

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 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. Though he subsequently gave it up to the Kingdom (Government) later during the Division (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‘aupi‘o and a naha chiefess, and the ni‘aupi‘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—

<i>Huila ka lani i ke Akua,</i>	<i>The heavens lighten with the god,</i>
<i>Lapalapa ka honua i ke keiki</i>	<i>The earth burns with the child,</i>
<i>E ke keiki e, hooua i ka punohu lani,</i>	<i>O son, pour down the rain that brings the rainbow,</i>
<i>Aia i ka lani ka Haku e,</i>	<i>There in heaven is the Lord.</i>
<i>O ku‘u ‘uhane e kahe mau,</i>	<i>Life flows through my spirit,</i>
<i>I la‘a i kou kanawai.</i>	<i>Dedicated to your law.</i>

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-pepeleu 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 Ka-pololu 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 1961:264]

It is not until the early twentieth century, that we find a few detailed native accounts which tell of traditional features and residents of 'O'oma and vicinity. The writings of John Whalley Hermosa Isaac Kihe, a native son of Kekaha, in Hawaiian language newspapers (recently 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 'O'oma and the larger Kekaha-wai-'ole-o-nā-Kona.

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

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

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

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

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

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

This *mo'olelo* (tradition) is set in the 1300s (by association with the chief Pili-a-Ka'aiaea), and is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Ma-Ka'iole (Rat [squinting] eyes). The narratives describe the birth of the brothers, their upbringing, and their journey around the island of Hawai'i along the ancient *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, and in famed *kahua* (contest fields) and royal courts, against *'olohe* (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'ihii. There is a place in the uplands of Kohanaiki, below Kūmua, to the northwest, a hidden water hole, that is called Kapa'ihii. 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]

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):

Ka Punawai o Wawaloli (The Pond of Wawaloli)

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 kawele‘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:

<i>E Loli nui kīkewekewe²</i>	<i>Oh great Loli moving back and forth</i>
<i>I ka hana ana kīkewekewe</i>	<i>Doing your work moving back and forth</i>
<i>I ku‘u piko kīkewekewe</i>	<i>You are in my mind moving back and forth</i>
<i>A ka makua kīkewekewe</i>	<i>The parents moving back and forth</i>
<i>I hana ai kīkewekewe</i>	<i>Are at their work moving back and forth</i>
<i>E pi‘i mai ‘oe kīkewekewe</i>	<i>Won't you arise moving back and forth</i>
<i>Ka kaua puni kīkewekewe</i>	<i>To that which we two desire moving back and forth</i>
<i>Puni kauoha kīkewekewe</i>	<i>Your command is desired moving back and forth</i>

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.

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.

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>	<i>Oh great Loli moving back and forth</i>
<i>I ka hana ana kīkewekewe</i>	<i>Doing your work moving back and forth</i>
<i>I ku‘u piko kīkewekewe</i>	<i>You are the center of my life moving back and forth</i>
<i>Piko maika‘i kīkewekewe</i>	<i>It is good moving back and forth</i>
<i>A ka makua kīkewekewe</i>	<i>The parents moving back and forth</i>
<i>I hana ai kīkewekewe</i>	<i>Are at their work moving back and forth</i>
<i>E pi‘i mai ‘oe kīkewekewe</i>	<i>Won’t you arise moving back and forth</i>
<i>Ka kaua puni kīkewekewe</i>	<i>To that which we two desire moving back and forth</i>
<i>Puni kauoha kīkewekewe</i>	<i>Your command is desired moving back and forth</i>
<i>[October 4, 1923]</i>	

“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 references to Wawaloli, on the shore of ‘O‘oma and Kalaoa. Pā‘aiea, was destroyed by the Hualālai lava flows of 1801, reportedly as a result of the pond overseer’s refusal to give the goddess Pele—traveling in human form—any fish from the pond:

Pā‘aiea was a great fishpond, something like the ponds of Wainānāli‘i and Kīhōlo, 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 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 Kīhōlo 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, Kīhōlo, Keawaiki, Kapalaoa, Pu'uanahulu, and Pu'uwa'awa'a. These many lands were filled with people in those days.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

once lived.

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

Ko Keoni Kaelemakule Moolelo Ponoī – Kakau ponoī ia mai no e ia (The True Story of John Ka‘elemakule – Actually written by him³)

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

“*Kekaha Wai Ole o na Kona*” (Waterless Kekaha of Kona)

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

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

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

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

³ This account was published in serial form in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i*, from May 29, 1928 to March 18, 1930. The translated excerpts in this section include narratives that describe Mahai‘ula and nearby lands in Kekaha with references to families, customs, practices, ceremonial observances, and sites identified in text. The larger narratives also include further detailed accounts of Ka‘elemakule’s life, and business ventures. A portion of the narratives pertaining to fishing customs (November 13, 1928 to March 12, 1929), and canoeing practices (March 19 to May 21, 1929) were translated by M. Kawena Pukui, and may be viewed in the Bishop Museum-Hawaiian Ethnological Notes (BPBM Archives).

chant to Kane:

<i>E Kane i uka, e Kane i kai,</i>	<i>O Kane in the uplands, O Kāne at the shore,</i>
<i>E Kane i ka wai, eia ka puua,</i>	<i>O Kane in the water, here is the pig,</i>
<i>Eia ka awa, eia ka luau,</i>	<i>Here is the 'awa, here are the taro greens,</i>
<i>Eia ka ia kea.</i>	<i>Here is the white fish.</i>

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

<i>He mohai noi keia ia oe e Kane,</i>	<i>This is a request offering to you o Kāne,</i>
<i>E kala i ka hewa o ke kanaka i hana ai,</i>	<i>Forgive the transgression done by man,</i>
<i>A e hoomaemae i ka hale wai,</i>	<i>Clean the water house (source),</i>
<i>A e hoonui mai i ka wai o ka hale,</i>	<i>Cause the water to increase in the house,</i>
<i>I ola na kanaka,</i>	<i>That the people may live,</i>
<i>Na ohua o keia aina wai ole.</i>	<i>Those who are dependent on this waterless land.</i>
<i>Amama.</i>	<i>It is finished...</i>

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

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

Land Tenure in 'O'oma 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 'O'oma and within greater Kekaha. Importantly, we find chiefly associations with the land of 'O'oma 2nd, as documented by the residency of the chiefs Kaikio'ewa, Keaweamahele, their families and retainers, while they were serving as the guardians of the young king, Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III in ca. 1813-1818) (Kamakau 1961; Gov. Kapeau, 1847 correspondence reproduced in this study). Among the earliest government records documenting residency in 'O'oma and vicinity, 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 'O'oma and its neighboring lands. The documentation is presented in chronologically within the following subsections, The *Māhele 'Āina* (1848): Disposition of 'O'oma, Land Grants in 'O'oma and Vicinity (1855-1864), The Government Homesteading Program in Kekaha, Field Surveys of J.S. Emerson (1882-1889), and Trails and Roads of Kekaha (Governmental Communications).

A review of the records below reveals that none of the claims by native tenants made during the *Māhele*, or any of the applications for Royal Patent Grants, included lands that are a part of the current development area.

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

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

As the *Māhele* evolved, it defined the land interests of Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III), some 252 high-ranking *Ali'i* and *Konohiki*, and the Government. As a result of the *Māhele*, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands (cf. Indices of Awards 1929). The "Enabling" or "*Kuleana Act*" of

the *Māhele* (December 21, 1849) further defined the frame work by which *hoa'āina* (native tenants) could apply for, and be granted fee-simple interest in “*Kuleana*” lands (cf. Kamakau in *Ke Au Okoa* July 8 & 15, 1869; 1961:403-403). The *Kuleana Act* also reconfirmed the rights of *hoa'āina* to access, subsistence and collection of resources necessary to their life upon the land in their given *ahupua'a* (“Enabling Act”⁴, August 6, 1850 – HSA DLNR 2-4).

In the *Buke Kakau Paa no ka Mahele Aina* (Land Division Book), between Kamehameha III and his supporters, we learn that by the time of the *Māhele 'Āina*, 'O'oma was divided into two *ahupua'a*, 'O'oma 1st and 2nd. 'O'oma 1st was claimed by Moses Kekūāiwa (brother of Kamehameha IV and V, and Victoria Kamāmalu), one of the children of Kīna'u and M. Kekūānao'a, thus, a grandson of Kamehameha I. 'O'oma 2nd was held by Kamehameha III (*Buke Māhele*, January 27, 1848:13-14). On March 8, 1848, Kamehameha III assigned his interest in 'O'oma 2nd to the Government land inventory (*Buke Māhele*, 1848:183).

Moses Kekūāiwa died on November 24, 1848, and his father, Mataio Kekūānao'a, administrator of the estate, relinquished in commutation, his rights to 'O'oma 1st, giving the land over to the Government land inventory (Foreign Testimony Volume 3:408). Thus, both 'O'oma 1st and 2nd were assigned to the Government Land inventory (Government Lands - Indices of Awards 1929:10).

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 only one native tenant who filed a claim of residency and land use in 'O'oma during the *Māhele*. The claim—*Helu* 9162, by Kahelekahi—was not awarded, and except for an entry in Native Register Volume 8 (Figure 6), there is no further record of the claim. Below, is a copy of the original Hawaiian text from the Native Register. The account is of particular interest as Kahelekahi reported that in 1848, he was the only resident in 'O'oma:

9162
Kāhelekahi
Māhele Hawai'i Feburuarī 9, 1848
543
Aloha oukou e ka lāua hōna kuleana a pau, he hui aku nei au
ia oukou i kīna'au (āina), he ahupua'a o ka moku o moku
na māhele nei 'O'oma e ka māhele, he aia ka hui o ka hōna aia
mai i ai māi a Kamehameha māi māi a hui māi i kīna'au 15 mākeheke
o kīna'au hōna aia mākeheke aia, aole he karekare aia, owa
wale no, owa wale no ka māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele
hōna, hōna mākeheke o moku nei, O Kamehameha III māhele māhele
o kīna'au, a ia māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele
kānaka e māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele
he hōna o kīna'au, oia māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele māhele
Māhele Kāhelekahi

Figure 6. Copy of Native Register Vol. 8:543 Helu 9162, claim of Kahelekahi for kuleana at 'O'oma.

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

Kahelekahi – Helu 9162
Kailua, Hawaii February 9, 1848

Greetings to all of you commissioner who quiet land titles, I hereby tell you of my claim for land. I have an entire ahupuaa situated there in Kona, it's name is Ooma 2. It is an old land gotten by me from Koomoa, and held to this time. For 15 years, I have been the only one residing on this land, there are no other people, only me. I am the only one, there is no one living here to help from one year to the next year. Kamehameha III is the one above, who has this land, and W.P. Leleiohoku is below him, and I am the one man dwelling there. The survey of the length and width of this land is not accurately completed. That is what I have to tell you.

Done by me, Kahelekahi
 [Native Register Vol. 8:543; translated by Kepā Maly]

In 1849, S. Haanio, Tax Assessor of North Kona, submitted a report to the Board of Education regarding those individuals who were subject to the Tuesday Tax Laws (*Poalua*), to be worked as a part of the School Tax requirements of the time. At the time of Haanio's report, three individual families were identified as residents of 'O'oma. Residents in the neighboring lands of Kalaoa and Kohanaiki were also listed, they were:

Kalaoa: 1. Kila, 2. Piena, 3. Nakuala, 4. Kupono, 5. Loa, 6. Kaeha, 7. Keliipui, 8. Kapuolokai, 9. Kaainoa, 10. Paina, 11. Kalimaonaona, 12. Kaikaleukai, 13. Kanahale, 14. Kukaani, 15. Kupuai, and 16. Helekahi⁵

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

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

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

Land Grants in 'O'oma 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

⁵ Helekahi or Kahelekahi – the one who made a claim for a *kuleana* in 'O'oma during the *Māhele* (Helu 9162).

this office, for the Approval of the Board of Finance, when your sales have been approved you will collect the balance due of the price; upon the receipt of which at this office, the Patent will be forwarded to you.

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

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

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

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

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

Whenever about to survey land adjoining that of private individuals, notice must be given them or their agents to be present and point out their boundaries... [Interior Department Letter Book 3:210-211]

Between 1855 and 1864, at least six applications were made for land in the *ahupua'a* of 'O'oma, and four of them 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)
1599	J. Hall	Ooma 2	101.33	8:1855 (canceled)
1600	Kaakau	Ooma 2	58.5	8:1855
2027	Kamehehu	Ooma 2	101.33	11:1856 (same area as Grant 1599)
2031	Koanui	Ooma 1	24.5	11:1856
2972	Kaakau & Kama	Kalaoa 5 & Ooma 1	515	14:1864

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

The grants to Ka'akau and Kamehehu in 'O'oma 2nd were patented by 1859, as recorded in the following letter:

April 8, 1859

S. Spencer, Interior Department Clerk;

to Lot Kamehameha, Minister of the Interior;

Lands in Puaa and Ooma 2 in Kona, Hawaii which were sold by the Government Agent:

Royal Patent 1600, Kaakau 58 50/100 acres in Ooma	\$29.25
Royal Patent 2027, Kamehehu, 101 33/100 acres in Ooma	\$38.00
[HSA – Interior Department, Lands]	

In the years following issuance of the first Royal Patents in 'O'oma and vicinity, native tenants and others continued to express interest in the lands of 'O'oma and neighboring *ahupua'a*. Applications were made to either lease or purchase portions of the remaining government lands. In 1865, Government Surveyor and Land

Agent, S.C. Wiltse, wrote to the Minister of the Interior, describing the condition and status of the lands remaining to the government.

September 5, 1865

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

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

Kona Hawaii. Government Lands in this District not Sold;

also those Sold and Not Patented:

...“Kalaoa 5th”

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

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

“Ooma 1st & 2nd”

The best part of these lands have been sold, there remains to the Govt. the forest part, 2 or 300 Ac., and the makai part some 1500 Ac., about 500 of which is 3rd rate land, the balance rocks.

“Kohanaiki”

The forest part of this land is all that remains to the Gov't., this is extensive, extending to the mauka side of the forest. It may contain 1500 to 2000 Ac.

The makai part of this land containing 220 Ac. has been sold both by Sheldon and myself. In April 1863 I was surveying in Kona when “Nahuina” (who lives on the adjoining land of “Kaloko”) applied to me to survey the makai part of the Gov't. land Kohanaiki which he wished to purchase. I inquired whether he had applied to Sheldon for this lands (Sheldon was then in Honolulu) he told me that he had not, but would do so immediately, if it was necessary he would go to Honolulu for that purpose. I told him that I was then writing to Sheldon and I would make the application for him which I did, but never got an answer. I wrote several times to him about that time, for information about Gov't. lands, but he declined to answer my letters.

On the 30th of May following, I surveyed said piece of land for “Nahuina.” When I was making this survey “Kapena” (who bought this land from Sheldon) was present, and afterwards went to Honolulu and payed Sheldon for this land.

“Nahuina” had the money then to pay for this land, and I told him to keep it until he knew who he was paying it to. I was perfectly satisfied then that Sheldon's transaction as Gov't. land Agt. was not honest. Mr. Sheldon had then been away from Kona nearly three months, he had previous to this resigned his office as Judge and taken up his residence permanently in Honolulu. Afterwards when requested by Mr. S. Spencer to act as land Agt. for Kona, “Nahuina” payed me for this land at 25 cents per Acre. Its only value is for a place for a residence on the beach.

I have been thus particular in giving you the history of this affair, so that you might be able to decide which of the parties were intitled to said land... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

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.

Summary of Land Tenure Described in Grant Records

Grant No.'s 1600 (for Kaakau) and 2031 (for Koanui) are situated on the *mauka* side of the Alanui Aupuni (the Upper Government Road, near present-day Māmalahoa Highway) in 'O'oma 2nd and 1st.

Grant No. 1599 (surveyed for Kauhini), was situated across the *kula* lands from O'oma 1st in the south, to Hāmanamana, in the north. 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, identifies a Triangulation Station in 'O'oma 1st as "Kauhini." At almost the same time that Kauhini's grant was surveyed, other grants in Kalaoa and 'O'oma covering a portion of the area described under Kauhini's grant were patented to Kakau and Kama (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 of 'O'oma and the larger Kekaha region, when the Minister of the Interior was developing homestead lots for applicants (see communications below).

Grant No. 2027 (for Kameheu), situated in 'O'oma 2nd, extends from the *makai* edge of the Upper Government Road, to a short distance below the historic Homestead Road between Kaloko and Kalaoa, at about 900 feet above sea level (see Register Map No. 1449).

'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 2nd. The same house is later identified as "Keoki Mao's House" (Register 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 2nd on Register Maps 1449 and 1280—remained in use by family members at least until the outbreak of World War II (based on interviews with Peter Kaikuaana Park, Geo. Kinoulu Kahananui, and Valentine K. Ako).

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 the 'O'oma and Kalaoa-Kohanaiki *ahupua'a*, 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 was born and raised in the *mauka* section of 'O'oma, and by other *kupuna* from neighboring lands.

No records indicating that the above Royal Patent Grantees had applied for coastal parcels as a part of their original claims were found while conducting the present research. 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 ‘O‘oma—lived mostly in the uplands, for it was there that the rich soils enabled residents to cultivate the land and sustain themselves.

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

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

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

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

The Government Homesteading Program in Kekaha

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

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

Early in the process, native residents of Kekaha soon 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:

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

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 ‘O‘oma and other 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 Hu‘ehu‘e 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.

Homestead Communications

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 Hu‘ehu‘e 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 (see communications in Part 4 of this section of the study). Emerson’s letters along with those below from the native tenants of the land, provide first hand accounts of the land development of the communities in Kekaha. The following communications are among those found in the collection of the Hawai‘i State Archives (HSA).

May 1888

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

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

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

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

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

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

...We ask your honor that this matter be traced in the Government Departments, so as to find out the truth, there is much trouble and uncertainty about this land. And our inquiry to be based upon these great questions. Does the land belong to Kauhini? Or to the Government?... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

May 16, 1888

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

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

May 16, 1888

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

[Regarding disposition of Grant No. 1590, to Kauhini for Lands in Hamanamana, Kalaoa, and Ooma; Figure 7]:

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

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

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]

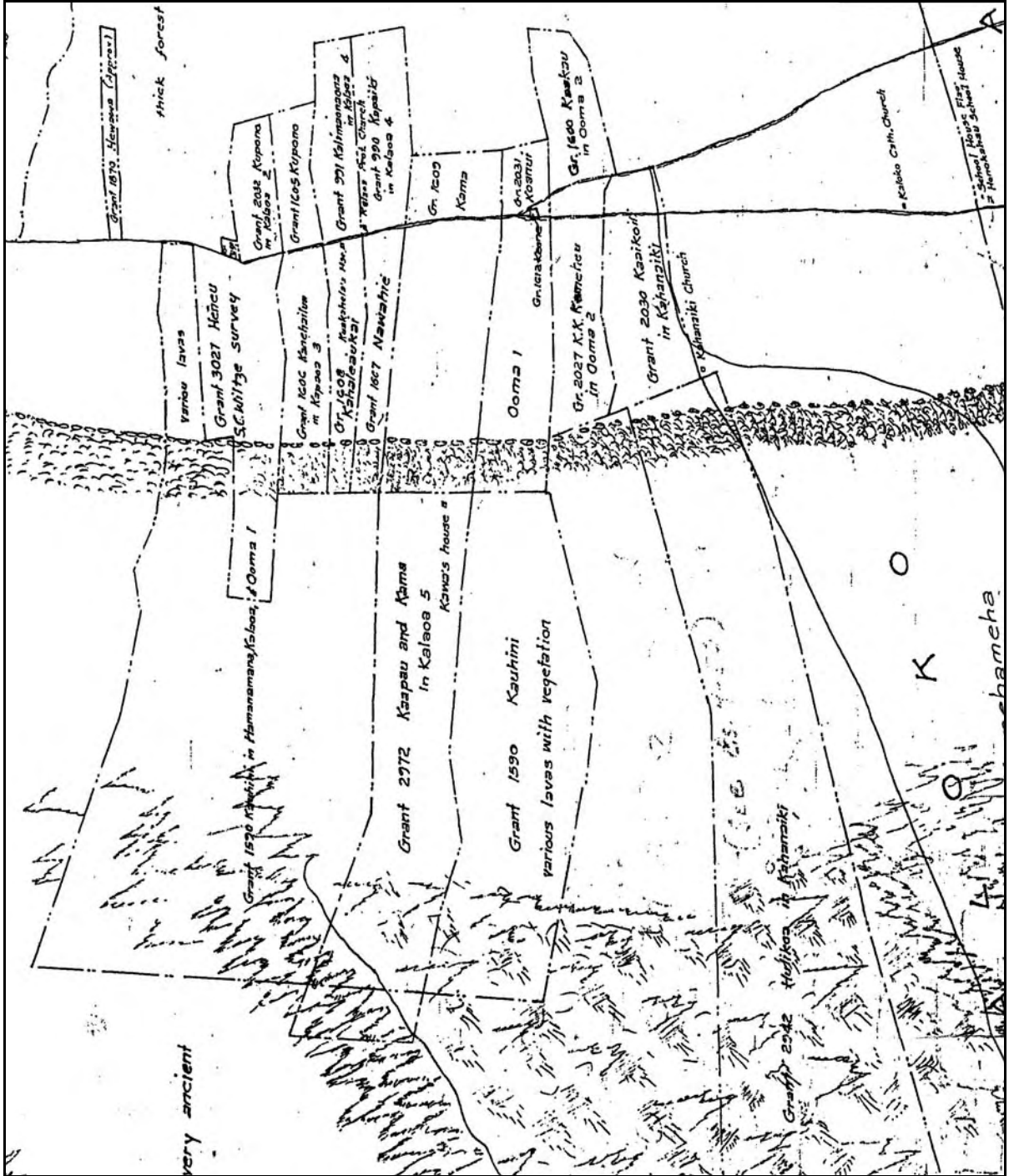


Figure 7. Portion of 1882 Register Map No. 1280 showing original boundaries of Grant No. 1590, to Kauhini.

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. Kaimuloa |
| 6. W.N. Kailiino | 14. J. Haau | 22. J. Kaloa |
| 7. Z. Kawainui | 15. G. Mao | |
| 8. Kikane | 16. J. Pule | |

[HSA – Interior Department Document No. 227]

February 18, 1889

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

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

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

[HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

October 7, 1889

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

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

October 10, 1889

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

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

Pika Kaninau at Ooma 1
 Kahinu at Ooma 2
 Keaweiwi at Ooma 2... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

October 28, 1889

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

...The eight lots in Ooma have all been taken, none are left... These lots have been very quickly taken by the bidders, before the issuance of the notice from the Minister... Bear in mind the agreements for Kahinu and Lilinoe... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

December 31, 1890

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

We, the undersigned, who are without homes, and are destitute and have no place to live on, and whereas, the government has permitted all the people who have no lands, and that they receive homesteads, and for that reason, your humble servants make application that our

application may be speedily granted which we now place before Your Excellency, that the Government land which was divided and surveyed by Joseph S. Emerson, be immediately sub-divided, the same being portions of Kalaoa 5 and Ooma, on the mauka side of Kama (k), Koanui (k), to the junction with Ooma of Kaakau (k), containing an area of one hundred and fifteen acres (115), and it is those acres which your applicants are applying for before Your Excellency, and where as your applicants are native Hawaiians by birth, residing at Kalaoa, North Kona, Island of Hawaii. And the minds of your servants hope and desire to have a place to live on in the future, and to have a home for all time, and Your Excellency, your servants humbly place their petition with the hope that you will grant this application...

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

July 30, 1890

*Petition of Kaihemakawalu and 63 native residents of Kekaha;
 to C.N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior*

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

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

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

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

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

June 22, 1893

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

...I am forwarding you with this, the copy of the agreement of Wm. Harbottle, and some applications as herein below set forth (Figure 8):

August 31, 1898

Statement of Leases of Public Lands

Under Control of the Commissioner of Public Lands...

...Ooma (mauka) 1160 acres – Coffee, wood lands & grazing

Lease No. 432 – Annual rent \$60. – Expires August 1st, 1906...

Reservation in lease by which the Gov't. may take up portions suited to settlement. [HSA – F.O. & Ex, 1898 – Public Lands]

In May 1902, the Territorial Survey Office issued Register Map No. 2123, depicting a portion of the Kalaoa-Ooma Homesteads. 'O'oma 1st had been divided into 25 lots extending from near the shore (excluding the shore line) to the upper limits of the ahupua'a; also excluding the early Royal Patent Grant parcels previously sold to native tenants.

Applicants for land in 'O'oma 1st (from *makai* to *mauka*) included:

- Kanealii – Right of Purchase Lease # 30; Lot 4-B (cancelled); Kanealii's parcel was just mauka of the shore line exclusion.
- 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.
- J. Maiola – Right of Purchase Lease # 28; Lot 14 (cancelled); J. Maiola's parcel was situated about 525 feet above sea level.
- 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.

Territorial Survey Map No. 6 (Homestead Lots, Akahipuu Section), surveyed by J.S. Emerson in 1889, depicts the eight original homestead lots sold to applicants. The lots are in the area extending from 1,022 feet above sea level to the old Māmalahoa Highway. The lots contained approximately 15 to 25 acres each, and were (*makai* to *mauka*) sold to:

- S. Kane – Grant No. 3819, Lot 55;
- Loe Kumukahi – Grant No. 3820, Lot 54;
- Papala (w) – Grant No. 3820 B, Lot 53;
- Kaulainamoku – Grant No. 3821, Lot 52
- L. Kahinu – Grant No. 3805, Lot 51
- J. Hoolapa – Grant No. 3804, Lot 50
- J.M. Lilinoe – Grant No. 4343, Lot 49
- J. Palakiko – Grant No. 3822, Lot 48

Except for the Homestead parcels and the two lots patented to Keanaaina and Kama (totaling ten parcels of the available 25 parcels), no other land in 'O'oma 1st was sold during this time. The land was retained by the government and portions leased out for grazing (see General Lease No.'s 590 and 604).

'O'oma 2nd was also divided into homestead parcels, but only six lots were made in the subdivision (see Figure 8 and Figure 9). Between 700 and 1,100 feet elevation four Homestead lots were subdivided, containing 40.50 to 45 acres each. Applicants for the lots (*makai* to *mauka*) were:

James Kuhaiki – Right of Purchase Lease # 75, Lot 59
(Patented to Mrs. Hattie Kinoulu; current Parcel 09:007);

Jno. Kainuku – C.O. No. 33, Lot 58 (not granted by 1902; current Parcel 09:008);

Holokahiki – C.O. No. 11, Lot 57
(cancelled; R.P.L. # 59 to Jno. Broad; current Parcel 07:038); and

E.M. Paiwa – Grant No. 4273, Lot 56 (current Parcel 07:039).

Land use on these parcels associated with the Homestead Grants began in the early twentieth century and consisted of both livestock grazing and small-scale agriculture (primarily sweet potato cultivation).

The two *makai* lots consisted of approximately 1,333 acres—the first lot from above the shore to the 1847 *Alanui Aupuni*, containing approximately 302 acres, and the other lot running *mauka* from the same *Alanui Aupuni*, to about the 800 foot elevation (containing approximately 1,031 acres). In 1899, John A. Maguire, founder of Hu‘ehu‘e Ranch applied for a Patent Grant on both of the *makai* lots, but he only secured Grant No. 4536, for the lower parcel of 302 acres, in ‘O‘oma 2nd (coincident with the bulk of the current project area). Maguire’s Hu‘ehu‘e Ranch did hold General Lease No.’s 1001 and 590 for grazing purposes on the remaining government lands—both below and above the *mauka* highway—in ‘O‘oma 2nd. The notes of survey from Maguire’s Grant No. 4536 describes the near shore parcel in ‘O‘oma 2nd. Of particular interest, it also references one of the prominent cultural-historical features on the boundary between ‘O‘oma 2nd and Kohanaiki, an “old ‘Kahua hale’ on white sand...” The “kahua hale” being an old house site. The notes of survey read (see Figure 9):

Grant No. 4536

To J.A. Maguire

Purchase Price \$351.00

A Portion of Ooma 2nd, N. Kona, Hawaii Applied for by J.C. Lenhart, June 8, 1899.

Beginning at Puhili Gov’t. trig. St. on the boundary between Kohanaiki and Ooma marked by a drill hole in stone 9 feet South of the South corner of an old “Kahua hale” on white sand at a point from which

Akahipuu Gov’t. trig. Sta. is N 55° 27’ 39” E true 32634.7 feet

Keahole Gov’t. Trig. Sta. is N 21° 52’ 36” W true 9310.5 ft.

Keahuolu Gov’t Trig. Sta. is S 22° 24’ 36” E true 20,141.8 ft., and running —

1. S. 79° 26’ W. true 298.0 feet along Gr. 3086 Kapena, to a large [mark] on solid pahoehoe by the sea at Puhili Point, thence continuing the same line to the sea shore and along the sea shore to a point whose direct bearing and distance is:

2. N. 4° 54’ W. true 4192.0 feet;

3. Due east true 2920.0 feet along Ooma 1st;

4. S. 31° 30’ E. true 3920.0 feet along reservation for Gov’t. Road 30 feet wide;

5. S 79° 45’ W. true 4387.0 feet along Grant 3086 Kapena, to initial point and including an area of 302 acres.

J.S. Emerson, Surveyor

Oct. 10, 1901.

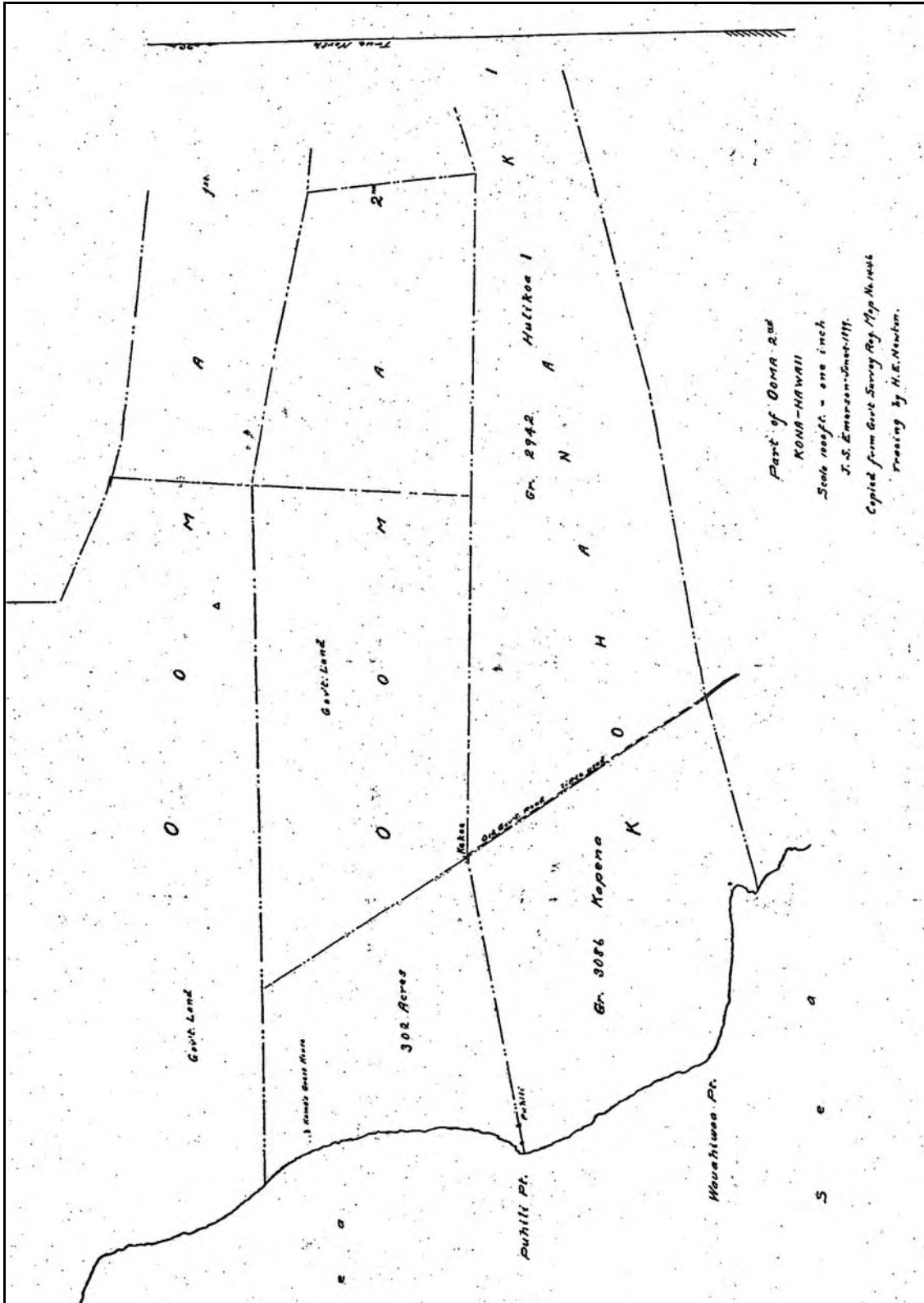


Figure 9. 1899 Grant Map No. 4536 showing *makai* portion of 'O'oma 2nd to John A. Maguire.

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

Among the most interesting historic Government records of the study area—in the later nineteenth century—are the communications and field notebooks of Kingdom Surveyor, Joseph S. Emerson. Born on 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 the lands of ‘O‘oma 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). Subsequently, in 1888-1889, Emerson returned to Kekaha to survey out the lots to be developed into Homesteads for native residents of ‘O‘oma 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
 (Figures 9 and 10)

Site # and Comment:

- ...6 – Koanui’s frame house. E.G. In Honokohau – nui.
- 7 – Aimakapaa Cape. Extremity. In Honokohau-nui.
- 11 – Beniamina’s house (frame). N.G. In Aiopio. In Honokohau-nui.
- 12 – Beniamina’s house No. 2. E.G. In Honokohau-nui.
- 18 – Lae o Palaha. Between Kaloko and Honokohau-nui.
- 19 – Awanuka Bay (Haven of rest) Retreat during storms in this dist.
- 20 – Kealiihelepo’s (frame house). N.G. In Kaloko.

- 21 – Lae Maneo. From the “Maneo” fish in Kaloko.
- 22 – Kohanaiki Bay. By sea wall of fish pond.
- 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.
 Kaloko nui was originally a bay, shut off from the sea by a wall by Kamehameha 1st order.
- 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.
- 33 – Lae o Unualoha.
- 34 – Pohaku Pelekane.
- 35 – Lae o Kahekaiao. Kahe-ka-iao – place of the “iao” which abound there.
 [Notebook 253:33,35]
- ...Keahole Bay.
- Lae o Kalihi in Kalaoa 5.
- Wawaloli Bay in Kalaoa 5.
- Lae o Kekaiki.
- Limu Koko in Ooma 1.
- Lae o Puhili in Kohanaiki.
- Lae o Kealakehe in Kealakehe.
- Hueu’s frame house in Kalaoa 4, makai side of Gov’t. Road.
- Kuakahela’s frame house in Kalaoa 5.
- Protestant Church Steeple in Kalaoa 5.
- Kama’s frame house, N. gable in Ooma 1.

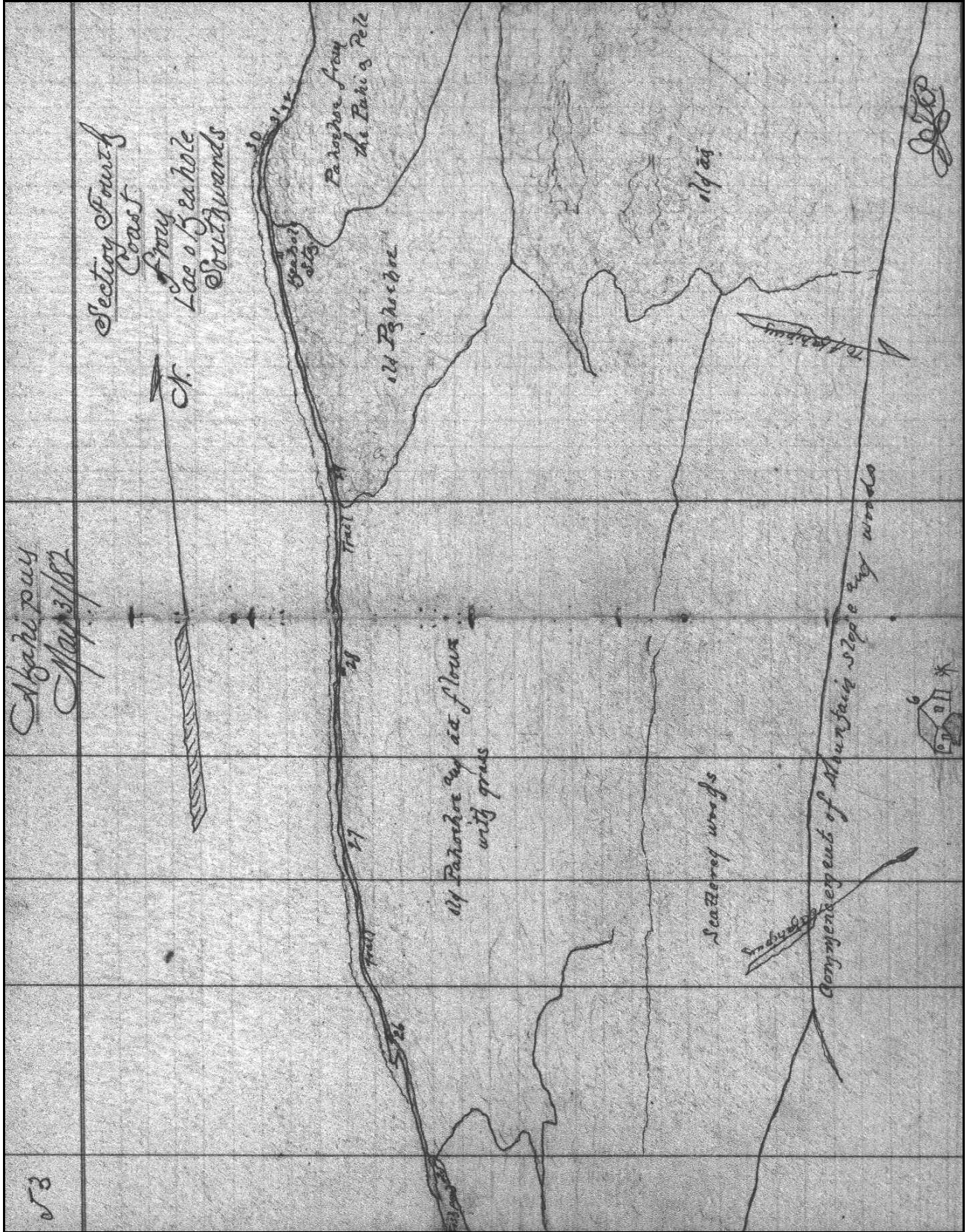


Figure 10. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:53 (State Survey Division).

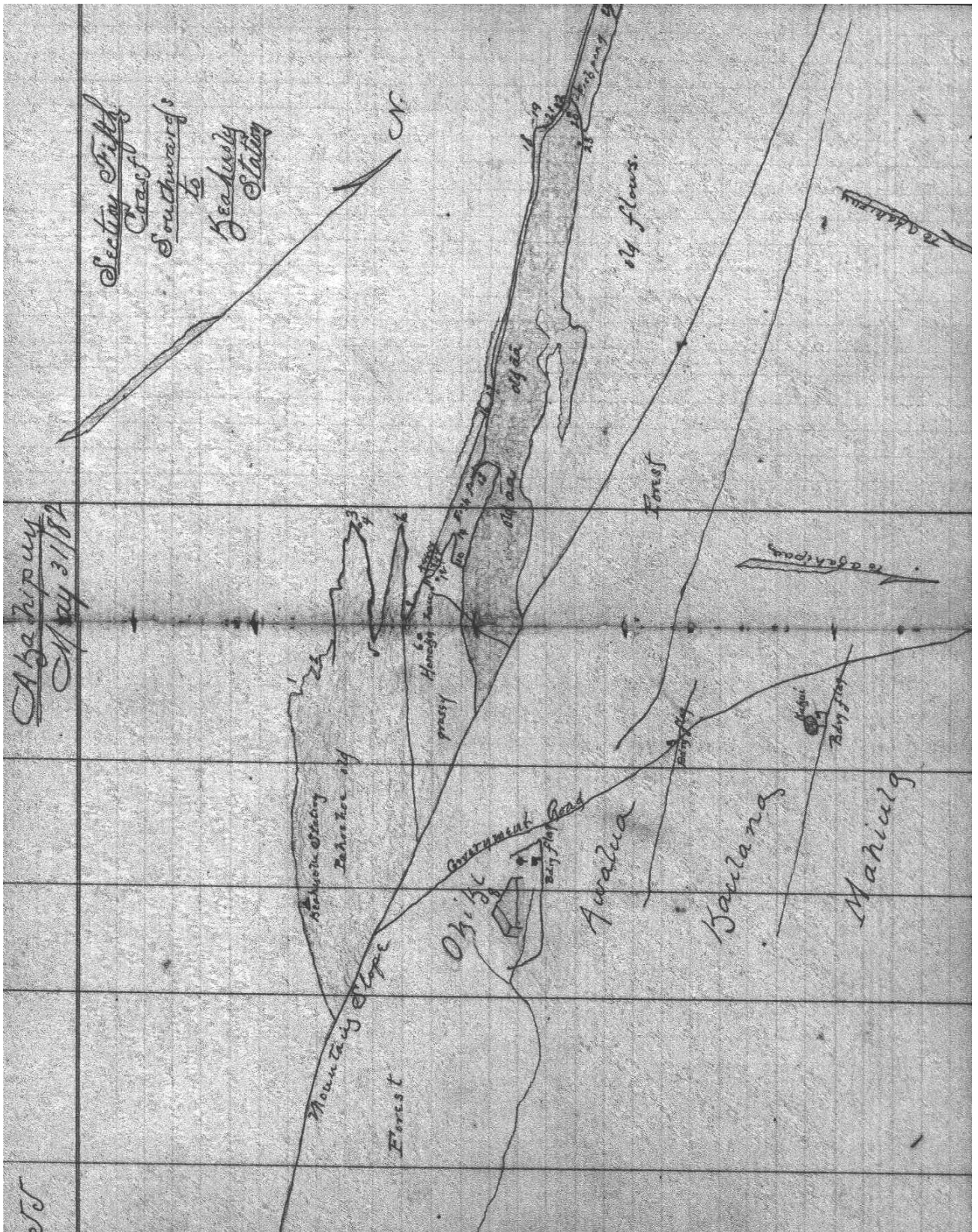


Figure 11. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:55 (State Survey Division).

While taking sightings from Keāhole, Perryman prepared additional sketches of the landscape. One sketch on page 69 of the field book (Figure 12) 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 13). 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) 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 14) from field Book No. 254 shows the reverse view of Figure 13. Noting again, that the only trail given at that time, was the near shore trail, running out of Honokōhau-Kaloko, Kohanaiki, ‘O‘oma and on to Keāhole.

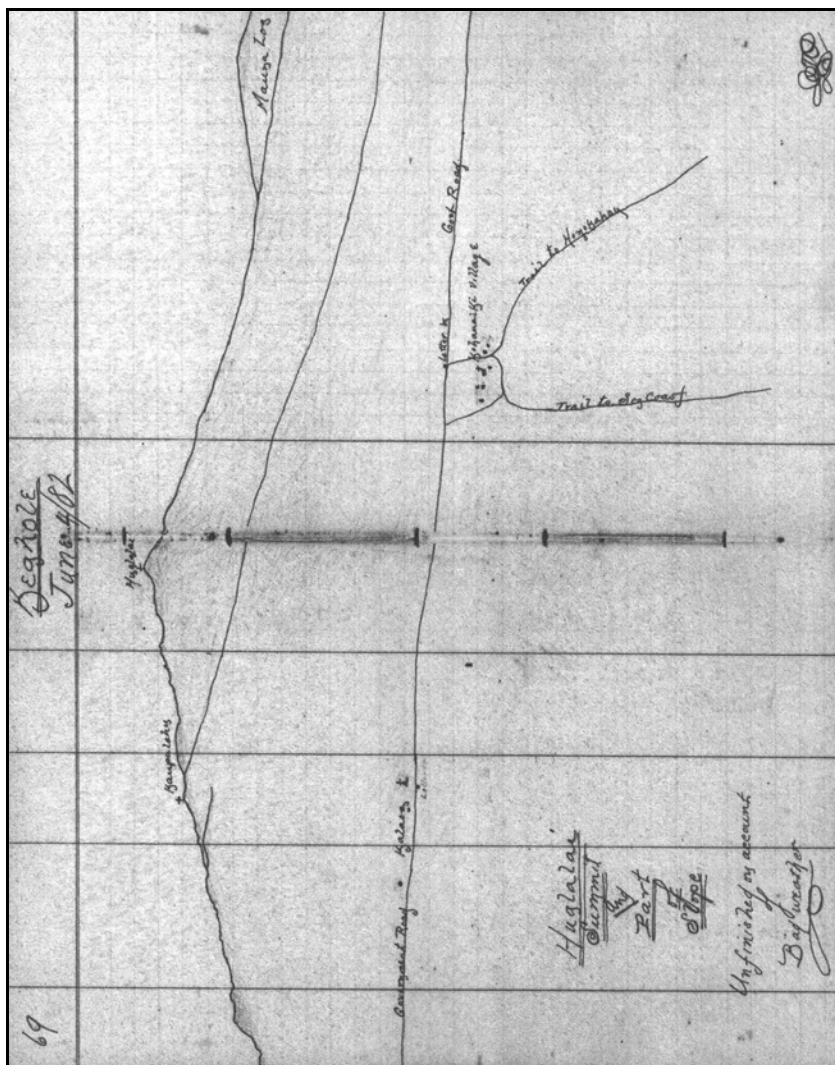


Figure 12. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:69 (State Survey Division).

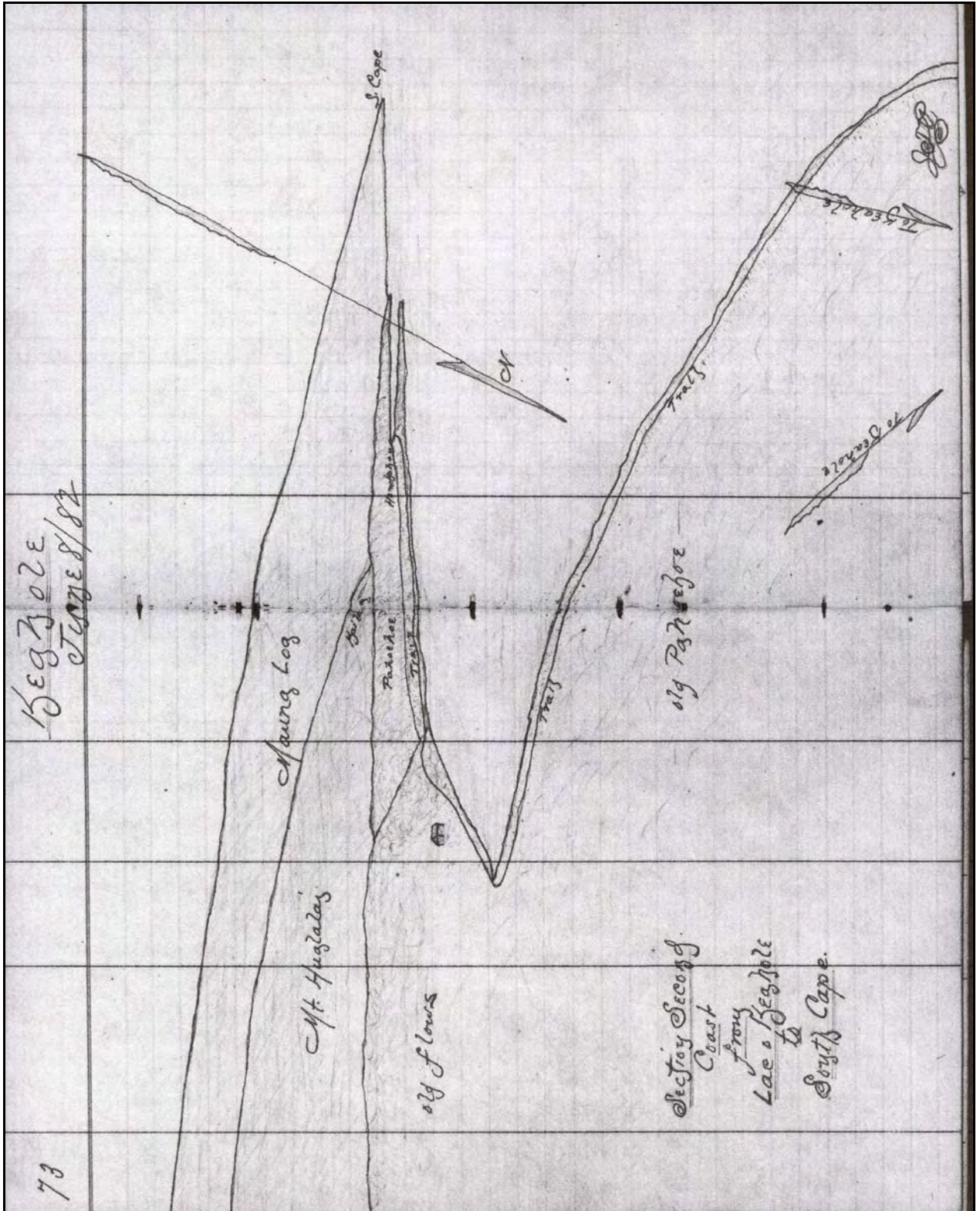


Figure 13. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:73 (State Survey Division).

While surveying the ‘O‘oma and vicinity 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.

(Underlining, italics and brackets are inserted to draw attention to certain passages.)

April 8, 1888

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

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 Hopulauu rents it and if it is Gov’t. land the Gov’t. should receive the rent or sell it off as homesteads. It is a desirable piece of land, a part of it at least... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6, Box 2]

April 17, 1888

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

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

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

It is said that Chas. Achi has written to the natives that Grant 1590, Kauhine, has been cancelled. Will you learn the true state of the case and be so kind as to inform me... [HSA – HGS DAGS 6, box 2 Jan.-Apr. 1888]

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

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

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

Returning to his “old camp Ooma,” in August 1888, Emerson submitted the following letter to Alexander:

August 25th, 1888

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

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

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

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

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

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

You are entirely justified in calling Kona “that heathen district.” [HSA – HGS DAGS 6, box 2 Jan.-Apr. 1888]

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

Ooma

October 14, 1888

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

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

There are four gods worshipped by murders and sorcerers viz:

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

Trails and Roads of Kekaha (Governmental Communications)

Alahele (trails and byways) and *alaloo* (regional thoroughfares) are an integral part of the cultural landscape of Hawai‘i. The *alahele* provided access for local and regional travel, subsistence activities, cultural and religious purposes, and for communication between extended families and communities. Trails were, and still remain important features of the cultural landscape.

Traditional and historical accounts (cited in this study) describe at least two traditional trails that were of regional importance which pass through the lands of ‘O‘oma. One trail is the *alaloo*—parts of which were modified in the 1840s and later, into what is now called the *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Road) or Māmalahoa Trail or King’s Highway—that crosses the *makai* (near shore) lands, linking royal centers, coastal communities, and resources together. The other major thoroughfare of this region is “*Kealaehu*” (The path of Ehu), which passes through the uplands, generally a little above the *mauka* Government Road or old Māmalahoa Highway, out to the ‘Akāhipu‘u vicinity, and then cuts down to Kīholo in Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a. From Kīholo, the *makai alaloo* and Kealaehu join together as the *Alanui Aupuni*, and into Kohala, passing through Kawaihae and beyond. The *mauka* route provided travelers with a zone for cooler traveling, and access to inland communities and resources. It also allowed for more direct travel between the extremities of North and South Kona (cf. Malo 1951; I‘i 1959; Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; and *Māhele* and Boundary Commission Testimonies).

In addition to the *alahele* and *alaloo*, 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 cited in this study.

Along the trails of the Kekaha region of which ‘O‘oma is a part, are found a wide variety of cultural resources, including, but not limited to residences (both permanent and temporary), enclosures and exclosures, wall alignments, agricultural complexes, resting places, resource collection sites, ceremonial features, *ilina* (burial sites), petroglyphs, subsidiary trails, and other sites of significance to the families who once lived in the vicinity of the trails. The trails themselves also exhibit a variety of construction methods, generally determined

by the environmental zone and natural topography of the land. “Ancient” trail construction methods included the making of worn paths on *pāhoehoe* or ‘*a’ā* lava surfaces, curbstone and coral-cobble lined trails, or cobble stepping stone pavements, and trails across sandy shores and dry rocky soils.

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). Where the *Alanui Aupuni* crosses the lands of ‘O‘oma, the alignment includes several construction methods, such as being lined with curbstones; elevated; and with stone filled “bridges” in areas that level out the contour of the roadway.

The following letters provide readers with a historical overview of the *Alanui Aupuni*, and travel through ‘O‘oma and the Kekaha region. Of particular interest to the lands of ‘O‘oma, are those communications addressing the lower Government Road which passes through the proposed development area.

(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 *alaloo* (roadways), *alahaka* (bridges), lighthouses, markets, and animal pounds. I have not yet done all of these things. I have thought about where the *alanui heleloa* (highways) should be made, from Kailua to Kaawaloa and from Kailua to Ooma, where our King was cared for^[7], and then afterwards around the island. It will be a thing of great value, for the roads to be completed. Please instruct me which is the proper thing for me to do about the *alaloo*, *alahaka*, and the laying out of the *alaloo*... [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

⁷ 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).

Napoopoo immediately, to confer with the old timers of that place, in order to decide upon the proper place to build the highway from Napoopoo to Honaunau, and Kauhako, and thence continue on to meet the road from Kau. The road is close to the shore of Kapalilua...

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

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

March 29, 1848

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

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

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

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

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

July 9, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior.

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

August 14, 1873

R.A. Lyman; to

E.O. Hall, Minister of the Interior:

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

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

November 4, 1880

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

A.P. Carter, Minister of the Interior:

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

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

Kailua Nov. 19th, 1880

Geo. McDougall; to

A.P. Carter, Minister of the Interior —

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

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

March 21st, 1885

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

Charles Gulick, Minister of Interior:

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

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

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

March 1886

Petition to Charles Gulick, Minister of the Interior:

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

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

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

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

[those signing included names of individuals known to have ties to the 'O'oma vicinity]:

...J. Kamaka, Kuakahela, Kahulanui, & Palakiko... [HSA – Roads Hawaii; Maly, translator]

March 9th, 1887

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

Chas. Gulick, Minister of the Interior:

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

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

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

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

The government road or *ala loa* from upland Kainaliu (that is the boundary between this district of South Kona) [Kealaehu], runs straight down to Kiholo and reaches the boundary of the district adjoining South Kohala, its length is 20 and 30 miles. With a troubled heart I explain to your Excellency that from the place called Kapalaoa next to South Kohala until Kiholo – this is a very bad section of about 8 miles; This place is always damaged by the animals of the people who travel along this road. The pahoehoe to the north of Kiholo called Ke A. hou, 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 (cantoniars) 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, 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, Keaweivi 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 cantoniars 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]:

...I forward to you the list of names of the cantoniars 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 to two 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 15)

Twentieth Century Travel in 'O'oma and Neighboring lands of Kekaha

Kama'āina who have participated in oral history interviews, describe on-going travel between the uplands and coastal lands of 'O'oma and other *ahupua'a* in Kekaha. 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. After World War II, retired military vehicles became available to the public, after that time, the *Alanui Aupuni* (Figure 16) and some of the smaller trails along the shore were modified for vehicular traffic.

