

An Archaeological and Cultural Review and Assessment of the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve within the NELHA Host Park

TMK: (3) 7-3-43:042 (por.)

Kalaoa Ahupua‘a
North Kona District
Island of Hawai‘i

DRAFT VERSION



Prepared By:

Robert B. Rechtman, Ph.D.
and
Matthew R. Clark, B.A.

Prepared For:

Natural Energy Laboratory of Hawaii Authority
73-4460 Queen Kaahumanu Hwy, #101
Kailua-Kona HI 96740

April 2017

ASM Project Number 23390



An Archaeological and Cultural Review and Assessment of the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve within the NELHA Host Park

TMK: (3) 7-3-43:042 (por.)

Kalaoa Ahupua‘a
North Kona District
Island of Hawai‘i



CHAPTERS

	Page
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. BACKGROUND	6
PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE HO‘ONĀ HISTORIC PRESERVE.....	6
CULTURE-HISTORICAL CONTEXTS	12
Natural and Cultural Resources in a Hawaiian Context.....	12
An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement.....	13
Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices	14
Land Tenure in Kalaoa and Vicinity	24
TWENTIETH CENTURY RESSURGENCE OF CULTURAL ACTIVITY AT HO‘ONĀ	61
3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE HO‘ONĀ AREA.....	63
INADVERTENT DISCOVERIES AND REBURIALS (1992-1995)	74
CURRENT CONDITIONS	76
INTERPRETATION AND SIGNIFICANCE	89
4. MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS	90

FIGURES

	Page
1. Study area location.....	1
2. Tax Map Key (TMK): (3) 7-3-043 with Ho‘onā Historic Preserve shaded in red within Parcel 042.....	2
3. Location of Ho‘onā Historic Preserve.	3
4. Google Earth TM image of the coastal portion of the HOST Park showing the location of Ho‘onā (outlined in red).....	4
5. The general area of North Kona traditionally known as <i>Kekaha</i>	5
6. Coastal portion of Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 1449 (prepared by J. S. Emerson, Sept. 1888) with the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve annotated in red.	7
7. Ho‘onā Historic Preserve, view to the south from Makako Bay.	8
8. Cobble beach at northern end of the preserve.....	8
9. One of several small anchialine pond within the preserve.	9
10. Wave deposited boulders and sand fronting the preserve.....	9
11. Cleared vegetation in the central portion of the preserve.	10
12. Area of thick vegetation inland from the anchialine ponds.	10
13. Sparse vegetation on the raised inland <i>pāhoehoe</i> portion of the preserve.	11
14. Rock bordered former Jeep road, now preserve access road.	11
15. Maintained camping area in the central portion of the preserve.....	12
16. LCAw. 7899 awarded to Kupuoē (<i>Māhele</i> Book Vol. 7:185).....	26

17. LCAw. 7937 awarded to Kukaau (Māhele Book Vol. 7:184).	26
18. Copy of Native Register Vol. 8:514 Helu 7926, claim of Kanahele for <i>kuleana</i> at Kalaoa 5 th	27
19. Copy of Native Register Vol. 8:516 Helu 7939, claim of Kanahele for <i>kuleana</i> at Kalaoa 5 th	27
20. Portion of Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 1449 (prepared by J. S. Emerson, Sept. 1888).	30
21. Portion of Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 1280.	31
22. <i>Kii o na alanui o Kona Akau</i> (diagram of the roads of North Kona); J. Kaelemakule Sr., Road Supervisor (HAS – Roads, Hawaii; December 22, 1890).	37
23. Portion of 1882 Register Map No. 1280 showing original boundaries of Grant No. 1590, to Kauhini.	40
24. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:53 (State Survey Division).	45
25. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:69 (State Survey Division).	46
26. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:73 (State Survey Division).	47
27. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 254:77 (State Survey Division).	48
28. Portion of Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 1512 (Homestead Map No. 6; prepared by J.S. Emerson, January, 1889).	50
29. Portion of the 1924 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle showing the current study area in red.	53
30. Portion of North Kona Island of Hawai‘i showing the <i>ahupua‘a</i> between Kau and Kealakehe (July 1930).	54
31. Portion of the 1959 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle.	56
32. January 17, 1965 aerial photograph showing the Kekaha lands in the vicinity of the current study area.	57
33. Oblique aerial view of the completed Keāhole Airport facility taken on October 6, 1971. ...	58
34. Map of the initial 322-acre NELH site (traced by G.H. Kurosaki on April 1984).	58
35. March 27, 1977 aerial photograph showing the completed NELH access road.	59
36. Oblique aerial view of the initial NELH facilities under construction in 1980.	59
37. Map of the expanded NELH and HOST Park site (prepared on September 12, 2000).	60
38. Concreted memorial feature for Alan Souza at SIHP Site 10196.	62
39. Plan view of Site D-16-7 (from Cordy 1975).	64
40. Plan view of Site D16-10 (from Cordy 1975).	65
41. Plan view of Site D16-11 (from Cordy 1975).	65
42. Profiles of excavations at D16-6-1, D16-7-3 and D16-9 (from Cordy 1975).	66
43. Plan view of Site D16-6-2 (from Clark 1984).	68
44. Plan view of Sites 10195 (from Barrera 1989).	69
45. Plan view of Sites 10196 (from Barrera 1989).	70
46. Plan view of Sites 10199 (from Barrera 1989).	70
47. Plan view of Sites 10200 (from Barrera 1989).	70
48. 1997 sketch map of Ho‘onā prepared by Marc Smith of DLNR-SHPD.	72
49. Sketch map accompanying Cordy’s memorandum of December 15, 1995.	75
50. Location of Case 572 known graves ca. 1996 (after reproduction in Al Souza interview notes).	76
51. Map of cultural features within the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve.	77
52. Location 1.	78
53. Location 2.	78

54. Location 3.	79
55. Location 4.	79
56. Location 5.	80
57. Location 6 interior view.	80
58. Location 6, view to the north.	81
59. Location 7 <i>papamū</i> and pecking.	81
60. Location 7 petroglyph.	82
61. Location 8.	82
62. Location 9.	83
63. Location 10.	83
64. Location 11.	84
65. Location 12, view <i>makai</i>	84
66. Location 12 interpretive sign.	85
67. Location 13.	85
68. Location 14.	86
69. Location 15.	86
70. Location 16.	87
71. Location 17.	87
72. Location 18.	88
73. Location 19.	88
74. Location 20.	89

TABLES

	Page
1. Distribution of Kalaoa during the <i>Māhele ‘Āina</i> of 1848 (Soehren 2005).	25
2. Correlation of Reinecke’s Site 86 features with Bishop Museum and SIHP site numbers.	64

1. INTRODUCTION

At the request of Gregory Barbour, Executive Director, Natural Energy Laboratory Hawai'i Authority (NELHA), ASM Affiliates (ASM) has prepared this archaeological and cultural review and assessment of the Ho'onā Historic Preserve (Ho'onā). Located along the shore in the northwestern portion of the NELHA HOST Park (Figure 1), Ho'onā occupies a roughly 11.5 acre portion (Figure 2) of a larger 162 acre shoreline setback lot (TMK: (3) 7-3-43:042). Ho'onā is situated in Kalaoa Ahupua'a, North Kona District, Island of Hawai'i (Figures 3 and 4), within a larger landscape traditionally known as *Kekaha* (Figure 5). As a cultural place Ho'onā is steeped in legendary history dating back centuries with continual habitation use extending into the 1800s. Then, after a roughly 100 year habitation hiatus, cultural activities at Ho'onā experienced a resurgence in the late twentieth century. NELHA acknowledges the cultural significance of Ho'onā, and its current administration finds itself in an awkward position of having to appropriately manage and steward a "living" cultural landscape. While such management and stewardship does fit within their adopted Strategic Plan, their institutional expertise lies in the fields of economy and science.

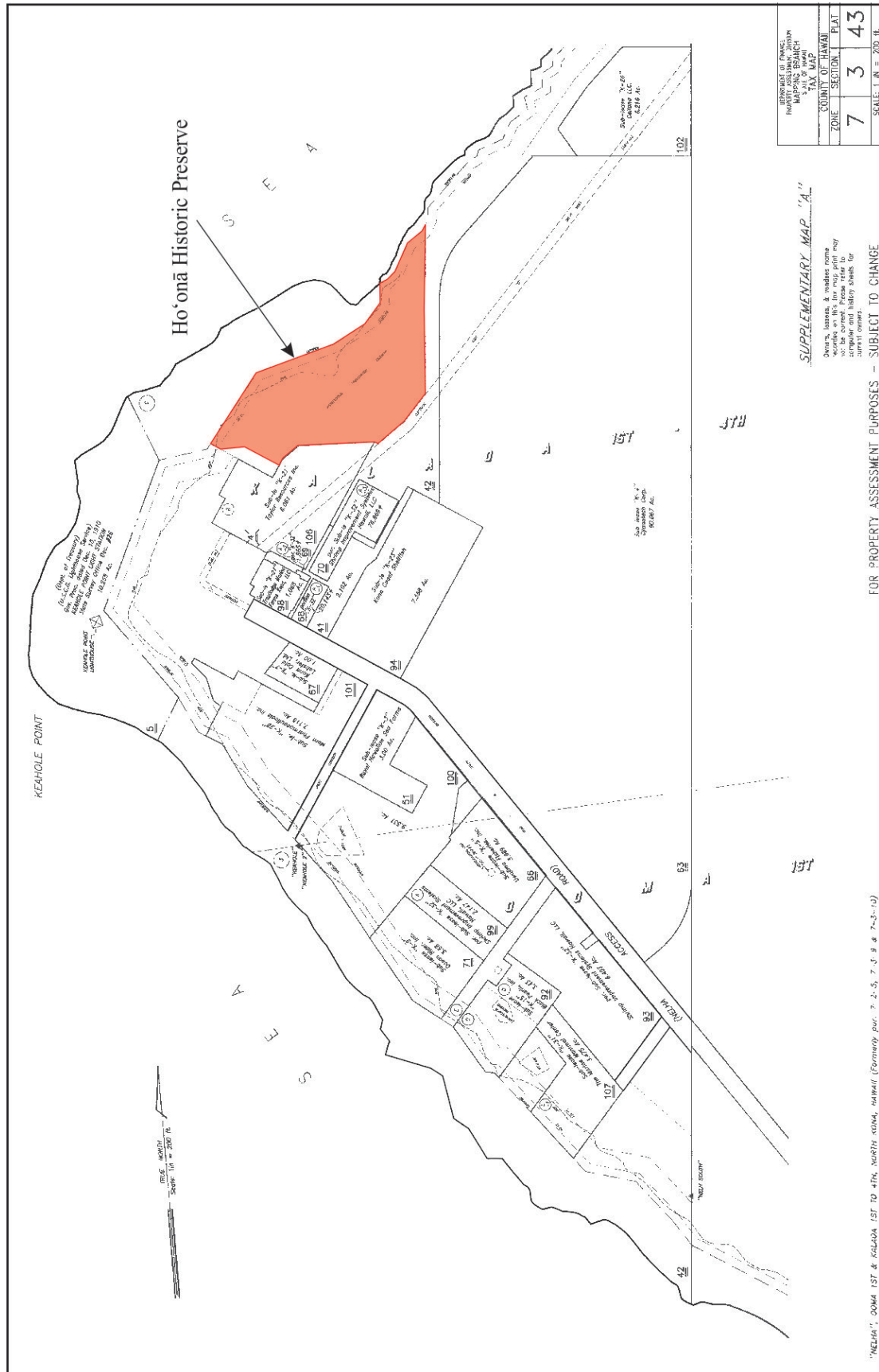
NELHA's stated mission is to develop and diversify the Hawai'i economy by providing resources and facilities for energy and ocean-related research, education, and commercial activities in an environmentally sound and culturally sensitive manner. A 2011 Master Plan prepared by Group 70 International, Inc. sets 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).

The current study is the fourth and final phase (Phase 2c) of on-going archaeological/cultural work being conducted by ASM within the NELHA administered lands. The first two phases (Phase 1 and 2a) were archaeological inventory surveys that included 210 acres on the north side of Makako Bay Drive (Phase 1) and 110 acres on the south side of Makako Bay Drive (Phase 2a). The third phase (Phase 2b) involved the preparation of a preservation plan for a 1.3 acre area that contains SIHP Site 10205.

The current study was prepared to provide NELHA with an understanding of both the ancient and modern cultural landscapes of Ho'onā, as well as to develop management recommendation for the continued stewardship of this area. This report contains background information describing Ho'onā's physical setting and outlining both regional and Ho'onā specific culture-historical contexts; and provides a summary of prior archaeological investigations, general descriptions of the resources present, interpretation and assessment of the resources, and management recommendations for the continued protection of the Ho'onā Historic Preserve.



Figure 1. Study area location.



An Archaeological Review and Assessment, Ho‘onā



Figure 4. Google Earth™ image of the coastal portion of the HOST Park showing the location of Ho'onā (outlined in red).



Figure 5. The general area of North Kona traditionally known as *Kekaha*.

2. BACKGROUND

To provide a comprehensive understanding of the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve, a physical description the area is provided followed by a presentation of the culture-historical contexts for both the general *Kekaha* region and specific to Ho‘onā.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE HO‘ONĀ HISTORIC PRESERVE

The Ho‘onā Historic Preserve encompasses roughly 11.5 acres of undeveloped land (TMK: (3) 7-3-43:042 por.) within the NELHA HOST Park in what was formerly (in 1888) identified as Hawaiian Government owned Lot 29a (Figure 6) in Kalaoa 1-4 Ahupua‘a, North Kona District, Island of Hawai‘i. The larger TMK: (3) 7-3-043:042 is a 162-acre preserve parcel, which extends along the entire coastal strip of the NELHA administered lands (see Figure 2). Elevation within Ho‘onā ranges from 0 to 10 feet above sea level, and the terrain is characterized by weathered *pāhoehoe* lava flows that emanated from Hualālai between 1,500 and 3,000 years ago (Wolfe and Morris 1996). The northeastern edge of the area also includes a small portion of the most recent *pahoehoe* lava flow from Hualālai, dating to A.D. 1800-1801. This coastal area of the *Kekaha* region of North Kona features a hot, dry climate, receiving roughly 10 inches of rain per year. Mean annual temperatures range from 70 to 76 degrees Fahrenheit (Donham 1987).

The Ho‘onā Historic Preserve is bounded to the south and east by previously developed portions of the NELHA HOST Park, and to the north and west by the certified shoreline setback that follows the coastal contours of the Pacific Ocean. The coastal edge of the preserve consists of a 30 to 60 meter wide bedrock shelf (Figure 7) that is covered at its northern end by a small beach of coral and basalt cobbles (Figure 8). Several small anchialine ponds are present at the inland edge of this cobble beach deposit (Figure 9). To the southwest of the cobbles, the bedrock shelf is lined along its inland edge by wave deposited boulders (Figure 10). Inland of the boulders, and inland of the anchialine ponds, the bedrock ground surface is covered by a 40 to 90 meter wide deposit of white beach sand that fills in the low-lying areas between the coastal shelf and the more elevated bedrock that forms the *mauka* portion of the preserve. The low-lying sandy areas contain a thick growth of *kiawe* (*Prosopis pallida*), *naupaka* (*Scaevola taccada*), and beach heliotrope (*Tournefortia argentea*) interspersed with ironwood trees (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) and coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*). The ground vegetation throughout much of the preserve has been cleared to accommodate camping activities (Figure 11). Vegetation is currently thickest in the western corner of the sand deposit inland of the anchialine ponds, where a thick growth of *kiawe* trees makes movement through the area difficult (Figure 12). The sand within the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve terminates at a bedrock rise ranging from 0.5 to 2 meters tall. Inland of this natural contour the *pahoehoe* bedrock is fairly level, containing a few small pit craters, and very little vegetation cover except fountain grass (*Pennisetum setaceum*) (Figure 13).

A 4WD road (Coastal Jeep road) accesses the preserve from the southwest, along the coastal edge of the NELHA HOST Park. The road is gated at the southern edge of the preserve. Within the preserve it has been rock lined along both edges (Figure 14) as it meanders across the sand to a central camping location that contains a stone barbeque, a shower, and several nicely maintained tent areas (Figure 15). A number of modern garden beds with waterlines running to them and several recently constructed rock walls are present in the vicinity of the camping area.



Figure 6. Coastal portion of Hawai'i Registered Map No. 1449 (prepared by J. S. Emerson, Sept. 1888) with the Ho'ōnā Histoic Preserve annotated in red.



Figure 7. Ho'onā Historic Preserve, view to the south from Makako Bay.



Figure 8. Cobble beach at northern end of the preserve.



Figure 9. One of several small anchialine pond within the preserve.



Figure 10. Wave deposited boulders and sand fronting the preserve.



Figure 11. Cleared vegetation in the central portion of the preserve.



Figure 12. Area of thick vegetation inland from the anchialine ponds.



Figure 13. Sparse vegetation on the raised inland *pāhoehoe* portion of the preserve.



Figure 14. Rock bordered former Jeep road, now preserve access road.



Figure 15. Maintained camping area in the central portion of the preserve.

CULTURE-HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

While the physical study area is a roughly 11.5-acre portion of Kalaoa Ahupua‘a, in an effort to provide a holistic understanding of Ho‘onā, this section of the report provides a culture-historical view of Ho‘onā through the lens of the Kalaoa *ahupua‘a* and the *Kekaha* region.

Rechtman and Maly (2003) and Rechtman (2006) previously prepared Cultural Impact Assessments for projects within 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 ‘Aina* (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.

Much of the following is reproduced (modified and reorganized slightly) from the comprehensive background sections presented in the Rechtman and Maly (2003) and Rechtman (2006) studies. Additional information and emphasis has been added to elucidate and highlight people, places, and events associated specifically with Ho‘onā.

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 the Hawaiian Islands in the context of settlement that resulted from voyages taken across the open ocean. For many years, researchers have 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, Kirch (2011) and others (Athens et al. 2014; Wilmshurst et al. 2011) have convincingly argued that Polynesians may not have arrived to the Hawaiian Islands until at least A.D. 1000, but expanded rapidly thereafter.

For generations following initial settlement, communities were clustered along the watered, windward (*ko‘olau*) shores of the Hawaiian Islands. Along the *ko‘olau* shores, streams flowed and rainfall was abundant, and agricultural production became established. The *ko‘olau* region also offered sheltered bays from which deep sea fisheries could be easily accessed, and near shore fisheries, enriched by nutrients carried in the fresh water, could be maintained in fishponds and coastal waters. It was around these bays that clusters of houses where families lived could be found (McEldowney 1979:15). In these early times, Hawai‘i’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-Kealahou, 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 *kēhau* and *kēwai* (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. (1972:14), 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 . . .

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-Lihoa 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 'ōpuā" (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 *ahupua'a* of Kalaoa and the village of Ho'onā 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.

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 name has been located.

The Environment 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* (*Caesalpinia kawaiensis*), 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).

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 *Ke-ala‘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 Hōkū 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 kākāka, nā li‘i o Kona, pūhe‘e aku la a noho i kahakai kāhi o ka wai e ola ai nā kākāka – 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)

The practice of traveling between upland and coastal communities in *Kekaha* greatly decreased by the middle nineteenth century, but is known from oral traditions and archaeological evidence that such practices continued in various forms at Ho‘onā into the late nineteenth century.

Native Traditions and Historical Accounts of Kalaoa and the Kekaha Region

This section of the study presents *mo‘olelo*—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 this *ahupua‘a*, 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 Kai‘ale‘ale 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 Kai‘ale‘ale behind. Punia tricked Kai‘ale‘ale into swallowing him whole. Once inside

Kai‘ale‘ale, 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 Kai‘ale‘ale, causing great pain to the shark. In his weakened state, Kai‘ale‘ale 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:

<i>Auwe no hoi kuu makuakane o keia kaha e!</i>	Alas, O my father of these coasts!
<i>Elua wale no maua lawaia o keia wahi.</i>	We were the only two fishermen of this place (Kaha).
<i>Owau no o ko‘u makuakane,</i>	Myself and my father,
<i>E hoowili aku ai maua i ka ia o ianei,</i>	Where we used to twist the fish up in the nets,
<i>O kala, o ka uhu, o ka palani,</i>	The kala, the uhu, the palani,
<i>O ka ia ku o ua wahi nei la,</i>	The transient fish of this place.
<i>Ua hele wale ia no e maua keia kai la!</i>	We have traveled over all these seas,
<i>Pau na kuuna, na lua, na puka ia.</i>	All the different place, the holes, the runs.
<i>Make ko‘u makuakane, koe au.</i>	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-Līloa 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 Makaula¹. 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, Ko‘i 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 Kaeleluluhulu, where the fleet for aku fishing had been since the early morning hours. The sustenance of those lands was fish.

¹ Kalāhuipua‘a is situated in the district of Kohala, bounding the northern side of Pu‘uanahulu in *Kekaha*. Maka‘ula is situated a north of Kalaoa.

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 pahoe-hoe. 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)

Ka-Lani-Kau-i-ke-Aouli (Kamehameha III)

In ca. 1813, Ka-lani Kau-i-ke-aouli, who grew up to become Kamehameha III, was born. S.M. Kamakau (1961) tells us that the baby appeared to be still-born, but that shortly after birth, he was revived. Upon the revival of the baby, he was given to the care of Ka-iki-o-'ewa, who with Keawe-a-mahi and family, raised the child in seclusion at 'O'oma (just to the south of Kalaoa) for the first five years of the young king's life. Kauikeaouli apparently held some interest in the land of 'O'oma 2nd through the *Māhele 'Āina*, as he originally claimed 'O'oma 2nd as his personal property, but later gave it up to the Kingdom (see records of *Māhele 'Āina* in this study).

Kamakau provides us with the following description of Kauikeaouli's birth and early life at 'O'oma:

Ka-lani-kau-i-ke-aouli was the second son of Ke-opu-o-lani by Kamehameha, and she called him Kiwala'o after her own father. She was the daughter of Kiwala'o and Ke-ku'i-apo-iwa Liliha, both children of Ka-Iola Pupuka-o-Hono-ka-wai-lani, and hence she [Ke-opu-o-lani] was a *ni'auipi'o* and a *naha* chiefess, and the *ni'auipi'o* rank descended to her children and could not be lost by them. While she was carrying the child [Kau-i-ke-aouli] several of the chiefs begged to have the bringing up of the child, but she refused until her *kahu*, Ka-lua-i-konahale, known as Kua-kini, came with the same request. She bade him be at her side when the child was born lest some one else get possession of it. He was living this side of Keauhou in North Kona, and Ke-opu-o-lani lived on the opposite side.

On the night of the birth the chiefs gathered about the mother. Early in the morning the child was born but as it appeared to be stillborn Kua-kini did not want to take it. Then came Ka-iki-o-'ewa from some miles away, close to Kuamo'o, and brought with him his prophet who said, "The child will not die, he will live." This man, Ka-malo-'ihi or Ka-pihe by name, came from the Napua line of kahunas descended from Makua-kau-mana whose god was Ka-'onohi-o-ka-la (similar to the child of God). The child was well cleaned and laid upon a consecrated place and the seer (*kaula*) took a fan (*pe'ahi*), fanned the child, prayed, and sprinkled it with water, at the same time reciting a prayer addressed to the child of God, something like that used by the Roman Catholics—

"He is standing up, he is taking a step, he walks"
(*Kulia-la, ka'ina-la, hele ia la*).

Or another—

*Huila ka lani i ke Akua,
Lapalapa ka honua i ke keiki
E ke keiki e, hooua i ka punohu lani,
Aia i ka lani ka Haku e,
O ku'u 'uhane e kahe mau,
I la'a i kou kanawai.*

The heavens lighten with the god,
The earth burns with the child,
O son, pour down the rain that brings the rainbow,
There in heaven is the Lord.
Life flows through my spirit,
Dedicated to your law.

The child began to move, then to make sounds, and at last it came to life. The seer gave the boy the name of "The red trail" (Ke-aweawe-'ula) signifying the roadway by which the god descends from the heavens.

Ka-iki-o-'ewa became the boy's guardian and took him to rear in an out-of-the-way place at 'O'oma, Kekaha. Here Keawe-a-mahi, the lesser chiefs, the younger brothers and sisters of Ka-iki-o-'ewa, and their friends were permitted to carry the child about and hold him on their laps (*uha*). Ka-pololu was the chief who attended him; Ko'i-pepeleleu and Ulu-nui's mother [were] the nurses who suckled him. Later Ka-'ai-kane gave him her breast after she had given birth to Ke-kahu-pu'u. Here

at ‘O‘oma he was brought up until his fifth year, chiefly occupied with his toy boats rigged like warships and with little brass cannon loaded with real powder mounted on [their] decks. The firing off of these cannon amused him immensely. He excelled in foot races. On one occasion when the bigger boys had joined in the sport, a [rascal] boy named Ka-hoa thought to play a practical joke by smearing with mud the stake set up to be grasped by the one who first reached the goal. He expected one of the larger boys to be the winner, but it was the little prince who first caught the stick and had his hands smeared. “You will be burnt alive for dirtying up the prince. We are going to tell Kapololu on you!” the boys threatened; but the prince objected, saying, “Anyone who tells on him shall never eat with me again or play with me and I will never give him anything again.” Kau-i-ke-aouli was a splendid little fellow. He loved his playmates and never once did them any hurt, and he was kind and obedient to his teachers... (Kamakau 1961:263-264)

“*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; 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 Kalaoa, and neighboring lands. Through the narratives, we learn of placename 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 placenames 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 placenames may not be entirely “ancient,” such placename-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). 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):

...Kūmua was the husband of Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. The place that is named for Kūmua is in the uplands of Kohanaiki, 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.

Wailoa, a daughter, was the mother of Kapa'ihilani, also called Kapa'ihī. There is a place in the uplands of Kohanaiki, below Kūmua, to the northwest, a hidden water hole, that is called Kapa'ihī. 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.

Pipipi'apo'o was another daughter of Kūmua and Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka. She married Haleolono, one who cultivated sweet potatoes upon the 'ilima covered flat lands of Nānāwale, also called Nāhi'ahu (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.

Kapukalua was a son of Kūmua and Ka'uluhe. He was an expert at *aku* lure fishing, and all other methods of fishing of those days gone by. He married Kauhi'onohua a beauty with skin as soft as the blossoms of the *hīnana*, found in the pandanus grove of 'O'oma. This girl was pleasingly beautiful, and because of her fame, Kapukalua, the exceptionally skilled son of the sea spray of 'Apo'ula, 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 *kēhau* 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 'Elepaio, Pūhili, Kalua'ōlapa, and Kalua'ōlapa-uwila 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]

Pūhili was the high priest of 'O'oma and Kohanaiki, 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.

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

Kalua'ōlapa-uwila was the high priest of Kealakehe and Ke'ohu'olu (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 Kaiwi, 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 Hōkū 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.

Wawaloli 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 *hīnālea*, and then for *kaweke‘ā*. 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*, ‘*ōpihi*’, and *pūpū* 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 kīkewekewe*²

Oh great Loli moving back and forth

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.

<i>I ka hana ana kīkewekewe</i>	Doing your work moving back and forth
<i>I ku‘u piko kīkewekewe</i>	You are in my mind moving back and forth
<i>A ka makua kīkewekewe</i>	The parents moving back and forth
<i>I hana ai kīkewekewe</i>	Are at their work moving back and forth
<i>E pi‘i mai ‘oe kīkewekewe</i>	Won’t you arise moving back and forth
<i>Ka kaua puni kīkewekewe</i>	To that which we two desire moving back and forth
<i>Puni kauoha kīkewekewe</i>	Your command is desired 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*, ‘*ōpihi* and *pūpū*?” 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.”

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 —

<i>E Loli nui kīkewekewe</i>	Oh great Loli moving back and forth
<i>I ka hana ana kīkewekewe</i>	Doing your work moving back and forth
<i>I ku‘u piko kīkewekewe</i>	You are the center of my life moving back and forth
<i>Piko maika‘i kīkewekewe</i>	It is good moving back and forth
<i>A ka makua kīkewekewe</i>	The parents moving back and forth
<i>I hana ai kīkewekewe</i>	Are at their work moving back and forth
<i>E pi‘i mai ‘oe kīkewekewe</i>	Won’t you arise moving back and forth
<i>Ka kaua puni kīkewekewe</i>	To that which we two desire moving back and forth
<i>Puni kauoha kīkewekewe</i>	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 Kalua‘ōlapa 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 specific references to Ho‘onā. 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 Wainānālī‘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 ‘*āholehole*, or a few ‘*ōpae* (shrimp) to take home with her. Kepa‘alani, refused, “they are *kapu*, for the King.” Pele then stood and walked along the *kuapā* (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 Ho‘onā that Kepa‘alani dwelt, that is where the houses in which the chiefs valuables (*hale papa‘a*) 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 Pu‘ukala) 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 Honokōhau. 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 Kīholo where Joseph W. Keala taught, and later J.K. Ka‘ailuwale taught there. At the school of Makalawena, J. Ka‘elemakule Sr., who now resides in Kailua, was the teacher. At the Kalaoa 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 Kaloko, 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. Kanaka‘ole, 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'ika'ula 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 Aihao 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'ā remains. It is the same at Ka'ūpūlehu, the old people are all gone, and it is all quiet... [June 12, 1924]

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, Land Grants in 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. 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 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* set in place a 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”³, 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 was 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 Book*⁴, 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 Kaniū 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.

Table 1. Distribution of Kalaoa during the *Māhele ‘Āina* of 1848 (Soehren 2005).

<i>Ahupua‘a</i>	<i>Returned by</i>	<i>Retained by</i>	<i>Kuleana</i>
Kalaoa 1 st	Keaweamahi	Government	-
Kalaoa 2 nd	Kinimaka	Government	-
Kalaoa 3 rd	Hewahewa	Government	-
Kalaoa 4 th	Leleiohoku	Government	-
Kalaoa 5 th	-	Government	2

*Land surrendered to Government in lieu of commutation fee subsequent to the *Māhele* of 1848.

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. An extensive review of all the records identifies native tenants who filed claims of residency and land use in Kalaoa during the *Māhele*. In Kalaoa 5th two *kuleana* claims were awarded – LCAw. 7899 to Kupuoē and LCAw. 7937 to Kukaui – 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). Kupuoē’s and Kukaui’s awards in Kalaoa 5th (Figures 16 and 17) are as follows:

Kupuoē (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 Kupuoē 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 Kupuoē. In Kalaoa 4, 8 kihapais have been cultivated. Kupuoē’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]

³ See also “*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina*” (Penal Code) 1850.

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

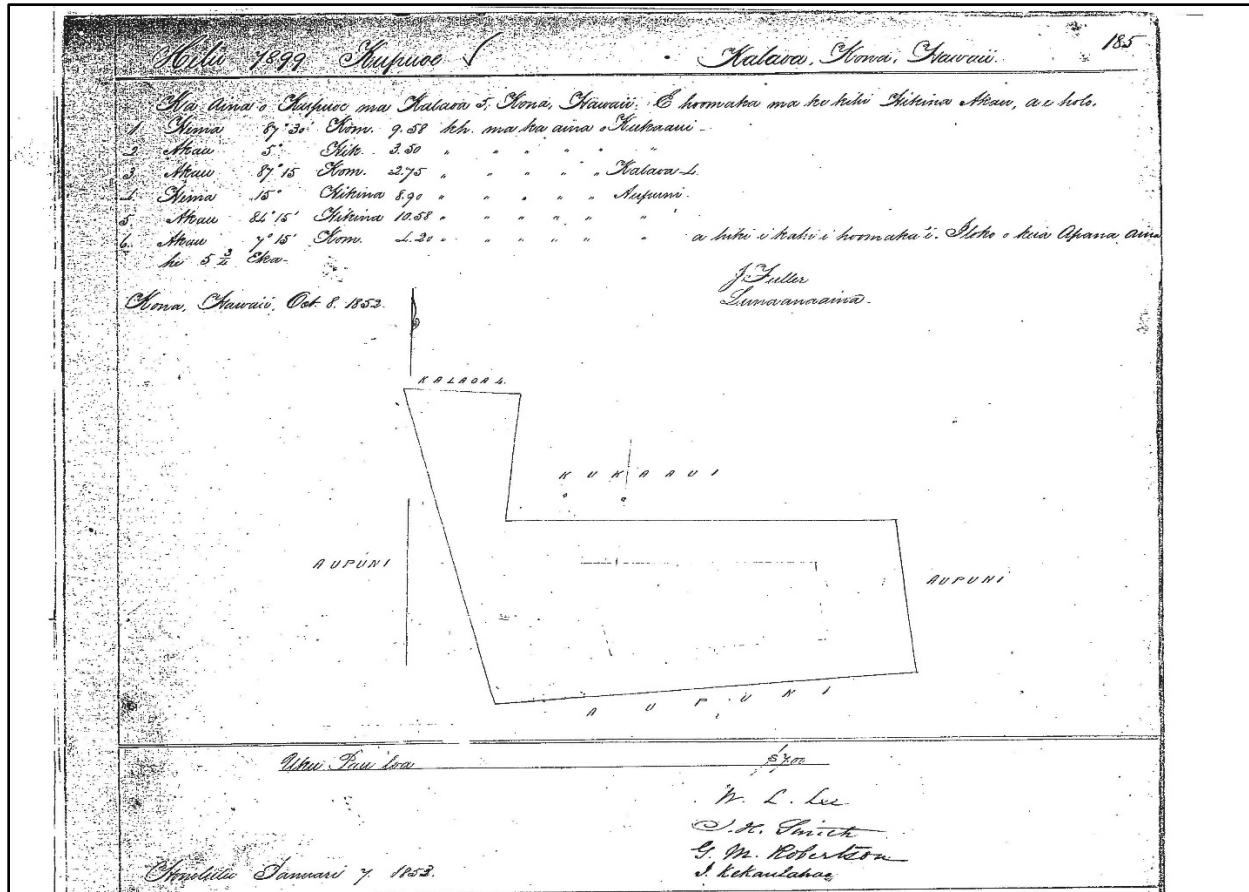


Figure 16. LCAw. 7899 awarded to Kupuoe (Māhele Book Vol. 7:185).

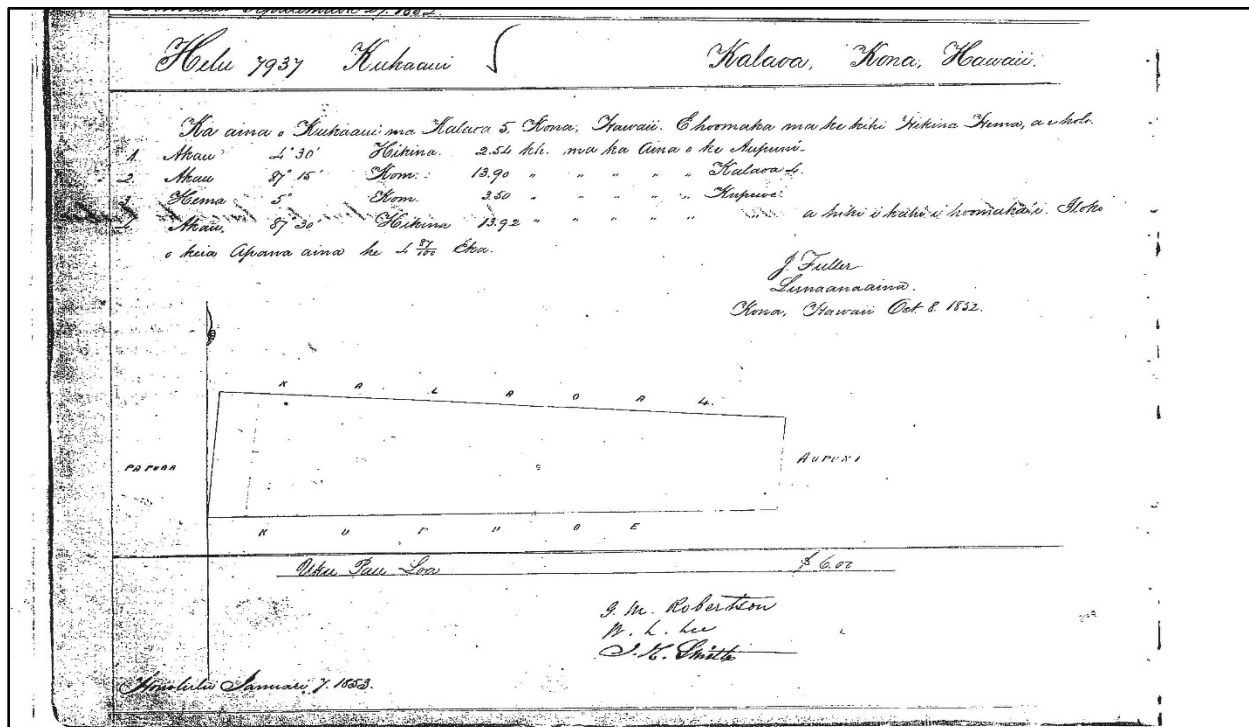


Figure 17. LCAw. 7937 awarded to Kukaau (Māhele Book Vol. 7:184).

Kukaau (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 corner of Kalaoa 5 - its name is Kahuku. It is bounded on the north by Kahuku, on the east by Kapulehu [Ka'ūpūlehu], 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. Kupuoē 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 is presented below (Figures 18 and 19) followed by translations.

7926 Kanahele
 Aloha oukou a fanua i ka pua houna kuleana pahale, ke hoo-
 fii aku nei au i kiu pahale ma Kaula i Kalaoa 5, ma ke
 Ahupuaa o Leleiohoku ma Kailua, ia ma ka pua i ka loa
 528, ia ma ka pua i ka loa 396, ia ma ka pua i kiu pa-
 hale, i kiu oukou a fanua i ka pua houna kuleana
 pahale. Kii ma Kanahele

Figure 18. Copy of Native Register Vol. 8:514 Helu 7926, claim of Kanahele for *kuleana* at Kalaoa 5th.

7939 Kanahele
 Aloha oukou a fanua i ka pua houna kuleana uia, ke hoo-
 fii aku nei au i kiu wahi ili uia ma Kaula i Kalaoa 5, i Kailua i Kaula nei nei, pua i ka
 ano i kiu wahi ili uia, ma ka akau o Kaula, ma ka
 Hikiina o Kaula, ma ka houna o Kaula, ma ka
 houna o Kaula, ia la. Kii ma Kanahele

Figure 19. 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 neighboring 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 the 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, sixteen individual families were identified as resident within the collective Kalaoa ahupua'a. The residents 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

Unfortunately, there is no indication of where people were living at the time. However, based on traditional patterns of residency in the *Kekaha* region, it is likely that they had primary residences in the uplands, near sheltered *māla 'ai* (agricultural fields), and kept near shore residences (perhaps at Ho'onā) 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 and Vicinity (1855-1864)

In conjunction with the *Māhele*, 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, three applications were made for land in Kalaoa 5th, two of which were patented. 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 & Kama	Kalaoa 5 & 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 *Kekaha* lands. 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"

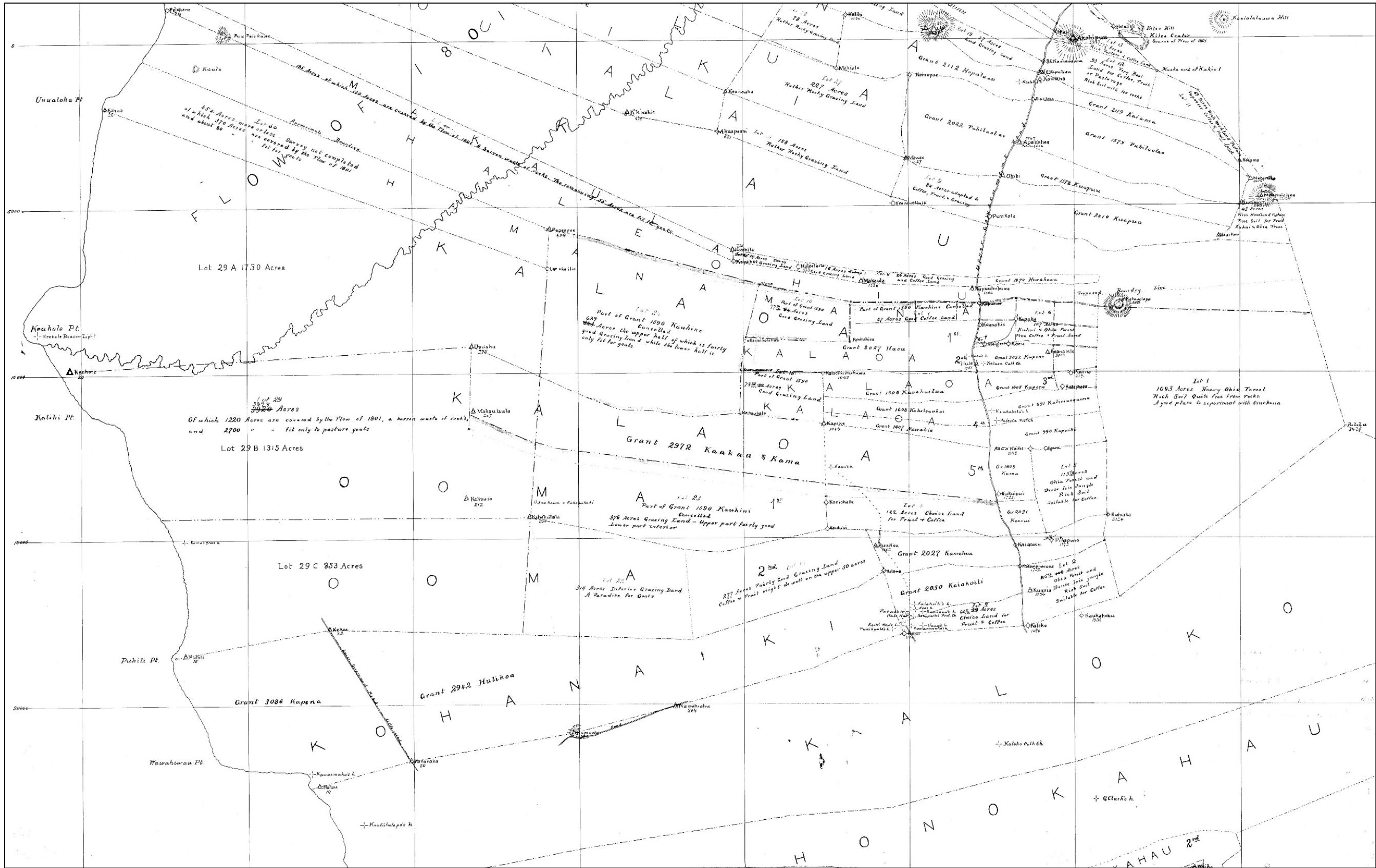
Not in the Mahele book but believed to be Gov't. land. This land above the Govt. Road has been sold and Patented. Below the road I have surveyed 515 acres which was sold by Sheldon to "Kaakau" & "Kama" who payed him \$165.00. As no valuation was made of this land per acre by Sheldon I afterwards valued 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.

Land use and tenure is describe in some of the grant records. Grant No. 1599 (surveyed for Kauhini), was situated across the *kula* lands from O'oma 1st in the south, to Hāmanamana, in the north (inclusive of the Kalaoa Ahupua'a. Communications from the 1880s, indicate that the parcel was never patented, though Kauhini had lived in 'O'oma 1st, through the time of his death (before 1888). J.S. Emerson's Register Map No. 1449 (Figure 20), identifies a Triangulation Station in 'O'oma 1st as "Kauhini." This map also shows the Ho'onā area (unlabeled) to be a portion of a 1730 acre parcel (Lots 29A; see Figure 20). At almost the same time that Kauhini's grant was surveyed, other grants in Kalaoa covering a portion of the area described under Kauhini's grant were patented, including one to Kakau and Kama in Kalaoa 5th (Royal Patent Grant No. 2972). In 1888, this confusing situation was brought to the government's attention in a letter from more than 70 native residents, when the Minister of the Interior was developing homestead lots for applicants (see communications below).

'O'oma grantee Kaakau (Grant No. 1600), also held an interest in Grant No. 2972 in the land of Kalaoa 5th and 'O'oma 1st, which he shared with his relative, Kama. Historic survey records (in Register Maps and Survey Field Books) do identify "Kama's house" near the Wawaloli pond (Register Map No. 1449) in 'O'oma 1st. The same house is later identified as "Keoki Mao's House" (Register Map No. 1280; Figure 21). Kama also received Grant 1609 in Kalaoa 5.



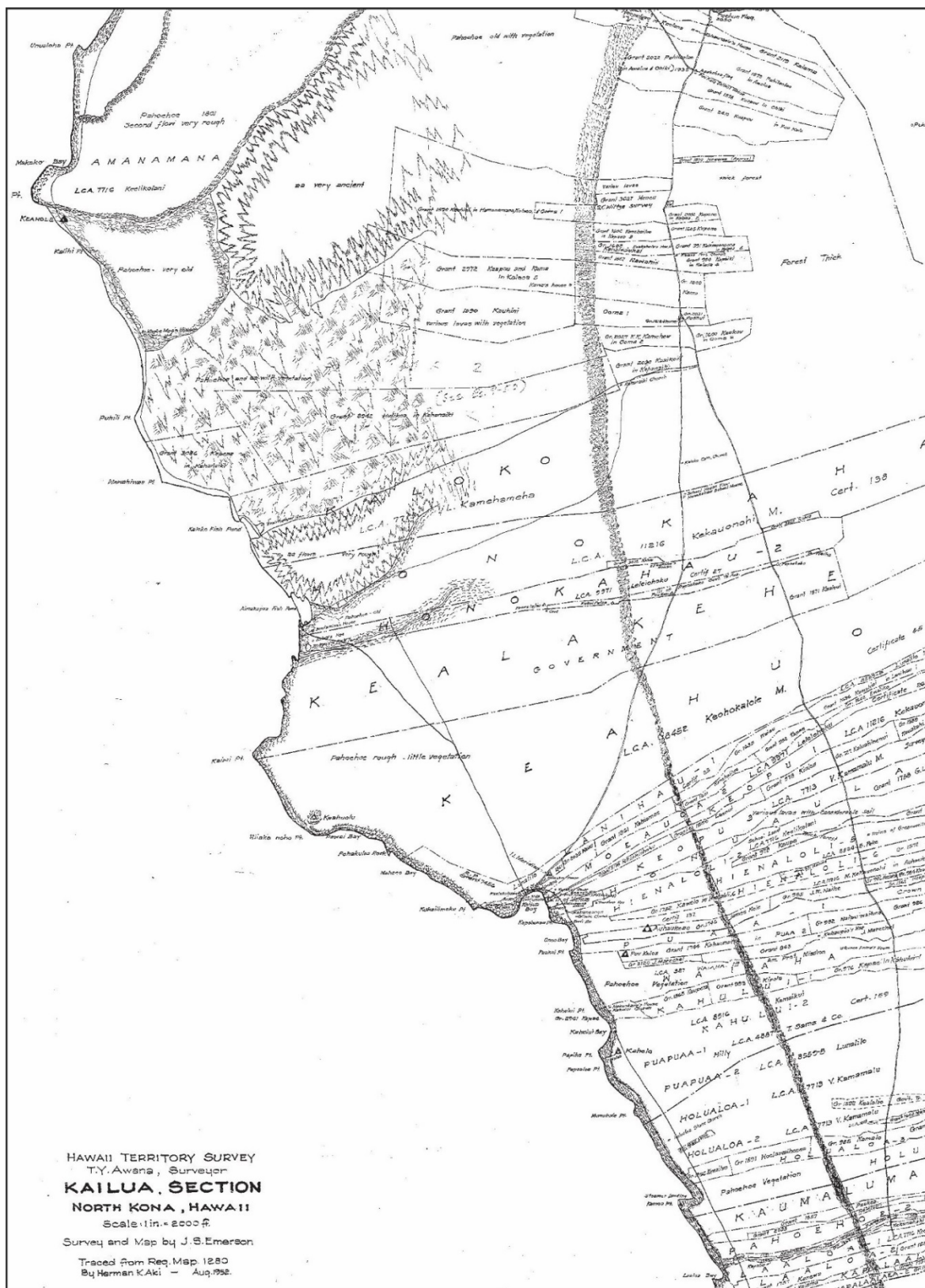


Figure 21. Portion of Hawai'i Registered Map No. 1280.

In 1888, government surveyor J.S. Emerson identified Kama as a resident in ‘O‘oma, near the *mauka* government road (see communication below). This Kama is identified in oral history interviews as being an elder of the Kamaka line, from whom the often-mentioned Palakiko Kamaka and others descend. A temporary beach shelter—in the vicinity of “Kama’s House” marked near the shore of ‘O‘oma 1st on Register Maps 1449 and 1280 (see Figures 20 and 21)—remained in use by family members at least until the outbreak of World War II.

While no formal awards or grants of land appear to have been made for the near shore *kula* or beach lands, it is logical to assume that families living in the uplands of Kalaoa made regular visits to the near shore lands. The practice of continued travel between upland residences and near-shore shelters, is also described by *kūpuna* Peter K. Park, and Elizabeth Lee, who were born and raised in the *mauka* section of ‘O‘oma, and by other *kupuna* from neighboring lands (Rechtman and Maly 2003).

No records indicating that the above Royal Patent Grantees had applied for coastal parcels as a part of their original claims were found by Rechtman and Maly (2003). A further review of the *Māhele* records was also made to determine if any of the grant applicants had been *Māhele* claimants (as is sometimes the case). Their names did not appear in the Register or Testimony volumes for the area.

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 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.

Mokuola⁵ 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 (Rechtman and Maly 2003) describe at least two traditional trails that were of regional importance which pass through the Kalaoa. One trail is the *alaloa*—parts of

⁵ *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.

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 *alalehe* 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). Ho‘onā was likely traditionally accessed along one of these *ala pi‘i uka* that crosses the *kula* lands and may be a trail site recorded as SIHP Site 30315 (Clark et al. 2015).

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 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 ^[6], 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

⁶ 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 *mā* (see Kamakau 1960; and this study).

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.

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 wear 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 it opens 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 $\frac{3}{4}$ 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. Kaelemakule; 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 pahoe-hoe 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 Kukuioohiwai 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. Kaelemakule; 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 22]:

...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]

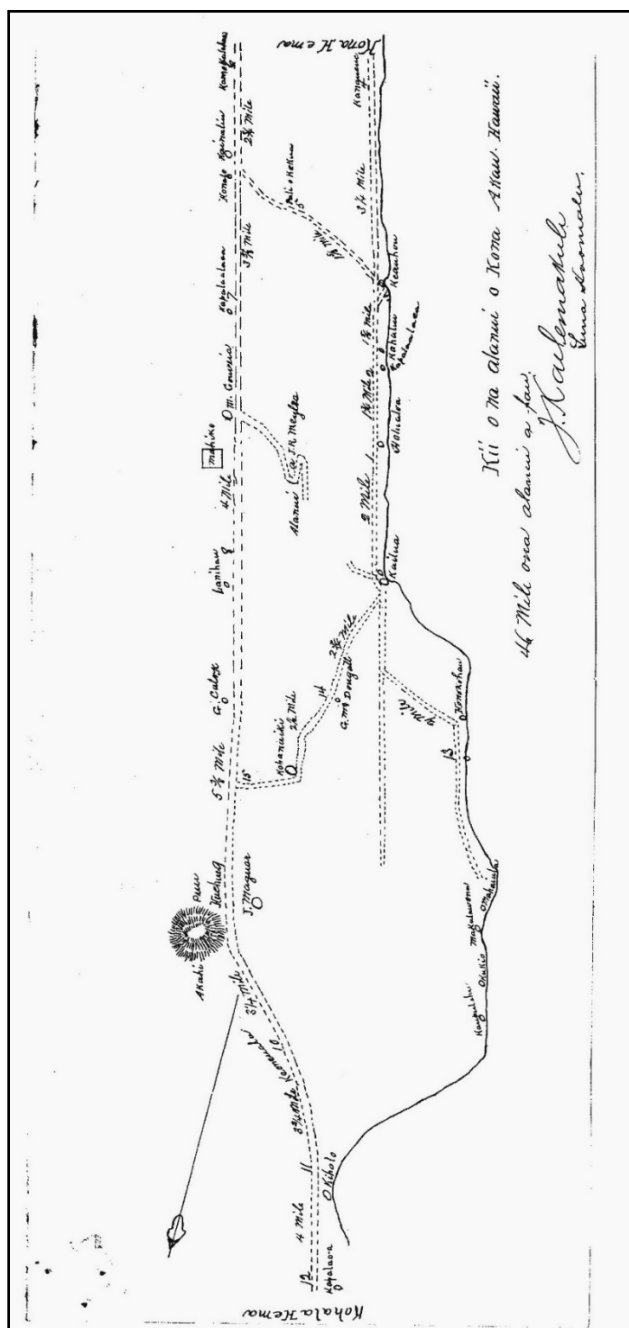


Figure 22. *Kii o na alanui o Kona Akau* (diagram of the roads of North Kona); J. Kaelemakule Sr., Road Supervisor (HAS - Roads, Hawaii; December 22, 1890).

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.

2. Background

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 Kūki‘o 2nd, had been leased to King David Kalākaua 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]:

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

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

[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.

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

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

May 16, 1888

J.F. Brown, Government Surveyor; to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior

... 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

...put in Chi



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 | 10. 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. Kaimulua |
| 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.	Kaumulua \$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)

An interesting set of historic Government records—in the later nineteenth century—are the communications and field notebooks of Kingdom Surveyor, Joseph S. Emerson. Born on O'ahu, 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 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 15). 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 24)

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 – Lae o Keahole. Extremity. In Kalaoa 5.
 - 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 25) 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 26). 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 27) from field Book No. 254 shows the reverse view of Figure 26. 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.

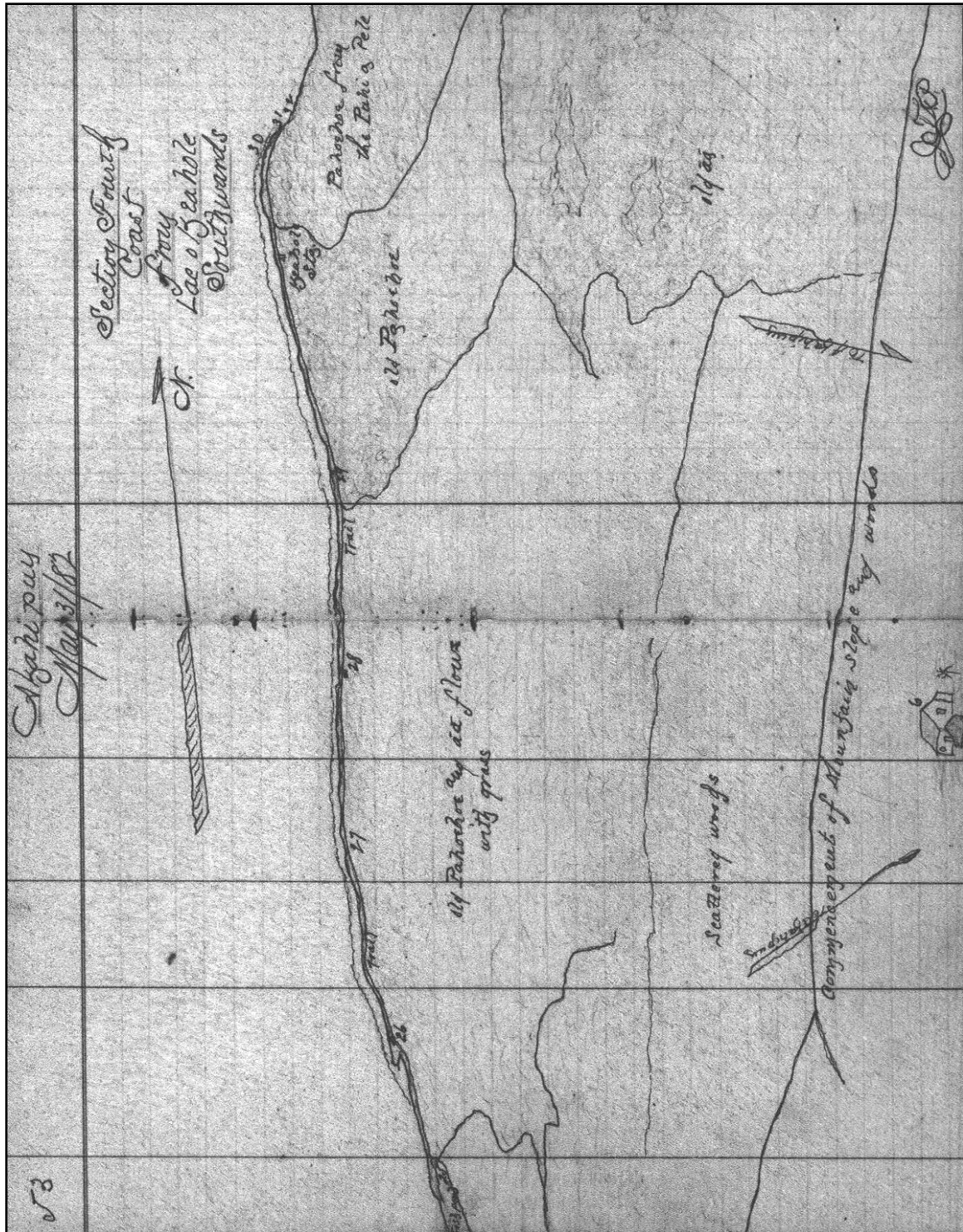


Figure 24. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:53 (State Survey Division).

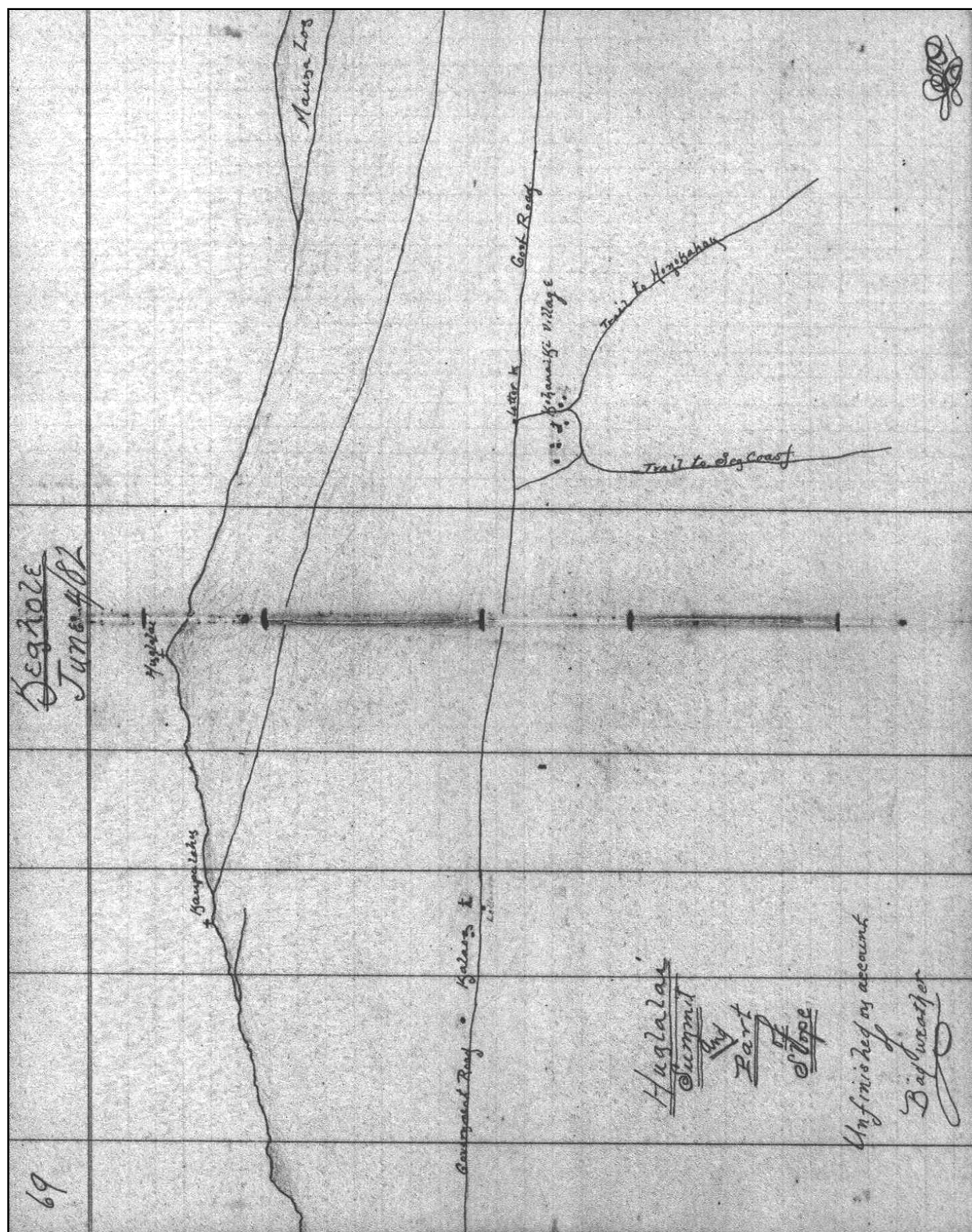


Figure 25. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:69 (State Survey Division).

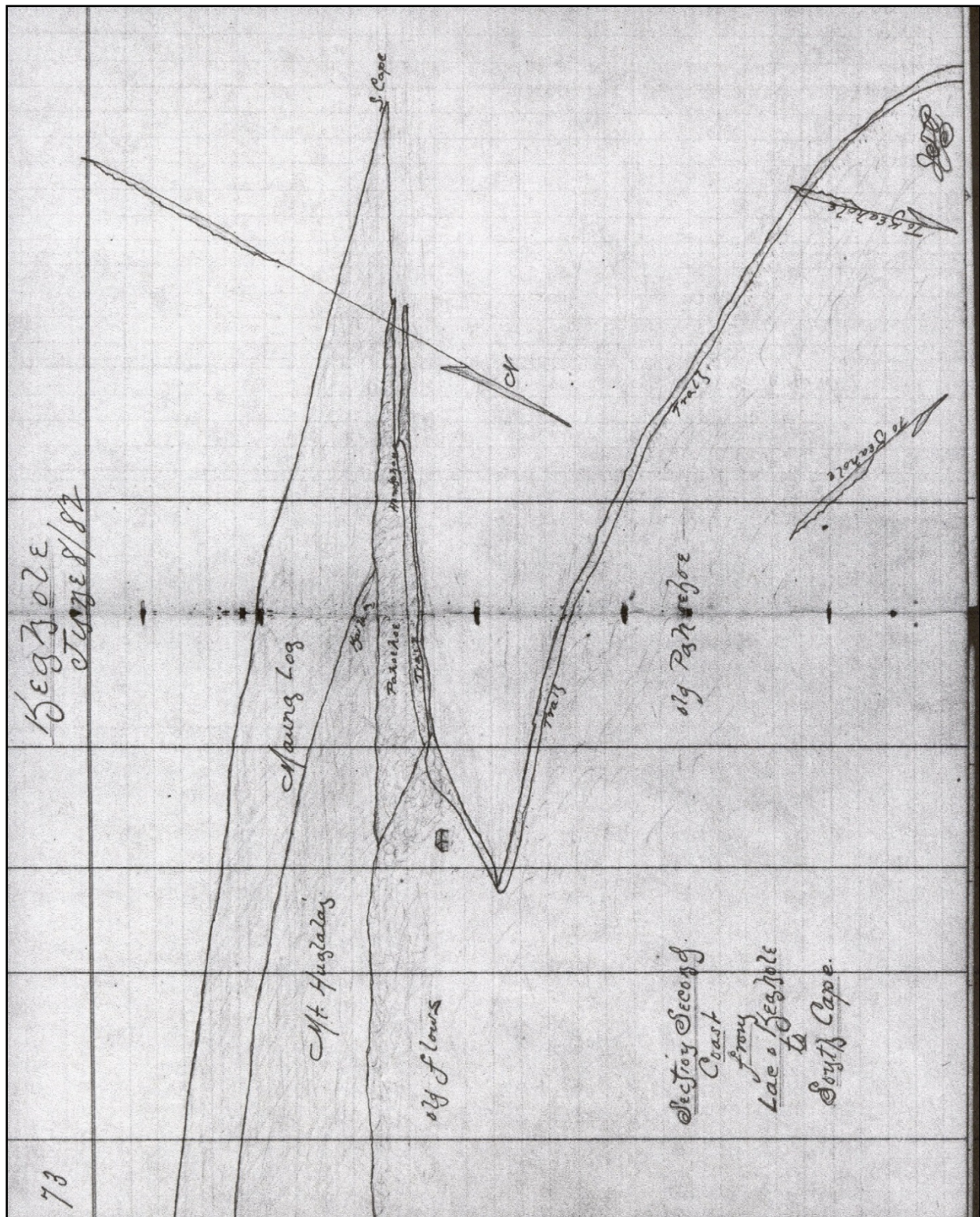


Figure 26. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:73 (State Survey Division).

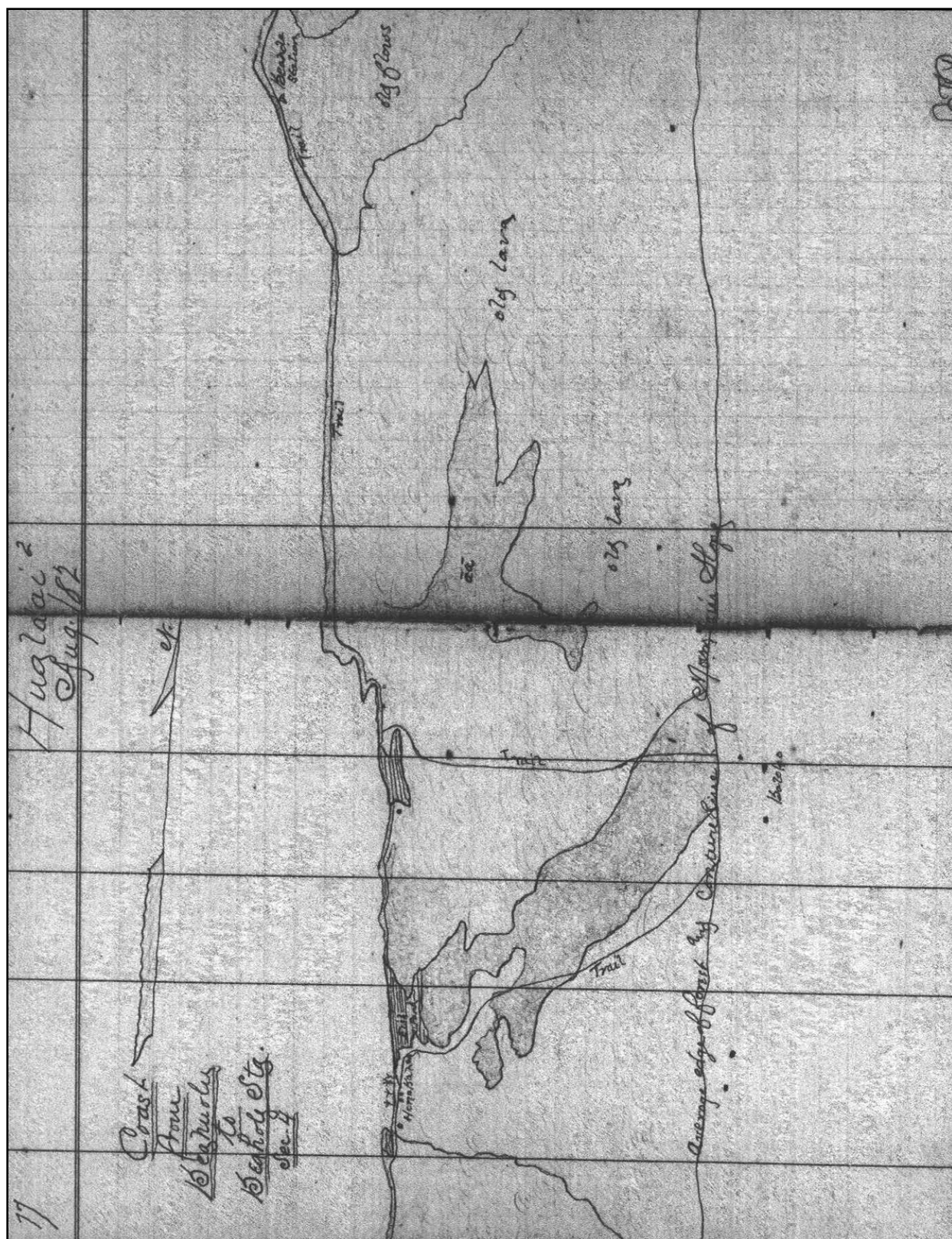


Figure 27. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 254:77 (State Survey Division).

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 Puhiapale 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).

Emerson’s 1888-1889 survey and subdivision of the Akahipuu Section of North Kona (between the *ahupua‘a* of Kohanaiki and Makaula), originally conceived of as twenty-nine lots extending from the ocean to above the upper Government Road (see Figure 20), was later revised to include fifty-nine homestead lots ranging in size from less than 4 acres to more than 45 acres, all located in the *mauka* portions of the *ahupua‘a* (Figure 28). The newly created lots included (by *ahupua‘a* from south to north) thirty-three in Kohanaiki (Lots 1-33; the Kohanaiki Homesteads), four in ‘O‘oma 2nd (Lots 56-59), eight in ‘O‘oma 1st (Lots 48-55), one in Kalaoa 4th (Lot 47), two in Kalaoa 3rd (Lots 34 and 46), one in Kalaoa 2nd (Lot 35), three in Kalaoa 1st (Lots 36, 38, and 40), six in Hamanamana (Lots 37, 39, 41, and 42-44), and one in Makaula (Lot 45). Emerson did not divide the *mauka* lands of Kalaoa 5th, which already belonged to Kaakau and Kama (Grant Nos. 1609 and 2972).

[illegible]

50

The Kalaoa-‘O‘oma Homesteads

In March and April of 1902, S. M. Kananui 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. 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. Kananui’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 Kananui 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. Kupua – Right of Purchase Lease # 34; Lot 5 (cancelled); Kupua’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 Kupua’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).

Twentieth Century Land Tenure

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 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 29) 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 (see Figure 28). 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 30), 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; it is not shown extending to Ho'onā, nor is Ho'onā specifically identified suggesting that it was no longer a habitual place of 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; see Figure 20). 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 31) 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.

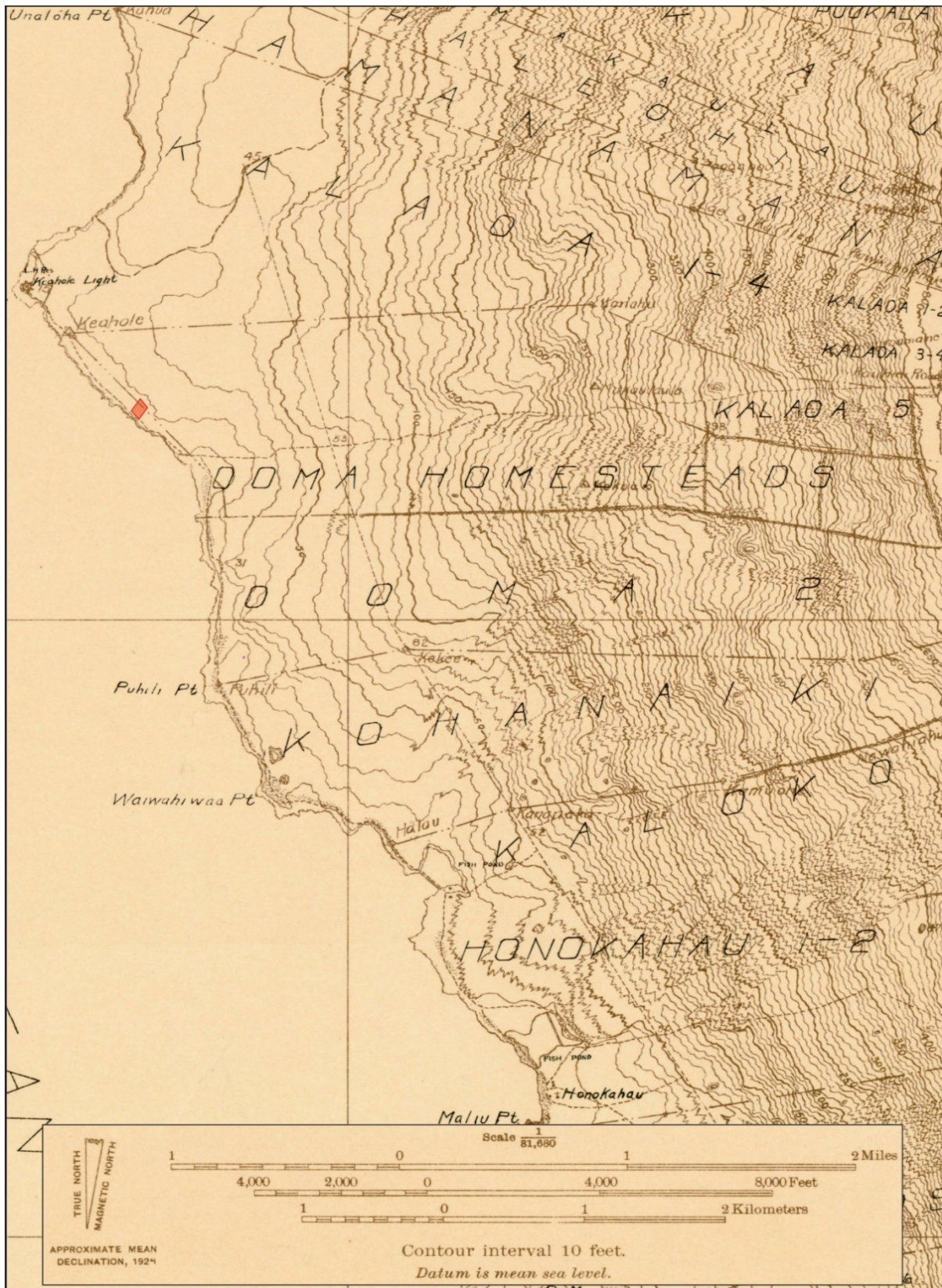


Figure 29. Portion of the 1924 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle showing the current study area in red.



Figure 30. Portion of North Kona Island of Hawai'i showing the ahupua'a between Kau and Kealakehe (July 1930).

2. Background

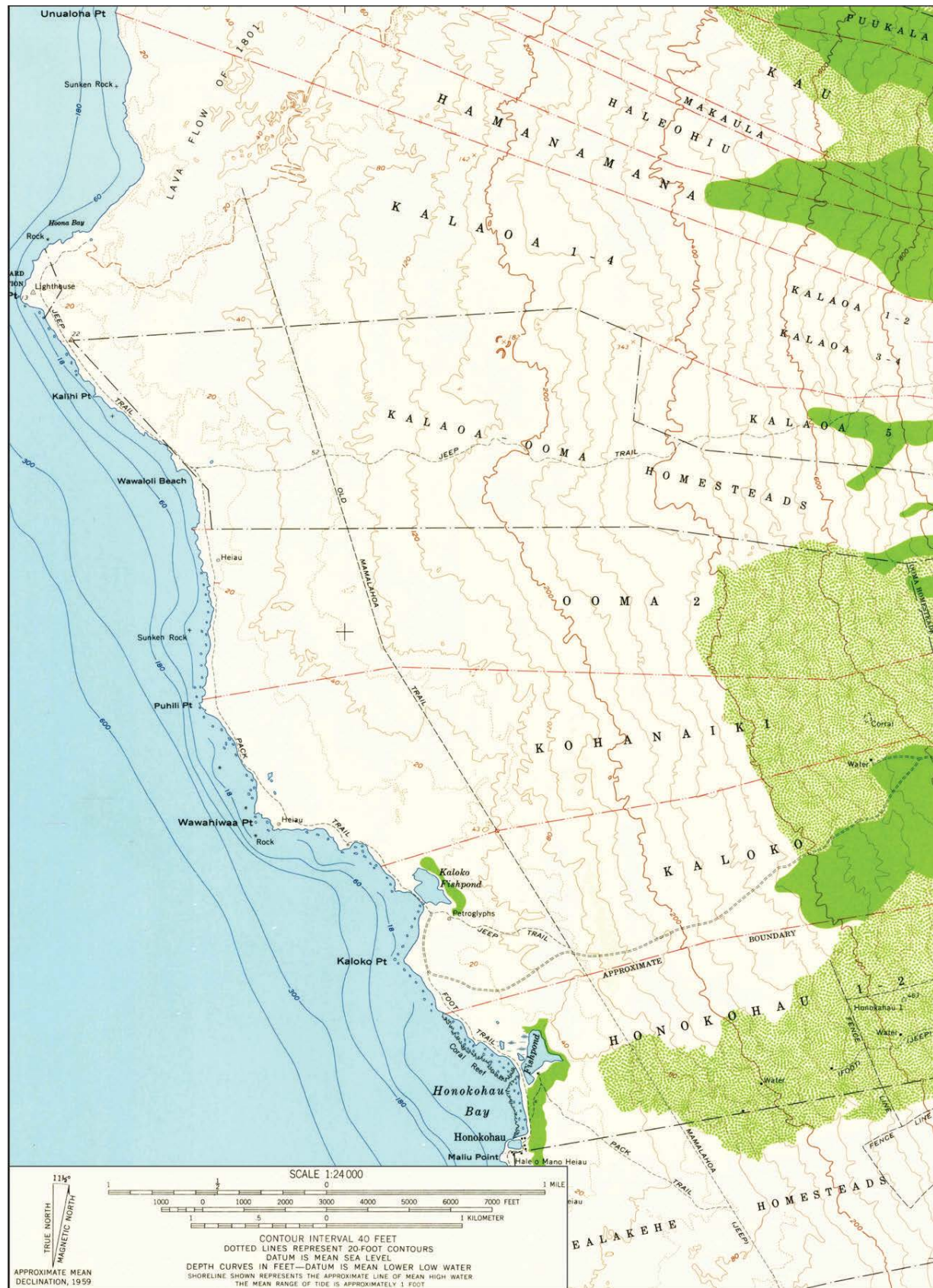


Figure 31. Portion of the 1959 U.S.G.S. Keāhole Point quadrangle.

The coastal lands of *Kekaha* in the vicinity of Ho‘onā, many of which became State-owned lands after statehood in 1959, remained untouched by modern development through the 1960s (Figure 32). 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, Haleohi, 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 33), 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.

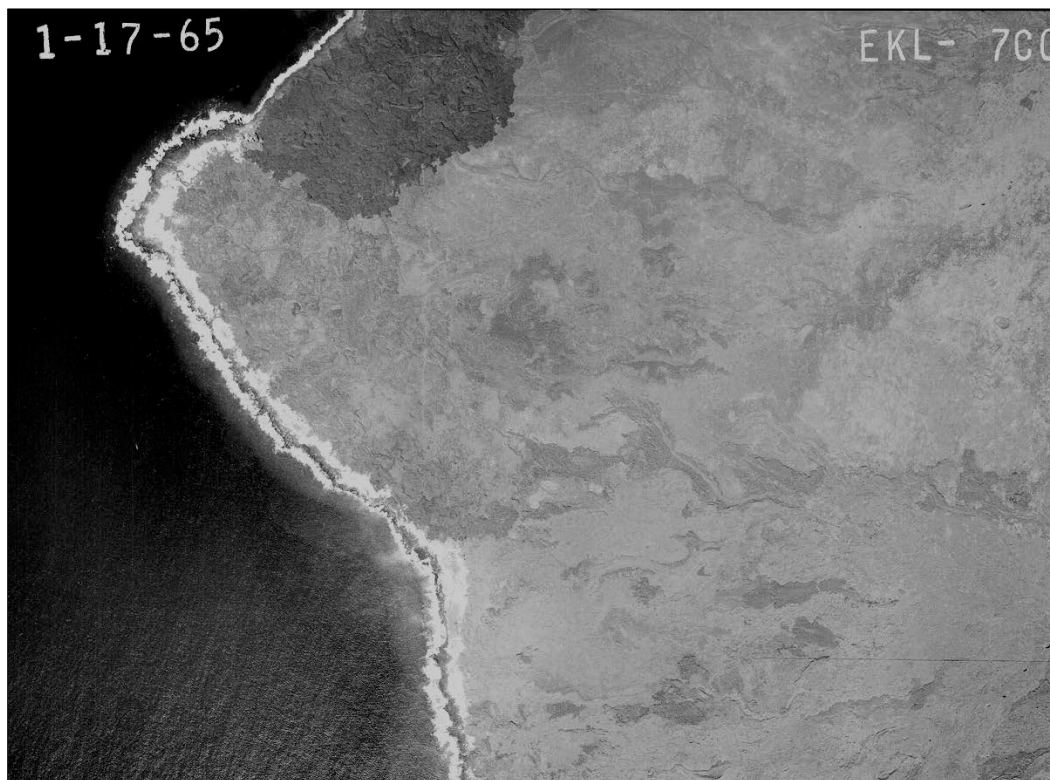


Figure 32. January 17, 1965 aerial photograph showing the Kekaha lands in the vicinity of the current study area.

The construction of the Queen Ka‘ahumanu Highway to Keāhole Airport not only opened up access to the *Kekaha* lands, but also 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 34) 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 35), and construction of the initial offices, research facilities, and an Ocean Thermal Energy Conversion (OTEC) plant at NELH had begun by ca. 1980 (Figure 36). 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 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 37) 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.

2. Background

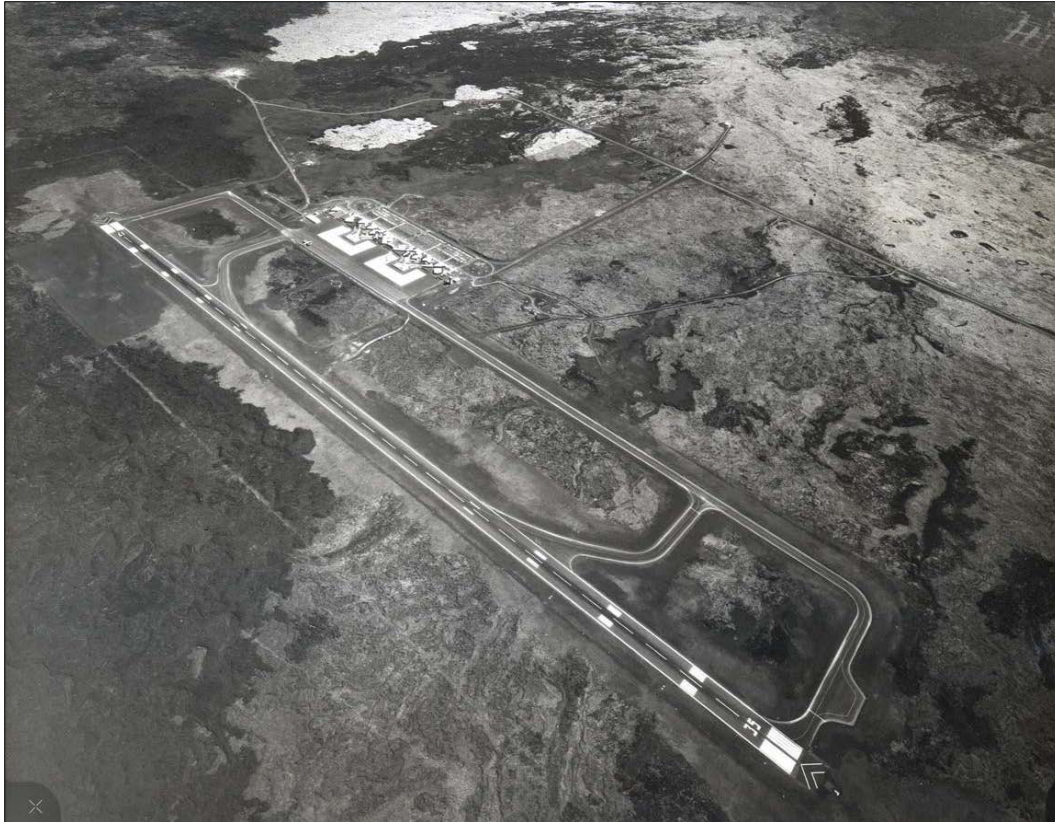


Figure 33. Oblique aerial view of the completed Keāhole Airport facility taken on October 6, 1971.

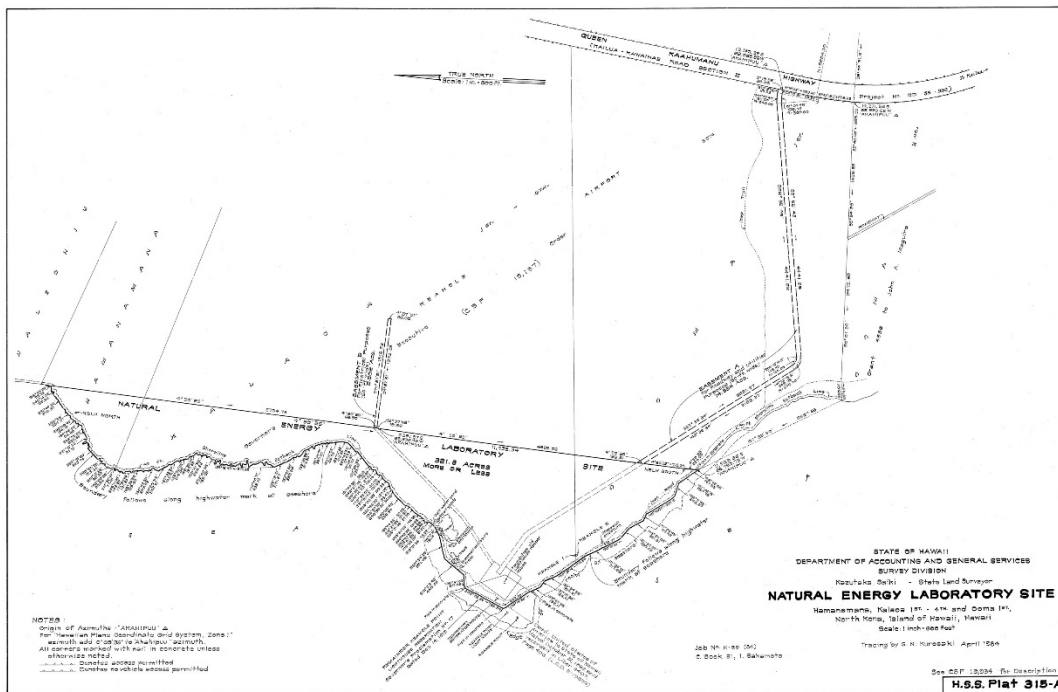


Figure 34. Map of the initial 322-acre NELH site (traced by G.H. Kurosaki on April 1984).

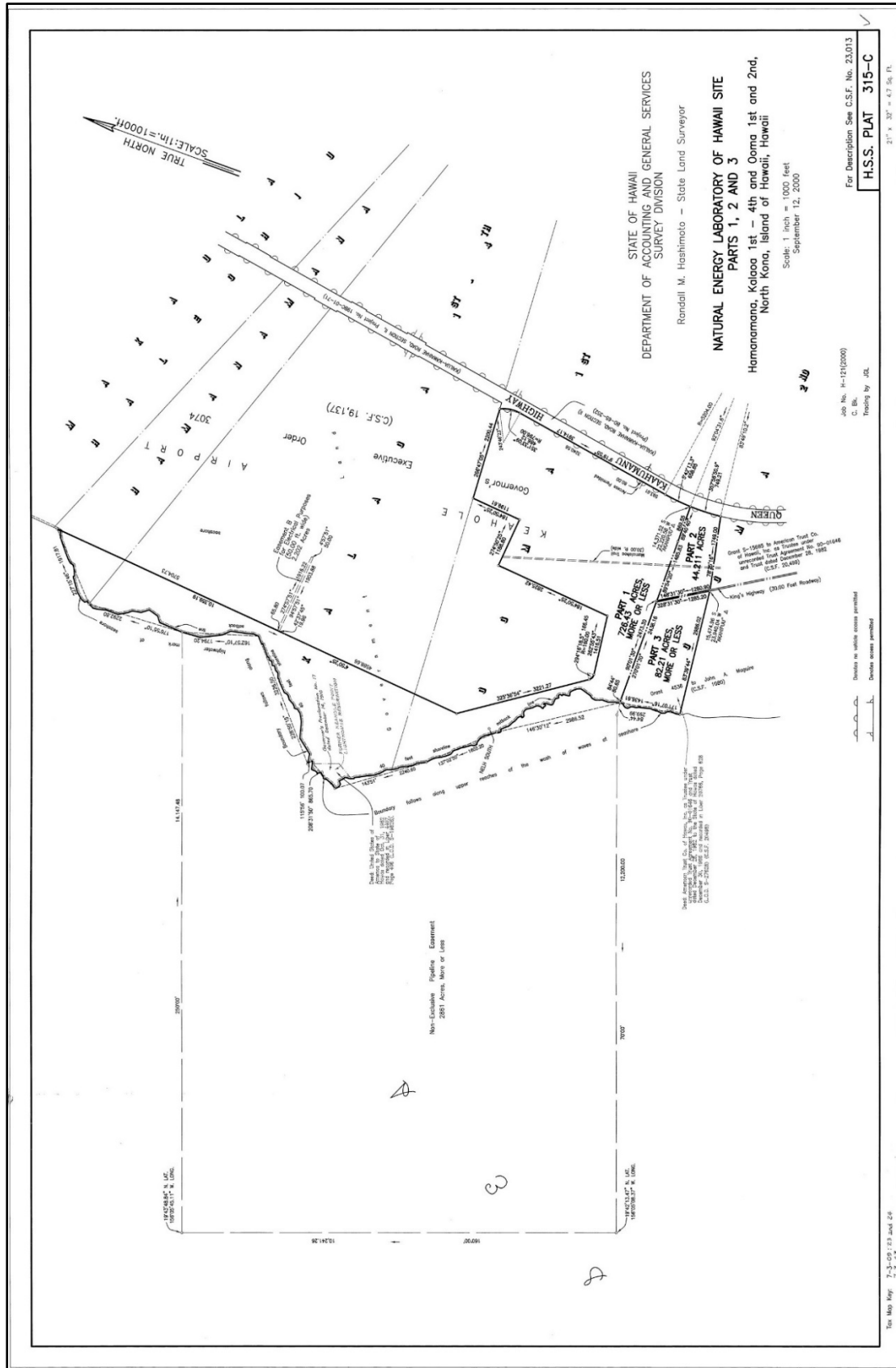


Figure 35. March 27, 1977 aerial photograph showing the completed NELH access road.



Figure 36. Oblique aerial view of the initial NELH facilities under construction in 1980.

2. Background



TWENTIETH CENTURY RESSURGENCE OF CULTURAL ACTIVITY AT HO‘ONĀ

Beginning in 1995, the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve was managed under a curatorship agreement between NELHA and Al Souza (then using the name Alena Kaikekoa). The curatorship agreement remained in place until 1998, when it was terminated by NELHA due to noncompliance with terms of the agreement; primarily regarding full time occupancy of the site, keeping of pigs on the site, excessive water use, and other violations of the agreement. A summary of events leading up to the issuance of the curatorship agreement was found in the DLNR-SHPD files, as it was the then Historic Site Division who brokered the curatorship agreement. The file reads:

Background of the Archaeological Site Curatorship Dispute:

Mr. Al Souza (now Alena Kaikekoa) first approached NELHA in late 1993, offering to serve as curator for the archaeological preserve at Ho‘onā Bay north of the NELHA Research Compound, which includes the graves of some of his family. NELHA consulted with the Historic Sites Preservation Division of DLNR which indicated that such curator agreements have been successful elsewhere. NELHA agreed to work with HSPD to develop an appropriate curator agreement with Mr. Kaikekoa...

Throughout 1994 and 1995, NELHA worked with Dr. [Ross] Cordy of HSPD in an attempt to develop an acceptable curator agreement. Then Executive Director, Robert Kihune, negotiated over many months in an attempt to resolve the site occupancy issue. Mr. Kihune left NELHA in December 1995 and, as a final gesture before he left, signed an agreement with Mr. Kaikekoa...

During the period preceding and immediately following the issuance of the curatorship agreement, Al Souza occupied the preserve nearly full-time, and conducted several activities within and outside the scope of the agreement. These included cleaning up the area, reconstructing the collapsed and collapsing archaeological features and adding new stone constructed features, planting native and introduced plant species, installing an irrigation system, and operating cultural learning programs. It was also during this time that the resident group constructed “a large traditional style canoe house in the shoreline area, which has since collapsed.” Additionally,

By late 1996, the site was being occupied by a large number of Mr. Kaikekoa’s ‘ohana...[A] brief site inspection to investigate public complaints in November 1996, discovered that more than 12 pigs were being kept on site, some in a pen, others roaming freely and even wallowing in the supposedly protected anchialine ponds. It was also discovered that the well-established camp site had been moved from its earlier location and was now located directly on top of a primary archaeology site...Dr. Cordy of HSPD demanded that the camp be relocated, and that was also done in January [1997].

NELHA attempted to make Souza comply with the terms of their agreement; however, relations between Al Souza and NELHA continued to deteriorate through the Spring of 1997. Despite attempts to mediate their dispute, in July 1997, the NELHA board voted to terminate the agreement, and Souza’s attorney filed a complaint with the court to prevent the termination. Following a December 8, 1997 court ruling in NELHA’s favor on the complaint, the agreement was terminated.

During the Souza et al. tenure at Ho‘onā several inadvertent discoveries of human skeletal remains were made within both Ho‘onā and adjacent areas within the HOST park proper, all of which appear to have been reinterred within the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve (see discussion below).

The group vacated Ho‘onā, but continued to frequent the area for organized “work” days and on weekends, for which NELHA issued permits. As Mr. Souza’s health deteriorated, other took up the charge including another *kupuna* who claimed to have ties to the area, Mr. Authur Mahi. Mr. Souza (Alena Kamakakama Kaikekoa) passed away in 2008 and some of his ashes were placed in a concreted feature (Figure 38) adjacent to a large reconstructed enclosure (Site 10196). A few years later Mr. Mahi passed away; and while not as regularly as in the past, several people claiming a connection to Ho‘onā continue to seek formal approval to *malama* the area.



Figure 38. Concreted memorial feature for Alan Souza at SIHP Site 10196.

3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE HO‘ONĀ AREA

In 1929-1930, John Reinecke of the Bishop Museum conducted a survey of Hawaiian sites in West Hawai‘i (Reinecke n.d.). A portion of Reinecke’s survey fieldwork, extended from Kailua-Kona north to Kalāhuipua‘a, and included the coastal portions of the Kalaoa *ahupua‘a*. During his study, Reinecke traveled along the shore, documenting sites, and where he could, he spoke with the few native residents he encountered. In his general description of the *Kekaha* region, Reinecke (n.d.:1-2) observed:

This coast formerly was the seat of a large population. Only a few years ago Keawaiki, now the permanent residence of one couple, was inhabited by about thirty-five Hawaiians. Kawaihae and Puako were the seat of several thousands, and smaller places numbered their inhabitants by the hundreds. Now there are perhaps fifty permanent inhabitants between Kailua and Kawaihae—certainly not over seventy-five.

When the economy of Hawaii was based on fishing this was a fairly desirable coast; the fishing is good; there is a fairly abundant water supply of brackish water, some of it nearly fresh and very pleasant to the taste; and while there was no opportunity for agriculture on the beach, the more energetic Hawaiians could do some cultivation at a considerable distance *mauka*.

The scarcity of remains is therefore disappointing. This I attribute to four reasons: (1) those simply over looked, especially those a short distance mauka, must have been numerous; (2) a number must have been destroyed, as everywhere, by man and by cattle grazing; (3) the coast is for the most part low and storm-swept, so that the most desirable building locations, on the coral beaches, have been repeatedly swept over and covered with loose coral and lava fragments, which have obscured hundreds of platforms and no doubt destroyed hundreds more; (4) many of the dwellings must have been built directly on the sand, as are those of the family at Kaupulehu, and when the posts have been pulled up, leave no trace after a very few years.

The remains on this strip of coast have some special characteristics differentiating them from the rest in Kona. First, there is an unusual number of petroglyphs and papamu, especially about Kailua and at Kapalaoa. Second, probably because of the strong winds, there are many walled sites, both of houses and especially of temporary shelters...

In the vicinity of Ho‘onā Bay, in the area between the Keāhole Lighthouse and the 1801 lava flow, Reinecke reported a single site (Site 86) with ten features (A-J). Reinecke’s description of the features, albeit limited and not exhaustive, contains valuable information about site condition and provides an eighty plus year perspective on the archaeological resources of Ho‘onā. Reinecke’s (n.d.:18) 1930 description of Site 86 is reproduced below:

Site 86. This series continues past the lighthouse almost to the dwelling by the 1801 Flow. There are more distinct ruins: (a) A dwelling site on the edge of the pahoehoe, with a papamu 12x11. (b) Ruined dwelling site and shelter by a modern pen. (c) Ruinous pen with two house platforms. (d) Trace of another house site makai. (e) A house platform. (f) House platform and pen with a modern shelter superimposed. (g) Small, old, ruined platform makai of f. (h) Small modern pen. (i) Modern house site by the dwelling; kitchen midden of opihī shells near. (j) Very brackish pools. Also there are several rough basin stones and three or more traces of platforms of sea-worn rocks on the edge of the flow.

Here ends the careful survey and begins a rather cursory one. . .

There are many walled sites on this coast, and it is very hard to tell whether they are the remains of old huts or more recent fishermen’s shelters. It must be understood that there is much guesswork in naming them.

The individual features of Reinecke’s Site 86 were later assigned Bishop Museum site numbers (D16-6 through D16-11; Cordy 1975 and Clark 1984) and then State Inventory of Historic Place (SIHP) sites numbers (10195 through 10200; Barrera 1989) (Table 1).

Table 2. Correlation of Reinecke’s Site 86 features with Bishop Museum and SIHP site numbers.

Reinecke Feat.	SIHP #	Bishop Museum #
86a	10194	D16-5*
86b	10196	D16-7
86c	10200	D16-11
86e, i	10195	D16-6
86f, g	10197	D16-8
86f	10199	D16-10
86h, j	10198	D16-9

*Not within the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve

In 1975, Ross Cordy carried out an intensive survey and subsurface testing program along the coast of ‘O‘oma and eight other *ahupua‘a* within *Kekaha*, synthesizing the data he generated as part of his doctoral dissertation (Cordy 1981). The survey covered the immediate shoreline area extending to roughly a quarter or a half-mile inland in some areas, and located and mapped all sites fitting Cordy’s criteria (size, form, etc.) for permanent habitation. Test units were excavated at twenty sites; volcanic glass and surface artifacts were collected from others. The methods and interpretive analyses used by Cordy are reported on in Cordy (1978, 1981) and Cordy and Kaschko (1980). Within Ho‘onā, Cordy investigated all six of the recorded sites (D-16-6 through D16-11) and provided plan views (Figures 39, 40, and 41) for three sites (D-16-7, D16-10, and D-16-11) and profile drawings (Figure 42) from excavations at three sites (D-16-6, D16-7, and D-16-9). Cordy interpreted the sites in the following manner:

D-16-6	Precontact/Historic Permanent Habitation
D-16-7	Historic Permanent Habitation
D-16-8	Historic Permanent Habitation
D-16-9	Historic Permanent Habitation
D-16-10	Historic Animal Pen
D-16-11	Historic Permanent Habitation

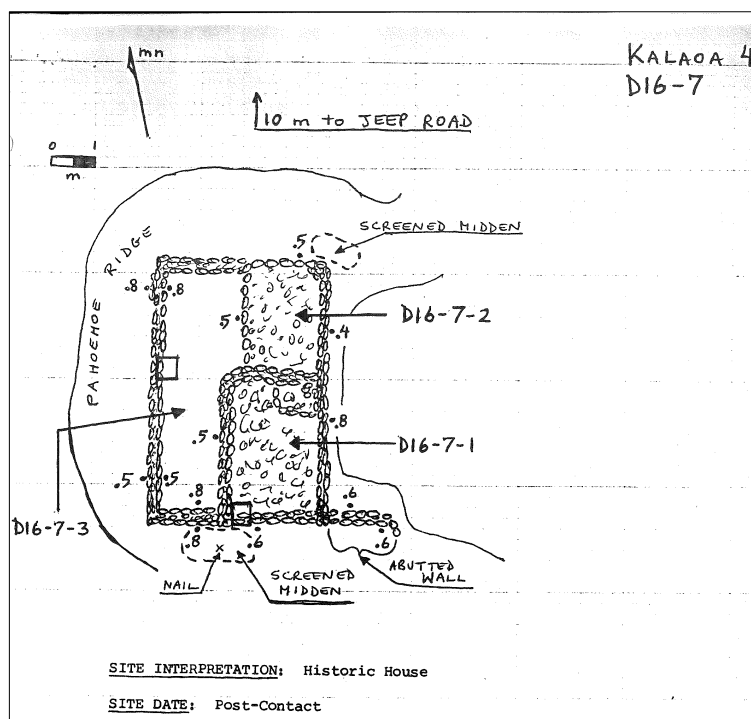


Figure 39. Plan view of Site D-16-7 (from Cordy 1975).

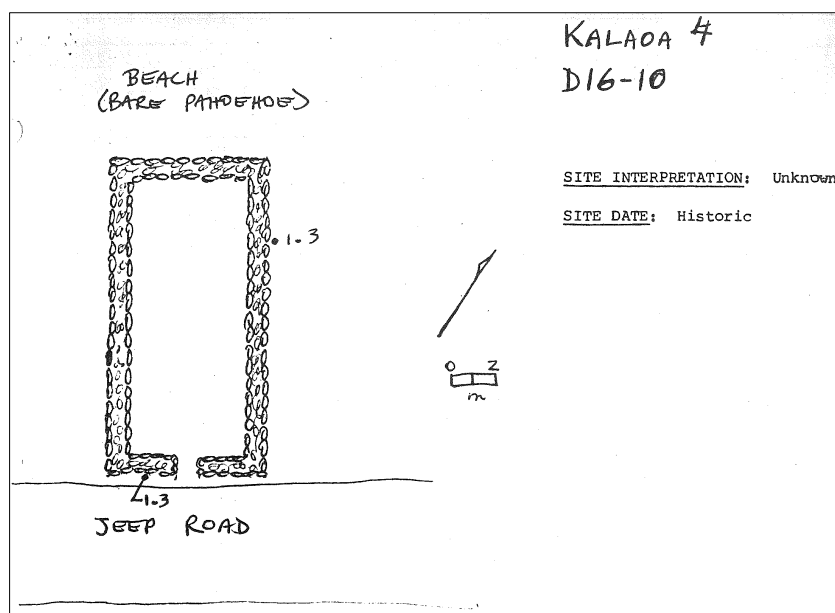


Figure 40. Plan view of Site D16-10 (from Cordy 1975).

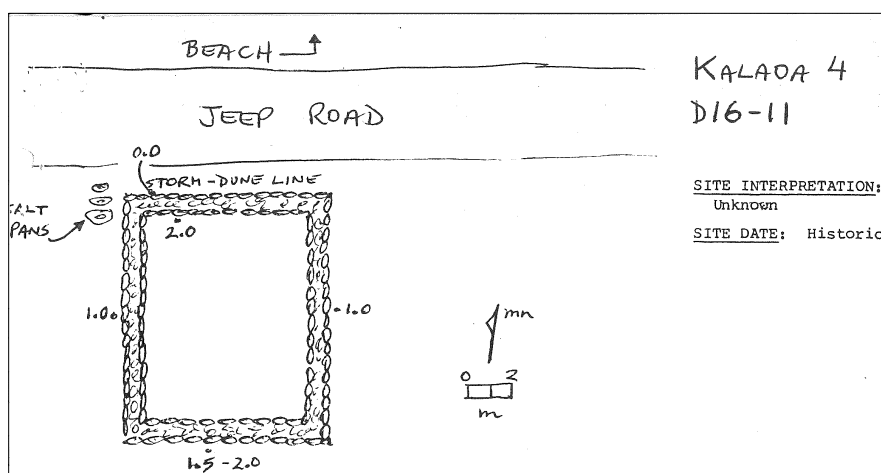


Figure 41. Plan view of Site D16-11 (from Cordy 1975).

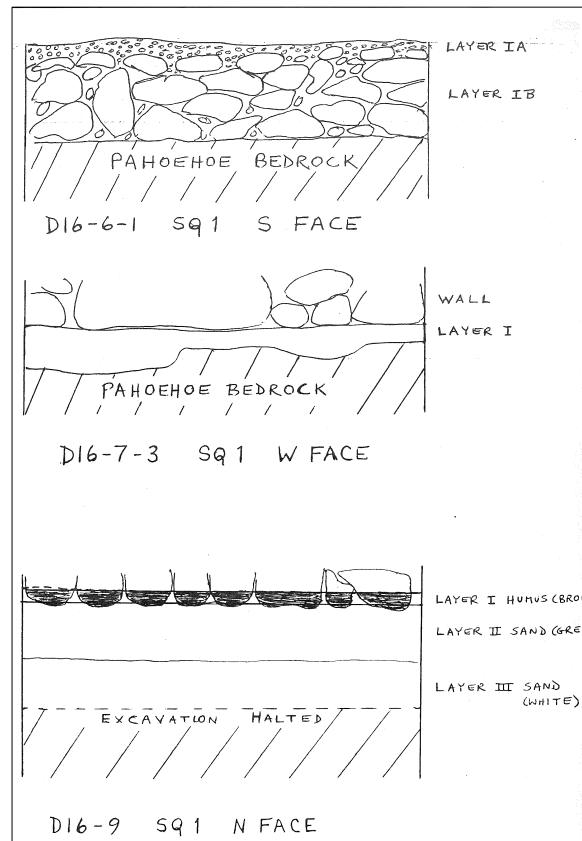


Figure 42. Profiles of excavations at D16-6-1, D16-7-3 and D16-9 (from Cordy 1975).

In 1984, Stephan D. Clark of the B. P. Bishop Museum conducted an archaeological reconnaissance of the entire *makai* portion of the NELH facility between Hamanamana and ‘O‘oma 1st *ahupua‘a*. Clark (1984) identified twenty-four sites with more than sixty individual features including eight platforms, fourteen enclosures, two Historic house sites, four trails, five cairns, two *papamū*, nine rock-filled crevices, a petroglyph area, two C-shaped shelters, four walls, and numerous rock alignments. The previously identified sites were correlated with their earlier Reinecke (n.d.), Rosendahl and Kirch (1975), and Cordy (1978) Bishop Museum site numbers; newly identified sites were assigned new Bishop Museum site numbers. In this 1984 study, Clark recorded six sites within Ho‘onā, which were also observed by Cordy (1975). Clark’s site descriptions, which were generated from prior work (Reinecke n. d.; Rosendahl and Kirch 1975; Cordy 1978; and Rogers-Jourdane 1978) in the area as well as his own observations are reproduced below:

D16-6: This site is situated c. 160 m north of Site D16-5 on the east (*mauka*) side of the jeep road and consists of two features.

D16-6-1: Approximately square platform, 4.7 by 4.2 m in size, in good condition. Platform is well constructed with a basalt boulder-and-cobble exterior, from 0.4 to 1.2 m in width and 0.5 to 0.7 m in height. Interior surface is flat and beautifully paved with ‘*ili‘ili* (waterworn basalt pebbles) and waterworn coral pebbles. Sparsely scattered marine shell (*Cellana* and *Cypraea*) in immediately surrounding area. No artifacts observed.

D16-6-2: Probable historic house site situated about 15 m southwest of D16-6-1, consisting of three connecting enclosures (A, B, and C). They measure 9.8 by 5.2 m (A), 8.1 by 5.2 m (B), and 5.3 by 3.9 m (C) in size. The walls are well constructed, have vertical corners, and range from 0.7 to 1.7 m

in height. Near the southwest interior corner of enclosure A, a small rectangular platform is present. It is built with basalt cobbles, measures c. 1.60 by 0.95 m in size, and from 0.1 to 0.2 m in height. A basalt salt pan is present adjacent to the enclosure B entrance on the south side. The interior surface of enclosure B is paved with ‘ili‘ili, and has interior boulder alignments. A wall, 0.8 to 1.0 m in height, abuts the southeast exterior corner of enclosure C and extends south c. 3 m. A large concentration of ‘opihi (*Cellana*) shells is present inside enclosure C and on the adjacent abutting wall. A circular boulder alignment c. 1.7 m in diameter is situated c. 1.6 m west of the abutting wall. Marine shell (*Cellana*, *Nerita*, *Cypraea*, and *Drupe*) and sea urchin (*Echinometra matheii*) were observed on the surface. Tin roof panels were observed in enclosure B. [Figure 43]

D16-7: Situated about 70 m south of Site D16-6, Cordy (1975) recorded this site as an enclosure, 11.5 by 5.0 m in size, with two interior platforms. Presently, only boulder-and-cobble alignments, two short wall segments, and some scattered boulders and cobbles remain. Scattered marine shell (*Cypraea*, *Nerita*, and *Cellana*) observed on surface. No artifacts present.

D16-8: Historic house site situated c. 150 m northwest of Site D16-6. It is composed of a cement foundation, 6.0 by 2.5 m in size, bordered on the south and west by basalt boulder-and-cobble walls, 14.1 m and 10.4 m in length. Walls range from 0.6 to 0.9 m in height and are in fair to poor condition. Cement in the foundation may predate 1920s. A low (0.2 m) single course, cobble alignment situated c. 3.4 m north of the foundation forms a terrace c. 7 by 3 m in size. Deposits in terrace comprise coral pebbles, gravel, and sand with a basaltic sand and gravel component. Marine shell (*Cypraea* and *Cellana*) observed on surface. No artifacts observed.

D16-9: This site is situated c. 35 m northeast of Site D16-8 and consists of two features.

D16-9-1: Three-sided rectangular enclosure, c. 9.9 by 4.5 m in size, open to the west. Walls are in fair to good condition, are built with basalt boulders and cobbles, and range from 0.5 to 1.0 m in height. A break in the north wall measures c. 1.5 m in width. About 15 m to the northwest of the enclosure are two brackish (anchialine) pools, c. 15 by 4 m in size. These pools border the basalt boulder beach, which appears to have been modified (faced) adjacent to the pools. Sparse marine shell (*Cypraea*) present on the surface.

D16-9-2: A C-shape wall abutting the south wall of D16-9-1 forming an adjacent enclosed area, c. 4.3 by 3.5 m in size. Wall comprises stacked basalt boulders and cobbles and ranges from 0.4 to 0.8 m in height. Wall postdates or is contemporaneous with D16-9-1 enclosure. No midden or artifacts present.

D16-10: Large, high-walled, rectangular enclosure, 14.0 by 6.7 m in size, situated about 30 m south of Site D16-8, on the west (*makai*) side of the jeep road. Entrance is 1.5 m in width, and near northeast corner. Walls are well constructed, have vertical corners, and range from 0.9 to 1.5 m in height. Several large *kiawe* (*Prosopis pallida*) trees are growing in the interior. Interior comprises coral sand and gravel with a basaltic sand component. No surface midden or artifacts observed. Possible historic pen.

D16-11: Large, high-walled, rectangular enclosure, 19 by 11 m in size, situated c. 80 m southwest of Site D16-6-2, on the east (*mauka*) side of the jeep road. Entrance is on the east side. Walls are well constructed, have vertical corners, and range from 1.2 to 2.0 m in height. Large *kiawe* trees are growing in interior. Interior surface made up of coral sand and gravel with a basaltic sand component. No surface midden or artifacts observed.

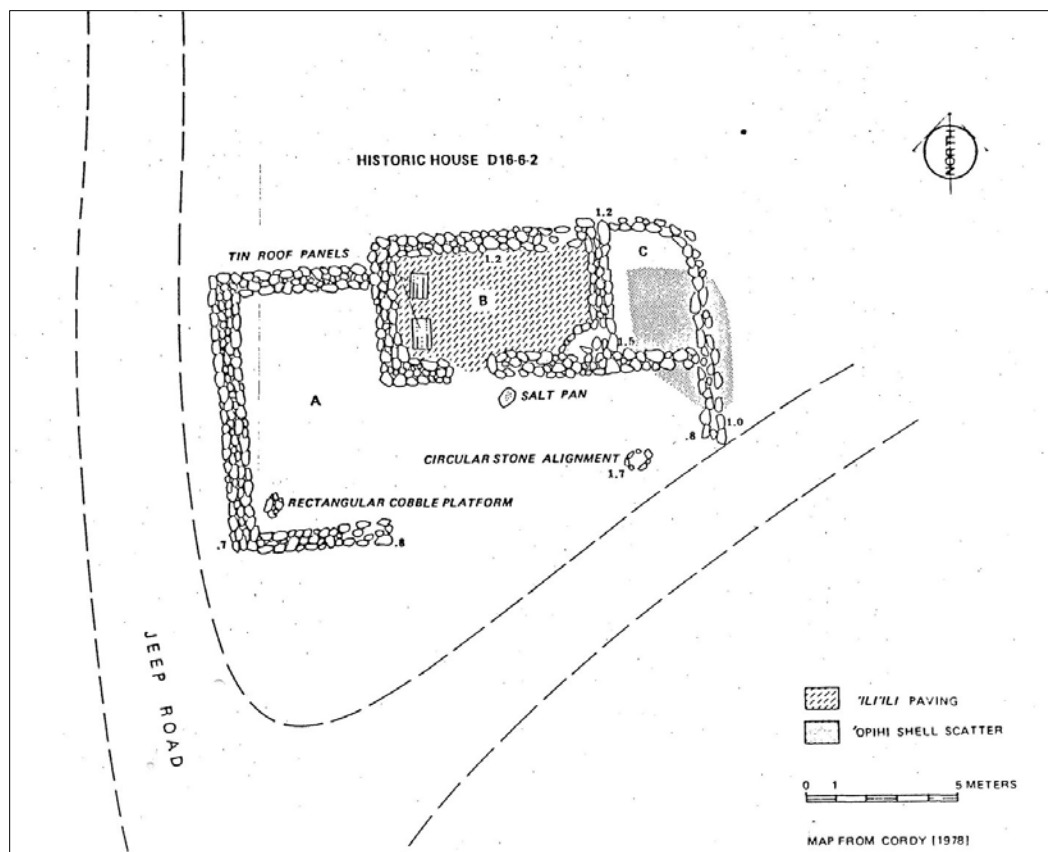


Figure 43. Plan view of Site D16-6-2 (from Clark 1984).

In 1985, while at the Historic Sites Section of the DLNR-Division of State Parks, Ross Cordy prepared a working paper summarizing the archaeology of ‘O‘oma and Kalaoa *ahupua‘a* (Cordy 1985). The paper synthesizes the collective site data and presents a summary of site patterning by environmental zones (i.e. the coastal zone, barren zone, and upland forest zone). In the coastal zone, which includes the current study area, Cordy notes that:

The coastal concentration of sites extends inland c. 100 meters, so it actually enters into a small portion of the barren zone. Sites interpreted as permanent house sites, based on area and other carefully specified criteria (Cordy 1978, 1981) are common in this area. At least 22 such sites have been identified—8 in ‘O‘oma 2, 2 in ‘O‘oma 1, 5 in Kalaoa 5 and seven in Kalaoa 4. These sites are located right along the shore. They include single or multiple major features such as platforms, enclosures, and pavings. Excavations indicate deposits, other than platform fill, are shallow (usually 10–15 cm).

A data recovery program at the NELHA and HOST Park lands (in ‘O‘oma 1st and 2nd and Kalaoa 4th and 5th *ahupua‘a*) was implemented by Barrera (1989). In describing the findings of the data recovery excavations, Barrera (1989) suggests that the earliest occupation of the general study area likely occurred around the middle of the sixteenth century, with occupation continuing and increasing throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but that by the end of the eighteenth century, most of the sites had been abandoned. The archaeological evidence overwhelmingly indicated that the exploitation of marine resources was the primary occupation of residents at the coastal structures in ‘O‘oma and Kalaoa. Barrera’s site descriptions of Sites 10195 through 10200 (D16-6 through D16-11) are reproduced below with their assigned SIHP designations:

SITE 10195:

Feature A—This is a platform measuring 4.2 by 4.7 meters and standing to a height of 0.7 meter. The surface is paved with waterworn basalt and coral pebbles. Midden remains present include mollusk shells.

Feature B-This is a historic house site measuring 9.9 by 15.5 meters (133.4 square meters), consisting of three connecting enclosures standing to heights of between 0.7 and 1.7 meters. The largest enclosure measures 5.2 by 9.8 meters and encloses an area of 31.2 square meters. The middle enclosure measures 5.2 by 8.1 meters and encloses an area of 19.2 meters, and the smallest enclosure measures 3.9 by 5.3 meters and encloses an area of 8.6 square meters. Also present are a platform measure 0.95 by 1.6 meters and standing to a height of 0.2 meter, a wall measuring 3 meters in length and standing to a height of one meter, a circular boulder alignment 1.7 meters in diameter, and a large concentration of limpet shells [Figure 44]. A salt pan is located adjacent to the entrance of the middle enclosure. Midden remains include mollusks and sea urchin.

SITE 10196:

The site covers a total area of 24.8 meters, with an enclosed area of 19.4 square meters. The larger of the two platforms covers an area of 7.3 square meters, the smaller one covers an area of 4.0 square meters. [Figure 45]

SITE 10197:

This is a historic house site consisting of a concrete foundation measuring 2.5 by 6 meters bordered on two sides by stone walls 14.1 and 10.4 meters in length and 0.6 to 0.9 meter high. A terrace measuring 3 by 7 meters and standing to a height of 0.2 meter is located north of the foundation. Midden present consists of various mollusk shells.

SITE 10198:

Feature A-This is an enclosure measuring 4.5 by 9.9 meters and standing to a height of one meter. Midden remains present consist of cowrie shells.

Feature B-This is a C-shaped wall standing to a height of 0.8 meter and enclosing an area measuring 3.5 by 4.3 meters. It abuts the wall of Feature A.

SITE 10199:

This is an enclosure measuring 6.7 by 14 meters with a wall that stands to a height of 1.5 meter. The total area covered by the feature is 102.3 square meters, the area covered by the wall is 36.7 square meters and the area enclosed by the wall is 65.5 meters. [Figure 46]

SITE 10200:

This is an enclosure measuring 11 by 19 meters and standing to a height of 2.0 meters. The total area covered by the wall is 37.9 square meters, and the interior space enclosed by the wall is 70.4 square meters. Three salt pans are located at the northwest corner. [Figure 47]

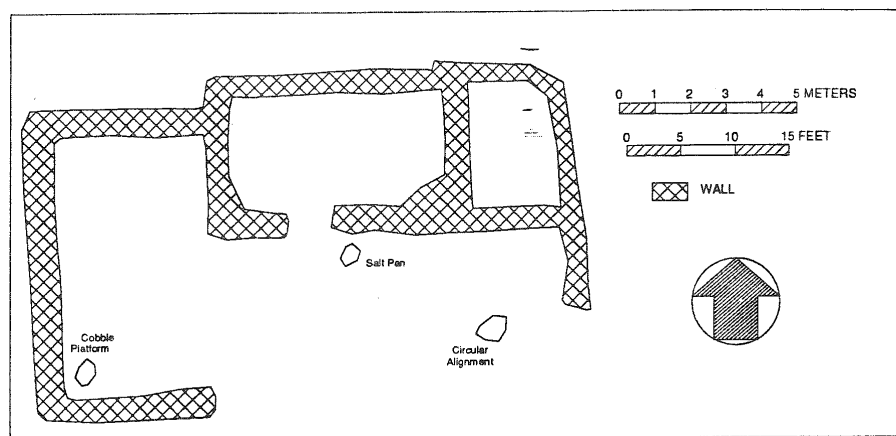


Figure 44. Plan view of Sites 10195 (from Barrera 1989).

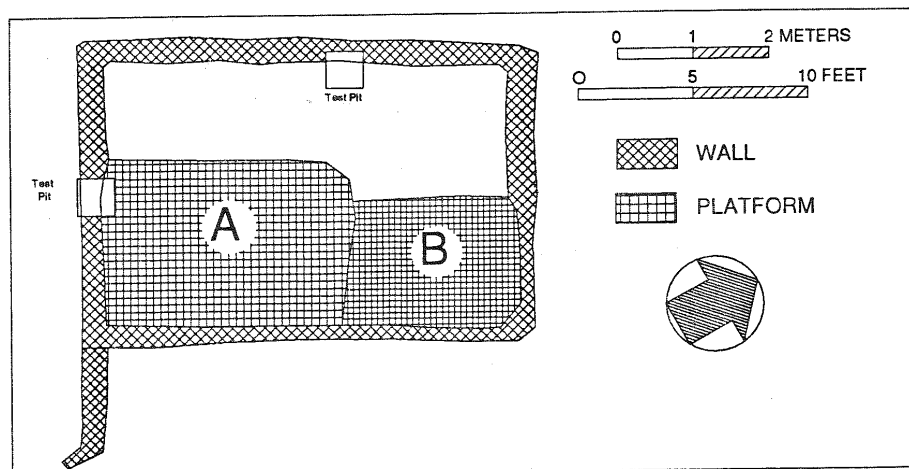


Figure 45. Plan view of Sites 10196 (from Barrera 1989).

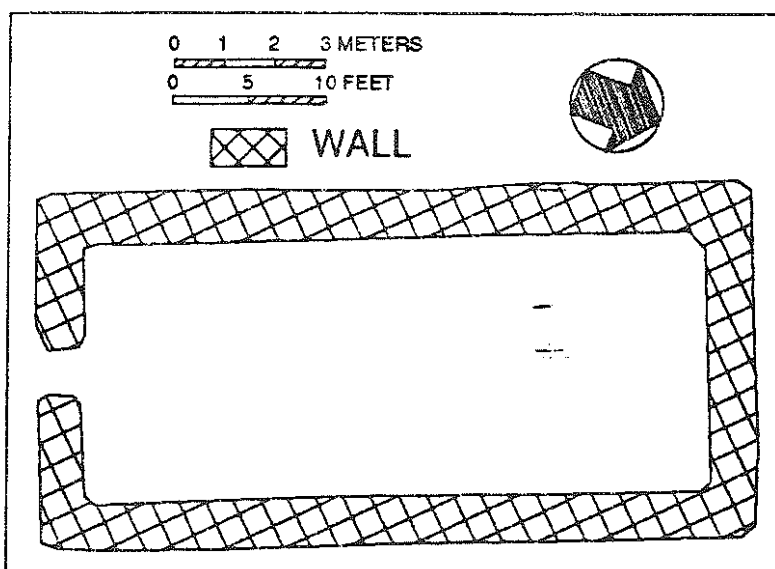


Figure 46. Plan view of Sites 10199 (from Barrera 1989).

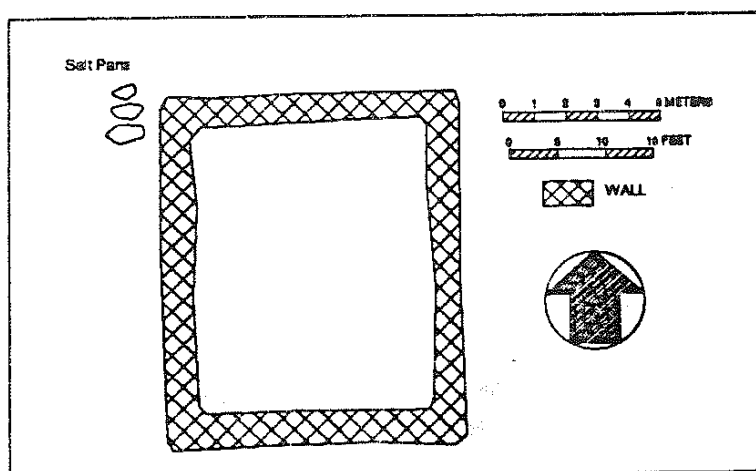


Figure 47. Plan view of Sites 10200 (from Barrera 1989).

In July of 1997, DLNR-SHPD visited Ho‘onā to investigate reported potential HRS Chapter 6E violations. The then Hawai‘i Island Assistant Archaeologist Marc Smith conducted the site visit along with NELH staff, DLNR enforcement officers, a State Department of Health investigator, and Mr. Alena Kaiokekoa (Alan Souza). Mr. Smith concluded that there were no 6E violations noted and that all of the archaeological feature alterations were conducted within the scope of the Curatorship Agreement with DLNR-SHPD knowledge. Brief descriptions of the sites were provided at that time as well as other field observations along with a map (Figure 48) of the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve, these are reproduced below:

Site 10,195 (D16-6), Historic house site and burial platform. Current work on this site appears to be vegetation clearing. No repair or restoration of the house enclosures has taken place. The burial platform near the house enclosures has been restored in the past. The platform was not visited during this inspection.

Site 10,196 (D16-7), House or “Heiau.” This enclosure was restored in the past, a close inspection was not made of the site, but it appears to have remained undisturbed since its restoration.

Site 10,197 (D16-8), Fish house. Some recent vegetation clearing and wall repair has been completed at this site. A restoration plan between our office and the curator has been complete, but to date has not been implemented.

Site 10,198 (D16-9), House and modified brackish pond. This area has been cleared of kiawe trees. It appears that no stabilization or repairing of the structures has occurred. Currently there are gourds and small shrubs planted around these structures.

Site 10,199 (D16-10), Canoe shed. This structure was restored several years ago, with a new thatched roof added. Approximately a year ago high surf and winds damaged the restored structure. The roof poles have been removed from the foundation and stockpiled nearby. The recent damage to the foundation has not been repaired.

Site 10,200 (D16-11), Enclosure. Vegetation was removed from the site, but no repairing or restoration has occurred. The structure has recently been damaged along the makai wall by high surf eroding the base of the wall causing it to collapse.

In addition to these numbered sites, there are several concentrations of burials in the preserve that have been uncovered during vegetation clearing. These have been left in place, with low platforms built over the graves.

Three new burials, inadvertent burials from NELH and south along the beach in O‘oma, have been reinterred in the preserve. Mr. War asked that any documentation of these graves be provided NELH. He was unaware that newly found remains have been brought into the preserve. The reinterred remains are from Cases 208, 208A, and 510. The Burial Sites Program was responsible for the reinterments and should have information that Mr. War requests.

In several locations throughout the preserve, primarily in the southern end, Mr. Kaiokekoa has constructed several new platforms, gardening terraces and windbreaks, and lined the access road and several walking trails with basalt stones. No significant historic sites were altered by this activity. Mr. Kaiokekoa did receive after-the-fact approvals from our office for this landscaping.

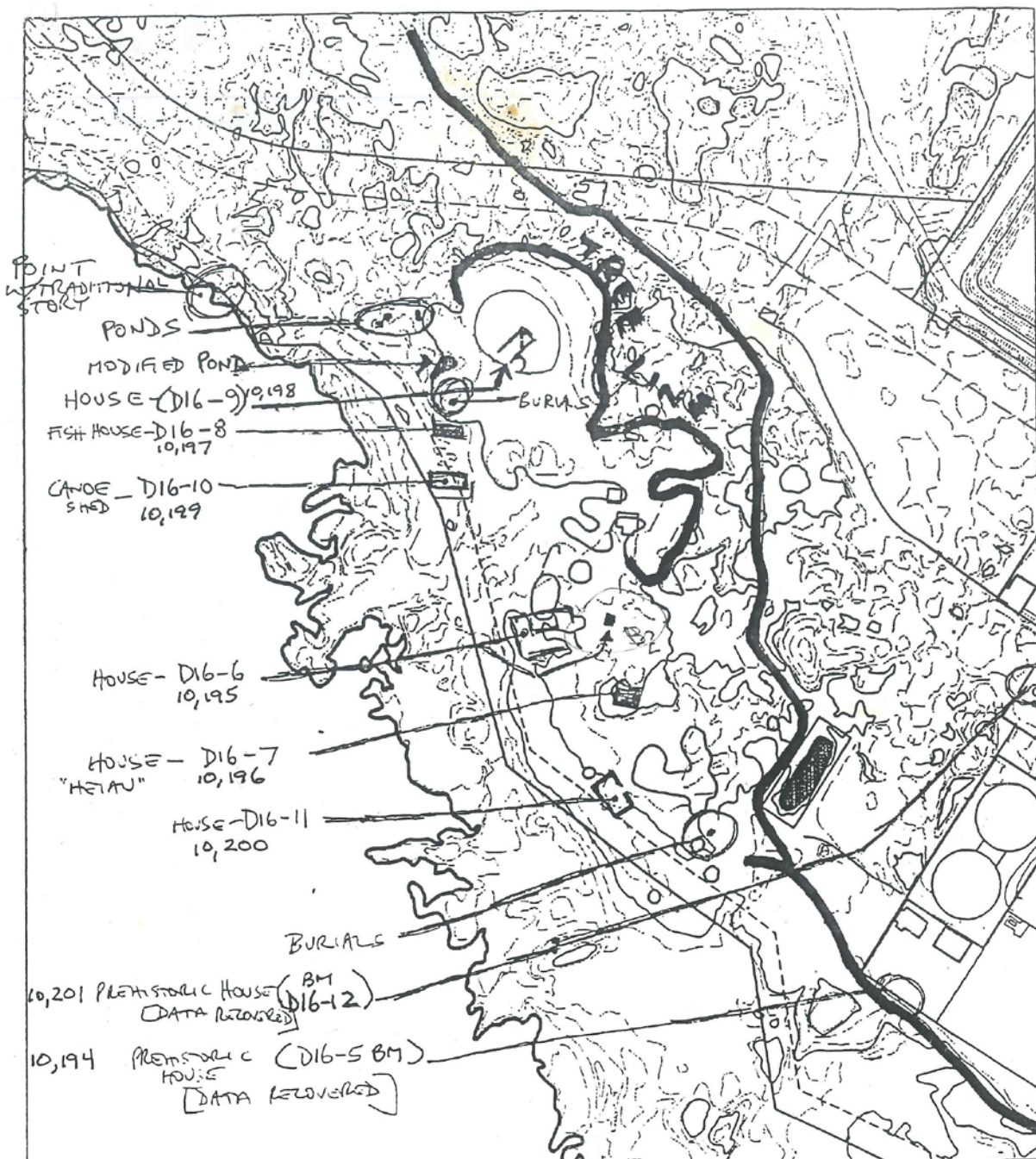


Figure 48. 1997 sketch map of Ho'ona prepared by Marc Smith of DLNR-SHPD.

In April of 1998, Dr. Ross Cordy (the then DLNR-SHPD Archaeology Branch Chief) communicated to the then administrator of NELHA (Dr. Tom Daniels) in a six-page memo that outlined a strategy for the management of the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve in the absence of the curatorship agreement, which had shortly there before been cancelled. Dr. Cordy explained that “[i]f a new curator agreement can be developed, that may fulfill the need for a preservation plan for Hoona.” He went on to explain that if such a new agreement is not developed, then NELHA should prepare both archaeological preservation and burial treatment plans for the preserve. He outlined the minimal requirements for such planning in 8 numbered points (see below) and indicated that consultation “with members of the local native Hawaiian community” should be a part of the planning, and that the completed plans be submitted to DLNR-SHPD for acceptance. The 8 points are as follows:

1. Ensuring public vehicle traffic into the preserve does not occur. The gate should be kept closed and locked (except for NELHA, security, and emergency vehicles). Fencing does not appear needed, unless in the future vehicles attempt to enter the preserve. NELHA should monitor this situation and keep our Division notified every 3 months, as to whether vehicles are attempting to enter the preserve. If entry problems occur, then fencing may be needed. A sign should be posted at the gate, briefly explaining the nature of the sites in the preserve, why vehicle access is not allowed, correct protocol to avoid damage to sites, and warning of penalties.
2. Ensuring protection of the grave sites. Maintaining the warning signs at the two grave sites. (One signs with alternative, but similar, wording can be devised—which our Division would have to approve.) The curator put up signs which are very appropriate, and should ensure protection of these graves. Monitor the grave sites on a daily basis (security can do this) to ensure no damage. If damage occurs, notify SHPD immediately. [Additionally, a burial treatment plan must be submitted to and be approved by the Hawai‘i Island Burial Council—to ensure protection of these graves. This plan should include provisions for the family to have access and to care for the graves.]
3. NELHA or its security needs to periodically inspect the preserve, to attempt to prevent vandalism and damage to all of the historic sites. We suggest monitoring once per day or several times per week, with the main aim to be sure that walls are not being damaged and no digging is occurring. If any damage is discovered, our Division should be notified immediately.
4. Maintain clearing of alien vegetation. On a monthly basis trim back low tree branches of existing trees (up to a height of 7 feet) with care not to disturb historic sites’ walls. [Maintain tree canopy above 7 feet] Also, remove new small trees, shrubs, and grass from the walls of sites and from the interior of enclosures. Use a chain-saw, weed-eater or hand tools. Remove cut vegetation from the preserve. Plants must not be pulled up by the roots, as this can displace rocks and damage subsurface deposits.
5. Remove litter. On a weekly basis monitor the preserve and remove litter. One option is also to place litter cans at key points (gate, middle and far end of preserve)—color and appearance to not be visually intrusive and to be approved by SHPD.
6. As possible, water and keep alive native plants left behind by curator which are hardy enough to survive along the coast. The focus perhaps should be on native trees and shrubs. Make suggestions to us, and this point can be discussed. Obviously, plants should be chosen which require very minimal watering. Signs identifying these plants (if left behind by the curator) could be maintained.
7. Interpretive Signs. Minimally, one major sign describing the nature of the historic sites in the preserve should be retained at the entry to the preserve. We recommend several other signs, however, at key sites—to enhance local public education.
8. Ensure public access. Public access to this preserve must be ensured. Given the nature of the sites, vehicle access must be prohibited, but parking outside the entry area is vital. The existing, unimproved parking area is fine. Hours can be assigned for access, such as 8 am - 6 pm.

INADVERTENT DISCOVERIES AND REBURIALS (1992-1995)

A series of inadvertent discoveries of human skeletal remains were reported between 1992 and 1995 in the Historic Preserve at Ho‘onā and other project areas within NELHA’s HOST Park. All of these remains were reinterred within the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve. Some of these discoveries and reinterments occurred without the involvement of SHPD or the Burial Sites Program. These incidents and other previously-identified burials were summarized in a memorandum dated January 23, 1996 (LOG NO: 16350, DOC NO: 9601EA20) from the SHPD Administrator to the Land Division Administrator. The memorandum is quoted at length:

Inadvertent Discovery

On August 27, 1992, SHPD was notified of the discovery of human skeletal remains at the Natural Energy Laboratory Hawai‘i (NELH) during excavation for a waterline. SHPD inspected the discovery and confirmed the remains to be human. Pursuant to section 6E-43.6, HRS, SHPD determined to relocate, and the remains were interred at the Ho‘ona Historic Preserve located at tax map key 7-3-43:42, on state land in Kalaoa 1 and ‘O‘oma 1. The tax map key where the remains were found is 7-3-43:03 and the SHPD case number is 208A.

On November 17, 1992, SHPD was notified that a bone had been collected several weeks earlier by an unidentified person who turned it over to the Honokohau Harbor Master. The only other information was that the bone was collected from “NELH Beach.” SHPD confirmed the bone to be a human mandible over fifty years old and determined to relocate. The remains were reinterred at the Ho‘ona Preserve. The SHPD case number is 510.

On March 6, 1993, a burial was reported eroding from the shoreline near the boundary of ‘O‘oma 2 and Kohanaiki. SHPD inspected the site on March 20, 1993 and again on March 25 and believes that the burial is situated on state land. The remains were confirmed to be human and over fifty years old. SHPD determined to preserve the burial in place following consultation with Mr. Al Souza who claimed lineal descent to the remains. The tax map key is 7-3-09:04 and the SHPD case number is 568.

Finally, in the summer/fall of 1995, Mr. Souza inadvertently discovered a burial site in the Ho‘ona Historic Preserve near to known family burial sites (see Case 572). Mr. Souza did not report the inadvertent discovery to SHPD until December 1995. According to Souza, the burial was covered up and a stone platform built over. SHPD is following up with Mr. Souza to obtain other necessary information. The case number is 572A.

Previously Identified

In 1987, SHPD authorized the NELH to relocate a burial identified as Site 10,214. The tax map key number is (3) 7-3-43:03. At present, burial site 10,241 is still in place as a result of an informal agreement by the NELH, the sub-lessee, SHPD, and Mr. Souza who claimed lineal descent to the remains and requested that the burial not be moved. Aqua farm activities are being conducted so as to avoid the burial site. Once final treatment is clarified with the parties for site 10,214, Land Division will be notified. The SHPD case number is 208.

In addition, SHPD is in the process of registering eight burial sites identified by Mr. Souza as members of his family that are located in the Ho‘ona Historic Preserve. All eight burial sites are being protected in place. The SHPD case number is 572.

Additional details regarding Case 572 are available in an un-numbered memorandum dated December 15, 1995, from Ross Cordy to Eddie Ayau. Based on Cordy’s description and an accompanying sketch map (Figure 49) Cordy described the incident:

Some time this summer or fall [1995], Al [Souza] was clearing off dense vegetation from a part of the preserve that had not been mapped previously. This area was between an anchialine pond and a fish-house with a partial concrete floor. The area was sand with scattered stones boulders. In clearing the vegetation, exposed bones were found. One articulated skeleton also was found. As I understood what he told me, his uncle or elderly relative identified the articulated skeleton as a specific relative. Al rebuilt a platform over the skeleton, and he placed remains within several other small platforms which he newly built for these reburials.

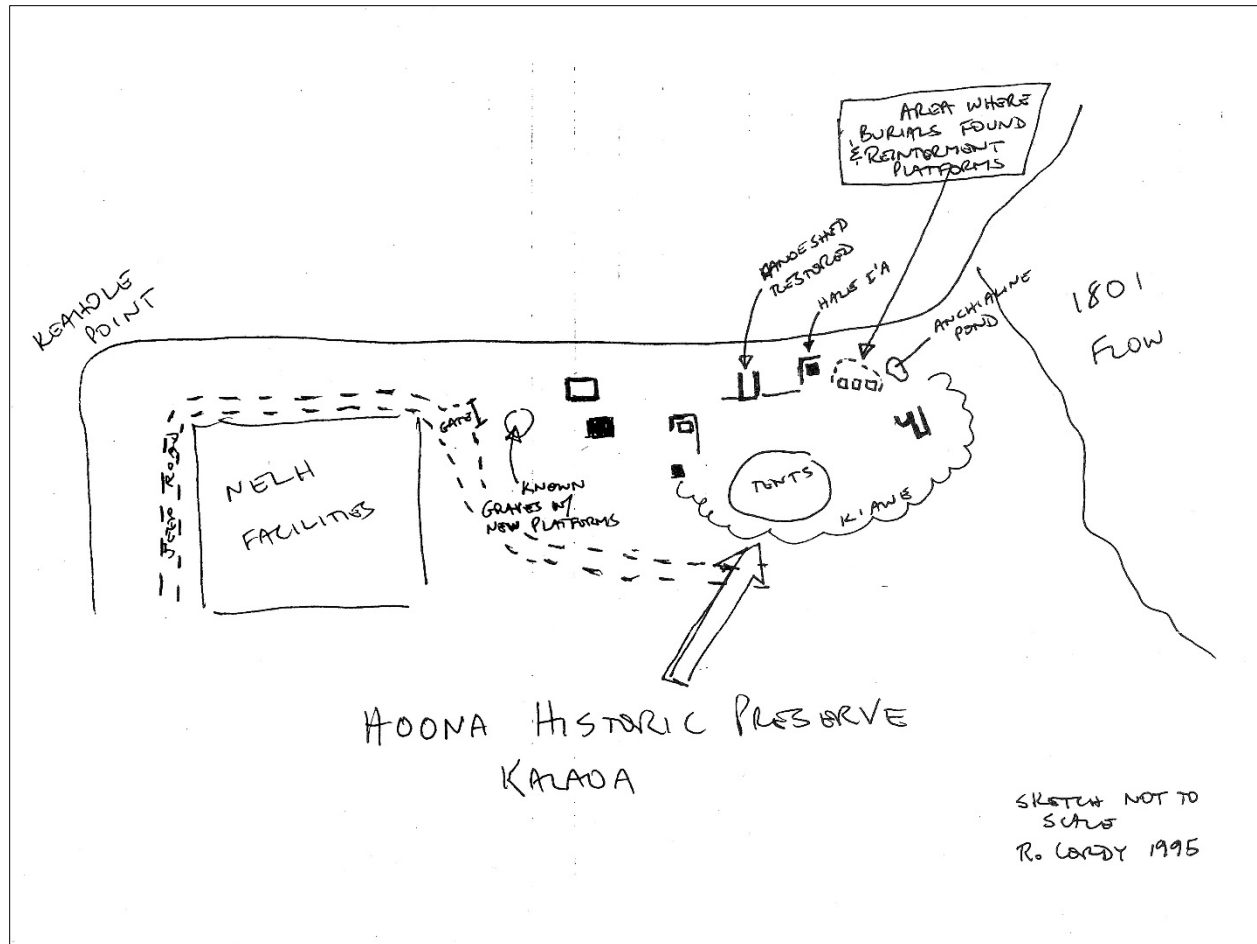


Figure 49. Sketch map accompanying Cordy’s memorandum of December 15, 1995. In November of 1996, Al Souza was interviewed by Kāna‘i Kapeliala, a Cultural Specialist with SHPD History and Culture Branch. In the interview, Souza provided uncorroborated testimony regarding other burials in Ho‘ona:

“Heiau” in the house site area known to informant:

The informant [Al Souza] distinguishes between a “heiau nui” and a “heiau iki.” Aunties “Puakamela” and “Melekule” are interred in the “heiau nui” at a spot where a large kiawe tree grows. In his childhood, the informant was told by kupuna that the “heiau nui” is over 500 years old...

Aunty “Keahi‘ena‘ena” is buried in the “heiau iki.” She was born during a lightning storm and received her name “the raging fire” from the fact that a tree in this area, in spectacular fashion, had been struck and set on fire by lightning. Ironically, she died young at the age of eighteen after being struck by lightning.

The summary of the interview also includes a schematic illustration of the “heiau iki” indicating the approximate location of Aunty “Keahi‘ena‘ena’s” remains near the northern corner of the feature. These two features appear to be the main features of Site 10195.

Additionally, Al Souza also relayed information regarding the Case 572 known graves, the general location of which were indicated in the sketch accompanying Cordy’s 1995 memorandum (see Figure 49). A schematic illustration (Figure 50) of the configuration of graves was included in the interview summary, and a numbered key was provided:

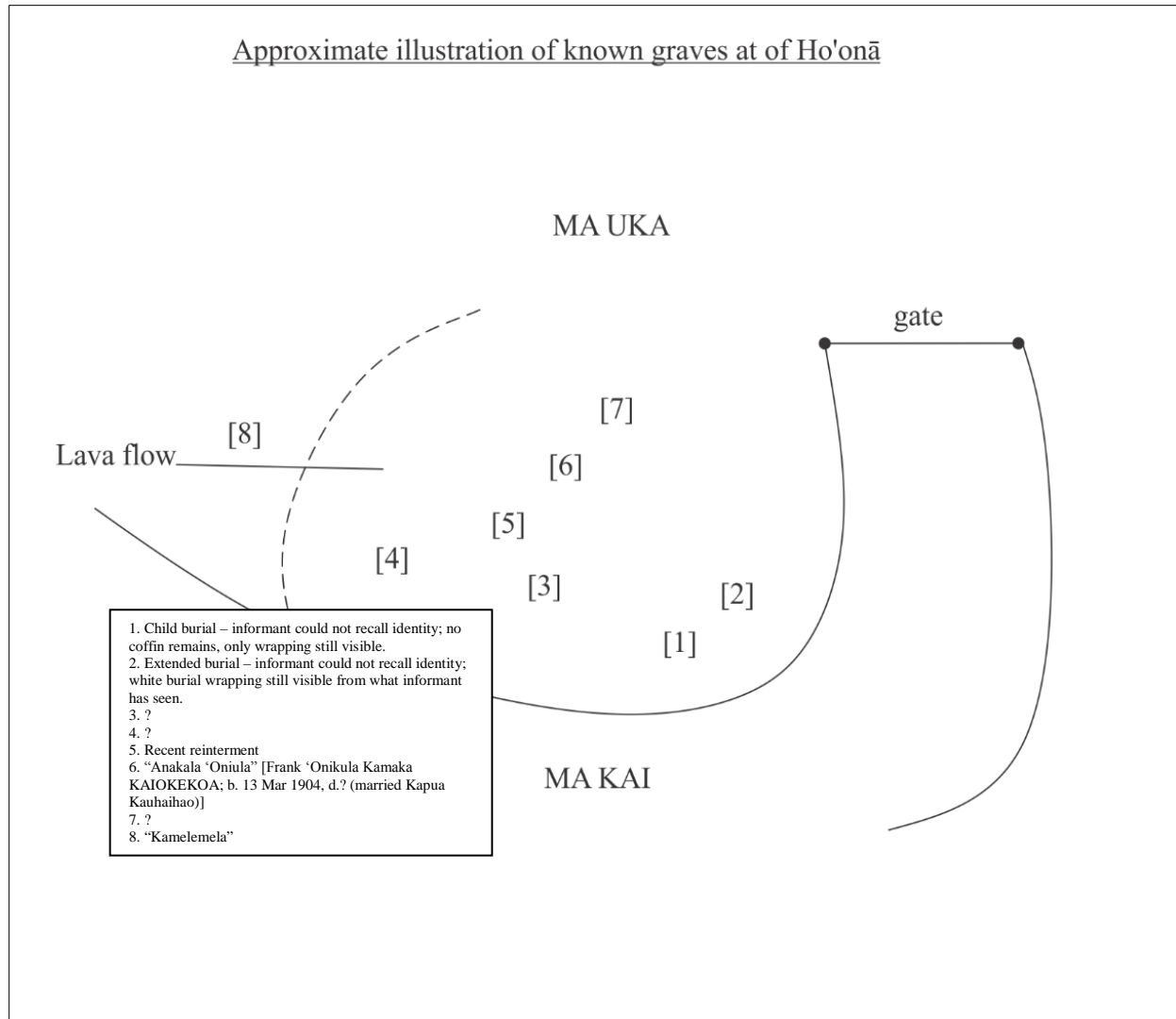


Figure 50. Location of Case 572 known graves ca. 1996 (after reproduction in Al Souza interview notes).

A search of the records on file at DLNR-SHPD for additional documents regarding the Burial Sites Program case numbers cited above (Cases 208, 208A, 510, 568, 572, and 572A) was conducted, but no such documents could be located.

CURRENT CONDITIONS

As a part of an attempted earlier study (in 2008) and during the current study, ASM (and its predecessor company Rechtman Consulting, LLC) conducted field reconnaissances to observe the condition of the archaeological features within the preserve and to generate a map (Figure 51) of existing conditions. The features shown on Figure 51 and area discussed below, individually by keyed reference location number. Our general impression is that nearly every feature of the six originally recorded sites has been modified in some way and that several new features have been constructed throughout the preserve during modern times. One of the anchialine ponds had been significantly enhanced (expanded and rock bordered) through excavation and dozens of new “burial” platforms had been created. Features or groups of features are identified by Location number and discussed below.

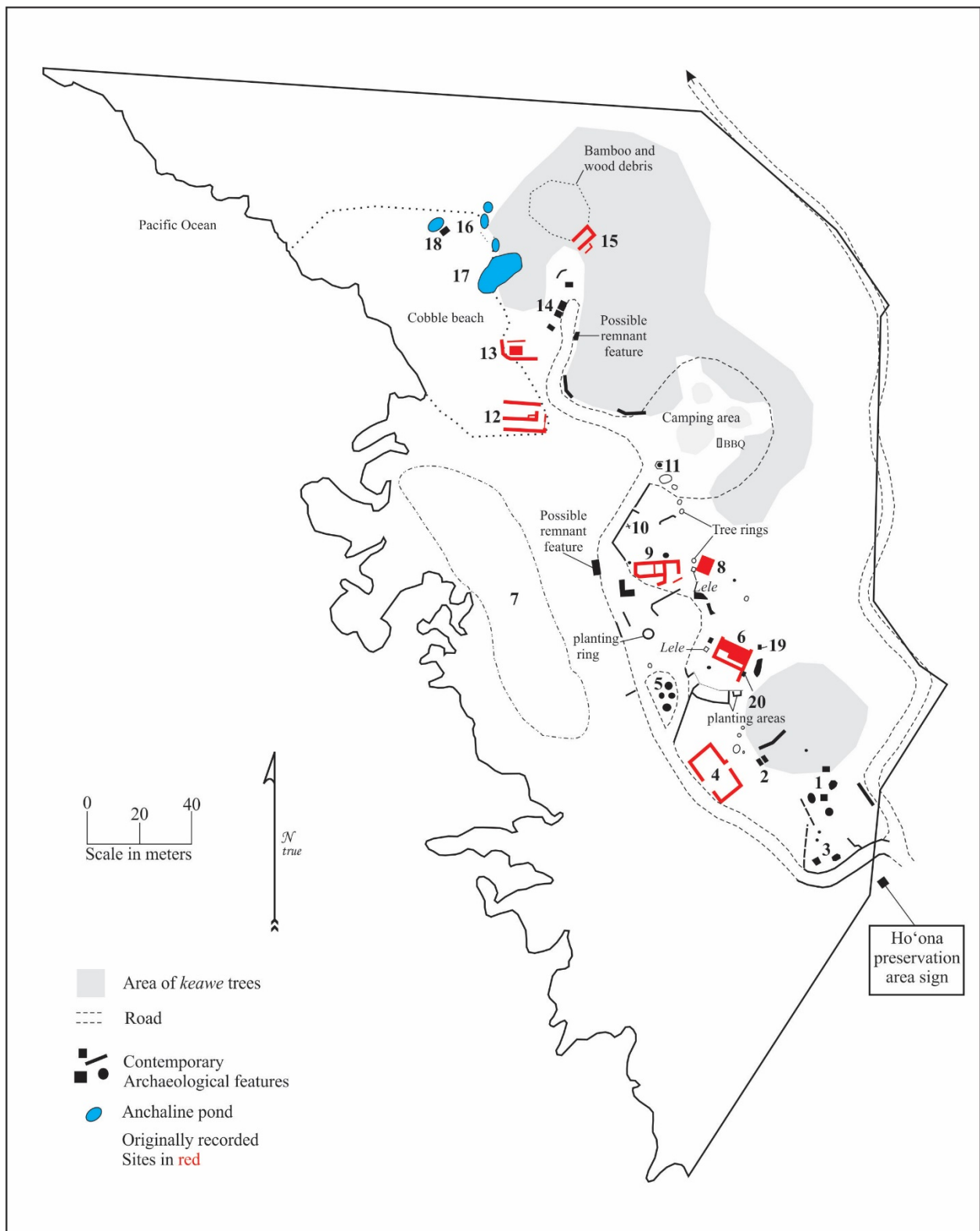


Figure 51. Map of cultural features within the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve.

3. Archaeological Research in the Ho‘onā Area

Location 1 (see Figure 51) consists of five square shaped cobble monuments topped with upright stones and paved with coral (Figure 52). These are constructed on a *pāhoehoe* surface with a thin sand deposit. A sign has been posted at this location which reads “Kapu Keep Out He, Lua Kupapa‘a Graves.” This area corresponds to what has previously been identified as a location of inadvertently discovered and reinterred human skeletal remains (SHPD Case 572).



Figure 52. Location 1.

Location 2 consists of two rectangular and paved cobble structures with *pahoehoe* uprights located to the east of Location 4/Site 10200 (see Figure 51). They were constructed on a fairly level and sandy ground surface and was paved with small to medium-sized cobbles as well as small pieces of coral (Figure 53). They were also constructed in a side-by-side fashion with less than a meter of ground surface between them.



Figure 53. Location 2.

Location 3 contains of two small cobble monuments that are topped with stone uprights and some coral (Figure 54) located just west of the Ho‘onā entrance area and north of the cobble wall that borders the beach road. The location is slight south of Location 1 (see Figure 51), and like Location 1 represents what were earlier identified as inadvertent or reinterment loci describe in SHPD Case 572.



Figure 54. Location 3.

Location 4 (see Figure 51) is SIHP Site 10200—a large, rectangular cobble enclosure (Figure 55). It was constructed on top of a fairly level and sandy ground surface with some sections of exposed *pahoehoe* bedrock. This site was noted to be a more recently occupied house site in the project area and dated to no earlier than the late 1800s with some use in the 20th century as the Kaiokekoa family’s house.



Figure 55. Location 4.

3. Archaeological Research in the Ho‘onā Area

Location 5, situated roughly 20 meters northwest of Site 10200 (see Figure 51), consists of four circular cobble monuments that were constructed with small to medium sized cobbles and topped with coral (Figure 56). Some signs of collapse were observed resulting in coral spillage onto the surrounding ground surface. It appears these monuments were constructed post 1998.



Figure 56. Location 5.

Location 6 (see Figure 51) is Site 10196—and enclosed double platform (Figure 57) with a small mound, *papamū*, and formerly a wooden *lele*. This site is in good condition having been maintained during modern times (Figure 58). This site was been interpreted as a typical enclosed house platform when recorded by archaeologists, and later ascribed a *heiau* function by Al Souza et al. The memorial monument to Mr. Souza (Kaiokekoa) was built along the back wall of the enclosure (see Location 20).



Figure 57. Location 6 interior view.



Figure 58. Location 6, view to the north.

Location 7 contains numerous *papamu* and petroglyphs located on the exposed *pāhoehoe* just west of Locations 5 and 11 (see Figure 51). Five *papamū* (Figure 59), two petroglyphs (Figure 60), and one area of pecking (see Figure 59) were observed; however, it is likely that more similar features might be observed upon intensive scrutiny.



Figure 59. Location 7 *papamū* and pecking.



Figure 60. Location 7 petroglyph.

Location 8 (see Figure 51) consists of a portion of Site 10195. More specifically it is the location of a square-shaped cobble platform roughly occupying a 6x7 meter area with a modern planting ring (Figure 61) and formerly a wooded *lele*. The surface is fairly level and consists of small to medium cobbles with some coral cobbles. This feature is considered to be a burial platform.



Figure 61. Location 8.

Location 9 is the remaining portion of Site 10195 (see Figure 51). It is a double enclosure in the western half of the Site 10195. The walls of the enclosure were built with small to medium sized cobbles as well as some waterworn cobbles. This feature is a house site (Figure 62).



Figure 62. Location 9.

Location 10 is a lined section of the road and contemporary wooden *ki'i* (Figure 63) just north of Site 10195 (see Figure 51).



Figure 63. Location 10.

3. Archaeological Research in the Ho‘onā Area

Location 11 (see Figure 51) is a modern shrine with a wooden *ki‘i* (Figure 64). This structure was constructed on top of a level sandy ground surface with small to medium cobbles and numerous waterworn cobbles as well as three uprights. The cobble construction is partially encircled by a single course alignment of small to medium-sized waterworn cobbles. This structure was likely erected post 1998.



Figure 64. Location 11.

Location 12 (see Figure 51) is associated with Site 10199. It consists of a large rectangular enclosure with cobble walls opening toward the coast (Figure 65). This site was originally identified as an animal pen, but was more recently reconstructed and possibly repurposed as a canoe shed (Figure 66).



Figure 65. Location 12, view *makai*.



Figure 66. Location 12 interpretive sign.

Location 13 (see Figure 51) is Site 10197. Constructed on *pāhoehoe* bedrock, this site consists of an enclosed terrace with a concrete slab (Figure 67) which was referred originally identified as a house site and more recently interpreted to be a communal “fish house.”



Figure 67. Location 13.

Location 14 (see Figure 51) consists of four restored, rectangular monuments topped with flat-lad slabs, coral and uprights (Figure 68), which were constructed on level ground. These monuments most likely represent inadvertent burial discoveries.



Figure 68. Location 14.

Location 15 is SIHP Site 10198. This site consists of an enclosure/house site located slightly north of Location 14 (see Figure 51). The enclosure (Figure 69) was constructed with small to large-sized cobbles, boulders, and a few waterworn cobbles on top of a level ground surface of sand and exposed a *pāhoehoe* bedrock. This enclosure opens toward the southwest facing Location 14.



Figure 69. Location 15.

Location 16 (see Figure 51) consists of four modified anchialine ponds (Figure 70) as well as a trail segment that extends from Location 17 toward the anchialine ponds and then veers to the west toward the coast for several meters. The areas of modification consist of stacked cobbles and coral that line the ponds' edges.



Figure 70. Location 16.

Location 17 (see Figure 51) was once a much smaller tidal pool but has been modified into a tidal pond that occupies a roughly 9x20 meter area. The pond (Figure 71) was recently expanded through excavation and the northeastern and southwestern edges of the pond have recently constructed stacked walls.



Figure 71. Location 17.

Location 18 is a newly constructed square-shaped, paved platform located adjacent the westernmost anchialine pond at Location 16 (see Figure 51). The low platform was constructed with a single course of waterworn cobbles filled with coral cobbles (Figure 72).



Figure 72. Location 18.

Location 19 is a modern cement-capped lava blister (Figure 73) located just east of Location 6 (see Figure 51). This feature appears to have been constructed to serve as the retention area for an outhouse.



Figure 73. Location 19.

Location 20 is a newly constructed monument placed in memory of Alena Kaoikekoa (Alan Souza) and reads “ALENA KAMAKAKAMA KAIOKEKOA 1940-2008” (Figure 74). It is located adjacent to the southeastern wall of Site 10196 (see Figure 51).



Figure 74. Location 20.

INTERPRETATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

The interpretation of the archaeological features within Ho‘onā is informed through multiple epistemologies. From a purely archaeological perspective, the fact that almost every feature has seen some form of reconstruction or alteration diminishes its value by obscuring its “original” function and limiting the potential for future scientific study. Even looking at the archaeological literature, it is clear that the interpretation of several features have changed through time based on modern modifications. During the Alan Souza era of site occupation, what was an animal pen became a canoe shed, what was a residential structure became a “fish house,” and what were house sites were transformed to *heiau*. However, as Ross Cordy so aptly described it “Ho‘onā was once occupied by 3-6 Hawaiian families. Sites include houses, graves, and other structures.” Most of the archaeological features were built during the Historic Period, perhaps after the 1801 lava flow occurred. Legendary accounts indicate that some people were resident in the vicinity of Ho‘onā prior to the 1801 flow (perhaps at a location to the north of the current Ho‘onā Historic Preserve that was covered by the flow); and there is some archaeological evidence, albeit inconclusive, that at least one of the features within the northern part of the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve dates to the late 1700s.

From a traditional cultural perspective the features within the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve represent a link to the past, but are an important part of the present and future; thus, their continued use (alteration, repurposing, etc.) is part of a continuum of cultural practice that enhancing the features’ value. Our thought is that Ho‘onā represents a “transformed landscape,” which has provided glimpses into the historic past, functions to empower present-day practitioners, and has the potential to educate the cultural future.

While modern archaeologists divided the Ho‘onā landscape into five discrete sites, the earliest (1929-30) archaeological work by Reinecke considered the entire area as one site (Site 86). We would tend to favor such a position and consider Ho‘onā to be a cultural landscape containing several archaeological and cultural features. As such the entire area should be evaluated and treated as a single administrative unit. For administrative purposes, the assessment of the significance of Ho‘onā is based on criteria established and promoted by the DLNR-SHPD and contained in the Hawai‘i Administrative Rules 13§13-275-6. For a resource to be considered significant it must possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and meet one or more of the following criteria:

- a Be associated with events that have made an important contribution to the broad patterns of our history;
- b Be associated with the lives of persons important in our past;
- c Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; or possess high artistic value;
- d Have yielded, or is likely to yield, information important for research on prehistory or history;
- e Have an important traditional cultural value to the native Hawaiian people or to another ethnic group of the state due to associations with traditional cultural practices once carried out, or still carried out, at the property or due to associations with traditional beliefs, events or oral accounts—these associations being important to the group’s history and cultural identity.

One can argue that although the archaeological features have been “altered,” as a cultural place the integrity of location, setting, and feeling still remains. Thus, it is our evaluation that Ho‘onā is significant under multiple criteria: Criterion a as it is a storied place linked by *mo‘olelo* to events that led to the 1801 lava flow; Criterion c as a classical example of a small Hawaiian coastal village dating from the nineteenth century; Criterion d for the scientific information yielded during a roughly 60 year period (1930-1990) of intermittent investigation; and Criterion e for the value this landscape retains with respect to past, present, and future Hawaiian cultural practices.

4. MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

By way of conclusion, this section of the report presents four alternatives that should be considered as competing strategies for the future stewardship of the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve. One of these strategies keeps the management of Ho‘onā with NEHA, while the three other strategies transfer the management responsibilities to other agencies (2 state and 1 federal) that may be more suited to the task of cultural stewardship.

Strategy 1 would be that NELHA retain management of Ho‘onā and hires a staff person dedicated to the management/stewardship of all of the cultural sites in the land NELHA administers. This new staff person can then either, identify an appropriate group to work with and develop a new curatorship agreement, or can consult with DLNR-SHPD to formalize Preservation and Burial Treatment Plans and impement a policy for the continued cultural use of the area.

Strategy 2 would be to negotiate with DLNR-SHPD to transfer to them the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve for their management. They would then be responsible for any further required treatment. There is a precedent for this in South Kona where DLNR-SHPD was given the coastal village of Hokukano to manage as a cultural preserve within the Hokuia development area. Discussions would need to take place with Alan Downer, the current DLNR-SHPD Administrator.

Strategy 3 would be to negotiate with DLNR-State Parks to transfer to them the Ho‘onā Historic Preserve for their management. They would then be responsible for any further required treatment. State Parks operates several small park units along the North and South Kona coast line as well as the North and South Kohala coastline. Discussions would need to take place with Alan Carpenter, the current DLNR-State Parks Lead Archaeologist.

Strategy 4 would be to contact *Ala Kahakai* National Historic Trail Program (National Park Service) to investigate if they would be interested in receiving the preserve as a cultural waypoint along their public coastal trail. They would then be responsible for any further required treatment. There are several precedents for such a transaction, as the *Ala Kahakai* program has acquired similar such parcels in South Kona and North Kohala. The *Ala Kahakai* National Historic Trail Program was “[e]stablished in 2000 for the preservation, protection and interpretation of traditional Native Hawaiian culture and natural resources, Ala Kahakai National Historic Trail is a 175 mile corridor and trail network of cultural and historical significance. It traverses through hundreds of ancient Hawaiian settlement sites and over 200 ahupua‘a (traditional land divisions)” (<https://www.nps.gov/alka/index.htm>). Discussions would need to take place with Aric Arakaki, the current *Ala Kahakai* National Historic Trail Program Superintendent.

If Strategy 2, 3, or 4 comes to fruition, NELHA will likely need to do a formal subdivision of the Preserve before transfer, and then once transferred, the respective new entity would decide how to move forward with stewardship. At the time of writing we favor pursuing Strategy 4 as the first option.

REFERENCES CITED

- Athens, J. S., T. Rieth, and T. Dye
2014 A Paleoenvironmental and Archaeological Model-Based Age Estimate for the Colonization of Hawai'i. *American Antiquity* 79(1): 144–155.
- Barrera, W.
1989 Archaeological Data Recovery at HOST Park and NELH, Kalaoa and Ooma Ahupuaa, North Kona, Hawaii Island. Chiniago, Inc., Kamuela.
- Beckwith, M.
1970 *Hawaiian Mythology*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Char, W.
1991 Botanical Survey of Honokohau 1 and 2, North Kona District, Island of Hawaii. Prepared for Lanihau Partners, LP.
- Clark, S.
1984 An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Natural Energy Laboratory Hawaii (NELH) Property, Keahole Point, North Kona, Hawai'i. Manuscript 110784. Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Cordy, R.
1975 Site Maps with Interpretations and Dates for Sites in Ooma 1, Ooma 2, Kalaoa 4, and Kalaoa 5, North Kona, Hawaii Island (TMK: 7-3-09, 10). Ph.D. work.
1978 A Study of Prehistoric Social Change: The Development of Complex Societies in the Hawaiian Islands. Ph.D. thesis, University of Hawai'i.
1981 *A Study of Prehistoric Social Change: The Development of Complex Societies in the Hawaiian Islands*. New York, Academic Press.
1985 Working Paper I: Hawaii Island Archaeology, Ooma and Kalaoa Ahupua'a, Kekaha, North Kona (TMK:7-3). Historic Sites Section, Division of State Parks, Department of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawaii.
2000 *Exalted Sits the Chief. The Ancient History of Hawai'i Island*. Mutual Publishing: Honolulu, Hawai'i.
- Dean, L.
1991 *The Lighthouses of Hawai'i*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.
- Donham, T.
1987 Archaeological Survey and Testing, Ooma II Resort Project Area, Land of Ooma II, North Kona, Island of Hawaii (TMK:3-7-3-09:4). PHRI Report 254-081286. Prepared for Helber, Hastert, Van Horn & Kimura.
- Ellis, W.
1963 *Journal of William Ellis*. Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd.
- Fornander, A.
1916-1919 *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore*. (9 vols.). Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
1959 *Selections from Fornander's Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*. S.H. Elbert, editor. The University Press of Hawaii.
1973 *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origin and Migrations*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc.
1996 *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People*. Mutual Publishing, Australia.
- Group 70
2011 Master Plan for Natural Energy Laboratory of Hawai'i Authority.

References Cited

- Handy, E.S.C., E.G. Handy, with M.K. Pukui
 1972 *Native Planters in Old Hawaii, Their Life, Lore, and Environment*. B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 233. B.P. Bishop Museum Press.
- I'i, J.
 1959 *Fragments of Hawaiian History*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kamakau, S.
 1961 *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press.
 1964 *Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old*. B.P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 51. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
 1976 *The Works of the People of Old*. B.P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 61. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
 1991 *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Mo'olelo a ka Po'e Kahiko*. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- Kelly, M.
 1983 *Na Mala O Kona: Gardens of Kona. A History of Land Use in Kona, Hawai'i*. Departmental Report Series 83-2. Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Prepared for the Department of Transportation, State of Hawaii.
- Kirch, P.
 2011 When did the Polynesians Settle Hawai'i? A Review of 150 Years of Scholarly Inquiry and a Tentative Answer. *Hawaiian Archaeology* Vol. 12:3-26.
- Maguire, E.
 1926 *Kona Legends*. Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Press.
- Malo, D.
 1951 *Hawaiian Antiquities*. Honolulu, B.P. Bishop Museum.
- Maly, K. (translator)
 ms. "Mai Kailua a hiki i Kiholo." J.P. Puuokupa, in *Ku Okoa* November 27, 1875.
 ms. "Kaa o Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki." J.W.H.I. Kihe, in *Ka Hoku o Hawai'i*, January 8, 1914 - December 6, 1917.
 ms. "Ka Punawai o Wawaloli." J.W.H.I. Kihe, in *Ka Hoku o Hawai'i*, September 23rd, October 4th & 11th, 1923.
 ms. "Na Hoomanao o ka Manawa." J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, June 5th & 12th 1924.
 ms. "Ka Loko o Paaiea." J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, February 5-26, 1914 and May 1-15, 1924.
 ms. "Ko Keoni Kaelemakule Moolelo Pono." J.W.H. Isaac Kihe, in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, Sept. 17 & 24, & Oct. 1, 1929.
- McEldowney, H.
 1979 *Archaeological and Historical Literature Search and Research Design: Lava Flow Control Study, Hilo, Hawai'i*. BPBM Report, Honolulu.
- Moore, J., M. Maigret, and J. Kennedy
 1999 Results of an Archaeological Inventory Survey for a Property Located at Ke'ahole Point, in Kalaoa 4th Ahupua'a, North Kona District, on the Island of Hawai'i. Archaeological Consultants of the Pacific, Inc., Haleiwa, Hawai'i.
- Pukui, M., S. Elbert, and E. Mo'okini
 1974 *Place Names of Hawaii. Revised and Expanded Edition*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

- Pukui, M., and A. Korn
1973 *The Echo of Our Song. Chants and Poems of the Hawaiians*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Rechtman, R.
2006 Cultural Impact Assessment Associated with the Proposed Development of Lōkahi Ka‘u (TMKs: 3-7-3-010:003, 006, 051, 052, 053, 054)/ ‘O‘oma 1st and Kalaoa 5th Ahupua‘a, North Kona District, Island of Hawai‘i. Rechtman Consulting Report RC-0387. Prepared for Seascape Developments, LLC, Kailua-Kona, Hawai‘i.
- Rechtman, R., and K. Maly
2003 Cultural Impact Assessment for the Proposed Development of TMK:3-7-3-9:22, ‘O‘oma 2nd Ahupua‘a, North Kona District, Island of Hawai‘i, Volume I and II. Rechtman Consulting Report RC-0154. Prepared for Helber Hastert & Fee, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
- Reinecke, J.
n.d. Survey of Sites on West Hawaii. Unpublished manuscript, Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu (1930).
- Rogers-Jourdane, E.
1978 Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of NELH Facilities Area at Keahole Point, North Kona, Hawaii. Manuscript 061378. Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Rosendahl, P., and P. Kirch
1975 Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of the Ke-ahole Point Natural Energy Laboratory Site, North Kona, Hawaii Island. Manuscript 111775. Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Prepared for R.M. Towill Corp.
- Stokes, J., and T. Dye
1991 *Heiau of the Island of Hawai‘i. Bishop Museum Bulletin in Anthropology* 2. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- Tatar, E.
1982 Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Chant. *Pacific Anthropological Records* No. 33. Department of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Thrum, T.
1908 Heiaus and Heiau Site Throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Island of Hawaii. *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* 1909:38-47. Honolulu.
- Tomonari-Tuggle, M.
1985 Cultural Resource Management Plan, Cultural Resource Management at the Keauhou Resort. PHRI Report 89-060185. Prepared for Kamehameha Investment Corp.
- Wolfe, E., and J. Morris
1996 Geologic Map of the Island of Hawai‘i. Geologic Investigations Series Map 1-2524-A. U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Geological Survey.