HE MOʻOLELO ʻĀINA:
A CULTURAL STUDY OF THE MANUKĀ NATURAL AREA RESERVE LANDS OF MANUKĀ, DISTRICT OF KAʻŪ, AND KAULANAMAUNA, DISTRICT OF KONA, ISLAND OF HAWAIʻI

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

Moa Ground Cover under ʻŌhiʻa of the Kīpāhoehoe-Manukā Region Forest Zone
(Photo Courtesy of DLNR-NARS)

Kokiʻo (Kokia drynarioides) at Manukā
(Photo Courtesy of DLNR-NARS)

Kumu Pono Associates LLC

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

HE MOʻOLELO ʻĀINA:

A CULTURAL STUDY OF THE MANUKĀ NATURAL AREA RESERVE LANDS OF MANUKĀ, DISTRICT OF KAʻŪ AND KAULANAMAUNA, DISTRICT OF KONA, ISLAND OF HAWAIʻI

PREPARED BY

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

PREPARED FOR

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

JULY 20, 2004

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

554 Keonaona St. · Hilo, Hawaiʻi 96720 · (ph/fax) 808.981.0196 · (e-mail) kumupono@hawaii.rr.com

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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

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

The Natural Area Reserve (NAR) takes it's name from the native land division (*ahupua'a*) of Manukā, which may be literally, "Blundering," so named from a traditional account of one of the ancient residents. The NAR also includes the land of Kaulanamauna, literally, "The-mountain-resting-place," and extends from sea level to the 5,524 foot elevation. The native traditions and historical accounts associated with the lands of Manukā and Kaulanamauna span many centuries, from Hawaiian antiquity to the later period following western contact. The narratives describe customs and practices of the native people who resided on these lands, walked the trails, and who were sustained by the wealth of the mountain resources, the *kula* (plain and plateau lands), and the adjacent marine fisheries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

māua nō me ka haʻahaʻa — Kepā a me Onaona Maly

"Aʻohe hana nui, ke alu ʻia!
(It is no great task when done together by all!)

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Background

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

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

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

> …the Manuka Natural Area Reserve was established on the island of Hawaii in 1983 by Executive Order 3164. The reserve protects a diverse range of natural communities including dry and mesic forests, subalpine shrublands and forests, lowland and coastal shrublands and grasslands, anchialine pools, pioneer vegetation on lava flows, and lava tubes. These communities provide habitat to native plants and animals, several of which are considered rare such as the *'io* (Hawaiian hawk) and the *'ope'ape'a* (Hawaiian hoary bat).
>
> …Manuka Natural Area Reserve occupies 25,550 acres on the southwest slope of Mauna Loa on the island of Hawaii. Elevations range from near sea level to 5,524 feet near Puu Ohohia at the reserve's apex. Rainfall averages from 30 inches annually in the lower elevation to 40 inches at the reserve's apex. Precipitation is probably higher along a band in the mid-elevations (ca. 1,800 - 3,200 feet) where daily cloud cover results in fog drip. March is the wettest month, averaging 3 - 4 inches, and June the driest with only 1 - 4 inches (Giambelluca, Nullet, and Schroeder 1986). [DLNR-NARS 1992]

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

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

---

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

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

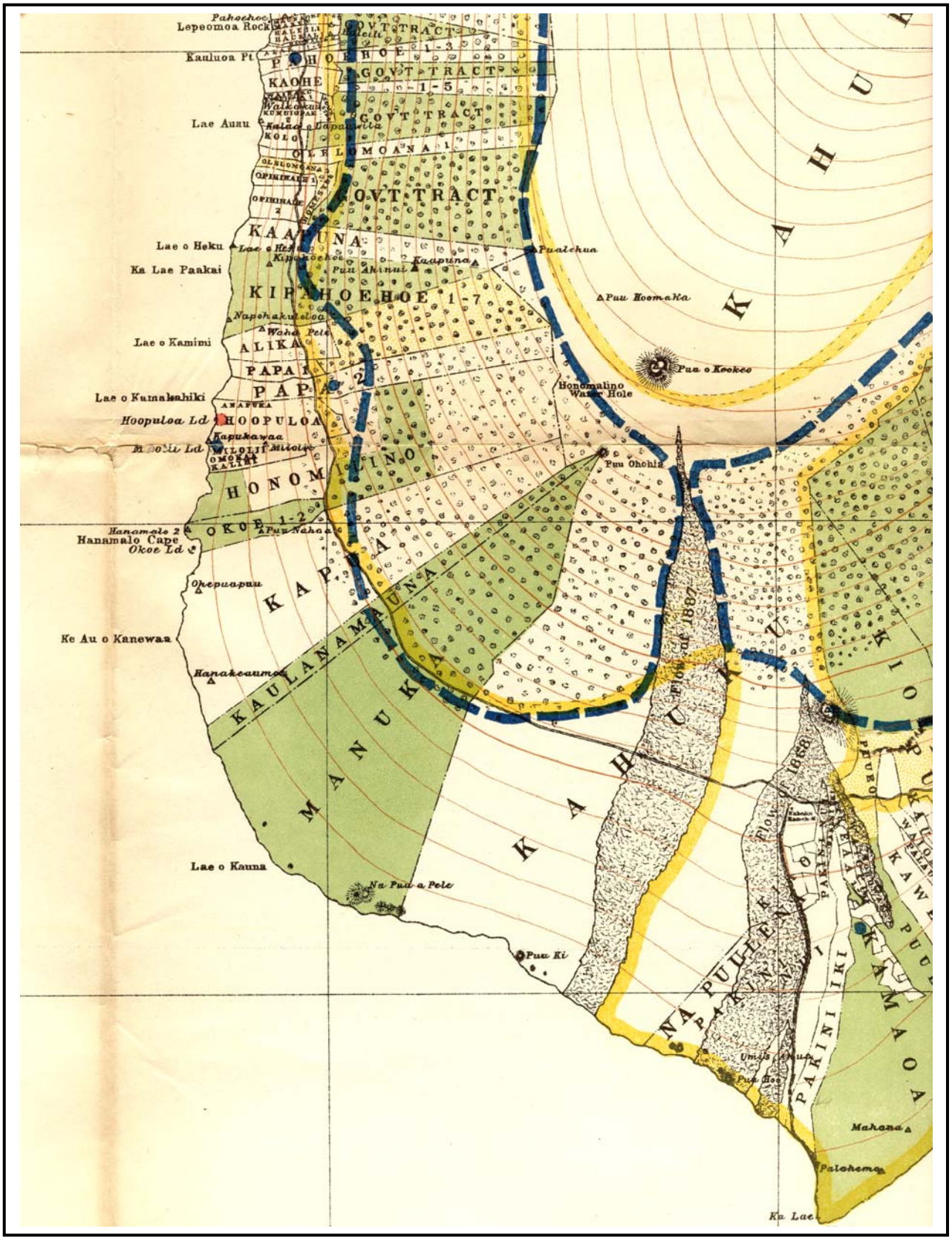

Figure 1. Detail of Lands of South Kona and Northern Kaʻū, Island of Hawaiʻi (1901). Depicting Forest Lands (outlined in Blue); Public Lands (shaded in green); and Approximate Area of Grazing Lands (outlined in yellow). Territorial Survey Division.

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

Historical and Archival Research

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

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

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

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

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

Hawaiian Settlement

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

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

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

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

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

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

Natural Resources and Land Management in the Hawaiian Cultural System

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

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

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

The *ahupua‘a* were also divided into smaller manageable parcels of land—such as the *‘ili*, *kō‘ele*, *mahina ‘ai*, *māla*, and *kīhāpai*—that generally run in a *mauka-makai* orientation, and are often marked by stone wall (boundary) alignments. In these smaller land parcels the *maka‘āinana* cultivated crops necessary to sustain their families, and supplied the needs of the chiefly communities they were associated with. As long as sufficient tribute was offered and *kapu* (restrictions) were observed, the common people who lived in a given *ahupua‘a* had access to most of the resources from mountain slopes to the ocean. These access rights were almost uniformly tied to residency on a particular land, and earned as a result of taking responsibility for stewardship of the natural environment and supplying the needs of ones’ *ali‘i* (see Malo 1951:63-67 and Kamakau 1961:372-377).

Entire *ahupua‘a*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konohiki* or subordinate chief-landlords, who answered to an *ali‘i-‘ai-ahupua‘a* (chief who controlled the *ahupua‘a* resources). The *ali‘i-‘ai-ahupua‘a* in turn answered to an *ali‘i ‘ai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupua‘a* resources supported not only the *maka‘āinana* and *‘ohana* (families) who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms. This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and

was the product of strictly adhered to resource management planning. In this system, the land provided fruits, vegetables and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources.

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

> *…Mai Ke-ahu-a-Lono i ke ʻā o Kanikū, a hōʻea i ka ʻūlei kolo o Manukā i Kaulanamauna e pili aku i Kaʻū!* (from Keahualono [the Kona-Kohala boundary] on the rocky flats of Kanikū, to Kaulanamauna next to the crawling (tangled growth of) *ʻūlei* [3]bushes at Manukā, where Kona clings to Kaʻū! [Kihe, in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, September 13, 1917; Maly translator]

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

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

Overview of the Cultural Landscape of Manukā and Vicinity

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

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

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

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

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

KAHUKU

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

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

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

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

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

> After 1868, came massive flows into Kahuku in 1887 and 1907, each slightly westward of the previous flow…
>
> It was interesting to discover that one of the wild sweet-potato varieties that has persisted in the jungle is one peculiar to this area. It has a delicate [page 569] indented leaf form and a peculiar dusky or smoky tinge underlying the green and purple of the foliage and veining. Comparison of specimens collected in 1959 with descriptions of the *Uahi-a-Pele* (Smoke-of-Pele) collected in Kona in 1931 established this identification (see Fig. 16, *f,* in Handy, 1940). The presence of the smoky or dusky pigmentation found only in areas of active vulcanism explains the names. But what causes the "smoky" look? The presence of the volcano goddess and her sister, Hawaiians say.
>
> The trail that connects the seacoast with the upland, passing through the park, has along it five water holes. Near the shore, along the seacoast trail which is paved with huge *pahoehoe* (smooth) lava blocks; are a number of stones on which petroglyphs were carved by travelers.
>
> The tumbling surf on the Kaʻu shore is described in these lines of a sacred *hula* chant:
>
> *The sun rises over the sea at Unulau,*
> *The billows of Kauna rush pell-mell.*
>
> Unulau is a place on the Manuka shore east of Kauna Point. From there the sunrise may be seen out over the ocean. *Unulau* is also the name of the wind that blows in from the sea there. [Handy, Handy and Pukui, 1972:569-570]

Describing the relationship shared between families of the lands from Kamāʻoa, Kaʻū, to Kapuʻa, South Kona, Pukui recalled a tradition of a chiefess, a gourd, and her daughters, who were the progenitors of the people living in this region:

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

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

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

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

MOʻOLELO ʻĀINA: NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORIC ACCOUNTS OF THE MANUKĀ-KAULANAMAUNA VICINITY

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

Unfortunately, it appears that only a few traditions have survived the passing of time in this region of Hawaiʻi Island. This is perhaps in part a reflection of the remoteness of this part of the island. Importantly, the traditions describe customs and practices of the native people who resided on these lands, walked the trails, and who were sustained by the wealth of the mountain lands, the *kula* (plains and plateau lands), and the adjacent marine fisheries. It is also appropriate to note here, that the occurrence of these traditions—many in association with place names of land divisions, cultural sites, features of the landscape, and events in the history of the lands which make up the Manukā NAR—are an indicator of the rich native history of those lands.

"Kaao Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki"
(The Heart Stirring Story of Ma-Miki)

Perhaps one of the most detailed native traditions which includes rich accounts of place names and traditional practices associated with the South Kona-Northern Kaʻū region, is the historical account titled "*Kaao Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki*" (The Heart Stirring Tale of Ka-Miki). The story of Ka-Miki was published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* (1914-1917). It is a long and complex account that was recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe (translators of the work of A. Fornander), with contributions from others of their peers. While "Ka-Miki" is not an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of traditions, local stories, tales, and family traditions in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations.

The complete narrative include historical accounts of more than 800 place names (many personified, commemorating particular individuals) around the island of Hawaiʻi. While the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely "ancient," such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian and Polynesian traditions. The selected narratives below, are excerpted from various sections of the tradition, and provide readers with descriptions of the land, resources, areas of residence, and practices of the native residents, as handed down by *kamaʻāina* (those familiar with the land). Of particular interest, specific documentation is given pertaining to the practice of bird catchers, the nature of weather patterns, and the naming of many places on the mountain landscape.

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

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

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

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

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

Traditions of Kapuʻa, Kaulanamauna, Manukā, Kahuku and Neighboring Lands

…Bidding *aloha* to the people and lands of Pāhoehoe, Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole departed, and passed through the lands of Kukuiopaʻe, Kolo, ʻŌlelomoana, ʻŌpihihali, Kaʻapuna, and ʻAlikā, all of which were named for *aliʻi* who controlled the *ahupuaʻa* of those names…

The brothers descended to the shore, and arrived at the *hālau aliʻi* (royal compound) of the chief Pāpaua, which was situated near the canoe landing, in the land now called Pāpā. The chief Pāpaua was famed for his *pā-hī-aku* (mother of pearl, bonito fishing lure), and the place name, Pāpā commemorates Pāpaua. Pāpaua was descended from the family of Pā-ku-huhu-a-Kalino, as told in the story of Kalino[4], and was the brother-in-law of Hīkāpōloa, a great chief of Kohala…

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

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

[4] See the account of *Ka-uma-ʻili-ʻula* (in S.M. Kamakau 1991:102-103).

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

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

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

While people feared Omokaʻa, Okoe and their children, the land of the Hoʻopūloa area was celebrated in the saying —

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

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

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

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

Iā ‘Ōhi‘a-nui-moe-awakea	To ‘Ōhi‘a-nui
Iā Kumakua-moe-awakea	To Kumakua
Iā Nā -wahine-moe-awakea	The women (goddesses) who rest at midday
Iā Ka-‘ohu-kolo-mai-luna-o-ka-lā‘au	To Ka-‘ohu-kolo
Iā Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka...	To Ka-uluhe...

E ala e Haumea nui a ke aīwaiwa	Arise great Haumea of mysterious forms
E hoʻohānini a māninini ka wai a Kāne	Let pour and flow forth the waters of Kāne
E ola iā māua i nā pulapula	That we two, your offspring might live
Nā pua kela i ke ao manamana	The foremost flowers of the many faceted light
Iā Ka-Miki a me Maka-ʻiole	It is Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole
ʻEliʻeli kapu, ʻeliʻeli noa	Profound sacredness, profound freedom
ʻĀmama, ua noa	The prayer is finished, it is freed

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

> *ʻOiai e mau ana kēia mau ʻōuli me ka hoʻomaha ʻole, ke hāliʻi mau ala ka ʻohu i nā kakaʻi pali o Kahuku a me Manukā, a ke ʻike ʻia ala ka hiolo o ka wai o nā pali...Ke kokolo aʻe o ka ʻohu i kumu pali a hekau iluna o nā lāʻau...a he hōʻike kēia no ka māwehe aʻe o ka ʻino.*
>
> So it is that these signs remain without fail; if the mist is spread out, along the edges of the cliffs at ***Kahuku*** and ***Manukā***, flowing like water over the cliffs ... and the mist then creeps along the base of the cliffs, while above in the trees all is calm...it is a portend that a storm is about to occur.

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

Eia ka ʻai e ke akua	Here is your food o gods
E Kāhuli, e Kahele	O Kāhuli, o Kahele
E Kauwila-nui-ʻeli-papa honuamea...	O Kauwila-nui who digs the red (sacred) stratum of the earth...
Kulukulu ka wai ke pākakahi nei	Let the water flow here and there
A hānini la, a hānini ua	Flowing and pouring forth
Ka ua i ka ʻōnohi o Laniwahine	The cherished rains of Laniwahine,
O Nuʻumea-lani-a-lani-nuʻu-i-ka-ua	who is of Nuʻumealani
I ʻeli kapu, i ʻeli noa – noa	The sacredness is profound, the freedom is profound the prayer is freed

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

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

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

Now this great plantation's full name was *Puʻepuʻe-kuʻu-kalo-i-amo-ʻia-kiola-ʻāina-ʻia-a-koekoena-kiola-ʻia-i-ka-mauna-a-me-ka-moana* (My taro, planted in mounds was carried and spread [thrown] across the land, and what remains was spread [planted] from mountain to sea). The plantation extended across the region, from Kaulanamauna to Kukuiopaʻe.

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

Okoe was the *ʻōlohe* wife of ***Omokaʻa***, and mother of ʻŌpuʻu-ka-honua, ʻŌmuʻo-ka-honua, ʻŌlau-ka-honua, ʻŌliko-ka-honua, and ʻŌmole-ka-honua, all of whom were notorious *ʻōlohe*.

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

O hānau ka honua	The earth was born
A mole ka honua	The earth's foundation set
O kokolo ke ʻaʻā	The *ʻaʻā* lava creeps along
ka weli o ka honua...	Causing the earth to be afraid...

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

O hānau ka moku, a kupu, a lau,	The island was born, sprouting, spreading,
A loa, a muʻo, a ʻike,	Lengthening, budding, and seen,
Ka moku iluna o Hawaiʻi,	Hawaiʻi is the island which is above
He pūlewa ka ʻāina, naka Hawaiʻi	The land sways, Hawaiʻi shakes
E lewa wale ana no i ka lani lewa,	Floating above in the heavens,
Hono-ā mai, e Wākea pāhono ʻia,	Bound together, bound by Wākea
Mali o ke aʻa o ka moku me ka honua,	The root of the island was tied to the earth
Paʻa ʻia lewa e lani, i ka lima akau o Hawaiʻi,	And held fast in the heavens by the right hand of Hawaiʻi
A paʻa Hawaiʻi la, a laʻa Hawaiʻi la,	Hawaiʻi was set firm and consecrated,
ʻikea he moku	the island is seen
O ka moku la hoʻi auaneʻi.	Indeed it is the island which
ko lalo nei..	is below...

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

As the competition continued, comparisons were made to the casting of a net to ensnare one's catch. Ka-Miki warned Okoe *mā* that if they were not careful, they would end up like *Luanuʻu-a-nuʻu-pōʻele-ka-pō* of the nine fold cliffs of Waipiʻo – caught in the supernatural net *Kuʻukuʻu* which belongs to *Ka-uluhe*. Ka-Miki then chanted a *mele pule kānaenae hoʻoūlu mana ʻeʻehia* (Prayer chant supplication to increase his supernatural power):

Iā Kuʻukuʻu ka ʻupena	*Kuʻukuʻu* is the net,
Hei mai ka iʻa	A snare which catches the fish, Binding it like —
O ka pulelehua	The butterfly,
O ka pokipoki	The sow bug,
O ka nananana	The spider,
O kini o ke akua	The 40,000 gods
O ka mano o ke akua	The 4,000 gods
O ka lehu o ke akua	The 400,000 gods,
O ka pukuʻi o ke akua...	The assembly of gods...

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

> *"Aia la! Aia hoʻi! Kuʻu imu aʻohe ahi , kuʻu imu uwahi ʻole, kuʻu imu hoʻokāhi no pōhaku, kuʻu imu ʻelua no peʻa kauwawe, kuʻu imu e* ...!" (Behold, behold indeed! My *imu* has no fire, no smoke, my *imu* has one stone, and two ti leaf bundle covers, yet it is my *imu*...!)

Ka-Miki responded:

> "*He imu manini ko kai, aʻohe ahi pau no naʻe ka manini i ka ʻai ʻia. He imu maiʻa ko uka ua moʻa pala kāpule iloko o ka lua, aʻohe ahi pau no naʻe i ka ʻai ʻia...*" (The rock mound an *imu* [also called *umu*] for the *manini* in the sea, has no fire, yet it is consumed. The smokeless *imu* is in the uplands, is an over ripened banana, and it too is consumed...)

Once again, Okoe and Omokaʻa agreed that Ka-Miki won the contest. Okoe then presented a riddle about the name of the plantation of Puʻepuʻe. The full name of this plantation is *Puʻepuʻe-kuʻu-kalo-i-amo-ʻia-kiola-ʻāina-ʻia-a-koekoena-kiola-ia-i-ka-mauna*

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

> [Note: numbers in the following narrative have been inserted at key points by the translator, to indicate where points in the riddle correspond with the answer.]
>
> [1] *He kalo ku i ka mauna, i puʻepuʻe ʻia*; [2] *i amo ʻia a* [3] *koe*, [4] *lino ʻia a paʻa*, [5] *hoʻōʻia apau*, [6] *kiola ʻia i ka* [7] *mauna*, [8] *hali ʻia i ka* [9] *moana*, [10] *ku ka puna i uka*, [11] *ua kolo a* [12] *pae he kukui ka ʻāina*. (The taro placed upon the mountain, planted in mounds, carried to where it remains, securely bound (*linoa*), all set in place, thrown to the mountain (by Haumea); carried and spread to the ocean, [reaching] to where the spring is in the uplands, and where the *kukui* cling upon the land.)

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

> *Aia la, aia la, aia la! O ke kalo a kuʻu mau kūpunawahine i kanu ai i ka hei, i ka manomano wai, i ka lāʻau kalaʻihi oʻo i kanahele o Mahiki, i ka mauna anuanu koʻūa, he ahi ke kapa e mehana ai, e lala ai mākou i uka o ʻŌmaʻolālā e - ʻoia – [1] He Helemauna ke kalo i puʻepuʻe ʻia; O [2] Kapuʻa ia - I amo ʻia a koe; O [3] Omokaʻa ia me [4] Okoe - He mau ʻokana i pili ana me Kapuʻa, ʻoia no hoʻi ko ʻolua mau inoa; Lino ʻia a paʻa; o [5] Honomalino ia; Hoʻōʻia apau; o [6] Hoʻopūloa ia; Kiola ʻia i ka mauna; o [7] Kiolakaʻa me [8] Kaulana mauna; Hali ʻia i ka moana; o nā [9] ʻŌpihihali a me nā [10] ʻŌlelomoana; Ku ka puna i uka; o [11] Kaʻapuna ia. O kolo a pae he kukui ka ʻāina; o [12] Kolo ia a me [13] Kukuiopaʻe; he mau aliʻi ʻai ahupuaʻa lākou apau...*
>
> Behold! It is the taro which my ancestresses planted with exceptional skill (*hei*), with the multitudinous waters (deep knowledge), at the forest of Mahiki with the rigid trees on the cold damp mountain – where the fire is the only blanket which warms one, indeed we were warmed at ʻŌmaʻolālā.
>
> [1] *Helemauna* is the taro which was planted in mounds at [2] Kapuʻa, so the plantation became called Puʻepuʻe; *amo* (carried) is [3] Omokaʻa; to where it *koe* (remains) is [4] Okoe, these are *ʻokana* (land districts) which are near Kapuʻa; *lino ʻia* (securely bound) is [5] Honomalino (cf. *linoa*); *hoʻōʻia* (set in place) is [6] Hoʻopūloa; *kiola* (tossed or thrown) is [7] Kiolakaʻa; to the *mauna* (mountain) is [8] Kaulanamauna; *hali ʻia* (carried) is [9] ʻŌpihihali); to the *moana* (sea) is [10] ʻŌlelomoana; [reaching] to where (*ku ka puna i uka*) the spring in the uplands) is [11] Kaʻapuna; the *kukui* is [12] Kukuiopaʻe; and *kolo* (cling upon the land) is [13] Kolo; and all of these lands are named for the chiefs who control the district resources.

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

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

I Tahiti ka pō e Niho‘eleki	Niho‘eleki – is in the antiquity of *Tahiti*
I hana ka pō e Niho‘eleki	– was formed in antiquity
Mākaukau ka pō e Niho‘eleki	– is prepared in all antiquity
Lawalawa ka pō a Niho‘eleki	Niho‘eleki's understanding is more than enough
Iā ‘akāhi ka pō e Niho‘eleki	*Niho‘eleki* – understands the first level of meanings,
Iā ‘alua ka pō e Niho‘eleki	– understands the second level of meanings,
Iā ‘akolu ka pō e Niho‘eleki	– understands the third level of meanings,
Iā ‘ahā ka pō e Niho‘eleki	– understands the fourth level of meanings,
Iā ‘alima ka pō e Niho‘eleki	– understands the fifth level of meanings,
Iā ‘aōno ka pō e Niho‘eleki	– understands the sixth level of meanings,
Pa‘i wale ka pō e Niho‘eleki	– understands all levels of meanings,
Pono, a‘o wale e Niho‘eleki	It is correct, taught only by *Niho‘eleki*
Aia! Aia ho‘i! Aia la!	Behold! It is so! It is so!

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

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

O Kaulua ka lā	The assembly of gods... [the season of *Kaulua* when the star Sirius is above]
Kaulua ka ua	O *Kaulua* of the rains
Kaulua ka makani	O *Kaulua* of the winds
Kaulua ke kai	O *Kaulua* of the [rough] seas
Kaulua ka ‘ino	O *Kaulua* of the storms
Kaulua ka hōkū e kau nei	O *Kaulua* [when] the star is set above
E Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka-e	O *Ka-uluhe-nui*...
Eō mai ana i ko inoa	Answering to your names

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

A‘u kama iluna o ka ‘Ōhi‘a-moe-awakea	My child who is there upon the deity, *‘Ōhi‘a* which reclines in the midday sun
Lehua ‘ula i ka wī a ka manu	The red *lehua* blossoms around which the birds sing
Manu hulu weoweo i ka uka o Kalama‘ula	The birds with the red glowing feathers in the uplands of Kalama‘ula

He ʻula leo kēia e hōlio nei	This is a voice offering to you, the one who is always in my thoughts
ʻAnoʻai no a, ʻAnoʻai wale hoʻi!	Greetings, greetings indeed!

Upon completing the chant, the wind roared breaking the forest, and Okoe leapt to attack Maka-ʻiole, though she was exceedingly skilled, she was beaten. Omokaʻa leapt to assist Okoe, but both *ʻōlohe* were bound in the net *Halekumukaʻaha* (also called *Kuʻukuʻu*). Seeing their complete defeat, both Omokaʻa and Okoe surrendered to Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole. ʻKa-Miki and Maka-ʻiole agreed not to bake them in their own *imu* after the couple promised that they would no longer attack people traveling along the *ala hele*. Omokaʻa went to fetch *ʻawa* and food items with which to serve Ka-Miki *mā*.

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

ʻŌpuʻu and ʻŌmuʻo refused to listen, and they recounted their *ʻōlohe* nature and the background of their family (their grandparents lived in *Kahiki* with the chief Keʻe (written *Kowea* Jan. 28, 1915), ward of Olokea and Olomea, the mysterious *kūpua* of *Kahiki-kū*.

Omokaʻa, Okoe and their children returned to the compound where Ka-Miki *mā* awaited. Upon seeing Ka-Miki *mā*, ʻŌpuʻu and ʻŌmuʻo put their heads down, realizing that they would be no competition for Ka-Miki. Omokaʻa prepared the food and *ʻawa*, and all participated in a feast. As the new day arrived, Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole prepared to continue their journey, and Okoe told them about Manukā, and his skills…

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

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

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

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

O Iku-ā ka leo o ka hekili	The thunder roars
Iku-ā ka leo o ka uwila	The voices of the lightning crashes
Iku-ā ka leo o ka makani	The winds roar
Iku-ā ka leo o ka ʻino	The storm roars
Iku-ā ka leo o ke kai	The ocean roars
Iku-ā ka leo o ka manu	The birds roar
O Iku-ā ka pohā kōʻeleʻele	Ikuwā is the month when dark storms arise explosively
I nā moʻopuna piha aīwaiwa nui wale	The time of the greatly mysterious grandchildren of
A Kāhuli-ʻeli-papa-honua-mea	Kāhuli-ʻeli (Pele),
A ʻŌhiʻa-nui-moe-awakea	Of ʻŌhiʻa-nui,
A Ka-ʻohu-kolo-mai-iluna-o-ka-lāʻau	Of Ka-ʻohu-kolo, and
A Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka	Of Ka-uluhe...

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

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

> *Pau ka hana la a ka moʻopuna aīwaiwa a Lani-nui-kuʻi-a-mamao-loa a me Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. Paʻa la, paʻa ʻia pōkaʻa lau hala i ka ʻopeʻope a pelupelu, i ka puʻupuʻu a lima iki, ʻōpeʻa a haʻawe kiloi. Paʻa i ka ʻai a ka lua, i ka huhui a Makaliʻi, i ka pūnāwelewele a ka Nananana nui hoʻomakua, i ka ʻalihi o Kanikawī a me Kanikawā, ke kōkō aīwaiwa a kuʻu kūpuna wahine e noho mai la i ka lāʻau kalaʻihi oʻo i ka nahele o Mahiki... Paʻa loa ka pūhi Lau-milo... i ka ʻupena kuʻu a kuʻu mau kūpuna wahine aīwaiwa ia Kuʻukuʻu.*
>
> Completed is the task of the mysterious grandchild of *Lani-nui-kuʻi* and *Ka-uluhe*. [You are] Bound and secured like a roll of bundled pandanus leaves, bundled and taken up by the hand to be thrown away like refuse. Bound by a superior combat knowledge, [bound] like the cluster of *Makaliʻi* (Pleiades), [bound] in the web of the great mature spider, [bound] up in the strings of *Kanikawī* and *Kanikawā*, the wonderful net of my ancestress who dwells there in the rigid forest of Mahiki... Securely bound is the *Lau-milo* eel... in the powerful net *Kuʻukuʻu* which belongs to my ancestresses. Thus, Manukā was defeated by Ka-Miki.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He lā makani kēia	It is indeed a windy day
Ke lele ‘ino nei ke ao	With clouds speeding by
A ke ao ‘ōpua e kau nei	Billowy clouds touch the peaks
Iluna o Kamakoa	atop Kamakoa
Kiu ka ‘elele na ka Mālua	The cold wind *Kiu* is a messenger of the *Mālua* wind
‘Elua ka ho‘i mea aloha	Though there are two winds which I love
O ke A‘eloa me ka Moa‘e-ku	The *A‘eloa* and *Moa‘e-ku*
Ua kala aku ka hālelo	[But now] the jagged cloud ridges speak
Ku ka unuunu i ka moana	The ocean is stirred up
I ke kūpāpā ‘ia e ke kai	[And as] the ocean [waves] fight one another
Ike aku i ke kini o lalo	The multitudes of the lowlands, understand
Ua ‘ino o uka	That the storm rages above
I kai ke ola e, i kai ho‘i	There is life along the shore indeed by the sea
I ō ‘Ahukini ho‘i	Respond o ‘Ahukini

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

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

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

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

The Tradition of Koihala, and the Naming of Kapuʻa

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

NO KOIHALA.

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

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

ABOUT KOIHALA.

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

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

[5] Puʻu-o-Kahuku - Marks the *mauka* boundary of Pākini-nui *ahupuaʻa*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pai'ea – Kamehameha at Manukā and Kaulanamauna

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

> …The young chief placed in the hands of Kekūhaupi'o's uncles asked whither they were going as their journey began, and was told they were returning to the land of North Kohala. They proceeded straight from the land of Waio'ahukini to Manukā, a place adjacent to Kaulanamauna, the boundary of Kona and Ka'ū. It was [page 92] said in the story of the famous kingdom conqueror that he was carried on their backs, showing how Kekūhaupi'o and his aforementioned uncles cherished their *ali'i*. On their arrival at Manukā, they stopped for a breath and set Kamehameha down for a little rest. At this time Kekūhaupi'o prepared some *'awa* for his foster son, and at this time Kamehameha questioned his guardians: "Are we the only ones going? Where are all the rest of our people?" Kekūhaupi'o did not reply to this question but continued to prepare the *'awa* and when it was ready poured it into the cup, then he turned and said: "*E Kalani ē!* Make offering to your god. Here is the *'awa* to offer to your god, Kūkā'ilimoku." Kamehameha immediately agreed, drank from the cup and sprayed the *'awa* as an offering, with a prayer to Kūkā'ilimoku, which was participated in by one of his guardians. The prayer was as follows:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *Eia ka 'awa,* | Here is the choicest *'awa*, |
> | *E Kūkā'ilimoku,* | O Kūkā'ilimoku, |
> | *He 'awa lani wale nō,* | *'Awa* for the heavens only, |
> | *He 'ai na ke kamaiki* | Food from the little child |
> | *Inu aku i ka 'awa o 'Oheana,* | Drink the *'awa* of 'Oheana, |
> | *Pupū aku i nā niu a La'a,* | Accompany [it] with the coconuts of La'a, |
> | *Ua la'a, ua noa ka 'awa,* | It is consecrated, the *'awa* is freed, |
> | *Noa honua, noa ē.* | Freed, established, freed. |
> | *A ua noa lā.* | It has been freed. |
>
> When Pai'ea had completed the ceremonial offering, Kekūhaupi'o encouraged them to go, as it was not known what secret harm might come after them, as some of the chiefs had treacherous thoughts. Because of this thought by Kekūhaupi'o he directed them to leave the customary pathway, and to travel where they could not be followed. They climbed straight up from that place to a certain part of Mauna Loa and came down seaward at a certain part of Ka'ū named 'Ōhaikea. They spent the rest of that night in a cave called Alanapo. The next morning, after Kamehameha had made [page 93] his ceremonial offering and prayer to Kūkā'ilimoku, they left that place and climbed up another mountain trail till they reached the summit of Mauna Kea. At a place close to Lake Waiau, Kamehameha again made an offering… [Desha et al, in Frazier, 2000:94].

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

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

The Journal of William Ellis

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

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

> ***From Kalahiki to Kapua.***
>
> About two p.m., we reached Taureonanahoa [Ka‘uleonānāhoa or Nāpōhakuloloa at Kīpāhoehoe], three large pillars of lava, about twenty feet square, and apparently sixty or eighty high, standing in the water, within a few yards of each other, and adjacent to the shore. Two of them were united at the top, but open at their base. The various coloured strata of black, reddish, and brown lava, being distinctly marked, looked like so many courses of masonry. We sailed between them and the main land; and about five in the afternoon landed at ***Kapua***, a small and desolate-looking village, on the southwest point of Hawaii, and about twenty miles distant from Kalahiti. Here we had the canoe drawn up on the beach until our companions should arrive.
>
> After leaving Kalahiti, Messrs. Thurston, Goodrich, and Bishop, proceeded over a rugged tract of lava, broken up in the wildest confusion, apparently by an earthquake, while it was in a fluid state. About noon they passed a large crater [Kaluaolapauila, on the boundary of Kukuiopa‘e and Kolo]. Its rim, on the side towards the sea, was broken down, and the streams of lava issuing thence, marked the place by which its contents were principally discharged. The lava was not so porous as that at Keanaee, but, like much in the immediate vicinity of the craters, was of a dark red, or brown ferruginous colour, and but partially glazed over. It was exceedingly ponderous and compact, many

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

Canoeing Through the Surf

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

Camping at Honomalino

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

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

A Barren and Desolate Country

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

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

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

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

A General Description of Kona

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

Entering the Kau District

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

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

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

Volcanic Conditions in Kau

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

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

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

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

Keawaiki—A Port of Refuge

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

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

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

Hard Conditions at Keawaiki

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

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

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

Travel by Moonlight to Kailikii

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

Lack of Drinking Water

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

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

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

The Journal of Chester S. Lyman
Walking the Upland and Coastal Trails of the Manukā-Kapuʻa Region in 1846

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Records of the Hawaiian Mission Station – South Kona and Kaʻū, Hawaiʻi

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

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

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

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

> 1833 - C. Forbes, at Kaʻawaloa:
>
> …At our last general examination in May we visited every school as near as practicable…we found only about 1,300 readers among 36 schools. This examination does not include Kau or the south point of the Island where there are about 5,000 inhabitants, 25 schools & probably 1,200 readers… Probably no Station on the islands is worse situated for access to the people than is Kaawaloa. There is no way of getting from village to village south of the bay, but in canoes, unless we climb over vast shaggy beds of lava, and the people mostly coming under our charge are strewed along a shore probably 40 miles in length, besides some 5,000 who live on the south point of the Island…
>
> Probably 1000 may be said to come directly under Missionary influence which leaves 9 or 10,000 destitute as the whole district includes 10 or 12,000 souls… [C. Forbes Ms. 1833:2-3]

> November 8, 1835 – C. Forbes, writing from Kuapehu, reported:
>
> …Our station embraces the coast delineated on the map from Kainaliu on the north west, to Puna on the southwest; a coast of nearly 90 miles[6]. Two weeks is the very least in which the whole field can be hastily visited by simply preaching at the more important villages… [MHM – 266.858 M69; Missionary Letters 1830-1836; Vol. 8:2317]

> July 23, 1836 – C. Forbes, writing from Kaawaloa, reported:
>
> Last fall I had every house numbered and its inhabitants from the borders of the Kailua Station [Kainaliu], southward & round to the borders of this station on the southeast, and found the whole population of my field to be as follows. This part of Kona 3,536

[6] Map is not available in collection.

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

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

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

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

> This morning we left Kealia before daylight in order to avail ourselves of the land breeze. Had a pleasant sail a fair wind to Kapua, some 20 miles, where we have just arrived. Perhaps there are 40 souls in all in this village, almost as dark as 20 years ago. Their children of 3 to five years old are running as stark naked as they were born. I reproved the head and he said they abused maros when given them! A sufficient excuse with a heathen, for letting his children run naked! While I am writing, I am seated on their door sill as the best seat I can find. Asked the headman, "Have you no school here?" He replied "No." "You are all living with dark hearts!" "Yes, in that way true!"
>
> Shall now in a few minutes collect them and preach church to them, and press on to the next village… Three o'clock, having preached Christ to the poor sinners at Kapua and distributed some tracts among them and taken the names of about 20 who promise to meet daily to read as a school (they have no teacher) till I shall again visit them.
>
> I came by foot to the next village (Okoe) where I got together about 30 souls and I have just closed my meeting. They are civil but alas do not seem to feel their need of Christ… I have two more villages to visit & preach at tonight… Left for this place (Milolii) where a few collected in the teacher's house… Oct. 13th Left Milolii this morning by daylight and came on here to Hoopuloa the nearest village. <u>The residents are all absent – gone up in the country for food</u>. But found some forty here from a distant village. The have come here to get kukuis to pay their tax, laid by Gov. Adams, to finish the Kailua church. Collected them & preached to them and have just distributed tracts, they were careful to ask tracts for all their absent friends who are gone back into the country for food…
>
> After preaching and breaking our fast on a roast fish & piece of bread <u>we pursued our course to the next village, but the sea was so rough we could not get ashore and were obliged to pass by that and three other villages when we came to Opihali, where with much difficulty I got ashore</u> and preached Christ to them and distributed tracts… [Forbes Ms. 1836:4-8]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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