

HISTORICAL/CULTURAL ESSAY REPORT ON THE KUAPA POND AREA

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I. INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers contracted the partnership of Joerger-Takemoto in April, 1975 to prepare a historical/cultural essay report on the Kuapa Pond area, Oahu for the purpose of documenting the historical activities and cultural resources in the Kuapa Pond area prior to Hawaiian Statehood (1959). The report was to be added to other investigatory findings of the social and natural environment of the Kuapa Pond area to support an assessment of environmental matters concerned with regulatory actions for navigable waters of the United States.

The work tasks outlined by the U.S. Corps of Engineers were fourfold. First, it was a reconnaissance survey of the literature, documents and other historic knowledge of the subject area, i.e., Kuliouou beach and Kaalakei Valley up to Kalama Valley. Second, the Hawaiian place names were translated, early maps and photographs of the area were inventoried, and agriculture, plants, habitation areas, pond structures, and other features mentioned by nineteenth century travelers to the area were identified. Moreover, analysis and interpretation of the writings of nineteenth century travelers were undertaken. Lastly, the written report made recommendations which specified which sources of information could not be probed in depth during the reconnaissance study and what uses might be made of those sources.

The partnership of Joerger-Takemoto conducted a series of interviews with former residents and visitors to Maunalua and their transcripts are included in the report. Also, a comprehensive title search of ownership was prepared on the Kuapa Fish Pond.

A draft of the final report was delivered approximately three weeks after the contract was granted for review prior to its reproduction. Any changes recommended by the contracting officer and not acceptable to the preparing agency shall be footnoted in the report so as to show disagreement.

II. STAFFING

The partnership of Joerger-Takemoto was fortunate in employing experienced personnel who contributed in writing this report.

The professional staff consisted of Anne H. Takemoto, historian-coordinator of the over-all project who wrote the introduction, myths and legends, ownership and uses and the early navigators; Pauline King Joerger, historian, who concentrated on the concepts of fish pond ownership and the flora and fauna; and Marie-Ellen Fong Mitchell, historian, who researched the archaeological and historic sites and events, interviewed the informants and uncovered photographs of the area.

Cassandra E. Bareng, the clerk-transcriber, wrote the section on tidal waves and did all the supportive research. Herbert Ewaliko, hired as a consultant on land ownership, not only wrote the title search of Kuapa Pond, but also lent his vast store of knowledge on land tenure for the report. The Hawaiian translation of place names not found in the dictionaries was done by Frances Frazier, an experienced Hawaiian linguist used by the State of Hawaii and private companies.

Besides the staff, the partnership received much help from many different agencies and people who should be cited. Included in this are Agnes C. Conrad and the patient staff members of the State Archives, the numerous personnel of the

Bishop Museum, the librarians of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Charles Okino and the State Surveyor's Office, George Kerr, and Ralph Nakanishi. Special thanks is expressed to Rudolph K. Espinda and the staff at Land Court and Charles F. Neumann III, Registrar of Conveyances. Dr. Gaylord Miller, Director of the Joint Tsunami Research Effort supplied the technical details of tsunamis, especially the determination of tsunami inundation area. Tomotsu Shimizu of the Fish and Game Division, State of Hawaii explained the fish pond statistics and supplied the partnership with data on commercial fish ponds. Dorothy Barrere, historian and translator, supplied the partnership with data on Hawaiian genealogy and ancient ownership of Maunalua. Richard Lyman, chairman of Bishop Estates and G. Podmore of the Estates graciously allowed us to use the privately printed material on Maunalua and supplied us with maps from their files. Mr. Harold Frazier, engineering consultant, extended his help in finding maps of the pond. The interviewed individuals: Mr. John Rosa, a fisherman who helped John Lukela who held konohiki rights for Maunalua Bay; Mun On Chun, president of Finance Realty Company who fished in the pond in the 1920's; and Jack Toyama, farmer and resident of the area since 1946 are thanked for allowing us to record and share their reminiscences.

III. METHODOLOGY

A. Approach Used

The report on Kuapa Pond area includes the ili of Maunalua and Kuliouou, but will concentrate on Maunalua around the fish pond. The study will include the pre-historic times as recounted in myths, legends, and fold-lore; the historic period as recorded by explorers, missionaries, visitors, and government documents. An explanation of place names and discussions of changes made through time will be given. A study of archaeological and historic sites surveyed since 1970 in Maunalua and Kuliouou by the Department of Land and Natural Resources will be studied as well as the archaeological sites in existence in the 1930's.

Pre-historic stories center around the Pele myths, legends of the second migration of the Polynesian race in the eleventh and twelfth century, and the legendary unification of Oahu in the sixteenth century. Fish pond development, function, structures, myths, and Hawaiian concepts of fishing rights will be analyzed as well as inter-island warfare, land ownership, and events prior to the coming of Europeans.

The second part of the narrative deals with the earliest accounts by Europeans, more particularly Captain Portlock, and relates the conquest and division of land by Kamehameha the Great. The Hawaiian and Western accounts were written by missionaries and travelers and describe the area as well as commenting on the sandalwood and whaling industries. Land ownership including various leases, biographical sketches of various personages and the common people complete a description of the nineteenth century land tenure system.

Part three includes the history to 1959; that is, fishing statistics, legal battles on fish ponds and fisheries, and tidal waves.

Recommendations and conclusions will be followed by the bibliography, translation of place names, maps, photographs, a title search of the fish pond, and transcripts of interviews.

III. METHODOLOGY

B. Area Defined

Although not all of Maunalua and Kuliouou was requested in the report, it was necessary to discuss the entire ili (division of land) for a comprehensive description of the events. Maunalua was an ili of the ahupua'a (larger land district) of Waimanalo and part of a district called Koolau or Koolaupoko, named for the Koolau mountain range on eastern Oahu. In 1859, Maunalua became part of the Kona district and was officially separated from Waimanalo (Summers and Sterling, 1962:1). Kuliouou, the easternmost ili of Waikiki, was always part of the Kona district. Of the two areas under study, Kuliouou has fewer pre-historic sites and historic accounts; for this reason, the narrative shall be mainly concerned with the ili of Maunalua, although comparisons will be made with Kuliouou.

The place names used require clarification. The Hawaiian name for the harbor and bay at Maunalua is Koko, a name used by most writers including all the nineteenth century Hawaiian historians. Earlier, the area was called Kohelepelepe, meaning the traveling vagina, and was connected to the Pele myths (Summers and Sterling, 1962:43). The name was changed to Koko (Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, 1974:115) by the people already influenced by the missionaries and the name Kohelepelepe was limited to one of the crater edges on the Koko Head. Koko was "the name of a small canoe landing at the Wai'alae side of Kohelepelepe" (Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, 1974:115), i.e., today's Maunalua Bay. Kuapa Pond is another modern name. All maps, after the 1851 Webster map, label the pond as Kuapa, which means literally fish pond wall (Pukui, Elbert and Mookini, 1974:119). The word Kuapa is usually applied to a particular type of fish pond, and was used inaccurately by Webster who confused the type with the name of the pond. The old Hawaiian name of the pond was Keahupua-o-Maunalua, meaning the mass of young fishes of Maunalua, and was shortened to Maunalua pond, as it is still called by Hawaiians and the market people (Summers and Sterling, 1962:57). For the sake of clarity, the modern names of Koko and Maunalua will be used whenever possible. Kuapa Pond will be the main name given although Maunalua will be used if a source refers to the pond as Maunalua.

IV. ARCHAEOLOGY OF MAUNALUA AND KULIOUOU

A. Sites Found in the 1970's

When compared to other localities, the Kuapa Pond, Maunalua region does not have an abundance of archaeological sites. McAllister's survey of the area (1933) listed approximately a dozen sites of Hawaiian origin. Of those discovered in the early 1930's only one was included in the recent survey conducted by the State's Department of Land and Natural Resources for the Hawaii Register of Historic Places. It is assumed that the remaining sites listed in McAllister's survey were destroyed prior to 1970 when the State conducted their survey. A map showing points of interest in the area located approximately three times as many archaeological sites in nearby Kalama Valley than in the three valley sections surrounding the pond. Of the sites found by McAllister only a few had historical significance. They include the Koko Head Petroglyphs (the only site included in both surveys), interesting for their rarity of subject matter depicted and also for their placement on the slanting floor of the cave; Kuapa Pond, significant for its size; and Hawea heiau. Of the

limited number of sites found by McAllister three were fishing shrines. Two were dedicated to the mullet and the other to scad (akule). Both fishes were known to be the major catch in the area. Mokumaia mentions in his article on Maunalua written in 1921 that there was a ko'a or fishing shrine made out of white stones that served to attract fish as well as to encourage them to multiply. (Mokumaia, 1921:2)

Since 1931 several new archaeological sites have been discovered including one housesite, four shelters of various kinds, and four burial caves. One site cannot be identified since the Department of Land and Natural Resources mislaid the folder describing the site.

In 1950 a rock shelter was discovered above Kuliouou Valley on the east ridge. It has been named Makaniolu shelter and is a good example of rock shelters, spacious and with a storage cave used for fires in the back. The entrance to the cave is approximately 5 feet by 11 feet and extends approximately 60 feet through the rock. The widest point of the cave is approximately 18 feet. The artifact content of the cave included shell stoppers, human bone as well as that of pig, dog, rat and fish, cooking stones, pieces of coconut fiber twine and braid, tools including adzes and lava and coral files, shell beads, firesticks, teeth from sharks and pigs, tattoo needles as well as a wealth of other materials.

Two infant burials also provide interesting material although neither is considered valuable. They are located near each other above Kawaihae Street in Hawaii Kai. Both contain the remains of children and neither date before 1800. A coffin made out of wood with both adze and metal saw marks was found among tapa and woven cloth. Matting, probably hala, was also found along with the remaining bones of what appeared to be small babies due to the size and quality of the bones found. The other crevice burial contained tapa cloth as well as a small pillow made out of woven ticking. At least four occiputs were present although other osseous material was limited. In 1971 a new archaeological site was discovered above the Hawaii Kai residential area. The burial shelter contained a wrapped cadaver and some artifacts including fragments of a canoe, sea shells, and braided sennit. This burial cave dates from the early nineteenth century.

The quantity and quality of the archaeological sites discovered in the area does not significantly help unfold the history of the Kuapa Pond region. It can be assumed that the area was not extremely populous and that its importance compared to other ahupua'a was marginal.

IV. ARCHAEOLOGY OF MAUNALUA AND KULIOUOU

B. Heiau and Other Pre-historic Sites

Comparatively little is known about heiau in the Koolau and Ewa districts (Thrum, 1907:60) despite the numbers found in Maunalua. In 1933, for example, McAllister's excavations uncovered three heiau in Maunalua and guessed at the site of a fourth. Judd found another overlooked by McAllister near Koko Head.

Two of the heiau sites McAllister found were unnamed, one in Kaloko utilized by the residents as a walled yard (1933:63) and another in Kalama Valley (1933:65). The heiau in Kalama may have been used as a look out point for sighting anoes from shore. The other heiau site McAllister found was the Pahua heiau,

located between Kamilonui and Kamiloiki valleys, probably used as a temple for husbandry (1933:65-66). Hawea heiau, mentioned by Thrum as being 75 feet square, was disassembled and the stones from the west walls were used for "reconstructing the walls of Maunalua fish pond" (McAllister, 1933:66). The small size and proximity of the heiau, may suggest that it was built after the second migration, and was abandoned before Europeans arrived. It is speculated that the heiau served as a house for the sacred drum of Hawea, and diminished in importance as centuries passed. Judd's heiau on Koko Head near the lot formerly leased to the Radio Corporation (Summers and Sterling, 1962:24) is probably the heiau Portlock watched being built and destroyed. All five heiau remains, however, have been completely destroyed by post-statehood urbanization.

In Kuliouou, two heiau sites have also been destroyed. Kauiliula heiau near Maunalua had a few remains left when Thrum and later McAllister visited the area. Ahukini heiau was destroyed by 1907 according to Thrum and its stones were used for fences (Thrum, 1907:36).

The famous Koko Head Petroglyphs still stand. These petroglyphs have been damaged by storms, many of the basalt-cut figures have been ruined but have been traced and are found in the Bishop Museum today (McAllister, 1933:68). The burial caves McAllister found were looted, scattered and disassembled (1933:66) and were never located by the Department of Land and Natural Resources.

In Kuliouou, near Kawekiu Street, Emory found a bluff shelter probably used by one of the first inhabitants of Oahu. Inside were bones of seabirds consumed by the occupants, adzes similar to those found in the Marquesas or Tahiti, and charcoal dated to 946 A.D. plus or minus 180 years. The shelter was one of the earliest places of habitation on Oahu.

IV. ARCHAEOLOGY OF MAUNALUA AND KULIOUOU

C. Conclusion

All the sites uncovered before 1959 except one, the petroglyphs in Koko Head, have been destroyed. Historic rather than pre-historic sites which have since been located by the Department of Land and Natural Resources are not publicized to prevent looting and vandalism. Traces of the important sites which may have linked Kuliouou with the first inhabitants of Oahu and Maunalua with the second migration by the Polynesians have disappeared. Thus, the Maunalua and Kuliouou ili have few traces left recalling their early Hawaiian period.

V. PRE-HISTORY

A. Myths

The major myths of Maunalua focus on Pele, the goddess of volcanoes, and her sister, Hi'iaka. Pele wandered through the Islands before settling on the Big Island of Hawaii, and there are many stories of her exploits and adventures in Maunalua.

Three stories of Pele in Maunalua have to do with landmarks in the area.

Near Kaloko, for example, Pele's arrival was marked by a stone symbolizing "Pele's canoe after the Pele migration" (Summers and Sterling, 1962:17), which was destroyed in the 1947 tidal wave. Another story concerns Pele's seduction by the infamous pig-god, Kamapua'a. When Kamapua'a tried to rape the goddess of volcanoes, another goddess sent her vagina to lure him away. Kamapua'a followed the vagina "as far as Koko Head on Oahu, where it rested upon the hill, leaving an impression to this day on the Makapu'u side" (Summers and Sterling, 1962:43). The last story concerns the Namaka-o-Kaha'i stone in Hanauma Bay which has since disappeared. This stone was left by the powerful goddess of the same name who fought with Pele and lost. The stone was covered with dregs of awa, a narcotic drink made by chewing roots and used in religious ceremonies, which gave the dark stone a fluorescent glow in the night (Summers and Sterling, 1962:46).

Hi'iaka, the faithful sister of Pele, came through Maunaloa while on a special mission to find and bring back Lohiau, Pele's lover. On her journey, Pele created spirits, for example, Ihiihilauakea and Kaunonoula on Koko Head who were consoled and complimented by Hi'iaka (Summers and Sterling, 1962:47). At Makapu'u, Hi'iaka and her disciples were greeted by a supernatural being who had sent a storm forcing the group to land there (Summers and Sterling, 1962:4). While resting at Makapu'u, Hi'iaka turned a pretty young woman to stone for wasting her food, and later had the young woman's brother turned to stone for not rescuing his sister in time (Summers and Sterling, 1962:16). The couple became the balancing stones which have since disappeared. As Hi'iaka continued on her mission, she and her followers came upon women at Kuliouou "catching small fish and crabs in the pools and shallow water along the shore" (Summers and Sterling, 1962:71). When the women refused to give Hi'iaka some fish--thus going against all strictures of Hawaiian hospitality--Hi'iaka killed them after reciting an incantation (Summers and Sterling, 1962:71).

These Pele and Hi'iaka myths are the basis for many of the landmarks and place names in Maunaloa but are not connected to any known event in the pre-contact period.

V. PRE-HISTORY

B. Legends

While the myths are not connected to any known events in the pre-contact period, legends, on the other hand, suggest that the second migration of the Polynesians may have first landed on Oahu at Maunaloa.

The earliest legend of the second migration concerns the sisters of Moikeha, an ali'i (chief) who left Oahu for Tahiti and returned accompanied by his sisters, Makapu'u and Makaaoa, who decided to settle in Maunaloa (Summers and Sterling, 1962:5). Moikeha was a prominent figure and his sisters' choice of Maunaloa as home suggest that the second migration had settled first in Maunaloa and later spread throughout Oahu.

Another story states that Makapu'u was named for a kupua (supernatural being) who came from Tahiti to Oahu with Pa'ao, the famous kahuna (priest) (Summers and Sterling, 1962:5) who is credited with introducing the quadrangular heiau, the insignias of royalty, and changing many of the religious customs of ancient Hawaii. His descendants ruled as the kahuna nui (high priests) of Hawaii.

One of the major legends in ancient Hawaii concerned La'a-mai-kahiki, the adopted son of Moikeha, who journeyed to the far-distant land of Kahiki, leaving his three wives and sons in Hawaii. As La'a-mai-kahiki sailed away in his canoe, accompanied by his kahuna and astronomer,

"a certain man named Haika-malama hears the strange sound from the Oahu coast at Hanauma bay and follows the canoe along the shore, beating out the notes on his breast to get the rhythm, and repeating the drummer's chant. When the canoe beaches at Ka-waha-o-ka-mano in Waihaukalua, he pretends, in order to get a good look at it, that the drum is well known on Oahu, and then makes an exact copy of his own" (Beckwith, 1970:359).

The sacred drum, Hawea, was probably located at the heiau of the same name since Haika-malama was from the Maunalua area and the heiau bears the same name. Thus, this important drum was connected in the eleventh and twelfth century with the La'a-mai-kahiki myth and in the sixteenth century legend with Kualii's birth.

After the second Polynesian migration to the Islands ceased at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, there developed on each major island a movement to unify and centralize rule under one head. On Oahu, the concept of central rule was pushed by the ali'i nui (high chief) of the Kona district, descendants from the senior branch of Maweke, an Oahu chief whose family came to the Islands during the second Polynesian migrations (Fornander II, 1969:47). The Koolau rulers, who owned land in Maunalua were also descended from Maweke, and as the years went by they inter-married with the Kona chiefs. At first, however, the Koolau rulers ruled the district independently under Maweke's son, Kalehenui (Fornander II, 1969:48) and his descendants, but by the sixteenth century, their lands were totally absorbed by the Kona chiefs through many generations of inter-marriages. Kaihikapu-a-Manuia, a Kona chief, was supposedly educated in the Koolau district before he became the mo'i (king) of Oahu (Fornander II, 1969:270). His son, Kakuhihewa, who "legends speaks in glowing terms of the prosperity, the splendour, and the glory" (Fornander II, 1969:271) resided chiefly in the Koolaupoko district (Fornander II, 1969:279), which remained the chief residence for the mo'i of Oahu.

Although the high chiefs did claim nominal rule of all of Oahu earlier, their powers were limited to the Koolaupoko region by the sixteenth century. The chiefs of Ewa, Waialua, and Waianae held almost total control of their areas until Kualii asserted his sovereignty throughout the island by a series of battles and unified all of Oahu under his rule (Fornander II, 1969:278-81). Kualii may have been a mythical figure (Beckwith, 1970:395) whose exploits incorporate political and religious aims undertaken by a series of Oahu rulers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century to unify the island under a uniform political and religious head (Beckwith, 1970:396-97). According to Beckwith, Kualii represented and supported the Ku-gods on Oahu as opposed to the Lono gods of the Ewa, Waialua, and Waianae chiefs; his victory over the other ali'i of the island made the Ku worship supreme and the Hawea heiau may have been dedicated to the Ku-gods.

Kualii's birth was a great ceremony which occurred at the heiau of Alala in Ewa, the birthplace of the ali'i, and "for that occasion, were brought the sacred drums of Opuku and Hawea" (Fornander II, 1969:278). This drum, connected with the La'a-mai-kahiki myths, probably comes from the heiau in Maunalua. The symbolism of Kualii's birth recalls the close sacredotal tie of the mo'i with their supposed ancestor, the sacred La'a-mai-kahiki as well as impressing upon the

Hawaiians the legitimacy of Kualii's rule over Oahu.

Other than the drum of Hawea, there are no indications that Maunaloa was valued by Kualii. Kualii had a favorite residence in the Koolaupoko district, but this was in Kailua, not Waimanalo (Fornander II, 1969:283). Oahu rulers who reigned after Kualii apparently continued to hold onto the Koolaupoko district rather than distributing the area among their followers, however there are no extant documents indicating that Maunaloa held any particular importance for them.

V. PRE-HISTORY

C. Hawaiian Fish Ponds

Kuapa Pond was a type of shore fish pond in which a wall, kuapā, was built to enclose a loko (pond) in which fish were stocked. The loko kuapā was one of two types of ancient fish pond, the second type being the loko 'umeiki. The difference between these two shore ponds was that the loko kuapā was entirely enclosed usually by a wall while the loko 'umeiki was surrounded by a low wall, in which openings were constructed leading in or out of the pond. Kuapa Pond was a natural formation composing about five hundred and twenty-one acres which extended about two miles mauka (inland) from Maunaloa Bay, separated from the ocean by a bar which was inundated by the sea during stormy weather.

Kuapā ponds in the pre-contact period of Hawaiian history were constructed by connecting two points of land or by extending a wall from shore point to shore point out into the water creating a semicircular wall enclosing the pond. Gates or grills were built into the wall to allow the sea water and the young fish to move in and out of the pond. This gate was called a mākāhā, a "sluice gate, as of a fish pond; entrance to or egress from an enclosure".

The mākāhā was a stationary construction of sticks lashed to cross beams and imbedded by side posts into the bottom of the fish pond. The sticks were placed close together so that the smallest fish could enter the pond while those one half inch in size or larger could not move in or, more importantly, out of the pond. In modern times, the mākāhā has been constructed in a form where the gates were movable vertically or outwards.

Hawaiian chiefs had fish ponds built in the lands under their control or in the water immediately seaward of the land under their control. The pond was stocked with fish by two means, either the fry entered through the mākāhā or the fish were caught in the sea and transported to the pond.

The fish were fattened and stored in the pond for the use of the chief in control of the land. Chiefs desired fish ponds because they provided fish, especially 'ama'ama (mullet) and awa (milkfish) all year around. Pond fish were not subject to the usual kapu placed on sea fish. Thus, when 'ama'ama in the sea were under kapu during the season from November through March, they were still available in the ponds for the owners.

A fish pond was carefully guarded for a chief. A konohiki (land agent) had the responsibility to manage and develop the natural and human resources of the district. He was responsible for calling out the people to build fish ponds if the

major chief commanded him to do so. He protected the pond from predators and kept the pond clean. He had the right to use the fish in the pond for himself and he was also to be prepared to provide sustenance from the pond for important travelers. Under him a keeper of the pond or kia'i loko kept watch over the pond, lived close to it and carried out the orders of the konohiki.

Fish were fattened either by feeding on the natural food supply of the pond or on food placed in the pond by the kia'i loko. These constructions were considered to be valuable additions to a chief's land.

The date of origin of fish ponds in the Islands is unknown. Kikuchi believes that they are pre-thirteenth century since the concepts of ponds were brought from the Society Islands (1973:xvi). Folk-lore connects the ponds with the Makahiki (harvesting season and tax collection time), suggesting a very late sixteenth century development (Nakuina, 1901:111). Belshé believes that some ponds which had a natural development were in use very early while others which required engineering work by a large labor force could only have been developed much later.

It is further unclear where fish ponds originated. Folk-lore states that they began on Maui (Nakuina, 1901:111) and later were brought to Oahu, and another source indicates that the ponds first began on Oahu (Kikuchi, 1973:xvi). Whatever the case, the ponds were built and owned by the mo'i. The last known pond was constructed in 1830 (Kikuchi, 1973:xvii) although most of the fish pond builders were legendary or mythical figures. The pond itself was considered part of the land, and as such, subject to the konohiki with restrictions designated by the ali'i as to the time and period of fishing in the pond itself (Nakuina, 1901:111). Other kapu (restrictions) included prohibition against throwing rubbish into the pool, women in their menstrual period walking on the walls, limiting the fish, shellfish and seaweed to all but the ali'i, and forbidding the boating and swimming in the pond for all but the caretaker (Kikuchi and Belshé, 1971:7).

During the early period of fish ponds only two officials were appointed by the chief to maintain and harvest the fish; land tenants were engaged only during the construction and periodic cleaning of the pond (Kikuchi, 1973:xvii), but as time went by, there developed a bureaucratic structure involved in the upkeep and maintenance of the pond. At the top of the hierarchy was the ali'i, whose orders were carried out by the konohiki. Under the konohiki was the kia-'i'loko, and finally the haku'ohana, the representatives of resident extended families. (Kikuchi, 1973:xvii). Thus, the organizational chart may suggest that the value of the fish pond existed more for the ali'i during the pre-historic times, with only restricted benefits, such as limited representation for the people of the area.

V. PRE-HISTORY

D. Ko'a and Kuapa Fish Pond

Hawaiian folk-lore attributes the development of fish ponds to Ku-ula, the fish god "who propagated the finny tribes of Hawaiian waters" (Nakuina, 1901:111), a god who could assume human form, and whose powers included controlling, directing and influencing all the fishes of the sea at will. Although it is unclear whether Ku-ula in his human form of Ku and his wife, Hina, were the earliest gods in the island representing the male and female as suggested by Kikuchi (1970:134) since

most scholars agree that the male-female representatives were Wakea and Papa (Sky-Father and Earth-Mother), the progenitors of the Hawaiian race, it is clear that the importance of the Ku gods appear in Oahu with the unification of the island by Kualii'i (Beckwith, 1970:396). Ku-ula was the first god to build fish ponds, (Kikuchi, 1970:134; Nakiuna, 1901:111) and began the practice of dedicating ko'a (fishing shrines) along the shore. At the ko'a the first fish caught and one of each variety caught were dedicated to Ku-ula (Nakuina, 1901:111).

In Maunaloa, there are two stories concerning Ku-ula and his family. One is the Malei stone at Makapuu Point set up by Ai'ai, the son of Ku-ula. According to a chant composed by Hi'iaka, the red and streaked fish belonged to Malei, the kupua. The uhu fish multiplied under her care as long as ali'i and commoners alike presented lei offerings made of lipoa seaweed (Summers and Sterling, 1962:8). Around Kuamookane stood a ko'a named Hina where scad were sacrificed. It was square with rounded corners formed by coral walls and its entrance faced the sea (McAllister, 1933:68-69). This ko'a had two stones, one named for the fish god and the other for his wife. Folk-lore describes this ko'a as being built in dedication to Ku and Hina who stopped there and blessed the host with two fine mullets during their journeys throughout Oahu (Summers and Sterling, 1962:56).

Ko'a not connected to the Ku and Hina myths were also found by McAllister. McAllister found a large well-preserved fishing shrine, which has since been destroyed, made out of coral despite the fact the surrounding area was almost wholly composed of lava rocks (McAllister, 1933:60). According to an informant who migrated recently from Maui, the ko'a is the brother of the smaller ko'a to the west (McAllister, 1933:61). Another shrine found was a small one in excellent state of preservation but which has since been destroyed by the 1946 tidal wave (Summers and Sterling, 1962:28). It stood almost in the water, protected by a wall of coral (McAllister, 1933:63) and buried by thick kiawe. One ko'a named Paliialaea, was a mullet shrine consisting of one large stone at the water's edge (McAllister, 1933:68). This has been destroyed as has the other mullet shrine known as Huanui, probably a twin to the Hina ko'a, which stood near Kuamookane.

It is of note that the shrines which existed in the 1930's were destroyed by tidal waves suggesting that the contours of the area were changed and many of the natural coral barriers protecting the area from the tides and waves were also destroyed.

The one fish pond around the area, Kuapa, covers a substantial number of acres in Maunaloa (the 1851 Webster map notes that it was 523 acres in size). There are no myths or folk-lore connected with the fish pond which appear in other stories of the ili, a feature which suggests that the people were connected only minimally with the pond. According to the description of the pond, there was an old wall approximately 5,000 feet long which may have been a sand embankment lined with lava and some coral on the top facing the sea which "were probably added later" (McAllister, 1933:69). When McAllister visited the area, he found that the Honolulu end of the wall was not connected to the nearest land but was built back to the brackish spring about 1,400 feet from the beach, enclosed by the wall (McAllister, 1933:69).

According to Makea Napahi, an informant, the pond was built by her great-grandmother, Mahoe, with the help of menehune (Hawaiian leprechauns) who finished it in one night. (McAllister, 1933:69). This story is probably erroneous and

indicates that there needs to be thorough research to ascertain the actual date of the fish pond. Makea Napahi's great-grandmother could not conceivably have lived before 1786, the first record of the fish pond. If one counts the normal twenty to twenty-five years for a generation, Mahoe could not have been old enough to remember the pond's construction. Moreover, the menehune story is suspect since menehune were people of the first migration around 750 A.D. plus or minus a hundred years. One part of Napahi's story indicates that the pond was not always well stocked, relied on the ocean tides, and was not very profitable. According to her, her great-grandmother would have her small grandson carry a newly born pig around the pond during the nights of Kane (Hawaiians used a lunar calendar) if the fish pond did not yield much fish. During the night of Lono, seaweed and ilima were gathered and placed on the shrine but no fishing and noise were permitted to disturb the praying kahuna.

Numerous myths about the pond which are unrelated to the ili have been recorded. One concerns an unusual stone about "4.5 feet high, 3 feet side at the bottom, 2 feet wide at the top and 5.5 inches thick . . . securely embedded diagonally across the wall, with one of its broad sides facing exactly north" (McAllister, 1933:69). The stone was named for a resident of Maunaloa, Waiakaaia, who followed the Hawaiian custom of allowing his wife to sleep with other men, but grew so worried that he became insane. During one of her absences, prompted by a great rage, he went to Hanauma Bay, tore a large stone out and carried it to the fish pond wall (McAllister, 1933:69). Another story states that Oua, the offspring of various spirits and sweetheart of Mamala retired to Kuapa after his love left him. The third story describes a mo'o (water spirit) named Lau-kapu who lived in the pond protecting and looking after the fish, the chief, and the people of the area and punishing them if they were stingy in their offerings (Summers and Sterling, 1962:59).

Besides Napahi, McAllister had interviewed two other people. One was the fish warden, Kanae, who stated that there was an underground tunnel connecting Kuapa with Kaelepulu Pond in Kailua. Occasionally great schools of mullet in Kuapa and awa in Kailua Pond swam from one area to another (McAllister, 1933:69). The other informant, Moe of Kamehameha farm school formerly in Hahaione Valley, believed that there existed a large fishing village at the head of Kuapa and that the pond "was not a pond, but an arm of the sea. The people from this village fished off Maunaloa in their canoes, and when the pond was built it cut off their access to the sea and the village declined. There was a great number of ruins in and about the Kamehameha farm school" (McAllister, 1933:69).

There did exist one spring called Waiakaaia which periodically fed into Kuapa Pond. The spring is connected to a myth of the water god, Kane. Kane and Kanaloa, two of the four major gods of the Hawaiians, sent their younger brother, Kaneapua, to bring water to them when their pool dried up. Kaneapua was forewarned not to urinate as he carried the water container but he was not able to control his urge. The spring dried up and the container was contaminated. When Kaneapua returned, his brothers knew that he had disobeyed their commands and Kanaloa had to thrust his cane into the earth for the water. Kaneapua was turned into a hill and the spring dried up and vanished, polluted by menstruating women. The myth tends to support the theory that since early times the area was usually dry with a stream flowing into the fish pond only seasonally.

V. PRE-HISTORY

E. Ownership of Maunalua

In the years before Captain Cook landed, marking the beginning of European contact with the Hawaiian Islands, Maunalua's harbors, Koko and Hanauma, were vulnerable points of attack during periods of inter-island warfare. In the eighteenth century, Alapai, an ali'i nui of Hawaii attempted an attack of Oahu when he learned that King Pele-iohalani, the ruler of the island, was on Kauai. Alapai sailed to Oahu with warriors from Hawaii and Molokai, after being informed that the best harbors were in Waikiki and Waialae. Alapai first attempted a landing in Waikiki but after encountering problems, his army sailed to Waialae. At Waialae, he was driven back by the warriors of Kanahaokalani, the six-year-old son of Kapiiohookalani, so he fled to Koko where he was again driven back by the warriors of Kanahaokalani. Finally, Alapai's army went to Hanauma where Kanahaokalani's soldiers again drove him back (Kamakau, 1961:71). Thus, Alapai was foiled by a six-year-old child and his warriors from attacking Oahu.

It is reasonable to assume that during this period Maunalua was given or entrusted by Pele-iohalani to the militarily precious Kanahaokalani along with areas in Waialae. This is the only record of the area belonging to a chief and not the mo'i after the unification of the island. It is assumed that this chiefly family held Maunalua as long as the Oahu kings ruled since changes in land ownership occur only when a new conqueror, who for feudal reasons of fealty, re-distributes land.

In the late eighteenth century, the last ruling king of the Oahu dynasty, Kumahana, was deposed without any bloodshed and Kahahana, a Maui prince belonging to the junior branch of the Oahu royal line, was given the throne. During this change in rulers, there is no record of land ownership in the area, since Kahahana who was accepted by the ali'i as well as the commoners would have allowed the chiefs to remain on their lands, so that one of his power bases, the ali'i, would remain faithful. Thus, probably Kanahaokalani or his descendants continued to hold Maunalua.

In 1783, however, Kahahana's uncle, King Kahekili of Maui, won the battle at Honolulu and took control of Oahu. This new rule meant that there was a complete re-distribution of lands on Oahu. Kahekili is known to have slaughtered the Oahu chiefs and re-distributed their lands among his own faithful warriors following the customary land distribution of a conqueror. Undoubtedly, this meant that Kanahaokalani or his descendants were killed and stripped of their lands.

V. PRE-HISTORY

F. Conclusion

Most if not all of the various stones and ko'a associated with the myths and legends of the area have been destroyed or have disappeared. The legends strongly suggest that the second influx of Polynesians landed in Maunalua. These migrants built the temples, the most important of which was Hawea heiau which may have housed the sacred drum connected with the birth of King Kualii'i of Oahu. Maunalua became the possession of the Oahu rulers by the sixteenth century who

probably built the fish pond out of a natural sea formation for the benefit of the royal house and not the common people of Maunaloa.

VI. HISTORY, 1778-1850

A. Explorers at Maunaloa

A few years after Cook's ships left Hawaii, two European ships, one French and the other English, came to the Islands. The English ships, the King George and Queen Charlotte under the commands of Captains Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon, landed in Maunaloa Bay beyond the coral reefs between Koko Head and Diamond Head (Cartwright, 1922:12) on June 1, 1786 after cruising around Maui and Lanai. Portlock named the bay "King George's Bay" and called Koko Head "Point Dick" in honor of Sir John Dick, first patron of the voyage.

Soon after their arrival, "several canoes came off and brought a few cocoa-nuts and plantains, some sugar-cane and sweet root, in return for which we gave them small pieces of iron and a few trinkets (Portlock, 1968:69). The next morning, the Hawaiians brought a few small hogs and some vegetables which Dixon wrote "were much scarcer here than at Owhyhee" (1789:52) where they had previously landed.

Since water was in demand, Portlock and Dixon went ashore at Maunaloa Beach (Cartwright, 1922:12) the morning of June 2, 1786. They "landed on some rocks just round Point Dick, quite dry, and met with no opposition from the inhabitants . . . [who] answered every question" (Portlock, 1968:70). Portlock was conducted to a spring about fifty yards from their boat landing, "but the quantity was so small, that it would not afford even a temporary supply. . . and were informed that there was no fresh water to be met with but at a considerable distance to the Westward" (Portlock, 1968:70). Since water was still the main concern, Portlock and his men returned to their boats and, according to Portlock's Journal:

"rowed to the Northward, close to a reef, which appeared to run quite across the bay, about a quarter of a mile distant from the beach. Having proceeded nearly a mile in this direction, a small opening in the reef presented itself, for which we steered. The channel was narrow, but in the middle we had two fathoms water; and after getting through, there was from three to four fathoms over a bottom of fine sand, and good room between the reef and the beach for a number of vessels to ride at anchor. We landed on a fine sandy beach amidst a vast number of the inhabitants, who all behaved with great order, and never attempted to approach nearer to us than we desired. They informed us that there was no water near our landing-place, but that we should find plenty farther down along shore, and one of the natives accompanied us as a guide: however, our progress was soon impeded by a small salt water river that has a communication with King George's Bay. This putting a stop to our progress by land, we again had recourse to our boats, and attempted to get to the Westward within the reef; but the water was so shallow that it was impracticable; so that we returned through the passage we came in at, and afterwards rowed to the Westward, keeping close along the outside of the reef, until we got near the watering-place pointed out to us by the Indians. In this situation, seeing a small opening in the reef, we made for it; and the moment we

entered, a breaker overtook us, which almost filled and nearly overset our boats. However, through the good management of the steersmen, who were mine and Captain Dixon's third mates, we escaped without any misfortune; though we had the mortification, after getting over the reef, to find the water so shoal, that our boats could not get within 200 yards of the shore.

"Under these circumstances, I found that we could not water at this place without an infinite deal of trouble, besides the danger of losing our casks, getting the boats dashed to pieces against the rocks, and the inconvenience of carrying our casks so far amongst a multitude of Indians, which would make it necessary to have an armed force on shore, the ships lying at too great distance for them to cover or secure a watering party; I therefore gave up the idea of watering at this spot, and determined to send two boats the first opportunity to examine the Western part of the bay for a good landing place and convenient watering" (Portlock, 1968: 70-72).

The problem of water was finally solved when Portlock sent crewman Hayward and White westward around Diamond Head where they purchased water in exchange for nails. The ailing crew went on shore with the surgeon and minor chiefs slept on board (Portlock, 1968:73), indicating that the area was not important enough to have a great chief. Portlock was informed by an old priest who brought a small pig and a branch from the cocoa-nut tree that near Honolulu there were plenty of fine hogs and vegetables, causing the captain to speculate "that the inhabitants on that part of the island were more numerous than in King George's Bay" (Portlock, 1968:73). But because there was a supply of water and it was an excellent landing site, beautiful in appearance, with "the low land and vallies being in a high state of cultivation, and crowded with plantations of taro, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, &c. interspersed with a great number of cocoa-nut trees" (Portlock, 1968:74) the ships remained there until June 5th. The ships then left for Niihau with water and the convalescents on board, but returned November 30th of the same year.

This second stay in the area was less hospitable, however. Few people came on board and the priest warned him that King Kahekili, had placed a kapu. Only when the king arrived and gifts presented was the kapu lifted and food and drinks available.

The next day, the king returned offering beside the usual present "a large quantity of very fine mullet, which he told me were caught in a small salt lake at the head of the bay" (Portlock, 1968:158). Although appearances were friendly enough, the old priest who boarded the ship on December 12th "hinted that Taheeterre /Kahekili/ and his principal warriors were meditating some mischief. . . he pointed to a large house on the top of a hill over the Eastern point of the bay which ascends from Point Dick: this house the old man assured me was building for an Eatooa /heiau/, or God's house, wherein they were going to make great offerings to their different Eatooas (for almost every chief has his separate one), and to consult them on the event of an attack, which he assured me they intended to make on us if their oracles gave them encouragement" (Portlock, 1968:161).

Portlock watched the building of the heiau. When it was near completion and covered with a red cloth, he decided to give a demonstration of arms against the king to dissuade them from any future hostility. So when Kahekili returned on board, Portlock ordered his men to fire their arms. Kahekili and his men promptly

left and returned to Waikiki and the ships were no longer frequented by Hawaiians. On the 13th of December, Portlock observed the destruction of several heiau:

"Towards evening I observed the natives uncovering and pulling to pieces their new-built house on the hill; and about 8 o'clock several large houses were on fire along the shore near the bay; but as we had no Indians on board, I could not learn whether they were set on fire by accident or design, till the next morning" (Portlock, 1968:166).

Portlock was given to understand the next day that the heiau "or houses belonging to gods with whom the chiefs were displeased" (Portlock, 1968:166) were burnt out of revenge. Following this, the king came on board and a few days later, Portlock and Dixon sailed for Kauai.

Thus, Portlock's narrative records four important statements about the area. First, the pond was definitely an extension of the sea at this time and could only be crossed by small boats. Second, the destruction of the heiau in the area occurred earlier than in all other areas of Hawaii. Third, Maunaloa was not considered important under Kahekili's rule. Lastly, the population of Maunaloa was less than in the Honolulu area, suggesting that the ili was part of the country at this time.

VI. HISTORY 1778-1850

B. Kamehameha's Conquest of Oahu

During Kahekili's rule on Oahu, Kamehameha had planned an invasion, which followed the usual method of attack, i.e., a messenger from the attacker would notify the ruler whose lands were being invaded the anticipated landing places and potential battlefields. Kamehameha sent a messenger named Kikane to King Kahekili to announce his intentions to invade Oahu and indicate the areas under consideration for the landing of troops. The three landings considered by various advisors, according to Kikane in his message to Kahekili, were Waimanalo, Waikiki, and Koko (Kamakau, 1961:150). Koko was pointed out as an ideal harbor and battlefield because the provision patches of Ko'olau were far enough away not to disturb the farming but close enough for food gathering for the soldiers, cliffs were high enough to cast stones from, and it was large enough for a battleground (Kamakau, 1961:150). Kahekili, however, rejected the idea of any forthcoming battle with the new conqueror of Hawaii and suggested that Kamehameha wait until the black kapa covered him, meaning that Kamehameha should wait until Kahekili was dead before attempting a conquest of Oahu (Kamakau, 1961:150). Kamehameha agreed to this.

When Kahekili died in 1794, his kingdom was split between his son, Kalanikupule and his brother, Kaeo. Kalanikupule took possession of Oahu and Molokai where he had previously served as regent for his father and Kaeo ruled over Maui.

Kalanikupule, expecting Kamehameha to invade Oahu once Kahekili passed away, began a great defensive system around Oahu. Since Kalanikupule did not know where Kamehameha would land, he prepared trenches and earthworks along the shore-line of Kukuui, Kalapueo, and Waimanalo--where potential attacks might take place (Kamakau, 1961:168). In early 1795, Kamehameha landed on Oahu at Honolulu Harbor with his warriors and defeated Kalanikupule at the Battle of Nuuanu and took control of Oahu

as well as Molokai, thus controlling and unifying all the islands except Kauai.

After the conquest of Oahu, Kamehameha followed the custom of a conqueror and made a circuit of the island. On this circuit, he is supposed to have stopped at Maunaloa to repair the walls of the fish pond (verbal communication: Frances Frazier), and later "worked at the fish ponds at Kawainui, Ka'elepulu, Uko'a, Maunaloa, and all about Oahu" (Kamakau, 1961:192) to set an example of industry and hard-work for the people.

Kamehameha also followed the custom of conquering rulers in the distribution of land on Oahu, giving the lands to his faithful warriors. The ili of Maunaloa was given to his steward in charge of Oahu, Kuihelani (Kamakau, 1961:173). Kuihelani was held in such high regard that he was given ten wives, an honor allowed to no other chief (Kamakau, 1961:173). John Papa Ii, a Hawaiian historian and relative of Kuihelani wrote, "the king's faith in him /Kuihelani/ never changed, for the king's lands in his charge were cared for by his kinsmen, and they were obedient to Kuihelani's commands. Therefore the kinsmen also held good positions and were well-known" (1959:94).

Kuihelani's position, however, was soon undermined through no fault of his own. Kuakini, one of Kamehameha's young chiefs, known for his amorous exploits, seduced Ka-o'o, Kuihelani's wife. Ka-o'o, who was kapu to all men except her husband on pain of death or confiscation of property, succumbed to Kuakini's charm, and met him by a stone wall, where they had time to consummate their love before being discovered by Kuihelani and his guards. Kuakini jumped over the stone wall and fell, breaking his foot so that he remained a cripple for the rest of his life. The influential Kuakini, frightened at the consequence of his actions, persuaded various chiefs to petition Kamehameha to put Kuihelani to death. Kamehameha who was holding his court at Waianae and probably ignorant of the circumstances surrounding this request, sent Kapa'alani, his messenger, to order his prime minister, Kalanimoku, to put Kuihelani to death. Kalanimoku, however, refused, telling the messenger that instead, he would give in compensation the land of Kapa'alani and the rest of Kuihelani's lands at Maunaloa to the king (Kamakau, 1961:389. A shorter version is given in Ii, 1959:101). Thus, Maunaloa reverted back into the hands of Kamehameha I.

After Kamehameha had taken back the lands of Maunaloa from Kuihelani, he gave the lands to his faithful retainer and father-in-law, Keeaumoku, who died of oku'u (cholera) at his home in Koko in 1804. (Kamakau, 1961:189). The property then passed to Kaahumanu, Keeaumoku's daughter and the favorite wife of Kamehameha. After Kamehameha's death, she probably gave the lands to Kalola who assigned Paki as konohiki (Summers and Sterling, 1962:44) since Kalola is mentioned in Chamberlain's visit around the island and in Colcord's Journals. But apparently the land later reverted back to Kaahumanu. When Kaahumanu died, her lands went to her successor, Kinau, the daughter of Kamehameha and the wife of Mataio Kekuanaoa. When Kinau died the title and the lands of the premier were given to Victoria Kamamalu, her daughter.

VI. HISTORY, 1778-1850

C. Nineteenth Century Visitors

During the later years of Kamehameha I, Maunaloa was used as a harbor for traveling within Oahu. Ii reminisced that as a young boy going to Kamehameha's

court in Honolulu, his ship, Apuakehau, anchored near Kawaihoa, Maunaloa for two days. This ship, similar to foreign vessels, had no boats or canoes and the passengers wishing to go ashore had to swim (Ii, 1959:109). Kawaihoa must have been a regular stop-over point at this time since another ship, Kaailipoa, also anchored there temporarily (Ii, 1959:109). Yet, the harbor Ii describes was not ideally suited for the new ships:

"The Hawaiian and foreign-built ships that had waited at Kawaihoa on Oahu were all hauled ashore, as was the custom with canoes. Perhaps it was necessary because of the lack of brass in their building. Two of the ships had been blown by the wind all the way to Kauai, perhaps because their captains lacked skilled" (Ii, 1959:113).

Ii does not give a date for this trip although he was a boy at the time. (He was born in 1800.) He makes no mention of the villages of people although he does state that they were to meet a man from Niu who would be coming aboard to continue to Hawaii with them.

One of the earliest mentions of the Kuapa Pond area after contact with the Western World appears in 1821 in a narrative by Gilbert Mathison. During Mathison's excursion around the island of Oahu, he states that he and his guide passed a large salt water lake on the south-eastern side of the island. The population consisted mostly of fishermen who resided in the hundred or so huts that he saw (Mathison, 1825:387). No mention is made of the fishing in either pond or bay. Mathison does relate that they were followed by groups of children and that the natives were curious to see these travelers, suggesting infrequent visits by foreigners to the ili.

The 1821 description by Mathison describes the pond as similar to those on the Brazilian coast. He states that the lake was separated from Maunaloa Bay by a large embankment of sand (Mathison, 1825:387). He does not mention any sluices or mākahā as he comments that the high tide may cause the pond to overflow on occasions.

Five years later Levi Chamberlain and a party of missionaries passed through Maunaloa on official business for the mission schools. On Chamberlain's first trip in 1826, he approached the settlement called Keawaawa from Makapu'u Point. Two years later, again inspecting the mission's schools, he entered Maunaloa from the opposite direction coming from Waiālae. Since Maunaloa did not have a resident missionary and relied on traveling ministers for their contact with their new religion, Chamberlain preached to the people. The sermon did not have a large audience since most of the population were collecting sandalwood and only thirty people remained in the village to hear him preach. The teacher and the scholars of the school were absent and a chiefess named Kalola, the proprietor of the ili was also away collecting sandalwood (Chamberlain, 1956:29). From Chamberlain's description, it is clear that Maunaloa had a relatively large population. After 1828, however, a dramatic change in population figures, showing a decrease in four years, is reflected in the number of pupils enrolled in the school. In 1828, sixty-five students attended school, two years later the enrollment was down by five pupils and two years after that it had dropped to nineteen students.

Chamberlain's tours around Oahu in 1826 and 1828 were for the expressed purpose of school inspection of the sixty-nine schools on Oahu (Wist, 1940:23). Chamberlain's journal mentions that there was no school building or scholars in 1826,

but by 1828 sixty-five scholars were under the tutelage of Nahaleelua. Forty-nine of the pupils had mastered the alphabet and sixteen could read. The composition of the students consisted of six men, thirty-seven women, fourteen boys and eight girls. The text used was a spelling book. In 1830, Kahu was listed as the teacher. All sixty pupils could read but only twenty-nine could write. The Gospel was the text used. In 1832, only nineteen students were enrolled. All could read and write from the Ainauhoike. No records could be found after 1832, one year after education shifted its emphasis from the adult population to the Islands' youth, and in 1840, the government took the burden of education off the shoulders of the missionaries and records of the schools became a government responsibility.

Chamberlain's journal included some description of the pond both times he had visited Maunalua. In 1826 he wrote:

"thence I walked on by the side of the pond in a southerly direction about a mile having the eminences Mounalua (sic) on my left. I then came to a narrow strip of land resembling a causeway partly natural and partly constructed extending in a Northwest direction across what appeared to be considerable of a bay forming a barrier between the sea and the pond. At the further end of this causeway sluices are constructed and the waters of the sea unite with the pond and at every flood tide replenish it with a fresh supply of water." (Chamberlain, 1826:26).

Two years later he adds a few more notes on the composition of the pond. He says in his journal:

"it was once a small estuary, narrow at its communication at the sea, and so shallow that a cossway (sic) could conveniently be built to a low sandy point on one side of the little bay which is here made by the sea. On this point is built the settlement of Maunalua. Our path was wet and muddy till we reached the extremity of the pond." (Chamberlain, 1828:29).

The area was also used as a landing for inter-island as well as whaling ships. Handy describes the area as famous for its sweet potatoes grown in the small valleys and coastal plains. He says that during the whaling period between 1825 and 1860 ships would trade goods for these sweet potatoes. The ships would anchor off Hahaione near the village of Wawamalu (Handy, 1940:155) where McAllister found remnants of enclosures and walls indicating agricultural use.

Sometime after Mathison and Chamberlain visited Maunalua, Ii took another trip around Oahu, using the old Government trail which went along the Waiialae taro patches, to the sand beaches "along Keahia and on to Maunalua, to the sea of Koko" (Ii, 1959:94). Apparently, Ii found the trail, especially after leaving Koko unpleasant because of the sun's heat and lack of wind" (Ii, 1959:98), one reason most travelers preferred to journey by ship rather than take a horse over the old trails.

VI. HISTORY, 1778-1850

D. Sandalwood and Whaling

Although sandalwood existed throughout Oahu and may have existed in Maunalua, the records on sandalwood collecting are so sparse that it is assumed the san-

sandalwood grew only in small quantities and was of poor quality. The only records of sandalwood in the area are Chamberlain's and Colcord's journals (Colcord, 1827:20), both written in the late 1820's, a period of time when the best sandalwood had already disappeared. It is clear from the various sandalwood records available that the trees in Maunaloa were only harvested during the last days of the sandalwood trade and therefore, were not of great economic importance.

When sandalwood diminished as an economic commodity, the Islands relied on whaling. By 1852, whaling ships were required to harbor at Honolulu on Oahu (Friend, Sept. 1852:42) so the government could tax the ships. Whales around Maunaloa Bay according to various news accounts are still sighted occasionally. For this reason, it may be assumed that the whaling ships anchored off Maunaloa Bay waiting for a school of whales before the 1852 regulation. After 1852 some of their smaller boats were sent on shore to purchase food and water in Maunaloa. Thus, Maunaloa, especially around "the plain below Kamiloiki and Kealakipapa . . . known as Ke kula-o-Kamauwai. . . the famous potato planting place from which the potatoes traded to ships that anchored off Hahaione in whaling days" (Summers and Sterling, 1933:2a) prospered by selling its products. Wawamalu, the village which prospered with the potato sales, however, was abandoned by the end of the 1840's, indicating that the disappearance of the whaling ships in Hawaii had exhausted the economic feasibility of a village around Hahaione Valley. In 1851 when Webster drew his map, there was not a single indication that a village existed in Hahaione.

The extent of trade between the village of Wawamalu and the whaling ships can only be determined by studying all the log journals of each and every whaling ship which landed in the Islands and analyzing all the Privy Council Records as well as those of the Ministry of the Interior.

VI. HISTORY 1778-1850

E. Conclusion

Maunaloa was one of the anchoring sites of Captains Portlock and Dixon on their exploration of the Islands. Portlock's description of Maunaloa states that it had a smaller population than Honolulu, was agriculturally less productive than Hawaii, and had a meager supply of water. The salt-water pond of Kuapa at this time was connected to the sea as described by Portlock and drawn by Dixon in his map. The ili of Maunaloa was believed to be perfect for harboring the ships and so the bay became the port of call for Portlock when he returned to Oahu in the latter part of that year.

Maunaloa Bay was considered a perfect harbor and landing spot of ships, and under Kalanikupule was guarded in order to prevent a possible invasion by Kamehameha. The wily ruler of the Big Island, however, landed in Honolulu Harbor and defeated Kalanikupule, and became the great ruler of the Hawaiian Islands. Under Kamehameha, the pond walls were rebuilt as an example of industry and hard-work for the people to follow. The land was given to Kuihelani, the governor of Oahu by Kamehameha the Great, but was taken back after an unfortunate love affair. The land then was given to Keeaumoku, the father-in-law and faithful warrior of the great conqueror. When he died, the land was held by his daughter, Kaahumanu, who held the lands as the premier. The lands were given to Kalola by Kaahumanu sometime a the 1820's and Kalola had entrusted her nephew, Abner Paki as the konohiki of

Maunalua. Kaahumanu, however, took back the lands before her death and the land was given to the new premier, Kinau, who passed the land and title of premier to her daughter, Victoria Kamamalu.

Visitors to Maunalua in the early years of the Hawaiian Kingdom were missionaries inspecting schools and preaching, Hawaiians using the harbor as a stop-over point in their travels, sandalwood dealers who accepted the poor quality of sandalwood only because sandalwood had disappeared from the other districts of Oahu, and whalers who anchored offshore and sent small boats to trade for food. The people of Maunalua diminished in number in the period after Portlock's visits, especially after the disappearance of the whaling ships. It is clear that Maunalua lost much of its population and economic independence as an agricultural ili with the end of the whaling ships.

The pond underwent changes following Portlock's landing in Maunalua. After his landing (1786) but before the arrival of the missionaries (1826) in Maunalua, sand bars were built which enclosed the pond and cut off its ready accessibility from the sea and also interfered with the free flow of water between the ocean and the pond.

VII. HISTORY, 1850-1900

A. Land Ownership of Maunalua

Victoria Kamamalu was born on November 1, 1838 at Honolulu Fort and was the sister of Kamehameha IV and V. When Victoria's mother died in April of 1839, the infant was given the title of premier and held the lands her mother had, although her aunt Miriam Kekauluohi served in her behalf and was succeeded by Keoni Ana (John Young) until Victoria became of age in 1855. Her lands were watched by her father, Kekuanaoa, although she was raised by John and Sarai Ii. As Ii said to Kekuanaoa, "all the needs of the child are supplied by you, but the person of the child is mine to care for" (Ii, 1959:167), and under Ii's guidance, she was the youngest child to attend Royal School in 1841.

Before the Mahele, Maunalua was considered part of the lands held by the premier, Victoria Kamamalu. The king, however, granted all of Waimanalo to Keoni Miki and there was concern by Kekuanaoa, Victoria's father, that the grant included Maunalua since Maunalua was then an ili of Waimanalo. Kekuanaoa was also worried that the grant of Waimanalo included some of his possessions in that ahupua'a, so he wrote to Iona Piikoi and Keoni Miki to record his claim of parts of Waimanalo and all of Maunalua for his daughter.

The controversy was finally resolved by the Privy Council on August 27, 1850. Kekuanaoa agreed "speaking of his own lands, . . . to divide with the Government; also with regard to Lot's that his eighteen lands be left him. That Victoria divide" (Privy Council Records, Vol 3B, August 27, 1850), which meant that Victoria gave up titles to forty-eight different lands in the kingdom while keeping fifty-one fee simple areas including Maunalua (Privy Council Records, Vol 3B, July 12, 1850). Kekuanaoa received other lands and gave up his claims to portions of Waimanalo which the government gave to John Cummings. In return, Kekuanaoa, Ruth, Lot and Victoria received titles to lands granted them in the Mahele (Native Testimony, Vol 3, Part 2, p. 448) to be held by them or their heirs for life.

Thus, on April 7, 1854, Victoria Kamamalu applied for the lands of Maunalua with the Land Commission and was granted Land Commission Award 7713 without cost of a survey. The survey had been done the year before by William Webster, a man who would later lease the ili from her. The award had reserved for the natives their rights on the land and for the government the mineral and metallic rights.

In 1856, she leased all the lands of Maunalua except the pond to William Webster, the king's agent, for a term of thirty years at \$300.00 annual rental (Liliuokalani Collection, ms.). Webster who leased all of Waimanalo from the kingdom used Maunalua and Waimanalo for ranching (Interior Department, Land, November 27, 1855). This William Webster was born in Edinburgh, Scotland where he studied surveying and engineering. Upon his arrival in the Hawaiian Islands in 1850, he became a government employee under Kamehameha III. In 1853, he was appointed to serve as land agent for the Kings' lands and later became land commissioner for the Crown Lands under Kamehameha IV. He was a trustee of Queen's Hospital and served in the legislature.

The 1856 log of Victoria's land holdings indicates that the pond at Maunalua was leased to Chun Hoon for a term of five years at \$305.00 rent a year (Liliuokalani Collection, ms.). The lease rent charge is a substantial sum when compared to the amounts received for other properties owned by Victoria and may indicate the value of the fishing rights to the pond. Cobb states in his 1903 report of commercial fisheries on the island that several ponds on Oahu paid a lease rent of \$1,000.00 during that time.

When Webster died on March 23, 1864, heirs assigned the rest of his lease over to a Manuel Paiko who already leased the adjoining ili of Kuliouou. In 1867, when Paiko's lease ran out, the pasture land was leased to J.H. Kanepuu for six years at \$150.00 per annum. The fish pond was leased to one Lau Akau, a Chinese for the same hefty sum charged earlier to Chun Hoon. At this time, Victoria, apparently needing money, mortgaged the entire Maunalua ili, including the fish pond, along with her other lands for \$30,000 to Charles Bishop (Title Guaranty, Land Court), but she soon repaid the debt in full.

Victoria died at the young age of twenty-seven at Papakanene, Waialae, one of her most beloved land holdings (Ii, 1959:175). Her lands were probated and to pay off debts, all her lands were mortgaged to James Robinson and Robert Lawrence, partners of a prosperous Honolulu based company doing ship repairs who arrived in Honolulu in 1822 from Pearl and Hermes Reef where they had been shipwrecked. The court appointed as administrators John Dominis and Mataio Kekuanaoa, her father. The two took care of her debts and paid off the mortgage on her lands. The court then granted the father all her possessions including Maunalua (First Circuit Court, Probate 2409).

Kekuanaoa, father of Victoria Kamamalu, began his long and dedicated service to the Hawaiian first family during the time of Kamehameha I for whom he served as a messenger and a keeper of the king's food. Under Liholiho, Kekuanaoa gained recognition and was among the retinue that accompanied the king to Europe. On his return, Kekuanaoa married Pauahi who died (shortly after) in childbirth. A year after her death in 1826, he married Kinau, Kamehameha's daughter by Kaheihemalie in the Hawaiian fashion (Kamakau, 1961:347). He was placed in charge of the military guard to protect the royal family, later became governor of Oahu in 1834, and served as a judge and as a member of the Land Commission during the Great Mabele. He died on

November 24, 1868 two years after his daughter Victoria, at the age of seventy-seven (Ii, 1959:175).

Thus, once again, the lands of Maunaloa were taken to court and in Probate 2060, it was decided that the estate would go to Kekuanaoa's son, Lot Kamehameha after Kekuanaoa's daughter by Pauahi, Ruth Keelikolani withdrew her claim.

Lot, Kamehameha V, was born December 11, 1830, the eldest son of Kinau and Mataio Kekuanaoa. He was the half brother of Ruth Keelikolani and brother of Alexander Liholiho and Victoria Kamamalu. Like his siblings he attended the Royal School and in 1849 toured Europe with his younger brother, the heir apparent, and Dr. G.P. Judd.

During his brother's rule Lot served as Governor of Maui and as Minister of the Interior. When he ascended to the throne in 1863 his experience as Minister of the Interior reinforced his policy of monarchical rule. He is best known for his 1864 Constitution which was less democratic than the 1852 Constitution he dissolved.

On his death bed in 1872, Lot offered the throne to High Chiefess Bernice Pauahi Bishop who graciously refused the honor and the power inherent in the office. Lot died on December 11 of that year, on his forty-second birthday.

Lot, like his sister and his father, had not drawn up a will. The Supreme Court therefore decided that his half-sister, Ruth Keelikolani, would inherit his entire land holdings (First Circuit Court, Probate 2412), although it has been said that Lot never recognized her as his sister.

Ruth Keelikolani also known as Luka was born in 1826, the daughter of Pauahi and Mataio Kekuanaoa. Her mother died in childbirth and the child was raised by Kaahumanu. At the age of eighteen she married William Pitt Leleiohoku, Governor of Hawaii and had two sons although neither reached maturity. Ruth served in the Privy Council and in 1855 became Governess of Hawaii, a position her late husband had held. Her second marriage to Isaac Young Davis produced a son who died and ended in divorce in 1868. She later adopted Prince Leleiohoku, Kalakaua's brother, whom Ruth named after her first husband. He died at the age of twenty-two leaving Ruth brokenhearted. Ruth is best remembered for stopping the 1881 lava flow that threatened Hilo. Her gothic mansion built in 1883 is another of her hallmarks along with her unforgettable appearance.

Under Ruth, Maunaloa as well as her other possessions were mortgaged twice, once to an Albert Jaeger and another time to Charles R. Bishop. Ruth had stipulated in the mortgage to Bishop that the mortgaged area included "all fish-ponds, fisheries and fishing rights upon or appertaining to the same" (Title Guaranty, Land Court). Before Ruth's death, however, the mortgage was repaid in full.

Ruth died in 1883 and her lands were given to her cousin, Bernice Pauahi Bishop (First Circuit Court, Probate 2009). Bernice, born December 19, 1831, was the daughter of Konia and Abner Paki and the last descendant of the line of Kamehameha. She was adopted, as is customary among the chiefs, by Kinau and attended the Royal School. Her parents had hoped that she would marry Lot or Kamehameha IV but against their wishes she married Charles Reed Bishop, a Californian, in 1850. The couple had no children of their own and the two adopted children unfortunately died in their

youth. As the last surviving Kamehameha, Bernice inherited the Kamehameha lands and became the largest land-holding person in the kingdom.

The year that Bernice received the lands of her cousin, Ruth, she and her husband again leased to Lau Akau "the Fish-pond situated at and being and forming a portion of the land known as the Ahupuaa (sic) of Maunalua on the Island of Oahu, and known as the Maunalua Fish-pond and also the Konohiki right to fish in that portion of the sea appurtenant to that point of land known as Coco Head (sic) on said Maunalua and the boundary of said Ahupuaa of Maunalua lying between that point of land known as Coco Head (sic) on said Maunalua and the boundary of said land known as Kuliouou" (Title Guaranty, Land Court) and to C.H. Judd on behalf of King David Kalakaua, the "sea fishery belonging to the ahupuaa of Maunalua, Island of Oahu between Makapuu and Cocohead (sic) point with the sole right to take fish therein so far as the party of the first part has the right to grant the same and all of the Konohikis right in said fishery, also the privilege of using a strip of land forty-five (45) feet wide measuring from high water mark, all along the coast of said fishery, for spreading nets, encampments of fisherman and other purposes necessary to the carrying on of the fishing business" (Title Guaranty, Land Court).

The following year (1884) another map of the area was drawn by W. D. Alexander and George Gresley which became the basis for the boundary certificate of Maunalua. The map indicated that there were approximately fifteen dwellings surrounding the pond at this time. A grove of coconut trees was also drawn on the Hahaione side of the pond, the area which was the site of an earlier settlement.

Bernice Pauahi Bishop died October 16, 1884 in Honolulu, leaving as her heirs her husband and a half-cousin named Kalola (First Circuit Court, Probate 2425). Her will, however, asked that her estate be used to maintain two schools, one for boys and one for girls known as the Kamehameha Schools. Thus, Maunalua became part of Bishop Estates lands.

In 1888, however, Charles R. Bishop leased the land for ten years to S. M. Damon and G.J. Campbell but reserved "all sea fisheries and fish ponds and land adjacent thereto which has been used by the lessees of the fisheries during the last two years but only for the purposes and subject to the same rights as during said term" (Title Guaranty, Land Court), for \$750 per annum. Damon, one of the Bishop Estates trustees, used the area for raising cattle.

When Kalakaua's fishing rights expired, the Trustees leased the fishing rights from Makapu'u to Koko Head to A.M. Brown and A.C. Lovekin for \$100.00 per year, \$50.00 less than what had been paid by Kalakaua. Brown then sold his half-share in the lease to Lovekin four years later.

VII. HISTORY, 1850-1900

B. Land Ownership of Kuliouou

Part of Kuliouou designated as Kuliouou I was given to Waiaha in Land Commission Award 70B in 1851. Waiaha claimed the land through her father, Keoni Wawae-nui who received it from Kamehameha I (Monsarrat, Land Court). The other part, Kuliouou II, bordering Maunalua was held by the monarch as Crown Lands, i.e., lands held by the king for his own use, and later became government lands.

Kuliouou I was leased to Manuel Paiko in 1864 but sold to Herman A. Widemann three years later for \$700.00. Widemann, in turn, sold the land to Manuel Paiko a few months afterwards for \$800.00 (Monsarrat, Land Court) whose heirs continued to hold the land until the 1920's. Under Paiko the land was mortgaged by the administrator, A.J. Cartwright, to Monsarrat for \$700.00. Monsarrat leased the seven and a half acre pond to Sing Moon Company, but later the Paikos paid the mortgage in full.

Kuliouou II was supposedly the place "to which the king Kamehameha III retired with his court in the summer . . . and it was to the pool of Elelupe that the king sent his servants for water. The pool was tabu by the king, and no one but the king dared touch or pollute that water" (Claimant's Brief, Land Court 578). The government continued to hold the area and leased the land.

VII. HISTORY, 1850-1900

C. People of Maunalua and Kuliouou

No kuleana (fee simple lands) were awarded during the Great Mahele in Maunalua so it is not known how many individuals lived on the land, except through nineteenth century accounts. Major leases of the area were recorded but sub-leases which would give the statistics on the people in the area are not at the Bureau of Conveyances but rather at the Office of the Bishop Estates and were not available for this study. As an alternative, tax records starting from 1855, the first year of tax records, then from 1860 and at ten year intervals till 1900 were studied for some statistical data on the people of the ili. The study stops at 1900 since after this taxes were recorded by the taxpayer's name rather than by area.

In 1855 there were thirty-eight households or ninety-nine people living in Maunalua. The people owned sixty-eight houses, suggesting a degree of material wealth. Besides horses, the people owned nine mules, and thirteen dogs.

Kuliouou had a slightly larger population of forty-four households and 106 people. The people owned eighty-seven horses, nine mules and eleven dogs; thus, the general picture of prosperity in Kuliouou matches that of Maunalua.

In 1860, Maunalua had lost over half its population with only sixteen households, one headed by a sick person. There were forty-four horses and three mules in the area. The konohiki of Maunalua, Pehu, had fourteen people and twenty-two horses credited to his tax records.

Kuliouou also lost a number of people but the decrease was substantially less. There were thirty-one households; one headed by a teacher named Kanepuu and another made up of at least eleven people under the konohiki, Noa. The people owned forty-four horses, four mules and three dogs, less horses and mules per household than in Maunalua, suggesting that the people of Kuliouou were poorer but more numerous than in Maunalua.

In 1870, Maunalua's population steadily decreased from 1860. There were only six households of which one was headed by a woman and two by old men. There were ten horses and two dogs, suggesting a diminishing prosperity in the area.

In Kuliouou, there were almost two and a half times as many people, with twenty households, three run by Portuguese and two by Americans or Europeans. One Hawaiian named Kauialua had sixteen head of cattle and probably had a small ranching business. There were thirty-eight horses, three mules, and twelve dogs in the area, indicating that the residents of Kuliouou were now slightly more prosperous than their neighbors in Maunaloa.

Maunaloa's population diminished even further, and in 1880, there were only four households, with the average age of the head of household as fifty-three and a half years. The ages suggest that the younger adults had left the area and the economic prosperity of the people was drastically reduced. Only two families owned horses and only one family owned a dog. The statistics suggest that Maunaloa was a depressed area at this time.

Kuliouou, on the other hand, was economically more prosperous. There were fifteen households, with the average age of the household head at thirty-nine years. Also, there was an influx of Americans and Portuguese in the area. Three households included Americans and three were headed by Portuguese families. The people were extremely well-off compared to Maunaloa owning twenty-nine horses and eleven dogs.

In 1890 Maunaloa's population went up. There were sixteen households, mostly composed of Hawaiians but there was one Portuguese family and three Chinese families in the area.

By 1900, Maunaloa Ranch and Yit Lee Company, who owned a big fishing complex, employed most of the inhabitants. Maunaloa Ranch had over 1500 head of cattle, ten oxen, sixty-four horses, thirteen mules and six pigs roaming throughout Maunaloa. Five Chinese families were working for the Damons, probably as ranch hands. Five other Chinese families worked for Yit Lee. There existed only one independent Chinese family not under Damon or Yit Lee. The eight Hawaiian families on the land, including one blind man, were truck farmers of some sort since all but two owned carts used for bringing goods to Honolulu. It is of socio-economic interest to note that the farmers were Hawaiians and that the ranch hands working for Damon were Chinese since the Chinese in Hawaii usually were the farmers and the Hawaiians the ranch workers. Thus, by the turn of the century most families in the ili were ranch hands, fishermen, or truck farmers living a relatively quiet life in an area which would be considered the country.

VII. HISTORY, 1850-1900

D. Nineteenth Century Concept of Fish Pond Ownership

In the historic period, the ancient fishing practices were modified to suit the changing times of the kingdom. These changes were reflected in legislative acts and court cases which sought to recognize ancient Hawaiian practices, provide for new legal relations, and interpret the old practices and the new legislation concerning fishing rights.

In order to trace this development, it is appropriate to point out that government and law in Hawaii developed in the 1830s and 1840s. The King in consultation with his great chiefs enacted laws for the Kingdom and, in time, decided to grant a constitution to all the people of Hawaii. In 1840 the first constitution

of the Kingdom was written providing for an executive branch headed by the King, a kuhina nui, a legislature composed of designated chiefs forming a house of nobles, a house of representatives chosen by the people, and a judicial system. Within a few years it was realized that a more formal administrative and judicial structure was needed. Consequently, from 1845 to 1848 three organic acts were written, passed and put into effect to organize the Executive Ministries, the Executive Departments, and the Judiciary Department.

Between 1848 and 1850 a series of land reforms transformed the feudal system of land control to one of private property. As a result of Ka Mahele (The Division) the Kuleana grant, and an act of the legislature in 1850, land could be owned by the king, chiefs, commoners, and resident foreigners. Also as a result of the land reforms, the government became a significant landowner. The legal concept of fishing rights involved executive orders, legislative acts and judicial interpretations. Fish ponds, however, remained attached to the land in which they were situated. Thus, the chief who controlled an ahupua'a or an ili also controlled the fishing grounds abutting his land. The maka'ainana (common people) who lived in the ahupua'a or ili also had certain rights of fishing in these grounds, however, these rights were always subject to the rights of the chiefs in authority over them.

In 1839 Kamehameha III, Kuhina Nui, Kekauluohi, and his chiefs in council promulgated a law which governed fishing rights. The law of June 7th, stated that all fishing grounds were owned by the king and redistributed in three portions: one to the people, another to the landlords and a third to the King himself.

The fishing grounds reserved for the common people were the Kilohee grounds, the Luhee ground, the Malolo ground, together with the ocean beyond. The Kilohee and Luhee refer to types of fishing for octopus, the malolo is the flying fish. Thus, the common people were granted open ocean fishing.

The fishing ground from the coral reef to the sea beach was the portion granted the konohiki and hoa'aina (tenants) of the land fronting the sea. The rights of the konohiki and the hoa'aina were carefully spelled out. The konohiki had the right to kapu one species of fish for his own use and no one could break this kapu. The hoa'aina had the right to all other fishes and paid the konohiki one-third of their catch. The hoa'aina from other land areas had no rights to fish in these grounds.

The King held designated fishing grounds protected for the King by his tax officers who determined the rate of taxes. In 1846 the royal grounds were made part of the government domain. Laws were passed to effect the control over these deep sea fishing grounds, however, the laws were difficult to administer and the revenue for them was insignificant.

In legal cases and legislation to 1900 the ownership of fish ponds did not change. The situation concerning fishing rights off shore changed in some aspects. In 1851, the King decided to give up his interest in the deep sea fishing grounds. Consequently, all the government fishing grounds were given to the people for the free and equal use of all persons but the Minister of the Interior still retained the right to place a kapu on fish during certain seasons. Moreover, an act was passed prohibiting the acquisition of rights over fishing grounds unless already included in the title of the land. Third, where no reef existed off a land, a konohiki held the fishing rights one geographical mile seaward to the beach beginning

at the low water mark.

Thus, the konohiki during and after the Mahele apparently accepted the old Hawaiian concepts of fishing rights with the new legislative and legal modifications. Their fishing rights extended to the breakers (Interior Department, letter dated March 29, 1848 from Halemano to the Minister of the Interior). Beyond, in the ocean waters, the common people could fish freely. Ponds, on the other hand, were under the jurisdiction of the konohiki who according to the law, could prohibit one fish in the pond for themselves. In Maunalua, it is known that under Victoria the kapu fish was the Anae (Interior Dept. Doc. #401-409, no date), although later, there are no records stating which fish was kapu.

VII. HISTORY, 1850-1900

E. Conclusion

Under the Mahele, the lands of Maunalua were the possession of the premier, Victoria Kamamalu. When she died the land went to her father, then to Lot Kamehameha V, her brother. When Lot died the land went to his half-sister, Ruth Keelikolani, and from there to Bernice Pauahi Bishop, whose father was once konohiki of the land. When Bernice died, the land was then held in trust for the Hawaiian people under the Bishop Estates who still hold ownership papers to Maunalua.

Under the various members of the Kamehameha line, the land was frequently mortgaged and leased, to private individuals. Maunalua lands were granted for pasture of cattle while the pond and the fishing rights were leased to various individuals for a great sum at that time, indicating that the waters were rich in fishes.

People in Maunalua held sub-leases with the larger lease-holders. From the tax records, it is obvious that the population of the area was relatively prosperous in the 1850's, but became poorer as more and more of the younger people moved to Honolulu. Maunalua became a depressed area in 1880 although neighboring Kuliouou was able to hold on to its own. In the 1890's, the Hawaiians in the area were gradually being replaced by the Chinese who worked for the fishing companies or for the ranches. The Hawaiians remained independent farmers who eked out a living as garden farmers for Honolulu.

Under the Mahele, the fishing rights were modified and changed to accommodate the new society and economic system of the kingdom. The ponds still remained within the jurisdiction of the land owners, however, there developed certain legal legislation and rulings which would affect the fishing rights of private owners of the waters, which would be fought once Hawaii became a Territory.

VIII. HISTORY, 1900-1959

A. Historical Events

During the 1900-1959 period the Kuapa Pond area was mainly devoted to agricultural and communication activities. In 1914 the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of America opened a receiving station on the slopes of Koko Head. Land for the complex was leased in March of 1913 for a term of fifty years. The station which was built to receive messages from San Francisco on a 24-hour basis was described

as "the most powerful wireless station in the world" (Advertiser, Jan. 30, 1913). Workmen building the complex were housed in a large building constructed especially for them. The building appears on a 1924 map of the area as a hotel. This communications complex was not the first in the area, according to a newspaper article written in 1858. It states that the Co Co (sic) Head Telegraph was being constructed by the "public spirited Post master." This is one of the earliest dates for long distance communications in Hawaii. In 1837 Samuel Morse invented the first telegraph and by 1857 Hawaii had its first marine telegraph off Diamond Head. The electric telegraph was first used in Hawaii in 1858, the same year that the Koko Head station was installed. There are no other indications that this station was completed or ever used. In 1896 Marconi patented his wireless telegraph and three years later Fred J. Cross signed a contract with the inventor for the Marconi franchise in the Hawaiian Islands. The first wireless communications between the Islands was successfully transmitted in November of 1900. By 1901 stations had been installed in Kaimuki on Oahu and on the other major islands. Service, however, was unreliable for several years. The station built on Koko Head was a historic event for communications in Hawaii. It linked the islands with the mainland and the Orient on a 24-hour basis.

In the early 1920's the Radio Corporation of America took over the remaining years of the Marconi lease and used the station for radio transmission. A decade later the Mutual Telephone Co. (later Hawaiian Telephone) used the site for communications relaying. A section in the lease for the telephone company assured Mutual Telephone of their communication rights in the area.

In 1925 the Maunalua area was the site of an agricultural farm for the Kamehameha Boy's School. The entire Hahaione valley was turned into a school farm set up by the trustees of the school with the cooperation of the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association. The farm encompassed forty-five acres of vegetable fields and about 200 acres of grazing land.

The school had once had an agricultural program in Kalihi for both boys and girls but due to the financial cost of running this vocational program and the unsuitability of the Kalihi site for large scale agricultural pursuits, the program was discontinued in 1920. Five years later the Hahaione farm was begun with a piggery, a dairy, a hennery, and vegetable gardens. According to Kilmer Moe and Loring Hudson the school failed due to the lack of interest on the part of the students. "Hawaiians do not care for farm labor or farm life and no amount of costly effort seems to be able to change ideas in that respect" (Hudson, 1935:129).

Other agricultural pursuits in the area included the Maunalua Ranch formed in 1900, which lasted until 1926. In 1932 the area was leased to Alan S. Davis and used for grazing again. There was also a honey company and a charcoal company.

The area grew in importance in the field of agriculture. In 1959 more than 178 families were engaged in farming in the Koko Head area, producing sixty percent of the hogs, flowers and Manoa lettuce grown on Oahu (Turner, 59:A1:3).

The Lunalilo Home was established by the estate of William Lunalilo in his 1871 will. The will states that \$25,000 was to be left to build an "Infirmery for poor, aged and infirm people of Hawaiian birth or extraction." (Lunalilo, June 7, 1871). The cornerstone of the Home, however, was not laid until ten years later in 1881 due to the contested will. The institution was opened on March 31, 1883, the

first of its type in the Islands. The home was not to be a hospital for the infirm, but a place where Hawaiians could spend the last years of their lives in a spirit of community living.

Deteriorating conditions at the Makiki home in the 1920's was brought to the public's attention by the Hawaiian Civic Club. In 1927 a new site was purchased for the home by the Brown family (C.A. Brown, George II Brown, and Senator Francis Brown) at Koko Head. The twenty acre site was the former Radio Corporation of America complex leased from the Bishop Estate. The site was purchased in fee from the estate with the main hotel structure, a seventy-five room building, constructed in 1914 by the Marconi Wireless Company, as the nucleus of the Home. Due to the improvement of communication facilities, the Koko Head site was sold and the Home moved to its new location in 1928 and is still operating at that site.

VIII. HISTORY, 1900-1959

B. Land Ownership

Land ownership was held by the Bishop Estates, however, beginning in 1884 the land was for the most part leased out to ranching interests and the fishing rights were leased or sold to individuals or companies who commercially fished in the bay and the pond. The only exception was the Hahaione farming school for boys which was nestled in the valley under the direction of Kilmer Moe.

The Estates did grant the City and County, Mutual Telephone, and the Territory rights of way for a road across the pond and leases for the communication systems (Title Guaranty, Land Court). Thus, the new road crossing the pond blocked all but the highest tides from inundating Maunalua.

From 1902 to 1905, the Trustees of the Bishop Estates took the Territory of Hawaii to court and won their "right to sea fishery within the reef" (Title Guaranty, Land Court); the Territory did motion for a new trial but then filed a discontinuance. In 1927, the Supreme Court of Hawaii denied the appeal of one David Kui Laamea, defendant, who claimed that he had fishing rights through adverse possession (Smith v. Laamea, 29 H 750). Thus, in both cases, the courts declared that the fishing rights of the ili up to the reef was held by Bishop Estates.

In Kuliouou, Domitila Paiko and J. Paiko Jr. also established private fishing rights. They took the Territory of Hawaii to court and the Circuit Court adjudged that the plaintiffs had a vested right to the sea fishery. The Territory appealed the decision to the Supreme Court in 1905 but dropped the case (Monsarrat, Land Court), thereby accepting the court's recognition of private ownership to off-shore fishing. During the court proceedings, the land was mortgaged, probably to meet the legal expenses incurred. In 1912, Paiko went to court again to obtain quiet title to part of the mountain region of Kuliouou II which was considered by the Territory as government lands. The case was decided against the Paikos.

VIII. HISTORY, 1900-1959

C. Fish Pond Regulations

In 1900 the Congress of the United States passed an organic act creating

the government of the Territory of Hawaii. Because fishing rights were not a part of the American experience, Congress provided that all special fishing rights were to be repealed and the proceedings by which these rights were held were to be vacated. In sections 95 and 96 of the act, all exclusive fishing rights in Hawaii were to be repealed subject to vested rights. Any person claiming a vested right in a fishery had to register that right within two years of the passage of the act. Then, the Territory of Hawaii was to start condemnation proceedings to buy these fishery rights and to eliminate this ancient practice of Hawaii. Fish ponds were specifically not included in the description, thus, they remained as private property until the Territory began condemnation proceedings.

Fifty-five persons filed claims to private fishing rights. In 1904 the United States Supreme Court determined that a fishing right was a vested interest. Since that time the Territorial government has periodically filed condemnation proceedings to vacate this interest and regulate the fisheries. Furthermore, the Commissioner of Public Lands was given the power to place a kapu on fish at certain seasons. Moreover, the use of dynamite and explosives in any waters or fish pond was regulated by the police power of the government.

The Territory which had accepted the decision of the courts to recognize private ownership of fishing rights, decided to begin proceedings aimed at placing all fish ponds under its jurisdiction. This movement was begun, but was never completed and Kuapa Pond remained Bishop Estates property.

VIII. HISTORY, 1900-1959

D. Commercial Feasibility of Kuapa Pond

Fishing in the area has always been a major factor of life in Maunalua. The Bay was famous for its mullet and since the 1920's was fished by Joseph Lukela who had the konohiki rights to the fishery. The pond itself was also commercially run and in recent times was owned by two Chinese and a Japanese. Just before Kaiser took over the area the pond had become increasingly muddy. It was described as 5 to 6 feet deep with a layer of mud below equally as thick and a coral bottom (Stewart, 1959:A8:1). Informants remember the pond as extremely shallow.

In 1903 a team of experts from the U.S. Fish Commission surveyed the Hawaiian Islands' aquatic life. Part of the study included a list of fish ponds in the Islands still in use at the time. Although the list does not include some inaccessible ponds it does provide a guide and offers some statistics on fish pond activities at the turn of the century.

Oahu had approximately seventy-four ponds of which Kuapa was listed as the largest with an area of 523 acres. Lelepana pond in Moanalua was second in size with an area of 332 acres. Molokai had approximately fifty ponds with only one-third of them being used commercially as compared to Oahu where almost all ponds were being fished commercially. Hawaii, Kauai and Maui had fewer ponds in that order.

On Oahu alone 560,283 pounds of fish were caught in ponds during 1900 valued at an estimated \$139,704.00. The total catch for all Islands was 682,464 pounds valued at \$167,041.00. Approximately eighty-five percent of the total catch consisted of mullet or 'ama'ana (Mugil cephalus).

In 1957 only fourteen of the original seventy-four ponds existing on Oahu in 1900 were still in use. Many of them have been filled in to provide land, e.g., the airport was once Lelepana Pond. In 1960 only half of those ponds were still being stocked and tended. Kuapa was one of those seven remaining ponds.

Although the Division of Fish and Game of the State Department of Land and Natural Resources can not disclose individual pond statistics without the written permission of the owner, statewide pond statistics were available. Earlier records are subject to a margin of error since there existed so few standards for collecting data prior to 1948. Often the same catch would be counted twice providing inaccurate statistics. These records, however, do present information on a statewide basis which may reflect trends in individual ponds. In 1928 (the next record after Cobb's 1900 survey; the fish and game division became a separate bureau of the Board of Agriculture and Forestry in 1927) the total catch from fish ponds was 173,945 pounds, seventy-six percent of which were mullets. Production dropped for a few years with 1931 having a small catch of 41,638 pounds. In the late 1930's the yield from the ponds increased again with catches between 400,000 and 500,000 pounds. There were no records for the war years. After the war, pond catches declined although for a brief period production increased to 139,737 pounds in 1956. In 1959 the total catch amounted to 96,036 pounds valued at \$58,088.00, mullet consisted of less than half of the total. By 1960 mullet no longer was the major specie caught. Oio (Albula vulpes), awa (Chanos chanos) and ulua (Carangidae) have become the major types of fish raised in ponds. Last year's total catch was only 27,338 pounds valued at \$19,306.00 of which mullet consisted of only 2,500 pounds.

VIII. HISTORY, 1900-1959

E. Floods in Maunalua and Kuliouou

The floods of Oahu are caused by either heavy rainfall along watersheds or tsunamis. In Maunalua flood waters are infrequent and few records exist of storms or tsunamis. The reason is that the Maunalua ili is considered one of the most arid areas on Oahu and heavy rainfalls rarely occur. Moreover, according to the "Hawaii's Shoreline" study, the Maunalua Bay coastline is well protected by its reef from all types of waves including tsunamis.

Flood records indicate that the Kuliouou ili, on the other hand, is very susceptible to floods. In 1949, residents of Moomuku Street, Kuliouou Road, and Elelupe were singled out for flood control relief because of flood water damages from winter storms. Only in 1954 were the residents of Kuliouou Valley provided with better flood control and drainage measures of the Kuliouou Stream which protected them from further storm floods.

The one exception to floodings occurred on May 23, 1960. The newspaper accounts of that time mention damages along the waterfront on Maunalua Avenue near Kuliouou Beach. Among the various occupants only one lost his home, a James B. Blackshearn whose beach home near Kuapa Pond was destroyed by waves. Others had wave damage and debris washed into the house and yard, but nothing was destroyed (Star-Bulletin, May 23, 1960, p. 18).

A catalogue on tsunamis states that the Hawaiian Islands have been struck by eighty-five tsunamis since 1813. Of these the 1837, 1868, 1946, and 1960 tsunamis

were the most destructive, causing severe damage primarily on the island of Hawaii. There are no details of damages at Maunaloa in 1837 and 1868. On April 1, 1946, however, tsunami waves caused slight flood damage to a few residents living in the immediate beach area, particularly in the Kuliouou ili. Here waters, mud and silt engulfed both houses and yards.

According to one article, Robert L. Shriver, a resident of Maunaloa Bay at Koko Head, had waves washing into his yard (Star-Bulletin, April 1, 1946, p. 4). One person died at Koko Head, probably caused by the raging waters engulfing and overturning cars on the main highways (Star-Bulletin, April 1, 1946, p. 1), but only one death was attributed to the waves. Thus, damage to the area by floods has been minimal, affecting only personal property and rarely lives.

VIII. HISTORY, 1900-1959

F. Conclusions

Maunaloa in the twentieth century was one of the transmitting stations in the Islands for communication. The Radio Company of America and Mutual Telephone had receivers for not only inter-island but for Pacific and mainland connections, and had one of the strongest transmitting stations in the Pacific. Besides communication, Maunaloa housed the residents of the Lunalilo Home and was an agricultural and commercial fishing area. Ranching had been abandoned in the 1920's and instead, an experimental farm of Kamehameha Schools was established.

The fishing rights of Maunaloa and Kuliouou were taken to court and in both cases the courts recognized the fishing rights of the owners of the land, despite the Organic Act. Later the Territory attempted to take over the ownership of fish ponds, but did not attempt to claim Kuapa Pond, the largest fish pond in Oahu.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

Maunaloa and Kuliouou today have only a few archaeological sites still in existence. These include the shelters and petroglyph caves, both of which are outside the Kuapa Pond study area.

The sites which McAllister found in the 1930's have been destroyed. Some of the heiau sites were burned by Hawaiians who felt their gods were useless against the guns of Portlock and his men. The stones of others were periodically used to repair fish pond wall. Hawea heiau, probably the most important heiau being the repository for the sacred drum Hawea which was connected with the La'a-mai-kahiki myths and later the legend of Kualii's birth, apparently met this fate, although some remains were still in existence when McAllister surveyed the ili. The ko'a which McAllister discussed in 1933 were destroyed by floods during the 1940's. It is believed that whatever remains of heiau and ko'a which existed in 1933 have been destroyed by floods and the increasing urbanization of the area despite strict preservation laws in force since the turn of the century for preservation of heiau sites in the island. Most of the sites found by the Department of Land and Natural Resources (1970), with the notable exception of the petroglyph cave, are burials and should not be disturbed, nor should their locations be publicized.

The Pele myths explain many place names of Maunalua but are not connected to any known event. Specific landmarks associated with the myths such as the balancing stones have all disappeared.

The legends, however, are definitely connected to important events in Hawaiian pre-contact periods. They indicate that while the first migration of the Polynesian race concentrated in Kuliouou, the second migration had one of its centers at Maunalua.

Soon after the second migration Maunalua became part of the patrimonial estates of the Oahu kings, although they had entrusted the land to a young warrior who repulsed Alapai. King Kahekili then conquered Oahu in 1783 and ownership is not known under the Maui ruler. Prior to 1795, when Kamehameha took control of Oahu the only importance of Maunalua appears to have been as a site for a potential invasion of Oahu. After European contact, the ili of Maunalua was a popular anchoring site utilized by Captains Portlock and Dixon (1786) because the calm harbor made it a perfect landing place. In their descriptions it is clear that they believed the pond to be connected to the sea.

Under Kamehameha, however, the pond walls were rebuilt and sand bars created which interfered with flow of water and its navigability by larger ships. Even before the isolation of the pond from the sea, ownership of the pond was tied to the land. It is also evident that the benefits of the fish pond were reserved for the ali'i who owned the land, pond, and fishing rights, and his konohiki.

Following the custom of conquerors, Kamehameha gave Maunalua to his faithful warrior and governor of Oahu, Kuihelani. But, the land was soon taken away from Kuihelani unjustly because of an interrupted love tryst between Kuihelani's wife and Kuakini. Kamehameha then gave the land to Keeaumoku, the father of his favorite wife, Kaahumanu. When Keeaumoku died, Kaahumanu received the land but later gave the land to Kalola. Kalola held the land and had her young nephew, Abner Paki, rule as konohiki. Under Kalola, the sandalwood of Maunalua was cut, but the poor quality and quantity of the sandalwood offered little financial profit for the chiefess.

The people of Maunalua diminished in number from the days of Portlock's arrival to 1880. They were relatively self-sufficient and even prosperous during the days of the whaling ships when they could trade their potatoes for goods. But once the whaling vessels disappeared, the younger adults moved to the city, leaving only the very old and the infirm on the land. By 1880, Maunalua was a depressed area with only four households; the youngest head of the household being forty-eight years old. Neighboring Kuliouou, on the other hand, fared a little better with an influx of foreign residents.

The succession of ownership of land in Maunalua is easy to follow since one individual at a time held the ili. After Kaahumanu's death, the land was given to the new premier, Kinau. Kinau held the land and at her death, the land and title went to her daughter, Victoria Kamamalu. Victoria received the Land Commission Award for the land under the Mahele. When she died, the land went to her father, Kekuanaoa. The courts awarded the land to his son, Lot Kamehameha when Kekuanaoa died. When Lot died the land was granted to his half-sister, Ruth Keelikolani and from Ruth it went to her cousin, Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Bernice died and left a will creating the Bishop Estates and the court-confirmed Trustees administered all

her lands for Kamehameha Schools.

One historic site, the present Lunalilo Home deserves some recognition. Although the structure has minimal architectural interest, it was once the most powerful wireless receiving station in the Pacific. Therefore, a plaque should be erected in front of the building informing the public of this fact. Other restoration of the building is, however, not recommended.

Before 1900, fish ponds remained private property owned by whomever owned the adjacent lands, although legislation the middle of the nineteenth century gave local residents greater fishing rights.

In 1900, the Congress of the United States passed the Organic Act providing for the repeal of all special fishing rights. The Territory of Hawaii was to start condemnation proceedings to buy the fishing rights of private individuals claiming a vested right in a fishery. Fish ponds were specifically not included in the description. In 1904, the United States Supreme Court determined that a fishing right was a vested interest.

In the early twentieth century, there were two cases involving private fishing rights in the area, one brought to trial by Bishop Estates and one by the Paikos. In each case, the circuit courts upheld the right of the Estates and the Paikos to private fishing rights, in apparent direct contradiction to the Organic Act. In both of the cases involving the Territory, the Territory failed to follow through with appeals. In 1927, the Supreme Court of Hawaii again upheld Bishop Estates ownership of fishing rights up to the reef.

In pre-World War II, the Territory which had previously accepted the court decisions recognizing private ownership of fishing rights decided to begin proceedings aimed at placing all fish ponds under its jurisdiction. Some fish ponds were declared the property of the Territory, but others were not. For some reason the Territory did not rigorously attempt to claim Kuapa Pond and it remained Bishop Estates property.

In the early twentieth century, the Estates granted several individuals the right to farm and fish commercially in Maunalua. In 1959, after Statehood, the Bishop Estates leased the land to Kaiser for urban development after having evicted resident farmers. Thus, Maunalua and Kuliouou, centers of the first and second migration, became the back waters of Oahu under the monarchy and during the Territory, only to become a suburban community of Honolulu after Statehood.

X. RECOMMENDATIONS

The report was to be a reconnaissance study of the Kuapa Pond area. Thus, the report has mentioned most of the events in Maunalua and some in Kuliouou as well as touching on land ownership, fish pond and fishing rights, and the legal disputes. Although numerous sources were used, there are many more which need to be investigated for a comprehensive and definitive study of Maunalua and Kuliouou. The report indicates where and identifies which sources have been researched as well as which sources have been overlooked or superficially skimmed.

Further research needs to be done to clarify the laws concerning fishing rights and fish pond ownership after 1900. An analysis of all fish ponds might explain when, why, and under what legal basis the Territory claimed some fish ponds and why they did not claim others, such as Kuapa Pond. Possibly of legal importance is whether a fish pond can be claimed under the Organic Act by the state if there are no fishing rights being exercised. In connection with this it would be worthwhile to determine the evolution of commercial fishing in Kuapa Pond since 1900. It is known that the pond was fished commercially, but it is not known to what degree and when it stopped or if it stopped.

As mentioned earlier, heiau sites still in existence in the 1930's have all since been destroyed by the increasing urbanization of the area. It is almost impossible to make any recommendations or to suggest ways to preserve non-existent sites. In some cases, for example, the heiau may be part of someone's house. Perhaps a little map could be posted along a shoulder of the highway marking the important sites which have disappeared so residents and travelers could visualize where the old sites once stood.

The most important heiau, Hawea, has been totally destroyed and the stones which were used for the fish pond walls have since disappeared. There should be a plaque near the Marina where it once stood explaining the connection of this heiau with the second migration, the sacred drum of Hawea, and the La'a-mai-kahiki and Kualii legends.

Most of the ko'a mentioned by McAllister were wiped out by floods and the fate of others is unknown, probably succumbing to urbanization. It seems remarkable that ko'a which have stood for hundreds of years should be destroyed all at once in the 1940's. This would seem to indicate that there may have been some loss of coral or natural reefs or sand bars that had protected the ko'a in earlier tidal waves and periods of floodings, probably between 1933 and 1947. Dating the destruction of ko'a may be instrumental in determining the extent of changes undertaken by the Estates. Thus, it is strongly recommended that records citing changes in the coral reef be studied to ascertain if a correlation exists between dredging of the coral and the destruction of ko'a.

Libraries. The secondary sources on Maunalua are few and general and the search for materials has been exhausted. The most useful of the books found are Summers and Sterling's Sites of Oahu and McAllister's Archaeology of Oahu. Most books mention something about Maunalua, but only in passing. The traditional sources used for nineteenth century history were Abraham Fornander, John Papa Ii, and Samuel Kamakau. They describe the history of Hawaii before and after the conquest of the Hawaiian Islands by Kamehameha.

The historical record of the flora and fauna of Maunalua in the nineteenth century is meagre. Few visitors appear to have visited the southeastern part of Oahu. Reliable sources for descriptions of other areas on Oahu were useless for Maunalua, these include Andrew Bloxam, James MacCrae, William Ellis, and members of the Wilkes expedition. In modern writings there also seems to be a disagreement in the exact classification of the vegetation zones of Maunalua. Ripperton and Hosaka's early classification received refinement from Egler, Henry, and Krajina. What does appear to be definite is that the indigenous vegetation of Maunalua, especially in coastal and the intermediate zone, cannot be identified. The modern description of vegetation was consistent in the listings of plants. The land surrounding the pond was marshland and only salt tolerant plants grew. The most common plant was

akule-kule. In the rest of the area, the vegetation was dominated by kiawe trees, klu, thorny bush, ko'a haole ilima and pili grass.

The University of Hawaii had one dissertation by Henry which was useful for twentieth century history of Maunaloa. Also helpful were the books written by Mathison which described his visit to the area and Dixon's journal and maps. A two-volume book by William Henry Portlock, a relative of Nathaniel Portlock, with maps, etchings, and journal entries, however, is missing and so could not be used in the report.

An edition of Portlock's journals which had been published earlier than William Portlock's two-volume work was found in the State Library. Almost all the descriptions of the Portlock's journal were based on this book.

All newspaper articles indexed were checked and those that appeared to have some historical interest were read. Articles included plans for the development of the Kuapa Pond area as well as biographical accounts of those involved. Many of these articles also dealt with displacement of farmers and residents.

It is suggested that further newspaper research be conducted as early accounts of the area may appear in newspapers not indexed. Also Hawaiian language newspapers may prove to be an added resource.

Archives. The index of names, subjects, and lands at the Archives was also checked. The land records were the most helpful and documents pertaining to the Maunaloa area were reviewed. Of special interest was the lease rent book belonging to Victoria Kamamalu and her father, Mataio Kekuanaoa, prepared by John Dominis. Records of the Interior Department and the Privy Council were checked when the index provided specific citations.

The Department of the Interior records on whaling vessels and sandalwood were also spot checked but should be thoroughly researched. The journals, log books, correspondence, and statistics on sandalwood and whaling should be read to determine the exact extent of sandalwood cutting and whaling trade in Maunaloa.

Attorney General's files on cases of fish ponds were superficially checked. A thorough analysis of this as well as the nineteenth century legal documents on fish pond ownership should be studied as length. Legislative documents, Privy Council Records and Minutes, and Executive and Cabinet Minutes should also be checked for information on fish ponds. The only legislative record which has been checked has been the 1959 Senate and House Concurrent Resolution piggeries. Other legislative records should be checked despite the time involved, to discern if there were special interest groups in the area.

Tax Assessment records were used up to 1900. Since taxes (before 1900) were recorded by district rather than alphabetically, it was possible to draw a socio-economic picture of Maunaloa and Kuliouou, but after 1900, taxes are more difficult to study since they are listed alphabetically. Tax records should be studied if the subleases are not available from the Bishop Estates files. Also, annual reports of expenditures and tax records of the Estates and all the lessees should be thoroughly investigated to see the amount and extent of change in Maunaloa.

Department of Instruction Records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawaii at the Archives have been ignored. Public Instruction Records from the Mission Children's Society Library have been used, but there is further information, often not indexed, in the Department of Instruction Records which should be researched.

Also ignored have been diplomatic documents on filibustering and the implications this may have had on Maunaloa and Kuliouou. These records should also be checked for a more comprehensive picture of the foreign influences in ports and harbors.

Mission Children Society Library: The journal of Levi Chamberlain for the years 1826-1828 were read. Other journals mentioned in McAllister and Summers and Sterling were also checked. These included Portlock and Mathison. Several general source journals such as Hiram Bingham's A Residence of 21 years in the Sandwich Islands, C.S. Steward's Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands, and Isabella Bird's Six Months in the Sandwich Islands were skimmed for descriptions of the Maunaloa area. None of these provided any information.

Journals may be a good source of information on the Pond and the surrounding area. Very few of these journals, however, are indexed. It is suggested that a random selection of journals covering the time span from 1830 to 1900 be checked for reference to the area. Many people such as Stephen Reynolds and James Hunnewell periodically toured Oahu and their journals may be helpful.

The Register of Schools and School Statistics from the Examination of Schools of Oahu were also used. These records provided information on education and population growth in the area. Records, however, were only available for the years 1828-1837. Other school statistics may be found in Station Reports. Although Maunaloa did not have its own Mission Station, it may have been included in another area. School records are also found in other sources such as Schmidt. It is recommended that these other areas be looked at for possible information on the schools which were in existence between 1828 and 1832. Public Instruction Reports from 1846 to 1900 were checked.

Bishop Museum: Articles listed in Catherine Summers' Hawaiian Fishponds bibliography were checked for specific reference to Kuapa Pond. These included the two Kamakau articles translated from the Hawaiian newspaper Ke Au Okoa on fish ponds as well as other sources on fishing methods. It is interesting that in Kamakau's historical essays he lists fish ponds with agriculture and not under fishing. This grouping reinforces the idea that fish ponds were part of the land.

Stokes' extensive collections of fish traps and fish ponds were also read. There was nothing pertaining to Kuapa Pond in his material.

In the series of articles appearing in Kuokoa in 1902 on methods of fishing and fishing grounds, (p. 106) there is no mention whatsoever about Kuapa Pond. Kauhaulelio devotes a section to mullet ponds but only mentions ponds on Molokai and Kauai where he fished. Either the Kuapa Pond was not very important, size not being a factor, or was ignored because it was privately operated. Cobb does mention in his 1900 report that the pond was being fished commercially.

J.K. Mokumaia's article on the "Shoreline of Maunaloa and its Tidbits", March, 1921 devotes an entire article to the Maunaloa area regarding fishing. He

speaks of the natives repairing their nets, salting fish, as well as the various fish shrines in the area. Again nothing is said about the fish pond, which presumably exerted a social and economic influence in the area.

Department of Land and Natural Resources, Historic Register of Hawaii. All site folders of Maunalua and Kuliouou available for study were used to compare the 1970's sites with those McAllister found in the 1930's. The historic and archaeological data was almost non-existent in the 1970's sites and need to be further researched. Also, one site folder has been lost; thus, there is one site for which the report could not account. It is believed, however, that this site was of marginal value, and would not have added any new revelations.

Department of Land and Natural Resources, Fish and Game Division: Records of fish caught commercially on Oahu were checked from 1928 to the present. Fish ponds were classified separately from 1933 on, although individual pond records, begun in 1944, are confidential, and not accessible for this report.

Bishop Estate Office: Three reports prepared for the Estate by the firm of Bartholomew and Harland Associates were studied for potential historical information. These included a 1954 Report on the Potential use of Maunalua, a thirty page report with seventeen plates including a Boring location map, rainfall, soil conditions, rentals etc. The second report consisted of a Study of Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate Lands at Hahaione, Kealahou, Maunalua, which contained five pages of text with two plates and discussed estimated costs of development. The third report, written in Dec. 1957 was a study of Land Use plan for BPB Estate at Maunalua, Koolaupoko, Honolulu. The report contained more details of schemes E and F than in the 1954 report for development of Maunalua and possible highway alignment with recommendations for the next steps. A fourth report on the Population Growth -Wai'lae to Makapuu Point, compiled in 1950, was not available. The above reports were reviewed basically for their historical content.

All subleases of Maunalua located in the Bishop Estates Office were unavailable for review at this time. These subleases would have contributed the raw material needed for a statistical study of the socio-economic outline of Maunalua which are invaluable. It is recommended that these subleases be studied and analyzed. Henry pointed out that the sublessees were required to clean the pond, and yet, interviewed persons made no mention of this point or denied it. In addition, other discrepancies of people living in the area would be clarified if the subleases were made available for further study.

Land Court. Land Court documents of Koko Head, Maunalua, and Kuliouou I were studied; Examiner's Reports and the certification of titles were copies. Notes were taken on briefs; Land Court maps and applications were scrutinized.

Another thorough study of Land Court cases regarding the fish ponds is needed to ascertain the concept of private fish pond ownership, especially in the period since 1900.

Bureau of Conveyances. Boundary certificates and deeds of Maunalua were confirmed and checked as well as some leases of the fish pond. Photostatic copies were made and a careful analysis of Hawaiian documents was undertaken. Maps were also examined for changes in boundaries.

There should be a further title search of leases which may have been overlooked since the title search covered only Koko Head,--not all of Maunalua. Also, a title search of Kuliouou II is recommended since the certification of title was for Kuliouou I.

Since Maunalua is still in Land Court and a claim was submitted in 1966 by one Harold Anthony Cathcart all leases should be examined.

Circuit Courts. Circuit Court documents on fish pond ownership should be studied, except for probates, further. The earliest documents are deposited in the State Archives and have not been studied. Documents in the First Circuit Court Library have also been ignored. Records in the other circuit courts have been neglected since the records were inaccessible--they remain on outer islands. (The transportation and per diem expense made a trip impossible.) Only appeals of First Circuit Court cases, published in the Hawaii Laws, were studied. There should be a careful analysis of cases in the First Circuit Court library. It would be time consuming since cases are only indexed according to plaintiff and defendant's names, not subject matters.

Supreme Court Library. No research has been done in the Supreme Court libraries. It is recommended that fish pond litigations be listed, researched, and studied.

The court documents found in the University of Hawaii libraries were xeroxed, but these documents are only the beginning.

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PLACE NAMES

- AHUKINI (heiau)- "Lit. altar [for] many [blessings]" (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini, 1974:6).
- HAHA'IONE- "Lit. sand broken" - "the eastern part of Sandy Beach, O'ahu; in whaling days ships anchored off this beach"; name of Kamehameha Schools farm (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:34).
- HALONA- "Lit., peering place", cove & blowhole lookout (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini, 1974:39).
- HANAUMA- "Beach park, bay, underwater park, and marine life conservation district created in 1967, . . . sand consists predominantly of green olivine crystals . . . Lit., curved bay or hand-wrestling bay." (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:41).
- HAWEA (heiau)- "Perhaps . . . famous drum brought by La'a-mai-kahiki from Kahiki" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:43).
- HUANUI- "A variety of banana" (Pukui & Elbert, 1973:79).
- IHIHI-LAU-AKEA (crater)- "Crater west of Hanauma Bay, and bridge over ravine between Blowhole & Hanauma Bay, Oahu. Lit., wide-leafed 'ihi-ihi (an extinct or unknown plant said to have grown at this site)" (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini, 1974:55).
- KAALAKEI (valley)- "Lit., the proud water-worn stone" (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini, 1974:60).
- KAHAULOA (crater)- "Ka-hau-loa & her brother Kama-a-lau came from Kahiki & overslept after playing the sexual game, kilu. They were turned to stones in a stream, she a flat one & he an upright one. . . Lit., the tall hau tree" (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini, 1974:63).
- KA-HO'OHA'IHA'I- Possible meaning: causing to be broken (Frances Frazier).
- KA-HO'OKOMOKOMO-WAWAE- Lit. meaning: feet entering (Frances Frazier).
- KAIHUOKAPUA'A- "Lit., the snout of the pig" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:68).
- KAILIILI- "Land area on the Maka-pu'u side of the beach park at Sandy Beach, O'ahu. Lit., the pebble" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:68).
- KAIWI- "Road & cave . . . Lit., the bone" (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini, 1974:71).
- KALAMA- Named probably for the wife of Kamehameha III (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:74).
- KALAUILI- Lit. meaning: the fickleness, going astray (Frances Frazier).
- KALOKO- "Lit., the pond" (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini, 1974:78).
- KALOLO- "First liquor that runs off in distillation" (Pukui & Elbert, 1973:115).

- KALUANUI- "According to Westervelt . . . , the pig god, Kama-pua'a, was born here, apparently as a foetus; he was thrown away by an older brother but was rescued by his mother, Hina. Lit., the big pit" (Pukui, Elbert, Mookini, 1974:79).
- KALUAPUHI- "Lit., the eel pit (in a cave was an eel-shaped rock)" (Pukui, Elbert, & Mookini, 1974:79).
- KA-MA'AWA- Possible meaning: a faint track (Frances Frazier).
- KAMAUMAU- Probable meaning: perpetuated (Frances Frazier).
- KAMEHAME- "Lit., the Hame tree" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:81).
- KAMILOIKI- Lit., small milo tree (Pukui, Elbert, & Mookini, 1974:82).
- KAMILOKAPU- Kapu or forbidden milo tree (Frances Frazier).
- KAMILONUI- Lit., large milo tree (Pukui, Elbert, & Mookini, 1974:82).
- KANE-HALA- Probable meaning: the hala tree of Kane, Polynesian god (Frances Frazier).
- KAOWA- Probable meaning: split, or cracked (Frances Frazier).
- KAPAKI- Sabbath (Pukui & Elbert, 1973:122).
- KAPALIOKAMOA- The cliff of the chicken (Frances Frazier).
- KAPUNAPUNA- "Mealy, firm, not soft or soggy, as taro or sweet potato . . ." (Pukui & Elbert, 1973:328).
- KAUANONOULA- "Named for a chiefess fond of playing kōnane. Another version is that when Kaulana-i-ka-pōki'i came here from that legendary land, Kuaihelani, rainbows attested her rank, hence the name of the place. Lit., the dark red rain" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:91).
- KAU'ILI'ULA (heiau)- Possible meaning: place reddened skin (Frances Frazier).
- KAWAIKANE- The water produced by Kane, fresh water (Frances Frazier).
- KAWAIHOA- "Point beyond Portlock Road, Honolulu; the god Kāne brought forth water here . . . Lit., the companion's water" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:98)...
- KAWEKIU- Road "Lit., the summit" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:99).
- KEAHUPUA-O-MAUNALUA- Probable meaning: the mass of young fish of Maunalua Fishpond (Frances Frazier).
- KEALAKIPAPA- "Trail from Wāwāmalu to Maka-pu'u, Oahu., Lit., the paved road" (Pukui, Elbert, & Mookini, 1974:102).
- KENANOKEAKUAPOLOLI- Cave of the hungry god at Moeau (Summers, 1962:3).

- KEAWA-A-KIO- The harbor of Kio, possibly a play on words since KIO means a pool or cistern (Frances Frazier).
- KE-KULA-O-KAMAUWAI- The plain of water perpetuated (Frances Frazier).
- KOAI'A (heiau)- "A native tree (Acacia koaia), much like the koa but smaller . . . ; the wood is harder, formerly used for spears, fancy paddles, and for the i'e tapa beater; later for furniture" (Pukui & Elbert, 1973:145).
- KOHELEPELEPE- "Old name for Koko Crater, O'ahu . . . Lit., vagina labia minor" (Pukui, Elbert, & Mookini, 1974:115).
- KOKO (Crater & Head)- "Modern names for two well-known tuff cones east of Honolulu; the old name for Koko Crater was Kohelepelepe. Koko was formerly the name of a small canoe landing at the Wai'alae side of Koko Head, named for red earth, or for blood (koko) of a man bitten by a shark" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:115).
- KOOLAUPOKO- Lit., short sounding [of the] Ko'olau [wind] (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:117).
- KUAMOOKANE- "Hill (642 feet high) above Hanauma Bay, Oahu. Lit., Kāne backbone" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:119).
- KULIOUOU (valley)- "Lit., sounding knee (referring to a knee drum [pūniu] attached to the knee) (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:124).
- LAU-KUPU- Lit., leaf sprout (Frances Frazier).
- MAKAAOA- A shellfish (Pukui & Elbert, 1973:207).
- MAKANI HOLO-UHA- Allusion to "cold wind that chills the naked legs of the fisher-folk" (Summers, 1962:71).
- MAKAPU'U- "Lit., hill beginning or bulging eye (the name of an image said to have been in a cave known as Ke-ana-o-ke-akua-pōloli" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:142).
- MALEI- "The name of goddess who watched over the uhu (fish) of Maka-pu'u Point" (Pukui & Elbert, 1973:214).
- MAMALA- "Bay, Honolulu Harbor to Pearl Harbor, O'ahu, named for a shark woman who lived at the entrance of Honolulu Harbor & often played Kōnane. She left her shark husband, 'Ouha, for Honoka'upu. 'Ouha then became the shark god of Wai-kiki and of Koko Head . . . In the song 'Nā Ka Pueo' . . . , the name of the bay is juxtaposed to mālama, to protect . . . on the surface [of the sea] of Māmala, protect the cove" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:144).
- MAUNALUA- "Section of Honolulu now known as Hawai'i-kai; bay also known as Wai'alae Bay, forest reserve, & beach park. Koko Head qd., Oahu . . . Lit., two mountains" (Pukui, Elbert, & Mookini, 1974:149).
- MAU-WAI- Water perpetuated (Frances Frazier).

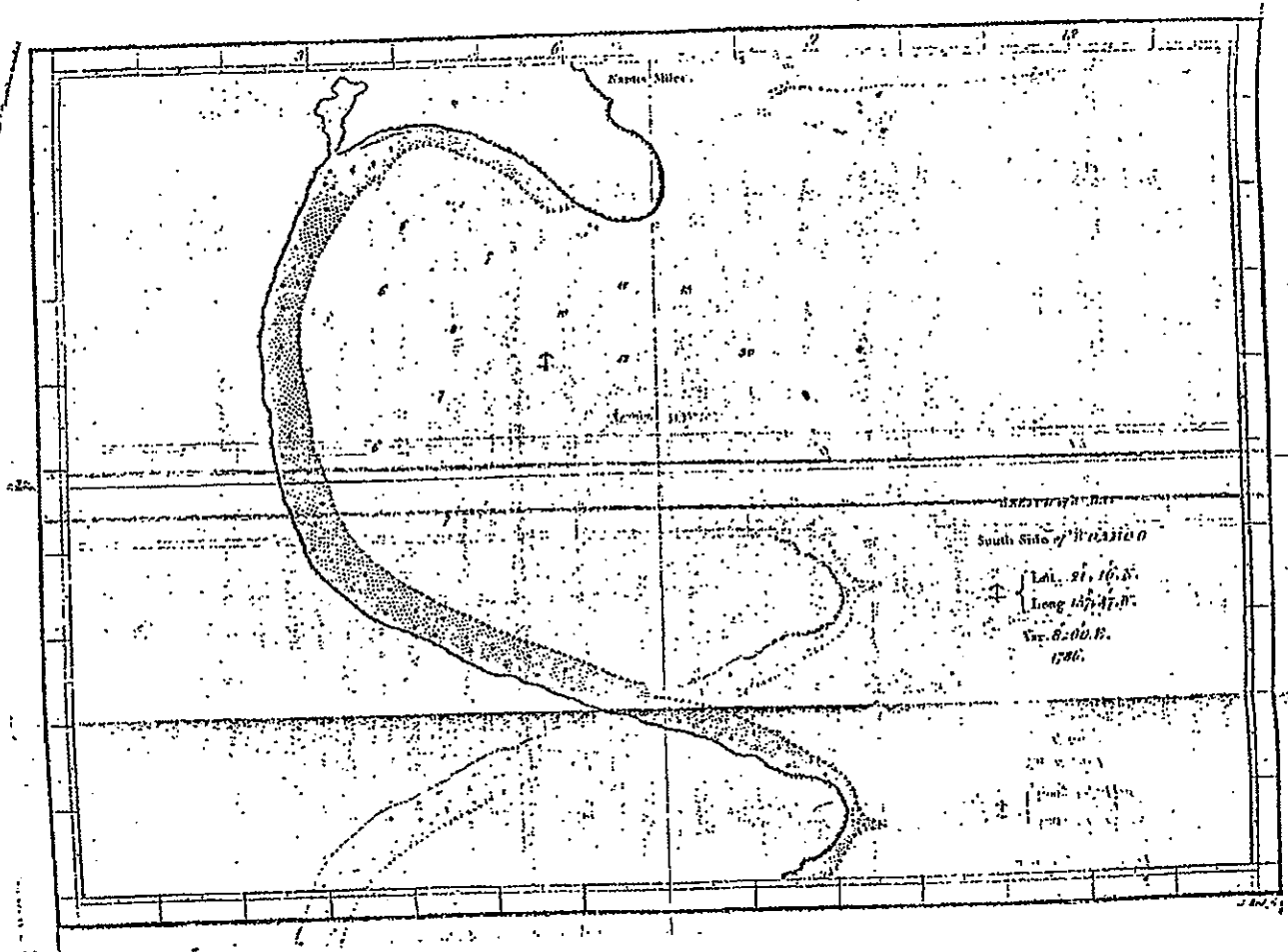
- MIANA- Lit., urinating place, small point below Makapuu (Summers, 1962:3).
- MOEAU- "Point on the Koko Head side of the base of Maka-pu'u headland . . . Lit., resting current" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:153).
- MOKAPU- "Peninsula, elementary school, point, quadrangle, & land division, Kailua, O'ahu; originally named Moku-kapu (sacred district) because Kamehameha I met his chief here; it was 'the sacred land of Kamehameha' . . . Lit., taboo district" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:153-54).
- MOOKUA-O-KANEAPUA- "Main ridge of Kāne-hoa-lani at Kua-loa, O'ahu. Lit., sacred section of Hā-loa (a son of Wā-kea, the first man)" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:157).
- NAPAIA- The walls (Frances Frazier).
- NAWA 'A-A-PELE- The canoes of Pele, or more likely, the gouges made by the canoes of Pele (Frances Frazier).
- NONOULA- "Crater west of Hanauma Bay, O'ahu, said to be named for a mythical creature created by Pele . . . Lit., red sunburned" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:166).
- NUUPIA- "Fishpond, Mō-kapu qd., O'ahu. Lit., arrowroot heap" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:167).
- OKU 'U (sea)- "Hanauma Bay side of Sandy Beach, O'ahu. Lit., crouch (people crouched by a healing stone)" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:169).
- OUA- "Small, immature coconut" (Pukui & Elbert, 1974:270).
- PAHUA- "Unsuccessful, ineffective, ruined, spoiled" (Pukui & Elbert, 1973:277).
- PAIOLJOLU- "Point, south side of Hanauma Bay, O'ahu. Lit., lift gently" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:175).
- PALEA- "Point, north side of Hanauma Bay, O'ahu. Lit., brushed aside" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:176).
- PALIALAEA- Red ocher cliff (Frances Frazier).
- PAU-KUA- "Consumed in the back--a clear reference to the fact that the kahuna's black art very frequently made its fatal ravages by attacking first the back" (Summers, 1962:71).
- PULAMA- "Lit., to cherish" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:193).
- PUU O KIPAHULU- Hill of Laka, a god worshipped by canoe makers. Lit., hill of fetch /from/ exhausted gardens. Peak of Koko Head. (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:112).
- WALLELE- Lit., waterfall (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:224).

WAIMANALO- "Site of the home of Chief Kākuhihewa . . . Lit., potable water" (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:225).

WAWAMALU- Lit., shady valley (Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, 1974:15).

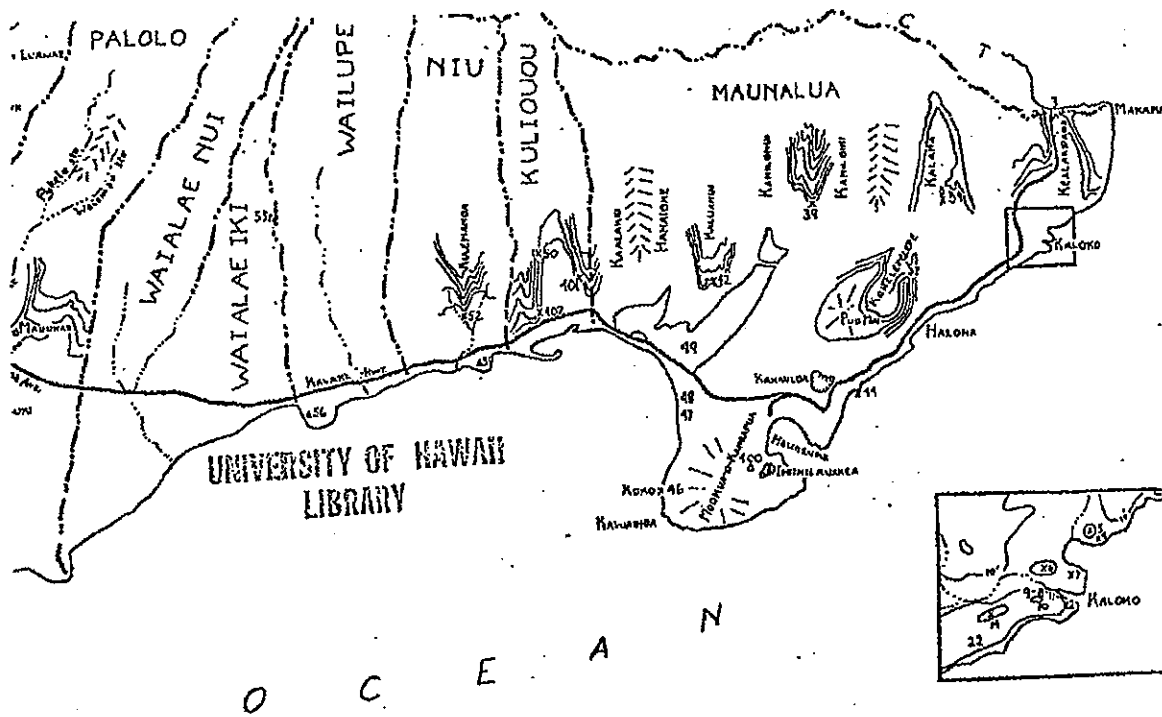
MAP A

This map; made in 1786 by Captain Dixon of the Queen Charlotte, is the earliest map of the pond and coast line of south Oahu available.



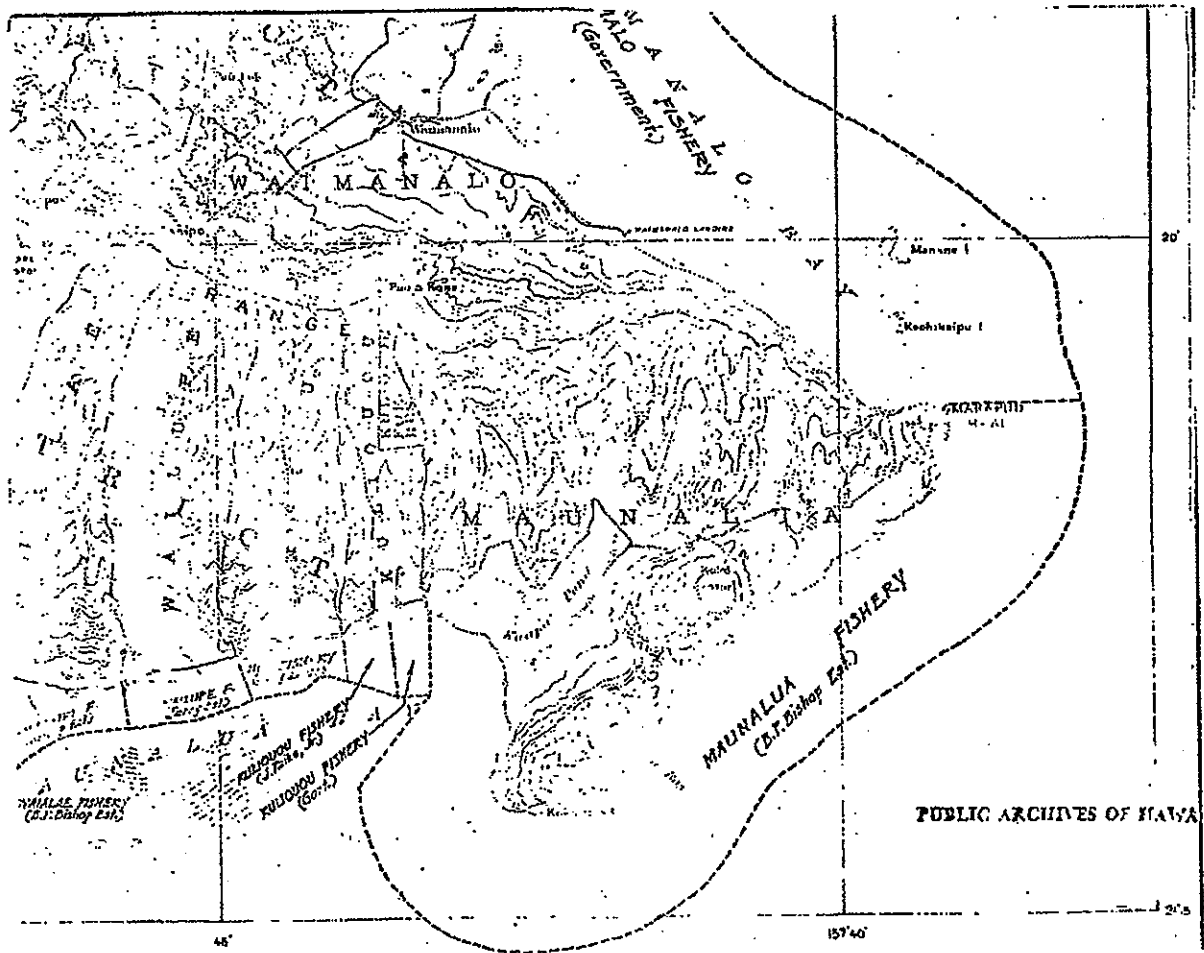
MAP B

This map, found in Summers and Sterling's Sites of Oahu, notes the sites numbered and excavated by McAllister in his Archaeology of Oahu.



MAP C

The map indicates the extent of fishing rights on the south-eastern coast of Oahu in 1931. (From the Attorney General's Files, Archives of Hawaii).

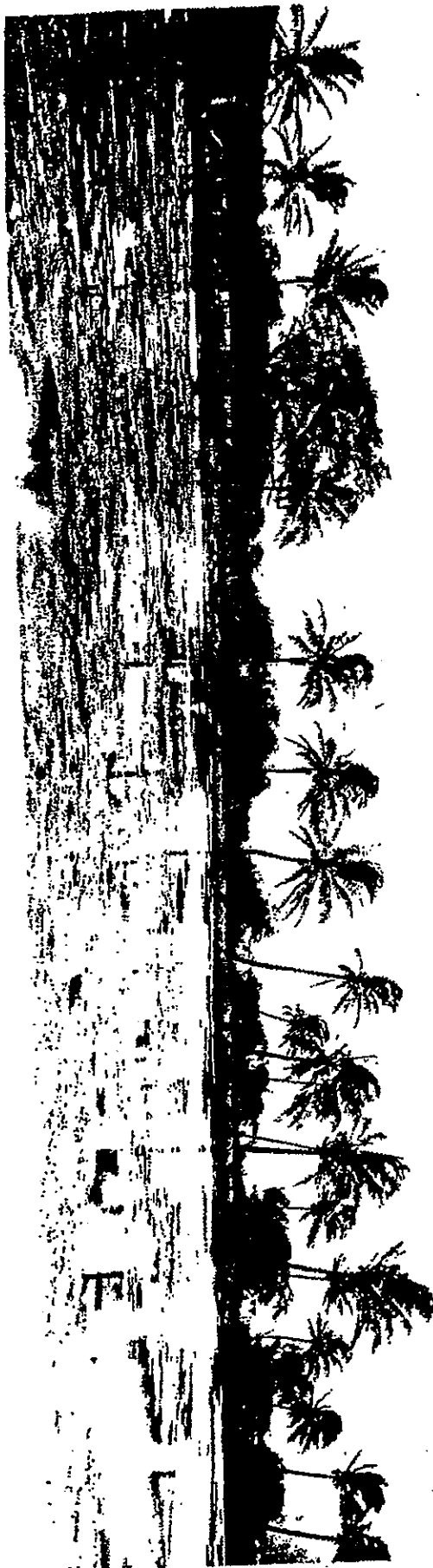




Chinese fish pond lessor fishing, c. 1930. (Archives of Hawaii).



Undated aerial view of Kuappa Pond and Maunaloa Bay. (Hawaiian Historical Society).



The photograph, undated, shows the great size and width of the pond. The trees in the background and stone walls mark the boundary of the fish pond. The angle of the photograph is taken from the mountains. (Archives of Hawaii).

Taped interview: John Rosa

Transcribed on Monday, between 2:30 p.m. and 4 p.m., April 28, 1975 at Mr. Rosa's son's house - Hawaii Kai.

(Who had the fishing rights for the Area?)

Mr. Lukela had the konohiki rights just for the bay, not the pond. I don't know how long he had the rights but he was the first man to have the rights. After he died the rights are still hanging on, it's still here yet. The Bishop Estate has the rights. The Estate owns the fish pond-leased out. I remember two owners- Mr. Young and then Mr. Luke. They raised mullet. I don't know how old the pond is but it's been here a long time. It was here when I was a boy. They caught a lot of fish. Don't know how many but they picked out right out of the gate. There were a few gates where the old house was and a few gates right here where the bridge is. The gates were stone walls with gates in between. Wood in between the walls. The walls had land through it, you could walk across, between the pond and the ocean water. The gates were movable so you could let the water in faster-it had wire across, to keep the fish from getting out. It was a double gate. The house was by the first bridge.

(Any fresh water stream that emptied into the pond?)

There was a well on the side of the pond near the Kam School Boys farm. The well was close to the fish pond. The well had a little stream but it did not empty into the pond. The only time the pond overflowed was when we had big heavy rains. The fish would come out on the road. It would rain every few years. No damage when the 1946 tidal wave.

(What type of walls around the pond?)

Akulikuli grass all around-grows in brackish water. It's a brush. All gone- but still some up way up on the end where they dredged.

(What was here when you moved here in 1936?)

I lived on Lunalilo Home Road then I moved further up where there was a chicken farm owned by Ichinose. I had 5 acres up there. After the chicken farm I moved again cause Kaiser came in and the leases only ran on the month to month basis. The pond was just in back of the chicken ranch. The whole pond, it ran up there. I moved again up to Anderson's dairy- I had 7 acres. The dairy was no longer running. Kaiser was getting everybody out. Years ago there was the Maunaloa Ranch Co.- Sam Damon, had cattle. They had water for the cattle up where Ichinose's farm had a well. Black angus cattle.

(What was the pond like?)

When I came here as a little boy there was nothing here except the pond. There was no such thing as people living here. The pond was used then. They specialized in mullet although there were other kinds of fish too. In the olden days they used to come in the bay and catch the baby mullets and throw them into the pond. It was legal for the pondmen to catch the baby mullet but nobody else. Use small fish. Mulletts don't breed in the pond. It didn't interfere with our fishing rights cause

we use to have a lot of mullet, they would spawn, but this time of the year you don't see no baby mullets like they use to be. The Chinese used to go with their trucks and barrels and use small scoop nets and get the baby mullets and take them back to the pond. They had pens to protect the baby mullets from the big fish like papu, barracuda. Called the baby mullet pua. Those guys used to go all over with their trucks- Pearl Harbor. Luke sold the pond to this Japanese boy then Kaiser bought it out. The pond made money, they had their fish in there all right. When I first came here there was hardly nobody so there was no poaching problem. Then later when people moved here then there was poaching. When I first came with my Dad there were only the Marconi Wireless. Later in 1936 I was one of the first to have a Bishop Estate lease. That was on Lunailo Home Road. Imagine I used to pay \$30 a year. My son is now paying \$2,000.00. I had the lease for this piece on the beach- I took over when Mr. Lukela died. I would police the bay for the konohiki. Kaiser made the mistake of advertising that there was good fishing in the Bay. But it was private fishery. I had to take down all the private signs cause I wouldn't be able to tell who was a Bishop Estate leasee. Before everybody use to respect us, the konohiki. We had a lot of fish. Then they started to die off and there were poachers. This was one of the greatest fishing areas. Dec. Jan. Feb. there was a kapu season for mullet when they spawned. But the Fish and Game would let us catch so they could do experiments on the fish- get their sperm. When we caught too much they told us to keep the fish or give it away to Lunailo Home. Where the Lunailo Home is was Marconi Wireless. Mr. Brown bought it. It was the working area for the Marconi Wireless. There never was a hotel out here. Maybe hotel for the old people. The station was a telegraph. There were trolley cars used to go up the mountain. Once upon a time they were thinking of making a hotel up there. There were govt. radars up there. Then RCA took over.

(What type of agriculture was in the area?)

When I got here in 1936 they were just giving up the Kam School farm. They had chicken and pigs they had everything like that. This is a beautiful valley for farming. Anything you plant grows. We used City water. I don't know where those old Hawaiian got the water for Mr. Portlock, but there must have been enough water here then. I told you about the well. It was before my time. Chances are the water was where the Kam School boys farm was. The well I'm talking about was before you reached the farm. There was honey, charcoal, algabora trees, kiawe. I can't remember the name of those people. No schools or churches. When I came there were about 7-9 Hawaiians on the beach. Nobody else. There were some people in Kuliouou. I was the first man to deliver ice out here to Kuliouou. My first job. I had an ice wagon. Mr. Judge Perry was the first man out here with an ice box. I had two ice routes.

(What was this place like when you came here as a boy?)

There were no house, only a few shacks. The old Hawaiians would make house out of driftwood. About 8 or 9 people lived here.

(Have you heard or seen any evidences of old Hawaiian settlements in this Area?)

When I was working at Makapuu Light house
/Doesn't answer question--see later./

(Natural history of pond area?)

The area was a marsh, salty. There was wooden tracks so when you came with an automobile you could stay on the tracks. If you get off the tracks it's just like a swamp, flat up to where the buildings are now before you reach Lunalilo Home Road the edge of the pond all practically salt, muddy like. When the rains came, my god, when you get off the planks, you spin right around, you had to put chains on your tires so you could make it. I was so use to it, I never stopped, I just kept going until I came to dry land, otherwise you stopped and then you had it. No trees, almost like a football field around here. Not much vegetation. Lot of goats. I never heard about pigs or anything like that, some pheasants. When I came here as a boy we never paid attention to the pond. The pond stayed the same, it never got smaller, it never got bigger. My time the deepest place maybe was 8 feet, 6 feet. You could see the men with their nets, anywhere they could put their nets, they could stand up. Couldn't be deep. I never been in the center of the pond to find out, there may be a deep hole there, I don't know. Most of the time they don't have to go out, they get the fish right at the gate. I never did hear of people working on the pond, taking mud out or anything like that, just natural cleaning. The tide comes in and go back and forth, go back and forth. I think the pond would get smaller not bigger because the akulikuli would grow and that would slow down the pond. Because if the people working on the pond would keep the pond and knock the shrubbery back there wouldn't come as close the pond. The tide would rise a couple of feet in the pond, enough to bring in fresh water. The water use to go back and run into an L shape back to the gates. I never saw any stone walls except for the gates, it was just an ordinary pond, the grass and weeds were all around. It was a natural pond. If the people who were working the pond wanted to keep it up they could have it go right up to the dirt. You see the grass keep growing and it shortens up the life of the pond. I didn't pay attention as a little boy. The pond almost right to the road to Kam School farm. The well was about 10 feet from the road. The Hawaiians must have made some way to keep the pond away from the water (Ocean). You have to close it. Or it isn't a pond. They claim that the mullet doesn't breed in the pond. That's why they had to get the small mullet and bring them into the pond. The only openings were gates but they had them closed. They had wires so you could raise them up. They had brackets on the back. They had protection in the back cause the fish like the fresh water and they come out, they go crazy, and if the net is broken, you need extra protection. They have to have the fresh water come in otherwise the pond gets stale. The gates were about 8-10 feet. A guy can stand up over there and push it up. There's a man there watching the tide all the time. When the tide comes down they close it down even if they have holes in the wire they got protection. Two to three Chinese worked the pond. The owners did too, they would take the fish to market. Sometimes we had big storms, lot of dirt coming from that mountain. Right now it looks like its all filling up again. It's all full of mud. The smaller pond in the back was just a depression, no fish. Maybe something clogged up over here and opened it up, I don't know.

(Any ports?)

You mean out KoKo Head way? Never. Big ships couldn't come in this bay. This is a deep bay there some places that are 36-40 feet right in the corner there going out to the channel. Right here is

(Who lived here when you first saw the area as a boy?)

Only a few Hawaiians were living here on the beach. The only person living in the valley was Mr. Reposa. He lived near the windmill. He worked for Sam Damon. The windmill pumped water for the cattle. There were some others who ran the wireless station. The rest of the people lived in Kuliouou. There was the fish pond man. That's about all.

(Don't you think a large pond like Kuapa could have sustained a large population?)

Oh, I'd say. You go right up the point there and there are some skulls, there use to be a canoe. (Points to Paiko Point) I never knew of any remains around the pond. When I worked for the lighthouse service they had a big accident out there, an explosion, so I went out to help and worked with Mr. Sam Amalu. They had a cave out there and a Hawaiian boy brought one of those hats like Capt. Cook and Mr. Amalu made him take it back to the cave. He took it back and we never bothered. There was a cave out there near the lighthouse. There are some remains by the Wailupe Radio station above the fire depart. There are a lot of caves there. When I worked for the Navy Commander Pointdexter made all the sailor boys take the things back. Pointdexter used to be head of the radio station.

(Fishing rights in the bay?)

Mr. Lukela was the only one I knew of that had the konohiki rights for the bay. McDuffy and John Kelly tried to get the rights from Bishop Estate but Mr. Lukela would out bid them all the time. I don't know exactly how much he paid about couple hundred dollars a year. He would renew his rights with the estate every so often. Exactly, I wasn't paying attention. When I took it over after Mr. Lukela died I just paid the tax. I think it was \$56 a month. All the fish I caught, I didn't pay no konohiki, I just policed the konohiki for the Bishop Estate. I had the right to keep people out of here. I did that for a couple of years. Until Kaiser came. Then the Estate told me to stop, don't tell them to go or not to go. There were so many people coming here and abusing the konohiki and they didn't want to make any humbug. The advertisement saying that Maunalua Bay was good for fishing and skiing. We used to stop them from skiing. Then the fish started to ruin, ruin, ruin. No more mullets like there used to be. The chemical from all these people killed the bay- seaweed, fish. This place used to be one of the greatest fishing area in the Islands. If you want to go and find out, the Fish and Game they have the records. We used to catch fish by the ton, mullet and akule. Bring right here to the shore in Mr. Lukela's time. Before they took the fish to market in a whaleboat. Six of them would row the boat to and from. Then we got modern and we had a truck. My Dad came here as a whaler. He jumped ship here. My mother came here as an immigrant. Lots of whales around here. I used to fish and there would be a whale no more 400-500 feet away from me.

There were others fishing in the bay but they couldn't catch the konohiki fish. Here the Bishop Estate had the right cause they claimed there were no kuleanas living here so if you on the land you have a place to fish. So the guy with the rights has to name one fish, used to be chief or king. If you catch 3 fish one was for the boss, konohiki. Those people on Portlock could catch fish if it wasn't the konohiki fish. It could change, sometimes mullet, sometimes akule. Mr. Lukela would give 20% to the fishery then take a share for himself, for his boat, for his net. He made out all right, he made a lot of money. And we all had equal share.

We used nets. The pondmen used nets and scoops. They could get all they want even when the fish weren't in the gates. They have nets with a certain mesh and the fish that are too small go right through. They have a gate to keep the small ones away. They don't want the small ones, just like wasting your time. It's just like raising pigs, you don't want to sell the babies. They took fish out when there was a demand, they were businessmen, they had telephones. They had them right there just like they had them in the freezer. You can't tell me to do that with a hook and line.

Telephone Conversation - Saturday, 26 April, 1975

Mr. Jack Toyama- informant, resident of Hawaii Kai mauka since 1946

(What was the area like when you moved there?)

The area was considered the "sticks." The only people here were farmers like me. We grew flowers, carnations and mums as well as vegetables. The fish pond was here but nobody was allowed to fish in it because it was private. There were mullet in the pond. I don't know what other kind of fish were in there as I never fished there.

(Have you heard or seen any evidence of an earlier use of the land?)

I was told that the area was once a Hawaiian village. I can see why there would have settled here as the valley is very comfortable place to make a living. There is fishing as well as agriculture land. The area is next to the inlet of the pond where they could have fished.

(Where does your water come from?)

We use city water. There is a small fresh spring near the Hawaii Kai Recreation Center that is still going today.

Informal Conversation on 30 April, 1975 with Mr. Mun On Chun, who used to fish in Kuapa Pond

(What was the area like when you first saw it in 1923?)

There was nothing out there besides the pond. It was all kiawe. The ride out was desolate and the road went around the pond to get to where the Lunalilo Home was. It was some ride. The big pond was owned by two individuals although I never saw any type of division to mark each owner's section. I knew Mr. Young one of the owners. He didn't do too badly. He worked the fish pond occasionally but had 4 to 5 men helping him. He had a food stall or owned part of the market downtown. The mullet were good. We used to help him catch the barracuda and ulua that threatened the mullet. There were also crabs.

(What was Lunalilo Home like?)

There was one big building and several small cottages around for the workers. The vegetable gardens were in the front. I think the land is fee simple as the developers wanted to buy them out but they said no. They've been a thorn in the developer's side.

You should get in touch with Dr. Edwin Young or Dr. Stephen Young, I think they're related to the pond owner.

