An Archaeological Preservation Plan for SIHP Site 10205 within NELHA Host Park

TMK: (3) 7-3-043:042 (por.)

Kalaoa 5th Ahupua'a North Kona District Island of Hawai'i

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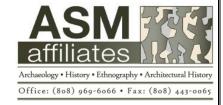
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CHAPTERS

Page
1. INTRODUCTION
PROJECT AREA DESCRIPTION4
2. CULTURE-HISTORICAL CONTEXT6
Natural and Cultural Resources in a Hawaiian Context
An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement6
Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices
Native Traditions and Historical Accounts of Kalaoa and the Kekaha Region
Land Tenure in Kalaoa and Vicinity
3. DESCRIPTION OF SIHP SITE 1020553
4. PROPOSED TREATMENT OF SIHP SITE 1020570
PERMANENT PRESERVATION MEASURES
INTERIM PROTECTION MEASURES AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
PRESERVATION PLAN
REFERENCES CITED
EICUDEC
FIGURES Page
Page
Page 1. Location of Site 10205.
Page 1. Location of Site 10205
Page 1. Location of Site 10205.
Page 1. Location of Site 10205
1. Location of Site 10205
1. Location of Site 10205
1. Location of Site 10205. 2. Tax Map Key (TMK): (3) 7-3-043 showing Site 10205 location (shaded in red) within 1.3 acre lot (outlined in red). 3. Typical <i>pāhoehoe</i> ground surface in the vicinity of Site 10205, view to the east. 4. Sand and water-worn cobble surface to the west os Site 10205, view to the southwest. 5. Sand to the west of Site 10205 showing the Jeep road (at right) and the kerb-lined walking path (at left), view to the northwest. 6. LCAw. 7899 awarded to Kupuoe (Māhele Book Vol. 7:185).
1. Location of Site 10205
Page 1. Location of Site 10205
Page 1. Location of Site 10205
Page 1. Location of Site 10205
Page 1. Location of Site 10205

14. J	J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:73 (State Survey Division)	39
15. J	J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 254:77 (State Survey Division)	40
	Hawai'i Registered Map No. 2123 (prepared by S. M. Kanakanui and	
	G.F. Wright, May 1902) showing the current study area outlined in red	44
	Portion of the 1924 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle showing the current	
	1 0	46
	Portion of North Kona Island of Hawai'i showing the <i>ahupua'a</i> between	
	Kau and Kealakehe (July 1930).	47
	Portion of the 1959 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle	
	January 17, 1965 aerial photograph showing the Kekaha lands in the vicinity	
	of the current study area	49
	Oblique aerial view of the completed Keāhole Airport facility taken on	
	October 6, 1971	50
	Map of the initial 322-acre NELH site (traced by G.H. Kurosaki on April 1984)	50
23. I	March 27, 1977 aerial photograph showing the completed NELH access road	51
24. 0	Oblique aerial view of the initial NELH facilities under construction in 1980	51
	Map of the expanded NELH and HOST Park site (prepared on	
	September 12, 2000)	52
	SIHP Site 10205 plan view	
	Low-spots in the bedrock, filled with cobbles, view to the northeast	
28.	Temporary fencing around SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, view to the southwest	55
	SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, enclosure, view to the northeast	
30. \$	SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, interior surface of the enclosure and opening,	
	view to the west	56
31. \$	SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, elevated/paved coral surface at the east	
i	nterior surface of the enclosure, view to the east	57
32. \$	SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, L-Shaped wall at the north exterior wall of	
t	the enclosure, view to the northeast	57
33. \$	SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, aluminum pull-tab can and modern bottle glass,	
C	overview	58
34. \$	SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, ceramic fragments on the ground surface	
	fronting the L-shaped wall, overview.	
35. \$	SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, brown bottle fragment in-situ, view to the southeast	59
	SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, brown bottle fragment, with embossing	
61	'JAPAN [Dot]/3" at the base	59
	SIHP Site 10205, cupule stone that may have been previously documented	
a	as a salt pan by Cordy (1978)	60
38. \$	SIHP Site 10205 Feature B with Feature A in the background, view to	
	he southeast	61
39. \$	SIHP Site 10205 Feature B level coral and gravel surface fronting the wall,	
	view to the southwest.	61
	SIHP Site 10205 Feature B coral fragment observed on the top of the wall at its	
S	southeast end, view to the southwest.	62

41. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, mounded platform at the southwest end of a nautral	
depression, view to the southwest	63
42. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, northwest stacked edge of the platform,	
view to the east	63
43. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, surface of platform, view to the west	64
44. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, mauka cupboard opening	64
45. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, makai cupboard opening	65
46. SIHP Site 10205 Feature D, platform remnant bartially buried beneath sand,	
view to the north.	66
47. SIHP Site 10205 Feature D, northeast edge of the renmant platform,	
view to the southwest	66
48. SIHP Site 10205 Feature E, modified blister with Feature A in the background,	
view to the southeast	67
49. SIHP Site 10205 Feature E, blister opening and overhang extending mauka (east),	
view to the southeast	68
50. SIHP Site 10205 Feature E, oblong water-worn cobble and wall, view to the	
northwest	
51. SIHP Site 10205 Feature E, wall and portion of the floor, view to the west	69
52. SIHP Site 10205 premanent preservation measures, yellow hexagons are	
boundary signs and green hexagon is cautionary/interpretive sign	71
TABLE	
P	age
1. Distribution of Kalaoa and 'O'oma 2nd during the Māhele 'Āina of 1848	_

1. INTRODUCTION

This report presents preservation measures for a single site (SIHP Site 10205) within a 1.3-acre portion of a larger 162-acre roadway and set-aside (coastal preserve) parcel (TMK: (3) 7-3-043:042) within the NELHA HOST Park located in Kalaoa 5th Ahupua'a, North Kona District, Island of Hawai'i (Figures 1 and 2). An archaeological preservation area is shown on the current TMK map (see Figure 2); however, a formal preservation plan was never submitted to DLNR-SHPD for approval. The current document is a preservation plan for SIHP Site 10205 prepared in compliance with HAR 13§13-277 and contains long-term preservation measures to ensure the continued protection of this site.

NELHA's stated mission is to develop and diversify the Hawai'i economy by providing resources and facilities for energy and ocean-related research, education, and commercial activities in an environmentally sound and culturally sensitive manner. A 2011 Master Plan prepared by Group 70 International, Inc. set forth several cultural objectives (codified in the Strategic Plan adopted by the NELHA management in 2012) for future development of the lands administered by NELHA, including (1) Respect the cultural resources, Hawaiian cultural practices, and significance of archaeological sites at NELHA throughout the planning process; (2) Protect and manage cultural sites in a sustainable manner; (3) Protect the opportunities for individuals and groups to engage in cultural practices; (4) Define areas, criteria and support facilities for cultural resources and practices, as applicable, to allow for integrated planning and management; and (5) Preserve the cultural landscape to enhance meaning, relationships, and resources for modern appreciation, research, and practice (2011:1.3.1).

SIHP Site 10205 was first documented by Reinecke in 1930 (Reinecke n.d.) as Site 81 during his coastal survey that extending from Kailua-Kona north to Kalahuipuaa. In 1975, Rosendahl and Kirch (1975) conducted a reconnaissance survey for the Bishop Museum along the coast, which included the current study area. During their study, Rosendahl and Kirch (1975), recorded and documented numerous sites including Reinecke's Site 81. They assigned it a temporary site number of Site 8, but did very little in the way of further investigation. During the same year, Ross Cordy (1975) wrote a working paper summarizing archaeological findings in seven *ahupua'a* in North Kona. As part of his study he recorded and mapped coastal sites in 'O'oma 1, 'O'oma 2, Kalaoa 4, and Kalaoa 5 *ahupua'a*. In the coastal zone, he recorded eight sites consisting of twenty five features, including Site 81 recorded by Reinecke. Three years later, Cordy (1978) while working on his doctoral dissertation assigned Bishop Museum numbers to the sites recorded by Reinecke (n.d.); the current site was assigned Bishop Museum Number D15-12. In 1984 Stephan Clark (1984) conducted an archaeological reconnaissance in which he described Site D15-12. The Site 10205 designation appears to have come as a result of either Barrera's (1985) reconnaissance of the area or his subsequent data recovery work (Barrera 1989) for NELHA and the HOST Park.

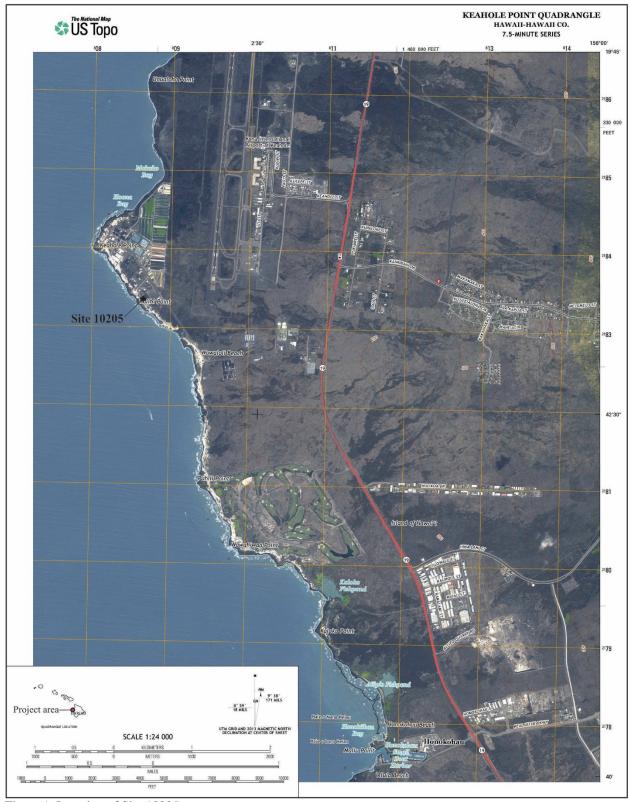
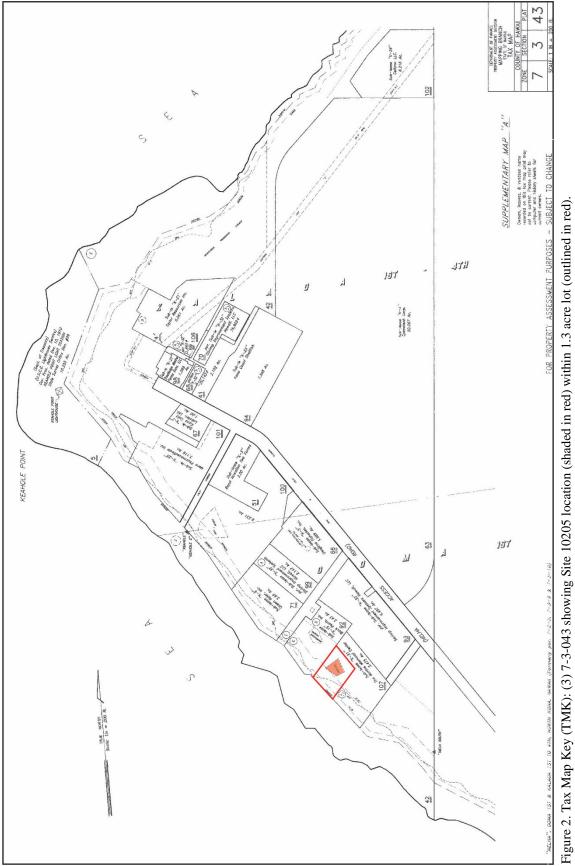


Figure 1. Location of Site 10205.



PROJECT AREA DESCRIPTION

Siteb 10205 is situated within a 1.3 acre set aside lot of undeveloped land within the NELHA HOST Park (TMK: (3) 7-3-043:042 por.), Kalaoa 5th Ahupua'a, North Kona District, Island of Hawai'i (see Figures 1 and 2). This lot is a portion of the 162-acre Parcel 42, which occupies a coastal strip that extends along the coast in either direction. Elevation ranges from 0 to 20 feet above sea level, and the terrain is characterized by weathered pāhoehoe flows that emanated from Hualālai between 1,500 and 3,000 years ago (Wolfe and Morris 1996). The north edge of the 1.3 acre lot is bound by the developed Black Pearl, Inc. parcel (Parcel 92), the east edge by a developed portion of the Marine Mammal Center (portion of Parcel 107), the south edge by the undeveloped portion of Parcel 107, and to the west by the 40 foot set-back of the certified shoreline and undeveloped coastal land (portion of Parcel 42). Most of this area consists of level pāhoehoe bedrock (Figure 3), with a sand and water-worn cobble ground surface in the west (Figure 4). The pāhoehoe is separated from the sand portion by a bedrock edge that stands roughly 50 centimeters above the sand. This bedrock edge runs in a northwest/southeast direction. A jeep trail and modern kerb-lined walking path are situated in the sand at the west end of this area (Figure 5). Situated within the Kekaha region, the principle environmental features are a hot, dry climate, and extensive lava fields with little to no soil accumulation. This region receives roughly 10 inches of rain per year and has a mean annual temperature of 70 to 76 degrees Fahrenheit (Donham 1987). The dominant vegetation is fountain grass (Pennisetum setaceum) with an occasional beach naupaka (Scaevola sericea), and tree heliotrope (Messerschmidia argentea) (see Figure 4).



Figure 3. Typical *pāhoehoe* ground surface in the vicinity of Site 10205, view to the east.



Figure 4. Sand and water-worn cobble surface to the west os Site 10205, view to the southwest.



Figure 5. Sand to the west of Site 10205 showing the Jeep road (at right) and the kerb-lined walking path (at left), view to the northwest.

2. CULTURE-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

While the physical study area for the current preservation plan is limited to a roughly 1.3-acre portion of Kalaoa 5th *ahupua* 'a identified as TMK: (3) 7-3-043:042 (por.), in an effort to provide a holistic understanding of Site 10205, this section of the report examines the entire *ahupua* 'a and its relationship to neighboring lands within the larger Kekaha landscape.

Rechtman and Maly (2003) and Rechtman (2006) previously prepared Cultural Impact Assessments for this general region of North Kona. Extensive research for the Rechtman and Maly (2003) study was conducted by Kepā and Onaona Maly of Kumu Pono Associates using archival-historical resources found in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives (HSA), State Land Division (LD), State Survey Division (SD), and State Bureau of Conveyances (BoC); the Bishop Museum Archives (BPBM); Hawaiian Historical Society (HHS); University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; private family collections; and in the collection of Kumu Pono Associates. The Malys reviewed archival-historical literature from both Hawaiian and English language sources, including an examination of Hawaiian Land Commission Award records from the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division) of 1848; survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i; and historical texts authored or compiled by Malo (1951), I'i (1959), Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991), Ellis (1963), Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996), Thrum (1908), Stokes and Dye (1991), Beckwith (1970), Reinecke (n.d.); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). Also reviewed were several native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by Kepā Maly), and historical narratives authored by eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors to the region. The information was presented within thematic categories and ordered chronologically by the date of publication.

Much of the following discussion of culture-historical context for the Kekaha region is reproduced (modfied and reorganized slightly) from the comprehensive background sections presented in the Rechtman and Maly (2003) and Rechtman (2006) cultural impact studies. Additional information and emphasis has been added in some sections to elucidate and highlight people, places, and events associated specifically with the current study area.

Natural and Cultural Resources in a Hawaiian Context

In Hawaiian society, natural and cultural resources are one and the same. Native traditions describe the formation (the literal birth) of the Hawaiian Islands and the presence of life on and around them in the context of genealogical accounts. All forms in the natural environment, from the skies and mountain peaks, to the watered valleys and lava plains, and to the shoreline and ocean depths were believed to be embodiments of Hawaiian deities. One Hawaiian genealogical account, records that Wākea (the expanse of the sky–father) and Papa-hānau-moku (Papa—Earth-mother who gave birth to the islands)—also called Haumea-nui-hānau-wā-wā (Great Haumea—Woman-earth born time and time again)—and various gods and creative forces of nature, gave birth to the islands. Hawai'i, the largest of the islands, was the first-born of these island children. As the Hawaiian genealogical account continues, we find that these same god-beings, or creative forces of nature who gave birth to the islands, were also the parents of the first man (Hāloa), and from this ancestor, all Hawaiian people are descended (cf. Beckwith 1970; Malo 1951:3; Pukui and Korn 1973). It was in this context of kinship, that the ancient Hawaiians addressed their environment and it is the basis of the Hawaiian system of land use.

An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement

Archaeologists and historians describe the inhabiting of these islands in the context of settlement that resulted from voyages taken across the open ocean. For many years, researchers proposed that early Polynesian settlement voyages between Kahiki (the ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian gods and people) and Hawai'i were underway by A.D. 300, with long distance voyages occurring fairly regularly through at least the thirteenth century. It has been generally reported that the sources of the early Hawaiian population—the Hawaiian Kahiki—were the Marquesas and Society Islands (Cordy 2000; Emory in Tatar 1982:16-18). More recently however, Kirch (2011) has suggested that initial settlement of Hawaii may not have occurred until about A.D. 1000; this theory of a later settlement date for the Hawaiian Islands has also been supported through analyses reported by Athens et al. (2014)

For generations following initial settlement, communities were clustered along the watered, windward (*koʻolau*) shores of the Hawaiian Islands. Along the *koʻolau* shores, streams flowed and rainfall was abundant, and agricultural production became established. The *koʻolau* region also offered sheltered bays from which deep sea fisheries could be easily accessed, and near shore fisheries, enriched by nutrients carried in the fresh water, could be maintained in fishponds and coastal waters. It was around these bays that clusters of houses where families lived could be found (McEldowney 1979:15). In these early times, Hawaiʻi's inhabitants were primarily engaged in subsistence level agriculture and fishing (Handy et al. 1972:287).

Following the initial settlement period, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and by about A.D. 1200, the population began expanding to the *kona* (leeward side) and more remote regions of the island (Cordy 2000:130). In Kona, communities were initially established along sheltered bays with access to fresh water and rich marine resources. The primary "chiefly" centers were established at several locations—the Kailua (Kaiakeakua) vicinity, Kahalu'u-Keauhou, Ka'awaloa-Kealakekua, and Hōnaunau. The communities shared extended familial relations, and there was an occupational focus on the collection of marine resources. By the fourteenth century, inland elevations to around the 3,000-foot level were being turned into a complex and rich system of dryland agricultural fields (today referred to as the Kona Field System). By the fifteenth century, residency in the uplands was becoming permanent, and there was an increasing separation of the chiefly class from the common people. In the sixteenth century the population stabilized and the *ahupua'a* land management system was established as a socioeconomic unit (see Ellis 1963; Handy et al. 1972; Kamakau 1961; Kelly 1983; and Tomonari-Tuggle 1985).

In Kona, where there were no regularly flowing streams to the coast, access to potable water (wai), was of great importance and played a role in determining the areas of settlement. The waters of Kona were found in springs and caves (found from shore to the mountain lands), or procured from rain catchments and dewfall. Traditional and historic narratives abound with descriptions and names of water sources, and also record that the forests were more extensive and extended much further seaward than they do today. These forests not only attracted rains from the clouds and provided shelter for cultivated crops, but also in dry times drew the $k\bar{e}hau$ and $k\bar{e}wai$ (mists and dew) from the upper mountain slopes to the low lands.

In the 1920s-1930s, Handy et al. (1972) conducted extensive research and field interviews with elder native Hawaiians. In lands of North and South Kona, they recorded native traditions describing agricultural practices and rituals associated with rains and water collection. Primary in these rituals and practices was the lore of Lono—a god of agriculture, fertility, and the rituals for inducing rainfall. Handy et al., observed:

The sweet potato and gourd were suitable for cultivation in the drier areas of the islands. The cult of Lono was important in those areas, particularly in Kona on Hawai'i . . . there were temples dedicated to Lono. The sweet potato was particularly the food of the common people. The festival in honor of Lono, preceding and during the rainy season, was essentially a festival for the whole people, in contrast to the war rite in honor of Ku which was a ritual identified with Ku as god of battle. (Handy et al. 1972:14)

Handy et al. (1972) noted that the worship of Lono was centered in Kona. Indeed, it was while Lono was dwelling at Keauhou, that he is said to have introduced taro, sweet potatoes, yams, sugarcane, bananas, and 'awa to Hawaiian farmers (Handy et al. 1972:14). The rituals of Lono "The father of waters" and the annual Makahiki festival, which honored Lono and which began before the coming of the kona (southerly) storms and lasted through the rainy season (the summer months), were of great importance to the native residents of this region (Handy et al. 1972:523). The significance of rituals and ceremonial observances in cultivation and indeed in all aspects of life was of great importance to the well being of the ancient Hawaiians, and cannot be overemphasized, or overlooked when viewing traditional sites of the cultural landscape.

Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices

Over the generations, the ancient Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land and resources management. By the time 'Umi-a-Līloa rose to rule the island of Hawai'i in ca. 1525, the island (*moku-puni*) was divided into six districts or *moku-o-loko* (cf. Fornander 1973–Vol. II:100-102). On Hawai'i, the district of Kona is one of six major *moku-o-loko* within the island. The district of Kona itself, extends from the shore across the entire volcanic mountain of Hualālai, and continues to the summit of Mauna Loa, where Kona is joined by the districts of Ka'ū, Hilo, and Hāmākua. One traditional reference to the northern and southern-most coastal boundaries of Kona tells us of the district's extent:

Mai Ke-ahu-a-Lono i ke 'ā o Kani-kū, a hō 'ea i ka 'ūlei kolo o Manukā i Kaulanamauna e pili aku i Ka 'ū!—From Keahualono [the Kona-Kohala boundary] on the rocky flats of Kanikū, to Kaulanamauna next to the crawling (tangled growth of) 'ūlei bushes at Manukā, where Kona clings to Ka'ū! (Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki in Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i, September 13, 1917; Translated by Kepā Maly)

Kona, like other large districts on Hawai'i, was further divided into 'okana or kalana (regions of land smaller than the moku-o-loko, yet comprising a number of smaller units of land). In the region now known as Kona 'akau (North Kona), there are several ancient regions (kalana) as well. The southern portion of North Kona was known as "Kona kai 'ōpua" (interpretively translated as: Kona of the distant horizon clouds above the ocean), and included the

area extending from Lanihau (the present-day vicinity of Kailua Town) to Pu'uohau (now known as Red Hill). The northern-most portion of North Kona was called "Kekaha" (descriptive of an arid coastal place). Native residents of the region affectionately referred to their home as *Kekaha-wai-'ole o nā Kona* (Waterless Kekaha of the Kona District), or simply as the *āina kaha*. It is within this region of Kekaha, that the lands of 'O'oma and Kalaoa are found.

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

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

The *ahupua* 'a of Kalaoa (historically, Kalaoa 1st – 5th) is one of some twenty ancient *ahupua* 'a within the 'okana of Kekaha-wai-'ole. The place name Kalaoa can be literally translated as "the choker (as a stick for catching eels)" (Pukui et al. 1974:75). To date, no tradition explaining the source of the place names has been located.

The Environmental Setting of Kalaoa

The *ahupua'a* of 'Kalaoa cross several environmental zones that are generally called *wao* in the Hawaiian language. These environmental zones include the near-shore fisheries and shoreline strand (*kahakai*) and the *kula kai/kula uka* (shoreward/inland plains). These regional zones were greatly desired as places of residence by the natives of the land.

While the *kula* region is now likened to a volcanic desert, native and historic accounts describe or reference groves of native hardwood shrubs and trees such as 'ūlei (Osteomeles anthyllidifolia), ēlama (Diospyros ferrea), uhiuhi (Caesalpina kavaiensis), and ohe (Reynoldsia sandwicensis) extending across the land and growing some distance shoreward. The few rare and endangered plants found in the region, along with small remnant communities of native dryland forest (Char 1991) give an indication that there was a significant diversity of plants growing upon the *kula* lands prior to the introduction of ungulates.

The lower *kula* lands receive only about 10 to 20 inches of rainfall annually, and it is because of their dryness, the larger region of which Kalaoa is a part, is known as "Kekaha." While on the surface, there appears to be little or no potable water to be found, the very lava flows which cover the land contain many underground streams that are channeled through subterranean lava tubes which feed the springs, fishponds and anchialine ponds on the *kula kai* (coastal flats). Also in this region, on the flat lands, about a half-mile from the shore, is the famed *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Trail), built in 1847, at the order of Kamehameha III. This trail or government roadway, was built to meet the needs of changing transportation in the Hawaiian Kingdom, and in many places it overlays the older near shore *ala loa* (ancient foot trail that encircled the island).

Continuing into the *kula uka* (inland slopes), the environment changes as elevation increases. This zone is called the *wao kanaka* (region of man) and *wao nahele* (forest region). Rainfall increases to 30 or 40 inches annually, and taller forest growth occurred. This region provided native residents with shelter for residential and agricultural uses, and a wide range of natural resources that were of importance for religious, domestic, and economic purposes. In Kalaoa, this region is generally between the 1,200 to 2,200 foot elevation, and is crossed by the present-day Māmalahoa Highway. The highway is situated not far below the ancient *ala loa*, or foot trail, also known as Keala'ehu, and was part of a regional trail system passing through Kona from Ka'ū and Kohala.

The ancient Hawaiians saw (as do many Hawaiians today) all things within their environment as being interrelated. That which was in the uplands shared a relationship with that which was in the lowlands, coastal region, and even in the sea. This relationship and identity with place worked in reverse as well, and the *ahupua* 'a as a land unit was the thread that bound all things together in Hawaiian life. In an early account written by Kihe (in $Ka H\bar{o}k\bar{u} o$

Hawai'i, 1914-1917), with contributions by John Wise and Steven Desha Sr., the significance of the dry season in Kekaha and the custom of the people departing from the uplands for the coastal region is further described:

... 'Oia ka wā e ne'e ana ka lā iā Kona, hele a malo 'o ka 'āina i ka 'ai kupakupa 'ia e ka lā, a o nā kānaka, nā li'i o Kona, pūhe'e aku la a noho i kahakai kāhi o ka wai e ola ai nā kānaka – It was during the season, when the sun moved over Kona, drying and devouring the land, that the chiefs and people fled from the uplands to dwell along the shore where water could be found to give life to the people. (Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i, April 5, 1917 translated by Kepā Maly)

It appears that the practice of traveling between the upland and coastal community of Kalaoa *ahupua* 'a greatly decreased by the middle nineteenth century.

Native Traditions and Historical Accounts of Kalaoa and the Kekaha Region

This section of the study presents *moʻolelo*—native traditions and historical accounts (some translated from the original Hawaiian by Kepā Maly)—of the Kekaha region that span several centuries. There are very few accounts that have been found to date, that specifically mention Kalaoa. Thus, narratives that describe neighboring lands within the Kekaha region help provide an understanding of the history of these *ahupuaʻa*, describing features and the use of resources that were encountered on the land.

It may be, that the reason there are so few accounts for Kalaoa is that it may have been considered a marginal settlement area, occupied only after the better situated lands of Kekaha—those lands with the sheltered bays, and where fresh water could be easily obtained—were populated. As the island population grew, so too did the need to expand to more remote or marginal lands. This thought is found in some of the native traditions and early historic accounts below. However, as people populated the Kekaha lands, they came to value its fisheries—those of the deep sea, near shore, and inland fishponds.

Punia: A Tale of Sharks and Ghosts of Kekaha

The native account of Punia (also written Puniaiki – cf. Kamakau 1964), is perhaps among the earliest accounts of the Kekaha area, and in it is found a native explanation for the late settlement of Kekaha. The following narratives are paraphrased from Fornander's *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore* (Fornander 1959):

Punia was born in the district of Kohala, and was one of the children of Hina. One day, Punia desired to get lobster for his mother to eat, but she warned him of Kaiʻaleʻale and his hoards of sharks who guarded the caves in which lobster were found. These sharks were greatly feared by all who lived along, and fished the shores of Kohala for many people had been killed by the sharks. Heeding his mother's warning, Punia observed the habits of the sharks and devised a plan by which to kill each of the sharks. Setting his plan in motion, Punia brought about the deaths of all the subordinate sharks, leaving only Kaiʻaleʻale behind. Punia tricked Kaiʻaleʻale into swallowing him whole. Once inside Kaiʻaleʻale, Punia rubbed two sticks together to make a fire to cook the sweet potatoes he had brought with him. He also scraped the insides of Kaiʻaleʻale, causing great pain to the shark. In his weakened state, Kaiʻaleʻale swam along the coast of Kekaha, and finally beached himself at Alula, near the point of Maliu in the land of Kealakehe. The people of Alula, cut open the shark and Punia was released.

At that time Alula was the only place in all of Kekaha where people could live, for all the rest of the area was inhabited by ghosts. When Punia was released from the shark, he began walking along the trail, to return to Kohala. While on this walk, he saw several ghosts with nets all busy tying stones for sinkers to the bottom of the nets, and Punia called out in a chant trying to deceive the ghosts and save himself:

Auwe no hoi kuu makuakane o keia kaha e! Alas, O my father of these coasts!

Elua wale no maua lawaia o keia wahi.

Owau no o koʻu makuakane,

E hoowili aku ai maua i ka ia o ianei,

O kala, o ka uhu, o ka palani,

O ka ia ku o ua wahi nei la,

Ua hele wale ia no e maua keia kai la! Pau na kuuna, na lua, na puka ia.

Make koʻu makuakane, koe au.

We were the only two fishermen of this place (Kaha).

Myself and my father,

Where we used to twist the fish up in the nets,

The kala, the uhu, the palani,

The transient fish of this place.

We have traveled over all these seas,

All the different place, the holes, the runs.

Since you are dead, father, I am the only one left.

Hearing Punia's wailing, the ghosts said among themselves, "Our nets will be of some use now, since here comes a man who is acquainted with this place and we will not be letting down our nets in the wrong place." They then called out to Punia, "Come here." When Punia went to the ghosts, he explained to them, the reason for his lamenting; "I am crying because of my father, this is the place where we used to fish. When I saw the lava rocks, I thought of him." Thinking to trick Punia and learn where all the ku'una (net fishing grounds) were, the ghosts told Punia that they would work under him. Punia went into the ocean, and one-by-one and two-by-two, he called the ghosts into the water with him, instructing them to dive below the surface. As each ghost dove into the water, Punia twisted the net entangling the ghosts. This was done until all but one of the ghosts had been killed. That ghost fled and Kekaha became safe for human habitation (Fornander 1959:9-17).

One of the earliest datable accounts that describes the importance of the Kekaha region fisheries comes from the mid-sixteenth century, following 'Umi-a-Līloa's unification of the island of Hawai'i under his rule. Writing in the 1860s, native historian, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1961) told readers about the reign of 'Umi, and his visits to Kekaha:

'Umi-a-Liloa did two things with his own hands, farming and fishing...and farming was done on all the lands. Much of this was done in Kona. He was noted for his skill in fishing and was called Pu'ipu'i a ka lawai'a (a stalwart fisherman). Aku fishing was his favorite occupation, and it often took him to the beaches (Ke-kaha) from Kalahuipua'a to Makaula^[1]. He also fished for 'ahi and kala. He was accompanied by famed fishermen such as Pae, Kahuna, and all of the chiefs of his kingdom. He set apart fishing, farming and other practices... (Kamakau 1961:19-20)

In his accounts of events at the end of 'Umi's life, Kamakau (1961) references Kekaha once again. He records that Ko'i, one of the faithful supporters and a foster son of 'Umi, sailed to Kekaha, where he killed a man who resembled 'Umi. Ko'i then took the body and sailed to Maka'eo in the ahupua'a of Keahuolu. Landing at Maka'eo in the night, Koʻi took the body to the cave where 'Umi's body lay. Replacing 'Umi's body with that of the other man, Ko'i then crossed the lava beds, returning to his canoe at Maka'eo. From there, 'Umi's body was taken to its' final resting place... (Kamakau 1961:32-33).

As a child in ca. 1812, Hawaiian historian John Papa I'i passed along the shores of Kekaha in a sailing ship, as a part of the procession by which Kamehameha I returned to Kailua-Kona from his residency on O'ahu. In his narratives, I'i described the shiny lava flows and fishing canoe fleets of the "Kaha" (Kekaha) lands:

The ship arrived outside of Kaelehuluhulu, where the fleet for aku fishing had been since the early morning hours. The sustenance of those lands was fish.

When the sun was rather high, the boy [I'i] exclaimed, "How beautiful that flowing water is!" Those who recognized it, however, said, "That is not water, but pahoehoe. When the sun strikes it, it glistens, and you mistake it for water..."

Soon the fishing canoes from Kawaihae, the Kaha lands, and Ooma drew close to the ship to trade for the pa'i'ai (hard poi) carried on board, and shortly a great quantity of aku lay silvery-hued on the deck. The fishes were cut into pieces and mashed; and all those aboard fell to and ate, the women by themselves.

The gentle Eka sea breeze of the land was blowing when the ship sailed past the lands of the Mahaiulas, Awalua, Haleohiu, Kalaoas, Hoona, on to Oomas, Kohanaiki, Kaloko, Honokohaus, and Kealakehe, then around the cape of Hiiakanoholae... (I'i 1959:109-110)

Kalāhuipua'a is situated in the district of Kohala, bounding the northern side of Pu'uanahulu in Kekaha. Maka'ula is situated a few ahupua'a north of 'O'oma.

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

It is not until the early twentieth century, that we find a few detailed native accounts which tell of traditional features and residents of Kalaoa and the vicinity. The writings of John Whalley Hermosa Isaac Kihe, a native son of Kekaha, in Hawaiian language newspapers (translated by Kepā Maly from the original Hawaiian texts), share the history of the land and sense the depth of attachment that native residents felt for Kalaoa and the larger Kekaha-wai-'ole-o-nā-Kona.

Kihe (who also wrote under the name of Ka-'ohu-ha'aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-'ekolu) was born in 1853, his parents were native residents of Honokōhau and Kaloko (his grandfather, Kuapāhoa, was a famed kahuna of the Kekaha lands). During his life, Kihe taught at various schools in the Kekaha region; served as legal counsel to native residents applying for homestead lands in 'O'oma and vicinity; worked as a translator on the Hawaiian Antiquities collections of A. Fornander; and was a prolific writer himself. In the later years of his life, Kihe lived at Pu'u Anahulu and Kalaoa, and he is fondly remembered by elder *kama'āina* of the Kekaha region. Kihe, who died in 1929, was also one of the primary informants to Eliza Maguire, who translated some of the writings of Kihe, publishing them in abbreviated form in her book "Kona Legends" (1926).

Writers today have varying opinions and theories pertaining to the history of Kekaha, residency patterns, and practices of the people who called Kekaha-wai-'ole-o-nā-Kona home. For the most part, our interpretations are limited by the fragmented nature of the physical remains and historical records, and by a lack of familiarity with the diverse qualities of the land. As a result, most of us only see the shadows of what once was, and it is difficult at times, to comprehend how anyone could have carried out a satisfactory existence in such a rugged land.

Kihe and his co-authors provide readers with several references to places and events in the history of 'O'oma, Kalaoa, and neighboring lands. Through the narratives, we learn of place name origins, areas of ceremonial significance, how resources were managed and accessed, and the practices of those native families who made this area their home.

One example of the rich materials recorded by native writers, is found in "Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki" (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki). This tradition is a long and complex account, that was published over a period of four years (1914-1917) in the weekly Hawaiian-language newspaper Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i. The narratives were primarily recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe.

While "Ka-Miki" is not an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of local stories, tales, and family traditions in association with place names to tie together fragments of site-specific histories that had been handed down over the generations. Also, while the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely "ancient," such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian (and Polynesian) traditions. The English translations below are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events and areas being discussed. Diacritical marks and hyphenation have been placed to help with pronunciation of certain words.

This *mo'olelo* (tradition) is set in the 1300s (by association with the chief Pili-a-Ka'aiaea), and is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Ma-Ka'iole (Rat [squinting] eyes). The narratives describe the birth of the brothers, their upbringing, and their journey around the island of Hawai'i along the ancient *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, and in famed *kahua* (contest fields) and royal courts, against 'ōlohe (experts skilled in fighting or in other competitions, such as running, fishing, debating, or solving riddles, that were practiced by the ancient Hawaiians). They also challenged priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai'i. Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole were empowered by their ancestress Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The great entangled growth of uluhe fern which spreads across the uplands), who was one of the myriad of body forms of the goddess Haumea, the earth-mother, creative force of nature who was also called Papa or Hina. Among her many nature-form attributes were manifestations that caused her to be called upon as a goddess of priests and competitors (people, places named for them, and other place names are marked below with underlining):

...<u>Kūmua</u> was the husband of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. The place that is named for Kūmua is in the uplands of <u>Kohanaiki</u>, an elevated rise from where one can look towards the lowlands. The shore and deep sea are all clearly visible from this place. The reason that Kūmua dwelt there was so that he could see the children and grandchildren of he and his wife.

<u>Wailoa</u>, a daughter, was the mother of <u>Kapa'ihilani</u>, also called <u>Kapa'ihi</u>. There is a place in the uplands of Kohanaiki, below Kūmua, to the northwest, a hidden water hole, that is called Kapa'ihi. Wailoa is a pond there on the shore of Kohanaiki. Because Wailoa married Kahunakalehu, a native of the area, she lived and worked there. Thus the name of that pond is Wailoa, and it remains so to this day.

<u>Pipipi'apo'o</u> was another daughter of Kūmua and Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. She married <u>Haleolono</u>, one who cultivated sweet potatoes upon the '*ilima* covered flat lands of <u>Nānāwale</u>, also called <u>Nāhi'ahu</u> (Nāwah'iahu), as it has been called from before and up to the present time. Cultivating the land was the skill of this youth Haleolono, and because he was so good at it, he was able to marry the beauty, Pipipi'apo'o.

Pipipi 'apo 'o's skill was that of weaving pandanus mats, and there are growing many pandanus trees there, even now. The grove of pandanus trees and a nearby cave, is called Pipipi 'apo 'o to this day, and you may ask the natives of Kohanaiki to point it out to you.

<u>Kapukalua</u> was a son of Kūmua and Kaʻuluhe. He was an expert at *aku* lure fishing, and all other methods of fishing of those days gone by. He married Kauhiʻonohua a beauty with skin as soft as the blossoms of the *hīnano*, found in the pandanus grove of 'Oʻoma. This girl was pleasingly beautiful, and because of her fame, Kapukalua, the exceptionally skilled son of the sea spray of 'Apoʻula, secured her as his wife. Here, we shall stop speaking of the elders of Ka-Miki... [January 8, 1914]

The tradition continues, recounting the training of the brothers, and preparations of their *hālau ali'i* (royal compound) at Kohanaiki. At the dedication ceremonies it was revealed that one of the *kahuna* of the Kaha lands, had taken up the habit of killing people, and that he had also thought to take the lives of Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka'iole. We revisit the story here, and learn the name of a priest of 'O'oma and Kohanaiki—

...The sun broke forth and the voices of the roosters and the 'elepaio of the forests were heard resonating and rising upon the mountain slopes. The day became clear, with no clouds to be seen, it was calm. So too, the ocean was calm and the shore of La'i a 'Ehu (Kona) was calm. The flowers of the upland forest reddened and unfolded, and nodded gently in the $k\bar{e}hau$ breezes.

The priests gathered together to discuss these events and prepared to apologize to the children of the chief, asking for their forgiveness. They selected <u>'Elepaio</u>, <u>Pūhili</u>, <u>Kalua'ōlapa</u>, and <u>Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila</u> to go before the brothers for this purpose.

'Elepaio was the high priest of Honokōhau. The place where he dwelt bears the name 'Elepaio [an 'ili on the boundary of Honokōhau nui & iki]. It is in the great grove of 'ulu (kaulu 'ulu) on the boundary between Honokōhau-nui and Honokōhau-iki... [April 23, 1914]

<u>Pūhili</u> was the high priest of 'O'oma and <u>Kohanaiki</u>, the place where he lived is on the plain of Kohanaiki, at the shore, and bears his name to this day. It is on the boundary between Kohanaiki and 'O'oma.

<u>Kalua'ōlapa</u> was the high priest of <u>Hale'ōhi'u</u> and <u>Kamāhoe</u>, that is the waterless land of <u>Kalaoa</u> (Kalaoa wai 'ole). The place where he lived was in the uplands of <u>Maulukua</u> on the plain covered with '*ilima* growth. This place bears his name to this day.

<u>Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila</u> was the high priest of <u>Kealakehe</u> and <u>Ke'ohu'olu</u> (Keahuolu), and it was he who built the *heiau* named Kalua-'ōlapa-uwila, which is there along the shore of Kealakehe, next to the road that goes to Kailua. The nature of this priest was that of a shark and a man. The shark form was named <u>Kaiwi</u>, and there is a stone form of the shark that can be seen near the *heiau* to this day.

These priests all went to the door of the house and presented the offerings of the black pig, the red fish, the black 'awa, the white rooster, the malo (loin clothes), and all things that had been required of their class of priests. They also offered their prayers and asked forgiveness for their misspoken words. They then called for their prayers to be freed and the kapu ended... [April 30, 1914]

Ka Punawai o Wawaloli (The Pond of Wawaloli)

Through the 1920s, up to the time of his death in 1929, J.W.H.I. Kihe continued to submit traditional accounts and commentary on the changing times to the paper, $Ka \ H\bar{o}k\bar{u} \ o \ Hawai'i$. In 1923, Kihe penned a series of articles, some of which formed the basis of Eliza Maguire's $Kona \ Legends$ (1926). One of the accounts, " $Ka \ Punawai \ o \ Wawaloli$ " (The Pond of Wawaloli), describes that the pond of Wawaloli, on the shore of 'O'oma, was named for a supernatural ocean being, who could take the form of the loli (sea cucumber) and of a handsome young man. Through this account it is learned that people regularly traveled between the uplands and shore of 'O'oma; the kula lands were covered with 'ilima growth; and that a variety of fish, seaweeds, and shellfish were harvested along the shore. Also, the main figures in the tradition are memorialized as places on the lands of 'O'oma, Kalaoa, and neighboring ahupua 'a. These individuals and places include Kalua'ōlapa (a hill on the boundary of Hāmanamana and Haleohi'u), Wawaloli (a bay

between 'O'oma and Kalaoa), Ho'ohila (on the boundary of Kaū and Pu'ukala), Pāpa'apo'o (a cave site in Hāmanamana), Kamakaoiki and Malumaluiki (locations unknown). The following narratives were translated by Kepā Maly from the original Hawaiian texts published in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* (September 23rd, October 4th & 11th, 1923):

The place of this pond (Wawaloli) is set there on the shore of 'O'oma near Kalaoa. It is a little pond, and is there to this day. It is very close to the sandy shore, and further towards the shore there is also a pond in which one can swim. There is a tradition of this pond, that is held dearly in the hearts of the elders of this community.

<u>Wawaloli</u> is the name of a *loli* (sea cucumber) that possessed dual body forms (*kino pāpālua*), that of a *loli*, and that of a man!

Above there on the 'ilima covered flat lands, there lived a man by the name of Kalua'ōlapa and his wife, Kamakaoiki, and their beautiful daughter, Malumaluiki.

One day the young maiden told her mother that she was going down to the shore to gather *limu* (seaweeds), 'ōpihi (limpets), and pupu (shellfish). Her mother consented, and so the maiden traveled to the shore. Upon reaching the shore, Malumaluiki desired to drink some water, so she visited the pond and while she was drinking she saw a reflection in the rippling of the water, standing over her. She turned around and saw that there was a handsome young man there, with a smile upon his face. He said... [September 27, 1923] "...Pardon me for startling you here as we meet at this pond, in the afternoon heat which glistens off of the pāhoehoe."

She responded, "What is the mistake of our meeting, you are a stranger, and I am a stranger, and so we have met at this pond." The youth, filled with desire for the beautiful young maiden, answered "I am not a stranger here along this shore, indeed, I am very familiar with this place for this is my home. And when I saw you coming here, I came to meet you."

These two strangers, having thus met, then began to lay out their nets to catch *kala*, *uhu*, and *pālani*, the native fish of this land. And in this way, the beauty of the plains of Kalaoa was caught in the net of the young man who dwelt in the sea spray of 'O'oma.

These two strangers of the long day also fished for $h\bar{n}n\bar{a}lea$, and then for kawele ' \bar{a} . It was during this time, that their lines became entangled like those of the fishermen of Wailua (a poetic reference to those who become entangled in a love affair).

The desire for the limu, ' $\bar{o}pihi$, and $p\bar{u}p\bar{u}$ was completely forgotten, and the fishing poles bent as the lines were pulled back in the sea spray. The handsome youth was moistened in the rains that fell, striking the land and the beloved shore of the land. The sun drew near, entering the edge of the sea and was taken by Lehua Island. Only then did these two fishers of the long day take up their nets.

Before the young maiden began her return to the uplands, she told the youth, "Tell me your name." He answered her, "The name by which I am known is Wawa. But my name, when I go and dwell in the pond here, is Loli. And when you return, you may call to me with the chant:

E Loli nui kīkewekewe²
Oh great Loli moving back and forth
I ka hana ana kīkewekewe
I ku'u piko kīkewekewe
You are in my mind moving back and forth
The parents moving back and forth
I hana ai kīkewekewe
A re at their work moving back and forth

Thana at kikewekewe Are at their work moving back and forth
E pi'i mai 'oe kīkewekewe Won't you arise moving back and forth
Ka kaua puni kīkewekewe To that which we two desire moving back and forth

Having finished their conversation, the maiden then went to the uplands. It was dark, and the kukui lamps had been lit in the house. Malumaluiki's parents asked her, "Where are your limu, ' $\bar{o}pihi$ and $p\bar{u}p\bar{u}$?" She replied, "It is proper that you have asked me, for when I went to the shore it was filled with people who took all there was? Thus I was left with nothing, not even a fragment of limu or anything else. So I have returned up here."

Your command is desired moving back and forth

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Puni kauoha kīkewekewe

² "Kīkewekewe" is translated by Eliza Maguire (1926) as "charmer." Kepā Maly was unfamiliar with this meaning of the word. It is most commonly used in the refrain of a song, and is here translated as "moving back and forth," as the word is used in the spoken language. Kewe also means concave, similar to the place name 'O'oma.

Well, the family meal had been made ready, so they all sat to eat together. But after a short while the maiden stood up. Her parents inquired of this, and she said she was no longer hungry, and that her feet were sore from traveling the long path. So the maiden went to sleep. She did not sleep well though, and felt a heat in her bosom, as she was filled with desire, thus she had no sleep that night.

With the arrival of the first light of day, the Malumaluiki went once again down to the shore. Upon arriving at the place of the pond, she entered the water and called out as described above. Then, a *loli* appeared and turned into the handsome young man. They two then returned to their fishing for the *kala*, *uhu* and *pālani*, the native fish the land.

So it was that the two lovers met regularly there on the shore of 'O'oma. Now Malumaluiki's parents became suspicious because of the actions of the daughter, and her regular trips to the shore. So they determined that they should secretly follow her and spy on her.

One day, the father followed her to the shore, where he saw his daughter sit down by the side of the pond. He then heard her call out —

E Loli nui kīkewekewe Oh great Loli moving back and forth
I ka hana ana kīkewekewe Doing your work moving back and forth

I ku'u piko kīkewekewe You are the center of my life moving back and forth

Piko maika 'i kīkewekeweIt is good moving back and forthA ka makua kīkewekeweThe parents moving back and forthI hana ai kīkewekeweAre at their work moving back and forthE pi'i mai 'oe kīkewekeweWon't you arise moving back and forth

Ka kaua puni kīkewekewe To that which we two desire moving back and forth Puni kauoha kīkewekewe Your command is desired moving back and forth

[October 4, 1923]

"O Loli, here is your desire, the one you command, Malumaluiki, who's eyes see nothing else."

Her father then saw a *loli* coming up from the pond, and when it was up, it turned into the youth. He watched the two for a while, unknown to them, and saw that his daughter and the youth of the two body forms (*kino pāpālua*), took their pleasure in one another.

The father returned to the uplands and told all of this to her mother, who upon hearing it, was filled with great anger, because of the deceitfulness of her daughter. But then she learned that the man with whom her daughter slept was of dual body forms. Kamakaoiki then told Kaluaʻōlapa that he should "Go down and capture the *loli*, and beat it to death," to which he agreed.

One day, Kalua'ōlapa went down early, and hid, unseen by the two lovers. Malumaluiki arrived at the pond and called out, and he then memorized the lines spoken by his daughter. When she left, returning to the uplands, he then went to the pond and looked closely at it. He then saw a small circular opening near the top of the water in the pond. He then understood that that was where the *loli* came up from. He then slept that night and in the early morning, he went to the pond and set his net in the water. He then began to call out as his daughter had done with the above words.

When he finished the chant, the *loli* began to rise up through the hole, and was ensnared in the net. Kalua'ōlapa then carried him up onto the *kula*, walking to the uplands. On his way, he saw his daughter coming down, and he hid until she passed him by.

When the daughter arrived at the pond, she called out in the chant as she always did. She called and called until the sun was overhead, but the *loli* did not appear in the pond, nor did he come forward in his human form. Thus, she thought that he had perhaps died, and she began to wail and mourn for the loss of her lover. Finally as evening came, the beautiful maiden stood, and ascended the *kula* to her home.

Now, let us look back to the Kalua'ōlapa. He went up to his house and showed the *loli* to his wife. Seeing the *loli*, she told her husband, "Take it to the *kahuna*, Pāpa'apo'o who lives on the *kula* of Ho'ohila." So he went to the *kahuna* and explained everything that had occurred to him, and showed him the *loli* in his net. Seeing this and hearing of all that had happened, Pāpa'apo'o told the father to build an *imu* in which to *kālua* the great *loli* that moves back and forth (*loli kīkewekewe*). He said, "When the *loli* is killed, then your daughter will be well, so too will be the other daughters of the families of the land." Thus, the *imu* was lit and the supernatural *loli* cooked.

When the daughter returned to her home, her eyes were all swollen from crying. Her mother asked her, "What is this, that your eyes are puffy from crying, my daughter?" She didn't answer, she just kneeled down, giving no response. At that time, her father returned to the house and saw his daughter kneeling down, and he said "Your man, with whom you have been making love at the beach has been taken by the *kahuna* Pāpa'apo'o. He has been cooked in the *imu* that you may live, that all of the girls who this *loli* has loved may live."

That pond is still there on the shore, and the place with the small round opening is still on the side of that pond to this day. It is something to remember those things of days gone by, something that should not be forgotten by those of today and in time to come. [October 11, 1923]

Ka Loko o Paaiea (The Fishpond of Pā'aiea)

The tradition of *Ka loko o Paaiea* (The fishpond of Pā'aiea) was written by J.W.H.I. Kihe, and printed in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* in 1914 and 1924. The narratives describe traditional life and practices in various *ahupua'a* of Kekaha, and specifically describes the ancient fishpond Pā'aiea. The following excerpts from Kihe's *mo'olelo*, include references to Wawaloli, on the shore of 'O'oma and Kalaoa. Pā'aiea, was destroyed by the Hualālai lava flows of 1801, reportedly as a result of the pond overseer's refusal to give the goddess Pele—traveling in human form—any fish from the pond:

Pā'aiea was a great fishpond, something like the ponds of Wainānāli'i and Kīholo, in ancient times. At that time the high chiefs lived on the land, and these ponds were filled with fat *awa*, 'anae, āhole, and all kinds of fish that swam inside. It is this pond that was filled by the lava flows and turned into pāhoehoe, that is written of here. At that time, at Ho'onā, there was a *Konohiki* (overseer), Kepa'alani, who was in charge of the houses (hale papa'a) in which the valuables of the King [Kamehameha I] were kept. He was in charge of the King's food supplies, the fish, the hālau (long houses) in which the fishing canoes were kept, the fishing nets and all things. It was from there that the King's fishermen and the retainers were provisioned. The houses of the pond guardians and *Konohiki* were situated at Ka'elehuluhulu and Ho'onā.

In the correct and true story of this pond, we see that its boundaries extended from Ka'elehuluhulu on the north, and on the south, to the place called Wawaloli (between 'O'oma and Kalaoa). The pond was more than three miles long and one and a half miles wide, and today, within these boundaries, one can still see many water holes.

While traveling in the form of an old woman, Pele visited the Kekaha region of Kona, bedecked in garlands of the ko 'oko 'olau (Bidens spp.). Upon reaching Pā 'aiea at Ho 'onā, Pele inquired if she might perhaps have an 'ama 'ama , young $\bar{a}holehole$, or a few ' $\bar{o}pae$ (shrimp) to take home with her. Kepa 'alani, refused, "they are kapu, for the King." Pele then stood and walked along the $kuap\bar{a}$ (ocean side wall) of Pā 'aiea till she reached Ka 'elehuluhulu. There, some fishermen had returned from aku fishing, and were carrying their canoes up onto the shore...

...Now because Kepa'alani was stingy with the fishes of the pond Pā'aiea, and refused to give any fish to Pele, the fishpond Pā'aiea and the houses of the King were all destroyed by the lava flow. In ancient times, the canoe fleets would enter the pond and travel from Ka'elehuluhulu to Ho'onā, at Ua'u'ālohi, and then return to the sea and go to Kailua and the other places of Kona. Those who traveled in this manner would sail gently across the pond pushed forward by the 'Eka wind, and thus avoid the strong currents which pushed out from the point of Keāhole

It was at Hoʻonā that Kepaʻalani dwelt, that is where the houses in which the chiefs valuables (*hale papaʻa*) were kept. It was also one of the canoe landings of the place. Today, it is where the light house of America is situated. Pelekāne (in Puʻukala) is where the houses of Kamehameha were located, near a stone mound that is partially covered by the *pāhoehoe* of Pele. If this fishpond had not been covered by the lava flows, it would surely be a thing of great wealth to the government today... [J.W.H.I. Kihe in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*; compiled and translated by Kepā Maly, from the narratives written February 5-26, 1914 and May 1-15, 1924].

Na Ho'omanao o ka Manawa (The Recollections of a Native Son)

Later in 1924, Kihe, described the changes which had occurred in the Kekaha region since his youth. In the following article, titled *Na Ho'omanao o ka Manawa* (in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* June 5th & 12th 1924), Kihe wrote about the villages that were once inhabited throughout Kekaha, identifying families, practices, and schools of the historic period (ca.

1860-1924). In the two part series (translated by Kepā Maly), he also shared his personal feelings about the changes that had occurred, including the demise of the families and the abandonment of the coastal lands of Kekaha.

There has arisen in the mind of the author, some questions and thoughts about the nature, condition, living, traveling, and various things that bring pleasure and joy. Thinking about the various families and the many homes with their children, going to play and strengthening their bodies.

In the year 1870, when I was a young man at the age of 17 years old, I went to serve as the substitute teacher at the school of <u>Honokōhau</u>. I was teaching under William G. Kanaka ole who had suffered an illness (*ma i-lolo*, a stroke).

In those days at the Hawaiian Government Schools, the teachers were all Hawaiian and taught in the Hawaiian language. In those days, the students were all Hawaiian as well, and the books were in Hawaiian. The students were all Hawaiian... There were many, many Hawaiian students in the schools, no Japanese, Portuguese, or people of other nationalities. Everyone was Hawaiian or part Hawaiian, and there were only a few part Hawaiians.

The schools included the school house at <u>Kīholo</u> where Joseph W. Keala taught, and later J.K. Ka'ailuwale taught there. At the school of <u>Makalawena</u>, J. Ka'elemakule Sr., who now resides in Kailua, was the teacher. At the <u>Kalaoa</u> School, J. U. Keawe'ake was the teacher. There were also others here, including myself for four years, J. Kainuku, and J.H. Olohia who was the last one to teach in the Hawaiian language. At <u>Kaloko</u>, Miss Ka'aimahu'i was the last teacher before the Kaloko school was combined as one with the Honokōhau school where W.G. Kanaka'ole was the teacher. I taught there for two years as well... [Kihe includes additional descriptions on the schools of Kona] It was when they stopped teaching in Hawaiian, and began instructing in English, that significant changes took place among our children. Some of them became puffed up and stopped listening to their parents. The children spoke gibberish (English) and the parents couldn't understand (nā keiki namu). Before that time, the Hawaiians weren't marrying too many people of other races. The children and their parents dwelt together in peace with the children and parents speaking together... [June 5, 1924]

...Now perhaps there are some who will not agree with what I am saying, but these are my true thoughts. Things which I have seen with my own eyes, and know to be true...In the year 1870 when I was substitute teaching at Honokōhau for W.G. Kanakaʻole, I taught more than 80 students. There were both boys and girls, and this school had the highest enrollment of students studying in Hawaiian at that time [in Kekaha]. And the students then were all knowledgeable, all knew how to read and write.

Now the majority of those people are all dead. Of those things remembered and thought of by the people who yet remain from that time in 1870; those who are here 53 years later, we cannot forget the many families who lived in the various ('āpana') land sections of Kekaha.

From the lands of Honokōhau, Kaloko, Kohanaiki, the lands of 'O'oma, Kalaoa, Hale'ohi'u, Maka'ula, Kaū, Pu'ukala-'Ōhiki, Awalua, the lands of Kaulana, Mahai'ula, Makalawena, Awake'e, the lands of Kūki'o, Ka'ūpūlehu, Kīholo, Keawaiki, Kapalaoa, Pu'uanahulu, and Pu'uwa'awa'a. These many lands were filled with people in those days.

There were men, women, and children, the houses were filled with large families. Truly there were many people [in Kekaha]. I would travel around with the young men and women in those days, and we would stay together, travel together, eat together, and spend the nights in homes filled with aloha.

The lands of Honokōhau were filled with people in those days, there were many women and children with whom I traveled with joy in the days of my youth. Those families are all gone, and the land is quiet. There are no people, only the rocks remain, and a few scattered trees growing, and only occasionally does one meet with a man today [1924]. One man and his children are all that remain.

Kaloko was the same in those days, but now, it is a land without people. The men, the women, and the children are all gone, they have passed away. Only one man, J.W. Ha'au, remains. He is the only native child (*keiki kupa*) besides this author, who remains.

At Kohanaiki, there were many people on this land between 1870 and 1878. These were happy years with the families there. In those years Kaiakoili was the *haku 'āina* (land overseer)...

Now the land is desolate, there are no people, the houses are quiet. Only the houses remain standing, places simply to be counted. I dwelt here with the families of these homes. Indeed it was here that I dwelt with my *kahu hānai* (guardian), the one who raised me. All these families were closely related to me by blood. On my fathers' side, I was tied to the families of Kaloko [J.W.H.I. Kihe's father was Kihe, his grandfather was Kuapāhoa, a noted *kahuna* of Kaloko]. I am a native of these lands.

The lands of 'O'oma, and Kalaoa, and all the way to Kaulana and Mahai'ula were also places of many people in those days, but today there are no people. At Mahai'ula is where the great fishermen of that day dwelt. Among the fishermen were Po'oko'ai mā, Pā'ao'ao senior, Ka'ao mā, Kai'a mā, Ka'ā'īkaula mā, Pāhia mā, and John Ka'elemakule Sr., who now dwells at Kailua.

Ka'elemakule moved from this place [Mahai'ula] to Kailua where he prospered, but his family is buried there along that beloved shore (*kapakai aloha*). He is the only one who remains alive today... At Makalawena, there were many people, men, women, and their children. It was here that some of the great fishermen of those days lived as well. There were many people, and now, they are all gone, lost for all time.

Those who have passed away are Kaha'iali'i mā, Mama'e mā, Kapehe mā, Kauaionu'uanu mā, Hopulā'au mā, Kaihemakawalu mā, Kaomi, Keoni Aihaole mā, and Pahukula mā. They are all gone, there only remains the son-in-law of Kauaionu'uanu, J.H. Mahikō, and Jack Punihaole, along with their children, living in the place where Kauaionu'uanu and Ahu once lived.

At Kūki'o, not one person remains alive on that land, all are gone, only the 'a' \bar{a} remains. It is the same at Ka'ūpūlehu, the old people are all gone, and it is all quiet... [June 12, 1924]

Ko Keoni Kaelemakule Moolelo Ponoi – Kakau ponoi ia mai no e ia (The True Story of John Ka'elemakule – Actually written by him³)

In the period between 1928 and 1930, John Ka'elemakule Sr., who was a native of Kekaha, living at Mahai'ula, Kaulana and Kohanaiki, wrote a series of articles that were published in serial form in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*. The story is a rich account of life in Kekaha between 1854 and 1900. Ka'elemakule's texts introduce us to the native residents of Kekaha, and include descriptions of the practices and customs of the families who resided there. In the following excerpts from Ka'elemakule's narratives (translated by Kepā Maly), we find reference once again to 'O'oma, Kalaoa, and neighboring lands, and the practices associated with procuring water in this region:

"Kekaha Wai Ole o na Kona" (Waterless Kekaha of Kona)

...We have seen the name "Kekaha wai ole o nā Kona" since the early part of my story in $Ka\ H\bar{o}k\bar{u}$ o Hawai'i, and we have also seen it in the beautiful tradition of Mākālei. An account of the boy who dwelt in the uplands of Kekaha wai 'ole, that was told by Ka-'ohu-ha'aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-'ekolu [the penname used by J.W.H.I. Kihe]. I think that certain people may want to know the reason and meaning of this name. So it is perhaps a good thing for me to explain how it came about. The source of it is that in this land of Kekaha even in the uplands, between Kaulana in the north and 'O'oma in the south, there was no water found even in the ancient times. For a little while, I lived in the uplands of Kaulana, and I saw that this land of Kekaha was indeed waterless.

The water for bathing, washing one's hands or feet, was the water of the banana stump (wai $p\bar{u}ma$ 'ia). The $p\bar{u}mai$ 'a was grated and squeezed into balls to get the juice. The problem with this water is that it makes one itchy, and one does not really get clean. There were not many water holes, and the water that accumulated from rain dried up quickly. Also there would be weeks in which no rain fell... The water which the people who lived in the uplands of Kekaha drank, was found in caves. There are many caves from which the people of the uplands got water... [September 17, 1929:3]

This account was published in serial form in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, from May 29, 1928 to March 18, 1930. The translated excerpts in this section include narratives that describe Mahai'ula and nearby lands in Kekaha with references to families, customs, practices, ceremonial observances, and sites identified in text. The larger narratives also include further detailed accounts of Ka'elemakule's life, and business ventures. A portion of the narratives pertaining to fishing customs (November 13, 1928 to March 12, 1929), and canoeing practices (March 19 to May 21, 1929) were translated by M. Kawena Pukui, and may be viewed in the Bishop Museum-Hawaiian Ethnological Notes (BPBM Archives).

...The *kūpuna* had very strict *kapu* (restrictions) on these water caves. A woman who had her menstrual cycle could not enter the caves. The ancient people kept this as a sacred *kapu* from past generations. If a woman did not know that her time was coming and she entered the water cave, the water would die, that is, it would dry up. The water would stop dripping. This was a sign that the *kapu* of Kāne-of-the-water-of-life (Kaneikawaiola) had been desecrated. Through this, we learn that the ancient people of Kekaha believed that Kāne was the one who made the water drip from within the earth, even the water that entered the sea from the caves. This is what the ancient people of Kekaha wai 'ole believed, and there were people who were *kia* 'i (guardians) who watched over and cleaned the caves, the house of Kāne... [September 24, 1929:3]

When the *kapu* of the water cave had been broken, the priest was called to perform a ceremony and make offerings. The offerings were a small black pig; a white fish, and *āholehole*; young taro leaves; and *awa*. When the offering was prepared, the priest would chant to Kane:

E Kane i uka, e Kane i kai, O Kane in the uplands, O Kāne at the shore,

E Kane i ka wai, eia ka puaa, O Kane in the water, here is the pig,
Eia ka awa, eia ka luau, Here is the 'awa, here are the taro greens,

Eia ka ia kea. Here is the white fish.

Then all those people of the uplands and coast joined together in this offering, saying:

He mohai noi keia ia oe e Kane,
E kala i ka hewa o ke kanaka i hana ai,
A e hoomaemae i ka hale wai,
This is a request offering to you o Kāne,
Forgive the transgression done by man,
Clean the water house (source),

A e noomdemde i ka naie wai, Clean the water nouse (source),

A e hoonui mai i ka wai o ka hale, Cause the water to increase in the house,

I ola na kanaka, That the people may live,

Na ohua o keia aina wai ole. Those who are dependent on this waterless land.

Amama. It is finished...

[October 1, 1929:3; Kepā Maly, translator]

It is not surprising today, when we hear of caves in which cultural materials are found. Along trails, near residences, and in once remote areas, a wide range of uses occurred. Caves in the Kekaha lands were used to store items, keep planting shoots cool and fresh for the next season, to hide or take shelter in, to catch water, and for burial.

Land Tenure in Kalaoa and Vicinity

Through the traditions and early historical accounts cited above, we see that there are descriptions of early residences and practices of the native families on the lands of Kalaoa and within greater Kekaha. Among the earliest government records documenting residency are those of the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division), Interior and Taxation Departments, Roads and Public Works, and the Government Survey Division.

This section of the study describes land tenure (residency and land use) and identifies families associated with Kalaoa and its neighboring lands. The documentation is presented chronologically within the following subsections, The *Māhele 'Āina* (1848): Disposition of Kalaoa, Kalaoa, and Vicinity (1855-1864), Trails and Roads of Kekaha (Governmental Communications), The Government Homesteading Program in Kekaha, Field Surveys of J.S. Emerson (1882-1889), The Kalaoa-'O'oma Homesteads, and Twentieth Century Land Tenure in the Vicinity of the Current Study Area. A review of the records below reveals that none of the claims by native tenants made during the *Māhele*, nor any of the purchases of Royal Patent Grants, included lands that are a part of the current study area.

The Māhele 'Āina (1848): Disposition of 'O'oma and Kalaoa

In Precontact Hawai'i, all land, ocean, and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (ali'i 'ai ahupua'a or ali'i 'ai moku). The use of land, fisheries and other resources were given to the hoa'āina (native tenants) at the prerogative of the ali'i and their representatives or land agents (konohiki), who were considered lesser chiefs. By 1845, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was being radically altered, and the foundation for implementing the Māhele 'Āina was set in place, system of fee-simple right of ownership.

As the *Māhele* evolved, it defined the land interests of Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III), some 252 high-ranking *Ali'i* and *Konohiki*, and the Government. As a result of the *Māhele*, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands (cf. Indices of Awards 1929). The "Enabling" or "*Kuleana Act*" of the *Māhele* (December 21, 1849) further defined the frame work by which *hoa'āina* (native tenants) could apply for, and be granted fee-simple

interest in "Kuleana" lands (cf. Kamakau in Ke Au Okoa July 8 & 15, 1869; 1961:403-403). The Kuleana Act also reconfirmed the rights of hoa 'āina to access, subsistence and collection of resources necessary to their life upon the land in their given ahupua 'a ("Enabling Act" 4, August 6, 1850 – HSA DLNR 2-4).

In the *Buke Kakau Paa no ka Mahele Aina* (Land Division Book), between Kamehameha III and his supporters, we learn that by the time of the *Māhele 'Āina*, Kalaoa was divided into five *ahupua'a*, Kalaoa 1st through 5th. During the *Māhele*, Kalaoa 1st—5th and 'O'oma 2nd were held by Kamehameha III, and then subsequently assigned to the Government land inventory on March 8, 1848. All but Kalaoa 5th, which is not listed in the *Māhele* Book⁵, were returned to Kamehameha III by the various *Konohiki* in lieu of commutation fees on other lands (Soehren 2005; Table 1). Kalaoa 1st was returned by Keaweamahi (*Buke Māhele*, February 2, 1848:73), the wife of Kaikio'ewa, the guardian of the Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) at 'O'oma; Kalaoa 2nd was returned by Kinimaka (*Buke Māhele*, February 9, 1848:128), the husband of the high chiefess Kaniu and the *hanai* father of the young King Kalākaua; Kalaoa 3rd was returned by Hewahewa (*Buke Māhele*, February 14, 1848:168), the *kahuna nui* (high priest) of Kamehameha I and II; Kalaoa 4th was returned by William Pitt Leleiohoku (*Buke Māhele*, January 28, 1848:25), the adopted son of Governor George Kuakini (he had received Kaukai's lands upon his death in 1844) and husband of Ruth Ke'elikōlani; and 'O'oma 2nd was returned by the *kahuna* Kekaha (*Buke Māhele*, February 14, 1848:158).

Table 1. Distribution of Kalaoa and 'O'oma 2nd during the Māhele 'Āina of 1848.

Ahupua'a	Returned by	Retained by	Kuleana
Kalaoa 1st	Keaweamahi	Government	=
Kalaoa 2 nd	Kinimaka	Government	=
Kalaoa 3 rd	Hewahewa	Government	=
Kalaoa 4 th	Leileiohiku	Government	-
Kalaoa 5 th	-	Government	2
'O'oma 2 nd	Kekaha	Government	-

In 2000, Kumu Pono Associates digitized the entire collection of handwritten records from the *Māhele 'Āina*. Most of the records are in the Hawaiian language.

In Kalaoa 5th two *kuleana* claims were awarded – LCAw. 7899 to Kupuoe and LCAw. 7937 to Kukaaui – both of which were located next to one another in the *mauka* portion of the *ahupua* 'a (a third *kuleana* was claimed but not awarded). Kupuoe's and Kukaaui's awards in Kalaoa 5th (Figures 6 and 7) are as follows:

Kupuoe (Kupuae) – Helu 7899 Kailua, Hawaii Jan. 2, 1849

Kanahele sworn [the whole ili claim is an error] He has seen the house lot and the place Kupuoe had cultivated. There are 12 partially cultivated kihapais in Kaweo ili of Kalaoa 5 ahupuaa. It has not been enclosed completely, one house is for Kupuoe. In Kalaoa 4, 8 kihapais have been cultivated. Kupuoe's land is from Kaainoa in 1843, no one has objected to him. Kukaanio sworn they [Kanahele and Kukaanio] both have known in the same way.

[Native Testimony 4:540; translated by Kepā Maly]

⁴ See also "Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina" (Penal Code) 1850.

Kalaoa 4th and 5th both may have originally belonged to Leleiohoku (Native Register Vol. 8:514, 516).

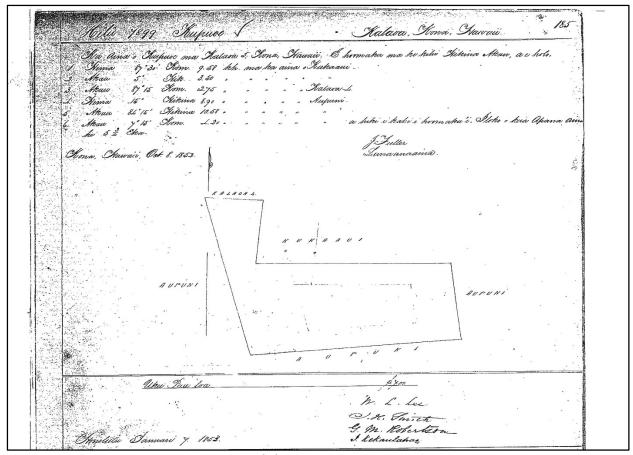


Figure 6. LCAw. 7899 awarded to Kupuoe (Māhele Book Vol. 7:185).

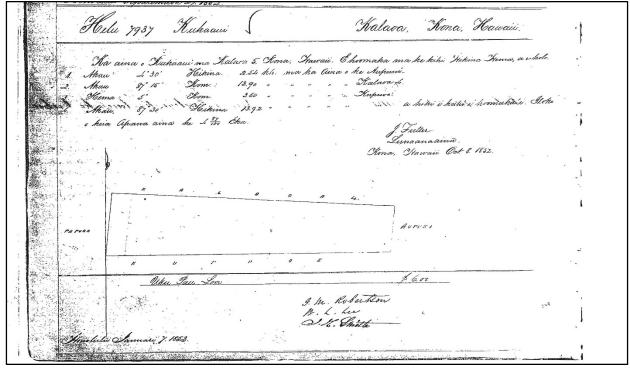


Figure 7. LCAw. 7937 awarded to Kukaaui (Māhele Book Vol. 7:184).

Kukaaui (Kukaani/Kukaanio) - Helu 7937

Greetings to all of you Land Commissioners: I hereby petition for my ili in the ahupua'a [possessed by] Leleiohoku, in Kailua, Hawaii, which is as follows: it is an entire ill in the comer of Kalaoa 5 - its name is Kahuku. It is bounded on the north by Kahuku, on the east by Kapulehu [Kaʻūpūlehu], on the south by Kawao, on the west by Kihalau. That is it, for your information, the commissioners to quiet land titles.

KUKAAUI

[Native Register 8:453-454; translated by Kepā Maly]

Kanahele sworn He has seen the place Kukaani had cultivated. It is an error that he had included the whole ili in his claim. The Kahuku ili of Kalaoa 5 ahupuaa, 9 Kihapais are at Kolaoa [Kalaoa] 4, 8 have been partially cultivated. He does not know the boundaries and is expecting the surveyor to establish boundaries upon his arrival.

Land is from Kaluaonaona [Kalimaonaona] in 1848, no one has objected to Kukaani. Kupuoe sworn they both have known alike in the things mentioned about this land.

[Native Testimony 4:539-540; translated by Kepā Maly]

The unawarded *kuleana* in Kalaoa 5th was claimed by Kanahele under two separate numbers (LCAws. 7926 and 7939), and was apparently also in the more *mauka* portion of the *ahupua* 'a. The original Hawaiian text from the Native Register for both claims are presented below (Figures 8 and 9) followed by translations.

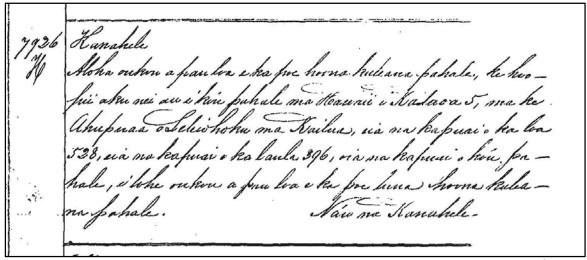


Figure 8. Copy of Native Register Vol. 8:514 Helu 7926, claim of Kanahele for kuleana at Kalaoa 5th.

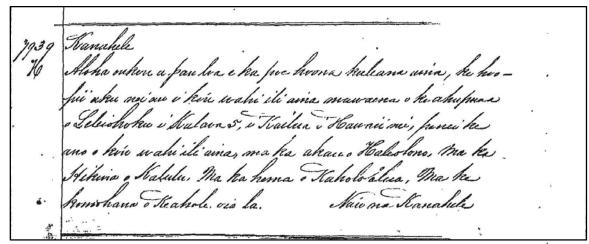


Figure 9. Copy of Native Register Vol. 8:516 Helu 7939, claim of Kanahele for kuleana at Kalaoa 5th.

Kanahele - Helu 7926

Greetings to the Land Commissioners: I hereby petition for my house lot at Kalaoa 5 on Hawaii, in the ahupua'a of Leleiohoku in Kailua. It is 528 feet by 396 feet. That is the size of my house lot, for your information, O Land Commissioners.

KANAHELE

[Native Register Vol. 8:514; translated by Waihona 'Aina]

Kanahele - Helu 7939

Greetings to the Land Commissioners: I hereby petition for my 'ili of land in the middle of the ahupua'a of Kalaoa 5, of Leleiohoku, in Kailua, Hawaii. My land is as follows: On the north is Haleolono, on the east is Kalulu, on the south is Kaholo Two, on the west is Keahole. That is it.

KANAHELE

[Native Register Vol. 8:516; translated by Waihona 'Aina]

Four other individuals (John Nawahie, Paina, Kalei, and Kaikeleaukai) also claimed *kuleana* in the Kalaoa *ahupua* 'a, but none of these were awarded. Two of these claimants (Paina and Kaikeleaukai) and both of the *kuleana* recipients in Kalaoa 5th were listed as residents of Kalaoa *ahupua* 'a in 1849, as was Halekahi who claimed land in 'O'oma, when S. Haanio, Tax Assessor of North Kona, submitted a report to the Board of Education regarding those individuals who were subject to the Tuesday Tax Laws (*Poalua*), to be worked as a part of the School Tax requirements of the time. At the time of Haanio's report, three individual families were identified as residents of 'O'oma and sixteen collectively in the Kalaoa *ahupua* 'a. Residents in the neighboring land of Kohanaiki were also listed. The residents of this are in 1849 were:

Kalaoa: 1. Kila, 2. Piena, 3. Nakuala, 4. Kupono, 5. Loa, 6. Kaeha, 7. Keliipuipui, 8. Kapuolokai, 9. Kaainoa, 10. Paina, 11. Kalimaonaona, 12. Kaikeleaukai, 13. Kanahele, 14. Kukaani, 15. Kupuai, and 16. Helekahi

Ooma: 1. Kalua, 2. Kamaka and 3. Mamali

Kohanaiki: 1. Hulikoa, 2. Kaoeno, 3. Honolii and 4. Awa [HSA – Series 262, Hawaii 1849].

Unfortunately, there is no indication of where people were living at the time. Based on traditional patterns of residency in the region, it is likely that they had primary residences in the uplands, near sheltered *māla 'ai* (agricultural fields), and kept near shore residences for seasonal fishing, collection of salt, and other resources of the coastal zone. Of the names given for Kalaoa, descendants of some of these family lines are known to still be residing in the Kekaha region.

Land Grants in Kalaoa 5th and Vicinity (1855-1864)

In conjunction with the $M\bar{a}hele$, the King also authorized the issuance of Royal Patent Grants to applicants for tracts of land, larger than those generally available through the Land Commission. The process for applications was set forth by the "Enabling Act" of August 6, 1850, which set aside portions of government lands for grants.

Section 4. Resolved that a certain portion of the Government lands in each Island shall be set apart, and placed in the hands of special agents to be disposed of in lots of from one to fifty acres in fee simple to such natives as may not be otherwise furnished with sufficient lands at a minimum price of fifty cents per acre. [HSA – "Enabling Act" Series DLNR 2-4]

The Kingdoms' policy of providing land grants to native tenants was further clarified in a communication from Interior Department Clerk, A. G. Thurston, on behalf of Keoni Ana (John Young), Minister of the Interior; to J. Fuller, Government Land Agent-Kona:

February 23, 1852

...His Highness the Minister of the Interior instructs me to inform you that he has and does hereby appoint you to be Land Agent for the District of Kona, Hawaii. You will entertain no application for the purchase of any lands, without first receiving some part, say a fourth or fifth of the price; then the terms of sale being agreed upon between yourself and the applicant you will survey the land, and send the survey, with your report upon the same to this office, for the Approval of the Board of Finance, when your sales have been approved you will collect the balance due of the price; upon the receipt of which at this office, the Patent will be forwarded to you.

Natives who have no claims before the Land Commission have no Legal rights in the soil.

They are therefore to be allowed the first chance to purchase their homesteads. Those who neglect or refuse to do this, must remain dependant upon the mercy of whoever purchases the land: as those natives now are who having no kuleanas are living on lands already Patented, or belonging to Konohikis.

Where lands have been granted, but not yet Patented, the natives living on the land are to have the option of buying their homesteads, and then the grant be located, provided this can be done so as not to interfere with them.

No Fish Ponds are to be sold, neither any landing places.

As a general thing you will charge the natives but 50 cents pr. acre, not exceeding 50 acres to any one individual.

Whenever about to survey land adjoining that of private individuals, notice must be given them or their agents to be present and point out their boundaries...

[Interior Department Letter Book 3:210-211]

Between 1855 and 1864, at least three applications were made for land in the *ahupua'a* of Kalaoa 5th. The applications were made by:

Grant	Applicant	Land	Acreage	Book and Year
1590	Kauhini	Hamanamana,		
		Kalaoa and		
		Ooma 1	1,816	8:1855 (canceled)
1609	Kama	Kalaoa 5	45	8:1855
2972	Kaakau	Kalaoa 5		
	& Kama	& Ooma 1	515	14:1864

["Index of all Grants Issued...Previous to March 31, 1886;" 1887]

In the years following issuance of the first Royal Patents, native tenants and others continued to express interest in the lands of Kalaoa *ahupua* 'a. Applications were made to either lease or purchase portions of the remaining government lands. In 1865, Government Surveyor and Land Agent, S.C. Wiltse, wrote to the Minister of the Interior, describing the condition and status of the lands remaining to the government.

September 5, 1865

S.C. Wiltse, Government Surveyor and Land Agent;

to F.W. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior.

Kona Hawaii. Government Lands in this District not Sold;

also those Sold and Not Patented:

..."Kalaoa 5th"

Not in the Mahele book but believed to be Gov't. land. This land above the Govt. Road has been sold and Patented. Below the road I have surveyed 515 acres which was sold by Sheldon to "Kaakau" & "Kama" who payed him \$165.00. As no valuation was made of this land per acre by Sheldon I afterwards valued it myself as follows, 300 Ac. at 50 cts. per acre, 215 at 25 cts. per Ac. The balance due according to this valuation including Patent was \$42.75 which was payed to me in March 1864 and forwarded by me to your office. The survey of this land is in your office. If the payments made are satisfactory, these men would be very glad to get their Patent.

This is a piece of 3rd rate land, used only as goat pasture, no improvements on it. Makai of this survey is about 400 Ac. remaining to the Govt., but of very little value.

Historical records document that the primary use of the *kula* – lowlands in the Kekaha region, was for goat ranching, with limited cattle ranching. Throughout the 1800s, most of the cattle ranching occurred on the *mauka* slopes nearer the old upper government road.

Ka 'Āina Kaha–(A Native's Perspective)

In 1875, J.P Puuokupa, a native resident of Kalaoa wrote a letter to the editor of the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ku Okoa*, responding to a letter which had been previously published in the paper (written by a visitor to Kona). The first account apparently described the Kekaha region as a hard land that presented many difficulties to the residents. It was also reported that a drought on Hawai'i had significantly impacted crop production, and that a "famine" was occurring. Puuokupa, responded to the account and described the situation as he knew it, from living upon the land. His letter is

important as it provides us with an explanation as to why people of the region—including 'O'oma and Kalaoa—lived mostly in the uplands, for it was there that the rich soils enabled residents to cultivate the land and sustain themselves.

Mai Kailua a hiki i Kiholo–(From Kailua to Kiholo)

...The people who live in the area around Kailua are not bothered by the famine. They all have food. There are sweet potatoes and taro. These are the foods of these lands. There are at this time, breadfruit bearing fruit at Honokohau on the side of Kailua, and at Kaloko, Kohanaiki, Ooma and the Kalaoas where lives J.P. [the author]. All of these lands are cultivated. There is land on which coffee is cultivated, where taro and sweet potatoes are cultivated, and land livestock is raised. All of us living from Kailua to Kalaoa are not in a famine, there is nothing we lack for the well being of our bodies.

Mokuola⁶ is seen clearly upon the ocean, like the featherless back of the 'ukeke (shore bird). So it is in the uplands where one may wander gathering what is needed, as far as Kiholo which opens like the mouth of a long house into the wind. It is there that the bow of the boats may safely land upon the shore. The livelihood of the people there is fishing and the raising of livestock. The people in the uplands of Napuu are farmers, and as is the custom of those people of the backlands, they all eat in the morning and then go to work. So it is with all of the native people of these lands, they are a people that are well off.

...As was said earlier, coffee is the plant of value on these lands, and so, is the raising of livestock. From the payments for those products, the people are well off, and they have built wooden houses. If you come here you shall see that it is true. Fish are also something which benefits the people. The people who make the *pai ai* on Maui bring it to Kona and trade it. Some people also trade their *poi* for the coffee of the natives here... (J.P. Puuokupa, in *Ku Okoa* November 27, 1875; translated by Kepā Maly)

Trails and Roads of Kekaha

Alahele (trails and byways) and alaloa (regional thoroughfares) are an integral part of the cultural landscape of Hawai'i. The alahele provided access for local and regional travel, subsistence activities, cultural and religious purposes, and for communication between extended families and communities. Trails were, and still remain important features of the cultural landscape. Traditional and historical accounts (cited in this study) describe at least two traditional trails that were of regional importance which pass through the lands of Kalaoa. One trail is the alaloa—parts of which were modified in the 1840s and later, into what is now called the Alanui Aupuni (Government Road) or Māmalahoa Trail or King's Highway—that crosses the makai (near shore) lands, linking royal centers, coastal communities, and resources together. The other major thoroughfare of this region is "Kealaehu" (The path of Ehu), which passes through the uplands, generally a little above the mauka Government Road or old Māmalahoa Highway, out to the 'Akāhipu'u vicinity, and then cuts down to Kīholo in Pu'u Wa'awa'a. From Kīholo, the makai alaloa and Kealaehu join together as the Alanui Aupuni, and into Kohala, passing through Kawaihae and beyond. The mauka route provided travelers with a zone for cooler traveling, and access to inland communities and resources. It also allowed for more direct travel between the extremities of North and South Kona (cf. Malo 1951; I'i 1959; Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; and Māhele and Boundary Commission Testimonies).

In addition to the *alahele* and *alaloa*, running laterally with the shore, there are another set of trails that run from the shore to the uplands. By nature of traditional land use and residency practices, every *ahupua'a* also included one or more *mauka-makai* trail. In native terminology, these trails were generally known as—*ala pi'i uka* or *ala pi'i mauna* (trails that ascend to the uplands or mountain). Some of these trails are described in native accounts and oral history interviews (Rechtman and Maly 2003).

Following the early nineteenth century, western contact brought about changes in the methods of travel (horses and other hoofed animals were introduced). By the mid-nineteenth century, wheeled carts were also being used on some of the trails. In the Kona region portions of both near shore and upland *ala hele-ala loa* were realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, while other sections were simply abandoned for newer more direct

⁶ *Moku-ola* — literally: Island of life — is a poetic reference to a small island in Hilo Bay which was known as a place of sanctuary, healing, and life. By poetic inference, the Kekaha region was described as a place of life and well-being.

routes. In establishing modified trail—and early road-systems—portions of the routes were moved far enough inland so as to make a straight route, thus, taking travel away from the shoreline.

It was not until 1847, that detailed communications regarding road construction on Hawai'i began to be written and preserved. It was also at that time that the ancient trail system began to be modified and the alignments became a part of a system of "roads" called the "Alanui Aupuni" or Government Roads. Work on the roads was funded in part by government appropriations, and through the labor or financial contributions of area residents and prisoners working off penalties (see communications below). The following letters provide readers with a historical overview of the Alanui Aupuni, and travel through the Kekaha region. Of particular interest, are those communications addressing the lower Government Road (underlining, italics, and square brackets have been added).

June 26, 1847

George L. Kapeau to Keoni Ana

I have received your instructions, that I should explain to you about the *alaloa* (roadways), *alahaka* (bridges), lighthouses, markets, and animal pounds. I have not yet done all of these things. I have thought about where the *alanui heleloa* (highways) should be made, from Kailua to Kaawaloa and from Kailua to Ooma, where our King was cared for [7], and then afterwards around the island. It will be a thing of great value, for the roads to be completed. Please instruct me which is the proper thing for me to do about the *alaloa*, *alahaka*, and the laying out of the *alaloa*... [HSA – Interior Department Misc., Box 142; Kepā Maly, translator)

August 13, 1847

Governor of Hawaii, George L. Kapeau; to

Premier and Minister of Interior, Keoni Ana

Aloha oe e ka mea Hanohano -

I have a few questions which I wish to ask you. Will the police officers be required to pay, when they do not attend the Tuesday (*Poalua*) labor days? How about parents who have several children? What about school teachers and school agents? Are they not required to work like all other people when there is Government work on the roads and highways?

I believe that school agents, school teachers and parents who have several children, should only go and work on the weeks of the public, and not on the *konohiki* days...

...The roads from Kailua and down the *pali* of Kealakekua, and from Kailua to Honokohau, Kaloko, Ooma, at the places that were told our King, and from thence to Kaelehuluhulu [at Kaulana in Kekaha], are now being surveyed. When I find a suitable day, I will go to Napoopoo immediately, to confer with the old timers of that place, in order to decide upon the proper place to build the highway from Napoopoo to Honaunau, and Kauhako, and thence continue on to meet the road from Kau. The road is close to the shore of Kapalilua...

The width of the highways around Hawaii, is only one fathom, but, where it is suitable to widen where there is plenty of dirt, two fathoms and over would be all right... If the roads are put into proper condition, there are a lot of places for the strangers to visit when they come here. The Kilauea volcano, and the mountains of Maunaloa, Maunakea, Hualalai.

There is only one trouble to prevent the building of a highway all around, it is the steep gulches at Waipio and Pololu, but this place can be left to the very last... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

March 29, 1848

Governor Kapeau; to Minister of the Interior, Keoni Ana:

[Acknowledging receipt of communication and answering questions regarding construction methods used in building the roads.]

...I do not know just what amount of work has been done, but, I can only let you know what has come under my notice.

The highway has been laid from Kailua to Kaloko, and running to the North West, about four miles long, but it is not completely finished with dirt. The place laid with dirt and in good condition is only 310 fathoms.

For the first five years of his life (until ca. 1818), Kauikeaouli was raised at 'O'oma, by Ka-iki-o-'ewa and Keawe-a-mahi $m\bar{a}$ (see Kamakau 1960; and this study).

The highway from Kealakekua to Honaunau has been laid, but is not all finished, and are only small sections... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

July 9, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior.

Notifies Minister that the road from Kiholo to Kailua needs repairing. [HSA – Interior Department – Land Files]

August 14, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior:

I have just reached here [Kawaihae] from Kona. I have seen most of the roads in N. Kona, and they are being improved near where the people live. If there is any money to be expended on the roads in N. Kona, I would say that the place where it is most needed is from Kiholo to Makalawena, or the Notch on Hualalai.

This is the main road around the island and is in very bad condition. Hardly anyone lives there, and there are several miles of road across the lava there, that can only be worked by hiring men to do it. There is also a road across a strip of Aa a mile & a half or 2 in length in the south end of S. Kohala next to the boundary of N. Kona, that needs working, and then the road from here [Kawaihae] to Kona will be quite passable... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

November 4, 1880

J.W. Smith, Road Supervisor, North Kona; to

A.P. Carter, Minister of the Interior:

...Heretofore I have been paying one dollar per day, but few natives will work for that, they want \$1.50 per day. Thus far I have refused to pay more than \$1.00 and have been getting men for that sum.

The most urgent repairs are needed on the main road from Kaupulehu to Kiholo, and north of Kiholo to the Kohala boundary, a distance of about 20 miles... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

Kailua Nov. 19th, 1880

Geo. McDougall; to

A.P. Carter, Minister of the Interior —

...I noticed among the appropriation passed by the last Legislature, an item of \$5000 for Roads in North Kona Hawaii — as I am very much interested about roads in this neighbourhood, I take the liberty to express my opinions what is wanted to put the roads in good repair and give the most satisfaction to all concerned.

The Road from Kailua going north for about eight miles to where it joins the upper Road, has never been made, it is only a mule track winding through the lava. It could cost to make it a good cart road, fully two thousand dollars. And from Kailua to where it joins the South Kona road, about 12 miles was made by Gov. Adams, and is in pretty much the same state as he left it, only a little worse of the ware of 20 years or more, it could cost to make it in good repair about 15 hundred dollars. Then we could have 20 miles of good road... [HSA – Interior Department Letters]

March 21st, 1885

C.N. Arnold, Road Superintendent-in-Chief, Hawaii; to

Charles Gulick, Minister of Interior:

...In accordance with your instructions I beg to hand you the following list of names as being those I would select for Supervisors in the different Road Districts under my charge:

... Judge J.K. Hoapili, North Kona District...

Hoping these parties may meet with your approval... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

March 1886

Petition to Charles Gulick, Minister of the Interior:

[Signed by 53 residents of North Kona, asking that the appropriated funds be expended for the Kailua-Kohanaiki Road]:

We the people whose names are below, subjects of the King, residing in North Kona, Island of Hawaii:

The funds have been appropriated by the Legislature for the opening of the road from Kailua to Kohanaiki, therefore, we humbly request that the road be made there. The length of this road being thought of is about five miles more or less. The road that is there at the present time is not fit for either man nor beast.

Your people have confidence that as so explained, you will kindly grant our request, and end this trouble in our District...

[those signing included names of individuals known to have ties to the 'O'oma vicinity]: ... J. Kamaka, Kuakahela, Kahulanui, & Palakiko... [HSA – Roads Hawaii; Maly, translator]

March 9th, 1887

C.N. Arnold, Road Superintendent-in-Chief, Hawaii; to

Chas. Gulick, Minister of the Interior:

[Arnold provides documentation of the early native trail from Kailua to the upper Kohanaiki region, and its' ongoing use at the time. He also notes that McDougall (resident at Honokōhau) and others are presently in the business of dairy ranching]:

...The enclosed petition [cited above] has just come to hand from North Kona. The petitioners are mistaken when they say that any special appropriation has been made for this road as there has never been a Government road in this part of the District. There is however an old native trail which has always been used as a short cut, from the lower part of the district between Keahou [sic] and Kailua, by persons who were traveling to Kawaihae and Waimea. The opening of a good road here would be a great convenience to the traveling public and also a great accommodation to a great many people who live on, or nearly on the line of it. I may mention among the number, Messrs. McDougall and Clark who are engaged in dairy ranching near the head of the proposed line. I may also mention that I, with Mr. Smith, made a preliminary survey of it, at the request of His Majesty the King, who is also interested in the opening of this road, as itopens up all of His Kailua lands for settlement. I regard the road as necessary for the above reasons.

From the preliminary survey made, I estimate that a wagon road 12 feet wide will cost from Kailua to the *mauka* Govt. road at Kohanaiki \$6000. The length of the road is 5 ¾ miles. The elevation of highest point (*mauka* Road) is 1600 feet above tide at Kailua. Mr. Smith Supt. of Public Works has all the notes of the survey, and can give you full information in regard to this matter... [HSA – Roads, Hawaii]

July 14th, 1887

C.N. Arnold, Road Superintendent-in-Chief, Hawaii; to

L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:

...In obedience to your request I beg to hand you the following list of the District Supervisors under my jurisdiction:

...North Kona – Hon. J.K. Nahale; Native... [HSA – Roads Hawaii]

March 8, 1888

J. Kaelemkule; Supervisor, North Kona Road Board; to

L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior.

[Ka'elemakule provides Thurston with an overview of work on the roads of North Kona, and describes the Government roads (*Ala nui Aupuni* or *Ala loa*) which pass through the Kekaha region]:

The road that runs from Kailua to Kohanaiki, on the north of Kailua, perhaps 6 miles. It is covered with aa stone, and is perhaps one of the worst roads here. The Road Board of North Kona has appropriated \$200 for work in the worst areas, and that work has been undertaken and the road improved. The work continues at this time. This is one of the important roads of this district, and it is one of the first roads that should be worked on.

The government road or ala loa from upland Kainaliu (that is the boundary between this district of South Kona) [Kealaehu], runs straight down to Kiholo and reaches the boundary of the district adjoining South Kohala, its length is 20 and 30 miles. With a troubled heart I explain to your Excellency that from the place called Kapalaoa next to South Kohala until Kiholo – this is a very

bad section of about 8 miles; This place is always damaged by the animals of the people who travel along this road. The pahoehoe to the north of Kiholo called Keahou, is a place that it is justified to work quickly without waiting. Schedule A, attached, will tell you what is proposed to care for these bad places...

Schedule A: [Appropriations needed]

The road from Kailua to Kohanaiki, and then joining with the inland Government Road – \$500.

The upland Road from Kainaliu to the boundary adjoining S. Kohala – \$1,500.00. [HSA – Roads Hawaii; Kepā Maly, translator]

September 30, 1889

Thos. Aiu, Secretary, North Kona Road Board (for J. Kaelemakule); to

L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior.

[Provides Thurston with an overview of work on the roads of North Kona, and identifies individuals who are responsible for road maintenance (cantoniers) in various portions of the district; several of the individuals named were also old residents and applicants for Homestead lots. Of interest, Kaelemakule's report indicates that maintenance of the Alanui Aupuni which crossed into the kula lands of 'O'oma and Kalaoa, had not been assigned to anyone (see report of Dec. 22, 1890)]:

- 1. In that section of the road which proceeds from Kailua near the shore to Kohanaiki, Mano is the cantonier.
- 2. That section of the road from Kukuiooohiwai to Keahuolono, Paiwa is the cantonier...
- 3. That section of road from Kailua to the shore of Honokohau, Keaweiwi is the cantonier ...
- 4. That section of road from Kukuioohiwai to Lanihau along the upland road, Isaac Kihe is the caretaker...

The work done along these sections is the cutting of brush – guava, lantana and such – which trouble the road, and the removal of bothersome stones... [HSA – Roads Hawaii; Kepā Maly, translator]

December 22, 1890

J. Kaelemkule; Supervisor, North Kona Road Board; to

C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior

[Reports on the cantoniers assigned to road work in various sections of North Kona. As in 1889, apparently no one was assigned to the lower *Alanui Aupuni* through the 'O'oma *kula* lands. Though Kaelemakule did include the road section on the land, extending through Kalaoa, on his attached diagram; Figure 10]:

...I forward to you the list of names of the cantoniers who have been hired to work on the roads of this district, totaling 15 sections; showing the alignment of the road and the length of each of the sections. The monthly pay is \$4.00 per month, at one day of work each week. The board wanted to increase it totwo days a week, but if that was done, there would not have been enough money as our road tax is only \$700.00 for this district... You will receive here the diagram of the roads of North Kona. [HSA – Roads Hawaii; Kepā Maly, translator]

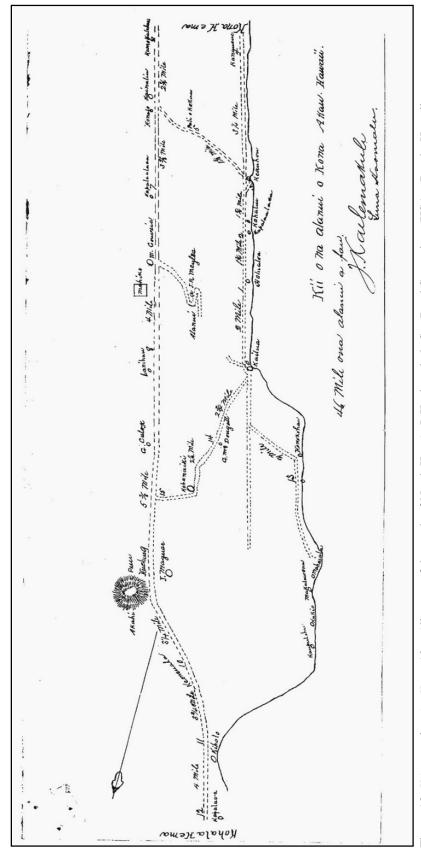


Figure 10. Kii o na alanui o Kona Akau (diagram of the roads of North Kona); J. Kaelemakule Sr., Road Supervisor (HSA – Roads, Hawaii; December 22, 1890).

The Government Homesteading Program in Kekaha

Following the *Māhele* and Grant programs of the middle 1800s, it was found that many native tenants still remained on lands for which they had no title. In 1884, the Hawaiian Kingdom initiated a program to create Homestead lots on Government lands—a primary goal being to get more Hawaiian tenants in possession of fee-simple property (Homestead Act of 1884). The Homestead Act allowed applicants to apply for lots of up to 20 acres in size, and required that they own no other land.

On Hawai'i, several lands in the Kekaha region of North Kona, were selected and a surveying program was authorized to subdivide the lands. Initially, those lands extended from Kohanaiki to Kūki'o. Because it was the intent of the Homestead Act to provide residents with land upon which they could cultivate crops or graze animals, most of the lots were situated near the *mauka* road (near the present-day Māmalahoa Highway) that ran between Kailua and 'Akāhipu'u.

Early in the process, native residents of Kekaha began writing letters to the Minister of the Interior, observing that 20 acre parcels were insufficient "to live on in every respect." They noted that because of the rocky nature of the land, goats were the only animals that they could raise, and thus, try to make their living (cf. State Archives–Land File, December 26, 1888, and Land Matters Document No. 255; and communications below).

During the first years of the Homestead Program, all of the remaining government lands in the Kekaha region, from Kohanaiki to $K\bar{u}ki$ o 2^{nd} , had been leased to King David Kal $\bar{u}kaua$ for grazing purposes. The following lease was issued, with the notation that should portions of the land be desired for Homesteading purposes, the King would relinquish his lease:

August 2nd 1886 General Lease 364 Between His Majesty Kalakaua; and Walter M. Gibson, Minister of the Interior [Lease of unencumbered government lands between Kealakehe to Kukio 2nd]:

Each and every of the above mentioned lands are let subject to the express condition that at any time during the term of this lease, the Minister of the Interior may at his discretion peaceably enter upon, take possession, and dispose of such piece or pieces of land included in the lands hereby demised, as may be required for the purposes of carrying out the terms and intent of the Homestead Laws now in force, or that may be hereafter be enacted during the term of this lease... [State Land Division Lease Files]

By 1889, the demand for homestead lots in the Kekaha lands was so great that King Kalākaua gave up his interest in the lands:

January 22, 1889

J.W. Robertson, Acting Chamberlain;

to J.A. Hassinger, Chief Clerk, Interior Department

...Oma [Ooma] No. 1 & 2 – yearly rent Ten dollars...

[Regarding termination of Lease No. 364 for lands from Kukio to Kohanaiki]:

...I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, of the 17th, instant, informing me that you are directed, by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior, to say, that he desires to take possession of the lands, described in Government Lease No. 364, for Homestead purposes, and requests the surrender of the lease.

His Majesty the King, is willing, for the purpose of assisting in carrying out the Homestead Act, to accede to the terms of the lease, so far as to give up only such portions of the lands, as are suitable to be apportioned off for Homestead purposes.

It has come to the knowledge of His Majesty, that several of the applicants for portions of the above lands, are already in possession of lands elsewhere, and living in comfortable homes. They are not poor people, nor are they entitled to the privilege of obtaining lands under the Homestead Act, but are desirous of obtaining more of such property, for the purpose of selling or leasing to the Chinese, which class is beginning to outnumber the natives in nearly every district...

His Majesty is desirous of retaining the balance of lands, that may be left after the apportionment has been completed; and also desires to lease remnants of other Government lands in that section of the Island...

Reply attached – Dated January 22, 1889:

The lands of Kohanaiki and Kalaoa and Makaula have been divided up into Homestead lots, and taken up.

Lands marked * are in Emerson's List of lands to be sold. Emerson's List attached.

His Majesty has paid rent to Aug. 22, 1889. Another rent is due in adv. from this date...

* Kukio 2 * Maniniowali * Mahaiula * Kaulana * Awalua Puukala

+ Makaula + Kalaoa 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5

* Ooma 1 & 2 + Kohanaiki

Lease cancelled by order – Minister of Int. August 2, 1889 [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

One of the significant issues that arose with the development of homesteads in the Kekaha region, involved the lands of 'O'oma, Kalaoa, and Hāmanamana, which had been surveyed for Kauhini in 1855, under Grant No. 1590. The grant was apparently never patented, and questions regarding the government's authority to divide portions of the 'O'oma-Kalaoa-Hāmanamana lands into Homestead lots were raised. Adding to the confusion, in 1888, John A. Maguire was also making his move from Kohala to Kona, and in the process of establishing his Huehue Ranch. One of the lands he reportedly purchased was covered under the unperfected Grant No. 1590. Thus, homestead applicants and program managers met with a wide range of challenges during the program's history.

Early Homestead Communications (1888-1890)

There are a number of letters between native residents (applicants for Homestead lands) and government agents, documenting the development of the homesteading program and residency in Kekaha. Tracts of land in Kohanaiki, 'O'oma, Kalaoa and neighboring *ahupua'a* were let out to native residents, and eventually to non-native residents as well. Those lands which were not sold to native tenants were sold or leased to ranching interests—most of which came under John A. Maguire of Huehue Ranch.

One requirement of the Homestead Program was that lots which were to be sold as homesteads to the applicants, needed to be surveyed. J.S. Emerson, one of the most knowledgeable and best-informed surveyors to work in Kona, began surveying the Kekaha region homestead lots in 1888. Emerson's letters to Surveyor General, W. D. Alexander, provide valuable historical documentation about the community and land. Writing from 'O'oma in April 1888, Emerson spoke highly of the Hawaiian families living on the land; he also described land conditions and weather at the time. In the letter, we find that questions regarding the status of several lands in Kona had arisen, and that John A. Maguire was planning to "settle" in Kona. Emerson's letters along with those below from the native tenants of the land, provide first hand accounts of the land development of the communities in Kekaha. The following communications are among those found in the collection of the Hawai'i State Archives (HSA).

May 1888

J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, Jr., et al.; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior

[Petition with 71 signatures, regarding discrepancy in land grant to Kauhini in Kalaoa and Ooma; and desires that said land be divided into Homestead Lots for applicants]:

...We, the undersigned, subjects residing within the boundaries of Kekaha, from Kohanaiki to Makalawena, and Whereas, the land said to belong to Kauhini is within the boundaries above set forth; Whereas, some doubt and hesitancy has come into our minds concerning the things relating to said land of Kauhini, and that it is proper that a very careful investigation be made, because, we have never known said Kauhini to have lands in the Kalaoas and Ooma 1, and because of such doubt, the Government sold some pieces in said land of 687 acres to Kama, Kaakau and Hueu, and they have been living with all the rights for 20 years and over, on pieces that were acquired by them. Therefore, we leave this request before your Excellency, the honorable one, with the grounds of this request:

First: The said land of Kauhini is not a land that is clear in every way, so that it can be shown truthfully and clearly that it belongs to Kauhini and his heirs – said kuleana.

Second: The land said to belong to Kauhini was only surveyed, but the money was not paid, that is the price for the land, only the payment for the survey was paid. We are ready with witnesses to prove this ground, as well as other grounds.

Third: Because of Kama and Kaakau and Hueu's knowing that Kauhini had no true interest in the land, therefore, they bought from the Government some acres of in the piece which Kauhini had surveyed, and the Government readily agreed to sell to them. This is real proof that said land was not conveyed to Kauhini, and the second is that Kauhini was living right there and he made no protest against the sale by the Government of those 687 acres to Kama (k), Kaakau (k) and Hueu (k), up to the time of his death, and only now has the question been raised through the plat of the survey, and thereby basing the claim that Kauhini had some land.

...We ask your honor that this matter be traced in the Government Departments, so as to find out the truth, there is much trouble and uncertainty about this land.

And our inquiry to be based upon these great questions. Does the land belong to Kauhini? Or to the Government?... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

May 16, 1888

Interior Department Clerk; to J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, Jr.:

...I have been directed by the Honorable Minister of the Interior, to say, that your request asking that Kauhini's interest in the lands of Kalaoa & Ooma 1 be investigated, and to let you know the you are wanted to send, or to bring here to Honolulu, 2 or 3 good witnesses, and all the papers found by you or them, concerning this land of Kauhini... [HSA Interior Department Lands]

May 16, 1888

J.F. Brown, Government Surveyor; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior [Regarding disposition of Grant No. 1590, to Kauhini for Lands in Hamanamana, Kalaoa, and Ooma; Figure 11]:

...With reference to the letter of inquiry of numerous natives in N. Kona, Hawaii, I beg to report:

That as regards the land belonging to Kauhini, I find that Grant 1590 on record and signed in due form, assigned to Kauhini something over 1800 acres shown in sketch by yellow tinted boundary line. At the bottom of the page however and in different handwriting is the following remark "Memo – this to be cancelled" S.S. (Stephen Spencer)?

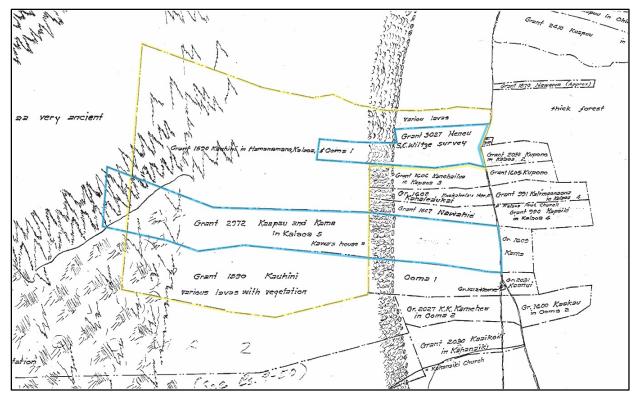


Figure 11. Portion of 1882 Register Map No. 1280 showing original boundaries of Grant No. 1590, to Kauhini.

Later the grants shown in sketch by blue lines were issued to the parties indicated in the sketch, and this fact together with the memo attached to the Grant, and the statements and beliefs of the natives leads me to think that the Grant to Kauhini was actually cancelled, but of this I have not yet obtained further proof than I have here given... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

May 1888 - J.W.H.I. Kihe, Jr.; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:

...Oh honorable one, I am ready with the right witnesses to come when I receive the order, and if you agree, oh honorable one, to help with the fares for us on the vessel, and for our support while staying there and coming back.

Proofs are ample to prove that the land belongs to the Government, when I arrive with the witnesses, according to what you wish to be done... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

[Applying to purchase remnant lands from Makaula to Ooma 2nd, as a native Hui; and that land not be sold to outsiders.]

...We the undersigned, kamaaina (old residents) who reside from "Makaula" to "Ooma 2," joining "Kohanaiki," hereby petition and we also file this petition with you, and for you to consider and conferring with the Minister of the Interior, whether to consent or refuse the petition which we humbly file, and at the same time setting forth the nature of the land and the boundaries desired.

We ask that all be sold to us as a Hui, that the remnants of all the Government lands from "Hamanamana" to "Ooma 2 (two)," that is from the Government remnant of "Hamanamana, Kalaoa 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Ooma 1 & 2" running until it meets the sea. Being the remnants remaining from the "Homesteads" lately, and remaining after the sale of the lands formerly sold by the Government, these are the remnants which we wish to buy as a "HUI." If you consent, and also the "Minister of the Interior," for these reasons:

- 1. The "remnants of Government lands" aforesaid, join our land kuleanas and were lately surveyed, and for that reason we believe it proper that they be sold to us.
- 2. The "kuleanas" that were surveyed for us are not sufficient to live on in every respect, they are too small, and are not in accordance with the law, that is one hundred acres, (Laws 1888).
- 3. Because of our belonging to, and being old residents of said places, is why we ask that consent be granted us for the sale to us and not to any one from other places, or we may be put to trouble in the future.

With these reasons, we leave this with you, and for you to approve, and we also adhere to our first offer per acre, and the explanations in regards to said offer.

FIRST: The price per acre to be 10 cents per acre.

SECOND: The nature of the land is rocky and lava stones in all from one and to the other, and there is only one kind of animal which can roam thereon, and it is goats, and that is the only thing to make anything out of, and to benefit us if we acquire it.

THIRD: If this land is acquired by others, they will probably cause us trouble, because the kuleanas which we have got are very small and not enough, not 20 acres of the land were acquired by us; very few of the lots reach 20 acres or more.

And because of these reasons and the explanations herein, we leave before your Excellency for the granting of the consent or not... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

ca. February 1889

Petition of J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, Jr. and 21 others;

to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior

[Transmitting first payment for Homestead Land from Makaula to Kohanaiki]:

...We, the ones whose names are below, persons who but for the pieces of "Homestead" lands from Makaula to Kohanaiki, present to you documents of proof and money as first payment of ten (\$10.00) dollars in the hands of J. Kaelemakule, the Agent appointed for the "Homestead" lands in North Kona, Hawaii.

We ask that the Agreements be sent up, with the Government for five years to J. Kaelemakule, the Agent here, in number the same as there are names below...

1. J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, Jr.	9. P. Nahulanui	17. Keawehawaii		
2. S. Mahauluae	Kaukaliinea	18. D. Kaninau		
3. D.P. Manuia	11. Kamahiai (w)	19. Mokuaikai		
4. S.M. Kaawa	12. C.K. Kapa	20. Nuuanau		
5. H.P. Ku	13. P.K. Kanuha	21. S. Kaimuloa		
6. W.N. Kailiino	14. J. Haau	22. J. Kaloa		
7. Z. Kawainui	15. G. Mao			
8. Kikane	16. J. Pule			
[HSA – Interior Department Document No. 227]				

February 18, 1889

J. Kaelemakule, Land Agent; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:

I am sending the correct report of the applicants for homestead lands here in North Kona, and their respective names, and the amount they have paid for their initial deposits in order that the agreements will be made correctly...

Pule \$10.	Keoki Mao \$10.	Mahuluae \$10.	Haau \$10.	
Nuuanu \$10.	Manuia \$10.	Kaukaliinea \$10.	Kamahiai (w) \$10.	
Kaawa \$10.	Kaninau \$10.	J. Kaelemakule \$10.	Kawainui \$10.	
Mokuaikai \$10.	Keawehawaii \$10.	Nahulanui \$10.	Kaloa \$10.	
Haiha \$10.	Kapa \$10.	Kaumuloa \$10.	Isaac Kihe \$10.	
Kailiino \$10.	Kanuha \$10.	Ku \$10.	Kikane \$10.	
[HSA – Interior Department, Lands]				

October 7, 1889

J. Kaelemakule, Land Agent; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:

...The applications of Kahinu and Lilinoe which were sent down during the month of August, please have the lots changed, because the map of Ooma has arrived with new numbers, as follows: Kahinu, Lot 51; Lilinoe, Lot 49, in Ooma 1st ... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

October 10, 1889

J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, Secretary; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:

...I leave some more names who make applications for homestead lands here in North Kona... The places wanted by those named are:

Pika Kaninau at Ooma 1

Kahinu at Ooma 2

Keaweiwi at Ooma 2... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

October 28, 1889

- J. Kaelemakule, Land Agent; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior:
- ...The eight lots in Ooma have all been taken, none are left... These lots have been very quickly taken by the bidders, before the issuance of the notice from the Minister... Bear in mind the agreements for Kahinu and Lilinoe... [HSA Interior Department, Lands]

December 31, 1890

J.W.H.I. Kihe, Jr.; to C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior:

We, the undersigned, who are without homes, and are destitute and have no place to live on, and whereas, the government has permitted all the people who have no lands, and that they receive homesteads, and for that reason, your humble servants make application that our application may be speedily granted which we now place before Your Excellency, that the Government land which was divided and surveyed by Joseph S. Emerson, be immediately sub-divided, the same being portions of Kalaoa 5 and Ooma, on the mauka side of Kama (k), Koanui (k), to the junction with Ooma of Kaakau (k), containing an area of one hundred and fifteen acres (115), and it is those acres

which your applicants are applying for before Your Excellency, and where as your applicants are native Hawaiians by birth, residing at Kalaoa, North Kona, Island of Hawaii. And the minds of your servants hope and desire to have a place to live on in the future, and to have a home for all time, and Your Excellency, your servants humbly place their petition with the hope that you will grant this application...

M.E. Kuluwaimaka (k)
H. Hanawahine (k)
D.W. Kanui (k)
Mr. Kahumoku (k)
[HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

July 30, 1890

Petition of Kaihemakawalu and 63 native residents of Kekaha;

to C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior

[Requesting that lands available for Homesteading be sub-divided and granted to applicants]:

...We, the undersigned, old-timers living from Kealakehe to Kapalaoa, who are subject to taxes, and who have the right to vote in the District of Kona, Hawaii, and ones who are really without lands, and who wish to place this application before Your Excellency, that all of these Government lands here in North Kona, be given to the native Hawaiians who are destitute and poor, being the lots which were sub-divided by the Government which are lying idle and for which no Agreements have been given out, and also the lots which were granted Agreements and issued in the time when Lorrin A. Thurston was Minister of the Interior, and also the lots which still remain undivided. All of these Government lands are what we are now again asking that the dividing and sub-dividing be continued in these remnants of Government lands, until all of the poor and needy ones are provided for.

Your Excellency, we ask that no consent whatever be given to permitting lands to be acquired by the rich through sale at auction, or by lease, and if there is to be any lease, then to be leased to the poor ones, if they are supplied with homes.

Your Excellency, we ask that you immediately send copies of all agreements of the Government lands which were cut up and sub-divided, which are remaining and have no documents for those lots. And we also ask that a surveyor be sent now to again survey and sub-divide the remaining Government lands, being the Government lands of Kaulana, Mahaiula, Kukio 1 & 2, mauka of the Government Road, and Kalaoa 5 & Ooma 1, mauka of the Government Road, joining Kama's and Koanui's.

And now, Your Excellency, we also ask that all of the pieces of Government land lying idle outside of these lands which have been sub-divided, and lands which are to be sub-divided, applied for above, to be allowed to be leased to use for five cents per acre, because, they are rocky and pahoehoe lands only left, and the number of acres being about three thousand and over, thereby giving the Government some income from these which have been lying idle and without any value... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

Field Surveys of J.S. Emerson (1882-1889)

Among the most interesting historic Government records of the study area—in the later nineteenth century—are the communications and field notebooks of Kingdom Surveyor, Joseph S. Emerson. Born on Oʻahu, J.S. Emerson (like his brother, Nathaniel Emerson, a compiler of Hawaiian history) had the ability to converse in Hawaiian, and he was greatly interested in Hawaiian beliefs, traditions, and customs. As a result of this interest, his letters and field notebooks record more than coordinates for developing maps. While in the field, Emerson also sought out knowledgeable native residents of the lands he surveyed, as guides. Thus, while he was in the field he also recorded their traditions of place names, residences, trails, and various features of the cultural and natural landscape (including the extent of the forest and areas impacted by grazing). Among the lands that Emerson worked in was the greater Kekaha region of North Kona, including the lands of Kalaoa and vicinity.

One of the unique facets of the Emerson field notebooks is that his assistant J. Perryman, was also a sketch artist. While in the field, Perryman prepared detailed sketches that help to bring the landscape of the period to life. In a letter to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General, Emerson described his methods and wrote that he took readings off of:

...every visible hill, cape, bay, or point of interest in the district, recording its local name, and the name of the *Ahupuaa* in which it is situated. Every item of local historical, mythological or geological interest has been carefully sought & noted. Perryman has embellished the pages of the field book with twenty four neatly executed views & sketches from the various trig stations we have occupied... [Emerson to Alexander, May 21, 1882; HSA – DAGS 6, Box 1]

Discussing the field books, Emerson also wrote to Alexander, reporting "I must compliment my comrade, Perryman, for his very artistic sketches in the field book of the grand mountain scenery..." (HSA – HGS DAGS 6, Box 1; Apr. 5, 1882). Later he noted, "Perryman is just laying himself out in the matter of topography. His sketches deserve the highest praise..." (ibid. May 5, 1882). Field book sketches and the Register Maps that resulted from the fieldwork provide a glimpse of the country side of more than 100 years ago.

Field Notebooks and Correspondence from the Kekaha Region

The following documentation is excerpted from the field notebooks and field communications of J. S. Emerson. Emerson undertook his original surveys of lands in the Kekaha region in 1882-1883 (producing Register Maps No. 1278 and 1280; see Figure 11). Subsequently, in 1888-1889, Emerson returned to Kekaha to survey out the lots to be developed into Homesteads for native residents of Kalaoa and vicinity (see above, The Government Homesteading Program in Kekaha). Through Emerson's letters and notes taken while surveying, we learn about the people who lived on the land—some of them identified in preceding parts of the study—and about places on the landscape. The numbered sites and place names cited from the field books coincide with sketches prepared by Perryman, which are shown as figures in the current study.

J.S. Emerson Field Notebook Vol. 111 Reg. No. 253 West Hawaii Primary Triangulation, Kona District Akahipuu; May 27, 1882 (Figure 12)

Site # and Comment:

- ...6 Koanui's frame house. E.G. In Honokohau nui.
- 23 Kaloko-nui fish pond. Tang. S. end by Nuuanu's grass house.
- 24 Wall between fish pond of Kaloko nui and iki.
- 25 Kaloko iki fish pond. Tang. N. extremity.
- 26 Kawaimaka's frame house. In Kohanaiki.
- 27 Lae o Wawahiwaa. Rock cape. In Kohanaiki.
- 28 Keoki Mao's grass house. In Ooma.
- 29 Pahoehoe hill. Between Ooma and Kalaoa 5.
- 30 <u>Lae o Keahole. Extremity. In Kalaoa 5.</u>
- 31 Lae o Kukaenui. Resting place for boats.
- 32 Makolea Bay.

[Notebook 253:53]

While taking sightings from Keāhole, Perryman prepared additional sketches of the landscape. One sketch on page 69 of the field book (Figure 13) depicts the view up the slope of Hualālai. Dated June 4, 1882, the sketch is of importance as it also depicts Kalaoa Village and church; the upper Government road; Kohanaiki Village; and two trails to the coast, one trail to Honokōhau, and the other near the Kaloko-Kohanaiki boundary. Use of these trails continued through the 1950s. The other sketch on page 73 of the field book (dated June 8, 1882) depicts the coastline south from Keāhole, to an area beyond Keauhou (Figure 14). Of interest, we see only the near-shore "Trail" in the foreground, with no trail on the *kula* lands. Then a short distance south, a house is depicted on the shore, in the 'O'oma vicinity (identified as the house of Kama or Keoki Mao on Emerson's Register Maps). And a little further beyond (south of) the house, two trails are indicated—presumably the *Alanui Aupuni* on the *kula* lands to 'O'oma, and the near shore trail, seen coming in from Honokōhau.

While surveying the uplands on Hualālai in August 1882, Perryman drew a sketch of the Keāhole-Honokōhauiki coastal lands. This sketch (Figure 15) from field Book No. 254 shows the reverse view of Figure 15. Noting again, that the only trail given at that time, was the near shore trail, running out of Honokōhau-Kaloko, Kohanaiki, 'O'oma and on to Keāhole.

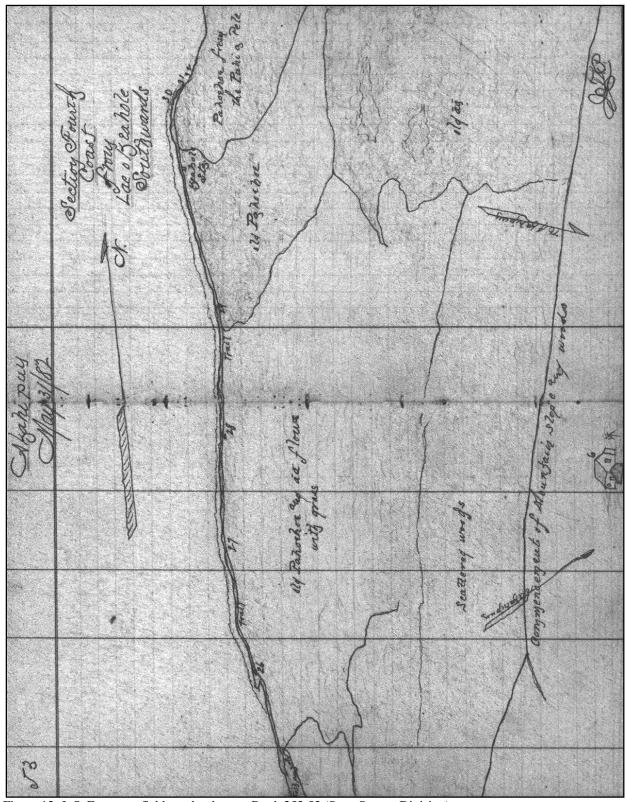


Figure 12. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:53 (State Survey Division).

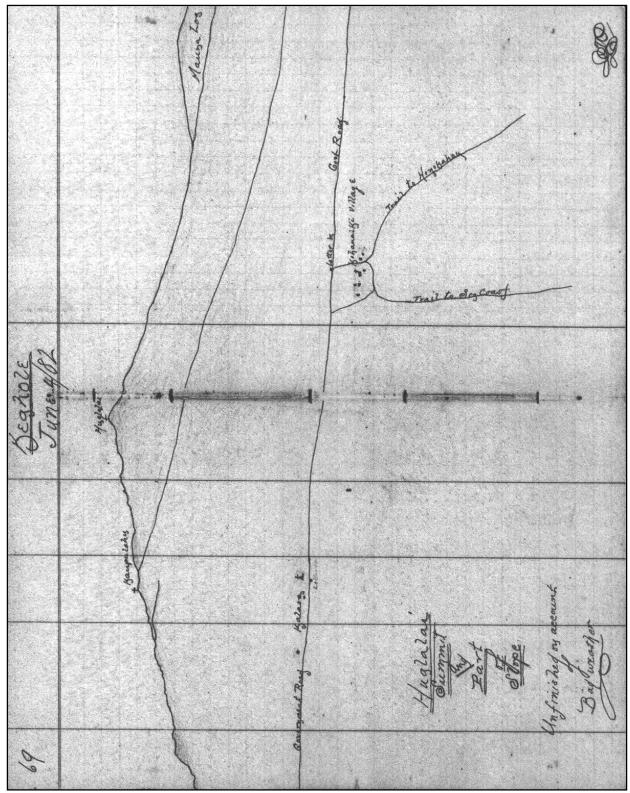


Figure 13. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:69 (State Survey Division).

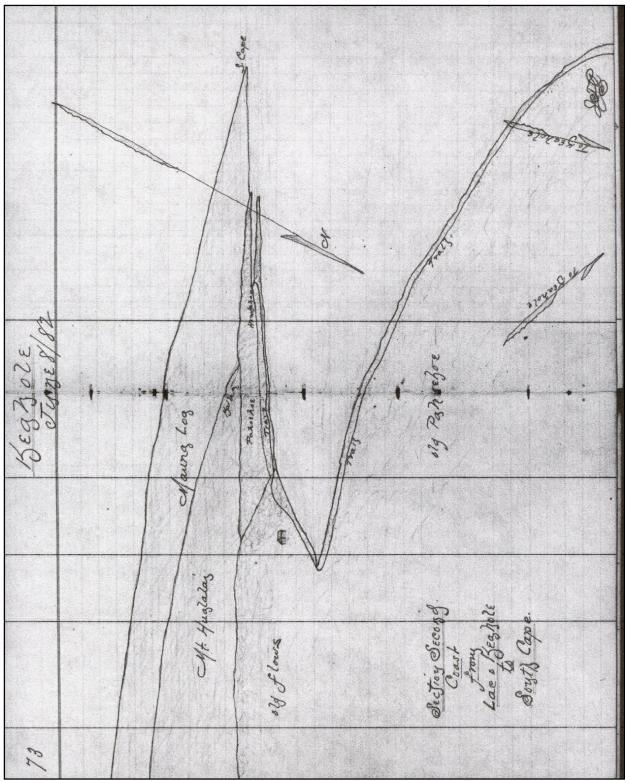


Figure 14. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:73 (State Survey Division).

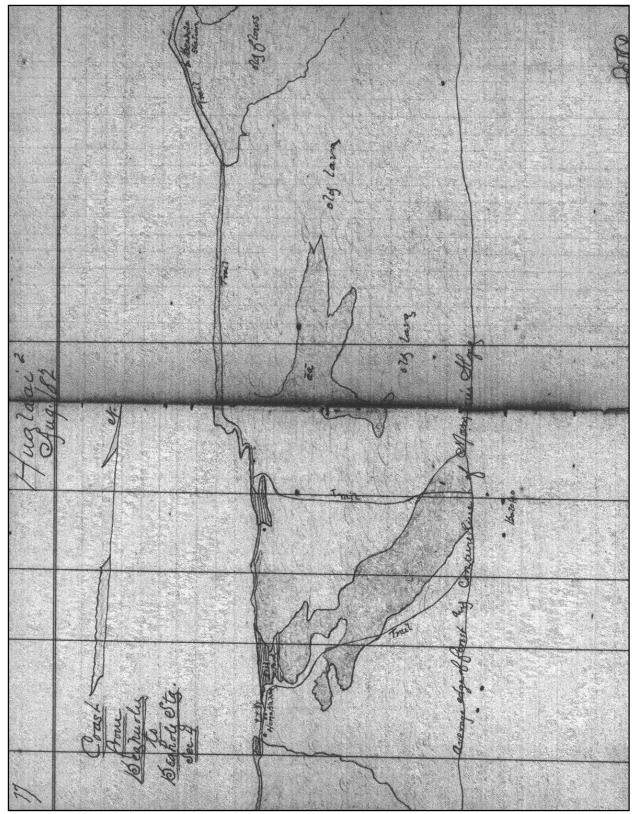


Figure 15. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 254:77 (State Survey Division).

While surveying the 'O'oma and Kalaoa homestead lots in 1888-1889, Emerson camped near Kama's house in 'O'oma 1st. The following communications were sent by Emerson to W.D. Alexander, and tell us more about the people of the land, their beliefs, and commentary on then current events in the Kingdom. Of interest, we also find that J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, whose writing of traditions, and as a representative of the native families in the land application process—which have been cited extensively in this study—is also mentioned in Emerson's narratives:

April 8, 1888

...Our tent is pitched in Ooma on the *mauka* Govt. road at a convenient distance from Kama's fine cistern which supplies us with the water we need. The pasturage is excellent and fire wood abundant. As I write 4:45 P.M. the thermometer is 71°, barometer 28.78. The entire sky is overcast with black storm clouds over the mountains. The rainy season comes late to Kona this year and has apparently just begun. We have had about three soaking rains with a good deal of cloud & drizzle. We are now having a gentle rain which gladdens the residents with water for their cisterns... We have set a large number of survey signals and identified many important corners of Gov't. lands etc. from Puhiapele on the boundary of Kaupulehu to the boundary line of Kaloko. The natives welcome us and do a great deal to help the work along. Tomorrow I expect to go to Kuili station with a transit and make a few observations & reset the old signal... The Kamaainas tell me that Awakee belongs to the Gov't. though I see it put down as LCA 10474 Namauu no Kekuanaoa.

They also tell me that the heirs of Kanaina estate still receive rent for the Ahupuaa of Kaulana, though I have recorded as follows in my book, Kaulana ½ Gov't. per civil Code 379, ½ J. Malo per Mahele Bk. Title not perfected; all Gov't. Please examine into the facts about Kaulana and instruct me as to what I shall do about it. Kealoha Hopulaau rents it and if it is Gov't. land the Gov't. should receive the rent or sell it off as homesteads. It is a desirable piece of land, a part of it at least...

[HSA – HGS DAGS 6, Box 2]

April 17, 1888

...The work is being pushed rapidly and steadily forward. The natives render me most valuable assistance and find all the important corners for me as fast as I can locate them. It is hard getting around on account of the rocks & stones, to say nothing of trees etc., but there is a great deal of really fine land belonging to the Government, admirably adapted to coffee etc. The more I see of it the better it appears.

As to Kaulana, if I hear nothing to the contrary from you, I will leave it all as Gov't. land.

Mr. McGuire [sic] of Kohala, the representative for that district, proposes to settle in Kona. He has bought Grant 1590, Kauhine, in Ooma, Kalaoa etc. and wants the Gov't. to make good to him the amount taken from him by Grants 2972, Kaakau & Kama, and 3027, Hueu, which occupy portions of the same land granted to Kauhine. If his title is good, would it not be just to leave Kaakau & Kama as well as Hueu in possession of their lots where they have lived for over 20 years, and give McGuire an area in adjoining lands equal to that taken from him by these two grants.

It is said that Chas. Achi has written to the natives that Grant 1590, Kauhine, has been cancelled. Will you learn the true state of the case and be so kind as to inform me...

[HSA – HGS DAGS 6, box 2 Jan.-Apr. 1888]

In his field book notes, on May 1st, 1888, Emerson noted that he had placed the "Pulehu" station on the "ground by ahu, about 4 feet makai of Kama's goat pen, on the iwi aina between Kalaoa 5 and Ooma 1…" (J.S. Emerson Field Book 291:83).

In the same field book on May 19th, 1888, while surveying the area near the boundary of 'O'oma 1st and 2nd, at the 325 foot elevation, Emerson cited off of a station named "Kahokukahi." The point is "on the entrance of the cave, Kahokukahi... The above is the vertical entrance of a famous ana kaua, which extends for a long distance to the E. and to the W..." (J.S. Emerson Field Book 291:137). An "ana kaua" would be a place, where during times of war, people could hide and fortify themselves. Emerson's description indicates that the cave runs some distance *mauka* and *makai* of "Kahokukahi."

On May 23, 1888, Emerson surveyed Pūhili, the boundary between Kohanaiki and 'O'oma 2nd. He observed, "Large [mark] on solid pahoehoe, on bound. bet. Kohanaiki & Ooma, by the sea, near the end of a cape... Station mark, drill hole in stone, 9 ft. S. of the S. corner of an old "kahua hale" on white sand…" (J.S. Emerson Field Book 291:151).

Returning to his "old camp Ooma," in August 1888, Emerson submitted the following letter to Alexander: *August 25th*, 1888

...I have to report that the very intricate and irregular remainder of Gov't. land situated in Kealakehe is cut up into homesteads, ready for the committee to estimate its values. The job has been made unusually long & tedious by the absurd arrangement of the old kuleanas scattered around at random. I have also run out the boundaries of Papaakoko, ready for fencing. Thursday P.M. I made my way through a heavy rain to this place and set up tent in the storm. It rained a good deal every day since and is raining now. In spite of the weather the work of cutting up Ooma 1st goes bravely on. I have a huge umbrella to camp under while it rains. I propose to finish up Ooma 1st & return to Honolulu by the next trip of the *Hall*.

Kailua beach is the great rendezvous for men & asses from all parts of the country when the steamer arrives from Honolulu. It has in consequence become the natural place to tell and hear gossip & news. Here, the sand-lot orator, mounted on a packing box, can address the largest crowd. T.N. Simeona, who stole the church money, keeps the pound and takes care of the court house wanting to make a speech, repaired to the beach last Wednesday morning and is reported to have made a windy harangue to the effect that the King was hewa and that the Ministers were pono! Up to that time he had always been the contemptible too of the King's party and was loud in his denunciation of the Government. I explain this change in his talk by his wish to retain his Gov't. billets & his desire to avoid arrest as a rebel.

A native man told me the other day (Wednesday) that the Cabinet was hewa in two things viz.

1st They taxed chickens, banana trees and many other things that had not been heretofore taxed.

 2^{nd} They arrested and sent to Molokai many who were not lepers. For these reasons many justified Wilcox for trying to out the ministers.

There is a sturdy old native living at Kaloko named Kealiihelepo, whom I greatly respect. Said he to me "When King Kalakaua returned from his foreign trip he made a speech at Kailua and said that 'in foreign lands the foreign God was losing his power. His former worshippers were deserting him. That the old Hawaiian Gods were still mana and them he would worship." But said Kealiihelepo "The King was mistaken. Our old Gods were once mighty, but the coming of the foreigner with his Gods has robbed them of their strength. Therefore the King has made the mistake to oppose the God who is now in power, and Jehovah is opposing him. Hence the King's pilikia."

You are entirely justified in calling Kona "that heathen district."

[HSA – HGS DAGS 6, box 2 Jan.-Apr. 1888]

On October 14th 1888, Emerson wrote to Alexander, briefing him on conversations he was having with J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, his "encyclopedia," "the son of a famous sorcerer." Later, Emerson used many of the notes taken during his conversations with Kihe, to develop his paper on Hawaiian religion (Emerson 1892). J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, was the son of Kihe, who was the son of Kuapahoa, of Kaloko (notes of J.S. Emerson, September 25, 1915; in collection of the Hawaiian Historical Society). While at 'O'oma, Kihe described the various nature forms taken by the deceased, and their role in the spiritual practices. On October 14th Kihe named for him some of the gods called upon by those who practiced the Kahuna Kuni sorcery.

Ooma

October 14, 1888

J.S. Emerson; to W.D. Alexander:

...I have just been having a chat with a son of a famous sorcerer, with the following for a summary of what he said.

There are four gods worshipped by murders and sorcerers viz:

- (1). Kui-a-Lua, the god of the Lua, Mokomoko, Haihai and other forms of violence.
- (2). Uli, the god of the Anaana, Kuni, Hoopiopio and Lawe Maunu.
- (3). Kalaipahoa, god of the Hoounauna, Hookomokomo and Hooleilei.
- (4). Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, the goddess of the Poi uhane, Apo leo, Pahiuhiu and Hoonoho uhane...
- [J.S. Emerson, in collection of the Hawaiian Historical Society]

The Kalaoa-'O'oma Homesteads

In March and April of 1902, S. M. Kanakanui and his assistant George F. Wright surveyed and subdivided 1,736 acres of land in the *makai* portions of 'O'oma 1st and Kalaoa 5th *ahupua'a* into fifteen homestead lots (Lots 1-15) known collectively as the Kalaoa-'O'oma Homesteads (Figure 16). They also surveyed the remaining portions of the boundary of 'O'oma 2nd (the area leased to J. A. Maguire), laid out a road from the homesteads to the *mauka* Government Road, laid out a realigned portion of the *makai* Government Road, and accurately surveyed two miles of coastline. The *Report of the Surveyor of the Territory of Hawai'i for the Year Ending June 30th*, 1902 contains the following account of that survey:

...Mr. Kanakanui's party travelled overland to Ooma, which is situated about five or six miles North of Kailua, North Kona. March 20th. until April 30th. was taken up with the subdividing of 1736 acres of land situated in Ooma I and Kalaoa V, into fifteen homesteads of from 100 to 130 acres each, also with the running out of the boundary of the remaining portion of Ooma II, below the Government Road, a tract of 1031 acres. A 50 foot road, a little over three and one half miles in length and from two to six per cent grade was run through the homesteads to connect with the Government Road. Another road, a little over one and one half miles through the lower section of these lands, was run, and over two miles of coast line was accurately located. (Wall 1902:5)

Following the initial survey of the homesteads the fifteen lots were further subdivided into twenty-five lots (all but Lots 3, 13, 14, and 15 were divided roughly in half and designated as Lots 1A and 1B, 2A and 2B, etc...). The current study area includes portions of Lots 3A, 5A, 5B, 6A, 6B, 7A, and 7B. The road to the *mauka* Government Road laid out by Kanakanui and Wright in 1902 splits the Kalaoa-'O'oma Homesteads in half, and appears to approximate the boundary between Kalaoa 5th (to the north) and O'oma 1st (to the south), while at the same time maintaining the appropriate grade. This road was never built, nor was the *makai* Government road ever realigned, and although there were several applicants for the Kalaoa-'O'oma Homesteads, by ca. 1910 only two of the *mauka*-most lots had been patented (Lots 13 and 15). Applicants for land in 'O'oma 1st and Kalaoa 5th at this time (from *makai* to *mauka*) included:

- H. Greyson Right of Purchase Lease # 35; Lot 1-B (cancelled); Greyson's parcel was just *mauka* of the shore line exclusion in Kalaoa 5th.
- Kanealii Right of Purchase Lease # 30; Lot 4-B (cancelled); Kanealii's parcel was just *mauka* of the shore line exclusion in 'O'oma 1st.
- C. W. Heremona Right of Purchase Lease # 31; Lot 3-A (cancelled); Heremona's parcel was along the *makai* edge of the realigned Government Road in O'oma 1st.
- S. Kupuoa Right of Purchase Lease # 34; Lot 5 (cancelled); Kupuoa's parcel was along the *mauka* edge of the realigned Government Road in Kalaoa 5th.
- Wm. Kouhi Right of Purchase Lease # 32; Lot 9 (cancelled); Kouhi's parcel was *mauka* of Kupuoa's parcel in Kalaoa 5th.
- J.W. Wahinekapu Right of Purchase Lease # 29; Lot 11 (cancelled); Kouhi's parcel was *mauka* edge of Kouhi's parcel in Kalaoa 5th.
- Wm. Keanaaina Right of Purchase Lease #33; Lot 13 (Patented by Grant No. 5472); The *makai* end of Wm. Nuuanu Keanaaina's Grant 5472, is situated at approximately 325 feet above sea level in 'O'oma 1st.
- J. Maiola Right of Purchase Lease # 28; Lot 14 (cancelled);
 J. Maiola's parcel was situated about 525 feet above sea level in 'O'oma 1st.
- K. Kama Jr. Right of Purchase Lease #27; Lot 15 (Patented by Grant No. 5046); The *makai* end of K. Kama's Grant No. 5046, is situated at approximately 725 feet above sea level in 'O'oma 1st.

With the exception of Lots 13 and 15 (totaling 252.5 acres), the *makai* lands of the Kalaoa-'O'oma Homesteads (1,485.5 acres) were never patented and remained in the inventory of Government Lands. By the early twentieth century the coastal lands of Kekaha were only sparsely populated, as most of the residents, with the drastic changes in land tenure that occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century, had either moved away or chosen to reside permanently in the more agriculturally productive uplands (Rechtman and Maly 2003).

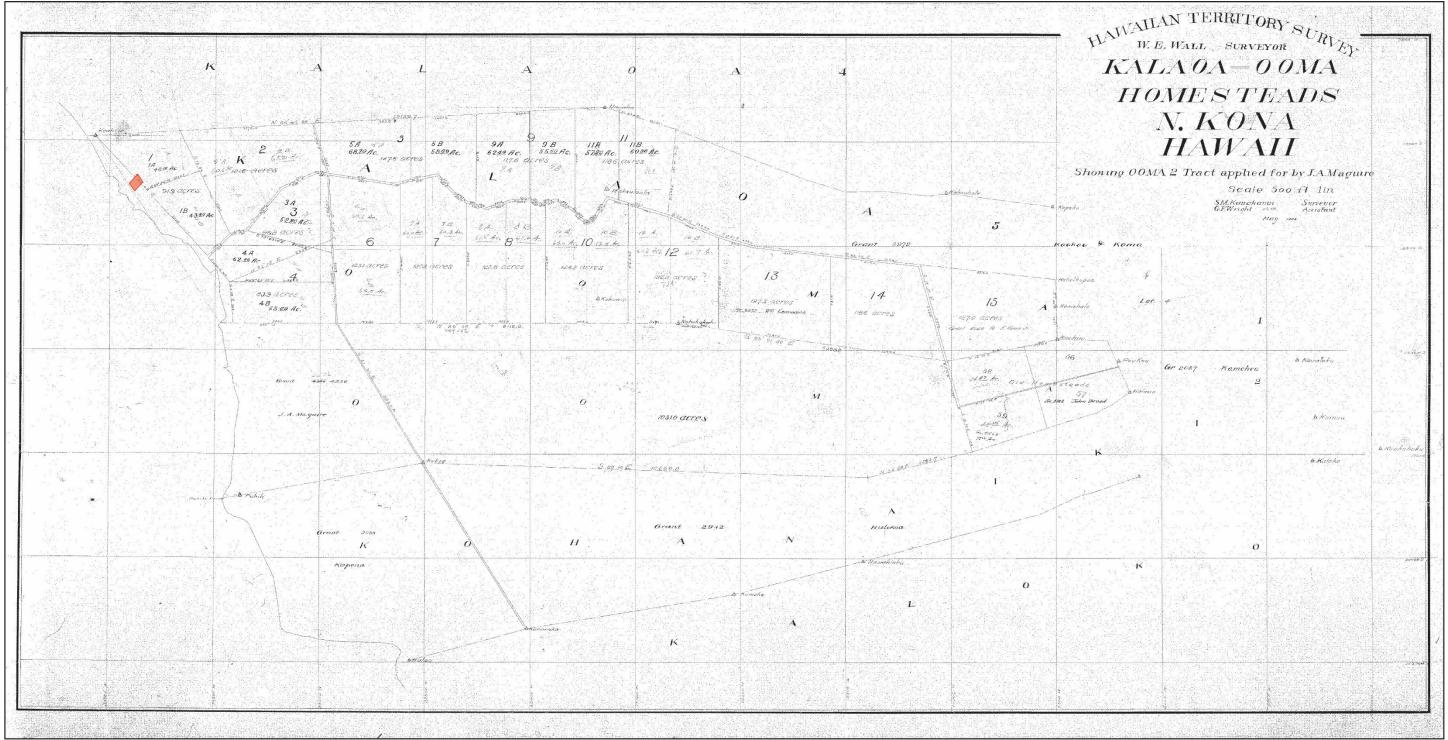


Figure 16. Hawai'i Registered Map No. 2123 (prepared by S. M. Kanakanui and G.F. Wright, May 1902) showing the current study area outlined in red.

Twentieth Century Land Tenure in the Vicinity of the Current Study Area

Kama 'āina' who have participated in oral history interviews (see Rechtman and Maly 2003), describe on-going travel between the uplands and coastal lands of 'O'oma, Kalaoa and other *ahupua'a* in Kekaha throughout the twentieth century. The primary method of travel between 1900 and 1947, was by foot or on horse or donkey, and those who traveled the land, were generally residents of the 'O'oma, Kalaoa, Kohanaiki Homesteads and other lands in the immediate vicinity. The 1924 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle (Figure 17) shows a trail/road, labeled "Kauhini Road" descending from the uplands of Kalaoa 4th/5th to Wawaloli (beach/pond) at the shore of 'O'oma 1st. An upper portion of this road, labeled "Alanui Kauhini" is shown on an 1889 map prepared by J.S. Emerson. Kauhini Road was likely named for a former resident of the Kalaoa/'O'oma area, who had applied for the Grant No. 1599 in the uplands of those *ahupua'a* in 1855, but who moved away before the grant was patented (see above, Summary of Land Tenure Described in Grant Records). On the 1924 U.S.G.S. map, Kauhini Road is shown crossing the realigned 1847 Government Road and continuing to the near shore *alaloa*. On a 1930 Treasury Department map of a portion of North Kona (Figure 18), the full extent of Kauhini Road, both the original (existing) and realigned (never built) 1847 Government Road, and the Kalaoa-'O'oma Homestead lots and road are shown. The near shore trail on both maps is depicted along the coast between the *ahupua'a* of Honokahau and Kalaoa 4th, where it terminates at the Keāhole Point lighthouse and light keeper's residence.

The lighthouse at Keāhole Point started as a wooden mast beacon constructed sometime after 1906, and in 1910 the Territory of Hawai'i set aside the land at Keāhole Point for use as a lighthouse reservation (Moore et al. 1999). According to Dean (1991), John Makahi serviced the light from 1909 to 1912 and Samuel Leleo was the light keeper until 1914 when a "new" concrete lighthouse was constructed. Between 1915 and 1919 the light was attended to by Haliaka Kahananui, a resident of Kalaoa *mauka* (Kahananui received Grant No. 3750, Homestead Lot 47, in Kalaoa 4th along the southern edge of Kauhini Road in 1895). Kahananui "was responsible for refilling and lighting the gas light in the lighthouse on a weekly basis," following "a trail to the coast, walking or riding on horseback the 3 miles from her home" (Moore et al. 1999:17). Her service ended when the oil lamps were replaced with battery powered electric lights.

After World War II, retired military vehicles became available to the public, and after that time, the *Alanui Aupuni* and some of the smaller trails along the shore were modified for vehicular traffic. The primary routes of travel through the 1960s, descended from upland Kohanaiki and Kaloko, or came out of Kailua. In the 1950s, Hu'ehu'e Ranch bulldozed a Jeep road to the shore at Kaloko. The ranch, and some individuals who went to the shore either as a part of their ranch duties, or for leisure fishing along the coast, used this Jeep road. The 1959 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle (Figure 19) shows that Kauhini Road and the near shore *alaloa* were also converted to "Jeep Trails" by this time. The *Alanui Aupuni* was modified for vehicular travel from Kailua, to at least as far as Honokōhau and Kaloko *ahupua'a*, and remained in use through the 1970s.

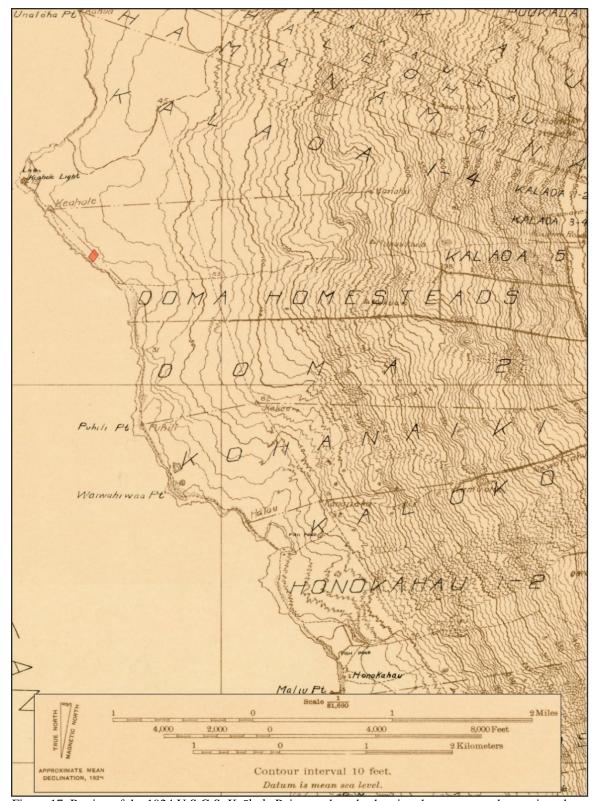


Figure 17. Portion of the 1924 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle showing the current study area in red.



Figure 18. Portion of North Kona Island of Hawai'i showing the *ahupua'a* between Kau and Kealakehe (July 1930).

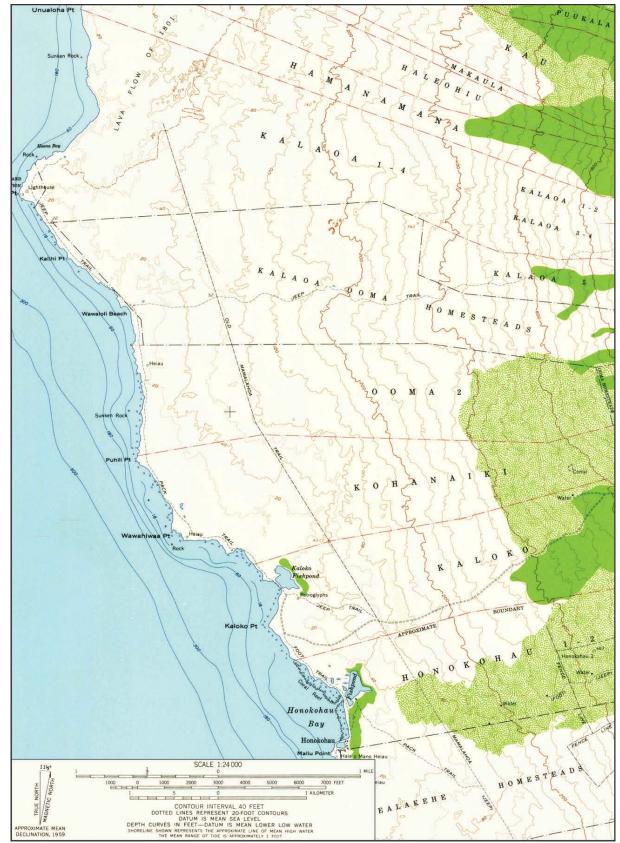


Figure 19. Portion of the 1959 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle.

The coastal lands of Kekaha in the vicinity of Site 10205, many of which became State-owned lands after statehood in 1959, remained untouched by modern development through the 1960s (Figure 20). It was not until 1968 when construction began on a section of the new Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway right-of-way between Kealakehe Ahupua'a and the newly planned Keāhole Airport on State-owned lands in Awalua, 'Ōhiki, Pu'ukala, Kau, Maka'ula, Haleohiu, Hamanamana, and Kalaoa 1st-4th *ahupua'a* that the landscape of Kekaha began to drastically change. Work on the Keāhole Airport facility began on May 27, 1969, when the first 1,000 pound ceremonial charges of dynamite signaled the start of construction, and was completed thirteen months later (Figure 21), when the airport was dedicated on July 1, 1970 (http://hawaii.gov/hawaiiaviation/hawaii-airfields-airports/hawaii/kona-international-airport-at-keahole/). The Keāhole Point airport facility has substantially expanded since its 1970 dedication. The Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway, between the airport and Kawaihae, was completed by ca. 1973, once again opening up travel across the *kula kai* (shoreward plains) of Kekaha to the general public.

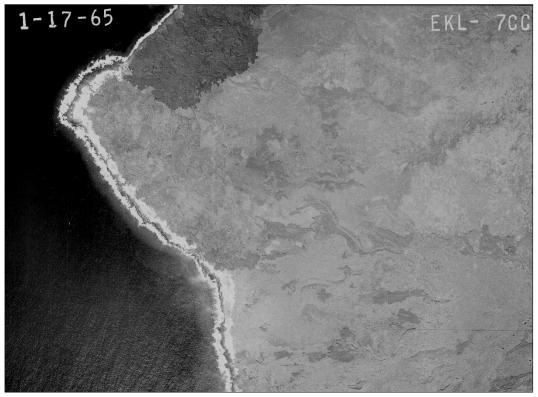


Figure 20. January 17, 1965 aerial photograph showing the Kekaha lands in the vicinity of the current study area.

The construction of the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway to Keāhole Airport opened up access to the Kekaha lands in the vicinity of the current study area, and created opportunities for further development of these lands. Recognizing the area's potential for ocean related research, thermal energy conversion demonstration, and aquaculture, the State of Hawai'i, in 1974, established the Natural Energy Laboratory of Hawai'i (NELH) at Keāhole Point (Group 70 2011). The initial NELH site (Figure 22) consisted of an access road easement from the highway and 322 acres of coastal land adjacent to (south and west of) the airport. The access road (Makako Bay Drive) was in place by 1977 (Figure 23), and construction of the initial offices, research facilities, and an Ocean Thermal Energy Conversion (OTEC) plant at NELH had begun by ca. 1980 (Figure 24). After the construction of the NELH access road, Kauhini Road and the coastal Jeep Road were no longer regularly used to access the shoreline in the vicinity of the current study area. In 1986, in an effort to provide sites for the commercialization of research activities initiated at NELH, the State added an additional 548 acres of land (including the current study area) for the creation of the Hawai'i and Ocean Technology (HOST) Park. These two properties, although their missions were complementary, were administered separately until 1990, when the State Legislature (Chapter 227D, HRS) consolidated management of NELH and HOST Park's 870 acres of lands and facilities (Figure 25) under a single state agency, the Natural Energy Laboratory of Hawai'i Authority (NELHA) (Group 70 2011). Today, with several deep water pipelines pumping seawater at a rate of more than 43,000 gallons per minute to the facility, there are more than forty tenants engaged in aquaculture, water bottling, energy projects, research, and education on the NELHA lands.

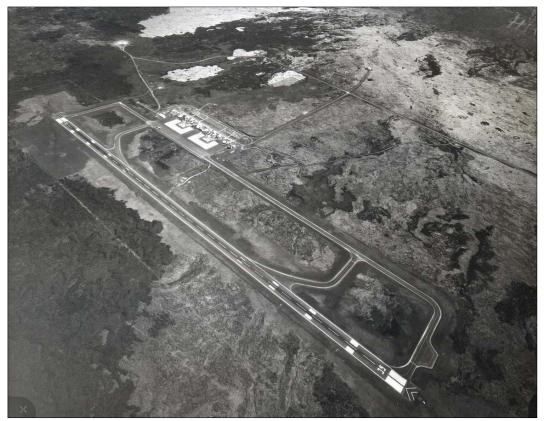


Figure 21. Oblique aerial view of the completed Keāhole Airport facility taken on October 6, 1971.

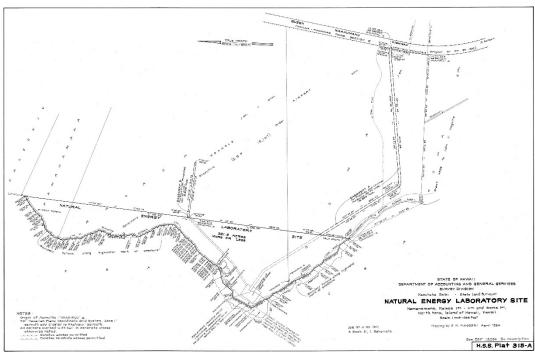


Figure 22. Map of the initial 322-acre NELH site (traced by G.H. Kurosaki on April 1984).

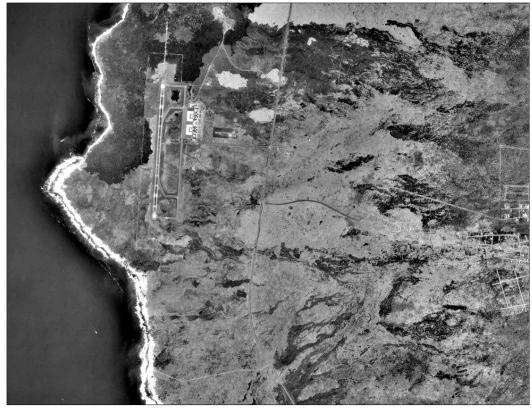


Figure 23. March 27, 1977 aerial photograph showing the completed NELH access road.



Figure 24. Oblique aerial view of the initial NELH facilities under construction in 1980.

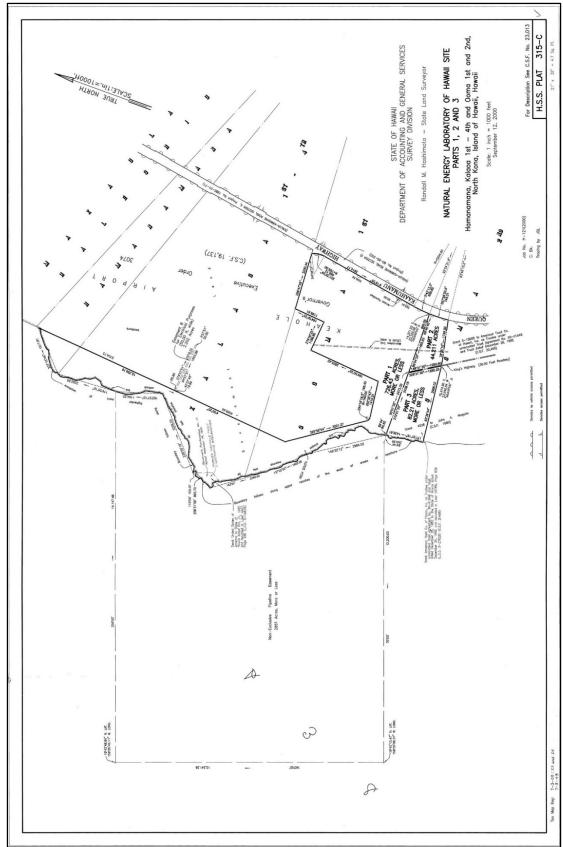


Figure 25. Map of the expanded NELH and HOST Park site (prepared on September 12, 2000).

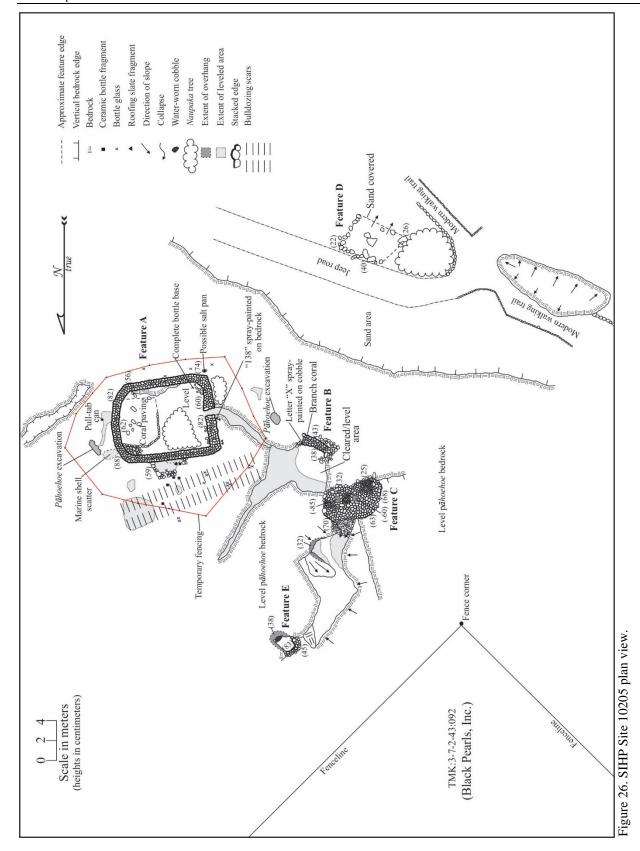
3. DESCRIPTION OF SIHP SITE 10205

Site 10205 is a habitation complex consisting of four previously recorded features (Features A-D) and one newly identified, possibly modern, feature (Feature E). This site has been documented in six previous studies (Reinecke n.d., Rosendahl and Kirch 1975, Cordy 1975, Cordy 1978, Clark 1984, and Cordy 1985), and is located along the shoreline at the interface between shallow sandy beach deposits and the exposed pāhoehoe located mauka of these deposits (Figure 26). The overall area that Site 10205 occupies, measures roughly 45 meters north/south by 33 meters east/west. Features A, B, C, and E are situated on exposed pāhoehoe bedrock, while Feature D is situated on a sand and waterworn cobble surface. Feature D is partially buried beneath sand, situated 18 meters makai of Feature A between the Jeep road and a modern footpath (see Figure 26). Bulldozer scarring is present on the bedrock surface immediately north of Feature A. Low-spots and pāhoehoe excavations in the bedrock surrounding Feature A are filled with small cobbles and coral, which create a level surface (Figure 27). Vegetation surrounding the site consists primarily of fountain grass, scattered naupaka, and tree heliotrope. Cultural material observed at Site 10205 consists of marine shell, bottle glass, and ceramics. The marine shell observed includes Cellana sp., Cypraea sp., Nerita sp., Conus sp., and Drupa sp. Also found at Feature E were a few pencil urchin (Eucidaris tribuloides) spines. Currently, Feature A is surrounded by orange plastic fencing (Figure 28). Site 10205 is considered significant under State Significance Criterion d for its important information content and Criterion c as am excellent example of a site (particularly Feature A) that embodies the distinctive characteristics of a traditional Historic Period coastal residence.

Feature A

Feature A is a rectangular enclosure measuring 10.7 meters long by 8 meters wide. It is constructed on a relatively flat section of *pāhoehoe* bedrock and is located approximately 18 meters east (*mauka*) of Feature D and 8 meters east of Feature B (see Figure 26). The enclosure walls are neatly stacked with sub-angular small to large cobbles and a few small boulders at the base (Figure 29). The average width of the walls 0.8 meters and heights along the edges range from 60 to 100 centimeters tall. A 0.7 meter wide opening is located in the west facing enclosure wall. The interior of the enclosure is level and consists of exposed bedrock as well as a cobble and coral fill (Figure 30). At the east (*mauka*) interior portion of the enclosure, abutting the east wall is a raised/paved coral surface (Figure 31). This raised coral paving measures roughly 5 meters by 4 meters, and is lined along its north and west edge's with stacked small and medium singular cobbles standing up to 25 centimeters tall. The south and southwest portions of the coral paving is missing and/or removed. A few large cobbles are scattered on the paved coral surface. A large *naupaka* shrub occupies the northwest interior portion of the enclosure.

Abutting a portion of the exterior north facing edge of the enclosure is an L-shaped wall (in poor to fair condition). This wall measures 2 meters long by 1.7 meters wide (Figure 32). The wall has exterior heights ranging from 41 to 59 centimeters and interior heights from 23 to 65 centimeters. The interior surface consist of level bedrock with a few scattered marine shell fragments, bottle glass fragments, aluminum pull tab can tops, and ceramic fragments (Figure 33 and 34). Bottle glass fragments observed at Feature A include a brown color bottle base, embossed with "JAPAN [Dot]/ 3" (Figure 35 and Figure 36). The English labeling on the bottle may reflect regulations placed on imports to America post 1921 (McKinley Tariff Act of 1921). Also near the southwest corner, is a cupule stone that may have been previously identified as a salt pan (Cordy 1978) (Figure 37). Given the presence of cermics, bottle glass, and metal, the Feature A enclosure dates from the Historic Period and appears to be the primary habitation feature at the site; while the interior platform possibly represents an earlier (perhaps Precontact) expression of the site along with Feature B, C, and D.



Preservation Plan SIHP Site 10205, Kalaoa 5th, North Kona, Hawai'i



Figure 27. Low-spots in the bedrock, filled with cobbles, view to the northeast.



Figure 28. Temporary fencing around SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, view to the southwest.



Figure 29. SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, enclosure, view to the northeast.



Figure 30. SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, interior surface of the enclosure and opening, view to the west.



Figure 31. SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, elevated/paved coral surface at the east interior surface of the enclosure, view to the east.



Figure 32. SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, L-Shaped wall at the north exterior wall of the enclosure, view to the northeast.



Figure 33. SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, aluminum pull-tab can and modern bottle glass, overview.



Figure 34. SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, ceramic fragments on the ground surface fronting the L-shaped wall, overview.



Figure 35. SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, brown bottle fragment in-situ, view to the southeast.



Figure 36. SIHP Site 10205 Feature A, brown bottle fragment, with embossing "JAPAN [Dot]/3" at the base.



Figure 37. SIHP Site 10205, cupule stone that may have been previously documented as a salt pan by Cordy (1978).

Feature B

Feature B is a three meter long wall segment located near the bedrock edge (transition to sand) approximately 8 meters west of Feature A and 3 meters south of Feature C (see Figure 26). It is constructed on a relatively small portion of *pāhoehoe* bedrock that slopes gently towards the east .The wall is dry stacked, in rough condition, and is constructed of loosely stacked small to large basalt cobbles with a few small boulders near the base. The wall averages 0.70 meters wide and has an average height of 65 centimeters (Figure 38). A level surface of sand and pebbles measuring 2.8 meters long by 1.9 meters wide is located immediately to the east of the wall (Figure 39). The stacking becomes progressively less intact toward the wall's north end. It is possible that the wall may have originally been L-shaped or crescent shaped given the quantity of collapsed cobbles at the northwest end of the wall. Marine shell is scattered around the feature. A single piece of branch coral was observed on the wall's surface at its southeast end (Figure 40).



Figure 38. SIHP Site 10205 Feature B with Feature A in the background, view to the southeast.



Figure 39. SIHP Site 10205 Feature B level coral and gravel surface fronting the wall, view to the southwest.



Figure 40. SIHP Site 10205 Feature B coral fragment observed on the top of the wall at its southeast end, view to the southwest.

Feature C

Feature C is a mounded rectangular-shaped platform constructed in the northwest portion of Site 10205, approximately 3 meters northwest of Feature B and 21 meters north of Feature D (see Figure 26). It is situated on an uneven $p\bar{a}hoehoe$ bedrock surface situated at the southwest end of a natural depression (Figure 41). It is constructed of loosely stacked small to large basalt cobbles and few small boulders. The platform measures 5.9 meters long by 5 meters wide. Its northwest face is built along the edge of the *pahoehoe* depression. (Figure 42). Heights along the edges range from 0.4 meters (at the south face) to 1.5 meters (at the north face).

There are two openings and remnant gravel/coral paving on the top of the platform's surface (Figure 43); the openings were previously described as cupboards (Cordy 1978). The *mauka* cupboard opening measure 0.5meters by 0.4 meters and has maximum depth of 0.8 meters (Figure 44). The *makai* cupboard opening is located 1.3 meters west of the *mauka* opening, and it measures 0.6 meters by 0.45 meters with a maximum depth of 0.35 meters (Figure 45). While Cordy (1978) calls these openings "cupboards," these vaults may have been used to support wooden posts for a structure. A small cobble and gravel paving measuring 1.4 meters by 1.3 meters is located roughly 0.8 meters from the *makai* cupboard opening. Marine shell is scattered across the surface of the platform and on the surrounding bedrock.



Figure 41. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, mounded platform at the southwest end of a nautral depression, view to the southwest.



Figure 42. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, northwest stacked edge of the platform, view to the east.



Figure 43. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, surface of platform, view to the west.



Figure 44. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, mauka cupboard opening.



Figure 45. SIHP Site 10205 Feature C, makai cupboard opening.

Feature D

Feature D is a rectangular-shaped platform remnant located toward the western end of Site 10205, approximately 18 meters southwest of Feature A and 19 meters south of Feature B (see Figure 26). It is situated on a strip of sand between the Jeep road and a modern (and/or restored) coastal trail. The platform remnant measures roughly 5.5 meters long by 3.7 meters wide. It is in rough condition and is partially buried beneath sand (Figure 46). The most recognizable alignment of this feature runs along the *mauka* edge. This edge consists of a water-worn cobble and boulder alignment that is 4.5 meters long. This alignment has exterior heights ranging from 30 to 40 centimeters (Figure 47). A prominent rock located at the center of the platform stands up to 34 centimeters tall. Feature D was designated as a "Men's House" site by Cordy (1978). It is likely that some of the cobbles used in the construction of the platform remnant were removed and used to line the modern coastal trail.



Figure 46. SIHP Site 10205 Feature D, platform remnant bartially buried beneath sand, view to the north.



Figure 47. SIHP Site 10205 Feature D, northeast edge of the renmant platform, view to the southwest.

Feature E

Feature E is a newly recorded modified blister/overhang shelter located toward the northern end of Site 10205, approximately 12 meters northeast of Feature C and 20 meters northwest of Feature A (see Figure 26). The feature is situated at the northeast end of a natural sink on a fairly level portion of the *pāhoehoe* flow (Figure 48). The blister opening measures 1.8 by 1.2 meters and has a maximum depth of 1.2 meters. The overhang portion extends 0.9 meters *mauka* (east) from the opening (Figure 49). Modifications to the blister consist of a 90 centimeter long by 25 centimeter wide oblong water-worn cobble that bridges a crack at the southeast upper edge of the blister opening and a stacked wall at the northwest end of the collapsed blister (Figure 50). The wall measures 2 meters long by 0.7 meters wide and is constructed of loosely stacked small to large cobbles that stand up to 83 centimeters tall and follows the underlying bedrock contour. The floor of the blister consist of level bedrock (Figure 51). That this feature was not identified during any of the earlier studies may indicate that it is of modern (post-1985) origin.



Figure 48. SIHP Site 10205 Feature E, modified blister with Feature A in the background, view to the southeast.



Figure 49. SIHP Site 10205 Feature E, blister opening and overhang extending *mauka* (east), view to the southeast.



Figure 50. SIHP Site 10205 Feature E, oblong water-worn cobble and wall, view to the northwest.



Figure 51. SIHP Site 10205 Feature E, wall and portion of the floor, view to the west.

4. PROPOSED TREATMENT OF SIHP SITE 10205

Preservation in place is the treatment proposed for Site 10205. This will be achieved through avoidance and protection (conservation) with a minimal interpretation component. No stabilization or maintenance activities are proposed, with the exception of the removal of the *naupaka* that is growing in and around Feature A of the site. A legal document describing the location of the site and its preservation area along with this preservation plan will be recorded with the Bureau of Conveyances. The specific preservation treatment for this site is described below.

PERMANENT PRESERVATION MEASURES

For the long-term preservation of Site 10205, a preservation easement will be established around the site that matches the boundary of the 1.3 acre lot that has already been designated for protecting this site (Figure 52). No development activities will be permitted within the 1.3 acre preserve area. The boundaries of the preservation easement will be marked by signage indicating that the area is an archaeological preserve (see Figure 52). This signage will match that what has already been approved by DLNR-SHPD and which NELHA has already placed for the other archaeological preservation areas with the HOST Park. In addition, a single cautionary/interpretive sign will be placed along the coast foot trail in the vicinity of Feature D (see Figure 52), proposed language for which is as follows:

SIHP Site 10205 Habitation Complex Kalaoa 5th Ahupua'a

The enclosure and platform features in this area were used by native Hawaiians during Precontact times through the middle nineteenth century. Typically such sites were inhabited during the summer months while engaging in fishing and salt gathering activities. During the winter season the site's inhabitants would move to their inland residences, which were located closer to their agricultural fields.

This coastal area contains significant archaeological resources that are protected by state law (HRS Chapter 6E-11). Please refrain from moving or taking rocks from this area. Disturbance to archaeological sites is punishable with fines up to \$20,000. Please report any observed violations to DLNR-SHPD (808) 692-8015

INTERIM PROTECTION MEASURES AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESERVATION PLAN

NELHA has actively protected Site 10205 for many years (orange construction fencing was placed around Feature A during development of an ajoing parcel) and given that the preservation easement area is realtively large and is bordered in part by other already developed parcels (some of which are fenced) and a coastal preserve lot, no additional interim protection measures are proposed for this site. The permanent preservation measures as outlined above will be implemented immediately upon DLNR-SHPD approval of this plan.

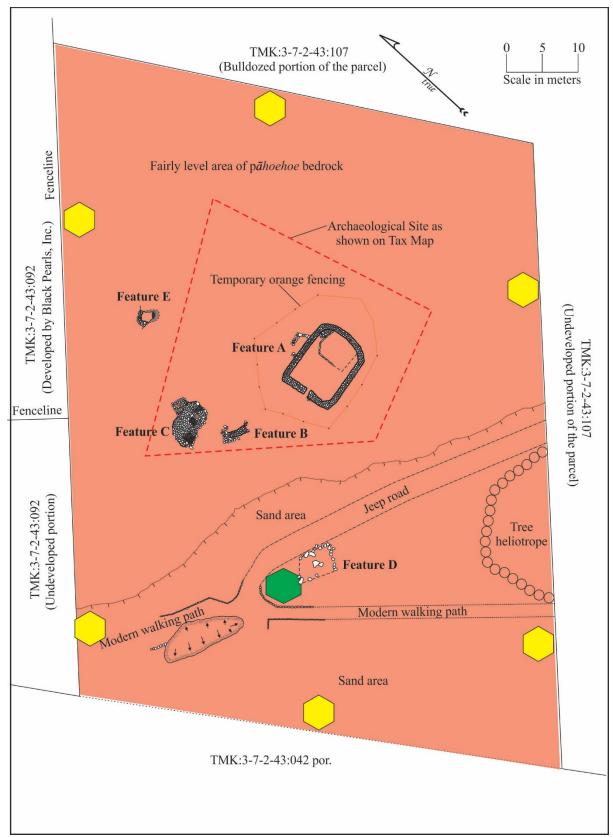


Figure 52. SIHP Site 10205 premanent preservation measures, yellow hexagons are boundary signs and green hexagon is cautionary/interpretive sign.

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