

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE
MUDLANE-WAIMEA-KAWAIHAE ROAD CORRIDOR,
ISLAND OF HAWAI'I:**

**An Interdisciplinary Study of
an Environmental Transect**

**Jeffrey T. Clark and Patrick V. Kirch
Editors**

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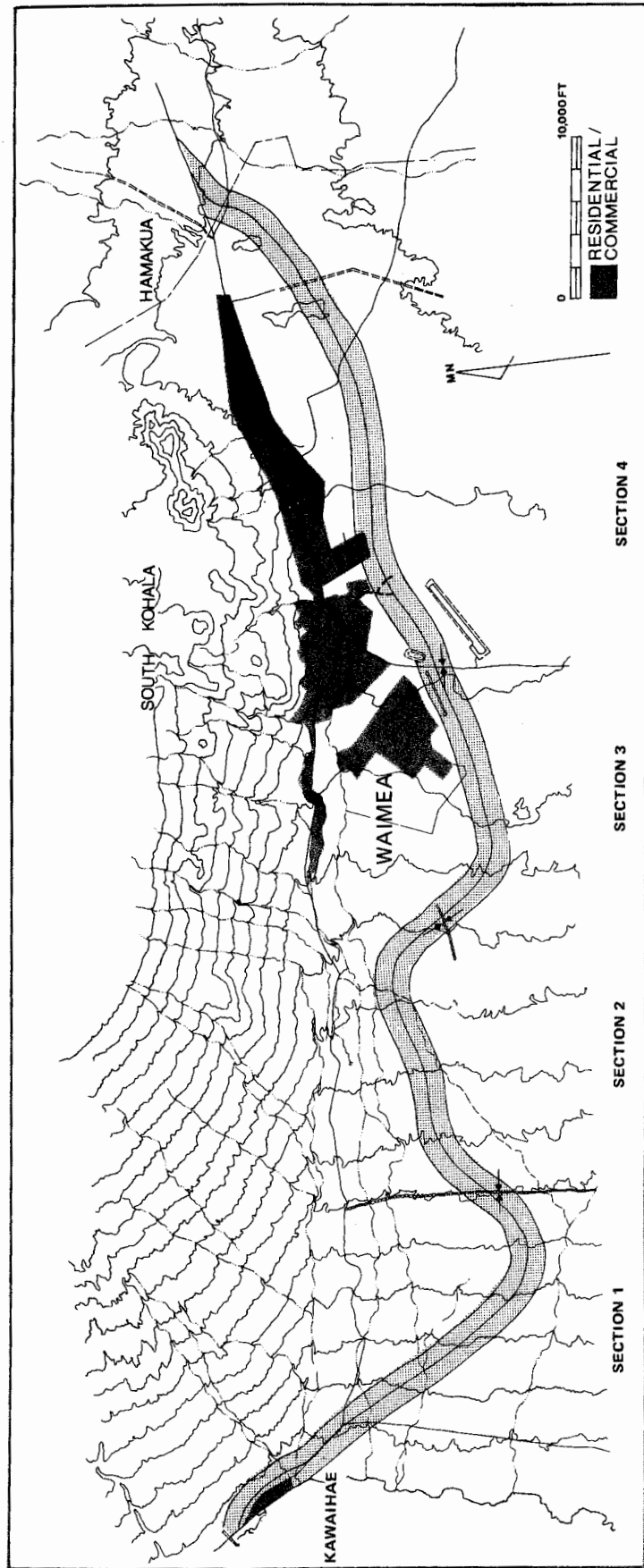


Fig. 1.1b. THE MUDLANE-WAIMEA-KAWAIHAE ROAD CORRIDOR, SHOWING SECTIONS 1 THROUGH 4.

Report 2
NOTES ON THE LANDS OF WAIMEA AND KAWAIHAE
by Dorothy Barrère

WAIMEA: HE KALANA NO

The geographic divisions of the island of Hawai'i originally comprised the six chiefdoms of the island. These chiefdoms were in existence by the 16th century when Liloa, the traditional dynastic founder of the ruling family of the island, was acknowledged as paramount by all the other chieftains of the then-autonomous chiefdoms of Hāmākua, Hilo, Puna, Ka'ū, Kona, and Kohala (Kamakau 1961:1). In the years following Liloa's death the dynasty branched into two powerful lines; one, the "Kona chiefs," generally dominated Kona, Kohala, and Ka'ū, and the other, the "I" chiefs, held Hilo, Hāmākua, and Puna. For nearly 300 years there was almost continuous warring within the family, as one chief or another sought to unify the island chiefdoms into one. When the unification was finally accomplished by Kamehameha I, late in the 18th century, the same geographic divisions of the earlier chiefdoms became the six districts of his kingdom. Their boundaries remained essentially the same as originally set out, not to be changed until after the Great Mahele of 1848.* Within the district boundaries, however, subdivisions of lands had taken place as conquering chiefs, especially Kamehameha, distributed lands among their supporters. His tributary lands remained as taxable land units until 1852, when all land taxes were abolished.

Among the subdivisions of land made by earlier chiefs there was one called the *kalana*, which may or may not have been synonymous with *'okana*. The dictionary definitions of *kalana* and *'okana* (Andrews 1865; Pukui and Elbert 1971) seem to be based on David Malo's earlier (ca. 1840) statements to the effect that *kalana* and *'okana* were alternative terms for a division (*'apana*), within a district (*moku o loko*), or an island (*mokupuni*) (Malo 1951:16). In 1865 Lorrin Andrews refined this definition to call *kalana* "a division of an island less than a *moku*, and synonymous with *'okana* in some places" (1865:251, 95). He defined *moku* as "A district; a division of an island, as Kona on Hawaii" (*Ibid.*:398). An *'okana*, said Andrews, was "a district or division of country containing several ahupuaas" naming Kona, Kohala and Hāmākua as *'okana*. The Pukui and Elbert dictionary follows Andrews (1971:113, 258). In Andrews' definitions *moku* and *'okana* were synonymous for "district" and *kalana* was a non-defined subdivision within a district. These definitions conflict with actual usage in several cases, an important one being that pointed out by Robert D. King, former principal cadastral engineer of the Territorial Survey Department, when he called attention to the use of *kalana* as meaning "district" in the Mahele Book of 1848, which recorded the land divisions between chiefs and king (King 1935:214). In 1893 an anonymous writer for a Hawaiian newspaper said "Maui was all cut up into moku, kalana and ahupuaa, which was not so on Hawaii, for its kalana and ahupuaa were within the moku" (Anon.:1893). With such differing applications of the terms *kalana* and *'okana* it appears probable that the terms meant different things in different localities and at different times.

*Kona and Kohala were each divided into North and South districts in 1859; Hilo was divided into North and South Hilo in 1886 (King 1935:216, 218, 219).

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In 1847 George Hu'eu Davis described his land of Kaikoloa as an *'ili*, i.e., an *'ili kupono*, within the *kalana* of Waimea, Waimea being similar to Lahaina, he said, and the *'ili* of Waikoloa similar to "those lands we hold in Lahaina" (Hu'eu 1847). Also in 1847 John 'I'i listed Waimea as a *kalana* within the 'Apana (section or district) of Kohala ('I'i 1847). In 1865 witnesses in testimonies regarding the boundaries between Waimea and Waikoloa used the terms *kalana* and *'okana* with some inconsistency. Unfortunately no Hawaiian texts exist of their testimonies, the following being the English transcriptions recorded in the Boundary Commission Book for Hawaii (No. 1, pp. 6-12):

Waimea is an ahupuaa of Waimea, which is a kalana, with eight divisions (Ehu).

Waikoloa is an ili of Waimea ahupuaa; Waimea is an Okana (Kanehailua).

Punana, Puupili, Kaleiokumikiau and Puuhuluhulu join Waikoloa... they are all divisions of the okana Lihue (Kuahine).

Clearly by 1865 the terms *kalana* and *'okana* were being used loosely and had perhaps lost their original precise meanings, if indeed they had had any. Waimea soon afterwards lost its designation as a *kalana*, and became known only as an *ahupua'a*. The original certification of boundaries for Waimea, dated January 8, 1867, was written thus: "Boundaries of the Kalana (or Ahupuaa) of Waimea in South Kohala, Hawaii." The words "Kalana (or Ahupuaa)" were crossed out and "Ahupuaa (or Kalana)" written above them. The final certification reads: "Ahupuaa (or Kalana) of Waimea, Hawaii" (Boundary Commission Book for Hawaii, No. 1, p. 16). It follows that the *'okana* within the *kalana* of Waimea henceforth became known as *'ili 'āina* within the *ahupua'a*. The *'ili kupono* within the *kalana* lost their identity as lands paying taxes directly to the king, and were also called *'ili 'āina*.

WAIMEA TRADITIONS

The earliest chiefs of Waimea of whom we have record stemmed from the same Ulu-Hema line that led to Liloa, the founder of the island dynasty. Liloa's grandson Keawe-nui-a-'Umi took as one of his wives Ho'opili-a-Hae, daughter of Liloa's *kahuna* Pae-a-Molenole. From this union came 'Umiokalani, an ancestor of the Luahine, Palena, and Mahi families of Kona and Kohala. Ho'opili-a-Hae is credited in legend with having formed a *heiau* in the Lanikepu Hills of Waimea, dedicated to the training of virgins in the art of healing (Henriques n.d.).

Kanaloa-kua'ana, the oldest son of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, was killed at Puakō after a battle with the invading Maui chief Kamalalawalu. His eyes pierced by an octopus spear, Kanaloa-kua'ana was killed and his eyes tattooed (Fornander 1916:IV,343). His brother Lonoikamakahiki then led the united forces of Hawai'i in battle with the invader. An account of this battle was written by Samuel Kamakau in 1871 (Kamakau 1961:55-61); two other versions were collected by Abraham Fornander (Fornander 1916:IV, 342-60 ; 1919:V, 440-51). The battle took place on the "grassy plains" (*kula pili*) of Waimea in the vicinity of Pu'u-'oa'oaka (Owaowaka) in the Kamakau version and at the adjoining hill of Hoku'ula in the Fornander versions. The major routes of travel for the war parties of the six chiefdoms are recounted as follows: from Kona up the western seacoast along the Kanikū trail to Puakō; from Ka'ū, from 'Ohaikea in Kapāpala

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and up between Hualālai and Mauna Kea; from Puna, Hilo, and Hāmākua, up the eastern seacoast, then along the Mahiki trail, and from Kohala, from Kaholeiwai in upper Kawaihae through Momoualua (Fornander 1919:V, 446-48). The Kona warriors were stationed between Pu'u Pā and Haleapala; those of Ka'ū and Puna from Pu'u Holoholoku to Waikoloa; those of Hilo and Hāmākua from Mahiki to Pu'u Kanikanihia, and those of Kohala from Momoualua to Waiaka (Fornander 1916: IV, 344). In this battle the Hawai'i forces were victorious, the invading chief killed, and the Maui army annihilated (*Ibid.*:IV, 348).

There is no particular notice of Waimea in the accounts of battles and the regroupings of chiefdoms in the years that followed Lonoikamakahiki's victory until five or six generations later. Then, sometime in the 18th century, there seems to have been an important battle between the Kona chiefs and the I chiefs of Hilo at Mahiki in Hāmākua, not far beyond the Waimea boundary (Survey Map, 1911-1913). In this battle the Kona chief Ka-uaua-a-Mahi, a descendant of 'Umiokalani, was killed. Ka-uaua-a-Mahi's son Alapa-i-nui warred against his maternal brother Ke'eaumoku-nui of Kona and Kohala; he took these chiefdoms and eventually nearly all of Hawai'i (Kamakau 1961:63, 65-66, 76). He was a good chief, said Kamakau, and added: "He used to travel about the island and make his home for a time in one place and then in another" (*Ibid.*:75). He was said to have lived in Hilo, in Waipi'o, in Waimea, and finally in Kawaihae where he died at Kikiako'i (later Pelekane), leaving his son as heir to his chiefdoms. The heir was soon contested by Kalani'opu'u of Ka'ū and the supremacy of rule returned to the senior line of the Kona chiefs, of which Kalani'opu'u was the ranking member. He too is noted in Kamakau's accounts as a peripatetic chief (1961:105, 106, 109).

It may well have been that during the times of Alapa'i-nui and of Kalani'opu'u that the cultivating places at Waimea were first expanded to supply the chiefs' needs while they sojourned there and at Kawaihae. The abandoned cultivated patches, so often attributed to the decrease in the Hawaiian populations, were, in fact, as much the result of this practice of chiefs of traveling about their domains, feeding off the land until supplies were exhausted, then moving off to another.

The same necessity to expand the plantings at Waimea took place after Kamehameha wrested the rule from Kiwala'ō, heir of Kalani'opu'u. Kamakau repeatedly wrote of Kamehameha's movements from place to place on Hawai'i, including three sojourns at Puakō, Kawaihae, and Waimea (1961:182-83). During the course of Kamehameha's campaigns to win his kingdom there were two prolonged stays at Waimea and Kawaihae. One was in 1791 and 1792 when the building of the *heiau* at Pu'u Koholā necessitated the support of a large body of workers, and the other was in 1794 and 1795 at the time of preparation and staging of the Peleleu fleet that carried his wars across the sea to Maui and O'ahu. It was probably during this sojourn that the original *mele* "Hole Waimea" was composed by warriors of Kamehameha as they obtained wood from the Mahiki forest and fashioned their *pololū* spears (*Ka Na'i Aupuni*, 3/12/1906). On both these occasions there can be no doubt that food and tapas were brought from Kohala, Waimea, and beyond to feed and clothe the hundreds of people involved.

The local chiefs of Waimea do not figure prominently in the tales told of Waimea. One, however, became known during the reign of Kalani'opu'u for his prowess in cliff-leaping (*lele*

pali), a highly skilled performance that saved many a warrior's life in time of battle. This chief was Hina'i, who Kamakau referred to as a close relative of Kalani'opu'u (1961:111-12). Nuhi, the son of Hina'i, supported Kiwala'ō at Kamehameha's first battle at Moku'ōhai. When Kamehameha conquered Hawai'i and took Waimea as a *panala'au*, a conquered land, the Waimea chiefs were reconciled to him by the marriage of his sister Ka'ohelani to Nuhi.

WAIMEA: 'ĀINA PANALA'AU

The victorious Kamehameha followed the ancient custom of distributing conquered lands, *'āina panala'au*, among his principal supporters. According to one source of tradition he gave Waimea to his warrior brother Kalaimamahū, whose son Kahalai'a inherited it (Anon.:1893). When Kahalai'a died in 1826, Waimea reverted to the king, then Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III. According to the same source, Puakō descended directly to Kauikeaouli upon Kamehameha's death; he apparently gave it to Lunalilo, a grandson of Kalaimamahū.

In a later distribution of lands after the Battle of Nu'uanu and/or his return to Hawai'i in 1812, Kamehameha rewarded his chiefs as well as his *haole* advisors John Young and Isaac Davis with further tracts of land, including parts of Waimea. John Young received as an *'ili kupono* the land of 'Ōuli and the *ahupua'a* of Kawaihae 2. A portion of Kawaihae was detached and given to the land of 'Ōuli so that the latter might have access to the sea (Boundary Commission Book 2:73, Kalualukela). Sometime before 1827 a portion of Kawaihae 1 was detached and given to Kawaihae 2 as recompense for the killing of one of John Young's men by an agent of the king (*Ibid.*:390, Kanehaku, w.).

Isaac Davis received a very large, but on the whole unproductive, tract in Waikoloa, the land previously held by the branch of Waimea chiefs represented by Papa, the father of Kaha'anapilo, wife of Isaac's son George Hu'eu Davis (Boundary Commission Book 1:8, Kuahine). 'Anaeho'omalua and Kalāhuipua'a, both containing valuable fishponds, were at this time detached from Waikoloa (*Ibid.*:6, Mi). They descended to Kamehameha III, who gave them as *'ili kupono* to his queen Kalama. The productive lands of Pu'ukapu, Pukalani, Noho'aina, Kuku'i'ula, and Paulama were withheld and Davis received only the "*pili* land" of Waikoloa (*Ibid.*). The Waimea chief Kupapaulu, brother of Nuhi, was the king's agent in the apportionment (*Ibid.*).

In 1865 George Hu'eu Davis, who had received Waikoloa by name only as a Land Commission Award, requested adjudication of its boundaries. The local Board of Commissioners for Boundaries accepted the testimony of the Crown witnesses and ignored that of Davis' witnesses. Davis appealed the decision and in 1867 won his case. The Third Judiciary Court of Hawai'i overturned the Commissioners' determination and ordered the boundaries settled according to the testimony of Davis' earlier witnesses. The 1865 boundaries had been surveyed and mapped by S. C. Wiltse in 1866; the corrected boundaries were mapped by J. S. Kaelemakule presumably in 1867 (Reg. Map 574). His map became the basis for a later survey and map by C. J. Lyons. The

Land Board records of Waimea called both the Crown land and Davis' land "Waikoloa," as did all the witnesses in the 1865 to 1867 testimonies. Later, the greater portion of the king's Waikoloa became known as the *ahupua'a* of Lālāmilo and the smaller portion as the *'ili 'āina* of Waikoloa-iki. The name Lālāmilo appears only as a land name in boundary testimonies and may be found on the Wiltse map of 1866 as adjacent to the land of Puakō. It is not known when the name Lālāmilo was extended to most of the king's Waikoloa.

Pu'ukapu, a large land section of Waimea, was given by Kamehameha to Kalanimokū his *kala'imoku*, or prime minister (Boundary Commission Book 1:7, Ehu). In the 1865 Boundary Commission testimonies it appears that three of the *'ili 'āina* within Pu'ukapu may have been originally independent of Pu'ukapu, as witness stated that Kamehameha had given Pukalani to his man Keko'imoku, and that Nohoaina and Paulama belonged to the Waimea chief Kupapaulu, the same as mentioned above (*Ibid.*). Perhaps Kalanimokū absorbed these lands into his *'ili kupono* of Pu'ukapu. At any rate, Pu'ukapu descended to Kalanimokū's principal heir, his niece Kekau'onohi, who relinquished it in the Mahele of 1848. Pu'ukapu thus reverted to the Kamehamehas and was retained as a Crown land.

The lands of Waimea lying above Lālāmilo are not of concern to the present report. One, however, reflects the use of upland Waimea as a food producer for chiefs sojourning at Kawaihae. This was the land of Waiauaia, given to Ke'eaumoku Papa'i-ahiahi, father of Ka'ahumanu, perhaps by his brother Kame'eiamoku the paramount of the chiefdom of Kohala. The two were older relatives of Kamehameha and his principal warrior chiefs. Ke'eaumoku is known to have had a residence at Kawaihae (Vancouver 1801:5, 106) and it is more than probable that Waiauaia had been given to him as a source of food supplies on the occasions that he chose to sojourn there. Waiauaia went to Ke'eaumoku-'opio, his son, and from the latter to his younger brother John Adams Kuakini, who was governor of Hawai'i from 1820 to 1844 (Land Board NR 41.8, *helu* 1968).

BEGINNINGS OF CHANGE

Captain George Vancouver's description of Kawaihae and its environs in 1794 included this on Waimea:

...the plains of Whymea...are reputed to be very rich and productive, occupying a space of several miles in extent, and winding at the foot of these three lofty mountains far into the country. In this valley is a great tract of luxuriant, natural pasture, whither all the cattle and sheep imported by me are to be driven, there to roam unrestrained, to increase and multiply...
[Vancouver 1801:5, 107].

By 1794 Vancouver had left seven cows, three bulls, five ewes, and five rams on Hawai'i. According to Kona traditions, the cattle at least were kept at Kainaliu, in a great pen of 486 acres (Bowser 1880:550). Wherever they were kept to "increase and multiply" they did so, with such rapidity that by 1815 John Whitman reported

The cattle have become so numerous on the Island that they are found in large droves and apprehensions were entertained that it would be necessary to destroy part of them on the expiration of

the term which Van Couver set, when he left the first pair on the Island [Whitman 1979:61].

One source says that there were shipments of Hawaiian cattle as early as 1811 to supply settlers of Northwest America (Towne and Wentworth 1955:227-28).

The Wall of Kauliokamoa, a portion of the boundary between the Waikoloa lands of the king and those of Isaac Davis, was built at some time between 1813 and 1819 by the king's *kono-hiki* Kauliokamoa to keep the cattle off the cultivated lands of the king (Boundary Commission Book 1:6, 10; Mi, Kalua).

It has been estimated that by 1820 there were at least 1,600 cattle descended from those left by Vancouver (D. P. Fellows, pers. comm.). These, added to the descendants of those left by other voyagers, readily account for the "immense herds" of cattle in the Waimea area in the 1820s (Ellis 1917:303). By that time foreigners, including John Parker, were being employed "to shoot them, salt the meat in the mountains, and bring it down to the shore for the purpose of provisioning the native vessels" (*Ibid.*:301, 303).

There is little mention of the Hawaiians who dwelt on the lands of Kawaihae and Waimea in the early accounts except for those of Doyle (1945, 1953), who includes some of Father Lyons' comments on their changing life style. It is not until the Land Board records of the late 1840s that we get some details on the former settlement patterns and cultivated places on these lands. By then many changes had already taken place and more were to come as a result of the Mahele. Many of the agricultural sites had already been abandoned due to changed land uses, and in other areas the process of abandonment began as *kuleana* claimants failed to receive their scattered garden plots that had been their customary locations for farming.

From scattered references we piece together a sketchy view of Kawaihae and Waimea in the 1820s and 1830s. We find at the seashore a widely used anchorage at Kawaihae, where Kalanimokū kept a storage area for the sandalwood that was brought down from the mountains of Kohala and Waimea (Ellis 1917:298-99; Duperrey Map, Fig. 3.1). Nearby were salt ponds, where large quantities of salt were manufactured by evaporation of sea water. The salt of Kawaihae was its chief article of trade for the food and tapas brought for barter from Kona and Kohala. With the increasing use of Kawaihae as an anchorage by foreign vessels there was an ever greater demand for this item of trade. Salt was also manufactured at Puakō, a few miles to the south of the Kawaihae settlements, where the people depended on salt and the fish they caught for barter for food grown elsewhere (Doyle 1953:85).

On the rising ground above the seacoast settlements, several main trails led past occasionally cultivated grounds to the uplands of Waimea where there were, in the early 1820s, three major settlements about two miles apart. One was at Keaalii, one at Waikoloa, and one at Pu'ukapu. All three were concentrated where a major stream emptied itself upon the plateau.

The name Keaalii has long been lost to common knowledge (Judd 1932:14); however, its location has been deduced from a number of sources. The settlement was on the *kula* of Waimea, near the opening of Lanikepu gulch whose 100-ft waterfall, the only one of this height in the area, furnished the identifying landmark for relocating Keaalii (Perambulator 1836). A local chief, Kumu-o-ke-kiapi, was living at "Kalaloo" in this vicinity when the Rev. Asa Thurston made

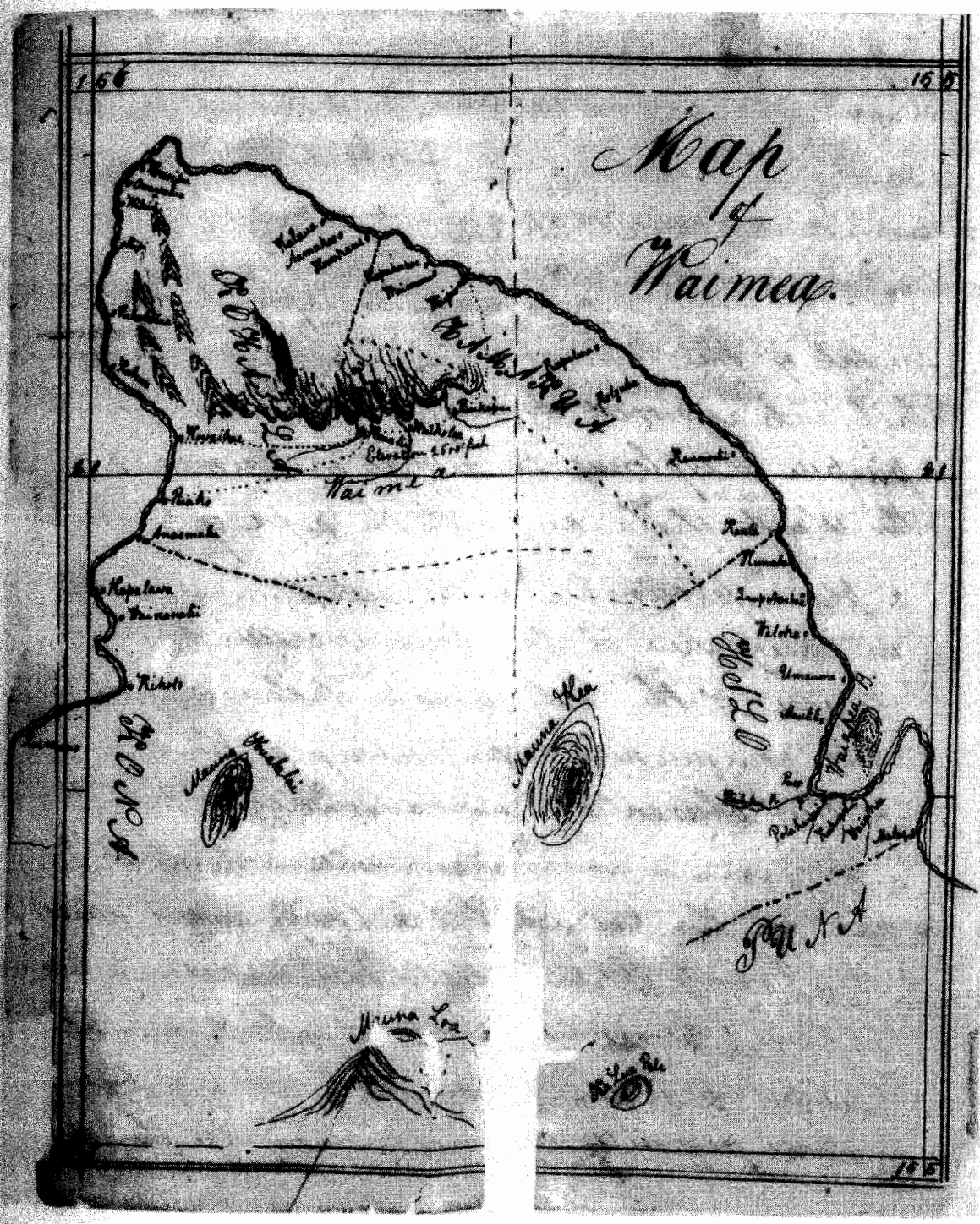


Fig. 2.1. MAP OF WAIMEA FROM THE COMMITTEE REPORT OF 1830. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. The name Kealii appears above the word "Elevation" in the upper left portion of the map.

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a brief visit to Waimea in August of 1823. Thurston apparently reported his name as Kumu-o-kapiki, and it so appears in the published account of the visit (Ellis 1917:301). The chief's wife was Papa'i, recorded as the '*ai-moku* (loosely, "governor") of Waimea in the days of Kamehameha (Anon.:1893). After Kumuokekipi's death, Papa'i married J. A. Palea, whose Land Commission Award 3828 included the land on which Kumuokekipi and Papa'i had lived (Land Board NR 8:381, NT 4:31, Aw. Bk. 5:46). Palea's land was called "Koaliula," a name corrupted to "Kawailiula" on modern USGS maps.

In December of 1829 a committee of missionaries went to Waimea to determine its suitability as a site for a possible health station. In their report of their three-week stay (Committee Report 1830), the Committee stressed meteorological and climatic conditions at Waimea, and included a map showing the settlements of Keaalii, Waikoloa and Pu'ukapu, two of the main trails from Kawaihae and Puakō, and the main trail to Waipi'o, the original "Mud Lane" (see Fig. 2.1). One of the members of this committee, Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, returned to Waimea with his family in February of 1830, accompanied by the Rev. and Mrs. Ruggles and the Ka'awaloa chiefess Kapi'olani (*Fragments* 1903:26). The party of 70 was joined at Kawaihae by 43 others. On February 26 the entire group of 113 ascended the slopes and arrived at Keaalii, where the missionaries put up at "the best house in the district," an indication that it was or had been a chiefly domicile. We are assuming that it had been the residence of Kumuokekipi, who is presumed to have been deceased at this date.

The missionary group soon "removed to a school house half a mile distant" (*Ibid.*:30). The house was probably on the school lot at Waiaka 1, later recorded as being adjacent to the *pahale* of Kuahini (LCA 4127, Land Board Aw. Bk. 5:43). The school there may have been the first in Waimea, started by Maua'e, a young man from Puna who had been in charge of the canoe that Kuakini had furnished for the Ellis party of 1823 (Ellis 1917:204). Maua'e was among the native teachers trained at the Kailua mission station and in 1825 was assigned to Waimea (Bishop 1825, 1828), where he remained until his death by drowning in 1840 (*The Polynesian*, 6/6/1840).

Dr. Judd's account of his six-month stay in Waimea never mentions the schoolteacher Maua'e nor the ten schools already in operation in Waimea and Pu'ukapu (Bishop 1828). He does, however, note some interesting data of this period: the arrival of Gov. Adams (Kuakini) on March 19th "with all his train," (which we may be sure amounted to several hundred people) to "catch wild cattle"--another great demand on the food producers of Waimea; a carriage road linking Kawaihae and Waimea, being built by order of the governor, with a labor party of 40 persons convicted of breaking the *moe kolohe* laws; the increase in attendance at worship services from 200 to 1,000 when Kuakini arrived, and a further increase to 4,000 when the governor had a meeting house built at Keaalii; the building of the mission premises along the Waikoloa stream, and the first meeting house of what would become 'Imiola church (*Fragments* 1903:31-38).

School-learning and Christianity moved into Waimea soon after the cattle industry began in the region. Inevitably these Western influences undermined the lifestyle and economy of the Hawaiians living in the area. Another blow to their lifestyle occurred in mid-century when the Mahele of 1848, on the one hand, gave fee simple ownership of land to the Hawaiians and on the other hand, caused abandonment of a number of their heretofore cultivated places.

FROM THE LAND BOARD RECORDS

In the processing of awards to the chiefs and people subsequent to the Great Mahele of 1848 the ancient distinctions in designations of lands were blurred and lost in the voluminous records of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles--commonly called the Land Board. The breakdown in land terminology caused much confusion in later years and led to many a court case. In one landmark case, Supreme Court Justice Albert F. Judd made this clarifying statement in regard to *'ili kūpono*:

The ilis in question in this suit are not distinctly named "ili kūponos," this name not being preserved in the Mahele; but all the Ilis that were recognized and treated in the Mahele and awarded by the Commission [the Land Board] were undoubtedly "ili kūponos." This name was dropped, for, when separated from the Ahupuaa by Mahele and subsequent award, its necessity was gone. All other Ilis went with the Ahupuaa in which they were situated, and were not further distinguished [Harris vs. Carter 1877:203].

The Waimea/Kawaihae land records themselves do not support a kinship-related exchange pattern between upland and seacoast dwellers, nor do they indicate a seasonal occupation of sites *mauka* and *makai*. There were distinct settlement groups along the seacoast in Kawaihae 1 and 2 and in Puakō; on the *kula* or scrub lands of Kawaihae and Waimea; in the *kula* foothills; and in a band along the Waikoloa-Pu'ukapu juncture where the scrub land gave way to taller tree-growth and fuller underbrush.

The term *pahale*, as well as in its more general application as a houselot of about a quarter acre containing one or more houses, in these records often meant a cultivated area on which also stood one or more houses. Some *pahale* in Kawaihae included the salt pans adjacent to them. Interestingly, many upland claimants said in 1846 that their *pahale* were unenclosed, adding they were "thinking of doing so," and two years later when their witnesses gave testimony for them the *pahale* were described as enclosed. This change in pattern may indicate a growing concern over the encroachment of cattle in the area.

Of the 112 claims (including 11 non-awards) that were processed and tabulated for study and computerized statistical analysis, it was found that only one Land Commission awardee held a *pahale* at the seacoast and another one in the interior. This was Wahakane (LCA 3736), who received two *pahale*, one of 1.09 acres at Puakō (TMK 6-9) and another of 0.23 acres upland at Pu'ukū. There were two houses on the Puakō piece adjacent to the sea, where there was a landing place for small boats. One of these houses was occupied by Kauī, the "caretaker" for Wahakane (*ne noho hale malalo o Wahakane*) (Land Board, NT 4:19). On the southwest boundary was a school lot and in the southeast corner of the lot was a goat pen (*Ibid.*:Aw. Bk. 4:625). Upland in Pu'ukū (Map 2785) Wahakane had one house, partially enclosed and adjacent to the lot of his *panalua* Waiahole (LCA 3738; Land Board NT 4:19; TMK 6-5-04). In addition, Wahakane received 2.65 acres of *lo'i* land in Waipi'o; one parcel consisted of 13 *lo'i* and the other of one (*Ibid.*:Aw. Bk. 4:255). Little is known of Wahakane but clearly he was a man of enterprise. He received the houselot at Pu'ukū in 1824 (1825?) from Maua'e, the first schoolteacher in Waimea. Presumably recommended by the teacher, Wahakane entered Lahainaluna School in 1831 and remained there for four years (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 5/19/1858). He returned to Hawai'i and in 1834

received his lone *lo'i* in Waipi'o. Perhaps he was there as a teacher and the *lo'i* was his subsistence plot. In 1843 Wahakane took up an unoccupied piece of land (*wahi waiho wale*) at the seashore at Puakō and seems to have developed it as a shipping point for goat hides and for his *pa'i 'ai* (prepared taro) from Waipi'o. His development of the Puakō land was apparently unopposed by the small enclave of long-time holders of land in the vicinity and his tenure was sanctioned by the *konohiki* Beckley at the time of his claim in 1848.

William Beckley, *hapa-haole* son of Captain George Beckley who had been in the service of Kamehameha I, was for a number of years in charge of the king's cattle on Hawai'i. After the death of Governor Adams Kuakini on December 9, 1844, Beckley was appointed *konohiki* of Waimea, as well as manager of all the cattle there belonging to the king and the government. Beckley assumed, wrongly, that he had received all of Waimea to manage as he saw fit, believing, as he said, that there were no *'ili kupono* within it (Leleiohoku 1845). William Pitt Leleiohoku, Kuakini's heir and successor to the governorship of Hawai'i, protested to Keoni Ana, minister of the interior (*Ibid.*). There is no record of Keoni Ana's reply, but matters seem to have been adjusted satisfactorily, for the Land Board records show Beckley as the *konohiki* with power to sanction all land transactions, native and foreign, on Crown and Government lands, while the lands of the Young family and those of Hu'e'u Davis continued to be managed by themselves or their own *konohiki*. Leleiohoku's 10-acre *'ili kupono* "Kamakahonu," (LCA 9971:58) and Lunalilo's Puakō (LCA 8559-B:6) were also unaffected by Beckley's authority.

As *konohiki* Beckley proved to be a lenient one. There is no case in which he disputed a claim, and in fact he was the principal witness for the majority of cases on the lands of which he had jurisdiction. As witness, he clarified the extent, location, and tenure of the simply worded claims, and ensured more than one award where none would have been made due to vagueness of claimant.

A unique situation developed on the Crown land at Pu'ukapu, where among the claimants were 18 who testified to their plantings of taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugarcane, melons, or *mamaki* as being "scattered" in the *ulula'au* or forest of Pu'ukapu. These holdings had been sanctioned by former *konohiki* and were unchallenged by Beckley. However--and it had to be with Beckley's sanction--the surveyor S. P. Kalama removed all 18 claimants from their original holdings and assigned each of them three acres of cultivable land at another location in Pu'ukapu. Fourteen of them also received an adjoining quarter-acre *pahale*, the other four retaining about two acres apiece in their former locations (TMK 6-4-01, 02). The resultant distribution of the assigned awards appears like a modern-day subdivision on tax maps (TMK 6-4, 6-4-05).

The action of the surveyor Kalama in relocating these particular Pu'ukapu claimants seems now to have been high-handed. Yet, as pointed out by C. J. Lyons, often-quoted authority on land matters in Hawai'i in the 1870s,

...It was impossible for the Commissioners to go upon the ground, so that responsibility in a large measure depended upon the surveyor. In dry or kula land, where the soil has to remain fallow for years between crops, it was difficult to decide what a kuleana should contain, and as we shall see there was much variety of practice (Lyons 1875:1(5):135).

We assume that the Hawaiian surveyor Kalama was familiar with his people's agricultural practices and that he endeavored to compensate for non-awardable fallow lands when he made the arbitrary awards of three-acre parcels.

William Beckley's own lands in Waimea were "Wa'awa'a" (LCA 976:2), a 25-acre piece of cultivable land, 'aina mahi 'ai, in the kula of Waikoloa (Lālānilo) and "Waikani" (LCA 976:1) a 4-acre pahale that he had purchased and on which he had several buildings and an adjoining cattle pen (Land Board Aw. Bk. 5:41). Nearby was "Waiemi," a 30-acre piece of land awarded to his wife Kuamo'o Ho'olulu, a granddaughter of the Kohala paramount Kame'eiamoku of Kamehameha's time. Between Beckley's 'aina mahi 'ai and his pahale was a 250-acre tract called Lihu'e, which had been leased to Chinese early in the 1830s. Here they had started a sugar plantation and erected a mill. More on Lihu'e and its changing land use appears in a later section of this report.

Beckley's removal as konohiki and cattle manager in 1850 (Keoni Ana 1850) marked a new era in Waimea. Henceforth there was almost total emphasis on ranching and the growing Parker Ranch dictated land use in the region. Hawaiian agriculture declined accordingly and today its vestiges remain as a subject of study of archaeological and ethnographic interest.

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