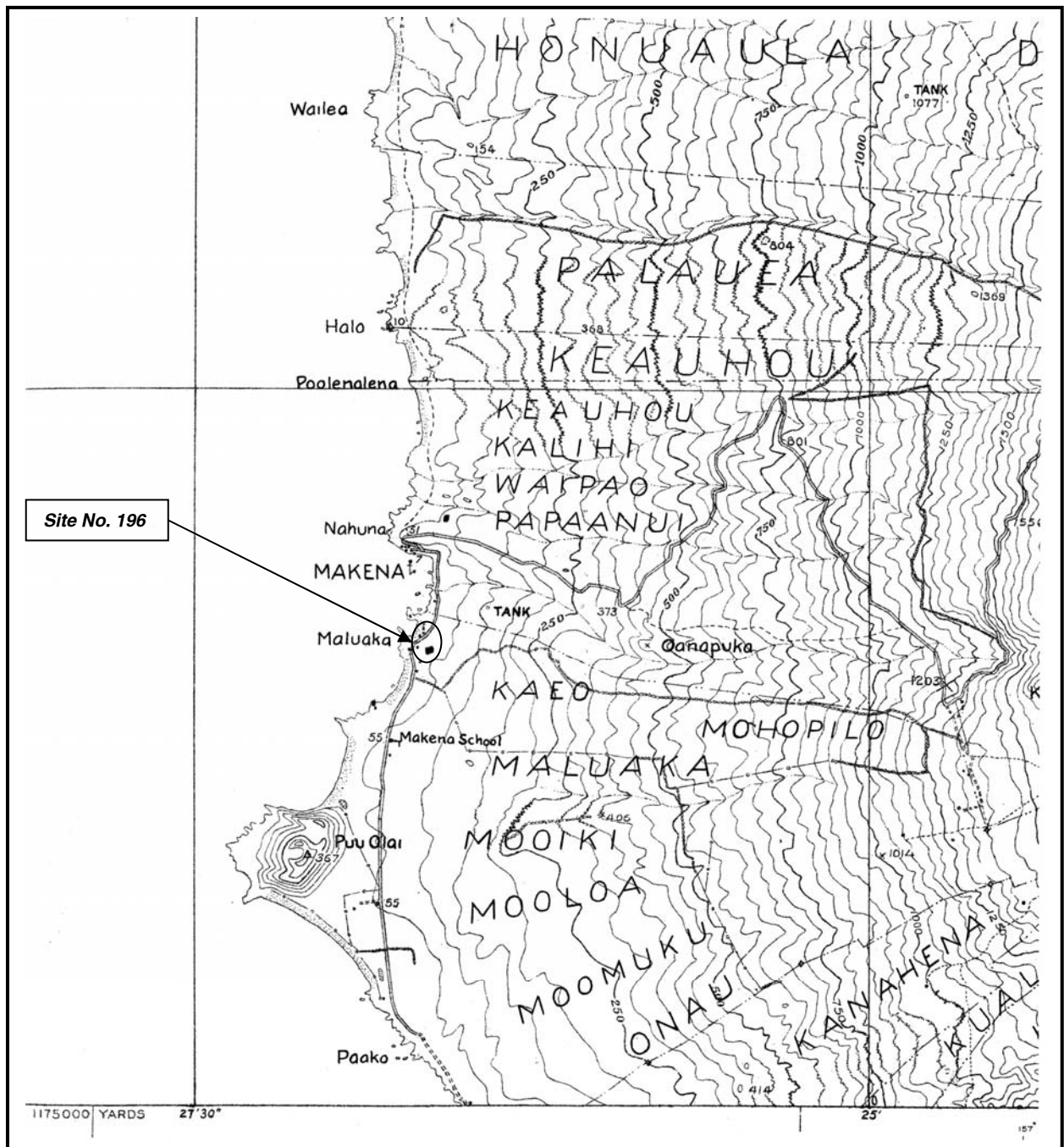


Figure 24. Walker's Annotated Ulupalakua Quadrangle (issue date, 1924), identifying approximate location of "Kalani Heiau" Site No. 196 (see arrow). (B.P. Bishop Museum, MS. SC Walker, Box 2, Maps & Sketches).

Pertinent excerpts from Walker's notes follow below:

MHS, AR-7 Winslow Walker Collection. Folder. 2-14 (typeset notes). Heiau

Heiau – *Koa of Kilauea* at Kaeo. At location of Baldwin cottage.

Koa of Poolenalena beyond Makena. On sand hill on shore, 29' x 35', walled to height of 5 feet; walls 4 feet thick.

Fishpond at Kaeo [Apuakehau]. Destroyed by surf.

Koa of Nanahu, on north point of Makena Bay. Platform, 21' x 23'.

Pohakunahaha Heiau. Makena Region. Back of store at bottom of hill, beyond pig pen. Sixty feet long by 38' wide. Platform 27' x 18' on center of *heiau*.

Kalani Heiau. Kaeo region. In *kiawe* and cactus, not far from Church. Platform 126' x 98', 8' above surrounding country. Demolished by cattle.

MHS, Folder. 2-24 (handwritten notes). Heiau

74. *Kalani* (196). Kaeo, 126' x 98', rect. Open platform, for sacrifice?

Page 3.: Kaeo. *Heiau Kalani*, for sacrifice, drums heard. Not seen. (Kaeo native). [From typeset document, dated December 1916, from unpublished notes of J. Stokes.]

**Historical Documentation of Heiau and Land Use
in Ka'eo Ahupua'a and the Larger Honua'ula District**

In addition to the lists of *heiau* found in the historical texts above, E. Sterling's compilation of records for "*Sites of Maui*" (1998), includes references to at least 25 known *heiau* (plus *ko'a* – fishing shrines) in the district of Honua'ula. The list of *heiau* is derived from Bishop Museum collections, including Hawaiian language accounts, historical narratives, and specific investigations into *heiau* of the district from 1916 to the 1960s. The following list provides readers with a summary of particulars pertaining to those *heiau* (the number at the beginning of the entry is Sterling's item number for Honua'ula District; with dimensions and a site numbers when given):

12. The *Heiau* of Honua'ula (built in antiquity locations not given)
Na-hale-loulu-a-Kāne (dedicated to Kāne);
Ka-ai-aea (for increase of food crops);
Kahemanini (for increase of fish) [page 217].
15. *Kauhuka*, at Kanaio (15x17 ½ x 3 feet high; for making rain).
Walker No. 188 [page 217].
16. *Kohala*, at Kanaio (53 x 34 x 3 feet high). Walker No. 189 [page 217].
17. *Manonokohala*, at Kanaio (70 ft. long; drums heard at night).
Walker No. 190 [page 218].
18. *Manoka'ahia*, at Kanaio (60 x 63; drums and 'ūkēkē heard on nights of Kāne).
Walker No. 191 [page 218].
19. *Papanuiokāne*, at Kanaio (63 x 44; drums heard at night). Walker No. 192 [page 218].
20. *Heiau* (terraced platform), at Kanaio. Bishop Museum No. Ho-2 [page 218].
24. *Kiipuna & Ninaulua* (?), at Kanaio. Walker [page 219].
25. *Heiau* (rectangular enclosure – 60 x 60), at Kaloi.
Bishop Museum No. Ho-3. [page 219].
29. *Heiau* at Keawanaku, Kaunuaahane (23 x 30; said to be a *Kū'ula Heiau*).
Walker No. 193 [page 221].

36. *Heiau* at Keone‘ō‘io, Kalihi (on shore indentation 7 feet long).
Hala, a *heiau ho‘omana* for a shark;
Kaulana koaia, at Papaka;
Puunaio, at Papala uka [page 223].
37. *Paalua*, at Kalihi (a good sized *heiau*, L-shaped, enclosure; for the increase of fish and rain). Walker No. 194 [page 225].
45. *Koula*, at Kanahena (50 x 77; for agricultural purposes – drums and flutes formerly heard. J. Kauwekane Kukahiko, informant). Walker No. 195 [page 228].
47. *Heiau* on top of Pu‘u ‘Ōla‘i, at Mo‘oloa-Maluaka [page 229].
51. *Kalani*, at Ka‘eo (126 x 98) of sacrificial class. Walker No. 196 [page 229].
59. *Pōhakunahaha*, at Ka‘eo-Papa‘anui (60 x 38). Walker No. 197 [page 231].
64. *Kalailani*, *Keekeehia*, *Kalaniana*, and *Kamahina* (destroyed).
Walker No.’s 200-204. *Heiau* on Keekeehia Hill (48 x 95), partially destroyed, sacrificial class [Sterling, 1998:232].

Several points of interest may be observed from the combined lists, of Stokes (1916, 1918), Thrum (1909, 1938), Walker (ms. 1930-1931), and Sterling (1998). These include, but are not limited to the following points:

- *Kalani Heiau* is one of the largest, if not the largest *heiau*, identified in the district.
- While there is reference to three *heiau* which were of a “sacrificial” class in Honua‘ula—*Kalani*, at Ka‘eo; *Pueo*¹⁹, at Ka‘eo-‘Ulupalakua; and *Ke‘eke‘ehia*, at Ka‘eo-‘Ulupalakua—the term *luakini* or *po‘okanaka* (for *heiau* of state-chiefly worship and human sacrifice) was apparently not used by the collectors at any of the Honua‘ula sites.
- The three *heiau* which are identified as being of a “sacrificial” class are apparently in the same general *ahupua‘a*—Ka‘eo.

One of the common denominators in the Stokes (1916 & 1918), Thrum (1918, 1938), and Walker (Ms. 1930-1931) descriptions of a *heiau* by the name of *Kalani*, is that the sounds of drums (*pahu*) were reportedly heard on certain nights of the moon (a characteristic shared by several other *heiau* of Honua‘ula). Such a description of drums heard on the nights of *Kāne* and *Lono*, at a *heiau* in the uplands of Ka‘eo, on Pu‘u Ke‘eke‘ehia, was reported as early as 1872, by J. Kealohapauole, a native resident of the ‘Ulupalakua vicinity (see “*Na Hiohiona o Ulupalakua*” in this study). While Kealohapauole did not name the *heiau* in his narratives, in the 1920s-1930s, E.S. Handy and M. Kawena Pukui, conducted field interviews, with natives of the ‘Ulupalakua vicinity and learned that there was a *heiau* by the name of “*Po-kalani*...from which drums beating, and the marching of the Hua-kai-o-ka-po...” could be heard (Handy, Handy and Pukui, 1972:510). These “*huaka‘i*” (marches or processions), were reportedly “the ghosts of ancient warriors, who make the circuit of the island in all their regalia” (ibid. – see narratives in this study).

“*Kalani Heiau*” (Walker’s Site No. 196), is clearly one of significance on the landscape of Ka‘eo. It is a prominent and substantial structure, built on, and incorporating an elevated *āhua* (hillock) in its’ construction, and it commanded a view of the Keawakapu, Naupaka and Maluaka coastline—as it would have prior to the introduction of foreign *kiawe* trees. What is perhaps unclear, is its’ function, as questions arise in the various sources of documentation, as to what site and location is being described.

¹⁹ Inez Ashdown (Maui Historical Society Series, AR-11Folder. 12-4) stated that *Pueo* was the *heiau* on Pu‘u Ke‘eke‘ehia, calling it a “*pu‘uhonua*,” or place of sanctuary (see Ashdown in this study). Traditional accounts tell us that the classes of *heiau* and rituals associated with *pu‘uhonua* and *luakini* were not compatible, in fact, *pu‘uhonua* are often not far from the *luakini heiau*, and once an individual reached a *pu‘uhonua*, he/she was free from the *kapu* of the *luakini* (see Malo, 1950, li, 1959, and Kamakau, 1961).

A historical map (Register Map No. 1202) dating from 1850 (*Figure 25*), depicts the area of the Garcia family property with stone walls running into or around the area of the *heiau*—though apparently not crossing it as it does in the present day. The alignment of adjoining walls demarking “Maaweiki’s house” and Kalili’s *kuleana* (*Helu* 3676 and 2399:2 respectively); the *mauka* “*Pa Aupuni*” (Government Wall); and the walls marking the later Lonokailua parcels may still be seen on the land, at the time of this writing. These walls and features generally coincide with Sites 5037, 5038 5039, and 5040 (see Haun et al., 2000 & 2004).

It is also of significance to note, that a missing (unlocated) *kuleana*, *Helu* 3676 (see TMK 2-1-08 ²⁰), awarded to Maaweiki—the configuration of which is depicted in *Mahele Award Book Volume 7:450*—generally coincides with Sites 5039 and 5040, the walled feature that surrounds the present residence of Sam Garcia, Jr. (see also *Figure 8* and records associated with the claim of Maaweiki, in this study). And a wall, Site 5037 coincides with the claim of Kalili (*Helu* 2399, *Apana* 2).

Maaweiki identified the boundaries of his house lot at Keawakapu, Ka’eo as being:

...4. *Mauka, Pa Aupuni* (Government Wall [presumably Site 5036 B]). Makawao, *Luakini* [Church]. *Makai*, Missionary. Kahikinui, Kalili [*Helu* 2399, Ap. 2 ²¹].

[Native Testimony, Volume 7:113; see original Hawaiian and full translation in this study; see also *Mahele Award Book*, Volume 7:450; Dec. 30, 1853; in this study on page 129]

It is of particular interest to note that Maaweiki’s original claim ran up to the “*Pa Aupuni*,” a feature also identified on the contemporaneous survey (Register Map No. 1202 – *Figure 25*). Thus, the area originally claimed would have passed through and included what is known as “*Kalani Heiau*,” though no reference to the site was made in the claim documents. The final survey of the house lot awarded to Maaweiki, was confined to the area starting at the *makai* base of the *heiau*, again, with no reference made to any feature.

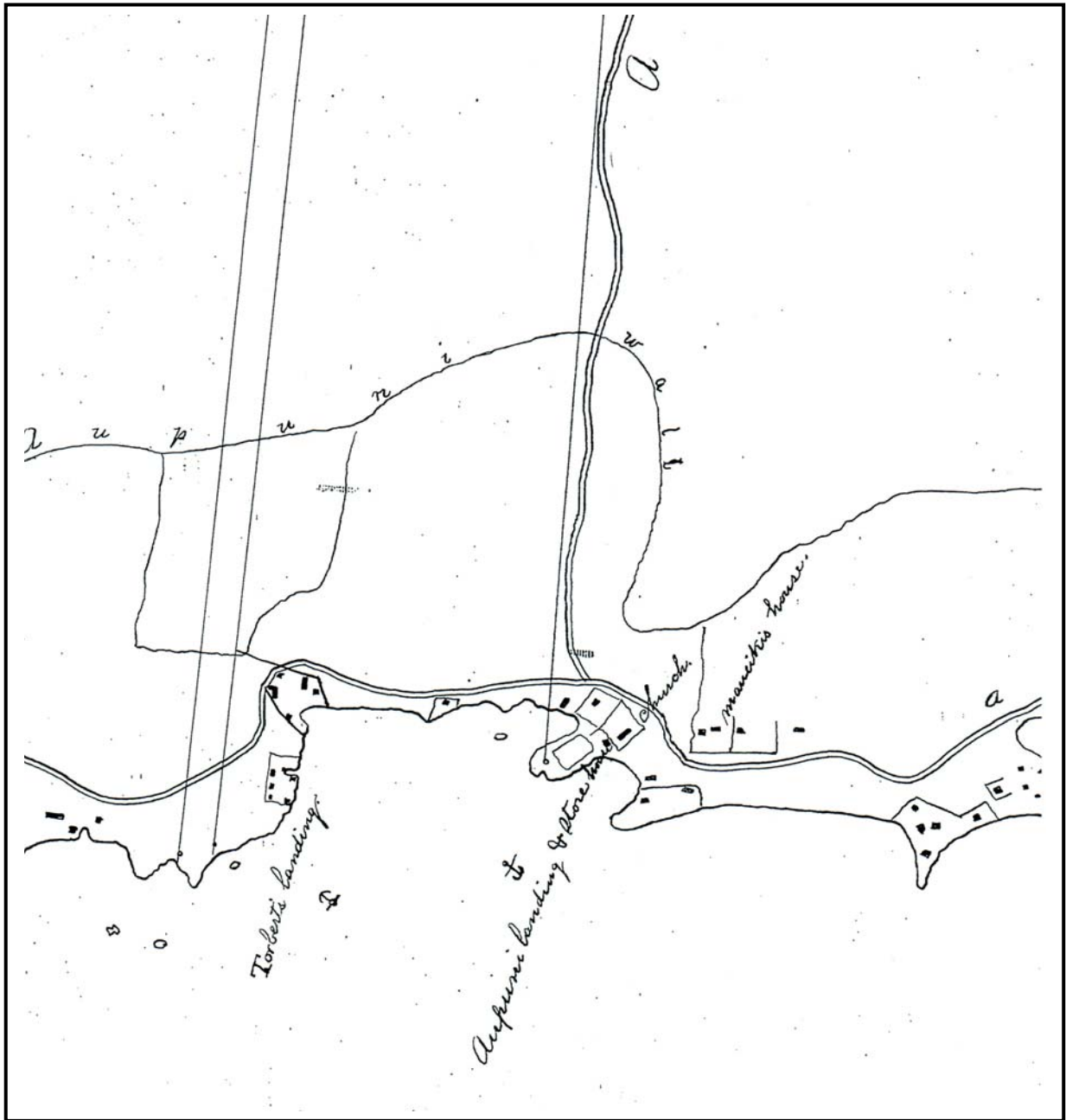
Also, while Maaweiki used the term “*luakini*” in his testimony, the usage is taken to mean the Honua’ula Church at Keawakapu, later called Keawala’i Church. This translation is based on the locational references, where — *mauka* means to the uplands, above (specifically the “*Pa Aupuni*”); *Makawao* indicates towards the north (thus away from Walker’s Site 196); *makai* is to the sea, or west; and Kahikinui, indicates towards the south (Kalili’s *kuleana*).

The traditional word, “*luakini*,” which was used to describe the most significant class of *heiau*—a place of state and high chiefly worship, and where human sacrifices occurred—came to be the term used by elder native speakers, for Christian churches in the 1800s (see Kamakau, 1961:390 historic Hawaiian language citations in this study). In the present-day, “*Hale Pule*” (House of prayer, Church) is the term more commonly in use. “*Luakini*” remained in common use by *kūpuna* through the 1970s, and is still used by some elders in the present day.

It is also important to note that neither Stokes, Thrum or Walker specifically reference “*Kalani Heiau*” as being a “*Luakini*.” Thrum and Stokes were particularly versed in the traditions of this most sacred

²⁰ *Helu* 3676, is transposed on TMK 2-1-08, to L.C.Aw. 2676 Ap. 1, identified as one of several “Unlocated Kuleanas in Ka’eo.” Our review of all original records of the *Māhele ‘Āina*, revealed that *Helu* 2676, was assigned to a claim by Ehu, at *Pa’ala’a*, Waialua, O’ahu (the same being Awarded and Patented under Royal Patent No. 1481). While the last record we located in regards to a transaction of the land of Maaweiki at Ka’eo, covered by *Helu* 3676, occurred in 1854, when Maaweiki conveyed the lot to I. Kawaa (see Liber 6:608-609, in this study), the parcel was made a part of the exchange given by Ulupalakua Ranch to Marjorie M. Garcia in 1956 (see Liber 3146:344-347, in this study).

²¹ The relationship of Maaweiki’s lot (*Helu* 3676) to Kalili’s lot (*Helu* 2399, *Apana* 2), is confirmed by notes of surveys cited in this study by their respective *Helu*.



**Figure 25. Portion of Register Map No. 1202 – Torbert’s Map of Ulupalakua (1850).
Detail of Ka’eo and Vicinity of Kalani Heiau – Maaweiki’s House, the Aupuni Wall,
and other Features (State Survey Division).**

class of *heiau*, and it seems likely that they would have used the term, if it were so—as they did in many other instances for *heiau* throughout the islands.

Native Descriptions of Heiau (Kū‘ula, Luakini and Haleopapa)

In the 1840s, native historian, David Malo—who in the 1830s resided at Honua‘ula, as overseer of the church and meeting house at Keawakapu—penned a series of papers describing a wide variety of Hawaiian practices, customs and beliefs. Malo’s manuscripts were translated by N.B. Emerson in 1898, and published by the Bishop Museum in 1951. As a part of Malo’s series, he described the nature of various *heiau* and ceremonies associated with them.

Also, while discussing fishing customs, Malo reported on the *heiau kū ‘ula* (ceremonial sites, and places of worship for fishermen). As to be expected, a number of this type of *heiau* have been recorded in historical surveys of the Makena region, and are known to *kama‘āina* residents of the area. One interviewee who knew of the *heiau* identified as Walker’s Site 196, from his childhood, was Robert Kalani, a descendant of the Lonokailua-Kalani line, whose family resided on the land adjoining the Garcia property, and *makai* of the *heiau*. It was Mr. Kalani’s recollection, that his *kūpuna* and uncle, David Lono referred to the site as a fisherman’s *heiau*, where they would visit at times, when preparing to go fishing. Of all the interviewees, ranging in age from their 50s to 90s, Mr. Kalani was the only person who had known of the *heiau* since his childhood (see interviews in this study).

The following narrative is excerpted from Malo’s description of the *heiau kū‘ula*:

3. The *heiau* at which fishermen worshipped their patron deity for good luck was of the kind called *kuula*;² but as to the gods worshipped by fishermen, they were various and numerous, each one worshipping the god of his choice. The articles made *tabu* by one god were different from those made *tabu* by another god [Malo, 1951:208].

Emerson added a footnote to the above paragraph, observing that at Honua‘ula on Maui, such *heiau kū‘ula* were still being made and used:

²Sect. 3. The *kuula* was generally a mere rude pile of stones, often placed on a promontory or elevation overlooking the sea. Coral or some sort of limestone was preferred to any other variety of stone. The altar itself was commonly called a *koa*, *Kuula* being the name of the chief patron deity of fishermen. The number of gods and godlings worshipped by fishermen is too numerous for mention.

Altars of stone were erected and visible until a recent date at Maliko, *Honuaua*, Oloalu, and Kaupo on Maui... [Emerson Footnote, in Malo, 1951:212]

Malo provided readers with a detailed description of the *kapu*, ceremonial observances, and decisions associated with the construction and dedication of the *heiau luakini*. Among Malo’s narratives are the following (readers please note that superscript numbers insert in Malo’s texts refer to footnotes made by Emerson; see Hawaiian Antiquities (1951) for full narratives):

Concerning the Luakini

1. It was a great undertaking for a king to build a *heiau* of the sort called a *luakini*, to be accomplished only with fatigue and with redness of the eyes from long and wearisome prayers and ceremonies on his part.
2. There were two rituals which the king in his eminent station used in the worship of the gods; one was the ritual of Ku, the other that of Lono. The Ku ritual was very strict (*oolēa*), the service most arduous (*ikaika*). The priests of this rite were distinct from others and outranked them. They were called priests of the order of

Ku, because Ku was the highest god whom the king worshipped in following their ritual. They were also called priests of the order of Kanalu, because that was the name of their first priestly ancestor. These two names were their titles of highest distinction.

3. The Lono ritual was milder, the service more comfortable. Its priests were, however, of a separate order and of an inferior grade. They were said to be of the order of Lono (*moo-Lono*), because Lono was the chief object of the king's worship when he followed the ritual. The priests of this ritual were also said to be of the order of Paliku.

4. If the king was minded to worship after the rite of Ku, the *heiau* he would build would be a *luakini*. The timbers of the house would be of *ohia*, the thatch of *loulu* palm or of *uki* grass. The fence about the place would be of *ohia* with the bark peeled off.

The *lananuu-mamao*¹ had to be made of *ohia* timber so heavy that it must be hauled down from the mountains. The same heavy *ohia* timber was used in the making of the idols for the *heiau*. [page 159]

5. The *tabu* of the place continued for ten days and then was *noa*; but it might be prolonged to such an extent as to require a resting spell, *hoomahanahana*;² and it might be fourteen days before it came to an end. It all depended on whether the *aha*³ was obtained. If the *aha* was not found the *heiau* would not soon be declared *noa*. In case the men took a resting spell, a dispensation was granted and a service of prayer was offered to relax the *tabu*, after which the *heiau* stood open.

6. The body of priests engaged in the work stripped down the leaves from a banana stalk as a sign that the *tabu* was relaxed; and when the Ku *tabu* of the next month came round, the *tabu* of the *heiau* was again imposed. Thus it was then that, if the *aha* was procured, the services of prayer came to an end; otherwise people and chiefs continued indefinitely under *tabu* and were not allowed to come to their women folk.

7. The *tabu* might thus continue in force many months, possibly for years, if the *aha* were not found. It is said that Umi was at work ten years on his *heiau* before the *aha* was found, and only then did they again embrace their wives. This was the manner of building a *heiau-luakini* from the very earliest times; it was *noa* only when the *aha* had been found.

It was indeed an arduous task to make a *luakini*; a human sacrifice was necessary; and it must be an adult, a law-breaker (*lawe-hala*).

8. If the king worshipped after the rite of Lono, the *heiau* erected would be a *mapele*; or another kind was the *unu o Lono*. The timber used in the construction of the house, the fence about the grounds, and in constructing the *lananuu-mamao* was *lama*; and it was thatched with the leaves of the *ti* plant (*Cordyline terminalis*). There were also idols. The *tabu* lasted for three days, after which the place would be *noa*, provided, however, that the *aha* was found. If the *aha* were not found, the same course was taken as in the case of the *luakini*.

9. The *mapele* was a thatched *heiau* in which to ask the god's blessing on the crops.⁴ Human sacrifices were not made at this *heiau*; pigs only were used as offerings. Any chief below the king in rank was at liberty to construct a *mapele heiau*, an *unu o Lono*, or an *aka*, but not a *luakini*. The right to build a *luakini* belonged to the king alone. The *mapele*, however, was the kind of *heiau* in which the chiefs and the king himself prayed most frequently.

10. The *luakini* was a war temple, *heiau-wai-kaua*, which the king, in his capacity as ruler over all, built when he was about to make war upon another independent monarch or when he heard that some other king was [page 160] about to make war against him; also when he wished to make the crops flourish he might build a *luakini*.
11. It was the special temple in which the king prayed to his gods to look with favor upon him, and in the services of that *heiau* he obtained assurances of victory over his enemies, or received warnings of defeat at their hands.
12. If all the *aha* of his *luakini* were obtained, then the king felt assured that he would have victory and rout his enemies, and he went into battle with good courage. But if the *aha* were not found, it meant his defeat, and he would not go out to attack the other king.
- The building of a *luakini* for the king to worship in was conducted in the following manner.
13. The king, in the first place, inquired of his high priest in regard to building a *luakini*; whether he thought the old *luakini* would answer, provided the house and the fence were renewed; whether the old stone wall should be allowed to remain; and whether the old idols should still continue to be used.
- If the king's proposition was agreed to, the first thing was to perform the ceremony of purification (*huikala*) on the *heiau*, and make it *noa* (*i.e.*, free), to enable the workmen to enter it, that they might put a new fence about it and newly thatch the house with *loulou* palm or with *uki*.
14. If the king, the priests and others agreed that it was best to build an entirely new *luakini*, the *kahuna kuhi-kuhi-puu-one*⁵ was sent for. It was his function to exhibit a plan of the *heiau* to the king, because this class of persons were thoroughly educated in what concerned a *heiau*. They were acquainted with the *heiau* which had been built from the most ancient times, from Hawaii to Kauai, some of which had gone into ruins. These *kuhi-kuhi-puu-one* knew all about these old temples, because they had studied them on the ground, had seen their sites and knew the plans of them all.
15. They knew the *heiau* which a certain ancient king had built, as a result of which he gained a victory over another king. That was the *heiau*, the plan of which the *kuhi-kuhi-puu-one* explained to the king; and if the king was pleased, he first made a sort of plan of the *heiau* on the ground and exhibited it to the king with an explanation of all its parts, so that he could see where the fence was to run, where the houses were to stand, and where was the place for the *lana-nuu-mamao* with the idols.
16. Then a levy was made of people who should build the *heiau* from among those who ate at the king's table—the *aialo*—and the chiefs; and [page 161] the work of hauling the *ohia* timber for the *lana-nuu-mamao*, and for making the idols themselves, was begun.
- The work of carving the certain images was assigned to special chiefs. A stone wall was then put up which was to surround all the houses.
17. The plan of the *luakini* was such that, if its front faced west or east, the *lana-nuu-mamao* would be located at the northern end. If the *heiau* faced north or south, the *lana-nuu-mamao* would be located at the eastern end; thus putting the audience either in the southern or western part of the *luakini*.

18. Within this *lana-nuu-mamao* was a pit called a *lua-kini*,⁶ or *lua-pau*. In front of the *lana-nuu* stood the idols, and in their front, a pavement (*kipapa*) and the *lele* on which the offerings were laid.
19. In front of the *lele* was a pavement of pebbles or a framework on which the offerings were deposited until they were offered up (*hai*), when they were laid upon the *lele*. In front of the *lele* was a house called *hale-pahu*, with its door facing the *lele*, in which the drum was beaten. At the back of the *hale-pahu* stood a larger and longer house, called *mana*, its door also opening towards the *lele*. To the rear again of the *hale-pahu* was another house which stood at the entrance of the *heiau*. In the narrow passage back of the drum house (*hale pahu*) and at the end (*kala*) of the house called *mana* was a small house called *waiea*, where the *aha* cord was stretched.
20. At the other end (*kala*) of the *mana* was a house called *hale-umu*, in which the fires for the *heiau* were made. The space within the *pa*, or enclosure, was the court, or *kahua*, of the *heiau*. Outside of the *pa*, to the north, was a level pavement (*papahola*), and to the south and outside of the *pa*, stood the house of Papa.⁷ At the outer borders of the *papahola*, crosses were set in the ground to mark the limits of the *heiau*.
21. After the stone wall of the *heiau* was completed, they proceeded to build the *lananuu*,⁸ first setting up the frame and then binding on the small poles (*aho*); after this they set up the idols, of which there were a good number. Some of them were *makaiwa* images,⁹ of great height. In the midst of these images was left a vacant space, in which to set up the new idol that was to be made, called the *moi*...¹⁰ [Malo, 1951:162]

Malo's narratives continue, describing the elaborate and stringent ceremonies associated with the completion and dedication of the *heiau luakini*. As noted in paragraph 20 from Malo, above, one of the features associated with the *heiau luakini*, which was restricted to use by men of high chiefly and priestly lineages, was the "House of Papa" (*Hale o Papa*), a *heiau* reserved for the worship of chiefly women. Later, in his description of the ceremonies leading to the official dedication of the completed *heiau luakini*, Malo mentioned the Hale o Papa, noting that on the morning of—

...Olepau, all the female chiefs, relations of the king, came to the temple bringing a *malo* of great length as their present to the idol. All the people assembled at the house of Papa to receive the women of the court. One end of the *malo* was borne into the *heiau* (being held by the priests), while the women chiefs kept hold of the other end; the priest meantime reciting the service of the *malo*, which is termed *kaioloa*.⁴²

117. All the people being seated in rows, the *kahuna* who was to conduct the service (*nana e papa ka pule*) stood forth; and when he uttered the solemn word *elieli* (completed), the people responded with *noa*. The *kahuna* said, "O *la!*" and the people responded with *noa honua* (freedom to the ground). The consecration of the temple was now accomplished, and the *tabu* was removed from it, it was *noa loa*.

With such rites and ceremonies as these was a *luakini* built and dedicated. The ceremonies and service of the *luakini* were very rigorous and strict. There was a proverb which said the work of the *luakini* is like hauling *ohia* timber, of all labor the most arduous... [Malo, 1951:175]

⁷ Sect. 20. Papa was a mythical character, wife of Wakea (Chapter 45). The *hale o Papa* was the place where the women chiefs had their services.

Native historian, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, writing in 1865 (Pukui, translator; Kamakau, 1976), also recorded histories of the *heiau luakini* or *po'okanaka*, and *hale o Papa*, telling readers:

The *luakini po'okanaka* were large heiaus and were called *'ohi'a ko* and *haku 'ohi'a*. They were built along the coast, in the interior of the land, and on the mountain sides. They were only for the paramount chief, the *ali'i nui*, of an island or district (*moku*). Other chiefs and *maka'ainana* could not build them; if they did, they were rebels... [Kamakau, 1976:129]

While the:

...*Waihau hale-o-Papa*... belonged to *pi'o* and *ni'aupi'o* chiefesses, and were for the good of the women and the children, borne for the benefit of the land. [Kamakau, 1976:129]

In a later article of the series, published in 1867, Kamakau (Pukui, translator; Kamakau, 1961), discussed further the nature of the *Hale o Papa* and other *heiau*, noting that:

The gods were worshiped and prayed to most often in heiaus of the Waihau, Unu, Hale-o-papa, Ku-'ula, Ko'a, and Loulou types. There were *'ili-mai'a*, *alaneo*, *'auhau-ma'ule*, *'ale'o*, *oeoe*, *'anu'u kuapala*, and *lau* houses. The gods whose names were mentioned in the prayers offered were Kane, Ku, Lono, and Kanaloa. These were not gods of wood and stone, they were not gods represented by objects that could be seen with the eyes and worshiped. [Kamakau, 1961:201]

While referencing worship in the most sacred of temples—the *heiau luakini*—and that they were forbidden to women, Kamakau also noted that even the *Hale o Papa* were restricted to the chiefesses of highest lineage:

The very sacred part of the *heiau* was tabu to chiefesses, and no woman, royal or otherwise, escaped death when she drew near to it. Only the sacred chiefesses, whose tabu equaled that of a god, went into the Hale-o-Papa and ate of the dedicated foods of the heiaus. [Kamakau, 1961:380]

In 1870, Kamakau spoke of the many *heiau*—including *heiau po'okanaka (luakini)*—that existed from Hawai'i to Kaua'i. Having lived, taught, and served in land agent capacities on Maui, with residences in several Maui districts, Kamakau learned first-hand of a number of the most significant *heiau* on the island. Kamakau (Pukui, translator; Kamakau, 1976) named some of the most famous *heiau* of which he had learned. He also observed that even by the time of his writing, many of the ancient sites had disappeared, with only foundations or walls left behind. Unfortunately, Kamakau's narratives are silent on the names of any *heiau* in the Honua'ula District, though one *heiau* by the name of Honua'ula did occur in the district of Hāna:

Of the many heiaus from Hawaii to Kauai, some were *heiau po'okanaka*, most were *heiau waihau*, and some were *heiau unu*. Most of them have disappeared, but the foundations and the stone walls of some are still to be found. On Maui are the remains of Haluluko'ako'a, Wailehua, Luakona, and Apahu'a in Lahaina; Pihana, Kaluli, Malumaluakua, Olopio, and Malena in Wailuku; Kealaka'ihonua in Waihe'e; Kanemalohemo, Lo'alo'a, and Pu'umaka'a in Kaupo; Honua'ula and Kuawalu in Hana. On Hawaii are Mo'okini, Mulei'ula, Hapu'u, and Kahua in Kohala; Pu'ukohola and Mailekini at Kawaihae; Keikipu'ipu'i and 'Ahu'ena at Kailua; 'Ohi'amukumuku and Halekumukalani at Kahalu'u; Hikiau at Kealakekua; Pakini and Punalu'u in Ka'u; 'Aha'ula

[Waha'ula] in Puna; Kaipalaoa, Kanowa, and Honokawailani in Hilo; Moa'ula and Paka'alana in Waipi'o. [Kamakau, 1976:145]

In the Archaeological Inventory Survey (Haun & Associates, October 2000), the Draft Cultural Impact Assessment (Frampton, August 2002; revised December 2004), and a revised addendum to the Archaeological Inventory Survey (Haun & Associates, July 2004), conducted as a part of the planning process for the proposed Garcia family project, it was suggested that if "*Kalani Heiau*" (Walker's Site 196), was a place of "sacrifice" —inferred in writings of late, as being of the "*luakini*" temple—that there would also have been a *Hale o Papa* nearby, and that Site 5036 AA, a modified knoll, situated above "*Kalani Heiau*" could be such a feature. The native descriptions of the *Hale o Papa* as those cited above—assigning much significance and form to such a site—do not seem to support the suggested function. Unfortunately, the archival and oral historical records are also silent on the feature—thus any further interpretation on our part as to the function of the site would be conjecture.

There are a wide range of writings from both native and foreign authors, that describe *heiau* and their localities across the islands. While we have looked through numerous native accounts in Hawaiian language resources, and also gone through many hundreds of accounts recorded by foreign residents and visitors to the Honua'ula District—Ka'eo and Makena region—(some accounts not previously cited) we have not been able to locate any further native or early historical references to "*Kalani Heiau*" or other sites on the same property, than those cited in this study.

Summary of Kama'āina Recollections of Heiau and Other Sites in the Ka'eo-Makena Vicinity

As a part of the present study, nine detailed oral history interviews were conducted with eight individuals ranging in age from their 50s to 90s. Also, one informal interview—in which hand written notes were taken—was conducted with a ninth individual. Seven of the interviewees are descended from families whose residency in the Makena region, and whose ties to the Keawala'i church pre-date the 1840s. The eighth interviewee (also a native Hawaiian), married a native of the Honua'ula District, and who moved with her husband to Makena in the early 1950s; the ninth individual, who participated in a brief telephone interview, purchased 'Ulupalakua Ranch in the early 1960s. The first eight interviewees shared intimate knowledge of the lands, families, customs and practices of residents in the Honua'ula region, with historical accounts spanning from ocean fisheries to the mountain lands of the 'Ulupalakua region.

Of the interviewees, all but one, shared that as children—dating from 1911—they had not heard about the site known as "*Kalani Heiau*." All but two interviewees had learned of the site later in their lives, some as a result of the archaeological work conducted on behalf of the Garcia family. One interviewee, in his 60s, a member of the Lono-Kalani family learned of the *heiau* as a child, from his *kūpuna* and an uncle, who associated the site with the family's fishing customs. The second interviewee, moved to Makena in the early 1950s, and she reported that by the time Mrs. Marjorie Kolehua Cockett-Garcia acquired the parcel from 'Ulupalakua Ranch, it was known that a *heiau* was situated on the property.

Several interviewees recalled that the land adjacent to the County facility, and *mauka* of Keawala'i Church (now used as an overflow parking lot for the church) was noted as a place frequented by *huaka'i pō* (processions of night marchers). It was recalled that a *malihini* family that had once tried to build a house on the parcel gave up because of unexplained occurrences.

None of the interviewees had heard of any other ceremonial sites on the property—and when asked specifically if they had heard the term "*Hale o Papa*," none had. Most interviewees who had grown up in Makena, observed that they didn't go much above the Makena-Keone'ō'io road in the vicinity of what is now the Garcia property, because the *kiawe* was thick, and there was no reason to go. One interviewee, a 73 year old descendant of the Kukahiko line, had traveled above the *heiau* site after

the 1980s, and was familiar with some of the other cultural features on the *mauka* side of the “*Aupuni Wall*” (Government Wall), which are beyond the Garcia property, but had never noticed the modified knoll (Site 5036 AA).

We note here, that all participants in the oral historical component of this study, believe that the *heiau* (Walker’s Site No. 196) should be preserved, and information about the site should be made known to present and future generations. The members of the historic Keawala’i Church are committed to a partnership program with the Garcias and others who may become homeowners on the property, to protect, interpret and steward the *heiau*, and other features which may be preserved on the land. Such sites are believed to be integral to the Hawaiian culture.

SUMMARY OF PRESERVATION TREATMENTS

While conducting the oral history interviews as a part of this study, the interviewees were asked their thoughts about preservation of *Kalani Heiau* and other sites on the Garcia family property. The full interview transcripts provide readers with the context of those discussions and recommendations, and should be read for full details.

A comprehensive site preservation plan is to be prepared following completion of this study. The plan will incorporate *kama'āina* (interviewee) recommendations; comments from other interested parties (as documented in the Draft Environmental Assessment, Frampton, 2004); treatment recommendations developed as a result of the archaeological survey (Haun and Henry, 2000 & 2003); and requirements as set forth by the Hawaii Administrative Rules Chapter 13, Subtitle 13-277 of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD), guiding development of site preservation and interpretation plans.

In summary, the following points and recommendations were raised during interviews and in other conversations pertaining to preservation of *Kalani Heiau* and vicinity:

- *Kalani Heiau* (Site No. 196), and the modified *āhua* (knoll), Site No. 5036 AA, will be preserved and stabilized in a manner consistent with guidelines of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD).
- View planes *makai*, towards the shore of Naupaka (Maluaka) Beach; and *mauka*, towards Pu'u Ke'eke'ehia, Pu'u Ka'eo, and Haleakalā will be enhanced, protected and maintained.
- Ground work and excavation will be monitored by an archaeologist and cultural monitor (an individual with genealogical ties to traditional families of the Ka'eo-Makena vicinity) to ensure no impacts to cultural resources occur; and also during any site stabilization and landscape work within the preservation areas.
- Inappropriate alien vegetation (e.g., *kiawe*, lantana, *'ēkoa* and *pānini*) will be carefully removed from *Kalani Heiau*, Site No. 5036 AA, and the dedicated preservation buffer zones.
- Planting of native species known to occur naturally in the Makena-Honua'ula region, near shore lands, will be done, for interpretive and restorative qualities, and to foster a buffer between residences to be developed on adjacent lands and the preservation sites.
- Keawala'i Church, including native Hawaiian members of the Makena region community, descended from traditional families of the area, will organize a cultural stewardship program, and become partners with the Garcias and future home/land owners in the long-term care and interpretation of the preservation sites on the property.
- Interpretive programs and exhibit materials will be developed as a means to inform the local and visiting public about the history of the Ka'eo-Makena region, and about the sites preserved on the property.
- A maintenance and monitoring program will be developed by which long-term preservation, conservation and education will be fostered for the preservation sites.
- A program of controlled access—in order to ensure protection of *Kalani Heiau* and associated preservation sites—and wise use will be developed for long-term care of the cultural resources.

- The Keawala'i Church partnership with an association of the home/land owners will serve as the point of contact for conducting educational/interpretive programs for schools and special groups who may wish to visit *Kalani Heiau* and the associated preservation areas.
- A funding base for program management will be developed to ensure success in long-term preservation and interpretation of the *Kalani Heiau* and preservation areas.

***“O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole kāpae 'ia!”
(Keep the good, set that bad aside!)***

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